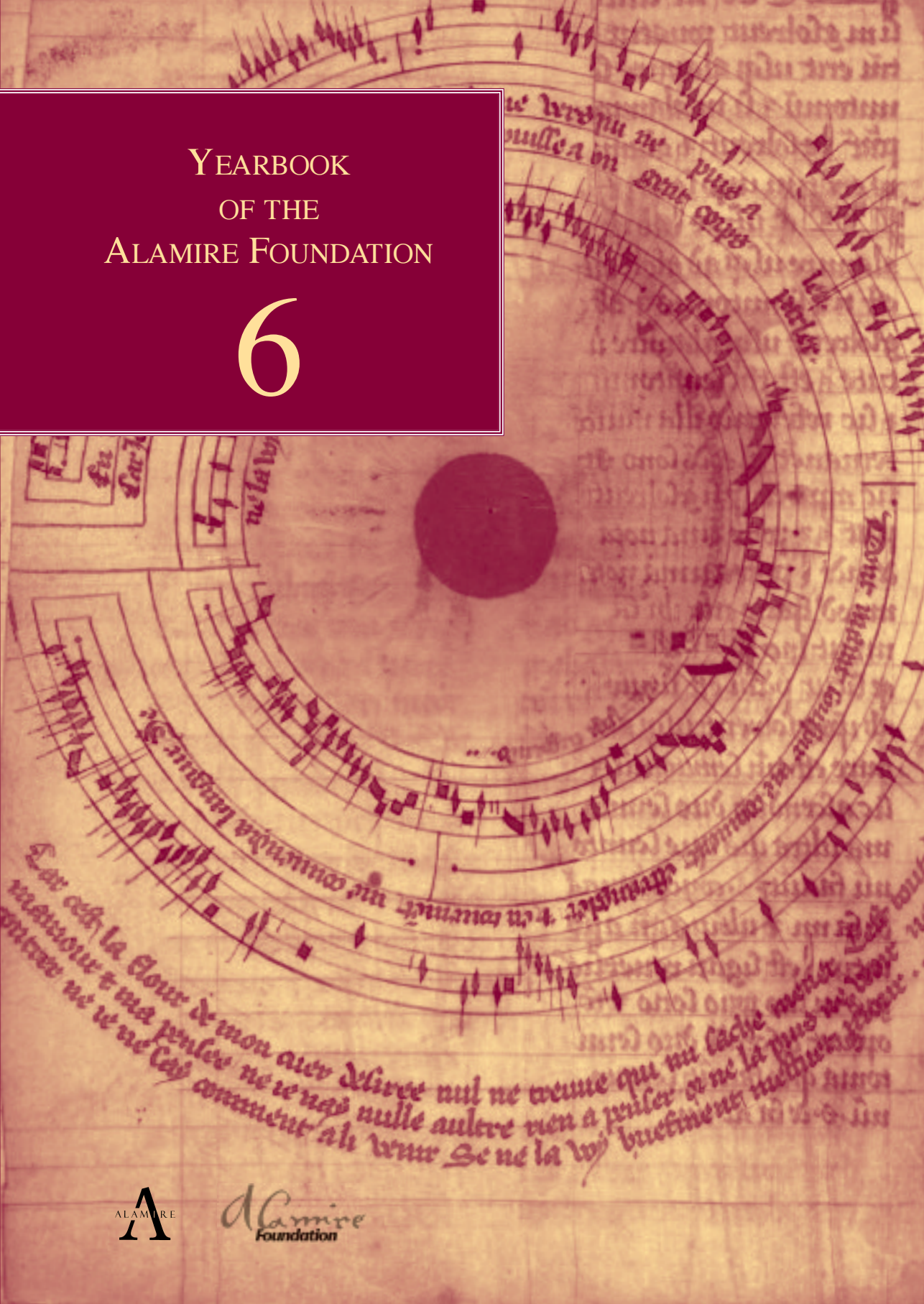
Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

6



ALAMIRE

Alamire Foundation

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

6

Leuven – Neerpelt
2008

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 6

Lay-out: FRIEDEMANN BVBA, Hasselt (Belgium)
Printing: Print-it, Herentals (Belgium)

This publication was made possible by grants from:

Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders (Belgium)

Alamire Foundation,
International Centre for the Study of Music in the Low Countries
(Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Musicology Section

D 2008/4169/1
ISBN: 90 6853 167 0

Cover illustration:
The circular labyrinth (the ballade). University of California, Berkeley, Music Library, MS 744, fol. 62r.
(© University of California, Berkeley).

Contents

PREFACE

It is with pride, as well as a certain humility, that we present this Yearbook 6 of the Alamire Foundation. Thanks to the collaboration of many individuals and institutions both in Belgium and beyond, the Alamire Foundation has produced a large body of research and publications, held colloquia, and organised audience-oriented activities such as exhibitions, lectures, courses, CDs and concerts over its almost twenty-year history. Such achievements have only been possible through the investment of a great deal of - often anonymous - human capital.

From the Alamire Foundation's inception in 1991, the undersigned was managing director, a position held until 2001 when he went on to lead Resonant, Centre for Flemish Musical Heritage, handing the torch on to Bruno Bouckaert. Among the latter's signal accomplishments was the organisation of the colloquium *Bruges-Venice: Music in Two Urban Mosaics* and the *17th International Congress of the International Musicological Society*. As Final Editor he also took responsibility for compiling and editing the contributions in the present publication.

The leadership of the Alamire Foundation passed to Bart Demuyt on 1 February 2008. There is no doubt that with his experience as a musician and leader of a number of early music ensembles, and also as the former director of the Flanders Festival Bruges - Musica Antiqua and the Concertgebouw Brugge, he will set the Foundation on a course towards a fruitful dialogue between musicology and performance practice, thus enriching our insights into the music of the Low Countries. This is completely in keeping with the original intentions of the organisation at its founding in 1991.

It must be admitted that in recent years the resources of the Foundation have been over-stretched, even as the organisation has encountered unexpected financial difficulties. One result is that this Yearbook 6 is now past its due date. The patience of the authors and the readers has, however, given us the time and technology to realise the release of all the articles in a contemporary fashion on the internet (www.arts.kuleuven.be/alamire), in parallel with the paper edition.

We shall continue our resolute choice for international quality in our publications and together with the new team we look forward to a bright future.

Eugeen Schreurs
General Editor

Drinking Motets in Medieval Artois and Flanders

Mary E. Wolinski
Western Kentucky University

Most French motets of the thirteenth century are about courtly love and pastoral amorous adventures. However, a few of them deal with the pleasures of eating, drinking, gambling and the company of women. These hedonistic motets have a special historical importance because they describe life in the Middle Ages and particularly the lives of those connected with their creation. Some motets, for example, make chauvinistic statements, especially in regard to beverages. This can help to reveal the identity of the poet or patron.

This article will demonstrate that such motets on the 'good life' also provide hints about the origin of the manuscript Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Codex Guelferbytanus 1099 Helmstadiensis (henceforth abbreviated as MS W_2). Dating roughly from the mid-thirteenth century,[1] W_2 is a comprehensive collection of polyphonic compositions, including liturgical organa, conductus, religious and moralistic Latin motets, and entertaining French motets. Indeed, it is among the earliest known anthologies of French motets. Much of its sacred Latin repertory comes from the *Magnus liber organi*, which was composed by Leonin and Perotin and sung in Notre-Dame Cathedral in Paris since the late twelfth century. W_2 is generally thought to be French, however, its exact origin and destination have long remained unknown. This study is one step in attempting to identify its patron. We will translate and interpret certain motets whose meanings are crucial to this venture.

Of over one hundred French motets in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, only four concern food and drink. They are copied in the ninth fascicle, which contains French three-voice motets in which each voice has a different text. It is probably not a coincidence that the gustatory motets are organized in a way that distinguishes them from the majority of pieces, which are about courtly love and pastoral adventures. The four motets are ordered in two pairs. The first pair, on folios 197v–198v, appears near the beginning of the ninth fascicle, while the second pair, on folios 212v–214r, was copied later in the same fascicle.

[1] For a discussion of its date and notation see T. PAYNE, *Les Organa à deux voix du Manuscrit de Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1099 Helmst.*, (*Le Magnus liber organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, 6A-B), Les Remparts – Monaco, 1996, pp. xxiii–xxiv, xxxvii–li, lxvii–lxviii, lxxx–xciii. For a complete facsimile see L.A. DITTMER, *Facsimile Reproduction of the Manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1099 (1206)*, (*Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts*, 2), Brooklyn, 1960.

The triplum of the first motet, *En ce chant*, summons all to dance, while the motetus, *Roissoles ai, roissoles*, begins and ends in the manner of a street cry.[2] Meat pies (hard, soft and well-formed) are being advertised to the school clerks, whom the hawker describes as speaking to the young girls who sing with the round dances. There is here an innuendo of other pleasures, as well.[3]

TRIPLUM	(TRANSLATION)
En ce chant	On this song,
qe je chant	Which I sing,
faz acorder	I make agree
sanz descorder	Without discord
ce novel deschant	This new discant.
ainsi m'envois	So I enjoy myself.
alons a la dance	Let us go to the dance.
alons i	Let us go there,
car g'i vois.	For I am going there.
MOTETUS	
Roissoles ai roissoles	Meat pies, I have meat pies
de dures ***et*** *de moles*	Hard and soft.
faites sont a biaus moles	They are made well-formed
por ces biaus clers d'escole	For the fine clerks of the school,
qui dient les paroles	Who make speeches
a ces puceles foles	To these flighty young girls
qi chantant as queroles	Who sing with the round dances,
roissoles ai roissoles.	Meat pies, I have meat pies.
TENOR	
Do (from *Domine*)	Lord

[2] MS *W*$_2$, fol. 197v. The text is edited in A. STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette der Bamberger Handschrift nebst einem Anhang, enthaltend altfranzösische Motette aus anderen deutschen Handschriften, mit Anmerkungen und Glossar*, (*Gesellschaft für romanische Literature*, 13), Halle a.S., 1906, pp. 80–81. The music appears in H. TISCHLER, *The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, 2, New Haven – London, 1982, pp. 874–875.

[3] I am most grateful to Professor Nancy Regalado of New York University and Professor Emerita Joan Williamson of Long Island University for their help in translating the French poems. Any errors are my own.

TRIPLUM	(TRANSLATION)
Hare hare hye	The beer drinkers
godalier ont fet ouen	have made this year
d'Arraz escoterie	Of Arras a gathering place of beggars.
Saint Andrie	Saint Andrew!
hare hare godouart	*Hare, hare*, merry fellow,
***et** hare dounerie*	And *hare*, amorous affection.
karitate crie	Cry charity
por Sainte Marie	By Saint Mary.
faites moi demie	Make me a half-penny's worth
*de pomum **et** de fye*	Of lights and of liver.
honis soit tel vie	Shame on such a life.
mes bon vin sor lie	But good clarified wine
me mespri ge mie	I do not despise at all.
or bevons ha hye	Now let us drink *ha hye*
de ce bouen vin d'ouanHare, hare, hye!	Of this year's good wine.

MOTETUS	
Balaam	Balaam!
godalier ont bien ouan	Beer drinkers have indeed this year
lor tens por la godale	Their time for beer,
qe chacuns enbale	Which each one swallows greedily.
lie en sont englissemen	The Englishmen are glad of it,
qant il ont bien estalle	When they have it well clarified.
demi lot a malle	Two pints for a half-penny,
*o porqoi il font lor ta**ll**e*	Provided that they make their notch.
si dient bien le valle	So they say it is well worth it.
passion l'assalle	What a belly ache!
ele m'et trop male	It hurts me so much
q'en mes genouz avale	That I fall to my knees.
mervoille est qe cil norment	It is a miracle that those Normans
*n'en p**er**dat la couralle*	Haven't thrown up. So much have they
*qi ta**n**t boive**n**t a goudman*	drunk to the good man!

TENOR	
Balaam	Balaam

The triplum of the following motet, *Hare, hare, hye! Godalier ont fet ouen*,[4] begins with a cry that may be construed as a call of distress, meant to solicit help. It might also be significant that the interjection *hare, hare* is known to have signaled the closing of fairs and the end of selling in Champagne and Flanders.[5] Therefore, *hare* was probably well known in Arras, since its merchants conducted trade at those fairs. This motet is also transmitted in another manuscript that was probably written in Arras.[6] The hearty, down-to-earth quality of the texts reflects the style of some of the trouvère poetry of that city. In the triplum the speaker is alarmed at the beer drinkers (possibly an epithet for the English) who have made a beggar's hangout of Arras. He calls for a half-penny's worth of lights and liver, which were often served together in medieval menus, and good clarified wine, instead. At the same time, the narrator of the motetus, *Balaam, Godalier ont bien ouan*, expresses disdain for the Englishmen who gulp beer greedily. Although it is worth it to them at two pints for a half-penny, this drink makes the poet sick to his stomach. He wonders how the Normans can drink so much of it without throwing up. Noting that the motetus and triplum engage in strict voice-exchange, Ernest H. Sanders has surmised that the composer was deliberately imitating English musical style.[7]

The tenor and the motetus both begin with the name *Balaam*. The tenor uses the melody of a sequence for Epiphany, which contains the prophet Balaam's prophesy of the star that will be produced from Jacob and of the destruction of the armies of Moab. Balaam was best known to medieval Christians, however, for having been rebuked by his ass when Balaam beat him.[8] As part of the revelry of the Feast of Fools, held mostly on the feast of the Circumcision, but sometimes on Epiphany, an ass was ridden in some French churches.[9] The drinking and eating described in the triplum and motetus in conjunction with *Balaam* seem to allude to the overindulging of the Christmas season, which culminates in Twelfth Night on the eve of Epiphany, the feast for which the tenor chant was written.

Another Flemish city is cited in the triplum *Mout sont vallant*, which praises the courtliness, wealth and largesse of *cil de Gant*. These people are most likely the patri-

[4] MS W_2 fols. 197v–198v. Transcribed in TISCHLER, *The Earliest Motets*, 2, pp. 876–880.

[5] K. BAŁDINGER et al. eds., *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français*, H, Tübingen – Laval, 1974–, col. 159.

[6] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS f.fr. 12615, fols. 180r–180v. See M.E. WOLINSKI, *Tenors Lost and Found: The Reconstruction of Motets in Two Medieval Chansonniers*, in J. KNOWLES ed., *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, Amsterdam, 1996, pp. 461–482.

[7] E.H. SANDERS, art. *Rondellus*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 21, pp. 648–649.

[8] Book of Numbers, chapters 22–24.

[9] E.K. CHAMBERS, *The Medieval Stage*, 1, Oxford, 1903, pp. 323–325, 330–335.

cians, who were the wealthiest inhabitants of Ghent.[10] At the same time, the motetus *A la cheminee* describes those pleasures that help ward off the cold of January.[11] The French tenor uses the melody of the first two words of the gradual *Propter veritatem*, which was sung at Mass in many medieval churches at the Assumption and other feasts of Mary and virgin saints. It translates the first two words of the Latin chant *Propter veritatem* as *Par verité* and continues with a testimonial to the superiority of Rhine wines over those from France and Auxerre. There was a strong connection between Ghent and Rhine wine, for Ghent merchants went to Rhine cities to exchange their cloth for wine.[12] Therefore, it seems natural for the motet poet to praise Rhine wine. By French wines would have been understood those from the Ile-de-France, including not only Paris, but territory extending from Beauvais and Laon in the north to Melun, Orléans and Sens in the south.[13] Auxerre was renowned for its wine during the Middle Ages, although it has lost most of its viniculture since then.[14]

As Edward Roesner has argued convincingly, the Wolfenbüttel manuscript preserves this motet in its earliest known form.[15] In a later version, that of the manuscript Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Médecine, H196, the chauvinism is reversed as the tenor extolls French wines over those from the Rhône (*roinnas*) and Auxerre.[16] The triplum poem about the those of Ghent (*Mout sont vallant*) is replaced by one expressing courtly love (*Ainc voir d'amors*) and a fourth voice (*Chanconnete va t'en*) having a pastoral theme is added above. The manuscript Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (*olim* Ed.IV.6) presents an even later and unbiased three-voice version with the tenor singing only the Latin word *Veritatem*.[17]

[10] MS W_2, fols. 212v–213r. This hypothesis is advanced in D. LIEVOIS and M. WOLINSKI, *Mout sont vallant cil de Gant – Een motet ter ere van de Gentse erfachtige lieden in het midden van de 13de eeuw*, in *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent, nieuwe reeks*, 56 (2002), pp. 35-51.

[11] The text is edited in STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, pp. 81–82. The music is transcribed in TISCHLER, *The Earliest Motets*, 2, pp. 977–979. For a new edition and detailed study see LIEVOIS and WOLINSKI, *Mout sont vallant cil de Gant*.

[12] H. NOWÉ, *La Bataille des Eperons d'or*, Brussels, 1945, p. 12.

[13] G. GARRIER, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin, suivie de Les mots de la vigne et du vin*, Paris, 1998, p. 59.

[14] GARRIER, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, pp. 697-698.

[15] E.H. ROESNER, *Review of H. Tischler, The Earliest Motets (to circa 1270): A Complete Comparative Edition*, in *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), pp. 362-375.

[16] See the edition in: H. TISCHLER, *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. 1, Madison, 1978, pp. 50–51; and vol. 4, transl. S. STAKEL and J.C. RELIHAN, Madison, 1985, p. 6. For a complete facsimile of the manuscript, together with musical edition and commentary see Y. ROKSETH, *Polyphonies du XIII^{e} siècle: Le Manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, Paris, 1935–1939.

[17] See the edition in G.A. ANDERSON, *Compositions of the Bamberg Manuscript, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115 (olim Ed.IV.6)*, (*Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, 75), Neuhausen – Stuttgart, 1977, p. 16, and the translation by R.E. SMITH, p. lxxx. For a complete facsimile and edition of the manuscript see P. AUBRY, *Cent motets du XIII^{e} siècle, publiés d'après le manuscript Ed.IV.6 de Bamberg*, Paris, 1908.

TRIPLUM	(TRANSLATION)
Mout sont vallant cil de Gant	Of great merit are those of Ghent,
plein de cortoisie	Full of courtliness,
large ***et*** *cortois despendant*	Lavish in their generosity and courtesy,
et *de riche vie*	And wealthy.
s'en ont li aver	So the avaricious are
mout grant envie.	very envious of them.

MOTETUS	
A la cheminee	By the fireplace
eu mois froit de jenvier	in the cold month of January
vueill la char salee	I would want salted meat,
le chapon gras mengier	fat capon to eat.
dame bien paree	These things please me:
chantent ***et*** *envoisier*	Singing and making merry
c'est ce qi m'agree	With a well-dressed lady,
boens vins a remuer	good wine to spare,
cler feu sanz fumee	A clear fire without smoke,
les dez ***et*** *le tablier*	dice and a table
sanz tencier.	without quarrels.

TENOR	
Par verité	By truth,
*J'ai esp****ro****vé*	I have determined
qe vin rinois	That Rhine wines
passent francois	Surpass French
et *touz vins aucourrois*	And all Auxerrois wines.

The last of the drinking motets[18] creates a giant trope on the word *Domine*. All three voices begin with this word, which comes from the gradual *Sederunt principes* for the feast of St Stephen on 26 December. In the motet, however, *Domine* is not a devout invocation of god, as in the chant. In the triplum, *domine*, or lord, seems to designate the speaker, who has an authoritative tone.

[18] As edited in STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, pp. 82–83, 134, 183–184; and TISCHLER, *The Earliest Motets*, 2, pp. 980–982.

Triplum	(Translation)
Domine	Lord:
ainz qe j'aie digné	Before I will have dined,
mende la brunete a cors gent	Send for the brunette with the fair body,
a la bouche riant	With the laughing smile,
*a la cl**ere** face*	With the clear face.
lors bevons	Then let us drink
et menjons	And eat
*luz **et** autres poisons*	Pike and other fish
***et** chars **et** venoisons*	And meat and venison.
lors coument au povre fouchier	Then I command the poor trencherman
q'il liet sus dou mengier	That he leave his sweet meal
sa viele afetier	To prepare his viele,
en chantant	Singing
*note **et** die*	With notes and words
la melodie	The melody
qe je tant	That I so long
es sainz oie	heard from the bells
Saint Pere de Sanz	Of Saint-Pierre of Sanz
or le fet bien	Now let him do it well.
*... **et** Pous **et** Baudouins*	... and Paul and Baldwin,
au gros mallos	With great mallets,
Saveniens	Savinien
les baste trop	Would beat them very much.
qant j'es oi	When I hear them
si m'en esjoi	I rejoice greatly.
de la grant doulcor m'esblai	I am amazed at the great sweetness,
*einsi vif **et** joienz*	So lively and joyous.

This triplum takes place at a dining table, possibly in the hall of a lord, who calls for the lovely brunette, for drinks, and for pike, venison and other fish and meat. Then he commands the poor trencherman to leave his meal and prepare his fiddle. The melody that the minstrel sings and plays soon transports the speaker into a reverie. The second half of the poem is the most difficult to understand. Its first editor, Albert Stimming,[19] thought that two minstrels, Paul and Baldwin, were playing bagpipes, while Savinien hastened them on. My understanding of this passage, however, is quite

[19] Stimming, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, pp. 183–184.

different. The lordly speaker actually is musing on the sound of church bells. He is reminded of the bells (*sainz*) of *St-Pere de Sanz* and he recalls Savinien beating Paul and Baldwin with great mallets. When the speaker hears them, he rejoices and is transported by the lively and joyous beauty of the sound. Paul and Baldwin are, I believe, the names of the bells. Certainly it was a medieval tradition to give bells names.[20] Savinien was the local bellringer, who regularly would mount the tower to sound the bells, not by pulling on a rope, but by striking them with large *mallos*, which I take to be the plural of *maillot*, meaning 'mallet'.[21] The word *mallos* can also mean buzzing insects, such as bees and wasps, which is why Stimming hypothesized that *mallos* stood for bagpipes with their buzzing drone bass.[22] However, *musette* and *cornemuse* commonly designate the bagpipe in Old French.[23] Stimming's misinterpretation of *mallos* appears to have caused him to misread this music-making scene entirely. The *mallos* are not being played by Paul and Baldwin, but are wielded by Savinien, who uses them to beat (*baste*) Paul and Baldwin to create a joyful sound. Medieval bellringers were known to have had more than one bell to strike and to have even played tunes, both sacred and secular. They were the human predecessors of the mechanical *jacquemarts* that are visible, even if only as ornaments, in many belltowers today.[24]

There are still two mysteries in this text. First, in the verse *…et Pous et Baudouins* there are three single notes over the first word, *et*. Thus, it is possible that there was another name before that of Paul, and that there were three bells rather than two. Second, it is difficult to know which church is meant by *Saint Pere de Sanz*. The largest city by this name is Sens, which had three churches dedicated to St Peter: the large abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in the countryside beyond the city walls, and two smaller churches inside the town, Saint-Pierre-le-Rond and Saint-Pierre-le-Donjon.[25] There are also several villages and estates called Sains, but none of the parish churches that I know of in these locations were dedicated to St Peter.[26] However, there is a church of Saint-Pierre in the town of Santes, just outside of Lille. The medieval church

[20] For many examples of bells' names see J.-D. BLAVIGNAC, *La Cloche: Etudes sur son histoire et sur ses rapports avec la société aux différents âges*, Geneva, 1877.

[21] See A. TOBLER, E. LOMMATZSCH and H.H. CHRISTMANN, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin, Wiesbaden, 1925-, 5, cols. 794–804.

[22] STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, pp. 183–184.

[23] F. GODEFROY, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1885, repr. New York – Vaduz 1961, vol. 5, col. 457; vol. 2, col. 305.

[24] On the ringing of bells to tell time see P. PRICE, *Bells and man*, Oxford – New York, 1983, p. 173.

[25] See R. MOUILLA, *Sens: un siècle d'images*, Sens, 1994, pp. 144–145; *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, 12, Paris, 1715–1874, p. 2 and col. 58; R.-H. BAUTIER, M. GILLES and A.-M. BAUTIER, *Clarius: Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens*, Paris, 1979, pp. 50, 74.

[26] E. NÈGRE, *Toponymie générale de la France*, Geneva, 1990–1991, vol. 1, nos. 3554 and 11527; vol. 3, no. 28812. Some parish churches are identified in A.C.H. MENCHE DE LOISNE, *Dictionnaire topographique du Département du Pas-de-Calais*, Paris, 1907, pp. 337–338.

was destroyed by fire in 1468 and the medieval bells are no longer there.[27] The two present bells were baptized in 1922 and named Clémence and Marie-Henriette Léonie.[28] Finding a church with at least two bells named Paul and Baldwin could help identify the lordly speaker.

TRIPLUM	(TRANSLATION)
Domine	Lord,
qi t'a ci amené	Who has brought you here?
n'ies pas bien assenez	You are not wise.
por qoi fes tu tel vité	Why do you do such a low thing?
q'oncor n'ai ge pas digné	For I still have not dined.
va t'en a ton ostel	Go to your lodging,
qar je vueill mengier	For I would like to eat,
ne m'ennuier	Not to be bothered.
loe torne ou foier	I advise you to turn to your hearth.
le vins est ou pichier	The wine is in the pitcher.
aé	*Aé!*
tout mon aé	All my life long,
tel vie ai ge mené	Such a life I have led.
maugre ces ousuriers	Cursed be those userers,
qui tant aiment deniers	Who love money so much
por dé	For dice,
se il est atorné	If they are thrown.
Gautier alons mengier Gautier,	let us go eat.
apele l'oubloier	Call the wafer maker
por nos esbanoier	To entertain us.
aé	*Aé!*
de ce rapé	Of this *rapé* wine
bevons a grant plenté	Let us drink in great quantity
par senté	For our health!

[27] T. LE JOSNE DE L'ESPIERRE, *Histoire de Santes*, Paris, 1855, repr. 1989, pp. 68–69, 99. See also P. PIETRESSON DE SAINT-AUBIN, *Dictionnaire topographique du Nord*, Lille, 1994 (published as a set of 46 microfiches by the Archives Départementales du Nord). References to this church are also found in E. HAUTCOEUR, *Cartulaire de l'église collégiale de Saint-Pierre de Lille*, Paris, 1894.

[28] *Journées du Patrimoine: Visite du Clocher et de l'Eglise St-Pierre*, brochure published by *Les Amis du Patrimoine Santois*, Santes, 1999. My thanks to Dominique Facon, for making this brochure and other unpublished material available to me.

In the motetus, *Domine qui t'a ci amené*, the speaker does not employ the elevated tone that is used in the triplum running parallel above. He is unpleasantly surprised to see an acquaintance there, berates him for doing something vile, and tells him to go home. He curses the userers, who lend money for gambling with dice. Then he tells Gautier, his unwelcome companion, that he wants to eat and drink. He calls for the waferer (*oubloier*) to entertain (*esbanoier*) them. Waferers were classified as minstrels at the English court and it appears that they entertained in other unspecified ways, as well. Their wafers were eaten at the end of the meal with the sweet, spiced wine known as hippocras.[29] Perhaps the speaker is referring to this wine when he calls for drinking *rapé* in large amounts.[30]

The French tenor begins with the Latin word *Domine* and then proceeds to describe the speaker's love of good wine and well-peppered pastries. The expression *vin ferré* appears in a number of literary sources, although its exact meaning is elusive. It could be a mulled wine, heated with hot iron (*fer*),[31] or it could be wine kept in barrels with iron fittings, which definition was suggested by Stimming, but rejected by Tobler, Lommatzsch and Christmann. There are also two definitions for *claré* (or *claret*). It could be a *rosé* wine,[32] or a wine cooked with honey and spices.[33] It might be significant that although a fifteenth-century printed edition of Taillevent's *Le Viandier* provides a recipe for *claret* with honey and spices,[34] this recipe is not found in the manuscript tradition, which stretches back to the second half of the thirteenth century.[35] The term *clapé* is a mystery. Stimming thought it was a scribal error for *rapé*.[36]

[29] C. BULLOCK-DAVIES, *Menestrellorum Multitudo: Minstrels at a Royal Feast*, Cardiff, 1978, pp. 45–46. My thanks to Nancy Regalado and Marilyn Lawrence for this reference, and to Dr. Lawrence for sharing her expertise on minstrels and related Old French terminology. See her dissertation: M. LAWRENCE, *Minstrel Disguise in Medieval French Narrative: Identity, Performance, Autorship*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2001.

[30] For a description of *vin de repasse*, or *rapé*, which was wine made from the dregs of the first pressing, see GARRIER, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, pp. 709–710.

[31] See TOBLER, LOMMATZSCH and CHRISTMANN, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, 3, col. 1760; and STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, p. 134, no. 8c, note 4.

[32] M. LACHIVER, *Vins, vignes et vignerons: Histoire du vignoble français*, 1988, pp. 219-220; and GARRIER, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, p. 551.

[33] The two meanings of the term are acknowledged by T. SCULLY, *Du fait de cuisine par Maistre Chiquart 1420 (Ms S 103 de la bibliothèque Supersaxo, à la Bibliothèque cantonale du Valais, à Sion)*, in *Vallesia*, 40 (1985), pp. 101–231. See especially p. 146, note 98, and p. 211.

[34] J. PICHON, G. VICAIRE and P. AEBISCHER, *Le viandier de Guillaume Tirel dit Taillevent*, Paris, 1897, repr. Lille 1991, p. 98.

[35] See T. SCULLY, *The Viandier of Taillevent: An Edition of all Extant Manuscripts*, Ottawa, 1988.

[36] STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, p. 135, note 6.

Tenor	(Translation)
Domine	Lord,
tant ai amé	I have so much loved
***et** desirré*	And desired
bon vin vin ferré	Good wine, mulled (or aged) wine,
***et** bon claré*	And good *rosé* (or spiced) wine,
***et** bon clapé*	And good *clapé*,
***et** les pastez*	And well peppered
bien enpevrez	pastries.
*ite**us** est ma vole**n**tez*	Such is my wish,
qar tor jorz vueill assez	For always I want a lot.

In light of the evidence of the French motets under consideration here, it appears that W_2 was intended for someone whose sympathies lay with the Low Countries. In addition to the motets that praise *cil de Gant*, prefer Rhine wine over French and complain about the beer drinkers of Arras, two others also look away from France. In the motet *Qant l'aloete s'esjoist en mai*,[37] a country maid fends off the narrator's advances by telling him slyly, *A la tor de Tornai / sor la torete / serrai vostre sem plai* ('At the tower of Tournai on the turret I will be yours without any quarrel'). The place of rendez-vous is ludicrous; thus, the woman implies that their coming together is unlikely. Tournai was the diocesan seat of major Flemish cities, including Ghent, Bruges and Lille.[38] The epithet *tor de Tornai* calls to mind both a real and a figurative tower. It could refer to the largest of the five towers of Tournai's cathedral of Notre-Dame, or to the city's armorial seal, which consists of a silver tower with turrets on a red background.[39] In another motet in W_2, *Deduisant m'aloie ier mein*,[40] the narrator comes upon a maiden along the banks of the Seine, near the vineyards of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, an ancient and important producer of wine in Paris and the Ile-de-France.[41] After he greets her, she repulses him, saying that she is not

[37] MS W_2, fols. 245v–246r. Text edited in STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, p. 96; music in TISCHLER, *The Earliest Motets*, 1, pp. 122–132.

[38] E. DE MOREAU, *Histoire de l'Eglise en Belgique, Tome Complémentaire I, Texte: Circonscriptions ecclésiastiques chapitres, abbayes, couvents en Belgique avant 1559, Cartes des diocèses, archidiaconés, doyennés et paroisses par J. Deharveng, des chapitres, abbayes, prieurés et couvents par E. de Moreau en collaboration avec A. de Ghellinck*, Brussels, 1948.

[39] My thanks to Dr. Ludovic Nys for pointing out the heraldry. See J.T. DE RAADT, *Sceaux armoriés des Pay-Bas et pays avoisinants*, 4, Brussels, 1898–1903, p. 47.

[40] MS W_2, fol. 251v. The text is edited in STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, pp. 101–102; it is translated in G.A. ANDERSON, *The Latin Compositions in Fascicules VII and VIII of the Notre Dame Manuscript Wolfenbüttel Helmstadt 1099 (1206)*, 1, Brooklyn, 1976, pp. 45–46; and the music is edited in TISCHLER, *The Earliest Motets*, 1, pp. 193–204.

[41] GARRIER, *Histoire sociale et culturelle du vin*, p. 46.

one of those Parisians with whom he is accustomed to dally (*Ne sui pas, ce vos plevis,/ de ceus de Paris / dont vous jouez a har*).[42] She thereby implies that Parisian women have loose morals.

It appears that the manuscript W_2 was created for use in a court. The presence of rhythmically notated polyphony indicates that the anthology provided music for services by skilled chapel singers, capable of singing all kinds of polyphony. The substantial collection of French motets about courtly love, eating and drinking reveal a recreational side to the singers' performances, as well. On the whole, the chants of the organa belong to the liturgy of Paris, which, paradoxically, was the liturgy of the French royal court. However, the presence of the motets discussed above suggests that the manuscript was not intended for a Parisian patron, but, rather, for someone from the Low Countries.

There were several important courts in this region, but which of them would have paid highly trained singers to perform sacred polyphony throughout the liturgical year according to the ritual of Paris? The court of Burgundy is known to have used Paris liturgy,[43] but in the thirteenth century it was not yet connected with the Low Countries. A very strong candidate is the county of Flanders, headed by Margaret of Constantinople, who reigned from 1244 to 1278. Orphaned at the age of four, she and her older sister Joan were raised in Paris at the court of Philip Augustus. From her upbringing, Margaret's culture was French and Flanders, like Burgundy, was a vassal of France. Therefore, it is plausible that French liturgy and polyphony were used at her court. This remains a hypothesis until we can know more about the court's liturgy and the nature of its chapel personnel. Nevertheless, thanks to the French motets, we now know that W_2 was not made for France, as had been believed for the past hundred years.

[42] *Le hary* appears to have had sexual connotations and *faire le hari* was a euphemism for making love; see BALDINGER, *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français*, H, col. 165. Therefore, the last word of the motet probably should read *hari*. STIMMING, *Die altfranzösischen Motette*, p. 102, changed *har* to *devis*. Although ANDERSON, *The Latin Compositions*, 1, p. 46, edited it as *haris*, he translated the last line as 'Whom you treat like mad dogs'.

[43] C. WRIGHT, *Music at the Court of Burgundy, 1364–1419: A Documentary History*, Henryville – Ottawa – Binningen, 1979, p. 149.

From Variety to Repetition: The Birth of Imitative Polyphony*

Julie E. Cumming
McGill University

The emergence of pervasive imitation in polyphonic music in the decades leading up to 1500 marks a major change in musical style. The kind of imitation developed in the Josquin era dominated musical composition for the rest of the Renaissance in almost every genre. In spite of its importance, however, there has been surprisingly little discussion of how pervasive imitation evolved. I looked for a discussion of this issue in all the major Renaissance text books (Reese, Brown, Atlas, Perkins, Sparks, Strohm).[1] While all of them say that imitation emerged in the late fifteenth century, and some say that it emerged first in Milan in the 1470s, none of them say *how* it developed.[2] I am trying to trace the origins and development of pervasive imitation in the decades before 1500, especially in the motet.[3] This article is a first stab at the issues, and presents some hypotheses on the mechanisms involved.

What is pervasive imitation? It is imitation as used in the late fifteenth- and the sixteenth-century motet, called pervasive because it pervades all the voices and the structure of the work. Let us see how it functions at the beginning of a late fifteenth-century piece that achieved archetypal status in the sixteenth and twentieth centuries:

* Versions of this paper were presented at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, on November 2, 2001, and at McGill University, Montréal, on June 8, 2003, as well as at the 17th International Congress of the International Musicological Society (IMS) in Leuven, August 2, 2002. I would like to extend my thanks to the people who made it possible to present the paper in these various venues, and who provided valuable inspiration and feedback, especially Thomas Brothers (Duke University) and Peter Schubert (McGill University).

[1] G. REESE, *Music in the Renaissance*, New York, 1959; H.M. BROWN, *Music in the Renaissance*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1976, 2nd ed., with L.K. STEIN, 1999; A. ATLAS, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400-1600*, New York, 1998; L. PERKINS, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance*, New York, 1999; E.H. SPARKS, *Cantus firmus in Mass and Motet, 1420–1520*, Berkeley, 1963; R. STROHM, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, Cambridge, 1993.

[2] See PERKINS, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance,* p. 514; and ATLAS, *Renaissance Music,* p. 252. For some preliminary reflections on how imitation developed, see R. WEXLER, *Simultaneous Conception and Compositional Process in the Late Fifteenth Century*, in P. HIGGINS ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 389–398; and L. FINSCHER, *Zum Verhältnis von Imitationstechnik und Textbehandlung im Zeitalter Josquins*, in *Renaissance-Studien Helmuth Osthoff zum 80. Geburtstag*, (L. FINSCHER ed., *Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 11), Tutzing, 1979, pp. 57–72.

[3] I am working on this with my McGill colleague Peter Schubert; we have a grant funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. See also the work on imitation in the Mass by Mary Natvig: M. NATVIG, *Investigating Imitation in the 15th-Century Mass Ordinary*, paper presented at the conference *Josquin and His Models: The Emergence of Pervasive Imitation*, June 7–8, 2003, McGill University, Montréal.

Josquin's *Ave Maria* (Example 1). I chose this piece because it is so often used to exemplify the new style, and also because it resembles in many respects the 'Milan motet', as shown by Joshua Rifkin and others.[4]

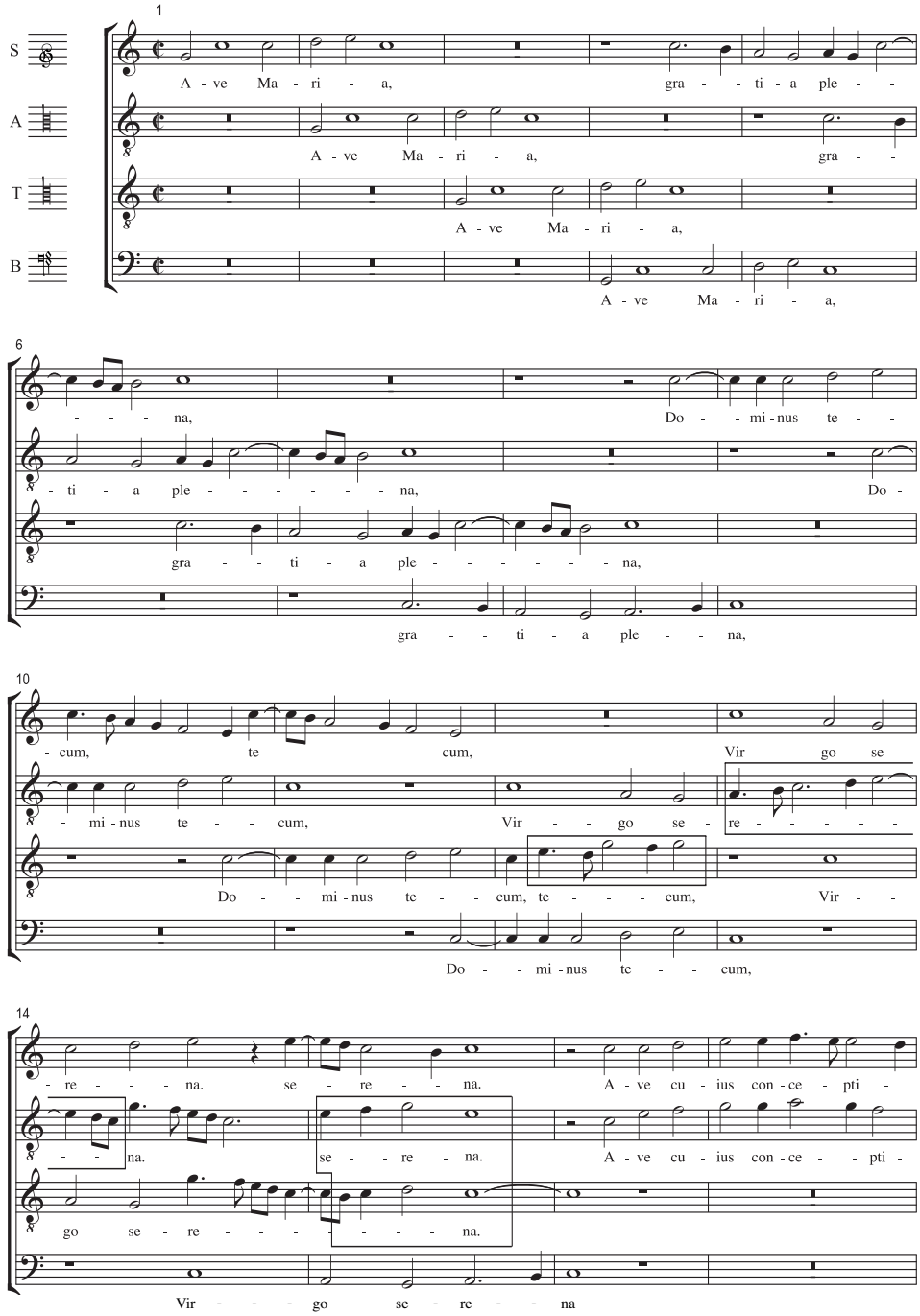
Imitation in the late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century motet consists of a series of 'points of imitation' corresponding to a unit of text, defined as a poetic line or grammatical unit such as the clause or sentence. Example 1 begins with very short units of text: *Ave Maria*, then *gratia plena* and so on. When all the voices have completed one text unit (*Ave Maria*), a new point of imitation begins with a new motive (*gratia plena*). Cadences are used to close individual points of imitation, or larger text units such as stanzas, sentences or paragraphs made up of several points of imitation (as in bar 15, at *Virgo serena*). In a 'point of imitation' (like those at the opening of *Ave Maria*): (1) all voices enter one after another with the same motive (sometimes they enter in pairs, as in the second stanza, bar 16: *Ave cuius conceptio*);[5] (2) each entry is preceded by silence (rests); (3) entries begin with syllabic text declamation of the same text phrase; (4) each new voice enters after several beats (time interval of imitation: at the opening of *Ave Maria* the time interval is a long, or four semibreves); (5) the time interval normally conforms to the mensural structure (multiples of two in duple meter; the periodic style created by the regular entries is one of the most striking features of *Ave Maria*).

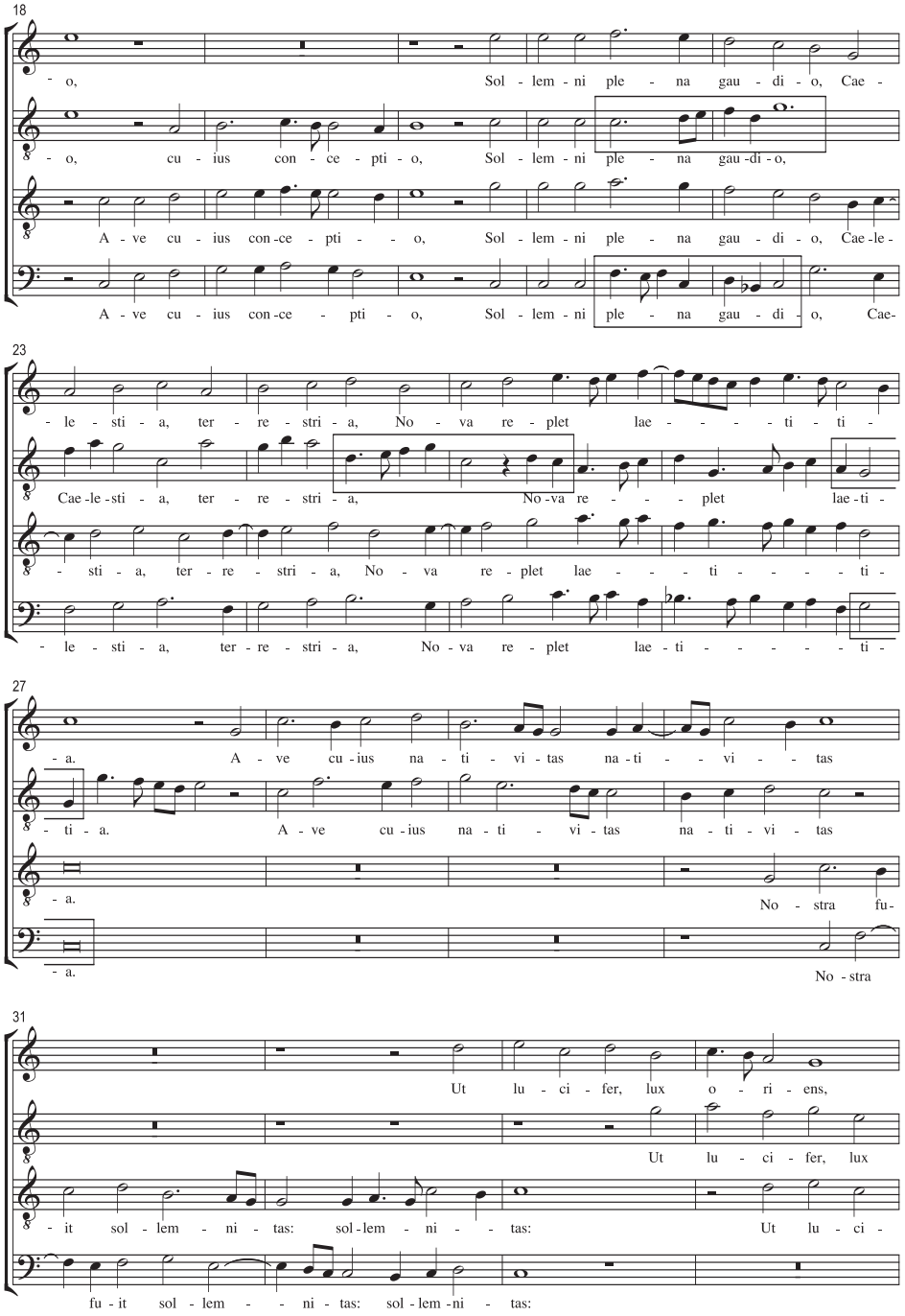
Let us now contrast this style with that found in the mid-fifteenth century. Imitation and canon have been around almost since the beginning of polyphony: think of voice exchange in Perotin organa, or the *Sumer* canon. It was certainly present in the mid-fifteenth century, but its function in the musical form was very different from its use in later music. Imitation was rarely highlighted, and sometimes it was deliberately concealed: here the prime example is Ockeghem's *Missa prolationum*, an entire Mass cycle built around concealed canons.[6] But Ockeghem is not the only com-

[4] *Ave Maria* is the first motet in the first printed book of motets (Petrucci's *Motetti A*, Venice, 1502, *RISM* 1502[1]). On the sixteenth-century sources and dissemination of *Ave Maria* see J.S. THOMAS, *The Sixteenth-Century Motet: A Comprehensive Survey of the Repertory and Case Studies of the Core Texts, Composers, and Repertory*, Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1999, pp. 177–180 and 419–423. Joshua Rifkin first discussed the similarities between *Ave Maria* and the 'Milan style' in his widely circulated but unpublished paper of 1978: *Josquin in Context: Toward a Chronology of the Motets*, in *Abstracts of the Papers Read at the 44th Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Minneapolis, Minnesota: October 19–22, 1978*, pp. 36–37. Much of that paper is now expanded on and included in: J. RIFKIN, *Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet: Dating Josquin's Ave Maria… virgo serena*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), pp. 239–350. He includes a thorough review of the extensive literature on this piece. I am grateful to Professor Rifkin for providing me with copies of both papers before publication. My argument does not depend on the dating of this work. See also L. PERKINS and P. MACEY, art. *Motet, Renaissance*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 17, London, 2001, pp. 207–208.

[5] For a discussion of the 'imitative duo' and the 'non-imitative duo' as presentation types in Renaissance counterpoint, see P. SCHUBERT, *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 264–294.

[6] See also I. GODT, *An Ockeghem Observation: Hidden Canon in the Missa Mi-Mi?*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis,* 41 (1991), pp. 79–85.


1
S
A
T
B
A - ve Ma - ri - a, gra - - ti - a ple - -
A - ve Ma - ri - a, gra - -
A - ve Ma - ri - a,
A - ve Ma - ri - a,
6
- - - - na, Do - - mi - nus te - -
- ti - a ple - - - - - - - na, Do -
gra - - ti - a ple - - - - - - - na,
gra - - ti - a ple - - - - na,
10
- cum, te - - - - - - cum, Vir - - go se -
- mi - nus te - - cum, Vir - - go se - re - - - - - -
Do - - mi - nus te - - cum, te - - - - cum, Vir - -
Do - - mi - nus te - - - cum,
14
- re - - - na. se - - re - - na. A - ve cu - ius con - ce - pti -
- - na. se - - re - na. A - ve cu - ius con - ce - - pti -
- go se - re - - - - - - - - na.
Vir - - - go se - re - - - na



Example 1. Josquin Desprez, *Ave Maria*, bb. 1–35, *Motetti A numero trentatre A*, Petrucci, Venice (*RISM* 1502[1]), fol. 2v–3. Material in boxes is the only music *not* repeated.

poser to conceal or avoid imitation; most mid-fifteenth-century sacred music contains imitation only in certain limited contexts. Let us look, for example, at *Flos de spina*, a motet by Johannes Pullois, probably composed in the 1450s (Example 2).[7] The imitative passages are enclosed in boxes.

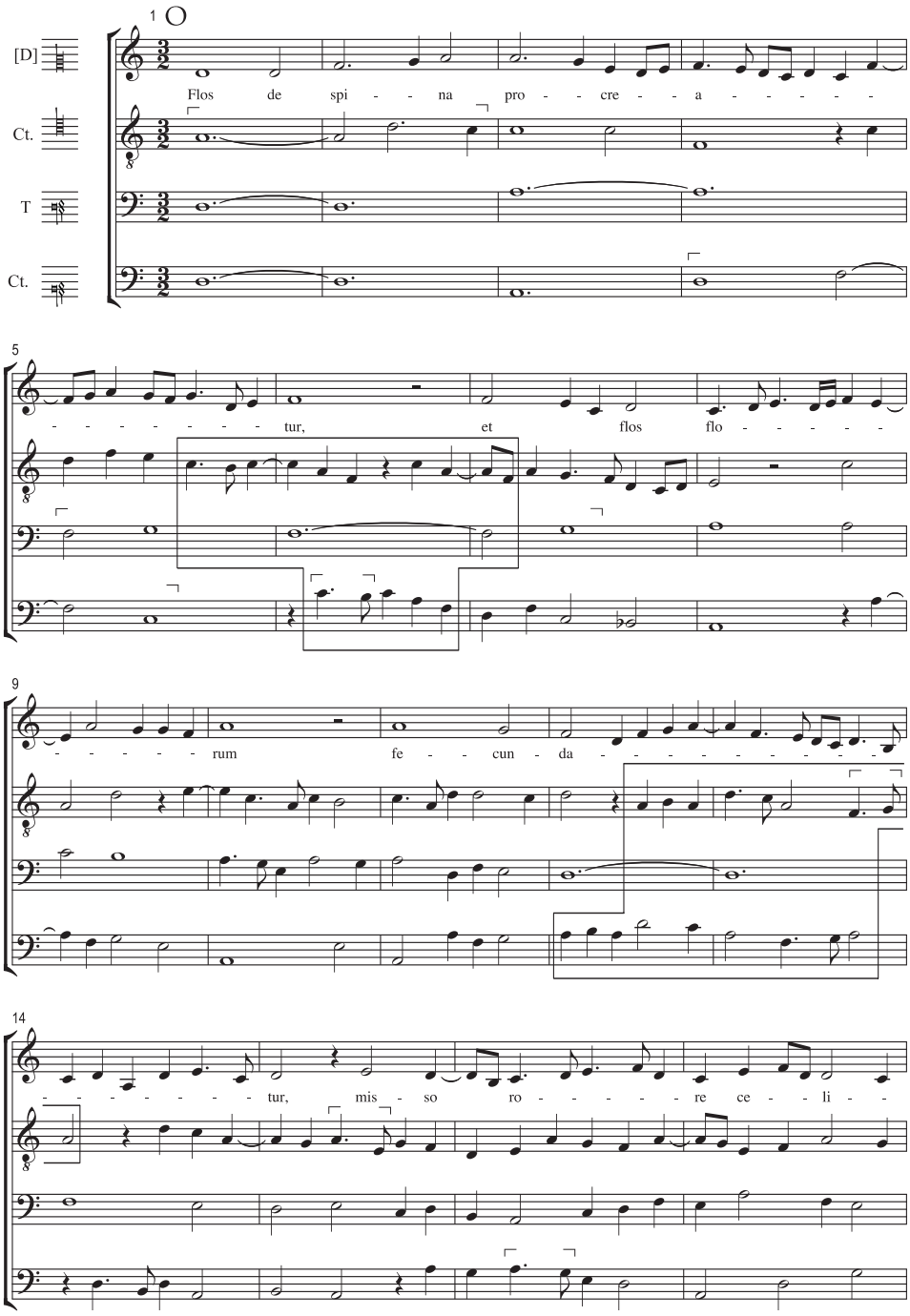
Imitation in mid-fifteenth-century sacred music serves as an ornamental addition to a fundamentally non-imitative texture. It rarely corresponds in a noticeable way with units of text, due in part to the highly melismatic style, and the fact that it emerges in the middle or at the end of a phrase, rather than at the beginning, without being preceded by rests. It usually occurs: (1) in two voices only, either in duet sections (Example 2, bb. 19–21)[8] or over a pedal tone in one voice (Example 2, bb. 6, 11–12, 18–19, contratenors over held cadential pitches in the tenor); (2) the second voice often follows very closely, after only one beat or half a beat (short time interval of imitation, as in Example 2, b. 20 ff.);[9] (3) rhythmic values between the two parts are different, resulting in shifting time intervals of imitation (Example 2, bb. 19–21); (4) the time interval of imitation often conflicts with the mensural structure (one minim, as in bar 20; three minims as in bar 12).

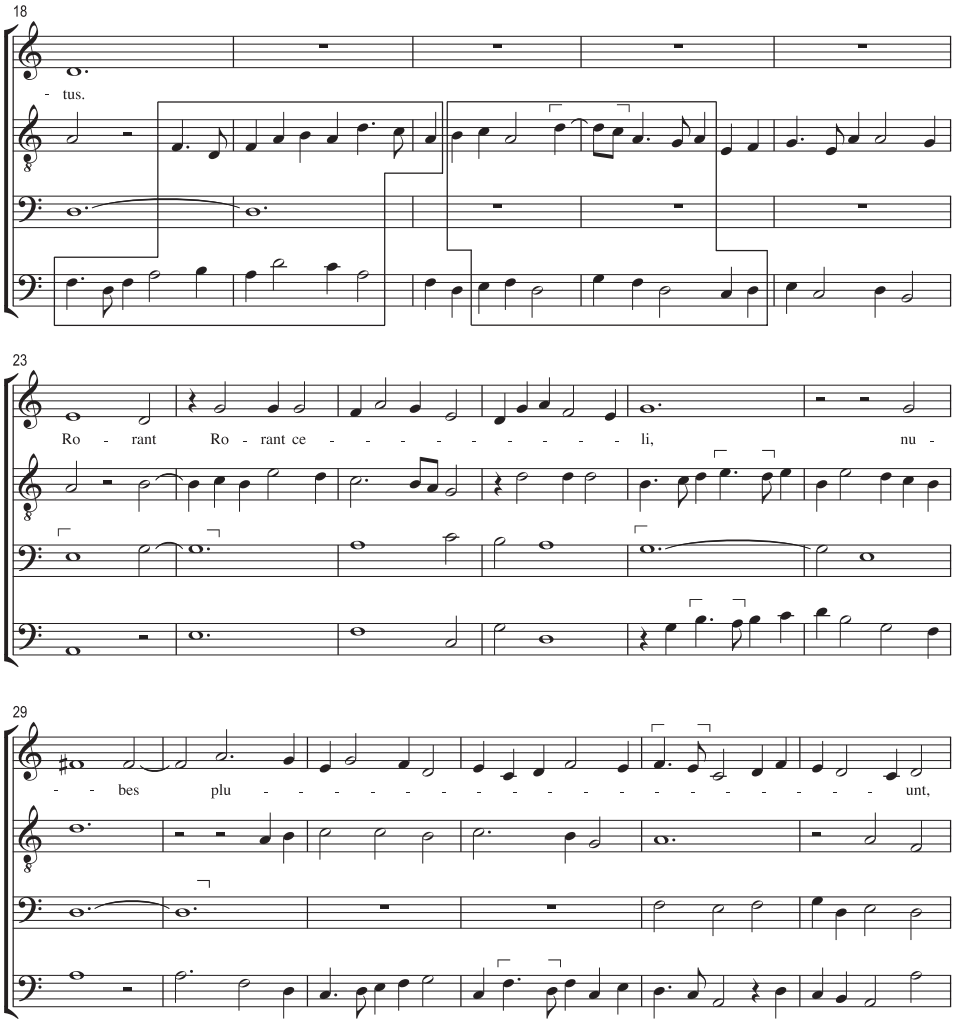
This mid-fifteenth-century use of imitation is clearly very different from the pervasive imitation found in Josquin. So how did we get from *Flos de spina* to *Ave Maria*? What allowed pervasive imitation to emerge? I suggest that the late fifteenth century saw a radical shift from an aesthetic that valued 'variety' to one that valued 'repetition' as an organizing force.

[7] J. CUMMING, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 239–253, esp. pp. 245–246.

[8] Thomas Brothers suggests that imitation in duet sections is a "vestige of the introitus sections of isorhythmic motets of old". See T. BROTHERS, *Vestiges of the Isorhythmic Tradition in Mass and Motet, ca. 1450–1475*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 44 (1991), p. 38.

[9] Ludwig Finscher calls this *fuga ad minimam*, in L. FINSCHER, *Loyset Compère (c. 1540–1518): Life and Work*, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, 12), 1964, p. 136.


1
O
[D]
Ct.
T
Ct.
Flos de spi - - na pro - - cre - - a - - - - - -
5
- - - - - - - - tur, et flos flo - - - - -
9
- - - - - rum fe - - cun - da - - - - - - - - -
14
- - - - - - - - tur, mis - so ro - - - - - re ce - - li - -



Example 2. Johannes Pullois, *Flos de spina*, bb. 1–34, TrentC 90 (Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1377), fol. 434v–436. Material in boxes is the only music that *is* repeated.

VARIETY VERSUS REPETITION

It has often been noted that mid-fifteenth-century sacred music was characterized by a musical aesthetic of *varietas*: variety of texture, rhythm, melody and form was more highly valued than repetition.[10] In the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* Tinctoris stresses the importance of *varietas* and repeatedly warns against repetition.[11]

In book 2 he praises the *varietas* in diminished counterpoint, which he compares to the 'diversity of flowers in the field':[12]

> *Diciturque contrapunctus huiusmodi diminutus, quoniam in eo notarum integrarum fit in diversas minutas partes divisio. Hinc et floridus a nonnullis per metaphoram appellatur. Quemadmodum enim diversitas florum agros iucundissimos efficit, ita proportionum varietas contrapunctum acceptissimum reddit.*
>
> And counterpoint of this kind is called diminished, since, in it, a certain division of the basic notes into different minute parts is made; hence, it is also called 'florid' by many, through metaphor, for, just as a diversity of flowers makes the fields most pleasing, so the variety of proportions produces a most agreeable counterpoint.

The last three of the eight rules in book 3 are devoted to *varietas*. In rule 6, Tinctoris stresses the importance of avoiding repetitions (*redictas*). He allows exceptions only when imitating bells or trumpets:[13]

> *Sexta regula est quod super cantum planum canentes in quantum possumus redictas evitare debemus maxime si aliquae fuerint in tenore… Et quamvis ex omni parte in re facta regulariter etiam prohibeantur, aliquando tamen sonum campanarum aut tubarum imitando, ubique tollerantur. … Utque patet in his exemplis, redicta nihil aliud est quam unius aut plurium coniunctionum continua repetitio.*

[10] On *varietas* in fifteenth-century music see BROTHERS, *Vestiges*, p. 35, pp. 42–47. For a thorough discussion of the concept and its origins in classical rhetoric, see S.T.P. GALLAGHER, *Models of Varietas: Studies in Style and Attribution in the Motets of Johannes Regis and his Contemporaries*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1998.

[11] A. SEAY ed., [*Johannis Tinctoris*] *Opera theoretica*, (*Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 22), 2, 1975 [henceforth: TINCTORIS, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*]; J. TINCTORIS, *The Art of Counterpoint (Liber de arte contrapuncti)*, transl. A. SEAY, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, 5), 1961.

[12] TINCTORIS, *Liber de arte contrapuncti,* Book 2, ch. 19, p. 107; TINCTORIS, *The Art of Counterpoint*, p. 102.

[13] TINCTORIS, *Liber de arte contrapuncti,* Book 3, ch. 6, pp. 152–154; TINCTORIS, *The Art of Counterpoint*, pp. 137-138. As is seen in these examples, repetition is nothing other than the continuous reiteration of one or many motifs (*conjunctiones*).

> The sixth rule is that, in singing above plainchant, we ought to avoid repetitions as much as we can, particularly if some appear in the tenor … And, although these are also prohibited by rule from every part in composed music, sometimes, however, in imitating the sound of bells and trumpets, they are tolerated everywhere. ... As is seen in these examples, repetition is nothing other than the continuous reiteration of one or many motifs (*conjunctiones*).

In the seventh rule Tinctoris explicitly contrasts repetition with variety, and warns that successive perfections on the same pitch 'must be completely avoided as the opposite of variety'(*varietati contraria*):[14]

> *Septima regula est quod super planum cantum etiam cantum etiam canendo duae aut plures perfectiones in eodem loco continue fieri non debent, licet ad hoc quodammodo cantus ipse planus videatur esse coaptatus, … Quaequidem regula tam exacte a compositoribus est observanda ut nec etiam huiusmodi tenorem conficere debent, qui bis in eodem loco duarum aut plurium continuarum perfectionum dispositionem habeat. Talis enim compositio cum redicitis evidentissimam contrahit affinitatem, unde tamquam varietati contraria omnino est evitanda.*

> The seventh rule is that, in also singing above plainchant, two or more perfections ought not to be made continuously in the same place, granted that this plainchant is seen to be appropriate to this procedure. This particular rule must be so exactly observed by composers that they should not make a tenor of this kind, one which has the placing of two or more continuous perfections twice in the same place. Since such composition shows a most obvious affinity with repetitions, it must be completely avoided as an opposite category.

