

# Orlandus Lassus and his Time



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AND HIS TIME



Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

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Ignace Bossuyt, Eugene Schreurs, Annelies Wouters

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ORLANDUS LASSUS AND HIS TIME

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## PREFACE

The first Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation contains most papers presented at the International Colloquium on Orlando di Lasso held in Antwerp during August 1994.<sup>1</sup> Lasso's secular music, which remains neglected in favor of the composer's sacred works, was consciously chosen as one of the focal points of the meeting. Studies of the context of Lasso's works also received special emphasis, as is borne out by the title, *Orlando di Lasso and his Time*. The colloquium was organized by the International Musicological Society as part of a series of events in commemoration of the 400th anniversary of Lasso's death in 1994; these events, including an exhibition and a number of concerts, attempted to tackle their subject from a variety of avenues. Be it from the musicologist's or the performer's vantage point, the seemingly inexhaustible richness of the great 16th-century composer's works once again became clear as paper after paper and concert after concert revealed new and unexpected facets of the life and works of "le plus que divin Orlande." May the present volume contribute to the growth of Lasso scholarship, and stimulate further explorations of what remains largely unexplored territory!

*Ignace Bossuyt*

<sup>1</sup> No included are the papers: Karl Kuegle, *Lassus and the Canon*, Henri Vanhulst, *La musique profane de Roland de Lassus*, and Saskia Willaert/Katrien Derde, *The Plantin-Moretus Publishing House: a Bookshop Selling Lassus' and De Castro's Music*. These three papers will be published separately.



# INTRODUCTION



# ORLANDUS LASSUS AND HIS TIME

## Some Reflections

*Ignace Bossuyt*

*Alamire Foundation, K.U.Leuven*

Orlandus Lassus' first volume, the famous *Le quatoirsiesme livre*, edited by Tilman Susato in Antwerp, 1555, brings together four genres of the vocal polyphony: the Italian madrigal and villanella, the French chanson and the Latin motet.<sup>1</sup> In the same year Antonio Gardano releases in Venice Lassus' first and very successful book with five-part madrigals.<sup>2</sup> A year later, in 1556, Jean de Laet issues in Antwerp Lassus' first volume with motets, the so-called 'Antwerp Motet Book' dedicated to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, bishop of Arras.<sup>3</sup>

During his stay in Antwerp, from 1554 until September 1556, the young composer presents himself as a first rate artist, through the quality of his production as well as his versatility. Few contemporaries started their 'public life' with as many individual editions, released within less than two years. The secular music, not only in French and Italian, but also in Latin, occupies a central position in this early production. The three editions cited above together comprise 29 madrigals, 6 villanellas, 6 chansons and 22 motets, 6 of which are secular. While a number of chansons and most of the villanellas became widely known, one can hardly claim that Lassus' madrigals and secular motets belong to the current repertory, although they form a substantial part of his oeuvre. Until now, they have scarcely been researched<sup>4</sup>, which is the more surprising since Lassus composed no less than about 200 madrigals. The earliest volumes,

<sup>1</sup> *Le quatoirsiesme livre a quatre parties contenant dixhuyct chansons italiennes, six chansons françoises, et six motets faittz (a la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie) par Rolando di Lassus*, Antwerp, Tilman Susato, 1555 (RISM A/I/5, p. 232) (L 755, 1555a). In the same year the volume was reprinted under the title *Il primo libro dovesi contengono madrigali, villanesche, canzoni francesi, e motetti a quattro voci*, Antwerp, Tilman Susato, 1555 (RISM L 756, 1555b). See K.K. FORNEY, *Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus 1': the Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, 39-40 (1985-86), p. 33-60.

<sup>2</sup> *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci, novamento dato in luce*, Venice, Antonio Gardano, 1555 (RISM L 757, 1555c). Between 1557 and 1586 13 reprints were edited in Venice by Antonio and Angelo Gardano (1557, 1566, 1570, 1582), Girolamo Scotto and his heirs (1559, 1560, 1562, 1567, 1573, 1586), Francesco Rampazetto and Claudio Merulo (1573) (cf. RISM).

<sup>3</sup> *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque et a sei voci*, Antwerp, Johann Laet, 1556 (RISM L 758, 1556a). A reprint appeared in 1560 by Tilman Susato as the last volume of his second series of motet books he started in 1553 (*Liber decimus quintus ecclesiasticarum cantionum vulgo moteta vocant [...] quinque et sex vocibus, ex omnibus tonis*, RISM L 763, 1560a).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. EINSTEIN, 1949, p. 477-498 and passim; BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 80-98, 302-312, 402-411, 499-505, 577-591; J. HAAR, *The Early Madrigals of Lassus*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie. Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, 39-40, (1985-86), p. 17-32.

for example the five-part madrigals from 1555 and 1557<sup>5</sup>, were highly popular, as is proved by the many reprints. Lassus is one of the main representatives of the composers using Petrarch's texts. In this respect I am delighted that one of Lassus' madrigal books receives special attention on this symposium, namely the fourth book with five-part madrigals from 1567, dedicated to Alfonso II d'Este of Ferrara<sup>6</sup>, who is known to have welcomed the volume rather coldly.<sup>7</sup> In this context the study of the relation between the choice of the texts and the stylistic particularities on the one hand and the personal taste of the dedicatee and his entourage on the other, is fascinating and needs by the way to be expanded to all editions provided with a dedication. A notable detail is the fact that Lassus travelled to Ferrara to deliver personally the edition to the concerned patron. James Haar discusses this fourth book of five-part madrigals. Even less than his madrigals Lassus' secular motets have been a subject of research, although this extensive and versatile repertory poses many challenging questions to the scholar, specifically concerning the historical context in which they originated, and the purpose and/or specific function of the works. The most important part within this repertory is formed by the subgenre of the ceremonial motet. Evidently Lassus composed such works in honour of the Wittelsbach house, to which belonged Albrecht and Wilhelm, the Dukes of Bavaria. But the Habsburg emperors as well, and more specifically Maximilian II, were honoured by Lassus with ceremonial motets, as emerges from Robert Lindell's paper.

A few random examples may demonstrate that Lassus' secular motet production is highly useful material for research. Lassus' final motet in the *Quatours livre* of 1555 is the secular *Alma Nemes*. The text is a neo-Latin poem containing six verses in three distichs:

Alma Nemes, quae sola Nemes, quae dicere Cypris  
 altera, quae Pallas altera, quarta Charis,  
 quae pellis nubes, quae caelum fronte serenas  
 et risu et laetis flammae luminibus,  
 alma veni vocemque tuam, qua flumina sistis,  
 funde, canas mecum dulce novumque melos.

<sup>5</sup> *Secondo libro delle muse, a cinque voci, Madrigali d'Orlando di Lassus con una canzona del Petrarca*, Rome, Antonio Barré, 1557 (RISM L 760, 1557b), with 14 Venetian reprints by Scotto (1559, 1560, 1562, 1567, 1573, 1586), Gardano (1559, 1565, 1568, 1574, 1585), Rampazetto (1563, 1566) and Merulo (1573) (cf. RISM). Cf. the detailed survey of the sources in the introduction (by Horst Leuchtman) to LASSO, SW, II. *Kompositionen mit italienischem Text*, 1, second edition, pp. XXXIV-L.

<sup>6</sup> *Di Orlando Lasso maestro di capella del serenissimo signor Duca di Baviera, libro quarto de madrigali a cinque voci, da lui nuovamente in Germania composti, et hora dati in luce*, Venice, Antonio Gardano (RISM L 813, 1567k), with Gardano reprints in 1570 (L 842, 1570m) and 1593 (RISM L 1005, 1593b).

<sup>7</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 138-140.

Noble Nemes, you who can only be called Nemes,  
 You, a second Venus, a second Minerva, a fourth Grace,  
 You who dispels the clouds, whose appearance clears up heaven,  
 Together with your smile and your twinkling, fiery eyes,  
 Come, let your voice, with which you make rivers stand still,  
 Sing with me a new delicious song.

On the last words, *dulce novumque melos*, the young Lassus brings tribute to the chromatic writing he presumably learned from Cypriano de Rore. Immediately after, de Rore's famous chromatic motet *Calami sonum ferentes*, a setting of an ode by Horace, closes the edition of the *Quatoirsiesme livre*. Lassus' *Alma Nemes* appears to honour a singer Nemes, as far as I know not yet identified. Typically, the text refers to Classical Antiquity, to Orpheus, who controls nature with his music ('vocem tuam, qua flumina sistis': your voice, which makes rivers stand still); to Venus, the goddess of love, evidently the main theme in secular music; to Minerva, the goddess of arts and sciences; to the Graces, the daughters of the supreme god Zeus who loved singing, dance and poetry. This work spontaneously reminds me of Adrian Willaert's madrigal, *Qual dolcezza giamai*, a tribute to his favourite singer Polissena Pecorina who owned the unique manuscript of the *Musica Nova*, Willaert's brilliant collection of motets and madrigals, which she sold in 1554 to Alfonso II d'Este of Ferrara.<sup>8</sup> Willaert compares the seductive voice of Polissena with the sirens, and talks about the power of music after the example of Orpheus. We know quite a lot about Willaert's Polissena, but we do not know anything about Lassus' Nemes.

A second example of a possible research subject is the humorous motet *Hispanum ad coenam*, included in the volume *Cantiones aliquot quinque vocum* published in 1569 by Adam Berg in Munich and in the same year by Claudio Correggio in Venice.<sup>9</sup> The text, again written in distichs, reads as follows:

Hispanum ad coenam mercator belga vocarat,  
 regifico luxu mensa parata fuit,  
 extera convivis non deerant vina vocatis,  
 aureaque artificii pocula sculpta manu.  
 Hispanus miratur opes, miratur et artes,

<sup>8</sup> I. BOSSUYT, *Adriaan Willaert (ca. 1490-1562). Leven en werk. Stijl en genres*, Leuven, 1985, p. 68-74 (with references to the literature on *Musica Nova* until 1985 on p. 159).

<sup>9</sup> *Cantiones aliquot quinque vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commo-dissimae, iam primum in lucem summa cura atque diligenta editae*, Munich, Adam Berg (RISM L 820, 1569a) and *Liber sextus motectorum cum quinque vocibus [...] noviter impressus*, Venice, Claudio Coreggio.

miratur lautae fercula multa dapis.  
 ‘Ingenia atque artes unde his regionibus’ inquit,  
 ‘semper ubi stetunt ebria turba viri?’

Mox importuno civilior hospes Ibero  
 respondit placido talia verba sono:  
 ‘Nos bibimus vestris quae vina vehuntur ab oris,  
 vos bibitis gelidas dum sitis ardet aquas.  
 Ingenia haud mirum quod vobis acria desint,  
 quod bibitis bibit hoc vester asellus idem.’

A Belgian merchant invited a Spaniard to his table;  
 The feast was prepared with royal splendour.  
 Wines from abroad were abundant,  
 As were the golden goblets sculpted by hand.  
 The Spaniard admired the richness, the works of art  
 The many courses of the copious meal,  
 And he asked: where in these regions does the ingenuity comes from,  
 And the skill, while your men always lay down drunk?

On which the host calmly answers,  
 Much more polite than the coarse Spaniard:  
 We drink the wine from your country,  
 You drink ice cold water when you are thirsty.  
 It is not surprising that you lack ingenuity,  
 For you drink the same as your donkey.

Nothing is known about the context in which this humorous motet originated. It may have been performed on the occasion of the festivities for the wedding of Wilhelm of Bavaria with Renata of Lorraine in February 1568, the year before the motet was published. I would like to point out that the same book of motets edited in 1569 includes the famous wedding motet *Gratia sola Dei*, which Lassus composed for the couple.<sup>10</sup> Massimo Troiano’s detailed report of the wedding festivities reads that Troiano himself performed the role of a ‘spagnuolo disperato’ in a comedy in which also Lassus played a part.<sup>11</sup> The motet *Hispanum ad coenam* seems to fit very well in this context.<sup>12</sup> Undoubtedly some of Lassus’ motets were meant to be performed during dramas,

<sup>10</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 148.

<sup>11</sup> H. LEUCHTMANN, (ed.), *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568. Massimo Troiano: Dialoge (italienisch/deutsch). Zwiegespräche über die Festlichkeiten bei der Hochzeit des bayerischen Erbherzogs Wilhelm V. mit Renata von Lothringen, in München, im Februar 1568*, Munich - Salzburg, 1980, p. 310.

including those of the Jesuits in Munich, for which the posthumously published motet *Mortalium incunditas*<sup>13</sup> was written as part of Johannes Reuchlin's play *Scenica progymnastica*, published in Cologne in 1537.<sup>14</sup> I am convinced that the study of Lassus' secular motets will reveal many other pleasant surprises.

The Italian villanelle - Lassus' 'sins of his youth'<sup>15</sup> - and the French chansons also remain attractive material for the scholar. Lassus' stay in Italy between 1544 and 1554, during which he presumably composed most of his 'villanelle, moresche e altre canzoni', still evokes many questions, for instance about his contribution to the volume *Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus e d'altri eccellenti musici libro secondo*, an edition of Valerio Dorico in Rome, 1555, as well as the context in which this anthology was compiled.<sup>16</sup> The question as to who belonged to the circles in which the young Lassus moved in Rome in the period between 1551 and 1554 is intriguing. One of the leading actors was the Florentine Archbishop Antonio Altoviti, who lived in exile in Rome. The same Roman circle also included the nobleman-musician Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, with whom Lassus later would travel to England.<sup>17</sup> This exceptional figure seemingly involved in political intrigues, was well-known with Ferrante Gonzaga, whom Lassus had been in the service of during the years 1544-49. In Madrid I recently found a letter of reference for Brancaccio, written by Ferrante Gonzaga to Perrenot de Granvelle and dated 29 March 1552.<sup>18</sup> Four years later Lassus dedicated his Antwerp motet book to Granvelle. The

<sup>12</sup> The same text was also set to music by Alexander Utendal (ca. 1543/45-1581), vice-Kapellmeister at the court of archduke Ferdinand von Tirol in Innsbruck. His motet *Hispanum ad coenam* was edited in 1571 in his *Sacrarium cantionum liber primus*, Nürnberg, Dietrich Gerlach. Ferdinand was very interested in theatrical performances. He himself wrote the first play on a German text in 1584. Cf. W. SENN, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck. Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748*, Innsbruck, 1954, p. 178 and I. BOSSUYT, *De componist Alexander Utendal (ca. 1543/45-1581). Een bijdrage tot de studie van de Nederlandse polyfonie in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw*, Brussel, 1983, p. 35.

<sup>13</sup> *Cantiones quinque vocum. Ab Orlando di Lasso et huius filio Ferdinandi di Lasso*, Munich, Adam Berg, 1597 (RISM B/I/A, 1. *Liste chronologique*, p. 375 = RISM 1597<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>14</sup> About the text of *Mortalium incunditas*, cf. B. HUYS, *Catalogue des imprimés musicaux des XVe, XVIe et XVIIe siècles. Fonds général. Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier. Catalogue van de muziek-drukken van de XVde, XVIde en XVIIde eeuw. Algemene verzameling. Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I*, Brussels, 1965, p. 346 (with facsimile of the original text). On the link with Lassus, cf. I. BOSSUYT (ed.), *Orlandus Lassus 1532-1594*, exhibition catalogue, Louvain, 1982, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Lassus' dedication to Wilhelm of Bavaria in the late edition *Libro de villanelle, moresche, et altre canzoni, a 4.5.6. et 8. voci*, Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1581 (RISM L 930, 1581g), with reprint by Pierre Phalèse & Jean Bellère in Antwerp 1582 (RISM L 941, 1581g). See BOETTCHER, 1958, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> *Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus e d'altri eccellenti musici libro secondo*, Rome, Valerio Dorico, 1555 (RISM B/I/A, p. 109, 1555<sup>30</sup>, reprinted in 1558, cf. RISM, p. 224, 1558<sup>16</sup>).

<sup>17</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 90, 92-94.

<sup>18</sup> Madrid, Palacio Real, Ms. II, 2321, fol. 130.

political world of the time, which also represented artistic patronage, seems to have been very small, and international communication was so intense that everyone maintained contacts with everyone else. It was in these circles Lassus moved while he mastered the art of composing. Interesting details on this period are revealed in Donna Cardamone-Jackson's paper.

Lassus' French chansons as well still need to be more researched. They are regarded as the high point of the genre in the second half of the 16th century. The question about the choice of the texts and the evolution in the literary taste, joined with a possible change in musical style, appeals to the imagination and is discussed in Frank Dobbins' paper. I would like to note that the first chanson in Lassus' 'Opus 1', *Le Quatoirsiesme livre* published by Susato, is set on the following quatrain:

Las voulez vous qu'une personne chante,  
a qui le coeur ne fais que soupirer.  
Laissez chanter celui qui se contente  
et me laissez mon seul mal endurer.

Evidently this concerns a traditional love song in the style of the rhétoriciens. Personally I wonder whether this melancholic text was deliberately chosen by the composer as his first chanson because it closely fits with his character. I cite the beginning of the chanson immediately following:

En espoir vis et crainte me tourment,  
ung jour je ris et lautre je lamente.

Discussing Lassus' correspondence to Wilhelm, Horst Leuchtman writes: 'Seine Heiterkeit, sein Schwung, sein scharfer Blick für die Umwelt und für groteske Situationen stehen jedoch vor einem Hintergrund tiefer Melancholie und Einsicht in die Eitelkeit dieser Welt'.<sup>19</sup> And further: 'Lasso ist ein Melancholiker, ein Saturniker, der aus dieser Veranlagung heraus Grosses schafft und - wie alle Schwermütigen - auch grotesken Humors fähig ist'.<sup>20</sup> Lassus' text choice appears to mirror the extremes of his character even from the earliest compositions onwards. The chansons seem to make no exception. As is well known, Lassus' French chansons were extremely popular, not in the least through the editions of Adrian le Roy, Lassus' personal friend in Paris. They were and they remained successful in the Netherlands as well. Numerous composers were inspired by Orlandus Lassus. Undoubtedly the most striking

<sup>19</sup> H. LEUCHTMANN, *Lassos Briefe*, in HELL - LEUCHTMANN, (ed.), 1982, p. 66.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the introduction by Horst Leuchtman to the facsimile edition of the Antwerp motet book, ed. by Musica, Peer (Belgium), 1990.

example is the oeuvre of Lassus' younger contemporary Jean De Castro. Since 1990 the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, together with the Université Libre de Bruxelles, had run a research project on this composer in which the edition of his opera omnia in 19 volumes is planned.<sup>21</sup> The similarities between De Castro's and Lassus' debut are remarkable: being published fourteen years later, namely in 1569, De Castro's first book too concerned an individual volume containing the same genres (madrigal, chanson and motet)<sup>22</sup>, it was dedicated too to a member of the Genoese nation, namely Giovanni Fiesco<sup>23</sup> (Susato's reprint of Lassus' *Le Quatoirsiesme livre* of 1555 was dedicated to the Genoese Stefano Gentile). This interesting artist reveals himself as an expert of music in three-parts. Out of a total of 400 compositions about half of them are pieces for three voices. Remarkably, in his three early editions dating from the period 1569-1575 (which corresponds with his first stay in Antwerp)<sup>24</sup> De Castro chose the same texts as Lassus for no less than 32 chansons, which were, apart from one, also musically based on the four- and five-part models of Lassus. In this light De Castro needs to be regarded as a master of the parody chanson during these Antwerp years. It must be noted that 21 chansons by Lassus were imitated solely by De Castro. The other composers who modelled their chansons on those of Lassus all drew from the same repertory of about ten chansons. De Castro clearly occupies a special place within the chanson-repertory inspired by Lassus in the second half of the sixteenth century. The three-part setting based on Lassus' models undoubtedly contributed to the interest in the original chansons, which makes De Castro an important advocate of Lassus' music in Antwerp and elsewhere (for example in Paris, where Adrian le Roy issued De Castro's *Livre de chansons à troys parties* in 1575).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Until now, three volumes have appeared: vol. 1 and 2 consist of the edition of De Castro's French (1592) and Latin bicinia (1593), vol. 3 of the tricinia of 1569 (see footnote 23), edited by Ignace Bossuyt (general editor, Louvain) and the editorial board Henri Vanhulst (Brussels), Saskia Willaert (Louvain), Katrien Derde (Louvain), Bart Demuyt (Louvain) and (since 1994) Frédérique Longrée (Brussels) and Marijke Van Campenhout (Louvain).

<sup>22</sup> *Il primo libro di Madrigali, Canzoni & Motetti a tre voci*, Antwerp, widow of Jean Laet, 1569 (cf. RISM, A/I/2, p. 80, C 1468).

<sup>23</sup> S. WILLAERT - K. DERDE, *Het mecenaat van de Genuese natie in Antwerpen in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw*, in *Orlandus Lassus en Antwerpen 1554-1556*, exhibition catalogue, Antwerpen, 1994, p. 47-56 and the extensive introduction, by the same writers, to *Jean De Castro. Il primo libro di Madrigali, Canzoni & Motetti a tre voci (1569)*, in I. BOSSUYT e.a. (ed.), *Jean De Castro. Opera omnia*, vol. 3, Leuven, 1995 for more information about the activities of Fiesco and the Genoese Nation in Antwerp.

<sup>24</sup> 1569, cf. footnote 22; 1574: *La Fleur des chansons a troys parties, produit de la divine musicque, de Jean Castro, Severin Cornet, Noë Faignent & autres excellens aucteurs*, Louvain, Pierre Phalèse and Antwerp, Jean Bellère (*RISM Recueils imprimés*, p. 293, 1574<sup>3</sup>); 1575: *Livre de chansons nouvellement composées a troys parties*, Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard (*RISM A/I/2*, p. 81, C 1472).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the introduction by Saskia Willaert and Katrien Derde to the third volume of the edition of De Castro's opera omnia (see footnote 23).

The comparison of Lassus' originals with De Castro's arrangements is revealing. During the Lassus-colloquium in Munich July 1994 I had a chance to examine this shared repertory more closely.<sup>26</sup> I will briefly recapitulate the similarities and differences in the approach of both composers, which will show that in spite of a dominant 'Zeitstil' each composer had its own techniques and means of expression. In the chansons based on Lassus De Castro takes over the modes as well as the overall structure. However, he seldom quotes literally. De Castro's imitation is mainly restricted to one of the free forms of parody, namely the borrowing of melodic motives which he manipulates in his own way, deviating from the model. If at first view De Castro's approach to the French chanson does not heavily deviate from Lassus, his ideas in connection with rhythm, micro-structure and the relation between text and music differ quite much from those of Lassus. As to the micro-structure, Lassus clearly writes in broader melodic lines, while De Castro splits up the phrases in short, often repeated units. Although Lassus is known to build up phrases based on micro-motives (certainly in his chansons), De Castro goes much further in this technique of splitting up motives. Notable differences can be pointed out in the rhythmical structure as well. On the level of the rhythm De Castro's music is more restless compared to Lassus. De Castro favours small note values (*semiminimae*) much more than Lassus does. His rhythm is more dominated by syncopation. Another important difference lies in the way in which both composers approach the musical representation of the text. Although Lassus regularly emphasizes details, this technique remains more subordinate to the general atmosphere of the composition. Unlike Lassus, De Castro overemphasizes the madrigalistic detail. The result is music full of contrasts and nervousity, often rather detailed than contributing to the general atmosphere of the chansons, more focused on the micro- than on the macro-structure. Finally De Castro's approach deviated from Lassus on the level of harmony and the accidentals. De Castro inserts more accidentals, Lassus uses them more deliberately, in view of the subtle representation of an affective detail. Lassus reserved 'strange' chords for more exceptional details. De Castro's three-part chansons based on Lassus form ideal examples of the application of the aesthetic principle of the *imitatio*, still valid in the 16th century. De Castro himself must have considered this treatment of Lassus' music as a learning process, since after 1575 he stopped imitating Lassus in his chansons. This case study tells us much about the degree in which Lassus' secular music, and specifically his French chansons, were regarded as the ideal models to be imitated. Lassus' oeuvre functioned as a stone in a pool making ever more

<sup>26</sup> Cf. I. BOSSUYT, *Jean De Castro and his three-part chansons modelled on four- and five-part chansons by Orlando di Lasso. A comparison* (forthcoming in the acta of the Munich colloquium; with many music examples).

broad circles in the water and inspiring a whole generation. More research needs to be done here. Lassus' secular music further plays a central role on the level of instrumental transcription, as is disclosed in Christine Ballmann's paper.

A final genre within Lassus' secular production is the German Lied, according to Horst Leuchtman 'seine schwachste Leistung'. Leuchtman suspects, justly or not, that these songs originated 'mehr als Auftragsarbeiten denn aus eigenem Trieb'.<sup>27</sup> After the publication of Helmut Osthoff's standard book, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied*, in 1938, an almost complete silence has surrounded Lassus' German Lied, apart from the summarizing study of Wolfgang Boetticher dating from 1958 which discusses the genre only briefly.<sup>28</sup> One can hardly accept that a composer with the quality and the professional ethics of Lassus would not offer the best of himself in this genre as well. The convincing results Lassus reaches even while using poor texts remains amazing. The paper of Martin Just on the German Lied sheds new light on this part of Lassus' output until now treated only in an stepmotherly fashion.

After Wilhelm assumed power over the duchy of Bavaria in 1579 a shift to a more religiously inspired or moralising polyphony, even on vernacular texts is detectable within Lassus' oeuvre: chansons spirituelles, madrigali sprituali and sacred German songs became predominant. Ronsard and Marot gave way to Pibrac, Petrarch to Gabriele Fiamma and Luigi Tansillo, more specifically the latter's *Lagrima di San Pietro*, the anonymous poets of the German drink- and love songs were substituted with psalms by Ulenberg or moralising poetry.<sup>29</sup> However, Lassus' output of secular music between about 1550 and 1580 remains more than elaborate and important enough to keep the scholar fascinated as well as the musician and the listener.

We all feel committed to the life and work of Orlandus Lassus, 'le plus que

<sup>27</sup> H. LEUCHTMANN, *Lasso als Komponist*, in HELL - LEUCHTMANN, (ed.), 1982, p. 58. Cf. LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 141: 'Lassos Verhältnis zu deutschen Texten wird wohl passiv gewesen sein - er komponierte, was man ihm vorlegte'.

<sup>28</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 322-328, 420-425, 511-515, 609-613. See also R. CASPARI, *Liedtradition im Stilwandel um 1600: das Nachleben des deutschen Tenorliedes in den gedruckten Liedersammlungen von Le Maistre (1566) bis Schein (1626)*, Munich, 1971 and, most recently, M. JUST, *Liedtradition und Neuerung in Lassos fünfstimmigen Kompositionen mit deutschem Text*, in A. CLEMENT - E. JAS (ed.), *From Ciconia to Sweelinck. Donum Natalicium Willem Elders*, Amsterdam, 1994, p. 269-305.

<sup>29</sup> Chansons on texts by Guy du Faur de Pibrac in *Continuation du mélange d'Orlande de Lassus*, Paris, A. le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1584 (RISM L 953, 1584f), see BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 599, 601-02; madrigali spirituali on texts by Gabriele Fiamma in *Madrigali: novamente composti a cinque voci*, Nürnberg, Catharina Gerlach, 1585 (RISM L 959, 1585e), see ID., p. 585-86; on texts by Luigi Tansillo in Lassus' swan-song *Lagrima di S. Pietro*, Munich, Adam Berg, 1595 (RISM L 1009, 1595a), see ID., p. 693-695; German psalms on texts by Caspar Ulenberg in *Teutsche Psalmen: Geistliche Psalmen mit 3 Stimmen [...] durch Orlando di Lasso [...] und seinen Sohn Rudolphum newlich komponirt*, Munich, Adam Berg, 1588 (RISM 1588<sup>12</sup>), see ID., p. 609-611.

divin Orlande', the composer who at the end of the 16th century succeeded more than anyone else in realising a wonderful synthesis of two centuries of polyphony. Several aspects of his oeuvre, his time and his contemporaries, his influence and significance later, are discussed in about fifteen free papers.

Lassus' popularity is deceiving: the same compositions are performed over and over again, and they are even not the most representative ones. His fame as the great master of the religious motet and related compositions is probably the main reason behind the smaller interest in his secular music. However, things seem to change. Several concerts during the 'Day of Early Music' in Alden Biesen and the recent and future concerts of the Festival of Flanders in Antwerp, Bruges, Leuven and elsewhere mirror a broadening view on Lassus' music. To encourage this change we deliberately chose a symposium with round table talks in which Lassus' secular music occupies a central position. In this light I would like to quote the end of Horst Leuchtman's brilliant opening speech on the Lassus-exhibition in Munich 1982: 'Lasso ist tot und seine Zeit ist vorbei. Ob seine Kunst weiterlebt, liegt allein bei uns'.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> H. LEUCHTMANN, *Orlando di Lasso oder die beseelte Verrücktheit. Zeit und Unzeit einer humanistischen Musik*, in HELL-LEUCHTMANN (ed.), 1982, p. 20.

# LASSUS' SECULAR MUSIC



## ORLANDO DI LASSO AND PRO-FRENCH FACTIONS IN ROME

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It is a perennial paradox of Lasso studies that neither the biography that the Flemish composer has left us (through Quicquelberg), nor the prolific scholarship on his life and works has been able to clarify the details of his passage from adolescence to manhood. As a result the chapter in Lasso's life most seriously in need of attention is his sojourn from 1544 to 1554 in Italy, 'the land that formed him'.<sup>1</sup> But in approaching this critical decade biographers must overcome certain obstacles: first of all the antiquated view of Renaissance patronage that continues to be the context in which Lasso's youth is anchored<sup>2</sup>; second, the assumption that all relevant archives have been diligently searched and therefore no records have survived to document Lasso's patronal relations.<sup>3</sup> But the century-long campaigns to catalogue national, municipal and ecclesiastical archives throughout Europe (especially Spain) provide an incentive to challenge this assumption. Indeed, the most promising archives would seem to be those with holdings emanating from territories under Spanish rule like Sicily, Milan and Naples where Lasso lived from age fourteen to twenty-one.<sup>4</sup> If we are ever to unravel the complicated bonds between Lasso and his patrons and friends, or for that matter to understand his own motives and aspirations, then we must develop new strategies for archival research and explore new models of expla-

<sup>1</sup> H. LEUCHTMANN, *Orlando di Lasso oder die beseelte Verrücktheit: Zeit und Unzeit einer humanistischen Musik*, in HELL - LEUCHTMANN (ed.), 1982, p. 12. See also my preface to *Orlando di Lasso: Canzoni villanesche and villanelle*, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 82-83), Madison, 1992, pp. ix-xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Lasso scholarship tends to use patronage to illuminate the process through which the composer's music was produced, overlooking the importance of private social bonds and the ethos of loyalty and honor which work together in the formation of a composer's identity. In the present study patronage is broadly understood as a system of values and behavior that, in Italian Renaissance societies, emphasized the necessity of having friends in high places. This implies a personal moral obligation that is always informal and ambiguous. On the relevance of this concept for both social and cultural patronage, see R. WEISSMAN, *Taking Patronage Seriously: Mediterranean Values and Renaissance Society*, in F.W. KENT - P. SIMONS (ed.), *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 25-45. See also G.F. LYTLE, *Friendship and Patronage in Renaissance Europe*, *ibid.*, pp. 47-61.

<sup>3</sup> An outstanding exception is I. BOSSUYT, *Lassos erste Jahre in München (1556-1559): eine 'cosa non riuscita'?*, in HÖRNER - SCHMID, (ed.), 1993, pp. 55-67.

<sup>4</sup> Notably the national archives in Simancas and Madrid whose cataloguing is near completion. See A. DE LA PLAZA BORES, *Archivo General de Simanca. Guía del investigador*, Madrid, 1986. For Italy see G. DE LONGHIS-CRISTALDI, *Un progetto dell'amministrazione archivistica statale: il censimento degli archivi di famiglie e persone*, in *Le fonti musicali in Italia. Studi e ricerche*, 6 (1992), pp. 195-99.

nation. This study takes the first step by examining the complex set of relationships that determined the course of Lasso's early career.

In December 1551, when Orlando di Lasso departed Naples for Rome, he had no publications to his credit and only the word of friends and sponsors to vouch for his talents. Two and a half years later, after attaining the top rank of his profession as choirmaster at St John Lateran, he left Rome with his works still unpublished. This aspect of Lasso's early career has yet to find a convincing explanation, because we know virtually nothing about how he negotiated the patronage system that prevailed in Italian urban societies. Part of the blame can be laid upon Samuel van Quickelberg, the one biographer who was personally acquainted with Lasso.<sup>5</sup> His narration of Lasso's rise to fame leaves the fleeting impression of a precocious talent that had only to speak for itself:

[Lasso] persevered for almost three years at the home of the Marchese della Terza in Naples [1549-51]. From there he went to Rome and indeed was guest of the Florentine Archbishop for six months, up to the time at which he was put in charge of the entire musical chapel at the highly renowned church of St John Lateran [June 1552]. Whereupon two years having passed, he was called back home [June 1554]<sup>6</sup>

This passage stands out in Lasso's biography on account of its concern for historical accuracy and narrative structure: the events are carefully framed in discrete temporal units, yet subtly connected to create the illusion of steady progression toward success. However, Lasso's climb to the top was not as direct as Quickelberg would have us believe. A reconsideration of documentary evidence, albeit scant and fragmentary, reveals that Lasso could not have become choirmaster at St John Lateran upon leaving the archbishop in June 1552 because Paolo Animuccia already held the position. And Animuccia's tenure lasted until December 1552 when he was succeeded by Bernardino Lupacchino.<sup>7</sup> The duration of Lupacchino's tenure is not known, but 'having given offence because of his ostentatious manner of living'<sup>8</sup>, he probably lasted

<sup>5</sup> Quickelberg was employed at the Munich court from 1553 until his death in 1567.

<sup>6</sup> S. VAN QUICKELBERG, *Orlandus de Lassus Musicus*, in H. PANTALEON, *Prosopographia heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae, pars tertia*, Basel, 1566, p. 541; reprinted in LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 298.

<sup>7</sup> Animuccia was appointed choirmaster in January 1550 according to G. BAINI, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina*, 2 vols., Rome, 1828, I, p. 59. Errors in Baini's chronological list of choirmasters (p. 70) suggest that documents he cites pertaining to Animuccia should be revisited. Baini's dating of Animuccia's tenure was accepted by L. Lockwood in *Paolo Animuccia*, in *New Grove*, I, p. 438. The overlapping of Lasso's alleged tenure with that of Animuccia and Lupacchino was first noticed by D. ZAGER, *The Polyphonic Hymns of Orlando di Lasso: A Liturgical and Repertorial Study*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1985, pp. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup> T. BRIDGES, *Bernardino Lupacchino*, in *New Grove*, XI, p. 334. See also BAINI, 1828, I, p. 59. Entries on Lupacchino, Animuccia and Lasso in *New Grove* disagree in the succession of choirmasters.

just a few months. The first notice of Lasso's appointment is dated 31 March 1553<sup>9</sup> and his new choir robe was issued on 21 May 1553, suggesting that his service began sometime in March.<sup>10</sup> On the strength of this evidence, it would appear that Quickelberg misrepresented almost a year in Lasso's life (June 1552 to March 1553) when he may actually have been freelancing and struggling for recognition in a competitive environment.<sup>11</sup> In any case the position of choirmaster could hardly have been as illustrious or satisfying as Quickelberg insinuates, because the Lateran choir was continually beset with financial problems. Thus, our first concern will be to open up a meaningful dialogue between Quickelberg's text and its context, and in so doing bring a needed degree of nuance to Lasso's sojourn in Rome.

Lasso was thirty-six and Kapellmeister at the Bavarian court when his biography was published in a Latin directory of noteworthy persons living in Habsburg Germany. There can be no doubt that Quickelberg consulted Lasso for details and that he responded with a truthful, but highly selective account of the circumstances launching his early career. Clearly Lasso had too much at stake to risk losing control of his life's story, and he must therefore be held accountable for its content. Since the intended audience was an elite literate class, sharing similar strategies of reading and interpretation, the co-authors (so-to-speak) relied upon coded expressions to construct a flattering image. The only patrons cited by name, then, were aristocrats with imperial credentials, leaving readers to draw inferences about Lasso's past based on a set of well-known conventions. Thus, of central importance to any reading is the woodcut portrait at the head of the biography which depicts Lasso, not as an ordinary musician, but as a refined courtier in elegant attire.<sup>12</sup>

In Quickelberg's narrative passive verbs represent action and active verbs describe how Lasso spent time with his patrons (see Appendix 1). The active verbs thereby function as signifiers of relationships and when read as a semantic unit, they delineate progressive stages in the grooming of a musical courtier. For example, in 1544 after having been abducted from school twice on account of his beautiful voice, Lasso 'consented to remain with' the imperialist commander, Fernando Gonzaga, and then 'lived with' him for four years. In the context of courtly conventions these phrases mean that the teen-ager was a

<sup>9</sup> Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo SS. Crocefisso A-XI-20, fol. 25v records a payment to 'M. Orlando maestro di capella di Sancto Giovanni' for providing music for the Holy Thursday/Good Friday procession on 31 March 1553.

<sup>10</sup> R. CASIMIRI, *Orlando di Lasso maestro di cappella al Laterano*, Rome, 1920, p. 8. The debate on the duration of Lasso's tenure at St John Lateran is summarized in LEUCHTMANN, 1976, pp. 87-92.

<sup>11</sup> On employment conditions for musicians in mid-sixteenth-century Rome, see N. O'REGAN, *Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Marketplace*, in *Early Music*, 22 (1994), pp. 551-72.

<sup>12</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1982, p. 12, suggests that the prototype, Mielich's portrait of Lasso as a musical courtier in the Sybil-Codex, may have been done at the composer's insistence.

household retainer in a princely establishment. That his main duty was to sing in Gonzaga's chapel is taken for granted. In 1549 the seasoned imperialist cavalier, Constantino Castriota<sup>13</sup>, 'escorted' Lasso to Naples - a city famous for schooling young men in the use of horses and arms. From his late teens to early twenties Lasso 'persevered' in the most demanding stage of his training under the aegis of the cavalier-poet, Giovan Battista d'Azzia (the Marchese della Terza), whom he no doubt served as household musician.

Lasso's transferral to Spanish-occupied Naples with the physical protection of an escort is a strong indication that Gonzaga had designs on his protégé's future. Gonzaga, in fact, was d'Azzia's brother-in-law and both of them maintained residences in the Nido sector of Naples.<sup>14</sup> D'Azzia descended from a distinguished line of cavaliers that fought loyally for the Spanish kings of Naples and resisted the temptation to conspire with the French.<sup>15</sup> But like other Neapolitan aristocrats under absolutist rule, d'Azzia may have fraternized with liberal reformers while maintaining a facade of obedience and loyalty. He was a founder of the Accademia dei Sereni which Viceroy Pedro de Toledo considered a potential source of heresy and sedition.<sup>16</sup> And he was also related to the younger poet, Marcantonio d'Azzia, who was deeply involved in a pro-French conspiracy with Fernando Sanseverino, the Prince of Salerno.<sup>17</sup>

A demagogue with great popular appeal, Salerno cast an irresistible spell on young courtiers from Nido during Lasso's term of residence. Nido was a small, densely populated neighborhood whose great noble clans - the Sanseve-

- 13 R. PASTORE, *Constantino Castriota*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 1979, XXII, pp. 219-21 (hereafter *DBI*). During the 1540s Castriota served as secretary to the imperial commander, Alfonso d'Avalos, and dedicated his treatise, *De cavalleria*, to Viceroy Toledo. A Knight of St John of Jerusalem, Castriota fought in the siege of Malta (1565). Lasso, however, never entered Castriota's service as stated by J. Haar in *Orlande de Lassus*, in *New Grove*, X, p. 481 and K. FORNEY, *Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus 1': The Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 39-40 (1985-86), p. 34.
- 14 D'Azzia's wife, Giulia di Capoa and Gonzaga's wife, Isabella di Capoa, were sisters. Gonzaga held many fiefs and titles in the kingdom of Naples acquired by marriage. On his participation in the governing of Naples, see G. CONIGLIO, *Note sulla società napoletana ai tempi di Don Pietro di Toledo*, in *Studi in onore di Riccardo Filangieri*, 2 vols., Naples, 1959, I, p. 354-58.
- 15 For the best account of d'Azzia's family, see *Lettura di Girolamo Ruscelli sopra un sonetto dell'illustriss. Signore Marchese della Terza*, Venice, 1552, fols. 42-44. C. CELANO, *Notize del bello dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli*, Naples, 1692, p. 676 describes the predominance of cavaliers in the Piazza di S. Domenico detta il Nido thus: 'Usciti da questa porta [Regale] vedesi una piazza dove di continuo da nobili e famosi maestri attende in ogni giorno al maneggio dei cavalli, ed in questa vi concorrono molti cavalieri ad imparare l'esercizio del cavalcare.'
- 16 B. CROCE, *L'Accademia dei Sereni*, in *Aneddoti di varia letteratura*, 2nd edition, 2 vols., Bari, 1953, I, pp. 302-9. Toledo dissolved the academy in 1547 and therefore Lasso could have not been introduced to it by d'Azzia as asserted by various biographers. On d'Azzia's stature as poet, see CARDAMONE, 1992, pp. xi-xii.
- 17 G. DE BLASIIS, *Processo contro Cesare Carafa inquisito di fellonia*, in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 2 (1877), pp. 780-84, 812-14. The nature of Marcantonio's relationship to Giovan Battista is unknown.

rino, Carafa and Brancaccio - resisted Charles V's suppression of residual autonomist tendencies carried out through the inflexible policy of his viceroys.<sup>18</sup> Lasso could not have been oblivious to the clear signs of dissension that divided Nido into factions following the uprisings against Toledo in 1547: one sought aid from France in finding a ruler to their liking, while the other remained loyal to Charles V.<sup>19</sup> Which side, we might ask, appealed to Lasso, the cosmopolitan courtier? Was he bound to imperial allegiance by long personal association with the Gonzaga family? Was he antagonistic to the French party because of his upbringing in Burgundian-Habsburg territory? These questions are crucial to the unfolding of Lasso's career, because he was undoubtedly transferred to Rome with the *raccomandazione* of a highly placed person in one of these factions.

When Lasso entered the eternal city in late 1551, it lay under the shadow of the struggle between Henry II of France and Charles V for domination of Italy.<sup>20</sup> The War of Parma had exhausted the Pope's treasury, leaving the Papal States defenseless and the starving citizens fearful of imperial aggression. Consternation prevailed on all sides as France posed as protector, first of the Farnese, then of the Sieneese, to destabilize the balance of power. These hostilities generated rival factions in the Roman court and attracted subversive bands of exiles intent on raising havoc. The timing of Lasso's move from the relative security of Naples to a city in perpetual turmoil raises intriguing questions about his motives and those of his sponsors. Could Lasso have been sent to Rome on a secret diplomatic mission? This prospect lies within the bounds of admissibility, considering the ease with which he vaulted across the social and political boundaries separating d'Azzia's imperialist family from the archbishop's family of expatriate Florentines headed by the wealthy banker, Bindo Altoviti.<sup>21</sup> As formidable pro-French powers in the worlds of diplomacy and clerical politics, and as donors of sumptuous hospitality and artistic patronage, the Altoviti offered Lasso an abundance of opportunities - provided, of course, that he met all their expectations.

An idea of such expectations can be gained by considering the kinds of relationships that a creative individual might develop with a patron. These rela-

<sup>18</sup> B. CROCE, *Un angolo di Napoli*, in *Storie e leggende napoletane*, 2nd edition, Bari, 1923, pp. 22-29.

<sup>19</sup> On internal dissensions during Toledo's vicereignty, see G. GALASSO, *Trends and Problems in Neapolitan History in the Time of Charles V*, in A. CALABRIA - J.A. MARINO (ed.), *Good Government in Spanish Naples*, New York, 1990, pp. 64-75. For detailed accounts of the uprisings, see G. CONIGLIO, *I Vicerè spagnoli di Napoli*, Naples, 1967, pp. 64-71 and A. DE REUMONT, *The Carafas of Maddaloni: Naples Under the Spanish Dominion*, London, 1854, pp. 29-39.

<sup>20</sup> P. PARTNER, *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559: A Portrait of a Society*, Berkeley, 1976, pp. 39-42.

<sup>21</sup> C. BELLONI, *Un banchiere del Rinascimento: Bindo Altoviti*, Rome, 1935; L. PASSERINI, *Genealogia e storia della famiglia Altoviti*, Florence, 1871; A. STELLA, *Bindo Altoviti*, in *DBI*, II, pp. 574-5. For a broader context see also M. BULLARD, *Filippo Strozzi and the Medici: Favor and Finance in Sixteenth-Century Florence and Rome*, Cambridge, 1980.

tionships fit a broad definition of political patronage in which the creator receives tangible rewards, while the patron derives less tangible ones like loyalty or sensitive information.<sup>22</sup> For lay musicians with an aptitude for diplomacy, the obvious places for seeking rewards were the princely court and urban palace. As trusted familiars they were often charged with gathering vital information, especially for purposes of luring musical talent from rival families. A rare few were well-compensated for their services as espionage agents.<sup>23</sup> But the lower ranks of courtier-musicians would often inform without monetary reward, because they could be relied upon to tap the secrets of important dignitaries by mingling or eavesdropping at populous occasions.<sup>24</sup>

Informing, after all, constituted a standard diplomatic weapon and for many it was an expedient way to please the rich and powerful. And in Rome, particularly, talent was not the sole basis for career advancement as evinced in the cynical advice of Giovanni della Casa: 'a gentleman should moderate and order his behaviour, not according to his pleasure, but to that of the persons whom he frequents.'<sup>25</sup> Now Lasso possessed many of the qualities essential for dealing with the political realities of the Roman patronage system. To all accounts he was a keen observer with an immense capacity for hard work, a master of many languages and dialects, a quick wit with a singer's desire to communicate and, above all, a comedian in the *dell'arte* tradition - ready to outwit, intrigue, or even deceive.<sup>26</sup> All these qualities, formed in Italy during his youth, could have been mobilized to good advantage by the person who sent him to Rome to serve his new patron, Archbishop Antonio Altoviti.

Antonio was elevated to archbishop of Florence in 1548, but he was stranded in Rome because of a feud between his father Bindo and Cosimo de' Medici.<sup>27</sup> Fearing that a man of Bindo's immense wealth, power and reputation must be

<sup>22</sup> D. ROMANO, *Aspects of Patronage in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Venice*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 46 (1993), pp. 712-13.

<sup>23</sup> Alfonso Ferrabosco, for example, is suspected of being a professional spy in the Elizabethan secret services. See R. CHARTERIS, *Alfonso Ferrabosco the Elder (1543-1588): A Thematic Catalogue of His Music with a Biographical Calendar*, New York, 1984, pp. 19-32. For revealing accounts of how espionage agents worked, see J. BOSSY, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, New Haven, 1991.

<sup>24</sup> For a case in point see D. POULTON, *John Dowland*, in *New Grove*, V, p. 593.

<sup>25</sup> PARTNER, 1976, p. 226, quoted from *Il Galateo*. Della Casa was a Tuscan curialist who spent much of his life struggling for advancement in papal service. On the politics of Roman musical patronage, see R. SHERR, *Competence and Incompetence in the Papal Choir in the Age of Palestrina*, in *Early Music*, 22 (1994), pp. 607-29.

<sup>26</sup> The best account of Lasso's comedic talent is Massimo Troiano's *Dialogi* (Venice, 1569), pp. 173-75, 310-12. The *commedia dell'arte* masks were well-known in Rome by the 1540s. Notably, a capitolo by Il Lasca on Cantinella's representation of Zanni is dedicated to Giovanni Battista Altoviti, the archbishop's younger brother. For this and other descriptions of Roman comedians, see F. CRUCIANI, *Teatro nel Rinascimento: Roma 1450-1550*, Rome, 1983, pp. 625-33. See also PH. WELLER, *Lasso, Man of the Theatre*, in this volume.

<sup>27</sup> G. ALBERIGO, *Antonio Altoviti*, in *DBI*, II, pp. 572-3.

harboring secret political ambitions of his own, Cosimo prevented Antonio from taking possession of his archbishopric until 1567.<sup>28</sup> Antonio, then, lived most of his life in Rome, at first near S. Maria in Selce, and after 1550 in Bindo's grand palace which occupied the full length of Piazza del Ponte.<sup>29</sup> Presumably Lasso stayed there in guest quarters and visited the archbishop, when called upon, in his private apartment. Under an elaborate code of etiquette, Lasso and other guests of his rank were entitled to visit only a limited number of rooms, including the archbishop's audience room, a chapel where the household gathered to hear mass, and a music room. A fundamental issue in Roman etiquette was recognition of the respective ranks of guests. Rank itself was established by several considerations: the distinctions between ecclesiastical (higher) and secular (lower) status, the distinction of one's family, the prince or nation served and one's age.<sup>30</sup>

These considerations bring us to the ambiguous term 'guest' in Lasso's biography. Figuratively it inscribes the image of a distinguished musical courtier invited to join a leading Roman household. But realistically guests of the Altoviti were artistic luminaries like Vasari and Bernini who fulfilled commissions while living at the palace for extended periods of time.<sup>31</sup> Now Lasso could hardly have been invited for this purpose because, as far as we know, he composed no music at the archbishop's request, and not even an homage motet can

<sup>28</sup> On Antonio's entry into Florence and notice of occasions at which he sang masses, see G.O. CORAZZINI (ed.), *Diario fiorentino di Agostino Lapini dal 252 al 1596*, Florence, 1900, pp. 156-65, 181.

<sup>29</sup> For illustrations of the Altoviti palace as viewed from the Tiber, see BELLONI, 1935, p. 14 and C. BARACCONI, *I rioni di Roma*, Turin, 1905, p. 272. For a map showing the location of the palace at the head of the Ponte S. Angelo, see A. CEEN, *The Quartiere de' Banchi: Urban Planning in Rome in the First Half of the Cinquecento*, New York, 1986, p. 339. The palace was demolished in 1888 to make way for the high ramps on the Tiber.

<sup>30</sup> P. WADDY, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*, Cambridge, Mass., 1990, p. 4. The model resident here is the cardinal, but the manners and dwellings of wealthy merchant-bankers were 'but modifications of the patterns set by cardinals' (p. 3). See also C.L. FROMMEL, *Die römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, 2 vols., Tübingen, 1973, I, pp. 1-10. The prescribed etiquette assumes a particular architectural setting and makes a distinction between apartments with audience rooms for the reception of guests and apartments in which distinguished guests were housed. The latter were normally spacious and designed for the highest-ranking visitors. Lasso was probably assigned a single small room on the third floor or attic where gentlemen of the household resided (FROMMEL, 1973, I, p. 80).

<sup>31</sup> On Bindo's patronage of these artists see BELLONI, 1935, pp. 21-32 and D. GNOLI, *Le demolizioni in Roma: Il palazzo Altoviti*, in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1 (1888), pp. 202-11. Bindo's artistic patronage has never been the subject of a detailed archival study. Thus a search for household accounts, *ricordanze*, and *libri segreti*, which merchant-bankers kept for heirs to consult after their death, would reveal much about the mechanisms of his patronage and perhaps the residence of musicians in his household. Private papers of the Altoviti family are well-represented in the Medici-Gondi archive according to *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800*, Philadelphia, 1965 and supplements in *Library Chronicle*, 35-38 (1969-72); 45 (1981). The Strozzi family papers may also have some value owing to marriage alliances between Bindo's children and Filippo Strozzi's grandchildren.

be detected in his works. These oppositions between the biographical text and context do not form dichotomous categories, however, and further dialogue becomes possible only at the borders where oppositions tend to overlap, often in tensely-charged relationships.<sup>32</sup> Situated in the border, then, is the unnamed person who arranged Lasso's 'invitation' and whom we might suspect to have participated in shaping his self-image.

There are grounds for arguing that this person was Fernando Gonzaga and that he planted his protégé in the Altoviti palace under cover as 'guest artist' to gather information. As Viceroy of Milan Gonzaga was chiefly concerned with maintaining a strong imperial position in north-central Italy to stem the advantage gained by the French in the Parma conflict. Accordingly, he placed informers in the Papal States to warn his allies in Tuscany of any impending trouble. And in early 1552 it was rumored that anti-Mediceans in Rome, under Bindo Altoviti's leadership, were plotting with French agents to liberate disaffected citizens in Siena - clearly a major step toward the recovery of Florence.<sup>33</sup> To this end Bindo had cultivated close ties with the prominent Florentine exiles, Ruberto and Piero Strozzi, who had the active support of their cousin, the French Queen.<sup>34</sup>

Lasso, in turn, had benefitted from Gonzaga's protection for most of his youth with the stern expectation of loyalty in return. The first ties between them were actually formed at the family seat in Mantua where Gonzaga's entourage held up for the better part of 1545.<sup>35</sup> Lasso then would have encountered Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga acting as co-regent with his brother Fernando.

<sup>32</sup> The value of a dialogic approach is that it directs attention to the 'more ambivalent or undecidable dimensions of texts'. D. LACAPRA, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language*, Ithaca, 1983, p. 313. By concentrating on the ways that text and context overlap and contest one another, information emerges that might not otherwise be seriously contemplated as evidence.

<sup>33</sup> Encouraged by wealthy and powerful *fuorusciti*, the citizens of Siena on 26 July 1552 expelled the Spanish garrison that held the city for Charles V and welcomed in the French. This turn of events gave Henry II a strong position from which to threaten Florence where Cosimo de' Medici was an imperial ally, or to move quickly into the Papal States. In 1553 Henry informed the anti-Mediceans in Rome that 'having liberated Siena', he was prepared 'to do the same in Florence, restoring it to its former status and government'. Quoted in E. COCHRANE, *Italy 1530-1630*, J. KIRSHNER (ed.), New York, 1988, p. 40.

<sup>34</sup> F. BAUMGARTNER, *Henry II, King of France 1547-1559*, Durham, 1988, pp. 55, 137. Known for their prowess in warfare and diplomacy, the Strozzi brothers served as mentors to Bindo's younger son (A. STELLA, *Giovanni Battista Altoviti*, in *DBI*, II, p. 575). By 1554 Bindo and Giovanni Battista had rallied 3,000 young exiles with their inspirational rhetoric. Led by Piero Strozzi, the 'flower of Florentine youth' marched toward toward Siena carrying banners decorated with Henry II's insignia and the motto: 'Libertà delle città oppresse'. The defeat of the makeshift army and beheading of prisoners-of-war is related by A. DI MONTALVO, *Relazione della guerra di Siena*, C. RICCOMANI (ed.), Turin, 1863, pp. 37-8, 120-21.

<sup>35</sup> According to F. CHABOD, *L'epoca di Carlo V*, in *Storia di Milano*, 17 vols., Milan, 1961, IX, p. 136, Gonzaga had arrived in Mantua by 1 January 1545. On 11 September 1545 he wrote to Pietro Aretino from Mantua to explain that 'the life-threatening illness of his wife had suspended all his other duties'.

Because of a commitment to supervising the moral condition of the clergy, Ercole was named 'Protector of the Canons of the Lateran Church'.<sup>36</sup> If, by chance, a reward was owed Lasso for diplomatic service in the Gonzaga family's interests, then Ercole was in a position to exert pull on his behalf at the Lateran.

So far no evidence has surfaced to connect Archbishop Altoviti to the Lateran chapter or to the church's musical establishment, despite the strong inference in the biography that he arranged Lasso's appointment. However, Antonio Altoviti was a connoisseur of music and willing to support composers that he considered 'friends'. Naturally around the time of Lasso's visit, he inclined toward a fellow Florentine, namely Giovanni Animuccia.<sup>37</sup> Evidence of Antonio's style of patronage appears in Animuccia's dedication to a collection of motets published in 1552 (see Appendix 2).<sup>38</sup> Animuccia describes a *ragionamento* he had with Antonio on new music, which was undoubtedly motivated by the famous Roman debate in June 1551 on the role of the *genera* in contemporary practice.<sup>39</sup> To satisfy Antonio's curiosity, and to prove he understood the claim that *musica nuova* was actually a mixture of *genera*, Animuccia bestowed upon him, 'as to a friend', motets that were 'not purely diatonic, but in a certain mixed mode'. Antonio guided the discussion by asking Animuccia leading questions, thereby demonstrating familiarity with the routine of a music academy. Clearly this was the Accademia degli Amici which Bindo, 'a great lover of music and protector of all who practice it', convened during the early 1540s.<sup>40</sup> But by the time Lasso arrived, Bindo had thrown all of his ener-

<sup>36</sup> L. PASTOR, *The History of the Popes*, R.F. KERR (ed.), 36 vols., St. Louis, 1950, XII, p. 512.

<sup>37</sup> In June 1551 Animuccia became a member of the Compagnia della pietà della nazione fiorentina, marking the beginning of a long association with Filippo Neri and the patronage of Antonio Altoviti. Neri had studied philosophy and theology with the archbishop and may have recommended Animuccia to him. See M. TREVOR, *Apostle of Rome: A Life of Philip Neri 1515-1595*, London, 1966, p. 23.

<sup>38</sup> Another music book dedicated to Altoviti is *Messe d'intavolatura d'organo di Claudio Merulo da Correggio*, Venice, 1568.

<sup>39</sup> In this debate Nicola Vicentino contended that the music of his day was not purely diatonic, but mixed with the chromatic, while his opponent Vincentio Lusitano upheld the conservative ideal of modal purity. For details of the debate that resulted in the dismissal of Vicentino's case, see H. KAUFMANN, *The Life and Works of Nicola Vicentino (1511-c.1576)*, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, 11), Rome, 1966, pp. 22-32.

<sup>40</sup> D. HARRÁN (ed.), *Hubert Naich, Opera omnia*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 94), Neuhausen - Stuttgart, 1983, pp. xv-xvi. In the third book of his *Ragionamenti accademici* (Venice, 1567), fols. 36v-37, Cosimo Bartoli remarked: 'I remember the last time I was in Rome. One day I was at the home of M. Bindo Altoviti, where many of the best musicians in Rome at the time were gathered. The discussion turned to [Rampollini's] works and they were highly praised.' Translated by F. D'ACCONTE, *Matteo Rampollini and his Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 27 (1973), p. 80. See also J. HAAR, *Cosimo Bartoli on Music*, in *Early Music History*, 8 (1988), pp. 55-56.

gy into returning his exiled *amici* and the archbishop to Florence.<sup>41</sup> It is conceivable that Antonio revived the academy, drawing around him some of the local composers whose 'new style' Lasso acknowledged retrospectively on the title page of his 'Opus 1' (Antwerp, 1555). The strong resemblance between Lasso's arioso madrigals and those by Animuccia, his presumed brother Paolo, and Lupacchino, suggests an informal exchange of scores under the conditions offered by Altoviti or some similar forum.<sup>42</sup> Yet these very conditions could have generated a rivalry between the Florentines and Lasso, which would explain why Giovanni Animuccia - an older, well-connected composer-attracted commissions, while Lasso the newcomer, did not. Lasso, in fact, alluded to a competitive relationship by quoting the entire bass line of Animuccia's madrigal, *O dolci parolette*, in his own setting of the same text.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The name of Bindo's academy alludes to the workings of the Florentine patronage system. As head of a wealthy family, Bindo functioned as a broker of patronage, but the fulfillment of most requests required the participation of the chain of *amici* who clustered around him. D.V. KENT, *The Rise of the Medici*, Oxford, 1978, p. 92.

<sup>42</sup> J. HAAR, *The 'Madrigale Arioso': A Mid-Century Development in the Cinquecento Madrigal*, in *Studi Musicali*, 12 (1983), pp. 203-19.

<sup>43</sup> W. BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 307-8. Animuccia's *O dolci parolette* is in *Madrigali a cinque voci* (Rome: Dorico, 1554) a collection he dedicated to Cavaliere Honofrio Vigili. Between 1554 and 1557 madrigal composers and music printers in Rome benefitted from the hospitality of Vigili, a jurist from Spoleto, then head of the Rome city council. An important figure in Vigili's circle was Giovanbattista Bruno, a compiler of madrigal books. Bruno operated without a composer's authorization, but with the cooperation of Vigili and the local printers, Valerio Dorico and Antonio Barré, whose shops were located in the *rione* that Vigili represented. See S. CUSICK, *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, Ann Arbor, 1981, p. 27. Bruno's first compilation was *Madrigali a cinque voci de l'ecellente Filippo de Monte* (Dorico, 1554), and his dedicatory letter reveals that Vigili's home was a locus of musical activity (reprinted in CUSICK, 1981, p. 183). Later Bruno compiled *Secondo libro delle muse a cinque voci madrigali d'Orlandus di Lassus* (Barré, 1557), claiming that he happened on Lasso's madrigals in Spoleto (perhaps through his connection to Vigili), and had hung on to them for a long time, but now would bring them to light diligently edited because numerous virtuosi had requested it. See J. HAAR, *The Early Madrigals of Lassus*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 39-40 (1985-86), p. 24. Bruno's access to madrigals by Lasso and Monte strongly suggests that they circulated their wares informally on loose sheets as a means of self-promotion. Frequenting private gatherings offered them a more efficient means of publicizing their works than competing for commissions or subsidizing their own publications. Printers also profitted when connected to Vigili, e.g., Barré's *Primo libro delle muse a cinque voci madrigali de diversi authori* (1555). With this anthology Barré, a singer in the Cappella Giulia, made his debut as music printer. For the opening madrigal addressed to Vigili, see J. STEELE, *Antonio Barré: Madrigalist, Anthologist, and Publisher*, in R. CHARTERIS (ed.), *Altro Polo: Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, Sydney, 1990, p. 93. Barré also compiled and printed Lasso's *Terzo libro di madrigali a cinque* (1563) as well as anthologies of canzoni napolitane and arioso madrigals. In his dedication to *Terzo libro delle Muse a quattro* of 1562 (which includes three previously unpublished madrigals by Lasso), Barré pointedly remarks on the careless manner in which composers circulated their works: 'Dovendo questi belli parti di diversi authori (che quasi per negligentia de i padri perivano) venir per diligentia mia novellamente in luce'. Another Roman compiler of interest is Francesco Tracetti who in the dedication to *Il primo libro delli madrigali d'Orlando di Lassus et altri eccellenti musici a quattro voci* (Dorico, 1560), remarks: 'havendo io posto insieme certi Madrigali di Orlando di lassus, & volendo di cosi dolce concetto farne parte al Mondo, con darli a stampe' (CUSICK, 1981, p. 194). Lasso, then, had 'nothing to do with the publication of his early madrigals in Italy and the only music he took with him when he left Rome was that published [in 1555] by Susato' (HAAR, 1985-86, p. 18).

As Lasso's visit drew to a close in spring 1552, he was at a critical juncture in his career. Assuming that he did not become choirmaster at the Lateran right away, but had been given some encouragement to pursue this goal, what options were open to him? There was an immediate advantage to be gained by cultivating patrons in the cardinalate, and Lasso was certainly aware that political tensions could influence an appointment to a position of high rank in a Roman basilica: 'Most cardinals were pensioners either of the French or of the imperialists, and the two hostile factions among the cardinals, with their dependent prelates and diplomats [...] were like two rival headquarters set up in Rome.'<sup>44</sup> Among the cardinals in the French faction with potential to influence a musical appointment were Gian Domenico De Cupis, founder of the Lateran choir (at his own expense) in 1535<sup>45</sup>, and Miguel di Silva, titular cardinal of S. Marcello<sup>46</sup>, whose confraternity SS. Crocefisso provided Lasso his first-known freelance engagements (see footnote 9). Making a favorable impression on De Cupis, Di Silva and Ercole Gonzaga (already mentioned as a potential supporter) would have been the most expedient route for Lasso. But that meant treading the line between opposing factions. It will presently be clear that Lasso was well-positioned to feign support for either political party or perhaps even both.

In March 1552 Fernando Gonzaga's arch-enemy, the Prince of Salerno, defected to France, confirming rumors of impending French aggression in the kingdom of Naples.<sup>47</sup> The stages in Salerno's defection and failed attempts to take the kingdom for Henry II are placed in relation to the temporal divisions of Lasso's Roman sojourn in Table 1. The elements of most significance are the overlappings on the edges of the temporal divisions: they reveal that whenever Salerno and his adherents made a significant move, Lasso's career turned in a new direction. These overlappings might well represent personal interactions, and not mere coincidences, because of Lasso's proximity to a cadre of Salerno's agents stationed in (or near) Rome to rally Neapolitan exiles. The members of this cadre - Marcantonio d'Azzia, Cesare Brancaccio, Cesare Carafa and his brother Francesco - were all Salerno's courtiers, having been trained (like

<sup>44</sup> PARTNER, 1976, p. 41.

<sup>45</sup> BAINI, 1828, I, p. 57. In 1550 Charles V described De Cupis as 'siempre aficionado a Francia', quoted in F. PETRUCCI, *Gian Domenico De Cupis*, in *DBI*, XXXIII, p. 605.

<sup>46</sup> C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, 3 vols., Regensburg, 1823, III, p. 65. Di Silva's tenure lasted from 27 June 1552 to 29 November 1553.

<sup>47</sup> The most informative account of events leading to Salerno's defection is *Dell'Istoria di notar Antonino Castaldo libri quattro ne' quali si descrivano gli avvenimenti piu memorabili succeduti nel Regno di Napoli sotto il Governo di Vicerè Don Pietro di Toledo*, Naples, 1769. For pertinent extracts see T. PEDIO, *Napoli e Spagna nella prima metà del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1971, pp. 361-94.

**Table 1: Orlando di Lasso and Pro-French Factions in Rome**

Temporal Divisions	Orlando di Lasso	The Prince of Salerno, French Partisan	Pro-French Courtiers and Cardinals
Dec 1551	Departs Naples for Rome as guest of Archbishop Antonio Altoviti for six months.	Hiding out in Padua and scheming with the French to undertake the conquest of Naples.	Marcantonio d'Azzia and Cesare Carafa negotiate an agreement with Henry II on Salerno's behalf and bring it to Padua. <sup>a</sup> Under pursuit, d'Azzia escapes and takes refuge with Cardinal Nicola Caetani in Sermoneta south of Rome. <sup>b</sup>
March 1552		Breaks definitively with Charles V in a speech to the Venetian Senate (25 March).	
April 1552		Exiled from the Kingdom of Naples (23 April) and welcomed at Henry II's court.	Cesare Carafa and his cousin Carlo conspire in Rome with Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa in favor of France.
May 1552			
June 1552	Allegedly choirmaster at St John Lateran in Rome.	Plots with Henry II's advisors in Chioggia to take the kingdom of Naples with help from the Turks.	Bernardo Tasso, Salerno's secretary, represents his interests at the French court.
July 1552		Commands French fleet, but fails to meet Ottoman fleet at Ostia; invasion of the Bay of Naples is aborted. <sup>c</sup>	Cesare Brancaccio exhorts Neapolitan exiles gathered at Ostia to join the invasion. Toledo is informed of the conspiracies in Rome.
Nov 1552		Sails to Constantinople, stopping at various points.	Cardinal Ippolito d'Este installed as governor of Siena, a French protectorate.

Dec 1552 to Feb 1553		Attempts to enlist the support of Soliman II for another invasion of Naples.	Cesare Carafa confesses to conspiracies with Salerno in December. <sup>d</sup>
March 1553	Choirmaster at St John Lateran in Rome.	Returns from Constantinople and rallies Neapolitan exiles at the French court.	
July 1553		Fails again to invade the Bay of Naples.	
Nov 1553 to April 1554		Commands French army in north-central Italy; placed on Henry II's pension rolls.	Bernardo Tasso lodges with Cardinal d'Este in Rome (Feb 1554 to Sept 1556).
May 1554		Raises an army for Henry II in Sermoneta.	
June 1554	Departs Rome for Low Countries.	Commands French fleet along coast of Siense Maremma.	

<sup>a</sup> Enroute from France to Italy, they were detained in Turin but released, they claimed, through the mediation of Fernando Gonzaga (DE BLASIIS, 1877, p. 839).

<sup>b</sup> It appears that d'Azzia settled in Rome. See F. CLEMENTI, *Il carnevale romano nelle cronache contemporanee dalle origini al sec. XVII*, 2 vols., Città di Castello, 1939, I, p. 283 for d'Azzia's participation in a Roman tournament. He also published three canzonette and a sestina in *Per donne romane rime de diversi raccolte da Muzio Manfredi* (Bologna, 1575).

<sup>c</sup> The Turks abandoned the enterprise, having been bribed with an enormous sum by Toledo. See A. SILVESTRI, *Sui banchieri pubblici napoletani nella prima metà del Cinquecento*, in *Bolletino dell'archivio storico del Banco di Napoli*, 2 (1951), p. 24.

<sup>d</sup> Carafa's confession is the most complete source of information on the activities of Salerno's courtiers from June 1551 to June 1552 (DE BLASIIS, 1877, 809-49).

Lasso) in the Nido sector of Naples.<sup>48</sup> No one was more concerned about the intrigues of these dangerous outlaws than Fernando Gonzaga, and to stay abreast of their movements, he relied upon a small army of spies. Naturally Gonzaga would not mention their names in his diplomatic correspondence, so there is no way to prove that Lasso was in his employ.<sup>49</sup> But some probable cause can be established on the basis of the circumstantial evidence summarized in Table 1. This summary not only reveals how widely Gonzaga cast his net to defuse Salerno's plots, but it also provides a framework for the interval in Lasso's life (June 1552 to March 1553) that remains to be filled in.

Despite his losses Salerno returned to the French court in spring 1553 and increased solidarity among the Neapolitan and Florentine exiles that clustered around their ardent advocate, Queen Catherine de' Medici. For this and subsequent efforts Salerno was added to the French pension rolls along with Luigi Dentice, the phenomenal lute-singer and Neapolitan cavalier.<sup>50</sup> The history of Salerno's friendship with Dentice is worth relating for insights into a Neapolitan style of personalized patronage that was structured around the kinship groups and neighborhood networks to which Lasso was particularly attuned.

While on an imperial mission to the Low Countries in spring 1540, Salerno

<sup>48</sup> Following the uprisings of 1547, the Carafa brothers took refuge in Rome with the pro-French cardinal, Nicola Caetani, to whom their mother was related (DE BLASIIS, 1877, p. 770). In 1548 they plotted with their cousin Carlo Carafa (nephew of Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa, the future Pope Paul IV), Cardinal Caetani and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to take Ischia for Henry II (DE BLASIIS, 1877, p. 771). See also C. RUSSO, *Cesare Carafa*, in *DBI*, XIX, p. 519. Cesare Brancaccio (whose relationship to the singer Giulio Cesare Brancaccio is unknown) was a French agent in Rome charged with mobilizing Neapolitan exiles at Ostia in 1552. See R. ZAPPERI, *Cesare Brancaccio*, in *DBI*, XIII, p. 770.

<sup>49</sup> For example, in a letter to Charles V (8 July 1552), Gonzaga remarked: 'Your Majesty tells me to inquire most carefully into all the plans the French may be making through the said Prince, and commands me to hold myself in readiness to prevent them [...] I shall send to Mantua and Venice persons who shall have no other mission than to mind this affair, but I shall even manage to place other persons in the said Prince's immediate surroundings.' R. TYLER (ed.), *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain*, London, 1914, X, p. 543.

<sup>50</sup> On 9 October 1553 Simon Renard (then imperial ambassador to England) reported that 'the king of France is about to settle an income on the ex-Prince of Salerno'. R. TYLER (ed.), *Calendar of Letters*, London, 1916, XI, p. 180. Renard had been ambassador to the French court, but Henry II sent him home on 12 September 1552, depriving historians of a valuable perspective on the activities of *fuorusciti*. It is not known exactly when Dentice's pension was granted, only that overdue payments were awarded during the reign of Francis II (1559-60). See E. PICOT, *Les italiens en France au XVI siècle*, Bordeaux, 1901-18, p. 183. The fichier Picot in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (100 albums of note cards) is a valuable tool for research on Italian dissidents in France.

recruited singers for his chapel with the help of Dentice, his trusted familiar.<sup>51</sup> Salerno's account books from March to May record generous payments to a 'piccolo paggio fiammingo e musico' for clothing and singing at mass.<sup>52</sup> In mid-April Dentice was paid for travelling to 'Hamonte' (Mons?) to get the page, ostensibly for the second time. The page then remained in service for a month, and his father too received a stipend. While this course of events was normal at the time, the parallels with Quickelberg's tale of Lasso's so-called kidnappings are intriguing (see Appendix 1). Twice, it is said, his parents intervened and brought the child home. Equating Lasso with the page would seem to be out of the question, because the payments record the child's name (italianized) as Alardo or Alardino.<sup>53</sup> However, there remains the possibility that Salerno and Dentice pursued Lasso at this time using the same methods, but not being successful, left no paper trail.

Perhaps the rivalry between Salerno and Gonzaga explains the secrecy that hovers in the borders of Lasso's biography. Not only did these noble warriors become contestants in the battle for supremacy in Italy, but they struggled for leadership in the arena of musical patronage, both recruiting singers in the same fertile region of the Low Countries. In 1544 they fought side-by-side in the imperial army during the Marne campaigns and were quartered at Brussels in the wake of the Peace of Crépy. At the end of the year both proceeded to the French court: Gonzaga intended to collect the reparations of war on his way south (with Lasso), while Salerno remained as a guest of Francis I whose attention he had attracted by releasing French prisoners-of-war.<sup>54</sup> The Florentine envoy disclosed that Salerno overstayed his welcome because of a dalliance with one of the Queen's ladies whom (among others) he captivated by singing canzoni napolitane.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> In July Salerno and his entourage proceeded from Flanders to the court of Henry VIII in England: 'The Prince of Salerno, who came hither only to see the country, having been feasted both in this Court and in some of the most beautiful places this King has, Windsor and Hampton Court, left, after eight days.' J. GAIRDNER - R.H. BRODIE (ed.), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, London, 1896, XV, p. 447. Surely it was at this time that Dentice was 'offered of Kyng Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> M Crownes pencion yearly to serve him, and as then he refused it [...] but his voyce was the swetest that any in ovr time hath been praysted for'. Letter of Sir Thomas Chaloner (Clerk to the Privy Council of Henry VIII and later ambassador to the court of Spain) from Madrid, 27 September 1564; reprinted in J. WARD, *A Dowland Miscellany*, in *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 10 (1977), p. 97.

<sup>52</sup> I should like to thank Cesare Corsi for his generosity in sharing with me the discovery of these documents in Naples, Archivio di Stato, Regia Camera della Sommaria, 233.

<sup>53</sup> The name of the page's father (italianized) is Giovanni di Uparch d'Armonie [Hamonte]. On a composer named Alart, active ca. 1554-56, see E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 8 vols., Brussels, 1867-88, III, p. 144.

<sup>54</sup> DE BLASIIS, 1877, p. 766.

<sup>55</sup> 'Every evening many ladies of the court make him sing some Neapolitan songs, and they have a number of guitars on hand and each lady has her own.' Dispatch of Bernardo de' Medici to Cosimo de' Medici in late December 1544, quoted in B. CROCE, *Isabella Villamarino*, in *Aneddoti*, I, p. 334.

Table 2: The Prince of Salerno's Artistic Circle

Personnel for comedies staged at Salerno's palace: <i>Gli Ingannati</i> (1545) and <i>La Philenia</i> (1546)	Members of the Accademia dei Sereni (1546-47)	Neapolitans in the Papal States after the 1547 uprisings in Naples
	Giovan Battista d'Azzia, cavalier-poet	Marcantonio d'Azzia, cavalier-poet
Giulio Cesare Brancaccio (ca. 1515 -ca. 1585), bass	Giulio Cesare Brancaccio	
Scipione Delle Palle (†1569), countertenor		
Fabrizio Dentice (ca. 1539-1581)		Fabrizio Dentice, falsettist/lutenist in the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1547-1554?)
Luigi Dentice (ca. 1510 - ca. 1566), falsettist; assisted in selecting music for <i>La Philenia</i>	Luigi Dentice (custode)	Luigi Dentice, seeks asylum from Cardinal Farnese (1547); publishes <i>Duo Dialoghi</i> in Rome (1553)
Antonio Mariconda, author of <i>La Philenia</i>	Antonio Mariconda	Antonio Mariconda, publishes <i>La Philenia</i> in Rome (1548)
Giovan Francesco Muscettola, 'procuratore della recita'	Giovan Francesco Muscettola	
	Gian Domenico da Nola, poet-composer	Gian Domenico da Nola, among Salerno's 'learned poets' at the Papal court? (June 1547)
Vincenzo da Venafro (the poet-composer Vincenzo Fontana?), selected music for <i>La Philenia</i>		Venafro/Fontana, among Salerno's 'learned poets' at the Papal court? (June 1547)
Zoppino (Giovan from Parma?), 'famous and judicious musician', selected music for <i>Gli Ingannati</i>		

Upon returning to Naples in 1545, Salerno indulged his passion for music by drawing around him the most celebrated improvisers of the time (see Table 2). For our purposes the most important were the Neapolitan nobles who doubled as singing-actors in comedies staged at his palace: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, Luigi Dentice and his son Fabrizio.<sup>56</sup> As it happened, Salerno drew his most loyal political sympathizers from the ranks of Neapolitan nobles with whom he shared artistic interests. Luigi Dentice was the first to put his life on the line. During the uprisings of 1547 he attacked Spanish rule in a persuasive speech from the pulpit of San Lorenzo and, when recognized as a leader, was convicted of treason and banished from Naples.<sup>57</sup> He sought asylum in Rome, placing his eldest son Fabrizio as lute-singer in the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.<sup>58</sup>

Salerno, who masterminded the uprisings, went directly to the papal court to crusade for the liberation of Naples. According to imperial spies instructed to monitor his activities, he brought 'certain learned poets' from his court who went about reciting rustic songs which, in projecting an unmistakable Neapolitan identity, were taken as a protest against foreign rule.<sup>59</sup> The perpetrators of

<sup>56</sup> CASTALDO, 1769, pp. 71-2, specified the roles of actors in the comedy *Gli ingannati* as follows: '[Luigi] Dentice, Mariconda, and delle Palle played the servants with marvelous grace, and Brancaccio played the lover quite well; Muscettola played the Spaniard Giglio wondrously; Fabrizio Dentice, Luigi's son, played Pasquella [...] wherefore the music was truly heavenly, especially Dentice with his falsetto and Brancaccio with his bass voice performed miracles.'

<sup>57</sup> CASTALDO, 1769, p. 85. See also D. FABRIS, *Contributo alla storia della teoria musicale a Napoli nell'epoca vicereale: le fonti del Cinquecento*, in *Le fonti musicali in Italia. Studi e ricerche*, 2 (1988), pp. 76-77 and *Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice, nobile napoletano, compositore del secondo Cinquecento*, in *Studi musicali*, 21 (1992), pp. 62-63.

<sup>58</sup> Dentice's arrival in Rome is documented by a letter of the imperial ambassador, Don Diego de Mendoza, to Charles V (3 June 1547): 'The Viceroy [Toledo] alerted me to the arrival here of Luis Dentice who was and is a great part of those uprisings. He is going to Milan and Genoa in order to give an account to Don Fernando [Gonzaga] and to the Prince [Andrea Doria] of what transpired. The Viceroy suspects that he is covered for going to France. He came to my house. I advised him to go right away to your ministry and to stay in Milan without returning here. It seems to me that he has requested safe conduct from Cardinal [Alessandro] Farnese to stay here [in Rome] and in light of all this, I will look into what he is doing here'. J.J. DÖLLINGER, *Dokumente zur Geschichte Karl's V., Philipp's II. und ihrer Zeit aus spanischen Archiven*, Regensburg, 1862, p. 80. Farnese's protection of Fabrizio is mentioned in *L'esercito de Nicolò Taglia Ferro* (Naples, Biblioteca dei Gerolamini, MS XXVII.1.66, fol. 80v): 'The little cavalier [il Cavaglierino] who was staying in Rome with Cardinal Farnese was not of little fame'. Boy singers and lutenists were fixtures in curial households about this time. Cardinal Jean du Bellay, for example, employed 'deux petits chantres, la taille et haulte contre' and 'deux joueurs de luc'. See A. HEULHARD, *Rabelais: Ses voyages en Italie, son exil a Metz*, Paris, 1891, pp. 284-5.

<sup>59</sup> 'No he sentido hasta agora que el Papa tenga parte en esto de Napoles, aunque andan çarçando por aqui ciertos doctores poetas del Principe de Salerno.' From the coded portion of a letter from Mendoza to Charles V, 19 June 1547; reprinted in DÖLLINGER, 1862, p. 85. Salerno's ploy led Mendoza to suspect that Pope Paul III and Cardinal Farnese sympathized with the insurgents from Naples. See E. SPIVAKOVSKY, *Son of the Alhambra: Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, Austin, 1970, pp. 185-6. Spivakovsky translates 'çarçando por aqui' as 'singing their zarzuelas there', but given the circumstances Salerno would surely have asked his courtiers to improvise canzoni napoletane (i.e., villanesche or villanelle).

this scheme were probably disgruntled members of the Accademia dei Sereni led by Dentice and Gian Domenico da Nola - a poet of biting wit and composer of spirited canzoni napolitane. Nola and his colleague Vincenzo Fontana disappeared from the Neapolitan scene about 1547, presumably following the crowd of artistic refugees to Rome (see Table 2).<sup>60</sup>

It seems as if many of Salerno's courtier-musicians settled in Rome, eventually crossing paths with Lasso. The best evidence of an intersection is found in a Roman anthology of songs in Neapolitan dialect entitled: *Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus ed' altri eccellenti musici libro secondo* (compiled and printed by Valerio Dorico in 1555).<sup>61</sup> Since Lasso's name is given prominence on the title page, the anthology might be taken as a retrospective tribute to his leadership within a network of transplanted Neapolitans. The opening villanella offers a promising clue, for it exhorts a company of singers to stop arguing about which villanella is best and, like sons, to submit to the 'padre' - the person customarily selected to preside at banquets held by Roman literary academies.<sup>62</sup> The anthology, then, might contain the repertory of an academy for which Lasso organized musical entertainments. Unfortunately nothing is known about M. Francesco Guidobono for whom Dorico compiled the volume (see Appendix 2).<sup>63</sup> However, it is likely that Guidobono commissioned villanelle that he already knew through contact with a congenial *brigata* of musicians from Naples.

Although none of the villanelle bear attributions, the Neapolitan style popula-

<sup>60</sup> Fontana is probably the person who selected the music for Salerno's production of *La Philenia* in 1546 (cited by CASTALDO, 1769, p. 72 as Vincenzo da Venafro). A minor poet as well as composer, Fontana later became a leading member of the Accademia Bocchi in Bologna. See A. GRECO (ed.), *Annibal Caro: Lettere familiari*, 3 vols., Florence, 1959, II, pp. 195-6. That Nola was involved in subversive activities in Naples is suggested by a connection to Giovan Francesco Caracciolo, Prior of the Hospitallers at Bari and a leader of the uprisings who was exiled in 1547 but never pardoned. See L. AMABILE, *Il Santo Ufficio della Inquisizione in Napoli*, Città di Castello, 1892, p. 25. Nola published a book of motets in 1549 with his dedicatory letter to Caracciolo dated 1546, perhaps to absolve himself of association with an adjudicated rebel.

<sup>61</sup> The first book in the series has never been located.

<sup>62</sup> This tradition was institutionalized in Rome by the Accademia della Virtù. Each week during the carnival season the academicians selected a member with attributes of a king (whom they called padre) to host a banquet 'at which his vassals staged a competition by presenting original verse and mock orations in his honor'. R.S. SAMUELS, *Benedetto Varchi, the 'Accademia degli Infiammati', and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 29 (1976), p. 607. See also P. PECCHIAI, *Roma nel Cinquecento*, Bologna, 1948, pp. 391-2.

<sup>63</sup> A member of the Guidobono family served as Guglielmo Gonzaga's ducal secretary in 1585. See A. D'ANCONA, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 2 vols., Turin, 1891, II, pp. 488-9. A Monsignor Guidobono, associated with the SS. Annunziata in Naples about 1546, was mentioned (by surname only) in a letter of Annibal Caro (*Lettere familiari*, II, p. 23). Giovanni Battista Guidobono, said to be a baron from Leuchtenberg, served Renée of Lorraine as steward and is frequently mentioned in Bavarian documents of the 1570s as a member of the ducal entourage. See BOETTICHER, 1963, pp. 96, 116, 128.

alized by Nola and Fontana is well-represented.<sup>64</sup> The unique vocal idiom of two high voices over a supporting tenor was ideal for falsettists like the Dentices who might have combined with Lasso, a tenor, at social gatherings.<sup>65</sup> As soloists the Dentices cultivated the singing of formulaic arie to improvised instrumental accompaniment.<sup>66</sup> This style is represented in the anthology by a pair of laments (*proposta* and *risposta*) encoded with the voices of a famous couple estranged by exile, the Prince and Princess of Salerno. It is conceivable that the laments were ghostwritten by Luigi Dentice, Salerno's erstwhile propogandist, to carry a consoling message to political exiles: the distant object of longing is calculated to be perceived as both the beloved and the homeland, and the graceful tunes proceed in gently swaying dance rhythms to ease the pain of separation.<sup>67</sup>

As a singer himself, Lasso must have been affected by the consummate rhetorical skills of Neapolitan improvisers. In fact, the only musician acknowledged in his biography is the famed bass Giulio Cesare Brancaccio. Yet the description, 'nobile viro Musices cultore', highlights the nobleman's nonchalance rather than his dazzling virtuosity, which means that Lasso thoroughly understood Brancaccio's primary needs. With a haughty sense of the position to which he was born, Brancaccio insisted on being regarded first of all as a courier and man-at-arms, adamantly resisting the status of professional musician.<sup>68</sup> Brancaccio's artistic talents were first noticed at Salerno's court in 1545 when he doubled as singing-actor, but then he succumbed to a life of adven-

<sup>64</sup> The majority of villanelle can be attributed to one or the other of these composers on stylistic grounds. A case for Lasso's authorship of at least one composition is made by H. LEUCHTMANN, *Tu traditora: Orlando di Lasso bearbeitet eine villanesca*, in F. BRUSNIAK - H. LEUCHTMANN (ed.), *Quaestiones in musica: Festschrift für Franz Krautwurst zum 65. Geburtstag*, Tutzing, 1989, pp. 337-46. See also CARDAMONE, 1992, p. xxii.

<sup>65</sup> In 1553 Luigi Dentice brought out the second edition of his treatise, *Duo Dialoghi*, in Rome, an indication that he was living there.

<sup>66</sup> N. TAGLIA FERRO, *Esercito*, fol. 80v, described Fabrizio's style as follows: 'aria per cantar'un bascio [basso] et un soprano sopr'un istrumento'.

<sup>67</sup> The laments circulated orally and were also published as *canzoni da cantare* throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. Issues of authorship, transmission, and political content are addressed in my article, *The Prince of Salerno and the Dynamics of Oral Transmission in Songs of Political Exile*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 67 (1995), pp. 77-108. The publication of the laments in 1555 marks their debut in polyphonic arrangements, conceivably by Luigi or Fabrizio Dentice who were also composers.

<sup>68</sup> For a striking example of Brancaccio's resistance, see A. NEWCOMB, *Courtesans, Muses, or Musicians? Professional Women Musicians in 16th-Century Italy*, in J. BOWERS - J. TICK (ed.), *Women Making Music: The Western Art Tradition, 1150-1950*, Urbana, 1987, pp. 94-96. When describing the ideal musician in his *Duo Dialoghi*, Dentice demonstrated courtly disdain for professionalism, revealing a bond with Brancaccio to whom the first edition of the treatise was dedicated (FABRIS, 1992, pp. 65-6). This attitude explains why the musical courtiers in Salerno's coterie published very little, viewing print culture as beneath their station. Only when forced by economic necessity did Fabrizio Dentice accept the status of professional musician. Lasso's disinclination to publish his early works in Rome may be a sign of empathy with this attitude.

ture and intrigue, gaining notoriety as a military strategist. In 1552 he impetuously killed a Spanish soldier at the imperial camp in Halle and, narrowly escaping capital punishment, was sentenced to life imprisonment at the Castelnuovo in Naples. Many friends came forward on his behalf, including Fernando Gonzaga, whose petition to Charles V through Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle has recently been discovered (see Appendix 3).<sup>69</sup> The petition was successful and Viceroy Toledo readily agreed to release Brancaccio because 'being a musician he conversed too much', probably with improvised songs of protest.<sup>70</sup> Brancaccio himself petitioned Charles V for a full pardon which was repeatedly postponed, so after breaking off relations he set out to England on 'very important business'.<sup>71</sup> Lasso now, according to his own recollection, went with him (see Appendix 1).

Brancaccio's entourage arrived at the English court in early July 1554, shortly before the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip II. The court was swarming with informers from all sides as Henry II of France attempted to sabotage the Anglo-Spanish alliance.<sup>72</sup> Brancaccio was suspected of being a spy for the French embassy and was therefore placed under close surveillance. Nevertheless, he boldly requested an audience with the Queen, counting on her influence with Philip who would soon be empowered to grant the pardon.<sup>73</sup> Brancaccio's

<sup>69</sup> Madrid, Palacio Real, Ms. II, 2321, fol. 130. I am most grateful to Ignace Bossuyt for providing me with a copy of the petition.

<sup>70</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado*, leg. 1063, fol. 24, quoted by U. COLDAGELLI, *Giulio Cesare Brancaccio*, in *DBI*, XIII, p. 781, from a letter Granvelle wrote to Philip II on 26 June 1573 alerting him to Brancaccio's volatility. The letter continues, 'and in some respects it seemed all right for the said Don Pedro [Toledo] to permit him to leave, I believe, with a letter he obtained from His Majesty, for certainly [Brancaccio] would have been able to serve in war and upon finishing the service, return to the castle [Castelnuovo].' Since Toledo died on 23 February 1553 in Florence, having departed Naples on 6 January 1553, it is likely that the homicide and Brancaccio's release occurred in 1552 (not in 1553 as stated by Coldagelli). Gonzaga's petition is dated 29 March 1552 and it appears to be an immediate response to Charles V's decision to confine Brancaccio in Naples. The year 1552 marked a dramatic turning point in the hostilities between France and Spain: Henry II prepared his 'voyage to the Rhine' and set his sights on Italy, while Charles dealt with the revolt of the German princes. The chain of wars unleashed then is the context in which Gonzaga's plea to release a valuable soldier must be understood. Brancaccio did return to imperial service for a while, participating in the siege of Metz (October to December 1552) and in the Picardy campaign (April to July 1553). B. CROCE, *Un capitano italiano del Cinquecento: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio*, in *Varietà di storia letteraria e civile*, ser. 1, Bari, 1949, p. 61 states erroneously that Brancaccio's service on these fronts occurred in 1551 and 1552.

<sup>71</sup> 'Il che finito con la persona sempre quasi dell'Imperatore, passai di Fiandra in Inghilterra alla Maestà del Re Cattolico, all' hora Principe di Spagna, per certi miei importantissimi negotii.' Quoted from Brancaccio's autobiography by CROCE, 1949, p. 61. Brancaccio brought 'seven or eight servants' with him according to Renard's remarkably detailed dispatches. See R. TYLER (ed.), *Calendar of Letters*, XII, pp. 300-3, 306, 310; XIII, p. 47.

<sup>72</sup> E.H. HARBISON, *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary*, Princeton, 1940 and IDEM, *French Intrigue at the Court of Queen Mary*, in *American Historical Association*, 45 (1940), pp. 533-51.

plan was to offer her 'the gift of a page who played very well upon the lute'<sup>74</sup>, and he may have brought the teen-age virtuoso, Fabrizio Dentice, with him to play the role. But the imperial ambassador, Simon Renard, feared for Mary's life and ordered Brancaccio and company out of the country. They fled to France, surely not 'to view the countryside' (as in Lasso's biography), but more likely to visit Henry II's court where Luigi Dentice could have been waiting for them.<sup>75</sup> Dentice's pension from France might be construed as a reward for plotting an affair which raised exactly the kind of alarm Henry intended, and ended with Brancaccio joining the king's army at the siege of Renty (12 August to 2 September 1554).

No one was surprised when Brancaccio went over to France, least of all Charles V and Granvelle, whose informers suspected that the Neapolitan was playing a double game all along. Could Lasso have done some reporting for Granvelle on the side? The history of Lasso's relationship to this powerful man, who controlled the diplomatic machinery of Charles V's court, provides some circumstantial evidence with which to speculate. In dedicating his first book of motets to Granvelle in 1556, Lasso addressed him as 'mio unico patron e benefattore', which is the first official notice of a connection between them. In 1558 and 1559, after settling in Munich, Lasso sent Granvelle some motets which elicited a favorable response as well as expressions of concern about his adjustment to protocol at the German court.<sup>76</sup> The origin of this rather close and continuous relationship has proved difficult to trace<sup>77</sup>, although

<sup>73</sup> Charles V ceded the Italian territories to Philip II upon his marriage to Mary.

<sup>74</sup> *Calendar of Letters*, XII, p. 300 (Renard to Charles V, 2 July 1554).

<sup>75</sup> Dentice was surely capable of operating an intelligence ring from France in collusion with Antoine de Noailles, the French ambassador to England. Noailles supervised a huge staff of informers and agents (including many Italians) and reports of their activities are located among his papers in Paris, Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères. According to Hardison's description (*Rival Ambassadors*, pp. 348-9) these papers are divided into a 'more important' and 'less important' series. Since the Neapolitan contingent at the French court has never been the object of a detailed historical study, a search through these papers might be worthwhile.

<sup>76</sup> For newly discovered correspondence between Lasso and Granvelle, see BOSSUYT, 1993, pp. 57-65. Granvelle was also the recipient of three volumes of Bernardo Tasso's letters written between 1549 and 1557, many to Salerno whom Tasso served as secretary. See E. WILLIAMSON, *Bernardo Tasso*, Rome, 1951, pp. 8-21, 151-2. Lasso may have met Tasso in Nido or later in Rome through the network of transplanted Neapolitans (see Table 1). Among his early madrigals is a setting of Tasso's stanza *Vostro fui*. As Tasso distanced himself from Salerno in 1554, he strove 'to keep friends in all courts' and therefore could have been of help to Lasso.

<sup>77</sup> Granvelle's correspondence of 1554-55 might disclose how a tie with Lasso was formed. For archival locations see M. VAN DURME, *Antoon Perrenot, Bisshop van Atrecht, Kardinaal van Granvelle, Minister van Karel V en van Philip II (1517-1586)*, Brussels, 1953, pp. 361-69 (e.g., correspondence to England in 1554, Simancas, Archivo General, legajos 807; Italian letters to Granvelle from 11 January 1554 to 20 April 1555, Brussels, Archives du Royaume de Belgique, no. 473). See also M. VAN DURME, *Notes sur la correspondance de Granvelle conservée à Madrid*, in *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 121 (Brussels, 1956), pp. 25-83.

one would suspect that it occurred through imperial channels between Brussels and Antwerp, where Lasso headed in fall 1554 ostensibly to prepare his 'Opus 1' for publication. Taking the biography at face value, we presume that he stuck by Brancaccio until the siege of Renty was lifted in order to derive some income and to solidify the connection that drew him to Antwerp. Reporting for the imperialists from an advantageous position in the Artois (if not earlier in England) is a distinct possibility, especially because detailed descriptions of Brancaccio's highly suspect behavior between July and September 1554 were relayed to the Emperor in diplomatic correspondence. That Lasso might have received support from persons on both sides of the political divide would not have been considered unusual then, and friendship could cross these lines too (as when Gonzaga intervened on behalf of Brancaccio). At the very least these circumstances provide a context for Lasso's tie to Gravelle, which in itself is the strongest indication yet that he remained loyal to the imperial party from the time he left the Low Countries with Gonzaga until his return.

It would be premature to conclude that Lasso derived his rewards (in part) as confidence man, spy, or counter-spy, although this investigation has attempted to establish some probable cause. But there should be no doubt of Lasso's ability to master the art of intrigue and deception. After all, the chief actors of his youth were the craftiest players on Salerno's stage.

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## APPENDIX 1

Extract from Quicquelberg's Biography of Lasso<sup>a</sup>

Orlandus was born in the year 1530 at Mons in Hainaut. After age seven the boy was educated in letters, and after a year and a half he applied himself to music which he comprehended in a short time and was praised for the wonderful clarity of his voice [1537-39]. While living among his fellow boy choristers, he was furtively abducted three times from school, and twice he was brought back at the insistence of his honest parents [1539-43]. The third time, in fact, he did not return to school, but consented to remain with Fernando Gonzaga, Viceroy of Sicily, at that time commander-in-chief of the Emperor's army at St. Dizier. And thus when the French Campaign was brought to an end [Peace of Crépy, 14 September 1544], he went away with him and lived with him partly in Sicily, partly in Milan, until after age sixteen his voice, as it happens, began to change [1544-48]. Thus at age eighteen he was escorted to Naples by Constantino Castriota, where he persevered for almost three years at the home of the Marchese della Terza [Giovan Battista d'Azzia] [January 1549 - November 1551]. From there he went to Rome, and indeed was guest of the Florentine Archbishop [Antonio Altoviti] for six months [December 1551 - May 1552], up to the time at which he was put in charge of the entire musical chapel at the highly renowned church of St John Lateran. Whereupon two years having passed, he was called back home because his parents were gravely ill, but arriving too late, he found they had died [June 1552 - June 1554]. With the nobleman and devotee of music, Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, he set out first to England, then to France, also for the sake of seeing that country [July - August 1554]. Finally, then, he came back and remained in Antwerp for two years among very prominent, learned, and noble men whom he inspired in music in every way and by whom he also came to be loved and honored in the highest degree [...] [September 1554 - September 1556].

<sup>a</sup> Translated from the original version in Latin (see footnote 6). The chronology in brackets is adapted from Leuchtman's outline in LEUCHTMANN, 1976, pp. 45-6.

## APPENDIX 2

Dedications to Roman Music Books<sup>a</sup>

*Il primo libro de i motetti a cinque voci di Gio: Animuccia fiorentino novamente stampati & posti in luce.* Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1552.

To the Most Reverend Altoviti, Archbishop of Florence,  
Very worthy patron, Gio[vanni] Animuccia.

Always considering speeches and discussions that do not bear any dry fruit to be entirely in vain, I have thought as much for my promises to him, Most Reverend Monsignor, to bring forth for him some of that [fruit] that I presently offer and bestow upon him. The discourses with Your Lordship last summer were on that music about which you inquired that they call new. When you asked why I did not follow it, I answered freely for no other [reason] except that I was not yet aware of those virtues some people were proclaiming for it. Although it is true that the more pleasing things stay in men's minds longer than the less pleasing, I could not flourish because [my music] was thus dismissed, just as it was making a reputation for itself. One knew only its purpose, and that the other [music] of less worth would remain valued and honored for a long time. Besides, I might add, if this music arises from the same principles as [did] the ancient (as they hold), it ought to produce the same effect. Now tell me,

who upon hearing and paying heed to it, would weep and have similiar feelings aroused in him? Such [feelings] should at least be aroused in the knowledgable ones, but what if the best of these say that they cannot feel those stirrings in them that we tell them about? Well then, to that Your Lordship would counsel me by responding that he was not in this [discussion] to advise me, but rightly to inquire about [anything] new that I might have heard about the authority of the ancients and their reasoning, and whether being accustomed to that genre that fused acted as an obstacle to the other. I shower you plentifully with some that are not purely diatonic, but in a certain mixed mode, thus persisting in my opinion and finishing the discourse. I offer him as its fruit some of my compositions in the genre that fused. The ones that are now finished (to discharge a debt), I present and bestow upon him as to a friend who will receive them graciously (as I certainly hope), in order to prepare myself for greater and more exciting labor. And so, humbly, I kiss his hand.

*Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus ed' altri eccellenti musici libro secondo.* Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1555.

To the generous M. Francesco Guidobono.

Here for you, dear Messer Francesco, is an array of choice villanelle by which charming and graceful shepherdesses come to venerate the excellence of your noble intellect, as though foreseeing that it comes to pass that your intellect might be as much the brilliance and ornament as it has been the good fortune for this worthy and splendid art of music. So welcome them agreeably, and amusing yourself with them sometimes, be reminded of the one who cares about you. In your service, Valerio Dorico.

<sup>a</sup>Translated by DonnaMae Gustafson. For the original texts of both dedications, see S. CUSICK, *Valerio Dorico*, pp. 175-6 and 186.

### APPENDIX 3

#### Fernando Gonzaga's Petition

(Madrid, Palacio Real, MS. II, 2321, fol. 130r)

Molto Ill. et molto R[everen]do G[ran]velle].

Il S[ig]. Giulio Cesare Brancazzo mi ha data notizia, de la determinatione, che S.M. ha fatta sopra il negocio suo, et questa è che egli ritorni á Casa,<sup>a</sup> con che però vi stia sempre senza uscirne mai. Et parendogli di esser' atto à servire S.M. si eleggerebbe più tosto di andarla a servire con la vita sua in quella parte ò impresa, che se piacesse di comandargli, che non viver prigione ne la propria casa; et come amico, che io gli sono, ha eletto mè per suo intercessore à ciò, pregandomi à farne con V.S. questo officio, il che non ho potuto negarli così per l'amicitia n[ost]ra, come per parermi giusto il desiderio suò, et degno di esser' aiutato. Perche io La supplico, che le piaccia faverirlo appresso S.M. si che ella gli faccia questa gra[tia]; poi che stando in Casa<sup>b</sup> non può farle ser [viti]<sup>o</sup> alcuno come farà standone fuori, et massimam[ente] in questi tempi; et ne la parte, che gli si destinerà, laquale lascia in arbitrio di S.M.; dove egli starà sempre con la medesima pregaria che diede in corte, quando ritorno à Napoli, Et V.S. farà in cio à me particolare gra[tia]; ne la cui buona gra[tia] raccomandandomi fò fine. Da Casale a xxix di Marzo 1552. Fernando de Gonzaga

To the Most Illustrious and Reverend Granvelle.

Signor Giulio Cesare Brancaccio has informed me of the decision that His Majesty [Charles V] has made concerning his affair, and this is that he return home [to Naples], and on that account remain there without ever leaving. Nevertheless, appearing to be capable of serving His Majesty, he would prefer to go and serve him with his life in whatever place or undertaking that [His Majesty] would like to command him, so as not to remain a prisoner in his own homeland. And as the friend that I am to him,

he has chosen me as his intercessor in this matter, requesting that I undertake this office with Your Lordship, which I could not deny him both because of our friendship, and because his desire seems just to me and worthy of being helped. Therefore I beg that you be so good as to assist him in the presence of His Majesty so that [His Majesty] may do this favor for him, because remaining (secluded) in his homeland, he cannot do [His Majesty] any service as he will do remaining outside of it, and especially in these times. As to the place that will be destined for him, that is left to the judgment of His Majesty; whereas he will always stand by the same request that obtained in court, when I return to Naples. And so Your Lordship would do a particular favor for me in that matter. In whose good grace, imploring you, I close. From Casale, 29 March 1552.

Fernando de Gonzaga

<sup>a</sup>ritornare a casa: far ritorno in patria.

<sup>b</sup>stare in casa: fare una vita ritirata.



# LE MUSE IN GERMANIA

## Lasso's Fourth Book of Madrigals

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Several external features set Lasso's fourth madrigal book apart from its predecessors. The volume, issued by Gardano in Venice in 1567, is the composer's first set of madrigals to contain a dedication; this dedication, written by Lasso himself, is addressed not to a local patron but to a foreign ruler, Alfonso II d'Este, duke of Ferrara; and in his dedicatory letter Lasso emphasizes that the book's contents were written in his German home<sup>1</sup>, unlike most if not all of the pieces in his first three books of five-voice madrigals.<sup>2</sup>

The composer's letter is interesting on a number of counts, worth being cited in full (see Appendix 1). From it we learn, aside from the writer's token expression of admiration for the duke and perhaps not-so-token praise of new Italian music, that Lasso had met Alfonso in Munich, had presented him with the music of a sestina, a gift which was well received, and was thus emboldened to address the duke directly. Was all this true, and if so what were Lasso's motives in taking what for him was an unusual step? Was he at least half-seriously asking to be taken into the service of Alfonso II?

To address the last question first, we do not know whether the composer contemplated such a move. The letter was not just a formality. It is dated (31 May 1567) from Munich, but Lasso was in fact in Venice for most of the month of May. He went on a mission from his Bavarian masters, charged with recruiting Italian musicians for the court chapel in Munich.<sup>3</sup> While in Venice he supervi-

<sup>1</sup> The title of the print is DI ORLANDO LASSO MAESTRO DI CAPELLA DEL SERENISSIMO SIGNOR DUCA DI BAVIERA, LIBRO QUARTO De Madrigali a Cinque Voci, da lui Novamente in Germania Composti, & hora date in luce.

<sup>2</sup> Book One was published without dedication by Gardano in 1555, the same year as Lasso's Antwerp 'op. 1'. Book Two appeared in 1557 in Rome, issued by Antonio Barrè with a dedication (by G.B. Bruno) to Pierfrancesco Ferrero, bishop of Vercelli, in which Lasso's madrigals were said to have been found 'per aventura' in Spoleto; the volume was entitled *Secondo libro delle Muse a Cinque Voci, Madrig. d'Orlandus di Lassus Con Una Canzone del Petrarca* (notice that Lasso was not yet famous enough for Barrè to put his name first or without additional attractions to the buyer). Book Three (1563) also appeared first in Rome, again the work of Barrè (possibly in conjunction with Antonio Blado); the printer's dedication to Monaldo Monaldesco della Cervara says that he had 'con molto diligentia cercato haver delle opere; & havendone io di quelli raccolte tante, che suppliranno a fare il Terzo suo libro'. Barrè could hardly have searched outside Italy for these madrigals.

<sup>3</sup> See Lasso, LASSO, SW, IV, pp. ix-x; LEUCHTMANN, 1976, pp. 138-40. The evidence is a series of letters to a member of the Fugger family from Nicolo Stoppio, an antiquarian and an agent of Albrecht V of Bavaria. Among the musicians auditioned Gioseffo Guami and G.B. [Morsellino] da Cremona were hired for the ducal chapel.

sed the printing of his new madrigal book, and in June he went to Ferrara to present it personally.<sup>4</sup> We are told that the gift was coldly received, and the composer could not have lingered long; by August he was back in Munich.<sup>5</sup> There is no evidence for the Bavarian court's response to this visit; but in that very month of August 1567 Lasso received a sizeable ducal gift enabling him to purchase a house in Munich.<sup>6</sup> In 1568 he played a starring role in the festivities surrounding the wedding of Albrecht V's heir Wilhelm; the following year saw the publication of an anthology of madrigals, dedicated to Albrecht V, by the 'virtuosi della florida capella' of the duke and mentioning the 'eccellente e famoso M. Orlando Lasso' among the 'celebrati Musici, che stanno al continuo servitio, della sua Veramente divina Capella'. Lasso had evidently decided to stay in Munich.<sup>7</sup>

That he might have thought about a move to Ferrara is not surprising. Lasso had spent close to ten years in Italy in his youth, a period in which his technique and taste were formed along Italian lines; and the composer who influenced him most, Cipriano de Rore, had been in Ferrara from 1546 to 1559.<sup>8</sup> Alfonso II, known for his extraordinary patronage of musicians in the latter part of his reign<sup>9</sup>, was interested in music as a young man as well. He supported the publication of Willaert's *Musica nova* (1558-59) before his accession to the ducal throne; and he is cited by Gioseffo Zarlino in connection with a discussion on musical matters at the house of the aging Willaert in Venice in

<sup>4</sup> LASSO, SW, IV, p. x.

<sup>5</sup> 'Eccì stato Orlando di Lassus Musico del S<sup>r</sup> Duca di Baviera et ha indiritto et donato certi suoi madrigali in stampa al S<sup>r</sup> Duca con portarne poca mancia et sodisfacione di quello Ill<sup>mo</sup> Signore'; this is in a letter from the Florentine ambassador in Ferrara to Cosimo I de' Medici, dated 9 June 1567. See LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 139. Lasso returned to Munich by way of Bergamo.

<sup>6</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> The volume (RISM 1569<sup>19</sup>), compiled by Massimo Troiano, who also wrote a full account of the 1568 festivities, is entitled *Musica de' virtuosi della florida Capella dell' illustrissimo et eccellentis. S. Duca di Baviera*. It contains five works, including the opening and closing pieces, by Lasso; Guami and G.B. Morsellino are also represented in it. For a modern edition see H. LEUCHTMANN (ed.), *Musik der bayerischen Hofkapelle zur Zeit Orlando di Lassos (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern. N.F., 4)*, Wiesbaden, 1981.

The composer may at an earlier period have considered a move to the imperial chapel or perhaps elsewhere. See I. BOSSUYT, *Lasso's erste Jahre in München (1556-1559): eine "Cosa non riuscita"?* in WÖRNER - SCHMID (ed.), *Festschrift für Horst Leuchtman zum 65. Geburtstag*, 1993, pp. 55-67.

<sup>8</sup> See J.A. OWENS, *The Milan Partbooks: Evidence of Cipriano de Rore's Compositional Process*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 37 (1984), pp. 278-79, on the date of Rore's arrival in Ferrara. He left for the Netherlands to visit his parents in July, 1559 (*Ibid.*, p. 277). Rore was away from Ferrara for nine months in 1558; could he then have visited Munich, where a manuscript collection of his motets, including a portrait by the court painter Hans Muelich, was compiled about this time and where he surely would have been in contact with Lasso? Rore's *Missa Praeter rerum seriem* was sent by Ercole II to Albrecht V in 1557; see A. JOHNSON, *The Masses of Cipriano de Rore*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 16 (1953), p. 232.

<sup>9</sup> A. NEWCOMB, *The Madrigal at Ferrara, 1579-1597*, 2 vols, Princeton, 1980 is the best study of music at Alfonso's court during these years.

1562.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand Alfonso did not respond to Rore's request, after the death of Ercole II in 1559, to be taken back into Ferrarese service; Gardano's dedication (1561) of Giachet Berchem's huge *Capriccio* based on stanzas from that greatest of Ferrarese literary works, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, is not known to have produced an effect; and we are told that Alfonso paid little regard to Lasso in 1567.

Perhaps we expect too much attention to have been given, on the part of rulers, to musicians we think of as great artists. Alfonso II could have been at times ungenerous, as has been suggested<sup>11</sup>, though on the whole he is known to have spent freely in the face of constant financial crises. As for Rore, the letter applying for renewal of position may have reached Ferrara before it could be attended to by Alfonso, who had been in France since his marriage to Lucrezia de' Medici in the summer of 1558, did not leave until he knew of his father's death, and did not arrive in Ferrara to be acclaimed duke until the end of November, 1559.<sup>12</sup> In any event Alfonso seems to have been attached to Francesco Viola, who helped prepare the *Musica nova* for publication, became *maestro de cappella* on Rore's departure for the North, and accompanied the duke on the Venetian trip of 1562 mentioned above.<sup>13</sup> Francesco and his brother Alfonso dalla Viola were the highest paid members of the Ferrarese chapel at the time of Lasso's visit.<sup>14</sup> The duke may not have been close to Rore just because that composer was very much identified with Ercole II, whose paternal demands Alfonso was notable for resisting.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> For a fascinating account of Alfonso's connection with the *Musica nova*, which he seems to have acquired in manuscript from Polissena Pecorina as early as 1554, see A. NEWCOMB, *Editions of Willaert's Musica nova: New Evidence, New Speculations*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 26 (1973), pp. 132-45. See also J.A. OWENS - R. AGEE, *La Stampa della 'Musica nova' di Willaert*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 24 (1989), pp. 219-305. The duke's visit to Venice, in April of 1562, is described at the beginning of Zarlino's *Dimostrazioni harmoniche*, Venice, 1571, pp. 1-2. Alfonso is not - probably because of his rank - allotted a role as interlocutor, and it is not likely that he was really present at Willaert's house, but his *maestro di cappella* Francesco Viola was there and did contribute to the discussion.

<sup>11</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 139, speaks of Alfonso's 'Knauserigkeit in solchen Dingen'.

<sup>12</sup> Rore's letter is dated 12 November 1559. See J.A. OWENS, *Cipriano de Rore a Parma (1560-1565): Nuovi Documenti*, in *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, 11 (1976), pp. 5-26, esp. p. 8. Alfonso's slow and circuitous return from France got him to Ferrara on November 26. See L. CHIAPPINI, *Gli Estensi*, Varese, 1979 (3d edition, = [1967]), pp. 279-81.

<sup>13</sup> See footnote 10 above. Viola became *maestro di cappella* on the accession of Alfonso II. He had been a member of the Ferrarese musical establishment in the early 1530s and again from 1549 to the early 1550s. His apparent absence in 1553-59 suggests that he was in the personal service of Alfonso. See W. WEYLER, *Documenten betreffende de Muziekkapel aan het Hof van Ferrara*, in *Vlaamsch Jaarboek voor Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1 (1939), pp. 81-113.

<sup>14</sup> LASSO, SW, pp. viii-ix, has a list of musicians in Alfonso's employ as of 25 May 1567.

<sup>15</sup> Ercole complained of his son's frequent absences and his infrequent letters; see CHIAPPINI, 1979 (= [1967]), p. 280. Rore set two poems celebrating Alfonso's (unwilling) return in 1554 from a trip to France made against his father's wishes. See B. MEIER (ed.), *Rore. Opera Omnia*, IV, [Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1969, pp. i-iii. The madrigals, *Volg'i'l tuo corso alla tua riva manca* and *Quando Signor lasciaste entro a le rive*, are published here after a Venetian print of 1557, Rore's *Libro Quarto a 5*.

In the case of Lasso, he could well have been treated with kindness by Alfonso while the latter was a guest in Bavaria, but this could hardly have been a guarantee of future treatment. And on May 25, 1567 - about two weeks before Lasso's arrival in Ferrara - Pope Pius V issued a bull, *Prohibitio alienandi et infeudandi civitates et loca Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*, stipulating that in the event of the childless Alfonso II dying without a legitimate male descendant, Ferrara was to revert to papal control.<sup>16</sup> To expect Alfonso II to have paid attention to anything else at this moment seems unreasonable.<sup>17</sup> It should however be noted that Lasso's reception, gaining him 'poca mancia et sodisfazione' from the duke, is known to us only through a letter from the Florentine ambassador Bernardo Canigiani to Cosimo I. Florence and Ferrara were on bad terms (Lucrezia de' Medici had died in 1561, and in any case her marriage to Alfonso was not a happy one); this was partly owing to questions of formal precedence, bitterly contested by the two ducal houses; and Canigiani was noted for his hostility to Duke Alfonso.<sup>18</sup> Thus we may have a deliberately biased account of Lasso's Ferrarese visit.

There is more to be said about Alfonso's connection with Lasso's fourth book; but first a look at the contents of the volume seems in order (an inventory may be found in Appendix II). It is clear that Lasso took some trouble in the arrangement of this book. It opens and closes with complete sestina settings, this very substantial frame surrounding what is chiefly a collection of sonnets set in bipartite form, varied by a canzone stanza (no. 5), a madrigal (no. 2), and a fragment in *terza rima* (no. 4). Nine of the twelve texts are Petrarchan, a high percentage even for Lasso. There is a spiritual sonnet (no. 8) by Gabriele Fiamma, Lasso's first setting of a poet to whom he was to turn often in his later madrigals<sup>19</sup>; the poetic madrigal (no. 2) is so far anonymous; and the second sestina (no. 12) is the work of the Piedmontese courtier, soldier and

<sup>16</sup> CHIAPPINI, 1979 (= [1967]), pp. 285-86.

<sup>17</sup> NEWCOMB, 1980, p. 205.

<sup>18</sup> CHIAPPINI, 1979 (= [1967]), pp. 292-93. For the letter see LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 138. Leuchtmann gives Canigiani's first name as Lorenzo (actually the son of Bernardo). On Bernardo Canigiani see the article by Franco Troncarelli in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome, 1960, XVIII, pp. 86-89. In a recent study Michele Fromson presents evidence linking the contents of Willaert's *Musica nova* to anti-Medicean Florentines and its publication to anti-Florentine sentiments on the part of Alfonso II. See her *Themes of Exile in Willaert's 'Musica nova'*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), pp. 441-486. I am grateful to Dr. Fromson for letting me see this article before its publication.

<sup>19</sup> The text may be found in *Rime Spirituali del R.D. Gabriel Fiamma [...] di nuovo ristampate e datte in luce*, Venice, 1563. Lasso's fifth book (1585) and the *Madrigali a 4, 5, et 6 voci* of 1587 both contain a number of settings of Fiamma's work. As for Book Four, *I vo piangendo* (no. 10) might also be classified as a *madrigale spirituale*; a setting of it by Vincenzo Ruffo is in *Musica spirituale libro primo* (RISM 1563<sup>7</sup>).

poet Federico Asinari, Conte di Camerano.<sup>20</sup>

The pieces are ordered by finals and signature, perhaps Lasso's doing but also characteristic of the publisher Antonio Gardano.<sup>21</sup> A clear progression through the modes (missing are modes two and seven) is evident in the first nine pieces, after which a flat signature appears, identifying the last three pieces with their G finals as transposed second mode. Normal or 'low' cleffing is used throughout, varied only by the very low clefs of *Miser chi speme in cose mortal pone* (no. 4) and the high clefs of the following piece, *Il tempo passa e l'hore son sì pronte*.

None of these madrigals had been previously published and only one (no. 10, *I vo piangendo i miei passati tempi*) was separately reprinted.<sup>22</sup> The tonal ordering alone would suggest that Lasso selected just these pieces from what he had written since arriving in Munich (or what had not been collected through the enterprise of his Roman and Venetian madrigal publishers).<sup>23</sup> That all of the pieces in the volume, as Boetticher maintains, were newly composed to suit the advanced taste of Alfonso II - not for that matter known to be so 'advanced' at this period - may be doubted; but there is no reason not to believe Lasso's claim that all this music had been written in 'Germania'.<sup>24</sup>

It is difficult to see that the madrigals of this book represent a genuinely new phase in Lasso's career as madrigalist. The twin influences of Rore, as represented in all his madrigals, early and late, and of the declamatory forthrightness of the *arioso* madrigal of the preceding decade are still very much in evidence here. Greater mastery of what the composer had made his own may indeed be seen and admired, but Lasso was not, so far as I can observe, striking out any new paths in this collection. Use of striking *exordia*, a stylistic feature he had doubtless observed in Rore and had been using in his own motets during the 1560s, is one of the most notable features of the volume. The composer's close reading of text produces many imaginative rhetorical touches in

<sup>20</sup> The sestina is in Gherardo BORGOGNI D'ALBA POMPEA, *Rime di diversi illustri poeti di nostri tempi*, Venice, 1599, pp. 89-90. C. MACCLINTOCK, in *Giaches de Wert. Opera Omnia*, IV, [Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1965, p. 82, calls the poet Federico Affanni, which seems to be a simple error. For Borgogni, himself a minor poet, see Gianni Ballistori's entry in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, XII, pp. 66-67. Borgogni may have known Asinari; or he may have had access to a manuscript collection of the latter's verse; his anthology includes, in addition to *Qual nemica fortuna*, 84 sonnets, nine canzoni, a sequence of ottava rima stanzas, a ballata and another sestina by Asinari. He also published Asinari's verse epic *Tancredi*.

The text attribution is not given by Horst Leuchtman, in LASSO, SW, IV, 2. *Das dritte und vierte Buch fünfstimmiger Madrigale Rom 1563 und Venedig 1567*, second edition.

<sup>21</sup> On this see H.S. POWERS, *Tonal Types and Modal Categories*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 460-61.

<sup>22</sup> See BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 305.

<sup>23</sup> Among madrigals published in anthologies in the 1560s there are only a few possibilities, including *Pensier dicea* and *Ben convenne madonna* in RISM 1569<sup>19</sup> (see above, footnote 7).

<sup>24</sup> The newness of the contents of the *Libro Quarto* is emphasized by BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 304.

this music, along with standard madrigalian devices such as solmization puns. Of course there was no reason for Lasso to think that reminiscences of Rore, whose work had been so much admired in Ferrara, would now fail to please. There is some chordal patter to be found in these pieces, but they are in no way proto-*canzonette*; there is some bright tonal color, but nothing so marked as what the Venetians were beginning to use. Though written in 'così lontano paese' this music was surely not intended to sound out of date when placed next to the 'cose nove' of Italian composers, but neither was it intended to startle by reason of its novelty - something Lasso rarely did in any event.

Comparison of Lasso's settings with others using the same texts would be a big undertaking, for most of the poetry in this book was widely set by other musicians; there are, for example, at least ten settings of Petrarch's *I vo piangendo* prior to that of Lasso.<sup>25</sup> The only text for which Lasso's music stands alone, *Miser chi speme in cose mortal pone*, six lines from Petrarch's *Trionfo della morte*, seems an odd choice in a volume intended for a ruler since its message is that all glory turns to dust and in the end "l vostro nome a pena si ritrova", a sentiment Alfonso II could hardly have found comforting had he looked at it.

Of the comparisons I have made between Lasso's settings and those of other composers several are of special interest. The anonymous madrigal *O beltà rara o santi modi adorni* was set by only one other contemporary, but one whose name immediately catches the eye: Andrea Gabrieli wrote a five-voice madrigal on this text, published in his *Primo libro* of 1566.<sup>26</sup> Inspection of this piece shows that the texts are identical; cleffing and ambitus are those used by Lasso; both pieces are in the E mode (as usual, differentiation between modes three and four is difficult); the cadence structure is similar though not identical; and the openings of the two pieces (Ex. 1) show a similarity too marked to be coincidental.

Gabrieli's piece was published first; could Lasso's madrigal have been written in emulation of it? This might be possible but an alternative explanation is much more attractive. Andrea Gabrieli was at the Munich court in the autumn

<sup>25</sup> See the index in vol. III of E. VOGEL - A. EINSTEIN - FR. LESURE - CL. SARTORI (ed.), *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana dal 1500 al 1700*, 3 vols, Pomezia, 1977; H.B. LINCOLN, *The Italian Madrigal and Related Repertories: Indexes to Printed Collections, 1500-1600*, New Haven, 1988.

<sup>26</sup> For modern editions of the piece see A. TILLMAN MERRITT (ed.), *Andrea Gabrieli. Complete Madrigals*, vols 3-4 (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 43-44), Madison, 1983, pp. 38-41; EINSTEIN, 1949, III, no. 61. A later setting is that of Jean TURNHOUT, *Primo libro a 6*, Antwerp, 1589, a volume which contains settings of three other [Petrarchan] texts from Lasso's *Libro Quarto*. BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 310, cites a setting, said to be related to that of Lasso, by Hoste da Reggio. I think this is a mistake; Hoste's *La beltà rara* (*Il terzo libro a 4*, 1554, no. 1) is a setting of a different text, nor is there any musical relationship.

1a. Lasso, *O beltà rara*, mm. 1-5

C O bel-tà ra - ra, O bel-tà ra - ra

A O bel - tà ra - ra, O bel-tà ra - ra

a O bel-tà ra - ra, O bel-tà ra - ra

T O bel-tà ra - ra

B O bel-tà ra - ra

1b. Gabrieli, *O beltà rara*, mm. 1-4

C O bel - tà ra - ra

A O bel-tà ra - ra O bel - tà ra - ra

a O bel-tà ra - ra O bel - tà ra - ra

T O bel-tà ra - ra O bel - tà ra - ra

B O bel-tà ra - ra

of 1562.<sup>27</sup> How long he stayed, and whether he held an official position, is unknown; but he must surely have become acquainted with Lasso. Gabrieli's first motet book, the *Cantiones Sacrae* of 1565, which is dedicated to Duke Albrecht V, is clearly influenced by Lasso's similarly titled motet collection of 1562.<sup>28</sup> The two madrigals may well have been composed in a spirit of friendly competition. Gabrieli is said to have been much influenced by Lasso, but if he wrote this piece as a kind of journeyman apprentice he was not a very faithful student. Though there are occasional similarities after the opening gesture, Gabrieli's music is simpler and more conventional in concept, at once lighter and more florid than Lasso's madrigal. His text declamation, as befits the work of a native Italian, is slightly more idiomatic than that of Lasso. The rapid harmonic rhythm and closely knit texture of freely varied imitative entries that mark Lasso's style in general as well as this piece in particular are not to be found in Gabrieli's *O beltà rara*.<sup>29</sup> Nonetheless the existence of this piece gives new substance to the notion that the two composers had a special relationship. Among other pieces that might have been of interest to Lasso are a setting of Petrarch's *Che fai? che pensi?* (no. 6) by Gioseffo Guami (*Primo libro a 5*, 1565), one of the musicians interviewed and engaged for Munich by Lasso in Venice in May of 1567.<sup>30</sup> Also relevant might have been *Tutti'l dì piango* (no.

<sup>27</sup> See LEUCHTMANN, 1976, pp. 120-23. Gabrieli accompanied the court chapel as organist when Albrecht V left on 26 August for Prague to attend the coronation of Archduke Maximilian as king of Bohemia; in October the Munich group went from Prague to Frankfurt, where Maximilian was crowned king of the Romans; see also R. LINDELL, *Music and the Religious Crisis of Maximilian II*, in this volume.

<sup>28</sup> On the *Sacrae Cantiones* see D. ARNOLD, *Andrea Gabrieli and the New Motet Style*, in FR. DEGRADA (ed.), *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*, Florence, 1987, p. 194. A trip made by Lasso and Gabrieli to Venice (after the activities reported in footnote 27) at the end of 1562, reported as fact by earlier Lasso biographers, is not supported by any evidence; see LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 135. Lasso refers once to Gabrieli in a letter of 1574 (no. 10 in LEUCHTMANN, 1977). Andrea Gabrieli may have spent some time in Milan after his departure from Munich and before assuming a position as second organist at San Marco in Venice (probably in January 1566); see M. MORELL, *La Biografia di Andrea Gabrieli: Nuove acquisizioni e problemi aperti*, in DEGRADA (ed.), 1987, pp. 31ff. He set a sestina, *Per monti e poggi, per campagne e piagge*, published as the closing piece in his *Primo libro* of 1566; this text seems to refer to a ceremonial event that took place in Milan in 1565.

In Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 17, dated 1565, there is a Mass by Andrea Gabrieli based on Lasso's six-voice *Vexilla regis*; the Mass was published in Gabrieli's first Mass book of 1572. I am grateful to Marie Louise Göllner for calling this to my attention.

<sup>29</sup> See the discussion of Gabrieli's piece in EINSTEIN, 1949, p. 534. Einstein thinks the text corrupt and suggests an emendation to improve the rhyme scheme; but Lasso's text is identical to that used by Gabrieli, and Einstein, to judge from the way both composers set the opening two lines of the poem, misread the line structure of the text.

<sup>30</sup> See LASSO, SW, IV, pp. ix-x. Guami appears to have taken up a position as organist in Munich in 1568. I am grateful to Prof. Phillip Crabtree for supplying me a copy of his transcription of Guami's madrigal.

11) in the setting of Francesco Viola, *maestro* of Alfonso II's chapel.<sup>31</sup> Inspection of Viola's setting shows no relationship, apart from the inevitable *la-sol* opening of the *seconda parte*, with that of Lasso. Guami's attractive *Che fai? che pensi?* begins with its text questions rhetoricized in a way similar to Lasso's opening, but after this the pieces go their separate ways.

The most striking correspondence of textual choice in Lasso's fourth book is that there is another setting of *Qual nemica fortuna* (no. 12). It was composed by Giaches Wert and included in his own *Libro Quarto a 5*, also published in 1567. This print is dated only by year; but whether it came out before or after Lasso's book the two prints are too close in date to allow for one composer's having seen the text in the other's published composition.<sup>32</sup> The sestina is not known to have been printed before the end of the century.<sup>33</sup> It must obviously have circulated in manuscript, but Lasso and Wert are the only composers known to have set it. There must be a story here.

The two pieces are quite unlike each other, drawing together only when they share a common vocabulary of madrigalian word-painting device.<sup>34</sup> Lasso uses some declamatory writing but keeps it within the bounds of his basically contrapuntal style; Wert, as one might expect, uses imitative and florid counterpoint to vary a basically declamatory style. The openings of each setting (Ex. 2) show how far apart the two are.

Do they differ because of the dissimilar temperaments and inclinations of the two composers, each in command of a recognizably individual style? Yes, surely; but there is here and there a bit of internal evidence suggesting that each knew of the other's work, that they may have composed the pieces at the same time, even in the same place. The second stanza of the sestina (the poetic text is given in Appendix 3) opens with 'Lasso, che tal non hanno alpestre pietra'. Both composers use a solmization pun to begin (it was a sort of trademark with Orlando, who may even have favored pieces using the word).<sup>35</sup> The music (Ex. 3) is not the same, and some resemblance would be inevitable; but Wert's greater insistence on the word, including its isolation in the bassus (m. 6) almost seems like deliberate humorous reference to his colleague. Both composers set the text line by line (Wert occasionally and characteristically breaks the line between two voices, declaiming halves of it simultaneously). There is a

<sup>31</sup> Viola's setting was published in *I dolci et harmoniosi concerti fatti da diversi ecc. musici [...] a cinque voci [...] Libro Primo*, Venice, 1562 [RISM 1562<sup>3</sup>], p. 17.

<sup>32</sup> I am grateful to Professor Mary S. Lewis for informing me that printing evidence suggests for Wert's book a period in 1567 close to that of Lasso.

<sup>33</sup> See above, footnote 20.

<sup>34</sup> The two settings are compared by C. MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596). Life and Works*, [Rome:] American Institute of Musicology, 1966, pp. 94-95.

<sup>35</sup> Though I have not counted the number of times 'lasso' occurs in texts set by the composer, I have never seen him fail to use a solmization pun on the syllables. He was of course not alone in so doing; but it is hard to imagine that the word was not of special meaning for him.

