

YEARBOOK  
OF THE  
ALAMIRE FOUNDATION

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## CONTEXTE HISTORIQUE, POLITIQUE ET COMPOSITION DES *HISTORIAE* EN *BELGICA SECUNDA* AVANT L'AN MIL\*

Jean-François Goudesenne

*Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Centre national  
de la Recherche Scientifique (Orléans–Paris)*

Cet article repose avant tout sur un jeu de mots et n'illustre qu'imparfaitement et marginalement le thème *Musica Belgica*. Seul point commun entre le Moyen Âge et le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce terme de *Belgique* qui en 1830, définit un espace politique national dans le concert européen des états-nations, alors en pleine construction. L'origine de ce mot revient à l'antiquité romaine et à la division de l'empire en provinces, en l'occurrence la Gaule Belgique, qui traverse le Moyen Âge sous l'appellation *Belgica prima* et *secunda*. La géographie antique et médiévale ne coïncide pas vraiment avec la Belgique moderne. En effet, cette dernière ne correspond à aucune frontière ancienne et se répartit sur plusieurs provinces romaines: celle de Reims pour la partie occidentale avec les Flandres (Gent), le Pévèle (Tournai), le Hainaut (Mons) ; celle de Trèves pour la partie la plus méridionale, que l'on appelle Belgique première (Namur et Ardennes) ; celle de Cologne enfin, la province de Germanie inférieure, pour le Brabant (Bruxelles), le Limbourg (Hasselt) et l'ancienne principauté de Liège. A l'opposé, la Belgique antique ne concorde pas avec la Belgique de 1830 et couvre un territoire beaucoup plus vaste, compris entre Seine et Rhin, depuis le détroit du Pas-de-Calais jusqu'au Rhône et à la Rhétie (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup>

Il nous importe néanmoins dans le forum *Musica Belgica* du Congrès de la Société Internationale de Musicologie (Leuven, 2002), dont l'entrée conceptuelle est d'ordre géographique et historique, de présenter les résultats de travaux effectués sur les répertoires musicaux du haut Moyen Âge dans l'espace de la *Belgica secunda* (VIII<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles).<sup>2</sup> A la suite du partage de Verdun de 843, cette province ecclésias-

\* Abréviations courantes: CAO = *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, éd. Dom René-Jean HESBERT, (*Series maior*, Fontes, 7–12), Rome, 1963–1979, 1–6 ; BHL = *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, Société des Bollandistes, Bruxelles, 1–2 + suppl.

<sup>1</sup> J. CALMETTE, *Atlas historique*, Paris, 1937, 1 (*Antiquité*), *L'empire romain à la mort de Trajan et l'empire Romain sous Théodose*. *Westermans Grosser Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*, Braunschweig, 1956 (1<sup>re</sup> éd.), pl. 54.

<sup>2</sup> On pourra suivre l'évolution de mes travaux dans ce domaine dans les trois publications suivantes: J.-F. GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques de la Province ecclésiastique de Reims*, dans C.-J. DEMOLIERE dir., *L'Art du chantre carolingien, actes du colloque de Metz, mars 1996*, Metz, 2004, pp. 103–124 ; J.-F. GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques ou «historiae» composés pour les fêtes des saints dans la Province ecclésiastique de Reims (775–1030)*, Turnhout, 2002 ; J.-F. GOUDESSENNE, *Typology of Historiae in North-West Francia (8th–10th c.)*, in *Plainsong & Mediaeval Music*, 13/1, Cambridge, 2004, p. 1–32.

tique se place du côté de la *Francia occidentalis* et couvre au Moyen Âge plusieurs régions, à savoir Flandre, Hainaut, Brabant, Artois, Picardie, Vermandois, Vexin, Valois et Champagne.<sup>3</sup> L'objet de cet article est de montrer comment le contexte historique et politique a exercé une influence relative sur la composition littéraire et musicale (thèmes hagiographiques, typologie, style d'écriture, esthétique). D'autre part, les répertoires musicaux contenus dans les livres de l'Office de cet espace géographique, continuent d'illustrer tout au long du Moyen Âge et même jusqu'à la Contre-Réforme, cet espace bien spécifique qui met en avant quelques lieux comme Aix-la-Chapelle, Soissons, Reims, Elnone, Liège. Ces « hauts lieux » s'imposent



Figure 1. Carte de la *Belgica secunda* d'après J. CALMETTE, *Atlas historique*, Paris, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> *Atlas historique*, Paris, 1937, 2 (*Le Moyen Âge*): *La France féodale* (partie nord). *Westermanns Grosser Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*, Braunschweig, 1956 (1<sup>re</sup> éd.), pl. 58.

comme les centres majeurs de la composition des offices historiques ou *historiae* et coïncident avec les capitales culturelles européennes d'alors pour dessiner un réseau d'échanges de répertoires musicaux qui suit non par hasard les voies de communication.

# LES SOURCES ET LA FORMATION DU SANCTORAL

Les sources de l'Office subsistantes provenant de la province de Belgique seconde consistent en douze antiphonaires, trente-six bréviaires, quatorze recueils hagiographiques, quatre autres types de livres liturgiques et surtout, plus d'une dizaine de fragments et additions.<sup>4</sup> Ces sources permettent une étude et une nouvelle édition des *historiae* depuis les *Analecta hymnica*<sup>5</sup> et les travaux de Ritva Jonsson ;<sup>6</sup> ce corpus d'*historiae* de la *Belgica secunda* s'impose comme un des plus riches de l'Europe médiévale et compte plus de quarante offices, sur une période comprise entre 800 et 1050. Cette richesse de la création littéraire et musicale n'est pas le fruit du hasard: elle est à rapprocher de l'organisation même de la société, du pouvoir et de la culture dans la société carolingienne et à l'époque qui a suivi.

TYPOLOGIE	DATES							
	IX <sup>e</sup> s.	X <sup>e</sup> s.	ca. 1000	XI <sup>e</sup> s.	XII <sup>e</sup> s.	XIII <sup>e</sup> -XIV <sup>e</sup> s.	XV <sup>e</sup> -XVI <sup>e</sup> s.	
<i>Bréviaires</i>				2	10	21	4	37
<i>Recueils hagiographiques</i>		2	3	5	3	2		15
<i>Bréviaires</i>	1	2			1	2	6	12
<i>Autres livres (processionaux-graduels-obituaires etc.)</i>		1		1	4	1		7
<i>Fragments</i>		3	1	1	1	1		7

Table 1. Les sources : typologie et chronologie (870–1560)

<sup>4</sup> Liste de ces sources dans J.-F. GOUDESENNE, *Les offices historiques ou historiae composés pour les fêtes des saints dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims (775–1030)*, Turnhout, 2002, pp. xxiv–xxvi.

<sup>5</sup> G.M. DREVES, C. BLUME, H.M. BANNISTER, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 1–55, Leipzig, 1886–1922.

<sup>6</sup> R. JONSSON, *Historia: études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, (*Studia latina Stockholmiensia*, 15), Stockholm, 1968.



En reprenant l'expression de Peter Brown « le culte des saints est pouvoir », <sup>7</sup> on explique aisément que la création musicale du haut Moyen Âge dans le domaine des *historiae* ainsi que dans bien d'autres répertoires, est l'apanage d'une élite aristocratique, accordée à la culture théocratique du pouvoir impérial carolingien. Les différentes strates des compositions, comprises entre 800 et 1100 – qui se sont ensuite transmises au-delà même du Moyen Âge – se sont progressivement superposées. On peut différencier leur profil esthétique comme leur style littéraire et musical, conditionné par le contexte politique et culturel, les données géographiques, les circonstances historiques dans lesquelles les compositions ont été inventées.

#### CULTES POLIADES, CITÉS ET POUVOIR ROYAL DANS LES RÉPERTOIRES MÉDIÉVAUX DE L'OFFICE

Dans la civilisation de la Grèce antique, les cités étaient placées sous la protection des dieux, chaque cité honorant plus particulièrement tel ou tel Olympien: Athènes par exemple, fut partagée initialement entre Poséïdon et Athéna, puis ensuite exclusivement dédiée à la déesse de la guerre, pour laquelle le célèbre Phidias réalisa la gigantesque statue d'Athéna Parthenos chryséléphantine, « résidant » au Parthénon sur l'Acropole. Que la fête annuelle d'un grand saint patron d'une communauté religieuse ou d'une cité épiscopale ne puisse correspondre que très indirectement à quelque Apaturie ou Panathénée, il n'en demeure pas moins que le culte poliade des saints est lui aussi une réalité essentielle de la religiosité en Gaule franque à partir des VI<sup>e</sup> et VII<sup>e</sup> siècles ; la fonction civique de leur fête vient s'ajouter à sa dimension purement religieuse. <sup>8</sup>

Il résulte de cette configuration particulière de la religion, placée sous l'angle du politique, un développement accru des cultes des patrons des dynasties royales et de ces « seigneurs » (*seniores*) de la nation franque: saint Martin, saint Maurice, saint Denis, saint Médard... Leur culte est avant tout « poliade », c'est-à-dire lié à l'identité même de la *civitas* ; <sup>9</sup> il sacralise le pouvoir d'un roi et pérennise dans la longue histoire franque la renommée de sa dynastie. C'est ainsi que s'opère le réveil de la conscience politique de la Gaule au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour atteindre une apogée sous les

<sup>7</sup> P. BROWN, *Le culte des saints*, Paris, 1984.

<sup>8</sup> L. PIETRI, *Culte des saints et religiosité politique dans la Gaule du V<sup>e</sup> et du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, dans *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Colloque organisé par l'Ecole française de Rome, 27–29 octobre 1988, Rome – Paris, 1991, pp. 353–369.

<sup>9</sup> Il s'agit d'une terminologie proposée par Luce Pietri, pour signifier les aspects à la fois symboliques, identitaires et politiques du culte des saints mérovingiens: «... culte que l'on pourrait qualifier de 'poliade' puisqu'il s'accompagne de la conviction que le martyr ou le confesseur a été dévolu à la cité par la Providence divine ». PIETRI, *Culte des saints et religiosité politique dans la Gaule*, pp. 355–356.

Mérovingiens, au VII<sup>e</sup> et dans la première moitié du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>10</sup> Ainsi, les fêtes religieuses et liturgiques dédiées au saint « patron » représentent des points forts de la vie civique, comme plusieurs siècles avant avec les grandes fêtes de Rome ou des cités grecques.<sup>11</sup> Les différentes dynasties royales se placent sous le vocable et la protection de saints particuliers, dont la diffusion du culte liturgique est étroitement liée aux enjeux et aux rivalités politiques. Aux VII<sup>e</sup> et VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, lors des rivalités entre les maires du palais d'Austrasie et les rois neustriens, les cultes de saint Remi, de saint Médard et de saint Denis entrent en concurrence. Le premier est très favorisé par les maires austrasiens, le second plutôt encouragé par les rois mérovingiens depuis Clotaire I<sup>er</sup> ; le troisième enfin s'impose comme patron de la lignée neustro-burgonde.<sup>12</sup>

C'est dans ce contexte politique et religieux, certes commun à toute la chrétienté mais avec quelques particularités propres aux royaumes francs, qu'ont été écrites les Passions ou les *Vitae sanctorum*, puis ensuite composés les offices liturgiques correspondants. La base propre du sanctoral romano-franc se situe donc au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et correspond aux cultes des saints pour lesquels les reliques ont fait l'objet de la fondation d'une grande basilique desservie par une communauté ecclésiastique et devenue un haut lieu de pèlerinage: on appelle les offices ainsi composés offices « basilicaux ».<sup>13</sup>

#### CHAPELLES IMPÉRIALES, BASILIQUES ROYALES:

##### L'OFFICE BASILICAL ET L'UNITÉ CAROLINGIENNE (750–850)

Si l'on met à l'écart les fêtes universelles du sanctoral de l'Office, en l'occurrence celles du calendrier gélasien et grégorien – pour lesquelles les offices n'ont pas été importés directement de Rome vers les pays francs mais ont fait l'objet d'une adaptation romano-franque – les bases du sanctoral propre aux églises de la Gaule septentrionale ont été établies entre 750 et 850, conjointement à la romanisation menée par Pépin, Charlemagne et la monarchie carolingienne.<sup>14</sup> Ce fonds le plus ancien d'*historiae*, s'est élaboré autour des saints patrons des dynasties royales mérovingienne et carolingienne et a été créé pour des lieux proches du pouvoir, à savoir les chapelles impériales, les basiliques royales et les monastères placés sous la protection des souverains et empereurs.<sup>15</sup> L'ensemble des offices « basilicaux » caractérise

<sup>10</sup> PIETRI, *Culte des saints et religiosité politique*, p. 353.

<sup>11</sup> PIETRI, *Culte des saints et religiosité politique*, p. 357.

<sup>12</sup> PIETRI, *Culte des saints et religiosité politique*, pp. 361–362.

<sup>13</sup> GOUDESENNE, *Les offices historiques ou historiae*, pp. 213 et sq.

<sup>14</sup> C. VOGEL, *La réforme culturelle sous Pépin le Bref et Charlemagne*, dans E. PATZELT, *Die karolingische Renaissance*, Graz, 1965, pp. 171–242.

<sup>15</sup> PIETRI, *Culte des saints et religiosité politique*, pp. 355 et sq.

une typologie qui s'inscrit parfaitement dans ce contexte politique et ce cadre de diffusion très large qu'est l'empire de Charlemagne. Il correspond au fonds hagiologique de base de la province de Belgique seconde et de la Gaule du Nord, à savoir, d'une part les martyrs des missions romaines en Gaule du III<sup>e</sup> siècle et d'autre part, les confesseurs francs ou gallo-romains, chefs de file des dynasties royales. Nous employons le terme *basilical*, dans la mesure où avant le concile d'Aix de 816, les hauts lieux de culte des royaumes francs, qu'ils fussent associés à un monastère royal comme Saint-Médard de Soissons ou à une cathédrale comme Notre-Dame de Soissons, étaient ces grandes basiliques, appelées *seniores basilicae*, à l'instar des basiliques romaines.<sup>16</sup> Du point de vue de la musique, certaines pièces, mêmes consignées dans le *Compendiensis*, ne nous semblent pas avoir été conservées.

Deux hauts lieux fixent les limites et le cadre de l'espace ici présenté: l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis, située à la frontière de la province, à la jonction des routes qui mènent du Nord de la Gaule à l'Italie, d'une part et la Chapelle Palatine d'Aix, centre administratif majeur du pouvoir carolingien d'autre part (Figure 1). D'autres lieux de culte et de création s'y ajoutent pour cette période: Soissons avec sa cathédrale, l'abbaye royale de Saint-Médard et l'abbaye de Saint-Crépin; Compiègne et sa chapelle impériale, qui deviendra l'abbaye Saint-Corneille; Saint-Quentin, avec sa basilique sise sur l'antique *Augusta Vermandorum*. Les offices composés nous sont connus essentiellement – mais pas exclusivement – par le *Compendiensis* (BnF lat. 17436).<sup>17</sup> Il s'agit des offices de saint Denis (office primitif et remaniement par Hilduin),<sup>18</sup> des offices d'origine Soissonnaise des saints Gervais et Protas, un premier office des saints Crépin et Créprien, un premier office de saint Médard, un autre pour les saints Rufin et Valère, un premier office des saints Corneille et Cyprien, émanant de la chapelle impériale de Compiègne et enfin un premier office de saint Quentin et peut-être encore un autre pour saint Cassien d'Autun, provenant de l'abbaye de Saint-Quentin. Hugues II, abbé de Saint-Quentin et ancien abbé de Saint-

<sup>16</sup> J. SEMMLER, *Le monachisme occidental du VIII<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle: formation et réformation*, dans *Revue Bénédictine* (1993), pp. 68–89.

<sup>17</sup> *Patr. Lat.* 78 (Sancti Gregorii Papae), 725–850 (édition); M. HUGLO, art. *Liturgische Gesangbücher*, dans L. FINSCHER éd., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil*, 5, Kassel – Basel, 1996, col. 1431–1432 [dans la liste chronologique]; R.-J. HESBERT, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (CAO), 1 (*cursus romanus*), Rome, 1965 [un des six antiphonaires choisis pour l'édition du CAO]; JONSSON, *Historia: études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, pp. 30–31; M. HUGLO, art. *Antiphoner*, dans S. SADIE et J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1, Londres, 2001, pp. 482–490; M. HUGLO, *Observations codicologiques sur l'antiphonaire de Compiègne* (Paris, B. N. lat. 17436), dans P. CAHN et A.-K. HEIMER eds., *De Musica et Cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Huckle zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hildesheim, 1993, pp. 117–130.

<sup>18</sup> J.-F. GOUDESSENNE, *L'Office romano-franc des saints martyrs Denis, Rustique et Eleuthère, composé à Saint-Denis à partir de la Passio du Pseudo-Fortunat (VI<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> s.), remanié et augmenté par l'archichancelier Hilduin vers 835 puis au X<sup>e</sup> s.*, (*Historiae Series, Musicological Studies*, 65/6), Ottawa, 2002.

Bertin, frère de l'empereur et comme Hilduin, archichancelier de Charles-le-Chauve, procède à la translation des reliques de saint Quentin en 835, date probable de la composition du premier office de ce saint martyr.

Ces basiliques pourvues d'une école monastique ou épiscopale et d'un scriptorium, s'imposent donc sur toute la Province et l'empire carolingien dès le VIII<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> siècle ; ils ont été également les lieux de résidence de la cour mérovingienne puis carolingienne, voire les lieux d'élection du couronnement des rois, des conciles etc.<sup>19</sup>

La diffusion de l'office de saint Corneille à Aix-la-Chapelle confirme le contexte impérial de sa création et vient mettre en avant un des plus hauts dignitaires des royaumes francs, à qui l'on peut attribuer la composition de l'office d'après une rubrique d'un légendier de Jumièges du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Hilduin, abbé de Saint-Denis (814–840) et chancelier de Louis le Pieux, à la cour Palatine dès 818.<sup>20</sup> Après avoir obtenu du pape Eugène des reliques de saint Sébastien, dont la translation à Soissons en 826 eut un retentissement considérable dans le royaume franc, c'est ce même Hilduin qui vers 835 procède à un remaniement de l'office de saint Denis, conjointement à la restauration d'une crypte, à la promotion du culte et à la rédaction de sa nouvelle Passion des saints martyrs (*BHL* 2175). Par ailleurs, Hilduin fut également proche de Saint-Médard de Soissons et de Saint-Germain de Paris.<sup>21</sup>

On saisit encore mieux l'élaboration de ce fonds primitif du sanctoral local menée par un noyau de personnes gravitant autour du pouvoir carolingien, lorsqu'on aborde un autre culte et un autre centre: la métropole de Reims. En effet, le développement du culte liturgique de saint Remi remonte à l'épiscopat d'Hincmar (806–882, évêque de Reims à partir de 845), disciple dudit Hilduin et personnage proche de Charles le Chauve.<sup>22</sup> Si son origine est effectivement distincte de celle des précédents, le profil liturgique et musical de l'office est très proche de celui de saint Denis (antiennes à versets, modalité, timbres d'antiennes, groupes de répons etc.),<sup>23</sup> de même que le circuit de diffusion géographique: Aix, Utrecht, Cologne, Belgique première, Saint-Vanne de Verdun. Bien qu'étant un des derniers exemples de cette typologie basilicale, l'office de saint Remi, créé une trentaine d'années après les

<sup>19</sup> Par exemple la déposition de Childeric III à Soissons, suivie d'un concile en 751 ; le sacre de Pépin III à Saint-Denis par le pape Etienne II etc. ; v. S. LEBECQ, *Les origines franques, V<sup>e</sup>-IX<sup>e</sup> s.*, Paris, 1990, chronologie, pp. 281 et sq.

<sup>20</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana*, 23 (1904), p. 23 ; F. DOLBEAU, *Les hagiographes au travail: collecte et traitement des documents écrits (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, dans M. HEINZELMANN dir., *Manuscrits hagiographiques et travail des hagiographes*, Sigmaringen, 1992, p. 51, note 10.

<sup>21</sup> J. PRELOG, art. *Hilduin*, dans *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 5/1, p. 20 ; J. PYCKE, art. *Hilduin*, dans le *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique*, 24, col. 515–522.

<sup>22</sup> J. DEVISSE, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims (845–882)*, Genève, 1975, 1, pp. 354 et sq.

<sup>23</sup> J.-F. GOUDESENNE, *La musique de l'ancien office de s. Remi retrouvée (IX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, dans M. ROUCHE dir., *Clovis, histoire & mémoire, (Actes du colloque de Reims, 19–25 septembre 1996)*, Paris, 1997, 2, pp. 119–120.

remaniements de l'office de saint Denis par Hilduin, fait l'objet d'une diffusion semblable à celle de son modèle et quasiment simultanée au cours des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles. On n'est donc guère étonné de retrouver cet office de saint Remi à Centula-Saint-Riquier,<sup>24</sup> autre haut lieu carolingien, alors qu'il est absent d'Amiens, de Beauvais, d'Arras ou de Senlis.

Soissons est un des centres les plus importants par le nombre d'offices qui y sont créés à haute époque, ce qui souligne la primauté de cette cité en Gaule du Nord parmi les résidences royales: saint Médard, patron de la dynastie mérovingienne depuis Clotaire 1<sup>er</sup>, reçoit un office qui est malheureusement conservé sans musique,<sup>25</sup> de même que l'office des saints Crépin et Crépinien, dont le *Compendiensis* ne pourvoit de neumes qu'une seule antienne.<sup>26</sup> Enfin l'office des saints Rufin et Valère, bien que local et peu diffusé, pourrait relever de cette typologie de par ses textes narratifs en prose (la musique n'est pas conservée).<sup>27</sup>

Ainsi, ces compositions, qu'elles soient attribuables ou non à un auteur déterminé, ont leur origine parmi les élites carolingiennes, à proximité de cet «état major» d'évêques et d'abbés que réunit Louis le Pieux puis Charles le Chauve.<sup>28</sup> L'idéologie impériale, théocratique, unitaire et romaine se reflète tant dans le contenu littéraire de ces *historiae* que dans leur forme, unitaire et homogène (mélodies), ainsi que dans leurs circuits de diffusion: leur circulation passe par les pôles économiques, administratifs et judiciaires que sont alors les basiliques majeures du royaume, les cités épiscopales et les grands monastères.<sup>29</sup>

Modélés sur les offices romains des VII<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles comme ceux de saint Paul, de saint Laurent, des saints Innocents, du commun des Martyrs ou de saint Jean-Baptiste etc., ces *historiae* sont très homogènes sur le plan littéraire et musical: texte en prose très proche de la *passio* ou de la *vita*, repris *in extenso*; récit narratif suivant une progression chronologique; composition des antiennes sur des timbres répétés en «série» dans le *protus* ou le *tetrardus*, versets strictement formulaires pour les répons. Quelques spécificités comme l'influence des tropes ou les versets d'antennes marquent une particularité franque et un ancrage dans le IX<sup>e</sup> siècle avec ses nouveaux genres poétiques dans la liturgie. Par exemple, dans un premier office de saint Quentin, qui a été très rapidement remplacé par un autre à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>30</sup> on remarque à l'évidence le probable modèle de l'antienne *Beatus Laurentius orabat* de l'office romano-franc de saint Laurent (CAO 1643) qui a servi pour l'antienne *Beatus Quintinus orabat* (CAO 1662), véritable *contra factum* (Exemple 1).

<sup>24</sup> Bréviaire du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 85.

<sup>25</sup> GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques*, pp. 217–218.

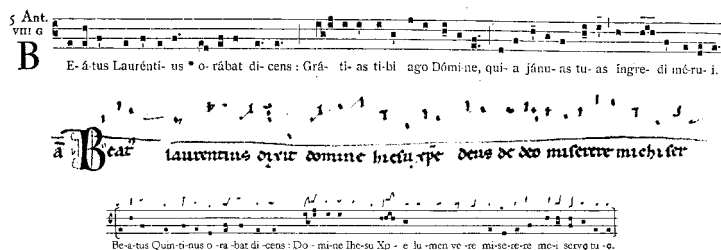
<sup>26</sup> Antienne *Quibus haec orantibus*, BnF lat. 17436, fol. 81. Edition: GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques ou historiae*, p. [19].

<sup>27</sup> Bréviaire de Soissons, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 102, fol. 299–300v.

<sup>28</sup> J.-F. LEMARIGNIER, *La France médiévale: Institutions et société*, Paris, 1970, p. 66.

<sup>29</sup> LEMARIGNIER, *La France médiévale*, p. 71.

<sup>30</sup> LEMARIGNIER, *La France médiévale*, pp. 220–221.



Exemple 1. Antienne *Beatus Laurentius orabat dicens* : d'après l'*Antiphonalium monasticum* (Solesmes), Tournai, 1934, p. 1006; d'après GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques*, p. [70]. Modèle romain : Vatican, Arch. S. Pietro B 79, fol. 146.

De même, dans l'office de saint Remi, l'emprunt d'un type mélodique du huitième mode, fréquent dans les antiennes de l'office de saint Jean-Baptiste, n'est guère étonnant dans la mesure où l'hagiographie de saint Remi revisitée par Hincmar est d'une théologie toute johannique, un des exemples les plus symboliques étant celui de la colombe, qui apparaît lors du baptême de Clovis, en rappel du baptême du Christ par saint Jean.<sup>31</sup> Ainsi l'antienne *Gloriosus cultor* se présente comme une adaptation de l'antienne romano-franque *Iste est qui ante deum* (CAO 3426), qui présente la même mélodie que le possible paradigme romain *Ad omnia que mittam* (Exemple 2).



Exemple 2. Antiennes *Gloriosus cultor orabat dicens* (s. Remi) et *Ad omnia que mittam te* (s. Jean-Baptiste) d'après GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques*, p. [87] (1) ; Vatican, Arch. S. Pietro B 79, fol. 128 (2).

<sup>31</sup> DEVISSE, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims (845–882)*, 2, pp. 1004 et sq. ; F. BAIX, *Les sources liturgiques de la Vita Remigii de Hincmar*, (*Miscellanea Historica in honorem Alberti de Meyer*, 1), Louvain, 1946, pp. 211–227 ; GOUDESSENNE, *La musique de l'ancien office de s. Remi retrouvée*.

Cette homogénéité de facture dans des centres géographiquement éloignés les uns des autres, la diffusion de ces offices basilicaux sur un territoire qui ignore encore les séparations du partage de Verdun de 843,<sup>32</sup> sont à rapprocher par exemple du plan basilical hérité de l'époque paléochrétienne et du plan octogonal, qui concourent à une relative uniformité de l'architecture carolingienne, par opposition à la plus grande diversité dans l'art roman (Figure 2). L'uniformité et la diffusion à grande échelle trouve sa comparaison dans l'unité et la grandeur d'un Empire sous Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux, suivi d'un lent déclin, consécutif au partage de Verdun (843). L'unité de cette typologie n'est pas propre à la *Belgica secunda*, mais se retrouve dans d'autres compositions antérieures ou contemporaines: offices de saint Martin, de saint Maurice d'Agaune. Les échanges de répertoires dépassent déjà largement à cette époque « pionnière » le cadre de la province ecclésiastique, comme le montre cet office des saints Gervais et Protas qui se retrouve de part et d'autre des Alpes, à Soissons, Arras, Amiens, Reims, Ravenne, Piacenza et Benevento, mais aussi d'autres offices carolingiens, composés dans les grandes basiliques de l'Empire (Figure 3). C'est bien le cadre impérial et non seulement l'unité provinciale qui permet de comprendre et d'expliquer la diffusion de ces répertoires de l'office.

#### LA RENAISSANCE SOUS CHARLES LE CHAUVÉ: HUCBALD ET ÉTIENNE DE LIÈGE (850–930)

Le milieu du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle s'impose aux historiens, liturgistes et musicologues comme une étape capitale dans le haut Moyen Âge.<sup>33</sup> Suivant l'apogée carolingienne, notamment celle du règne de Louis le Pieux, elle accompagne le déclin politique et matériel aggravé par les invasions normandes, la renaissance culturelle autour de Charles le Chauve et enfin, elle correspond à l'émergence de cet art pré-roman, d'une extrême inventivité.<sup>34</sup> C'est durant cette même période que s'élaborent de nouveaux procédés de composition musicale et que l'*historia* revêt un nouveau profil esthétique tant sur le plan musical que littéraire. A ce titre on peut parler d'une période « primitive », qui précède l'avènement de l'office rythmique du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, à l'instar de ce qu'un Panofsky a établi pour les « primitifs » flamands ou italiens en histoire de l'art.

Il n'est pas étonnant alors de constater que les compositions les plus marquantes de cette période émanent de centres intellectuels et de brillantes écoles fortement

<sup>32</sup> R. McKITTERICK, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987*, London – New York, 5<sup>e</sup> éd., 1993, pp. 374–375.

<sup>33</sup> L. HALPHEN, *Charlemagne et l'Empire carolingien*, Paris, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., 1968 ; R. CROCKER et D. HILEY, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, dans *The New Oxford History of Music*, 2, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., Oxford, 1990, pp. 225 et sq.

<sup>34</sup> R. McKITTERICK éd., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, Cambridge, 1994 ; R. McKITTERICK, *Manuscripts and Scriptoria in the Reign of Charles the Bald (840–877)*, in *Giovanni Scoto nel suo tempo: l'organizzazione del sapere in età carolingia*, (Atti del XXIV Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 11–14 ottobre 1987), Spoleto, 1989, pp. 201–234.

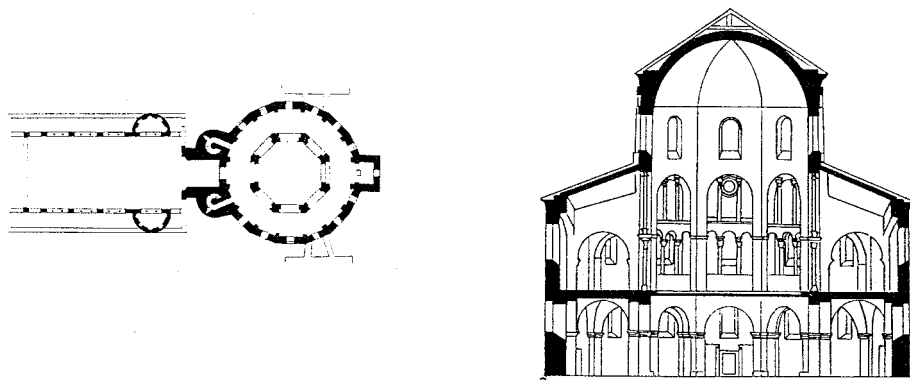


Figure 2. Plan basilical et octogonal d'Aix-la-Chapelle. (D'après *La grammaire des formes et des styles : le monde chrétien*, Fribourg, 1982, p. 109).

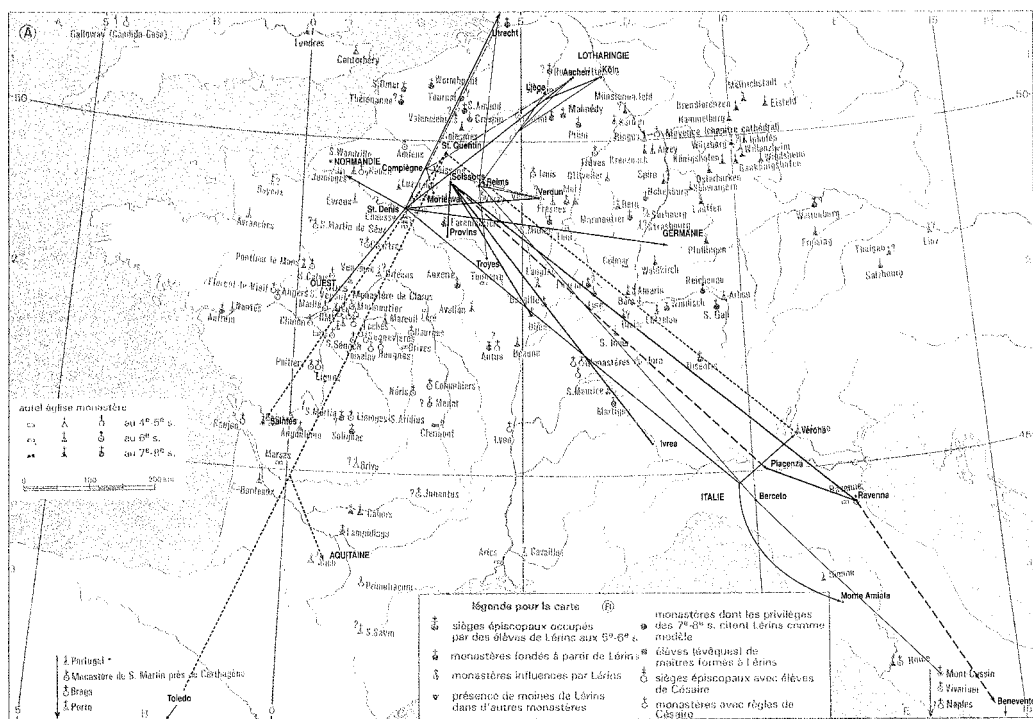


Figure 3. Carte de la diffusion des offices basilicaux carolingiens d'après GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques*, carte 2 (hors-texte).



favorisées par le pouvoir royal puis impérial. Les historiens soulignent d'ailleurs pour cette fin de la dynastie carolingienne, une véritable mainmise du pouvoir sur les églises, qui sont en quelque sorte annexées au patrimoine royal, tant sur le plan spirituel que matériel...<sup>35</sup> Elnone (Saint-Amand) avec l'écolâtre Milon, puis son neveu Hucbald est, avec la théorie musicale, un des grands foyers de composition d'*historiae* (Cyr et Julitte, Amand) ;<sup>36</sup> Reims, après l'épiscopat du « très carolingien Hincmar », avec son école cathédrale et ses nombreux monastères (Saint-Thierry, Saint-Remi, Saint-Nicaise...) qui reste jusqu'à l'avènement des capétiens un bastion symbolique du pouvoir impérial et carolingien,<sup>37</sup> n'atteint vraiment son apogée que dans la seconde moitié du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, suivie par Arras, puis Cambrai. Plusieurs *historiae* en émanent, celle de saint Nicaise et celles attribuables au fameux Hucbald (Cyr et Julitte, Thierry, l'*Historia sancti Petri*). Arras, dont l'abbaye Saint-Vaast fut dirigée par Charles le Chauve lui-même de 855 à 869 s'illustre par plusieurs compositions (relation de saint Vaast, Léger).<sup>38</sup> Enfin, Noyon, une des cités des sacres royaux, avec le culte de saint Eloi, tient une place de renom à cette époque.<sup>39</sup>

Un vestige des plus importants de cette nouvelle renaissance carolingienne est la consignation par écrit des répertoires de la messe et de l'office dans le *Compendiensis*, un des plus prestigieux témoins de la liturgie romano-franque, que Dom Froger puis Michel Huglo ont attribué au scriptorium de Saint-Médard de Soissons et daté des environs de 877.<sup>40</sup> Il est fortement redevable d'une part au contexte théocratique unissant la liturgie « publique » et la religiosité au pouvoir impérial et d'autre part, à la dévotion personnelle du nouvel Auguste. C'est grâce à ce manuscrit que l'on peut avoir une connaissance précise des répertoires ayant cours en Gaule septentrionale et évaluer le degré de romanisation de la liturgie à cette époque.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>35</sup> L. THEIS, *L'Héritage des Charles*, Seuil, 1990, p. 160.

<sup>36</sup> Y. CHARTIER, *L'Œuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand: les compositions et le traité de musique*, (Cahiers d'Études Médiévales, cahier spécial n° 5), Montréal – Paris, 1995 ; Y. CHARTIER, *Clavis operum Hucbaldi Elnonensis: Bibliographie des œuvres d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand*, dans *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 5 (1995).

<sup>37</sup> M. SOT, *Un historien et son Eglise au X<sup>e</sup> siècle: Flodoard de Reims*, Paris, 1993, 507 et sq. ; R. McKITTRICK, *The Carolingian Kings and the See of Rheims (883–987)*, dans P. WORMALD, D. BULLOUGH, R. COLLINS éd., *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, Oxford, 1983, pp. 228–249.

<sup>38</sup> A. CARDEVACQUE et A. TERNINCK, *Saint-Vaast: monographie historique, archéologique et littéraire de ce monastère*, Arras, 1865, pp. 66–73.

<sup>39</sup> Nous renvoyons à notre ouvrage, GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques ou historiae*, plus particulièrement au développement sur le rayonnement géographique des offices, pp. 266 et sq.

<sup>40</sup> Dom J. FROGER, *Le lieu de destination et de provenance du « Compendiensis »*, (*Ut mens concordet voci. Festschrift Eugène Cardine zum 75. Geburtstag*), Sankt Ottilien, 1980, pp. 338–353 ; HUGLO, *Observations codicologiques*, pp. 117–130 ; R. JACOBSSON, *The Antiphoner of Compiègne*, dans M.E. FASSLER et R.A. BALTZER éd., *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 147–152.

<sup>41</sup> E. PALAZZO, *Histoire des livres liturgiques: le Moyen-Âge, des origines au XIII<sup>e</sup> s.*, Paris, 1993.

Une des innovations majeures de cette période historique est la versification des textes, élément extrêmement important, qui a fait l'objet du livre de Ritva Jonsson.<sup>42</sup> Cette écriture versifiée qui apparaît dans une tradition plutôt illustrée par la prose et la prose rimée au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle est probablement à l'origine de la disparition progressive des matériaux mélodiques traditionnels et de l'émergence de nouvelles formules mélodiques, tant pour les timbres d'antennes que pour les répons et leurs versets.<sup>43</sup> Mais cette mutation, qui coïncide également avec l'émergence des séquences et des proses vers 800–850, est beaucoup plus complexe dans l'interaction entre texte et musique ; il reste difficile de décrire ce phénomène par un schéma simple, unique : le recours à des matériaux mélodiques nouveaux ne s'explique peut-être pas seulement par l'écriture versifiée des textes.

Autre évolution importante : la modalité, tant pour la composition même des mélodies que la répartition des modes dans les cycles d'antennes et de répons d'un office. Dans plusieurs offices d'Hucbald (Cyr et Julitte, *historia sancti Petri*, Thierry) composés vers 900 ainsi que dans les offices attribués par Antoine Auda à Etienne de Liège (Invention de saint Etienne, Trinité et saint Lambert),<sup>44</sup> antérieurs à 920, se systématise l'ordonnance numérique des modes dans les cycles d'antennes et de répons. C'est un procédé nouveau qui est néanmoins le résultat d'une évolution de la modalité depuis les théories de l'octoechos promues avec l'ère carolingienne (fin VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle).<sup>45</sup> Parallèlement à ce procédé apparaissent de nouveaux matériaux mélodiques, de nouveaux standards dans des modes qui jusqu'alors n'étaient pas souvent utilisés (V, VI). Il s'agit d'une période extrêmement créative dans laquelle coexistent tant sur le plan littéraire que musical, de nombreux styles compositionnels, qui seront restreints, systématisés et uniformisés par la suite.

Exemple très représentatif de cette période, l'antienne *Magna vox* (Figure 4) qu'Antoine Auda avait attribuée à Etienne de Liège<sup>46</sup> et que l'on trouve affectée à l'office de saint Lambert dès le X<sup>e</sup> siècle (Bruxelles Bibliothèque royale 14650–14659, X<sup>e</sup> siècle,<sup>47</sup> fol. 37–39 [ancienne foliotation 117–119], pl. 1 ; Liège, Antiphonaire de

<sup>42</sup> JONSSON, *Historia: études sur la genèse des offices versifiés*, pp. 54–63 (à propos de l'office de saint Médard).

<sup>43</sup> R. CROCKER et D. HILEY, *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, (New Oxford History of Music, 2), Oxford, 1990, pp. 170 et 225 (nouvelles formes musicales à partir de 850).

<sup>44</sup> A. AUDA, *L'Ecole musicale liégeoise au X<sup>e</sup> siècle: Etienne de Liège*, (Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des beaux-arts. Mémoires. Collection, 2e série, 2/1), Bruxelles, 1923.

<sup>45</sup> A. HUGHES, *Modal Order and Disorder in the Rhymed Office*, dans *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), (*Festschrift for Annen Carapetyan*), pp. 29–51 ; J.-F. GOUDESENNE, *Nouvelles perspectives sur le rôle des abbayes de Saint-Amand, de Saint-Thierry de Reims et d'Hucbald dans l'ordonnement régulier des modes dans la composition musicale (850–900)*, dans *Etudes grégoriennes*, 30 (2002), pp. 127–152.

<sup>46</sup> AUDA, *L'Ecole musicale liégeoise au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 122 et sq.

<sup>47</sup> F. MASAI et J. GILISSEN, *Lectionarium Sancti Lamberti Leodiensis tempore Stephani episcopi paratum (901–920)*, (*Umbrae Codicum Occidentalicum*, 8), édition fac-simile, Amsterdam, 1963.

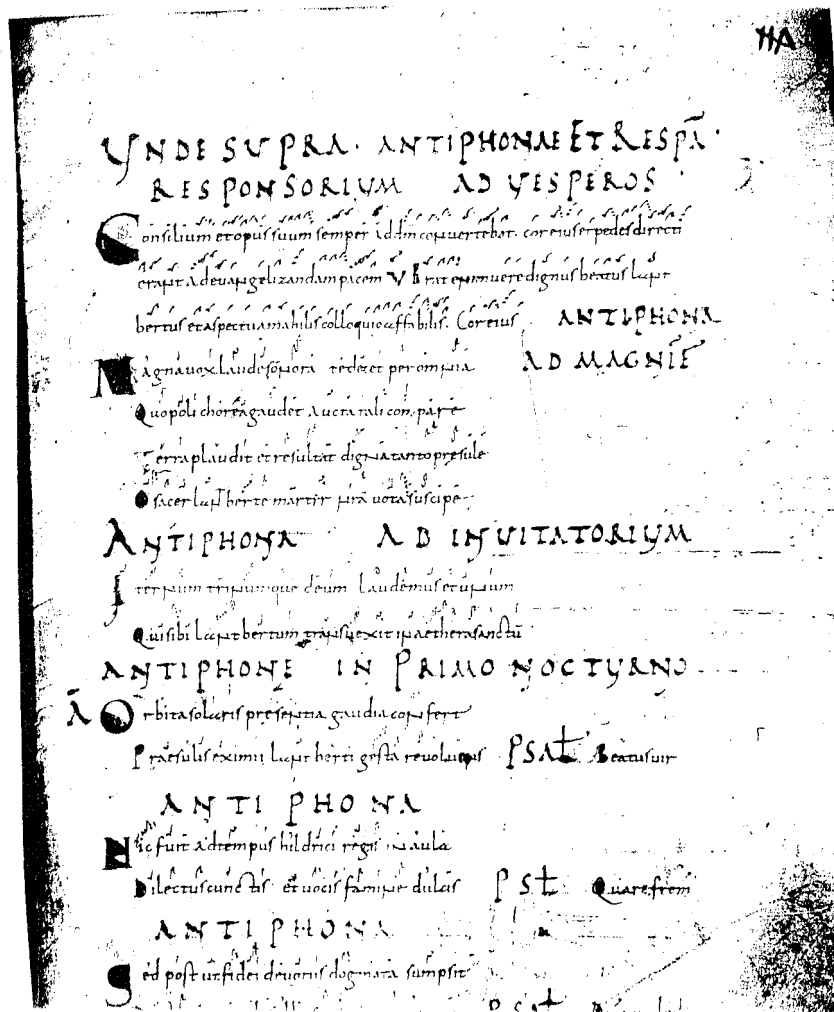


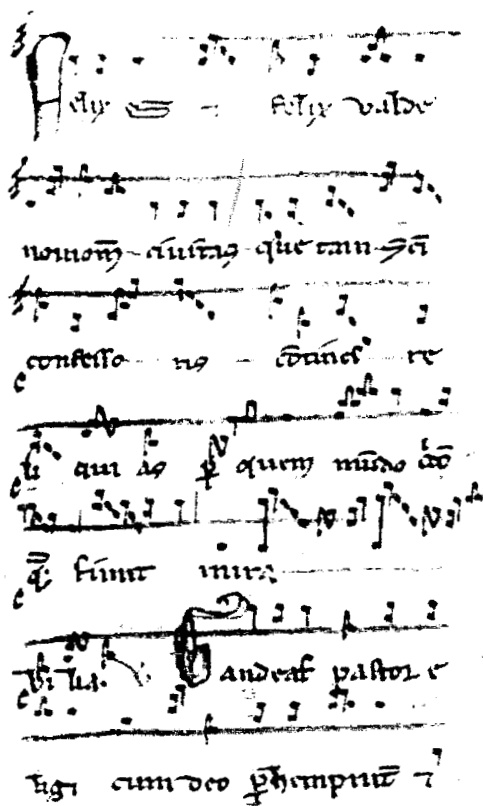
Figure 4. Antienne *Magna vox*.

la Paroisse Sainte-Croix, ms. 2, XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, fol. 188–194v).<sup>48</sup> On la retrouve dans certains témoins de l'office de saint Remi et à Reims et à Châlons à partir du XII<sup>e</sup> et au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (BnF lat. 1913A, fol. de garde initial, recueil de Saint-Thierry de Reims IX<sup>e</sup> siècle [addition du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle] ; BnF lat. 1269, fol. 360v ; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 595, fol. 272). Cette antienne rimée composée de quatre vers trochaïques rythmiques (8p+7pp) particulièrement utilisés aux X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles<sup>49</sup> – comme de

<sup>48</sup> J. VAN DEN GHEYEN, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 5, Bruxelles, 1905, pp. 241–242 (n° 3236).

<sup>49</sup> D. NORBERG, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Stockholm, 1958, pp. 73 et sq.

nombreuses antiennes *ad evangelium* elle se rapproche quelque peu de l'hymne – présente une diffusion géographique qui souligne à l'évidence un échange de répertoires entre Liège et Reims.<sup>50</sup> Cette exportation de répertoires ne pourrait-elle pas d'ailleurs expliquer le recours à des *notatores* provenant de différentes régions dans ce recueil hagiographique?<sup>51</sup> Quant à ce répons de saint Eloi *Felix es et felix valde Noviomensis civitas* (Vatican, Vat. Lat. 4756, fol. 229v), il ne se trouve pas dans l'office principal mais concernerait plus volontiers une addition, dans laquelle la reine Balhilde vient jouer un rôle important, conformément à l'épisode des funérailles d'Eloi, relaté par un Pseudo-Ouen – en fait un clerc de Noyon – au chapitre 36 du second livre de la *Vita Elegii* (BHL 2474). Outre l'évocation poliade du culte du saint, on trouve des matériaux thématiques affranchis des formules standards du vieux-fonds romano-franc pour une mélodie en deuxième mode qui n'est pas sans évoquer des compositions gallicanes du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle (Exemple 3).<sup>52</sup>



Exemple 3. Répons *Felix es* (saint Eloi), d'après Vatican, Vat. lat. 4756, fol. 229v.

<sup>50</sup> On ne connaît pas d'autre témoin qui affecte cette antienne à un autre office que celui de saint Lambert, notamment d'après la *Cantus Database*, qui donne quatre sources autrichiennes (Graz, Klosterneuburg, Linz, Sankt-Florian), deux néerlandaises (Utrecht, Zutphen) et deux antiphonaires de Cambrai et Rouen (Jumièges) ; v. *Cantus Index* à l'adresse <<http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus>>.

<sup>51</sup> AUDA, *L'Ecole musicale liégeoise au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 152–163.

<sup>52</sup> M. HUGLO, art. *Gallican Rite, Music of the*, dans *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Londres, 2001, 7, pp. 113–125 ; M. HUGLO et O. CULLIN, *Gallikanischer Gesang*, dans L. FINSCHER éd., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Sachteil*, 3, Kassel – Basel, 1995, col. 998–1027.

L’AFFIRMATION DES CITÉS ET LA MULTIPLICATION DES *HISTORIAE* LOCALES (930–1030)

Alors que jusqu’au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle le corpus d’offices reste relativement limité et homogène, on assiste aux X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles à un accroissement significatif de la composition de nouveaux offices: on ne compte pas moins d’une vingtaine de nouvelles *historiae* dans la province.<sup>53</sup> Dans le diocèse de Liège, rattaché à la Province de Cologne, la production d’offices fut tout aussi sinon plus importante encore et elle laisse davantage de noms de compositeurs: Gislebert et Wazelin de Saint-Laurent, Lambert de Deutz, Olbert de Lobbes, Sigebert de Gembloux, Rodulphe de Saint-Trond etc.<sup>54</sup>

Plusieurs raisons permettent d’expliquer cet état des choses. La première, bien étudiée par Pierre Riché, Martin Heinzelmänn et d’autres, le nombre de déplacements de reliques consécutif aux fameuses invasions normandes dans la seconde moitié du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle et au siècle suivant. Une multitude de récits d’inventions, à l’origine de la création de nouveaux répertoires pour les besoins d’un culte qui accompagne la reconstruction des églises apparaît alors.<sup>55</sup> Dans la province, les offices composés à l’occasion d’une translation, d’une relation ou encore d’une invention sont nombreux et concernent aussi bien des saints qui ont déjà un office principal que des saints « nouveaux » qui n’ont pas encore d’*historia* spécifique: Fuscien, Victorin et Gentien (Corbie ou Laon), Vaast (Beauvais–Arras), Firmin (Amiens). C’est durant cette même période que les monastères, la plupart fondés aux VII<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles, font de leur fondateur un saint patron pour lequel ils changent les vocables de leurs églises aux IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles: *Blandinium* devient Saint-Pierre de Gand, *Elnone* Saint-Amand, *Nobilicum* Saint-Vaast d’Arras, *Sithiu* Saint-Bertin etc.<sup>56</sup>

Pour les cathédrales, la quête d’apostolicité pour des évêques considérés comme fondateurs se situe entre la réforme apportée par Hilduin et ses successeurs à Saint-Denis vers 830,<sup>57</sup> et la restauration du culte de saint Saturnin par les évêques d’Auch et de Toulouse au X<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>58</sup> En tous cas, elle est bien antérieure au mouvement lancé

<sup>53</sup> Nous ne disposons pas encore de liste exhaustive et renvoyons à notre thèse (J.-F. GOUDESSENNE, *Les offices historiques ou «historiae» composés pour les fêtes des saints du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècles dans la Province ecclésiastique de Reims*, thèse de doctorat en musicologie, sous la direction de M.-N. Colette et de J.-M. Vaccaro, Groupe de formation doctorale « musique & musicologie », Université François Rabelais de Tours, décembre 1996), qu’on pourra compléter par le *LMLO* d’Andrew Hughes: A. HUGHES, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for Electronic Research*, Toronto, 1994.

<sup>54</sup> R. WANGERMÉE & PH. MERCIER dir., *La musique en Wallonie et à Bruxelles*, 1 (des origines au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle), Bruxelles, 1980, pp. 26–30 (les offices rythmiques à Liège).

<sup>55</sup> M. HEINZELMANN, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 33), Turnhout, 1979.

<sup>56</sup> E. DE MOREAU, *Histoire de l’Eglise en Belgique des origines au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bruxelles, 1940.

<sup>57</sup> GOUDESSENNE, *L’office romano-franc de s. Denis*.

<sup>58</sup> A.-V. GILLES, *L’évolution de l’hagiographie de saint Saturnin de Toulouse et son influence sur la liturgie*, dans *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 17 (1982), p. 372 et sq.

par Adhémar de Chabannes à Saint-Martial de Limoges vers 1020,<sup>59</sup> avant la réforme grégorienne. Elle donne l'occasion pour certains évêchés de rehausser leur prestige et d'affirmer leur pouvoir par ces prétendues origines apostoliques. Par exemple Lucien à Beauvais, Géry à Cambrai, Nicaise à Reims qui est historiquement antérieur à Remi (on va rechercher des saints plus anciens que ceux déjà vénérés). A Amiens, d'autres homonymes reçoivent un office propre, tel Firmin le confesseur, « successeur » du martyr au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>60</sup> Plusieurs cathédrales élaborent ainsi sur le plan des répertoires liturgiques une « dynastie » épiscopale. Un véritable réseau de cathédrales répartit désormais sur la plupart des points forts des voies romaines des cultes pourvus d'une *historia*: Amiens (Firmin confesseur), Beauvais (Lucien, Just), Tournai, Cambrai (Géry, Aubert), Tournai (Eleuthère) (voir Annexe 1).

Enfin, les réformes monastiques en Flandre et en Artois au X<sup>e</sup> siècle renouvellent la vie religieuse dans la Province et concourent ainsi au renouvellement des cultes et à l'émergence de nouveaux répertoires. Par exemple, les comtes de Flandres favorisent largement les cultes de saint Winoc et saint Oswald ;<sup>61</sup> de même pour le Hainaut, Gérard de Brogne († 959) avec le groupe de saints qui gravite autour des saintes femmes Gertrude et Rictrude (Mauront, Eusébie, Aldegonde)<sup>62</sup> et les saints de Gand comme Bavon, dont une translation de 946 semble être à l'origine de la composition d'un office, le plus ancien de la cité.<sup>63</sup> Cette floraison d'*historiae* qui n'a encore rien à voir avec la réforme grégorienne et l'essor des collégiales au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ne fait que confirmer que la part essentielle du sanctoral a été élaborée et stabilisée avant l'an mil.

Dans un tel contexte de développement des offices locaux, les mentions des *civitates* ou des localités de vénération des saints sont de plus en plus nombreuses dans les textes des *historiae*. Elles proviennent de récits d'invention ou de miracles, très circonstanciés – les hagiographes précisent toujours actions, personnes et lieux – ou de leur réécritures poétiques, qui n'hésite pas parfois à exalter la *civitas* ou le lieu de culte (voir Annexe 1).

<sup>59</sup> D. HILEY, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford, 1993, p. 599 (*Aquitaine and St Martial at Limoges*) ; J. GRIER, *Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy for the Feast of St Martial*, dans *Plainsong & Medieval Music*, 6/2 (1997), pp. 97 et sq.

<sup>60</sup> J. CORBLET, *Hagiographie du diocèse d'Amiens*, Paris – Amiens, 1868–1875, 2, pp. 189–216 ; BAUDOT et CHAUSSIN, *La vie des saints et bienheureux selon l'ordre du calendrier avec l'histoire des fêtes*, Paris, 1935–1956, 25 septembre.

<sup>61</sup> A. HODŮM, *La réforme monastique d'Arnould le Grand, comte de Flandre*, dans *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, 18/350 (1957), pp. 577–603.

<sup>62</sup> H. PLATELLE, *L'œuvre de saint Gérard de Brogne à Saint-Amand*, dans *Revue Bénédictine*, 70 (1960), pp. 127–141 ; D. MISONNE, *Gérard de Brogne à Saint-Remy de Reims*, dans *Revue Bénédictine*, 70 (1960), pp. 167–176 ; D. MISONNE, *Gérard de Brogne et sa dévotion aux reliques*, dans *Sacris Erudiri*, 25 (1982), pp. 1–26.

<sup>63</sup> B. HAGGH, *Musique et rituel à l'abbaye Saint-Bavon: structure et développement du rituel, le chant, les livres du rite et les imprimés*, dans B. BOUCKAERT dir., *La cathédrale Saint-Bavon de Gand du Moyen Age au baroque*, Gand – Amsterdam, 2001, pp. 54 et 61.

Cette insistance sur le nom des *pagi* des *civitates* ou la mention des autorités civiles ou politiques comme les comtes, même s'ils remontent à l'époque mérovingienne (Ardoald, Walbert pour Omer et Bertin ; Ebroïn pour Lambert etc.), est comparable à l'affirmation de l'unité princière, du pouvoir local, notamment dans les introductions des cartulaires que l'on appelle également *historiae*.<sup>64</sup> En effet, les textes des *historiae* comme leurs hypotextes hagiographiques, se font échos de la citation de nombreux termes géographiques, qui viennent mettre à l'honneur les cités et les peuples, renouant avec la tradition antique des cultes poliades (voir Annexe 2). C'est également durant cette période où se manifestent tant d'inventions de reliques que se développe une nouvelle typologie de livre: le *libellus* hagiographique avec office noté.<sup>65</sup>

Sur le plan esthétique, à l'homogénéité du corpus carolingien des VIII<sup>e</sup> et IX<sup>e</sup> siècles, s'oppose ici une beaucoup plus grande diversité dans les procédés de composition littéraire et musicale, que l'on peut mettre en parallèle avec l'évolution politique et institutionnelle de l'empire carolingien, qui passe d'un ensemble unifié à un morcellement territorial en principautés ou en comtés, préfigurant l'ordre féodal du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La diversité du style littéraire ou mélodique est d'autant plus accrue que le principe d'ordonnance numérique régulière des modes devient systématique dans la plupart des *historiae*, à quelques exceptions près. Le répons pour l'invention de saint Firmin *Morinum et Cameracum*, affranchi des formules standard du vieux-fonds et des cordes de récitation est pourvu d'une mélodie en huitième mode qui se déploie sur l'octave (g1-g2) avec une prédilection pour le tétracorde aigu (d2-g2) (Exemple 4). Il reprend le récit fabuleux de l'invention par l'évêque d'Amiens saint Saulve (*BHL* 3008),<sup>66</sup> dans lequel l'odeur suave qui s'échappe du tombeau retrouvé de Firmin se répand jusque dans le Vermandois, le Cambrésis et l'Artois! Cette mise au premier plan des cités épiscopales de Thérouanne, Cambrai, Noyon et Beauvais, au-delà du fabuleux, illustre les liens qui unissent les cathédrales d'une même région ; il n'est pas étonnant alors de retrouver l'office de l'invention de saint Firmin dans certains de ces mêmes lieux.<sup>67</sup> Le répons *Felix civitas Cameracensium* de l'office de saint Géry (Exemple 5) quant à lui est beaucoup plus proche du vieux-fonds, avec un verset formulaire. Il ne semble pas issu d'un texte hagiographique mais se présente davantage comme un pastiche d'un répons du commun *Per beatum* (CAO 7373), dans lequel on a renforcé le caractère local en recourant à la rhétorique des cultes poliades.

<sup>64</sup> MUSSOT-GOULARD, *La France carolingienne, (Que sais-je?)*, Paris, 1988, p. 73.

<sup>65</sup> HAGGH, *Musique et rituel à l'abbaye Saint-Bavon*, p. 61 ; v. également M. HUGLO, *Les livres de chant liturgique, (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, 52)*, Turnhout, 1988, pp. 70–74.

<sup>66</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, 25 septembre, 31 ; Ch. SALMON, *Histoire de saint Firmin*, Arras – Amiens, 1861, pp. 423–428.

<sup>67</sup> Notamment dans l'antiphonaire de Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale 38, fol. 412–416, v. B. HAGGH, *Two Cambrai Antiphoners: Cambrai, médiathèque municipale 38 and Impr. XVI C 4 (a Cantus index)*, Ottawa, 1995.

Quant à l'antienne assonancée de l'office de saint Winoc, *Adesto Trinitas alma* (Exemple 6), elle s'apparente beaucoup plus à l'hymne, genre dans lequel les sentiments d'exaltation patriotique sont monnaie courante: ... *ergo gaudeat Britannia / tripudiet de patre Flandria*... Ainsi ces deux mentions de la Bretagne – insulaire ou armoricaine, région d'origine du saint – et de la Flandre, lieu d'élection de cet abbé de Wormhout,<sup>68</sup> siégeant sur les terres de ce qui deviendra un plus prestigieux comtés de la Gaule septentrionale.

M

o - ri- num et Ca - me - ra-cum No-vio-ni- um et Bel- va - cur

sic replet hec su - a - vi-tas o - do -ris et a - me- ni- tas

Ut pro- be - tur mi-ra - - cu - lum

V. Hiis di-vi - ni-tus cre-du- li per-gunt hinc vi-te

po-pu-li si-mul ad sanc-ti tu-mu-lum

Exemple 4. Répons *Morinum et Cameracum* (saint Firmin), d'après Amiens, Archives départementales de la Somme, G 2976, fol. 72.

<sup>68</sup> Abbé C. DE CROOCQ, *Un saint de la Flandre française: s. Winoc, abbé de Wormhout, patron de Bergues (640–717)*, (Annales du Comité Flamand de France, 44), Lille, 1944, pp. 27 et sq.



CA 4, 308v

Fe - lix ci - vi - tas Ca - me - ra - cen - si - um fe - li - cis pa - tris Gau - ge - ri - ci

di - em re - co - lens an - nu - e fes - ti - vi - ta - tis cu - ius sa - cra me - mo - ri - a

\*Et de - mo - num in - cur - si - o - nes ab e - a fu - gan - tur et e - i spi - ri - tus

sanc - ti pro - pi - ti - a - ti - o con - do - na - tur.

Exemple 5. Répons *Felix civitas Cameracensium* (saint Géry), d'après Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 46, fol. 308v.

A - des - to Tri - ni - tas al - ma tu - i Win - no - ci re - co - len - ti - bus me - ri - ta

cu - ius mu - ne - ris est quod o - ran - te fa - mu - lo mo - la absque ma - nu ver - ti - tur

ce - ca - tus spe - cu - la - tor lu - ci red - di - tur se - pulcri lo - cus inter ignes non a - du ri - tur

clau - dus va - dit conquis - sa - tus surgit de pro - le et - go gau - de - at Bri - tan - ni - a

tri - pu - di - et de pa - tre Flan - dri - a ex - ul - tet u - na u - ni - ver - sa - lis Eccle - si - a.

al - le - lu - ia, al - le - lu - ia.

Exemple 6. Antienne *Adesto Trinitas alma* (saint Winoc), d'après Bergues, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 19, fol. 69.

## CONCLUSION

Le modèle basilical auquel continuent de se référer les architectes carolingiens, tout comme la romanisation de la liturgie poursuivie par Charlemagne et Louis le Pieux sont les symboles qui accompagnent la centralisation du pouvoir impérial sur les royaumes francs. Sur le plan des répertoires de l'office, plus particulièrement du sanctoral, un phénomène analogue se produit dans une adaptation des textes hagiographiques locaux sur les standards de l'office vieux-romain, générant une création dite « romano-franque » et une typologie unifiée que représente l'office basilical. Durant cette période, de 750 à 850, la création de ces répertoires suit le réseau des grands monastères des royaumes Francs et des basiliques de pèlerinage. Hilduin, abbé laïc et haut dignitaire de l'Empire, est un remarquable exemple d'hagiographe et de compositeur, dont l'activité ne cadre pas tant avec la province ecclésiastique de Reims, qu'avec les lieux du pouvoir carolingien, entre la Cour palatine d'Aix-la-Chapelle et un monastère royal comme Saint-Denis ou Saint-Médard de Soissons.

A la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle Hucbald, par son activité d'hagiographe, d'écolâtre et de compositeur, souligne davantage une unité provinciale: Saint-Amand (Elnone), les monastères du Hainaut (Marchiennes, Maubeuge), Saint-Bertin (Sithiu) et Reims. On constate que c'est dans cette métropole que son œuvre de compositeur d'offices connaît la diffusion la plus importante, avec l'*historia sancti Petri*, une œuvre dont la romanité vient démontrer l'importance politique de la métropole dans l'église des Gaules.<sup>69</sup> Comme Metz à la même époque ou Liège, où seront composés par l'évêque Etienne deux autres *historiae* les plus célèbres, l'office de l'invention de saint Etienne et celui de la Trinité. Un siècle plus tôt, l'abbé Angilbert et Alcuin, pourtant prestigieux, n'ont pas réussi à faire de l'office de saint Riquier, au rayonnement exclusivement local, une œuvre pérenne.<sup>70</sup> Il s'en est fallu de peu pour les offices de saint Thierry et de saint Cyr d'Hucbald ne soient pas conservés avec leur musique. La célébrité d'un auteur est finalement autant redevable à la stature de la communauté ecclésiastique pour laquelle il compose qu'à sa propre renommée individuelle...

Après le déclin politique carolingien, Etienne et Hucbald sont les chantres d'un renouveau qui accompagne la reconstruction du paysage religieux et prélude aux réformes monastiques et à l'avènement de l'art roman. Vers l'an mil, même si le corps des saints continue de cristalliser les dévotions au début de la société féodale, l'éclatement territorial en comtés et principautés aura également son parallèle dans

<sup>69</sup> M. SOT, *Un historien et son Eglise au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, op. cit., chap. l'équipement culturel de Reims, pp. 56–82.

<sup>70</sup> Abbé HÉNOQUE, *Histoire de l'abbaye et de la ville de Saint-Riquier*, (Mémoire de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 9), Amiens, 1880 ; M. HUGLO, *Les tonaires: inventaire, analyse, comparaison*, Paris, 1971.

la répartition des répertoires et de leurs auteurs, avec la multiplication des initiatives isolées, répondant aux nécessités d'un culte essentiellement local qui, à l'exception de Germain, abbé de Bergues et l'hagiographe compositeur Drogon, laisseront des *historiae* anonymes, qui se verront attribuées tantôt à un Pseudo-Fulbert de Chartres, tantôt à un Pseudo-Hucbald, mais qui par leurs caractéristiques littéraires et musicales, reflètent plutôt l'œuvre de modestes auteurs-compositeurs de communautés monastiques, d'écoles cathédrales ou collégiales.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Remerciements à Michel Sot (Université de Paris X) pour la relecture et les conseils.

**ANNEXE 1. SANCTORAL DES ÉGLISES IMPORTANTES DES PROVINCES DE « BELGIQUE ».**

	AACHEN	UTRECHT	LIÈGE	BRUGES	GAND	TOURNAI	NOYON	ARRAS- CAMBRAI	REIMS
<b>750– 850</b>	Corneille... Pantaléon Denis	Barthélémy Corneille... Denis Maurice Martin, trsl.	Maurice Denis Barthélémy	Denis ?		Denis	Quentin I Denis	Denis	Gervais... Denis
<b>850– 930</b>	Servais Remi	Lambert Remi	Ste-Trinité Etienne, inv. Lambert Remi	Eloi	Bavon I	Eloi Quentin II Nicaise	Eloi Quentin II Nicaise	Vaast Géry	Remi Célinie
<b>930–</b>		Willibrord Géréron ... Elizabeth	Barbe 11000 vrg Gertrude Marthe	Maxime	Bavon II Landoald Landrade Macaire Pharaïlde Liévin	Gertrude Eleuthère Bertin Lambert Marthe Elizabeth	Fuscien... Quentin III	Léger Aubert	Timothée... Nicaise

**ANNEXE 2. MENTIONS GÉOGRAPHIQUES ET ONOMASTIQUES DANS LES OFFICES.**

Nous distinguons par un astérisque (\*) les citations de lieux repris à partir des textes hagiographiques, des mentions nouvelles, non issues de l'hagiographie, mais de caractère poétique.

SAINT	CITÉ	CHANT
Corneille & Cyprien II	Afrique	R. 9 <i>Ne lucerna Cyprianus*</i>
Firmin I	Amiens	R. 4 <i>Post domini Ihesu</i> R. 8 <i>Ingressus beatus Firminus</i>
Firmin I invention	Amiens	<i>Plebs Ambianica ; Letetur clerus ; Sed ditata ;</i> <i>Tam sacrum misterium ; Ambianis circumquaque ;</i> R. <i>Letetur clerus ; R. Vir sanctus Amb.</i>
Just	Amiens	R. 3 <i>Hic quoque adhuc</i> R. 5 <i>Iustus gloriosus puer</i>
Quentin III	Amiens	A. <i>Sidus raptum sub*</i>
Oswald	Angleterre Northumbrie Ecosse	A. <i>Gloriose rex Oswalde ; Oswaldum puerum ;</i> <i>Nobilitate natum ; Ad fundamentum ;</i> R. <i>Igitur rex Osw. ; Eltfrido patre ; ...</i>
Vaast	Arras	10 <i>Atrebatum urbi ; 42 Predicator pius*</i> R. 1 <i>Doctor eximius A. ; R. 7 Praedicator egregius</i>
Léger	Autun	<i>Divino ergo nutu ; R. Aeduarum cives</i>

Firmin I	Beauvais	R. 7 <i>Firminus enim pontifex</i>
Vaast II	Beauvais	A. 5 <i>Deportata Bellovagus</i> *
Firmin I invention	Beauvais- Thérouanne- Cambrai- Noyon	<i>Belvacum nec Cameracum</i> ; R. <i>Morinum et Cameracum</i>
Oswald	Breton	A. <i>Herbida terra viret</i> *
Winoc	Britannia	A. <i>Adesto Trinitas alma</i> *
Aubert	Cambrai	6 <i>Divina igitur</i> * ; A. 16 <i>Dum beatus A.</i> *
Géry	Cambrai	R. 8 <i>Felix civitas Cameracensium</i> *
Winoc	Flandria	A. <i>Adesto Trinitas alma</i> *
Célinie	France	A. 15 <i>In huius igitur partu</i>
Léger	Francie	A. <i>Cumque pax</i> *
Nicaise	Gaules	A. 3 <i>In sectatione</i>
Gervais & Protais	Milan Ambroise	
Thierry	Mont Hor	A. 15 <i>Ad elevandas</i>
Eloi (addit.)	Noyon	
Omer	Noyon	R. <i>Vir dei Audomarus</i>
Nicaise	Reims	A. 18 <i>Prepollens Christi</i>
Remi	Reims	
Vaast	Reims	A. <i>Vedastus ergo venerabilis</i>
Maxime	Riez (rien sur Thérouanne)	R. 3 <i>Presul non sponte</i>
Crépin & Crépinien	Rome et les Gaules	
Léger	Rome-Beauvais	A. 2 <i>Beatissimus Christi</i>
Amand I II	Rome-Gaules	R. 4 <i>Apparuit autem</i> * ; R. 5 <i>Roma autem</i> *
Fuscien,	Rome-Gaules	A. <i>Bis quondam</i> ; <i>Tempore quo plures</i> ;
Victoric & Gentien	(Paris)	R. <i>Gloriosi martyres</i>
Quentin II	Rome-Gaules	R. 1 <i>Sanctus namque</i>
Bertin	Sithiu	R. 2 <i>Quidam predives</i> ; R. 3 <i>Cognoscens abbas</i>
Folquin	Sithiu	R. 7 <i>In Sithiu tumulari</i> *
Fuscien, Victorin & Gentien	Somanibrium	R. <i>Cepit tunc Rictiovarus</i>
Silvin	Thérouanne	A. 8 <i>Lux divina Tervanensi</i> *
Corneille II	Vatican	R. <i>Cathacumbis apostolos</i> *
Quentin III	Vermand	A. <i>Ut sol Christus</i> *
Médard	Vermand, Soissons	A. 7 <i>Defuncto namque Vermandensium</i> ; A. 23 <i>Cuius corporis</i> ; A. 28 <i>Solenne itaque</i>





## TWO BELGIAN TRADITIONS FOR THE POST-TRIDENTINE MASS PROPER

*Theodore Karp*  
*Northwestern University*

Although the well-known letter of October 25, 1577 by Pope Gregory XIII to Palestrina and Zoilo did not produce the new Gradual that the Pope had hoped for, it was apparently sufficient to cause a fatal breach in the dam of conservatism that had previously helped preserve much of medieval chant in recognizable shape, despite numerous changes of detail. During the last decade of the sixteenth century, six or more reformed Graduals appeared, including one from what is now Belgium. In this context, the Medicean Gradual, issued in 1614/1615, is something of a late-comer that had comparatively little effect on what was going on elsewhere in Europe.

In initial explorations of these chant revisions, scholars have been most aware of the curtailment of melismas, and more careful prosody. These are indeed important aspects of the changes that were wrought. Yet there was something more fundamental involved, namely a process of individuation that went on at many different levels. On the simplest and lowest level, there was individuation in multiple performances of individual chants. Chants belonging to the Third Mass for Christmas, for example, could be used twice again during the succeeding week. The offertory *Dextera Domini* appeared for the Second Sunday after Epiphany and later in Lent. In both medieval and post-Tridentine sources, recurrences are normally indicated by means of cues. Even though one may find examples to the contrary, the general presumption is that the singings of a specific chant remained stable. This, however, is often contradicted in the Medicean and other Italian Graduals. The singer employing the Medicean Gradual must learn two versions of the gradual, *Viderunt omnes*, two of the *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus*, and two for the offertory, *Dextera Domini*. Each occasion becomes individual. Similar comments with regard to other chants may be made for the Gardano Gradual of 1591.

On a broader level, one needs to consider the importance of centonization, melody types, and contrafacta in the construction and performance of the medieval chant repertoire. These techniques of melody building enabled medieval singers to function within a primarily oral tradition, albeit one that enjoyed the important support of writing. The curtailment of melismas that took place with increasing frequency in the late sixteenth century resulted in the destruction of these supports for the memory. Classes of chant now became individuated. Especially in Italy, the revision of type melodies such as the *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus* was carried out unsystematically. Knowing one family member was as much a hindrance as a help in learning another. I suggest that the demands being placed on the singers' memories now greatly exceed-



ed the human memory capacity. Singers *had* to read, and memory thus had only a secondary function. This constitutes a fundamental change in the nature of the musical culture.

On the broadest level, individuation resulted in the development of contrasting national styles of chant. These were obviously related to each other owing to common musical antecedents and a common liturgy. This common language fractures to a considerable extent through the process of individuation of national styles, and it is for all of the factors cited previously that I consider this process to be of paramount importance in understanding chant from c. 1580–1890. The examples for this paper are derived from a study of printed Graduals post 1580. This evidence needs to be complemented by an equivalent exploration of manuscript sources. In a codetta to this study we shall find that when manuscripts are taken into account, there are not two, but three distinctive Belgian traditions for chant.

In dealing with the post-Tridentine Mass Proper, we find that two independent revisions appear in the 1590s in Venice, one by Gardano in 1591, and another by Giunta in 1596. The former disappears within in a short time, leaving but the barest of traces elsewhere. The Giunta edition, on the other hand, goes on to provide the basis for Venetian editions until 1789 and thence into Turinese editions of the nineteenth century.

In Madrid, we find a multivolume Gradual issued in 1597 by a Johannes Flandrus whose name in the vernacular would have been Juan Flamenco. At the present time we have no meaningful knowledge of this Fleming. Very possibly he or his immediate forebears did come from the region of Belgium. This, however, is purely speculative, and without forceful corroboration in a study of the musical readings.

The earliest Belgian Gradual that we can access is one brought out in Antwerp in 1599 by Joannes Moretus (Jan Moerentorf), the eldest son-in-law of Christoffel Plantin, and his successor at the press bearing the Plantin name. Although the musical output of this press was small in comparison to its numerous non-musical prints, one might think that its influence was sufficient that potential rivals would have been discouraged from competing.

The facts, however, are otherwise. In 1616 the widow of Nicolas Laurent brought out in Tournai a *Graduale Romanum iuxta missale ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum*. We may provisionally label this print as the beginning of a second chant tradition in the Low Countries. It was followed a scant four years later by another *Graduale Romanum*, issued in Antwerp by Petrus and Ioannes Belleros. And in 1623 there appeared in Brussels, still a third *Graduale Romanum* with basically the same title, brought out by Jan Mommaert. I have examined a few dozen readings from selected Masses and these are consistently in agreement with one another. On the other hand, they are distinct from the readings of the Plantin Gradual, and from others of different locales but comparable date. These three sources thus constitute a second Belgian tradition. Note, however, that the fact that these sources nor-

mally agree with one another in cases where important variants exist elsewhere does not mean that they are identical or that they remained without change. The Belleros Gradual of 1620, which survives incomplete at the end, is marked by numerous paste-overs in the one preserved copy, suggesting changes that occurred at early date. The Mommaert Gradual has numerous changes entered by hand, often involving further curtailment of melismas. In using the word tradition, one should not think of an immutable monolith.

The later history of the Plantin Gradual of 1599 is unusual. In 1618 Elizabeth Angermaier brought out in Ingolstadt a German Gradual that basically duplicates the Plantin model, and this Gradual is further reproduced in an edition by Kaspar Sutor, issued in 1630, also in Ingolstadt. The printer in both cases was a certain Wilhelm Eder. The fact that these editions are descendents of the Plantin Gradual explains why they do not display the traits of the Germanic chant dialect, even though they were brought out in Bavaria. Also influenced by the Plantin Gradual is the 1600 print issued by Andreas Piotrkowczyk in Kraków; this, however, shows a degree of independence that is lacking among the chants studied in the two German prints.

The next stage in the diffusion of the Plantin readings takes place in 1633 in Leuven, where a Bernardinum Masium issues a *Graduale Romanum juxta novum missale recognitum*. Fifteen years later, this firm brought out a new edition. I have not had access to this 1648 print, which survives in the *Biblioteca dell' Archivio capitolare della Basilica di San Gaudenzio* in Novara. Nevertheless, I think it likely that its readings are closely similar to those of the 1633 edition. The next surviving Graduals from the Low Countries follow only after a gap of a quarter century. Antwerp continues to be a major center, chiefly through the publications of the firm of Verdussen. Tournai, Brussels, and Leuven, however, fade from the scene. The Verdussen edition of 1720 follows the early lead of Tournai and the Antwerp Gradual of the Belleros family. Although the Plantin firm issues a late Gradual in 1834, the lead in Belgium passes to the city of Liège in the mid-1770s. Three Graduals are issued there by Plomteux beginning in 1772, three by Bourguignon, beginning in 1821, two by Kersten in 1851 and 1865, and three by Spée-Zelis in 1857, 1863, and 1876. Curiously, the Plomteux edition of 1789 presents a mixed tradition. Its readings for *Populus Sion* and the *Alleluia Laetatus sum* clearly derive from the tradition begun in Tournai, while the reading for *Anima nostra*, on the other hand, derives from the Plantin tradition. Bourguignon follows suit. From 1845 on, Mechelen becomes a major center for the publication of chant in Belgium, but with the editions of Hanicq and Dessain we enter a new phase of chant history. (Numerous copies survive of the *Graduale Romanum juxta ritum sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae, cum cantu, Pauli V. Pont. Max. jussu reformata; editio emendata*, issued by Hanicq in 1848, but I have not been able to locate any copy of the earlier edition; H. Dessain takes over with a publication of the same title, whose first edition appears in 1855.)

In order to illustrate both the diversity of chant revisions and the differences between the two main Belgian traditions, we may consider three chants that are characterized by multiple interpretations of modality. The first of these is the *Alleluia Laetatus sum*. Owing to the notational complexities brought about by the use of a variable second degree, the chant is normally notated during the Middle Ages beginning and ending on *a*. There are, however, alternative notations in which the chant begins and ends on *d*, as well as still others that begin the Alleluia on *d*, but end the jubilus on *e*. Extremely rare are readings that begin and end the Alleluia on *e*. The first verse – there were two in the Middle Ages – characteristically began and ended on *a*; alternatively, it could begin on *d* and end on either *d* or *e*.

Example 1 shows that these various kinds of readings continue into the post-Tridentine period. The reading of the Graduale Herbipolense of 1583 gives a reasonable idea of the normative medieval form. Below, you find the readings of the Giunta Gradual of 1596 and the Medici Gradual of 1615. Both begin on *d*, but Giunta ends on *e*, while the Medici is tonally unified and ends on *d*. Both are less prolix than the medieval model. Under normal circumstances, the Giunta readings are terser than those given in the Medici Gradual, but this is not apparent in the present instance.

Staves d and e present two readings from the Plantin press, from 1599 and 1774 respectively. Both begin on *d* and end the jubilus on *e*. Even though the family resemblance is readily apparent, even though there are large stretches in which the readings are either identical or nearly so, the major change in the reading of the jubilus demonstrates that later editors are not entirely bound by the work of their predecessors. The fact that the Graduals of Laurent and Belleros, the latter also coming from Antwerp, form a distinct family is immediately apparent. They employ a contrasting tonal order. This outweighs the lesser consideration of variants of smaller scope. Even though the Laurent and Belleros Graduals were issued within four years of one another, and even though they parallel one another quite closely, it is instructive to see the variants on staves f and g on the third page of the example. These notwithstanding, when one consults the Spée-Zelis print of 1876, given on staff m, we can find how consistent this tradition can remain for more than two and a half centuries. Staff h presents the Spanish reading of Flandrus while staff i presents the earliest of the French reform readings, edited for Millange by Guillaume Boni. As in the Medici reading, the Boni revision centers the melody on *d*. The Medici version is more obsessive in this respect, since it is the only version to bring the melody down to the final prior to the choral entry. Other readings normally end the word Alleluia on the fifth degree. Staff j presents the earliest of a series of at least three Polish Graduals brought out in Kraków. The Cistercian reading on staff k offers a rare reminder of what had been the normative medieval practice of basing the chant on *a*. The bottom reading, from the Mainz Gradual of 1671, is exceptional. The editor employs the text required by the Roman Missal of 1570, but combines it with the melody of the *Alleluia Rex nostra*,

which had been popular in Eastern regions as an alternative to the *Alleluia Laetatus sum*.

Example 2 deals with the respond for the fifth-mode gradual, *Anima nostra*, designed for the Feast of the Holy Innocents. In the normative medieval tradition this chant is one of a group of at least nine that begins with a brief recitation on the final and continues with a gesture that descends to the fourth below. Despite the frequency of the formula, the gesture deeply disturbed theoretically inclined musicians, especially those of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. It violates the normal confines of Mode 5 by establishing at the outset the realm of its plagal counterpart.

Notwithstanding this tension, the normative reading continues to survive at late date, as may be seen from the reading of the Graduale Herbipolense of 1583, given in staff a. One may be initially startled to find that in the readings from the Giunta Gradual of 1596 and the Medicean Gradual of 1614 the opening passage has been transposed upward so as to begin on the fifth degree of the mode and close on the second degree. (See staves b and c.) However, this striking change may be found earlier in the Giunta and Emmerich Gradual edited by Franciscus de Brugis in 1499/1500 and in other Italian sources, such as the Varisco Gradual of 1565. Indeed, it traces back to the Cistercian reforms of the Middle Ages, although Cistercian sources begin on the final and ascend triadically within the first neume. In the sixteenth century, apart from conservative easterly sources, the *c'* reading becomes normative rather than exceptional. We are faced with a rather restricted view of mode that does not take into consideration the function of the various tones within the modal scale. Furthermore, the change is not carried out uniformly either throughout the transmission of *Anima nostra*, or among the various other graduals that employ the same formula. This is another aspect of the process of individuation mentioned previously.

The two Belgian editions, by Plantin and Laurent, given in staves e and f, treat the problem passage differently. The earlier employs the transposition of a fifth found in the Italian editions. These, however, had curtailed the floridity of the medieval version and had revised the allocation of notes to syllables in order to avoid an emphasis on the unaccented syllable of *nostra*. Neither Belgian edition finds either the prolixity or the number of notes assigned to the final syllable to be offensive. It is remarkable, nevertheless, to find that the Laurent edition, followed later by Belleros and by Mommaert, has the opening recitation on *b flat*. This enables the gesture to close on the modal final. But the close is achieved at a curious price. The opening, which had originally been placed on the final, now occurs on *b flat*; it is difficult to imagine any medieval scribe who would have thought of that note as equivalent to a final. Yet we are not dealing with a mistake. Instead a deliberate choice has been made that has parallels in treatments of other chants. (A comparable example occurs at the opening of the verse to the *Alleluia Pascha nostrum*.)

The 1597 edition of Johannes Flandrus, staff g, unexpectedly allows the opening to remain at its traditional level. In general, this feature is associated chiefly with easterly sources, as in the readings of the Graduale Herbipolense and the Piotrkowczyk Gradual from Kraków. The appearance in a print from Madrid is decidedly unusual. The presumably Flemish publisher allows the melisma on the second syllable of *nostra* to remain, but curiously deflects its ending so that the goal of the lower fourth is never attained.

With the Bordeaux Gradual edited by Guillaume Boni in 1599, staff h, and the Premonstratensian Gradual edited by Guillaume Nivers in 1680, staff k, we deal once more with the upward transposition of the initial phrase. Neither version is quite as full as the Belgian editions with regard to the melisma on the last syllable of *nostra*, but neither is as brief as the Italian readings.


Although I have been concerned here mainly with different approaches to modal organization, by considering the respond as a whole it is possible for the reader to compare the significant differences in the treatment of the pitches associated with the concluding word, *venantium*. Not only does one find contrasting attitudes towards relative floridity, but also contrasting approaches to the importance of text accent. The normative medieval version, shown here in the version of the Graduale Herbipolense, features a large melisma on the unaccented concluding syllable. In several instances these tones are reassigned to earlier syllables, and only one or two tones are reserved for the final.


Other examples of contrasting tonal structures in post-Tridentine chant are not difficult to find. I shall briefly cite only one other, drawn from the opening of the introit, *Populus Sion*. Although all medieval sources that I have consulted, including tonaries, place this chant in mode 7, the modal character of the opening is variable. Sources such as Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, MS H159; Bari, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 1; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 807; Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS Th. Q°5; Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 588; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C892; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MSS lat. 833 and 904; Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, MS 99; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MSS 1424 and 1436; and Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 277, among others, use brief recitations on *c'*, have the tonal reference points at *ecce* and *gentes* on *g*, and characteristically employ *b flat*. Another group of sources, including Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 181; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1655; Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS S74 sup.; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS n.a.lat. 1235; Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 65; Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Rossi 231 and Rossi 76; among others, is essentially a tone higher, with the recitations on *d'*, the tonal reference points on *a*, and of course no *b flat*. The tetrachordal shape is the same in both. The two families are each subdivided, one branch beginning on the recitation tone, the other on the eventual final.


When we turn to the post-Tridentine transmission, we find the following. The two main families and their subdivisions continue to survive, but with notable changes. *B flat* nearly ceases to exist. Instead, the members of the family that had previously employed this tone move the segment which had contained it up a second and thus avoid its need. In the other of the two families, the tonal reference that had occurred on *a* at the end of the word *gentes* is now replaced by a *g* ending, giving the chant a more modally unified shape. The differences between the two families are now somewhat blurred. Nevertheless, it is instructive to see that our Belgian sources belong to two different families, and that the endings on *a* for *gentes* occur in conservative easterly sources as well as in the arch-conservative Carthusian readings, which do not partake of the reform movement.


As noted previously, and as confirmed by the materials presented in the two musical examples, this study has been based on an examination of printed Graduals issued over a period of some four centuries. Yet we cannot afford to close our eyes to the evidence to be gained from manuscript sources. These, unfortunately, are more difficult to locate and are likely to be more difficult of access. In connection with the Congress of the International Musicological Society held in Leuven in 2002, I had the opportunity to revisit Ghent. There I had the pleasure and privilege of viewing some of a magnificent set of chant sources prepared for the Cathedral of St Bavo in 1659. It was immediately obvious that these belong to the reform tradition, and Dr. Edmund de Roo indicated that these had been in use until 1960. I had the opportunity to study the chants on one opening devoted to the First and Second Sundays in Advent. The readings contained in the manuscript are much more succinct than both of the two chant traditions that I have documented in this paper. They indeed represent still a third tradition of Belgian chant that flourished in the mid-seventeenth century.


We are left to ponder the co-existence of three quite distinct chant traditions within a very circumscribed geographical area, and to speculate on elements of transmission that might account for the Laurent-Belleros-Mommaert reading of the *Alleluia Laetatus sum*, for which we have no known earlier reading surviving from the same region. One cannot tell at this point whether still other surprises await a more complete study of surviving sources not yet known.


a   
8 Al - le - lu -


b   
Al - le - lu - - ia.


c   
Al - le - - lu - - - ia.


d   
Al - le - lu - ia.


e   
Al - le - lu - - ia.


f   
Al - le - lu - - ia.


g   
Al - le - lu - - ia.


h   
Al - le - lu - - - ia.


i   
Al - le - lu - - - ia.

j   
Al - le - lu - - - - ia.

k   
8 Al - le - lu - - ia.

l   
Al - le - lu - - ia.

m   
Al - le - lu - - ia.

n   
Al - le - - - - lu - ia. Al - le - - - - - lu -

a Lae - ta - - - - tus sum in his, quae

b Lae - ta - - - - tus sum in his, quae

c Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae

d Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae

e Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae

f Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae

g Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae

h Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae

i Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae

j Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae


k Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae


l Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in


m Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae


n - ia. Lae - ta - - - - - - - - - tus sum in his, quae

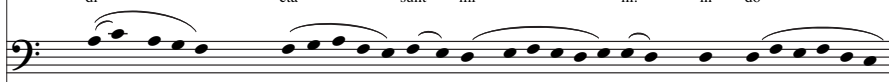



a  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -


b  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in


c  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in


d  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -


e  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -


f  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -

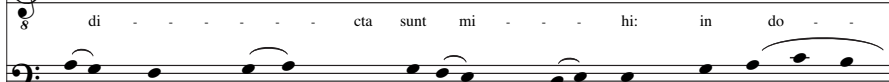
g  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -

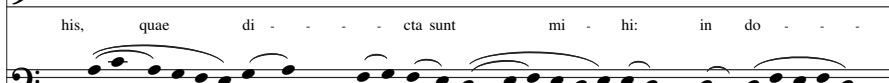
h  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -

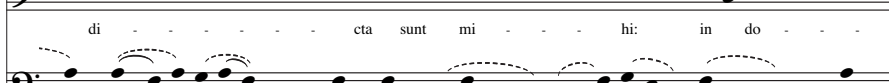
i  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -

j  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -

k  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -


l  his, quae di - - - - - cta sunt mi - hi: in do - - - - -


m  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in do - - - - -

n  di - - - - - cta sunt mi - - - - - hi: in

a    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -


b    
 do - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

c    
 do - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -


d    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

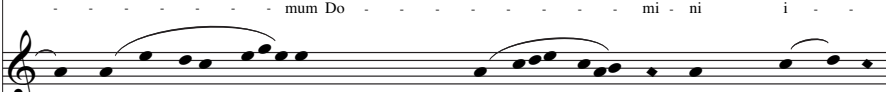
e    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

f    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -


g    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

h    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

i    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

j    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

k    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - bi -

l    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni

m    
 - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

n    
 do - - - - - mum Do - - - - - mi - ni i - - - -

The musical score consists of 14 staves, labeled a through n. Staves a, k, and n are in treble clef, while the others are in bass clef. The lyrics are distributed across the staves as follows:

- Staff a: - bi - mus.
- Staff b: - - - - - bi - - - mus. Al - le - lu - - ia.
- Staff c: - - - - - bi - mus.
- Staff d: - - - - - bi-mus.
- Staff e: - - - - - bi-mus.
- Staff f: - bi - mus.
- Staff g: - bi - mus.
- Staff h: - bi - mus.
- Staff i: - bi - mus.
- Staff j: - - - - - bi - mus.
- Staff k: - mus.
- Staff l: i - - - - - bi - mus.
- Staff m: - bi - mus.
- Staff n: - - - - - bi - mus. Al - le - - - - - lu - ia.

Example 1. *Alleluia Laetatus sum*:

- |                        |                    |                        |                             |
|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) Herbigolense, 1583 | (e) Plantin, 1774  | (i) Millange, 1599     | (l) Premonstratensian, 1680 |
| (b) Giunta, 1596       | (f) Laurent, 1616  | (j) Piotrkowczyk, 1600 |                             |
| (c) Medici, 1614       | (g) Belleros, 1620 | (k) Cistercian, 1696   | (m) Spée-Zelis, 1876        |
| (d) Plantin, 1599      | (h) Flandrus, 1597 |                        | (n) Küchler, 1671           |

[illegible]

11-voice musical score in G major, 8/8 time. The lyrics are: *- re - pta est de la - que - o ve - -* (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k) and *- re - pta est de la - que - o ve - nan -* (l). The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

a - re - pta est de la - que - o ve - -

b - re - pta est de la - que - o ve - -

c - - pta est de la - que - o

d - - pta est de la - - que - o

e - - - pta est de la - que - o ve - -

f - pta est de la - que - o ve - nan -

g - - re - pta est de la - que - o ve - -

h - - - pta est de la - que - o ve -

i - - pta est de la - - que - o ve - nan -

j - re - pta est de la - que - o ve - nan -

k - re - pta est de la - que - o ve - nan -

l - re - pta est de la - que - o ve - -

*Example 2. Anima nostra* (Respond):

- |                        |                    |                             |
|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| (a) Herbigolense, 1583 | (e) Plantin, 1599  | (i) Piotrkowczyk, 1600      |
| (b) Gardano, 1591      | (f) Laurent, 1616  | (j) K chler, 1671           |
| (c) Giunta, 1596       | (g) Flandrus, 1597 | (k) Premonstratensian, 1680 |
| (d) Medici, 1614       | (h) Millange, 1599 | (l) Cistercian, 1696        |



## BRUMEL'S *MISSA ET ECCE TERRAE MOTUS*: AN ODDITY?

Siegwart Reichwald

Converse College, Spartanburg (South Carolina)

When reading discussions of Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*, the judgment seems to be clear-cut and without much hesitation; it is declared an oddity. Schmidt-Görg writes that 'among the masses [of Brumel] *Et ecce terrae motus* is the most striking, as it were, an oddity in its time'.<sup>1</sup> It is true that this mass clearly stands out among the repertory of Brumel and his contemporaries. The fact that it is written for twelve voices already seems reason enough to label it an oddity. A first look at the work itself confirms its unusual approach to counterpoint. Long static passages with virtually no harmonic movement and thick textures that de-emphasize linearity stand in seemingly stark contrast to the maxims of the *ars perfecta* of Josquin. It seems to be a foregone conclusion that its unusual compositional characteristics are signs of a lack of compositional insights on the composer's part. Gottwald explains that 'the overlapping ranges of the bass voices... make the sound non-transparent and thick and give away the composer's inexperience in his writing for so many parts.'<sup>2</sup> While Brown does not actually call the mass flawed, he labels Brumel's style as essentially underdeveloped: "While Brumel proved his skill at the craft of composition in works like the *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* for twelve voices, a musical oddity that is nevertheless not without aesthetic value, his counterpoint, like Févin's, is often merely facile. The long passages that move in parallel tenths and the sections where the text is simply declaimed on repeated notes show that Brumel wished to write a clear and simple sort of music."<sup>3</sup> At best, Brumel is given the benefit of the doubt about his compositional intentions: "There is no need for any evidence, that a work such as *Et ecce terrae motus*, which is so extreme in its size and detail, displays a compositional effort that reaches far beyond the compositional conventions of 1500; in its music one finds traits of the utopian, hardly matured or even less smoothed out..."<sup>4</sup> Gottwald

<sup>1</sup> J. SCHMIDT-GÖRG, art. *Brumel*, in F. BLUME ed., *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2, col. 400, Kassel, 1952: "Unter den Messen sei als auffallendste, gewissermaßen als Kuriosum für ihre Zeit, die 12-stimmige *Et ecce terrae motus* genannt." (my translation)

<sup>2</sup> C. GOTTWALD, *Antoine Brumels Messe 'Et ecce terrae motus'*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 26 (1976), p. 237: "Die vielfach sehr eng geführten Bässe machen... den Klang undurchsichtig und dickflüssig und verraten so das für den Komponisten Ungewohnte solch vielstimmiger Faktur." (my translation)

<sup>3</sup> H.M. BROWN, *Music in the Renaissance*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1976, pp. 180–181.