The eighth and last rule 'teaches that variety must be most accurately sought for in all counterpoint', and goes on to list all the ways variety can be achieved:[15]

> *De octava et ultima generali regula que varietatem in omni contrapuncto exquirendam accuratissime praecipit …si nunc per unam quantitatem, nunc per aliam, nunc per unam perfectionem, nunc per unam proportionem, nunc*

[14] TINCTORIS, *Liber de arte contrapuncti,* Book 3, ch. 7, p. 154; translation from GALLAGHER, *Models of Varietas*, p. 61, note 56.
[15] TINCTORIS, *Liber de arte contrapuncti,* Book 3, ch. 8, p. 155; TINCTORIS, *The Art of Counterpoint*, p. 139.

> *per aliam, nunc per unam coniunctionem, nunc per aliam, nunc cum syncopius, nunc sine syncopis, nunc cum fugis, nunc sine fugis, nunc cum pausis, nunc sine pausis, nunc diminutive, nunc plane, aut componat aut concinnat.*
>
> Now by one quantity, then by another, now by one perfection, then by another, now by one proportion, then by another, now by one conjunction, then by another, now with syncopations, then without syncopations, now with *fugae*, then without *fugae*, now with pauses, then without pauses, now diminished, now as written.

Tinctoris's aesthetic of *varietas* therefore valued constant variety of melody, rhythm, and counterpoint. Repetition of material in one or more voices was avoided or concealed. Like many other mid-fifteenth-century motets, *Flos de spina* (Example 2) embodies this aesthetic. The only music that is repeated is the imitative passages enclosed in boxes. Every other bar has a different rhythm; melodic contour is continually changing and varying.[16]

Late-fifteenth-century imitative polyphony, in contrast, embraces repetition. In his dictionary Tinctoris defines *fuga* as 'the identity of the parts of a line (*cantus*) as to the value, name, form, and sometimes placement of notes and rests'.[17] For Tinctoris, therefore, *fuga* means repetition: either in a single line, or in different voices. Josquin in particular is known for his literal repetition of motives and duos, and for his sequential repetition of contrapuntal blocks. Let us look at *Ave Maria* (Example 1) again. Here only passages that are *not* repeated are enclosed in boxes. Practically every element in the piece is repeated, either in another voice (imitation and parallel motion) or in the same voice (free repetition or sequence) or both (*celestia*, bar 22, harmonic sequence with canon). Sometimes the element that is repeated is a single line; most of the time it is a two-voice contrapuntal combination. This is especially clear in the repeated duos, but it is also true for overlapping imitative textures (thus the contrapuntal combination between the soprano and alto in bar 2 is repeated between the alto and tenor in bar 3 and the tenor and bass in bar 4). Even when one voice has free

[16] This constantly varied endlessly evolving style, in which no two bars have the same rhythm probably comes out of English music. See M. BENT, *Dunstaple*, (*Oxford Studies of Composers*, 17), London 1981, p. 36: "each successive bar in a phrase has a different rhythm". Thomas Brothers describes how Du Fay adopted this style in the 1430s in combination with the new 'lyric top voice' in: T. BROTHERS, *Contenance angloise and Accidentals in Some Motets by Du Fay*, in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, pp. 28–35. See also CUMMING, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, pp. 91–95, 193, 244–245.

[17] TINCTORIS, *Terminorum Musicae Diffinitorium*, C. PARRISH ed. and transl., London, 1963, p. 3, s.v. 'fuga': *Fuga est idemtitas partium cantus quo ad valorem, nomen, formam, et interdum quo ad locum tonarum et pausarum suarum*. The English translation is by Peter Schubert, who brought this passage to my attention. See P. SCHUBERT, *Counterpoint Pedagogy in the Renaissance*, in T. CHRISTENSEN ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 511.

counterpoint against repeated material in other voices the tendency is to repeat melodic material: thus in bars 10–11 the soprano repeats its descending scale when the tenor imitates (repeats) the alto line. This is exactly the kind of thing against which Tinctoris inveighed.

Not only is there a lot of repetition, but the repetition is meant to be obvious. The time interval of imitation is long enough so that we can hear the element to be repeated; the repeated motive is associated with repeated text set syllabically; the texture is reduced to allow the voices to come out clearly. What is new here is not just the use of imitation – it is the audible and even obsessive repetition of musical material at every possible opportunity.

It is this new style, in which repetition – of melodic material and of contrapuntal combinations – comes to be the primary way of constructing a work, that I wish to explain. I suggest that several different interconnecting forces in late fifteenth-century music combined to effect this change in the motet: (1) movement down in the genre hierarchy; (2) a new kind of motet with a new kind of text; and (3) a new kind of patron.

The Genre Hierarchy

In the *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* Tinctoris established a threefold genre hierarchy of chanson (*cantus parvus*), motet (*cantus mediocris*) and Mass (*cantus magnus*):[18]

> *Cantilena est cantus parvus, cui verba cuiuslibet materiae sed frequentius amatoriae supponuntur.*
>
> A cantilena is a small piece which is set to a text on any kind of subject, but more often to an amatory one.
>
> *Motetum est cantus mediocris, cui verba cuiusvis materiae sed frequentius divinae supponuntur.*
>
> A motet is a composition of moderate length, to which words of any kind are set, but more often those of a sacred nature.
>
> *Missa est cantus magnus cui verba Kyrie, Et in terra, Patrem, Sanctus, et Agnus, et interdum caeterae partes a pluribus canendae supponuntur, quae ab aliis officium dicitur.*

[18] See TINCTORIS, *Terminorum Musicae Diffinitorium*, pp. 12–13, 42–43, 40–41.

> The Mass is a large composition for which the texts Kyrie, Et in terra, Patrem, Sanctus, and Agnus, and sometimes other parts, are set for singing by several voices. It is called the office by some.

In the eighth rule of the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* he associates the use of *varietas* with the genre hierarchy:[19]

> *nec tot nec tales varietates uni cantilenae congruunt quot et quales uni moteti nec tot et tales uni moteti quot et quales uni missae. Omnis itaque resfacta pro qualitate et quantitate ejus diversificanda est.*
>
> … There is not as much variety in a chanson as in a motet, nor is there as much variety in a motet as in a Mass. Every *resfacta,* therefore, must be made diverse according to its quality and quantity.

nor do so many and such varieties enter into one chanson as so many and such in a motet, nor so many and such in one motet as so many and such in one mass. Every composed work, therefore, must be diverse in its quality and quantity.

The lowest genre in Tinctoris's hierarchy is the chanson; it therefore has the least *varietas* – and the most repetition. Something very like Josquin-style pervasive imitation occurs in the chanson before it occurs in sacred music. The chanson is a setting of a rhyming, scanning poem in a 'forme fixe'. Each line of text receives a phrase of music. Imitation at the beginning of a phrase serves to clarify presentation of the poetic text: it introduces a new line of text, or articulates major sectional divisions. The music of a chanson in a 'forme fixe', especially a rondeau, is also repeated multiple times in a complete performance.[20] Many chansons of mid-century are imitative – Ockeghem routinely uses imitation in his chansons (e.g. *Ma bouche rit*) even though he avoids or conceals it in his sacred music.[21] The imitation found in the mid-

[19] TINCTORIS, *Liber de arte contrapuncti,* Book 3, ch. 8, p. 155; my translation is followed by Seay's more literal translation (TINCTORIS, *The Art of Counterpoint*, p. 139). The tripartite division of genres found here and in the dictionary recalls the *Rota virgiliana*, the medieval division of literature into Virgil's three genres, Eclogue or Bucolic (*humilis stilus*), Georgic (*mediocris stilus*) and Epic (*gravis stilus*). See T. LAWLER ed., *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland*, with introd., transl. and notes, (*Yale Studies in English*, 182), New Haven, 1974, figure 3, pp. 40–41 and 86–89. The threefold hierarchy also recalls the rhetorical division into three styles: *grave, mediocre,* and *adtenuatum*. See GALLAGHER, *Models of Varietas*, p. 64.

[20] This point was brought to my attention by David Fallows.

[21] J. OCKEGHEM, *Collected Works, 3: Motets and Chansons,* ed. R. WEXLER with D. PLAMENAC, Boston, 1992. *Ma bouche rit* is on p. 73. Other chansons in the same volume that use imitation, often after the medial cadence if not at the opening, include *Baisiés moy* (p. 60), *D'un autre amer* (p. 61), *Fors seulement l'actente* (pp. 62–63), *L'autre d'antan* (p. 71), and *S'elle m'amera/Petite camusete* (pp. 88–89).

fifteenth-century chanson resembles the later Josquin type: it occurs at the beginning of a unit of text (the line of verse) and often begins with syllabic text setting, it is preceded by silence, and the time interval of imitation is normally at least a breve. Antoine Busnoys and Firminus Caron are especially fond of imitation and sequential repetition. A famous example of an imitative chanson comes at the beginning of the Mellon Chansonnier, Busnoys' *Bel aceuil*.[22] Here every phrase begins with imitation at the unison after one breve, with a periodic effect very similar to that of *Ave Maria*.

The motet has a middle position in the genre hierarchy, and throughout the fifteenth century it borrows features from the outer limits of the hierarchy. Subgenres of the motet therefore participate in genre hierarchies just as the overarching genres do. The high-status motet subgenres resemble Mass movements, the low-status subgenres resemble chansons. Many of the big four-voice motets of the third quarter of the fifteenth century aspired to the style height of the Mass, as shown by their bipartite structure, use of duos, and tenor cantus firmi. These motets embraced variety and shunned repetition, as we have seen in *Flos de spina*.[23] If we are looking for repetition, therefore, we need to look at the bottom of the genre (and subgenre) hierarchy. When I looked for imitation in motets copied between c. 1450 and 1470 I found it primarily in two low subgenres: the song motet and the chant-paraphrase motet.[24]

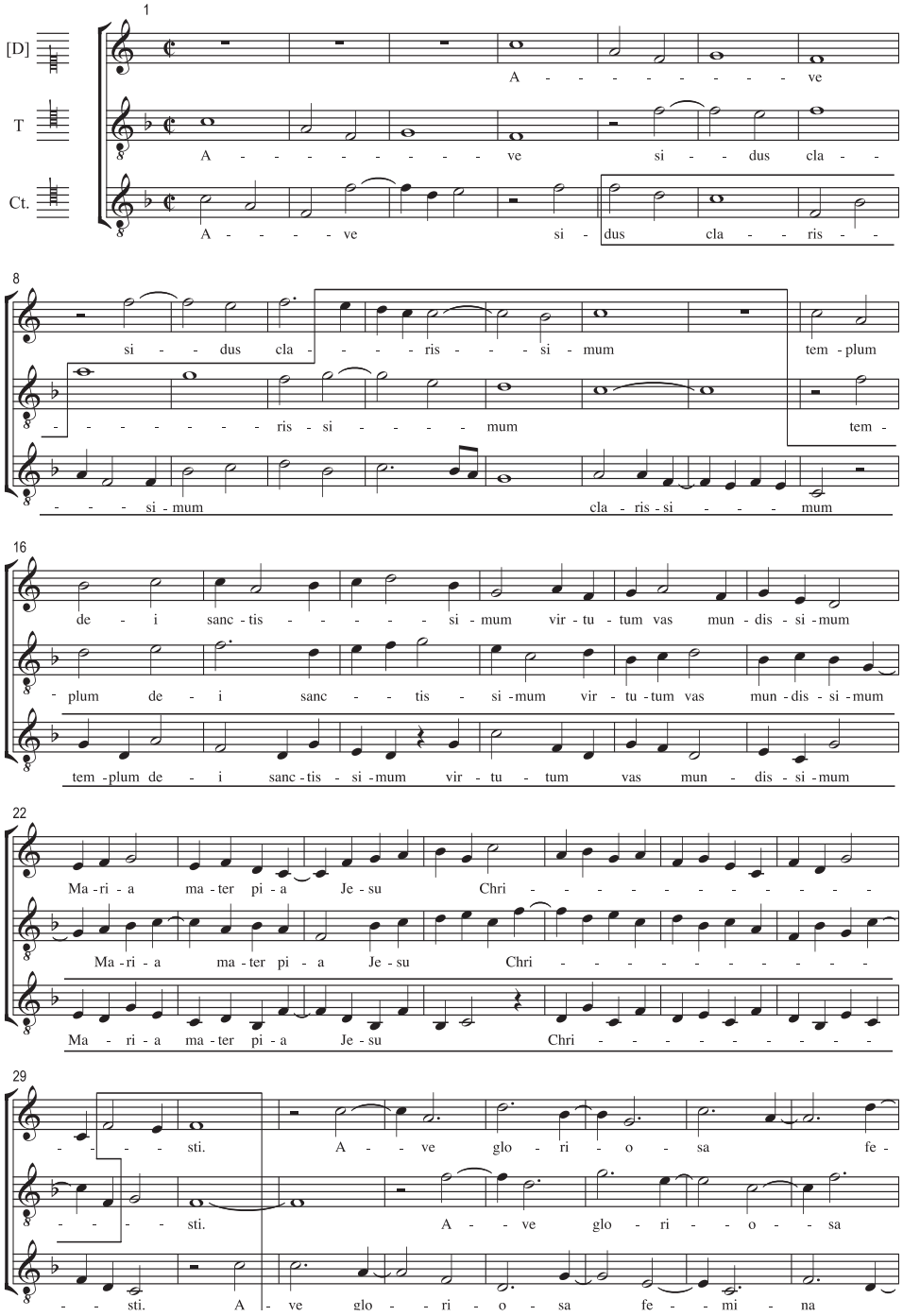
Song motets are normally three-voice works with Latin texts; often they are indistinguishable from chansons, or differ from chansons only in their avoidance of the typical formal structures associated with the 'formes fixes'. Many three-voice pieces lead double or triple lives: as chansons with French texts, as textless, presumably instrumental pieces, often with descriptive titles, and as motets with Latin texts. Caron's *Helas que pourra devenir* (Example 3) is a perfect example, as we can see from its inclusion with a Latin text (*Ave sidus clarissimum*) and a German tag (*Der seyden schwantcz*) in the Glogauer Liederbuch (BerlPS 40098). This is one of the most widely disseminated chansons of the period, found in twenty-two sources; it inhabited a special borderland between the chanson, the motet, and the instrumental trio known as the fantasy or the tricinium.[25] Here we see many of the features of mid-fifteenth-century-style imitation: short time interval, contradiction of meter, and concentration on two voices. Nevertheless there is a great deal of repetition here, much of it quite obvious (material in Example 3 that is not repeated is enclosed in boxes). As in the chanson the imitation serves to introduce new phrases of text. Only the con-

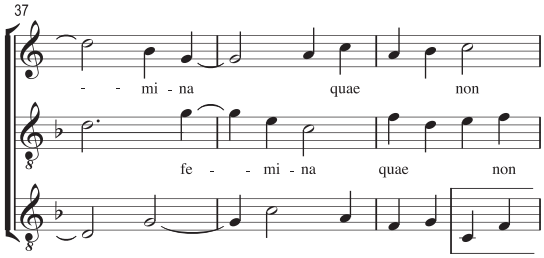
[22] Transcribed in L.L. PERKINS and H. GAREY eds., *The Mellon Chansonnier*, New Haven, 1979, no. 1. On the date of this piece see D. FALLOWS, *'Trained and immersed in all musical delights': Towards a New Picture of Busnoys*, in P. HIGGINS ed., *Antoine Busnoys: Method, Meaning, and Context in Late Medieval Music*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 21–50; he puts it at 1470 or before, because its first appearance is in the Dijon chansonnier (p. 45).

[23] See CUMMING, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, pp. 254–287.

[24] See CUMMING, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, pp. 200–204, 266–278.

[25] D. FALLOWS, *A Catalogue of Polyphonic Songs*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 181–182.


1
[D]
T
Ct.
A - - - - - - - - - ve
A - - - - - - - - - ve si - - dus cla - -
A - - - - ve si - dus cla - - ris - -
8
si - - dus cla - - - - ris - - - si - mum tem - plum
- - - - - - - - ris - si - - - - - mum tem -
- - - - si - mum cla - ris - si - - - - mum
16
de - i sanc - tis - - - - - - si - mum vir - tu - tum vas mun - dis - si - mum
- plum de - i sanc - - tis - si - mum vir - tu - tum vas mun - dis - si - mum
tem - plum de - i sanc - tis - si - mum vir - tu - tum vas mun - dis - si - mum
22
Ma - ri - a ma - ter pi - a Je - su Chri - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Ma - ri - a ma - ter pi - a Je - su Chri - - - - - - - - - - - -
Ma - ri - a ma - ter pi - a Je - su Chri - - - - - - - - - -
29
- - - - - sti. A - - ve glo - ri - o - sa fe -
- - - - - sti. A - - ve glo - ri - - o - - sa
- - sti. A - ve glo - - ri - o - sa fe - - mi - na

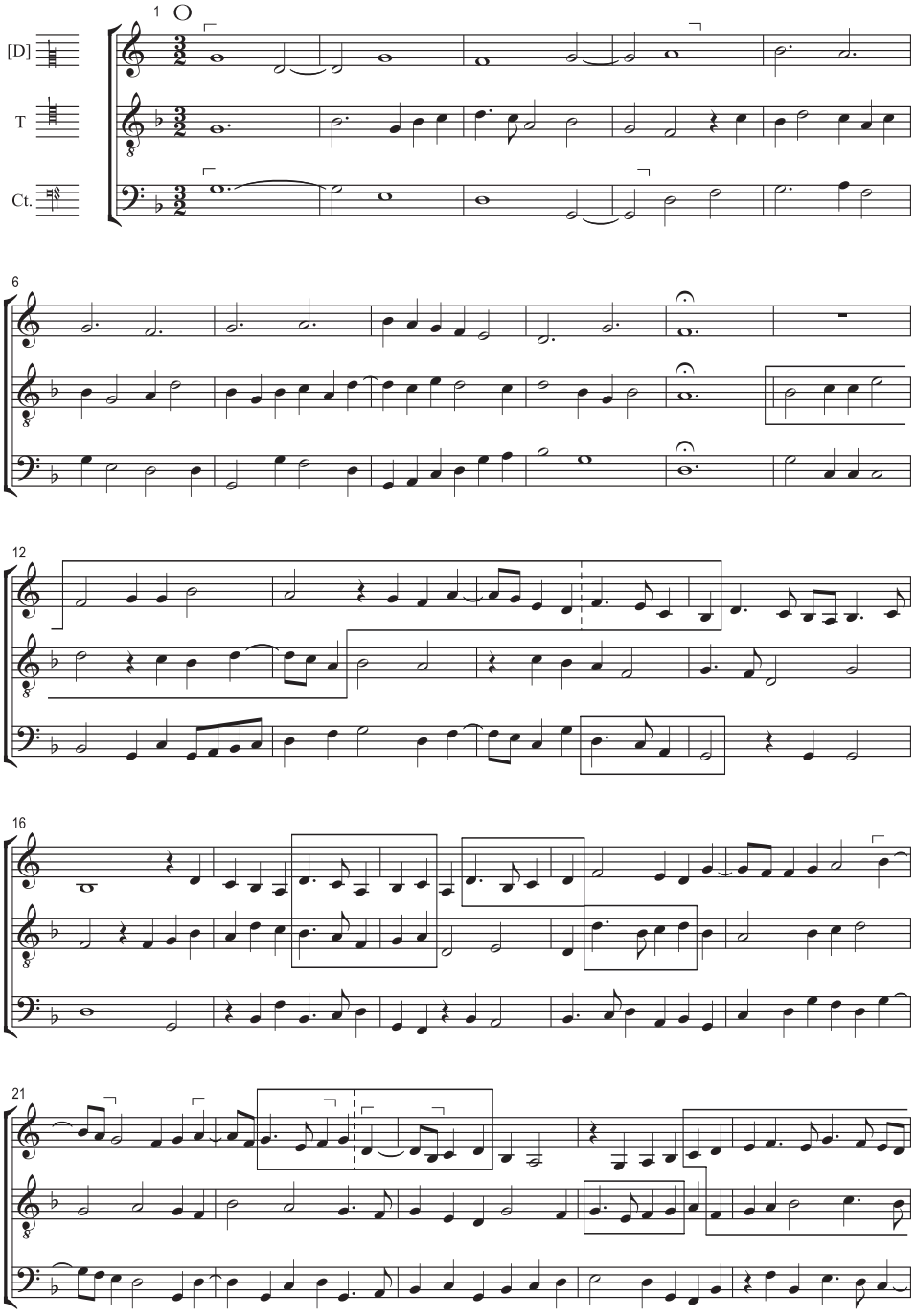


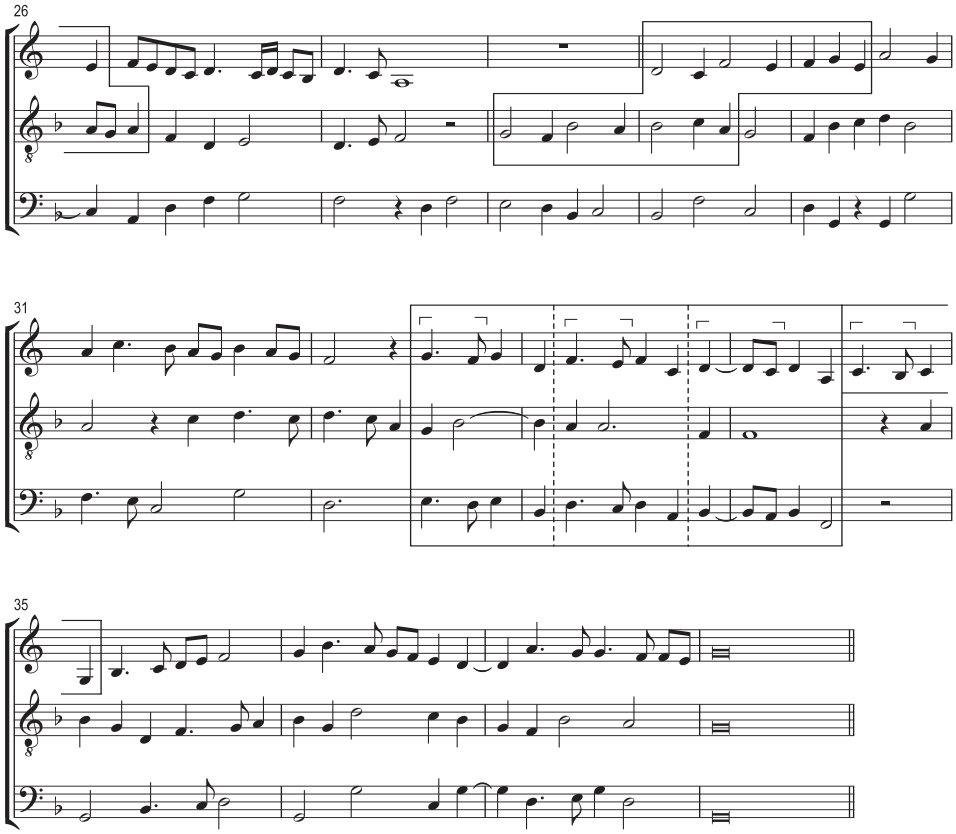
Example 3. Firminus Caron, *Helas/Ave sidus/Der seyden schwantcz*, bb. 1–39, Glogauer Liederbuch (BerlPS 40098, now in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska), fol. Aiii^{v}, Aiii^{v}, Aiii^{v}. Material in boxes is the only music *not* repeated.

tratenor part in the first three systems and the material leading up to the cadences are not repeated.

Johannes Touront's *Compangant omnes*/ O *generosa*/ *Je suis seulet* (Example 4) is another song motet found in several different forms. It is found in five different sources with two different Latin texts, no text at all, and with a French 'incipit' in a chansonnier, BolC Q16.[26] It is in three voices and sometimes uses imitation similar to that found in the chanson, to begin phrases and articulate the form (see bb. 11–12, 28–30). Nevertheless, *Compangant omnes* (Example 4) is higher in the subgenre hierarchy than Caron's *Helas* (Example 3), because it looks more like a Mass movement and less like a chanson. It has the bipartite OC (triple to duple) structure of the Mass movement and the big four-voice motets. Because *Compangant* is higher in the subgenre hierarchy it also uses less repetition, and the repetition is often concealed in the middle of a phrase, as in Example 2, *Flos de spina* (repeated passages in Example 4 are enclosed in boxes; see bb. 17–18, 24–6, and 32–35).

[26] See CUMMING, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, pp. 180, 197, 202–204.


1
O
[D]
T
Ct.
6
12
16
21



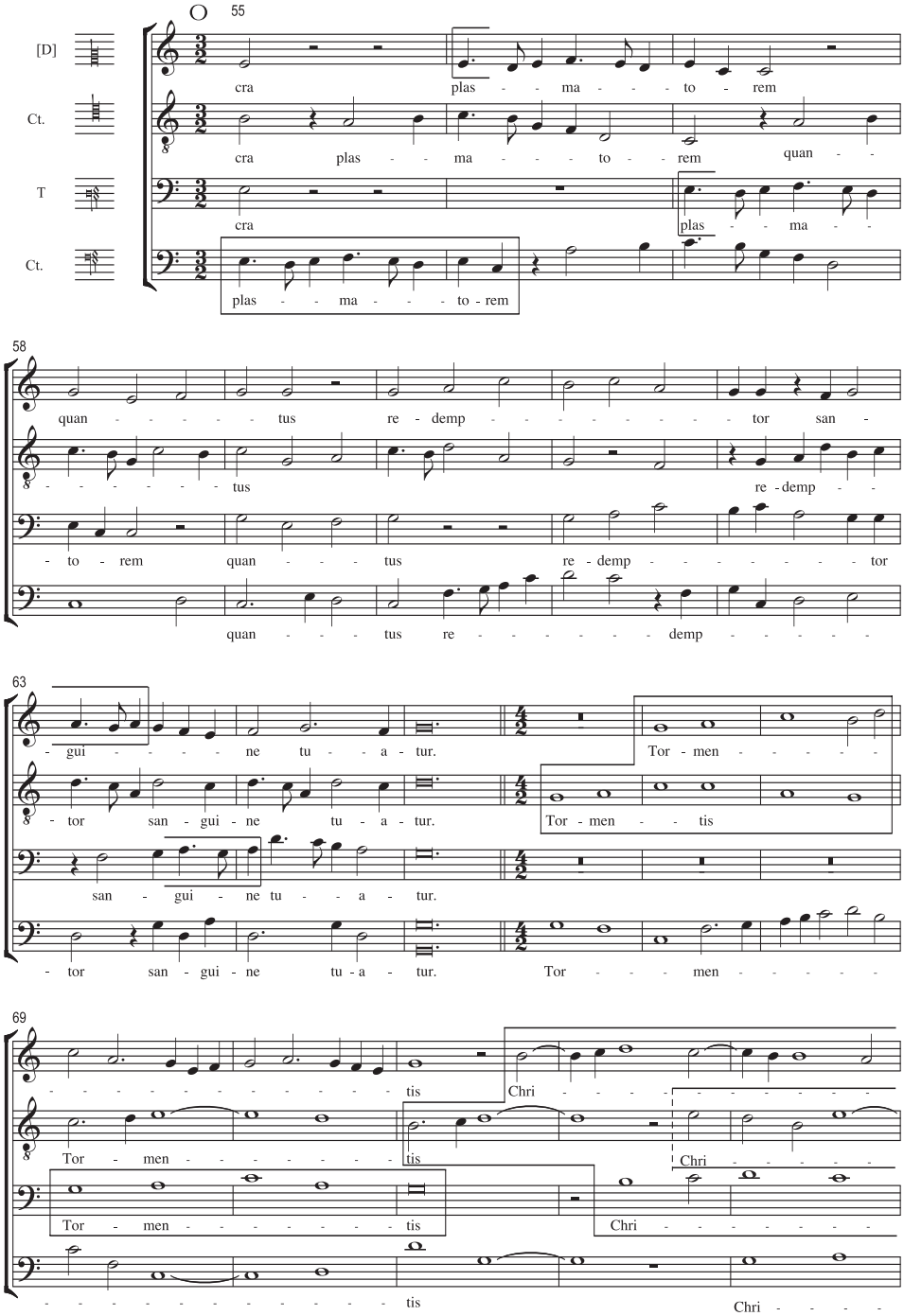
Example 4. Johannes Touront, *Compangant omnes*/O *generosa*/*Je suis seulet*, bb. 1–38, TrentC 89 (Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1376), fol. 123v–124. Material in boxes is the only music that *is* repeated.

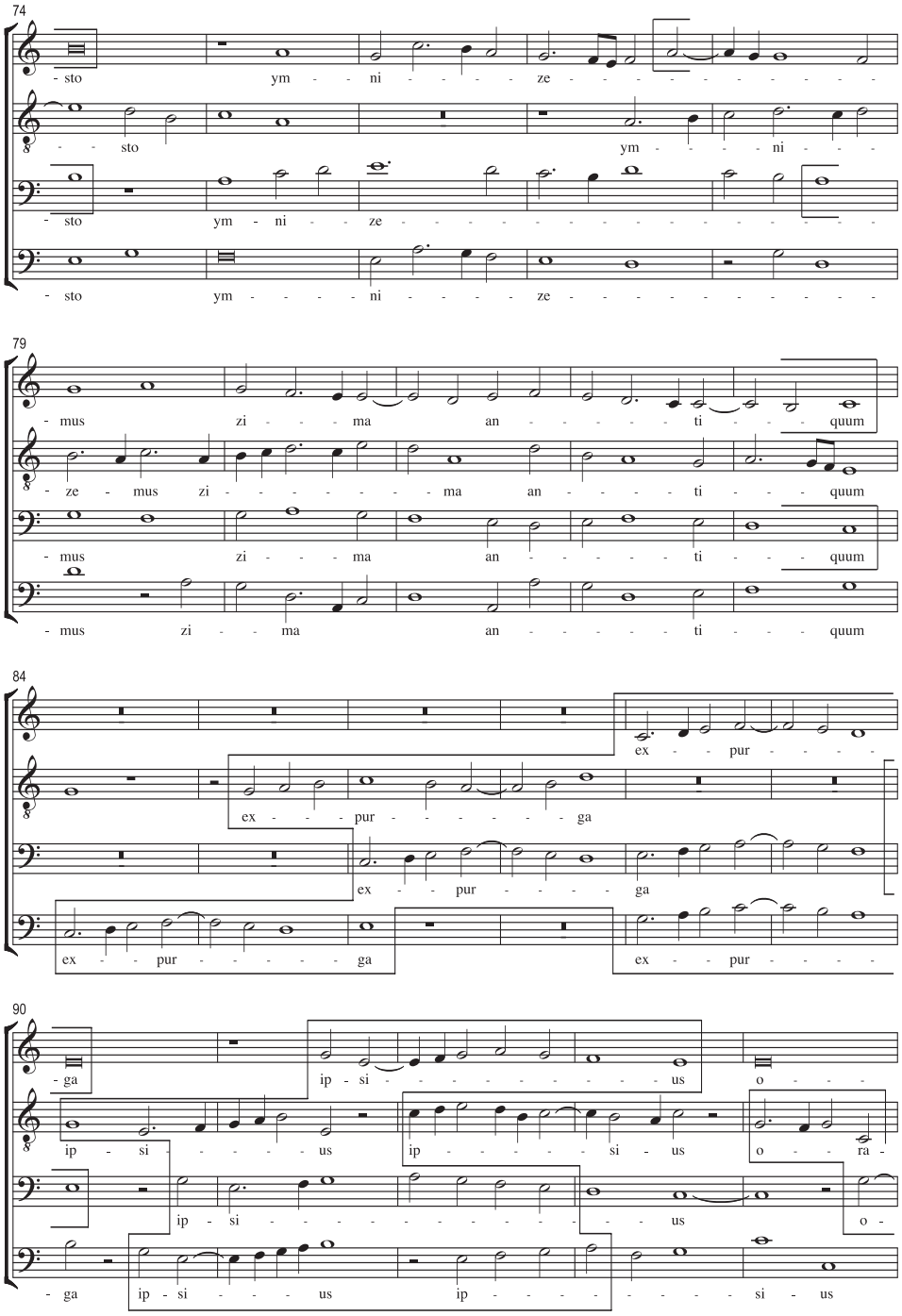
Repetition and pervasive imitation thus enter the motet via the lowest subgenre of the motet: the song motet. In the chanson and in the Latin-texted song motet, imitation serves to bring out the structure of the text. In the textless instrumental versions of these pieces imitation becomes a way of articulating form in the absence of text. The same could be said of the highly melismatic duet and trio sections of Mass movements, which are usually much more imitative than the four-voice sections. Imitation is intensified in the textless instrumental tricinia composed in the decades around 1500; think of Josquin's *La Bernardina*, or Johannes Ghiselin's *La Alfonsina*.[27]

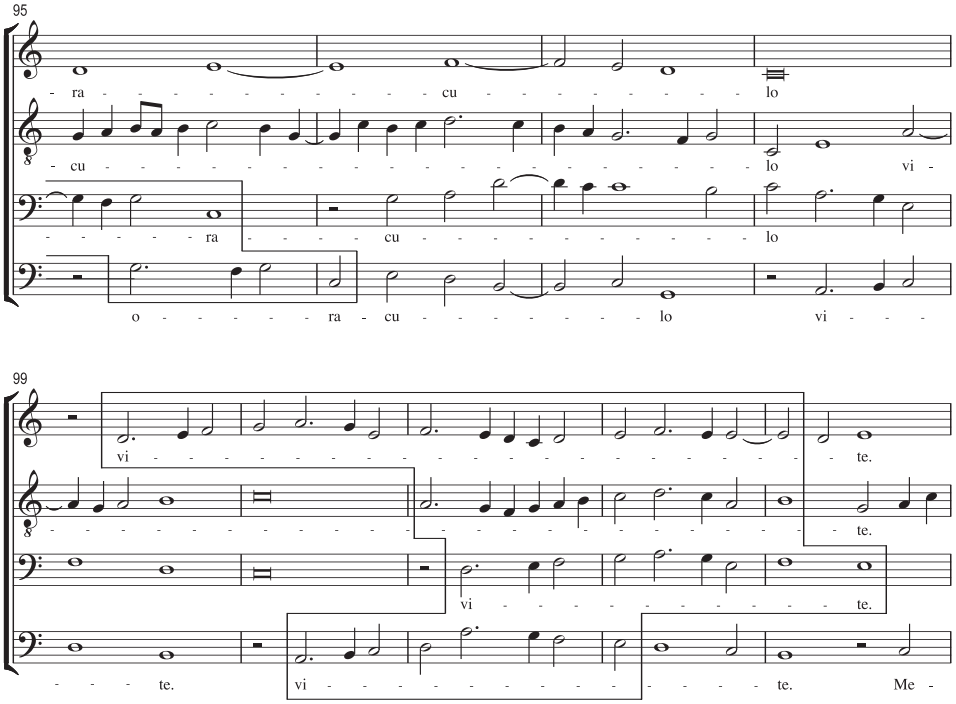
[27] On this kind of piece see STROHM, *The Rise of European Music*, pp. 560–570. There were also four-voice song motets closely related to the three-voice motet/chanson/tricinium group, such as the four-voice pieces in the 'peacock's tail complex' including Barbingant's *Pfawinschwanz* and sections of Martini's Mass on that model; see CUMMING, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, pp. 254–256.

Another subgenre of the mid-fifteenth-century motet that includes imitation is the chant-paraphrase motet. Like the song motet, the chant-paraphrase motet is low in the subgenre hierarchy, recalling – if sometimes distantly – prescribed liturgical music and improvised polyphony, genres so low that they do not even make it into Tinctoris's schema. Some chant-paraphrase motets aim high; they use the form and scale of the Mass movement, and paraphrase the melody so elaborately that it is almost unrecognizable (e.g. Ockeghem's *Alma redemptoris*). But many chant-paraphrase motets are concerned with presenting the chant and its text in a recognizable form. A good example of a chant-paraphrase motet that uses imitation and repetition is the anonymous *Ave beatissima* from TrentC 89 (Example 5).[28] The chant is paraphrased in the discantus, but also appears often in the tenor voice. Imitation is found here at the beginning of every chant phrase. Often the chant is subject to *Vorimitation* (see bb. 56, 66, 71, 84, and 90). Sometimes only one voice will imitate the chant (as in m. 78), but often imitation in this piece is found in three or four voices (imitation and repeated material is enclosed in boxes on the score). In other cases the imitation of the chant, begun in three or four voices, will continue to the end of the phrase in the discantus and tenor (as in mm. 55–64). As in the chanson, imitation serves to clarify the structure of the work by emphasizing the opening of each new phrase of the chant melody.

[28] CUMMING, *The Motet in the Age of Du Fay*, pp. 271–274.


55
[D]
Ct.
T
Ct.
cra plas - - ma - - - to - rem
cra plas - - ma - - - to - - rem quan - -
cra plas - - ma - -
plas - - ma - - - to - rem
58
quan - - - - - tus re - demp - - - - - - - - tor san -
- - - - - - tus re - demp - -
- to - rem quan - - - tus re - demp - - - - - - - tor
quan - - - tus re - - - - - - - demp - - - - -
63
- gui - - - - - ne tu - - a - tur.
Tor - men - - - - -
- tor san - gui - ne tu - a - tur.
Tor - men - - tis
san - gui - ne tu - - a - tur.
- tor san - gui - ne tu - a - tur.
Tor - - - - men - - - - -
69
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - tis
Chri - - - - - - - - - - - -
Tor - men - - - - - - - - tis
Chri - - - - - -
Tor - men - - - - - - - - tis
Chri - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - tis
Chri - - - -


74
sto ym ni ze
sto ym ni
sto ym ni ze
sto ym ni ze
79
mus zi ma an ti quum
ze mus zi ma an ti quum
mus zi ma an ti quum
mus zi ma an ti quum
84
ex pur
ex pur ga
ex pur ga
ex pur ga ex pur
90
ga ip si us o
ip si us ip si us o ra
ip si us o
ga ip si us ip si us



Example 5. Anonymous, *Ave beatissima*, bb. 55–103, TrentC 89 (Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, Monumenti e Collezioni Provinciali, MS 1376), fol. 352v–354. Material in boxes is the only music that *is* repeated.

A NEW KIND OF MOTET

While the song motet and the chant-paraphrase motet do make use of imitation, they do not yet quite resemble *Ave Maria*. They are still melismatic, use imitation somewhat erratically, and lack the repeated duos and paired imitation so typical of the style we are looking for. In the 1470s or 1480s, however, a new subgenre of motet emerged: the subgenre of which *Ave Maria* is a member, and which includes the Milanese *motetti missales*. I will therefore call it the 'Milan motet'.[29] This new, simpler kind of four-voice motet is very different from the great bipartite tenor motets that aspired to the status of the cyclic Mass. It uses a much larger selection of texts, drawn from

[29] This is inspired by Joshua Rifkin's description of the style in J. RIFKIN, *Munich, Milan, and a Marian Motet*.

a variety of sources, including poetic prayers and sequences. These texts often divide into stanzas, and use accentual meter and rhyme, like chansons.[30] New kinds of texts were accompanied by a new kind of music: a music that looks to the chanson for many of its features. Most of these motets abandon perfect tempus and the free-wheeling constantly changing melismatic style. Instead they use the cut-C typical of chansons after c. 1470, with the occasional song-like tripla section. Like chansons they set text syllabically at the beginnings of phrases, with many repeated rhythmic patterns. Some even quote chansons – Josquin examples include *Christe fili Dei* from *Vultum tuum* (*J'ay pris amours*), *Tu facis* (*D'ung aultre amer*), *Victimae paschali* (*J'ay pris* and *De tous biens*).[31] Some of the new motet texts have no associated pre-existent chant melody. Where there is a textual reference to chant, however, these new motets often recall the imitative treatment of the chant-paraphrase motet by quoting the chant in imitation in all voices. This is exactly what happens at the opening of *Ave Maria*, where the sequence melody is used as the basis for the first four points of imitation, after which the piece is freely composed.

This new subgenre, the 'Milan motet', thus adopted and adapted the techniques of repetition and imitation that had been developed in the lower genres and subgenres such as the chanson, the song-motet, and the chant-paraphrase motet. The position of the motet in the middle of the genre hierarchy allowed it to reinvent itself time after time. In the late fifteenth century reference to the low end of the hierarchy opened the door to repetition and pervasive imitation in all genres of sacred music. By c. 1500 pervasive imitation had taken over. But why did this happen? What kinds of forces could have caused composers to abandon Tinctoris's preference for *varietas* in sacred music?

[30] For studies of *motteti missales* and their texts, see: T. NOBLITT, *The Ambrosian Motetti Missales Repertory*, in *Musica disciplina*, 22 (1968), pp. 77–103; L.H. WARD, *The Motetti Missales Repertory Reconsidered*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 39 (1986), pp. 491–523; P. MACEY, *Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Musical Patronage in Milan: Compère, Weerbeke, and Josquin*, in *Early Music History* 15 (1996), pp. 147–212; L. FINSCHER, *Motetti missales*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., Kassel, 1994, Sachteil 6, cols. 549–552; N. GASSER, *The Motet Cycles of the Gaffurius Codices and the New Status of the Motet in Late-Fifteenth-Century Italy*, in *Abstracts of Papers Read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Kansas City, 5 November, 1999*; and PERKINS and MACEY, *Motet, Renaissance*, pp. 207–208.

[31] Other motets that could be said to belong to this same subgenre quote relatively 'low status' lauda tunes; see J. BLOXAM, *'La Contenance italienne': The Motets on Beata es Maria by Compère, Obrecht, and Brumel*, in *Early Music History*, 11 (1992), pp. 39–89.

A NEW KIND OF PATRON

The reasons for an aesthetic change such as the shift from variety to repetition described here are very difficult to establish. But perhaps we can connect it to changing forms of music patronage in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Most of the leading mid-fifteenth-century composers of the generation of Ockeghem and Busnoys lived and worked in northern France and the Low Countries. They were trained in Northern choir schools, and were employed either by cathedrals and collegiate churches, or by the King of France or the Duke of Burgundy, patrons with vast amounts of power and few direct competitors. The arbiters of musical taste in sacred music were churchmen and other musicians. Musicians working in France and the Netherlands were therefore free to develop a highly complex style of great beauty that is perhaps deliberately mysterious, or self-consciously arcane: a music that valued *varietas* over repetition. Complex, difficult music in this context could have been a sign of power and authority.

Most musicians of the Josquin generation, in contrast, spent much of their adult lives working in Italy for Italian princes such as the Dukes of Ferrara and Milan. These princes were in immediate competition with a substantial peer group.[32] In contrast to the King of France or the Duke of Burgundy, the Italian princes had relatively small holdings and sometimes tenuous claims to power and authority. They sought to win people over, cultivate support, and make alliances. They may have wanted motets that were easy for courtiers and envoys to understand and enjoy: music that was more like the French chansons found in so many Italian manuscripts of the mid- to late fifteenth century.

Music characterized by repetition is easier for a lay audience to process, and easier to remember. As Leonard Meyer observes, "in music the existence of redundancy … facilitates perception and comprehension".[33] *Ave Maria* is much easier to

[32] See STROHM, *The Rise of European Music*, p. 602 and ff., on the "three young rulers [who] must have planned long beforehand to establish themselves in the great series of musical patrons", Lorenzo de' Medici of Florence, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, and Ercole I d'Este, duke of Ferrara. On the competition between Ferrara and Milan see L. LOCKWOOD, *Strategies of Musical Patronage in the Fifteenth Century: The Cappella of Ercole I d'Este*, in I. FENLON ed., *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources, and Texts*, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 227–248. The literature on the Italian patrons is now vast; major studies include L. LOCKWOOD, *Music In Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505*, Oxford, 1984; P. MERKLEY and L.M. MERKLEY, *Music and Patronage in the Sforza Court*, Turnhout, 1999; W. PRIZER, *Music at the Court of the Sforza: The Birth and Death of a Musical Center*, in *Musica disciplina*, 43 (1989), pp. 141–193; A. ATLAS, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Cambridge, 1985; F. D'ACCONE, *The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), pp. 307–358.

[33] L. MEYER, *A Universe of Universals*, in *The Spheres of Music: A Gathering of Essays*, Chicago, 2000, p. 292.

recall than is *Flos de spina*, and it has a greater immediate impact on the listener. The 'dumbing down' of sacred music through the introduction of repetition may have appealed to these Italian patrons of the Josquin generation, out to impress their subjects and their competitors with music that was easy to appreciate, not difficult to understand.

Tinctoris's almost exaggerated emphasis on the importance of *varietas* in his treatises of the 1470s may have resulted from his own sense that variety and complexity were no longer sufficiently valued by Italian patrons and audiences, including his own patron in Naples, Ferrante I of Aragon.[34] Tinctoris is known for speaking most strongly about musical matters when correcting others' errors or misconceptions. Perhaps he sensed that the aesthetic tide was turning away from variety and toward repetition.

[34] On Tinctoris and the Aragonese court of Naples, see PERKINS and GAREY, *The Mellon Chansonnier*, 1, pp. 17–22.

The Role of Acoustics in the Performance of Renaissance Polyphony at the Collegiate Church of Saint Mary in Aachen

Eric Rice
University of Connecticut

On 25 January 1414, the canons of the Collegiate Church of Saint Mary in Aachen gathered to witness the dedication of a new addition to their basilica. This addition, a Gothic choir that had required sixty years to build, was the most profound physical change in the history of the church (see Figure 1). When the canons decided to begin construction in the mid-fourteenth century, Aachen's collegiate church was already an enduring symbol of the Holy Roman Empire. Its distinctive outward profile, an octagonal tower rising out of a sixteen-sided, two-story building with a small eastern apse, was consistently and faithfully represented in the iconography of Charlemagne (see Figure 2), its founder, and its architectural plan had been imitated numerous times.[1] The decision to build such a substantial addition, with its concomitant change in external profile and internal space, was thus an especially significant one. The reasons for the construction of the choir were numerous and complex, though they probably did not include acoustical or even musical considerations.[2] However, evidence for the use of surviving polyphony from the church, together with the canons' response to acoustical problems once the choir was completed, show that the new addition was the preferred space for the performance of polyphony despite the continued use of both new and old spaces.

The primary sources of information on the liturgical and musical life of the *Marienkirche* are four ordinals preserved in Aachen's *Domarchiv*. The oldest two date from the mid-fourteenth and late-fifteenth centuries, which is to say before and after the completion of the Gothic choir in 1414.[3] They mention several times when improvised polyphony and organ playing were to embellish the liturgy. Further information about such practices is available in the church's necrologies, which list endowments for services, sometimes with specific instructions regarding payments to an organist and/or singers of specific vocal ranges. Payment records indicate the presence of an organist from 1367, the oldest record available, but do not specify pay-

[1] A. VERBEEK, *Zentralbauten in der Nachfolge der Aachener Pfalzkapelle*, in V. ELBERN ed., *Das erste Jahrtausend – Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, 1-3, Düsseldorf, 1964, Textband 2, pp. 898–947.

[2] E. RICE, *Music and Ritual at the Collegiate Church of Saint Mary in Aachen, 1300–1600*, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2002, pp. 114–115.

[3] O. GATZWEILER, *Die liturgischen Handschriften des Aachener Münsterstifts*, in *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 46 (1924), pp. 12–23.

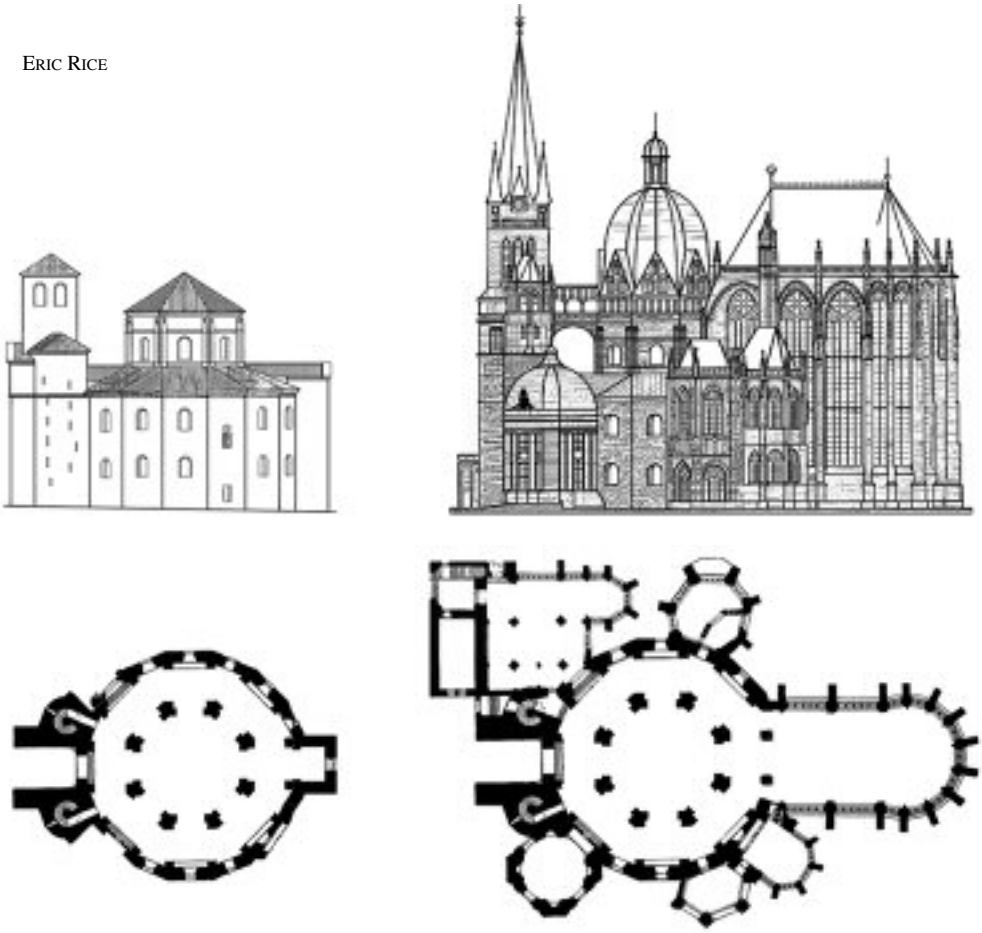


Figure 1. Elevation and plan of the Collegiate Church of Saint Mary in Aachen in ca. 800 (left) and today (right). (© Domkapitel Aachen)

Figure 2. Roof relief, Shrine of Charlemagne (completed 1215). Charlemagne is depicted presenting the Church of Saint Mary to the enthroned Virgin and Child. (Photo by Ann Münchow. © Copyright Domkapitel Aachen)

ments to singers or a choirmaster until 1427.[4] Nonetheless, the ordinals and necrologies make it clear that polyphony was cultivated in the Aquensian liturgy from the fourteenth century and probably earlier, even if payments to singers as such were unspecified.

Two examples of late-fourteenth century polyphony from Aachen have come down to us. An English codex now in the Municipal Library at Erfurt (Stadtbücherei, Amplonia Quarto 332) was once owned and heavily annotated by Johann Barba, rector of the *Marienkirche*'s chapel of Saint Catherine from about 1391 to at least 1401.[5] Among Barba's annotations are polyphonic settings of two chants: *Syß willekomen heire Kerst*, a vernacular acclamation or *Leise* that the ordinals specifically prescribe (see Example 1), and *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, the verse for the responsory *Hodie nobis celorum rex*, which corresponds to the text sung by the angelic choirs as described in Luke's gospel (see Example 2).

In light of the date of composition of these works, which is to say the end of the fourteenth century, they are remarkable for their rhythmic and textural simplicity; indeed, one might be tempted to call them archaic. *Syß willekomen heire Kerst* has the chant melody as a cantus firmus in the lowest voice in primarily long note-values, while the upper two voices proceed in ternary subdivisions of the beat characteristic of modal rhythm. *Gloria in excelsis deo* has an elaborated version of the chant in the uppermost voice instead of a chant-based cantus firmus, and in this aspect looks forward to chant elaborations in polyphony of the fifteenth century, but otherwise its rhythmic and textural organization is similar to that of *Syß willekomen heire Kerst*. Neither piece contains the syncopation so characteristic of late fourteenth-century polyphonic style, and there is not a single rest. In sum, Barba's settings resemble the motet of the early-thirteenth century more closely than the liturgical polyphony of the late-fourteenth.

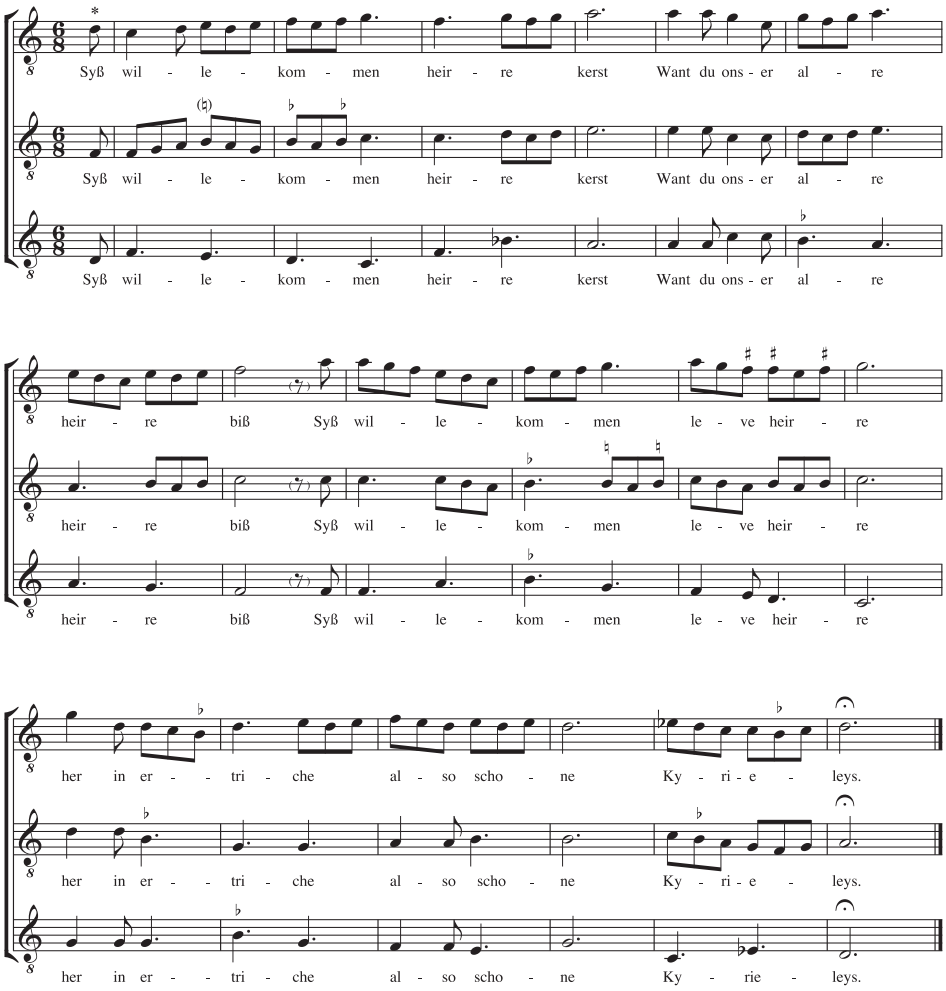
One can only speculate as to the reasons for this conservative style – among them would surely be the influence of the improvised polyphony cultivated in Aachen during this period – but I would like to suggest that the acoustics of the building at the time played a role. Architectural historians believe that the new choir was constructed around the small eastern apse (see Figure 3), allowing the church's *cursus* to continue uninterrupted until the structure was finished.[6] During Barba's tenure at the church, then, the layout and acoustics of the building would not have changed at all despite the enormous choir taking shape outside its walls. Before the completion

[4] RICE, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 242–243 and 298–302.

[5] H. LOERSCH, *Ueber ein Verzeichniss der Einkünfte der Katharinenkapelle beim Aachener Münster aus dem Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts*, in *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 10 (1888), pp. 97–100.

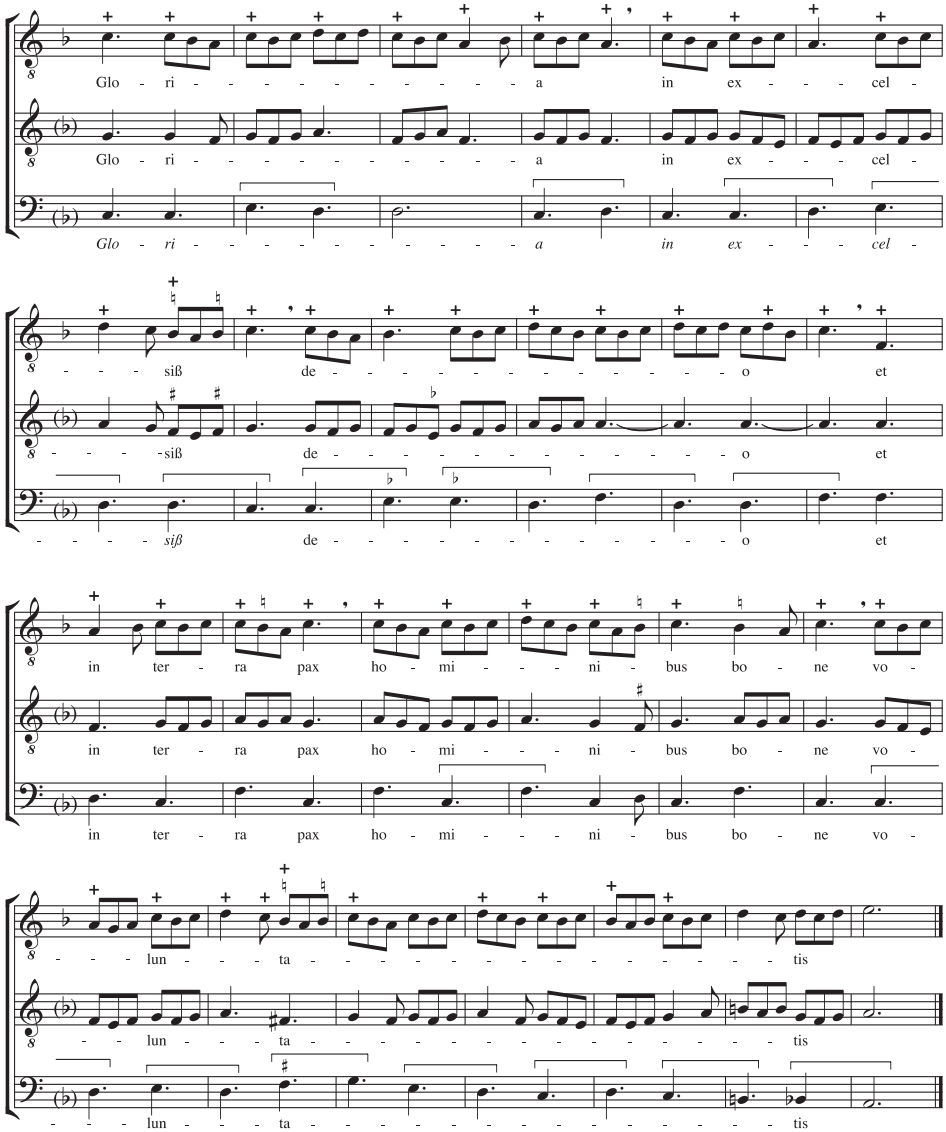
[6] J. BUCHKREMER, *Zur Baugeschichte des Aachener Münsters*, in *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 22 (1900), pp. 238–240.

of the Gothic choir, the liturgy of Aachen was performed within the church's octagon, which was surrounded by choir stalls, and it was undoubtedly here as well that liturgical polyphony was sung. Physical evidence within the church and several chronicles indicate this location as the church's original choir.[7]



Example 1. *Syß willekommen heire Kerst*, Johann Barba (?), ca. 1391; from the manuscript Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, Amplonia 4° 332, fol. 105.

[7] RICE, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 207–216.



Example 2. *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Responsory Verse for Christmas Day), Johann Barba (?), ca. 1391; from the manuscript Erfurt, Stadtbücherei, Amplonia 4° 332, fol. 105v-106. (Notes derived from the chant are marked with a + sign.)

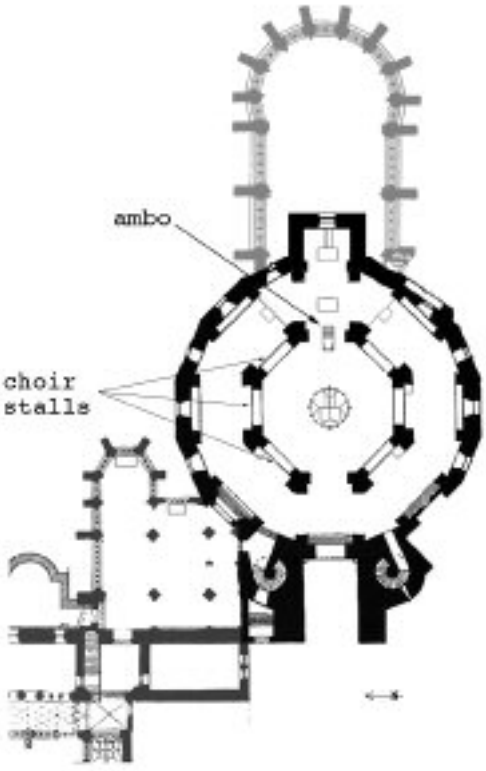


Figure 3. Plan of Aachen's *Marienkirche* during construction of the Gothic choir (ca. 1355–1414).

The exact acoustical properties of the old octagonal choir are, of course, unrecoverable, but thanks to restoration work on the Gothic choir in 1998, the interior of the *Marienkirche* was temporarily modified in a way that allows reasonable approximation. During the restoration, a large sheetrock wall was erected to separate the choir from the Carolingian portion of the building so that daily services could continue uninterrupted in the latter space (see Figure 4). This temporary wall rendered the room's volume nearly the same as that before the choir was built, and offered a reflecting surface similar to that of the Carolingian church's east wall, except that it lacked an apse. With this wall in place, I recorded a pistol shot within the octagon and have graphed the decay of the sound at all audible frequencies (see Figure 5). The overall time of decay is not quite three seconds, with the high frequencies – those at which many consonants occur – decaying at a faster rate, as is typical. Because of the relatively small volume of the space and large number of reflecting surfaces (the most effective being the nearly parabolic cupola overhead; see Figure 6), the amplitude of the reflected sound – the darker regions of the graph – is considerable. We can be reasonably sure that the reflective surfaces are by and large the same as those during the late Middle Ages, for there is no evidence to indicate the presence of tapestries or other items that would lessen their effect. On the whole, the space must have been very satisfying for the performance of plainchant and primarily homorhythmic polyphony, but because of the loud reverberation, performance of music containing rests, syncopations, and imitative textures would have been less effective than a performance of the same music in Gothic or Romanesque buildings, which tend to reflect less sound.