2a. Lasso, *Qual nemica fortuna* i, mm. 1-9

C Qual ne-mi - ca, qual  
 A Qual ne - mi - ca for - tu - na Qual ne-mi-ca  
 a Qual ne - mi - ca, qual ne-mi - ca for tu -  
 T Qual ne-mi - ca for tu - na  
 B Qual nemi - ca for - tu na, qual

ne - mi - ca for - tu - na ol - tre quest' al - pe  
 ca for tu - na ol - tre quest' al - pe Mi trahe  
 na ol - tra quest' al - pe Mi  
 ol - tra quest' al - to, ol - tra quest' al - pe Mi trahe  
 ne - mi - ca for - tu - na ol - tra quest' al - pe

2b. Wert, *Qual nemica fortuna* i, mm. 1-12

C  
Qual nemi - ca for - tu - na\_oltre quest'al - pe,

A  
Qual ne - mi - ca for - tu - na\_oltre quest'al - pe, nemi - ca for -

a  
Qual nemi - ca for -

T  
Qual ne -

B  
Qual nemi -

qual ne-mi- ca fortu- na\_oltre quest'al -

tu - na, qual nemi- ca fortu - na\_ol - tre quest'al - pe,

tu - na\_ol-tre quest'al - pe, qual nemi - ca for- tu - na\_oltre quest'al -

mi - ca for- tu - na\_oltre quest'al pe, Mi

ca fortun - na\_oltre quest'al- pe, qual nemica fortu - na\_oltre quest'al- pe,

pe,  
 ol - tre quest' al - pe, Mi

pe,  
 trahe da gl'oc - - - chi

Mi trahe da gl'oc-

3a. Lasso, *Qual nemica fortuna* ii, mm. 1-8

C Las - so che tal non han - no, Las-

A Las - so che tal non han - no, che

Q Las - so che tal non han - no al - pe - stre pie - tra, che tal non

T Las - so che tal non han -

B Las - so che tal non

so che tal non han - no\_al - pe - stre pie - tra  
 tal non hanno\_al - pe - stre pie - tra  
 han - no\_al - pe - stre pie - tra Fra le  
 no al - pe - stre pie - tra Fra  
 han-no\_al - pe - stre pie - tra Fra

3b. Wert, *Qual nemica fortuna* ii, mm. 1-12

C Las- so  
 A Las - so che tal non hanno\_al - pe - stre pie - tra, las-  
 T Las - so che tal non hanno\_al - pe - stre pie - tra,  
 Q Las - so che tal non hanno\_al - pe - stre pie - tra,  
 B

che tal non han - no\_al pe - sre pie - tra, Las - so che tal non han -  
 so che tal non han - no, Las - so che tal non hanno\_al - pe -  
 (Las - so che tal non hanno\_al - pe - sre pie - tra,) Las - so che tal non han - no\_al -  
 (Las - so che tal non han - no\_al - pe - sre pie - tra,) al - pe -  
 Las - so, Las - so che tal non hanno\_al - pe -

no\_al - pe - sre pie tra  
 stre pie - - tra Frale pen -  
 pe - - - stre pie - tra  
 stre pie - - tra Fra  
 stre pie - - tra

single exception; in stanza three both Lasso and Wert run line four into the beginning of line five (Ex. 4). It is the strongest enjambment in the poem but not the only place where a composer could if he wished attend more to meaning than to rhyme or meter.

More fleeting coincidences between these two very different compositions could be cited. They might all be chance; but there are reasons to suspect they are not. It is time to look again at events preceding the publication of Lasso's - and now Wert's - fourth book.

In his letter of dedication Lasso says that he presented Duke Alfonso a sestina of his own on the occasion of the duke's visit to Munich. Was it *Qual nemica fortuna*, with its references to Italy's 'maggior fiume', 'Re degli altri, superbo altero fiume' (stanzas five, six)? The river can only be the Po, Ferrara's river, making the poem and its setting appear to refer to Alfonso's duchy. Scholarly opinion is divided on whether this is the piece Lasso was referring to in his letter to Alfonso, and there is no way to decide for certain; but I would be inclined to think that it was.<sup>36</sup> Whether it was originally written for the duke is another matter.

Alfonso II was at the Bavarian court in the autumn of 1566; his presence, along with that of the young Duc de Guise, at a ducal retreat is recorded.<sup>37</sup> The French nobleman was Alfonso's cousin; and Albrecht V was Alfonso's brother-in-law, each having married a daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I.<sup>38</sup> Alfonso's stay in Bavaria was presumably a stop on his return from a four-month expedition in which he led an armed force from Ferrara in support of Maximilian II, who had succeeded Ferdinand I in 1564.<sup>39</sup> In the summer of 1566 Maximilian opened a campaign against the Turks in Hungary, getting support from a number of quarters, including the Duc de Guise<sup>40</sup>, in addition to his brothers-in-law Albrecht V and Alfonso II. Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy sent a force headed by a trusted soldier-courtier, Federico Asinari, Conte di

<sup>36</sup> Sandberger (LASSO, SW, IV, p. viii) thinks that there must have been another sestina, now lost, presented with its music to Alfonso; BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 305, concurs. EINSTEIN, 1949, II, p. 491, assumes *Qual nemica fortuna* to have been the piece in question.

<sup>37</sup> A. SANDBERGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso*, 3 vols. (only vols. I and III published), III, p. 28: 'Vermig aines Registers ist Auflosung für den Herzog von Florennz [...] do. die Herzogin von Barma [...] do. Herzog von Färär'; 'Aintzige Ausgab f. den fürstl. Marstal [...] Mer ist verm[ig] Hinebenlig[enden] Reg[isters] f. d. Herzogen von Färrär unnd Gwisa durch den Starnberger Auslosung Allenthalben bezalt 2407 fl.' It is not clear to me whether these are references to two visits (coming and going?) or just one on the part of Alfonso.

<sup>38</sup> Guglielmo Gonzaga and Prince Ferdinando de' Medici also married daughters of Ferdinand I; thus when Alfonso II married a Gonzaga princess in 1578 he was wedding his niece by marriage.

<sup>39</sup> CHIAPPINI, 1979 (= [1967]), pp. 292-93.

<sup>40</sup> See K. GUTKES, *Maximilian II*, in R. FEUCHTMÜLLER (ed.), *Renaissance in Oesterreich. Geschichte-Wissenschaft-Kunst*, Horn, 1974, p. 37. For the duc de Guise's impetuous participation see J.-M. CONSTANT, *Les Guise*, Paris, 1984, p. 65.

4a. Lasso, *Qual nemica fortuna* iii, mm. 17-23

C Lei contem-plan - do il mio dolor al'al - pe\_Asem - bro

A Lei contemplan - do il mio do-lor a l'al - pe\_Asem - bro

T Lei contemplan - do a l'alpe\_Asembro e'l

Q Lei contemplan - do il mio do-lor a l'al - pe\_Asem - bro

B Lei contemplan - do e'l

4b. Wert, *Qual nemica fortuna* iii, mm. 19-32

C il mio do-lor all' alpe\_Asem - bro, il

A Lei contemplando il mio do-lor all' al - pe\_Asem-bro,

T il mi do-lor all' al - pe,

Q Lei contemplando il mio dolor all'alpe\_As-

B Lei cortemplando il mio do - lor all'

mio do-lor, il mio do - lor all' al - pe\_As -  
 (il mio do-lor all' al - pe\_As - sem-bro,) il mio dolor all'  
 mio do - lor all' al - pe\_As - sem - bro,  
 sem - - bro all' al-pe\_Asem - bro, il mio do-  
 al - pe\_As - sem - bro, il

sem - - - - - bro  
 al - pe\_Asem - - - - - bro  
 e'l pian-  
 lor all' al-pe\_Asem - bro  
 mio dolor all' al-pe\_Asem - bro

Camerano - who is, not incidentally to our purpose, author of the sestina *Qual nemica fortuna*.<sup>41</sup> The campaign fizzled, and Maximilian and his forces, including those named above, returned to Vienna in October of 1566. It must have been after this that Alfonso went to Munich and met Lasso; the duke returned to Ferrara in December.<sup>42</sup>

Before beginning the Turkish campaign Maximilian convened a *Reichstag* in Augsburg, at which Albrecht V of Bavaria was a participant notable for his defense of Catholic orthodoxy.<sup>43</sup> Lasso and the chapel accompanied the duke to Augsburg; also there were ambassadors from Ferrara and Mantua. Each delegate traveled with a large entourage; in that of Mantua was Giaches Wert, since 1565 *maestro* of Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga's chapel. Wert's prowess as a contrapuntist was, according to a contemporary witness, demonstrated with telling effect in Augsburg, observed by Lasso as well as by Jacobus Vaet and the imperial chapel.<sup>44</sup>

Finally, there exists a document, dated 22 May 1566, recording identical gifts of money from Maximilian II to both Wert and Lasso for 'etlicher gesang'.<sup>45</sup> Since neither Wert nor Lasso was in imperial service the gift must have been for a special commission; what it was we cannot know for sure, but the temptation to think that it might have been for twin composition of Asinari's *Qual nemica fortuna* is irresistible. Maximilian gave a great banquet in Augsburg on May 9 (the *Reichstag* was in session from March 23 to May 30) at which this music could have been part of the entertainment.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> See FR. GALEANI NAPIONE DI COCCONATO, *Vite ed Elogi d'illustri Italiani*, 3 vols, Pisa, 1818, III, pp. 68-71. In writing of Asinari the author says he is giving 'un ritratto di que' Cavalieri antichi, che sapevano congiungere la professione delle armi, ed i maneggi di Stato cogli studj delle lingue dotte, della severa erudizione, e colla cultura delle lettere italiane' (I, p. xxvii). Asinari had been in Vienna in 1564 on diplomatic business with the new emperor Maximilian II; he wrote to Duke Emanuele Filiberto from Vienna in July of 1566 that his troops were ready to join the imperial army in Hungary. By October Asinari and his forces were ready to return to Italy. *Qual nemica fortuna* could have been written earlier; Asinari presented a manuscript apparently containing the bulk of his poetry to Annibal Caro in 1560 (GALEANI NAPIONE, 1818, III, p. 65). But the poem's references to Italy and to the lands north of the Alps would have made it appropriate for the campaign of 1566.

<sup>42</sup> CHIAPPINI, 1979 (= [1967]), p. 293.

<sup>43</sup> M. SPINDLER, (ed.), *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte*, 4 vols, Munich, 1968-75, II, pp. 346-47; W. HOLLWEG, *Der Augsburger Reichstag von 1566 und seine Bedeutung für die Entstehung der Reformierten Kirche und ihres Bekenntnisses*, Neukirchen - Vluyn, 1964, ch. 6, p. 257 *et passim*.

<sup>44</sup> This account comes from a preface to Adam Berg's edition of Franz Sales' *Patrocinium musices. Missarum solenniorum [...] primus tomus*, Munich, 1589. It is reported in E. VAN DER STRAETEN, *La Musique aux Pays-bas avant le xix<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 8 vols, Brussels, 1862-88, VI, p. 174. EINSTEIN, 1949, II, p. 512, says, on what authority I do not know, that Wert was offered a position by Maximilian II but declined; MACCLINTOCK, 1966, p. 31, also mentions this.

<sup>45</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 138.

<sup>46</sup> HOLLWEG, 1964, p. 390.

All the important players in this hypothetical game are thus known to have been in contact with one another at the crucial time. Admittedly missing is the clinching evidence, some kind of document recording the two composers' precise activity. This may not exist. But everything points toward Lasso and Wert having each written his setting of *Qual nemica fortuna* in full knowledge that the other was busy doing the same thing.

In the spring of 1567 the two musicians prepared their new madrigal collections for publication. In so doing Lasso may have reflected that Wert seemed to be getting along very well in Mantua, an inducement perhaps for him to think about a move to Ferrara. As for the dedicatory letter, I doubt that it was intended to show either Bavarian patriotism or defensiveness about German cultural provincialism - at least not to show it to Alfonso II, who was related by marriage to Albrecht V, who had recently himself married an Austrian princess to whom he tried to speak and write in German,<sup>47</sup> and who had spent money and energy raising troops to fight in the imperial cause. Like many ostensibly private letters in the sixteenth century, this dedication was intended from the start to be read by a wide audience, was indeed a form of self-advertising on the part of the composer. Lasso was intent on telling the world that 'Le Muse in Germania' were, as cultivated by him, alive and well.

Whether or not *Qual nemica fortuna* is the piece Lasso gave to the duke in Munich in 1566, it was now presented to him. If it was not quite new or expressly written for him the duke would not have cared; its possible identification with his brother-in-law Maximilian II would have been in its favor. And the reference to the Po could certainly have been taken as a compliment to Ferrara even if the poem's author, a loyal Piedmontese, was probably thinking of that river flowing past Turin instead.<sup>48</sup>

As for Wert, his fourth book was dedicated to his ducal employer Guglielmo Gonzaga; the volume opens with a madrigal - used, says Wert, as a *scudo* to ward off hostile criticism - of the duke's own composition.<sup>49</sup> But this volume too has Ferrarese connections; it contains a madrigal in praise of Lucrezia d'Este, Alfonso II's sister, and it concludes with an eight-voice dialogue, *Cara*

<sup>47</sup> CHIAPPINI, 1979 (= [1967]), p. 295.

<sup>48</sup> Leuchtman (LASSO, SW, IV, p. xxxiv) points out that the opening line of the sixth stanza of *Qual nemica fortuna*, 'Re di gli altri, superbo altero fiume' is the same as that of a sonnet by Tasso published in *Rime di gli academici eterei dedicate alla serenissima Madama Margherita di Vallois duchessa di Savoia*, Padua, 1567, which makes the Piedmontese location all the more likely. Tasso's poem, published under an academic pseudonym, was included in his collected *Rime* (Mantua: Osanna, 1591). It may be seen in FR. FLORA, (ed.), *Torquato Tasso. Poesie*, Milan, 1952, p. 717.

<sup>49</sup> For the preface see MACCLINTOCK, 1966, p. 233. Wert did indeed have enemies, including his wife's seducer, in the Mantuan chapel; see EINSTEIN, 1949, II, p. 512.

*Germania mia*, which must have been intended for the wedding festivities of Alfonso and Barbara of Austria in Ferrara in 1565.<sup>50</sup> And of course it contains *Qual nemica fortuna* as well.

<sup>50</sup> On the wedding see K. VOCELKA, *Habsburger Hochzeiten 1550-1600*, Graz, 1976, p. 125; CHIAPPINI 1979, (= [1967]), pp. 289-90.

## APPENDIX 1

The dedication of Lasso's *Libro quarto*

All' illustrissimo ed eccellentissimo Signor Alfonso II, Duca di Ferrara, mio signor sempre osservandissimo.

Potrebbe non solo V. Eccellentia, ma ogni altra persona meravigliarsi di questo mio ardire, venendola a molestare da così lontano paese con le mie compositioni, sapendo io che l'Italia è tanto piena d'ogni sorte di Musica, & abundante d'eccellentissimi ingegni, che continuamente producono cose nove, rare, & forse più degne & più grate a V. Eccellentia di quello che potranno essere queste mie; ma conoscendo lei l'affettione che le porto già alquanti anni, per l'infinita bontà & rarissime qualità sue, con le quali abbraccia ogni virtù & insieme gli amatori & cultori suoi, sono certo che sarà levata ogni occasione di meraviglia: Et questa mia affettione è tanto in me cresciuta & augmentata l'ultima volta che vidi V. Eccellentia in Monaco, passando ivi per visitare il Serenissimo Duca di Baviera suo Cugnato Amantissimo, & mio patrone benignissimo, ove vedendo che per una Sestina da me posta in Musica & a lei presentata, mi mostrò così rari segni d'esserli grato tal mio dono, che io son stato constretto, non solo da l'affettione, ma da l'obbligo insieme, di cercare con ogni studio & poter mio d'accrescere questa sua affettione verso me così grande, & di fare palese al mondo l'obbligo che le tengo infinitissimo; il quale sarà tanto maggiore, quanto più conoscerò, che con la solita benignità sua accetti questo (benche picciolo) mio dono, che hora le faccio di questo volume de Madrigali, novamente da me in Germania composti; per il quale effetto potrà anche il mondo conoscere che le Muse di Germania non sono punto aliene d'ogni sorte di virtù, anzi le nutriscono & conservano, secondo le qualità delli amatori & cultori suoi. Et si come le cose che vengono da lontani & alieni paesi sogliono esser a tutti gratissimi, quantunque dell' istessa sorte non manchino spesso, dove sono apportate, così spero sarà questo dono che di presente à V. Eccellentia porto; al quale accrescerà tanto il valore, quanto dal rarissimo giudizio suo, in questo & in ogni altra sorte di virtù eccellentissimo, sarà pregiato; & con questo facendo fine me le inchino, & con ogni debita riverenza la bacio le mani, supplicando l'eterno Iddio che gli desiderii suoi perpetuamente prosperi, & adempi con ogni suo contento.

Di Monaco in Baviera, l'ultimo di Maggio 1567.

## APPENDIX 2

Inventory of the *Libro quarto*

CAPOVERSO	TEXT	CLEFS AND SYSTEM	FINAL
1. La ver l'aurora che si dolce l'aura	Petrarch, ccxxxix [sestina]	C <sup>1</sup> C <sup>3</sup> C <sup>4</sup> C <sup>4</sup> F <sup>4</sup>	D
2 <sup>a</sup> : Temprar potess'io			
3 <sup>a</sup> : Quante lagrime lasso			
4 <sup>a</sup> : Huomini e Dei			
5 <sup>a</sup> : A l'ultimo bisogno			
6 <sup>a</sup> : Ridon hor per le piagge			
2. O belta rara o santi modi adorni	madrigal	C <sup>1</sup> etc.	E
3. Quel rossignuol che si soave piagne	Petrarch, cccxi [sonnet]	C <sup>1</sup> C <sup>1</sup> C <sup>3</sup> C <sup>4</sup> F <sup>4</sup>	E

2<sup>a</sup>: O che lieve e l'ingannar4. Miser chi speme in cose mortal  
ponePetrarch,  
*Trionfo della  
morte* i, 85-90 $C^2C^3C^4F^3F^5$ 

E

5. Il tempo passa e l'hore son si  
prontePetrarch,  
xxxvii,  
stanza 2  
[canzone] $G^2C^2C^2C^3F^3$   
*b*

F

6. Che fai? che pensi? che pur  
dietro guardiPetrarch,  
cclxxiii  
[sonnet] $C^1C^3C^3C^4F^4$   
*b*

F

2<sup>a</sup>: Deh non rinovellar7. Come va'l mond' hor mi diletta  
e piacePetrarch,  
ccxc  
[sonnet] $C^1C^3C^4C^4F^4$   
*b*

F

2<sup>a</sup>: Ma'l cieco amor8. Signor se la tua gratia e fuoco  
ardenteG. Fiamma  
[sonnet] $C^1$  etc.

G

2<sup>a</sup>: Queste contrarie tempore9. Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse  
il suonoPetrarch,  
i [sonnet] $C^1C^3C^3C^4F^4$ 

G

2<sup>a</sup>: Ma ben veggì' hor10. I vo piangendo i miei passati  
tempiPetrarch,  
cclxv  
[sonnet] $C^1C^3C^4C^4F^4$   
*b*

G

2<sup>a</sup>: Si che s'io vissi

11. Tutto'l dì piango e poi la notte

Petrarch,  
ccxvi  
[sonnet] $C^1$  etc.  
*b*

G

2<sup>a</sup>: Lasso che pur

12. Qual nemica fortuna oltra quest' alpe

Federico  
Asinari  
[sestina] $C^1$  etc.  
*b*

G

2<sup>a</sup>: Lasso che tal3<sup>a</sup>: Sol io quanto4<sup>a</sup>: Talhor dico5<sup>a</sup>: Talhor par mi6<sup>a</sup>: Re degli altri $C^1C^1C^3C^4C^4F^4$

## APPENDIX 3

The text of *Qual nemica fortuna*

Capitalization and punctuation are taken from the text as given in BORGOGNI, *Rime di diversi illust. poeti*, pp. 89-90. The text as used by Lasso and Wert is identical except for one word, 'cruda' (Wert) in place of 'dura' (Lasso) in stanza three, line two. Differences in Borgogni's text are indicated by footnotes.

Qual nemica fortuna oltra quest' Alpe  
 Mi trae da gli occhi un lagrimoso<sup>a</sup> fiume  
 E m'ha sospinto in solitaria valle?  
 Come già in Caria il vago de la Luna  
 Co' sospir che disfar ponno la neve  
 E render molle ogni piu dura pietra.  
 Lasso che tal non hanno alpestre pietra  
 Fra le pendici piu riposte l'Alpe  
 Nè di molti anni si indurata neve  
 Che questa il sol quella non franga il fiume;  
 E già infiammosi<sup>b</sup> la gelata Luna  
 Tal che discese<sup>c</sup> nella Latmia valle.

Sol io, quanto più piango in cieca valle,  
 Trovo piu dura<sup>d</sup> la mia bella pietra,  
 E nel sereno volto della Luna  
 Lei contemplando, il mio dolor<sup>e</sup> a l'Alpe  
 Assembro, e'l pianto mio diretto al fiume,  
 E'l timor che m'ingombra à questa neve.

Talor dico 'l suo cor sembra la neve,  
 E'l mio fosco pensier l'oscura valle;  
 La sua eloquentia il mormorar del fiume;  
 E l'ostinata mia voglia la pietra;  
 L'altera mente sua simigli' à l'Alpe  
 Ed il mio stato à l'inconstante Luna.

Talor parmi la luce<sup>f</sup> de la Luna,  
 Del suo bel seno l'amorosa neve;  
 E talor movo per poggiar sù l'Alpe,  
 A mirar indi la felice valle  
 Ove a l'idolo mio<sup>g</sup> di viva pietra,  
 S'inchina de l'Italia il maggior fiume.

Rè de gli altri superbo, altero fiume  
 Ch'ai l'immagine tua sovra la Luna,  
 Tu forse or<sup>h</sup> bagni humil, quella alma pietra  
 Ch' hor mi fa 'l cor di fiamm', ed hor di neve;  
 Ed io piangendo in tenebrosa valle  
 Ho più duri pensier assai che l'Alpe.

Ove fra le fredd' Alpe frange<sup>i</sup> un fiume  
Per aspra valle, al lume de la Luna.  
Canzon, son neve, e sarò forse pietra.

<sup>a</sup> dolorosa

<sup>b</sup> qual huom dice

<sup>c</sup> Ardendo scese

<sup>d</sup> cruda

<sup>e</sup> desire

<sup>f</sup> pareggio al bianco

<sup>g</sup> mio .... [space left for insertion of a name?]

<sup>h</sup> 'or' omitted

<sup>i</sup> piange

# MUSICA E POESIA IN 'HONORATO RIDOTTO'

Per una analisi dei *Madrigali a cinque voci*  
*Libro quinto* di Lasso

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La musicologia è a conoscenza del grande interesse dimostrato dal conte veronese Mario Bevilacqua per la musica. Pure è noto lo straordinario ruolo da lui assunto come promotore di cultura musicale nella sua città. La storiografia specialmente locale ha anche sottolineato come egli sia stato per molti musicisti mecenate attento e illuminato e come abbia saputo assumere un ruolo guida nella trasformazione del gusto e delle tendenze *fin de siècle* in Italia.<sup>1</sup>

In tutto ciò è stato largamente esaltato il suo ruolo di nobile dilettante (in senso rinascimentale, s'intende), mentre è passata sotto tono l'eventuale influenza negativa - sulla quale a più riprese già da tempo ho cercato di attirare l'attenzione<sup>2</sup> - che il suo accreditato ruolo di guida illuminata potrebbe avere esercitato sui compositori. In altri termini è sembrato di capire che il suo potere culturale indiscusso, nonché il contributo determinante e fattivo alla promozione e produzione musicale abbiano potuto generare effetti anche discutibili e di dubbia valenza in taluni artisti che hanno voluto riconoscersi come adepti di quella cultura.

<sup>1</sup> Su questo importante mecenate veronese si vedano G.F. TINTO, *La nobiltà di Verona*, Verona, 1592, pp. 389 sgg. e le importanti testimonianze di Pietro Pontio che ambienta il suo trattato *Ragionamenti di musica* (Parma, 1588; ristampa anastatica del trattato a cura di Susanne Clercx, in *Documenta musicologica*, 16, Kassel, 1959 proprio nel *ridotto* del conte. Puntuali osservazioni sul ruolo assunto dal Bevilacqua nella cultura musicale della seconda metà del Cinquecento si trovano in EINSTEIN, 1949, pp. 195, 476, 482 e sgg. e passim. In tempi più recenti si è occupato di lui E. PAGANUZZI, *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, in *La musica a Verona*, Verona, 1976, pp. 179-189; cfr. anche dello stesso studioso Mario Bevilacqua, *amico della musica*, in L. FRANZONI, (ed.), *La Galleria Bevilacqua*, Milano, 1970 e 'sub voce' in *New Grove*, II, p. 666.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. F. LUISI, *La 'maniera assai differente dalla passata' nei Madrigali a 4-5-6- voci del 1588*, in I. MONTIGLIO, (ed.), *Luca Marenzio: poetica, stile e tecnica dell'opera profana e sacra. Atti e documentazioni del X Convegno Europeo sul canto corale*, Gorizia, 1979, pp. 51-71; ID., *Luca Marenzio: Quattro madrigali (1588)*, Roma, 1982, pp. 7-19; ID., *Considerazioni sul ruolo della struttura e sul peso della retorica nella musica profana italiana del Cinquecento*, in M. GOZZI, (ed.), *Struttura e retorica nella musica profana del Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno, Trento 23 ottobre 1988*, Roma, 1990, pp. 45-47.

L'ambiente veronese, specie per la presenza e l'attività svolta dall'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona<sup>3</sup>, godeva già da tempo e meritatamente del favore dei musicisti, ma certamente toccò i vertici della fama e ottenne i reiterati applausi dell'universo musicale per l'impegno assunto dal conte Mario Bevilacqua che in quell'Accademia fu ammesso fin dal 1568. In realtà il nobile veronese vi portava il proprio credito, spingeva gli accademici ad azioni competitive, mirava a estendere il proprio raggio di influenza culturale. Difatti il Bevilacqua si era distinto per una speciale attenzione rivolta alla musica massimamente dopo la creazione del suo *ridotto* divenuto famoso nel mondo musicale per essere considerato fucina culturale e palestra di elevato esercizio esecutivo e compositivo. Già attivo tra il 1574 e il 1578 (date legate alle prime due edizioni dedicate al conte<sup>4</sup>), il *ridotto* conobbe il massimo splendore dopo il 1579, in seguito al lascito ereditario del fratello Camillo che non solo gli permise di realizzare l'arredo definitivo del palazzo mirando alla creazione di un luogo ideale di prassi musicale, ma anche di avere musicisti in servizio stabile: alcuni infatti, come Sebastiano Pigna, Paolo Masnelli, Domenico Lauro ed Ercole Pasquini, vi svolsero attività con regolare salario.<sup>5</sup> Altri tuttavia passarono nel *ridotto* lasciando tangibile traccia nelle lettere dedicatorie, altri ancora sperarono di realizzare un rapporto magari onorando anche da lontano quell'ambiente altamente 'reservato': comunque tutti ritennero che la collaborazione con il centro musicale veronese rappresentato dal conte Bevilacqua equivalesse al riconoscimento della validità artistica e culturale, avesse - per così dire - valore di laurea.

<sup>3</sup> L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona fu costituita, come è noto, il primo maggio 1543 e vale la pena di ricordare che gli scopi dell'Istituzione, come recita il *Proemio* dello statuto, erano orientati a far ritornare 'a virtuosa vita' la musica, ormai negletta, smarrita, discesa in luoghi vili, per merito 'di alquanti nobilissimi giovani di Verona' ispirati da Dio. Cfr. PAGANUZZI, 1976, p. 130. Per una visione più ampia sul ruolo e la storia dell'Accademia cfr. G. TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona dalla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico*, Verona, 1941. Si deve tuttavia ricordare che l'ambiente musicale veronese poteva anche vantare la presenza e l'appoggio del Capitolo della Cattedrale, che risulta dedicatorio di almeno una decina di edizioni musicali, e di altre due piccole Accademie, quella dei Moderati a cui Matteo Asola dedicò tre sue sillogi (il *Missae tres octonis vocibus liber primus*, e il *Liber secundus Missas tres, duasque sacras cantiones continens* ambedue stampati a Venezia da R. Amadino nel 1588, e i *Madrigali a sei voci* stampati dallo stesso a Venezia nel 1605) e quella dei Novelli che fu oggetto di dedica per la *Scielta de madrigali a quattro et cinque voci* del veronese Pietro Cavatoni, stampata da G. Scotto a Venezia nel 1572.

<sup>4</sup> Si tratta del *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* di Giovanni Corona, Venezia, eredi Gardano, 1574 e del *Giardino de madregali a quattro voci de diversi eccellentissimi musici*, antologia stampata a Verona nel 1578 da Sebastiano e Giovanni Dalle Donne.

<sup>5</sup> Cfr. PAGANUZZI, 1976, pp. 179 sgg.; a pp. 186 sgg. è riportato l'elenco degli strumenti e degli arredi che si trovavano 'nel luoco del Ridutto', rilevato dall'inventario dei beni redatto cinque giorni dopo la morte del conte avvenuta il 1° agosto 1593: si contano 78 strumenti d'ogni genere e circa 50 'coppie de libri da musica' oltre a un 'armar con libri scritti a mano coppie 14', quadri, tavoli tondi 'per cantar' e altri arredi. L'inventario fu fatto conoscere da M. CASTELLANI, *A 1593 Veronese Inventory*, in *The Galpin Society Journal*, 26 (1973), pp. 15-24.

Esaminando le bibliografie più attente al fenomeno<sup>6</sup>, salvo ulteriori aggiornamenti e correttivi, si rileva che nel Cinquecento furono dedicate all'Accademia, ovvero agli 'Illustrissimi Signori Accademici Philarmonici di Verona' ben 15 edizioni<sup>7</sup>: il che sta ad indicare che per altrettante volte l'Accademia si fece sostenitrice (per lo meno *magna parte*) degli oneri della stampa riconoscendo agli autori la validità della produzione.

A fronte di tale massiccia presenza accademica (a cui si dovrebbero aggiungere - al fine di configurare con maggior completezza il ruolo musicale dell'intero ambiente veronese - anche le ricordate edizioni dedicate al Capitolo della Cattedrale e quelle offerte all'Accademia dei Moderati e all'Accademia dei Novelli, ved. nota 3) si registra tuttavia una straordinaria presenza di edizioni dedicate espressamente al conte Mario, vuoi per il ruolo assunto come ispiratore assoluto del suo *ridotto*, vuoi anche per l'influenza esercitata sull'Accademia Filarmonica: conosciamo ben 24 edizioni (di cui tre antologiche) destinate al suo nome, tra le quali una espressamente indirizzata al suo *ridotto*.<sup>8</sup>

Va inoltre rilevato che se le 15 edizioni dedicate all'Accademia coprono un periodo compreso tra il 1548 e il 1615, le 24 raccolte dedicate al conte Bevilacqua occupano uno spazio temporale ben più ristretto databile tra il 1574 e il 1592, con una accentuata concentrazione negli anni 1585 (cinque edizioni) e 1588 (sei edizioni), a cui fanno eco gli anni 1580, 1583, 1586 e 1587 con due edizioni ciascuno (considerando autonoma, per il 1587, l'edizione integrata del Quinto libro di Lasso) e occasionalmente gli anni 1574, 1578, 1579 e 1592 con una sola.

Il periodo che interessa la presente indagine copre di conseguenza un arco di tempo relativamente breve, compreso cioè tra il 1585 e il 1588, ma assai significativo dell'apice raggiunto dalla notorietà del conte Bevilacqua (ben 15 delle 24 raccolte a lui dedicate vedono la luce in tale periodo) e nello stesso tempo importante in rapporto alla partecipazione nel consorzio culturale accademico

<sup>6</sup> Si veda in particolare il recente lavoro di O. MISCHIATI, *Bibliografia delle opere pubblicate a stampa dai musicisti veronesi nei secoli XVI-XVIII*, (Accademia Filarmonica di Verona), Roma, 1993.

<sup>7</sup> Con dediche agli Accademici filarmonici di Verona uscirono, in ordine cronologico, edizioni di G. Nasco (1548), V. Ruffo (1554), nuovamente di Nasco (1561), di I. Chamantero (1569), di G. De Wert (1571), di I. Baccusi (1572), di P. Valenzola (1578), di B. Pallavicino (1579), di L. Marenzio (1582), di M. A. Ingegneri (1587), di A. Morari (1587), di P. Bellasio (1590), di P. Pontio (il *Dialogo*, 1595), di O. Brognonico (1611) e S. Bernardi (1615).

<sup>8</sup> La serie delle edizioni dedicate al conte Mario Bevilacqua comincia con quella di G. Corona (1574) e continua con l'antologia *Giardino de madregali a quattro voci* (1578), e con le sillogi di C. Merulo (1579), G. Martinengo (1580), O. Vecchi (1580), P. Masnelli (1582), M. Casulana (1583), F. Stivori (1583), con il trattato *Il vero modo di diminuir*, di G. Della Casa (1584), quindi con le raccolte di G. Bassano, A. Bendinelli, O. Lasso, G. B. Moscaglia e P. Pontio (tutte del 1585), F. De Monte (1586), ancora con l'antologia *Lieti amanti* (1586), seguita dalla silloge sacra di T. Massaino e nuovamente dal Lasso con l'edizione integrata del suo *Quinto Libro a cinque voci* (1587), passando alle raccolte A. Bendinelli, A. Coma, L. Leoni, L. Marenzio e B. Spontonio a cui si aggiunge P. Pontio con il suo *Ragionamento* (tutti nel 1588), per finire con l'antologia *La gloria musicale* (1592).

rappresentato dal conte veronese di tre musicisti di grande fama: Luca Marenzio, Filippo De Monte e Orlando di Lasso.

Quest'ultimo è il primo dei tre che offre al munifico protettore il suo *Madrigali a cinque voci Libro quinto* nell'edizione di Caterina Gerlach datata da Norimberga nel 1585 e ristampata con qualche aggiunta nel 1587 da Angelo Gardano a Venezia: seguì nel 1586 l'edizione dell'*Undecimo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci* di Monte uscita per i tipi del Gardano a Venezia e nel 1588, pure a Venezia ma per la stampa del Vincenti, i *Madrigali a quatro, cinque e sei voci libro primo* del Marenzio.

Le tre sillogi hanno in comune, oltre al dedicatario, lo sfortunato esito editoriale: elemento, quest'ultimo, emergente dalla mancanza di ristampe. Sembra infatti che il ricorso alle ristampe, in quegli anni piuttosto frequente specialmente per le sillogi madrigalistiche a cinque voci, si verificasse con una certa puntualità attestando implicitamente la fortuna ottenuta dal repertorio.

Guardando alla produzione madrigalistica a cinque voci di Monte, si evidenzia che mentre si hanno ristampe per le opere dal primo all'ottavo libro (1554-1580), a partire dal nono fino al diciannovesimo (1580-1586) non se ne registrano.<sup>9</sup>

Per Marenzio la situazione è ancora più evidente: di tutti i libri di madrigali a cinque voci (nove libri dal 1580 al 1599) si conoscono ristampe (anche numerose), mentre l'edizione del 1588 contenente madrigali da quattro a sei voci con uno a dieci (ma con maggiore presenza di madrigali a cinque) si distingue per non avere alcuna ristampa.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Guardando alla produzione madrigalistica a cinque voci di Monte, si nota infatti che il primo libro del 1554 ebbe quattro ristampe (1560, 1570, 1576 e 1580); il secondo libro del 1567 ne ebbe cinque (1570, 1576, 1580, 1586 e 1598); il terzo libro del 1570 quattro (1573, 1578, 1580 e 1581); il quarto libro del 1571 due (1576 e 1581); il quinto libro del 1574 una (1592); il sesto libro del 1575 una (1588); il settimo libro del 1578 una (1583); l'ottavo libro del 1580 ancora una (1586); dal nono libro fino al diciannovesimo (dal 1580 al 1598 e compreso il libro undicesimo sopra citato del 1586) non si conoscono invece ristampe.

<sup>10</sup> Per Marenzio la situazione presenta il primo libro del 1580 ristampato ben nove volte (1582, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1600, 1602, 1608 e ancora 1608 presso altro editore); il secondo libro del 1581 sei volte (1583, 1587, 1593, 1606 e nuovamente nel 1606 presso altro editore e 1608); il terzo libro del 1582 due volte (1591 e 1595); il quarto libro del 1584 tre volte (1589, 1594 e 1607); il quinto libro del 1585 tre volte (1588, 1594 e 1605) (a queste edizioni si aggiungono anche le due ristampe di Anversa per Phalese del 1593 e 1609 che riproducono l'intero repertorio dei primi cinque libri); il sesto libro del 1594 sopravvive con due ristampe (1603 e 1604); il settimo libro del 1595 con tre (1600, 1609 e ancora 1609 presso altro editore); l'ottavo libro del 1598 con due (1605 e 1609); il nono libro del 1599 con quattro (1601, 1608, 1609 e ancora 1609 di altro editore). Si aggiungano alle suddette le due ristampe del Phalese che riuniscono in un volume i madrigali dal sesto al nono libro del 1609 e 1632 e la complessiva ristampa di Paul Kauffmann del 1601 che raccoglie tutti i madrigali dal primo al nono libro. In tale panorama l'edizione del 1588 contenente madrigali da quattro a sei voci con uno a dieci (unico con carattere di varietà nella produzione marenziana, presenta quattro madrigali a quattro, sette a cinque, quattro a sei e uno a dieci) è l'unica per la quale non si registrano ristampe.

Per il Lasso la produzione dei madrigali a cinque voci conta solo cinque raccolte: le prime quattro (uscite la prima volta tra il 1555 e il 1567) furono variamente ristampate, mentre l'ultima (apparsa a distanza di ben diciotto anni) risulta edita una prima volta a Monaco dalla Gerlach nel 1585 senza numero di opus e con quattro brani in meno rispetto all'editio major uscita poi a Venezia come 'Libro quinto' e in seguito non più ristampata.<sup>11</sup>

L'altro elemento che accomuna la sorte delle tre edizioni qui esaminate è costituito, dicevamo, dalla presenza di dediche indirizzate allo stesso personaggio. La prima in ordine cronologico è proprio quella di Lasso, datata da Monaco il 1° maggio 1585 (forse è una semplice coincidenza, ma vale la pena di ricordare che in tale data cadeva il 41° anniversario della fondazione dell'Accademia Filarmonica) e ripetuta identica nella stampa integrata di Venezia uscita in data 15 gennaio 1587 (more veneto). Ne riportiamo il testo da quest'ultima edizione<sup>12</sup>:

Al Molto Illustre Signore il Sig. Conte Mario Bevilacqua mio Signore Osservandissimo.

Trovomi da alcuni mesi in qua (Molto Illustre Signor mio) haver composto li presenti Madrigali, la maggior parte per non star in otio quelle hore che dal servizio del mio Serenissimo Principe et da più gravi studi m'avanzavano, i quali dovendo io, per sodisfare alle preghiere di molti amici, permettere che si stampino, ho deliberato con questa occasione di farne presente, et dedicargli a V. Sig. Illustre in testimonio della molta affection mia verso lei, causata da suoi meriti, et per non far torto alla opinione che io tengo molto tempo fa, cioè che tutti gli professori della Musica che oggidì vivono siano obligati a consecrare a V. Sig. Illustre qualche lor fatica in segno di gratitudine, o per dir meglio di tributo, avendosegli lei per la maggior parte per la sua liberalità fatti schiavi, oltre al'haver aperto in casa sua così honorato ridotto ove possono i virtuosi a tutte l'hore convenire, et ove sono cortesissimamente accolti et accarezzati. Gradisca V. Sig. Illustre dunque queste mie fatiche quali elle sono,

<sup>11</sup> Per il Lasso la produzione dei madrigali a cinque voci comincia con il libro primo del 1555 per il quale conosciamo ben dieci ristampe (1557, 1562, ancora 1562 con editore diverso, 1566 e 1566 con altro editore, 1567, 1570, 1573, 1582 e 1586); continua con il secondo libro del 1557 riapparso con qualche aggiunta in un'edizione del 1559 a cui si rifanno le 12 ristampe successive (1560, 1562, 1563, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1573 e ancora 1573 con altro editore, 1574, 1585 e 1586); si consideri inoltre che il primo e il secondo libro furono ristampati insieme dallo Scotto nel 1559; segue il terzo libro del 1563 ristampato nello stesso anno da altro editore e in seguito altre sei volte (1564, 1566, 1567, 1570, 1573 e 1586); quindi il quarto libro del 1567 ristampato tre volte (1570, 1584 e 1593). Il quinto libro, ultimo della serie a cinque, fu stampato a Monaco nel 1585 senza numero di opus e due anni dopo a Venezia come 'Libro quinto' con l'aggiunta di altri quattro madrigali su testi del Petrarca; di quest'ultima veste definitiva non si conoscono ristampe.

<sup>12</sup> La dedica dell'edizione di Monaco, praticamente identica a parte la datazione, si trova riportata in LASSO, SW, VI, 1896, pp. 6-7.

et non le dia noia che si siano impresse in Alemagna, rendendola io certa che il glorioso nome di lei ha spiegate l'ali della sua fama in guisa che non solamente in Italia, ma anco nelle Regioni straniera sarà sempre celebre e chiaro. Con che bacio le mani di V. S. Illustre, et le auguro da Dio nostro Signore ogni bramata felicità. Di Venezia il dì 15. Genaro. 1587.

Di V. Sig. Molto Illustre  
 Obligatissimo Servitore  
 Orlando Lasso

Tra l'edizione di Monaco (1585) e quella completa di Venezia (1587) si pone *L'undecimo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci* che Philippe De Monte volle indirizzato allo stesso conte veronese.<sup>13</sup> Nella dedica firmata da Praga il 15 novembre 1586, appare di grande interesse il riscontro di atteggiamenti in un certo senso mirati alla ricerca di soluzioni compositive differenziate rispetto a quelle del passato o comunque intesi ad accreditare presso il mecenate illuminato una componente di originalità. Dopo aver lamentato 'la lontananza giunta alla debolezza della età', Monte continua:

sì come ho havuto grandissimo gusto in compor questi madrigali in quello più vivace et allegro stile che a me sia stato lecito di poter ritrovare, acciò che porghino altrui materia d'essere allegramente cantati

Due anni dopo l'edizione di Monte apparve a Venezia la raccolta con madrigali da quattro a sei voci e un dialogo a dieci di Marenzio che nella dedica al conte Bevilacqua si spingeva ad affermare<sup>14</sup>:

mi è paruto con l'occasione del mio passaggio per Verona presentarle questi Madrigali da me ultimamente composti con maniera assai differente dalla passata, havendo e per l'imitazione delle parole, e per la proprietà dello stile atteso ad una (dirò così) mesta gravità, che da gl'intendenti pari suoi e dal vituosissimo suo Ridotto sarà forse via più gradita. Accetti ella con lieta mente questo picciolo effetto dell'osservanza et servitù mia

<sup>13</sup> Cfr. R.B. LENAERTS, (ed.), *Philippi de Monte, Opera. New complete editions*, Series D. *Madrigals*, vol. IV, B.R. MANN, (ed.), *L'undecimo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci. Venezia 1586*, Leuven, 1988; la trascrizione della dedica al conte Bevilacqua nello studio dello stesso Mann, *The Secular Madrigals of Filippo di Monte: 1521-1603*, Ann Arbor, 1983, pp. 437-438.

<sup>14</sup> Per l'edizione moderna cfr. St. LEDBETTER, (ed.), *Luca Marenzio. Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci, Libro Primo (1588)*, New York, 1977, da me recensita in *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 13 (1979), pp. 473-475; più complete riflessioni critiche in LUISI, 1979, pp. 51 sgg.; ID., 1982, pp. 7 sgg. (riproduzione della dedica a p. 22) e ID., 1990, pp. 46-47.

E' evidente dunque come Monte e Lasso si impegnino a fornire un prodotto nuovo e non v'è dubbio che l'azione prende il via da una posizione in qualche modo inibita dalla fama, dalla conoscenza, dal ruolo di mecenate e dalla qualità dell'intendente destinatario. Sui due casi mi sono già soffermato denunciando l'aspetto retorico della posizione assunta dai due musicisti e l'effetto negativo prodotto dal loro atteggiamento forzatamente proteso verso l'originalità.<sup>15</sup> Per dirla in sintesi Monte assume come nuovo principio ispiratore un 'più vivace e allegro stile' e Marenzio, di contro, uno 'stile atteso ad una [...] mesta gravità', ambedue con evidente riferimento, rispettivamente, alla 'piacevolezza' e alla 'gravità' teorizzate dal Bembo come 'due parti' essenziali 'che fanno bella ogni scrittura' e nelle quali agiscono 'il suono, il numero e la variazione'.<sup>16</sup>

Sul piano musicale l'effetto è negativo e incontrollabile: allo scopo di ottenere lo stile 'più vivace e allegro' Monte adotta il *tactus* alla minima mentre Marenzio, per esprimere l'invocata 'mesta gravità', utilizza quello alla breve. Ma le risoluzioni determinano effetti devastanti in rapporto alla scelta dei testi: il problema discende o dalla eccessiva dipendenza o dalla assoluta inconciliabilità tra l'andamento agogico prescelto e la qualità dei testi. Difatti la scelta di Marenzio cade sulle rime consuete e più volte sperimentate di Petrarca, e massimamente di Sannazaro (un testo è anche di Giovanni della Casa, e un altro di Girolamo Troiano) evocanti immagini propriamente madrigalesche e legate da un filo comune espressivo a tinte scure, meste, doloranti che sembrerebbero idonee all'assunto, ma non lo sono per la qualità del verso. Marenzio retrocede nel gusto, abbandona la predilezione per il Tasso e il Guarini, assume le rime classiche per un disegno moderno con un atteggiamento compositivo che porrebbe interrogativi inquietanti se non si considerasse che sullo sfondo dell'operazione c'è la figura del conte veronese. I suoi madrigali funzionano come prodotti consueti, vanno spogliati della patina programmatica imposta dall'autore e soprattutto non vanno interpretati alla luce del *tempus diminutum*.

Il caso di Monte pone la problematica esattamente sul versante opposto: il musicista, di una generazione precedente a Marenzio anche se a lui contemporaneo, si lascia alle spalle i più consueti Petrarca, Bembo e Tansillo per accedere al clima emotivo e sensuale di Guarini e Tasso, ma, ahimè, non gli sarà agevole ottenere un 'più vivace e allegro stile' solo con l'impiego del *tactus* cromatico, a fronte di testi guariniani che recitano *Perfidissimo volto, Tirsi morir volea, Langue al vostro languir l'anima mia*, o tassiani come *Al tuo vago pallore, Ardi e gela a tua voglia* e così via. Così da sembrare anche a Einstein che 'all this is

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. studi citati alla nota precedente.

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. P. BEMBO, *Prose della volgar lingua*, Venezia, 1525, Libro II; passo completo citato in LUISI, 1990, p. 13.

little short of tragicomic, for this gesture toward modernity and toward the latest fashion was made in vain'.<sup>17</sup> Ma in realtà, anche in questo caso, è possibile ricondurre il prodotto musicale di Monte a una dimensione accettabile e artisticamente valida semplicemente obliando le sue inopportune affermazioni, ancora una volta dettate da spirito elogiativo e nello stesso tempo timoroso del giudizio, inibito 'da l'onorato grido delle nobilissime qualità'<sup>18</sup> del destinatario.

Esaminate dunque le ragioni antitetiche che possono aver determinato l'insuccesso delle edizioni di Monte e di Marenzio, possiamo analizzare il caso di Lasso su un piano che solo apparentemente sembra non avere rapporti con i precedenti. Difatti Lasso non invoca per i suoi madrigali il ricorso a un inedito stile, né tantomeno teorizza l'uso di atteggiamenti particolari o affronta problemi di semantica. Pur tuttavia l'edizione del suo *Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* subì la stessa sorte negativa delle altre due edizioni che seguirono, similmente dedicate al conte Bevilacqua.

Occorre tener conto, in questo caso, del lungo vuoto intercorso nella produzione di Lasso tra il quarto e il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci: ben diciotto anni! E' un caso eccezionale, dati i ritmi di produzione a cui, nell'ultimo quarto del Cinquecento, generalmente si attengono i compositori particolarmente noti e impegnati: è possibile che il lungo silenzio abbia influito, diciamo così, sulla fase di concettualizzazione del prodotto. In altri termini è possibile che Lasso, ritornando dopo molto tempo a un tipo di produzione di taglio tipicamente italiano, sia stato condizionato psicologicamente dalla necessità di rendere un prodotto quantomeno speciale. Tanto più questo potrebbe essersi verificato in rapporto a colui che fin dal primo momento risulta essere il destinatario del prodotto: il conte Mario Bevilacqua.

Come chiaramente afferma nella dedicatoria, Lasso è consapevole della fama raggiunta dal mecenate in quegli anni; sa di dover presentare un prodotto con caratteri di originalità e sa di sottoporsi al giudizio di un personaggio autorevole, ma non va oltre, non decide - come Monte e Marenzio - per la dichiarazione dello stile. L'unica concessione è fatta alla considerazione che a tanto principe sono dovuti tributi da parte dei 'professori della musica', giacché egli li ha 'con la sua liberalità fatti schiavi' (non ha valore di denuncia per la mentalità dell'epoca, ma è una verità bene sottolineata<sup>19</sup>) e per loro e per i virtuosi ha

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. EINSTEIN, 1949, p. 511.

<sup>18</sup> Dalla dedica di Marenzio al conte Bevilacqua nell'edizione citata del 1588.

<sup>19</sup> Mi piace ricordare a proposito il pensiero di Arnold: 'Verso il 1590, nelle corti dell'Italia del Nord, nessun grande compositore ha mai scritto musica interamente libera [...] La mia opinione personale è che vi sia un insieme di circostanze sia soggettive che oggettive. Uomini cui il successo è giunto presto e facilmente, spesso perdono la loro sicurezza quando diviene difficile scoprire nuovi campi da conquistare'; cfr. D. ARNOLD, *Marenzio e il madrigale 'fin-de-siècle'*, in MOTIGLIO, (ed.), 1979, p. 22.

aperto in casa sua 'così honorato ridotto' ove sono accolti 'cortesissimamente [...] et accarezzati'.

Tuttavia l'edizione madrigalistica del Lasso affronta implicitamente un disegno programmatico tendente ad alterare i consueti rapporti tra testo e musica sia sul piano delle scelte che su quello dell'interpretazione testuale, in parte anticipando l'atteggiamento che sarà proprio di Monte e in parte proponendo soluzioni che avranno base di teorizzazione stilistica in Marenzio. La silloge presenta infatti situazioni solitamente non percorse in precedenza dal musicista.

Sul piano del rapporto musica-poesia la novità espressa dal quinto libro consiste in una scelta ben determinata della produzione poetica: accanto a Petrarca, presenza consueta e continua nella pur limitata produzione madrigalistica di Lasso, appare in modo consistente Gabriel Fiamma. Contro due madrigali bipartiti e tre monopartiti di Petrarca, la raccolta presenta cinque madrigali bipartiti, uno su testo di sestina in sei parti e uno monopartito del Fiamma (come dire, sul piano quantitativo, sette madrigali del primo contro diciassette del secondo). Forse proprio per attenuare l'apparente squilibrio delle scelte poetiche, nella riedizione veneziana del 1587 Lasso aggiungerà altri quattro madrigali su testo petrarchesco, uno dei quali bipartito.

Tuttavia rimane significativa la presenza di due soli autori alla base delle selezioni poetiche. Vale la pena di precisare che tutte le precedenti edizioni madrigalistiche di Lasso si attestano su scelte di tipo classico: l'unico libro di madrigali a quattro voci conosciuto in due diverse edizioni ambedue datate 1560 (una romana di Tracetti e l'altra veneziana di Gardano) presenta oltre all'onnipresente Petrarca, autori come Ariosto, Sannazaro e - nell'edizione ampliata di Venezia - anche Boccaccio; il primo libro a cinque voci (Gardano, 1555) presenta massicciamente Petrarca con la sola eccezione di un madrigale di Ronconi; il secondo libro a cinque (pure conosciuto in due diverse edizioni, una romana di Barré del 1557 e l'altra veneziana di Gardano del 1559) presenta oltre al Petrarca, Bernardo Tasso, Ariosto, G.B. d'Azzia, Guidiccioni e Spira; il terzo libro a cinque è basato ancora per lo più su testi del Petrarca e aggiunge un testo di Antonio Marsi, uno di Besalio, uno di Tansillo e uno in francese di Marot; il quarto libro a cinque presenta quasi tutti testi del Petrarca e uno solo del Fiamma. E' invece significativo che un'edizione più tarda, i *Madrigali a quattro, cinque e sei voci* stampati a Norimberga dalla Gerlach nel 1587, presenti con Petrarca, Ariosto e Bembo una consistente presenza di Fiamma e Beccuti e un testo di Marino.

Dunque la scelta poetica nel quinto libro introduce un elemento di novità che rappresenta un primo contributo alla diversa programmazione dell'opera da destinare al Bevilacqua. In un certo qual modo l'operazione somiglia alla novità della scelta operata da Monte verso Guarini e Tasso, ma lì in senso estetizzante per l'acquisizione di atmosfere sensuali e sinuose, qui mirato a render omogeneo il clima poetico che avvolge l'intera raccolta musicale. E' importante, sotto tale aspetto, precisare i confini entro cui si muove la scelta poetica ed

esaminare il principio ordinatore che ispira la concettualità della progettazione. In quanto a Petrarca le scelte più significative sono operate sulle terzine del *Trionfo del Tempo*, da cui sono tolti i versi 70-78 (*Hor vi confortate*) e 109-114 (*Un dubbio verno*<sup>20</sup>); allo stesso *Trionfo* attinge anche uno dei madrigali aggiunti nella edizione veneziana intonando i versi 55-60 (*Segui già le speranze*). Rappresentano di conseguenza un'importante estensione della ricerca il ricorso ai versi tolti al *Trionfo della Fama*, III, 1-6 (*Io non sapea di tal vista levarme*) già musicati per la prima edizione e a quelli del *Trionfo d'Amore*, IV, 61-66 (*O fugace dolcezza*) intonati per l'aggiunta alla seconda edizione. Gli altri testi sono i sonetti *O tempo, o ciel volubile* (CCCLV) musicato come di consueto in due parti e chiaramente legato alla tematica del *Trionfo* e *Io son sì stanco sotto 'l fascio antico* (LXXXI), pure bipartito e di forte caratterizzazione spirituale, ambedue già presenti nell'edizione della Gerlach. Aggiunti all'edizione del Gardano sono invece il sonetto in due parti *Soleasi nel mio cor* (CCXCIV) che ancora si lega al concetto di Morte-Tempo-Vanità e il madrigale *Nessun visse giamai più di me lieto* intonato sulla settima stanza della sestina (CCCXXXVII) che pure è esaltazione della Morte come liberazione.

Le scelte operate sulla produzione del canonico lateranense e vescovo di Chioggia Gabriel Fiamma, ubbidiscono evidentemente all'accettazione di uno stile poetico fortemente influenzato dallo spirito controriformistico che aveva informato le sue *Rime spirituali* apparse nel 1568 e decantate come un prodotto per cui era 'ritornata [...] la poesia toscana alla virtù ed a Dio'.<sup>21</sup> Vengono dunque utilizzati cinque sonetti che danno luogo a madrigali bipartiti, una sestina interamente intonata in sei parti e il brano *Come la cera al foco* che è la settima stanza dell'ode alla Carità (che comincia *O sacro eletto coro*), curiosamente (ma è anche questo un omaggio di taglio squisitamente intellettuale) elaborato a sei voci in forma di canone all'unisono.

In sintesi la silloge mostra, sul versante delle relazioni poetiche, di voler presentare due piani semantici distinti e interagenti: il primo individuabile nel ricorso alla visione laica devastante del rapporto Tempo-Morte consumato nel percorso terreno che contrappone o integra Fama e Amore, e che così pure fatalmente unisce gioia e dolore, speranza e tormento, vanità e fede; il secondo evidenziato dall'inserimento del dramma umano nel percorso segnato dalla spiritualità, dalla devozione, dalla certezza dell'immortalità dell'anima e della sua salvezza.

Ecco dunque esemplata la tematica che esprime lo sconforto del tempo non realizzato (*Trionfo del Tempo*, vv. 55-60):

<sup>20</sup> In E. VOGEL - A. EINSTEIN - FR. LESURE - CL. SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, Pomezia, 1977, vol. 1, p. 910, n. 1461, i due brani sono indicati erroneamente come un unico madrigale su testo di sonetto di cui *Hor vi riconfortate* sarebbe la seconda parte.

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. EINSTEIN, 1949, p. 494.

Segui già le speranze e 'l van desio;  
 or ho dinanzi agli occhi un chiaro specchio  
 ov'io veggio me stesso e 'l fallir mio.

E quando posso, al fine m'apparecchio,  
 pensando 'l breve viver mio, nel quale  
 stamane era un fanciullo ed or son vecchio

Su di essa si innesta il dolorante, antico consiglio ai giovani (*ivi*, vv. 70-71 e 76):

Or vi riconfortate in vostre fole,  
 giovani, e misurate il tempo largo  
 [...]

Che volan l'ore, i giorni e gli anni e i mesi

e l'ammonimento sulle vanità (*ivi*, vv. 109-114):

Un dubbio verno, un instabil sereno  
 è vostra fama, e poca nebbia il rompe;  
 e 'l gran tempo a' gran nomi è gran veneno.

Passan vostri trionfi e vostre pompe  
 passan le signorie, passano i regni:  
 ogni cosa mortal Tempo interrompe.

Corollario alla tematica è il riferimento alla solitudine, l'attaccamento vano al sogno nei versi tolti al *Trionfo d'Amore* (IV, vv. 61 e 65-66):

O fugace dolcezza! o viver lasso!

[...]

Ben è il viver mortal, che sì n'aggrada,  
 sogno d'inferni e fola di romanzi.

Si può credere sia invece un omaggio diretto al Bevilacqua il ricorso alle prime terzine che aprono il capitolo III del *Trionfo della Fama*, inteso a celebrare, come è noto, coloro che si sono resi celebri per la nobiltà della letteratura e non delle armi (vv. 1-3):

Io non sapea da tal vista levarme,  
 quand'io udii: Pon mente all'altro lato,  
 ché s'acquista ben pregio altro che d'arme.

In quanto ai sonetti, essi sono scelti con evidenti intenti integrativi. Così la settima stanza della sestina (vv. 37 e 41-42):

Nessun visse già mai più di me lieto  
 [...]
   
Vissi di speme, or vivo pur di pianto,  
 né contra Morte spero altro che Morte.

E similmente nel sonetto CCXCIV (vv. 1-2 e 12-14):

Soleasi nel mio cor star bella et viva,  
 com'alta donna in loco humile et basso.  
 [...]
   
Veramente siam noi polvere et ombra,  
 veramente la voglia cieca e 'ngorda,  
 veramente fallace è la speranza.

Così pure, per il ricorso evidente al concetto di Tempo, il sonetto CCCLV (vv. 1-2):

O tempo, o ciel volubil, che fuggendo  
 inganni i ciechi et miseri mortali

Mentre usa toni di forte spiritualità nel timore della morte e nel desiderio della salvezza il sonetto LXXXI (vv. 1-3 e 12-14):

Io son sì stanco sotto 'l fascio antico  
 de le mie colpe et de l'usanza ria  
 ch'io temo forte di mancar tra via,  
 [...]
   
Qual gratia, qual amore, o qual destino  
 mi darà penne in guisa di colomba,  
 ch'i' mi riposi, et levimi da terra?

Alle scelte petrarchesche che interpretano a sommi livelli la coscienza laica, Lasso aggiunge un forte e consapevole nucleo di poesie spirituali che in quegli anni rappresentano, attraverso il Fiamma, una autentica coscienza emersa dalla Controriforma. A me non sembra che tale poesia raggiunga altezze elevate, tuttavia ha il dono della semplicità e il fascino della chiarezza che bene si addicono ai movimenti dello spirito. Non mancano evocazioni di immagini scontate quanto consuete che renderebbero materia d'analisi a chi volesse esaminare le intonazioni del Lasso sul piano dei cosiddetti 'madrigalismi'<sup>22</sup>, ma forse il significato più interessante viene dal riscontro di concetti simili a quelli inquietanti emersi dalla lirica petrarchesca che qui vengono però esposti con toni di pacata rassegnazione. Valga per tutti il seguente esempio (sonetto n. 2):

Io, che l'età più verd' e più fiorita  
vissi lontan d'ogni pensier molesto,  
né fissai gli occhi al fuggir lieve e presto  
di quest'ombra di ben ch'è nome vita,

hor che la stagion dolce ho già fornita  
e de l'etade il verno horrido e mesto  
vicin mi veggio, tutto afflitto resto  
e chieggio al tempo, contra il tempo, aita.

Ma ben conven che di speme io mi disarmi,  
ché per la torta via, ch'errando presi,  
io sento a forza dal mal uso trarmi.

Ben ho da pianger gli anni indarno spesi  
poi che poteva, ah! lasso, eterno farmi  
e sol a vaneggiar mai sempre intesi.

Sin qui dunque gli atteggiamenti che vedrebbero il musicista impegnato sul fronte di un personale rapporto con la poesia, inteso a qualificare la scelta per una concettualizzazione del prodotto destinato al conte Bevilacqua che, in qualche modo, ricorda l'azione che sarà poi di Monte.

Senonché anche sul piano musicale, senza dare spiegazioni programmatiche o fare riferimento a caratterizzazioni stilistiche nella dedicatoria, Lasso sceglie sistematicamente l'inconsueto uso del *tempus diminutum* spostando al valore di *brevis il tactus*. In altri termini indica soluzioni interpretative che implicitamente richiamano la 'mesta gravità' dichiarata da Marenzio sulla scia della poetica bembista. La cosa si potrebbe ovviamente spiegare con l'intento di aderire alla spiritualità dei testi del Fiamma, ma rimane insolito che il *tactus alla breve* possa essere indifferentemente applicato anche a tutti i testi del Petrarca (anche a quelli aggiunti nell'edizione del 1587). Tanto più perché al *tempus imperfectum diminutum* non sempre corrisponde la corretta semiografia che stabilisce l'ordo mensuralis alla breve e in vari casi è evidente l'assunzione del valore primo di semibreve, pur restando immutata l'indicazione del *tempus diminutum*.

<sup>22</sup> Su questo piano si può vedere *Ibidem*, il capitolo dedicato a Orlando di Lasso, pp. 477-497. Possiamo qui aggiungere che per evocazioni atte a suscitare 'madrigalismi' intendiamo la presenza di parole chiave nel sistema della trasmissione concettuale che producono musicalmente atteggiamenti, per così dire, di pittura sonora. Tali sono i rapporti dell'intonazione della musica con parole come 's'accende', 'tranquille', 'alti misteri', 'con affetto con stil' (n. 1); 'fiorita', 'fuggir lieve e presto' (n. 2); 'v'aperse l'ali', 'di rivoltarli', 'anzi è bell'arte' (n. 3 del Petrarca); 'liet' e dolente', 'fuggendo', 'e contrario', 'rivo o fiume' (n. 4) e così via.

Come in Marenzio, anche in questo caso l'esatta interpretazione della semio-grafia può rendere giustizia a un repertorio paradossalmente alterato dalle indicazioni originali di tempus che possono aver causato, come per i casi di Monte e Marenzio, una incomprendenza da parte degli esecutori e un conseguente disimpegno degli editori in rapporto alla diffusione del repertorio.

Non v'è dubbio, a mio avviso, che il fenomeno - esteso ai tre importanti autori coinvolti nel rapporto culturale con lo stesso generoso protettore - tenda ad accomunare una linea operativa in qualche modo perdente che può essere giustificata solo in chiave antropologica, assumendo su un piano analitico la qualità e rispondenza degli effetti. In altri termini esiste la possibilità di individuare le ragioni che producono, sul piano di una emotività culturale 'reservata', un rapporto tra produzione e ricezione che non sembra avere la presunzione di consumarsi in una, diciamo così, realtà consuetudinaria posta al di fuori del suo circuito elettivo e isolato. Ciò può porre evidentemente in forte imbarazzo la libertà del musicista che detiene nel rapporto una posizione subalterna e di inferiorità: difatti sforzandosi di interpretare le aspettative del destinatario, perde di vista il livello delle possibili reazioni che il prodotto può generare nel mondo esterno in realtà non coinvolto nel rapporto, per così dire, criptico instaurato tra l'artista e la cultura eccellente. Di conseguenza il prodotto viene a perdere i caratteri di aspirazione all'universalità.

Mi sembra che i casi qui esaminati rispondano perfettamente ai tre momenti di analisi proposti da Alan Merriam per gli studi di antropologia musicale: la concettualizzazione, i comportamenti, la struttura sonora.<sup>23</sup> I tre livelli sono perfettamente allineati in un rapporto bipolare intercorso di volta in volta tra i musicisti e il destinatario (forse anche committente?): la concettualizzazione rientra nel programma preordinato in ordine alla destinazione del prodotto, il comportamento è dato dalla reazione suscitata nel destinatario in misura proporzionale alle intenzioni programmate, la struttura sonora viene recepita in quanto appartenente ad un sistema codificato che esprime emozioni non disgiunte da un sistema di trasmissione basato sulla reazione umana.

Sotto tali aspetti i prodotti qui esaminati avrebbero dovuto avere un esito positivo nel transito produzione-trasmissione-ricezione e io credo che ciò avvenne all'interno della sfera intellettuale un po' edulcorata imposta dalla presenza del mecenate veronese. Il problema emerge solo se interponiamo nel sistema di analisi un punto di riferimento o di fruizione distanziato e differenziato rispetto a quelli preordinati nella concettualizzazione del prodotto. Vale a dire che tutta l'impalcatura cade di fronte a una prospettiva di destinazione diversa da quella per la quale il prodotto è stato pensato: esso non conserva più il suo valore originario, il transito bipolare tra produzione e ricezione si inter-

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. A.P. MERRIAM, *The Anthropology of Music*, Evanston, 1964, pp. 32-34 (ora anche in edizione italiana con titolo *Antropologia della musica*, Palermo, 1983).

rompe per mancanza di un codice d'intesa che è anche veicolo interpretativo insostituibile.

Mi pare dunque che non si possa pretendere che un prodotto confezionato con caratteristiche così spiccatamente intellettuali e di indole che meglio si direbbe 'reservatissima', possa uscire dall'ambiente che lo genera e possa interessare l'editoria per un progetto di più ampia distribuzione.

A meno non si voglia decodificare i messaggi imposti al prodotto per scoprire che si tratta di atteggiamenti intellettualistici che non inficiano la sostanza del codice di lettura. Nei casi che riguardano il presente intervento si tratta di individuare la sostanza della misura anticonformistica, il livello e il peso della concettualizzazione: se il tutto si concentra su aspetti e soluzioni superficiali, se - come sembra - si pone al di sotto di un minimo ruolo sperimentale, innovativo e avanguardistico, allora non c'è che l'intervento restauratore in grado di annullare le ridondanti ma dannose dichiarazioni d'autore: non si avrà nulla di nuovo, ma quel che apparirà sarà la verità dell'opera d'arte.



# LASSO, MAN OF THE THEATRE

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## Comic Theatre

During the early months of 1574 Lasso was away from Munich on a journey through Italy. His itinerary, which lasted from February till early May, took him via Trent, Mantua, Bologna and Florence, before going on to Rome and thence to Naples. He went as part of a group led by Gianpietro Givara, chief of the ducal stables and household accommodation at Landshut. Givara had been entrusted by his master, the future Duke Wilhelm V, with a number of tasks the exact nature of which we do not know, but which among other things necessitated the giving and receiving of 'diplomatic' gifts at the princely courts through which he passed.<sup>1</sup> Lasso's task on this trip was to recruit musicians and other performers - acrobats and comic actors, for example - for the Wittelsbacher establishments.<sup>2</sup> Over the course of the trip Lasso wrote a series of letters to Wilhelm which provide us with some telling anecdotal details that strikingly convey the ambience of the whole enterprise, and give us a very clear idea of what Lasso wanted Wilhelm to hear about their Italian journey.

One of the things Wilhelm must have appreciated about Lasso's letters was their sheer exuberance and vitality, their Rabelaisian mixture of wit and bawdy, their lightning transitions from serious to comic, and their rapid play of languages. The letters from Italy are full of this kind of language, which occasionally sounds almost as if it were actually spoken, a record of conversations Lasso might have had with Wilhelm had they been able to communicate directly (this passage comes from the beginning of the itinerary, while they were still on Bavarian territory):<sup>3</sup>

When we left Landshut last Monday the weather, far from being hot, was raw and harsh (*con vn tempo non cotto, ma Crudo anzi Crudelissimo*), and it remained that way the following day and the day after that. Yet by the grace of God we found our way according to our wishes. But

- <sup>1</sup> Givara had made a similar journey fifteen years earlier, in the autumn of 1559, when he had gone to Naples to buy horses for Duke Albrecht (LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 170).
- <sup>2</sup> Lasso's first journey to recruit singers for the chapel was made to the Netherlands in 1560 (cf. LEUCHTMANN, 1976, pp. 116-18). In 1570, two years after his marriage, Wilhelm had had to give up his chapel singers in Landshut, though he had retained a few chamber musicians ('Cantorei Personen'). So far as the 1574 recruitment was concerned, it seems that Albrecht had taken over the financial burden of paying for his son's musical establishment, which in any case was to be finally dissolved as an independent entity in 1575 (LEUCHTMANN, 1977, p. 65).
- <sup>3</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 65-8.

in the event it happened that our honourable pack-mules behaved in so good-for-nothing and mule-like a fashion (*li S.<sup>ni</sup> Asinj nostrj se sono portate tanto asinescamente, o poltronamente*) that on the third day of our journey we had to get a sleigh with six horses in order to carry all the trunks, cases and boxes (*vna schlita con .6. cavallj per portar i cassonj casse e cassette*) [...] I hope that with the grace of God we shall little by little pursue, continue and complete our journey, even though up till now we have found everything terribly expensive, sometimes to the extent of having to pay ten Batzen per head for a meal in a hostelry, so that your Excellency ought to be glad to have so many persons, horses and mules doing you honour and consuming your worldly goods (although to tell the truth we have used, are still using, and shall continue to use every discretion) [...] We hope to arrive tomorrow at Hall, and thereafter everything should go as joyously as possible, since Venturino has been acting the comic for us from time to time, while I have been reciting stories, jokes, witticisms and little poems with lots of farcical and bawdy humour (*il venturino ci racconta alcune volte comedie, et io, istorie fabule, mottj, e strambottj con molte coionerie = 'coglionerie'*).

This excerpt gives us, as it was intended to give Wilhelm, a certain number of straightforward facts about the journey, simply to keep him informed. But it does so in the manner of a true *raconteur*. Lasso's use of language results in a written style that gives an unmistakable impression of the spoken voice. The punning sequence 'cotto [...] crudo [...] crudelissimo'<sup>4</sup> and the mock-formal 'Signori Asini nostri' are both typical examples of his sense of humour that operates momentarily, seizing a thought or a verbal formulation and twisting it one way or another, then letting it go, tossing it aside, and grasping another opportunity as it arises. We also discover that Lasso was a *raconteur* not only in the general sense that he possessed a quick mind and had the gift of the gab, but also in a more functional sense, for he told jokes and stories to entertain the company and keep their spirits up during the evenings in the inns where they stayed. Nor was he alone in doing this, since he tells us that another member of the company, Casparino Venturino, recited comic scenes in a similar way. Venturino was a *commedia dell'arte* actor who had been employed at Landshut since 1572, and who accompanied Givara and Lasso on their 1574 expedition for reasons that are not entirely clear, but which were probably connected with the search for good Italian performers: as a Venetian comic actor who had only recently left Italy, he (and his wife, as we learn in a subse-

<sup>4</sup> Note the pun on the pairing *cotto-crudo* = 'cooked-raw', here capriciously applied as descriptive terms to the weather: *tempo cotto* = 'baking hot', *tempo crudo* = 'raw, harsh, cruel', then intensified to *crudelissimo* = 'most foul, vicious'.

quent letter) would have had contacts useful to Lasso.

Quite apart from the factual information it provides, this excerpt shows us a glimpse of Lasso the boon companion, the convivial talker with a ready wit who thrives in company and is fired by the attentiveness of an audience over a shared drink. The melancholy Lasso of *O mors, quam amara, Infelix ego*, or *Un triste coeur*, the intellectually curious and erudite Lasso of the *Prophetiae Sibyllarum* or the introspective penitent of the *Lagrime di San Pietro*, here give way to the high-spirited and witty *bon viveur* of countless chansons and neo-Latin songs in praise of wine and honest (or not-so-honest) diversion. The detail of the shared drink comes from the next letter of the series, written four days after the previous one, in which Lasso announces to Wilhelm the slowness of their progress (despite the extra horses and sleigh), but assures him that everything is still going well and that they are all loyally drinking to Wilhelm's good health (the mixture of French, Italian, Spanish, German and Latin in this letter is especially dense):

So that your Excellency may see that I am willing to fulfil your every command, which is that I should give account to your Highness of every little thing we come across (*que je donne neü Zeitung a vostre f[ürstlichen] g[naden] de omni buso la doue si trouiamo*), I hereby let your Excellency know that by the grace of God our whole company, including the horses and the mules with [all] the baggage, is in the good, better or best of health (*io lasso saber a vuestra Ex<sup>tia</sup> si come per la gratias de dios todos las compagnias tambien los Cauillos é la mercedes de los asinos se portent mediocrement asses fort bien*), and that we are riding, albeit slowly, towards a place by the name of Klausen, making for the inn where every night at my instigation a good drink gets handed round to the health of our gallant prince (*et equitamus apud locum vocatis clausa, sed pian pianino, Jusques an dem herbergum vbi alle nacht ich lass ein guetten drunck umbergen, pro sanitate principem nostrum galantissimum*).

Likewise, when Lasso was on a visit to Italy in the early summer of 1567, his arrival in Venice prompted the remark from the Flemish antiquarian Nicolaus Stopius, Albrecht's agent in Venice, that 'Orlando is here and in good spirits, cheerful, and a good companion to everyone'.<sup>5</sup> We may presume that companionability was a quality in him that was instantly recognizable and well-known

<sup>5</sup> 'Orlando e qui et sta bene, allegro, et bon compagnon ad tutti': note the use of the French *bon compagnon*, rather than an Italian equivalent. See LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 138. Lasso was in Venice for a time before travelling to Ferrara to present Alfonso II with the dedication of his Fourth Book of Madrigals (see the article by James Haar in the present volume).

enough to warrant comment. So we can readily surmise that he was often sociable and joyous, in marked contrast to the reflectiveness and melancholy which seem to have come over him more or less regularly throughout his life. We shall have occasion to return to this theme in due course. For the moment, let us remain in Lasso's company a little while longer on his journey, and hope to catch a little more of the ambience.

Venturino's wife must have been in Italy already, since Lasso refers to the fact that shortly before their departure from Landshut she had sent news of an excellent acrobat (*saltatore*) recently arrived in Florence. At the same time he makes a few more remarks about Venturino's performances for the company on their journey. It seems that Wilhelm had ordered Venturino to learn some new repertoire while he was away, and it was partly for this reason that Venturino had been reciting little *commedia dell'arte* scenes, playing the three characters - Zanni, Franceschina and Don Magnifico - all by himself. Lasso assures Wilhelm that he did this 'with such aplomb that we almost wet ourselves laughing, and laughing and weeping at the same time' (*di tanta bona gratia, che ci fa quasi pisciar de ridere é pianger e rider insieme*). Lasso then offers the opinion that, if Venturino continues to work hard in this way, Wilhelm will be able to take pleasure in his performances.<sup>6</sup> Here we catch - in an undertone, as it were - a hint of dissatisfaction with Venturino on Wilhelm's part. And indeed we learn from subsequent letters that not only was Lasso searching for additional *saltatori*, he was also on the lookout for potential replacements for Venturino and his wife.<sup>7</sup> This points us to the fact that one of Lasso's two

- 6 'Fulfilling the command in one of your Excellency's letters to me that you wished him to learn some new repertoire, Venturino every evening gives us a little comedy all by himself. He plays all three characters - Don Magnifico, Zanni and Franceschina - with such aplomb that we almost wet ourselves laughing, and laughing and weeping at the same time. So I hope that if he works hard at it every day, your Excellency will take much pleasure in hearing him. And he is able to recite this sort of comedy hidden behind a door, a bedstead or a curtain, so as not to be seen (*recita questa sorta di Comedia, dietro una porta, letto, o Cortina, per non esser visto*). And his wife has already written to tell him that in Florence an excellent acrobat has arrived, much better than his colleague whom Venturino knows well (*doue dice che in Fiorenza e ariuato un Ex:<sup>te</sup> saltatore assaj migliore che non fu suo Compagno ben cognosciuto da Venturino*). She says she is sure that he will willingly come to serve your Excellency, and, because he wants to enter your Excellency's service soon, he has asked me to take me with him immediately on my return from Naples, so that he doesn't have to wait so long for Gianpietro. But I have told him that I neither wish nor am empowered to do anything without your Excellency's command' (16 February 1574; LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 69-71).
- 7 'In Florence we've found another [actor] with a quite different style about him [...] and if there's a chance of doing so I'll try to get him. In Florence there's also the Jan Maria who together with his Flemish wife played that little comedy at Landshut. He says that if your Excellency commands he will come with six companions to Bavaria for a month or two to perform comedies, acrobatics and other kinds of spectacle (*per far comedie e saltj et altre galanterie*). If he does come, then your Excellency will have little need of Venturino, whom I don't particularly want to bring with me since I frankly don't think his wife is very talented (*cosi venendo lui, vostra Ex:<sup>tia</sup> ha poco bisogno del venturino, il qual ho poco voluntá di menar meco, rispetto che mi par che la sua moglie non sia troppo di valore basta*)' (7 March 1574; LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 85-7).

main objectives on this journey was to find skilled and experienced performers trained in the Italian comic tradition, in the sense both of spoken *commedia dell'arte* scenes with conventional improvised dialogue, and of the physical comedy of gesture and acrobatics. His other objective was to secure skilled instrumentalists. (The acquisition of singers for Albrecht's chapel, on the other hand, does not appear to have been a major priority - though at a later stage of the journey Lasso mentions having found 'musici Ex[cellentiss]imi: un rarissimo contralto per il s[ign]or duca padre di v[ost]ra Ex[cellen]tia [...] vn tenore bonissimo [...] [e] vn giovine da buon aspetto che canta vn basso in camera'. Perhaps since Lasso was writing to Wilhelm, not Albrecht, he only mentioned what he thought Wilhelm wanted to hear about.)

Meanwhile, when they had passed through the Tirol and over the mountains into Italy, Lasso sent a brief note to Wilhelm announcing to him the probable date of their arrival in Mantua. He writes from the city of Trent, on which name he instantly creates a pun: 'Trento' sounds close to 'trenta' = 30, prompting the remark that 'with the help of the Almighty we passed twenty-nine and reached thirty'. He then quickly makes two unrelated observations, both of them off-the-cuff and incongruous in different ways. He says, firstly, that when they get to Mantua they will salute the Duke with 'Buon di, messer Gobbo!', a conventional greeting from the Italian comic phrase-book; and secondly, he reports the rumour being circulated in Trent that negotiations are being held to enable the Duke of Ferrara to marry Wilhelm's sister, the Princess Maximiliana. Lasso formulates this by punning on the Italian verb 'inferrare', 'to fetter, bind in chains', perhaps 'to prick, wound with a sword'<sup>8</sup> - though the latter meaning, being potentially obscene, seems almost too daring.<sup>9</sup> Lasso hopes that Wilhelm will send news that he is continuing to live 'in good health and high spirits, so that we also may participate and take pleasure in your joyousness' (*come viue sano et alegramente, accio partecipiamo ancora noj della sua alerezza*). Again, the vivacious tone of Lasso's communication seems akin to the riotous humour of the *comici dell'arte*, an impression here reinforced by the quotation of the stock phrase 'Buon di, messer Gobbo'

<sup>8</sup> *ferro* = 'iron', by extension 'irons' = 'chains', further = 'steel blade, sword'.

<sup>9</sup> 'With the help of the Almighty we passed twenty-nine and reached thirty - that is to say, we arrived at Trent, where we are staying for a day's rest out of respect for the horses and mules. Your Excellency's things are being carried by water to within 25 miles (that is, about five German leagues) of Mantua, where we hope to make our entry on the first day of Quadragesima. After that we shall go and kiss the hands of the Duke and greet him with 'Buon di, messer Gobbo!' I shall advise your Excellency of whatever else subsequently happens at the earliest opportunity [...] Here in Trent people are openly saying that the Duke of Ferrara will take captive the Princess Maximiliana - may God grant this come true (*qua in trento se dice pubblicamente che il s.<sup>or</sup> duca di ferrara inferrerà la principessa maximiliana, idio il voglia*)' (20 February 1574; LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 74-5).

(also used by Lasso in a letter of 1572).<sup>10</sup> (Of course, when they eventually met the Duke face to face the occasion, far from being frivolous, turned out to be appropriately formal and ceremonious.)<sup>11</sup>

While they were in Mantua, Lasso corresponded with Francesco Bracher in Venice about instrumentalists, but when they arrived in Bologna they found two comic performers worthy of mention, a certain 'Gerardo Magnifico' who seemed to Givara to be 'not really very amusing, because he tends all the time to go over well-trodden ground, harping on about a topic that we're all quite familiar with already. As a result I don't think I shall bring him back with me, especially since in Florence we've found another comedian of a quite different sort (or at least so they all tell me here), and if there's a chance of doing so I'll try to get him'. So this 'Gerardo Magnifico' was not thought fit to replace Venturino, and, so far as the comic artists were concerned, it seems that Lasso and Givara were pinning their faith on what they would find when they got to Florence. It is on the face of it difficult to envisage why they did not travel via Venice, where Lasso could have spoken directly with Bracher and seen for himself what kinds of performers were there. It seems especially surprising in view of the fact that a little over two months prior to their departure from Landshut Bracher had written to Lasso about another Bavarian emissary, somewhat less discerning (and certainly less subtle an operator) than Lasso and Givara, referred to simply as 'le gran Franciscallo'.<sup>12</sup> This individual was

10 If my lord is well,  
that is to the good:  
And whether your Excellency has any indisposition  
is enquired by Monsieur d'Aumal.  
If my lord finds his pleasure,  
that cannot cause me displeasure.  
And if your gracious wife is in good health  
I cannot find that a bad thing.  
If her stomach is swelling beautifully  
it's a sign indeed that you have pressed her hard.  
If she feels her child moving inside her,  
that comes from moving her bottom around too much.  
This is the opinion of Janobbo,  
who greets you, saying: 'Buon dì, messer Gobbo!'  
(1572, probably late November; LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 50-1).

11 'Signor Gianpietro and I have received your Excellency's letter, and I for part thank you with all my heart for all the condescension you showed to us. All that your Excellency commands me to do I shall accomplish. By the grace of God we arrived safe and sound on Mantua, and your Excellency's gift was presented with every possible form of elegance and decorum (*cum modis et formis galantissimamente*), and it was received most graciously with words of gratitude. The rest will follow. I shall write to your Excellency as soon as possible' (LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 78-9).

12 Identified by Horst Leuchtman as either Francisco Fenaruolo or 'der lange Frantz' (cf. LEUCHTMANN, 1977, p. 64, note to line 18).

going about proclaiming with bravado that Duke Albrecht wants to have in his service the finest men in the world, and that, in short, he will be taking [back] with him true wonders, as well as several comic performers (*le gran Franciscallo est illec faisant les brauades come le duc albert veut auoir les premiers hommes du monde [...] a son seruice, et de brief menera mirabilia, con alcunj boffoni*). Bracher tells me in addition that there are in Venice at present [*i.e.* over the Christmas period] a troupe of comic actors (*une Compagnie de Comediants*) who will stay there for the whole period of Carnival, among whom there is one who plays the Zanni even better than excellently (*il ia vn qui fait le Zannj plus outre que par Ex.<sup>ce</sup>*).<sup>13</sup>

None the less, Lasso and Givara did not travel via Venice. In Bologna, as well as the repetitive Gerardo Magnifico, they found 'a prince among acrobats (*il re di saltatorj*), a talented young lad who can do a great many things - different sorts of jumps, acrobatics on horseback or on the tightrope, walking on stilts, swordsmanship of various kinds, and he also dances quite wonderfully'. Then in Florence they managed to engage the 'Jan Maria who [...] [once] performed a *comedietta* at Landshut', and who was subsequently to remain in Wilhelm's service for about a year. Presumably not having found likely replacements, they ended up taking back with them both Venturino and his wife, who, in common with most of the other performers, musical and non-musical alike, were discharged from Landshut in the early months of 1575, as a result of the continuing financial crisis in Wilhelm's household on the Trausnitz.

What sort of a picture can we draw from this abbreviated sketch of the early stages of Lasso's journey? We can see that he was on territory relatively familiar to him, dealing with the sort of performer of which he had some knowledge and experience, and so was capable of judging securely. Or so we must assume, for the fact is that we shall ultimately have to make up our own minds as to the security of Lasso's judgement in respect of these performers, since when he eventually got back to Munich in May both his masters, Albrecht and Wilhelm, were strongly dissatisfied with what he had brought back (Albrecht apparently more so than Wilhelm).<sup>14</sup> We should note the discrepancy between the enthusiastic picture that emerges from Lasso's letters (which after all were intended for consumption by Wilhelm) and the later recognition on the part of all concerned - including Lasso himself - that the trip had ultimately been a failure. Probably Lasso was unable to persuade some of the better performers they encountered to return with him to Bavaria. But in any case we must recognize that, by comparison with later times, the conditions under which recruitment of this kind took place in the sixteenth century were extremely

<sup>13</sup> 26 November 1573 (LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 61-4).

<sup>14</sup> See BOETTICHER, 1963, pp. 30-5, 87-91; LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 65, 89-90.

hit-and-miss, in a way which was to a large extent outside the control of the individual. Lack of success cannot be simply attributed to lack of artistic judgement.

In order to build up a broader picture of Lasso's expertise, latent or actual, in the domain of dramatic performance we shall have to examine his presumed involvement with theatrical activity over a wider area and timespan. For we should remember that his skill in judging the capabilities of acrobats, gymnasts and actors, as well as his own developed talent for spontaneous and highly demonstrative repartee, was founded on first-hand experience of Italian comedy, not only as a spectator but as a performer. The account of his performance, as recorded by Massimo Troiano, for the 1568 marriage festivities of Wilhelm and Renata of Lorraine is well known and needs no comment here. Suffice it to say that Lasso played the part of a 'Magnifico Venetiano' and performed the well-known song *Chi passa per questa strada*, accompanying himself on the lute and singing the whole thing twice through. As was fitting, he was 'magnificently' dressed in crimson and scarlet beneath a black gown (costume was an important aspect of this sort of entertainment, and often remarked on)<sup>15</sup>, and wore the thin leather mask appropriate to his character.<sup>16</sup> Troiano remarks that Lasso played his part so well, as regards both words and gestures, that the audience were soon overcome with laughter. And he observes that Lasso, besides being fluent in Italian, was skilled in dialect - not only Venetian (which he would have employed for Pantalone and which, perhaps surprisingly, colours his own use of Italian)<sup>17</sup> but also Bergamasque, the patois of the Zanni, a figure he also played with consummate grace and skill (*tanto agratiato, e saputo*).<sup>18</sup>

From this information we can begin to sense not only Lasso's ear for language

<sup>15</sup> N. PIRROTTA - E. POVOLEDO, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi* [= *Li due Orfei*], transl. H. EALES, Cambridge, 1982, p. 52.

<sup>16</sup> 'TROJANO: [...] L'eccellente Orlando Lasso fece il Magnifico sotto il nome di messer Pantalone di Bisognosi [...] Dopo che fu detto il prologo Orlando Lasso fece cantare uno suo dolcissimo madrigale a cinque voci [...] Dall'altra parte della scena uscì Orlando Lasso vestito da Magnifico con una giubbone di raso cremesino, con calze di scarlato fatte alla Venetiana, ed una uesta nera lunga insino a' piedi, e con una maschera che in uederla forzaua la gente a ridere; con un liuto alle mani sonando e cantando *Chi passa per questa strada e non sospira beato sè*; e dopo che l'ebbe replicato due volte, lassò il leuto e cominciò a lamentarsi dell'amore, ed a dire "O povero Pantalon, che per questa strada non puoi passare senza mandar sospiri all'aria"' (Troiano, *Dialoghi*, 1569, fol. 148-9).

<sup>17</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1977, p. 13 n. 8. Perhaps the figure of Pantalone, the 'magnifico alla venetiana', was a role that became identified with him, as a sort of emblem (like the ironic pun *Orlando Lasso, ma di buon core* = 'Orlando - weary, but in good heart'): for in May 1575 he signs himself 'De vostre Excellence/ secretaire publique/ orlando magnifique' (LEUCHTMANN, 1977, p. 148).

<sup>18</sup> 'pure il vero e virtuosissimo Orlando Lasso fece tanto bene e con tanta gratia il Magnifico Venetiano, e similmente il suo Zanne, che con gli atti a tutti fecero smascellare delle risa. MARI-NIO: Come è possibile che Orlando habbia fatto il Venetiano se lui è fiammengo? FORTUNATO: Taci che ancora il Zanne, fa tanto agratiato, e saputo, che par che sia stato allo studio cinquanta anni alla valle di Bergamo. E non solo è pratico della favola Italiana, ma anco della Franzese, e della Tedesca tanto quanto della sua propria' (Troiano, *Dialoghi*, p. 310).

as sound but the way he relishes the effect language can be made to have on interlocutors and audiences. His attunement to their responsiveness and susceptibilities is that of an instinctive orator (we can hardly assume, despite his acquaintance with humanists all over Europe, that he was ever properly trained in rhetoric or took the trouble to read Quintilian and Cicero), and the refinement of his ear gave him a subtle and highly differentiated grasp of vocal sonority. We may assume, perhaps, that this skill embraced several facets of pronunciation: national characteristics, dialectal idiom and regional accents, and expressive inflection of various kinds - vocal modifications which are symptomatic of inner states, individual personality or recognisable emotional types. In other words, there are two complementary but quite distinct aspects to his linguistic mastery. Firstly, his sure intellectual grasp of the structure of the languages he knew, and his ability to make rapid puns and shifts of meaning across two or three linguistic boundaries at once, often simultaneously playing on some referential text - a Latin phrase from the Vulgate, or a proverb (which he might translate from Italian into French, almost without realising it), a fragment of popular speech or some snatch of lyric poetry. And secondly, his appetite for language as sound, for the sonorities of the speaking voice in all their diversity and colour, both as a musical end-in-itself and as a vehicle for expression - whether personal expression of a spontaneous, non-reflective kind, or the conscious seeking after a specific expressive effect practised by the actor on his audience.

One particularly eloquent instance of how this linguistic expertise might manifest itself is in the pursuit of caricature. As Horst Leuchtman has pointed out, we can catch a fleeting hint of Lasso's half-mocking echo of Duke Albrecht's turns of phrase, redolent both of Albrecht's native Bavarian idiom and perhaps, too, of his personal modes of speech. For when Albrecht challenged Lasso's judgement of the musicians he had brought back from Italy in 1574, Lasso, clearly stung, reacted in his next letter to Wilhelm by quoting his employer's laconic 'nichtz nitz' (= *nichts nützlich*, 'no good, useless') not merely once but twice. Not only can we perceive the sarcasm and disrespect underlying the quotation of Albrecht's words; we can imagine the face-to-face interview with his employer and sense behind it the stung pride of the gifted artist who may pretend to be the servant and the good-for-nothing (*humilissimo servitore [...] io non son che un poltron*), but who is in fact very well aware of his own worth.

These qualities of mind are obviously not those that derive from bookish learning and erudition, though they may be possessed by scholars and men of letters and can be very effectively employed where it is necessary to give the fruits of intellectual culture a living vitality in the public domain. They are more likely to be encountered in individuals who have trained their faculties not so much in reflective thought or in laborious, solitary endeavour, but in gauging their surroundings precisely and then responding with instinctive

swiftness. Here, it is the performer who lives on his wits, in an environment where rapidity of observation and response are crucial to success. This is the world where the *saltimbanchi*, the *cantimpalchi* and the *comici dell'arte* aim to perfect their art on the spur of the moment - if their wits are sharp enough - by observing and registering and remembering a momentary effect, and learning from it by correcting the tiniest error of judgement even as it happens, or threatens to happen. This mind-set is characteristically at home in the world not of the library or the humanist's studio but of the professional performer, such as those who played and sang and danced on the streets of Venice or Naples. And it is one of the fortunate accidents of history that a highly intellectual and disciplined mind such as Lasso's should have been exposed to such an environment in so advantageous a way.

But exactly where did Lasso gain his familiarity with this kind of theatre, and acquire the skill and fluency through which his native theatrical flair was able to express itself? The answer lies in the ten eventful and very varied years of his musical - but not only musical - apprenticeship in Italy. Although we lack proof, it is plausible to trace some kind of active acquaintance with the art of dramatic representation to the time he spent in Naples in the household of Giovanni Battista d'Azzia, marchese della Terza. D'Azzia was a cavalier-poet, prominent in the Prince of Salerno's circle, whose members also included the Sienese tenor Scipione delle Palle (†1569, later to become famous as the teacher of Giulio Caccini), the renowned bass singer Giulio Cesare Brancaccio (c.1515 -c.1585), as well as two Neapolitan singers and musicians both by the name of Dentice, Luigi (c.1510 - c.1566) and Fabrizio (c.1539-1581, known as 'il cavaglierino'). These musicians had all performed in the comedies staged in Salerno's palace in 1545 and 1546, and at least two of them, Brancaccio and Luigi Dentice, were members of the short-lived Accademia dei Sereni.<sup>19</sup> This was the environment into which Lasso came not long afterwards, and in which he lived and worked for nearly three years, between January 1549 and November 1551. At the same time he would have had constant exposure to the outdoors performances by the street musicians of Naples - the unrefined but direct and exuberant dancers, the singers of *moresche* and *napolitane*<sup>20</sup>, as well as, perhaps, the new routines of the *comici dell'arte*.<sup>21</sup> For we should not forget that the *commedia dell'arte* was at this time still a recent phenomenon: it seems to have begun only during the first half of the sixteenth century, although certain key elements of the spectacle, such as the boisterous exchanges between Pantalone and Zanni, may have been established as Carnival routines

<sup>19</sup> PIRROTTA - POVOLEDO, 1982, pp. 106-9. See also the article by Donna Cardamone-Jackson in the present volume.

<sup>20</sup> 'the tuneful and graceful genre of the *villotta-villanesca-villanella-canzonetta*' (PIRROTTA - POVOLEDO, 1982, p. 119).

<sup>21</sup> PIRROTTA - POVOLEDO, 1982, pp. 106-13.

performed by mountebanks for a considerably longer period.<sup>22</sup> (The fact that a Neapolitan such as Massimo Troiano should have been familiar enough with the comic routines and dialogue to perform three different roles in the 1568 *scenario* does not necessarily prove that Naples had seen an especially large number of performances, since Troiano seems to have spent considerable periods of time in Northern Italy.)

This gives us a more varied sketch of the likelihood of Lasso's familiarity with the broad tradition of Italian comedy, from the circus-like display of physical agility or acrobatic spectacle to the popular entertainment of verbal repartee and wordless mime, interspersed with singing and dancing, in street or piazza - not forgetting the much more sophisticated type of representation that was performed by courtiers or educated persons in imitation of the 'real' *comici dell'arte*, as well as the more erudite and literary form of comedy exemplified by the plays staged in Naples in 1545-1546. And it tells us that - unusually for a composer of counterpoint at any period, perhaps, but certainly for a Flemish polyphonist whose choirboy training would have proceeded from the music of Josquin, Gombert, Clemens and Crecquillon - his artistic gift was as much verbal as it was purely musical, his impulse towards simplicity and terseness of expression as strong as that towards density of counterpoint and complexity of structure. Not only this, but his motivation, so far as his art was concerned, was as much spontaneous as it was reflective, as much extempore or *all'improvviso* as it was combinatorial. He was equally attuned to the immediacy of a mode of communication which resides in the power of the moment and to the more considered fabrication of 'learned' musical artefacts which channel or transmute their expressive intent into an intellectual design.

During the Renaissance revival of letters, when a climate of self-conscious interest in exploring the whole range of formal and expressive possibilities of literature began to be more widely shared, we can see how it was in the practice of accompanied (often self-accompanied) solo singing that the non-erudite tradition of the street musician or storyteller was a much closer ally to the art of the *viva voce* sonneteers (such as Serafino dell'Aquila or Benedetto Gareth) or the virtuoso *improvvisatori* (such as the great Pietrobono) than was the learned tradition of 'high' culture represented by Flemish polyphony.<sup>23</sup> Of course the meeting of these two cultures can be observed in other great Flemish musicians who spent formative periods in Italy (we may think of Josquin, perhaps,

<sup>22</sup> K. RICHARDS - L. RICHARDS, *The Commedia dell'arte. A Documentary History*, Oxford, 1990, pp. xv-xxi ('Chronology 1545-1763') and 15-19 ('Antecedents: Carnival and Popular Entertainers'). The other standard historical works on the improvised Italian comedy are M. APOLLONIO, *Storia della Commedia dell'arte*, Rome, 1930; A. NICOLL, *Masks, Mimes and Miracles*, London, 1931; K.M. LEA, *Italian Popular Comedy*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1934.

<sup>23</sup> The practice of singing to the lute or vihuela or *lira da braccio* (described, in classicizing Latin, as *ad lyram, ad cittharam*): PIRROTTA - POVOLEDO, 1982, pp. 21-36.

as an emblematic case of this mixing of the traditions). But in none of them is the contrast quite so extreme as in Lasso, either in terms of the opposing kinds of live musical situation he actively pursued and felt at home in, or of the conflicts and abrupt juxtapositions of style it produced in his compositional work, both within individual pieces and between discrete works or distinct genres. At any rate, it is difficult to form a rounded view of Lasso's technical and stylistic means - above all of his responsiveness to the potential of well-shaped words and their value as sound - without seeing his intellectual curiosity and passion for the learned craft of composition as being matched by an equal passion for the spontaneous energy and vitality of extempore recitation, in both its literate and popular versions.

So far as the direct influence of the Italian comic theatre in terms of its 'yield' in Lasso's compositional output is concerned, there are a few points that can be usefully summarized here. Lasso published groups of his *villanelle* on two occasions, in 1555 (issued by Susato in Antwerp) and 1581 (by Ballard in Paris). There are also isolated works which appeared in collective publications. In certain instances two different versions were issued at different times, as for example in the case of *O occhi manza mia*, which appeared in a three-voice version in Rome in 1557 and in a four-voice redaction in 1581.<sup>24</sup> A comparison of the two shows that, as might have been suspected, a process of stylization and partial reworking took place for the 1581 print. This point is important because the surviving printed versions of music that has its roots in the unwritten tradition are necessarily difficult to evaluate. We should surely accept that, as Pirrotta has said, the notated texts we possess are but a reflection - indeed, a somewhat distorted reflection - of how such pieces might actually have sounded. When the composer or arranger came to write them up for publication in partbook format, for a purchasing public more likely to acquire ensemble than solo music, he may have done so knowing full well that they were essentially chordal pieces that would often - perhaps most often - have been performed as solo songs with a subordinate string accompaniment (either plucked or bowed, on lute, *lira da braccio* etc.). Pirrotta's contention is that this is as true of much of the *frottola*- or *strambotto*-type pieces as it is of the *villanesco* repertoire.<sup>25</sup> So it is quite plausible to see in Lasso's published *villanelle* reworked and stylized versions of a 'popular' singing style with lute accompaniment, such as he himself practised and was perfectly fluent in.

If this principle is accepted, then it also becomes possible to see *villanella* compositions with texts related to or derived from a *commedia dell'arte* scenario as being essentially 'stage music' in a stylized and written-up form. The most clear-cut examples of this are *Parch'hai lasciato*, a dialogue between an un-

<sup>24</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 41.

<sup>25</sup> PIRROTTA - POVOLEDO, 1982, pp. 25-7, 111-13.

named woman and the Spanish lover Don Diego, and the Pantalon-Zanni dialogue *Zanni! dov'es tu*. (Both of these belong among the six out of a total of twenty-two compositions in the 1581 set not known to be reworkings of pre-existent works by other composers.) If it is plausible to see them as being related in some way or other to actual theatrical productions, these could have been performances given while Lasso was in Naples, or possibly the performance that took place during the 1568 wedding festivities.<sup>26</sup> Pirrotta has remarked that he 'cannot imagine that [...] Troiano refrained from singing *napoletane*', interjected into the scenario at appropriate moments.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps he might even have sung a piece written by Lasso.

But as regards our understanding of Lasso the composer, however much these instances of specifically theatrical music may be crucial in the sense that they help both to define and differentiate the overall picture of his musical experience at this formative period of his life, and to demonstrate his readiness to absorb all the styles to which he was exposed (like the putting on so many masks), there is a more general and perhaps more important point to be made. If it is true that his word-setting - both within individual vocal lines and between the different voices of the ensemble - is more closely allied to the possibilities of *viva voce* delivery than that of any other composer of his time, then this must partly derive from his passion for language and language-use in all its forms - learned and popular, humanistic and theatrical.

## Serious theatre

By contrast with the many (if elusive) pointers towards the world of the Italian comic theatre, much less is factually known about the possible extent of Lasso's involvement with serious drama. Scarcely any external (*i.e.* documentary) evidence has yet been discovered which could tell us how much music, if any, he wrote specifically for inclusion in such plays, and so we are left with the internal study of his compositions themselves as the only possible source of information. One of the most widespread types of serious theatre in the later sixteenth century, and certainly the most 'international' in style, was the tradition of Latin college dramas maintained by the Jesuits. The broader tradition within which their plays were written and performed was that of the

<sup>26</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 65; M. FARAHAT, *Lasso and the 'commedia dell'arte'*, in *Performance Practice Review*, 3 (1990), pp. 121-37, esp. 128ff.

<sup>27</sup> 'I cannot imagine that, either as a rustic from Cava or as a lover [two of the roles he played in 1568], Troiano would have refrained from singing *napoletane* [...] [and] as a despairing Spaniard [*i.e.* as Don Diego] he might have sung [...] *O passos esparzidos* (adapted for soloist with the accompaniment of a stringed instrument), a piece listed on the frontispiece itself of the fourth book of his *Rime, & canzoni alla napoletana a tre voci* (Venice, 1569)' (PIRROTTA - POVOLEDO, 1982, pp. 109 and 111).

learned and academic humanist drama ('docta comoedia') practised by such men as Konrad Celtis in Germany and George Buchanan in France. (Buchanan also translated some of the ancient Greek tragedies into Latin.)<sup>28</sup>

By far the most important stylistic and structural model for this tradition was furnished by the tragedies of Seneca<sup>29</sup>, although the Jesuits generally took a more explicitly didactic approach and laid more overt emphasis on allegory as a method of conveying their religious and ethical ideas, in contrast to those who attempted a more straightforwardly 'classicizing' imitation of the Senecan manner. Of course the major difference between sixteenth-century Latin plays and their antique models was that most of the former employed biblical subjects, rather than plots derived from ancient history or classical mythology. And among these biblical stories, the overwhelming majority were drawn from the Old rather than the New Testament (as was later to be the case with the oratorio in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Sometimes the dramatist might draw a parallel between an episode involving a mythological figure (the Labours of Hercules for example) and a biblical figure (most often the figure of Christ).<sup>30</sup> The point of doing this would be either to show how the scheme of the Judaic-Christian redemption was foreshadowed in particular ways in the pagan world, or else more commonly to show how God's providential design, having been adumbrated in the Old Testament, was fulfilled in the New through prophetic or symbolic parallelisms (between Jonah and Christ, or Samson and Christ, for example). In addition, the moral to be drawn from any given situation would be shown within its religious, and often specifically Christian dimension. These literary and exegetical procedures had been long established in the work of medieval writers as a way of bringing together the Christian and Jewish revelation as two complementary parts or phases of a unified redemptive design, and of recovering the cultural inheritance of Antiquity within a universal theological order. Such procedures were therefore available to the practitioners of humanist drama<sup>31</sup>, and, when they were taken

<sup>28</sup> Buchanan's own dramas include *Iephtes, siue Votum, tragoedia* (Paris, 1554 etc.), and *Baptistes, siue Calumnia, tragoedia* (published at Antwerp, Frankfurt and London, 1577 etc.): see A. BROWN (ed. and Eng. tr.), *The Sacred Dramas of George Buchanan*, Edinburgh, 1906. Buchanan's translations of Greek tragedy include *Euripidis poetae tragici Alcestis Georgio Buchanano Scoto interprete* (Paris, 1556 etc.), *Medea Euripidis Georgio Buchanano Scoto interprete* (Paris, 1544 etc.), and *Tragoediae selectae Aeschily, Sophoclis, Euripidis cum duplici interpretatione* (Paris, 1567). See J.S. STREET, *French Sacred Drama from Bèze to Corneille*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 22-9 and p. 301 (n. 3, n. 4 and n. 12).

<sup>29</sup> H.B. CHARLTON, *The Senecan Tradition in Renaissance Tragedy*, Manchester, 1946.

<sup>30</sup> This tradition was already well established in the medieval practice of writing allegorical commentaries to ancient stories of mythological or historical character, in such works as the *Ovide moralisé* and the *Historia Alexandri*. See also the Introduction (pp. x-xviii) to R. VAN KLUYVE (ed.), *Thomas Walsingham, De Archana deorum*, Durham, N. Carolina, 1968.

<sup>31</sup> Including the tradition of vernacular biblical plays, such as that begun by Théodore de Bèze with his *Abraham sacrificiant* of 1550. See STREET, 1983, ch. 2 ('Bèze and the classical tradition'), and ch. 5 ('Humanist drama: the themes and forms of the wars of religion').

over by the Jesuits, came to form the intellectual basis for many of the Latin dramas staged by them in their colleges all over Catholic Europe through the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Enjoying an official benefaction from Albrecht V, the Society of Jesus located its first mission in Bavaria at Ingolstadt (1555-1556), where the six Patres sent from Rome immediately took control of the theological faculty. The Jesuit college and grammar school in Munich were founded in 1560.<sup>32</sup> From this time on they became an active force in the affairs of Bavaria, not only in the matter of education but in various theological and political disputes that arose during the aftermath of the Council of Trent. For example, they became involved in polemics relating to matters of church discipline which in Counter-Reformation Germany could not help but become politicized. Two such problems were the question of the licitness of the payment of interest on loans or debts, and that of the reform of religious teaching and observance, both within the liturgy and outside it.

We can read about how the commissioning of a Latin drama for the Jesuits might be thought of as the legitimate interest of a state official in a letter from the poet Andreas Fabricius to the Bavarian chancellor Simon Thaddeus Eck<sup>33</sup>, written in 1568 about the time of the Feast of the Epiphany:<sup>34</sup>

Adiunxi illa quae desiderabantur in nostro Samsone : poterit *tempore debito* ad Jesuitas transmittere. Non tamen *ingratum* fuerit, si prius *prologum* et *epilogum* [...] legas, ut si quid indices esse mittendum, *tempes-*  
*tive* efficiatur. Chori autem erunt ipsi Orlando tradendi, ut, explicata per

<sup>32</sup> HELL - LEUCHTMANN (ed.), 1982, p. 33.

<sup>33</sup> Eck was succeeded as Chancellor by Hans Jakob Fugger in 1573. Fugger died in July 1575 in the middle of Wilhelm's bankruptcy crisis (LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 181).

<sup>34</sup> Letters in italics are resolutions of contractions or abbreviations. See BOETTICHER, 1963, p. 101, and LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 193 and n. 226. Boetticher reads 'ch[o]rum' instead of 'Chr[ist]um'. Perhaps this divergence is not so serious as it may appear. If we assume, for a moment, that one of the purposes of the chorus was to make the connection between the actions of Samson and the figure of Christ (of whom Samson would thus be seen to be a symbolic precursor, or prefiguration), then this act of intellectual transference could easily be formulated as *applicatio*, and the fact of the choruses being set to music would underscore, and express, this shift of focus. Viewed in this way, the choruses would stand slightly apart from the main action involving Samson, and would comment on it from the perspective of those who had lived after the coming of Christ, who had thus seen the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies and witnessed the reversal of the sufferings of the Old Testament. Knowing Lasso's own linguistic and literary expertise, it may seem curious that he would need a Dominican to explain the power of the words to him. But the point probably refers not so much to the style or expressive force of the words as to the latent theological implications contained in them, with regard to the Protestant 'schism' and the whole religious struggle of the Reformation - a struggle which was violent everywhere, but particularly so in France and Germany. The phrase *pari numero* is obscure. It may refer to the different metres used in choruses, or else to the fact that since musical duration is precise in a way that spoken durations are not, the rhythmic life of the choruses would be much more pronounced than that of the dialogue.

*praedicatorum Dominicum aut aliquem alium vi verborum, convenientem Musicam accomodet, quae [musica] etiam plus gratiae habuerit, si applicatio ad Christum sit distincta ab ipsis Samsonis factis, et ideo pari numero versuum typum et rem significatam expressi.*

I have added those things which were deemed necessary to my [drama] *Samson*, and it has been sent on to the Jesuits within the specified time. But I would be grateful if you would read the Prologue and Epilogue so that, if you should wish to point out anything that needs to be cut or omitted, it can be done speedily and in good time. However, the choruses are to be given to Orlando, so that, the power of the words having been explained [to him?] by a Dominican or some other person, he may give [them] an appropriate musical setting, since the [use of] music [for the choruses] will be the more striking and elegant if it is applied to [the texts referring to] Christ, which may thus be distinguished from the deeds and actions of Samson himself, since, through the similar metre and rhythm of the verses [?], the symbolic scheme and content [of the drama] may thereby be expressed.

The Feast of the Epiphany falls on 6 January, and the proximity of this letter to the marriage ceremony between Wilhelm and Renata that was to take place in the Frauenkirche on 22 February is striking. We know from the written accounts by Heinrich Wirre and Hanns Wagner that the version of *Samson* referred to in Fabricius's letter was indeed staged as part of the festivities in the days following the wedding.<sup>35</sup> And although we have no confirmation that Lasso in fact accomplished the task that Fabricius suggested should be entrusted to him, there is at the very least a powerful symbolic coincidence in the fact that he should have been designated as the composer of choruses for a biblical tragedy in Latin for the very same celebrations at which he was also to make an appearance as the old Venetian merchant Pantalone, singing a well-known tune with Italian words to his own accompaniment. This proximity of the serious and the comic, though in a sense fortuitous, may be taken as an emblem of his life and work, with its constant shifts from the farcical to the philosophical, from the bawdy to the devout.

There is, then, no documentary record of whether Lasso actually composed the choruses to Fabricius's *Samson*. But if we approach the problem from another angle, and set out to examine the corpus of neo-Latin texts which Lasso set in such profusion - more than any other composer of the time - we can begin to sketch in a dramatic context for a number of them. Horst Leucht-

<sup>35</sup> BOETTICHER, 1963, pp. 100-1; G. SCHÖNE, *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance à la Cour de Bavière, in Le lieu théâtral à la Renaissance*, Paris, 1964, pp. 173-4.

mann has pointed out that the motet *O decus celsi* (published in 1582) could only have been composed by Lasso specifically for a dramatized version of the story of Esther.<sup>36</sup> This is for the obvious reason that the proper name 'Assuerus' appears in the poem. In the biblical account of Esther, Assuerus rules over a kingdom stretching from India to Ethiopia where the Jews are in exile and persecuted by his favourite, Haman. Having repudiated his wife Vashti, Assuerus takes on Esther as his new spouse, not realizing at first that she is Jewish. She gains favour with him for her beauty and probity, and brings about a change of heart in him in his attitude towards the Jews. The story ends with the exposure and denunciation of Haman, who is hanged, and the subsequent rehabilitation of the Jewish people under the rule of Assuerus and Esther. If we examine the text set by Lasso, we find that it is a chorus of thanks sung by the Jews for their deliverance, in which they also praise Assuerus. So it must come from near the end of the drama, after the restoration of the Jewish exiles as citizens in their own right. In common with other humanist poems on biblical subjects, God the Father is referred to as 'Jovis', and the vocabulary is classicizing rather than Vulgate in style:

O decus celsi genus atque coeli,  
 nate Titanum, Jovis una virtus,  
 te quis orator mitra, sancte, dignis  
     laudibus ornet.  
 Te Deum toto veneramur orbe,  
 tu parens nostro populo salutem  
 ac pios reges tribuis benigne  
     numine sancto.  
 Maximas ipsi tamen ore grates  
 reddimus laeti tibi quod dedisti  
 hoc die nobis pium Assuerum,  
     Marte potentem.  
 Hunc pie serva pius ut vocasti:  
 nomen aeternum cupidi rogamus  
 gestaque tantum deceant Monarcham  
     quod dare cures.

O glory of heaven, divine offspring of the godlike race of Titans, sole virtue of Zeus, may the orator with the priestly turban adorn you, o holy one, with fitting praise. We revere you, O God, throughout the entire world, you who brought salvation to our people and who confer pious kings on us, O beneficent one (*benigne*), by your divine spirit. We

<sup>36</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1977, pp. 193-4.

however, in our happiness<sup>37</sup>, give you greatest thanks from our own mouths (*ore*) because you gave [us] this day the faithful Assuerus, strong in war. O faithful one, keep him faithful, just as you called him - we, being desirous and in need (*cupidi*), do entreat your eternal name. And may this monarch be made glorious by as many deeds as you may deign to grant him.

The text is versified as sapphic strophes, which consist of three lines with the same scansion followed by a shorter fourth line:

— ◡ — — — || ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡  
 — ◡ — — — || ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡  
 — ◡ — — — || ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡  
           — ◡ ◡ — ◡

Sapphics are one of the normal choric metres in Senecan tragedy, but Seneca's own choruses are mostly very long, and are generally written not in a series of strophes but in long chains of the longer sapphic line, with a short line occurring only occasionally in order to round off a period. These details of scansion are important because Lasso has chosen to set this chorus in an unadorned chordal style utilizing a fixed rhythmic scheme. Yet this scheme is not a quantitative one which respects the classicizing prosody of the verse, with its syllable lengths arranged into metrical feet. Instead, it is an accentual pattern that is applied without variation to the whole composition. The declamation is entirely syllabic, and as a result the musical design is very compact: although the text comprises 152 syllables the musical setting lasts only 36 measures of 4/2, whereas in a motet such as *In monte Oliveti*, for instance, a composition that is by no means prolix, the text comprises 52 syllables and the music has 66 measures of 4/2. The corollary of this is that *O decus celsi* has no contrapuntal fabric as such, still less a fully worked-out polyphonic design. Its durations are entirely schematic, its declamation strictly syllabic and homorhythmic. It consists wholly of ensemble recitation, and is as close an approximation to the dramatic idea of a declaiming chorus as can be found in the late sixteenth century.<sup>38</sup> The only variables are (i) the melodic contour of the uppermost part, (ii) the varying combinations of voices (a device of textural contrast that Lasso

<sup>37</sup> *laeti*, '[we] the happy ones'

<sup>38</sup> A similar attempt to recreate a workable version of the ancient Greek chorus within sixteenth-century idiom can be seen in the choruses written by Andrea Gabrieli for the performance of the Italian version of Sophocles' *Edippo Tiranno* at the Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza, in 1585. See L. SCHRADER, *La représentation d'Edippo Tiranno au Teatro olimpico*, Paris, 1960.

employs as often as he reasonably can within a short time span and within short phrase lengths), and (iii) patterns of chordal progression (Example 1).

O de-us cel-si ge-nus at-que coe-li Na-te Ti-ta-num Jo-vis u-na vir-tus te quis o-ra-tor

This system contains the first five measures of the piece. The vocal line begins with a half note 'O' on a high pitch, followed by a series of eighth notes for 'de-us'. The accompaniment features a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand and a more active right hand with various chords and intervals.

mi-tra sanc-te dig-nis lau-di-bus or-net lau-di-bus or-net. Te De-um to-to re-re-ra-mur

This system contains measures 6 through 10. The vocal line has a more melodic contour with some longer note values. The accompaniment continues with a consistent rhythmic pattern, showing some harmonic shifts in the right hand.

or-be: tu pa-rens nos-tro po-pu-lo sa-lu-tem ac pi-os re-ges tri-bu-is be-nig-ne mi-mi-ne

This system contains measures 11 through 15. The vocal line shows a mix of eighth and quarter notes. The accompaniment maintains its rhythmic drive while providing harmonic support for the vocal melody.

sanc-to, nu-mi-ne sanc-to. Ma-xi-mus ip-si ta-men o-re gra-tias red-di-mus lae-ti

This system contains the final five measures (16-20). The vocal line concludes with a half note 'sanc-to' and a final cadence. The accompaniment ends with a series of chords in the right hand and a final bass note.

ti-bi quod de-di. sti hoc di-e no-bis pi As-su-e-rum Mar-te po-ten-tem, Mar-te po-ten-

tem. Hinc pi-e ser-va pi-us ut vo-ca-sti no-mi-na ae-ter-num cu-pi-di-ro-ga-mus ge-sta-que

tan-tum de-ce-ant Mo-rar-cham quod da-re cu-ras, quod da-re cu-ras, quod da-re cu-ras.

1. Orlando di Lasso, *O decus celsi*, in LASSO, SW, XI, pp. 156-7

This musical style, in its radical economy, recalls that of *musique mesurée à l'antique*. Of course, it differs fundamentally from *musique mesurée* to the extent that it imposes a schematic accentual pattern on a quantitative metre, whereas *musique mesurée* was designed, precisely, to respect the prosodic quantities on which its versification was based (*i.e.* it converted metrical quantity directly into musical duration). But although the theoretical basis for the musical realization of the verse structure is different in the two cases, the musical means employed are the same (*i.e.* chordal homophony). There was a long-standing tradition in German grammar schools of teaching classical Latin scansion through singing, and the simple chordal music which was written for this purpose obviously respected the quantitative metres it was designed to incul-

cate on the minds of the students. It is at first sight difficult to imagine why Lasso, having decided to follow a repeating rhythmic scheme, should have opted for an accentual rather than a quantitative one. But the most likely explanation is simply that this was how such verse was actually delivered, outside the classroom. If this is so, then the rhythmic scheme adopted by Lasso would represent a rationalized and notated version of a regularly accented speech pattern that was in fact used in reciting classical poetry (or, perhaps, to achieve unanimity in choral declamation). We can surmise that such recitation may have been an accepted practice if we look at a composition such as Michele Pesenti's setting of the Horatian sapphic ode *Integer vitae, scelerisque purus*, printed by Petrucci in 1504, which exhibits exactly the same rhythmic scheme as *O decus celsi* (Example 2).

In-te-ger vi-tae sce-le-ris-que pu-rus Non e-get Mau-ris

ia-cu-lis nec ar-cu Nec ve-ne-na-tis gra-vi-da sa-git-tis,

Fu-see, pha-re-tra

2. Michele Pesenti, *Integer vitae*, Petrucci, *Frottole libro primo* (Venice, 1504), ed. in (i) G. CESARI - R. MONTEROSSO, *Le Frottole nell'edizione principe di Ottaviano Petrucci*, Cremona, 1954, i, p. 34 and (ii) PIRROTTA, POVOLEDO, 1982, p. 31.

We should not forget that Lasso was familiar with the theory and practice of *musique mesurée*. His momentous visit to Paris in 1571 occurred in the very year of the founding of Baïf's Académie, and he went on to compose a setting of Baïf's *Une puce j'ai dedans l'oreille, hélas!* (first published in 1576 and reprinted several times thereafter).<sup>39</sup> But in this case, Lasso's careful adherence to Baïf's complex quantitative metres results in a rhythmic verve and unpredictability quite different from the simpler grandeur of a piece such as *O decus celsi*. Though we cannot know his precise reasons or intention in having chosen to set such texts as he did, it seems plausible to claim that *O decus celsi* represents an attempt on Lasso's part, as suggested above, to recreate the idea of a declaiming chorus in a viable modern idiom, and that its monolithic simplicity, its direct and uncomplicated projection of the words, and relative lack of musical differentiation, are all symptoms of its theatrical inspiration. Whereas *Une puce* is essentially a chamber piece and represents a very different response to a quite distinct - though still classicizing - literary tradition. There is one other composition by Lasso which is known to set a chorus from an identified Latin drama. This is *Mortalium jucunditas*, the text of which is taken from a didactic school play by Johannes Reuchlin (d.1522), reprinted many times during the first half of the sixteenth century. The earlier editions contain simple unison chant-like settings of the choruses placed at the end of each of the first four acts, while the editions from 1523 onwards have straightforward three-part settings of these choruses.<sup>40</sup> Lasso's setting is for five voices and shows typically how he sought to give greater musical diversity to what is still basically a chordal, declamatory setting. His method consists in having one voice out of phase with the rest of the ensemble, entering either slightly earlier or slightly later than the main body of singers. This compositional device gives a feeling of cross rhythm, in which the attack of the same consonant or vowel occurring at close intervals creates a truly rhetorical, if impressionistic effect, of a 'leading voice' being answered by a 'chorus'.<sup>41</sup> The versification of *Mortalium jucunditas* is obscure - it appears to be iambic, though I have been unable to identify the strophic form - but in any case the music goes its own way, imposing its own rhythmic contour on the words. It creates irregular rhythmic patterns that respect quantity and accent occasionally, for declamato-

<sup>39</sup> See FR. DOBBINS (ed.), *The Oxford book of French chansons*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 236-7 and p. 328 n. 62.

<sup>40</sup> B. HUYS, *Catalogus van de muziekdrukken van de XVde, XVIde en XVIIde eeuw*, (*Algemene verzameling, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België*), Brussels, 1965, no. 374, p. 346. The reference to this source was pointed out by Ignace Bossuyt in I. BOSSUYT (ed.), *Orlandus Lassus 1532-1594*, exhibition catalogue, Louvain, 1982, pp. 50, 59.

<sup>41</sup> But this is not an essentially 'dramatic' feature, nor is it unique to this music: we should remember that this technique was commonly used by Lasso to give a greater sense of musical articulation to homophonic passages in many types of composition: there are plenty of examples throughout his works, in all kinds of Latin and vernacular settings.

ry purposes, but are for the most part freely invented and developed by Lasso. There is no attempt to match the metre with the musical durations. The moralizing text is on the theme of the transience of fortune and the value of practicing virtue:

Mortalium jucunditas volucris, et pendula  
mouetur instar turbinis quam nix agit sedula,  
quid ergo confiditis in gloria?

Qui dives est penuriam formidat ignobilem,  
instabilis fati rotam semper timet mobilem,  
degitque prope vitam fallibilem.

Qui pauper est nihil timet, nihil potest perdere,  
sed spe bona laetus sedet, nam sperat acquirere,  
discitque virtutem, Deum colere.

[Seeing] the delight in transience of terrestrial things, and Fortune's wheel which is moved like the whirlwind<sup>42</sup>, and the extent to which the snows persist, why do you then place [your] trust in the [acquiring] of glory?

He who is rich dreads ignominious poverty, he fears the mobility of the wheel of destiny, and lives at close quarters with the instability of life.

He who is poor fears nothing, having nothing which he can lose, but lives serenely in good faith, hoping only to win and become familiar with virtue, and to cherish God.

Of the two examples we have so far examined, we know that *O decus celsi* was first published in 1582<sup>43</sup> and *Mortalium jucunditas* in 1597<sup>44</sup>, although in the absence of further positive evidence this tells us very little about their precise dates of composition. Yet for the other pieces we have to consider there is even less information available to us. Among these other pieces there is a group of

<sup>42</sup> *instar turbinis*, 'in the image of a spiralling vortex'

<sup>43</sup> *Motetta sex vocum*, Munich, 1582. Lasso's claim in the dedication that this book contained only very recently composed works is not borne out by the evidence of the Munich chapel manuscripts (BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 556-7). *O decus celsi* was not reprinted as a fully vocal piece until the *Magnum opus Musicum* of 1604, but was transcribed into tablature in several manuscript sources (BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 557 n. 52).

<sup>44</sup> *Cantiones quinque vocum*, Munich, 1597, containing works by Orlando di Lasso and Ferdinando di Lasso.

works, all of them for six voices, which were printed by Lasso's sons in the *Magnum opus Musicum* of 1604 in a single unbroken sequence, numbered continuously from 464 to 470. They are: (464) *Tibi progenies unica patris*; (465) *Flemus extremos hominum labores*; (466) *Heu, quis armorum furor*; (467) *Heu, quos dabimus, miseranda cohors*; (468) *Tragico tecti syrmate*; (469) *Momenta quaevis temporis*; and (470) *Vos, quibus rector maris atque terrae*. None of them has so far been found in any manuscript source. Nevertheless, Boetticher speculated that they might all have been taken from a single choirbook containing a group of 'late works', and furthermore that Lasso's sons, in collecting this material for the *Magnum opus*, might have used as their criterion of selection the assumption of a 'latent affinity of style' ('einem verborgenen Stilgesetz [folgend]'). It was a stylistic affinity of this kind, Boetticher argued, which forged an inner link between them and made of them a coherent group.<sup>45</sup>

But for several of them, this was not their first appearance in print. One of them had been published in the last motet book to be issued during Lasso's lifetime<sup>46</sup>, and three more had appeared posthumously in 1601.<sup>47</sup> In addition, Lasso made alternative settings of three of the texts of the group, in a style rather different to their counterparts in the series of six-voice works listed above. He wrote a five-voice version of *Tragico tecti* which appeared in the same 1597 collection as *Mortalium jucunditas*<sup>48</sup>, and two further settings which were first published in the *Magnum opus* - a version of *Heu, quos dabimus* for seven voices and a five-voice version of *Tibi progenies*.

It is difficult to be sure what Boetticher meant by the 'hidden affinity of style' he detected in this group of six-voice works. But if we first examine their verbal texts before going on to discuss their musical characteristics, it becomes clear that a convincing case can be made for their being dramatic choruses which had their proper place and function in staged productions of Latin dramas.

<sup>45</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 564: 'Während sich die Söhne bei der Redaktion des MoM im allgemeinen nicht um die Zeitlage kümmerten, scheinen sie bei dieser Nachlese im 6-v. Verband doch einem verborgenen Stilgesetz zu folgen: vielleicht liegt das an der besonderen, späten Kapellkopie, aus der sie schöpften. Im Ganzen haben wir nämlich Spätwerke vor uns'.

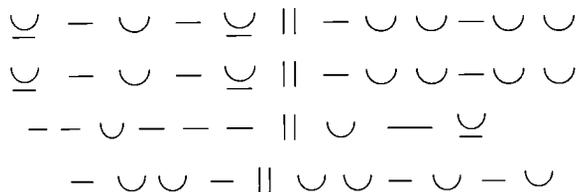
<sup>46</sup> *Heu, quis armorum*, with its second part *Iam satis*, were printed in *Cantiones sacrae sex vocum*, Graz, 1594, no. 20: see BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 673-6.

<sup>47</sup> *Heu, quos dabimus*, *Momenta quaevis* and *Vos quibus rector* had all appeared in *Cantiones sacrae ab Orlando de Lasso et huius filio Rudolpho de Lasso*, Munich: Nikolaus Heinrich, 1601: see BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 564, n. 100.

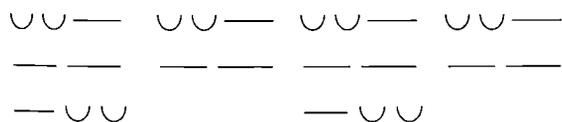
<sup>48</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 563.

### Metre and Imagery

We saw that *O decus celsi* was written in sapphic strophes, and by investigating the versified form of these other texts we can find additional evidence that their original purpose was indeed dramatic, for they all use choric metres regularly found in Senecan tragedy. To begin with, there are three choruses also written in sapphic metre, *Vos quibus rector* (470), *Flemus extremos* (465) and *Heu, quis armorum* (466). The first of these consists of ten sapphic lines, without the shorter lines which punctuate the verse. The second and third are written in sapphic strophes, and both are long enough for the musical setting to have to contain two *partes* (4+3 and 3+3 strophes respectively). Among the remaining texts, that of *Momenta quaevis* comprises two alcaic strophes, built on the following pattern:



while the final group is written in anapaestic ‘systems’ (*i.e.* as long chains of lines of the same type, not articulated strophically). Unlike sapphic and alcaic verse, anapaestic lines do not have a fixed scheme of syllables, but allow the substitutions of, say, two short syllables for one long. As a result, the overall syllable count for any given line may vary within certain limits (from nine, or more commonly ten, to a total of twelve syllables). The anapaestic scheme is as follows:



The poems written in anapaests are *Heu, quos* and *Tragico tecti* (both of which include second *partes*), and *Tibi progenies* (which is divided into five parts in its five-voice version and into three in its six-voice version). When Sandberger published these compositions in volume XIX of the complete edition, he had their Latin texts scrutinized and translated by a scholar who suggested that the texts of *Heu, quos* and *Tragico tecti* could be readily joined together to form a continuous choric sequence on the theme of ‘the damned’ and ‘the blessed’.<sup>49</sup>

It is more plausible, however, to view them as independent choruses which happen to have been written in the same metre, using the same rhetorical register and similar kinds of imagery - possibly (but not necessarily) from the same play. Stylistically, they conform very well to the sixteenth-century reworking of the Senecan manner at its most forthright and violent, as found in many examples of Renaissance biblical tragedy.