<sup>4</sup> GOTTWALD, *Antoine Brumels Messe 'Et ecce terrae motus'*, p. 238: "Es bedarf keines Beweises, daß ein in Umfang und Detail so extremes Werk wie 'Et ecce terrae motus' eine kompositorische Anstrengung darstellt, die weit über den manifesten Stand der Kompositionstechnik um 1500 hinausschnellen mußte, viel Utopisches, kaum Ausgegrenztes, geschweige Klassisch-Geglättetes mit sich führend..." (my translation)



goes on then in the article comparing Brumel's treatment of sound with that of Ligeti's in such works as *Lux aeterna*. Obviously, Gottwald thinks it to be impossible to understand the *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* within its own stylistic context.

There is much evidence that the musicians of the sixteenth century thought differently about Brumel and specifically his *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*. The most obvious evidence that Brumel must have been highly regarded as a composer is the fact that his music was printed. Petrucci included works by Brumel in his first printed collection *Harmonice Musice Odhecaton A* from 1501. In 1503 Petrucci published a volume consisting solely of Brumel's masses. Morley, in his book *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* refers to Brumel as an exemplary composer in terms of his canonic and imitative writing.<sup>5</sup> Josquin's *Missa Mater Patris*, a parody mass, is based on one of Brumel's motets.

That sixteenth-century composers must have liked specifically Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* can also be shown quite convincingly. The mass only survived because Orlando di Lasso had it copied in a very elaborate fashion for a performance at the Bavarian court in Munich some fifty years after it was written, probably between 1568–1580. There are even detailed sources in the manuscript (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 1) listing the musicians used for that particular performance.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, the *Agnus Dei* at the end of the manuscript is damaged and several pages are missing; only the first section could be reconstructed from this manuscript. What is believed to be the second section of the *Agnus Dei* was found in the Copenhagen manuscript (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. Saml. 1872 4°, no. 79, *Agnus Dei*, a6). The third section of the *Agnus Dei* cannot be reconstructed, since only the third altus, and the first and second tenor and bass parts survive in the Munich manuscript.<sup>7</sup>

There is yet more, albeit indirect, evidence that points to the success of the mass chipping away at the mass's oddity-factor. Gombert, in his *Missa Tempore paschali*, wrote a twelve-part *Agnus Dei* also based on the same Easter antiphon *Et ecce terrae motus*. Josquin expands the texture to six parts in the *Agnus Dei* of his *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni* and uses the same kind of techniques as Brumel does – as will be shown later. Barton Hudson, in his introduction to the modern edition of Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*, points out that there are reports of another twelve-part mass written by Georg Rhaw in 1519 for the public debate between Martin Luther and Johann Maier von Eck.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> T. MORLEY, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, ed. A. HARMAN, New York, 1952, p. 285.

<sup>6</sup> W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532–1594: Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance*, Kassel, 1958, 1, pp. 858–860.

<sup>7</sup> B. HUDSON ed., *Antonii Brumel Opera Omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 5), s.l., 1970, p. ix.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*.

Having already pointed out some aspects in which Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* is not as odd as it has been made out to be, this article will attempt to show that, if placed in the right context, this mass is very much a composition that belongs to the standard repertory of the *ars perfecta*. Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* is very much a Renaissance composition if it is not viewed through the glasses of a confining academic style approach.

#### TODAY'S AURAL PERCEPTION OF THE MUSIC OF THE *ARS PERFECTA*

In a recording review of two CDs of Josquin masses Andrew Kirkman says the following: "The very different shades of light cast by these two groups on the facets of this glittering diamond confirm the endless interpretive possibilities which continue to draw performers towards Josquin's world... In the one real flaw on either disc, that light is sadly dimmed in the recording by Sei Voci by a combination of the unmitigated bloom of the Fontevraud acoustic... While this can work well in more sparsely textured passages (...), in busier passages for full scoring the sound sometimes becomes quite confused." These comments are indicative of many musicologists' narrow approach to the music of the Josquin generation. Transparency and linearity are buzzwords used to explain key aspects of Josquin's music that presumably lead the listener to the proper understanding of the music of the *ars perfecta*. Jeffrey Dean proposes that polyphony of the Josquin generation was written for the musicians rather than the congregation "as a sort of sacred chamber music",<sup>10</sup> which implies an emphasis on the intellectual enjoyment of the contrapuntal craftsmanship rather than an experiential listening process. Part of his argument is that since in places such as St. Mark's Basilica in Venice "clarity was only available to listeners in the same part of the church where the music was performed",<sup>11</sup> nobody in the other parts of such a church could 'understand' polyphony. This argument assumes a linearly oriented listening process, where the enjoyment of polyphony is found only in the marvel over the contrapuntal architecture. It is no surprise then, that Brumel's *Et ecce terrae motus* is considered an oddity, because it definitely breaks all those proclaimed rules of the *ars perfecta* according to the twentieth-century musicologist.

<sup>9</sup> A. KIRKMAN, *15th-century Sacred Music*, in *Early Music*, 24/3 (1996), p. 515.

<sup>10</sup> J. DEAN, *Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500*, in *Early Music*, 25/4 (1997), p. 628.

<sup>11</sup> DEAN, *Listening to Sacred Polyphony c. 1500*, p. 612.

This article will attempt to show that one cannot approach the music of the *ars perfecta* on such narrow terms. By over-emphasizing the intellectual complexities of the contrapuntal structures of the works of the Josquin generation, one is in danger of overlooking other aspects of works that ought to be part of the repertoire. Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* serves as an example of a work that, if placed in the right context, is very much a composition that belongs to the standard repertoire of the *ars perfecta*. Its more vertical type of counterpoint, however, challenges our often one-dimensional aural perception of Renaissance music and our emphasis on linearity and analysis.

A first listening of Brumel's mass reveals without a doubt the composer's emphasis on almost static sounds rather than transparency and linearity. An analysis of the music confirms the creating of large sound masses that completely wipe away the feeling of linearity. The harmonic rhythm is extremely slow, as Brumel lets the music sit on just a few chords in each of these sound-fields.

Brumel does not use a complete plainchant melody throughout the mass as a formalistic aid as is the case in a traditional cantus firmus mass. Rather, Brumel uses the cantus firmus held in long note values as an aid in creating these unusual, static sounds. With the exception of the second *Agnus Dei*, only the first seven notes of the Easter antiphon are used, which can be seen in Example 1. Five notes of this head motif have the same pitch, which, of course, lends itself to the creation of large sound-fields.



Example 1. The first seven notes of the Easter antiphon *Et ecce terrae motus*.

Diagram 1 shows how, in the *Kyrie*, Brumel employs the cantus firmus effectively to create the desired effect. Brumel frequently uses the plainchant as a three-part canon with the entrances on different scale degrees. The first *Agnus Dei* displays the most complex use of the cantus firmus, as can be seen in Diagram 2; Brumel constructs a recurring three-part canon in which the entrances move up diatonically starting on g-c-c to a-d-d, b-e-e, c-f, ending on d, which is the original scale degree of the antiphon. Only the second *Agnus Dei* uses the tune in a more traditional fashion; *Et ecce terrae motus* is used in its entirety in the highest voice throughout the rest of the movement.

Brumel does not limit the use of the cantus firmus to the creating of static sections. The Easter antiphon is also used motivically to unify the mass. All the movements of the mass start with a statement that is based on this head motif, which is then imitated in other voices.

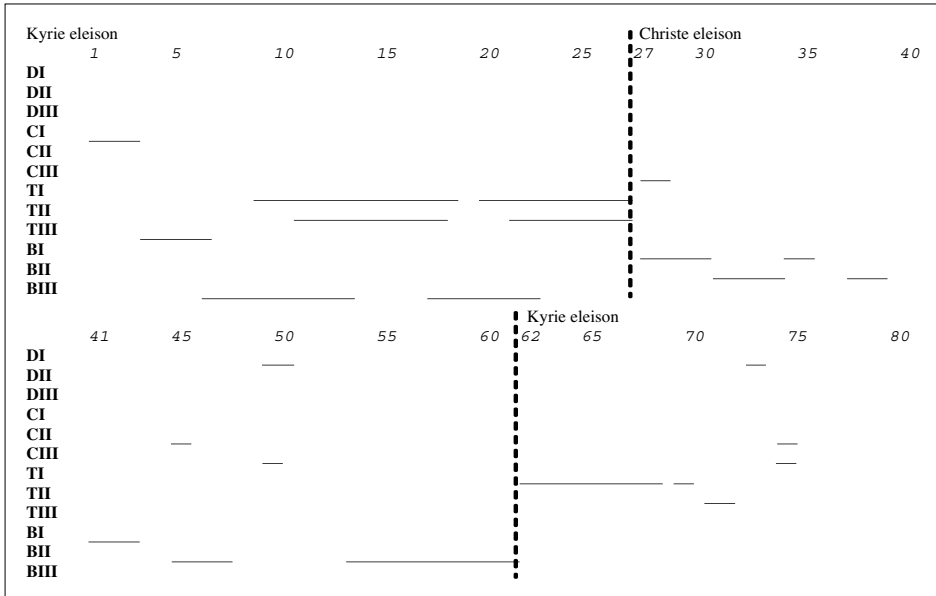


Diagram 1. Antoine Brumel, *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*, Kyrie. ( \_\_\_\_\_ = cantus firmus)

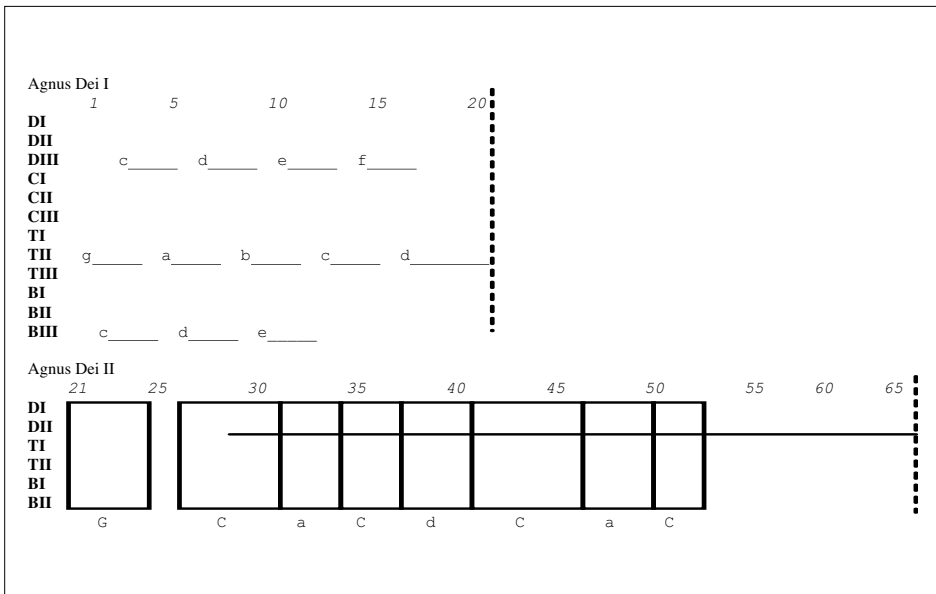


Diagram 2. Antoine Brumel, *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*, Agnus Dei. ( \_\_\_\_\_ = cantus firmus)

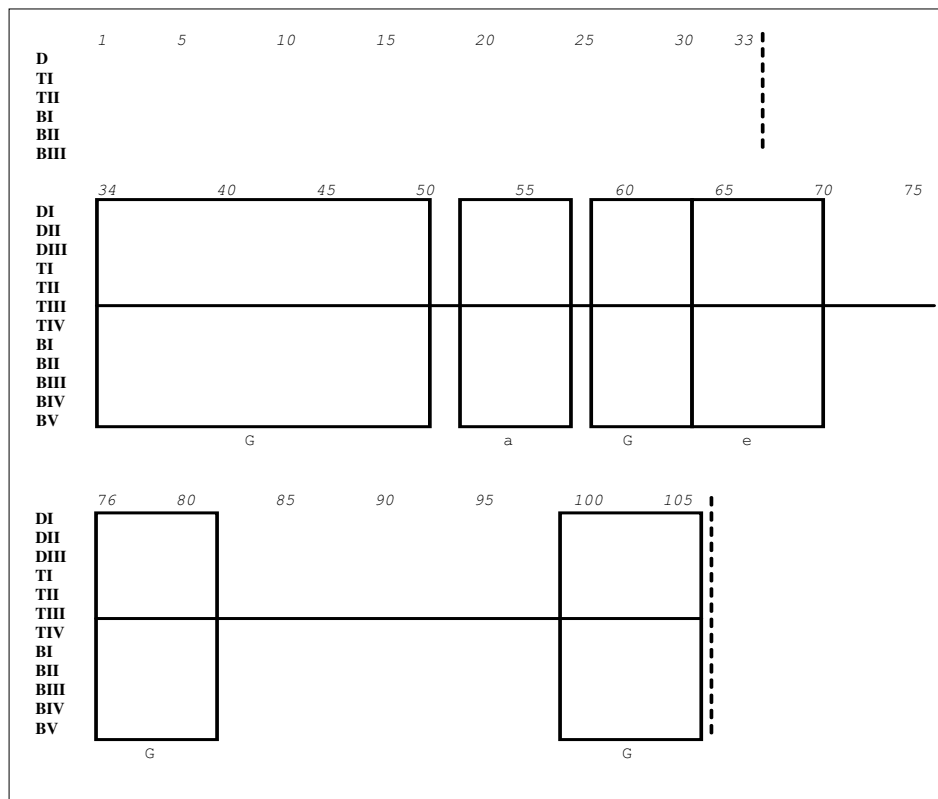


Diagram 3. Nicolas Gombert, *Missa Tempore paschali*, Agnus Dei. ( \_\_\_\_\_ = cantus firmus)

The other important element in Brumel's non-linear compositional approach is the use of jolting rhythms coupled with very close points of imitation, shown in Example 2. By employing close points of imitation, often starting on off-beats, and by using jarring rhythms, Brumel eliminates any feel of a measured rhythmic flow or musical pulse. The result is that the music becomes much more incalculable, because the listener's points of metric reference have been washed away. The listener is forced to just experience the music.

Everything discussed so far about the style of this mass seems to deviate from the compositional approach of the *ars perfecta* as it is generally conceived. The expected delight in clarity and transparency of lines in a linearly oriented contrapuntal structure are replaced by huge pillars of sound. Brumel's mass would be an oddity if this were the only occurrence of this style of writing. But there are other examples by other composers, who use similar stylistic characteristics to the one found in this piece.

The image displays a musical score for a four-part vocal or instrumental setting of "Agnus Dei" by Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 1068. The score is written for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass voices, along with a figured bass line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are "A - gnus De - i,". The music features various melodic lines with notes, rests, and ornaments. The figured bass line at the bottom provides harmonic support with numerical figures. The overall style is characteristic of Baroque sacred music.



5

qui

qui

i,

qui tol

i,

qui

qui tol

Example 2. Antoine Brumel, *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*, Agnus Dei.



The most striking example of the use of a similar compositional approach is found in Gombert's *Missa Tempore paschali*. The last section of the *Agnus Dei* surprisingly expands from a six-voice texture to twelve parts (see Example 3). Gombert then uses the same tune as Brumel did – *Et ecce terrae motus*. While the tune is used in a more traditional manner of a cantus firmus mass, where it is held in long notes in the tenor voice, everything else about this movement is as non-traditional as Brumel's style of composing. In fact, the similarity of approach is so close, that Gombert's last *Agnus Dei* section is sometimes used in performances to conclude Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*, since the last section of the *Agnus Dei* is missing. Diagram 3 shows the use of the cantus firmus as well as the static sound fields created by Gombert. The concept of this movement is markedly similar to that of Brumel's mass movements, especially to his second *Agnus Dei* with its use of the complete tune. Gombert's harmonic movement is even slower than Brumel's. The composition sits on a single chord for long periods of time. Coupled with that there are again close points of imitation and jolting rhythms much the same way it was done in Brumel's mass.

It seems rather obvious that Gombert must have known Brumel's *Et ecce terrae motus*. Clearly, he must have also liked it enough to incorporate its style into his own work. Since he did use the same style of writing, it is furthermore safe to assume that he must not have thought of the *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* as a complete oddity in which Brumel invents some utopian, futuristic style of composing. Gombert surely did not disregard Brumel as a second-rate composer who "wished to write a clear and simple sort of music."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> BROWN, *Music in the Renaissance*, pp. 180–181.

A - - gnus  
 A - - gnus De - - - i, A - - - gnus  
 A - - gnus De - i,  
 8 A - - - gnus De - i,  
 8 A - - - gnus De - - i,  
 8 Et  
 8 A - - gnus De - i, A - - - gnus  
 A - - - gnus De -  
 A - - - gnus De - -  
 A - - - gnus,  
 A - - - -

4

De - - - - i, A -

De - - - - i,

A - - gnus - - De - i,

8 A - - - gnus De - - -

8 ec - - - - -

8 De - - - - -

- - - - i, A - - gnus - -

- i, A - - gnus De - - - -

- - - - A - -

A - - - - gnus - -

- - - - gnus De - i,

Example 3. Nicolas Gombert, *Missa Tempore paschali*, Agnus Dei.

Another example of a work incorporating the same, sound-oriented style is Josquin's abovementioned *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*. In the third *Agnus Dei* Josquin expands the texture from four parts to six (see Example 4). Uncharacteristically for a cantus firmus mass, he uses the *L'homme armé* tune in two voices at the same time. Josquin divides the tune into two parts; during the first half of the *Agnus Dei* the tenor consists of the second part of the tune while the bass uses the first part of the tune in retrograde; the second part of the *Agnus Dei* employs the second half of the *L'homme armé* tune in retrograde in the tenor while the beginning of the tune is found in the bass. While Brumel used the cantus firmus simultaneously in up to three voices in a canonic fashion, Josquin takes the structural use of the cantus firmus even a step further by using an entire tune and its retrograde at the same time.

More importantly, however, Josquin's *Agnus Dei* shares also the other techniques found in Brumel's and Gombert's masses. The two alto and soprano voices are paired; each pair, again, employs imitative counterpoint with very close points of imitation, which creates an echo-like effect. In order to accommodate the rhythmically tight imitation in the two voice pairs, Josquin has to slow down or even at times 'freeze' the harmonic rhythm of the piece; the result is a triadic-oriented counterpoint with runs connecting the different members of the triad producing the static quality also evident in the Brumel mass. It is important to note that all three composers made a deliberate choice in employing the above-described type of counterpoint. The use of the cantus firmus in itself did not dictate that contrapuntal style.

Having established the fact that Brumel was not the only composer to write in this seemingly odd and futuristic style, the next step is to try to explain why Josquin, Brumel, and Gombert composed the way they did. Since the style of Brumel's *Et ecce terrae motus* did not seem odd to anybody in the sixteenth century, a good starting point of finding explanations for it might be our own perception of the music of the *ars perfecta*.

As was shown above, today's general approach to the music of the *ars perfecta* tends to emphasize the intellectual aspects of its counterpoint; linearity, transparency, and the integrity of the musical line are shown as the anchors of the music of Josquin. Maybe this mostly linear aural perception needs to be adjusted, seeing the *ars perfecta* more in the light of its name: a style of composing in which all aspects of counterpoint, horizontal as well vertical, are of equal importance.

In case of Brumel's *Missa Et ecce terrae motus*, however, there are also specific contextual reasons for this unusual style, as will be shown in the next section.

80

Superius I  
Superius II  
Altus I  
Altus II  
Tenor  
Bassus

A - - gnus De - - i, a - gnus De - - i,  
A - - gnus De - - i, a - gnus De - - i,  
A - - - - - gnus De - - - - -  
A - - - - - gnus De - - - - -

[illegible]

87

Musical score for "Gloria in excelsis Deo" by Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 141. The score is for SATB voices and basso continuo. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are in Latin: "Gloria in excelsis Deo. Deo in excelsis Deo. Deo in excelsis Deo." The score shows the vocal parts and the basso continuo line with figured bass notation.

92

[illegible]

*Example 4.* Josquin des Prez, *Missa L'homme armé sexti toni*, Agnus Dei.

TODAY'S CONTEXTUAL PERCEPTION OF THE MASSES OF THE *ARS PERFECTA*

Having disproved some of the oddity claims by showing other examples with similar styles, the next task will be to find reasons within the work itself and its immediate context for this seemingly extraordinary style. Since mass compositions are based on the mass text, it is only logical to look for connections between the musical style and the text.

Brown says the following about the relationship between the text and the music of Josquin's mass compositions: "The ritual character of the Mass Ordinary must inevitably have suggested to a Renaissance musician that he should put little stress on a subjective interpretation of the text. And the very length of the mass seldom allowed a composer to lavish on single words and idiosyncratic readings of their meanings that sort of care he could give in shorter motets. Josquin's masses, then, display more obviously than do the motets the musically constructivist side of his personality."<sup>13</sup> Brown's approach to the mass as more or less 'absolute' music seems to be very common. Gottwald clearly perceives Brumel's *Et ecce terrae motus* as not text-oriented: 'Brumel's mass stays as a musical art work basically indifferent toward the text... Text is for the composer of *Et ecce terrae motus* seen as a musical phenomenon, which is on the one hand predetermined material for the singers to articulate sounds with; on the other hand the text contains qualities such as rhythm or tone color, which will influence the music.'<sup>14</sup>

While it is true that a composer will approach a mass text differently from a text for a motet, frottola, or chanson, it is hard to believe that he would more-or-less disregard the meaning of a mass text without giving it any interpretative consideration in his music. In fact, there are many examples that disprove the idea that mass compositions were somehow considered absolute music. In almost any *Credo* of any late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century mass the sections *Et incarnatus est*, *Crucifixus*, and *Et resurrexit* are set apart musically from the rest of the movement. Other examples of textual considerations are masses such as Josquin's *Missa de Beata Virgine*, which show a thematic approach to the mass; Josquin uses Marian tropes in the *Gloria* as cantus firmi. There are also many examples of masses that were written for certain occasions or people, which is reflected in the choice of the cantus firmus.

<sup>13</sup> BROWN, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 134.

<sup>14</sup> GOTTWALD, *Antoine Brumels Messe 'Et ecce terrae motus'*, pp. 244–245: "Brumels Messe bleibt als musikalisches Kunstwerk weitgehend indifferent gegenüber dem Text. ... Text bedeutet für den Komponisten von *Et ecce terrae motus* ein musikalisches Phänomen, das einerseits vorgegeben ist als Material, damit Sänger überhaupt Töne artikulieren können, dem andererseits aber auch Qualitäten wie Rhythmus oder Klangfarben innewohnen, die in die Musik drängen." (my translation)

Andrew Kirkman and Philip Weller more recently have pointed out the relevance of the liturgical context: "In serving the needs of the chapel... the composer's task was to provide works written with due regard for their appropriateness to both function and usage. The primary justification for any sacred composition was liturgical in its broadest sense: its first purpose was to be enacted as an integral element of a 'representative' or 'commemorative' religious action, whether this was part of the regular liturgy or not. What we would think of as the aesthetic or technical aspects of a work were less important in themselves than in the way in which they combined to enrich the particular ceremonial tradition or form of ritual observance for which that work had been made and of which it formed a part."<sup>15</sup>

Translated, the opening phrase of the Easter antiphon used in this mass means 'and behold, an earthquake', referring to the earthquake mentioned in the Bible in Matthew and Mark to have happened the night before Easter. It is quite plausible that Brumel might have written this mass for a specific Easter service. More evidence for that claim can be found in the *Credo*. While the original text of the antiphon is changed everywhere else to the mass text, in the *Credo* Brumel decides to use the words of the antiphon, *et ecce terrae motus*. When looking further at that passage one realizes that the entrances of those canonic statements of the Easter antiphon coincide with the beginning of the section *et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum*. The *Credo* is theologically the heart of the mass by virtue of the proclamation of the faith of the believer. The section starting with *et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum* declares the man Jesus as the Christ, the Messiah, the Son of God. That proclamation is based on the firm belief in the resurrection of Jesus, which, of course, happened at Easter. It would be an astounding coincidence if the usage of the original text of the antiphon at that particular spot were merely accidental.

It will be helpful at this point to take a closer look at the function or symbolism of the earthquake in the Bible. Paul Minear writes the following about the symbolic meaning of the earthquake: "Consider, for example, the associations of the term 'earthquake' itself. This is an image that modern readers are almost bound to misconstrue. In the language of scripture, it is the powerful presence of God that shakes cities and mountains, the heavens and the earth, and whatever has been the measure of stability and security. It is God's voice that causes the earth to tremble, for that voice utters judgment and wrath – an extreme emergency designed to evoke instant consternation, terror, awe, contrition, confession."<sup>16</sup> In the Easter story there are two earthquakes reported by Matthew: "And Jesus cried out again with a loud voice and yielded up his spirit. And behold the temple was torn in two from top to bottom, and the earth shook; and the rocks were split, and the tombs were opened; and many

<sup>15</sup> A. KIRKMAN and P. WELLER, *Binchois's Texts*, in *Music and Letters*, 77 (1996), pp. 589–590.

<sup>16</sup> P.S. MINEAR, *The Golphatha Earthquake*, Cleveland, 1995, pp. 101–102.



bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised; and coming out of the tombs after the resurrection they entered the holy city and appeared to many. Now the centurion, and those who were with him keeping guard over Jesus, when they saw the earthquake and the things that were happening, became very frightened and said, ‘truly this was the Son of God!’”<sup>17</sup> “Now after the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to look at the grave. And behold, a severe earthquake had occurred, for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven and came down and rolled away the stone and sat on it. And his appearance was like lightning, and his garment as white as snow; and the guards shook for fear and became like dead men. And the angel answered and said to the women, ‘Do not be afraid; for I know that you are looking for Jesus who has been crucified. He is not here, for He has risen, just as He said. Come, see the place where he was lying.’”<sup>18</sup> God’s display of power, authority, and judgment become very clear in the reactions of the centurion and later the guards. But there is also a more Easter-specific symbolism in these two earthquakes as Minear explains: “Matthew tells of two earthquakes: one on Friday, freeing the saints from their tombs, and an ‘after-shock’ on Sunday, revealing to the women what has happened. Both resurrections mark a fulfillment of Jesus’ prophecies and a defeat of death. And because his death is an atonement for the sins of many, both signal victory over Adamic sin. In becoming least of all and servant of all, a status assured by his forsakenness, he has become truly God’s Anointed, sent to deliver God’s people from sin and death.”<sup>19</sup>

It seems very obvious that Brumel used the symbolic meaning of the earthquakes as the basis for his mass. Brumel recognized the earthquakes as the most tangible markers of the Easter story; he realized the possibilities of conveying the meaning of Easter in his mass through the extra-musical as well as musical allusions to the earthquakes. Brumel chose the Easter antiphon deliberately to steer the listener’s attention to the Easter earthquake. The dense texture and the emphasis on the lower registers that “make the sound non-transparent and thick” seen in this light do not seem to “give away the composer’s inexperience in his writing for so many parts,”<sup>20</sup> but rather must be seen as well-used musical tools that interpret the meaning of the text quite convincingly. It is the creating of sound fields with emphasis on jolting rhythms created by the overlay of rhythmically highly active musical lines in close points of imitation that let the listener experience the Easter earthquakes and thereby bring him closer to the Easter story.

<sup>17</sup> Matthew 27:50–54, New American Standard Version.

<sup>18</sup> Matthew 28:1–6, New American Standard Version.

<sup>19</sup> MINEAR, *The Golgotha Earthquake*, pp. 107–108.

<sup>20</sup> GOTTWALD, *Antoine Brumels Messe ‘Et ecce terrae motus’*, p. 237.

## CONCLUSION

Brumel's style in the *Missa Et ecce terrae motus* is not as utopian and experimental as it has been made out to be. Placed in the right context Brumel's sound-oriented style is very much in line with Renaissance thought and ideas. Brumel purposefully takes a less linear approach in order to provide a mass written specifically for an Easter service.

Brumel's style as well as that of Josquin and Gombert in the above-cited works challenge our narrow aural approach to the music of the *ars perfecta*, as they explore the vertical aspects rather than linearity and transparency. These works challenge our ideas about how polyphonic music might have been perceived and listened to at around 1500. May they also broaden our own perception of polyphony of the *ars perfecta* and enrich our listening experience.



## PERSONAL ENDOWMENTS: THE ECONOMIC ENGINE OF THE 'CYCLIC' MASS?

*Andrew Kirkman*  
*Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey*

Whatever their mutual bonds, fifteenth-century musicians shared one important characteristic with the rest of Christendom: the desire to shorten the purgatory that, short of sainthood and immediate passage to paradise, would succeed their earthly life. Preparation for death and the desire to shorten the purgatory that would inevitably follow had serious implications for the way one led one's entire life, particularly if one had the money and leisure to prepare in an appropriate manner. A good life beautiful in the eyes of the Lord would help: acts of philanthropy, in the form of distributions of bread to the poor, money to hospitals and prisons, and so on would certainly, it was thought, be looked on favourably. But – increasingly in the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth century – this concern was most prominently expressed in the form of acts of personal piety.

For those with sufficient money, the clearest – and most expensive – form taken by the concern to shorten purgatory was the endowment of regular offerings in the form of sacred rites, chiefly the endowment of Masses. The individual paid priests to perform Mass on specified days of the year, or, funds permitting, on specified days every week or indeed every day. Every medieval will reminds us that 'nothing is more certain than death, nor less certain than the hour of the same'. Yet preparations for the afterlife would accelerate significantly as old age encroached, reaching a point of particular intensity in the immediate aftermath of death. Conveniently cutting into funds at the point at which they had ceased to be of use to a person's life, very large proportions of personal wealth, as we read in the surviving executors' accounts of the wealthy, would typically be channelled into the celebration of Masses, pleading, it was hoped, for the soul as the day of its reckoning arrived. The money channelled into these rites could be very considerable, soaking up, in some cases, a very large proportion of the deceased's estate: funeral services and obits could be provided for in a variety of churches, monasteries and convents, while in some cases a veritable army of priests would be paid to celebrate Masses for the soul of the departed at specified times and places. Favoured altars in the mother church and in others of particular importance to the individual concerned would become sites of intense activity on behalf of his soul. Often this would take the form of sets of thirty Masses: the so-called *trentaine* of St Gregory, performed on the day of the funeral or on successive days thereafter; or in some cases an *annuel* of Masses: one each day for a year beginning with the funeral. Death would also typically trigger more permanent foundations: Masses or other devotions to be performed on specific days each year or week in perpetuity.

While conventions varied from place to place, the general pattern is clear: the practice of personal endowments gathered enormous momentum in the course of the fifteenth century, reaching its peak in the later years of that century. Since this same period is also that of the early growth and proliferation of polyphonic Mass composition, it has been reasonably inferred that the two phenomena are intimately related. The grander the Mass, logic would suggest, the greater the favour thought to be curried with God and specified saints.<sup>1</sup> This inference appears more inescapable as we remind ourselves of the melodies on which a substantial proportion of these Masses are based: Marian *cantus firmi* or courtly songs whose unattainable lady seems, as Jennifer Bloxam outlined in a recent study,<sup>2</sup> to be a cipher for the unattainable lady of the heavenly host, the prime intercessor at the celestial court.<sup>3</sup>

This model seems especially convincing since it is strongly supported by what to musicologists is the best known will and executors' account of the late Middle Ages: those of Guillaume Du Fay.<sup>4</sup> In a number of ways Du Fay's last wishes are typical of those of a well-to-do canon coming to the end of his life in the late fifteenth century; in other ways, though, they are entirely exceptional. I will begin by taking another look at Du Fay's account and will then put it into the context of those of some other church dignitaries who died around the same time. The point is not that the growth of the polyphonic Mass was not driven by a growing concern with personal piety: that inference is all but inescapable; rather that this was only one of a range of means – musical and non-musical, monophonic or polyphonic – by which the wealthy – whether

<sup>1</sup> As Barbara Haggh has put it, "... just as the sale of indulgences contributed to the construction of visibly grandiose edifices, so, surely, did the endowments seeking personal salvation introduce the most audibly elaborate music." See B. HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony in Brussels, 1350–1500*, Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1988, 1, pp. 524–525. Haggh's pioneering dissertation was the first study to identify and explore the role of personal endowments in the spread and development of music in the later Middle Ages. She also makes the key observation that proliferation of new forms of musical expression is likely also linked to proliferation of personal endowments that were not subject to the controls placed on the communal observance (see pp. 523–524): "Sacred polyphony with emblematic *cantus firmi*, numerical structures, perhaps even using the later techniques of 'imitation' and 'parody', bear personal stamps far more compatible with late medieval piety; pieces seemingly more appropriate as commemorative or devotional works celebrated at endowed services."

<sup>2</sup> M.J. BLOXAM, *A Cultural Context for the Chanson Mass*, in H. MECONI ed., *Early Musical Borrowing*, New York, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> The reflection of the Virgin's role as *mediatrix* in the huge proliferation of Marian musical devotions also received early recognition in HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, pp. 511–513 and *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Discussions of this document (Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, MS 4 G 1313), which has been well-known to scholarship since the publication of the will and excerpts from the executors' account (in J. HOUDOY, *Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai: ancienne église métropolitaine Notre-Dame*, Lille, 1880, pp. 409–414 and 267–269), are many. See for instance C. WRIGHT, *Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), pp. 175–229; and D. FALLOWS, *Dufay*, 2nd ed., London, 1987, pp. 79–82. The most exhaustive study of Du Fay's foundations is: B. HAGGH, *Nonconformity in the Use of Cambrai Cathedral: Guillaume Du Fay's Foundations*, in M.E. FASSLER and R.A. BALTZER eds., *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 372–397.

musicians or not – could provide for their souls after death. Nor, crucially, is any clear rationale behind such choices discernible.

Like countless others of similar station, Du Fay left money in his will to churches, convents, prisons and the poor, all with the same end: that the beneficiaries would pray for his soul and that his good works would be looked on favourably by those whose concern, after death, was what concerned him above all else. Typically again, Du Fay's provisions for his soul range from the transitory through the perennial to what, it was hoped at any rate, would be the permanent. Thus the image on his grave slab of the dead canon being presented by Ste Waudru to a scene of the Resurrection is echoed in innumerable similar funerary reliefs of canons being ushered by their saintly sponsors before the Nativity, the Trinity, the Virgin and Child or the *pietà*. Masses to be celebrated for favoured saints and on the second day of each month of the year provided, along with his annual obit service, forms of human intercession for his soul in perpetuity (or so he would have hoped). Like so many of his station a member of a confraternity, Du Fay also provided for a Mass 'which it is the custom to celebrate after the death of each *confrere*' in front of the icon of Notre Dame de Grâce which was the focus of his particular confraternity. Here we see one of a number of expressions of Du Fay's concern, universally shared, to be looked on favourably by the Virgin, the prime *mediatrix*. More unusually, one of the gifts itemised in his will and executors' account is of what was evidently a painted diptych of the Virgin facing the image of his fellow singer and canon of Cambrai, Symon le Breton, who had predeceased Du Fay by a year. Du Fay instructs that this is to be given to the *grans vicaires* of the cathedral in order to be placed on the altar of the chapel of St Stephen, where both he and Symon were buried, 'on feast days' and on the days of his own and Symon's obits. Here we see one of many instances in which the power of a permanent prayer in the form of a fixed image could be harnessed – or indeed energised – through its use in ritual: in this way different methods of devotion could be combined leading, it was thought, to a corresponding heightening of invocatory power. That same interaction of the fixed and permanent with the temporary and evanescent emerges again in his request for four candles to be burnt, one each before his epitaph and three other *images* including that of St Anthony, at every Mass endowed by him and during every performance of the *Salve regina*. Here, in a ritualised and deeply intensified form, is something akin to the imploration of the deceased found on almost every epitaph of this period for those passing to *priez dieu pour son ame*, or even to say ritual numbers of Pater nosters or Ave Marias for a suitable pay-off in terms of remission of sins.

For a man of his station, the sheer number of Masses endowed by Du Fay is comparatively modest: Masses endowed by canons of similar standing frequently ran into the hundreds. And while the specification of polyphony for the Requiem and the three annual Masses dedicated to specific saints is unusual, it is certainly not unheard of. Even, as we will see, the rare fragments of 'performance practice' are not unique:

the information that the funeral service was to be sung ‘well and in a drawn-out manner’ (*bien et a tret*) and that the hymn *Magno salutis gaudio* was to be performed in falsetto or quietly (*en fausset* or *submissa voce*) have parallels elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> There are other things in Du Fay’s case, though, that are indeed exceptional: first, the precision of the instructions, but most of all the fact that two of the polyphonic Masses to be performed, the Requiem Mass and the Mass for St Anthony, are specified; and not only specified, but written by the dying man himself.<sup>6</sup> We read of the numbers of singers required to perform these items, the fact that the composer’s copies of both settings (and of his Mass for St Anthony of Vienne) were to be donated to the Chapel of St Stephen, and even that a dinner was paid for at Du Fay’s expense following the first performance after his death of the Mass for St Anthony of Padua. Another extraordinary detail, not to my knowledge mentioned before, concerns a request in the will for the ‘discanting’ on the day of the exequies of ‘however many Masses for which priests can be found’ (*Tot misse / quot sacerdotes poterunt reperiri*). We learn from the executors’ account that no fewer than 126 priests, each of whom was to be paid 3 *sous* and 4 *deniers* for his pains, performed this task, which must have represented an extraordinary logistical feat.

As far as polyphonic music is concerned, then, everything about the Du Fay will and executors’ account points to the same conclusion: that elaborate devotions with polyphony, at least to Du Fay, had a much higher premium than devotions said or sung to chant. In other words, the extra money involved in mounting polyphonic performances was thought to be well spent. Further, they demonstrate emphatically that the composer saw his musical skill as something to be put to work in easing the progress of his soul after death. That much is evident enough from the famous personal invocations embedded in his four-voice setting of *Ave regina celorum* (presumably the one that was to have been performed after his Requiem Mass) and, musically, in his related Mass of the same name.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For a note of caution concerning the conclusion that this term refers to falsetto singing, see D. FALLOWS, *Specific Information on the Ensembles for Composed Polyphony, 1400–1474*, in S. BOORMAN ed., *Studies in the Performance of Late Medieval Music*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 126.

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Henry’s monthly *Ave Maria gratia dei plena per secula*, endowed at Notre Dame of Paris in 1486, and surely, as Craig Wright infers, implying performance (at least by 1501) of Brumel’s surviving motet set to the same unique text, represents a rare further link of a known foundation with a known polyphonic piece. Yet even here Brumel’s composition is not mentioned directly in any of the surviving documentation; see C. WRIGHT, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris 500–1550*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 185–186, 349.

<sup>7</sup> This Mass was probably intended to be sung annually for Du Fay’s soul on August 5, the Feast of Our Lady of Snows, in the last few years of his life. This suggestion was apparently first made publicly by Reinhard Strohm in 1984; see R. WEGMAN, *Miserere supplicanti Dufay: The Creation and Transmission of Guillaume Dufay’s Missa Ave regina celorum*, in *The Journal of Musicology*, 13 (1995), pp. 47–48. See also R. STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 284–287; B. HAGGH, *The Medieval Obituary and the Rise of Sacred Polyphony in the Low Countries*, paper read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, New Orleans, 1987; HAGGH, *Non-conformity*, p. 282.

All of this makes considerable sense to us in the early twenty-first century: it almost seems to go without saying that Du Fay's music, the reason we still care about him at all, should have been foremost in his devotions, harnessed both during his life and after it had ended for the benefit of his soul. Reading about Du Fay's last wishes, then, serves only to bring us closer to him, and to intensify the powerful experience that still today can come from engaging with his music. Yet from a broader historical perspective, we must consider whether such conclusions are sustainable: just how typical was Du Fay in his high evaluation and intensive use of polyphony in acts of personal piety? If he was not, in what ways was he atypical? And what might this tell us on the one hand about him, and, on the other about the cultural practice of which his devotions partook? In short, any larger inferences drawn from Du Fay's case need to be checked against others.

A good place to start would seem to be the executors' accounts of other known musicians. If Du Fay had such conviction in the power of polyphonic music, and particularly Masses, to ease the passage of his soul, could not the same have been true also for his fellow musicians? An obvious, indeed surely *the* most obvious suspect with whom to begin is Binchois, whose executors' account, though sadly not his will, has also survived.<sup>8</sup> Binchois's account is a great deal more cursory than Du Fay's, running to only ten sparsely-lettered sheets as opposed to the eighteen densely-packed folios occupied by a single copy of Du Fay's account. Yet although Binchois's account lists endowments of a large number of Masses, not one specifies polyphony: indeed, without exception, all the Masses listed – which include seven *trentaines* of Masses and one *annuel* – are to be celebrated by one priest alone who in each case is named in the account. In fact there is nothing in this account to indicate that Binchois was ever a musician at all. A similar impression is made by the account of the priest who was paid to celebrate Binchois's *annuel*: his executor and the dean of St Vincent, Soignies while Binchois was provost there, Guillaume de Mallebecque.<sup>9</sup> Like Binchois, Mallebecque was a composer and a singer of distinction, having served in the papal chapel under Eugenius IV.<sup>10</sup> Yet as in the case of Binchois, his account gives no indication of any polyphony endowed in his name. Indeed, only one cursorily-detailed payment 'for Masses celebrated... for the said testator, for his soul and for his friends and benefactors' mentions the celebration of Masses at all.

<sup>8</sup> Mons, Archives de l'État, Chapitre de Soignies, testament 42.

<sup>9</sup> Mons, Archives de l'État, Chapitre de Soignies, testament 44.

<sup>10</sup> See C. WRIGHT/S. GALLAGHER, art. *Malbecque [Malbeke], Guillaume (Mediatoris de)*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 15, London, 2001, pp. 680–681.



That situation at least is not reflected in the executors' account of the former papal singer and long-time member of the Burgundian Chapel Toussaint de le Ruelle, who died in 1470 and was buried in the collegiate church of St Omer, Saint-Omer, where he held a canonry, and where his epitaph still survives.<sup>11</sup> While Du Fay aimed for specific targets in his posthumous devotions, Toussaint preferred quantity, spread out on a wide scale. Payments were made by his executors for literally hundreds of Masses, both in his mother church of Saint-Omer and elsewhere. Individual priests alone received payments for saying as many as two hundred Masses. A small number of these foundations are for *messes prescheuses*, a term whose meaning is unclear to me; but even these Masses are expressly to be celebrated by individual, named priests. At least two of the priests paid by Toussaint to celebrate Masses were known singers. One of these was Robert le Fevre or Fabri, whose career I have been able to trace from choirboy to cantor, and who received a gift in the terms of Toussaint's will of two books of music. Yet all the priests named for performing Masses for Toussaint's soul are paid for performing them alone. While his elaborate funeral service, which included three choirboys in addition to the usual six, may well have included polyphony, there is no evidence that his posthumous endowments involved any such provision.

The picture changes radically as we shift our attention to another luminary of St Omer, the former contratenorista of St Peter's, Rome and apostolic protonotary, Nicolas Rembert.<sup>12</sup> While there is no evidence that Rembert was involved in singing again after leaving the position he held at St Peter's from 1475/1476, he clearly maintained an involvement in music throughout his life. That involvement is best known from his clearly unsuccessful efforts, as witnessed by a document dated September 1489 found by Jeremy Noble, to obtain an expectative benefice at St Omer for Josquin.<sup>13</sup> Noble also pointed out that Rembert had acted around the same time as a proctor for Tintoris in connection with a prebend in Nivelles. His effort on Josquin's behalf was not his only attempt to secure a prebend at St Omer for a singer with a long-standing connection with the Papal Choir: a record in that church's chapter acts dated only a month before the Josquin document details his involvement in appointments to a prebend briefly held there by Gaspar van Weerbeke.<sup>14</sup> More evidence of Rembert's musical interests is scattered through the chapter acts and fabric accounts

<sup>11</sup> The account is preserved in Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II.G.476.

<sup>12</sup> Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II.G.484. For Rembert's and Rosa's (see below) spells in St Peter's see F.X. HABERL, *Die römische 'schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in F. CHRYSANDER, PH. SPITTA and G. ADLER eds., *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 3, Leipzig, 1887, p. 237.

<sup>13</sup> J. NOBLE, *New Light on Josquin's Benefices*, in E.E. LOWINSKY and B. BLACKBURN eds., *Josquin des Prez: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival-Conference Held at the Juilliard School at Lincoln Center in New York City, 21–25 June 1971*, London, 1976, pp. 80–84.

<sup>14</sup> Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II.G.355, fol. 75r.

of St Omer. While we may never know whether or not he continued to sing after the mid-1470s, his connections among known musicians are widely documented. It may be relevant, for example, that in 1489 he took over a prebend at St Donatian, Bruges, from Guillaume Rosa, another canon of St Omer who was also, like Weerbeke, a former papal singer and, like Rembert, a member of the choir of St Peter's in the mid 1470s.<sup>15</sup> Rembert's influence in Rome was of no small significance in his success, in 1490, in suppressing the canonicate and prebend associated at St Omer with the office of cantor and diverting the money to augmenting the provision for the six choirboys and their master.<sup>16</sup> This was a common method for expanding musical provision at this time, and the 1490 example was one of three such suppressions at St Omer in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

At his death in January 1504, Rembert was Dean of St Omer and a man of very considerable substance: the complete sum of his property and receipts at death came to a staggering 7,725 *livres*, 14 *sous* and 8 *deniers* (in money of Artois). Equally striking, though, is the proportion of this amount that he earmarked for endowments which almost certainly involved polyphony. On folio 4v of his enormous executors' account we read that he endowed no less than 1,000 *livres* for rents to provide for the performance 'before the high altar at the high Mass each day' of '*O salutaris hostia* or *O sacrum convivium*, which may be performed before or as soon as possible after the Pater noster, before Agnus Dei'.<sup>17</sup> From the same page we learn that he provided another 1,000 *livres* 'to have the *Salve Regina* sung each day of the year in the chapel of Notre Dame of the conception and St Nicholas, next to the chapel of Sire Simon Godefroy for me, for him and for all my friends'. This chapel, as a modern inscription on its west wall affirms today, was built with funds provided by Rembert himself. If the sums involved in these two endowments already suggest polyphony, this seems to be confirmed, at least for the *Salve*, by the record of another payment to be made to 'the singers and choirboys' when they perform the antiphon. These were clearly Rembert's 'showpiece' foundations; elsewhere in his account we read of more modest rituals of the type found in most similar documents of the period: *trentaines* and other apparently 'low' Masses to be said in perpetuity, both in St Omer and in the church of *Saint Bert[in]* in Rembert's birthplace, Doudeauville, in a chapel founded for his benefit by his parents.

Taking stock of these executors' accounts of known musicians, one thing emerges clearly: just how different was the provision made by each of the five individuals con-

<sup>15</sup> See R. STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1985, p. 188.

<sup>16</sup> For one of a number of copies of the relevant papal bull in Saint-Omer, see Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II.G.355, fol. 78v.

<sup>17</sup> Such endowments of elevation motets had understandable appeal: see HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, 1, p. 522 and 2, p. 659, which details a similar endowment made in 1482 by Philippe Siron for the singing of *O salutaris hostia* during the elevation on high feast days at the Church of St Goedele in Brussels, where he was held a canonry.

cerned? More to the point given the topic of this study is how different the four accounts just discussed are from that of Du Fay: of the four known musicians, at Soignies and Saint-Omer, only one, Rembert, seems to have made any provision for polyphony. And while both Rembert and Du Fay endowed foundations with polyphony in side chapels, Du Fay concentrated on Masses while Rembert invested most heavily in performances of a Marian antiphon. Further, while Du Fay's endowed Masses were all to be performed in the chapel where he was buried, Rembert's, all apparently devoid of polyphony, were scattered around, within and without his mother church. For the sole polyphony he seems to have endowed at Mass, Rembert, with huge financial muscle to draw on, positioned his invocation at the high Mass of the high altar, and within that Mass, as near as possible to the crucial moment of the elevation. In this way he was able to situate his plea at the key moment of the primary Eucharistic celebration of his mother church, thereby harnessing the prayers and supplications of his entire community. This was a decision presumably made in preference to the endowment of complete polyphonic Masses, a practice that would have relegated his devotions to side chapels. For him the central moment of the central celebration of his church was the primary target.

To broaden the focus now to include dead canons who were not known musicians is quickly to see that there is no necessary link between a career involving music and the endowment of polyphony. With the exception again of Du Fay, the range of devotions endowed by canons with no known musical association maps fairly closely onto the pattern already noted: while some expiring dignitaries chose to emphasize the 'breadth', of large numbers of simple services, others showed a preference for the 'depth' of more elaborate rituals which may or may not have involved polyphony; while some were unspecific in their devotions, others chose to put large numbers of their eggs in the baskets of particular favoured saints. In sum, the patterns of devotions chosen were as multifarious as the lives they reflected. But breadth and depth had one important thing in common: both could only be implemented with the help of substantial sums of money. Thus it is unsurprising that the more sophisticated foundations tend to be clustered in the executors' accounts of richer canons.

In some cases these foundations could assume complex and highly ambitious forms. Thus Baugois le Beghin, a canon of Saint-Omer who died in 1475, endowed a sophisticated pattern of observances that included the raising of the Feast of Sts. Julian and Basil (in whose chapel he was buried) to the rank of major double, a Mass to be celebrated in that chapel every day of the year in perpetuity by two vicars, and obits in various churches of significance to him, all of this resting on a copious and immediately posthumous base of *trentaines* and other multiple Mass celebrations.<sup>18</sup> But Baugois's masterstroke was of a type we have not encountered elsewhere: this was the endowment of a bell 'called Julienne' to be rung at specified moments in

<sup>18</sup> Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II.G.473.

specified ways.<sup>19</sup> The bell was to be struck every Saturday and on the vigils of all Marian feasts while the *Salve* was being sung in the nave. Like Rembert, Baugois was keen to associate his personal plea with that of the high Mass; thus he also specifies that it is to be rung every day during high Mass at the precise moment of the elevation, 'as is customary in notable churches of this kingdom'. Finally, the bell was to be struck seven times every day at Matins and at the hour that his daily Mass in his chosen chapel was begun. With this bell Baugois was thus able to embed his personal plea in a wide network of devotions, and to make his invocation resound around the entire building and out into the surrounding city and beyond.

A similar link between local and wider space is forged by the payment by some canons, Baugois included, for a series of low Masses to be performed simultaneously with their funeral services. In some instances, as in the case of Jehan Magistri, a canon of St Omer who died the year before Baugois in 1474, this ritual could involve a *trentaine* of Masses (in Magistri's case *Requiem* Masses) being performed simultaneously by thirty vicars stationed in different parts of the building (a procedure reminiscent of the still more ambitious multiple Mass celebration of Du Fay described above).<sup>20</sup> The logistical, not to say choreographical complexity of such a performance, drawing together the entire space of the church in a simultaneous invocation, must have been remarkable. Magistri is also one of the St Omer canons who had the funds and desire to endow polyphony: he paid for the performance on each Marian feast of 'a Mass *a notte* of the Blessed Virgin, by priest, deacon and subdeacon and by three soft voices' (*une messe a notte de ladite benoite vierge par prestre diacre et souxdiacre et par trois voix muees*). This was to take place in front of the image of the Virgin in the chapel of Notre Dame des cloques, at whose entrance Magistri wished to be interred.<sup>21</sup>

Among the most elaborate foundations is one endowed by Jehan Coquillan, an extremely wealthy holder of the post of cantor who died in 1455, and whose exquisite epitaph, showing the deceased being presented to a scene involving a *pietà* and various saints, survives in the church. This calls for the singing every Sunday between Easter and the first Sunday of Advent of 'an antiphon of our lady named *Ave regina celorum mater regis angelorum*'.<sup>22</sup> Using exactly the same wording as that applied to Du Fay's funeral service, the account details that this is to be 'sung well and in a drawn-out manner' (*bien et attret*). But Coquillan gives still more detail: he wants the antiphon to be sung *a point dorgue* (presumably involving pauses or *punctus*

<sup>19</sup> A plaster cast of part of the inscription on this bell is currently on display in the former Jesuit Church of Saint-Omer, in whose precinct the municipal library is now situated.

<sup>20</sup> Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II.G.476.

<sup>21</sup> Since the Mass was presumably *à 3* and was endowed at a time by which four-voice writing had become the norm, it seems likely that, probably as with many similar instances, the endowment concerns music performed on the book rather than composed.

<sup>22</sup> Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II.G.474.

*organi* during which the performers would typically genuflect) in the manner *comme on fait aparis*.<sup>23</sup> As in so many such instances, timing and location were everything: the performers were to execute the antiphon 'in returning from procession in the nave', a procedure that took place each Sunday across precisely the site that, for precisely this reason, Coquillan had requested for his tomb. Again as in so many other cases, the endowment involved a confluence of the passing and the permanent: the efficaciousness of the Sunday performances was supported by two tablets containing the words of the *Ave regina*, paid for by the deceased and hung on permanent display in the church.

Retracing our steps now to Du Fay we begin to see how exceptional were his provisions for his soul. Many of the inferences they encourage us to draw concerning the endowment of polyphonic Masses are not sustainable when we broaden our field of vision to embrace the practices of other church dignitaries of similar station who died around the same time:<sup>24</sup> thus his obvious conviction in the primary efficaciousness of polyphonic Masses, while shared by some, is far from universally held. Of course Du Fay's account has the advantage of being extraordinarily detailed: endowments involving polyphony are surely hidden in much more cursory entries such as that in Mallebecque's account, mentioned above. In such cases it was presumably thought that other official documents instigating the foundations and specifying them in detail would suffice, and that repetition of them in executors' accounts was superfluous. Of course most such documents have been lost, though some, such as that for the celebrations of Baugois discussed above, have survived.<sup>25</sup>

Another problem is the (by our standards) great imprecision and interchangeability of terminology in such documents.<sup>26</sup> Thus, as even Du Fay's account demonstrates, the word *dire* could cover anything from said devotions to composed polyphony; similarly, the expression *a notte* may refer to either chant, polyphony performed *ex tempore* on the book or composed polyphony. Context is frequently essential to interpretation. Costings may help (it is clear, for instance, that the standard payment for performing a 'low' Mass at St Omer was 2 *sous*); and a range of different descriptions of the same foundation can greatly assist, as in the case of vari-

<sup>23</sup> Egidius Carlerius (d.1473) speaks of *musica morata*, which he likens to *musica morosa et temperata, quae a plerisque vocatur gallice 'a point d'orgue', ab aliis, ut hic supple Cameraci, 'de longues'*. See B. BLACKBURN, *Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 40 (1987), p. 261. Blackburn notes that the term thus presumably refers to long held-out notes, and that it may imply involvement of the organ or a performance style in imitation of its idiom.

<sup>24</sup> The same inference can be drawn from similar documents from other foundations in the Low Countries and Northern France; see for example HAGGH, *Music, Liturgy, and Ceremony*, passim.

<sup>25</sup> Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS II.G.1776.

<sup>26</sup> See WRIGHT, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame*, pp. 349–354, for a consideration of the terminology used for music at Notre Dame, Paris.

ably-worded descriptions of the same foundation in annual fabric accounts. Thus while links between personal Mass foundations and polyphonic Masses are demonstrable in a range of illustrative cases, support for the notion of their mutual proliferation is to a large degree down to inference. The one cannot positively be demonstrated to have grown entirely or even chiefly from the other, although it is clear that the two phenomena are closely linked. But perhaps the most important lesson to be drawn from surviving documentation is that polyphonic Masses, with all their elaboration, attendant expense, and (one might presume) putative kudos in the eyes of the saints in whose honour they were performed, were far from the invariable choice of those with sufficient funds to pay for them. If personal endowments were indeed the economic engine of the polyphonic Mass, the polyphonic Mass was only one component in the much larger engine of personal endowments.



## MUSIC IN THE DEMAND-BASED ECONOMY IN NORTHERN ITALY IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY\*

*Paul A. Merkley*  
*University of Ottawa*

In the past few years musicologists have made considerable progress in the documentation of the patronage of music in Renaissance courts, however the impact on artistic patronage of the transformation of what some would term the supply-side economy into a demand-based economy during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries has been examined more tangibly and specifically for the visual arts than for music. It is clear that the changed economy affected musicians in their private and professional transactions. When Duke Galeazzo Sforza wished to bring people or property from specific regions to his court, he used the financial instruments and network available, including extraordinary, specific imports such as ordering crystal from England, sending his trumpet player with a letter of exchange for one thousand gold ducats to purchase a coveted breed of horses from Spain in 1473, and, through the branch of the Medici bank in Bruges, advancing monetary incentives to Gaspar Weerbeke for the recruitment of musicians from the group most sought after by all European courts, ultramontane singers of polyphony.<sup>1</sup> Antonio Guinati, master of the chapel, hired German mining engineers to help him exploit his lucrative mineral concession in Lombardy; Weerbeke paid substantial sums to agents to manage his business interests in Milan (possibly including a textile mill) while he saw to his affairs in the north; Josquin des Prez is now known to have been the nephew of innkeepers, and to have inherited an establishment efficiently placed for the refreshment of merchants and other travellers at the customs station between France and the empire.<sup>2</sup>

The above records may situate musicians in the new economy and illustrate conspicuous consumption and commercial activity across borders, but they do not demonstrate a changed demand or market for music, a subject about which little has been published. No doubt one reason for this is that historical documents bearing on the visual arts that record personal properties, such as paintings or collections that were assessed or sold, reveal features that are readily quantifiable. In addition, it goes without saying that the archives themselves were established primarily as 'state

\* This research was carried out with the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

<sup>1</sup> Milan, Archivio di Stato (hereafter AS) Sforzesco 515 p. 51, Sforzesco 1606 and Potenze sovrane 124 n. 94.

<sup>2</sup> See L. MATTHEWS, *Weerbeke in Milan: Aspects of Clientage at Court*, in G. FORNARI ed., *Album Amicorum Albert Dunning*, Turnhout, 2002, pp. 189–230; P.A. MERKLEY and L.L.M. MERKLEY, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Turnhout, 1999, pp. 456ff., for the inn of Josquin des Prez, references to Guinati's business transactions on several pages.



archives', in other words to preserve documents emanating from the court and the government, and that only in certain broad, uncharted circles of documentation, such as notarial sources, is evidence of the private-sector interest in music found; while such notices may be few and far between, it is to be expected that as these sources are investigated further, additional evidence will be recovered. Another reason, however, is that, apart from the consideration of the transmission of music in early prints, musicologists have not often put the questions of the production, adaptation, and transmission of music forward in economic terms.

The present article contains a review of certain documents that illustrate the interesting subject of the economic context of music in northern Italy in the late fifteenth century, including a formulation put forward by historians of painting. The stages of music production from composition to performance can be seen to converge, to some extent, around the questions of 'product' demand and ownership, a specific theme of the session. The state of the evidence does not permit a statistical presentation, but individual cases do point up the pertinence of the new economy to the dissemination of music in this period.

#### POPULARIZATION BY EMULATION IN PAINTING

Art historians use the term 'popularization' to describe the emulation by merchants and the bourgeoisie of the tastes and patronage of nobility and its 'culture of display.' In her book on the economic context of Renaissance painting in Bruges, Jean Wilson studies the sudden rise in panel paintings and the use of oils in that city in the mid-to-late fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Jan van Eyck, also court painter to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, worked in Bruges from 1430 up to the end of his life in 1441. Wilson remarks that, as an innovator, he "advanced to a considerable degree his society's conception of what might be achieved with the application of ground pigments onto prepared wood panels." For the latter half of the fifteenth century she traces the growing demand for (and production of) panels by the likes of Hans Memling, active in the city from the mid-1460s to 1494, noting that his customers "ranged from the *haute bourgeoisie* to the proposerous foreign merchants in residence within Bruges."

Panel paintings were a medium patronized not so much by the nobility, but by those for whom their portability and size were more suitable than frescos. Central to Wilson's argument is the hypothesis that this medium rose rapidly to prominence in Bruges both because that city had a vigorous mercantile economy and because the Burgundian court resided there for long periods during the year.<sup>4</sup> The wealthy merchant class sought to emulate the art of the nobility, the idea of *vivre noblement*. She

<sup>3</sup> J.C. WILSON, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages: Studies in Society and Visual Culture*, University Park Pennsylvania, 1998, pp. 6, 2 (on Van Eyck) and 3 (on Memling).

<sup>4</sup> WILSON, *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 5–6.

also notes the commissioning of portraits by courtiers who wished to advance in their station. Nobles commissioned portraits to document their genealogy, courtiers to make themselves seem more noble.

The questions of nobility and display are particularly important for the Sforza family. Francesco Sforza, son of a mercenary, sought to gain possession of the duchy through his marriage to a Visconti daughter, but was frustrated in this ambition and, following the failure of the short-lived Ambrosian republic, seized power, in effect, by force of arms. Although the pope wanted him and his heirs to have the title of duke, the Holy Roman Emperor would not allow it. The need for legitimacy made display, not only in the visual arts but particularly in ceremonial, including the liturgy and liturgical music, of considerable importance. Indeed the need was paramount for his son, who desired to rule Milan not like a suzerain, in the sense of a feudal overlord, or a noble presiding over other nobles, but like an absolute sovereign; in his own words, he wished to 'govern as a prince.'<sup>5</sup>

Two depictions of musicians in Milan may be mentioned here. The first is a scene painted on the ceiling of the Sforza Castle that shows Duke Galeazzo Sforza hunting with his gentlemen and familiars. One of his companions is the ducal singer Petrus Holi, who was ennobled by that ruler and made one of his familiars. That example fits neatly into Wilson's category of fresco, with its vivid display of ducal authority and the privilege afforded those who were depicted near him, the closest members of his 'aulic' retinue. The other depiction is the portrait by Leonardo da Vinci of the unknown 'Angelic Singer', a small painting of a man wearing the costume of a ducal singer, holding a part. Who asked for it to be painted, who owned it, and whom does it depict? We cannot answer these questions, but it may be pertinent to reflect on the possibility that da Vinci's painting belonged to a medium that offered portability and affordability for a 'musician' who may have wished to preserve and display an image of himself, a family member – there were relatives within the ducal choir – or an esteemed colleague, dressed in the uniform of one of the richest musical establishments in Europe.

#### SOME REMARKS ON THE EMULATION OF COURT MUSIC: STYLE AND TASTE

A city that boasted both a strong private-sector economy and an artistically ambitious court under the rule of the Sforza family in the last half of the fifteenth century, Milan presented the conditions for the kind of popularization or emulation described above. As the Renaissance chronicler Corio noted in his account of the year 1491:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Franca Leverotti makes this the theme of her book on justice under Galeazzo: F. LEVEROTTI, *'Governare al modo e stillo de' Signori...': Osservazioni in margine all'amministrazione della giustizia al tempo di Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duca di Milano (1466–76)*, Florence, 1994.

<sup>6</sup> B. CORIO, *Storia di Milano*, ed. A. MORISI GUERRA, 1–2, Torino, 1978.

After the war between the duke and the Venetians was extinguished..., it seemed to everyone that peace prevailed and no one attended to anything other than accumulating riches, concerning which every path was open... The court of our princes was most illustrious, filled with new costumes and delights... Minerva, with her richer forces, tried to fill her gentle academy, and many were engaged by Ludovico Sforza, glorious and most illustrious prince, brought to his service; he found most excellent men from the farthest parts of Europe. Greek doctrine and poetry was resplendent, as was Latin prosody, the muses inspired poets to make rhymes, other masters to sculpt, there were competitions in painting, and songs and music of every kind were heard with such sweet harmony that they seemed to have been sent from heaven to be heard in that most high court. Such a great number of talented men were conducted there with such liberality, that it seemed in those days to be the time of a monarch...

Corio, as a member of the privileged class, himself a courtier, reminds us of the extensive accumulation of wealth across the broad section of Milanese society, juxtaposing the resultant splendor of the court led by Ludovico Sforza in its high-minded artistic endeavors. One interpretation of the sobriquet *Il Moro* is that it was a corruption of the word *mauro*, mulberry, and he was given it because of his encouragement of the cultivation of silk that came to have a huge impact on the economy of his city-state. He chose to rule as a prince.

If we can draw a parallel between court polyphony and the permanent medium of the fresco of the nobility described by Wilson, does the principle of emulation apply in music? The most skilled polyphonists in all of Europe performed at this court, the only other venue for northern polyphony on a similar scale being the Duomo, with its choir directed by Franchino Gafori, himself rather an ambitious, self-promoting composer-theorist. Was there also a repertoire or medium that could be considered the musical equivalent of panel painting?

We may examine a set of documents concerning the secondary patrons, members of the governing class. Cicco Simonetta was general secretary of the duchy during the time when Duke Galeazzo Sforza built his choir of polyphonists (1471–1476), effectively heading the government until his decapitation in 1480 following the return to power of Ludovico. He wrote the following, undated letter to an unknown agent in Venice:<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Milan AS, *Miscellanea Storica* 9.

First speak to Gerardo, to whom I have written, asking him to have made for me in a small book all of the canzone of Leonardo Giustiniano, and all of the others that are found in Venice that are beautiful and that are in use in Venice, and thus everything that is necessary for this. But see Macerato, who has expert knowledge of music and related matters, and see that it is a book in which there is everything, for which I will pay the copying and you will have the job of having it done. Do it as quickly as possible, and in two or three canzone have the notes of the song written to hear the Venetian air... Find a boy from twelve to fifteen years old... of good intellect and discretion who knows well how to sing and has a good voice and the rudiments and reason of singing, who wishes to better himself... because I want him in my house, for my boys... He must know how to play the lute well, and to sing both with the lute and without it...

Simonetta was building a musical establishment for his own household, engaging a singer-lutenist to teach his sons, and acquiring poems of Giustiniani along with exemplary settings in a Venetian style. The secretary wanted a complete collection of poetry, a one-volume set of *canzone* which most probably would have been put to use in a program of study. *Giustiniana*, poems in a specific style and idiom,<sup>8</sup> were greatly prized among the educated of Italy, especially in Venice, and the choice shows Simonetta's general literary and artistic taste. The two or three songs to be notated with music in the Venetian style could have served as examples for study and imitation. Did he want his musician to compose melodies for the other texts? Did he wish these new melodies to be in the Venetian style and idiom as well as to be settings bearing the imprint of his own patronage? Anyone distinguished enough to merit a visit to the Simonetta household would have been treated to unique musical settings of this widely appreciated Italian verse, and, upon enquiring, would have learned that they had been composed by the secretary's own musician. This would make a close comparison with the 'culture of display' described for painting by Wilson.

Obviously it was important that the contents of the book be certified. This was to be done by the Venetian singer Filippo Macerato, whose name appears in Milanese court correspondence for the first time in a ducal letter of 17 September 1454, in which the ruler wished to hear the Venetian, who was reputed to be *uno bello cantore*, one who sang with *grande autoritate*.<sup>9</sup> It was perhaps because of this authoritative knowledge of music – and here we may easily imagine his knowledge of native Italian music – that the secretary consulted Macerato, rather than an ultramontane.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, D. FALLOWS, art. *Giustiniana*, in L. MACY ed., *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

<sup>9</sup> Milan AS, *Registri di Missive* 19, f. 298v.

All of the ingredients were present for the performance of material in the way Simonetta wanted to hear it and of the quality he wished to display.

By paying for two or three melodies to be copied, Simonetta had not only the use of them, but also the possibility of having them performed to reflect his taste and the way he wanted to hear them. By hiring the musician, he would control the product: a readily performable repertoire, placing his stamp as a patron on the musical outcome, exercising ownership and promoting another aspect of repertoire production. While Cicco's patronage of music was not on the same scale as that of the ruling family, it would be incorrect to underestimate his acumen in defining and cultivating his taste in literature and music. In the same wise, if, as historians and connoisseurs of Renaissance art, we prize Van Eyck's works on panel over frescos from the same period, what does this say about the acuity of the consumer in the acquisition of an affordable product and the importance of this new medium? In all of these actions Simonetta emulated the patronage of the Milanese rulers, with important differences: he consulted a Venetian musician, not an ultramontane singer, the repertoire was Italian, and the book was to be of small size.

Of course Italian rulers also collected *Giustiniana*. The closest comparison in style and genre to this document of acquisition by Simonetta is the following letter from Duke Galeazzo of November 1472, to his ambassador, instructing him to obtain a copy of what appears to be a contrafactum of a setting of *O rosa bella*, a poem attributed to Giustiniani, from the Duchess of Savoy's *maestro di capella*.<sup>10</sup> Later Galeazzo lured that musician to Milan to be the 'abbot' of his own musical chapel.

*Volemo ricevuta questa te ritrovi con lo Abbate Maestro de la Capella de quella Illustrissima Madama, et lo preghi da nostra parte te voglia dare Robineto notato su l'ayra de Rosa bella. Et quello havuto subito ne lo mandaray per lo presente nostro messo, havendo bona advertentia ad fargli mettere quelle parole medesime dice el prefato Abbate quando canta Robineto. Ex Galiat. xvi Nobr. 1472. Facendo che domane habiamo dicta canzone.*

As soon as you have received this, we want you to meet with the Abbot, the master of the chapel of that most illustrious lady, and ask him on our behalf to give you *Robineto* written to the tune of *Rosa bella*. When you have obtained it, you will send it immediately with the present courier, taking care to have the Abbot put the words that he himself uses when he sings *Robineto*. Arrange this so that tomorrow we have the said song.

<sup>10</sup> Milan AS, *Sforzesco* 1606.

Although the wording of the document may not be sufficiently precise to identify this piece securely, it seems likely that *Robineto* refers to Robert or Robinet de la Magdalaine, author and singer of the Duke of Burgundy from 1448–1474, named by Eloy d'Amerval in his *Le livre de la déablerie, ... Comme Dompstable et du Fay, ... Et plusieurs aultres gens de bien: Robinet de la Magdalaine, Binchoiz, Fede, Jorges et Hayne...*<sup>11</sup> This action shows Galeazzo's acquisition of specified repertoire in a particular style from the choir of another ruler. It goes without saying that the question of ownership is not the same for music as for painting, in that the end result of the latter is a preserved image, but the end of music is shared (unequally) between performance and a record of the composition in a book.

To return to Simonetta's book, his form of emulation would have had considerable impact in Venice and throughout the peninsula. This is also a case in which taste and the demand economy of musical acquisition crossed over political boundaries, Venice hardly being a friend of Milan at any time. Although badly deteriorated, the inventory of Simonetta's substantial library records:<sup>12</sup>

*... Item libro uno de canzone a laude de Iesu et de la Nostra Donna sua madre, et altre canzone de Messer Leonardo Iustiniano  
Item el terzo libro de Homero translato per d. Nicolaum de Ville...*

Further evidence of emulation on the part of Simonetta can be seen in the arrangements for a family wedding. On 30 October 1475 the secretary's wife asked him to engage the chief ducal trumpeter to join other musicians in the celebration.

*Magnifice Consors perrochialissime I.E.S., Perché ho intexo che  
Sacho trombata serà zovare de Magarelle, et serà fare altre belle  
zentileze, ve pregho che vogliate cerchare de fare, che 'l segue a  
Sartirano a le noze per dare piacere a la Bregata preterea vogliatene  
avissare... si li Sonatori, volitte che vadano... acompagnare la spoxa  
hodie, volitte che aspectamo lí a Sartirano.*

Magnificent, most lordly consort, your most illustrious, excellent Lordship, Since I have heard that Sacho the trumpet player knows how to play *magarelle* and knows how to perform other beautiful, elegant music, I ask you to try to arrange that he follow us to Sartirano for the wedding, to give pleasure to the wedding party.

<sup>11</sup> See FALLOWS, art. *Giustiniana*; and D. FALLOWS, art. *Robinet*, in L. MACY ed., *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>; P. HIGGINS and J. DEAN, art. *Eloy d'Amerval*, in L. MACY ed., *Grove Music Online*, <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>.

<sup>12</sup> Milan AS, *Sforzesco* 1083.

Further, please tell me whether you wish that the instrumentalists come today to accompany the bride, or if we are to expect them in Sartirano.

Evidently Sacho's ability to play music of a genteel nature appealed to Elisabetta Simonetta Visconti, and it seems that the musician was always in demand for family nuptials.

Documents describing the emulation of the nobility in acquisition and life style on the part of the governing class are more frequent than those for emulation in music. As has been discussed elsewhere, Bergontius Botta, an official in the Milanese ducal treasury, paid for and mounted a lavish spectacle on his country estate in February 1489 in honour of Giangaleazzo Sforza and Isabella d'Aragona, days before their wedding. Significantly for the present argument, this was the occasion for the composition and performance of several new musical works, possibly including Josquin's motet *Fama malum* on a text taken from Virgil, reflecting current artistic and literary taste.<sup>13</sup>

#### CUSTODY, COPYING, AND COMMERCE

While it is difficult to write meaningfully of the 'ownership' of music in this period, some documents provide evidence of custody. A very few works bear the name of a patron, such as the *Missa Galeazescha* or the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*. More pertinent, perhaps, to the present argument is Weerbeke's *La Stanghetta*, possibly written for a member of the Stanga family in Milan, with whom the composer undertook the legal family tie of *comparaggio*.<sup>14</sup> Here the comparison to portraiture is convincing, and it seems likely that there were other pieces of this kind, written at the behest of private individuals, although the evidence is sparse.

There is documentation of the custody of the Sforza library, showing both that access to the collection was carefully controlled, and that the position of the castellan of Pavia, in effect the conservator of the library, was like a concession; the occupant could profit from the position by selling the rights to copy books to those who needed them.<sup>15</sup> The music of the Milanese chapel was apparently not housed in the Sforza library, so it is not known whether the same rules applied, however a document concerning the Este collection in Ferrara suggests that the situation may have been simi-

<sup>13</sup> MERKLEY and MERKLEY, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, p. 311.

<sup>14</sup> On Weerbeke's *comparaggio*, see G. LUBKIN, *A Renaissance Court. Milan under Galeazzo Maria Sforza*, Berkeley, 1994, p. 85.

<sup>15</sup> See S. CERRINI, *La biblioteca dei Visconti e degli Sforza*, Ph.D. diss., Milan, Università Cattolica, 1988; and S. CERRINI, *Libri e vicende di una famiglia di castellani a Pavia nella seconda metà del Quattrocento*, in *Studi Petrarqueschi*, 7 (1990), pp. 339–430.

ar for music in that court. On 30 November 1498 the Este ducal singer and recruiter Iohannes de Artiganova wrote to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este:<sup>16</sup>

*Io ho inteso quanto me ha facto intendere vostra reverendissima Signoria circa la relatione li ha facto de me fra Zoanne suo familiare per quelli canti che dice havermi rechiesto per parte de vostre prelibata Signoria. Et per risposta li dico che lo è vero che epso fra Zoanne me dimandòe alcuni motetti..., et io li risposi (come era anche la veritate) che'l nostro illustrissimo Signor Duca mi havea commisso che non dovesse dar fora cosa alcuna de sua Excellentia... sta contento che io mandi ad epsa Signoria vostra quello che li piace. Et cussì li mando qui annexo uno bon motetto che credo piacerà a quella.*

I have understood what your most reverend Lordship wishes from that which your familiar Brother Zoanne has told me concerning those songs that he says he requested from me on behalf of your Lordship. And in answer I say to you that it is true that this Brother Zoanne asked me for some motets,... and I answered (which was also true) that our most illustrious Lord Duke had instructed me that I was not to allow anything of his to leave the collection... now he is content that I send to your Lordship whatever pleases you. And so I am enclosing a good motet that I believe will please you...

Artiganova acted as an agent for the ducal choir on many occasions. Here he claimed that he was ordered to maintain a tight grip on the musical resources of the Este library. The cardinal was understandably put off since, from his standpoint, his family's music collection was kept from him. The traffic of musical compositions in and out of Ferrara, as least as documentary evidence supports this idea compared with Milan, was significant, and involved several intermediaries. If one supposes (and perhaps reads between the lines) that Artiganova, in addition, maintained something of a copying franchise, then it seems plausible that Ippolito (who may not have been a paying customer) was put on hold, since withdrawal from the collection might slow the copying concession. Perhaps the motets he was looking for were already 'on loan' or 'tied up' as repertoire currently sought after, prompting the peace offering of a good motet, as a consolation. Alternatively this could simply be evidence of the activities of three covetous collectors.

<sup>16</sup> Modena AS, *Musica e Musicisti*, Busta 1/a. See also L. LOCKWOOD, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, pp. 200–201, for this document and for some of the activities of Artiganova. For the latter see also P. MERKLEY, *Josquin Desprez in Ferrara*, in *The Journal of Musicology*, 18/4 (2001), pp. 544–583.



A letter of 22 December 1488 from a Ferrarese official in Milan to Duke Ercole d'Este shows Ercole's desire to acquire music, especially new compositions.<sup>17</sup>

*Don Pietro, cantore de questo Illustrissimo Signore Duca, et a Vostra Excellentia servitore, me ha data, la qui alligata mesa, notata in canto, stimando che vostra Celsitudine ne pigliarà piacere assai, per essere bona, et bella. Et ala giunta,... che'l haverà etiam cose nove da dare a quella.*

Don Pietro, a singer of this most illustrious Lord Duke, and a servant of your Excellency, has given me the enclosed mass, notated in music, thinking that your Highness will take great pleasure in it, because it is good, and beautiful. And when your Sublime Highness arrives here,... he will also have new things to give to you.

Notarial acts in Milan show that two singers named *Pietro* were active in the ducal chapel in that year, Alardi, and Holi. If the latter did furnish music from Milan to other courts, the implications are considerable, because he travelled frequently and widely, and was received as a diplomat and named in state correspondence. The intermediary, who must have profited by this transaction, was anxious to assure the duke that the Milanese singer would have new compositions (for sale?) at the time of Ercole's arrival in Milan. Given the ruler's taste, it seems likely that both Pietro and the intermediary made sure that the music to be provided would have been of the highest quality and in the latest style. In 1486 the chancellor of the Duke of Ferrara sent *canti* to Ercole and wrote that he would urge the 'royal' musicians to furnish him with more music, especially that he was pressing a composer for a recent work.<sup>18</sup> In this case the composer could profit by the copying and dissemination of his own piece. In 1502 the same duke received a *Salve regina* from one of his officials, who told him that the author was Josquin.

The demand for polyphony extended beyond the small circle of state rulers; the acquisition practices of the rulers were emulated by private collectors, who were also keen to have the most recently composed music in their hands, as a copy of a letter of 1472 from the Venetian ambassador to the Duke of Burgundy to his mother in that Italian republic suggests:

<sup>17</sup> Modena AS, *Ambasciatori Milano*, Busta 11.

<sup>18</sup> Modena AS, *Musica e Musicisti*, Busta 1 for this and the following document.

Tell Father Aluixe and all those in his house that I am returning, and tell him that, concerning what he wrote to me about these singers, that I am to get songs [*canti*] and so on from them, that I remember well, and I will see my way clear to it, that is when the chapel returns to a city with his Lordship, I will satisfy his desire with a good will...  
From Bruges, in Flanders, 17 November 1472.

Evidently this collector, about whom we know little so far, wanted to add the latest polyphony from the Burgundian ducal chapel to his collection of music, and his friend the ambassador felt confident that he could supply the music. It seems very likely that private collectors like this Venetian, individuals of means with an interest in music, would have sought out repertoire from the large courts and from every venue they could think of. Another Venetian collector of music known to us is Petrus Castellanus, Petrucci's editor, at least for the *Odhecaton*, in the preface of which he is described as "a Dominican, famous in religion and the discipline of music, from whose rich and extensive collection the music of the volume was taken."<sup>19</sup>

Wills and inventories of estates provide evidence that private citizens owned musical instruments and books of music in the late fifteenth century. In the inventory and reckoning of the accounts for the estate of the deceased Reverend Antonio de Massaria, containing items from throughout the year 1496, keyboard instruments and books are noted.<sup>20</sup> A payment of one lira was owed for tuning the harpsichord, which was completely out of tune, *per conzare il clavacimbalo et meterlo in ordine, perché era discordato tuto*. The list of furniture shows one harpsichord made of cypress as well as *menacordi da sonare*, an instrument in the harpsichord family. The instrument made of cypress was sold to one Alexandro Sacre Monta for 26 lira. Among the books of the estate, inventoried on 5 January 1496, is a printed Ambrosian breviary, a printed Petrarch with commentary, a printed Virgil, and *Libro uno de canto figurato scritto a mano in numero 1*. Clearly the priest owned a manuscript of polyphonic music.

We may add to the examples of private collectors music theorists such as Franchino Gafori, who made his own copies of music and treatises, in his case related to his professional activities, but also, we may conjecture, according to his personal tastes. In effect the collection of polyphony by private individuals reflected the growing demand for this music often across a great geographical distance, and it also resulted in a supply of musical sources, both of which led to the printing of music.

<sup>19</sup> From the preface to Petrucci's volume, quoted in B. BLACKBURN, *Petrucci's Venetian Editor: Petrus Castellanus and His Musical Garden*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 49 (1995), pp. 15–45.

<sup>20</sup> Milan AS, *Notarile* 3211.

## TEACHING OF POLYPHONY

The demand for instruction in polyphony is also a reflection of demand for the performance of music as a commodity. In addition to holding his position as a lecturer at the University of Pavia, Gafori taught the singing of polyphony to the choir boys in the Duomo of Milan, and possibly also as part of his duties in the Milanese school called 'The School of Saint Mary and All Saints.' He was accepted into this last institution in January of 1487.<sup>21</sup> The premise of the contracts undertaken between the cathedral and choir boys was that the boys would receive instruction in Latin and music in exchange for their singing in the choir. On 13 October 1492 it was agreed that one *Bonetus de Tachio* would:<sup>22</sup>

... learn grammar and polyphonic singing... from the priest Franchino Gafori. master of the chapel of polyphonists and from the teacher of grammar... under the obedience of the said priest Franchino and the Fabbrica for the next six years.

*Ibit ad adiscendum gramaticam et biscantandum... a Domino Presbitero Franchino de Gaffurius magistro capelle biscantorum et alio magistro gramatice... sub obedientia prefati domini presbiteri Franchini... pro annis sex proxime...*

In the same year Gafori and the cathedral made a similar agreement with Hector Pado, and another for five years with a young boy named Bernardo, in 1494 with one Benedetto Pontremolo. Clearly there many families wanted their sons to learn to sing polyphony. This kind of teaching was not limited to the cathedral of Milan. In 1496 the priest Giovanni Nolli of Parma was engaged to teach a list of boys *in cantu figurato*.<sup>23</sup>

In a private contract of August 1521, the same terms are outlined, that the teacher is obliged to teach music to two brothers, *eos docere musicham*, and that the father will send his boys to sing in the choir of the teacher on feast days and other occasions as required, in whatever place the performance will take place, *sia obligato mandare li dicti soi filioli in le feste et ad ogni requisitione de dicte magistro... et li faciano compagnia in qualuncha loco*.<sup>24</sup> The boys are obliged to bring their books

<sup>21</sup> Milan AS, *Notarile* 3007.

<sup>22</sup> Milan AS, *Notarile* 3491. These documents of contracts between the Duomo and choir boys in notarial file 3491 were recovered by David Morschek and Grazioso Sironi, and kindly brought to our attention by Christine Getz.

<sup>23</sup> Milan AS, *Notarile* 2531.

<sup>24</sup> Milan AS, *Notarile* 8699.

when directed to do so, and if they moonlight, singing somewhere else without permission, there will be a penalty: the father would in this case be required to compensate the teacher by paying him one Rhenish florin per month from the time of the moonlighting back to the beginning of the contract:

*Et che lor gli portano dreto li libri secondo accadara il bisogno...  
Item che'l sia obligato che andagando loro a cantare in qualuncha  
loco senza licentia del dicto magistro Iohanne Iacomo che tunc tem-  
poris sia obligato pagarlo al dicto meser Iohanne Iacomo da quel  
giorno in dreto a raxone de florino uno de reno el mese.*

The penalty clause acknowledges that financial value was placed on the learning, or the skill, and that this increased over time, so that the compensation for the infraction would have to be larger later in the schooling – when the boys would be more valuable as singers – than near the beginning. The largest deterrent for moonlighting was needed later in the instruction.

Documents show that polyphony was practised, at least to a limited extent, in some large Milanese churches apart from the Duomo. In what seems to reflect a renewed demand at the parish level for the singing of discant, the chapter of San Nazaro, one of the oldest and wealthiest in Milan, made a rule that new benefice holders would have to be certified as competent in the celebration of the Ambrosian liturgy, including an attestation that the candidate ‘is sufficiently competent in chant, and knows well how to sing responsories and similar chants that are necessarily sung in discant in the church... if he can intone and read psalms, lections, epistles, and similar chants... instructed in this way in chant and the other matters mentioned, he will be admitted into residence’.<sup>25</sup> For the same church, attestations of this kind have been recovered. For the establishment of precisely which centres observed the Ambrosian rite in this period, single parchment leaves used by notaries in the fifteenth century as covers for their loose leaves, while fragmentary sources, have proven useful, demonstrating by their provenance that Ambrosian chant was practised in cities and towns nearby but outside of Milan, more extensively than had been thought.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Milan AS, *Notarile* 1274, 9 April 1473; for example of an attestation, Milan AS, *Notarile* 1278, 3 November 1472. See MERKLEY and MERKLEY, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, pp. 362–363.

<sup>26</sup> There is an ongoing project to collect and preserve this fragments in the Archivio di Stato of Milan. Ambrosian fragments include a breviary (cover sheets in Milan AS, *Notarile* 17242 and 20957), a fragment with an antiphon *in laudate*, probably from a book of hours (in Milan AS, *Notarile* 18630), an antiphoner (Milan AS, *Notarile* 9624), an office for Sts. Nabor and Felix (Milan AS, *Notarile* 14029), and several other sources.

## CONCLUSION

The above documents, while not numerous, show, in a variety of ways, that the patronage of music in northern Italy was changed by the onset of the demand-based economy. Collectors and connoisseurs were eager to acquire copies of polyphonic music, and they sought recent works from prominent court choirs: those of the dukes of Burgundy and Milan, and of the King of France in the documents presented here. The notices also reveal emulation of the patronage of the ruling families, and this principle seems applicable to music in a way analogous to that discussed by Wilson for painting. In addition the combination of a court culture and mercantile wealth, argued by that author to be a factor in the importance of Bruges as a centre for painting, may be relevant in the case of Milan. Leonardo da Vinci was drawn to the city. Was it only because of the patronage of Ludovico Sforza, or because of the combination of that brilliant court and the wealth of the city? He enjoyed a large annual income from the duke, and the stability that this afforded may have freed him to pursue smaller, but nonetheless lucrative projects for private customers.<sup>27</sup> And, if this question is germane for da Vinci, does it speak in a relevant way to the careers and choices of Gaspar Weerbeke and Josquin des Prez? Certainly the former profited greatly by his business engagements with wealthy Milanese. If direct documentation of private musical transactions with composers cannot be recovered, perhaps future efforts will uncover indirect evidence of music prepared for private individuals.

The collection of *Giustiniana* that Simonetta wanted is, in a way, comparable to the manuscript from the end of the fifteenth century Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana 55, the first part of which contains polyphonic settings of an impressive group of Italian poets, including the celebrated Paolo Cortese and Serafino Ciminelli (dall' Aquila), the self-styled companion in music of Josquin. This manuscript, which bears a mark of private ownership, suggests an established and growing demand for Italian-texted musical repertoire, with some of its works later printed by Petrucci.

Apart from the development of panel portraiture in emulation of the nobility, fresco historians of art define two other stages in the popularization of painting in this period, the mass marketing of art and the production of copies. It seems clear that the mass marketing of music took place with the printing of music with moveable type. The growing demand for written-out music in this region and period cannot have escaped the attention of Petrucci, who must have calculated carefully the moment that the demand made his new business venture viable.

What would be the musical equivalent of a hand-painted copy of a work of art? Surely not a print, for if Netherlandish polyphony and *Giustiniana* can be regarded as analogous to, respectively, the medium of the fresco and the panel painting, the

<sup>27</sup> Milan AS, 1270.

equivalent of the copy of a painting ought to be a musical medium. If we stipulate that, like the panel painting, the vernacular musical forms of the frottola and the madrigal rose to prominence in the early sixteenth century, might the musical equivalent of the copy of a painting be an arrangement of a pre-existing musical work? Certainly these exist in the sixteenth century in a variety of forms: contrafacta, textless versions of pieces to be played on instruments (for example in the 'instrumental chansonnier' Casanatense 2856), arrangements of vocal music for lute or vihuela, and the addition of parts to vocal music. Based on several sixteenth-century documents of sale and evaluation of paintings in the Low Countries, the art historians Marchi and Van Miegroet conclude that the value of a copy of a painting was set with a high degree of consistency at one third of the value of the original.<sup>28</sup>

If these scholars are right – and their documentary evidence is persuasive – then this may offer a way in which to regard the types of musical arrangements discussed, not to assign a specific and consistent monetary value to them, but to understand them as acts of affordable composition with the certain outcome of feasible performance. The original work reached the audience in a novel and, depending on the performers required, a more accessible format.

Perhaps in this way we can also understand the goal of Brichier, who in February 1503, approximately the time of the Ferrarese search for a new head of the ducal choir, wrote to Ippolito d'Este that he was sending his own arrangement of *Clamane cesses* – the work by Josquin or La Rue had only three voices. Having remembered the cardinal's appreciation of a fifth voice that he had added earlier, he was sending a sixth, obviously with some expectation that it might be performed at court under his rubric.<sup>29</sup> Brichier's effort reflects a contrapuntal challenge; perhaps he dreamt of winning the plum position in Ferrara. An arrangement is not an original and, as is well known, only two musicians, both major composers, were seriously considered and in the end only the *princeps musicorum* truly excited the sustained interest of the Este family.

If there are two more conclusions that can be drawn in this article, they are the potential and the need for additional primary documentary evidence that places musical performance and musicians in an economic context. It is my hope that such will be recovered.

<sup>28</sup> N. DE MARCHI and H.J. VAN MIEGROET, *Pricing Invention: 'Originals', 'Copies', and Their Relative Value in Seventeenth-Century Art Markets*, in V.A. GINSBURGH and P.-M. MENDER eds., *Economics of the Arts: Selected Essays, (Contributions to Economic Analysis, 237)*, Amsterdam, 1996, pp. 27–70.

<sup>29</sup> *Musica e Musicisti* B 1/a



## FLEMISH POLYPHONY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY IBERIAN MANUSCRIPTS

*Emilio Ros-Fábregas*  
*Universidad de Granada*

Spanish musicology has been traditionally reluctant to study and recognize the important role of foreign music and musicians in the Iberian Peninsula during the sixteenth century; an almost exclusive interest in autochthonous production has favored a conception of Spanish music history isolated from the rest of Europe.<sup>1</sup> Even though international scholarship has recognized the close musical ties of Castile and Aragon with the Low Countries and Italy respectively, Spain seems to be playing only a peripheral role in the context of European Renaissance studies.<sup>2</sup> Here, after describing some aspects of this historiographical problem, I will draw attention to: (1) the extant Franco-Flemish repertoire (some of it hitherto anonymous) in three manuscripts now in Barcelona; and (2) the abundant Franco-Flemish repertoire found in sixteenth-century Spanish inventories of books. This music, together with the numerous Spanish works based on foreign models, should contribute to draw a different picture of musical life in Spain during the sixteenth century; a picture that is more international than previously thought.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first to study thoroughly the presence of Franco-Flemish music and musicians in Spain – with the help of Francisco Asenjo Barbieri – was Edmond Vanderstraeten; see E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1-8, Brussels, 1867–1868, (repr. New York, 1969), vols. 7–8. His important contribution seems to have been taken as an excuse to justify the absence of studies on this subject by Spanish musicologists during the twentieth century. Higinio Anglés concentrated his efforts in documenting the Spanish musicians (mostly instrumentalists) at the service of Charles V and Philip II; see H. ANGLÉS, *La Música en la Corte de Carlos V*, 1–2, (*Monumentos de la Música Española*, 2–3), Barcelona, 1965.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, the absence of books and articles in Spanish or about Renaissance Spain in the extensive bibliography cited in L. LÜTTEKEN, art. *Renaissance*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd rev. ed., Kassel – Basel, 1998, Sachteil, 8, cols. 143–156.

<sup>3</sup> I have approached this topic also in E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, *Música y músicos ‘extranjeros’ en la España del siglo XVI*, in J.J. CARRERAS and B.J. GARCÍA GARCÍA eds., *La Capilla Real de los Austrias: música y ritual de corte en la Europa moderna*, Madrid, 2001, pp. 101–126. The entire volume offers a wide perspective of this topic, its extensive bibliography is very useful, and contributions such as those by Tess Knighton, Eugene Schreurs and Ignace Bossuyt are particularly relevant to the present discussion; see the three contributions in CARRERAS and GARCÍA GARCÍA eds., *La Capilla Real de los Austrias*: T. KNIGHTON, *Una confluencia de capillas. El caso de Toledo, 1502*, pp. 127–149; E. SCHREURS, *Las relaciones musicales entre la corte y las colegiatas en los Países Bajos (1450–1560)*, pp. 151–174; and I. BOSSUYT, *Nicolás Payen, el aún desconocido maestro de capilla de Carlos V y Felipe II*, pp. 175–192. See also P. BECQUART and H. VANHULST eds., *Musique des Pays-Bas Anciens – Musique Espagnole Ancienne (ca. 1450–ca. 1650)*, *Colloquia Europalia III, Actes du Colloque Musicologique International*, (Bruxelles, 28–29 October 1985), Leuven, 1988.



According to the *post mortem* inventory of Philip II's possessions, he may have had one of the richest libraries of Franco-Flemish polyphony ever assembled in Europe.<sup>4</sup> The entire inventory began to be compiled in Madrid on 12 October 1598 – a month after his death – and took eleven years to be completed; the king himself had stated in his will that (as was customary) valuable items should be inventoried and sold, with few exceptions, in order to pay his debts. The music-related books in four consecutive sections of this inventory were numbered, described and appraised on 27 June 1600, under the following headings: 'Books for the Divine Office and of Devotion' (items 907–942), 'Choirbooks for the service of the chapel' (items 943–1049), '[Choir]books that belonged to Queen Mary' (items 1050–1083), and '[Choir]-books in possession of the chapelmaster' (items 1084–1145). The latter three sections have a total of 203 different items describing books of polyphony, many of them inherited from Philip's father, Charles V, and his aunt Mary of Hungary.<sup>5</sup> Table 1 lists the composers mentioned in 101 out of these 203 descriptions.

<sup>4</sup> I have used the inventory of Philip II's possessions published by F.J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Inventarios reales: bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II*, (Archivo Documental, 10), Madrid, 1956–1959, pp. 135–159, as well as the transcription and study of the inventory of music books by Knighton: T. KNIGHTON, *Los libros de música de la capilla real de Felipe II*, in L. ROBLEDO et al. eds., *Aspectos de la cultura musical en la Corte de Felipe II*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 380–394 and pp. 79–83.

<sup>5</sup> As noticed by SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Inventarios reales*, pp. 135, 136 and 143, there are some irregularities in the numbering of items in the original inventory: (1) the first section has only thirty-two descriptions of books for the Divine Office and devotion, since the scribe skipped the numbers 910, 914, 916 and 922; (2) in the second section, items 979 and 980 repeat a description of the same choirbook, so that the number of different items in this section is 106. Thus the three sections with books of polyphony have 106, 35 and 62 items, respectively, with a total of 203 different items. Among the music books we also find (item 1.006) six books of motets printed in Venice with the coats of arms of Isabella and Ferdinand (with a portrait of the latter on page five); this suggests that perhaps other books from their chapels ended up in Philip II's library.