The completion of the Gothic choir in 1414 occasioned considerable changes in the building's layout and acoustics (see Figure 7). The choir stalls along the perimeter of the octagon were removed, and new stalls were built in the new choir. The altar of

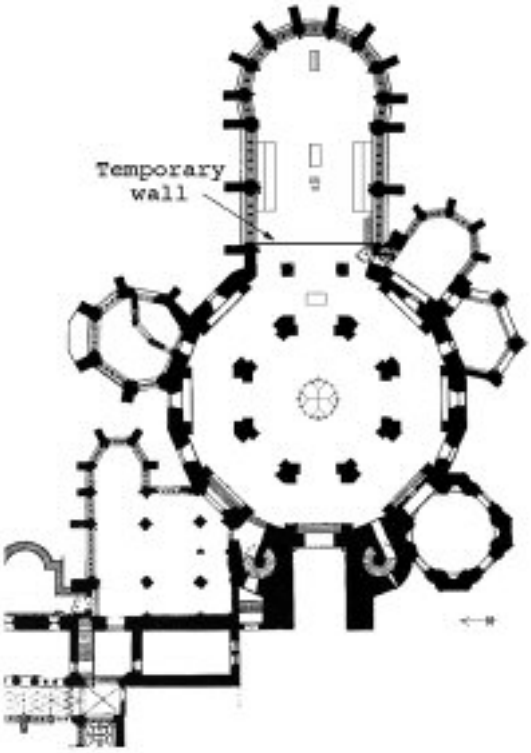


Figure 4. Plan of the *Marienkirche* while the Gothic choir was under restoration in 1998.

Saint Peter, the church's altar for the daily high mass, was relocated to the east end of the choir and rededicated. In sum, the octagon had been given over to the laity and became analogous in function to the nave of a Gothic cathedral, while the canons and other clerics inherited the new, brighter space of the Gothic choir. When the original apse was razed, the altar of Saint Mary stood in the open at the intersection of the two large spaces. The canons subsequently became dissatisfied with this altar's configuration and constructed a small chapel within the Gothic choir that surrounded it and restricted access to it.[8] The chapel's windows were completely open, so that the structure had a relatively small effect on the acoustics of the building (see Figure 8).

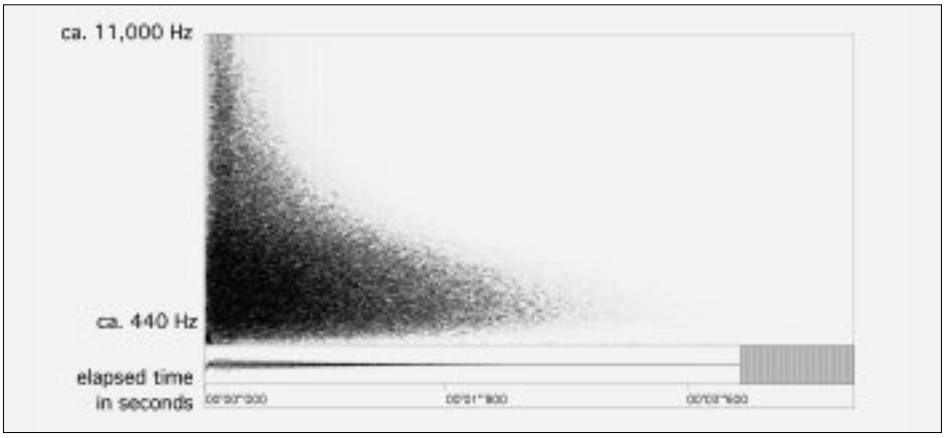


Figure 5. Graph of pistol shot produced and recorded in the church's octagon with the temporary wall in place between the Carolingian building and the Gothic choir, June 1998.

[8] K. BECKER, *Die ehemalige Marienkapelle des Aachener Münsters, die Krönungsstätte der deutschen Könige*, in *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 4–6 (1916), pp. 195–234.

Figure 6.
Cupola of Aachen's *Marienkirche*.
(Photo by Ann Münchow.
©Domkapitel Aachen.)

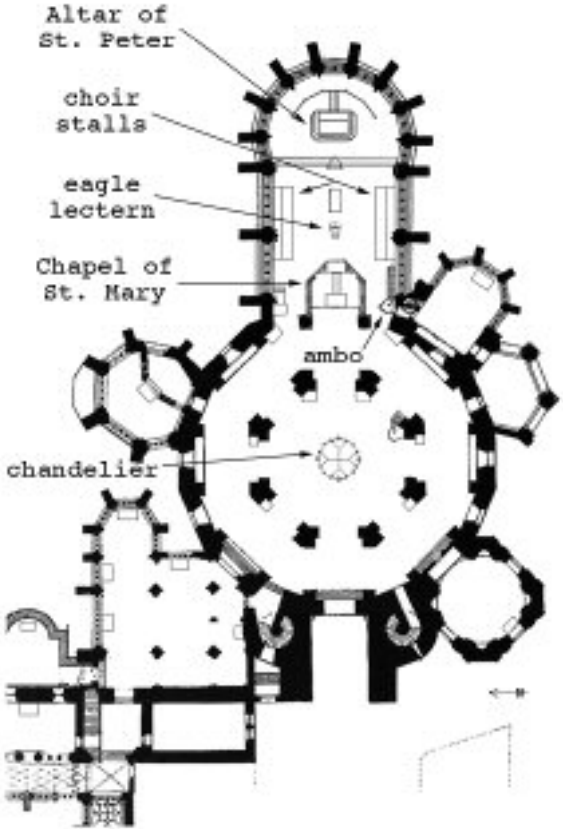


Figure 7.
Plan of Aachen's collegiate church in about 1475 (following the completion of the Gothic choir and the construction of the Chapel of Saint Mary).

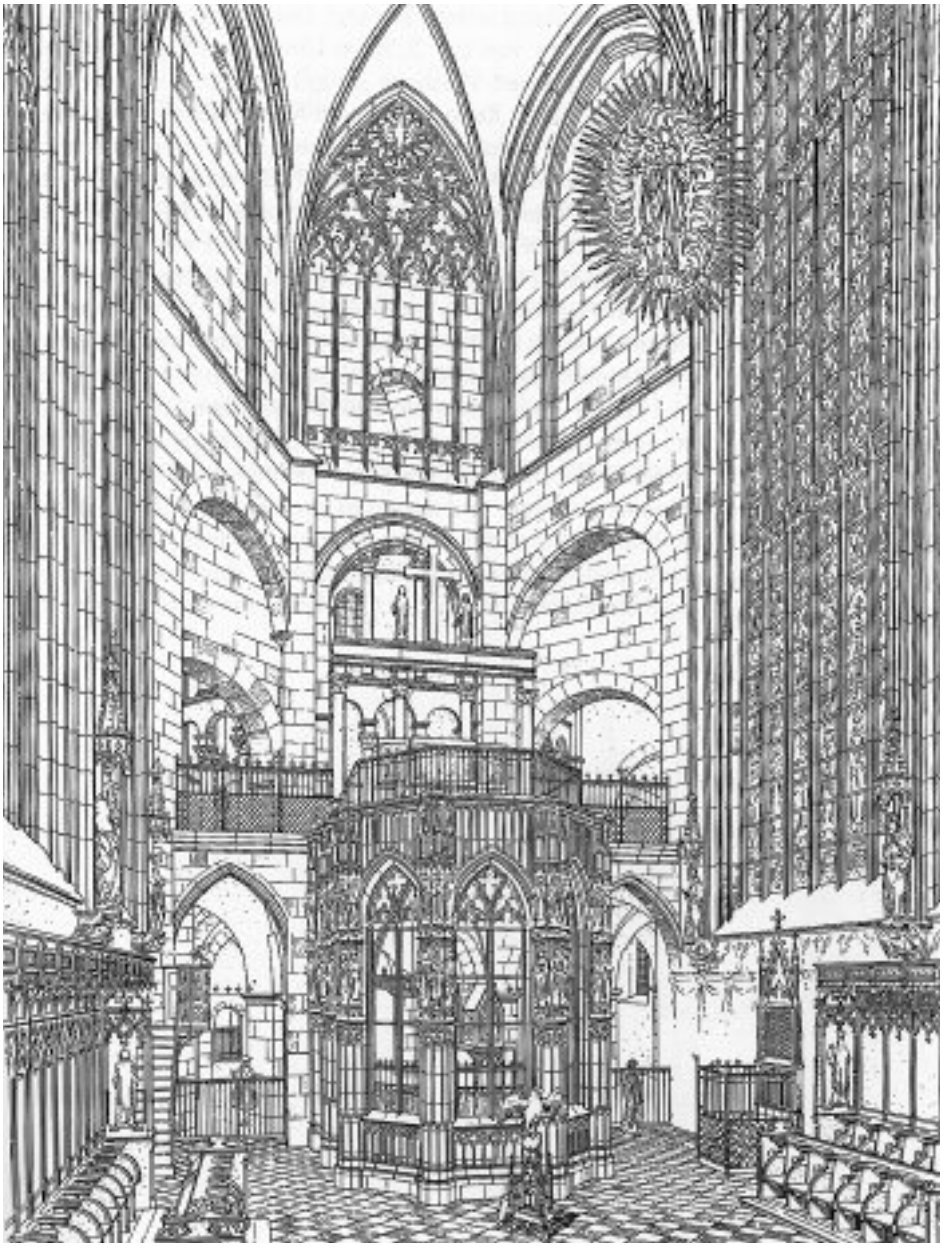


Figure 8. A view east within the Gothic choir in ca. 1475 as reconstructed by K. Becker. Note the open windows in the Chapel of Saint Mary.

I have recorded pistol shots within the choir and the octagon without the temporary wall in place for comparison with the recording I made in 1998. These tests reveal that the acoustics of the choir itself are substantially different from that of the octagon as originally built. The reverberation time in the choir (Figure 9) is less than two seconds as opposed to the octagon's original three, with a more uniform reflection and decay of all frequencies. Within the octagon (Figure 10), the reduction in reflecting

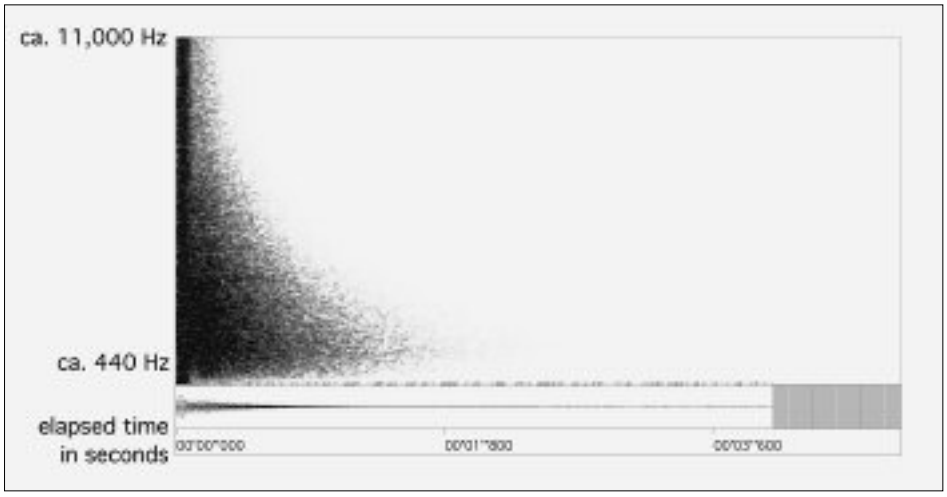


Figure 9. Graph of pistol shot produced and recorded in the church's Gothic choir without the temporary wall in place, July 2000.

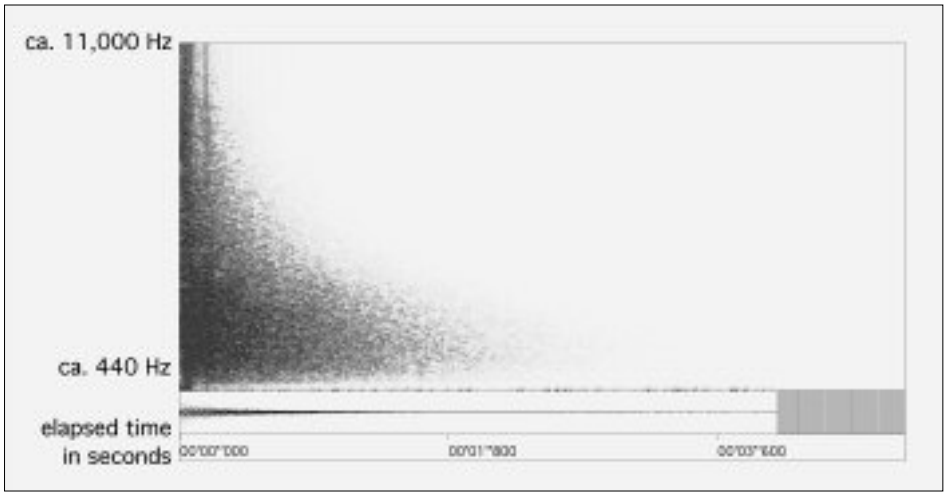


Figure 10. Graph of pistol shot produced and recorded in the church's octagon without the temporary wall in place, July 2000.

surface occasioned by the removal of the east wall of the Carolingian building reduces the reverberation time by approximately half a second, but other features of the acoustic remain the same (compare Figure 10 to Figure 5). The difference between the acoustic of the octagon and that of the Gothic choir was thus a marked one.

The notion that the Gothic choir might be preferred on the basis of acoustics alone is, of course, specious. The part of a church called a choir is, at least in principle, a designated space for singing, and its preference as such generally has more to do with liturgical concerns than with acoustical ones. But performance traditions in Aachen permit us to say more. The longstanding practice of singing responsories and antiphons under the large octagonal chandelier in the center of the octagon (or *sub corona*, as it was known in the ordinals) continued even after the Gothic choir was completed (see Figure 7). Singers regularly processed to the middle of the octagon, often singing as they did so, and sang a responsory verse or antiphon there before returning to the choir. Often the *ordo* specifies one cleric who was to sing the verse or even the entire responsory, suggesting that plainchant was preferred for this practice. In no case do the ordinals copied after the completion of the Gothic choir mention polyphony in connection with these processions, though this is hardly meaningful, since the ordinals seldom mention polyphony at all.[9]

More meaningful in this context is the repertory of the Mangon Choir Books, three books of polyphony dating from the 1570s and housed in Aachen's *Domarchiv*. Assembled by Johannes Mangon, a composer from Liège who was employed as succentor at the *Marienkirche* from 1572 until his death in 1578, these codices contain liturgical polyphony for the entire church year and, when consulted in conjunction with the ordinals, shed additional light on the question of preference for one space over another. Choir Book I preserves twenty-one masses, Choir Book II contains 101 motets, and Choir Book III is a compilation of sixty-five works – primarily Marian antiphons, magnificats, and hymns. Much of the repertory of Choir Books II and III is based on specific chants from Aachen's liturgy, using the chant melody as the subject of imitation or occasionally as a cantus firmus. My study of this repertory has revealed that such polyphonic elaborations were consistently substituted for their chant models in the liturgy.[10] Significantly, with the exception of Marian antiphons, I have not found polyphonic settings of any of the responsories or antiphons for which the ordinals prescribe a *sub corona* performance. In the case of the Marian antiphon settings, one may infer from their position within Choir Book III that they were intended for use at the conclusion of compline, by which time procession to the chandelier and back – if prescribed – would have already occurred.

[9] RICE, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 240–245.
[10] RICE, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 442–461.

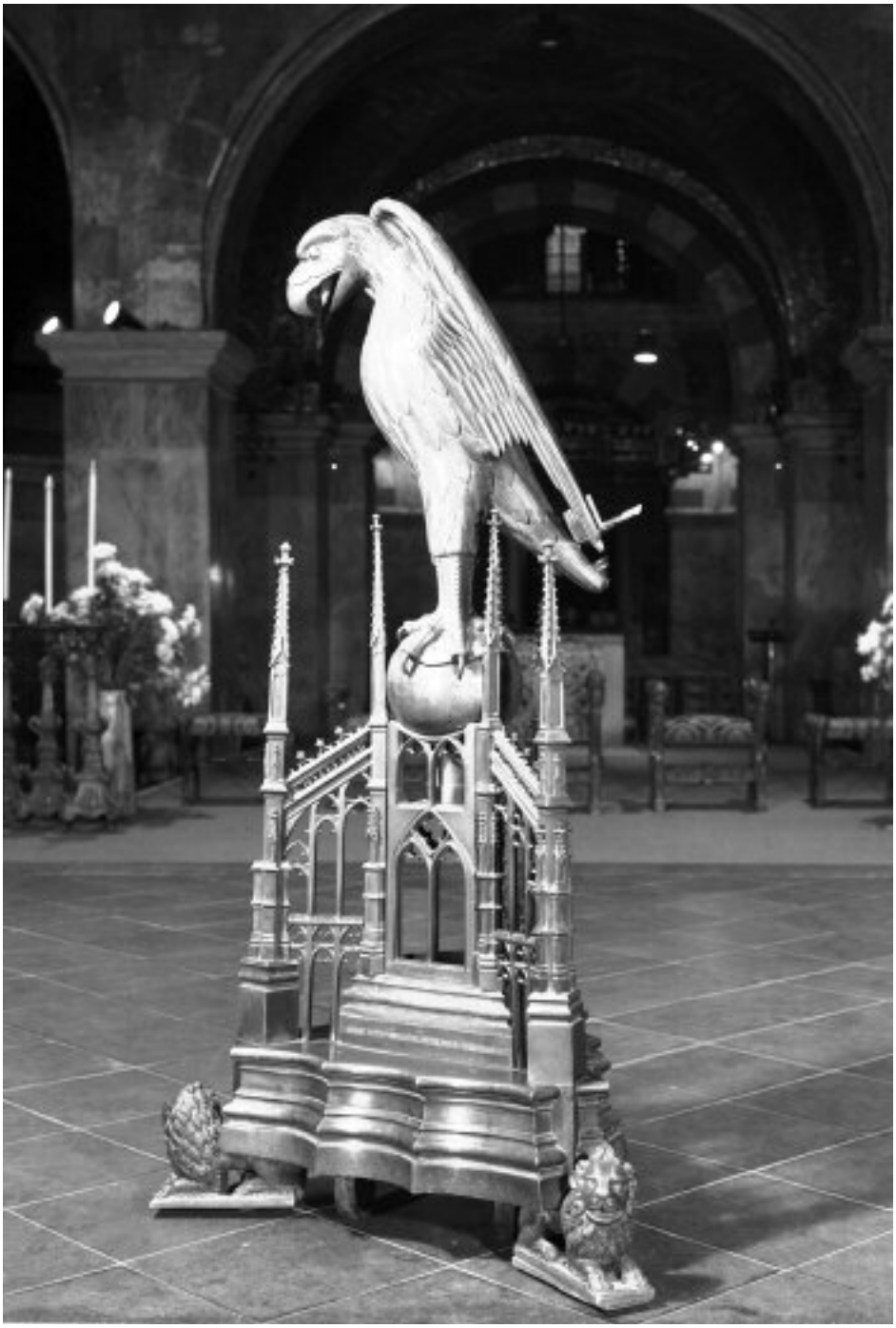
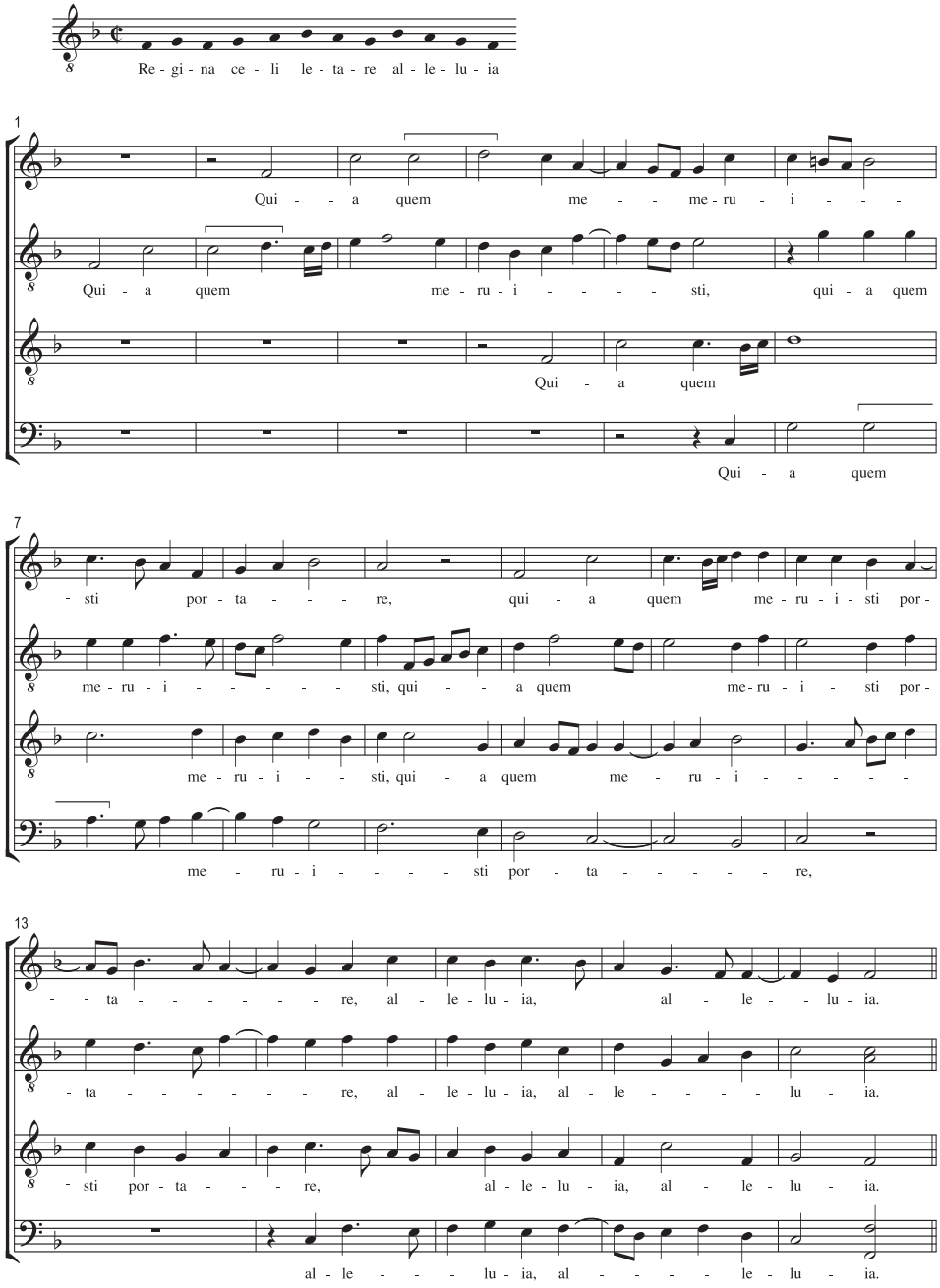


Figure 11. Eagle lectern, fifteenth century.

In addition to evidence that the repertory Mangon assembled was not sung in the octagon, the choir's furnishings indicate that it was sung in the choir. Several chroniclers mention a large bronze eagle lectern when describing the choir's interior (see Figure 11), and an eighteenth-century commentator cites it as the location for the singing of polyphony.[11] Such eagle lecterns, which represent John the Evangelist and the Word of God, were often located in close proximity to the church's high altar. In Aachen, however, the eagle lectern was located at the opposite end of the choir, immediately east of the chapel of Saint Mary (see Figure 7). The performance of polyphony was thus undertaken in the choir's western end, with the singers facing east. From this position, the polyphony could be heard in both the Gothic choir and the Carolingian octagon. I have made recordings of two performances of the first part of one of Mangon's *Regina celi* settings (see Example 3), both sung by just four singers from the eagle lectern's sixteenth-century position. In the first recording, the recorder was positioned in the Gothic choir; in the second, it was in the octagon. The recordings are revealing: the second is considerably fainter than the first, but by no means inaudible or unclear. By contrast, a recording of another performance in which singers stand at the east end of the choir has a much weaker sound than that of the second recording when heard from the octagon, whereas a performance within the octagon itself presents reverberation loud enough to prevent imitation from being heard distinctly.

The notion that the canons were concerned about the audibility of the proceedings from the choir is supported by the post-1414 position of an ambo donated by Henry II in 1002 (see Figure 12). While the original position of the ambo was especially prominent – it was in front of the altar of Saint Peter (see Figure 3) – following the completion of the Gothic choir it was moved to the south wall of the choir at its intersection with the Carolingian building (see Figure 7).[12] In this location, this impressive work of art could scarcely be seen from the octagon. Since the post-choir ordinals continue to show that Gospel readings, graduals, alleluias, and sequences continued to be recited from this ambo, it was likely placed in a position that was best suited for its function acoustically rather than visually.[13] Like the position of the ambo, the eagle lectern's location allows singers to be heard in both spaces, though it obviously favored the Gothic choir.

[11] J. NOPPIUS, *Aacher Chronik*, Cologne, 1643 (first edition 1630), p. 24; BUCHKREMER, *Zur Baugeschichte des Aachener Münsters*, p. 229.
[12] F. KREUSCH, *Über die Pfalzkapelle und Atrium zur Zeit Karls des Grossen*, in *Dom zu Aachen – Beiträge zur Baugeschichte*, 4, Aachen, 1958, pp. 26–33.
[13] RICE, *Music and Ritual*, pp. 245–248.



Example 3. Johannes Mangon, *Regina celi letare*, 4 April 1574; from the manuscript Aachen, Domarchiv, Mangon Chorbuch III, fol. 172v-173r.

Figure 12. Ambo donated by Emperor Henry II in 1002. (Photo by Ann Münchow. © Domkapitel Aachen.)

In conclusion, several pieces of information support the notion that the Gothic choir, a less reverberant space than the octagon, was the preferred space for the performance of complex polyphony. The eagle lectern, which was located in the choir, was cited as the location of singers engaged in polyphonic performance. The Mangon Choir Books provide few settings of chants that the ordinals prescribe for performance in the octagon, and those settings the books do provide were unlikely to have been sung there. In contrast to the late fourteenth-century examples by Johann Barba, Mangon's works are up-to-date examples of the imitative polyphony of their day. Though it is tempting to see the conservatism in Barba's music as a sign that in the late-fourteenth century Aachen's canons were insular and perhaps even unsophisticated, this is unlikely: one scholar has determined that seventeen of them were educated in Paris during the fourteenth century, where they would undoubtedly have been exposed to the polyphonic forms then current in France.[14] In addition, works of visual art they commissioned or received during the period show an overt French influence.[15] Finally, the canons' careful placement of the ambo donated by Henry II following the completion of the Gothic choir points to their concern about acoustical matters, demonstrating that they were unlikely to have left the placement of singers or the location of polyphonic performances to chance.

[14] P. OFFERGELD, *Die persönliche Zusammensetzung des alten Aachener Stiftskapitels bis 1614*, Ph.D. diss., Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen, 1972, p. 1060.

[15] E. GRIMME, *Der Dom zu Aachen*, Aachen, 1994, pp. 214–224.

Polyphony and Word-Sound in Adrian Willaert's *Laus tibi sacra rubens*[*]

Katelijne Schiltz[**]
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

It is well known that Adrian Willaert, during his tenure at St Mark's in Venice, made two long trips to his native Flanders, the first in 1542, the second in 1556–1557. As we can gather from various sources, he seems to have visited Bruges on both occasions. In this article I would like to focus on a very specific trace of Willaert's stay in this city, namely a work he composed in honour of a famous Bruges relic. The piece, a five-part motet entitled *Laus tibi sacra rubens*, celebrates the Holy Blood, which was kept in the chapel of the same name.[1] This composition was published in Cipriano de Rore's first book of five-part motets, printed by Antonio Gardano in 1544.[2] Apart from this collection, the work also circulated in four manuscripts, which are preserved in the libraries of Lucca, Modena (Biblioteca Estense, MS mus. C313; see Figure 1), Torino and Wolfenbüttel respectively.[3]

The text upon which Willaert based his composition is interesting for several reasons. First of all, the research of Alphonse Dewitte and Gilbert Tournoy has pointed out that the poem is written by the humanist Stephanus Comes (Stefaan De Grave).[4] The work was published in a small volume, entitled *Stephani Comitis Bellocassii Sylvula carminum, non minus docta quam iucunda*, compiled in 1544 by a certain

[*] I am grateful to Jonathan Miller and Stratton Bull for reading earlier drafts of this essay.
[**] Katelijne Schiltz is Postdoctoral Fellow of the Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders (Belgium).

[1] Modern edition in W. GERSTENBERG ed., *Adrian Willaert. Drei Motetten zu fünf Stimmen*, (*Das Chorwerk*, 59), Wolfenbüttel, 1956, pp. 13–21.

[2] *Cipriani musici eccelentissimi cum quibusdam aliis doctis authoribus motectorum nunc primum maxima diligentia in lucem exeuntium liber primus quinque vocum*, Venice, 1544 (= *RISM* 1544[6]). The collection is dedicated to Hieronimo Uttinger, a German merchant and collector of music manuscripts. See also M.S. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardane's Early Connections with the Willaert Circle*, in I. FENLON ed., *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 209–226.

[3] Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, MS 775, fol. 54v–55; Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS mus. C313, pp. 94–95; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS IV 45, fol. 30; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS Guelf 293, fol. 3. See M.S. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer 1538–1569. A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study. Volume I: 1538–1549*, New York – London, 1988, p. 426.

[4] A. DEWITTE, *Muziekleven in Brugge in de 16e eeuw*, in *Vlaanderen*, 34 (1985), pp. 156–159; G. TOURNOY, *An Unnoticed Bruges Collection of Latin Poems Mourning the Death of Juan Luis Vives*, in *Studia philologica valentina*, 1 (1996), pp. 161–176. The most up-to-date biographical information on Comes (1494–1544) can be found in: J. IJSEWIJN, D. SACRE and G. TOURNOY, *Litterae ad Craneveldium Balduinianae. A Preliminary Edition. Part II. Letters 31–55 (February 1521 – May 1521)*, in *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, 42 (1993), pp. 18–20.

Antonius Sconhovius (Antoon van Schoonhove) on the occasion of Comes's death in the summer of that year (see Figure 2).[5]

The fact that both Comes and Sconhovius were attached to the church of St Donatian – Comes as a secretary to the Chapter, Sconhovius as a canon – makes it tempting to speculate about how Willaert might have become acquainted with Comes and his poetic output. In my opinion, his own contacts with this institution could be a reasonable explanation. Not only have archival documents revealed that the composer attended High Mass in St Donatian's in November 1556 (i.e. during his second stay in Flanders), but we also know that his brother Antoon had been working for this church, first as a choir boy, later as a priest.[6]

Laus tibi sacra rubens divini gutta Cruoris,
Quam Christo a loto spongia pressa tulit.
Cuius servatae est Aritmathes auctor Joseph,
Ut quina emundans vulnera proluerat.
Basilij foelix aedes, foelicia Brugae
Maenia, thesauro hoc facta beata sacro.
Quem dudum e Solymis tulit huc Bertinicus abbas
Concessum Comiti munus ab Elsatia.
Laus tibi sancte cruor nullis peritura diebus,
Laus tibi qui es famulis sancta medela tuis.

Praise be to thee, holy red drop of the divine blood
that the sponge, on being squeezed, removed from Christ when he was washed;
the cause of thy preservation was Joseph of Arimathea,
when he had cleansed and bathed His five wounds.
Happy the church of St Basil, happy the walls of Bruges,
made blessed by this sacred treasure,
which long ago the abbot of Saint-Bertin brought hither from Jerusalem,
a gift granted by the Count of Alsace.
Praise that shall never die be to thee, holy blood,
praise to thee who art a hallowed cure for thy servants.[7]

[5] TOURNOY, *An Unnoticed Bruges Collection*, p. 164, mentions two copies of this print: an uncomplete one, breaking off after fol. [D 4r], is kept at the University library of Ghent (Res. 435), whereas the copy at the British Library (no. 11403.aa.19) is complete. The collection also contains poems in honour of and composed by Marcus Laurinus (Lauwereijn or Laurijn) and the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, as well as – interestingly enough – an epitaph for Lupus Hellinck, *Ergone harmonie princeps*.

[6] See A. DEWITTE, *Gegevens betreffende het muziekleven in de voormalige Sint-Donaaskerk te Brugge 1251–1600*, in *Handelingen van het Genootschap 'Société d'Emulation' te Brugge*, 111 (1974), p. 152, n. 98; and E. VANDER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle*, 6, Brussels, 1882, pp. 179–180. In addition, one of Antonius Sconhovius's relatives, Gilbertus Sconhovius, was a singer at St Donatian, judging from the epitaph *Quid species? Quid vox?*, which was published in the collection of 1544.

[7] I am grateful to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for the English translation of this poem.

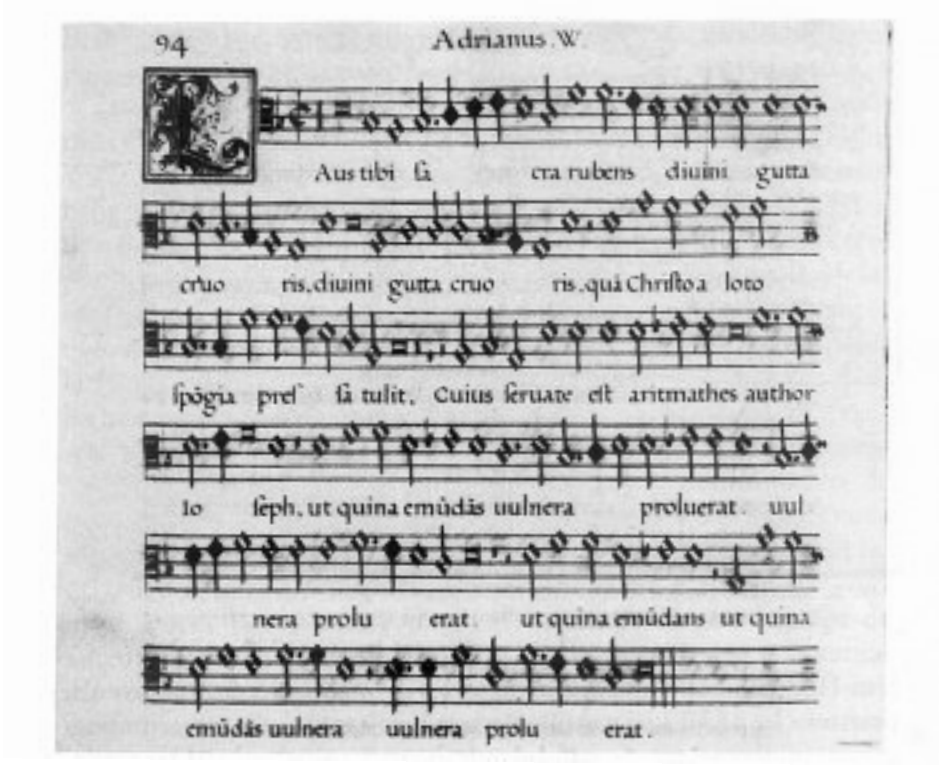


Figure 1. Adrian Willaert, *Laus tibi sacra rubens*, Altus, in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS mus. C313, p. 94.

Comes's Neo-Latin poem, written in elegiac distichs, offers a brief survey of the history of the Holy Blood, from Christ's crucifixion to its arrival in Bruges (see Figure 3).[8] What immediately strikes us when reading the poem is the fact that each verse contains a particular combination of vowels and consonants. To put it more specifically, each line is dominated by a particular sound pattern, that moreover perfectly matches the emotional message of the words. I would like to illustrate this idea by comparing the second and fourth lines of the poem. For example, I suppose it is quite obvious that the second verse is striking in its use of what I would like to call hard consonantal combinations: *QUam CHRiSTo a loto SPongia PRessa tulit*. The fourth verse, on the contrary, apart from its stress of the vowel *u*, mainly contains (in the

[8] A. JOOS DE TER BEERST, *Notices sur l'insigne relique du précieux sang, la Noble Confrérie, la Basilique de Saint Basile*, 2nd ed., Bruges, 1992. On 3 May (or the Monday after that day), an annual procession takes place in the city of Bruges, during which the relic of the Holy Blood is carried around. I wish to thank Dr. van Renynghe de Voxvrie, who provided some useful information on the history of the chapel and its confraternity.

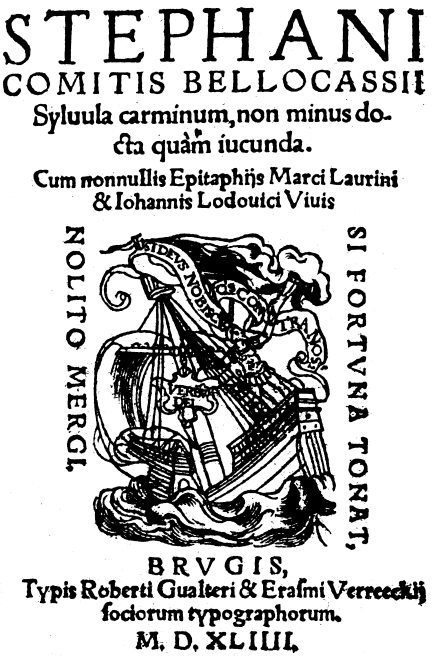


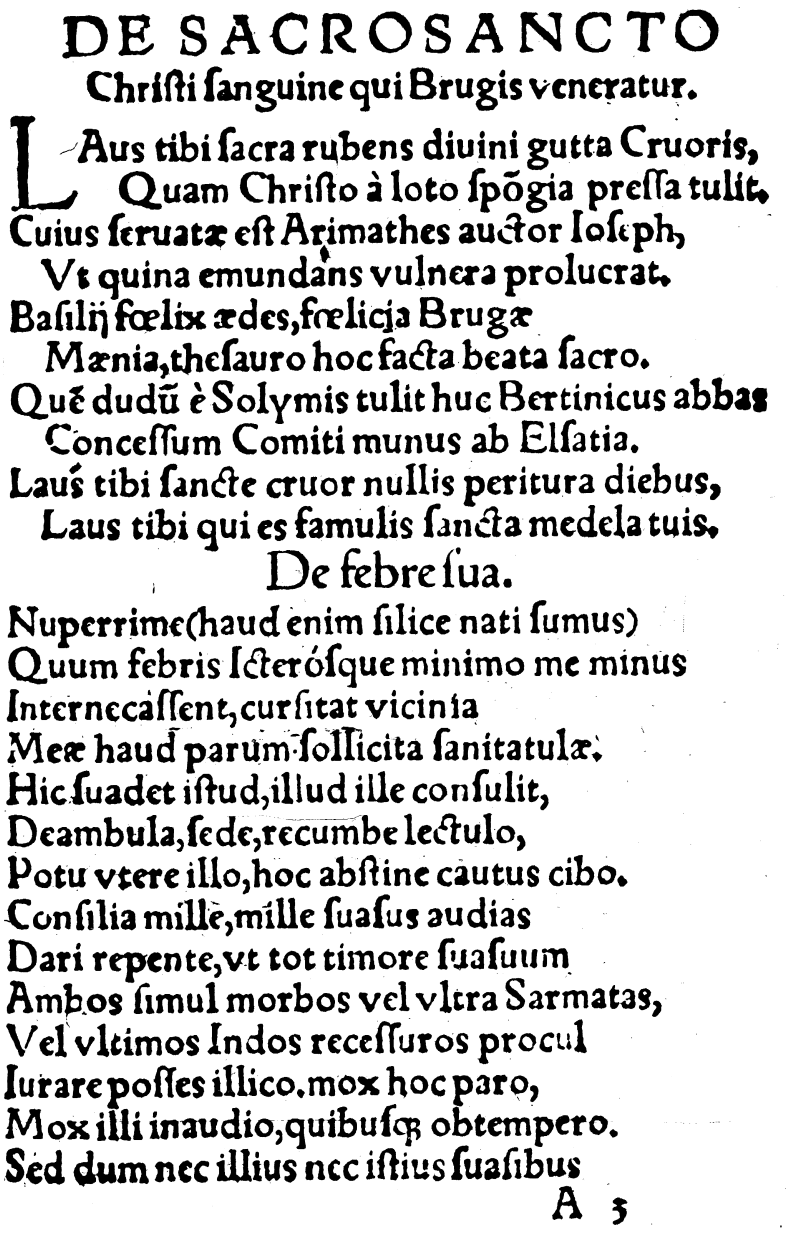
Figure 2. Title page of *Stephani Comitis Bellocassii Sylvula carminum*, Bruges, 1544.

terminology of phonetics) liquids and nasals: *ut quiNa eMuNdaNs vuLNeRa pRoLueRat*. If we now examine the content of both lines, it is certainly no accident that the second verse speaks of the 'squeezing of the sponge', whereas in the fourth verse the act of 'cleaning and bathing' Christ's wounds is described. In short, the opposite emotional content of the two verses is accentuated by an equally opposite sonic content. Although lines 2 and 4 are very clear examples of this correspondence between meaning and word-sound, the same principles can be traced in the remaining eight verses.

The crucial question now is of course what Willaert does with this text. In the following discussion, I would like to show how the expressive and sonic details of Comes's poem by no means escape his attention. What is more, he not only seeks to translate, but also to intensify them by effective musical means. It will become clear that the use of a polyphonic texture allows Willaert to add a new dimension (both in the literal and figurative sense of the word) to the purely horizontal dimension of the written and/or spoken text. In other words, polyphony's inherent capacity to combine different voices simultaneously proves to be an ideal medium for exploring and heightening the interaction between the emotional and sonic content of Comes's poem.

It must be said that scholars such as Dean Mace and Jonathan Miller have dealt with this topic, especially in light of Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*, published in Venice in 1525.[9] But whereas they have concentrated their investigation on the Italian madrigal in general and the Venetian madrigal output in particular – especially works based on the poetry of Francesco Petrarca – I intend to show that a similar attention to word-sound can be found in the Latin motet as well. Furthermore, whereas both scholars have mainly focused on sixteenth-century literary theories, it

[9] D.T. MACE, *Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal*, in *The Musical Quarterly*, 55 (1969), pp. 65–86; J.M. MILLER, *Word-Sound and Musical Texture in the Mid-Sixteenth-Century Venetian Madrigal*, Ph.D. diss., University of North-Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1991. See also M. FELDMAN, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, Berkeley – Los Angeles, 1995.



DE SACROSANCTO
Chriſti ſanguine qui Brugis veneratur.

LAus tibi ſacra rubens diuini gutta Cruoris,
Quam Chriſto à loto ſpõgia preſſa tulit.
Cuius ſeruatæ eſt Arimathes auctor Ioſeph,
Vt quina emundans vulnera prolucrat.
Baſilij fœlix ædes, fœlicia Brugæ
Mænia, theſauro hoc facta beata ſacro.
Quẽ dudũ è Solymis tulit huc Bertinicus abbas
Conceſſum Comiti munus ab Elſatia.
Laus tibi ſancte cruor nullis peritura diebus,
Laus tibi qui es famulis ſancta medela tuis.

De febre ſua.

Nuperrime (haud enim ſilice nati ſumus)
Quum febris Icterósque minimo me minus
Internecaſſent, curſitat vicinia
Meæ haud parum ſollicita ſanitatulæ.
Hic ſuadet iſtud, illud ille conſulit,
Deambula, ſede, recumbe lectulo,
Potu vtere illo, hoc abſtine cautus cibo.
Conſilia mille, mille ſuaſus audias
Dari repente, vt tot timore ſuaſuum
Ambos ſimul morbos vel vltra Sarmatas,
Vel vltimos Indos receſſuros procul
Iurare poſſes illico. mox hoc paro,
Mox illi inaudio, quibuſq; obtempero.
Sed dum nec illius nec iſtius ſuaſibus

A 5

Figure 3. Stephanus Comes's poem in *Stephani Comitis Bellocassii Sylvula carminum*, Bruges, 1544.

can be said that some leading music theorists of that time, namely Giovanni Del Lago, Nicola Vicentino and Gioseffo Zarlino were equally dealing with subjects such as the pronunciation and the sonic qualities of a text.[10] Their observations thus form a stable background against which we can situate our analytical research.

Near the end of his letter to Fra Seraphin, Giovanni Del Lago offers a succinct analysis of the smallest building blocks of language.[11] He not only discusses the letters of the alphabet according to their traditional classification into vowels and consonants, but he also elaborates on the pronunciation of syllables. Quoting a passage from Johannes Sulpicius' treatise *De arte grammatica* (Rome, 1490), he states that each syllable has a certain pitch (regulated by one of the following accents: *acuto*, *grave* or *circunflesso*), breath (*aspero* or *lene*), duration (*breve*, *lungo* or *comune*) and number of letters (varying from one to six).[12]

Finally, in his monumental *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), Gioseffo Zarlino dedicates several remarks to the sonic characteristics and pronunciation of a text. In book 1, chapter 2 he praises the way classical authors like Virgil were able to intensify the content of the words by using the appropriate sounds:[13]

> *[L]i poeti hanno usato grandissima diligenza, & maraviglioso artificio nell'accomodare ne i versi le parole, & dispor li piedi secondo la convenienza del parlare; si come per tutto il suo poema hà osservato Virgilio: percioche a tutti tre le sorti del suo parlare accomoda la propia [sic] sonorità del verso con tale artificio, che propriamente pare, che col suono delle parole ponga davanti a gli occhi le cose, delle quali egli viene a trattare; di modo che dove parla d'amore, si vede artificiosamente haver scielto alcune parole soavi, dolci, piacevoli & all'udito sommamente grate; & dove gli stato dibisogno cantare un fatto d'arme, descrivere una pugna navale, una fortuna di mare, o simil cose, over entrano spargimenti di sangue, ire, sdegni, dispiaceri d'animo, & ogni cosa odiosa, hà fatto scielta di parole dure, aspre & dispiacevoli: di modo che nell'udirle & proferirle areccano spavento.*

[10] A general discussion of these principles is offered in K. SCHILTZ, *Adriaan Willaert en de Venetiaanse motetpraktijk. Een onderzoek naar stijlbepaling*, Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2001, pp. 100–103. See also K. SCHILTZ, *Vulgari orecchie, purgate orecchie: de relatie tussen publiek en muziek in het Venetiaanse motetoeuvre van Adriaan Willaert*, (*Symbolae Facultatis litterarum Lovaniensis*, B/31), Leuven, 2003.

[11] Published in B.J. BLACKBURN, E.E. LOWINSKY and C.A. MILLER eds., *A Correspondence of Renaissance Musicians*, Oxford, 1991, pp. 875–887. See also D. HARRÁN, *The Theorist Giovanni Del Lago: A View of the Man and His Writings*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 27 (1973), pp. 107–151. Although the letter is dated 26 August 1541, research has pointed out that this date is fictitious. B.J. BLACKBURN et al., *A Correspondence*, pp. 139–142, offers a hypothetical reconstruction of the genesis of this letter.

[12] On Del Lago's quotation from Sulpicius, see BLACKBURN, *A Correspondence*, p. 883, n. 25.

[13] G. ZARLINO, *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, (*Monuments of Music and Music Literature*, 2/1, facsimile of the 1558 Venice edition), New York, 1965, p. 5 (my translation).

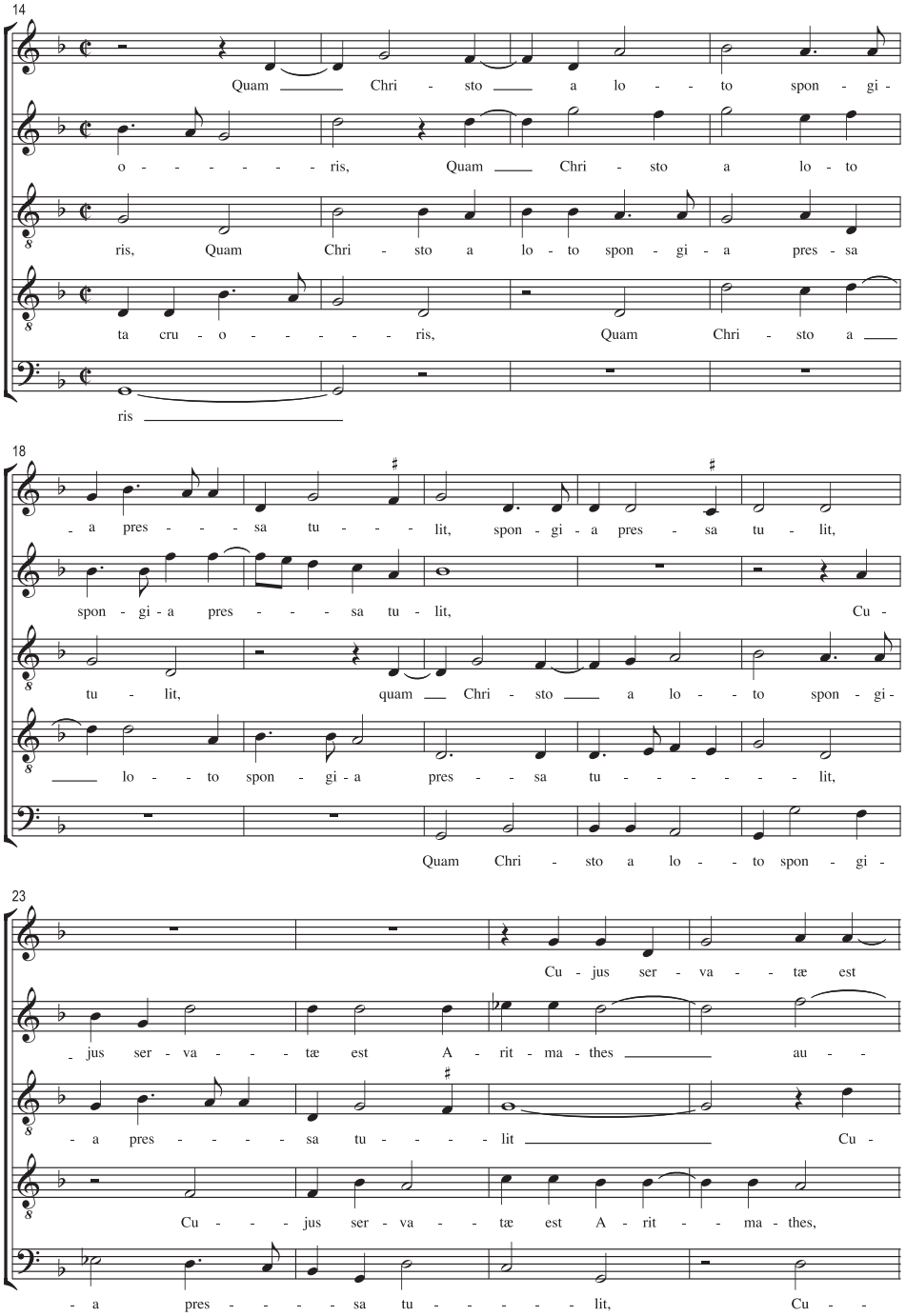
> The poets have used their utmost diligence and most wonderful skill in adapting the words to the verses and distributing the *piedi* according to the conventions of speaking. Virgil has observed this in his whole poetic oeuvre. He adapts the sonority of the verse so skilfully to the three sorts of writing, that it seems as if through the sounds of the words he puts the things of which he speaks in front of our eyes. Where he speaks of love, you can see he has carefully chosen words that are soft, sweet, graceful, and agreeable to the ear. When he needs to describe a feat of arms, a naval battle, a maritime disaster or something similar, where bloodshed, anger, outrage, displeasure and other odious things come into play, he chooses hard, harsh, and unpleasant words, so that hearing and pronouncing them gives you a fright.

Needless to say, similar attention to the correspondence between content and word-sound can be found in Comes's poem of 1544. His encomium is clearly rooted in the tradition of the ancient Latin authors, not only through its use of a Classical metrical scheme, but also through the conscious organisation of the phonetic material. Another quotation from Zarlino enables us to make yet another link with the central theme of this article. Book 3, chapter 45 of *Le istitutioni harmoniche* deals among other things with 'a common error of changing the vowel sounds, singing a in place of *e*, *i* in place of *o*, or *u* in place of one of these'.[14] The theorist illustrates his intentions with the first verse from Petrarch's *Aspro core, e selvaggio, e cruda voglia*: as singers transform these words into *Aspra cara, e selvaggia, e croda vaglia*, the message of these words is corrupted both on an aural and a semantic level. Interestingly enough, this sonnet from the *laureatus poeta* also appears in Adrian Willaert's famous *Musica Nova* (Venice, 1558–1559), a collection of motets and madrigals for four to seven voices that is generally labeled as a milestone in the relationship between word-sound and musical texture in the mid-sixteenth-century Venetian madrigal.[15] Zarlino's statement might thus be understood as a double warning, since by so doing singers not only violate the poet's intentions, but – what is equally (or even more) important – they also show themselves to be completely unaware of the extraordinary care the composer took in translating these very intentions into music.

In the following analysis, I will confine myself to what I consider to be the most eye-catching passages in Willaert's motet *Laus tibi sacra rubens*, namely the above-

[14] ZARLINO, *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, p. 204: *[U]no errore, che si ritrova appresso molti, cioè di non mutar le Lettere vocali delle parole, come sarebbe dire, proferire A in luogo di E, ne I in luogo di O, overo U in luogo di una della nominate*. The English translation is quoted from G.A. MARCO and C.V. PALISCA, *The Art of Counterpoint, Gioseffo Zarlino: Part Three of 'Le istitutioni harmoniche', 1558*, (*Music Theory Translation Series*, 2), New York, 1983, p. 111.

[15] Hence the title of Jonathan Marcus Miller's dissertation (see above, note 9). In book 4, chapter 32 of *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, Zarlino explicitly mentions Willaert's madrigal as an example of the perfect adaptation between words and music.



Example 1. Adrian Willaert, *Laus tibi sacra rubens*, bb. 14–25 (after the modern edition by Walter Gerstenberg, see note 1).

mentioned lines 2 and 4 plus the concluding lines 9 and 10. As we have seen, verse 2 – *quam Christo a loto spongia pressa tulit* – is mainly characterised by the presence of hard-sounding consonants or consonantal combinations, that perfectly support the meaning of the text. If we now take a closer look at the music, we can see that Willaert has carefully tried to imitate this poetic effect, more exactly through a specific organisation of the rhythm.

The rhythmic structure of the second verse is dominated by a rigorous alternation of entrances on the stronger (first and third minim) and weaker parts (second and fourth minim) of the measure. Willaert (See Example 1) clarifies his intentions right from the start of this line (bar 14), by creating an inextricable link between the quintus and cantus. The quintus invariably sings his syllables on the stronger parts of the measure, whereas the cantus systematically follows this voice after a minim, thus producing a constant verbal echo. This technique functions as the perfect vehicle for expressing and stressing the emotional content of this verse, since it guarantees the presence of hard consonants and consonantal combinations on each minim. Willaert's purpose is manifested even more clearly from bar 15–16 onwards, when the altus and tenor join the polyphonic fabric, making use of the same rhythmic principles. It is obvious that the number of sonic effects increases in proportion to the growing number of voices. What is more, thanks to the increased number of voices, the linking of different consonantal combinations takes place not only on a successive (horizontal) level, but on a simultaneous (vertical) level as well: see for instance the fourth beat of bar 15 (*ChriSTo* + *QUam*) or the third beat of bar 16 (*SPongia* + *QUam*).

The gradual heightening of this sonic effect reaches a climax on the third beat of bar 17, where three hard consonantal combinations can be heard simultaneously: *SPongia* (cantus), *PRessa* (quintus) and *CHRisto* (tenor). It is interesting to note that this climax has been carefully prepared: after the rhythmic standstill at the beginning of bar 17 – for the first time in this motet all voices share the same rhythmic value, namely a semibreve – the sonic outburst on the second half of this measure can be said to be twice as powerful. In bar 18 Willaert reintroduces the same, more or less moderate spread of entrances as at the beginning of this verse. On the last beat of bar 19, however, a new wave of successive and simultaneous sound clusters starts.[16] As in bar 17, this climax is preceded by what could be called a textural recession, namely a cadence on g. In short, the specific spreading of the rhythm and the careful organisation of the contrapuntal texture (i.e. the alternation of rich and low textural activity) allow Willaert to create a polyphonic web that is perfectly suited to intensifying the emotional and sonic content of the text. Table 1 summarizes the spreading of the consonantal combinations in the second verse.

[16] This term comes from MILLER, *Word-Sound and Musical Texture*, p. 69.

VOICE	BAR / BEAT	SYLLABLE
quintus	14 / 3	*qu[am]*
cantus	14 / 4	*qu*
quintus	15 / 1	*Chr[isto]*
cantus	15 / 2	*Chr*
quintus	15 / 3	*[Chri]st[o]*
cantus	15 / 4	*st*
altus	15 / 4	*qu*
altus	16 / 2	*Chr*
quintus	16 / 3	*sp[ongia]*
tenor	16 / 3	*qu*
altus	16 / 4	*st*
tenor	17 / 1	*Chr*
cantus	17 / 3	*sp*
quintus	17 / 3	*pr[essa]*
tenor	17 / 3	*st*
altus	18 / 1	*sp*
cantus	18 / 2	*pr*
altus	18 / 4	*pr*
tenor	19 / 1	*sp*
quintus	19 / 4	*qu*
tenor	20 / 1	*pr*
bassus	20 / 1	*qu*
quintus	20 / 2	*Chr*
cantus	20 / 3	*sp*
bassus	20 / 3	*Chr*
quintus	20 / 4	*st*
bassus	21 / 1	*st*
cantus	21 / 2	*pr*
bassus	22 / 2	*sp*
quintus	22 / 3	*sp*
bassus	23 / 2	*pr*
quintus	23 / 3	*pr*

Table 1. Consonantal combinations in the second verse of Adrian Willaert's motet *Laus tibi sacra rubens*.

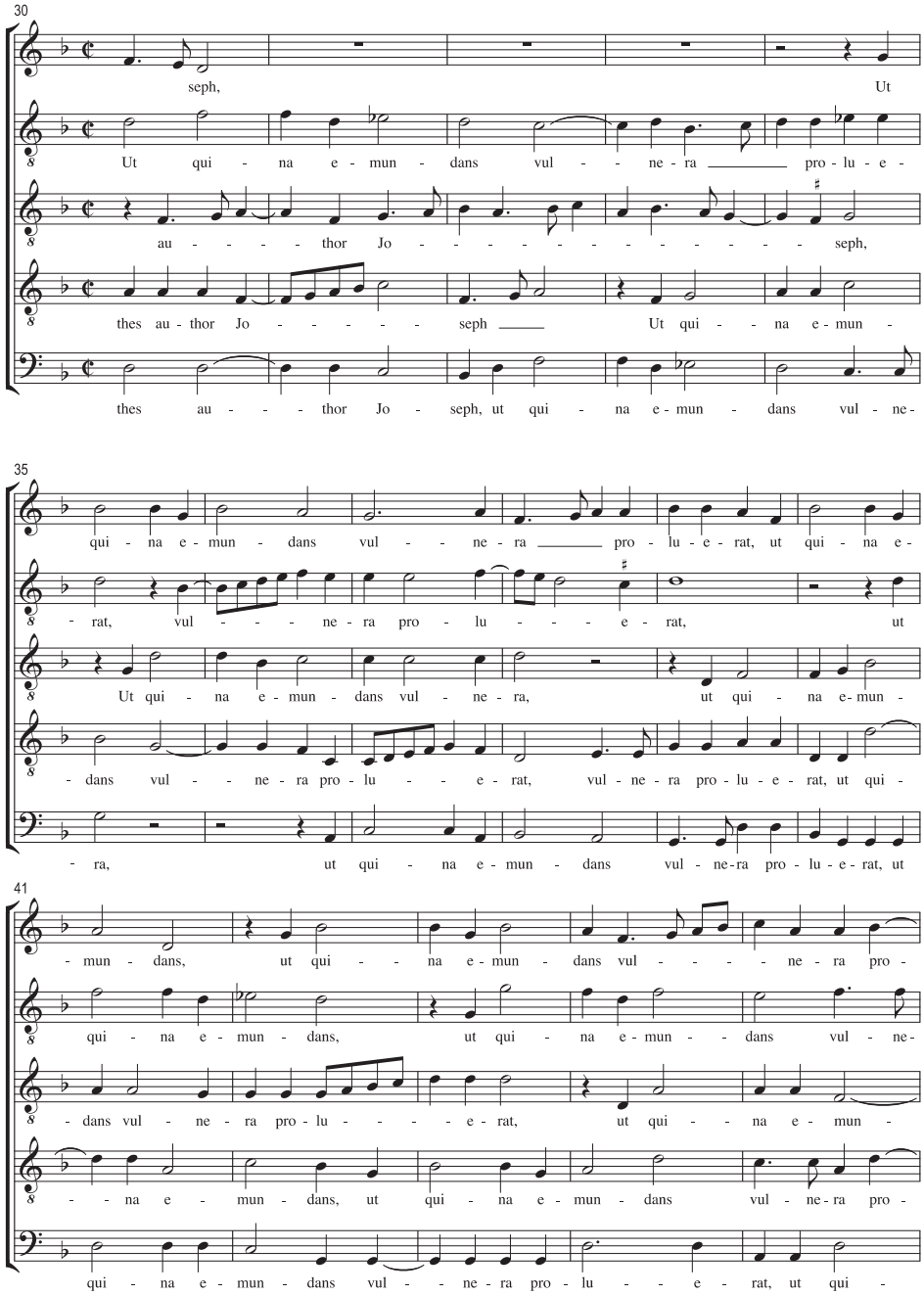
In the fourth line of Comes's poem, *ut quina emundans vulnera proluerat*, which describes Joseph of Arimathea's bathing and cleaning of Christ's five wounds, two kinds of sounds dominate: the vowel *u* as well as two closely related classes of consonants, namely liquids (*l* and *r*) and nasals (*m* and *n*). In his polyphonic construction Willaert (See Example 2) highlights them both by successive and simultaneous means.