All these works can be convincingly read as *viva voce* choruses which occur in the context of a staged drama depicting the struggle between the forces of good and evil, and commenting on the events of the plot from a position slightly outside the perspective of the main action. This type of chorus may contain a general moral observation not addressed to anyone in particular (as in *Momenta* or *Mortalium*), or a moral reproach directed at a specific human type (in the way that *Vos quibus* is a warning to arrogant rulers). *Tibi progenies*, on the other hand, appears to be a direct invocation to the figure of Christ, while the great threnodies (*Heu quos*, *Tragico tecti*, *Flemus extremos* and *Heu quis*) are voiced from a dual perspective: they represent both a lamenting chorus who share in the suffering of the protagonists, and a moralizing chorus who stand beyond the turmoil of the conflict and comment on it in various ways.

The common theme running through all these texts is that of the instability of Fortune and the chaos of human affairs, as contrasted with the firmness and stability of the kingdom of God. They are all obviously written in direct speech for a body of people speaking together, and the imagery - especially in the threnodies - is striking for its apocalyptic quality and sustained intensity, in a manner typical of Senecan tragedy. In *Tragico tecti*, for example, passages such as:

these places, once fat with the fruits of the land, are now cold and barren where previously they were vigorous with fresh growth, where the ground was covered white, laden with blooms of lilies newly sprung forth, and the spring breeze was blowing through the country [...] All lies waste. Smoke darkens the lurid fields, and the ashes of heroes hang in the unquiet air. The fields, bereft of their husbandmen, groan, while the earth weeps for her children.

may serve as an example of how close this imagery and poetic diction are to Senecan usage. The theme of the earth deprived of those who till and cultivate her can be found for example in a chorus in Seneca's *Oedipus*, where the lands are said to be widowed, without tillers:<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> LASSO, SW, XIX, p. ix.

<sup>50</sup> *Occidis, Cadmi generosa proles, / orbe cum tota; viduas colonis / respicis terras, miseranda Thebe* (Seneca, *Oedipus*, vv. 110ff.). The verses are in sapphic metre.

Hic bel - li - ge - ras al - ta per - ur - bes ste - te - rant cel - sis

moeni - a pi - nis, hic sparsa cro - cis a - tri - a re - -

- gum mol - les - que to - ris mol - li - bus au - - lae.

Nunc prae - ci - pi - ti tur - bi - ne ve - rum am - bus - tae ia - cent

The image shows two systems of a musical score. Each system consists of three staves: a vocal line (soprano or alto clef), a tenor line (tenor clef), and a bass line (bass clef). The music is in a 5/4 time signature with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

o - mi - a flam - mis. lu - ri - dos a - gros fu - mus o - bum - brat  
 ci - ne - res - que du - cum tur - bi - ni - bus in - - - eu bant.

3. Orlando di Lasso, *Hic belligeras* (this section of *Tragico tecti*), 5vv, in LASSO, SW, XI, pp. 75-8.

You are dying, O noble race of Cadmus, together with all your city: look at your lands, now bereft of husbandmen, O pitiable Thebes.

A little later, the ruin of nature and the loss of the cultivating hand are described in greater detail:<sup>51</sup>

No longer do the woods, crowned with their foliage, cast deep shadows on the mountainsides, no more do the fields grow fertile and green, nor the vines bend their branches under the weight of their divine fruit, the gift of Bacchus.

And the typical imagery of war, which is present in all of Lasso's threnodies, can be found liberally scattered through Seneca's dramas, as for example in these lines from the *Agamemnon* where the chorus of Trojan women, with the destruction of Troy still in their minds, sing longingly for the gift of peace and release from suffering offered by death's welcome invitation:<sup>52</sup>

51 *Non silva sua decorata coma / fundit opacis montibus umbras, / non rura virent ubere glebae, / non plena suo vitis Baccho / braccia curvat.* (*Ibid.*, vv. 154ff.). These lines are versified as a sapphic strophe.

52 Seneca, *Agamemnon*, vv. 596-604: 'Pax alta nullos civium coetus / timet aut minaces victoris iras, / non maria asperis insana Coris, / non acies feras pulvereamve nubem / motam barbaviciis equitum catervis, / non urbe cum tota populos cadesstes / hostica muros populante flamma / undomitunve bellum'.

Peace so entire does not fear the citizens' conspiracy, the conqueror's menacing anger or the wild seas driven mad by harsh winds, nor the savage armies, nor the dark cloud raised by the hoofs of barbarous cavalry; [there shall be] no peoples falling with the total overthrow of their city while hostile flames lay waste the walls, nor any fierce, uncontrollable war.

Such examples could be multiplied many times over, but the important point to remember is a simple one - namely, that the texts of these choruses set by Lasso are absolutely typical of the Senecan style of Renaissance Latin tragedy. (Complete texts and translations of the whole group of choruses can be found at the end of the present article.) So far as a general cultural framework for these works is concerned, we should probably see them - like the vernacular tradition of biblical tragedy in France - within the wider context of contemporary doctrinal conflict and the Wars of Religion. Viewed in this perspective, the violent imagery of the texts would accord well with the violence of the historical events of the second half of the sixteenth century. In the case of Andreas Fabricius, author of the *Samson* drama referred to above, we know that he was closely connected with the ideological debate in Counter-Reformation Germany, and was the author of one of the major official documents propounding the 'Confessio Augustana'.<sup>53</sup> And we can see from the title pages of his plays that the choice of subject-matter and dramatic treatment of his biblical tragedies was explicitly intended by him to illustrate this latest schismatic division of Christendom. The surviving transcripts of these title pages specifically allude to the exemplification of this modern conflict through the stories of the Old Testament.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The *Harmonia confessionis Augustanae doctrinae Evangelicae consensum declarans* (the Accord of the Augustan Confession declaring the consensus of the doctrine contained in the Gospel). This text was reprinted many times. See *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, VI, pp. 503-4.

<sup>54</sup> See *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, IV, Berne - Munich, 1972, col. 687: (i) *A[ndreae] F[abricii] Leodii Religio patiens. Tragoedia [in] qua nostri s[a]eculi calamitates deplorantur, et principes causae quibus miser[a]e nunc affligitur Christi ecclesia, reteguntur* (Cologne, 1566); (ii) *Samsom. Tragoedia nova ex sacra Judicum historia desumpta, praemissis ad ejus illustrationem insignibus orthodoxorum patrum sententiis* (s.l. 1569); (iii) *Jeroboam rebellens. Tragoedia funesta, ex sacra Regum et Paralipomenon desumpta; successus & miserandos fructus earum defectionum et schismatum, quae nostris temporibus in religione emergerunt, sub illustri quodam typo in prospectum adducens* (Ingolstadt, 1585). Translations: (i) 'Suffering Religion. A tragedy in which the calamities of our century are deplored, and the chief causes of the misery by which the Church of Christ is presently afflicted are exposed'; (ii) 'Samson. A modern tragedy taken from the book of Kings, to which are prefixed - for purposes of illustration - venerable sayings of the orthodox [Church] Fathers'; (iii) 'The rebellion of Jeroboam. A tragedy taken from the Book of Judges and the Book of Chronicles, bringing into view by means of an illuminating allegory the deplorable fruits that have been the result of those revolutions and schisms which have emerged in religion during our times'.

## Musical style

Any proper basis for an accurate generalization concerning the stylistic coherence, if any, across this group of pieces will presuppose a twofold investigation: (i) a detailed analytic consideration of each work individually, and (ii) a plausible demonstration of the particularities of style that obtain between different genres or between discrete parts of Lasso's output at successive phases of his career. Although such an investigation lies beyond the scope of the present article, it seems appropriate to make one or two observations in advance of a more extended study of the style of these pieces.

We have already seen Lasso's most radical solution to the problem of declamation - namely, the strict chordal homophony found in *O decus celsi*. A few of Lasso's other Latin-texted works share this uniformly vertical treatment of the words: the alliterative 'song of the flea' written in deliberately crude student Latin, *Bestia curvafia* (probably 1573-5)<sup>55</sup>, and the psalm settings *Domine, dominus noster* (1577)<sup>56</sup>, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende* and *Domine, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me* (both 1579, printed 1582)<sup>57</sup> all display chordal homophony and unadorned syllabic rhythm throughout.<sup>58</sup> But there is another texture which is far more commonly encountered within all areas of

<sup>55</sup> LASSO, SW, NR I, no. 13 (see pp. xxi, xxxii, 67-70).

<sup>56</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 452-3 and n. 85, p. 474 (where the motet is described as 'liedmässig'). The parody Mass on *Domine, dominus noster* was copied into the same manuscript (Mü 15). See LASSO, SW, NR, X, p. ix.

<sup>57</sup> See BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 557 and n. 45. The 1582 print in which they were issued is the very one in which *O decus celsi* appeared, giving some likelihood to the otherwise rather romantic theory, advanced by Boetticher, that during the 1570s Lasso went through what he calls a 'villanella crisis' of style, allegedly manifested in an obsession with chordal delivery in lively, repetitive villanella rhythms (even in 'serious' motets). Another way of seeing this would be to view such an approach rather as evidence of Lasso's intense preoccupation with verbal delivery and the cumulative power that could be harnessed by allowing the words to generate a forceful, if deliberately simplified, rhythmic sequence.

<sup>58</sup> Here as in *O decus celsi* the unanimity of ensemble declamation reinforces the sound of the words in the most straightforward way possible, but the very strictness of the technique precludes any sort of musical elaboration beyond contrasts of voice combination (or, in the case of *Bestia curvafia*, a recurring refrain, such as we find also in Baif's *chansonnettes mesurées*). The psalm settings use accentual rhythms which are simple and clear-cut but not schematic, while the 'song of the flea' seems calculated to satirize the academic discipline of quantitative scansion by respecting the 'long' syllables in invented 'doggerel' words such as *posoniensis* ('poisonous', from Fr. *poison*) which are about as far from classical usage, in letter and spirit, as could be imagined. But the important point here is not so much to establish the intellectual pedigree or 'humanistic' rigour of Lasso's procedures as to recognize that he is experimenting, within a broadly 'serious' category of composition, with different ways of conveying text as directly as possible with a vocal ensemble. It is obviously true that such radical solutions - like *musique mesurée* itself - did not survive long, and remained largely without progeny. Yet if we look at it not from our retrospective standpoint, but from the perspective of a working musician of the 1570s, we see a composer whose love of polyphonic design and of eloquent delivery matched each other, attempting to find a whole range of solutions within the scope of the available techniques and his own aesthetic preferences. Here we find once more the combination within the same creative mind of a fertile musical invention with a highly developed feeling for the 'texture' or 'grain' of voice which declamation imparts to music.

Lasso's output and embraces all types of Latin-texted works - sacred and profane, ancient and contemporary, serious and humorous alike. This texture, while containing a significant proportion of homophony, allows a greater degree of purely musical differentiation and articulateness. This is the kind of semi-declamatory texture with 'leading' voices and energetic cross-rhythms found in *Mortalium jucunditas* and which is found at every period of Lasso's compositional activity, from the Penitential Psalms of the late 1550s to the 1594 *Cantiones sacrae* and the posthumous *Lagrime di San Pietro*.

But in such works as *Domine quid* and the five-voice *Tragico tecti*, as well as *Mortalium jucunditas*, there is another striking declamatory feature not found elsewhere. At certain points in the text the choral delivery of the words is punctuated by silence. This occurs between phrases or fragments of text where Lasso has supplied written-out rests for the whole chorus, the unanimity of whose subsequent entry is thereby made all the more powerful and effective. This shows another aspect of Lasso's experimentation with technical devices in his search not so much for any purely musical perfection as for the maximum rhetorical impact in any given situation.

Lasso's forceful word-setting, combined with his preference for an ensemble of six voices, gives these works a characteristic texture that is dense but highly rhythmicized. This texture, which possesses a striking degree of inner movement from the clash of consonants and cross-rhythms within the chorus, is an important component of the overall sound created by these works. Indeed, this sound imprints itself so strikingly on the ear that Boetticher was led to devise a number of different ways of describing it. He seems to have assumed that it was a style which took its origins from the song or dance-song repertoire, particularly the Italian villanella and the neo-Latin secular song (which he called *Profanmotette*). Furthermore, he identified the mid-1570s as a phase of Lasso's composing career when he was particularly susceptible to the 'influence' of the villanella - an influence which according to him was thereby absorbed into the Latin-texted compositions of that period. He even went so far as to describe some of Lasso's secular Latin compositions as 'disguised' instrumental dances ('verkappte instrumentale Tanzstücke'), thereby implying that their musical fabric owed more to the rhythms of the body than of the declaiming voice.

This view goes hand in hand with his theory of a 'villanella crisis' traversed by the composer during these very years. So far as the problem of describing the phases of Lasso's stylistic evolution is concerned, we can see the outcome of Boetticher's theory when he speaks of the 'irruption of the secular villanella style' into the four-voice motet textures that Lasso was composing 'in the years around 1577'.<sup>59</sup> In Boetticher's account this 'profane song style', with its markedly repetitive and lively syllabic rhythms, is variously described as 'tanzliedartig', 'liedhaft', or 'tanzmässig'. But no explicit connection is made to the problem of text declamation, and there is little discussion of the prosodical

reasons which may have prompted Lasso to experiment with homophonic effects in so extreme and so purposeful a way. This, then, provides both the general stylistic context and the chronological framework into which *O decus celsi* fits. Since it was first printed in 1582, it may be plausibly seen as the outcome of these prosodical and declamatory preoccupations of the 1570s.

## Conclusion

These preoccupations are perhaps one of the most important sources of Lasso's love of compactness and concision.<sup>60</sup> In order for verbal delivery to be effective in polyphonic music, succinct melodic ideas closely fitted together are essential, so that the play of vowels and consonants can be woven into the contrapuntal fabric. In Lasso's hands these verbal elements frequently become part of the raw material of composition. They both inform and mould the musical flow, shaping it from the inside and articulating it from the outside, establishing a characteristically terse and economical continuity, punctuated by strong contrasts and sudden shifts of contour.

I do not think it is an exaggeration to see Lasso's artistic personality as having been formed by two contending forces, a love of denseness and complexity of musical texture on the one hand, and a love of language and directness of utterance on the other. Tovey said of Haydn that 'from op. 33 onwards one of his strongest impulses was towards terseness, and it was balanced by an equally strong impulse towards expansion. Outward symmetry was for him an obstacle to the reconciling of these two opposite impulses; and the reconciliation of such opposites is a fundamental condition of art'.<sup>61</sup> We are much less well informed about the chronology and reception of Lasso's music than we are

<sup>59</sup> 'Der Einbruch des profanen Villanellenstils um 1577 scheint sich zudem besonders im 4-v. Satz anzukünden [...] [Die] Profanmotetten [sind] als verkappte instrumentale Tanzstücke zu werten [...] [Bei] *Anna mihi* [ist] der tanzliedartige Aufbau schon daran erkennbar, dass in p. I und II die letzte Melodiezeile wie ein Rundgesang wiederkehrt [...] Mehr noch verweisen die ungeheuerliche Chromatik der Oberstimme und die damit erzeugten mediantischen Rückungen auf den Profanstil [...] Zusammenfassend ist der konzertierend-tanzmässige Duktus der 4-v. Motette um 1575 festzuhalten' (BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 471-2). Boetticher's presumption of this influence of the villanella on Lasso's style in the 1570s leads him to date certain compositions, on stylistic grounds alone, to the 1570s (*Ibid.*, pp. 236-7, where he goes so far as to use the revealing turns of phrase 'villanellisch-früh' and 'anapästischer Liedstil'). And again: 'Der Einfluss des profanen Liedstils ist unverkennbar [...] Das Metrum [...] war nicht nur ein antikisierendes Mittel bei ländlichen Szenen [e.g. in *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*], sondern strahlt auch ein ernst-ironisches Zwielicht aus' (*Ibid.*, p. 360).

<sup>60</sup> Lasso's Parisian publisher Le Roy described his style as being *pressus et limatus*, implying terseness and compression as well as intricacy and polish, and a consequent intensity of utterance.

<sup>61</sup> D.F. TOVEY, 'Haydn', in *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*, London, 1929, I, p. 541; also in *Essays and Lectures on Music*, London, 1949, pp. 55-6. Tovey described Haydn's supposed unorthodoxy of procedure as being in fact the creation of 'form in the highest state of efficiency, freedom and terseness'.

about Haydn's. None the less, it seems to me possible to say, at the very least, that the intensity and compression of style that mark some of what appear to be his most characteristic and individual pieces result, partially, from a similar way of reconciling opposite impulses - towards intricacy of design and immediacy of effect, clarity of enunciation and richness of texture, vividness of contrast and density of flow. It cannot be imagined that a composer who, along with Mozart, is arguably the most linguistically gifted in the history of music, would not have pushed these rival gifts of music and language to their very limits in his search for intensity and range of expression.

## APPENDIX

## Texts and Translations

*Magnum opus Musicum* (465) I pars: **Flemus extremos hominum labores**; II pars: **Regiam Christi bene firma cautes sustinet**

Flemus extremos hominum labores,  
flemus in finem properantis aevi  
funera et iamiam quatienda saevo  
regna tumulto.

Ultima, en, orbem lacerant ruentem  
fata, quae nostri tripodes caneant:  
aemulus Christi populos et arces  
conteret armis!

Heu, quis insanum rabiem tyranni,  
quis truces bello fugiet cohortes?  
Nudus hinc, illinc furet et per urbes  
saeviet ensis.

Sed quid hos demens agitas furores?  
Arma quid divis inimica versus?  
Non ruent ullis agitata bellis  
castra piorum!

Regiam Christi bene firma cautes  
sustinet; non has metuit procellas,  
non timet quamquam cumulata plenis  
fulmina nimbis.

Cymba, quam pontus zephyrique iactant,  
fluctuat, sed non superanda fluctu est.

Quo ruat casu pelagi potentem  
nacta magistrum?

State! nil, Christi soboles, timendum!

Autor ad pugnas Deus est et idem  
militi fesso meritos in astris  
reddet honores.

We weep for the last travails of mankind, for the agony<sup>62</sup> of time as it rushes towards its end, and for the kingdoms which this very moment are to be overthrown by the furious tumult. See! those final destinies tear apart the crumbling world which our oracles foretold in song:<sup>63</sup> ‘The Antichrist will strike down the peoples and the kingdoms!’ Woe to us! Who shall escape the mad fury of the oppressor<sup>64</sup>, or be able to flee his savage troops in battle? The naked sword rages near and far and runs riot through the cities.

But why do you, in your madness, whip up these furies? To what end do you brandish these weapons against the gods? For, though they be rocked by the storm of war, the citadels of the faithful (*castra piorum*) shall not fall. The kingdom of Christ is founded upon solid rock (*bene firma cautes*), it does not fear the tempests, nor the massed sheets of lightning (*cumulata fulmina*) from the thick storm-clouds (*nimbis plenis*).

Tossed by the sea and the winds the vessel (*cymba*) falters, yet cannot be overcome by the flood. By what eventuality (*quo casu*) should it then fall, since it has gone over to the all-powerful master of the seas.

Stand fast! O followers of Christ, fear nothing. It is God who ordains and calls to battle (*autor ad pugnas*), and he who shall give the weary soldier his due honour among the stars (*in astris*).

*Magnum opus Musicum* (466) I pars: Heu, quis armorum furor in tyranno est; II pars: Iam satis longo!

Heu, quis armorum furor in tyranno est!

Saevit intorto similis colubro

inque divorum iugulos ab alta

sibilat arce.

Cur datur monstro lacerare divos,

caede cur vatum temerare dextram?

Magne, cur, rerum sator, in tuorum

funere cessas?

Plura sed postquam minime licebunt

sontibus, cedet furor impiorum

victus et ponent male vindicatas

orbis habenas.

Iam satis longo rabies nocentum

in mare et terras dominatur aevo!

Nunc Deus fontes Erebo coercens

secptra reposcet!

Ipse, qui ferro est populatus aras,

caede qui divum sceleravit enses,

caelitem longe meliore dextra

concidet ictu.

62 *funera*, ‘obsequies’

63 *ultima fata, quae nostri tripodes canebant*

64 *insanam rabiem tyranni*

Orbis insontes scelerumque poenas  
mugiet; imaiam reboabit imis  
sedibus ponti fragor et rubescent  
sanguine fontes.

Alas! What warlike fury is in this tyrant! He wreaks his raging fury like an adder coiled [to strike], hissing from his high stronghold at the throats of the holy ones (*in iugulos divorum sibilat*). Why is it given to this monster to tear the holy ones apart, and to defile his own right hand with the slaughtering of the prophets?

Why, O great creator of the world<sup>65</sup>, do you hold back while your people die?<sup>66</sup> But now that more will hardly be permitted to the evildoers, the fury of the godless ones, having been defeated, shall ebb away, and they will lay down<sup>67</sup> the misused reins of the world. For long enough the fury of wicked men (*rabies nocentum*) has reigned over land and sea. Now God, chaining the evildoers in hell (*sontes Erebo coercens*), is reclaiming his sceptre.

And he who with the sword has laid waste the altars, who has desecrated (*sceleravit*) his swords with the killing of the holy ones, shall fall by one blow (*ictu*) from the far greater right hand of the heavenly ones.

The world (*orbis*) shall groan for the innocent and groan with the punishment of the evildoers (*poenas scelerum*); now a dreadful noise (*fragor*) shall resound from the uttermost depths of the sea<sup>68</sup>, and the rivers (*fontes*) run red with blood.

*Magnum opus Musicum* (467) I pars: Heu, quos dabimus, miseranda cohors; II pars: Mens male conscia terrore

Heu, quos dabimus, miseranda cohors,  
gemitus, tanto funere dignos?  
Heu, quis ab imo pectore luctus  
mala nostro pari diluat unda?  
Quo deliriis nescia vinci  
nostra libido cessit et auri  
vesana fames? quo blanda Venus,  
quo raptus honos, rapta supellex?  
Alias versat fortuna vices,  
alius rerum nascitur ordo!  
Versa in tristes gaudia luctus,  
versa in gemitus cytheraea chelys;  
erepta cohors fida sodalium,  
nullus amicos coniungit amor,  
oblita sui coniugis uxor  
natisque suis avulsa parens.

<sup>65</sup> *rerum sator*, 'father of [all] things'

<sup>66</sup> *cur cessas in tuorum funere*

<sup>67</sup> *ponent*, 'put aside'

<sup>68</sup> *imis sedibus ponti*, 'from the deepest reaches of the sea'

Mens male conscia terrore labat  
 fremit hinc atque hinc agmen Averni:  
 capiti iudex imminet atrox;  
 mugit ab imo Tartarus antro.  
 Cur haec mideris invisa parens  
 dedit ingratae lumina vitae?  
 Cur infantes nulla voravit  
 flamma nec hausit noxius ensis?  
 Scindite vestes, flebile vulgus,  
 plangite crebris pectora pugnis,  
 lacerate comas, tollite questus!  
 Haec una licent gaudia nobis!

Alas, what cries shall our unhappy throng offer up that are worthy of such ruin and death?<sup>69</sup> Alas, what torrent of weeping (*quis unda luctus*) from the depths of the breast (*ab imo pectore*) may dispel (*diluat*, dissolve) such evil as we suffer (*mala nostro pari*)? Why has our craving and desire (*nostra libido*), which could not be extinguished in pleasures (*nescia deliciis vincit*), now ceased, along with the insane hunger for gold (*vesana fames auri*)? Where is sweet love (*blanda Venus*), where are the stolen honours and stolen riches?

Fortune now revolves (*versat*) a new play of chance<sup>70</sup>, another order of things is born (*alius ordo rerum nascitur*). Joy has been turned to sadness and tears, the Cytherean lyre to sighs and groans; the loyal throng of brethren (*cohors fida sodalium*) has been torn apart (*erepta*), love no longer binds friends together; the wife has forgotten her husband, the mother is torn from her children.

The spirit (*mens*), knowing its guilt<sup>71</sup>, becomes unsteady and irresolute, faltering with terror as the hordes of the underworld (*agmen Averni*) seethe all around (*fremet hinc atque hinc*). The appalling judge (*iudex atrox*) gestures menacingly with his head (*capiti imminet*), and the underworld groans from its deepest caverns. Why has our parent given us, in our misery, the accursed lights (*invisa lumina*) of this hateful life (*ingratae vitae*)? Why has no flame swallowed up the new-born infants, nor no evil sword (*noxius ensis*) cut them down? Rend your garments, O weeping throng (*flebile vulgus*), beat your breast with repeated blows, cut your tresses, give voice to your lamentings (*tollite questus*)! These are the only joys that are left to us!<sup>72</sup>

*Magnum opus Musicum* (468) I pars: Tragico tecti syrmate coelites; II pars: Hic belligeras alta per urbes

Tragico tecti syrmate, coelites,  
 hominum generi damus inferias,  
 fataque populis ultima passis  
 canimus tristi carmine naenias.

69 *quos [...] gemitus tanto funere dignos*

70 *alias vices*, 'fortuitous events'

71 *conscia male*, 'conscious of evil'

72 *licent*, 'granted, seeming, fitting'

Haec loca, quondam pinguia frugibus,  
gelida, circum fronde virebant;  
vernebat humus candida liliis  
spirante per haec rura Favonio.

Hic belligeras alta per urbes  
steterant celsis moenia pinnis,  
hic sparsa crocis atria regum  
mollesque toris mollibus aulae.

Nunc praecipiti turbine rerum  
ambustae! Jacent omnia! Flammis  
luridos agros fumus obumbrat,  
cineresque ducum turbinibus incubant.

Viduata gemunt arva colonis  
tellusque suos plorat alumnos,  
hominum quaestus funera Titan  
caput horrenti condidit umbra.

We heavenly ones, clad in tragic robes, celebrate solemn obsequies (*damus inferias*) for the human race. With tragic melody (*tristi carmine*), we sing funeral dirges for the peoples who have endured their final destiny (*fata [...] ultima*). These places, once fat with the fruits of the land, are now cold and barren where previously they were vigorous with fresh growth, where the ground was covered white, laden with blooms of lilies newly sprung forth, and the spring breeze was blowing through the country. In all the cities at war the high ramparts with their lofty pinnacles stood proudly; the kingly halls were strewn with crocuses, and the more welcoming apartments (*molles [...] aulae*) spread with soft, yielding cushions (*mollibus [...] toris*). Now they are burnt out (*ambustae*), consumed by flames in the maelstrom of events (*praecipiti turbine rerum*). All lies waste. Smoke darkens the lurid fields, and the ashes of heroes hang in the unquiet air. The fields, bereft of their husbandmen, groan, while the earth weeps for her children (*alumnos*) and the annihilation of all human endeavour<sup>73</sup>, [which] the tyrant has buried in the dreadful abyss (*horrenti umbra*).

*Magnum opus Musicum* (464): **Tibi, progenies unica patris**

Tibi, progenies unica patris  
magneque pater maximae prolis  
damus arguto pectine laudes  
tremuloque chelym verbere plectimus

Tu, quae versat sidera mundus,  
tu, quas fruges daedala tellus

<sup>73</sup> *hominum quaestus funera*, 'the burial of the endeavour of men'

alit et, quidquid pontus et aether  
cohibent, nostros condis in usus.

Tu nostros, Deus, induis artus  
passusque necem crimina diluis;  
cruce tu victus vincis Avernum  
imoque patres carcere vindicas.

Dum nos Erebi mostra lacessunt,  
tua nos clipeo dextera texit;  
dum iussa darent impia reges,  
tu iussa dabas temnere regum.

Tu multa inter millia lectos  
tibi nos socios in sceptras vocas.  
Ergo sequimur, quocunque trahis,  
et festa tibi carmina pangimus.

To you, only son of [your] father, O great father of the people of highest destiny<sup>74</sup>, we give praise (*laudes plectimus*) with skilled plectrum (*arguto pectine*), playing the lyre (*chelym*) with a vibrant touch (*tremulo [...] verberere*). You, who for our use (*in usus nostros*) have established (*condis*) the stars which the world turns, provided the fruits which the industrious earth produces<sup>75</sup>, and created everything that the sea and the heavens encompass (*cohibent*) - you, O God, take on our flesh<sup>76</sup>, and, having suffered death (*passusque necem*), you wash away our sins:<sup>77</sup> defeated on the Cross, you have defeated Hell, and so release (*vindicas*) our forefathers (*patres*) from the depths of their prison.

Although the horrors of darkness threaten us, your right hand has protected us with a shield.<sup>78</sup> While the kings of the earth promulgated godless laws, you gave us to scorn them. You call us, chosen from among many thousands, to be your companions (*socios*) with you in your kingly state (*in sceptras*). Therefore, we follow you wherever you lead, and sing celebratory songs to you.

*Magnum opus Musicum* (469): *Momenta quaevis temporis ac vices*

Momenta quaevis temporis ac vices,  
quodcunque felix axe sub hoc poli  
vitam commissandam propinat,  
dulce nihil, nihil est beatum.

Aut ludus, aut crux, aut carnificina  
mortale adorat quidquid homo et colit;  
vastusque quod miratur orbis  
ludibrium est et inane pondus.

<sup>74</sup> *maximae prolis*, 'chosen people' (?)

<sup>75</sup> *alit*, 'nourishes'

<sup>76</sup> *nostros artus*, 'our limbs' [*i.e.* the limbs of a human body]

All the moments, all the chance events of time, whatever there is of happiness under the vault of heaven that drinks in impetuously and celebrates the craving [thirst] for life - nothing [of this] is sweet, nothing is blessed. Whatever Man honours (*adorat*), be it amusement, play, cross, or torture-chamber, whatever he cherishes is transient - corruptible and impermanent. And all that the wide world (*vastus orbis*) so admires is but vanity, a useless weight, the object of mockery and derision.

*Magnum opus Musicum* (470): **Vos, quibus rector maris atque terrae**

Vos, quibus rector maris atque terrae  
 ius dedit magnum necis atque vitae  
 ponite inflatos tumidosque vultus!  
 Quidquid a vobis minor extimescit,  
 major hoc vobis Dominus minatur.

Omne sub regno graviore regnum est.  
 Quem dies vidit veniens superbum,  
 hunc dies vidit fugiens iacentem.  
 Nemo confidat nimium secundis,  
 nemo desperet meliora lapsus.

You to whom the lord of earth and sea has given the jurisdiction of life and death, put off your proud and haughty faces! For whatever the humbler man fears from you, the great arbiter threatens you with also: every power stands under another weightier power. Whoever the approaching day has seen upright in his pride, the passing day has seen lying prostrate. Let no-one trust too much to good fortune (*secundis*), and let no-one who has fallen despair of better things.

<sup>77</sup> *crimina diluis*, 'you dissolve our wrongdoings'  
<sup>78</sup> *nos clipeo textit*, 'covered us with a shield'



## MUSIC AND THE RELIGIOUS CRISIS OF MAXIMILIAN II

From Vaet's *Qui operatus est Petro* to Lasso's *Pacis amans*

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During the years that Orlando di Lasso lived in Munich political developments led to an increasingly close relationship between the houses of Wittelsbach and Habsburg. Starting in 1546, when Anna, the daughter of Emperor Ferdinand I (1503-1564), married Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, a variety of events demonstrated and strengthened the bonds between the two dynasties (state visits, weddings, coronations, imperial diets, etc.). As could be expected, the musical contributions to these events served to underline the power of the two houses, often in the most sophisticated musical form of *rap-presentatio majestatis*, the *Staatsmotette*.<sup>1</sup>

Maximilian II (1527-1576), Anna's brother, ascended to the imperial throne in 1564. He was a genuine music-lover and his tastes set the tone of festive celebrations at the imperial court in Vienna. Recent research has discovered an agreement between the heads of the two dynasties not to lure musicians away from their positions at the other court.<sup>2</sup> In such a situation, having a composer of the stature of Lasso in their service assumed a genuine political aspect for the Wittelsbachs. Although Lasso's biographers have recognized and documented the admiration of Maximilian II for Lasso's compositions, the implications of the *Staatsmotetten* and their usage in imperial ceremonies have received too little attention. Currently, there is a trend toward reinterpreting the significance of individual pieces, which do not fit easily into standard categories, in the context of Lasso's works as a whole. A good example of this new critical attitude is Peter Bergquist's article on Lasso's compositions that were not published during the composer's lifetime.<sup>3</sup> It is much more difficult to identify the possible use of some of Lasso's music on Latin secular texts. Were they part of some regal ceremony or composed for use in humanist or Jesuit

<sup>1</sup> A. DUNNING, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*, Utrecht, 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Lilian Pruett is publishing documents to prove this. She has only informed me of the existence of such an agreement, so it has yet to be seen if it is a formal contract or just a gentleman's agreement between the rulers.

<sup>3</sup> P. BERGQUIST, *Why did Lasso not Publish his Posthumous Motets?* in HÖRNER - SCHMID (ed.), 1993, pp. 13-25.

plays.<sup>4</sup> It is often necessary to go beyond archival evidence and consider iconographical documents (where they exist) as well as colating finds in collections of poetry, chronologies, etc. in manuscript or print to define the actual purpose intended by the composer for his compositions. This combination led to success in an analogous problem that I discuss in my article concerning two Latin compositions by Filippo di Monte which were written for specific events during week-long festivities at the imperial court in Vienna.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, we are seldom so fortunate and must base our deductions on much less evidence.

The texts of some of Lasso's compositions indicate the purpose they served in regal ceremonies. Sandberger<sup>6</sup> and Boetticher<sup>7</sup> each recognized several of these *Staatsmotetten* (see texts below, Appendix 1). They were composed in honor of the three emperors who ruled in the second half of the 16th century: Ferdinand I (ruled 1558-1564), Maximilian II (1564-1576) and Rudolf II (1576-1612). As an employee of the Munich court, Lasso personally participated in festivities that involved the Emperor and his entourage. These took place at the imperial residence in Vienna or Prague as well as in German cities where imperial Diets were occasionally held.

Lasso's earliest *Staatsmotette* for the Northern Habsburgs is *Dic mihi* in honor of Emperor Ferdinand I, the brother of Charles V. Many of these representational compositions are set in a simple polychoral structure to ensure text clarity. This is so common that we can even assume that such a setting destined the piece for performance at some sort of public ceremony or occasion. Nonetheless, the often erudite Latin texts were probably only understandable to the select few who held copies in their hands. We can imagine such compositions being performed with musicians standing on ephemeral triumphal arches at entries or in the context of a thematic festival such as took place at the 1571 wedding. *Dic mihi* and several other laudatory compositions by Lasso may have been connected to a state visit that the Bavarian court made to Vienna in 1560.<sup>8</sup> This was probably one of the largest festivals to take place in Vienna in the entire 16th century. The Emperor had an elaborate *Turnierbuch* in two versions (Latin and German) with lavish illustrations published.<sup>9</sup>

4 Philipp Weller of Nottingham University has examined Lasso's secular Latin texts; see his article *Lasso, Man of the Theatre* in this volume. I would like to thank him for the English translation of *Pacis amans* and *Te nunc laetetur* which I have used in this article.

5 R. LINDELL, *The Wedding of Archduke Charles and Maria of Bavaria in 1571*, in *Early Music*, 18 (1990), pp. 253-269.

6 A. SANDBERGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso. In drei Büchern, Erstes Buch*, Leipzig, 1894.

7 BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 255.

8 For example, the motets *Unde revertimini* (LASSO, SW, XIX, pp. 138-146) and *Edite Caesareo Boiorum* (LASSO, SW, XIX, pp. 146-150) would have been appropriate.

Unfortunately, music is only mentioned in general terms and no texts that might have been set to music are included. There is no doubt that this was a form of political propaganda, especially since the years between 1560 and 1562 the crisis concerning the suitability of Maximilian II as successor to Ferdinand I came to a head. In the period immediately after the abdication of Charles V, Maximilian, nominally already King of Bohemia, had openly expressed strong sympathies with the Protestant cause and employed a Protestant as his court preacher.<sup>10</sup> Ferdinand was under pressure from Pope Pius IV to make assurances that Maximilian would indeed uphold the Catholic cause as Holy Roman Emperor. Although Maximilian appeared to give in to his father's demands, he maintained contacts with German Protestant rulers. In April 1560, he even sent Nikolaus von Warnsdorf as an envoy to them in an effort to get concrete support to turn against Ferdinand. The dispute had become so well-known that even Maximilian's court chapelmaster, Jacobus Vaet, commented on it, albeit in the form of a 'musical offering'.<sup>11</sup> The timing both of Vaet's composition and the state visit by the Bavarian court seem too appropriate to have been accidental: Ferdinand I needed confirmation from Maximilian that he would be willing to rule as a Catholic emperor. There was even talk of his passing Maximilian by in favor of his favorite son, Ferdinand II (later known as Ferdinand of Tyrol). In the following we will examine the role that music played during Maximilian's religious quandary.

It was no accident that the month-long state visit of 1560 included the staunchest supporters of Catholicism north of the Alps (Albrecht and Anna of Bavaria) and that the feast of Corpus Christi fell in the middle of the chosen period of time (end of May to end of June). In the course of the festival description the source of several important tournaments was explained as resulting from some courtly controversy usually between two well-known noblemen concerning an aspect of love. The argument is to be settled by a joust. These took on a variety of forms: breaking lances on horseback and on foot, a melee and even a *naumachia* and the storming of a fake city. Unfortunately, the festival description makes no references to music that could help identify a specific occasion for *Dic mihi*. However, one of the tourna-

<sup>9</sup> Johannes FRANCOLIN, *Rerum praeclare gestarum intra et extra moenia [...]*, Vienna, 1561; German: *Wahrhaftige Beschreibung aller Kurtzweil und Ritterspil [...]*.

<sup>10</sup> F. EDELMAYER, *Maximilian II.*, in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, XXII, Berlin - New York, 1992, pp. 295-298.

<sup>11</sup> M. STEINHARDT, *A Musical Offering to Maximilian II: A Political and Religious Document of the Renaissance*, in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft. Beihefte der Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, 29 (1978), p. 19.

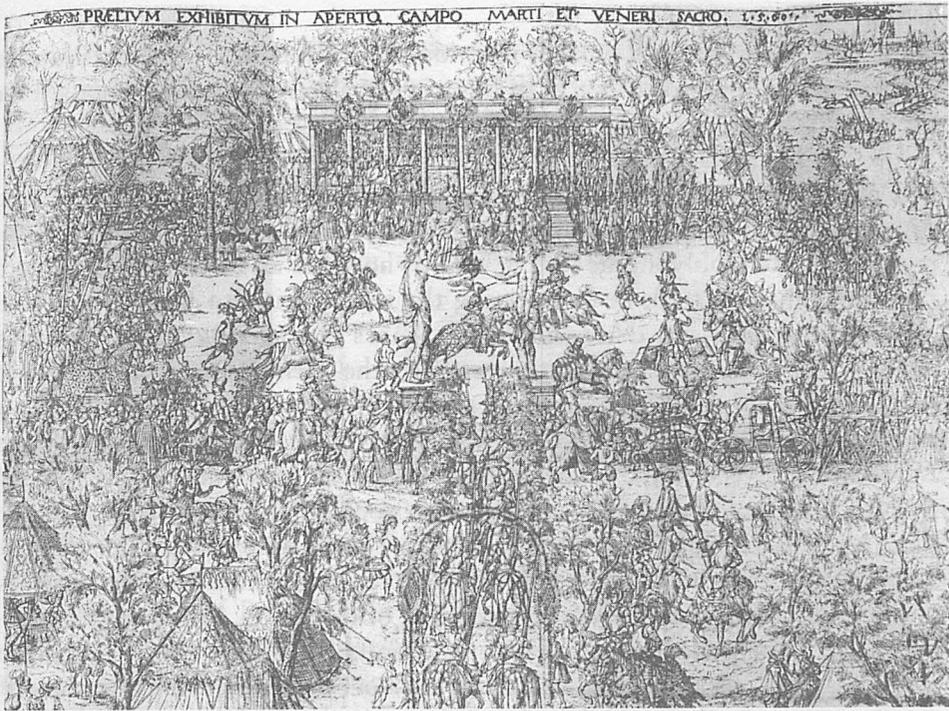
ments took place on a field outside of Vienna<sup>12</sup> (see Ill. The imperial palace and city walls can be recognized in the upper righthand corner). The similarities with the tournament field from the later 1571 wedding lead me to suspect that there could have been more than just jousting there. The battlefield is enclosed by a fence or wall made of bushes. A tribune for the Emperor and his family takes up a part of one side of the rectangular tournament field. This is opposite the only entrance to the field, a gate protected by two large statues. These represent Mars and Venus holding a crown between them to form a natural arch over the entrance to the field. Here we have two symbols that represent opposites (love and war) but also that remind us of the chivalric ideals of battling for a lady. This kind of scene often presents a composite picture of several events. We see knights on horses, some fighting with lances, others with swords; knights seemingly about to enter the field, others watching from outside the fence, people arriving in a coach, mounted trumpeters and a drummer, as well as a horse trainer, who is coaxing one of Archduke Ferdinand's famous trained horses to take a bow.<sup>13</sup> Probably each group entered consecutively but here we see them as part of the whole. Other than the reference to two mythological gods, there is no indication of there being a program for this particular tournament. By the early 1570's all of the knights and many courtiers participated in an allegorical parade in costumes preceding the actual tournament. Both in 1560 and 1571, the descriptions take great pains to describe the materials and colors of the clothing and banners representing each group of knights. It is plausible that the complex humanist concept that was acted out in these festivals depended to a great extent on the arrival of Giuseppe Arcimboldo at the imperial court.<sup>14</sup> If so, it would be unnecessary to look for such programs before that, such as here in the 1560 festival. However, even without a general program complete with musical presentations, such a laudatory *Staatsmotette* as *Dic mihi* could have been performed on this occasion. The text infers that Ferdinand has replaced Jupiter as king of the gods. This puts him above the dichotomy of Mars and Venus or even of the Habsburg court versus the Wittelsbach court.<sup>15</sup> The *Turnierbuch* also includes descriptions and pictures of a banquet and a ball that was held in a newly constructed ballroom and, of course, *Dic mihi* may have been performed as a ducal gift to Ferdinand I on either of these occasions.

<sup>12</sup> FRANCOLIN, 1561. The engravings of the banquet and ball are reproduced in: W. SALMEN, *Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert*, (*Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, 3), Leipzig, 1976, Ill. 109 (banquet); Ill. 112 (ball).

<sup>13</sup> Archduke Ferdinand presented his trained horses regularly at such festivals. In the same book, they are shown doing this same trick, i.e. kneeling down on their front legs.

<sup>14</sup> TH. DA COSTA KAUFMANN, *Variations on the imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II*, New York, 1978. Arcimboldo served at the court from 1562 until 1587.

<sup>15</sup> In one copy in the ÖNB, this picture is colored to represent Austria (red and white) and Bavaria (blue and white). Note also the many shields with the heraldic emblems of the most important participants.



Tournament on a field outside the city walls of Vienna in 1560. [J. Francolin, *Rerum praeclare...*] Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien III 14 925

Jacobus Vaet, Maximilian II's chapelmaster, takes up a similar theme in his motet *Est sacer imperio Jovis ales et Imperat orbi* in honor of Ferdinand and the Habsburg coat of arms.<sup>16</sup> Like Lasso's work, Vaet's is set for eight voices in a polychoral style. This comparatively simple type of setting could be quite impressive and was probably also faster to compose. Two decades after this festival, Lasso was called upon to set two laudatory texts in honor of Rudolf II when the emperor attended an imperial Diet in Augsburg and then visited Munich. The texts of many such works probably were also written under pressure and this, combined with the need to flatter the ruler with comparisons to the gods of mythology, seldom produced great masterpieces. Perhaps imperial symbols, such as the eagle, and references to Jove as the 'emperor of the gods' were used to upgrade already-existing laudatory poetry. Lasso's *Quid vulgo memorant?* and *Ergo rex vivat* fulfill these demands and are certainly no worse than many other such compositions by his contemporaries, so we can only

<sup>16</sup> M. STEINHARDT, *Jacobi Vaeti Opera Omnia* (DTÖ, 103/4), pp. 121-4. The work is for four voices; the text is by Vitus Jacobus, a poet laureate at Ferdinand's court; IDEM, *Jacobus Vaet and his Motets*, Lansing, 1951, p. 21; there too (page 22) an English translation. It is interesting to note that this text was printed with the date 1560.

guess why Lasso did not publish them during his lifetime.<sup>17</sup> Vaet's *Gratus in Austriacum* in honor of Albrecht of Bavaria was also supposedly composed for the 1560 state visit.<sup>18</sup>

The two motets mentioned in the title of this study belong to a different type of state music. Perhaps the most superficial difference is that the laudatory texts are put to a polyphonic setting. This is however an indication of the care that the composer took in interpreting the text and it also means that these compositions were aimed at connoisseurs. Vaet's *Qui operatus est Petro* stands alone in the production of *Staatsmotetten* at the Viennese court in the entire 16th century and may be unique even outside of this area.<sup>19</sup> It was printed as a single page (*Einblatt*) by Raphael Hofhalter in Vienna in the year of the Bavarian state visit, 1560. Under the dedication to Maximilian II as King of Bohemia and Archduke of Austria follows a poem in praise of the special place that the Austrian rulers awarded to music. This is followed by the coats of arms of these two titles flanking either side of a riddle canon whose purpose is indicated by a key depicted at the beginning of the canon. This arcane combination of a complicated and, in reality, antiquated technique with a hidden meaning in the text serves to underline the special audience of this piece of *musica reservata*. The canon is to be performed as two of the six voices of the composition, one voice singing it from the beginning to the end and the other voice in the other direction. This is an indication of the different paths that lead to the truth and actually was more the musical expression of Maximilian's irenic convictions than of the browbeating Catholic propaganda coming from the camp of Ferdinand I. Vaet was, after all, *Maximilian's* chapelmaster and thus represented his ideas. This work may in fact be Maximilian's very subtle answer to the Catholic elements pressuring him at that time. He is known to have stated in a conversation in 1560 with Bishop Stanislaus Hosius that he was neither a Catholic nor a Protestant but a Christian.<sup>20</sup> Even after realizing that the support he had hoped for from the German princes was not forthcoming, Maximilian maintained this attitude right to his deathbed, steadfastly refusing absolution by a priest despite the pleading of his staunch Catholic wife, Maria, and his sister, Anna.<sup>21</sup>

As already mentioned, the Bavarian state visit also included celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi. This holiday is still celebrated today in Vienna with a

<sup>17</sup> BERGQUIST, 1993, pp. 17f.

<sup>18</sup> STEINHARDT, 1951, p. 22.

<sup>19</sup> STEINHARDT, *DTÖ*, 103/104, p. 121-124 is the modern transcription of *Qui operatus est Petro*.

<sup>20</sup> H. LOUTHAN, *Johannes Crato and the Austrian Habsburgs. Reforming a Counter-Reform Court*, in *Studies in Reformed Theology and History*, 2/3, Princeton, 1994, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> V. BIBL, *Maximilian II, der rätselhafte Kaiser*, Hellaerau, 1929, pp. 395-397.

procession and a mass which includes the sequence *Veni sancte spiritus*. This is also one of the central chants in the imperial coronation ceremonies, so the significance for a ruler-to-be would have been obvious. Along with the demonstrations of the pleasure inherent in ruling as Emperor (jousts, banquets, hunts, etc.), Maximilian was probably submitted to a good deal of religious pressure not the least of which would have been involved in this reminder of the prerequisite to becoming Emperor, the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

### The coronation of 1562

One might be tempted to be cynical about Maximilian II's conformity to the wishes of his father and say *mutando mutandis* 'Vienna is worth a mass'. But the religious climate in the Empire in the early 1560s was so different from the France of Henri IV that the comparison is, to say the least, stretching it. In any case, Maximilian acquiesced to the demands of his father and, in 1562, was crowned King of Bohemia (in September in Prague) and then King of the Romans (in Frankfurt in November).<sup>22</sup> Duke Albrecht of Bavaria and Duchess Anna attended both coronations. This is perhaps a sign of their closeness to Maximilian but is definitely important as an indication of their support for his Catholicism which was the precondition to his coronation. Both coronations were dependent on an election and this could be an indication, if not clear proof, that Lasso composed his six-voiced *Pacis amans* for the bohemian ceremonies: the text of the second part *Te nunc laetetur sortita Bohemia* refers directly to Maximilian's election as King of Bohemia. The impressive message of the text (Appendix 1) is not so much 'imperial' as personal in its references to Maximilian's love of (religious) peace. We should not forget that the Bohemian folk, if not the aristocracy, was decidedly Protestant. Not only the preaching of Huss was instilled here but also the Bohemian Brethern, a sect whose existence was very dependent on Maximilian's tolerance and even had a strong advocate in Johannes Crato, the Emperor's personal physician.<sup>23</sup>

*Pacis amans* is obviously a work of a more refined type of *Staatsmotette* designed perhaps more for a small audience such as at a banquet rather than for the actual coronation ceremonies in St. Vitus where its effect would have been largely lost. However, if it were indeed intended for the ceremonies, a very appropriate moment might have been when the king is accompanied to the high altar for his anointment. This was preceded by the outfitting of

<sup>22</sup> In this period, the heir to the imperial throne was crowned King of Bohemia and Hungary before receiving the crown of King of the Romans which meant that he was automatically Emperor upon the death of his predecessor. This is a similar process to the one still used in England.

<sup>23</sup> See LOUTHAN, 1994, pp. 13-15.

Maximilian II in St. Wenceslaus' chapel with the Bohemian crown and scepter. Unfortunately, the descriptions of Maximilian's coronations, while indicating many places where music - probably plainsong - was a part of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, no text incipits help us identify non-liturgical music performed on these occasions. There were, of course, the ubiquitous *Te Deum*, and trumpet fanfares (sometimes in combination with cannon sallies).<sup>24</sup> It would be an exaggeration to imply that Lasso or his text author were making a personal comment on Maximilian's religious quandry but the emphasis on belief in both parts of the motet: 'lucerna fidei' in the prima pars and, more specifically, 'qui vere partes religionis agis et divina sacra fideique iura tueris' do seem a far cry from the usual royal symbols of the eagle or the lion (also the symbol of Bohemia). It is understood that Maximilian will, of course, represent the 'true' faith, i.e. Roman Catholicism. One reference in the text indicates the role of the Bohemian crown as a preparatory step toward receiving the imperial one: 'rex faxit Olympi imperii ut possis scepra semel' since this was the first of the three crowns ('semel') he would eventually receive. Once Maximilian II finally did convince Ferdinand that he was prepared to represent Catholicism, albeit an open and tolerant Catholicism, the scene was set for his succession to the various crowns of the northern line of the Habsburgs. At the end of 1560, Maximilian II finally found the formula that put his own mind to rest but also allowed him to become a Catholic sovereign: not to be a papist or a Protestant but simply a Christian. In this sense, Lasso's *Pacis amans* could hardly have been more appropriate in its praise of a ruler who truly did love peace.

<sup>24</sup> F. EDELMAYER - L. KAMMERHOFER - M. MANDELMAYR - W. PRENNER - K. VOCELKA (ed.), *Die Krönungen Maximilians II. zum König von Böhmen, Römischen König und König von Ungarn (1562/63) nach der Beschreibung des Hans Habersack* [Österreichische Geschichtsquellen, Erste Abt. *Scriptores*, 13], Vienna 1990. The modern edition of the description of the Bohemian ceremonies is on pp. 95-129. J. PANEK, *Maximilian II. als König von Böhmen*, in F. EDELMAYER - A. KOHLER (ed.), *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*, (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, 19), Vienna, 1992.

## APPENDIX 1

Texts of Lasso's *Staatsmotetten*

## Cantione octo vocum

Dic mihi: quem portas, volucrum regina?  
 Potentem Austriacum fratris qui modo sceptrum tenet.  
 Nun quid erat Jovis ales?  
 Eram.  
 Te haut fulmina terrent ejus?  
 Et in dextra fulmina Caesar habet.  
 Quae movit superum te causa relinquere sedes  
 Ferdinandumque Jovi praeposuisse Deo?  
 Jupiter insano flagrat Ganymedis amore,  
 Astraeae Caesar virginis igne calet.  
 Vocibus unanimes igitur modulemur ovantes!  
 Vivat Fernandus Caesar et orbis honos.  
 LASSO, SW, XIX, 133-138

Pacis amans cultorque Deum fideique lucerna.  
 Rex grande Austriadum Maximiliane decus,  
 in te omnis virtus nata est,  
 Rex faxit Olympi, imperij ut possis sceptrum semel.  
 II. pars  
 Te nunc laetetur sortita Bohemia regem,  
 qui vere partes, religionis agis  
 et divina sacrae fidei qui iura tueris,  
 Te Deus in multos det superesse dies.  
 LASSO, SW, XI, 125-130.

[First print 1570g; also: *Chansons Nouvelles a Cinc Parties Roy & Ballard Paris 1576: 74f.*]

O Maximilian, great king and glory of the Austrians, you who love peace and cherish God and are the lamp of faith, in you is all virtue born, [and] the King of Heaven has ordained that you should be enabled [to hold] the royal sceptres severally.  
 May Bohemia now rejoice, having elected you king, you who deal truthfully with the affairs of religion and observe the divine ordinances of the Sacred Faith. May God grant you to live on for many days to come. (Translation: Philip Weller).

## Cantione octo vocum

Quid vulgo memorant?  
 Rerum ecquid fama novarum dissipat in populos?  
 Quae nova turba refert?  
 Adventare ferunt magna stipante caterva  
 magnanimum Augustum finibus Austriacis.  
 Ecquae tantis heroa vocat, quae causa, Rudolphum?  
 Quo Caesar tandem numine flectit iter?  
 Urbs Augusta vocat, sedes ubi fama quietas nunciat.  
 Augustam vade Rudolphe pater patriae, columen caputque per orbem  
 salus vade, Rudolphe pater!  
 Imperii proceres concordia pace ligabit.

Germanis populis sanctaque jura dabit.  
 Vivat Rex, vivat per saecula, vivat Augustus patriae,  
 Vive, vive Rudolphe pater.  
*LASSO, SW, XIX, 122-128*

Ergo rex vivat, per saecula mille rex tantus,  
 vivant regi qui foedere juncti Austriaci et Boji,  
 quorum hic duo lumina cerno, utque diu cernam,  
 faxit Deus ille Deorum,  
 cui decus immensum constat fine dierum, dierum sine fine,  
 cui decus immensum constat sine fine dierum.  
*LASSO, SW, XIX, 129-132*

## APPENDIX 2

**Texts of Vaet's *Staatsmotetten***

Stat felix domus Austriae et inclita  
 principis aula ornamenta domi totius orbis habit.  
 Ergo letemur nos musica in arte periti conetur regi  
 quisque placere suo.  
*[for 6 voices] DTÖ 103/104, p. 132-138.*

Gratus in Austriacum quod veneris optime terram  
 Dux Bavaros lata qui ditone regis testatur Caesar  
 socer affinisque Bohemi rex populi  
 Emilius nobilitasque frequens.  
*DTÖ 100, p. 27-31.*

Qui operatus est Petro in apostolatum,  
 operatus est mihi intergentes  
 et cognoverunt gratiam, quae data est mihi  
 a Christo Domino.  
 (Canon:) Sancte Paulo, ora pro nobis.  
*DTÖ 103/104, p. 121-124.*

## TEXTUAL SOURCES AND COMPOSITIONAL TECHNIQUES IN THE FRENCH CHANSONS OF ORLANDO DE LASSUS

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Despite the fact that he spent many of his formative years in Italy and the majority of his working life in Germany, the great cosmopolitan master of the motet, mass, villanella and madrigal and of the polyphonic Lied remained true to his native French language throughout most of his life. While his correspondence, like his music, reflects his mastery of Latin, Italian and German, as well as his sensitivity to the nuances of each language that he set, his limited functional contact with francophone circles in Fontainebleau (1544), Antwerp (1554-55), Munich (particularly among the group of René de Lorraine) and Paris (1571-73) did not diminish his consistent and lifelong interest in the chanson. Between the six four-part pieces included in his first Antwerp publication of 1555 and the nineteen four-, five- and six-part pieces in his last Paris publication of 1584, Lassus offers nearly 150 chansons, representing a great variety of literary form and musical style.

It is possible that the boy chorister heard or sang some of the burgeoning repertoire of polyphonic chansons by Gombert, Clemens or Crecquillon in Mons, or the courtly pieces of Sermisy, Sandrin and Certon in Paris or Fontainebleau (in 1544-45), or in Milan (1546-49) where the works of Janequin and his French contemporaries remained in vogue. At all events he was certainly familiar with the chansons of these composers, as he showed in the parody masses and magnificats that he published subsequently. It is of course possible that Lassus could have become acquainted with such models retrospectively through the publications of Attaignant, Susato or Phalèse (or through the manuscript copies which must also have been widely distributed), just as it is clear that Palestrina modelled a number of his masses directly on motets published a generation earlier by Moderne of Lyons.

The present paper examines the evolving and fluctuating output of chansons by Lassus, indicating his textual and musical models, but also investigating his changes, his independence and his divergence from contemporary forms and practices.

The first chansons published successively in folios 12-15 of Susato's *Le quatoirsiesme livre à quatre parties contenant dixhuict chansons italiennes, six chansons francoises et six motetz faitz (à la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie) par Rolande di Lassus* in Antwerp in 1555 reveal a definite pattern of

arrangement by mode (a, a, g, g, F, F) and clef which Susato had already favoured in earlier publications of chansons and motets. But these chansons also follow a pattern of literary genre - the first three pieces being quatrain *épigrammes*, the next two cinquains derived from old *rondeaux* and the sixth an anecdotal huitain.

The very first piece - *Las voulez vous qu'une personne chante* - immediately signifies both Lassus's debt to tradition and his independence. The verse is a decasyllabic quatrain with crossed rhyme (abab) and alternating feminine and masculine endings:

Las voulez vous qu'une personne chante  
A qui le coeur ne fait que souspirer  
Laissez chanter celui qui se contente  
Et me laissez mon seul mal endurer

This kind of *épigramme* of unrequited love was greatly favoured in France a quarter of a century earlier during the reign of Francis I who himself wrote a number, emulating the language and form of those composed by his court poets Clément Marot and Mellin de Saint Gelais; such pieces were set for four voices by his court musicians (particularly Sermisy), and were published by the royal printer Pierre Attaignant. In fact Attaignant's very first anthology of chansons includes a setting by the *chappelle* singer Pierre Vermont<sup>1</sup> of the same four lines. However quite apart from a slight variant in the third line ('Faictes chanter' where Lassus has 'Laissez chanter'), Vermont's text continues with three more lines, producing one of the rare examples of a seven-line *épigramme* found in either musical or literary collections of the time; Vermont's musical structure is that of the old *ballade* (AA'B C) favoured in the common contemporary eight-line *épigramme*, using matching music for the first and second couplets and repeating the last line.

It is by no means certain that the quatrain text used by Lassus was a truncation or corruption of the seven-line text set by Vermont. It is balanced and complete, with an appropriate punch line characteristic of the *épigramme* form; indeed, in view of the rarity of the seven-line form in France, it is possible that Vermont's text actually represents an extension of a four-line original. Moreover, there is no clear musical evidence - either rhythmic, melodic or structural - that Lassus knew Vermont's setting (or the subsequent parodies of Antoine Gardane (1538) and Pierre Certon (1570)). However, in 1556 Hubert

<sup>1</sup> This setting is anonymous in Attaignant's *Chansons nouvelles* (RISM 1528<sup>3</sup>); but it was ascribed to Vermont in a later edition of Attaignant (RISM 1536<sup>1</sup>).

Waelrant and Jean Laet published a Calvinist contrafactum of the text written by Eustorg de Beaulieu ten years earlier and set to music for four voices by Jean Caulery:<sup>2</sup>

Las voulez vous que la personne chante  
 Folles chansons dont se deust retirer.  
 Faictes chanter la musique plaisante  
 Dont Dieu jadis vint David inspirer

This *chanson spirituelle* at least indicates that the poem was familiar in Antwerp in the mid 1550s; and indeed the very slight similarity of mode and melodic contour between the settings of Lassus & Caulery could conceivably suggest a thread of musical connection.

Vermont, Caulery and Lassus all observe the characteristic syntactic division of the poem with separate musical sentences for every line, organized according to an hierarchical cadence structure; moreover, all these composers subdivide each line of text after the fourth syllable with subsidiary cadences or half cadences, usually with dovetailed vocal entries. The prosodic structure is most obvious in Vermont's setting which typifies the largely homophonic texture and schematic form of the new 'Parisian' *chanson* of the 1520s. Caulery's through-composed setting begins homophonically; but it then introduces each subsequent line or half line in strict imitation, characteristic of contemporary Netherlanders (notably Clemens and Crecquillon). Lassus, with his briefer throughout-composed setting, is infinitely more subtle and varied in his textural structure. Such an expansive opening, with staggered and largely independent vocal entries (offering a variation of the traditional Tenor - Superius pairing) was rarely seen in earlier chansons. Also rare is the degree of repetition for most of the subsequent text phrases, although the reiteration of the final line, characteristic of the *épigramme*, is common to all three settings. Lassus' selection of figurative motifs for particular words (notably 'soupper' followed by a rest in each voice in the second line of the poem and 'chanter' with its animated motif in the third line) is not found in the other settings and may reflect features of the Petrarchan madrigals of Verdelot, Arcadelt and Rore, which Lassus could have heard in Italy, but which in any case had already affected French *épigramme* and sonnet settings of the 1540s and 1550s. Finally, although the melodic range and basic punctuation of cadences at the end of each line (a-'e-C-'a) is similar to that of Vermont (d-F-d-F) and Caulery (C-d-C-C), Lassus employs a wider palette of chords with a faster

<sup>2</sup> T. MCTAGGART (ed.), *Jardin musical contenant plusieurs belles fleurs de chansons spirituelles [...]* Livre second, Hamden, U.S.A., 1990.

harmonic rhythm. This trait remains typical of his chansons throughout his career.

Thus in his first piece Lassus establishes a characteristic compositional framework for his chansons, based on traditionally French syntactic structure but eschewing schematic repetition in favour of through composition, with variegated textual repetition accompanied by new musical motives. Thorough imitation favoured by the Flemish chansons (as also motets and masses) gives way here to more varied contrapuntal combinations and a greater sensitivity to individual wordpainting.

The second chanson in Susato's collection sets another decasyllabic quatrain text with more unusual consecutive rhyming couplets (aabb - but again, observing the feminine-masculine alternation favoured by Marot and later poets for lyrical verse).

En espoir vis et crainte me tourmente  
 Un jour je ris et l'autre je lamente  
 Votre doux oeil me fait bien esperer  
 Mais mon grief mal me contrain soupirer.

The sentiments are similar to those found in the first chanson; but here they are expressed with more antithetical device. Again an anonymous four-voice setting was published by Attaignant in Paris, thirteen years earlier. But textual variants (in the last couplet), as well as differences in structure, mode and melody suggest that Lassus had no direct knowledge of this setting. The melodic motif of the second hemistich (Ex. 1a) may however have influenced a second setting by Jehan Le Cocq published in Susato's second chanson book of 1544, despite differences in text mode and structure, (Ex. 1b). A third setting ascribed to 'Claudin Le Jeune' in the third chanson collection published by Phalèse in 1552 adopts Le Cocq's text, mode and (through-composed) structure; but it modifies the opening melody as part of a paired imitation (Ex. 1c). Lassus also begins with paired imitation compressing the span of Le Cocq's motif, (Ex. 1d). Lassus further reveals direct knowledge of Le Jeune's setting by emulating the motif of his last line, also in paired imitation (Ex. 1e & f). Despite this clear influence Lassus shows his independence by introducing more varied textures, more sensitivity to the poem's antithesis in his melodic contours and greater harmonic agility and range, including a final, half cadence underlining the oft repeated concluding 'soupir', which is inevitably followed by the ubiquitous madrigalian rests, as in his first chanson. And although Lassus contrives to repeat each hemistich in the poem, his setting is briefer than Le Cocq's or Le Jeune's.

Ex. 1a 1542<sup>14</sup> (Attaignant)

[ANON]

En e - s-poir vis et crain - te me tour - men - te

Ex. 1b 1544<sup>10</sup> (Susato)

J. LE COCQ

En e - s-poir vis et crain - te me tour - men - te, et crain - te me tour - men - te

Ex. 1c 1552<sup>11</sup> (Phalèse)

CLAUDIN LE JEUNE

En e - s-poir vis et crain - te me tour - men - te

En e - s-poir vis et crain - te me tour - men - te

En e - s-poir vis et crain - te me tour - men - te

Ex. 1d 1555<sup>29</sup> (Susato)

LASSUS

En e - s-poir vis et crain - te me tour - men - te, et crain - te me tour - men - te

En e - s-poir vis et crain - te me tour - men - te, et crain - te me tour - men - te

En e - s-poir vis et crain - te me tour - men - te

Ex. 1e 1552<sup>11</sup> (Phalèse)

LE JEUNE

Mais mon grief mal me con-traint sous - pi - rer, me con-traint sous - pi - rer

Mais mon grief mal Mais mon grief mal me con-traint sous-pi - rer, me con-traint sous - pi - rer -rer.

Ex. 1f 1555<sup>29</sup> (Susato)

LASSUS

Mais mon grief mal me con-traint sous-pi - rer, Mais mon grief mal me con - traint sous - pi -rer, sous - pi -rer, sous - pi - rer

Mais mon grief mal me con-traint sous-pi - rer, Mais mon grief mal me con - traint sous - pi -rer, sous-pi -rer, sous - pi - rer

Lassus's third decasyllabic quatrain, another courtly expression of undying love is, like the first piece, presented in crossed rhyme with the conventional alternation of masculine and feminine endings:

Avecques vous mon amour finira  
 Puis que mon coeur est en vous seulement  
 Plaise vous donc avoir contentement  
 Car le corps mort, l'esprit vous servira.

Adolf Sandberger, the editor of the first modern edition of the chansons, suggested that Lassus may have taken this text, like the second and many others, from an anthology of poems entitled *Fleur de Dame Poesie*. This anthology was one of a number of similar anonymous collections of *épigrammes* and strophic chansons printed by Alain Lotrian, Pierre Sergent and others in Paris during the 1540s; but these modest handbooks actually contain pieces which had already appeared in musical setting, as some of their title-pages state explicitly.<sup>3</sup> The frequency of variants suggest that these texts were not a direct source for Lassus, any more than were the musical partbooks of Attaignant from which they were derived. This third text illustrates the case clearly, for in the *Fleur* collections the text of the last line begins 'Car mort le corps', as does a four-voice setting by the remote composer L'Huyllier published in 1542 by Attaignant, who five years later issued another setting by the equally remote Puy following the mode, structure and some melodic motives from the earlier publication.

Meanwhile in 1544 Susato printed another four-voice setting by Nicole Payen whose mode and melody are quite new. Here for the first time the third line of the text shows the textual inversion 'Car le corps mort'. Lassus follows Payen's text and opening paired imitation; but is quite independent in devising new motives and textures within his much more concise setting. No word-painting here, but in the final hemistich an elaboration of the descending tetrachord (which underlines the whole piece) including some novel syncopated counterpoint typically used to characterize animation in many of Lassus's later chansons. The fourth chanson in Susato's book sets an octosyllabic cinquain of the kind favoured by Josquin and others at the beginning of the century:

Je l'ayme bien et l'aymeray,  
 En ce propos suis et seray,  
 Et demoure toute ma vie  
 Et quoyqy'on m'en die par envie  
 Je l'ayme bien et l'aymeray.  
 (Lassus)

Je l'ay aymé et l'aymeray,  
 A ce propos suys et seray,  
 Tant que sçaura durer ma vie  
 Et quoyqu'on die par envie,  
 Jamais je na le changeray...  
 (Anon.)

In fact Lassus's extract is a corruption of a *rondeau cinquain* published in *Les rondeaux en nombre trois cens cinquante* in Paris in 1527 and included in a number of later anonymous anthologies: the first five lines are shown above alongside the text used by Lassus. The original text was set for four voices by

<sup>3</sup> For details of these editions see F. DOBBINS, *Jacques Moderne's 'Parangon des Chansons'*, in *Research Chronicles of the Royal Musical Association*, 12 (1974), pp. 1-90.

Pierre Hesdin and published in Paris by Attaignant in 1534 (Ex. 2a). In 1549 Susato's eleventh book presents the corrupt text set by Johannes Castileti (alias Jean Guyot) (Ex. 2b). Each line begins with a different motif passing imitatively from one voice to the other with a reprise fo the first line offering a transposed stretto of the opening motif. Lassus adopts Guyot's text (including the superfluous syllable 'm'en' in the fourth line), as well as the rounded structure found in both earlier settings. He also follows Guyot's melismatic setting of the first syllable of 'l'aymeray' and the more rhythmically animated approach to the second and third lines. However, he shuns the consistently imitative starts and favours new melodic motives, although his first is similar to Hesdin's opening Tenor part (Ex. 2c)

Ex. 2a 1534<sup>14</sup> (Attaignant) HESDIN

Je l'ay ay - mé. Je l'ay ay - mé et l'ay - me - ray

Ex. 2b 1549<sup>21</sup> (Susato) GUYOT

Je l'ai - me bien et l'ai-me-rai A ce propos suis et ce-ray Et de-mou-rai

Ex. 2c 1555<sup>29</sup> (Susato) LASSUS

Je l'ay - me bien et l'ay - me - ray Et de - mou - ray

The fifth chanson offers a decasyllabic *cinquan* not found in any contemporary anthology of verse:

Trop endurer sans avoir allegeance  
 Cause à l'esprit si tres grande grevance  
 Que mort s'ensuit sans avoir reconfort  
 De son vouloir luy faisant son effort,  
 Que brief secours luy fera allegeance.

Although no *rentrement* is included here, the language and structure suggest that this poem may be an extract from another early sixteenth century *rondeau*; it could however simply be an epigrammatic derivative, such as are found in many printed and manuscript collections of the 1530s.

Lassus may have known the extended imitative five-voice setting by Nicolas Gombert, although this was not published until 1559. However there is no

kind of emulation in Lassus' brief but equally lyrical setting, which shows his typical variety of voice-leading and combination, with characteristic rhythmically enlivened *stretti* in the much repeated final hemistich.

The last chanson in Susato's collection shows Lassus attempting a Marotic anecdotal *épigramme* of the kind so deftly illustrated by Janequin, Passereau, Certon, Didier Lupi and other French composers of the 1530s and 1540s.

'Vray dieu' disoit une fillette,  
 'Donnes confort à mon grief mal.  
 Je ne puis plus dormir seullette,  
 Je sens trop bien qu'il me fait mal.  
 Le souvenir de mes amours,  
 Sans plus tarder, voudroy sçavoir  
 Quel' chose est ce qu'on dit tousjours,  
 Baiser n'est rien sans autre avoir'.

Without any particular model, Lassus reveals his mastery of appropriate declamation, even if his vocal textures are rather more dense than those of his French predecessors. The extended inverted pedal which drives home the final point follows a pattern similar to earlier *épigrammes*.

The first five-voice chansons by Lassus were published in Paris in 1559 by Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, who had assumed the mantle of Attaignant as the French royal printers in the late 1550s, achieving notable commercial success with the chansons and *voix de ville* of Arcadelt, recently returned from Rome, as well as with the later works of older composers like Sermisy, Janequin and Certon.

Five-voice chansons that were not four-voice pieces with one canonic voice remained rare before the mid-sixteenth century. In *Veux tu ton mal* Lassus offers a reinterpretation of the canonic genre by maintaining a canon-like interplay between his two lower voices below three upper parts which alternate homophony and free counterpoint. The effect is rare but effective. The poem, a quatrain found in the *Fleur de poesie* anthologies and therefore probably set for four voices a generation earlier, appears here with the through-composed musical structure that Lassus almost invariably adopts. The ensuing piece - *Le voulez vous* - set for the same high voices (C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub> clefs) is designated as a 'Responce' to the previous piece. Both pieces have the same decasyllabic quatrain form. Their connection had been recognized in the *Fleur* anthologies but not in the surviving musical collections which include only a setting for four voices by Jacotin of this second quatrain (Ex. 3a). Lassus makes no obvious musical quotation of Jacotin's quartet; some rhythmic similarities probably result merely from both composers' apt declamation (Ex. 3b).

Ex. 3a 1536<sup>4</sup> (Attaignant) JACOTIN Ex. 3b 1559<sup>12</sup> (Le Roy) LASSUS Ex. 3c 1555<sup>29</sup> (Susato) LASSUS

Ex. 4a 1533 (Attaignant) RICHAFORT

Ex. 4b 1560 (Phalèse) LASSUS

Melodic paraphrase by accretion

And, despite the identity of mode and clef, there is no melodic connection between the ‘Responce’ and its predecessor. This is however a variant quotation in the two lowest voices of the opening of Lassus’ first published chanson (Ex. 3c).

None of the new four-voice pieces by Lassus in Le Roy’s *Douzième livre* show any quotation of earlier models. Two of them set eight lines of a ten-line *épigramme* attributed to the minor poet, Pierre du Val, in his *Cercle d’Amour* which had been published in Paris in 1544:<sup>4</sup>

Si le longtems, à moy trop rigoureux,  
 Me rend absent des doux yeux de madame,  
 S’ebaiston si je suis langoureux  
 Frustré du bien qui fait prospere l’ame  
 [...]  
 O temps divers qui me defend de voir  
 Celle ou ma foy prend sa ferme defence  
 Je meurs par toy, car malgré mon vouloir  
 Il n’est ennuye que d’amoureuse absence.

Such laceration of longer poems had occurred in the chansons of Clemens & Crecquillon, who occasionally converted old *rondeaux* and *virelais*. However it is unusual to find *épigrammes* further truncated in this way; and it is perhaps symptomatic of Lassus’ interest in such short and pithy texts which later led him to set a single strophe (no necessarily the first) of sonnets or odes by Ronsard and the Pléiade. In setting Du Val’s poem Lassus uses the same mode, clefs and through-composed form, for both chansons but shuns any thematic inter-connection.

<sup>4</sup> In 1564 when he reprinted these two quatrain extracts Jacob Susato recognized the link between them by designating the second as as Response; but Sandberger’s edition, whose order is curious, widely separates the pieces as nos 3 & 35, in LASSO, SW, XII, pp. 7 and 67.

Two more four-voice chansons were published in Le Roy's thirteenth book (RISM 1559<sup>13</sup>); *Voir est beaucoup le taire encore plus* - is another four-line *épigramme* with conventional rhyme, set in a more homophonic manner than earlier pieces and with an unusual literal repeat of the last line. The texture and structure represent a concession to French taste, even if no earlier model is followed here. The second piece, - *Ton feu s'estainct de ce que le mien ard* - another decasyllabic quatrain with crossed alternating rhyme (abba) - does have a precedent in a rare canonic by Sermisy, published by Attaignant in 1536. Its text was reprinted later in the *Fleur* anthologies; but Lassus completely ignores Sermisy's setting, choosing a more homophonic approach than usual.

The third group of chansons includes three new four-part and ten new five-part pieces, published by Pierre Phalèse at Louvain in 1560, along with a reprint of the six pieces printed by Susato in 1555. The first new piece - *Hélas quel jour seray je de mon vouloir* - is a quatrain of unusual rhyme (abcc) and structure (the final line having only six syllables), suggesting that it is a strophe or fragment of a longer poem, although no literary publication or earlier setting is available to verify this hypothesis. The next piece - *Ung doux nenni* - is Lassus's first setting of Clément Marot - the eight-line *épigramme De ouy ou nenny* (1538): this follows the mode, clefs and opening chords of a four-voice setting by Crecquillon published by Attaignant in 1549. Lassus follows Crecquillon's rhythms, although he expands the melisma on the word 'sourire' and thereafter veers a new course with more textual repetition and musical imitation, abandoning Crecquillon's schematic structure in favour of through composition.

The first five-voice setting in Lassus's 1560 collection - *Elle s'en va* - turns again to a text by Marot - this time a quatrain *épigramme* - *Au départ de s'amy* - first published in 1534; but this verse is not known in any musical setting before that of Lassus, which repeats both the poem's first and last lines with modified musical reprise.

The ensuing piece - *Est il possible à moi pouvoir trouver* - reverts to the favourite four-line text form; it is in fact an *épigramme* found in the *Fleur* anthologies, following a four-voice setting by Clément Morel published by Attaignant in 1542. Lassus does not use the text, mode or motifs of this setting, nor of the one by Jan Gerard which Phalèse had published in 1552; instead he adopts a series of brief new motifs, each beginning in imitation.

*Le rossignol plaisant et gracieux* follows an eight-line *épigramme* set for four voices by Mittantier in 1539 and reprinted in the *Fleur* anthologies. Like Mittantier, Lassus for once repeats the music of the first couplet, and he may have been influenced by the earlier composer's pervasive descending scale

motif: however he prefers the brighter major mode with lighter, more syllabic figures. He nonetheless manages some madrigalian word-painting with high C major for 'liberté' and low B flat for 'triste duel'.

The repetition of the opening hemistich at the end of Richafort's four-voice setting of *Sur tous regretz le mien plus piteulx pleure*, first published by Attaignant in 1538, suggests that this quatrain may be an extract of an earlier *rondeau*. The poem's tone and language are akin to those 'regret' poems written for Marguerite of Austria after the death of her second husband in 1504 and set to music by Josquin, La Rue and others. Lassus' five-voice setting changes the mode, but retains Richafort's opening rising third motif, modifying the rhythm and elaborating the continuation by accretion (Ex. 4a & 4b). Lassus also truncates Richafort's extraordinarily long final inverted pedal point in the *rentrement*, which similarly offers a modified version of the opening music. In setting *Las me faut il tant de mal supporter*, a huitain *épigramme* published in the *Fleur* anthologies, Lassus separates the voice parts for the opening chords of a four-voice setting by Maille, published several times in Paris & Lyons between 1539 & 1544, producing a free polyphonic texture typical of Lassus (Ex. 5a & b). The rhythm in the second line is also akin to Maille's but thereafter Lassus diverges, avoiding the earlier setting's opening and closing reprises.

Ex. 5a 1539<sup>17</sup> (Attaignant)      MAILLE Ex. 5b 1560 (Phalèse)      LASSUS

Las me faut il      Las me faut il tant de mal sup- por- ter

Deriving contrapuntal motives from homophonic models

Ex. 6 1549<sup>21</sup> (Susato)      CRECQUILLON 1563<sup>11</sup> (Le Roy)      LASSUS

Tout- tes les      nuitz      Tou- tes les      nuitz

Melodic paraphrase by accretion

Ex. 7 1556<sup>15</sup> (Le Roy) (Tenor)      JANEQUIN 1562 (Le Roy) (Supernus)      LASSUS

Ce faux a - mour d'arc et de fle-ches s'ar - me      Ce faux a - mour d'arc et de fle-ches s'ar - me

Rearranging borrowed pitches by rhythmic paraphrase

Ex. 8 1554<sup>2</sup> (Le Roy)      ARCADELT 1564 (J. Susato)      LASSUS

Mar - got la - bou - rez les vi - gnes, vi - gnes, vi - gnes, vi - gno - let      Mar - got la - bou - rez les vi - gnes, vi - gnes, vi - gnes, vi - gno - let

Modifying popular melody by rhythmic innovation

Curiously Lassus seems to have been the first composer to set Marot's chanson *Mon coeur se recommande à vous* - first published in 1538, although his brief but consistently contrapuntal version attracted many later imitations.

*Vous que aymez les dames, blande loquimini* is undoubtedly a contraction of a similar macaronic of eighth French lines each followed by a Latin tag, set for four voices by Certon and by Le Rat in Parisian publications a few years earlier. However despite its equally animated syllabic rhythm, Lassus's five-line setting imitates neither predecessor. Similarly in treating the conventionally structured quatrain, *J'attens le temps ayant ferme esperance*, Lassus avoids quotation of a four-voice setting by Janequin published in Attaignant's eight book of 1540. Like his four-voice setting printed four years later, Lassus's *Ardant amour souvent me faict instance* adopts the conventional schematic structure for this huitain by repeating the music of the first couplet for the second. Here without any earlier model, Lassus shows remarkable variety of mode, melody and rhythm in two quite unrelated musical settings for four and five voices.

In his five-voice re-working of Guillaume Guérout's ten-line *chanson spirituelle* - *Susanne ung jour* - Lassus takes his Tenor from Didier Lupi's four-voice setting of 1548, expanding it from 43 to 58 breves by interpolating extra phrases in each line. Although he retains Lupi's structure (AABCC) in repeating the music of the first couplet and last line he disguises the model's more obvious schematic arrangement by varying the reprises.<sup>5</sup>

The last chanson in Phalèse's collection of 1560 has a cinquain text, *Ung triste ceur rempli de fantasie*, which had been set for four voices by Crecquillon in a collection published by Susato in 1552 and reprinted by Phalèse in 1554. Lassus uses the same mode as Crecquillon, follows his rhythm occasionally and includes some fleeting melodic quotation.

The twelfth of Le Roy's regular chanson anthologies (RISM 1561<sup>5</sup>) includes only one new piece by Lassus - his first setting of Ronsard, who was to sing the praises of 'le plus que divin Orlande' in the preface to Le Roy's *Mellange de chansons tant des vieux autheurs que des modernes* (Paris, 1572). However Ronsard may not have known Lassus in 1560, since he omitted his name from the composers mentioned in the preface to the earlier edition of the *Mellange*. He would certainly not have approved of Lassus's setting only the first eight lines of his sonnet *Rendz moy mon coeur pillarde* from the *Amours* of 1552.

<sup>5</sup> For further information on this setting see K.J. LEVY *Susanne un jour. The history of a 16th century chanson*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), pp. 375-398.

No earlier setting is known and Nicolas Millot who published a four-voice setting in 1570 closely follows the text and music of Lassus.

Only one chanson by Lassus - *Toutes les nuicts que sans vous je me couche* - was printed in Italy, included as the final piece in *Il terzo libro delli madrigali a cinque voci d'Orlando di Lassus* published by Antonio Barré in Rome in 1563. Here Lassus seems to have been the last in a line of composers who set these first six lines of a *rondeau quatrain* published as early as 1502. Although his five-voice setting selects a different mode, in modifying the same motifs at the beginning of the first two lines (Ex. 6) and in recapitulating the opening figure for the *rentrement* it shows a clear knowledge of a famous four-voice setting by Thomas Crecquillon, first printed by Susato in 1549.

The 27 'new' four-part chansons published by Jacob Susato at Antwerp in 1564 follow a similar textual pattern to the first thirty pieces of Lassus. No less than seven texts are by Marot, although only four of these are *épigrammes*;<sup>6</sup> in addition Lassus now attempts a metrical psalm strophe (*Du fons de ma pensée*) which modifies the Genevan tune in the Tenor, an *estrenne* (*Si vous n'estes en bon poinct*), a unique setting with unusual internal repetition and a unique *épitaphe* originally addressed to the poet Coquillart who died in 1510 (*La mort est jeu pire aux quilles*) which is treated like a quatrain *épigramme* in through-composed form. Two texts are by Marot's colleague, Mellin de Saint-Gelais; one is a cinquain (*Le vray amy*), the other a strophe of a *chanson à refrain* (*J'ay cherché la science*). Both these, like the many other anonymous *épigrammes*, follow texts found in earlier musical settings.

In *Ce faux amour d'arc et de flesche s'arme* - a ten-line courtly *épigramme* set for four voices by Janequin in 1556, Lassus's unusually homophonic setting changes the mode and schematic structure, although his Superius begins with the same notes (g-f sharp-g-a-g-f sharp) as Janequin's Tenor, modifying their rhythm (Ex. 7).

No fewer than eight models in Jacob Susato's collection come from pieces by Pierre Certon. These include three strophic *voix de ville*, none of which append the additional stanzas found in the models published in Paris by Le Roy in the 1550s. Nor do any of these settings adopt the homophonic style favoured in the new genre. Lassus's nearest approach to the new French fashion is found in his delightful setting of Ronsard's *Bonjour mon coeur*, which,

<sup>6</sup> Epigrammes continue to predominate with thirteen pieces in Jacob Susato's 1564 collection: however with only three quatrains (the form favoured earlier), three cinquains, five huitains and three dixains, we may observe a trend towards longer poems that may be discerned through the first thirty chansons.

Ex. 9 1570 (Du Chemin) CERTON 1564 (J. Susato) LASSUS

O vin-en vi-gne  
Et de-het de-het

O vin-en vi-gne  
Et de-het de-het

while ignoring Goudimel's recent and strictly isometric setting, maintains a similarly consistent homorhythmic texture throughout. The next proximate to the air is *Margot labourerez les vignes*, a rustic poem whose refrain is set homophonically, modifying the pitch and rhythm of the four-voice setting by Arcadelt published in Paris ten years earlier. But many of the unusually high number of other syllabic settings of non-courtly verse, in this collection, (*Quand mon mary*, *Monsieur l'abbé*, *A ce matin*, *Fleur de quinze ans*, *Petite folle*, *Fuyons tous*, and *En un lieu*) have a high degree of Gallic verve with more chordal declamation than is usual in Lassus's courtly *épigrammes*.

Pierre Phalèse's *Quatriesme livre des chansons à quatre et cinq parties nouvellement composées par Orlando di Lassus* (Louvain, 1564) adds ten more pieces to those published by Jacob Susato in the same year. The new texts are highly varied including two extracts from old *rondeaux* (*Le departir* by King Francis I and *De tout mon coeur*), two *chansons à refrain* (*Soyons joyeux* and *D'où venez vous*), four *épigrammes* - two of eight lines (*O comme heureulx* and *Au feu* which is followed by a response), one of ten lines (*Mon coeur ravi*) and one of four lines (*Puisque fortune*), along with a strophe from an *odelette* published by Ronsard ten years earlier (*La terre, les eaues*). All of these are found in settings by earlier composers whose musical influence on Lassus however remained marginal. Only one text is novel - *J'endure un tourment des tourments le pire* - which has the unique form of two isometric strophes of six decasyllabic lines, all with the same rhyme. Lassus treats each strophe separately in through-composed manner, ending the first in the dominant key and calling the second a 'Response' although it has no evident connection in motif or cadence.

Most of Lassus' later chansons appeared in Paris from the press of his friend Adrian Le Roy. And although the composer continues to choose many old texts which had already been used by composers of the previous generation, the novelties now increase. Thus two of the three new five-voice pieces published in Le Roy's eighteenth book of 1565 are not found in earlier musical or literary collections, although they are both eight-line *épigrammes* which Lassus sets in his usual through-composed manner; the second piece - *Où t'attend* - is related to the first - *Comme la tourterelle* - by its indication as a 'Response', although the music attempts no reversal or reprise. The third piece - *Je ne veux plus chanter de tristesse* - is also treated as an eight-line *épigramme* with different musical sentences for each line, except the last which is repeated;

however the text actually comprises the first two of twenty four-line stanzas published by Ronsard in 1556 and set strophically by François Roussel and Pierre Clereau in 1559, although Lassus ignores these settings. A similar situation occurs in *O vin en vigne* (published in Le Roy's 1570 *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus*): this sets continuously two six-line strophes of a *chanson à refrain* following rhythms and melodic motives found in a setting of the first strophe by Certon (Ex. 9); however this time Lassus retains the same music for the two-line refrain at the end of each strophe.

The 1570 *Mellange* also includes Lassus's first complete French sonnet - *Noblesse gist au cueur du vertueux*, set in through-composed fashion, unlike Costeley's schematic setting which Lassus must have known from Le Roy's eighteenth book, where it appeared next to one of his pieces (*Soyons joyeux*). *Épigrammes* still predominate in the *Mellange*; but most are extended examples - five are huitains, one a sixain. The one quatrain - *Quand me souvient de ma triste fortune* - curiously follows Crecquillon's unique repetition of the last two words of the first line as a final coda much extended in Lassus (Ex. 10). The longest piece is the final eight-voice setting of *Un jour l'amant et l'amie*, a narrative *épigramme* of sixteen unusual seven syllable lines which had been set for four voices by Pierre Certon in 1556; Lassus follows Certon's through-composed structure but borrows little in rhythm or melody. Jodelle who wrote a prefatory sonnet to this collection comments on the 'wings' which Lassus gives to the verse he sets, animating the flight with 'Mouvements si beaux, Si prompts, si hauts': music that gives soul to the body of the text:

l'air des beaux chants inspirés dans les vers  
Et comme en un beau corps une belle âme infuse.

In May 1571 Lassus visited Paris, perhaps to supervise Le Roy's publication of his motets and of his *Livre de chansons nouvelles à cinc parties*, which no doubt represented his latest compositions. Significantly this collection begins with three poems of Ronsard, although none of the texts were new. In fact the first piece in the collection dedicated to King Charles IX sets the first strophe of *Comme un qui prend une coupe*, an ode originally addressed in 1550 to Charles's father Henry II - 'le plus grand roy - soit en armes ou en lois', which had been set for three voices by Pierre Clereau in 1559. Here we find one of the rare examples of Lassus indulging in a schematic setting *à la française*, repeating the music of the first couplet for the second and balancing this with a

Ex. 10 1554<sup>14</sup> (Phaléve)      CRECQUILLON      1570 (Le Roy)      LASSUS

hé - las      Tri - ste for - tu - ne      hé - las      Tri - ste for - tu - ne      -      ne.      Tri - ste for - tu - ne.      Tri - ste for - tu - ne.

Expanding coda with melodic inversion

reprise of the last line. Here Lassus also remains closer to a musical model than usual, citing Clereau's rhythm, melody and harmony in his opening phrase (Ex. 11a & b).

Ex. 11a 1559 (Le Roy) CLEREAU

Com - me un qui prend u - ne coup - pe. Seul hon - neur de son tré - sor.

Ex. 11b 1571 (Le Roy) LASSUS

Com - me un qui prend u - ne coup - pe. Seul hon - nour de son tré - sor.

Pre-imitation

The second piece in the collection - *Ton nom que mon vers dira* - presents the third strophe of an ode which Ronsard had written for Queen Catherine de Medici before 1550; to this Lassus oddly appends as a *seconde partie* the preceding *épode* - *Le comble de ton scavoir*. These two pieces had also been published (consecutively, but in correct order) in Clereau's trios of 1559; but Lassus does not borrow mode, melody or harmony on this occasion. The reprise of the music of the third line for the sixth and the repeat of the last three lines, like the homophonic texture in the first part, may be another concession to French taste; however the *seconde partie* reverts to the more familiar through-composition in a mixture of free and strict counterpoint with brief homophonic moments - as in the second line, which neatly adds the bass part for the word 'ensemble'.

The third piece of 1571 - *J'espere et crains* - turns to the first sonnet published in the musical appendix to Ronsard's *Amours* of 1552 as a model for sonnets of similar verse structure. But Lassus ignores Certon's schematic setting, preferring his customary through-composed structure with a separate section for the sestina, realizing some of the poem's antithetical figures with appropriate madrigalisms.<sup>7</sup> The fifth piece also chooses a text by Ronsard - the tenth and final strophe of the *Odelette à luy mesme* - *Ores que je suis dispos* - first published in 1554. Lassus then appends as a *seconde partie* six more lines of different length and verse structure which are not found in any editions of Ronsard, although their sense is akin to the penultimate strophe of the same poem. Lassus seems to have been the first composer to use either of these texts, as he was in selecting two *rondeaux* by Marot (*Un bien petit* & *Bonjour et puis*) which he sets in their entirety in two sections, both through-composed

except for the *rentrement* at the end of each section which repeats the opening phrase. These complete settings contrast with his six earlier fragmentary settings of *rondeaux*. The sixth of the 1571 *Chansons nouvelles* also uses the through-composed bipartite form for *O foible esprit* from Joachim du Bellay's *L'Olive* (1549). Here Lassus recalls the opening rhythm of an earlier four-part setting by Gentien (Ex. 12); but thereafter he diverges, following his own course. In his through-composed chanson spirituelle - *Hélas mon Dieu, tu me fais tant de bien* - Lassus remains aloof from Valentin Sohier's earlier four-voice setting, published in Paris in 1553 by Michel Fezandat.

Ex. 12 1549<sup>22</sup> (Attaignant) GENTIEN 1571 (Le Roy) LASSUS

Harmonic innovation

The fourth piece in the 1571 collection - *Parens sans amis* - is unique in structure, having seven short lines with masculine *rime enchaînée* followed by six with consistently feminine rhyme, thus contravening Ronsard's recommendation for alternating rhyme in lyrical settings. Here Lassus repeats the music of the first section's final couplet and of the *seconde partie*'s last line. A similar case is found in the fifteenth piece of 1571 - *De plusieurs choses* - a 'diction commun' ascribed to Pierre Grognet in a collection of poetry published in 1530. Here Lassus sets the five eight-syllable lines (all with the same feminine rhyme) in through-composed manner. The remaining texts are mostly by Marot; but they show remarkable variety of poetic genre, even if Lassus adopts the same through-composed structure in every case. *D'amour me va tout au rebours* chooses the first of two seven-line strophes of a chanson from the *Adolescence clementine* (1532), ignoring the earlier setting of Manchicourt (1545) and Waelrant (1559), adding a fifth voice that uses a melodic inversion of the Tenor to depict the poem's reversal (Ex. 13). *Pour courir en poste* offers a

Ex. 13 1571 (Le Roy) LASSUS

<sup>7</sup> He adopts the same bipartite form for two further sonnets from Ronsard's 1552 *Amours* - *Amour, amour donne moy paix ou treve* for five voices (no. 16) - and the last piece *O doux parler dont l'apast douceux*, for eight voices divided into two four-part choirs which sing the first couplets in turn before alternating hemistichs and finally combine in the last line of each section. The penultimate piece, also for eight voices, sets the *Sonnet en forme de dialogue* from Olivier de Magny's *Amours* of 1553, alternating the two choirs to represent the poet's exchanges with Charon. This version ignores earlier four-voice settings by Berçoy (1569) and Bertrand (1570).

rare late setting of a complete *ballade*, shunning the traditional *forme fixe* in favour of separate music for each of the three eight-line strophes with a four-line *envoy* with slight motivic similarity for the refrain lines (4, 8, 12, 16, 20, 24, 26 & 28). The fifth consecutive setting of Marot - *Je vous donne en conscience* - presents a unique setting of an *estrenne* from Marot's 1542 collection, treated as a through-composed cinquain. *Paisible domaine*, a diminutive *épigramme* of six two-syllable lines in praise of Paris, may also be by Marot, although it originally appeared in an anonymous collection in 1530.

With its unusually high proportion of attributable poems<sup>8</sup> (including seven by Ronsard and six by Marot), Lassus' 1571 collection reflects the contemporary Parisian trend of publishing chanson collections by single composers devoted to single distinguished poets (Clereau, Boni, Bertrand, Monte, etc. most of whom favour Ronsard). But no other contemporary composer shows such a penchant for diversity of poetic form and language.

The seven pieces published in Munich in 1573 represent a return to the older style of epigrammatic or stanzaic texts. The first, *Un jeune moine est sorti du couvent*, has three heterometric strophes of six lines, each ending with the same refrain line. Rhythm, mode, melody suggest that Lassus was familiar with Philip van Wilder's five-voice setting published by Le Roy one year earlier (Ex. 14). However, in characteristic fashion, Lassus abandons Wilder's strophic structure in favour of a continuous setting; although for once each strophe uses similar musical motives which are slightly varied each time, with a common repeated final refrain line and a brief terminal coda. The schematic structure clearly appealed to French taste, and in the following January Le Roy reported to the composer that King Charles IX found the new piece 'marvellously agreeable'. None of the other pieces of 1573 had pre-existent musical models, and all are set in the usual through-composed manner. They include *Si du malheur* - a conventional courtly huitain, two quatrains (*Quand un cordier* - another 'diction commun' by Pierre Grognet, and *Qui bien se mire* (which uses *rime batalée* typical of the *grands rhétoriciens*), *Si je suis brun* (a pair of

Ex. 14a 1572 (Le Roy) P. van WILDER Ex. 14b 1571 (Le Roy) LASSUS

Un jeu-ne moi-ne est sor-ti du cou-vent que di-roit vos ab-bes.

Un jeu-ne moi-ne est

<sup>8</sup> The only unattributable text - *Soufflons d'autant* - is a conventionally rhymed *épigramme* of eight decasyllabic lines of the Marotic type, singing the praise of wine, like the preceding Anacreontic *odelette* of Ronsard.

quatrains linked by a common pair of rhymes treated in two separate sections), and *Sçais tu dire l'Avé* (a diminutive piece in which the bass sings only the three-note refrain 'Disait-il' which follows each of the five short heterometric lines). The last piece - *Dis moy mon coeur* - is another strophic piece with eight quatrains alternating in dialogue between two four-part choirs which combine for the fourth, seventh & eight strophes. The only other chanson published in Munich (in a collection of *Lieder* in 1576) sets a four-stanza *chanson à refrain* - *Las je n'iray plus* - a continuous piece with common music for the refrain, following an earlier four-voice model by Guillaume Costeley printed in Paris in 1570.

The revised edition of Le Roy's *Meslanges d'Orlande de Lassus* printed in Paris in 1576 offers eleven new chansons, including the *chansonnette mesurée* *Une puce j'ay dedans l'oreille* which Baïf translated from a villanella by Baldassare Donato published in Venice in 1550. Here at last Lassus adopts a completely strophic structure, repeating the same music for Baïf's four stanzas, and a consistently homophonic texture. This is also the first of his chansons which follows really contemporary fashion, in this case the new *musique mesurée* of Baïf's Académie established in Paris shortly before Lassus' visit in 1571. It is likely that Lassus was invited to attend the Académie's closed sessions; and he may indeed have composed the piece during or shortly after his visit. The Académie's music remained the exclusive property of the members and its publication was banned; but the ban was obviously lifted in 1576 when Fabrice Marin Caietain presented his four-voice version of *Une puce*; this has exactly the same rhythm and much of the same melody and harmony as Claude Le Jeune's five-voice setting which appeared in print later in 1583. Lassus may be signifying his knowledge of Donato's Italian setting in using the designation 'villanella', since, with its extended four-line refrain which does not change at the end to incorporate a punchline, Baïf's translation is not strictly in villanella form. His setting necessarily employs the same quantitative metre as Caietain's & Le Jeune's; but he prefers duple to triple metre and employs different melody and harmony (Ex. 15). Like the Jeune, Lassus adds a fifth voice for the 'reprise' which incorporates the entire four-line refrain.

Another exceptional piece in this collection is *La nuict froide et sombre* which sets as a continuum the second and third six-line strophes from the *Ode à l'inconstance des choses* which Joachim Du Bellay published in 1549. In this short piece more than any other, madrigal or motet, Lassus seeks to depict figurati-

Ex. 15a 1550 (Gardune) DONATO Ex. 15b 1576 (Le Roy) CAIETAIN

No pu-ch - ce No pu-ch - ce ni'en-tes - to nel-to - rec - cha U - ne pu - ce j'ay de - dans l'o-rei - le, le - las Qui de - nuit et de jour

vely each nuance of the text by means of rhythm, texture, tessitura, melody and harmony including extreme chromaticism.

This new tendency to choose internal strophes for musical setting is also seen in the more restrained *Si pour moy avez du souci* which sets the second six-line strophe of Marot's chanson *Jouissance vous donneray* without reference to Sermisy's famous setting of the first strophe.

Most of the other pieces of 1576 are *épigrammes*, ranging from the quatrains *Beau le cristal* (which exceptionally for Lassus includes reprises of the opening couplet and final tune), to the conventional huitains *L'heureux amour* and *Qui veut d'amour* which shuns the music and schematic structure of Janequin's 1544 setting. *S'il y a compagnon* appears to be a five-line strophe constructed in Alexandrines; but Lassus treats it as a dixain of six syllable lines, appropriate for such a ribald anecdote. The Pléiade is represented in this collection not only by Du Bellay's ode and Baïf's *chansonnette* but by *Or sus filles*, the first strophe of one of Belleau's Anacreontic odes, as well as the final eight-voice *Que dis tu* which ignores the older versions of Entraigues, Gardane and Boni in setting Ronsard's *Sonet en dialogue*. Here Lassus divides the choirs and the motifs following the poem's sense rather than its irregular prosody.

No further chansons by Lassus appeared until 1583 when Le Roy included nine in his twenty-second book. Seven of these were from the 126 *Quatrains contenant preceptes et enseignements utiles pour la vie de l'homme composé à l'imitation de Phocylides, d'Epicharmes et autres poètes grecs* published between 1573 and 1576 by the lawyer-diplomat Guy du Faur de Pibrac, who directed the Académie du Palais at the Louvre in 1576. Lassus ignores the monophonic setting of the fifty quatrains published at Rouen in 1580 and sets the pieces for four voices in a similar if slightly more homophonic vein to his earlier courtly quatrains. His structures remain essentially through-composed, although in most cases he includes literal or varied reprise of the punchline. The other pieces of 1583 were *Un jour conclus*, the first strophe of a ballade published anonymously in *L'amoureux passetemps* in 1570, set continuously with a reprise of the final couplet, and *Si le mal ennuyeux*, the ninth strophe of a chanson published in various anonymous verse collections in Paris & Lyons between 1553 and 1557.

Le Roy's twenty-third book (1583) includes only one new piece by Lassus - *On doit le fer battre* - whose text was also published in the *L'amoureux passetemps* of 1570, where it was described as a 'fatras'. Lassus repeats the music of the opening couplet as a final refrain, through-composing the remainder with some delicate figurative touches.

This piece was reprinted in Le Roy's *Continuation du Mellange d'Orlande de*

Lassus in 1584, along with seventeen new pieces which represent an assortment of old poems, many of which were published in *L'amoureux passetemps*, along with an unusually high proportion of extracts and of popular *chansons à refrain*. The first new piece *M'amie a bien le regard gracieux* ignores Du Tertre's conventional setting published in 1557, introducing great rhythmic and harmonic variety within its short span. The second, *Puisque vivre en servitude*, which sets the first seven-line strophe of a chanson published in the posthumous edition of Mellin de Saint Gelais' verse in 1574, also ignores the earlier *frottolesque* settings of Sandrin, Certon, Le Roy and Chardavoine. The third piece, *La peine dure*, sets the first eight-line strophe of another *voix de ville* with internal as well as terminal rhymes; Lassus recognizes this structure in his regular division of each line, ignoring an earlier homophonic setting published by Gentien in 1549. Exceptionally homophonic and exceptionally strophic is Lassus's only three-voice *air*, *Mais qui pourroit*. His equally homophonic six-voice setting of the same text is through-composed in three sections with only one further strophe appended. However in this case he includes more repetition within each strophe with varied musical reprise for the second and last of the four complets. *Guérir ma douleur* sets the first four lines and *Gallans qui par terre* the first eight lines of ballades published in *L'amoureux passetemps* in 1570. *J'ay de vous voir* is another extract, this time the first quatrain of a sonnet from *Les Amours* of Joachim du Bellay (1568), set here for the first time in brief through-composed form with some expressive madrigalian touches, recalling his earlier setting of Du Bellay (*La nuit froide*). In contrast the first five-voice piece in the collection sets a Calvinist paraphrase of the *Pater noster* - *Pere qui habites les cieux* - in a reserved archaic style similar to that of his earlier *chanson spirituelle*; like *Susanne*, the borrowed melody is presented in six short unadorned phrases as a *cantus firmus* in the Tenor, with some interpolated extensions while the other voices anticipate or elaborate the separate motives with imitative entries or free counterpoint. Lassus strictly follows the poem's prosodic division into six undivided octosyllabic lines with consecutive masculine rhymes, overlooking the *enjambement* between lines three and four and repeating the last line at least four times in every voice. Similar in *cantus firmus* style and mode is *A toy je crie, o Jesus Christ*, another Protestant paraphrase with a more irregular prosodic division. Here the eight discreet melodic phrases have a more schematic arrangement, with the second couplet repeating the music of the first, but with less textual repetition; the last line is repeated twice in the Tenor, three times in the other voices, concluding with a short pedal point.

There do not appear to be any courtly *épigrammes* in this final set. The closest is the *J'ayme la pierre precieuse*, a dixain with consecutive rhyming couplets, which has the same through-composed structure as Claude Le Jeune's five-voice setting (published posthumously in 1612). *C'était en ton jeune age* sets

the first of five eight-line strophes found in Jehan Chardavoine's monophonic *voix de ville* of 1576; here Lassus share some of the melodic material but modifies the rhythm and structure (Ex. 16).

All the remaining pieces have popular texts and melodies, often with repeated refrains. *Helas j'ay sans mercy* has a recurrent four-line refrain with two six-line strophes; here Lassus uses the same structure, rhythm, mode and melody as a four-voice setting of Du Bussy published by Le Roy one year earlier (Ex. 17). The melody which is presented mostly in the Tenor may be of popular origin, for it also permeates the settings of Le Jeune (à5, 1585) and Du Caurroy (à6, 1610) which append further strophes as a *seconde partie*. *Vignon, vignette* also has a rounded structure, this time having a two-line refrain which alternates with single line strophes, showing a relation to the old *rondeau* or *virelai* structure (ABcAcBAB). Here the popular melody must have dated back for more than fifty years; for Lassus (Ex. 18c) presents the same motives as those found in the Tenor of an anonymous four-voice setting printed by Attaignant in 1528 (Ex. 18a), reworked in a three-voice setting by Sermisy in 1535 (Ex. 18b) and again in an eight-voice (two choir) setting by Certon in 1570. *Si vous estes m'amy* has a similar rounded structure having a two-line refrain that alternates with two four-line strophes (AbAbA); and again it is related structurally, modally and melodically to an anonymous four-voice setting published in one of Attaignant's earliest collections (Ex. 19). Next in that collection was Willaert's *Dessus le marché d'Arras*, a similar piece with initial, medial and terminal refrain jumbled amongst one- or two-line strophes (Ex. 20a). The final published chanson of Lassus closely follows this piece, emulating Willaert's structure, rhythm, mode and most of his melodic motives (including a change

Ex. 15c 1576 (Le Roy) LASSUS



U - ne pu - ce j'ai de dans l'in-til-le-hé las Que de nuit et de jour me fé - til - le-et me mord Et me fait de ve - nir fou -

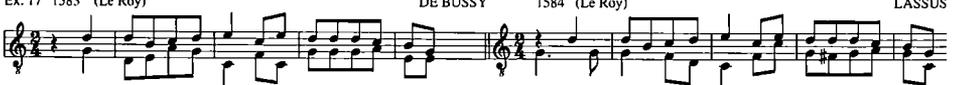
Ex. 16 1576 (Micaud) CHARDAVOINE 1584 (Le Roy) LASSUS



C'es - toi en ton jeu - ne\_a - ge C'es - toi en ton jeu - ne\_a - ge

Rhythmic remodelling of borrowed melody

Ex. 17 1583<sup>7</sup> (Le Roy) DE BUSSY 1584 (Le Roy) LASSUS



He - las j'ay sans mer - cy Le sou - cy et la pen - sé - e He - las j'ay sans mer - cy Le sou - cy et la pen - sé - e

New bass for popular melody

Ex. 18b 1535 (Attaignant)      SERMISY Ex. 18c 1584 (Le Roy) Quinta pars      Ex. 18d Sexta pars      LASSUS

Migration of popular melody

Ex. 19a 1528<sup>9</sup> (Attaignant)      [ANON] Ex. 19b 1584 (Le Roy)      LASSUS

Ex. 20a c.1528<sup>9</sup> (Attaignant)      WILLAERT

Ex. 20b 1584 (Le Roy)      LASSUS

to triple metre - (Ex. 20b) - indicated by coloration - for the final strophe), enriching these with fuller harmony and counterpoint.

In a sense Lassus has thus come full circle. His first chanson shows the young composer taking one of Attaignant's first published pieces, adapting the text and asserting his independence from the earlier musical setting; but his last chanson shows the confidence of maturity in taking another text and musical model from Attaignant and presenting a close paraphrase which does not fear much more direct quotation. In between there has been a progression in text selection from courtly quatrains and *rondeau* extracts (1555) to longer *épi-grammes* by Clément Marot and his colleagues (1560), to the newer sonnets and odes of Ronsard and the Pléiade - first fragments, then complete poems (1561-71). Between his visit to Paris, in 1571 and 1576 appear the most modern pieces, with a great variety of texts not previously set to music, some at last abandoning through-composition in favour of schematic repetition; also his essays in the modern styles of *musique mesurée* (*Une puce*) and musical mannerism (*La nuit froide et sombre*). In his last Parisian collection he finally embraces the strophic air (*Mais qui pourroit*); but he soon abandons it in favour of the most rustic kind of old *chanson à refrain* with popular melodies which Willaert, Janequin and their colleagues had exploited fifty years earlier.

<sup>9</sup> A similar structure was used for the three eight-line strophes of *Mais qui pourroit*; but the four-voice *O mere des amours*, *Ciprine*, with its three four-line strophes includes musical reprise only for its final couplet.



## LASSOS MEHRTEILIGE DEUTSCHE LIEDER ZU FÜNF STIMMEN

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Lassos deutsche Lieder, die chronologisch die letzte Stelle unter den Gattungen seiner Werke einnehmen, werden zumeist auch ihrem Rang nach an den Schluß gestellt. Eines der häufigsten Argumente dafür ist die im Vergleich mit der französischen und gar der italienischen Dichtung geringe Qualität der deutschen Texte. Hier soll nun keineswegs deren Ehrenrettung versucht werden, ich möchte aber dafür plädieren, unser Urteil über die Lieder stärker auf die Musik selbst zu gründen und die Situation der Gattung im 16. Jahrhundert dabei zu berücksichtigen. Nach den Publikationen von Hans Ott und Georg Forster, 1534 bis 1556, war die Komposition von Liedern nahezu zum Stillstand gekommen. In München aber, wo der Hauptmeister des Liedes, Ludwig Senfl, gewirkt hatte, mag die Tradition noch lebendig gewesen sein als Lasso dort verpflichtet wurde. Die grundlegenden Fakten zu dessen Liedern haben Adolf Sandberger im Vorwort der Gesamtausgabe und Horst Leuchtmann bei deren Revision gesammelt.<sup>1</sup> Helmuth Osthoff hat in seiner Monographie über das deutsche Lied mehrere Aspekte von Lassos Liedern erörtert und die Einflüsse von Chanson, Madrigal und Villanella beschrieben.<sup>2</sup> Es scheint nun nicht sinnvoll, das von diesen verdienten Forschern entworfene Gesamtbild nochmals zu entrollen, sondern in diesem Rahmen angemessener, ein spezielles Problem zu erörtern: die Mehrteiligkeit einiger seiner fünfstimmigen Lieder. Mit dem Lied, sei es ein- oder mehrstimmig, verbindet sich die Vorstellung von einer im Umfang überschaubaren musikalischen Gestalt, deren Qualität in einem faßlichen Zusammenhang der Teile besteht. Diese Schlichtheit, Einfachheit, ist am klarsten im Strophenlied verwirklicht. Als textliche Grundlage ist daher in erster Linie an Gedichte zu denken, die aus Strophen gleicher Verszahl und Versstruktur bestehen. Die wechselnden Bilder oder Begebenheiten des Textes ordnen sich einem musikalischen Ganzen unter, welches das metrische Modell des Gedichtes repräsentiert und dessen Grundcharakter oder Grundstimmung zum Ausdruck bringt. Kein geringerer als Goethe hat das Ethos der Gattung Lied in dieser Konzentration gesehen. In den *Tag- und Jahresheften* von 1801 fordert er vom Sänger 'nach einer Melodie die verschiedenste Bedeutung der einzelnen Strophen hervorzuheben' und berichtet ferner, daß ein befreundeter Sänger sich überzeugt habe, 'wie ver-

<sup>1</sup> LASSO, SW, XVIII und XX, *Vorwort* von A. Sandberger, XX, pp. V-XXV; zweite Auflage, XVIII, pp. XXVI ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. OSTHOFF, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied (1400-1640)*, Tutzing, 1967 (= 1938).

werflich alles sogenannte Durchkomponieren der Lieder sei, wodurch der allgemein lyrische Charakter ganz aufgehoben und eine falsche Teilnahme am einzelnen gefordert und erregt wird'.<sup>3</sup>

Wenn Goethe auch natürlich an das Lied seiner Zeit gedacht hat, so treffen seine Gedanken das Lied im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert cum grano salis ebenso. Immer aber hat es Bestrebungen gegeben, von dem reinen Typ abzuweichen, den engen Rahmen des Strophenliedes zu erweitern. Der Impuls zu solchen Tendenzen geht von dem Wunsch aus, Einzelheiten des Textes - Bilder, Handlungen - zu verdeutlichen. Das Klavierlied des 19. Jahrhunderts hat die Spannung zwischen musikalischer Form und textlichem Detail im variierten Strophenlied bewältigt oder dem Willen zum spezifischen Ausdruck noch stärker im durchkomponierten Lied nachgegeben. Beim Tenorlied gab es andere, nicht weniger wirksame Mittel, die Symbiose von Tenor und dessen mehrstimmiger Bearbeitung zu lockern. Sie begegnen uns zumeist bei Senfl. Dazu gehört etwa, die melodische Substanz nicht dem Tenor allein vorzubehalten, sondern auch andere Stimmen, zumal Cantus und Bassus, daran sporadisch oder systematisch, etwa im Kanon, zu beteiligen.<sup>4</sup> Im Extremfall führt das zu einem durchimitierenden Stimmenverband. Eine weitere Möglichkeit ist, zwei oder mehrere Melodien zu kombinieren, sei es im Quodlibet, nur mit einzelnen Zeilen, oder vollständig in einer zumeist mehr als vierstimmigen Komposition.<sup>5</sup> Unauffälliger, aber doch die strophische Begrenzung überwindend, ist drittens die Praxis, mehrere Strophen in einem Satz zusammenzuziehen, wobei um der Varietas willen die Stimmlage des Cantus prius factus wechselt.<sup>6</sup> Schließlich gibt es auch mehrteilige Bearbeitungen von Liedern, die offen und oft in Anlehnung an andere Gattungen mit den Prinzipien des Liedes brechen; sie kommen aber bis zu Lasso vergleichsweise selten vor.<sup>7</sup>

Bereits H. Osthoff hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß bei Lasso die Zahl der mehrteiligen Lieder fast ein Drittel des Bestandes ausmacht, insgesamt zweiundzwanzig von achtundsechzig, aber daß ihre Zahl in den späteren Publika-

<sup>3</sup> J.W. GOETHE, *Tag- und Jahreshefte*, dtv Gesamtausgabe 30, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> Z.B. *Geduld umb Huld oder Gottes Namen fahren wir*, in *Ludwig Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, 2, Wolfenbüttel - Zürich, 1962, Nr. 6 oder 4.

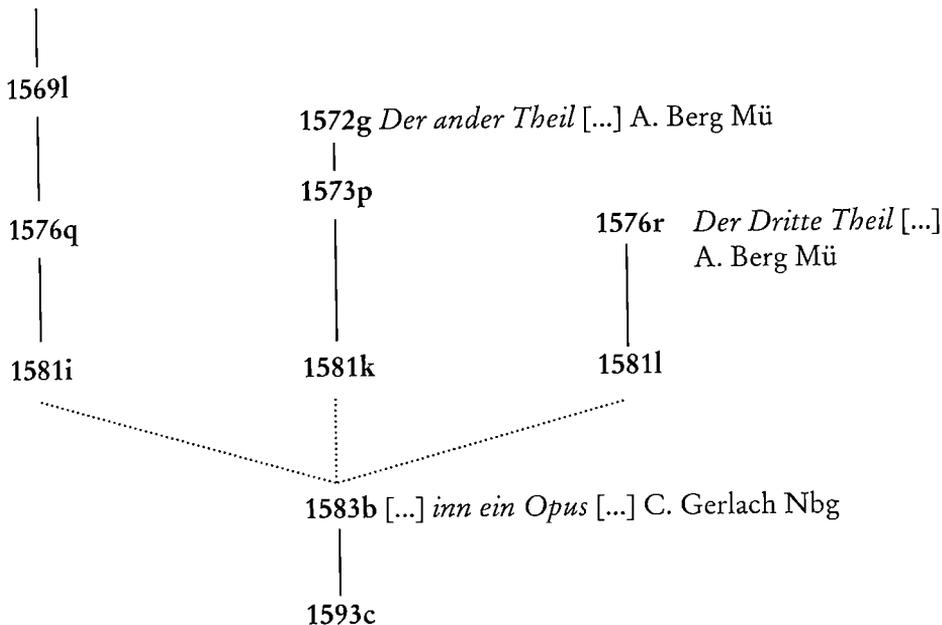
<sup>5</sup> Z.B. *Ach Gott, wem soll ich klagen - Ich armer Mann - Mein Herz ist alles Trauens voll*, *ibid.* Nr. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Z.B. Isaac, *Es het ein Baur*, in *DTÖ*, 16, 1, Wien, 1959 (= 1907), p. 7 oder Senfl, *Wann ich des Morgens*, in *L. Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, 4, Nr. 47. Auch bei Lasso kommt das unter den einteiligen Sätzen vor: Nr. III/11 *Ich sprich wann ich nit leuge*.

<sup>7</sup> H. Osthoff nennt die Mehrteiligkeit von Liedern in den älteren Sammlungen 'nicht selten'. Dem widersprechen jedoch die nur vereinzelt zu belegenden Fälle, in die außerdem zumeist auch fremdsprachige Texte involviert sind: Forster II (1540) 8 Nummern, zum Teil mit lateinischem Text, Ott II (1544) 6 Nummern, zum Teil mit italienischem oder lateinischem Text, Forster V (1556) Nr. 39 mit lateinischen Distichen und nur im Vagans mit deutschem Text [Herrn Kollegen Horst Brunner, Würzburg, danke ich, daß er mir Einsicht in den Kritischen Bericht der demnächst im *Erbe deutscher Musik* publizierten Sammlung gewährt hat]. Daneben gibt es durchaus Drucke ohne ein einziges mehrteiliges Lied: Ott I (1534), Forster I (1539), Forster III (1549) und Forster IV (1556).

tionen relativ zunimmt; im letzten Lieddruck von 1590 sind es sieben von neun Nummern.<sup>8</sup> Bei den fünfstimmigen haben wir es mit den frühesten Liedern zu tun; der Anteil mehrteiliger Werke ist dort geringer. Zunächst sei die Quellenlage in Anlehnung an die Darstellung von Horst Leuchtmann in Erinnerung gerufen:<sup>9</sup>

1567l *Newe Teutsche Liedlein* [...] A. Berg Mü



Der erste Teil (1567 etc.) erschien in vier Auflagen, der zweite Teil (1572 etc.) in drei und der dritte in zwei. Die drei Drucke sind je einem der drei Söhne von Herzog Albrecht V. gewidmet: Wilhelm (1548-1626), Ferdinand (1550-1608) und Ernst (1554-1612). Während die ersten beiden Ausgaben je fünfzehn Lieder enthalten, besteht die dritte nur aus elf und der fünfstimmigen Chanson *Las ie n'irai plus*.<sup>10</sup> 1583 publizierte Catharina Gerlach, Nürnberg, die Lieder mit dem Vermerk 'zuuor vnterschiedlich jetzund aber mit des Herrn Authoris bewilligung inn ein Opus zusammen getruckt'; i.e. in neuer Reihenfolge, zwar - wie in den Einzeldrucken - im wesentlichen nach Modi geordnet, aber die

<sup>8</sup> OSTHOFF, 1967 (= 1938), pp. 146 f. und 191 f.

<sup>9</sup> LASSO, SW, zweite Auflage, XVIII, pp. XL ff.

<sup>10</sup> Die Chanson ist in LASSO, SW, XVI, p. 126 publiziert und anscheinend in keiner weiteren Quelle überliefert.

geistlichen Lieder nun vorangestellt. Unter den einundvierzig fünfstimmigen Liedern finden sich elf mehrteilige, von denen hier ein kommentierter Überblick folgt, ehe wir uns einzelnen Werken zuwenden.

Je vier Stücke sind zwei- oder dreiteilig, zwei umfassen vier und eines fünf partes. Die Dichte nimmt auch hier zu: im ersten Druck von fünfzehn Liedern sind es drei mit zusammen sieben partes, im zweiten Druck von fünfzehn Liedern sind es vier mit zwölf partes und im letzten von nur elf Liedern wiederum vier, aber mit vierzehn partes. Lasso verdoppelt in den fünfstimmigen Liedern je eine der vier Stimmgattungen (s. Spalte 3) - mit zwei Ausnahmen, davon eine das hier aufgeführte letzte, das 'Nasenlied' III/10, mit fünf verschiedenen Schlüsseln.<sup>11</sup> Welche Stimmlage verstärkt er jeweils in der tiefen (t) oder hohen Schlüsselung (h)? Bei der tiefen ist es je dreimal die Altus- und die Tenorlage, z.B. I/8 bzw. I/10; bei der Chiavette dreimal die Tenor-, z.B. II/1, und einmal die Cantuslage, II/14. Die deutliche Bevorzugung der Mittelstimmen, zumal der Tenorlage, bei der Besetzung mag ein Tribut an die Liedtradition sein. Die Schlußklänge der partes (Spalte 4) bleiben nur zweimal gleich: I/10 *Wie lang o Gott, e-phrygisch*, und III/3 *Welt gelt dir wird einmal, g-dorisch*. Die übrigen weichen auf Confinales der Modi aus und bilden so ein sinnvolles Gefälle, z.B. *G-D-G* (I/8) oder *C-G-F-C* (II/15). Daß der überraschende Schluß auf *A* in dem mixolydischen Lied I/14, *Fröhlich zu sein*, vom Text provoziert ist, hat schon 1606 Joachim Burmeister in seiner *Musica poetica* kommentiert.<sup>12</sup>

Die Strophenformen (Spalte 5) sind mit einer gewissen Freiheit in der Silbenzahl und der Reimstellung gebaut. Achtsilbige Verse, teilweise durch zwei Viersilber ersetzt und kombiniert mit klingenden Siebensilbern, kommen am häufigsten vor, z.B. I/8. Reimlose Zeilen wie in Nr. II/1 oder II/11 sind als *x* und *y* markiert. Neben dem echten Textrefrain in Nr. II/14: 'hoscha Gredla hoscha' (6R), begegnen in den Strophen von Nr. II/1 weithin konstant bleibende zweite und letzte Zeilen: 'sprach die alte Schwieger' bzw. 'sprach die Schnur hinwieder' (6R<sup>1</sup> und 6R<sup>2</sup>). Diese Zeilen interpunktieren den fortlaufenden Dialog. Ohne Strophengliederung, in Reimpaaren, verläuft die Aufzählung bei III/10, dem 'Nasenlied'. Dreimal faßt Lasso mehrere Strophen in einer pars zusammen. Bei I/14 sind es je zwei, bei II/1 sind es je vier pro pars und bei III/4 verteilen sich die fünf Strophen zu zwei + zwei + eine auf die drei partes. Inhaltlich ist bei den mehrteiligen Liedern die Affinität zu erzählenden Texten besonders groß, I/8, II/1, II/15, III/6 und III/10, aber auch II/11 und III/4. Das erscheint trotz des fortschreitenden Geschehens insofern

<sup>11</sup> Das andere mit fünf verschiedenen Schlüsseln ist einteilig, es folgt unmittelbar als Nr. III/11: *Ich sprich wann ich nit leuge*, mit den Schlüsseln g2, c1, c2, c3, f3.

<sup>12</sup> J. BURMEISTER, *Musica Poetica*, Rostock, 1606, pp. 52-53 (Faks.-Nachdruck, hrsg. v. M. RUHNKE, Kassel - Basel, 1955).

## 1567l

I 8	Im Land zu Württemberg 2a: Da das der Herr 3a: Der Richter lacht	t c3	G 8a 8a 7b 8c 8c 7b D G	-
I 10	Wie lang o Gott 2a: Verzag, Herz, nit	t c4	E 4a 4a 4b 4b 4c 8c E	-
I 14	Fröhlich zu sein 2a: Wer frisch will sein	t c3	G 8a 7b 8a 7b 4c 4c 7b A (je 2mal)	-

## 1572g

II 1	Mein Mann der ist 2a: Was soll ich euch 3a: In welches Haus 4a: Wollst du mich dann	h c3	G 8x 6R <sup>1</sup> 4a4a 6R <sup>2</sup> G (je 4mal) C G	Cpf
II 11	Ein Meidlein zu dem 2a: Das Meidlein	t c4	A 8a 7b 8a 7b E 8x 7c 8y 7c 3c	[-Cpf]
II 14	Ich hab dich lieb 2a: Und wenn du	h g2	A 8a 6R 8a 6R D 4b 4b 4c 4c 4d 4d 6R	Rfr
II 15	Einmal ging ich 2a: Ich sprach o Frau 3a: Die Frau ganz höflich 4a: So dank ich Gott	h c3	C 8a 8a 7b 8c 8c 7b G F C	LdZl

## 1576r

III 3	Welt gelt dir wird 2a: Gelt welt dir wird 3a: Welt gelt dir wird	h c3	G 8a 7b 8a 7b G 4c 4c 7d 4e 4e 7d G	[-Cpf] Rfr/LdZl
III 4	Mit Lust tät ich 2a: Das ein das A. 3a: Da lagen's	t c4	G 7x 6a 7y 6a (2mal) D (2mal) G (1mal)	Cpf
III 6	Mein Frau Hilgart 2a: Mein Frau unmild 3a: Mein Frau unrein 4a: Da ich lang 5a: Sie rauft ihr g'nug	t c3	A 4a 4a 7b 4c 4c 7b D 4d 4d 7e 7e 4f 4f A 4g 4g 7h 4i 4i 7h F A	Cpf
III 10	Hört zu ein neu's 2a: So fund man 3a: Der g'winnen will	5 Schl	G Reimpaare C G	Cpf

plausibel, als gerade Erzählungen durch die musikalische Strophenwiederholung ihre faßliche Form bekommen.

Sandberger hat festgehalten, daß Lasso ältere Liedtexte vertont hat, oft ohne die zugehörige Melodie zu verwenden.<sup>13</sup> Bei den mehrteiligen Liedern fällt auf (letzte Spalte), daß für die drei des ersten Druckes bisher kein Vorbild gefunden ist und sie alle ohne Cantus prius factus auskommen.

Im zweiten Buch gibt es zwar ältere Quellen für Nr. 1 und 11, aber nur einmal hat Lasso die Melodie verwendet (Cpf). Der Text von III/3 ist von Senfl vierstimmig mit einer Melodie im Tenor gesetzt, die Lasso nicht aufgreift. Die übrigen drei des dritten Buches haben sowohl ein Vorbild als auch den zum Text gehörigen Cantus prius factus als Kompositionsgrundlage.

Die Differenzierung nach Liedern mit und ohne Cantus prius factus ist aber noch zu grob, um die Variationsbreite der mehrteiligen Lieder deutlich zu machen. Es gibt eine Reihe von Satzmerkmalen, die zwischen den Extremen 'Tenorlied-Bearbeitung' und 'freier Komposition' vermitteln und dem Satz liedhafte Züge erhalten. Das ist einmal die Stollenwiederholung der Barform, manchmal nur deren Rudimente, zum andern sind es einzelne Lied-Zeilen (LdZl) und zum dritten refrainartige Abschnitte (Rfr).

Da die mehrteiligen Kompositionen ohne Cantus prius factus am ehesten in Anlage und Ausführung Motetten oder Madrigalen gleichen, sollen die vier betreffenden Werke hier nicht näher untersucht werden: Nr. I/8, I/10, I/14 und II/11. Immerhin folgen zwei von ihnen der Barform in beiden partes, II/11 *Ein Meidlein zu dem Brunnen ging* und I/14 *Fröhlich zu sein*.<sup>14</sup> Für die formale Funktion von Lied-Zeilen und von Refrains sowie für die mehrteilige Bearbeitung einer Liedmelodie sollen nun Beispiele folgen, allerdings mit der Beschränkung auf Aspekte der Form und des Zusammenhangs.<sup>15</sup> (Zur Orientierung über partes, Schlußklänge, Strophenformen etc. sei nochmals auf die Übersicht verwiesen.)

Das Lied II/15, *Einmal ging ich spazieren aus*, im achten Modus auf C, endet in allen vier partes mit einer liedhaften sechsten Zeile (ex. 1). Diese Zeile hat

<sup>13</sup> SANDBERGER, *Vorwort*, pp. XI-XII, eine vorläufige Zusammenstellung der wieder aufgegriffenen Texte.

<sup>14</sup> Bei Nr. I/14 stimmen nur die Stollenschlüsse überein: Mensur I 3-5 = 7-9 und Mensur II 6-8 = 11-14. Außerdem hat Lasso in der Prima pars die darin enthaltene zweite Textstrophe ebenfalls mit solchen Stollenwiederholungen ausgezeichnet, vgl. M. I 18-22 = 24-28. In der Secunda pars aber steuert der Satz ohne Teilrepetition mit Beginn der vierten Strophe - 'Der uns das liedlein hat gemacht' - deutlich auf die Illustration von 'Nacht' und 'Morgen' hin.

<sup>15</sup> In meinem Beitrag zur Festschrift für Willem Elders habe ich die mehrteilige Nr. I/8 in Bezug auf Zusammenhang und Form betrachtet und von den mehrteiligen Liedbearbeitungen die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter II/1 *Mein Mann der ist in Krieg zogen* (s. M. JUST, *Liedtradition und Neuerung in Lassos fünfstimmigen Kompositionen mit deutschem Text*, in A. CLEMENT - E. JAS (Hrsg.), *From Ciconia to Sweelinck. Donum natalicium Willem Elders*, Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 269-305).

durch ihre zumeist imitierende Verarbeitung mit sechs tempora jeweils die größte Ausdehnung im Satz, und das Prinzip, eine Melodie quasi zu zitieren, setzt sich immer stärker durch. In der Tertia pars wird auch die Mittelzäsur durch eine liedhafte dritte Zeile markiert, und in der Quarta pars ist es neben der sechsten und dritten Zeile noch die zweite, die zumindest ansatzweise eine Melodie suggeriert. Da die übrigen Verse oft in Semiminimen und mit Tonwiederholungen deklamieren, heben sich die kadenzierenden Melodiezeilen merklich davon ab.