COMPOSERS	ITEM NUMBER IN THE ORIGINAL INVENTORY
Alexander Agrícola	1.078*
Jacques Arcadelt	1.130
[Jean] Hottinet Barra	1.024, 1.027
Benedictus [= Benedictus Appenzeller]	968, 1.011, 1.035, 1.042, 1.092, 1.109, 1.128, 1.129
'Bon Marchic' [= Jean Bonmarché]	1.126, 1.127
Antoine Brumel	944 ( <i>Missa ecce terremotus</i> ), 1.045
'Hieronymus Buyndos' [= Vinders?]	1.110
Cornelius Canis	989, 1.093, 1.094
Carpentras [= Elzéar Genet]	1.132
Rodrigo Ceballos	1.098
Chastelayn	1.115
Jacob Clemens non Papa	1.081*, 1.092
Nicolas Craen	1.031
Thomas Crecquillon	1.059*, 1.086, 1.113
Josquin des Prez	949, 972, 1.008, 1.024, 1.026, 1.069*, 1.076*, 1.087, 1.093, 1.114
'Duque de Mantua' [= G. Gonzaga]	1.143
Antonius Divitis	1.032
Dorado [= Dorico printer]	1.052*
Bartolomé de Escobedo	988
Antoine Févin	1.025
Mathurin Forestier	1.029
Matthieu Gascongne	1.018
'Chissilini' [= J. Ghiselin-Verbonet?]	1.049
'Juanes de Verbune' [= G.-Verbonet ?]	1.072*
Nicholas Gombert	1.105, 1.108
Francisco Guerrero	1.096, 1.097, 1.134, 1.142
George de la Hèle	1.140
'Lupus' or 'Lupus Hellinck'	1.012, 1.028, 1.117
Fernando de las Infantas	1.047, 1.048
Heinrich Isaac	1.033, 1.091
Pierre de la Rue	945, 946, 969, 973, 1.008, 1.014, 1.019, 1.030, 1.064*, 1.111
Johannes 'Lupi'	1.015, 1.120
Pierre de Manchicourt	960, 1.034, 1.040, 1.058*, 1.068*, 1.112, 1.136
Jacquet de Mantua	1.124
Cristóbal de Morales	1.038, 1.119
Jean Mouton	971, 978, 1.010, 1.116
Palestrina	1.135
Pedro de Pastrana	1.044, 1.125
'Juan Petit Sacto' [= C. Petit Jehan]	1.002
Pieton	1.090
Jean Richafort	1.095
Claudin de Sermisy	1.023 (motet <i>Clare sanctorum</i> ), 1.103, 1.120, 1.131
Adrian Picart [= Adrien Thiebault]	1.017
Gerardo Jurnot [= Gérard de Turnhout]	1.139
Philippe Verdelot	1.118

*Table 1.* Composers mentioned in 101 out of 203 descriptions of Philip II's 1600 inventory of polyphonic choirbooks. The numbers refer to the item number in the original inventory; items followed by an asterisk belonged to Queen Mary of Hungary, Charles V's sister.

The six Spaniards mentioned in 12 items of the inventory are in clear minority against the 38 non-Iberian composers mentioned in another 88 items. The names of both Josquin des Prez and Pierre de la Rue are the ones that appear more often (10 times each), a clear sign of the favor they gained at the Netherlands Court and in Spain. The royal vice-chapelmaster Géry de Ghersem was asked to appraise these 203 books, and in his statement dated in Valladolid, 9 November 1602 – found after the list of music books in this inventory – he affirmed that ‘... many of the books are of no profit or service, and the valuable ones are very old and wasted, and since they cannot be used in other churches owing to their containing old music not used in Spain... I think they are worth a thousand ducats’ [my translation].<sup>6</sup> Obviously by 1600 these choirbooks were already out of date – many were more than fifty years old – and, since they could not be used owing to their poor condition, had no material value. Some of these royal manuscripts with repertoire of non-Iberian composers were sold, but unfortunately most of them disappeared in the fire that destroyed the Madrid Alcázar in 1734.<sup>7</sup> In the same way that the Alamire manuscripts now in Montserrat (MontsM 766 and MontsM 773) (after having been at the Royal Convent of La Encarnación in Madrid until early in the twentieth century) come from Philip II’s library, perhaps other extant Alamire manuscripts, now in European libraries, belonged to Philip’s chapel in the latter part of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Be that as it may, with this overwhelming presence of non-Iberian repertoire in the Spanish royal chapel, it seems odd that the usual image of polyphonic practice in sixteenth-century Spain appears to be fixed always on Morales, Guerrero and Victoria – thus the need to review briefly

<sup>6</sup> The date 1602 of Ghersem’s statement in the inventory contrasts with the 1600 date found both at the beginning of the inventory of music-related books and in the continuation of the inventory, also dated 27 June 1600, where other books on different subjects are described. Ghersem’s statement appears in KNIGHTON, *Los libros de música de la capilla real de Felipe II*, p. 394: “...muchos de ellos no son de prouecho ni seruicio y que los que lo son estan muy uiejos y gastados y que por no poder servir en otras iglesias por ser musica antigua y no vssada en españa... me parece que valen mill ducados...”.

<sup>7</sup> According to Knighton, in 1623 most of the choirbooks were still kept at the Madrid Alcázar; see KNIGHTON, *Los libros de música de la capilla real de Felipe II*, p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> Item 1.024 in the inventory names Hottinet [= Jean] Barra as composer of the first mass in the manuscript, the *Missa Ecce panis* [= *Missa de Venerabili Sacramento*], and indicates that Josquin’s *Missa Pange lingua* is also included. Coincidentally, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS IV.922 (‘Occo Codex’) is the only extant manuscript that transmits both works together, one after another, and the first attributed piece in the manuscript, on folio 12v, is precisely Barra’s Mass, the first of a group of several masses. According to SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Inventarios reales*, p. 147, the description in the inventory reads as follows: “1.024. Otro libro de misa, la primera ‘ecce panis’, de Hotinet Barra, a quatro voces; enquadernado en tablas y cuero negro, en que está la misa pange lingua, de Josquin; con cantoneras y ocho escudetes de latón. 56.” If not the same as the Occo Codex, the manuscript described in this item could have been the result of a parallel process of production. On the Alamire manuscripts, see H. KELLMAN and E. SCHREURS eds., *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts, 1500–1535*, Ghent – Amsterdam, 1999.

the historiographical background that produced such an ‘*idée fixe*’ in order to question its validity.<sup>9</sup>

August Wilhelm Ambros, in the third volume of his influential *Geschichte der Musik* (1862–1868) wrote about schools of polyphony in the Low Countries, France, Germany, England, and Italy. He discussed Spanish composers, however, as members of the Roman School of polyphony (including Guerrero, who never worked outside Spain). Ambros listed some characteristics of Spanish polyphony, including mysticism, but he did not think there was a ‘Spanish school’ and he also affirmed that Cristóbal de Morales was, as a musician, “...durch und durch niederländisch gebildet...”.<sup>10</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that Felipe Pedrell – while preparing the first volume of the collection *Hispaniae Schola Musica Sacra*, devoted to Cristóbal de Morales – would write to Francisco Barbieri in 1893 the following [my translation]: ‘I want to steal Morales from the Netherlands; it cannot be that they influenced his manner of composing.’<sup>11</sup> This nationalistic program continued during the twentieth century. The implication was to search for a Spanish musical identity free from any foreign influence.

Henri Collet presented in 1913 a very peculiar vision of Spanish polyphony which also had an enormous influence on Spanish historiography. In his *Le mysticisme musical espagnol au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Collet proposed that there were not one, but four Spanish schools of polyphony – Castilian, Andalusian, Valencian and Catalan – with decreasing degrees of mysticism as we move from the center of the Iberian Peninsula to the periphery. Collet stated that “as we move closer to Italy, the profound sentiment of the Spanish Christian faith seems to change and weakens itself until it becomes superficial”; according to him, Catalans (in the periphery of the

<sup>9</sup> For an extended discussion of the historiography of Spanish musicology and related bibliography, see E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, *Historiografía de la música en las catedrales españolas: nacionalismo y positivismo en la investigación musicológica*, in *CODEXXI Revista de la Comunicación Musical*, 1 (1998), pp. 68–135; and J.J. CARRERAS, *Hijos de Pedrell: la historiografía musical española y sus orígenes nacionalistas (1780–1980)*, in *Il Saggiatore Musicale*, 8/1 (2001), pp. 121–169.

<sup>10</sup> A.W. AMBROS, *Geschichte der Musik*, Breslau, 1862–1868, 3, p. 345 [p. 353 in the third edition of 1891 by O. KADE]: “In dem benachbarten Spanien, für dessen königliche Capelle immerfort die besten Meister aus den Niederlanden herbeigeholt wurden und das immerfort mit den beherrschten niederländischen Provinzen in Verbindung stand, waltete, wie unter solchen Umständen selbstverständlich ist, der richtigste Niederländerstyl; doch mag man wohl, den Spaniern zu Liebe, etwas Stolz, Feuriges, selbst auch Herbes, Vornehmes und hinwiederum etwas Mystisches herausfühlen – aber eine eigene ‘spanische Schule’ deswegen zu statuiren geht doch wohl nicht an”; and p. 588: “Morales ist ein hoheitvoller, strenger und feuriger Geist, als Musiker durch und durch niederländisch gebildet, aber als echter Spanier empfindend.”

<sup>11</sup> The correspondence between Pedrell and Barbieri has been published twice; see M.C. GÓMEZ ELEGIDO, *La correspondencia entre Felipe Pedrell y Francisco Asenjo Barbieri*, in *Recerca Musicològica*, 4 (1984), p. 238; and E. CASARES RODICIO ed., *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri: Biografías y Documentos sobre Música y Músicos Españoles*, 1–2, Madrid, 1986–1988, 2, pp. 850–868: “Quiero arrebatar Morales a los neerlandeses; no puede ser que hayan influido en su manera de componer.”

Iberian peninsula) cannot get rid of a ‘secret paganism’ that he even finds in Palestrina.<sup>12</sup> A few years later, the history of Spanish music written by the Spanish musicologist and diplomat Rafael Mitjana for the *Encyclopédie de la Musique* of 1920 followed Collet’s approach to the point of repeating his statements verbatim.<sup>13</sup>

It is not surprising that Higinio Anglés, a Catalan, in order to refute Collet and Mitjana, would devote his first publication in 1926 to the complete works of the Catalan composer Joan Pau Pujol (1570–1626), and later stated that he had done so to ‘prove’ that musical mysticism is equally present in all the Spanish schools of polyphony.<sup>14</sup> Since then, narratives of Spanish sixteenth-century polyphony either present the composers grouped by regional schools, according to their geographical origin, or insist on the uniformity of all Spanish music. At the core of the problem is a construction of a Spanish identity based on the obsolete (but pervasive) idea of ‘national character’;<sup>15</sup> the following quotation from Mitjana is very illustrative [my translation]:<sup>16</sup>

We believe that it is among the Spanish musicians of that glorious epoch – Morales, Guerrero and Victoria – where we should look for the most pure expression of the musical sentiment, Christian and Catholic. No matter how illustrious the masters of the Roman school may have been, they were not always able to escape from that paganism, permanent and occult, which can be discovered at any moment in Italian paintings of the sixteenth century and which was a natural consequence of the Renaissance. Spanish austerity did not trust the tempting graces, and thus sacred music of the national schools owes to that its sober and severe greatness, its magnificent and majestic character. In this sense sacred music could be considered as a sister to the architecture that created El Escorial.

<sup>12</sup> H. COLLET, *Le Mysticisme musical espagnol au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1913, (repr. in the collection *les Introuvables*, Paris, 1978), pp. 307–308: “Plus nous nous rapprochons de l’Italie, et plus le sentiment profond de la foi chrétienne espagnole semble se modifier et s’affaiblir en devenant extérieur... Les Catalans, au contraire, n’échappent pas au reproche de secret paganisme que naguère nous adressions à Palestrina.”

<sup>13</sup> R. MITJANA, *La musique en Espagne: art religieux et art profane*, in A. LAVIGNAC and L. LAURENCIE eds., *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, 4, Paris, 1920, p. 308.

<sup>14</sup> H. ANGLÉS, *Johannis Pujol: Opera Omnia*, 1–2, Barcelona, 1926 and 1932; H. ANGLÉS, *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos*, 1–3, (*Monumentos de la Música Española*, 1, 5, 10), Barcelona, 1941, 1947 and 1951; see especially vol. 1, pp. 10–11.

<sup>15</sup> On this subject see, for instance, J.A. MARAVALL, *Sobre el mito de los caracteres nacionales*, in *Revista de Occidente*, 1/3 (1963), pp. 257–276, and J. CARO BAROJA, *El mito del carácter nacional*, Madrid, 1970, especially pp. 106–112. For a more recent study and bibliography, see J.P. FUSI, *España: la evolución de la identidad nacional*, Madrid, 2000.

<sup>16</sup> See MITJANA, *La musique en Espagne*; there is also a Spanish translation in A. ÁLVAREZ CAÑIBANO ed., *La Música en España: Arte Religioso y Arte Profano*, Madrid, 1993, p. 58.

In this peculiar manner, Spanish historiography seems to have ‘stolen’ Morales and other Spanish polyphonists from the ‘clutches’ of the Franco-Flemish and Roman schools of polyphony. Higinio Anglés, in his classic study *La Música en la Corte de Carlos V* asked rhetorically whether Franco-Flemish composers had influenced Spanish musicians, and he answered himself with the exclamation: “¡No, mil veces no!” (No! A thousand times no!).<sup>17</sup> Moreover, in order to emphasize the originality of autochthonous polyphony, Spanish musicologists until very recently have repeated over and over that Franco-Flemish polyphony is somewhat ‘cold’, owing to its contrapuntal artificiality, and that although Spaniards may have learned contrapuntal technique from Franco-Flemish composers, the latter learned from the Spaniards – and from Morales in particular – how to be ‘expressive’.<sup>18</sup> This negative view of Franco-Flemish polyphony, as well as other aspects of Spanish historiography, have distorted the history of music in the Iberian peninsula. To study the presence of non-Iberian repertoire in Spain – something traditionally ignored – seems a good point of departure in order to establish a (preliminary) different profile of musical activity in Spain during the sixteenth century. Thus I will now examine briefly from this point of view three Barcelona manuscripts, two from the early sixteenth century and one from a slightly later period; I will leave aside the well-known manuscript at Segovia Cathedral.<sup>19</sup>

The manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454 (BarcBC 454), together with the Segovia manuscript, is the extant Iberian source of polyphony from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with the most extensive foreign reper-

<sup>17</sup> ANGLÉS, *La Música en la Corte de Carlos V*, 1, p. 69: “No crea el lector, sin embargo, que la presencia de los músicos flamencos en la corte de Carlos V en España y su irradiación e influencia hubiera producido una absorción absoluta del genio español. ¡No, mil veces no!... Y es que nuestros compositores españoles del siglo XVI, aunque aprendieran de la técnica de los músicos flamencos, en cuanto al espíritu y al expresivismo emotivo, apenas se dejaron influir por ellos.”

<sup>18</sup> A. ARAIZ, *Historia de la Música religiosa en España*, Barcelona, 1942, p. 105; M. QUEROL, *L’Espagne au temps de Têrèse d’Avila: Morales – Guerrero Victoria*, in J. PORTE ed., *Encyclopédie des Musiques Sacrées*, 1–3, Paris, 1969, 2, p. 327; J. LÓPEZ-CALO, *Música Flamenca y Música Española en España 1450–1550*, in BECQUART and VANHULST, *Musique des Pays-Bas Anciens – Musique Espagnole Ancienne (ca. 1450 – ca. 1650)*, p. 9: “La segunda característica aparece también muy clara: frente a una cierta frialdad que se nota en las composiciones flamencas de este período, los españoles tendían hacia la afectividad.” ([My translation:] The second characteristic appears also very clearly: a certain coldness that can be noticed in Flemish compositions of this period, while the Spaniards leaned more towards expressivity.)

<sup>19</sup> On the manuscript Segovia, Archivo de la Catedral, s.s. (SegC s.s.), see N. BAKER, *An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archive of the Cathedral of Segovia*, 1–2, Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1978. Segovia has received more scholarly attention than any other Iberian manuscript, probably because of its abundant Franco-Flemish repertoire, which includes numerous *unica*. See also E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, *Transmission of Non-Iberian Polyphony through Manuscripts and Printed Music Books in 16th-Century Barcelona*, in I. FENLON and T. KNIGHTON eds., *Music, Print and Culture in Renaissance Iberia*, Kassel, 2006.

**A. WORKS IN BARCBC 454 WITH CONCORDANCES IN CONTINENTAL SOURCES**

\* An asterisk indicates pieces for which BarcBC 454 is the only Iberian source.

**454/C** (section of the manuscript copied between ca. 1520 and ca. 1525)

- \*No. 1. *Missa Mente tota*, Anthonius Fevin
- \*No. 2. *O beate Sebastiane*, Jo. Mouton/[recte Jo. Martini]
- \*No. 3. *O beate Sebastiane*, Gaspar [van Weerbecke]

**454/B** (section of the manuscript copied between ca. 1500 and ca. 1520)

- \*No. 8. [*Missa Au trail suis*] [Ockeghem]
- \*No. 10. [*Missa L'homme armé*] [Busnoys]

**454/C** \*No. 13. *O pulcherrima mulierum*, Jo. Mouton/  
[Bauldeweyne/Festa/Févin/Josquin]

**454/A** (oldest section of the manuscript copied ca. 1500)

- No. 27. [*Missa*] [Aulenus/Agricola]
- \*No. 31. [*Magnificat secundi toni*], Fr. Benito/[Brumel]
- \*No. 32. [*Magnificat sexti toni*], Brumel
- No. 36. *Sy dederò* [Agricola]
- No. 50. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Josquin]
- No. 51. *Ave Maria gratia plena* [Compère]
- No. 52. *Intemerata Virgo* and *O Maria nullam* [Josquin]
- \*No. 53. *Anima mea liquefacta est* [Weerbecke]
- \*No. 54. *Sile fragor* [Compère]
- \*No. 55. *Propter gravamen* [Compère]
- No. 56. *O bone Jhesu*, Penyalosa/[Anchieta/Compère/Ribera]
- No. 57. *Mater patris et filia* [Brumel]

**454/D** (section of the manuscript copied after ca. 1525)

- \*No. 82. *Orsus orsus bus dromes (L'alouette)* [Janequin]

**454/C** No. 92. *Sancta trinitas*, Anthonius de Fevin

- \*No. 121. *Regina celi*, Anon.

**B. UNICA IN BARCBC 454 OF DUBIOUS OR ANONYMOUS AUTHORSHIP, PERHAPS BY NON-IBERIAN COMPOSERS**

**454/B** \*No. 7. [*Missa*] [Fray Benito = Brumel?]

**454/A** \*No. 29. *Magnificat [primi toni]* Frai Benito [= Brumel?]

- \*No. 30. [*Magnificat primi toni*], Anon [= Benito? = Brumel?]

- \*No. 33. [*Magnificat octavi toni*] fr. Benios [= Brumel?]

- \*No. 37. *Salve regina*, Anon.

- \*No. 38. [*Magnificat Octavi toni*], Anon.

- \*No. 49. *Ave Maria tu indiuidur trinitatis*, Anon.

Table 2. International repertoire in the manuscript

toire.<sup>20</sup> BarcBC 454 has four main sections (A, B, C, D) – copied by more than thirty scribes – and contains 127 sacred and secular works, 59 of which are anonymous. Table 2 shows the international repertoire in this manuscript, some of it copied by non-Iberian scribes; it contains twenty non-Iberian pieces and at least seven other works – either without attribution or with a conflicting ascription – that may have been written by non-Iberian composers; this manuscript is the only Iberian source for eighteen of all these works.<sup>21</sup>

The manuscript BarcBC 454 occupies an intriguing position not only among its Iberian counterparts, but also in the context of its relationship to Continental sources.<sup>22</sup> The manuscript as a whole does not reflect a single stemmatic tradition, and the foreign repertoire within each section indicates that the scribes used a variety of now-lost models that in many instances stood closer to central sources than some of the extant concordances. This is particularly evident in the work of the Franco-Flemish scribes of section 454/A, whose renditions of the *Missa Aulen*, Brumel's magnificats, and motets by Josquin, Compère, and Weerbeke stand out among their concordances. The accurate rendition of the foreign repertoire in sections 454/A and 454/C, however, contrasts with the errors found in the masses by Ockeghem and Busnoys copied by a Spaniard in section 454/B.

An overview of the variants in BarcBC 454 reveals that it is often difficult to place the manuscript in a stemma of sources for a particular work. We can, however, single out one print and two manuscripts that bear a special relationship to BarcBC 454: (1) Petrucci, *Motetti libro quarto* (RISM B/1505<sup>2</sup>), from which the scribe of section 454/C probably copied two motets; (2) the manuscript VatS15, which agrees in its concordances with BarcBC 454/A more often than any other manuscript does for those pieces; and (3) the Chigi Codex (VatC 234), which, with the highest number of concordances, disagrees consistently with sections 454/A and 454/B, but displays close readings with one work in 454/C, the widely circulated motet *Sancta trinitas*

<sup>20</sup> For a detailed study of this Barcelona manuscript, see E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, *The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.454: Study and Edition in the Context of the Iberian and Continental Manuscript Traditions*, 1–2, Ph.D. diss., The City University of New York, 1992.

<sup>21</sup> Four of these works of dubious authorship (ascribed to the unknown Benito or Benios) could be by Antoine Brumel. See E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, 'Phantom' Attributions or New Works by Antoine Brumel in an Iberian Manuscript, in D. CRAWFORD ed., *Encomium Musicae, Essays in Memory of Robert J. Snow*, Hillsdale, New York, 2002, pp. 259–267.

<sup>22</sup> The remarks about the relationship between Barcelona manuscripts and other polyphonic sources are partly based on a detailed analysis of the variant readings in concordant Iberian and continental manuscripts and printed books; see ROS-FÁBREGAS, *The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.454*, 1, pp. 249–367, 391–411. See also T. KNIGHTON, *Transmisión, difusión y recepción de la polifonía franco-neerlandesa en el Reino de Aragón a principios del siglo XVI*, in *Artígrama*, 12 (1996/1997), pp. 19–38; and K. KREITNER, *Franco-Flemish elements in Tarazona 2 and 3*, in *Revista de Musicología*, 16/5 (1993), pp. 2567–2585.



by Févin.<sup>23</sup> As pointed out by Richard Taruskin, however, the version of Busnoys's *Missa L'homme armé* in section 454/B, despite its errors and corrupt signatures, is the only one that agrees with Chigi in transmitting the correct mensuration signs for the *Christe* and the *Benedictus*; these signatures play a crucial role in the overall structure of the mass.<sup>24</sup> The other concordant manuscripts of the Netherlands Court complex, and in particular those copied by the Alamire workshop (BrusBR 228, JenaU 3, VienNB Mus. 15495 and VienNB Mus. 18832) share only three pieces with BarcBC 454 (Févin's *Missa Mente tota*, a Brumel *Magnificat*, and Weerbecke's *Anima mea liquefacta est*), and their readings disagree with those in BarcBC 454; only VienNB Mus. 15495 and 454/C share a variant for the *Missa mente tota* by Févin that separates them from all the other sources for this work. All this shows that the scribes of BarcBC 454 had access to international repertoire from a variety of sources.

Table 3 presents the abbreviated inventory of works and composers in another manuscript: Barcelona, Biblioteca de l'Orfeó Català, 5 (BarcOC 5).<sup>25</sup> According to the description in the *New Grove Dictionary*, it is a "MS in 2 distinct parts: the first, ff. 1–52, dates from the late fifteenth century and contains 6 Flemish masses [recte 5 masses]; the second part, ff. 53–69, is of Spanish origin, dating from the early sixteenth century, and contains much Spanish music."<sup>26</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that there is Franco-Flemish repertoire in both sections of the manuscript and that this strict division – implicit in Anglés, explicit in the *Census Catalogue* and in the *New Grove* – into two unrelated sections and the seemingly unproblematic Spanish place of origin of just Part II must be questioned on the following grounds: (1) one type of paper was used for the entire manuscript; (2) the watermark that runs through the entire manuscript (a 'fleur de lis' within a circle) may point to the paper having been manufactured in Italy; (3) the scribe of Part I may be Italian; and (4) the scribe of Part I also copied Josquin's *Domine non secundum* in Part II.

<sup>23</sup> The manuscripts Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigiana, Ms. C.VIII.234 (VatC 234, 'Chigi Codex') and Barcelona M.454 (BarcBC 454) have a total of six concordances (distributed equally in sections 454/A, 454/B and 454/C). On the connection between Spanish Naples and the Chigi Codex, see E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, *The Cardona and Fernández de Córdoba Coats of Arms in the Chigi Codex*, in *Early Music History*, 21 (2002), pp. 223–258.

<sup>24</sup> R. TARUSKIN, *Antoine Busnoys: Collected Works. The Latin-Texted Works*, (*Masters and Monuments of the Renaissance*, 5), New York, 1990, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> For a detailed description of this manuscript with gathering structure, watermark, inventory with concordances and incipits, see E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, *Orígenes e inventario de un manuscrito catalán del Renacimiento con repertorio polifónico internacional: Barcelona, Biblioteca del Orfeó Català, Ms. 5*, in M. GOMEZ MUNTANÉ and M. BERNADÓ eds., *Fuentes Musicales en la Península Ibérica (ca. 1250–ca. 1550)*. *Actas del Coloquio Internacional, Lleida, 1–3 abril 1996*, Lleida, 2001, pp. 141–176.

<sup>26</sup> D. FALLOW, art. *Sources*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd rev. ed., London, 2001, 23, p. 927.

INV.NO.	TITLE	COMPOSER]
No. 1	[ <i>Missa Fortuna desperata</i> ]	<b>[Josquin des Prez]</b>
No. 2	[ <i>Missa Salve diva parens</i> ]	<b>[Jacob Obrecht]</b>
No. 3	[ <i>Missa Comme femme</i> ]	<b>Henericus Yzaac</b>
No. 4	[ <i>Missa La Spagna</i> ]	<b>Henericus Yzaac</b>
No. 5	[ <i>Missa Argentum et aurum</i> ]	<b>Henericus Yzaac</b>
The scribe who copied the first five pieces wrote the following inscription: <i>Scriptum per me Desiderium Johannis Clericum Aeseteñ</i> ; he also copied Josquin's <i>Domine non secundum</i> later on in the manuscript. Aeseteñ may refer to Aesernia, the Latin name for Isernia, a small town southeast of the Abbey of Montecassino in the Kingdom of Naples.		
No. 6	[ <i>Missa L'homme armé super voces</i> ]	<b>Josquin despres</b>
No. 7	<i>Ave Maria</i>	<b>Josquin despres</b>
No. 8	[textless]	Anon.
No. 9	[textless]	Anon.
No. 10	[ <i>Missa</i> ; only <i>Kyrie</i> and <i>Gloria</i> ]	Alonso de la Plaja
No. 11	<i>Regina celi</i>	Alonso de la Plaja
No. 12	<i>Kyrie</i>	Penyalosa
No. 13	<i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Benedictus</i>	[Bartolomé] Cots
No. 14	<i>Regina celi</i>	Anon.
No. 15	[textless]	Anon.
No. 16	[textless]	Marturia [Prats]
No. 17	<i>O rex noster et Deus</i>	Milans
*No. 18	<i>Et in terra</i> ( <u>Altus</u> )	Anon.
No. 19	<i>Quem dicunt homines</i> (only S and T)	<b>[Jean Richafort]</b>
No. 20	<i>Domine non secundum</i> (incomplete)	<b>[Josquin des Prez]</b>
*No. 18	<i>Et in terra</i> ( <u>Superius</u> and <u>Tenor</u> )	Anon.
No. 21	<i>O bone Jhesu</i>	[Anchieta/ <b>Compère</b> ]/ Peñalosa/Ribera]
No. 22	<i>Ave verum corpus</i> (music illegible)	Anon.

Table 3. Abbreviated inventory of the manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de l'Orfeó Català, Ms. 5 (BarcOC 5), ca. 1500–1510. (names of non-Iberian composers appear in bold)

\* The incorrect restoration of a gathering separated the altus from the other two voices of the same piece.

It is difficult to say where this new evidence leaves us with respect to the origins of BarcOC 5. The answer may lie in the activities of the singer, organ builder and composer Marturià Prats to whom a textless *unicum* is attributed in Part II of the manuscript. He appears in 1466 as *fadrí chantrre* (apprentice of chantrre) at the Aragonese Royal Chapel, and was a singer (1484) and later chapel master (1497) at the chapel of Enrique de Aragón, Count of Empúries. Marturià had also been working as an organ builder – often together with his brother Antoni – in Valencia (1483–1485), Barcelona (1492), and Tortosa (Tarragona, 1497–1499), before leaving for Rome,

where he is documented at the Papal Chapel from February 1, 1501, through 1503. He returned to Catalonia, where in 1514 he was working on the organ at Santa María del Mar in Barcelona and was referred to as abbot of San Salvador of Breda in Girona.<sup>27</sup> Interestingly enough, Josquin's *Domine non secundum* – precisely the only work copied by the main scribe in Part II of the manuscript – is one of the many settings of a tract directly connected with sources and composers of the Papal Chapel.<sup>28</sup>

Whatever the precise origins of BarcOC 5, the manuscript shows that the Franco-Flemish mass repertoire was known even in those Catalan music circles that had no connection with the royal chapels of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand.

The third manuscript is also at the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona with the signature M. 681 (BarcBC 681); it was probably compiled in Vic, near Barcelona; see in Table 4 the abbreviated inventory of its forty-nine works with newly identified composers. Here it should be pointed out that, although the manuscript transmits three attributions only (two to Josquin and one to Anchieta), the body of foreign repertoire is also very substantial with works by Pierre de la Rue, Pierre Moulu, Noel Bauldeweyn, Josquin des Prez, Jacquet of Mantua, Jean Lhéritier, Jean Richafort and Adrian Willaert.

A preliminary collation of concordances shows, for instance, that on some occasions the scribes probably used available printed books as sources for the music they copied. This may have been the case with Josquin's motet *Inviolata* and Lhéritier's *Magnificat*. The first piece is close to the version in Petrucci's *Motetti de la Corona. Libro quarto* of 1519. The *Magnificat* by Lhéritier in this Barcelona manuscript follows closely the version in a 1534 Attaignant printed collection, rather than the slightly earlier version in the manuscript at Toledo Cathedral, Ms reservado 23, of Franco-Flemish origin.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> J.M. GREGORI, art. *Prats, Marturià*, in E. CASARES RODICIO ed., *Diccionario de la Música Española e Hispanoamericana*, Madrid, 2001, 8, p. 931; and F.X. HABERL, *Die römische 'schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 3 (1888), p. 247.

<sup>28</sup> R. SHERR, *Illibata Dei Virgo Nutrix and Josquin's Roman Style*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 41/3 (1988), pp. 434–464, especially pp. 455–462; reprinted in R. SHERR, *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Rome and Other Courts*, Aldershot, 1999.

<sup>29</sup> R.J. SNOW, *Toledo Cathedral MS Reservado 23: A Lost Manuscript Rediscovered*, in *Journal of Musicology*, 2/3 (1983), pp. 246–277, esp. 274.

No.	FOLIO	TITLE	COMPOSER
No. 1	fol. 1r	<i>Benedicamus domino</i>	Anon.
No. 2	fol. 1v-5r	[ <i>Credo</i> ] <i>Patrem omnipotentem</i>	<b>[Pierre de la Rue]</b>
No. 3	fol. 5v-13r	[ <i>Missa Missus est</i> ]	<b>[Pierre Moulu]</b>
No. 4	13v-20r	[ <i>Misa En douleur en tristesse</i> ]	<b>[Noel Bauldeweyn]</b>
No. 5	fol. 21v-25r	[ <i>Magnificat</i> ] <i>Et exultavit</i>	Anon.
No. 6	fol. 25v-26r	<i>Martir dei</i>	Anon.
No. 7	fol. 26v-33r	[ <i>Misa Caça</i> ]	[Cristóbal de Morales]
No. 8	fol. 34v-35r	<i>Domine, memento mei</i>	[Pedro de Pastrana]
No. 9	fol. 35v-36r	<i>Resurgens Xps ex mortuis</i>	Anon.
No. 10	fol. 36v-37r	<i>Deus, canticum nouum cantabo tibi</i>	<b>[Lupus Hellinck]</b>
No. 11	fol. 37v-38r	<i>Exultemus et letemus hodie</i>	Anon.
No. 12	fol. 39v-42r	<i>Inviolata, integra et casta es</i>	<b>Josquin [Des Prez]</b>
No. 13	fol. 42v-43r	<i>Visita quesumus, domine</i>	<b>[Jacquet of Mantua]</b>
No. 14	fol. 43v-44r	<i>Per tuam crucem</i>	[Cristóbal de Morales]
No. 15	fol. 44v-45r	<i>Inter vestibulum et altare</i>	[Francisco de Peñalosa]
No. 16	fol. 46v-50r	[ <i>Magnificat</i> ] <i>Anima mea</i>	[Cristóbal de Morales]
No. 17	fol. 51v-57r	[ <i>Magnificat quarti toni</i> ]	<b>[Jean Lhéritier]</b>
No. 18	fol. 57v-58r	<i>Incipit lamentatio Jheremie prophete</i>	Anon.
No. 19	fol. 58v-60r	<i>Aleph. Quomodo obtexit</i>	Anon.
No. 20	fol. 60v-62r	<i>Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum est</i>	Anon.
No. 21	fol. 62v-64r	<i>Hostia sollemnis/Sancta Eulalia</i>	Anon.
No. 22	fol. 65v-67r	<i>Salve regina</i>	<b>Josquin [Des Prez]</b>
No. 23	fol. 69v-70r	[ <i>Misa Hercules Dux Ferrariae</i> ] ( <i>Agnus Dei III</i> )	<b>[Josquin Des Pres]</b>
No. 24	fol. 70v-71r	<i>Dixit dominus 'primus tonus'</i>	Anon.
No. 25	fol. 70v-71r	<i>Magna opera domini '[Sec]undus'</i>	Anon.
No. 26	fol. 71v-72r	<i>Dixit dominus 'tertius'</i>	Anon.
No. 27	fol. 71v-72r	<i>Dixit dominus 'quartus'</i>	Anon.
No. 28	fol. 72v-73r	<i>Laudate, pueri dominum 'quintus'</i>	Anon.
No. 29	fol. 73v-74r	<i>Dixit dominus '[Oct]avus'</i>	Anon.
No. 30	fol. 74v-75r	<i>Dixit dominus</i>	Anon.
No. 31	fol. 74v-75r	<i>Dixit dominus 'quartus'</i>	Anon.
No. 32	fol. 75v-77r	<i>Cristus resurgens ex mortuis</i>	<b>[Jean Richafort]</b>
No. 33	fol. 77v-79r	[ <i>Salve Regina</i> ]	[Juan de] Anxeta
No. 34	fol. 79v-80r	<i>Regina celi</i>	Anon.
No. 35	fol. 80v-83r	[ <i>Salve</i> ] <i>Vita dulcedo</i>	Anon.
No. 36	fol. 83v	<i>Martir dei</i>	Anon.
No. 37	fol. 84v-85r	<i>Ave, maris stella</i>	Anon.
No. 38	fol. 85v	<i>Martir dei</i>	Anon.
No. 39	fol. 86v-87r	<i>Alleluia</i>	Anon.
No. 40	fol. 87v	<i>Venite et accendite</i>	Anon.
No. 41	fol. 89r	<i>Benedicamus domino</i>	Anon.
No. 42	fol. 89v-90r	<i>Dixit dominus 'Secundus tonus'</i>	Anon.
No. 43	fol. 89v-90r	<i>Dixit dominus 'quartus'</i>	Anon.
No. 44	fol. 90v-91r	<i>Martir dei</i>	Anon.
No. 45	fol. 91v-92r	<i>Sumens illud ave gabriellis</i>	Anon.
No. 46	fol. 93v-94r	<i>Ave, regina celorum</i>	<b>[Adrian Willaert]</b>
No. 47	fol. 95v-96r	<i>O domine jhesu xpe</i>	[Francisco Guerrero]
No. 48	fol. 96v-97r	<i>Miserere mei</i>	Anon.
No. 49	fol. 97v-101r	[ <i>Missa</i> ] <i>Kyrie eleyson</i>	Anon.

Table 4. Abbreviated inventory of the manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M.681 (BarcBC 681), mid-sixteenth century with later additions. (names of non-Iberian composers appear in bold)

The access to all this international repertoire probably reflects the diverse musical influences that flowed through Barcelona, a city that served as an almost mandatory stopping point for travellers to and from the Iberian peninsula.

Sixteenth-century inventories of Spanish libraries also provide new evidence regarding the important presence of foreign repertoire in Spain; this evidence is particularly valuable, since most of the books described are not extant. Table 5 presents a list of 76 of these inventories with music items; marked in bold are those that contain non-Iberian music.<sup>30</sup> The 1562 library of the Barcelona bookdealer Joan Guardiola (item 49 in the list) may serve as an illustrative example. The varied international repertoire in that Barcelona shop included Petrucci printed books of masses by Agricola, Pierre de la Rue, Marbriano de Orto and Jean Mouton, as well as collections of madrigals by Rore, Animuccia, Biffetto and others.<sup>31</sup> I should mention that the *Liber quindecim missarum* printed in Rome by Antico in 1516, although is not in this inventory, seems to have been the most popular book of polyphony in Spain prior to the publication of Morales's books of masses. Appendix 1 presents an index of non-Iberian composers and printers identified in all these inventories; I have not included the composers and authors found in the impressive library of book collector Hernando Colón, son of the navigator, whose collection became the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville Cathedral. I think that this index is sufficiently eloquent regarding the important presence of international repertoire in Spain during the sixteenth century.

In sum, according to the inventory of Philip II's choirbooks, the repertoire of the Netherlands Court complex of manuscripts probably had an extended life in the Spanish royal chapel at Madrid beyond the period in which it was originally composed and copied. Although extant Spanish manuscripts of the early sixteenth century show no special relationship with the Alamire manuscripts, the presence of Franco-Flemish repertoire in Spanish choirbooks is almost a norm and it comes from a variety of sources. The possible connection between the repertoire at the Madrid royal chapel and the Franco-Flemish music at the nearby Toledo Cathedral needs to

<sup>30</sup> For a description of music books in sixty-eight Spanish inventories of the sixteenth century, see E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, *Libros de música en bibliotecas españolas del siglo XVI (I–III)*, in *Pliegos de Bibliofilia*, 15, 16 and 17 (2001–2002), pp. 37–62, 33–46 and 17–54. A comprehensive study of Spanish inventories of the period with music books is currently in progress as part of the large research project *Music, Print and Culture in Spain and Portugal during the Renaissance, 1474–1621*, undertaken by Iain Fenlon and Tess Knighton at the University of Cambridge (Leverhulm Trust). I would like to thank them both for inviting me to conduct research on this subject at the University of Cambridge – through a 'BBVA Visiting Fellowship' during the Fall of 2001 – and for sharing with me their expertise on music books generously.

<sup>31</sup> On the presence of Petrucci books in Spain, see T. KNIGHTON, *Petrucci's Books in Early Sixteenth-Century Spain*, in G. CATTIN and P. DALLA VECCHIA eds., *Venezia 1501: Petrucci e la stampa musicale. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Venezia, Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 10–13 ottobre 2001*, Venice, 2005, p. 623–642.

be explored further.<sup>32</sup> Contrary to the Morales-Guerrero-Victoria nationalistic cliché, the music books described in sixteenth-century inventories strongly suggest that Spain had a richer and more international soundscape than previously thought.

<sup>32</sup> For a list of Franco-Flemish composers in Toledo manuscripts, see R. STEVENSON, *The Toledo Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks and Some Other Lost or Little Known Flemish sources*, in , 20/3 (1973), pp. 87–107.

DATE	PLACE	MUSIC ITEMS	OWNER
[1] 1499,	Granada.	1	<b>Margaret of Austria</b>
[2] 1501,	n.p.	10	Queen Isabella
[3] 1503,	Segovia	14	<b>Segovia Alcázar</b>
[4] 1506,	Santander	15	Santander Colegiata
[5] 1507,	Cádiz	2	Juan de Guzmán, III Duke of Medina Sidonia
[6] 1512,	Girona	80	Girona Cathedral
[7] 1516,	Barcelona	1	Antoni Joan, cathedral priest
[8] 1516,	Barcelona	1	Guillem Morell, cathedral priest
[9] 1517,	Barcelona	1	Pere Vinyes, cathedral canon
[10] 1517,	Granada	102	<b>Granada Cathedral</b>
[11] 1518,	Barcelona	1	Church of Santa María del Portal Nou
[12] 1519,	Santander	14	Church of Santa María de Piasca
[13] 1520,	Barcelona	4	Simó Benet de Clariana i de Seva, doctor of law
[14] 1521,	Barcelona	1	Pere Busquets, cathedral priest
[15] 1522,	Barcelona	4	Andreu Rocha, priest at Santa María del Mar
[16] 1523,	n.p.	3	Juan de Anchieta, composer
[17] 1523,	Valencia	5	<b>Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, Marquis of Cenete</b>
[18] 1524,	Barcelona	2	Bartomeua Riera, mother of the bookdealer Miquel Riera
[19] 1528,	Sevilla	4398	<b>Jacobo Cromberger, printer</b>
[20] 1529,	Vic/Barcelona	2	Llorenç de Matinez [sic], canon at Barcelona Cathedral
[21] 1530,	Barcelona	5	Pere Monjo, priest at Santa María del Pino and at the Cathedral
[22] 1531,	Granada	16	<b>Granada Cathedral (books of polyphony)</b>
[23] 1532,	Barcelona	1	Gabriel Font, priest at Santa María del Mar
[24] 1532,	Sevilla	4	Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, I Marquis of Tarifa
[25] 1535,	Barcelona	3	Vicenç Masferrer, priest
[26] 1535,	Granada	12	<b>Granada Cathedral (books of polyphony)</b>
[27] 1538,	Barcelona	3	Antoni Cabrera, canon at Barcelona Cathedral
[28] 1539,	Ourense	56	Ourense Cathedral
[29] 1539,	n.p.	3	<b>Empress Isabella of Portugal</b>
[30] 1539,	Seville	–	<b>Hernando Colón</b>
[31] 1540,	Zaragoza	14	Federico of Portugal, Archbishop of Zaragoza
[32] 1540,	Tarragona	1	Cristòfor Icart, General 'bayle' of Catalonia
[33] 1541,	Barcelona	2	<b>Miquel portes, canon at Barcelona Cathedral</b>
[34] 1541,	n.p.	7	Federico of Portugal, Archbishop of Zaragoza
[35] 1546,	Tortosa	98	Onofre Galia, priest at Tortosa Cathedral
[36] 1546,	Zaragoza	43	<b>Jaime Talamantes, chapelmaster</b>
[37] 1550,	Zaragoza	3	Morlanes, a student
[38] c.1550,	Valencia	38	<b>Fernando of Aragón and Germaine de Foix, Dukes of Calabria</b>

[39] 1553, n.p.	3	Benito Arias Montano
[40] 1553, Barcelona	3	Bernat Comelles, priest at Barcelona Cathedral
[41] 1555, Tordesillas	17	<b>Queen Joanna ‘the Mad’</b>
[42] 1556, Lleida	4	Francesc Cassador, Lord of the Castles of Moncortés...
[43] 1556, Logroño	117	<b>Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco, Bishop of Calahorra</b>
[44] 1567, Toledo	4190	Juan de Ayala, printer
[45] 1556, Sevilla	1	Diego de Valdés, Inquisitor’s secretary
[46] 1557, Burgos	172	<b>Juan de Junta, printer</b>
[47] 1558, Zamora	25	<b>Zamora Cathedral</b>
[48] 1560, Burgos	4	Burgos Cathedral (polyphony)
[49] 1562, Barcelona	433	<b>Joan Guardiola, bookdealer</b>
[50] 1563, Barcelona	1	Francesc Cabrit, bookdealer
[51] 1566, Sevilla	12	<b>Andrés Gasco, Inquisitor</b>
[52] 1570, Tarazona	30	<b>Tarazona Cathedral</b>
[53] 1573, n.p.	144	<b>Juana de Austria</b>
[54] 1577, Barcelona	4	Pere Bosch, priest
[55] 1579, Madrid	3	<b>Pedro Fajardo y Córdoba, III Marquis de los Vélez</b>
[56] 1579, Vic (Barcelona)	14	Jaime Paratge de Bellfort
[57] 1580, Sevilla	12	Alonso de Mudarra, vihuelist and canon at Seville Cathedral
[58] 1582, Zamora	169	<b>Zamora Cathedral and Bernardo García, a canon</b>
[59] 1587, Barcelona	25	<b>Basilica of Santa María del Mar</b>
[60] 1588, Sevilla	53	<b>Sevilla Cathedral (books of polyphony)</b>
[61] 1589, Ourense	97	<b>Juan Febos Rodríguez, cardinal</b>
[62] 1590, Barcelona	1	Damià Bages, bookdealer
[63] 1590, Vic	5	Jeroni de Planella, priest
[64] 1590, Tarazona	95	<b>Tarazona Cathedral</b>
[65] 1591, El Escorial	5	Books from Queen Isabella moved from Granada to El Escorial
[66] 1593, Barcelona	1	Llorenç Linyans, bookdealer
[67] 1594, Barcelona	3	<b>Noel Baresson, merchant</b>
[68] 1595, Barcelona	5	Sold by Onofre Gori’s widow to Cristòfor Astor i Cortey (bookdealers)
[69] 1596, Madrid	151	<b>Philippe Rogier, Philip II’s chapelmaster</b>
[70] 1596, Daroca	90	Daroca’s Collegiate Church
[71] 1599, Barcelona	2	Jaume Fàbrega, priest at Santa María del Mar
[72] 1600, Barcelona	2	Jaume Algasi, Cathedral priest
[73] 1602, Madrid	203	<b>Philip II</b>
[74] 1604, Barcelona	249	<b>Joan Lauriet</b>
[75] 1606, Madrid	2263	<b>Cristóbal López, bookdealer</b>
[76] 1608, Barcelona	3	<b>Joana Folch de Cardona, Duchess of Cardona and Segorbe</b>

Table 5      A list of sixteenth-century inventories of Spanish libraries with music books.  
(those in bold mention non-Iberian repertoire)



**APPENDIX 1. INDEX OF NON-IBERIAN COMPOSERS AND PRINTERS IDENTIFIED  
IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH INVENTORIES OF BOOKS  
LISTED IN TABLE 5.**

(Morales, Guerrero and Victoria have been included for the sake of comparison)  
Reference numbers indicate inventory and item/s number within the inventory  
Inventory [73], Philip II's books, refers to non-Iberian composers in Table 1.

- Agricola, Alexander [49/152] [73]  
Alart, J. [43/43-46]  
Algebi (?), [49/148-50]  
Amadino, *printer*, [74/30-32, 95-96, 126-27, 157, 158, 206, 208-09]  
Animuccia, Giovanni [49/158] [64/79]  
Antegnati, Costanzo [74/172]  
Antico, *printer*, [10/7e] [17/1] [22/10] [26/5] [29/2] [36/2] [38/26] [53/3] [61/80-83] [64/15] [73]  
Antiquis, Giovanni Giacomo de [74/106-10]  
Antonii, Giovanni Antonio delli [74/196]  
Appenzeller, Benedictus [73]  
Arcadelt, Jacques [43/43-46] [73] [74/123, 248]  
Aretino, Paolo [64/25]  
Arioci [49/151]  
Arnone, Guglielmo [74/159, 169, 197, 223-24]  
Arratia, Gaspar, *music scribe in Philip II's chapel* [69]  
Asola, Giovanni Matteo [74/102-05, 126-27, 157, 184-86, 187-88]  
Badii Ascendij, Iodoci, *printer*, [46/2]  
Baglioni, Girolamo [74/117-21, 187-88]  
Banchieri, Adriano [74/30-32]  
Baresson, Noel, *bookdealer*, [67]  
Barra, Jean [= Hottinet] [64/14] [73]  
Bauldeweyn, Noel [64/3, 23]  
Bellère, Jean, *printer* [74/33-37]  
Benedictus; *see* Appenzeller  
Benoist, N. [68/3-4]  
Berchem, Jachet [43/38-42, 43-46] [61/71-75]  
Berg, *printer* [74/33-37]  
Beringen, Godefroy & Marcellin, *printers* [58/80-84]  
Besozzi, *printer*, [74/82, 86-87, 88, 97-101, 143, 155-56, 159, 165-66, 191, 213-14, 217-20, 223-24, 225-26, 227-28, 229-30, 231-32, 233-34, 244]  
Besto, Flaminio [= Flaminio Tresti] [74/140]  
Biffetto, Francesco [49/162]  
Billon, J. de [43/43-46]  
Binçençius [64/14]  
Biserto, F., *see* Biffetto  
Bolog(n)ensi, Gabrieli (?) [74/167]  
Bona, Valerio [74/145-47, 153, 158, 181-82]  
Bonmarchais, Jean [73]  
Borgo, Cesare [74/245]  
Borsaro, Archangelo [74/246]  
Bozzola, *printer* [74/149-50]  
Breitengrasser [36/2]  
Brudieu, Joan [59]  
Brumel, Antoine [10/7e] [17/1] [22/10] [26/5] [29/2] [36/2] [38/26] [53/3] [64/15] [73]  
Buyndos, Hieronimus [= Vinders?] [73]  
Cadéac, Pierre [64/80a]  
Canale, Floriano [74/149-50]  
Cangiasi, Giovanni Antonio [74/141]  
Canis, Cornelius [73]  
Cantone, Serafino [74/7-9]  
Carabelli, Damianis (?) [74/154]  
Carpentras, *see* Genet, Elzéar  
Cavaglieri, Geronimo [74/128-29]  
Cavazzoni, Girolamo [68/3-4]  
Certon, Pierre [43/43-46]  
Cesano, Bartolomeo, *printer* [58/80-84]  
Channay, Jean de, *printer* [47/14] [53/4] [64/19]  
Chastelayn [73]  
Chemin, Nicolas du, *printer*; *see* du Chemin  
Clemens non Papa, Jacob [64/1, 2, 59, 80a] [73]  
Clemente VIII [70/13]  
Colin, Pierre [53/16] [58/139-43] [64/80a, 81, 83]  
Colin, G. [68/3-4]  
Comanedo, Flaminio [74/177-78]  
Compère, Loyset [64/6]  
Correggio, Claudio da, *printer* [61/80-83]

- Corteccia, Francesco [61/28-32]  
 Costa, Gasparo [74/95-96]  
 Coste, G. [68/3-4]  
 Craen, Nicolas [73]  
 Crecquillon, Thomas [53/29] [64/12, 50, 80a] [69/97] [73]  
 Cromberger, Jacobo, *printer* [19] [46/135-66] [75/2-721]  
 Cymbio? [= Cambio Perissone?] [26/1593]  
 Deponton, Bartolomé ? [61/33-36]  
 des Prez, Josquin [10/1529] [17/1] [22/10] [26/5] [29/2] [36/2] [38/26, 35] [43/84-86, 91, 94-97, 116] [49] [53/3, 4, 22] [58/2, 3, 4, 71-74] [60/1, 9, 25] [64/3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, 15, 23, 80a] [73] [76/1-3]  
 Divitis, Antonius [64/13] [73]  
 Dorico Valerio, *printer* [36/3, 43] [43/87] [53/20, 23] [58/65-70, 113-16] [73]  
 du Chemin, Nicolas, *printer* [49/74-75] [51/1] [58/139-43] [60/10]  
 Elcort (?) [64/12]  
 Ernatchi, Benedicti (?) [74/162-64]  
 Estiche, Joan [= Sticheler, Johannes?] [64/11, 71, 83]  
 Faber (?) [64/14]  
 Ferrari, Cherubino [74/24-26]  
 Ferrari, Letereo [74/27-29]  
 Ferrariense, Paulo [58/28-31]  
 Festa, Costanzo [64/5]  
 Févin, Antoine de [10/7e] [17/1] [22/10] [26/5] [29/2] [36/2] [38/26] [53/3] [64/4, 14, 15, 23] [73]  
 Fiesco, Giulio [61/84]  
 Flamenco, Juan, *printer* [69] [69/96, 97, 119]  
 Folonero, Gabrieli [74/130-35]  
 Forestier, Mathurin [73]  
 Fresco, Julio; *see* Fiesco, Giulio  
 Gabrieli, Andrea [69/124-35] [74/124-25, 243]  
 Gabussi, Giulio Cesare [74/192-94]  
 Gaffurius, Franchinus, [17/3,4]  
 Galilei, Vincenzo [74/210-11]  
 Gardano, Angelo, *printer* [58/17] [74/142, 151-52, 170, 172, 215]  
 Gardano, Antonio, *printer and composer* [36/25-30] [43/38-42, 43-46, 87] [47/12] [49/95-100, 142-46, 162] [53/20, 69-72, 87-90, 142] [58/80-84, 85-88, 94-99] [60/28] [61/22-27, 28-32, 41-44, 54-57, 67-70, 71-75, 84, 91-92] [64/25, 27] [74/184-86, 189-90]  
 Gardano, Alessandro, *printer* [58/16] [60/18] [64/88, 89]  
 Garnier [43/43-46]  
 Gascogne, Matthieu [64/13] [73]  
 Gastoldi, Giovanni Giacomo [64/97-101]  
 Genet, Elzéar, alias Carpentras [53/4] [58/11] [60/19] [64/5, 13, 14, 19] [73]  
 Gero, Jhan [61/54-57] [74/18-23]  
 Ghibellini, Eliseo [64/26]  
 Giunta, Jacomo di Biagio, *printer* [58/113-16]  
 Glarean, Heinrich [55/1]  
 Gombert, Nicolás [36/12-15] [43/38-42, 43-46] [53/87-90] [58/121-33] [60/25] [64/3, 13, 69] [69/96] [73]  
 Gosse (?) [43/43-46]  
 Goudimel, Claude [64/80a]  
 Guerrero, Francisco [26/1556, 1557] [43/68-72] [51] [51/1] [53/101-04] [58/1, 16, 85-93, 117-20, 168] [60/3, 10, 11, 18, 21, 23, 25, 28] [64/79, 81-83] [70/44] [73/c]  
 Ghersem, Géry de [69/151] [73]  
 Guiselin-Verbonet, Johannes [73]  
 Hèle, George de la [60/5], [73] [73]  
 Hellinck, Lupus [47/12] [64/3, 8, 13] [73]  
 Heurteur (?) [64/13]  
 Ilario [64/6]  
 Isaac, Heinrich [36/2] [73]  
 Isnardi, Paolo [74/170]  
 Jacquet, *see* Mantua, Jacquet de  
 Jan, Maistre [43/43-46] [64/3, 5]  
 Janequin, Clément [47/12] [49/95-100] [64/23]  
 Jaqlto ? [61/7-11]  
 Javo ? [58/32-35]  
 Jehan, Petit [73]  
 Josquin, *see* des Prez, Josquin  
 Junta, Juan de, *printer*, [46]  
 Jurnot, Gerardo; *see* Turnhout, Gérard de  
 Lagostena, Giovanni Baptiste (?) [74/122, 247]  
 Lappi, Pietro [74/215]  
 La Rue, Pierre de [10/7e] [17/1] [22/10] [26/5] [29/2] [36/2] [38/26] [49/153] [53/3, 29] [64/15] [73]  
 Lasso, Orlando di [58/41-46, 52-56, 57-60] [74/33-37, 38-41, 42-44, 45-49, 50-57, 58-65, 237-42]  
 Lasson [43/43-46]  
 Laurus [64/3, 4, 12, 14]

- Layolle, Francesco de, [36/2] [47/12] [49/95-100]  
 Lebel (?) [64/80a]  
 Leonardo, Juan; *see* Primavera, Giovan Leonardo  
 Lhéritier, Jean [43/43-46] [64/3, 13]  
 Lobayna, *canon at Tarazona Cathedral*, [64/14, 15]  
 Loderico, Agustino [74/144]  
 Luciano, Agustino, *see* Lucchini  
 Lucchini, Paolo [49/163]  
 Lupacchino, Bernardino [49/160, 164] [61/49-53] [74/111-16, 139, 248]  
 Lupi, Johannes, [36/2] [43/38-42, 43-46] [73]  
 Lupus, *see* Hellinck, Lupus  
 Lusitano, Vicente [58/65-70, 64/69]  
 Maillard, Jean [64/80a]  
 Manchicourt, Pierre de [64/13, 51] [73]  
 Mantua, Jacquet de [36/12-15, 20-24] [64/3, 14, 80a] [73]  
 Marie, Joanni (?) [74/212]  
 Massaino, Tiburtio [74/148]  
 Mattias, Herman Verrecorensis; *see* Werrecore  
 Merulo, Claudio [74/151-52]  
 Modena, Julius da [68/3-4]  
 Moderne, *printer* [36/3] [43/29-32] [49/12-19, 95-100, 157] [53/16, 20, 23] [68/3-4]  
 Molinaro, Simone [74/208-09, 231-32]  
 Monte, Philippe de [61/41-44] [74/168]  
 Montes, Dominico [69/147]  
 Montes (?) [64/4, 8, 11, 12, 14, 55, 66-67, 74, 82]  
 Morales, Cristóbal [26/1550, 1591] [36/3, 16-19, 20-24, 43] [43/82-83, 87, 90] [47/5-6] [49/1-8, 9-11] [53/19, 20, 23, 69-72] [58/5-6, 108-12, 144-47] [59/8, 11, 19-20, 28] [60/8, 20, 25] [61/1-6] [64/3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 31, 69, 79, 80a, 81, 83, 86, 91, 92] [70/40, 43] [73] [76/1-3]  
 Mortaro, Antonio [74/165-66, 191, 225-26, 227-28]  
 Moscheni, *printer* [58/134-38]  
 Moulou, Pierre [36/2] [47/12] [49/95-100]  
 Mouton, Jean [10/7e] [17/1] [22/10] [26/5] [29/2] [36/2] [38/26] [47/12] [49/95-100, 156] [53/3-4] [64/15] [64/4-5, 11, 13-15] [73]  
 Nicolas, Mastre [= Gombert?] [64/14]  
 Novello, Lodovico [61/91-92]  
 Obrecht, Jacob [58/100-03]  
 Ockeghem, Johannes, [36/2]  
 Orto, Marbrianus de [49/154]  
 Paien, Giovanni [53/142]  
 Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da [59/2-3, 17-18, 23, 26-27] [61/85-87] [64/79, 81-83, 85, 95] [73] [74/16-17, 196, 198-200]  
 Parabosco, G. [68/3-4]  
 Parumbide (?) [64/14]  
 Pasoti, Giovanni Giacomo, *printer* [58/113-16]  
 Payen, Nicolas [73]  
 Pedicis, Gabrielis de (?) [74/91-94, 179-80]  
 Periquin [64/7]  
 Perissone, Cambio [26/1593]  
 Petit Sacto?, Juan [= Jehan, Petit?] [73]  
 Petreius, *printer* [36/2], [38/26] [53/3] [64/15] [73]  
 Petrucci, Ottaviano, *printer* [49/152-54, 56] [58/113-16]  
 Petrum, H., *printer* [46/172]  
 Phalèse, *printer* [58/16] [64/1] [69]  
 Phinot, Dominique [43/38-42, 43-46] [58/80-84]  
 Picart, *see* Thiebault, Adrien  
 Pierre, Joan (?) [64/80a]  
 Pieton, L. [43/43-46] [73]  
 Pietrasanta, Plinio [61/80-83]  
 Pipelare, Matthaeus, [10/7e] [17/1] [22/10] [26/5] [29/2] [36/2] [38/26] [53/3] [64/15] [73]  
 Plantini, *printer* [60/5]  
 Porto, Pedro de (Escobar) [60/7] [64/6, 7, 14]  
 Prenastino, Aloisio [= Palestrina]  
 Prevost, G. [47/12] [49/95-100]  
 Primavera, Giovan Leonardo [61/17-21]  
 Prioris, Johannes [64/13]  
 Prixiense, Adorno (?) [74/160-61]  
 Quintin, Joan [64/56, 82]  
 Quintiani/Quinziani, Lucrezio [74/142, 143, 233-34, 244]  
 Radino, Giovanni Maria [74/202-05]  
 Ramella, Francesco [74/89-90]  
 Rampazetto, Francesco, *printer* [61/17-21]  
 Rampolini, Matteo [49/157]  
 Richafort, Jean [47/12] [49/95-100] [64/3, 4, 13, 14] [73]  
 Rogier, Philippe [26/1601] [69/1-97, 106-17, 123] [73]

- Rore, Cipriano de [49/142-46] [61/96-97]  
 Roselli, [10/7e] [17/1] [22/10] [26/5] [29/2]  
     [36/2] [38/26] [53/3] [64/15, 23] [73]  
 Rota, Andrea [74/189-90]  
 Rovigo, Francesco [74/221-22]  
 Ruffo, Vincenzo [64/80b, 95] [74/196]  
 Sabbio, Vincenzo, *printer* [74/196]  
 Sarton, J. [49/95-100]  
 Scotto, Girolamo, *printer* [36/20-24] [49/142-  
     46] [53/23, 69-72, 87-90] [58/121-33]  
     [61/17-21, 22-27, 37-40, 41-44, 54-57,  
     67-70, 76-79, 80-83, 84] [64/25, 26, 28,  
     69] [74/1-2, 3-6]  
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 Scotto, Ottavio, *printer* [61/80-83]  
 Seghi, G [68/3-4]  
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 Sticheler, Johannes, *see* Estiche  
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 Tinctoris, Johannes, [38/1]  
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     72-74, 75-79, 82, 83, 86-87, 88, 89-90,  
     97-101, 143, 151-52, 155-56, 159, 165-  
     66, 191, 192-94, 213-14, 217-20, 223-24,  
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     244]  
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 Tractatus, Agustino (?) [74/175]  
 Tradate, *printer* [74/7-9, 68, 80-81, 86-87,  
     177-78]  
 Tresti, Flaminio [74/140, 174]  
 Trofeo, Rugier [74/155-56]  
 Tudino, Cesare [61/37-40]  
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 Varotto, Michele [74/1-2, 3-6, 66-67, 68, 69-  
     70, 71]  
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     84, 85, 86-87, 88, 213-14, 217-20, 229-  
     30, 235-36]  
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     83] [64/3, 5] [73]  
 Veresse, Fabio [74/177-78, 201]  
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     179-80]  
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     157, 177-78, 202-05, 206, 245]  
 Werrecore, Matthias Hermann[49/161]  
     [58/134-38] [61/67-70] [64/35]  
 Wert, Giaches de [61/45-48]  
 Willaert, Adrian [36/12-15] [61/22-27] [64/5,  
     27, 28, 31] [68/3-4]  
 Wolici, Nicolai [33/1]  
 Wreede, Johannes [64/6]  
 Zacconi, Ludovico [74/207]  
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## SOURCES FOR WORKS BY ORLANDO DI LASSO IN SPAIN\*

*Antonio Ezquerro-Esteban*

*Spanish Council for Scientific Research, Barcelona*

Thanks to the recent cataloguing of many Spanish libraries and archives, the study of historical music sources preserved in Spain, both printed and manuscript, and of their ramifications in Latin America, is currently flourishing. The new (or renewed) catalogues of libraries and archives, the majority of which are owned by the Catholic church, are bringing to light new materials of certain interest for the development, updating and readjustment of not only musicological, but also historical research in Europe.

From this perspective, one of the more interesting periods in Spanish history was the time from immediately after the Council of Trent until approximately 1621, the year of the proclamation of the new Habsburg king Philip IV. In fact, this period coincides with the so-called 'Spanish Golden Age'<sup>1</sup> of polyphony (Vásquez, Morales, Guerrero, Ceballos, de las Infantas, Robledo, Lobo, Victoria, Rimonte, Pujol, Comes, Capitán...), instrumental practice (Cabezón, Mudarra, Milán, Valderrábano, Venegas de Henestrosa, Ortiz, Correa de Arauxo, Aguilera de Heredia, Bruna...), and music theory (treatises by Bermudo, Martínez de Bizcargui, Tovar, Tapia Numantino, Santa María, Salinas, Montanos, Cerone, Monserrate...).

The cultural relations between peninsular Spain and the other European territories were at the time undoubtedly intense, and overflowing into political and social concerns, as a result of the Spanish dominion over territories such as Flanders, Naples, Sicily and the Milanese, and also as a result of both the very complex and permanently unstable policy (carried out in order to attain the desired balance) and the interrelations among the big European powers. In music, these relationships were specially influenced by the heritage of the *Capilla Flamenca*, brought to the Iberian peninsula by Philip the Fair. Today, thanks to the newly located sources and to other clues which now arouse our interest, such as the Jesuitic control of music or Antonio de Cabezón's journey to England in 1554 as part of the royal retinue of Philip II (on the occasion of the royal marriage with Mary Tudor, where musicians like Orlando di Lasso and Philippe de Monte were also in attendance), we are finally getting better acquainted with the music of that period and with the interchanges that took place.

However, it must be confirmed that in Spain, as in other countries, the study of the impact of foreign Renaissance composers – with the exception of a few referen-

\* The sigla and abbreviations used for the different music libraries and archives, are those employed by *RISM*.

<sup>1</sup> Term used by Robert Stevenson; see R. STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1961.

tial figures for Spain, such as Josquin Desprez, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, or even Orlando di Lasso – has been overshadowed by the study of the ‘native’ national composers, such as Cristóbal de Morales, Francisco Guerrero, and especially Tomás Luis de Victoria; this is probably due to the traditional ‘nationalist’ approach of the period starting around 1850 (and continuing into the twentieth century). While, concerning Renaissance music in general, the number of indirect references has increased significantly, the specific Spanish bibliography on Lasso is still limited to only a couple of titles.<sup>2</sup>

Taking all this into consideration, it could seem at first glance that Lasso’s work in Spain had not aroused great interest among professionals due to its scarce penetration in the peninsular territory, or, to put it slightly differently, that it was the idiosyncratic limited introduction of Lasso’s music into Spain which had brought forth at least some interest on the part of scholars and researchers.

Anyway, considering Lasso’s work in Spain, it seemed indispensable to establish a preliminary *status quaestionis*, so as to provide a starting point for further and more detailed work.<sup>3</sup> Strange though it may seem, as far as I know, the idea of compiling a simple list of preserved printed and manuscript sources containing works by Orlando di Lasso (with a minimum of documentation) had not been raised in Spain so far. It is clear that the best and most detailed work in this respect, even though made from a general perspective, is that by Horst Leuchtmann for *RISM*, supplying a lot of information on Spanish sources. But this was done more than a quarter of a century ago, and, fortunately, much progress has been made since then in the study and knowledge of Spanish musical heritage.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> R. WALTER, *¿Pertenece Orlando Lasso a la familia de Pedro Lasso de Castilla?*, in *Anuario Musical*, 23 (1968) [1970], pp. 223–229. This article includes a bibliography and two genealogical charts. See also H. LEUCHTMANN, *Versuch über den unerschöpflichen melodischen Einfall bei Orlando di Lasso*, in *Anuario Musical*, 43 (1988), pp. 81–94. Including music incipits.

<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, some of the main Spanish music archives have already been catalogued, and of those that have not, only some are sufficiently well preserved to provide access to the original sources. Another important aspect to be considered in order to gain insight in the problem of the scattered sources in Spain, is the fact that the majority of European countries keep their own musical heritage in libraries, whereas Spain does not. This can be explained by the Napoleonic wars in the beginning of the nineteenth century and by the subsequent political changes all around Europe, which led to the creation of national libraries and to the nationalization of different holdings (which were incorporated into libraries). In Spain, however, this did not happen on the same scale, so that in this country the majority of preserved holdings are not so much located in libraries, but rather in archives – and many of those are ecclesiastical archives, which often operate without an archivist or even anyone at all responsible for cataloguing and keeping the documents. So, from the sixteenth century (Council of Trent) until the 1960s (Vatican Council II), almost every little Spanish town had its own ecclesiastical chapel, producing music, and storing it. Finally, this means that there now are hundreds of archives all over Spain, and, though the situation may be improving quickly, only few of them are well known.

<sup>4</sup> K. SCHLAGER, *RISM. Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, (*RISM A/I/5*), Kassel – Basel, 1975, pp. 232–254. [Chapter on O. di Lasso, by Horst Leuchtmann].

On the other hand, it is true that Spain has always remained far removed – perhaps consciously – from the main advances in the study of Lasso's work, as he was regarded as a 'foreign composer'. Consequently, the principal results of the Lasso study, translated into reference works and doctoral dissertations (such as the old edition of his works by Franz Xaver Haberl and Adolf Sandberger, or the studies by, among others, Wolfgang Boetticher, Siegfried Hermelink, Horst Leuchtmann and James Haar), have hardly reached or had any impact on the Iberian peninsula.<sup>5</sup>

The present article, then, does not pretend to furnish exhaustive information on Orlando di Lasso in Spain – as this would be preposterous and impossible to carry out. Neither was it possible to consult all the referred sources, save a few exceptions, in the process – and this for practical reasons. I have tried to handle with care the widest available bibliography on Spanish documentary sources and music repositories (catalogues of music libraries and archives). In such a way, I have attempted to 'locate' the highest possible number of music sources preserved in Spain and containing works by Orlando di Lasso, starting from the available information of the national Spanish *RISM* group, the *RISM*-International publications (basically, the catalogue by Horst Leuchtmann), and the consultation of many catalogues of Spanish music libraries and archives.

The presence in Spain of more than forty printed and about ten manuscript sources containing works by Orlando di Lasso, attributes an important place to this country within the scope of the study of the circulation of this composer's work, and says much about his influence on composition and composers in the Hispanic area.

Considering the preserved sources, the traces left by Lasso in Spain seem to be much more important than previously suspected. These traces are finally becoming discernible through this article and demand further study in order to elaborate what is now only being touched upon, and in order to add new titles to the present list, through work in (hitherto little known) Spanish music libraries and archives. It may be expected that the number of titles will further increase as more research is carried out in the countries that formerly belonged to – and still constitute – the 'Hispanic area', and particularly in Latin America. These repositories, along with their spreading and historical impact, are a new field to be explored by international musicology, which may considerably widen the present knowledge on this subject.

<sup>5</sup> F.-X. HABERL and A. SANDBERGER, *O. de Lassus: Sämtliche Werke*, Leipzig, 1894–1926. See also W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532–1594. Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Renaissance*, 1 (*Monographie*), Kassel – Basel, 1958; and H. LEUCHTMANN, *Orlando di Lasso*. Wiesbaden, 1976.



## PRINTS

(42 documentary items, 37 different printed titles)

### **PRINT 1:**

**1549. (Valladolid. Archivo de Música de la Catedral.<sup>6</sup> [incomplete: only A]).**

*The print located in Valladolid, as referenced by Anglés:*

E V

“DI VERDELOT / Elletione di Motetti / Non Piu Stampati a Quatro  
Voce Di Verdelotte et Di Altri / Diuersi Eccellentissimi Autori  
Nouamente Fatta Et / Con Somma diligentia Correttissimi Posti in Luce /  
Libro Primo / [shield] Altus / Venetiis Apud Hieronymum Scottum /  
M.D.XLIX.”

A partbook for Altus, bound in one volume (number ‘IV’, according to the ordering by Anglés)<sup>7</sup> together with other printed Altus parts by different composers.

The partbook in question, with motets by Verdelot, according to Anglés, contains the following (no more information available): “Figuran aquí los motetes de Verdelot, cuatro de Andrea de Silva, uno de Iachet Berghem, uno de Consilium, **uno de Lasso** [sic] y uno de Adriano. Eitner, X, p. 57, menciona otra edición de Gardanus del mismo año. De esta colección se conserva sólo la parte Altus.” [Here we find the mentioned motets by Verdelot, four motets by Andrea de Silva, one motet by Iachet Berghem, one by Consilium, *one by Lasso* [sic], and one motet by Adriano. Eitner, X, p. 57, mentions another edition by Gardanus from the same year. From this collection only the Altus part survives.]

On the other hand, the partbook with works by Verdelot, also including one motet by O. di Lasso, is bound together with other prints by A. Willaert, Iachet, Gombert, Morales..., all of which contain motets (or pieces that could be used as motets, such as several offertoria for the whole year, by Palestrina).

<sup>6</sup> H. ANGLÉS, *El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid*, in *Anuario Musical*, 3 (1948), pp. 59–106, especially p. 104.

<sup>7</sup> ANGLÉS, *El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid*, p. 101.

**PRINT 2:**

**1562. (Valladolid. Archivo de Música de la Catedral. [incomplete: only S]). [Unicum?]**

There are two possibilities for identifying this print in Valladolid with the materials given by *RISM*,<sup>8</sup> but neither of them seems to be good [?]. The problems are:

- (1) The first option (designated here by the letter 'A') does not belong to an edition by Scotto (as the print preserved in Valladolid specifically notes), but to an edition by Gardano; even if both prints (*RISM* option 'A', and the print in Valladolid) deal with the *primo libro de madrigali* by Lasso for four voices, and both of them are from the same year (1562), their titles show important differences between them.
- (2) The second option (designated here by the letter 'B') shows very similar (but not identical) titles between the print in Valladolid and the print referred to as *RISM* option 'B'; the name of the printer and the year of the editions are the same in both cases; but the reference in *RISM* option 'B' deals with a work for five voices (and not for four voices, as the print in Valladolid specifically notes). (!)

Hypotheses:

- (1) The catalogue by Anglés on the music archive of the cathedral of Valladolid shows some misprint at this point (?). In this case, the *RISM* reference must relate to some other...
- (2) The print preserved in Valladolid, by O. di Lasso and printed by Scotto (4 voices, Scotto, 1562), had not yet been registered by *RISM*. If this possibility were confirmed, the 'old' reference given in the Anglés catalogue (dating from 1948!) notwithstanding, we would be dealing with a 'unicum', as far as we know.

In any case, the two possibilities are the following:

*RISM* option 'A': L 771

1562d. [1565g, 1569i, 1569k, 1576p, 1581h, 1582i, 1584g, 1592c]. **Il primo libbo** [!] di madrigali a quattro voci, novamente [...] ristampati. [B 1562 η].

Venezia, Antonio Gardano, 1562.

SD 1562<sup>18</sup>

St. I Vnm (S [incomplete]), Veaf (S, B).

<sup>8</sup> The information given after each number (following the format '*PRINT/MANUSCRIPT NO.* – *RISM*: L XXX') is taken from: K. SCHLAGER, *RISM. Einzeldrucke vor 1800, (RISM A/I/5)*, Kassel – Basel, 1975, pp. 232–254. [Chapter on O. di Lasso, by Horst Leuchtmann]. The information given after the sigla of the music libraries or archives, is taken from the specific Spanish bibliography (following the format '*E V ...*').

*RISM option 'B': L 772*

1562e. [1555c, 1557a, 1560d, 1562f, 1566i, 1566k, 1567g, 1570k, 1573k, 1573l, 1582k, 1586i]. Li madrigali **a cinque** [!?] voci, libro primo, nuovamente ristampati et con ogni diligentia coretti. [B 1562 a].

Venezia, Girolamo Scotto, 1562.

St. **D-brd B (A) – F VE (T)**.

*The print located in Valladolid, as referenced by Anglés:*

**E V**

“Canto / ORLANDO DI LASSUS / Li Madrigali a quattro voci / Libro Primo / Nuovamente ristampati / Et con alcuni Madrigali et canzoni d'altri Autori aggiunti, et con ogni diligentia corretto [shield] In Vinegia, Appresso Girolamo Scotto / M.D.LXII.”

This is a Cantus partbook, bound in one volume (number 'II' according to the ordering by Anglés)<sup>9</sup> together with many other printed partbooks for Cantus.

This partbook with works by O. di Lasso is bound with other partbooks by *diversi autori*: Antonio Barre, Iehan Gero, Claudio Veggio, Camillo Perego, Iachet Berghem, Rinaldo da Montagna, Vincenzo Ruffo, Verdelot, and Pietro Taglia. All of them include madrigals.

### **PRINT 3:**

**1565. (Valladolid. Archivo de Música de la Catedral. [incomplete: only 6]).**

*RISM reference: L 786:*

1565c. Quinque et sex vocibus perornatae, sacrae cantiones nunc primum omni diligentia in lucem editae, a Iulio Bonagiunta... liber secundus.

Venezia, Girolamo Scotto, 1565.

St. **E V (6) – I Bc** (complete: S, A, T, B, 5, 6), Vc-torre Franca (A).

*The source preserved in Valladolid, as quoted by Anglés:*

**E V**

“Sextus / ORLANDI LASSI chori Bavariae / ducis Magistri / quinque et sex vocibus perornatae / sacrae Cantiones nunc primum omni diligentia in lucem editae, / a Julio Bonagiunta Musico Ecclesiae divi Marci / Venetiarum / Liber secundus / [shield] Venetiis apud Hyeronimum Scotum / M.D.LXV.”

<sup>9</sup> See ANGLÉS, *El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid*, p. 99.

**PRINT 4:**

**1566.** (Valladolid. Archivo de Música de la Catedral. [incomplete: not S]).  
[Unicum].

*RISM reference:* L 792:

1566a. [1562a, 1562b, 1563a, 1564a, 1565b, 1566b, 1568c, 1569b, 1569c, 1570b, 1574d, 1575d, 1586a, 1586c]. Sacrae cantiones vulgo motecta appellatae quinque vocom, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber primus.

Venezia, Girolamo Scotto, 1566.

St. **E V** (A, T, B, 5).

*The source preserved in Valladolid, as quoted by Anglés:*

**E V**

“Tenor / ORLANDI LASSI sacrae Cantiones / vulgo Motecta appellatae / quinque vocom / [...] Liber Primus [shield] Venetiis M.D.LXVI. / Apud Hieronymum Scottum.” [Cantus missing].

**PRINT 5:**

**1570<sup>1</sup>.**<sup>10</sup> (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>11</sup> [incomplete: only S]).

*RISM reference:* L 834:

1570d. Mellange d’Orlande de Lassus contenant plusieurs chansons, tant en vers latins qu’en ryme francoyse, à quatre, cinq, six, huit, dix parties. [B 1570 0].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1570.

St. **D-brd** Mbs (complete: S, A, T, B, 5/6) – **E Mn** (S) – **F Pc** (A), Pmeyer (5/6), Pthibaut (A, T, B, 5/6) – **GB Lbm** – **I Tn** (S, A, T, B).

*The source preserved in Madrid, as quoted by Anglés-Subirá:*

**E Mn**

“Syperivs / Melange / d’Orlande de Lassvs / contenant / plvsievr Chansons / tant en vers latins qu’en / ryme françoysse, / a qvatre, cinc, six, hvit, dix, Parties. / A Paris. / Par Adrian Le Roy & Robert Ballard, Imprimeurs du Roy, / 1570. / Auec priuilege de sa majesté.”

<sup>10</sup> This kind of elevated numbers does not correspond to the *RISM* references, but only indicates the number of printed editions preserved in Spain from one and the same year, as follows: 1570<sup>1</sup> = the first edition with works by Lasso preserved in Spain from the year 1570; 1570<sup>2</sup> = the second edition in Spain from the year 1570; and so on.

Shelf number: M.846 (= G-5.<sup>a</sup>-49). Provenance: “Fondo Barbieri”, in the same national library. It is a volume of 14,6 x 19,6 cm., with 4 folios (not numbered) + 65 folios (numbered) + 1 folio (not numbered), joining or compiling several partbooks for Superius with compositions by O. di Lasso. Leather binding of the period, with golden edges. The title is surrounded by an ornamental frame, showing allegories and music attributes.

**PRINT 6:**

**1570<sup>2</sup>. (Barcelona. Biblioteca de Catalunya.<sup>12</sup> [incomplete: only S]).**

*RISM reference:* L 842:

*1570m. [1567k, 1593b].* Libro quarto de madrigali a cinque voci, da lui novamente in Germania composti, et con ogni diligentia ristampati, libro quarto. [B 1570 η].

Venezia, li figliuoli di Antonio Gardano, 1570.

St. **A** Wn (S, A, T, 5) – **B** Br (S, A, T, 5) – **D-brd** Mbs (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **E** Bc (S [incomplete]) – **F** Pc (5) – **I** Fc (5), Fn, Rsc, Vecap – **US** Cn (T).

*The source preserved in Barcelona, as quoted by Pedrell:*

**E** Bc

“Canto/Di Orlando Lasso/Maestro di Capella del Serenissimo/Signor Dvca di Baviera, Libro Qvarto / de Madrigali a cinque voci, da lui Nouamente in Germania Composti, / & con ogni diligentia ristampati / Libro [Antonio Gardano’s mark] Qvarto / Con gratia et privilegio / In Venetia Appresso li Figliuoli / di Antonio Gardano / 1570.”

This is an opuscle (only the Cantus part), measuring 15 x 21 cm, and containing 22 pages. Olim (old shelf number): [965. Actual shelf number: 570.]

<sup>11</sup> See H. ANGLÉS and J. SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Vol. III: Impresos: Música Práctica*, Barcelona, 1951, pp. 21–22.

<sup>12</sup> See F. PEDRELL, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, 2, Barcelona, 1909, p. 178.

**PRINT 7:****1571<sup>1</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música.<sup>13</sup> [complete]).***RISM reference:* L 843:*1571a. [1571b, 1572b, 1581b].* Moduli quinis vocibus numquam hactenus editi. [B 1571 d].

Paris, Adrian le Roy &amp; Robert Ballard, 1571.

St. **B** Br (A, B) – **D-brd** Mbs (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **E Mc** – **F** Pa (T, B), **Psg** – **GB** Lbm – **S** Uu (S, T, B, 5).**PRINT 8:****1571<sup>2</sup>. (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>14</sup> [incomplete: only S]).***RISM reference:* L 844:*1571b. [1571a, 1572b, 1581b].* Moduli quinis vocibus numquam hactenus editi. [B 1571 e].

Louvain, Pierre Phalèse; Antwerpen, Jean Bellère, 1571.

St. **A** Wgm (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **B** Br (A) – **D-brd** As, **BFb** (5) – **D-ddr** BD (S, B, 5) – **E Mn**.

[Note: according to the catalogue by Anglés-Subirá, this print would be *incomplete* in Madrid (and not complete, as quoted by *RISM*): only the Superius part is mentioned there.]

*The source preserved in Madrid, as quoted by Anglés-Subirá:***E Mn**

“Modvli / Qvinis vocibvs / Nvmqvam Hactenvs editi / Monachi  
Boioariae Compositi, / Orlando Lasso avctore. / Syperivs. / Lovanii /  
Excudebat Petrus Phalesius sibi & Ioanni Bellerio / Bibliopolae  
Antuerpiensi. / 1571.”

Shelf number: M.846 (= G-5.<sup>a</sup>-49). [For a more detailed description of the print, see ‘Print 5’.]

<sup>13</sup> From the *Conservatorio* in Madrid, no catalogue is available. More information on this important music centre – nearly every musician of importance in nineteenth-century Spain came there in order to study or teach music – can be gathered through the actual responsible of the conservatory library, Carlos J. Gosálvez, who is actually initiating an ambitious project to catalogue the archive and library of this Royal Academy of Music, founded in 1831 by Queen Maria Cristina.

<sup>14</sup> ANGLÉS and SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, pp. 21–22.

**PRINT 9:****1571<sup>3</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]).***RISM reference:* L 845:*1571c. [1571d].* Primus liber modulorum, quinis vocibus constantium. [B 1571 α]. Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1571.St. **A** Wn (T, B) – **B** Br (A) – **D-brd** Mbs (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **E Mc** – **F** CH (B), Pa (T, B), Psg – **GB** Lbm (S, A, B, 5) – **I** CEc (T) – **US** Cn (T).**PRINT 10:****1571<sup>4</sup>. (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>15</sup> [incomplete: only S]).***RISM reference:* L 846:*1571d. [1571c].* Primus liber modulorum quinis vocibus constantium. [B 1571 β]. Louvain, Pierre Phalèse; Antwerpen, Jean Bellère, 1571.St. **A** Wn (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **B** Br (A) – **D-brd** As, Mbs – **D-ddr** BD (S, B, 5) – **E Mn** – **US** Cn (T).

[Note: according to the catalogue by Anglés-Subirá, this print would be *incomplete* in Madrid (and not complete, as quoted by *RISM*): only the Superius part is mentioned there.]

*The source preserved in Madrid, as quoted by Anglés-Subirá:***E Mn**

“Primvs Liber Modvlorvm / qvinis vocibus / Constantivm, / Orlando  
Lassvsio Auctore. / Syperivs / Lovanii. Excudebat Petrus Phalesius sibi  
& Ioanni Bellero / Bibliopolae Antuerpiensi. 1571.”

Shelf number: M.846 (= G-5.<sup>a</sup>-49). [For a more detailed description of the print, see ‘Print 5’.]

**PRINT 11:****1571<sup>5</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]).***RISM reference:* L 847:*1571e.* Secundus liber modulorum, quinis vocibus constantium. [B 1571 γ]. Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1571.St. **A** Wn (T, B, 5) – **B** Br (A) – **D-brd** Mbs (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **E Mc** – **F** CH (B), Pa (T, B), Psg – **GB** Lbm (S, A, B, 5).

<sup>15</sup> ANGLÉS and SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, pp. 21–22.

**PRINT 12:**

[2 copies]: 1572<sup>1</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]; and Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional [incomplete: only T]). [*E Mc*: the only complete copy].

*RISM reference*: L 850:

1572a. Moduli quatuor et octo vocum. [B 1572 η].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1572.

St. **B** Br (B) – **E** Mc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5), Mn (T) – **F** CH (B), Pa (T, B) – **GB** Lbm (S, A, B).

**E** Mn [Note: the Tenor part quoted by *RISM* as preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, does not appear in the library catalogue by Anglés-Subirá.]

**PRINT 13:**

1572<sup>2</sup>. (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>16</sup> [incomplete: only S]).

*RISM reference*: L 854:

1572e. Secundus liber modulorum quinis vocibus constantium. [B 1572 γ].

Louvain, Pierre Phalèse; Antwerpen, Jean Bellère, 1572.

St. **A** Wgm (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **B** Br (A) – **D-brd** As – **D-ddr** BD (S, B, 5) – **E** Mn – **US** Cn (T).

[Note: according to the catalogue by Anglés-Subirá, this print would be *incomplete* in Madrid (and not complete, as quoted by *RISM*): only the Superius part is mentioned there.]

*The source preserved in Madrid, as quoted by Anglés-Subirá:*

**E** Mn

“Secvndvs Liber Modvlorvm / qvinis vocibus / Constantivm, / Orlando Lassvsio Auctore. / Syperivs / Lovanii. Excudebat Petrus Phalesius sibi & Ioanni Bellero / Bibliopolae Antuerpiensi. 1572.”

Shelf number: M.846 (= G-5.<sup>a</sup>-49). [For a more detailed description of the print, see ‘Print 5’.]

<sup>16</sup> ANGLÉS and SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, pp. 21–22.



**PRINT 14:**

**1572<sup>3</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]).** [*The only complete copy*]

*RISM reference:* L 855:

1572f. [1565d, 1565e, 1567a, 1575e; see also 1566f, 1576e, 1587h]. Novem quiritationes divi Iob, quaternis vocibus, [...] modulatae. [B 1572 θ].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1572.

St. **B** Br (A) – **E** Mc (complete: S, A, T, B) – **F** CH (S, B), Pa (T, B) – **GB** Lbm (S).

**PRINT 15:**

**1573<sup>1</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]).** [*The only complete copy*]

*RISM reference:* L 858:

1573b. Moduli sex, septem et duodecim vocom. [B 1573 λ].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1573.

St. **E** Mc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **F** CH (B), Pa (T, B) – **GB** Lbm (S, A, B, 5).

**PRINT 16:**

**1573<sup>2</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]).** [*One of the two only complete copies*].

*RISM reference:* L 859:

1573c. Tertius liber modulorum, quinis vocibus constantium. [B 1573 ].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1573.

St. **A** Wn (T, B, 5) – **B** Br (A) – **E** Mc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **F** CH (B), Pa (T, B) – **GB** Lbm.

**PRINT 17:**

**1573<sup>3</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]).** [*One of the only two complete copies*].

*RISM reference:* L 861:

1573e. [1567b, 1580c]. Magnificat octo tonorum, sex, quinque, et quatuor vocom, nunc primum excusa. [B 1573 ζ].

Nürnberg, Theodor Gerlach, 1573.

St. **B** Br (S, A, T, B, 5) – **D-brd** As (S, A, T, B, 5), B (S, B), Rp (S, A) – **D-ddr** NA (S, A, 5, 6) – **E** Mc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5, 6) – **GB** Lgc (T) – **PL** Wn (T) – **S** Skma (T, B), Uu – **US** Cn (6).

**PRINT 18:****1574<sup>1</sup>. (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>17</sup> [incomplete: only S]).***RISM reference:* L 872:*1574a.* Patrocinium musices [...] cantionum quatuor, quinque et sex vocum, quas mutetas vocant, opus novum. [B 1574 ε].

Louvain, Cornelius Phalèse, 1574.

St. **A** Wn (complete: S, A, T, B, 5/6) – **B** Br (A) – **D-brd** B (T), Bhm (S, A, 5), Mh – **D-ddr** WRtl (A) – **E Mn** (S) – **GB** Lbm (complete; 5/6 incomplete) – **NL** Usg (S) – **S** Uu.*The source preserved in Madrid, as quoted by Anglés-Subirá:***E Mn**

“Patrocinivm mvcsices. / Orlandi de Lasso / Illvstriss. Dvcis Bavariae, / Chori Magistri, / Cantionvm qvatvor, / quinque & sex vocum, quas Mutetas vocant. / Opus novvm. / Illustriss. Principis D. Gvilielmi, Comitis Palatini Rheni, / utriusq; Bauariae Ducis Liberalitate aeditum. / Svperivs. / Lovanii / Excudebat Cornelius Phalesius. / M.D.LXXIII.”

Shelf number: M.846 (= G-5.<sup>a</sup>-49). [For a more detailed description of the print, see ‘Print 5’.]**PRINT 19:****1574<sup>2</sup>. (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>18</sup> [complete; lacking the front page]).***RISM reference:* L 873:*1574b.* [1577b]. Patrocinium musices [...] missae aliquot quinque vocum, secunda pars. [B 1574 γ].

München, Adam Berg, 1574.

Chb. **A** Gu, Wn, Wu – **B** Br – **C** Mc – **CS** Pu – **D-brd** As, B, Hs, Mbm (incomplete), Mbs (2 copies), Mh, Msa (incomplete), Nla, Rp, Rs, Rtt, SCHEY – **D-ddr** LEM (incomplete) – **E Mn** (lacking front page) – **F** Pc (2 copies) – **GB** Er, Lbm, T – **I** LT, Rvat-capp. sistina – **US** Cn, R.*The source preserved in Madrid, as quoted by Anglés-Subirá:***E Mn**

Shelf number: M.2447. One printed volume, incomplete [first pages lacking], with 226 folios (47,3 x 31,5 cm.), including five masses, written in choirbook format, by O. di Lasso. Numbering of the folios from the twentieth century. Begins on folio “C”.

<sup>17</sup> ANGLÉS and SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, pp. 21–22.<sup>18</sup> ANGLÉS and SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, p. 18.

It was owned by Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, who already noticed (in the second half of the nineteenth century) that on the preserved pages some sheets were missing (some pages are damaged and some other are incomplete). Decorated capital letters. Leather binding of the period. At folio 226: “Finis”. Contains:

- 1- [Fol. 1:] “*Missa super Ite rime dolenti*. Authore Orlando de Lasso”. [According Eitner, VI, p. 63; edited in 1574]. [Follows the other four masses, with no indication of their titles on the front page:]
- 2- [Fol. 44:] “*Missa super Scarco di doglia*. Orlando de Lasso”.
- 3- [Fol. 96:] “*Missa super Motetam: Sydus ex claro*. Orlando de Lasso”. [Eitner, VI, p. 66].
- 4- [Fol. 141:] “*Missa super Motetam Credidi propter*. Orlando de Lasso”. [According to Eitner, VI, p. 65, edited in 1608].
- 5- [Fol. 179:] “*Missa super Le Berger et la Bergere*. Orlando de Lasso”.

**PRINT 20:**

**[2 copies]: 1575. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]; and Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional [complete; but T incomplete]). [Unica].**

*RISM reference:* L 878:

1575b. [1576d, 1579d, 1592a]. Liber mottetarum, trium vocum, quae cum vivae voci, tum omnis generis instrumentis musicis commodissime applicari possunt. [B 1575 o]. München, Adam Berg, 1575.

St. E Mc (complete: 3 parts), Mn (complete; T incomplete).

E Mn [Note: the parts quoted by RISM as preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, does not appear in the library catalogue by Anglés-Subirá.]

**PRINT 21:**

**1576<sup>1</sup>. (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional [complete]). [One of the only two complete copies].**

*RISM reference:* L 886:

1576d. [1575b, 1579d, 1592a]. Moduli nondum prius editi Monachii Boioariae ternis vocibus. [B 1576 ζ].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1576.

St. E Mn (complete: S, T, B) – F Pmeyer (T, B), T (T [incomplete]) – GB Lbm.

E Mn [Note: the copy quoted by RISM as preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, does not appear in the library catalogue by Anglés-Subirá.]

**PRINT 22:**

**1576<sup>2</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]). [One of the only two complete copies].**

*RISM reference:* L 891:

1576i. Les meslanges d'Orlande de Lassus, contenantz plusieurs chansons à IIII, V, VI, VIII, X parties: reveuz par luy, et augmentez. [B 1576 η].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1576.

St. **B** Br (B) – **E** Mc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5/6) – **F** CH (B), O (S, T, B, 5/6), Pc (incomplete), Psg (incomplete) – **GB** Lbm, Ob (S, A, T, B).

**PRINT 23:**

**[2 copies]: 1576<sup>3</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]); and Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>19</sup> [incomplete: only S]).**

*RISM reference:* L 894:

1576m. [1571f, 1571g, 1581e, 1599b]. Chansons nouvelles à cinc parties, avec deux dialogues: à huict. [B 1576 κ].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1576.

St. **E** Mc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5), **Mn** (S) – **F** CH (B), Pa (T, B), Psg – **GB** Lbm.

*The source preserved in Madrid, as quoted by Anglés-Subirá:*

**E Mn**

“Svperivs. / Chansons Nouvelles / a cinq parties, avec / deux dialogves:  
a hvict, / d’Orlande de Lassus. / A Paris. / [Par Adrian Le Roy & Robert  
Ballard, Imprimeurs du Roy] M.D.LXXVI.”

Shelf number: M.846 (= G-5.<sup>a</sup>-49). [For a more detailed description of the print, see ‘Print 5’.]

<sup>19</sup> ANGLÉS and SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, pp. 21–22.

**PRINT 24:**

**[2 copies]: 1577. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]); and Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional [incomplete]). [The only complete copy].**

*RISM reference:* L 904:

1577e. Moduli, quatuor 5. 6. 7. 8. et novem vocum. [B 1577 θ].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1577.