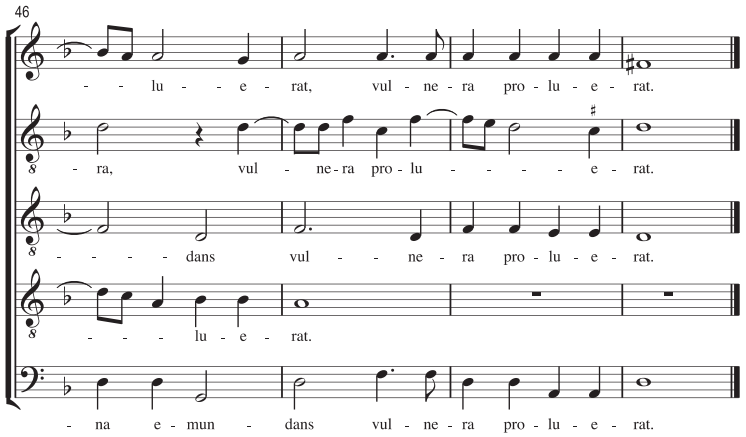
The letter *u*, which is generally known to be the darkest vowel of the spectrum, occurs four times, usually on a stressed syllable: *UT*, *eMUNdans*, *VULnera* and *proLUerat*. On a horizontal level, the composer often tries to stretch this sound over different beats, by either using a melisma or a slightly longer rhythmic value. In addition, from the perspective of solmisation the syllables *eMUNdans* and *proLUerat* are often sung on *fa*.[17] It will also be noted that from bar 35 onwards the polyphonic texture is organised in such a way that this vowel constantly figures in one or more voices. This effect reaches a climax on the second beat of bar 44, where the four *u*-syllables are heard together: *VULnera* (cantus), *UT* (quintus), *eMUNdans* (tenor) and *proLUerat* (bassus).

Although the prominent presence of the vowel *u* surely guided the melodic shaping of this verse, I believe it is still another sonic element that fundamentally influenced the organisation of Willaert's polyphonic texture, especially when we compare it with his handling of the second verse. Whereas this line was mainly characterized by hard consonantal combinations, the fourth verse is striking because of its many soft consonants. If we now confront Willaert's musical translation of the fourth line with that of the second one, a remarkable difference appears. The systematic alternation of entrances on the weaker and stronger parts of the measure – which proved to be the ideal tool for expressing the emotional and sonic content of the second verse – has given way to a much more mellifluous counterpoint, that not only carefully follows the rules of the metrical accentuation, but also seeks to heighten the effect of the soft consonants. This often results in the simultaneous presence of two (e.g. first beat of bar 38), three (e.g. third beat of bar 43) and even four (e.g. first beat of bar 44) of these consonants. In short, just as Comes translated the opposite emotional message of verses 2 and 4 by choosing a radically different sound pattern, Willaert uses a totally different polyphonic texture in order to stress this poetic effect.

In the second part of his motet, the composer continues his extensive musical exploration of the poem's sonic characteristics. At one point, however, Willaert clearly deviates from this intention. In bars 90–110 (See Example 3), i.e. shortly before the end of the piece, he exchanges the rich contrapuntal activity of the previous lines

[17] For *eMUNdans*, see altus (b. 31), bassus (b. 33 and 38), quintus (b. 40), cantus (b. 43), altus (b. 44) and quintus (b. 45); for *proLUerat*, see altus (b. 34 and 37), cantus (b. 39), bassus (b. 40), tenor (b. 46) and altus (b. 47). *VULnera* as well is ocasionally sung on *fa*: cantus (b. 44), altus (b. 45) and bassus (b. 47). I wish to thank Jeffrey Kurtzman for his observations on this topic.


30
seph, Ut
Ut qui - na e - mun - dans vul - - ne - ra _____ pro - lu - e -
au - - - - - thor Jo - - - - - - - - - - - - seph,
thes au - thor Jo - - - - - - seph _____ Ut qui - - na e - mun -
thes au - - - - thor Jo - seph, ut qui - na e - mun - dans vul - ne -
35
qui - na e - mun - dans vul - - ne - ra _____ pro - lu - e - rat, ut qui - na e -
- rat, vul - - - - ne - ra pro - lu - - - - e - rat, ut
Ut qui - na e - mun - dans vul - ne - ra, ut qui - na e - mun -
- dans vul - - ne - ra pro - lu - - - e - rat, vul - ne - ra pro - lu - e - rat, ut qui -
- ra, ut qui - na e - mun - dans vul - ne - ra pro - lu - e - rat, ut
41
- mun - dans, ut qui - - na e - mun - dans vul - - - - - ne - ra pro -
qui - na e - mun - dans, ut qui - na e - mun - - dans vul - ne -
- dans vul - ne - ra pro - lu - - - - - e - rat, ut qui - - na e - mun -
- - na e - mun - dans, ut qui - na e - mun - dans vul - ne - ra pro -
qui - na e - mun - dans vul - - ne - ra pro - lu - - - e - rat, ut qui -

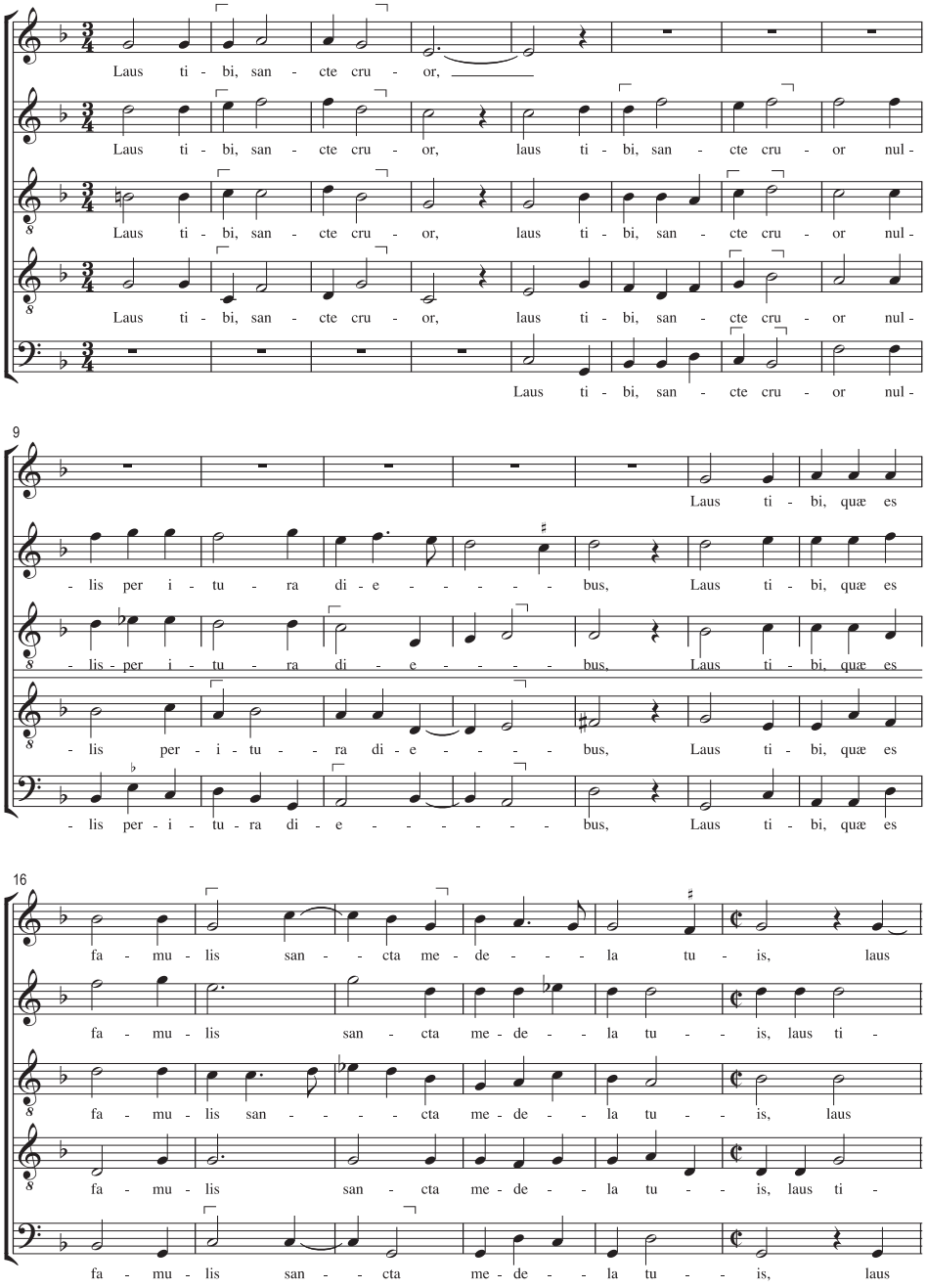


Example 2. Adrian Willaert, *Laus tibi sacra rubens*, bb. 30–49 (after the modern edition by Walter Gerstenberg, see note 1).

for a ternary, purely homophonic setting. In verse 9, *laus tibi sancte cruor nullis peritura diebus* he even includes a short dialogue between the higher (bars 90–93: bassus *tacet*) and lower voices (bars 94–102: cantus *tacet*). As the voices are now proceeding simultaneously, changing their syllables all at the same time, this aurally transparent passage forms a remarkable moment of repose as compared with the other verses. What is more, it seems to me that through this sudden contrast, the effect of the former verses, with their constantly changing textures and their rich sonic activity, can actually be experienced twice as strongly.

In conclusion, I would like to stress two points. First of all, it seems to be clear that a piece such as *Laus tibi sacra rubens* can provide new insights into the way Adrian Willaert planned his music. Research over the past few decades has already shown us that the composer took extraordinary care in translating the structure and the content of the texts he set to music. His motet in honour of the Holy Blood now makes it clear that the sonic characteristics of the words also determined the organisation of his contrapuntal texture. In his hands polyphony became an ideal vehicle for exploring the phonetic richness of a text, both on a horizontal and vertical level. Or, as Jonathan Miller puts it: "Willaert's skillful weaving of vowels, consonants, and accents into a polyphonic fabric reveals a master at work, one who seems as devoted to the sounds of the poetry he sets as he is to the poem's structural and syntactical sense."[18] Furthermore, I strongly believe that these analytical results could have

[18] MILLER, *Word-Sound and Musical Texture*, p. 177.



Example 3. Adrian Willaert, *Laus tibi sacra rubens*, bb. 90–110 (after the modern edition by Walter Gerstenberg, see note 1).

important consequences for contemporary performance practice, as they call for a performance that is as attentive to the sound of the words and the way they are woven into the polyphonic fabric as the composer himself had been when writing the piece.

Secondly, it goes without saying that Willaert's *Laus tibi sacra rubens* establishes itself as the ideal musical metaphor of the relationship between Bruges and Venice. This is evidenced not only by the extramusical circumstances – Willaert, the chapelmaster of the most famous Venetian institution, writes a piece that praises a typical devotional tradition of his land of origin – but also by the stylistic features. By framing his concentration on a text's sonic and emotional qualities, which proves to be a typical Italian tradition in general and a Venetian characteristic in particular, in a full-blown polyphonic texture, he also symbolically reconciles the respective musical traditions of his homeland Flanders and his second hometown Venice.

Virtus scriptoris: Steps Towards a Typology of Illustration Borrowing in Music Theory Treatises of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance

Luminita Florea
Robbins Collection of Roman and Canon Law,
University of California at Berkeley

This article proposes a preliminary typology of illustrations of musical concepts in medieval and Renaissance music theory treatises, and posits that such illustrations were frequently borrowed from other disciplines and adapted to the need of clarifying these concepts. Thus astronomy lent its diagrams of concentric or intersecting circles representing the then known universe, and its tables for the calculation of lunar and solar motions; astrology – its zodiacal diagrams; canon law – the arbors, hands, and ladders of affinity and consanguinity; heraldry – its shields and triangles; architecture – its building frames; and so on. Conversely and quite often, other disciplines borrowed concepts from music theory, which in turn allowed copyists and illuminators to borrow and adapt the corresponding illustrations; marginal notes or commentaries in medieval manuscripts include, at times, graphic metaphors and wordplays related to music – such as using a noteshape as a substitute for the word *nota* in *nota bene*.

Over the past thirty years the field of musical iconography has benefited from large-scale studies such as Tilman Seebass's work on Psalter illustration[1] and Howard Mayer Brown's series on *Trecento* musical imagery.[2] Within the last five years the mounting of virtual exhibits of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts has become common practice with academic and public libraries. Selected images or complete manuscripts – some of which are relevant to this article – have been made accessible through digitization at Oxford University,[3] the Université de Liège,[4] the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,[5] and others. In addition, searchable databases of illustrations from medieval manuscripts have been created at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in

[1] T. SEEBASS, *Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im frühen Mittelalter. Studien, ausgehend von einer Ikonologie der Handschrift Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1118*, Bern, 1973.

[2] H.M. BROWN, *Catalogus: A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter*, in *Imago musicae*, 1 (1984), pp. 189–243; 2 (1985), pp. 179–281; 3 (1986), pp. 103–187; 5 (1988), pp. 167–243.

[3] See *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University: Digital Facsimiles of Complete Manuscripts, Scanned Directly from the Originals* (henceforth: *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*), <http://image.ox.ac.uk>.

[4] See *Choix de miniatures des manuscrits de l'Université de Liège* (henceforth: Université de Liège, *Miniatures*), <http://www.ulg.ac.be/libnet/enlumin/enl01.htm>.

[5] See *Expositions virtuelles*, (henceforth: Paris, *Expositions virtuelles*), <http://expositions.bnf.fr/index2.htm>, especially *Naissance de la culture française*, *Le roi Charles V et son temps*, and *Le Ciel et la Terre*, all mounted in and before 1988.

The Hague,[6] and by a consortium of American libraries including those at Columbia University, the University of California at Berkeley, the San Francisco State University, the New York Union Theological Seminary, the Huntington Library, and several others.[7]

All these provide access to manuscript sources in ways that were not even thinkable a few years ago. They also prompt questions with regard to the need for – and feasibility of – similar projects in the field of illustrations found in music theory treatises. This article was prompted by the recognition of such a need. Searching the medieval and Renaissance manuscripts available in digital form has turned out only a few music theory works, whether whole or fragmentary. As a rule, these were digitized only in part, by some institutions yet not by others, and preference was generally given to examples of musical notation. The volumes of *RISM* published thus far and devoted to music theory manuscripts do not always include detailed descriptions of illustrations.[8] Yet the building of a large, searchable database or the writing of a catalogue of illustrations in music theory treatises would create opportunities for research into the transmission of drawings that would, as C. Matthew Balensuela has suggested, parallel the tracing of *loci paralleli* in the editing of texts.[9]

In what follows I will tentatively classify the illustrations in music theory treatises into two broad categories or classes: simple and composite. Within these, or alongside them, two others become apparent: geometrical schemes and images of living things. Further classification of the composite category identifies some more frequently encountered sub-categories (here arranged in ascending order of graphic complexity); in the class of geometrical schemes: the ladder, the monochord, tables, the shield, the triangle, circular and semicircular shapes, building frames; in the class of living things: the vegetal reign, the human hand, the human body.

The domain of illustrations in music theory treatises is rich and diverse: a cursory examination of tables only, in one single manuscript,[10] reveals those of concor-

[6] See *Middeleeuwse verluchte handschriften* (henceforth: The Hague, *Handschriften*), <http://www.kb.nl/kb/manuscripts/index_nl.html>.

[7] See *Digital scriptorium*, <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium/form.html>.

[8] See the *RISM* volumes B/3/1–5, published between 1961-1997: J. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE, *The Theory of Music from the Carolingian Era up to 1400*, 1: *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts*, (*RISM* B/3/1), 1961; P. FISCHER, *The Theory of Music from the Carolingian Era up to 1400*, 2: *Italy*, (*RISM* B/3/2), 1968; M. HUGLO and C. MEYER, *The Theory of Music: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c.1500 in the Federal Republic of Germany*, (*RISM* B/3/3), Munich, 1986; C. MAYER, M. HUGLO and N.C. PHILLIPS, *The Theory of Music: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c.1500 in Great Britain and in the United States of America: Descriptive Catalogue*, (*RISM* B/3/4), Munich, 1992 (henceforth: *RISM* B/3/4); C. MEYER, E. WITKOWSKA-ZAREMBA and K.W. GÜMPEL, *The Theory of Music: Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c.1500 in the Czech Republic, Poland, Portugal and Spain: Descriptive Catalogue*, (*RISM* B/3/5), Munich, 1997.

[9] See C.M. BALENSUELA, '*Ut hec te figura docet': The Transformation of Music Theory Illustrations from Manuscripts to Print*, paper presented for the 17th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, August 2002, and the corresponding article in this volume.

[10] London, British Library, MS Add. 10336. For a description, see *RISM* B/3/4, pp. 35–38.

dance of Greek note-names, Latin letter-names, and solmization syllables; of proportions; of concordance of Latin letter-names, solmization syllables, and the nine Muses (making up the *Gamma novem musarum*); of concordance of Latin letter-names, solmization syllables, and precious metals (making up the *Gamma metalorum*); of concordance of Latin letter-names, solmization syllables, Greek names, and the nine planets – allegedly according to Cicero (*The Dream of Scipio*); of the seven planets and their corresponding Greek names, Latin letter-names, and solmization syllables – allegedly according to Boethius (*De musica*, Book I, chapter 24).

In the interest of space, this article will only present examples of circular diagrams from the category of geometrical shapes, and examples of plant- and tree-shaped diagrams from the category of living things. The illustrations belong in both music theory manuscripts and in manuscripts devoted to other disciplines.

Scriptor, pictor, notator

The first point, however, that needs to be addressed here is a question of terminology arising from the culture of the time, involving the way in which music theorists and other medieval writers expressed themselves with regard to the writing and illustrating of manuscript books, and the designations used in medieval texts to refer to those engaged in such activities.

Scriptor, *autor*, *compilator*, and *notator* are all terms frequently encountered in medieval documents. Among modern researchers, C. Matthew Balensuela has pointed out that "scribes of words may not be good at drawing or music notation";[11] within the ranks of medieval and Renaissance *autores*, a somewhat condescending attitude was occasionally expressed towards *scriptores* who were either unsatisfactorily skilled or careless enough to provide little or no space between syllables that were to be set to music. Such a practice was perceived as a *vicium scriptoris* that forced the *notatores* (in a musical context, those who penned the notes) to squeeze in several notes above one syllable, thereby rendering the music difficult to read and to sing.[12]

[11] See BALENSUELA, '*Ut hec te figura docet*'.

[12] See, for instance, the fourteenth-century *Quatuor principalia*, *Tertium principale*, chapter 58: *est enim vicium scriptoris atque notatoris et racio est quia scriptor inter sillabas nimis spacium dimittit; notator verum spacium implet*, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 90, fol. 37v. The entire manuscript, with the exception of a few folios, can be seen by following the Bodleian Library link at *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*. For a catalogue description, see *RISM* B/3/4, p. 121. The treatise, edited from MS Digby 90, is printed in E. DE COUSSEMAKER ed., *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a Gerbertina altera*, 4 vols., Paris, 1864–1876, repr. Hildesheim 1963, 4, pp. 200–298; the passage in question appears on p. 253. An electronic version of this edition is found as a set of four different files in the *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* database, <http://www.music.indiana.edu/tml/start.html>; QUAPRIB1TEXT, QUAPRIB2TEXT, QUAPRIB3TEXT, and QUAPRIB4TEXT can be found by following the fourteenth-century link.

Regardless of this rather emphatically expressed distinction between performers and *notatores*, on the one hand, and *scriptores* and clerks, on the other hand, or of what Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse have termed 'the division of labour' in the context of commercial book production of the Middle Ages,[13] there are recorded instances of copyists or scribes (*scriptores*) of early music treatises and liturgical books who were *notatores* as well – that is, in addition to copying the text, they also copied or even created the musical examples and chants involving the drawing of staves, clefs, noteshapes, rests, and other signs pertaining to musical notation.[14] The *scriptor-notator* could also be – and often was – a drawer of *figure*, in other words a *pictor*, and, on occasion, a bookbinder.[15]

To make the matter more convoluted, *scriptor*, *compilator* and *editor* were all terms commonly employed in Latin documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to denote 'author',[16] and there seems to have been general agreement within the body of medieval glossators and commentators who consciously utilized the Latin verbs *notare* and *scribere* to denote 'authoring' or 'composing'.[17]

Many a *scriptor* must have been an avid reader. Those who worked in a richly endowed private library or were engaged in medieval commercial book production under academic or ecclesiastical patronage had access to a plethora of books on a great variety of topics. So did those working for a monastic *scriptorium*, for some religious orders were quite famous for keeping well-equipped libraries, as attested by surviving and reconstructed library catalogues. And while some of the books were the property of a particular monastery or convent, others – covering a variety of suit-

[13] R.H. ROUSE and M.A. ROUSE, *Illiterati et uxorati: Manuscripts and Their Makers, Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols., Turnhout, 2000.

[14] A case in point in England, for instance, was John of Rickmansworth, the scribe and notator of two great Graduals, two great Antiphoners, and two books for the Mass of Our Lady; see R.W. HUNT, *The Library of the Abbey of St Albans*, in M.B. PARKES and A.G. WATSON eds., *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts, and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker*, London, 1978, p. 263.

[15] Adam of Redbourne, associated with St Albans, was a writer, notator, and binder; see HUNT, *The Library of the Abbey of St Albans*, p. 263. John of Tewkesbury, the most likely candidate for the authorship of the fourteenth-century treatises *Quatuor principalia* and *De situ universorum* (the latter known in only one copy found in Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6681), is believed to have been the *scriptor* of both Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 90 (containing the earliest preserved exemplar of the *Quatuor principalia*) and MS 6681 in Chetham's Library; furthermore, it is clear that he was also the drawer of the numerous diagrams in both works, and the musical notator in the *Quatuor principalia*. N.R. KER, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, Oxford, 1969–1983, 3, pp. 338–339, suggested that John was also the binder of both books. On John of Tewkesbury, a fragment of his biography, and the two texts he most probably authored and wrote, see L. FLOREA, *For the Glory of God and Holy Mother Church: A Modest Compiler and a Date for MS Manchester, Chetham's Library 6681*, *De situ universorum*, in *Scriptorium*, forthcoming.

[16] For the use of *editor*, see R.E. LATHAM ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, London, 1965, repr. London 1973, p. 161.

[17] For instance in Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6681, fols. 50r–v and elsewhere. For the use of *scriptor*, see P. SAENGER, *Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society*, in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 13 (1982), p. 385.

able subjects – could be and were borrowed from other institutions, both religious and secular. Furthermore, within the ranks of medieval religious orders, the copying, annotating, and binding of books by friars were considered permissible – even desirable – activities, even when these activities became lucrative and thus conflicted with the rules of poverty spelled out in monastic *consuetudines*;[18] these same orders employed, in addition to men of their own, the services of lay professional scribes, illuminators, and notators.

Often the same scribe copied the several tracts on a diversity of subjects forming one composite codex, and sometimes this meant drawing the pertinent illustrations in each tract. A case in point is Ellinger, Abbot of Tegernsee, who copied and illustrated Bede's *De natura rerum*, Calcidius's translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, a variety of medical recipes, diagrams of constellations, the letter of Pseudo-Jerome known as 'On the instruments of music', and so on.[19] In doing so, he – and, indeed, any scribe in his position – would have gained, through what I term 'scriptorium osmosis', a certain knowledge of the subject matter in various disciplines. Some of these disciplines were perceived as closely related to music: astronomy, astrology, mathematics, geometry;[20] others were not: medicine is one case.[21]

A rather large number of these books included, in addition to the normally expected illuminated initials, some form of graphic illustration to visualize the story told, the face described, the new land walked, the water crossed, the sky imagined, the law explained, the numbers tabulated. Music theory treatises were no exception, for in addition to signs for sounds and silence, the manuscripts abound in diagrams, tables, graphs, charts, and other types of visual aids used to make more accessible matters that reading alone could not clarify. Words could be either too much or not enough, and, in order to solve problems of comprehension or further explicate the subject at hand, a different level of visual perception was addressed: illustrations allowed the eye and brain to take in information in condensed form. Furthermore, drawings could create intelligible structure, order, and a sense of reminiscing about things already seen or learned; the *figure* were an implicit invitation for the reader to make mental comparisons with illustrations already familiar from non-musical works, and, by extension, with the non-musical concepts thus rendered in graphic form.

[18] For book-producing activities within the Dominican and Franciscan orders, see R. ROEST, *A History of Franciscan Education (c.1210–1517)*, Leiden, 2000, pp. 230–234, and especially n. 143.

[19] Austin, University of Texas at Austin, The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, MS 29 (Phillipps 816); for a catalogue description, see *RISM* B/3/4, pp. 137–139.

[20] See Boston, The Boston Medical Library, Ballard Collection I, MS no. 7, containing tracts on astronomy, astrology, mathematics, and music – all illustrated with diagrams; for a catalogue description, see *RISM* B/3/4, p. 146.

[21] In Austin, University of Texas at Austin, The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, MS 29, see above.

THE *SCRIPTOR* IN THE LABYRINTH

Ultimately, the function of illustrations found in music theory texts went far beyond the mere notation: the intellect was instructed, the soul – elated, and the sight – awed by graphic 'tours de force' such as the spectacular maze-shaped ballade *En la maison Dedalus enfermé* adorning page 62 of a florilegium of music theory treatises of the late fourteenth century, now Berkeley, Music Library, MS 744.[22] Above all, this is a consummate example of late fourteenth-century intricate musical notation, and, according to Richard Crocker, "seems to be the earliest piece in circular notation".[23] In accomplishing the task at hand, the *scriptor*, *pictor*, and *notator* of the labyrinth achieved (and in a brilliant manner, for that matter) the opposite of what Isidore conveyed in his much-reprised adage, namely, that sounds perish unless held in man's memory, for they cannot be written.[24]

Yet while the primary function of graphics in this example is to firmly fix ephemeral sounds on parchment, the cleverness of the *scriptor*, *notator*, and *pictor* went beyond capturing and making permanent that which is transitory in nature. The music theory, the compositions, and the drawing of the scores in this manuscript belong in the *ars subtilior* tradition, at whose heart Dedalus may be taken to symbolize the well-versed, innovative, subtle, imaginative artisan. Perhaps one is faced here with a single person who wrote the text and the noteshapes, and drew the illustrations, for, as Crocker observes, "[t]he numerous diagrams, the drawings of instruments, the musical examples, all seem to have been made at the time of writing the body of the text. Even the two musical pieces… seem to have been part of the original composition of the manuscript – in other words, not posterior additions."[25]

[22] Edited in O.B. ELLSWORTH, *The Berkeley Manuscript: University of California Music Library, ms. 744 (olim Phillipps 4450): A New Critical Text and Translation on Facing Pages, with an Introduction, Annotations, and Indices verborum and nominum et rerum*, Lincoln, 1984; for other relevant bibliography, see *RISM* B/3/4, p. 144. Ellsworth's edition does not include the ballade, which had already been transcribed by Thomas Walker; see R.L. CROCKER, *A New Source for Medieval Music Theory*, in *Acta musicologica*, 39 [1967], p. 169. Images from the manuscript, including the ballade (see Figure 1), have been mounted on the website of the *Digital scriptorium*. For a digital reproduction of the ballade and a number of other folios, see <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium>.

[23] CROCKER, *A New Source*, p. 166.

[24] Isidore of Seville: W.M. LINDSAY ed., *Isidori hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, Oxford, 1911, 3.13. See also Jacques of Liège: R. BRAGARD ed., *[Jacobi Leodiensis] Speculum musicae*, 7 vols., (*Corpus scriptorum de musica*, 3), [Rome], 1955–1973, 1, p. 19: *nisi enim ab homine in memoria soni teneantur, quia de numero successivorum sunt, labuntur et pereunt*. The phrase is sometimes attributed to St Jerome, as is the case in chapter 4 of the *Secundum principale* in the *Quatuor principalia*: *Beatus Jeronimus ad Dardanum de musicis instrumentis dicit quod nisi in hominis memoria teneantur soni pereunt quia scribi non possunt*; see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 90, fol. 11v; and DE COUSSEMAKER, *Scriptorum de musica*, 4, p. 207. For St Jerome's letters, see I. HILBERG ed., *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistolae*, (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, 54–56), Vienna, 1910–1918.

[25] CROCKER, *A New Source*, p. 162.

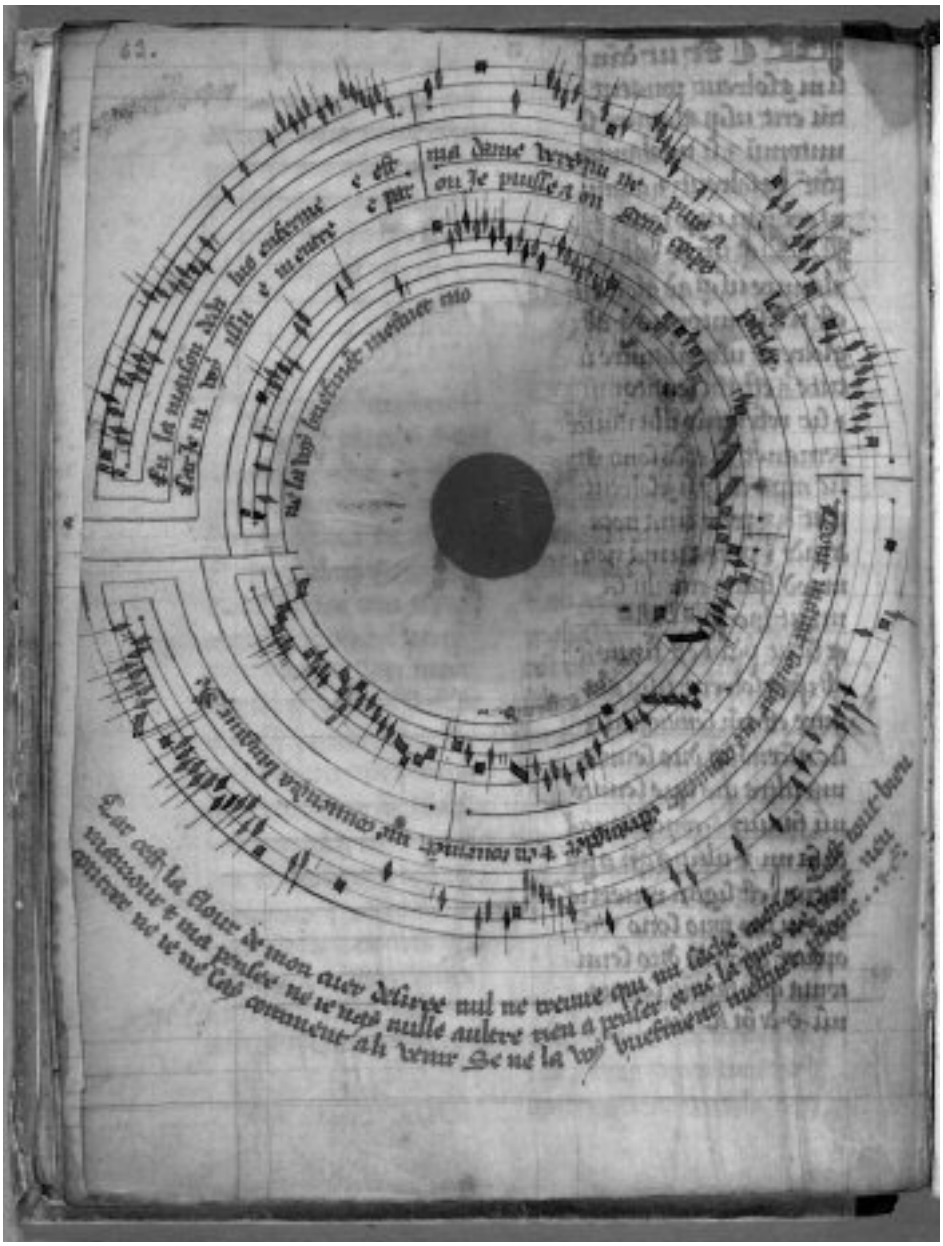


Figure 1. The circular labyrinth (the ballade). University of California, Berkeley, Music Library, MS 744, fol. 62r. (©University of California, Berkeley).

At any rate, this particular *figura* is a visual metaphor for poetic concepts stated or implied in the text, depicting a labyrinth as the frame (staves) for a ballade whose text reprised and manipulated the theme of Dedalus. The poem had Ovidian overtones[26] and the graphics prompted the reader to meander from labyrinth seen to labyrinth invoked, and beyond, as the eye and mind journeyed through a constellation of symbolic meanings surrounding the concept. It must have been a constellation quite familiar to the medieval decoder.

One need not stretch one's imagination to find circumstances under which the copyist of the ballade could have seen the pertinent drawing in some book on a subject other than music: texts of Classical mythology in both verse and prose, in both Latin and some vernacular translation or adaptation, were readily available in the fourteenth century. In fact, Ovid's poetic works, even the more explicitly amorous ones, were highly favored throughout the later Middle Ages – to the extent that the period comprised between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries is known as *aetas ovidiana*.[27] The labyrinth (also known as *le dédale*, *la maison Dédalus*, *la lieue*, and *le chemin de Jérusalem*) and, by extension, its architect Dedalus and the characters involved in the legend as told by Ovid in Book VIII of his *Metamorphoses* were part of the conventional vocabulary of fourteenth-century erotic poetry; at least one other known musical composition from the 1390s, Pierre Taillandier's ballade *Se Dedalus* in Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 564, is based in part on these much-visited metaphors.[28]

Equally favored were general encyclopedic compilations such as the *Liber floridus* authored by Lambert, canon of Saint-Omer (c. 1060–1125), a widely-read book that included sections on theology, astronomy, geography, philosophy, natural history, and mythology. The autograph manuscript of the *Liber*, an exemplar produced over several years and finished in 1120, was possibly brought to the Abbey of

[26] *En la maison Dedalus enferme/e est madame vers qui ne puis aller/ Car je ni voi issue ni entrée/ par ou je puisse a son gent corps parler// Dont maint souspir me convient estrangler/ et en tourment me conviendra languir/ se ne la voy briefment mestuet morir// Car cest la flour de mon cuer desiree/ nult ne treuve qui mi sache mener/ Cest tout bien mamour et ma pensee/ ne ie nay nulle aultre rien a penser/* etc. I have transcribed the text from the digital reproduction mounted on the *Digital scriptorium*, see note 22 above.

[27] See E. PELLEGRIN, *Les Remedia amoris d'Ovide, texte scolaire médiéval*, in *Bibliothèques retrouvées: Manuscrits, Bibliothèques et Bibliophiles du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1988, pp. 409–416; article originally published in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 115 (1957), pp. 172–179.

[28] Transcribed and edited in G.K. GREENE and T. SCULLY, *Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 564*, (*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, 19), Monaco, 1982, pp. 49–51; the gallery of mythological personages invoked by the lover in this ballade are Dedalus, Jupiter, Zephirus, and Narcissus. For Taillandier, see M. GÓMEZ, art. *Tailhandier [Taillandier], Pierre [Talhanderii, Petrus; Talhienderi, Petrus]*, in L. MACY ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online* (accessed 1 September 2004), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

St Bavo in Ghent from Saint-Omer in 1336 by Simon, former abbot of St Bertin.[29] It is a copiously illustrated tome, of which folio 20r, containing the whole of chapter 5, is entirely taken up by the drawing of a labyrinth with the Minotaur at the center.[30] For the medieval reader, the drawing might have conjured up a whole gamut of related ideas, not the least of which had to be the religious symbolism associated with mosaic or marble labyrinths adorning cathedral pavements; illustrious examples of these were found at Chartres, Amiens, Sens, Arras, Auxerre, Reims, and at Saint-Omer itself.[31] Illuminated manuscript copies of the *Liber* were constantly produced throughout the later Middle Ages, and the book could have easily been taken as a source of inspiration in various disciplines, including music theory, as far as the art of illustration is concerned. With regard to the scribe of the autograph copy of the *Liber*, its modern editor, Albert Derolez concludes that the same hand has written the manuscript throughout, and that 'the scribe must have been the author himself, or somebody working at the author's direction'.[32] It may be surmised that, perhaps, the less skillfully drawn illustrations in the manuscript were the work of the same individual, i.e., the author-scribe or the secretary working under the author's close supervision: on the one hand, the labyrinth with the Minotaur at its center is obviously much more roughly drawn than the superb illustrations of fabulous creatures such as the *leo* (lion) and *draco* (dragon) accompanying the excerpts from Isidore's *De naturis bestiarum* found a few folios ahead; on the other hand, the text written at the foot of folio 20r – a brief, prose version of the legend – and the names of the characters, inscribed within the space reserved for the illustration, are all in the hand that has written the manuscript.

Once established as part of the visual history of a work, illustrations would be reproduced time and again, as the work itself was being recopied. Producing a new copy of a book could involve the labor of the same scribe and illuminator who had copied and illustrated some already existing exemplar of the same work; this would

[29] Described and analyzed by Jules de Saint Germain, in J.-P. MIGNE, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, 221 vols., Paris, 1844–1902, 163, cols. 1003–1031. For an edition of the autograph manuscript now in the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent / Ghent University Library (MS 92), see Lambert of Saint-Omer: A. DEROLEZ ed., *Lamberti S. Audomari Canonici Liber Floridus. Codex authographus bibliothecae universitatis Gandavensis. Auspiciis eiusdem universitatis in commemorationem diei natalis*, Ghent, 1968 (henceforth: DEROLEZ, *Liber floridus*); see also A. DEROLEZ, *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus: A Key to the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer*, (*Corpus Christianorum: Autographa Medii Aevi*, 4), Turnhout, 1998. Images from the 1460 manuscript in The Hague have been mounted on the website of the National Library of the Netherlands; see The Hague, *Handschriften*, <http://www/kb.nl/kb/manuscripts>.

[30] *Capitulum V// Domus Dedali in qua Minotaurum posuit Minos Rex*.

[31] Very few of these remain: the one at Reims is square-shaped; the one at Amiens, of octagonal shape, was destroyed in or around 1828 and restored in 1894; and the one at Chartres displays the round shape that is found in all manuscripts of the *Liber floridus* and also in the ballade from the Berkeley manuscript.

[32] DEROLEZ, *Liber floridus*, p. viii.

normally result in a high degree of similarity between the two exemplars with respect to the general layout of the text, script, and illustrations. In other cases, a completely different set of people would produce the next copy, and thus a wider array of variations and/or deviations from the model are perceptible. Whatever the case, occasionally, due to the scribe's and illuminator's skill or to a firm editorial decision, a copy was exceptionally close to some earlier exemplar on which it was or could have been based, or to some other exemplar providing a link in transmission. For example, folio 21v in The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands, MS 72 A23 is extremely close to folio 20r in the 1120 autograph copy of the *Liber*; by the same token, the French prose translation of the *Liber* found in a 1512 manuscript now similarly in The Hague, MS 128 C4: *Le livre fleurissant en fleurs*, contains, on folio 40r, a perfect replication of the labyrinth drawing in the Latin version (which may or may not be the one of 1460), with the Minotaur at the center and a word-for-word French translation identifying the characters involved.[33]

STRAIGHT LINES AND CIRCULAR SHAPES – THE MONOCHORD AND THE LADDER

Not all illustrations found in music theory treatises, however, were as spectacular as *En la maison Dedalus* from the Berkeley manuscript, or at similar levels of graphic complexity; nor did they need to be. Simple signs, however, are truly scarce, as most of the time the matter illustrated naturally lends itself to being depicted by means of complex graphic renditions. Individual letters of the Latin or Greek alphabet will mark individual 'points of pitch', but as soon as intervallic relationships or scales, whole or fragmentary, must be presented, a certain level of visual complexity enters the stage.

More frequently, and in most treatises, two or several simple graphic signs would be combined in one complex diagram, of which perhaps the most frequently encountered are the ladder and the monochord. Letters were often enclosed within other graphic shapes such as squares and triangles; through repetition, these individual patterns tend to form the image of a ladder – a most appropriate visual denotation for a musical scale. Sources of inspiration for musical scalar figures could have easily been found in illuminated Bibles and books of spiritual advice and devotion: the ladder is one of the instruments of the Passion of Christ, thus an ubiquitous presence in both

[33] Both the 1460 Latin and the 1512 French versions are included in The Hague, *Handschriften*; they can be seen by accessing this website, then following the *Expert Search* link, and using the word *labyrinth* to perform a *Words from descriptions* search under *Images*. Unlike folio 21v in the 1460 Latin version, which is almost identical (although more skillfully executed) with what can be seen on folio 20r in the autograph manuscript of 1120, folio 40r in the French version does not include the text at the bottom. I am giving both the Latin and the French captions for comparison: MS 72 A23 has *Domus dedali in qua minotaurum posuit*, *Minos rex*, *Parsife regina*, *Dedalus artifex*, *Ycarus filius eius*, and *Minotaurus in laberintho*; MS 128 C4 has *La maison de dedalus en qui il mist Minotaurus*, *Le roy minos*, *La royne paliphes*, *Dedalus le maistre ouvrier*, *Ycarus son fils*, and *Minotaurus dedens le laberinthe*.

books and church decoration; while sleeping, Jacob dreamed of a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, and of angels walking up and down the ladder to provide uninterrupted contact between the two realms.[34]

Beyond the realm of Biblical connections, the illuminator of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 83 – an anonymous compilation of astronomy, botany, zoology, geography, and other natural and occult sciences entitled *Opusculum de ratione spere*, with complex illustrations appearing on nearly every page – used the ladder on folio 3v to show, in the context of a philosophical tract, dualities such as matter and spirit, *generatio* and *corruptio*, *incrementum* and *diminutio*, *concretio* and *discretio*, and so on.[35] In other disciplines, such as Roman and canon law, the ladder was chronologically the first visual aid developed to illustrate the concept of consanguinity, as each of the steps, called *gradus* in Roman jurisprudence, was allotted to one generation. While reading the legal precepts illustrated by such a diagram, one would perform a visual excursion up and down the ladder, ascending to the common ancestor or descending to the members of the newer generations.[36]

Whether as an icon such as the ones found in the innumerable copies of Boethius's *De musica*,[37] or as an extension or reinterpretation of the ladder icon, the monochord is often drawn as a straight line partitioned into several segments to show intervals and proportions. More ambitious renditions of it, however, resemble a real-life measuring tool, or a more 'playable' string instrument such as the *monachordum diatonicum* found on folio 47r of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 842.[38] Sometimes the image of the monochord recalls parts of diagrams of lunar and solar eclipses or some other representation of a cosmic scheme found in tracts such as Giovanni de Sacrobosco's *De sphera*. In the same vein, the assiduously copied manuscripts of Plato's *Timaeus* in the translation of Calcidius (known to the West in the twelfth century) include an abundance of illustrations for astronomic phenomena;[39] these in turn could have provided models for the drawing of the type of monochord appearing, for

[34] For example, the visual couterpart for this portion of the legend is pictured as *scala iacobi per quam descendunt angeli* in The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands, MS MMW 10B34, a manuscript of the fourteenth-century *Speculum humane salvationis* copied in Cologne around 1450. The image can be seen at The Hague, *Handschriften*, by selecting the *Expert Search* link and using the word *ladder* to perform a *Words from descriptions* search under *Images* (see footnote 6).

[35] The manuscript can be seen by following the Bodleian Library link at *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*.

[36] *Arbre généalogique*, in R. NAZ, *Dictionnaire de droit canonique contenant tous les termes du droit canonique avec un Sommaire de l'Histoire et des Institutions et de l'état actuel de la discipline*, 7 vols., Paris, 1935–1965, 1, col. 901.

[37] For a list of extant codices, see C.M. BOWER, *Boethius's De Institutione musica: A Handlist of Manuscripts*, in *Scriptorium*, 42 (1988), pp. 205–251.

[38] The diagram is independent of the music theory treatises included in the manuscript; see *RISM* B/3/4, p. 113: *Mesure de monochorde*. The image can be seen by following the Bodleian Library link at *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*.

[39] See, for instance, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23, fol. 52r; the image can be seen by following the Bodleian Library link at *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*. The manuscript was bequeathed to Osney Abbey by Master Henry of Langley (d. 1263?).

instance, on folio 11v of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 90.[40] Finally, when consonances are shown on the monochord by means of semicircular shapes, their gradual addition over several chapters amounts to very complex final diagrams, encompassing all the intervals that can be generated on the monochord.[41]

The medieval illuminator had a fondness for circular diagrams; so did the illustrator of music theory manuscripts. The world was known to be round, thus the Creator was sometimes shown using the compass to generate it, as on folio 14r of Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, MS 1028 – a fifteenth-century manuscript of the French translation, by Jean Corbechon, of the *Liber de proprietatibus rerum*, the immensely popular encyclopedia authored by Bartholomeus Anglicus (1190–1250).[42] Like many a medieval encyclopedia, this one, too, included brief sections on music, which were often illustrated with diagrams that could have easily found their source in the non-musical sections of the work.[43] Similarly, in a cosmic scheme from a Catalonian atlas drawn in the fourteenth century in Mallorca (now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS f.fr. 135) the Earth is personified by an astronomer holding an astrolabe; the illustration includes the whole repertory of circular signs found in countless other manuscripts of astronomy and natural science.[44] Sometimes the schemes of the world, while always remaining circular, would develop into intricate, labyrinth-like structures, with a multitude of intersecting circles, as in the diagrams from a 1512 manuscript containing a French translation of Lambert's *Liber floridus*, now The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 128 C4.[45]

[40] The image can be seen by following the Bodleian Library link at *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*.

[41] See, for instance, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 90; and MS Bodley 842. Both manuscripts can be seen by following the Bodleian Library link at *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*. For a catalogue description of the latter, see *RISM* B/3/4, p. 110–115.

[42] For a digital reproduction see Paris, *Expositions virtuelles*, *Le Ciel et La Terre – Le mystère des origines – Mythes et Sciences – Le créateur – Création par le compas*.

[43] See Bethesda, Maryland, National Library of Medicine, MS 7 – a book copied in England in the fourteenth century and including, on folios 287–288, a section on 'the instruments of music', which is normally presented at the end of Book 19 of the *Liber*; and on folios 288v–289, 'musical consonances'; see also Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, The Houghton Library, MS Lat. 216 (Phillipps 24270); and Boston, The Boston Medical Library, MS Ballard 15 (De Ricci 17) for other copies of the *Liber* including the section on the instruments of music; for catalogue descriptions, see *RISM* B/3/4, pp. 145-146 and 147. Versions of the *Liber* are also known to lack completely the section on the instruments of music, as attested in MS Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, The Houghton Library, Riant 89 – for a description of which see *RISM* B/3/4, p. 149.

[44] For a digital reproduction, see Paris, *Expositions virtuelles*, *Le roi Charles et son temps – Manuscrits – Atlas catalan*, *XIVe s*.

[45] See The Hague, *Handschriften*. The basic scheme of the world is expanded here to encompass: the four seasons with their corresponding attributes or 'qualities' – *le printemps* (spring) is *moiste* (humid), *lhivers* (winter) is *froit* (cold), and so on; the four elements; the signs of the zodiac; and the twelve months of the year according to the solar/lunar calendar.

In the grand circular scheme of the universe there was a place for the *puteum inferni* (the pit of hell) as well, usually represented at the bottom of the diagram, as seen in a thirteenth-century illumination from the *Ymage du monde* by the cleric Gossuin (Gautier) of Metz, surving in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS f.fr. 14964.[46] The work, perhaps the first scientific encyclopedia in a vernacular language, was enormously successful, the basis for vernacular education in the sciences for two hundred years, and, from the early fourteenth century on, it circulated widely in prose adaptations, from which translations were made into several languages.

Circular diagrams were drawn to illustrate the geography of the world, both seen and imagined, in the tract called *De situ universorum*, preserved in Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 6681. The compiler and scribe of this *summa* of astronomy, geography, natural history, and theology written after 1356 or 1357 and before 1392 is most probably the Franciscan John of Tewkesbury – also the most likely candidate for the *Quatuor principalia*'s authorship.[47] The *De situ* is based in part on Isidore's *Etymologies*, Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus*, and includes prodigal excerpts – including illustrations – from a variety of contemporary travel books to the East, the lives of saints, Roger Bacon's and Sacrobosco's scientific works, Petrus Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, Thomas Acquinas's *Summa theologica*, and so on. At one time, the manuscript included a large diagram[48] of the cosmos, showing concentric circles hosting rank upon rank of angels and archangels, and displaying the *puteum inferni* at the bottom of the system.

Illuminators of works of literary fiction were also fond of circular shapes: on folio 25r of a fourteenth-century copy of Matfre Ermengaud's *Breviari d'amor*, a poem of spiritual love composed around 1288, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS f.fr. 9212, two angels set in motion the circular machine of the universe with the help of cranks – one called *amor* (love), the other, *meum* (mine), that is, 'my love' – in this case, the divine love that moves the universe.

Just like their astronomic counterpart, from which they might have derived, circular or semi-circular diagrams in music theory treatises frequently take on the role of visual *summae* of pertinent concepts. Astronomy texts perused in medieval libraries and copied in *scriptoria* include, as a rule, circular diagrams illustrating the Ptolemaic tradition infused with a more recent layer of Christian lore: the Earth is placed in the middle and is surrounded by the concentric spheres of the four elements, the seven

[46] The work was composed in three different – and gradually larger – versions, the first of which was completed in 1246 and dedicated to Count Robert d'Artois, brother of Saint Louis (died c. 1250).

[47] See note 15 above.

[48] Now folded and separately kept.

planets, and the heavenly – and still concentric – spheres inhabited by angels, archangels, and, ultimately, by Christ in Glory.[49]

In illustrated manuscript editions of Calcidius's translation of *Timaeus*, and side by side with cosmic schemes, one finds abundant visual material for interval proportions. A case in point is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 23, where folio 53r displays the *colligatio elementorum* (the conjunction of the four elements and four qualities), while folio 53v shows a diagram of the octave and its subdivisions, with the outermost semicircle demonstrating the *diapason* and the one concentric to it naming the corresponding proportion, i.e., duple; at the next level, the two symmetrically arranged semicircles represent the interval of *diapente* and its corresponding proportion, the sesquialtera; finally, at the third level the *pictor* has drawn semicircular shapes for tones and semitones.[50] In cases such as this one, the connection music-astronomy is clearly perceivable; it might be surmised that the sharing of a common conceptual territory between these two disciplines has caused the migration of circular shapes from one leaf to the next.

Such interdisciplinary communion, however, is not explicit – yet the concept of image borrowing still make sense – in manuscripts containing music theory tracts only. A case in point are the rows and columns of tangential circles – twenty in all – that were drawn on folios 21v–22v of the 1351 exemplar of the treatise *Quatuor principalia* found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 90; they were meant to exhibit solmization-syllable permutations and practically amount to a comprehensive *imago* or *speculum* of the hexachord system. The manuscript Digby 90 contains the earliest extant exemplar of the longer version of this treatise, also preserved in three manuscripts from the first half of the next century: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 515;[51] London, British Library, MS Add. 8866;[52] and Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS O.9.29[53] – the latter including a colophon giving 1421 as the date of completion of the manuscript. The four manuscripts were clearly written by four different scribes, but it is apparent that many, if not all, of the drawings in each manuscript were executed by the *scriptor* of the text.

[49] On a smaller scale, a detailed treatment of the four elements alone frequently employed the customary "flattened" projection of the sphere to show water, air, earth, and fire surrounded by the symbols of the twelve signs of the zodiac; see, for instance, a fifteenth-century French version of Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* (*Livre des Propriétés des Choses)*, in Paris, Bibiliothèque Nationale, MS f.fr. 135.

[50] The image can be seen by following the Bodleian Library link at *Early Manuscripts at Oxford*; see also Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W 22 (Phillipps 1029): Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, with several diagrams based on Calcidius; for a catalogue description, see *RISM* B/3/4, pp. 139–140.

[51] For a catalogue description, see *RISM* B/3/4, pp. 107–109.

[52] For a catalogue description, see *RISM* B/3/4, p. 33.

[53] For a catalogue description, see *RISM* B/3/4, pp. 101–103.

For example, from a study of the *ductus* of the letters of the main text, the legends accompanying the diagrams, the text of the chant examples, the color and concentration of the ink, the form of the noteshapes, rests, mensuration signs, and other graphic shapes present in the manuscript; and from observation of other factors such as the positioning of various diagrams within the text, it is very likely – in fact, probable – that the first book on this list was copied and illustrated by a single *scriptor-pictor*. The circular diagrams drawn to exemplify hexachord mutations are simple, unadorned, and straightforward; their purpose is to instruct. The contours of the circles are rather irregular (which in turn leads one to believe that no compass was used in the drawing of them), and, although the execution proper is careful and the result of it is tidy, the layout does not suggest a great deal of preoccupation with the general planning of space. Rather, the *scriptor-pictor* appears to have gone on to using leaf after leaf until the whole diagram was completed: thus the bottom of folio 21v includes a single row of three circles, the next fifteen circles were drawn as three columns of five rows each on folio 22r, while the remaining two circles occupy the top of folio 22v.

The *scriptor* (who was conceivably the *pictor* as well) of MS Add. 8866 did not draw any diagrams at this point in the text. Whether this was a choice prompted by a desire to save parchment, or whether no choice at all was involved and this is just a simple case of forgetfulness, we do not know. Suffice it to say that no folios or text are missing at this point – just the twenty circles, which would have taken up about two pages.

Whether one or two different individuals wrote the text and drew the illustrations in MS Bodley 515 bears further investigation (although one could argue that the *scriptor* and *pictor* were one and the same person). Whatever the case, the *pictor* here had in mind a more grandiose scope: like the ones in MS Digby 90, the diagrams in MS Bodley 515 were undoubtedly drawn to inform the mind and to offer visual glosses on the main text; in addition, they also fulfill an aesthetic function, as, on folios 24v-25r, the *pictor* took great pains to decorate the space between circles with double-edged romboidal and triangular shapes, and included four additional circles on the second page just to fill in the unused space; these circles he then proceeded to fill with stylized flowers and other minor ornamental elements instead of solmization syllables. Furthermore, and as a final touch, he enclosed the circles on each page in a rectangle to create the effect of a framed painting. From these and from other drawings it appears that the maker (or makers) of MS Bodley 515 was (or were) creating not just a means of transmitting information by way of text and graphics, but also a book that would be pleasing to the eye – in other words, a work that was both instructive and decorative.

The *pictor* of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.9.29 could well have been different from Johannes Burghorsst or Burgherss, the *scriptor* of it.[54] The layout of the manuscript was planned differently from both Digby 90 and Bodley 515: all twenty circles cover a single page, and they were arranged in four columns of five rows each. In terms of its illustrations, the copy of the *Quatuor principalia* in MS O.9.29 is technically the most accomplished among the fifteenth-century exemplars of the text: the circles were executed with a sharp compass, a rule was used to draw the inner rows bearing solmization syllables, and each circular shape was enclosed within a rectangle; the overall effect is that of a well-thought composition.

Circular schemes were also used to tabulate interval species on folios 39r–40v of an English manuscript, possibly of the late fourteenth century, of Theinred of Dover's *De legitimis pentachordorum et tetrachordorum*.[55]

THE VEGETAL REIGN

In music theory treatises, the most obvious place for tree-shaped diagrams is in the sections on mensural music. In terms of visual complexity and aesthetic gratification, they go from simple schemes to images of lush arbors of rhythmic relationships. Bearing the fruits of the *maxima*, the *longa*, the *brevis*, the *semibrevis*, and the *minima* on their branches, these trees are sometimes drawn in color and depicted as literally growing in pots: an example is found in London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 763, where folio 86b is completely covered with drawings of vases containing plants mimicking chandeliers with several arms branching off: the vase contains the common root – the maximal value – while the stems illustrate a variety of duple and triple divisions.

The 'fount and origin' of the tree-system drawings on folios 44r–45r in the *Quatuor principalia* from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 90 is the larger value, the one prone to division, visually placed at the lowest level of each diagram. From it the smaller values are generated, like newer branches stemming from the root or trunk of a tree and illustrating the various types of *modus*, *tempus*, and *prolatio*. The man who copied the version in London, British Library, MS Add. 8866 – the *scriptor* and *pictor* of it – was not one in favor of spectacular shapes; or, perhaps, he did not have the talent or ability to go beyond drawing a series of 'trees of division' of mediocre appearance. Just like his predecessor, the *scriptor* of MS Digby 90, he wrote and drew as he copied from his model, and obviously had no master plan in terms of

[54] Colophon on folio 53r.

[55] On Theinred, see *The 'De legitimis ordinibus pentachordorum et tetrachordorum' of Theinred of Dover*, Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1982; and J. SNYDER, *Theinred of Dover on Consonance: A Chapter in the History of Harmony*, in *Music Theory Spectrum*, 5 (1983), pp. 110–120. For a catalogue description, see *RISM* B/3/4, pp. 111–113.

the general page layout and the positioning of the tree diagrams as they relate to the text.

A rather interesting transformation of approach and technique is visible in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 515: here the *pictor* (again, possibly also the *scriptor*) did have a plan in mind on how and where to draw the diagrams: he showed, on folios 46r–47v, rows and columns of note-values encased in shield-shaped or square outlines; then, on folios 48r–49v, he drew real trees and branches, crowning the main stem of each tree with a decorative inflorescence. As he worked his way through this composition, the illustrations became more and more involved, including a greater amount of purely ornamental elements: the instructive function of the illustrations was somewhat left behind, while the decorative function of the arbors began to shine through as the *pictor*'s main focus.

In Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.9.29 the *pictor* kept using the compass – apparently his favorite tool – just as he did in the circular diagrams representing solmization syllables. His vision of the system (where smaller note-values still stem from larger ones bearing a schematic resemblance to trees) relays, however, on triangular shields inscribed in circles and, just like in the case of the solmization diagrams, his execution of the whole has an element of surgical precision.

Trees of all types – many of them, in fact, of quite imaginary species – are depicted in an astounding variety of shapes outside the realm of natural sciences (where they would be expected). Within that realm, and in addition to trees, a plethora of plants branching off in orderly fashion populate the pages of medieval *herbaria*, as in the exemplar of a work attributed to Pseudo-Apuleius, copied in the eleventh century at Bury St Edmunds and preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 130, or in a more elaborate version of the same work, copied at about the same time at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury – now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 130.[56]

It is highly probable that, within the Christian culture of the Western Middle Ages, the tree-concept would have found another ancestor in illuminations from Biblical texts, theological tracts, devout literature, contemporary chronicles of royal dynasties, and the *corpus* of rules and regulations promulgated by the Catholic Church as the code of canon law. The tree represents the idea of natural (or divine) hierarchy and orderly proliferation: it sprouts from a well-defined point of origin, the root – which in a genealogical tree may be found in Jesse's loins, as in the fifteeenth-century *Book of Hours* from MS Wittert 28, folio 21v, now kept in the University of Liège library.[57] The luxuriant vine depicted here *in lieu* of a tree bears berries and

[56] Both have been digitized and can be viewed on the Bodleian Library's website at <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/browse.htm>.

[57] See Université de Liège, *Miniatures*.

open buds comfortably nesting Jesse's descendants, including King David with a harp and the Virgin Mary with the Child at the center. Tree-shaped schemes showing the genealogy of Christ accompany commentaries to both the Old and the New Testament – such as the illuminated copy possibly produced in Italy around 1450 of the *Postilla litteralis in Vetus Testamentum* by Nicholas of Lyra, now The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS MMW 10 C22.[58]

The 'point of departure' in a genealogical tree may be found in the head of a family's common ancestor – the great-great-grandfather (*abavus*) – as is the case in medieval canon law treatises on consanguinity. Sometimes the idea of a tree is only suggested in illustrations such as the one on folio 3v in New York, The Union Theological Seminary, MS 08: there are no visible branches here, just words designating the types of kinship within the family, all emanating from the *abavus* and *abava* (mother of a great-grandfather or of a great-grandmother), all under papal approval and blessing.[59]

At other times, the approach is more naturalistic, as a whole group of characters related through blood perch like birds on the branches of a tree of consanguinity drawn on folio 15v of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS f.fr. 202.[60]

Drawings of arbors of virtues are common in tracts on moral philosophy, where *humilitas* generates hope (*spes*), charity (*caritas*), faith (*fides*), and joy (*gaudium*), or in *florilegia* assembled for the use of some religious order – such as the Franciscan compilation found in Berkeley, Robbins Collection, MS 88, which includes trees of spiritual love and contemplative virtues on folio 404r (see figure 2).[61] Furthermore, trees of spiritual knowledge frequently and freely commix with trees of consanguinity and affinity, as the principles needing demonstration are similar.[62] And then, of course, there is the Biblical tree of knowledge, bearing the forbidden apple, the tempting fruit, a vehicle – if not source – of man's original sin and cause for eternal tears and guilt. Every illuminated Bible includes one.

Whether one looks at an aerial root or at one firmly affixed into the soil, it is from this point of origin that all other components of the tree-system sprout; as the secondary branches evolve and multiply, so do the elements affixed to them: buds,

[58] See The Hague, *Handschriften*.

[59] Three images from the manuscript, showing a tree of consanguinity, one of affinity, and one of spiritual cognition, respectively, have been digitized as part of the *Digital scriptorium* database; they can be seen at <http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/scripts/idc/ds/msimage2.idc?MsID=1001125>.

[60] See H. SCHADT, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis und der Arbores Affinitatis: Bildschemata in juristischen Handschriften*, Tübingen, 1982, plate 158.

[61] For a catalogue description, see L. FLOREA, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Robbins Collection, School of Law, University of California at Berkeley*, <http://www.law.berkeley.edu/library/robbins/-manuscriptsframe.html>. For a digital reproduction of the illustration, see *Digital scriptorium*, <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium/DSImages/DS004165aB.jpg>.

[62] See, for instance, New York, The Union Theological Seminary, MS 08, fols. 7v and 10v, respectively; for a digital image, see <http://dpg.lib.berkeley.edu/scripts/idc/ds/msimage2.idc?MsID=1001125>.

Figure 2. The *arbor amoris* (tree of [spiritual] love). University of California, Berkeley, Robbins Collection, MS 88, fol. 404r. (© University of California, Berkeley).

flowers, leaves, fruit, birds, extended family members, or musical rhythmic values. This is done with careful preservation of rule and order in all illustrations, whether in music theory tracts or texts belonging in other disciplines: both the vertical and horizontal vectors are strictly regulated, that is, relations of authority-submission as well as relations of equality are correctly represented.

Many more examples can be surmised, but for now these should suffice to illustrate the concept of migration of visual signs from one discipline to another and back again. Surely the migration was not unidirectional, as pictures seen in a calendar, atlas, devotional book, and so on, might have inspired the copyist of a music theory manuscript – and vice-versa.

Ut hec te figura docet: The Transformation of Music Theory Illustrations from Manuscripts to Print*

C. Matthew Balensuela
DePauw University

As modern readers, we accept the insertion of non-prose materials in a music theory treatise as a standard convention of writing about music. On further consideration, however, the use of examples in medieval and Renaissance theory treatises, as with any interruption of any textual narrative, is not without a degree of ambiguity. A figure intrudes upon the narrative of the text, demanding that the writer prepare the reader for a change in narrative style, often by the insertion of a simple phrase, such as *ut hec te figura docet*.[1] With this phrase, the reader must jump from one line of thinking (reading words) to another (looking at a figure) and make connections between these separate modes of thought. Among the questions that arise when considering the use of illustrations in music theory texts are: Why are some examples clear in their relationship to the ideas in the text, while others are difficult to interpret? When confronted with a diverse manuscript tradition for a source that presents numerous variations on a figure, how does a modern reader or editor determine which is the 'best' example? Are we sure we know what the author intended by a figure and where he intended it to go in the text or has the example and its placement been changed by later copyists?