Die melodische Abrundung der einzelnen partes fügt sich in eine umfassende Ordnung der Finalklänge, die zugleich den Spannungsverlauf der Liebes-

1. pars



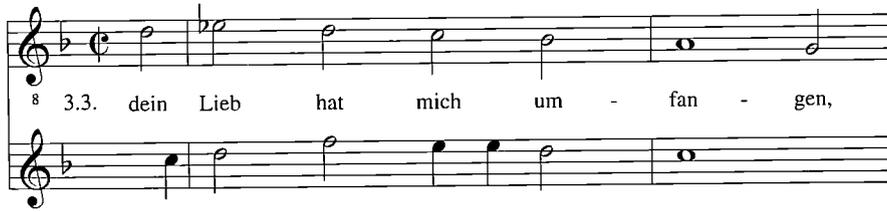
8 1.6. ich hofft' es sollt mir g'lin - gen.

2. pars



8 2.6. sonst kei - ne auf der Er - den.

3. pars



8 3.3. dein Lieb hat mich um - fan - gen,

8 3.6. nach dir trag ich Ver - lan - gen.

4. pars



8 4.2. daß ich er - le - bet ... daß ich er - le - bet ...

8 4.3. daß mir das Glück tät schen - ken

8 4.6. und schick ein se - ligs En - de.

Q.v. Q.v. Q.v. Q.v. Q.v.

9 10 13 15

lieb und gunst / 2.6 sonst kei - ne auff der er -  
 er lieb und gunst / möcht jr mir löschen di - se brunst / sonst kei - ne auff der er -  
 2.5 möcht jr mir lö - schen di - se brunst / 2.6 sonst  
 er lieb und gunst / möcht jr mir lö - schen di - se brunst / sonst kei - ne auff der er -  
 möcht jr mir lö - schen di - se brunst /  
 [ D C F B Es F d ] C

den sonst kei - ne auff der er - den sonst kei - ne auff der er - den.  
 den, sonst kei - ne auff der er - den sonst kei - ne auff der er - den.  
 kei - ne auff der er - den sonst kei - ne auff der er - den.  
 den sonst kei - ne auff der er - den. auff der er - den.  
 sonst kei - ne auff der er - den sonst kei - ne auff der er - den..  
 C (c) G

## 2. II 15, Einmal ging ich, Secunda pars, M. 9-16

geschichte nachvollziehen. In der Prima und Quarta pars läuft die Melodiezeile ungezwungen in die Finalis C, die mit einem kurzen Supplementum bekräftigt wird. Inhaltlich sind es Anlaß und Vorsatz bzw. - nach dem glücklichen Ausgang - Dank und Bitte an Gott, die sich mit dem tonalen Fundament verbinden. In der Secunda pars, der werbenden Rede des Mannes, vollzieht sich die Wendung zu einem abweichenden Schluß von höherer Spannung durch die in der Quinta vox unmittelbar auf G wiederholte Zeile (M. 13 ff.; ex. 2). Zeile 5, deren Melodieansatz (Quinta vox) in einen regelmäßigen, farbenreichen Klangwechsel eingebettet ist - *D C F B Es F d C* -, und Zeile 6 bereiten den Schluß durch den Wechsel zwischen *e* und *es* vor, der in der abschließenden Transposition die leitereigene mixolydische Stufe *b* und die dominantische Spannung beim *b* ins Spiel bringt. Die Tertia pars, in welcher die Frau zustimmend antwortet, endet entspannt auf *F*, indem das Schluß-*c* als Quinte des Finalklanges gedeutet wird. Bereits vor der Schlußzeile wendet sich der Verlauf mit einer Kadenz auf *B* (M. 14) in die Region der dunkleren, milderer Klänge, wie in der Prima pars bei den Worten 'schöne Frau' (M. I 8-9). Halten wir fest, daß Lasso hier in der Mehrteiligkeit einen sinnvoll differenzierten

Ablauf entfaltet und zugleich Elemente des Liedes an den wichtigen Positionen der Teilschlüsse bewahrt.

Bei dem Lied in *d*-dorisch, II/14 *Ich hab dich lieb*, tritt der textliche Refrain 'hoscha Gredla hoscha' sechsmal in gleicher musikalischer Gestalt auf (M. 11-14 und öfter; ex. 3). In beiden partes teilt er zwei Stollen ab und beendet die

ho-scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - scha Gred - la ho - -  
 sol/ ho-scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - -  
 soll ho-scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - -  
 ho - scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - scha Gred - la ho - scha ho -  
 sol/ ho-scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - scha Gred - la ho - scha    ho - scha Gred - la ho -

scha 5. mein hertz das brint/ 6. mein hirn das schwint/ 7. vor gros - ser  
 scha/ mein hertz das brint/ mein hirn das schwint/ vor gros - ser lieb vor  
 scha/ mein hertz das brint mein hertz das brint mein hirn das schwint/ vor gros - ser lieb vor  
 scha/ mein hertz das brint/ mein hirn das schwint/ vor gros - ser lieb/  
 scha/    mein hertz das brint/    mein hirn das schwint    vor gros - ser

A                    A                    A                    D                    G

lieb vor grosser lieb/ 8. sich ich so trüb/ mein hals ..... ist ..... rauch/ 10. biß  
 gros - ser lieb sich ich so trüb/ 9. mein hals ..... ist rauch/ biß  
 gros - ser lieb/ sich ich so trüb/ mein hals ..... ist ..... rauch/  
 sich ich ..... so trüb/ ..... mein hals ..... ist rauch/  
 .. lieb/                    sich ich so trüb/ .....                    mein hals ..... ist rauch/

C                    F                    B                    F

3. II 14, *Ich hab dich lieb*, Prima pars, M. 11-20

Sätze mit einer kurzen Erweiterung zum Quint- bzw. Finalscluß auf *A* und auf *D*. Ausgetauscht werden dabei lediglich, wie bei Lasso häufig, die gleich geschlüsselten Stimmen Cantus und Quinta vox. Die zeitliche Disposition erscheint wirkungsvoll. Denn die jeweilige erste Textzeile wird ausführlicher dargeboten, während nach der kurzgefaßten dritten Zeile die Refrainwiederholung früher als erwartet eintritt. Dennoch wird ein äußeres Maß eingehalten; beide partes schließen genau in der Mitte mit den Stollenrefrains ab, in I: M. 14 von insgesamt 28 und in II: M. 13 von 26.

Von dem knappen zweiten Stollen profitiert die mit sechs Viersilbern vorwärts drängende zweite Hälfte der Strophe; sie ist klanglich und deklamatorisch, durch Verschränkung der Zeilen und andere Mittel auf den Schlußrefrain ausgerichtet. So wirkt in der Prima pars die unmittelbare Repetition der Musik bei 'mein hertz das brint' - 'mein hirn das schwint' durch die Verschiebung in der Mensur nicht nur als Interpretation der erregten Gemütsverfassung, sondern auch als Impuls für die Zeilen 7 bis 9. Dort wird die innere Bewegung von Semiminimen, teilweise von Fusen, immer nur von einzelnen Minimen gegliedert (M. 16, 17, 18, 20). Diese rhythmischen Gruppen werden von klanglichen Progressionen unterstützt, indem, ausgehend von der Plattform *A* (M. 14-15), der Satz einen regelmäßigen Quintfall in Semibreven durchläuft: *D-G-C-F-B-(F)*. Vor dem lebhaften Schlußrefrain bremsen homorhythmische Duos in Minimen - kunstvoll ineinander geschoben - den Verlauf entschieden ab (Zeile 10: 'bis auf den Bauch'). Ähnlich ist die Secunda pars ausgebaut, aber mit einer Steigerung zum Schlußrefrain. Musikalische Illustrationen sind in den Satzverlauf beiläufig einbezogen, z.B. 'mein Hals', repräsentiert durch eine circulatio in Fusen in beiden partes.<sup>16</sup>

Von den mehrteiligen Liedern des dritten Buches (1576r) ist Nr. 4, *Mit Lust tät ich ausreiten*, insofern von zusätzlichem Interesse, als Lasso in den ersten beiden partes je zwei der fünf Strophen zusammenfaßt. Das hat seinen Grund sicherlich in deren Kürze; sie würden bei syllabischer Deklamation und einmaligem Vortrag der Zeilen einen allzu geringen Umfang erreichen. Auch die älteren Bearbeitungen von Ludwig Senfl und Caspar Othmayr strecken den

<sup>16</sup> Barform, Schlußzeilen und refrainartige Züge finden sich in dem Lied III/3 *Welt, gelt, dir wird einmal* kombiniert. Die vom Autor über das Silbenmaß der Zeile hinaus in allen drei partes repetierten Wörter 'Welt, gelt' haben ihn zu einem refrainartigen Anfang inspiriert. Die Ausführung im einzelnen ist zwar verschieden, als Konstanten sind aber fallende und steigende Terz für die Anfänge charakteristisch, die auch im Schluß der letzten pars wieder refrainartig aufgegriffen werden. Alle partes verlaufen in Barform, wobei die Stollen von mal zu mal umfangreicher werden, sechs, sieben und acht Mensuren. Während die Prima pars nur zu einer Schlußzeile ansetzt: vier gleichbleibende Minimen mit freier Fortführung, sind die beiden übrigen Teile deutlich durch Melodiezeilen abgeschlossen: Secunda pars in Tenor, Bassus, Quinta vox und nochmals Bassus auf *g* bzw. *d*, zusammen mit imitatorischen Begleitstimmen, Tertia pars in Tenor und Quinta vox, eingebaut in eine tongetreue Wiederholung des Refrains.

The image displays a musical score for a five-voice setting of a German song. The voices are: Senfl Othmayr (top), Lasso, Str. 1, Str. 3, Str. 4, and Str. 5 (bottom). The score is organized into four lines (Zeile 1-4). Zeile 1 and 2 are shared by Senfl Othmayr and Lasso. Zeile 3 and 4 are shared by Senfl Othmayr and Lasso. Str. 1, Str. 3, Str. 4, and Str. 5 have their own staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as rests, accidentals (b, #), and repeat signs.

#### 4. III 4, Mit Lust tät ich ausreiten, Cantus prius factus

Verlauf durch Chorteilung, Wort- und Zeilenwiederholungen.<sup>17</sup> Lasso hat die zugehörige Melodie zwar verwendet, aber mit charakteristischen Vereinfachungen, die wohl auf ihn selbst zurückgehen, nicht auf eine unbekannte Vorlage (ex. 4). Besonders betroffen ist die zweite Melodiezeile, von der in den fünf Strophen-Durchführungen nicht viel mehr als der Zielton *a* übrigbleibt, in der zweiten Strophe nicht einmal der. Zeile drei und vier hat Lasso zu einer Umspielung der Quinte mit wechselndem Zielton bzw. zu einem kadenzierenden Quintabstieg stilisiert, so daß die vierzeilige Melodie nach dem unveränderten Anfang mit Tonwiederholungen zu einem Ablauf von typischen Verlaufs-Funktionen kondensiert wird: Zeile 1, minimales Anheben nach Tonrepetitionen - Zeile 2, freie Tonfolge - Zeile 3, Schwebeteil auf der Quinte, wiederum mit Tonrepetitionen - Zeile 4, Abstieg zur Finalis. Lasso scheint durch diesen Eingriff sein Problem, fünf Variationen über eine Melodie zu schreiben, sogar erschwert zu haben. Er gewinnt jedoch aus der komprimierten Vorlage sowie aus der variablen Zuordnung der Zeilen zu unterschiedlichen Stimmen

<sup>17</sup> *Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, (EdM 15), 1962, Nr. 21, pp. 34-35 mit fünf Strophen; FORSTER III 1549, EdM 61, 1976, Nr. 30, pp. 58-59 mit drei Strophen Text.

und Stufen weitere Möglichkeiten der Stimmenkombination.

Die verknüpfenden Momente der fünf Melodie-Durchführungen liegen nun nicht mehr nur in der Melodie selbst, sondern auch in der jeweiligen Satzgestalt. Die erste Zeile ist in allen fünf Strophen imitierend angelegt, und zwar so, daß die Stimmen einander je eine Quinte tiefer folgen und klanglich eine Quintfallreihe bilden, in Teil I 1 ff. z.B. die Einsätze auf: *a'*, *d'*, *g*, *c*, (*a*) mit den Klängen: *a*, *d*, *G* und *C*. Teil II beginnt sogar mit dem Ton *e'* und fährt mit *a*, *d*, *d'* und *g* fort. Bei der zweiten und vierten Strophe, also in der Mitte der ersten beiden partes, ist dieser Quintabstieg am konsequentesten: *d'*, *g'*, *c'*, *f* und *B*, klanglich: *G*, *C*, *F* und *B* (M. 16-20; ex. 5). Der Eindruck des Anfangens wird dadurch verstärkt, daß die erste Zeile niemals mit einer Kadenz schließt, sondern in die zweite übergeht, die zwar melodisch ungebunden ist, klanglich aber regelmäßig auf der Stufe *d* endet, teils als IV-V-Schluß, teils als reguläre V-I-Kadenz (M. 24; ex. 5), teils als *mi*-Klausel auf *a*, mit Baßton *d*, teils als *mi*-Klausel auf *d*. Der Anfang der zweiten Strophe korrespondiert mit dem Beginn der vierten in der Secunda pars; beide Male erfolgt der erste Einsatz auf der Penultima des vorangehenden Strophenschlusses, vgl. I 16 (ex. 5) mit II 16.

15 16

vö - ge - lein wol ge - stalt 2.1 so sind es nit drey vo - ge - lein/

vö - ge - lein wol ge - stalt/ 2.1 so sind es nit drey vö - ge - lein/

2.1 so sind es nit drey vö - ge - lein/ So sind es

Q.V. vö - ge - lein wol ge - stalt/ 2.1 so sind es nit drey

vo - ge - lein wol ge - stalt/ 2.1 so sind es

G C F B

20 24

2.2 es sind drey freu - lein, fein/

- 2.2 es sind drey freu - lein, fein/

nit drey vö - ge - lein, 2.3 sol mir das

- vö - ge - lein/ 2.2 es sind drey freu - lein, fein/

nit drey vö - ge - lein/ 2.3 sol mir das ein nit

D

Weitere, die partes übergreifende Parallelen finden sich in den Kadenzzen von Zeile 3 (I 11-12 bzw. II 9-10) oder in einem Querstand bei der Entfaltung der Anfangsimitation (II 19-20, *B-G*, bzw. III 4, *F-D*). Innerhalb der Prima pars verbinden zwei Verläufe die beiden Strophen: zum einen die Kadenzgestalt der je vierten Zeilen mit den auffälligen Fusen in Quartan, I 15-16 (ex. 5), dann am Schluß sogar zweimal, M. 31-32 bzw. 33-34; zum andern eine Cantus-Bassus-Kombination in den je dritten Zeilen, zunächst, bezogen auf *g*, M. 9-12, dann, eine Terz höher, bezogen auf *B*, M. 25-28.

Solchen verbindenden Details in den Bearbeitungs-Variationen wirken differenzierende Elemente entgegen, die den Gesamtverlauf zu einer höheren Einheit führen. Das sind vornehmlich klangliche Momente, evident an den Teilschlüssen auf *G-D-G*. Der Mittelteil ist aber schon zu Beginn abgehoben durch die bereits erwähnte, in der Klangpalette höher, auf *e'*, ansetzende Anfangsimitation. Mehrfach ist hier die Klanglage insgesamt tiefer als die der Rahmenteile, z.B. M. 25-26 oder in der Vorbereitung des *D*-Schlusses, über *g-C-F*, M. 28 ff. Die Tertia pars muß gestreckt werden, damit sie als einzelne Strophe einen hinreichenden Abschluß bilden kann. Das beginnt Lasso schon mit den ersten beiden Zeilen, welche ihren Abschluß bis Mensur 9-10 hinausziehen, vgl. die Semibreven im Bassus. Besonders die letzte Zeile wird ausführlich vorgetragen; der Satz wird zum Teil wiederholt, wobei das Verbindungsstück, M. 20-22, mit der nach *B* transponierten Zeile sogar an klangliche Attraktionspunkte der ersten partes erinnert, vgl. I 26-28 und II 19-21. Die Schlußgestaltung, die schon von der ersten zur zweiten Strophe bzw. von der dritten zur vierten gesteigert ist, verbreitert sich also in der fünften nochmals und bekommt endlich mit dem Supplementum ein das Ganze abschließendes Gewicht. Lasso hat sich mit diesem Lied zwar teilweise den Forderungen der Melodiebearbeitung unterworfen, hat aber doch, über bloße Repetitionen hinaus, mit Erfolg eine umfassende Einheit angestrebt, in die sogar einzelne Wortinterpretationen eingebunden sind: z.B. das Terzett bei 'drei Fräulein fein' (M. 21-23; ex. 5).

Weniger abwechslungsreich verfährt Lasso in dem Lied III/6, *Mein Frau Hilgart*, einer drastischen Ehegeschichte. Der trinkende und alles verspielende Mann erzählt sie in fünf umfangreichen Strophen; nach einer Rauferei mit seiner Frau findet er sich schließlich 'auf der Gassen' wieder. Um so ungewöhnlicher ist, daß Lasso für dies Ehedrama die Melodie des Marienliedes *Maria zart, von edler Art* verwendet, das natürlich der gleichen Strophenform folgt.<sup>18</sup> Bemerkenswert ist außerdem, daß gelegentlich die entsprechenden Verse bei-

<sup>18</sup> Es gibt ein paar Varianten zwischen den Melodiefassungen. Sie sind aber so minimal, daß wir sie stillschweigend übergehen. Vgl. Johannes LEISENTRIT, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen*, Bautzen 1567, fol. XVr (Faksimile bei M. VAN CREVEL, p. XXXIII, s. Anm. 19).

der ersten Strophen den gleichen Reim, zumindest aber Assonanz aufweisen:

Zeile	1	zart	Mein Frau Hilgart
	2	art	gar oft mein wart
	7	fall	an
	8	gewalt	gram
	9	versprochen	note
	10	gerochen	brote
	15	erwerben	ernehmen
	18	sterben	erbehren.

Obrecht hat bekanntlich die Melodie *Maria zart* einer Messe zugrunde gelegt, die postum, ca. 1510, in einem Basler Druck publiziert ist.<sup>19</sup> Arnolt Schlick bearbeitet das Lied zweimal in den *Tabulaturen Etlicher lobgesang*, Mainz, Peter Schöffer, 1512<sup>20</sup>, und aus jüngerer Zeit kennen wir es in Bearbeitungen von Senfl, zu vier und zu fünf Stimmen.<sup>21</sup> Es fällt schwer, sich den Bericht vom Ehestreit als eine Kontrafaktur des geistlichen Liedes vorzustellen. Andererseits machen die Daten unwahrscheinlich<sup>22</sup>, daß - wie üblich - das weltliche Lied das Original war; denn es hätte neben dem weit verbreiteten Marienlied viele Jahrzehnte im Verborgenen weiterleben müssen, ehe es Lasso wieder ans Licht zog und bearbeitete.

In allen fünf partes hält er an der Melodie fest (ex. 6). Er beläßt sie stets im Tenor, ändert auch den Rhythmus der vier- und siebensilbigen Verse nicht. Nur die Semibrevis am Zeilenanfang wird gelegentlich durch eine Minima-Pause + Minima ersetzt (Zeile 7, 10, 12 und 15), so daß die Ausdehnung der Zeilen konstant bleibt. Lediglich Zeile 18 weicht vom rhythmischen Modell der Siebensilber durch eine Ligatur auf der vorletzten Silbe ab. Die einzigen sonstigen Varianten entstehen durch einzelne verlängerte Zeilenschlußtöne<sup>23</sup>, durch die unterschiedlich langen Schlußtöne der partes und durch hier und da

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. M. VAN CREVEL (Hrsg.), *Jacobus Obrecht. Opera Omnia. Editio altera. Missae VII. Maria zart*, Amsterdam, 1964. Zur Datierung der einzigen Quelle, *Concentus harmonici quattuor Missarum [...] Jacobi Obrecht*, Basel, Gregorius Mewes, ohne Jahr, vgl. B. HUDSON, *Two Ferrarese Masses by Jacob Obrecht*, in *Journal of Musicology*, 4 (1985-86), pp. 276-302.

<sup>20</sup> G. HARMS (Hrsg.), *Arnolt Schlick. Tabulaturen etlicher Lobgesang*, Hamburg, 1957 (2. Aufl.).

<sup>21</sup> A. GEERING - W. ALTWEGG (Hrsg.), *Senfl. Sämtliche Werke*, 2, Wolfenbüttel - Zürich, 1962. Nr. 5, 4 voc., pp. 8-11, mit der Melodie im Bassus, transponiert nach a-phrygisch; überliefert wird dieser Satz im "Perner Codex", Regensburg, Bischöfl. Zentralbibliothek, MS. C 120. - *Ibid.*, Nr. 31, 5 voc., mit der Melodie im Vagans untransponiert in e-phrygisch und kombiniert mit dem Lied *Maria, du bist Genaden voll*, pp. 39-41; den fünfstimmigen Satz überliefert der Stimmbuchsatz Basel, Öffentl. Bibliothek der Universität, Ms. F X 1-4.

<sup>22</sup> W. Altwegg nennt in den 'Anmerkungen zu den Texten' als älteste Quelle des 'meistersingerischen Marienliedes (Ende 15. Jh.)' den Münchener Cod. herm. 808 (um 1505), vgl. Anm. 19.

<sup>23</sup> Zeile 6 in der Ia und IIIa pars und Zeile 14 in der Ia und IIa pars schließen mit einer Brevis.

8 Zeile: 1/4 2/5 F 3/6 a mi 7 8

8 d 9 C 10 G 11

8 12 13 14 15 F 16

8 17 18 a mi

8 17 18 a mi

## 6. III 6, Mein Frau Hilgart, Cantus prius factus

eingeschobene Pausen von bis zu drei Semibreven Länge zwischen den Zeilen. Da solche zusätzlichen Pausen in der Quarta pars fehlen - in ex. 6 zugrunde gelegt -, ist sie mit fünfunddreißig Mensuren der kürzeste und kompakteste Satz. Dieser Teil beschäftigt auch die anderen Stimmen am wenigsten mit Zeilenimitationen, die sonst vor allem in Cantus und Bassus auftreten.<sup>24</sup> Summarisch läßt sich festhalten: die Zeilen 12, 15 und 18 sind stets mit Imitationsansätzen ausgezeichnet, die Zeilen 1, 7, 11 und 16 immerhin in vier partes. Zeile 8, 14 und 17 verlaufen immer ohne Melodiebeteiligung der Nebestimmen.

Das ist alles nicht ungewöhnlich und gibt noch keinen profilierten Eindruck von der Komposition. Sie besteht in allen Teilen aus einem dichten Satz, der selten auf vier oder gar drei Stimmen reduziert ist. Allenfalls bei den Vierzeilern kommt es hier und da zu Stimmengruppen, die schlagkräftig gegeneinander deklamieren, z.B. M. I 23-29. Alle partes verdeutlichen die Stollenwiederholung der Barform in einer Repetition, die aus variablem Beginn spä-

<sup>24</sup> Cantus und Bassus sind gleich häufig den Tenor imitierend geführt, Altus und Quinta vox nur halb so oft.

testens bei der dritten bzw. sechsten Zeile in den gleichen Schluß mündet. Die genannten Ähnlichkeiten führen natürlich auch zu Parallelen im Kadenzplan der fünf partes. So enden die Zeilen 9 und 10 stets auf C bzw. G (g), Zeile 2, 5<sup>25</sup> und 15 auf F, zum Teil als *d*-Klang unterbaut. Die Hauptkadenzen am Stollenschluß und am Ende sind immer *mi*-Klauseln auf *a*, wenn auch teilweise als *d*- oder *F*-Klang umgedeutet.<sup>26</sup> Die einzige Differenzierung des Ganzen besteht in den endgültigen Schlüssen der partes, die nach der genannten *mi*-Klausel auf *a* in die Klänge *A-D-A-F-A* auslaufen, und damit die Finalis *a* im Wechsel mit den wichtigsten Nebestufen bestätigen. Insgesamt wirkt die Vertonung durch ihre Gleichförmigkeit aber kompakt und steif, so daß man geneigt ist, in ihr einen halbherzigen Versuch zu sehen, sich vom reinen, strengen Strophenlied zu befreien, das den fortlaufenden Text tatsächlich im gleichen Satz vortragen würde. Nur äußerlich sind hier die Strophen für sich gestellt, ohne von dem dominierenden und gleichförmigen Cantus prius factus loszukommen und ohne die Möglichkeit zu nutzen, die dramatischen Geschehnisse musikalisch zu illustrieren.

H. Osthoff hat den Gedanken ausgesprochen, daß das dritte Buch fünfstimmiger Lieder von 1576 möglicherweise einige jener frühen Vertonungen enthält<sup>27</sup>, die Lasso indirekt in der Vorrede zum ersten Band 1567 erwähnt, wo er sagt, er habe wieder [!] deutsche Lieder komponiert.<sup>28</sup> Für diese Vermutung spricht zum einen, daß Lasso bei seinen ersten Liedversuchen sich wohl stärker an die Tradition des Tenorliedes angelehnt hat und daß der Anteil von weltlichen Liedern mit Cantus prius factus im dritten Buch auffällig hoch ist: im ersten Buch kein einziges, im zweiten eins, im dritten fünf oder sechs.<sup>29</sup> Zum andern ist daran zu erinnern, daß der dritte Band nur elf, statt fünfzehn, Lieder enthält mit der 'Zugabe' einer Chanson. Der Band sollte zur Rückkehr Herzog Ernsts aus Italien fertig werden; vielleicht war es nötig, den dafür geplanten, aber noch unvollendeten Bestand von Liedern mit älteren, nicht publizierten Werken aufzufüllen. Zum dritten läßt sich nicht leugnen, daß einige dieser Tenorlieder, zumal die fünfteilige Bearbeitung *Mein Frau Hilgart*, gemessen an den geistlichen Liedern Lassos aus dem zweiten Buch von 1572, un gelenk und unfrei wirken in ihrer strengen und weitreichenden Abhängigkeit von der vorgegebenen Melodie.<sup>30</sup>

Lassos mehrteilige, fünfstimmige Lieder reflektieren auf besondere Weise die

<sup>25</sup> Hier bildet wiederum die Quarta pars eine Ausnahme mit den Schlußwendungen auf *Es-B* und *g-D*.

<sup>26</sup> OSTHOFF, 1967 (= 1938), p. 161 spricht irrtümlich von einer 'jonischen Melodie'. Die Affinität des *e*-phrygischen zum C-Dur - oder hier: des *a*-phrygischen zu *F*-Dur - ist ein immer wieder zu beobachtendes Phänomen.

<sup>27</sup> OSTHOFF, 1967 (= 1938), p. 161.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. die Vorrede bei Sandberger in LASSO, SW, XX, p. VI.

<sup>29</sup> Melodieandeutung in III/7 *So trinken wir alle*.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. außer dem besprochenen Lied III/6 das mehrteilige III/10, *Hört zu ein neu's Gedicht*, oder das einteilige, aber zwei Strophen in einen Satz fassende Lied III/11, *Ich sprich wann ich nicht leuge*.

Probleme, mit denen er sich kompositorisch beim Tenorlied auseinanderzusetzen hatte. In den anderen Gattungen - Motette, Chanson und Madrigal - hatte er bereits Beträchtliches geleistet, ehe er sich der traditionell orientierten oder gar rückständigen deutschen Lied-Bearbeitungstechnik zuwandte. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, wenn er den Unterschied zwischen der 'Italianischen lieblichkeit' und der 'Teutschen Dapffrigkeit' im Vorwort für den gerade aus Italien zurückgekehrten Herzog Ernst hervorhebt, vielleicht, mit dem Blick auf die frühen Tenorlieder, sogar um Wohlwollen bittend mit der Formulierung: 'auch nit unwerth sein lassen'. Das Spektrum der mehrteiligen Lieder reicht in der Tat von Werken, die der Vorstellung vom Strophenlied auch in der Mehrteiligkeit gerecht zu werden versuchen, indem sie eine kaum variierte Gestaltung der partes bieten, bis zu den melodisch ungebundenen Werken, die auf madrigalische Art den Text vortragen, indem sie den Details pointierte Beachtung schenken, kurz: das Spektrum reicht von Lied-Bearbeitungen bis zu Vertonungen von Liedtexten, zu eigentlichen Kompositionen. Dazwischen liegen jene Lieder, die in der Bewahrung der Barform, die Lasso auch in den Chansons anwendet, oder durch Refrains die im traditionellen Lied vorgegebene Form neu zu realisieren trachten. Ein wichtiges Mittel der liedhaften Gestaltung erfindet er mit den teilweise repetierten Schlußzeilen. Sie fassen rückwirkend das abwechslungsreiche, konzentriert rhythmisch-klangliche Geschehen melodisch zusammen. Kantabel sich entfaltend, bewirken sie eine spürbare musikalische Entspannung und runden den Verlauf ab. Lasso hat dem deutschen Lied, das in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts eine gewisse Flaute erlebte, aus den Möglichkeiten von Madrigal und Chanson neue Kräfte zugeführt. Er hat aber auch versucht - selbst in der Mehrteiligkeit -, die traditionellen Tugenden des deutschen Liedes zu erhalten: dessen Schlichtheit, Prägnanz und geschlossene Form.



# LA MUSIQUE PROFANE DE ROLAND DE LASSUS MISE EN TABLATURE DE LUTH

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## Introduction

La musique instrumentale se développe au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle autour de trois pôles: les pièces abstraites, la musique de danse et les transpositions d'oeuvres vocales. Parmi ces dernières, nous allons essayer de définir l'intérêt que Lassus a suscité chez les luthistes, en répondant à diverses questions.

Qu'est-ce que la mise en tablature, quels sont les éditeurs dominants de ces arrangements instrumentaux, quelle est la période la plus productive en oeuvres de Lassus? Enfin, au sein de ce corpus, nous allons déterminer quelles sont les oeuvres profanes les plus représentées et analyser brièvement les diverses versions de *Susanne un jour*.

## Qu'est-ce que la mise en tablature?

### Le Roy

Comment passer de l'original vocal à la tablature? Divers points sont à prendre en considération. Tout d'abord les spécificités techniques du luth, ensuite le développement d'une glose instrumentale sans laquelle la mise en tablature ne serait pas complète. Enfin, le problème de la *musica ficta* qui, du fait de la notation d'un doigté, est fixée définitivement.

Ces points, primordiaux pour notre propos, seront éclairés par la source la plus complète du genre qui nous soit parvenue: la méthode pour mettre les oeuvres vocales en tablature de luth d'Adrian Le Roy (traduction anglaise de 1574). Cette méthode a, outre l'avantage d'être la plus complète sur le sujet, celui de prendre presque exclusivement ses modèles vocaux parmi les oeuvres de Lassus (11 chansons sur 12).<sup>1</sup>

La méthode de Le Roy présente d'autres avantages:

1. Le côté tout à fait pratique de l'entreprise puisque tout est expliqué oeuvres à l'appui.
2. La classification systématique des chansons dans les huit modes ou tons.
3. Outre la mise en tablature brute, chaque oeuvre est présentée dans une ver-

<sup>1</sup> La douzième chanson est d'Arcadelt: *Si le bien qui au plus grand bien*. Elle sert d'exemple à la transposition du premier ton.

sion ornée avec les aménagements techniques que cela implique.

4. Nous savons également que Le Roy et Lassus étaient en relations épistolaires, que Lassus fit un séjour à Paris en 1571 et logea chez Le Roy qui le présenta à la cour.<sup>2</sup>

La méthode a par contre certains inconvénients:

1. Les différents points sont détaillés par Le Roy sans ordre. Il faut avoir tout lu pour synthétiser chaque problème.

2. Il n'est question nulle part de *musica ficta*, Le Roy ignore cet aspect; la version vocale qu'il donne est déjà pourvue d'altérations. Dans la première chanson, elles découlent du reste toutes de la seule règle du *subsemitonium modi*. La *musica ficta* serait-elle pour Le Roy tellement évidente qu'il ne doit pas en être question? Ou tellement personnelle?

3. On peut objecter qu'il ne s'agit que de l'avis d'une seule personne. Mais 1574 (ou 1570) n'est pas le début des mises en tablature d'oeuvres polyphoniques vocales. La théorisation vient toujours après la pratique et le recul permet à Le Roy de parler d'une pratique éprouvée. D'autre part, Le Roy a montré des qualités d'éditeur mais également de pédagogue et de musicien. Son avis n'est donc pas purement abstrait.

4. Dans l'introduction à l'édition moderne de Le Roy<sup>3</sup>, les auteurs disent que sa méthode correspond au déclin du genre, mais, comme nous le verrons plus loin, les années 1570 sont la période la plus florissante en ce qui concerne les oeuvres de Lassus mises en tablature. Et si effectivement la France ne produit plus guère qu'une pièce de Lassus (en 1600, une *Susanne* de Francisque), le genre n'en est pas épuisé pour autant en Allemagne, Italie, Angleterre et surtout aux anciens Pays-Bas.

5. Le dernier reproche qu'on pourrait faire à cette méthode, c'est qu'il n'y est question que de tablature française. Mais les conseils de Le Roy sont adaptables à la tablature italienne et, pour une moindre part il est vrai, à l'allemande.

### Le choix des chansons de Le Roy

La plupart des recueils autour de 1570 mettent le nom de Lassus en relief. C'est une garantie de qualité et une probabilité de meilleure vente. Voyons en détail ce corpus que Le Roy qualifie d'exemplaire, tout en admettant qu'il est ardu:

<sup>2</sup> Pour plus de détails voir: A. SANDBERGER, *R. Lassus' Beziehungen zu Frankreich und zur französischen Literatur*, dans le tome 12 de LASSO, SW, et dans F. LESURE - G. THIBAUT, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard*, Paris, 1955, p. 15, 16 et 36.

<sup>3</sup> J. JACQUOT - P. SORDES - J.-M. VACCARO, *Oeuvres d'Adrian Le Roy. Les instructions pour le luth (1574)*, 1. *Introduction et texte des instructions*, (*Corpus des Luthistes français*), Paris, 1977, p. XXXII.

l'instruction d'asseoir toute Musique facilement en tablature de luth, qui estoit fondée exemplairement sur les chansons d'Orlande de Lassus, lesquelles sont difficiles et ardues comme pour rompre le disciple de l'art à franchir après toutes les difficultés<sup>4</sup>

Les onze chansons, en version vocale, ont été publiées pour la première fois en 1555 (cinq), 1560 (une) ou 1564 (cinq). Toutes, sauf une, proviennent d'éditions anversoises (l'exception est louvaniste). En 1570, Le Roy et Ballard les réédite dans le *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus*. Les pièces étaient donc à portée de main pour l'élaboration de la méthode.

A l'exception de *Trop endurer*, qui semble un unicum, ces chansons avaient déjà fait l'objet de versions pour luth. Nous trouvons Phalèse comme figure dominante dans ces mises en tablature. En effet, neuf des onze chansons se trouvent dans son anthologie de 1571 - dont deux avec des *alio modo* -, sept sont publiées dans le *Luculentum* de 1568 et deux dans l'édition de 1563, terminus *a quo* des mises en tablature des oeuvres de Lassus.

Notons que trois de ces chansons seront encore publiées en 1603 dans le *Thesaurus* de Besard. Le choix de Le Roy correspond donc à des chansons à succès, sauf *Trop endurer* dont c'est la seule version pour luth que nous connaissons (il n'y en a pas pour orgue non plus).

En voici la liste, dans l'ordre des huit modes, comme elles apparaissent dans l'instruction de Le Roy. Les titres sont suivis de l'année de la première parution vocale. La colonne suivante donne les dates des anthologies de Phalèse dans lesquelles on les retrouve en tablature de luth. La dernière colonne indique les chansons encore éditées pour luth en 1603 par Besard.

titres	vocal		Phalèse	Bésard	
1. <i>Quand mon mary</i>	(1564 Anvers)		1571	1603	
2. <i>Je l'ayme bien</i>	(1555 Anvers)		1571		
3. <i>Un doux nennin</i>	(1560 Louvain)	1563	1568	1571	1603
4. <i>En espoir vy</i>	(1555 Anvers)		1568	1571	
5. <i>Du corps absent</i>	(1564 Anvers)		1568		
6. <i>Trop endurer</i>	(1555 Anvers)				
7. <i>Vray Dieu disoit</i>	(1555 Anvers)	1563	1568	1571 (x 2)	
8. <i>En un lieu</i>	(1564 Anvers)		1568	1571	
9. <i>Je ne veux rien</i>	(1564 Anvers)			1571	
10. <i>Ce faux amour</i>	(1564 Anvers)		1568	1571	1603
11. <i>Las voulez-vous</i>	(1555 Anvers)		1568 (x 2)	1571 (x 2)	

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XIII. Cette phrase est extraite de la dédicace du *Livre d'Airs de cour* et datée du 15 février 1571.

Il faut remarquer que parmi les versions de 1571, six tablatures sont des rééditions soit de 1568, soit de 1566, donc antérieures à la publication de l'original de *Le Roy en français* (1570).<sup>5</sup> Cela réduit à trois tablatures l'apport nouveau de Phalèse entre la rédaction en français et la réédition anglaise de *Le Roy*.

### La technique de mise en tablature

Mis à part les problèmes de la *musica ficta* et du rapport expressif entre texte et musique dont il n'est nulle part question dans cette méthode, il nous reste quatre rubriques à détailler:

1. translation des hauteurs,
2. translation des durées,
3. translation de la polyphonie,
4. élaboration de l'ornementation.

#### *Les hauteurs*

Le paramètre des hauteurs pose le problème de faire coïncider la tessiture vocale avec la tessiture instrumentale. *Le Roy* va donc noter les ambitus de chaque voix et voir quelles sont les possibilités d'adaptation à la tessiture du luth. Cela peut donner plusieurs solutions engendrant des doigtés plus ou moins aisés. Le choix se fera de préférence en employant les cordes à vide comme notes du mode. Ainsi, les huit tons se terminent au luth sur Sol (5 x), Ré (4 x), Mi (1 x) et Do (1 x) - considérant que le luth est accordé en Sol. Ce ton de Sol est à juste titre le plus fréquent.

ton de la chanson	finale de ce ton	finale sur le luth en Sol
1er ton	Ré	Ré
2e	Ré	Sol
2e transposé	Ré	Sol
3e	Mi	Ré
4e	Mi	Mi
5e	Fa	Ré
5e	Fa	Do
6e	Fa	Sol
7e	Sol	Ré
8e	Sol	Sol
cas incertain	?	Sol

<sup>5</sup> Le n° 3 = 1566; le n° 4 = 1568; les deux n° 7 = 1566 et 1568; le n° 8 = 1568; l'un des deux n° 11 = 1568.

Trois chansons seulement se terminent sur la finale théorique de leur mode. La tablature se montre bien comme notation spécifique de la transposition. Soucieux de la meilleure adaptation des ambitus aux possibilités du luth, Le Roy doit malgré tout parfois supprimer l'une ou l'autre basse et il en profite pour louer 'the lutes of the new invention with thirtene strynges' (f° 33), c'est-à-dire augmentés d'un septième choeur.

### *Les durées*

Les durées ne présentent pas de problème bien particulier. Il est fait mention de la règle habituelle qui consiste à transformer les valeurs longues en semi-brèves, représentant le temps maximal de résonance d'une corde sur le luth. Le Roy attire aussi l'attention sur le fait que le doigt reste obligatoirement posé sur une note longue pendant que les autres voix sont jouées (cf. polyphonie).

### *La polyphonie*

Pour noter la polyphonie, les parties vocales sont pourvues de barres situées toutes les semi-brèves. Elles aideront à diviser la tablature en tactus. Le Roy explique qu'on pourrait 'set the Musicke in measures, assemblyng all the partes together one over the other', ce qui rejoint notre idée moderne de partition. Mais en agissant ainsi, dit-il, 'ye shall onely have doen the Musicke' (f° 26). La mise en tablature reste pour lui question de contrepoint.

Les voix sont notées une par une, en commençant par la plus aiguë, ce qui est une nécessité technique pour mettre plusieurs voix en tablature. Le Roy explique qu'afin de laisser sonner la voix précédemment transcrite, il faut prendre la voix suivante sur une autre corde (f° 17). Quant au rythme, il montre comment changer les valeurs absolues d'une voix en valeurs relatives au moment de l'addition des autres parties.

Le Roy rappelle 'l'excellencie of the Lute above the Virginalles' (f° 7): le luth peut faire des unissons réels. Le Sol à vide de la première corde peut être joué simultanément sur le deuxième choeur (Ré) en plaçant son doigt à la cinquième frette: 'furnishing the unisson, fylling so muche the more the Harmonie' (f° 7).

Malgré tout, il y a ce que Le Roy appelle des 'pertes', des passages où tout ne peut être parfaitement rendu. En voici quelques cas.

- Souvent, dans une transcription pour le luth, on se voit obligé d'élider une note ici ou là. Si cette note est présente à l'octave inférieure dans une autre partie, il n'y a point de perte. En effet, les choeurs graves se composent de deux cordes en octave; l'aiguë supplée, nous dit Le Roy.
- Quand le doigté devient trop difficile, on peut simplifier, ou parfois prendre les mêmes notes dans une autre position sur le manche.
- Mais les meilleurs remèdes aux pertes se trouvent dans les versions ornées que Le Roy propose après chaque transcription brute. Car ces tablatures fidèles ne sont pour lui que grammaire élémentaire, il leur manque l'éloquence de la rhétorique (f° 13v). Celle-ci permet d'aplanir les derniers problèmes de transcription.

*L'ornementation*

Si Le Roy attire l'attention sur l'importance esthétique de l'ornementation, il ne donne pourtant aucun commentaire sur la manière dont il a orné les versions élaborées qui suivent chaque mise en tablature littérale. S'il rejoint les conceptions d'ornementation des traités de l'époque, il ne fait aucune mention du rapport expressif texte - musique, comme si, dans l'élaboration d'une tablature, cet élément n'avait plus aucune importance. Seule demeure l'invention de la glose instrumentale, car dans l'ornementation, dit Le Roy, se trouve 'all the cunnyng' et cette ornementation peut même permettre la suppression d'une note dans un accord, ou d'une voix 'for the better grace and pleasyng of the eare' (f° 13v). Rappelons que cette louange de l'ornementation n'était pas partagée par tous au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Quatre ans après l'édition de Le Roy, soit en 1578, Antoine de Bertrand, dans la préface du *Premier livre des Amours de Ronsard*, déclare que l'ornementation empêche la clarté de l'harmonie et fait qu'une pièce triste devient gaie.<sup>6</sup> C'est le même argument que développait déjà Vicentino en 1555, dans son *Antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Chap. XXXXII).<sup>7</sup> Citons encore Zacconi (*Prattica de musica*, Venise, 1594) qui reconnaît que beaucoup de compositeurs évitent d'entendre leur oeuvres ornées, car ils les préfèrent telles qu'ils les ont écrites.<sup>8</sup> Mais nous admettrons volontiers que le point de vue du compositeur de l'original vocal ne soit pas le même que celui du metteur en tablature.

## Editeurs dominants

Ces calculs tiennent compte des volumes réédités. Ils ne prennent pas en considération les volumes perdus. Comme il sera fait mention des types de tablature, Cabezon n'est pas cité dans cette liste, son recueil étant destiné indifféremment au clavier, à la vihuela et à la harpe.

<sup>6</sup> Cité dans I. HORSLEY, *Improvised Embellishment in the Performance of Renaissance Polyphonic Music*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 4 (1951), p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.



Voyons à présent le nombre, toutes éditions confondues, de recueils publiés dans chaque pays, en les rangeant dans l'ordre chronologique d'apparition sur le marché. Le détail du nombre de publications par éditeur est donné dans les colonnes trois à cinq.

				Louvain
PB	11 recueils	9	Phalèse de Roy et de Rhenen	Anvers
		2		Utrecht
I	10	2	Gardane Scotto Amadino	Venise
		6		Venise
		2		Venise
D	15	9	Jobin Eichorn Grevenbruch Voegelin	Strasbourg
		3		Francfort /Oder
		2		Cologne
		1		Heidelberg
GB	1	1	Rowbothome	Londres
F	1	1	Ballard	Paris

L'Allemagne vient en tête avec quinze recueils, suivie des Pays-Bas (11) et de l'Italie (10). Les imprimeurs dominants sont Phalèse et Jobin, tous deux les premiers dans leur pays à publier des oeuvres de Lassus.

### Les périodes de production des éditeurs

En observant le premier tableau chronologique, ce qui frappe, ce sont les périodes où la production est plus concentrée. Phalèse est plus fréquent entre 1563 et 1574, mais il reste présent jusqu'en 1600. Notons cependant que les trois derniers recueils qu'il édite ne sont plus des anthologies, mais les oeuvres d'Adriaenssen. L'Italie débute avec un bloc Neusidler - Galilei chez Gardane et Scotto entre 1566 et 1569 (cinq publications), suivi d'un trou d'une quinzaine d'années pendant lesquelles ne paraît qu'un seul recueil de cistre. La plus grande concentration d'éditions est allemande et très compacte, de 1572 à 1586, avec douze recueils.

Phalèse produit neuf recueils en trente-sept ans, Scotto, six en seize ans et Jobin, neuf comme Phalèse, mais seulement en quatorze années. Phalèse a donc une production étalée sur une période beaucoup plus longue que Jobin, malgré un même nombre de publications.

Ainsi, aux anciens Pays-Bas, Phalèse produit de manière assez régulière, de 1563 à 1600, avec un point fort aux alentours de 1570. A Utrecht, de Roy et de

Rhenen n'apparaissent qu'après 1600. En France, au seul recueil de Ballard, il faudrait ajouter l'exemplaire perdu de *Le Roy*, 1570, ce qui reste un résultat très maigre. De même, l'Angleterre ne propose que la traduction de cette méthode de mise en tablature de *Le Roy* en 1574. L'Italie est surtout active avant 1570 et de 1584 à 1599. Gardane n'est présent qu'en 1566 et Amadino apparaît après 1590. Le gros de la production revient à Scotto, de 1568 à 1584. En Allemagne, les publications ne commencent pas avant 1572. Mais à partir de cette date jusqu'à 1586, nous remarquons un ensemble compact Jobin-Eichorn avec pas moins de douze recueils. La fin du siècle est marquée par trois livres en tablature française.

### Les types de tablature

PB	11 françaises (2 pour le cistre)
F	1 française
I	9 italiennes et 1 française (cistre)
D	6 allemandes; 6 italiennes (dont 4 pour le cistre); 3 françaises (après 1594)
GB	1 française

Cela donne dans l'ordre décroissant:

Tablature française:	17
italienne:	15
allemande:	6

Nous remarquons donc la prédominance de la tablature française, que l'on trouve dans tous les pays et qui se généralise dès 1600. Suit de près la tablature italienne, présente en Italie et en Allemagne. Cette dernière garde par contre l'exclusivité de la tablature allemande tout en étant le pays le plus ouvert dans ce domaine, puisque les trois types de tablature y sont représentés.

Notons, d'autre part, que le cistre ne se trouve qu'en tablature française (3 fois) et italienne (4 fois).

### Les villes

Voyons à présent quelles sont les villes les plus représentées dans ces éditions des oeuvres de Lassus pour luth et cistre. Les éditions Phalèse associent régulièrement Louvain et Anvers. Dans les ex aequo, la liste est donnée dans l'ordre chronologique d'apparition.

1.	Venise	10	fois
2.	Louvain et Anvers	9	
	Strasbourg	9	

3.	Francfort / Oder	3
4.	Cologne	2
	Utrecht	2
5.	Londres	1
	Heidelberg	1
	Paris	1

Les centres les plus importants sont Venise, Louvain - Anvers et Strasbourg.

### Période la plus productive d'oeuvres de Lassus pour luth (jusqu'en 1599)

Supprimant les recueils pour cistre, nous allons essayer de déterminer si dans les vingt-cinq éditions pour luth - de 1563 (la première à donner des oeuvres de Lassus) à 1599 - se dégage une période plus favorable à la mise en tablature des pièces de Lassus. Dans chaque édition, nous avons compté le nombre de pièces basées sur le répertoire vocal et parmi ces pièces le nombre d'oeuvres de Lassus. Enfin, au sein de ce corpus de Lassus, nous distinguons la musique profane de la musique sacrée.

Le travail a été fait à partir de la bibliographie de Brown.<sup>9</sup> Brown ne numérote pas les *alio modi*. Ils sont considérés ici comme pièces indépendantes et de ce fait numérotés. Les différentes parties d'un madrigal ou d'un motet sont également numérotées comme pièces indépendantes, car dans certains volumes une partie séparée peut être considérée comme pièce entière. Ceci permet un meilleur calcul des pourcentages. La fantaisie sur *Susanne*<sup>10</sup> a été jugée assez proche de l'original pour être comptée parmi les pièces vocales.

Les recueils suivent le classement de Brown.

Nous verrons d'abord, dans l'ordre chronologique, le pourcentage d'oeuvres de Lassus dans le répertoire vocal total présenté dans ces éditions, ce qui donne une idée de la place qu'occupe Lassus parmi les compositeurs d'originaux vocaux choisis pour la mise en tablature. Ensuite, nous prendrons les recueils dans l'ordre décroissant du nombre de pièces de Lassus proposées.

<sup>9</sup> H.M. BROWN, *Instrumental Music printed before 1600. A Bibliography*, Cambridge, Ma., 1965.

<sup>10</sup> Brown 1599<sup>7</sup>, n° 63, p. 133.

<sup>11</sup> Voir notre étude détaillée dans les Actes du 4<sup>e</sup> Congrès de l'Association des Cercles francophones d'Histoire et d'archéologie de Belgique (Liège, 20-23 août 1992), III, Liège, 1995, pp. 225-236.

<sup>12</sup> Cité dans O. STRUNK, *Source Readings in Music History. The Renaissance*, New York - London, 1965, pp. 144-5.

### Pourcentage d'oeuvres de Lassus dans le répertoire vocal, total des recueils

1563 <sup>12</sup>	3 %	1574 <sup>5</sup>	14,5 %
		1574 <sup>7</sup>	11 %
1566 <sup>2</sup>	37,5 %		
1566 <sup>3</sup>	80 %	1582 <sup>1</sup>	12,5 %
1568 <sup>1</sup>	4,5 %	1584 <sup>3</sup>	23,5 %
1568 <sup>2</sup>	19,5 %	1584 <sup>5</sup>	4 %
1568 <sup>7</sup>	15,5 %	1584 <sup>6</sup>	15,5 %
		1584 <sup>8</sup>	11 %
1569 <sup>8</sup>	30,5 %		
		1586 <sup>5</sup>	49 %
1571 <sup>6</sup>	44,5 %		
		1592 <sup>6</sup>	10 %
1572 <sup>1</sup>	66,5 %		
		1593 <sup>7</sup>	9 %
1573 <sup>1</sup>	58 %		
1573 <sup>3</sup>	8,5 %	1594 <sup>5</sup>	11,5 %
1574 <sup>1</sup>	7 %		
1574 <sup>2</sup>	25 %	1599 <sup>7</sup>	28,5 %

Parmi les cinq plus forts pourcentages, 1566<sup>3</sup> vient en tête avec 80 % de Lassus (M. Neusidler). Les suivants sont 1572<sup>1</sup> (la première anthologie en tablature allemande de Jobin), 1573<sup>1</sup> (la réédition en tablature allemande de Neusidler 1566<sup>2</sup> et 1566<sup>3</sup>), 1586<sup>5</sup> (tablature allemande de Kargel) et 1571<sup>6</sup> (le *Theatrum* de Phalèse). Le pourcentage le plus bas est celui du premier recueil contenant des oeuvres de Lassus, 1563<sup>12</sup> (anthologie de Phalèse). C'est donc dans les tablatures allemandes que Lassus est le plus représenté. Quant aux dates, excepté 1586, les pourcentages les plus importants se rencontrent en 1566 et entre 1571 et 1573.

Quelle est la progression de ces pourcentages dans les quatre anthologies de Phalèse?

1563	3 %	3	pièces profanes
1568	15,5 %	16	pièces profanes
1571	44,5 %	51	pièces profanes et 11 motets
1574	11 %	5	pièces profanes

L'anthologie de 1571 est à tous points de vue la plus importante: elle a le meilleur pourcentage de Lassus dans le répertoire vocal total, c'est aussi l'antholo-

gie contenant le plus de répertoire vocal par rapport aux répertoires de danse ou de fantaisie. Au reste, c'est le seul volume donnant à la fois du sacré et du profane. Elle correspond aussi à la fourchette de dates 1571 - 1573 citée plus haut. Enfin, des vingt-cinq recueils édités jusqu'en 1599, c'est celui qui propose le plus grand nombre de pièces.

**Recueils dans l'ordre décroissant du nombre de pièces de Lasso, avec la répartition chansons - madrigaux et motets**

		chansons madrigaux	motets	tablature	compositeur (ou éditeur)
1571 <sup>6</sup>	62	51	11	F	Phalèse
1586 <sup>5</sup>	25	6	19	D	Kargel
1568 <sup>2</sup>	24	24	0	I	Galilei
1572 <sup>1</sup>	22	12	10	D	Jobin
1573 <sup>1</sup>	18	9	9	D	M. Neusidler
1574 <sup>1</sup>	17	12	5	I	Kargel
1568 <sup>7</sup>	16	16	0	F	Phalèse
1569 <sup>8</sup>	15	15	0	I	Galilei
1584 <sup>3</sup>	13	11	2	I	Fallamero
1566 <sup>3</sup>	12	3	9	I	M. Neusidler
1574 <sup>2</sup>	11	11	0	F	Le Roy
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1594 <sup>5</sup>	10	8	2	F	
1584 <sup>6</sup>	9	8	1	F	
1566 <sup>2</sup>	6	6	0	I	
1574 <sup>5</sup>	5	3	2	D	
1574 <sup>7</sup>	5	5	0	F	
1584 <sup>5</sup>	5	5	0	I	
1592 <sup>6</sup>	5	2	3	F	
1584 <sup>8</sup>	4	0	4	D	
1563 <sup>12</sup>	3	3	0	F	
1582 <sup>1</sup>	3	2	1	I	
1593 <sup>7</sup>	3	2	1	I	
1573 <sup>3</sup>	2	1	1	D	
1599 <sup>7</sup>	2	2	0	I	
1568 <sup>1</sup>	1	1	0	I	
<b>totaux:</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>80</b>		

Parmi les onze recueils présentant plus de dix pièces de Lassus, neuf paraissent entre 1566 et 1574. C'est donc autour de 1570 que se situe la période la plus productive. L'exemple type (cf. supra) en est l'anthologie de Phalèse de 1571, avec ses 62 pièces.

Dans ces livres de luth, les trois types de tablature sont représentés. Les pays apparaissent dans l'ordre suivant: les anciens Pays-Bas, l'Allemagne, l'Italie et la France.

### Répartition madrigaux - chansons et motets

Le tableau précédent donne un total de 298 pièces qui se répartissent en 218 chansons ou madrigaux et seulement 80 motets. Huit recueils ne donnent aucun motet, quatre recueils donnent plus de motets que de chansons. Dans ces volumes, quelle est la proportion de motets par rapport aux chansons et madrigaux?

Dans l'ordre nous trouvons:

dates	pourcentage	nombre de pièces		tablature	compositeur éditeur
		motets	chansons		
1584 <sup>8</sup>	100 %	4	0	D	Krengel
1592 <sup>6</sup>	66,5 %	3	2	F	Adriaenssen
1566 <sup>3</sup>	33,5 %	9	3	I	Neusidler
1586 <sup>5</sup>	31,5 %	19	6	D	Kargel

Trois des quatre recueils se situent entre 1584 et 1592. Seul M. Neusidler est du début de la période de production. Notons qu'il s'agit du deuxième volume de cette année 1566; dans le premier Neusidler donnait six pièces profanes et aucun motet, ce qui fait l'équilibre. Krengel est le seul recueil qui ne donne aucune pièce profane. Remarquons également que c'est au pourcentage le plus bas que correspond le plus grand nombre de pièces. Les compositeurs allemands sont majoritaires, quoique Neusidler soit édité en tablature italienne à Venise. Mais n'oublions pas que les deux recueils de Neusidler (1566<sup>2</sup> et 1566<sup>3</sup>) seront réédités en tablature allemande par Drusina en 1573.

*Les motets*

Où trouve-t-on le plus de motets? Surtout entre 1571 et 1574, puis entre 1584 et 1594.

dates	nombre	compositeur éditeur	tablature
1571 <sup>6</sup>	11	Phalèse	F
1572 <sup>1</sup>	10	Jobin	D
1573 <sup>1</sup>	9	Neusidler	D
1586 <sup>5</sup>	19	Kargel	D

Les motets sont les plus nombreux dans les tablatures allemandes (3). La seule tablature française provient des anciens Pays-Bas.

*Les chansons et madrigaux*

Quelles sont les éditions qui proposent le plus de chansons et madrigaux?

dates	nombre	compositeur éditeur	tablature
1568 <sup>2</sup>	24	Galilei	I
1568 <sup>7</sup>	16	Phalèse	F
1569 <sup>8</sup>	15	Galilei	I
1571 <sup>6</sup>	51	Phalèse	F
1572 <sup>1</sup>	12	Jobin	D
1574 <sup>1</sup>	12	Kargel	I
1574 <sup>2</sup>	11	Le Roy	F
1584 <sup>3</sup>	11	Fallamero	I

Excepté celui de 1584, les sept autres recueils qui donnent le plus d'œuvres profanes sont regroupés entre 1568 et 1574, soit à nouveau autour de l'anthologie de Phalèse de 1571, qui présente le plus grand nombre de pièces (51). Le répertoire profane est plus international que le répertoire sacré. Nous y retrouvons les trois types de tablature, avec une prédominance de l'italienne (4) presque à égalité avec la française (3). La tablature allemande n'intervient qu'une seule fois. Les compositeurs ou éditeurs de ces tablatures appartiennent à l'Italie, la France, l'Allemagne et les anciens Pays-Bas .

## Pièces profanes les plus représentées dans les éditions

Près de quatre-vingts oeuvres vocales différentes ont fait l'objet de mises en tablature pour le luth. Certaines n'apparaissent qu'une fois, d'autres se retrouvent dans divers recueils. Parmi les titres qui reviennent plusieurs fois, nous allons déterminer ceux qui ont eu le plus de succès auprès des metteurs en tablature et voir de quand datent les versions vocales de ces pièces.

Ce chapitre recouvre toutes les éditions comprenant des oeuvres profanes de Lassus mises en tablature pour le luth et le cistre, à l'exception des deux pièces de Rude (l'une d'elles est: *Et d'où venez-vous*). Les rééditions éventuelles d'une mise en tablature sont prises en compte, étant le reflet du succès de la pièce.

Dix-sept intitulés reviennent au moins quatre fois. Ce sont des pièces dont les originaux vocaux ont été publiés en 1555 (7), 1560 (6) et 1564 (4). Les plus grands succès sont donc les pièces les plus anciennes. *La cortesia* a le record de longévité puisque, éditée vocalement en 1555, on la retrouve en tablature jusqu'en 1603. Mais le record incontesté revient à *Susanne* qui se trouve dans le premier recueil de tablature contenant des oeuvres de Lassus (Phalèse, 1563), et, avec deux versions différentes, dans le *Thesaurus* de Besard en 1603: un succès de près d'un demi-siècle dans les imprimés avec pas moins de 25 parutions (sans compter les deux *Susanne* de Cabezon).

Sur ces dix-sept intitulés, la chanson prend l'avantage sur les madrigaux et villanelles: douze chansons pour cinq madrigaux (quatre madrigaux proviennent de l'édition de 1555).

Il reste, dans le domaine profane, à signaler que les Lieder allemands sont extrêmement rares. Jobin nous en propose trois en tablature allemande, dans son livre de 1572<sup>1</sup>.

Prenons les titres dans l'ordre décroissant de fréquence:

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1. <i>Susanne</i>	(1560)	25 fois	jusqu'en 1603
2. <i>Bonjour mon coeur</i>	(1564)	12	1603
3. <i>Madonna mia pieta</i>	(1555)	10	1584
4. <i>La cortesia</i>	(1555)	9	1603
<i>Quand mon mari vient de dehors</i>	(1564)		1603
<i>Un doux nenny</i>	(1560)		1603
<i>Vray Dieu</i>	(1555)		1594
5. <i>Las voulez vous</i>	(1555)	6	1574
6. <i>Avecques vous</i>	(1555)	5	1584
<i>Ce faux amour</i>	(1564)		1603

<i>Le rossigno</i>	(1560)		1603
<i>Mon cueur se recommande</i>	(1560)		1586
<i>Per pianto</i>	(1555)		1594
<i>Sto core mio</i>	(1555)		1582
7. <i>Appariran per me</i>	(1560)	4	1584
<i>Hellas quel jour</i>	(1560)		1573
<i>Le départir</i>	(1564)		1573

### *Susanne un jour* au luth<sup>11</sup>

Editée en 1560 simultanément par Phalèse et par Le Roy et Ballard, cette chanson spirituelle de Lassus a une diffusion énorme jusqu'au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Son succès instrumental est rapide, puisque dès 1563 une version pour luth apparaît dans une anthologie de Phalèse. Cinq versions pour luth seront éditées avant la publication de la première *Susanne* pour orgue d'Ammerbach en 1571. En 1600, dans le *Trésor d'Orphée* de Francisque, *Susanne* est citée dans la page de titre; c'est la pièce qui ouvre le recueil et c'est aussi la seule concession au domaine vocal que fait encore le luthiste français.

En ce qui concerne la théorie des diminutions, deux versions illustrent *il vero modo de diminuir* de dalla Casa en 1584, et Bassano en donne une troisième dans ses *Motetti, madrigali et canzoni francese [...] diminuiti* de 1591. Cabezon en publie deux dans son recueil dédié indifféremment à la harpe, à la vihuela ou au clavier (1578); c'est du reste la seule oeuvre de Lassus qu'il transcrit et glose dans ses *Obras de musica*. *Susanne* se retrouve pour chant et luth (Adriaenssen et le ms Bottegari), sous forme de fantaisie (G. Severino, 1599), ou plus librement en gaillarde chez Dowland. Henry Peacham cite encore Lassus et *Susanne* dans son *Compleat Gentleman* en 1622: 'Orlando di Lasso, a very rare and excellent author [...] and that French set of his wherein is *Susanna un jour* upon which ditty many others have since exercised their invention'.<sup>12</sup>

Nous allons comparer les vingt versions pour luth échelonnées de 1563 à 1603. Seize subsistent après l'élimination des rééditions. Nous observerons principalement trois aspects de ces mises en tablature:

- la fidélité à l'original,
- l'ornementation des débuts et des fins de pièces,
- la *musica ficta* dans les enchaînements IV-V-I.

#### La fidélité à l'original

Les versions les moins ornées sont les plus fidèles quant à la restitution polyphonique. Ce sont des tablatures qui peuvent servir de soutien aux voix, l'absence d'ornementation permet en effet de garder le tempo de l'original vocal.

L'ajout de passages ornés implique le plus souvent l'omission de certaines parties vocales. La version la moins fidèle est assurément celle de Francisque, en

1600, où la polyphonie disparaît au profit d'une harmonie figurée. En ce sens, il s'agit de l'arrangement instrumental le plus moderne.

## L'ornementation

### *Les débuts*

Trois tablatures n'ajoutent aucune ornementation: deux en 1568 et Terzi en 1593. Certaines versions développent une ornementation stéréotypée comme c'est le cas chez Phalèse (1568), chez Barbetta (1574) et chez Kargel (1582). Cette ornementation se cantonne à la voix supérieure. D'autres mises en tablature déroulent des notes de passage de l'aigu au grave, avec imitation et accélération vers la tonique proposée à l'octave inférieure de l'original. Ainsi: Adriaenssen (1592), dalla Gostena (1599), Francisque (1600) et Laurencini (1603).

L'évolution vers une ornementation plus complexe est peu sensible. Les luthistes ne se contentent plus d'ornementer principalement la voix supérieure; l'ornementation gagne les autres voix. Mais on trouve encore des versions simples jusqu'en 1593. Une certaine accélération des passages se remarque cependant vers la fin du siècle.

### *Les fins*

Certaines restent inchangées par rapport à l'original: 1568, 1593, 1599. On peut observer des motifs ornementaux obliques, descendants et remontants, qui allongent la pièce de deux tactus comme chez Laurencini (1603). Certains luthistes font preuve de plus d'invention et ornent plusieurs voix dans cette cadence finale. Adriaenssen et surtout Francisque font ici figure de novateurs (1592 et 1600). Ces différentes dates nous montrent que l'évolution n'est pas linéaire. Toutefois les versions les plus spécifiquement instrumentales se situent à la fin du siècle.

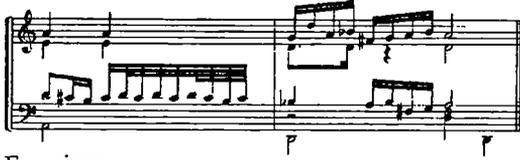
Ci-dessous, les terminaisons respectives des versions Laurencini, Adriaenssen et Francisque.



Laurencini



Adriaenssen



Francisque

*La musica ficta*

Nous nous limiterons, dans cette analyse très sommaire, aux enchaînements IV-V-I qui ponctuent *Susanne*. En effet, *Susanne* est structurée, au-delà de sa polyphonie, par quatre cadences en Sol (ton principal). Ces cadences correspondent à des fins de vers et une fois à la césure. Elles déterminent des fins sinon sur le plan contrapuntique, du moins sur le plan harmonique. Elles font appel à trois règles de *musica ficta*:

- sur le IV: 'una nota super La semper est canendum Fa', l'accord devrait donc être mineur.
- sur le V: la règle du *subsemitonium modi* sensibilise la tierce.
- sur le I: *causa pulchritudinis*, l'accord final peut être majorisé.

Une seule version suit les trois règles dans chacune des quatre cadences concernées, c'est celle de Neusidler publiée en 1566. Phalèse (dans ses trois versions en Fa) ainsi qu'Adriaenssen et Francisque proposent le IV majeur. Les versions en Ré de Phalèse, Terzi et Barbeta (en fin de pièce) font succéder les tierces majeure et mineure sur le IV. En voici l'exemple chez Phalèse (1568, n° 2, t. 37-38).



Adriaenssen donne un IV majeur, mais ajoute la tierce mineure dans le motif ornamental. Les accords du I sont toujours majorisés en fin de pièce, à l'exception de la première version chez Phalèse en 1563. Les traitements du I sont, eux, variés.

La version la plus régulièrement tonale est donc une des plus anciennes (1566). Il est intéressant de rappeler que les tablatures nous éclairent sur la diversité de solutions des compositeurs face aux règles de *musica ficta*.

## Conclusion

Nous remarquons donc que, en ce qui concerne ce corpus de mises en tablature des pièces de Lassus, Phalèse, Jobin et, dans une moindre part, Scotto en sont les éditeurs dominants. La tablature française est la plus employée, suivie de près par l'italienne. La tablature allemande est moins fréquente et associée à des éditions exclusivement allemandes. Les centres urbains les plus représentés dans ces éditeurs sont Venise, Louvain-Anvers et Strasbourg. La période la plus productive d'arrangements de pièces de Lassus pour luth (et pour cistre) se situe autour des années 1570, soit l'époque de la méthode de mise en tablature de Le Roy. Les motets sont plus fréquents en tablature allemande et se retrouvent surtout entre 1571 et 1574, puis entre 1584 et 1594. Le répertoire profane est presque trois fois plus important que les motets. Près de quatre-vingts intitulés différents sont mis en tablature de 1563 à 1612, avec une période plus dense de 1568 à 1574. Parmi les pièces profanes, nous observons plus de chansons que de madrigaux. Ce répertoire est plus international que la production de motets et les tablatures les plus représentées sont à nouveau la française et l'italienne.

La comparaison des différentes versions de *Susanne un jour*, le plus grand succès de Lassus, ne nous permet pas de déceler une évolution radicale vers une musique plus complexe, plus originale ou plus tonale dans le sens moderne du terme. Quelques luthistes se distinguent cependant vers la fin du siècle, mais ces options de style sont questions de personnes.



# LASSUS' SACRED MUSIC



# DIE LASSO ZUGESCHRIEBENEN RESPONSIONES IN MISSA QUATUOR VOCUM

## Identität und Tradition

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Im Band 25 der Neuen Reihe von Lassos *Sämtlichen Werken* ist eine Anzahl von Responsiones in Missa ediert<sup>1</sup>, zu deren Identität und Herkunft ich sprechen möchte. Es handelt sich um ein *Amen* post Misereatur, es folgen das *Et cum spiritu tuo* und das *Gloria tibi Domine* ante Evangelium sowie ein weiteres *Amen*, das *Et cum spiritu tuo*, das *Habemus ad Dominum* und *Dignum et iustum est* vor der Praefation, schließlich das *Sed libera nos a malo* post Pater noster und das *Deo gratias* nach dem *Ite Missa est*. Normalerweise werden diese Textpassagen als Antworten des Volkes im Rahmen der Dialoge mit dem Priester einstimmig vorgetragen, die Mehrstimmigkeit läßt den Schluß zu, daß man die entsprechenden Texte dem Volk weggenommen und Spezialisten anvertraut hat, da mehrstimmiges Singen von einer Kirchengemeinde nur in Ausnahmefällen zu bewältigen sein dürfte.

Der Herausgeber Peter Bergquist entnahm diese Responsiones den fol. 97v/98r eines Chorbuchs aus dem Kapuzinerkonvent Neumarkt in der Oberpfalz von 1597, das jetzt als Mus. Ms. 89 in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München<sup>2</sup> aufbewahrt wird. In diesem Codex ist die Zuschreibung an Lasso eindeutig, es heißt dort: 'Responsiones in Mißa Quatuor Vocum / [98r] Orland: Dilaß:' (vgl. das Faksimile Notenanhang 1). Grund zum Zweifel an Lassos Autorschaft besteht zunächst kaum, da ihm im Codex auch andere Sätze zugewiesen werden, die durch Konkordanzüberlieferungen hinlänglich gesichert sind.<sup>3</sup> Dennoch äußert Wolfgang Boetticher Zweifel: 'Die auf Lasso bezügliche Autorbezeichnung kann in dieser Sekundärquelle als nicht verbindlich gelten.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. BERGQUIST (Hrsg.), LASSO, SW, NR, XXV. *Litaneien, Falsobordoni und Offiziumssätze*, S. 195-7.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Quelle vgl. M. BENTE u.a., *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Katalog der Musikhandschriften*, 1. *Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notierung*, München, 1989, S. 240ff.

<sup>3</sup> Es handelt sich z.B. um die Messen 1 und 2, ediert von S. HERMELINK, LASSO, SW, NR, III, zu den Quellen bzw. Zuschreibungen S. XVIII u. XIX; sowie um die Messe 13, *Ibid.*, 4, 1964, S. XX, ein Faksimile mit Titel- und Komponistenangabe S. XXXVII. Eindeutige Zuschreibungen existieren außerdem für die Magnificat 17-24, ediert von J. ERB, LASSO, SW, NR, XIII, Quellen und Zuschreibungen S. LXXVff.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. BOETTICHER, 1958, S. 830.

Doch betrachten wir die Sätze: Das *Amen* post Misereatur sowie ad Praefationem, das *Et cum spiritu tuo* ante Evangelium sowie das *Sed libera nos* post Pater noster sind als einfache Rezitation im Falsobordonesatz vertont (vgl. Notenanhang 2). Dies stellt für Lasso keine Besonderheit dar: er bedient sich auch sonst dieser zeitgenössisch weit verbreiteten Praxis.<sup>5</sup> Das *Gloria tibi Domine* vor dem Evangelium sowie das *Et cum spiritu tuo* innerhalb des Praefationsdialogs sind Note gegen Note gestaltet, der Cantus firmus liegt in der Oberstimme (vgl. Notenanhang 2). Auch diese Satzweise ist bei Lasso anzutreffen, z.B. das *Kyrie eleison* und das *Christe audi nos* in der *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis quatuor vocum (Litaniae Lauretanae)*, oder weite Passagen der *Litaniae omnium Sanctorum quinque vocum*, beide gedruckt 1596.<sup>6</sup>

Kompositorisch kunstvoller ausgearbeitet sind das *Deo gratias* nach dem *Ite missa est*, außerdem das *Habemus ad Dominum* und das damit nahezu identische *Dignum et justum est* im Praefationsdialog (vgl. Notenanhang 2). Bei den letztgenannten liegt die einstimmige Melodievorlage in der Oberstimme, sie wird gleichmäßig in Semibreven vorgetragen, nur vor den Schlüssen ergeben sich, wie auch sonst bei Klauseln, synkopische Verschiebungen. Die anderen Stimmen hingegen verlaufen in raschen Notenwerten und rhythmisch sehr viel bewegter, so daß die einstimmige Vorlage innerhalb des Satzes ganz klar als Cantus firmus hervortritt. Der Stil wirkt archaisch, was sich schon an den leeren Quintoktavklängen der Anfänge und Schlüsse zeigt; nur bei Binnenzäsuren liegt eine Terz in der Oberstimme. Auffallend ist ferner die Verwendung des F3-Schlüssels. Archaismen dieser Art sind bei Lassos einfacheren liturgischen Sätzen jedoch durchaus zu finden, einen C.f. in gleichmäßig durchgehenden Semibreven enthält z.B. die *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis quinque vocum*, dort allerdings im Tenor I statt im Discantus.<sup>7</sup>

Die stilistischen Eigenheiten sprechen nicht unbedingt gegen Lasso als Urheber. Zuschreibungen an bestimmte Komponisten bzw. Zweifel an der Autorschaft aufgrund stilkritischer Untersuchungen haben sich jedoch schon häufig als falsch erwiesen, man denke nur an Friedrich Blumes berühmten Aufsatz 'Joseph Haydns künstlerische Persönlichkeit in seinen Streichquartetten', in dem er einige Streichquartette von Romanus Hoffstetter, die lange Zeit Joseph Haydn als opus 3 zugeschrieben worden waren, trotz abweichender Tendenzen in die stilistische Entwicklung von Haydns Quartettschaffen einordnete.<sup>8</sup> Der Quellenbefund ist in der Regel eindeutiger und

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. den Inhalt von Bd. 25 der LASSO, SW, NR, XXV.

<sup>6</sup> LASSO, SW, NR, XXV, 25, S. 3-5 und 127-33.

<sup>7</sup> LASSO, SW, NR, XXV, S. 16ff.; zu den Quellen vgl. S. XIV, XV u. XVIII, beide Quellen schreiben die Litanei Lasso zu.

<sup>8</sup> In *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, 38, Vaduz, 1965 (= 1931), S. 28, 31ff.

aufgrund unserer Quelle, also Mus. Ms. 89, ist eine Zuschreibung der Responsiones an Lasso durchaus sinnvoll, da dieses Chorbuch ja auch sonst Sätze von Lasso enthält, die durch Parallelquellen gesichert sind.<sup>9</sup> Man wird sich also nicht unbedingt Boettichers eingangs zitierten Zweifeln an Lassos Autorschaft anschließen und Falschzuschreibungen annehmen, auch wenn der Stil für Lasso einigermmaßen archaisch wirkt.

Und dennoch ist es der Quellenbefund, der es erlaubt, klarzustellen, daß wenigstens das *Habemus ad Dominum* und das *Dignum et justum est* keinesfalls von Lasso stammen können. Ein Chorbuch der Breslauer Universitätsbibliothek mit der Signatur I F 428, der sogenannte 'Grüne Codex der Viadrina' aus der Zeit um 1510 bis 1530<sup>10</sup> enthält auf fol. 1v/2r beide Sätze mit Mus. Ms. 89 identisch. Wie die Synopsen im Notenanhang 3 zeigen, sind die Abweichungen im Notentext minimal. In der Münchner Quelle sind die Notenwerte des C.f. denen der anderen Stimmen angepaßt, während im 'Viadrina-Codex' eine Brevis des C.f. einer Semibrevis der übrigen Stimmen entspricht. Ansonsten ist der Tenor in der Breslauer Handschrift c4-geschlüsselt, der F3-Schlüssel ist also ersetzt. Statt punktierter Minima mit folgender Semiminima steht im 'Viadrina-Codex' triolischer Color.

Im Breslauer Codex finden sich ferner die Teile *Amen* und *Et cum spiritu tuo* (vor dem Evangelium) identisch mit Mus. Ms. 89, sie sind jedoch eine Quinte höher notiert. Hier erübrigt sich die Frage nach der Autorschaft, da es sich um einfachstes Rezitieren im Falsobordonestil handelt, wie oben gezeigt wurde. Ob die vom Falsobordoneprinzip abweichenden Sätze, also die schlicht Note gegen Note gestalteten Abschnitte *Gloria tibi Domine* ante Evangelium, sowie das *Et cum spiritu tuo* zur Praefation, vor allem aber das kompositorisch etwas ausgearbeitete *Deo gratias* post *Ite missa est* von Lasso stammen, muß offen bleiben. Nicht zu klären ist außerdem, ob Zusammenhänge zwischen dem Breslauer und dem Münchner bzw. Neumarkter Codex bestehen, da die angeblichen Lasso-Responsiones die einzigen Konkordanzen in beiden Handschriften sind, da außerdem für diese Sätze weitere Quellen fehlen.

Auch wenn die Lasso zugeschriebenen Responsiones wenigstens zum Teil nicht vom ihm stammen, so muß er doch die Tradition des mehrstimmigen Respondierens gekannt haben.<sup>11</sup> In einigen Münchner Chorbüchern aus dem

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. oben Fußn. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Zur Quelle vgl. M. STAEHELIN, *Der Grüne Codex der Viadrina. Eine wenig beachtete Quelle zur Musik des späten 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, (*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1970, 10), Wiesbaden, 1971; vgl. außerdem *Census*, IV, S. 167; dort weitere Literatur.

<sup>11</sup> Die folgenden Ausführungen bis zum Ende, mit denen die Lasso zugeschriebenen Responsiones in ihr musikgeschichtliches Umfeld eingeordnet werden sollen, stellen einen gedrängten Abriß meiner Arbeit, 'Mehrstimmige Responsiones vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis ins 19. Jahrhundert' dar, in: B. EDELMANN - M.H. SCHMID (Hrsg.), *Altes im Neuen, Festschrift für Theodor Göllner* (*Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte*, 51), Tutzing, 1995, S. 79-93.

frühen 16. Jahrhundert sind Responsiones überliefert,<sup>12</sup> Mus. Ms. 39 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek (ca. 1505) enthält nachgetragen auf fol. 254v-255r sechsstimmige Präfationsresponsiones aus der Lasso-Zeit.

Die Praxis der mehrstimmigen Responson ist nicht auf die Messe beschränkt. Sie findet auch in der Vesper und im Zusammenhang mit den Lesungen der Matutin Anwendung. Im Bereich der nicht selten anzutreffenden mehrstimmigen Ausführung von liturgischen Lesungen, die bis ins 12. Jahrhundert zurückzuverfolgen ist,<sup>13</sup> sind die Wurzeln der Tradition zu suchen. Nicht nur die Lesungen selbst, sondern auch die Sätze der Lektoren innerhalb der vorausgehenden Rahmendialoge wurden verschiedentlich mehrstimmig vorgelesen.<sup>14</sup> Von hier dürfte die Mehrstimmigkeit auch auf die Antworten des Volks übergegriffen haben, wobei anzunehmen ist, daß diese ursprünglich von der Gemeinde gesungenen Textpassagen Spezialisten, also einem Chor o.ä. anvertraut wurden. Hatte sich das Verfahren im Bereich der Lektionen eingebürgert, so war der Weg frei, auch Antworten der Gemeinde in anderen liturgischen Zusammenhängen, etwa bei der Praefation, mehrstimmig auszuführen.

Mehrstimmige Responsiones finden sich erstmals in Quellen des 15. Jahrhunderts, die Blütezeit dürfte im 16. und noch im frühen 17. Jahrhundert zu suchen sein. Aufgrund des musikgeschichtlichen Umbruchs um 1600 gerät die Praxis in Vergessenheit, erst mit dem Caecilianismus lebt sie wieder auf. Satztechnisch reicht die Palette vom einfachsten Rezitieren im Falsobordone über Fauxbourdon bis zu schlichten Kompositionen wie den fälschlich Lasso zugeschriebenen. Selbst Ansätze zu Imitation sind zu finden, die jedoch rudimentär bleiben: Johann Faber gewinnt aus dem Incipit der einstimmigen Melodie zum *Gloria tibi Domine* eine Art von Soggetto, der zur Grundlage eines kurzen imitierenden Satzes wird (vgl. Notenanhang 4); seine Responsiones sind unmittelbar neben den Lasso zugeschriebenen überliefert.<sup>15</sup>

Auch wenn die Lasso unterschobenen Sätze zum Teil nicht von ihm stammen, so hat er doch die Praxis gekannt. Sicherlich hat er als Kapellmeister mehrstimmige Responsiones zur Aufführung gebracht. Er steht damit im Rahmen einer liturgisch-musikalischen Tradition, die sich in der Regel einfacher kompositorischer oder improvisatorischer Verfahrensweisen bediente. Große Kom-

<sup>12</sup> Mus. Mss. 37, 39, 66.

<sup>13</sup> Die frühesten Belege finden sich im Bereich von St. Martial; vgl. Th. GÖLLNER, *Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen*, I. Edition, (Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 15), Tutzing, 1969, S. 336.

<sup>14</sup> Th. GÖLLNER, *Die mehrstimmigen liturgischen Lesungen*, II. Studie, S. 117 und öfter.

<sup>15</sup> München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 89, fol. 98v/99r. Der Soggetto entspricht dem Anfang eines öfter anzutreffenden Melodiemodells, das auch dem *Gloria tibi domine* des Pseudo-Lasso zugrunde liegt, außerdem in Grand-Saint-Bernard, Bibliothèque de l'Hospice, Ms. ohne Signatur, S. 236ff. zu finden ist; vgl. RISM B/IV/3, S. 120-122.

position verbindet sich aufgrund der Kürze und des Gewichts der Texte in keinem Fall mit den Responsiones; es handelt sich ja nicht um bedeutenden Text von hohem liturgischen Rang, der dann auch bedeutende Musik nach sich ziehen würde. Hätte Lasso tatsächlich Responsiones vertont, so wäre es simple liturgische Gebrauchsmusik geworden, der der große Komponist Lasso wohl kaum seinen Stempel aufgedrückt haben würde, vielmehr wären entsprechende Sätze von den üblichen Gepflogenheiten geprägt gewesen. Wenn man berücksichtigt, daß es sich bei den mehrstimmigen Responsionsvertonungen um musikalisch relativ schlichte Vorgänge handelt, die teilweise improvisierbaren Modellen nahestehen, dann wird die Frage nach der Autorschaft der Lasso zugeschriebenen Responsiones letztlich zweitrangig. Von Interesse ist jedoch, daß sich einmal mehr das Ungenügen oder zumindest die Problematik der Stilkritik als Methode bei Zuschreibungen zeigt. Musikgeschichtlich größeres Gewicht als die Klärung der Urheberschaft darf die Darstellung eben dieser mehrstimmigen Responsionspraxis beanspruchen, die eine individuell ausgeprägte Komposition nicht zuläßt.

Reponiones in illis exaltat Voces.  
Dy cantus.

men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.

men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.

Orator. Solo.  
Cantus.

men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.

men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.  
 men Teum spiritu tuo et laus tibi domine.

Notenanhang 1. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 89, fol. 97v-98r. Der Abdruck erfolgt mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek.

Ingrossiert um 1597

[Post Misereatur]                      [Ante Evangelium]

Discantus  
A - men ———.                      Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - - o.

Altus  
A - men, a - men.                      Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - - o.

Tenor  
A - men, a - men.                      Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - - o.

Bassus  
A - men, a - men.                      Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - - o.

[Ad Praefationem]

Glo - ri - a ti - bi, Do - mi - ne.                      A - men ———.

Glo - ri - a ti - bi, Do - mi - ne.                      A - men, a - men.

Glo - ri - a ti - bi, Do - mi - ne.                      A - men, a - men.

Glo - ri - a ti - bi, Do - mi - ne.                      A - men, a - men.

Notenanhang 2. Die Orlando di Lasso zugeschriebenen 'Responsiones in Missa', LASSO, SW, NR, XXV (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 89, fol. 97v-98r). Der Abdruck erfolgt mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Bärenreiter-Verlags, Kassel.

5

Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o. Ha - be - -

Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - - o. Ha - be - -

Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o. Ha - - be - -

Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o. Ha - - - - be -

Detailed description: This system contains four staves of music. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o. Ha - be - -'. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - - o. Ha - be - -'. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o. Ha - - be - -'. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o. Ha - - - - be -'. The music is in a common time signature and features a mix of quarter and half notes.

10

mus ad Do - - - mi - num

mus ad Do - - - mi - num

mus ad Do - - - mi - num

mus ad Do - - - mi - num

Detailed description: This system contains four staves of music. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'mus ad Do - - - mi - num'. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'mus ad Do - - - mi - num'. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'mus ad Do - - - mi - num'. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'mus ad Do - - - mi - num'. The music continues with a similar melodic pattern.

15

Di - - - gnum

Detailed description: This system contains four staves of music. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Di - - - gnum'. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Di - - - gnum'. The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Di - - - gnum'. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Di - - - gnum'. The music concludes with a final cadence.

et ju - - - - - stum est.  
 et ju - - - - - stum est.  
 et ju - - - - - stum est.  
 et ju - - - - - stum est.

20 [Post Pater noster]

Sed li - be - ra nos a ma - lo.  
 Sed li - be - ra nos a ma - lo.  
 Sed li - be - ra nos a ma - lo.  
 Sed li - be - ra nos a ma - lo.

[Post Ite missa est]

De - - - o  
 De - - - o  
 De - - - o  
 De - - - o

gra - - - - - ti - - as.  
 gra - - - - - ti - - as.  
 gra - - - - - ti - - as.  
 gra - - - - - ti - - as.

Ha - be - mus ad Do - mi - num.

Ha - be - mus ad do - mi - num

15  
Di - gnus et ju - stus est.

Di - gnus et iu - stus est.

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The lyrics are "Gloria tibi Domine". The score is written in a single system with four staves. The Soprano staff is in G-clef, the Alto in C-clef, the Tenor in C-clef, and the Bass in F-clef. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across multiple notes. The music consists of a single melodic line for each voice, with some rests. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Glo - ri - a ti - bi Do - - mi - ne

Glo - ri - a ti - bi Do - mi - ne

Glo - ri - a ti - bi Do - - - mi - ne

Glo - ri - a ti - bi Do - mi - ne

# LITURGICAL RITE AND MUSICAL REPERTORY

## The Polyphonic Latin Hymn Cycle of Lasso in Munich and Augsburg

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The question of precisely how Latin polyphonic vocal music functioned within the contexts of Mass and Office liturgies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a difficult one. Addressing the sixteenth-century motet, Anthony Cummings notes that 'while the liturgical associations or sources of motet texts can be determined with some confidence, the ritual uses of the repertory are by no means as clear.'<sup>1</sup> By drawing on the Sistine Chapel Diaries, Cummings provides evidence that, at least in Rome, the motet was used much more freely within the Mass liturgy than previously has been assumed.<sup>2</sup> Cummings contrasts motets to genres he characterizes as 'patently liturgical works that functioned in prescribed ritual situations dictated by their texts.'<sup>3</sup> Among such 'patently liturgical works', he includes polyphonic settings of psalms and hymns intended for alternatim performance.

Questions of liturgical function naturally constitute an important line of inquiry in the study of Lasso's sacred music. One thinks immediately of his vast production of motets - how might such works have functioned liturgically at the Munich Hofkapelle? Interesting though this question is, this paper focuses on the interrelationship of liturgy and repertory in the context of a 'patently liturgical' genre - Lasso's cycle of polyphonic Office hymns, preserved in five manuscript sources, dating from 1580-81 to 1622.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of this inquiry is twofold: first, to explore the specific liturgical context for the creation of Lasso's hymn cycle; second, and more generally, to use this cycle as a case study providing a window through which one may observe how composers

<sup>1</sup> A.M. CUMMINGS, *Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> In chronological order (with date and provenance), the sources of Lasso's hymn cycle are: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 55 (1580-81; Munich, Hofkapelle); Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 25 (1584-85; Augsburg, Benediktinerkloster Ss. Ulrich und Afra); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 75 (c. 1597-1610; Munich, Jesuitenkirche St. Michael); Munich, Metropolitan-Kapitelarchiv, Artes 238 (c. 1605-10; Munich, Frauenkirche); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 520 (1622; Polling, Augustiner Chorherrnstift). Munich, Metropolitan-Kapitelarchiv, Artes 238, a source of Lasso's hymns unknown to BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 644-50, 882-3, was identified by M.L. Göllner in her edition of Lasso's hymns: *Das Hymnarium aus dem Jahre 1580/81* (LASSO, SW, NR, XVIII).

(or scribes) write (or assemble) repertories that respond to the content of particular liturgical rites. The inquiry will proceed through a series of four questions. First, drawing on the work of Tom R. Ward (whose research is fundamental to the history of the genre), what are the repertorial traditions of polyphonic hymnody at the beginning of the sixteenth century? Second, what traditions of polyphonic hymnody would Lasso have encountered during his career - both in Rome and later in Munich? Third, why did Lasso compose a hymn cycle in 1580-81, and to what liturgical rite does it relate? Fourth, when the second manuscript copy of Lasso's hymn cycle was made in Augsburg in 1584, why was less than half of the cycle included? A methodological premise of this inquiry is the necessity of bringing the two strands of liturgical rite and musical repertory into the closest possible relationship, drawing when possible on liturgical sources (breviaries) closely related in place and time to the composer or scribe.

In his 1958 study of Lasso, Wolfgang Boetticher suggested that Lasso's hymn cycle stands in the same tradition as earlier German sources of polyphonic hymn settings, citing specifically two fifteenth-century manuscripts - one copied in Leipzig, the other in Silesia.<sup>5</sup> Thanks, however, to Ward's research, we are now in a position to place Lasso's hymn cycle in a much more precise liturgical context.

Traditions that defined both the liturgical feasts for which polyphonic settings were expected and the hymn texts and melodies associated with those feasts have been examined by Ward in a series of studies concerning the polyphonic Office hymn.<sup>6</sup> Through comparative study of the fifteenth-century sources for this repertory, he was able to demonstrate the existence of separate Italian and German liturgical traditions, each of which exhibited its own pattern of feasts and texts for the Latin polyphonic hymn repertory.<sup>7</sup>

Ward traces the Italian tradition of Office hymnody back to a thirteenth-century liturgical archetype, a Roman breviary compiled under Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), which subsequently was adopted by the Franciscan order and spread beyond the confines of Rome to other Italian cities.<sup>8</sup> A revised

<sup>5</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 648-49: 'Lassos Hymnarium, ausschließlich altkirchliche Texte enthaltend, knüpft an eine lange Tradition an, die uns in den Kodd. Leipzig Apel mus. 1494, Breslau Mf. 2016 und Trient beweist'. The current manuscript designation for these sources is (according to the *Census*), Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494; Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Oddział Zbiorów Muzycznych, MS Mf. 2016.

<sup>6</sup> T.R. WARD, *The Polyphonic Office Hymn from the Late Fourteenth Century until the Early Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969; ID., *The Polyphonic Office Hymn and the Liturgy of Fifteenth-Century Italy*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 26 (1972), pp. 161-88; ID., *Hymn, Polyphonic Latin*, in *New Grove*, VIII, pp. 841-46; ID., *The Polyphonic Office Hymn, 1400-1520: A Descriptive Catalogue*, (*Renaissance Manuscript Studies*, 3), Stuttgart, 1980.

<sup>7</sup> 'Italian' and 'German' designate the geographic areas in which each liturgical tradition flourished.

<sup>8</sup> See WARD, 1972, p. 163.

Franciscan version of this breviary, the *Ordo breviarii* compiled in 1243 by Haymo of Faversham, was designated later in the thirteenth century for use in Roman churches by Pope Nicholas III (1276-80), himself a Franciscan.<sup>9</sup> Italian manuscript copies of Haymo's *Ordo* dating from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries attest to its continuing acceptance and influence. Polyphonic hymn cycles by Dufay in the fifteenth century and Carpentras, Festa, Cortecchia, and Willaert in the first half of the sixteenth century show a high degree of repertorial consistency that derives ultimately from this well-defined Italian tradition of liturgical feasts and associated hymn texts (see Table 1).<sup>10</sup> The German tradition on the other hand, as exemplified in part by the manuscripts to which Boetticher referred (Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1494 and University of Warsaw, MS Mf. 2016), differs substantially from the Italian tradition in its repertorial profile. Particularly with respect to the hymns appointed for the Proper of Saints, the German tradition is less fixed, individual sources being likely to exhibit some unique characteristics, both in the appointment of feasts and in the choice of texts.<sup>11</sup>

Both of these liturgical traditions continued into the sixteenth century, and there is reason to believe that Lasso became acquainted with the Italian tradition of polyphonic Office hymns during his employment in Rome, and the German tradition during the earlier portion of his years in Munich. Although Lasso's hymn cycle exists in manuscripts copied during his long tenure in Munich, it was not the German but rather the Italian liturgical tradition that provided the pattern of feasts and texts for Lasso's hymn cycle.

Undoubtedly Lasso became acquainted with the Italian liturgical tradition of polyphonic hymnody during his brief employment in Rome as maestro di cappella at San Giovanni in Laterano, his tenure there being documented by Samuel Quickelberg - who noted that Lasso was employed there for two years.<sup>12</sup> While the exact dates of his work at the Lateran church have been a cause for debate, it is clear from Quickelberg's testimony and from Raffaele

<sup>9</sup> For a complete history of this thirteenth-century liturgy, see S.J.P. VAN DIJK - J.H. WALKER, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*, Westminster, Md., 1960. Further information is found in S.J.P. VAN DIJK, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents (1243-1307)*, 2 vols, Leiden, 1963.

<sup>10</sup> For repertorial comparisons of these sixteenth-century hymn cycles see D. ZAGER, *The Polyphonic Latin Hymns of Orlando di Lasso: A Liturgical and Repertorial Study*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1985, pp. 35-64, 193-200.

<sup>11</sup> See WARD, 1969, pp. 5-8, 158-60.

<sup>12</sup> Quickelberg's biography of Lasso was published as an article 'Orlandus de Lassus Musicus' in: Heinrich PANTALEON, *Prosopographia heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae, pars tertia*, Basel, 1566. This article, together with a German translation: 'Orland von Lassen Musicus in Bayern', from *Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch* (Basel, 1578) is available in facsimile in LEUCHTMANN, 1976, pp. 298-301.

Casimiri's archival work earlier in this century that Lasso worked at San Giovanni during a portion of the period 1553-54.<sup>13</sup>

Lateran Codex 61, a manuscript copied in 1575 and devoted exclusively to polyphonic hymns, furnishes evidence that hymn settings in the Italian liturgical tradition were sung at San Giovanni during the sixteenth century. In addition to the entire hymn cycle of Costanzo Festa, Lateran Codex 61 contains twenty-seven additional polyphonic hymn settings by other Italian composers, most of whom served either before or after Lasso as *maestro di cappella* at the Lateran church. Among these additional settings are polyphonic hymns by two of Lasso's immediate predecessors at San Giovanni, Johannes Baptista Rubinus and Bernardino Lupacchino. Both Festa's cycle as well as the additional hymn settings belong to the Italian liturgical tradition of feasts and hymns.

The prominence of the name 'Joannes Baptista Rubinus' in the title of Lateran Codex 61, and the age of the repertory, prompted Glen Haydon to suggest that this manuscript may be a copy (with some later additions) of an earlier Lateran manuscript (now lost) compiled by Rubinus, *maestro di cappella* at San Giovanni from 1548-50, preceding Paolo Animuccia, Lupacchino and Lasso in that position.<sup>14</sup> With a date of 1575, this Lateran manuscript would not have been known by Lasso, who worked there more than twenty years previously. But he may well have known an earlier source from which it was copied. Even without the survival of such an earlier hypothetical source, it is clear from the settings by Rubinus and Lupacchino that hymns in the Italian liturgical tradition existed at San Giovanni prior to Lasso's arrival.

When Lasso joined the Munich court chapel of Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria in 1556, he would have encountered a far different repertory of polyphonic hymns - one that conforms to Ward's German tradition of feasts and hymns.

<sup>13</sup> R. CASIMIRI, *Orlando di Lasso, maestro di cappella al Laterano nel 1553*, Rome, 1920. In an account book from the Lateran church, 'Libro di amministrazioni della Fabbrica della Chiesa Lateranense dell'anno 1553', Casimiri found the following entry for 21 May 1553: 'Cotta per il M.<sup>o</sup> [= Maestro] [di] Cappella Orlando' (p. 8).

<sup>14</sup> Lateran Codex 61 is entitled *Sacrosanctae Lateranensis Ecclesiae/Joannes Baptista Rubinus/Canonicus et Magister/Capellae restituit/et auxit/Anno Jubilaei MDLXXV/AS*. The chronology of choirmasters at San Giovanni has been based in part on the work of G. BAINI, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols, Hildesheim, 1966 (= 1828), I, p. 70. Baini's erroneous date for Lasso's activity at San Giovanni - 1541 - was perpetuated by P. KAST, *Rom, Barock*, in *MGG*, XI, cols 715-16. L. LOCKWOOD, *Animuccia, Paolo*, in *New Grove*, I, p. 438, states that 'the first documented evidence of [Paolo Animuccia's] musical activity is at Rome in 1550, when he is listed as *maestro di cappella* at St John Lateran, in succession to Rubino. He remained in this post until 1552, when he was succeeded by Bernardo Lupacchino.' Lupacchino, in turn, was succeeded by Lasso in 1553, and Lasso by Palestrina in 1555. The most complete discussion of Lateran Codex 61 is found in G. HAYDON, *The Lateran Codex 61*, in G. ABRAHAM et al. (ed.), *Bericht über den siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln 1958*, Kassel, 1959, pp. 126-31.

Among the musical repertoires available in Munich was an extensive collection of polyphonic settings for Vespers, including hymns for the major feasts of the church year: the *Liber vesperarum festorum solennium*, preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek as Mus. Ms. 52.<sup>15</sup> Although most of the compositions in this source lack attributions, Martin Bente identified concordances attributed to Ludwig Senfl in both Heidelberg and Stuttgart manuscripts, concluding that all of the compositions in Munich 52 could be attributed to Senfl, who was employed at the Munich chapel from 1523 until his death in 1542 or 1543.<sup>16</sup> Table 2 shows that Senfl's hymn settings in Munich 52 are typical of the German tradition of polyphonic hymnody. Particularly noteworthy is a virtually complete representation of the Temporal cycle, where Senfl provided settings for all but one of the feasts and hymns connected with the German tradition.

Since this German tradition of feasts and hymns was apparently well established in Munich, one must ask why Lasso's hymn cycle, copied in 1580-81 for the Munich court chapel and preserved as Mus. Ms. 55 in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, followed the Italian liturgical tradition. Why was an earlier precedent abandoned in favor of a decidedly different configuration of feasts and texts? The need for hymn settings in the Italian liturgical tradition at the Munich court may be attributed generally to a desire by Wilhelm V (who succeeded his father in 1579 as Duke of Bavaria) to conform his court chapel to Roman liturgical practices. More specifically, Wilhelm's commitment to the use of the 1568 *Breviarium Romanum* at the Munich court is the direct stimulus for Lasso's hymn cycle.

Though breviary reform was not accomplished at the Council of Trent, the need for such reform was endorsed by the Council and the actual work of reform delegated to a committee of bishops and cardinals appointed by Pope Pius IV (1559-65). In 1568, five years after the close of the Council of Trent, the reformed *Breviarium Romanum* appeared during the papacy of Pius V

<sup>15</sup> For an inventory of Munich 52 see *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Katalog der Musikhandschriften, 1. Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notierung, (Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen, 5/1)*, Munich, 1989, pp. 178-88.

<sup>16</sup> M. BENTE, *Neue Wege der Quellenkritik und die Biographie Ludwig Senfls: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des Reformationszeitalters*, Wiesbaden, 1968, p. 61. On the basis of the type of paper and its dates of availability, Bente dated the bulk of the manuscript, including all but two of the fifteen hymn settings, at c. 1510, the corollary assumption being that Senfl brought the manuscript with him from his previous position at the Imperial Court in Vienna when he began his service in Munich. More recently, D. Crook has proposed that 'the entire manuscript was copied in Munich after Senfl's arrival in 1522 or 1523'. Crook's investigation reveals that the Vespers repertory in Munich 52 matches the needs of the Freising liturgical rite far more closely than the rite of Passau (Vienna being in the diocese of Passau, Munich in the diocese of Freising). See D. CROOK, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*, Princeton, 1994, pp. 41-7.

(1566-72).<sup>17</sup> This breviary was largely a restoration of the thirteenth-century Roman breviary, the oldest source for the core of feasts and associated hymn texts found in the Italian tradition of polyphonic hymnody. The gradual acceptance of the 1568 breviary throughout Western Europe eventually promoted a greater uniformity of Catholic liturgical practice in place of previous regional and local practices. One such regional practice, the German tradition of polyphonic hymns, found for example in Senfl's collection of Vespers music, was therefore rendered largely obsolete in those areas of Catholic Germany that accepted the 1568 *Breviarium Romanum*, with its incorporation of the Italian tradition of feasts and hymn texts. Thus, the acceptance of the 1568 breviary in Munich in place of the Freising diocesan rite necessitated a new repertory of polyphonic hymns following the Italian rather than the German tradition of polyphonic hymnody. Lasso's hymn cycle, conceived directly in response to the Italian tradition, satisfied this need.

The dedication to Munich 55 indicates that Franz Flori, the chief scribe of the Munich Hofkapelle, completed copying this manuscript around the end of September 1581. Additionally, he dated nineteen hymn settings within the manuscript. On the basis of these scribal dates it is clear that Flori began to copy this manuscript at least in November 1580 - Lasso's setting of *Iste confessor* (the second hymn in the manuscript) being dated 9 November 1580, and *Jesu corona virginum* (the third hymn in the manuscript) being dated 19 November 1580. Since the other thirteen hymns lack scribal dates, it is certainly possible that Flori began copying the manuscript earlier than November 1580. In particular, the hymn *Christe redemptor omnium/Conserua*, for the feast of All Saints on November 1, may well have been copied in October of 1580 - its position as the first hymn setting in the manuscript, preceding the two copied in November 1580, being particularly suggestive of an October 1580 date of copying.<sup>18</sup>

The larger relevance of these scribal dates is to provide evidence that Wilhelm had committed his court chapel to the Tridentine breviary by at least 1580; by the autumn of that year Lasso was beginning to create one of the new musical repertories demanded by this transition from the Freising diocesan rite to the Roman rite. To assist in these liturgical reforms, Wilhelm engaged Dr Walram Tummler - who came to the Bavarian court from Rome, where he had studied at the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum Hungaricum. Tummler arrived in Munich in October 1581 for the express purpose of facilitating the adoption of the Roman rite at the Munich court.<sup>19</sup> By this date, Lasso's hymn cycle had been

<sup>17</sup> For a detailed history of this Breviary reform see P. BATIFFOL, *History of the Roman Breviary*, transl. A.M.Y. BAYLAY, London, 1912, pp. 194-207.

<sup>18</sup> For a more complete discussion of Munich 55 and Flori's dating of individual settings, see ZAGER, 1985, pp. 72-91.

completely copied, the last hymns having been entered in August of 1581. Thus, the chronology of Munich 55 suggests that Tummeler's role should not be overestimated; he was an agent of the overall change, to be sure, but he was not the ultimate catalyst for liturgical changes that clearly were underway for at least a year preceding his arrival.

The congruence between this new repertory created by Lasso and the hymns appointed for Vespers in the *Breviarium Romanum* is striking, the repertory preserved in Munich 55 being a perfect match for the content of Vespers hymns in the *Breviarium Romanum* (see Table 3).<sup>20</sup> The only Vespers hymn lacking in Munich 55 is the hymn *Quodcumque vinculis* for the Sanctoral feast of St Peter's Chair. This omission is easily explained, however. Both *Quodcumque vinculis* and the hymn *Petrus beatus*, which is found in Lasso's hymn cycle (for the feast of St Peter's Chains), are internal stanzas of *Felix per omnes*, a hymn to Sts Peter and Paul. When extracted from this larger hymn for independent use, each stanza was coupled with the same second (and final) stanza 'Gloria deo per immensa', the last stanza of *Felix per omnes*.<sup>21</sup> In Lasso's hymn cycle, and indeed in most other cycles of the time, only the even-numbered stanzas were sung polyphonically. Thus, Lasso's setting of this second stanza was available not only for *Petrus beatus* but also for *Quodcumque vinculis*, though only the former is actually written out in the manuscript. In short, Munich 55 contains an absolutely complete set of Vespers hymns when measured against the liturgical requirements of the Tridentine *Breviarium Romanum*.

One could respond that this level of congruence between a liturgical rite and a sacred music repertory is normative - nothing less than what one would expect in the situation where a composer is responding to a specific, new liturgical requirement. Yet the second oldest source of Lasso's hymns, Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 25, belies such an easy assumption, cautioning instead that the relationship between a liturgical rite and a musical repertory is not always so complete or precise. This second source of Lasso's hymn cycle, copied in 1584 for the Augsburg monastery of Sts Ulrich and Afra (a Benedictine establishment), is the only one of the five manuscript sources to preserve less than half of the hymn cycle.<sup>22</sup> That this manuscript should be

<sup>19</sup> Regarding Tummeler's role at the Munich court, see LEUCHTMANN, 1976, I, pp. 189-90.

<sup>20</sup> *Breviarium Romanum, ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Tridentini restitutum Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum*, Antwerp, 1569; no. 274 in H. BOHATTA, *Bibliographie der Breviere, 1501-1850*, 2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1963.

<sup>21</sup> G.M. DREVES - C. BLUME (ed.), *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, Leipzig, 1886-1922, 50, pp. 141-43.

only a partial copy is surprising, since the monastic breviary printed in 1572 for Sts Ulrich and Afra *does* incorporate the reforms of the 1568 *Breviarium Romanum*.<sup>23</sup> Why did the Augsburg scribe not copy all of Lasso's hymn settings into Augsburg 25? There would seem to be a need for Lasso's entire cycle, given that both the breviary in use at this establishment and Lasso's hymn cycle find their common basis in the Tridentine *Breviarium Romanum*. In fact, the question of a partial hymn cycle pertains not only to the 1584 Augsburg copy of Lasso's hymns but also to a hymn cycle by Jacobus de Kerle - copied in 1577 by the same scribe, for the same establishment and for use with the same monastic breviary (itself based on the *Breviarium Romanum*).<sup>24</sup> With respect to the *Breviarium Romanum*, it is worthwhile to recall that Pope Pius V, in the Papal Bull *Quod a nobis* of 9 July 1568, pronounced the abolition of all previous breviaries, excepting those in use for more than two hundred years:<sup>25</sup>

We order that this Breviary of Ours be observed [...] in all churches, monasteries, orders, and even exempt places in the whole world [...] and that all those who are bound to say or sing the Canonical Hours according to the custom and rite of the Roman Church are absolutely bound to say and sing hereafter [...] according to the order and plan of this Roman Breviary.

While the *Breviarium Romanum* frequently was accepted in its entirety, as ordered by this Papal Bull, in some cases it was combined with liturgical practices of existing diocesan or monastic breviaries. In the case of establishments older than 200 years - for example, the medieval monastery of Sts Ulrich and

- <sup>22</sup> Manuscripts in the Augsburg Staats- und Stadtbibliothek are numbered according to two systems. The numbering system of H.M. SCHLETTERER, *Katalog der in der Kreis- und Stadt-Bibliothek, dem staedtischen Archive und der Bibliothek des Historischen Vereins zu Augsburg befindlichen Musikwerke*, (Beilage zu den Monatsheften für Musikgeschichte), Augsburg, 1878 is retained by C. GOTTWALD, *Die Musikhandschriften der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, (*Handschriftenkataloge der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg*, 1), Wiesbaden, 1974. In addition to these Schletterer numbers there is also a system of Bibliothekssignaturen in use at the Augsburg library. Schletterer number 24 (for the manuscript holding some of Lasso's hymn settings) is the same as Augsburg Ms. 25, the Bibliothekssignatur for this manuscript. See GOTTWALD, 1974, pp. 327-8, for tables relating these two numbering systems. For an inventory of Augsburg Ms. 25 (= Schletterer 24) see GOTTWALD, 1974, pp. 138-52.
- <sup>23</sup> *Diurnale monasticum secundum rubricam Romanam, & secundum ritum consuetudinemq; fratrum monasterij SS. Udalrici & Afre Augustensis ordinis sancti Benedicti*, Augsburg, 1572; no. 1058 in BOHATTA, 1963.
- <sup>24</sup> For an inventory of Kerle's hymn cycle (Augsburg Ms. 27 = Schletterer 8) see GOTTWALD, 1974, pp. 87-96.
- <sup>25</sup> P. SALMON, *The Breviary through the Centuries*, transl. Sister David Mary, Collegeville, Minn., 1962, p. 20.

Afra (founded in 1012) - this Papal Bull legitimized the options to ignore, modify, or accept the liturgical reforms implicit in the new Roman Breviary of 1568. The title of the 1572 breviary printed for the Benedictine monastery of Sts Ulrich and Afra (by the Augsburg printer Valentin Schönigk) states specifically that it has been compiled 'according to Roman rubrics, and according to the rite and usage of the monastery of Sts Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg': 'secundum rubricam Romanam, & secundum ritum consuetudinemq; fratrum monasterij SS. Udalrici & Afre Augustensis ordinis sancti Benedicti'.

An inventory of the Vespers hymns required by this breviary is contained in Table 3, the close similarity to the 1568 *Breviarium Romanum* (and hence to the Italian tradition of polyphonic hymnody) being immediately apparent. While hymns for Holy Innocents and Transfiguration are lacking from the Augsburg monastic breviary, nearly every other detail of both the Temporal and Sanctoral cycles is similar between the 1568 model and its 1572 corollary. The addition of Sanctoral hymns for Sts Benedict, Ulrich and Afra is, of course, to be expected for this establishment, and provides a case in point illustrating the overlay of older, locally required practices onto a new liturgical rite intended for universal usage, the result being a locally enriched version of the Italian tradition of polyphonic hymnody.

While there is a clear family correspondence between the Tridentine breviary and the 1572 Augsburg monastic breviary, the polyphonic hymn repertoires copied for use at Sts Ulrich and Afra in response to this breviary do not display the same kind of precise congruence that characterizes the relationship of Lasso's hymns in Munich 55 to their liturgical stimulus, the *Breviarium Romanum*. Yet there is a repertorial consistency between the hymns of Kerle copied into Augsburg Ms. 27 and those of Lasso preserved in Augsburg Ms. 25. Given that both manuscripts were prepared by the principal scribe at the monastery of Sts Ulrich and Afra, Johannes Treer, such repertorial consistency (in terms of the choice of feasts and hymns) may be attributable to a scribal shaping of existing repertoires.<sup>26</sup> In both Augsburg manuscripts existing hymn repertoires by Kerle and Lasso are drawn upon in rather consistent ways - not only to complement the 1572 monastic breviary printed for Sts Ulrich and Afra but to reflect as well some older liturgical practices and certain needs spe-

<sup>26</sup> Two spellings of this scribe's name are common in the Augsburg manuscript sources: Treer (found in manuscripts numbered by Schletterer 2, 21, 22 and 24) and Dreer (found in manuscripts numbered by Schletterer 4, 18, 19, 20 and 25). A. LAYER, *Musik und Musiker der Fuggerzeit: Begleitheft zur Ausstellung der Stadt Augsburg*, Augsburg, 1959, p. 41, notes that Treer 'führt als "regens chori" nach der Reformation eine neue Blütezeit der Kirchenmusik herauf; er pflegt sowohl den Gregorianischen Choral als auch den Kontrapunkt, außerdem erweist er sich in seinen handschriftlichen Chorbüchern (in der Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg) als Meister der Notenkalligraphie.' For an older, but still useful, biographical sketch of Treer, see F.J. LIPOW-SKY, *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon*, Hildesheim, 1982 (= Munich, 1811).

cific to this establishment.

The question of the sources for these Augsburg manuscripts is relatively easy for Lasso but more difficult for Kerle. In the case of Lasso, the hymns preserved in Augsburg 25, occupying roughly the last third of this collection of Vespers music, were no doubt copied from Munich 55, which had been completed some three years previously. That Lasso's hymns were made available to and copied for this Augsburg establishment is not surprising. Compositions by Lasso were copied into choirbooks at Sts Ulrich and Afra as early as 1568, when the scribe Ambrosius Maierhofer copied an extensive collection of Lasso's Magnificat settings into what is now Augsburg Ms. 20 (= Schletterer 13).<sup>27</sup> Between 1568 and 1613 Treer copied hymn settings, Masses, Magnificats, and motets by Lasso into nine choirbooks for Sts Ulrich and Afra.<sup>28</sup>

The sources for Kerle's hymns in the 1577 Augsburg manuscript are not as readily or completely identifiable. Kerle's *Hymni totius anni*, published in Rome by Antonio Barre in 1560, provides concordances for eight of the twenty-four hymns in Augsburg 27.<sup>29</sup> Since Kerle had worked in Augsburg from 1568-1575 as a singer and organist at the cathedral, it is certainly plausible that his printed hymn cycle would have been readily available as one source for the hymns in Augsburg 27. Given the likely availability of the Roman print in Augsburg, the obvious question, however, is: why would Treer copy out a second hymn repertory by Kerle? Why not simply use the printed cycle - particularly because from a repertorial standpoint it presents the Italian tradition of hymns implicit in the 1572 breviary printed for Sts Ulrich and Afra? One might conjecture that it was purely a practical matter of the singers' ability to see their parts - perhaps the availability of the 1560 partbooks was simply insufficient, a large choirbook being more convenient. Yet the repertorial differences between the sources suggest that just as the 1572 breviary went beyond the *Breviarium Romanum* by incorporating certain local needs pertinent to this Augsburg monastery, so too the repertory in Augsburg 27 goes beyond the Italian tradition of polyphonic hymnody (and therefore beyond Kerle's printed cycle) in order to incorporate aspects of a former tradition.

Of the sixteen hymns in Augsburg 27 not drawn from Kerle's printed cycle,

<sup>27</sup> GOTTWALD, 1974, pp. 99-102.

<sup>28</sup> These choirbooks are: 23 (= Schletterer 4), 33 (= Schletterer 9), 32 (= Schletterer 14), 28 (= Schletterer 17), 21 (= Schletterer 18), 22 (= Schletterer 19), 35 (= Schletterer 21), 25 (= Schletterer 24) and Schletterer 49.

<sup>29</sup> *Christe redemptor omnium/Ex Patre* (Christmas), *A solis ortus cardine* (Circumcision), *Hostis Herodes impie* (Epiphany), *Ave maris stella* (Annunciation of BMV), *O lux beata Trinitas* (Trinity), *Sanctorum meritis* (Common of Many Martyrs), *Tibi Christe splendor Patris* (St Michael), *Iste confessor* (Common of Confessors). For inventories of Kerle's hymn settings in both the *Hymni totius anni* and in Augsburg 27, see G. HAYDON, *The Hymns of Jacobus de Kerle*, in J. LARUE (ed.), *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, New York, 1966, pp. 336-58.

eleven of them were simply unavailable in his 1560 *Hymni totius anni*, either because these hymns are part of the German liturgical tradition or because they are required for feasts peculiar to the monastery of Sts Ulrich and Afra.<sup>30</sup> Nor are there concordances for these eleven settings in other sources containing hymns by Kerle, for example, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 21.<sup>31</sup> Presumably the composer provided these settings during the course of his work in Augsburg, and they are preserved uniquely here. Based on Augsburg 27, therefore, it appears that the repertorial needs of Sts Ulrich and Afra could not be satisfied by the straightforward use of a hymn cycle conceived in the Italian tradition. For example, at this establishment a greater variety of Marian hymns seems to have been desired. Instead of using *Ave maris stella* for each Marian feast at Vespers, Augsburg 27 provides separate Marian hymns for the Purification (*Quod chorus vatium*), the Assumption (*Quem terra pontus*), and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Gaude visceribus mater*), even though the 1572 breviary does not call for those hymns. That these Marian hymns are commonly found in hymn cycles of the German liturgical tradition - for example, they were set by Senfl and are preserved in Munich 52 (see Table 2) - suggests that Treer may be responding to an earlier liturgical tradition at Sts Ulrich and Afra (one equivalent to that represented in Munich by Ms. 52), that he is, in fact, consciously mixing selected hymns from such a former practice with other hymns related to the Tridentine reforms, as those reforms were conveyed to the monastery of Sts Ulrich and Afra by its own 1572 monastic breviary. By assembling a repertory in this way, the scribe provided the possibility for these polyphonic hymn settings to function somewhat more freely than might be expected. While the liturgical rite specified in the breviary for a Marian feast called for the hymn *Ave maris stella*, the musicians might feel free to substitute another hymn specific to the particular Marian feast - if such an alternative setting had been made available as part of their repertory. Thus, by assembling various hymn settings by Kerle, Augsburg 27 furnished repertorial alternatives for the Proper of Saints that Kerle's printed cycle simply could not have provided.

Seen in the context of Kerle's 1577 Augsburg hymn cycle, the partial copy of Lasso's 1584 hymn cycle for Sts Ulrich and Afra makes more sense. Table 3

<sup>30</sup> These eleven hymns are: *Quod chorus vatium* (Purification of BMV), *Christe favente gratia* (St Benedict), *Festum nunc celebre* (Ascension), *Sacris solemniis* (Corpus Christi), *Gaude Sion sublimata* (St Ulrich), *Gaude civitas Augusta* (St Afra), *Quem terra pontus* (Assumption of BMV), *Gaude visceribus mater* (Nativity of BMV), *Gaude civitas Augusta* (St Narcissus), *Christe qui virtus* (All Saints) and *Vita sanctorum* (Saints-Paschal Time). Six of these hymns, as well as *A solis ortus cardine* (for the Feast of the Circumcision) are not required by the 1572 Augsburg monastic breviary and consequently are not listed in Table 3 under Au 27.

<sup>31</sup> C. GOTTWALD, *Codices Musici (Cod. Mus. Fol. I 1-71)*, (*Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek*, I, 1), Wiesbaden, 1964, pp. 38-41.

demonstrates that for the Temporal cycle Treer chose from Lasso's hymn cycle the same feasts and hymns that he had copied into Augsburg 27 seven years earlier. The only anomaly is that Lasso's cycle uses the typical Italian tradition hymn for Ascension, *Jesu nostra redemptio*, rather than *Festum nunc celebre*, the standard hymn for Ascension in the German tradition. That Treer entered into neither manuscript hymn settings for Advent, Lent, and Passion Sunday may signal that at Sts Ulrich and Afra hymns were not performed polyphonically during these penitential seasons. For the Proper of Saints Treer copied the same hymns as he did with Kerle's cycle, the only differences being that 1) Lasso's cycle provided the standard Italian tradition hymn for the feast of All Saints, and 2) Lasso's cycle naturally did not contain analogues for the hymns to Sts Benedict, Ulrich and, Afra. Finally, with respect to the Common of Saints, Treer entered three hymns by Lasso having no corollary in the Kerle cycle, thus providing a more complete range of options than previously had been available.<sup>32</sup> For the most part, however, Treer copied from Lasso's cycle only those feasts and hymns that he had previously copied from the hymn settings of Kerle.

It is nothing more than a truism to state that composers of sacred music are always deeply affected by changes in the liturgical rites to which they respond. Beyond composers, scribes and printers - those who graphically convey these repertoires to singers and instrumentalists - are, of course, affected as well. The reform movements of the sixteenth century demanded much in the way of new music. New genres were created by the various branches of the Protestant Reformation. Chorale texts and melodies were adapted or newly written and polyphonic settings of these chorales composed for the young Lutheran church. Settings of the Psalms were provided for the Calvinist branch of the Reformation, and anthems and services were composed for use in the Church of England. New repertoires were created in response to the liturgical changes associated with the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent. In the case of polyphonic hymn settings, for example, Lasso, Victoria, Palestrina, Francisco Guerrero, Ippolito Sabino and Giammateo Asola all produced hymn cycles during the 1580s. Thus, composers, scribes, publishers and printers all responded energetically to the changing dynamics of sixteenth-century theological and liturgical reforms by producing these new musical repertoires.

Comparative study of these repertoires within the context of liturgical rites can illuminate how and when particular establishments accepted liturgical reforms, how composers responded to a new liturgical book, or how scribes or printers responded as they anthologized from existing musical sources. In

<sup>32</sup> These hymns are: *Exultet caelum laudibus* (Common of Apostles), *Deus tuorum militum* (Common of One Martyr) and *Jesu corona virginum* (Common of Virgins).

some cases, for example in Munich with Lasso and his hymn cycle, a new liturgical rite was accepted and a repertory composed accordingly - a straightforward musical response to liturgical change. In other cases, for example in Augsburg with the hymns of Kerle and Lasso, a new liturgical rite was modified, on the basis of specific local needs as well as older practices, and repertoires were assembled from existing sources. In either case a full understanding of the musical repertory, including considerations of why it was created at all and why in this particular configuration, demands study of the repertory within the context of the rite. Liturgical changes in Munich and Augsburg in the 1570s and 1580s, together with hymn repertoires by Lasso and Kerle, have provided a case study in locating the creation, significance and use of particular musical repertoires within specific liturgical rites. Such an approach may prove fruitful as well in exploring other repertoires of sacred music emerging from the age of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements.

TABLE 1

## The Italian Tradition of Feasts and Hymns (after Ward)

Feast	Hymn
	Temporal Cycle
Advent	Conditor alme siderum
Christmas	Christe redemptor omnium/Ex Patre
Epiphany	Hostis Herodes impie
Lent (Weekdays)	Audi benigne conditor
Lent (Sundays)	Aures ad nostras
Passion Sunday	Vexilla regis prodeunt
Easter	Ad cenam agni providi
Ascension	Jesu nostra redemptio
Pentecost	Veni creator spiritus
Trinity Sunday	O lux beata Trinitas
(also Saturdays <i>per annum</i> )	
Corpus Christi	Pange lingua gloriosi
Sundays <i>per annum</i>	Lucis creator optime
	Sanctoral Cycle
St John the Baptist	Ut queant laxis
Sts Peter and Paul	Aurea luce
St Michael	Tibi Christe splendor Patris
Marian Feasts	Ave maris stella
All Saints	Christe redemptor omnium/Conserva
Common of Apostles	Exultet caelum laudibus
Common of One Martyr	Deus tuorum militum
Common of Many Martyrs	Sanctorum meritis
Common of Confessors	Iste confessor
Common of Virgins	Jesu corona virginum
Dedication of a Church	Urbs beata Jerusalem

TABLE 2

The German Tradition of Feasts and Hymns (after Ward) and the Hymns of Ludwig Senfl in Munich 52

Feast	Hymn	Senfl Setting
Temporal Cycle		
Advent and Vigil of Christmas	Veni redemptor gentium	x
Christmas	A solis ortus cardine	x
Epiphany (a)	Hostis Herodes impie	x
Lent (Sundays)	Christe qui lux es et dies	x
Easter	Vita sanctorum	
Ascension	Festum nunc celebre	x
Pentecost	Veni creator spiritus	x
Trinity Sunday	O lux beata Trinitas	x
Corpus Christi	Pange lingua gloriosi	x
Sanctoral Cycle		
All Saints	Omnes superni ordines	x
Marian Feasts	Quod chorus vatium	x
Marian Feasts	Assunt festa jubilaea	
Marian Feasts	In Mariam vitae viam	x
Marian Feasts	Gaude visceribus mater	x
Marian Feasts	O sancta mundi domina	
Marian Feasts	Quem terra pontus aethera	x
Marian Feasts	Maria mater graciae	
Marian Feasts	Fit porta Christi pervia	
Marian Feasts	Ave maris stella	
Common of Apostles	Exultet caelum laudibus	
Common of One Martyr	Deus tuorum militum	
Common of Many Martyrs	Sanctorum meritis	
Common of Confessors	Iste confessor	
Common of Virgins	Jeus corona virginum	
Dedication of a Church	Urbs beata Jeruslaem	

(a) A second hymn for Epiphany, *Gratulemur omnis caro*, is also included in Senfl's *Liber vesperarum*.

TABLE 3  
 Correlation of Breviaries and Hymn Repertories by Lasso and Kerle in  
 Munich and Augsburg

Ital trad	1568 <i>Breviarium Romanum</i>	Lasso Mü 55
x	Advent-Conditor alme siderum	x
x	Christmas-Christe redemptor/Ex Patre	x
	Holy Innocents-Salvete flores martyrum	x
x	Epiphany-Hostis Herodes impie	x
x	Lent (Weekdays)-Audi benigne conditor	x
x	Lent (Sundays)-Ad preces nostras	x
x	Passion Sunday-Vexilla regis prodeunt	x
x	Easter-Ad cenam agni providi	x
x	Ascension-Jesu nostra redemptio	x
x	Pentecost-Veni creator spiritus	x
x	Trinity-O lux beata Trinitas (also Saturdays <i>per annum</i> )	x
x	Corpus Christi-Pange lingua gloriosi	x
x	Sundays <i>per annum</i> -Lucis creator optime	x
	Transfiguration-Quicumque Christum quaeritis	x
	St Peter's Chair-Quodcumque vinclis	
x	St John the Baptist-Ut queant laxis	x
x	Sts Peter and Paul-Aurea luce	x
	St Mary Magdalene-Lauda mater ecclesia	x
	St Peter's Chains-Petrus beatus catenarum	x
x	St Michael-Tibi Christe splendor Patris	x
x	Marian feasts-Ave maris stella	x
x	All Saints-Christe redemptor/Conserva	x
	[Conversion of St Paul-Doctor egregie] (Not included in 1568 <i>Breviarium Romanum</i> )	x
x	Common of Apostles-Exultet caelum laudibus	x
	Common of Apostles (Paschal)-Tristes erant	x
x	Common of One Martyr-Deus tuorum militum	x
x	Common of Many Martyrs-Sanctorum meritis	x
	Common of Martyrs (Paschal)-Rex gloriose	x
x	Common of Confessors-Iste confessor	x
x	Common of Virgins-Jesu corona virginum	x
x	Dedication of a Church-Urbs beata	x

1572 Augsburg monastic breviary	Kerle Au 27	Lasso Au 25
Advent-Conditor alme siderum		
Christmas-Christe redemptor omnium/Ex Patre	x	x
Epiphany-Hostis Herodes impie	x	x
Lent (Weekdays)-Audi benigne conditor		
Lent (Sundays)-Aures ad nostras		
Passion Sunday-Vexilla regis prodeunt		
Easter-Ad Cenam agni providi	x	x
Ascension-Jesu nostra redemptio [Festum nunc celebre]		x
Pentecost-Veni creator spiritus	x	x
Trinity-O lux beata Trinitas	x	x
Corpus Christi-Pange lingua gloriosi	x	x
St Peter's Chair-Quodcumque vinculis		
St John the Baptist-Ut queant laxis		
Sts Peter and Paul-Aurea luce		
St Mary Magdalene-Nardi Maria pistici		
St Peter's Chains-Petrus beatus catenarum		
St Michael-Tibi Christe splendor Patris	x	x
Marian feasts-Ave maris stella	x	x
All Saints-Christe redemptor/Conserva [Christe qui virtus]		x
Conversion of St Paul-Doctor egregie		
St Benedict-Christe favente gratia	x	
St Ulrich-Gaude Sion sublimata	x	
St Afra-Gaude civitas Augusta	x	
St Lawrence-Martyris Christi		
Common of Apostles-Exultet caelum laudibus		x
Common of One Martyr-Deus tuorum militum		x
Common of Many Martyrs-Sanctorum meritis	x	x
Common of Martyrs (Paschal)-Rex gloriose		
Common of Confessors-Iste confessor	x	x
Common of Virgins-Jesu corona virginum		x
Dedication of a Church-Urbs beata	x	



## ORLANDO DI LASSO AND OFFICE POLYPHONY FOR THE BAVARIAN COURT

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Among Lasso's most splendid compositions are the liturgical works he created for the Bavarian court in Munich, most published only at the end of his life or posthumously, if at all.<sup>1</sup> They include settings of office chant ascribed to Lasso but combined with anonymous polyphony in the choirbooks of the Hofkapelle. Peter Bergquist has edited the ascribed and anonymous compositions in volume 24 of the Lasso *Sämtliche Werke, Neue Reihe*.<sup>2</sup> In more detailed analyses published elsewhere, he concluded that the anonymous works in his edition were composed by Lasso; he considered as *opera dubia* only a Benedictus ascribed to Lasso in its latest source and anonymous music for Compline in Lent surviving with works ascribed to Lasso in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 32.<sup>3</sup>

This study offers another survey of the polyphony in volume 24 and different observations about the anonymous works. Techniques of treating polyphonic models and setting text do distinguish some of the unascribed compositions from those ascribed to Lasso in the manuscripts. Other stylistic differences appear to reflect the genres or numbers of voices used instead.

Canticle settings begin volume 24: thirteen settings of the *Nunc dimittis* sung at Compline and three of the Benedictus sung at Lauds. The Benedictus settings and the following *Miserere mei Deus* were composed specifically for the

<sup>1</sup> Liturgical music by Lasso or ascribed to him, editions, and pertinent secondary literature are listed in J. ERB, *Orlando di Lasso: a guide to research*, New York, 1990. Sacred polyphony published since Erb's book includes the most recent volumes in the Lasso *Sämtliche Werke, Neue Reihe* and P. BERGQUIST (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso, The Seven Penitential Psalms and Laudate Dominum de Caelis, (Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance, 86-87)*, Madison, 1990. Abbreviations: upper-case Roman numerals refer to the number of the setting and lower-case Roman numerals to the number of the verse, SATB = superius, altus, tenor, bassus, vv=voices.