St. **E Mc** (complete: S, A, T, B, 5, 6), **Mn** (S [incomplete], T, B [incomplete]) – **F Pa** (T, B), T (T) – **GB** Lgc (S [incomplete], A, B, 5) – **US** Cn (6).

**E Mn** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, does not appear in the library catalogue by Anglés-Subirá.]

**PRINT 25:**

**1578. (Ávila. Monasterio de Santa Ana.<sup>20</sup> [complete]). [Copy not registered by *RISM* until now!].**

*RISM reference* L 910:

1578e. [1566d, 1569e, 1587g, 1599a]. Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque, et sex vocum, tum viva voce tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber tertius. [B 1578 α].

Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1578.

St. **A Wn** (A) – **D-brd** Rp (S, A, T, 5) – **D-ddr** Bds (B) – **GB** Lbm (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **I Bc**

[Note: the following reference should be added now: **E Asa** (complete: S, A, T, B, 5&6).

*The source preserved in Ávila, as quoted by de Vicente:*

**E Asa**

“Sacrae Cantiones, vulgo motecta appellatae. Quinque et sex vocum, tum via voce dum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae. Liber tertius. Venetiis, apud Angelum Gardanum, 1578.”

<sup>20</sup> A. DE VICENTE-DELGADO, *La Música en el Monasterio de Santa Ana de Ávila (Siglos XVI-XVIII). Catálogo*, Madrid, 1989, pp. 45–46.

Five partbooks, for S, A, T, B, 5 & 6ta. pars, measuring 20,5 x 15 cm, without binding or covers, and including the front page and one index. Contains:

Beati omnes, a5. II pars: Ecce sic benedicetur, a5. Peccavi quid faciam, a5.

*Si ambulavero*, a5.

Gustate et videte, a5. II pars: Divites eguerunt, a5.

Mirabile misterium, a5.

Heu mihi Domine, a5.

Ad te Domine, a5. II pars: Vias tuas Domine, a5.

Domine probasti me, a5. II pars: Ecce Domine, a5.

Quid gloriaris, a5. II pars: Propterea Deus, a5.

Fremuit Spiritus Iesu, a6. II pars: Videns Dominus, a6.

Creator omnium Deus, a6.

Da pacem Domine, a6.

In te Domine speravi, a6. II pars: Quoniam fortitudo mea, a6. III pars:

Gloria Patri, a6.

Timor et tremor, a6. II pars: Exaudi Deus, a6.

**PRINT 26:**

**1579<sup>l</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]).**

*RISM reference:* L 915:

1579a. [1587e]. Selectissimae cantiones, quas vulgo motetas vocant, partim omnino novae, partim nusquam in Germania excusae, sex et pluribus vocibus compositae. [B 1579 β].

Nürnberg, Catharina Gerlach & Johann Berghs Erben, 1579.

St. A Wn (S, T) – B Bc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5, 6), Br (A, B, 5) – **D-brd** B, HN (T, B, 5, 6), Mbs (2 copies, one of them incomplete: S, B, 5, 6), Mu (S, A, T, B, 5), Nla, Rp (S, A, T, 5, 6), Rtt (S, A), W (A, T, B, 5) – **D-ddr** Bn, BD (A, T, B, 5, 6), BTH, Dl (complete; S and A incomplete) – **E Mc** – **GB** Mp (S, 5, 6) – **H** Bn (S, A, T) – **NL** At – **PL** GD (A, T, B, 5, 6), Tu (T), WRu (complete; S and 5 incomplete) – S STd (S, T, B, 5), Uu – **US** Wc (T, B, 5, 6).

**PRINT 27:****1579<sup>2</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]).***RISM reference:* L 916:*1579b. [1587f].* Altera pars selectissimarum cantionum, quas vulgo motetas vocant, quinque et quatuor vocibus compositarum. [B 1579 γ].

Nürnberg, Catharina Gerlach &amp; Johann Berghs Erben, 1579.

St. **A** Wn (S, T, 5) – **B** Bc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5), Br – **D-brd** B, HN (T [incomplete], B, 5), Mbs (2 copies, one of them incomplete: S, B, 5), Mu, Nla, Rp (S, A, T, 5), Rtt (S, A), W (A, T, B [incomplete], 5) – **D-ddr** BTH (S, A), Bds (B), Bn, BD (A, T, B, 5), Dl (complete; S and A incomplete) – **E Mc** – **GB** Mp (S, 5) – **H** Bn (S, A [2 copies], T) – **PL** GD (A, T, B, 5), Tu (T), WRu (complete; 5 [incomplete]) – **S** GÄ (T), STd (S, T [incomplete], B, 5), Uu – **US** Wc (A, T, B, 5) – **YU** MAs (5).

**PRINT 28:****1579<sup>3</sup>. (Tarazona. Archivo de Música de la Catedral.<sup>21</sup> [incomplete]). [The only copy preserving the Tenor and 6ta vox parts].***RISM reference:* L 919:*1579e. [1566e, 1569f, 1593a].* Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) sex et octo vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber quartus. [B 1579 α].

Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1579.

St. **A** Wn (A) – **D-brd** B (A, B, 5), Rp – **E TZ** (T, 5, 6) – **GB** Lbm (A) – **I** Bc (A, B) – **YU** Lu (S, A, 5).

**E TZ** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in Tarazona, does not appear in the catalogue of the music archive of the cathedral by Sevillano.]

**PRINT 29:****1584<sup>4</sup>. (Tarazona. Archivo de Música de la Catedral.<sup>22</sup> [incomplete]).***RISM reference:* L 948:*1584a. [1566c, 1569d].* Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque, et sex vocum, tum viva voce tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissime, liber secundus. [B 1584 α].

Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1584.

<sup>21</sup> See J. SEVILLANO, *Catálogo musical del Archivo Capítular de Tarazona*, in *Anuario Musical*, 16 (1961), pp. 149–176.

<sup>22</sup> SEVILLANO, *Catálogo musical del Archivo Capítular de Tarazona*, pp. 149–176.

St. **A** Wn (A) – **D-brd** Kl (S, A, T, B, 5), Rp (6) – **D-ddr** Bds (S, A, T, B, 5) – **E TZ** (T, 5, 6) – **GB** Lbm (A) – **I** Bc (complete: S, A, T, B, 5, 6) – **YU** Lu (S, A).

**E TZ** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in Tarazona, does not appear in the catalogue of the music archive of the cathedral by Sevillano.]

**PRINT 30:**

**1584<sup>23</sup>. (Tarazona. Archivo de Música de la Catedral.<sup>23</sup> [incomplete]).**

*RISM reference:* L 949:

*1584b. [1568d, 1569g].* Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque, sex et octo vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber quintus. [B 1584 β].

Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1584.

St. **D-brd** Kl (complete: S, A, T, B, 5, 6), Rp (A, B, 5 [2 incomplete copies], 6) – **E TZ** (T, 5, 6) – **I** Bc (A, T, B, 6) – **YU** Lu (S, A, 5).

**E TZ** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in Tarazona, does not appear in the catalogue of the music archive of the cathedral by Sevillano.]

**PRINT 31:**

**1584<sup>23</sup>. (Tarazona. Archivo de Música de la Catedral.<sup>24</sup> [complete]).**

*RISM reference:* L 950:

*1584c. [1578f].* Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum, tum viva voce tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber septimus. [B 1584 δ].

Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1584.

St. **D-brd** Kl (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **E TZ** – **GB** Lbm (A) – **I** Bc (A, B), VEcap – **YU** Lu (S, A, 5).

**E TZ** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in Tarazona, does not appear in the catalogue of the music archive of the cathedral by Sevillano.]

<sup>23</sup> SEVILLANO, *Catálogo musical del Archivo Capitular de Tarazona*, pp. 149–176.

<sup>24</sup> SEVILLANO, *Catálogo musical del Archivo Capitular de Tarazona*, pp. 149–176.



**PRINT 32:**

**1584<sup>f</sup>. (Tarazona. Archivo de Música de la Catedral.<sup>25</sup> [incomplete]).**

*RISM reference:* L 951:

1584d. Sacrae cantiones [(]vulgo motecta appellatae) sex vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber octavus. [B 1584 ε].

Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1584.

St. **D-brd** K1 (complete: S, A, T, B, 5, 6), Rp (A, B, 5, 6 [incomplete]) – **E TZ** (T, 5, 6) – **GB** Lbm (A) – **I Bc** (B), MOe (S, A, T, B) – **YU** Lu (S, A, 5).

**E TZ** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in Tarazona, does not appear in the catalogue of the music archive of the cathedral by Sevillano.]

**PRINT 33:**

**[2 copies]: 1584<sup>f</sup>. (Madrid. Real Conservatorio Superior de Música [complete]; and Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>26</sup> [incomplete: only S]). [One of the only two complete copies].**

*RISM reference:* L 953:

1584f. [1596a]. Continuation du mellange d'Orlande de Lassus, a 3. 4. 5. 6. et dix parties. [B 1584 γ].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1584.

St. **E Mc** (complete: S, A, T, B, 5), **Mn** (S) – **F Pc** (B), Psg – **GB** Ob (A) – **S Uu** (A, T, B, 5) – **US** BE (A).

*The source preserved in Madrid, as quoted by Anglés-Subirá:*

**E Mn**

“Svperivs. / Continvation dv Mellange / d’Orlande de Lassvs / A 3. 4.

5. 6 & dix parties. / A Paris / Par Adrian le Roy, & Robert Ballard. /

Imprimeurs du Roy. / M.D.LXXXIII.”

Shelf number: M.846 (= G-5.<sup>a</sup>-49). [For a more detailed description of the print, see ‘Print 5’.]

<sup>25</sup> SEVILLANO, *Catálogo musical del Archivo Capitular de Tarazona*, pp. 149–176.

<sup>26</sup> ANGLÉS and SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, pp. 21–22.

**PRINT 34:****1586<sup>1</sup>. (Tarazona. Archivo de Música de la Catedral.<sup>27</sup> [incomplete]).***RISM reference:* L 963:

1586c. [1562a, 1562b, 1563a, 1564a, 1565b, 1566a, 1566b, 1568c, 1569b, 1569c, 1570b, 1574d, 1575d, 1586a]. Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber primus. [B 1586 γ].

Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1586.

St. **D-brd** Kl (S, A, T, 5), Rp (B) – **D-ddr** Bds (complete: S, A, T, B, 5) – **E TZ** (T, 5, 6) – **GB** Lbm (A) – **I** Ac, Bc, Bsp, PCd (S, T, 5) – **YU** Lu (S, A, 5).

**E TZ** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in Tarazona, does not appear *exactly* so in the catalogue of the music archive of the cathedral by Sevillano. Anyway, it is surprising that *RISM* quotes a partbook in Tarazona for sexta vox in compositions intended for only five voices (?). On the other hand, the work mentioned by *RISM* could coincide (?) with the following one quoted in Sevillano's catalogue, page 173:]

“Orlandi Lassi Sacrae Cantiones (Vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum, Tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae. Venetiis apud Angelum Gardanum M.D.LXXXVI.”

One volume of 15 x 21 cm and 224 pages. According to Sevillano: “Solamente las partes de Altus, Tenor, Quintus, Sextus, bien conservados”. [Only the partbooks for *Altus*, *Tenor*, *Quintus*, and *Sextus* [?], well preserved.]

**PRINT 35:****1586<sup>2</sup>. (Tarazona. Archivo de Música de la Catedral.<sup>28</sup> [incomplete]).***RISM reference:* L 964:

1586d. Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum, tum viva voce tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae, liber sextus. [B 1586 e].

Venezia, Angelo Gardano, 1586.

St. **D-brd** Kl (complete: S, A, T, B, 5), Rp (A, B, 5) – **E TZ** (T, 5, 6) – **GB** Lbm (A) – **I** Bc (A, B) – **YU** Lu (S, A, 5).

**E TZ** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in Tarazona, does not appear *exactly* so in the catalogue of the music archive of the cathedral by Sevillano. Anyway, it is surprising that *RISM* quotes a partbook in Tarazona for sexta vox in composi-

<sup>27</sup> SEVILLANO, *Catálogo musical del Archivo Capitular de Tarazona*, pp. 149–176, especially p. 173.

<sup>28</sup> SEVILLANO, *Catálogo musical del Archivo Capitular de Tarazona*, pp. 149–176, especially p. 173.

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“Orlandi Lassi Sacrae Cantiones (Vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum, Tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissimae. Venetiis apud Angelum Gardanum M.D.LXXXVI.”

One volume of 15 x 21 cm and 224 pages. According to Sevillano: “Solamente las partes de Altus, Tenor, Quintus, Sextus, bien conservados”. [Only the partbooks for *Altus*, *Tenor*, *Quintus*, and *Sextus* [?], well preserved.]

### **PRINT 36:**

**1588. (El Escorial. Archivo y Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo.<sup>29</sup> [complete]). [One of the two only complete copies].**

*RISM reference:* L 986:

*1588d.* Moduli quinque vocum. [B 1588 π].

Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1588.

St. **E E** (complete: S, A, T, B, 5, 6) – **F Pc** (S, A, 5), T (A, T, B) – **GB Lbm** (T) – **I Fc**.

**E E** [Note: the copy quoted by *RISM* as preserved in El Escorial, does not appear in the catalogue of the music archive of the monastery by Rubio. Anyway, it is surprising that *RISM* quotes a partbook in El Escorial for sexta vox in compositions originally intended for only five voices (?)].

### **PRINT 37:**

**1590. (Madrid. Biblioteca Nacional.<sup>30</sup> [incomplete: only T]).**

**E Mn** One miscellaneous printed partbook for “Tenore”, with 32 pages, including works by Correggio, Ruggero Giovanelli, Luca Marenzio, Filippo de Monte, Giovanni M. Nanino, Nola, G. P. da Palestrina, Cipriano di Rore, A. Striggio, and *Orlando Lasso*. Shelf number: M.1756/7.

“*Spoglia Amorosa / Madrigali á Cinque Voci, / de diversi accellent.mi Mvsici / Nouamente ristampati. [engraving] / In Venetia / Appresso l’Herede di Girolamo Scotto / MDLXXXX*”.

<sup>29</sup> S. RUBIO, *Catálogo del Archivo de Música de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial*, Cuenca, 1976.

<sup>30</sup> ANGLÉS and SUBIRÁ, *Catálogo Musical de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, p. 21.

## MANUSCRIPTS

(9 different locations, 12 items)\*\*

**MANUSCRIPT 1:****(Barcelona, Archivo de la Basílica-Colegiata de Santa María del Mar:**<sup>31</sup> A.S. Ms. N° 5).

Manuscript consisting of eight partbooks, from the middle of the seventeenth century, including works (motets) by Clemens non Papa, Juan Bautista Comes, Ambrosio de Cotes, Gay, Guerrero, Pérez, D. Phinot, Joan P. Pujol, Bernardino Ribera, Vincenzo Ruffo, and *O. di Lasso*.

**MANUSCRIPT 2:****(Orihuela, Archivo de la Catedral.**<sup>32</sup> Shelf number: 124/2).

A manuscript (not dated in the catalogue by Climent), without title, and incomplete (only the partbook of Bassus).

-Orlando Lasso: *Alle profunda*, for 10 voices.

**MANUSCRIPT 3:****(Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca de Bartolomé March-Servera, *Cancionero musical de Medinaceli A.***<sup>33</sup> Shelf number: M.13230 [dated 1569c]).<sup>34</sup>

\*\* According to existing catalogues and inventories (sometimes only available *in situ*, as typewritten documents or in diverse other formats), there are still other places in Spain where works by Lasso are preserved. Nevertheless, those have not been included here because of the low reliability of those lists of works and composers or inventories, or their information sources. I found references to works by Orlando di Lasso (most probably modern copies) in the archives of Lleida and Coria (Cáceres); see B. CALLE-GONZÁLEZ, *Catálogo de música y documentos musicales del archivo Catedral de Lérida*, Lérida, 1984. For the Coria archives, a preliminary report commissioned by RISM-Spain exists, but it is partially made up starting from a not very reliable list previously elaborated by Pilar Barrios: see A. EZQUERRO, *Memoria de actividades de RISM-España 1995. V. Archivo de Música de la Catedral de Coria (Cáceres)*, E: COR, in *Anuario Musical*, 51 (1996), p. 267. The list in question by Barrios mentions one *Verbum caro* for 3 voices, by O. di Lasso, kept in box 16 of the Coria archives at the time when this article was written. Most probably, this will turn out to be a modern copy [?].

<sup>31</sup> F. DE P. BALDELLÓ, *La música en la basílica parroquial de Santa María del Mar, de Barcelona: Notas históricas*, in *Anuario Musical*, 17 (1962), pp. 209–241.

<sup>32</sup> J. CLIMENT-BARBER, *Fondos Musicales de la Región Valenciana. IV. Catedral de Orihuela*, Valencia, 1986, p. 147.

<sup>33</sup> Edited in: M. QUEROL-GAVALDÁ, *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, (*Monumentos de la Música Española*, 8–9), Barcelona, 1949–1950.

<sup>34</sup> There has been a little confusion between the two *cancioneros* de Medinaceli, ‘A’ and ‘B’, as well as concerning their location (Mallorca, not Madrid). The manuscript called *Cancionero musical de Medinaceli B (Tonos castellanos)*, in the private library of Bartolomé March-Servera (Palma de Mallorca), with shelf number M.13231, and dated around 1600, does not include works by O. di Lasso, all of its contents consisting of anonymous works or compositions by Spanish authors. It was partially edited in: M. QUEROL-GAVALDÁ, *Música barroca española, I: Cancioneros españoles del siglo XVII*, (*Monumentos de la Música Española*, 32), Barcelona, 1970.

One chansonnier, manuscript. The folios 201v-202 contain the anonymous madrigal for five voices *Siendo de amor Susana querida*,<sup>35</sup> the music of which is attributed to O. di Lasso.

One version of this madrigal (with only the Altus part remaining – or the Tenor part, considering that it is written in *c3* clef) is contained in manuscript 255 from Valladolid cathedral (fol. 76v–77r) [255 is the old shelf number given by Prof. Arcadio de Larrea, for *MANUSCRIPT* 8, second item of the present article – actually shelf number 17, in Valladolid cathedral]: there, the French text appears above, in normal size, whilst the Spanish (translated) text appears below in a smaller size. The author of the Spanish text is not Lope de Vega, as Trend suggested (in *Revue Hispanique*, 71, (1927), p. 497), as did Jesús Bal y Gay (who published the music of the madrigal with its Spanish text in *Treinta Canciones de Lope de Vega*. Madrid, 1935), as was clearly demonstrated later by M. Querol:<sup>36</sup> the poem by Lope de Vega, a sonnet from his comedy *Pastores de Belén*, to which Trend and Bal y Gay refer, only coincides with the Spanish text of the madrigal in its very first verse and general topic. The Spanish text is the exact translation of the original French text used by Lasso. This is the Spanish text:

“Siendo de amor Susana querida / por cobdiciar dos viejos su beldad, /  
fue toda en sí muy triste y aflixida / por no perder su honra y castidad. /  
Y dixo ansí: -Si por deslealtad / consiento en vuestra vil concupisçencia, /  
perdida soy; si hago resistencia, / por falsedad yo perderé el honor; /  
mas es mejor morir por inocencia / que, con pecar, ofender al Señor.”

<sup>35</sup> In QUEROL-GAVALDÁ, *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, (Monumentos..., 8), p. 21, Miguel Querol offers the following crossed references on the musical topic about Susanne: One anonymous manuscript in the Real Colegio de Corpus Christi (Patriarca) from Valencia (see H. ANGLÉS, *J. Pujol, Opera omnia*, 1, Barcelona, 1926, p. xvii); A. SANDBERGER ed., *O. Lassus, Opera omnia*, 14; Giles Farnaby uses the soprano voice from Lassus as a ‘cantus firmus’ for his *Susanna fair* in *Canzonets* (1598). With different music, Alfonso Ferrabosco in the *Musica transalpina*, by Young (1588); William Byrd, in his *Susanna fair*, from *Psalms, Sonnets and Songs* (1588), and *Songs of sundrye Natures* (1589); Jesús Bal y Gay, in *Treinta canciones de Lope de Vega*, transcribes this piece from this chansonnier; Valladolid [mentioned in the present article as *Manuscript* 8, 2<sup>nd</sup> item], fol. 17 [sic. fol. 76v.-77r.: this must have been misread by Querol, who may have understood ‘17’ instead of ‘77’], only the Altus [or Tenor, if the work were written in *chiavette*: the part is written in *c3* clef], with a double text (in French and Spanish).

<sup>36</sup> See QUEROL-GAVALDÁ, *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, p. 28.

**MANUSCRIPT 4:**

(**Segorbe**, Archivo de la **Catedral**,<sup>37</sup> shelf number: 0/7).

One manuscript, not dated in the catalogue by Climent, incomplete. No further information available.

Lassus: "*Hojas sueltas de un cuaderno del Cantus*". [Separate sheets from a Cantus partbook.]

**MANUSCRIPT 5:**

(**Segovia**, Archivo Capitular de la **Catedral**,<sup>38</sup> shelf number: Ms.1).

Manuscript dated around 1610. Includes music by Gandi, Guerrero, Morales, Navarro, Palestrina, Pujol, Serrano, several anonymous works, and one motet by *O. di Lasso*.

According to my informations, the correct shelf number would be: LP 3, fol. 22v. n° 79, and the piece in question by Lasso would be the Christmas invitorium "*Christus, Christus*", for 4 voices.

**MANUSCRIPT 6:**

(**Sevilla**, Archivo Capitular de la **Catedral**).<sup>39</sup>

**-1st item:** Shelf number: Libro de Polifonía No. 4.

Book of "*Misas, aleluyas y tractos y canciones sacras*". Copying date: 1637. [Note: not circa 1580.] Works by maestro "Capitán" (Mateo Romero), fray Manuel Cardoso, fray Manuel Correa, Francisco Guerrero, and *Orlando di Lasso*.

One manuscript volume, on parchment, measuring 54 x 38 cm, and containing 46 folios. Ten staves on every page. Leather binding on wooden covers with metallic rivets. On folio 46v and on the cover is a list of the choirboys of the year 1754; the back cover is a part for *Bassus secundi chori* from a maestro Capitán's mass.

Fols. 40v-43r: Orlando di Lasso: "*Sacre Cantiones vulgo moteta apellatae. Audi dulcis amica mea*", for 4 voices (S, A, T, B). *Audi dulcis amica mea*.

**-2nd item:** Shelf number: 54-1-1.

Motet for Christmas *Hodie apparuit*, for 3 voices (T 1, 2, B). Score and parts. Parts: T 1 (2x), 2, B; accompaniment. [The catalogue of the Seville cathedral does not indi-

<sup>37</sup> J. CLIMENT-BARBER, *Fondos Musicales de la Región Valenciana. III. Catedral de Segorbe*, Segorbe, 1984, p. 145.

<sup>38</sup> J. LÓPEZ-CALO, *La Música en la Catedral de Segovia. Catálogo del Archivo de Música*, 2, Segovia, 1989.

<sup>39</sup> H. GONZÁLEZ-BARRIONUEVO, J. E. AYARRA-JARNE and M. VÁZQUEZ-VÁZQUEZ, *Catálogo de Libros de Polifonía de la Catedral de Sevilla*, Granada, 1994, pp. 22, 25, and 498-499.

cate if this is a print or a manuscript; also it does not give any indication of date or any other further information: it could be a modern copy (?).]

**-3rd item:** Shelf number: 54-1-2.

Motet *O Doctor optime*, for 4 voices (T 1, 2, B 1, 2). Parts: T 1 (5x), 2 (5x), B 1 (5x), 2 (5x). [The catalogue of the Seville cathedral does not indicate if this is a print or a manuscript; also it does not give any indication of date or any other further information: it could be a modern copy (?).]

### **MANUSCRIPT 7:**

(Valencia, Biblioteca del Real Colegio y Seminario del **Corpus Christi [Patriarca]**).<sup>40</sup>

Shelf number: “Libros de atril y libros de partituras, Volumen XX”.

“*Motetes de diversos autores, a 4, 5, 6, 7 y 8 voces*”. It is a collection of eight manuscript partbooks (for Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Bassus, Quinta vox, Sexta vox, Septima vox, and Octava vox), bound in parchment and written on paper of 24 x 14 cm. Every partbook includes one index of its contents, grouping the works by number of voices. Concerning the numbering of the pages, the catalogue by Climent follows the ordering of the Cantus partbook. On the first page appears the added remark: *Don Diego Vigue sirvió al Colegio de Corpus Christi con estos libros, a 27 de Setiembre, 1641*. [Don Diego Vigue offered these books as a service to the Corpus Christi college with these books, on September the 27th, 1641.]

This collection is kept in the library of the saint (referring to St. Bernardino Ribera, founder of the college). The partbooks include anonymous works, and compositions by: José Gay, Francisco Guerrero, Melchor Robledo, Juan Ginés Pérez, Dominicus Phinot, *Orlando di Lasso*, Francisco Company, Bernardino Ribera, Nicasio Zorita, Palestrina, Horatio Nanterni, Orfeo Vecchi, A. Mortari, Navarro, Ambrosio de Cotes, Clemens non Papa, Vincenzo Ruffo, Juan Bautista Comes, Philippus Rogier, Tarín, Joan P. Pujol, and Géri de Ghersem.

The collection includes eight compositions by Orlando di Lasso [considering the motet *Divites egerunt* as the “Secunda Pars” of the precedent, *Gustate et videte*], (***plus one another attributed to him***), [it is to say, nine compositions by Orlando di Lasso, instead of the seven works usually quoted], copied by hand in a collection [vol. 10] in the year 1641:

<sup>40</sup> J. CLIMENT-BARBER, *Fondos Musicales de la Región Valenciana. II. Real Colegio de Corpus Christi. Patriarca*, Valencia, 1984, pp. 38–42. There are also some recent editions available with works by Orlando di Lasso from this archive, on the pages 437–441 of the catalogue.

- 1- [Page 21:] Motet *Veni in hortum meum*, for 5 voices (S, A, T 1, 2, B). Orlando Lasso.
- 2- [Page 23:] Motet *Gustate et videte*, for 5 voices (S, A, T 1, 2, B). Orlando Lasso.
- 3- [Page 24:] Motet *Divites eguerunt*, for 5 voices (S, A, T 1, 2, B), II Pars. Orlando Lasso.
- 4- [Page 40:] Motet *Angelus ad pastores*, for 5 voices (S, A, T 1, 2, B). Lasso.
- 5- [Page 52:] [Madrigal] *Siendo de amor Susana requerida*, for 5 voices (S, A, T 1, 2, B). Anonymous [= Orlando di Lasso].
- 6- [Page 53:] Motet *Pater Abraham*, for 5 voices (S, A, T 1, 2, B). Orlando Lasso.
- 7- [Page 54:] Motet *Fili recordare*, for 5 voices (S, A, T 1, 2, B). Orlando Lasso.
- 8- [Page 86:] Psalm *Cum invocarem*, for 6 voices (S, A 1, 2, T, B 1, 2). Orlando Lassus.
- 9- [Page 95:] Motet *Timor et tremor*, for 6 voices (S, A 1, 2, T 1, 2, B). Orlando Lassus.
- 10- [Page 96:] Motet *Exaudi Deus*, for 6 voices (S, A 1, 2, T 1, 2, B). Orlando Lassus.

### **MANUSCRIPT 8:**

(Valladolid, Archivo musical de la Catedral).<sup>41</sup>

**-1st item:** Shelf number: Ms. 16.

Incomplete: only the oblong partbook for “Quinta vox”. Dated circa 1560.

Includes two motets by Lasso (attributed to anonymous). Contains:

- Gombert: *Patefactae sun januae caeli*.
- Anónimo: *Regina caeli*.
- Anónimo: *Alleluia. Sanctificatus est*, followed by other anonymous.
- Morales: *Missa*.
- Anónimo: *Stabat Mater*.
- Jaquet: *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti*, a 6.
- Lupus: *Agnus Dei*, a 5.
- Jaquet: *Aspice*.
- Morales: Different other works.
- Lupus: Different works.
- Lorenzo de Becerra: *Veni, Domine, et noli tardare*; this work is from a later period.

<sup>41</sup> H. ANGLÉS, *El Archivo Musical de la Catedral de Valladolid*, in *Anuario Musical*, 3 (1948), pp. 59–106.



**-2nd item:** Shelf number: Ms. 17.

One manuscript volume copied on paper during the second half of the sixteenth century, with 200 folios (17,5 x 24,7 cm.). Incomplete: only the “Tenor” partbook (1570c), with original numbering of the folios and leather binding. Fol. 180r: *Para honra y gloria de Dios y de su vendita Madre, yo Antonio de Andrade y Caron pedi este libro al señor D. Ju[an] de Valcazer, Canonigo de la S. Iglesia de Valladolid, y su Vmd. lo pedio al señor Maestro de Capilla, con condicion que lo pasese y en pasandolo lo vuelva al dicho cajon de la dicha Sta. Yglesia de Valladolid y por verdad lo firme en Valladolid A 28 de enero del año de 1650. Yo Antonio de Andrade y Caron.* [To the glory of God and his blessed Mother, I, Antonio de Andrade Haron requested this book from Mr. Juan de Valcazer, canon of Valladolid cathedral, and he demanded it of the chapelmaster, with the condition of copying it, and after it was copied, returning it to the drawer of Valladolid cathedral, and truly, I signed it in Valladolid, on January the 28th, 1650. I, Antonio de Andrade y Caron.]<sup>42</sup> Missing folios: 1, and 8. Gaps in the numbering of folios (nothing is missing): 90–92, 171–173, 178v–181. Blank folios: 29v–40 and 44v–67 (cut), 111, 117v–118, 130v–154 and 156v–161 (cut), 178v–181, 197, 200v. At the end of the volume, at least five cut sheets.

It is a miscellaneous collection, including many anonymous works, *11 motets and chansons* by O. di Lasso, and other works by: Navarro, Rodrigo de Cevallos, Francisco Guerrero, Melchor Robledo, *Orlando di Lasso*, Egidius Bracquet, Andreas Pevernage, Arcadelt, Crecquillon, Gerardo de Turnhout, Julio Severino, Adrian Willaert, Claudius Salmier, Girolamo Pitigliano, Jachet, Joannis Petro, Nicolás Vicentinus, Josquin Desprez, Clemens non Papa, Renir del Mel, Nicolo Favello, Noletto, Alessandro Striggio, Philipppo de Monte, Verdelot, Giovanni Animuccia, Palestrina, Bernardino Ribera, and Michael des Buissons. Works by Orlando di Lasso:

- 1- [Fol. 23v:] Orlando. *Avec vous mon amour finera*, for 4 voices.
- 2- [Fol. 25v:] Orlando. *Vray Dieu, disoit une fillete*, for 4 voices.
- 3- [Fol. 40v:] Orlando. *Pas voules vous qu’une personne chante*, for 4 voices.
- 4- [Fol. 42v:] Orlando. *Un doulx nenni avec un doulx soubrire*, for 4 voices.
- 5- [Fol. 71v:] Orlando. *Le rossignol plaisant et gratieux*, for 5 voices.
- 6- [Fol. 72v:] Orlando. *Ardant amour souvent me faiet instance*, for 5 voices.

<sup>42</sup> There is another similar inscription on folio 180v: *Este Libro es de la Yglesia mayor que me lo en presto el Sr. Maestro de Capilla que se le pidio el Sr. Juan de Valcazer Canonigo de la dicha Sta. Yglecia de Valladolid y por berdad lo firme en a 21 de enero del año de 1650.* [Followed by three names with signatures:] *Antonio de Andrade y Caroz. Antonio de Andrade y Sotomayor. Antonio de Andrade y Caroz.* [This book is owned by the cathedral; it was lent to me by Mr. Chapelmaster, who lent it to Mr. Juan de Valcazer, canon of the same Valladolid cathedral, and truly, I signed it on January 21, 1650. Antonio de Andrade y Caroz. Antonio de Andrade y Sotomayor. Antonio de Andrade y Caroz].

- 7- [Fol. 76v.:] Orlando. *Susanne un iour: Siendo de amor Susana requerida*, for 5 voices.<sup>43</sup>
- 8- [Fol. 79v.:] Orlando. *Mon cueur se recommande*, for 5 voices.
- 9- [Fol. 118v.:] Orlando. *Alma venus vultu languentem*, for 5 voices.
- 10- [Fol. 124v.:] Orlando. *Gustate et videte*, for 5 voices. / [Fol. 125v.:] *Secunda Pars: Divites eguerunt*.
- 11- [Fol. 185v.:] Orlando. *Tytire tu patule*, for 6 voices.

### MANUSCRIPT 9:

(Zaragoza, Archivo de Música de las Catedrales. Shelf number: B-2 Ms.34).<sup>44</sup>

One manuscript partbook for “Tenor”, 13,5 x 21 cm., from the end of the sixteenth century or the very beginning of the 17th, binding with parchment, with 3 pages of indices plus 134 folios with music. Cover: *TENOR / Guillelmi Pallafoxij*. Contains works by: Juan Ginés Pérez, Cristóbal de Morales, Rodrigo de Ceballos, Vincenzo Ruffo, Bernardino Ribera, Pedro Guerrero, Navarro, Vicente, *Orlando Laso*, Clemens non Papa, G. P. da Palestrina, Mestre Jan, Philipppo di Mont, Petit Juan de Lambre, Ferrabosco, and Jachet. It contains *five motets* by O. di Lasso:

- (1) [Fol. 74r.:] Orlando di Laso. *Gustate et videte*, for 5 voices.
- (2) [Fol. 96v.:] Orlando di Lasso. [Psalm] *Cum invocarem*, for 6 voices.
- (3) [Fol. 103v.:] Orlando di Lasso. *In te Domine speravi*, for 6 voices.
- (4) [Fol. 106r.:] Orlando di Lasso. *Timor et tremor*, for 6 voices.
- (5) [Fol. 122v.:] Orlando. *Deus in adiutorium*, for 6 voices.

<sup>43</sup> See QUEROL-GAVALDÁ, *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, p. 28: “el autor del texto castellano no es Lope de Vega como afirma Trend” [The author of the Spanish text is not Lope de Vega as Trend states]. Here Querol makes reference to: J.B. TREND, *Catalogue of the Music in the Biblioteca Medinaceli*, in *Revue Hispanique*, 71 (1927), p. 497. See also my comments on *Manuscript 3* in this article.

<sup>44</sup> The data concerning this manuscript are taken directly from the original source. The catalogue of this music archive, made according to *RISM*-guidelines, has been prepared by a team formed by José V. González-Valle, Luis A. González-Marín, and myself.

*C* 4 Orlando

Auecque vous mon amour fine

ra auecque vous m'aura mour finera Auecque

Puis q' m'oeur est en vous

seullement, Plaise vous d'oc auoir contentement

*A* 4 Orlando

Vray dieu disoit vne fillette

Vray dieu disoit vne fillette vne fillette, Donnes cōfort a mō grief

mal, Donnes Je ne puis plus dormir seullet

te, Je Je sens trop bien quil me fait mal Le souue



Figure 1. Orlando di Lasso, *Avec vous mon amour finera*, a4, MS 8/2, fol. 23v–24r.

Handwritten musical score for Orlando di Lasso's "Vray Dieu, disoit une fillete". The score is written on four staves in a single system. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music is in a 3/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the staves. The first staff ends with a measure number "26" and a checkmark. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff has a measure number "1" below it. The fourth staff has a measure number "1" below it. The lyrics are: "ni de mes amours, Le sou. -1 sans plus tarder -1 vou droys sçauoir Quel chose est ce qu'il dit tousiours, -1 Baiser nest riens -1 s'as aultre auoir baiser nest riens -1 r'ies sans aultre auoir baiser nest sans aultre auoir".

Figure 2. Orlando di Lasso, *Vray Dieu, disoit une fillete*, a4, MS 8/2, fol. 25v–26r.

*CA 4 Orlando*

as voules vous qu'une perſone chante -/.

qu'une perſonne chan te a qui

le coeur -/ ne faict q' ſouſpirer -/.

laiſſes chan ter -/ celui qui ſe con "

*CA 4 Orlando*

n doux nēni avec vn doux ſoub rire avec -/.

Eſt tāt hōneſte Eſt tant hōneſte -/.

Il le vous fault apprendre quāt eſt douç/ ſi venēs a le dire ſi -/.

Da uoir trop dict ie vous wuldroy reprendre / Je vous wuldroy re .

ten te Et ne laisses mon seul mal endurer ./.

et me laisses mon seul mon endurer et me lais ses ./.

mon seul mal endurer / et me laisses / mon seul mal endurer ./.

mon seul mal endurer /

Figure 3. Orlando di Lasso, *Pas voules vous qu'une personne chante*, a4, MS 8/2, fol. 40v–41r.


pren dre / no que ie sois enuieulx d'entreprendre, Da

voir le fruit ./ dont le desir ne point, mais ie voudroy que le me laissât prdre ./.

Vous me d'issies / no vous ne lares point ./.

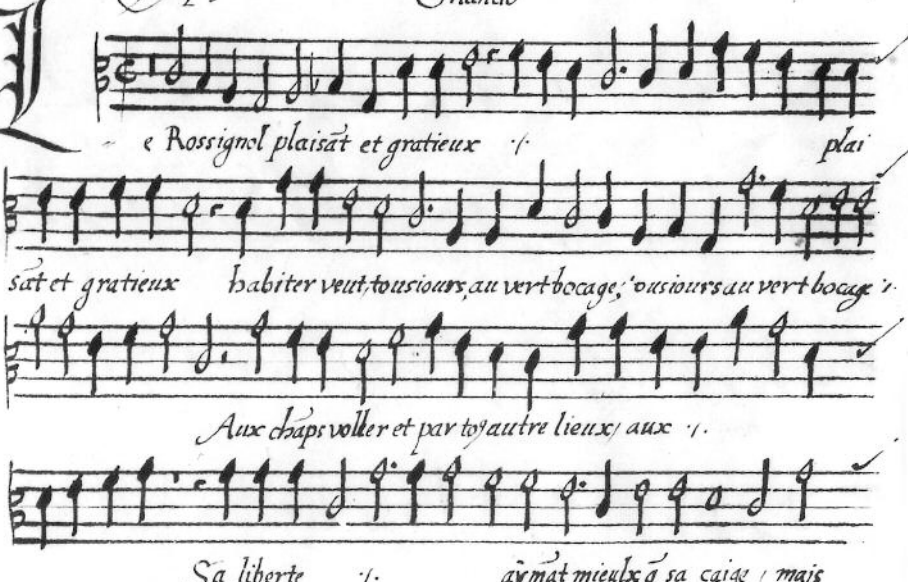
lars point / no ./.

*Seconde partie* Orlando



*Comme heurieux / J'estimeroy mon cuer / Si*  
*ce nenni estoit encore a dire / helas mon Dieu, dont me viét*  
*ce malheur, doù / qu'ayât si fors a lors sceu contredire*  
*Maintenant lon veult / avec un doulx rive avec / me dire*

*As* Orlando



*e Rossignol plaisât et gracieux / plai*  
*sât et gracieux habiter veult, tousiours, au vert bocage, / tousiours au vert bocage*  
*Aux chaps voller et par toz autre lieux / aux*  
*Sa liberte / ayât mieulx q sa cage / mais*

44

ouy ./. de moy contentement / Mais soit ouy ./. ou né

ni Je desire de nay mer vié fors que moy seulement Je desi

re de nay mer rien fors que moy seulement

fors q' moy seulement fors q' moy seul lement

Figure 4. Orlando di Lasso, *Un doux nenni avec un doux soubrire*, a4, MS 8/2, fol. 42v–44r.

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le mien cueur ./. qui demeure en ostage ./.

son triste dueil qui le tient en ses lacs Du Rossignol ne cherche l'auantage

Du Ros. ./. Ne de son chât recevoir le soulas ne ./.

ne de son chât recevoir le soulas ./.

Figure 5. Orlando di Lasso, *Le rossignol plaisant et gracieux*, a5, MS 8/2, fol. 71v–72r.



*A s Orlando*

**A**rdant amour souuent me faict instan- ce Ardant-  
 de declairer mō & ouuertement Mais du efus la  
 si grande doubtan- ces mais- Ne  
 me le veult permettre nullement dont a iamaiz- souffriray le tour-

*A s Orlando*

**S**usanne vn iour d' amour sollici- tee d' amour sol-  
*Siendo de amor susana reguerda*  
 licitee d' amour sollici- tee par deux viellars couoitant sa beaulte  
*susana reguerda por cobdiciar dos viejos su beldad*  
 fut en son cuer trisle et desconforte- e- Vor-  
*fue toda en si muy triste y affogada*  
 ant leffort- fait a sa chastele Elle leur dict si  
*no poder en sonza y castidad a dix años si*

ment, Dont -. Qu'amour craintif donnie  
 aux siens pour martyre sy Dieu ne faict pour mo allegement pour -.  
 Quelle entende mo vouloir sans le dire quelle enten  
 de mo -. mo vouloir sans le dire

Figure 6. Orlando di Lasso, *Ardant amour souvent me faiet instance*, a5, MS 8/2, fol. 72v–73r.

par desloyaulte de ce corps mie vous ayes iouissan ce cest  
 por deslealdad de este cuerpo aya uos iouissencia por  
 faict de moy Siie fais resistance vous me feres mourir en de  
 dada soy si sago resistencia por falsedad perir en de  
 shonneur mais iayme mieulx perir en inno cence  
 Sonor mas es mejor morir en inocencia  
 que doffencer par paecher le seigneur  
 que con pecar ofender al señor

Figure 7. Orlando di Lasso, *Susanne un iour: Siendo de amor Susana requerida*, a5, MS 8/2, fol. 76v–77r.

*As Orlando*

*M* on cœur se recommande a vous mō.  
 tout plain dennuy et de marti re et de mar-  
 tire au mōis au mōis en despit des ialoux en despit des ia-  
 loux faictes qua dieu vous puisse dire, Ma bouche qui vous souloit ri-

*As Orlando*

*A*lma venus vultu languetē despice leto: Respi-  
 celanguetē dulciter alma venus, dulciter alma venus alma venus  
 Anni principio tibi prospera cuncta precamur, vt placido Sube-  
 at subeat pectore n̄r amor, et mibi fausta satis fuerint hęc



Figure 8. Orlando di Lasso, *Mon coeur se recommande*, a5, MS 8/2, fol. 79v–80r.



*Secunda pars*

*M*unc elegos diu querulos dimittere verus  
 Undique sollicitis resolutis pectore curis, Musica nunc  
 alio demulceat omnia cantu Protinus ex misere-  
 ro videor dum maximus he- ros, Protinus ex misere-

*A s. De tempore. Orlando.*

*Q*uestate et videte gustate et videte  
 Quonia suavis quoniam suavis est Dñs quoni-  
 am suavis est dñs, Beatus vir qui sperat in eo  
 Beatus vir qui sperat in eo, ti-



Figure 9. Orlando di Lasso, *Alma venus vultu languentem*, a5, MS 8/2, fol. 118v–120r.



## Secunda pars.

**D** iuites eguerunt et esurierunt  
 et esurierunt inquirentes autem, inquirentes au-  
 tem Dominū inquirentes autem, inquirentes  
 autem dñi, non minuentur non minuentur non

## A 6

## Orlando

**T**ytire tu patule. Recubans sub tegmine fagi syl-  
 uestrem syluestrem tenui Musam meditaris auena, Nos  
 patrie fines et dulcia linquimus arua, et  
 dulcia linquimus arua, Nos patriam fugimus tu tytire





Figures 10. Orlando di Lasso, *Gustate et videte*, a5 – Secunda Pars: *Divites eguerunt*, MS 8/2, fol. 124v–126r.



Figure 11. Orlando di Lasso, *Tytire tu patule*, a6, MS 8/2, fol. 185v–186r.



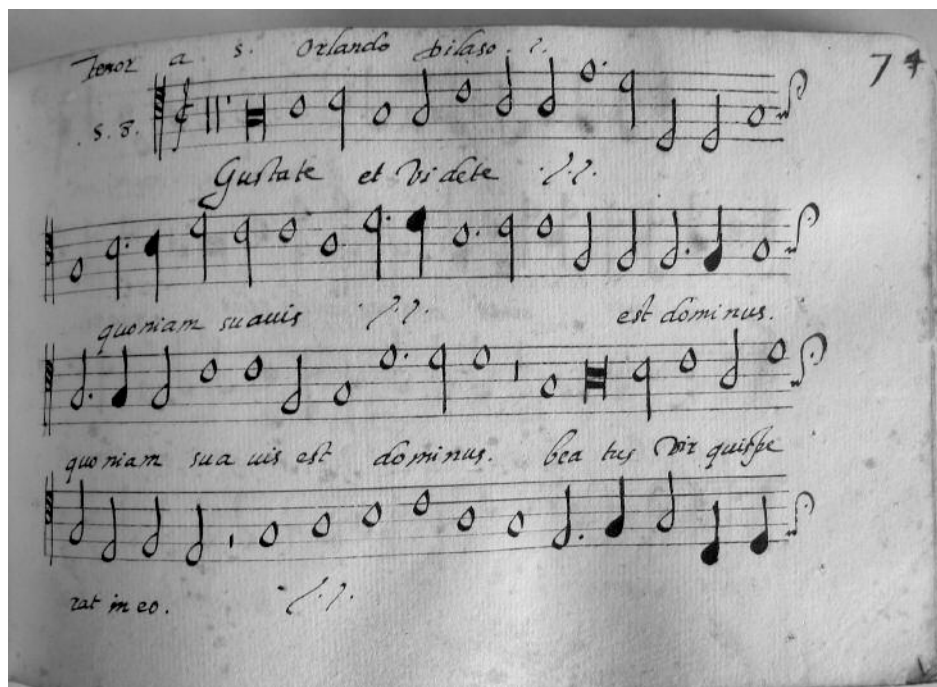


Figure 12. Orlando di Lasso, *Gustate et videte*, a5, MS 9, fol. 74r.



Figure 13. Orlando di Lasso, *Psalm Cum invocarem*, a6, MS 9, fol. 96v.



Figure 14. Orlando di Lasso, *In te Domine speravi*, a6, MS 9, fol. 103v.

Handwritten musical score for Tenor, a6, Orlando di Lasso, 'Timor et tremor'. The score is written on four staves. The first staff begins with 'Tenor a6. Orlando di Lasso.' and the number '106.' in the top right corner. The lyrics are: 'Timor et tremor ? 1.', 'veritatis super me. ? 1.', 'et caligo. cecidit super me. misere mei domi', and 'ne ? 1. misere mei. quoniam'.

Figure 15. Orlando di Lasso, *Timor et tremor*, a6, MS 9, fol. 106r.

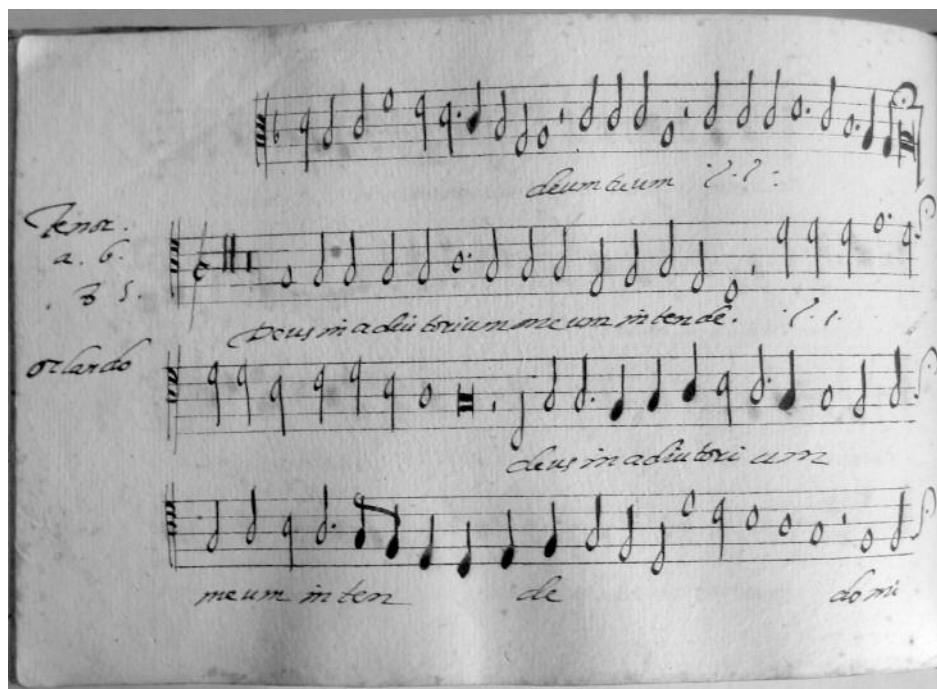


Figure 16. Orlando di Lasso, *Deus in adiutorium*, a6, MS 9, fol. 122v.

Figures 1–11	are taken from Manuscript 8 (2nd item): Valladolid, Archivo musical de la Catedral, MS 17 (abbreviated below as MS 8/2).
Figures 12–16	are taken from Manuscript 9: Zaragoza, Archivo de Música de las Catedrales, B-2, MS 34 (abbreviated below as MS 9).





SONGS OF THE *DEVOOT ENDE PROFITELIJCK BOECXKEN*  
 (ANTWERP, 1539) FOUND IN DIFFERENT SOURCES:  
 DEVIATION IN MELODY AND LYRICS IN  
*HOE LUYDE SANC DIE LEERAER OP DER TINNEN*\* \*\*

*Jeske Van Dongen*

In 1539 the Antwerp printer Simon Cock published the first Dutch songbook with monophonic musical notation. Music had been printed before, but only in liturgical books and in books containing polyphonic pieces. This was the first time music was added to vernacular songs. The title of the book was *Een devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, ('A devout and profitable booklet').<sup>1</sup> The book was devout as all the songs were religious, spiritual songs. It was profitable as singing these songs instead of pernicious secular songs helped the soul to keep the body from a sinful life.

The *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* is also special because of the large number of songs it contains. The compiler sought to collect as many of them as possible.

\* The author likes to thank E. Schreurs and I. Asselman for their comments. She would especially like to thank H. Joldersma for helping her with her English and revisiting the article. The author herself is to blame for any remaining language errors.

\*\* Medieval Dutch spelling of *u*, *v* and *w*, and of *i* and *j*, is adjusted to modern conventions. Abbreviations are expended tacitly. A list of sources used is added in the bibliography. Besides sources that are older than or contemporaneous with the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, also the *Souterliedekens* (Antwerp, 1540) and the *Antwerps Liedboek* (Antwerp 1544) are used. The former is used because it was printed by Simon Cock only a year after he printed the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. There might be a link between the melodies in the two songbooks – the same sources were used, or perhaps the melodies from the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* were used for the *Souterliedekens*. At the very least, a comparison of the melodies in these songbooks might shed some light on the melodies in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*.

The second book, the *Antwerps Liedboek*, was probably a third edition, as the alphabetic order in which the songs are organized starts over again twice. W.P. Gerritsen suggests that this means that the only extant copy is an enlarged reprint (VELLEKOOP, *Het Antwerps Liedboek*, 1, p. x). Regardless, it still remains unclear when the first edition was printed – before or after the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. However, comparing the lyrics in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* with the same lyrics in the *Antwerps Liedboek* might shed some light on the song tradition in Antwerp around 1540 and might help us to understand how the compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* worked.

<sup>1</sup> Full title: *Een devoot ende profitelyck boecxken, inhoudende veel ghestelijcke [sic] Liedekens ende Ley-senen diemen tot deser tijt toe heeft connen ghevinden in prente oft in ghescrijfte: uut diversche steden ende plaetsen bi een vergadert ende bi malcanderen ghevoecht. Ende elck liedeken heeft sinen bisonderen toon wise oft voys op noten ghestelt ghelijc die Tafel hier na volgende breeder uut wijst ende verclaert* ('A pious and profitable booklet containing many songs and carols found up to this time in prints and manuscripts: gathered together from various towns and places. And each song has its particular tune, melody or voice in musical notation, as the following table of contents further shows and explains').

Assisted by people from various places, he collected 259 songs: 251 in Middle Dutch,<sup>2</sup> seven in Latin and one in Middle Dutch with a Latin refrain. The first 244 songs are grouped according to their printed melodies (73 in all), so that lyrics that can be sung to the same melody are placed together. The melody is written out for the first song in each group. The last 28 of these songs are carols. Finally, fifteen songs without musical notation are added.

It is a small book physically, measuring about 10 x 17 centimetres (the pages are wider than they are high). The only two extant copies of the songbook are at the Royal Library in Brussels (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, L.P. 7.795 A) and at the Haarlem Municipal Library (Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, 176 K 9). The latter is missing the first numbered quire, which is the first one containing songs. This quire is preceded by one that is not numbered, containing a preface from the compiler and an index. In all, the book consists of nineteen quires of eight leaves each, totalling 152 pages.

The title page and the preface tell us something about how the compiler composed the songbook. They make clear that the compiler collected the songs from different places and that he was assisted in his endeavor by several people, both ordained and lay. However, that is all the compiler tells us. Nothing is said about the origins of the songs, the sources that were used, or the way the material was treated. Did he edit the songs, or was his task only to bring them together? As to his own identity this seems to matter even less. His name is unknown. The preface, therefore, raises more questions than it answers.

Since the question of how the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* was composed is not answered by the compiler, it is necessary to pose other questions to the collection itself and to the songs it contains. Some of these consider the content of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* itself, whereas others investigate the tradition of the individual lyrics and their melodies. The subject of this article is one of the three songs in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* with the broadest tradition. I will refer to the song by its first line: *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* ('How loudly the teacher sang on the rampart', fol. 70r–71v). First, I will examine the lyrics and their sources. Next, I will concentrate on its melody, which is found in three other sources. Finally, I will ask what the variations in lyrics and melodies tell us about the way the compiler collected the songs. In order to situate the song, I will briefly sketch its context, the tradition of late-medieval religious song in the Low Countries, first.

<sup>2</sup> Middle Dutch is a collective noun for the dialects spoken in the Low Countries between c. 1100 and c. 1550.

## SONG TRADITION

Of the 259 lyrics in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, 95 are also found in a huge number of other sources older than or contemporaneous with the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. Most of these sources are manuscripts, some of them are printed. Some songs have come down to us via a small number of sources, while others have a wider tradition.

Only a few studies have appeared about these sources and their songs. The three most important are: I.A.N. Knuttel, *Het geestelijk lied in de Nederlanden voor de kerkhervorming*; G.G. Wilbrink, *Das geistliche Lied der Devotio Moderna*; and A.M.J. Van Buuren, 'Soe wie dit liedtkyn sinct of leest': *De functie van de Laatmiddeleeuwerse geestelijke lyriek*. An edition of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* was published in 1889 by D.F. Scheurleer. Beside these monographs I point to the recent work of the *Research Group for Late-Medieval Religious Song in the Low Countries*. This Research Group focuses on religious song in both the vernacular (Middle Dutch) and Latin languages. The Group aims for a better understanding of late-medieval religious song through greater interdisciplinary collaboration between researchers from various fields (literature, musicology, codicology, history). These researchers are affiliated with a number of universities and institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the research so far has been about a single source or about the background of the sources or the songs. The tradition of songs found in different sources was never the main impetus for the investigation. Yet it is here that new insights might be gained. As the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* is one of the youngest sources we have, it can serve as a starting point for such an investigation.

Most of the sources in question were compiled between 1450 and 1550, although some are likely older. The *Suwerlijc boecxken* and the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* are printed, the other sources are manuscripts. The number of songs they contain differs substantially. Often Middle Dutch and Latin songs are found together, sometimes only one language occurs. Usually a line that refers to another song sung to the same melody is added to the songs as a tune indication. Sometimes the melody is written out in musical notation. Most books contain only songs, others have prayers or other texts as well. The books vary in size, material and decoration. Information about the origin of most of the manuscripts is rare; these sources include manuscripts like MS Berlin 185, MS Berlin 190, MS Berlin 280, MS Brussels II 2631 and MS Vienna 12875. Those used in this article are listed in the Bibliography.

Described in this way, it seems easier to emphasize the differences between them than to discern what they have in common. Yet, despite the differences, taken together these sources transmit the majority of the texts of the important and substantial tra-

<sup>3</sup> I want to thank H. Joldersma for the use of her translation of the description of the Research Group.



dition of late-medieval religious song in the Low Countries. Many of the songs are found in more than one of these sources. All of them and all of the sources, are rooted in the same religious atmosphere, generally referred to as the Modern Devotion, although it is not clear how strictly we should read this term when considering these songs. This area requires further research.

When studying the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, the parallel traditions of the same songs and the same melodies in different sources might provide some indication of which sources are more closely related to the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* than others. Perhaps it is possible to gain some insights into the way the compiler of the book worked. Even if the comparison does not point towards his use of specific sources, it might illuminate the process of song tradition. By examining *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* this article provides some preliminary suggestions for the conclusions to which the investigation into the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* might ultimately lead us.

#### *HOE LUYDE SANC DIE LEERAER OP DER TINNEN*

*Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* is found on folios 70r–71v in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. It is about a teacher (*leeraer*), probably a priest, who, like a medieval watchman on the castle ramparts, announces the approaching dawn. In the song the announcement does not refer to the light of day, but the light of God. The teacher engages in a dialogue with a young man (*jonghelinck*), who seeks to postpone his conversion to a pious life<sup>4</sup>. In the left column are lyrics as found in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, in the right a summary of the content. As the stanzas are not numbered in the songbook itself, numbers have been added here.

[1] *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*  
*So wie met sonden is beswaert*  
*God latet hem verwinnen*  
*Ende keere hem in tijts tot Gode waert*  
*Eer hem die doot den wech ondergaet*  
*Hi is wijs diet can versinnen.*

The teacher incites those who have sinned to turn themselves to God before their lives come to an end.

[2] *Och edel mensche denct dat ghi moet sterven*  
*En sidy dan niet van sonden vri*  
*Gods rijcke moet ghi derven*  
*Ghi hebt so dick versuymt den tijt*  
*Ten si doer Gods ghenadicheyt.*  
*Die helle moet ghi verwerven*

If a sinner does not turn himself to God before he dies, he will not have access to heaven. Only God's infinite mercy can prevent the sinner from going to hell.

<sup>4</sup> Also described in VELLEKOOP, *Het Antwerps Liedboek*, 2, p. 168. VELLEKOOP, *Het Antwerps Liedboek*, 2, p. 168.

[3] *Ende dat verhoorde een jonghelinck jonck van jaren*

*Leeraer sprac hi doet mi ghewach  
Hoe moechdy so ghebaren  
Ic sal noch leven menigen dach  
Ghenoechte hantieren so ic plach  
Nochtans te Gode varen.*

A youth overhears the teacher. He asks the teacher why he carries on in this manner. What is wrong with living an enjoyable life and not turning to a Godly life until the end is near?

[4] *De leeraer sprac , dat is seer hooch vermeten  
Och waer sijn u ghesellen nu  
Die bi u waren gheseten?  
Sij hadden der jaren so veel als ghi  
Waer sijn si nu berecht dat my  
Die wormen hebbense gheten.*

The teacher castigates this overconfident way of living. Has the young man forgotten about his friends, who lived their lives recklessly and died before they converted? Worms have consumed them.

[5] *Die jongelinck sprac, ick en can mi niet bedwingen  
Ic wil gaen leyden dleven mijn  
Met danssen ende springhen  
Si moeten sterven die veyge sijn  
Laet ons gaen drincken den coelen wijn  
God salt ons wel ghehinghen*

The youngth cannot keep himself away from a life of drinking and dancing. Those who are doomed to die, will die. He, on the other hand, even asks the teacher to come and drink with him and thinks that God will tolerate it.

[6] *Die leeraer sprack, dit leven en mach niet dueren  
Want het verkeert so menichssins  
In alsoe corten uren.  
Waerdy al vanden sinne mijn  
Want ghi mi dunct vol sonden sijn  
Ghi en sout niet doen dan trueren.*

The teacher warns that this life will not last. Things can change in the blink of an eye. If only the young man thought more like the teacher, he would feel great sorrow about his sinful life.

[7] *Die jonghelinck sprack, ghi en moghes mi niet ontraden  
Dat ic der werelt sal sceyden van  
Ende leven in versmaden  
Ick wil volcomen al dat ick can  
Der werlt vruechde ende ghespan  
Die en can mi niet versaden*

The youth tells the teacher his advice will not cause him to abandon his ways. He has not yet drunk his fill of the joys of life.

[8] *Die leeraer sprack, ghi dunct mi buyten keere  
Dat ghi der werlt vruecht verkiest  
Voer dleven van onsen heere  
Siet dat ghi v so niet en riest  
Dat ghi dat rijcke Gods verliest  
Dat dueren sal ymmermeere*

The teacher considers the young man to be insane. How can he not see that, living this life, he will lose the everlasting kingdom of God?

[9] *Die jonghelinck sprac, ick acht dat herde cleyne  
Mach ick in minen lesten tijt  
Voer al die werelt ghemeyne  
Eens versuchten met bekentheyt  
Ic hope mi en sal niet worden ontseyt  
Gods soete aenscijn reyne*

The young man rejects this advice, believing that he will be able to confess at the end of his life and still gain heaven.

[10] *Die leeraer sprac, overdachten wij onse sonden  
Ende minden den heere met herten devoot.  
Die doersiet alle gronden  
Eer ons coemt halen die bitter doot  
Al worden wi opde werlt verstoot  
Wi worden wel salich vonden*

The teacher answers that only those who turn themselves to God before they die, and devoutly love God, will gain salvation.

[11] *Die jonghelinc sprack, soude ick die helle  
verwerven  
So wil ic begeven goet ende schat  
Ende leven so ic wil sterven  
Ick heb ghemist den rechten pat  
Waer sal ic dan varen berecht mi dat  
Ic ontsie der hellen erven*

Finally the youth repents. He is prepared to give up his possessions and asks the teacher how to live a pious life.

[12] *Die leeraer sprack, wildy u tot duechden risen  
Den wech ten eewigen leven waert  
Wil ick u gaerne wisen  
Daer nemmermeer en is verdriet  
Doet altoos wel, en twifelt niet  
God sal u siele spisen*

The teacher is happy to tell the young man what to do. He must do good, and never doubt: then God will save his soul.

[13] *Die jonghelinck sprack, die werelt wil ick laten  
Ende wil gaen leven sonder verlaet  
In minnen ende charitaten  
Ende scouwen alle des viants raet  
Al wordick op dese werlt versmaet  
Ic hope het sal mi baten*

The youth wants to turn himself away from his pernicious life immediately. He is willing to live a devout and pious life now, even if that means he will be scoffed at.

[14] *Die leeraer sprac, daer segt ghi herde wale  
Scheyt der werelt sonden af  
Het brengt u in die sale  
Daer al die engelen singhen lof  
Hier boven in ons vaders hof.  
Ende schout der hellen quale*

The teacher agrees. Such a way of living will open the heavenly gate, to the court where angels sing God's praises.

[15] *Die jonghelinck sprack, die quale wil ick  
schouwen*

*Ende wil gaen dienen God altijt*

*Ende onser liever vrouwen*

*Ende maken mi van sonden quijt.*

*Eer ick hoore van God verwijt*

*Daer voer mach mi wel grouwen*

The young man confirms his conversion: he will serve God and Mary and free himself of his sins. He abhors the wrath of God.

[16] *Die leeraer sprac, ghi moet u wel overdincken*

*Ende roepen op gods ontfermenis*

*Sijn gracie sal hi u schincken*

*Siet dat ghi u daer toe bereyt*

*Of anders soudy voerwaer gheseyt*

*Al inder hellen sincken*

The teacher repeats that the young man must dedicate himself to God and his mercy to avoid hell.

## Lyrics

The song was well-known in the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth century. There is also a German version, frequently ascribed to Heinrich von Laufenberg. It is however not clear whether the song was translated from German into Middle Dutch, or from Middle Dutch into German.<sup>5</sup> In the Low Countries the song has come down to us by nine sources that are older than or dating from the same period as the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*.<sup>6</sup> The lyrics are found in the manuscripts MS Amsterdam I A 24, MS Berlin 1027, MS Berlin 185, MS Berlin 190, MS Brussels II 270, MS Gaesdonck 37, MS Nijmegen 953, MS Vienna 12875, and MS Werden. Table 1 lists the sources in order of age, with the oldest manuscript, MS Berlin 1027, first and the *Antwerps Liedboek* last. The next column shows the pages or folios where *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* is copied. The third column gives the first two lines (the ‘incipit’) as found in each source. The last column is the most complicated one: it gives the order in which the stanzas are placed in each source.

<sup>5</sup> VELLEKOOP, *Het Antwerps Liedboek*, 2, p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> The song is also known through younger, sixteenth century sources: MS Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 845; MS Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, II 144; *Het hofken der geestelycker liedekens*, Leuven, 1577; and Henricus Costerius: *Het oudt Huysken van Bethleem*, Antwerpen, ca. 1590. These sources need not be included in this investigation.

SOURCE	FOLIO / PAGE	INCIPIIT	STANZAS
MS Berlin 1027	fol. 110r	<i>Woe lude sanck die lerer op der tynnen / Wie nu yn swaren sunden leecht</i>	1; 3–6; (11); 12
MS Nijmegen 953	fol. 165r–165v	<i>Woe lude sanck die leerre op der tynnen / Wie nu in swaeren sunden leet [sic]</i>	1; 3–6; (11); 12
MS Gaesdonck 37	fol. 149r–149v	<i>Woe luyd soe sanck dye lerre all op dat der tynnen / wee nu in swaren sonden leget</i>	1; 3–6; A–B
MS Amsterdam I A 24	N pp. 13–6; 35–36 <sup>7</sup>	<i>Hoe lude sanc die leeraer opder sinnen / Soe wij met sonden es bewaen</i>	1–9; 16; 11–12; (13/C); 14–15; 10
MS Vienna 12875	fol. 61v–63v	<i>Hoe luyde soe sanc die lerer al op der tynnen. / soe wie in swaren sonden leeft</i>	1; 3; 6; 5; 4; (11); 12; A–C
MS Berlin 190	fol. 170r–171v	<i>Hoe lude so sanc die leerre al opter tynnen. / so wie in zwaren sonden leit.</i>	1; 3–6; (11); 12; A–C
MS Berlin 185	pp. 122–126	<i>Hoe lude soe sanck die lere opter tynnen / die nu in swaren sunden levet</i>	1–3; 6; 5; 4; (11); 12; A–C
MS Werden	pp. 81–82	<i>Woe luede so sanck de leerrer up der tynnen: / wie yn swaren sunden leecht,</i>	1; 3–6; (11); 12; A–B

Table 1. Sources containing the lyrics of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*

The incipits show a number of deviations between the versions. While a certain knowledge of Middle Dutch is required to see what these deviations are, to those even without any knowledge of the language some differences are obvious. There are differences in spelling and word order, and even complete lines vary. In the entire text, the deviations of this kind seem innumerable. There is, however, no doubt that all the sources give the same song; the message is not changed. Besides, although some sources are more closely related than others, similarities and deviations are found

<sup>7</sup> About the order of pages and quires in this manuscript, see BIEMANS, *Het handschrift-Borgloon*, pp. 25–26.

between all of them. In other words, we cannot trace the evolution from one point to another; all we can conclude is that it changes.

Just as the incipit column gives a glimpse into the many deviations that can be found within the same stanza in different sources, the last column shows that the order of the stanzas also varies. The stanzas in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* are numbered from 1 to 16. Stanzas that do not appear in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* are 'lettered' from A to D. Stanzas between parentheses deviate more than the average from the other stanzas with the same number or letter. For example, '13/C' refers to a stanza that is a mixture between stanza 13 and stanza C. The order in which the numbers and letters are placed corresponds to the order in which the stanzas are found in each source. Berlin 1027, for example, misses stanzas 2, 7–10 and 13–16 from the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. This manuscript transmits a much shorter version of the text than the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. The stanzas it contains do appear in the same order. Stanza 11, however, differs more than the average from the same stanza in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*.

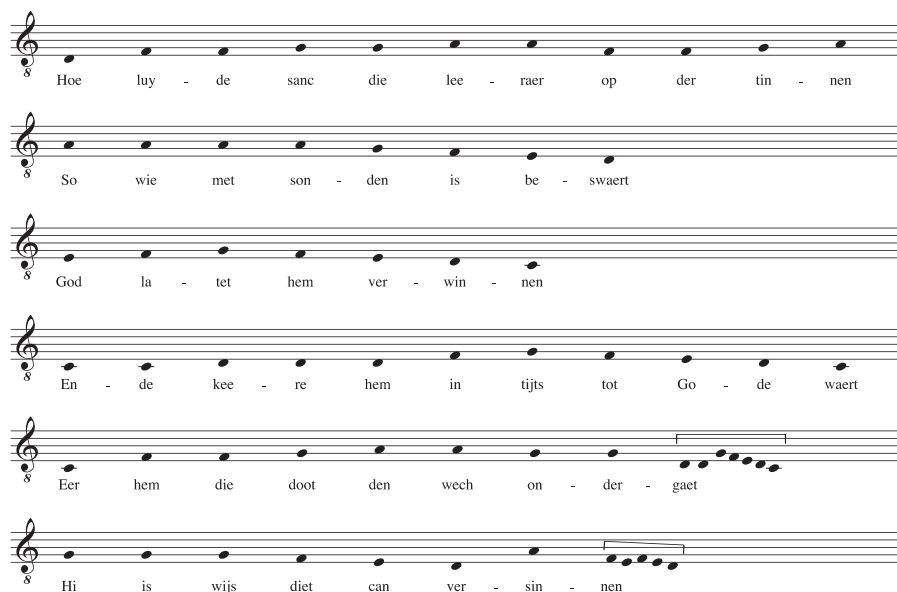
Even without analysing the lyrics in detail, we are able to use the last column of Table 1 to distinguish some groupings within the tradition of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*. In the manuscripts MS Berlin 1027, MS Nijmegen 953, MS Gaesdonck 37, MS Vienna 12875, MS Berlin 190 and MS Werden, stanza 2 is missing. Although the oldest sources do not necessarily transmit the oldest version of a song, it seems reasonable to conclude that stanza 2 must be an addition to the 'original' song – as far as we can speak of an original. It is the only stanza that does not fit into the dialogue properly. The teacher and the youth each occupy the speaker position in one stanza in turn. With the addition of this stanza, the teacher speaks for two consecutive stanzas instead of one. Of course it is possible to argue that this is not particularly evident, as the irregularity occurs at the beginning of the song, before the dialogue has even started. Yet stanza 2 differs in more ways from the other stanzas. The stanza provides no new information and can be left out without detriment to the message or content of the song. The youth does not respond to this stanza, but to the first one. In the second stanza the teacher addresses himself to the audience who might be listening to or singing the song, instead of to the fictional audience in the song (the youth). This change of perspective is not found elsewhere in the song. Nevertheless, arguing that this stanza was added asks for an explanation: what function might it have? Perhaps it was intended to ensure that the audience or singers were conscious of the fact that the teacher's message was not addressed only to the youth, but to all human beings. This would be commensurate with the stated intent of the compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* to guard his readers from earthly delights and further their piety. The compiler may have added the stanza for this reason.

The absence of stanzas 7–10 and 14–16 in most of the sources is striking as well. Apart from the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, stanza 9 is transmitted only by MS Amsterdam I A 24. Stanzas 7–8 have come down to us in MS Brussels II 270, in MS Amsterdam I A 24 and in the *Antwerps Liedboek*. The latter two also contain stanzas 14–16. Stanza 10 appears only in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*.

Although the stanza order differs, a closer comparison of the lyrics shows that the tradition of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* in MS Amsterdam I A 24 and in the *Antwerps Liedboek* is more closely related to the tradition in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* than are the traditions in the other sources. Yet we cannot draw a line from one source to another. The three sources, although closely related, contain significant variations but no traceable development. Is it possible that the compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* used one of the other two sources for his collection?<sup>8</sup> If he did so, he edited the song to a large extent. It seems more likely that several versions of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* existed simultaneously. Some of them were more closely related to one another than to others. Probably not all versions were committed to paper and not all the versions that were written down or were printed came down to us. We can accept as a hypothesis that the sources are related to each other only, if more lyrics in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* point to MS Amsterdam I A 24 or to the *Antwerps Liedboek* as possible sources used by the compiler of the songbook.

That is not the case. MS Amsterdam I A 24 contains 13 songs, of which *Hoe lude sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* is the only religious one. The other songs are not found in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. The *Antwerps Liedboek* consists of 221 songs. Only two of them are also found in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, while the other songs are secular. A comparison of the traditions of the lyrics of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* does not enable us to determine the sources the compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* actually might have used.

<sup>8</sup> In case of the *Antwerps Liedboek* it would be an early print; see also note 1.



Example 1. The melody of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* according the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*

## Melody

The melody to the lyrics in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* is written in an authentic Dorian mode. Its final is *d*, its dominant *a*, and it has a range from *c* to *a*.

Of all the sources that transmit the lyrics of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*, only MS Vienna 12875 also contains a melody notation. MS Berlin 185 indicates the name of another song to which the lyrics can be sung: *Hoe lustelic waert der mynnen bant ontsloten mit groter*. This is obviously the incipit of another song, which, unfortunately, has not come down to us. It is therefore impossible to compare the melody to which this tune indication points with the melody in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*.<sup>9</sup>

As the other sources do not indicate a melody, neither by musical notation, nor by reference to another song, this must mean that the melody of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* was well-known. The compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* therefore might not have needed any sources.

MS Vienna 12875 transmits the same melody as the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. The deviations between the sources cannot be explained as being ‘wrong’ or ‘right’. There are differences, but their origins are unclear. Perhaps the best hypoth-

<sup>9</sup> DE BRUIN, OOSTERMAN and STRIJBOOSCH, *Repertory of Dutch songs*, CD-ROM.



esis is simply this: music changes. MS Vienna 12875 is about forty years older than the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. It seems reasonable to argue that, as time goes by, a melody adjusts itself to changes in tastes and standards. In fact, it would probably be odd if in forty years a melody did not change at all. Besides the changes which might result from the passage of time, deviations might also occur because of changes in use. A melody sung by other people with other habits would likely be adjusted to what is common to that group. Perhaps the religious background or the cultural context of MS Vienna 12875 differs from that of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. I will return to this argument below.

Although the two sources transmit the same melody, and although it is impossible to elucidate the deviations between them, it is obvious that the compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* did not use MS Vienna 12875 for his source of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*. When one compares the melody of both sources as written above the first stanza, the melody of line 4 is much shorter in MS Vienna 12875 than in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*:

MS Vienna 12875

dat hi syn bycht toe tij - de doet

DEPB

En - de kee - re hem in tijts tot Go - de waert

Example 2. MS Vienna 12875 and the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*, stanza 1, line 4

It is deceiving, however, to compare the melody placed above the lyrics of the first stanza. In other stanzas, the fourth line counts as many syllables in MS Vienna 12875 as in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. Let us take a look at stanza 5:

MS Vienna 12875

die ve - ghe syn die moe - ten ster - ven

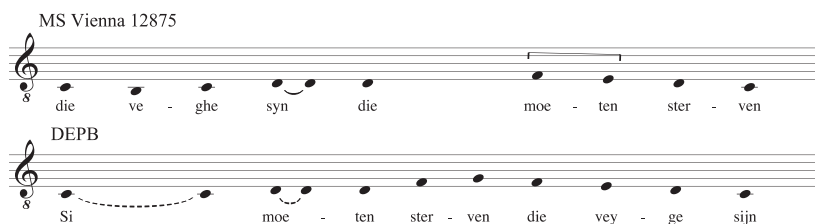
DEPB

Si moe - ten ster - ven die vey - ge sijn

Example 3. MS Vienna 12875 and the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*, stanza 5, line 4

The melody is easily adjusted to accommodate a varying number of syllables in the lyrics. In the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* the first two *c*'s are taken together, just like the first two *d*'s. In MS Vienna 12875 the *f-e* ligature is split. If necessary, in other stanzas that might have even more syllables, the double *d* can be split as well. Incidentally, ligatures are not as inseparable in this kind of musical notation as they can be in polyphonic compositions.<sup>10</sup> Splitting the ligature instead of the double *d* makes the melody correspond more to the one in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*.

Only a few differences in pitch remain, probably attributable to deviations in tradition or to age difference. It is possible to make the melodies appear more alike by a minor shift:



Example 4 MS Vienna 12875 and the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*, stanza 5, line 4, shifted

Is the melody turned towards something it is not? Or does this example show which notes are stronger than others? I would like to formulate the hypothesis that, when comparing deviations between traditions of a melody, a changing note must be considered as a weak element in the melody, even when this changing note is necessary to carry a syllable of its own in one, or more, or even all, stanzas.

Looking for possible sources the compiler might have used, we must consider one more tradition of the melody of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*. MS Berlin 280 (*Liederbuch der Anna von Köln*) contains a song that reminds us of the song of the teacher and the youth. The incipit of the song is *Der hilge geist hait ons verlicht van bynnen / mer so wie in swaeren sunden leicht* (fol. 161v–163r). The first two stanzas of the song are closely related to the first two stanzas of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*, as found in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. The last three stanzas, however, make clear that this is another song. It is a prayer addressed to Christ, instead of a dialogue. Is this song an adaptation of the song under consideration here?

<sup>10</sup> The Research Group for Late-Medieval Religious Song in the Low Countries will address this in its edition of MS Berlin 190.

Although it is not clear how the songs are related, the existing relationship asks for a comparison of the melodies. The manuscript provides only a few notes for *Der hilge geist hait ons verlicht van bynnen*. Fortunately, MS Berlin 280 does contain another song, *Mit vrouden quam der engel van der hogen zynnen* (fol. 170v–172r), with the same musical incipit. This time the complete melody is written out. The lyrics show no similarities with *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* nor with *Der hilge geist hait ons verlicht van bynnen*. Therefore it does not seem reasonable to argue that the compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* used this manuscript for his version of the melody. Might it be possible that the compiler used other sources for his melodies than for his lyrics? Let us make a comparison between the sources.

As the melody in MS Berlin 280 is recorded a fifth higher than in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, the melody must be transposed to compare the two sources. Although it is clear that both sources contain the same melody, there are a number of differences as well. MS Vienna 12875 and the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* are more closely related than MS Berlin 280 and the printed songbook of 1539. It makes one wonder: are changing lyrics responsible for larger deviations in a melody, or is it the other way around? Which seems more likely? Is it that the more different lyrics are sung to a melody, the more a melody deviates in tradition? This means that an adaption or a replacement of the lyrics of a song makes the melody of that song more susceptible to change. Or is it the other way around, which means that a ‘weak’ melody allows different lyrics to be sung to it? This hypothesis suggests that it is not the lyrics that make the melody change, but that the melody is in itself susceptible to change, and that it is therefore possible to adapt it easily to various lyrics.

There is one more remark to make about the melody in MS Berlin 280. There is a key-change in the fifth staff in the source. The copier must be mistaken here. It is a very interesting error, as it shows that the copier copied the music from a written example. It so happens that this is the only staff that does not need to be transposed. Obviously the copier used a source that contained a melody in the same mode as MS Vienna 12875 and the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. That source was probably not MS Vienna 12875, as the lyrics are divided up differently under the staves than they are in MS Berlin 280. The conclusion that the copier transposed the melody herself is even more exciting, as MS Berlin 280 is known as belonging to *Anna von Köln* (Anna of Cologne). Salmen and Koepp suggest that several women copied the songs.<sup>11</sup> Considering this, one wonders whether the copier transposed the melody especially for the female users. It would be interesting to compare other melodies in this manuscript to other sources.

<sup>11</sup> SALMEN, *Liederbuch der Anna von Köln*, p. 3.

When discussing the differences between MS Vienna 12875 and the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, I suggested that the religious background or cultural context in which a songbook existed might influence some elements in the melody. This hypothesis can be tested here, as there is one important source of the melody of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* left: the *Souterliedekens*. As explained in note \*\*, this psalmbook might assist in determining how the compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* treated his material. *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer opter tinnen* is given as a tune indication above the melody of the ninetyeth psalm, *Die onder Gods bescherming is gheseten* (fol. N5v–N6r), in the *Souterliedekens*.

Below are listed all the traditions of the melody, from the oldest (MS Vienna 12875) to the youngest (the *Souterliedekens*).

MS Vienna 12875

Hoe luy - de soe sanc die le - rer al op der tyn - nen

MS Berlin 280

Mit vrou - den quam der en - gel van der ho - ger zyn - nen

DEPB

Hoe luy - de sanc die lee-raer op der tin - nen

Souterliedekens

Die on - der Gods be-scher-ming is ghe - se - ten

MSVienna 12875

soe wie in swa - ren son - den leeft

MS Berlin 280

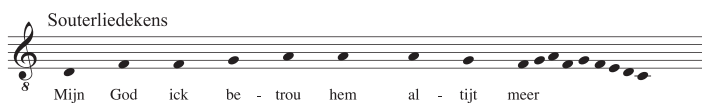
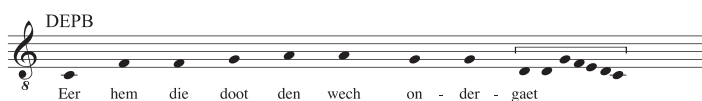
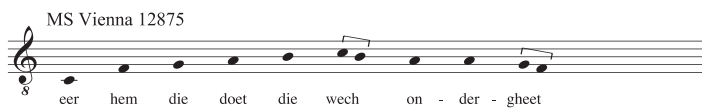
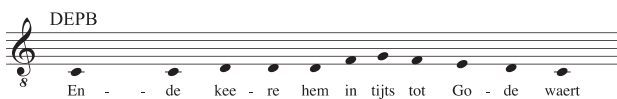
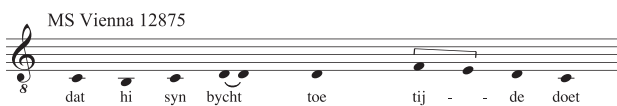
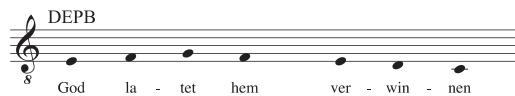
he sprack got grusse uch wer - de maget

DEPB

So wie met son - den is be - swaert

Souterliedekens

Die spreekt tot God met groo - ter eer



The image displays four staves of musical notation, each with a treble clef and a common time signature 'C'. The notes are represented by black dots on the staff lines. Below each staff is the corresponding Dutch text, with hyphens indicating syllables spanning across notes.

- MS Vienna 12875:** tsyn - vroe - de die det be - kyn - nen
- MS Berlin 280:** mit vrou - den ich uch dat yn - nen
- DEP B:** Hi is wijs diet can ver - sin - nen
- Souterliedekens:** Ick en sal hem niet ver - ghe - ten

Example 5. Comparison of the traditions of the melody of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen*

It is obvious that the melody in the *Souterliedekens* is more closely related to the one in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* than the melodies in the manuscripts are. The two prints show so little deviations that it is reasonable to argue that for both melodies the same source must have been used, or, alternatively, that the same person must have written the melodies down. This conclusion gains credence if we consider that the songbook and the psalter were both printed by Simon Cock within a year of each other. Perhaps the one book was used as an example for the other.

The deviations that do occur between the sources cannot be explained with reference to different dates; it's also possible that some differences are rectifications of earlier errors. Yet I want to formulate the hypothesis that most deviations originate from a difference in cultural context. A significant number of songs in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* were created decades before they were printed in this songbook. The melody of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* was at least forty years old when the compiler added it to his collection, as it is also found in MS Vienna 12875. The lyrics are even older. The melodies used in the *Souterliedekens* may also be old, but they are added to new lyrics, as the *Souterliedekens* is the first psalter in Dutch. The lyrics are written to the shape of the melody. The melodies, however, will also be adjusted, if necessary. The most remarkable adaptation to cultural change is the mensural notation. The non-mensural musical notation in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* fits in the traditional way of writing melodies down in the fifteenth century. During the sixteenth century non-mensural notation fell into disuse, except for liturgical sources. The change in the way the cadence is presented can also be attributed to cultural change.

## CONCLUSION

It is not possible to point to one or more sources that were used by the compiler of the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. Moreover, we found different traditions of the lyrics and of the melody of *Hoe luyde sanc die leeraer op der tinnen* in different sources. The lyrics in the songbook are most closely related to the versions in MS Amsterdam I A 24 and the *Antwerps Liedboek*. These sources, in contrast with the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, do not contain melodies.

The only other source through which melody and lyrics have come down to us together, is MS Vienna 12875. Yet the deviations between the lyrics in this source and in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* are too significant to argue that the manuscript was used by the compiler of the songbook. MS Berlin 280 does not transmit the lyrics of the song. The melody given by this manuscript varies most from the version in the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken*. Most closely related is the melody in the *Souterliedekens*, a source that is about the same age as the *Devoot ende profitelijck boecxken* and that was printed by Simon Cock as well. It is not clear, however, whether one source was used for the other, or another third source was used for both the songbook and the psalter.

Although the investigation does not tell us how the compiler collected his songs and how he treated the material, it points towards several hypotheses that must be tested. Therefore, examining this one song points to the direction that the investigation into songs with a large tradition might profitably take. Finally, the article leads us to the conclusion that lyrics and melody of a single song can each develop separately.

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REFERENCE / EDITION	ABBREVIATION
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Simon COCK ed., <i>Een devoot ende profitelijck boecxken, etc.</i> , Antwerpen, 1539.	<i>DEPB</i>
Simon COCK ed., <i>Souter Liedekens Ghemaect ter eeren Gods, op alle die Psalmen van David [...]</i> , Antwerpen, 1540. (cited: BIEZEN, <i>Souterliedekens 1540</i> ).	<i>Souterliedekens</i>
MS Amsterdam, University Library, I A 24, I, m, n – before 1500 (used is BIEMANS, <i>Het handschrift-Borgloon</i> ).	MS Amsterdam I A 24
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. germ. 2° 1027 – 1436–1437.	MS Berlin 1027
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. germ. 8° 185 – before 1500.	MS Berlin 185
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. germ. 8° 190 – 1480–1500.	MS Berlin 190
MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. germ. 8° 280 – ca. 1500 with additions from the second quarter of the sixteenth century.	MS Berlin 280 / <i>Liederbuch der Anna von Köln</i>
MS Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. II 270, fol. 121–176 – 1500–1510.	MS Brussels II 270
MS Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. II 2631 – ca. 1525.	MS Brussels II 2631
MS Goch, Gaesdonck, Bibliothek des Collegium Augustinianum, ms. 37 (cat. 14) – 15th century.	MS Gaesdonck 37
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## CAREL AND PHILIPS HACQUART UPDATING THE BIOGRAPHY\*

*Pieter Andriessen (†)*

Once my study of Carel (and Philips) Hacquart was published in 1974 by the Royal Academy of Belgium for Science and the Arts,<sup>1</sup> and after I was able to record and broadcast the collected works for Belgian and Dutch public radio, I considered my mission in connection with this composer accomplished. Outside *stimuli* have now led me to pick up the thread once more.

Tom Strengers provided the first impulse when he wrote about Dirck Buysero's play *De Triomfeerende Min* ('Love Triumphant') for his PhD thesis (1987).<sup>2</sup> His enthusiasm led to a joint publication of Hacquart's and Buysero's musical play by the Alamire Music Publishers.<sup>3</sup> I was also delighted by Frits Noske's first-rate study of the 17<sup>th</sup> century motet in the Netherlands, in which Hacquart's *Cantiones Sacrae* received special attention, and by the performances of sonatas and motets by such distinguished musicians as Jos Van Immerseel, Jos Van Velthoven, Reinhard Goebel, Florian Heyerick and Erik Van Nevel.<sup>4</sup> Around the turn of the century these so-called minor-masters suddenly attracted foreign attention as, in 2004, for the first time, an

\* Shortly before his death on 17 May 2005, Pieter Andriessen had completed a third version of this article.

Abbreviations used: BAB (Bisschoppelijk Archief Brugge), DTB (Doo-, Trouw- en Begraffenisregisters/Baptism, Wedding and Death Registers), GAA (Gemeentearchief Amsterdam), GAG (Gemeentearchief 's Gravenhage), GAR (Gemeentearchief Rotterdam), NZK (Nieuwezijds Kapel), OLV (Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk Brugge), RAB (Rijksarchief Brugge), RAG (Rijksarchief Gent), SAH (Stadsarchief Haarlem), SAK (Stadtarchiv Köln), SAB (Stadsarchief Brugge), SAG (Stadsarchief Gent), SBB (Stedelijke Bibliotheek Brugge), SS (Sint-Salvorkathedraal Brugge).

<sup>1</sup> P. ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart (ca. 1640–1701?)*. Een biografische bijdrage. Het werk, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, XXXVI/27), Brussels, 1974.

<sup>2</sup> T. STRENGERS, *Dirck Buysero & Carel Hacquart, De Triomfeerende Min, vredespel, gemengt met zang- en snaarspel, vliegwerken, en baletten (1678/1680)*, unpubl. Doct. Diss., Universiteit Leiden, 1987.

<sup>3</sup> P. ANDRIESEN & T. STRENGERS eds., *Dirck Buysero & Carel Hacquart, De Triomfeerende Min. Vredespel. Gemengt met Zang- en Snaarspel, Vliegwerken, en Baletten. 1680 / Love Triumphant, A Play of Peace, Incorporating Songs and Music for Strings, Flyers and Ballets. 1680*, (Monumenta Flandriae Musica, E. SCHREURS ed., 1), Leuven – Peer, 1996.

<sup>4</sup> F. NOSKE, *Music Bridging Divided Religions: the motet in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic*, (Paperbacks on Musicology, 10–11), Wilhelmshaven, 1989; CD-recordings released on Emergo, NM Classics, and Channel Classics.

entire CD was devoted to Carel Hacquart's viol suites, performed by Guido Bales-tracci's L' Amoroso Ensemble.<sup>5</sup> During the writing of the booklet notes, I discovered that as many as two publications of Philips Hacquart's viol suites existed, coming forth from such *finis terrae* as California and Australia.<sup>6</sup> It could not be so, that Philips' slight output was twice attainable when very little was available by his more prolific and, also one suspects, more talented brother. Happily, the wonders of the world never cease, as one short email to Peter Ballinger of the PRB Productions in Albany sufficed to enable the immediate commencement of work on the publication of *Harmonia Parnassia* (opus 2) and *Cantiones Sacrae* (opus 1). The correction of my youthful (and, sadly imperfect) transcriptions has, in the meantime, been finished off and *Harmonia Parnassia* is now available in its entirety.<sup>7</sup> And still more good news arrived: on Rudolf Rasch's authority, Patrice Connelly wrote in her foreword to the publication of Philips' work that the composer must have been a choirboy in the church of the *Heilige Kerst* in Ghent; furthermore, Bruno Bouckaert sent me a photocopy of an archival document, from which it appeared that Carel Hacquart had been a choirboy in Saint Bavo's cathedral of the same city. At the same time, Alfons Dewitte was preparing an article about Saint Saviour's church in Bruges, which contained a list of names of choirboys from 1600–1650. In the *acta capituli* of September 1650 he found a *Charles Ackaert, filius Jacques*, who was engaged there for a period of eight years.<sup>8</sup> All of that struck me as reason enough to justify additional archival research and a re-examination of my earlier notes. The results are important enough to re-write the whole life-story of both musicians, which seemed preferable to adding an extended list of corrigenda and addenda to my earlier publications.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Symphonia SY 03205.

<sup>6</sup> P. CONNELLY ed., *Philippus Hacquart, Four suites for solo bass viol*, Saraband Music SM 29, Sidney, 1998; F.-P. GOY ed., *Philip Hacquart. The complete works for solo viola da gamba*, (Baroque Music Series, 17), Albany, s.d.

<sup>7</sup> P. ANDRIESEN ed., *Carel Hacquart, Harmonia Parnassia Sonatarum*, (Baroque Music Series, 34–35), Albany, 2004.

<sup>8</sup> A. DEWITTE, *De Sint-Salvatorscollegiale, eind 16de–begin 17de eeuw*, in *Biekorf*, ??.

<sup>9</sup> After 1974 I was asked to write biographical notes in books and periodicals, such as for the Belgian *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek* (vol. 7, 1977), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (first and second edition), *Muziek en Woord* (45, 1978), etc.; the most recent ones appeared in the booklet for the *Chelys*-CD (cf. note 5), and in my study on musical life in Bruges: P. ANDRIESEN, *Die van Muziken gheerne horen. Muziek in Brugge 1200–1800*, Brugge, 2002, pp. 349–358.

## THE FAMILY HACQUART IN BRUGES

When the Augustinian monastery in Bruges had not yet been demolished, one could find in the church, in front of the stairs of the pulpit, a white tombstone bearing the inscription:<sup>10</sup>

*Sepulture van Sr. Jan hacquart ffiliu[s] Jan, die overl[eed] den 6<sup>en</sup> January 1708. ende van Jo[nckvrouw]e Isabelle Francoise Candaele, ffili[a] Pieter syne huysv[rouw]e, overl[eden] den 5 april 1701. dewelcke binnen de kercke hebben gefondeert twee eeuwighe jaerghetyden tot lavenisse van hunne respective zielen, waervoreen sy ghejont hebben, eene erfvelicke ende onlosbaere rente van vijf ponden grooten s'jaers, volgens de letteren van constitutie daeraf synde...*

Sepulchre of Sr. Jan Hacquart, son of Jan, who died on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January 1708 and of Miss Isabelle Francoise Candaele, daughter of Pieter, his housewife, deceased on the 5<sup>th</sup> of April 1701. They founded two everlasting annual masses for the purification of their respective souls, for which they have donated a hereditary and incommutable sum of 5 £ groats a year...

This Jan Hacquart was a respected man of means. Like his father, Jan the Elder, he became a finder and doyen of the linen markets.<sup>11</sup> He lived just a few steps away from Saint Saviour's church in the house *De Clyncke* (33 *Oude Burg*), where the medallions depicting Ceres and Mercurius still testify to the old commercial past of the premises, which now form a part of the Xaverian school complex.<sup>12</sup> Jan Hacquart traded in cloths and beverages,<sup>13</sup> and did this successfully because, by the time of his wife's death, he was in possession of a number of 'beautiful premises', a yearly

<sup>10</sup> *Verzaemelinghe der zerschriften, epitaphien dienende voor suplement van die bijeen vergaert door d'Heer Ignace D'Hooge. Deel VI behelsende de kerken der volgende kloosters: Augustijnen...* (SBB, MS 449, vol. 6, p. 36).

<sup>11</sup> SAB, *Wetsvernieuwingen* (Craft guild resolutions), 5 Nov. 1664 (Jan the Elder), 4 Jan. 1686, 10 Oct. 1689.

<sup>12</sup> In 1708, the house was part of Jan II's legacy and was therefore divided into 10 property rights. On 31 Dec. 1708, the issue-tax official levied a distress on the parts of the foreign heirs; Carels' children in Rotterdam. (SAB, *Oud kadaster*, OLV 1547; cf. also OLV 0289).