Such questions make it apparent that musical figures and illustrations in music theory texts should be studied in their own right. Questioning the use of illustrations and figures in early music theory texts can provide new perspectives on these works. Recently, Cristle Collins Judd has examined the use of musical examples in the writings of Zarlino and other theorists, uncovering critical questions about the intersection of print culture and musical ideas of the time.[2] While individual studies of specific manuscripts and figures have been done,[3] there has yet to be a broad initiative to study figures in general in music theory texts.

* I would like the thank Thomas J. Mathiesen and Tilman Seebass for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper.

[1] The phrase is used twice in J. CICONIA, *Nova musica*, O. ELLSWORTH ed. and trans., (*Greek and Latin Music Theory*, 9), Lincoln – London, 1993, pp. 128 and 176.

[2] C. JUDD, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory: Hearing with the Eyes*, (I. BENT ed., *Cambridge Studies in Music Theory and Analysis*, 14), Cambridge, 2000.

[3] See for example T. SEEBASS, *The Illustration of Music Theory in the Late Middle Ages: Some Thoughts on Its Principles and a Few Examples*, in A. BARBERA ed., *Music Theory and Its Sources*, South Bend, Indiana, 1990, pp. 197–234; C. BERGER, *The Hand and the Art of Memory*, in *Musica disciplina*, 35 (1981), pp. 87–120; and J. CHAILLEY and J. VIRET, *Le symbolisme de la Gamme*, (*La Revue Musicale,* 408–409), Paris, 1988.

This article presents some preliminary thoughts on the general study of figures in music theory texts. Such a discussion will establish a context for a proposed creation of a census catalogue of figures in medieval and Renaissance music theory sources and suggest areas of further study and work. The article begins with a review of issues raised by examples in literary theory and suggests how these ideas may be expanded to the study of music theory treatises through the delineation of the factors to consider in such studies. These factors will be applied to the use of figures in two limited examples by comparing Johannes de Muris's *Musica speculativa*, as a representative of works produced in a manuscript culture, with examples in Gaffurio's *Theorica musice*, a treatise created in a print culture.

THEORIES OF EXEMPLARITY AND EARLY MUSIC THEORY

Modern text theorists describe the problems of textual interruptions as the issue of 'exemplarity'. Literary critics have been primarily concerned with the insertion of prose examples into a prose narrative in their discussion of exemplarity, but music theory presents the further problems of non-text examples such as figures or musical examples inserted into a prose narrative. Nevertheless, the literary theory of examples provides an important starting point to use in addressing the issues raised by examples in music theory texts.[4] The basic issues of exemplarity were first laid out by Aristotle, who listed several problems of examples in the *Rhetoric*.[5] One issue concerning the use of examples is whether to use a large number of them to deduce a rule or, conversely, whether one example proves a rule. A second is whether to use true examples from history or fictitious examples such as parables.[6]

Modern literary critics have focused on the fact that the central narrative is interrupted by the insertion of a second narrative, creating a moment of 'intertextuality' – the example creates a second narrative and the reader must hold both of them in mind, and relate them one to the other.[7] The insertion of any example 'opens' the main narrative text to other interpretive possibilities. While the example is meant by the author to clarify and explain the main argument, any form of intertextuality can result in conflicting and competing narratives. A fable inserted into a text may be interpreted

[4] While the literature of exemplarity is large, a clear introduction can be found in J. LYONS, *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy*, Princeton, 1989. See also A. GELLEY ed., *Introduction*, in *Unruly Examples: On the Rhetoric of Exemplarity*, Stanford, 1995, pp. 1–24; and I. HARVEY, *Derrida and the Issues of Exemplarity*, in D. WOOD ed., *Derrida – A Critical Reader*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 193–217.

[5] ARISTOTLE, *Rhetoric*, 1.2 (1356b).

[6] LYONS, *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example*, p. 6.

[7] The issue of 'intertextuality' is a key point in modern text critical theory that cannot be fully explored in this article. Suffice it say that the issue of exemplarity in medieval music theory texts can provide a further avenue for the reconsideration of medieval music culture suggested by J. PERANIO, *Re-Placing Medieval Music*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 54 (2001), pp. 209–264.

by the reader in a way different from the intentions of the author, thus confusing, rather than clarifying the narrative and creating conflicting narratives. In other words, the use of examples can be a risky device that does not clarify the main narrative, but rather confuses it.

While it is admittedly difficult to discuss the intentions of an author in a manuscript culture in general, and problematic to conceive of an individual creator in the field of early music theory which produced so many anonymous treatises, nevertheless, the text itself must be seen as the primary narrative in music theory treatises that is interrupted by examples of some kind. Several types of exemplary incursions into the text can be listed in music theory and each involves a different type of intertextual change for both the author and reader (see Table 1). The first type is a prose example, similar to the examples studied by literary theorists, such as the insertion of a quotation from a venerable master or a story about a famous musician such as Josquin employed to prove the theorist's position.[8] A prose example, such as the quotation of an earlier writer, is placed directly in the text, close to the material it is meant to clarify. The links between the example and the primary narrative text regarding similar terminology and ideas are often clear to the reader. The quotation presents the usual problems of interpretation and possible textual corruption in transmission, but to no greater extent than is presented by the primary narrative text itself. As the quotation is written in prose, there is no change in mode of thought by the reader – he or she continues to read prose.[9]

1. *Prose*	Quotations from venerable masters; stories of famous composers
2. *Music*	Excerpts of musical works or examples created by theorists
3. *Figures*	Proportion diagrams, charts, illustrations

Table 1. Types of exemplarity in medieval music theory texts.

Music theory texts present not only prose but also non-prose examples such as music and figures. When these non-prose examples appear in theory texts, a new range of issues arises that are not present in prose examples (see Table 2). Ideally, the musical examples and figures should be linked to the primary prose narrative text in some manner. Such links might be the quotation of the text incipit of the musical work, a

[8] R. WEGMAN, '*And Josquin Laughed...': Josquin and the Composer's Anecdote in the Sixteenth Century*, in *Journal of Musicology*, 17 (1999), pp. 319–357.

[9] Further details of the characteristics of prose examples are investigated by such literary theorist as Lyons, who cites seven characteristics of examples: Iterativity and Multiplicity, Exteriority, Discontinuity, Rarity, Artificiality, Undecidability, Excess (see LYONS, *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example*, pp. 26–34). While beyond the scope of the present study, investigating the applicability of these characteristics to non-prose examples in music theory texts may be a fruitful subject of future study in this area.

description of the figure, or the inclusion of similar terminology in both the prose and the figure. Likewise, the non-prose example ideally should be placed close enough to the text so that the reader can make a clear connection between the prose narrative and the non-prose example.

Non-prose examples, however, present different problems in both creation and transmission from those presented by prose examples. If negotiating the multiple narratives of a prose text and prose example is difficult, navigating between prose and music notation or prose and figures certainly compounds the intertextual complexities for both the creators of treatises and the readers. Writers and copyists accustomed to the written word face different issues in the creation of non-prose examples that lead to a greater opportunity for errors in the creation and transmission of non-prose examples than would normally be the case for prose examples. Scribes of words may not be good at drawing or music notation. If a second scribe (or third) creates the non-prose examples, other problems may arise, such the absence of adequate space for the example or the omission of the examples in the source text.

The first three factors in the initial creation of an example listed in Table 2 (text relation between prose and example, location of the example, and the clarity of the example) are all compounded by the hand copying of the manuscript treatise over time, which can be seen as a fourth factor affecting the intertextual relationship between texts and non-prose examples; one which greatly affects the first three. This factor was perhaps hidden from the original readers of a treatise (who were probably unaware of the theorist's/copyist's models or other copies of the treatise) but is of prime importance to modern readers (and editors) of these texts. We must assume that later theorists, compilers, and copyists felt free to add, subtract, re-write, and replace not only text but also the music and figures in the transmission of their sources into the new documents they created. For example, Calvin Bower has stated, "Boethius characterized his approach to translating the mathematical works as adhering to the strictest law of translation, but adding for the sake of elucidation, sometimes condensing when his source became too diffuse, and supplying charts and diagrams for the sake of clarity".[10] While changes in text are often well documented in modern editions, the differences between various manuscript sources in music and figures are not always clearly cited.

Finally, non-prose examples force the reader to change modes of thought and shift from reading words to either 'hearing' the music notation written in the text[11] or 'visualizing' the diagrams, charts, and illustrations – a change in thinking not required in considering prose examples in a text. Thus, the reader of a medieval theory treatise can be called upon to coordinate four intersecting 'texts': the prose narrative, the prose examples, the musical notation, and the figures or diagrams; and to employ

[10] C. BOWER, *Boethius and Nicomachus: An Essay Concerning the Sources of the 'De institutione musica'*, in *Vivarium*, 16 (1978), p. 2.

three modes of thought: reading, hearing, and visualizing. While it is not possible to quantify or measure how this mental juggling affects the reader of the text, it is important to note such changes in modes of thought in order to thoroughly delineate the issues involved in exemplarity in music theory treatises as different from those in a literary prose work.

1. *Text relation*	The use of similar phrases, terms, or descriptions in text and example
2. *Location*	The placement of the figure in relationship to the text
3. *Clarity*	The precision of the figure's shape, size, and dimensions
4. *Transmission*	Changes due to hand copying of treatise
5. *Change of mode of thought*	The reader's shift from reading prose to 'hearing' music notation or 'visualizing' figures and diagrams

Table 2. Factors affecting intertextual relationship between texts and non-prose examples (music and figures).

EXAMPLES IN DE MURIS'S *MUSICA SPECULATIVA*

The *Musica speculativa secundum Boetium* of Johannes de Muris provides a rich source in which to investigate the types of exemplarity in a music theory text transmitted by hand copying. The work was written in the early 1320s and exists in approximately fifty manuscript copies. There have been three recent editions of the work by Christoph Falkenroth,[12] Susan Fast,[13] and Elizabetha Witkowska-Zaremba[14] in addition to the edition presented in Gerbert's *Scriptores*.[15]

The work itself is built around an example; it is an extended commentary on Boethius's *De institutione musica*. De Muris cites Boethius frequently in the text so that the source of his text example is clear to the reader, as in such phrases as *eleganter docuit Boethius in prologo suae musicae*.[16] De Muris does not include musical

[11] The issues raised by music examples has most clearly been explored by Cristle Collins Judd, in JUDD, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory* (see note 2 supra).

[12] C. FALKENROTH ed., *Die Musica speculativa des Johannes de Muris*, (*Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 34), Stuttgart, 1992.

[13] S. FAST ed., *Johannis de Muris, Musica <speculativa>*, (*Musicological Studies*, 61), Ottawa, 1994.

[14] E. WITKOWSKA-ZAREMBA ed., *Musica Muris i nurt spekulatywny w muzykografii średniowiecznej* [*Muris's Musica and the Speculative Trend in Medieval Musicography*], (*Studia Copernicana*, 32), Warsaw, 1992.

[15] M. GERBERT ed., *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, St. Blasien, 1784, repr. Hildesheim 1963, 3, pp. 249–255.

[16] FALKENROTH ed., *Die Musica speculativa des Johannes de Muris,* pp. 72–74.

examples or references to specific works in the *Musica speculativa*, and the second type of exemplarity (musical notation), therefore, does not apply to this work.

In contrast, de Muris's speculative treatise abounds in diagrams and figures, providing numerous opportunities for considering the third type of exemplarity – figures – and the factors affecting the intertextual relationship between the text and non-prose examples. Figures and diagrams of musical proportions appear in almost every chapter of the treatise to demonstrate the author's concepts. In many cases, the relationship between the text and figure is clear with little ambiguity or confusion because the figure contains phrases, terms, or numerical proportions also used in the text, clearly linking the text and figure. These figures are often similar across the manuscript tradition in design and placement in the text.

Nevertheless, the *Musica speculativa* also contains some striking examples of intertextual confusion and ambiguity in its use of examples. One of the better-known examples is the figure of consonance from Book 1, Propositions 2–4, which comments on the basic numerical consonances of the fourth, fifth, and octave.[17] Propositions 2 and 3 lay out the basic consonances as seen in the proportions between the numerals 12, 9, 8, and 6. De Muris wishes to extend the discussion of these proportions in Proposition 4 with reference to a figure.

> *Haec figura consonatiarum in musica perfectarum omnia principia et omnes conclusiones musicae continet in virtue, quae si essent exterius enodatae, tota musica nota fieret. Sed haec figura quasi unum chaos, in quo latitant plures formae, potest satis rationabiliter appellari, in qua secundum plus et minus conclusiones nobilissimas considerantis suggerat intellectus. Unus enim ab ea haurire poterit, quod alter hactenus numquam vidit. Quae autem de consonantiis sunt in suis circulis figurata debent concedi pro principiis huius artis. Nam experientia ex natura rei eas hominibus revelavit. Oportet enim credere, qui discit, quod si non credat, ad experientiam currat et certus reddetur omni ambiguitate remota. His ita se habentibus iam potest huius figurae intellectus misteria et inclusa mirabila extrahere sigillatim.*
>
> This figure of perfect consonances in music contains in potentiality all the principles and all the conclusions of music. If they could be clearly and outwardly given, the whole of music would be noted. But this figure can be rationally enough called sort of chaos, in which many forms are hidden, and in the figure, the intellect may accordingly more or less suggest the most noble conclusions for consideration. For one intellect will be able to draw from it what another has so far never seen. Which among the consonances are figured in its circles, these ought to be conceded as the principles of this art, for experience from nature has revealed the consonances to mankind. It is necessary to believe one who teaches, because if one does not believe,

[17] See also F. HENTSCHEL, *Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft in der mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie: Strategien der Konsonanzwertung und der Gegenstand der musica sonora um 1300*, (*Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 47), Stuttgart, 2000, pp. 89–103.

> he runs to experience [i.e., he relies on experience], and he is certain to return to every remote ambiguity. As these things are so, the intellect can now bring forth separately the secrets of this figure and the marvels included.[18]

De Muris clearly expected an important diagram to accompany this passage, one that 'contains in potentiality all the principles and all the conclusions of music'. De Muris makes reference to a circular figure describing it as 'a sort of chaos' because it contains many hidden forms. The passage clearly prepares the reader to make an intertextual change from the narrative of the text to another mode of thought – interpreting a figure that will help explain the narrative.

But what was the figure to look like, and where was it to appear in relation to the text? Within the manuscript tradition, the figure varies widely in its presentation and placement. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate the problems of exemplarity for this figure. Two clear examples are found in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C. 241 Inf., fol. 126v (Figure 1) and Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 1927 BB XXV 14, fol. 116r (Figure 2).[19]

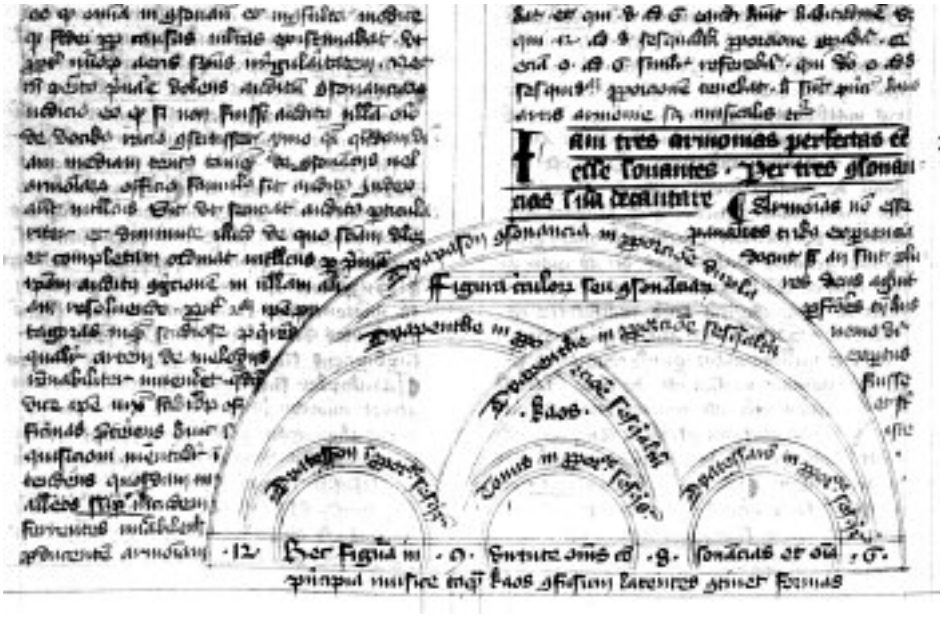


Figure 1. Johannes de Muris, *Musica speculativa*, Book 1, Proposition 4, Consonance figure. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS C. 241 Inf., fol. 126v.

[18] FALKENROTH, *Die Musica speculativa des Johannes de Muris,* pp. 114–118. I would like to thank Thomas J. Mathiesen for his help in clarifying this translation of the passage.

[19] Modern transcriptions of these examples appear in FAST, *Johannis de Muris, Musica <speculativa>*, p. 56 (Figure 1); and in FALKENROTH, *Die Musica speculativa des Johannes de Muris*, p. 118 (Figure 2).

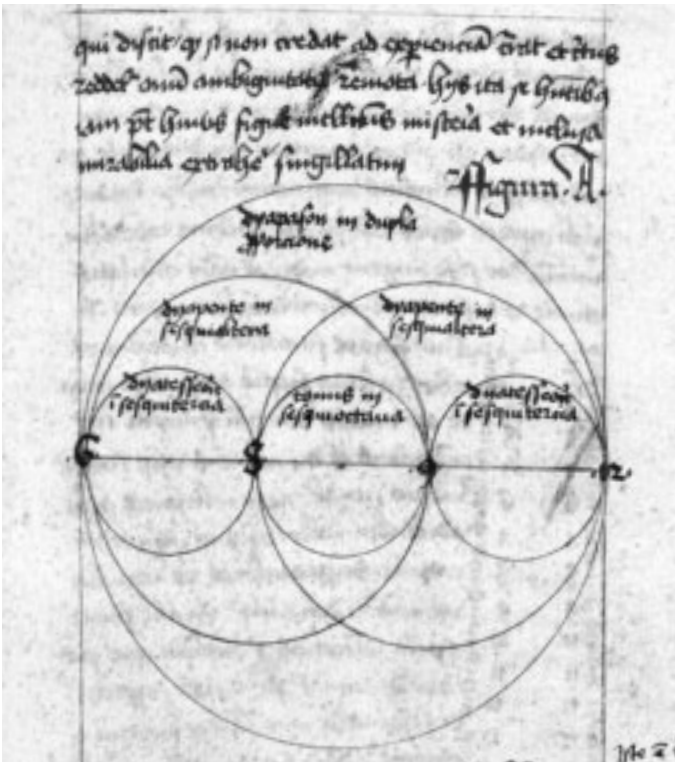


Figure 2. Johannes de Muris, *Musica speculativa*, Book 1, Proposition 4, Consonance figure. Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, MS 1927 BB XXV 14, fol. 116r.

In the Milan manuscript, the figure appears as semicircles (rather than as a circular figure, which the text indicates), the numerals appear in decreasing order from left to right, and the word *kaos* appears in the middle of the figure (clearly linking it to the passage in the fourth proposition). But the figure appears at the end of the third proposition, not in the middle of the fourth, meaning that the reader somehow had to remember the figure or flip back and forth between the recto and verso sides to integrate the text narrative and the example. In contrast, the Kraków manuscript is in a circular format (as the text indicates it should be) and the numbers appear in ascending order from left to right, but the figure omits the word *kaos*. This example is placed directly at the end of the fourth proposition and cited as *Figura A*. While the readers of the individual manuscripts were presented with figures they could basically understand, modern readers and editors are faced with an ambiguous situation.

These problems are compounded when the examples are not presented clearly in the manuscript – a visual parallel to the more frequently studied problem of garbled text transmission. The version of the *Musica speculativa* transmitted in Paris,

Bibliothèque nationale, fonds lat. 7369 provides a contrast to the clearly drawn examples in the Milan and Kraków examples. In an explicit to de Muris's work, the scribe gives his name as 'Matheus', saying he was a student of Hothby and a Servite.[20] While we can assume he was a musically educated scribe who would be keenly interested in presenting the treatise as clearly as possible, Matheus presents us with several examples of how transmission compounds the problems of exemplarity. The lighter ink of the figures makes it apparent that the figures were added at a different time than the text, probably by a different scribe. Matheus transmitted an abbreviated form of the *Musica Speculativa* (Falkenroth's 'Fassung B'). For the example of consonances in the fourth proposition, Matheus left space for an example but apparently not enough to present the figure in the same direction as the text (Figure 3). Instead, the reader must turn the manuscript (or his/her head) to interpret a semi-circular figure with numerals in descending order and without the word *kaos*. The text is also difficult to interpret, given the small space Matheus left for his example. While there are several problems with this figure, its placement makes it perfectly clear that it is to be linked to the fourth proposition. Matheus frequently ran into the problem of space for the figures, forcing whoever entered them to resort to drawing figures on their sides, bending figures, or overlapping figures with the text in order to fit the example into the given space.[21] In these examples, the reader of the manuscript, not to mention the modern reader and editor, is presented with ambiguous intertextual changes.

The earliest modern editions of medieval and Renaissance theorists by Gerbert and De Coussemaker presented these works in print to a wide audience but often continued or compounded the problems of exemplarity. Figures that were originally round or spherical were often printed squarely, placed in positions other than those found in the sources, or omitted altogether. Thus, Gerbert's edition of the *Musica speculativa*, using an abbreviated version of the treatise, omitted altogether the figure intended to accompany Book 1, Propositions 2–4.[22]

For the modern reader and editor who have the luxury of comparing various manuscript versions of a single treatise, the confusion at the intertextual conjunction is compounded. While it is clear that de Muris intended an example to accompany his fourth proposition in Book 1, it is difficult to know how he envisioned it to appear (circles or semicircles, ascending or descending numbers, the presence or absence of the word *kaos*) or where he intended it to be placed (before the text, after it, or in the middle).

[20] *… Explicit musica speculativa magistri Johannis de muris scripta per me fratrem matheum francisci de testa draconibus de florentia ordinis servorum sancte marie cum inpenderem operam musice sub egregio musicorumque doctorum primo magistro Johanne hothbi Anglico, necnon theologie lectori meritissimo, 1471, die 5 martii, circa oram vesperarum, nec eram multum letum*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds lat. 7369, fol. 45r.

[21] See for example fol. 41r.

[22] GERBERT, *Scriptores*, 3, p. 250.

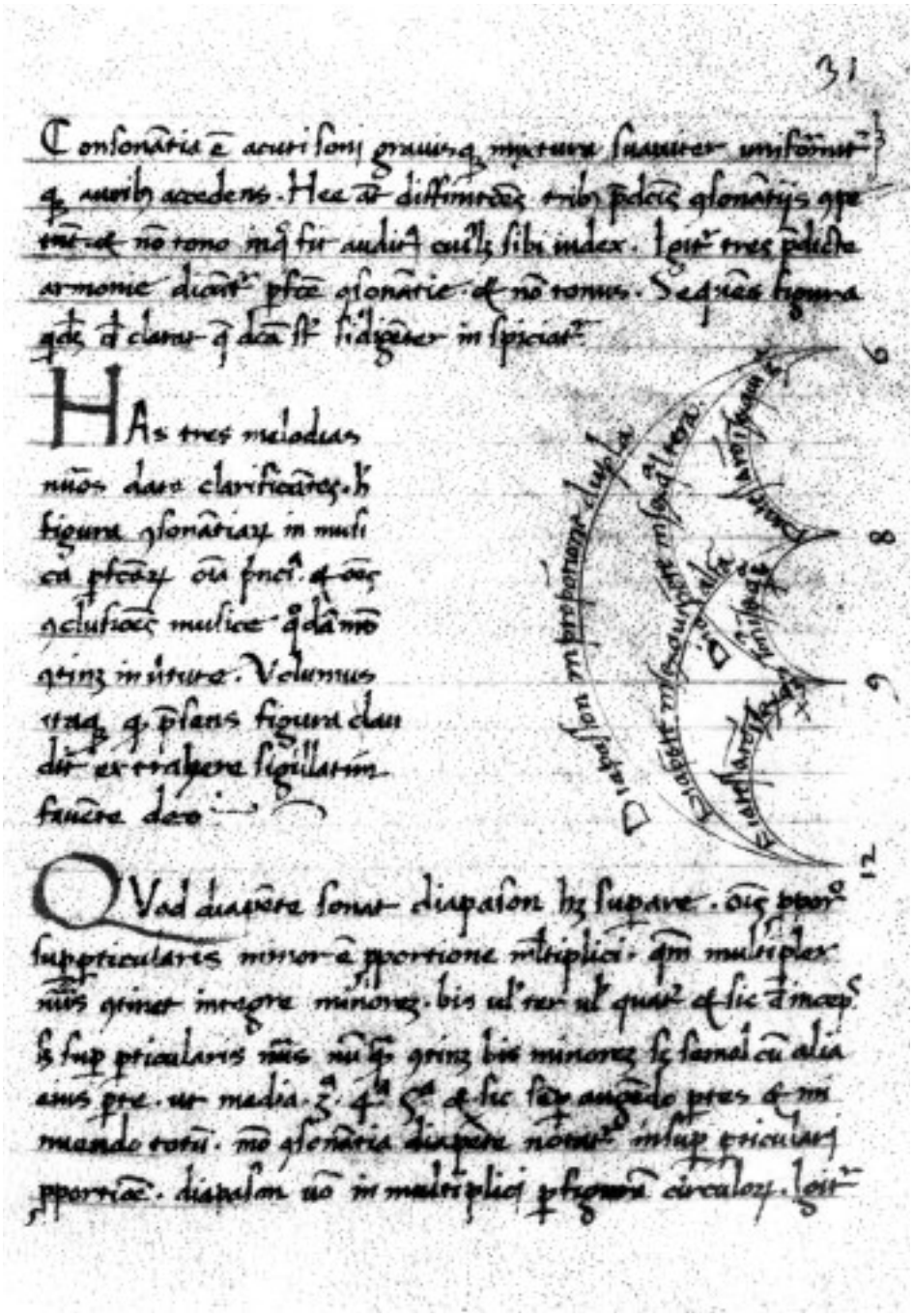


Figure 3. Johannes de Muris, *Musica speculativa*, Book 1, Proposition 4, Consonance figure. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds lat. 7369, fol. 31r.

The multiplicity of possible representations for the figure de Muris intended in this passage demonstrates an important area of future work in the study of figures in music theory – the consistent use of a critical apparatus in editions of music theory texts to delineate the variety of figures (or lack of them) in the sources. While Martin L. West presents a standard model for text editing in his *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*[23] and there have been several recent publications on the editing of music in early sources,[24] to the best of my knowledge, one of the few resources for editing figures in early music theory is the *Style Guide* for the series *Greek and Latin Music Theory*, edited by Thomas J. Mathiesen and Jon D. Solomon.[25] At a minimum, an apparatus for figures might convey to the reader such things as the location of the figure in relation to the text (or the omission of the figure), a general description of the figure's shape, and the text and/or numerals in the figure.

A more complete apparatus for figures would provide multiple versions of all figures, perhaps as an appendix to the edition.[26] Giving modern readers more complete information on the figures will deepen our understanding of the variety of intertextual possibilities in these treatises and their possible interpretation.

EXAMPLES IN GAFFURIO'S *THEORIA MUSICE*

The introduction of publishing resolved many of the ambiguities in the transmission of figures in music theory treatises. Theorists who published their work had a greater degree of control over all the elements of the treatise (text, musical examples, and figures) and thus over their relationship than writers in an age of hand copying of works. Once arranged on the printed page, the relationship between these elements would be the same for every reader of that edition of the work, which essentially eliminated the problem of changes in the examples due to transmission, at least for each edition of the printed treatise. Some rearrangement of materials may occur between printed editions or in the rare case of a printed treatise subsequently transmitted by hand. It is also possible for differences to appear in various states of an edition if an error is corrected during the printing of a work.

[23] M. WEST, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart, 1973.

[24] See, for example, J. CALDWELL, *Editing Early Music*, Oxford, 1985; and J. GRIER, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice,* Cambridge, 1996.

[25] T. MATHIESEN and J. SOLOMON, *Greek and Latin Music Theory: A Style Guide for Text Criticism, Translation, and the Preparation of Camera-Ready Typescript*, Lincoln – London, 1982, p. 9.

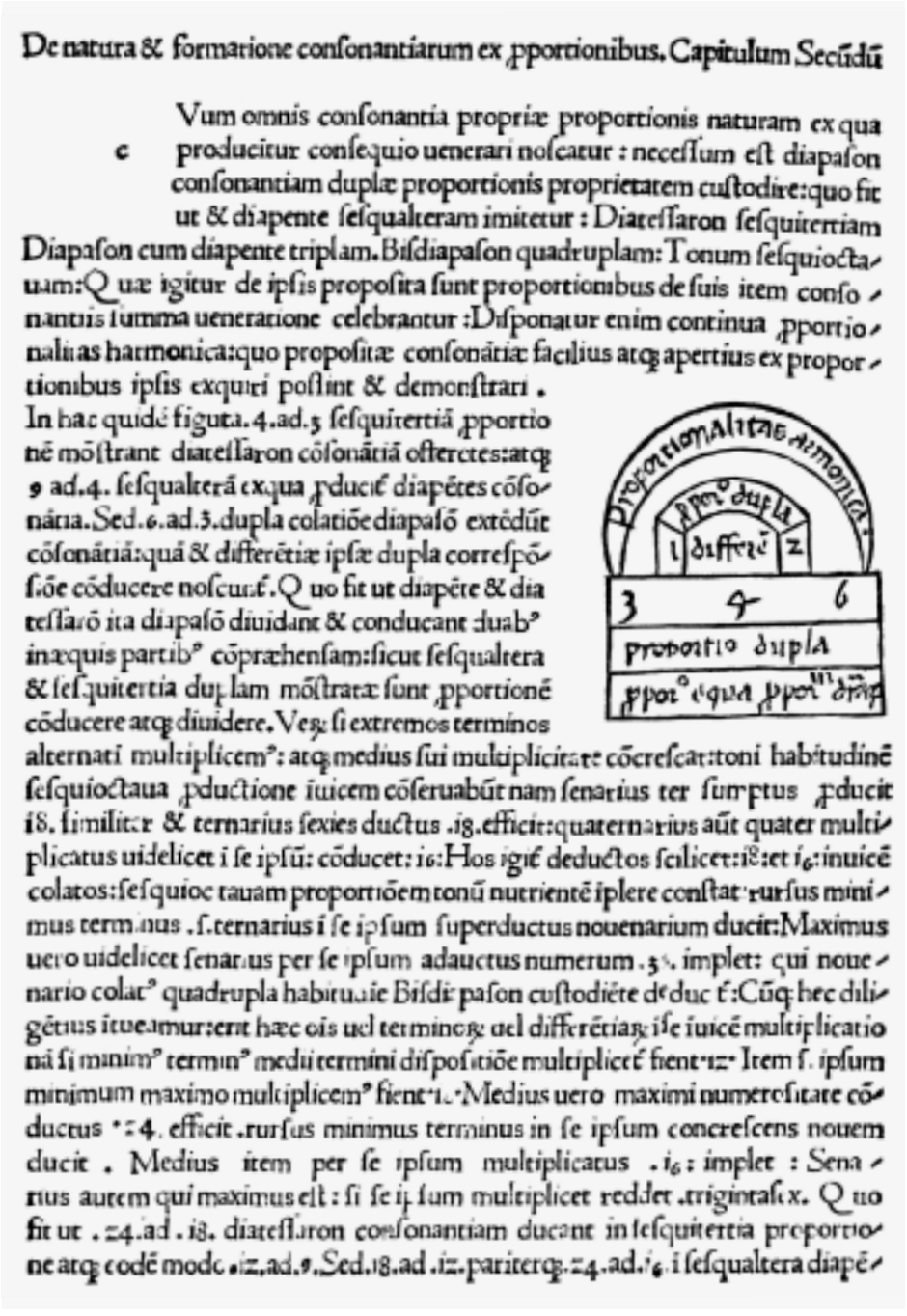
[26] Two volumes of *Greek and Latin Music Theory* (*GLMT*) in particular present extensive critical apparatus on figures: O. ELLSWORTH ed., *The Berkeley Manuscript*, (*Greek and Latin Music Theory*, 2), Lincoln – London, 1984; and A. BARBERA ed., *The Euclidean Division of the Canon: Greek and Latin Sources*, (*Greek and Latin Music Theory*, 8), Lincoln – London, 1991.

Franchino Gaffurio's *Theoria musice*, first printed in Milan in 1492, may serve as an example of a printed treatise to use in contrast with de Muris's work.[27] While there are, of course, tremendous differences between the two, both are speculative treatises that borrow heavily from Boethius and both lack examples of printed music. Gaffurio's figures of the perfect consonances (which are slightly different from the figure in de Muris) appear in Book 4, chapter 2 (Figure 4). What is striking in terms of the exemplarity of the chapter is the specificity of Gaffurio's text in its description of the figure. In place of de Muris's general description of a circular figure of some sort, Gaffurio's descriptions of his examples are precise and exact. The examples appear close to the text they are describing. Thus, when Gaffurio employs the rhetorical exemplary phrase, *hec omnia presens figura apertissime demonstrat*, to introduce the second example in the chapter, the reader knows exactly what to look for in the figure, and how it relates to the narrative.

In comparing the figures on consonance in both the de Muris and Gaffurio treatises, I do not mean to suggest that all examples in all manuscript-transmitted treatises are as ambiguous as the figure related to the fourth proposition of Book 1 in the *Musica speculativa*. The exemplary ambiguity in this passage rests as much in the abstract nature of what de Muris is trying to express as it does in the versions of the figures as they appear in individual sources. Nevertheless, while providing only one example each from a written and printed tradition, I would like to suggest that a possible further area for study is the way in which the technology of printing changed the content of music theory texts. Such studies have proven fruitful in a wide range of areas in music and may prove useful as well in the matter of exemplarity in music theory.[28] With the advent of printing, it is possible to propose that theorists would begin to write theory in a different manner from their manuscript-bound predecessors. Knowing that their figures would appear clearly in a specific relation to the text may have changed the way writers in a print culture wrote about their figures and diagrams and integrated the two narratives in new ways, just as theorists in a print culture began to use musical examples in different ways from their manuscript-based predecessors. Investigating such suggestions would surely be possible with further research in the field of figures and theory texts. One example of the changes brought about by printing may be seen in the renewed interest in tuning and temperament that took place in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The exactness of figures and diagrams which printing brought was excellently suited for these highly technical

[27] F. GAFFURIO, *Theoria musice*, Milan, 1492, repr. New York 1967. English trans. by W. KREYSZIG, *The Theory of Music by Franchino Gaffurio*, (C. PALISCA ed., *Music Theory Translation*), New Haven – London, 1993.

[28] In addition to JUDD, *Reading Renaissance Music Theory*, see K. VAN ORDEN ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*, (*Critical and Cultural Musicology*, 1; *Garland Reference Library of the Humanities*, 2027), New York – London, 2000.



De natura & formatione consonantiarum ex ꝓportionibus. Capitulum Secūdū

Vum omnis consonantia propriæ proportionis naturam ex qua producitur consequio uenerari noscatur : necessum est diapason consonantiam duplæ proportionis proprietatem custodire: quo fit ut & diapente sesqualteram imitetur : Diatessaron sesquitertiam Diapason cum diapente triplam. Bisdiapason quadruplam: Tonum sesquioctauam: Quæ igitur de ipsis proposita sunt proportionibus de suis item consonantiis summa uenerationе celebrantur : Disponatur enim continua ꝓportionalitas harmonica: quo propositæ consonātiæ facilius atq; apertius ex proportionibus ipsis exquiri possint & demonstrari .

In hac quidē figura. 4. ad. 3 sesquitertiā ꝓportionē mōstrant diatessaron cōsonātiā offerentes: atq; 9 ad. 4. sesqualterā ex qua ꝓducīt diapētes cōsonātia. Sed. 6. ad. 3. dupla collatiōe diapasō extēdūt cōsonātiā: quā & differētiæ ipsæ dupla correspōdēre cōducere noscunt. Quo fit ut diapēte & diatessaron ita diapasō diuidant & conducant duab⁹ inæquis partib⁹ cōpræhensam: sicut sesqualtera & sesquitertia duplam mōstratæ sunt ꝓportionē cōducere atq; diuidere. Ves; si extremos terminos alternati multiplicem⁹: atq; medius sui multiplicitate cōcrescat: toni habitudinē sesquioctaua ꝓductione iuicem cōseruabūt nam senarius ter sumptus ꝓducit 18. similiter & ternarius sexies ductus .18. efficit: quaternarius aūt quater multiplicatus uidelicet i se ipsū: cōducet: 16: Hos igit deductos scilicet: 18: et 16: inuicē collatos: sesquioctauam proportiōem tonū nutrientē iplere constat. rursus minimus terminus .s. ternarius i se ipsum superductus nouenarium ducit: Maximus uero uidelicet senarius per se ipsum adauctus numerum .36. implet: qui nouenario collat⁹ quadrupla habitudie Bisdiapason custodiēte deducit: Cūq; hec diligētius ituemur: erit hæc oīs uel terminoꝝ uel differētiaꝝ ise iuicē multiplicatio nā si minim⁹ termin⁹ medii termini dispositiōe multiplicet fient. 12. Item s. ipsum minimum maximo multiplicem⁹ fient. 18. Medius uero maximi numerositate cōductus .12. 4. efficit. rursus minimus terminus in se ipsum concrescens nouem ducit . Medius item per se ipsum multiplicatus . 16: implet : Senarius autem qui maximus est : si se ipsum multiplicet reddet. triginta sex. Quo fit ut . 24. ad . 18. diatessaron consonantiam ducant in sesquitertia proportione atq; eodē modo . 12. ad. 9. Sed. 18. ad. 12. pariterq; 24. ad. 16. i sesqualtera diapē-

Figure 4. Franchino Gaffurio, *Theoria musice*, Book 4, chapter 2, Milan, 1492, repr. New York, 1967.

and detailed discussions. I am not proposing that printing was the cause of this debate, but that the specificity printed examples afforded, along with the wide circulation of printed treatises, provided a rich environment for the debate to take place. Thus a work like Ludovico Foliani's *Musica theorica* (1592) relies heavily on the exact representation of the monochord divisions it presents.[29]

Towards a Catalogue of Illustrations in Western Latin Medieval and Renaissance Theory Treatises, c. 1000-1600

This article has explored the conceptual issues involved in exemplarity in early music theory and presented a limited exploration of these issues as a prolegomena to the creation of a catalogue of illustrations in western Latin medieval and Renaissance theory treatises, c. 1000–1600. Figures should be seen as being of equal importance to the more commonly studied types of exemplarity seen in music theory treatises – quotations and musical excerpts. In proposing the study of figures and illustrations in music theory as a relatively unexplored field of research in our discipline, this article suggests that in addition to a catalogue of source materials, further work in this area would include the refinement of the theory of exemplarity as applied to music theory as well as the regular use of a critical apparatus to convey to the modern reader the variety of differences found in the sources. When scholars have a stronger sense of the range of examples in the corpus of early music theory, a consistent editorial apparatus to explain the variations in the figures to modern readers, as well as a broader theoretical framework to conceptualize these examples, then we will begin to understand more fully what the figures are teaching us.

[29] L. FOLIANI, *Musica theorica*, Venice, 1529, repr. New York 1969 (*Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile*, 2/93); and L. FOLIANI, *Musica theorica*, Venice, 1529, repr. Bologna 1970 (*Bibliotheca Musica Bonoiensis*, Series 2, 1).

Change and Continuity in Twentieth-Century Textbooks on Sixteenth-Century Counterpoint*

Thomas Holme Hansen
University of Aarhus

During the twentieth century an increasing number of textbooks on sixteenth-century counterpoint have been published, and recent debates on counterpoint taking place on international e-mail discussion-lists[1] indicate a continuous interest in the different problems related to these books. Among the issues under discussion are the adherence to traditional species counterpoint versus other didactic approaches, 'abstract' versus 'stylistic' counterpoint, Renaissance repertoire examples versus treatise rules, and so on.

No doubt, one of the most important and best known textbooks is Knud Jeppesen's landmark study, *Kontrapunkt (Vokalpolyfoni)*. Since its first publication in 1930 Jeppesen's book has served as a 'classic' manual in counterpoint teaching in many educational institutions throughout the world. Considering, though, that nearly every aspect of sixteenth-century music since then has been the subject of specialized research, it is interesting that Jeppesen's work maintains an authoritative position and is still in use around the world.

Taking Jeppesen's textbook as a starting point, the present study will take a closer look at some of the other textbooks published since Jeppesen's. It is obvious that a systematic and detailed rule-by-rule comparison on melody, dissonance-treatment, text-setting, and so forth, among a substantial number of textbooks would be an undertaking of vast dimensions clearly exceeding the scope of this short presentation. So, with the purpose of pointing to some of the most important changes and continuities in twentieth-century textbooks on sixteenth-century counterpoint, the following exa-

* This work was supported by a grant from the Danish Research Council for the Humanities. Prior to the presentation at the 17th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, Leuven, August 2002, elements of the text were presented in two papers delivered: (1) at the *13th Nordic Musicological Congress*, Aarhus, August 2000 (cf. T.H. HANSEN ed., *13th Nordic Musicological Congress – Aarhus 2000. Papers and Abstracts*, University of Aarhus, 2002, p. 164); and (2) at the *1. Kongress der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie*, Dresden, October 2001. Portions of the text have been translated and revised from T.H. HANSEN, *Knud Jeppesens 'Kontrapunkt' – og de andres. Nogle observationer vedrørende kildegrundlaget for et udvalg af lærebøger i vokalkontrapunkt fra det 20. århundrede* [Knud Jeppesen's 'Counterpoint' – and that of others. Some Observations on the Sources for a Selection of 20th-Century Manuals on 16th-Century Vocal Polyphony], in *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning*, 28 (2000), pp. 35–52. An investigation of half note dissonance in two-part counterpoint conducted on a similar selection of twentieth-century textbooks as in the present article, can be found in T.H. HANSEN, *Die Satzlehre zur 'klassischen' Vokalpolyphonie. Satztechnische Realitäten zwischen deutschen und anglo-amerikanischen Forschungstraditionen?*, in L. HOLTMEIER, M. POLTH and F. DIERGARTEN eds., *Musiktheorie zwischen Historie und Systematik. 1. Kongreß der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Musiktheorie, Dresden 2001*, Augsburg, 2004, pp. 263–274.

[1] For example, the list of the Society for Music Theory (during March 2001).

mination will limit itself to some preliminary observations on a number of general issues related to these works.

Jeppesen's book was based on his doctoral dissertation, with which he obtained his doctorate in 1922 at the University of Vienna, and a couple of years later at the University of Copenhagen.[2] His dissertation at that time represented a pioneer and unique example of scientifically based stylistic analysis, and it was quickly disseminated to both German- and English-speaking fora.[3] Regarding the work, Jeppesen himself wrote: "My book on the style of Palestrina … was exclusively a historical study of style, although the conclusions necessarily have pedagogical importance because of the close relation of the subject to contrapuntal theory".[4] When, in addition, he learnt that the work was being used as a manual in counterpoint at some German universities,[5] he wrote his well-known textbook. Originally published in Danish, the work was soon translated into German and English, and later into at least five other languages, probably making it the most widely disseminated counterpoint textbook of the twentieth century.[6]

For the present survey a selection of about thirty-five textbooks on sixteenth-century counterpoint has been made, containing a representative part of Anglo-American, German and Scandinavian works and including the titles most often referred to internationally (see the Appendix: A Chronology of Twentieth-Century Textbooks on Sixteenth-Century Counterpoint).[7] In order to provide the most relevant frame of reference for Jeppesen's work, the selection is made up only of books dealing with the polyphonic vocal counterpoint of the sixteenth century – but indeed,

[2] Cf. T.H. HANSEN, *Danske doktordisputatser i musikvidenskab – en fortegnelse og et tillæg i anledning af 100-året for Angul Hammerichs disputats* [Danish Doctoral Dissertations in Musicology – A Catalogue and a Supplement on the Occasion of the Centenary of Angul Hammerich's Dissertation], in *Cæcilia*, (1992/1993), pp. 233–264, especially pp. 243–248; and T.H. HANSEN, art. *Jeppesen, Knud (Christian)*, in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd rev. ed., *Personenteil*, 9, Kassel – Basel, 2003, cols. 1019–1021.

[3] K. JEPPESEN, *Palestrinastil med særligt Henblik paa Dissonansbehandlingen*, Copenhagen, 1923; *Der Palestrinastil und die Dissonanz*, Leipzig, 1925; *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance*, Copenhagen – London, 1927; 2nd rev. ed. Copenhagen – London, 1946; republ. with minor corrections New York, 1970. In Vienna Jeppesen had carried out his studies under the guidance of Guido Adler, resulting no doubt in far more publicity than would have been the case, if the work – as it was Jeppesen's original intention – had been defended at the University of Copenhagen.

[4] K. JEPPESEN, *Counterpoint. The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1939, p. ix.

[5] *Ibidem*.

[6] K. JEPPESEN, *Kontrapunkt (Vokalpolyfoni)*, Copenhagen – Leipzig, s.a. [1930], 2nd rev. ed. 1946 (repr. 1962, 1968, 1993); *Kontrapunkt. Lehrbuch der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie*, Leipzig, 1935, rev. ed. Leipzig, 1956 (repr. 1985[11]); *Counterpoint. The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1939, London, 1950 (repr. 1992). Regarding the translations into Japanese (1955), Rumanian (1967), Finnish (1972), Hungarian (1975) and Greek (1990), cf. HANSEN, *Knud Jeppesens 'Kontrapunkt'*, p. 37.

[7] In the following general reference will be made to this appendix, using the author's name and the year of publication. The works of Wilhelm Hohn (1918) and Otto Fiebach (1921), pre-dating Jeppesen's with a few years, are included in the Chronology since they incorporate the word 'Palestrina counterpoint/-style' in their titles – apparently for the first time in twentieth-century textbooks.

to a very varying degree. Although most are real textbooks exhibiting exercises and assignments, some are studies of a predominantly stylistic and analytical nature, the contents of which are not arranged into a pedagogical progression. For example, this is the case in Samuel Rubio's work from 1956 and Herbert Andrews' from 1958, both having more the character of a description of style and technique than of a textbook as such.

The question of teaching method dominates the methodological statements of the books – *and* the published reviews[8] – to a degree almost making this issue the most important. In Johann Joseph Fux's famous textbook, *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725), species counterpoint – with its roots going even further back to treatises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[9] – was given a fixed form, which proved to be predominant within the teachings of counterpoint until the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1922 Reginald Morris, though, directed a severe critique on the old method, launching his famous dictum that the result when following the strict rules would be "a purely academic by-product, Music that never was on sea or land".[10] Instead, he argued for a more freely arranged educational method with a much closer connection to the actual repertoire. This so-called 'direct approach' was taken up especially by English-speaking writers such as Arthur Tillman Merritt (1939), Gustave Soderlund (1947) and Herbert Andrews (1958), establishing what Thomas Christensen has called the 'historicist school' as opposed to the old 'idealist school',[11] a division of counterpoint pedagogy into two basic approaches characteristic of the majority of twentieth-century textbooks.

Although most of the authors profess to be ardent supporters or just as ardent opponents of the system of the species, a sharp distribution into species- and non-species-books cannot always be made.[12] Some of the works actually fall somewhere in between, for example Harold Owen's book of 1992, in which the author applies a so-called 'quasi-species approach',[13] and Gilbert Trythall's book of 1994, which in its first part presents "a modern species approach to two-voice modal counterpoint"

[8] For example, T. CHRISTENSEN, review-article on the textbook by Robert Gauldin (1985), in *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy*, 1 (1987), pp. 105–114; M.H. WENNERSTROM, review of six textbooks (among others the works of Thomas Benjamin (1979), Robert Gauldin (1985) and Harold Owen (1992)), in *Music Theory Spectrum*, 15 (1993), pp. 235–240; D.L. MANCINI, review of Owen (1992), in *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy*, 8 (1994), pp. 209–219.

[9] Cf. C.V. PALISCA, art. *Kontrapunkt*, (par. 3–4), in L. FINSCHER ed., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd rev. ed., *Sachteil*, 5, Kassel – Basel, 1996, cols. 604–618, especially cols. 606–607, 611–612. C. DAHLHAUS, art. *Counterpoint*, (par. 13), in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 6, p. 563.

[10] REGINALD O. MORRIS (1922), p. 2.

[11] CHRISTENSEN, review-article on the textbook by ROBERT GAULDIN (1985), pp. 105–106.

[12] In the Appendix (A Chronology) an asterisk is applied to the textbooks predominantly adherent of the species approach.

[13] HAROLD OWEN (1992), p. x.

and in its second part applies "a direct approach to free composition".[14] Despite the fact that a growing number of textbooks have rejected the old species method, it is notable, though, that in some it has maintained its status, for example, in the most recent book by Peter Schubert (1999).[15] In any case, as the century wears on there is a clear tendency to soften the arguments as well as the boundaries between the two pedagogical approaches, and in many cases a more or less pronounced amalgamation can be detected.[16]

Regarding the question of style, all the works aim at the same objective, namely an insight into the so-called common practice of the sixteenth century. But judging by their titles and the authors' pronounced intentions, the great majority of the books not only aim at teaching vocal polyphony or modal counterpoint in general, but explicitly narrow the stylistic frame to that of Palestrina.[17] In that respect it is interesting to note the differences in methodological approach that show up behind the use of the word 'Palestrina style'. The following three examples will give an impression.

In Otto Fiebach's book of 1921, the word *Palestrinastil* is found on the title page as a parenthetical addition to the title, *Die Lehre vom strengen Kontrapunkt*. But nowhere else in the book, though, is there any mentioning of Palestrina, let alone citations from his works or, for that matter, from those of other Renaissance composers. In Jeppesen's textbook of 1930, the rules have their solid foundation and documentation in the dissertation, and although the title *Kontrapunkt (Vokalpolyfoni)*[18] does not indicate so, the book no doubt primarily teaches the contrapuntal laws of the style of Palestrina. However, despite the fact that these rules are widely accepted as the most comprehensive and accurate, several researchers have raised questions regarding how big a part of Palestrina's works actually falls within their limits, at the same time pointing to groups of works that to some degree might fall without, such as, for example, his polychoral motets.[19] Finally, in Christoph Hohlfeld's work of 1994, *Schule musikalischen Denkens. Der Cantus-firmus-Satz bei Palestrina*,[20] yet another angle to the issue is presented. According to Hohlfeld, the magnificats by Palestrina

[14] H. GILBERT TRYTHALL (1994), p. xii.

[15] PETER SCHUBERT (1999), pp. v, 20, et passim.

[16] Cf. the statement by Owen Swindale that "… we can have the best of both worlds – the species *and* the true sixteenth-century style", in OWEN SWINDALE (1962), p. ii.

[17] In ten of the books, 'Palestrina' is literally part of their title. Second in place comes Orlando di Lasso, whose style is placed next to Palestrina's in a handful of the books, most notable in LESLIE BASSETT (1967), CHARLOTTE SMITH (1989), and THOMAS DANIEL (1997).

[18] Cf. footnote 6.

[19] L. LOCKWOOD, N. O'REGAN and J.A. OWENS, art. *Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da*, (par. 8), in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 18, pp. 946-947. Cf. Dahlhaus' statement, that "the apparently indispensable didactic considerations cannot always be wholly reconciled with historical endeavours to give a precise description of Palestrina's style: even Jeppesen's textbook (1930), a paragon of pedagogic exposition by a historian, results from an (unacknowledged) compromise", in DAHLHAUS, *Counterpoint*, p. 564.

[20] According to the colophon of the work only the *Aufgabenteil* is written by Reinhard Bahr; see CHRISTOPH HOHLFELD and REINHARD BAHR (1994), p. [4].

virtually constitute a handbook in the style of Palestrina, and his detailed analyses and prescriptions rest entirely on this limited excerpt from the enormous Palestrinian oeuvre.[21] There is no doubt that the student will gain a very close insight into the compositional techniques of this particular genre, but indeed it remains an open question whether and to what extent the textbook prescriptions are actually valid beyond the magnificats.

Without wandering off into a closer critique of the three works in question, in short, Fiebach's 'Palestrina style' is seemingly without any foundation at all, Jeppesen's is lacking a clear line of demarcation within the Palestrinian oeuvre, and Hohlfeld's is based on a fraction of this oeuvre so limited that it could seem obscure what the student is actually about to learn in his so-called 'School of musical thought'.

In all three cases, though, the common denominator of the uncertainty can be narrowed down to the question of the source foundation of the books. For any author of a textbook at least three different types of sources exist. One can select a musical corpus and to the best of one's ability extract and formulate the predominant rules and characteristics of the music. Another possibility is to examine which rules and instructions the writers of that time – that is, teachers and theorists, and in some cases the composer himself – committed to paper. And finally, if the musical corpus is of some age, you may investigate the writings of later researchers. The contents of a textbook necessarily depend on which of the three types of sources the analyses and the different sets of rules are based on.

Regarding the first source type, the book by Christoph Hohlfeld constitutes an exception, focussing entirely on Palestrina's magnificats. In none of the other textbooks mention is made of a larger musical corpus being thoroughly analysed, which often makes it difficult to assess to what extent the rules are based on the author's own analyses.[22] Therefore, it is often the balance between general rules and model-examples on the one hand, and actual citations from the polyphonic literature on the other, that gives the best impression of the actual depth of the documentation.[23] The

[21] Cf. Hohlfeld's statement (CHRISTOPH HOHLFELD and REINHARD BAHR (1994), p. 14), that "wer indes Authentisches über Anliegen und Verfahren Palestrinas erfahren und … kreativen Nutzen daraus ziehen will, sollte wohl … den Meister selbst fragen, statt abstrahierten Formeln eines künstlichen Systems zu folgen. Und wir können ihn fragen: Hat er doch 1591 gegen Ende seines Lebens Chorbücher mit 16 modellhaften kleinen Magnificats drucken lassen, auf die wir uns … berufen können. Der Glücksfall, damit ein den Bachschen Studierwerken vergleichbares 'Handbuch' im Palestrinastil zu besitzen, enthebt uns der Peinlichkeit, an sterilen Surrogaten einen Stil zu treffen zu suchen, der in herrlichen Meistersätzen lebendiger Musik authentisch belegt ist".

[22] Furthermore, it is not uncommon to come across inaccurate methodological statements, i.e. that "the study is based on music itself, all the rules being deduced from the actual practices of sixteenth-century composers", in ARTHUR TILLMAN MERRITT (1939, 1946[3]), p. xiv.

[23] Actual counts of, for example, notevalues, thus providing an insight into the documentary material behind stylistic prescriptions, are very rare to come across. In Malcolm Boyd's textbook, though, a few is found supporting his so-called 're-investigation of Palestrina's music'; see MALCOLM BOYD (1973), p. 2, 11 f., 26 f., 33. Cf. HANSEN, *Knud Jeppesens 'Kontrapunkt'*, p. 43.

works that are most convincingly based upon music analyses, are the ones by Gustave Soderlund (1947), Herbert Andrews (1958) and Thomas Daniel (1997), the work of Andrews probably coming closest to Jeppesen's.

Contemporary music theory is hardly referred to.[24] In fact, only two of the text-books base themselves to some extent on sixteenth-century treatises, one of them being the book by Samuel Rubio (1956), who provides a very detailed account of especially the Spanish vocal polyphony of the sixteenth century. The translator of the work, Thomas Rive, clearly emphasizes that the book's "technical discussion deals with this music in the light of contemporary music theory, rather than from a twentieth-century point of view. It should, in translation, serve to supplement text-books dealing more specifically with the grammar of the style".[25] Consequently, there are very few references to other twentieth-century textbooks. The other work, written by Peter Schubert, will be commented on later.

Regarding the third source-type, quite a few textbooks, mainly older ones, do not support their subject matter with references, neither to theoretical treatises nor to modern literature. The majority of the works, though, contain a bibliography, and their authors state – in a more or less explicit manner – which of the other books make up their basis.

It can be concluded, then, that (1) as to the source foundation of the textbooks, only very few are based on systematic analysis of a large musical corpus; (2) relevant sixteenth-century treatises are not included, except in a few significant instances; and (3) most of the works are based upon some of the other twentieth-century text-books, adding their own analyses, exercises and assignments.

In all three of the above-mentioned areas, Knud Jeppesen was, so to speak, fully covered. Most importantly, he had indeed carried out a minute analysis of a large musical corpus.[26] In addition he was well versed in the theoretical literature of the sixteenth century and had a profound knowledge of the counterpoint treatises of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. But, although no other textbook has the same documentational backup as Jeppesen's, his work stands by no means unchallenged or without supplementations.

The most obvious shortcoming in Jeppesen's seventy-year-old mapping and codification of the so-called Palestrina-style, namely the lack of a specific paragraph on

[24] Andrews emphasizes that "the main purpose of the book is to present the particular technical usages of Palestrina *as they appear in his music* … rather than as contemporary theorists might have seen them"; see HERBERT KENNEDY ANDREWS (1958), p. 7.

[25] P. SAMUEL RUBIO (1956), in the English translation (1972), p. xv.

[26] I.D. BENT and A. POPLE, art. *Analysis*, (par. 2), in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 1, p. 547: "The aspect of Jeppesen's work that makes it scientific is the fact that the analyst is not selecting and summarizing: he is presenting the entire data for each case and adducing laws from it objectively. … The preliminary work for this analysis must clearly have been an exhaustive search through every vocal part of Palestrina's entire output … in order to count and note every interval in relation to its metrical placing".

rhythm (in connection with the other preliminary paragraphs on notation, the ecclesiastical modes, melody and harmony),[27] is remedied by Andrews (1958),[28] Daniel (1997)[29] and others. For example, they provide more detailed rules concerning triple mensuration, an aspect only superficially dealt with by Jeppesen.

Regarding the contrapuntal rules, already during the 1950s corrections and supplementations were made, among others by Jeppesen's Danish colleague, Povl Hamburger, who in 1966 published an actual supplement to Jeppesen's textbook, *Supplerende bemærkninger til den vokale kontrapunktlære*, indicating a number of passages and examples in Jeppesen's work that in Hamburger's opinion ought to be replaced. Several of the rules formulated by Jeppesen are corrected, and Hamburger provides supplementary rules on the ascending leap from the unaccented crotchet, on isolated pairs of crotchets when they occur in place of the unaccented minim, and so on.[30]

On at least two occasions Jeppesen commented on the studies of Hamburger, acknowledging a number of his findings, and provided his own set of supplementary rules regarding the treatment of rests in the sixteenth century.[31] Neither Hamburger's nor Jeppesen's corrections and additions to the Palestrina style are included in the Jeppesen textbook. The only revised edition was published in Danish in 1946, and no significant alterations were made in the subsequent editions in Danish, German and English.[32] We can only guess as to the reason why Jeppesen did not publish a further revised edition of the book, taking into account his own as well as other researchers' findings. But it is a fact that already around 1950 the work was ripe for revision on a number of points. Then in 1966 Hamburger published his supplement, presumably recognizing that no revised edition would come from Jeppesen's pen.

The accounts of mode and modality constitute another aspect of updating in the textbooks. Jeppesen devotes a lengthy chapter to an explanation of the ecclesiastical modes – an issue totally absent in his dissertation – concluding that "the polyphony

[27] KNUD JEPPESEN (1930), in the English translation (1939), chapter 2, pp. 54–103.

[28] HERBERT KENNEDY ANDREWS (1958), pp. 27–60.

[29] THOMAS DANIEL (1997), pp. 47–90.

[30] P. HAMBURGER, *Supplerende bemærkninger til den vokale kontrapunktlære* [Supplementary Remarks on Vocal Counterpoint Instruction], Kolding, 1966, pp. 6, 7–9. Prior to this work, Hamburger had published three studies on vocal polyphony, in which his analyses of the works of Palestrina and other composers are carried out as systematically and thoroughly as Jeppesen's, enabling Hamburger to document and substantiate his changes of the rules on the basis of actual counts within an extensive musical corpus; see P. HAMBURGER, *The Ornamentations in the Works of Palestrina*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 22 (1950), pp. 128–147; P. HAMBURGER, *Studien zur Vokalpolyphonie*, Copenhagen – Wiesbaden, 1956; P. HAMBURGER, *Studien zur Vokalpolyphonie II*, in *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning*, 4 (1964/1965), pp. 63–89.

[31] K. JEPPESEN, *Some Remarks to 'The Ornamentations in the Works of Palestrina' by Povl Hamburger*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 22 (1950), pp. 148–152; K. JEPPESEN, *Et par notationstekniske problemer i det 16. århundredes musik og nogle dertil knyttede iagttagelser* [A Couple of Notational Problems in 16th-Century Music and Some Related Observations], in *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, 43 (1961), pp. 171–193.

[32] Cf. footnote 6, and HANSEN, *Knud Jeppesens 'Kontrapunkt'*, pp. 48-49.

of the sixteenth century made use of only five modes (the Lydian passes over into Ionian, …): Dorian, Phrygian, Mixolydian, Aeolian, Ionian", and that "these original modes could be transposed … a fourth higher".[33] This reduction of Glarean's twelve modes to a modern hybrid of five – or in some cases six – units became a widespread phenomenon in twentieth-century literature on Renaissance music, an approach for which Jessie Ann Owens has coined the term 'neo-modal'.[34] Within a broad framework of 'modality' as the prevailing critical language since the 1950s, Owens distinguishes two approaches and points to the neo-modal as "by far the most common critical language in use today".[35] The textbooks display several variations on this particular theme, an example of the persistency of the approach being the 1994 book by Gilbert Trythall, who in his one-page exposé of the modes states that "sixteenth-century compositions are in one of six modes", thus adding the Lydian mode to the ones listed by Jeppesen.[36] As is well-known, our insight into the 'modal' world of the sixteenth century has been significantly expanded during the past decades, and as the main figure of the other approach Jessie Ann Owens rightly points to Bernhard Meier, who, in his highly influential work *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie* (1974),[37] on the one hand "provided a synthesis of theoretical writings about mode and illustrated how the system worked with music", and on the other demonstrated "the validity, both in theory and in practice, of the distinction between authentic and plagal modes in polyphonic composition".[38] But, despite the fact that the prescriptions regarding mode perhaps more than anything else in the textbooks have been needing an update, the newly gained insights have been very slow in penetrating the neo-modal demarcation-lines. In some of the works, though, the presentation of mode is 'acceptable'[39] and in a few it is up-to-date. In this respect, though, it must be added

[33] KNUD JEPPESEN (1930), in the English translation (1939), p. 78.