<sup>2</sup> LASSO, SW, NR, XXIV: *Cantica, Responsorien und andere Musik für die Officia*, ed. P. BERGQUIST, Kassel, 1993.

<sup>3</sup> P. BERGQUIST, *The Anonymous Propers in Munich Mss. 32 and 76: Are They Previously Unknown Works by Orlando di Lasso?*, in *Acta musicologica*, 65 (1993), pp. 4-22. See esp. p. 5 on the problem of the authorship of the anonymous music in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Mss. 32 and 76, including the polyphonic office antiphons for Corpus Christi and the feast of St Michael. The *Nunc dimittis* settings are discussed by the same author in *Orlando di Lassos Nunc dimittis-Vertonungen*, in *Musik in Bayern*, 33 (1986), pp. 5-28, esp. p. 7; his conclusions were incorporated into the introduction to his edition. Bergquist observes that other unascribed works in the same manuscripts as the *Nunc dimittis* settings are ascribed to Lasso elsewhere. Cf. BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 565, who remarks that settings 6-11 were copied together, with only setting 10 anonymous. This disturbs Boetticher, but both he and Bergquist see stylistic affinity with works by Lasso.

triduum sacrum, or Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Appropriately, responsories for Matins of the triduum sacrum follow, then the invitatory and a responsory for Easter Matins. Now the liturgical order is disrupted. Responsories for Christmas Matins, the responsory *Libera me* from the office of the dead, seven Vespers antiphons for Corpus Christi, and seven antiphons for Vespers of St Michael come next. Some of the canticle settings and all of the antiphons and responsories are without ascriptions to Lasso, yet all are attributed to him by the editor. Thus, only four opera dubia end the volume: a Benedictus and three compositions for Compline during Quadragesima, settings of the responsorium breve *In manus tuas*, of the hymn *Christe qui lux es et dies*, and an eight-voice *Nunc dimittis* sexti toni. Bergquist attributes the Compline compositions to Johannes de Fossa, a contemporary of Lasso and his successor as Kapellmeister in Munich.<sup>4</sup> The composer of the Benedictus setting is not known.

Stylistic characteristics distinguish the compositions in particular genres or cycles. The *Nunc dimittis* settings highlight the traditional alternatim performance of the plainchant canticle. The chant in verses i, iii, and v alternates with polyphony based on a sacred or secular model in verses ii, iv and vi. All settings contrast verses ii and vi, having more voices and generally in free counterpoint with occasional points of imitation, with verse iv always for fewer voices and more evidently imitative.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, all three polyphonic verses cadence with a triad on the final of their mode in every setting, except in *Nunc dimittis* V, perhaps significantly one of the unasccribed settings.<sup>6</sup> V:iv cadences with a triad on the modal dominant.

The *Nunc dimittis* settings are published in roughly chronological order, and that order is reflected by cantus firmus treatment, summarized in the Table.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See LASSO, SW, NR, XXIV, p. XIV, and J. QUITIN, *Johannes de Fossa*, in *New Grove*, VI, pp. 728-9.

<sup>5</sup> David Crook notes that the changing number of voices is also typical of Lasso's polyphonic Magnificats, in *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*, Princeton, 1994, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Nunc dimittis* V is anonymous and differs from the others in being for seven voices, but it is followed by a seven-voice *Regina celi* by Lasso in one source, and Bergquist suggests that the two belong together. In my opinion, that is a stronger argument for ascribing it to Lasso than the fact that the setting parodies *Il magnanimo Pietro*, the introductory piece in Lasso's madrigal cycle, *Lagime di San Pietro*, thought to be his last composition. See LASSO, SW, NR, XXIV, p. IX.

<sup>7</sup> On the dates, see LASSO, SW, NR, XXIV, pp. IX-X, and BERGQUIST, 1986, Aufstellung 1, p. 6.

## TABLE

**Cantus Firmus Treatment and Parody Technique in the Nunc Dimittis Settings Published in LASSO, SW, NR, XXIV**

No. model (genre, composer, title, where edited)  
 measures of model; where and how borrowed  
 verses in lower-case Roman numerals

- 
- I chant cantus firmus; ii (T, but termination also in B and, paraphrased, in S, mm. 24-6); vi (T, but termination also in S,B)
- II chant cantus firmus; ii (T, but termination also in S,B); iv (no complete statement of the canticle tone, but intonation in T,B; termination in B); vi (T, intonation in S, termination also in all other voices)
- III chant cantus firmus; ii (T, but termination also in S,B); iv (T); vi (paraphrased in T, especially at 'erat', with termination also in all other voices)
- IV chant cantus firmus; ii (T, with intonation also in all other voices); iv (T, with intonation also in S); vi (T, with intonation also in S)
- V madrigal, Lasso, *Il magnanimo Pietro* from *Lagrime di San Pietro*, no. 1, LASSO, SW, NR, XX, F. JENSCH (ed.), Kassel, 1989, pp. 3-7 mm. 1-4, ii: mm. 1-4, all voices at pitch, AI&II and TI&II of the madrigal exchanged in ii, but by end of first phrase TI&II are same - only beginning of phrase exchanged  
 mm. 5-6, iv: mm. 1-3, free reworking, material moved to different voices, melody and rhythm adjusted, same harmony  
 mm. 16-18, iv: mm. 12-14, free reworking  
 mm. 1-4, vi: mm. 1-4, free reworking, especially of TI&TII
- VI madrigal, Rore, *Come havran fin, Cipriani Rore Opera omnia*, (*Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 14), vol. 4, B. MEIER (ed.), Rome, 1969, pp. 34-5 mm. 1-10, ii: mm. 1-10, all voices at pitch, rhythm changed, light embellishments  
 mm. 1-6, vi: mm. 1-4, freely treated towards end of the quote, some changes in rhythm  
 mm. 26-43 (end), vi: mm. 17-31 (end), freely borrowed
- VII madrigal, Rore, *S'el mio sempre per voi*, *Ibid.*, pp. 41-3 mm. 1-4, ii: mm. 1-4, all voices at pitch, slight changes to rhythm and melody

- mm. 7-8 (T at *Mi fa ch'assai sovente*), ii: mm. 14-24 (cf. BERGQUIST, 1986, pp. 19-20)  
 mm. 7-9, vi: mm. 1-4, top three voices adjusted to text 'Sicut erat'  
 mm. 43-51 (end), vi: mm. 16-28 (end), adjustments, but same harmony and melodic outline
- VIII chant cantus firmus; ii (S, but termination in T,B); iv, mm. 11-14 (embellishment of termination in SI,SII); vi (T)
- IX motet, Lasso, *Heu mihi*, in LASSO, SW, IX, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 6-8  
 mm. 1-5 (*Heu mihi*), ii: mm. 1-5, all voices at pitch, rhythm changed  
 mm. 64-69 (end), vi: mm. 26-32 (end)
- X madrigal, Lasso, *Un dubbio verno*, in LASSO, SW, VI, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 23-6  
 mm. 1-9, ii: mm. 1-9, SI&II exchanged and embellished, other adjustments  
 mm. 2; iv: m. 1, similar descending line with turn  
 mm. 29-30 (end); vi: 19-21 (end), descending scales and skips resembling those in the final section of the madrigal followed by similar cadence
- XI madrigal, Lasso, *Io son si stanco*, Ibid., pp. 45-50  
 mm. 1-5 (*Io son si stanco*), ii: mm. 1-5, all voices, but harmony and rhythm changed before cadence  
 mm. 34-5, iv: mm. 2-4 (cf. BERGQUIST, 1986, pp. 20-1).  
 mm. 14-16, vi: mm. 1-4, rhythm changed
- XII motet, Lasso, *Oculi mei*, LASSO, SW, XVII, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 15-19  
 mm. 1-2, ii: mm. 1-2, free interpretation and embellishment of the model in S, B same  
 mm. 3-9, ii: mm. 3-9, all voices at pitch  
 mm. 34-42, ii: mm. 16-25, model with adjustments
- XIII several models  
 a) first four notes of tenor in polyphonic chanson, Didier Lupi II, *Susanne un jour*, K. LEVY, 'Susanne un jour': *The History of a 16th-Century Chanson*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), pp. 375-408, esp. pp. 403-4.  
 mm. 1-2, ii: mm. 2-8 (S,TII,TI,A,B), mm. 11-12, 18-19 (S)  
 mm. 1-2, iv: mm. 1-3, 14 (S)  
 b) repeated notes in polyphonic chanson, Didier Lupi II, *Susanne un jour* (ibid.)  
 mm. 3-4 (S), vi: mm. 15-18 (SI,SII,A,TI), mm. 24-7 (SII,TII)

- c) motive of descending triad and rising fifth in polyphonic chanson, Lasso, *Susanne un jour* (1560) based on Lupi's tenor, LASSO, SW, XIV, Leipzig, s.d., pp. 29-33  
 mm. 1-4, ii: mm. 1-4 (S,B of model), TI (A of model), reversed order of entry of TI&II  
 mm. 15-16 ('fust en son coeur'), iv: mm. 1-3 (A, TI)
- d) final cadence in Kyrie, Lasso, five-voice mass *Susanne un jour* (1563), LASSO, SW, NR, IV, S. HERMELINK (ed.), Kassel, 1964, p. 121  
 mm. 25-6 (end, Kyrie), ii: mm. 22-3 (end) (A newly composed, TI&TII exchanged)

op. dub. chant cantus firmus; ii (TI, with termination also in SI, SII); iv (termination only in SI, TI); vi (SII, TI)

The four earliest *Nunc dimittis* settings (c.1565-1570) use the canticle tone as a cantus firmus, always in the tenor. The termination is given a different musical treatment, however, because it is also stated in the superius and bassus, and sometimes in the altus: final terminations appear in three other voices in settings II:vi and III:vi.<sup>8</sup> *Nunc dimittis* I and II only include a cantus firmus in ii and vi; it is also in iv in settings III and IV. Setting IV shows a new procedure. Here the intonation and the termination are assigned to outer voices as well as to the tenor.

Also based on a tenor cantus firmus are *Nunc dimittis* VIII, ascribed to Lasso and dated 1592 in the manuscript<sup>9</sup>, and the setting among the opera dubia. Both use nearly the entire cantus firmus in ii and vi and only the (ornamented) termination in iv. The termination is suggested by mm. 11-14 (SI, SII) in VIII:iv; in iv of the dubious setting, it appears successively in SI (mm. 17-19) and TI (mm. 20-2, again at mm. 24-6). Setting VIII:ii is unusual in that the intonation begins in S, where it is slightly ornamented and extended to a cadence.<sup>10</sup> The treatment of the termination in the outer movements of VIII and the dubious setting changes: VIII:ii (TB), VIII:vi (T); dubious setting ii (TI then SI), vi (SII, TI). Thus, setting VIII and the dubious setting exhibit a freer treatment of the cantus firmus than the earlier settings in introducing light paraphrase; they also differ in not assigning the cantus firmus to the altus. But the dubious setting cannot be distinguished from the settings ascribed to Lasso

<sup>8</sup> On cantus firmus treatment, cf. BERGQUIST, 1986, pp. 14-5, Beispiel 3, *Nunc dimittis* I. This technique is also found in the Magnificats printed in 1567. In the *Nunc dimittis* settings, the cantus firmus moves to other voices especially at 'salutare tuum' and 'in secula seculorum' (ibid., pp. 13-17, esp. p. 15). The mass propers in Lasso's *Officia aliquot* also place the cantus firmus in several voices, sometimes in imitation (ID., 1993, p. 8).

<sup>9</sup> Possibly in Lasso's hand as reported in BERGQUIST, 1986, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> Bergquist recognizes only the termination, in BERGQUIST, 1986, pp. 16-17, Beispiel 4.

by cantus firmus treatment.

With the exception of *Nunc dimittis* VIII, the later settings parody polyphony, mostly madrigals, but also one chanson and one motet.<sup>11</sup> Parody technique does separate the anonymous settings from those ascribed to Lasso, however.

No two parody settings borrow their models in the same way, but all parody the beginning of their model - as exactly as possible - at the beginning of verse ii. Rhythmic adjustments improve the declamation, and sometimes the melodies of the models are embellished or slightly altered, as was observed in setting VIII based on the chant.<sup>12</sup>

The three unascribed settings, V, X and XIII, are exceptional, because the inner voices of their models are exchanged at least once (see the Table).<sup>13</sup> In V:ii, AI&II and TI&II are exchanged, the latter only at the opening of the phrase. In X, SI&II are exchanged to heighten the effect of alternating choirs, first SI&II,A, then ATB, and finally, at 'oculi mei', all five voices. In XIII:ii, mm. 22-23, TI&II are exchanged. The exchanges in V, in particular give evidence of interest in technical skill, such as one also finds in the *Nunc dimittis* among the opera dubia, the only setting to contain a double canon (in iv). Bergquist has observed that setting XI, ascribed to Lasso, changes the top three voices of the madrigal it parodies from SSA to SAA, and Crook has noticed Lasso changing the contrapuntal context for a bass part.<sup>14</sup> Boetticher has also pointed out that G. M. Nanino's superius in *Erano' i capei d'ore* becomes Lasso's contra in Magnificat, no. 97.<sup>15</sup> None of these changes have the same contrapuntal implications as voice exchange, however.<sup>16</sup>

All of the parody settings borrow the model in ii, but XII alone borrows only in ii. More borrowing was unnecessary here, since no listener would have failed to identify the model, the motet *Oculi mei*. Unusually many measures were borrowed - seventeen, and Lasso also alludes to the text of the model in a dramatic way. He paraphrases the model freely until the words 'oculi mei' of the *Nunc dimittis* text, precisely where the strict quotation begins.

Settings V, VI, VII and XI borrow from the model at the beginning of verse vi

<sup>11</sup> I prefer to use the term 'parody' here, in place of 'imitation', to avoid confusing the method of borrowing with the contrapuntal procedure. See BERGQUIST, 1986, pp. 7, 18, on dates, also ID., *Introduction*, in LASSO, SW, NR, XXIV. Cf. CROOK, 1994, pp. 16-26, 'The Models of Lasso's Imitation Magnificats', a summary of the kinds of models used for Magnificats as compared to masses.

<sup>12</sup> On Lasso's parody technique in the *Nunc dimittis* settings, see BERGQUIST, 1986, pp. 18-23, and, on the similar techniques used in his imitation Magnificats, a genre he invented, see CROOK, 1994, pp. 147-209, esp. pp. 157-74, 'The distribution and manipulation of derived material in imitation Magnificats'.

<sup>13</sup> On the attribution of setting V, BERGQUIST, 1986, pp. 10-13, and Beispielen 2a & 2b, and, on setting X, see *ibid.*, pp. 7-10, and Beispielen 1a & 1b, and BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 688.

<sup>14</sup> CROOK, 1994, p. 163.

<sup>15</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 632.

<sup>16</sup> BERGQUIST, 1986, p. 18.

as well. The unascribed settings V, X, and XIII reflect the model in iv, but the same is true for XI, ascribed to Lasso. Settings VII, IX, and X also quote the model at their final cadences, a well-known practice of the time.<sup>17</sup> That the parody should come at the opening and final cadence, in particular, reflects the characteristic modal emphasis on intonations and cadences.

XIII is the only setting based on several models; Bergquist considers it an opus incertum.<sup>18</sup> Two models are monophonic phrases excerpted from polyphonic compositions, the tenor of Lupi's *Susanne un jour* and a motive from Lasso's polyphonic setting of the same chanson based on the same tenor, a descending triad and rising fifth. Both motives reappear in Lasso's chanson *Susannen frumb* and in his Magnificat, no. 41, in different voices and order, but there is no evidence that either of these compositions influenced the composer of *Nunc dimittis* XIII.<sup>19</sup> The motives are also found in Lasso's mass on 'Susanne ung jour', of which the last two measures of the Kyrie were borrowed at the end of XIII:ii, as has not been recognized previously. In short, parody treatment does separate the unascribed settings V, X, and XIII from the rest, because their models are used at the beginning of all three verses, and the voices of the models are exchanged at some point.

The *Nunc dimittis* settings reflect the elaborate canticle tone.<sup>20</sup> The modes are made evident by the emphasis of final and modal dominant or reciting tone in several ways: they are sustained, placed on stressed beats or immediately after rests, or the interval between them is given melodic emphasis. A comparison of settings I and XI, both ascribed to Lasso and setting the fourth and third tone respectively, illustrates the treatment of plagal and authentic modes sharing the final E.

Both settings use the same cleffing. The ranges are similar, but slightly higher for setting XI in mode three than for setting I in mode four: (I: S d<sup>2</sup>-e", A g-g', T d-e', B E-c'; XI: S d'-f", AI e-a', AII g-a', T c-e', B F#-a). The superius and tenor move mostly within the octave on the final; the altus and bassus in a medium range closer to the reciting tone. The most striking difference in range is in the bassus part of the mode three setting, which never descends to the low E found in the B at the end of ii and vi of the mode four setting I. The mode three setting XI only descends as far as F# (ii, m. 10, B; vi, m. 7, B), and then not at a final cadence. Indeed, setting XI:ii&vi cadences on E an octave higher

<sup>17</sup> CROOK, 1994, p. 163, n. 38, observes that 26 of the 35 Magnificats he studied borrow the very ends of their models. I do not find borrowing after the first four measures of V:vi, however, as does Bergquist (BERGQUIST, 1986, p. 22).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. LASSO, SW, NR, XXIV, p. X, and BERGQUIST, 1986, p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> See BERGQUIST, 1986, p. 23-25, who notices unusual features in setting VIII, especially the increase in number of voices; cf. CROOK, 1994, pp. 177-81, on Magnificat, no. 41.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. CROOK, 1994, ch. 4, 'The Representation of Psalm-Tone Categories in Imitation Magnificats', pp. 85-146.

than the low E in the cadences of setting I:ii&vi. These differences give evidence of relative highness corresponding to authentic range.<sup>21</sup>

In ii in both settings, S descends from the reciting tone to the final in the first two measures, from a in setting I (S, mm. 1-2) and from c in setting XI (S, mm. 1-2). S in setting I stresses the reciting tone and final mainly at beginnings and ends of phrases. The A returns to the final at the beginning of almost every measure; both T and B repeat the reciting tone often, sustain it, or place it on strong beats. The predominance of the reciting tone in the two lower voices emphasizes the plagal mode. However, skips in S include non-structural pitches and do not signal the mode, as is true in all of the sacred music discussed here. On the other hand, pitches after rests or longest pitches are often structural, as in setting XI, where the inner voices emphasize final and reciting tone most. In both settings, beginnings and final cadences of the verses reflect the mode most clearly.

The *Nunc dimittis* settings show the composer's interest in the melodic properties of the plainchant canticle tone. The intonation, reciting tone or termination serve as a point of departure for the polyphony, and are usually worked out separately. The termination is used most often. It consists of a descending scale in settings II, V and XII. Thus, a descending scale begins V:vi (SI) and XIII:iv (ATI); a similar motive is repeated in S at the beginning of II:ii. Rising and descending minims mark the polyphony of setting XIII. III:ii emphasizes both the reciting tone and termination: the reciting tone is reflected by the many repeated notes where the polyphony begins. Prominent intervals in the intonation may be emphasized or repeated in the polyphony as well, a procedure also found in the antiphons to be discussed. II:iv begins with an imitative figure in TB derived from the chant set to 'parasti' in II:iii; the cadences of all phrases combine this motive with the descent found in the chant set to 'populorum' at the end of II:iii. The chant-derived material is usually in longer note values. II:iv also emphasizes the descent of a second found in the tone with longer notes. VI:vi builds on the interval of a third in the chant. And XI:iv takes the interval of a second in the chant (also in the madrigal model) as a point of departure.

Elsewhere the polyphony appears to contrast deliberately with the previous chant.<sup>22</sup> Setting XII:iv begins with a dramatic rising scale spanning the fifth in imitation in all four voices, just after the descending scale spanning a fifth of the chant termination of verse iii.

The importance of the canticle tone is especially evident in setting VI ascribed

<sup>21</sup> Compare the discussion in H.S. POWERS, *Modal Representation in Polyphonic Offertories*, in *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), pp. 43-86.

<sup>22</sup> CROOK, 1994, pp. 106-7, discusses Lasso's means of obscuring suggestions of psalm tones present in models.

to Lasso. In this setting, the madrigal may have been chosen as a model, not because the cantus melody was especially graceful or memorable, but because it shares the pitches of the canticle tone termination in particular (compare mm. 3-6 of the madrigal with the chant setting 'in pace') and the melodic outline of the entire tone in general (compare mm. 1-6 of the madrigal and of setting VI:ii).<sup>23</sup>

Whereas cantus firmus treatment may differentiate between the *Nunc dimittis* settings, the similar counterpoint of their fourth verses groups them and also separates them from the dubious *Nunc dimittis*, the only setting to use a double canon. Except in settings V and XI, which begin similarly in all voices, but with free counterpoint, the fourth verses begin with imitation. Usually an upper voice leads, the passage imitated is no more than two measures long, and the time interval between first and second statements is no more than one measure long.<sup>24</sup> Imitation is at the unison (settings VIII, XIII), octave (settings II, IV, VI mm. 2-3, 5-6, IX, X), and fifth (settings I, VI mm. 1-2, VII, XI, XII). Exceptional is VIII:iv ascribed to Lasso, not only because it has a canon at the unison of eighteen measures, which, according to Boetticher, betrays the aging composer, but also because it is only for two voices.<sup>25</sup> This two-voice verse did not even attract a later added third voice, unlike II:iv, the only other duo.

The spurious setting contrasts with these. Its fourth verse begins with a double canon, then internal voices pick up motives from the canon and move into free counterpoint. Bergquist argues that this eight-voice setting cannot be by Lasso because it is not polychoral, whereas Lasso's other eight-voice music is.<sup>26</sup>

The contrapuntal texture of the *Nunc dimittis* settings is marked by the musical emphasis of words, which lends expression as well as structure to the compositions. The manner of word emphasis and words selected differs, but the differences appear to result from the number of voices: settings with fewer voices use melismas more freely than those for many voices.<sup>27</sup> Thus, most settings emphasize by sustaining or giving melismas to the phrases 'salutare tuum' in ii, 'lumen revelationem' at the beginning of iv, and 'seculorum Amen' at the end of vi. But the setting of 'lumen' is syllabic in IV (unusual in having 4vv for iv as

<sup>23</sup> Cf. CROOK, 1994, p. 106, on models whose melodic content resembles shapes and turns of phrase characteristic of the tone. Bergquist suggests that models were selected in part because their texts (such as *Heu mihi*) describe death, loss, resignation, or departure, themes in the *Nunc dimittis* text (BERGQUIST, 1986, p. 18).

<sup>24</sup> The upper voice leads, except in settings VI (AST), VII (TAB), and XI (T, then AI).

<sup>25</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 690-1. Voices were added to II:iv and VI:iv. They are in a later hand and do not follow the imitation opening the verses.

<sup>26</sup> BERGQUIST, 1986, p. 26.

<sup>27</sup> On Lasso's text-setting, see H. LEUCHTMANN, *Die musikalischen Wortausdeutungen in den Motetten des Magnum opus musicum von Orlando di Lasso*, Baden-Baden, 1972 (= 1959), and B. MEIER, *Wortausdeutung und Tonalität bei Orlando di Lasso*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 47 (1963), pp. 75-104.

well as ii and vi) and XI (4vv); 'salutare tuum' is mainly syllabic in V (7vv), XI (5 vv) and XII (6 vv); and 'seculorum amen' is mainly syllabic in IV (4vv), V (7vv), XI (5vv), and XII (6vv), and takes only small melismas in X (5vv). The unascribed setting XIII is truly unusual in emphasizing more words with melismas than the other settings, however. The spurious *Nunc dimittis* emphasizes the same words, but by having voices drop out, a technique found in the Christmas responsory *Hodie nobis caelorum* and responsories for the triduum sacrum but not in any of the other *Nunc dimittis* settings. Voices drop out at 'lumen' (B1), 'salutare tuum' (bottom four, top four, bottom four) and 'in principio' (SI,AI,TI,BI, then SII,AII,TII,BII).

The three settings of the canticle of Zachary, Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, are ascribed to Lasso. Here the composer's challenge was to keep the listener interested: with twelve verses of which Lasso set at least eleven to polyphony, the Benedictus is substantially longer than the *Nunc dimittis*, the latter only set with three verses in polyphony.<sup>28</sup> Since nearly every verse of the Benedictus is in polyphony, the alternatim performance of the tone is represented by two alternating choirs.

To provide additional contrast, the cantus firmus appears only in the even verses, most often in the first tenor of the second choir (TII), but frequently in the superius as well, as in ii, vi and x of Benedictus I (SIII). Benedictus III is the only setting with the entire first verse set to polyphony, and so the cantus firmus appears in it as well. In verse ia the first three notes of the cantus firmus are in SIII, then continuing in TIII; in verse ib the cantus firmus is in SI throughout. In ii and x, the cantus firmus is in TIII, but the reciting tone is repeated frequently in SIII, which never has the cantus firmus, however. Most interesting is I:vi, in which the cantus firmus is presented in canon at the octave, first led by TIII with SIII following, through measure 7, whereupon SIII quotes the medial cadence in measures 8-9, again showing Lasso's awareness of the chant. Then at m. 10 SIII leads the imitation with TIII to the cadence.

The varied cantus firmus treatment in the Benedictus settings is complemented by changes in texture from phrase to phrase and verse to verse. Most interesting are two devices used in the final verse, where the two choirs, which had alternated in the preceding verses of the canticle, are combined. Even so, they are treated as separate entities and often alternate or overlap; echo effects occur in settings 1 and 2.

A second device can only have been used to emphasize the designation of the Benedicti to the triduum sacrum. In all three settings, the choirs alternate at the beginning and end of the final verse, but are brought together to sing the text 'qui in tenebris et umbra mortis sedent'.

The dubious Benedictus is homorhythmic, unlike those ascribed to Lasso,

<sup>28</sup> Benedictus I has 190 measures of polyphony; *Nunc Dimittis* I only 98.

with the rhythm following the accentuation of the text. The cadences (all V I) are entirely formulaic: only two cadential figures are used in the twelve verses and alternative verses of this setting, in no particular pattern. The cantus firmus is in T1 throughout.<sup>29</sup>

The *Miserere mei* by Lasso is also for nine voices in two choirs, with odd verses ending on a G major triad and even verses on a D major triad. The entire setting is homorhythmic, but echo effects are used in verse xx, though the echos are shorter and follow sooner than in the Benedictus settings.

The responsories in volume 24, which are all unascribed, treat the genre in the same way.<sup>30</sup> The responsories and repetenda are more homorhythmic than the melismatic verses, which begin in imitation. Exceptional are the homorhythmic verse and 'Gloria patri' of the Christmas responsory *Hodie nobis caelorum Rex*.

In all of the responsories, the verse is usually for two voices, the responsory and repetendum are for more. This same alternation of larger and smaller forces occurs in the settings of the *Nunc dimittis*, which is actually surprising, because the *Nunc dimittis* was not a responsorial chant originally. The *Nunc dimittis* verses are unlike the responsory verses, however, in being for more than two singers, except II:iv and VIII:iv discussed above.

The eighteen unascribed responsories for the triduum sacrum are solemn but highly expressive works that correspond well to the Holy Week polyphony by Lasso that we know. In general, the responsories have a slow, even rhythm. They lack cantus firmi and marked modal features.

An expressive device found only in the first Christmas responsory *Hodie nobis caelorum Rex*, in the Holy Week responsories and in the dubious *Nunc dimittis* is the omission of voices to emphasize important words. For example, in *Hodie nobis caelorum Rex*, the B drops out at 'rex de virgine nasci dignatus est'. In Holy Week responsory 2. *Judas mercator pessimus*, the two lowest voices drop out at 'ille ut agnus innocens', and in responsory 9. *Animam meam dilectam*, the two lowest voices drop out at 'deserto solitudinis'.

Words or phrases are also emphasized in other ways. In 7. *Tamquam ad latronem* at 'ecce flagellatum', all voices have an identical steady rhythm to represent flogging. Responsory 8. *Tenebrae factae sunt* is especially expressive. There is a change to a chordal and more transparent texture at 'et circa horam'. Then the voices burst into imitation at 'exclamavit'. After 'exclamavit voce magna', there is a pause and then a noticeable sudden descent in the upper voi-

<sup>29</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, pp. 659-70, does not give the five-voice Benedictus edited among the opera dubia to Lasso, because it appears without an attribution in an otherwise reliable Lasso manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 76.

<sup>30</sup> On the responsories, see Bergquist, in LASSO, SW, NR, XXIV, pp. XII-XIII, and BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 659.

ces to articulate the beginning of the quote. The chordal texture returns at 'et inclinato capite', but the voices separate at 'emisit spiritum'. In 10. *Tradiderunt me in manus* at 'alieni', the voices move in contrary motion; in 13. *Recessit pastor noster*, there is a chain of suspensions at 'obscuratus est' followed by a melody at 'primum hominem'; 14. *O vos omnes* has a dissonance at 'dolor'; in 17. *Aestimatus sum*, the bassus descends at 'cum descentibus in lacum'; and in 18. *Sepulto Domino signatum*, 'monumentum' takes a melisma.

To bring variety to the long series of eighteen responsories, the composer assigned the verses of odd-numbered responsories to T and B, and the verses of even-numbered responsories to S and A. In these verses, the canon continues for more measures than those in the canticle settings. Especially long canons appear in 4. *Eram quasi agnus* (nine measures), 6. *Seniores populi consilium* (entire verse, with one change of interval), 11. *Jesum tradidit impius* (ten measures, followed by a new canon and change of time interval to the end). Imitation lasting more than four measures occurs in 3. *Unus ex discipulis* (six), 7. *Tamquam ad latronem* (four), 16. *Astiterunt reges terrae* (six), 23. *Quem vidistis, pastores* (five). Some verses have a canon in inversion: 3. *Unus ex discipulis*, 4. *Eram quasi agnus*, 7. *Tamquam ad latronem*, 15. *Ecce quomodo moritur*.

Also worthy of mention is the modal organization of the cycle. All responsories in the same nocturn have the same final, without exception. The finals for Maundy Thursday are G then D, for Good Friday F then G, for Holy Saturday G then E. This ordering is not found in the original plainchant settings of the same texts.

The Easter invitatory and responsory are unremarkable. The invitatory is in two sections, the first chordal and the second imitative. The cantus firmus is in the second tenor part. The responsory is like the other responsory settings, with responsory and repetendum in free counterpoint and verse and 'Gloria Patri' beginning in imitation. It does not have a cantus firmus.

The three Christmas responsories are also without a cantus firmus. These are even more modest pieces, with virtually no word painting, except in *Hodie nobis* as mentioned above.

The responsory from the office of the dead, *Libera me*, does have the cantus firmus in the tenor, like the Easter invitatory and the Purification antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem* published elsewhere and ascribed to Lasso.<sup>31</sup> *Libera me* is for four voices, like most of the polyphony Lasso composed for the office of the dead. That the canticle settings place the cantus firmus primarily in the tenor and secondarily in the superius or bassus, contrasts with the appearance of the cantus firmus only in the bassus in the two unascribed cycles of antiphons published in volume 24. Conventions of genre probably governed the placement of

<sup>31</sup> On this antiphon, see BERGQUIST, 1986, pp. 26-27, and LASSO, SW, NR, XXIII: Offizien und Messproprien, P. BERGQUIST (ed.), Kassel, 1993, p. XXVIII. The cantus firmus is in TI.

the cantus firmus.

The seven Corpus Christi antiphons are comprised of five Vespers antiphons and Magnificat antiphons for first and second Vespers. All antiphons are for the same number of voices and in free counterpoint, with the cantus firmus in the bassus. They are not bipartite like the psalms they accompanied, since cadences are usually elided. Nevertheless, points of imitation mark new phrases of text. The five antiphons are in modal order, being in modes one through five; the Magnificat antiphons are in modes six and five, respectively.

The melodic material throughout the polyphony, but especially where it begins, is clearly derived from the plainchant intonation and following cantus firmus in every antiphon. Intervals or melodic progressions in the plainchant are repeated exactly or varied in the polyphony. The intervals of third and fourth are emphasized in the chant and polyphony of the first antiphon, *Sacerdos in aeternum*. In the second antiphon, *Miserator Dominus*, the opening phrase of SI hovers around the repeated tone D of the intonation, and rises of a fourth and descent of a second permeate the antiphon. In the third antiphon, *Calicem salutaris*, the downward step and following leap up in the intonation are reflected by all of the voices above the cantus firmus once the polyphony begins.<sup>32</sup> Antiphon five, *Qui pacem ponit*, has play with the intervals of the third and fifth of the intonation and interval of a fourth between the first two notes of the cantus firmus; the fourth is imitated by other voices where the polyphony begins. In *O quam suavis*, scales of a descending third and ascending sixth are opposed to the scales of a rising third and descending sixth of the intonation, and falling lines in the upper parts and in the chant contrast with rising lines in the middle voices, especially in the first section of the polyphony. In *O sacrum convivium*, there is less evidence of association, but the polyphony plays with the inverted arch of the intonation; the ideas of stepwise descent, descent and rise, and more wide-ranging rise are used. Thus, every antiphon takes the chant as the point of departure, working it into the polyphony in a different way.

The St Michael antiphons, like the Corpus Christi antiphons, have the cantus firmus in the bassus part, but since the chant is much older than the Corpus Christi chant, there is no modal order.<sup>33</sup> These antiphons show varied word expression. Bergquist notes the most dramatic example, at 'tuba' (m. 5) in *Dum sacrum mysterium*. Here the polyphony turns to homorhythmic fanfares; as Bergquist noticed, similar passages occur in Lasso's posthumous motets,

<sup>32</sup> BERGQUIST, 1993, pp. 13-14, observes that the cross relations in *Calicem salutaris* are characteristic of Lasso.

<sup>33</sup> On the St Michael antiphons, see BERGQUIST, 1993, pp. 18-22. On p. 8 he comments that the unascrbed four- and six-voice propers in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 32, have the cantus firmus presented in successive semibreves only in the B; two six-voice settings of *Regina caeli* and *Salve regina* are similar (see his music example 1, p. 10).

*In hora ultima* and *Laudent Deum cythara*, evidence that *Dum sacrum* and the other St Michael settings may well be by Lasso, even though it has not been determined where the idea appeared first.<sup>34</sup> Other devices found frequently in the works of Lasso are also evident in this antiphon, though they may have been commonplace. The word 'Michael' is emphasized with melismas in mm. 3-4, and at mm. 11 and 20-1, there is an exceptional instance of musical rhyme. The rhyming 'Deus' and 'ejus' are emphasized with melismas moving in opposite directions; finally, the 'tuba' fanfares return at m. 22, now setting the rhyming 'alleluia', but the fanfares alternate between the superius and altus. Comparable devices occur in the antiphon *Dum praeliaretur*. Here 'Michael' receives a melisma where the polyphony begins, and 'Archangelus' and 'dracone' at mm. 3 and 6. receive the highest pitch in the antiphon, at m. 8 'audita est vox' is emphasized by a change to homorhythmic texture, and at m. 13-14, homorhythm and longer notes in S and A highlight 'Salus Deo' (following the polyphony and faster notes at 'dicentium') and by the slower descending triad. The derivation of the polyphony from the plainchant intonations and cantus firmi is also evident.

Three short compositions for Compline in Quadragesima follow the dubious Benedictus setting discussed above. All have the cantus firmus in the tenor. In the short response *In manus*, it is presented in S and TII in imitation, both accompanied by counterpoint also in imitation in A and B; TI is a kind of obligato, perhaps a trick for the listener expecting a cantus firmus in that voice. The hymn is also in imitation and sets three voices against three: the cantus firmus is in the middle voices, A and T1. These textures are not found in the liturgical polyphony of volume 24 that is ascribed to Lasso.

It is difficult to compare the unascribed works in volume 24 to the settings ascribed to Lasso, because, except for the *Nunc dimittis* settings, their genres are different. Nevertheless, we have observed that in the canticle settings ascribed to Lasso, homophony and homorhythm are quite rare as is strict imitation, even though it often begins and generates free counterpoint, the most common texture. Similarly, imitations often begin responsory verses or other sections for a small number of voices and almost always continue in free counterpoint. That the responsory verses of the Holy Week set continue the imitation for more measures does not seem out of character for Lasso, since it would be only natural to highlight the more transparent two-voice texture with a canon. On the other hand, the more complex voice exchanges and double canon in the unascribed *Nunc dimittis* settings do reflect a different way of working from that observed in the settings ascribed to Lasso.

The issue of attribution is related to another question raised by the liturgical polyphony of volume 24, which deserves further study: what were the conven-

<sup>34</sup> See the discussion and music examples in BERGQUIST, 1993, pp. 20-2.

tions of composing liturgical music in Lasso's time? Was the choice of texture, the presence or absence of a cantus firmus or of word expression, or the placement of the cantus firmus in a particular voice determined by liturgical genre or the solemnity of the occasion, or were these the stylistic preferences of composers? The analysis of similar music by Lasso and his contemporaries in Bavaria may provide some answers.



## THE JOSEPH STORY AS TOLD BY ORLANDO DI LASSO

*Don Harrán*  
*The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

Io dir mi sento  
Salvator della terra. Ah di chi mai  
Immagine son io! Qualche grand'opra  
Certo in Ciel si matura,  
Di cui forse è Giuseppe ombra e figura.

Metastasio, *Giuseppe riconosciuto*  
(see below, footnote 48)

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the Joseph story as told in two works by Lasso, one in Latin, the other in German: *Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus* (1564); *Joseph verkauffet ist*, part 5 of the twelve-part *Die Gnad kombt oben her* (1583).<sup>1</sup> Both seem to have been composed in Munich during the years of Lasso's service at the court under Albrecht V (d. 1579) and Wilhelm V (d. 1597).<sup>2</sup> To the Latin motet one should add a third, derivative work, namely, a parody Mass, bearing its name. In the Mass, though, it was not the Joseph story that interested Lasso, but rather the process of modeling the music on preexistent material. To all intents, the Mass may be omitted from the present discussion.<sup>3</sup>

Two works would seem to be relatively insignificant when judged by the standard of the composer's enormous repertory. Yet significance here is not measurable by numbers alone. The Joseph theme had considerable resonance in sixteenth-century literature; and it is against this background that the two works of Lasso should properly be regarded. They might be discussed on four levels, each broader in its dimensions. First, their text and music: what is special about them? Second, what other composers dealt with the Joseph story, and how do Lasso's works compare with theirs? Third, the story as it appears, in

<sup>1</sup> *Dixit Joseph in Thesaurus musicus continens selectissimas octo, septem, sex, quinque et quatuor vocum harmonias* [...], Nuremberg: J. Montanus & U. Neuber, RISM 1564<sup>1</sup>, together with works by thirty-five other composers; modern edition in LASSO, SW, XV, pp. 76-81. *Die Gnad kombt oben her* in a collection of his own works for four voices, *Neue teutsche Lieder, geistlich und weltlich*, Munich: Adam Berg, RISM 1583a; modern edition, LASSO, SW, XX, pp. 20-33.

<sup>2</sup> For Lasso in Munich, see variously in BOETTICHER, 1958, esp. pp. 154-69, 331-43, 431-42, 533-51; and in LEUCHTMANN, 1976, esp. pp. 29, 35, 46, 74f., 80, 99ff., 108f., 126, 218, 252.

<sup>3</sup> Nuremberg, St. Aegidi, MS 227 (dated 1573). Modern edition in LASSO, SW, NR, VIII, pp. 3-52. It is discussed at length by R. ORLICH, *Die Parodiemessen von Orlando di Lasso*, Munich, 1985, pp. 224-36.

Germany, in sixteenth-century sacred plays. Fourth, and last, the Joseph story in earlier and later literature and music. The story embodied ideas of such resilience as to spawn a unique literary tradition, with which music combined, at various stages, in sacred plays, motets, religious *intermedi*, oratorios and operas. Lasso's two motets, as presented here, thus serve as a springboard for delineating a major thematic topos.

True, Joseph was not the only Biblical figure to interest Lasso.<sup>4</sup> Others are Abel, Abraham, David, Moses and Daniel, treated in a small and, again, seemingly insignificant body of works.<sup>5</sup> Lasso was not drawn to them as historical figures. Rather, he saw them as prefigurations of Christ. Joseph, too, stands allegorically for the Messiah; he is both 'victim and savior'.<sup>6</sup> His superhuman qualities are evidenced in his powers of prophecy: as an interpreter of dreams, he sees ahead, penetrating God's designs.<sup>7</sup>

Textually, the two works are similar in being in *partes*, of which the Latin work has two, dealing with different phases of the Joseph story. Part 1 describes Joseph's meeting with his brothers and the revelation of his identity; part 2, the reaction of Jacob, his father, to the news that Joseph was still alive (Ex. 1):

Lasso, *Dixit Joseph*

Part 1

Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus suis: 'Ego sum Joseph quem vendidistis in Aegyptum; adhuc vivit pater noster senior de quo dixeratis mihi? Ite, adducite eum ad me ut possit vivere'.

*Joseph said to his eleven brothers: 'I am Joseph whom you sold into Egypt. Does our elder father, whom you told me about, still live? Go and bring him to me so that he may live'.*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For a general study, see D. HARRÁN, *Stories from the Hebrew Bible in the Music of the Renaissance*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), pp. 235-87, including numerous references to Lasso's works.

<sup>5</sup> Abel, *Ubi est Abel?* 5 v. (LASSO, SW, VII, pp. 80-83). Abraham, *Pater Abraham miserere* 5 v. (LASSO, SW, VII, pp. 1-5). Daniel, *Daniels knaben drey* and *Daniel geworfen war*, parts 8 and 9 of *Die Gnad kombt oben her* (see above); *Te merito*, *Daniel* 5 v. (LASSO, SW, V, pp. 160-163). David, *Peccavit David* 6 v. (LASSO, SW, XV, pp. 129-31); *Ubi David rex doctissimus?* 6 v. (LASSO, SW, XV, pp. 49-52). Lasso's concern with the Hebrew Bible is not limited to its 'heroes', though; for a full discussion, one should rightly consider his settings of texts drawn from the Book of Psalms (about thirty in all), the Song of Songs (e.g., *Quam pulchra es* or *Veni in hortum*) and Job (*Sacrae lectiones ex Propheta Job*, in nine parts).

<sup>6</sup> After the title of a four-act tragedy by Benoît L'HERMITE, *Joseph, victime et sauveur*, Louvain, 1932. See also the five-act 'Biblical drama' by Camille RENARD, *Joseph vendu par ses frères; figure du Messie*, Javarsay-Chef-Boutonne, 1920 (with a thirteen-page musical supplement by V. Auzet).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. BOLLINGER, *Dream-Teller, the Story of Joseph*, transl. M. KOENIG, Tring, Herts [England], 1988).

## Part 2

Nunciaverunt Jacob dicentes: 'Joseph filius tuus vivit, et ipse dominatur in tota terra Aegypti'. Quo audito revixit spiritus ejus et dixit: 'Sufficit mihi; vadam et videbo eum antequam moriar'.

*They reported to Jacob, saying: 'Joseph your son is alive; he rules over the whole land of Egypt'. When he heard this, his spirits revived, and he said: 'Your report suffices; I will go and see him before I die'.<sup>9</sup>*

The German work is one of twelve parts, each with its own figures to whom Joseph relates by analogy (Ex. 2):

Lasso, *Die Gnad kombt oben her*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Die Gnad kombt oben her<br>es gibt uns Gott der Herr<br>wer dieselb thut begeren<br>den wird Gott gwiß geweren:<br>das hab ich wol erfahren<br>in meinen jungen Jaren.      | <i>Mercy comes from above,<br/>the Lord God grants it to us;<br/>on anyone who desires it<br/>God will certainly bestow it.<br/>That I well learned<br/>in my early years.</i>          |
| 2. Wer Gott vertrauen thut<br>den heltet er in hut<br>hilfft jm auß seinem schmerzen<br>tröst die betrübten hertzen:<br>das hab ich wol erfahren<br>in meinen jungen Jaren.    | <i>Anyone trusting God<br/>will be protected by Him:<br/>He helps him overcome his pain,<br/>He consoles grievous hearts.<br/>That I well learned<br/>in my early years.</i>            |
| 3. Wir armes volck auff erd<br>seind gmacht auß koth und Erd<br>Adam bracht uns in todte<br>Christus fürt uns auß note:<br>das hab ich wol erfahren<br>in meinen jungen Jaren. | <i>We poor people who, on earth,<br/>are made of mud and earth<br/>were led to death by Adam<br/>and released from misery by Christ.<br/>That I well learned<br/>in my early years.</i> |

<sup>8</sup> Genesis 45 (*Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 2d rev. edition, 2 vols., [Stuttgart, 1969], 1, pp. 67-69; portions in italics were omitted): <sup>3</sup>Et dixit fratribus suis / ego sum Ioseph / adhuc pater meus vivit / nec poterant respondere fratres nimio timore perterriti. <sup>4</sup>Ad quos ille clementer accedite inquit ad me / et cum accessissent prope / ego sum ait Ioseph frater vester quem vendidistis in Aegypto. <sup>13</sup>Nuntiate patri meo universam gloriam meam / et cuncta quae vidistis in Aegypto / festinate et adducite eum ad me.

<sup>9</sup> <sup>26</sup>Et nuntiaverunt ei dicentes / Ioseph vivit et ipse dominatur in omni terra Aegypti / quo audito quasi de gravi somno evigilans tamen non credebat eis. <sup>27</sup>Illi contra referebant omnem ordinem rei / cumque vidisset plaustra et universa quae miserat / revixit spiritus eius. <sup>28</sup>Et ait / sufficit mihi si adhuc Ioseph filius meus vivit / vadam et videbo illum antequam moriar.

4. Das volck von Israel  
verfolgt Pharaon schnell  
darumb ward er versencket  
im roten Meer ertrencket:  
das hat er wol erfahren  
in seinen jungen Jaren.
- The people of Israel  
were swiftly pursued by Pharaoh,  
whereupon he sank  
and drowned in the Red Sea.  
That he well learned  
in his early years.*
5. Joseph verkauffet ist  
von sein Brüdern mit list  
noch hat jn Gott erhalten  
ein Land must er verwalten:  
das hat er wol erfahren  
in seinen jungen Jaren.
- Joseph was sold  
by his brothers in deceit,  
yet God preserved him,  
for he was to govern a country.  
That he well learned  
in his early years.*
6. Als Holofernes hat  
Bethulia die Statt  
blegert rüfftens in nöten  
daß sie Gott wolt erretten:  
das haben sie erfahren  
in jren jungen Jaren.
- When Holofernes  
besieged the city of Bethulia,  
its inhabitants called in such distress  
that God wanted to save them.  
That they well learned  
in their early years.*
7. Darauff hat Gott gesandt  
Judith jn zum beystand  
dann es ward durch die Frauen  
dem Feind der Kopff abghauen:  
das hat er wol erfahren  
in seinen jungen Jaren.
- Thereupon did God send  
Judith to assist them;  
thus it was through women  
that the enemy's head was cut off.  
That he [Holofernes] well learned  
in his early years.*
8. Daniels knaben drey  
ist Gott gestanden bey  
sein engel thet er schicken  
im feur sie zu erquicken:  
das haben sie erfahren  
in jren jungen Jaren.
- Daniel's three boys  
were assisted by God;  
He sent His angel  
to revive them in the fire.  
That they well learned  
in their early years.*
9. Daniel gworffen war  
zur grossen Löwenschar  
noch hat jn Gott ernähret  
der Löwen grimm gewehret:  
das hat er wol erfahren  
in seinen jungen Jaren.
- Daniel was thrown  
into the large den of lions,  
yet God supported him,  
fiercely restraining the lions.  
That he well learned  
in his early years.*

10. Darumb O frommer Christ  
wann du in noten bist  
ruff Gott an mit vertrauen  
so wird er dich anschauen:  
das würdest du erfahren  
in allen deinen Jaren.
- Therefore, oh pious Christ,  
when you are in trouble,  
summon God with confidence  
and He will look after you.  
That you would learn  
in all your years.*
11. Der diß Lied hat gemacht  
den hat Gott nie veracht  
sein bitt allzeit erhöret  
wann er sich zu jm kehret:  
das hat er recht erfahren  
in allen seinen Jaren.
- As for him who composed this song,  
God has never disdained  
to listen to his request  
whenever he turns to Him.  
That he indeed learned  
in all his years.*
12. Hierauf sey nun gepreist  
Gott Vatter allermeist  
sambt Christo seinem Sohne  
der heilig Geist mit wone  
der wöll bey uns verharren  
in allen unsern Jaren.
- Thus may praises now be offered  
to God the almighty father;  
and with Christ His son  
may the Holy Ghost abide,  
only to wish to stay with us  
in all our years.*

In *Dixit Joseph* Joseph interacts with his brothers and his father Jacob as the participants in his own story; in *Joseph verkauffet ist*, he goes beyond his family to associate with God the savior, in His various emanations as angel, father, son and Holy Ghost. He associates, further, in the German work, with all those who enjoy God's favor, from the simple believer, who, since he appears in the first person in parts 1 and 2, may be assumed to be the poet and composer, to the poor inhabitants of the world ('we'), the Hebrew people, the occupants of the besieged city Bethulia, Judith, the three boys thrown into the furnace, Daniel and Christ. His brothers, by comparison, are treated as evildoers, along with Adam, Pharaoh, Holofernes and devouring lions.

The differences between the two works set them at opposite ends of a thematic spectrum. Beyond their different languages, the Latin work draws freely from Biblical verses, while the German one is a moral parable. The Latin one is in prose and has quotations of verses preceded by short narrative statements; the German one is in qualitative verse and reads as a straight narrative. The Latin work describes two moments in the Joseph story: his reunion with his brothers, who came to Egypt to escape the famine; and his father Jacob's reaction to their report that Joseph still lives. The German one describes a single event: Joseph saved from destruction by divine grace. True, they share similar references, such as Joseph being sold by his brothers<sup>10</sup> and ruling over the land of Egypt;<sup>11</sup> and even a common theme: God, who, in His mercy, preserves Joseph.<sup>12</sup> But the first work is a direct recount of events, while the second sets

them in an allegorical context.

The structure of the German work is more sophisticated than might first appear. Its twelve stanzas, emblematic of the twelve tribes of Israel and typologically of the twelve apostles, are divided into three groups, according to their content. Thus stanzas 1-3 treat God's mercy in general and in relation to the speaker, that is, the poet (and composer), who exclaims: 'That I well learned in my early years'. Stanzas 4-9 offer examples of God's power to save, as told in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha (Israel rescued from Pharaoh, Joseph from wild beasts, the beleaguered Judean city Bethulia from the armies of Holofernes, the three boys from fire, Daniel from lions). Of those who were saved, it is now 'he' or 'they' who 'learned' God's power in 'their early years'. In the three final stanzas, God is described as helping Christ (stanza 10) and, once again, the poet (11): therefore, in conclusion, it behooves us to praise God together with the Son and the Holy Ghost (12). Three is the principle of ordering: three groups of stanzas (1-3, 4-9, 10-12) set in threes (at the beginning and the end) or in a multiple of three (in the middle), with a declaration, in the last stanza, of the Trinity.

There is a gradual expansion from examples 'in early years' (stanzas 1-9) to those 'in all years' (10-12). The poet rejects the Old Testament ('Adam led us to death') and extols the New ('Christ released us from misery'); but, at the same time, he reinstates the Old Testament by drawing from it examples of God's mercy from time immemorial. He inserts himself into the narrative, thus associating with those who, in all times, enjoy God's favor. Just as contemporary paintings often had their donors depicted in them, so the poet and, by implication, the composer signs himself into this seeming 'musical painting' by speaking out as I ('ich') in the first three stanzas and by referring, in the next to last, to 'the one who composed this song'.

Musically, the two pieces share the same mode, Dorian on G, and more or less the same texture, standing somewhere between chordality and imitation, hence as it were animated homophony or pseudo-polyphony. There is nothing surprising in that, however, for transposed Dorian was one of the most widespread modes in the sixteenth century and mixed chordal-imitative textures were typical of Lasso as of many others. The two pieces differ though in their number of voices, the Latin one for six, the German for four, and in their structure as determined by their texts. Thus *Dixit Joseph*, in prose, divides into two lar-

<sup>10</sup> 'Ego sum Joseph quem vendidistis in Aegyptum' / 'Joseph verkauffet ist von sein Brüdern': cf. Genesis 45:3-4.

<sup>11</sup> 'et ipse dominatur in tota terra Aegypti' / 'ein Land must er verwalten': cf. Genesis 45:26.

<sup>12</sup> Implied in 'Dixit' in part 1, when Joseph reveals his identity to his brothers, then clearly stated in part 2, when the brothers report to Jacob that Joseph lives ('Joseph filius tuus vivit'), and in *Joseph verkauffet ist* ('Noch hat jn Gott erhalten').

ger parts, with the phrasing dependent on the alternation of narrative and quotation, reinforced by various textual and musical repeats:

Narrative	Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus suis: (C, A, 6) <i>Repeated</i> (T, B, 5)
Quotation	Ego sum Joseph (all voices) quem vendidistis in Aegyptum; (C, 6, T, 5) <i>Repeated</i> (A, 6, T, B)
	Adhuc vivit (all voices) <i>Repeated</i> (6, T, B, 5)
	pater noster senior (T, B, 5) <i>Repeated</i> (C, A, 6)
	de quo dixeratis mihi? (6, T, B, 5) <i>Repeated</i> (C, A, 6, T)
	Ite, adducite eum ad me (all voices) Ut possit vivere. (all voices) <i>Repeated</i> (all voices)

(so far the phrase divisions of part 1).<sup>13</sup> The piece, with its repeats, tends to structural amplitude (118 measures, or 53 in part 1 and 65 in part 2), as might befit the solemnity of a Latin motet (Ex. 3):

<sup>13</sup> Part 2 has two narrative statements, each followed by a quotation, thus: *Narrative* Nunciaverunt Jacob dicentes (all voices, with various portions repeated). *Quotation* Joseph, filius tuus vivit (C, A, 6; repeated in T, B, 5), et ipse dominatur in tota terra Aegypti (all voices, with repeat of 'in tota terra Aegypti'). *Narrative* Quo audito (C, A, B; repeated in A, T, 5) revixit spiritus ejus (C, A, 6, B; repeated in A, 6, T, 5) et dixit (all voices) *Quotation* Sufficit mihi (all voices, then repeated) Vadam et vivebo eum antequam moriar (all voices, with 'antequam moriar' repeated twice).

572. (389, I. pars.)

Cantus. Di - xit Jo - seph un - de . cim fra - tri . bus su - is:

Altus (I). Di - xit Jo - seph un - de . cim fra - tri . bus su - is:

Altus (II). (6. vox.) Di - xit Jo - seph un - de . cim fra - tri . bus su - is:

Tenor.

Bassus (I). Di -

Bassus (II). (5. vox.) Di -

is: E - go sum Jo -

is: E - go sum Jo -

Di - xit Jo - seph un - de . cim fra . tribus su - is: E - go sum

- xit Jo - seph un - de . cim fra - tri - bus su - is: E - go sum Jo -

xit Jo - seph un - de . cim fra - tri - bus su - is: E - go sum Jo -

- seph, quem ven . di . di . stis in Ae - gy - ptum:

- seph, quem ven . di . di . stis in Ae .

- seph, quem ven . di . di . stis in Ae . gy . ptum, quem ven . di . di . stis in Ae -

Jo - seph, quem ven . di . di . stis in Ae . gy - ptum, quem ven . di . di . stis in Ae - gy .

- seph, quem ven . di . di . stis in Ae - gy -

- seph, quem ven . di . di . stis in Ae . gy - ptum:

O. L. xv.

Quite different is the German work, which, in the part dealing with Joseph, numbers only twenty measures. It is influenced by the prosody, with six short lines in a bouncy iambic trimeter, in pairs of rhymes (*aa*, *bb*, *cc*), of which the last pair, and only the last, is repeated:

Joseph <i>verkauft</i> ist	a
von <i>sein</i> Brüdern mit <i>list</i>	a
Noch <i>hat</i> jn Gott erhalten	b
ein <i>Land</i> must er verwalten:	b
Das <i>hat</i> er <i>wol</i> erfahren	c
in <i>seinen</i> jungen <i>Jaren</i>	c
(Repeat of last two lines)	

There are no variations in the size of ensemble; rather the four voices sing uninterruptedly from beginning to end (Ex. 4):

Der Fünfte Teil.

D. Jo - seph ver - kauf - fet ist/ von sein Brü - dern mit list/ Noch hat in  
 A. Jo - seph ver - kauf - fet ist/ von sein Brü - dern mit list/ Noch hat in  
 T. Jo - seph ver - kauf - fet ist/ von sein Brü - dern mit list/ Noch  
 B. Jo - seph ver - kauf - - fet ist/ von sein Brü - dern mit list/ Noch

10  
 Gott er - hal - - ten/ ein Land must er ver - - wal - - - ten: Das hat er  
 Gott er - hal - - ten/ ein Land muß er . . . ver - wal - - ten: das hat er  
 hat in Gott er - hal - ten/ ein Land must er ver - wal - - ten: Das  
 hat in Gott er - hal - - ten/ ein Land must er ver - wal - - ten: Das

15  
 wol er - - - fah - ren/ in sei - nen jun - gen Ja - - - ren/ das hat er  
 wol . . . er - fah - - ren/ in . . . sei - nen jun - gen Ja - - ren das hat er  
 hat er wol er - fah - - ren/ . . . in sei - nen jun - gen Ja - - ren/ Das  
 hat er wol er - fah - - ren in sei - nen jun - gen Ja - - - ren das

20  
 wol er - - - fah - ren/ in sei - nen jun - gen Ja - - - ren.  
 wol . . . er - fah - - ren in . . . sei - nen jun - gen Ja - - - ren.  
 hat er wol er - fah - - ren/ . . . in sei - nen jun - gen Ja - - - ren.  
 hat er wol er - fah - - ren in sei - nen jun - gen Ja - - - ren.

O. L. xx.

4. Joseph verkauffet ist

The same treatment of text and voices applies to the other parts of the work. They are similarly short,<sup>14</sup> yet the work, in all its parts, totals 252 measures: thus amplitude is achieved here not by length of text phrase or multiple repeats of separate lines, but by a concatenation of twelve smaller parts. (That is not to say that there are no repeats: as clear from the quotation above, each part has the words and music of its last two lines repeated once, as a kind of refrain, resulting in the scheme *abcdefef*.) The work is stanzaic then, though the music varies from one stanza to another. Its texture, as already noted, resembles that of the Latin motet. But the effect is different. Short phrases with marked cadences, iambic accentuation, the repeat of the ending, all these suggest a more popular, more earthy style. Echoes of the Protestant chorale, as of the German folksong, seem to be in the background. There is a discrepancy between the lofty sentiments of the German text and its seemingly humble musical origins: it turns out to be a reworking of a German villanella by Jacob Regnart, published seven years earlier (1576), on the most unbiblical theme of Venus and Cupid (*Venus, du und dein Kind*).<sup>15</sup> But here the lowly villanella did not debase Lasso's work; rather it served as a model for clarity of texture and directness of presentation. They even have a similar refrain: Regnart's 'wie ich wol hab erfahren / in meinen jungen Jaren' becomes Lasso's 'das hab ich wol erfahren / in meinen jungen Jaren'.<sup>16</sup> Lasso's piece thus joins the ranks of the sacred contrafactum.

How do Lasso's works compare with other composers' settings of the Joseph story? In all fairness, it should be said that the story appears only infrequently in music of the sixteenth century. The more striking examples are those perhaps of Senfl, Clemens non Papa, Marenzio and Morales.<sup>17</sup> They differ from Lasso's works in the content and character of their texts. Senfl and Clemens, for example, focused on the earlier episode of Joseph, who reportedly was devoured by beasts in the field. It was less Joseph who interested them than his father Jacob: when he saw Joseph's bloodstained coat of many colors, he wept. The

<sup>14</sup> They vary in size from fifteen to twenty-two measures, with one exception, the last part, which, as might be expected, is the longest (thirty-two measures).

<sup>15</sup> Jacob REGNART, *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder, nach Art der Neapolitanen oder welschen Villanellen*, 3 vols, Nuremberg: Gerlach & Berg, 1576, no. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Boetticher was first to demonstrate the textual and musical connection (BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 514).

<sup>17</sup> Ludwig Senfl, *Da Jakob nur das Kleid ansah* 4 v. (W. GERSTENBERG e.a. (ed.), *Sämtliche Werke*, [Basel - Wolfenbüttel, 1937 on], 6 [A. GEERING - W. ALTWEGG (ed.), 1961], pp. 32-35); the piece has also been attributed to Cosmas Alder (Berlin, Universitätsbibliothek der Freien Universität, MS F.X 5-9). Clemens non Papa, *Videns Jacob vestimenta* 4 v. (K. PH. BERNET KEMPERS (ed.), *Opera omnia*, 21 vols., [Rome: 1951-76], 18, pp. 28-34); *Tulerunt autem* 5 v. (*Opera omnia*, 12, pp. 76-84). Marenzio, *Lamentabatur Jacob* 12 v. (B. MEIER - R. JACKSON (ed.), *Opera omnia*, [Neuhausen - Stuttgart, 1976 on], 3, pp. 172-80). Morales, *Lamentabatur Jacob* 5 v. (H. ANGLÉS (ed.), *Opera omnia*, [Monumentos de la música española, vols 11, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 24, 34, Barcelona, 1952 on], 13, pp. 102-114). Other works, few and far between, can be traced to Jacob Regnart (*Lamentabatur Jacob* 5 v.: W. PASS (ed.), *Opera omnia*, [n.p., 1973 on], 4, pp. 47-50; Willaert, *Lamentabatur Jacob* 4 v. (Regensburg, Proschesche Musikbibliothek, MS 211-15); etc.

same may be said of the settings by Marenzio and Morales, except that now the same episode in their texts has appended to it the analogous later one of Joseph's youngest brother Benjamin, who, held by Joseph for ransom, and thus not returning to Jacob, again made his father weep. These are texts of mourning, in the tradition of the *planctus*. Jacob is heartbroken, he gives vent to his grief in the words 'Heu me dolens et tristis animis' (Clemens); or 'O weh der grossen Not, mein lieber Sohn der ist tot! [...] O Joseph, Joseph, mein lieber Sohn, wer will mich Alten trösten nun?' (Senfl); or 'Heu me, dolens sum de Joseph perditio et tristis nimis de Benjamin' (Morales). He rents his clothes in tears ('scidit vestimenta sua in fletu': Clemens); he prostrates himself, weeping, on the ground ('prosternens se vehementer cum lacrimis pronus in terram': Marenzio, Morales). The composers seize on the *primum mobile* of Joseph's story, his (supposed) death, as an excuse for delineating paternal grief; the loss of the son becomes the tragedy of the father. It is a topos well known from Renaissance literature.<sup>18</sup>

Lasso shifts the perspective by moving to the end of the saga and the homiletic lesson to be drawn from it. New themes come to the fore. Joseph, it is now clear, escaped from death; he rules over Egypt as second to Pharaoh. He was not just saved ('Noch hat jn Gott erhalten'), but he himself, in his mercy, saved his family from starvation: remember that Jacob had sent his sons to Egypt to buy grain to stave off the famine in the land of Canaan. Earlier Joseph had saved the Egyptians from starvation by advising Pharaoh to build up his grain supplies to last them through the seven years of draught. When Jacob learned that Joseph was alive, he too was saved from death, receiving a new lease on life ('revixit spiritus eius'). Joseph treated his brothers with clemency; though they had earlier abandoned him to his death, he pardoned them and looked out for their well-being.

Joseph thus emerges in Lasso's works as a harbinger of Christ. The themes that reside in the texts are redemption, fraternal and filial love, mercy and the power of the Almighty. By focusing on the culmination of the Joseph story, Lasso turned its content into a parable for Christian doctrine and human ethics. Joseph figures as the source of life (the Egyptian name given him by Pharaoh was *Zaphnath paaneah*: 'Says the god: he will live'). Once thought to be dead, Joseph reveals his identity to his brothers, thus giving them and his father, and future generations of Hebrews, and by implication, of Christians, the chance to live. It is to King David that the New Testament traces Christ in a direct line of descent. Joseph is thus in historical fact and in moral substance a predecessor of Christ, who depends on Joseph for his own existence.

<sup>18</sup> On fathers mourning sons, see G. McCLURE, *The Art of Mourning: Autobiographical Writings on the Loss of a Son in Italian Humanist Thought (1400-1461)*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39 (1986), pp. 440-75. The theme is explored, at length, in D. HARRÁN, *Allegro Porto, an Early Jewish Composer on the Verge of Christianity*, in *Italia: Studi e ricerche sulla storia, la cultura e la letteratura degli ebrei d'Italia*, 10 (1993), pp. 19-57 (passim).

Lasso is unique, among sixteenth-century composers, in pursuing the broader implications of the Joseph story. Where others had been concerned with death and lamentation, Lasso, in his two works, speaks of life and salvation. Though modest in their size, they convey a universal message.

If Joseph played a small role in Renaissance composition, the reason may be sought perhaps in the story itself, with its expansive content and broad implications, not easily confined to short motets. Joseph played a more substantial role in the theater, which clearly was better suited to presenting his story. Limiting the treatment to Germany, one can trace a long line of Joseph plays, some in Latin, though most in German, from the 1530s down to the end of the century and beyond.<sup>19</sup> They owe to religious reforms, particularly as reflected in Protestantism and the return to Hebrew scriptures as a source of Christian edification. Yet Joseph also plays a role in the Jesuit theater in Germany. The question is how Lasso relates, if at all, to these two kinds of theater, not to speak of his connections with the theater at large.<sup>20</sup>

First, German Protestant theater, which, in some ways, exceeded the denominational confines of Lutheranism to become a German national theater.<sup>21</sup> Biblical dramas were performed in the schools and the courts, and those based on the Joseph story enjoyed particular popularity. They bore such titles as *A lovely and advantageous play about the patriarch Jacob and his twelve sons*; or *Joseph: the whole story of the pious and chaste Joseph*; or 'Joseph's mirror', i.e., *a spiritual, profitable and comforting play and plot about the fortune and misfortune of pious Joseph*.<sup>22</sup> The avowed purpose of these and similar plays was didactic.

As other plays in the Renaissance, so the Joseph plays included musical *intermedi*,<sup>23</sup> which usually took the form of choruses performed at the end of acts. Some of these choruses were printed in the play itself, often as adaptations of psalms; others were inserted in compliance with a verbal instruction, as, for instance,

<sup>19</sup> For an extended monograph on the topic, see J. LEBEAU, *Salvator mundi: l' 'exemple' de Joseph dans le théâtre allemand au XVI siècle*, 2 vols, Nieuwkoop, 1922, esp. 1, pp. 63-142 ('Les oeuvres: les comédies de Joseph dans le théâtre du XVIe siècle'), and 2, pp. 863-78 ('Comédies de Joseph imprimées en Allemagne de 1534 à 1625'). For an earlier study, concerned mainly with Joseph in Egypt in sixteenth-century theater, see A. VON WEILEN, *Der ägyptische Joseph im Drama des XVI. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, Vienna, 1887. On specific plays by Bidermann and Boehme, see J.H.K. SCHMIDT, *Die Figur des ägyptischen Joseph bei Jakob Bidermann (1578-1639) und Jakob Boehme (1575-1624)*, Zurich, 1967.

<sup>20</sup> Though nothing definite can be said, a study of Lasso's texts yields a certain amount of evidence for secular theatrical usage: see *O decus celsi genus* (1582), *In quoscunque locos* and *Mortalium iucunditas* (both 1597). See also PH. WELLER, *Lasso, Man of the Theatre* in this volume.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. D. VAN ABBÉ, *Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland*, Parkville, 1961.

<sup>22</sup> The first by Joachim Greff (*Ein lieblich und nützlich spil von dem Patriarchen Jacob und seinen zwelff Sönen*, Magdeburg, 1534); the second by Johann Schlayss (*Joseph. Die ganze Historia von dem frommen und keuschen Joseph*, Tübingen, 1592); and the third by Johannes Wolther [or Walther, no connection with the earlier theologian and musician by this name] (*Speculum Josephi, das ist Ein Geistliche, nützliche und tröstliche Comoedia und Action von des Frommen Joseph Glück und Unglück*, Magdeburg, 1600).

‘Hie soll etwas g[e]sungen werden’.<sup>24</sup> Whether they were sung by the actors alone or together with the audience is not clear, though the answer probably lies in the nature of the text and music: when the words and melody were known, the audience is likely to have participated in the performance; when not, the performance devolved upon the persons on stage. The music could have varied, then, from simple one-line melodies based on hymns or psalm texts to more elaborate works for two or more voices based on texts, usually in German, though possibly also in Latin,<sup>25</sup> of an obviously religious, edifying character.

Second, the Jesuit theater, which gradually spread in Germany from the 1550s on. It has received a fair amount of attention in the general literature,<sup>26</sup> nor has it been neglected in musical studies (I am referring to those by Thomas Culley and Max Wittwer).<sup>27</sup> There has even been a recent monograph (by Ruprecht Wimmer) on Joseph ‘on the German stages of the Jesuit society’.<sup>28</sup> The Jesuit theater is mainly connected with the colleges: there dramas were usually performed during Carnival or to mark the end of the school year. Special performances were also prepared for visits of important persons, including various college benefactors. The plays were written, in many cases, by the teacher of

<sup>23</sup> On music in sixteenth-century German theater, see E. WEBER, *Le théâtre humaniste et scolaire dans les Pays Rhénans*, Paris, 1974, esp. pp. 59-67 (‘L’apport musical [...]’); and with regard to music in Joseph plays, LEBEAU, 1922, esp. 1, pp. 198-99, 496-98.

<sup>24</sup> In Hans von Rüte’s play *Die Hystoria des gotsfürchtigen Jüngling Josephs [...]*, Berne, 1538, B 6a (after LEBEAU, 1922, 1, p. 497). Instrumental works also seem to have been performed, though nothing specific has survived (LEBEAU, 1922, 1, pp. 497f.).

<sup>25</sup> Various plays were performed in Latin, no doubt in the schools. See, for example, Cornelius CROCUS, *Comoedia sacra, cui titulus Ioseph*, Antwerp, 1536 (and some sixteen reprints in the years 1536-49); Andreas DIETHER, *Historia sacra Ioseph*, Augsburg, 1544; Georgius MACROPEDIUS, *Iosephus [...] fabula sacra*, Antwerp, 1544; and similar works by Balticus (1556), Hunnius (1584), Rhodius (1625), Rochotius (1608) and Schonaeus (1592).

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, J. MÜLLER, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665)*, 2 vol., Augsburg, 1930; W. FLEMMING, *Geschichte des Jesuitentheaters in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, Berlin, 1923; N. SCHEID, *Das lateinische Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, in *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, 5 (1930), pp. 1-96; also E. BOYSSE, *Le théâtre des Jésuites*, Geneva, 1970 (= Paris, 1880); and H. BECHER, *Die geistige Entwicklungsgeschichte des Jesuiten-dramas*, in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 19 (1941), pp. 269-310. For a broader study, see B. DUHR, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, 4 vols, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907-28.

<sup>27</sup> TH. D. CULLEY, *Jesuits and Music: I. A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome during the 17th Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe*, Rome, 1970, largely concerned with musical activities in the German College in Rome under its various *maestri di cappella*, including Victoria, Agazzari and Carissimi; M. WITTEWER, *Die Musikpflege im Jesuitenorden unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Länder deutscher Zunge*, Greifswald, 1934.

<sup>28</sup> R. WIMMER, *Jesuitentheater, Didaktik und Fest: das Exemplum des ägyptischen Joseph auf den deutschen Bühnen der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Frankfurt am Main, 1982. See also LEBEAU, 1922, 2, pp. 949ff., for a chronological table of Jesuit plays on the Joseph theme from 1561 to 1632 (fragmentary at the most, the table contains thirty-two references, of which the larger part dates from after 1600). For music in the Jesuit theater, see, again, WIMMER, 1982, pp. 63, 79, 257f., 259, 262, and several other instances (cf. Index).

rhetoric, who then became their 'choragus', i.e., stage director.

Two questions should be asked: was Lasso active in either the German or the Jesuit theater? and can his Joseph compositions be connected with theatrical usage? The answers to the questions depend on our knowledge of theatrical activities in Munich.

As regards the German theater, relatively little has been published on its activities in Munich, though Biblical plays, including those based on Joseph, must have been performed there in school or civic entertainments. For example, the Latin play *Adelphopolae: Drama Comico tragicum* by Martinus Balticus appears to have been staged in Munich at the *Rathaus*, or town hall, during Carnival, 1554.<sup>29</sup> Whether it included musical *intermedi* by Lasso cannot be determined; nor can it be determined whether the rather learned Latin motet *Dixit Joseph*, which has been described as a Gospel motet,<sup>30</sup> hence appropriate to the Protestant liturgy, suited such a play. (We do know of Lasso's connections with Protestant circles from the mid-sixties on.)<sup>31</sup> Perhaps one or another part of it was presented in other Joseph plays, at the moment of Joseph's reunion with his brothers or Jacob's being told that Joseph was alive. In its content, it would indeed suit the second of two Joseph plays by Aegidius Hunnius, treating the later episodes of Joseph's life as an Egyptian lord 'until the descent of his father's family into Egypt and the happy, reciprocal meeting of the father Jacob and his son Joseph' (first presented, it would seem, in Marburg, 1584; about its music we know that an *intermedio* of soothsayers was specially composed for its performance in Strasbourg, 1597).<sup>32</sup> The German work *Joseph verkauffet ist* is another matter: it could have been inserted in a German play. Yet it probably was not, for it is unlikely that it was performed separately from the eleven other parts, on which it depends for its moral lesson.

<sup>29</sup> According to K. VON REINHARDSTÖTTNER, *Martinus Balticus, ein Humanistenleben aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Bamberg, 1890, pp. 27, 76 (n. 87), though firm documentary evidence seems to be lacking. The play was first printed in Augsburg, 1556, then, in a German translation by the author as *Josephus. Oder Ein Comoedia die Heilig und fürtreffliche Historiam vom Joseph [...]*, in Ulm, 1579.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 237. The years of Lasso's Gospel motets (*Evangelienmotetten*) are, according to him, 1564-67.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>32</sup> Aegidius HUNNIUS, *Iosephus. Comoediae duae, quarum prior historiam Iosephi a Mose descriptam usque ad exaltationem eius ad dominum Aegypti persequitur. Posterior ea continet, quae ab annis fertilitatis gesta sunt usque ad descensum paternae familiae in Aegyptum, et mutuam laetamque agnitionem Iacobi Patris, et Iosephi filij* (at least five editions are known: 1584, 1586, 1597, 1606 / 1609, 1614). Cf. LEBEAU, 1922, particularly the listing of Joseph plays in 2, pp. 863-78.

As regards the Jesuit theater, it scheduled an active calendar of theatrical activities in Munich from the eighties on.<sup>33</sup> The Jesuits originally settled in Munich in the later fifties, upon the invitation of Duke Albrecht, who had reverted to Catholicism. It was particularly under his successor Wilhelm, however, i.e., in the eighties and nineties, that their influence spread. Wilhelm not only encouraged their activities, but is said to have 'lived according to their regulations'.<sup>34</sup> During his reign the Jesuit theater flourished. There is archival evidence for Lasso's connection with the Jesuit gymnasium in Munich around 1580, though whether as a composer or a music director cannot be determined.<sup>35</sup> As far as Joseph plays in the Jesuit theater are concerned, an early high point was reached with the production of Jakob Spanmüller's *Josephus Aegyptius* (1583).<sup>36</sup> Lasso's *Dixit Joseph*, though composed, it would seem, for Protestant circles,<sup>37</sup> could nevertheless have been used in one of the Joseph plays, in part or as a whole, as could other Latin works of his in plays having a different content. The general opinion is that he did, in fact, write for the Jesuit theater, yet all we have to go on is circumstantial evidence.<sup>38</sup> Just as it is difficult to ascertain the liturgical and devotional uses of Lasso's religious works,<sup>39</sup> so it is their theatrical ones. Even if Lasso himself did not write directly for the theater, his works could have been borrowed to form musical interludes.<sup>40</sup>

Were it to turn out that *Dixit Joseph* did, in fact, serve as an *intermedio* in one of the Jesuit plays on Joseph, we still do not know, then, whether it was composed especially for it or merely chosen to meet the needs of a particular performance. Still less is known of *Joseph verkauffet ist*. For one thing, it does not seem to have been used in the Jesuit theater because of its German text, though it is still not clear whether German interludes were inserted in Latin plays. For another, its content as one of a series of twelve episodes about different persons, described not in themselves, but as pawns in a divine scheme, would

<sup>33</sup> On the Jesuit theater in Munich, see, in particular, K. VON REINHARDSTÖTTNER, *Zur Geschichte des Jesuitendramas in München*, in *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte*, 3 (1889), pp. 53-176; and K. TRAUTMANN, *Archivalische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schulkomödie in München*, in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, 1, 1891, pp. 61ff.

<sup>34</sup> FR. MESSMER, *Ein Leben in der Renaissance: Orlando di Lasso. Musik zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Munich, 1982, p. 204.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. LEUCHTMANN, 1976, pp. 192ff.

<sup>36</sup> Spanmüller went under the pseudonym Jacob Pontanus. For his play, see J. MÜLLER, 1930, 2, pp. 48, 114. Lebeau writes that it was particularly after 1583 that the story of Joseph was performed in a large number of colleges; LEBEAU, 1922, 1, pp. 84-85.

<sup>37</sup> See above (after BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 164).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Leuchtmann's entry on Munich in *New Grove*, XII, p. 781 ('Lasso probably composed choruses for some of the Jesuit plays'), and more substantially in LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 193; also MESSMER, 1982, p. 211.

<sup>39</sup> James Haar, entry on Lasso, in *New Grove*, X, p. 487.

<sup>40</sup> Leuchtmann suggested as much (LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 193).

seem to render it unsuitable for theatrical usage. Where was it employed, then? Possibly in a religious procession, such as the elaborate ones for Corpus Christi that were staged at great expense in Munich during Duke Wilhelm's reign. For the procession of 1574, for example, fifty-five tableaux were presented, among them 'The Creation of Heaven and Earth', 'Adam and Eve', 'Abraham with the three angels', and so on. The procession in 1582 was particularly sumptuous: thousands of persons from varying professional and clerical ranks were involved in one way or another, whether as pedestrians bearing staves and candles or as actors impersonating the subjects of Biblical and allegorical scenes.<sup>41</sup> If anything, a procession would seem to be the most natural ambiance for the twelve episodes of *Die Gnad kombt oben her*.

To round off the picture, one should set the Joseph plays, and the few musical pieces about Joseph from the sixteenth century, in a wider literary context. Aside from writings on Joseph in Jewish and Islamic literature,<sup>42</sup> one finds him as the subject of medieval laments e.g., that of Jacob over his sons, by Peter Abelard,<sup>43</sup> romances and liturgical dramas.<sup>44</sup> Yet Joseph came into his own, most notably, in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, not only in Germany, but in Italy, France, Spain and England as well.<sup>45</sup> Two moments were emphasized, as illustrated moreover by the musical examples we discussed: the early one of Joseph abandoned by his brothers, the later one of his rise to power and his reunion with his family. These are big themes, requiring the expansive treatment only possible in the theater or in narrative poetry. Music before the seventeenth century was not equipped to handle them. Only with the creation of opera and oratorio did the Joseph story find the proper medium for its presentation. From then on, it appeared in a large number of works that, relying on scenic effects, costumes, acting and the various musical forms developed for

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the colorful description in MESSMER, 1982, p. 211.

<sup>42</sup> See M. NIEHOFF, *The Figure of Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature*, New York, 1992; and the summary remarks in LEBEAU, 1922, 1, pp. 24-37 ('L'histoire de Joseph dans les traditions juive, islamique et chrétienne').

<sup>43</sup> One of six Biblical laments that Abelard wrote around 1130: cf. P. DRONKE, 'Planctus' and Satire, in *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry 1000-1150*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 114-49, 202.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. M. DERPMANN, *Die Josephgeschichte; Auffassung und Darstellung im Mittelalter*, Ratingen, 1974.

<sup>45</sup> For Italy, see, for example, Pandolpho COLLENUTIO DA PESARO, *Comedia de Jacob e Joseph [...] in terza rima historiata*, Venice, 1523, and Simone MARTELLI, *Joseph figliuolo di Jacob*, Florence, 1565, a *sacra rappresentazione*; for France, Nicolas DE MONTREUX, *Joseph le chaste*, Paris, 1601; for Spain, Miguel DE CARVAJAL, *Tragedia Josephina*, Seville, 1545; and for England, Sir Francis HUBERT, *Egypt's Favorite: The Historie of Joseph*, London, 1631 (a poem). For Joseph in *sacre rappresentazioni* from around 1490 to 1782, see the listing of works in A. CIONI, *Bibliografia delle Sacre Rappresentazioni*, Florence, 1961, esp. pp. 201-207 (altogether thirty-two items).

communicating a narrative and the emotions of the participants did justice to the dramatic and epic qualities of the story. Beginning as a light shower of works in the seventeenth century, among them Luigi Rossi's *Giuseppe figlio di Giacobbe*,<sup>46</sup> the story turned into a major torrent in the eighteenth, with oratorios by some twenty composers, among them Boccherini, Caldara, Handel and Hasse.<sup>47</sup> Most of them treated the theme of Joseph's meeting and reconciliation with his brothers, using Metastasio's libretto *Giuseppe riconosciuto* from the 1730s.<sup>48</sup> The theme seemed to find a certain resonance in the new humanitarian ideals of the Enlightenment. As a figure, Joseph demonstrated the advantages of powerful, yet benevolent leadership.

The later history of the Joseph story, as set to music, is no less impressive. True, with the change of artistic climate in the nineteenth century, the story practically disappeared from the stage.<sup>49</sup> Yet it returned, almost with a vengeance, in the twentieth, now with a special twist: as the catalyst for twenty or more theatrical ballets, most of them after the example of Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Josephslegende* set to music as a ballet by Richard Strauss (1914).<sup>50</sup> Nor has the appeal of the Joseph story worn off in our own time, to judge

<sup>46</sup> After a libretto by Francesco Buti (manuscript, before 1653); J.L. JOHNSON - H.E. SMITHER (ed.), (*The Italian Oratorio, 1650-1800*, 2), New York, 1986.

<sup>47</sup> Agostino ACCORIMBONI, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1757; no longer extant); Pasquale ANFOSSI, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1789), ed. J.L. JOHNSON, New York, 1986; Ferdinando BERTONI, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1787); Luigi BOCCHERINI, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1756); Giuseppe BONNO, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1774); Antonio CALDARA, *Giuseppe figliolo di Giacob e di Rachele* (1722), *Gioseffo che interpreta i sogni* (1726); Gioacchino COCCHI, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1748); Francesco CONTI, *Il Gioseffo* (1706); Egidio DUNI, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1750s); Carl FASCH, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1775); Joseph FRIEBERT, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1764); Bonaventura FURLANETTO, *Joseph pro-rex Aegypti* (1768); HANDEL, *Joseph and His Brethren* (1744); Johann Adolf HASSE, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1741); Johann Paul KUNZEN, *Der verlorene Sohn* (1764); Johann MATTHESON, *Der gegen seine Brüder barmherzige Joseph* (1727); Josef MYSLIVECZEK, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1771); Johann Gottlieb NAUMANN, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1777); Giuseppe PORSILE, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1733); Pietro Pompeo SALES, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1780); Gaetano Maria SCHIASSI, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (before 1754); Domingo TERRADELLAS, *Giuseppe riconosciuto* (1736).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. BR. BRUNELLI (ed.), *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, 5 vols, Milan, 1943-54, 2, pp. 605-27 (along with other Old Testament plays, viz., *La morte d'Abel*, *Betulia liberata*, *Gioas re di Giuda* and *Isacco figura del Redentore*); and for epigraph to this article, esp. p. 627 (final words of Joseph). See, also, H.E. SMITHER, *A History of the Oratorio*, 3 vols, Chapel Hill, 1977-87, esp. 2, pp. 390-95 (on Metastasio's librettos in general).

<sup>49</sup> With a few exceptions, among them the opera *Joseph* by Étienne-Nicolas MÉHUL (1807, with libretto after play by Alexandre DUVAL [see below]; for male voices only) and various oratorios by Charles Edward HORSLEY (*Joseph*, 1853), George MacFARREN (*Joseph*, 1877) and Pietro RAIMONDI (*Giuseppe*, one of three related oratorios, the others being *Puitifar* and *Giacobbe*, 1847-48).

<sup>50</sup> Choreography by Michel FOKINE, as *La légende de Joseph* (Paris, 1914; later by George BALANCHINE, 1931). Cf. works (all entitled *Josephslegende*, unless otherwise indicated) by Willy GODLEWSKI (1924); Victor GSOVSKY (between 1950 and 1952); Erika HANKA (1945); Werner JOSTEN, *Joseph and His Brothers* (1932); Heinrich KROELLER (1921); Aurel M. MILLOSS (1933); Pino MLAKAR (1932); Heinz ROSEN (1958); Margarethe WALLMANN (c. 1936); and so on.

from Andrew Lloyd Webber's recent opera *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*.<sup>51</sup>

To return to literature, it should be mentioned that the rush of musical activity around the story from the eighteenth century on was accompanied by a parallel development in theater, poetry and the novel. Thus there have been various plays on Joseph, particularly his being sold into slavery and his later reunion with his brothers, as those in the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries by Arthuys, Bodmer, Genest, Le Jay, Péchantrés, Saint-Aubin and Tyler;<sup>52</sup> in the early nineteenth century by Duval and Fabbrichesì;<sup>53</sup> and in the twentieth by Asch, Giono, Nivoix/Pagnol and Stavis.<sup>54</sup> In poetry, there is the expansive poem *Joseph* that Goethe wrote in his youth, though opinions are divided on its authenticity;<sup>55</sup> and in the novel, apart from the early works by Grimmelshausen and Zesen,<sup>56</sup> those in our own time by Lion Feuchtwanger in his *Josephus* (1923) and, most impressively, by Thomas Mann in his tetralogy *Josephus und seine Brüder* (1934-43).

I should like to conclude with a few remarks on this last work by Thomas Mann, not because it stands as one of the great monuments of twentieth-century literature, but because it helps us to gain perspective on our own topic: the story of Joseph as told by Lasso. Lasso was one of the few composers of his time, if not the only one, to shift attention from the theme of Joseph abandoned and lamented to that of Joseph reunited and rejoicing with his family. In this, as already noted, he anticipated the many oratorios of eighteenth-century composers on *Giuseppe riconosciuto*. More significantly, though, he lighted on

<sup>51</sup> To a libretto by Tim RICE, New York, c. 1982, juvenile version. Other twentieth-century Joseph operas/oratorios were composed by Henk BIJVANCK, *Joseph en zijn broeders* (1945); Hilding ROSENBERG, *Joseph och hans bröder* (2d version, 1951). From the stage the story has passed into the movies, as in scripts for films directed by Henri ANDRÉANI (*Joseph*, 1913), Luciano RICCI (*Giuseppe venduto dai fratelli*, 1962) and, in English, Eugene MOORE (*Joseph in the Land of Egypt*, 1914), Louis PARKER (*Joseph and His Brethren*, 1915) and George ROLAND (*Joseph in the Land of Egypt*, 1932).

<sup>52</sup> Pierre-Joseph ARTHUYS, *Joseph reconnu par ses frères* (before 1721, though only printed in 1749); Johann Jakob BODMER, *Der erkannte Joseph* (1754), *Der keusche Joseph* (1754); Charles Claude GENEST, *Joseph* (1706); Gabriel François LE JAY, *Joseph vendu par ses frères* (1704); Nicolas PÉCHANTRÉS, *Joseph vendu par ses frères* (before 1708); Félicité DUCREST DE SAINT-AUBIN, *Joseph reconnu par ses frères* (1786); Royall TYLER, *Joseph and His Brethren* (1789).

<sup>53</sup> Alexandre DUVAL, *Joseph* (1807); Salvatore FABBRICHESI, *Giuseppe in Egitto* (between 1807 and 1821).

<sup>54</sup> Shalom ASCH, *Joseph* (1924); Jean GIONO, *Joseph vendu par ses frères* (1952); Paul NIVOIX and Marcel PAGNOL, *Tonton* (also *Joseph veut rester pur*, 1923); Barrie STAVIS, *Coat of Many Colors; a Play about Joseph in Egypt* (1969).

<sup>55</sup> *Joseph: Goethes erste grosse Jugenddichtung wieder aufgefunden und zum ersten Male hrsg.*, facs. ed. introduced by P. PIPER, Hamburg, 1920.

<sup>56</sup> Hans Jakob Christoffel GRIMMELSHAUSEN, *Histori vom keuschen Joseph* (1667), later reworked as *Des vortrefflich keuschen Josephs in Egypten [...] Lebensbeschreibung* (1671); Philipp VON ZESEN, *Assenat* (1670; after the name of Joseph's Egyptian wife).

the climactic moment in the Joseph saga, as reached in the two episodes of Joseph's revealing his identity to his brothers and Jacob's reaction to the news that Joseph was still alive. In *Dixit Joseph* the two episodes form the content respectively of parts 1 and 2; in *Joseph verkauffet ist* they are subsumed under the general theme of God's saving grace. Thomas Mann recognized the magnitude of these episodes, writing in part 4 of his novel as follows:<sup>57</sup>

the great revelation has been made, the climax reached, nothing better can be coming, there is only the end of the tale, and we know how it turned out already, we cannot get excited. Take my word for it, you are wrong. The author of this tale, by whom I mean Him who has made all tales, has given it many climaxes, and He knows how to get its effects one through the other. With Him it is always: 'The best is still to come'; He always gives us something to look forward to. That was a lovely place where Joseph heard that his father was alive. But where Jacob, the old man, rigid with suffering in body and brain, slowly opens his senses to the song of spring and resurrection and girds himself to go down and embrace his living son - there is nothing thrilling in that?

One can only imagine the songs of rejoicing that followed the moment of Joseph's revelation. But more music was to come: Thomas Mann tells us that the brothers debated how to break the news to their aged father, deciding that the best way was through music. The young girl Sarah, who happened to meet the brothers upon their return from Egypt and who, as it happens, had a gift for song, was appointed as messenger. 'Sarah shall tell him, in her own way', one of the brothers says,<sup>58</sup>

so that the truth speaks to him in song, which is always the gentlest, whether sweet or bitter or bitter-sweet in one. Sarah shall go before us and sing to him, and even if he does not believe it, at least we shall have softened the soil of his soul and shall find it prepared for the seed of truth when we follow it up with chapter and verse and he will be forced to believe that song and truth are the same.

The most difficult, the most monumental messages are thus that much more easily conveyed through music. Lasso did so on a small scale, in his two motets. In retrospect, though, he ranks large as a forerunner of composers who, in

<sup>57</sup> *Joseph, der Ernährer*, transl. by H.T. LOWE-PORTER as *Joseph the Provider* (part 4 of *Joseph and His Brethren*, [London, 1945]), p. 340.

<sup>58</sup> Sarah was Joseph brother Asher's daughter. She was first to meet the brothers upon their return from Egypt. The words quoted here are spoken by Dan (see *Joseph the Provider*, pp. 350-51).

their theatrical works, exploited the Joseph story, more fully, as an expression of brotherly love, mercy and redemption.



MOTET, CHANSON AND MADRIGAL  
IN THE AGE OF LASSUS



## DIVINS ACCORDS

### The Lassus Chansons and their Protestant Readers of the Late Sixteenth Century

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For Jean de Léry, sixteenth-century Calvinist missionary to coastal Brazil, the songs, ceremonies, and myths of the local Tupinamba culture were at once fascinating and troubling. In the late 1550's, when he was clandestine witness to the religious ceremonies of their shamanistic clan, the Caraïbes, Léry was plainly enraptured by what he called the 'measured harmony' of the assembled ceremonial voices. 'Whenever I remember it', he wrote some two decades later in his 1578 narrative of the journey, 'my heart trembles; it seems their voices are still in my ears'. Léry's native interpreter provided the French traveller with only a schematic outline of the songs he heard - laments for departed ancestors, prayers for a promised afterlife, and the story of an ancient deluge in which the Tupi's ancestors alone took refuge from rising waters in the highest trees. 'This last point', Léry confides in us, 'which is the closest they come to the Holy Scriptures, I have heard them reiterate several times since. And, indeed, it is likely that from father to son they have heard something of the universal flood that occurred in the time of Noah. In keeping with the habit of men, which is always to corrupt the truth and turn it into falsehood, they have added this fable. Being altogether deprived of writing, it is hard for them to retain things in their purity'.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, this essay is neither about the ceremonial songs of the Tupinamba nor even about Léry's religious ethnography, although they would each make worthy studies in their own right. Rather, my purpose in beginning with Léry's narrative is to transfer his evident concern for the power of music and the authority of written texts to the secular music of his native Renaissance France, or, to be more precise, to the Protestant reception of the chansons of Orlandus Lassus. The music of Lassus, as any student of the sixteenth-century chanson will acknowledge, dominates many of the secular anthologies brought

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from a recent translation of the narrative: Jean DE LÉRY, *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, otherwise called America*, transl. J. WHATLEY, Berkeley, 1990, p. 144. Léry's narrative has been the subject of much recent scholarship. See M. DE CERTEAU, *The Writing of History*, transl. T. CONLEY, New York, 1988, pp. 209-43 and F. LESTRINGANT, *Millénarisme et âge d'or: réformation et expériences coloniales au Brésil et en Floride (1555-1565)*, in C. CHEVALIER (ed.), *Les Réformes, enracinement socio-culturel, XXV<sup>e</sup> Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 1-13 juillet, 1982*, Paris, 1985, pp. 25-42.

out by firms such as Le Roy et Ballard and Pierre Phalèse. Perhaps less well known, however, is the fact that the chansons of Lassus also figured quite prominently in a number of collections of sacred parodies of secular songs issued by Protestant printers at about the same time. Scholars have not given much credence to these collections, in which some of Lassus' profane lyrics have been changed to convey spiritual meanings, presumably because the overt presence of strong editorial control suggests remoteness from the authority of compositional intent. But if sacred parodies of the sort found in Thomas Vautrollier's *Recueil du mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* (London, 1570), Jean Pasquier's *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* (La Rochelle, 1575 and 1576), or Simon Goulart's *Thrésor de musique d'Orlande de Lassus* ([Geneva], 1576, 1582, and 1594) are self-consciously moralizing in their approach to Lassus' poetic texts, the prefaces that accompany these collections nevertheless make plain a number of key assumptions about the special expressive power of his music. For these editors, and for their largely Protestant audiences, too, the 'divins accords' of Lassus' privileged idiom - like the ancient songs of Lery's Tupinamba shamans - could be a suitable musical pursuit only if they were tied to an equally suitable written text.

The books of *contrafacta* devoted to the music of Lassus, of course, were not the only such volumes of purified chansons to appear among the offerings of the Protestant press of the sixteenth century. Indeed, even as French musicians and poets set out to create a musical literature of Psalm harmonizations and *chansons spirituelles* suitable for domestic devotion among adherents of the new faith, there also appeared an immense printed repertory of political songs and spiritual *contrafacta* intended to be sung to the *timbres* of popular chansons. By 1555, with the appearance of Simon Du Bosc's and Guillaume Guérout's *Tiers livre ou sont contenue plusieurs chansons [...] desquelles avon changé la verbe lubrique en lettre spirituelle et chrestienne*, the practice of purification was extended to polyphonic settings of profane lyrics, too.<sup>2</sup> Throughout this repertory, as Jacques Pineaux has amply demonstrated, Protestant poets reveal abiding concern, not merely to correct what they understood to

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed description of the *Tiers livre*, which contains *contrafacta* of chansons by Pierre Certon, Pierre Sandrin, Claudin de Sermisy, and Nicolas Le Gendre, among others, see M. HONEGGER, *Les Chansons spirituelles de Didier Lupi et les débuts de la musique protestante en France au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols, Thèse du doctorat, Université de Lille III, 1970, II, pp. 91-94. On the chanson *contrafacta* by Guérout in the context of the Lyons-Geneva book trade, see L. GUILLO, *Les Editions musicales de la Renaissance lyonnaise (1525-1615)*, Paris, 1991, pp. 76-77 and 445-46. On the musical aspects of the Lassus *contrafactum* vogue, see I. BOSSUYT, *Orlandus Lassus (1532-1594) en het contrafact*, in *De zeventiende eeuw*, 5 (1989), pp. 190-97. Other aspects of the spiritual uses of secular music are considered in P. MACEY, *The 'Lauda' and the Cult of Savanarola*, in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 45 (1992), pp. 439-83; A.F. BLOCK, *The early French parody Noël*, 2 vols, Ann Arbor, 1983; and B.W. WARDROPPER, *The Religious Conversion of Profane Poetry*, in D. RANDALL - G.W. WILLIAMS (ed.), *Studies in the Continental Background of Renaissance English Literature: Essays Presented to John L. Lievsan*, Durham, NC, 1977, pp. 203-21.

be inappropriate texts, but to do so with a minimum of violence to the rhyme scheme, syntax, and even sound of these lyrics. Theirs was preeminently an enterprise of *imitatio*, as much at work here in the ‘reprise’ of secular models as it was the central mode of countless emulations of sacred texts, especially the Psalms.<sup>3</sup>

All of this takes on special significance for the books of Lassus *contrafacta*, for here editors assumed the task of reforming the poetry of polyphonic chansons by a composer whose music was particularly beloved precisely on account of its subtle treatment of literary texts. But before turning to the peculiar problems posed by adapting new words to Lassus’ music, let us first consider the place of the *contrafacta* volumes in the context of Lassus’ record of publication during the sixteenth century. The purification volumes, after all, are not merely compilations of edited chansons, but books in which the current selection - and even sequence - of songs depends significantly upon still other printed books of music.

TABLE 1: Le Roy et Ballard’s *Mellange d’Orlande* and Pasquier’s *Mellange d’Orlande* Compared: The Chansons for Four voices and Their Tonal Dispositions

Mellange d’Orlande (Le Roy et Ballard, 1570)			Mellange d’Orlande (Haultin, 1575)	
No.	Incipit	clef/system/final	No.	Contrafactum
1	Las! Voulez-vous qu’une personne chante	c1/natural/A	1	Las voulez vous que le fidele chant
2	Si le long tems à moy trop rigoureux	c1/natural/A	2	Si le long tems à moy trop rigoureux
3	Un advocat dit à sa femme	c1/natural/A	3	A toy seigneur sans cesser crie
4	Helas quel jour seray je à mon vouloir	g2/natural/D	4	Helas quel jour pourray je voir, O Dieu
5	Je suis quasi prest d’enrager	g2/flat/D	5	Je suis quasi au plus profond
6	Si par souhait je	g2/flat/D	6	Et vois estiez entrez

<sup>3</sup> On the modes and mentalities of religious poetry among French Protestants of the sixteenth century, see J. PINEAUX, *La Poésie des protestants de langue française, du premier synode national jusqu’à la proclamation de l’édit de Nantes (1559-1598)*, Paris, 1971; ID., *La Poésie religieuse*, in R. AULOTTE (ed.), *Précis de littérature française du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: La Renaissance*, Paris, 1992, pp. 214-228; and M. JEANNERET, *Poésie et tradition biblique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, recherches stylistiques sur les paraphrases des ‘Psaumes’, de Marot à Malherbe*, Paris, 1969.

	vous tenoye			en joye
7	En un chateau madame par grand cure	g2/flat/D	7	En un chasteau ou est de Dieu la crainte
8	O vin en vigne gentil joy vin en vigne	c1/natural/D	8	Grace divine, Qui la mort nous exterminie
9	Un doux nenny avec un doux sourire	g2/natural/D	12	Un jour l'esprit tachant la chair distraire
10	Le tems passée je soupire	g2/natural/D	10	Le tems passé je souspire
11	Un jour vis un foulon qui souloit	c1/flat/G	11	Un jour vis un Neron qui souloit
12	Je l'aime bien et l'ameray	c1/flat/G	9	J'ayme mon Dieu et l'ameray
13	Avecques vous mon amour finira	c1/flat/G	13	Avec mon Dieu mon amour finira
14	Fleur de quinze ans si Dieu vous sauve et gard	c1/flat/G	14	Fleur de quinze ans Dieu vous conserve et gard
15	Deus qui bonum vinum creasti	c1/flat/G	—	—
16	Monsieur l'Abé et monsieur son varlet	g2/flat/G	42	Monsieur l'Abbé et monsieur son varlet
17	Qui dort icy? Venus y dort	g2/flat/G	15	Qui dort icy? Un paresseux
18	Quand mon mari vient de dehors	g2/flat/G	16	Quand mon mari s'en va dehors
19	Soyons joyeux sur la plaisant verdure	g2/flat/G	17	Soyons joyeux sur la belle verdure
20	Ardant amour souvent me fait instance	g2/flat/G	18	Ardant amour fit Dieu du ciel descendre
21	A ce matin ce seroit bonne estreine	g2/flat/G	19	A ce matin ce seroit chose sainte
22	O tems divers qui me deffend de veoir	c1/natural/A	20	O tems divers, o tems qui nous fait voir
23	En espoir vis et crainte me tourmente	g2/natural/D	21	En espoir vis, et crainte me tourmente
24	Du corps absent le coeur je te presente	c1/natural/A	22	Du cors captif le coeur je te presente
25	J'ay cherche la sçience	c1/natural/A	23	Ceste haute puissance
26	La morre est jeu pire qu'aux quilles	c1/natural/A	24	L'esprit nous dit et nous avise
27	Si vous n'estes en bon point bien a-point	c1/natural/A	25	Dieu voit des tyrans l'orgueil de son oeil
28	Le vray amy ne s'estonne de rien	c1/natural/A	26	L'homme chrestien ne s'estonne de rien

29	Trop endurer sans avoir allegeance	g2/flat/F	27	Trop endurer force la patience
30	Vray Dieu disoit une fillette	g2/flat/F	38	Vray dieu disoit une fillette
31	Le tems peut bien un beau teint effacer	g2/flat/F	29	Le tems peut bien les honneurs effacer
32	Il estoit une religieuse	g2/flat/F	32	Il estoit une religieuse
33	Petite folle estes vous pas contente	g2/flat/F	30	Petite troupe estes vous pas contente
34	Fuyons tous d'amour e jeu comme le feu	g2/flat/F	31	Fuyons le vice en tout lieu
35	Hatez vous de me faire grace	g2/flat/F	33	Haste toy de me faire grace
36	En un lieu ou l'on ne void goutte	g2/natural/C	34	En un lieu ou l'on ne voit goutte
37	Mes pas seméz et loings alez	g2/natural/C	35	Mes pas semez et loin et lez
38	Je ne veux rien qu'un baiser de sa bouche	g2/natural/G	36	Je ne veux rien que de Christ le merite
40	Bon jour mon coeur, bon jour ma douce vie	g2/natural/G	37	Vive mon Dieu a mon Siegneur soit gloire
41	Si froid et chaut mis ensemble ne dure	g2/natural/G	38	Le froit et chaut estre ensemble ne peuvent
42	Margot labourez les vignes vigne vigne vignoler	g2/natural/G	40	Faites labourer la vigne vigne vigne vignolet
43	Ce faux amour d'arc et de fléches s'arme	g2/natural/G	39	Ce faux Sathan quand il s'équipe et arme
44	En m'oyant chanter quelque fois	g2/natural/G	41	En m'oyant chanter quelue fois

TABLE 2: Le Roy et Ballard's *Les Meslanges* and Goulart's *Thrésor*  
Compared: The Chansons for Four Voices and Their Tonal  
Dispositions

Les Meslanges (Le Roy et Ballard, 1576 edition)		Thrésor d'Orlande ([Jean Royer?], 1576 and 1582)			
No.	Incipit	clef/system/final	1576	1582	Contrafactum
1	Las! Voulez-vous qu'une personne chante	c1/natural/A	17	20	Las voulez-vous qu'une personne chante
2	L'heureux amour qui esleve et honore	c1/natural/A	56	21	L'heureux plaisir qui esleve et honore

3	Si le long tems à moy trop rigoureux	c1/natural/A	11	22	Puisque peché à mon trop rigoureux
4	Un advocat dit à sa femme	c1/natural/A	40	23	L'homme de bien dit à son ame
5	Sauter, danser, faire les tours	c1/natural/A	57	24	Sauter, danser, faire les tours
6	Si par souhait je vous tenoye	g2/flat/D	44	2	Si par souhait je te tenoie
7	En un chateau madame par grand cure	g2/flat/D	49	3	L'homme mortel con templant par grand cure
8	Monsieur l'Abé et monsieur son varlet	g2/flat/D	27	5	Monsieur l'Abé et monsieur son varlet
9	Qui dort icy? Venus y dort	g2/flat/D	25	4	Qui dort en nous? La vanité
10	Soyons joyeux sur la plaisiant verdure	g2/flat/G	10	1	Soyons joyeux sur la plaisant verdure
11	Quand mon mari vient de dehors	g2/flat/G	26	6	Quand l'homme honneste va dehors
12	Ardant amour souvent me fait instance	g2/flat/G	7	8	La ferme foi souvent me fait instance
13	A ce matin ce seroit bonne estreine	g2/flat/G	28	7	L'avare veut avoir sa bourse pleine
14	Si je suis brun et ma couleur trop noire	g2/flat/G	31	10	Si je suis brun et ma couleur trop noire
15	La nuit froide et sombre	c1/natural/D	58	12	La nuit froide et sombre
16	O vin en vigne gentil joly vin en vigne	c1/natural/D	55	11	Bonté divine, vien et monstre ta puissance
17	Avecques vous mon amour finira	c1/flat/G	1	39	Avecques Dieu mon amour finira
18	Un jour vis un foulon qui souloit	c1/flat/G	3	41	On ne peut le sol amour saouler
19	Je l'aime bien et l'ameray	c1/flat/G	4	42	J'aime mon Dieu et l'aimerai
20	Fleur de quinze ans si Dieu vous sauve et gard	c1/flat/G	2	40	Fleur de quinze ans si Dieu vous sauve et garde
21	Un doux nenny avec un doux sourire	g2/natural/D	30	14	Ta voix, O Dieu avec ton doux sourire
22	Helas quel jour seray je à mon vouloir	g2/natural/D	33	16	Helas quel jour aurai-je un bon vouloir
23	Le temps passé je soupire	g2/natural/D	34	17	Le temps perdu je sous pire
24	Si du malheur vous aviez cognoissance	g2/natural/D	32	18	De ce malheur tu as la cognoissance
25	En espoir vis et crainte me tourmente	g2/natural/D	19	19	En espoir vis, et crainte me tourmente
26	Je suis quasi prest d'enrager	g2/flat/D	43	25	Je suis quasi prest de mourir
27	Du cors absent le	c1/natural/A	14	26	Du corps absent le

	coeur je te presente				coeur je te presente
28	J'ay cherche la science	c1/natural/A	15	27	J'ai du ciel la science
29	La morre est jeu pire	c1/natural/A	37	28	Les dez, c'est jeu pire
	qu'aux quilles				qu'aux quilles
30	Si vous n'estes en bon	c1/natural/A	38	29	Si vous n'estes en bon
	point bien a-point				point Bien à point
31	Le vray amy ne s'estonne	c1/natural/A	16	30	Le vertueux ne
	de rien				s'estonne de rien
32	Or sus filles que l'on	c1/natural/A	51	31	Sus, je vous pri' que
	me donne				l'on me donne
33	Qui bien se mire,	c1/natural/A	39	32	Qui bien se mire bien se
	bien se void				void
34	Scais tu dire l'Avé	c1/natural/A	52	33	Sais-tu dire bien: disoit
	disoit il				il
35	O tems divers qui me	c1/natural/A	13	34	Maudit peché qui me
	deffend de veoir				deffens de voir
36	De vous servir ne me	c1/natural/A	53	35	De te servir ne me veux
	puis contenir				contenir
37	Trop endurer sans	g2/flat/F	9	36	Trop endurer de peché
	avoir allegeance				la puissance
38	Vray dieu disoit	g2/flat/F	24	37	Vrai Dieu disoit un ame
	une fillette				sainte
39	Il estoit une religieuse	g2/flat/F	45	38	Si j'estoi ou mon ame desire
40	Le tems peut bien	g2/flat/F	8	43	Le tems peut bien un
	un beau teint effacer				beau taint effacer
41	Petite folle estes	g2/flat/F	6	44	Troupe fidele es-tu pas
	pas contente				bien contente
42	Fuyons tous d'amour	g2/flat/F	—	45	Fuyons des vices le jeu
	le jeu comme le feu				
43	Hatez vous de	g2/flat/F	5	46	Haste toi de me faire
	me faire grace				grace
44	En un lieu ou l'on	g2/natural/C	21	47	En ce monde où l'on ne
	ne void goutte				voit goutte
45	Si pour moy avez	g2/natural/C	46	48	Quand mon coeur a
	du couci				quelque souci
46	Mes pas semés et	g2/natural/C	22	49	Mes pas Seigneur, tant
	loings alez				esgarez
47	Un jeune moine	g2/natural/C	—	50	Quitte le monde
	est sorti du convent				
48	Beau le cristal beau	g2/natural/C	48	51	Beau le cristal beau
	l'albastre et l'ivoyre				l'albastre et l'ivoyre
49	Si froid et chaut mis	g2/natural/G	60	52	Si froid et chaut mis
	ensemble ne dure				ensemble ne dure
50	Je ne veux rien qu'un	g2/natural/G	18	53	Je ne veux rien que
	baiser de sa bouche				deux mots de ta bouche
51	Bon jour mon coeur,	g2/natural/G	20	54	Christ est mon Dieu,
	bon jour ma douce vie				c'est mon heur et ma vie
52	Margot labourez les	g2/natural/G	42	55	Qui laboure champ ou
	vignes vigne vigne				vigne est heureux si
	vignolet				humblement

53	Ce faux amour d'arc et de flèches s'arme	g2/natural/G	12	56	Ce faux Satan de ma vanité s'arme
54	En m'oyant chanter quelque fois	g2/natural/G	35	57	En m'oyant chanter quelque fois
55	Quand un cordier cordant	g2/natural/G	54	58	Quand un cordier cordant
56	Ton feu s'esteint de ce que le mienard	g2/natural/G	36	59	Mon feu s'estient quand celui de Dieu
57	Fertur in conviviis vinus vina vinum [motet]	g2/natural/G	41	61	Tristis ut Euridicen Orphaeus ab orco
58	Pronuba Juno tibi det longae tempora [motet]	g2/natural/G	50	60	Gratia summi Dei
59	Deus qui bonum vinum creasti	c1/flat/G	59	13	Deus qui bonum vinum creavit
		g2/flat/G	23	9	Du fonds de ma pensee
		g2/natural/D	29	15	O comme heureux, j'estimerois mon coeur
	Celebrons sans cesse [canon]	c1/flat/F	47	62	Celebrons sans cesse

The central sources for the Lassus *contrafacta* are to be found among the offerings of the Parisian firm of Le Roy et Ballard, above all the *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* of 1570 and its revised republication, *Les Meslanges d'Orlande de Lassus* of 1576.<sup>4</sup> The very first book devoted to the purification of Lassus' chanson production, Thomas Vautrollier's *Recueil d'Orlande* of 1570, makes overt and even visual homage to the print upon which it was modelled, borrowing not just the contents of the Le Roy et Ballard print of the same year, but also its title and title-page border.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps just as important as any visual or material resemblance between secular model and spiritual purification, however, is what these albums reveal about the editorial processes that surround their production.

The editors of the Le Roy et Ballard chansonniers were in general all but silent about the process and aims of their work. Compilers of the *contrafacta* volumes, however, were typically quite explicit about their efforts, offering detailed

<sup>4</sup> For a bibliographical description and index of the great Lassus collections, see G. THIBAULT - F. LESURE, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1551-1598*, Paris, 1955, pp. 139-41 and 179-80. In an intriguing essay, Kate Van Orden has recently suggested that Le Roy et Ballard's great Lassus volume of 1570 be seen as a companion to the retrospective *Mellange* of 1572, a collection from which his music is conspicuously absent. See her *Imitation and "La musique des anciens": Le Roy et Ballard's 1572 Mellange de chansons*, in *Revue de musicologie*, 80 (1994), p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> J. KERMAN, *An Elizabethan Edition of Lassus*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 27 (1955), p. 72. Further on the Vautrollier book, see F.W. STERNFELD, *Vautrollier's Printing of Lasso's Recueil du mellange (London, 1570)*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 5 (1957), pp. 199-227. The printer's non-musical publications are considered in J.C. WHITEBROOK, *Calvin's Institute of Christian Religion in the Imprints of Thomas Vautrollier*, London, 1935. The ubiquity with which Protestant printers in particular imitated the typographical profile of each other's work is detailed by GUILLO, 1991, pp. 100-101.

explanations of their overall intentions for the books and at times hinting at the processes of selection and purification that produced them. The printer of Simon Goulart's *Thrésor de Musique d'Orlande* (Geneva, 1576), for instance, apologizes to his musical readers for offering not the complete four-, five-, and six-voice chansons from the 'livres des Paris' (principally the new 1576 edition of *Les Meslanges*), but merely a selection of them, promising to bring out purified versions of the remaining works in a future edition of this *Thrésor*.<sup>6</sup> Goulart's printer also confesses that his new chansonnier is unfortunately not organized according to the clearest of plans. The Le Roy et Ballard volumes grouped together works of similar tonal disposition and similar vocal forces according to an orderly plan: works for smaller ensembles precede those for larger groups of singers, and within these large divisions compositions sharing similar range, background system and final are grouped together.<sup>7</sup> The *Thrésor* of 1576, in comparison, is a hopelessly confused jumble of clef combinations, background systems, and finals. Fortunately, the revised edition of the Goulart's book, issued in 1582 and again in 1594, remedies both of these printing problems: it expands to include almost all of the chansons from *Les Meslanges* of 1576 (it also offers a few chansons from still other Parisian books) and rearranges the order to keep together works of similar musical space (see Table 2 for comparative listings of the four-voice chansons as they are arranged in *Les Meslanges* and the first two editions of the *Thrésor*).<sup>8</sup>

Of course, the principal aim of the *Thrésor* was not merely to reproduce *Les Meslanges* of 1576, but rather to correct the texts of the chansons found there ('corrige la lettre' is the printer's phrase) while preserving the music ('la Musique

<sup>6</sup> GUILLO, 1991, pp. 100 and 455 thinks the nameless printer of the *Thrésor* might have been the Parisian emigré Jean Le Royer, who in 1576 requested permission from the Genevan consistory to issue 'quelques chansons spirituelles sur la musique d'Orlande'. For the printer's apology, and a detailed bibliographic description of the various editions of Goulart's *Thrésor*, see HONEGGER, 1970, II, pp. 223-31, 300-8, and 342. Goulart's preface to the *Thrésor* appears as Appendix 1 of the present essay.

<sup>7</sup> The Vautrollier book of 1570 and the volumes of Lassus *contrafacta* edited by Jean Pasquier (La Rochelle, 1575 and 1576) follow very closely the tonal plan - and at times the precise sequence - of compositions set out in the *Mellange* of 1570. Note, however, that even the editors at Le Roy et Ballard did not preserve the exact order of compositions found in the smaller *Mellange* of 1570 when they revised it as *Les Meslanges*. But they do seem to have followed the same overall musical scheme set out in the earlier print, arranging works by vocal forces and tonal disposition. See Tables 1 and 2.

<sup>8</sup> The Goulart *Thrésor* 1582 nevertheless does not follow the precise sequence of tonal types adopted by Le Roy and Ballard. All of this bears out what is emerging from a number of independent studies of 16th-century music prints: with the exception of a very few cases in which compositional planning can be shown to have played a significant role in the sequence of pieces (as in the case of Lassus' *Lagrima di San Pietro*, for instance) it normally fell to the house editor to arrange compositions according to a musical scheme that would suit the needs of performers. See, for a summary example of this practise, M. FELDMAN (ed.), *P. Cambio. Il primo libro di madrigali a quatro voci* (Venice, 1547), (*The Sixteenth-Century Madrigal*, 3), New York, 1989, p. xiii.

demeure en son entier’) in an effort to make these chansons suitable for his Protestant musical readers: ‘in removing certain words and accomodating them (as well as it has been possible) to the Music’, Goulart himself explains, ‘I have rendered these chansons for the most part honest and Christian’ (see Appendix 1 for the complete text of Goulart’s preface to the *Thrésor* of 1576).<sup>9</sup> This same moralizing tone, in which the persuasive effects of music upon its listeners are permitted only so long as they are tied to an appropriately devotional text, of course, enjoyed long circulation in Calvinist writings on music and spirituality.<sup>10</sup> But the need for a clear bond between musical effects and verbal meaning takes on special significance for the Lassus chanson repertory, since in his works, as editors of the *contrafacta* books readily acknowledge, the alliance between text and tone is particularly acute: ‘For my part’, Goulart confesses, ‘I have found in music, and especially in [that] of Orlande, powerful remedies for various injuries to the soul [...]. Whose soul has not been touched and almost sweetly removed from the body by the melodious concord of so beautiful a music as that of Orlande?’<sup>11</sup> Jean Pasquier, another editor occupied with the purification of secular chansons, saw in his enterprise a salvation of music in general (an art whose

<sup>9</sup> The original passage reads: ‘En ostant quelques mots ou plusieurs et les accomodant (au moins mal qu’il m’a esté possible) à la Musique, j’ai rendu ces chansons honnestes et Chrestiennes pour la plupart’. From the preface to the 1576 edition of the *Thrésor* (see Appendix 1). Goulart, like Guillaume Guérout before him, was an important figure among Calvinist intellectual circles of Geneva. In addition to his philosophical and theological writings, he also edited several volumes of music, including four other sets of *contrafacta*: the *Premier et Second livres du Meslange des Pseaumes et Cantiques* (Geneva, 1577), the *Sonets chrestiens* of Guillaume Boni (1578), the *Sonets chrestiens* of Antoine de Bertrand (1580), and the curious *Cinquante pseaumes de David* of 1597, which attempts to replace the secular texts of chansons by Lassus and others with French translations of the Psalms. Further on Goulart’s musical and spiritual interests, see GUILLO, 1991, pp. 99-100; L.C. JONES, *Simon Goulart, 1543-1628: étude biographique et bibliographique*, Geneva, 1917; C.S. ADAMS, *Simon Goulart (1543-1628). Editor of Music, Scholar and Moralist*; J.W. HILL (ed.), *Studies in Musicology in Honor of Otto E. Albrecht: A Collection of Essays by his Colleagues and Former Students at the University of Pennsylvania*, Kassel, 1980, pp. 125-41; É. DROZ, *Simon Goulart, éditeur de musique*, in *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et de Renaissance*, 14 (1952), pp. 265-76; and J. PINEAUX, *Simon Goulart et les voies du sacré*, in *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du Protestantisme française*, 135 (1989), pp. 161-76.

<sup>10</sup> For a survey of the sources and contexts of Calvinist thought on music, see H.P. CLIVE, *The Calvinist Attitude to Music, and its Literary Aspects and Sources*, in *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et de Renaissance*, 19 (1957), pp. 80-102 and 294-319; 20 (1958), pp. 79-107. On the place of sacred Psalmody in the formation of Huguenot identity, see B.B. DIEFENDORF, *The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century*, in B.B. DIEFENDORF - C. HESSE (ed.), *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800). Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, Ann Arbor, 1993, pp. 41-63. The classic studies of the French Psalter, of course, are O. DOUEN, *Clément Marot et le psautier. Etude historique, littéraire, musicale, et bibliographique*, 2 vols, Amsterdam, 1967 (= Paris, 1878) and P. PIDOUX, *Le Psautier huguenot du XVIIe siècle. Melodies et documents*, 2 vols, Basel, 1962. More recently, see L. GUILLO, *Le Psautier de Paris et le Psautier de Lyon: à propos de deux corpus contemporains du Psautier de Genève (1549-1561)*, in *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire du Protestantisme française*, 136 (1990), pp. 361-420.

<sup>11</sup> The original passage reads: ‘Comme de ma part j’ai trouvé en la Musique, d’Orlande specialement, des remedes souverains contre diverses blessures de l’ame. [...] qui n’ait l’ame picquee et comme tiree doucement du corps par les accords melodieux d’une si belle Musique que celle d’Orlande?’ See Appendix 1.

true purpose was the glorification of the divine and the relief of human sorrow) and in particular of the 'divins accords d'Orlande', which he has snatched back from profanity 'like precious stones from a vile mud-pit'.<sup>12</sup> Addressing the first of his Lassus chanson volumes to the Countess de Rohan, Catherine de Parthenay - herself a poet and member of one of France's most illustrious Protestant families<sup>13</sup>, Pasquier gives eloquent testimony both to the esteem with which Lassus' compositions were held among members of this new church and to the ideal alliance between 'l'harmonie de la voix' and 'l'affection de la parole':

And for this, that among all the musicians of our century Orlande de Lassus appears (with good reason) to be able to

<sup>12</sup> The original passage, from Pasquier's *Premier livre des Cantiques et Chansons spirituelles a quatre parties en quatre volumes, recueillies de plusieurs excellens musiciens*, La Rochelle, 1578, reads: 'Je m'estudie tant que je puis (Ami lecteur) à ramener la Musique à son vray but, qui est de glorifier ce grand Dieu, qui l'a créée, et nous l'a donnée avec les autres arts et sciences liberales pour le soulagement de ceste vie. Ainsi t'ay donné premierement, un recueil des divins accord[s] d'Orlande, les retirant de la poésie profane, comme pierres precieuses d'un vilain boubrier'. Pasquier's *Premier and Second livres* closely derive from two editions of *chansons spirituelles*: Didier Lupi Second's *Premier livre de chansons spirituelles* (Lyons, 1548) and Louis Des Masures *Vingt-six cantiques* (Lyons, 1564; musical settings here by Claude Goudimel). The contents of the Pasquier books are listed in HONEGGER, 1970, II, pp. 248-54. On the Lyons prints, see GUILLO, 1991, pp. 253-55 and 320-22; and HONEGGER, 1970, I, pp. 59-115; and II, pp. 41-43 and 143-49.

<sup>13</sup> Pasquier addressed his books of Lassus *contrafacta* to two of La Rochelle's most celebrated Huguenot protectors and patrons of the arts. Catherine de Parthenay (1554-1631) was the daughter of Jean de Parthenay-Larchevêque, seigneur de Soubise and Antoinette d'Aubeterre. Her grandmother, Anne de Parthenay, had been among the handmaidens of Renée de France during her years in Ferrara, itself an important haven for French Protestants and Protestant sympathizers, including Calvin and Clément Marot (see, on the Protestant leanings of the Ferrarese court of Renée, E.P. RODOCANACHI, *Une protectrice de la réforme en Italie et en France: Renée de France duchesse de Ferrare*, Geneva, 1970 (= Paris, 1896). Catherine retired to La Rochelle following the death of her first husband during the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, and married René II, vicomte de Rohan, in 1575. Her experiences are recounted in her *Holoferne* (now lost) and in her *Ballets allegoriques en vers* of 1592-93. Further on Catherine, see E. HAAG, *La France protestante*, 2nd edition, 6 vols, Paris, 1877-88, II, 958 and H. IMBERT, *Lettres de Catherine de Parthenay, dame de Rohan-Soubise et de ses deux filles Henriette et Anne à Charlotte-Brabantine de Nassau, Duchesse de la Trémoille*, in *Mémoires de la Société de statistique des Deux-Sèvres*, 12 (1874), pp. 43-161. Pasquier's dedicatee for his second book of Lassus *contrafacta* was François de La Nöue, (called 'bras de fer'), for a time governor of La Rochelle, and an important Protestant sympathizer. See H. HAUSER, *François de La Nöue (1531-1591)*, Geneva, 1970 (= Paris, 1892). François wrote a two-volume philosophical tract, *Discours politiques et militaires*, that was issued in Basel, La Rochelle, Lyons, and even in English translation. The La Rochelle edition was brought out by Jérôme Haultin, who also published a collection of religious poetry, *L'Uranie ou nouveau recueil de chansons spirituelles et chrestiennes, Comprises en cinq livres et accomodées pour la pluspart au chant des Pseaumes de David* (1597), edited by François' son Odet.

The Haultins, it should be noted, had a long association with music publishing. A member of the firm supplied Nicolas Du Chemin with his first music type during the late 1540's. They also published several other music prints, including motets by Lassus (likely under the editorial supervision of Paul Melissus, one of Goudimel's associates) and the first (1598) edition of Claude Le Jeune's *Dodecachorde*. Further on the family and firm, see L. DESGRAVES, *Les Haultin, 1571-1623. L'imprimerie à la Rochelle*, 2, (*Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance*, 34), Geneva, 1960.

retain good standing on account of the excellence and admirable sweetness of his music. Seeing this nevertheless employed in setting chansons so profane, so salacious and impudent that chaste and Christian ears recoil in horror, I thought that I would do my duty as a Christian, purging these very graceful and pleasant chords of such evils and filth with which they have been soiled. I instead returned them to their true and natural subject, namely to sing of the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Eternal. Having therefore solicited several of my friends and borrowed from them some *cantiques* of such subject, in place of these lascivious and vain reveries I accommodated these verses to the music. Notice the extent to which the harmony of the voice corresponds to the affection of the words, as much as it is able.<sup>14</sup>

- 14 'Et pource qu'entre tous les Musiciens de notre siecle Orlande de Lassus semble (et a bon droit) devoir tenir quelque bon lieu, pour l'excellence et admirable douceur de sa Musique: Voyant icelle neantmoins employée à des chansons si profanes, si sales, et impudiques, que les oreilles chastes et chrestiennes en ont horreur: J'ay pensé que je ferois devoir de Chrestien, si repurgeant ces tresgratieux et plaisans accords de tant de villenies et ordures, dont ilz estoient tous souillez, Je les remettois sur leur vray et naturel sujet, qui est de chanter la puissance, sagesse et bonté de L'eternel. Ayant donc sollicité aucuns de mes amis et emprunté d'eux quelques Cantiques de tel argument, au lieu de ces lascivetez et vaines resveries, Je les ay accommodez à la musique: voire tellement que l'harmonie de la voix respond à l'affection de la parole, autant que faire se peut'. See Appendix 2 for the complete text of the preface. Of Pasquier's life and thought beyond the books of *contrafacta* and *chansons spirituelles* almost no trace has survived. That he was a resident of the Protestant bastion at La Rochelle during the 1570's seems clear from the prefaces to the music prints at hand, all of which were issued by the local firm of Pierre Haultin. According to the prefaces, too, Jean was originally from Sézanne (near Epernay in the Champagne). His profession and whereabouts prior to his arrival at La Rochelle are uncertain. A 'Jehan Pasquier, notaire' is mentioned in a document compiled at Orleans in 1568 listing inhabitants of that town - many of them Protestants - who were obliged to sign an oath of loyalty to the king (Charles IX). See, for a partial transcription of this list, HAAG, 1877-88, IV, p. 568. A certain 'Pasquier' who had been serving as a Calvinist minister at Mâcon apparently needed help with his duties in 1561, when Olivier Dagonneau, an important resident of that town, wrote to some Genevan elders of the Calvinist church to ask for assistance (see HAAG, 1877-88, V, p. 15). Finally, a 'Monsieur Pasquier, Ancien de l'Eglise de Troye en Champagne' is mentioned among a list of deputies to a synod of the Calvinist church held at La Rochelle in June of 1581. See J. AYMONT, *Tous les synodes nationaux des eglises reformées de France*, 2 vols, La Haye, 1710, I, p. 147. Any or all of these men might have been the compiler of the Lassus purification books issued by Haultin.

That Pasquier mentions a total six women as having been among his 'élevés' implies that he may have been a teacher at one of the various Protestant academies that sprang up in La Rochelle during the late sixteenth century (the book of 1575 mentions Marie Blanc, Judith Mage, and Jaquette Rolland; that from 1576 lists Susanne Poussart, Elizabeth de la Forest, and Esther Boisseau). Although there is no direct evidence of there having been any such school for women there during this period, several of the same surnames as those mentioned in the dedicatory material of the Lassus books, also appear among works of Protestant sympathizers of the day. Susanne Poussart, for instance, was the daughter of Charles Poussart, sieur de Fors, an important figure in defense of Dieppe siege against the Catholics during the 1560's (see E. HAAG, *La France protestante*, [first edition], 10 vols, [Paris, 1846-1859] VIII, pp. 312ff). Another of Charles' daughters, Anne, married Charles de la Forêt, Seigneur de Vaudoré and gouverneur de Parthenay, in 1591 (see HAAG, 1877-88, VI, pp. 216ff). Two poems by André Mage are among the prefatory material to Jérôme Haultin's 1591 edition of Du Bartas' *La Second sepmaine* (see DESGRAVES, 1960, p. 68). Mage's collected poetic writings *Oeuvres de Sieurs de Fiefmelin, divisees en deux parties* (Poitiers, 1601) were dedicated to the grandmother of Catherine de Parthenay, Anne de Pons, then wife of Antoine de Pons. See HAAG, 1877-88, VII, pp. 164-65 and P. MENANTEAU, *Images d'André Mage de Fiefmelin, poète baroque*, Limoges, 1965.

But despite claims about the single-mindedness with which the profane poetry of Lassus' chansons has been reformed for use by pious Huguenots, not all of the works presented in these anthologies have been subjected to the same degree of censorship or correction. Two five-voice pieces by Philippe de Monte that were included in Goulart's book of 1576, his printer admits with some embarrassment, were apparently never censored before having been set in type.<sup>15</sup> And even among those Lassus chansons that were reviewed prior to type setting are several in which the texts remain just as they were in the original Parisian prints, for in these the editor apparently found no moral fault (as Goulart's printer also acknowledges: 'Et si en plusieurs la lettre est demeurée telle qu'elle est es livres de Paris, cela est procedé de la volonté du correcteur, qui ne s'est voulu ingerer de ragencer ce qui est passable'). The editors (and, in turn, readers) of the *contrafacta* volumes, in short, well recognized the generic (and moral) variety latent in Lassus' chosen texts, lyrics whose suitability for Protestant readers evidently depended upon the subject and language at hand.