<sup>13</sup> On 28 Sept. 1690 he bought 47 flagons of brandy (120 liter) for a total amount of 10 £ 3 s. 8 gr., followed by 6 flagons two months later. (SAB, *Processen* no. 110946, box 1305: law case by Jan Hacquart against Gilles Claeyssoone); the vessel, which was a fourth owned by Jan Hacquart, carried wines, brandies and other French goods. Jan was also a member of the guild of *oudecleercopers* (second-hand dealers) and brokers.

income of more than 400 £ groats emanating from rents and interest, and had savings of 8,000 £. When she married Jan, Isabelle Candaele was already a widow because she had a *hoir unique* – a sole heir (Anthone Hilderson); her marriage to Jan Hacquart remained, nevertheless, childless. The married couple used a part of her income to help out their brothers and sisters and nephews and nieces. The family of Jans' half-brother, Louijs, in Maldegem was especially able to profit from their generosity.<sup>14</sup> Louijs himself was kept out of the hands of the law, thanks to bail money amounting to 101 £ 18 s. His son, Cornelis, was given 160 £ 13 s. for the purchase of a house in Maldegem, just as another son, Jan, was able to buy a house in Knesselare with a gift of more than 100 £; likewise, his daughter, Marije Magdaleene, was also given 89 £ 5 s. for the same purpose. Shortly after he became widowed, Jan let out his house in the *Oude Burg* to move in with Louijs' eldest daughter, Anna, because he was already guardian to her young step-son and, at the same time, partner in trade with her husband, Cornelius Maertens, who was usually away from home sailing his ships *Den gecroonden palmtack* or the *Sint François* to London and Nantes, among other destinations. For a payment of 40 £ a year he received board and lodgings at Anna and Cornelis' house who, from then on, would also look after his business. In this way he was assured a carefree old age. Alas, this appeared to be a miscalculation. Anna and Cornelis were concerned about their uncle's pennies, but less about his well being. The other members of the family were all too aware of this. Thus, after the death of his wife Isabelle, Jan Hacquart had to suffer discord with his stepson, Anthone Van Hilderson; these quarrels eventually culminated in a law-case three years later. It was clear to Anthone, however, that it was not his step-father, but Cornelis and Anna who sat behind the charge: '[Van Hilderson] is firmly convinced that the present claim has been put forward more studiously (if not to say capriciously) by (and with the help of) indifferent teasers, rather than by the claimant, whilst one can not accept that the claimant ex motu proprio and on his own belief and knowledge could or would put such a claim together.'<sup>15</sup> Still three years later, at around Easter in 1707, 8,000 £ in capital was, *in less than six years and a half remarkably depleted by more than half of its value*, in spite of Jan's' *very considerable income*

<sup>14</sup> 4 Sept. 1680, Ambrosius de Malcote levied a distress on the money his uncle Louijs Hacquart could claim as heir of his mother Nicole Florii, widow of Jan Hacquart the elder. It is stated in the margin, dated 24 Sept.: 'Lowijs Hackaert living in Maldegem' (SAB, Legal Process no. 19799, box 309).

<sup>15</sup> SAB, Legal Process no. 125090, box 1514 and no. 124679, box 1509. [*Van Hilderson*] *seght vastelijck te ghelooven dat desen jeghenwoordighen heesch meer studieuselijck (omme niet te seggen capricieuselijck) voor den dagh [is] gebracht door ende met het toedoen van indifferente quellingegeesten als met wete ofte danck van den heeschere, terwijl dat men niet en can aennemen dat den heischer ex proprio motu mitsgaders jegens syn eijghen fait ende kennisse soodanighe heesch soude willen ofte connen formeren.*

*of more than 400 £ groats per year*; Anna and Cornelis had still not acquitted a penny of their debt concerning the house named *Roome* at the Square of Our Lady which their dear uncle had bought for them, and Jan himself was relegated ‘to the back kitchen where he fell ill’: an illness from which he was never to recover. Fortunately for the other heirs, and eventually also for us, a daughter of Jan’s sister, Françoise, was married to a notary, Christoffel Carrette. He knew the whole family and in 1696 he executed Cornelis Maertens’ will himself.<sup>16</sup> After Jan Hacquart’s death, ‘for his own peace of mind and that of the absent heirs’, he immediately went to the house of mourning to draw up an inventory of his possessions, but, ‘considering that the aforementioned Maertens refused to hand over the same papers on some frivolous pretext’ he felt impelled on 27<sup>th</sup> January 1708, via an official procedure, to arrange for his writing desk to be collected and transported to his own home, containing all of Jan’s documents and bills. On the basis of having placed the sequestration order, he drew up together a detailed list of goods of as many as 77 folios, dated 29 February 1709 – a document which was later annotated and ratified in an official clearing account on 31 May (see Appendix 1). It is a fine ‘document humain’ because it shows us how the members of a large Bruges family were concerned for one another whilst, on the other hand, also standing up for their rights, by instigating on occasion legal proceedings against a brother or cousin. In his meticulousness, Christoffel Carrette has given us an insight into the composition of the greater Hacquart family, because he commenced the *Staten van Goederen* with a list of the inheritors and their relation to the deceased.

The patriarch of the family was Jan Hacquart the Elder (Jan I), who was doyen of the linen markets in 1664 and perhaps quartermaster for the Count of Meghem. He probably died before 1674, as it was his wife who gave permission for their son Philip’s marriage. By 1680, at least, he belonged no more, to the realm of the living.<sup>17</sup> One *Jean Hacquart, quartier maistre du Comte de Meghem*, on 22 June 1649 was apprehended in the middle of the town centre for not paying his rent to Arnould Huwijn for three years. Jean did not deny this fact, but challenged the right to a simple stockholder *qui n’a autre acte ny des messieurs du magistrat de la ville pour le faire aincy prendre prisonnier que le sien proper*. As *officier du Roy* he wanted to account for himself in front of a military court.<sup>18</sup> Identification of this Jean Hacquart with Jan the Elder is doubtful, because I was unable to ascertain who Jan’s parents were and therefore, also, whether he had brothers or sisters. In any case, in Jan the Younger’s

<sup>16</sup> This is mentioned in the *rekeninge purgative*, made after Anna Hacquart’s death on 13 or 15 Nov. 1717 (SAB, *Staten van Goederen*, second series, 7567).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. note 14.

<sup>18</sup> SAB, Legal Process no. 36535, box 509.



will there is mention of a Louijs Hacquart – an Augustinian friar. A *Jacobus Petrus Ackart Brugensis* was enrolled at the Lily College in Leuven in 1655 as a minor student; in 1667, on 25 November, he was buried in the nave of Saint Jacob's church in Bruges and, in the Register of deaths, the parish priest touched on the fact that he originally came from Saint Saviour's parish where Jan the Elder also lived.<sup>19</sup> Coincidence or not, a *magister* Johannes Hacquart was a choirmaster in Our Lady's church in 1657. He was responsible for training the choirboys there until he was assigned a chaplaincy on 13 May 1658. On 6 June 1658 he was allowed to leave the service of the church with a statement of good and moral conduct. In the meantime, the singer Jozef Thomasinus succeeded him as *phonascus* (see Appendix 2).

Jan Hacquart the Elder married twice; first to Josynke Duwiers, and then, in about 1640, to Nicole Fleury (d. August/September 1680). Two children were conceived through the first marriage: (the previously mentioned) Jan Hacquart the younger (Jan II), who married Isabelle Françoise Candaele, widow of the late Hilderson, and Françoise Hacquart who married Pieter Riffelare. Their daughter married the notary Christoffel Carrette (d. 30 April 1710). Perhaps we should also here cite the *Jacoba filia Joannis* who was born on 2 May 1610, although the early date and place of birth (parish of Our Lady) appear to negate the likelihood of her being their daughter. She died on 18 January 1679 and was buried in Saint Jacob's church.

The second marriage produced four children; including the musicians Carel and Philips, and a daughter, Anne Marije – the only descendant whom I could trace in the baptismal registers, in the third section of Saint Saviour's parish on 5 April 1652.<sup>20</sup> Anne Marije married Remaclus Ambrosius de Malcote. In 1703 she was declared a widow and, by the time of Jan II's death, was clearly no longer alive, because her only son, Jan Franchoys, was the immediate heir. And finally, there was her problem child, Louijs. Through his marriage to Martine Vermeesch he had two children, Jan and Anna. Anna married the skipper, Cornelis Maertens, who himself had a son, Johannes Maertens, from his first marriage to Magdalena Roelofs (d. 21 January 1695), who, following in his father's footsteps, learnt the same trade. After Magdalena's death on 21 January 1695, Jan Hacquart was appointed guardian to the still young child. When the father, Cornelis, had a will drawn up on 31 October 1696 by Christoffel Carrette, his prospective new wife, Anna Hacquart, is already explicitly

<sup>19</sup> E. REUSENS, A. SCHILLING & J. WILS, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, Brussels, 1903–1980, vol. 6, p. 76 (6 Dec. 1655) ; RAB, id., fol. 25 *novembris sepultus in navi eccl. Jacobus Petrus Hacquaert de parochia sancti salvatoris, cum officio duplici*. (SAB, Burial books, St. Jacob's Church, 25 Nov. 1667).

<sup>20</sup> 5 Aprilis (1652) *baptisata est Anna Maria filia Joannis Hacquaert & Mechelinij Fleurij coniugum, testibus Joanne Hacquaert & Maria Frans* (SAB, DTB, SS, third section).

mentioned in it. A month later they were married in Our Lady's church. Together they produced six more children, but Anna Hacquart died in giving birth to their last descendant.

Through his second wife, Magdalena – whose surname we lack – Louijs had a further two children. The first, Cornelis, married Isabella Velaert. From her death certificate of 1717, we learn that a son, a minor, survived her, and that the family were living in Maldegem.<sup>21</sup> His second child, Marije Magdalena, married Pieter Maijens; by the time of Jan II's death, she was already dead herself, leaving behind her two children who were minors.

A family tree may help to elucidate this. The reader is referred to the registers of baptism, marriage and death in the cities listed for full details, unless otherwise indicated here.

<sup>21</sup> SAB, *Processen* no. 136641, box 1650.

Joannes Hacquart, master, singing-teacher (fl. 1657–1658)

Jacobus Ackaert (d. 15 Jan. 1648)

Louijs Hacquart, Augustinian friar

Jacobus Petrus Hacquart (d. 25 Nov. 1667)

### Jan Hacquart the Elder (Jan I)

(d. >24/8/1674)

x Josynke Duwiers

c.1640 x Nicole Fleury

(d. Bruges, 13 Sept. 1680)

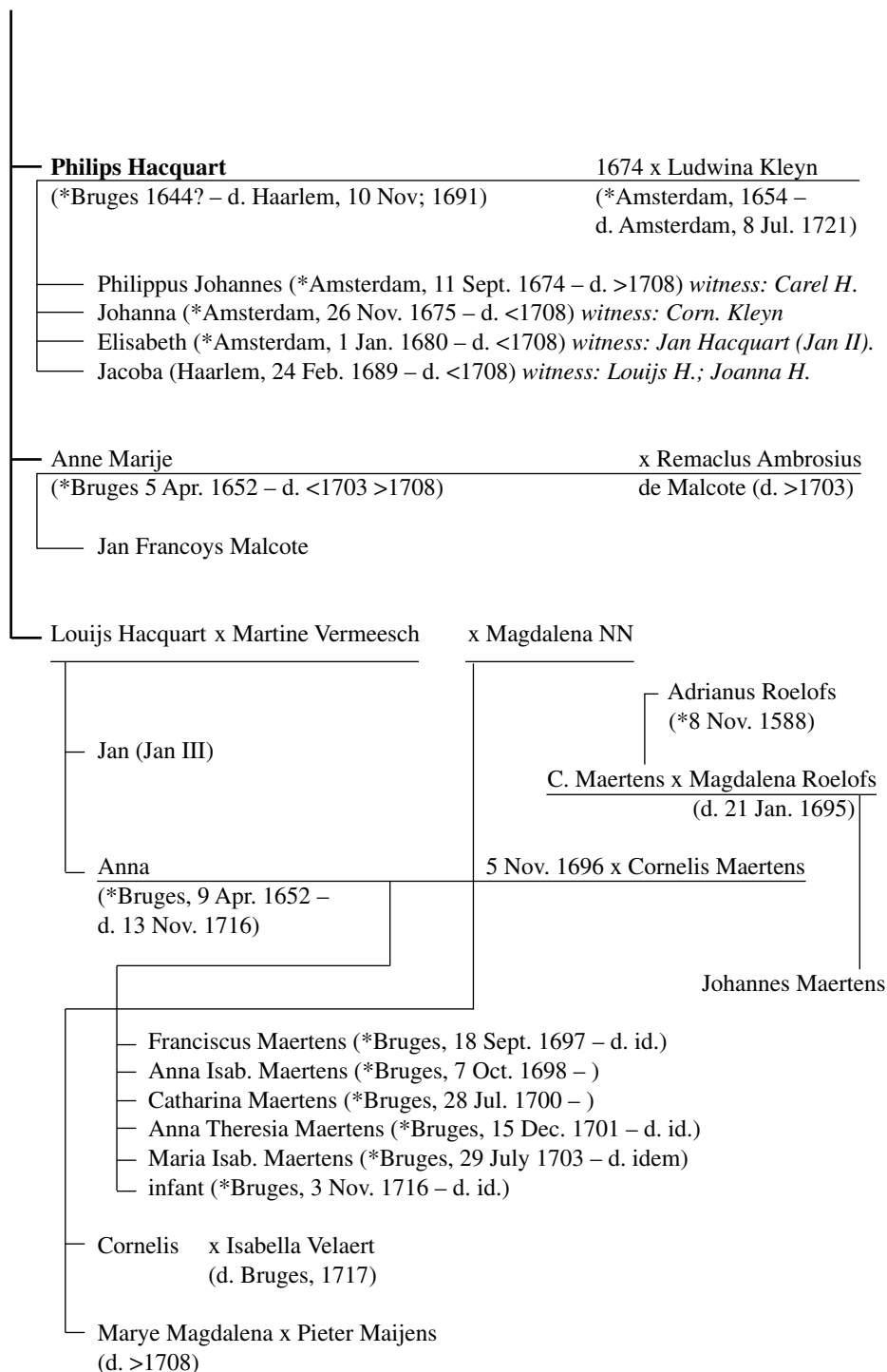
- Jacoba (\*Bruges, 2 May 1610 – d. 18 Jan. 1679)
- Cornelia Accaert f. Johannes (d. Bruges, 25 Sept. 1667)
- Jan Hacquart (Jan II) x Isabelle Francoyse Candaele x NN. Van Hilderson  
(d. Bruges, 6 Jan. 1708) | (d. Bruges, 5 Apr. 1701)  
|— Anthone v. Hilder. x Joanna Marisael
- Françoise Hacquart x Pieter Riffelare
  - Pietronella Riffelare x Christoffel Carrette  
(d. Bruges, 30 Apr. 1710)
    - Joanna Carrette (\*Bruges, 11 Jan. 1702 – )
    - Anna Carrette (\*Bruges, 10 May 1706 – )
    - Maria Carrette (\*Bruges, 13 Dec. 1707 – d. 11 Dec. 1715)
    - Christophorus (filius posthumus) (\*Bruges, 9 Oct. – d. 11 Oct. 1710)

### Carel Hacquart

1669 x Catharina van Boere

(\*Bruges, 1643? – d. 1701?)

- Catharina (\*Rotterdam, 1670 or 1672? – d. Rotterdam 23 Jan. 1723?)
- Carolus (\*Rotterdam, 10 Sept. 1671 – d. <1708) *witness: Joannes Hacquart*
- Johannes (\*Rotterdam, 17 Febr. 1673 – 29 March 1673) *witness: Louijs H; Gertr. van Boer.*
- Petrus Philippus (\*Rotterdam, 18 May 1674 – d. >1708) *witness: Petr. v. Boer*
- Maria Agnes (\*Amsterdam, 18 June 1675 – d. <1715) x Willem Van Esch  
Joannes Van Esch (\*Rotterdam 4 Aug. 1713 – )  
Carolus Van Esch (\*Rotterdam 25 June 1715 – ) *witness: Catharina H.*
- Joanna (\*Amsterdam, 4 Nov. 1676 – d. England ?1708) *witness: Nicole Fleury*
- Constantius Philippus (\*Amsterdam, 14 Sept. 1678 – >1708) *witness: Ludw. Kleyn*
- Dorothea Elisabetha (\*The Hague, 6 Nov. 1682 – d. >1708) *witness: Catharina H.*
- Johannes Philippus (\*The Hague 18 Dec. 1683 – d. >1708) *witness: Carolus Hacquart, Ludw. Kleyn; Philippus ? Hacquart*



It remains a mystery why only one of Jan the Elder's children is listed in the Bruges baptismal registers. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, parish priests were obliged to keep baptism and marriage registers and, from the middle of the century onwards, even to hand over duplicates to the diocese. Even so, before the turn of the century, there are still enormous *lacunae* in their lists, in spite of all the bishops' instructions. I have not been successful in tracking down the dates of birth of the subsequent composers Carel and Philips, perhaps due to the priests' dereliction of duty, or perhaps because in the so-called third (leaden) section of Saint Saviour's parish (where their sister Anne Marije was christened), precisely two registers are lacking: the baptism registers from 1 November 1643 to 16 February 1645 and the marriage lists from 8 November 1643 to 29 May 1645. But perhaps these *lacunae* can actually help in refining my earlier speculations concerning Carel and Philips' dates of birth.

Starting with Philips: the certificate publishing the banns of his marriage in Amsterdam, dated 24 August 1674, mentions that he is at that point 29 years' old (cf. *infra*). If we accept this statement, then he must have been born between 25 August 1644 and 24 August 1645. In the meantime, it has since become clear that he was a choirboy in Our Lady's church, because, in the *acta capituli* of 22 September 1650, we read: *Admissus puer symphoniacus nomine Philippus Hacquaert usque ad Joannem* [i.e. 24 June] *1651, mediante stipendio duarum libr[arum] flandr[ensium]*.<sup>22</sup> Two pounds was half of a standard choirboy's allowance. The young Philips, like nearly all choirboys, was first taken on for half a year's probation and received no proper pocket-money *usque prestatit aliquod servitum in cantu*, as it was formulated in the acceptance of little Petrus Hame in 1655, who in his trial period, was indeed not paid at all (fol. 85). Because probationers were usually taken on between six and eight years-old, this implies that we should shift back Philips' supposed date of birth as far as possible to 1644, rather than to 1645, and thus precisely to the period when the baptismal registers are lacking. In any case, Philips was handed over to the choirmaster (Blasius Bequet) at a very young age, which perhaps explains why he only received a full stipend on 25 June.<sup>23</sup>

In that same year, 1650, on 11 September, Carel was taken on as a choirboy in his own parish church, Saint Saviour: 'the canons have accepted Charles, son of

<sup>21</sup> RAB, *Oud Archief* OLV no. 255 (*acta capituli* 1645–1672), fol. 61.

<sup>22</sup> RAB, *id.*, fol. 79: *Eodem auctum salarium Philippo Haqqart puero symphoniaco huius eccl. de duo libris flandr. per annum, incipiendo a dato huius.*

<sup>23</sup> BAB, SS, S246 (*acta capituli* 25 Mar. 1641–12 Mar. 1663), fol. 46v: *d'Heeren hebben geaccepteert Ch[ar]les soon van Sr. Jacques [corr. Joa(nnes)] Ackaert voor choraël vander kercke voor den tydt van acht jaeren op de ordinaire gagie, ende hiermede comparerende den voorseiden Jacques Ackaert heeft hem verobligiert voor de somme van hondert guldens dat de voors[eide] Ch[ar]les sal blijven zijn in dienste gedeurende de voors[eide] tyt van acht jaeren.*

Jacques (corrected to 'Joa(nnes)') as a choirboy of this church for a term of 8 years at the standard wage, and the named father, Jacques, present, guaranteed his stay for the full period of 8 years through the sum of 100 guilders.<sup>24</sup>

The confusion between Jacques and Jan Hacquart is perhaps to be accounted for by the existence of the aforementioned Jacobus Petrus Hacquart, who lived in the same parish and perhaps even belonged to the family. Carel must have begun his choirboy's career also at a young age because he was taken on under financial guarantee to do eight years' service. He immediately received the common fee (4 £), but was only effectively allowed to sing at the services from 10 June 1652 onwards; only then did he receive his *tunica*.<sup>25</sup> Carel was therefore certainly not younger than his brother Philips; at best they were twins, which one might imagine, given their remarkably parallel careers. Perhaps he was about ten months older and saw the first light of day in the latter months of 1643. Again this date falls within the *lacunae* created by the missing baptismal registers at Saint Saviour's. After six years Carel was granted special dispensation to leave the service of the church. On 2 October 1656 *Domini ordinarunt ut Carolus choraulis perficiat suum tempus sex annorum*.<sup>26</sup> There is no question of his voice having broken or of having been dismissed. Apparently it was decided, through mutual consultation, that the choirboy could further pursue his training elsewhere. It seems as though the Saint Bavo's Chapter in Ghent bought his services or somehow lured him away. In the chapter acts there, and in the Viglius foundation records for former choirboys, the following is entered under 27 January and 13 February, respectively: 'On request of the former choirboy Carolus Hacquart who has asked for a subsidy to learn a trade, and taking his poor eyesight into account and his meagre study capability, the task was given to Mr [Johannes] Mijs [the subthesarius] on behalf of the reverend scholastici, to distribute from Dean Viglius' bequest for the choirboys of this church, 16 pound groats, half immediately and the other half after one year.'<sup>27</sup> Whether this Carel is really the same as the Carel from Bruges is

<sup>24</sup> BAB, id. fol. 58v: *Actum die decima junii 1652. Ordinatum emi pro Carolo Hackaert choraulo tunicam.*

<sup>26</sup> BAB, id. fol 85.

<sup>27</sup> RAG, Fonds Sint-Baafs en Bisdom 307 (B2737/1). Documents on the awarding of vacant scholarships from the Viglius foundation for former choirboys 1609–1790 – I am grateful to Bruno Bouckaert for the reference of this document; identical text in the (non-foliated) *acta capitulari* of 17 Jan. (RAG, Fonds Sint-Baafs en Bisdom 1071 (K24): *Ad libellum Caroli Hacquart, destituti chorauli huius ecclesiae, supplicantis pro subsidio ad discendam aliquam artem mechanicam, eo quod tum defectis oculorum, tum ingenii in studiis parum proficiat, ordinatum fuit Domino Mijs ut ex bonis legatis a Domino Praeposito Viglio choraulibus huius eccl. quorum ex commissione D.D. Schol(asticorum) habet administrationem, numeret sedecim libras grossorum mediatim in promptis, mediatim post annum.*

probable, albeit not a hundred percent certain. The text does not refer to any relatives, nor that he is *Brugensis* and, neither in the earlier chapter acts, nor in the choirboys' accounts, is his name to be found. There exists only this one document. Certainly the name Hacquart is rather rare in Ghent, and I never came across it in combination with the forename Carel or Carolus.<sup>28</sup> The possibility of a second Carolus Hacquart also being choirboys in the corresponding periods, seems unlikely to me. The one Carel Hacquart, then, would have been a choirboy for ten years, so that he could not have been born in 1640, but at the earliest in 1643. The chance that his voice would only be breaking at 17/18 years' old is still just possible, but any later than this would have to be practically ruled-out. Whether also Philips ever came over to Ghent is less likely, in spite of Patrice Connelly and Rudolf Rasch's assumption. Seemingly, Philips had more reason to leave Bruges than his brother, because the financial health of Our Lady's at that time was in dire straits. Although in the first decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, singers, musicians and choirboys were still being regularly recruited, on 8 July 1658 – shortly after the departure of Master Johannes Hacquart – the chapter took the decision to dismiss all of the musicians and singers within eight days, due to lack of money. Only Willem Flamen was allowed to stay on to look after the choirboys, although he would not be given any additional remuneration on top of his usual chaplain's allowance. Furthermore, other singing members of the clergy would have to manage from then on without any extra allowance.<sup>29</sup> The choirboys were therefore allowed to stay, but whether they still made music with much enthusiasm, falls into question. Philips was cited by Connelly & Rasch in the *Heilig-Kerst* or Saint-Saviour's church in Ghent, where the choirboys received only 3 £ a year in *ordinaire gagie* which was not really an impetus to move from Bruges to Ghent. Moreover, the name mentioned in the church accounts, is not Philippus *Hacquart* but *Hanckaert*, a familiar name in Ghent, and this can hardly be an alternative phonetic form of *Hacquart*. It may be significant that on 13 September 1643, in the parish of Saint Michael's, a *Philippus Hancart*, was born to Nicolaes and Maria de Fran.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> In the city archives I found an *Elisabeth* and a *Tobias Hacquart* in the 16th-century baptismal registers of Saint Saviour and a *Niclaes* and *Isabella Hackaert* in the registers of Saint Bavo in 1616 and 1650, respectively.

<sup>29</sup> RAB, id., fols. 105–105v: *ex causa presentium miseriarum, resolverunt DD. infra octo dies dimittere omnes quotquot musicos et cantores huius eccl., excepto dumtaxat Guilelmo Flamen qui manere poterit mediantibus distributionibus capellanorum et quo docebit pueros symphoniacos; quotque beneficiati cantores contentari debebunt suis distributionibus beneficii.*

<sup>30</sup> RAG, *Oud Archief*, Heilige Kerstkerk 19 (accounts 1651–1660), fol. 43 (1658), and 60v: *Item betaelt aen Philippus Hanckaert de somme van vier ponden groot over twee jaeren gagie als chorael, tleste verschenen 18 august: 1660 per twee quitantien*; baptismal records 1642–1650, Sint-Michiels Noord, reg. 84.

The Hacquart brothers were both musicians. According to the foreword of the *Harmônia Parnassia* and a letter from Constantijn Huygens, Carel played the viol, lute and organ. Philips wrote music for the viol and violin and from their compositions we can conclude that they had a sound musical education. They learnt the basic skills of their profession from their respective singing-masters. In Our Lady's this was *magister* Blasius Becquet, who succeeded Judocus Maertens on 19 April 1649. Prior to this, he had been the *phonascus* at Saint Saviour's (1647–1649) and – not insignificantly – after he was replaced in August 1654 by Egidius Cornette, he went to Saint Bavo's cathedral in Ghent as singer (*vicaris*) and chaplain. He must have therefore known both the little Hacquarts well. Through him, Philips learnt not only singing, but also how to play an instrument, because on 23 June 1651, the chapter gave him a further allowance of 12 £ *quod docebit pueros symphonicos ludere instrumentis*.<sup>31</sup> At Saint Saviour's, an equally unknown choirmaster, Franciscus Timmerman, taught the boys good manners, *scientia musica*, plainchant and *contre point*. By 'unknown' I do not mean 'incompetent'; Becquet was a choirmaster for a good ten years and after that a singer. Timmerman educated the choirboys to everyone's satisfaction from 1649 to 1666 and, following this, he stayed on as a singer at Saint Saviour's. He bought the performance repertoire from the firm Phalesius in Antwerp.<sup>32</sup> We are poorly informed about the precise nature of their musical tuition, although we possess a detailed text relating to the *chorales* of Saint Donatian's cathedral; the *Regulae pro phonasco et choralibus* of 1643; rules which remained current until 1786. It appears from this that the children had to study or work from matins until eight o'clock at night, but also that they only had musical instruction together for two hours. Of course, such a regulation does not necessarily say all. It is not a document which prescribes how the singing-master should enact his profession, but rather illustrates a daily rou-

<sup>31</sup> On Becquet: RAB *Oud Archief* OLV 255, fol. 54v: 19/4/1649 *admissus novus phonascus in locum domini Judoci Maertens Magr. Blasius Becquet sub et mediante stipendio annue sex libr[arum] flandr[ensium] ultra distributiones*; fol. 64v (23 Jun. 1651); fol. 70; fol 82v: 17/8/1654 *ordinatum quaternis detur Mgr. Blasio Bequet ante hoc phonasco huius eccl. testimonium vite et morum quod intendat hinc alio decredere, nec non pro viatico duo libr(as) flandr(enses) habeat...* Egidius Cornette was appointed on the 20th of the same month, but his monthly wage was restricted to his former singers' wage, *sine stipendio predecessoris in dicto officio* (fol. 82). RAG, *Sint-Baafs en Bisdom* 1071 (K 24), 9 Oct. 1659, 9 Jun., 3 Sept., 3 Oct. 1660.

<sup>32</sup> D. VAN DE CASTEELE & E. VANDER STRAETEN, *Maîtres de chant et organistes de Saint-Donatien et de Saint-Sauveur à Bruges*, in *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 22 (1870), p. 156. – A. GOOVAERTS, *Histoire et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas*, s.l., 1877, p. 98, 103.



tine and a code of discipline.<sup>33</sup> From Our Lady's there exists an undated – possibly late seventeenth-century – text: 'Ordinances and Rules, which the choirboys of the church of Our Lady in Bruges should strictly maintain in the future'.<sup>34</sup> This document is even more detailed as a code of behaviour, and more resembles a handbook for altar boys than for choirboys – of whom not much more was expected than to sing the *versiculi*. We are better informed about practices in Ghent thanks to an anonymous 16<sup>th</sup> century piece of advice about the arrangement of a professional music ensemble, in which the writer, incidentally, explicitly refers to customs carried out in Lille, and indirectly also to Saint Donatian's in Bruges. That the musical training there must have been intense, is apparent, amongst other things, from the fact that the choirboys and adult singers had to sing the office preferably by heart, just as that was also the custom in Lille and Bruges.<sup>35</sup> In the choirboys' house in Ghent, Carel received lessons from Petrus Hurtado three times a day; that is, the ordinary subjects, but also motet-singing and *musica concertata*.<sup>36</sup> In his day, Hurtado was not an unknown figure. In his youth he was a choirboy in the Royal Chapel of Brussels. On 31 July 1642 he was appointed singing-master at Saint Bavo's and in 1655 he published a collection of *Cantiones Natalitiae* at the heirs of Phalesius, of which, alas, only the continuo part has been preserved. Only a few carols have survived from his earlier collections. The Walburga church in Oudenaarde once possessed a Te Deum and three motets from his hand, and in church of Saint Saviour in Ghent there once lay an eight-part work, which was maybe a requiem mass.<sup>37</sup> Such a teacher might really have been an influential figure on Carel in his formative years. Could it just be coincidence that certain passages in his *Cantiones Sacrae* contain similarities with the so-called reprise form of many *cantiones natalitiae*? Just as in these, Hacquart likes to have solo passages followed by a polyphonic repetition with concertato instruments, and with the original melody in a lower voice; likewise he often inserts short symphonias in between and likes to use folk-like tunes for variety. Certainly, the boys could also learn something from the organists in charge: these were Carolus Moenijns from Diksmuide at Our Lady's from 1647 onwards, and Petrus Capelle at Saint

<sup>33</sup> Latin text dated 1643 in A. DE SCHREVEL, *Histoire du Seminaire de Bruges*, 2, Bruges, 1895, pp. 365–368.

<sup>34</sup> RAB, *Oud Archief* OLV, 1368.

<sup>35</sup> Complete text in: B. BOUCKAERT, *De Gentse Sint-Baafs in de 16de eeuw*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 11 (1994), p. 67.

<sup>36</sup> On music at Saint Bavo's after 1536: B. BOUCKAERT, *Het muziekleven in Sint-Baafs: uitbouw van een professioneel muziekensemble na 1536*, in B. BOUCKAERT ed., *De Sint-Baafskathedraal in Gent van Middeleeuwen tot Barok*, Ghent, 2000, pp. 149–189.

<sup>37</sup> On Hurtado, see R. RASCH, *De Cantiones Natalitiae en het kerkelijk muziekleven in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, Utrecht, 1985, 1, pp. 94–99.

Saviour's from 1661–1667.<sup>38</sup> The general tuition of the choirboys was entrusted to a *scholasticus* and a *rector scholarum*. In the chapter school they learnt to read and write, received scripture and liturgical instruction, and, later on, also Latin. For higher education, Our Lady's had a special bond with the so-called *Bogaarden school* – a town school for poor children – but, all the same, engaged its own Latin teachers for the choirboys. On 18 October 1656, the priest Cornelius Van den Zande was accepted as *ludimagister et instructor lingue latine puerorum symphonicorum*. The children of Saint Saviour's, were sent to the Jesuits (where there is however no mention of them having music lessons) for further studies, with or without a scholarship, or to the Augustinian Latin school, where there was much emphasis placed on sung drama, and where uncle (?) Louijs entered as a friar, and where Jan II would later be buried. After their voices had broken, the most intelligent *chorauli* or *chorales destituti* could study further at Leuven University or the seminary in Douai. There was a parallel situation in Ghent. We can now rule out the earlier supposition that Carel and Philips had lessons at home or with a private teacher. The children left their parental home at a very young age, and singing the daily services and going to school, was more than a full-time occupation.

Given that both the Hacquarts became music teachers, after their career as *chorales* came to an end, they probably both pursued an *ars mechanica*, as learning a craft or trade was indeed called in Carel's application for a scholarship. Where did they go to? In the near vicinity, there was not one single composer who stands out above the others. The major composers of the older generation – Peter Philips, John Bull, Pedro Ruimonte, Jan Pietersz. Sweelinck – were long since dead. The Italian and German composers, which the governor had gathered around him at the Brussels' Court, had disappeared in 1656 with their master. Only the organist of Saint Gudula's cathedral, Nicolaus A Kempis (1628–1688), and the Court organist, Abraham Van den Kerckhoven (1627–1702), still showed sign of having compositional talent. Because Philips left mainly viol music and Carel published a set of suites for bass viol, one is tempted to look out for a good viola da gamba player/composer; someone such as Dubuisson or De Machy in France, or John Jenkins and Christopher Simpson in England. As it happens, the Latin translation of the second edition of Simpson's *The Division-violist* (1665) bore the title *Chelys*, in common with Hacquart's opus 3. As Simpson was, in fact, a Catholic and a Jesuit, as was recently claimed, and, furthermore, considering he met the only distinguished viol player, Daniel Norcombe (d. c. 1655/1658) in Brussels, then it is indeed tempting to speculate about the possibility of a relationship between Simpson and Hacquart.<sup>39</sup> But speculations are risky,

<sup>38</sup> RAB *Oud Archief* OLV 255, fol. 42; VAN DE CASTEELE, *Maîtres de chant et organistes*, p. 159.

<sup>39</sup> M. URQUHART, *Was Christopher Simpson a Jesuit?*, in *Chelys*, 21 (1992).

although I can't avoid it, alas, in the course of this article. At the time, no single piece of circumstantial evidence has been found to indicate that one of the two Hacquarts ever ended up in France or England to study.

Nevertheless, Carel did not get married in Bruges, as I have previously speculated. Certainly the supposition that both brothers went to the Netherlands in 1667/1668 holds fast; this was during the relatively calm period after the Peace of Breda (with England), and before the great invasion of Louis XIV (and others) in 1672. Moreover, in 1664, Louis XIV was nearing the city walls of Ghent and Bruges, and ambitious young musicians – including Catholics – had every reason to flee to the Republic, where decent money was to be earned in the free market at the expense of the ruling aristocrats and *collegia musica*.

#### CAREL HACQUART IN ROTTERDAM

In Bruges I previously uncovered the baptism registration of a girl with the same name as Carolus' future wife (Catharina van Boere), and thus placed their marriage and the birth of their first children before their emigration. A notice of marriage and three baptism certificates in Rotterdam now prove that I was then mistaken. In reality, the girl from Bruges was called Catharina van Borre, and the actual bride was, in all probability, a genuine citizen of Rotterdam. On the 26<sup>th</sup> of July 1669, the town council agreed to proclaim the three compulsory banns giving the citizens the opportunity, if necessary, to register their objections to the proposed marriage. After the 2<sup>nd</sup> of August it was possible for the (not officially recognized) Catholic Church wedding to take place (see Appendix 3).

Why Carolus chose Rotterdam as his new place of residence is not immediately clear. The city on the Meuse was still not large, but through an active immigration policy its affluence grew steadily, eventually outstripping Dordrecht's. In 1622 there were already an estimated 8,000 immigrants from the Southern Netherlands out of a total of 26,000 inhabitants. In 1632, 3,000 of these were Catholic at a time when 'the catholicke community of Rotterdam was assuredly one of the most important' (in the Netherlands). In 1640 it is reported that after the departure of the Spaniards, merchants came there from all quarters, so that 'finally the citie, with the great rush of people driven out from and fleeing Flanders and Brabant, has become so much larger.'<sup>40</sup> Rotterdam was clearly becoming increasingly thriving as a city, and in this period it also demonstrated musical and cultural ambitions. In 1644, the Antwerp organ-builder, Hans Goldfuss, was given the task of building the biggest three-manual organ of the Netherlands in the Great Church, and both the church and the town hall definitely wanted a carillon made by the Hemony brothers. The outstanding com-

<sup>40</sup> J. BRIELS, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek, 1572–1630*, Sint-Niklaas, 1985, pp. 143–147.

poser Jan Baptist Verrijt (1610–1650) was enticed away from Den Bosch for 900 guilders a year to play the instruments. Alas, he died too early, even to play in the new town-carillon (1650), or to be able to share his skills as organist and town-piper (has he was in Leuven 1636–1640) and his compositional talent with the young Hacquart.<sup>41</sup> But his successor, Joan Crabbe, was also an outstanding musician. Verrijt's pupil, the blind Jan Pietersz Pickert (Picart) was active in the Remonstrant church, until he was succeeded in 1671 by the young Quirinus Van Blankenberg (1654–1739), a musician whom Hacquart would meet again in The Hague. The city certainly had trumpeters, but no actual city musicians in service and there was still also no active collegium musicum. Carel can therefore only have held a function in tenure in one of the clandestine Catholic churches, in particular the one where he had his children baptized. On 10 September 1671, his first-born son was christened after his father Carolus. Johannes Hacquart (either Jan I or II) was witness to this, and the baptism took place in the Dominican's station at the Steiger, where services were mainly performed by missionaries from Antwerp.<sup>42</sup> On 17 February 1673 and on 18 May 1674, Johannes and Petrus were baptized respectively, this time in the Jesuits' station in the *Leeuwenstraat* (at Saint Rosalia's Church). The respective witnesses were Louijs Hacquart – who was represented by Gertrude van Boer(e) – and Petrus van Boer(e) – who was represented by the unknown figure, Philippus De Busscher.<sup>43</sup> Gertrude and Petrus must surely be the parents of Carolus' wife. Sadly, little Jan died only after one and a half months, on 29 March. In this list, one further child is missing, Catharina, whom we know of from her uncle, Jan II's will, and due to the fact that she performed the duties of witness to the birth of her sister, Dorothea, in 1682. She must have been born in the second half of 1670 or in 1672, as all of the ensuing years are 'occupied' by the births of other children. She was still very young when she served as a witness, but perhaps not too young. At the age of ten, Carel junior was already susceptor at the birth of a new little brother.

No matter how concise these facts are about Carel Hacquart's stay in Rotterdam, they nevertheless throw a new light on his career. We now know that he did not immediately go with his brother, Philips, to Amsterdam, but rather only went in the second half of 1674, after the birth of his son, Peter. The *Cantiones Sacrae*, opus 1, in which the dedication to the stadtholder, Willem III, is signed: *Dab(itur) Amstelodami, Anno*

<sup>41</sup> On Verrijt: NOSKE, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, 1, pp. 111–132.

<sup>42</sup> GAR, DTB inv. 36: 10 septemb[ris] [1671] baptizatus Carolus filius Caroli Akers et Catharine van Boer, susc[eptor] Jo[ann]es Akers (Jan I or II).

<sup>43</sup> GAR, DTB, inv. 35: 17 februaryus [1673] Jo[ann]es filius m[ee]ste[r] Hackart et Catharina van Boer. Susc[eptores]: Ludovic[us] Hackart per Gertrude van Boer; 18 mense Maio [1674] [baptisatus] Petrus Philippus filius Caroli Hacquart et Catharine van Boer. Susc[eptor]: Philippus de Busscher loco Petrus Jacobus van Boer.

*Christi, 1674, 20 Novembris*, were therefore not composed in Amsterdam but in Rotterdam, where they also surely will have been sung in well-to-do households and in clandestine Catholic churches. The station alt the Steiger did not have to be content any longer with a room in the inn ‘where the Fool’s head hung out’; in the meantime, the building had been purchased and converted, and in 1660 was described as a beautiful church. Saint Rosalia church was a genuine clandestine church, enclosed by houses, and accessible – but, most importantly, able to be vacated – via three different streets. In 1667 the priest, Jan Baptist van Hoorenbeeck from Den Bosch, rebuilt the entire chapel and it remained in service in this form until the creation of a marvelous Neo-Classical church in 1778. This church, with its Mittenrijter organ and all its archives, went up in flames, just like the Steiger church, during the bombardment of 14 May 1940. There is therefore not much more to say about Hacquart’s possible involvement in the service of these churches, but we do know that music was conducted there on a modest scale. In 1662 a sung mass was celebrated in honour of Our Lady in the *Leeuwenstraat* every Saturday.<sup>44</sup> This was perhaps a plainchant mass, but we know from other cities that music in several voices was performed in the clandestine churches as well. Clandestine churches were not necessarily poor churches. To start with, they already had to pay a thousand guilders a year to the city council to be able to function at all, but depending on the wealth of its believers, might also be able to stretch to music personnel, instruments, and full-scale building conversions. We know of a petition from Saint Rosalia’s in 1744 which pleads ‘that the organ in the same church so through age as otherwise is shattered such, that the same ought to be repaired and in part renewed, which they, the suppl. without fore-knowledge and permission from Your Hon. Gent. may not do, so they, the suppl. turn to Your Hon. Gent. reverently entreating Your Hon. Gent. to kindly consent that the suppliants should be able to repair the same organ such as it shall be necessary to their use.’ Upon which the suppliants came to hear that the burgomasters ‘consent to allow the organ of the aforementioned church to be repaired and in part to be rebuilt, on condition that the same occurs under supervision of the architect of this city.’<sup>45</sup> The old Rosalia church already possessed, then, an organ, of course for accompanying plainchant – as was customary at this time – but also for other musical purposes. The clandestine church in The Hague even owned a harpsichord and a positive organ (cf. *infra*). With his sacred *cantiones*, Hacquart was continuing a tradition, which had been introduced to Rotterdam by the composer, printer and seller of Phalesius prints, Jan van Geertsom, who came from Waasmunster in Flanders. He collected and printed anthologies of motets and *cantiones sacrae*, mainly by Roman

<sup>44</sup> D. VAN HEEL, *De Sint-Rosaliakerk in de Leeuwenstraat te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1940, Introduction and pp. 1–11.

<sup>45</sup> VAN HEEL, *De Sint-Rosaliakerk in de Leeuwenstraat te Rotterdam*, p. 23.

composers such as Carissimi, Benevoli, and Durante, amongst others, for solo voices and continuo. Most of these pieces, though not strictly liturgical in nature, were clearly intended for the Catholic stations and for the devout collective singing in Catholic circles, but they were actually much in demand in Protestant circles, too. His republication of Giuseppe Allevi's *Compositione sacre* was used by the Collegium Musicum in Groningen and his own *Motetta sive Bicinia sacra* (1661), containing as many as four Marian antiphons, were dedicated to five *iuvenes*, of which certainly three were Protestants. The bicinia are modern compositions for their time, though only moderate in quality, and are scored for constantly varying forces; SS, SA, ST, SB, TT. Hacquart must definitely have met his Catholic colleague in his house in the Meulensteegh *all' ensegna de la reyna di Pologna*, where he lived until December 1669. Whether he afterwards stayed on in Rotterdam is not clear.<sup>46</sup>

As no one would dare to dedicate a work to the stadtholder without his consent, Hacquart needed to find someone in Rotterdam to speak on his behalf. The most likely person then, was his pupil Willem van Hogendorp, to whom he would dedicate his *Harmonia Parnassia* in 1686. Hogendorp, who was born in The Hague in 1656 or 1657, and who had just begun his Law studies in Leiden during the publication of the *Cantiones Sacrae*, did not come earlier into the picture as an advocate, because neither he, nor Hacquart, appeared to have any links with each other in 1674. In fact, Hogendorp only really adopted his public functions in Rotterdam from 1687 onwards. Thus in the dedication of the *Harmonia Parnassia*, he is also not yet called alderman or burgomaster, nor director of the V.O.C. or member of the Admiralty of the Meuse; therefore I have assumed that he 'learned with our [Hacquart's] help and incitement the basic rules that govern the most beautiful arts and became a master' in the Hague in 1680.<sup>47</sup> But his father, Diderick van Hogendorp really did live with his family in the 1670s in Rotterdam. There he was 'steward and dike-reeve of the town and lands of Steenberghe,' the father of Willems' future bride, Wendelina van Roosmalen, was burgomaster there.<sup>48</sup> 'You have grown up in the lap of the Muses, while drinking the milk of the Graces,' so continued Hacquart. Thus Willem grew up in a musical environment, so that it looks as though Hacquart became the Music

<sup>46</sup> On Jan van Geertsom: Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, pp. 133–142; G. DIXON, *Jan van Geertsom, A Seventeenth-Century Dutch Printer of Roman Music*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 32 (1982), pp. 116–125; VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas, 1867–1888*, 2, pp. 86–94.

<sup>47</sup> *Sub moderamine et modulamine nostro artis omnium jocundissimae rudimenta delibasti, magisteria didicisti*. Fragment from the dedication of *Harmonia Parnassia*. Complete text and translation in: ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart, Harmonia Parnassia*.

<sup>48</sup> GAR, DTB inv. 1 index 487.

teacher of this music-loving family from Rotterdam, and perhaps the father, Diderick, put in a good word – for the teacher of his son – to William III.

All the same, we also ought to allow for a second, although less probable, candidate as advocate: the writer of the play ‘Love Triumphant’, Dirck Buysero, son of a former ‘Council in ordinary, Auditor, as well as Clerk and Secretary of his Highness the Prince of Orange’ [Frederick Henry]. Thanks to Buysero’s father’s connections with the Oranges, his son was appointed town secretary of Vlissingen in 1667 and one year later, member of the council. This is because the Prince of Orange was the Marquis of Vere and Vlissingen. As early as 1670, in the period in which there was no stadtholder, Dirck Buysero dedicated a work to the future William III; his setting of Quinault’s ‘Astrate, King of Tyre’. Through his marriage to a well-off daughter of a salesman from Middelburg, he had, furthermore, become a rich man, who liked to play the role of patron of the arts. In 1674, during Hacquart’s last year in Rotterdam, he settled in the same city, as the new deputy of Zealand to the Admiralty at the Meuse.<sup>49</sup> The relationship between Hacquart and Buysero need not to have been brought about by Constantijn Huygens, as has been suggested. They already knew each other earlier, precisely in the year in which the fortunes of war turned definitively in favour of William III. When Hacquart writes in the foreword of his *Cantiones Sacrae* that he hopes ‘that music will take pride of place in your palaces as it does in the dwellings of other princes, as soon as an honourable peace shall be extorted from our enemies and you lay down the arms in victory,’ he was running ahead of political events and the Peace of Nijmegen, but in 1674, this was no longer a reckless hope. Perhaps the first plans were made in Rotterdam for his play of peace ‘with a touch of Italian and French opera,’ as this was Buysero’s life-long dream. Also later, he would search time after time for the collaboration of a composer. Through his origin and position he was certainly qualified to write a letter of recommendation to the stadtholder. Whether he really did so, we do not know, but a possible reference to these plans would undoubtedly act as a stimulus for William III to accept the dedication of the *Cantiones*, even when the suppliant was a young, unknown and Catholic composer.

The *Cantiones Sacrae* were illustrated by the painter & illustrator Romeyn de Hooghe (1645–1708) who, specially for the occasion, inscribed a fitting scene into an engraving: in the centre, an (unrealistic) music-making group under a canopy; above, heaven depicting the old testament figures, Mozes and Aaron and King David; underneath, in the foreground, the shield of Orange-Nassau, between lady Sapientia and a herald holding a lance whose point is covered as a sign of peace. De Hooghe lived and

<sup>49</sup> Biography of Buysero in Tom Strengers’ introduction to ANDRIESSEN & STRENGERS eds., *Dirck Buysero & Carel Hacquart, De Triomfeerende Min*.

worked in the 1670s in Amsterdam, where he revealed himself early on to be a supporter of the House of Orange. Following the so-called year of disaster of 1672, he became William III's unofficial chronicler and made biting caricatures of all those attacking the Netherlands. He was therefore an outstanding choice to illustrate a work being dedicated to William III. But Hacquart did not yet live in Amsterdam. He learnt of his work, and perhaps also became acquainted with the author himself, in Rotterdam and this must have occurred via one of the numerous booksellers and publishers in the city. Just before his arrival in Rotterdam, De Hooghe delivered sixty emblemata to the writer & publisher François van Hoogstraten to illustrate his book *Het Voorhof der ziele, behangen met leerzaeme prenten en zinnebeelden* ('The vestibule of the soul, decorated with instructive pictures and emblems') (1668). And at the Steiger, Joachim Oudaen's *Uitbreiding over het Boek Job's*, illustrated with prints by Romeyn de Hooghe, was brought out by the publisher Naeranus (Van der Neer). The poet and tile-maker, Oudaen, was a collegiant and a republican (against a hereditary stadtholder-ship), but he was extremely tolerant and maintained connections with House of Orange followers, Catholics, Calvinists and Remonstrants, so long as they were not too fanatical. He was apparently also in contact with other musicians, as the Middelburg organist, Remigius Schrijver, to his psalm translations, composed his, 'Elaboration on the Book of Psalms in varied metre, by Joachim Oudaan. Set to music, with 1 and 2 voices, and 1 and 2 violins, together with a basso continuo in musical score' (Rotterdam 1680 and 1681). In this way, we can immediately place Hacquart in literary surroundings – and through these also in the governmental – Rotterdam elite: Joachim Oudaen and his (Catholic) friend, Frans van Hoogstraeten, the Remonstrant, Jan, and his son, Isaac Naeranus, the Calvinist poet, painter and musician, Heiman Dullaert, and Buysero's protégé and secretary of state, Antonides Van der Goes.<sup>50</sup>

Three of the *cantiones* were composed to texts from the Vulgate and as many as six to text fragments from the *Imitatio Christi* by Thomas A Kempis. In terms of content that certainly posed no problems in the reformed Netherlands; at least, less than the texts published by Jan van Geertsom. The 'Imitation of Christ' was loved by both

<sup>50</sup> J. MELLES, *Joachim Oudaan, heraut der verdraagzaamheid, 1628-1692*, Utrecht, 1958; J. WILLE, *Heiman Dullaert*, Zeist, 1926; P.G. WITSEN GEYSBEEK, *Biographisch, anthologisch en critisch woordenboek der Nederduitsche dichters*, Amsterdam 2, 1822, p. 223 ff.; G. KALFF, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde*, 1909, 4, pp. 473–489; L.J. ROGIER, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1964, 3, pp. 1008–1010. In addition, it should be mentioned that in 1659 Oudaen wrote well over 200 verses for the wedding of a certain Tieleman Kupus with 'the glory of all woman', the *zeegbare, wydberoemde juffrouw Maria van Esch, de glans en roem der vrouwen*. Maria Hacquart was married in Rotterdam to Willem, son of Hendrik Van Esch and Adriana Ersveld. Perhaps Hendrik was a relative of the world-famous Maria. (GAR, DTB-registers inv. 35).



sides of the religious divides, especially in pietistic circles, to which Hoogstraten, Oudaen, and Dullaert belonged.<sup>51</sup> They read the *Imitatio* in the original Latin or in a Dutch translation with as much devotion as their Catholic counter-believers. Hacquart's *cantiones* are therefore model examples of "überkonfessionelles Bildungsgut",<sup>52</sup> of the "*music bridging divided religions*" to which Frits Noske devoted a complete book. The Remonstrant, Johannes Naeranus, in 1661 published Dirk Graswinckel's *Thomas a Kempis de Imitatione Christi, libri tres* and the Catholic, Frans Van Hoogstraten, translated and printed in 1674, his '*Navolginge Christi* by Thomas A Kempis', regular, together with his life by Heribertus Rosweyde. In this last print newly translated from the Latin and improved."<sup>53</sup> Hacquart had in Rotterdam, therefore, ample opportunity to peruse these texts, but for a composer, the choice of text was, however, not so straightforward. A Kempis' continuous prose differs sharply from the verse structure of the psalms and, besides, is extremely uniform and meditative in tone. Emotional outbursts or inspired imagery, which a composer could gratefully use, are missing. I can imagine that external events helped to determine the choice of text. Thomas A Kempis was buried in 1471 in the Agnietenklooster (monastery of Saint Agnes) in Zwolle – a city that was taken over by the bishops of Münster and Cologne during the invasions in the year of disaster of 1672. The combating prelates forced the priest of the local clandestine church, Arnold Waeyer, to show them Thomas' mortal remains in the ruins of the monastery. They wanted to keep the coveted relics out of the hands of the heretics and transport these to Cologne. The bishop and Elector, Maximilian Heinrich of Bavaria, who was caricatured as a donkey by Romeyn de Hooghe, had the bones, or part of them, locked away in a brand new shrine, but he did not succeed in taking the prized possession away from Zwolle. Thus in 1672–4, A Kempis stood at the centre of attention. The failure of the robbing of the relics was especially due to the local resistance of the Zwolle priest, but also, of course, to the helpful political situation and the stadtholder's war-mongering. Whether desired or not, the use of the *Imitatio* texts will have seemed at that time to have been a patriotic deed, which certainly will have pleased William III.

On the basis of the linguistic quality of the dedications of his publications, I could safely draw the conclusion that Hacquart had a high level of knowledge of Latin. However, the canons of Saint Bavo's cathedral thought differently when they pointed

<sup>51</sup> Th. CLEMENS, *Een verkennend onderzoek naar de waardering van de 'Imitatio Christi' in de Nederlanden tussen 1600 en 1800, in het bijzonder onder katholieken*, in P. BANGE ed., *De doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie*, Hilversum, 1988, pp. 217–236.

<sup>52</sup> A.A. ABERT, art. *Cantio Sacra*, in *MGG*, vol. 2, Kassel, 1952, cols. 781–784.

<sup>53</sup> On Naeranus and Van Hoogstraten: H. BOTS ed. et al., *Rotterdam Bibliopolis. Een rondgang langs boekverkopers uit de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Rotterdam, 1997.

out his meager aptitude for study. Their judgement seems to have been confirmed by the manner in which the composer handled the texts in the *Cantiones Sacrae*. He was clearly himself in a position to change certain sentences, and insert or omit words.<sup>54</sup> Even the imaginative compilation of stray pericopes in the fourth and fifth *cantiones* will surely have been his doing. Choirboys having ten years' experience in the service knew their classics as thoroughly as the priest who had to recite his breviary on a daily basis. But one notices the small errors which a good Latinist would never make: *caelebrationem* (*cantio* 2), *ibi mors et infernum* (*cantio* 3) and especially the meaningless *Domine, quae est fiducia tua (recte: mea), quam in hac vita habeo?* Also the clumsy mixture of the Italian and Latin language in the indexes of the part books, leading to contaminations such as *canto secundo*, points to the same. If Hacquart's knowledge of Latin was merely moderate, then his dedications were written by others, by literati, such as Oudaen or Hoogstraten, the preceptor of the Erasmus gymnasium, or the Jesuit, Van Horenbeeck.

#### CAREL AND PHILIPS IN AMSTERDAM

When exactly Philips Hacquart arrived in Amsterdam we do not know, except that he bought a house on 27 August 1671 in the *Romeinsarmsteeg* between *Herengracht* and *Singel*. A communication appeared about this already in 1885 in the *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, and seemed to quote all necessary details: 'Found in the church records of the Old Church in Amsterdam: Hacquart, Philips, musician, purchases a house in the Romeynsarmsteegh for a sum of 6000 guilders on August 27<sup>th</sup> 1671' (*Kwijtscheld. reg. S.S. fol. 49*).<sup>55</sup> The text lets us conclude that Philips carried out the profession of a musician, that he was living in Amsterdam at least by 1671, that he was relatively well-off, and that he was able to purchase a spacious house (6,000 guilders or 1,000 Flemish pounds is eight times the average of an organist's annual wage; the house of the, after all, not impecunious Oudaen in Rotterdam cost only half of this). In the announcement the informant has however omitted important details. The remission of debt certificate does not originate from the Old Church; it is a standard municipal document, which now rests, in Amsterdam's *Gemeentearchief*. The complete text informs us that Philips bought his house from no less a person than his future mother-in-law, the widow of Jacob Kleijn or Cleyne (see Appendix 4). It describes the settlement of the sale of a house from an inheritance – possibly that of the recently deceased Jacob Kleijn; Johanna (*Jannetje*) Cornelis' husband. The four rightful claimants, *Jannetje*, her son and legal guardian

<sup>54</sup> Complete inventory of all variants in ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart (ca. 1640–1701?)*. *Een biografische bijdrage*, pp. 61–65.

<sup>55</sup> 1 (1885), p. 52.

Cornelis, Cent (Vincent?) Willemsz. Kleijn, and Lucas Jansz. Smit, had to ensure that the transaction passed off to everyone's satisfaction, and to guarantee the buyer that he need not fear any hidden charges or claims connected to the house in the future. Philips' prospective bride, Ludwina Kleijn, had, at that time, still not reached adulthood and, possibly because of this, been not named in the document. Perhaps he did not yet know the girl then, and they instead became acquainted during the purchase. However, I rather suspect another course of events. During their period as choir-boys, the Hacquarts were not labeled as *dives*, and the children or grandchildren of Jan the Elder turned to their uncle, Jan II, rather than to their parents when they needed money. In Ghent, Carel still could apply for a scholarship. He already had enough capital in 1674 to bring out his *Cantiones Sacrae* under his own control, and to cover the expenses for purchasing an etching by Romeyn de Hooghe; this will not have been cheap, but with some help he could have possibly earned the required capital himself. The likelihood of his brother being able to cough up the sum of 6,000 guilders in 1671 is, however, improbable for a twenty-five year old musician. Could it be possible that Philips had already come into contact with the Kleijn family earlier – for example as music teacher to their young children, Ludwina and Jacob, thereby falling in love with the daughter, and that in the meantime a part of the purchase sum came from Ludwina's dowry? It seems far-fetched, but is less so when one knows that the Kleijn family was musical and shared the same religious convictions as Philips. Ludwina's brother, Jacob (Jacob II), became the dancing-master at the Amsterdam Theatre from c. 1690 to 1710 and his son Jacob III, Klein the younger (1688–1748), would become a not unmeritorious *amateur de musique*, who published various collections of sonatas for basse de violon or cello. Jacob II and his wife, Joanna van Shelent, held on to their Catholic faith, as they had their son baptized in the hidden church *De Ster* ('The Star'), in the *Spinhuissteeg*.<sup>56</sup>

Three years after the purchase of the house at the *Romeinsarmsteeg*, on Friday 24 August 1674, Philips Hacquart and Ludwina Kleijn's banns of marriage were published: 'On Friday 24th of August 1674 there appeared before Messrs Henkeeper and Tholincs, Philippus Hackuart from Bruges, musician, 29 years of age, living in the Romeynse armsteegh. Mother in Bruges, assisted by Cornelis Kleyn, and Luiduwina Kleyn from Amsterdam, 18 years of age, living at the same place, assisted by Jannetje Cornelis, her mother.'<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> On Jacob Klein de Jonge, see the recording of op. 4 by Frank Wakelkamp (baroque cello) and Rien Voskuilen (harpsichord), (Composers' Voice Classics CV 125). Also R. RASCH, *Muziek in de Republiek*, Utrecht, 2003 (<http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/dmh.htm>), chap. 10, p. 15. E.F. KOSSMANN, *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Tooneel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, The Hague, 1915, p. 122. CONNELLY, *Philippus Hacquart, Four suites* (Introduction).

<sup>57</sup> GAA DTB 689, p. 247.

Philips' mother, Nicole Fleury, is still living in Bruges; his father, Jan Hacquart the Elder is not mentioned and is thus probably deceased. The witnesses were Ludwina's brother, Cornelis, and her mother, Jannetje Cornelis-Kleijn. The bride and bridegroom already lived together in the house at Romeinsarmsteeg before the marriage, probably chaperoned by the mother. However she had not been able to prevent her daughter appearing before the city magistrate highly pregnant at – which for Catholics – was the compulsory civil marriage. Most likely they were married in church several days later in one of the small Catholic churches outside Amsterdam, so as not to cause a scandal, or perhaps very discretely at the *Statie* of the Franciscans, in the *Mozes & Aaronpakhuis*, which was the parish church of the Kleijn family,<sup>58</sup> where their son Philippus would be baptized a few weeks later. The witnesses were the bride's mother and the bridegroom's brother.<sup>59</sup> In all probability, Carel was thus already living in Amsterdam by the beginning of September, which was just in time to follow, at close hand, Paulus Matthijsz's printing of his *Cantiones* and to organise their distribution.

In the same Mozes and Aaron Church, two more of Philips' children were baptized; on 26 November 1675, his first daughter, Johanna, who was given the name of her grandmother/ godmother; the second witness was Ludwina's brother, Cornelis. On New Year's Day of 1680, another girl, Elisabeth, followed.<sup>60</sup> The godmother, after whom she was named, is not familiar to us; the second witness is no less than Jan II Hacquart, who undertook the lengthy journey from Bruges to Amsterdam to see his (half) brothers again. Perhaps he had a small gift with him, because four months later Philips bought, once more in cash, a garden with a house, situated on the 'Cuyperspad, 8 ? rods [= 32 m] in breadth when measured from the path' (see Appendix 5). In terms of material wealth, therefore, Philips and Ludwina clearly did not have cause for complaint. How Philips managed to earn all that money, we do not know. He allowed himself twice to be noted as a 'musician', which implied that he considered music to be his main profession, but an artistic or intellectual profession did not completely rule out commercial activities, as we know from Oudaen, Vondel, Spinoza or Locatelli. Philips probably performed music in the Mozes and Aaron Church. Since

<sup>58</sup> In 1974 in the archives of the church I came across the baptism of one of Ludwina's nieces and her brother Cornelis' marriage registration, cf. ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart (ca. 1640–1701?)*. *Een biografische bijdrage*, p. 28.

<sup>59</sup> GAA, *Dooptboek der R.K. Kerk Mozes en Aaron*, DTB 304, p. 140: [*baptisatus*] *Philippus Johannes*. P[ater] *Philippus Hackart*, m[ater] *Winanda Cleyn*; susc[etores] *Carolus Hackart*, *Johanna Cornelis*.

<sup>60</sup> GAA, DTB 304, p. 140: 11 september [*baptisata*] *Johanna*; p[ater] *Philippus Hacquart*, m[ater] *Nivina Cleyn*. Susceptores: *Cornelis Cleyn*, *Joanna Cornelissen*. p. 188: 1 januari 1680 [*baptisata*] *Elisabetha* P[ater] *Philippus Hacquart*, m[ater] *Luduwina Cleyn*. Susceptores: *Jan Hacquart*, *Elisabeth Drompr* [?]

1654, a ‘music college in honour of the Most Holy Virgin Mary’ already existed there, consisting of a tenor, three singing *klopjes* (a Dutch equivalent of the ‘beguines’) and a music director. In 1695, the *Zelus pro Domo Deo* association was set up, which was a music club which lasted for centuries, although the archives contain nothing about its early period.<sup>61</sup>

Carel remained faithful to the order of his Rotterdam church, as he had his children baptized at the Jesuit Station, named *de Krijtberg*. Each year, a new child was born: on 18 June 1675, Maria Agnes; on 4 November 1676, Johanna; and thereafter, on 14 September 1678, Constantius Philippus. At Johanna’s birth, the witness was Nicole Fleury, her Bruges grandmother. Also, Jan the Elders’ widow was, apparently, not put off from making a long journey to meet her children once more.

Alongside the publication of the *Cantiones Sacrae*, there is only one musical event to mention during Carel’s Amsterdam career: the composition of his music for Dirck Buysero’s *De Triomfeerende Min, Vredespel. Gemengt met Zang- en Snaarenspeel, Vliegwerken, en Baletten* (‘Love Triumphant, A Play of Peace, Incorporating Songs and Music for Strings, Flyers and Ballets’). The peace treaty between the Dutch Republic and France was signed at Nijmegen on 10 August 1678 and was ratified on 19 September by the States-General. That a ceasefire was on its way, everyone knew long before then. Hacquart even spoke of it in his dedication to the *Cantiones Sacrae* in 1674 and the formal negotiations began at the end of 1675. Nevertheless, it looks as though they actually set about composing the text and music rather late in the day. ‘This comedy, if reasonably well performed, will – being unusual – probably not be displeasing, and it could well serve as an outline for something bigger in our Dutch theatre, if thought out with more time and precision,’ Buysero let the reader know in the dedication of the work to Constantijn Huygens. Although, after his stay in Paris in the 1660s he had constantly dreamt of a form of music-theatre in the Netherlands – so the plans to this end could therefore have already been wrought early on – he apparently did not appropriate much time for his definitive version of ‘Love Triumphant’. That was not so necessary, as he kept the headwork to a minimum. He chose a traditional play of peace, which did not greatly differ, for example, to the happy-ended play in Jan Lambrechts’ *Vlaemsche Vrede-vreucht* (‘The delight of the Flemish at peace’), printed in The Hague in 1659. He drew largely upon Tasso’s ‘Aminta’ and Ovid’s ‘Metamorphoses’, browsed in Vondel’s *Leeuwendalers* (written for the Peace of Munster, 1647), leafed somewhat through the text book of the Court ball for the

<sup>61</sup> A.I.M. KAT, *De geschiedenis der Kerkmuziek in de Nederlanden sedert de Hervorming*, Hilversum, 1939, p. 57; W. BAKKER, *Gedenkboek naar aanleiding van de 250-jarig bestaan van het zangkoor ‘Zelus pro Domo Dei’*, Amsterdam, 1941, typescript in the archives of the Mozes and Aaron church (the archives of ‘Zelus’ are now kept in GAA, Arch. 688, nos. 401–403).

festivities celebrating the Peace of Breda (1668) – at which William III danced as Mercurius and as one of the two peasant women – and even translated whole parts from *Les Amours de Vénus et d'Adonis* (1670) by Jean Donneau de Visé. The actual play was preceded by a prologue *à la franchise*. Tom Strengers has assumed that the final editing touches took place between 26 September and the New Year of 1678. In verses 369–371 of ‘Love Triumphant’, Buysero refers to the liberation of Sont, which resulted from the Defence Treaty Denmark and Sweden had signed on 26 September. The *terminus ante quem*, he created from a little poem, which Constantijn Huygens wrote:

On Buysero's chamber play of peace  
 What sweet sounds emerged from many a mouth and heart,  
 If only each and everyone could sing as elegantly  
 About peace, the best of all things,  
 as was done here!  
 Ult. dec. [1678]<sup>62</sup>

The text editing will, surely, not have had been effected so very hastily, as the composer needed some time, too. Joachim Oudaen incidentally wrote as early as 1660 a text called *De Zont bevrijd en Belt bevredigt* and the great battle against Sweden to secure the passage to the Baltic was fought in 1676. That liberation would be brought about, was therefore already known long in advance. In any case, by 31 December ‘Love Triumphant’ was not only finished off, it had also been performed. Buysero seems to confirm such an occurrence in the dedication of the work to Huygens, by ending it with this sentence: ‘To conclude, I do not consider my work to have been unrewarded because it has not been unwelcome to your Honour.’ The term *kamerspeeltje* (‘chamber play’) does not refer to a production by a chamber of rhetoric but contrary to this, to a presentation by professional actors. We can only guess where and how it took place, but the number of possibilities is limited. Outside Amsterdam, in the cosmopolitan The Hague and Nijmegen during the peace negotiations, the theatre possibilities in the Calvinist-dominated Republic were limited and during wartime were indeed totally prohibited. The theatre belonged to the devils and strolling-players were doomed in advance. When we also further exclude rhetorical chambers and foreign-language touring troupes from abroad, all that actually remains is Jan Baptist van Forenberg's group. In Nijmegen much music was made – *la mer de belle harmonie où je vois que vous nagez à Nimègue*, Huygens wrote to the French

<sup>62</sup> J.A. Worp ed., *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens, naar zijn handschrift uitgegeven*, Groningen, 1892–1899, 8, p. 238. Original Dutch text also in ANDRIESEN & STRENGERS eds., *Dirck Buysero & Carel Hacquart, De Triomfeerende Min*, note 42.

negotiator, Estrades – and Van Forenbergh at the time, held open, with the help of some Amsterdam burghers, the only permitted theatre in the land; but as already mentioned, ‘Love Triumphant’ was not yet ready for performance during the time of the peace negotiations. In The Hague, in 1660, Van Forenbergh had a playhouse built behind his own house in the *Dennenweg*. When in October 1678 all the theatres got permission again to open, he was granted the monopoly on theatre performances in Dutch. Perhaps *De Triomfeerende Min* was performed there. Suzanna Huygens wrote to her brother, Christian, on 10 November that she attended a presentation: *Nous avons ici le divertissement de la Commedie Flamande depuis que la Duchesse de York et de Monmouth [the mother-in-law of William III] et la petite princesse [Anne] de York ont été ici, sans cela Jan Baptist auroit eu de la peine à obtenir permission, car nos ministres crient plus haut contre la Commedie que contre les plus grands pechés du monde. La bande est assez bonne...* Her husband confirmed this on 15 December: *On a passé l’hiver jusques ici assez joyeusement, et d’oresnavent aurons trios comedies differentes, sçavoir les Flamands, qui est la troupe du Sieur Battiste, qui est très belle et complete, et meilleure que je n’en ay jamais veu encore en nostre langue, tant pour les acteurs et actrices, qu’en magnifiques habits de toutes les façons...*<sup>63</sup> Combining this with the little poem by Constantijn, one could conclude that *De Min* was first brought to the stage here. Such a conclusion is, however, implicitly contradicted by Buysero himself when he published his play, as he says nothing about it in the dedication, nor indeed, also, in the foreword *Aen den Lezer* (‘To the Reader’). It seems to me more plausible that *De Min* was performed in 1678 in a concert or semi-enacted version for a private party of literature and music-lovers, such as in the great hall of the Maurits house. It would explain why Huygens only refers to the elegant singing; Buysero was silent about it, probably because he did not regard it as a proper performance. It would also explain why Buysero could assure his readers in his introduction that ‘quite a few expenses have already been met, the whole costing no more than 2000 guilders.’ This latter claim is an understatement, as 2,000 florins was most certainly a large sum for a theatre production at that time. The already-paid expenses would certainly not have gone on decors and new costumes, but maybe on rehearsal time, the copying of parts, and such other things. Carel Hacquart will surely have led the performance himself, because we have proof that he stayed for a number of days in The Hague during the period in question, and became acquainted there with Constantijn Huygens. Frits Noske has pointed out that the name Constantius,

<sup>63</sup> KOSSMANN, *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Tooneel*, pp. 6–7. Susanne Huygens and her husband, Philippe Doublet, call the Van Forenbergh company ‘Flemish’, perhaps because they performed in Ghent and Antwerp before coming to Holland again, but ‘Flemish’ can also have been used as a general definition of the Dutch language. On Van Forenbergh: B. ALBACH, *Langs kermis en hoven. Ontstaan en kroniek van een Nederlands toneelgezelschap in de 17de eeuw*, Zutphen, 1977.

which Hacquart gave to his newborn son on 14 September 1678, was not chosen by pure coincidence.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, he gave a concert in 1678–1679 in Huygens' presence at the Maurits house, this being the residence of John Maurice of Nassau, the former governor of Brazil and Huygens' neighbour (cf. *infra*).

Buysero also hoped to bring his play of peace before the public of the Amsterdam Theatre, which, in spite of the official prohibition, re-opened its doors as early as 25 November 1677, with the opera 'Isis' by Lully. The theatre, which was modernised in 1665, was well equipped for the required artifices and scene changes, and there was also a house 'orchestra', led by Peter Piccart.<sup>65</sup> But because the text of his piece was not politically neutral, because within the playhouse's trustees, the literary association *Nil Volentibus Arduum*, with whom Buysero had fallen out, was in charge, and especially because the realization was too expensive, the piece was not accepted. Only his farce *Amphitruo*, which was intended to be acted after *De Min*, was allowed to be presented.<sup>66</sup> It is thanks to this rejection, that Buysero had his work – with the music – printed: 'to demonstrate that the rejection of this play by the Amsterdam Theatre was not caused by its offensive character [overtly supporting the Orange Party], nor by its costliness (which is a hypocritical argument)... and to show all the world how some envious persons [members of 'Nil Volentibus'] tried to suppress this little piece of mine in a preposterous manner.'<sup>67</sup>

The composer's name was assigned a modest place in the print, on the very last stave, which was not unusual. What is unusual is that Buysero, in the publication of his text, also allotted space for the music. What was new, is that he did not write his lyrics 'to the tune of...' but rather commissioned special music from a composer whom he esteemed. For that purpose, he was even willing to spend 50 ducatoons or, approximately 160 guilders (cf. *infra*) and thus he also awarded the composer a small place on the penultimate page of his publication. This ought favour his reputation as a patron of the arts.

<sup>64</sup> NOSKE, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, 1, p. 200.

<sup>65</sup> Information on Piccart is scarce. In 1679, twenty dances for two violins and bass appeared in Antwerp, together with 37 more pieces by Carl Rosier, entitled *Antwerpsche Vrede Vreught, bestaende in ballet, cour. sarab. Gicq Allemand. etc. met dry instrumenten van 2 experte violisten ghecomponeert*. Sole copy in Durham, Cathedral Library, Mus. C 70.

<sup>66</sup> In *Aen den Lezer* ('To the Reader') in the second edition of 1680, he says: 'In order to make it possible to perform this play as a farce, I have contained it in a single act, and I was inclined to do so to have it performed conveniently because of its brevity, after another work (which I had drawn up in aid of the poor and for the entertainment of lovers of theatrical poetry, and which is held back for a false reason, namely that it would not be possible to recover the necessary costs).'

<sup>67</sup> Complete text of *Aen den Lezer* and the dedication to Constantijn Huygens in ANDRIESEN & STRENGERS eds., *Dirck Buysero & Carel Hacquart, De Triomfeerende Min*, pp. 1–3.



## CAREL IN THE HAGUE; PHILIPS IN HAARLEM

The *Cantiones Sacrae* were dedicated to William III and 'Love Triumphant' to his most prominent adviser. Huygens valued the composer and placed him under his protection. This must have offered Carel satisfactory enough prospects, as he moved house shortly after the birth of his son, Constantius, to the Oranges' city of residence, with the intention of staying there permanently, because, on 11 November 1679, he swore the citizen's oath, which he had neither done in Rotterdam, nor in Amsterdam. In the meantime, Huygens wrote a letter to John Maurice of Nassau in which he drew the prince's attention to '... Sieur Hacquart, who is this great master of music, whom your Highness will remember having played a concert in his hall. A few months ago he moved with his family from Amsterdam to The Hague where, wishing to be able to entertain amateurs of good society with his compositions, which are indeed excellent, but not having the space himself, the question is whether your highness would be agreeable to letting him carry out this exercise, one day of the week, in his hall where I think there is still an organ but which, through lack of use, is deteriorating. He would take charge of restoring it to a good condition.'<sup>68</sup>

From this letter of 2 October 1679 it seems clear that Huygens – who was an outstanding composer himself – admired Hacquart, that his protégé could play the organ and, already before this, had given a concert in the great hall at the Maurits house. It is less clear whether he was also granted permission to put on concerts there on a weekly basis. We do not possess the answer to Huygens' request, perhaps because it was never written, as John Maurice died soon afterwards in December of that year, or perhaps because of the fact that many documents perished during a great fire at the Maurits house in 1704. Nevertheless, it is most probable that Hacquart was allowed to use the hall. Frits Noske rightly stated that Huygens was too much of a diplomat to risk a flat refusal of such a request; the sudden death on 20 December of that year can at the worst have entailed a postponement. Whether Hacquart's concerts were also public paying concerts, and by this were the first of their kind on the mainland, I doubt however. *Entretenir les amateurs du monde* can equally just as well mean that he acted as the leader of a collegium musicum, as such an ensemble also consisted of amateurs from well-to-do society, but initially their concerts were not open to the public. The terminology Hacquart used to define his profession: *maistre de musique* or, as in a notary's act of 1686, *muzieck meester*, points in that direction. Indeed, a collegium certainly came to exist there; only there are no surviving docu-

<sup>68</sup> The Hague, Royal Library K.A. xlix (part 3), p. 942–943. Complete French text in: J.A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van C. Huygens*, The Hague, 1917, 4, p. 436 (nr. 7137) as well as W. JONCKBLOET & J. LAND, *Correspondence et oeuvres musicales de Constantin Huygens*, Leiden, 1882, p. 77. The passage on Hacquart also in ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart (ca. 1640–1701?)*. *Een biografische bijdrage*, p. 35 with facsimile.

ments from this early period. In 1692, Quirinus van Blankenburg was its leader for a yearly allowance of 120 guilders, and the ensemble performed music together every week on a Saturday. In 1693, according to the European Mercurius, the prince royal of Denmark was treated to a concert, which is *'t geen alle saterdagen op het huis van Prins Maurits wordt gehouden*.<sup>69</sup> That Quirinus had taken over the leadership by then, could therefore indicate that Carel was no longer staying in The Hague.

In 1682 and 1683, Carel and Catharina had a further two children: Dorothea Elisabeth and Johannes Philippus, who were both baptised in the Catholic station in the *Idastraat*, in a house which would become known from 1772 onwards as the manse of the Old Catholic Church. The prayer space in fact consisted of the attics of two adjoining houses; through a difference in height, one of the attics appeared to be the garret of the other, and thus was an ideal spot for a 'choir'.<sup>70</sup> Ludwina Kleijn came from Amsterdam to The Hague to bear witness to Johannes Philippus' baptism. I assume that Philips Hacquart accompanied his wife. The baptism certificate lists Carolus junior, Ludwina Hacquart and a further Carolus Hacquart as *succeptores*, but that must surely be a mistake of the then parish-priest, Wouter Moulart (d. 16 Nov. 1686).<sup>71</sup> Moulart kept a little note-book in which he jotted down certain expenses and fragments of sermons, and through which we know that Carel was not only fulfilling his religious duties in *Idastraat*, but that he was working there, too. Several details were already known through A. R. Heyligers' little book of 1938 about the church, but access to the church archives was still refused to me in the 60s. Tom Van Eck and Herman de Kler were later given the sought-after permission and they also published several extracts.<sup>72</sup> The church archives were brought over recently to the municipal

<sup>69</sup> GAG, NA 1332, fol. 80. (see RASCH, *Muziek in de Republiek*, cap. 12, p. 12–13); JONCK-BLOET & LAND, *Correspondence et oeuvres musicales de Constantin Huygens*, op. cit., p. 223. Coenraet Droste states this in the margin at verse 6962 of his *Overblijfsels: In het concert alle saterdagen op het huys van Prins Maurits, 1693*. (R. FRUIN ed., *Overblijfsels van geheugchenis der bisonderste voorvallen in het leven van C. Droste in veld en zee-slagen...*, Leiden, 1879).

<sup>70</sup> A.R. HEYLIGERS, *De geschiedenis van de Oud-Katholieke gemeente van 's Gravenhage*, The Hague, 1937; J. BRUGGEMAN, *Twee Honderdjarig Bestaan van de Oud-Katholieke Kerk in de Juffr. Idastraat te 's Gravenhage*, Assendelft, 1922.

<sup>71</sup> GAG, no. 376. *Doop-Boek der Rooms-Catholycke Kerke, aen de Noord-zijde van de Jufvrouw Idastraet, in 's Gravenhage*, p. 10: Novemb[ris] 1682, die 6 bapt[isata] Dorothea Elisabetha. Pater Carolo Hacquard, m[ater] Catharina Hacquard. Susc[eptor] Catharina Hacquard; p. 17: Dec[embris] 1683, die 18 [baptisatus est] Johannes Philippus. P[ater] Carolus Hacquart, m[ater] Catharina Hacquart. Susc[eptores] Carolus Hacquart [jr.], Lidwina Hacquard [Kleijn] et Carolus [Philippus?] Hacquard.

<sup>72</sup> T. VAN ECK & H. DE KLER, *Kerkmuziek en haar beoefenaars in de Oud-Katholieke parochie in 't Juffrouw Idastraatje*, in G. OOST ed., *Den Haag destijds: Een bundel opstellen over muziek in de hofstad*, Den Haag, 1998, pp. 72–74.

archives in The Hague. Moulart's housekeeping book appears to have once been bound in a cover containing 18<sup>th</sup> century sermon-notes, and because his name is not mentioned, the document is also not listed as such in the archive inventory. Although the information there about Hacquart is limited, I have copied out the 'choir'-notes in full in Appendix 6, because they contain important additional information and because they provide a supplement to the Martinelli music-collection discussed in the fourth *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*.<sup>73</sup> On 2 April 1682, Carel received his first salary of 5 ducats, or approximately 16 guilders.<sup>74</sup> After this, further payments have been noted for the months of August and October, but these were, nevertheless, the last ones, as the parish-priest added here that he had bid farewell to *Meester Hacquaerd*. In November, he was succeeded by (Carel) Martinelli, likewise from Flanders, and his son (Guillelmus). They had to divide Hacquart's monthly wage between them, as the father was first given 10, then 13 guilders per month, and his newly wedded son 12,5 guilders per half year. As usual, the choir in the *Idastraat* will have consisted of a few amateur singers and *klopjes*, but the church also paid for the services of professionals. Except for Martinelli's son, the future choirmaster from Diest, a *Mr. [Philips] Van der Steen* was also cited as receiving the same salary.<sup>75</sup> Certainly, they did not only sing plainchant, as *Mr. Cousijn* [Stephanus Cousijns]<sup>76</sup> had to look after a positive organ as well as a harpsichord (*clavesingel*), and a harpsichord was certainly not used for accompanying plainchant. As the cost of an extra mass was a *rijksdaalder*, and only once a ducatoon, we can conclude from the monthly allowance that the music-master only was responsible for the Sunday services. Extra musicians were engaged for particular festivities, five for the *jubilee* in October 1683. The payment of 6 ducatoons (about 19 florins or guilders) to Quirinus van Blankenberg on 1 June 1685 will surely refer to a special celebration, which was graced with concerted music by Quirinus and other musicians. It can not have been a monthly wage, not so much because Van Blankenberg was a protestant – his wife Clara de Guise was actually a Catholic – but because Martinelli was still actively in service.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>73</sup> B. BOUCKAERT & E. SCHREURS eds., *The Di Martinelli Music Collection*, (*Yearboek of the Alamire Foundation*, 4), Leuven – Peer, 2000.

<sup>74</sup> The value of one ducat was equal to 3 guilders, 3 schellingen, but on other occasions 3:5 or even 3:10.

<sup>75</sup> Philips Van der Steen was on 27 Jun. 1678 *musicant en borger Den Haag*, on 11 Dec. 1689 *herbergier en musicant*. On 3 Jun. 1692 he is called *musicant, ziek te bed liggende* and ready to make his will. (S. VAN ROOYEN, *Biographische Bijdragen tot de Muziekgeschiedenis van Nederland*, in *Algemeen Nederlandsch Familieblad*, (1895), p. 43.

<sup>76</sup> Organ-builder, organ and carillon player at the Grote Kerk in The Hague (1679–1697), cf. H. DE KLER, *Zeven eeuwen orgels in Den Haag*, Alphen aan de Rijn, 1987, p. 32.

<sup>77</sup> On Van Blankenburg: R. VERHAGEN, *Quirinus van Blankenburg*, in Y. VAN DER KLIS ed., *The Essential Guide to Dutch music*, Amsterdam, 2000 (translation of *Het 100 Componistenboek. Nederlandse Muziek van Albicastro tot Zweers*, Haarlem, 1997); G. OOST, *Quirinus van Blankenburg*, in OOST ed., *Den Haag destijds*, pp. 22–36.

In 1686, two collections by Hacquart appeared in print. The first, *Harmonia Parnassia*, opus 2, consisting of ten sonatas *a 3* and *a 4*, was printed by Arnold Van (den) Eynden in Utrecht. It is his masterpiece, and was dedicated to his former pupil in Rotterdam, Willem van Hogendorp. His other collection, *Chelys*, opus 3, containing twelve suites for viola da gamba, was dedicated to the lawyers Florentius Pittenius and Pieter Kuysten. Similarly, both were former pupils of the composer, who humbly signed his dedication: *Vester non iam magister, sed servus* ('No longer your master, but your servant'). Three other names of students (who did not pay their tuition) can be plucked out from legal documents: Philippus Morette from Amsterdam, and Lieutenant Heyder and Captain Volckringh from The Hague.<sup>78</sup>

We can almost be sure that Carel also taught one of the greatest viola da gamba virtuosi of the following generation, Johan Schenck, even though there is no actual proof of this. This son of German, Catholic immigrants, was baptized in the Mozes and Aaron Church in Amsterdam on 3 June 1660, and lived throughout his youth in this city. With whom else could he have better developed his instrumental and compositional abilities? The reason why Carel's sonatas were printed in Utrecht – again at his own expense – is still not clear. Van Eynden was not a specialist music printer, but he did have good contacts (and fictitious addresses) in Cologne, Antwerp and Leuven. He was also the first in the Netherlands to print liturgical music books for Catholics. More importantly, perhaps, is the fact that he published, in 1683, the opus 6 of the figurehead of Dutch Catholic concerted music – the Carmelite priest, Benedictus a San Josepho (Buns). His *Encomia sacra musice decantanda* is written for 1-3 voices and 3-5 instruments, and contains one mass and 19 motets. The set is, however, dedicated to the Calvinist, Johannes van Tongeren, who was a lawyer at the Dutch Court in The Hague, and in that capacity, a colleague of Hacquart's pupil, Pittenius.<sup>79</sup> We do not actually know who printed *Chelys*. The work was not printed from types, but engraved, which, before the start of Estienne Roger's publishing house, was a rarity in the Netherlands, except for lute and organ tablatures. The suites are preceded by an illustration containing the title and a scene depicting a viola da gamba player and two ladies, listening attentively. This engraving was carved by J. Georg Seiller, a *Kupfverstecker* who, in so far as is known, was active for his whole life in Schaffhausen in Switzerland, where he published the Eidgenössischer Staatskalender. Whether he ever engraved music is not known and, even less so, how he came into contact with the composer. I can only point to a research trail. Pieter Valkenier (1641–1712), again a lawyer at the Dutch Court, was active as a diplomat from 1672. In 1690, he became the representative of the Low Countries in Switzerland,

<sup>78</sup> GAG, *Notarieel Archief*, 706, fol. 148; 728, p. 221. Text in ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart (ca. 1640–1701?)*. *Een biografische bijdrage*, pp. 37–38.

<sup>79</sup> NOSKE, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, p. 31, 145. The dedication of *Chelys* denominates Pittenius as *in suprema Hollandiae Curia Advocatus*.

and he bought there (or had sent to him) a copy of Hacquart's *Cantiones Sacrae*. His copy (the only one extant) bears the inscription: *Zürich, 17 [o.s.]/27 [n.s.] martij 1691*. He identified with the fate of the Waldenses, and would even become the plenipotentiary of the States-General in 1698 in the Waldenses' colony in Upper Germany. The first synod of the Waldenses was even held a year later in his own house in Frankfurt, with the clergyman, Jacques Papon from Schaffhausen, as the chairman, with whom he had maintained good relations for a long time already.<sup>80</sup>

The dedication in *Chelys* is important because it allows us a glimpse into Hacquart's conception of his craft: 'I offer you, honourable lords, my Chelys, which was dead and mute for some time. Your fingers should resuscitate them, you, the fruitful minds and nightingales of the chorus in The Hague. Your refined ears will find pleasure, I hope, in the sweet products of my mind, which I finished with care and diligence, illumined by a lamp that did not smell of wine. Play sweetly, when you repose once your duties at court are ended, after your distressful concerns, and play together harmoniously and prove the existence on earth of music that equals the celestial.'<sup>81</sup> Clearly, the composer did not believe in divine inspiration alone, but placed even greater value on conscientious labour, wide-ranging knowledge and technical ability. This conviction is typical of the Netherlands' 'Cartesian' mentality, which was nourished by the lengthy presence of the philosopher/musician in the Republic. With this, Hacquart is on the same wavelength as Constantijn Huygens, Joan Albert Ban and – once again – Quirinus van Blankenberg.

*Chelys* is seemingly a work for solo viola da gamba, which stands in contradiction to the pronouncement *colludite consoni* ('play together harmoniously'). It does not necessarily mean that the sole copy in Durham is incomplete. The suites can be played perfectly without an additional continuo, because both bass-line and harmony are implicitly or explicitly contained in the polyphonic fabric. However, a separate bass-line can be written out to enhance the sonority, which is exactly what was done for eleven movements by the owner of the copy, Prebendary Falle, canon and chaplain to William III.<sup>82</sup> It may well be that *Chelys* underwent the same history as the *Pièces à une et à deux violes* by Marin Marais, published in the same year of 1686. These first appeared in print as solo pieces; three years later, the composer offered his clients an additional continuo part that could be used *ad libitum*. Anyway,

<sup>80</sup> A. DE LANGE ed., *Pieter Valkenier und das Schicksal der Waldenser um 1700*, Ubstadt-Weiher – Basel – Heidelberg, 2004. A relationship between Carel Hacquart and the Amsterdam landscape painter, Jan Hackaert, working in Schaffhausen in 1653, could not be found.

<sup>81</sup> Latin text in ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart (ca. 1640–1701?)*. *Een biografische bijdrage*, p. 43.

<sup>82</sup> The pieces are contained in a handy booklet Falle copied to take with him on his many travels. It is now in Durham, Cathedral Library, MS Mus. A 27.

when Estienne Roger reprinted the set in 1702 or 1703, he advertised his now lost edition as *Pièces de viole de Gambe de Mr. Hakart, composées de préludes, Allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, gigue, Fantaisies, etc. à une viole de gambe et une basse Continue*.<sup>83</sup>

It has once been claimed that Hacquart not only gave lessons and perhaps was in charge of a collegium musicum, but that he also entered the service of William III. There is absolutely no proof of this to be found. At the most, it is possible that he sometimes received an occasional assignment for performing music at court balls or feasts. Daniel Marot made an engraving in 1686 of *the Great Ball given by H.R. Highness Lady Princess of Orange in the Hall of the Oranges in 't Haagse Bosch*. The orchestra, at the foot of the print, is depicted as being under the direction of a conductor. It could be Carel Hacquart, but perhaps, also, Quirinus van Blankenberg, or still more probable – to judge from the composition of the orchestra – the leader of the French opera in The Hague. In November 1683, Carolus di Martinelli, Hacquart's successor at the *Idastraat*, was authorized by the Dutch Court to develop a French opera for a period of three years. Presumably, his son, Guillelmus, was also part of the company, which consisted of at least thirty actors and musicians. It is not clear whether he completed his three-year term or not, nor if he stayed in The Hague after his dismissal from the church in 1685, but his son did stay, at least until 1692.<sup>84</sup>

Two notarial acts of 1681 and 1689, respectively, deal with the aftermath of the non-performance of 'Love Triumphant', and they confirm Dirck Buysero's objectionable habit of not redeeming his debts. Hacquart wanted to secure his money, nevertheless, through the juridical route, but it is doubtful whether he ever managed to recuperate the agreed 50 ducatoons. Buysero slowly edged further into deeper water. He was accused of corruption and blew his capital on wine and women. "*He who was for long / of poetry a patron / Now runs around / excited / as a fool / and ridiculed by all / in search of patrons*," mocks an unknown poetaster in 1726. The whole juicy, but for Hacquart – annoying – story, is revealed in my study of 1974 (pp. 38–41) and in English in the introduction to the edition of 'Love Triumphant', and therefore does not need to be recounted here again in full.

<sup>83</sup> Rogers' catalogues of 1703 and 1737 (no. 13).

<sup>84</sup> A copy of the etching is held in the *Gemeentemuseum* at The Hague and in the Instrument Museum (*MIM*) in Brussels. On Martinelli, see E. SCHREURS, *The Di Martinellis, active in Ghent, The Hague and Diest (1659–1797)*, in B. BOUCKAERT & E. SCHREURS eds., *The Di Martinelli Music Collection*, (*Yearboek of the Alamire Foundation*, 4), Leuven – Peer, 2000, pp. 73–74.

After the notarial document directed against Buysero, dated 11 December 1689, Carel disappears from view without a trace, at least in Holland. Philips' career, on the contrary, we were able to follow right up to the event of his death. Servaas van Rooyen reported, in 1895, the finding of a record; "*Philips Hacquart, violinist at...*", but, alas, without filling in where he exercised his post and without stating his source.<sup>85</sup> In the notarial archives in Amsterdam, I did not manage to recover anything of the sort. Perhaps he had already come to settle in Haarlem by 1685, where on 24 February 1689 his daughter, Jacoba, was baptized and registered in the *Doopregister van de eerwaarde Heeren Jos de Kies en Petrus Braems. De Gemeinte van St. Anne*.<sup>86</sup> Philips' brother, Louijs, from Maldegem/Bruges was her godfather; and her godmother was Joanna Hacquart, who was probably Louijs' daughter (both the children of Carel and Philips bearing the same name, were still young – but as we know, not too young – at that time). The authority on musical life in Haarlem, Jos de Klerk, wrote to me in 1966 in this respect, saying that Saint Anna's was the first church which was specially built in 1648 for the reformed religion, and had been forged onto the ruins of the former Saint Anna's convent, of which only the tower is left. Because of this it is usually called the *Nieuwe Kerk*. From this I had to conclude that Philips had transferred his allegiance to Calvinism. This appears to have been mistaken. Saint Anna's in Haarlem was a small Catholic station in the *Koksteeg*, which was set up in the attic of a malt house by the ex-Jesuit, Alsten Bloemart (1578–1659), who was as much the friend of Vondel, as of the Haarlem priest-composer, Joan Albert Ban, and also of René Descartes. The death of the still Catholic Philips, we must date to 9 or 10 November 1691. In the municipal accounts book of the *baardragers* (bier-bearers), which begins on 9 November 1691, he is entered as the second in the list.<sup>87</sup> After the death of Philips, his widow moved back to Amsterdam, where she would outlive her husband by another thirty years. She was taken to the grave at the (reformed) Nieuwezijds Chapel on 8 July 1721.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> *Algemeen Nederlandsch Familieblad*, 12 (1895), p. 38.

<sup>86</sup> SAH, *Doopregisters St. Anna 1660–1697*, 24 Febr. 1689: *Gedoopt Jacoba Hacquaert. P[ater] Philippus Hacquaert, m[ater] Ludowina Kleyn. Susc[eptores] Lowijie Hacqurt en Joanna Hacquart.*

<sup>87</sup> SAH, *De Reeckening van de Baardragers*, 1691.