[34] J.A. OWENS, *Concepts of Pitch in English Music Theory, c. 1560–1640*, in C.C. JUDD ed., *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, (*Criticism and Analysis of Early Music*, 1), New York – London, 1998, p. 186.

[35] Ibidem, pp. 185–186.

[36] H. GILBERT TRYTHALL (1994), p. 5. Cf. ROBERT GAULDIN (1985), pp. 12-13; and THOMAS BENJAMIN (1979), pp. 18–19.

[37] B. MEIER, *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie. Nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Utrecht, 1974 (English rev. transl. E.S. BEEBE, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony, Described According to the Sources*, New York, 1988).

[38] OWENS, *Concepts of Pitch*, p. 185. For a survey of Bernhard Meier's work, see, for example, F. WIERING, *The Language of the Modes. Studies in the History of Polyphonic Modality*, Ph.D. diss., University of Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 31–48. When the dissertation was published in 1998, these pages were left out – see F. WIERING, *The Language of the Modes. Studies in the History of Polyphonic Modality*, (*Criticism and Analysis of Early Music*, 3), New York – London, 1998.

[39] See for example, HAROLD OWEN (1992), pp. 355–357; and ROBERT STEWART (1994), pp. 1-2.

that the 'tonal types', described by Harold Powers[40] and subsequently gaining firm analytical ground in many writings during the 1980s and 90s, still await to be mentioned in counterpoint manuals.

As an exemplification of some of the issues touched on so far, this examination will conclude with a short comparison of the textbook by Thomas Daniel, *Kontrapunkt. Eine Satzlehre zur Vokalpolyphonie des 16. Jahrhunderts* (1997) with the one by Peter Schubert, *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style* (1999), not only because they are the two newest textbooks included in this survey, but because they are among the most comprehensive and simply rank among the best.

Starting with the modes, the by far most comprehensive account is found in Daniel, who gives a thorough presentation of the eight- and twelve-mode systems, the psalmtones and mode in polyphony, supplemented by the modal impact on voice-dispositions, clef-combinations, imitation, cadences, and so on.[41] The account given by Schubert is up-to-date too, although a lot less comprehensive than Daniel's (for example, Schubert skips the eight-mode systems, focussing entirely on the dodecachordal system).[42]

Regarding the pedagogical approach, the two books differ significantly. Although Daniel divides his exposition into chapters dealing with two-, three- and four-voice counterpoint, he does not apply a species approach. The book contains a lot of rules, scattered throughout the text, but there are no assignments at all. His target group can best be defined as broad. As already mentioned, Schubert adheres to the old species approach, making a lot of so-called hard and soft rules.[43] He is specific about his target groups and provides the reader with a wealth of varied exercises in four levels.[44] These differences are reflected in the layout of the books too, the work by Daniel being very dense and with a rather monotonous arrangement, while Schubert's book displays a much lighter and well-arranged texture.

Looking at the stylistic orientation in the two books, on the surface it seems almost the same, Daniel concentrating on the stylistic idioms found in the works of especially Palestrina and Lassus,[45] and Schubert presenting "rules that generally represent vocal style around 1570".[46] Nevertheless, big differences emerge when it turns out that Schubert primarily bases his exposition on "materials used by actual sixteenth-century counterpoint teachers, … drawn from over a dozen treatises and

[40] H.S. POWERS, *Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 428–470. The volume, *Tonal Structures in Early Music* (cf. footnote 34) – dedicated to Powers as an 'unofficial *Festschrift*' (p. 10) – contains a bibliography of Powers' publications on mode and modality (pp. 389-390) as well as his essay *From Psalmody to Tonality* (pp. 275–340).

[41] THOMAS DANIEL (1997), pp. 37-41, 134–166.

[42] PETER SCHUBERT (1999), pp. x, 9–17.

[43] PETER SCHUBERT (1999), pp. viii, et passim.

[44] PETER SCHUBERT (1999), pp. v–vi, xi–xii.

[45] THOMAS DANIEL (1997), pp. 13–15.

[46] PETER SCHUBERT (1999), p. viii.

adapted to today's classroom", in that his rules and his so-called 'historically correct' exercises are only to a very limited extent based on the music itself.[47] In Daniel's chapters on two-voice counterpoint, for instance, a large number of citations from the polyphonic literature is found supplemented by extensive analyses,[48] whereas Schubert's corresponding chapters (amounting to more than 150 pages) contain only a dozen repertoire examples, being filled instead with model-examples and examples taken from treatises.[49]

The differences are carried on when looking at the actual sources of the two books. Schubert lists a number of sixteenth-century treatises but almost no modern research literature, and he makes no references to other twentieth-century textbooks at all.[50] In addition, he provides no page-references whatsoever to either music or text throughout his book, thus making any check of the sources nearly impossible. Daniel, on the other hand, lists a number of sixteenth-century treatises and quite a lot of twentieth-century literature,[51] and he is very careful in giving precise references to all musical and textual citations. Several other differences could be mentioned,[52] but it should be evident that although both Daniel and Schubert aim at the same objective, the number of dissimilarities between the two books is quite stunning. And, viewed as textbooks, Daniel's book clearly lacks student exercises and assignments, and the lack of repertoire citations in Schubert's book would at least have to be remedied.

Of course no such thing as an ideal or perfect textbook exists, encompassing the entire vocal polyphonic output of the sixteenth century. In every case the author is obliged to make choices regarding style, period, method and so on, in order to obtain a suitable mixture of both continuity and change. The second half of the twentieth century has witnessed a wealth of contributions to the further mapping of the musical grammar of sixteenth-century vocal polyphony – the ones mentioned above in no way being representative – and the results are slowly finding their way into the textbooks, but to a very varying degree, and with very varying degrees of documentation. With the exception of Jeppesen – to whom nearly all of the textbook writers admit their indebtedness (Jeppesen's two books are, without comparison, the ones

[47] PETER SCHUBERT (1999), p. v.

[48] THOMAS DANIEL (1997), pp. 167–274.

[49] PETER SCHUBERT (1999), pp. 18–175.

[50] PETER SCHUBERT (1999), pp. 321–322. This indicates that Schubert has formulated the contrapuntal rules exclusively on the basis of sixteenth-century treatises and his own analyses, without being influenced in any way by his twentieth-century colleagues – including Jeppesen. In that respect, it is unfortunate that Schubert does not discuss essential methodological issues, for example the possible value and relevance of the huge amount of twentieth-century research in relation to sixteenth-century treatises.

[51] THOMAS DANIEL (1997), pp. 422–424, though, with an almost total negligence of English literature.

[52] Both writers maintain the original notevalues of Renaissance polyphony, whereas the C-clef is used by Schubert only. Daniel dismisses of the modern bar-lines and ties, utilized by Schubert, instead inserting the so-called 'Mensurstriche', cf. THOMAS DANIEL (1997), pp. 27–28.

most referred to and quoted) – it is remarkable that the authors still only to a limited extent profit from each other's work (at least judged by the number of specific references),[53] and it is regrettable that in many cases the methodological standpoints of the textbooks are still neither clarified nor explicit.

No doubt, Knud Jeppesen's textbook ought to have gone through further revisions already during his lifetime. But the outcome of this brief survey nevertheless tends in the direction that none of the more recent textbooks can be said to constitute an actual replacement for his work. And this, perhaps more than anything else, answers the question why Jeppesen's *Counterpoint* is still in use around the world.

[53] No doubt, part of an explanation to this lies in the obvious linguistic divide still existing between German- and English-speaking musicologists. About half the works included in this survey are written in English by Englishmen or Americans, and their sources – whether other textbooks or actual research literature – are in English as well. With very few exceptions there are no references to German literature at all. On the other hand – and perhaps a bit more surprising – it actually turns out that the German-speaking writers are just as monolingual, using sources written in English only to a very limited extent; cf. HANSEN, *Die Satzlehre zur 'klassischen' Vokalpolyphonie*.

APPENDIX

A Chronology of Twentieth-Century Textbooks on Sixteenth-Century Counterpoint

(: species approach)*

1918	*WILHELM HOHN, *Der Kontrapunkt Palestrinas und seiner Zeitgenossen. Eine Kontrapunktlehre mit praktischen Aufgaben* (+ *Notenbeispiele*), Regensburg–Rome, 1918.
1921	*OTTO FIEBACH, *Die Lehre vom strengen Kontrapunkt (Palestrinastil)*, Berlin, 1921.
1922	REGINALD O. MORRIS, *Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century*, Oxford, 1922.
1930	*KNUD JEPPESEN, *Kontrapunkt (Vokalpolyfoni)*, Copenhagen–Leipzig, s.a. [1930], 2nd rev. ed. 1946 (repr. 1962, 1968, 1993); *Kontrapunkt. Lehrbuch der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie*, Leipzig, 1935, rev. ed. 1956 (repr. 1985[11]); *Counterpoint. The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1939, London, 1950 (repr. 1992).
1936	MAX SPRINGER and FRIEDRICH HARTMANN, *Kontrapunkt (Der strenge Satz)*, Vienna, 1936.
1939	ARTHUR TILLMAN MERRITT, *Sixteenth-Century Polyphony. A Basis for the Study of Counterpoint*, Cambridge, 1939, 1946[3].
1947	GUSTAVE FREDRIC SODERLUND, *Direct Approach to Counterpoint in the 16th Century Style*, New York, 1947.
1948	*ALAN BUSH, *Strict Counterpoint in Palestrina Style. A Practical Text-Book*, London, 1948.
1950	*HEINRICH LEMACHER and HERMANN SCHROEDER, *Lehrbuch des Kontrapunktes*, Mainz, 1950.
1950	*ERNST PEPPING, *Der polyphone Satz* (I-II), Berlin, 1950 (I), 1957 (II).
1953	BORIS BLACHER, *Einführung in den strengen Satz*, Berlin–Wiesbaden, 1953.
1956	P. SAMUEL RUBIO, *Classical Polyphony*, transl. Thomas Rive, Oxford, 1972 (Spanish ed.: *La Polifonía Clásica*, El Escorial, 1956).
1958	HERBERT KENNEDY ANDREWS, *An Introduction to the Technique of Palestrina,* London, 1958.

1959	ERNST KRENEK, *Modal Counterpoint in the Style of the Sixteenth Century*, (Boosey and Hawkes), 1959.
1959	*ERNST TITTEL, *Der neue Gradus. Lehrbuch des strengen Satzes nach Johann Joseph Fux* (+ *Notenteil*), Vienna–Munich, 1959.
1962	*OWEN SWINDALE, *Polyphonic Composition. An introduction to the art of composing vocal counterpoint in the sixteenth-century style*, London, 1962.
1965	*DIETRICH MANICKE, *Der polyphone Satz* (I-II), Cologne, 1965, 1977[2] (I), 1979 (II).
1967	LESLIE BASSETT, *Manual of Sixteenth-Century Counterpoint*, Englewood Cliffs, 1967.
1967	*STELLA ROBERTS and IRWIN FISCHER, *A Handbook of Modal Counterpoint*, New York, 1967.
1967	*VALDEMAR SÖDERHOLM, *Arbetsbok i elementär kontrapunkt. Vokalpolyfoni* (I-II) [Workbook in Elementary Counterpoint. Vocal Polyphony], Stockholm, 1967, 1973[2] (I), 1980 (II).
1968	THOMAS ALVAD, *Elementær vokalpolyfoni* [Elementary Vocal Polyphony], Egtved, 1968.
1969	FINN HØFFDING, *Indførelse i Palestrinastil. 2-stemmig kontrapunkt med eksempelstof og øvelser. Tilrettelagt på grundlag af Knud Jeppesens og Povl Hamburgers skrifter om vokalpolyfoni* [Introduction to Palestrina Style. Two-Voice Counterpoint with Examples and Exercises Following Knud Jeppesen's and Povl Hamburger's Writings on Vocal Polyphony], Copenhagen, 1969.
1973	MALCOLM BOYD, *Palestrina's Style. A Practical Introduction*, London, 1973.
1979	THOMAS BENJAMIN, *The Craft of Modal Counterpoint. A Practical Approach*, New York, 1979.
1979	*JOHANNES FORNER and JÜRGEN WILBRANDT, *Schöpferischer Kontrapunkt*, Leipzig, 1979.
1981	DIETHER DE LA MOTTE, *Kontrapunkt. Ein Lese- und Arbeitsbuch*, Munich–Kassel, 1981.
1982	MARGARITA MERRIMAN, *A New Look at 16th-Century Counterpoint*, Lanham–New York–London, 1982.
1985	ROBERT GAULDIN, *A Practical Approach to Sixteenth-Century Counterpoint*, Englewood Cliffs, 1985.

1989	CHARLOTTE SMITH, *A Manual of Sixteenth-Century Contrapuntal Style*, Newark, 1989.
1990	*NILS GRINDE, *Kontrapunkt etter palestrinastilen. Konsentrat fra regler i Knud Jeppesen: Kontrapunkt (Vokalpolyfoni), 2. Udg. Kbh. 1946* [Counterpoint in Palestrina Style. A Concentrate of Rules in Knud Jeppesen, *Counterpoint …*], Oslo 1990.
1992	*HAROLD OWEN, *Modal and Tonal Counterpoint. From Josquin to Stravinsky*, New York, 1992.
1994	CLAUS GANTER, *Kontrapunkt für Musiker. Gestaltungsprinzipien der Vokal- und Instrumentalpolyphonie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Kompositionspraxis von Josquin-Desprez, Palestrina, Lasso, Froberger, Pachelbel u.a.*, Munich - Salzburg, 1994.
1994	CHRISTOPH HOHLFELD and REINHARD BAHR, *Schule musikalischen Denkens. Der Cantus-firmus-Satz bei Palestrina* (+ *Lösungen*), Wilhelmshaven, 1994.
1994	ROBERT STEWART, *An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Counterpoint and Palestrina's Musical Style*, New York, 1994.
1994	*H. GILBERT TRYTHALL, *Sixteenth Century Counterpoint*, Madison–Dubuque, 1994.
1997	THOMAS DANIEL, *Kontrapunkt. Eine Satzlehre zur Vokalpolyphonie des 16. Jahrhunderts* (+ *Notenbeiheft*), Cologne, 1997.
1999	*PETER SCHUBERT, *Modal Counterpoint, Renaissance Style*, New York–Oxford, 1999.

Orlando di Lasso et al.: A New Reading of the Roman Villanella Book (1555)

Donna G. Cardamone Jackson
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

This article focuses on the second book in a series published by Valerio Dorico in 1555 to inaugurate the marketing of three-voice villanelle in Rome.[1] The first book has not survived, but it was probably published under the same title as the second: *Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus e d'altri eccellenti musici*. Although Lasso's name figures prominently on the title page, Dorico failed to attribute any villanelle to him or the 'other excellent musicians', in effect producing an anthology that was anonymous by design. It seems that Dorico regarded villanelle – by nature short, formulaic pieces – as categorically anonymous in character in order to acquire for himself a quasi-authorial role in promoting the genre.[2]

The production of anthologies was a highly commercial process that required hiring musicians to fulfill multiple roles, such as obtaining pieces by colleagues known to work quickly at cheap rates, writing new pieces as needed, and collecting desirable compositions circulating casually on loose sheets. Hand-to-hand transmission was a well-established tradition in Rome by mid-century, enabling professional editors to compile and publish works by upcoming composers without contractual agreements. But they took pains to cover their tracks with flattering dedications that polished the images of all concerned, including their own capacity for happening upon rare works by chance and rescuing them from oblivion.[3] Before launching his villanella project, Dorico often relied on the financial support of local *editori*. However, by 1555 he had obtained a generous subsidy from Francesco Guidobono, a pre-adolescent priest, to whom he offered the villanelle in the second book as gifts of amusement.[4] Significantly, in his dedicatory letter Dorico did not take credit for collecting the villanelle, nor did he mention the featured composer who, by 1555, had settled in Antwerp. Thus some scholars believe that he placed Lasso's name on the title page

[1] Two partbooks have survived: the cantus from the 1555 edition (D *LEm*) and the tenor from Dorico's reprint of 1558 (USSR *Lsc*). The bass parts of six villanelle can be reconstructed through concordances (see Table 2).

[2] M. FELDMAN, *Authors and Anonyms: Recovering the Anonymous Subject in Cinquecento Vernacular Objects*, in K. VAN ORDEN ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*, (*Critical and Cultural Musicology*, 1; *Garland Reference Library of the Humanities*, 2027), New York – London, 2000, pp. 169–175.

[3] For dedications to Roman books printed in the 1550s by Dorico and Antonio Barré, which include compositions by Lasso, see D. CARDAMONE, *The Salon as Marketplace in the 1550s. Patrons and Collectors of Lasso's Music*, in P. BERGQUIST ed., *Orlando di Lasso Studies,* Cambridge, 1999, pp. 75, 77, 79.

[4] For Dorico's dedication, see CARDAMONE, *The Salon as Marketplace*, p. 68.

without permission for promotional reasons, thereby controlling the expectations of readers.[5]

But, as Roger Chartier has argued, "every textual or typographic arrangement that aims to create control and constraint always secretes tactics that tame or subvert it".[6] Readers with a previously gained knowledge of anthologies would surely have noticed that featuring the name of a single composer in the title was not normal practice, and they might have wondered why Dorico did not boast about his success in bringing new music to light.[7] By deliberately not representing himself as a collector, Dorico gave sharp readers reason to believe that another person had obtained the villanelle. Moreover, by broadcasting Lasso's name and at the same time reducing him and the others to anonyms, he publicly acknowledged sharing authorial power with a composer – now liable to be construed as both collector and provider of new music. No documentary evidence exists to prove or disprove this reading; nonetheless, there are compelling grounds for preferring it to the received view, which rests solely on the fact that Lasso was not living in Rome when the anthology was published. The new reading I will propose raises the possibility that Dorico negotiated an *ad hoc* arrangement with Lasso before his departure in spring 1554, and it accounts for the services that Lasso was uniquely qualified to offer.

Collecting enough villanelle to fill two anthologies was an ambitious project, most likely set in motion when Dorico realized that a large colony of Neapolitans had formed in Rome following popular uprisings against Viceroy Toledo in 1547. This colony not only provided an ideal target market, but also a means of accessing repertory transmitted from Naples or composed by such newcomers as the Neapolitan nobleman Luigi Dentice, exiled in 1547 (accompanied by his eldest son Fabrizio), and Lasso, who came to Rome from Naples in December 1551.[8] The core repertory they presumably put into circulation was bound to expand, eventually attaining the level that Dorico needed to seize control of the market. But patterns in his production levels reveal that he was attending to other projects while villanelle were spreading

[5] A. EINSTEIN, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton, 1949, p. 497; W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit,* Kassel, 1958, p. 42.

[6] R. CHARTIER, *Texts, Printings, Readings*, in L. HUNT ed., *The New Cultural History,* Berkeley, 1989, p. 173.

[7] In the early history of publishing Neapolitan dialect songs, only one other anthology includes the name of a composer on the title page: *Elletione de canzone alla napoletana a tre voci di Rinaldo Burno con altre scielte da diversi musici, delli quali la tavola dimostra per ordi[ne] nel veri nomi de ssi auttori,* [Padua, Fabriano and Bidoni], 1546. But in his dedicatory letter the *editore*, Dionisio De Palii, takes credit for bringing the works of Burno and 'equally talented musicians' to light.

[8] It is not known how long the Dentices remained in Rome, but they were probably there in 1553 when the second edition of Luigi's treatise, *Duo dialoghi della musica*, was published by Dorico's associate, Vincenzo Lucrino.

through Rome.[9] Between 1551 and 1553, he issued forty-one non-music books as compared to three music books. In 1554, while moving his shop to another location, he managed to publish thirteen non-music books and three substantial music books. Under these circumstances he may well have hired a versatile musician like Lasso to round up villanelle for fast-house production in 1555, when the number of non-music books totalled eighteen.

Additional support for situating Lasso directly in the planning stages of Dorico's venture can be found in the conceptual framework of the second book, which is unique in the history of publishing villanelle. It opens with a keynote villanella that describes the genesis of the repertory at hand and continues with the compositions arranged in sets by text-type (see Table 1). As a result the book offered amateur musicians a means of selecting songs with which to amuse themselves or friends as the occasion demanded, and professional musicians a varied program for presentation in private settings, such as aristocratic salons or academies. This manifest plan is a clear indication that Dorico benefitted from the expertise of a person like Lasso, whose duties as a household musician in Naples (1549-1551) most likely included organizing music for domestic entertainments.[10]

The text of the keynote villanella leaves no doubt that it was made-to-order as a framing device and conceived by someone familiar with the habits of Neapolitan musicians. The speaker is the leader of a group of singer-songwriters whom he challenges to invent a program of villanelle for an expectant audience. When the leader announces, 'I think it would be better to let them hear some villanelle', the cantus sings the beginning of the phrase alone to dramatize the voice of the speaker. Continuing, he describes a process of group improvisation: some 'bust their brains' singing, others poetizing as they invent 'one of this kind and one of that' in an effort to find the best songs. Finally the leader proclaims that each person can sing and recite whatever he wants, 'because all villanelle are daughters of one father'.[11]

This punch line alludes to the tendency of Neapolitan songwriters to imitate the rustic discourse popularized by Velardiniello, said to be a musician who made 'verses flow like rivers'.[12] Velardiniello's style is known primarily from his *Farza de li massari,* which is composed of ottave in Neapolitan dialect and characterized by theatrical speech acts which define interactions between the *I*-speaker and the *You*-lis-

[9] F. BARBERI, *I Dorico, tipografi a Roma nel Cinquecento (1526-1572)*, in *La Bibliofilia,* 67 (1965), pp. 132–146.

[10] K. LARSON, *The Unaccompanied Madrigal in Naples from 1536 to 1654*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985, pp. 82–84.

[11] For the text of this villanella, see CARDAMONE, *The Salon as Marketplace*, pp. 70–71.

[12] F. RUSSO, *Il poeta napoletano Velardiniello e la festa di S. Giovanni a mare,* Rome, 1913, p. 8.

INCIPIT	SPEAKER: INTERLOCUTOR	TEXT TYPE	TUNE TYPE *	PROCESS/SONG-WRITER
1. *Credo sia meglio ca se risolvimo*	Leader: Songwriters	Framing device	Aria	Made-to-order
2. *Tu hai più anni ca mastro Pasquino* **	Young man: Crone	Complaint (moralizing)	Arioso	Group improvisation
3. *Non te fidare de santo che magnia*	Cuckold: Audience	Complaint (moralizing)	Arioso	Group improvisation
4. *Basta madonna mia che tu pensavi*	Cuckold: Unfaithful woman	Complaint (moralizing)	Arioso	Group improvisation
5. *Se tu non mi voi ben o faccia penta*	Martyred suitor: Beloved	Lament	Aria	[Cesare Tudino?]
6. *Come t'haggio lassata o vita mia*	Nobleman-in-exile Noblewoman	Lament: proposta	Aria da cantare Range of tune: c^1-a^1	[Don Luigi Dentice?]
7. *Chi me l'havesse dett'o vita mia*	Noblewoman: Nobleman-in-exile	Lament: risposta	Aria da cantare Range of tune: d^1-a^1	[Fabrizio Dentice?]
8. *Son morto e moro e pur cerco morire*	Martyred suitor: Beloved	Lament	Aria Range of tune: f^1-d^2	[Fabrizio Dentice?]
9. *Io piango et ell' il volto suo mi volta*	Martyred suitor: Beloved	Lament: parody of commiato from Petrarch's canzone 27a.	Aria	[Fabrizio Dentice?]
10. *Amor pietad' hormai al mio martire*	Martyred suitor: Cupid	Lament: textual citations from a madrigal by Naich and a poem by Bembo	Aria Range of tune: g^1-e^2	[Fabrizio Dentice?]
11. *Meschina me che nova la lancella*	Deflowered peasant girl:Audience	Complaint	Arioso	[Giovanthomaso Cimello?]
12. *Tal par 'l visco che preso l'augiello*	Cheated peasant: Audience	Complaint	Arioso	[Giovanthomaso Cimello?]
13. *Donna crudel tu m'hai robat'il core*	Martyred suitor: Beloved	Serenade-lament	Aria	[Orlando di Lasso?]

14. *Canzona mia fame 'no favore*	Martyred suitor: Beloved	Serenade-lament	Aria	[Orlando di Lasso?]
15. *Voria che tu cantass'una canzona*	Suitor: Courtesan	Serenade (gestic)	Aria	[Orlando di Lasso?] Text incipit is quoted in his canzone, *O la, o che bon eccho*
16. *S'io canto e tu mi spacci per cicala*	Martyred suitor: Beloved	Serenade-lament	Aria	[Orlando di Lasso?]
17. *Ogni villano è ric'et io meschino*	Desperate peasant: Audience	Complaint: expansion of ottava by Velardiniello	Aria	[Gian Domenico da Nola?]
18. *Bona sera como stai core mio bello*	Pasquarello (old man): Signora	Serenade-lament (gestic)	Aria	[Orlando di Lasso?]
19. *Tu traditora m'hai post'a 'sto core*	Cheated suitor: Beloved	Lament (satirical)	Arioso	[Anon.]
20. *Se Dio ti guarde non mi fa morire*	Martyred suitor: Beloved	Lament	Arioso	[Giovanthomaso Cimello?]
21. *La manza mia si chiama saporita*	Suitor: Peasant woman	Dance-song	Arioso	[Anon.]
22. *Latra traitora tu mi fai morire*	Martyred suitor: Beloved	Lament	Aria	[Orlando di Lasso?]

* The term *arioso* denotes declamatory melodic formulas, little rhythmic contrast, and conjunct motion in which the interval of a third often functions as a pivot in changing direction. Aria denotes tuneful melodic contour, rhythmic contrasts, and a mixture of conjunct and disjunct motion.

** This villanella was not published in the reprint edition of 1558. Two new villanelle were added at this point: *Mai vidi donna tanto iocarella* and *Donna ben posso dir che sei crudele*.

Table 1. Contents of *Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus e d'altri eccellenti musici libro secondo*. Rome, Valerio Dorico, 1555[30]; reprint, 1558[16].

tener or audience in the immediate here and now.[13] The speakers habitually adopt a moralizing tone enhanced by the interpolation of pungent proverbial expressions. The three villanelle that follow the keynote villanella are made in this mold, and they comprise a unified set whose content attests to group improvisation by a coterie of singer-songwriters practiced in imitation and intertextual allusion.

All the tunes are declamatory and formulaic in construction with virtually no rhythmic contrasts, and they open with variants on a rising motive that fills in the interval G to C. Even the order of cadential pitches is similar: the first on G, the second on C (or D), and the third on A, approached in every case by a short point of imitation. This uniformity suggests that the tunes were invented quickly by improvisers locked into a formulaic model. All the poems consist of three-line stanzas cast in the same metrical form, and they are narrated by disgruntled men whose complaints are strewn with moralizing proverbs. Overall, gestural language in this set suggests creation by musical comedians who stocked their memories with formulaic expressions ready to be unleashed in comical tirades appropriate to the individual player's role specialization. Once proven effective as 'stage' music, these villanelle could be written up as vocal trios and performed independently as evocative reflections of deception – a *topos* on which the plot lines of comedies and farces frequently turn.

As far as I can tell, the only musicians active in Rome and motivated to invent villanelle with theatrical or para-theatrical uses would be Lasso – whose knowledge of comedic routines was undoubtedly acquired in Italy – and the Dentices. Widely acclaimed as vocal improvisers and virtuoso lutenists, they had previously doubled as singing-actors in comedies sponsored by the Prince of Salerno in Naples. Even the Dentices could have arranged villanelle as vocal trios, for they were composers as well. In fact, Fabrizio was said to be a prolific composer of villanelle, although just a few were published under his name.[14] Nos. 6 and 7 in Dorico's anthology, which circulated together in *stampe popolari* as 'canzoni da cantare', might be attributed to Luigi Dentice as I have argued elsewhere.[15] They are gendered laments in *proposta-risposta* form that voice the pain of lovers separated by exile in graceful tunes supported by stock chordal progressions. Altogether they bear unmistakable traces of a style of extemporized singing to lute accompaniment associated with Fabrizio (most likely handed down from Luigi), and described by a Neapolitan eye-witness as *aria per cantar' un bascio [basso] et un suprano sopr'un istromento*.[16]

[13] B. CROCE, *Velardiniello e la sua inedita farsa napoletana*, in *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana,* 40 (1910), pp. 2–24.

[14] D. FABRIS, *Da Napoli a Parma, Itinerari di un musicista aristocratico. Opere vocali di Fabrizio Dentice 1530 ca-1581,* Milan, 1998, p. 48.

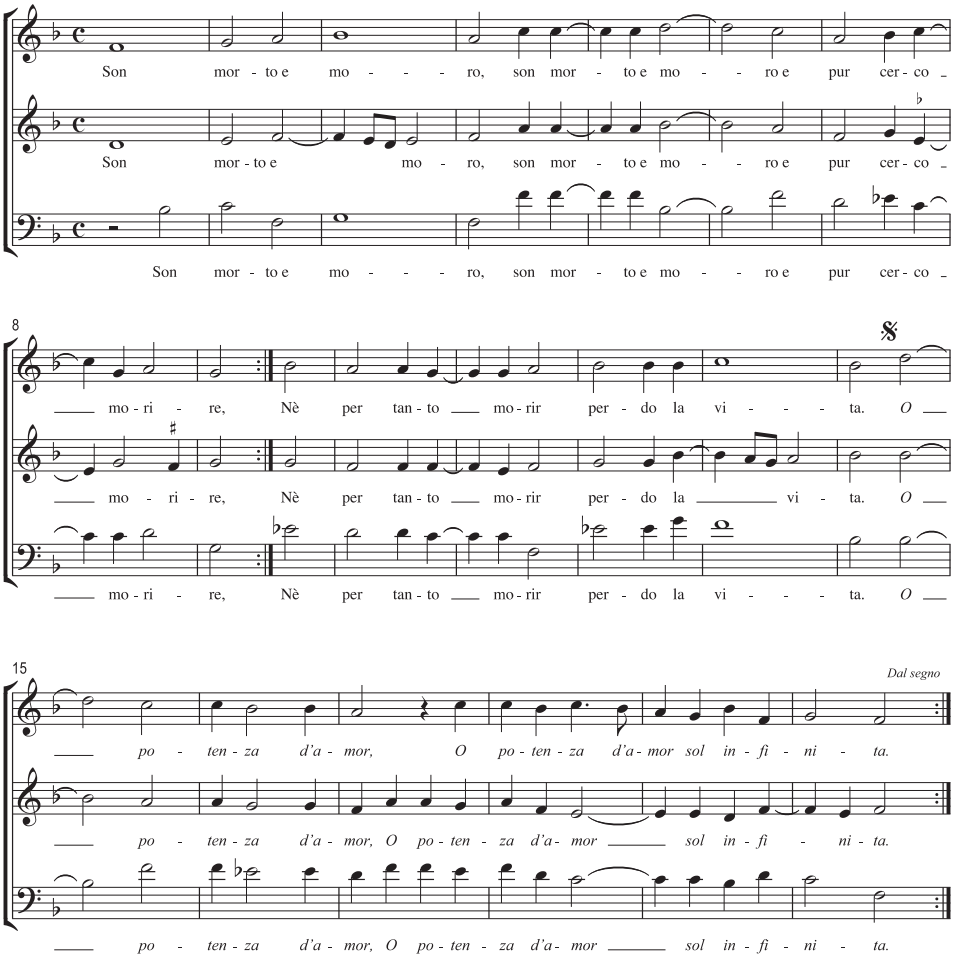
[15] D. CARDAMONE, *The Prince of Salerno and the Dynamics of Oral Transmission in Songs of Political Exile*, in *Acta Musicologica,* 67 (1995), p. 87.

[16] D. FABRIS, *Vita e opere di Fabrizio Dentice, nobile napoletano, compositore del secondo Cinquecento,* in *Studi Musicali,* 21 (1992), p. 104.

The predominant text-type in Dorico's anthology is the lament, typically narrated by a lover martyred in pursuit of sexual satisfaction. Examples of this type are rare in books of *canzoni villanesche* published in the 1540s. But upon transplantation of the genre to Rome, a city dominated by single males in the service of the church, the number of laments increased dramatically, paving the way for the gentler Arcadian term *villanella* as an alternative to *villanesca*. In Dorico's anthology a sub-type of lament emerges in a set of three villanelle characterized by witty parodies of Petrarchan tropes: no. 8 displays an excessive use of paradoxes as the lover dangles between life and death or freezing and burning (see Example 1); no. 9 opens with the first line of the *commiato* from Petrarch's canzone 27a, the conceit of which is then subjected to caricature:[17]

(1) Io piango et ell'il volto suo mi volta, E del mio piant'ogn'hor si fa più lieta, *Perchè preso mi trovo et ella sciolta.*	I weep and she turns her face away from me, and my tears make her happier every time, *because I find myself caught and she released.*
(2) Io piango et ella con piacer m'ascolta, Et ride sì che quasi m'acqueta, *Perchè preso mi trovo et ella sciolta.*	I weep and she listens to me with pleasure, and laughs so that I'm almost appeased, *because I find myself caught and she released.*
(3) Io piango et ella ne fa festa molta, Et m'aggionge nel cor fiamma secreta, *Perchè preso mi trovo et ella sciolta.*	I weep and she makes much hilarity of it, increasing the secret burning in my heart, *because I find myself caught and she released.*
(4) Io piango et ella spesso fa tal canto, Che mi fa dolce il mio tormento e pianto, *Perchè preso mi trovo et ella sciolta.*	I weep and she often makes such a song, which sweetens my torment and my tears, *because I find myself caught and she released.*

[17] A setting of Petrarch's *commiato* attributed to Luigi Dentice was published in *Il terzo libro delle muse a quattro voci madrigali ariosi da diversi eccell. musici,* Barré, Rome, 1562.


Son mor - to e mo - - - ro, son mor - to e mo - - ro e pur cer - co
Son mor - to e mo - ro, son mor - to e mo - - ro e pur cer - co
Son mor - to e mo - - - ro, son mor - to e mo - - ro e pur cer - co
8
mo - ri - re, Nè per tan - to mo - rir per - do la vi - - - ta. O
mo - ri - re, Nè per tan - to mo - rir per - do la vi - ta. O
mo - ri - re, Nè per tan - to mo - rir per - do la vi - - - ta. O
15
Dal segno
po - ten - za d'a - mor, O po - ten - za d'a - mor sol in - fi - ni - ta.
po - ten - za d'a - mor, O po - ten - za d'a - mor sol in - fi - ni - ta.
po - ten - za d'a - mor, O po - ten - za d'a - mor sol in - fi - ni - ta.

(1) Son morto e moro e pur cerco morire, Nè per tanto morir perdo la vita. *O potenza d'amor sol infinita.*	I'm dead and I die even as I seek to die, lest through so much dying I lose life. *Oh power of love, unique and endless.*
(2) E ben ch'io moro non mor'il martire, Anzi fra giaccio e foco ho mort'e vita. *O potenza d'amor sol infinita.*	Even though I die the martyr does not, rather between ice and fire I hold death and life. *Oh power of love, unique and endless.*
(3) Dunque la vita mia si può ben dire, Peggio che mort'è chi la tien'in vita. *O potenza d'amor sol infinita.*	Then light of my life, one can truly say, worse than death is one who clings to life. *Oh power of love, unique and endless.*
(4) Quest'è la vita di chi segue Amore, Fra ghiaccio e foco, e fra spem'e timore. Vivo morendo e non vivo nè more.	This is the life of one who follows Love, amid ice and fire, and amid hope and fear. I live dying and I neither live nor die.

Example 1. *Son morto e moro e pur cerco morire*, Cantus, 1555[30]; Tenor, 1558[16]; Bassus, GB *Lbl,* MS Royal Appendix 59–62.

No. 10 cites lines from a poem by Bembo and a madrigal by Hubertus Naich in which the lover begs Cupid – already invoked as the culprit in no. 8 – to stop inflicting pain. Even when bordering on the ridiculous, all these villanelle project a sweetly sad tone, much like the laments of the Neapolitan dandy 'assassinato d'amore', a stock figure in erudite comedy.[18] I have provisionally attributed this set of villanelle to Fabrizio Dentice, because of his theatrical background and well-known preference for plaintive texts that open with intertextual allusions to Petrarch – the kind of verse an improviser might invent and just as easily subject to parody. Furthermore, the aria-like tunes of nos. 8 and 10 move in the small range of a sixth over sturdy bass lines, like Fabrizio's famous villanella, *Empio mio cor*.[19]

All the villanelle in this set were arranged for four voices by composers who, like other arrangers of the time, sought models worthy of being expanded in the spirit of competition, homage, or emulation. Cesare Tudino's arrangement of no. 8 was published in 1554, indicating that the model circulated freely in Rome before it was incorporated into Dorico's anthology of 1555 (see Table 2). Tudino, originally from Atri in the kingdom of Naples, was employed as 'soprano' at San Lorenzo in Damaso

[18] D. RADCLIFF-UMSTEAD, *The Birth of Modern Comedy in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago, 1969, p. 161.
[19] For Dentice's settings of plaintive texts, see FABRIS, *Da Napoli a Parma*, nos. 1–7.

in 1547, the year in which Fabrizio Dentice arrived in Rome.[20] The likelihood that Tudino arranged one (perhaps more) of Fabrizio's villanelle as an act of emulation, is increased by the presence of a composition in Tudino's first book of madrigals (Rome, 1564) that praises a certain nobleman named 'Fabricio, deemed without peer as lute player since his arrival in Rome'.[21] If 'Fabricio' is indeed a reference to Fabrizio Dentice, which seems plausible, then Tudino may have fraternized with him and obtained copies of his Neapolitan songs. In fact, Tudino stands apart from other arrangers at mid-century, because he worked from models transmitted in manuscript before they were published or copied into anthologies.[22] Moreover, in selecting models he demonstrated a consistent preference for pseudo-Petrarchan laments similar to those discussed above, and thus potentially composed by Dentice.

Documentation for Tudino's activities in Rome during the 1550s is sparse, owing to gaps in surviving payment records. But he appears to have made a living free-lancing as organist, tuner and repairer, holding posts intermittently at San Giovanni in Laterano and Santa Maria Maggiore.[23] No. 5 in Dorico's anthology, the lament of a martyred lover, might have been composed by Tudino, because it displays trade-marks of his napolitane for three voices published later in two anthologies compiled by Nicolò Roiccerandet Bourgognone:[24] a tendency to highlight expressive words at the ends of verse lines with the progression B-flat (or B-natural) to A, and to direct the tune precipituously upward into a higher register at the refrain.

[20] L. DELLA LIBERA, *L'attività musicale nella basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso nel Cinquecento,* in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia,* 32 (1997), p. 56.

[21] FABRIS, *Da Napoli a Parma,* p. 43.

[22] Tudino's book of 1554 contains seven arrangements of Neapolitan laments. Two of his models are located in GB *Lbl*, MS Royal Appendix 59–62 (copied *ca*. 1566), and another in I *Fn*, MS Magl. XIX.67 (copied after 1571); others were published in the following anthologies: *RISM B,* 1555[30], 1557[19], 1560[12].

[23] Tudino worked at the Lateran Church in 1548 and also from July 1558 to June 1559; see R. CASAMIRI, *Cantori, maestri, organisti della Cappella Lateranense negli atti capitolari (sec. XV–XVII),* in *Quadrivium,* 25 (1984), pp. 73 and 209. In August 1558, he also served as organist at Santa Maria Maggiore; see L. DELLA LIBERA, *Repertori ed organici vocali-strumentali nella Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma: 1557–1624,* in *Studi Musicali,* 29 (2000), p. 53. I am indebted to Marco Della Sciucca for his assistance in matters relating to Tudino's residence in Rome.

[24] *RISM B,* 1566[9] and 1566[10].

VILLANELLE D'ORLANDO DI LASSUS: INCIPIT	CONCORDANCES	ARRANGEMENTS
1. *Credo sia meglio*		
2. *Tu hai più anni*		
3. *Non te fidare de santo*		
4. *Basta madonna mia*		
5. *Se tu non mi voi ben*		Cornet, 1563
6. *Come t'haggio lassata*		Azzaiolo, 1557
7. *Chi me l'havesse*		
8. *Son morto e moro*	I *Fn*, Magl. XIX.67 GB *Lbl*, Roy. App. 59-62 *RISM B*, 1562[10]	Tudino, 1554 Waelrant, GB *Wcc*, MS 153
9. *Io piango ed ell'il volto*	GB *Lbl*, Roy. App. 59-62	Le Jeune, 1585
10. *Amor pietad'hormai*		Cornet, 1563
11. *Meschina me che nova*		Cornet, 1563 Scandello, 1566
12. *Tal par il visco*	I *Fn*, Magl. XIX. 67	
13. *Donna crudel tu m'hai*	*RISM B*, 1560[12]	Cornet, 1563
14. *Canzona mia fame*		
15. *Voria che tu cantass'*	GB *Lbl*, Roy. App. 59-62	Nasco, 1556 Azzaiolo, 1557 Scandello, 1566 Ferretti, 1570 La Grotte, 1583 Le Jeune, 1585
16. *S'io canto e tu mi spacci*		Scandello, 1566 Le Jeune, 1585
17. *Ogni villano è ric'*		
18. *Bona sera como stai*		Scandello, 1566 Le Jeune, 1612
19. *Tu traditora m'hai*		Lasso, 1555
20. *Se Dio ti guarde*		
21. *La manza mia si chiama*		Barges, 1550 Azzaiolo, 1557 Tubal, GB *Wcc,* MS 153
22. *Latra traitora tu mi fai*	GB *Lbl*, Roy. App. 57-62	Le Jeune, 1585

Table 2. *Villanelle d'Orlando di Lassus: RISM B* 1555. Concordances and arrangements. (See also Key to Sources at the end of this article.)

Among other Neapolitans whose works could have circulated in Rome, is Gian Domenico da Nola, a poet-composer and one of the founders of the Accademia dei Sereni in Naples along with Luigi Dentice ('custode de li scripti').[25] No. 17 in Dorico's anthology is a paraphrased version of an ottava from Velardiniello's farce, which might be attributed to Nola on the basis of his attraction to the bard's verse. Frequent textual allusions to the *Farza de li massari* turn up in Nola's two books of canzoni villanesche (Venice, 1541); moreover, the second book contains an ottava, *Una lampuca ò visto co 'na groya,* drawn literally from the farce.[26] No. 17 was converted into a villanella by the addition of a refrain after each couplet, a process that involved repositioning and paraphrasing some of the original lines:

Ottava

Ogni massaro è ricco, et io meschino,
Tutto lo giorno mi crepo a zappare;
N'haggio ventura a cannavo né a lino,
Non saccio como voglio più campare;
Puto la vigna per aspettar lo vino,
Li sturni son li primi a vendegnare;
Da chi perdivi a ponticello renza,
Sempre haggio fatta trista recoglienza.[27]

Villanella

(1) Ogni villano è ric'et io meschino, Sempre ogni giorno allo camp'ad arrare. *Non saccio come posso più campare.*	Every farmer is rich but poor me, always at the field every day to plow. *I don't know how I can get by anymore.*
(2) Mai ce va 'nanzi canavo nè lino, Perdo lo tiempo e crepom'azzapare. *Non saccio come posso più campare.*	One never gets ahead of hemp or flax, I get behind and collapse digging with the hoe, *I don't know how I can get by anymore.*
(3) Puto le vite et aspetar lo vino, Li storni sono i primi a vendegnare. *Non saccio come posso più campare.*	I prune the grapevines looking forward to the wine the starlings are the first to harvest. *I don't know how I can get by anymore.*
(4) Da che pigliai a pontecello rènza, Sempre haggio fatto e fossene de senza. Trista vendegna e peggio racoglienza.	Since I went down the usual bridge as I have always done and could have done without, dismal grape harvest and worse reaping.

[25] T. TOSCANO, *Un'orazione latina inedita di Berardino Rota 'principe' dell'Accademia dei Sereni di Napoli,* in *Letterati corti accademie. La letteratura a Napoli nella prima metà del Cinquecento,* Naples, 2000, pp. 315, 322.

[26] L. CAMMAROTA ed., *Gian Domenico del Giovane da Nola. I Documenti biografici e l'attività presso la SS. Annunziata con l'opera completa,* Rome, 1973, no. 30.

[27] Quoted from a later version of Velardiniello's farce by L. EMERY, *Il 'Lamento' e la 'Farza de li massare' di Velardiniello,* in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane,* N.S., 22 (1937), p. 327.

Yet another potential contributor to Dorico's anthology is Giovanthomaso Cimello, a poet-composer and member of the Accademia dei Sereni. Nos. 11, 12, and 20 contain trademarks of his style, namely, rather flat declamatory tunes and a tendency to ventriloquize the voices of miserable peasants.[28] These villanelle might have been transmitted to Rome by Lasso who Cimello claimed 'had come to see him', although he does not specify when and where the meeting took place.[29]

Nos. 14, 15, and 16 comprise a historically significant set of serenade-laments in which song-writing becomes a *topos* for the first time in the Neapolitan repertory, possibly implemented by Lasso. Urgent gestures in these poems are matched by well-timed varieties of rhythmic declamation, demonstrating Lasso's well-known sensitivity to the gestural inflection of *viva voce* delivery (see Example 2). His keen sense of rhythmic locution and pacing was no doubt refined by arranging villanella models published by his favorite Neapolitan composers, Nola and Vicenzo Fontana, which typically contain disjunct tunes distinguished by strong rhythmic contrasts.[30] Thus immersion in models may have empowered him to assimilate characteristic features of the three-voice idiom and to imitate it authentically on his own. Processes of imitation also characterized Lasso's youthful apprenticeship as a madrigal composer, for when setting the same poems as his contemporaries he often paraphrased their expressive rhythmic and melodic figures.[31] A similar process underlies nos. 13 and 22, which are laments conceivably by Lasso (see Examples 3 and 4). They incorporate stock figures that Neapolitan composers used ironically to convey the tearful content of their texts, such as broadened motion or descending motives. In the context of short songs, these figures function as momentary expressive effects, like those practiced by an actor or improvisor on his audience. Both laments contain points of imitation based on a motive consisting of repeated notes followed by a descending triadic outline (compare Example 3, mm.10-12, and Example 4, mm. 11-14). This motive is unique in Dorico's anthology and cannot be found in villanelle emanating from Naples during the 1540s.[32]

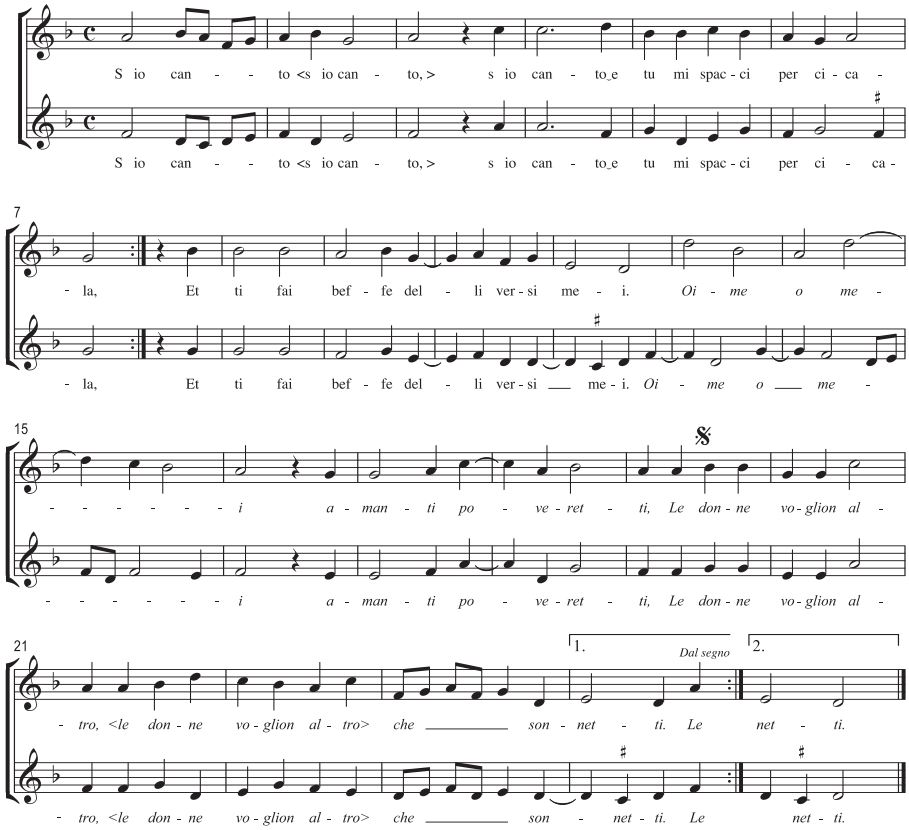
[28] For examples of Cimello's poetic-musical style, see D. CARDAMONE and J. HAAR eds., *Giovanthomaso Cimello. The Collected Secular Works*, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance,* 126), Madison, 2001.

[29] J. HAAR, *Giovanthomaso Cimello as Madrigalist*, in P. CORNEILSON ed., *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music,* Princeton, 1998, p. 241.

[30] Among Lasso's arrangements published in 1555 and 1581 (said then to be 'products of his youth') are six villanelle based on models by Fontana and four on models by Nola.

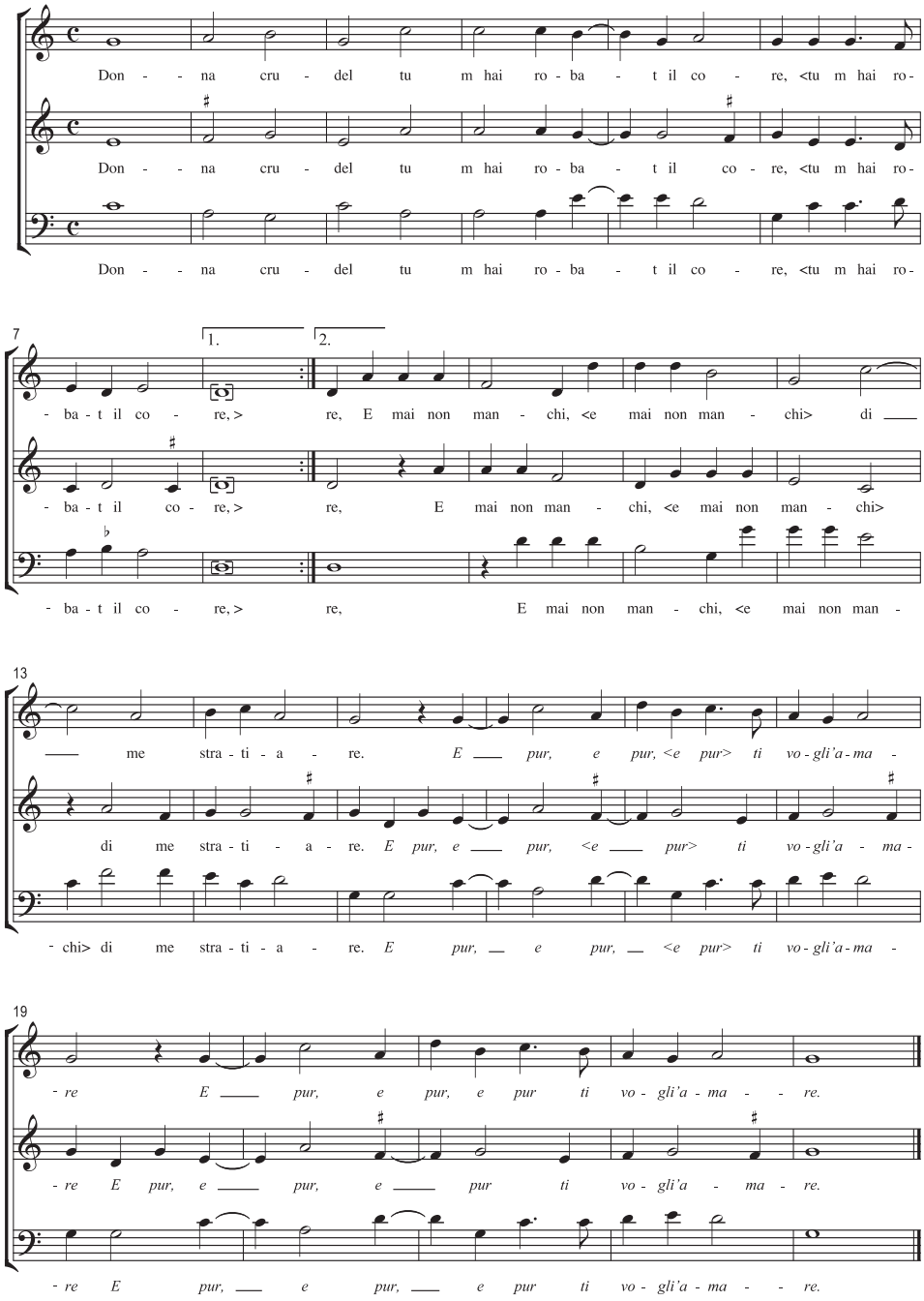
[31] R. BARTOLI, *L'apprendistato italiano di Orlando di Lasso*, in *Studi Musicali*, 20 (1991), pp. 235–265.

[32] This motive, with the same rhythmic spacing, functions as the subject of a point of imitation in Lasso's four-voice madrigal *Si com'al chiaro giorno* (*RISM B,* 1566[2]). See O. DI LASSO, *Sämtliche Werke*, 8, ed. A. SANDBERGER, Leipzig, 1898, p. 46.



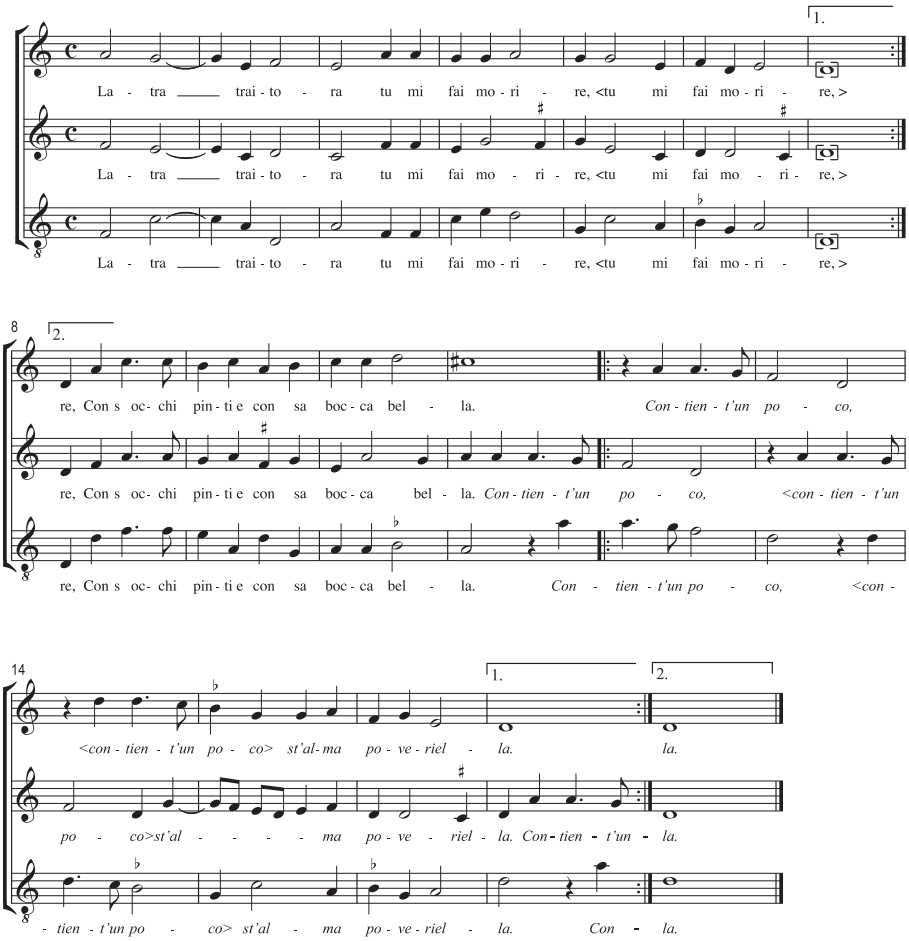
(1) S'io canto e tu mi spacci per cicala, Et ti fai beffe delli versi mei. *Oime, o mei amanti poveretti,* *Le donne voglion altro che sonnetti*.	If I sing, you pass me off as a cricket, and you make fun of my verses. *Alas, oh my poor lovers,* *the ladies want something other than sonnets*.
(2) Malhaggia chi per te scrive o cicale, Io 'l feci e carta e voci ne perdei. *Oime, o mei amanti poveretti,* *Le donne voglion altro che sonnetti*.	Woe to the one who writes or sings for you, I did it and I wasted paper and sounds. *Alas, oh my poor lovers,* *the ladies want something other than sonnets*.
(3) Tu me l'hai bella pur data in su l'ala, Ond'io mi doglio e non quanto vorrei. *Oime, o mei amanti poveretti,* *Le donne voglion altro che sonnetti*.	You my beauty have even clipped my wings, so I grieve and not as much as I would like. *Alas, oh my poor lovers,* *the ladies want something other than sonnets*.
(4) In questo mondo chi salie e chi cala, Altri è salito ond'io lasso cader. *Oime, o mei amanti poveretti,* *Le donne voglion altro che sonnetti*.	In this world some rise and others fall, someone else has risen where I have fallen. *Alas, oh my poor lovers,* *the ladies want something other than sonnets*.

Example 2. *S'io canto e tu mi spacci per cicala*, Cantus, 1555[30]; Tenor, 1558[16].


Don - - na cru - del tu m hai ro - ba - t il co - re, <tu m hai ro-
Don - - na cru - del tu m hai ro - ba - t il co - re, <tu m hai ro-
Don - - na cru - del tu m hai ro - ba - t il co - re, <tu m hai ro-
7
1.
2.
- ba - t il co - re, > re, E mai non man - chi, <e mai non man - chi> di
- ba - t il co - re, > re, E mai non man - chi, <e mai non man - chi>
- ba - t il co - re, > re, E mai non man - chi, <e mai non man -
13
me stra - ti - a - re. E pur, e pur, <e pur> ti vo - gli'a - ma -
di me stra - ti - a - re. E pur, e pur, <e pur> ti vo - gli'a - ma -
- chi> di me stra - ti - a - re. E pur, e pur, <e pur> ti vo - gli'a - ma -
19
- re E pur, e pur, e pur ti vo - gli'a - ma - re.
- re E pur, e pur, e pur ti vo - gli'a - ma - re.
- re E pur, e pur, e pur ti vo - gli'a - ma - re.

(1) Donna crudel tu m'hai robat'il core, E mai non manchi di me stratiare. *E pur ti vogli' amare*.	Cruel lady, you have stolen my heart, and you never fail to torture me. *And yet I want to love you*.
(2) Pascomi ogn'or di piant'e di dolore, Poi che non posso in te pietà trovare. *E pur ti vogli' amare*.	I always feed on tears and sorrow, since I can't find pity in you. *And yet I want to love you*.
(3) Se col morir di doglia uscisse fuora, Saria già morto per te contentare. *E pur ti vogli' amare*.	If with death the pain would go away, I would already be dead for the sake of satisfying you. *And yet I want to love you*.
(4) Ma perchè la mia pena sia infinita, Tu credi sempre di tenermi in vita. E non voi darmi aita.	But since my pain is endless, you always think of keeping me alive. And you don't want to give me help.

Example 3. *Donna crudel tu m'hai robat'il core*, Cantus, 1555[30]; Tenor, 1558[16]; Bassus, 1560[12].



(1) Latra traitora tu mi fai morire, Con s'occhi pinti e con 'sa bocca bella. *Contient'un poco 'st'alma poveriella*.	Thieving traitoress, you make me die, with those painted eyes and that beautiful mouth. *Satisfy this poor soul a little*.
(2) A tal ch'ognun mi senta io lo vo' dire, Voi sete oggi nel mondo la più bella. *Contient'un poco 'st'alma poveriella*.	I want to tell it to anyone who may hear me, today you are the most beautiful woman in the world. *Satisfy this poor soul a little*.
(3) Se mo me dai ogn'hor mille martire, Pensa che sempre non sarai citella. *Contient'un poco 'st'alma poveriella*.	Now if you continually give me a thousand tortures, consider that you will not aways be a young girl. *Satisfy this poor soul a little*.
(4) Signora mia acquista amici assai, Ca se simo hoggi non sarimo crai. A far piacer non si perde mai.	My lady acquire many friends, because what we are today, we may not be tomorrow. One never loses by giving pleasure.

Example 4. *Latra traitora tu mi fai morire*, Cantus, 1555[30]; Tenor, 1558[16], Bassus, GB *Lbl*, Royal Appendix 59-62.

The texts of villanelle given to Lasso are all characterized by rhetorical tendencies to amplification and metaphor, a kind of discourse that invites the expressive hand gestures traditionally associated with Neapolitans.[33] That Lasso was capable of creating poems calling for semantic completion through visible bodily action is implied in a letter he wrote to Wilhelm of Bavaria in 1574, describing how he entertained his companions on a journey to Italy: 'I have been reciting jokes, proverbs, and strambotti with lots of farcical and bawdy humor'.[34] Clearly by this time he had built up the same stock of gestural materials that villanella poets habitually exploited for comical effects. Lasso's predilection for ribald gestic humor finds a parallel in no. 15, wherein sexually suggestive descriptions of playing instruments are juxtaposed with droll punning on solmization syllables that signify love-making.[35]

No. 18 is a pertinent example of how Lasso might load his memory with matter relevant to his favorite *dell'arte* character – a lascivious old man baffled and frustrated by women (see Example 5). Here the speaker identifies himself as Pasquarello, an emerging *vecchio* mask of Neapolitan origin,[36] whose stage personality was similar to that of Pantalone, the senile Venetian merchant that Lasso portrayed in a comedy staged in 1568 for the Bavarian court. Pasquarello's language is inherently theatrical and obviously contrived to be completed by correlative gestures, both mimetic and musical. At the beginning of each stanza he greets an attractive signora with a rhythmically animated tune that rises sequentially, then slows as it sinks to the cadence. The shaping of the phrase allows the singer to express with his face or hands the desire that devours Pasquarello and even to bow down in an exaggerated manner – assuming that the villanella was rendered soloistically with lute accompaniment, a common practice. The tune reaches its highest peak in the recurrent refrain and then descends in urgent leaps as Pasquarello begs in vain for the signora's hand, again suggesting performative gestures. It is not clear if the signora is a lady of doubtful reputation or an aristocrat obliged to maintain a haughty demeanor. Nonetheless, her silent disdain invites the singer to put his hands, head, and eyes into motion to amplify Pasquarello's frustrated desire for the audience.