Certain of the lewdest dialogues or stories that figure in the Lassus output, such as the anonymous *Fleur de quinze ans* or Clément Marot's *Un doux nenny* for instance, were subjected to heavy editorial correction on the part of Goulart and other Protestant censors, who supplied what amount to entirely new and independent texts that follow the prosody and form of the original lyrics. These are *contrafacta* in the boldest sense of the term, tailoring new texts to fit borrowed music.<sup>16</sup> Goulart's *Bonté divine*, for instance, pays only passing homage to the *chanson à boire* it replaces, transforming that hymn to the pleasures of drink ('O vin en vigne') into one in honor of divine providence ('Bonté divine'):

<p>(from <i>Les Meslanges</i> of 1576)</p> <p>O vin en vigne, Gentil joly vin en vigne,  Vignon vigna vigne sur vigne, Et dehet, dehet, dehet Et gentil joly vin en vigne.</p>	<p>(from Goulart's <i>Thrésor</i> of 1576)</p> <p>Bonté divine, vien et monstre sa puissance En m'otroiant de mes penchez prompte delivrance Gai je chanterai Et publierai ta grand' clemence.</p>
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<sup>15</sup> In the printer's words: 'Item parmi celles à cinq il y en a deux de Philippes de Monté, lesquelles se sont glissées sans que celui qui a corrigé la lettre, s'en soit apperceu qu'incontinent apres qu'elles ont este imprimées. Ces deux sont, *L'homme inconstant ne peut vaincre le monde*, et *Las! Je n'ai point victoire sur le monde*.'

<sup>16</sup> The texts of the various *contrafacta*, *Fleur de quinze ans*, and *Le doux nenny* appear in Horst Leuchtmann's excellent recent critical introduction to LASSO, SW, XII, second edition, pp. xcvi-xcix and cii-ciii.

O vin en grappe  
 elle s'avance.  
 Gentil joly vin en grappe,  
 Grapin grapa grappe sur grappe  
 Et dehet, dehet, dehet  
 Et gentil joly vin en grappe.

De toute ma mistere as tu pas  
 conoissance?  
 Monstre ta main, qu soudainement  
 Gai je chanterai  
 Qu'es maux tu es mon assurance.

*Quand mon mari*, the lament of a young wife physically abused by her old husband is similarly reworked as a story of marital devotion and domestic tranquility, although in this case the moral transformation is achieved with through language that preserves the phonetic qualities of the original rhyme, and much of the original syntax, too.

(from *Les Meslanges* of 1576)  
 Quand mon mary vient de dehors,  
 Ma rente est d'estre batue,  
 Il prend la cuillier du pot  
 A la teste il me la rue.

(from Goulart's *Thrésor* of 1576)  
 Quand l'homme honneste va dehors,  
 Sa femme n'est par la rue.  
 Ains à la besongne alors  
 Mesnagere elle se rue.

J'ay grand peur qu'il ne me tue,  
 C'est un faux villain jaloux,  
 C'est un villain rioteux  
 grommeleux:  
 Je suis jeune et il est vieux.

S'il revient ell' le salue,  
 Et fait acueil gracieux.  
 Il n'est villain, rioteux,  
 grommeleux  
 S'elle est jeune, et s'il est vieux.

Not every poem dealing with dubious moral themes, however, receives this sort of editorial attention. Lassus' setting of Clément Marot's *Monsieur l'abbé*, for instance, is taken over into the Protestant chansonniers unchanged, apparently because its overtly anti-clerical message was seen as suiting the political aims of the Huguenot struggle. Interestingly enough, one of the few collections of purified chansons intended for Catholic audiences, the *Premier livre des chansons a quatre et cinq parties [...] de nouveau plus correctement que cy devant imprimées et emendées* (Louvain: Pierre Phalèse, 1570), treats this text in an entirely different manner, replacing the errant 'Abbé' with a 'Maistre Robin'.<sup>17</sup>

Fortunately, relatively few of the chansons assembled in the *Meslanges* volumes of 1570 and 1576 are either so ribald or so propogandistic as the works just mentioned. Indeed, the moral terpitude of several of these chansons - among them some of the most moving and subtle of Lassus' entire production - seems to have been uncertain, even to the most sensitive Protestant reader's of his day. These works, unlike the racy narratives or flirtatious dialogues of questionable verse, dwell upon emotional themes and amorous conceits easily subordinated to the intensity of devotional poetry. Consider, as a summary

example, Lassus' four-voice setting of Ronsard's *Bon jour mon coeur*, certainly among the most celebrated of his lyrical chansons. First issued in 1564, it was reprinted in nearly two dozen chansonniers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>18</sup>

In this brief work, as in many of the master's lyrical chansons, there is a subtle union between text and tone, wherein the music, through its harmonies, phrasing, and rhythmic profile, represents in sound many of the syntactic, semantic, and affective qualities of the chosen poem. This chanson, like the text it sets, unfolds as a series of parallel statements, repetitions ('Bon jour mon coeur, bon jour ma douce vie'; subsequently 'Mon doux printems, ma douce fleur nouvelle'; and finally returning to 'Bon jour ma douce rebelle') that seem to add a rhetorical urgency to the voice of the poetic persona. Lassus doubtless

<sup>17</sup> For the contents of the 1570 print, see H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des Éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578*, Brussels, 1990, pp. 156-57. As Horst Leuchtman wisely counsels, the alternative reception of Lassus by Catholic and Protestant readers should be taken as a warning against the temptation to view the master exclusively as a composer allied with the cultural program of the Counter Reformation (see his remarks on this subject in the notes to LASSO, SW, XII, second edition, pp. lxxvi). Anti-clerical propaganda, after all, had long been a component of the large repertory of *timbres* and other monophonic *contrafacta* promoted by Calvinist thinkers as a means of securing solidarity among Huguenots, a kind of political protest song to complement the sacred Psalter. Henri Bordier's selection of material for his important modern edition of Protestant chanson texts, in fact, dwells rather disproportionately upon the political and inflammatory segments of that repertory of texts and tunes. See his *Le Chansonnier Protestant*, 2 vols, Paris, 1870 and HONEGGER, 1970, pp. 5-7. The problem, it should be added, is not to delineate Lassus' personal stance in relation to the theological or cultural debates that raged between Protestants and Catholics during the sixteenth century, but rather to discover the means by which one audience or another sought to enlist his music in the service what for them was a broader aim.

<sup>18</sup> Lassus' setting of *Bon jour mon coeur* first appeared in Phalèse's *Quatriesme livre des chansons à quatre et cinq parties nouvellement composées par Orlando di Lassus*. See VANHULST, 1990, p. 112. The other printed sources of Lassus' setting of this text are listed in Leuchtman's introduction to LASSO, SW, XII, second edition, pp. cxv-vi. A facsimile of the superius part of *Bon jour mon coeur* as it appears in the Gdansk chansonnier (Ms. 4030) long thought to have been a Lassus autograph can be seen in Sandberger's critical notes to LASSO, SW, XII, p. li. The same poem was also set by Philippe de Monte (a6, issued in his *Sonetz de P. de Ronsard* of 1575), by Jean de Castro (a3, issued in his *Livre de chansons*, also of 1575) and by Claude Goudimel (a4, first issued in Le Roy and Ballard's *Neufiesme livre de chansons* of 1559). For a modern edition of the de Monte setting, see J. BROOKS, *French Chanson Collections on the Texts of Pierre de Ronsard, 1570-1580*, Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1990, pp. 468-91. A modern edition of Goudimel's piece appears in his PIDOUX e.a. (ed.), *Claude Goudimel, Oeuvres complètes*, 14 vols, New York, 1974, XIII, pp. 35-36. These settings do not bear apparent musical resemblance to the one by Lassus.

Ronsard's poem was issued in two versions during the sixteenth century. Both share the same first strophe (the one set by Lassus), but the second stanza as issued in the *Nowvelle continuation des Amours* of 1556 and in the *Continuation des amours* of 1557 was apparently revised in the *Oeuvres* issued between 1560 and 1587. See P. LAUMONIER (ed.), *Ronsard, Oeuvres complètes*, 18 vols, Paris, 1934, VII, p. 247. It is impossible to tell which of these editions Lassus might have had at hand when he set *Bon jour mon coeur*. For listings of the other Ronsard poems in the musical production of Lassus and his contemporaries, see G. THIBAUT - L. PERCEAU, *Bibliographie des poésies de P. de Ronsard mises en musique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1941 and J.-P. OUVREARD *Le Sonnet ronsardien en musique: du Supplément de 1552 à 1580*, in *Revue de musicologie*, 74 (1988), pp. 163-64.

recognized the musical potential of a text founded so firmly in the reiteration of a few ideas. Each line of the first couplet is set to the same large musical gesture, a phrase, moreover, that pauses briefly after an initial homorhythmic opening in a way that at once acknowledges the division between the first and second hemistichs of countless French lyrics of the sixteenth century and helps to highlight the inner repetition of the greeting heard so often in this poem. Indeed, at the conclusion of the piece Lassus even manages to rework this austere beginning, with its succession of plagal-sounding harmonies (bars 1-2), as a convincing close: at the second repetition of the final line of verse (see bars 28-31), the melody now rises up to D and then returns by step to the B that began the composition, here supported by harmonies that emphasize rather than avoid the suggestion of an authentic cadence.

The medial phrases of the chanson reflect the formal design and the subtle rhetoric of Ronsard's poem in still other ways. The second tercet, like the opening couplet, depends closely upon the additive effect of parallel turns of phrase ('Mon doux printemps, ma douce fleur nouvelle') that at once recall the rhythmic profile of the initial verses (poetic caesura after the fourth syllable) and expand upon the metaphorical transformation of the beloved, originally figured as a kind of anatomical extension of the speaker ('coeur', 'douce vie', 'oeil', 'chere amie'), here as elements in the pastoral landscape ('printemps', 'fleur nouvelle', 'colombelle', 'passereau', 'gente tourterelle'). Lassus' response to this rich imagery is suitably restrained, but at times affective and mimetic: the first of these lines moves quickly through *durum* harmonies, touching briefly upon C-sharp and G-sharp (bars 17-18), whereas the ensuing verse dwells principally upon B-*mollum* (bars 20-21). The third line, with its gently animated polyphony and patter song, seems an apt representation of the sounds of the lark and dove mentioned in the poem (bars 23-24). Still more subtle is the treatment Lassus affords the first tercet (starting 'He! Bon jour'), where he underlines the syntactic interdependence of verses 4 and 5 by setting them as a single musical unit (bars 13-16). Here the agogic accent at 'Bon jour' (note also that it marks the melodic peak in this phrase for all voices) serves to emphasize the connection of that greeting with the ensuing line of verse (and with the signal verbal motif of the entire poem) and all but to ignore its place in the rhyme scheme (we hardly notice the connection between 'bon jour' and 'mon amour').<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> As, for instance, in Chapter 32 of Zarlino's *Institutioni harmoniche* of 1558: 'In qual maniera le Harmonie si accommodino alle soggette Parole'. For a facsimile of the treatise, see ZARLINO, *Institutioni harmoniche del Rev. messere Gioseffo Zarlino da Chioggia; nelle quali oltre le materie appartenenti alla musica; si trovano dichiarati molti luoghi di poeti, historici et di filosofi; si come nel leggerle si potrà chiaramente vedere*, Ridgewood, N.J., 1966, pp. 319ff. An English translation of the passage appears in ZARLINO, *On the Modes: Part Four of Le Istitutioni harmoniche, 1558*, transl. V. COHEN, New Haven, 1983, pp. 94ff.

## The Poem and its Contrafacta

Pierre de Ronsard, 'Bon jour mon coeur' as set by Lassus, along with contrafacta by Jean Pasquier (1575) and Simon Goulart (1576).

**Ronsard/Lassus**

Bon jour, mon coeur; bon jour, ma douce vie,  
 Bon jour, mon oeil; chere amie;  
     Hé! bon jour, ma tourterelle,  
     Ma mignardise, bon jour,  
     Mes delices, mon amour,  
 Mon doux printemps, fleur nouvelle,  
 Mon doux plaisir, ma douce colombelle,  
 Mon passereau, ma gente tourterelle;  
     Bon jour, ma douce rebelle.

**Pasquier**

Vive mon Dieu, a mon Seigneur soit gloire  
 Avoir je veux ses faits en la memoire,  
     Car il est ma forteresse,  
     Il a este mon sauveur  
     Me presentant sa faveur  
 En mes ennuis a luy seul je l'adresse  
 C'est mon recours quand je suis en tristesse  
 Au droit sentier mes pas conduit et dresse,  
     Dont l'exalteray sans cesse.

**Goulart**

Christ est mon Dieu, c'est mon heur et ma vie  
 Il me conduit, bon jour, ma me garde et vivifie.  
     Tous les jours sa voix tant belle  
     Doucement vient retenir  
     En mon coeur, et fait sentir  
 Sa grand' bonté d'une ma douce force nouvelle,  
 O doux plaisir de l'ame à Dieu fidele.  
 O ferme bien de la vie immortelle  
     Leve à toi mon coeur rebelle.

1

Superius  
 Bon jour mon coeur Bon jour ma dou - ce vi - e, Bon jour mon oeil

Contratenoir  
 Bon jour mon coeur Bon jour ma dou - ce vi - e, Bon jour mon oeil

Tenor  
 Bon jour mon coeur Bon ma dou vi - e, - Bon jour mon oeil

Bassus  
 Bon jour mon coeur Bon jour ma dou - ce vi - e, Bon jour mon oeil

S  
 Bon jour ma che - re\_a - mi - e, He bon jour ma tour - te - rel - le, Ma mi - gnar - di - se Bon

Cl  
 Bon jour ma che - re\_a - mi - e, He bon jour ma tour - te - rel - le, Ma mi - gnar - di - se Bon

T  
 Bon jour ma che - re\_a - mi - e, He bon jour ma tour - te - rel - le, Ma mi - gnar - di - se Bon

B  
 Bon jour ma che - re\_a - mi - e, He bon jour ma tour - te - rel - le, Ma mi - gnar - di - se Bon

S  
 jour mes de - li - ces mon a - mour, Mon doux prin - tems Ma dou - ce fleur nou - vel - le, Mon doux plai - sir Ma

Cl  
 jour mes de - li - ces mon a - mour, Mon doux prin - tems Ma dou - ce fleur nou - vel - le, Mon doux plai - sir Ma

T  
 jour mes de - li - ces mon a - mour, Mon doux prin - tems Ma dou - ce fleur nou - vel - le, Mon doux plai - sir Ma

B  
 jour mes de - li - ces mon a - mour, Mon doux prin - tems Ma dou - ce fleur nou - vel - le, Mon doux plai - sir Ma

21

S  
 dou - ce co - lom - bel - le, Mon pas - se - reau Ma gen - te tour - te - rel - le, Bon

Cl  
 dou - ce co - lom - bel - le, Mon pas - se - reau Ma gen - te tour - te - rel - le, Bon

T  
 dou - ce co - lom - bel - le, Mon pas - se - reau Ma gen - te tour - te - rel - le, Bon

B  
 dou - ce co - lom - bel - le, Mon pas - se - reau Ma gen - te tour - te - rel - le, Bon

S  
 C  
 T  
 B

jour ma dou - ce re - bel - le. Bon jour ma dou - ce re - bel - le.  
 jour ma dou - ce re - bel - le, Bon jour ma dou - ce re - bel - le.  
 jour ma dou - ce re - bel - le, Bon jour ma dou - ce re - bel - le.  
 jour ma dou - ce re - bel - le, Bon jour ma dou - ce re - bel - le.

Lassus, *Bon jour mon coeur*, from Le Roy et Ballard's *Mellange d'Orlande* (Paris, 1576)

Given the close an alliance between text and tone in *Bon jour mon coeur*, it would at first seem to a modern reader that any attempt to make a spiritual *contrafactum* of this chanson would inevitably fall short of the mark. Of course there is good reason to question the presumption that purely aesthetic criteria were paramount to the sixteenth-century musicians who undertook to create such *contrafacta*. But the purified versions of this chanson reveal that the problem of purification is rather more complex than we might initially suppose, for in two emended versions of *Bon jour mon coeur* (one from Jean Pasquier's *Mellange* of 1575 and another from Simon Goulart's *Thrésor* of 1576) we may discover both the promise and the peril of the process of purification.<sup>20</sup> Each of the spiritual versions, of course, redirects poetry to the contemplation of the divine: faith supplants the flora and fauna of Ronsard's lyrics. In so doing, Pasquier and Goulart alike seem to have been careful to preserve the general form of Ronsard's poetry, with its elegant succession of differing combinations of line lengths and rhymes. To have managed less than this, after all, would have required changing Lassus' music in substantial ways. This was clearly not the aim of the editors, who sought only to correct 'la lettre' while preserving the power of his 'divins accords' for a morally suitable purpose.

The *contrafacta* offered by Pasquier and Goulart nevertheless tailor themselves to Lassus' music in surprisingly different ways. There is a vague echo of the repetitive rhetoric of Ronsard's opening line in the first verse of Pasquier's poem ('Vive mon Dieu, a mon Seigneur') but in general this *contrafactum* altogether avoids modelling itself too closely on the imagery and iterative syntax

<sup>20</sup> The second edition of Goulart's *Thrésor* conspicuously includes purified renditions of several of Lassus' Ronsard settings, works drawn from prints other than the *Meslanges* of 1576 upon which the Goulart print otherwise largely depends. That Ronsard's poetry itself would have been subjected to purification by Protestant editors is perhaps in keeping with the trepidation and even outright hostility with which his works were received in Protestant literary circles. See J. PINEAUX, *La Polémique protestante contre Ronsard*, Paris, 1973.

of the original lyrics, often at the expense of the close alliance between text and tone that was so evident in Lassus' setting of the poem. The composer's treatment of verses 4 and 5 in the Ronsard text, it will be recalled, highlighted the subtle syntactic enjambement of those lines and the rhetorical echo of the opening of the poem. Pasquier's includes neither the enjambement nor the echo, an absence that makes Lassus' agogic accent seem curiously misplaced.

Goulart's poem, although it shares the devotional aim of Pasquier's lyric, seems much more closely modeled upon the syntax, rhetoric, and even sound of Ronsard's poem, with the result that many of the musical gestures that Lassus tailored to fit the character and language of the original verse suit the new words, too. Like Ronsard (and unlike Pasquier), Goulart joins lines 4 and 5 as a single syntactic unit ('Doucement vient retenir / en mon coeur') that Lassus' long musical gesture and agogic stress serve well to reflect. The second tercet of Goulart's poem likewise joins itself with surprising ease to the succession of contrasting harmonic gestures that Lassus crafted for the second tercet of Ronsard's lyric. 'D'une force nouvelle', for instance, seems aptly embodied in the shift to C-sharp and G-sharp, while the B-flats of the ensuing phrase suggest the comparatively 'doux plaisir' of a faithful and pious heart (bars 17-21). Goulart's chosen end-rhymes, too, are at times the same as those of the original. The reuse, for example, of the subtle word-play between line 3 and the concluding line of the poem ('belle' / 'rebelle') seems at the very center of his *contrafactum*, in which the poetic persona addresses not the beloved, but his own 'coeur rebelle,' admonishing himself to remember the divine voice 'tant belle.' That this final gesture should be set to music that itself recalls the very opening lines of the chanson ('Christ est mon Dieu') helps to enact in sound precisely the process of recollection proposed by the verbal text. Goulart's *contrafactum*, in sum, departs in some significant ways from the aesthetic object as Lassus intended it. But the preservation of authorial intent was not the aim of the purification volumes, which were instead self-conscious attempts to convert these artistic offerings to suit the purposes of private devotion.<sup>21</sup>

For Jean de Léry, as for many of his Protestant contemporaries, there could be no certain truth, indeed no secure knowledge whatsoever, without the fixative of a written text. The contingency of oral traditions, and by implication the variability of musical performance, were simply not to be trusted as instruments of a moral civilization. For musicians of the sixteenth century, too, the written

<sup>21</sup> On the transformation of attitudes about memorized oral repetition and silent private reading during the years around 1500, see P. SAENGER, *Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages*, in R. CHARTIER (ed.), *The Culture of Print. Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, transl. L.G. COCHRANE, Oxford, 1989, pp. 141-73. The case of musical readers is naturally even more complex than that of meditative ones, since the musical notation is at once an object (in print or manuscript) and a means to a kind of collective reading. Private study from a score in the modern sense of the word is simply not an option with sets of partbooks.

text - and above all the printed page - came to have a singular and authoritative mandate over the sounding object it helped to proscribe. It was during this period, after all, that text underlay gradually ceased to be largely an aspect of performance practice and became instead part of the compositional process. This development was accompanied by a number of related changes, whereby routines of performance (not only text underlay, but also ornamentation and the application of accidentals) were increasingly assimilated to the art object itself. And it can hardly be coincidental that each of these assimilative processes, in which an interpretive action was translated into an aesthetic form, took place at a time when musicians were becoming increasingly concerned with the power of music to express the rhetorical, semantic, and emotional content of the literary texts they set. Emerging by the mid 16th century as the chief arbiter of musical taste, the printing press offered composers both a vast new musical readership and the technical means to control in exacting ways the union of words and tones. Saving the 'divins accords' of Lassus for what they considered a higher moral purpose, the purification volumes highlight these transformations in a particularly focussed way. They reveal, of course, the care with which Lassus crafted his music to the sense and meaning of his chosen texts. But these books also give ample proof of the profound significance that his music held for an age acutely concerned with the persuasive power of the printed page.

#### APPENDIX 1

Simon Goulart's preface to the *Thrésor de Musique d'Orlande contenant ses chansons à quatre, cinq et six parties*, [Geneva], 1576.

A Philippe de Pas, Gentilhomme françois,  
S[imon] G[oulart] S[enlis]

Monsieur, il y a long temps que je vous ay ouy desirer ce que je vous presente maintenant: asavoir, Les chansons d'Orlande de Lassus, tellement changées, qu'on les peust chanter de la voix et sur les Instruments, sans souiller les langues ni offenser les oreilles Chrestiennes. Et pource que vous m'exhortastes d'y mettre la main, je prins vostre desir comme pour commandement: et selon que la fantasie me prenoit, je changeay en quelques unes ce qui me sembloit devoir estre osté. Depuis, ceste entreprise demeura comme ensevelie, à cause des terribles changemens que nous avons veus. Et comme je pensois laisser là tout, un de mes Amis m'envoia ceste Musique d'Orlande accommodée à une lettre spirituelles: ce qu'ayant veu, je reprins courage pour agencer ce que j'en avois commencé: en telle sorte neantmoins que ce qui m'en a esté envoié par cest Ami, avec les livres qui on esté imprimez en Angleterre, m'a reclusé de peine en divers endroits. L'ordre que j'ai tenu, a esté tel. La Lettre accommodée à la Musique d'Orlande imprimée à Paris et à Louvain, estoit soïte, lascive et profane, presque en toutes les chansons. En ostant quelques mots ou plusieurs, et les accommodant (au moins mal qu'il m'a esté possible) à la Musique, j'ai rendu ces chansons honnestes, et Chrestiennes pour la pluspart. Quelques unes sont restées plus gayer (peut estre) qu'aucuns ne desireroient: mais je pense qu'il n'y aura rien qui puisse offenser les gens de bien. Je ne doute point que plusieurs ne se plaignent que la Musique aura perdu sa grace, d'autant que Orlande l'avoit appropriée à la lettre, enquoi il est excellent (comme en tout ce qui est de ceste science liberale) pardessus tous les Musiciens de nostre temps mais je m'asseure que ceste plainte

ne partira jamais que de la bouche de ceux dont le coeur est souillé de ces puantises et lascivetez, que beaucoup de poetes François ont semées pou infecter le monde. Or je pren plaisir à desplaire à telles gens: et si ces livres les faschent (comme j'en suis bien content) qu'ils achevent de se corrompre du tout par leur vilaine musique. Il seroit bien à desirer qu'Orlande emploïast ces graces dont le S. Esprit l'a orné par dessus tous, à reconoistre et magnifier celui de qui il les tient, comme il l'a fait en quelques Motets et Pseaumes Latins: et je desire grandement que ces chansons lui en puissent donner la volonte: à fin que nous aions une chaste Musique Française. Ce pendant, jouisse de ceste ci, qui pourra estre mieux changée par quelques autres ci apres: car il s'en faut beaucoup que j'aie rendu l'oeuvre accompli, comme j'eusse bien voulu. Au reste, si lon estime ce temps lein de troubles, n'estre encor du tout propres pour mettre ceci en lumiere: et qu'il faudroit plustost pleurer que chanter: je respndrai qu'il n'est point defendu aux gens de bien, de s'esiouir en Dieu avec honneste moderation, pour adoucir aucunement leurs ennuis comme de ma part j'ai trouvé en la Musique, d'Orlande specialement, des remedes souverains contre diverses blesseures de l'ame. D'entrer ici es louanges de la Musique, et d'Orlande aussi, ce seroit mal à propos et me pourroit on bien mettres au devant ce qu'Antalcidas respondit à quelqu'un qui vouloit louer Hercules, Et que est-ce (dit-il) qui le blasme? Qui est celui aussi, tant rude et barbare soit-il, qui n'ait l'ame picquée et comme tirée doucement du corps par les accords melodieux d'une si belle Musique que celle d'Orlande? A l'espreuve on orra si je di vrai ou non. Pourtant, Monsieur, vous recevrez de bon oeil ce present: et s'il vous contente-il me chaut bien peu du jugement qu'en seront les envieux. Et si les gens modestes et vertueux m'en savent gré, j'en serai bien aise: car j'en aurai du tout perdu mon temps en desirant leur complaire.

## APPENDIX 2

Jean Pasquier's dedication to the *Mellange d'orlande de Lassus Contenant plusieurs chansons, à Quatre parties Desquelles la lettre profane à este changée en spirituelle*, La Rochelle, 1575.

A TRES HAUTE, Trespuissante et vertueuse dame Catherine de Partenay dame de Rohan.

Madame, Apres m'estre retiré en ce lieu, pour me sauver des miserés et calamitez de ce temps tres difficile et dangereux, de peur que ne fusse trouvé oysif et inutile en l'église de Dieu, Je me delibéray y faire profession de la Musique: offrant à mes freres l'usage du petit talent que le Seigneur m'arroit commis, pour le faire profiter à mon possible. Et pource qu'entre tous les Musiciens de notre siecle. [this period should perhaps be open parenth?] Orlande de lassus semble et a bon droit) devoir tenir quelque bon lieu, pour l'excellence et admirable douceur de sa Musique: Voyant icelle neantmoins employée à des chansons si profanes, si sales, et impudiques, que les oreilles chastes et chrestiennes en ont horreur: J'ay pensé que je ferois devoir de Chrestien, si repurgeant ces tresgratieux et plaisans accords de tant de vilénies et ordures, dont ilz estoyent tous souillez, Je les remettois sur leur vray et naturel sujet, qui est de chanter la puissance, sagesse et bonté de L'eternel. Ayant donc sollicité aucuns de mes amis et emprunté d'eux quelques Cantiques de tel argument, au lieu de ces lascivetez et vaines resveries, Je les ay accommodés à la musique: voire tellement que l'harmonie de la voix respond à l'affection de la parole, autant que faire se peut. Or Madame pource que entre plusieurs excellens dons, desquelz la divine bonté vous a liberalment enrichie, vous estes ornée de ceste douce, et plaisante discipline et y prenez (comme je scay) grande et singuliere delectation: J'ay bien voulu et ay deu vous presenter ceste petite reformation, afin qu'estant recommandé de vostre excellence, elle induyse la Jeunesse de nostre Eglise à s'y exercer plus volontier, et puisse aussy en general donner quelque rafraichissement aux pauvres ames chrestiennes comme alterées de tant d'afflictions dont nous sommes exercez de tous costez.

Madame Je prie Dieu augmenter de ses Graces vostre Excellence et grandeur, et vous maintenir en toute prosperité et santé. A la Rochelle Ce 20. Octobre, 1575.

De vostre excellence le treshumble et obeissant serviteur.  
Pasquier

## IVO DE VENTO (CA. 1543/45-1575)

### Organist en componist in de kapel van Orlandus Lassus

*August de Grootte*

In de jaren dat de geschiedenis van de Beierse hofkapel in München haar absolute toppunt bereikt en de roem van haar kapelmeester Orlandus Lassus zich over heel Europa verspreidt, meer bepaald tussen 1569 en 1575, worden bij de Münchense hofdrukker Adam Berg de Duitse liederen en motetten van Ivo de Vento gedrukt.

De carrière van deze op 30- of 32-jarige leeftijd gestorven componist en organist is net als die van Orlandus Lassus bijzonder hecht verbonden met het Beierse hof. Net zoals Orlandus Lassus reist de kapelknaap Ivo de Vento eind 1556 vanuit Antwerpen af naar München. Op dat moment is de hofkapel in volle expansie en reorganisatie en zijn verscheidene vooraanstaande personaliteiten zoals Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Johann Jakob Fugger en Georg Sigmund Seld, keizerlijk vice-kanselier in Brussel, in de Nederlanden op zoek naar goede zangers voor de kapel van hertog Albrecht V.<sup>1</sup> Net zoals Orlandus Lassus zal Ivo de Vento van dan af ononderbroken tot aan zijn dood blijven werken onder het milde patronaat van Albrecht V en diens opvolger, Wilhelm. De *Hofzahlamtsrechnungen*, betaalstaten van de hofhouding van de Wittelsbachers, zijn nagenoeg de enige archiefbronnen die ons iets over deze componist vertellen. De nog vage gestalte van de jonge Ivo de Vento zien we er voor het eerst opdagen als die van koorknaap in de hofkapel. Dat hij vermoedelijk eind 1556 of begin 1557 vanuit Antwerpen naar München kwam, kunnen we afleiden uit een passage in de *Libri antiquitatum* van het Allgemeines Staatsarchiv: we weten dat de 'alte Yuo de Vento' betaald werd voor de diensten van zijn zoon over een periode van drie jaar en dat hij het laatste deel van deze betaling ontving in Antwerpen op 8 september 1559.

Ad 18 Juni fl. 14 kr. 45. Sovil hat man zu Antorff von Jr. F(ür)stl(ichen) Gn(aden) wegen dem alten Yuo de Vento auff 8. Septembris anno 59 zalt, Ist der Rest der Bewilligung, so Ir Fstl. Gn. drey Jar lang gemeltem Juo de Vento von seins Suns wegen bewilligt hat, Nemblich jedes Jar 4. thuet drey Jar  $\Delta$ 12.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In de onuitgegeven correspondentie van Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517-1586) vindt Ignace Bossuyt het bewijs dat Lassus in het laatste kwartaal van 1556 zijn intrede deed in de hofkapel van Albrecht V en dat zowel Granvelle als diens vriend Johann Jakob Fugger daarbij als bemiddelaars optraden.

I. BOSSUYT, *Lassos erste Jahre in München (1556-1559): eine "cosa non riuscita"?*, in HÖRNER - SCHMID, (ed.), 1993, p. 56-58.

<sup>2</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, afdeling 1, Allgemeines Staatsarchiv (AStA), *Libri Antiquitatum*, dl. 6, fol. 1v.

Dat 'dem alten Yuo de Vento' op dat ogenblik in Antwerpen verblijft, biedt echter geen zekerheid omtrent de herkomst van de familie. De Vento liet in de Scheldestad immers geen sporen na.<sup>3</sup> Het predikaat 'Nid[er]lend[er]' dat hem in de *Steuerbücher* van de stad München wordt toegewezen, bevestigt nochtans de veronderstelling dat hij zijn kinderjaren in Antwerpen doorbracht.<sup>4</sup> Na vier jaar werd de begaafde knaap naar Venetië gestuurd voor een opleiding tot organist. Op 17 oktober 1560 vermelden de *Libri Antiquitatum*, dl. 6, fol. 1v een uitgave van 'fl.22 kr 22. Sovil ist von wegen des Jungen Juo de Vento, als man Ine gen Venedig gesandt ausgeben worden.'

Onze tot dusver gemaakte vaststellingen betreffende de Vento's jeugd en opleidingstijd leiden nog tot een conclusie omtrent zijn geboortedatum. Uit het gegeven dat hij als knaap tussen september 1559 en oktober 1560, waarschijnlijk kort na zijn stemmutatie de kapel verliet, kan men afleiden dat Ivo de Vento ca. 1543-1545 geboren werd.

Dat hij in Italië wordt opgeleid is niet verwonderlijk, want aan alle grote Duitse hoven en ook in Zuid-Beieren waren vanaf het midden van de zestiende eeuw de Italiaanse instrumentalisten bijzonder gegeerd. Vier jaar later, in 1564, brengt de Vento als één van de eersten de Italiaanse orgelmuziek naar München.<sup>5</sup> Andrea en Giovanni Gabrieli, Francesco en Gioseffo Guami, Giovanni Battista Morsselino, Mosto, Rossetti, Ascanio, Mossato: al deze Italiaanse organisten treffen we voor korte of langere tijd in München aan.<sup>6</sup>

In de jaren 1568-1569 neemt de Vento tijdelijk het kapelmeesterschap waar aan het hof in Landshut, de residentie van de pas gehuwde kroonprins Wilhelm.<sup>7</sup> Eén van de knapen die hij er onder zijn hoede heeft, is Leonhard Lechner (ca.

<sup>3</sup> De naam 'de Vento' komt in deze tijd in Antwerpen niet voor en er is ook geen enkele aanwijzing dat de families 'De Win(d)er' die in de Antwerpse poortersboeken opduiken, of de Mechelse organist Paul Van Winde (†1598), verwanten zouden zijn. Speculaties over een Spaanse, Genuese of Provençaalse afkomst, zoals we die vinden bij François-Joseph Fétis, Kurt Huber en Helmut Osthoff, zijn ongegrond. Enkel in het bestaan van een Genuese kolonie in Antwerpen en in de contacten tussen Orlandus Lassus en Stefano Gentile, Consul van de Genuese Natie (1555-1556) in Antwerpen, vinden we enige motivatie voor de stelling dat de Vento zou stammen uit een Genuese immigrantenfamilie in Antwerpen, die in de Scheldestad kennelijk geen sporen naliet.

art. *Vento, Ivo De*, in F.J. FÉTIS, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, dl. 8, 2e uitg., Parijs, 1865, p. 317.

K. HUBER, *Ivo de Vento (ca.1540-1575). Inaugural-Dissertation*, Lindenbergl. i. Allgäu, 1918, p. 36.

H. OSTHOFF, *Die Niederländer und das deutsche Lied (1400-1640)*, Tutzing, 1967 (= 1938), p. 244.

<sup>4</sup> Stadtarchiv München, *Steuerbücher*, 1565 fol. 58.

<sup>5</sup> Staatsarchiv München, *Hofzahlamtsrechnungen* (HZR) 1564 fol. 134, vermeldt Ivo de Vento voor het eerst in de functie van organist.

<sup>6</sup> H. LEUCHTMANN, *Organisten und Orgelbauer in ihrer Beziehung zum bayerischen Herzogshof 1550-1600*, in *Acta Organologica*, 6 (1972), p. 101, p. 105-107.

<sup>7</sup> HZR 1568 fol. 267a, fol. 432-433a.

Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München, afdeling 3, Geheimes Hausarchiv (GHA), *Korrespondenzakten*, 597/V fol. 29.

1553-1606), die later in de Sankt-Lorenzkirche in Neurenberg, in Hechingen en in Stuttgart zou werken. De kapel op de Burg Trausnitz in Landshut was een filiaal van de hertogelijke kapel en werd door de Münchense muzikanten bediend. Als de *Hofzahlamtsrechnungen* de organist de Vento in 1569 weer in München signaleren, staat Anton Gosswin in Landshut als kapelmeester opgetekend.<sup>8</sup> De precieze reden voor die vervanging is onbekend maar moet, gezien het vlotte heen en weer reizen van de musici tussen Landshut en München en gezien de ongewijzigde bezoldiging van de Vento, niet geïnterpreteerd worden in termen van degradatie of promotie. Menselijke omstandigheden zoals Lassus' persoonlijke voorkeur voor Gosswin of de Vento's gebrek aan autoriteit om de groeiende problemen in Landshut het hoofd te bieden<sup>9</sup> kunnen een rol gespeeld hebben, maar met dit soort veronderstellingen willen we toch bijzonder voorzichtig omspringen. Wellicht ligt de verklaring in het eenvoudige feit dat men de Vento als organist nodig had. Nog geen jaar na de Vento's vertrek uit Landshut, in 1570, moet Wilhelm zijn kapel trouwens om budgettaire redenen ontbinden.

In regelmatige dienst van de hertog ontvangt de organist de Vento van 1570 tot 1574 jaarlijks 180 fl., de normale bezoldiging voor deze positie. Extra financiële voordelen die daaraan werden toegevoegd, wijzen er toch wel op dat de jonge musicus door zijn werkgever gewaardeerd werd. De gelijktijdige tewerkstelling van drie organisten tussen 1568 en 1572, was voor München een uitzonderlijke situatie. In deze periode bedienden Gioseffo Guami (ca. 1544 - ca. 1611), Giovanni Battista Morsselino (Cremonese) (†1591) en Ivo de Vento samen de beide residenties van de Beierse hertogen: de Sint-Laurentiuskerk in het Alte Hof en de intiemere Sankt-Georgskapel in de Neuveste.

Op 3 september 1575 tekent Alexander Secundus Fugger (1546-1612), zoon van Johann Jacob Fugger en proost van het domkapittel te Freising, het overlijden van Ivo de Vento op in zijn dagboek.<sup>10</sup>

Zo kwam er een vroegtijdig einde aan een blijkbaar zorgvuldig geplande en vruchtbare carrière, die dank zij het mecenaat van de Wittelsbachers gekenmerkt was door een opvallende geografische stabiliteit en materiële zekerheid. Een zoon van Ivo de Vento, Ferdinando de Venndo (Fento, Defendo) was aanvankelijk verbonden aan het Münchense hof. Op 1 oktober 1599 werd hij als hoftrumpettist opgenomen in de kapel van aartshertog Ferdinand (1564-1619)

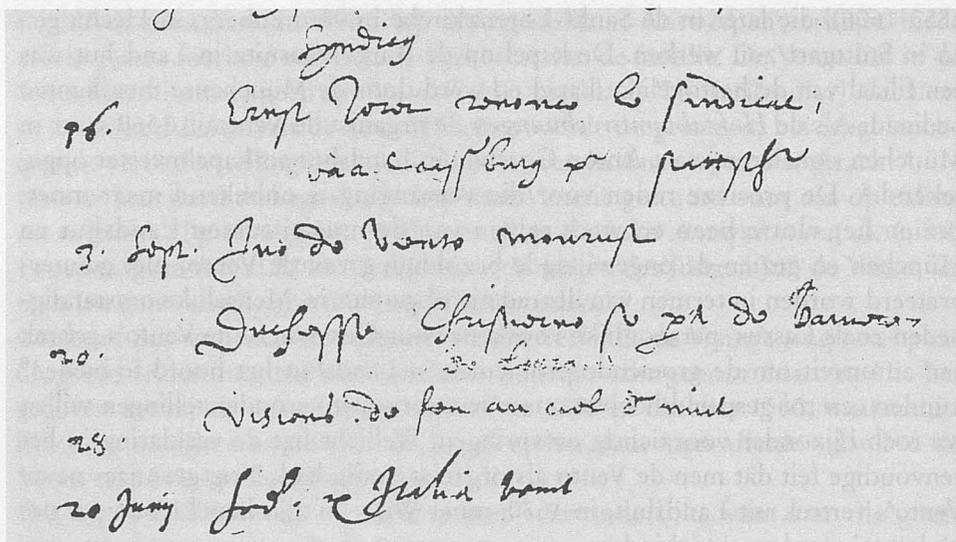
<sup>8</sup> HZR 1569 fol. 455 en 456a.

<sup>9</sup> Zie hierover P. RÖCKL, *Das Musikleben am Hofe Wilhelms V. auf der Burg Trausnitz von 1568-1579*, in *Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins für Niederbayern*, 99, Landshut, 1973, p. 95, p. 100-101.

<sup>10</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, p. 218.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Handschriftenabteilung, Cgm 3116.

Dit handschrift werd lange tijd verkeerdelijk aangezien als 'Freijherrn's Hans Jacob von Lamberg Einschreibbuch'.



1. Dagboek Freisinger Dompropster Alexander Secundus Fugger (München: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Germ. 3116).

te Graz. We weten dat hij behoorde tot het gezelschap van twintig musici dat de aartshertog naar Wenen vergezelde voor het huwelijksfeest van koning Matthias en dat hij op het einde van zijn leven in dienst was bij keizer Ferdinand II te Wenen. Hij had zeven kinderen en overleed op 24 november 1623.<sup>11</sup>

In de elf jaren die liggen tussen zijn terugkeer uit Venetië en zijn dood in 1575, schreef Ivo de Vento 109 Duitse liederen, 75 motetten, drie of vier missen, een litanie, een *Te Deum*, een prozomotet en enkele madrigalen en chansons. Van de zes liedbundels kenden er drie één of meerdere herdrukken. De vijf motettenbundels werden niet herdrukt, de missen zijn alleen in handschriften bewaard.

Uitgebreid onderzoek in talrijke gedrukte bronnen, koorboeken, tabulaturen, *Messkatalogen*, muziektheoretische werken en inventarissen van kerken, scholen en bibliotheken, heeft aangetoond dat dit oeuvre tijdens het korte leven van de Vento en tot in de eerste decennia van de zeventiende eeuw een vrij ruime verspreiding vond, vooral dan in de Duitssprekende gebieden. Tot 1642 kan ik zijn composities nasporen in steden als Augsburg, Regensburg, Neurenberg, Wertheim, Aschaffenburg, Hechingen, Freising, Leipzig, Berlijn, Keulen, Lüneburg, Stuttgart, Innsbruck, Straatsburg, Gmunden, Dresden, Breslau,

<sup>11</sup> H. FEDERHOFER, *Musikpflege und Musiker am Grazer Habsburgerhof der Erzherzöge Karl und Ferdinand von Innerösterreich (1564-1619)*, Mainz, 1967, p. 36-37, p. 226.

maar ook in Venetië en zelfs in Norfolk en Stockholm.

Deze bronnenstudie brengt me ertoe een correctie aan te brengen op het thans nog algemeen aanvaarde idee dat Ivo de Vento in zijn tijd hoofdzakelijk door zijn Duitse liederen bekendheid genoot. Weliswaar kenden de motettenbundels in tegenstelling tot de Duitse liederen geen herdrukken, maar er zijn in de handschriftelijke bronnen die dateren van de late zestiende en vroege zeventiende eeuw dubbel zoveel motetten (50) als Duitse liederen (25) bewaard.

Aan deze louter kwantitatieve vaststelling moeten we vanzelfsprekend geen absoluut belang hechten, maar ze kan een ondersteuning vormen voor een tweede, belangrijker reden waarom ik zou willen pleiten voor een 'opwaardering' van de geestelijke werken van Ivo de Vento, naast de Duitse liederen. Deze tweede motivatie is te vinden in de maatschappelijke rol van de componist en de sociale functie van zijn werken.

De Vento was immers in de eerste plaats hoforganist. Zoals de zanger Massimo Troiano in zijn verslag van het huwelijk van Wilhelm V in 1568 getuigt<sup>12</sup>, hield hertog Albrecht ervan om dagelijks nieuwe werken van zijn hofmusici te beluisteren. Het lichtere en ontspannende genre van de Duitse liederen en de Italiaanse villanellen viel evenzeer in zijn smaak als de ernstige, geestelijke muziek waarmee de dagelijks erediensten werden opgeluisterd of de plechtstatige staats- en huldingmotetten die belangrijke gebeurtenissen en ontvangsten meer luister moesten geven. Het geestelijke en het profane oeuvre moeten we als twee evenwaardige aspecten van Ivo de Vento's opdracht als hofmusicus beschouwen.

Naast deze officiële werkzaamheid aan het hof zien we de Vento zijn muziek nog op een andere markt aan de man brengen: die van de katholieke en protestantse eredienst in naburige kerken, kloosters en scholen. Als hij bij voorbeeld in 1574 zijn *Mutetae aliquot sacrae* opdraagt aan Ludwig Schrenck, één van de kapittelheren van Freising, mogen we dit ongetwijfeld interpreteren als een poging om zichzelf aan te bevelen bij deze geestelijke met grote invloed op de muziekbeoefening in zijn stad. Verscheidene inventarissen bevestigen dat zijn missen en motetten in de gymnasia en de kerken van Neurenberg, Regensburg, Freising en Augsburg, aan het hof in Stuttgart en op talrijke andere plaatsen werden uitgevoerd en gewaardeerd omwille van hun liturgische en pedagogische bruikbaarheid.

Een derde afzetmarkt vond Ivo de Vento bij de nieuwe burgerij, die gretig op zoek was naar volkse en terzelfder tijd 'kunstige' muziek, en die ook bewonderenswaardige inspanningen deed om de muziekpraktijk in haar kerken en gymnasia te verrijken. Illustratief voor deze nieuwe vorm van muziekbeleving is het in 1571 in Neurenberg opgerichte Sodalitium musicum. De leden van dit muziekgezelschap, allen patriciërs en raadsleden, gaven ook buiten de beperkte kring van hun huiska-

<sup>12</sup> M. TROIANO, *Discorsi delli triomfi, giostri, apparati, é delle cose piu notabili fatte nelle sontuose nozze dell' Illustrissimo e Excellentissimo Signor Duca Guglielmo [...] nell' Anno 1568 a 22 di Febraro [...]*, München, 1568.

mers uiting aan hun enthousiasme voor de muziek. Gezien hun vooraanstaande functies in het stadsbestuur konden zij ook de liturgische muziek gunstig beïnvloeden. In deze context kon de 'Kirchenpfleger' Hieronymus Baumgartner, één van de leden van het Sodalitium musicum, niemand minder dan Leonhard Lechner aantrekken voor een leraarsambt aan de Sankt Lorenz. We kunnen vermoeden dat Orlandus Lassus en Ivo de Vento, voormalig kapelmeester van Lechner, de componist bij die gelegenheid hebben aanbevolen.<sup>13</sup>

Even opmerkelijk als interessant in dit verband, is de Vento's laatste bundel met motetten, eigenlijk een viertalendruk die in 1575 opgedragen werd aan enkele leden van de stadsraad van Neurenberg, allen verbonden aan het Sodalitium musicum. Opmerkelijk, omdat dit één van de eerste bundels is die niet aan de raad in haar geheel is opgedragen. Voor elk van de magistraten en rechtsgeleerden die in de opdracht voorkomen, koos de componist een aangepast werk: een motet, een chanson, een Duits lied, een madrigaal. De nieuwe renaissancegeest en het individualisme waarvan een dergelijke opdracht getuigt, zullen zich ook op het muzikale vlak manifesteren. Voorlopig wijzen we alleen op de Vento's uitdrukkelijke inspanningen om de belangstelling van Neurenbergs burgerij voor zijn oeuvre levendig te houden. Ook op dit maatschappelijke werkterrein is hij erin geslaagd om naast zijn Duitse liederen ook zijn motetten onder de aandacht te brengen.

Wie interesse heeft voor Orlandus Lassus en zijn onmiddellijke omgeving in München, zal zich verbazen over de tot op heden gebrekkige studie van Ivo de Vento. Zowel op bio- als op bibliografisch vlak is er geen enkele recente monografie die deze componist behandelt en de bestaande literatuur is op zijn minst onvolledig en vaak ook erg onnauwkeurig.

Voor een gedeelte is dit natuurlijk te wijten aan een gebrekkige overlevering. Net zoals Alexander Utendal, Cornelius Canis, Anton Gosswin, Ludwig Daser en Jacob Buus, componeerde Ivo de Vento zijn motetten op een ogenblik dat het genre reeds over zijn bloeiperiode heen was en dat de muzikale smaak door de opkomst van de monodie en de concerterende stijl grondige veranderingen onderging. Voegen we daarbij Ivo de Vento's toch sterk behoudsgezinde schrijfwijze en conservatieve stellingname tegenover bijvoorbeeld de woordexpressie, dan verklaart dit mede de toch maar matige aandacht die toenmalige theoretici voor de Vento opbrengen: zijn naam valt alleen bij Joachim Burmeister, Christophorus Praetorius en Michael Praetorius<sup>14</sup> maar

<sup>13</sup> B.R. BUTLER, *Liturgical Music in Sixteenth-Century Nürnberg. A Socio-Musical Study*, onuitg. doctoraatsverhandeling, 2 dln., Illinois, 1970, p. 573-587.

<sup>14</sup> J. J. BURMEISTER, *Musica poetica*, Rostock, 1606, facsimile-uitg. door M. RUHNKE, (*Documenta musicologica*, 1e reeks, *Druckschriften-Faksimiles*, 10), Kassel - Bazel, 1955, p. 74-75.  
C. PRAETORIUS, *Erotemata musices in usum scholae lunaeburgensis*, Wittemberg, 1574.  
M. PRAETORIUS, *Syntagma musicum*, dl. 3, *Termini musici*, Wolfenbüttel, 1619, facsimile-uitg. door W. GURLITT, (*Documenta musicologica*, 1e reeks, *Druckschriften - Faksimiles*, dl. 15), Kassel - Bazel, 1958, p. 6.

niet bij Magirus, Roggius, Calvisius, Gumpelzhaimer, Raselius en talrijke anderen.

In de zestiende eeuw werden zijn composities nog regelmatig bewerkt in orgel- en luittabulaturen, maar in de zeventiende eeuw staat de belangstelling op een zéér laag pitje, behalve in steden als München, Freising en Augsburg.

Wanneer gedurende meer dan een eeuw nagenoeg alle bio-bibliografische en muziektheoretische werken zwijgen over Ivo de Vento, dan ligt het voor de hand dat het in de achttiende eeuw moeilijk zal worden om de draad opnieuw op te nemen met enigszins volledige of exacte gegevens. In 1732 wordt de Vento 'herontdekt' door Johann Gottfried Walther<sup>15</sup>, die zich baseert op de oude bibliografische werken van Conrad Gesner en Georg Draudius.<sup>16</sup> Hij wordt gevolgd door J.H. Zedler<sup>17</sup> en nog later door F.J. Lipowsky.<sup>18</sup>

De nieuwe belangstelling voor de oude muziek vanaf het midden van de negentiende eeuw, stimuleert de studie van de archivalische gegevens en van de oude biografische en bibliografische informatiebronnen. De eerste moderne partituren van motetcomposities van de Vento vinden we in de bibliotheken van Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, Carl Proske, Fortunato Santini en Anton Friedrich Justus Thibaut. Zoals voor vele andere Vlaamse polyfonisten is onze huidige kennis van Ivo de Vento dus ook schatplichtig aan het negentiende-eeuwse Caecilianisme.

Tegen de eeuwwisseling worden heel wat verzamelingen toebehorend aan kerken, kloosters en steden, wetenschappers en adellijke families, publieke en openbare bibliotheken ontsloten in gedegen wetenschappelijke bijdragen, onder andere in de *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*. Robert Eitner reikt enkele biografische gegevens aan en signaleert als eerste weer alle motetten-uitgaven.<sup>19</sup>

In 1918 brengt Kurt Huber (1893-1943) in zijn doctoraatsverhandeling<sup>20</sup> opheldering in enkele biografische problemen zoals het onderscheid tussen Ivo

<sup>15</sup> art. *Vento (Ivo de)*, in J.G. WALTHER, *Musicalisches Lexicon; oder musicalische Bibliothec [...]*, Leipzig, 1732, facsimile-uitg. door R. SCHAAL, (*Documenta musicologica*, 1e reeks, *Druckschriften und Faksimiles*, Bazel, 1953, p. 629.

<sup>16</sup> C. GESNER, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum [...]*, Zürich, 1574. ID., *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta, primum [...]*, Zürich, 1583. G. DRAUDIUS, *Bibliotheca exotica [...]*, Frankfurt, 1610. ID., *Bibliotheca classica [...]*, Frankfurt, 1611. ID., *Bibliotheca Librorum Germanicorum classica [...]*, 1611, facsimile-uitg. door K. AMELN, Bonn, 1957.

<sup>17</sup> art. *Vento, (Ivo de)*, in J.H. ZEDLER, *Grosses vollständiger Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste [...]*, 46, Leipzig - Halle, 1745, facsimile-uitg., Graz, 1962, kol. 1644.

<sup>18</sup> art. *Vento, (Ivo de)*, in F.J. LIPOWSKY, *Baierisches Musik-Lexikon*, München, 1811, p. 354.

<sup>19</sup> art. *Vento, Ivo de* in R. EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten christlicher Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, dl. 10 in bd. 6, Graz, 1959 (= 1901), p. 49-51.

<sup>20</sup> K. HUBER, 1918.

de Vento, Ivo Barry en een zekere Ivo (Yvo, Juo) en hij bouwt een hypothese op omtrent afkomst, geboorteplaats en -datum van de componist. Vrij vernieuwend is Hubers behandeling van de bronnen en zijn onderzoek naar de betekenis van de theorie en de praktijk van de *musica reservata*, de monodie en de figurenleer. Wat bij Kurt Huber minder aan bod komt is de analyse van de composities aan de hand van verschillende muzikale parameters en het bibliografische onderzoek.

Helmut Osthoff wijst op het belang van de Vento als Duitse-liedcomponist, die erin slaagt 'zwischen dem neuen Stil Lassocher Art und dem älteren deutschen Lied eine Brücke zu schlagen'.<sup>21</sup> In deze context wordt de Vento vaak vernoemd samen met de grootmeesters van het Duitse lied, Orlandus Lassus, Jacob Regnart (ca. 1540-1599), Christian Hollander (ca. 1510/15-1568/69), Leonhard Lechner, M. Le Maistre (ca. 1505-1577), A. Scandello (1517-1580) en Alexander Utendal (ca. 1530/40-1581).<sup>22</sup>

Aangezien men sedert de publicatie van Hubers dissertatie evenwel nauwelijks aandacht heeft geschonken aan de Latijnse geestelijke composities van Ivo de Vento, heb ik mij vooral op deze werken geconcentreerd. Na een beknopt overzicht van de motetten uit vijf bundels, vat ik de resultaten van de muzikale analyse van deze composities samen. De missen laat ik hier buiten beschouwing.

De motetten van Ivo de Vento werden tussen 1569 en 1575 gepubliceerd bij de gezaghebbende drukker Adam Berg, die zijn vakmanschap ten dienste stelde van de Contrareformatie. Bij deze verzorgde uitgaven moeten we wijzen op een tot nu toe onverklaarbare eigenaardigheid: de raadselachtige hoofdletters op sommige titelbladzijden van de stemboekjes. Het gaat om een strikt chronologisch opeenvolgende reeks letters van A tot M, waarbij 'A' gebruikt wordt voor Ivo de Vento's *Liber mottetorum*, 1571 en de *Mutetae aliquot sacrae*, 1574 gesigneerd zijn met 'L'. Voorlopig kunnen we deze letteraanduiding slechts interpreteren als een interne aanwijzing van de uitgever.<sup>23</sup>

Er zijn 71 geestelijke en vier profane motetten. Dat de Vento vrij vroeg stierf, steeds aan hetzelfde hof verbleef in de schaduw van Orlandus Lassus en op de eerste plaats als organist werkte, en dat zijn omgang met andere kapellen of broodheren waarschijnlijk nagenoeg onbestaande was, verklaart dat er voor het componeren van profane hulde-, opdrachts- of gelegenheidsmotetten minder aanleiding was.

<sup>21</sup> H. OSTHOFF, 1967 (= 1938), p. 271.

<sup>22</sup> P.H. LANG, *Music in Western Civilisation*, New York, 1969 (= 1941), p. 251.

<sup>23</sup> H. LEUCHTMANN, *Adam Bergs rätselhafte Notendruckkenzeichnung in den Jahren 1571-1575*, in H. LEUCHTMANN (ed.), *Festgabe Hans Schneider zum 60. Geburtstag*, Tutzing, 1981, p. 63-72.

Twee van deze profane composities zijn zuiver als opdrachtmotetten bedoeld, namelijk het openingsmotet tot de *Latinae cantiones*, 1569 en het slotmotet van de *Mutetae aliquot sacrae*, 1574. De twee in post-klassiek Latijn gestelde profane werken uit de *Quinque motetae*, 1575 zijn huldigingsmotetten voor de stad Neurenberg. Het prosamotet *Grates nunc omnes* is alleen in manuscript bewaard.<sup>24</sup>

De drie bundels van 1569, 1570 en 1574<sup>25</sup> vormen een eerder willekeurige samenvoeging van motetten, waarbij tekstkeuze of liturgische functie nauwelijks een rol hebben gespeeld. Wel opteert de componist, in overeenstemming met de gebruiken van zijn tijd, voor een modale ordening.

Een cyclische idee ligt aan de basis van de ordening van de vijftien vierstemmige motetten van het *Liber mottetorum quatuor vocum*, 1571 (RISM V 1116). Het openingsmotet, *In principio erat verbum*, is een toonzetting van de proloog uit het Johannesevangelie en verwijst naar de oorsprong en het begin. De drie slotmotetten worden gezongen tijdens de liturgie van de dagsluiting.<sup>26</sup>

De *Quinque motetae, duo madrigalia, Gallicae cantiones duae, et quatuor Germanicae [...]*, 1575 (RISM V 1118), bevatten zoals de titel verduidelijkt ook niet-Latijnse composities. Anderzijds dekt in deze viertalendruk de vlag niet helemaal de lading. De bundel bevat vijf motetten, waaronder twee profane (nr. 1 en 2) en drie religieuze (nr. 3, 4 en 11), en vier Duitse liederen, waarvan twee profane (nr. 12 en 13) en twee religieuze (nr. 9 en 10). Daarnaast zijn er echter drie Franse chansons (twee profane en één religieus) en slechts één madrigaal. De twee 'hoekstenen', de negenstemmige openingsdialoog<sup>27</sup> en de dubbelkorige Conclusio, beide lofzangen op de stad Neurenberg, omsluiten dus elf zeer verschillende composities.

De prologen, opgesteld in humanistisch Latijn, kunnen nauwelijks aanspraak maken op enige originaliteit of literaire kwaliteit. Hun belang ligt hoofdzakelijk in de wijze waarop ze de maatschappelijke positie van de componist en de

<sup>24</sup> Neurenberg, Bibliothek des Germanischen National-Museums, Ms. 8820 Q nr. 5 fol. 39v-44r.

Een tweede exemplaar bevindt zich in een koorboek, bewaard in het kasteel van Ecaussines-Lalaing. (Met dank aan prof. H. Vanhulst.)

<sup>25</sup> *Latinae cantiones, quas vulgo motteta vocant, quatuor vocum [...]*, 1569 (RISM V 1114); *Latinae cantiones, quas vulgo motteta vocant, quinque vocum [...]*, 1570 (RISM V 1115); *Mutetae aliquot sacrae quatuor vocum [...]*, 1574 (RISM V 1117).

<sup>26</sup> Deze cyclische idee van aanvang en einde was de Vento ongetwijfeld bekend uit de *Sacrae cantiones sex et octo voc. [...]*, 1566 van Orlandus Lassus. Later zal onder meer ook Alexander Utendal zijn *Sacrae cantiones [...]* *Liber secundus*, 1573 baseren op de structuur van deze Lassusbundel.

Zie ook BOETTICHER, 1958, p. 170, p. 196 en I. BOSSUYT, *De componist Alexander Utendal (ca.1543/45- 1581). Een bijdrage tot de studie van de Nederlandse polyfonie in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw*, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten in België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten, jg. 45, dl. 36), Brussel, 1983, p. 93.

<sup>27</sup> De negenstemmige bezetting van *Forte Neronaee modulamina blanda coronae* verwijst naar de negen muzen.

ILLVSTRISSIMO PRINCIPI AC DOMINO  
D. Guilhelmo, Rheni Palatino, & vtriusque-Bauariæ  
Duci, &c. Domino suo clementiss:  
S. P. D.



ulorum hominum in gratitudinem et ignauiam, ne quid grauius dicam, Guilhelme Princeps Illustrissime, non iniuria sepe admiratus sum: quos cum eximijs præclarisq; dotibus ac beneficij natura omnium rerum parens cumulatisimè donauit et infudit: illi tamen ne minuant adeptæ gratiæ partem tam beneficiæ matri reponere dignantur, Quorum numero vt me quotiesq; modo eximerem, nec tantam labem et notam mihi iniuri sustinerem, cepi Cantiones quasdam Musica (quam in primis recolui, et in qua iam adhuc versor studiose quidem, at quam feliciter aliorum esto iudicium) Harmonia componere, Cuiusq; de edendis in publicum diu multumq; mecum deliberarem, venit in mentem singularis T. C. amor et beneuolentia, qua omnes doctos præcipue tamen nobilissimæ artis Musica studiosos T. Illustr: C. complectitur, tractat honore, decorat premijs et diuitijs, ornat dignitate et gratia, vt hæc in re multis alijs etiam augustioribus ausis exemplum ad imitandum merito proponi possit. Hæc diligenter trutinans, animosq; voluens, hanc meam qualemcumq; operam T. Illustr: C. inscribere et dedicare putavi, partim quia non inueniebam aliud argumenti genus tanto Principi magis accommodum: Partim verò quia volebam T. C. hanc gratiæ erga te animi significationem exhibere, vt T. C. nomen immortalitate dignissimum, mea opera, quamuis tenui, memoriæ posteritatis commendaretur, si modò hæc nostræ Cantilenæ ad posteritatem duraturæ sunt. Quod quidem meum perpetuum erga T. Illustr: C. studijs pro tuis summis erga me meritis, vt boni consulas etiam atq; etiam oro, daturus vicijssim operari, si scisero T. C. eo genere delectari, vt et reliqua quæ adhuc intra priuatos delitescunt parietes, aliquando sub T. Illustr: C. nomine in lucem prodiant. Bene et feliciter vale Princeps Illustriss: meq; T. Illustr: C. subditissimè commendatum habe.

T. Illustr: C.

Additissimus

Iuo de Vento.

AA ij

2. Latinae Cantiones, München: Adam Berg, 1569.

sociale verhoudingen en omgangsvormen van zijn omgeving blootleggen. Bovendien worden de persoonlijke meningen en visies van de componist in verband met de muziek nauwelijks aangeraakt. Zo mengt hij zich bij voorbeeld niet in de controverse over het aantal modi.

Vooral de voorwoorden van de eerste drie motettenbundels, geadresseerd aan adellijke beschermheren, geven het beeld van een bescheiden man die het niet passend vindt zich als individu te profileren of polemieken aan te gaan. In zijn *Latinae cantiones* uit 1569 richt de Vento zich tot prins Wilhelm (1548-1626), zoon en troonopvolger van hertog Albrecht V. Aan deze laatste zijn dan weer de vijfstemmige *Latinae cantiones* uit 1570 opgedragen. Het *Liber mottetorum* uit 1571 draagt hij op aan Maximiliaan II (1527-1576), die kort na zijn keizerskroning, op 14 januari 1565, in München is. Albrecht V bezoekt hem in Praag in 1570. Eén van deze beide bezoeken is ongetwijfeld aanleiding geweest tot deze dedicatie.

In zijn laatste twee motettenbundels richt de componist zich tot persoonlijkheden die het muziekleven zowel binnen de kerk als op wereldlijk vlak hebben beïnvloed. In het korte en opvallend gemoedelijke voorwoord tot de *Mutetae aliquot sacrae*, 1574, dingt hij naar de gunst van vicaris en officiaal Ludwig Schrenk uit de nabijgelegen prins-bisschoppelijke stad Freising, waar Ernst (1554-1612), de jongste zoon van Albrecht V van Beieren, sedert 1567 de bisschopszetel bekleedde. Uit deze opdracht en uit de tekst van het in dezelfde

geest geschreven huldingingsmotet dat deze bundel afsluit, kennen we de ijver waarmee deze geleerde de liturgische muziek heeft verzorgd.

Geheel in de geest van de renaissance wijdt de Vento in de *Quinque motetae* van 1575 elke afzonderlijke compositie toe aan één van de voorname burgers en magistraten van de stad Neurenberg die deel uitmaakten van het Sodalitium musicum.<sup>28</sup> Hij lauwert hun verdiensten, want sedert de omvorming tot een evangelische stadstaat in 1533 kent Neurenberg een drukke muziekbeoefening zowel in de kerken en scholen (Sankt Lorenz, Sankt Egidien en Sankt Sebald) als in de private kringen van burgers en patriciërs. In hun 'Kränzlein' beoefenden deze heren onder meer het Duitse lied, een genre waarin Ivo de Vento zeer actief was.<sup>29</sup>

De tekstkeuze in de religieuze motetten is overwegend geïnspireerd op bijbelse of liturgische bronnen en minder op devotionele teksten. Eén derde zijn oudtestamentische teksten, vooral psalmen. Deze verzen lenen zich best tot het uitdrukken van een gedachten- en gevoelsrijkdom en waren om die reden vooral sedert Josquin erg in trek. Deze laatste verlegde rond de eeuwwende het accent van mystiek-lyrische en beschouwende teksten waarin aanbidding en verheerlijking van het goddelijke centraal staan, naar meer dramatische en persoonlijke gevoelsuitingen van de vrome, zoals in de boetepsalmen of in de psalmi graduales. De Vento volgt deze trend weliswaar gedeeltelijk, maar de motivatie is niet 'aus sunderem Lust zu den überschönen Worten', zoals bij Josquin Desprez en zijn volgelingen. Zijn motetten zijn minder dramatisch en moeten ook minder als belijdenismuziek worden geïnterpreteerd.

Het Nieuwe Testament was de inspiratiebron voor het componeren van twintig motetten, overwegend op evangelieteksten die gebeurtenissen en feiten uit het leven van Christus en van de leerlingen beschrijven. Hier heeft de componist minder aandacht voor de lyrische passages of voor de mystieke aspecten uit het leven van Christus.

Ook de meer renaissancistische of antropocentrisch geïnspireerde teksten zijn geen uiting van een uitgesproken geestelijke of devotionele inspiratie van de componist zelf. De religieuze gevoelens zoals die uit Ivo de Vento's teksten naar voor komen, hebben meer gemeenschappelijk met die van de Noord-europese polyfonisten dan met die van bij voorbeeld Noorditaliaanse tijdgenoten.

In vergelijking met de 'Mariensänger' Nicolaas Gombert en met Philippe Verdelot, Jacobus Vaet of Clemens non Papa, treffen we bij de Vento weinig

<sup>28</sup> Ook L. LECHNER paste dit toe in *Neue Deutsche Lieder*, 1573 (RISM L 1293).

<sup>29</sup> Zie hierover B.R. BUTLER, 1970 en U. MARTIN, *Die Nürnberger Musikgesellschaften*, in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, 49, 1959, p. 185-225.

Mariamotetten aan.<sup>30</sup> Slechts negen werken zijn gecomponeerd op teksten voor heiligen; het hooglied komt nergens aan bod.

Zoals de verspreiding van deze werken in koorboeken aantoon, namen hervormingsgezinde kringen (Augsburg, Neurenberg en Stuttgart) dan ook geen aanstoot aan de Vento's tekstkeuze. De reformatorische of contrareformatorische controversen lijken hem niet te hebben meegesleurd in één of andere richting. In slechts één geval is het bekend dat de tekst om reformatorische redenen licht diende te worden aangepast. In een koorboek uit Stuttgart werd de aanhef *Sancta Maria, succurre miseris* (1571 nr. 10) veranderd in *Christe salvator succurre miseris*.<sup>31</sup>

De Vento's religieuze composities zijn gedacht in functie van de liturgie aan het hof van Albrecht V of in de kapel van de Burg Trausnitz. 52 motetten horen thuis in het officie als responsorium of antifoon en slechts een tiental hebben een specifieke plaats in de misliturgie.

Meer dan de helft van deze motetten is geschreven voor een vierstemmige bezetting *a voce piena* en bestaat slechts uit één deel. Bij de 33 meerdelige, waaronder verschillende in responsoriumvorm, ruimt de Vento weinig plaats in voor contrasten tussen de partes, noch in tekst, noch in bezetting, maat, vorm, thematiek of expressie.

Op het ogenblik dat Ivo de Vento zijn motetten componeert, is er in het concept van deze muziek in Noord-Italië en Zuid-Duitsland een vernieuwingsbeweging op gang gekomen. Bij toekomstgerichte polyfonisten wordt de compositie bepaald door de inhoud van de tekst en de concrete en onmiddellijke verstaanbaarheid ervan. Een meer gebalde en expressieve melodie met ruime sprongen, zonder overdadige melismatische voortspinning of overtollige tekstherhaling, is gedragen door een prosodisch, pregnant ritme, verwerkt in een vrije contrapuntische stijl met schijnimitaties. De continue lineariteit is er onderbroken door een fragmentaire bouw, door verticale klankkleuren en homofone structuren. De buitenstemmen winnen steeds aan belang. Met hun grotere intervallen, onverwachte ritmische effecten, toonherhalingen, snedige declamatorische motieven en gewaagde alteraties, getuigen de themata van grote ritmische en melodische plasticiteit. Uitbreiding van de bezetting, afwisseling tussen de stemmencombinaties en kleurrijke koorregie bevorderen de klankrijkdom. De eerste sporen van deze evolutie zijn reeds vast te stellen in

<sup>30</sup> J. SCHMIDT-GÖRG, *Nicolas Gombert. Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V. Leben und Werke*, Tutzing, 1971 (= 1938), p. 196-197.

K.P. BERNET KEMPERS, *Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine Motetten*, Augsburg, 1928, p. 36-40, p. 79.

J.D. WICKS, *The motets of Pierre de Manchicourt (ca 1510-1564)*, Cambridge, Ma., 1959, p. 32-34.

<sup>31</sup> D-S Cod. mus. fol. I 11 nr. 12 fol. 114v-124r.

de vroege motettenbundels van Adriaan Willaert, een synthese van de compositietechnieken die de muziek van de generaties uit het tweede kwartaal van de zestiende eeuw domineerden.<sup>32</sup>

In de post-Josquinperiode geldt nog de lineair doorgeïmiteerde schrijfwijze, waarbij de tekst verdeeld werd in korte zinsfragmenten, gedragen door een evenwichtig uitgebouwde melodie in zwevend ritme, zonder scherpe contrasten of accenten en zonder opvallende aandacht voor de prosodie. Hetzelfde thematisch materiaal wordt in alle stemmen op dezelfde tekst geïmiteerd, en aangezien gelijktijdige inzetten, generale pauzen of ritmische wisselingen nagevoel ontbreken, wordt deze doorgeïmiteerde schrijfwijze gekenmerkt door een ononderbroken stroom van over cadensae heen elkaar overbruggende zinnen, een 'Streben nach durchgehender Einheitlichkeit'.<sup>33</sup> Het melodische lijnenspel en het contrapuntisch door elkaar verstrengelen van zelfstandige melodieën waren hier prioritair. Deze lineariteit en meer nog de uniformiteit werden gestimuleerd door het gebruik van canon, sequens en cantus firmus.

De religieuze composities van Ivo de Vento situeren zich op de overgang tussen deze twee compositietendenzen: enerzijds de traditionele, lineaire imitatieve polyfonie uit de post-Josquingeneratie en anderzijds de meer op de 'klank' gerichte, verticaal gedachte en tekstexpressieve polyfonie die in Noord-Italië, bij Cypriano de Rore, Adriaan Willaert en Orlandus Lassus haar belangrijkste vertegenwoordigers heeft. De Vento componeert in de eerste plaats vanuit een evenwichtige, rustige muzikale techniek die aansluit bij wat Milton Steinhardt het 'ethos-ideaal' noemt. Met zijn lineaire imitatietechniek benadert hij Gombert.

De melodische lijnen beginnen over het algemeen met kleine intervallen in minimae of semiminimae. Ze verlopen in beperkte tessituur en blijven veelal syllabisch of licht neumatisch, met weinig alteraties. Naar het einde toe komt er in een typische cadensfiguur een vlugger ritme, nadat op de laatste geaccentueerde lettergreep een melisme werd gevormd. De themata zijn zeker niet contrasterend maar eerder verwant, wat aanleiding kan geven tot een zekere eenvormigheid of eentonigheid.

In deze motieven volgen de componisten al dan niet bewust een aantal richtlijnen of regels in verband met intervallen, syllabische of melismatische bouw en ritmische structuur. De Vento's melodie is onrechtstreeks geïnspireerd door de bouw en het modale karakter van het Gregoriaans, een idioom dat deel uitmaakte van het vertrouwde muziekvocabularium. Melismatische passages in fusae zijn in aantal niet zo frequent en in omvang eerder beperkt in vergelij-

<sup>32</sup> A. WILLAERT, *Musica quatuor vocum [...]*, Venetië, 1539; A. WILLAERT, *Motetti [...] libro secundo a quattro voci*, Venetië, 1539.

<sup>33</sup> E. LOWINSKY, *Das Antwerpener Motettenbuch Orlando di Lasso's und seine Beziehungen zum Motettenschaffen der niederländischen Zeitgenossen*, in *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 14 (1932), p. 192.

king met het oeuvre van Clemens non Papa of Nicolaas Gombert. De melodiebouw is niet sequentieel opgevat of met herhalingen, maar eerder aaneengeregen.

De vloeiende melodie gaat gepaard met een zeer beperkte ritmische activiteit, van minima tot fusa. Het samengaan van enerzijds de ritmische zelfstandigheid en eigenheid van elke stem met anderzijds de relatie tussen de verschillende agogische wendingen in de verschillende stemmen, zorgt voor het typisch complementair zwevend ritme eigen aan de vocale polyfonie uit het midden van de zestiende eeuw. Enkele ternaire passages te midden van het aan gang zijnde ritmische binaire patroon zijn tekstexpressief te verklaren.

Kortom, van een tekstdeclamatorische of prosodisch-geplande melodie zoals bij Cypriano de Rore, Adriaan Willaert of Orlandus Lassus is er in het geheel geen sprake. De taalprosodie en de ritmiek lijken ondergeschikt aan de imitatorische opbouw en het lineaire concept.

Andere oudere technieken zoals canonisch uitgewerkte passages komen niet voor; ostinato-motieven worden zelden aangewend. De meer archaisch klinkende faux-bourdon treffen we sporadisch aan. In enkele korte passages vinden we wel melodische sequenzen, meestal gebruikt in de bassus als een anaphora.<sup>34</sup> Composities met een gregoriaanse cantus firmus komen alleen voor in het *Liber mottetorum*, 1571.

In verband met wat men graag ‘modale analyse’ noemt, heb ik mij niet op de eerste plaats tot doel gesteld de motetten in een dwangbuis te stoppen, kenmerken op te sommen en alle uitzonderingen te verklaren; wel wilde ik de hedendaagse probleemstellingen en visies omtrent de modale polyfonie toetsen aan de motettenbundels van Ivo de Vento. Dat deze componist niet direct tot de ‘grootmeesters’ en baanbrekers van de renaissancepolyfonie kan worden gerekend, is niet zozeer een nadeel dan wel een mogelijkheid tot het openen van nieuwe perspectieven in verband met de vraag hoe de doorsnee componisten uit de late zestiende eeuw omgingen met de modaliteit. Want juist zij hebben zich naar alle waarschijnlijkheid het meest gebaseerd op de modale kennis die via het vertrouwde gregoriaans werd overgeleverd en zich geschikt naar de richtlijnen uit de traktaten.

Ondanks de Vento’s opleiding in Noord-Italië en zijn kennis van de leer over de twaalf modi, blijft het aantal modi in zijn religieuze motetten beperkt tot acht.

Aan de hand van goed waarneembare gegevens zoals finalis, voortekening en ambitus heb ik al deze motetten ingedeeld bij hun vermoedelijke modus en deze groepen vervolgens gezamenlijk geanalyseerd. Daarbij kon ik vaststellen

<sup>34</sup> M. RUHNKE, *Joachim Burmeister. Ein Beitrag zur Musiklehre um 1600*, (Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung Kiel, 5), Kassel - Bazel, 1955, p. 159.

dat de hierboven vermelde criteria zeer nauw aansluiten bij de gregoriaanse gezangen in de overeenkomstige modus. De sleutelcombinatie vormt het compositieraam waarbinnen stemmenverhoudingen in de polyfonie vastliggen.

Aangezien de exordia onderling gemeenschappelijke trekken vertonen en ik ook een duidelijke verwantschap met het gregoriaans kon vaststellen, achtte ik het zinvol om de kerkgezangen als referentiekader te bestuderen en deze relatie concreter te formuleren via een onderzoek van de melodische bouw in een honderdvijftigtal antifonen. Daaruit was af te leiden dat de kerntonen waar rond de exordia in de diverse modi gebouwd zijn, refereren aan de overeenkomstige gregoriaanse. De plaatsing van kwint- en kwartspecies is een weerspiegeling van het authentische of plagale karakter. Wanneer men zich baseert op het initium en het verder melodisch verloop, en minder op de ambitus, de cadenstonen en de cadensorde, dan kan de analogie met het gregoriaans het vaak moeilijke onderscheid tussen authentisch en plagaal in de polyfonie (vooral tussen de derde en vierde modus en in mindere mate ook tussen de vijfde en de zesde) helpen verduidelijken.

Het is opvallend dat bij de Vento de hele ambitus dikwijls eerst in de tenor wordt uitgezongen en in de discantus pas na de tweede of derde herhaling. Dit betekent echter niet dat de tenor zo exclusief de modus bepaalt, want het melodische patroon is modaal dikwijls duidelijker geprofileerd in de discantus. Het grote aantal cadensen geeft aan deze motetten een eerder fragmentaire indruk. Zij hebben evenwel een minder uitgesproken syntactische of tekstexpressieve functie dan Bernhard Meier veralgemenend beweert.<sup>35</sup>

De keuze van de cadenstonen per modus is zeer sober en blijft beperkt tot enkele tonen, waarbij het benadrukken van de finalis of de repercussa soms verwijst naar het onderscheid tussen authentisch en plagaal. In die zin zorgen cadensen voor een zekere modale referentie. In de derde modus, bij voorbeeld, zijn er minder cadensen op de finalis om de hoogte ervan te benadrukken tegenover de vierde. In sol-hypodorisch is de repercussa bes zeer onevenwichtig aangewend: soms frequent, soms helemaal niet. Dat de cadens op de repercussa a in de lydische en hypolydische modus minder voorkomt dan die op f en c, houdt verband met het expressieve mollis-karakter ervan. Het onderscheid tussen de zevende en de achtste manifesteert zich door het respectievelijk ontbreken en benadrukken van de c-cadens.

Ivo de Vento volgt niet consequent een strikte hiërarchische ordening van de cadensen voor elke modus.

'Clausulae principales' worden veelal gevormd in discantus en tenor en hebben soms een structurerende functie. 'Clausulae minus principales' worden vaker gebouwd in de altus en bassus maar spelen geen syntactische of tekstexpressieve rol. De vorming van de 'clausulae' in bepaalde stemmen lijkt niet aan een

<sup>35</sup> B. MEIER, *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie*, Utrecht, 1974.

vast systeem of een welbepaalde theorie gebonden. De ‘*clausulae peregrinae*’ zijn in alle modi zeer spaarzaam aangewend (opvallend weinig zelfs in de vijfde, zesde en achtste modus) omdat de Vento zich niet laat verleiden tot al te verregaande woordvertolkingen. Onregelmatige cadensen voorafgegaan en gecorrigeerd door ‘*clausulae principales*’ zijn niet altijd tekstexpressief. We kunnen ze in veel gevallen muzikaal-technisch verklaren of als verrijking beschouwen.

In de ad-aequalesmotetten heeft de Vento de modus niet zozeer verduidelijkt door de cadenstonen en de cadensordering, maar vooral door de keuze van de sleutel voor de derde tenor en de bas, verwijzend naar de sleutelcombinatie bij de bezetting ‘a voce piena’, naar de ambitus in de derde en vierde stem en naar het initium.

Binnen de nauwgezette modale compositiewijze van de religieuze motetten is de modaliteit dus te herkennen aan een beperkt aantal technische attributen zoals de ambitus, de cadensen en een melodiebouw die sterk geïnspireerd is door de gregoriaanse kerkgezangen. Uiterlijke indicaties van deze moduskeuze zijn finalis, voortekening en sleutelcombinatie. In de profane motetten daarentegen opteert de componist voor een veel vrijere behandeling van de modi: minder uitgesproken gregoriaans geïnspireerde initia, veel wisselende cadensnoten, onberekenbare cadensorde en veel alteraties.

De confrontatie tussen de religieuze en profane motetten verduidelijkt onder andere dat de modi op velerlei wijzen kunnen benaderd worden, als aan bepaalde minimum-eisen wordt voldaan. Afwijkingen doen geen afbreuk aan een algemeen verspreide theorie over de modaliteit, geen fouten of verstoring van ‘het’ theoretisch model, maar gewoonweg een benaderingswijze van het modale gegeven.

Ik wil deze opvatting over de modaliteit graag met een historische omkadering argumenteren. De veel geciteerde traktaten die de modi behandelen (van Pietro Aaron, Sethus Calvisius, Gallus Dreyler en talrijke anderen), vormen slechts een deel van de totale omvang van wat ooit werd gepubliceerd. Vele zijn geschreven door leraren die de onmiddellijke en praktische bruikbaarheid in de toenmalige scholen voor ogen hadden en moeten dus worden geïnterpreteerd als schoolboeken of handleidingen geïnspireerd door een humanistisch opvoedingspatroon. Dit heeft als gevolg dat ze temporeel en lokaal afgebakend zijn en sterk persoonlijk gekleurd in hun stellingname. Alleen als we rekening houden met deze beperking, namelijk dat deze traktaten geen algemeen aanvaarde

modusleer in zakformaat aanbieden, kunnen we begrijpen waarom de thans gekende muziekpraktijk niet altijd zo dicht aanleunt bij de theorie. Gemeenschappelijk hebben deze theoretische en praktische bronnen wel dat de modaliteit principieel niet werd aangevochten, maar over de inhoud en de technieken verschilde men wel van mening. Dat de Vento's modale werkwijze dicht aanleunt bij het gregoriaans is normaal voor een jong componist, die opgeleid is aan een burcht van Contrareformatie, waar hij van kindsbeen af vertrouwd was met uitvoeringen van het liturgische repertoire. Exordia, gregoriaanse modale melodievorming en reciteertonen behoren tot het uit de praktijk gegroeide muzikale vocabularium.

De stemvoering van deze imitatorisch geconcipeerde motetten verloopt volgens de gebruiken van het zestiende-eeuwse contrapunt. Hierbij is belangrijk te onderkennen hoe de componist de voorbereiding en de oplossing van de samenklanken beheerst.

In dit lineair melodisch patroon komen uiteraard veel doorgangsnoten voor en in mindere mate wisselnoten. Ze zijn meestal dalend en worden gevormd op een ongeaccentueerde tel.

Vertragingen worden veel toegepast, onder andere als versieringselement in de cadensen, samen met anticipaties en wisselnoten. In de melodische lijn vindt men ze bij voorkeur in de beweging van septiem naar sext of van kwart naar tert. Veelvuldig gebruikt de Vento de dubbele vertraging in de vorm van een kwart-sext akkoord dat overgaat naar tertskwint.

Net zoals bij tijdgenoten vinden we ook hier slechts sporadisch de nota cambiata. De consonante kwart daarentegen komt wel veel voor. Ondanks zijn behoudsgezinde en voorzichtige instelling schuwt de Vento geen wrijvende seconden of dwarsstanden. De voorbereiding en de oplossing van deze dissonanten is conventioneel, het harmonisch verloop rustig.

In een periode waarin de overgeleverde Vlaamse imitatieve contrapuntiek evolueert naar een meer tekstgebonden Italiaanse compositietechniek - van 'klinkende getallentheorie' naar 'uitdrukking van menselijke gevoelens' - en dat 'movere l' affetto dell' animo' voor de componist steeds meer de reden wordt om de band tussen tekst en muziek aan te halen, biedt de studie van de woordtoonverhouding goede mogelijkheden om de componist te karakteriseren in zijn eigenheid en hem te situeren tegenover zijn tijdgenoten. Interessant is dat Ivo de Vento zichzelf op dit terrein positioneert in het voorwoord tot de

*Schöne ausserlesene neue Teutsche Lieder* [...], 1572 (RISM V 1125), de enige duidelijke stellingname over muziek die de componist ons heeft nagelaten. Als hij benadrukt dat hij wil componeren ‘ohne Affekt und unverdächtlich’ kan dat als een uitgesproken reactie tegen het te doorgedreven gebruik van madrigalisten of tekstverklanking bij tijdgenoten geïnterpreteerd worden. Niet alleen blijkt de componist de muzikale tekstweergave niet zo belangrijk te vinden, zijn visie kadert bovendien niet in het algemeen cultuurbeeld van het antropocentrisme, dat aanleiding geeft tot een meer persoonlijke tekstkeuze en -expressie. Zijn conservatief aandoende terughoudendheid kan ingegeven zijn door de hierboven beschreven lineaire en imitatieve schrijfwijze die voorrang krijgt op de meer expressieve, declamatorische, contrastrijke klankkleur van sommige tijdgenoten, door de overheersing van zuiver intrinsiek-muzikale regels op de eisen van tekstverstaanbaarheid, taalprosodie of woordexpressie. Dank zij de afbakening in zinsfragmenten en mede door het beperkt gebruik van melismen, wordt vermeden dat de tekst onverstaanbaar wordt in een polyfoon kluwen. De Vento heeft een vrij goede tekstplaatsing in navolging van de regels van Gioseffo Zarlino<sup>36</sup>, maar met de normale afwijkingen die voortvloeien uit een hoofdzorg voor het contrapuntische imitatieve lijnenspel, zoals dit bij verschillende Nederlanders gebruikelijk was. Dit laatste is ook de reden waarom de plaatsing van het woordaccent niet altijd zo geslaagd is en soms onnatuurlijk overkomt. Mogelijks kunnen we dit ook toeschrijven aan de jeugdige leeftijd waarop Ivo de Vento deze composities schreef.

Tot op zekere hoogte hield de stelling van de ouden dat de tekstinhoud bepalend is voor de moduskeuze nog stand tot in de zestiende eeuw. Hoewel men in sommige van de Vento's motetten een overeenkomst zou kunnen aanduiden tussen moduskeuze en tekstinhoud, moeten we ons, gezien het beperkte aantal van deze gevallen, de vraag stellen of het gaat om een bewuste keuze dan wel om louter toeval of ‘Hineininterpretierung’.

In het gebruik van de figuren als muzikaal expressiemiddel, gaat Ivo de Vento op zijn minst voorzichtig te werk, overeenkomstig zijn stellingname in het voorwoord van 1572. De tekst van de motetten is niet determinerend maar hoogstens richtinggevend voor de muzikale expressie. Men krijgt sterk de indruk dat veel wendingen die men als ‘figuren’ zou willen bestempelen eerder behoren tot het randgebied tussen de muzikale woordexpressie en de meer algemene muzikale bouw. Eigenlijk zijn muzikale figuren te beschouwen als ‘technieken’ die ook tekstvertolkend ‘kunnen’ zijn. Zonder volledigheid na te streven illustreer ik dit met enkele vaststellingen.

Heel wat figuren en expressiemogelijkheden komen bij de Vento nauwelijks aan bod: lange tekstvertolkende notenwaarden, expressieve strettfiguren, ternaire ritmen als contrast met binaire, pauzes en stemkruisingen, ‘palillogiae’ of

<sup>36</sup> G. ZARLINO, *Le Institutioni harmoniche* [...], Venetië, 1558.

‘climaxen’. Deze beide laatste herhalingsfiguren dienen meestal de muzikale structuur. Ook declamatorische ‘redictae’ en onderlijnende ‘noema’s’ worden in deze schrijfwijze zeer spaarzaam aangewend omdat ze het verloop van het lineaire contrapunt doorbreken. Het is duidelijk dat niet elk ‘noema’ verschijnt op een tekstueel hoogtepunt, zoals Ruhnke suggereert<sup>37</sup>, maar dat het vaak gewoon voor afwisseling zorgt in de polyfonie. Dit geldt ook voor de ‘pathopoeia’, die in de melodie door haar uitzonderingskarakter bepaalde woorden kan op de voorgrond brengen. De weinige alteraties werden niet gereserveerd voor de weergave van specifieke begripsinhouden, maar zijn vaak louter muzikaal te verklaren. Zelden wordt de modale ambitus geschonden door een opvallende ‘hyper’- of ‘hypobole’, figuren die meer ten dienste staan van de stemvoering dan van het woord.

Zoals Joachim Burmeister ook opgevallen was<sup>38</sup>, is het veelvuldig aanwenden van de ‘congeries’ om een woord uit zijn context op te lichten een karakteristiek van de schrijfwijze van Ivo de Vento. Een typische tekstverbondenheid is evenwel niet zo duidelijk. Veeleer staat de ‘congeries’ waar men bij anderen een ‘noema’ of een ‘pathopoeia’ zou aantreffen.

Veel woorden rond leven en bewegen (‘vita’, ‘movere’, ‘venire’) en ook ‘flere’, ‘ridere’, ‘laetari’ en ‘exsultare’ worden door een melisme te midden van een meer syllabische melodievorming benadrukt, maar uiteraard zijn niet alle melismen gerechtvaardigd door de woordkeuze. Ze vormen vaak een bestanddeel van de melodievorming.

‘Descendere’, ‘terra’, en symbolisch ‘humilitas’ en ‘infernum’, zijn versterkt in hun expressie door een suggestieve ‘katabasis’. De minder gebruikte ‘anabasis’ geeft niet zo vaak aanleiding tot tekstinterpretatie. We vinden deze muzikale analogie op woorden als ‘superbus’, ‘surgere’, ‘resurrectio’ en ‘oriri’.

De beperkt aangewende ‘faux bourdon’ wordt niet alleen geassocieerd met begrippen van ‘res tristes’<sup>39</sup>, maar tot een breder gamma uitgebreid.

Dat sommige wendingen een waaier van de meest uiteenlopende begripsinhouden onderlijnen, is een uiting van de Vento’s relativerende houding tegenover de expressie. Anderzijds illustreert dit ook dat men uit een muzikale wending niet de tekst kan afleiden die eraan ten grondslag ligt. Zo kan een melisme zowel ‘ridere’ als ‘flere’ onderlijnen en een ‘pathopoeia’ kan naast ‘dolor’ ook ‘laetitia’ accentueren. We kunnen het zo samenvatten dat de Vento zeer veel begrippen laat voorbijgaan, ofschoon ze, zoals blijkt uit het oeuvre van tijdgenoten, door analogie gemakkelijk muzikale wendingen kunnen oproepen. Vaak worden woorden slechts sporadisch muzikaal vertolkt; slechts enkele beperken zich tot één enkele figuur.

<sup>37</sup> RUHNKE, 1955, p. 151.

<sup>38</sup> BURMEISTER, 1606, p. 65.

<sup>39</sup> MEIER, 1974, p. 231-232.

Wijzen de hierboven beschreven elementen eerder op een behoudsgezinde schrijfwijze, dan zijn er anderzijds ook aspecten die een zekere drang naar vernieuwing en naar meer intense expressiviteit verraden.

Het imitatieprincipe wordt afgezwakt door het toevoegen van vrijere contrapuntische stemmen die tevens de totaalklank verrijken. Ook een toenemende aandacht voor de samenklanken doorbreekt langzamerhand het strikt lineaire concept. We menen dit soms te mogen onderkennen in de melodiebouw van de bassus, die zich losmaakt van de imitatietechniek en in zijn korte zinnen dikwijls een cadenserend karakter heeft. Ook het veelvuldige gebruik van fuggita-cadensen met aandacht voor de tertsen en het parallel samenbrengen van enkele stemmen in tertsen, sexten of decimen, bevestigen deze trend. Stemgroepering en wisselingen van stemmencombinaties stimuleren eveneens de klankregie.

Hoewel de Vento in zijn motetten niet geheel voorbijgegaan is aan de stilistische veranderingen van zijn tijd, zijn deze werken met hun doorzichtige en rustige imitatie geworteld in de traditie van de vorige generaties Nederlandse polyfonisten. Noch de vernieuwende klankrijke stijl van de Venetianen, noch de melodische, ritmische, harmonische en expressieve stijl van de motetten van Orlandus Lassus hebben op hem grote invloed gehad. Ook op het vlak van de woord-toonverhouding lijkt hij een brug te slaan tussen de Nederlandse traditie van Canis, Gombert en Clemens non Papa en de meer Venetiaans geïnspireerde schrijfwijze van Willaert, de Rore, Utendal en zijn kapelmeester, Lassus. Net zoals Crecquillon en Buus laat hij het oude contrapunt nog primeren boven de declamatorische woordgebonden muziek, zonder evenwel de aandacht voor de tekst te verliezen.

In verband met de vraag of er in de geestelijke werken van Ivo de Vento een evolutie te bespeuren valt, zouden we liever willen spreken van een toenemende beheersing van techniek en een zekere rijping in het compositieproces dan van een beïnvloeding door Lassus. Alleen de vier profane motetten onderscheiden zich in hun schrijfwijze: de muziek laat zich beheersen door het woord, de lineaire contrapuntiek maakt plaats voor een verticaal concept. Naast de dubbelkorigheid wijzen de snedige en vlugge ritmiek, de syllabische melodievorming, de declamatorische stijl en de homofonie naar vernieuwende invloeden. Deze composities - vooral uit de viertalendruk van 1575 - behoren tot de meest originele en geïnspireerde werken van de Vento.

Het groeiend vakmanschap maakt Ivo de Vento's motetten tot interessant studiemateriaal. Omdat ze - ook voor amateurskoren - muzikaal vlot toegankelijk zijn en liturgisch goed bruikbaar, menen we dat hun publicatie perspectieven kan bieden voor een boeiende en verrassende kennismaking met één van de minder bekende Vlaamse polyfonisten.

# THE FRENCH CHANSON IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

## Claude Goudimel's Treatment of the Decasyllabic Line

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The relationship between text and music has always been considered one of the most important aspects of the study of the mid-sixteenth century chanson. Goudimel's chansons are particularly significant in this regard because of his role in the preparation of the musical supplement to Pierre de Ronsard's *Amours* of 1552.<sup>1</sup> This important edition represents Ronsard's first major effort to achieve the union of poetry and music in imitation of Greek lyric verse. For composers who also aspired to achieve this musico-poetic union in collaboration with Ronsard, one of the chief difficulties lay in reconciling musical form with the new poetic structures, in particular, the sonnet and the ode. Close study of this problem has led to this examination of Goudimel's response not only to the overall structure of the poem or the verse, and to the new rhyme schemes with their compulsory alternating masculine and feminine endings, but also to the implications for the composer of the internal structure of the poetic line. I propose to show what a study of the internal structure of the decasyllabic line reveals about the poet's technical skills and the composer's willingness and ability to reflect them in his music.<sup>2</sup>

Thirty-two out of the seventy-eight poetic texts set by Goudimel contain decasyllabic lines.<sup>3</sup> In this poetic line the caesura is normally placed after the fourth syllable:

D'amour mc plaintz, / et du mal que je sentz

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

(ch. no. 16, line 1)

Goudimel's melodic lines reflect this caesura in several different ways : with a melisma on the fourth syllable (Example 1a); or a cadential formula (Example

<sup>1</sup> See M. EGAN-BUFFET, *Claude Goudimel's contribution to the Musical Supplement of Pierre de Ronsard's 'Amours' (1552)*, in G. GILLEN - H. WHITE (ed.), *Irish Musical Studies. I. Musicology in Ireland*, Dublin, 1991, pp. 181-199.

<sup>2</sup> For an earlier discussion of this subject in a broader context, see M. EGAN-BUFFET, *Les chansons de Claude Goudimel: analyses modales et stylistiques*, (*Musicological Studies*, 57), Ottawa, 1992, chap. 15, *Forme poétique et forme musicale*, pp. 488-541.

<sup>3</sup> The chansons are published in Cl. GOUDIMEL, *Oeuvres complètes, volume 13, chansons (profanes et spirituelles)*, New York - Basel, 1974. Chanson numbers given here correspond to this edition.

1b); by having repeated notes on the fourth and fifth syllables (Example 1c); or by inserting a rest between these two syllables (Example 1d). Very often too, Goudimel isolates the second part of the decasyllabic line by repeating it to new music (Example 1a, meas. 33-34).

1a. *Amour longtemps m'a tenu en ses lacs*, (ch. no. 2)  
meas. 29-34 Tenor

Quant est de moy je  
voudrais re-com-pen-se je voudrais re-com-pen-se

1b. meas. 6-11 Tenor

Sans me donner un  
seul point d'al-lé-gean-ce,

1c. meas. 1-4 Tenor

A-mour long-temps m'a te-nu en ses lacs,

1d. meas. 6-11 Bassus

Sans me donner un seul point d'al-lé-gean-ce

In some exceptional cases, the break in the melody comes later in the poetic line. Close analysis reveals that here, Goudimel is responding to the fact that the poet has displaced the caesura (Examples 2a, b, c).

2a. *Ce qui pour moy en ce monde fut mis* (ch. no. 12) Tenor, meas. 31-36

Leur veulx tu bien ser - vir, leur veulx tu  
bien ser - vir de grand mar - ty - re,

2b. *D'amour me plaintz, et du mal que je sentz* (ch. no. 16) Tenor, meas. 38-44

Plai- gnez au moins da - mes ce lan -  
- gou - reux, ce lan - gou - reux.

2c. *Las! où fuis tu? arreste toy pillarde* (P. Enoc) (ch. no. 33) Superius, meas. 6-11

Et sans pas - ser, ou - tre ren moy mon  
coeur, ren moy mon coeur, ren moy mon coeur,

In *Comme le feu sans chaleur ne veult estre* (ch. no. 15), published in 1549, an unbroken melodic phrase spans the opening decasyllabic line.<sup>4</sup> It was clearly conceived as a melodic unit. In fact, the melody is not Goudimel's at all but was written by Matthias Greiter. He had composed it for a German octosyllabic line *Es sind doch selig alle die Ps. 119*, which was translated variously into French as *En moy le secret pensement Ps. 36*, *Du maling le meschant vouloir Ps. 36* [second version] and *Que Dieu se monstre seulement Ps. 68*.<sup>5</sup> Now, the octosyllabic line does not normally have a caesura.<sup>6</sup> So Goudimel preserves the

<sup>4</sup> GOUDIMEL, 1974; p. 61; see also EGAN-BUFFET, 1992, ex. 176, p. 243.

<sup>5</sup> See EGAN-BUFFET, 1992, ex. 177, p. 244.

<sup>6</sup> M. GRAMMONT, *Petit traité de versification française*, Paris, 1928 (6th edition), p. 3.

old melody intact in its new decasyllabic context. The four voices in the chanson present the eight notes of the original melody in their successive imitative entries before coming together to mark the end of the new decasyllabic line with a melismatic cadence. Given the notoriety of the melody in this instance, the new text is naturally of secondary importance.

A problem arises for poet and musician alike when a silent syllable falls on or after the fourth syllable in a decasyllabic line. Sixteenth-century poets proposed different solutions, all of which are found in poetic texts chosen by Goudimel for his chansons. These are:<sup>7</sup>

*la césure épique*: This allows an extra feminine syllable after the fourth syllable:

La garse prompte / pour l'amy secourir  
 1 2 3 4                    5 6 7 8 9 10  
 (ch. no. 18, *Du jeu d'aymer martin fort curieux*, line 7)

Mais s'il procède / d'un vouloir impudicque  
 1 2 3 4                    5 6 7 8 9 10  
 (ch. no. 24, *Telz menus plaidz conferment les amours*, Réponse, line 9)

*la césure lyrique*: the silent feminine syllable is permitted to stand as the fourth and last syllable before the caesura:

Et ma bouche / contente de se taire  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 (ch. no. 47, *Poste esgaré par trop aventureux*, line 11)

*la coupe féminine réformée*: here a silent feminine ending at the caesura is not counted and is only permitted when it can be elided with the following syllable. Syllable five should therefore commence with a vowel:

Quoy que pour elle / amour me desespère  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 (ch. no. 13, *Certes mon oeil fut trop aventureux*, Ronsard, line 14)

According to Henri Chamard, Jean Lemaire (1473 - before 1524) was responsible for the reform of the feminine caesura. It was subsequently adopted by all the major poets of Clément Marot's time (1496-1544) with the exception of Marguerite de Navarre (1492-1549).<sup>8</sup> It follows that attention to this aspect of the

<sup>7</sup> These solutions are clearly set out by Henri Chamard in the *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises (le seizième siècle)*, Paris, 1951, p. 689.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

sixteenth-century decasyllabic poem can sometimes help us in our classification of chanson texts. Thus, when confronted with an unidentified decasyllabic text containing a *coupe épique* or a *coupe lyrique*, we can be almost sure that it was not penned by someone in the mainstream of mid-sixteenth-century poetry. It is more likely to belong to an amateur, a young inexperienced poet or even, exceptionally, a fifteenth-century poet. The examples of the two non-reformed feminine caesuras that are found in Goudimel's chansons belong to non-identified texts: *coupe épique*: *Du jeu d'aymer Martin fort curieux* (ch. no. 18); *Tels menuz plaidz conferment les amours* (ch. no. 24, Réponse); *coupe lyrique*: *Poste esgaré par trop aventureux* (ch. no. 47). These songs are among Goudimel's earliest publications (ch. no. 18 and ch. no. 47 date from 1549; ch. no. 24 dates from 1550) and thus pre-date his association with Ronsard from 1552.<sup>9</sup> This evidence, taken in conjunction with other stylistic factors in the poetry forces the conclusion that the lines were, in all probability, penned by inexperienced amateur poets.

It is also instructive to consider the extent to which the composer respects the structure of the reformed decasyllabic line. This must surely reflect the composer's literary awareness, and, more importantly, his degree of musical competence in helping to achieve the ideal of the perfect union of poetry and music.

The *coupe féminine réformée* is found in the decasyllabic texts of fifteen Goudimel chansons:

- ch. no. 2, Réponse *Si l'on donnoit à l'aymant jouissance*
- ch. no. 3 *Amour me tue et si je ne veux dire*
- ch. no. 12 *Ce qui pour moy en ce monde fut mis*
- ch. no. 13 *Certes mon oeil fut trop aventureux*
- ch. no. 16 *D'amour me plaintz et du mal que je sentz*
- ch. no. 17 *De plus aymer, fy j'en quicte les armes*
- ch. no. 24 *Jamais amour sans guerre n'est parfait*
- ch. no. 26 *Je m'asseurois que ce petit archier*
- ch. no. 28 *Je sens en moy croistre l'ardant desir*
- ch. no. 34 *La terre, l'eau, l'air, le feu et les cieulx*
- ch. no. 44 *Or à ce jour le verd may se termine*
- ch. no. 48 *Prenés mon cueur, dame, prenés mon cueur*
- ch. no. 49 *Puis qu'on se plait en langueur me nourrir*
- ch. no. 69 *Demandez vous en qui je me console*
- ch. no. 71 *Muses du bon Poete de Sicile*

<sup>9</sup> For a complete list of Du Chemin editions in which Goudimel's chansons appear, see GOUDIMEL, 1974, pp. XII-XVII.

Three of these chansons are set to poems by Ronsard (nos 3, 13 and 48). A fourth (ch. no. 71) is attributed to Barthélémy Aneau.<sup>10</sup> Let us consider Goudimel's treatment of this type of decasyllabic line. Is he aware of its peculiar structure? Does he respect it in his musical phrases? What musical problems does it pose for the composer?

One problem arises from the fact that, in the chanson, a silent syllable is always sung to a separate note when that syllable falls at the end of a musical phrase.<sup>11</sup> A normal ten-syllable poetic line with a feminine ending is thus musically interpreted as having eleven syllables, always assuming that the end of the musical phrase coincides with the end of the line:

Une vertu digne d'une immortelle  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 [11]

Et dont amour est mesmes amoureux  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
(ch. no. 13, Ronsard, lines 3-4)

When the *coupe féminine réformée* occurs, there should be no increase in the number of syllables heard in the musical interpretation. Goudimel fails totally to observe this in five chansons:

- ch. no. 12 *Ce qui pour moy en ce monde fut mis*
- ch. no. 16 *D'amour me plaintz et du mal que je sentz*
- ch. no. 17 *De plus aymer, fy j'en quicte les armes*
- ch. no. 44 *Or à ce jour le verd may se termine*
- ch. no. 49 *Puis qu'on se plait en langueur me nourrir*

Instead, he gives short note-values - minims or semiminims - to the adjacent vowels following syllable four, even when the decasyllabic line is presented in its entirety in an unbroken musical phrase (Example 3a, b, c, d, e).

3a. *Ce qui pour moy en ce monde fut mis*, (ch. no. 12) Tenor, meas. 20-23

8 Non, non m'a-my - e, il ne s'en fault que ri - re,

<sup>10</sup> EGAN-BUFFET, 1992, pp. 417-419 (B. Aneau), pp. 435-447 (P. de Ronsard).

<sup>11</sup> See GOUDIMEL, 1974; pp. 8-11: ch. no. 2 *Reponse, Si l'on donnoit à l'aymant jouissance*, lines 1, 2 and 8, Tenor meas. 1-12, 41-47, where the end of the phrase coincides with the silent syllable at the end of the poetic line. See also EGAN-BUFFET, 1992, ex. 271 p. 358 and pp. 230-233.

3b. *D'amour me plaintz, et du mal que je sentz*, (ch. no. 12) Tenor, meas. 38-44

L'hy-vert je brus-le, je brus-le, je brus-le, je brus-le, je  
brus-le, L'hy-vert je brus-le, et l'aes-té meurs de froid,

3c. *De plus aymer, fy j'en quicte les armes*, (ch. no. 17) Superius, meas. 9-11

Dieu me doit gra - ce estre ail - leurs plus heu - reux:

3d. *Or à ce jour le verd may se termine*, (ch. no. 44) Superius, meas. 37-41

Dont ja com-men - ce à m'en-nuy - er ma vi - e

3e. *Puis que voulez que de vous je m'absente*, (ch. no. 49) Tenor, meas. 28-33

Que plus vous fai - re, que plus vous  
fai - re en - ten - dre mes cla - meurs.

In all except one of these five chansons, (ch. no. 49), the second part of the line is also repeated. This repetition does not affect the silent syllable at the caesura. Repetition of the *first* part of the line *does* affect the caesura. This occurs in ch. no. 16. In this chanson, Le Roy further emphasises the words 'je brusle' in response to the meaning of the text (Example 3b).

It occurs again in ch. no. 17. Here, the first part of the line is repeated in the Bassus only.<sup>12</sup> It is also found in ch. no. 49. Here, the first part of the line is repeated in the Superius and Tenor.<sup>13</sup> In ch. no. 12, a rest is introduced at the caesura in order to isolate the treatment of the first part of the line in imitative counterpoint.<sup>14</sup>

We see from these examples that when the first part is repeated, Goudimel is obliged to articulate the silent syllable at the end of his musical phrase.

These five chansons are among Goudimel's early works (ch. nos 12 (1550); 16 (1549); 17 (1552); 44 (1550); 49 (1550)). All five are set to unidentified texts and all were published prior to his publication of the musical supplement to the *Amours de Ronsard* in 1552. This is significant for our understanding of Goudimel's development as a composer of the *chanson lyrique*.

In two further chansons, the *coupe féminine réformée* is only partly respected. In one of these, *La terre, l'eau, l'air le feu, et les cieulx* (ch. no. 34), the *coupe féminine réformée* is disregarded irrespective of whether the line is unbroken or fragmented in all but one instance. It is clear that the editor, Nicolas Du Chemin, did not appreciate the implications of the *coupe féminine réformée* either since, when it is respected in the Bassus, he feels obliged to alert the singers to the necessity of eliding the silent syllable of *l'umbre* by underscoring the word. Like the five chansons described above, this is an early chanson. It appeared in 1549 in the very first anthology containing Goudimel's works.<sup>15</sup> *Je m'asseurois que ce petit archier* (ch. 26) appeared much later, in 1554, two years after the publication of the musical supplement to Ronsard's *Amours*. In this, when the text line is unbroken, the *coupe féminine réformée* is consistently respected (Example 4).

4. *Je m'asseurois que ce petit archier*, (ch. no. 26) Tenor, meas. 27-31

Je sens qui gai - gne, je sens qui gagne un  
tel pou - voir sur moy,

It is only disregarded when the first part of the line is isolated. Goudimel consistently respects the *coupe féminine réformée* in eight of the six-

<sup>12</sup> See GOUDIMEL, 1974, p. 70, meas. 8-15.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187, meas. 28-33.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49, meas. 20-26.

<sup>15</sup> EGAN-BUFFET, 1992, chap. 15, *Forme poétique et forme musicale*, pp. 488-505.

teen decasyllabic texts:

- ch. no. 2, Réponse *Si l'on donnoit à l'aymant jouissance* (1554)
- ch. no. 3 *Amour me tue et si je ne veux dire* (1572)
- ch. no. 13 *Certes mon oeil fut trop aventureux* (1565)
- ch. no. 24 *Jamais amour sans guerre n'est parfaict* (1550)
- ch. no. 28 *Je sens en moy croistre l'ardant desir* (1559)
- ch. no. 48 *Prenés mon cueur, dame, prenés mon cueur* (1557)
- ch. no. 69 *Demandez vous en qui je me console* (1578)
- ch. no. 71 *Muses du bon Poete de Sicile* (1559)

Only one of the eight chansons was published prior to 1552. In these, where text repetition occurs, it always involves the second part (never the first part) of the line. Thus, since the elided syllable at the caesura never coincides with the end of a musical phrase, the music can always respect the elision.

Observance of the *coupe féminine réformée* is not confined to a particular musical style. It is true that the vertical style predominates in these eight chansons. Nonetheless, we also find in these chansons imitative polyphony (ch. no. 3), an elaborate contrapuntal style (ch. no. 24) and extended melismatic phrases (ch. no. 28).

A clear understanding of Goudimel's approach to composition of the decasyllabic line is crucial to our understanding of the newly emerging rapport between poet and composer in the 1550s. This was spear-headed by the Pleiade poets and their *poésie lyrique*. The musical supplement to Ronsard's *Amours* of 1552 represents the first major manifestation of the combined efforts of poets and musicians to unite poetry with music and in this venture Goudimel played a dominant role: he was responsible for the preparation and publication of the supplement and also composed four out of the ten compositions contained therein. Contrary to the recommendations of Ambroise de la Porte, the literary editor, his music was only intended for the texts actually set to music. It was never intended for all the other texts bearing the same poetic form. One of the most convincing arguments in support of this claim, and that I have already voiced elsewhere<sup>16</sup>, concerns the internal structure of the decasyllabic line and it is this: whereas the music composed for a line containing the *coupe féminine réformée* serves normal decasyllabic lines equally well, the opposite is not necessarily the case. We can observe this in Goudimel's setting of Ronsard's sonnet *Quand j'apperçoy ton beau chef jaunissant* in the *Amours*. Here, lines nine and twelve are normal decasyllabic lines. Goudimel marks the customary caesura after the fourth syllable by a cadence followed by a rest in three out of the four parts, and by initiating a new imitative phrase in the Contratenor (Example 5).

<sup>16</sup> EGAN-BUFFET, 1991.



ve this ideal union in his chansons. It is hardly a coincidence that seven of the eight chansons in which Goudimel consistently respects the *coupe féminine réformée* were published after 1552 and that these include four identified texts, one by Barthélémy Aneau and three by Ronsard. Goudimel's first strophic chansons were published in 1562. In these (four settings of Ronsard texts), *Celuy qui n'ayme est malheureux* (ch. no. 11), *Du jour que je feuz amoureux* (ch. no. 19), *Il me semble que la journée* (ch. no. 23), *Tu me fais mourir de me dire* (ch. no. 65), Goudimel shows himself to be perfectly aware of the need to write a melodic phrase that can accommodate variations that occur in the internal structure of the poetic lines in the successive strophes. Hence, unbroken melodic phrases, entirely devoid of rests are composed for the individual lines of the strophic texts. Each line is clearly articulated in a musical style that is consistently more homophonic than in his earlier chansons settings.<sup>17</sup>

The findings outlined above offer a new dimension to Jean-Michel Vaccaro's recent major analysis of the mid-sixteenth century French chanson.<sup>18</sup> We have seen that a study of the internal structure of the poetic line can contribute to the approximate dating and provenance of the text. It can allow us to measure the skills of its author and assess the nature and extent of his training as a poet. The composer's sensitivity to the internal structure of the poetic line can indicate the level of his own acquaintance with new, sophisticated developments in the art of poetry. It can indicate, too, his willingness to allow his music to serve this art in order to achieve the humanist ideal of musico-poetic union.

Goudimel's music is perhaps the ideal starting-point for a study of the internal structure of the poetic line in the mid-sixteenth century French chanson since, in his compositions, we can see how his attitude progressed from one of almost total disregard, in the early chanson publications of 1549, to one of complete awareness, in his settings of Ronsard's strophic texts in 1562. It would be instructive to study the chansons of other mid-sixteenth century composers, including those of Lassus, in the light of these findings and to follow this by examining the extent to which attention to the internal structure of the French poetic line was sustained during the closing decades of the sixteenth century.

<sup>17</sup> For an assessment of Goudimel's treatment of strophic poems see EGAN-BUFFET, 1992, pp. 513-534.

<sup>18</sup> J.-M. VACCARO, *Las! pour vous trop aymer*, in M. EVERIST (ed.), *Models of musical analysis: music before 1600*, Oxford, 1992, pp. 175-207.



# LASSUS, COMME RÉFÉRENCE OU DE LA DIFFICULTÉ D'ÊTRE UN CONTEMPORAIN DE LASSUS

## Le cas de Claude le Jeune

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S'il est relativement naturel, surtout en cette année 1994 qui marque le quatrième centenaire de leur mort, de comparer Roland de Lassus à son collègue italien Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, il est plus rare de trouver le grand maître franco-flamand mis en parallèle avec un autre compositeur exactement contemporain dont l'importance historique est souvent relevée, mais dont l'oeuvre est encore trop mal connue, je veux parler du valenciennais Claude Le Jeune (ca. 1530-1600). Pourtant, cette comparaison se justifie pleinement, ne serait-ce que si l'on observe le contenu des recueils publiés à Paris pendant la seconde moitié du seizième siècle. L'examen parallèle de la production profane, parfois concurrente, des deux musiciens, s'il n'enlève rien à la position tout-à-fait exceptionnelle de Lassus pour cette période, offre néanmoins des points de contact et de comparaison intéressants.

Je commencerai, pour apprécier de façon objective la popularité des deux musiciens, par examiner le catalogue des imprimeurs de musique parisiens - Le Roy & Ballard surtout<sup>1</sup> -, incontestable reflet des goûts du public dans une zone d'activité qui leur est commune. Pour tenter d'avoir une image relativement sûre des musiciens-phares qui se détachent de la masse de ces compositeurs dont nous trouvons les noms dans les anthologies parisiennes, nous pouvons nous baser sur les recueils de 'mélanges' qui commencent à fleurir en 1560 et qui, lorsqu'ils nous livrent les oeuvres d'un même compositeur, nous assurent de sa popularité à ce moment. Peu de musiciens ont eu le privilège de voir paraître ainsi leurs 'mélanges': Certon tout d'abord, chez Du Chemin en 1570, puis Lassus chez Le Roy & Ballard la même année, suivi précisément en 1586 par Le Jeune.<sup>2</sup> A cette courte liste peut être ajouté le nom de Costeley, dont la volumineuse *Musique* de 1570 est un 'mélange' sans en porter le titre. Chez Le Roy & Ballard, Lassus et Le Jeune sont donc les seuls à avoir droit à des 'mélanges', mais à des époques bien différentes puisque Lassus précède son

<sup>1</sup> Voir F. LESURE - G. THIBAUT, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard*, Paris, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> Ce recueil est publié l'année précédente à Anvers chez Plantin. D'autres recueils de mélanges mettent en avant les noms de Castro (Phalèse & Bellère, 1575), Servin (Lyon: Charles Pesnot, 1578) et l'Estocart (recueil perdu mais publié en 1582 ou 1583). Voir I. HIS, *Les mélanges musicaux au XVI<sup>e</sup> et au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Nouvelle revue du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 8 (1990), pp. 95-110.

collègue de plus de quinze ans. On peut considérer qu'ils représentent ce que les imprimeurs ont de mieux à livrer au public à ces dates.<sup>3</sup> Il faut également s'intéresser à l'énorme *Mellange* collectif que ces derniers impriment une première fois en 1560, avec la fameuse préface de Ronsard, et qui reparait en 1572 sous une forme logiquement très remaniée compte tenu du temps écoulé et du changement de décennie. Ce recueil, unique chez Le Roy & Ballard par son volume et l'intérêt de son contenu, a fait l'objet d'une étude récente<sup>4</sup> qui scinde les oeuvres présentées en trois groupes: celles publiées uniquement en 1560 (et supprimées en 1572), celles publiées en 1560 et 1572, et celles publiées uniquement dans la réédition de 1572. Or, il apparaît que toutes les pièces de Lassus présentées en 1560 - 9 au total - disparaissent en 1572, disparition qui s'explique par la publication entre temps, en 1570, du *Mellange* de Lassus. Ce recueil consacré exclusivement à Lassus permet aux imprimeurs de le délaïsser dans l'anthologie de 1572, et de faire place aux compositeurs nouveaux, parmi lesquels on peut trouver précisément Le Jeune avec 6 chansons. Dans ce recueil composite, Le Jeune symbolise donc la nouveauté, mais il ne faut pas déduire de l'absence de Lassus à ses côtés que celui-ci est un compositeur démodé. En effet, depuis le *Douzième livre* de 1559, le nom d'Orlande apparaît avec une remarquable régularité dans les publications de Le Roy & Ballard, et le pourcentage de ses chansons dans leurs anthologies va croissant pour culminer à partir de 1561: réédition du *Douzième livre*, remaniée en sa faveur cette même année, de même qu'en 1565, *Quatorzième livre* de 1561 également, *Quinzième livre*, *Seizième livre* et surtout *Dixseptième livre* de 1565 (qui n'offre que deux pièces de musiciens autres que Lassus), enfin *Dixhuitième livre*, consacré exclusivement à ses oeuvres, ballon d'essai pour ses *Mellanges* de 1570... Les *Dixneuvième* et *Vingtième livre* (1567 et 1569) reviennent à des proportions plus équitables entre les différents auteurs de ces anthologies; le *Vingtunième livre* de 1577 voit apparaître, pour la première fois dans un recueil collectif<sup>5</sup>, le nom de Le Jeune, certes encore minoritairement représenté ici, mais de plus en plus présent dans les livres qui suivent en 1583 (*Vingt-deuxième*, *Vingt-troisième* et *Vingt-quatrième livre*), au point qu'en 1585, lorsque les imprimeurs remanient le *Vingt-quatrième livre*, ils transforment l'intitulé original "De plusieurs excellens auteurs" (qui avait remplacé la formule devenue parfois presque mensongère "D'Orlande de Lassus et autres") en "D'Orlande de Lassus et Cl. Le Jeune". Le *Vingt-cinquième* et dernier livre

<sup>3</sup> Howard Brown pose toutefois la question de savoir si Le Roy & Ballard n'influencèrent pas plus le goût du public qu'ils ne le reflétèrent. Voir 'Ut musica poesis': *Music and poetry in France in the late sixteenth century*, in *Early Music History*, 13 (1994), pp. 1-63.

<sup>4</sup> Voir K. VAN ORDEN, *Imitation and 'La musique des anciens' - Le Roy & Ballard's 1572 'Mellange de chansons'*, *Revue de musicologie*, 80 (1994), pp. 5-37.

<sup>5</sup> Dès 1564, Le Roy & Ballard publient un recueil exclusivement consacré à Claude Le Jeune: ses *Dix pseumes*.

de 1585 viendra confirmer par un intitulé identique l'égle popularité des deux hommes, le second venant davantage illustrer désormais la vogue nouvelle de l'air par rapport à la chanson. Cette nouvelle position concurrente de Le Jeune face à celui qui depuis 25 ans, bien qu'absent de France, est omniprésent dans les publications parisiennes, apparaît donc de façon significative dans les titres de la réédition du *Vingtquatriesme livre* et de l'édition du *Vingtcinquiesme livre*. Cette nouvelle situation m'autorise à rechercher les points de contact entre leurs oeuvres, genres profanes en particulier, afin d'y déceler d'éventuelles influences.

Un regard plus interne sur la production respective des deux musiciens permet de constater qu'ils ont évidemment cultivé plusieurs genres en commun, mais de façons bien particulières. Ces genres engagent souvent la question de l'influence de l'Italie, car le cosmopolite Lassus doit bien être considéré dans son rôle d'important ambassadeur musical italien en France. Ses publications majeures à cet égard sont d'une part le *Dixhuictième livre*, que Le Roy & Ballard mettent en lumière à Paris en 1565 et qui connut 5 rééditions entre 1567 et 1581 (les napolitaines y sont les mêmes que dans son 'opus 1' paru à Anvers en 1555), et d'autre part le *Libro de villanelle, moresche et altre canzoni* de 1581. Or le contenu de ces deux publications n'est pas sans rapport avec certaines pièces de Le Jeune, musicien dont le voyage outre-monts, s'il est à mon sens fortement probable<sup>6</sup>, n'est à ce jour pas prouvé. Les six premières napolitaines de Lassus se basent toutes sur des emprunts plus ou moins identifiés: 4 reprennent des modèles à 3 voix de Fontana, publiés en 1545, et 2 possèdent des concordances anonymes publiées respectivement en 1555 et 1560. Dans ces pièces, Lassus reprend un procédé utilisé déjà par Willaert dans ses *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana* de 1544, et arrange de façon plus ou moins littérale au ténor le superius de son modèle.<sup>7</sup> Parmi ces modèles, il s'en trouve un - celui de 1555 - dont le recueil porte curieusement en titre le nom de Lassus lui-même<sup>8</sup>, mention qui, pour expliquer un éventuel et paradoxal auto-emprunt, a été considérée par Einstein comme publicitaire.<sup>9</sup> Quant au *Libro de villanelle [...]* de 1581, il contient 7 autres villanelles basées sur des antécédents à 3 voix: 2 de Fontana, publiés en 1545, 4 de Da Nola, publiés en 2 livres en 1545, et le dernier issu d'une anthologie anonyme de 1557. Cette fois cependant, Lassus, qui s'excuse en préface de publier ces oeuvres 'de jeunesse', fait subir aux mélodies empruntées un traitement relevant de la variation, de la fragmentation ou de la

<sup>6</sup> Voir HIS, *Italianism and Claude Le Jeune*, in *Early music history*, 13 (1994), p. 149-170.

<sup>7</sup> Voir D.G. CARDAMONE, *The canzone villanesca alla napolitana and related forms, 1537-1570*, Ann Arbor, 1981, pp. 202-3. Voir aussi D.G. CARDAMONE, (ed.), *Orlando di Lasso et al. Canzoni, villanesche and villanelle*, Madison, 1991, pp. XIX-XX.

<sup>8</sup> Il s'agit du recueil *Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus e d'altri [...]* publié à Rome en 1555.

<sup>9</sup> Voir EINSTEIN, 1949, p. 497.

parodie, qui laisse percevoir une parenté sans qu'il s'agisse de réelle citation. Cette nouvelle relation des villanelles de 1581 à leur modèle constitue ce qui les distingue essentiellement de celles de 1555.<sup>10</sup> Ces deux séries de villanelles ont très vraisemblablement été connues de Le Jeune: le *Dixhuictiesme livre*, on l'a vu, a connu à Paris 5 rééditions, sans compter la double édition originale de l'opus 1<sup>er</sup> chez Susato; le *Libro de villanelle [...]* est en 1581 le premier recueil de Le Roy & Ballard exclusivement consacré à un répertoire italien, si l'on fait exception d'un recueil de villanelles anonymes paru en 1565.<sup>11</sup> Lorsqu'en 1585-1586 il publie dans ses *Melanges* 36 pièces italiennes, Claude Le Jeune ne peut éviter la référence à son collègue et prédécesseur. Numériquement, il va cependant plus loin que les 23 pièces italiennes de 1581, ou que les 25 de la *Continuation du mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* de 1584, et même que les 23 anonymes de 1565. Les 36 pièces italiennes qu'il y présente, à 4, 5 et 6 voix, sont également basées, cela a pu être établi pour leur quasi-totalité<sup>12</sup>, sur des antécédents à 3 voix issus de différents petits recueils italiens. Parmi ces recueils, qui servent d'ailleurs de 'réservoirs' à plusieurs compositeurs (Cornet, Azzaiolo, Ferretti, Scandello par exemple), il en est 3 qui ont pu servir à la fois à Lassus et à Le Jeune pour puiser leurs modèles:

-1555<sup>30</sup>: 1 modèle pour Lassus (1555); 4 modèles pour Le Jeune<sup>13</sup>

-1557<sup>20</sup>: 1 modèle pour Lassus (1581); 2 modèles pour Le Jeune<sup>14</sup>

-1562<sup>14</sup>: 1 modèle pour Lassus (1581); 2 modèles pour Le Jeune<sup>15</sup>

En une seule occasion cependant, les deux musiciens travaillent sur le même modèle; on peut ainsi exceptionnellement comparer leurs deux versions de *O occhi manza mia*, toutes deux à 4 voix, qui présentent des points de convergence et de divergence. Dans les deux cas nous trouvons le modèle transposé par bémol, ainsi qu'une forme cloisonnée reprenant le schéma original à reprises textuelles. Lassus se montre néanmoins plus fidèle à son modèle, en particulier dans sa façon de citer la mélodie - localisée exclusivement au ténor - et dans le type d'écriture polyphonique qu'il utilise - souvent homophone. Le Jeune s'éloigne davantage du modèle et se montre stylistiquement beaucoup plus novateur: sa citation migre du superius au ténor, son contrepoint est plus varié et complexe.

<sup>10</sup> C'est aussi ce qui pousse Einstein (*Ibid.*) à penser que malgré ce qu'en dit Lassus, elles ont été remaniées depuis la période de leur composition.

<sup>11</sup> Il s'agit d'*Il primo libro di villanelle alla napolitana [...]*.

<sup>12</sup> Voir I. HIS, *Les modèles italiens de Claude Le Jeune*, in *Revue de musicologie*, 77 (1991), pp. 25-58.

<sup>13</sup> Respectivement: *Tu traditora; Vorria che tu cantassi, Io piango, Latra traitora* et *S'io canto*. Le *Second livre des meslanges* posthume de Claude Le Jeune (1612) contient également un *Bona sera* dont le modèle se trouve dans ce recueil. J'utilise ici les codes du RISM.

<sup>14</sup> Respectivement: *O occhi manza mia; O occhi manza mia, O vilanella*.

<sup>15</sup> Respectivement: *Hai Lucia; Chi vuol vedere, Fa mi sicuro*.

1a. Lassus

IV, 15.

Canto. O oc.chi, manza mi . a, O oc.chi, man.za mia, ci . gli do . ra . . ti!

Alto. O oc.chi, manza mi . a, O oc.chi, man.za mia, ci . gli do . ra . . ti!

Tenore. O oc.chi, manza mi . a, O oc.chi, man.za mia, ci . gli do . ra . . ti!

Basso. O oc.chi, manza mi . a, O oc.chi, man.za mia, ci . gli do . ra . . ti!



O oc.chi, manza mi . a, O oc.chi, man.za mia, ci . gli do . ra . . ti! O fac.cia

O oc.chi, manza mi . a, O oc.chi, man.za mia, ci . gli do . ra . . ti! O fac.cia

O oc.chi, manza mi . a, O oc.chi, man.za mia, ci . gli do . ra . . ti! O fac.cia

O oc.chi, manza mi . a, O oc.chi, man.za mia, ci . gli do . ra . . ti! O fac.cia



d'v . na lu . na, O fa.cia d'v. na lu . na stra.lu . cen . : ti! Tie.ne.mi mente,

d'v.na lu . . na, O fa.cia d'v. na lu . na stra . lu . cen . ti! Tie.ne.mi mente,

d'v.na lu . . na, O fa.cia d'v. na lu . na stra . lu . cen . ti! Tie.ne.mi mente,

d'v . na lu . na, O fa.cia d'v. na lu . na stra . lu . cen . ti! Tie.ne.mi mente,



1b. Le Jeune

O oc . chi man . za mi . a [O oc .

O oc . chi man . za mi . - a [O oc .

O oc . chi man . za mi . a [O oc . chi man . za mi . a] O

O oc . chi man . za mi . a [O



6

- chi man - za [mia] ci - gli do - ra - - ti. O

- chi man - za [mia] ci - gli do - ra - ti. O oc - chi man - za mi -

oc - chi man - za [mia] ci - gli do - ra - ti. O oc - chi

oc - chi man - za [mia] ci - gli do - rat' O oc - chi man - za mi -

11

oc - chi man - za mi - a [O oc -

- a, O oc - chi man - za mi - - a, [O oc -

O oc - chi man - za mi - a [O oc - chi man - za mi - a] O

- a, [O oc - chi man - za mi - - a] O

Le Jeune a-t-il connu la version de Lassus avant de composer la sienne? Les *Melanges* de Le Jeune, bien que publiés en 1585, sont prêts à être imprimés dès janvier 1582 (date du 'Privilege pour l'Auteur' dans l'édition originale de Plantin), et l'*O occhi manza mia* de Lassus paraît en 1581... Il est curieux de constater en tous cas que celle-ci, dans ce second groupe de villanelles de Lassus, est la seule à procéder, comme en 1555, par citation stricte au ténor et non par références diffuses au modèle.<sup>16</sup> Le Jeune, connaissant la version de Lassus, a-t-il jugé possible de donner une version plus élaborée sur un même modèle? A-t-il soigneusement évité par ailleurs tout autre doublon avec son collègue, ou est-ce seulement le hasard qui décida de ces choix respectifs à partir de sources parfois communes?<sup>17</sup> En l'absence de toute certitude, on peut

<sup>16</sup> Voir CARDAMONE, 1981, pp. 202-3.