<sup>88</sup> GAA, toegang nr. 378 NZK; DTB reg. 1070, p. 215: *Julius anno 1721, den 8 julio een vrouw luduwina Klein, wed[uwe]: Philippus Hacquart, compt van de reguliersgragt over de achtergragt... f. 15.*

## CAREL HACQUART'S FINAL YEARS

At the archives in Alkmaar, Delft, Leiden, Middelburg, Groningen, Leeuwarden, Nijmegen, Rotterdam and Utrecht, earlier enquiries and research about Carel Hacquart, Catharina van Boere or one of Hacquart's children, have only resulted in one finding. From a notarial act of 24 February 1708 relating to the division of Jan Hacquart's inheritance in Bruges, it appears that Maria and Catharina, daughters of Carel Hacquart, were living in Rotterdam as maidens. The bachelor Carel the Younger and his sister, Johanna, were residing abroad at this point.<sup>89</sup> During the drafting of the settlement on 27 and 29 July 1709, Maria and Catharina assume that Johanna has died in the meantime (see Appendix 7). The word *uitlandig* in this document probably means England. Anyway, on 16 July 1697, a "*Charles Hacquart, native of Holland*" was granted permission to return to his native country.<sup>90</sup> Johanna was a familiar figure in English music circles. Manuscript Mus. Sch. F 573, in the Oxford Bodleian Library, contains viol and violin solos, duets and trios by English composers (Jenkins, Coleman, Lawes, Young), or by German composers working in England (Dietrich Steffken, Thomas Baltzar), together with viol suites by Philips Hacquart. The related Mus. Sch. F 574 exclusively contains solo viol music; pieces by Hotman, Philips Hacquart and J.S. (probably Johan Schenck), except for one piece: a duet for 2 viols, composed by a Lartigue or Lartigne, entitled *Menuet desdié à mademoiselle Joanna Hacquart*.<sup>91</sup> I presume this Johanna to be Carel's daughter, and not Philips', for two reasons. Firstly, we know that Carel's Johanna did not live in Holland, at least, not in 1708. Secondly, MS F 573, on fol. 5v–6, contains three dances for violin solo with the heading, *Den Haeg* ('The Hague'). I am inclined to attribute these pieces to Carel; they so strongly recall some of the arias from the *Harmonia Parnassia*. The MSS were dated c. 1690 and this date correlates well with what we already know of Johanna – both Johanna's, that is.

Maria Hacquart did not remain a maiden forever. Several years later, she must have married Willem van Esch, with whom she bore at least two children, and whom

<sup>89</sup> GAR, *Notarieel Archief 1710*, Notary De Custer, pp. 168–170 (formerly 134–136); text in ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart (ca. 1640–1701?)*. *Een biografische bijdrage*, p. 47.

<sup>90</sup> W.J. HARDY ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William III*, London, 1927, p. 254.

<sup>91</sup> The MS is written in different hands. Peter Holman suggested that at least one of the scribes may have been a Dutch musician employed at the English court, like Dietrich Steffken's son Frederick or Christian: cf. P. HOLMAN, *Thomas Baltzar (?1631–1663), the 'incomparable Libicer on the violin'*, in *Chelys*, 13 (1984), p. 29. Rudolf Rasch considered an identification with Nicolas Martin de la Vigne dit Desrosiers quite plausible. Desrosiers lived at the *Singel* in Amsterdam where he published in 1689 a trio sonata entitled *La fuite du Roy d'Angleterre*.



she had baptised in her old parish church in the *Leeuwenstraat*.<sup>92</sup> Her sister, Catharina, witnessed the birth of her second child in 1715; she probably died in 1723 and was then still not married.<sup>93</sup> Jan Hacquart's will of 1703 explicitly refers to *Philips and Charles Hacquaert's orphans*, and in Carette's description of the estate in 1708, they were also referred to by name: Carel, Catharina, Maria and Johanna on the one hand, and Philips junior, Johanna, Elisabeth and Jacoba, on the other. Thus by 1703, Carel Hacquart and all the unnamed children had already died. Perhaps Carel's wife, Catharina, was still alive, as Philips' wife was also not mentioned by name, when we know for certain that she died only in 1721. Whether Philips' children received their share, we (still) do not know, as no related documents are known to exist. It is important that we now know that the composer, Carel Hacquart, definitely died between December 1689 and 6 November 1703. That period correlates extraordinarily well with the information Ursel Niemöller found in the Cologne City Archives. He struck upon a Carolus Hacquard from Amsterdam, who became a citizen of Cologne on 20 October 1695, and who was (morally) qualified on 24 September 1698, and died in September 1701.<sup>94</sup>

In 1974, I already wrote that this could not relate to our composer. This is because he did not come from Amsterdam, but from The Hague, and especially: in the lengthy *Constitutio hereditorum* there is nowhere any mention of music, not even of the remaining parts of the three editions, when Carel, as we know, had these published himself. Moreover, neither his wife, children nor brothers were named as inheritors; instead, only a number of citizens of Cologne are listed. I called up the documents in question again and re-read them in the light of all of the fresh names, which have now been unearthed. My conclusion remains the same: in spite of the well-fitting dates, this particular Hacquard, a wine-merchant, cannot be identified with our composer.<sup>95</sup>

We can certainly come nearer to Carel's precise date of death on the basis of Estienne Roger's catalogues, and a note in the only copy of *Chelys*, which is in Durham and this is at least one old speculation of mine which remains standing:

<sup>92</sup> GAR, DTB inv. 35: 4 Apr. 1713 [baptisatus] Johannes Van Esch. Vader Willem Van Esch, m[ater] Maria Haquart. Susc. Hendrick Van Esch; 25 jun. 1715 [baptisatus] Carolus Van Esch. P[ater] Willem Van Esch, m[ater] Maria Hackar. Susc. Catharina Hackar.

<sup>93</sup> GAR, DTB inv. 44 – burials. Catarina Hackers, 23 Jan. 1723. She lived in the *Hoogstraat* at the *Waalsekerk* where she went to church. This means that she was a protestant. Identification with Catharina Hacquart is possible but not certain.

<sup>94</sup> U. NIEMÖLLER, *Carl Rosier*, Köln, 1957, p. 36. SAK, *Bürgeraufnahmebuch* C 658 fol. 55v & register C659 fol. 33v; *Qualificationsbuch* C 671, fol. 3v; *Protocollum actorum* 1696–1701, *Briefbuch* 186, fol. 487ff. (*Urkunden* 23 and 29 Sept. 1701).

<sup>95</sup> ANDRIESEN, *Carel Hacquart (ca. 1640–1701?)*. *Een biografische bijdrage*, p. 49.

someone bought the viol booklet in The Hague in 1701, paying the then current price of four guilders and noted his purchase on the back of the cover-page: *acheté à la Haye 1701 / couste 4 florins*. Most likely, this first owner was the Amsterdam printer, Estienne Roger, or one of his early associates (A. Pointel or Jean Louis de Lorme). He sold his purchase a few years later to Philip Falle for the exorbitant price of 30 guilders: Falle commented on this with indignation, ‘I was asked 30 florins by Roger at Amsterdam!’ Only the fact of its being the sole remaining copy could have made such an amount comprehensible. The sale must have taken place before Roger reprinted the set in 1702 or 1703. At that same time, he announced that Hacquart’s *Cantiones Sacrae* would be available at his shop.<sup>96</sup> As Carel had always had control over the sale of his works and would not have permitted this whilst he was still alive, it may be assumed that he died in 1701 or 1702.

<sup>96</sup> *Les Motets de Mr. Hakart à 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 et 7 voix et instrumens*, mentioned in the catalogues of 1702 and 1703, appendix: *Catalogue de livres de musique, qui se vendent à Amsterdam chez E. Roger, et dont il a nombre, mais qui ne sont point de son impression*.

## Appendix 1. Inventory of Jan Hacquaert's goods, drafted by C. Carrette, 27 Febr. 1708 – Jan Hacquaert's will, 1703

*Staet ende inventaris van alle die goederen, commeren ende lasten gebleken ende bevonden ten sterfhuijsse van Sr. Jan Hacquaert, soone van Jan by jonckvrauwe Josynken Duwiers, overleden weduwaere ende besitter ten sterfhuijsse van jonckvrauwe Isabelle Francoyse Candaele ende poorter deser stede van Brugge op den sesden january xvii<sup>c</sup> achte (wiens ziele gode almaghtigh ghenaedigh [moge wesen]), welcken staet heeft gedaen maecken Sr. Christoffel Carrette, in huiwelijcke hebbende jonckvrauwe Pietronelle Rijffelaere filia Sr. Pietere bij jonckvrauwe Fransoyse Hackaert, die oock dochter was van den voorseijden Sr. Jan d'oude by die voorseij[de] jo[nckvrau]w[e] Josynken Duwiers, de selve jo[nckvrau]w[e] Fransoyse Hacquaert suster van den overleden van vollen bedde, ende in sijns qualiteyt van hoir ende rendant ten sterfhuijsse van den overleden, den selve staet ter liquidatie overgevende ende presenteerende:*

*Eerst aen sijn selven uit den hoofde sijnder huijsvrauwe gerecht in dhelft van alle goederen van den overleden [als hoir] van vollen bedde soo voorseijt - voorts noch aen sijn selven als hoir van halfven bedde uit den hoofde alsvooren maeckende d'eerste staecke in de wederhelft van 's overledens goederen.*

*Voorts aen jo[nckhee]r Jan Francoys filius jo[ckhee]r Remackele Ambrosius de Malcote bij vrouwe Anna Marije Hacquaert die dochter was van Sr. Jan d'oude by jo[nckvrau]w[e] Nicole in tweeden huiwelijck ende alsoo suster was van den overleden van halfven bedde, maeckende de tweede staecke.*

*Voorts aen Sr. Carel Hacquaert jonghman en de jonckvrauwen Catharijne [,] Marije ende Joanna Hacquaert, alle kijnderen van Sr. Carel Hacquaert [die] oock soone was van Jan d'oude by de voorseijde jo[nckvrau]w[e] Nicole [ende] oock broeder was van den overleden van halfven bedde, maeckende de derde staecke.*

*Voorts aen Sr. Philips Hacquaert ende jonckvrauwen Joanna [,] Elisabeth ende Jacoba Hacquaert, alle kijnderen van Sr. Philips Hacquaert, den selven Philips ooc soone was van Jan d'oude bij de voorseyde jo[nckvrau]w[e] Nicole, maeckende tsamen die vierde staecke van halfven bedde.*

*Voorts aen Jan Hacquaert ende Sr. Cornelis Maertens in huiwelijck met jo[nckvrau]w[e] Anna Hacquaert, beede kijnderen van Sr. Louijs by jo[nckvrau]w[e] Martine Vermeesch in sijn eersten huiwelijck; voorts aen Cornelis Hacquaert, soone van selven Louijs ende noch aen den selven als vooght van de twee kijnderen van Pieter Mayens verweckt bij Marije Magdaleene Hacquaert, den selven Cornelis ende Marije Magdaleene Hacquaert oock kijnderen van den voorseijden Louijs in syn tweeden huwelyck verweckt by Magdaleene –, den selven Louijs oock broeder was van den overleeden van halfven bedde, tsamen maeckende de vijfde ende latste staecke van halfven bedde.*

...

*Alvooren den rendant seght dat den overleden eenighe jaeren heeft gewoont ten huijsse van den voornoemden Sr. Cornelis Maertens in huiwelijck met de voorseijde jo[nckvrau]w[e] Anna Hacquaert, dewelcke hebben gehadt alle het onderwijnt van 's overledens affairen soo in ontfangen van capitaelen als sijn jaerlijcx incommen, alwaer hij heeft gecocht sijne tafel tot veertigh ponden grooten tsjaers; hij op den voorseijden sesden january xvii<sup>c</sup> achte aldaer is commen t'overlijden, den rendant tot sijnder gerustigheyt ende van de absente hoirs van desen sterfhuijsse ten selven daeghe aldaer hebbende getransporteert alwaer hij heeft gevonden den eerweerden pater Janssens ende den advocaet Van Den Abeele, heeft hij geresolveert alle de*

*goederen ende documenten van den sterfhuijsse te laeten inventarieeren gelijk oock aldan ende eenighe volgende daeghen gebeurt is door den notaris Philips Caulier.*

*Volgens den genomen inventaris alhier geexhibeert ende naerdien den selven inventaris voltrocken was, siende den rendant dat den gemelden Maertens aen hem weijgerde het gevolg van de selve pampieren op eenighe frivoele pretextien, heeft den rendant tot d'overleveringe van diere genootsaecht geweest daertoe tsijnen laste requeste te presentieren ende duer eenighe gedegen procedueren heeft hij Maertens het ghevolg van diere aen den rendant ghe-dooght die hij rendant op den seventwyntighsten january xvii<sup>e</sup> achte, present den voornoemden eerweerden pater Janssens ende Cornelis Hacquaert, uit den huijsse vanden selven Maertens heeft gelicht benefeffs de lessenaere, waerinne die waeren, ende doen transporteeren tsijnen huijsse ende onder 's rendants bewelt den rendant den selven inventaris ende bescheeden examineerende oock de gone ter date vande separatie vande goederen van het sterfhuijs van 's overledens huijsvrauwe doenmael den overleden in capitael ende goederen noch in wesen hadde ende als wannneer hij met hem Maertens is gaen woonen tot beth dan acht duysent ponden grooten; ende uit die voornoemde bescheeden geïnventarieert ende onder den rendant bewooghen bevynt men dat den overleden nauwelycx naerlaet op dhelft, soo dat sijn capitael in dien tijdt dat hij is gaen woonen onder het bewelt van den selven Maertens in den tijdt van ses en halff jaeren merckelijck van beth dan dhelft is vercranckt boven sijn soo considerabel incommen van bet dan vier hondert ponden grooten tsjaers. Den rendant met reden hem van dies informerende aen den selven Maertens et uxor, die van alles weten ende moeten weten, mits sij alle die pennynghen van den overleden hebben ontfangen ende alles geadministreert, declarerende nergens van te weten, soo dat den rendant protesteert te blijven in sijn geheel omme van dies te doen naerder ondersouck, soo ten laste van hem Maertens et uxor als voor alle andere, soo hij sal in raede vijnden soo noopende de selve ongehoorde vercranckynge van de goederen als de schulden inden gemelden tijdt. Onder welcke protestatie ende dat eenige hoirs alsnu sijn in staet ende dat sij geerne souden hebben in liquidatie staet van goederen, rendant seght dat hij de selve heeft geformeert in dien staet gelijk hij het sterfhuijs vanden overleden heeft gevonden ende volgens de voorseijden genomen inventaris uit de pampiers onder hem doen bewegen, ende sal hij selven staet dirigeren in ponden schellyngen grooten courant gelt volgens den jegenwoordigen cours, dat is den schellynk tot veerthien grooten.*

(fol. 8)

*Huijssen landen ende besette renten...*

*... een schoon notabel parcheel van een huijs met sijnen toebehoorten staende... in de straete genaempt ouden burgh aen de suyt sijde van diere... waar inne den overleden gerecht was als gebleven weduwaere ende besitter ten sterfhuijsse van de voorseijde Jonckvrauwe Francoyse Candale sijne huijsvrauwe bij vercavelynge tusschen hem ende Sr. Anthone Van Hilderson in huwelijck met jonckvrauwe Joanne Louijse Maerisael...*

(fol. 9v)

*Een ander parcheel van een huijs... en de west sijde vande vrouweplatse...*

(fol. 10–11)

*Bij de selve vercavelynge bevijnt men dat den overleden is aengecavelt een ander parcheel van een huijs genaempt Roome gestaen ende geleghen binnen die voorseijde stede van Brugge aen de west sijde van de vrouweplatse, alsnu ende alsdan ten tytel van pachte ghebruijckt bij*

*Sr. Francoys Paganetty belast met eene rente van vijf ponden grooten tsjaers in advenante vanden pennyck vierentwyntigh die men geeft aen de eerweerde paters augustijnen binnen dese stede ter causen vande twee jaerelicxsche fondation bij den overleden ende sijne huijsvrauwe ghefondeert in de kercke van de selve paters sonder meer.*

*Dan alsoo men verstaet dat den overleden het voornoemde huijs heeft vergyft aen den voornoemden Cornelis Maertens et uxor op den - - , die ter ervenisse hebben verclaert de volle coopsomme aen den overleden thebben betaelt, contarie aen de waerheyd mits sij daer vooren niet eenen stuver en hebben verleyt, maer aan den overleden verkent over die coopsomme eene obligatie van vier hondert ponden grooten...*

(fol. 25v)

*Voorts competeert alhier eene obligatie van vijftigh ponden grooten wisselgelt in daten eendertighsten meye xvii<sup>c</sup> twee... ten laste van de voornoemde Remacle Ambrosius Malcote ende vrouwe Anna Marije Hacquaert sijne geselnede met den intrest van diere soo dat men die oock alsoo sal aenrekenen aen den voornoemden Jo[nchee]r Jan Frans Malcote hemliedder soone ende hoir unicq ten sterfhuijsse van den voornoemden Jo[nckhee]r Remacle Ambrosius ende vrouwe Anna Marije Hacquaert sijne vader ende moeder.*

(fol. 30–30v)

*Den rendant seght dat bij den inventaris is opghenomen seekren bescheet waarbij Cornelis Hacquaert in desen aenhoorden bekent neffens Issabelle Veelaert sijne huijsvrauwe van den overleden thebben ontfanghen eene somme van een hondert sessentsestig ponden derthien schellyngen vier grooten courant gelt bij den overleden aen hun geadvanceert ende waermede hij hadde gecocht een huijs ende erfve staende ende liggende binnen den ambachte, heerlijkchede ende barronnie van Maldegem.*

(fol. 31–31v)

*Soo oock in dit sterfhuijs is bevonden een bescheet onderteekent Pieter Mayens ende Marije Magdaleene Hacquaert in date twyntighsten february xvii<sup>c</sup> vijfve, waarbij sij bekennen van den overleden ontfangen thebben de somme van negenentachtentigh ponden vijftien schellyngen grooten courant gelt die sij hadden geemployeert int coopen van een huijssteede ende erfve met sijnen toebehoorten, staende ende liggende binnen de prochie van Knesselaere...*

(fol. 32-33)

*... een bescheet onderteekent Jan Ackaert in desen aenhoorden daerby hy schuldigh is ten desen sterfhuijsse de somme van acht ponden grooten wisselgelt, soo veel hy hadde ontfanghen van den bode Pieter Van Damme, bode van Gent op Brugge... Den selven Jan Hacquaert is daerenboven noch schuldigh aen desen sterfhuijsse te vergoeden de capiteale somme van beth dan hondert ponden grooten wisselgelt bij den overleeden aen hem geadvanceert, waermede den selven Jan Hacquaert heeft gecocht en geerft het huijs bij hem bewoont staende op Oostacker boven Gent.*

(fol. 33–33v)

*Den overleden heeft genootsaecht geweest te betaelen als borge over Louijs Hacquaert sijnen halfven broeder, dies sijne kinderen ende kynts kinderen alhier maecken eene staecke van vijfve van halfven bedde, waeronder sorteert den selven Sr. Cornelis Maertens causa uxoris aen de weduwe van Michiel Ingels die somme van vierentwyntigh ponden grooten wisselgelt met den intrest van diere bij obligatie by den selven Louijs Hacquaert.*

(fol. 34–34v)

*Voorts heeft den overleeden onder den selven Louijs Hacquaert sijnen halfven broeder als borge ende over den stock die hij heeft bedient genootsaecht geweest te betaelen die somme van een hondert een pont achthien schellyngen een groote aen Jan Vergult by accoorde ende moderatie op den seshiensten february xvi<sup>c</sup> tnegentigh, waerinne den selven Louijs daer te vooren inne was gecondemneert bij die van de weth van Maldegem.*

(fol. 36–37v)

*Baeten van het schip 'den gecroonden palmtack'*

*[een bescheet] welcke is ondertekent bij Cornelis Maertens, daerbij hij Maertens verclaert aen den overleden hebben vercocht dhelft inde helft [i.e. for a quarter] het schip 'den gecroonden palmtack' voor de somme van negenhondert ses guldens [+ an amount of money to purchase merchandise]; (fol. 37v) Welck schip soo den rendant heeft vernomen van alhier is vertrocken naer Nantes ende aldaer bevracht geworden met wijnen, brandewijnen ende andere Fransche waeren gedistineert naer dese stadt, waerop als schipper is vaerende de soon van den selven Cornelis Maertens, dewelcken met het gemelde schip alhier is gearrivert...*

(fol. 39v–40)

*Den rendant seght dat het niet begrijpelycke en is hoe aldaer geen meer contante penningen en sijn bevonden aengesien den overleden was onder het bewelt ende Sorge van den selven Sr. Cornelis Maertens et uxor ende dat sij wel behoorden indaghtigh te wesen hoe den rendant et uxor den voorleden paesschen xvii<sup>e</sup> sevene, den overleden hebben commen besoucken onder andere discoursen int huijs van hem Maertens int achterceuckenken alwaer den overleden was gevallen in eene qualickte, hy Maertens heeft voorghehouden dat hij s'overledens goederen hadde geadministreert ende cloppende op sijne borst seijde: ick sal u doen rekeninghe, al waer oock present was Sr. aaa De Raed et uxormet d'huysvrouw van hem Maertens. Gelyck sij oock moeten weeten dat die van het ambacht van de oude cleercoopers aen den overleden hebben gegolde de capitaele somme van vijftigh ponden grooten wisselgelt croysseerende den penninck de welcke door Jan Van Ballenberge sijn opgeleyt ende betaelt aen den selven Sr. Cornelis Maertens et uxor inde doodsickte van den overleden, op den seven-tywntighsten december xvii<sup>e</sup> sevene, met de verloopen van diere so en geeft hij Maertens die selve maer alhier te vergoeden, mits die ten sterfhuijse niet en sijn gevonden.*

(fol. 52v–53)

*Ende heeft Jan Hacquaert benefeffens Cornelis Maertens ende hunne andere broeders en susters, als kinderen van Louijs Hacquaert, oock maer te doen dusdanigh debvoir ende in te bringen behoorlijcke acte van ontlastijng van de borghtochte bij den overleden gestelt voor het bedienen van de stathouderijen van Maldegem, Adegem ende St. Laureijs ghelijck men hiervoor heeft bethoont dat den overleden over hem diversche sommen genootsaekt is geweest te betaelen.*

(fol. 57–65)

***Jan Hacquart's will, drafted by the notary Benedictus Huwijn, 6 Nov. 1703***

*... [dat voor ons] is gecomen ende gecompareert Sr. Jan Hacquaert, well sijnde te passe ende niet min hebbende sijn volle verstant ende memorie, considererende datter niet sekerder is als de doot ende niet onsekerder als de ure der selven, heeft verclaert, soo hij doet bij desen,*

*nu maeckende sijn testament ende uiterste wille in de manieren naervolgende, alsvooren recommenderende sijne ziele aen godt almaghtigh,*

*... Begeert naer sijn overlijden sijn dootd lichaem begraven thebben inde kercke van de eerweerde paters augustijnen deser stede, 's morgens, met eenen vollen dienst te doen tot de selve paters, alwaer den comparant sijne sepulture vercoosen heeft, tot welcke begravinge sullen begroet worden 's comparants maeghschap ende vrienden, als naer behoren met teekens ende uitdeelynge van broodt ende proven, ider van ses stuvers het stuck.*

*... Voorts dat tot de selve begravinge sullen gebeden worden veertigh stede school-knechtken tot draeghen van de flambeeuwen, ende veertigh mejskens die elck sullen hebben een prove van de waerde als vooren. Voorts begeert naer sijn overlijden geduer[ende] sijn dootd lichaem op de aerde sal liggen ende corts daernaer, gedaen thebben drye hondert missen, te betaelen segens seven stuvers ieder misse, waervan een hondert sullen moeten geschieden int voorseijde clooster van de eerweerde paters augustijnen, de resterende twee hondert ter platse in de kercke te denonderen bij den executeur deser.*

*Voorts begeert een geheel jaer lanck binnen de kercke van voornoemde eerweerde paters augustijnen sal gecelebreert worden een dagelicxsche misse met keerssen van wasch van de outaer ende graf, ieder van drye vierendeelen het stuck, mitsgaders telcken gelesen t'hebben de psalmen miserere & profundus, daervooren betaelt sal moeten worden acht stuvers voor ider misse ende voorder debvoiren, begeerende dat deselve misse sal geschieden ten negen uren, voor avence recommenderende aen sijn erfgendamen de selve misse tot lavenisse van sijne ziele te willen commen hooren, welcke erfgenamen sijn: eerst jo[nckrvauw]e Petronelle Rijffelaere van geheelen bedde als kynt van sijn eijghen suster Francoyse Hacquart, nu getrouwt met Christoffel Carrette ende van halfven bedde d'erfgenaemen van Louijs Hacquart, mitsgaders de weesen van Philips ende Charles Hacquart, ten leste jo[nckvrau]w]e Anna Marije Hacquart ofte haere kynderen bij jo[nckhee]r Remacle Malcot ofte in ander huwelijck van de selve Jo[nckvrau]w]e Anna Hacquart te procreeren, voorts geeft ende legateert aen jo[nckvrau]w]e Anna Hacquart dochter Louijs in huwelijck met Cornelis Maertens die veel jaeren met den comparant heeft gewoont ende goeden dienst gedaen, over de selve goede diensten die somme van twee hondert ponden grooten sterck wisselgelt...*

*Voorts aen de kynderen van de voornoemde Maertens geprocreert, gebooren ofte apparent staende gebooren [te] worden bij voornoemde jo[nckvrau]w]e Anna Hacquart geduerende het voornoemde huwelijck, drye hondert ponden grooten wisselgelt ende in cas van eenige kinderen quamen te overlijden sonder descendenten achter te laeten, soo sal ten vollen volijdt aen d'ander kynt ofte kynderen onvermindert het cas hiervooren geroert int regard van voornoemde Maertens et uxor.*

(fol. 62)

*Voorts aen broeder Louijs Hacquart augustijn, vijftigh ponden grooten wisselgelt.*

*Voorts aen de maerte die ten overlijden van den comparant met den voornoemden Maertens wonen sal, ses ponden grooten wisselgelt.*

*Voorts geeft ende legateert aen den disch van onse lieuwe vrouwe twintigh ponden grooten wisselgelt, voorts aen den disch van Sint Gillis thien ponden grooten wisselgelt, voorts aen den disch van Sint Anna gelijcke thien ponden grooten wisselgelt.*

*Voorts begeert tsijnder begravenisse gebeden thebben deken ende wet vande lijnwaders benevens hunnen clercq met een teecken, aen de welcke daerenboven voor eene recreatie jonnet twee ponden grooten wisselgelt...*

*Ende opdat selve beter volbracht soude worden soo kiest den comparant voor execu-*

*teur der selven dheer ende meester Adolph Vanden Abeele, griffier van de auditeur van West Vlaanderen ende advocaet vanden landen vanden Vrijen.*

*Aldus gedaen ende gepasseert binnen der voornoemde stede van Brugghe op den sesden november xviii<sup>e</sup> drye, ter presentie van Francois Sniffaert ende Cornelis van Cauwenberghe als oirconders hiertoe aensocht, die de minute deser, benefens den voorseijden comparant, mitsgaders mij onder[schreven] notaris onder wien die is berustende tot meerder vastigheid, hebben ondertekent toirconden,*

[signed:] *B. Huwijn, notaris.*

**[funeral expenses]:**

(fol. 61)

*aen Jan Dupont over het cappen vande letteren op den sarck vanden overleden die date van sijne doodt iii d. 8 gr.*

*aen Pieter Andries over aerbeijtsloon int dragen de doodt briefkens op de stoelen om te recom- manderen twee schellijngen*

*aen Niclaes David over 's overledens doodtschult in de gilde van onse lieve vrouwe ter sneeuw in onselievevrouwe kercke*

*aen J. Coolsaet over 's overleden doodtschult in de gilde van onse lieve vrouwe van der blende lieden gasthuijse*

*... aen de gilde van de alderheylichste drijvuldigheid, de gilde van Sint Joris int Jonckhof; de confrerie van de maekelaers...*

*Op den 27<sup>e</sup> februari 1708 is ghecompareert in camere Sr. Christoffel Carrette in qualiteit als in den text de welcken de bovenstaende staet onder solemnelen eedt heeft geaffirmeert. Actum in camere, date als boven.*

[Signed:] *C. Kempiaert*

**(SAB, Staten van goederen, tweede reeks, 6613 A)**



## APPENDIX 2. JOHANNES HACQUART, CHOIRMASTER AT THE CHURCH OF OUR LADY, BRUGES

*Actum in capitulo 14 octobris 1657 et ordinatum super errore comisso in solutione facta phonasco Joanni Hacquart per duos annos commedio de sex libris gr[ossorum] annue quas ph[onas]cus recevit quam debebat recipere de falcentur[?] eidem singulis mensibus tres florines quo ad total refugiones meratium ampliarandis communitati in bonis choraulim incipiendo 1 jan 1657.*

(RAB, Our Lady, 255, fol. 98v)

[3 Dec. 1657]

*Comparens m(agister) Joannes Haqqaert phonascus huius eccl. – inducted in the collatio vicarie perpetue diaconalis summe misse*

(RAB, Our Lady, 255, fol. 99v)

[13 May 1658]

*Hodie concessa sunt magistro Joanni Hacqaert phonasco huius ecclesie, integras distributiones cappellaniales et hoc loco salarii sex libr[arum] fland[ricarum] annue ipsi ante hac concessum usque ad revocationem, ratione instructionis puerorum, qui dictis sex libris eapropter deinceps carebit.*

(RAB, Our Lady, 255, fol. 104)

[6 June 1658]

*Concessum testimonium vite et morum magistro Joanni Haquaert, phonasco huius ecclesie.*

(RAB, Our Lady, 255, fol. 104v)

(Josephus Thomasinus was appointed choirmaster on the 15th of April 1658 (RAB, Our Lady, 255, fol. 104); he was mentioned previously as a musician receiving 12 £ (18 Sept. 1656 – fol. 103v)

## APPENDIX 3. CAREL HACQUART'S BETROTHAL, ROTTERDAM, 1669

*Wij Burgemeesteren, ende Regeerders der Stadt Rotterdam, authoriseren by desen onsen ghesworen Kamer-bewaerder, afte kondigen drie Houwelijcksche-proclamatien te doen ter Peuye van't Raedt-huys alhier, de drie achter-een-volgende Sondagen, tusschen Carolus Hacker jonghman van Brugge met Catharina van Boer jonge dochter beide wonende alhier, waer van 't eerste Gebodt sal worden gedaen den 28e Julij xvi negen en sestigh omme daerna, volgens de Politique Ordonnantie, in den Echten-staet bevestight te werden. Actum den 26<sup>e</sup> julij, xvi negen en sestigh, praesent alle de Burgermeesteren sonder Mr. de Vries.*

*Dat de drie Houwelijcksche-proclamatien tusschen de personen hier boven geroert zijn gedaen ter Peuye van 't Raedt-huys deser Stede, invoegen als hier voren is verhaelt, attestere ick ondergeschreve Kamerbewaerder van de Heeren Burgermeesteren. Actum den j<sup>e</sup> Augustij 1669.*

(GAR, DTB inv. 15 Stadstrouw; index nr. 027)

#### APPENDIX 4. PHILIPS HACQUART PURCHASES A HOUSE IN AMSTERDAM, 1671

*Wij Henrick Roeters en Cornelis Roch, schepenen in Amsterdam oirconden en kennen, dat voor ons gecompareert is Jannetje Cornelis Klijn, weduwe van Jacob Willemsz Kleijn, geassisteert met Cornelis Kleijn haar soon als haar gebooren voogd in desen, Cent [Vincent?] Willemsz Kleijn, Lucas Jansz Smit en de voorz[eiden] Cornelis Kleijn hare virendeelen, en geliede met hare voorzeide voogts hand bij rechte hebbende vercocht, opgedragen en quijtgeschonden aan Philips Hackert, musicant, een huijs en erve staande en leggende in de Romeijns Armsteeg, nader uijtgedrukt, sij comparants geliede daar af al voldaan en wel betaalt te wesen den lesten penning met den eersten, zoo dat sij daaromme als principale Cornelis Kleijn ende Cent Willemsz Kleijn voornoemt (beijde mede comparerende) als borgen beloofden (onder verband van alle hunne goederen roerende etc) 't voorzeide huijs en erve te vrijen als vrij te waren, jaer en dag als men in gelijke schuldig is te doen, en alle oude brieven af te nemen. Des beloofde etc sonder [arg] etc den 27 augustij 1671.*

[in the margin:] 6000 gulden contant

(GAA, *Kwijtscheldingen* 2046, *Kwijtsch.* 57 (former S 2. F), fol. 49)

#### APPENDIX 5. PHILIPS HACQUART PURCHASES A GARDEN, 1680

*Wij, Gerard Bors van Waveren en Cornelis Valckeniers, schepenen in Amsterdamme oirconden en kennen, dat voor ons gecompareert is Gerard Alphluijzen, coopman: en gebiede vercocht, opgedragen, en quijtgeschonden te hebben aen Philips Hacquart, een thuijn ende sijn huijsinge, gelegen op't Cuijpers pad, breed, aen't pad gemeeten, ontrent acht en een halve roeden, waervan lendenen zijn, of geweest hebben, Jan de La Fontaines erven aen de oostzijde, ende ... Dorstman aen de westzijde, hebbende wederzijds gemeene schuttingen, streckende voor van 't pad tot achteraan de sloot, soo en in alle manieren gelijk deselve thuijn met sijn huijsinge aldaer is leggende, onder expresse conditie dat 't pad, en de wederzijds halve sloot soo voor als achter in eigendom alleen zal blijven aen de erven van zal[iger] Claes Rijckaertsz, behoudens nochtans dat hij cooper zal hebben en behouden een vrijen op- en overgang van't voors[eide] pad, alsook een vrije doorvaert van de slooten, mits hij cooper 't pad, de slooten, ende andersints zal moeten onderhouden en becostigen gelijk de thuijnen en buuren aldaer: Ende hy comparant geliede hiervan al voldaan ende wel betaelt te zijn den laetsten penning met den eersten, soodat hij daeromme beloofde (onder 't verband van alle sijne goederen roerende etc) de voorz[eide] thuijn met sijn huijsinge in manieren voorn[oem]t te vrijen en vrij te waren, jaer en dag, als men in gelijke schuldig is te doen, en alle oude brieven af te nemen, sonder arg etc. In oirconde etc. de 27 april 1680*

[price: 1800 gulden]

[In the margin]: NB. werd vertrouwt dat de nevenstaende opdracht niet is voortgegaen maar voor den geregte van nieuwen Amstel gepasseert, alsoo 't perceel hierinne gemelt, in cas van alienatie aldaer moet worden opgedragen.

(GAA, *Kwijtschelding* 5062–60, fol. 14–14v)

**APPENDIX 6. PASTOR MOULART'S NOTES ON THE CHOIR AT THE HIDDEN CHURCH IN  
JUFFR. IDA STREET IN THE HAGUE, 1682–1685**

(p. 2)

*Nopende het koor 1682*

- Den 2 april an M[eeste]r Hacquaert gegeven 5 ducats
- De maent aug. an Mr. Hacquaert betaelt.
- De maent october betaeld an Mr. Hacquaert en van hem afscheid genomen.

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- Den 2 novemb. 1682 ben [ik] in ackoord getreden met Mr. Martinelli voor 4 rijxd[aelder] per maend alles inbegrepen, ordinaria en extraordinaria, uijtgenomen dat ik de getroude zoon besonder zal gageren, doordien hij niet meerder behoort tot de familie des vaders.

- Den 3 decemb. betaeld aen Mr. Martinelli de maend nov. 10 gld.
- An den zoon van Mr. Martinelli betaeld vijf rijxdaelder
- Den 19. nov. 1682 an hem belooft voortaan te sullen geven alle halve jaer vijf rijxdaeld. van Kersmis te beginnen 1682

1683

- Den 4 januarij an Mr. Martinelli betaeld 10 gld. Een ducaton voor zyn dochter tot een nieuw jaer.
- Den 1 febr. betaeld an Mr. Martinelli 4 rijxdaelder
- Den 1 martij betaeld an Mr. Martinelli 4 rijxdaelder
- Den 7 april an Mr. Mart. betaeld 10 gld. – nog een ducaton voor een misse

(p. 3)

- Den 29 april an d'jonge Martinelle betaeld vijf rijxdaelder een half jaer gagie
- Den v maij an Mr. Martinelli betaeld 10 gld. gesonden door Grieten Broekhoven
- Den 3 junij an Mr. Martinelle betaeld 4 rijxdaeld.
- Den 26 julij 1683 betaeld an Mr. [Philips] Van der Steen vijf rijxdaelder e[e]n half jaer gagie
- Den 3 aug. an Mr. Martinelle betaeld acht rijxdaeld. zijnde d'maend junius en julius.
- Den 25 aug. betaeld an Mr. [Stephanus] Cousijn 2 ducats een half jaer voor het onderhouden van het positif en clavecingel.
- Den 2 septem. an Mr. Martinelli betaeld 10 gld.
- Den 5 octob. an Mr. Martin. betaeld 10 gld.; nog voor het lof ter tijt van het jubilee 10 gld.; an d'andere gegeven een jeder een ducaton: summa 5 ducats 4. rijxd. [=] 25: 15 [fl]
- Den 26 octob. an d'jonge Martinelli betaeld een half jaer zijnde vijf rijxdaelder, zullende verschijnen den 19. novemb. 1683.
- Den 4ta novem. an Mr. Martinelli betaeld 4 rijxdaeld. een maend gagie 1683
- Den 6 decemb. an Mr. Martinelli betaeld 10 gld. een maend gagie.
- Den 4 januar. an Mr. Mart. betaeld 10 gld.
- Den 15 jan. an Mr. Vandersteen betaeld vijf rijxdaelder zijnde een half jaer gagie
- Den 4den feb. an Mr. Mart. 4 rijxd.
- Den 2 martij 1684 an Mr. Mart. 4 rijxd.
- Den tienden April 1684 an Mr. Martin. 4 rijxd. en eene rijxd. voor zijn extraord. misse op Witte Donderdag, somma vijf rijxd.
- Den 23 april an d'jonge Martinelli betaeld 5 rijxd. een half jaer, zullende verschijnen den 19 meij 1684.

- Den 8 meij an Mr. Martin. betaeld 4 rijxd. 1684
- Den 9 junij an Martin. betaeld 10 gld.
- Den 10 julij an Martin. 10 gld.
- Den 16 aug. an Mr. Vandersteen 4 ducations

(p. 4)

- Den 16 aug. an Mr. Mart. betaeld 4 rijxd. in festo B.V.
- Den 8 sept. an Mr. Martin. betaeld 4 rijxd. en een voor de misse
- Den 26 octobr. betaeld an M. Van der Steen 4 ducations waermede afbetaeld is het jaer 1684 twelk verschijnen zal op kersmis.
- Den 27 octob. an Martinelli betaeld de maent van november in avance
- Den 2 december an Mart. betaeld 10 gld. item an Mr. Cousijn betaeld 4 ducations tot sep-temb. 1684.

1685

- Die 4 jan. an Mr. Martin. betaeld 4 rijxd. en eene ducaton.
- Die 15 febr. an Mart. betaeld 4 ducations en 2 schellingen
- Die 10 martij an Martin. betaeld 13 gld. 3 stuij. en 1 rijxd. pro missa extra
- Die 12 april an Martin. betaeld 13 gld. 4 stuijv.
- Die 8 maij an Martin. & soone dati 13 gld. 3 st.
- Die 1 junij an Mr. Blanckenburg gegeven 6 ducations
- Die 4 junij an Mr. Martinelli gegeven 13 [gld.] 4 st.
- Die 5 julij an Mr. Martin. 13 [gld.] 3 st.
- Die 23 julij an Mr. Mart. betaeld 13 gld. 4 st. zijnde voor de maent aug.
- Den 5 septemb. an Mr. Mart. betaeld 13 gld. 4 st. en gelijck bedanckt.

(GAG, BNR 948 (Old-catholic parishes), nr. 28)

## APPENDIX 7. ACCOUNT OF CATHARINA AND MARIA HACQUART'S HERITAGE, 27 AND 29 JULY 1709

*Den 29 july 1709 Approbatie en quitantie van Catharina en Maria Hacquaart [corrected: Hacquart]*

*De volle portie van de kinderen van Sr. Charel Hacquart in de successie ten sterfhuijse van Sr. Joan Hacquart hunnen oom paternel van halven bedde bedraegt int geheele C: dan alleenlijk gereserveert hun part in twee wisselbrieven de eene van fl. 106 – 0 – 0 ende de andere £ 53 – 0 – 0 tot laste van juffr. de wedue Adriaen De Makers ter somme van £ 248 – 4 – 0 wisselg.*

*Waerop in mindering op den 2<sup>e</sup> maert 1708 is betaelt aen juffr. Maria door Sr. Cristoffel Carrette tot 16 – 13 – 4*

*betaelt over kersp 0 – 6 – 10*

*eene wisselbrief 100 –*

*voort regt van issue 12 –*

*(total) 129 – 0 – 2*

*In te houden het part van Sr. Charles Hacquart 62 – 1 – 0  
 item het derde part voor soo veele hem competeert inde apparente successie van juffr. Joanne  
 sijne suster die men meijnt te wesen overleden 20 – 10 – 4  
 (total) 211 – 11 – 6  
 dus rest te betalen 36 – 12 – 6*

*Compareren juff<sup>ren</sup> Catharina ende Marie, filiae Carel Hacquart meerderjarige dogters, wonende binnen dese stadt Rotterdam, die soo voor haer selven als hun sterkmakende ende rato caverende over Carel Hacquart ende juffr. Johanna Hacquart hunne respective uijtlandigen broeder en suster, te kennen gevende dat sij tesamen als hoirs en erfgenamen tot een tiende part, ten sterfhuijse van Sr. Jan Hacquart hunnen oom paternel van vollen [sic] bedde, overleden tot Brugge hebben magtig gemaect, en op den 24<sup>e</sup> februarij 1708 voor den Notaris Philips de Custer hebben verleend ample procuratie aende heer en meester Jan Baptiste de Cridts, advocaet binnen Brugge, omme deselve successie voor hun comparanten ende hunnen broeder en suster te ageren, en de goederen hun aenkomende te verkoopen. Dan alsoo op den 29<sup>e</sup> februarij 1708 is gemaect geworden staet van goede [recte: 27 febr.], ende op den 27<sup>e</sup> Meij 1709 [recte: 31 may] rekeninge purgative, alwaer alle kommenen en baeten van den sterfhuijse worden gedeclareert, ende dat den voorn. Cridts ter interventie van de tweede comparante op den 13 julij 1709 jegens Sr. Christoffel Carrette, rendant ten gemelten sterfhuijse, heeft gemaect een accoord en uijtkoop van het voorz. thiende part, in volle successie voor en omme de somme van 248 – 4 – 0 gr. vlaems wisselgeld, soo ist dat de comparanten soo over hun selven, als over de voorz. hunne broeder en suster sijn advouerende en approberende.*

*Bekennende in minderinge van dies geprofijteert en ontfangen te hebben de somme van 129 – 0 – 2 gr. hierboven gespecifieert, dan alsoo bij den selven Cridts ofte Carrette word innegehouden de somme van 62 – 1 – 0 gr. over het part van Charel onsen broeder, alsmede de somme van 20 – 10 – 4 gr. over sijn contingent in het deel van juffr[ouwe] Johanna Hacquart onse suster die men supposeert te wesen overleden...*

*Aldus gepasseert op den 29<sup>e</sup> july 1709 voor mij Philips de Custer, not[arius] publicus bij den hove van hollant geadmitteert, tot Rotterdam residerende, ter presentie van Hartman de Custer ende Nicolaas Stoop als getuygen ter desen versogt.  
 [signed] C. Hacquart*

*maria hacquart*

(GAR, Notariële Archieven 1711, p. 668–674; formerly 617–622)





## PATRONAGE OF INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN BRUGES IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

*Keith Polk*  
*University of New Hampshire*

Intense competition drove the cities of the late Middle Ages to project an image of strength and magnificence, and a stable of instrumental musicians was perceived as essential to this image. Bruges, befitting its role as one of the leading centers of northern Europe, maintained an exceptional group of ensemble performers. This group is of interest to us, both for its intrinsic musical development and as a reflection of wider political and economic developments within Bruges. Concerning the latter, an observation relevant to the theme of the conference *Bruges – Venice: Music in Two Urban Mosaics*, for which this article was prepared, concerns the parallels between Bruges and Venice; both had been dominant political units in the fourteenth century but struggled to maintain their status in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Both had been preeminent economically earlier, and both faced, oddly, powerful competition from the same source in the sixteenth century, as Antwerp developed into the most dynamic commercial center of Europe. Bruges, however, continued to prosper despite occasional reverses, and even if hard pressed remained a vigorous patron of its instrumental ensembles. In fact, the city's players were first-class musicians, capable of performing the best of contemporary sacred and secular music, and they were also proficient in highly sophisticated performance practices – including complex improvisation when that would have been appropriate. One should bear in mind that the civic musicians were a cultural resource for the community at large. Relatively few citizens of Bruges could actually hear performances by the fine choir in the church of St Donatian; for many more, their main access to fine professional-level polyphony was through the regular performances of the city wind musicians.<sup>1</sup>

The pattern of development of instrumental music in Bruges followed that general elsewhere. This pattern is now well-known and needs only be briefly sketched

<sup>1</sup> Study of instrumental music in Bruges is facilitated by previous work of exceptional quality. Louis Gilliodts-Van Severen, head of the civic archive in Bruges at the turn of the twentieth century, provided the following volume: L. GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges: recueil de textes et analyses de documents inédits ou peu connus, (Essais d'archéologie brugeoise, 2)*, Bruges, 1912. While of course dated in some interpretations, this work is still extraordinarily useful and reliable. More current is the publication by Reinhard Strohm, in which he devotes only a handful of pages to instrumental music, but those pages are of bedrock quality: R. STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1985. After the completion of this study, Pieter Andriessen published his monograph: P. ANDRIESSEN, *Die van muziken gheerne horen. Muziek in Brugge 1200–1800*, Bruges, 2002. Dr. Andriessen's discussion of instrumental music is extensive and quite reliable, but I have been able to incorporate this work only partially in what follows.



here. Instrumental forces were divided into two groups by timbres, loud and soft. Official patronage by cities generally was directed exclusively to those in the loud category; larger courts, in contrast, also supported performers in the soft category. Early in the fourteenth century the loud winds were often a mixture of trumpets and shawms, sometimes with percussion instruments. About 1350 two different ensembles began to emerge: one the shawm band, based on a combination of discant- and tenor-sized instruments, the other that of trumpets. The trumpet group in the late fourteenth century was characteristically a pair, but this duo enlarged soon after 1400, and by about 1500 often consisted of about a dozen. As the ensembles split off into two different tracks, the result was varied responses. Italian cities were large enough, and had the resources to support both kinds of ensembles, and they did so rather early. Florence reorganized its corps of instrumentalists in the 1380s, separating what had earlier been a rather disparate body into more coherent units. One group consisted of trumpets functioning as signal instruments, another was the wind band, which was from the beginning recognized as a polyphonic ensemble – shortly after 1400 a player was added to the band, identified as a performer of the *contra[tenor]*. Similar division of labor was established at about the same time in Bologna and Siena.<sup>2</sup> Detailed records concerning Venice have not survived, but a variety of sources reveal that not only was the pattern similar to other Italian cities, but the support of instrumental music was extraordinarily vigorous. The six silver trumpets of Venice were internationally renowned. Moreover, the tradition of the wind ensemble was particularly vigorous in the city.<sup>3</sup> German cities supported shawm bands very early, especially in southern German regions, and along the Rhine – many by about 1380. These cities, for varied reasons, did not support trumpet ensembles. A number of those in the northern Low Countries, including Deventer, Utrecht, Zutphen, and Zwolle, appear to have followed this German pattern of patronage.<sup>4</sup> French cities, and often those in Flanders appear initially to have elected to support players of signal instruments, functioning as watchmen (identified as *wachters* in Flanders).<sup>5</sup> Most then shifted their sup-

<sup>2</sup> For information on Florence, see T. McGEE, *Dinner Music for the Florentine Signoria*, in *Speculum* 74 (1999), pp. 104–106; for an extended discussion of music in Siena, see F.A. D'ACCONE, *The Civic Muse, Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Chicago – London, 1997; documents concerning Bologna are available in: O. GAMBASSI, *Il Concerto Palatino della Signoria di Bologna: cinque secoli di vita musicale a corte (1250–1797)*, Florence, 1989.

<sup>3</sup> See R. BARONCINI, *Zorzi Trombetta and the band of 'Piffari' and Trombones of the 'Serenissima': New Documentary Evidence*, in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 14 (2002), pp. 59–82.

<sup>4</sup> On German patronage as well as that of the eastern Low Countries, see K. POLK, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice*, Cambridge, 1992.

<sup>5</sup> Concerning support of instruments in French cities, see K. POLK, *The Invention of the Slide Principle and the Earliest Trombone*, in S. CARTER ed., *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship*, Stuyvesant, New York, 1997, pp. 19–17; see also G. PETERS, *Urban Minstrels in Late Medieval Southern France: Opportunities, Status and Professional Relationships*, in *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), pp. 201–235.

port to the more musically versatile shawm bands by the mid-fifteenth century. Once the shift had taken place, most Flemish cities did not support trumpet ensembles. Ghent was a notable exception – an important one in that Willem Obrecht, the father of the composer, was a member of Ghent's trumpet ensemble from the time it was established in 1452.<sup>6</sup>

This French/Flemish model was the one followed in Bruges, where a group of watchmen with trumpets, *wachters van der halle*, were present from early in the fourteenth century. There are occasional hints that the *wachters* as an ensemble were somewhat flexible, and may also have been capable of performing on shawms. In 1440, for example, a new watchman was hired, and his duties were to be a watchman *van der halle boven ende van den pipene up dhalle - pipene* indicating performance on shawm. In almost all instances, however, the watchmen were noted as 'trumpeting', not 'piping'.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, in situations where a shawm ensemble was required, a separate group was engaged on an *ad hoc* basis. In 1400/1401, and for a number of years after, the ensemble of the Lord of Ghiste performed in the annual procession of the Holy Blood.<sup>8</sup> In the 1430s and 1440s these procession performances were taken over by what was apparently a free-lance ensemble in the city: *Staessene den pipere ende zinen ghesellen*.<sup>9</sup> A fundamental change took place in 1456 as a new unit was created, and from that time a separate ensemble, a shawm band, served the city. Initially this group consisted of four players. The ensemble expanded briefly to five in the 1480s, and for a few decades thereafter the number fluctuated between four and five. About 1520 the total in some years rose to six, but this was apparently through the device of appointing a player as a supernumerary, as an 'expectant', who would play with the ensemble for a lesser salary, with the understanding that he would be appointed to the next vacancy in the band. In any case, while the number of officially contracted players in the city continued to fluctuate, from 1520 until late in the sixteenth century, the Bruges ensemble probably had six performers available for the

<sup>6</sup> R.C. WEGMAN, *Born for the Muses: The Life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht*, Oxford, 1944, pp. 25–27. It should be noted that several prominent cities in Holland, including Dordrecht, Leiden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam, seem to have shifted to bands of trompers for a few decades after about 1500, and shifted yet again to shawm bands toward mid-century. Note that for the purposes of this article I will refer to all cities where Flemish is now spoken as 'Flemish'. This is of course not strictly accurate, as such cities as Antwerp, Brussels, Leuven and Mechelen were not included in the ancient county of Flanders. While David Nicholas notes some complexities in dealing with the dialects between Brabant and Flanders, certainly the musicians appear to have passed between the two regions easily enough; see D. NICHOLAS, *Medieval Flanders*, London – New York, 1992, p. 347; see also further in this article.

<sup>7</sup> GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 41.

<sup>8</sup> See GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 37: *ghegheven myns heren pipers van Ghistele... van dat zy pepen... [in] den ommeganghe voor thelich bloed* (in 1400/1401); for later references (1402/1403), see p. 38. For subsequent entries, see Bruges, Stadsarchief, Stadsrekeningen, 1408/1409, fol. 88v; 1412/1413, fol. 82v; and 1418/1419, fol. 111.

<sup>9</sup> GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 41.

most prestigious occasions.<sup>10</sup> The importance of the ensemble to the city is shown in that the city continued its patronage even in times of severe political or economic crisis. Some Flemish cities curtailed or eliminated subsidies during the turbulence of the 1480s, when much of the region rebelled against Maximilian of Habsburg, or during the catastrophic revolt against Spanish rule in the 1570s. Indeed, the Bruges authorities authorized an extra payment to the city musicians in 1481, because ‘they had little or nothing to do because of the sober times’.<sup>11</sup>

One prominent motivation for Bruges to support a wind band was its wide versatility. It was effective in providing musical support in processions, receptions of distinguished visitors, and for other outdoor events. The band was also capable of providing the volume necessary to be heard when a great hall would be filled with vigorously dancing citizens. These musicians were also capable of elegantly refined music to entertain between courses at official banquets.<sup>12</sup> Still, while the ensemble was flexible, its composition was not haphazard. From about 1450 to 1550 its basic instrumentation centered on the shawms. When performing with four players, as for example when the band was initiated in the 1450s, the instrumentation was two dis-cant shawms, one bombard (a tenor shawm), and a slide trumpet. When a fifth member was added (as in the 1480s), this was a second sackbut.<sup>13</sup> The sixth member (beginning in the 1520s) was a second shawm – in the tenor (or contratenor) range. Around 1550 in many performances two further options were available. A cornetto often

<sup>10</sup> For documentation of the appointment of the ensemble in 1456, and for five players in 1482, see GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, pp. 44–45, 50–51; for six ‘minstrels of the city’ in 1525, see Bruges, Stadsarchief, Stadsrekeningen, 1525/1526, fol. 72; for the appointment of a player as ‘expectant’ in 1523, see GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 70. In 1550 the city council evidently tried to restrict the contracted players to four, that is ‘a slide trumpet and three shawms’ (*te wetene eene scuuftrumpette ende drie scalmeyers*); see GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 102. By 1560, though, the city was again supporting five players on contract (see Bruges, Stadsarchief, Stadsrekeningen, fol. 58v), with, probably, one additional player available as ‘expectant’.

<sup>11</sup> See GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 50: *dat zy lettelt of niet te doene en hadden mids den sobren tyd die jeghenwoordelike regneert*.

<sup>12</sup> A directive from the city authorities in 1559 to the members of the civic ensemble outlined their obligations in detail; see GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, pp. 111–113. While this document is somewhat late, it almost certainly reflects the services expected of the ensemble from the late fifteenth century onward. Included were services: (1) on all Sundays and Holy Days, (2) during the procession of the Holy Blood and at the renewal of the city council; (3) at special banquets as required by civic authorities; (4) in all the general processions before the Holy Sacrament or other sacred relics; (5) during the display days at the Bruges market fairs (in the evenings from the tower of St Donatian’s); (6) at any wedding feast of a member of the city council or other high civic official (with an extra payment for this service); (7) at each day of the Holy Sacrament, and at the octave of the same; (8) at New Year’s evening in front of the homes of prominent civic officials; and (9) note that if any musician should fall ill, he is responsible for seeking a replacement.

<sup>13</sup> This is made clear by banner purchases in 1482/1483, three ‘for the shawms’ (*omme de scalmeyen*) and two ‘for the sackbuts’ (*omme de trompetten*) – *trompetten* in this context indicating a slide instrument; see GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 51.

replaced one of the discant shawms, and a curtal (the forerunner of the bassoon) replaced one of the sackbuts.<sup>14</sup>

A complicating factor was that the performers, as typical of professional musicians of their time, were capable of performing on a variety of instruments. In 1481, the city accounts noted a payment for a case of recorders.<sup>15</sup> This is the earliest instance that I know of a payment of this kind in the region. In 1543/1544 came another payment, this time for a set of twelve.<sup>16</sup> The relatively large number indicates that the band probably performed on the instruments as a consort of recorders – such performances would have been especially appropriate at banquets. Indeed, in 1498 accounts of Philip the Fair specifically indicate that the minstrels of Bruges, at a festive dinner, performed on a variety of instruments.<sup>17</sup> Somewhat exceptionally, and probably for only the most festive events, the musicians of the shawm band could pick up signal trumpets. There were, in any case, provided in 1482 with ‘five trumpets ... made at the request of the city, to be played on by the city minstrels when such performances shall be commanded by the city authorities’.<sup>18</sup> This is the only payment of this kind that I have found indicating that performance on trumpets was at least to some degree outside the normal performance options of the city minstrels.

Surviving Bruges accounts themselves do not record payments for the purchase of further instruments, but beginning in the 1520s many other Flemish ensembles purchased sets of crumhorns. The Antwerp band, for example, had two different ‘cases’ of them in 1531/1532.<sup>19</sup> Also, beginning soon after 1500 the cornetto made its appearance in the Low Countries, and purchases of cornetti, too, appear in various accounts in the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century.<sup>20</sup> Stringed instruments, too, surfaced in payment records in other Flemish cities; in 1549/1550, for example, a member of the Antwerp band was compensated for the repairs of *der stadt violen*.<sup>21</sup> None of these instruments seem to have been acquired through city subsidy in Bruges – though

<sup>14</sup> On the instrumentation of the ensembles, see K. POLK, *Susato and Instrumental Music in Flanders in the Sixteenth Century*, in K. POLK ed., *Tielman Susato and the Music of His Time*, New York, 2005, pp. 61–100.

<sup>15</sup> See GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 50: *a coker met fleuten*.

<sup>16</sup> See GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 92: *a coker met xii handfleuten*.

<sup>17</sup> See D. FIALA, *Le mécénat musical des ducs de Bourgogne en leurs villes*, unpublished paper presented at the conference *Music in Cities in Renaissance France*, Tours, 9 November 1999: *... Aux menestrelz de la ville de Bruges... quant... ilz jouerent devant lui a son disner de plusieurs manieres d'instruments pour sa plaisance...*

<sup>18</sup> See GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 51: *Item betaelt Eeuwout Wittebrood, den trompetmakere, van vyf trompetten by hem ghemaect ter steden behouf, omme den menestruelen van deser stede daer up te spelene tallen tyden als zy dies vander wet weghe verzocht zullen worden*.

<sup>19</sup> G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse stadsspeellieden. Deel I: 15e en 16e eeuw*, in *Noordgouw*, 10 (1970), p. 48.

<sup>20</sup> POLK, *Susato and Instrumental Music*.

<sup>21</sup> SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse stadsspeellieden*, p. 48.

one of the players was noted as performing *up viollen ende viollons*, in 1552.<sup>22</sup> They were almost certainly available, however, to the civic ensemble.

One intriguing feature in Bruges was that when hiring musicians, the city cast a wide net in its search for talent. The ensemble in 1456 was entirely Walloon, with three musicians from Hainault, and one from Liège.<sup>23</sup> The city authorities seem to have exercised some care in introducing these 'foreign' musicians into the city. There is a rather curious payment in any case for the costs of a meeting where the 'city minstrels were gathered with certain musicians of the city and also with certain civic officials'.<sup>24</sup> The fluid assimilation of French speakers and other non-residents into the city was evidently characteristic throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A vacancy occurred in 1479/1480, and one of the town musicians traveled to Namur, Maastricht, and Cologne to audition for a prospective replacement. The player they settled on was evidently a Fleming.<sup>25</sup> In 1483/1484 Jan Fauset, a fine sackbutist from a musical family established in Leuven, was added to the ensemble. For the next several decades the band included a consistent mix of Walloon and Flemish members, and more often than not new members were drawn from outside the city. Perhaps the most unusual addition to the ensemble came in 1549, when a certain Jan Leunis, who called himself Apollo, was recruited to play sackbut. He had been the chapel master at St Jacob's church in Bruges, and somewhat in the manner of Tielman Susato in Antwerp, he was not only a performer, but a composer, scribe, and probably arranger of music as well. Leunis, in any case, provided the civic ensemble with a set of song books in 1551.<sup>26</sup>

The fact that Bruges was an active commercial center is underlined by the steady stream of fine professional musicians who visited the city and enriched its cultural life. Characteristically, some were from relatively nearby French cities, such as Lille, Arras, or Valenciennes. Performers from Flemish cities such as Antwerp, Brussels, and Ghent also formed part of the traffic. Court musicians added a further stimulus. The wind band of the Lord of Ghistele traditionally played in the procession of the Holy Blood early in the fifteenth century, as noted above, and of course the musicians of the Dukes of Burgundy regularly accompanied the Dukes on their more or less

<sup>22</sup> GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 105.

<sup>23</sup> GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 44. The three players from Hainault were engaged together – see ANDRIESEN, *Die van muziken gheerne horen*, p. 90 – and, evidently, somewhat earlier than the musician from Liège. The ensemble, however, was certainly four-part, as is clear from the payment records.

<sup>24</sup> See Bruges, Stadsarchief, Stadsrekeningen, 1456/1457, fol. 55v: *Item Betaelt van costen ghedaen daer de voors. menestruellen [van deser stede] vergadert waren met enighe musiciens van deser stede ende daer ooc enighe ghedeputeerde van deser stede waren.*

<sup>25</sup> GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, pp. 48–49. The musician was Janne Meerzuene from Geraardsbergen; see A. JAMEES, *Brugse Poorters*, 3 [1479–1794], Zedelgem, 1990, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 103.

annual round of visits, which often included Bruges. The Burgundian instrumental forces included not only a wind band, but also an exceptional group of chamber musicians performing on soft instruments. Support of both wind and chamber ensembles was continued by Maximilian of Habsburg when he arrived in the Low Countries after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. It was undoubtedly some link with courtly patronage that brought the two players of fiddle (and lute), the blind brothers Johannes and Carolus Fernandes, to Bruges. Note that it was specifically in Bruges where Tinctoris met these two and heard them perform, and whose playing of fiddle he so lavishly praised.<sup>27</sup> Finally in this regard, one payment in 1445 was to musicians serving on one of the Florentine galleys.<sup>28</sup> Bruges, of course, had a large community of Italians, and the city was one of the usual stops for the galleys on their regular trips from the Mediterranean. The ship of special concern here is the one on which Zorzi Trombetta served. This was evidently a Venetian galley, the itinerary of which apparently included stops in England and Flanders – most likely including a stay in Bruges. This is of interest because Zorzi compiled a manuscript that has survived: a miscellaneous collection including information on navigation, some prayers, and several pages of music. The music is of signal importance in the history of instrumental music, for it reveals that, as early as the 1440s, Zorzi was familiar with items of the ‘art music’ of the day (including several well-known chansons, as well as tunes for dancing), that he could himself write counterpoint, and that he was, of course, then musically literate.<sup>29</sup> It turns out that Zorzi had a later career in Venice, known there as *Zorzi [Giovanni] da Modon*, and was a trombonist in the Doge’s *piffari*.<sup>30</sup>

The fact that the Bruges civic ensemble had sets of song books available raises the vexing question of the repertory. Professional ensemble players of the fifteenth and sixteenth century did not use written music in their performances, which has made evaluation of the music and performance practices a very touchy business. Research over the past two or three decades, however, has made it clear that from about 1480 at the latest, at least the top echelons of professional instrumentalists were performing the main-stream composed art music of their time. Accounts relating to Bruges musicians are particularly revealing on this matter. A sixteenth-century directive from the city council states that the civic ensemble is to play on every Sunday and holy day a performance to include two *liedekens ofte moteten*, meaning ‘songs or motets’.<sup>31</sup> Significant is the mix of secular and sacred music. Secular pieces would of course

<sup>27</sup> See R. STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 143.

<sup>28</sup> GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 43.

<sup>29</sup> D. LEECH–WILKINSON, *Il libro di appunti di un suonatore di tromba del quindicesimo secolo*, in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 16 (1981), pp. 16–39.

<sup>30</sup> See POLK, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages*, p. 248, n. 94; and especially R. BARONCINI, *Se canta dalli cantori overo se sona dalli sonadori: Voci e strumenti tra Quattro e Cinquecento*, in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 32 (1997), pp. 327–365.

<sup>31</sup> See GILLIODTS–VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 111 (in 1559).

have been appropriate at banquets, and at many of the outdoor services. But it is concerning the sacred repertory that Bruges records are particularly important. Bruges added the participation of the civic ensemble to the *Salve* performances at St Donatian's by 1482 at the latest, making it one of the earliest Flemish cities to institute this practice.<sup>32</sup> That these performances might have involved novel performance practices is suggested by the payment two years later (in 1484/1485), to one Nicasius de Brauwere, succentor at St Savior's, for the preparation of a collection of motets especially for the 'minstrels of the city'.<sup>33</sup> That is, as these *Salve* performances were initiated, the band may not have had a ready source for composed music at hand, and de Brauwere's collection would have solved that problem. Reinhard Strohm has emphasized the importance of the tie between the civic band in Bruges and sacred music, noting that a few years later, in 1488, a Bruges chronicler noted that the wind band played a version of *Ave regina celorum*, as well as their setting of *Salve regina*.<sup>34</sup> Strohm goes on to link several motets by Obrecht to the *Salve* convention.<sup>35</sup> While Strohm's suggestions may seem conjectural, they receive support from an unexpected source. In 1494, a certain Giovanni Alvise Trombon, who claimed to be a musician in the Doge's ensemble in Venice, wrote to Francesco Gonzaga in Mantua, offering him two motets, one by Obrecht and one by Busnoys, in arrangements suitable for performance by the Mantuan court musicians – the Obrecht work he did not identify, that by Busnoys was *Dimandase Gabrielem*. Both of these composers were of course closely tied to Bruges at about this time, and there is in fact yet another possible link. It turns out that this Giovanni Alvise, about whom until recently we knew very little, was evidently the son of Zorzi Trombetta (alias Giovanni da Modon). And while earlier the connections of Giovanni Alvise with the Doge's ensemble were undocumented – we had only his claim to be employed by the Serenissima – he has now been definitely identified as a member of the Doge's wind ensemble.<sup>36</sup> It seems quite likely that contacts between musicians in Bruges and Giovanni da Modon, esta-

<sup>32</sup> See GILLIODTS-VAN SEVEREN, *Les ménestrels de Bruges*, p. 51. That the idea of adding instruments at the *Salve* was already known in the city, is indicated by the accounts of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow: those of 1470 indicate that in addition to singers and an organist, the 'minstrels of this city of Bruges' were paid 'for playing at vespers on the day of Our Lady, and in the evening at mass and in the *Salve*'. See RAB, *Rekeningen, Broederschap O.-L.-Vrouw ter Sneeuw, Oud Archief van de O.-L.-Vrouwkerk*, #1531 (1467–1499), fol. 57 (1470): *It. betaelt de speellieden of menestruelen van deser stede van brugge van dat zij... speilden te vesperen op onss. vrouwen dach en avont vand. ... messe ende te salve*. These payments continued in subsequent years; see, for example, fol. 78 (1471), fol. 197v (1480), fol. 166v (1490), and fol. 305 (1499). On this subject, see also STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, pp. 47–48.

<sup>33</sup> See E. VANDER STRAETEN, *Les ménestrels aux Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1878, repr. Geneva 1972, p. 33; for the payment, see Bruges, Stadsarchief, Stadsrekeningen, 1484/1485, fol. 151.

<sup>34</sup> STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, pp. 86–87.

<sup>35</sup> STROHM, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, pp. 144–145.

<sup>36</sup> BARONCINI, *Se canta dalli cantori*, pp. 327–365.

blished in the 1440s, were maintained subsequently, and that wind musicians served as a conduit for the transmission of repertory between Bruges and Venice for many decades after the original contact.

The link between Obrecht and the sacred repertory may permit further consideration of secular repertory. Two pieces by Obrecht – a canon piece titled *fuga*, and one with the French incipit *Se bien fait* – are included in the Casanatense collection, one that has apparent ties with the fine wind band at the Ferrarese court, as established by Lewis Lockwood.<sup>37</sup> Moreover a large set of pieces by Obrecht with Flemish incipits is included in the Segovia manuscript. While aspects of this collection remain unclear, it does seem certain that the manuscript was prepared in Spain by Spanish scribes. One recent study has tied the preparation of the collection with one of the visits of Philip the Fair, whose stable of wind players at the time included Augustine Schubinger, Hans Nagle and Jan van Winkle – the latter two of whom spent significant portions of their careers in civic ensembles in the Low Countries.<sup>38</sup> Certainly there would have been almost no demand for Flemish pieces in Spain, and in fact many of these pieces are particularly suited to instrumental performance. Given this background, Strohm's recent observation that "these songs were written for civic wind bands, and played for entertainment in public places" is apt.<sup>39</sup>

This survey has been concerned with only one stratum of musical activity in Bruges, that of the instrumental groups under official contract with the city. Even within the arena of instrumental music there were other layers of activity. Instrumentalists attached to the courts of nobles, especially those associated with the Dukes of Burgundy, were another layer, and, as indicated above, one with the added dimension that the Valois dukes consistently supported a group of chamber players of quite a different order than the loud ensembles under official patronage in Bruges. Another level not considered here was that of the free-lance musicians in the city. There was obviously a vigorous demand for music within Bruges, and the demand could not be met by the civic band alone. The presence of a music guild in Bruges testifies to the vibrant nature of the cultural life of the city – but while we have a few of the records of the guild, we have actually almost no firm information on the day-to-day activities of independent musicians. We are also poorly informed concerning amateur music making, especially that for instruments. There was music associated with activities of the guilds and confraternities, and also of the rhetoric societies – some aspects of which have been touched on by various scholars (especially by Strohm) – but a more

<sup>37</sup> L. LOCKWOOD, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984, pp. 269–272.

<sup>38</sup> N.K. BAKER, *An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia: Its Provenance and History*, Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1978, pp. 192–239.

<sup>39</sup> STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, p. 462.



precise understanding of the relationship of such organizations and instrumental performance is a subject still awaiting thorough study.<sup>40</sup>

I have emphasized the vitality of instrumental music in Bruges. There were some aspects, of course, where at least in relative terms, things were not well. Bruges in the early fifteenth century had been a prominent center of manufacture and trade in musical instruments. The court of Burgundy, for example, made significant purchases from Pierre Prost of Bruges in 1407 and 1413.<sup>41</sup> The city authorities in Mechelen approved payment in 1453 for the purchase in Bruges of ‘three shawms made in the new fashion’.<sup>42</sup> This trade in instruments was largely taken over by Antwerp in the sixteenth century. When the players of Utrecht needed cornetti and stringed instruments in 1559 and 1561, for example, they went to Pietro Lupo in Antwerp.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Bruges had been a center of manuscript book production in the fifteenth century. Antwerp completely dominated the trade in printed books in the Low Countries – both printed books in general, and especially printed collections of music. Figures reveal that, by the mid-sixteenth century, more books were published in Antwerp alone than in all the rest of the Low Countries combined. The ambitious young Tielman Susato certainly got it right when he chose to make his career in Antwerp, not in Bruges.

To conclude, in spite of increasingly rigorous competition, Bruges remained a serious patron of instrumental music throughout the period considered here. The years from about 1480 to 1500 were perhaps of special significance. The city’s ensemble was then well-established: though a shawm-based ensemble, it was nevertheless capable of a sophisticated range of alternate colors, and outstanding players were included in its ranks. At the same time the *Salve*, a new series of performances, had been instituted. This brought together players and singers of St Donatian’s, which in that period included such figures as Busnoys and Obrecht. Obrecht seems to have been especially closely linked to instrumental music, and Strohm’s comment to that effect deserves repetition: Obrecht’s secular pieces appear to have been “written for civic wind bands, and played for entertainment in public places” – with the added note that some of those pieces may well have been designed for one particular civic wind band, that of the city of Bruges.

<sup>40</sup> For a useful recent discussion of guilds in Bruges, see ANDRIESEN, *Die van Muziken gheerne horen*, pp. 55–64.

<sup>41</sup> C. WRIGHT, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419: A Documentary History*, Henryville – Ottawa – Binnigen, 1979, pp. 50–51.

<sup>42</sup> R. VAN AERDE, *Musicalia: Notes pour servir à l’histoire de la musique, du théâtre et de la danse à Malines*, Mechelen, 1921, p. 53: *te copen tot brugghe drie nuwe pipen van den nuwen factssoene*.

<sup>43</sup> M.A. VENTE, *Aantekeningen uit de Kameraarsrekeningen der Stad Utrecht*, in *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis der toonkunst in de Nederlanden*, 1, (*Documenta et archivalia ad historiam musicae neerlandicae*), Utrecht, 1965, p. 227.





# MUSIC FOR CANONS, EMPERORS, DUKES AND PRINCE BISHOPS IN THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF MAASTRICHT (C. 1450–1520) AN UPDATED OVERVIEW AND SOME SAMPLES

*Eugeen Schreurs*  
*Resonant, Centre for Flemish Musical Heritage*

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the border town of Maastricht enjoyed a flourishing musical life. However, a complete and in-depth study of this period of its music history is still lacking: some earlier enquiries are partially and many archives are lost or contain little relevant musicological information.<sup>1</sup> The most substantial contribu-



Figure 1. Map of Maastricht (Simon de Bellomonte, c. 1588)

<sup>1</sup> Note the following abbreviations: MRA (Maastricht, Rijksarchief); *Grove* (*Grove Music Online*, ed. L. MACY, <http://www.grovemusic.com>); *MGG* (*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personen-teil*, ed. L. FINSCHER, vol. 1–12, Kassel – Basel, 1999–2004).

During the French period many sources essential to this study were lost. See E. NUYENS, *Inventaris der archieven van het kapittel van Sint-Servaas te Maastricht*, Maastricht, 1984, pp. 14–15, who estimates that only a twentieth part of the archives of St Servaas has survived. See also J. HAAS, *Inventaris van de archieven van het kapittel van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw te Maastricht 1096–1797*, Maastricht, 1999; in the church of Our Lady the situation is somewhat better, although numerous accounts are missing, especially for the period under study here. I would like to thank sincerely Peter Van Dessel (translation) and Pieter Mannaerts (K.U.Leuven, Alamire Foundation) for various comments.

tions (here in chronological order) have been provided by A. Auda (mainly on music in the prince bishopric of Liège), P. Albers (a survey article), J. Smits van Waesberghe (especially interesting for the early period), G. Quaedvlieg (on the organ in St Servaas and on the city trumpeters), J. Qutin (music in the 16th century), J. Tagage (edition of the *ordinarii* of both collegiate churches), the historian J. Haas (a study of the confraternity of the chaplains of the church of Our Lady, who also were responsible for the music), and most recently R. Dückers (a comparative study on the aforementioned *ordinarii*).<sup>2</sup> The present article is mostly based on lacking information as a concise report of a ‘work in progress’ on a musical life that was much richer than has hitherto been assumed.<sup>3</sup>

It is by no means surprising to find in Maastricht, situated so favourably on the banks of the Meuse, a flourishing musical life in times of prosperity. Around 1600 the town numbered about 18,000 inhabitants. This is admittedly considerably less than the capital Liège, which was the political, economic, religious and cultural centre of the prince bishopric, but still substantially more than, for instance, Tongeren (about 5,000 inhabitants in the 16th century), whose thriving musical activity is well-docu-

<sup>2</sup> A. AUDA, *La musique et les musiciens de l'Ancien Pays de Liège*, Brussels – Liège, 1930; P. ALBERS, *Aanteekeningen over toonkunst en toonkunstenaars in oude tijden te Maastricht*, in *Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le Limbourg à Maestricht*, 67 (1931), pp. 17–42; J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, *Musikalische Beziehungen zwischen Aachen, Köln, Lüttich und Maastricht vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Aachen*, edd. C. BRAND & K. FELLERER, (*Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte*, 6), Cologne, 1954, pp. 5–13; ID., *Die “Chorales” der St. Servatiuskirche in Maastricht*, in *Beiträge zur Musik in Rhein-Maas-Raum*, edd. C. BRAND & K. FELLERER (*Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte*, 19), Cologne, 1957, pp. 9–16; ID., *De muziekcultuur van Maastricht en Limburg in het verleden*, in *Limburg's verleden. Geschiedenis van Nederlands Limburg tot 1815*, ed. E. BATTÀ, 1, Maastricht, 1960, pp. 451–482; ID., art. *Maastricht*, in *MGG*, 8, 1960, col. 1369–1374; G. QUADVLIEG, *Klokken en klokkenspelen te Maastricht*, in *Miscellanea Trajectensia*, (Werken uitgegeven door het Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundig Genootschap gevestigd te Maastricht, 4), Maastricht, 1962, pp. 363–376; ID., *Het orgel in de St.-Servaaskerk te Maastricht*, in *De Maasgouw*, 85 (1966), col. 87–93; ID., *Maastrichts muziekleven: Beschrijving van het muziekleven in het Maasland en meer in het bijzonder in de stad Maastricht*, Maastricht, 1965, pp. 38–68; ID., *De Maastrichtse stadstrompetters. Bijdrage tot hun geschiedenis*, in *De Maasgouw*, 86 (1967), col. 179–186; J. QUITIN, *Untersuchungen über die Musikpflege Maastrichts im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt und des Kreises Erkelenz*, ed. G. GÖLLER, (*Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte*, 73), Cologne, 1968, pp. 39–50; J. TAGAGE, *De ordinarius van de collegiale Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk te Maastricht*, Assen, 1984; J. HAAS, *De broederschap der kapelannen van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk te Maastricht*, in *Magister artium*, (Maaslandse monografieën, 39), Sittard, 1992, pp. 65–90; E. SCHREURS, *Aspecten van het muziekleven in Maastricht in de 15e en 16e eeuw*, in *Polyfonie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Geestelijke en wereldlijke muziek op locaties in en rondom Maastricht*, Maastricht, 1996, pp. 6–13; J. TAGAGE, *De ordinarius chori van de collegiale Sint-Servaaskerk te Maastricht volgens een handschrift uit het vierde kwart van de dertiende eeuw*, Leeuwarden – Mechelen, 2003; R. DÜCKERS, *The New Fire: The Triduum Sacrum at St. Servaas's and Our Lady's at Maastricht according to their Ordinarii Custodum*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 53 (2003), pp. 229–275. These titles represent only a selection of what has been published on Maastricht with regard to music.

<sup>3</sup> An earlier, more concise version was published by the author in 1996 (see note 2)

mented.<sup>4</sup> Noteworthy is Maastricht's location on the border between the Romance (Liège, Burgundy) and Germanic (Aachen, Cologne, Flanders/Brabant) cultures as well as its subjection to the political influence of both the Holy Roman Empire and the independent prince bishopric of Liège. This finds expression in various ways, ranging from currency (the use of both Rhine and Brabant florins) to chant notation with the simultaneous use, in Maastricht as well as in the surrounding area, of Gothic "Hufnagel" notation and "Romance" square notation until the end of the 18th century.<sup>5</sup>

The main musical centres in Maastricht are undoubtedly its two collegiate churches. This article will focus primarily on St Servaas, as this institution has been most thoroughly studied, its surviving accounts for the 15th and 16th centuries are more abundant, and some of the newer research results also partially available via information on other institutions from cities like Tongeren, Diest, and Liège. Because of the comparative aspect of the present contribution I include later on in this article the most important new information concerning the church of Our Lady, even though the research is still in progress.

The sepulchral church of St Servaas is named after the (first Tongeren) bishop and saint, who in the 4th or possibly 5th century was buried in Maastricht, the "gate of Gaul."<sup>6</sup> It was here that one of the earliest chapters of the Low Countries was established, which in the 14th century numbered no less than 39 canons. The church of St Servaas called itself a "free and imperial church," which means: directly subordinate to the emperor.<sup>7</sup> Also the dukes of Brabant tried to claim the patronage over the church. This might explain the visit of singers from Brussels e.g. in July 1456 and January 1504.<sup>8</sup> It may be noted that archduke Charles (the later Charles V) bore the title of duke of Brabant and became emperor as well. He visited the city several times, viz. in 1520, 1521, 1531 and 1545.

<sup>4</sup> E. HELIN, *La démographie de Liège aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, (Koninklijke Academie van België. Klasse der Letteren. Verhandelingen, 56.4), Brussels, 1963, pp. 239–242; E. SCHREURS, *Het muziek-leven in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk van Tongeren (circa 1400–1797). Een archivalisch georiënteerd onderzoek naar het muziekleven van een middelgrote kapittelkerk in het prinsbisdom Luik binnen haar stedelijke context*, unpubl. doct. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1990, pp. 8 ff. For the complex political and ecclesiastical situation see P. UBACHS, *Twee heren, twee confessies. De verhouding van Staat en Kerk te Maastricht, 1632–1673*, (Maaslandse monografieën, 21), Assen – Amsterdam, 1975, in particular pp. 35–71.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. for the 15th century The Hague, Royal Library, MS 78 D 44, a missal from St Servaas with *Hufnagel* notation and MRA, Our Lady, 1970 and 1978, a gradual and antiphoner in square notation. There is a comparable situation in Tongeren at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, where *Hufnagel* notation (even into the 18th century) and square notation were employed simultaneously. See SCHREURS, *Het muziekleven*, pp. 234–238.

<sup>6</sup> P. BOEREN, *Heiligdomsvaart Maastricht. Schets van de geschiedenis der heiligdomsvaarten en andere jubelvaarten*, Maastricht, 1962, pp. 163ff.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. the mention in MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 155 (not dated, 18th century): *Capittel van de vrije ende keijserlycke kercke van Sint Servaes*.

<sup>8</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 978, 1455 (July 1456) (no foliation given): *propinato domino prescripto cum cantoribus capelle domini ducis Burgundie quatuor sext. vini quarum 2 erant albe et 2 beyaen...; item propinato cantoribus capelle domini ducis Burgundie...* MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, 1503 (January 1504) (no foliation give): *... propinato cuidam cantori Bruxellensi per dominos meos Traiecti...*

In the overview that follows I will deal with the musicians associated in any way with St Servaas by category, beginning with the highest in rank (canons, although certainly not always resident): chaplain-singers, organists, choirmasters, choirboys (usually resident), and finally a group of musicians that is better classified as ‘visitors.’

For musicians, court connections undoubtedly helped to obtain a canonry in the church of St Servaas.<sup>9</sup> One of these was the composer Constans Breuwe (possibly a variant of the family name *de Brouwere*), who was presumably from the hamlet Languebroek (hence his first alias *de Languebroeck*): he appears under the name Langenbrueck among the canons in 1451, possibly until 1469 or 1470. His Maastricht origin is also revealed by his second alias *de Trecht*.<sup>10</sup> Constans was a singer in the Burgundian court chapel from 1442 to 1479, and two chansons by him have come down to us. He funded an anniversary in the confraternity of the chaplains, to be observed on 7 March.<sup>11</sup> Another reason to regard him as hailing not from Utrecht but from Maastricht – in archival texts both cities are often called *Trecht* – is that his nephew, Johannes Bo(u)gart, also employed at the Burgundian court as *sommelier* (1454) and as *clerc* (singer in 1465), was also from Maastricht. Bougart, in his turn, may perhaps be identifiable with the composer Boubert, of whom works have survived in the *Nivelle de la Chaussée chansonnier*.<sup>12</sup> Yet another court musician, Marbrianus de Orto, organist of Margaret of Austria and composer, held a canon’s prebend in St Servaas from 1498 (only two months in this year) until 1509 (for nine months in that year). He probably not reside there, however, as he was dean of the collegiate church of St Gertrudis (not Our Lady as mentioned in the archives) in Nivelles. According to the rather incomplete *acta capituli* he was exempted from his first residence obligation on 2 September 1499.<sup>13</sup> Surely an equally important excuse for non-residence was his function at as a singer and later *premier chapelain* at the Burgundian-Habsburg court.<sup>14</sup> At the same time Johannis Tinctoris was a non-resident canon in St Gertrude in Nivelles (1488–1511), as was Johannes Biest, singer in the Burgundian-Habsburg court chapel in 1501, who enjoyed a benefice *a la collacion de mondit sr*.<sup>15</sup> De Orto

<sup>9</sup> The emperor Charles V interfered in a letter of 1517 with the conditions for appointment of the canons of St Servaas. He reaffirms the decree of king Henry VII (1234) that St Servaas is subordinate to the emperor and that the bishop of Liège has no jurisdiction at St Servaas. See L. DEGRAEVE, *Statuten van het kapittel (1385–1589) en van de broederschap der kapelannen (1324–1361) van de collegiale kerk Sint-Servaas te Maastricht*, unpubl. master’s thesis, Leuven, 1968, p. 8. See E. NUYENS, *Inventaris*, pp. 51–53; P. DOPPLER, *Lijst der kanunniken van het Vrije Rijkskapittel van Sint Servaas te Maastricht (1050–1795)*, in *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 74 (1938) en 75 (1939), pp. 6–7.

<sup>10</sup> *Trich* or *Trecht* are still used as an abbreviation for Maastricht in the local dialect.

<sup>11</sup> DOPPLER, *Lijst*, 1939, pp. 166, 176.

<sup>12</sup> D. FALLOWS, art. *Constans* [*Costinus*] *Breuwe* (*Breeu*, *Brawe*), in *Grove*.

<sup>13</sup> MRA, St Servaas, 1, fol. 22. See also DEGRAEVE, *Statuten*, p. 60.

<sup>14</sup> DOPPLER, *Lijst*, p. 188, gives 1490, presumably instead of 1498. Still in 1509 de Orto requests permission to be absent until the end of September. See MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 1, fol. 39.

probably visited Maastricht and could have met Jacob Obrecht there in 1503 and Johannes Ghiselin in 1504.

Beside canons, a substantial number of chaplains (around 90) were attached to St Servaas, who together with the canons, professional singers and choirboys attended and sang at the numerous masses and offices.<sup>16</sup> They organized themselves in a confraternity. As in any sizable collegiate church there was a professional music ensemble, consisting mainly of 6 to 10 cleric-singers, often chaplains, a body that in the course of the 16th century would expand to 12 *chori socii*. This is comparable to the situation in other large collegiate churches in the Low Countries, such as Our Lady in Antwerp, St Gudule in Brussels and St Rombouts in Mechlin. A regulation concerning absences (up to 30 days per year) is set out in the *acta capituli*.<sup>17</sup>

Although the following list of singers is still incomplete due to the many gaps in the archives of St Servaas numerous names are known from the 15th century, which further corroborates the picture of a flourishing musical life. The terminology reveals the following categories of musicians: two vicars (*perpetui*, to be regarded as deputies of the canons for the performance of daily services as pastors<sup>18</sup>), an organist, a *zangmeester* or *succentor*, one to three tenors, one to five *cantores* (often to be distinguished from the tenors), an *epistolarius*, and an *evangelarius* (the latter did probably not take part in the polyphony; from 1499 to 1528 this post was held by Mattheus Herbenus). After a time (and certainly by 1519) the term “singers” was temporarily replaced by *mensuriste* or *chori cantores*.<sup>19</sup> *Mensuriste* is a rather infrequent term in the Low Countries, referring explicitly to the performance of mensural music. This research, which mainly focuses on the second half of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century (to 1520), has yielded the following names of singers, some known through earlier publications. This overview emphasizes those singers who were active in different institutions, clearly illustrating the considerable mobility of singers within a European network.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> R. WEGMAN, *Bibliography of Singers in Continental Europe (1450–1500)*, unpublished version, Amsterdam, 1990, p. 4; E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 7, Brussels, 1885, p. 139.

<sup>16</sup> L. NELISSEN, *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het kapittel van Sint Servaas te Maastricht*, unpubl. master's thesis, Nijmegen, s.d., p. 62.

<sup>17</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 1, e.g. fol. 21 where on 1 October 1497 specific details are given on the absence of singers. See also fol. 30v for a warning to singer Gerardus Animans (15 January 1504), and fol. 50 for a permission of general absence of the various functionaries, including the singers, the choir-master, the *evangelarius* Mattheus Herben, and many others, because of the plague (28 June 1519).

<sup>18</sup> DEGRAEVE, *Statuten*, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 1, fol. 50, 1519, 28 June: Simon Tijskens, Herman Lattenhouwer, Antonius Schrijnemaker, Nicolas Vastardt and Johannes Eldris were *mensuriste ac chori cantoribus*.

<sup>20</sup> Mainly on the basis of the partially preserved accounts of the *cellarie*, MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 978–981. These registers are not foliated, hence references are limited to the years only. The accounting period was 1 September to 31 August. “1455” therefore means from 1 September 1455 to 31 August 1456. See also SCHREURS, *Aspecten*, pp. 7–9 for further references.



Date	Name	Function	Remarks
1455–1456	Cesaris, Johannes	Tenor	Identity with the homonymous composer in Paris unlikely <sup>21</sup>
1458–1461	Moll, Johannes de (de Antwerpia)	Tenor	Milan (1477), Bergen-op-Zoom (1480–1482), Anderlecht (1482–1495) <sup>22</sup>
1455	Crispinus, Egidius	Singer	Savoy-Rome (1461–1476) <sup>23</sup>
1457–1465	Reynkinus, Renerus	Singer	
1460–1461	Gilbeer, Petrus	Singer	
1462	Severinus	Singer	
1479–1482	Fabri, Johannes	Singer	Cambrai (1486–1495); very common name, which impedes identification <sup>24</sup>
1479–1482	Duyme, Nicolaus	Singer	Relative of Johannes?
1479–1492	Duym(e), Johannes	Singer	Relative of Nicolaus/later becomes canon; = Dumeys ('s-Hertogenbosch?) <sup>25</sup>
1479–1481	Thenis, Judocus de	Singer	
1483	Vijlen, Johannes	Singer	Brother of Arnoldus?
1489–1490	Vijlen, Arnoldus	Singer	Brother of Johannes?
1489–1509	Zusteren, Simon	Tenor	= Thyskens; relative Johannes active in 's-Hertogenbosch (1520)? <sup>26</sup>
1487–1490	Roetz/Roeten, Wilhelmus <sup>27</sup>	Singer	
1491	Gruter, Johannes	Tenor	2 months; active in 's-Hertogenbosch and Rome (1499–1520) <sup>28</sup>
1491	Stephanus	Singer	Chaplain
1491–1492	Wilhelmus	Tenor	
1492	Tinctoris, Henricus	Tenor	Relation with Johannes not documented
1494–1496	Bellemonte, Theodoricus de	<i>Mensurista</i>	Brussels, St Gudula ( <i>succentor</i> ) (1507–1538) <sup>29</sup>
1496–1503	Animans, Gerardus	Singer	Previously <i>succentor</i> ; cf. infra
1501–1509	Aurifabri, Judocus	Singer	Previously <i>succentor</i> ; cf. infra
1501–	Lattehouwer, Hermanus	<i>Mensurista</i>	
1503–1504	Waver, Egidius de	<i>Mensurista</i>	
1505–1509	Anthonius	<i>Mensurista</i>	
1518–	Scrinifici, Anthonius	Singer/ <i>mensurista</i>	= Anthonius
1518–1519	Eldris, Johannes de	Singer/ <i>mensurista</i>	†1519
1518–	Vastarts, Nicolaus	Singer/ <i>mensurista</i>	
1518–	Doenrade, W.	Singer	= Donrade, relative of Bartholomaeus?
1519	Thyskens, Simon	Singer/ <i>mensurista</i>	= Zusteren?, cf. supra anno 1489

Table 1. List of singers (selection, omitting the two *perpetual* vicars) (c. 1450–1520)

<sup>21</sup> T. WARD, art. *Cesaris, Johannes*, in *Grove*.

<sup>22</sup> WEGMAN, *Bibliography*, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> *IBID.*, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> *IBID.*, p. 12.

<sup>25</sup> *IBID.*, p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> *IBID.*, p. 32.

<sup>27</sup> *IBID.*, p. 29.

<sup>28</sup> *IBID.*, p. 20. Gruter tried in 1505 – without success – to possess through papal expectative the canonry of Henricus Plebis, mentioned as a canon at St Servaas for 10 months in 1502–1503. I sincerely thank Richard Sherr for this information. See also R. SHERR, *Verdelot in Florence, Coppini in Rome, and the Singer 'La Fiore'*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37, 1984, p. 409.

<sup>29</sup> K. VAN WONTERGHEM en E. SCHREURS, *Nieuwe biografische gegevens over de zangmeesters van Sint-Goedele te Brussel (1500–1639)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 13, 1996, pp. 158–159.

Besides the singers there was – as mentioned – an organist. The oldest reference to the presence of an organ in the church dates back to 1305, mentioning repairs of an already existing organ.<sup>30</sup> Certainly from 1425 there was an organ in the left transept, as well as a choir organ in the rood loft. In 1528 mention is made of a third instrument in the crypt.<sup>31</sup> The list of organists of St Servaas is quite complete from 1455:<sup>32</sup>

Date	Name	Remarks
1455–1480	Dorne, Johannes de	
1481–1493	Kyeboem, Ancelmus	
1494–1496	Wilhelmus	
1497–1500	Vernetz, Johannes	= Verney, Joh., 's-Hertogenbosch, (1499–1502)
1500–1509 (at least)	Malchar, Anthonius	
1518–1525	Arbore, Henricus de	
1525–	Zittard, Paulus	

Table 2. List of organists (c. 1450–1520)

The group of musicians was directed by a *succentor* or *zangmeester*, the most common term in the prince bishopric of Liège for a choirmaster, who was also responsible for the choirboys. His duties further included the selection and purchase of the music, and in practice he often composed himself.<sup>33</sup> Despite the considerable gaps in the archival documentation, the following choirmasters are known by name:

Date	Name	Remarks
1456	Mathias	Also mentioned before 1456?
1457–1509?	Mey, Petrus	Until 1509?
1491–1495	Animans, Gerardus	Later a singer
1496–1500	Aurifabri, Judocus	Later a singer and <i>campanator</i>
1501–1503	Allaventura, Johannes	Composer?
1504	Verbonet, Johannes	Composer; first mass
1504–1505	Vernay, Egidius	= Verney; = Pijp? = de Leodio
1505–1506	Leodio, Egidius de	= Vernay?
1506–1545	Pijp (Fistula), Egidius de	= Vernay? <sup>34</sup>
1545–1566	Episcopus, Ludovicus	Composer

Table 3. List of *zangmeesters* (c. 1450–1520)

<sup>30</sup> QUAEDVLIEG, *Orgel*, col. 143.

<sup>31</sup> NELISSEN, *Bijdragen*. See chapter (C) for the organists.

<sup>32</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, the data up to 1509 are taken from the accounts of the *cellarie* (MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 978–981), those since 1525 from QUITIN, *Untersuchungen*, p. 41.

<sup>33</sup> Sometimes two *succentores* are mentioned in the accounts. Presumably the duties were then divided between the two. Similar situations are found in other collegiate churches in the Low Countries.

<sup>34</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chaplains, 14, p. 9: in 1556, after a long career, he was buried in *sacello Regis*, [the King's chapel] a gothic building that was destroyed in 1806.

In view of the importance of the *zangmeesters* for musical life, I provide some further information on these functionaries, who can possibly be linked to other Maastricht institutions.

First there is Judocus Aurifabri (1496–1500), later mentioned as a singer as well. He is possibly to be identified with the otherwise unknown composer *Aurifabri* cited in a letter (1515) of Petrus Alamire to Henry VIII, in which Alamire mentions *sex parvos libros ubi multa bona intra sunt cum magistro allexandro aurifabri etc.* It has already been suggested that the name Alexandro may perhaps be associated with Alexander Agricola. But identification with the infrequent name [*Judocus*] *Aurifabri* (goldsmith) *zangmeester* of St Servaas is another possibility.<sup>35</sup>

His successor was Johannes Allaventura (1501–1503) who might be identified with the homonymous composer of a four-part passion, also attributed to Obrecht, La Rue and Antoine de Longueval.<sup>36</sup> Two sources (Toledo, Catedral, Obra y Fabrica, 23, probably copied in the Low Countries, and Vatican, MS C.S.42) explicitly give the name as Venture.<sup>37</sup> V. Roelvink suggests that he could be the composer of the *Missa A laventure*, preserved in 's-Hertogenbosch.<sup>38</sup>

Johannes *Verbonet* (entered in the accounts from January to June 1504 as priest and *magister*) can most probably be identified with the composer Johannes Ghiselin which alias was Verbonnet, the more so as the name is rather uncommon and as the last traces we have of this composer point to the Low Countries, viz. to Bergen-op-Zoom where he was employed by the Confraternity of Our Lady in 1507.<sup>39</sup> Strangely enough the clerk on duty failed to enter a total in Rhine florins in the accounts of 1503–1504 which may indicate that he wasn't resident in Maastricht during the whole period. The foreseen monthly salary was 4 Hoorn guilders, the same as, for instance, that of singer Egidius de Waver in that same year. Apparently Verbonet succeeded Allaventura as a *succentor*, or at least that must have been the intention since Alla-

<sup>35</sup> E. SCHREURS, *Petrus Alamire: Music Calligrapher, Musician, Composer, Spy*, in *The Treasury of Petrus Alamire. Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts. 1500–1535*, ed. H. KELLMAN, Gent – Amsterdam, 1999, p. 20. A third possibility, of course, is that we are dealing with an as yet unknown musician named Alexander Aurifabri.