Emerging *dell'arte* masks were introduced to Rome at mid-century by itinerant comedians from the Veneto, offering Lasso the opportunity to observe the antics of Pantalone and his servant Zanni, also known for singing canzoni to lute accompaniment.[37]

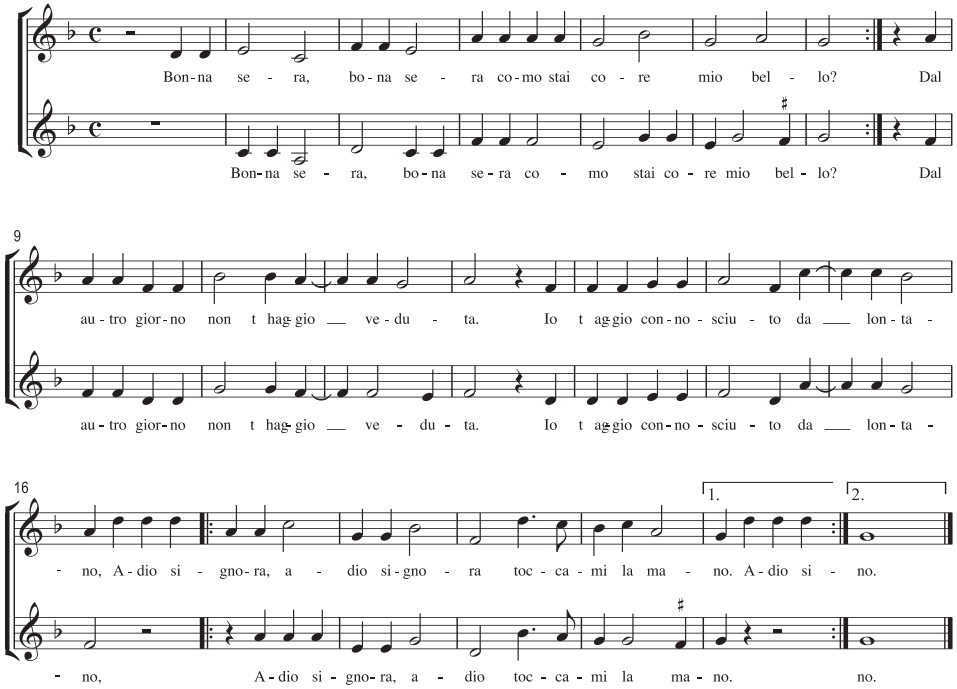
[33] A. DE JORIO, *Gesture in Naples and Gesture in Classical Antiquity,* trans. A. KENDON, Bloomington, 2000.

[34] Quoted in P. WELLER, *Lasso, Man of the Theatre*, in I. BOSSUYT, E. SCHREURS and A. WOUTERS eds., *Orlandus Lassus and His Time,* (*Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation*, 1), Peer, 1995, p. 90.

[35] For an edition of this villanella, see CARDAMONE, *The Salon as Marketplace*, pp. 72–74. It proved to be the most popular villanella in Dorico's anthology, having been arranged by six composers (see Table 2).

[36] A. NICOLL, *Masks Mimes and Miracles. Studies in the Popular Theatre*, New York, 1963, p. 260.

[37] F. CRUCIANI, *Teatro nel rinascimento. Roma 1450–1550,* Rome, 1983, pp. 623–627.



(1) Bona sera como stai core mio bello? Dal'autro giorno non t'aggio veduta. *Io t'aggio conosciuto da lontano,* *Adio signora toccami la mano.*	Good evening, how are you my gentle heart? I haven't seen you since the other day. *I've known you from afar,* *farewell lady, take my hand.*
(2) Bona sera non conosci Pasquarello? Fami carisse et non star come muta. *Io t'aggio conosciuto da lontano,* *Adio signora toccami la mano.*	Good evening, don't you know Pasquarello? Caress me and don't be silent, *I've known you from afar,* *farewell lady, take my hand.*
(3) Bona sera io conosco ch'ai martiello, Tu non ci vedi et stai come storduta. *Io t'aggio conosciuto da lontano,* *Adio signora toccami la mano.*	Good evening, I know that you're tormented, you can't see and you're in a daze. *I've known you from afar,* *farewell lady, take my hand.*
(4) Bona sera che lo mare è in fortuna, Haggio spigliat'a mal punto la luna. *Io t'aggio conosciuto da lontano,* *Adio signora toccami la mano.*	Good evening, since the sea is stormy, I've thrown the moon into an adverse phase. *I've known you from afar,* *farewell lady, take my hand.*

Example 5. Bona sera como stai core mio bello, Cantus, 1555[30]; Tenor, 1558[16].

It is logical to assume that, when selecting or improvising songs to enhance their stage personalities, these comedians would seek models in dialect repertories containing laments or pathetic serenades. Proof that Lasso was aware of this tradition is found in his self-accompanied rendition of the serenade, *Chi passa per questa strada,* to reveal Pantalone's senile lasciviousness in the comedy he produced for the Bavarian court. But to portray Pantalone realistically, he would not have sung the Neapolitan version circulating in Rome during the 1550s, but rather one of the versions in Venetian dialect that materialized later. Since he succeeded in making the audience 'roar with uncontrollable laughter',[38] he may have stopped strumming his lute and resorted to grafting one gesture upon another to express the old man's predicament.

To summarize thus far, when attributing the villanelle in the latter part of Dorico's anthology to Lasso, I have relied primarily upon his well-known affinity for comic theater, assuming it would give rise to songs characterized by humorous gestures, both musical and textual. Moreover, in strictly musical terms these villanelle stand apart from most of the others, because they would have been equally effective rendered as accompanied songs or vocal trios. Sensitivity to vocal scoring – also a feature of Lasso's four-voice arrangements published in 1555 – is demonstrated by the frequent use of sixths between the upper parts, voice crossing, and occasional first inversion chords, all of which considerably enrich older Neapolitan conventions.

A final point remains to be made regarding no. 19, *Tu traditora*. Some scholars claim that this is the only villanella in the anthology attributable to Lasso, because he arranged it for four voices.[39] Yet arranging his own compositions is neither consistent with Lasso's youthful approach nor with that of his contemporaries. In fact, *Tu traditora* resembles a satirical type of villanella about sexually traitorous women cultivated in Naples about the time Lasso was living there.[40] If Lasso carried a copy of the model to Rome, which seems likely, then it might be considered evidence of his activity as collector.

In the course of this investigation I have assigned various roles to Lasso which, admittedly, are founded on circumstantial evidence and therefore should be considered hypothetical. Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to suppose that he collected and

[38] For Massimo Troiano's eye-witness account of Lasso's performance, see K. RICHARDS and L. RICHARDS, *The Commedia dell'Arte. A Documentary History,* Oxford, 1990, p. 50.

[39] BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit,* pp. 41–42; H. LEUCHTMANN, *Tu traditora. Orlando di Lasso bearbeitet eine Villanesca*, in F. BRUSNIAK and H. LEUCHTMANN eds., *Quaestiones in musica. Festschrift für Franz Krautwurst zum 65. Geburtstag,* Tutzing, 1989, pp. 338–339; H. LEUCHTMANN and B. SCHMID, *Orlando di Lasso, Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken 1555–1687,* 1, Kassel, 2001, p. 47.

[40] Four examples of this type were published anonymously in *Elletione de canzone alla napoletana* (see note 7), an anthology reprinted in Capua by Johannes Sultzbach in 1549, the year in which Lasso arrived in Naples.

composed villanelle for three voices – a versatile medium that permitted full expression of his improvisatory wit, whether acting alone or collaborating with cohorts. Since this wit was highly valued by Duke Albrecht and Wilhelm, it is possible that Lasso's villanelle were among the 'artful trios' and 'cheerful works' performed regularly for their entertainment at table, according to Massimo Troiano.[41] Evidence that Lasso sustained an interest in villanelle for three voices is found on the title page of a miscellany (now lost), but reproduced in bookfair catalogues as having been published in Munich by Adam Berg in 1594 or 1595. Draudius's version of the title page is: *Musica nuova dove si contengono madrigali, sonetti, villanelle et altri compositioni d'Orlando Lasso a 3 voci novamente da esso composte*. At first Boetticher believed that the phrase *novamente da esso composte* was added by an enterprising book-fair official and that this volume contained villanelle dating from Lasso's sojourn in Rome.[42] Later he changed his mind and concluded that "at the close of his career Lasso was still contributing to the most modern type of [villanella] composition of the time".[43]

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that villanelle for three voices emanating from the Roman presses of Dorico and Barré during the 1550s captured the attention of arrangers in northern Europe and held it for decades to come. Yet the contents of Dorico's anthology of 1555 inspired more arrangements than any other, perhaps because Lasso's name figured prominently on the title page.[44] Significantly, the majority of arrangements were produced by composers working along an axis that extended from the Low Countries to Germany and ultimately to France, including cities in which Lasso lived or visited from time to time, namely, Antwerp, Paris, and Nuremberg (see Table 2). Clearly Dorico's anthology had travelled beyond Italy, even though it is not listed in northern trade lists and bookfair catalogs.[45] If copies were not transmitted through normal channels of the book trade, then they were probably distributed by an agent whom we might suspect – knowing Dorico's tactics – was either close to Lasso or the composer himself.

[41] H. LEUCHTMANN, *Die Münchner Fürstenhochzeit von 1568. Massimo Troiano, Dialoge,* Munich, 1980, pp. 104–106.

[42] BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit,* p. 584.

[43] W. BOETTICHER, *Anticipations of Dramatic Monody in the Late Works of Lassus,* in F. STERNFELD et al. eds., *Essays on Opera and English Music in Honour of Sir Jack Westrup,* Oxford, 1975, p. 88.

[44] Of twenty-four arrangements based on models drawn from Dorico's anthology of 1555, seventeen were produced in northern Europe (see Table 2). An anthology Dorico published in 1557 generated ten arrangements, while another published by Barré in the same year generated only four (*RISM B,* 1557[19] and 1557[20] respectively).

[45] Dorico's music books seem not to have travelled extensively beyond Rome, according to S. CUSICK, *Valerio Dorico. Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, Ann Arbor, 1981, p. 109. Only one is cited in sale lists of the Leipzig fairs, and none in the extensive catalogs of Bolduanus, Draudius or Willer.

KEY TO SOURCES

MANUSCRIPTS	
GB *Lbl*, Royal Appendix 59-62	A set of partbooks copied and bound in Italy *ca*. 1566-1567, containing thirty-three anonymous villanelle for three voices. (complete)
GB *Wcc*, MS 153	A set of four partbooks copied in the Low Countries, 1564-1566, known as 'the Winchester Partbooks'. (complete)
I *Fn*, Magl. XIX. 67	An anthology of fifty-nine anonymous villanelle for three voices, copied largely from sources printed between 1555 and 1571. (bass partbook)
PRINTED ANTHOLOGIES	
RISM B, 1560[12]	*Il primo libro delle villotte alla napolitana de diversi eccellentissimi authori novamente stampato a tre voci*, Venice, Gardane, 1560. (complete)
RISM B, 1562[10]	*De diversi autori canzoni alla napolitana a tre voci nuovamente poste in luce*, Milan, Moscheni, 1562. (cantus partbook)
COLLECTIONS BY INDIVIDUAL COMPOSERS	
Azzaiolo	*Il primo libro de villotte alla padoana con alcune napolitane a quatro voci intitolate villotte del fiore*, Venice, Gardane, 1557.
Barges	*Di Antonio Barges ... il primo libro de villotte a quatro voci,* Venice, Gardane, 1550.
Cornet	*Di Severino Corneti, canzoni napolitane a quattro voci nuovamente stampate & dati in luce,* Antwerp, Laet, 1563.
Ferretti	*Di Giovan Ferretti il terzo libro delle napolitane a cinque voci,* Venice, Scotto, 1570.
La Grotte	*Premier livre d'airs et chansons à 3.4.5.6. parties,* Paris, Cavellat, 1583.
Lasso	*Le quatoirsiesme livre a quatre parties contenant dixhuyct chansons italiennes, six chansons francoises, & six motetz, faictz (a la nouvelle composition d'aucuns d'Italie) par Rolando di Lassus,* Antwerp, Susato, 1555.
Le Jeune	*Livre de melanges de C. Le Jeune*, Antwerp, Plantin, 1585; *Second livre des meslanges de Cl. Le Jeune*, Paris, Ballard, 1612.
Nasco	*Di Giovan Nasco, il primo libro di canzon villanesche alla napolitana a quattro voci,* Venice, Scotto, 1556.
Scandello	*El primo libro de le canzoni napoletane a IIII. voci composti per messer Antonio Scandello,* Nuremberg, Neuber and Gerlach, 1566.
Tudino	*Cesare Tudino de Atri, li madrigali a note bianche, et negro cromaticho, et napolitane a quatro,* Venice, Scotto, 1554.

The Two Editions of Lasso's *Selectissimae Cantiones*, 1568 and 1579

Peter Bergquist
University of Oregon

Orlando di Lasso was by far the most widely published composer of his time. Collections of his motets, madrigals, chansons and other works were frequently issued and reprinted throughout Europe. Most of these contained twenty or so compositions, the usual size of such music books at the time, but some were much larger, gathering older and newer works together in retrospective compilations of Lasso's music. These large books were in effect collected editions published during his lifetime, and his motets were the first genre to receive such attention. In this article I will examine one of those large collections of motets, the two-volume *Selectissimae cantiones* issued in Nuremberg in 1568 by Theodor (Dietrich) Gerlach, and show how its expanded and corrected reissue made substantial improvements in the first edition.

The earliest examples of such compilations of Lasso's motets are Le Roy and Ballard's Paris motet books of 1564 and 1565, and Antonio Gardano's numbered series of Lasso motet books that began in 1565 in Venice (see Table 1 for a list of sources referred to in this article). Gardano's Lasso motet books were of standard size, but considered as a whole, the series is a collected edition in the same sense as the others mentioned here. Gerlach's *Selectissimae cantiones* was an even more ambitious undertaking. The ninety-six motets included in Gerlach's collection comprise almost all of Lasso's production in the genre up to that time, with the exception of forty-two pieces that the same house had previously published. Adding these forty-two motets and another twelve that Gerlach omitted or did not know of to the ninety-six in *Selectissimae cantiones* gives a total of 150 Lasso motets published between 1555 and 1568, a remarkable production by any standard. It is of course only part of Lasso's output during those years, during which he also wrote masses, magnificats, chansons, madrigals, lieder, the Penitential Psalms, the Lectiones from Job, and the *Prophetiae sibyllarum*. Gerlach planned the *Selectissimae cantiones* as a unit, which the title page of the tenor book of *RISM* 1568a makes clear when it mentions 'four, five, six and more voices'.[1] The collection was in fact divided into two parts, with the motets for six or more voices in *RISM* 1568a and those for five and four voices in *RISM* 1568b. The title page accurately describes the contents as 'partly completely new, partly never published in Germany'. The twenty completely new motets that this collection published for the first time are listed in Table 2.

[1] A facsimile of this page appears as Plate 1 in O. DI LASSO, *The Complete Motets*, 6, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 110), ed. P. BERGQUIST, Madison, Wisconsin, 1997, p. xxxiii.

RISM No.	Title
	Berg & Neuber / Theodor Gerlach / Katharina Gerlach, Nuremberg
1562a	*Sacrae cantiones*, a5
1564[1-5]	*Thesaurus musicus*, 5 vols., a8, 7, 6, 5, 4
1567b	*Magnificat octo tonorum*, a6, 5, 4
1568a	*Selectissimae cantiones*, a6, 7, 8 [46 motets]
1568b	*Selectissimae cantiones*, a5, 4 [50 motets]
1579a	*Selectissimae cantiones*, a6, 7, 8, ed. Leonhard Lechner [57 motets]
1579b	*Altera pars selectissimarum cantionum*, a5, 4, ed. Leonhard Lechner [71 motets]
	Le Roy & Ballard, Paris
1564b	*Primus liber concentuum sacrorum*, a5, 6
1565a	*Modulorum … secundum volumen*, a4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10
1573b	*Moduli sex, septem et duodecim vocum*, a6, 7, 12
	Gardano, Venice
1565b	*Sacrae cantiones liber I*, a5 = *RISM* 1562a, Nuremberg
1566c	*Sacrae cantiones liber II*, a5, 6
1566d	*Sacrae cantiones liber III*, a5, 6
1566e	*Sacrae cantiones liber IV*, a6, 8

Table 1. Printed sources referred to in the present article.

Large collections such as the *Selectissimae cantiones* were no novelty at Gerlach's publishing house.[2] His firm was the successor to that of Johann vom Berg (Montanus) and Ulrich Neuber, which began operations in Nuremberg in 1541. Their large output included many music titles, including some multi-volume collections of polyphony that were significantly larger even than the 1568 *Selectissimae cantiones*. Berg died in 1563, and the firm then operated as 'Ulrich Neuber and Berg's Heirs'. In 1565 Berg's widow Katharina married Theodor Gerlach, an employee of the firm, which then became known as 'Gerlach and Neuber'. In 1566 Neuber left the firm and established his own printing house, and the Gerlachs then continued the former house of Berg and Neuber as 'Gerlach and Berg's Heirs', the colophon that appeared on the *Selectissimae cantiones* in 1568. Theodor Gerlach died in 1575, after which Katharina operated the firm as 'Katharina Gerlach and Berg's Heirs' until her death in 1592. She appears to have been active in the management of the firm for many years before she took sole charge of it after Theodor's death.

[2] This account of the history of the Gerlach publishing house is based largely on S. JACKSON, *Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg*, Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1998.

In monte Oliveti oravit ad Patrem, a6
O quam suavis est, Domine, a6
O crux, splendidior cunctis astris, a6
Veni Creator Spiritus, a6
Locutus sum in lingua mea, a6
Beatus vir, qui non abiit, a6
Huc me sidereo, a6
Nunc gaudere licet, a6
Te Deum laudamus, a6
Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna, a6
Laudate pueri Dominum, a7
Laudate Dominum, quoniam bonus, a7
Edite Caesareo Boiorum, a8
Cernere virtutes, a5
Salve festa dies, a5
Christe, Patris verbum, a5
Alleluia, vox laeta personat, a5
Ave color vini clari, a4
Ecce Maria genuit nobis, a4
Exsultate, justi, in Domino, a4

Table 2. Lasso motets first published in *RISM* 1568a/b.

The firm first published Lasso's music in 1562, the twenty-five motets of the *Sacrae cantiones* for five voices (*RISM* 1562a). Since this book includes Lasso's own preface, one may assume that he authorized it and that the publishers received the music from him. Lasso next appeared on Berg and Neuber's list in the *Thesaurus musicus* of 1564, a five-volume collection which contains seventeen Lasso first editions among its 229 motets. These motets are listed in Table 3. Gerlach's preface to the 1568 *Selectissimae cantiones* states that his new publication does not include motets from either of these two earlier collections, presumably because they were still in print and sold separately. In fact, the firm reprinted the 1562 motet book in both 1563 and 1564. In 1567 they issued Lasso's enormously popular *Magnificat octo tonorum* (*RISM* 1567b), three magnificat cycles for six, five, and four voices respectively.

Confitebor tibi Domine, a8
Jam lucis orto sidere, a8
Decantabat populus Israel, a7
Estote ergo misericordes, a7
In te, Domine, speravi, a6
Timor et tremor, a6
Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus suis, a6
Verbum caro factum est, a6
Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, a6
Cognoscimus Domine, a5
Fili, quid fecisti nobis sic?, a5
Tibi laus, tibi gloria, a5
Confisus Domino tua pectora, a5
Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion, a4
Qui cupit exsolvi, a4
Amen, amen, dico vobis, a4
Quasi cedrus exaltata sum, a4

Table 3. Lasso motets first published in *RISM* 1564[1-5].

How did the Nuremberg firm obtain Lasso's music? We cannot say with assurance how the new Lasso motets in the 1564 *Thesaurus musicus* were obtained, though the dedication of the collection to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, Lasso's patron, suggests that Lasso could have been the source for the first editions. The 1567 magnificats seem most likely to have come directly from Lasso. As for the 1568 *Selectissimae cantiones*, it is possible to identify most of Gerlach's sources for its reprints with considerable assurance. He seems to have copied his sources faithfully with little or no editorial oversight. When the original was largely accurate, like the Lasso motet books of Gardano and Le Roy and Ballard, Gerlach duplicated those accurate texts, retaining also their few small errors. Gerlach's text in fact followed that of Le Roy and Ballard's 1564 and 1565 motet books so closely that I could use Gerlach with confidence to supply the missing cantus parts of the French motet books, since no copy of that partbook for either collection is known to survive.

The sources of the first editions in *Selectissimae cantiones* present a more difficult problem. Whatever Gerlach's source was for them, it was faulty. Wrong notes and imprecise, even incorrect underlay can be found in almost every one of the new motets in the two volumes. The first editions in the 1564 *Thesaurus musicus* are also plagued by errors. The reasons for these problems are not entirely clear. It is possible that Johann vom Berg's death had a negative effect on quality control at the Berg and

Neuber firm during the preparation of *Thesaurus musicus*. In that collection the new Lasso motets for eight, seven, and five voices have relatively few errors, but some of those for six or four voices have a great many indeed. As for the *Selectissimae cantiones*, since all the other motets in its two volumes are meticulously copied from their sources without change, it seems likely that Gerlach also copied the new motets literally from their exemplars, making no attempt to correct their errors. Would Lasso have sent his work to a publisher with so many mistakes? One would like to think not. Lasso's direct involvement with the 1568 *Selectissimae cantiones* must remain an open question.

In 1579 the Gerlach firm, now under Katharina's direction, issued a revised and expanded version of *Selectissimae cantiones*, with the second volume for five and four voices now renamed *Altera pars selectissimarum cantionum* (*RISM* 1579a/b). The expansions raised the number of motets in the first volume to 57, compared to 46 in 1568, while the second volume includes 71 motets in 1579 as against 50 in 1568. Since one motet from each volume of the older edition was omitted in the reissue, the total of motets newly added is 12 in the first volume and 22 in the second. The motets from the 1568 collection appear in their original order, with the added pieces inserted among them seemingly at random. The only principle that appears to govern their placement is that the inserted motets are always placed adjacent to another motet with the same tonal type. Only five of the added motets are first editions, all in the second volume; the remainder are almost all motets that were not included in the first edition but were composed before 1568. Among them, as the title page of *RISM* 1579a indicates,[3] are all of the Lasso motets from the 1564 *Thesaurus musicus*, which by this time was no doubt out of print. Various other motets that had previously escaped Theodor Gerlach's notice were gathered in, and a few later pieces were added. Except for six pieces, the new *Selectissimae cantiones* thereby remained a large and now more comprehensive collection of Lasso's motets from the 1550s and 1560s. The twenty-five motets first published in the 1562 book were still excluded, since Gerlach continued to put out separate reprints of that collection, most recently in 1575.

The title pages of both 1579 books indicate that the contents have been corrected as well as expanded; *RISM* 1579a describes the edition as 'all of it edited again much more correctly than before' (*omnia denuo multo quam antehac correctius edita*). This task was accomplished by Leonhard Lechner, whose preface appears in each partbook of *RISM* 1579a.[4] Lechner (c. 1553–1606) was one of the most important German composers of his time. He described himself as a student of Lasso, and this study must have occurred during the years 1564 to 1568, when Lechner is presumed to have been a member of Lasso's *Hofkapelle*. He would have been one of the boy choris-

[3] A facsimile of this page appears as Plate 3 in LASSO, *The Complete Motets*, 6, p. xxxv.

[4] A facsimile of this page with an English translation appears as Plate 4 in LASSO, *The Complete Motets*, 6, p. xxxvi.

ters, and he probably lived in Lasso's house with the other boys. In 1579 he was an assistant teacher at the St. Lorenz school in Nuremberg, a position he held from 1575 to 1583. While at Nuremberg he was active as a composer and performer, increasingly recognized in Germany through a number of publications. It was no doubt his standing as a musician and admirer of Lasso that caused Katharina Gerlach to engage him to edit the reissue of *Selectissimae cantiones*, which he did in exemplary fashion. His preface states that he 'revised the previous edition from accurate and corrected exemplars and … removed in the process obvious mistakes'. This suggests that he received better texts from an outside source as well as exercising independent judgment on his own. In any case, he thoroughly reviewed and corrected the errors in the motets that had first been published in the 1568 *Selectissimae cantiones*, also in the motets that were new in the 1564 *Thesaurus musicus*. His corrections are always sensible, sometimes imaginative.

Lechner was a sufficiently accomplished musician and lover of Lasso's music that he was likely to have had a good sense of Lasso's intentions, even if they were not communicated to him directly, and his corrections are most probably in accord with what Lasso himself would have wished. However, as with the 1568 edition, the degree of Lasso's involvement with the 1579 edition cannot be established definitively, since Lechner does not identify the source of his 'corrected exemplars'. The Gerlach firm seems not to have published anything by Lasso between 1568 and 1579 except reprints. During those years Adam Berg in Munich had become Lasso's main printer in Germany. It would thus appear that direct contact between the Gerlach house and Lasso had lessened, so the 1579 reprint may be the successful result of an attempt by Katharina Gerlach to re-establish the relationship, especially since it contained five new motets. If that is the case, the success continued to bear fruit, since two years later Gerlach published a collection of Lasso's masses, which was soon followed by large collections of his motets and lieder that the title pages describe as published 'with the author's consent'.[5] Lechner continued to be involved in Gerlach's publishing program through editing the masses and also a 1583 motet anthology that contained some works by Lasso.[6] Siegfried Hermelink has suggested that Lechner intended to put out a collected edition of Lasso's music, though he edited only the masses and the 1579 motets for Gerlach.[7] Thus it appears that from 1579 Lasso resumed closer ties with the Gerlach house. Whether this means that he took a role in preparing the *Selectissimae cantiones* is not certain, but it is plausible that he may have been the source of Lechner's 'corrected exemplars' as well as the five motets that were first editions.

[5] *RISM* 1581a, 1582c, and 1583b respectively.

[6] *RISM* 1583[2].

[7] O. LASSUS, *Messen 18–23: Messen der Drucke Paris 1577 und Nürnberg 1581, (Sämtliche Werke. Neue Reihe*, 5), ed. S. HERMELINK, Kassel, 1965, p. vi.

One more piece of evidence about Lasso's involvement with the 1579 *Selectissimae cantiones* remains to be considered. Two motets that had appeared in the 1568 collection were omitted in 1579, *Zachaee, festinans descende* and *Gloria Patri*. These motets were first published by Gardano in 1566 in his *Liber II* and *Liber III* respectively. They were reprinted only in the 1568 *Selectissimae cantiones* and in reissues of the two Gardano books. For stylistic reasons I believe that Lasso could not have composed these pieces; they seem more likely to belong to an earlier generation.[8] I consider that their omission in 1579 can be taken as an indication that Lasso himself disowned them, or that Lechner concluded independently that they were not by Lasso. Wolfgang Boetticher took a position in favor of their authenticity, and concluded that their exclusion in 1579 indicates that Lasso was not involved in that edition.[9] Boetticher for that reason among others devalued the 1579 edition as an important source for Lasso's music. However, when one considers the number of publications of Lasso's music by Gerlach in the next few years after 1579, some of them explicitly described as published with his consent, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Lasso approved of the reissued *Selectissimae cantiones*, whether or not he was actively involved in its preparation.

Let us consider some of Lechner's editorial work and see for ourselves. To begin with, it would be useful to categorize the sorts of errors he found in the early editions and corrected in 1579. A relatively small number have to do with rhythm. Lechner several times combined repeated pitches into a single note when the earlier source gave no syllable of text to go with the second note, or where a syllable placed on that second note led to faulty underlay of the syllables that followed. He also emended obviously incorrect note values, which are not frequent in either the 1564 or 1568 source.

Corrections of pitch or text underlay are more numerous. Errors in pitch can be subdivided into two categories. The first occurs when a note is placed on the wrong pitch, the second involves omitted or incorrect accidentals. Both the 1568 and 1564 sources contain a surprising number of wrong pitches, that is, pitches which are not plausible alternatives but unequivocal mistakes, such as D in a sonority in which the other voices sing C, E, and G. In the 1568 source only five of the first editions are free of such errors; the remaining fifteen contain thirty-three wrong pitches. Of the seventeen first editions in the 1564 source, twelve have no incorrect pitches and the other five contain thirteen wrong pitches.

[8] In O. DI LASSO, *The Complete Motets*, 5, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 109), ed. P. BERGQUIST, Madison, Wisconsin, 1997, pp. xvi–xix, I discuss in detail the reasons why I believe that these two motets are not by Lasso.

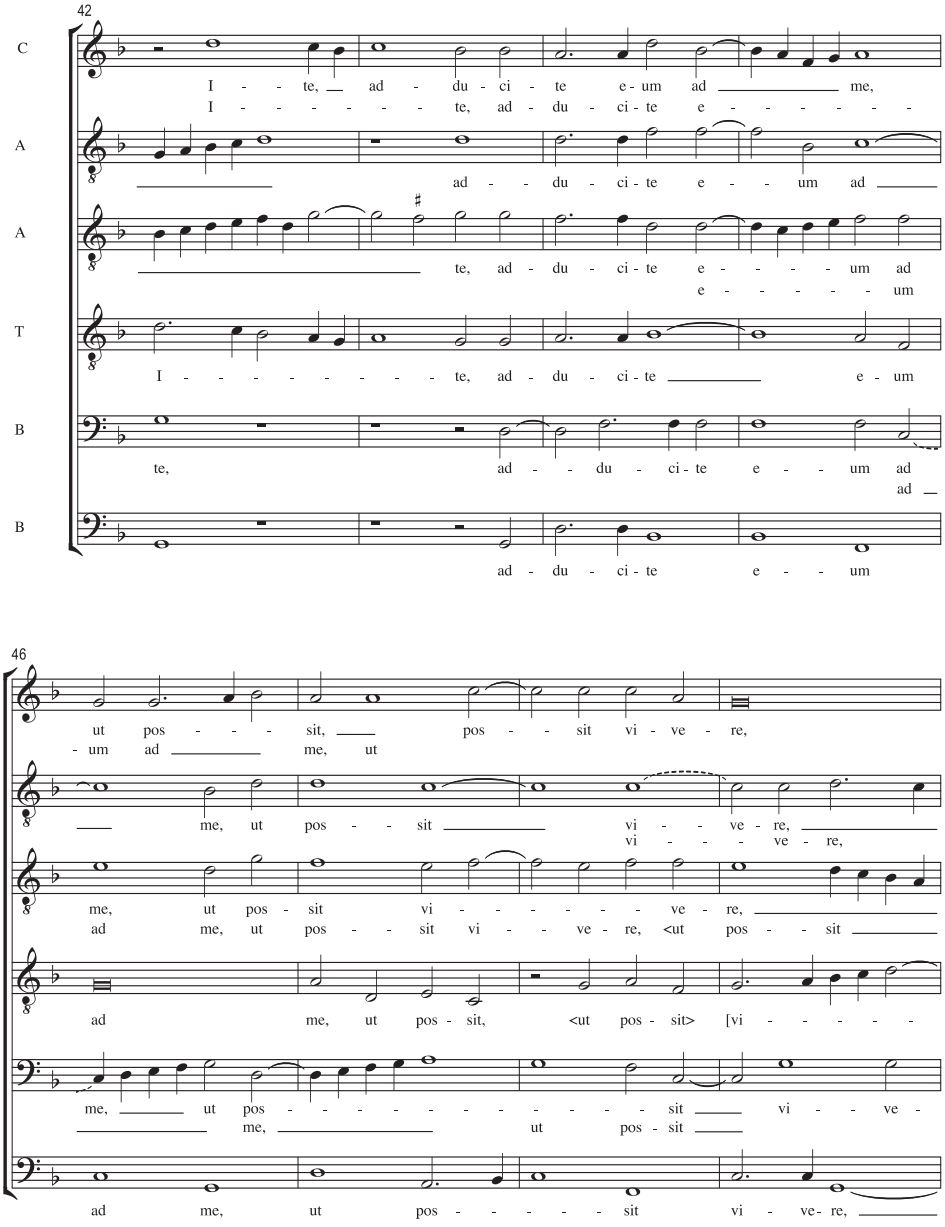
[9] W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit*, Kassel, 1958, pp. 451–452 and 455.

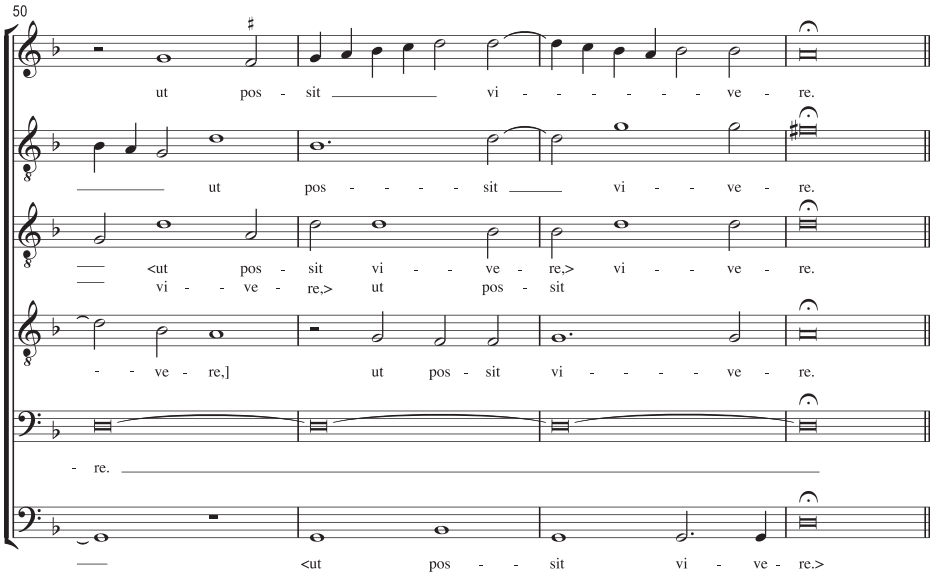
The category of omitted or incorrect accidentals is somewhat flexible. Some of the accidentals omitted in the two early sources occur at places where they would be understood even if not notated, such as a leap from B-flat to E-natural or at a cadence point where the leading tone would be raised. Quite a few omissions occur, however, in places where the need for alteration is not self-evident. A few accidentals are clearly errors, for instance, a passage in *O crux splendidior* (*RISM* 1568a) in which two voices make a standard cadence on D, with the upper voice proceeding C-D and the lower E-D. In the 1568 source the C that leads to D is raised to C-sharp, but the E that leads to D in the lower voice is also lowered to E-flat.[10] The augmented sixth that results is of course not in Lasso's vocabulary, and Lechner removed the C-sharp in his 1579 edition. Omitted or incorrect accidentals are found in five motets from the 1568 group, with sixteen omissions found in one piece alone, *Salve festa dies*. Lechner added these accidentals in 1579. The situation is similar in the 1564 source, with thirteen omitted or incorrect accidentals in eight motets, and an additional twelve in one motet alone, *In te Domine speravi*.

The most common error by far involving text underlay in both the 1564 and 1568 sources is placing a syllable under the 'wrong' note, by which I mean text underlay that is clearly in conflict with the norms that Lasso follows whenever he sets a Latin text. The 1568 source has nineteen examples of faulty placement, the 1564 source has twenty-three. The larger number in 1564 is perhaps owing in part to the crowded layout of almost every page in that source. Both the music and text are crowded closely into every line, and the alignment of text with music is not always clear at a glance. The result is often that after the intended alignment has been discovered, syllables come out in the wrong place. A smaller number of errors in text underlay result from wrongly placed or missing signs for repetition of text, or from incorrect or omitted words.

I would like to examine one example of an especially large concentration of errors in text underlay, from *Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus suis*, a six-voice motet from *Thesaurus musicus* (see Example 1). In that edition this motet has some twenty errors of pitch or underlay, perhaps the largest total in either of the two early sources. The example shows the last twelve measures of the first of its two parts. For each voice the upper text shows the 1564 version, the lower text the changes Lechner made in 1579. Only the tenor and bassus 2 are free from errors in 1564. In the cantus, measure 43, a new word begins on a longer note following two semiminims. This is highly unusual in Lasso's motets; he rarely changes syllables on a note that follows two or more semiminims. The same thing happens again in measure 45. In measure 47 only one syllable is provided for a repeated pitch. Lechner cleaned up this mess very nicely by extending syllables past the semiminims and thereby eliminating the

[10] LASSO, *The Complete Motets*, 6, p. 28, m. 90, altus 1 and bassus 1.


42
C
I - - te, ad - du - ci - te e - um ad me,
I - - - - - - te, ad - du - ci - te e - - - - - -
A
ad - - du - ci - te e - - um ad
A
te, ad - du - ci - te e - - - - um ad
e - - - - - um
T
I - - - - - - - - te, ad - du - ci - te e - um
B
te, ad - - du - ci - te e - um ad
ad
B
ad - du - ci - te e - - um
46
ut pos - - - sit, pos - - sit vi - ve - re,
- um ad me, ut
me, ut pos - sit vi - - ve - re,
vi - - - ve - re,
me, ut pos - sit vi - - - - - ve - re,
ad me, ut pos - - sit vi - - ve - re, <ut pos - - sit
ad me, ut pos - sit, <ut pos - sit> [vi - - - - -
me, ut pos - - - - - - - - - - sit vi - - ve -
me, ut pos - sit
ad me, ut pos - - - - - sit vi - ve- re,



Example 1. Orlando di Lasso, *Dixit Joseph undecim fratribus suis*, mm. 42–53 (upper text as in *Thesaurus musicus*, 1564; lower text as emended by Lechner in *Selectissimae cantiones*, 1579; ties with dashed lines appear where Lechner combined two notes into one).

unnecessary repetition of *possit* that followed. In altus 1, measures 48–49, Lechner turned a semibreve and minim into a dotted semibreve and moved the last syllable of *vivere* into a better position. Bassus 1 has a similar situation in the measures 45–48, where Lechner made a dotted minim out of two separate notes and achieved a more graceful underlay that avoids the awkward extension of the melisma on *pos(sit)*.

The question may arise, was Lechner responsible for all the emendations in the 1579 edition or did he take them from other printed sources that appeared between 1568 and 1579? It is most probable that they are his own work or that he received them directly from Lasso. With few exceptions, reprints of these thirty-seven motets within those years appeared mainly in France, and since these publications may not have circulated widely in Germany, it is unlikely that Lechner saw them. It is true that *Dixit Joseph* in Le Roy and Ballard's 1573 motet book for six, seven, and twelve voices (*RISM* 1573b) has essentially the same corrections as in Lechner's edition. If Lechner did not in fact have access to *RISM* 1573b, it would appear either that Lasso's friend Adrian Le Roy and Lechner both knew Lasso's music well enough to arrive at the same corrections independently, or that Lasso communicated the same corrections to each of them.

To conclude: Boetticher asserts that Lechner transmitted no better versions of the motets he edited.[11] It should be obvious that I cannot agree with this statement. I would urge that Leonhard Lechner's editorial work in the 1579 *Selectissimae cantiones* represents Lasso's intentions, whether or not as the result of direct communication from Lasso, that his rejection of *Zachaee, festinans descende* and *Gloria Patri* was in harmony with Lasso's wishes, and that his edition is an invaluable and reliable source for Lasso's motets.

[11] BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit*, p. 453.

Who Owned Lasso's Chansons?

Richard Freedman
Haverford College

In 1571, King Charles IX granted the composer Orlando di Lasso a special authorial privilege that gave him exclusive control over who might print, distribute, and sell his musical works in France. The French authorial privilege, and the remarkable power it invested in Lasso, was wholly without precedent in the history of French music printing. In the past, French privileges were in principle a form of commercial protection for printers rather than a means of guarding intellectual property. No composer before Lasso had ever been guaranteed an official voice in the control of his creative work in France. Despite Lasso's authority, however, his secular works were reprinted (with new, spiritual texts) by a small circle of Huguenot editors active in La Rochelle, Geneva, and London. As I hope to show, the appearance of Lasso's chansons in both their 'authentic' and 'counterfeit' editions can reveal how broader concerns of authorship and piracy were important parts of the culture of printed books already in the sixteenth century. They also can reflect on patterns of intellectual property and public thought that are still with us today in varying forms.

Before turning to Lasso's remarkable authorial privilege, we should first pause here to offer a very brief summary of his career: he lived between 1532 and 1594. Originally from Mons (Hainaut), already by his twenty-first birthday Lasso was chapel master at the church of the Lateran in Rome. Between 1564 and his death some thirty years later he served as musical director of the Bavarian court in Munich. Composer of over thirteen-hundred works in every imaginable genre (and just about every imaginable European language) Lasso cultivated an acute awareness of the importance of the relatively new medium of print, actively collaborating with a long string of prominent music printers in Antwerp, Paris, Munich, and Venice. The story of Lasso's setting of French texts in print (he wrote about 150 in all) nicely articulates this aspect of his career. Written over a course of several decades and published in anthologies in Antwerp, Paris, and Louvain, starting in 1570 Lasso's chansons were eventually gathered together in a series of retrospective *Meslanges* that were issued by the French royal printers Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard. Lasso collaborated closely with his French printers in producing these books. Indeed, the title page of the 1576 edition of the set proudly proclaims the contents as having been reviewed and approved by the composer himself. All of this takes on special import when considered against the backdrop of the decidedly 'unauthorized' practice of systematically making and printing *contrafacta* of Lasso's chansons that was undertaken during the 1570s and 1580s by French Protestants in London, La Rochelle, and Geneva (see Table 1).

Lasso's chansons, issued in authorized editions
Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus, contenant plusieurs chansons, tant en vers latin qu'en ryme françoyse, à quatre, cinq, six, huit, dix parties, Paris, Le Roy et Ballard, 1570.
Les meslanges d'Orlande de Lassus, contenantz plusieurs chansons à III, V, VI, VIII, X parties: reveuz par luy, et augmentez, Paris, Le Roy et Ballard, 1576.
Lasso's chansons, issued in (unauthorized) spiritual *contrafacta*
Recueil du Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus, contenant plusieurs chansons tant en vers latins qu'en ryme françoyse, à quatre, et cinq parties, London, Thomas Vautrollier, 1570.
Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus, contenant plusieurs chansons, à quatre parties, desquelles la lettre profane a esté changée en spirituelle, La Rochelle, Haultin, 1575.
Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus, contenant plusieurs chansons, à cinq, et huit parties, desquelles la lettre profane à este changée en spirituelle, La Rochelle, Haultin, 1576.
Thrésor de musique d'Orlande de Lassus, contenant ses chansons à quatre, cinq, et six parties, [Geneva], [printed for S. Goulart], 1576.
Le thrésor de musique d'Orlande de Lassus ... contenant ses chansons françoises, italiennes, et latines, à quatre, cinq et six parties: augmenté de plus de la moitié en ceste seconde edition, [Geneva], [printed for S. Goulart], 1582.
Le thresor de musique d'Orlande de Lassus ... contenant ses chansons françoises, italiennes, et latines, à quatre, cinq, et six parties: reveu et corrigé diligemment en ceste troisieme edition, [Cologny], [printed for S. Goulart by Paul Marceau], 1594.

Table 1. Lasso's collected chansons in their authorized and unauthorized editions.[1]

Considered from the standpoint of Romantic aesthetic sensibilities, the very idea of these *contrafacta* seems absurd. "Our Western tradition," observes Umberto Eco, "forces us to take 'work' in the sense of a personal production which may well vary in the ways it can be received but which always maintains a coherent identity of its

[1] For bibliographical descriptions of these books, see H. LEUCHTMANN and B. SCHMID eds., *Orlando di Lasso: Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken, 1555–1687*, (*Orlando di Lasso: Sämtliche Werke*, *Supplement*), 3 vols., Kassel, 2001. Further on the complex story of Lasso's chansons in their original and spiritual versions, see my monograph, R. FREEDMAN, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and Their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France*, (*Eastman Studies in Music*, 15), Rochester, New York, 2001.

own and which displays the personal imprint that makes it a specific, vital, and significant act of communication."[2] At the very least the results of substituting new words for old in the context of a musical work challenges many basic assumptions about the aesthetic unity of a work of art and about what we presume to be the authorial intentions it embodies. At worst, the *contrafacta* volumes appear to have been prepared using a pious version of what we might now regard as a morally bankrupt business model: justify theft according to the utility of the result. The Huguenot editors of these books would claim for their edited versions of Lasso's chansons a meaning more authentic than that of the composer himself, inasmuch as their new texts redirect the emotional valences of his music to a higher moral purpose than did the original lyrics.

One remarkable feature of the books that offer *contrafacta* of the Lasso chansons is the degree to which these prints acknowledge and play upon the peculiar power of Lasso's compositional voice, his poetic choices, and even the particular printed books from which his music has been appropriated. The prefaces to Jean Pasquier's revisions of Lasso's chansons (issued in La Rochelle in 1575 and 1576) explicitly acknowledge the superiority of Lasso's powers as a composer while simultaneously deploring his poetic choices: 'Among all the musicians of our century Orlande de Lassus appears (and has good right) to deserve good standing, for the excellence and admirable sweetness of his music.'[3] In a series of republications of Lasso's music issued in 1576, 1582, and 1594 the Genevan preacher Simon Goulart went so far as to call upon the composer himself to reconsider his poetic choices: 'It would be good to wish that Orlande would use his graces, which the Spirit has adorned in him above all, to recall and magnify the one from whom they derive, as he has done in several Motets and Latin Psalms. I deeply wish that these chansons provoke the urge in him.'[4] The books by Pasquier and Goulart, in short, establish their credibility with readers not by representing themselves as identical to the 'authentic'

[2] From one of Umberto Eco's now classic essays on texts and their meanings, U. ECO, *The Poetics of the Open Work*, in *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1979, p. 63. For a recent collection of essays (by Eco, Jonathan Culler, and Richard Rorty, among others) situating Eco's thought in the context of Continental and Anglo-American critical thought, see U. ECO, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, ed. S. COLLINI, Cambridge, 1992.

[3] From the dedication to Jean Pasquier's *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus contenant plusiers chansons, à quatre parties desquelles la lettre profane à este changée en spirituelle*, La Rochelle, 1575 (addressed to Catherine de Parthenay, the Duchesse de Rohan): *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'exellence et admirable douceur de sa Musique*.

[4] From the preface to Simon Goulart, *Thrésor de musique d'Orlande contenant ses chansons à quatre, cinq et six parties,* [Geneva], 1576: *Il seroit bien à desirer qu'Orlande emploiast 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 Françoise*. The same comments reappear in the 1582 and 1594 editions of *Le Thrésor de musique d'Orlande*.

prints, but by persuading them that the *contrafacta* books are 'superior' to those models, the contents of which have been made 'authentic' by virtue of the devotional purposes now recovered for Lasso's music. For these editors, music was a divine gift, beyond the claims of individual property.

This editorial troping of other printed books was neither new nor unique to the Huguenot appropriation of Lasso. Indeed, from its very outset the Calvinist enterprise of making *chansons spirituelles* and *contrafacta* of secular chansons was self-consciously dependent upon printed books. It is worth noting, however, that Goulart's claims for the superiority of his Lasso *contrafacta* books were made at a time when Lasso himself commanded considerable prestige in France. Lasso's stature as a composer grew steadily during the 1560s, thanks in large measure to the efforts of his printer and friend, Adrian Le Roy. By the middle years of that decade, Lasso's name came to be prominently featured on the title pages of chanson anthologies issued in Paris by Le Roy and his partner Robert Ballard, eclipsing that of Jacques Arcadelt, who had previously held pride of place in those titles. Le Roy's official royal privilege of commercial protection, granted by the French King Charles IX in 1567, reflects this new stature, putting Lasso at the head of a long list of composers whose music was deemed particularly worthy of publication (see Appendix, Document 1).[5]

As a brief aside, it is important for us to recall that at this juncture in the history of the French book trade, Parisian printers in particular operated in an environment of increasing official oversight and centralization. Following the Edict of Moulins in 1566, French printers were in fact required by law to obtain a royal privilege for the publication of each new work and were also required to allude to such privileges on their printed books (see Appendix, Document 2). Such legislation was apparently inspired by dual purposes: to protect printers from unfair competition and to censor seditious political or religious expression. The Edict also had the effect of eliminating the Parlement de Paris as a source of privileges, ending a decades old practice in which printers could petition for commercial protection from any of several institutions there. In brief, Le Roy et Ballard's general privilege of 1567 reminds us that by

[5] Quoted from the last page of the Bassus partbook of *Primus liber modulorum quinis vocibus constantium, Orlando Lassusio auctore*, Paris, 1571. A Latin epistle to King Charles IX, extolling the special virtues of Lasso's music appears in each of the five partbooks of this set. The general privilege of 1567 also appears in a number of other Le Roy et Ballard publications devoted exclusively to the music of Lasso, including *Secundus liber modulorum Quinis vocibus constantium Orlando Lassusio auctore* (1571), *Novem quiritationes divi Iob. Quaternis vocibus ab Orlando de Lassus* (1572), and *Moduli nondum prius editi monachii Boioarie ternis vocibus* (1576). Further on the general privilege of 1567, see W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532–1594*, rev. ed., 2 vols., Wilhelmshaven, 1998, 2, p. 481; and F. LESURE and G. THIBAULT, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1551–1598*, Paris, 1955, p. 12. A different general privilege, conferred by Henry IV upon Pierre Ballard, appears in Ballard's choirbook editions of some masses by Lasso, *Missa ad imitationem* (1607) and *Missa ad imitationem moduli 'Credidi' auctore Orlando de Lassus, cum quinque vocibus* (1608). This privilege makes no special mention of individual composers.

the second half of the sixteenth century, the French book trade was increasingly monopolistic and increasingly dependent on centralized royal authority.

By the 1570s, the firm of Le Roy et Ballard issued a series of books devoted exclusively to Lasso's settings of French lyrics, most notably the *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* of 1570 (and its expanded reprintings starting in 1576). These prints stand as monuments to Lasso's high standing among French readers – the composer here garners lavish praise from royal poets and officials as something of a culmination of the French tradition. They also reflect Lasso's and Le Roy's editorial priorities, for they assemble chansons composed over several decades according to a systematic plan by musical mode. In the spring of 1571 Le Roy et Ballard also issued the *Chansons nouvelles*, a smaller chanson album dedicated to members of the French royal family.[6] At about the time Le Roy brought out the *Chansons nouvelles* (and only a few weeks after Lasso himself had visited Paris and the royal household),[7] Charles IX granted the composer the special authorial privilege that gave him exclusive control over who might print, distribute, and sell his compositions (new as well as old) in France. Excerpts from this privilege, which was itself periodically renewed by Charles's successors, appeared in a few of the books of Lasso's music brought out by Le Roy et Ballard during the 1570s and 1580s (see Appendix, Documents 3 and 4, which offer two different aspects of this original privilege).[8]

[6] The *Chansons nouvelles* was also reprinted almost simultaneously (but without the dedicatory materials) by Phalèse and Bellère in Louvain and Antwerp as the *Livre cinquiesme de chansons nouvelles... d'Orlande de Lassus*. Further on the relationship between the *Livre cinquiesme* and the *Chansons nouvelles*, see H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils, 1545–1578*, Brussels, 1984, pp. 177–179. Phalèse's *Moduli quinis vocibus* of 1571 is similarly a republication, minus the dedication and liminary poem, of Le Roy et Ballard's work with the same name (also 1571). Phalèse's *Primus liber modulorum* of 1571 and the *Secundus liber modulorum* of 1572 also depend very closely on publications offered by the Paris firm. See VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions de musique*, pp. 174–192.

[7] Circumstantial evidence suggests that Lasso visited the French capital and the royal court in April and May of 1571. In a letter King Charles IX wrote to Lasso's principal patron, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria on 10 May 1571, he noted Lasso's 'great and extraordinary skill' (*grand et rare science*). Lasso had apparently served as something of a courier during the trip from Munich to Paris, for he is mentioned in two letters written by Charles's young spouse, Elizabeth – she was also Albrecht's niece – as having delivered correspondence to her in Paris during April and May. The contents and dating of all of these documents as they relate to the timing of Lasso's brief visit to Paris in 1571 are discussed in H. LEUCHTMANN, *Orlando di Lasso. Sein Leben: Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme der biographischen Einzelheiten,* 2 vols., Wiesbaden, 1976, 1, pp. 155–157; and W. BOETTICHER, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis: Neue archivalische Studien zur Münchener Musikgeschichte,* Kassel, 1963, p. 29.

[8] The earliest publication known to include the special authorial privilege is Le Roy et Ballard's *Tertius liber modulorum quinis vocibus constantium, Orlando Lassusio auctore* (1573). Later versions of this authorial privilege appeared in only a very few other prints brought out by Le Roy et Ballard. It appears, for instance, in each of a series of imitation masses issued in 1577, prints collected together under the general title *Missae variis concentibus ornatae, ab Orlando de Lassus. Cum cantico beatae Mariae. Octo Modis Musicis variato*. The original privilege of 1571, we read in this document, had apparently been confirmed in 1575 by Henry III. This same 1575 confirmation of the 1571 privilege also appears in *Octo cantica divae mariae virginis, quorum initium est Magnificat, secundum octo modos, seu tonos in templis decantari solitos singula quinis vocibus constantia: Auctore Orlando Lassusio* (1578). The

It seems likely, as James Haar has recently observed, that Charles IX granted this authorial privilege thinking that it offered Lasso an enticement to leave his permanent post at the Bavarian court and come to France to accept a lucrative position with the French royal establishment.[9] But the chief effect of his proclamation was to reinforce the independence of composer and printer from the royal household. Now free to choose whichever printer he saw fit – no matter that the obvious choice was also the royal favorite Le Roy – Lasso could assume a new level of control over the distribution of his music without ever leaving the comforts of Munich. In Imperial lands also, Lasso later astutely sought (and in 1581 was granted) a special privilege of authority over publication of his music there, thanks in part to the intercession of his Bavarian patron with Emperor Rudolph II.[10] Soon thereafter Lasso's old Munich publisher, Adam Berg, sought to prevent the composer's new partner in Nuremberg, Catherina Gerlach, from issuing music on the grounds that Berg had exclusive right to print those pieces that Lasso had sold him under a previous commercial privilege held by the publisher (see Appendix, Document 5); Berg, however, did not prevail in this instance, as Imperial magistrates ruled that the new authorial privilege allowed Lasso to reassign printing rights, regardless of the previous sale.[11]

Lasso's authorial privilege represents a remarkable moment in the history of French music printing. We should recall, of course, that French privileges originated as a form of commercial protection for printers rather than a means of authorial control. No composer before Lasso had even been offered an official voice in the distribution of his creative work in France. As early as 1531 the Parisian printer Pierre Attaingnant enjoyed a monopolistic privilege from King François I that protected

confirmation of 1575 was itself confirmed again in 1582 (apparently on the anniversary of the original 1571 privilege). An excerpt from this document appears in *Ieremiae. Prophetae devotissimae lamentationes, una cum passione domini dominicae palmarum, quinque vocum. Auctore Orlando Lasso* (1586); see Document 4 for a transcription and translation of the version printed starting in 1577. Curiously, the other volumes brought out by Le Roy et Ballard and devoted exclusively to works by Lasso nevertheless print either Le Roy's old general privilege of 1567 (see above), or make very brief allusion (on the title pages) to a royal privilege (*avec privilege du Roy pour dix ans* or *Cum privilegio Regis ad decennium*) without further explanation. The two privileges – the one for the author, the other for the printer – never appear together in the same print, but they do seem to have coexisted, even among the Lasso–Le Roy collaborations. Some, but not all of the privilege documents are cited and quoted in LEUCHTMANN, *Orlando di Lasso*, 1, pp. 53 and 158; H. POHLMANN, *Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Urheberrechts*, Basel, 1962, p. 270; and BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso*, 1, p. 481. Lesure makes only passing reference to the general and special authorial privileges.

[9] See J. HAAR, *Orlando di Lasso, Composer and Print Entrepeneur*, in K. VAN ORDEN ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print*, New York, 2000, pp. 134–135.

[10] The Imperial decree and its effect is considered in POHLMANN, *Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Urheberrechts*, pp. 164–165 and 203–205; and in LEUCHTMANN, *Orlando di Lasso*, 1, pp. 194–196. Further on the relations of the Berg and Gerlach firms, see S. JACKSON, *Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg*, Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1998.

[11] Further on the story of Lasso's Imperial privilege, see R. OETTINGER, *Berg vs. Gerlach: Orlando di Lasso's Imperial Printing Privilege of 1581*, in *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 51/1 (2004), in press.

what royal officials called 'the merit of his labors and the recovery of expenses'.[12] This document envisaged broad demand for a wide range of offerings, which were to include 'books and quires of masses, motets, hymns, chansons, as well as for the said playing of lutes, flutes, and organs, in large volumes and small, in order to serve the churches, their ministers, and generally all people, and for the very great good, utility, and recreation of the general public'.[13] Although he was the first, Attaingnant did not long remain the only music printer active in the realm. The expatriate Florentine musician, Jacques Moderne, began issuing music books in Lyons during 1538, shortly after the expiration of Attaingnant's original privilege of 1531.[14] And when Henri II became king following the death of François I in 1547, Attaingnant's exclusive hold on the Parisian market for printed music was briefly loosened, for his firm was joined in 1548 by a new enterprise under the control of the typographer Nicolas Du Chemin. Du Chemin's privilege was carefully crafted so as to permit him to emulate Attaingnant's publications – it allowed him to print books *selon et de la grandeur de ceux que Pierre Attaingnant a par cy-devant imprimez*. But Du Chemin's business was to avoid directly competing with Attaingnant, and was required to issue only new music: *tous livres nouveaulx en Musique (qui n'auront este imprimez)*.[15]

If royal privileges guaranteed the commercial viability of ventures of the sort undertaken by Attaingnant and other *libraires*, French documents remain largely silent on the sorts of protections to which composers might be entitled. To judge from the history of one musician's works in print, it seems, the 'work' remained manifestly the property of its sponsoring patron, and not that of its creator. When Albert de Rippe, the celebrated Mantuan lutenist, joined King François's private musical household during the 1530s, his extraordinary performances were held in high regard by princes and prelates who visited the French court. But if Albert enjoyed a preeminent reputation among patrons and *literati* of the early sixteenth century, we must infer that he had little say about how (and even whether) his music would be available to the general public. Indeed, it was not until after both his death and the death of his royal patron that his music was published edited – with permission of the new king, Henri

[12] Translation from D. HEARTZ, *A New Attaingnant Book and the Beginnings of French Music Printing*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961), pp. 22–23. A facsimile of the privilege appears in HEARTZ, *Pierre Attaingnant, Royal Printer of Music: A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue,* Berkeley, 1969, Plate 10. On the history of royal printing patents, see E. ARMSTRONG, *Before Copyright: The French Book-Privilege System, 1498–1526,* Cambridge, 1990.

[13] Translation from HEARTZ, *A New Attaingnant Book*, pp. 22–23. About the time that Attaingnant obtained his privilege, the Provençal composer Elzéar Genet (also known as Carpentras) commissioned a local craftsman, Jean de Channey, to print some of his sacred music. The Genet-Channey partnership was a private project, and on a scale quite different from that envisaged in Attaingnant's enterprise. Further on these contracts, see HEARTZ, *Pierre Attaingnant*, pp. 110–117.

[14] See S. POGUE, *Jacques Moderne. Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century*, Geneva, 1969.

[15] From a privilege dated 7 November 1548, quoted in F. LESURE and G. THIBAULT, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin*, in *Annales musicologiques*, 1 (1953), p. 271.

II, who ruled between 1547 and 1559 – by Guillaume Morlaye, one of the great lutenist's pupils and a musical entrepreneur. In a dedicatory epistle to Henri, Morlaye justified the patent commercialism of the venture by offering lavish praise for French monarchs – including two of 'the most noble, virtuous, and magnanimous kings in Europe', namely François I and Henri II, who had until now carefully guarded Albert's music as a private domain.[16] Prior to Lasso's royal privilege, it seems, composers had only a relatively weak and unofficial power to shape how their music appeared in print.

Elsewhere in Europe, too, composers were only rarely involved in the business of seeking or receiving a privilege to print their music during the sixteenth century. When they were, the documents suggest that these particular composers were enmeshed in the mundane details of commercial partnership.[17] In 1538, for instance, Constanzo Festa was granted a privilege by Venetian officials protecting his music from unauthorized publication for a period of ten years. As it happens, only a single book was ever published under this privilege, in circumstances that suggest Festa's powers to have been more narrow than broad: the print in question was issued in Rome rather than in Venice, and in any event was prominently emblasoned with his own emblem, suggesting that the print was produced on commission and under his direct supervision.[18] In 1544 the Roman master Cristóbal de Morales made a contract with the local printer Valerico Dorico (and a pair of *editori*) to print a book of his polyphonic masses. The composer and printer, according to the contract, were to divide the print run of 525 copies between them. Clearly this was a commercial venture.[19] And in November of 1544, the composer Cipriano de Rore obtained a Venetian privilege to protect the forthcoming publication of a collection of motets – *Motetti tratti dalla sacra scrittura et musica sopra quelli da lui composta*, reads the docu-

[16] The dedication reads, in part: *Veritablement, Sire, si ce tant excellent Albert se sentant parvenu au sommet de ce que peut sçavoir un parfaict sonneur de Leut, se fust seulement contenté d'avoir donné contentement à deux, les plus nobles, vertueux, et magnanimes Roys de l'Europe* ... – from the epistle printed in the *Premier livre de tabulature du leut dAlbert [sic] de Rippe*, Paris, 1553. Cited in J.-G. PROD'HOMME, *Guillaume Morlaye, éditeur d'Albert de Ripe, luthiste et bourgeois de Paris*, in *Revue de musicologie*, 6 (1925), pp. 163–164. Albert's fantasias and his arrangements of courtly chansons appear in J.-M. VACCARO ed., *Oeuvres d'Albert de Rippe*, 3 vols., Paris, 1972–1975. The problems of performing Albert's music are considered in L. NORDSTROM, *Albert de Rippe, joueur de luth du Roy*, in *Early Music*, 7 (1979), pp. 378–385.

[17] For an overview of the situation as it unfolded in Italy, see J. BERNSTEIN, *Financial Arrangements and the Role of the Printer and Composer in Sixteenth-Century Italian Music Printing*, in *Acta musicologica*, 63 (1991), pp. 39–56.

[18] Further on Festa's privilege and its significance, see M.S. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano: Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569. A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, 2 vols., New York – London, 1988–1997, 1, p. 673; and J. HAAR, *The Libro Primo of Constanzo Festa*, in *Acta musicologica*, 52 (1980), p. 153.