<sup>17</sup> Le Jeune n'utilise pas les recueils de Fontana (1545) et Da Nola (1545) que Lassus utilise, mais surtout ceux de Moro, publié en 1581 (4 modèles), et de Celano, publié en 1582 (5 modèles), deux recueils qui par leurs dates tardives de publication posent le problème de leur disponibilité pour Le Jeune. Ce-dernier utilise lui-aussi un modèle de Da Nola, mais issu d'un recueil plus tardif de 1567. Voir HIS, 1991, pp. 25-58.

penser que c'est sans doute par le biais de l'opus 1' ou du *Dixhuictiesme livre* de Lassus que Le Jeune a approché sa façon de procéder dans le genre de la villanella<sup>18</sup>; ses propres pièces à 4 voix s'y réfèrent probablement, mais représentent un degré supérieur d'élaboration. Dans ses pièces italiennes à 5 et 6 voix, la distance vis-à-vis des modèles - plus tardifs ici - s'élargit encore: la forme est à la fois plus élaborée, plus madrigalisante et plus libre. Sa façon de travailler s'apparente davantage à celle que l'on trouve dans les canzoni à 5 et 6 voix que Ferretti commence à mettre au jour en 1567, et l'influence de Lassus sur ce que je considère pour cette raison comme une seconde série italienne de Le Jeune (publiée cependant dans les mêmes *Melanges*) est beaucoup moins évidente. La présence de deux séries de villanelle/canonette chez l'un et l'autre musiciens, sur le plan de la facture et sans doute aussi de la chronologie, reste cependant une donnée commune intéressante.

En dehors de ses villanelle, le recueil de Lassus publié en 1581 contient deux pièces originales pour lesquelles on peut trouver chez Le Jeune des correspondants intéressants. Je veux parler de la tedesca *Matona mia cara* et de l'écho *O la o che buon eccho*. Le Jeune composera en effet non pas une tedesca (en dialecte germano-italien), mais ce que l'on peut considérer comme une 'tudesque' (dialecte germano-français), publiée de façon posthume parmi les *Airs* mesurés de 1608. Cette pièce, assez exceptionnelle pour être signalée, est italianisante en ce sens qu'elle suit de très près le texte d'une todesca publiée en 1566 dans un de ces petits recueils italiens dont j'ai déjà parlé.<sup>19</sup> L'air mesuré *Trinke trinke trinke pon pokras / Moy ne trinker haûtre fin* est effectivement à mettre en parallèle avec *Trinc e got e malvasia / Mi non trincher altro vin*; cependant, le *Matona mia cara* de Lassus, seule tedesca publiée chez Le Roy & Ballard, a sans doute son importance dans la connaissance du genre en France<sup>20</sup> et par Le Jeune en particulier. Même phénomène pour l'écho musical, genre italianisant dont Lassus semble une fois encore se faire l'ambassadeur. Certes, des antécédents français à 4 voix existent, avec la chanson de Gentian *Dieu qui conduictz* (Paris: Attaignant, 1549) ou *Piteuse echo qui erres en ces bois* de Janequin (Paris: Du Chemin, 1557), sur un texte de Du Bellay, mais ces deux cas restent très isolés et ne recourent pas à des effectifs exceptionnels visant à reproduire l'effet d'écho. En Italie en revanche, on trouve dès les années 1560 des échos plus développés à 6 voix, puis 8 ou 10 voix dans les décennies 1570-1580. Le

<sup>18</sup> A moins que Willaert ne soit son maître dans ce domaine comme dans d'autres, mais cette hypothèse, qui suppose soit la bonne diffusion en France des villanelles de Willaert, soit le voyage outre-monts de Le Jeune, est plus hasardeuse.

<sup>19</sup> *Il quinto libro delle villotte* (Venise, 1566). Dans ce recueil, on peut trouver également un *All'arm all'arm o fidi miei pensieri* qu'il faut rapprocher du texte de *La guerre* de Claude Le Jeune (1608). Voir HIS, 1994.

<sup>20</sup> Hormis Lassus, O. Vecchi (*Veglie di Siena*, 1604) et A. Banchieri (*La barca di Venezia per Padova*, 1623) ont usé de ce type de 'dialecte' en musique.

ferrarais Lodovico Agostini se fait même une spécialité avec ce type de pièces (recueils de 1581 et 1583), mais à cette époque en France, seul le *O la o che buon eccho* de Lassus, à 8 voix en double chœur, vient donner une idée de cette mode italienne. Or, ses *Melanges* de 1585 contiennent un écho latin de Le Jeune, *Quae celebrat thermas*, qui reprend la structure de double chœur de Lassus, mais en augmente l'effectif à 10 voix (effectif déjà utilisé ailleurs par Lassus, par exemple dans son madrigal à double chœur *Hor che la nuova primavera*). Par ailleurs, Le Jeune utilise un texte qui lui permet d'aller au-delà de la simple exploitation ludique du procédé de l'écho musical: la répétition par le second chœur (l'écho) n'est que partielle; comme dans les chansons de Gentian et Janequin, elle ne concerne que la 'couronne' du vers, c'est-à-dire qu'elle recourt au jeu de mots. Lassus, dans *O la o che buon eccho* comme dans son autre écho à 10 voix *Valle profonda* (1584) compose des échos sur des textes qui ne portent pas dans leur structure même le procédé musical. Le Jeune a-t-il attendu de connaître *O la o che buon eccho* (1581) pour écrire son *Quae celebrat thermas* (1585, mais privilège daté de janvier 1582)? Une autre chanson de sa main, *O voix, o de nos voix* (1612) exploite à 8 voix le procédé d'écho, mais seulement dans sa seconde section. Dans ce domaine encore, l'influence de Lassus est vraisemblable tant que ne sera pas prouvé le voyage de Le Jeune en Italie, et bien sûr en l'absence de tout renseignement précis sur la circulation manuscrite de la musique avant sa publication.<sup>21</sup>

Il est cependant un genre italianisant dans lequel Le Jeune s'est apparemment illustré avant Lassus, si l'on se fie aux dates de publication: celui du dialogue en musique. Dès 1564 en effet paraît chez Le Roy & Ballard le recueil des *Dix pseumes de David*, qui se termine par une onzième pièce exceptionnelle, un 'Dialogue a scept' tout-à-fait novateur à cette époque.<sup>22</sup> Dans ce *Mais qui es-tu dy moy*, Le Jeune divise son effectif en deux chœurs inégaux personnifiant l'Homme (4 voix graves) et la Religion (3 voix aiguës). Les pièces équivalentes chez Lassus, qu'elles soient en français ou en italien, sont toutes publiées postérieurement.<sup>23</sup> D'autres dialogues poétiques ont été mis en musique auparavant, mais avec des effectifs 'normaux' ne permettant pas d'effet de contraste

<sup>21</sup> Il est par ailleurs troublant de trouver en Italie, à la Bibliothèque Vaticane de Rome, l'unique concordance/variante de *Quae celebrat thermas*, dans une partie d'altus manuscrite et anonyme datant des années 1520. Voir A. SILBINGER, *An unknown partbook of early Sixteenth-century polyphony*, in *Studi musicali*, 6 (1977), pp. 43-67.

<sup>22</sup> Ce dialogue, à cause de son texte religieusement 'engagé', disparaîtra de la réédition de 1580. Le Jeune est l'auteur d'un autre dialogue à 8 voix: *Arreste un peu mon coeur* (1585), ainsi que de trois autres pièces à 8 voix. Il écrit également le dialogue à 7 voix *Amour quand fus tu né* (1603) dans lequel il retravaille de très près le *Quando nascesti Amor* de Willaert.

<sup>23</sup> Il s'agit de *Che fai alma*, sur un texte de Pétrarque, à 7 voix (1569), de *Un jour l'amant et l'amie* à 8 voix (1570), ou de *Hola Caron* (O. de Magny) et *O doux parler* (Ronsard) publiées en 1571 chez Le Roy & Ballard dans un *Livre de chansons nouvelles à cinc parties, avec deux dialogues: à huit. D'Orlande de Lassus*.

exceptionnel. Peut-être faut-il regarder du côté d'un Dominique Phinot, auteur de chansons à 8 voix<sup>24</sup>, pour expliquer cette pièce de Le Jeune, mais le musicien influent ici est plus vraisemblablement Willaert, qui a fini par publier, cinq ans auparavant, son fameux recueil *Musica Nova* si important dans le domaine du dialogo à 7 voix et de la mise en musique du sonnet, dont Le Jeune semble avoir eu une connaissance assez étroite (cf. infra).

Autre domaine dans lequel Le Jeune a innové de façon tout-à-fait autonome, et pour lequel Lassus a probablement pris connaissance de sa production avant de s'y essayer: celui de la musique 'mesurée à l'antique'. Certes, il est difficile d'établir une comparaison ici: une seule pièce chez Lassus pour plusieurs centaines chez Le Jeune, qui est une des figures essentielles de l'Académie de poésie et de musique fondée par Baïf en 1570. Mais cette unique pièce de Lassus, que l'on peut imaginer écrite sur la demande de son ami Adrian Le Roy, a sa concordance dans l'œuvre de Le Jeune; mieux encore, les deux versions sont présentées en vis-à-vis, de façon presque 'concurrente', en 1583 dans le *Vingtquatriesme livre* de Le Roy & Ballard. La version de Lassus, déjà parue dans ses *Meslanges* remaniés de 1576, est très vraisemblablement une trace de ses voyages à Paris (1571, 1573, 1574); elle n'attend donc guère pour être livrée au public, alors que la musique mesurée de Le Jeune en général sera pour la plupart posthume, les Statuts de l'Académie prévoyant un 'consentement de toute la Compagnie' comme condition à la communication de pièces créées en son sein. La version de Lassus, à 5 voix, recourt au même schéma prosodique que celle de Le Jeune, à 4 voix dans sa première mouture.<sup>25</sup> Elle en est très proche, et même presque plus 'réglementaire' dans l'homorythmie puisqu'on n'y trouve pas ce petit passage contrapuntique sur 'retire-la moy' que Le Jeune, rompu à l'écriture mesurée, s'amuse à introduire. Ce dernier donne également une version plus variée dans l'utilisation d'un effectif pourtant moins riche.

Quoi qu'il en soit, voilà l'unique pièce française attestant de l'intérêt de Lassus pour les recherches de Baïf.<sup>26</sup> Cependant, certains de ses motets latins sur des textes classiques comme *Tityre tu patulae*, mais aussi sur des textes non mesurés (*Salve Regina*, par exemple) peuvent être mis en rapport avec les expériences de l'Académie par leur déclamation quantitative caractéristique. C'est le cas également pour son *Domine quid multiplicati sunt* à 6 voix (1582) pour lequel le paramètre prosodique semble avoir conditionné toute l'écriture, comme s'il s'agissait d'un parti-pris radical, éventuelle alternative pour une seconde mise

<sup>24</sup> Publiées d'abord à Lyon en 1548, elles paraissent chez Le Roy & Ballard dans les *Meslanges* de 1560 et 1572. *Qu'est-ce qu'amour*, par exemple, fait alterner questions et réponses à la manière d'un dialogue. Voir R. JACOB, (ed.), *D. Phinot. Opera omnia*, (Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 59, III, 2), [Rome], 1979.

<sup>25</sup> La variante contenue dans les *Airs* de 1608 est à 5 voix.

<sup>26</sup> Il ne s'agit pas pour autant du seul air de Lassus (voir par exemple *Mais qui pourroit estre celui*).

## 2a. Le Jeune

(20) bis

## Une Puce

Version from: AL (Superius and Tenor), ALB (Sup., Tenor and Bassus), and LJA (Sup., Contra and Tenor).

(1)

SUPERIUS U - ne pu - ce j'ay de - dans l'o.reille he - las! Qui de nuit et de jour

CONTRA U - ne pu - ce j'ay de - dans l'o.reille he - las! Qui de nuit et de jour

TENOR U - ne pu - ce j'ay de - dans l'o.reille he - las! Qui de nuit et de jour

BASSUS U - ne pu - ce j'ay de - dans l'o.reille he - las! Qui de nuit et de jour

me fre - tille et me mord, et me fait de - ve - nir fou. Nul re - me - de n'y puis

me fre - tille et me mord, et me fait de - ve - nir fou. Nul re - me - de n'y puis

me fre - tille et me mord, et me fait de - ve - nir fou. Nul re - me - de n'y puis

me fre - tille et me mord, et me fait de - ve - nir fou. Nul re - me - de n'y puis

(2)

don - ner Je cour de là re - ti - re - là moy

don - ner Je cour de ça Je cour de là re - ti - re - là moy

don - ner Je cour de ça Je cour de là re - ti - re - là moy

don - ner Je cour de ça re - ti - re - là moy

Je t'en pri O tou - te bel - le se - cour moy

Je t'en pri O tou - te bel - le se - cour moy

Je t'en pri O tou - te bel - le se - cour moy

je t'en pri O tou - te bel - le se - cour moy

(1) AL, ALB:  $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ (2) ALB:  $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ 

(8) LJA: no flat.

L J 1

2b. Lassus

Villanelle.  
(De Baif.)

Sopravis.		1. V - ne pu - ce j'ai de - dans l'o - reil - l;he - las! Qui de 2. Quant mes yeux je pen - ce li - urer au so - meil El - le 3. D'v - ne viel - le char - me - res - se ai - dé me suis Qui gue - 4. Bien je sçay que seu - le peux gue - rir ce mal; Je te
Quinta pars.		1. Qui de 2. El - le 3. Qui gue - 4. Je te
Contraténor.		1. V - ne pu - ce j'ai de - dans l'o - reil - l;he - las! Qui de 2. Quant mes yeux je pen - ce li - urer au so - meil El - le 3. D'v - ne viel - le char - me - res - se ai - dé me suis Qui gue - 4. Bien je sçay que seu - le peux gue - rir ce mal; Je te
Ténor.		1. V - ne pu - ce j'ay de - dans l'o - reil - l;he - las! Qui de 2. Quant mes yeux je pen - ce li - urer au so - meil El - le 3. D'v - ne viel - le char - me - res - se ai - dé me suis Qui gue - 4. Bien je sçay que seu - le peux gue - rir ce mal; Je te
Bassvs.		

1. nuit et de jour me fre - til - le et me mord Et me fait de - ue nir fou. 2. vient me pi - quer; me de - man - ge, me poingt Et me gar - de de dor - mir. 3. rit tout le mon - de et de tout - gue - ris - sant; Ne ma sçu me gue - rir moy. 4. prie de me voir de bon oeil Et vou - loir a - mo - lir ta cru - au - té!
1. nuit et de jour me fre - til - le et me mord Et me fait de - ue nir fou. 2. vient me pi - quer; me de - man - ge, me poingt Et me gar - de de dor - mir. 3. rit tout le mon - de et de tout - gue - ris - sant; Ne ma sçu me gue - rir moy. 4. prie de me voir de bon oeil Et vou - loir a - mo - lir ta cru - au - té!
1. nuit et de jour me fre - til - le et me mord Et me fait de - ue nir fou. 2. vient me pi - quer; me de - man - ge, me poingt Et me ga - de de dor - mir. 3. rit tout le mon - de et de tout - gue - ris - sant; Ne ma sçu me gue - rir moy. 4. prie de me voir de bon oeil Et vou - loir a - mo - lir ta cru - au - té!
1. nuit et de jour me fre - til - le et me mord Et me fait de - ue nir fou. 2. vient me pi - quer; me de - man - ge, me poingt Et me gar - de de dor - mir. 3. rit tout le mon - de et de tout - gue - ris - sant; Ne ma sçu me gue - rir moy. 4. prie de me voir de bon oeil Et vou - loir a - mo - lir ta cru - au - té!

1-4. Nul re. me. de n'i puis don.ner; Je cour. de ça, je cour.

1-4. Nul re. me. de n'i puis don.ner; Je cour. de ça, je cour.

1-4. Nul re. me. de n'i puis don.ner; Je cour. de ça, je cour.

1-4. Nul re. me. de n'i puis don.ner; Je cour. de ça, je cour.

1-4. Nul re. me. de n'y puis don.ner; Je cour. de ça, je cour.

de. la, O. te la moy, re. ti. re la moy, j' t'en pri' O tou. te

de. la, O. te la moy, re. ti. re la moy, je t'en pri' O tou. te

de. la, O. te la moy, re. ti. re la moy, je t'en pri' O tou. te

de. la, O. te la moy, re. ti. re la moy, je t'en pri' O tou. te

de. la, O. te la moy, re. ti. re la moy, je t'en pri' O tou. te

bel. le, se. cour. moy, O tou. te bel. le, se. cour. moy!

bel. le, se. cour. moy, O tou. te bel. le, se. cour. moy!

bel. le, se. cour. moy, O tou. te bel. le, se. cour. moy!

bel. le, se. cour. moy, O tou. te bel. le, se. cour. moy!

bel. le, se. cour. moy, O tou. te bel. le, se. cour. moy!

en musique de ce texte (voir la version à 12 voix de 1604, en triple chœur). Cependant, une influence de la scansion humaniste allemande, dont Lassus avait certainement une bonne connaissance, est ici également à envisager.<sup>27</sup>

Il faut pour terminer ce parallèle entre les deux musiciens regarder enfin les chansons concordantes, basées sur un même texte. Leur liste est assez courte si l'on considère l'ampleur de leur oeuvre<sup>28</sup>:

<i>En espoir vis</i>	Le Jeune 1552	Lassus 1555
<i>En m'oyant chanter</i>	Lassus 1564	Le Jeune 1583
<i>Fuyons tous d'amour</i>	Lassus 1564	Le Jeune 1612
<i>Hélas j'ay sans mercy</i>	Lassus 1584	Le Jeune 1585
<i>J'ayme la pierre</i>	Lassus 1584	Le Jeune 1612
<i>Monsieur l'Abbé</i>	Lassus 1564	Le Jeune 1585
<i>Susanne un jour</i>	Lassus 1560 et 1576	Le Jeune 1572 et 1585

Parmi ces 7 chansons, aucun cas de réelle parodie, telle qu'on peut la trouver pratiquée par Pevernage<sup>29</sup> ou surtout Castro.<sup>30</sup> Mais certaines n'en entretiennent pas moins un rapport de compétition très probable avec leur concordance de Lassus. Pour *Hélas j'ay sans mercy*, par exemple, Le Jeune semble avoir été surtout stimulé par sa version plutôt que par celle de De Bussy (1583) sur le même antécédent mélodique. De nombreux paramètres sont en effet développés avec davantage de complexité, à commencer par les dimensions de la pièce: 2 couplets chez Lassus, 4 chez Le Jeune, qu'il divise en 2 sections, l'une à 5 voix - comparable à la version concurrente - et l'autre à 6 voix. Ce changement d'effectif marque en lui-même une volonté de surenchère dont j'aurai l'occasion de reparler plus loin. Par ailleurs, Le Jeune élabore davantage son traitement de la citation: en s'attachant à varier la localisation de la mélodie du refrain (superius et ténor, et non plus ténor seul), il se donne les moyens de changer à chacune de ses apparitions son environnement harmonique et contrapuntique, procédé que n'exploite pas Lassus. Enfin, Le Jeune aménage à partir de ces 4 couplets une progression, la complexité y est croissante (en réponse au sens du texte? Le dernier couplet évoque le lis, qui surpasse toute autre plante). Une dernière version de Du Caurroy (1610) visera apparemment quant à elle à surpasser celle de Le Jeune par sa longueur et son effectif à 6 voix, ce qui replace Le Jeune au cœur d'une chaîne de chansons concordantes dans laquelle le dernier 'défi' à relever était celui de Lassus. Pour *Fuyons tous* en revanche, autre chanson rustique qui relève du même type d'écriture, son modèle était

<sup>27</sup> Voir E. WEBER, *La musique mesurée à l'antique en Allemagne*, Paris, 1974, et J. HAAR, *Lassus, Orlande de*, in *New Grove*, X, p. 487.

<sup>28</sup> Pour cette question, voir K.J. LEVY, *The chansons of Claude Le Jeune*, Ph.D., Princeton University, 1955.

<sup>29</sup> Voir G.R. HOEKSTRA, *An eight-voice parody of Lassus: André Pevernage's 'Bon jour mon coeur'*, in *Early music*, 7 (1979), pp. 367-77.

<sup>30</sup> Voir BOETTICHER, 1958

plus vraisemblablement Certon, qui exploite dans ses deux chansons la même mélodie que Le Jeune, c'est-à-dire une mélodie différente de celle utilisée par Lassus.

Les deux versions de *En m'oyant chanter* peuvent également être rapprochées. Le Jeune, même s'il compose la sienne bien avant 1585<sup>31</sup>, connaît certainement celle de Lassus publiée à Paris pour la première fois en 1565 dans le *Dix-huictiesme livre* de Le Roy & Ballard. C'est ce que semble indiquer en tous cas le traitement des syllabes de solmisation 'ut re mi fa sol la', plus varié et fantaisiste chez Le Jeune que chez Lassus (voir par exemple la syllabe 'ut' solmisée sur un ré), de même que la reprise des syncopes sur ce vers-clé. Pour le reste, les deux chansons sont assez différentes.<sup>32</sup>

Les *Susanne un jour* de nos deux musiciens sont comparables dans la mesure où elles sont exceptionnelles et sortent de la masse des versions composées sur ce texte<sup>33</sup>: la première de Lassus, à 5 voix, a su par sa popularité détrôner l'original de Lupi, qu'elle reprend pourtant sous la forme d'un cantus firmus au ténor, et devenir à son tour le modèle d'une seconde génération de versions, en particulier instrumentales; sa seconde version, *Susannen frumb*, sur une traduction allemande du texte de Guérout, reprend le ténor de Lupi, également sous la forme d'un cantus firmus, mais qui cette fois donne naissance à une forme à reprise initiale. Le Jeune lui aussi écrit deux versions - seuls trois autres musiciens auront cette même démarche<sup>34</sup> -, toutes deux sur cantus firmus, mais dont la première à sept voix (1572) se révèle exceptionnelle par sa complexité: le cantus firmus y est à l'origine d'un canon renversé ('Ainsi va le monde'). Le Jeune choisit ici de se distinguer par une contrainte double. Dans le *Mellange* de 1572, cette chanson est la quatrième *Susanne* proposée, mais Le Jeune signe la version certainement la plus remarquable. Il serait abusif de chercher ici entre nos musiciens, certes tous deux auteurs de deux pièces, une compétition autre que celle qui naît inévitablement de l'existence d'une quarantaine de versions sur ce même texte. Je relèverai seulement la présence dans leurs *Susanne* d'une version exceptionnelle par son succès (Lassus, 1560), et d'une version exceptionnelle par sa complexité (Le Jeune, 1572), ce qui les place un peu en dehors ou au-dessus des autres.

Dans sa chanson *Monsieur l'Abbé*, c'est principalement par un effectif à 6 voix que Le Jeune se met en compétition avec la version antérieure de Lassus

<sup>31</sup> Il est établi que le contenu de ses *Melanges* est composite, et cette chanson fait vraisemblablement partie du corpus le plus ancien. Voir I. HIS, *Les 'Melanges' de Claude Le Jeune (Anvers: Plantin, 1585). Transcription et étude critique*, Thèse de Doctorat, Tours, 1990.

<sup>32</sup> Levy remarque que la version de Le Jeune est plus courte d'une mesure que celle de Lassus, ce qu'il imagine pouvoir être le résultat d'une volonté de faire mieux, bien qu'ayant fait différent. Voir LEVY, 1955, pp. 154-6.

<sup>33</sup> Voir K.J. LEVY, 'Susanne un jour'. *The history of a 16th century chanson*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), pp. 375-408.

<sup>34</sup> Hormis Lassus et Le Jeune, il s'agit de Servin, Du Caurroy et Byrd. Voir LEVY, 1953, p. 379.

(1564); cet effectif facilement divisible lui permet une mise en valeur bien plus vivante d'un texte construit sur une comparaison entre l'abbé et son valet ('l'un est grand fol, l'autre est petit folet / L'un boit du bon, l'autre ne boit du pire / L'un veut railler, l'autre gaudir et rire').<sup>35</sup>

Les deux seules versions de *J'ayme la pierre precieuse*, curieux texte anonyme qui se termine par 'J'ayme d'une amour pure et nette / Les belles vertus d'Anthoinette', sont celles de Lassus et de Le Jeune, ce qui incite à les mettre en relation. L'effectif choisi est le même (5 voix), mais la version de Le Jeune, bien plus développée, semble vouloir faire mieux, sans toutefois reprendre aucun matériel de l'autre version. Quant à *En espoir vis*, seul cas dans lequel Le Jeune devance Lassus pour publier sa version, elle donne lieu à deux chansons indépendantes, celle de Le Jeune étant plutôt liée à une version antérieure de Le Cocq (1544).

Dans toutes ces chansons de Claude Le Jeune, la référence à Lassus est présente et sensible, mais diffuse, et non tangible et concrète. Elle est surtout relativement peu significative dans le contexte d'intertextualité générale qui est celui de la chanson française. Il est cependant un cas pour lequel cette référence s'affiche sans équivoque, celui de la canzone de Pétrarque *Standomi un giorno* que Lassus publie en 1559, et de la chanson de Le Jeune *Un jour estant seullet* (1585), sur la traduction par Marot de cette même canzone. La différence de langue a jusqu'ici caché aux musicologues, comme probablement au public de l'époque, le lien existant entre ces deux pièces; il est pourtant affirmé dès les premières notes puisque Le Jeune reprend, sous sa forme originale mais également sous sa forme 'en miroir', le motif initial de Lassus.

La suite de sa chanson prend de l'indépendance, mais il est frappant de constater à quel point Le Jeune utilise le madrigal de Lassus comme un 'réservoir' de madrigalismes, dans la limite, évidemment, des possibilités de correspondances exactes entre les deux formes française et italienne de ce même texte.<sup>36</sup> Marque caractéristique de compétition, la chanson cyclique de Le Jeune est structurée en 7 sections, alors que Lassus, qui englobait le commiato final de la canzone à la suite de la dernière strophe, avait écrit un madrigal en 6 sections. De plus, la dernière section fait appel chez Le Jeune à l'adjonction d'une sixième voix, pour conclure avec une complexité emphatique. Le Jeune semble ici vouloir rendre hommage au madrigal de Lassus, tout en faisant différent (les 7 sections), voire mieux (la surenchère de l'effectif final). Son travail n'est évidemment pas de la même nature que dans sa chanson *Amour quand fus tu né*, où il reprend très fidèlement, sous le couvert d'une traduction de Desportes, le madrigal de Willaert *Quando nascesti amor*, mais le parallèle me paraît perti-

<sup>35</sup> On remarque d'ailleurs l'inversion par Le Jeune des vers 4 et 5 par rapport au texte de Marot utilisé dans les autres versions.

<sup>36</sup> Voir HIS, 1994.



## 3b. Le Jeune

Un jour es - tant seu - let a  
 Un jour es - tant seu - let a la fe - nestr' Un jour es - tant seu -  
 Un jour es - tant seu - let a la  
 Un jour es - tant seu - let a la fe - nes - tre a

6

la fe - nes - - - - - tr' Un jour es - tant seu - let  
 - let [Un jour es - tant seu - - - - - let] Un jour es - tant seu -  
 fe - nestr' Un jour es - tant seu - let [Un jour es -  
 la fe - nes - tre, Un jour es - tant seu - let seu - let  
 Un jour es - tant seu - let es - - - - - tant seu -

nent, et il convient de noter que ses parodies parmi les plus significatives se cachent parfois derrière des mêmes textes de langues différentes. Les rapports qu'a entretenus Claude Le Jeune avec le 'divin Orlande' ne sont donc pas faits d'une admiration unilatérale et manifeste, et semblent avoir été de nature à la fois plus discrète, complexe et diverse que chez un Jean de Castro, par exemple.<sup>37</sup> L'intitulé des *Vingtquatriesme* et *Vingtcinquiesme livre*, ainsi que le contenu du *Mellange* de 1572, prouvent que Le Jeune devient à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle une figure majeure du paysage musical français, concurrente donc pour un Lassus qui domine le marché depuis des décennies. Le Jeune, bien que presque exact contemporain de Lassus, s'impose donc en représentant la nouveauté, en particulier avec le genre de l'air. Il travaille d'ailleurs avec les poètes de son temps comme Desportes et Baïf alors que Lassus, éloigné il est vrai de la scène française, adule surtout Marot. Pour la postérité, il restera perçu comme un novateur, car il est étroitement associé à la nouvelle théorie des douze modes de Zarlino pour laquelle il s'engage de façon 'militante'<sup>38</sup>; Lassus, comme du reste Palestrina, resteront pour leur part - y sont-ils plus ou moins obligés par leur situation professionnelle? - attachés aux huit modes ecclésiastiques. En 1615, Salomon de Caus, admirateur de Le Jeune, formulera de façon assez symptomatique les liens qui unissent les deux hommes:

La pratique de la musique s'est merveilleusement augmentée, et spécialement depuis Orlande de Lassus, lequel a ouvert la porte à beaucoup d'autres qui sont venus depuis; entre lesquels, Claudin le Jeune, du Canroy [sic], Marenzio, et plusieurs autres modernes.<sup>39</sup>

Le Jeune est donc bien perçu par la postérité comme un successeur de Lassus; il lui survit en effet, mais peu de temps et reste à 6 ans près son exact contemporain. La majeure partie de l'oeuvre de Le Jeune, posthume, ne sera publiée qu'au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et effectivement découverte tardivement par rapport à celle de Lassus. D'autre part, dans un genre d'avenir comme celui de l'air mesuré, Lassus ne s'essaie effectivement qu'à titre expérimental, alors que Le Jeune s'illustre abondamment.

Entre Le Jeune et Lassus, nous ne disposons donc que de quelques points de contact sûrs (*O occhi manza mia*, *Une puce j'ay dedans l'oreille*, *Standomi un giorno / Un jour estant seulet*), mais surtout d'un faisceau de correspondances qui ne peuvent être tenues pour de simples coïncidences. Durant les premières décennies de cette seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Lassus, pour Le Jeune

<sup>37</sup> Voir BOETTICHER, 1958

<sup>38</sup> Il s'agit du *Dodecacorde* (La Rochelle: Haultin, 1598) et des *Octonaires de la vanité et inconstance du monde* (Paris: Ballard, 1606).

<sup>39</sup> Proème de la 'Partie deuxiesme' de son *Institution harmonique*, Genève, 1980 (= Francfort, 1615).

comme pour tout autre compositeur, est un personnage central, une référence incontournable, qui peut expliquer bien des aspects de son oeuvre, en particulier certains aspects italianisants.<sup>40</sup> Cependant, Le Jeune a utilisé l'oeuvre du 'divin Orlande' comme un stimulus plus que comme un modèle, d'une façon toute personnelle et originale et sans y perdre son âme. C'est pourquoi le parallèle, dont la pertinence ne s'impose pas de façon évidente, nécessite une approche dépassant le simple examen des concordances, presque secondaire en fin de compte. Le Jeune, dont l'oeuvre est exceptionnellement riche et variée (on a pu pour cette raison le comparer à un 'Monteverde français'!) a d'ailleurs réussi, même si c'est un peu tardivement, à prendre le devant de la scène et à y assumer ce rôle charnière décisif que chacun lui reconnaît.

<sup>40</sup> Toutefois, la preuve d'un voyage en Italie de Claude Le Jeune changerait sensiblement les données dans ce domaine.



# DER SÄNGER UND DAS MADRIGAL

## Der Interpret und die Neue Musik

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Bei der Beschreibung musikgeschichtlicher Entwicklungen wird nicht selten der mögliche Beitrag des ausführenden Musikers vergessen. In der 'alten' Musik bilden außerdem nicht selten Interpret und Komponist eine Personalunion. Eine Professionalisierung in Richtung eines ernstzunehmenden 'reinen' Interpreten ist für die europäische Musikgeschichte erst ab dem 16. Jahrhundert in größerem Ausmaß informiert. Dies gilt sowohl für Sänger als für Instrumentisten; ein ernstzunehmender Interpret ist ein Musiker, der von der Gesellschaft akzeptiert ist. Am Anfang heißt das also ein Musiker, der entweder singt oder aber ein sogenanntes nobles Instrument spielt. Der Instrumentalvirtuose aus der musikalischen Unterschicht (faktisch vor allem der Geiger) gibt zwar einen entscheidenden Impuls zu dieser Entwicklung, wird aber erst im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts allmählich voll als 'ernsthafter' Musiker akzeptiert.

Daß diese historische Entwicklung sich in die Komposition niederschlägt, leuchtet den meisten Wissenschaftlern ein - sofern ein eindeutiges Beispiel vorhanden ist. Ein solches bildet das *Concerto delle Donne* am Hof zu Ferrara, über das Anthony Newcombs eingehende Studie uns ausführlich informiert.<sup>1</sup> Es ist bekannt, daß das Damenkonzert als professionelle Gruppe die Schreibweise der für sie Komponierenden wesentlich beeinflusste. Dieses *Concerto delle Donne* ist aber an und für sich nur ein Glied in einer Kette, die für die Aufwertung des Vokalsolisten wichtig ist. In der Instrumentalmusik gab es eine parallele Entwicklung, allerdings mit eigenen Gesetzen<sup>2</sup>; es gibt, wohl vermehrt seit der Ankunft sephardischer Musiker in Westeuropa, ähnliche Entwicklungen in Richtung solistischer und Ensemblevirtuosität, die ihrerseits ebenfalls einen wesentlichen Einfluß auf die stilistische Entwicklung der Musik des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts ausüben sollten. Verschiedene Diminutionslehren und -hefte erscheinen für Instrumente schon einige Jahre vor ähn-

<sup>1</sup> A. NEWCOMB, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597*, Princeton, 1980.

<sup>2</sup> V. GALILEI, *Della Musica antica, et della moderna*, Venedig, 1581.

lichen Vokalpublikationen.<sup>3</sup> Als relativ junge Gattung zeigte sich das Madrigal als Experimentierfeld nicht nur für Komponisten, sondern auch für die Interpreten. Vor allem das *Madrigale arioso*, dessen Blüte zwischen ca. 1550 und ca. 1580 fällt, erlaubte dem Sänger, nicht ausgeschriebene neuartige Diminutionsmodelle auszuprobieren. In einem gewissen Sinn ist dies ein Eingeständnis an den neuen Status des virtuosen (Solo-)Sängers, der sehr bald die Vokalmusik dominieren wird. Dieses Interesse für den professionellen Gesangssolisten und den Einsatz seiner Möglichkeiten zeigt sich in Italien deutlich ab der Jahrhundertmitte. Die Gesangstechnik wird aber erst ab dem 17. Jahrhundert systematisch auch ins Ausland exportiert, nachdem sich die einschlägigen Gesangsschulen schon fest etabliert haben. Solange sie sich in einem experimentellen Stadium befinden, bleiben sie 'geheim'.

Die ersten solistischen oder semisolistischen Auftritte dürften innerhalb von Theateraufführungen stattgefunden haben. Bald führten sie zu einer Anhebung der Forderungen an den Sänger. In diesem Zusammenhang wäre Scipione Vecchi detto Delle Palle (†1569) eine interessante Figur; er bildet ein frühes Beispiel für diese Theatertradition - deren Verwandtschaft zur *Commedia dell'arte* und ähnlichen Traditionen, die im Volk wurzeln und in mehr oder weniger abgewandelten Form sehr bald auch am Hof Einlaß fanden) in Neapel in den vierziger und fünfziger Jahren des Jahrhunderts, als auch Lasso in dieser Stadt wirkte - bekannt ist eine Beschreibung aus 1545 der Aufführung von *Gli ingannati* im Palais des Ferrante Sanseverino. Alle Komödianten waren in diesem Fall bekannte Musiker, daneben auch Delle Palle, aber auch der Baß Giulio Cesare Brancaccio (ca. 1515/20), später Mentor des Damenkonzerts in Ferrara. Falsett sang bei der Gelegenheit Fabrizio Dentice (?1525/35-vor 1601). Brancaccio und Delle Palle sind Exponenten der neuen neapolitanischen Schule. Gerade beim berühmtesten Schüler Delle Palles, Giulio Caccini (1551-1618), zeigen sich die Wurzeln im Theatergesang: Caccini ist sowohl für seine Koloraturfähigkeit als für seine deklamatorischen Qualitäten bekannt. Die neuen Anforderungen verlangen eine Gesangsweise, die sich solistisch behauptet, d.h., grundlegend von der bis dahin geltenden Idee des Ensemblesingens

<sup>3</sup> Einige Beispiele sind S. GANASSI, *Opera intitulata Fontegara*, Venedig, 1535 und D. ORTIZ, *Trattado de Glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones*, Rom, 1553 als theoretische Anweisungen. Es gab solche allerdings auch schon für den Gesang; in Adrien PETIT COCLICO, *Compendium musices*, 1552 finden sich schon einfache Kadenzauszierungen für den Vokalist. Auch spätere Publikationen beschäftigen sich mit dieser Seite der Interpretation, etwa L. ZACCONI, *Prattica di Musica*, I, Venedig, 1592. Gedruckte Vokalbeispiele gibt es allerdings erst, nachdem die Flut der Instrumentaldiminutionen einen ersten Höhepunkt erreicht hat. Zu Diminution und Virtuosität s. auch M.R. MANIATES, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture 1530-1630*, Manchester, 1979, besonders S. 213-231; vgl. auch S. 214: 'Along with the art of improvising counterpoint on a given tune, an art that is closely connected to ornamented cadences, this practice raises the musician to the rank of poet.' Auch für Instrumentaldiminutionen lieferten erfolgreiche Madrigale nicht selten die Grundlage.

abweicht. Konsequenzen der neuen Gesangsschule kennen wir einerseits als musiktheatralische Experimente des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhunderts, andererseits im *Concerto delle Donne* in Ferrara (mitsamt Imitationen) bzw. bei ähnlich bravourösen Sängern und Sängerinnen, zumal in Rom, oder in der Praxis, zumindest die Oberstimmen der Madrigale zu diminuieren. Eine vokale 'agilità' ist allerdings nur bei einem professionellen Sänger, am liebsten mit einschlägig solistischer Erfahrung, denkbar. Eine ähnliche Entwicklung zur Ornamentik hin zeigt sich übrigens auch in der solistischen Instrumentalmusik. Beispiele des einen wie des anderen finden sich in der Arie *Possente Spirto*, aus dem 3. Aufzug von Monteverdis *Orfeo*.

### Vokal- und Instrumentalsolisten

Die gelehrte Musik hatte eigentlich bis zu dieser Zeit wenig Notiz genommen von der reinen Praxis und zeigte sich weniger von ihren Möglichkeiten und Beschränkungen beeinflusst als später der Fall sein wird. Erste Zeichen dafür, daß dieses Tabu durchbrochen wird, gibt es u.a. eben in der Theatermusik. Sie war weniger vom frankoflämischen Kanon beeinflusst und Neuerungen eher aufgeschlossen. Darunter gab es Theorien über den antiken Dichter, der zum Klang der Cythara seine Verse sang; diese Deklamationsart (oder was man dafür hielt) wurde auch für das Theater wichtig.

Die singenden Dichter (oder diejenigen, die sich dafür hielten) und die Solisten, die gerne als 'Orpheus' oder 'Timotheus unserer Zeit' beschrieben wurden, begleiteten sich selbst auf Lyra oder Cythara. Das zunächst am häufigsten als 'antik' empfundene Instrument war die Lira (da braccio), die aber schon um 1600 zumindest in Teilen Italiens als Instrument für (blinde) Bettler und Bänkelsänger betrachtet wurde.<sup>4</sup> Theoretisch wurde diese Praxis, ein Saiteninstrument zur Begleitung heranzuziehen, mit dem Glauben begründet, daß in der antiken Musik die Saiten- bzw. Streichinstrumente mehr Wert hatten als die Auloi, einer Idee, die sich schon vor der Wende zum 16. Jahrhundert ohne antikisierende Seitengedanken in der Praxis festgesetzt hatte und den Aufstieg der Gamben in Norditalien mitbewirkt hatte, zum Nachteil der dort arbeitenden deutschen Bläservirtuosenskonsorts.<sup>5</sup> Die weitere Begründung aus

<sup>4</sup> S. etwa S. CERRETO, *Dell'arbore musicale*, Neapel, 1608, S. 39-40: 'Resta ancora dire de gli Sonatori dello stromento della Lira in braccio, quale per essere stromento imperfetto, & per essere essercitato da gente basse, ma vsato più da Ciechhi, e Monta in banco'. Die Lira da Gamba hingegen wird mit Respekt beschrieben. Zu dieser frühen solistisch-improvisatorischen Gesangstradition: R. STROHM, *The Rise of European Music 1380-1500*, Cambridge, 1993, S. 543-550; spezifisch zur Lira da braccio S. 551.

<sup>5</sup> K. POLK, *Instrumental Music in the Urban Centres of Renaissance Germany*, in *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), S. 159-186, besonders S. 180-185; P. HOLMAN, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, Oxford, 1993, S. 11-19. Polk argumentiert überzeugend, daß viele Bläser sich ab ca. 1470 dem Streichinstrument zuwandten; Holman weist auf die Verbindung Ferrara - Gambenmusik hin.

der Antike fute vor allem auf Darstellungen und Beschreibungen von Dichtern, die sich selbst auf dem Saiteninstrument begleiteten; Modelle sind Homer als epischer Dichter, aber auch von Pindar oder Sappho sind hnliche Darstellungen bekannt. Einschlgige Beschreibungen in Giovanbattista Donis *Trattato della musica scenica*, der in den dreißiger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts geschrieben wurde, geben einen umfassenden berblick ber den Wissensstand zum Gebrauch von Instrumenten im antiken Theater und zum Teil auch in verwandten Gattungen.

Die Instrumentalmusik gehrte um 1500 nicht zum Kodex der gelehrten Musik, durch die bautechnischen Revolutionen um die Jahrhundertwende aber gab es pltzlich im gesamten Tessiturbereich spieltechnische und klangsthetische Mglichkeiten, die die ganze Instrumentalmusik revolutionierten. Die Zeit um 1500 sieht sowohl die Geburt der Intavolierungen fr den reichen Dilettanten als die des Instrumentalkonsorts mit Instrumenten in verschiedenen Tessituren, das mehrstimmige Musik spielt als die des Instrumentalvirtuosen. Die Instrumentalmusiker hatten ein eigenes, teils mndlich berliefertes Repertoire und vor allem die sozial nicht sofort salonfhigen Instrumente wie die Geige (dazu kommt, da sehr viele Streicher Juden waren und somit sozial gechtet) spielten schon sehr frh eine Rolle in der Theatermusik. Hier treffen sich also Snger und Instrumentalisten.

Die Virtuositt des 'singenden Dichters' war in erster Instanz eine des Ausdrucks. Schon sehr frh wird ihm die Mglichkeit zugeschrieben, die Gemter der Zuhrer zu bewegen (wie immer wird zunchst die Wirkung trauriger Musik beschrieben). Auch in diesen Beschreibungen geht ein Element des Rezitierens - sie beziehen sich oft auf antike Modelle - oft mit einem Element von Theatralitt einher.<sup>6</sup> Eine vokale Bravour wird zunchst nicht gefragt, die Virtuositt liegt vor allem im Ausdruck. Diese ausdruckskrftige Vokalmusik, bei der wohl eher Verbindungen zu lteren Rezitationspraktiken als zum neuen mehrstimmigen Madrigalsingen eine Rolle spielen, wird vor allem am Florentiner Hof populr. Solistischem Singen wird in einem Zusammenhang zu hfischen Intermedienauffhrungen ein wichtiger Platz eingerbumt. Natrlich werden im Laufe des Jahrhunderts die Fragen der vokalen Agilitt ebenfalls wichtig, die Ausdruckskraft bleibt aber anscheinend eines der Beurteilungskriterien. So gliedern sich auch Bardi und Vincenzo Galilei in eine auch in der Praxis schon existierende Tradition ein.

## Ferrara und Florenz

Eines der frhesten erhaltenen Beispiele dafr, da der Komponist ganz besonders fr bestimmte Interpreten schrieb und seine Kompositionsweise an deren Singen anpate, sind die fr das Ferrareser *Concerto delle Donne*

<sup>6</sup> N. PIRROTTA, *Li Due Orfei*, Mailand, 1981 (2. Aufl.) gibt dafr mehrere Belege.

geschriebenen Madrigale. Den für diese Gruppe erhaltenen Stücken können wir in etwa die vokalen Möglichkeiten dieser Damen entnehmen und den Einfluß des virtuosen Interpreten auf den Komponisten herauslesen, wobei sich für den virtuosen Sänger gewissermaßen ein neuer Stil entwickelte. Beides, Stil und Sänger, verbreiteten sich relativ rasch über Norditalien und Rom; es dauerte aber etwas länger, bevor sie das Ausland erreichten.

Typisch für das *Concerto* ist der große Ambitus und eine gewisse Tendenz, die Höhe zu entwickeln - die 1601 gedruckte Sammlung Luzzaschis fordert im Sopran regelmäßig das a<sup>2</sup>. Giulio Cesare Brancaccio war auch laut Giustiniani einer der ersten Sänger, die den neuen Vokalstil initiierten.<sup>7</sup> Giustiniani berichtete, daß diese Neuerung vor allem auf das Konto einiger Baßsänger ('un Gio. Andrea napoletano, e del sig. Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, e d'Alessandro Merlo romano, che cantavano un basso nella larghezza dello spazio di 22 voci, con varietà di passaggi nuovi, e grati all'orecchie die tutti') zu verzeichnen sei. Dieser enorme Ambitus scheint eine Spezialität dieser Schule und zumal der Bässe gewesen zu sein, denn Caccinis oder Peris Musik erfordern einen etwas geringeren Umfang. Brancaccio blieb bis 1583 in Ferrara, lang genug um das Damenkonzert auszubilden, und tatsächlich äußert sich Caccini später dahingehend, daß die Ferrareser Frauen eine andere Gesangstechnik als die seine haben.

Mehrere Madrigalkomponisten inkorporierten mehr Diminutionen in ihren Publikationen der achtziger Jahren - das achte Buch De Werts (1586) zeigt eine Vorliebe für *florida* Koloratur, Marenzio inkorporierte sie ebenfalls und auch Monteverdi zeigt sich der Diminution nicht abgeneigt -, nicht allerdings Lasso; er distanziert sich auffallend von der neuen Mode. Nun war Lasso seit mehreren Jahren aus Italien weg; er war somit von den experimentellen Sängern aus Rom, Florenz und Ferrara abgeschnitten. Dies heißt nicht, daß er die Neuigkeiten nicht kannte, nur ihm fehlten wohl die geeigneten Sänger, die die Avantgarde-Musik richtig interpretieren konnten. Nach seinem Besuch in Ferrara 1585 äußerte er große Begeisterung für die Möglichkeiten des *Concerto*, ohne daß dies sich jedoch in seinen Kompositionen eindeutig niederschlägt.

Giustiniani legt die Verbindung zwischen Ferrara und dem neuen Stil mit Vokaldiminution. Neu war die Tatsache, daß mehrere Stimmen zusammen diminuieren konnten, ein Tatbestand, der von den Theoretikern zunächst nicht zur Kenntnis genommen wird. Die Neuartigkeit des mehrstimmigen Diminuierens wird nicht sofort in den Druck befördert - auch hier fehlt zunächst wohl der Markt bzw. die Gesangstechnik befindet sich noch zu sehr im experimentellen Stadium. Auch geographisch gibt es zunächst nur wenige Zentren,

<sup>7</sup> Vgl. Giustiniani in NEWCOMB, 1980, S. 48-49.

an denen die ausgiebige Vokalkoloratur gang und gäbe ist. Ein gutes Beispiel für eine solche bildet das Stück *Io che dal ciel cader* von Giulio Caccini, zum 4. Intermedium in Florenz 1589. Die inhärente Virtuosität erklärt zum Teil das Nichtpublizieren dieses Stücks, wofür es allerdings auch andere Gründe gab. Dazu kommt aber auch die noch neue Kompositionsart mit Oberstimme und Baß.

In Florenz, das schließlich die Geburt neuer musiktheatralischer Formen sah, gab es zwar ebenfalls ein Interesse für das Diminuieren, daneben entwickelte sich aber vor allem das schon erwähnte affektvolle Singen, das eben für die glaubwürdige Interpretation der Florentiner neuen Musik unablässig ist. Giovanni de'Bardi (sonst ein absoluter Bewunderer des *Concerto* in Ferrara) schreibt dazu in einem Brief an Giulio Caccini u.a.:

Cantandosi solo, o in su'l liuto, o graucembalo, o, altro strumento si puote à suo piacere la battuta stringere, e allargare, auengache à lui stia guidare la misura à suo senno. Il diminuire i bassi è cosa contra natura, perche in essi, come habbiam detto, è il tardo, il graue, e'l sonnolente pure poiche cosi è l'uso non sò che dirmene<sup>8</sup>

Einige von Bardis Ratschläge finden sich später in Caccinis Gesangsschule wieder. Auch die Abkehr vom virtuosen Diminuieren, die Bardi ebenfalls in seiner Schrift äußert und die typisch ist für die gelehrten Dilettanten, die sich mit der antiken Musik beschäftigten, findet ihren Weg in die professionelle Praxis eines Caccini. In der Folge wird sich noch zeigen, daß die echten Neuerungen in der Gesangstechnik aber nicht ohne diese geschmähete Virtuosität auskommen.

### Gesangsschulen

Für Giustiniani ist ebenfalls wichtig, die geographische Verbreitung anzudeuten, und hier fällt zunächst die Verbindung zu Neapel auf. Giulio Cesare Brancaccio und Scipione Delle Palle arbeiteten beide in Neapel, noch bevor von einem neuen Stil die Rede war; beide waren unter anderem mit Theatergesang beschäftigt und beide bildeten - spätestens nachdem sie aus Neapel weg waren - Gesangsschulen, die sich in einigen Punkten voneinander unterschieden. Daß sie sich unterschieden, läßt sich nicht nur aus Berichten oder Vorreden herauslesen, sondern auch aus der Tatsache, daß 1592 Giulio Caccini nach Ferrara verpflichtet wurde, um das *Concerto delle Donne* auf den neuesten Stand zu bringen. Caccini berichtet über 'la mia maniera di cantare' und 'questi

<sup>8</sup> G. BARDI, *Discorso mandato a Giulio Caccini detto romano sopra la musica antica, e'l cantar bene*, Hs. ca. 1578, in: C.V. PALISCA, *The Florentine Camerata*, New Haven, 1989, S. 124, engl. Übers. S. 125.

accenti, e passaggi alla nostra usanza'.<sup>9</sup> Das heißt also nicht nur die virtuose Diminution ('passaggi'), sondern auch die stimmliche Flexibilität, die für die affektvolle Darstellung des Gesungenen wesentlich war und somit eine Textinterpretation voraussetzt ('accenti').

Neben Neapel (zunächst) und Ferrara gab es Zentren in Rom (u. a. Vittoria Archilei) und Florenz (Giulio Caccini). Vor allem in Florenz bleibt die Verbindung mit der Theatermusik sichtbar. Die dortigen virtuosen Sänger sollten sich als Solisten und Komponisten in diversen Theaterexperimenten hervortun, darunter auch die gänzlich gesungenen Pastoralen um 1600. Bei diesen zeigt sich, daß die Gesangstechnik zwei wichtige Seiten hatte, deren eine die Koloratur, deren andere aber die affektvolle Deklamation war. Beides äußert sich in den frühen Opern; die Koloratur als solche wird allerdings vor allem unter Einfluß des Publikums in der institutionalisierten öffentlichen Oper ausgebaut und zum Teil den diversifizierten Affektausdruck verdrängen.

Hier zeichnet sich eine Entwicklung ab, die unwiderrufbar ist: Es tritt eine Professionalisierung ein, die nun nicht mehr nur die Theatermusik, sondern auch die Domäne des Madrigalsingens erfaßt. Das 'moderne' Madrigal wird sich in den achtziger Jahren zunehmend von der mit Laien singbaren Fassung entfernen. Auch dies erklärt - neben dem experimentellen Charakter der Stücke - zum Teil die Tatsache, daß so wenig Musik im neuen Stil gedruckt wurde.

Die Koloratur sollte vor allem Erstaunen wecken und wurde also immer gewagter. Hinzu kamen Dissonanzen, die als besonders virtuos empfunden wurden, dabei aber die Regeln des traditionellen Kontrapunkt sprengten. Exzessive Koloratur wurde spätestens in den neunziger Jahren nur noch für den solistischen Gesang beschrieben; aus Diminutionslehren erhellt, daß Sänger wie Instrumentalisten eine Stimme eines Madrigals herausnahmen und solistisch auszierten. Es entstand ein Übermaß an Diminutionen, daß nun wiederum als zu überladen empfunden wurde: Die Anklage gegen die 'lunghi giri'<sup>10</sup> eines Caccini oder die Feststellung, ein solcher Koloratursänger singe nur für das 'Volgo ignorante'<sup>11</sup> eines Doni gehört hierhin, aber auch die Aussagen Giustinianis, der das Zuviel an Diminuieren als eine Abart sieht. Für die Florentiner ist Erstaunen eine zu schmale Grundlage für echten Musikgenuß; Erstaunen ist nur ein erstes Stadium. Was hier deutlich wird, ist die Rolle des Publikums: Eine Gattung, die von professionellen Sängern ausgeführt wird, braucht ein Publikum. Das bildet sich erst allmählich aus, zunächst in höfischen Kreisen.

<sup>9</sup> In einem Brief an Großherzog Ferdinand in Florenz im Oktober 1592, s. NEWCOMB, 1980, S. 202.

<sup>10</sup> G. CACCINI, *Le nuove Musiche*, Firenze, 1602, Vorrede.

<sup>11</sup> G.B. DONI, *Trattato della musica scenica*, Hs. ca. 1633/35, Hg. A.F. GORI, (*Trattati di musica di Gio. Batista Doni*, II), Firenze, 1763, S. 133.

## Technische und ästhetische Unterschiede

Die Luzzaschimadrigale, die ja für das *Concerto* komponiert waren, sind für das eine wie das andere bezeichnend. Die Publikation kommt erst nach Erlöschen der Gruppe, und man muß davon ausgehen, daß die Mehrzahl der Werke aus der besten Zeit der Damen datiert, den achtziger Jahren also. Die Cembalostimme ist in Prinzip eine unverzierte Partiturreduktion (mit selbständiger Baßstimme). Neu sind

1. Die Tatsache, daß Frauen hier professionell solistisch auftreten. Diese Neuigkeit hatte sich allerdings 1601 schon abgenutzt - es gibt ja mehrere Anzeichen dafür, daß die Qualitäten des *Concerto* in den neunziger Jahren nachließen; es gab überall Imitationen und die Frau hatte längst als Gesangssolistin einen eindrucksvollen Eintritt in die Vokalmusik gemacht (die beiden Gattinnen und später die Töchter Caccinis, Vittoria Archilei u.a.) - das Geheimhalten war also nicht mehr notwendig.

2. Das solistische Konzept. Betrachtet man die Art der Ornamentik dieses Drucks oder etwa von *Io che dal ciel cader* und teils auch der *Pregiera* aus Monteverdis *Orfeo*, so stellt sich heraus, daß vieles, was hier voll ausgeschrieben wurde, später als kodifizierte Vokalverzierung - Caccini beschreibt schon einen Teil davon als solche - nur noch mit einem musiktechnischen Symbol angedeutet werden wird. Es gibt einen Unterschied zwischen den 'kleinen' Ornamenten und dem echten Diminuieren. Einige Beispiele:<sup>12</sup>

The image shows a musical score for a madrigal. The top staff is the vocal line, with the lyrics: "tempo fui Si caro a gl'occhialtrui Si caro a gl'oc chialtru". The bottom two staves are the lute accompaniment. The music features a complex cadenzza with a trill and a fermata on the final note.

Luzzaschi, S. 5, Madrigal *O primavera* mit vorbereitetem Kadenztriller mit Nachschlag im letzten Takt, Koloratur auf dem für Sänger ungünstigen 'u'.

<sup>12</sup> L. LUZZASCHI, *Madrigali*, Rom, 1601 und CACCINI, 1602; die Seitenzahl folgt nach dem jeweiligen Musikbeispiel.



Luzzaschi, S. 7, Madrigal *Ch'io non t'ami cor mio*, Triller im ersten Takt, mit angehängter Tirata ('Cascata' bei Caccini); Tirate mit Pralltrillern im zweiten und verschiedene vorbereitete und unvorbereitete Triller im letzten Takt. Man beachte die nach Florentiner ästhetischem Gefühl ungute Stelle ('morire') für die Auszierung, die hierdurch in die Kategorie der leeren Bravura fiele. Die Ähnlichkeiten zum virtuosen Instrumentalkolorieren liegen hier auf der Hand. Als Vergleich die theoretische Beschreibung: Caccinis Trillo und Gruppo:



Auch hier zeigt sich, daß auf der Zeit von oben getrillert wird; ein solcher Triller wird auf jeden Fall vorbereitet (Achtelnote *fis* bei Caccini, bei Luzzaschi kann der Triller nicht mit der unteren Note anfangen, weil dabei die Melodik unterbrochen würde).

Sowohl Gruppo als Trillo haben bei Caccini einen deutlichen 'coup de glotte': 'e ribattere ciascuna nota con la gola'.

The image displays three staves of musical notation, each illustrating a different type of ornament. The first staff shows two examples of 'Trillo' (trills) and one 'Ribattuta di gola' (trill with grace notes). The second staff features 'Cascata scempia' (irregular cascade) and 'Cascata doppia' (double cascade). The third staff shows 'Cascata per ricorre il fiato' (cascade for breath-taking) and 'Altra cascata simile' (another similar cascade). Each staff includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature.

Ribattuta di gola wird im frühen 17. Jahrhundert üblich, wie überhaupt rhythmische Änderungen in dieser Zeit modisch sind. Die Cascata/Tirata gibt es häufig auch bei Luzzaschi, die Ribattuta ist zumindest nicht ausgeschrieben. Die verschiedenen dynamischen Schattierungen werden bei Caccini eingehend erklärt. Beim *Concerto* kann man sie unterstellen, wenn auch wahrscheinlich in anderer Form, wie aus Beschreibungen hervorgeht (s. unten). Weniger deutlich sind Aussehen und Maß der rhythmischen Freiheiten, die beim *Concerto* üblich waren. Sie sind zwar in den Madrigalen Luzzaschis nicht vertreten, dürften aber selbstverständlich gewesen sein. Sie wurden jedoch, da sie in der Mensurnotation nicht darstellbar waren, nicht geschrieben oder gedruckt. Ihre Verwendung wird jedoch in den Lehrwerken, die sich mit virtuosem Spielen oder Singen beschäftigten, vorausgesetzt und wenigstens annähernd erklärt. Hier dürfte also ein gewisser Konsens existiert haben. Was die Dynamik angeht, so erhebt Caccini Anspruch auf Neuigkeiten in der Manier (die verschiedenen Formen der 'espressione'), die mit Sicherheit nicht in Ferrara praktiziert wurde. Rubato, ebenfalls von Caccini beschrieben, dürfte nicht unbekannt gewesen sein, wie aus der unten folgenden Beschreibung hervorgeht.

or mio deh non languire' Che' fai teo languir l'anima mi'  
 or mio deh non languire' Che' fai te co languir laia'

Luzzaschi, S. 13

Cor mio deh non lan gni re

Caccini, Vorrede

Es zeichnet sich schon eine eindeutige Vorliebe für den späteren Kadenztriller ab, sowohl bei Caccini als auch bei Luzzaschi. Andererseits ist Caccinis Ornamentik moderner, weniger schematisch. Bei Luzzaschi fehlen einige kleinere Verzierungen wie die 'Ribattuta di gola'.

Zur konkreten Ausführung sind wir bei Caccini durch die Vorrede bestens informiert, für das *Concerto* fehlen hingegen Angaben. Eine Beschreibung im nachhinein gibt wiederum Giustiniani:

e di più col moderare e crescere la voce forte o piano, assottigliandola o ingrossandola, che secondo che veniva a' tagli, ora con strascinarla, ora smezzarla, con l'accompagnamento d'un soave interrotto sospiro, ora tiranso passaggi lunghi, seguiti bene, spiccati, ora gruppi, ora a salti, ora con trilli lunghi, ora con brevi, et or con passaggi soavi e cantati piano, dalli quali tal volta all'improvviso si sentiva echi rispondere, e principalmente con azione del viso, e dei sguardi e de' gesti che accompagnavano appropriatamente la musica e li concetti, e sopra tutto senza moto della persona e della bocca e delle mano sconcioso, che non fusse indirizzato al fine per il quale si cantava, e con far spiccar bene le parole in guisa tale che si sentisse anche l'ultima sillaba di ciascuna parola, la quale delli passaggi et altri ornamenti non fusse interrotta o soppressa<sup>13</sup>

Hier finden sich noch einmal im Text die schon genannten Verzierungen: Koloraturen ('passaggi lunghi'), Triller ('gruppi', 'trilli lunghi', 'trilli brevi'), legato und mehrere Formen von non-legato ('strascinarla', 'smezzarla', 'sospiri', 'spiccati'), dynamische Schattierungen ('forte o piano', 'cantati piano', 'echi') sowie crescendo und decrescendo ('assottigliandola o ingrossandola'). Wichtig ist ebenfalls das deutliche Aussprechen, ohne das eine Interpretation des Textes (von Seiten des Sängers, aber auch von Seiten des Zuhörers) nicht möglich ist ('e con far spiccar bene le parole in guisa tale che si sentisse anche l'ultima sillaba di ciascuna parola, la quale delli passaggi et altri ornamenti non fusse interrotta o soppressa'), hier auch eine Wertung aus Sicht des Zuhörers. Die Zuschauerästhetik spielte bei der Interpretation auch eine wesentliche Rolle, die wir heute nicht mehr in ihrem ganzen Umfang nachvollziehen können; auf jeden Fall gehören richtiger Gesichtsausdruck und Gestik zur kunstvollen Darstellung eines Stücks und sind diese 'stummen' Verzierungen wesentlicher Bestandteil der musikalischen Interpretation.

3. Eine neue Interpretation des Begriffs Madrigalismus unter Einfluß des Sängers. Daß schon vor dem *Concerto* einige Komponisten wie Musiktheoretiker und Literaten ein Problem mit dem Begriff und seiner kompositorische Ausdeutung hatten, ist klar. Hier sieht man gewissermaßen eine Aufspaltung in reine Vokalbravura und Komposition, weg von den Melismen und hin zur Ausdrucksmusik der *seconda pratica*. Die Melismen verschwinden nicht, werden aber Sache des Sängers. Trotz gegenteiliger Behauptungen etwa eines Caccini, der die 'lunghi giri' verwirft oder eines Doni, der meint, Bravoursänger sind nur eine Sache für das 'Volgo ignorante', hat der solistische Sänger mitnichten versucht, einen sauberen Text ohne eigene Zusätze zu singen.

4. Das Durchbrechen klassischer Tessiturverhältnissen. Hier gibt es schon eindeutig eine Vorliebe für das Ausspielen von hohen solistischen Stimmen gegen einen Baß; die Luzzaschmadrigale haben keine eindeutigen Mittelstimmen, schließlich ging es bei den Frauen um Sopranistinnen. Regelmäßige Stimmkreuzungen sind somit eine logische Folge dieser Besetzung. Die Vorliebe für zwei Oberstimmen mit Baß, die auch in der Instrumentalmusik im 17. Jahrhundert wesentlich ist, findet sich in vielen Vokalstücken wieder. Auch die Oper verwendete dieses Modell gerne in vielen Duetten mit zwei Sopranstimmen.

Diese Punkte lassen sich auch an anderer Musik dieser Zeit dingfest machen, und dabei fällt auf, daß es sich zumeist um nicht gedruckte Stücke handelt. Als Beispiel sei hier das schon erwähnte *Io che dal ciel cader* genannt, daß zwar in

<sup>13</sup> V. GIUSTINIANI, *Discorso sopra la musica*, 1628, in A. SOLERTI, *L'origine del melodramma*, Torino, 1903, S. 108.

der Beschreibung des Bastiano de Rossi<sup>14</sup> genannt wurde, jedoch nicht in den gedruckten Stimmheften auftaucht. Möglich spielten bei der Überlegung, Caccinis Stück auszulassen, Rivalitäten mit (über die wir nun hinlänglich informiert sind), mir scheint jedoch zusätzlich auch das Neuartige dieser Musik - was sie ja gewissermaßen für einen Außenstehenden, zumal für einen Dilettanten schwer ausführbar macht - eine nicht geringe Rolle zu spielen. Denn die gedruckten Stücke sind allesamt relativ klassisch in ihrer Kompositionsart und als Ganzes auch für Außenstehende begreifbar. Es geht hier nicht ausschließlich um die Virtuosität der Diminution, sondern auch um die Kompositionsart. Wie man in Luzzaschis Ferrareser Madrigalen sieht, diminuierten manchmal mehrere Stimmen zusammen. Das Stück *Dunque fra torbid'onde* aus dem 4. Intermedium zu *La Pellegrina* von Iacopo Peri hat gewissermaßen auch dreistimmige Koloraturen, allerdings als *Ecco con due Risposte*, somit dem Kanonisierten Nacheinanderdiminuierten angeglichen.

Ebenfalls in den Stimmheften zu den Intermedien nicht abgedruckt, dafür aber ausführlich beschrieben und von Bastiano de' Rossi sehr gelobt ist der *Pythikos Nomos*. Auch hier geht es gewissermaßen um experimentelle Musik, nach einem antiken Modell, das man schließlich nur aus einschlägigen Beschreibungen kannte. Die 'Strophen' des *Pythikos Nomos*, der im antiken Griechenland eine reine (virtuose) Instrumentalmusik (für Auloi)<sup>15</sup> war, werden eingehend in der Beschreibung erwähnt. Rossi hält sich dabei fast buchstäblich an die bestehende Überlieferung.<sup>16</sup>

Hier stellt sich nun tatsächlich die Frage: Wie geht man mit experimenteller Musik im Druck um, wie lange gilt eine solche Musik gewissermaßen als 'segreta' (wobei im Falle des *Pythikos nomos* sehr wohl eine Legendenbildung des Kreises um Bardi möglich ist und nur deswegen eine 'Geheimhaltung' wünschenswert erschien)?

Größere Ähnlichkeit mit dem vorgehen Luzzaschis weist das Madrigal *Dunque fra torbid'onde* von Iacopo Peri aus denselben Intermedien auf. Auch hier gibt es eine simple Fassung mit darübergeschriebenen Auszierungen, wobei es sich hier weniger um didaktische Anweisungen, sondern vielmehr um ein Darstellen der vokalen Möglichkeiten Peris handeln mag.

Für eine 'musica segreta' gilt als oberes Gebot, daß sie zwar geheim ist, daß sie aber zugleich überall gelobt wird, daß man also weiß, daß es sie gibt. Es gibt keine 'musica segreta' ohne die dazugehörige Propaganda. Die Musiker, die bei dieser Art von Musik mitwirken, sind somit berühmt, zum Teil ohne daß man sie beurteilen kann. Ist das Experiment ausgereift, und das ist um 1600 der

<sup>14</sup> B. DE ROSSI, *Descrizione dell'apparato, e degl'intermedi*, Firenze, 1589, S. 49-50.

<sup>15</sup> M.L. WEST, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford, 1992, S. 212-214.

<sup>16</sup> Pollux, 2. Jh. n. Chr.; s. dazu z.B. WEST, 1992, S. 212-214.

Fall, so steht einer Veröffentlichung nichts mehr im Wege. Die experimentelle Vokaltechnik ist zumindest im ersten Stadium ausgereift und entwickelt sich in zwei Richtungen: Die Koloratur und das *Parlando* sind zwei Seiten eines Gesichtes - wie in Monteverdis *Orfeo* eindrucksvoll gezeigt wird. Die vokale Ornamentik wird um diese Zeit bereits kodifiziert; nicht lange nach 1601 gibt es bereits Zeichen, die einen Teil der Koloratur im Druck bezeichnen. Schon gibt es Schulbildung - Zeuge davon ist u.a. die Vorrede zu den *Nuove Musiche*, die Caccini in die Nachfolge von Scipione Delle Palle einreihet. Die Ferrareser Damen gehörten einer anderen Vokalschule an, für die das Deklamatorische wohl weniger wichtig war. Folglich vollzieht sich die Entwicklung zur Oper hin in Florenz und nicht in Ferrara.

Auf die Frage, was Lassos Madrigalschaffen mit dieser Entwicklung zu tun hat, kann nur nuanciert geantwortet werden. Lasso war mit Sicherheit bekannt, daß sich in Ferrara neue Entwicklungen herauskristallisierten, und sein Versuch, sich nach dieser Stadt zu wenden, müßte wohl auch in diesem Sinne verstanden werden. Lasso selbst muß von seinem Aufenthalt in Italien her gewußt haben, daß die Gesangstechnik, zumal die halbsolistische, in Bewegung war. Die italienischen Sänger aber, die in München wirkten, standen nicht in der ersten Linie dieser Entwicklung. Zu einem wichtigem Einfluß der neuen professionellen Gesangsschule außerhalb Italiens kommt es eigentlich erst nach einer der Folgeentwicklungen, bei denen der Interpret mitwirkte: der begleiteten Monodie. Man vergleiche nur die Madrigale von Schütz mit seiner in Deutschland geschriebenen Musik. Ein Beispiel bildet das englische Madrigal, das sich zwar an italienische Vorbilder anlehnt, jedoch eventuell die implizite Virtuosität an englische Verhältnisse anpaßt - die Musik ist nicht in erster Instanz 'segreta' oder 'reservata' und somit für den Professionellen, auch solistisch gewandten, Sänger gemeint. Diese Anpassungen zeigen sehr wohl ein Bild der gesangstechnischen Möglichkeiten in Italien und England. Ein Interesse für Vokalvirtuosität zeigt sich in England eigentlich erst nach 1600, einhergehend mit dem Import solistischer Vokalmusik nach italienischem Modell. Als Begleiterscheinung zum Lautenlied gibt es im frühen 17. Jahrhundert einige zum Teil ausgezierte Fassungen von Caccinis *Amarilli*, darunter eine mit Begleitung für Lyra Viol.<sup>17</sup> Einen weiteren Schritt bilden auch die *Prime musiche nuov* des Italieners Angelo Notari, der Zeit seines Lebens in englischen Diensten stand und mehr oder weniger die Gesangsschule Caccinis in England verrät.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> GB Lbl Ms Eg 2971, f. 28<sup>v</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>; s. dazu auch T. CARTER, *Caccini's, Amarilli, mia bella: Some questions (and a Few Answers)*, p.250-273 in: PRMA 113, 1988, gab es auch als geistliches Kontrafakt (*Miserere, my Makr*), bei dem die Oberstimme dem Original gegenüber eher eine Vereinfachung erfuhr.

<sup>18</sup> A. NOTARI, *Prime musiche nuove*, London, 1613, mit diminuierten Stücken und einer einschlägigen Vorrede auf italienisch und englisch. Ein Exemplar der Sammlung in GB Lbl.

# MUSICAL LIFE IN THE AGE OF LASSUS



# MUSICAL LIFE AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICES IN ANTWERP DURING LASSUS' STAY, 1554-1556<sup>1</sup>

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In the mid sixteenth-century, Antwerp was a thriving economic and cultural center that attracted many artists of all kinds. A number of important cultural figures including musicians such as Philippus de Monte in 1554-1555 and Cipriano de Rore in 1558, visited Antwerp; they came into contact with the local musical life.<sup>2</sup> Lassus too had the opportunity to become aware of the daily diversity of the city's cultural and musical landscape, which had been so highly praised by Ludovico Guicciardini:<sup>3</sup>

One also sees at all times weddings, banquets, dances; everywhere hears cheerful songs and sounds: briefly stated, on all streetcorners and paths the city's wealth, power, magnificence and majesty is apparent.

Much has been written about music in the middle of the sixteenth century in this town on the Schelde river by De Burbure (ed. by Theunissens), Persoons,

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations are used:

AJA: Antwerpen, St.-Jacobskerk, archief.

AKA: Antwerpen, Kathedraalarchief. This includes the collections of the church of Our Lady (O.L.V.), of the confraternity of Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof and of some documents from the diocesan archives.

ARA: Antwerpen, Rijksarchief.

ASA: Antwerpen, Stadsarchief.

£.: (Brabant) pound; gl.: gulden; st.: stuiver; d.: denier; m.: mite.

<sup>2</sup> See M. STEINHARDT, *Monte, Philippe de*, in *New Grove*, XII, p. 505. B. MANN, *The Secular Madrigals of Filippo di Monte. 1521-1603*, (*Studies in Musicology*, 64), Ann Arbor, 1983, p. 4. C. WRIGHT, *Musiciens à la cathédrale de Cambrai. 1475-1550*, in *Revue de musicologie*, 62 (1976), p. 218-219. A.H. JOHNSON, *Rore, Cipriano de*, in *New Grove*, XVI, p. 185. Lassus may have been in Antwerp at the time of the meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece held in January 1556 as the result of Philip II's initiative. Philips II remained at St Michael's abbey in Antwerp until 3 March and maybe Lassus tried to obtain a better position. F. DONNET, *Le chapitre de la Toison d'Or tenu en l'Eglise Notre-Dame en l'an 1555 lors du second séjour du Roi Philippe II en la Ville d'Anvers*, Antwerpen, 1924, p. 13 and F. PRIMIS, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, 6.A., Brussel, 1982, (new ed.), p. 4-5. G. PERSOONS, *Orlandus Lassus in Antwerpen (1554-1556)*, in I. BOSSUYT (ed.), *Orlandus Lassus 1532-1594*, exhibition catalogue, ed., Leuven, 1982, p. 74-75. Probably Lassus had no relatives living in Antwerp. The only possible member of his family is a certain Anthonius Lassu(s) who, in 1543, married Maria Dionys in the church of Our Lady. ASA, PK 2920-2931. PERSOONS, 1987, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> L. GUICCIARDINI, *Beschryvinghe van Alle de Nederlanden*, Amsterdam, 1612, p. 92: 'Oock siet men t'alle tyden bruydloften, maeltyden, danssen: allenthenen hoortmen lustich ghesanck ende gheclanck: in het cort ghesegt, t'alle canten ende wegghen blijkt deser stadt rijckdom, macht, pompe-rye ende heerlijckheydt.' J.J. MURRAY, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Breughel*, Oklahoma, 1970, p. 142-143.

Spiessens and Forney, but there are nevertheless still lacunae and new insights to be had.<sup>4</sup> Here we consider musical life and performance practices in the churches, in particular, restricting the discussion to several characteristic situations.

### Musical life at the collegiate church of Our Lady

The collegiate church of Our Lady dominated religious and cultural life in Antwerp in many ways.<sup>5</sup> In the fourteenth and even more in the fifteenth century, a firm foundation was laid for a prominent and internationally-oriented musical life. The presence of composers such as Johannes Ockeghem (1443-1444), Johannes Pullois (1444 to 1447), Petrus de Domarto (1449), Antonius de Vinea (zangmeester from 1471), Jacobus Barbireau (1484-1491), and above all, Jacob Obrecht (1492 - with interruptions 1503/1504), characterizes the success of the institutionalization of the choir of this collegiate church. During the sixteenth century the level of musicianship of the *zangmeesters* stagnates, and we see instead well-schooled *phonasci*, who never achieve the international reputations of Willaert, De Monte or Lassus. These *zangmeesters* included the lesser-known composers Nicole Carlir (1519-1522), Anthonius Barbe (1528-1562), Gerardus van Turnhout (1562-1572), Severinus Cornet (1572-1581), Andreas Pevernage (1585-1592) and Matthias Pottier.<sup>6</sup>

At the time of Lassus's visit, there was a college of 23 canons, who did not only accomplish their duties in the choir, but also served as officers in the church's

4 L. DE BURBURE, *La musique à Anvers aux XIV<sup>e</sup>, XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. L. THEUNISSENS, in *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 58 (1906), p. 159-256. G. PERSONS, *De orgels en de organisten van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk te Antwerpen van 1500 tot 1650*, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 43. 32), Brussel, 1981. G. SPIESSENS, *Geschiedenis van de gilde van de Antwerpse speellieden. Inleiding en 16de eeuw*, in *Belgisch tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap. Revue belge de musicologie*, 22 (1968), p. 5-50. ID., *De Antwerpse stadsspeellieden. 15de en 16de eeuw*, in *Noordgouw*, 10 (1970), p. 1-53. K.K. FORNEY, *Music, Ritual and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp*, in *Early Music History*, 7 (1987), p. 1-57.

5 According to K. Forney it was the largest parish church in the Western world until its elevation to a cathedral in 1559. FORNEY, 1987, p. 3. Regarding the building and its measurements, see the writings of the contemporary witness, Dürer and Guicciardini. According to Guicciardini 42 ecclesiastical establishments in the city partly were subordinate to the collegiate church. GUICCIARDINI, 1612, p. 62. The supremacy of the collegiate church is also evident from the fact that four parish churches were under its leadership. Thus the scholaster of the chapter was responsible for the parish schools, for example (cf. infra and ASA, K 242, document about the establishment of parish schools in the Burchtkerk, St James and St George). The number of chaplains, not to mention of canons, employed at the church, was also especially large. Prims counted approximately sixty chaplaincies in the city in addition to the 88 in the church of Our Lady at the end of the 15th century. PRIMS, 1982, 5, p. 293-294. A 1539 document mentions over 206 chaplaincies and an undated item from the 17th century writes of some 160 chaplaincies, apart from those reserved for the singers, sextons, pastors, and vicars of St Andries. (ASA, K 255).

administration. An average of 14-15 effectively resided in Antwerp. The dean was the leader and was assisted by a dean - the second in rank after the cantor - who kept watch over liturgical and ceremonial matters. At the time of Lassus's visit, Rogier de Tassis was dean<sup>7</sup>; the cantor was master Philippus Borre.<sup>8</sup> Next to the canons were more than sixty chaplains, who had to attend the daily office and mass and were responsible for particular prayers and chants.<sup>9</sup> The polyphony and solo chants were given to professional musicians, above all the vicar-singers and choirboys. Our list of these individuals active at the church before the mid sixteenth century is incomplete, because the archives have lacunae or give too little information. In spite of the fact that twelve chaplaincies were incorporated in 1410 for twelve singers, at least in theory, and that, beginning in 1429, these singers could even be laymen, the ideal number of singers was probably not always reached in the 16th century.<sup>10</sup> We have only found a few names of musicians active before 1554-1556 or shortly thereafter.<sup>11</sup>

- . Joachim Scheverlinc/Scheverlinck follows Barbe (probably not *zangmeester* Anthonius, but Johannes) as possessor of an unnamed chaplaincy in the choir (the so-called 'new building') of the church of Our Lady in 1551/1552. He had already paid his fee of receipt for the second Marian chaplaincy in

<sup>6</sup> G. PERSOONS, *Kapelmeesters van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk te Antwerpen. Overzicht van 16e tot 19e eeuw*, in *Gouden jubileum gedenkboek ter gelegenheid van de viering van 50 jaar heropgericht Knapenkor van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkatedraal te Antwerpen. 1927-1928. 1977-1978*, Antwerpen, 1978, p. 75-78 and FORNEY, 1987, p. 38. For the 15th century see J. VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, *De koralen, de zangers en de zangmeesters van de Antwerpse O.-L.-Vrouwekerk tijdens de 15e eeuw*, in *Gouden jubileum gedenkboek ter gelegenheid van de viering van 50 jaar heropgericht Knapenkor van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkatedraal te Antwerpen. 1927-1928. 1977-1978*, Antwerpen, 1978, p. 29-72. E. SCHREURS, *Composers at the Church of our Lady in Antwerp in the 15th Century*, Paper read at the 61th meeting of the American Musicological Society at New York, 1995. To be published in *Musica Antiqua*, 13 (1996).

<sup>7</sup> Tassis was born in 1513 in Mechelen to Johannes Baptista de Tassis, later the well-known postmaster general of emperor Charles V. He was appointed dean by the emperor in spite of some opposition from the chapter. He remained dean until 1590 and dispised the laxity of the margrave against the Protestants. PRIMS, 1982, 5, p. 293-294 and 6.B, p. 403. L. JANSSENS - M. MEURRENS (ed.), *De post van Thurn und Taxis. La poste des Tour et Tassis. 1489-1794*, Brussel, 1992, p. 24-25.

<sup>8</sup> Borre became cantor in 1534 and was assigned an assistant in 1549 since he was 60. He died on 17 february 1558. PRIMS, 1982, 5, p. 307-308.

<sup>9</sup> 1554/1555: 59 and 62 chaplains. AKA, O.L.V., 147, fol. 137, 139.

<sup>10</sup> VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, 1978, p. 31-35. B. BOUCKAERT - E. SCHREURS, *Andreas Pevernage en het muziekleven in zijn tijd*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 10 (1993), p. 169.

<sup>11</sup> VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, 1978, p. 35. All names of musicians were taken from the list of distributions to chaplains, including the eight chaplaincies reserved for eighth vicars of which only the name of the last 15th-century chaplain is given. Of these eighth chaplaincies four appear at the end of the list with the names of the right choir and four at the end of the list for the left choir. In principle, names of vicars thus do not appear in these lists even though there are sporadic exceptions. More information is taken from the accounts of the *maiores*. The folio number in AKA, O.L.V., 147 is given between brackets at the end of each item.

the *Nieuwwerk* in 1548/1549 (fol. 44).<sup>12</sup> He may be the same individual as the vicar with the same name in the period 1581-1585.<sup>13</sup>

- . Johannes Wijs of Lille, bass. Mentioned in 1552/1553 as having received an *armarium* (fol. 68v).<sup>14</sup>
- . Dominus Hubertus Huberti (perhaps chaplain) is the next possessor in 1556/1557 of an *armarium* following the departure of the vicar-singer Johimi (Joachimi?/Scheverlinck?) (fol. 166).
- . Dominus Ancelmus, vicaris. Receives an *armarium* after permutation with dominus Petrus Vander Massen (1556/1557). In the same year he obtained a chaplaincy that had belonged to dominus Wilhelmus van Diest (fol. 166v).
- . Martinus de Hove (de Hane?), vicar, deceased; his *armarium* was given to dominus Du Faj in 1556/1557, perhaps an ordinary chaplain (fol. 166v).
- . Dominus Anthonius de Neve, (?) vicar. Received an *armarium* in 1556/1557 after the departure of dominus Ludovicus de Middeldonck (fol. 166v).
- . Dominus Johannes Olmeri/Olemers, singer. Obtained an *armarium* in 1557/1558, but may have already been in service for some time. In 1560/1561 Henricus Lombardus obtained his *armarium*. (fol. 192v, 271v).
- . Mathias Mathyssen, vicar, receives an *armarium* in 1558/1559, but may have already served for awhile (fol. 218).
- . Dominus Johannes Godevaert, vicar, gets an *armarium* in 1558, but may have already been in service. In 1561/1562 he takes possession of the chaplaincy before the Marian altar in the *Nieuwwerk* after the refusal of Dominus de Ham, alias Diest (fol. 218, 299).
- . Gasparus Salter/Sulter, vicar, receives a chaplaincy at the Salve Regina altar in 1559/1560 vacant after the departure or death of Dominus Gualterus Nicolai. In 1560/1561 he gets an *armarium* as the successor to Dominus Gerardus Maseyck. He may have already been in service as a vicar (fol. 245v, 271).
- . Dominus Henricus Deens, vicar, left or died and his *armarium* passed into the hands of Dominus Johannes de Bruyn in 1560/1561 (fol. 271v).
- . Ioachimus Verelst, bass, received an *armarium* in 1561/1562 that was vacant after the departure of Dominus Joannis de Ham alias Diest. He may have been in service earlier on (fol. 298).
- . Danielis de Mota, vicar, received an *armarium* in 1561/1562, but may have already been in service. In 1562/1563 a vicar, Danielis N. leaves and

<sup>12</sup> That he may be identical to the tenor Joachim Freithof, active at the Munich court, seems hardly possible. PERSOONS, 1982, p. 77. Probably he is identical with vicar/singer Johimi [Joachimi]. See *infra*, anno 1556/1557.

<sup>13</sup> BOUCKAERT - SCHREURS, 1993, p. 169.

<sup>14</sup> This may signal that a cleric has taken possession of a chaplaincy and thus also of the accompanying cabinet in the church. AKA, O.L.V., 147, fol. 166: 'pro armario inferiori a dorso librarie' or 'pro armario inferiori in medio sacristie versus librariam'.

Dominus Johannes Bruinincx obtains his armarium. Perhaps it then concerns Danielis de Mota (fol. 298v, 325v).

Since 1421 the choirboys had lived in a separate house located behind the church together with the *zangmeester* and the vicars.<sup>15</sup> There had surely been eight choirboys in the past, but during Lassus' stay there may have been 12 which can be deduced from the accounts of the Marian confraternity.<sup>16</sup> Yet caution is in order because there is mention only of 12 caps.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately we do not know the boys' names.

The singers were hired regularly by various organisations such as confraternities and trade and craft guilds. From their accounts and from those of the chapter we can deduce that the total number of singers (possibly excluding the choirboys) was usually between 12 and 20. The chapter had 19 singers for the Assumption service in 1554 and 1555, 20 in 1556 and 16 in 1556; the confraternity of St Anthony had 12-19 singers in 1554/1555, 12-16 in 1555/1556 and 13-18 in 1556/1557.<sup>18</sup> Even if this number includes choirboys it is still a large number of singers, comparable to the size of the choir of other large collegiate churches such as those in Brussels (St Gudula), Gent (St Bavo), Liège (St Lambertus) Lille, (St Petrus) and Tournai (Our Lady).<sup>19</sup>

Minor canons responsible for solo chant and including older musicians did not yet exist in 1554-56, as in other churches, in spite of the fact that the collegiate church in Antwerp was large. A new college of six canons of the second foundation was only in 1571 instituted by bishop Sonnius.<sup>20</sup>

A permanent organist could be called upon to play solo, alternatim or accompany.<sup>21</sup> In this case it was Christiaen (Kerstiaen) De Morien, who probably tra-

<sup>15</sup> VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, 1978, p. 30, 48. It is not at all clear whether all singers lived together in the *Koraalhuis* in the 16th century. Also see A. THYS, *Historique des rues et places publiques de la ville d'Anvers*, Antwerpen, 1873, p. 46-47 and F. PRIMIS, *De aanslag op het chooraalhuis van het kapittel*, in *Antwerpiensia 1940*, Antwerpen, 1941, p. 281-89.

<sup>16</sup> VAN DEN NIEUWENHUIZEN, 1978, p. 48 and FORNEY, 1987, p. 16-17.

<sup>17</sup> AKA, *Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof*, 2, fol. 168, 1554: 'Voer 12 piersche bonnetten den coralen geleverd tot 12 st. stuck ende een bonnette voer Mr. Anthone Barbe van 4 st. is tsamen 1 £. 8 st.'. In 1555 there is also mention of 'tweelf peersche bonnetten voerden coralen' (Ibidem, fol. 174v).

<sup>18</sup> FORNEY, 1987, p. 17, 24, 25.

<sup>19</sup> Brussel, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussel, St.-Goedele, 1410, fol. 127v-129v, 1555/1556. I thank Kaat Van Wouterghem for her communication. Gent, Rijksarchief, Gent, St.-Baafs, K 9281 B: twelf vicars listed in 1569 and 1572. J. QUITIN, *La musique dans les églises urbaines*, in *La musique en Wallonie et à Bruxelles*, 11, s.l. (la renaissance du livre), 1980, 33-34.

<sup>20</sup> E. SCHREURS, *Charles Burneys muzikaal reisverslag met betrekking tot de Lage Landen. Het muziektheater in Brussel en de kathedraal in Antwerpen*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 9 (1992), p. 104.

<sup>21</sup> Very peculiar is also mention of the singing of motets 'op d'orgel'. For more information, see PER-SOONS, 1981, p. 115-116. For a good example of a description see 1590: 'onder het loff de moteten te singhen op alderheylich dach op dorgel; voor duo tria diemen saterdach singt int loff; op onse lieve vrouwe botschap voer op dorgelen te singhen onder het lof'. The reference may be to an older practice. AKA, *Gilde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof*, 2, 1590. See also appendix 1.

velled to Spain with Mary of Hungary and remained in the service of her court.<sup>22</sup> The organist could no longer use the late gothic organ which had been destroyed in 1533 by a fire.<sup>23</sup> A new instrument by Gielis Brebos was only built in 1557, but Lassus would not have known it. The church also had organs belonging to the two confraternities. The instrument of the Marian confraternity was the work of Daniel Van der Distelen and of Hans Suys.<sup>24</sup> The builder of the organ of the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament is not known.<sup>25</sup> Finally, there is the positive organ in the rood loft that was built by Gielis Brebos in 1551.<sup>26</sup>

The choir was led by a master of the boys or *zangmeester*. At the time of Lassus's stay, this was Anthonius Barbe, who held this position for not less than 34 years, until 1562, three years before his death in 1565.<sup>27</sup> Barbe was surely no great international figure, but his surviving compositions give evidence of a certain craftsmanship. They include his *Missa Vecy la dance de Barberie*, printed by Susato in 1545 (RISM 1545<sup>1</sup> *Liber secundus missarum quatuor vocum*) and based on the chanson with the same name by Vaqueras (Compère?). This is more than likely a play on his family name and probably a musical homage to Jacob Obrecht, predecessor of Barbe who also composed a mass on the same anonymous model.<sup>28</sup>

In any case, Barbe must have displayed considerable artistic leadership, since the canons kept him on for a very long time, and, according to the account of the herald Jacques le Boucq, the musical performances in the collegiate church during the 22nd chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, when Barbe was *zangmeester*, must have been of high quality:

The highmass high mass was sung by Georgius of Egmond, bishop of Utrecht and the abbot of St Amand. In the ambulatorium behind the

<sup>22</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 68. GUICCIARDINI, 1612, p. 81, mentions that Catherine, daughter of painter Jan Hemessen, and being a painter herself, married 'Kerstiaen [Morien] den seer excellenten speelman op instrumenten'. He also says that both followed Mary of Hungary to Spain, where after her death they received a nice pension. See also E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX siècle*, 7, Brussel, 1885, p. 426 and 8, Brussel, 1888, p. 158.

<sup>23</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 13-14.

<sup>24</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 11-47.

<sup>27</sup> E. SCHREURS, *Bronnen en methodologie voor de studie van het muzikleven in de collegiales van de Lage Landen tijdens het Ancien Régime: een oriëntatie en enkele voorbeelden*, in B. HAGGH - F. DAELEMANS - A. VANRIE (ed.), *Musicology and archival research*, (Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België, Extranummer, 46), Brussel, 1994, p. 137.

<sup>28</sup> See FORNEY, 1987, p. 42. The incompletely preserved *Missa sine nomine* by Obrecht had as its model the anonymous chanson *Vecy la dance Barberi*. T. NOBLITT, *Obrecht's Missa Sine nomine and its Recently Discovered Model*, in *The Musical Quarterly*, 68 (1982), p. 102-127. A Pierre Barbery (†1505) was singer at the Burgundian court. R. VANNES, *Dictionnaire des musiciens (compositeurs)*, Brussel, [1950], p. 28.

choir vaults of high wooden arches had been erected, where the singers and many noblemen were placed. The divine service was sung in very great reverence and admirable resonance. It seemed as if all of the joys of the world had come to settle there.<sup>29</sup>

Apart from these performers of polyphony there was also a carillon player. He was a certain Samson (†1559; Sampzoene, Samsoen) van Sollbrecht, who was replaced temporarily during the year 1554/1555, because of illness, by his colleague Rombout van Schouwenborch from the abbey of St Michael's.<sup>30</sup> In 1540, at the behest of the carillon player Samson, a new carillon built by Cornelis Waghevens was first rung. The old *voorslag* found a home in the church of St Andrews (cf. infra).<sup>31</sup>

The repertory of polyphony that was performed can be partially determined from the accounts of the church fabric, and consists, as was customary, of masses and motets, which were copied into manuscripts or printed. Some polyphony was still improvised on a plainchant melody in a homophonic, fauxbourdon-like style, however.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> PERSOONS, 1982, p. 75, 79. F. DE REIFFENBERGH, *Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'Or*, Brussel, 1830, p. 466: 'La grand'messe feut chantée par messire George d'Eguemont, évesque d'Utrecht et abbé de St.-Amand. On avoit fait aux allées derrière le choeur de haultes vaultes de bois en forme de voussure, ou estoient les chantres et grand nombre de gentilshommes. Le service divin feut chanté en moult grand honneur et admirable révérence. La chanterie et la musicque feut en admirable résonnance. Il sembloit que toutes les joies du monde se estoient illec venues poser.' See also DONNET, 1924.

<sup>30</sup> AKA, 15, fol. 74. According to dr. Godelieve Spiessens, Samson is the same person as Sollbrecht/de Solbruecq, also Solburch, Solborch, Solberch, Solenberch, Solenborch etc. She is preparing an article on bellringers from Antwerp (1540-1640). I thank dr. Spiessens for her communication. Given the unusual name and the Dutch origin of a 'germanized' polyphonic song, it is possible that this Samson is the composer of the song *Es sout ein meisikin halen wijn*, as well as of a mass based on the same song. See Georg Forster, *Frische Teutsche Liedlein (1539-1556). Zweiter Teil (1540)*, K. GUDEWILL - G. SIUTS (ed.), *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*, 60, Wolfenbüttel - Zürich, 1969, p. 1-2 and *Opus decem missarum quatuor vocum*, Wittenberg, 1541, published by Georg Rhau.

<sup>31</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 118. The reading 'Wagenens' is probably faulty (P. VISSCHERS, *Geschiedenis van St. Andries kerk te Antwerpen sedert hare opkomst tot den huidigen dag*, 1, Antwerpen, 1853, p. 21-29). See note 64.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, from a somewhat later period (the acta capituli are only completely preserved beginning in 1590), but perhaps a reflection of an older practice, a request from the singers in connection with a payment for singing fauxbourdon (7 september 1590): 'Honorarium cantorum pro cantu faubordon in supplicationibus. Ad libellum supplicie vicariorum seu cantorum ecclesie nostre petentium stipendium ratione cantus faubordon tempore supplicationum habitatum in ecclesijs parochialibus post festum assumptionis B.M. pro foelici successu expeditionis franciae sunt illis assignati pro quolibet die tres stuferi et mandatum D<sup>o</sup> thesaurario ut illis solvat salvo tamen quod ijs inde detrahat partem que competijt choralibus in illa libra grossorum quam habuerunt in exequijs.' AKA, Diocesaan archief, 1, fol. 22. PERSOONS, 1981, p. 122 and FORNEY, 1987, p. 33-36. To compare see also the information on 's-Hertogenbosch in G. VAN DIJCK, *De Bossche optimaten. Geschiedenis van de Illustere Lieve Vrouwebroederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1318-1973, (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Zuiden van Nederland, 27)*, Tilburg, 1973, p. 265.

Of uncommon significance for musical life in the Antwerp churches were the numerous confraternities. The church of Our Lady housed six confraternities, which provided a bridge between wealthy burghers and the ecclesiastical authorities. A substantial part of the income of the confraternities, which were charitable institutions as well, provided for regulated services including polyphony. Singers, numbering 18 to 22, were called for on exceptional occasions, above all the feasts of patron saints and the often yearly commemorative masses for deceased brothers.<sup>33</sup>

The Marian confraternity, even if not the oldest, was unquestionably the most important at that moment, which is confirmed by Guicciardini's praises. With respect to performances of music, he writes:<sup>34</sup>

besides many masses and other wonderful services, every evening Our Lady, *Salve Regina* is sung in beautiful music and with merry organ playing, at the expense of the abovementioned brothers of the Guild.

From the number of tokens that were distributed yearly we can deduce that the average ensemble for the singing of the daily *lof* numbered 10 singers. On important feast days there were probably more. Solo singing by the best singers was a common practice at the ceremonies of the Marian and Holy Sacrament confraternities. This solo singing was no isolated phenomenon in the Low Countries, although notices about it in archival documents are rather scarce.<sup>35</sup> In the accounts of the Marian confraternity of 's-Hertogenbosch we find payments for the performance of duos and trios during the *lof* by the best singers.<sup>36</sup> In Antwerp, these performances usually took place during the Saturday *lof* with the organ and standing on the organ loft. Usually 4 to 6 of the best singers were paid yearly because they were well suited ('bequaem') for the task. Possibly this term means not only that they were able to sing the part alone, but it may also mean, that they could still add virtuosity to their perfor-

<sup>33</sup> FORNEY, 1987, p. 17, 23-25.

<sup>34</sup> GUICCIARDINI, 1612, p. 63: 'behalven vele missen ende andere schoone diensten alle avondt onser Vrouwen lof, 'Salve Regina' in schoone musijcke ghesongen ende met lustighe ['perpetto' in the Italian version] Orghelen gespeelt wordt op der voorseyder gildebroeders kost.' PERSOONS, 1981, p. 115 and FORNEY, 1987, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> FORNEY, 1987, p. 40-41.

<sup>36</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 116, FORNEY, 1987, p. 40-41 and M. VENTE, *De illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch*, in *Tijdschrift voor de Vereniging van Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 19 (1963), p. 40-41:

28 februari 1543: 'enen vrenden sanger, een Wael, die een duo sanck, 7 st.'

12 februari 1556: 'geschonken eenen hoochconter van luyck want hy een duo gesonghen hadde 7 st.'

14 juli 1557: 'Jan Flocquet sanger van die Co(ninklijke) Ma(jesteit) want hy twee off drie duo in de misse gesongen heeft 15 st. 1 oirt.'

mances by adding embellishments.<sup>37</sup> It may also be that polyphonic models were reduced to a smaller number of voices; perhaps a bass sang such reductions with one or two singers on the upper parts, while the organ played the full realisation.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes the singers sang in the middle of the church.<sup>39</sup>

Next were the choirboys of the collegiate church, who sang along or as a separate ensemble.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately we don't know the names of the choirboys. There was also a separate organist (Gielis Van Elckom/Van Elcken), whose organ until 1554/1555 was maintained by Anthonis Mors and from 1555/1556 by his brother *meester* Cornelis Mors; since the former was at that moment in the East ('Oostland'). He may have been working in Schwerin.<sup>41</sup> Lassus may have heard the organist of the confraternity play during one of the numerous services, since van Elcken (Gilles van Ellekham) came to the Munich court by 1558 possibly as a result of Lassus's recommendation.<sup>42</sup> The confraternity also called on the carillon player of the collegiate church, and sometimes *speellieden* were hired, who played together with the singers during the mass - the offertory, for example -, the *lof* and on other occasions.<sup>43</sup>

Finally it was traditional, not only for this Marian confraternity in Antwerp that the feast of St Cecilia was celebrated, on which the musicians were given a treat.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>37</sup> FORNEY, 1987, p. 40-41. This author is of the opinion that duos and trios really were sung, pointing to compositions for this number of parts by Barbe, Turnhout and Cornet, which could have been used for teaching as well as music-making or the liturgy.

<sup>38</sup> For more information about payments to 5 or 6 of the best singers for singing duos and trios at the saturday *lof*, probably with organ accompaniment see AKA, *Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof*, 2 and appendix 1. The guild of the schoolteachers also paid for 'het motet op d'orghelen'. See K.K. FORNEY, *The Role of Secular Guilds in the Musical Life of Renaissance Antwerp*, in B. HAGGH - F. DAELEMANS - A. VANRIE (ed.), 1994, p. 446.

<sup>39</sup> AKA, *Gilde van het Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof*, 2, fol. 144, 1550: 'aen dye sangers op ons lyven vrouwen omgang dat sy in middel vande kerken songen [...] 1 st. 4 d.'

<sup>40</sup> For example, in Tongeren the choirboys also sing as a separate ensemble. Thus they sing the *Gloria laus* from a gallery of the spire of the St Nicholas church on Palm Sunday. E. SCHREURS, *Het muziekleven 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*, doct. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1990, 1, p. 329-330. An example of solo singing is described in 1589, when a bass and a choirboy perform a motet on the days of the yearly *omwegang*: 'noch voor een bassus enne creal voor het mottet op de omweganckdach 1 st.' (AKA, *Gilde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof*, 2, anno 1589).

<sup>41</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 34. AKA, *Gilde van Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof*, 2, 168, 169v, 174v, 180: 'Mr. Cornelis Moors orgelmaker, broeder van mr. Anthonis Moors die dorghelen onderhoudt, ende dat overmidts de voirs. mr. Anthonis in oostlant was, ende voir dat hij de orgelen twee oft drye malen veraccorderen moeste dwelck men den den voirs. mr. Anthonis behoort te cortten van zynen gagien een gouden croone met noch Hausken den blaser gegeven eenen sces. compt ts. 7 st. 8 d.'

<sup>42</sup> PERSOONS, 1981, p. 67-68 and PERSOONS, 1982, p. 76-77. A. SANDBERGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso*, 3.1, Wiesbaden, 1973 (= Leipzig, 1894), p. 8-10: 1558: 'Den 27<sup>isten</sup> Aprilis Bezalt Egidien Ellkhorn Organisten Abförttigung 15 Taller 17 gl. 1 schilling.'

Quottember: [...] 'Gilles von Ellekham Organist ist bezallt 60 gl. 4 schilling 2 Pfennig, 1/2.'

The number of services of this confraternity (including the daily *lof* and a Saturday votive mass) was so great, that it even had its own music library, comparable and probably even complementary to that of the church fabric of Our Lady's.<sup>45</sup>

Another confraternity was that of the Holy Sacrament, which held a sung mass on Thursdays *in discante*, that is, in polyphony, with *zangmeester*, vicars, choirboys and organ. Unfortunately, we are not well informed about this confraternity. We do know that solo performances of parts of the mass were customary on high feast days.<sup>46</sup>

There was also the confraternity for St Anthony which held a mass with polyphony on Mondays. In 1554/1555 this mass was sung by at least 12 and at most 20 singers, probably included the choirboys. This was a common number of singers, comparable to that of other confraternities and guilds.<sup>47</sup>

Other votive masses were sung in the morning Tuesdays (the mass of the St Anna confraternity), Wednesdays (the mass for the Circumcision confraternity), and Fridays (the mass for the confraternity of the Holy Cross).<sup>48</sup> Thus, a daily mass in polyphony sponsored by a confraternity complemented the seven Hours (or office), the mass, and the daily *lof* in the collegiate church. A visitor in the sixteenth century would have plenty of opportunity to recognize the nature and quality of musical performances.

<sup>43</sup> AKA, Gilde van het Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof, 2, fol. 144, 1550: 'betalt den stadpipers om dat sy vor dyversche reysen inde kore inde missen ende loff gespelt hadde mit de sangers 19 st.' IBID., fol. 174, 1555: the *speellieden* play during the *lof* on Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, All Saints, Christmas and Purification: 'betaelt der stadt speellieden, te paesschen, sincxen, halfgooght, alderheijligen, te kersmisse, te lichtmisse, int lof te spelene elcke reijse 5 scell. comt tsamen 1 £. 10 st.' In the same year they also played on Easter Monday (during the offertory of the mass of the Annunciation of Mary), on the Assumption of Mary (during the offertory), the first day after Christmas (during the offertory of the mass of the Immaculate Conception of Mary) and on the Purification of Mary (during the mass). IBID., fol. 173.

<sup>44</sup> AKA, Gilde van het Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof, 2: 1554: 'Betaelt de sangers op sint Cecillien dach als sy haer maelyt hauden datmen mr. Antone Barbe betaelt heeft naer daude coustume 1 £. 10 st.' (fol. 167v).

1555: 'Betaelt voer de sangers op sinte Cecillien dach in handen van meester Anthonis Barbe sangmeester 1 £. 10 st.' (fol. 174v).

1556: 'Betaelt voer de sangers op sinte Sycyllyen dach in handen van meester Anthonys Barbe sangmeester 1 £. 10 st.' (fol. 180). Concerning 's-Hertogenbosch, see M. VENTE, *De illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch. 1541-1620*, in *Tijdschrift voor de Vereniging van Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 19 (1963), p. 167. G. SPIESSENS, *Zingende kelen moeten gesmeerd worden. Stedelijke wijnschenkingen, drinkgelden en bieraccijnzen voor de zangers van de Antwerpse hoofdkerk (1530-1681)*, in B. HAGGH - F. DAELEMANS - A. VANRIE (ed.), 1994, p. 411-440.

<sup>45</sup> It is remarkable that no manuscripts were preserved. Probably much was lost after the iconoclastic fury. PERSOONS, 1981, p. 122-127 and FORNEY, 1987, p. 33-39.

<sup>46</sup> The Credo was sung six times a year by soloists: the *zangmeeste*, three or four of the best singers and choirboys. PERSOONS, 1981, p. 150, FORNEY, 1987, p. 19.

<sup>47</sup> FORNEY, 1987, p. 23-25 and AKA, O.L.V., 206, 1554/1555. In 1569 players of crumhorns and shawms are listed, as well as singers of the mass.

<sup>48</sup> FORNEY, 1987, p. 25.

## Musical life in the remaining parish churches and in the monasteries

Apart from the collegiate church, which functioned as a parish church at the same time, there were four other parish churches within Antwerp's city wall, subordinate to Our Lay's.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, no systematic research has been done on music in these churches, and many archives are missing. Here we concentrate only on the years 1554 to 1556. Music could be heard in the parish churches during this time, often associated with confraternities. We do know from entries made in 1521 and 1532 that all five parish churches had a parish school, among other reasons so that the choirs in the church would be filled with better singers than they had had in the past.<sup>50</sup> That suggests that the level of musical performance in some of the parish churches left something to be desired. This is understandable, given that many parish churches were founded quite late in comparison to those of other cities in the Low Countries, such as Brussels, Ghent and Bruges, where the secondary churches were older and had already accumulated considerable patrimony and wealthy foundations for polyphony. First among the Antwerp parish churches was the church of St James, in the eastern part of the city, which became a collegiate church in 1656. Although this church is much older, it was only recognized as a parish church in 1476. According to the account books of this late Gothic church, a professional music ensemble was present during the period 1554 to 1556, even though it is not yet clear what it consisted of. A group of *choristen* are mentioned, also a second group consisting of a pastor, nine chaplains, a sexton and a school master who performed obits, stations, commemorative masses, the office, high masses and *loven*.<sup>51</sup>

From the already cited charter of 1521 on the establishment of schools in the parishes of St George, St James and St Walburgis, we know that the schoolmaster, who had to be old enough, able and obedient, was required to teach science and good manners ('scientien en goede manieren') and also (probably monophonic) song (that is music).<sup>52</sup> These schoolmasters of these parish

<sup>49</sup> The St Willibrordus church is not considered here, because it lay outside of the city wall. See ASA, K 242: Parochiescholen, 27 July 1585: 'rechten van de lijcken ende uytvaerden in de cathedrale ende andere vier parochiale kerken binnen de stadt Antwerpen'.

<sup>50</sup> ASA, K 242, 1521: 'doen te wetenen dat wij ter eeren godts vermeerderinge vanden godsdiensten inden prochiekercken derselven stadt ende opdat de heeren inder selven kercken met sanghe beter verchiert mogen worden, dan sij hier voormaels geweest hebben.'

<sup>51</sup> AJA, 32/1-7, accounts 1550/1551-1555/1556.

E.g., 1554/1555: 'Item betaelt den choristen voir tzingen vande zevensde getijden, hoochmisse, vesperen, lof ende anderssins naar ouder costumen, compt tsamen 53 £. 7 st. 9 d. 20 m.'

<sup>52</sup> See also C. BOURLAND, *The guild of St. Ambrose, or schoolmaster's guild of Antwerp. 1529-1579*, (*Publications of the Department of History of Smith College*, 36), Northampton, Ma., 1951. That some schoolmasters also had musical training is evident from the four-part chanson *Assuerus, au troisieme an* performed by the schoolchildren of Pierre Goossens from the private school *Diligencj* indeed from 1584. This may be an example of an earlier practice. H. DE GROOTE, *De zestiende-eeuwse Antwerpse schoolmeesters*, in *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis inzonderheid van het oud Hertogdom Brabant*, 50 (1967), p. 179-318; 51 (1968), p. 5-52. Concerning Peeter Goossens, see p. 8. In 1554 François Warneys, alias *Perceval*, schoolmaster and organist, became citizen (*poorter*) of Antwerp. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

schools were responsible to the scholaster of the collegiate church of Our Lady's, other evidence of the church's supremacy. In addition to singing in the parish church, even at funerals, the boys also had to participate with their masters in all processions. The best were selected to sing along.<sup>53</sup>

There is also mention of an organist. In 1550 the organist is a certain Steven; the organist in the following years is not known, but we do know that a Heinrich Artssen was organist, even until his death in 1566.<sup>54</sup> His successor was Raymundus Waelrant, who probably began to serve the church of St James in 1567. The latter was the son of Hubertus Waelrant (°1516/1517 - †1595) who was active in Antwerp as singer, composer, teacher and music publisher and who is commonly considered the discoverer of a new seven-syllable solmization system, also called *voces belgicae*.<sup>55</sup>

Just as in the collegiate church of Our Lady, there were weekly masses held in St James, probably organized in part by the confraternities: on Thursdays, there was a mass for the Holy Sacrament, on Friday for the Holy Cross and the Sweet Name of Jesus, on Saturday for Mary and on Sunday again for the Sweet Name of Jesus.<sup>56</sup>

Exceptional organ playing during the time of Lassus's visit also took place on the days of the feasts of Sts Dimpna<sup>57</sup>, Anna<sup>58</sup>, and on all Marian feasts, as well as on the feast of the Sweet Name of Jesus.<sup>59</sup> The town musicians were hired, notably for the procession of St James (in 1555/1556) following a long-standing tradition ('nair ouder costuyme') or on Easter Sunday. Indeed in 1569/1570 two minstrels and boys played and sang solemnly during the high mass, perhaps a reflection of an older practice.<sup>60</sup>

The church of St Andrew was the youngest. At first it was to be an Augustinian church, but after violent protest from the collegiate church of Our Lady it was dedicated in 1529 and recognized as a parish church in 1533.

53 In a somewhat later period (27 juli 1585), mention is made of a schoolmaster, schoolchildren and choirboys who walk along to the burial (ASA, K 242). There is no explicit mention of a *zangmeester* at the time of Lassus's stay. Later, in 1607, we find a *Remondus Diricx* as *zangmeester* and in 1608 Marcus de Vre. See R. RASCH, *De cantiones natalitiae en het kerkelijke muziekleven in de zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, 1, (*Muziekhistorische monografieën*, 10), Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, s.l., 1985, p. 229.

54 AJA, 32-33. PERSOONS, 1981, p. 77.

55 AJA, 33/3, fol. 22v, 1568/1569: 'aenden organist vande hele jaer 68 midts dye Rumundus Walran dorgel gegundt was tsamen 14 £. 5 st.' (PERSOONS, 1981, p. 76).

56 FORNEY, 1987, p. 9.

57 AJA, 32/6, fol. 8, 1554/1555: 'den organist ende blazer deser voirs. kerken voir tspelen ende blasen van thoochtijt van sinte Dimpne comt tsamen 1 st. 6 d.'

58 FORNEY, 1987, p. 9 ff. AJA, 32/6, fol. 10, 1554/1555: 'voir den organist ende blazer van thoichtijt van sint Annen te spelen 1 st.'

59 AJA, 32/6-7, 1554/1556.

60 AJA, 33/5, fol. 26, 1569/1570: 'opden paesdach aen twee speellieden ende jongers die inde hoochmisse speelden ende songen solempneel 6 st. 3 d.'

Because of this young church's limited patrimony, musical life there was rather modest. In addition to an organist (from 1553 to 1555, *meester* Jan de(n) Nacker) there were priests who sang the services, which included a number of votive masses (for Sts Anna, Anthony, and the Sweet Name of Jesus). There were also modest payments for various masses in discant held on high feast days, possibly sung by singers from elsewhere.<sup>61</sup>

Since 1548 a foundation existed for the (probably monophonic) singing of the office by nine priests (chaplains) and a pastor.<sup>62</sup> An important high feast day was the day of the procession of St Andrew, when *speellieden* were hired and visiting priests processed with the others. The carillon players of Our Lady's and St Michael's played as the procession walked by.<sup>63</sup> Since 1541 the church of St Andrew also had a modest *voorslag* (ten bells from the spire of Our Lady's), which formed an interesting complement to the four bells that had been founded in 1535 by Cornelis Waghevens.<sup>64</sup>

The church of St George in the southern part of the city, became a subordinate parish church in 1304, and had a modest musical life in the sixteenth century, which has hardly been studied. Only in 1559 an organist is named, Hans Bouters, who then played an instrument that was maintained by the organbuilder Joos Swijs (Swyssen). He may have worked there earlier on. In 1555/1556 there was also a carillon-player, a certain Jacob. The seven Hours were probably sung by a pastor and chaplains in addition to the masses and obits. There is no explicit mention of the singing of polyphony, but there would have been many appropriate opportunities.<sup>65</sup> Several confraternities had their altars in the church, and they may have organized weekly masses. We do know of a daily Marian *lof*, and on Thursday and probably also on Sundays and feast days, there was a mass for the

<sup>61</sup> ARA, St.-Andries [2], fol. 4v, 1553-1555: 'diversche misse in discante op hoege dagen'. I found no *zangmeester* in the 16th century, only at the beginning of the 17th.

<sup>62</sup> Founded by Claude de Beuckelaer, canon-treasurer (†1549) of Our Lady: 'hier teghen alle daeghen de seven getijde te doen singhene ten minstens door negen priesters ofte cappellaenen onder welcke den parochiaen eenen soude weesen.' (ARA, St.-Andries, Register met Testamenten, nr. 27, extract). In ARA, St.-Andries, s.s., *Cronyc*, anno 1548: '[...] tot de decantatie der seven getijden in de kercke van Sint Andries ende wirdt tot de selve beset twee hondert guldens [...] geobligeert te hauden 9 capellanen waer aff den parochiaen eene wesen sal.' On the C. de Beuckelaer see PRIMIS, 1982, 5, p. 308.

<sup>63</sup> ARA, St.-Andries [2], 1553-55, fol. 4v.

<sup>64</sup> ARA, St.-Andries, s.s., *Cronyck*, anno 1535: 'Ten selven jaere sijn gemact de vier grootste clocken door meester Cornelis Waghewijns [sic] tot Antwerpen woonende de meeste weeght 3192 pondt de tweede 2186 de derde 1568, de vierde 1150 ende is voor ieder hondert pondt aenbesteedt tegens 12 gls. 10 sts. de gietinge.' Anno 1541: 'Ten selven tijde is aenbesteedt aen Jan van Tricht timerman het maken van den bellefroid op den toren tot het hangen van thien clocken voor den bijaert.' Anno 1547: 'Sijn gewijdt die vier voors. groote clocken met nogh eene klijndere de eerste is genaempt Salvator de tweede Maria, de derde Andries, de vierde Francis.' See VISSCHERS, 1853, p. 21, 24. Probably there is an incorrect reading: Waghemans instead of Waghevens. See also note 31.

<sup>65</sup> Just as at St Andrews a *zangmeester* is only mentioned relatively late. Only from mid-March 1605 on is there mention of a master Marcus de Vrie for 'continuing the music'. De Vrie was also *zangmeester* in St Jacobs from 1608-1623. RASCH, 1985, 2, p. 229.

Holy Sacrament, for which the pastor, chaplains and other servants received tokens.<sup>66</sup> On Fridays the Holy Cross *lof* was sung. Just as in all of the Antwerp parish churches, there was a schoolmaster and there would have been children to sing along. Another important occasion was St George's day, on which a mass was sung with deacon, subdeacon and organ music, but even more important was the St George's procession. It had been held since 1485 every year, and this on account of a conquest of a fortification which had taken place near Kallo on 23 April, St George's day.<sup>67</sup> The *stadsspeellieden* marched along as well as singing priests and schoolchildren. The craft-guilds and above all the archers' guilds, including that of St George, patron of the *voetboog* (crossbowman) guild, participated as well.<sup>68</sup>

We have the least information about musical life in St Walburgis or the castle church near the harbor, largely because most of the archives are lost.<sup>69</sup> We do know that even this church had a parish school, probably with children who sang, and that it had its own procession, on St Eligius's day.<sup>70</sup>

We also know little about music in the numerous monasteries, since few archives survive and much research remains to be done. As was true in other cities, there must have been some musical life, even if it was limited, in each monastery, and even if the populace had less access to it. What is certain is that the Begards copied music manuscripts and provided parchment to the church of Our Lady, and the important Praemonstratensian abbey of St Michael had at least one carillon player (cf. *supra*), who sometimes also played at other churches on request. All of these monasteries had bells contributing to the sounds that were heard daily throughout Antwerp.

### Secular musical life

In addition to sacred musical life, there was also secular music-making, though the separation between the two should not be interpreted too strictly, and collaboration and common influences were very frequent. We are not as well informed about music making in the homes of burghers, mostly because there are few documents. From music iconography we can learn something, but most sources are moralizing depictions which need to be interpreted cautiously.<sup>71</sup> We know about the repertory that was sung and played from music prints,

<sup>66</sup> FORNEY, 1987, p. 9. ARA, St.-Joris, 1559, fol. 3v: 'Prochianen en alle de cappellanen ende ander dienaren voor hen loyen van het heylich sacramentslof te singhen alle sondagge tsavonts ende alle liefvrouw daghen ende hoochtijden tsavonts.'

<sup>67</sup> F. PRIMS, *Geschiedenis van Sint-Joriskerk te Antwerpen*, Antwerpen, 1924, p. 51-52.

<sup>68</sup> ARA, St.-Joris, 1559, fol. 1v-7v.

<sup>69</sup> ASA, K 242.

<sup>70</sup> FORNEY, 1987, p. 3.

<sup>71</sup> K. MOENS, *Muziek in de grafiek uit de Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, in *Muziek en grafiek. Burgermoraal en muziek in de 16de- en 17de-eeuwse Nederlanden*, exhibition catalogue, Antwerpen, 1994, p. 13-47. On music making at home see FORNEY, 1994, p. 441-461.

of which many were intended for export, however. Thus there are prints of Susato, Waelrant/De Laet and later those of Phalesius. They include French chansons, regionally known Dutch polyphonic songs and Italian madrigals. To a lesser extent, motets and masses also belong to the repertory performed in homes.<sup>72</sup>

Keyboard instruments, lutes and other instruments were also manufactured partly for use in townspeople's homes. Music-making at home was especially known in intellectual circles, for example, at the home of *zangmeester* Pevernage in the later period (1585-1591), and at the school of Gregorius de Coninck, where Hubertus Waelrant taught from at least 1553 to 1556.<sup>73</sup>

Craft-guilds and societies (archers' guilds, chambers of rhetoric) also patronized musicians, since they often had masses performed or hired *speellieden* during the yearly celebrations for their patron saints. So there is, for example, the guild of the schoolteachers under the patronage of St Ambrose.<sup>74</sup> On his feast there was bellringing and carillon playing, before the mass by Samson the above named carillon player of Our Lady's. The mass was celebrated by deacon and subdeacon; about 20 singers and an organist, probably musicians of the collegiate church, performed the mass in polyphony. From 1557 on, the feast of St Martha was made more festive with bellringing, carillon playing, organ playing and singing by about 20 singers.<sup>75</sup>

The harquebusers (*Colveniers*) or St Christopher's guild, for example also celebrated the feast of their patron saint with bellringing, organ playing and the performance of a polyphonic mass for which the town musicians were hired.<sup>76</sup> There was also a yearly notice about a requiem mass that was probably performed in polyphony by an ensemble of singers. This guild was also very active during the various processions. There is mention of drummers, some from out of town, fifers, town musicians (in 1563-64 even those from Leuven), various minstrels, sword dancers, *ioculatores*, and various fools, who were all

<sup>72</sup> C. COPPENS, *Antwerpse vriendschapsbanden: twee Antwerpse boekbanden uit de tijd van Plantin*, in *Ex Officina*, 6 (1989), p. 169-184.

<sup>73</sup> For the most recent information on Pevernage see BOUCKAERT - SCHREURS, 1993, p. 161-175. For more information on the patronage of merchants, more specifically by the Genoese nation, see S. WILLAERT - K. DERDE, *Het mecenaat van de Genuese natie in Antwerpen in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw* in BOSSUYT (ed.), 1994, p. 47-56. About teaching music, see FORNEY, 1994, p. 447.

<sup>74</sup> BOURLAND, 1951.

<sup>75</sup> ASA, GA (Gilden en Ambachten), 4528, 1554/1555, fol. 98v: '20 sangers elck 1 braspenninck is 25 st.' Furthermore, almost no accounts of the guilds of this period have survived. Since these organisations were very old-fashioned, we can assume that practices from a somewhat later period were probably also current in 1554-1556. Most likely every (wealthy) guild arranged for music to be heard at least during the yearly mass for its patron saint. Thus, the coopers had the mass of their patronal feast celebrated with song and organ music in 1587/1588. More on music and guilds, in FORNEY, 1994, p. 446-452.

<sup>76</sup> This happens in 1563. It may concern an older practice.

paid by the guild.<sup>77</sup>

The guild of St Sebastian also made musical efforts. In 1557-1558 (these are the oldest surviving accounts) the singers, an organist, bell ringer, deacon, subdeacon and minstrels were paid for a sung mass on St Sebastian. Also on St Dignen (St Dymphna), a mass was sung, but now without minstrels. During processions they participated with the other military guilds. As an paramilitary organisation they sometimes call on two drummers from other cities besides their own drummers and they paid minstrels.<sup>78</sup>

At the meetings of the chambers of rhetoric, music was also sung, which is evident from the existence of a monophonic, strophic song *Rijst uut den slape die sijt beswaert* of 1559.<sup>79</sup> Typical of large cities is also the presence in Antwerp of a musicians' guild, under the patronage of Sts Job and Mary Magdalene, which had a chapel in the church of St James. From the census of citizens or *poorters*, we learn that there was great mobility and that Antwerp attracted many musicians from other cities, who made Antwerp's musical life even more international and lively.<sup>80</sup>

The city magistrate of Antwerp saw among their duties the establishment of a position for the payment of cloth for tabards to the *zangmeester* and later to the organist at Our Lady's, probably in return for performing music for the city magistrates.<sup>81</sup> The carillon player, Samson, was also paid by the city, but

<sup>77</sup> This organization had at least three of its own musicians: two drummers and a *pijper*, probably a player of fife, an instrument that was typical of the marksmens' guilds. ASA, GA, 4663, 1563-64, fol. 19-19v:

'H. Besnydenis ommeganck

- Diverse pijpers ende trommelslagers inde ommeganck gedient hebbende 2 ƒ. 16 st. 3 d.

- De stadtspeelieden van Loven 1 ƒ.

- Aen diverse speelieden, guychelars ende sweertdansers 27 st. 6 d.'

Ibid., fol. 21:

'Ons Lieve vrouwen ommeganck

- aen buuten trommelslagers inden voors. ommeganck gespeelt hebbende 10 st.

- aen verscheyden sotten ende speelieden als achterwaerts 18 st. 6 d.

Inde misse van sint Cristoffel gegeven aenden sangers 10 st. 6 d.

- vande groote clocke te luyden 6 st.

- den organist 1 st. 6 d.

- diaken ende subdiaken 2 st.

- de stadtspeelieden 10 st.

- de singers vande misse van requiem 7 st. 10 d.'

<sup>78</sup> ASA, GA, 4650, 1557-1558: fol. 2-3.

<sup>79</sup> The songs in the *Antwerps Liedboek* may also serve as examples of music associated with chambers of rhetoric. For a partial edition see K. VELLEKOOP - H. WAGENAAR-NOLTHENIUS et. al., *Het Antwerps liedboek. 87 melodieën op teksten uit "Een Schoon Liedekens-Boeck" van 1544*, Amsterdam, 1972. See more in FORNEY, 1994, p. 458-460.

<sup>80</sup> G. SPIESSENS, *Geschiedenis van de gilde van de Antwerpse speelieden, bijgenaamd Sint-Job en Sint-Maria-Magdalena. Inleiding en deel I: XVIde eeuw*, in *Belgisch tijdschrift voor Muziekgeschiedenis. Revue belge de musicologie*, 22 (1968), p. 5-50.

<sup>81</sup> G. SPIESSENS, *Stedelijk tabberdrecht voor de zangmeester van de Antwerpse hoofdkerk (1555-1681)*, in *Taxandrie. Jaarboek van de koninklijke geschied- en oudheidkundige kring van de Antwerpse Kempen*, 57 (Nieuwe reeks) (1985), p. 41-49.

the most considerable effort was made for the maintenance of a corps of five sworn town musicians, who played regularly at the order of the city magistrates. In 1554/1555 the following musicians played for the town, probably cornetto, shawm and sackbut.<sup>82</sup>

Franchois de Hartoghe (Frans de Hertoghe)  
 Segeren Pylkin (Segher Pylken)  
 Paryse Le Grandt (Parys Grand)/Marcus de Vincke  
 Janne du Soleil (Jan vander Zonnen)  
 Jorise Vincke

These musicians were also hired regularly by the five parish churches and by confraternities<sup>83</sup> and they sometimes also played different instruments. Last, two trumpet players should be mentioned who also served as watchmen atop the spire of Our Lady's, playing signals and fanfares and contributing to the 'soundscape' of the city.<sup>84</sup>

Of course, there were exceptional occasions, for which additional effort was expended. There were various processions organized by the five parish churches, and, in January 1556<sup>85</sup>, there was the Joyous Entry of Philip II, which coincided with the 22nd chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece. It is not out of the question that Lassus, who was looking for a lucrative association with the Low Countries, with the help of Granvelle among others, may have been present at the spectacular disaster when *speellieden* and drummers, who had taken their place atop the triumphal arch of the Genoese nation, were killed or wounded. He may also have had the opportunity then to attend the brilliant musical performances described by the herald, Jacques le Bouck.<sup>86</sup>

If Lassus did live in Antwerp for two years between September 1554 and September 1556<sup>87</sup> or even if he stayed elsewhere in the Low Countries and visited Antwerp only occasionally, he would have had the opportunity to

<sup>82</sup> ASA, Rekenkamer, R 15, 1554-55, fol. 112v, 142. G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse stadsspeellieden. Eerste deel: 15e en 16e eeuw*, in *De Noordgouw*, 10 (1970), p. 28.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. *supra*.

<sup>84</sup> G. SPIESSENS, *De torenwachters van de Antwerpse Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk. 14de, 15de en 16de eeuw*, in *De Noordgouw*, 16 (1976), p. 15-68. ASA, Rekenkamer, R 27, 1586/1587, fol. 132v.

<sup>85</sup> See footnote 2.

<sup>86</sup> PERSOONS, 1982, p. 74-75.

<sup>87</sup> It is in fact not fully established whether Lassus actually stayed in Antwerp or not, though it is certain that he travelled in the Low Countries in the period 1554-1556, see D. CARDAMONE-JACKSON, *Orlando di Lasso and Pro-French Factions in Rome* in this volume. With respect to his journey from Augsburg to Munich in september 1556 see I. BOSSUYT, *Lassos erste Jahre in München (1556-1559): eine "cosa non riuscita"?*. *Neue Materialien aufgrund unveröffentlichter Briefe von Johann Jakob Fugger, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle und Orlando di Lasso*, in HÖRNER - SCHMID (ed.), 1993, p. 57.

become acquainted with music-making that was unusually differentiated and often of relatively high quality, even though it would be severely restrained by the approaching religious troubles. Unfortunately we will probably never know to what degree he appreciated this musical life. It is true that in Munich, he could take advantage of a musical chapel comprised of singers from several nations, of which came from the Low Countries (such as Gielis Van Elcken, Johannes de Fossa, the Florius family). That he wanted to travel to Antwerp again in 1572, but cancelled on account of political troubles in Cologne, does obviously signify that he had again expected to meet talented musicians or influential people.<sup>88</sup>

I am especially grateful to Barbara Haggh for her translation of my text.

<sup>88</sup> I. BOSSUYT, *Orlandus Lassus (1532-1594). Leven en werk*, in BOSSUYT (ed.), 1982, p. 44-45.

## APPENDIX 1

Singing of the *duo* and *trio* in the confraternity of Our Lady (1545 - 1546) (AKA, Gilde van het Onze-Lieve-Vrouwelof, 2)

1543: bet. vor vijf sangers vor een gratie elcken v s. Vlems 1 £. 5 st. (fol. 108)

1545: betaelt vi van den besten sanghers dye allit [= al het] jar een duo synghen ende ock duirt bevel van somighe mesters 2 £. (fol. 117).

1546: betaelt voer vijf de beste sangers na doude coustume ex gratia 1 £. 5 st. (fol. 122v).

1547: betaelt meester Anthuenis Barbe voor vyf sanghers voor huerlider gracie naer doude costume 1 £. 5 st. (fol. 127v).

1548: betaelt vor v de beste sangers na doude costume [...] 1 £. 5 st. (fol. 132v).

1549: aen meester Ant. Barbe die sangmeester voer een gracie voir vijf sangers die gemeenlick een duwo int looff synghe 1 £. 5 st. (fol. 139v).

1550: /

1551: betaelt voer vyf sangers die ghemeynlick int jaer de duo ende trio singhen dwelck haer ghegeven wordt doer gracia ende ys vijf schelling vlems elck nae doude costume. Ich hebbet dit jaer verdeylt nae dat my mester Anthonie Barbe sangmester my gheseyt heeft om datter geen goede stemmen ghenoch en waren 1 £. 5 st. (fol. 151v).