<sup>36</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, anno 1503: *magistro Johanni Allaventura succentori pro salario suo pro mensibus septembris, octobris, novembris et medio decembris... 15 Ren. 8 st.* According to the accounts of December 1503 Allaventura lived in a house which the chapter had repaired.

<sup>37</sup> E. JAS, art. *Ventura, Jo. A la*, in *Grove*.

<sup>38</sup> V. ROELVINK, "Gegeven den sangeren." *Meerstemmige muziek bij de Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch in de zestiende eeuw*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 2002, pp. 144–145. With sincere thanks to Véronique Roelvink for this suggestion. See 's-Hertogenbosch, Archief van de Illustere Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap, MS 75, fols. 88v–107r.

<sup>39</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, anno 1503: *Item solvi domino et magistro Johanni Verbonet succentori pro mensibus januarij, february, marcij, aprilis, may, junii* [blanco]. *Pro qualibet mensa 4 flor. Horn. in auro faciens* [blanco]. R. WEGMAN, *Music and Musicians at the Guild of Our Lady in Bergen op Zoom, c. 1470–1510*, in *Early Music History*, 9 (1989), pp. 236, 245.

ventura was only paid to mid-December 1503 while Ghiselin's salary was entered monthly from January to June 1504.<sup>40</sup> In January 1504 the chapter paid him an additional 22 Hoorn guilders (or 24 Rhine florins and 4 *stuivers*) for the celebration of his first mass.<sup>41</sup> The least we know is that this payment filled out in the accounts strongly indicates that Ghiselin/Verbonet was indeed present in Maastricht at least in January and that he became a priest, which is important new biographical information. It furthermore shows that he was not in Ferrara at that moment. That his payment as a *succentor* was left open may indicate that his appointment was not yet final or that he left Maastricht prematurely. Further, this presence in the accounts may indicate Ghiselins return to the Low Countries, the region from which he most probably hailed. This suggestion is supported by the fact that he composed four Flemish polyphonic songs which suggests that he probably knew the language. On other, weaker argument could be that his Dutch song *Ik ben zoe noe bedwonghen* appears anonymous in a fragmentary manuscript, the so-called "songbook" of Maastricht.<sup>42</sup>

Notable in this context is that the Maastricht chapter seems to have received Magister Jacob Obrecht (the archives mention *Magistro Oberti cantori Antwerpiensis*) shortly before, viz. in September 1503, when he was treated some white wine.<sup>43</sup> This identification is probably correct, firstly because there are not that many singers named *Oberti*. In addition, Herbenus also calls Obrecht *Oberti* in his treatise *De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis* of 1496. And a brief visit to Maastricht would also fit in Obrecht's biography. Presumably he was passing through on his journey from Antwerp to Innsbruck, staying at the court of Maximilian of Austria in October 1503 before finally arriving in Ferrara in September 1504 to become court composer to Ercole d'Este. However, nothing in their biographies nor in the archival sources indi-

<sup>40</sup> C. GOTTWALD, art. *Ghiselin [Verbonnet]*, *Johannes*, in *Grove*.

<sup>41</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, 1503 (January 1504): *item de mandato capituli solvi ad primam missam domini Verbonet succentoris 22 flor. Horn. in auro faciens. 24 Ren. 4 st.*

<sup>42</sup> See *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music. 1400–1550*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, ed. C. HAMM, 1), 2, p. 131. Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1982; *Bedreigde klanken? Muziekfragmenten uit de Lage Landen (Middelleeuwen – Renaissance)*, exhibition catalogue, edd. B. BOUCKAERT & E. SCHREURS, Leuven – Peer, 1995, p. 28. See no. XIII, *ic ben zoe noe bedwonghen* (anonymous); concordant version by "Verbonnet" in Firenze, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS 2493 (*Codex Basevi*), fol. 86v–87r, with the text *Je suis si tresfort*.

<sup>43</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, anno 1503, September: *Solvi Leonardo Welsken campanatori pro 2 sextarijs vini albi Renensis magistro Oberti cantori Antwerpiensis propinato... 18 st.* It's unlikely that there would be a confusion with the homonymous magister Jacob Obrecht, commissioner of prins-bishop Erard de la Marck, who probably was not a singer and who probably studied at the university of Leuven (immatriculation on 17 august 1470), See L. HALKIN, *Le Cardinal de la Marck, Prince-Eveque de Liège*, Liège, 1930, p. 102, note 1. and J. WILS, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, 2, Brussels, 1946, p. 238. R. WEGMAN, *Obrecht in Missa. A Study of the Life and Mass Music of Jacob Obrecht (1457/8–1505)*, doct. diss. Universiteit Amsterdam, 1993, p. 18–19.

cates that Obrecht and Ghiselin would have met in Maastricht, although it is suggested that Obrecht arrived in September 1504 in Ferrara, probably accompanied by Ghiselin on his journey.<sup>44</sup>

For a number of musicians who, according to the literature, would have been active in Maastricht my archival research has failed to provide any certainty; indeed, rather the contrary. To begin with, Thomas Tzamen of Aachen, whose stay in Maastricht is still not demonstrable. Up to now I have found no evidence whatsoever of his choirmastership in St Servaas around 1490. Yet in the past he was considered the “progenitor of the first flowering of polyphony in Maastricht.”<sup>45</sup> And even if he had indeed been active in Maastricht, Quitin’s view could not be endorsed, for polyphonic music was already flourishing in Maastricht long before 1490. Equally doubtful is the presence of his pupil Adam de Jonge (Loer/Luyr) in Maastricht, another alleged choirmaster of St Servaas and (presumably) from Aachen. Both composers are mentioned in Glareans *Dodecachordon*, which contains a motet by each of them.<sup>46</sup> Nor have I found to date any reference to Johannes Soest or Maistre Goessens.<sup>47</sup> Finally, also on the basis of my research in Antwerp and Utrecht I must confirm that Antonius de Vinea is rather to be associated with Utrecht than Maastricht (as already noted, both are called *Traiectum*).<sup>48</sup>

Indeed documented in Maastricht was the theoretician and humanist Mattheus Herben (Herbenus), who was for a lengthy period *evangelarius* (at least from 1499 to 1528).<sup>49</sup> Besides a work on Maastricht (*De Traiecto Instaurato*), this *rector scholarum* of St Servaas in 1496 wrote – as mentioned above – a music treatise (*De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis*) in which he argues in favour of a more simple, textually

<sup>44</sup> Noteworthy in this context are contacts with Brussels in January 1504. Thus the chapter in that month received an anonymous singer from Brussels and paid the messengers of archduke Philip the Fair. See MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, 1503 (January 1504). See C. GOTTWALD, art. *Ghiselin, Johannes* in *Grove*.

<sup>45</sup> See also QUITIN, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 40–41.

<sup>46</sup> See SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, *Muziekcultuur*, p. 455 and ID., art. *Maastricht*, col. 1372; C. MILLER, art. *Tzamen [Aquanus], Thomas*, in *Grove*; ID., art. *Aquanus [Loer, Luyr], Adam*, in *Grove*.

<sup>47</sup> L. BERNSTEIN, art. *Gosse, Maistre*, in *Grove*.

<sup>48</sup> A publication on the musical life of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Antwerp (15th–16th century) is in preparation. It is perhaps too far-fetched to suggest that Obrecht instructed Erasmus in music (the allegation comes from Glareanus) in Maastricht and not in Utrecht (the humanist Beatus Rhenanus claims that Erasmus was a choirboy in *Traiectum*). See R. WEGMAN, art. *Obrecht, Jacob*, in *Grove*, and in his dissertation *Obrecht in Missa*, p. 22.

<sup>49</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 980–981 (per year); see also MRA, St Servaas, chaplains, 14 (list of members of the confraternity of chaplains from 1502; Herben is found therein as *evangelarius*). Herben is also mentioned as schoolmaster in a deed in the church of Our Lady in 1482. See HAAS, *Inventaris*, p. 275.

intelligible homophonic style in polyphonic music.<sup>50</sup> He explicitly mentions the five-part *Laudemus nunc Dominum* by Obrecht, whom he may probably have met on the occasion of the above-mentioned visit in September 1503. It may be noted that Obrecht more than once visited collegiate churches in the region. Thus in 1495/1496 he was relatively close by while on a visit to Diest, possibly in search of good singers.<sup>51</sup> Herbenus' biographical experiences betray a kind of 'border syndrome' which is rather typical for the region. Thus he writes: "When I am in my fatherland, i.e. the Gallo-Belgian region, my voice "Gallicizes"; but if I cross Meuse and Rhine into Germany, and I don't know if this is due to the bad weather or the excess of food people there are so prone to, my voice "teutonizes". Others might say: he bellows. And when I am in Italy my voice "Italicizes", if not to say: it bleats like a goat."<sup>52</sup> In Maastricht, where a street was named after him, Herbenus retained a measure of 'celebrity'. Thus an 18th-century manuscript, describing a procession held on 19 July 1587, still makes mention of *antiquissimis manuscriptis Matthei Herbeni*.<sup>53</sup>

Due to a lack of accounts we are not so well informed on the choirboys of St Servaas. If Joseph Smits van Waesberghe is right, there would already have been twelve choirboys (*pauperes*) from as early as 1106.<sup>54</sup> This mention is unusually early in comparison with the Liège mother church, St Lambert cathedral, where that number was only reached in 1291 (new style).<sup>55</sup> From 1360 the choirboys of St Servaas lived with their choirmaster in a funded house called *Int cleyne hemelryck* ("In the little celestial kingdom"), located on the *Vrijthof*. They were also called, like the choirboys of the church of Our Lady, *paniste*, an allusion to the daily bread ration they received.<sup>56</sup> Not every choirboy could cope with the severe regime of daily instruction in the Latin school by the schoolmaster, music instruction by the choirmaster, and attendance of numerous services, as may perhaps be concluded from choirmaster Mathias's retrieval of a runaway choirboy in 1455.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Edited by J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, *Herbeni Traiectensis. De natura cantus ac miraculis vocis*, (*Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte*, 22), Cologne, 1957. See more recently K. J. SACHS, *Zu den Fassungen der Musikschrift des Mattheus Herbenus (um 1495)*, in *Die Musikforschung*, 55 (2002), pp. 395–405. With sincere thanks to prof. Klaus-Jürgen Sachs (Erlangen) for this communication.

<sup>51</sup> Diest, Stadsarchief, Stad, Accounts, 60, fol. 26: *Geschinckt meesteren Jacop zanckmeester tAntwerpen op 20 julij [1496] 6 quarten wijns valet 12 st.* With thanks to Robert Van De Ven for this information.

<sup>52</sup> QUAEDVLIEG, *Maastrichts muziekleven*, p. 61.

<sup>53</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chaplains confraternity, 554.

<sup>54</sup> It is possible that *pauperes* refers to poor students, and not to choirboys.

<sup>55</sup> SCHREURS, *Muziekleven*, pp. 81–82.

<sup>56</sup> MRA, St Servaas, 979, chapter, 1480: *Johanni Molleneer olim paniste huius ecclesie causa studij inchoandi; Solvi panistis ecclesie.*

<sup>57</sup> MRA, St Servaas, 978, chapter, 1455: *Solvi Mathia succentori qui reduxit unum de panistae qui discurrit.*

In principle the church musicians sang alone. Sometimes, however, (additional) instrumentalists were brought in from outside. Minstrels in particular were temporarily employed for important feasts.<sup>58</sup> That was especially the case in the 15th century, when uncommonly large numbers of minstrels were paid by the church of St Servaas, primarily to play in processions. To cite only a few examples: in the year 1455/1456, 21 minstrels were paid for playing at the Feast of the Dedication before the relics of St Servatius, that is, before the head of the saint (*ante caput sancti Servatij*) which is encased in a silver bust and was donated to the church in 1403 by duke Henry of Bavaria.<sup>59</sup> On the feast of St Servatius in 1456, no less than 89 minstrels (*principalibus*), besides 46 other instrumentalist (*alijs*), were remunerated. In view of the varying payments, some vague distinctions were drawn between these *ioculatores*, as they were usually called (cf. *infra*). On Corpus Christi, too, the feast *par excellence* in the Low Countries in which minstrels were involved in the procession, 57 were paid for playing before the relics of St Servatius. Finally, 21 minstrels were remunerated on the feast of the *translatio* of St Servatius, and 14 minstrels on the saint's *triumph*.<sup>60</sup> Both feasts were celebrated in June.

Over the years the number of extra musicians diminished, or their number was no longer specified. For a while a somewhat similar distinction as in 1456 was made between *luseribus majoribus quam minoribus* on the feast of St Servatius, 1479, and *luseribus tam magnis quam parvis* on Corpus Christi of the same year. A plausible explanation for this distinction as for the difference between *principalibus* and *alijs* mentioned earlier has not yet been put forward. Conceivably it was made to distinguish between the minstrels in fixed employ (i.e. the Maastricht municipal musicians) and ambulant performers.<sup>61</sup>

From the end of the 15th century we find references to minstrels performing indoors. Thus in 1503 the chapter paid various *luseres* and *ioculatores* who played for the canons in the chapter hall at Christmas. On St Stephen's day of the same year, and the *profestum* of Epiphany 1504, and on Epiphany itself, minstrels were paid for performances in the refectory.<sup>62</sup> Since that year we regularly find, beside the various *luseres* and *ioculatores*, trumpeters of the prince bishop (for instance on the feast of St Servatius, on Corpus Christi, on the *translatio* of St Servatius).<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> A basic article is G. QUAEDVLIEG, *De Maastrichtse stadstrompetters. Bijdrage tot hun geschiedenis*, in *De Maasgouw*, 86 (1967), col. 179–186.

<sup>59</sup> BOEREN, *Heiligdomsvaart Maastricht*, p. 186.

<sup>60</sup> See MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 978, 1455/1456.

<sup>61</sup> With thanks to Karel Moens (Antwerp, Vleeshuis museum) for this suggestion. See W. SALMEN, *The Social Status of the Musician in the Middle Ages*, in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, New York, 1983, p. 12, p. 21–28.

<sup>62</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, 1503 (December 1503): *diversis luseribus et ioculatoribus ludendis ipso natalis domini ante venerabiles Dominos meos in capitulo; ipso Stephani in refectorio luseribus et ioculatoribus; diversis luseribus et ioculatoribus ludendis in refectorio*.

<sup>63</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, 1503 (May, June 1504): *eodem die [St Servatius day] trumpetis reverendi domini Leodiensis; [Corpus Christi] solvi trumpetis domini reverendi Leodiensis*.

Only exceptionally is it specified which instruments were played. The mention in a payment of September 1503, coincidentally or not coeval with Obrecht's visit to Maastricht, of a singer who also played the flute (*pro quodam cantore qui lusit in fleutinis*) is notable in two respects: first because it concerns a singer who also plays therefore was probably not a minstrel and further because the clerck involved, who was clearly no musician, describes the instrument, probably out of ignorance, as a flute, whereas he may have meant a type of cornett ("Zink") an instrument more common in an ecclesiastical context.<sup>64</sup>

Rather exceptionally, vocal ensembles from elsewhere were called in. A case in point was the visit of the singers of the Burgundian court chapel in July 1455, whereby the chapter of St Servaas treated them to wine.<sup>65</sup> The singers of the cathedral of St Lambert of Liège were also treated for their services in May 1479 on the occasion of the feast of St Servatius, when they sung at mass.<sup>66</sup> This undoubtedly had an 'inspiring' effect on Maastricht musical life and offered opportunities for the exchange of repertory.

The other collegiate church of Maastricht, which was even older than St Servaas, was that of Our Lady. With its chapter of 20 canons this collegiate belonged to the middle group of such churches in the region.<sup>67</sup> That Maastricht was a 'two-lord' border town is apparent from the fact that the first collegiate church (*vrije ende keyserlycke kercke van St. Servaes*) was, as already noted, directly subordinate to the emperor under the patronage of the dukes of Brabant, whereas Our Lady was subject to the prince bishop of Liège.<sup>68</sup> In reality, however, the chapter of our Lady enjoyed considerable autonomy, for example with regard to the framing of the statutes. Still, the situation was in fact somewhat ambiguous. Thus we see in a window of the cloister

<sup>64</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 981, 1503 (September 1503): *solvi de mandato capituli domino Wolfardo canonico pro quadam cantore qui lusit in fleutinis unum florenum Hornensem*. Similar payments made explicitly to instrumentalists in this period are found in Tongeren and Brussels. See SCHREURS, *Muziekleven*, pp. 153–154.

<sup>65</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 978, 1455 (July 1456). Some canons drunk wine *cum cantoribus capelle domini ducis Burgundie*.

<sup>66</sup> MRA, St Servaas, chapter, 979, 1478 (May 1479): *...vini albi propinati in die beati Servatij... in domo domini Barthol. De Ecyk domino scholastico sancti Lamberti Leodiensis unacum cantoribus eiusdem ecclesie qui missam cantaverunt eodem die beati Servatij...*

<sup>67</sup> M. SCHOENGEN, *Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in Nederland*, Amsterdam, 1911–1912, p. 184. This author cites very early mentions for the foundation of both chapters. But it is only from the 9<sup>th</sup> century that we can confirm with certainty that canons were attached to these churches: see J. DEETERS, *Servatiusstift und Stadt Maastricht*, (*Rheinisches Archiv*, 73), Bonn, 1970, p. 23ff. HAAS, *Inventaris*, pp. 22, 25 (rightly mentions 20 canons, unlike older authors (e.g. M. Schoengen, J. Smits van Waesberghe, who speak of 38). The confusion may be due to the fact that the college of "major" canons (20) was counted together with that of the minor canons of St Anne, which was only established in 1622, when the group of chaplains was reformed.

<sup>68</sup> See J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, art. *Maastricht*, in *MGG*, col. 1370.



the imperial double eagle, accompanied by the dates 1558/1559. In other words, a symbol of the power of Philip II, who held sovereignty over the region together with the prince bishop of Liège.<sup>69</sup> In addition, there was a certain dependency of Our Lady on St Servaas which was for a time the episcopal see and with which there existed a certain rivalry; on the other hand, several agreements, for instance in the liturgical domain (e.g. processions, cf. *infra*) came about.<sup>70</sup>

Musical life in Our Lady was organized along similar lines as in St Servaas. However, we are less well informed on the names of the musicians due to a lack of specific accounts. The section on the church of Our Lady is accordingly much shorter, although a thorough study of the *acta capituli*, however lacunary and often of little relevance to musical life, may still yield some data.<sup>71</sup>

Essential to institutionalized musical life was the incorporation by papal bull (6 June 1494) of twelve chaplaincies for vicars-singers (*vicarios*) and other musicians (presumably choirboys: *et alios ministros necnon tot cantores qui symphoniam musicale [sic] decantando sufficerunt*), so that they could be provided for (*vicarei cantores et ministri sustentari et alimentari valeant*). This incorporation was of course intended for the greater honour and glory of the Church (*ad dei eiusque sancte martyris divinique cultus gloria et decorem ecclesie...; in ipsius ecclesie decorum et ornatum et cultus divini augmentum*) and the singers were obliged to devote proper care to the divine office (*divinum officium facientes canentibus et psallentibus*).<sup>72</sup> It is important, also for the later historiography of the church of Our Lady, that we thus learn that the following altars were reserved to vicars:<sup>73</sup>

St Stephen  
 St Gregory  
 St Margaret  
 St Andrew  
 Three Kings [Epiphany]  
 Sts Peter & Paul  
 Sts Simon & Jude  
 St Nicholas  
 St Michael  
 Sts Cornelius & Cyprianus, Vincent & Helen  
 Sts Felix & Adauctus  
 St Lawrence

<sup>69</sup> HAAS, *Inventaris*, p. 317.

<sup>70</sup> UBACHS, *Twee heren*, p. 63.

<sup>71</sup> HAAS, *Inventaris*, pp. 78–79, gives an overview of the *acta capituli*. The relevant registers for this period are: 1, 1488–1503, little information on music; 2, 1503–1543: fragmentary; 3, 1504–1555: fragmentary; 4, 1514–1555: fragmentary.

<sup>72</sup> MRA, Our Lady, 119, cap. 94: *De incorporatione beneficiorum unacum copia bulla*.

<sup>73</sup> All these saints appear in the *Liber ordinarius*. See TAGAGE, *Ordinarius... Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk*.

In comparison with other collegiate churches where similar incorporations occurred, that in Our Lady comes rather late. The formulation concerning its aim and its realisation is comparable with other incorporations, although the number of benefices reserved for musicians – apart from the overall value they represent – is rather large.<sup>74</sup>

As a short excursion, the 17th-century developments concerning vicars may be briefly discussed, with an eye to a better understanding of the further history of institutionalized musical life and in view of the misunderstandings that have sometimes arisen in certain publications with regard to the number of canons. In 1622 dean Petrus Lindanus pushed through an important organizational reform. Thanks to the abolition of 33 benefices for chaplains he was able to establish a college (confraternity) of 20 minor canons of St Anne.<sup>75</sup> He provided for (1) four theological or vicarial prebends (intended for musician-priests instructed in plainchant and polyphony, at the same time holding pastoral responsibilities, like the parish priest of the adjacent church of St Nicholas, the priesthood being a prerequisite); (2) ten musical prebends (destined for clerics/musicians skilled in [plain]chant and polyphony), and (3) six “choral” prebends (reserved for younger musicians – presumably former choirboys – skilled in chant and polyphony). Musicians of the last two categories who were not yet priests received a lower income.<sup>76</sup>

To the category of vicars – thus later to be found among the minor canons of St Anne – may in principle be reckoned the *zangmeester* and the organist. As already said, the *zangmeester* was in principle appointed, throughout the Ancien Regime, by the chapter; in practice, however, the canon-*cantor* was primarily responsible for the selection, appointment and supervision.<sup>77</sup> Thus the statutes of 1407 (with numerous later copies) stipulate that the *cantor* must engage a cleric-choirmaster who is able

<sup>74</sup> See for comparison E. SCHREURS, *Musica e musicisti presso le chiese collegiate dei Paesi Bassi dal tardo Medioevo al 1797. Il ruolo delle fondazioni*, in *Produzione, circolazione e consume. Consuetudine e quotidianità della polifonia sacra nelle chiese monastiche e parrocchiali dal tardo medioevo alla fine degli antichi regimi*, ed. D. BRYANT & E. QUARANTA (*Quaderni di Musica e Storia*, 5), Venice, 2006, pp. 305–332.

<sup>75</sup> Lindanus was possibly inspired by the situation in the cathedral of St Lambertus in Liège, where two colleges of minor canons existed alongside the major canons, and of which that of St Maternus was partly “reserved” for musicians. See SCHREURS, *Muziekleven*, p. 548, for the case of Lambertus Colen.

<sup>76</sup> HAAS, *Inventaris*, p. 43. HAAS, *Statuten*, p. 228. See also MRA, Our Lady, 881. The appointment of the theological prebend and of the *succentor* or *zangmeester* rested with the chapter. The right of collation of the other fifteen prebends was held by the (major) canon-*turnarius* (1684). Without doubt the choirmaster was involved in the selection of the musical candidates, presumably in consultation with the canon-*cantor* and the canon-*turnarius*. The statutes of 1684 stipulate: *ut praebendae organistae, bassi basso, alti alto, tenoris tenori conferantur, tres aliae musicales musicis idoneis*,... G. FRANQUINET, *Beredeneerde inventaris der oorkonden en bescheiden van het kapittel van O.L. Vrouwekerk te Maastricht*, Maastricht, 1870, vol. 2, p. 81, n. 1.

<sup>77</sup> In connection with a discussion concerning appointment rights in Tongeren between *cantor* Libertus de Corswarem and the chapter (1436) see SCHREURS, *Muziekleven*, p. 12.

to instruct the *scolares* in singing. This was done in principle three times a week (viz. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays), from early morning until Prime and from after noon until Vespers. During Advent and Lent (therefore from *Letare* Sunday) he must sing daily (i.e. give singing instruction).<sup>78</sup> During Advent he even sings thrice daily on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. For this the choirboys (*scolares*) give him one sterling. They also owe him this during Lent, presumably because then too they have three lessons a day. When the choirboys are to sing the [divine] office/hours in the chancel the choirmaster will call them thereto. They are then subject to his authority and if necessary he will correct them. If they behave disobediently he is to discipline them *manualiter*. The choirmaster will regularly attend the choral hours for the performance of verses and responsories. To this end he will, following Vespers, listen to the responsories in the school and specify the antiphons to be sung at Matins the following day, if that is a feast day. Although these directives are rather general, they presumably remained in force until the dissolution of the chapter in 1797.<sup>79</sup>

Already from 1136 the church had an unknown number of *clerici chorales*, who in 1351 were – as said – called *panistae*.<sup>80</sup> Since the 15th century they lived in a separate house in the *Tafelstraat*.<sup>81</sup> These choirboys were engaged after examination, sometimes by the chapter, sometimes by the canon-cantor. The latter was the case on 25 June 1504 when Egidius de Huffalis entered service. These youngsters were usually recruited in Maastricht itself or in the immediate vicinity, as is shown by the names of the candidates. Thus on 23 March 1509 one Johannes de Wyck (i.e. from Wyck, on the other riverside of the Meuse) is engaged at Our Lady.<sup>82</sup>

Since the accounts for this period are lacking we cannot determine the actual number of choirboys, which possibly varied, as in St Servaas or Our Lady in Tongeren. Presumably that number will have been about six to eight. A legacy of *scholasticus* Bartholomeus de Herckenrode of 1479 even mentions fifteen (i.e. a group of eight and another of seven) choirboys.<sup>83</sup> After the reform of 1622, in any event, six *chorale*-prebends were available within the newly founded confraternity of minor canons of St Anne.<sup>84</sup> Just like the adult singers, the choirboys swore an oath of fealty to the chapter, swearing on the Gospel (see Annex 2). Due to the lack of sources, however, it is not possible to compile a prosopographical list of the choirboys, nor of the adult musicians.

<sup>78</sup> See for comparison the situation in the church of Our Lady in Tongeren: SCHREURS, *Muziekleven*, pp. 96–97.

<sup>79</sup> See Annex 1; MRA, Our Lady, 118, 119, 138.

<sup>80</sup> SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, *Muziekcultuur*, pp. 454–455.

<sup>81</sup> SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, *Muziekcultuur*, pp. 454–455.

<sup>82</sup> MRA, Our Lady, 416, fol. 7, 24v.

<sup>83</sup> MRA, Our Lady, 29, p. 269.

<sup>84</sup> HAAS, *Inventaris*, p. 43.

Further information concerning musical life in the church of Our Lady is rather scanty. Worthy of mention is that the oldest reference to an organist in Our Lady already dates from 1282 (1285), where a certain H. de Aquis (Henricus van Aken) is cited.<sup>85</sup> The various anniversaries that were funded provide some information, although the formulations often remain very vague. An interesting foundation is that of mayor Dionisius Makart in 1480 for the salvation of his soul and that of his wife and children. A mass for the Holy Cross was to be sung on Friday by the chaplains, but it is not specified whether or not it was polyphonic. This mass was to be sung every week, unless it is a feast day and the canons' choir is occupied. In that case the mass is sung in the chapel of St Stephen.<sup>86</sup>

Later sources (17th–18th century) sometimes also yield information concerning older foundations for music that go back to the period before 1520. Thus in 1763 a number of old[er] customs are altered, but still clearly formulated in a more archaic language. It is [then] stipulated that Vespers on New Year's day are to be sung *in cantu figurali seu fauxbourdon*. It is further prescribed that on the feast of St Blasius a motet is to be sung in the crypt after Compline. A final regulation says that on several days of the year the *Benedictus* must be sung in *fauxbourdon*, unlike other chants that are performed *musice*. This clearly refers to the contrast between an improvised form of polyphonic singing (*super librum*) and a written-out form of polyphony.<sup>87</sup> This probably concerned, in a number of cases, some deeply-rooted customs.

The most important source of our knowledge of the liturgical practice(s) in the church of Our Lady is of course the elaborate *Liber ordinarius* which, more than that of St Servaas, offers a detailed description of the services. Often the role of the organ is mentioned. By contrast, polyphony is not mentioned, and unfortunately no contemporary polyphonic music from Our Lady has been preserved. Interesting, on the other hand, is the survival of a number of intriguing liturgical books (e.g. a gradual and

<sup>85</sup> SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, art. *Maastricht*, col. 1371. Possibly the son of the same organist is mentioned in a deed from 1322. See HAAS, *Inventaris*, p. 303. It may be noted that Henry Du Mont, the famous composer active at the French court, held this post in 1629. His brother Lambertus became a canon there, and Henri too obtained a prebend as non-resident canon in 1676. The two funded an anniversary there, also for their mother, which called for music (1679, 1686). Henri himself was in 1667 abbot of the monastery of Silly near Alençon. In that capacity he is mentioned in the archives of Our Lady. See MRA, Our Lady, 934. See also L. DECOBERT, art. *Du Mont*, in *Grove*.

<sup>86</sup> MRA, Our Lady, 531. Elsewhere in the Low Countries, too, it was customary to have votive masses sung for the Holy Cross sung on Fridays. See e.g. for the situation in three Antwerp churches K. FORNEY, *Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp*, in *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), p. 9.

<sup>87</sup> MRA, Our Lady, 526, pp. 1, 10, 13, 21. On singing in *fauxbourdon* in this area in the 18th century see also the situation in Tongeren: SCHREURS, *Muziekleven*, pp. 23, 26, 263.

three antiphonaries from the 15th century, and an antiphoner from the 14th century, according to later additions also still in use in the 18th century).<sup>88</sup>

Sporadically some information can be found in descriptions of occasional festivities. Thus there is the “Joyous Entrance” of prince bishop Everard van der Marck in 1506. A procession is held and the *Te Deum* is performed *alternatim*, whereby the organist plays first or sings first with organ accompaniment (*cecinit* [sic]) followed by the response of the singers. At the inauguration of provost Werner de Fallonia, alias de Merode, in 1527, *Te Deum* is sung *alternatim* with organ accompaniment.<sup>89</sup>

Finally, it should be noted explicitly that the two collegiate churches, as said earlier, tried to cooperate and thus came to clear institutional understandings. To that end, a joint confraternity was founded in 1354 (*confraternitas utriusque capituli*), and over the years arrangements were regularly made for the organization of joint processions, attendance of church dedications by each institution, exhibition of the relics, etc.<sup>90</sup>

It should be clear from the foregoing that the collegiate churches of Maastricht had a flourishing and diversified musical life that reflected developments seen in similar other European ecclesiastical institutions. Although the results of this research are not yet exhaustive and the sources in comparison with many other collegiate churches for the period c. 1450–1520 often show important gaps, it is clear that both institutions are sufficiently interesting to merit further research for this and the subsequent periods. As the centuries progress the sources become more complete so that the functioning of an institutionalized musical life can better be studied and understood. Further comparative study in neighbouring cities (such as Liège, Aachen, ’s-Hertogenbosch, Diest, Hasselt, Huy), as well as in smaller towns (such as Visé and Borgloon) will undoubtedly allow us to map musical life and the mutual migration of musicians and their music.

<sup>88</sup> HAAS, *Inventaris*, p. 315: 1970 (gradual), 1977 (antiphoner, winter part), 1978–1979 (antiphoner, summer part). For an edition of the *Liber ordinarius* see TAGAGE, *Ordinarius... Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk*. See also the site *Chant behind the dikes* of Ike De Loos: <http://utopia.knoware.nl/users/ikedl/chant/ike>. Maastricht, Stadsarchief, Archief en bibliotheek van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, nr. 388 is an illuminated antiphoner from the 14th century.

<sup>89</sup> MRA, Our Lady, 119 cap. 92: *Organista cecinit in organis Te Deum et cantores responderunt...*; cap. 93: *cantores Te deum cum organis cantaverunt*.

<sup>90</sup> MRA, Our Lady, 39, pp. 85–86; 535. Many of the arrangements made between the two chapters are summed up briefly in inv. no. 39 (*de dato*: 1354, 1441, 1510, 1633, 1677, 1711). See also the article by J. HAAS, *De statuten van het kapittel van Onze Lieve Vrouw te Maastricht*, in Maastricht, 1996, pp. 207–230; UBACHS, *Twee heren*, pp. 45–50. For the complete statutes see also FRANQUINET, *Beredeneerde inventaris*, 1, pp. 73–114.

**ANNEX 1: OFFICE OF THE CANTOR**  
**(MRA, OUR LADY, 119: 1407, 18TH-CENTURY COPY)**

*Officium cantoris*

*Cantor per capitulum electus, in festis triplicibus et duplicibus ex suo officio debet regere chorum et debet stare cum uno canonico cuius fuerit septimana chori, et si ille canonicus praesens non fuerit nec per alium canonicum suum debitum fecerit, decanus debet eum corrigere in capitulo et cantorem similiter, et omnes alios qui in matutinis et in aliis horis suum debitum praetermiserint, et idem cantor debet constituere unum clericum succentorem in scolis, qui sit idoneus ad cantandum scholaribus ter in septimana, videlicet feria secunda, quarta et sexta, et in mane cantabit usque ad primam, et facto prandio usque ad vespervas, et in adventu cantabit omni feria, et in jejuniis post laetare omni feria similiter, et in adventu cantabit ter feriis secundis, quartis, et sextis, et quilibet scholaris pro labore dicti succentoris dabit ei unum sterlignum, et in jejuniis similiter unum sterlignum, et quando tempus fuerit intrandi chorum, tunc veniet succentor et vocavit scolares, ut intrent chorum, et ab illo tempore erunt in regimine succentoris donec revertantur a choro, et si aliqui deliquerint in choro vel in processione, succentor potest corrigere eos de omnibus praeter de lectionibus, et illa correctio spectat ad magistrum, et si scolares fuerint rebelles succentori, tunc magister apponet manus ad subiugandum eos, et idem succentor frequenter debet esse in choro, in matutinis et in aliis horis propter versus et responsoria quae ad ipsum pertinent et propter scolares qui tunc erunt in regimine suo, ut post vespervas audiet in scolis responsoria et ordinabit antiphonas quae in matutinis die sequenti, si festum fuerit debent cantari.*

**ANNEX 2: OATH OF THE CHOIRBOYS**  
**(MRA, OUR LADY, 119, CAP. 84, 18TH-CENTURY COPY)**

*Iuramentum choralium. Cap. 84*

*Ego N. admittendus in choraalem huius ecclesie beate Marie semper virginis nostro [sic] ad hec sancta dei evangelia quod ab hora mantea fidelis et obediens dominis decano et capitulo [sic] ecclesie predicte, et horis omnibus diligenter frequentabo eisque reverentiam debitam exhibebo: ita iuro: sic me deus adi[u]vet et hec sancta dei evangelia.*



## THE BRUSSELS–MANTUA CONNECTION: VINCENZO GONZAGA’S STATE VOYAGES TO THE LOW COUNTRIES IN 1599 AND 1608\*

Susan Parisi

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

In the year 1599, and again in 1608, Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga undertook a state voyage of four and a half months’ duration from Mantua to the Low Countries. Claudio Monteverdi and the singer-composer Francesco Rasi were among the approximately forty members of his court who accompanied him on the first grand tour; Rasi was also present on the second voyage. Relatively little documentation about these trips has come down to us, and in it there is scant mention of musical activity. Monteverdi’s participation is known from a mere phrase in one of his letters (‘If fortune called me to His Serene Highness’s service in Flanders’)<sup>1</sup> and from his brother Giulio Cesare’s intriguing statement appended to the *Scherzi musicali*. There, stressing (for Artusi’s benefit) that Monteverdi is someone who breaks new ground and therefore does not need to imitate others, Giulio Cesare brings up...

The *canto alla francese* in the modern manner that is found in publications of the last three or four years, now for motet texts, now madrigals, now canzonette, now arie,

and asks:

who before him [used it until] he brought it back to Italy when he returned from the baths at Spa in 1599? And who began to apply it to texts in Latin and in our vulgar tongue before he did? Did he not at that time compose these *scherzi*?<sup>2</sup>

\* The research discussed here is part of a larger study on Gonzaga state voyages and festive entries. I would like to thank the University of Illinois Research Board and its Research Scholars’ Program for support of this project, and the University’s Scholars’ Travel Fund for a grant to present the paper on which the article is based at the Seventeenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, 1–7 August 2002. I am also grateful to Klaartje Proesmans for furnishing me with her thesis (K. PROESMANS, *Het muziekleven aan het hof van Albrecht en Isabella (1598–1621)*, licenciate’s thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1988) and for other kindnesses, and to Herbert Kellman for invaluable suggestions and help in transcribing the French documents. In this article, in the transcriptions provided, abbreviations present in the original documents have been resolved.

<sup>1</sup> From Cremona to Annibale Chieppio in Mantua, 2 December 1608 (see E. LAX ed., *Claudio Monteverdi Lettere*, [Florence, 1994], pp. 5–6): see **Appendix, no. 1**.

<sup>2</sup> see *Dichiaratione della lettera stampata nel Quinto libro de’ suoi Madrigali*, originally published in Monteverdi’s *Scherzi musicali a tre voci* (Venice, 1607), facsimile in C. MONTEVERDI, *Tutte le opere*, ed. G.F. MALIPIERO, 10, pp. 69–72; modern edition in D. DE’ PAOLI, *Claudio Monteverdi: lettere, dediche e prefazioni*, Rome, 1973, p. 402: see **Appendix, no. 2**. For discussion of the connection between the *Dichiaratione* and the *Scherzi musicali*, see M. OSSI, *Claudio Monteverdi’s ‘Ordine novo, bello et gustevole’: The Canzonetta as Dramatic Module and Formal Archetype*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 45 (1992), pp. 261–277.



What Giulio Cesare meant by *canto alla francese* remains unclear, though the possible influence of northern music on Monteverdi is a subject to which we will return later in the essay.<sup>3</sup> Of Rasi's participation in 1599, there is only his father's remark that Jacopo Corsi had shown him Rasi's letters from Antwerp,<sup>4</sup> but for the later trip some of Rasi's actual letters survive.<sup>5</sup>

Gonzaga patronage of Flemish artists in this period is well known. Vincenzo in fact recruited François Pourbus the Younger in Brussels during the 1599 tour and he recruited Peter Paul Rubens a year later;<sup>6</sup> over the next two decades the Gonzagas would become patrons of at least a dozen other northern artists: Jan Van Achen, Jan Bruegel the Elder, Jan Bruegel the Younger, Pieter Bruegel the Younger, Paul Bril, Anthony Van Dyck, Giovanni Fiammingo Pittore, Giambologna [Jan Boulogne], Joris Hoefnagel, Jan Sadeler, Justus Sustermans [Giusto Suttermans], and Frederik Valckenborch.<sup>7</sup> That for this same period we had only sketchy knowledge of musical exchanges between the Mantuan court and the Brussels court of Archduke Albert and his Spanish wife, Isabella (daughter of Phillip II of Spain), aroused my curiosity. Prompted by documents from Mantua about the two voyages, I turned to archives in the North, hoping to amplify the picture of a Brussels–Mantua connection. A number of notices came to light: in Nancy, Bar-le-Duc, Lille, Liège, Brussels, London. Not

<sup>3</sup> For the debate on the meaning of *canto alla francese* for Monteverdi's style, see J. WHENHAM, *The Later Madrigals and Madrigal-Books*, in I. FENLON and N. FORTUNE eds., *The New Monteverdi Companion*, London – Boston, 1985, pp. 230–235 which summarizes the earlier literature.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of Ascanio Rasi in Florence to Francesco Rasi in Mantua, 15 November 1599 (Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga [hereafter, ManAS, A.G.] 1121); printed in S. PARISI, *Ducal Patronage of Music in Mantua, 1587–1627: An Archival Study*, Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1989, p. 691; and W. KIRKENDALE, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici*, Florence, 1993, p. 565: see **Appendix, no. 3**.

<sup>5</sup> Letters of 27 June from Innsbruck (ManAS, A.G. 553), 16 July from Nancy (ManAS, A.G. 717), and 8 August from Spa (ManAS, A.G. 526), to be discussed below. On Rasi's biography, see KIRKENDALE, *The Court Musicians*, pp. 556–603; PARISI, *Ducal Patronage of Music in Mantua*, pp. 477–487, 616–491; W. PORTER, art. *Rasi, Francesco*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20, 2nd ed., London, 2001, pp. 838–839.

<sup>6</sup> Pourbus was court painter in Mantua from 1600 to 1609, Rubens from 1600 to 1608. For an overview of their careers, see the corresponding articles by P. HUVENNE and H. Vlieghe in *New Grove Dictionary of Art Online* (Oxford University Press). Analysis of the Gonzagas' cavalier treatment of Rubens and of musicians in their employ is in S. PARISI, 'Il Stilo Nostro di Mantova' According to Rubens: A 'Licenza alla Mantovana' Postscript, in G. FORNARI ed., *Album Amicorum Albert Dunning in Occasione del suo LXV Compleanno*, Turnhout, 2002, pp. 251–263; and in S. PARISI, 'Licenza alla Mantovana': Frescobaldi and the Recruitment of Musicians for Mantua, 1612–1615, in A. SILBIGER ed., *Frescobaldi Studies*, Durham, 1987, pp. 55–91, which also examines Monteverdi's dismissal in 1612. For further on Monteverdi, see S. PARISI, *New Documents concerning Monteverdi's Relations with the Gonzagas*, in P. BESUTTI, T. GIALDRONI and R. BARONCINI eds., *Monteverdi. Studi e prospettive*, Florence, 1998, pp. 477–511.

<sup>7</sup> The Mantuan court's contacts with these artists are discussed by Donatella Mattioli; see D. MATTIOLI, *Pittori e dipinti neerlandesi presenti a Mantova dal 1506 ai nostri giorni*, thesis, University of Padova, 1976/1977; and D. MATTIOLI, *Fiamminghi a Mantova tra cinque e seicento*, in *Rubens a Mantova*, with an introduction by G. MALAZZANI, Milan, 1977, pp. 68–72.

surprisingly, however, these internal court memoranda, ambassadorial dispatches, and odd payment records yielded little about musical events, and nothing about Monteverdi's presence. Nevertheless, taken together, the Italian and northern documentation affords us a glimpse (at times quite detailed) of life on a grand tour with a prince of Vincenzo's rank, and invites conjecture about the significance of these experiences for Monteverdi and Rasi.

Both in 1599 and 1608, Vincenzo claimed that the principal purpose of the voyage was – for medical reasons – to visit Spa, north of Liège and famous for its curative waters. Whether there might have been other reasons will be dealt with shortly. But since the two trips covered more or less the same ground, details from both of them will be examined at the same time in an order that is geographical rather than chronological, and stresses the principal towns visited.

Vincenzo's first trip began on 4 June 1599, two weeks before Albert and Isabella, having concluded their wedding celebrations in Spain, and having set sail for Italy, landed in Genoa; from Genoa they traveled on to Milan, where they stayed until 22 July, before beginning their own journey northward to Brussels.<sup>8</sup> Vincenzo would in fact travel much of the route north that Archduke Albert had taken south eight months earlier, on his way to meet his bride in Spain.<sup>9</sup> Now, in early summer 1599, the Mantuan and archducal parties set off for the North, traversing the same territory from Basel onwards, and making some of the same stops, with the Mantuans preceding the archducal contingent by about five weeks.

At this point certain earlier events deserve mention. Shortly before his death in 1598, Philip II of Spain had arranged two dynastic marriages: that of his daughter Isabella to Archduke Albert, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and that of his son and heir, Philip III, to Albert's cousin, Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Archduke of Styria and granddaughter of Emperor Ferdinand I. In the autumn and winter of 1598–1599 Albert had accompanied Margaret on a ceremonial journey to Spain, where the marriages were to be celebrated: he had travelled south from Brussels and met Margaret in Trent, and together they had journeyed through northern Italy, paying formal visits to Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Pavia, and finally Genoa, where they boarded their ship to Spain. Three weeks after their arrival, their respective weddings were celebrated on 18 April 1599 in Valencia, though the pope had already blessed both marriages in Ferrara in November 1598, with representatives standing in for Philip and Isabella. The visit of the archduke and his cousin to Ferrara, and its attendant festivities, had in fact drawn hundreds of guests.<sup>10</sup> Like other rulers of territories along

<sup>8</sup> See the account of the journey by Gilles du Faing, a member of the archducal household, *Memoires de ce qu'a passé au voyage de la Roynie et de l'arciducque Albert depuis son partement des Pays-Bas pour Espagne...*, in L. GACHARD ed., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4, Brussels, 1882, pp. 506ff.

<sup>9</sup> GACHARD, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4, pp. 478–497.

the archducal route that autumn, Vincenzo Gonzaga had invited Albert and Margaret to accept his hospitality, desiring, as the Mantuan chronicler Ferrando Persia wrote in the official account, 'to make the world know in all occasions... the extraordinary devotion and reverence that [he] feels towards His Majesty [of Spain] and toward all the Most Serene House of Austria'.<sup>11</sup>

Indeed, the reception in Mantua on 20–24 November 1598 was one of the most opulent in Albert's and Margaret's journey. A newly constructed galley that Vincenzo Gonzaga had ordered for them, together with his other bucentaurs, carried them from Bussolengo in Venetian territory across the Po to Revere in Mantuan territory and then to Ferrara, and from there on the Po and Mincio rivers to Mantua. At the city gate there were statues of the legendary founders of Mantua, with a welcoming inscription; a later construction on the route of the procession depicted the seven Italian provinces subject to Spain. At the church of Sant' Andrea, an arch featured the new king Philip III of Spain and his queen, Margaret, with Fortune kneeling before them, while at the cathedral, tapestries portrayed the genealogy of the House of Austria. Margaret received the keys of the city in a silver basin, and was carried in a sedan chair borne by two mules and under a canopy held up by eight noblemen. She heard motets in the cathedral, then entered the ducal palace, whose doorway had been decorated with allegorical statues of peace, fortune, eternity, and joy. Later there was a boar hunt, a viewing of the ducal collections of antiquities and of saints' relics (a few of the latter then presented as gifts to Margaret and her mother), and a performance of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*.<sup>12</sup> Its intermedii – which apparently symbolized the marriage of Margaret to Philip III, with the dead Philip II as Jupiter approving the marriage from Heaven – and especially the stage machinery, received considerable praise,<sup>13</sup> though the musical numbers must also have been novel. This music has not been identified (madrigals by Gastoldi were heard in the play),<sup>14</sup> but from a descrip-

<sup>10</sup> The Ferrarese festivities are examined in B. MITCHELL, *1598. A Year of Pageantry*, (*Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, 71), Binghamton, 1990.

<sup>11</sup> F. PERSIA, *Relazione dei ricevimenti fatti in Mantova alla Maesta della Reina di Spagna dal Sereniss. Sig. Duca l'anno M.D.XCVIII del mese di novembre*, Mantua, s.d., p. 1, as cited in MITCHELL, *A Year of Pageantry*, p. 39.

<sup>12</sup> G.B. VIRGILIO, *Rellatione... dell'entrata fatta in Mantova per la regina Margheritta d'Austria...*, in D. FERRARI and C. MOZZARELLI eds., *La Insalata. Cronaca Mantovana dal 1561 al 1602*, Mantua, 1992, pp. 84–89.

<sup>13</sup> According to the chronicler Giovanni Battista Grillo, *Breve trattato di quanto successe alla Maestà della Regina D. Margarita d'Austria N. S. dalla città di Trento fine d'Alemagna, e principio d'Italia fino alla Città di Genova...*, Naples, Costantino Vitali, 1604, as cited in A. NERI, *Gli 'Intermezzi' del 'Pastor Fido'*, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 11 (1888), pp. 407–408.

<sup>14</sup> Gastoldi composed the four concerted madrigals for the *gioco della cieca* scene (published in his *Madrigali a 5 voci* [Venice: Amadino, 1602]); for further on these madrigals, see A. HARTMANN, JR., *Battista Guarini and 'Il Pastor Fido'*, in *The Musical Quarterly*, 39 (1953), pp. 415–425; and for other composers' settings, see J. CHATER, *'Un pasticcio di madrigaletti'? The early musical fortune of 'Il pastor fido'*, in A. POMPILIO ed., *Guarini la musica, i musicisti*, Lucca, 1997, pp. 139–155.

tion of the intermedi for a production of *Il Pastor Fido* a few months earlier, we know, for instance, that in one intermedio three women sang and played lutes, and in another eighteen members of the cast were on a ship, among them Francesco Rasi with a chitarrone, who sang ‘admirably’, and was accompanied by two echoes.<sup>15</sup>

Both the 1599 and 1608 voyages (see Table 1 for the travel itineraries) took the Mantuans first to Innsbruck via Trent and Bressanone (Brixen), where they were received by bishops and a cardinal, and where in Trent in 1608, Vincenzo gambled and won. The stakes, as Rasi describes them, involved something other than money:

After dining, His Excellency Don Antonio played cards with  
His Highness and lost, [receiving] three lashes on the posterior  
[*tre Frustate su’l Tafanaro*], which were paid out  
by Signor Carlo Rossi, in the presence of all the princes.<sup>16</sup>

Eight months earlier when Archduke Albert had passed through Innsbruck on his way south, his chronicler Gilles du Faing had found the court greatly decreased in size since the death of Archduke Ferdinand II in 1595, numbering only one hundred persons.<sup>17</sup> In 1599 the only activities in the city mentioned by the Mantuans were Vincenzo’s participation in a procession of the Holy Sacrament on the octave of Corpus Christi, and excursions outside Innsbruck to fish and dine.<sup>18</sup> In 1608, Rasi was lodged in the house of a Baron Molinara, and sang at court one evening, as he writes to Vincenzo Gonzaga’s second son, Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga, also enclosing a canzonetta that he had composed on the journey ‘about the solitudes, and the murmuring of so many brooks.’<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Intermedi fatti nella Pastorale del Cav.re Guarino in Mantova del mese di giugno 1598*. Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 1307, pp. 98–99 – transcribed in PARISI, *Ducal Patronage of Music in Mantua*, p. 188; also see pp. 142–143. The occasion was the entertainment of Pope Clement VIII, his nephew Pietro Aldobrandini, who had been appointed papal legate in Ferrara, and the twenty-seven cardinals and forty bishops in their legation. On Rasi’s employment of echo devices, see T. CARTER, *Singing ‘Orfeo’: On the Performance of Monteverdi’s First Opera*, in *Recercare*, 11 (1999), pp. 183–184.

<sup>16</sup> Francesco Rasi in Innsbruck to Ferdinando Gonzaga, 27 June 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 553): see **Appendix, no. 4**, and from Annibale Iberti to Chieppio, 20 June 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 526). For the earlier trip, see Ferrando Persia to Annibale Chieppio from Trent, 6 June 1599, and Sterizingen (in Tyrol), 12 June (ManAS, A.G. 574).

<sup>17</sup> In GACHARD, *Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4, pp. 475–476.

<sup>18</sup> Annibale Azzoloni in Innsbruck to Chieppio, 20 June 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 550): see **Appendix, no. 5**. Ferdinand II’s widow was Vincenzo Gonzaga’s sister, Anna Caterina.

<sup>19</sup> Rasi in Innsbruck, 27 June 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 553): see **Appendix, no. 6**.

## DUKE VINCENZO GONZAGA'S TRAVEL ITINERARIES IN 1599 AND 1608

1599		1608	
4 June	Mantua	mid June	Mantua
6 June	Trent	21 June	Bolzano
13–21 June	Innsbruck	25–27 June	Innsbruck
24 June	Kempten	7 July	Basel
	Lindau	11–29 July	Nancy
28–29 June	Constance		visit to Metz
2 July	Basel		Cologne
9 July	Nancy		Cleves
18 July–11 August	Spa		Strasbourg
12 August	Liège	9–26 August	Spa
16 August	Brussels ?		visit to Aachen
20 August	Antwerp	29 August–1 September	Brussels
26 August–1 September	Brussels	1–5 September	Antwerp
	visit to Hal	5 September	Breda
	Nivelle		The Hague
	Mons		Amsterdam
5–21 September	Brussels	17 September	Antwerp
15 October	Mantua	26/27 September	Paris
		16–23 October	Fontainebleau
			Marseille
			Livorno
		16 November	Florence
		late November	Mantua

The Mantuans passed through Lindau, Constance, and Basel, which in 1599 they reached on 2 July, and in 1608 on 7 July. The advance party had some difficulty in the mountains, and on the later trip, as Antonio Costantini says, had to deal with snow and rain, the latter present on the earlier trip also:

This morning I arrived here in Basel in good health, thanks to God, but after such a bad voyage... having traveled a very poor road to here from Bellinzona: not only [was] Saint Gotthard Mountain covered in snow, but it snowed on my back during the crossing almost without stop... and coming down from the mountain it rained continuously.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, Ferrando Persia comments more positively on an important aspect of Swiss society, and, perhaps for Mantuan consumption, on Vincenzo's welcome in the Swiss cities:

<sup>20</sup> Antonio Costantini in Basel to Duchess Leonora Gonzaga, 7 July 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 723): **see Appendix, no. 7.**

On the voyage we saw Kempten, Lindau, Constance and its lake, and at last Basel, all cities near Constance, in which they [the citizens] live with freedom of conscience. In all cities and in other castles His Highness has always been received, met, and presented with wine, wheat, and fish.<sup>21</sup>

A letter from Rasi to Ferdinando Gonzaga tells us that in Constance in 1608 Vincenzo was received by Count Marco Altemps, and it adds several noteworthy details regarding Rasi's own impressions there and in Basel and Strasbourg, the next stations:

We arrived in Constance, where His Highness was received in the house of Count Marco Altemps... There I heard the instruments and excellent chitarroni, he [Altemps] taking great pleasure in extending such kindnesses. From what His Highness tells me, he [Altemps] wanted very much to come to know me... We moved on to Basel... there we stayed the night and until 13 o'clock the next day, when we embarked for Strasbourg where we found ourselves after two days' journey. They [Basel and Strasbourg] are both beautiful, and they have two beautiful churches, and in the one in Basel there are the tombs of various great men, Catholic ancestors as well as modern heretics, and [the tomb] of Erasmus of Rotterdam in particular [is] most beautiful, with very fine inscriptions... In the city of Strasbourg there was a very rich and greatly populated fair, the most beautiful that I have ever seen in my life, with all the delights that one can desire. There no one was lodged in an inn [but] every one in a private residence, and His Highness was showered with gifts, as in all the other cities.<sup>22</sup>

The next stage of the journey in 1599 brought them to Nancy on 9 July, to the court of Duke Charles III of Lorraine, who, like Vincenzo and the archduke, was an ardent supporter of Catholicism and of the arts. As Persia reports, Charles, his two sons, and the princess and other noble ladies of his court, gave Vincenzo and his retinue a fitting welcome:

One mile outside the city His Highness was met by the Duke [of Lorraine], by the Cardinal and the Duke of Barri, his sons, and by

<sup>21</sup> Persia in Nancy to Chieppio, 10 July 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 574): **see Appendix, no. 8.**

<sup>22</sup> Rasi in Nancy to Ferdinando Gonzaga, 16 July 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 717): **see Appendix, no. 9.**

many of the nobility. The welcoming greetings were offered on foot, and then their Highnesses remounted their horses. At the entrance [of the palace] His Highness was met by the sister of the King of France, and received with the ceremony of shaking hands and kissing on the face, and the same was done by the Princess and by other principal ladies. His Highness dined the same evening with Duke Carlo, the Cardinal and the Duke of Barri, in the company of the sister of the King and of the Princess. We are treated nobly. The apartment for His Highness is excellent and richly decorated.<sup>23</sup>

Albert and Isabella would visit Nancy five weeks later, and like the Mantuans, they were lodged at Duke Charles's expense.<sup>24</sup> Their chronicler's comments make it clear that during this visit music played an important role:

The following day the 17<sup>th</sup> of August... after lunch the duchess [of Bar] visited the Infanta [Isabelle] in her apartment... where the duchess sang and played the lute. They finally came out to go to supper... During supper a fine artillery salvo was fired; there was [also] beautiful music... then the ball began... some danced a pavane and a gaillarde, as did Their Highnesses, and at the end of the gaillarde, the Infanta chose the duke of Bar to dance [with her]. The celebration lasted close to three hours, until midnight.<sup>25</sup>

In view of the prominence of music at the court of Lorraine, and particularly the interest in song, it would seem likely that during the Mantuans' four days' stay in Nancy,<sup>26</sup> Rasi, if not both Rasi and Monteverdi, had also performed there. No record of a gratuity to Mantuan musicians has been found, though '100 *escus pistolletas Italii*, equivalent to 450 francs' were distributed on Charles's behalf to the 'jesters and jugglers (*bouffons et sauteurs*) in the Duke of Mantua's entourage',<sup>27</sup> and the same amount plus one franc was given by the cardinal of Lorraine, Charles's son, to three unnamed persons in Vincenzo's employ.<sup>28</sup> Altogether the Mantuans spent twelve

<sup>23</sup> Persia in Nancy to Chieppio in Mantua, 10 July 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 574): **see Appendix, no. 10.**

<sup>24</sup> The expenses for the Archduke and Archduchess and their suite, for a visit of seven days and a reception at the court of Lorraine, in August 1599 came to 11,119 francs, 11 gros, 3 deniers (Nancy, Archives départementales de Meurthe et Moselle [hereafter NancyAD, M.M.] B. 1257, fol. 187r).

<sup>25</sup> Account by Du Faing, in GACHARD, *Collection des voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4, p. 516: **see Appendix, no. 11.**

<sup>26</sup> Hercole Achillini in Nancy to Abbate Pompanazzo, 12 July 1599 (ManAS, A. G. 2249).

<sup>27</sup> Nancy, AD, M.M., B. 1257, fol. 312r: **see Appendix, no. 12.**

<sup>28</sup> Nancy, AD, M.M., B. 1258, fol. 32v: **see Appendix, no. 13.**

days in the duchy of Lorraine, including a visit to the town of Luneville<sup>29</sup> and during that time all of their expenses, amounting to 13,324 francs, were assumed by Charles.<sup>30</sup>

Visiting Nancy again in 1608 the Mantuans this time stayed twelve days, and it is certain that Rasi did perform at court then, for he mentions in a letter that he sang verses written to commemorate Duke Charles, who had died in May:

In Nancy before our departure, it happened that I sang, requested to by their Serene Highnesses [of Lorraine], and, among other things, I sang for the first time poetry for the death of the Most Serene Carlo, asked of me by their Highnesses, and especially by Duke Henrico. I was rewarded with a necklace of beautiful workmanship by His Highness, which I consider a special honor and compliment, since His Highness had not given anything to anyone else, though Madame the Most Serene gave everybody various pretty favors, and for the most part rings. But I who less deserved it was the most favored.<sup>31</sup>

By that time Vincenzo's daughter Margherita was the Duchess of Lorraine, having married Henri after his first wife's death, and Henri having now succeeded his father as duke. Because the court was in mourning, Vincenzo was greeted with less public display, but, as Rasi, Annibale Iberti, and Francesco Spadino all noted, the hospitality and honors he received were no less magnanimous than in 1599:

[Rasi]: His Highness was met by one of these princes of the blood with a horse guard company and by the whole government of the court, and in everything so far has been very well treated. The Duke and his brother, even if they are not letting themselves be seen in public, notwithstanding that, as a sign of affection they wanted to come meet His Highness outside the city, and Madame The Most Serene came to the meadow inside the first gate in a closed carriage to meet him. And first to the gate came the governor of the city, who presented the keys to His Highness as a token of esteem.

[Iberti]: Madame went a mile out of the city in a chair seat for the pleasure of meeting His Highness, and the Duke of Lorraine went for

<sup>29</sup> Acquits 1601 (Nancy, AD M.M., B. 6719), and expenses July 1599 (Bar-le-Duc, Archives départementales de la Meuse, Série B Archives Anciennes B. 2122, fol. 139v, 149r, 150r): **see Appendix, no. 14**. Also see the expenses in B. 6714

<sup>30</sup> 25 July 1599 (Nancy, AD, M.M., B. 1257, fol. 186r): **see Appendix, no. 15**.

<sup>31</sup> Rasi in Spa to Ferdinando Gonzaga, 8 August 1608 (ManAS, A. G. 526; excerpt transcribed in W. KIRKENDALE, *Zur Biographie des ersten Orfeo, Francesco Rasi*, in *Claudio Monteverdi: Festschrift Reinhold Hammerstein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Laaber, 1986, p. 306: **see Appendix, no. 16**.



three miles [out of the city] in an enclosed carriage, and then returned in secret, leaving the public entry of His Highness for one-half mile out, where His Highness was met by more than two hundred cavaliers on horses...

[Spadino]: At the entrance to the city His Highness was presented with the keys to the gate of the city by the governor, and in all was well treated and shown great tokens of affection and reverence, as if he were the King of France.<sup>32</sup>

That same evening the funeral services for Duke Charles began in the large hall of the palace, and it was this event that impressed the Mantuans above all others. Vincenzo's principal adviser, Annibale Iberti, describes the solemn grandeur of the occasion, from the appearance and size of the mourning court to the weapons and coats-of-arms carried into the hall:

The day after His Highness's arrival the funeral offices began in the grand hall in the palace, where there was the life-size statue of the deceased duke, and after three days the grand obit took place, which could not have been done with greater majesty, due as much to the noble family in mourning numbering 1,600 persons, besides the escort in long gowns down to their feet and with long trains, as to the funeral displays erected for two days until the offices were concluded, not only in the palace but also in two nearby churches where the statue is kept, under which the body is said to be. In one or the other of these churches two very large tombs were erected. It was a beautiful thing to see that besides the weapons of war and four harnessed horses brought in to this funeral, there were thirty-four lances carrying all the escutcheons of those princes with whom this house is related, among which [escutcheons] was that of the Most Serene House of Your Highness.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Continuation of letter of Rasi of 16 July 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 717), and letters of Annibale Iberti in Nancy, 12 July 1608 and of Francesco Spadino in Nancy, 25 July 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 717): **see Appendix, no. 17**. Also see various expenses (Nancy, AD, M.M., B. 7709, B. 1308, B. 5192, B. 3490): **see Appendix, no. 18**.

<sup>33</sup> Continuation of letter of Iberti, 12 July 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 717): **see Appendix, no. 19**.

Indeed this was apparently one of the most elaborate funerals ever seen in France.<sup>34</sup> For the Mantuans, who had not witnessed such a ritual, participation in its various stages, and the sight of Vincenzo as an official mourner in a long black gown and train, were stirring experiences: they saw the ceremony of honoring the old duke of Lorraine's effigy as if the duke were alive, then placing it on a bier and carrying it through the city as if it were the dead man's body, and finally proclaiming the old duke dead and the new duke alive. Rasi's descriptions of these rituals are among the most vivid:

Yesterday the solemnities of the funeral ceremonies began, according to the French and royal rite... A life-sized image of the deceased, made of colored stucco, is at the head of a sumptuously decorated chapel in the court, and it [the statue] is richly dressed, with large jewels and a crown. And it is placed in a seated position on a bed [covered in] brocade, under a large and luxurious canopy, with its hands joined as if praying to God, and around the bed are eight candles in large silver candle holders, and fixed to the fringes are the arms, that is, the insignias of the House. The princes who were kin, dressed in long black gowns with their heads also covered, and with very long trains behind, were in order on the right side, and similarly, others of his household were on the left, and altogether the whole court, and the several governors had garments in the manner of Florentine canons, and on their heads they wore priests' caps and [had] swords at their sides. Then in the said chapel, halfway down the steps, was the altar where a sung Mass was recited by a prelate, with very harmonious music by singers with lights, and also for the Offertory, with instruments. Not very far from the altar, under a canopy in the middle of the church, there was a set table, and when the Mass was finished the voice of the grand maestro was heard ordering on His Highness's behalf that the Royal [personage] be served, and immediately the chair was brought to the table as if the deceased duke were seated, and he began to be served in the proper order, and this was begun by pouring water over his hands, and with

<sup>34</sup> It has been preserved in the funeral book prepared by Claude La Ruelle, with illustrations by Jacques Callot: *Les Pompes funèbres du Duc Charles III. de Lorraine*. Nancy, 1610/1611, which comprises seventy-six etchings by Callot, among them, forty-eight of the funeral procession, twelve of the triumphal entry of the new duke, Henri II, and four of Henri and his court attending church. The standard study of the funeral is P. MAROT, *Recherches sur les pompes funèbres des ducs de Lorraine*, in *Annales de l'Est* (1935), pp. 177–214, 275–299; among more recent work is O. ROTHROCK, *The Funeral Book of Charles III of Lorraine*, in O. ROTHROCK, *Jacques Callot and Court Theatre, 1608–1619: Studies in Court Theatre and its Printed Propaganda in the background of Callot's Artistic Individuality*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1987.

the usual reverences they offered the cup, which was held until it was taken back. And this has been done continually for the last month and more, and they will continue until tomorrow when they will put it [the statue] in another chapel all draped in black, on a bier covered in black [cloth], while the office is recited for two days, then they will carry it through the city with the proper ritual and will put it back in the church, where a baton will be broken, and they will say 'the Duke is dead,' and then one will proclaim 'long live the new Duke.'<sup>35</sup>

It should be explained that the embalmed body of the duke had until the middle of June lain for public viewing on a bed in the *Chambre de trepas*, and was then moved to the *Salle d'honneur* in the palace, though it was not in view, its place taken by the effigy described in Rasi's letter. For the next month, the effigy sat upright, singers and instrumentalists performed funeral music, while visitors filed past. Daily, the effigy was brought to a fully laid dinner table, and, as Rasi writes, its hands were washed, the blessing offered, and drink given to it, as if to a living prince.

After Nancy the Mantuans headed to Spa where both times they stayed for more than three weeks. Medical treatises prescribed the waters – either by immersion of the whole body or by drinking (as Vincenzo did) – as a cure for ailments ranging from digestive problems to muscular pains, nervous complaints, and even sterility. A vivid characterization of one of these waters is a noteworthy feature of Ferrando Persia's description of Spa:

This village is situated in a lovely little valley surrounded by hills, there could be around 200 hearths and all the houses are rustic, they have, however... many rooms that can lodge a large quantity of persons. ... On the square... is a small vessel-like fountain<sup>36</sup>, but plentiful with water, which is clear and cold, derived, as they say, from a vein of iron and from vitriol, which has a certain very sharp bite, together with a certain smell resembling ink... For five days His Highness has been drinking it and now he takes 100 ounces every morning... I out of curiosity tried it, and this was enough for me, I don't want to taste any more.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Continuation of letter of Rasi, 16 July 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 717): **see Appendix, no. 20.**

<sup>36</sup> The fountain can be seen in a drawing made by Jan Brueghel when he visited Spa in 1602, which is reproduced in G.-E. JACOB, *Rues et promenades de Spa: Pages d'histoire locale*, Brussels, 1983, plate 249.

<sup>37</sup> Persia in Spa to Vostra Signore Molto Illustre, 26 July 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 574): **see Appendix, no. 21.**

Two miles from the village was another fountain, with water that had the same benefits, and was more pleasing to drink. Michel Montaigne, who traveled to a number of such curative places in the years 1580–1581 did not visit Spa, but was provided by an informant with details of the cure that fill out the picture provided by Persia:

... because Maldonado had just come from the baths of Spa... where he had been with Monsieur de Nevers, he told him [Montaigne] that those were extremely cold waters, and that the people there maintained that the colder you could take them, the better. They are so cold that some who drink them start to shiver and shudder; but soon after one feels a great warmth in the stomach. For his part he used to take a hundred ounces; for there are people who furnish glasses that hold their measure, according to what each person wants. The waters are drunk not only on an empty stomach but also after meals... As for himself, he said that he had noted their power by the harm that they had not done him, for he had drunk of them several times while all sweating and stirred up. He has observed by experience that frogs and other little animals that are thrown into these waters die immediately; and he said that a handkerchief placed over a glass full of that water will turn yellow immediately. They drink it for at least two or three weeks. That is a place where one is very well accommodated and lodged, and it is recommended for any kind of obstruction and gravel. However, neither Monsieur de Nevers nor he had got much healthier for his stay.<sup>38</sup>

Rasi described his daily routine differently, claiming that he felt like a shepherd in Arcadia, pursuing nymphs:

Now from this Arcadia I do not know what else to tell you if not that here in these times it is a happy dwelling[-place] because ladies come here scantily dressed in the guise of gracefully-dressed nymphs; and we others in the guise of roving shepherds we follow their footprints, that is, those from Holland, France, and England. But as for these [matters] of Liège, [it is] enough. And certainly Your Illustrious Lordship may believe that to drink at the fountain in the morning, and to do other things in the evening in the meadow – see hurling of batons, and dancing, and having wild fun – we do not need anything

<sup>38</sup> The full passage, from September 1580 is in D. FRAME ed. and trans., *Montaigne's Travel Journal*, [San Francisco, 1983], p. 5.

else to sweetly refresh us, in any way, from the past annoyances of the journey.<sup>39</sup>

In the early seventeenth century Spa was beginning to be a place of fashion and amusement for aristocrats from throughout Europe; it was also a place to gamble, and there were dances and games in the open field, as Rasi mentions. There is no documentation concerning the city council's organization of musical or theatrical activities until the early eighteenth century, when a theater troupe from Liège was regularly engaged for the season. However, brief notices give a sense of the music-making in the period of the Mantuans' visit: wealthy visitors traveled with their own musicians, who then entertained their employer and his new acquaintances. In 1619, for instance, an abbot from Tournai had with him musicians who played violins, viols, and spinets, and sang; the abbot's group was also entertained by a Spaniard, with castanet dances, sonatas, and especially with poetry and songs.<sup>40</sup> In 1608, as Girolamo Parma writes, the Mantuans heard music by a *concerto di viole*:

We have music, an ensemble of strings (viole), and a good handful of cavaliers, gentlemen, and all types of Hollanders, Flemings, French, Walloons, and Liegeois. In the evening after dinner, with pastoral freedom, we go to the meadow to play various baton games, [and] in the morning we wake up early and go uphill to take water from the first fountain, since almost all of us courtiers do as our patron does.<sup>41</sup>

This brings us to the music Monteverdi and Rasi might have performed in Spa. As a soloist, Rasi would surely have sung songs and accompanied himself on the chitarone, lute, harpsichord or spinet, all instruments he played, while Monteverdi played the *viola bastarda*; as a duo they might have performed works from the *bastarda* repertory, Rasi playing the unadorned melody on lute. Among the polyphonic madrigals that survive in early seventeenth-century *viola bastarda* sources are works by Monteverdi's colleagues Giaches Wert (*Cara la vita mia*) and Alessandro Striggio (*Nasce la pena mia* and *Invidioso Amor*), which Monteverdi probably knew; and

<sup>39</sup> Continuation of letter of Rasi of 8 August 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 526): see **Appendix, no. 22**.

<sup>40</sup> P. de BERGERON, *Voyage ès Ardennes, Liège et Pays-Bas en 1619*, Liège, 1875. The Abbot of St. Martin de Tournai had with him *sa musique de violons, violes, espinettes, et voix*. Bergeron also met the Spaniard, Don Francisque de Ribadaneira, who *entremesloit ses braverie, vanterie et rodomon-tades, de danses à castagnettes, quisquavelas et sonajas, et surtout de vers et chansons*, and some drinkers who took part in *force danses, aubades et musiques qui avaient lieu sous les ramées naturelles*; as cited in A. BODY, *Le théâtre et la musique à Spa au temps passé et au temps présent*, 2nd ed., Brussels, 1885, p. 158.

<sup>41</sup> Girolamo Parma in Spa to Duchess Leonora, 13 August 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 526): see **Appendix, no. 23**.

Orlando di Lasso's *Suzanne un Jour*, which, had he improvised upon it in musical circles in the North, would surely have been admired.<sup>42</sup> That Monteverdi was a fine viol player is another point emphasized by his brother in the *Scherzi musicali*: he states that Monteverdi, among other activities, is occupied 'with the playing of the two *viole bastarde*, a responsibility and study which is not so usual as his adversary would have understood' (*nello concertar le due viole bastarde, il quale carico, e studi, non è forse così comune come si potrebbe dare ad intendere*).<sup>43</sup> There is one other contemporary statement about Monteverdi's playing, that of Matteo Caberloti (in *Laconismo della alte qualità di Claudio Monteverdi* [1644]), who praised Monteverdi as "the new Orpheus, with the sound of his viola, in which he had no equals" (*novello Orfeo col suono della sua viola, di cui non ebbi pari*).<sup>44</sup> That Monteverdi had a high regard for viola bastarda performance can be inferred – as recently shown – from his letter of 2 December 1608 to Vincenzo's adviser, Annibale Chieppio. There, in making the case for an increase in his wages, Monteverdi mentions the salaries and savings of several prominent musicians (Marenzio, de Monte, Palestrina, Luzzaschi, Fiorino, Rovigo), beginning the list with Orazio della Viola (Orazio Bassano), the viola bastarda virtuoso.<sup>45</sup>

While Vincenzo was in Spa, an English dispatch reported the rumor that "The Duke of Mantua is lately arrived at the Spaw, which is thought to be but a Pretext of his coming, and that the true Cause is to take the Charge of the Army at the Archduke's Returne."<sup>46</sup> Some years earlier Vincenzo had lent Philip II a large sum of money,

<sup>42</sup> British Library Additional Manuscript 30491 contains Oratio Bassano's viola bastarda arrangement of Wert's five-voice *Cara la vita mia* and a viola bastarda setting of Striggio's six-voice *Nasce la pena mia*, attributed to Giovanni de Macque and to Franco Lambardo. Vincenzo Bonizzi's viola bastarda arrangement of Striggio's five-voice *Invidioso Amor* is in his *Alcune opere di diversi autori* (Venice, 1626). There is one viola bastarda setting by Oratio Bassano of *Suzanne un Jour*, on Orlando di Lasso's five-voice composition, also in B.L. Add. Ms. 30491, and two settings by Francesco Rognoni in F. ROGNONI, *Selva de varii passaggi*, 2, Milan, 1620. The standard study of this repertory is J. PARAS, *The Music for Viola Bastarda*, ed. G. HOULE and G. HOULE, Bloomington, Indiana, 1986, which also reproduces the viola bastarda versions. Also see the edition of B.L. Add. Ms. 30491 by Alexander Silbiger: *London, British Library, ms. Add. 30491. Introduction by Alexander Silbiger, 17<sup>th</sup> Century Keyboard Music*, 11, New York, 1987. On *Suzanne un jour* settings, see K. LEVY, 'Susanne un jour': *The History of a 16th Century Chanson*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), pp. 375–408.

<sup>43</sup> See *Dichiaratione...* in DE' PAOLI, p. 396 [see note 2 above]; English translation in O. STRUNK ed., *Source Readings in Music History*, New York, 1950, p. 406.

<sup>44</sup> Cited in P. HOLMAN, 'Col nobilissimo esercito della vivuola': *Monteverdi's string writing*, in *Early Music*, 21 (1993), p. 577.

<sup>45</sup> J. BATES, *Monteverdi the Viola Bastarda Player*, in C. COIN and S. ORLANDO eds., *The Italian Viola da Gamba: Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Italian Viola da Gamba, 29 April–1 May 2000*, Turin, 2002, pp. 53–72.

<sup>46</sup> Henry Neville, English ambassador in Paris, to the English court official Robert Cecil, 29 June {?} and 20 August 1599 (R. WINWOOD, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Q. Elizabeth and K. James*, 1, [London, 1725], pp. 55, 93–94, transcribed in W. SCHRICKX, *Vincenzo Gonzaga en de blijde intrede van Aartshertog Albert volgens een Engels ooggetuige*, in *Album Willem Pée: de jubilaris aangeboden bij zijn zeventigste verjaardag* [Tongeren, 1973], pp. 313–319): see **Appendix, no. 24**.

hoping to be named general of the army in Flanders, and a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Philip had conferred only the latter.<sup>47</sup> But in summer 1599 there was no mention of such a rumor in communications to or from Mantua. An official reports only that Vincenzo was waiting for some sign he would be received by the archdukes in Brussels, and wanted to see the triumphal arches.<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile officials in Brussels remembered that the archdukes had received considerable hospitality in Mantua the previous November, and should reciprocate:

My Lord [Archduke], Since we have been informed that the Duke of Mantua, having been in Spa, will definitely be here next Saturday, and will then, after a short stay, go on to Antwerp; and since we have heard that when [Your] Highnesses were in his country they received great kindnesses and fine treatment from him, from which it would appear that when he is here every possible welcome ought to be extended to him, we have wished to inform Your Highness of this so that it might please [you] to inform us as quickly as possible what demonstrations and types [of hospitality] ought to be offered.<sup>49</sup>

Two days later, Philippe de Croy, the Marquis de Havré, was then advised to invite Vincenzo to stay in his house, together with fifteen to eighteen members of the Mantuan court, but not to let Vincenzo know that he had been told to do so. He was also to find accommodations for the rest of Vincenzo's retinue, and was told that he would be reimbursed for his expenses:

My cousin [Marquis], I have read what you write to me about the Duke of Mantua's coming to Brussels, and I am with you that being who he is and having done what he did during the Queen's and the Archduke's journey [through Italy], we can only honor him in every possible way, as I am certain my Lord the Archduke would do if he were here, and I would do if I were in Brussels; but since the one and the other is absent, I think it is best to pretend, and that you receive him, and lodge him in your house as if on your own accord, making it seem that I knew nothing of his visit, but that you are certain Their Highnesses and I would have given them all the welcome and enter-

<sup>47</sup> G. MALACARNE, *Il mito del Tosone. Vincenzo I Gonzaga cavaliere dell'ordine del toson d'oro*, in *Circolo filatelico numismatico Mantovano. 5a giornata della filatelia*, Mantova, 1990, pp. 77–97.

<sup>48</sup> Giulio Caffino in Spa to Chieppio, 30 July 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 525) and the letter of Christoforo Castiglione in Antwerp to Vostra Sua molto Illustre in Mantua, 20 August 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 574): see **Appendix, no. 25**.

<sup>49</sup> A. Boote to Vostre Alteze, 10 August 1599 (Brussels, Archives Generale du Royaume [hereafter A.G.R.], Audience 1900/1–2): see **Appendix, no. 26**.

tainment of which we are capable... and following this you can treat them to a table for fifteen, sixteen, or eighteen persons, which will be taken up by the principal gentlemen of his retinue.<sup>50</sup>

In the absence of Albert and Isabella, who were then at the court of Lorraine in Nancy, Vincenzo went to meet the Duke of Nevers and his sister, Madame Longueville, and together they traveled on to Liège, where on 12 August an apparently large quantity of *vin d'honneur* was offered them. They then traveled to Antwerp for a few days, where they and two courtiers were lodged in the house of Francesco Marini.<sup>51</sup> Then, hearing from the Marquis de Havré on 21 August about the Archdukes' plans, Vincenzo journeyed on to Brussels, presumably to the residence of the Marquis, which became his base until the Archdukes' arrival and triumphal entry into the city on 5 September. Meanwhile, Albert and Isabella made their ceremonial entry into Namur (28–29 August) and proceeded to Hal, near Brussels (31 August), where Vincenzo could finally meet them, before extending his tour to Nivelles and Mons.

During this phase of the trip in 1599, and again in 1608, Mantuan officials were sent to various other cities in search of holy relics that might be purchased. There are vivid details in their letters concerning this pursuit, as, for example, in this account, sent from Cologne during the voyage of 1608:

... it being very difficult to be able to lure sacred relics away from this city... a certain abbot... promised me that in two or three days he would have a head and some bones sent to His Highness in Bonn, and today, finally, after having been every day to Saint Ursula to pray... he is also willing to promise me a head and four or five bones from the company of Saint Ursula, for which I am waiting... Monseignor the nuncio gave me a rather large relic of Saint Simeon... From the nuns of Saint Augustine the other day I had five pieces of rather fine bone from the company of Saint Gierione...

<sup>50</sup> See court memorandum to him, 12 August 1599 (Brussels, A.G.R., Audience 1956): see **Appendix, no. 27**.

<sup>51</sup> The wine is described as *chincante poinsons de vin de Beaune et une demi tini de vin d'Espagne*; see record dated Liège, 17 August 1599 (Liège, AD, M.M., Etats Pays de Liège, 2164), and Achillini in Liège to Chieppio, 12 August 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 574). On the accommodations, see Marini in Antwerp to Duke Vincenzo, 30 July and 9 August 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 574) offering his house, and Vincenzo's acceptance from Spa, 6 August 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 2249).



The following day the same official reported:

It is now ten days that I have been in Cologne for these blessed relics without having acquired anything of great worth... I have to go to Aachen at least for a day for certain relics that were promised to me there.<sup>52</sup>

In 1608, Vincenzo, in the company of his youngest son, was again received in Brussels with great ceremony. This time, however, Albert and Isabella appear to have had little advance notice of his arrival:

The Most Serene Duke [of Mantua] came to Brussels to visit the Signora Infanta and the Archduke, and they met him a good way outside the city with a large group of cavaliers, even though His Highness [Vincenzo] had profited from coming incognito, without giving any warning of his arrival. He brought the most excellent Prince Don Vincenzo with him... The Lord Duke stayed there a couple of days, feted with the greatest splendor and kindness, and on his departure he was accompanied one mile outside of [the Archduke's] territory, and he came here to Antwerp where he was lodged at public expense. Today he left for Holland and will sleep tonight in Breda... tomorrow he will go on to Amsterdam.<sup>53</sup>

Vincenzo again visited other cities, and had a longer stay in Antwerp: there he bought linens, lace, paintings, and curiosities, and gambled and lost a large sum. Then, having been granted a passport, he toured Holland. Among the members of Vincenzo's entourage who remained in Antwerp while Vincenzo toured, was Rasi. At that time Rasi may have had contact with the Phalèse firm, which, of Mantuan composers, had only published one book of Gastoldi's *balletti*, though it would in the next several years reprint two more of his balletti collections, three Pallavicino madrigal collections, and, in 1615, Monteverdi's third through sixth books of madrigals. Rasi may also have been interested in collections of local composers as, for instance, Emanuel

<sup>52</sup> Lodovico Marzi in Cologne to Duke Vincenzo, 7 and 8 September 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 526): see **Appendix, no. 28**. Also see note 60.

<sup>53</sup> Iberti to Prince Francesco, 5 September 1608 (ManAS, A.G. 575): see **Appendix, no. 29**. A dispatch from John Chamberlain in London to Dudley Carleton in Eaton, 21 October 1608 (London, Public Record Office, D.P.14.37, fol. 48) also notes Vincenzo's movements from Brussels to The Hague, Harlem, Amsterdam, and all over Holland.

Adriaenssen's lute arrangements of madrigals, chansons and Flemish songs. And he might have wished to consult local instrument builders.<sup>54</sup>

To return to 1599: when Vincenzo finally met Albert and Isabella in Hal on 31 August, he probably joined them in a pilgrimage to the famous Marian shrine there. At this shrine, in 1598, before his departure for Spain to marry Isabella, Albert had divested himself of the cardinal's robes he had worn until then. On 4 September, the Archdukes moved on to the Monastery of La Cambre, where they were again visited briefly by Vincenzo, but they spent that night in prayer in the monastery's Lady-Chapel.<sup>55</sup> Their royal entry into Brussels followed on 5 September 1599.<sup>56</sup> The sights and sounds of that event must have been spectacular, though the music heard was of course not identified by the chroniclers, nor by the Mantuan musicians. An Englishman who was present reported that there were a very large number of arches – twenty-three in all. He was also struck by the fact that in the parade Vincenzo had accompanied the archdukes, and thus had preceded in rank, among other guests, the papal represen-

<sup>54</sup> On the role of the Phalèse printing house in the dissemination of Monteverdi's works and of the Italian madrigal, see J. NUCHELMANS, *Monteverdi in den Nederlanden* and F. PIPERNO, *Madrigal Anthologies by Northern Printers and Monteverdi*, in S. LEOPOLD ed., *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen*, Kassel, 1998, pp. 131–152, and pp. 29–50; and S. LEWIS, *Pierre Phalèse as Music Editor: The Madrigal Anthology 'Musica divina', 1583–1634*, paper given at the International Musicological Society Seventeenth International Congress, Leuven, 1–7 August 2002. Recent work on Adriaenssen and editions of his *Pratum musicum... opus novum* includes: G. SPIESSENS, *Leven en werk van de Antwerpse luitcomponist Emanuel Adriaenssen (ca. 1554–1604)*, Brussels, 1974–1976; and I. HIS, *Le passage des voix au luth dans le 'Novum pratum musicum' d'Adriaenssen (Anvers: Phalèse & Bellère, 1592)*, in *Le concert des voix et des instruments à la Renaissance*, Paris, 1995, pp. 255–272; also see G. SPIESSENS, art. *Adriaenssen, Emanuel*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London, 2001, pp. 167–169. On instrument builders in general, see the contribution of Mia Awouters to the IMS Seventeenth International Congress, 2002 (*Musical Instrument Making in the Southern Netherlands*); for cittern and lute makers, see G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse citer- en luitbouwers Aert, Hans en Thomas Borlon (16de–17de eeuw)*, in *Celeste*, 8 (1994), pp. 8–13; and for carillon players, see G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse stadsbeiaardiers, I: 1540–1650*, in *Jaarboek van de Provinciale Commissie voor Geschiedenis en Volkskunde*, 7 (1993–1994), pp. 5–97, and the contribution of Luc Rombouts to the IMS Seventeenth International Congress, 2002 (*In Search of the Origin of the Carillon: An Interdisciplinary Approach*).

<sup>55</sup> Albert and Isabella spent the night before their royal entry into Brussels in prayer in the lady-chapel at Hal; they were lodged at the Monastère de la Cambre, where Vincenzo Gonzaga visited them: see the account by Du Faing, in GACHARD, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4, pp. 521–522. On Our Lady at Hal: see L. DUERLOO, *Archducal Piety and Habsburg Power*, in W. THOMAS and L. DUERLOO eds., *Albert & Isabella 1598–1621. Essays*, Turnhout, 1998, pp. 274–275.

<sup>56</sup> The entry was recorded both by Jan Boghe and Gilles du Faing. See J. BOCHIUS, *Historia narratio professionis et inaugurationis... Alberti et Isabellae...* (Antwerp, 1602), and the account by Du Faing in GACHARD, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4, pp. 522–23. For the principal studies of the Boghe festival book, see L. DUERLOO and W. THOMAS eds., *Albert & Isabelle 1598–1621. Catalogue*, Turnhout, 1998, pp. 51–52; also see M. THOFNER, 'Domina & Princeps proprietaria': *The Ideal of Sovereignty in the Joyous Entries of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella*, in DUERLOO and THOMAS, *Albert & Isabella. Essays*, pp. 55–66.

tative. Nevertheless, Vincenzo took some slight offense at apparently not being accorded all the niceties of his titles; but this was soon smoothed over:

*... Sonday 5 of 7bre new stile dyd tharchduke & his wife make theyr Entrie into this Towne verely formal & solempnie. Most of the Burgers in weare in armes verely brave & in good order... neare 600 Burgers in armes... Two companies of horse th'one of lances th'other of arquebusiers... Those horsemen be Spaniardes & are of the Archduke's gard. He and she rode uppon two whyte horses & under a canupie from the towne gate unto the Court & weare both verely gaylie & richlie appareled... The Duke of Mantua dyd accompanie them at theyr entrie, & went next before in Ranck with hym the popes nuncio, the Duke of Arescott & the prince of Orange... Al the nobilitie of the countrey & ladies weare at this Entrie in great pomp & braverie. There was made in the streetes a fayr stage paynted for everie one of the 17. Provinces with personages in them representing the same. Theare were 6. Arkes triumphant verely richlie paynted. One of them which was a tour square made in the forme of a piramade 7 stories hye, in which weare the Images of all the dukes of Borgondie with some of theyr descendantes... Which Images dyd apeare in everie one of the squares from the top to the ground in al .56. Images... Great Triumphes made in the night with fyre squibes with other devises... The whole nombre of arkes & other devices that represented the 17. provinces & other things made in perspective & paynted weare 23, besydes certayne monstreuse fishes of huge greatnes that weare paynted in the fish market about a fountayne with certayne toys riding on them... The Duke of Mantua ys lodged in the Court heare. Theare was but a little unkindnes taken by hym for certayn puntillos of titles but the matter was soon solved agayne. With hym came the Duke of Nevers & his syster Duches of Longueville... They talk of Barriers & tilting th'one first th'other after. The Duke of Mantua Wil be one at the Barriers...<sup>57</sup>*

<sup>57</sup> J.B.P. [Petit] in Brussels to Peter Halyns in London, 8 September 1599 (*State Papers Flanders*, 6 (1599), fol. 40-41, cited in SCHRICKX, pp. 314-315). Presumably the 'puntillos of titles' means that Vincenzo Gonzaga felt he was not fully accorded all the niceties of his titles. For archducal expenses in connection with Vincenzo's visit, see the payment notice of October 1599 (Lille, Archives du Nord, B. 2776, fol. 630): **see Appendix, no. 30**; another record for the same expense (Lille, Archives du Nord, B. 2782, fol. 722r-725r) mentions the amount 5625 livres, 5 sols, 3 deniers. There are also payments to various merchants in Brussels who provided foodstuffs for the Mantuans (B. 2781).

On 19 September a tournament at the barriers, with pikes and swords was fought between Archduke Albert together with fifteen cavaliers and Vincenzo together with fifteen Mantuan noblemen:

... preparations were made for the tournament which took place on the 19<sup>th</sup> of September in the great hall of the court. His Highness entered the hall with a troop of fifteen noble men dressed and with pennants in the colors of the Most Serene Infanta, and then came the Duke of Mantua with fifteen others dressed and with pennants in black and white. There were a few prizes before the court ball began, which took place that same day, and lasted two to three hours. The five prizes of honor were awarded, namely: that of the pike for the ladies, that of the best five strokes of the sword, that of the best three blows of the pike, that of the best sword in group combat, and that of the most beautiful entry. At the ball Their Highnesses, the Duke of Mantua, the ladies and gentlemen of the court, and others from abroad danced. Before the ball there was a repast, attended by the Most Serene Infanta. On the 21<sup>st</sup> the Duke of Mantua departed: His Highness and his Court accompanied him a quarter of a league outside of the city; and the aforementioned duke went on to lodge that evening in Wavre.<sup>58</sup>

Two days later the Mantuans began the journey home; they reached Mantua on October 15, 1599.<sup>59</sup> Eight days later, the saints' relics that had been collected in the North, including heads, fingers, and other body parts, were placed in the ducal church of Santa Barbara, with great ceremony.

... when the vespers ended... the whole clergy... with Monseignor Most Reverend Abbot... Aurelio Pomponazzo... set out in a procession, with music, toward the place where the said bucentaur was... with the religious companies following... that is, [the one] of the Five Wounds, the one of the *Confallone* of Rome,... the one of the

<sup>58</sup> See the account by Du Faing, in GACHARD, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, 4, p. 523: see **Appendix, no. 31**. On preparations for the barrier, also see Achillini in Brussels to Chieppio, 11 September 1599 and to Iberti in Corte Cattolica, 9 September 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 574).

<sup>59</sup> Duchess Leonora to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, 15 October 1599 (ManAS, A.G. 2249): *In questo punto è arrivato il Signor Duca mio di fiandra con buonissima salute*. In 1608, when Vincenzo left the Low Countries in late September, he first visited the royal court in Paris at the invitation of Henri IV and his queen, Marie de Medici, Vincenzo's sister-in-law, where he remained for almost four weeks. Then he made his way south to Marseille from where he sailed to Livorno, eventually reaching Mantua towards the end of November, after a stop of a few days in Florence. This part of Vincenzo's 1608 voyage will be treated by the author in a separate study.

Cross,... and the one of the 40 Hours... , and after those followed the *Paceri* of the Hospital of San Antonio in fine order, followed by His Serene Highness with his children... and his court, and a very large number of cavaliers and persons from the city. In that place, accompanied by very beautiful ceremonies, the box was lifted from the bucentaur by His Most Reverend Monseignor Abbot, and was covered with another cloth of brocade, and put down on top of a bar... which four clergy carried... above the bar there was a canopy, similarly of brocade, carried by six other clergy... with a large number of lighted torches carried by twelve pages of His Highness and by others who followed the procession. On the bridge many canons were emptied, and trumpets, drums, and bells sounded. While the procession continued into the said church the aforementioned box was deposited on the main altar... and was incensed with very beautiful ceremony by The Most Reverend Abbot... And without delay a very beautiful sermon was begun, lasting more than one-half hour, which, however, brought little satisfaction to those assembled in the church (who were in the thousands) since they were waiting to hear something spoken about the aforementioned relics.<sup>60</sup>

While we have no certain knowledge of Monteverdi's and Rasi's activities in Brussels in the days between the royal entry and their departure, we can assume that the civic pageantry they witnessed made a strong impression. It is also highly likely that they had contact with the court musicians, whom they heard perform in the procession and the tournament – where the Mantuans presumably performed also – and at the banquet and dancing that followed the tournament, and, of course, at Mass. As Klaartje Proesmans has shown, the Brussels establishment increased in size from twenty-five in the 1570s to forty-seven musicians by 1612, and included three organists, one cornetto player, nine other instrumentalists, two lute players, an organ master, and an organ tuner in the *cappella mayor*.<sup>61</sup> That there were several instrumentalists would surely have been noted by Monteverdi. Two years after returning from Brussels, Monteverdi became Vincenzo's *maestro di cappella*, and, as I have discussed elsewhere, permanent instrumentalists were then hired, and the Mantuan court cappella augmented in size. It had comprised between twenty-two and twenty-five musicians in 1592, but numbered between about thirty-two and thirty-five musicians in 1606–

<sup>60</sup> This description of the procession and ceremonies, held 23 October is found in VIRGILIO, *La Insalata. Cronaca Mantovana...*, ed. FERRARI and MOZZARELLI, pp. 91–92: see **Appendix, no. 32**.

<sup>61</sup> K. PROESMANS, *The Key Role of the Archducal Court in Spreading a New Musical Style in the Low Countries*, in T. WERNER and L. DUERLOO eds., *Albert & Isabella. Essays*, pp. 129–135; and PROESMANS, *Het Muziekleven aan het Hof van Albrecht en Isabella (1598–1621)*.