1552: vijf van de beste sangghers die ghemeynlyck int jaer de duo ende trio singhen dwelck haer gegeven wordt door gratie ende is vijf schellingen Vlemsche elck nae doude costume 1 £. 5 st. (fol. 155v).

1553: Betaelt in handen van Mr. Anthuenis Barbe sangmeester om te distribueren onder de beste 6 sangers voer een gratie elck 5 st. die gemeynlyck inde jare de duo ende tria singen na doude costuyme 1 £. 10 st. (fol. 161v).

1554: Betaelt in handen van Mr. Anthonijs Barbe sangmeester om te destribueren onder de beste 6 sangers voer een gratie elck 5 st. die ghemeynlyck inden jaere de duo ende trya singen naer daude costume de somma vlems 1 £. 10 st. (fol. 168v)

1555: Betaelt meester Anthonis Barbe, omme te distribueren onder de sangers, bequaem zijnde omme te mogen singen die duo, ende tria nair doude costuyme 1 £. 10 st. (fol. 174v)

1556: Betaelt meester Anthonijs Barbe, om te dystreybueren onder de sangers beqwaem synde, om te mogen syngen dye duo ende tryo nae doude costume 1 £ 10 st. (fol. 180)



# GEIGER IN DER MÜNCHNER HOFKAPELLE ZUR ZEIT LASSOS

## und ihre Bedeutung für die Frühgeschichte der Violine

*Karel Moens*

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Obwohl Orlandus Lassus und sein Umfeld selten in Zusammenhang mit der Frühgeschichte der Violine gebracht werden, sind die für die Zeit sehr zahlreichen und außergewöhnlich genau überlieferten Daten über die Verwendung von Geigen in Lassos Umkreis in dieser Hinsicht sehr illustrativ. Vor allem was München betrifft, gibt es die Hofrechnungen und andere Dokumente<sup>1</sup>, wie zum Beispiel die Beschreibung der großen Hochzeit 1568 von Massimo Troiano<sup>2</sup>, die Miniatur aus dem Mielich-Codex<sup>3</sup>, die Kupferstiche Nicolaus Solis' mit Musikanten bei der Hochzeit Herzog Wilhelms<sup>4</sup>, usw.

Lassos Leben fällt genau in die Zeit, in der die Geige sich über ganz Europa verbreitet. Lassus gehört zu der Generation, die mit den ersten 'echten' und für uns noch faßbaren Geigen verbunden werden kann. Um 1530 sind die meisten Künstler geboren, von denen wir die ersten präzisen und zahlreichen Abbildungen der Geige kennen. Um diese Zeit sind auch die frühesten Geigenbauer geboren, von denen man noch zuverlässig Instrumente zuordnen kann. Lassus hat auch in verschiedenen Städten und Regionen gearbeitet, die für die Frühgeschichte der Violine wichtig waren: Mailand und andere norditalienische Städte, London, Antwerpen und die ganze süddeutsche Region.

### Die Geige in der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts

In der bis jetzt in der Literatur verbreiteten Geschichte der Violine im 16. Jahrhundert spielen diese Quellen kaum, oder überhaupt keine Rolle. Wenn

- <sup>1</sup> A. SANDBERGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso*, Wiesbaden, 1973 (= Leipzig, 1894-95), erstes Buch und drittes Buch, I; M. TIELLA, *Documenti da: "Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayerischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso", Breitkopf u. Härtel, Leipzig 1895 (Accademia Roveretana di Musica Antica)*, Rovereto, 1994; BOETTICHER, 1958; BOETTICHER, 1963.
- <sup>2</sup> M. TROIANO, *Dialoghi [...] ne'quali si narrano le cose piu notabili fatte nelle Nozze dello Illustriss. & Excell. Principe Guglielmo [...]*, Venedig, 1569, Neuausgabe in Facsimile mit deutscher Übersetzung von H. LEUCHTMANN, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568 [...]*, München - Salzburg, 1980.
- <sup>3</sup> HANS MIELICH, Abbildung im Bußpsalmen-Codex, ca. 1564-67. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus. Ms. A-1, S. 187.
- <sup>4</sup> Nikolaus Solis, Hochzeitsmahl in der Neuveste, München, 1568, Zeichnung in: H. WAGNER, *Kurtze doch gegründete beschreibung des [...] Hochzeitlichen Ehren Fest [...]*, München, 1568.

man aber die vorhandenen archivalischen Quellen studiert, kommt man schnell zu der Ansicht, daß die traditionell überlieferte Frühgeschichte der Violine nur teilweise stimmen kann. Manche wichtige Quellen sind nie ernsthaft betrachtet worden, und viele andere Elemente wurden nie nachgewiesen. So ist zum Beispiel die bedeutende Rolle Cremonas in den drei ersten Vierteln des 16. Jahrhunderts sehr fragwürdig. Die Überlieferung, daß Andrea Amati Geigen für Karl IX. von Frankreich gebaut habe, ist wahrscheinlich nur ein Mythos, der erst 1780 von Benjamin de Laborde schriftlich festgelegt wurde.<sup>5</sup> Dies wurde schon 1956 von François Lesure suggeriert.<sup>6</sup> Bis jetzt kennt man keine einzige Quelle, die eine Aktivität von Andrea Amati oder einem anderen zeitgenössischen Cremoneser als Geigenbauer erwähnt. Die Rolle Cremonas als wichtiges Geigenbauzentrum des 16. Jahrhunderts sollte man also stark relativieren. Während in anderen norditalienischen Städten Geigen, Geiger oder Geigenbau ab 1530-40 häufig erwähnt oder abgebildet wurden, fehlen Quellen für Cremona in diesen Zeitraum völlig. Erst ab ca. 1570 gibt es dort nachweisbare Geiger<sup>7</sup> und Geigenmacher. In den 70er Jahren wird Cremona ab und zu als Herkunftsort guter Geigen erwähnt.<sup>8</sup> Seltene ikonographische Quellen mit Geigen gibt es in Cremona erst seit den 90er Jahren.<sup>9</sup> Die angeblich erhaltenen Instrumente aus dem 16. Jahrhundert sind nicht nur für Cremona, sondern für das gesamte norditalienische Gebiet sehr fragwürdige Quellen. Nach jahrelanger Forschung ist uns bis jetzt kein einziges

- 5 'Nous ignorons en quel temps on ajouta une quatrième corde à cet instrument; ce ne peut être qu'avant le seizième siècle, puisque les meilleurs Violons que nous ayons encore, sont ceux que Charles IX, Roi de France, fit faire à Crémone par le fameux Amati, et que ce sont encore les plus beaux modèles possible.' B. DE LA BORDE, *Essai sur la Musique*, Paris, 1780, S. 358.
- 6 Für François Lesure ist die ganze Geschichte ein Mythos: 'La seconde légende n'a guère plus de vraisemblance: selon le musicographe La Borde, qui écrit en 1780, le roi Charles IX aurait chargé le célèbre facteur de Crémone A. Amati de construire pour la Cour de France un ensemble de 24 instruments à cordes. Les 24 Violons un demi-siècle avant leur création!'. F. LESURE, *Notes sur la facture du violon au XVIIe siècle*, in *La Revue Musicale*, 226 (1955), S. 31. Auch Drescher wiederholt, daß dies von keinen Dokumenten bestätigt wird: 'doch muß klar gesagt werden, daß bisher keine originalen Belege, weder für Bestellung, noch für Lieferung, noch einer Inventarisierung dieses legendären Satzes von Instrumenten bekannt wurden.' T. DRESCHER, Artikel *Andrea Amati*, in *Ergänzungsband zur W.L.F. von LÜTGENDORFF, Die Geigen und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Tutzing, 1990, S. 8-9.
- 7 1568 wird der Cremoneser Musiker Christophoro Pozzi als Geiger am Münchner Hof angestellt. Siehe: TROIANO, 1569, S. 44; SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 38.
- 8 Erwähnungen wie 'violon façon de Crémone' kommen in einer Rechnung des französischen Hofes unter Karl IX. von 1572 vor (siehe A. POUGIN, *Le Violon. Les Violonistes et la Musique de Violon du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1924, S. 126), daneben auch in Verkaufsverträgen und Inventaren aus Paris (siehe F. LESURE, *La Facture Instrumentale à Paris au Seizième Siècle*, in *The Galpin Society Journal*, 7 (1954), S. 32). Ab 1579 wurden auch Ankäufe von Geigen am Innsbrucker Hof erwähnt (siehe W. SENN, *Musik und Theater am Hof zu Innsbruck, Geschichte der Hofkapelle vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu deren Auflösung im Jahre 1748*, Innsbruck, 1954, S. 165).
- 9 G. GREGORI, *Considerazioni sulla liuteria nella iconografia cremonese nel Rinascimento*, noch nicht veröffentlichter Vortrag auf dem Symposium *Strumenti, Musica e Ricerca*, Cremona, Triennale degli strumenti ad arco (1994).

Instrument bekannt, das eine solche Zuordnung problemlos zulässt.<sup>10</sup>

Auch in den gängigen Auffassungen in bezug auf die Frühgeschichte der Geige in anderen Städten, kann sehr viel in Frage gestellt werden.<sup>11</sup> Die hier behandelten Daten über die Verwendung der Geige am Münchner Hof, lassen sich im Kontext dieser Ansichten kaum erklären.

Nach dem heutigen Stand des Wissens zeigt sich ein Bild der frühesten Geschichte der Geige, indem 'Geigerbanden' (mehrstimmige Ensembles) - besonders im gesamten Alpengebiet - eine sehr wichtige Rolle gespielt haben. Diese neuen Befunde werfen ein sehr klares Licht auf die Informationen über die Verwendung der Geige am Münchner Hof. Man kann sie wie folgt zusammenfassen:<sup>12</sup>

1.

Bei der Entstehung der Geige spielten sich die wichtigsten Entwicklungen wahrscheinlich um und kurz nach 1500 in verschiedenen Regionen um die Alpen ab. Wichtig dabei waren anfangs vor allem wandernde süddeutsche Geiger, die genau wie Musikanten in anderen Gebieten angingen, auch ihre Musik immer mehr auf polyphone Art zu spielen.<sup>13</sup> Wie in der Vokalmusik bevorzugte man mit vollständigen Geigerbanden meistens drei- bis sechsstimmig zu spielen.

Um die alte Kleingeige in allen Tessituren auszubauen, brauchte man neue, größere Instrumente. Traditionell fertigten solche Geiger ihre 'Klein Geigen' auf eine sehr primitive Art selbst an. Fast das ganze Instrument wurde aus einem massiven Holzklotz gehauen. Für größere Instrumente war diese Tech-

<sup>10</sup> Ähnliche Probleme begegneten wir bei der Untersuchung von Liras, Lirones und Gamben, die zugeordnet werden an Instrumentenmachern aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Siehe K. MOENS, *Authenticiteitsproblemen bij oude strijkinstrumenten, Deel I: Toeschrijvingen en signaturen*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 3 (1986), S. 80-87; *Deel II: Bouwtechnische aspecten van vervalsingen*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 3 (1986), S. 105-111; *Deel III: Beroemde 'renaissance-instrumenten' in openbare verzamelingen*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 4 (1987), S. 3-11; IDEM, *Problems of authenticity on 16th century stringed instruments*, in *CIMCIM Newsletter*, 14 (1989), S. 41-49; K. MARTIUS - K. MOENS, *Wie authentisch ist ein Original? Untersuchungen an zwei alten Streichinstrumenten im Germanischen Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, in *Concerto*, 6 (1988), S. 15-21.

<sup>11</sup> Siehe K. MOENS, *Die Frühgeschichte der Violine im Lichte neuerer Forschungen*, in *Lauten, Harfen, Violinen*, Ausstellungskatalog, Herne, 1984, S. 83-124; IDEM, *De viool in de 16de en 17de eeuw. Oorsprong en ontwikkeling van haar vorm- en bouwkenmerken*, in *Musica Antiqua*, I: 2 (1985), S. 24-26; II: 2 (1985), S. 38-41; III: 2 (1985), S. 85-90; IV: 2 (1985), S. 123-127; V: 3 (1986), S. 3-7; IDEM, *Füssen et l'Italie du Nord. Des fondements pour la lutherie européenne. La facture de violon*, in *La facture instrumentale européenne: Suprématies nationales et enrichissement mutuel*, Ausstellungskatalog, Paris, 1985, S. 27-34; IDEM, *Der frühe Geigenbau in Süddeutschland*, in F. HELLWIG (ed.), *Studia Organologica. Festschrift J.H. van der Meer*, Nürnberg, 1987, S. 349-388.

<sup>12</sup> Mehr darüber in K. MOENS, *La 'nascita' del violino nei Paesi Bassi del sud: alla ricerca di un luogo dove collocare l'inizio della storia del violino*, in M. TIELLA (ed.), *Monteverdi. Imperatore della musica (1567-1643)* (Istituto nazionale per lo sviluppo musicale del mezzogiorno - Accademia Roveretana di Musica Antica), Rovereto, 1993, S. 84-131; IDEM, *De viool in de 16de eeuw. Deel 1: De vroegste bronnen*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 10 (1993), S. 177-183; *Deel 2: Het ontstaan en de verspreiding van de 'echte' viool*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 11 (1994), S. 5-12.

<sup>13</sup> K. POLK, *Vedel and Geige - fiddle and viol*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 42 (1989), S. 517, 130-132.

nik nicht mehr möglich. Man fing also an, die Instrumente aus einzelnen Teilen zusammenzustellen, ohne aber hierfür die üblichen (Lauten- und Gambenbau) Techniken zu beherrschen. Es entwickelte sich in der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts ein neues Bausystem, wobei die Einzelteile - wo möglich - in Rillen verankert wurden. Die wichtigsten Unterschiede zwischen der Form der Geige einerseits, und der Form von Gambe und Laute andererseits (runde Schultern, lange spitze Ecken, Randüberstand von Decke und Boden usw.) entstanden aus dieser Technik. Mehrstimmiges Musizieren war also ein entscheidender Faktor bei der Entstehung der Geige.

2.

Die Entwicklungen im Alpenraum haben den europäischen Geigenbau mehr beeinflußt als alle anderen vergleichbaren Traditionen, wahrscheinlich wegen der hohen Zahl an fahrenden Musikern aus diesen Gegenden. Durch sie wurden die alpenländischen Entwicklungen schnell in anderen europäischen Regionen verbreitet.

Eine wichtige Rolle spielten sephardische Musikanten, die am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts aus Spanien und Portugal vertrieben wurden. Vor allem in den ersten Dezennien des 16. Jahrhunderts waren sie wahrscheinlich aktiv in Savoyen, im Piemont und in der Lombardei, die ersten Regionen Südeuropas auf ihrer Wanderung, wo sie nicht sofort vertrieben, sondern - wie vom Herzog von Savoyen - sogar gefördert wurden.<sup>14</sup> Diese wichtige Konzentration vieler guter Geiger in einem relativ kleinen Gebiet hat Spuren hinterlassen. 1523 wurden wahrscheinlich genau solche Geiger am Hof in Vercelli erwähnt, und die ersten genauen Abbildungen von Geigen findet man in Kirchen von Städtchen auf der Grenze zwischen Savoyen und der Lombardei. Sehr berühmt sind einige Fresken und Gemälde mit Geigen von Gaudenzio Ferrari aus derselben Gegend.<sup>15</sup> Diese sephardischen Geiger wurden in den größeren lombardischen Städten, vor allem in Mailand, schnell aktiv. Wichtige Geigerfamilien waren die Galliardellos, Bassanos, Moyses, Conti, Kellim und vor allem die Luppos. Von der Lombardei aus zogen sie nach Osten weiter in die für Juden sichere Republik Venedig, über Bergamo, Brescia, Ferrara, Padua und Vicenza.

Andere Mitglieder dieser Familien zogen nordwärts nach Süddeutschland, London und Antwerpen. Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit gab es bis ca. 1560 in Antwerpen viele sephardische Geiger aus der Lombardei, aus Venedig und aus Padua. Die Ordnungen der Antwerpener Spielmannszunft von 1555 und 1560 beschreiben deutlich, daß Geiger in mehrstimmigen Ensembles spielen. Freie Gesellen der Zunft dürften eine 'bende ofte compaignie' bilden mit zwei bis sechs Personen, aber nicht mehr. Lehrlinge übten neben Tanzmusik, fünfstim-

<sup>14</sup> Artikel *Marrano Diaspora*, in C. ROTH - G. WIGODOR (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Jerusalem, 1972, XI, Kol. 1023.

<sup>15</sup> ca. 1480 in Valduggia (Piemonte), †1546 Mailand. Abbildungen in: E. WINTERNITZ, *Gaudenzio Ferrari. His School and the Early History of the Violin*, Varallo Sesia, 1967.



1. Gaudenzio Ferrari, Kuppelfresco in Santa Maria delle Grazie in Saronno, ca. 1535.

mige Motetten und Madrigale auf Geigen.<sup>16</sup> Während seines zweijährigen Aufenthaltes in Antwerpen (1554-56) hat Lasso bestimmt solche Geigerbanden gesehen. Aus anderen südniederländischen Städten, wie Brüssel beispielsweise, kennt man ähnliche Dokumente. Ab den 70er Jahren gab es dort neben zahlreiche Geiger in der Stadt auch eine sechsstimmige Geigerbande am Hof.<sup>17</sup> Am englischen Hof waren ab 1540 die ersten Generationen von Geigern ebenfalls sephardische Juden.<sup>18</sup> Sowohl in London als auch in Antwerpen ist das polyphone Spiel der Geiger ganz wichtig gewesen. An Höfen wie in London spielten sie nicht nur Geige, sondern auch Gambe und andere Saiteninstrumente. In den Städten verwendeten sie auch Blasinstrumente. Die Tätigkeit von Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx (Belgioso liegt im Piemont) - vor allem bekannt wegen des 'Ballet comique de la Reine' (1555) - und anderen Piemonteser und lombardischen Balletmeistern und Geigern am französischen Hof paßt ebenso

<sup>16</sup> K. MOENS, *De eerste violisten in Antwerpen. 1554-1560*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 11 (1994), S. 170-173; G. SPIESSENS, *Geschiedenis van de Gilde van de Antwerpse speellieden, bijgenaamd Sint-Job en Sint-Maria-Magdalena, Deel I bis*, in *Belgisch tijdschrift voor muziekwetenschap*, 36-38 (1982-84), S. 53-64.

<sup>17</sup> K. MOENS, *De vroege viool in Brussel*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 11 (1994), S. 53-59.

<sup>18</sup> P. HOLMAN, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers. The violin at the English Court 1540-1690*, Oxford, 1993.

genau in diesen Kontext. Auch diese Geiger spielten in meist fünfstimmigen Banden. Im 'Ballet comique de la Reine' wurden 10 Geiger eingesetzt. Sie spielten aber als zwei getrennte Banden von fünf Geigern.<sup>19</sup>

3.

Auf der deutschen Seite der Alpen gab es neben Marranen (bekehrten Juden) und Deutschen vor allem wandernde polnische Geiger. Schon 1519 wird ein solcher Geiger ('Polak') am Münchner Hof angestellt<sup>20</sup>, später auch in Innsbruck, Wien usw. Sie werden oft als Mitglied mehrstimmiger Gruppen erwähnt.<sup>21</sup> Auch bei diesen fremden Musikanten gibt es Vermutungen, daß sie jüdischer Herkunft waren. In Süddeutschland nämlich waren viele, damals als 'Polak' bezeichnete Personen aschkenazische Juden. Die von Agricola und Praetorius erwähnten 'polnischen Geiger' beziehen sich wahrscheinlich auf solche Musiker. In diesen Traktaten werden Geigen auch ausdrücklich in verschiedenen Größen und als Ensemble dargestellt.<sup>22</sup> In Polen gab es übrigens bis in unser Jahrhundert primitivere, aber trotzdem vergleichbare Geigerkapellen.<sup>23</sup>

4.

Diese neue Geigertradition entfaltete sich in Norditalien wegen des dort allgemein höheren Status der kleineren Streichinstrumente viel früher zu einer musikalisch hoch entwickelten Tradition als in anderen Regionen. Die Verbindung zur von der Kirche dämonisierten Tanzmusik war hier weniger ausgeprägt als im Norden Europas.

5.

Wie ab dem späten 16. Jahrhundert in manchen Städten (u.a. Antwerpen) deutlich belegt ist, wurden die Geigen üblicherweise von Mitgliedern der Geigerfamilien selbst gebaut. Die meisten Geigenbauer waren an erster Stelle also Musikanten. Wahrscheinlich war das bereits im frühen 16. Jahrhundert so. Schon bei manchen Fidlern aus dem 15. Jahrhundert verhielt es sich ebenso. In Brescia sind Geigenbauer und Geiger schon ab den 1530er Jahren erwähnt worden. Die Geiger werden 'violini foresteri', also fremde Geiger genannt. Das könnte darauf hinweisen, daß sie keine Italiener und somit ursprünglich vielleicht sephardische Musikanten waren. Bei einigen Brescianer Geigenbauern steht fest, daß sie aus einer Musikantenfamilie stammen, so zum Beispiel bei Gasparo da Salò. Bei

<sup>19</sup> D. BOYDEN, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761 and its Relationship to the Violin and Violin Music*, London, 1965, S. 55-56.

<sup>20</sup> POLK, 1989, S. 512-514.

<sup>21</sup> MOENS, *Der Frühe Geigenbau in Süddeutschland*, S. 349-388.

<sup>22</sup> M. AGRICOLA, *Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch [...]*, Wittenberg, 1545, 4. Ausgabe; M. PRAETORIUS, *Syntagma musicum, II, De Organographia*, Wolfenbüttel, 1619.

<sup>23</sup> J. STESZEWSKY, *Geige und Geigenspiel in der polnischen Volksüberlieferung*, in W. DEUTSCH (ed.), *Die Geige in der europäischen Volksmusik*, Wien, 1975, S. 16-37.

<sup>24</sup> R. BARONCINI, *Origini del violino e prassi strumentale in Padania: 'sonadori di violini' bresciani attivi a Venezia in ambito devozionale (1540-1600)*, in *Liuteria e musica strumentale a Brescia tra cinque e seicento*, Kongresbericht I, (Fondazione civiltà bresciana, *Annali*, 5), 1992, S. 152-208.

anderen kann man es nur vermuten. Vor allem von Brescia aus zogen verschiedene Geiger nach Venedig, wo sie in polyphonen Geigerbanden tätig waren.<sup>24</sup> Einige dieser Geiger waren auch dort als Geigenbauer tätig, wie verschiedene Mitglieder der Linarollo-Familie, die an unterschiedlichen 'Scuolas' aktiv waren.

## Die ersten Geiger am Münchner Hof

In diesem Kontext bekommen die Informationen über Geiger am Münchner Hof zur Zeit Lassos eine ganz besondere Bedeutung.

Wahrscheinlich ist die neue polyphone Geigertradition genau zur Zeit Lassos am Münchner Hof eingeführt worden. Das ist ziemlich früh, aber trotzdem später als an einigen anderen Höfen. Am englischen Hof gab es schon ab 1540 solche Banden.<sup>25</sup> In München erwähnen die Rechnungen bis 1554 jeweils nur einen Geiger. Diese Geiger hatten alle deutsche Namen. Zum Beispiel **Sebolt Krenner** im Jahr 1514, von 1520 bis 1554 **Georg Krafft**, von 1545 bis 1559 **Sebastian Hurlacher**, der auch Zink und Posaune spielte.<sup>26</sup> Es ist nicht nachzuweisen auf welchen Geigen diese Musikanten spielten, und was sie darauf musizierten. Vielleicht ähnelten ihre Geigen noch dem Instrument der solitären Geiger, von Hans Burkmaier abgebildet in der Szene 29 von Maximilians Triumphzug (Augsburg ca. 1518).

In anderen süddeutschen Städten aber, wie Nürnberg und Augsburg, spielten Geiger schon in den ersten Jahrzehnten des Jahrhunderts mehrstimmig.<sup>27</sup> Auch in den Traktaten von Virdung, Gerle und Agricola wurden die Kleingeigen schon als Ensemble beschrieben.<sup>28</sup> Ab 1536 gibt es im süddeutschen Raum auch Abbildungen solcher Geigerbanden.<sup>29</sup> Das Auftreten einzelner Geiger am Hof könnte also um 1550 eher altertümlich gewesen sein.

Kurz nach der Mitte des Jahrhunderts änderte sich die Situation total. Im November 1554 erwähnen die Münchner Rechnungen eine einmalige Bezahlung von 'etlichen welchen Geygern'.<sup>30</sup> Es handelt sich also deutlich um ein Ensemble. Man kann nicht ausschließen, daß 'welchen' für 'welschen' steht.<sup>31</sup> Der

<sup>25</sup> P. HOLMAN, 1993, S. 78-103.

<sup>26</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), I, S. 16-17, 31-37; H.-J. NÖSSELT, *Ein ältest Orchester (1530-1980). 450 Jahre Bayerisches Hof- und Staatsorchester*, München, 1980, S. 18-25, 27-28.

<sup>27</sup> POLK, 1989, S. 530, 540-541.

<sup>28</sup> S. VIRDTUNG, *Musica getutscht [...]*, Kassel, 1970 (= Basel, 1511); H. GERLE, *Musica Teusch, auf die Instrument der grossen vnnnd kleinen Geygen, auch Lautten [...]*, Nürnberg, 1532; M. AGRICOLA, *Musica Instrumentalis Dentsch*, Wittenberg, 1529, Neuausgabe von 1545; G. STRADNER, *Spielpraxis und Instrumentarium um 1500. Dargestellt an Sebastian Virdung's 'Musica getutscht' (Basel 1511)*, in *Forschungen zur älteren Musikgeschichte*, Wien, 1983, I, S. 209.

<sup>29</sup> Das älteste uns bekannte Beispiel ist das Detail einer Wandmalerei im Rittersaal des Schlosses Goldegg (Tirol), abgebildet in: W. SALMEN, *Bilder zur Geschichte der Musik in Österreich*, in *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, III, Innsbruck, 1979, S. 41.

<sup>30</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 2.

<sup>31</sup> 'etlichen welchen' kann auch als tautologische Formulierung verstanden werden.

Ausdruck 'welsche Geiger' kommt nämlich später in den Rechnungen öfters vor. Das Adjektiv 'welsch' bedeutet meistens, daß sie aus Italien kommen, hier am ehesten aus der Lombardei oder der Republik Venedig. Theoretisch könnte es sich hier schon um die Familien Morari oder Cerbonio aus Bergamo handeln, die später fest angestellt wurden. Die Moraris wurden am Münchner Hof übrigens 1562 und sogar noch 1587 'welsche Geiger' genannt.<sup>32</sup> Fest steht aber, daß

### Drey Geiger.



Die Geigen wir gar künstlich ziehn/  
Daß allschwermütigkeit muß fliehn/  
Wie sie erklingen künstlich ganz  
An einem Adelichen Tanz/  
Mit leisen trittt höflichen prangen/  
Herzlieb sein Herztlich thut umbfangen  
Das Herz und Gemüt sich freuen muß/  
Und tanzen mit geringem Fuß.

**Hieronimo Morari**, der mit seinen drei Söhnen nach München kommt, neun Monate früher, im Februar 1554, noch für das Spiel auf vier Instrumenten (mit seinen drei Söhnen?) in Bergamo bezahlt wird.<sup>33</sup> Auch die um die gleiche Zeit angestellten Geiger der Cerbonio-Familie aus Bergamo könnten es gewesen sein. Einer von diesen - meistens **Cerbonio de Besutio** (†1579) genannt - kommt aber nicht in Frage, weil er vorher (ab 1550) schon als Bläser in München gearbeitet haben soll.<sup>34</sup> 1542 wurde er noch in Bergamo erwähnt.<sup>35</sup> Der älteste dieser Familie, Lucio, könnte wiederum gemeint sein.

In diesem Rahmen ist es interessant zu wissen, daß der deutsche Geiger **Hanns Herman**, der die Brüsseler Hofkapelle verlassen hatte, weil er nicht nach Spanien ziehen mochte, 1555 versucht hat eine Stelle in der Münchner Kapelle zu bekommen, aber nicht angenommen wurde.<sup>36</sup> Vielleicht spielte er noch zu sehr im alten, nicht-polyphonen instrumentalen Stil.

2. Drey Geiger, aus Jost AMMAN, *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände* [...], Nürnberg, 1568.

<sup>32</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 18, 166.

<sup>33</sup> R. BARONCINI, In 'choro et in organo': musica, strumenti e sperimentazione in alcune cappelle dell' area Padana nel XVI secolo, noch nicht veröffentlichter Vortrag auf dem Symposium *Strumenti, Musica e Ricerca*, Cremona, Triennale degli strumenti ad arco (1994).

<sup>34</sup> TROIANO, 1569, Neuausgabe mit deutscher Übersetzung von LEUCHTMANN, S. 474.

<sup>35</sup> Siehe BARONCINI, noch nicht veröffentlichter Vortrag.

<sup>36</sup> 'Neben dem so zaig ich [...], dass Maister Hanns Herman, unser rhatsdiener und der Kais. Mjt. geiger, den E. f. Gn. zu Insbruck wol gesehen und singen gehört, vिलleicht jetzund auch vom hof wegkomen und nit gern in Hispanien ziehen wirdet. Der wolt (wie er mir anzaigt) kainen herrn lieber dann E. f. Gn. dienen.'. Brief des bayerischen Agenten am Brüsseler Hof, kaiserl. Vicekanzler Seld, an Albrecht V, 22 September 1555. SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), I, S. 55.

## Die Vergrößerung der Kapelle ab 1561

Von den meisten Autoren wird angenommen, daß die Moraris - möglicherweise zusammen mit einigen anderen Geigern - spätestens 1561 angestellt wurden und eine vier- bis sechsköpfige Streichergruppe bildeten.<sup>37</sup> Die genaue Zusammenstellung dieser Gruppe ist in den ersten Jahren aber sehr schwierig nachzuweisen. Laut Hans-Joachim Nösselt gab es ab 1561 schon fünf Geiger:<sup>38</sup>

Jheronimo Morari	1561-1564
Antonio Morari	1561-1597
Battista Morari	1561-1577
Annibale Morari	1561-1592
Lucio Terzio	1561-1577

Schon ein Jahr später soll diese Gruppe erweitert worden sein, so daß man ab ca. 1568 bis zu neun Geiger hatte:

Matthias Besutio	1562-1599
Cerbonio Besutio	1562-1579
Giovan Battista Romano	1566-1569
Anthoni Goßwin	1568
Christoff Pocis (Pozis, Pozzi)	1568-1579
Hercules Terzio	1569
Achile Morari	1577

Man hätte also nach kurzer Zeit fast zwei vollständige fünfstimmige Banden in Dienst genommen.

Es gibt aber einige Gründe die Richtigkeit dieser Zusammenstellung anzuzweifeln. Anfangs gab es wahrscheinlich weniger Geiger, und einige trugen andere Namen. Auch die Zeiten, zu denen sie am Hof aktiv waren, sind nicht immer genau angegeben.

Man kann in dieser Liste einige Namen auch anders gruppieren. In den von Sandberger veröffentlichten Rechnungen der bayerischen Hofkapelle kommt der in der Tabelle und bei Troiano erwähnte Geiger **Lucio Terzio** (†1577), nur zweimal vor. Die Rechnungen erwähnen aber sehr ausführlich einen **Lucio Cerbonio** (Zerbonio, Cerbanio), der wie der oben genannte Terzio 1561 ein erstes Mal bezahlt wird und 1577 stirbt.<sup>39</sup> Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um

<sup>37</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 14-20.

<sup>38</sup> NÖSSELT, 1980, S. 33-34.

<sup>39</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 14-99 passim.

die gleiche Person. Lucio Cerbonio ist angeblich verwandt mit zwei anderen Geigern am Hof: **Cerbonio** (Cerbonio de Besutio) (†1579) und **Mattheo Besutio** (Bisutzi) (†1604), wie Lucio aus Bergamo stammend. Die letzten zwei sollten laut Troiano Neffen gewesen sein.<sup>40</sup> Auch in Rechnungen wird Matteo Besutio einmal als der Neffe von Cerbonio genannt.<sup>41</sup> In diesen Rechnungen wird Mattheo Besutio aber bis bis zum Tode seines Neffen im Jahre 1579, immer **Mattheo Cerbonio** (Zerbonio) genannt. Erst ab 1580 heißt er hier Besutio, wie sein Neffe. 1568 wird er aber von Troiano schon so genannt.<sup>42</sup> Neben vier Geigern der Morari-Familie, gab es also bald drei Geiger der Besutio- (oder Cerbonio-)Familie, ebenfalls aus Bergamo. Der alte Jheronimo Morari war nur bis 1563 oder 1564 als Geiger aktiv.<sup>43</sup> Es blieben also drei Moraris übrig. Ab 1563 waren gleichzeitig alle drei Cerbonios aktiv.<sup>44</sup> Lucio, ein paarmal 'der Alte' genannt, war schon im Jahre 1561 am Hof.<sup>45</sup>



3. Drei Geiger, Ausschnitt eines anonymen Aquarells mit dem 'Venusberg'-Prunkwagen im Nürnberger Schembartlauf von 1518, aus der Nürnberger Schembarthandschrift, ca. 1575, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg.

Es ist wahrscheinlich kein Zufall, daß man hier zwei Familiengruppen von drei Geigern antrifft. Obwohl eine fünf- oder sechsstimmige Bande als Ideal galt, sieht man auf zeitgenössischen Zeichnungen, Stichen und Gemälden, auf denen Geigerensembles in einem realistischen Kontext abgebildet sind, fast immer nur drei Geiger.<sup>46</sup> Die beiden Geigergruppen der Moraris und Cerbonios wurden in den Rechnungen gleichfalls überwiegend zu dritt erwähnt.<sup>47</sup> Im Jahre 1568 kommen nochmals drei Geiger dazu (cfr. infra). 1580 spielten auch 'Dreijen Geigern Im Kuegässl So In der Faßnacht Zu Hof gediennet haben'.<sup>48</sup> Geigen wurden vom Hofinstrumentenmacher Hanns Kohl ab und zu in Serien von drei gebaut, und Kantoreiknaben lernten ebenfalls das Geigenspiel in Gruppen von drei.<sup>49</sup> Nach 1582, gibt es eine Zeit lang nur noch drei (aktive) Geiger am Hof: Annibale Morari, Matthias Cerbonio (= Mattheo Besutio) und der neu angestellte Julius Gigli (cfr. infra). Unter normalen Umständen wurde also wahrscheinlich meist nur zu dritt gespielt, obwohl die zwei Geigerfamilien ab 1563 siebenstimmig spielen konnten.

Wir vermuten, daß diese dreistimmigen Geigergruppen ihren Ursprung in den im 16. Jahrhundert schon altertümlichen, aber immer noch sehr häufig vorkommenden dreistimmigen Bläsergruppen der Städte finden. Diese benützen überwiegend drei Schalmeyen. Auch Die Cerbonios (Besutios) und die Moraris

<sup>40</sup> TROIANO, 1569, Neuausgabe mit deutscher Übersetzung von LEUCHTMANN, S. 102, 391.

<sup>41</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 120.

<sup>42</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 20-231 passim. <sup>43</sup> 1564 wird noch ein 'alter geiger' bezahlt. Dies könnte sowohl Jheronimo Morari als auch Lucio Cerbonio gewesen sein. SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 21.

<sup>44</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 20.

<sup>45</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), I, S. 14, 83.

<sup>46</sup> Anonym, Ball am englischen Hof, 2. H. d. 16. Jhdt.s, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes. Drei Musikanten mit zwei Diskantgeigen und Baßgeige; Anonym, Ball am Hof des Henri II, Französisch, Ende 16. Jht., Musée de Tesse, Le Mans. Drei Musikanten mit zwei Diskantgeigen und Baßgeige; Anonym, Tanzszene, genannt: 'Elisabeth I beim Tanz mit Robert Dudley', England, 2. H. d. 16. Jhdt.s, Penhurst Place. Drei Musikanten mit zwei Diskantgeigen und Baßgeige; Marcus Gheeraerts (zugeschrieben), 'Höflinge der Königin Elisabeth I', ca. 1600, heutiger Aufbewahrungsort unbekannt. Musikanten mit Laute, Diskantgeige, großer Geige und Baßgeige; Anonym, 'Gesicht auf die Antwerpener Frauenkirche (Kathedrale) und auf den Friedhof (Groenkerkhof)', 1597, Antwerpen, Museum Vleeshuis. Leichenzug begleitet von drei Musikanten mit zwei Diskantgeigen und Baßgeige; Jan Breughel der Alte, Bauernhochzeitszug, Prado Madrid, inv. 1441. Drei Musikanten mit Diskantgeige, großer Geige und Baßgeige; Anton Möller, 'Festgesellschaft in der Natur', Federzeichnung, Polen 1587, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Nr. 17961. Drei Musikanten mit dreisaitiger Diskantgeige, großer Geige und kleiner Baßgeige; Jost Amman, 'Drey Geiger', aus *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände [...]*, Nürnberg, 1568; Anonym, Venusberg im Schembartlauf von 1518, Nürnberger Schembartmanuscript D2, fol. 59, ca. 1575, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Hs. 5664. Drei Musikanten mit Diskantgeige, großer Geige und Baßgeige; Theodor De Bry, Tanzende Höflinge und Bauern, Kupferstich, Frankfurt Ende 16. Jht. Bei den Höflingen: Musikanten mit Laute, dreisaitiger Diskantgeige, großer Geige und Baßgeige.

<sup>47</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 33-99 passim.

<sup>48</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 153.

<sup>49</sup> Zum Beispiel: 'Hannsen Kohl Lauttenmacher Per drej Newe Geigen für die Trumeter Knaben fl. 16.30'. SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 150.

spielten ursprünglich Blasinstrumente statt Geigen (cfr. infra).

Die Tätigkeit der Geiger am Münchner Hof zwischen 1561 und 1568 muß wahrscheinlich stark relativiert werden. In den von Sandberger veröffentlichten Rechnungen gibt es sehr wenig Erwähnungen von Geigern vor 1568. Übrigens beziehen sich nicht alle Rechnungen auf die Kapelle. Im vielbesprochenen Jahr 1561 werden nur einmal zwei Geiger bezahlt: 'Dem Alten Geigger' und 'dem Lucio'.<sup>50</sup> Mit 'dem alten' wird wahrscheinlich Hieronymo Morari, Vater von Antonio, Battista und Annibale, umschrieben. Lucio, ist vermutlich Lucio Cerbonio (= Besutio und Terzio), der auch der älteste dieser Familie war. Andere Geiger werden in diesem Jahr nicht erwähnt. 1562 kommen überhaupt keine Moraris, Cerbonios oder andere Geigernamen in den Rechnungen vor. Es gibt nur eine kleine Rechnung für 'Saitten für die welschen geiger'.<sup>51</sup>

Erst 1563 kann man aus den Rechnungen ableiten, daß die vier Moraris ('den alltn Jheronimo Geiger sambt seinen dreuen Sunen') und die drei Cerbonios ('dreuen geigern Nemblichen Lucio Zerbonio vnnd Mathio') am Hof verbleiben.<sup>52</sup> Dann werden sie bis 1568 fast nicht mehr erwähnt. Möglicherweise waren sie in diesen Jahren an anderen Orten tätig. In jedem Fall ist bekannt daß die beiden jüngsten Cerbonios - Cerbonio de Besutio (= Besutio Cerbonio) und Mattheo Cerbonio - 1568 vom Dresdener Hof nach München kamen.<sup>53</sup> 1567 aber wurde Matthias noch in München bezahlt.<sup>54</sup> Ein 'Johan Baptista Geiger' - möglicherweise Battista Morari - wird noch 1566 bezahlt.<sup>55</sup> Erst 1568 werden die drei Brüder Morari und die drei Cerbonios wieder zusammen am Münchner Hof erwähnt.

Die italienischen Namen dieser Geiger - Morari, Cerbonio oder Terzio und Besutio - bedeuten nicht unbedingt, daß es 'echte' Italiener sind. Weil sie als Familiengruppe aus dem nordöstlichen Italien nach München kommen, könnte man analog zu anderen wanderenden Geigerfamilien vermuten, daß es vielleicht ursprünglich Marranen gewesen sein könnten. In Dresden zum Beispiel, wo die Besutios bis 1568 im Dienst standen, waren bekehrte Juden als Musiker tätig.<sup>56</sup> (Abb. 4) Fast alle dieser Musikanten wählten im 16. Jahrhundert neue Namen und christliche Vornamen, um nicht als Juden erkannt zu werden. Zwischen 1509, nachdem König Louis XII. von Frankreich die Juden aus Bergamo vertrieben hatte und 1559, als die Venetianer wieder Juden zuließen,

<sup>50</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 14.

<sup>51</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 18.

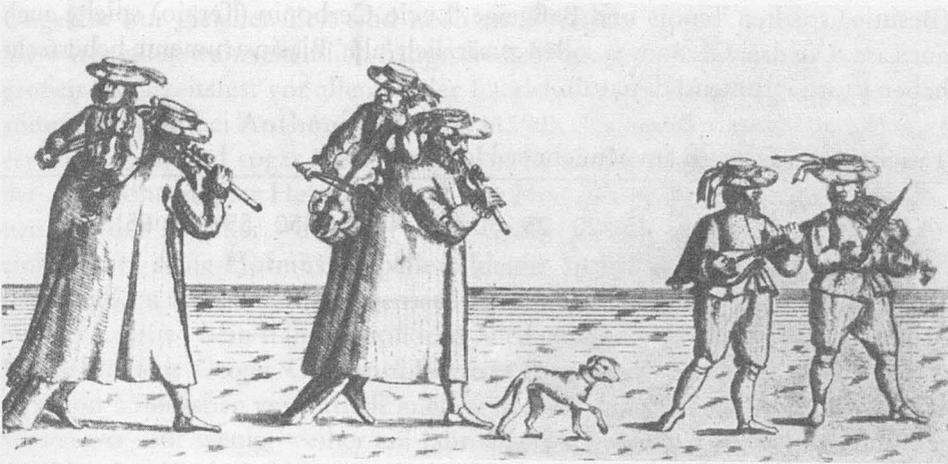
<sup>52</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 20.

<sup>53</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, S. 334.

<sup>54</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 30.

<sup>55</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 27.

<sup>56</sup> I. BECKER-GLAUCH, *Die Bedeutung der Musik für die Dresdener Hoffeste bis in die Zeit Augusts des Starken*, in *Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, 6, Kassel - Basel, 1951, S. 9.



4. Zwei Spielleute und vier musizierende Knaben aus dem Aufzug zum Ringrennen von 1584 in Dresden. Zwei Männer tragen geigende Knaben, rechts zwei Knaben mit Geige und Cister.

wurden Mitglieder der Morari und der Cerbonio/Besutio-Familie aber in Bergamo noch erwähnt.<sup>57</sup> Es ist nicht ersichtlich, ob damals auch bekehrte Juden weggegangen sind. Bis jetzt kann also keine jüdische Herkunft festgestellt werden.

Sowohl Cerbonio Besutio als auch Hieronymus Morari wurden in der Zeit bevor sie in München tätig waren, in Bergamo als Spieler von Blasinstrumenten erwähnt ('tubicines'). Cerbonio de Besutio ist auch am Münchner Hof bis 1562 als Bläser aufgeführt (cfr. supra). Erst der viel jüngere Geiger Achile Morari (cfr. infra) wird in Bergamo systematisch als Geiger erwähnt.<sup>58</sup> In München wurden die Moraris und die Cerbonios - ab 1561 sowohl in Rechnungen als auch bei Troiano - systematisch Geiger genannt. Troiano zählt ebenso die anderen Instrumente auf, die sie beherrschen.<sup>59</sup> Antonio Morari, der Leiter der Gruppe, soll neben der Geige auch sehr gut Zink, Viola da Gamba und 'Cithara' (= Cister oder Lira?) gespielt haben. Seine Passaggi auf der Diskantgeige werden besonders gerühmt. Sein Bruder Battista spielte 'contralto' (= Altgeige?) aber war auch ein großer Virtuose auf der Viola da gamba, der Laute und 'anderen' Instrumenten. Über den jüngsten Bruder, Annibale, sagt Troiano nur, daß er noch lernt. Auch die Cerbonios (oder Besutios) spielten in München viele Instrumente. Cerbonio de Besutio und Mattheo Cerbonio

<sup>57</sup> Artikel *Bergamo*, in C. ROTH - G. WIGODOR (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Jerusalem, 1972, IV/B, Kol. 608; BARONCINI, noch nicht veröffentlichter Vortrag.

<sup>58</sup> BARONCINI, *Ibidem*.

<sup>59</sup> TROIANO, 1569, Neuauflage mit deutscher Übersetzung von LEUCHTMANN, S. 102, 391.

(Besutio) spielten Tenor- und Baßgeige, Lucio Cerbonio (Terzio) spielte auch gut Lira. Die drei Cerbonios sollen zusätzlich 'alle' Blasinstrumente beherrscht haben ('tutti strumenti di fiato').

#### Tätigkeit von Geigern am Münchner Hof bis 1568

	15	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	68
Sebold Krenner	_____											
Georg Krafft		_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____			
Sebastian Hurlacher							_____	_____	_____			
Hieronymo Morari											_____	
Antonio Morari											-----	
Battista Morari											-----	
Annibale Morari											-----	
"Welschgeiger" (Morari's?)									—	—	-----	
Lucio Cerbonio (=Terzio)											-----	
Cerbonio de Besutio											-----	
Mattheo Cerbonio (=Besutio)											-----	
Giovanni Battista Romano											_____	
Anthoni Goßwin											—	
Christoff Pozis											—	

#### Die Vergrößerung der Hofkapelle im Jahr 1568

Im Jahre 1568 gibt es auf einmal neun Geiger. Die beiden Besutios die kurzzeitig in Dresden gearbeitet hatten, kehren nach München zurück, und dazu werden noch drei neue Geiger angestellt. Sie kommen nicht mehr als Familienensemble, sondern als individuelle Musiker. Diese große Erweiterung der Geigerbande fand offensichtlich anlässlich der Fürstenhochzeit statt. Ein oder zwei dieser neuen Musiker waren nicht vorrangig Geiger, sondern beispielsweise Sänger. Wahrscheinlich war nur der Cremoneser **Christophoro Pozis** (Pocis) hauptsächlich Geiger. Nur er wird von Troiano, neben den Moraris und Cerbonios, als Geiger erwähnt. Zusammen bilden sie eine Gruppe von sieben virtuosen Geigern, die nochmals laut Troiano, zu Tisch aufspielen (*Musica nella Mensa*).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*.

Ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit sind noch zwei weitere Geiger hinzugekommen. Sie waren aber wahrscheinlich hauptsächlich Sänger und arbeiteten nach dem großen Hochzeitsfest vor allem in der Landshuter Musikkapelle. Dies war bestimmt der Fall bei **Anthoni Goßwin** (†1594), der meistens als Altist (Sänger) erwähnt wird, und sogar Kapellmeister in Landshut wird.<sup>61</sup> Dort befand sich der alte Wohnsitz der Herzöge. Nach der Hochzeit nahm Wilhelm einen kleinen Teil der Musiker - darunter auch Goßwin - mit nach Landshut, wo sie einige Jahre seine Hofmusikkapelle bildeten. In München gelang es Goßwin nicht Fuß zu fassen.<sup>62</sup> Im Gegensatz zu seinen Kollegen, war Goßwin - ein Schüler Lassos - kein Italiener sondern Niederländer.<sup>63</sup>

Der dritte neue Geiger, **Giovanni Battista Romano** (†1569) ist möglicherweise schon 1566, aber vermutlich auch erst 1568 dazu gekommen.<sup>64</sup> Über ihn wissen wir sehr wenig, weil er ein Jahr später schon vor den Toren Landshuts von Massimo Troiano 'mit einer Hakenbüchse' niedergeschossen wurde.<sup>65</sup>

Von 1568 bis um 1580 wird diese Streichergruppe zum Kern der Instrumentalmusik innerhalb der Burg. Einige von ihnen gehören nach den Organisten zu den bestbezahlten Musikern am Hof. Auch Troiano nennt diese Geiger unmittelbar nach den Organisten. Antonio Morari wird deutlich als Führer der Streichergruppe angesehen und wird am höchsten bezahlt. Nach dem Organisten besitzt er am meisten Ansehen und hat ebenfalls eine sehr gute Beziehung zu Lassus.<sup>66</sup> Dies alles illustriert deutlich den Wandel in der Verwendung der Geige am Hof.

Dieser Umbruch zum rein polyphonen Gebrauch der Geigen, genau so wie auch Gamben benützt wurden, wird von Massimo Troiano in seiner Hochzeitsbeschreibung bestätigt. Die Geigen wurden immer in fünf-, sechs- oder achtstimmigen Ensembles gebraucht, als reines Geigenconsort oder zusammen mit Gamben, Posaunen, Zinken, Flöten oder Tasteninstrumenten. Nur eine Baßgambe wurde als einziges Streichinstrument in einem Ensemble eingesetzt. Obwohl Troiano bei der Aufzählung der Musikanten über sieben Geiger spricht, waren die größeren Streicherbesetzungen wahrscheinlich meistens fünf- oder sechsstimmig. Dies wird bezeugt durch den späteren Ankauf eines Satzes von sechs Geigen (cfr. infra).

Während der Fürstenhochzeit wurde jedenfalls nach Troiano nie mit sieben

<sup>61</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 42; BOETTICHER, 1958, S. 714.

<sup>62</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, S. 149, 243.

<sup>63</sup> Anthoni (Antoine) Goßwin (Geuswein, Gossino, Jusionus), vermutlich ca. 1546 in der Umgebung von Lüttich geboren, war wahrscheinlich nicht der einzige niederländische Geiger. 1578 wurde die Witwe eines anderen Geigers aus den Niederlanden bezahlt (cfr. infra).

<sup>64</sup> Nach Nösselt wurde er 1566 angestellt. NÖSSELT, 1980, S. 34. Nach Sandberger gibt es 1566 nur die Bezahlung eines 'Johan Baptista Geiger'. Dies könnte auch Johann Baptista Morari sein. SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 27.

<sup>65</sup> BOETTICHER, 1963, S. 48-49.

<sup>66</sup> BOETTICHER, 1963, S. 125.

Geigen gespielt. Er erwähnt vor allem fünf- und sechsstimmige Besetzungen. Bei der herzoglichen Tafel spielten sie 'canzoni Francese' und 'artificiosi Mottetti [...] con vaghi Madrigali'. Zum dritten Gang des Banketts am Trauungstage erklang eine sechsstimmige Motette von Cipriano de Rore 'con sei viole di braccio'. Auf einem 'Carro Trionfale' spielten fünf als Nymphen verkleidete Geiger Tänze und andere heitere Musik ('sonando balli e cose allegre'). Zum vierten Gang des Banketts erklangen sechs Geigen in einer zwölfstimmigen Komposition von Annibale Padovano. Einige Tage später spielen acht Gambisten und acht Geiger in einer vierundzwanzigstimmigen Komposition.<sup>67</sup>

### Die ikonographischen Quellen um 1568

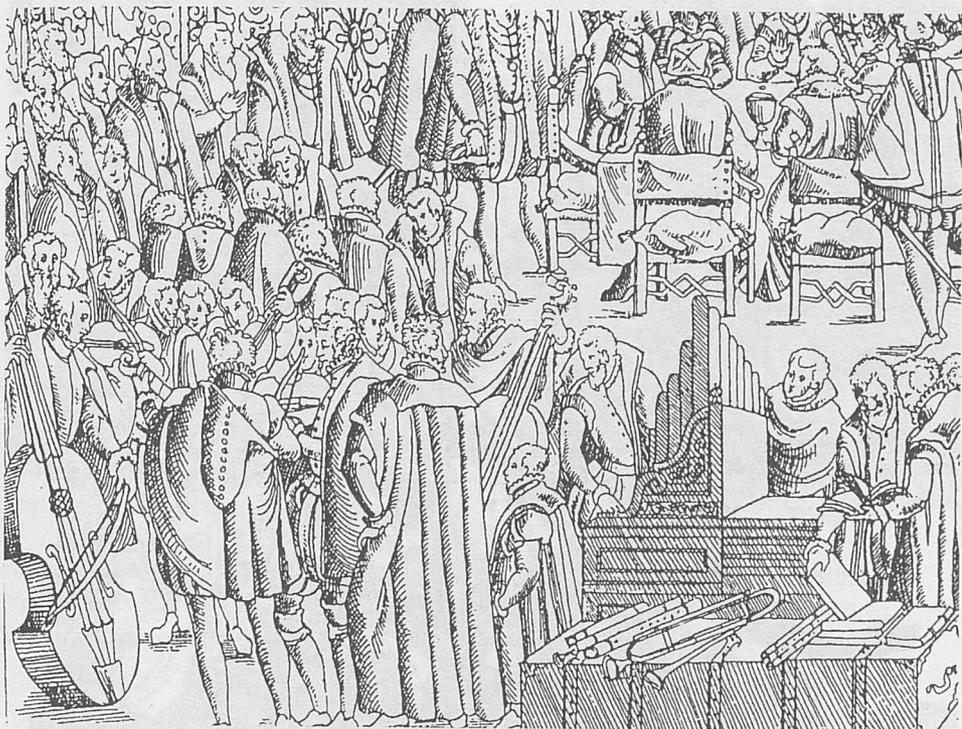
Auch die wichtigsten ikonographischen Dokumente aus der Zeit, auf denen die Münchner Hofgeiger abgebildet sind, zeigen ähnliche Ensembles. Der Stich von Nikolaus Solis aus Hans Wagners Hochzeitsbeschreibung von 1568 (Nr. 4, mit dem Hochzeitsmahl), zeigt deutlich ein sechsstimmiges Geigerensemble.<sup>68</sup> Die Instrumente sind nicht sehr genau dargestellt, die Spielhaltung hingegen ist wahrscheinlich ziemlich gut wiedergegeben. Von den sechs Geigen werden die zwei kleinsten horizontal gegen Brust oder Schulter gehalten (fast wie die moderne Spielhaltung). Die zwei mittleren Größen werden schräg und vermutlich mit einem Schulterband getragen. Außerhalb des Hofes war diese Spielhaltung bis in die ersten Dezennien des 17. Jahrhunderts üblich. In den Städten spielten Geiger normalerweise stehend oder gehend, so daß größere Geigen mit einem Band getragen werden mußten. Die zwei Bässe bei Solis stehen fast vertikal auf dem Boden.

Obwohl die Geigen ziemlich schlicht gezeichnet wurden, gibt es Gründe anzunehmen, daß einzelne Details realitätsgetreu wiedergegeben sind. So hat zum Beispiel nur die kleinste Geige drei Saiten, während alle anderen - so weit sie sichtbar sind - vier Saiten haben. Bis um 1600 war dies sehr häufig der Fall. Weiter sieht man, daß mindestens zwei Geigen - die kleinste und die größte - eine Rosette unter dem Griffbrett besitzen (neben zwei C-Löchern). Dieses archaische Merkmal kommt bis ca. 1570 noch sehr häufig in verschiedenen Regionen Europas vor. Außerdem ist das untere Griffbrettende der größten Baßgeige eingeschnürt. Solche verzierten Griffbrettenden sind ebenfalls sehr charakteristisch in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts und entwickeln

<sup>67</sup> TROIANO, 1569, Neuausgabe mit deutscher Übersetzung von LEUCHTMANN, passim; J. EPPELSHEIM, *Musikinstrumente zur Zeit Orlando di Lassos*, in *Musik in Bayern*, 24 (1982), S. 13; IDEM, *Musikinstrumente zur Zeit Orlando di Lassos*, in HELL - LEUCHTMANN, (ed.), 1982, S. 78-79.

<sup>68</sup> Siehe Fußnote 4.

<sup>69</sup> K. MOENS, *De functie van de viool in de 17de-eeuwse genrekunst uit de noordelijke Nederlanden*, Begleittext zur Ausstellung *Van Vedelaars en Violisten. Een cultuurhistorische schets van de violist van de 16de eeuw tot vandaag*, Programmheft Basilica Concerten, Tongeren, 1989, S. 15-20.



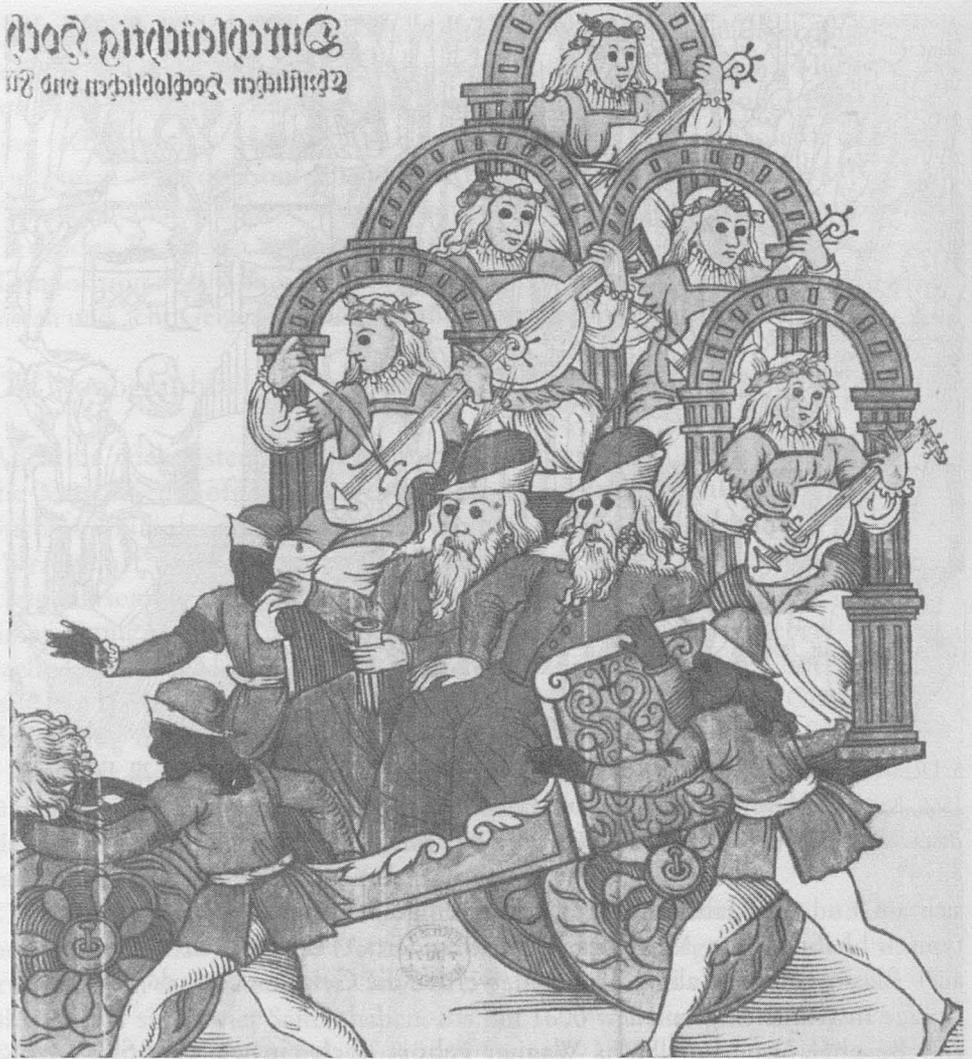
5. Detail des Hochzeitsmahles im St. Georgs-Saal der Münchner Neuveste am 22. Februar 1568, Kupferstich von Niklaus Solis aus: Hans WAGNER, *Kurtze doch gegründte Beschreibung des [...] hochzeitlichen Ehren Fests [...]*, München, 1568.

sich am Ende des Jahrhunderts zu einer eingeschnürten Bogenform, die sehr typisch bleibt bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts.<sup>69</sup> Obwohl auf diesem Stich auch Blasinstrumente abgebildet sind, werden die Geigen, neben der Orgel, als einzige Instrumente gespielt.

Zur Beschreibung von Hans Wagner gehört noch ein weiterer Stich von Nikolaus Solis (Stich Nr. 7), worauf Hofgeiger abgebildet sind. Dieser Stich zeigt das andere Ende des gleichen Saales während der Aufführung eines Maskentanzes mit Fackeln. Auf der Musikantentribüne ganz rechts stehen vorne Flöten- und Trommelspieler, dahinter auch einige Geiger.

In Heinrich Wirres *Ordentliche Beschreybung der Fürstlichen Hochzeit*, wird der Herzog während eines Turniers nach der Hochzeit auf einem Prunkwagen mit fünf Musikanten abgebildet.<sup>70</sup> Es sind auf den ersten Blick vier Geiger und ein Lautenspieler zu sehen. Die Instrumente sind so ungenau dargestellt, daß es auch Gamben sein könnten. Eine mittelgroße 'Geige' wird gezupft anstatt

<sup>70</sup> H. WIRRE, *Ordentliche Beschreybung des Fürstlichen Hochzeit [...] in teütsche Carmina gestellt durch Hainrich Wirre / Teütscher Poet / und Obrister Prütschenmaiter inn Osterreich [...]*, Augsburg, 1568, Holzstich zwischen Fol. 38 und 39.



6. Anonym, Prunkwagen mit fünf Musikern (drei Geigen, eine Laute, eine Cister), aus: Heinrich WIRRE, *Ordentliche Beschreibung der Fürstlichen Hochzeit* [...], Augsburg, 1568.

gestrichen und sollte nach dem Text eine Cister darstellen. Wirre spricht nämlich von drei Geigen, einer Cister und einer Laute.<sup>71</sup>

Auf der etwas später (ca. 1569?) entstandenen Mielich-Miniatur sind die Instrumente schon viel genauer dargestellt. Auch hier sieht man sechs Geiger. Sie spielen auf Instrumenten mit Merkmalen, die teilweise sogar noch bei Praetorius zu erkennen sind.<sup>72</sup> Wie im *Syntagma musicum* hat eine der kleineren

<sup>71</sup> E.A. BOWLES, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800. An Iconographical & Documentary Survey*, Ann Arbor - London, 1989, S. 61 und Fig. 28.

<sup>72</sup> PRAETORIUS, *Syntagma Musicum*, IV, *Theatrum Instrumentorum*, Wolfenbüttel, 1620, Tafel XXI.



7. a/b. Hans Mielich, Geiger der Münchner Hofkapelle im St. Georgs-Saal der Münchner Neuveste, Ausschnitte einer Buchmalerei aus dem Bußpsalmen-Codex, ca. 1569-70, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Mus. Ms. A-1, Band 2, S. 187.



8. Michael PRAETORIUS, *Syntagma Musicum*, IV, *Theatrum Instrumentorum*, Wolfenbüttel, 1620, Tafel XXI, Ausschnitt: Discant-Geig ein Quart höher.

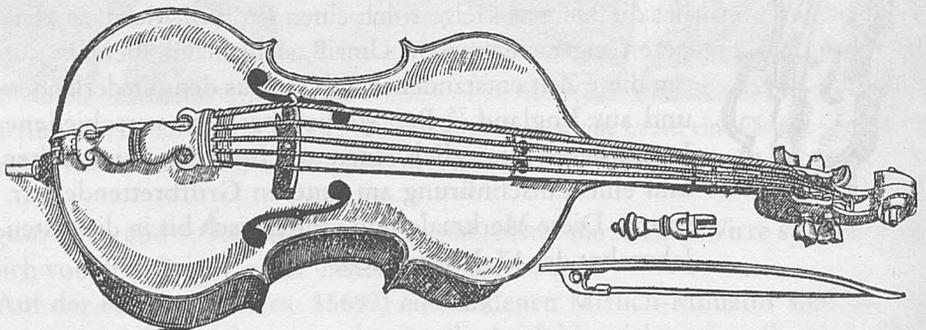
Geigen einen geschweiften Umriss, etwas sehr übliches für Diskantgeigen zwischen 1570-1620.<sup>73</sup> Auch auf der Hochzeit zu Kana von Paolo Veronese (Venedig, 1563) hat die kleinste Geige solch einen Profil.<sup>74</sup> Meistens kleinere Geigen mit diesem Umriss, sieht man ebenfalls auf um diese Zeit entstandenen Bildern aus den Niederlanden und aus England.<sup>75</sup> Bei Mielich besitzen verschiedene Instrumente zusätzlich einen geschweiften Saitenhalter und eine Einschnürung am unteren Griffbrettende (cfr. supra). Diese Merkmale sind sehr typisch bis in die ersten Jahrzehnt des 17. Jahrhunderts.

- <sup>73</sup> Eine kleine Geige mit einem ähnlichen Umriss sieht man auf dem Gemälde 'Das Gehör' von Jan I Breughel (1618), Prado Madrid, Inv. 1395.
- <sup>74</sup> Paolo Veronese, Hochzeit zu Kana, Venedig, 1563, Louvre Paris. An einem kleinen Tisch im Vordergrund sitzen vier Geiger mit Diskantgeige, zwei Tenorgeigen und einer Baßgeige. Bei der Restaurierung ist aber kürzlich deutlich geworden, daß die heutigen Umrisse der Geigen nicht original sind.
- <sup>75</sup> Zum Beispiel: 'Aditus', Kupferstich von Cornelis Cort nach Frans Floris, Antwerpen 1552-1565; 'Zwei Geiger', Holzschnitt, England um 1560-70, abgedruckt in einer Sammlung Balladen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert.

Nur die Kleinbaßgeige wird deutlich mit einem Tragband gespielt. Weiter werden vier Instrumente 'da braccio' gehalten. Die Großbaßgeige hat viel von einer Baßgambe. Auch das war nicht ungewöhnlich. Außerhalb vom Hof spielten größere Geigerbanden überwiegend fünfstimmig, also ohne dieses große Instrument. Bei den größten Formaten war der Unterschied zwischen Geige und Gambe im 16. Jahrhundert nicht sehr deutlich. Auf Bildern des 16. Jahrhunderts besitzen große Baßgeigen sehr oft schräge Schultern, Bündel, mehr als vier Saiten, usw. Der Unterschied zwischen Geigen- und Gambentypus war bei diesen sehr großen Instrumenten immer schon äußerst vage, außerdem hat man in diesem Bereich anstatt der Geigentypen oft große Gamben benützt. Dies kann man bei Monteverdi noch feststellen, einem der ersten Komponisten, der obligate Streichinstrumente vorschreibt. Bei ihm bilden die Geiger in größeren Besetzungen immer noch überwiegend fünfstimmige Gruppen. So zum Beispiel im *Ballo delle ingrate* oder im *Combattimento*. Das Baßinstrument ist manchmal eine große Gambe ('contrabasso da Gamba' oder 'contrabasso de viola' im *Orfeo* und im *Combattimento*).<sup>76</sup>

Auf den Tafeln in Praetorius' *Syntagma musicum* wurden die großen Baßinstrumente nicht zusammen mit den anderen Geigen abgebildet, sondern deutlich in einem Continuokontext neben einer großen Laute und einem Cembalo. In ihren Formen haben die zwei Instrumente vieles gemeinsam mit den Gamben. Das große fünfsaitige Instrument - 'Groß Contra-Baß-Geig' genannt - auf Tafel V, könnte übereinstimmen mit dem ebenfalls fünfsaitigen 'Groß Quint-Baß', der in der 'Tabella Universalis' als tiefstes Instrument der 'Viola de Braccio' erwähnt wird.<sup>77</sup>

Vor allem in Süddeutschland bleiben diese hybriden Bässe im Gebrauch bis ins



9. Michael PRAETORIUS, *Syntagma Musicum*, IV, *Theatrum Instrumentorum*, Wolfenbüttel, 1620, Tafel V: Groß Contra-Bas-Geig.

<sup>76</sup> P. HOLMAN, *Col nobilissimo esercizio della vivuola? Monteverdi's string writing*, in *Early Music*, 21 (1993), S. 576-590.

18. Jahrhundert. Hieraus hat sich übrigens der typische Wiener Kontrabaß entwickelt.<sup>78</sup> Die große Kontrabaßgeige hat in Banden oder frühen Orchestern keine oder kaum eine Rolle gespielt. Ab dem späten 16. Jahrhundert wurde sie in vielen Städten in katholischen Kirchen zur Begleitung des Cantus Planus benützt. Im 'französischen' Orchester findet sie erst seit Rameau einen Platz.

### Die weitere Entwicklung der Geigerbande bis 1594

Nach der großen Hochzeit im Jahre 1568, wächst die sechs- bis neunköpfige Geigerbande für längere Zeit nicht mehr. Am Ende von Lassos Karriere wird sie sogar auf ein absolutes Minimum von drei 'Geigern' reduziert. Bis ca. 1580 hat man meistens versucht alte oder verstorbene Musikanten zu ersetzen. Ab 1581 wird nicht mehr systematisch ersetzt, und es bleiben nur noch drei fest angestellte Geiger übrig. Dazu kommen natürlich noch eine Menge anderer Musiker und Sänger, die inzwischen nebenbei Geige spielen (cfr. infra).

Der erste Todesfall unter den Geigern nach 1568 war der 1569 von Massimo Troiano ermordete **Giovanni Battista Romano**. Er wurde nicht von einem Geiger ersetzt, wahrscheinlich weil er nicht nur als Geiger in Dienst genommen wurde (cfr. supra). Der einzige Musikant, der möglicherweise einen Teil der Arbeit Romanos hätte übernehmen können, war **Sebastian Alberto** aus Treviso. Er soll schon seit 1563 in Dienst gewesen sein, und spielte nach Troiano viele Instrumente.<sup>79</sup> In den Rechnungen wird er einige Male sehr allgemein 'musicco' genannt und einmal 'trombonista'.<sup>80</sup> Sehr wahrscheinlich hat er auch Geige gespielt. Laut Boetticher war er 'halb Bläser und Geiger'.<sup>81</sup> 1580 ist er nicht mehr am Hof ('nicht mehr hie').<sup>82</sup> Ab 1570 (ein Jahr nach dem Tod Romanos) wird er viel häufiger erwähnt als vorher, meistens zusammen mit Geigern. Aus den Bezahlungen seiner Hausmiete könnte man ableiten, daß er mit den drei Geigern der Cerbonio- (Besutio-)Familie zusammen wohnte. Bei einer Bezahlung der Hausmiete könnte man den Eindruck bekommen, daß das Epiteton 'Geiger' nicht nur auf Mattheo Cerbonio (Besutio) zutrifft, sondern auch auf Sebastian Alberto.<sup>83</sup>

1577 sterben zwei wichtige Geiger: **Battista Morari** und **Lucio Cerbonio** (Besutio, Terzio). Beide wurden als Mitglieder einer Geigerfamilie in Dienst genommen und werden auch kurzzeitig von einem Verwandten ersetzt.

<sup>77</sup> PRAETORIUS, 1619, S. 26; 1620, Tafeln V und VI.

<sup>78</sup> K. MOENS, *Oud-Weense strijkinstrumentenbouw, deel 3: De 18de eeuw*, in *Celesta*, 1 (1987), S. 170-179.

<sup>79</sup> TROIANO, 1569, Neuausgabe mit deutscher Übersetzung von LEUCHTMANN, S. 102-103, 473.

<sup>80</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 91, 109-110.

<sup>81</sup> BOETTICHER, 1963, S. 117.

<sup>82</sup> NÖSSELT, 1980, S. 241.

<sup>83</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 85.

1577 wird die Stelle von Battista Morari ganz kurz von **Achile Morari**, einem Geiger aus Bergamo besetzt. In den Rechnungen wird er nur einmal erwähnt.<sup>84</sup> In jedem Fall kann er nicht lange in München geblieben sein, weil er kurz danach wieder in Bergamo als Geiger tätig ist. Dort führt er sogar eine Geigerbande.<sup>85</sup>

Mit seiner Substitution hat man wahrscheinlich Schwierigkeiten gehabt. Erst 1579 werden zwei neue Geiger einmalig erwähnt: **Hännßl von Lanndshuet**, 'Geiger beim Organisten' und ein **Michael**, 'gewesten Cantorej Knaben'.<sup>86</sup> Möglicherweise ist Hanns von Lanndshuet der Gleiche wie **Hanns Schöttl** der 1580 - 87 weiterhin erwähnt wird. Die Hinzufügung 'Geiger beim Organisten' ist interessant. Dies weist wahrscheinlich auf eine neue Tradition hin, die am Ende des Jahrhunderts zur Kirchensonate führt. 1569 wird diese Praxis in Bergamo schon dadurch bezeugt, daß (ein jüngerer) Antonio Morari 'per sonar la viola nel organo' bezahlt wird. Nach Baroncini wäre dies die früheste bekannte Erwähnung dieser Praxis.<sup>87</sup> Den frühesten hypothetischen Hinweis auf solch ein Zusammenspiel von Geige und Orgel in München könnte man 1571 situieren, als der Geiger Cerbonio de Besutio zusammen mit dem Organisten Babtista de Cremona bezahlt wird.<sup>88</sup>

Der Geiger Michael ist der erste Chorknabe, der am Münchner Hof als Geiger erwähnt wird. Um diese Zeit wird es am Hof offensichtlich üblich, das Geigenspiel in den Instrumentalunterricht der Chorknaben mit einzubeziehen. 1580 wird noch ein Chorknabe als Geiger erwähnt: 'Leonharten Koppen ainem Jungen geiger, welicher bej Sannt Peter Im Chor ain Mitgehilff ist, unnd den Zuegang zu der Hof Cappeln hat'.<sup>89</sup> Später (überwiegend nach 1585) fertigt der Hoflautenmacher auch verschiedene Geigen und 'Studier-Geigen' für die Chorknaben. Darüber hinaus erlernen Söhne von Hofmusikanten ab ca. 1580 häufig das Geigenspiel.<sup>90</sup>

Die Nachfolge von Battista Morari ist also recht ungeordnet verlaufen. Die Nachfolge von Lucio Cerbonio, auch Terzio genannt, war wahrscheinlich einfacher. Direkt nach seinem Tod erwähnen die Rechnungen **Hercules Terzio** († 1613) als 'Instrumentist'. Ab 1569 wird schon ein paar Mal ein gewisser Hercules bezahlt, es ist aber nicht ersichtlich ob es sich dabei um die gleiche Person handelt. Falls es der gleiche Musiker ist, wird er auf jeden Fall ab 1578 - also nach dem Tode Lucios - viel häufiger bezahlt, und von da ab dann auch systematisch Terzio genannt.<sup>91</sup> Dies könnte darauf hinweisen daß er tatsäch-

<sup>84</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 96; Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit ...*, S. 334, 715.

<sup>85</sup> BARONCINI, noch nicht veröffentlichter Vortrag.

<sup>86</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 109.

<sup>87</sup> BARONCINI, noch nicht veröffentlichter Vortrag.

<sup>88</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 52.

<sup>89</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, S. 78, Fußnote 163; SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 116.

<sup>90</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 150 ff.

<sup>91</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 103-129.

lich als Nachfolger von Lucio Terzio, alias Cerbonio oder Besutio, betrachtet wird. Er spielt Blas- und Streichinstrumente, vor allem Zink, Posaune und Geige und bleibt bis nach 1600 in Dienst.<sup>92</sup>

1578 wird zwischendurch auch noch die Witwe eines bis jetzt unbekanntes Geigers aus den Niederlanden bezahlt.<sup>93</sup>

Im Jahre 1579 fallen noch einmal zwei wichtige Geiger aus: **Cerbonio de Besutio** stirbt, und auch der Cremoneser **Christoff Pozis** (Pocis, Pozzi) wird nicht mehr erwähnt.<sup>94</sup> Der Name Besutio wird an den Geiger Matthias Cerbonio weitergegeben, der ab dann **Matthias Besutsi** (auch Pisetzi) heißt.<sup>95</sup> Weder für Matthias Besutsi, noch für Pozis gibt es einen deutlichen Nachfolger. Wie schon erwähnt, sind um diese Zeit nur Hänssl von Lanndshuet und Michael Geiger am Hof geworden. Ein Jahr später, 1580, wird der ebenfalls schon erwähnte Chorknabe **Leonhart Koppn** als Geiger bezahlt. 1581 taucht ein weiteres Mitglied der Bergamasker Geigerfamilie Cerbonio/Besutio/Terzio einmalig auf: **Anthoni Tertzio**.<sup>96</sup>

Im gleichen Jahr beginnt auch die Karriere des Hofgeigers **Julius Gigli** (†1610). Er nimmt sofort eine wichtige Stelle ein und bleibt bis nach 1600 im Dienst. Es sieht so aus, als ob er mit der Zeit die Stelle des wichtigsten Hofgeigers, Antonio Morari, bekommt. Ab ca. 1580 erwähnen die Hofrechnungen immer weniger musikalische Aktivitäten dieses Morari. Es wird hauptsächlich über seine Rente gesprochen, die 1581 auf 450 fl. erhöht wird. 1582 fährt Antonio Morari noch mit der Hofkapelle zum Reichstag nach Augsburg.<sup>97</sup> Weitere Aktivitäten sind eher sporadisch. 1587 zum Beispiel kauft er in Brescia noch sechs Geigen<sup>98</sup> (cfr. infra).

Die Wichtigkeit Julius Giglis als Hofgeiger erweist sich auch durch sein Gehalt. Er wird von Anfang an sehr gut bezahlt. Nach 1588 verdient er sogar mehr als Lassus.<sup>99</sup> Ab 1595 steht er als 'Cammer Musicus' gleich nach dem Kapellmeister im Rang.<sup>100</sup>

Ab ca. 1592 wird Annibale Morari fast nicht mehr als aktiver Geiger erwähnt. Wie Anthonio wird auch er offensichtlich noch vor seinem Tod von einem jüngeren Geiger ersetzt. Dieser ist wahrscheinlich **Horatio Sega**, der schon ab Ende 1590 als 'Instrumentist' oder 'Musico' am Hof tätig war.<sup>101</sup> Ab 1594 wird Sega ausdrücklich 'Geiger' genannt.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>92</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, S. 117, 118, 121, 139; NÖSSELT, 1980, S. 221.

<sup>93</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 108.

<sup>94</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 114.

<sup>95</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 199 ff.

<sup>96</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 126.

<sup>97</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, S. 116-117.

<sup>98</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 167.

<sup>99</sup> LEUCHTMANN, 1976, S. 108.

<sup>100</sup> NÖSSELT, 1980, S. 221.

<sup>101</sup> NÖSSELT, *Ibidem*; SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 195-200.

<sup>102</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 219.

## Tätigkeit von Geigern am Münchner Hof von 1568 bis 1594

	65	70	75	80	85	90	95
Antonio Morari		-----					
Battista Morari	=====						
Annibali Morari		-----					
Achile Morari				-			
“Welschgeiger” (Morari’s?)				-			
Lucio Cerbonio (= Terzio / Besutio)	=====						
Cerbonio de Besutio		=====					
Mattheo Cerbonio (= Besutio / Terzio)		=====					
Hercules Terzio		-	-	-	=====		
Antonio Terzio							-
Giovanni Battista Romano		-					
Anthoni Goßwin		=====					
Christoff Pozzi (Pocci)		=====					
Sebastian Alberto	-	-	=====				
Hanns Schöttl, von Lanndshuet					=====		
Michael, gewesten Cantorej Knaben							-
Leonart Koppen							-
3 Trumeter Knaben							-
Drejj Geiger in der Faßnacht							-
Hawnsen Hiener							-
Max Geiger Tenorist							-
3 Cantorej Knaben							-
Julius Gigli					=====		
Horatio Segä						=====	

Nach 1582 gibt es nur noch drei ‘Geiger’ am Hof, deren regelmäßige musikalische Tätigkeiten erwähnt werden: Annibale Morari (bis ca. 1592), Matthias Besutzi (Pezutzi, Besutio, Cerbonio), Julius Gigli und Horatio Segä (ab ca. 1593). Damit ist die große Geigerbande von 1568 auf ein absolutes Minimum von drei Geigern reduziert (cfr. supra). Eigentlich gab es die große feste Geigergruppe nur neun Jahren lang, zwischen 1568 und 1577.

Das heißt aber wahrscheinlich nicht, daß nach 1577 oder 1582 weniger Geige gespielt wurde, im Gegenteil. Vieles weist darauf hin, daß die Geige immer mehr

ein 'normales' Instrument wird, das neben anderen von gewöhnlichen Instrumentisten gespielt wurde. Wie schon erwähnt, lernten sogar Chorknaben - neben anderen Instrumenten - Geige zu spielen. Diese Entwicklung kann man auch an anderen Höfen und in anderen Städten feststellen. Erst ab der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts, und vor allem im 18. Jahrhundert, werden immer mehr Geiger spezialisierte Musiker, die kaum noch ein anderes Instrument beherrschen.

## Der Geigenbau

Zum Schluß bleibt die Frage, wo die zur Zeit Lassos am Münchner Hof verwendeten Geigen gebaut wurden. Bis jetzt hat man automatisch fast nur an Italien gedacht. Das wäre nicht auszuschliessen, weil diese - meist italienischen - Geiger viele Kontakte in Norditalien hatten. Die Moraris und Cerbonios reisten auch ab und zu nach Italien. Dies ist aber nicht selbstverständlich, weil es in den meisten anderen Fällen keine Belege dafür gibt, und weil auch andere Möglichkeiten denkbar sind.

Was die Lauten angeht, wird in den Hofrechnungen immer ein deutlicher Unterschied zwischen Lautenmacher und Lautenspieler (Lautenschläger) gemacht. Für Geiger wird dieser Unterschied nicht getroffen. Es wäre also durchaus möglich, daß die ersten Generationen von Hofgeigern - genau wie in anderen europäischen Städten - auch Geigen gebaut haben. Ein bekanntes Beispiel zu dieser Zeit ist Hanns Bach, ein mutmaßlicher Vorfahre Johann Sebastian Bachs und Hofgeiger am Württembergischen Hof.<sup>103</sup> In vielen europäischen Regionen - zum Beispiel in den meisten flämischen Städten und am Brüsseler Hof - bleibt dieser Praxis sogar bis zur französischen Revolution üblich.<sup>104</sup>

Erst ab 1585 wird in München ausdrücklich erwähnt, daß der Hof-Lautenmacher **Hans Kohl** (Khol, Koll, Kholen usw.) (†nach 1599) neben Lauten auch Geigen für Hofgeiger baut sowie Studieninstrumente für Chorknaben.<sup>105</sup> Vorher (ab 1559) hat er neben Lauten auch Gamben (1560, 1585 usw.) und Lironi (1576, 1587) gebaut und Geigen repariert.<sup>106</sup> Man vermutet, daß Kohl aus der Lautenmacherstadt Füssen stammt.<sup>107</sup> Der Münchner Hof kaufte auch Instrumente bei Lautenmachern aus der Umgebung, zum Beispiel bei Laux Posch (Poss) aus Schongau bei Füssen.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Der Nar-Spielman-Instrumentenmacher Hans Bach, arbeitete am Hof der Herzöge von Württemberg (1555-1616). Auf einem Stich von 1617 wurde er mit einem Holzhammer und einer Geige in der Hand abgebildet. Um das Medaillon sind Geigenbauwerkzeuge abgebildet.

<sup>104</sup> MOENS, *La 'nascita' del violino*, S. 84-131; IDEM, *L. J. De Ligne als vioolbouwer. Een situering in de ontwikkeling van de Antwerpse vioolbouw*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 10 (1993), S. 73-76.

<sup>105</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 150.

<sup>106</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 11 ff. Die von Adolf Layer erwähnte Geige aus 1560 ('Wiollen') ist eigentlich eine Gambe. A. LAYER, *Die Allgäuer Lauten- und Geigenmacher*, Augsburg, 1978, S. 153.

<sup>107</sup> LAYER, 1978, S. 52, 153.

<sup>108</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 22.



10. Hans Bach, Spielmann, Hofnarr und Geigenmacher am Württembergischen Hof, Anonymer Stich, 2. Hälfte d. 16. Jhdts.

Zur Zeit Lassos wird wahrscheinlich nur ein kleiner Teil der Geigen aus Italien bezogen. In Venedig wurden schon früh, aber nur gelegentlich Lauten und Gamben gekauft.<sup>109</sup> Für Geigen gibt es dafür längere Zeit keine Belege. 1574 wird dann in einem Brief von Herzog Ernst an Wilhelm vorgeschlagen, Lauten und 'Geigen' in Italien zu kaufen.<sup>110</sup> Es ist nicht deutlich, ob dies auch tatsächlich gemacht wurde. Erst 1587 gibt es die erste Rechnung für solch ein Geschäft, wenn der alte Antonio Morari einen Satz von sechs Geigen in Brescia kauft<sup>111</sup> (cfr. supra).

Zu dieser Zeit war vor allem Gasparo Bertolotti, genannt da Salò, in Brescia als Geigenbauer tätig. Sonstig kommen die Werkstätten von Peregrino Micheli di Zanetto, Giovan Battista Doneda und Giovita Rodiani in Frage. Obwohl wir es beim heutigen Stand des Wissens nicht wagen überlieferte Instrumente einem der oben genannten Geigenbauer zuzuschreiben, gibt es Gründe anzunehmen, daß der Brescianer Geigenbau in diesen Jahren vieles gemeinsam hat mit Traditionen auf der deutschen Seite der Alpen. So stammt zum Beispiel Gasparo da Salò, wie viele frühe Geigenbauer des Nordens, aus einer Musikantenfamilie.<sup>112</sup>

Der gute Ruf der Geigen aus Brescia könnte auf einen wesentlichen Qualitätsunterschied hinweisen. Vielleicht bietet die starke Spezialisierung auf den Lautenbau am deutschen Alpenrand (vor allem in Füssen), und die sehr frühe Bekanntschaft mit der Geige sowie eine frühe Spezialisierung auf diese Instrumente auf der italienischen Seite (vor allem in Brescia), eine Erklärung für diesen Unterschied.<sup>113</sup>

Erhaltene Münchner oder Füssener Instrumente aus dieser Zeit sind nicht bekannt. Im Germanischen Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg gibt es aber doch zwei Instrumente, die etwas aussagen könnten: einen Bass von Hanns Vogel von 1563, angeblich aus der Nürnberger Sebalduskirche, und einen Baß von Hans Pergette, München 1599.<sup>114</sup> Pergette wird ab 1599, wenn er 'ettliche fidll besait', als 'geigenmacher' in Rechnungen vom Münchner Hof erwähnt.<sup>115</sup> Beide Instrumente sind aber nach unseren Untersuchungen so stark verkleinert, vielfach umgebaut und ergänzt mit zahlreichen, nicht original dazugehörigen, gelegentlich von anderen Instrumenten stammenden Teilen sowie mit neuen Ornamenten versehen, daß sie überhaupt nichts mehr über den frühen süddeutschen Streichinstrumentenbau aussagen können.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>109</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, S. 90.

<sup>110</sup> BOETTICHER, 1958, S. 89.

<sup>111</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 167.

<sup>112</sup> A.M. MUCCHI, *Gasparo da Salò*, Mailand, 1940, S. 8-18.

<sup>113</sup> MOENS, *De viool in de 16de eeuw*, passim.

<sup>114</sup> Baßgeige (oder -Gambe), zugeschrieben Hans Vogel, Nürnberg 1563. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Inv. MI 5; Baßgeige (oder -Gambe), zugeschrieben Hans Pergette, München 1599, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Inv. MI 6.

<sup>115</sup> SANDBERGER, 1973 (= 1894-95), III, S. 239.

<sup>116</sup> MARTIUS - MOENS, 1988, S. 15-21.



11. Bratsche, Peregrino Di Zanetto zugeschrieben, Brescia nach 1564, mit einem kaum lesbaren Zettel: 'Peregrino .../...', Vermillion, The Shrine to Music Museum, Inv. 3367. Photo des Rudolf Wurlitzer (N.Y.) Zertifikats. Später wurden die sehr hoch stehenden *f*-Löcher tiefer gesetzt. Auf dem Alfred Hill (London) Zertifikat von 1934 liest man: 'The earliest viola I have ever seen. [...] It dates from about 1540. [...] all its dimensions are as left by the maker.'

Dieses Instrument wurde zusammengestellt aus stark beschnittenen - möglicherweise nicht zusammengehörenden - Teilen, deren Ursprung kaum oder nicht mehr zu ermitteln ist. Das ganze Instrument wurde neu lackiert und 'alt' patiniert. Fast alle Beschädigungen wurden mit Farbe imitiert oder künstlich verursacht.

12. Kleine Diskantgeige, ca. 1580-90, Paul (I) Klemm (Randeck, 1552-1623) zugeschrieben, Begräbniskapelle des Freiburger Doms.



13. Musizierende Engel in der Begräbniskapelle des Freiburger Doms, mit fünf Geigen (kleine und große Diskantgeige, Tenorgeige und kleine und große Baßgeige). Paul (I) Klemm (Randeck, 1552-1623) zugeschrieben.

Bessere Zeugen, aber aus einer anderen deutschen Region, sind fünf Geigen aus Händen von Mitgliedern der Familie Klemm, die sich im Dom zu Freiberg in Sachsen befinden.<sup>117</sup> Die Klemms waren Spielleute aus Randeck (bei Freiberg) und Zeitgenossen von Lassos Geigern. Diese Stücke sind wahrscheinlich die einzigen Steichinstrumente jener Zeit, die wir chronologisch und geographisch genau einordnen können, und die sogar noch bestimmten Herstellern zugeordnet werden können. Außerdem wurden sie nie umgebaut und sind daher in einem sehr originalen Zustand erhalten. Diese fünf Geigen bilden mit einer Diskantgeige, einer normalen Geige, einem Tenor, und zwei Bässen ein vollständiges Ensemble. Die beiden Bässe besitzen die gleiche Korpuslänge, aber eine unterschiedliche Halslänge. Wie auf der Mielich-Miniatur haben sie geschweifte Saitenhalter und wie bei Nikolaus Solis haben sie eingeschnürte

<sup>117</sup> Diese Instrumente befinden sich bis heute in Händen von Engeln auf einem Altar in der Begräbniskapelle, die 1594 eingeweiht wurde. 1978 wurden sie einmalig für Untersuchung von Herbert Heyde und Peter Liersch entfernt. Siehe H. HEYDE - P. LIERSCH, *Studien zum sächsischen Musikinstrumentenbau des 16./17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Jahrbuch Peters* 1979, 2, Leipzig, 1980, S. 231-259.

Griffbrettenden. Ebenfalls wie bei Solis ist die kleinste Geige dreisaitig. Zu den Geigen gehören 2 alte Streichbögen: einer bei dem Stange und Frosch aus einem Stück gefertigt sind (Tenorgeige) und ein Steckfroschbogen (Baßgeige). Ähnliche Bögen sieht man auch auf Bildern aus den Niederlanden.<sup>118</sup> Die Konstruktion der Instrumente ist sehr einfach und steht sehr nah an der Bauweise der meisten archaischen süddeutschen Instrumente des 17. Jahrhunderts, wie zum Beispiel einige Instrumente aus der alte alemannischen Tradition (z. B. Frantz Straub - Friedenweiler/Schwarzwald, Hans Krouchdaler - Oberbalm/Bern)<sup>119</sup>, und Geigen aus den ältesten nordamerikanischen Traditionen.<sup>120</sup> All diese Geigen wurden nicht wie heute über eine Form gebaut und zusammen geleimt, sondern die Einzelteile wurden, wo möglich, ineinander gefügt (Zargen in Rillen im Bodenrand - manchmal auch im Deckenrand sowie im Hals). Der Korpus war innen fast leer. Es gab keine Klötze (oben, unten und in den Ecken). Der Hals wurde nicht nur aufgeleimt, sondern auch in den Korpus hinein gesetzt. Es gab wahrscheinlich keinen Baßbalken. Weil es keinen Unterklotz gab, wurde der Saitenhalter manchmal am unteren Bodenrand befestigt. Der Stimmstock stand meist in der Mitte vom Korpus, bei größeren Instrumenten auf einem Brett oder auf einer Verdickung im Boden.<sup>121</sup>

Die meisten angeblich erhaltenen Geigen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert - meistens Andrea Amati, Peregrino Micheli di Zanetto, Gasparo da Salò oder Francesco und Ventura Linarollo zugeschrieben - haben mit dem hier beschriebenen Gesamtbild wenig gemeinsam.

## Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassend könnte man sagen, daß nicht nur die Entstehung der Geige im frühen 16. Jahrhundert, sondern auch der Durchbruch in der Mitte des Jahrhunderts sehr eng verbunden war mit der mehrstimmigen Instrumentalmusik. Die Entwicklungen am Münchner Hof bestätigen dies voll und ganz. In den sechziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts hat man zwei Gruppen von drei Geigern zweier Musikantenfamilien aus Bergamo (die Moraris und die Cerbonios), sowie einige einzelne Instrumentisten, die auch Geige spielten, herangezogen. Zwischen den Jahren 1568 und 1577/79, bilden sieben dieser

118 Zum Beispiel: 'Aditus', Kupferstich von Cornelis Cort nach Frans Floris, Antwerpen 1552-1565; 'David', Kupferstich von Joannes I Sadeler nach Pieter de Witte, dem Herzog Wilhelm von Bayern gewidmet.

119 Diese Instrumente sind beschrieben und abgebildet in: O. ADELMANN, *Die Alemannische Schule. Archaischer Geigenbau des 17. Jahrhunderts im südlichen Schwarzwald und in der Schweiz*, Berlin, 1990.

120 Im frühen 17. Jahrhundert wanderten einige Geigenbauer - vor allem aus Sachsen und Mähren - nach Nordamerika aus. Ohne große Einflüsse aus Europa setzten sie ihre Tradition bis ca. 1800 fort. Siehe F.R. SELCH, *Early American Violins and their Makers*, VSA, 6 (1982), S. 33-42.

121 Siehe MOENS, *Der frühe Geigenbau in Süddeutschland*, S. 349-388.

Musikanten eine feste Geigerbande am Hof. Sie spielten neben Tanzmusik auch fünf- und sechsstimmige Motetten und Madrigale. Von 1568 bis um 1580 wird diese Streichergruppe zum Kern der Instrumentalmusik innerhalb der Burg. Einige von ihnen gehören nach den Organisten zu den bestbezahlten Musikern am Hof.

Ab dem Ende der siebziger Jahren wird die Geige immer mehr - neben anderen Instrumenten - von nicht 'spezialisierten' Instrumentalisten gespielt. Von da ab bis nach dem Tode Lassos wird die Zahl der 'spezialisierten' Geiger auf ein Minimum, das heißt drei Personen, beschränkt. Außerhalb der polyphonen Praxis spielten Geiger häufig zu dritt.

Über die verwendeten Instrumente sind wir vor allem durch ikonographische Quellen informiert. Diese Abbildungen stimmen größtenteils überein mit Merkmalen der ältesten überlieferten Instrumente aus Sachsen, sowie mit Instrumenten aus archaischen Traditionen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Zur Zeit Lassos wurden diese Geigen wahrscheinlich meistens am Hof selbst hergestellt.



# THE ANTWERP DUARTE FAMILY AS MUSICAL PATRONS

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## Introduction

In October 1641, the English diarist John Evelyn visited Antwerp and made the following entry in his diary:<sup>1</sup>

In the evening I was invited to Signor Duerts, a Portuguese by nation, an exceeding rich merchant, whose palace I found to be furnish'd like a prince's; and here his three daughters entertain'd us with rare musick, both vocal and instrumental, which was finish'd with a handsome collation.

In July 1648, William Swann, English captain in the Dutch army and husband of Constantijn Huygens' dearest musical friend, Utricia Ogle, visited Antwerp and wrote to Huygens:<sup>2</sup>

For Monsieur de Warty and his daughters I have heard to the fulle. Indeed they make a fyne consort and harmony for luts, viols, virginals and voyces. I doubt not but you will fynde great contentement by hearing them.

Who was this Signor Duerts or de Warty, and who were his daughters who made such fine music in their Antwerp home? The Duarte in question is the Antwerp jeweler and diamond merchant Gaspar Duarte, who lived from 1584 to 1653. His daughters bear the names Leonora, Francisca and Catharina; all were born in the 1610s, and thus were about thirty years old in the 1640s. They all belong to a large Antwerp family of Portuguese origin; this family and their patronage of music is the subject of the present contribution.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.S. DE BEER (ed.), *The diary of John Evelyn*, London, 1959, p. 39. The visit to the Duarte house took place on 6 October 1641.

<sup>2</sup> Swann to Huygens, 13 July 1648 (JONCKBLOET, 1882, p. CCL; Worp 4, no. 4839, p. 485). References to letters will always contain the last names of the correspondents, the date of the letter, and (within parentheses) the easiest accessible modern editions of the letter. In referring to these modern editions, the following abbreviations will be used: JONCKBLOET, 1882 = W.J.A. JONCKBLOET - J.P.N. LAND, *Musique et musiciens au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Correspondance et oeuvres musicales de Constantin Huygens*, Leiden, 1882; Worp 3 = J.A. Worp, *De briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens (1608-1687), Derde deel: 1640-1644*, The Hague, 1914 (*Rijks Geschiedkundige Publikatiën*, 21); Worp 4 = *Vierde deel: 1644-1649*, 1915 (RGP, 24); Worp 5 = *Vijfde deel: 1649-1663*, 1916 (RGP, 28); Worp 6 = *Zesde deel: 1663-1687*, 1917 (RGP, 32).

## Diego Duarte [sr.] (ca. 1545-1628)

The Duartes were a family of Portuguese extraction, in fact of marranos - Jews converted under pressure to Catholicism, but still continuously mistrusted because of their background. During the sixteenth century, many marrano families left the Iberian peninsula, to settle in Central and Western Europe, not in the least in the Netherlands, northern and southern. In this migration, two Duarte brothers, Diego (sr.) and Francisco, must have settled in Antwerp around 1570, but specific details about their arrival are not known.<sup>4</sup>

The Duartes were - like many marranos - traditionally active in the jewelry and diamond business, and both Diego sr. and Francisco stuck to this trade after their settlement in Antwerp.<sup>5</sup> Diego Duarte was a real pater familias. Twice married, the name of his first wife is not known. From the first marriage a son, Francisco (later often styled Francisco Fernandes Duarte), was born, presumably around 1580. In 1583 Diego Duarte married Eleonora Rodrigues (ca. 1565-1632), who bore him at least ten children between 1584 (Gaspar) and 1603 (Garcia). Diego Duarte died in 1628.<sup>6</sup>

We do not know anything about musical interests by Diego Duarte or his wife Eleonora. Only from the apparent musical proficiency of two of Diego's children, Gaspar and Francisca, do we know that musical education played a significant role in the household. Francisca, in 1613, migrated to the Dutch Republic and settled in Alkmaar, in order to embrace Jewish life overtly, for which reason we will not pay any further attention to her in the present contribution.<sup>7</sup>

Although Diego sr.'s dozen of children produced over two dozens of grandchildren, there were only six grandsons, and none of these produced any male

<sup>3</sup> Little research has been published since the first notes on the family's history in the 1882 edition of the musical correspondence of Constantijn Huygens, mostly based on correspondence between the Duarte and Huygens families (Jonckbloet 1882, pp. clxxiv-cxcvii). There is not a single book or article devoted in its entirety to the Duarte family, except for the error-ridden articles by Zwarts in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Vol. 7, cc. 389-392) and two articles about the art collection of Diego Duarte jr. (see below); there, more often than not, faulty information is added instead of correct. In order to give any reliable sketch of the family and their role in the patronage of the arts, a lot of original archival research had to be conducted, mostly in Antwerp, to a lesser extent in Dutch cities such as Amsterdam, The Hague and Alkmaar. But, in spite of all this, the picture that I can give here is at best sketchy and approximate.

<sup>4</sup> One must realize that the surname Duarte is nothing else than the Portuguese form of Edward or Eduard(o) and can thus also be a Christian name.

<sup>5</sup> About the marranos and their businesses in Antwerp see especially H. POHL, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567-1648): Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit*, Wiesbaden, 1977.

<sup>6</sup> Data about birth (baptism), marriage and death (burial) were all added from the Antwerp City Archives; to provide each individual citation would make this contribution unduly comprehensive. Francisco Fernandes Duarte died in 1619.

<sup>7</sup> In Alkmaar she became acquainted with the Dutch poetess Maria Tesselschade Roemersdochter Visscher and via the latter with the most important Dutch poet of the time, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, who called her the 'French nightingale' or 'Paris nightingale.'

heirs. All of Gaspar's six children survived the hazards of childhood and reached considerable age (between sixty and eighty), but none of them married. Meanwhile, the family branched out to the Dutch Republic (in cities such as Amsterdam, Alkmaar, The Hague) and to Brussels and Paris, but there, too, the males failed to produce offspring. Therefore, the family name died out when Diego's last living grandson, Diego junior, died in Antwerp in 1691.



1. The Duarte residence on the Meir in Antwerp, on a picture taken in 1898 shortly before its demolition. Photograph Antwerp, City Archives.

## Gaspar Duarte [sr.] (1584-1653)

After Diego Duarte sr.'s death in 1628 Gaspar Duarte became the head of the Antwerp Duarte family. At that time he was already over forty years old and himself father of six children: Leonora (1610-1678?), Diego (1612-1691), Catharina (1614-1678), Gaspar jr. (1616-1685), Francisca (1619-1678) and Isabella (1620-1685). He must have received music lessons during his youth, because he is later reported to be a competent amateur musician, at least on keyboard instruments. We know that during his later years he stood in close contact to the harpsichord makers Johannes Ruckers and Joannes Couchet.<sup>8</sup>

From 1615 onwards the family had lived in a sumptuous house on the south-side of the Meir, built, in 1561, for Bernardino de Succo.<sup>9</sup> Gaspar obtained a thorough musical education for his children, perhaps all six of them, but in any case four. It is impossible to give with certainty the names of the professional musicians that took care of the children's musical education, but it is possible to make some educated guesses. First, there is Guilielmus Munninckx, organist of the church of Saint-Andrew in Antwerp; in the 1620s, he was probably a neighbour of Gaspar's father Diego Duarte, who lived at the opposite side of the Meir.<sup>10</sup> There are more indications that connect Munninckx with the Duarte family: Munninckx was married to a Portuguese, Anna Lopes, and Gaspar Duarte was the godfather of one of their children. Moreover, several relatives of Guilielmus Munninckx were active as diamond cutters, thus providing professional links between the two families.

In addition, there are indications that connect the so-called Messaus-Bull codices (one of which survives in the British Library) with the Duarte family (or at least to a family with an Iberian background).<sup>11</sup> If these indications can be continued by better evidence than I have now, they would provide the names of two more musicians for the Duarte home, namely John Bull, organist of the cathedral of Antwerp from 1615 to 1628, and Guilielmus Messaus, phonascus (chapel-master) of the Church of Saint-Walburgis.<sup>12</sup> In fact, for rich and im-

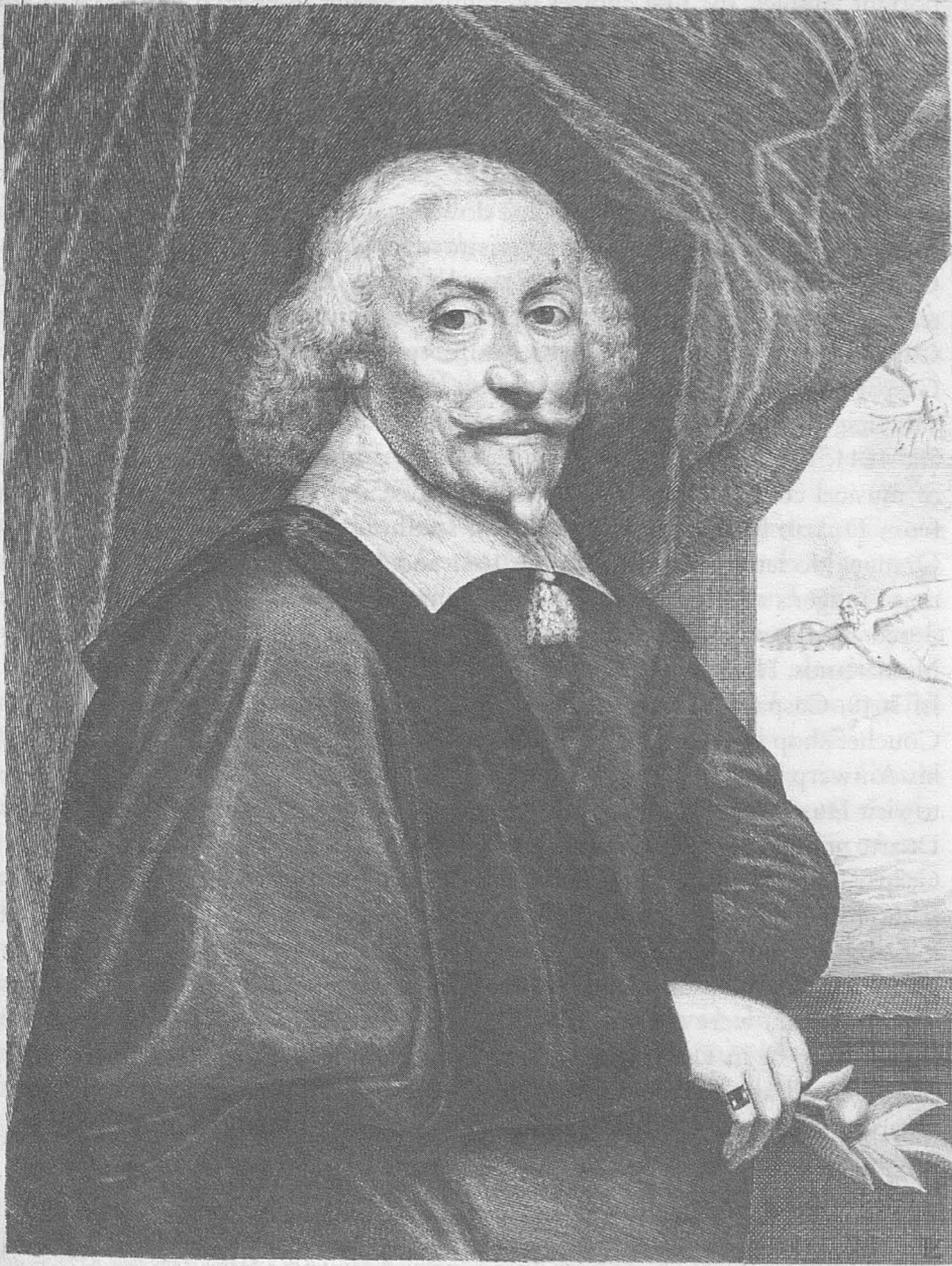
<sup>8</sup> This emerges from the correspondence with Constantijn Huygens of 1648 about the purchase of a harpsichord from the Couchet shop by Huygens. See below.

<sup>9</sup> The Duarte house was between Veniusstraat and Kolveniersstraat, right in the curve next to the present-day department store Inno. It was demolished in 1898. A photograph taken a little before the demolition is published in the exhibition catalogue *De Meir te Antwerpen*, Antwerpen, 1983, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> About Munninckx see R.A. RASCH, *De cantiones natalitiae en het kerkelijke muziekleven van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, Utrecht, 1985, pp. 76-77. The 'probably' of the main text is a consequence of the fact that Munninckx is reported also to have had a house on the Melkmarkt in Antwerp, where he lived during the 1620s. There seems to be, however, no alternative for the Guilielmus Munninckx reported as neighbor of Diego Duarte sr. besides the organist.

<sup>11</sup> See R.A. RASCH, *Were the Messaus-Bull codices written for the Duarte family?*, paper presented at the colloquium *Manuscripts of polyphonic music from the Low Countries 1550-1850*, Brussels, 30 March-1 April 1995.

<sup>12</sup> About Messaus see RASCH, 1985, pp. 73-76.



Quam gravis extincti fuerit iactura DUARTI.    Quas Orbi quatuor    Genitrix Antverpia Musas    Cedere compulerit harum dum vita maneret.  
 Cuius adhuc placet hic nobilis umbra, vide.    Sic dedit ut Pindi plebsa lyraeque novem    Hic Pater. hic amor hic Dux. hic Apollo iuit.  
CONSTANTER.

2. Gaspar Duarte sr. Engraving by Lucas Cavendish by Lucas Vorsterman after a lost painting (artist unknown). The accompanying verse is by Constantijn Huygens.

portant families, the first choices of a music teacher in general would be among the main musicians of the main churches of the city. Especially the relationship between Bull and the Duartes is an interesting one, as we shall see when discussing the compositions of Gaspar's daughter Leonora. In any event, Gaspar Duarte became known as an avid musical amateur, especially in connection with his children.

No direct archival material has come down to us from the household of Gaspar Duarte. Besides a few reports by visitors, it is the correspondence between Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) and Gaspar Duarte from the 1640s that teaches us most about the latter's personal and musical life. Nine letters from Gaspar to Huygens are available; unfortunately, all of Huygens' letters to Gaspar have been lost.

The first correspondence between Huygens and Gaspar Duarte dates from 1640 and 1641.<sup>13</sup> It concerns mutual requests for help in various matters, the exchange of musical compositions (French and Italian airs) and the purchase of a jewel from Duarte by Huygens' employer, stadholder Frederic Henry, prince of Orange. No letters survive between 1641 and 1648, but indirect evidence shows that Huygens and Duarte remained in contact, a connection obviously not hindered by the war between the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Southern Netherlands. However, they could not meet in person.

In 1648, Gaspar Duarte intervened in the purchase of a harpsichord from the Couchet shop by Huygens.<sup>14</sup> At the end of that year, Huygens was able to visit his Antwerp friend for the first time.<sup>15</sup> From that time on, Huygens never failed to visit Duarte when he was in Antwerp, for whatever reason. However, Gaspar Duarte never went to see Huygens in The Hague.

Gaspar Duarte died on 12 November 1653 and, two days later, was buried in the Church of Saint-James in the family grave. During the burial service, a requiem mass by Philippus van Steelant, organist of the church, was performed.<sup>16</sup> A tragic note is struck by the fact that three of his children (Diego, Francisca and probably Gaspar) were absent from Antwerp when their father died, since they happened to be in The Hague visiting Constantijn Huygens; only at their return they learned about their father's death and burial. Huygens commemorated Duarte with a Latin epitaph<sup>17</sup>, which he himself later translated into Dutch.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> JONCKBLOET, 1882, pp. clxxxiii-cxc; Worp 3, various letters from 24 October 1640 (no. 2559, p. 115) to May 1641 (no. 2703, p. 167).

<sup>14</sup> JONCKBLOET, 1882, pp. cxc-cxciv; Worp 4, various letters from 5 March 1648 (no. 4772, p. 465) to 30 July 1648 (no. 4849, p. 488). See also J.A. STELLFELD, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Antwerpsche clavecimbel- en orgelbouwers in de XVI<sup>e</sup> en XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuw*, in *Vlaamsch Jaarboek voor Muziekgeschiedenis* 4 (1942), pp. 3-110, about Huygens, Duarte en Couchet see pp. 36-38, and G. O'BRIEN, *Ruckers: A harpsichord and virginal building tradition*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 305-306.

<sup>15</sup> See Duarte to Huygens, 27 December 1648 (JONCKBLOET, 1882, pp. cxciv-cxcv; Worp 4, no. 4903, p. 507). Huygens had been in Antwerp from 13 to 21 November and again from 27 November to 4 December 1648.

<sup>16</sup> Antwerp, City Archives, PR 297 (Burial register of the Church of Saint-James), fol. 76r.

## Diego Duarte [jr.] (1612-1691)

After Gaspar Duarte's demise, his friendship with Huygens naturally passed to his eldest son, Diego (jr.), now head of the family.<sup>19</sup> Huygens continued to pay occasional visits to the Duarte home in Antwerp during the 1650s, 1660s and 1670s (for the last time in 1675). In addition, two of Huygens' sons, Constantijn jr. and Christiaan, as well as his only daughter Susanna, became well acquainted with the Duarte family and visited them from time to time. Christiaan's visits most often took place in connection with his trips to Paris and back, those of Constantijn jr. while he was in the retinue of his employer, stadholder prince William III, during the latter's military campaigns in the Southern Netherlands in the course of the war with France from 1672-1678.

The extent of the correspondence between Constantijn Huygens and Diego Duarte is not known. What has survived is not much: five letters from Diego to Constantijn (1673, 1683-1687)<sup>20</sup> and two from Constantijn to Diego (1656, 1687). Whatever else there was is now lost. Members of the Duarte family are mentioned frequently in letters by Constantijn Huygens to common acquaintances (and vice versa), such as Huygens' sons Constantijn jr. and Christiaan, his daughter Susanna, Utricia Ogle and her husband William Swann, Margaret Lucas (the duchess of Newcastle, wife of William Cavendish, marquess of Newcastle), and Béatrix de Cusance (the so-called duchess of Lorraine). All these people frequented the Duarte home during their stay in Antwerp.

A variety of letters from Huygens and his circle show that, among the Duarte sons, it was Diego who was most devoted to music, among the Duarte daughters, Leonora, Francisca and Catharina. Francisca is most often pictured as a keyboard player, Leonora as a singer; Catharina also must have been a singer in the first place. Diego is, at various occasions, referred to as an amateur composer, but it remains unclear which instruments he may have played. It is certainly not impossible that all children were trained to sing and play various instruments, especially keyboard, viola da gamba and lute, as would have been usual in well-to-do circles of musical amateurs during the seventeenth century. But no details about this could be unearthed as of yet.

<sup>17</sup> Dated 21 November 1653. See J.A. WORP, *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens, naar zijn handschrift uitgegeven, Vijfde deel: 1652-1656*, Groningen, 1895, pp. 108-109.

<sup>18</sup> Dated 28 May 1654. See WORP, 1895, p. 126.

<sup>19</sup> Diego is often called by translations of his given name, such as Jacob, Jacobus, Jacques and James. I stick to the Portuguese version because it is that version that he used most often himself.

<sup>20</sup> The letters by Diego Duarte to Constantijn Huygens from the years 1683-1687 are found in a copybook of letters by Diego Duarte covering the years 1681-1689, now in Amsterdam, City Archives, Archive 334 (Portuguese-Jewish community), no. 682. Since it is inventoried as a copybook by Manuel Levy Duarte (Diego's heir), it has so far escaped scholarly notice. In fact, finding the copybook was a serendipitous event during my visit to the archives on 3 August 1995. Unfortunately, the copybook is heavily damaged by either fire or water or both, and can only partly be read.

10.

A Song.

True Fancies neuer dry, but like a springe  
 its glides gives way for fresher witt to bringe  
 Fancies Cleere fountaine, still creating new  
 no other Helicon ther is, thats true,  
 Or Muses nine, or Jorke Parnassus Hill  
 but our owne Birth, w<sup>ch</sup> makes a Poet still  
 All those are meand, for this, w<sup>ch</sup> none can gaine  
 but by same Natures bountie, in his braine,  
 That gentle flame and Seate it doth affire  
 still mounting up, like a Celestiall fire  
 and is eternall at from whence it came  
 from high borne Youe, and still remaines the same  
 So now Duarte I meane to give no more  
 Songes Unto thee since from me thou hast store  
 but a cessation twixt us now is sett  
 of thy Composure, my Poetick witt  
 If any Eese can wvise of Musicks Theame  
 so many songes w<sup>th</sup> Fancies sweetest streame  
 sett w<sup>th</sup> such arte and Humour lett them looke  
 on thy Composure, then wee'l burne our Booke

3. Poem ('song'), possibly by William Cavendish, marquess of Newcastle, addressing Diego Duarte, and referring to musical settings by Diego of other text by the poet. The handwriting is Diego Duarte's, so that the reproduced page obviously is a copy made by Diego for Constantijn Huygens, among whose papers it is to found. The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. KA XLII, fol. 10.

As stated earlier, Diego's name is connected to musical compositions several times. Unfortunately, none of these compositions survive. On 26 March 1663, Christiaan Huygens wrote to his brother Lodewijk from Antwerp that Diego bothered him with a composition made on a Sarabande tune, with words that relate to the feast of the day, the Annunciation of Mary.<sup>21</sup> There is an (unda-

ted) letter from the marchioness of Newcastle to Leonora Duarte, in which she refers to settings by Diego Duarte of poems by her husband, William Cavendish, the marquess of Newcastle.<sup>22</sup> An anonymous poem which addresses Diego Duarte mentions a musical setting by Diego of song texts by the poet.<sup>23</sup> In a letter of 23 January 1673 to Constantijn Huygens, Diego Duarte states that he is busy setting some of Antoine Godeau's famous psalm paraphrases to music.<sup>24</sup> This turned out to be a rather serious project. In the beginning it had been Duarte's intention to set just a few items to music, but, in the end, he valued Godeau's paraphrases so much that he decided to compose a complete setting.<sup>25</sup> In 1684 the job was completed.<sup>26</sup> Duarte even considered publishing the settings.<sup>27</sup> After various revisions he decided to send the manuscript to Huygens and to propose dedicating the collection to his friend in The Hague.<sup>28</sup> Huygens replied to this proposal that he already had heard rumors about this, but that he had hoped that Duarte would change his mind in time. However:

Nu het, door UE. onverdiende gunst anders is uijtgevallen, ben ick gehouden te erkennen, sulx ick van herten doe bij desen, dat ick hooghlijck estimeere mij so diep te vinden in de succesie van de musieckeke productiën, daer mede het edele huys Duarte van allen tijden de wereld heeft verheught, ende vereert.

Now that it has happened otherwise by your unmerited favor, I am bound to recognize, as I do from the bottom of my heart with this letter, that I greatly appreciate finding myself so deeply involved within the succession of musical products with which the noble house of Duarte has delighted and honored the world at all times.

According to the letter, one of the last Huygens was to write, he took care of a new binding for Duarte's manuscript. Unfortunately, Duarte's settings of the

21 Christiaan Huygens to his brother Lodewijk, 26 March 1663 (Chr. HUYGENS, *Oeuvres complètes, Tome Quatrième: Correspondance 1662-1663*, [The Hague], [1891], no. 1103, pp. 322-323).

22 Margaret Lucas, marchioness of Newcastle, to Leonora Duarte, no date (M. LUCAS CAVENDISH, *CCXI Sociable letters*, [London], [1664], pp. 427-428). I owe this reference to Dr Lynn Hulse (London).

23 It is extant among the papers of Constantijn Huygens in a copy in the hand of Diego Duarte (The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. KA XLII, fol. 10). Dr Lynn Hulse (London) confirmed the resemblance in style between this poem and those by Cavendish.

24 Duarte to Huygens, 23 January 1673 (Worp 6, no. 6877, p. 319).

25 Duarte to Huygens, 24 June 1683 (Amsterdam, City Archives, Archives of Portuguese Jewish Community, no. 682; unpublished).

26 Duarte to Huygens, 16 March 1684 (for source see previous note).

27 Christiaan Huygens to his brother Constantijn jr., 23 August 1685 (Chr. HUYGENS, *Oeuvres complètes, Tome neuvième: Correspondance 1685-1690*, [The Hague], [1901], no. 2394, pp. 20-22).

28 Duarte to Huygens, 6 January 1687 (for source see letters of 1683 and 1684).

Godeau paraphrases were never published.<sup>29</sup>

In the same letter by Huygens to Diego Duarte, there is another remarkable passage:

Apparentelijck sal het UE. dagelijx divertissement wesen met dat soete kinds onderhoud in den tijd van dese anders verdrietighe eensaemheijt van familie sommige uren te besteden, ende dat UE. daerin niet en laet geaccompagneert te werden door het verstandighe contrapunt van den Heere De Haeze, waervan ick dickmael soo goede preuven gesien hebbe.

Apparently it will be your daily pastime to spend some time of this otherwise sorrowful period of absence from your family by retaining this sweet child [= music], and you will not fail to let yourself be accompanied by the clever counterpoint of Heer De Haze, of which I have frequently seen a number of good specimens.

This Heer De Haze is Joannes de Haze, a little-known figure, except for the fact that he is the composer of a collection of trio pieces for two violins and bass, published under the title *Clio overo prima musa* in Middelburg in 1681. This collection, dedicated to none else than Diego Duarte, contains, in accordance with the subtitle, 'Balletti, Arie, Correnti, Sarabande, Jigge & altre Bizzarrie Accademiche'. The last adjective, 'accademiche', probably refers to performances by a collegium musicum, as apparently existed in the circle of Duarte and De Haze.<sup>30</sup> Duarte had sent a copy of this work to Huygens on 24 June 1683.<sup>31</sup>

Diego had other artistic interests besides music. He was, perhaps following the footsteps of his father, a fervent collector of paintings. His collection is mentioned several times in the report of travelers who passed Antwerp, such as Balthazar de Monconys (1663)<sup>32</sup>, Constantijn Huygens jr. (1676-1678)<sup>33</sup> and the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tassin (1687).<sup>34</sup> The visitors invariably praise the collection's richness in Italian paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth

<sup>29</sup> Unless they are identical to the anonymous 'Paraphrase des pseumes de David par Antoine Godeau avec la musique à voix seule', announced by the Amsterdam publisher Estienne Roger in his catalogues from 1712 onwards. No copy of this edition appears to have survived.

<sup>30</sup> Joannes de Haze might have been a brother or another relative of the well-known Antwerp bell founder Melchior de Haze, and possibly another neighbour of Duarte on the Meir.

<sup>31</sup> Duarte to Huygens, 24 June 1683 (for source, see letters of 1683 and 1684 quoted above).

<sup>32</sup> Monconys describes the visit of his employer, the French diplomat Charles Honoré d'Albert, duke of Chevreuse, to the Duarte collection in his *Journal de voyage*, Paris, 1677.

<sup>33</sup> *Journal van Constantijn Huygens, den Zoon, gedurende de veldtochten der jaren 1673, 1675, 1676, 1677 en 1678*, Utrecht, 1881, pp. 101-102 (10 June 1676), 143 (12 September 1676), 173 (4 June 1677), 236 (24 March 1678).

century (by Raphael, Titian, Tintoretto, etc.) and Flemish paintings of the seventeenth century (especially Rubens and Van Dyck). In 1682, Diego Duarte himself made a catalog of his collection; the inventory not only gives clear insight in the making of the collection, but also gives the prices for which he bought the paintings and, in a number of cases, even their provenance.<sup>35</sup> Finally, Diego Duarte was the author of a theatre play, titled *De weerdige gunsteling* ('The worthy favorite'), apparently performed in Antwerp (although it is not known when). It was published (without date) in Amsterdam.<sup>36</sup>

### Leonora Duarte (1610-1678?)

Although Leonora is never referred to as a composer in any correspondence, she did in fact compose music, and at least some of her compositions have survived. The library of Christ Church College, Oxford, contains a manuscript of seven 'Symphonies' in five parts, which, at a closer look, turn out to be fantasies for a consort of five viole da gamba in an English style of the first quarter of the century.<sup>37</sup> The manuscript is a copy made by a professional music scribe, but the titles above the music are in the hand of Leonora's father, Gaspar Duarte. One may wonder how an Antwerp musical amateur could write such music, during what appears to have been the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The only adequate explanation is that an English teacher must have been available. When one considers the relevant dates of Leonora's biography (born 1610), John Bull is the most likely candidate.

The title *Symphonie* used for Leonora's viol-consort phantasies is remarkable as well: I do not know of any British phantasy called this way. But we find the word 'Symphonie' in several titles of keyboard works of Bull in the Messaus-Bull codex, for example, a 'Pavana Symfonia'. The only reasonable explanation of this title is that the piece is a keyboard setting of an ensemble composition, since the word 'sinfonia' at that time seems to refer to ensemble music only. In light of that, the title *Symphonie* for a viol-consort phantasy is conceivable. In

<sup>34</sup> G. UPMARK, *Ein Besuch in Holland 1687 aus den Reiseschilderungen des schwedischen Architekten Nicodemus Tessin d.J.*, in *Oud-Holland*, 18 (1900), pp. 117-128, 144-152, 199-210. The visit to the Duarte collection is on pp. 201-202.

<sup>35</sup> About the art collection of Diego Duarte: G. DOGAER, *De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte*, in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten [te] Antwerpen*, 1971, pp. 195-221, and E.R. SAMUEL, *The disposal of Diego Duarte's stock of paintings 1692-1697*, in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten [te] Antwerpen*, 1976, pp. 305-324. The documents dealing with the disposal of the collection after the death of Diego have survived as well; together with the inventory they provide the best-documented episode of the Duarte family's history.

<sup>36</sup> Jacob [= Diego] DUARTE, *Weerdigen gunsteling, verthoont op 't Antwerpsch Schauborgh*, Amsterdam: Gerrit Ewouts, no date. Copies in Amsterdam, University Library, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

<sup>37</sup> Oxford, Christ Church College, Mus. Ms. 429.

*Sinfonia 6<sup>a</sup> A. s. Octavi toni — Canto prim<sup>o</sup>* 33

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, the title "Sinfonia 6<sup>a</sup> A. s. Octavi toni — Canto prim<sup>o</sup>" is written in a cursive hand. The page number "33" is in the upper right corner. The music is arranged in seven staves, each with a clef and a key signature. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals, characteristic of early modern manuscript notation.

4. Page 33 of the manuscript Oxford, Christ Church College, Mus. ms. 429, with seven Sinfonias by Leonora Duarte. The heading is in the hand Gaspar Duarte sr., the scribe of the music is unknown.

any event, Leonora's symphonies conform to the classical English viol consort (fully polyphonic in duple meter, without any internal differentiation). When she wrote her symphonies, this type of composition was already obsolete in England itself. One might suggest that Bull's 'Fantasia sopra A Leona' in the Messaus-Bull codex has something to do with Leonora Duarte, but so far that is nothing more than speculation.

## Conclusion

To conclude, the following comments can be made. First, it looks as if one knows a great deal about the Duartes, but, in fact, there is still much more that remains unknown to date, and that unknown area invites many important questions. Who were the music teachers of the Duartes? What relations did the Duartes maintain with which professional musicians? Which instruments did they play, exactly? What instruments did they possess? What were the contents of their music library? What did they compose? Perhaps answers will be found at some point to at least some of these questions, but research on the Duarte family repeatedly reminds one how difficult it is to establish a picture of musical life without access to the relevant archival sources. For a full answer to all the questions posed, one would need the Duarte family archives themselves, and the chances that they will be found some time are very close to zero. Secondly, much of what I can say about the musical and other interests of the Duarte family is derived from the correspondence between Constantijn Huygens, on one side, and Gaspar and Diego Duarte, on the other. It is remarkable to see how close friends the Huygenses and the Duartes could be in view of the differences between them in nationality (Dutch versus Portuguese), religion (Calvinism versus Catholicism or crypto-Jewism), profession (gouvernement employee versus free entrepreneur), etc. Their joint interest in music and the other arts must have provided the common ground for their lifelong friendship. In fact, both of them adhered to the view (already becoming obsolete at that time) that music was not only an auditory art, but also, and more importantly, a reflection of the harmony of the entire cosmos including the human soul. I quote from a letter from Diego Duarte to Huygens from the year 1673:<sup>38</sup>

Ons verheught seer UE. sich noch gestadich met de musique vermaeckt  
welck genoeg uytbelt de volmaecktheijt van UE. grooten geest, alsoo

<sup>38</sup> Duarte to Huygens, 23 January 1673 (Worp 6, no. 6877, p. 319).

<sup>39</sup> DUARTE, *Weerdigen gunsteling*. The spelling of the long vowels in this print is unusual: Duarte's *aa*, *ee*, *oo*, and *uu* are as in modern Dutch, but his *ii* is equivalent to modern *ie*, his *au* to modern Dutch *au=ou*, and his *ou* to modern Dutch *oe*.

de musique geene teghenstrijdicheijt in haerselven en tollereert.

We are happy that you are still steadily enjoying yourself with music, which is an adequate representation of your mighty mind, since music does not tolerate any contradiction in itself.

And in the preface added by the diamond cutter Joannes Baptista Gruls to the edition of his master's theatre play, the following words are found:<sup>39</sup>

daer nochtans alles (als in de Sangh-konst) met een soute overeenkomst eyndicht, ende voorwaer den Maker van den Weerdighen Gunstelingh, een seer voornaam Edelman, heeft uyt Character van Edel, ontleent de Edelmoudicheyt by hem tougevought aan Lysander en den Hertoch; van sijn wesentheyt in de gemeyne saacken, de staatkunde, aan den Koninck, ende de laatste overeenkomste van alles, uyt wetenschap in de Sangh-konst, waarvan hy den uystersten trap betreden heeft, wel doorgront hebbende dat soodanige overeenkomste niit anders en is als een overeenkomst der verschillende saacken, dewelcke oock in de Singh-toonen te vinden is, ende aldaar wort genoumt Harmonia.

since everything (like in music) ends with a sweet concordance [= musical cadence], so the author of 'The worthy favorite', a very prominent nobleman, has given the generosity of his own noble character to Lysander and the Duke, and to the King, from his knowledge in everyday business, this knowledge in the art of politics, as well as the final concordance of everything, from his knowledge in music, of which he has taken the highest degree, according to the insight that such a concordance [in politics] is the same as is to be found in musical notes, and is called there: harmony.

## Summary of Duarte Family Tree

Born and died in Antwerp, unless otherwise mentioned.

Diego Duarte [sr.] (Portugal?? ca. 1545 - Antwerp 1626)

X2 1583 Leonora Rodrigues (ca. 1565 - Alkmaar 1632)

- **Gaspar Duarte** [sr.] (1584-1653)

X 1609 Catharina Rodrigues (ca. 1585-1644)

- **LEONORA DUARTE** (1610-1678?)

- **DIEGO DUARTE** [jr.] (1612-1691)

- **Catharina Duarte** (1614-1678)

- Gaspar Duarte [jr.] (1616-1685)

- **Francisca Duarte** (1619-1678)

- Isabella Duarte (1620-1685)

many brothers and sisters, and their descendants, mostly female, branching out in Amsterdam, Alkmaar, The Hague, Brussels, Paris. Among the sisters:

- **Francisca Duarte** (Antwerp? 1595? - Alkmaar? 1640?)

**bold** - musically trained

**BOLD AND SMALL CAPS** - musically trained and composer



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Orlandus  
Lassus  
and  
his Time