1608; in the latter period there were about sixteen singers, eight string players, five wind players, a harpist, two lute players, two keyboard players, and an instrument tuner. The separate cappella at the ducal church of Santa Barbara had between six and eight singers and an organist.<sup>62</sup>

The Brussels and Mantuan cappellas surely increased their stock of compositions as a result of the two voyages. Intermediaries in this may have been the Brussels chapelmasters Jan van Turnhout and Gery Ghersem. A copy of the printed collection of five Masses by the Spanish court chapelmaster Philippe Rogier, Ghersem's teacher, which he brought out in 1598 and to which he added his own *Missa Ave virgo Sanctissima*, is in the collection of the Mantuan chapel, Santa Barbara.<sup>63</sup> In 1603, when he was still attached to the Spanish court, Ghersem sent some compositions to Vincenzo Gonzaga.<sup>64</sup> In 1607, three years after coming to Brussels, Ghersem prepared an inventory of music in the archducal chapel, in which one item reads 'eight decorated books of motets and madrigals by Giaches Wert.'<sup>65</sup> These could have entered the chapel during the first Mantuan voyage, though this could also have occurred, of course, before or after that voyage.

As a viol player Monteverdi would have been interested in the keyboard compositions on various composers' chansons and madrigals by Peter Philips, one of the Brussels court organists – for example, Philips's two keyboard settings of Striggio's *Che fara fede al cielo* – as he would have been in the variation fantasias of John Bull, likely known in Brussels through Philips, and in the fantasias of Peeter Cornet, another court organist.<sup>66</sup> As Monteverdi improvised on the viol, his exposure to these northern

<sup>62</sup> See PROESMANS, *The Key Role of the Archducal Court*, p. 131. For the Mantuan documentation, see S. PARISI, *Musicians at the Court of Mantua during Monteverdi's Time: Evidence from the Payrolls*, in S. GMEINWIESER, D. HILEY and J. RIEDLBAUER eds., *Musicologia Humana: Studies in Honor of Warren Kirkendale and Ursula Kirkendale*, Florence, 1994, pp. 183–208.

<sup>63</sup> See G. BARBLAN ed., *Conservatorio di musica 'Giuseppe Verdi' Milano. Catalogo della Biblioteca. Fondi speciali, 1: Musiche della cappella di S. Barbara in Mantova*, Florence, 1972, pp. 308–310.

<sup>64</sup> Whether these were the six masses published in 1598 we do not know. The compositions were acknowledged on Vincenzo Gonzaga's behalf on 1 April 1603 (ManAS, A.G. 2257): *Ho ricevute le opere di musica ch'ella m'ha mandate...*

<sup>65</sup> *Octo libri decurati motetorum et madrigalium (ut vocant) Jacobi de Veerdt, quorum primum est Traseunt Domino*, in *Catalogues librorum musicorum Sacelli SS. CC., qui ex earum mandato sunt traditi ad manus Gaugerici Gersem... die quinta mensis februarii anni 1607...*; full list transcribed in F. LESURE, *Inventaire des livres de musique de la chapelle royale de Bruxelles en 1607*, in *Revue belge de musicologie*, 5 (1951), pp. 34–35.

<sup>66</sup> Philips's keyboard arrangements of Striggio's madrigal appear in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mus.32.G.29, edited by J.A. FULLER MAITLAND and W.B. SQUIRE [London, 1894–1899]), and Liège, Université de Liège, Mus. 888; edition in *Archives des maîtres de l'orgue*, 10, [Paris, 1910], p. 153), as well as in the treatise of the hydraulic engineer S. de CAUS, *Les raisons des forces mouvantes*, i (rev. ed., Frankfurt, 1615), fol. 38v. For Bull's two fantasias on Palestrina's madrigal *Vestiva i colli*, see J. STEELE, F. CAMERON, and T. DART eds., *John Bull: Keyboard Music, 1*, (*Musica Britannica*, 14), London 1960, K8 and K9; and for the fantasias and other keyboard works of Cornet: W. APEL ed., *Pieter Cornet (16th–17th c.): Collected Keyboard Works*, (*Corpus of Early Keyboard Music*, 26), s.l., 1969.

performers and their artistry would surely have influenced not only his repertory, but also the style of his improvisation.

All these are only conjectures, of course. Nevertheless, the details that have now come to light regarding the two state voyages invite the formulation of such specific possibilities, or even probabilities. In any case, we now know that in the course of the voyages, Vincenzo Gonzaga's musicians participated in a series of splendid ceremonies that were new to them, occasions for them to absorb the music of their northern colleagues, and perhaps, conversely, for the latter to learn something from the gifts of the musicians so treasured by Mantua.

## APPENDIX. EXCERPTS FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### 1. See footnote 1.

*Se [fortuna] m'ha fatto chiamare nel servizio di Sua Altezza Serenissima in Fiandra...*

### 2. See footnote 2.

*Il canto alla francese in questo modo moderno che per le stampe da tre o quattro anni in qua si va mirando, hor sotto a parole de motetti, hor de madregali, hor di canzonette, e d'arie, chi fu il primo di lui che lo riportasse in Italia di quando venne da li bagni di Spà, l'anno 1599? e chi incominciò a porlo sotto ad orationi lattine e a volgari nella nostra lingua, prima di lui? non fece questi scherzi all'hora?*

### 3. See footnote 4.

*Ci sarà gratissima la vostra visita... a tutti gli amici vostri, et in particular al gentilissimo Signor Jacopo Corsi, quale m'ha più volte mostro lettere d'Anversa...*

### 4. See footnote 16.

*... Sua Altezza Serenissima... fu ricevuta in Trento dal Signor Cardinale e quivi si desinò lautamente e dopo desinare Il prelibato Don Antonio gioco e perde con Sua Altezza alle carte tre Frustate su'l Tafariaro le quali gli furono sborsate dal Signor Carlo Rossi presenti tutti i Principi...*

### 5. See footnote 18.

*... Giovedì che fu la ottava de corpus domine il Serenissimo Signor Duca... cola Serenissima Arciduchessa et le Serenissime Principese a compagno il santissimo sacramento prosicionalmente: da poi desinare ando detti Serenissimi discosto di qui meggia [?] lega a far pescare del fruttolle. Hieri ando a desinare a Metz loco della Arciduchesa...*

### 6. See footnote 19.

*... In Ispruc la mattina in casa il Barone di Molara dove mi trovai anch'io essendoci dieci de' nostri: e poi la sera in corte e certamente per cominciar da me che per la parte mia feci honore... manderò una Canzonetta fatta da me per la via... dalle solitudini e dal mormorio di tanti ruscelli...*

### 7. See footnote 20.

*Questa mattina... sono arrivato qui in Basilea con salute per la Dio gratia, ma con così cattivo viaggio..., havendo trovata da Bellinzona in qua pessima strada, la montagna di San Gottardo non solo carica di neve, ma nel passarla quasi di continuo mi nevicò addosso... et di sopra passata la montagna ho havuto continue piogge...*

### 8. See footnote 21.

*... nel viaggio habbiamo veduto Chempta, Lindo, Constanza col suo lago, et infine Basilea, tutte città, da Constanza in poi che vivono con la libertà della coscienza, in tutte queste città, et altri castelli Sua Altezza è stata sempre ricevuta, incontrata, et presentata di vini, biade, et pesci...*



**9. See footnote 22.**

*... Arrivammo in Costanza [sic] dove Sua Altezza fù ricevuto in casa del Signor Conte Marco Altemps... quivi io sentij i strumenti e chitarroni eccellentissimi diletlandosi egli oltre modo di si fatte gentilezze, egli per quanto mi disse Sua Altezza desiderava assai di conoscermi... ci conducemmo a Basilea... quivi stati la sera e sino alle 13 hore del di seguente c'imbarcammo di nuovo sino ad Argentina dove ci ritrovammo doppo due di di cammino... sono tutte due belle, et hanno due bellissimi tempi, et il quello di Basilea... è la sepoltura di diversi grand.mi huomini cosi cattolici antichi come anco d'eretici moderni et in particolare Erasmo Rotterdam bellissima con bellissime inscrittioni... In detta città d'Argentina vi fù... è una ricchissima e popolarissima fiera la più bella ch'io habbia veduto in mia vita di tutto cio che si puo desiderare di delitie; quivi niuno hebbe luogo d'alloggio in hosteria ciascheduno in casa particolare, e Sua Altezza fù lautamente presentata come in tutte l'altre città...*

**10. See footnote 23.**

*... lontano dalla città un miglio fù l'Altezza Sua incontrata dal Signor Duca sudetto, dal Cardinale et Duca di Barri suoi figli, et da molta nobiltà, si fecero le accoglienze a piedi, et poi rimontate queste Altezze a cavallo... Fù su l'uscio incontrata l'Altezza Sua dalla sorella del Re di Francia et raccolta con la cerimonia del toccarsi la mano, et del bacio in viso, et cosi fù fatto dalla Principessa et altre Dame principale. Mangiò Sua Altezza la medesima sera col Signor Duca Carlo, col Signor Cardinale et Duca di Barri, fra la sorella del Re, et fra la Principessa. Siamo trattati nobilissamente. L'Appartamento per Sua Altezza è benissimo, et riccamente addobbato...*

**11. See footnote 25.**

*le lendemain, 17e d'aoust... L'après disner la ducesse fust visiter l'Infante en son quartier... ladicte ducesse chanta et toucha du luth. L'on sort enfin pour aller souper... il y eust belle musique... puis le bal se dressa... quelqu'ungs dansèrent, comme fissent Leurs Altesces, une pavane et une gaillarde, et sur la fin [de] la gaillarde... La feste dura proche de trois heures à minuit...*

**12. See footnote 27.**

*Au Seigneur chevalier Berdelle chambellan de son Altesse... la somme de cent escus pistolletas Italii – vallance quatre cents cinquante francs, a luy ordonne pour delivrer et distribuer de la part de son Altesse aux Bouffons et Saulteurs estant a la suite de Monsieur le duc de Mantoue sesjournant a Nancy... par mandement donne a Nancy le Xe juillet 1599...*

**13. See footnote 28.**

*Ledit Comptable faict encore despense de la somme de Cent escus pistoletz et un franc qu'il aourny a trois hommes de Monseigneur le Duc de Mantoue... pour Don qu'il a plu a mondit Seigneur les faire...*

**14. See footnote 29.**

*... de payer... à plusieurs particuliers de Luneville pour la despense faicte par Monseigneur le Duc de Mantoue passans par ledit lieu...; pour la despense fourni a plusiers... pour la nourriture... de la suite de monsieur le Duc de Mantoue.*

**15. See footnote 30.**

*Pour et en despence la somme de treize mille trois cens vingt quatre francs cinq gros quitt deniers, a quoy montent les frais faicts par monsieur le duc de Mantoue et toutes les personnes et chevaux ordonnée de sa suytte, aussy des personnes et chevaux ordonnés pour sa conduite des depuis son entrée dans les pays de son alteze jusques a la sortie d'lieux, pendant douze jours du mois de juillet...*

**16. See footnote 31.**

*... In Nansi avanti la partita nostra m'occorse per richiesta di loro Altezze Serenissime cantare, et havendo io fra l'altre cose cantato la prima volta una poesia fatta per la morte del Serenissimo Carlo, e chiestami da loro Altezze et in particolare dal Signor Duca Henrico: fu regalato di poi da Sua Altezza d'una Collana di vaga fattura il che mi sono attribuito a particolare honore, e favore non havendo l'Altezza Sua donato ad altri che a me; ben è vero che Madama Serenissima ha donato a tutti diverse gentilezze et il più anelli; ma io che meno meritavo sono stato più favorito...*

**17. See footnote 32.**

*... Sua Altezza fù incontrata... da uno di questi Principi del sangue con la guardia de' cavalli e con tutto il gouverno della corte e per tutto sino a questa città molto ben trattati: Il Duca et il fratello benche non si lasciassero vedere in publico tutta via... volevano venire a rincontrar Sua Altezza fuor della città, et anco Madama Serenissima... venissero sul prato dentro alla prima porta in carrozza chiusa a rincontrarlo: e prima era venuto il Gouvernatore della città alla porta, il quale presentò le chiavi a Sua Altezza in segno d'amore...; ... uscì Madama un miglio fuori in una seggia chaise ad incontrar Sua Altezza in una cosa di piacere, et il Signor Duca di lorena in carroccia pur serrata per tre miglia che se ne tornò poi in secreto lasciando far l'entrata publica all'Altezza Sua che per mezzo miglio fù incontrata da più di ducento Cavalieri a cavallo...; ... Alla entrata della città furano dal governatore presentati le chiave dela porte della città a Sua Altezza et in somma è stata trattata et è con segni grandissimi di amore et di osservanza et come se fossi il Re di Francia...*

**18. See footnote 32.**

*Dépenses faites à l'hotel pour la venue (à l'occasion des funérailles de Charles III) du duc de Mantoue (Vincenzo I, et de Don Vincent son fils); de Don Juan de Médicis, de Monsieur de la Châtre, ambassadeur du roi (Henri IV), de Comte de Somery, des ambassadeurs d'Angleterre, de Florence, de Malte, de Savoie, ecc.); Despense Extraordinaire... sejour et reconduite de Monsieur le Duc de Mantoue et Don Vincenzo son fils... Menus plaisirs (B. 1308, f.134r)... la somme de quarante francs... donnees aux notre queux de Monsieur le duc de Mantoue et a son trompettes... premier jour Aoust 1608; A... marchan jouallier... a Nancy la somme de trois cens quatre vingts treize francs neuf gros pour un egains-d'or... la moitié de la quelle eganie Son Altesse a fait donnue au Boufon de Monsieur le duc de Mantoue et l'autre moitié a son nain...; Dépense pour réparations au château de Deneuvre à l'occasion de l'arrivée du duc de Mantoue...; Dépenses... pour ouvrages faits au château à la venue de Monseigneur le duc de Mantoue...*

**19. See footnote 33.**

*... Il di seguente dopo arrivata Sua Altezza si diede principio agli offitij funerali nella gran sala del pallaggio dove era la statua al naturale del Signor Duca defonto et dopo haver continuato per tre di hoggi s'è fatto il grande obito il quale non poteva essere fatto con maggiore maestà così per la numerosa famiglia nobilita di corrucchio al numero di persone mille seicento oltre la guardie con habiti lunghi sin a piedi e con grande strascino, come per l'apparato lugubre fatto non solo nel pallaggio ma anco in due chiese vicine nelle quale si terrà quella statua, sotto la quale dica esserne il corpo, per due giorni sin che siano finiti gli offiti e nell'una e nell'altra delle dette chiese si sono fatte duoi tumuli di molta grandezza. È stata bella cosa a vedere che oltre le arme da guerra et quattro cavalli bardati condotti in quest' obito si son portate in trenta quattro lance tutte le arme dei Principi con quali s'è apparentata questa casa fra le quale quella della Serenissima Casa di Vostra Altezza...*

**20. See footnote 35.**

*... Hieri si diede principio alla solennità dell'esequie more gallico et regio... Una immagine del morto fatta dal naturale di stucco colorita, è in capo d'una Cappella in Corte la quale è sontuosamente parata et ella ricchissimamente vestita con adornamenti di gran giòie e corone e star da sedere sopra un letto di broccato sotto un gran baldacchino del molto lusso con le man giunte in modo d'orare a Dio, con otto candelle grande d'argento da qualunque parte del letto, et affissa alle trinci l'arme cioè insignia della casa; dalla parte destra per ordine erano i principi parenti vestiti a lungo di nero, coperti anco la testa, con grandissima strascino dietro è così dalla sinistra altri suoi servitori et insomma tutta la corte et i gouerne particolare hanno le loro vesti lunghi a guisa di canonici fiorentini et in capo portano una berretta da prete et a cante la spada: Di poi nella sudetta cappella a mezzo sceso i gradi era l'altare dove diceva la messa cantata un prelato, con una musica molto unita di voci e lume, et anco per l'offertorio con istrumenti non molto distante dall'altare sotto un' altro baldachino in mezo della chiesa era la tavola apparecchiata e finita la messa s'udì una voce come il gran Maestro comandava per parte di Sua Altezza che fuse serviti alla Reale et immediatamente potero alla tavola la sedia come se proprio v'avesse a sedere il morto Duca, e venne il servizio in forma e cominciarono a dar l'acqua a le mani come se fosse stato a tavola il principe e con le solite riverenze le porgevano la coppa la qual tenuta al quanto li la rendevano; e così hanno continuato per l'addietro per più d'un mese e continueranno sino a domattina che lo metteranno in un' altro cappella tutta parata di nero col cataletto coperto di nero facendoli per due di l'offitio, poi il porteranno per la città con ordine e rimessolo in chiesa romperanno un bastone, e diranno è morto il Duca, e poi si griderà viva l'altro duca...*

**21. See footnote 37.**

*Questo Villaggio è posto in una piacevole Valletta circondata da colline, può esser di ducento fuochi in circa, et con tutto che le case siano alla rustica, hanno però tante camere che alloggiano maggior quantità di persone... Sù la piazza... è una fontana picciola di vaso, ma abbondante d'acqua, la quale è chiara et fredda, derivante, per quanto dicono, dalla vena del ferro, et del Vitriuolo, sì che porta seco certa mordacità molto piccante, accompagnata da certo sapore simigliante all'Inchiostro... Sono cinque giorni che Sua Altezza ne beve, et adesso ne piglia cent' oncie ogni mattina... Io per curiosità ne hò assaggiato, et di questo mi basta, ne voglio saperne altro...*

**22. See footnote 39.**

*... Hor da questa Arcadia non saprei che più dirle se non che quì in questi tempi è una felice habitatione, perche vanno le Dame succintamente a guisa di Ninfe leggiadram.te vestite: è noi altri a guisa di vaghi pastori andiamo seguendo i vestigi loro com'è di Olanda, e di Francia, ed'Inghilterra. Mà perche di queste di liege assai: et certamente creda Vostra Signore Illustrissima che la mattina alla fonte, a voler bere, e far delle altre cose a la sera al prato a veder lanciare i bastoni e ballare e uno spasso da matti, e non ci voleva altro per ricreare alquanto dolce passate noie del viaggio...*

**23. See footnote 41.**

*Habbiamo musica, concerto di Viole, et una buona mano di Cavalieri, Gentilhuomini, et cuiusunque Generis come Olandeze fiaminghi, francesi, Valloni, et lieggesi... Alla sera dopo cena si va al Prato con una libertà pastorale a far diversi giuochi de bastone, la mattina si lieva per tempo et si vâ al monte a pigliar l'acqua della prima fontana, che quasi tutti Noi ancora di Corte per far com'il Padrone...*

**24. See footnote 46.**

*The Duke of Mantua is still in the Low-Countries, though perhaps disappointed of his principall Purpose in comming thither; by reason that the Marquiss of Burgau, Brother to the Cardinal Andreas, is desseigned Generall of the Army, in place of the Admirall of Arragon.*

**25. See footnote 48.**

*...la strada che noi faremo non la so di certo perche Sua Altezza voria a andar a trovar l'archi la che per strada...; ... hora aspetteremo le loro Altezze. Et vederemo queste feste et senz'altro deve esser stato buon consilio. Fin' hora non habbia però havuta alcuna demonstratione che faccia conoscere che l'Arciduca sappia che il Signor nostro Serenissimo sia in questi paesi.*

**26. See footnote 49.**

*Monseigneur, Comme sommes advertiz que pour certain Monsieur le duc de Mantua, ayant este a Spa sera icy sepmedy [samedi] prochain pour dillecq apres quelque sejour, partir vers Anvers; et qu'avons entendu qu'estant Leurs Altezes en son pays Ils ont receu de luy grandes caresses et traitemens par ou sembleroit qu'estant par icy luy debvroit estre fait tout accueil possible, Nous avons bien voulu faire ceste a Vostre Alteze a fin qu'il plaise a icelle nous advertir en toute diligence possible quelle demonstracion s'en debvra faire et en quelle sorte.*

**27. See footnote 50.**

*Mon Cousin, J'ay veu ce que vous m'escripvez sur la venue a Bruxelles du Duc de Mantua, et suis asecq vous qu'estant ce qu'il est, et aiant faict ce qu'il a faict au passaige de la Royne, et de monsieur L'archiduc, nous ne pouvons que l'honneur en tout ce qui nous sera possible, comme je m'assure le feroit ledit seigneur archiduc, s'il estoit pardeca, et le ferois si j'estois a Bruxelles, mais comme l'ung et l'autre est absent, j'ay pense qu'il est mieulx de dissimuler, et que vous comme de vous mesme le recepvez, et logez en votre maison, faisant semblant que je n'en ay riens sceu, mais que vous estes bien assure que leurs altezes et moy leur euissions faict tous les bons recoeiulz et traicemens qu'il nous fut*

*este possible... et suyvant ce, vous pourrez le traicter avecq une table de quinze, seize, ou dixhuit personnes on saisiront les principaulx gentilhommes de sa suytte...*

**28. See footnote 52.**

*... sendo molto difficile il potere trare Reliquie sacre da questa Città... un certo Abbate... mi promesse che frà due o tre giorni havrebbe mandato a Bonna a Sua Altezza una testa et alcune ossi, et hoggi finalmente, dopo essere stato ogni giorno a Santa Orsola a pregare... s'è pur disposto di promettermi ancor egli una testa, et quattro o cinque ossa della compagnia di Santa Orsola, le quali sto attendendo... Monseignor Nontio... m'ha data una Reliquia assai grande di Santo Simeone... Dalle Monache di Santo Agostino hebbe l'altro giorno cinque pezzi d'ossa assai vistosi della compagnia di Santo Gierione...; Sono dieci giorni ch'io mi ritrovo in Colonia per queste benedette Reliquie senza haver havuta ancor cosa di grande stima... devo fermarmi in Aquisgrana almeno un giorno per certe Reliquie, che mi furono ivi promesse...*

**29. See footnote 53.**

*... il Serenissimo Signor Duca... venne a Brusceles per visitar la Signora Infanta et l'Arciduca da cui fu incontrato per un buon pezzo con gran comitiva di Cavalieri fuori della città se ben Sua Altezza profitò di venir incognito senza dar ad alcuno aviso della sua venuta. Condusse seco il Signor prencipe Don Vincenzo eccellentissimo... Il Signor Duca vi si fermò un paio di giorni regalato con ogni sorte di splendidezza e d'amorevolezza et alla partita fù accompagnato per un miglio fuori dalla terra et venuto qui in Anversa l'ha fatto alloggiar a spese pubbliche. Hoggi è partito per Olanda, e dorme questa sera in Breda... Domani passa in Amsterdam... .*

**30. See footnote 57.**

*... pour le defrayement de Monseigneur le duc de Mantua, du Duc de Nevers, La Duchess de Longueville et aultres de leur suyte en la ville de Bruxelles doit le seiziesme d'aoust xvc nonanteneuf jusque le quatriesme de Septembre ensuivant au dit an, ayants doit lers jusques leur partement que fu sur le fin dudit mois de Septembre este defraye des provisions de la court de sadite Alteze par ordonnance...*

**31. See footnote 58.**

*Cependant l'on se préparoit au tournoy, quy se fist le 19e de septembre en la grande salle de la Court. Son Altesse y entra avec ung esquadrielle, avec quinze cavaliers habillez et avec pennasces des couleurs de la Sérénissime Infante, et le ducq de Mantova avec quinze aultres vestus et avec pennasces noirs et blancs. Il y eut assés peu de prix avant que d'entrer au bal de la Court, qui se fist le mesme jour, et dura deux à trois heures. L'on repartist les cinc prix d'honneur, à sçavoir: celui de la picque des dames, des meilleurs cinc coups d'espée, des meilleurs trois coups de picque, de la meilleure espée de là en la foule, et de la plus belle entrée. Au bal. Leurs Altesses, le ducq de Mantova, les dames et cavailliers de la Court et aultres de dehors dansèrent. Avant le bal y eust unne collation, où la Sérénissime Infante assista. Le 21e le ducq de Mantova se partit: Son Altesse et sa Court l'accompagna à ung quart de lieue hors la ville; et le dit ducq alla pour ce soir loger à Wavre...*

**32. See footnote 60.**

*... finito il vespro... tutto il clero... con monsignor reverendissimo abbato... Aurelio Pomponazzo... processionalmente con musica... s'inviò... al loco ove era il detto bucintorro... col seguito delle Compagnie... cioè delle Cinque Piaghe... quella di Confallone di Roma... quella della Croce... et quella delle 40 hore..., et a quelle seguendo li paceri dell'hospitale di Santo Antonio con bellissimo ordine, accompagnato doppo sé dall'altezza serenissima sua et dalli suoi figliuoli... et dalla sua corte con molto et molto numero de cavaglieri et persone della città, al qual luogo gionti con bellissime cerimonie fu la detta cassetta levata dal detto bucintorro per esso reverendissimo monsignor abbate, et quella coperta d'un altro drappo di broccato, la ripose sopra una barra... la qual portava quattro religiosi... sopra la qual barra soprastava un baldechino, similmente di broccato, portato da sei altri religiosi... con molto numero de torcie accese portate da dodeci paggi dell'altezza sua et da altri che seguitavano la processione, nel qual ponto furno scaricate molte boche di fogo, con sonar trombe, tamburi et campane, mentre durò la introductione in detta chiesa di quelle, la qual cassetta... fu riposta sopra l'altare maggiore... La qual cassetta con bellissime cerimonie da esso reverendissimo abbate fu ince[n]sata... Et incontinenti diede principio ad un bellissimo sermone qual durò per spazio di mez'hora e più... fu però di poca satisfattione alli congregati in essa chiesa (quali erano a migliaia) percioché aspettavano*

*... per... sentire nominare le dette reliquie...*



# LOVE AND POLITICS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VENETIAN OPERA: ON THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE IMAGES OF REPUBLICAN AND MONARCHIST RULERS\*

Hendrik Schulze  
Paris-Lodron-Universität Salzburg

When in 1664 Nicolò Minato and Francesco Cavalli brought for the first time a hero of the Roman Republic to the operatic stage, they must have concluded that they had found a very popular new kind of subject. Obviously, their opera *Scipione affricano* was something of a success, and apparently both of them thought that depicting the hero as a virtuous republican was the key to that success. Otherwise, they would not have produced two further operas featuring republican heroes in the following years, *Mutio Scevola* (1665) and *Pompeo magno* (1666). These three ‘republican’ operas stand very much on their own in the large field of seventeenth-century Venetian opera, a fact that might seem surprising, considering that the State of Venice was proud to be a republic, the only one of importance remaining in Italy. Traditionally, Venetians justified their republican constitution by the glorious example set by the Roman Republic, while looking down on the dynastic turmoil and misfortunes that befell such monarchist states as the Duchies of Ferrara or Mantua. In their ‘republican’ operas, Cavalli and Minato therefore clearly set out to present one or two of the main heroes as possessing the very virtues they considered necessary for a true republican politician. Obviously, these heroes were conceived as examples for seventeenth-century Venetian politicians, while at the same time forming a point of identification for the patriotic Venetian audience.<sup>1</sup>

How then did the dramatic and musical representation of these republican heroes differ from that of the monarchist ones that appeared regularly on Venetian stage? And why were the republican subjects so rare? An answer can be found by comparing two examples of Venetian opera – Minato and Cavalli’s *Pompeo magno*, and Beregan and Cesti’s *Il Tito*, both of 1666 – and then placing the results into the context of seventeenth-century Venetian opera as a whole.

\* I am very much indebted to Glenn Stanley for his help concerning the English of this article.

<sup>1</sup> Venice had been defending its territory on the Greek island of Crete against a Turkish invasion since 1645, which especially in the 1660s led to a surge in patriotic statements; see E. EICKHOFF, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa*, Stuttgart, 1988.



## REPUBLICAN TRADITIONS

The State of Venice could consider itself a true republic at least from 1207 onwards, when under Doge Pietro Ziani several new laws were passed that fundamentally changed the constitution. Until then the Doge held the ultimate power over the state; after the reform, that power passed on to a couple of committees that could check each other, and of which the Doge was no more than a public representative.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this a culture of compromise between social groups and political opinions developed, which initially was seen as necessary to prevent the new republic from falling apart. However, once the new system had established itself and could be considered normal, the point of view changed, and theorists of the state began to justify the republican system as the only one system that allowed compromises through which the needs of every citizen could best be fulfilled.<sup>3</sup> Since that was the key to keep the population content, statesmen agreed that a republican system was required for stability, both social and constitutional.

In fact, the Republic of Venice was considered to be the most stable state in all history, immune to both outside threats and internal turbulence. No revolution had ever taken place and none would be needed, thanks to a perfect constitution and the wisdom and the unambitious character of the nobility. The statesmen felt that they had obtained a perfect balance of power, something every state needed in order to be politically stable.<sup>4</sup> Countless publications and private statements can testify to this view.<sup>5</sup>

A high standard of moral consciousness among the leading class of the republic was necessary in order to sustain that spirit of compromise that formed the basis of the system. To achieve and maintain this, prominent figures of the Roman Republic were used as examples for a virtuous style of life, teaching modern Venetian leaders how to behave, think and react in the matters of state. To this purpose books were published that contained biographies,<sup>6</sup> discussions of the merits of famous historical persons,<sup>7</sup> or letters or speeches that were written as if they were authored by those persons.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> R. CESSI, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Florence 1981, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>3</sup> W.J. BOUWSMA, *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty. Renaissance Values in the Age of Counter Reformation*, Berkeley, 1968, pp. 9, 63, 66–67; P. BURKE, *Venice and Amsterdam. A Study of Seventeenth-Century Elites*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 32ff.

<sup>4</sup> BOUWSMA, *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty*, pp. 11–20, and passim.

<sup>5</sup> For example, G.F. LOREDANO, *Lettere*, Venice, 1635; G. STROZZI, *La Venetia edificata*, Venice, 1626; C. IVANOVICH, *Minerva al tavolino*, Venice, 1681.

<sup>6</sup> M. NORIS, *L'Anima eroe*, Venice, 1689.

<sup>7</sup> G.F. LOREDANO, *Discorsi accademici de' Signori Incogniti*, Venice, 1635.

<sup>8</sup> P. MICHIELE, *Lettere eroiche & amorose*, Venice, 1640.

Out of these accounts emerges an image of the ideal republican leader as adhering to a stoic philosophy. Virtues like self-denial and modesty were highly regarded, while personal ambition and luxury were seen as excesses that were characteristic of monarchist systems. Accordingly, “the noble Venetian style of life was marked by frugality, by gravity and by prudence. Its dominant note was self-control. ... The individual patrician was expected to suppress his desires and even his personality for the sake of his family and his city,” as Peter Burke puts it.<sup>9</sup> To the outside world, a patrician would wear the mask of dissimulation, carrying himself in *sprezzatura*, or feigned naturalness/simplicity.<sup>10</sup> All luxury and splendour was left to the state and its ceremonies.

#### REPUBLICAN OPERAS

Any depiction of true republican heroes on the Venetian stage of the seventeenth century would have had a very limited choice of subject. Only historical operas with subjects that date back to the time of the Roman Republic would provide room for the display of republican virtues. Other historical subjects for Venetian opera were taken from Greek Antiquity, the Hellenistic period, the Roman Empire, or (very rarely) from the Middle Ages.<sup>11</sup> For historical reasons, all have in common an underlying monarchist system, since Greek republican subjects did not feature at all, probably for lack of suitable historical sources. The same situation applies for mythological subjects and those taken from literature, while invented subjects automatically seemed to call for kings, queens and princes – even the shepherd Orpheus became prince of Thessaly.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from Busenello’s libretto *La prosperità infelice di Giulio Cesare dittatore*<sup>13</sup> – that probably never was performed – Minato’s and Cavalli’s *Scipione affricano* is the first opera with a genuine republican interest. It is based on the story of Scipio the Elder, who, after having conquered Carthage, fell in love with a beautiful princess (called Ericlea in the opera). Since this kind of love for a princess who is a prisoner

<sup>9</sup> BURKE, *Venice and Amsterdam*, p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> BURKE, *Venice and Amsterdam*, p. 95; S. LEOPOLD, *Über die Inszenierung durch Musik. Einige grundsätzliche Überlegungen zur Interaktion von Verhaltensnormen und Personendarstellung in der Barockoper*, in *Baseler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, 23 (1999), pp. 9–40.

<sup>11</sup> See H.C. WOLFF, *Die venezianische Oper in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1937; S.T. WORSTHORNE, *Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1954; P. FABBRI, *Il secolo cantante. Per una storia del libretto d’opera nel seicento*, Bologna, 1990; E. ROSAND, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice. The Creation of a Genre*, Berkeley, 1991.

<sup>12</sup> A. AURELI, *L’Orfeo*, Venice, 1673 (music by Antonio Sartorio).

<sup>13</sup> G.F. BUSENELLO, *La prosperità di Giulio Cesare dittatore*, in G.F. BUSENELLO, *Delle ore occiose*, Venice, 1656. This opera should have been performed in 1645, the year when a ban was imposed on staged entertainments due to the outbreak of the war of Candia; see ROSAND, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice*, p. 144.

from an enemy nation, is not suitable for a republican leader, Scipio tries to suppress his feelings, and ultimately succeeds, instead setting Ericlea free to marry the man she loves. In this act he can rely on the moral support given by Cato the Elder, a man renowned for his strict ethics.

The next opera on which Cavalli and Minato collaborated, *Mutio Scevola*, depicts the struggle between the Roman Republic and its former king Taquinio, who is supported by the king of Etruria, Porsenna. Both republican heroes, Mutio Scevola and Oratio Cocle, show great valour in fighting the enemy. Mutio even risks death when he tries to assassinate Porsenna, punishing himself for his failure to succeed by burning his right hand. Porsenna, impressed by the young man's attitude, offers peace to a republic that demonstrates its worth by producing such selfless heroes like Mutio, and Mutio crowns his political integrity by renouncing his love for Valeria, who is ordered to marry Porsenna as a sign of peace. In the end, however, Porsenna has learned from the virtue of his new republican friends; he frees Valeria so that she may marry Mutio.

The last republican opera by Minato and Cavalli, which at the same time is the very last opera on which they collaborated, is *Pompeo magno*. Here, the subject is Pompey's third triumph and the forming of the triumvirate between him, Caesar, and Crassus. There is no real main plot, but rather a series of parallel plots that all somehow connect to Pompey – pardoning of enemies, forming the triumvirate, a love affair, state ceremonies such as triumphs and public openings, the punishment of crimes, and a comical side plot. This last opera seems to have been calculated to place special emphasis on the virtues of the main character, Pompey. Hence it offers the best opportunity to demonstrate how republican heroes were depicted in Venetian opera.

#### OPERA HEROES AND AMBIGUITY

Through most of the seventeenth century, it was absolutely essential for a hero of Venetian opera to have a certain amount of moral ambiguity. This was a crucial factor in writing a successful libretto, as librettists found out in the early 1640s:<sup>14</sup> it was necessary in order to produce a plot that would possess at least some unity, and at the same time allow for a lively and varied depiction of character. On top of that, it provided room for character development, which could be represented in the lively recitative style of that time. That meant that composers could use the whole range of their musical language, making the music and drama more interesting while the musical image of the hero in question remained logically consistent and natural. This rule is set by the genre, and accordingly applies to the republican heroes as well as to the monarchist ones; but for republican heroes it poses a certain problem: How can a hero

<sup>14</sup> H. SCHULZE, *Odysseus in Venedig. Sujetwahl und Rollenkonzeption in der venezianischen Oper des 17. Jahrhunderts*, (*Perspektiven der Opernforschung*, 11), Frankfurt a.M., 2004.

at the same time show idealized values and display moral ambiguity? Minato and Cavalli solve the problem by turning it into a political question, which they convert into a statement affirming the virtues of the republican system.

#### *POMPEO MAGNO*

In Seicento Venice, Pompey the Great had a very good reputation as statesman and general, and in the opera he is depicted according to this reputation.<sup>15</sup> He is wise, lenient, modest, and obliging; others praise him for his bravery, prudence, political intelligence, and restraint. As the spectator of the opera soon discovers, Pompey has but one fault: his unreasonable and, in fact, unrequited love for Giulia, daughter of Caesar and betrothed to Pompey's friend Servilio. This love puts him into a fundamental conflict of conscience. He is drawn between generosity and desire. Servilio, as idealistic a man as Pompey, is of the same magnanimous nature, and when he finds out how his friend feels about Giulia, he tries to renounce his love, starting a sort of competition of generosity, much to the dismay of the poor woman. However, since Pompey is not able to renounce his love for Giulia wholeheartedly, the situation remains unsolved for a long time.

This conflict very effectively contrasts the pomp and circumstance of the other scenes of the opera, which show procedures such as processions, openings of theatres, public functions, or religious ceremonies – all of which were occasions that a Venetian statesman would have been expected to attend. Scenes 13 and 14 of the second act show in an especially distinct way the contrast between the idealistic picture of the statesman and Pompey's failure to behave accordingly.

In the beginning of this section Minato has placed a stately scene. Pompey is visiting Crassus, his former political enemy, with whom Caesar recently has reunited him. Both politicians discover that they share the same unambitious yet noble principles of stoicism. Minato and Cavalli depict the total similarity of political ideas in a scene that carries all the connotations of a love scene (see Example 1). It contains a recitative (bars 33–38) in which Pompey and Crassus discover their mutual ideas and interests (one could even say, affection), a duet (bars 38–58) that develops out of the recitative, and that shows a distinct resemblance with love duets, for instance with the famous *Pur ti miro* from the *Incoronazione*.<sup>16</sup> After a short recitative (bars 59–61), in which Crassus excuses himself – since immediate fulfilment of love is not easily depictable on stage, this is a necessary part of any realistic love scene – they sing the *Addio*-duet (bars 65–72), another feature common to lovescenes. As compared with

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, M. NORIS, *L'Anima eroe*, Venice, 1689.

<sup>16</sup> G.F. BUSANELLO and C. MONTEVERDI, *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, Venice, 1643.

33 Pom[peo]

E me sem-pre ve-dra - i ad u - so di tuo be - ne of - frir il pet - to et es - si - bir le ve -

38

- ne. Cras[so] Io ti strin - go ti strin - - - - - For - mi - no que - ste.  
Io t'ab - brac - cio t'ab - brac - cio

45

- go. E nel bel cen - tro o - ma - i en - tri - no.  
brac - cia un la - be - rin - to d'in - so - lu - bil af - fet - to. E nel bel cen - tro o -

51

l'al - me e non se n'es - - can, non se n'es - - - - - can -  
ma - i en - tri - no l'al - me e non se n'es - - - - - can

58

ma - i. Ar - ri - da - co le stel - le ad o - gni tuo de - si - o.  
ma - i. Pom - peo ti la - scio.

62

Ad - di - o Ad - di - o.

For - tu - na il cri - ne hor ti ri - tol - ga ma - i. Ad - di - o, ad - di - o.

69

Ritor[nello]

Example 1. Francesco Cavalli, *Pompeo magno*, Venice, 1666, scene II/13, bb. 33–73.

57 Art[emia] A2

La Re-gi - na m'at ten - de : io par - to, ad - di - o. [Ramiro] mio de -

Mia spe - ran - za

61

- si - o ad - di - o, ad - dio mio be - ne, ad - di - o. —

ad - di - o, ad - dio mio be - ne, ad - di - o. — Mia spe -

67

mio de - si - o, ad - di - o, ad - dio mio be - ne, ad -

- ran - za ad - di - o, ad - dio mio be - ne, ad -

73

- di - o. — Ad - dio mio be - ne, ad - di - o.

- di - o. — Ad - dio mio be - ne, ad - di - o.

*p*

Example 2. Francesco Cavalli, *Artemisia*, Venice, 1657, scene II/4, bb. 57–75.

a duet from a real love scene taken from the opera *Artemisia* (1657) by Minato and Cavalli (see Example 2), scene I/13 of *Pompeo magno* is not only set up as a love scene, but it also has the according musical features: both duets are in the affective triple meter, both end with the prolonged *Addio*, and both use dotted rhythms, long passages in parallel thirds, and final unison of the singers in cadences. In fact, both duets have a certain erotic quality to them with their hemiolas just before the cadences, as if to prolong the being together of the pair, and their very close, sensual dissonances.

Of course this is not a case of inappropriate music for the occasion. On the contrary, Cavalli makes a statement on the correct use of affections: they are clearly a means of political action, binding together the community, or in this case two statesmen, for the benefit of the republic. They are not forming a bond between two individuals who seek fulfilment of their personal desires. In other words, this is the appropriate love, as the Venetian Seicento saw it: one that excludes passion or sexual desire; the erotic elements of the music in this sense have to be taken as a metaphor for natural attraction. In other words, this kind of love is politically correct.

In the scene immediately following, Pompey exemplifies the other love – the one not appropriate for a statesman. After Crassus has left, Giulia appears, and Pompey forces himself to talk to her, deciding not to speak about his emotions. The ensuing dialogue has a very constrained character. Both Pompey and Giulia seem to search rather desperately for a harmless subject. They end up speaking about astronomy, Pompey remarking on the ensuing darkness and using, inadvertently or not, quite a lot of death metaphors, while Giulia answers in an uncommitted way (see Example 3). Cavalli shows the constraint by setting Pompey's part to rather too affective music, often using descending scales and parallel sixths with the bass (in bars 21–22, for example). Giulia, on the other hand, sings in a very narrow range, often repeating the same note for several bars (bars 23–27). Finally, Pompey cannot endure the self-restraint any more, and he shouts out (see Example 4): *Giulia, non vedi ch'io per te moro?* (Giulia, can't you see that I'm dying because of you?). To this she answers, apparently painfully surprised by the great man's lack of self-control: *E pur a un Dio bambino/ Pompeo render si vuole!* (Does Pompey really want to give himself away to a childish god? [i.e. Cupid]). As a reaction he almost seems to wail, talking about his love and begging her to show mercy, which in turn makes her tell him that she shall leave if he cannot control himself. His reaction is very telling: At first he tries to do what she seems to order – to talk about something different. Cavalli makes this sound rather like babbling by accelerating the harmonic progression and by inserting a hurried cadence that finishes half a bar earlier in the voice than in the bass (bars 58–64). Only when Pompey realizes that he is creating an entirely inappropriate image of himself, does he call himself to order and proposes to leave. Cavalli shows this by suddenly forcing the harmony to the more neutral C (bar 65); but then he modulates again, pointing out that Pompey does flee rather than succumb to reason.



17 [Pompeo] Giu[lia] Pom[peo]

Giu-lia. Si-gnor? Di Ro-ma spi-rò pur l'au-re dol-ci e non per-cos-se da fra-

21 - gor se-ve-ro d'o-ri-cal-co guer-rie-ro. Qui sol-te-pi-de au-

24 - ret-te sus-su-ran trà le fron-de e lor dal Teb-bro il mo-mo-rio ri-spon-de.

Example 3. Francesco Cavalli, *Pompeo magno*, Venice, 1666, scene II/14, bb. 17–27.

In this scene, Pompey presents the rather detestable image of a statesman who cannot master his own emotions. Instead, he only reacts, being constrained not as much by social convention but by his passions. He obeys commands from Giulia just because she happens to be the object of his love, a display of dependence that must have appeared very frightening to a true Venetian patriot.<sup>17</sup> A man capable of acting like that is not fit to take part in the government of a republic: he would put his individual interests over the good of the public, the *Res Publica*. This kind of love clearly is not politically correct.

Of course, things cannot go on like this. In a key scene, scene 15 in the third act, the audience is shown a discussion between two allegorical figures, the Genius of Pompey and Love. This internal dialog is moderated by Pompey himself, in that he sings each argument in duet with the allegory in question, and then comments alone on its validity. Needless to say, Genius triumphs over Love: Pompey can renounce his inappropriate passion and thus has become the perfect statesman the republic requires.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See BOUWSMA, *Venice and the Defence of Republican Liberty*.

<sup>18</sup> N. MINATO, *Pompeo magno*, Venice, 1666, scene III/15.

43 Pom[peo]



...ahi che lan-guir mi sen-to! Più ta-cer non pos-si-o: Giu-lia non ve-di ch'io -

48 Giu[lia]



per te mo-ro? E pur à un Dio bam-bi-no Pom-peo ren-der si

52 Pom[peo] Giu[lia]



vuo-le! Chi può mi-rar sen-za ab-ba-gliar-si il So-le? Ad-dio:

55 Pom[peo]



fol-lie d'a-mor u-dir non vo-glio. Fer-ma, oh Dio, non par-tir. De l'or-sa al-

59



-gen-te del-le Pei-a-de-a-quo-se fa-vel-le-rò: Ti nar-re-rò de-gl'A-stri i va-rij mo-vi-men-ti e

63



nul-la ri-di-rò de miei tor-men-ti. Al-ma, tor-na, tor-na in te stes-sa o-ve tra-scor-ri?

67



Giu-lia, per non ve-der-si re-o de le mo-le stie tu-e par-te Pom-pe-o.

Example 4. Francesco Cavalli, *Pompeo magno*, Venice, 1666, scene II/14, bb. 43–70.

**A 2 Po[mpeo], Am[ore]:**

*Se per Onfale*

*Il grand'Ercole*

*Già filò,*

*Pur feroce mostri ancise,*

*E Leoni superò.*

**Po[mpeo]:**

*Mà quel Genio m'arresta,*

*Che m'induce à seguir Marte, e*

*Bellona;*

*E con voce guerriera al cor mi suona.*

**A 2 Po[mpeo], Gen[io]:**

*Prigioniero*

*D'un Bambino*

*Caderà Pompeo Guerriero?*

*E di Marte trionfante*

*Vincerà un Cieco infante!*

**A 2 Am[ore], Po[mpeo]:**

*Seguimi*

**Po[mpeo]:**

*Dice Amor.*

**A 2 Gen[io], Po[mpeo]:**

*Fuggi Pompeo.*

**Po[mpeo]:**

*Replica il Genio illustre.*

**Pompey, Love:**

Even if for Omphale

great Hercules

has sewn,

he also could kill fierce monsters

and overcome lions.

**Pompey:**

But that Genius restrains me,

who wants me to follow Mars and War

and calls with a warrior's voice to my

heart.

**Pompey, Genius:**

Prisoner

of a child

would Pompey, the warrior, fall?

And triumphant over Mars

a blind baby would win?

**Love, Pompey:**

Follow me

**Pompey:**

says Love.

**Genius, Pompey:**

Flee, Pompey!

**Pompey:**

answers the illustrious Genius.

After he is thus healed through his own virtue – the Genius singing in duet with him exemplifying this – he is able to lend his support when Servilio asks Caesar for permission to marry Giulia. But what to a modern mind at first seems to be the perfectly happy ending, for Minato and Cavalli obviously did not look like one. Instead, they go on, letting Servilio ask Caesar for Giulia only in order to hand her over to Pompey. The hero, now that he is no longer ruled by his passion for her, can accept her as his wife, since this would oblige a fellow republican. The union of Giulia and Pompey – which Giulia does not want – is shown only by gesture, when Pompey takes her by her hand; no love duet is sung, no assurances of eternal fidelity are given, no expression of joy is made. It is nothing less – but then again, nothing more – than an act of state. Only because Pompey has renounced his passion for Giulia, can he in the end obtain her as wife.

Even if the marriage between Giulia and Pompey is a historical fact, the opera clearly ends in this way for allegorical purposes: It is a political allegory about ambition. The statement is that in a republic those that are guided by ambition – which is as much a passion, as is the inappropriate kind of love – will not gain power. Only those who sincerely renounce ambition will in the end be fit to rule the state. Every Venetian nobleman would have understood this allegory, since the vices of ambition are discussed in many of the treatises of the time.

### *Il Tito*

The depiction of the monarchist hero in Nicolò Beregan's and Pietro Antonio Cesti's *Il Tito* provides a good contrast to Pompey. Not only is this opera from 1666, the same year as *Pompeo magno*, but the hero, Titus, has all the qualities of Pompey: he is brave, wise, lenient and modest – in fact, his reputation was as good in the seventeenth century as was Pompey's. But he is a prince, soon to become an emperor. When he falls in love with the captured princess Berenice, forgetting his previous marriage, this seriously influences his politics. He makes decisions and judgements that he would not have made if he were not in love. Out of jealousy he declares a faithful officer to be a felonious traitor – a juridical term that refers to a feudal system, in which it is an offence of the vassal to desire marriage with a noblewoman whom the overlord wants to marry himself. In his rage, Titus even threatens to turn himself into a tyrant, a sure sign of the inherent instability of a monarchy, and of the threat to the personal freedom of its subjects: *Per punire un fellone/ Saprà Tito cangiarsi hoggi in Nerone* (To revenge himself onto a felon, Titus will today change into Nero).<sup>19</sup> He then orders the officer in question and a roman ally, the brother of Berenice, who had promised to help that officer in his wooing, to be murdered. No mentioning is made of a fair trial, as it is done in a similar situation in *Scipione affricano*.<sup>20</sup>

Despite all his passions, Pompey never allows love to influence his political behaviour. And even if he had done so, it would have been no great harm, since then he would not have been elected, and other politicians, more able and virtuous, would have taken his place. Titus, on the other hand, is there to stay. And even worse, his brother Domitian, depicted as a very imprudent, lascivious good-for-nothing, was destined to become the successor of Titus as emperor, as everybody in the audience surely knew.

In fact, Domitian shows a serious shortcoming in the monarchist system that virtuous Titus only could hint at, the way a monarchy could develop into a tyranny because of the ambitions of a single person. Having fallen in love with Berenice, too,

<sup>19</sup> N. BEREGAN, *Il Tito*, Venice, 1666, scene II/4.

<sup>20</sup> N. MINATO, *Scipione affricano*, Venice, 1664, scene II/4.

and being denied permission to marry her against her will, Domitian threatens secretly to kill his brother in order to gain power:<sup>21</sup>

**Dom[itian]:**

*E che vuoi tù, che spettatore inerte  
Lasci rapire a questa man lo Scettro?  
Non bastava a costui dunque usurp-  
armi  
De le squadre il commando,  
Se son esempio indegno  
Non mi rapiva e Berenice, e'l Regno?  
...*

**Cin[na]:**

*Dunque per una Donna  
Barbara di natali, empia di fede,  
D'Ereocle più crudo  
Con modi atroci, ed empi  
Di Thebe vuoi rinovellar gl'esempi?*

**Dom[itian]:**

*Spettacolo non fia già novo in Roma,  
Romolo, che l'eresse,  
Il primo fù, che di fratello sangue  
Imporporasse il ferro;  
E chi non sà, che le beltà Sabine  
Seminaron nel Latio alte ruine?*

**Domitian:**

Do you want, that I, as a mere spec-  
tator  
let the sceptre be taken out of this  
hand?  
Was it not enough for him [Titus] to  
take from me  
the command over our troops,  
had he with ungracious example  
to steal Berenice, and the kingdom,  
too? ...

**Cinna:**

So for a woman  
of barbarous birth and impious faith,  
who is more cruel than Ereocles,  
you want to renew the bad example of  
Thebes  
in this evil and vile way?

**Domitian:**

That spectacle would not be new to  
Rome,  
since Romulus, who was its founder,  
was the first one, who coloured his  
sword  
with the blood of a brother;  
and who does not know that the  
beauty of the Sabinian women  
was the foundation to the ruin of  
Latio?

When he hears that Titus wants to marry Berenice himself, Domitian is furious, but at first does not know what to do. A servant, Ninfo, who wants to ingratiate himself with the prince, suggests that Domitian should disguise himself as Titus and rape Berenice, thus simultaneously revenging himself on the brother and satisfying his

<sup>21</sup> BEREGAN, *Il Tito*, scene II/1.

own lust. Domitian is quite enthusiastic about this immoral advice, even to the point of kissing his servant, something which would make any dignified Venetian recoil in horror. In his moral confusion, he calls Ninfo ‘valorous’, making the bad example even more obvious:<sup>22</sup>

**Dom[itiano]:**

*O servo, o amato servo:  
Quanto devo al tuo merto;  
Seguirò il tuo consiglio.*

**Domitian:**

O servant, beloved servant,  
how much do I owe to your valour;  
I will follow your advice.

Fortunately for all, Titus can be healed from his unreasonable passion in the end, and tyranny can thus be averted: his wife brings in a magician who breaks the spell. But even here there is a marked difference between the prince and the republican: Pompey could change himself through the virtue of his own Genius, but Titus has to have external help for that. In other words, a monarch has to rely on someone else, whom he might choose not for the person’s merit, but simply because of affection, whereas a republican can rely on his own virtue. Monarchist advisors therefore always pose a danger because they are most likely to follow their own ambition, not the good of the republic, as the example of Domitian and his servant shows: Tyranny is never far away where the state relies on a single ruler.

## LOVE AND POLITICS

Titus is a very extreme example; but he is extreme in a virtuous way. Most monarchs in Venetian opera are depicted far more negatively, whether they are tyrants, cowards, sexual maniacs or simply mad. Even if their love is correct in a dynastic way – when they love a princess – they emphasize the factor of passion too much. Queen Artemisia gives up a city the enemy captured from her, just to be able to marry her love, putting her passion before the well-being of her state.<sup>23</sup> Emperor Eliogabalo by his lecherous behaviour even triggers a revolution, the worst fear of every Venetian nobleman.<sup>24</sup> In fact, most examples of Venetian opera showing a strange kind of morals can be justified by their monarchist subject. Never does a republican hero behave even like Titus, not to mention such horrible princes as Nero or Caligula. It is characteristic of the monarchist system that passion has to be stressed more than in the republican one: among the most important issues of a monarchy is the question of succession – a prominent subject of opera. And since in the seventeenth century, me-

<sup>22</sup> BEREGAN, *Il Tito*, scene II/13.

<sup>23</sup> N. MINATO and F. CAVALLI, *Artemisia*, Venice, 1657.

<sup>24</sup> A. AURELI and G.A. BORETTI, *Eliogabalo*, Venice, 1668.

dical thought tended to believe that passion was one element in a successful conception of children, passionate love between a prince and a princess would be taken as a warranty for a successor.<sup>25</sup> Thus within a monarchy one had to put up with the irrational and sometimes dangerous behaviour of a prince passionately in love, if one wanted the state to have a future. A republic, on the other hand, could be ruled by cold-blooded, reasonable and impassionate statesmen who did not need to reproduce.<sup>26</sup>

#### THE LANGUAGE OF LOVE AND POLITICS

However, as the 'love duet' between Pompey and Crassus demonstrates, the language of love and the language of politics have much in common. In both there is a correct way of expression, that can demonstrate the proper moral attitude of the speaker. Giulia can reprimand Pompey for speaking too passionately about his love; Cinna does the same with Domitian and his plans to kill Titus. From the point of view of the Venetian Seicento, amorous passion is the same as political ambition: both are equally detestable. Correct love is not passionate, good politics is not ambitious. In fact, a prince who is too passionate in his love cannot be trusted as a politician, as Oronta in Minato/Cavalli's *Artemisia* states. Disguised as a warrior, she tries to explain to her general, Alindo, why she is so concerned about his leaving his betrothed – who is none other than she herself – because of his new, passionate and ambitious love to Artemisia:<sup>27</sup> *Se disprezzate Principessa amante/ Da genio sì protervo,/ Che può sperar la fedeltà d'un servo?* (If you despise a loving princess, who is of such a noble descent, what kind of fidelity may a subordinate expect?) And later on, Alindo acknowledges this logical link between incorrect behaviour of a lover and inappropriate behaviour of a political leader when he allows Oronta and a couple of other soldiers to leave his army, because they do not want to fight for someone who betrayed his love out of a passion for someone else.

It should therefore not be a surprise that politicians talk to each other in a language that is very reminiscent of the language of love. Embraces between political allies occur frequently not only in republican operas, but in monarchist ones as well. The numerous references to fate, fortune, or destiny in political remarks parallel those made in amorous remarks. In fact, these terms connect equally well to the language

<sup>25</sup> See T. LAQUEUR, *Making Sex. Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1990, p. 49; the ancient medical treatises reported there are still regarded as valid in the seventeenth century; see W.B. HELLER, *Chastity, Heroism, and Allure. Women in Opera of Seventeenth-Century Venice*, Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1995.

<sup>26</sup> In fact, the Venetian nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had serious problems not to die out, since the number of marriages was far lower than in any other Italian society; see V. HUNECKE, *Der venezianische Adel*, Tübingen, 1995.

<sup>27</sup> MINATO, *Artemisia*, scene I/12.

of languishing arias, as to the language of stoic philosophers. The correct lover accepts fate, as does the prudent politician; the incorrect lover tries to interfere with fate, just as the ambitious politician. Both in politics and in love, beauty is an important category. For Porsenna, the beauty of Mutio's action is as important in his decision not to attack Rome, as is the beauty of Valeria. In fact, he declares that his love for Valeria made him see how wrong his actions against the Roman Republic were.<sup>28</sup>

The name Valeria shows by its assonance with the word *valoroso*, that the concept of beauty in Venetian opera is not limited to the outward appearance of a person. Equally important are her or his actions and character. When Valeria disapproves of the actions of her beloved Mutio, she describes him as having changed into a bad-looking old man – even though he is quite young. And a young lover is dismayed when he finds – erroneously – that the beautiful woman he loves seems to be of dubious moral character:<sup>29</sup> *Pur ti stillò su'l volto il Ciel d'Amore,/ L'idee più belle. ... / E nel cor non sincero/ ti Vomitar le furie/ Il velen più rio.* (Even if on your face the heaven of Love seemed to shine, and the most beautiful idea..., the furies have vomited the most awful poison into your insincere heart.)

Thus it is not wrong for a correct lover to praise the beauty of a beloved, as long as it can pass as admiration for the outward appearance of a noble heart: *Quando in costui più nobiltà risplende!* (How does in him even greater nobility shine!)<sup>30</sup> This statement could be directed to a political ally as well, as it appears from what Pompey says about his new friendship with Crasso: *Non daneggia i rai d'Apollo/ Nubiloso vapore: /Mà più bel senza nubi è l'suo splendore.* (The clouds do not damage the rays of Apollo; but these are more beautiful without the clouds.)<sup>31</sup>

#### REPUBLICAN OPERAS AND CHOICE OF SUBJECT

After the *Pompeo magno* of 1666, the production of republican operas dwindled. Some librettists, namely Matteo Noris, tried from time to time to use subjects that were taken from the Roman Republic, but their interest was plainly more in showing conflicts between the protagonists than in showing virtuous political behaviour.<sup>32</sup> Their choice of subject was not guided by any moral quality the topic might possess. So there remains the question why, even in a republic that was as conscious of its political status as the Venetian state, republican operas apparently were not successful with the audience.

<sup>28</sup> N. MINATO, *Mutio Scevola*, Venice, 1665, scene III/15.

<sup>29</sup> MINATO, *Scipione affricano*, scene III/3.

<sup>30</sup> MINATO, *Scipione affricano*, scene I/12.

<sup>31</sup> MINATO, *Pompeo magno*, scene II/2.

<sup>32</sup> See SCHULZE, *Odyseus in Venedig*, pp. 364–368.



The answer lies in the importance that ambiguity of character played in Venetian opera. Seeing virtuous people on stage soon became extremely boring. Minato and Cavalli had to go a long way to make the part of Pompey interesting; the moral ambiguity they gave him is a very special one. There just was not enough potential in the subject for it to carry more than three seasons. Monarchist operas on the other hand were not constrained in the characterisation of their protagonists, while they could be seen as making the same republican political statement by way of bad example. An opera like Busenello and Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* illustrates this very well: it is the first opera that systematically employs the principle of ambiguity of character, while at the same time showing all the defects of a monarchist system.<sup>33</sup> Each and every person of this opera is depicted as morally ambivalent, making the depiction of character most lively and appealing, both in the drama and in the music, while the example of Poppea and Nero shows, how the ambition of a single person and the passion of a ruler can change a monarchy into a tyranny.<sup>34</sup>

Despite their commercial shortcomings, *Scipione affricano*, *Mutio Scevola*, and *Pompeo magno* do give us an important insight in how the Venetian nobility saw its public role and the role of passion, and how these images could be incorporated into the increasingly popular genre of opera.

<sup>33</sup> BUSENELLO and MONTEVERDI, *L'incoronazione di Poppea*.

<sup>34</sup> The setting of a bad example of a politically inappropriate system, the monarchy, seems to be the main concept of the *Incoronazione*, while at the same time enough room is provided for ambivalent drawing of character; see SCHULZE, *Odysseus in Venedig*, pp. 236–242. It surpasses any other concept that may or may not be found in the opera; see, for instance, E. ROSAND, *Seneca and the Interpretation of L'incoronazione di Poppea*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38 (1985), pp. 34–71; E.T. CHAFE, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language*, New York, 1992; I. FENLON and P.N. MILLER, *The Song of the Soul. Understanding Poppea*, London, 1992; T. CARTER, *Re-reading Poppea. Some Thoughts on Music and Meaning in Monteverdi's Last Opera*, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 122 (1997), pp. 173–204; W.B. HELLER, *Tacitus incognito. Opera as History in L'incoronazione di Poppea*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52, (1999), pp. 39–96.





## LA CIRCULATION DE LA MUSIQUE À LIÈGE AU XVIII<sup>E</sup> SIÈCLE

*Olivia Wahnon de Oliveira*  
*Université libre de Bruxelles*

Violoniste à l'église Saint-Barthélemy<sup>1</sup>, Benoît Andrez (1719–1804) peut être considéré comme la figure qui ouvre le marché de l'édition de la musique à Liège au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, en commençant à graver des partitions à partir des années 1740. Bien que la première édition d'Andrez mentionnant une année de publication date de 1749 (Jean-Jacques Robson, *Piesce de clavecin*, opus 1), il semble que l'activité du graveur débute plus tôt puisque les *Six sonate à Violino e Violoncello o Cimbalo*, opus 1 de Guillaume Gommaire Kennis, sont gravées vers 1744. Celles-ci sont dédiées à Jean-Théodore de Bavière, prince-évêque de Liège dès 1744. C'est également à cette époque qu'Andrez grave le premier opus du compositeur tirlemontois Jean-François Moreau, constitué de cinq *Sonates à violon seul*. Parmi les quatre-vingt personnes qui souscrivent à cet ouvrage, cinq résident hors des frontières actuelles de la Belgique. Il s'agit de M. de Burguer, *capitaine au Regiment Royal Suedois (à Strasbourg)*, M. Defresne (*à Maestrecht*), M. Guion de Morcan (*à Paris*), M. de Mayer, *Capitaine de Cavalerie du Regiment de Plotze de Sa Majesté le Roy de Pologne & Electeur de Saxe (à Dorgau)* et de M. d'Ottelmans (*à Aix-la-Chapelle*).<sup>2</sup>

Lorsqu'en 1749 Andrez grave les *Piesce de clavecin*, opus 1 de Jean-Jacques Robson, une liste de souscription, comprenant septante-six noms, accompagne les pages musicales.<sup>3</sup> Ce document permet de constater d'une part, que les personnes intéressées par cet opus appartiennent essentiellement aux mondes des musiciens, de la noblesse ou du clergé et que d'autre part, sept mélomanes étrangers, provenant de Paris, de Maastricht, de Lindre (actuellement Lindre-Basse, Moselle, France) et de Lyon, ont commandé cet ouvrage.

D'une manière générale, les listes de souscription nous font part du réseau de propagation des partitions et démontrent combien l'origine du compositeur peut être importante pour la création de l'espace de diffusion. Ainsi, plus tardivement, les *VI divertissemens pour le clavecin dédiés à Madame l'Abbesse de Cortenberg*, opus 1 du compositeur anversois François-Joseph de Trazegnies (1743–1820), ont principalement été distribués dans la région d'Anvers. Cet opus, gravé par Jeanne Andrez,

<sup>1</sup> Par les *Recettes et dépenses de l'Eglise Saint Barthélemy*, pour les années 1765–1766, 1781–1785 et 1793–1794, conservées aux Archives générales du Royaume à Liège, on apprend que Benoît Andrez reçoit chaque mois dix florins en tant que musicien, sans être augmenté pendant plusieurs décennies.

<sup>2</sup> Précisons que pour toutes les citations, l'orthographe est retranscrite fidèlement, qu'il s'agisse des titres des œuvres, des noms de famille ou de lieux.

<sup>3</sup> Le compositeur Jean-Jacques Robson (1724–1785) occupe la fonction de maître de chapelle à la collégiale Saint-Germain de Tirlemont. Après avoir fait publier son premier opus à Liège, il en fait encore graver deux à Paris, un à Tirlemont et un autre à Bruxelles.

filles de Benoît Andrez, est accompagné d'une liste de cent et un souscripteurs; celle-ci nous apprend que la majorité de ces derniers résident à Anvers, que quelques-uns sont de Bruxelles, tandis que les autres proviennent d'Amsterdam, de Leyde, Gand, Malines, Bruges ou de la Picardie.

Néanmoins, les partitions peuvent encore nous révéler par un autre biais le souci de diffusion du graveur. Par exemple, l'œuvre ci-dessus citée de Robson, gravée par Benoît Andrez, présente une page de titre précisant que l'opus *se vend chez l'auteur, et chez j. j. boucherie libraire a bruxelle*. Avec cet ouvrage, Benoît Andrez inaugure une collaboration avec l'éditeur Jean-Joseph Boucherie qui est un des imprimeurs typographes bruxellois les plus importants du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Boucherie est encore le correspondant de Benoît Andrez pour plusieurs de ses éditions telles les *Six divertissements* opus 1 de Simon Audister, les *Sei sonate per il cembalo* de Guillaume Boutmy, les *Sei overture* opus 6 de Herman-François Delange, les *Six sonates à deux violons* opus 4 de Guillaume Gommaire Kennis et les *Six sonates pour violoncelle* opus 2 de Jean-Noël Massart. Ces partitions ont toutes la particularité d'avoir été gravées aux environs de 1760–1762.

Il est évident que Benoît Andrez se doit de tisser rapidement des liens avec ses confrères installés dans d'autres villes afin d'assurer une bonne circulation de sa production. De cette façon, Andrez entretient tout au long de sa carrière des liens privilégiés avec des imprimeurs et libraires d'autres grandes villes comme Bruxelles, Paris, Breda ou La Haye. Ainsi, il précise en 1762 sur la page de titre des *Six sonates à deux violons* de M<sup>r</sup> F. M. B: de Rome que l'on peut aussi se procurer cette partition chez J.J. Boucherie à Bruxelles, chez M. Gosse junior à La Haye ainsi qu'*aux adresses ordinaires de musique à Paris*. Andrez signale encore sur la partition des *Six sonates à deux violons*, opus 4 de G.G. Kennis, qu'elle se vend également chez M<sup>r</sup> J.J. Boucherie, à Bruxelles, M<sup>r</sup> Gosse junior, à la Haye et M<sup>lle</sup> Vandôme, place du Palais Royal à Paris.

Le graveur liégeois organise de cette façon la circulation de sa musique à partir de contacts échangés avec ses confrères, mais aussi en se basant sur le principe des listes de souscription, ou encore en insérant des avis publicitaires dans différents journaux tels par exemple la *Gazette de Liège*, les *Annonces et avis divers des Pays-Bas* ou le *Mercur de France*.

Quant au contenu de ses productions, Benoît Andrez publie un bon nombre des compositions de ses compatriotes, que ce soit des œuvres des artistes peu connus tels Deltour,<sup>4</sup> Renotte<sup>5</sup> ou Massart<sup>6</sup> ou des grands compositeurs de la Principauté comme

<sup>4</sup> Jean François Deltour (1723–après 1770), *VI sonates à 4 parties 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> violons ou flutes trav., haut contre et basse continue*, op. 1, Liège, L'Auteur, B. Andrez [avant 1750][pas dans *RISM*].

<sup>5</sup> Hubert Renotte (1704–1745), *Six sonates de clavecin*, op. 1, Liège, L'Auteur [ca. 1740][*RISM* A/I, RR 1190, I, 1].

<sup>6</sup> Jean-Noël Massart, *Six sonates pour violoncelle*, op. 2, Liège, B. Andrez; Bruxelles, J. J. Boucherie; La Haye, Gosse junior [1762][*RISM* A/I, M 1299].

Delange,<sup>7</sup> violoniste talentueux, Hamal,<sup>8</sup> devenu très populaire grâce à ses quatre opéras composés en wallon,<sup>9</sup> et Grétry<sup>10</sup> qui rayonne de gloire en France. Toutefois, Andrez se consacre aussi à la publication de musique vocale. Cette activité lui permet de gagner en popularité étant donné que ce genre se diffuse en plus grand nombre. Si dans un premier temps, le Liégeois grave des airs ou des chansons avec accompagnement, très rapidement il veille à suivre l'actualité musicale et internationale en proposant des extraits des opéras-comiques qui ravissent alors les mélomanes, à savoir les ariettes, les airs ou les ouvertures des œuvres de Blaise, Gossec, Monsigny, Paisiello, Philidor, Piccinni et bien sûr Grétry.

C'est sans doute dans le but de mieux faire circuler ce type de répertoire que le Liégeois crée en 1758 un journal de musique intitulé *L'Écho ou Journal de Musique française, italienne contenant des Airs, Chansons, Brunettes, Duo tendres ou bachiques, Rondes, Vaudevilles, Contredances Etc.* Ce périodique exceptionnel paraît mensuellement de janvier 1758 à décembre 1773. Benoît Andrez veille particulièrement à l'originalité et à la présentation de son journal. Chaque année, il modifie la page de titre en la travaillant de telle sorte que certaines d'entre elles ressemblent à de véritables petits tableaux. Mais si ce recueil connaît une telle longévité, c'est avant tout dû à sa diversité: le fascicule mensuel se termine très souvent par une contredanse et propose régulièrement une page de musique instrumentale, alors qu'il est consacré dans sa majeure partie à des airs. Les noms des compositeurs qui reviennent régulièrement au début de l'existence du journal sont notamment Krafft, Duni, D'Herbain ou Favart. En mai 1758, Benoît Andrez prouve l'aura de son journal en précisant au dessus de l'air *Barbaro oh Dio mi vedi divisa* qu'il s'agit d'un *Air de M<sup>r</sup> le Chevalier Gluck. Celebre maitre de Musique italien. Envoyé par L'Auteur pour Etre inseré dans ce Receuil*. Le Liégeois tente de démontrer de la sorte l'importance de son *Écho*.

L'examen du périodique montre que l'éditeur s'est très vite adapté à l'évolution du goût musical de telle sorte que dès 1762, il modifie la conception de son journal afin de pouvoir consacrer la moitié ou plus d'un fascicule à des scènes tirées d'un même opéra-comique. Et comme il les publie dans l'ordre, il suffit alors, selon ce principe, de quelques mois pour que les abonnés puissent former la partition complète dudit opéra.

<sup>7</sup> Herman François Delange (1715–1781), *VI sonate a violino solo e basso da camera, opera Ima*, Liège, L'Auteur, Veuve J. Jacob, B. Andrez [ca. 1755] [RISM A/I, DD 1378°] et *Sei overture à duoi violini, alto viola, basso continuo: e duoi corni ad libitum*, opera 6ta, Liège, B. Andrez [1761][pas dans RISM].

<sup>8</sup> Jean-Noël Hamal (1709–1778), *Sei sinfonie da camera a 4 due violini. violetta & basso continuo*, opera 2da, Liège, B. Andrez, [ca. 1745][RISM A/I, H 1916].

<sup>9</sup> Dans les années 1757–1758, Hamal a écrit quatre opéras: *Li Voëgge di Chôfontaine*, *Li Ligeoi ègagy*, *Li Fiesse di Houte-si-Plou* et *Les Ypoconte*.

<sup>10</sup> Andrez a gravé, dès 1770, une quantité d'ouvertures et d'airs d'André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741–1813), dont par exemple *Pierre Le Grand, air avec accompagnement de guitare: «En célébrant un empereur»*, [ca. 1790][RISM A/I, G 4323].

Il n'a fallu que quelques années pour que Liège devienne, grâce à Andrez et à d'autres de ses confrères, dont Desoer et un peu plus tardivement Latour, une ville d'une certaine importance en matière d'édition musicale. En effet, François-Joseph Desoer (1720–1792) et Charles-François Latour (1747–après 1792) sont également très actifs sur le marché de l'édition et de la diffusion de la musique dans la Principauté. Le premier s'installe en 1750 sous la Tour de Saint-Lambert pour ouvrir un atelier de typographie et une boutique en tant qu'*Imprimeur-Libraire de son Altesse*. Il publie une grande variété de livres et de littérature, et dirige un atelier où travaillent quelques ouvriers. Il devient en outre l'éditeur de *La Gazette de Liège* pour plusieurs décennies. Dans le domaine de la musique, contrairement à ses confrères graveurs, il ne propose, aucune pièce instrumentale. Il se contente d'imprimer des recueils ou des œuvres lyriques, présentées pour la plupart sous la forme d'une partition complète, telles *Ismène* de Clary, *Le peintre amoureux* de Duni, *La servante maîtresse* de Pergolèse, *Blaise le savetier* de Philidor ou encore *La bohémienne* de Rinaldo di Capua. Ses recueils, qui se sont très bien diffusés, sont les *Trois cens fables en musique dans le goût de M. de la Fontaine*, en six livres de cinquante fables chacun, les *Extraits des airs françois des opéra nouveaux*, en cinq livres, et le *Recueil général des opéra bouffons*, publié en une douzaine de livres en 1771, 1777 et 1785, qui est en réalité un recueil factice entièrement contrefait.

Quant à Latour, son nom commence à apparaître dans les années 1770. Il est avant tout un musicien de la collégiale Saint-Martin qui mène une activité de graveur pendant une vingtaine d'années. Il se consacre essentiellement à son journal hebdomadaire qui s'intitule d'abord *Recueil d'ariettes* et puis *Orphée ou recueil d'ariettes*. En outre, ce Liégeois grave les ouvertures de certains opéras-comiques, que ce soit celles de *L'amant jaloux* de Grétry, des *Deux comtesses* de Paisiello, de *Roland* de Piccinni ou de *La colonie* de Sacchini. Il complète bien sûr son activité en se consacrant également à quelques compositeurs locaux. C'est ainsi qu'il publie *Six sonates* de Henri Moreau,<sup>11</sup> maître de chant de Saint-Paul, et *Quatre symphonies à deux violons, alto et basse, deux hautbois, deux cors et timballe* de Jean-Jacques Renier, maître de chant de la collégiale Saint-Barthélemy.<sup>12</sup>

C'est donc principalement avec Andrez, Desoer et Latour, que Liège a pu bénéficier d'un nouvel élan en matière d'édition musicale dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La grandeur d'une nouvelle étape dans la circulation de la musique se mesure de plusieurs façons: d'abord en examinant la partition qui révèle par sa page de titre ou sa liste de souscription l'espace de sa diffusion mais aussi en observant d'une part, les compositeurs étrangers édités dans ce centre et d'autre part, l'origine

<sup>11</sup> Henri Moreau (1728–1803), *Sei sonate a tre parti due violini & basso*, Liège, Latour [1777][pas dans *RISM*].

<sup>12</sup> Jean-Jacques Renier (1747–1815), *Quatre simphonies à deux violons, alto, et basse, deux haubois, deux cors, et timballe. Dédiées à la Société d'Emulation de Liège*, Liège, L'Auteur, Latour [1786][*RISM* A/I, R 1165].

des ouvrages vendus par les marchands. C'est à nouveau par la *Gazette* et les avis insérés par les éditeurs dans leurs publications, que le public est informé de ce qui se prépare. Andrez annonce de la sorte dans *L'Écho* de mai 1759 que *Le S<sup>r</sup> S: Bianchini ci devant premier violon du Roy de Pologne, fait imprimer un ouvrage a violon seul dédié a S: A: S: le Prince Charle. Il fait graver 12 Menuet en Trio, tant de sa composition que d'autres bons Auteurs. Chez l'auteur a Bruxelles et a l'adresse de ce journal*. La même année, ledit graveur donne aussi avis au public qu'il distribuera aux *Amateurs de Musique*, le 2 de l'an 1760 une première Œuvre consistant en six Trio pour deux Violons & Basse, de la composition de Mr le Comte d'Ursenbeck & Massimi, sur-Intendant de la Musique, & Gentilhomme de la chambre de S.A.S. le Prince & Eveque d'Augsbourg, Landgrave de Hesse-Darmstadt, &c, &c. dédié à S.A.S. Elect. Clément-Auguste Archevêque de Cologne, &c., &c., &c.<sup>13</sup>

François-Joseph Desoer, libraire et imprimeur à la Main d'or à Liège, profite aussi de la *Gazette de Liège*, dont il est d'ailleurs l'éditeur, pour insérer certains avis. Par exemple, le 3 septembre 1760, il annonce qu'il débitera le 10 de septembre 1760 *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre par théorie dans un mois de tems à jouer du violon, divisé en trois classe, avec des Leçons a deux violons par gradation*, de Carlo Tessarini (ca. 1690–1766). Le 6 janvier 1766, le même libraire annonce encore qu'il débite un *Recueil de 12 menuets de Bal, en Trio, dédiés aux Amateurs* du compositeur Friedrich Schwindl (1737–1786).

Les Liégeois réalisent de cette façon des éditions, parfois même les premières, de compositeurs qui ne sont pas originaires de leur cité. Benoît Andrez a par exemple gravé les œuvres de certains Italiens. Ainsi, les *Sei sinfonie per due violini e basse, opera IV* de Luigi Boccherini<sup>14</sup> paraissent grâce à lui à Liège en juin 1768, alors que la première édition n'avait vu le jour à Paris qu'en mars de la même année, soit peu de temps après que le compositeur ait réalisé un voyage dans la capitale française en 1767. Par la suite, cette œuvre est à nouveau éditée à Paris, à Londres et à Amsterdam entre 1775 et 1824.<sup>15</sup>

Andrez réalise encore la gravure des *VI duettini italiani con il basso continuo* de Francesco Bianchi (1752–1810). Il s'agit de duos italiens faciles à chanter, rassemblés par le compositeur qui, comme nous l'apprend la page de titre, est actif à Milan à cette époque, c'est-à-dire entre 1779 et 1793. Cela permet également de dater approximativement cette édition.

La reconstitution du catalogue de Benoît Andrez permet de constater que, à plusieurs reprises, celui-ci a gravé des partitions de compositeurs italiens. Liège était en effet

<sup>13</sup> *Gazette de Liège*, 26 décembre 1759 (n° 158).

<sup>14</sup> Il s'agit d'une des premières éditions que Jeanne, la fille de Benoît Andrez, a gravé. Il est en effet mentionné sur la page de titre «Gravé par M<sup>e</sup> J. Andrez».

<sup>15</sup> Voir à ce propos: Y. GÉRARD, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini*, London, 1969, pp. 87–97. Précisons toutefois que l'auteur de cet ouvrage fait remonter la publication d'Andrez aux alentours de 1800 et non pas à 1768.



une cité disposée à recevoir ces ouvrages puisque, depuis longtemps, les Liégeois étaient influencés par la musique italienne et ce, surtout dans les domaines des musiques instrumentale et religieuse. Cela peut en partie s'expliquer par le fait que de nombreux musiciens et compositeurs liégeois ont bénéficié de la bourse d'études allouée par la Principauté pour se perfectionner en Italie. En effet, le mécène Lambert Darchis (1625–1699) a fondé un Collège Liégeois à Rome, destiné à recevoir les jeunes étudiants qui prenaient la décision de s'orienter vers la prêtrise ou l'étude des arts libéraux.<sup>16</sup> Tous les compositeurs liégeois réputés, tels Hamal, Delange et Grétry, sont allés suivre cette formation.

Toutefois, la production de partitions à Liège propose encore des musiques d'autres horizons. Ainsi, des compositeurs actifs en Allemagne sont aussi édités par les presses liégeoises. Benoît Andrez a par exemple gravé les *Six symphonies à 8 parties, œuvre 3* (1763) de Franz Xaver Rambach, ainsi que les *Six symphonies à 8 parties*, opus 3 (1765) de Friedrich Schwindl. Mais il a aussi gravé des œuvres du compositeur bavarois Placidus von Camerloher (1718–1782). Du côté des marchands, François-Joseph Desoer annonce régulièrement qu'il vend des partitions de toute provenance. Le 16 mars 1768, il signale qu'il débite les *Six sonates en Trio, pour 2 Violons & Basse*, opus 4 de l'Allemand Johann Christian Stumpff (1740–1801).

C'est certainement grâce à l'influence de leur prince-évêque Jean-Théodore de Bavière, qui a régné entre 1744 et 1763, que les Liégeois, à cette époque, se sont davantage intéressés à la musique d'origine germanique. Le compositeur Camerloher, qui a été désigné comme maître de musique de la cour de 1753 à 1759, a participé à l'introduction de la musique allemande dans la cité wallonne.

Néanmoins, malgré tout l'intérêt de ces partitions de musique instrumentale, issues de l'esprit créateur des hommes d'ici et d'ailleurs, les éditions qui se propagent le plus facilement sont les périodiques. Outre l'*Écho* d'Andrez déjà cité, Liège abonde de ce genre de productions. Un an avant la création de ce recueil mensuel, l'imprimeur typographe François-Joseph Desoer lance un périodique intitulé les *Récréations harmoniques ou Recueil de chansons françaises mêlées d'airs tendres et comiques*. Il paraît de décembre 1756 à juillet 1757 et de novembre 1757 à octobre 1758, de manière mensuelle. Ces publications à caractère régulier ont certainement favorisé le succès de l'édition de la musique liégeoise en dehors de ses frontières. La réussite de ces feuilles musicales repose sur leur variété, sur le fait de proposer des pièces originales, instrumentales ou vocales, autant que des réductions des airs en vogue.

<sup>16</sup> Voir à ce propos: J. QUITIN, *La Fondation Darchis, le 'Prix de Rome' de Bruxelles et quelques musiciens liégeois*, dans *Bulletin de la Société liégeoise de Musicologie*, 84 (1994), pp. 2–11.

Quelques années plus tard, deux autres Liégeois conçoivent aussi des périodiques. D'abord, Jean-Étienne Philippart (1727–1782) publie pendant deux ans (1765–1766) un mensuel nommé *Le rossignol ou journal de chansons, contenant Ariettes, Vaudevilles, Rondeaux, & Airs à boire, avec la Basse-continue chiffrée* qui présente la particularité de proposer essentiellement des œuvres du compositeur Herman-François Delange. Puis, Charles-François Latour lance le 7 novembre 1772 son journal intitulé *Orphée ou recueil d'ariettes d'opera, avec premier et 2<sup>de</sup> violon et basse continue ou gazette de musique, contenant les plus belles Ariettes des differens Opera*. Cet hebdomadaire, qui existe au moins jusqu'en 1786, a la particularité de proposer un accompagnement instrumental de plus en plus développé.

Plusieurs éléments attestent du succès de ces périodiques et de leur diffusion à l'étranger: les pages de titres et les avis insérés dans les recueils eux-mêmes ou dans la presse le signalent: ainsi on sait que *L'Écho* d'Andrez peut se trouver à Paris chez *M<sup>r</sup> Lutton, commis au Bureau du mercure ruë Ste: Anne, butte St: Roch, et dans tous les Bureaux des Postes de l'Europe, et chez les Libraires les plus accredités des Villes les plus considerables*.<sup>17</sup> La souscription pour *Le rossignol* de Philippart est également ouverte dans toutes les grandes villes avoisinantes, exception faite de Paris. L'éditeur insère dans le premier numéro de 1766 ce tableau qui reprend tous les endroits où il est possible de souscrire:

Liege, J.E. Philippart, Imprimeur-Libraire.	Nancy, Leclerc, Imprimeur.
Namur, la Fontaine, Imprimeur-Libraire.	Malines, la Veuve d'Ancre.
Louvain, Maswiens, Imprimeur-Libraire.	Mastricht, J. Lekins, Imprimeur-Libraire.
Bruxelles, J. Boucherie, Imprimeur-Libraire.	Aix-la-Chapelle, (Lacand, Maître de Musique.
Anvers, J. Grangé, Imprimeur-Libraire.	(Barchion, Libraire.
Gand, (Barth, Maître de Musique. (Goessen, Imprimeur-Libraire.	Bruges, Vanslovere, Imprimeur. Sedan, Hennuy, Libraire.
Mons, H. Bottin, Imprimeur-Libraire.	Charleville, P. Thésin, Libraire.
Lille, J.B. Henri, Imprimeur-Libraire.	La Haye, Saatman, Libraire.
Luxembourg, les Héritiers d'André Chevalier.	Bouillon, J. Brasseur, Imprimeur.
Amsterdam, Marc-Michel Rey, Libraire.	Cologne, J.P. Nœthen, Imprimeur-Libraire.

Quant à Latour, il signale en 1791 que son *Orphée ou recueil d'ariettes italiennes des plus celebres compositeurs, avec les paroles françoises*, se distribue aussi à Amsterdam chez *D. L. Van Dyk sur le cingel*. Et Jeanne Andrez (1750–1809), qui reprend

<sup>17</sup> Avis de l'éditeur inséré dans *L'Écho* de décembre 1762.

l'atelier de gravure de son père Benoît Andrez, publie dès 1801 et jusqu'en 1807 un *Journal de musique vocale* à raison de vingt-quatre numéros par an. Elle précise sur sa page de titre que son *Journal* se trouve aussi à Breda chez W. Van Bergen. Son journal, réputé pour sa qualité, propose notamment des airs des grandes œuvres de compositeurs tels que Méhul, Haydn, Della Maria, Dalayrac, Boieldieu, Cimarosa, Cherubini ou Isouard.

Bien évidemment, ces journaux se vendent également chez des marchands de musique non mentionnés par les éditeurs liégeois mais qui se découvrent par les différentes initiatives qu'ils ont prises: soit par celle d'établir le catalogue de ce qu'ils vendent, soit par le fait de coller leurs étiquettes sur les exemplaires qu'ils possèdent ou encore par les avis publicitaires qu'ils insèrent dans la presse. Par exemple, le système des étiquettes a permis d'établir que les Weissenbruch,<sup>18</sup> établis à Bruxelles, se fournissent notamment chez les Andrez. En effet, ils distribuent tous les numéros du *Journal vocal* de Jeanne Andrez, pendant les six ans de son existence. Par tous ces renseignements, il apparaît que les imprimeurs de musique liégeois ont su tirer profit de leur situation géographique pour tisser des liens avec leurs confrères installés dans les Pays-Bas, en France ou en Allemagne.

Force est de constater qu'en quelques années, dans la seconde moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la Principauté de Liège connaît un nouvel élan dans le domaine de l'édition musicale, grâce à seulement quelques personnes. Cependant, outre les Andrez, Desoer et Latour, il y a d'autres imprimeurs et libraires qui apportent leur collaboration à cet essor. Ainsi, Bernimoulin, Bertrand, Philippart, Lemarié ou Terry publient ou vendent des partitions et participent à ce nouveau circuit de la diffusion de la musique. Ce qui se vend dans les boutiques de certains d'entre eux, est encore une fois connu par leurs publicités ou étiquettes. Le relevé des avis insérés dans la *Gazette de Liège* permet de cette façon de conclure que Nicolas Terry devient une figure importante de la Principauté dans le dernier quart du siècle. Le premier avis qui fait part de son activité remonte à 1777:<sup>19</sup>

*Aux Amateurs d'Estampes et de Musique. Nicolas Terry, marchand d'Estampes et de Musique avertit qu'il est nouvellement arrivé de Paris avec un bel assortiment d'Estampes en tous genres. Il a avec lui de grands Assortiments de Musique vocales et instrumentales, des ariettes détachées des plus nouveaux opéras, des cartes géographiques, des dessins au crayon ... des paysages et Marines de Vernet, ... des Livres... Il est au Palais pour quelques jours et loge au Moriane, rue de Stalon.*

<sup>18</sup> Charles Weissenbruch (1740-1826) et son fils Louis (1772-1851) s'installent à Bruxelles aux alentours de 1795.

<sup>19</sup> *Gazette de Liège*, 11 juillet 1777 (n° 83).

Trois ans plus tard, en 1780, Terry annonce que sa boutique a été cambriolée et publie la liste des partitions volées:<sup>20</sup>

*Comme il a été volé dans les galeries du Palais dans la nuit de vendredi au samedi passé 22 ct. Plusieurs pièces de Musique, on prie ceux qui en ont acheté ou qui en ont quelque connaissance d'en avertir le propriétaire, N. TERRY, au Moriane, en Pierreuse, qui en remettra l'argent avec remerciements. Il offre aussi un louis d'Or à qui lui fera connaître le vendeur. Voici la note d'une partie desdites Musiques volées avec les noms et nombre d'œuvres des auteurs:*

1. WEISS, 1 <sup>er</sup> Trio de Flûte	1. BAUR SHEMID. Concerto de flûte
1. EICHNERE, 1 <sup>e</sup> Six Symphonies	1. Antonio STAMITZ. Concerto de flûte
1. BACH et LEDUC aîné, 3 Symphonies	1. DARD. 2 <sup>e</sup> sonate de basson.
1. LEDUC l'aîné, Co. Stamitz et Gossec: 3 symph.	1. Antoine STAMITZ. Concerto de hautbois
1. LACNITH, 1 <sup>e</sup> SIX symph.	1. STAMITZ Carlo. Concerto de Hautbois
1. BOCCHERINI. 22 <sup>e</sup> SIX symph.	1. ABEL. 2 <sup>e</sup> six Concerto de clavecin
1. VENTO. 5 <sup>e</sup> Six sonates clavecin	1. FISCHERE. Concerto de clavecin
1. GRAFF. 4 <sup>e</sup> Quintetti	1. Carlo BONI. Quatuor de clavecin
1. DELUSSE. Méthode de flûte	1. PELLEGRINO, ultima sonates de clavecin
1. CAMBINI. 2 <sup>e</sup> Quatuor	1. PRATY. 1 <sup>e</sup> sonates de clavecin
1. CAMBINI, 10 <sup>e</sup> connue aussi sous le titre de CAMBINI 9 <sup>e</sup> marqué à la plume	1. FABRI. 2 <sup>e</sup> sonates de clavecin
1. VAN DER HAGEN, duo de clarinettes	1. ROESERE. Symphonie de clavecin
1. VARI Autores. Duo de clarinettes	1. PROSCH. 5 <sup>e</sup> sonate de clavecin
1. VOGEL. 5 <sup>e</sup> clarinette	
1. KUCHELER. 4e Duo de clarinettes	

Pour reprendre ses mots, Terry, *marchand d'estampes et de musiques*, étale dans les *Galeries du Palais, près de Conseil Privé & au Moriane, au pied de la Pierreuse*. Il tient en outre une boutique à Bruxelles, désignée par l'insigne des *Arts Réunis*, qui s'est établie à différentes adresses: rue de la Violette n° 1308, rue des Chapeliers n° 1264 et au n° 1321 de cette même rue. Le nom de Terry, en tant que correspondant, se retrouve de temps à autre sur la page de titre d'une partition. Il est par exemple

<sup>20</sup> *Gazette de Liège*, 26 janvier 1780 (n° 11).

mentionné avec Castaud pour Lyon, Godefroy pour Bruxelles, Bouillon pour Bordeaux et Sifflet pour Lille, sur l'ouvrage de Bruni gravé à Paris par Le Roy l'aîné et mis au jour par M. De La Chevardière.<sup>21</sup> Son nom apparaît encore lors de l'ouverture de souscription, comme en 1787, pour les *Douze nouveaux quatuors* de Pleyel.<sup>22</sup> Sa veuve, qui s'installe définitivement à Liège et qui reste active jusqu'en 1829, augmente son activité en éditant elle-même quelques ouvrages. Le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle s'ouvre alors, dans les domaines de la diffusion et de l'édition de la musique, avec Jeanne Andrez, Chefneux, Decortis, Duguët, Goût et la veuve Terry mais il s'agit là du début d'une nouvelle ère.

La capitale de la Principauté devenue un petit centre attractif et qui plus est, à proximité de Spa, ville d'eau fréquentée durant la haute saison par la noblesse et les artistes de tout pays, se doit désormais de recevoir sur son territoire les artistes et compositeurs en tournée, le temps d'un concert. La *Gazette de Liège* annonce ces différents concerts en prenant bien soin de préciser la renommée internationale des musiciens et le caractère exceptionnel de la prestation. Ces musiciens viennent ainsi jouer dans les différentes sociétés liégeoises organisatrices de concerts. La salle de la Redoute accueille de cette façon, en novembre 1764, Karl Michaël Esser présenté comme un *célèbre violon, qui a eu l'honneur de se faire entendre aux principales Cours d'Europe*.<sup>23</sup> En 1768, Alessandro Mario Antonio Fridzeri, qui compose les célèbres *Souliers mordorés* en 1776, vient donner un concert à la salle de la Comédie.<sup>24</sup> Les amateurs de musique liégeois ont en fait, dès les années 1760, le plaisir d'entendre bon nombre d'étrangers, que ce soit les frères Stamitz en 1769, Madame Galli, chanteuse italienne au service de S.A.S. le duc de Modène en 1772, le Sieur Landiny, musicien de la chambre de S.A.R. le Duc de Parme en 1775, ou encore M<sup>elle</sup> Mudrich, *musicienne arrivant de la Russie*, qui vient en 1777 au Vauxhall. On vient donc de tout horizon autant de Russie comme le Sieur Legard, que du Concert Spirituel de Paris comme le Sieur Naudy ou encore d'Italie comme le castrat Nicolas Sampieri. Ces artistes, tous plus remarquables les uns que les autres, permettent à Liège, en s'y arrêtant, de présenter une affiche aussi attrayante que celles des autres grandes villes. Le public est toujours présent, autant pour entendre, pour ne citer qu'eux, en 1783 Gertrud Elisabeth Mara, célèbre colorature, et Rodolphe Kreutzer, que pour écouter le jeune violoniste virtuose, George Augustus Polgreen Bidgetower, âgé de neuf ans, qui foule les planches de la Principauté en décembre 1788 et janvier 1789 avant même de monter sur celles de Bruxelles et de Paris.

<sup>21</sup> Bruni, *Six quatuor dialogués pour deux violons alto et basse, œuvre III*, Paris; De La Chevardière; Lyon, Castaud; Bruxelles, Godefrot; Liège, Therry [*sic*]; Bordeaux, Bouillon; Lille, Sifflet [*RISM A/I*, B 4744].

<sup>22</sup> Il s'agit sans doute de l'édition parisienne réalisée par Imbault de l'opus 6 de Pleyel, constitué de douze quatuors en quatre livraisons et dédié au Roi de Prusse [*RISM A/I*, P 3200 et Benton 3244].

<sup>23</sup> *Gazette de Liège*, 26, 28 et 30 novembre 1764 (n<sup>os</sup> 97–99), 3 décembre 1764 (n<sup>o</sup> 100).

<sup>24</sup> *Gazette de Liège*, 15 juin 1768 (n<sup>o</sup> 72).

La ville de Liège s'est métamorphosée de la sorte en un centre urbain présentant une vie musicale riche, variée et régulière tant dans les domaines des spectacles et concerts que dans celui de l'édition du livre. La cité de Liège est rapidement devenue une étape non négligeable des routes de la circulation de la musique: les imprimeurs et graveurs sont parvenus à créer une activité importante, à publier des partitions intéressantes de compositeurs locaux et étrangers, à diffuser leurs éditions en dehors de leurs frontières, à proposer à leurs compatriotes les nouveautés de la scène européenne, à tisser des liens avec leurs confrères d'ailleurs. Les marchands de musique ont également pris part à ce marché en restant attentif à la demande de leur clientèle et à la création artistique du moment. Ainsi, en quelques décennies, à partir de 1740, les imprimeurs liégeois ont réussi à implanter leur ville sur les chemins de la circulation de la musique.

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