[19] Concerning the Morales-Dorico contract, see HAAR, *The Libro Primo*, p. 154; and S. CUSICK, *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome,* Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1981, pp. 152–163. A transcription of the document of 1544 appears on pages 297–301 of Susan Cusick's study.

ment. The set was issued by the firm of Antonio Gardano in 1545, and then promptly reprinted in an unauthorized (and unsigned) edition by Rore's old print partner Girolamo Scotto, later that same year.[20] Such practices as these put Lasso's new authorial privilege into sharp relief: no other Renaissance composer had ever been offered so sweeping an official voice in the control of his creative work. Even in the literary world the notion of authorial privilege was exceedingly rare during the sixteenth century. Among Lasso's contemporaries, only Pierre de Ronsard had the legal right – sanctioned by royal patent – to control how his works were published. Ronsard's privilege of 1554 probably served as a model for the one granted Lasso (see Appendix, Document 6).[21]

Like Ronsard's privilege, Lasso's French patent is both retrospective and prospective, covering works already written and published as well as ones still to emerge from the pen. Such 'general' privileges had the risk of colliding with ones already issued to printers, as they did in the case of the Imperial decree, as we have seen in the case noted above. What is especially interesting about these patents is that they pass over in all but silence the question of monetary compensation for creative work and instead stress an author's right to determine how his works would appear in public. It would seem to modern readers self-evident, perhaps, that published versions of a work ought to reflect an author's best intentions for it. But the text of Ronsard's privilege strongly suggests that such fidelity had an 'ethical' dimension that touched on broader concerns, too. Recall for that matter the passage on the negative effects of inaccurate texts: here we learn that the faithful attention to Ronsard's texts, which so ably emulate the subtlety, seriousness, sweetness and grace of classical models, will in time lead to a general renovation of the French language itself.

[20] The Gardano motet book is described in LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano: Venetian Music Printer,* 1, pp. 483–497 [No. 73]. The Scotto print is described in J. BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)*, New York – Oxford, 1998, pp. 326–328 [No. 52]. Further on Rore's privilege, see R.J. AGEE, *The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century*, in *Early Music History*, 3 (1983), p. 29. The document in question is transcribed in R.J. AGEE, *The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1982, p. 214.

[21] Granted by King Henri II on 4 January 1554 (new style), Ronsard's authorial privilege was first used in conjunction with De La Porte's edition of the *Bocage* from November of that year. The same privilege is cited in several other editions of major works by Ronsard, issued by various publishers, during the 1550s. The authorial privilege was renewed by Henri II on 23 February 1559, and again by his successor François II on 20 September 1560. For a complete transcription of the privilege of 1554, see Pierre de RONSARD, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. LAUMONIER, 18 vols., Paris, 1921–1967, 6, pp. 3–5. Other privileges for Ronsard's works are listed in P. LAUMONIER, *Tableau chronologique des oeuvres de Ronsard suivi de poésies non recueillies et d'une table alphabetique*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1911. Even the prolific essayist and humanist Michel de Montaigne was bound by a conception of property rights in which printers, not authors, were understood to 'own' published works. For a subtle assessment of the French privilege system and its economic incentives for authorial revision and renewal, see G. HOFFMANN, *The Montaigne Monopoly: Revising the 'Essais' under the French Privilege System*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America,* 108 (1993), pp. 308–319.

Authorial control is identified not with profit, but with the public good. Ronsard's works, like the royal patents that protect them are freely 'given' to society at large. During the sixteenth century, as Natalie Zemon Davis has recently argued, printed books were poised at the intersection of two kinds of transactions, one hidden within the other. Title pages of printed works stress the commercial aspects of the object, such as the bookseller's address, the existence of an official patent protecting the printer against pirate editions, or the utility or novelty of the book as an appeal to prospective buyers. In contrast, texts of dedications (which appear inside the covers) frame the author or editor of a work as one who freely 'gives' his intellectual labor to the reader, patron, or public.[22] The world of printing, with its earnest commercial claims of materials, physical labor, and profit, clearly manifests itself in privileges of protection from undue competition. But the domain of authorship long remained isolated from modern preoccupations with intellectual property as capital that are so familiar to us today (with suits over who owns music, software, and even genetic information). Echoing a long intellectual tradition that understood knowledge as a gift from God, the authorial privileges held by Ronsard and Lasso limn a delicate space between the demands of an increasingly commercial world (on one hand) and the public uses of learning (on the other). Elements of this dynamic appear in the text of a treaty recently concluded by the *World Intellectual Property Organization* in Geneva (from 1996). Participants agreed that, while the producers of sound recordings had the right to control how and when such material would be distributed, performing artists themselves retained a 'moral' right to make certain that their recorded performances were not distorted, mutilated, or modified in ways that would be prejudicial to their reputations. Setting aside any question of the economic aspects of sound recording, this body saw fit to recognize that creators retain a permanent right to assure the integrity of their ideas.[23] A related tension, by the way, persists in current debates about the ownership of academic research. As scholars, we 'give away' our ideas, just as institutions 'grant' tenure and other forms of prestige. Is our research 'work'? Can it be sold? Do we reserve a 'moral' right of ownership that permits us to govern how and in what forms it is disseminated?[24]

[22] N.Z. DAVIS, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*, Madison, Wisconsin, 2000, p. 46.

[23] Article 5 (*Moral Rights of Performers*) of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) *Performances and Phonograms Treaty* of 23 December 1996, reads, in part: "Independently of a performer's economic rights, and even after the transfer of those rights, the performer shall, as regards his live aural performances or performances fixed in phonograms have the right to claim to be identified as the performer of his performances, except where omission is dictated by the manner of the use of the performance, and to object to any distortion, mutilation or other modification of his performances that would be prejudicial to his reputation." Treaty text cited in <http://www.wipo.int/clea/docs/en/wo/wo034en.htm#P92_8605> [accessed on 10 March 2003].

[24] For a timely discussion of academic work in the context of sale and gift, see C. McSHERRY, *Who Owns Academic Work? Battling for Control of Intellectual Property*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2001.

How might all of this help us to understand the Protestant appropriation of Lasso's chansons? The books of *contrafacta* based on Lasso's chansons, after all, are unlikely to have posed a real threat to the composer's authorial rights to direct the dissemination of his music. In Geneva, Simon Goulart was not bound by commercial protections that applied only in France, while the Haultin firm – Pasquier's printer in the besieged Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle – could hardly have cared at all whether they violated 'royal' copyright or not. Instead, the significance of the Huguenot versions of Lasso's music may rest in a more open notion of the purposes of music, and the ownership of spiritual texts. For instance, when Robert Olivétan published the first French translation of the Bible in 1535, he dedicated the book not to a temporal patron, but to the church itself. He regarded such holy books as gifts from God, a kind of communal property in which all believers might have an equal share. So too, the compilers of the spiritual *contrafacta* of Lasso's chansons regarded music as a gift, beyond the claims of personal property and thus beyond claims of either ownership or theft. In reforming the texts of these errant songs, Jean Pasquier 'returned them to their true and natural subject, namely to sing of the power, sagacity, and goodness of the Eternal'.[25] This view seems in many ways quite opposite to the one articulated in the authorial privileges held by Lasso and Ronsard. At the heart of all of these projects, in sum, is a growing recognition about the ethical dimension of creative work, and of the power of printed texts to shape how those works are understood.

[25] From Jean Pasquier's dedication (to Catherine de Parthenay, Duchesse de Rohan) in the *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus contenant plusiers chansons, à quatre parties desquelles la lettre profane à este changée en spirituelle*, La Rochelle, 1575: *Je les remettois sur leur vray et naturel suject, qui est de chanter la puissance, sagesse et bonté de L'eternel*.

APPENDIX

Document 1. Le Roy et Ballard's General Privilege for Music Printing, 1567. Quoted from the last page of the Bassus partbook of *Primus liber modulorum quinis vocibus constantium, Orlando Lassusio auctore*, Paris, 1571.

Extrait du privilege.

Par lettres patentes du Roy données à Saint Maur le premier jour de May mil cinq cens soixante sept, signées par le Roy. Maistre Regnault de Beaune maistre des requestes ordinaires de l'hostel present, signées de Laubespine et scelées sur double queüe confirmatives d'autres precedentes. Est permis et octroyé à Adrian le Roy et Robert Ballard Imprimeurs en musique de sa majesté, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer toute sorte de musique tant vocale que instrumentale de quelque sorte et composition d'auteurs que ce soit, specialement d'Orlande de lassus, Iosquin des prez, Mouton, Richaffort, Gascogne, Iaquet, Maillard, Gombert, Arcadet, et C. Goudimel: sans qu'il soit loysible à autre quelconque d'en imprimer, vendre ne distribuer en general ou particulier n'y en distraire aucune partie d'icelle durant le tems de dix ans. Ainsi qu'il est plus amplement contenu et declairé esdittes lettres, à peine de confiscation desditz livres, dommages, interests et amende arbitraire envers lesdits le Roy et Ballard. Lesquelles lettres saditte majesté veut sans autre formalité quelconque et l'extrait d'icelles mis et inferé au commencement ou fin de chacun desdits livres seulement estre tenues pour bien et deuëment signifiées à tous imprimeurs à ce qu'ilz n'en puissent pretendre cause d'ignorance sans qu'il soit besoin d'aucune autre signification.

Translation:

Extract from the privilege.

By letters of patent of the King given at Saint Maur on the first day of May, 1567, signed by the King. Maistre Regnault de Beaune, master of requests general of the present household, signed by Laubespine and sealed with a double ribbon confirming previous letters. It is permitted and ordained that Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, royal music printers, may print or have printed all sorts of music, vocal as well as instrumental, or whichever sort and type of any author, but especially that of Orlande de Lassus, Josquin des Prez, Mouton, Richaffort, Gascogne, Jaquet, Maillard, Gombert, Arcadet, et C. Goudimel. Without which privilege it will not be legal for any other to have these printed, sold, or distributed in general or in particular, or even to extract some part of these for a term of ten years. As it is amply contained and declared in these said letters, on pain of confiscation of the said books, damages, interests and arbitrary amends on behalf of the said Le Roy et Ballard. His Majesty desires that

these provisions be understood without other formality – an extract from them can be put at the beginning or the end of each of the said books, and this alone will duly serve notice to all printers and on account of which they will not be able to feign ignorance.

Document 2. The Edict of Moulins, 1566, Article 78. Quoted from *Ordonnances faites par le Roy a Moulins, au mois de Fevrier M.D.LXVI. Sur les plainctes, et remonstrances faictes à sa Maiesté en ces voyages derniers, pour le reiglement de la Iustice et police de son Royaume*, Lyon, 1566, p. 44 [Folger Shakespeare Library, Pamphlet 203299].

DEFENDONS aussi à toutes personnes que ce soit, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer aucuns livres ou traittez sans nostre congé ou permission, et lettres de privilege expediées soubs nostre grand séel. Auquel, cas aussi enjoignons à l'Imprimeur d'y mettre et inserer son nom et le lieu de sa demeurance, ensemble ledit congé et privilege, et ce sur peine de perdition de biens et punition corporelle.

Translation:

FORBIDDEN also to all persons to print, to have printed any books of tracts without our leave or permission, and letters of privilege issued under our great seal. In which books the printer is also enjoined to print there and insert his name and his place of residence, together with the said leave and privilege. This on pain of loss of goods and physical punishment.

Document 3. Lasso's Special Authorial Privilege, 1571 (as quoted in an imprint of 1573). Quoted from the *Tertius liber modulorum quinis vocibus constantium, Orlando Lassusio auctore* (1573).[26]

Extrait du privilege.

Il a pleu au Roy ottroyer à ORLANDE DE LASSUS, Maistre Compositeur de Musique Privilege et permission de faire imprimer par tel imprimeur de ce

[26] Scholars concerned with the publication history of Lasso's works have often observed the consistent organization of his music books according to schemes of musical modality. Lasso, to judge from these books, and from other documents, seems to have been acutely concerned with such organizational schemes. His preoccupation is echoed in the language of the privilege as it was excerpted in this book of 1573, for it, too, observes that Lasso would have the authority to advise his chosen printer on the 'ordering' of such sets. Further on the modal organization of the Le Roy-Lasso imprints and their place in the story of Lasso's record of publication, see FREEDMAN, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso*, pp. 136–175.

Royaume que bon luy semblera la Musique de son invention estant par luy reveuë et remise en tel ordre qu'il adviseroit et aussi de faire imprimer celle qui n'a encores esté par cy devant mise en lumiere sans que pendant le temps de dix ans aucun autre imprimeur que celuy auquell ledit de lassus auroit baillé ses copies et permission se puisse ingerer d'en imprimer ne mettre en vente ne porcion d'icelle si ce n'estoit du consentement de l'un ou de l'autre soubz les peines contenues esdittes lettres, et qu'en mettant ledit privilege ou extraict d'icelluy au commencement ou à la fin desditz livres imprimez il soit tenu pour bien et deuëment signifié à toutes personnes que besoin seroit et tout ainsi que si la notification leur en avoit esté particulierement faitte. Donné à Fontainebleau le XXV. jour de Iuillet l'an de grace mil cinq cens LXXI. et de son regne l'unziéme. Par le Roy Signé de Neufville soub le contrescel de la Chancellerie en cire Iaune.

Translation:

Extract from the privilege.

It has pleased the King to grant to ORLANDE DE LASSUS, master composer of music, privilege and permission to have printed by such printer of this realm he deems suitable, the music he has composed, being reviewed and put in such order as he should advise and also to have printed that which has not previously been brought to light. Excepting that during a period of ten years, no other printer than the one to which the said Lassus will have entrusted his copies and permission, will be able to undertake to print them, nor to put them on sale, nor even a portion of them, if this is done without the consent of one or the other, upon punishment as contained in these letters. And that in putting the said privilege or an extract from it at the outset or the end of the said printed books, it will stand as well and duly indicated to all persons to be on guard, and that they will have been especially notified of this. Given at Fontainebleau, on the 25th day of July, in the year of grace, 1571 and of his reign the eleventh. By the King, signed by de Neufville upon the counterseal of the chancery in yellow wax.

Document 4. Lasso's Special Authorial Privilege, 1571 (as quoted in an imprint of 1577). Quoted in LASSO, *Missae variis concentibus ornatae, ab Orlando de Lassus. Cum cantico beatae Mariae. Octo Modis Musicis variato*, Paris, 1577.

Par lettres patentes du Roy données à Fontainebleau le vingtcinquiesme jour de Julliet, M.D.LXXI. Signées par le Roy, de Neufville: et scellées du grand seau en cire jaune sur simple queuë. Et par autres lettres patentes de confirmation du Roy Henry, données à Paris le vingtcinquiesme jour d'Aoust M.D.LXXV. aussi signées, de Neufville: Il est permis au sieur Orlande: de faire imprimer par tel

Imprimeur ou Libraire que bon luy semblera, toutes et chacunes les Oeuvres qu'il a faictes et composées, et pourra cy aprez faire et composer, jusques au temps et terme de dix ans, à compter du jour qu'elles seront achevées d'imprimer. Avec defenses tresexpresses à toutes personnes de quelque qualité qu'elles soyent, de les imprimer, faire imprimer, ou mettre en vente, sans le congé et consentement dudict Orlande, ou de celuy auquel il aura baillé ledict congé: Sur peine d'amende arbitraire contre les contrevenans, confiscation des livres, despens, dommages et interests. En outre veut ledict Seigneur que mettant au commencement ou à la fin desdictes livres un extraict sommaire desdictes presentes, elles soyent tenues pour suffisamment notifées et venues à la cognoissance particuliere de tous Libraires, Imprimeurs, ou autres, sans qu'ils en puissent pretendre cause d'ignorance.

Translation:

By *Lettre patentes* of the King given at Fontainebleau the 25th day of July 1571, signed by the King, by de Neufville on behalf of the King, and sealed with the great seal on yellow wax on a simple ribbon. And by other *Lettre patentes* of confirmation of King Henry given at Paris the 25th day of August 1575 likewise signed by de Neufville. Granted to Mr. Orlande to have printed by whichever printer or bookseller he deems suitable, each and every work which he has made and composed, and may be able to create or compose in the future, for a term of ten years, counting from the day that they appear in print. With express prohibitions to all persons of any sort to print, to have printed, or to put on sale these works only with the approval and agreement of the said Orlande, or someone to whom he will have designated the said approval. Upon punishment of amends to be determined against the violators, confiscation of books, expense, damages, and interest. Furthermore the said *Seigneur*, in putting at the outset or conclusion of the said books a summary extract of what is said in this document, all booksellers, printers and others will thereby be sufficiently notified and informed of it, and cannot pretend ignorance.

Document 5. Lasso's Imperial Privilege, 1581. From a patent issued by Emperor Rudolph in Prague, 15 June 1581. Quoted in POHLMANN, *Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Urheberrechts*, p. 271, after the title page of the Superius part of *Teutsche Lieder mit fünff Stimmen*, Nürnberg, 1583.

Thun unnd geben Ihme auch hiemit von Römischer Kayserlicher Macht wissentlich inn Krafft diss Brieffs also dass non hinfüro alle unnd jede Compositionen unnd Gesäng so gedachter Orlandus di Lassus hievor gemacht oder noch künfftig

machen unnd einem oder mehrern Buchdruckern seines Gefallens zu drucken auffgeben unnd vertrawen würdet von niemand weder inn dem Heiligen Reich noch auch andern unsern angehörigen Königreichen erblichen Fürstenthumben unnd Landen in keinerley Weiss noch Form nicht nachgedruckt noch also nachgedruckt verfürt umbgetragen oder verkaufft werden sollen.

Translation:

Done and given to him [Lasso] also herewith from Roman Imperial power knowingly in the authority of this letter thus that hereforth all and every composition and song that the said *Orlandus di Lassus* previously made or in the future will make, and gives to and entrusts to be printed by one or more printers of his liking, it is declared that no one else in the Holy Empire or in our other dependent Kingdoms, hereditary principalities and lands, in any way or form reprint cause to be reprinted or sold.

Document 6. Excerpt from Ronsard's General Authorial Privilege, 4 January 1554. Cited in Pierre de RONSARD, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. LAUMONIER, 18 vols., Paris, 1921–1967, 6, pp. 3–5.

Comme desja nous tesmoignent les Sonnetz, Odes et autres chantz, cantiques et poëmes de Pierre de Ronsard gentilhomme Vandomois. Lequel (comme ung chacun peult cognoistre) a de si pres suivy les anciens et excellens poëtes Grecz et Latins, tant en subtilité de poësie et gravité de sentences, qu'en proprieté, doulceur et grace de langage, que tous les doctes de nostre tems (à bon droict) le confessent meriter de nostre langue Françoise non moins que Pindare de la Grecque, et Horace de la Latine: Et que par le moyen de luy et d'aucuns autres studieux de l'ensuiyvre et imiter, nostredicte langue se pourroit en peu de temps égaler à la dignité de la Grecque, si n'estoit l'avarice, ignorance et negligence de plusieurs Imprimeurs, lesquelz des qu'ilx peuvent recouvrer aucuns livres desirez des bons espritz, et par l'impression et vente desquelz leur gaing et proufit peult estre augmenté (comme sont les oeuvres dudict Ronsard) ilz se ingerent à les imprimer au desceu des autheurs, et sur telz exemplaires qu'ilz en peuvent recouvrer, sans regarder s'ilz sont veritables ou faux et corrompuz. Au moyen dequoy et de l'ignorance ou negligence de leurs correcteurs, et pour trop haster leurs impressions commettent en icelles tant de faultes, corruptions et vices, que les autheurs voians leurs oeuvres ainsi deformées, sont quelques fois en voye de les descongnoistre. Et que pis est, aucuns mal informez de l'erudition, et suffisance desdictz autheurs, leur imputent souvent le default et vice de l'Imprimeur, et autres n'aïans attainct si avant que de sçavoir juger desdictes faultes et vices,

cuidans imiter les autheurs, imitent lesditz Imprimeurs et leurs vices, et prennent par ce moyen le faulx et corrompu pour le pur et veritable: qui sont inconveniens de dangereuse consequence, et qui pourroient pulluler au grand prejudice tant des bonnes lettres que de nostredite langue Françoise. SCAVOIR faisons, que nous, desirans l'augmentation des bonnes lettres, et l'illustration de nostredite langue Françoise, et à ces fins les oeuvres des bons autheurs (mesmement celles dudict Ronsard) estre bien elegamment et correctement (comme elles meritent) imprimées, tant pour la conduicte, addresse et exemple de tous studieux de nostre dite langue Françoise, que pour laisser à la posterité memoire des estudes de nostre tems. Considerans qu'on ne sçauroit donner meilleur ordre à la correction et fidelité de l'Impression desdictes oeuvres, que par la superintendence de l'autheur d'icelles. Avons à icelluy Ronsard enjoinct et tresexpressément enjoignons, élire, choisir et commettre tel Imprimeur docte et diligent qu'il verra et cognoistra estre suffisant pour fidelement imprimer our faire imprimer les oeuvres par luy ja mises en lumiere, et autres qu'il composera et escrira cy apres.

Translation:

As are testified to us in the sonnets, odes and other cantiques and poems of Pierre de Ronsard, gentleman of Vandome. Items which (as each will know) have so closely followed the ancient and excellent Greek and Latin poets, in both subtlety of poetry and seriousness of thought, as much in propriety, sweetness and grace of language, as all learned folk of our time (with good right) admit to the merit of our French language no less than in Pindar for Greek and Horace for Latin. And by means of following and imitating him and some other studious ones, our said tongue could be in a short while equal in dignity to Greek, were it not for the avarice, ignorance and negligence of many printers, some of whom may find some desirable books of good spirit, and by printing and selling them their gain and profit may be increased (as are the works of the said Ronsard). They undertake to print them without the knowledge of authors, and working from such models as they may find, without regard as to whether they are accurate or false and corrupted. By means of which and out of ignorance or the negligence of their correctors, and in order to speed their work commit in them so many faults, corruption, and vices, that authors see their works so deformed that some they cannot recognize. And still worse, some lacking in erudition, and enough of the said authors, frequently impute the fault and impropriety of the printer. Others, not having attained the knowledge to judge the said faults and vices, proceed to imitate these authors, imitating the said printers and their vices, and take by this means the false and corrupt for the pure and true, which are inconveniences of dangerous consequence, and which might multiply with great

prejudice both fine literature and our said French language. Let it be known, that we, wishing the furtherance of fine literature, and the fame of our said French language, and to these ends the works of fine authors (including those of the said Ronsard) to be quite elegantly and correctly printed (as they deserve), as much for the treatment, tone, and example of all studious of our said French language, and in order to leave to posterity some remembrance of the studies of our age. Considering that none can give better order to the correction and faithful printing of said works than through the supervision of the author, we have directed and most plainly charge to the said Ronsard the power to elect, choose, and commit to such a learned and diligent printer as he will see and know to be fit for faithfully printing or have printed works by him already brought to light and others that he will compose and write after this.

... NEC NON TYRONIBUS QUÀM EIUS ARTIS PERITIORIBUS SUMMOPERE INSERVIENTES. ZUR GEDRUCKTEN ÜBERLIEFERUNG VON LASSOS BICINIEN

Bernhold Schmid
Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften

Thomas Mann trug am 7. April 1950 in sein Tagebuch ein: *Musikalischer Abend bei Albersheims. Die Goethe-Lieder von Ehrenberg, hölzerner Sänger*, fährt er fort; und schließlich: *Lustige Flötistin, guter Bratschist. Duette und Solos von Bach, Orl. di Lasso etc.[.] Wotans Abschied von dem Hölzernen sehr schlecht geboten*.[1] Schon die kuriose Programmzusammenstellung mag befremden – Lasso neben Wagner – , nicht minder eigenartig ist, daß eine Flötistin und ein Bratscher sich mit Lasso beschäftigen. Duette spielen sie, es kann sich also nur um Lassos Bicinien handeln. In der Tat sind diese seit dem frühen 20. Jahrhundert in zahlreichen Ausgaben mit didaktischem Charakter zu finden. Stellvertretend für viele sei hier nur auf die Edition der untextierten Bicinien von Walther Pudelko hingewiesen, die 1926 und in "zweite[r] verbesserte[r] Auflage mit einer Anweisung für Blockflötenspieler" 1930 in zwei Heften beim Bärenreiter-Verlag in Augsburg (1926) beziehungsweise Kassel erschienen ist. Titel: *Orlando di Lasso. Sechs Fantasien für zwei Streich- oder Blasinstrumente, besonders für zwei Blockflöten* (so in der zweiten Auflage). Den didaktischen Zweck betont der Herausgeber im Vorwort von 1926: die Sätze seien aufgrund ihrer Einfachheit und leichten Ausführbarkeit geeignet, *die Jugend in den Reichtum polyphoner Satzweise einzuführen*. Da die untextierten Bicinien, wie Pudelko betont, aber auch gesungen werden können, seien sie *eine treffliche Schulung zur Erlangung von rhythmischen Fertigkeiten und Treffsicherheit*. Und 1930 fügt er hinzu: *Aber weit über diese [die pädagogische] Absichtlichkeit hinaus sind die Stücke alles andere als eine "Schule". In ihnen offenbart sich bereits die Größe des Meisters*.

Nicht um die Editions- und Aufführungsgeschichte der Bicinien im 20. Jahrhundert soll es im folgenden gehen, wiewohl es interessant wäre, die jugendbewegt pädagogische Verwendung der zweistimmigen Sätze Lassos zu verfolgen, denn sicherlich ist kein Bereich von Lassos Werk im 20. Jahrhundert in derartiger Vielfalt ediert und benutzt worden. Zur Debatte steht stattdessen der zeitgenössische Umgang mit Bicinien, denn schon hier zeigt sich eine Vielfalt, die sonst bei den Kompositionen von Lasso nirgends zu beobachten ist; Aspekte spielen eine Rolle, die so oder so ähnlich auch bei der Verwendung im 20. Jahrhundert zum Tragen kommen (vergleiche die obigen Zitate aus dem Worwort der Ausgabe von Walther Pudelko).

[1] Th. MANN, *Tagebücher 1949–1950*. Herausgegeben von I. JENS, Frankfurt, 1991, S. 183.

Lassos vierundzwanzig Bicinien fanden eine vergleichsweise weite Verbreitung in verschiedenen Typen von Drucken. Die erstmals 1577 bei Adam Berg in München gedruckte Sammlung wurde in Inhalt und Anordnung unverändert insgesamt zehnmal bei fünf Druckhäusern in Deutschland, Frankreich, Italien und sogar in England[2] aufgelegt beziehungsweise nachgedruckt. Es finden sich je zwei Auflagen bei Adam Berg in München (der Erstdruck 1577-2, außerdem 1590-8), bei le Roy & Ballard in Paris (1578-5 und mit ergänzter dritter Stimme 1601-2) und bei Gardano (Venedig 1579-8 und 1585-7). Von einer der beiden Ausgaben bei Berg dürfte der Druck bei Thomas Este (London 1598-1) abhängen. Der Gardano-Druck 1585-7 ist Vorlage für die drei Ausgaben bei den phasenweise gemeinsam firmierenden Verlagshäusern Vincenti und Amadino (1586-6, 1589-2 und 1610-2). Über diese zehn Ausgaben hinaus gingen die Bicinien unverändert in das *Magnum opus Musicum* ein, die von den Söhnen Rudolph und Ferdinand besorgte und bei Heinrich im Jahr 1604 erschienene 'Gesamtausgabe' der Motetten Lassos (1604-1). Hierzu erschien 1625 bei Georg Volmar in Würzburg eine Generalbaßstimme (1625-1), die insbesondere die hochgeschlüsselten Bicinien zur Dreistimmigkeit erweitert. Das Stemma in Anhang 1 wird hier nicht näher erläutert. Die zweite Auflage des ersten Motettenbandes innerhalb der Lasso-Gesamtausgabe wird eine detaillierte Diskussion des Stemmas enthalten.[3] (Die bisher und im folgenden erwähnten Drucke sind als Anhang 2 in diplomatischer Umschrift aufgelistet.)

Einige der Bicinien sind zudem in Sammeldrucken und Schulwerken überliefert; dazu anschließend. Auffallend ist zunächst, daß die Bicinien geschlossen in unveränderter Form und Reihenfolge dermaßen oft gedruckt wurden, was zweifellos eine Besonderheit darstellt. Unveränderte Auflagen bzw. Nachdrucke in jeweils größerer Anzahl (wie bei den Bicinien) finden sich sonst nur in Ausnahmen, so beispielsweise beim 'Nürnberger Motettenbuch' 1562-4, das aufgrund seines offenbar überragenden Erfolges allein bei Montanus und Neuber sowie deren Nachfolgern insgesamt achtmal erschienen ist (bis1586) und das fünfmal bei Gardano in geänderter Anordnung nachgedruckt wurde.[4] Als weiteres Beispiel könnte das erste Buch der

[2] Aus zwei englischen Druckhäusern sind insgesamt drei Drucke mit Lasso-Sätzen erhalten: Außer dem Biciniendruck 1598–1 bei Thomas Este in London ist dies ein Druck mit Kontrafakta nach französischen Chansons 1570–22 (Thomas Vautroller, London) und ein Sammelwerk mit englischen Übersetzungen von Madrigalen und Chansons verschiedener Komponisten, die *Mvsica Transalpina* 1588–8 (Thomas Este, London). Die Drucksiglen (zum Beispiel 1598–1) hier und im ganzen Beitrag nach H. LEUCHTMANN und B. SCHMID, *Orlando di Lasso. Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken 1555–1687*, 3 Bände, Kassel, 2001.

[3] O. DI LASSO, *Zweite, nach den Quellen revidierte Auflage der Ausgabe von F. X. Haberl und A. Sandberger*, Band 1: *Magnum opus musicum. Lateinische Gesänge für 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 und 12 Stimmen Teil I für 2, 3 und 4 Stimmen*. Neu herausgegeben von B. SCHMID, Wiesbaden, [im Druck] (im folgenden LASSO, *GA*^{2} für die zweite Auflage und LASSO, *GA* für die erste Auflage).

[4] Desweiteren je einmal bei Scotto 1566–14 (hier verkürzt) und bei Rampazeto 1566–16 (in Gardanos Anordnung). Ein Stemma bei LEUCHTMANN und SCHMID, *Orlando di Lasso*, Band 1, S. 92.

fünfstimmigen Madrigale genannt werden, das erstmals 1555 bei Gardano herauskam und bis 1586 insgesamt vierzehnmal bei Scotto, Rampazetto und Merulo nachgedruckt bzw. aufgelegt wurde.[5] Doch dies ist die Ausnahme: weit verbreitete Kompositionen sind in der Regel in verschiedenem Kontext erschienen, das heißt in Drucken mit verschiedenen Titeln und wechselndem Inhalt.

Einer der Gründe für die weite Verbreitung und damit für die offensichtliche Beliebtheit von Lassos zweistimmigen Sätzen ist sicherlich ihr didaktischer Zweck, wie Bicinien generell oftmals für den Schulgebrauch geschaffen und herangezogen wurden.[6] Dies zeigen die Titel, gelegentlich auch die Vorreden, mitunter gar die Widmungsträger einschlägiger Drucke. Der Erstdruck von Lassos Biciniensammlung (München, 1577) ist überschrieben: *[...] ad duas voces Cantiones suavissimae, omnibus Musicis summè utiles: nec non Tyronibus quàm eius artis peritioribus summopere inservientes*, eine Formulierung, die nahezu wörtlich in die Widmungsvorrede an Wilhelm V. eingeht. Der didaktische Zweck zeigt sich unmißverständlich, da von den 'Tyrones' die Rede ist, also von den Anfängern, Neulingen bzw. Schülern. Ähnliche Titel mit Hinweis auf den didaktischen Zweck finden sich bei den diversen Lehrwerken und Beispielsammlungen, in die unter anderem Sätze von Lasso eingegangen sind, jedoch nicht geschlossen und in originaler Reihenfolge, sondern in Auswahl und oft mit Sätzen anderer Komponisten vermischt. So ist die erste, 1591 gedruckte Auflage von Gumpelzhaimers Werk (*RISM* 1591[26]) folgendermaßen betitelt: *Compendium musicae pro illius artis tironibus*. Der darin enthaltenen Biciniensammlung ist ein Zwischentitel vorgeschaltet; er lautet: *Sequntur bicinia sacra, in usum juventutis Scholasticae collecta*. Gewidmet hat Gumpelzhaimer seine Arbeit *Ornatissimis adolescentibus, nec non indolis ac spei optimae pueris [...]* – es folgt eine Anzahl von Namen. Wiederum Knaben sind die Widmungsträger von Friedrich Lindners ebenfalls 1591 erschienener, mit Gumpelzhaimer nahezu identisch überschriebener Sammlung (1591-5): *Bicinia sacra ex variis autoribus in usum juventutis Scholasticae collecta*. Auch Lindners Ausgabe enthielt einen Lehrtext, auf den der Titel verweist: *Quibus adjuncta est compendiara in artem canendi Introductio: unde brevissimo tempore & labore facilimo, non solum necessaria huius artis prae-*

[5] Ein Stemma bei LEUCHTMANN und SCHMID, *Orlando di Lasso*, Band 1, S. 40 unter 1555–1.

[6] Generell zum didaktikischen Zweck bei Bicinien L. FINSCHER, Art. *Bicinium*, in L. FINSCHER Hrsg., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe, Band 1, Kassel und Stuttgart, 1994, Sp. 1538–1545. Schon Sebald Heyden verweist 1537 in der Vorrede zu seinen *Musicae, id est, artis canendi libri duo* darauf, daß Kanonform und geringe Stimmenzahl die Ausführung durch Schüler erleichtern; vergleiche A. BRINZING, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Band I: *Darstellung*, Band II: *Editionen*, (*Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte*, 4), Göttingen, 1989, Band I, S. 37–38 (dort die entsprechende Stelle wörtlich aus der Vorrede Heydens zitiert).

cepta (quae nec multa nec difficilia adeò sunt) sed & artem ipsam canendi, pueri addiscere possunt. Im Druck wird dies in verkürzter Form ins Deutsche übersetzt: *Zweystimmige Gesänglein, sampt einem kurtzen unterricht, wie man soll lernen singen, für die jungen Schuler [...]*. Der der Titelformulierung nach zu schließen offenbar kurze (*kurtze[r] unterricht*), als Anhang gedruckte (*adjuncta est*) Lehrtext ist leider nicht erhalten. Von Lindners in zwei Stimmbüchern gedrucktem Werk existiert nur noch die 'vox inferior' ohne Textanhang, der mutmaßlich in der verschollenen 'vox superior' abgedruckt war. Der Weißenburger Cantor Maternus Beringer, der schon 1605 eine kurze Musiklehre *[...] der lieben Jugend zum besten [...]* verfasst hatte, ließ 1610 ein umfangreicheres Werk folgen, *[...] nach welches richtiger Anweisung ein junger, hierzu qualificirter Anfänger auß rechtem Grund gar leichtlich kann singen lernen [...]*, das als Anhang eine Anzahl von Lasso-Bicinien enthält.[7] Schließlich sei noch ein von Seth Calvisius 1612 herausgegebener Druck genannt (1612-2): *Biciniorum libri duo: [...] Omnis ad usum Studiosorum sese in hac arte exercentium oblectantium accomodata & edita* heißt es im Haupttitel. Eine nahezu identische Formulierung ist dem zweiten Teil vorgeschaltet: *[...] ad usum Studiosorum sese in hac arte exercentium accomodatarum*. Wie bei Lindner ist hier ein Lehrtext angehängt, *Canones de canendi*, wie er schreibt; darin ist unter anderem eine Verzierungslehre mit zahlreichen Notenbeispielen enthalten. Das Gewicht liegt bei Calvisius und sicherlich auch bei Lindner (wiewohl wir dessen Text nicht kennen) auf der Biciniensammlung, der jeweils kurze Lehrtexte angehängt sind, während Gumpelzhaimers und Beringers Texte eher den Charakter von ausgewachsenen Lehrwerken mit jeweils umfangreichen Beispielsammlungen haben; Gumpelzhaimer beschränkt sich dabei nicht auf Bicinien.

Wie sehr gerade die Zweistimmigkeit als geeignet für Lehrzwecke angesehen wurde, zeigt sich darin, daß oftmals zweistimmige Passagen aus Messen, Magnificat oder auch aus Lassos Bußpsalmenzyklus in Sammlungen und Lehrwerken wie den oben genannten Aufnahme fanden. So ging der fünfte Teil des Bußpsalms *Putruerunt et corruptae* in Lindners Sammlung von 1591 und in diejenige von Calvisius (1612) ein. Vers 6 *Fecit potentiam* und Vers 10 *Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros* aus dem Parodiemagnificat primi toni *Si par souhait* wurden ebenfalls von Lindner übernommen und Seth Calvisius nahm das *Crucifixus*, das *Et iterum* und das *Benedictus* aus Lassos Messe *Il me suffit* in seinen Druck auf, etc. Schließlich findet sich bei Gumpelzhaimer wie bei Lindner eine zweistimmige Reduktion der ursprünglich fünfstimmigen Motette *Cantate Domino canticum novum* mit zweitem Teil *Viderunt*

[7] Zu Beringer M. RUHNKE, *Der Weissenburger Kantor Maternus Beringer*, in *Musik in Bayern*, 22 (1981), S. 89–98. Die Zitate aus den Titeln beider Traktate Beringers nach RUHNKE, *Beringer*, S.89 und 90.

omnes, die Gumpelzhaimer als von ihm verfertigt bezeichnet, die Lindner demnach übernommen haben muß; er druckt jedoch nur den ersten Teil ab.[8]

Selbstverständlich zeigt sich die didaktische Absicht auch an der Faktur der 24 Bicinien Lassos: Kaum je findet sich bei Lasso Imitation so konsequent durchgeführt wie in den Bicinien, was sowohl für die textierten als auch für die untextierten Sätze gilt, auch wenn die Faktur beider Gruppen höchst unterschiedlich ist. Bestimmt bei den textierten Stücken die Bindung ans Wort (Textausdeutung etc.) den Satz, so prägt die untextierten unüberhörbar die Freude am Spiel mit motivischen Floskeln: streckenweise entsteht der Eindruck, als wolle Lasso fast systematisch vorführen, was mit den gewählten Motiven alles gemacht werden kann;[9] die Möglichkeiten des textierten wie des untextierten Satzes werden jedenfalls in allen Facetten vorgeführt. Wir haben jeweils Musterbeispiele für imitatorischen Satz vor uns; vielleicht ist es nicht zu hoch gegriffen, von einer 'Kompositionslehre in Beispielen' zu sprechen. Dennoch sind die Bicinien ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion nach sicherlich als Singübungen gedacht, was auch für die untextierten gilt. Armin Brinzing legt dar, daß die Lehrtexte des 16. Jahrhunderts außer "Beispiele[n] für das im Text Erläuterte", die meist aus bekannten Kompositionen stammen,[10] auch "Übungskompositionen, die ausdrücklich als praktische exercitia gekennzeichnet sind", enthalten. Die Beispiele und Kompositionen sind meist textlos, gesungen wurde auf Solmisationssilben.[11] In diesem Sinn lassen sich Lassos Bicinien als eine Sammlung von 'exeritia' verstehen. Vokale Ausführung der untextierten Bicinien schreibt noch Giuseppe Paolucci im Jahr 1765 vor. Er übernimmt die Nummer 23 aus Lassos Sammlung in seine *Arte practica di contrappunto dimostrata con esempj di varj autori […]* und verlangt, das Stück

[8] Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß Lindner von Gumpelzhaimer abhängig ist, wird gestützt durch die Datierungen der Vorreden auf November 1590 (Gumpelzhaimer) und Januar 1591 (Lindner). Identisch findet sich ferner bei beiden ein jeweils fälschlich Lasso zugeschriebenes Bicinium *Dirige nos*, das gegenüber der Originalquelle (Georg Rhaus *Bicinia gallica, latina, germanica*, Wittenberg, 1545, *RISM* 1545[6], Nummer 42) um eine Quinte nach oben transponiert ist, wohl um es der Stimmhöhe von Knaben anzupassen. (Dieses Bicinium hat auch Maternus Beringer zusammen mit einer Anzahl weiterer Sätze von Gumpelzhaimer übernommen, wie RUHNKE, *Beringer*, S. 93 berichtet; Ruhnke hat indessen die wahre Identität des Stücks nicht erkannt. Gumpelzhaimer selbst hatte sich über Beringers zahlreiche Übernahmen beklagt, vergleiche RUHNKE, *Beringer*, S. 89.) — Ob Calvisius in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zu älteren Biciniendrucken steht, wurde für den vorliegenden Beitrag nicht untersucht. — Zu späteren Biciniensammlungen vergleiche W. BOETTICHER, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532–1594. Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance*, Band I: *Monographie*, Kassel, 1958, S. 464, Fußnote 20. Zur Rezeption von Lassos Bicinien BOETTICHER, *Lasso*, S. 5–6.

[9] Vergleiche dazu das Notenbeispiel als Übersicht über die Veränderungen des Soggettos im Bicinium Nummer 23 bei H. LEUCHTMANN, *Neues in Altem. Lasso als Initiator einer Instrumentalmusik* in B. EDELMANN und M. H. SCHMID Hrsg., *Altes im Neuen. Festschrift Theodor Göllner zum 65. Geburtstag*, (*Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikwissenschaft*, 51), Tutzing, 1995, S. 140–141.

[10] Vergleiche die obigen Ausführungen zu zweistimmigen Passagen aus Lassos Werken bei Lindner oder Calvisius.

[11] BRINZING, *Studien*, Band I, S. 36–37 (Zitate nach S. 36).

sei senza parole e senza strumenti zu singen.[12] Und noch bei den Texten zeigt sich der didaktische Zweck: Wenigstens die ersten sechs haben den Charakter von Sinnsprüchen mit lehrhafter Absicht, die den 'Tyrones' mit auf den Weg gegeben werden können.

Soweit zur Frage Zweistimmigkeit und Didaktik. Lassos Titelformulierung im Erstdruck (1577-2) spricht indes nicht nur von den 'Tyrones'; die Bicinien seien *omnibus Musicis summè utiles*, und weiter: *eius artis peritioribus summopere inservientes*. Lasso zielt also über den Schulgebrauch hinaus: allen Musikern seien die Bicinien aufs höchste nützlich, auch denen, die in der Kunst schon Erfahrung hätten.[13] Thomas Estes Ausgabe in London (1598-1) übernimmt Lassos Titel nahezu wörtlich. Und auch verschiedene Biciniensammeldrucke sind dem Titel zufolge zwar für die Schüler, aber auch für Fortgeschrittene bestimmt: Phalèses Druck 1590-5 und die dazugehörige Auflage 1609-3, die unter anderem einen Großteil von Lassos Sätzen enthalten, sind dem Titel zufolge für *[...] tam divinae musices tyronibus, quam eiusdem artis peritioribus* zusammengetragen.

Schließlich ist festzustellen, daß einige Titelformulierungen den didaktischen Zweck auch gar nicht enthalten. *Moduli duarum vocum* überschreiben le Roy & Ballard ihren Druck 1578-5, *Motetti et Ricercari [...] a due voci* steht auf dem Titelblatt bei Gardano 1579-8 und 1585-7, die von Gardano abhängigen Nachdrucke bei Vincenti & Amadino 1586-6 beziehungsweise nur mehr bei Vincenti 1589-2 und 1610-2 sind ebenso überschrieben. Möglicherweise impliziert die Zweistimmigkeit an sich schon den didaktischen Zweck. Ich denke aber, daß uns die Benennung als *Motetti et Ricercari* die Sätze als quasi 'vollgültige' Kompositionen vorstellen wollen. Die textierten Sätze heißen neutral Motetten. Die untextierten werden Ricercare genannt, was auf instrumentale Verwendung hinweist[14] und zeigt, daß sie zumindest im italienischen Bereich als Instrumentalmusik angesehen wurden. Daß sie auch in Italien als Singübungen gelten konnten, zeigt der oben erwähnte Paolucci.

[12] BOETTICHER, *Lasso*, S. 6 (Zitat aus Paoluccis Text) und S. 816 (Titel). Boetticher indes hält das Stück für ausschließlich instrumental, da er Paolucci vorhält: „Demgemäß entgehen ihm die heftigen instrumentalen Impulse der Vorlage." (S. 6).

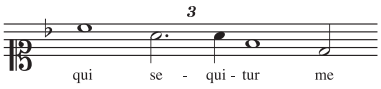
[13] Vergleiche auch FINSCHER, Art. *Bicinium*, Spalte 1543.

[14] Vergleiche H. SCHICK, Art. *Ricercar*, in L. FINSCHER Hrsg., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe, Band 8, Kassel und Stuttgart, 1998, Spalte 318: Der Terminus Ricercar gehört "zu den ältesten Satzbezeichnungen für Instrumentalmusik." — Die Frage, ob es sich bei Lassos Bicinien um Instrumentalmusik handelt, wurde in der Literatur verschiedentlich dikutiert, vergleiche oben Fußnote 12 (Boetticher zu Paolucci), vor allem LEUCHTMANN und SCHMID, Orlando di Lasso, Band 1, S. 400 unter der Rubrik *LITERATUR*. Explicit hingewiesen sei hier lediglich auf den Aufsatz von LEUCHTMANN, *Neues in Altem*, S. 135–141, wo eben jenes von Paolucci 1765 herangezogene Bicinium 23 herangezogen wird.

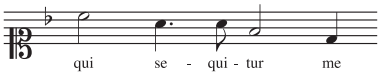
Zieht man ein Fazit aus den verschiedenen Titelformulierungen und Bezeichnungen, so wird klar, daß Lassos Idee, seinen Bicinien eine doppelte Funktion zu geben, angenommen wurde. Die Sätze werden für die Schule akzeptiert, da sie in Lehrbüchern und Beispielsammlungen auftauchen, zugleich werden die Bicinien über die lehrhafte Absicht hinaus als quasi 'vollwertige' Stücke genommen, da in den italienischen Drucken von 'Tyrones' etc. nicht mehr die Rede ist. Allein schon die Akzeptanz der Bicinien in mehrfacher Funktion dürfte geeignet gewesen sein, ihre Verbreitung und Beliebtheit auch als gesamtes Corpus in geschlossener Überlieferung zu fördern.

Nach diesen Überlegungen zur Funktion bzw. zur konstatierten Mehrfachfunktion der Bicinien und zu den mutmaßlich damit korrespondierenden diversen unterschiedlichen Überlieferungsformen (also sowohl überraschend geschlossen als gesamtes Corpus als auch verstreut in Beispielsammlungen und ausgesprochenen Lehrwerken) sei konkret auf die Überlieferung in ihrer Lesartenvielfalt eingegangen. Auch hier zeigt sich ein extremes Spektrum an Abweichungen, eine überraschende Vielfalt, die sonst im Werk Lassos wohl kaum je zu finden ist, die wiederum durchaus mit den unterschiedlichen Funktionen der Bicinien in Beziehung gesetzt werden kann.

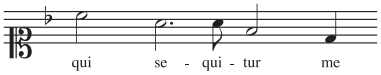
1) Fehler:
Bei der breiten Überlieferung ist es nicht erstaunlich, daß sich gelegentlich Fehler einschleichen, wiewohl den Druckern weitestgehende Korrektheit zu bestätigen ist. Auffallend fehlerhaft ist lediglich die von Seth Calvisius betreute Sammlung von 1612. Mitunter ergeben sich Probleme bei der Textunterlegung: Teils handelt es sich um Verschiebungen des Texts gegenüber den Noten aufgrund der großen Schrifttype, teils werden Einzelsilben falsch unterlegt. Auch der Notentext ist gelegentlich fehlerhaft. Das Corrigendaverzeichnis (jeweils am Ende der Stimmbücher) hilft da nicht immer, weil hier zum einen nicht alle Fehler vollständig erfaßt sind, weil außerdem mitunter Fehler 'verschlimmbessert' werden. Ein Beispiel aus *Qui sequitur me*: In den Takten 3-4 des Cantus steht korrekt eine punktierte Minima a' (Beispiel 1a). Im Druck von 1612 sind die Notenwerte halbiert, die Passage müßte also lauten wie Beispiel 1b. Calvisius druckt jedoch statt einer punktierten Semiminima a' eine punktierte Minima (Beispiel 1c). Im Corrigendaverzeichnis wird indes nicht die punktierte Minima zur punktierten Semiminima korrigiert, sondern die folgende (korrekte) Fusa a' irrtümlich zur Semiminima gedehnt. Ergebnis ist Beispiel 1d.



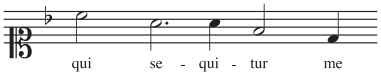
Beispiel 1a: Korrekte Lesart der Stelle.



Beispiel 1b: Korrekte Lesart mit halbierten Notenwerten

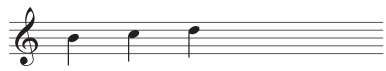


Beispiel 1c: Lesart bei Calvisius

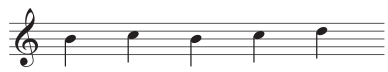


Beispiel 1d: Lesart bei Calvisius unter Berücksichtigung des Eintrags im Corrigendaverzeichnis

Vorgestellt sei ferner ein Leitfehler, der die Abfolge der Drucke 1586-6 (bei Vincenti & Amadino) beziehungsweise von 1589-2 und 1610-2 (nur mehr bei Vincenti nach der Trennung beider Partner) klärt. Bei den Bicinien sind die Titelformulierungen, Druckformate (hoch oder quer) sowie die Seiteneinteilungen (eine oder zwei Seiten bei den Stücken sine textu) für den Bau eines Stemmas sehr hilfreich, eindeutige Leitfehler bestätigen und differenzieren jedoch das aufgrund der genannten Kriterien gewonnene Bild. In *Oculus non vidit* enthält Takt 7 der Oberstimme fälschlich die in Beispiel 2a wiedergegebene Folge. In 1589-2 wird korrigiert, vergleiche Beispiel 2b. 1610-2 enthält jedoch wiederum die falsche Lesart von 1586-6. Dies ergibt einigermaßen schlüssig, daß für den Druck von 1610 derjenige von 1586 als Vorlage benützt wurde, und nicht derjenige von 1589. Stichproben ergaben zudem, daß 1586-6 und 1610-2 identische Zeilenumbrüche haben, was die Abhängigkeit bestätigt.



Beispiel 2a: falsche Lesart (1586-6 und 1610-2)



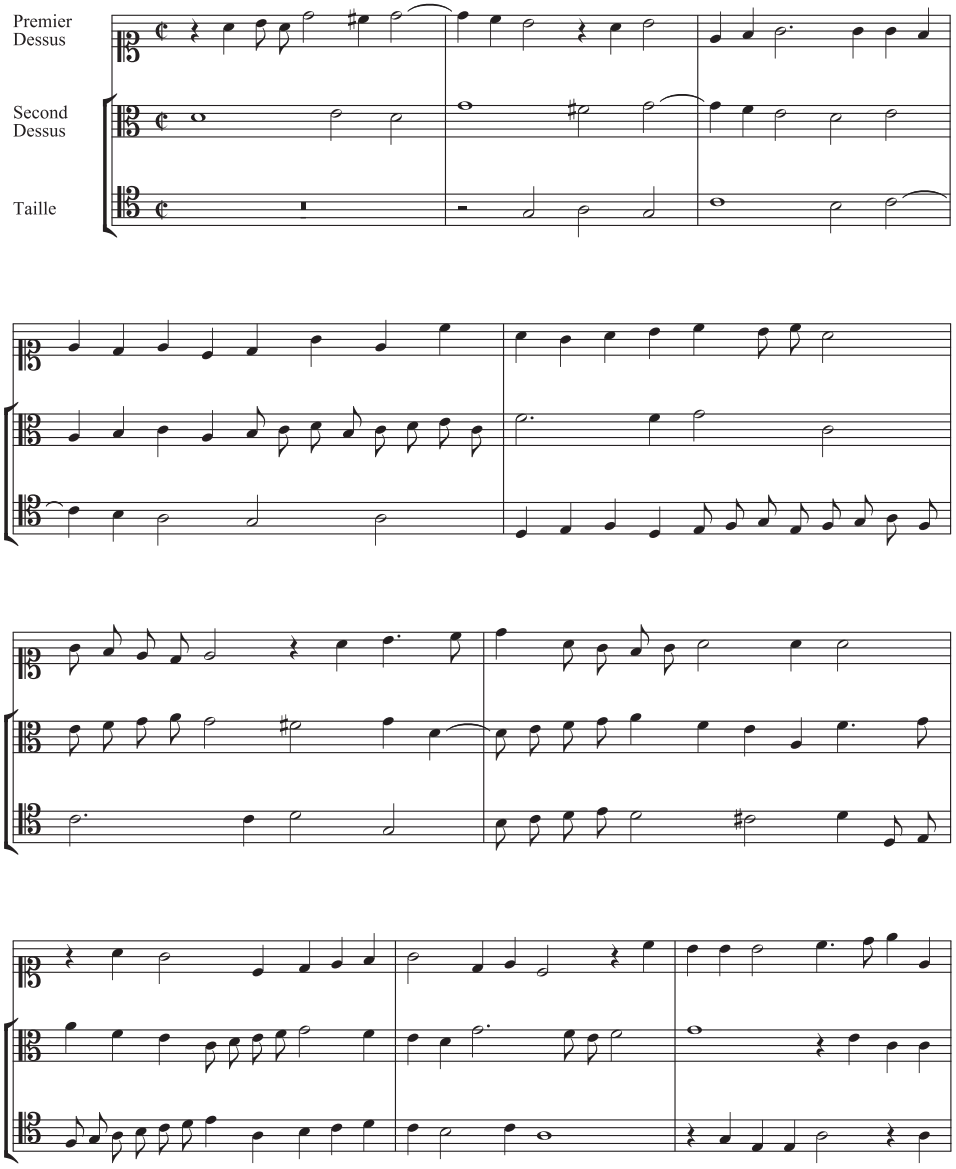
Beispiel 2b: korrekte Lesart (1589-2)

2) Veränderung der Stimmenzahl:
In einzelnen Fällen wurden Kompositionen Lassos hinsichtlich ihrer Stimmenzahl verändert. Schon genannt wurde die Reduktion des fünfstimmigen *Cantate Domino canticum novum* zur Zweistimmigkeit durch Adam Gumpelzhaimer. Der Paduaner Kapellmeister Ludovico Balbi bearbeitete Lassos vierstimmiges *Per pianto la mia carne* zur Fünfstimmigkeit: er legte 1589 bei Gardano in Venedig einen Druck vor, in dem er bei ursprünglich vierstimmigen Madrigalen verschiedener Komponisten jeweils nur die Oberstimme übernahm und die drei unteren Stimmen durch vier neu komponierte ersetzte. Der Hamburger Musikdirektor und Kantor Thomas Selle reduzierte eine Reihe fünfstimmiger Motetten zur Vierstimmigkeit. Seine Versionen des *Benedicam Dominum* (II. pars: *In Domino laudabitur*), des *Confitemini Domino* (II. pars: *Narrate*), von *Omnia quae fecisti*, *In me transierunt* (alle im sogenannten 'Nürnberger Motettenbuch' 1562-4 erstgedruckt) und *Si bona suscepimus* (1571-4) wurden von Werner Braun näher beschrieben und als "Studienarbeiten im Dienste des motettischen Satzes" bezeichnet.[15]

Es handelt sich dabei jeweils um einzelne Werke, die entsprechend bearbeitet werden. Alle 24 Bicinien indes wurden 1601 bei Ballard in Paris zur Dreistimmigkeit aufgestockt. In einer Mitteilung an den Leser (*Advertissement av lectevr*) behauptet der Verleger, die dritte Stimme sei von Lasso selbst verfertigt worden (*esté faict par luy mesme vne troisiesme partye [qui est le premier dessus] Sans changer vne seulle notte*). Die Vorrede an den Leser stellt ferner fest, daß die Sätze alternativ sowohl zwei- als auch dreistimmig ausgeführt werden können; der Titel *Moduli duarum, vel trium vocum* deutet in dieselbe Richtung. Wolfgang Boetticher hat die dreistimmige Fassung besprochen und mit früher Monodie in Verbindung gebracht.[16] Hier seien einige ausgewählte Beispiele vorgeführt, zunächst der Beginn von Nummer 22:

[15] W. BRAUN, *Thomas Selles Lasso-Bearbeitungen*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 47 (1963), S. 105–113, Zitat S. 113.

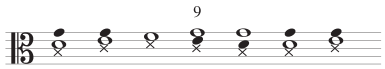
[16] W. BOETTICHER, *Eine französische Bicinien-Ausgabe als frühmonodisches Dokument*, in H. HÜSCHEN Hrsg., *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Regensburg, 1962, S. 67–76.



Beispiel 3a: Nummer 22, Takt 1-10

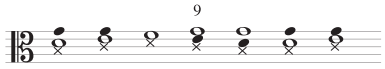
Lasso führt den Satz als Kanon im Quintabstand bis Takt 6 (Second Dessus) beziehungsweise Takt 7 (Taille), ehe sich beide Stimmen bis zum Ende des Beispiels freier bewegen. Der Premier Dessus greift anfangs die Imitation als Quint nach oben versetzt auf, verkürzt aber zu Beginn die Notenwerte. Eine Anlehnung der dritten Stimme

an die Imitation des Originals ist zu Beginn in vielen der 24 Stücke zu beobachten; wie hier werden dabei in der Regel Eingriffe nötig. Die streng kanonische Führung des Biciniums läßt sich von der dritten Stimme nirgends aufgreifen. Im folgenden paßt sich der Premier Dessus, wo möglich, dem Duktus der vorgegebenen Stimmen mehr oder weniger geschickt an: so in Takt 9/10 mit der Folge von drei Semiminimen und Minima nach einer Pause oder häufig als Parallelführung in Terzen beziehungsweise Sexten zu einer der vorgegebenen Stimmen. Wo das nicht möglich ist, geht die dritte Stimme eigene Wege ohne Berücksichtigung des vorgegebenen Materials. Auffallend ist, daß der Fluß, die Bewegtheit der Linienführung des Originals durch die dritte Stimme verlorengeht:



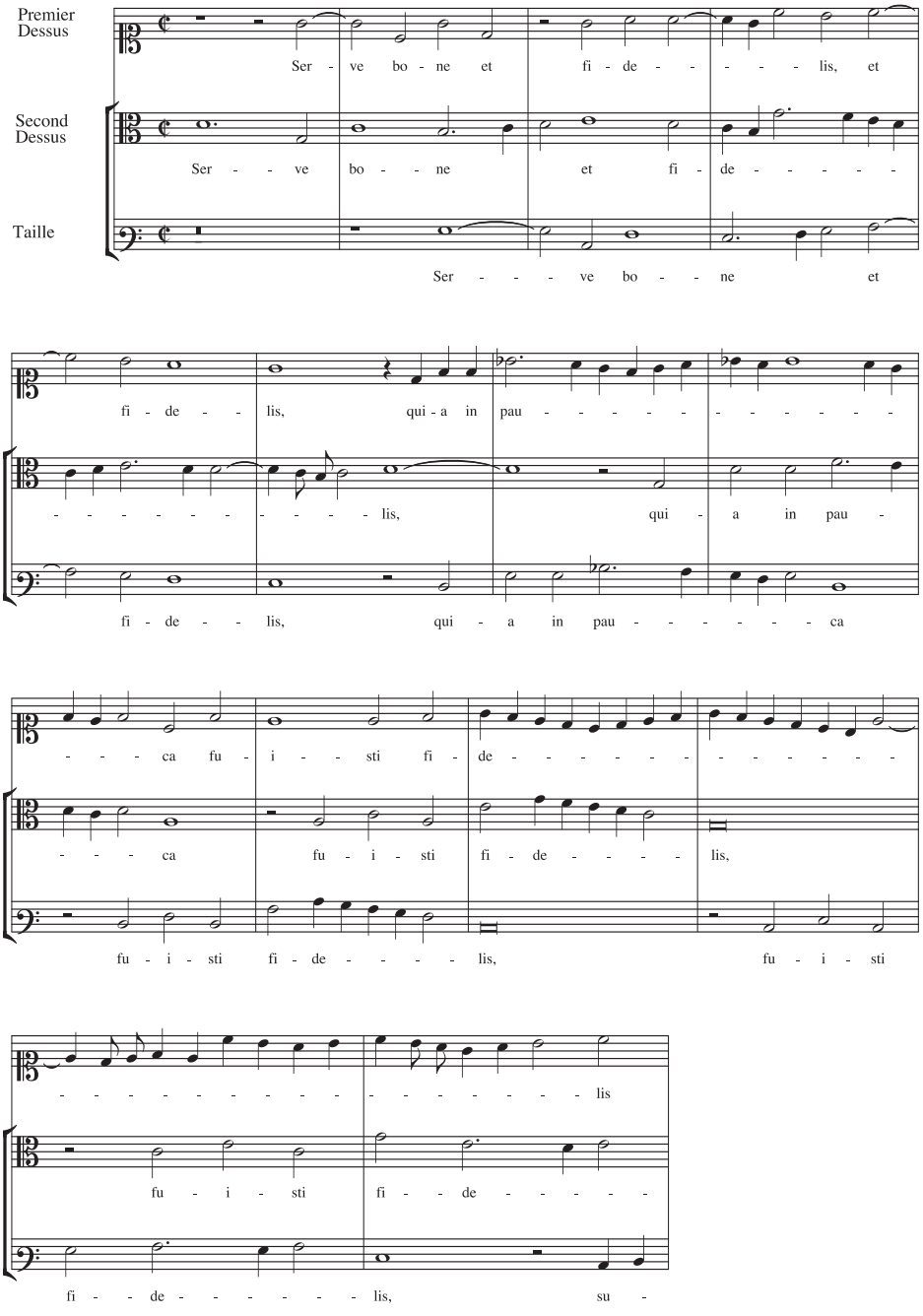
Beispiel 3b: Nummer 22, Takt 8-9 als Umschrift in ein System
○ = Premier Dessus; ● = Second Dessus; x = Taille]

Das Beispiel zeigt, daß die dritte Stimme jeweils fehlende Töne des Dreiklangs ergänzt, so daß aus dem melodisch bewegten Verlauf durch eine Aneinanderreihung von Dreiklängen in nahezu identischer Lage ein klanglich kompakter Satz wird. Mitunter können dabei auch Quintparallelen zustande kommen (als Erklingen, nicht als Schrift), wie in Takt 39 aus Nummer 18:



Beispiel 4: Nummer 18, Takt 39 Anfang; Umschrift in ein System

Wie weit sich die dritte Stimme mitunter von der Vorlage entfernen kann, zeigt Beispiel 5 aus *Serve bone et fidelis*:



Beispiel 5: Nummer 10, Takt 1 – Takt 14

Sowohl *quia in pauca* als auch *fuisti fidelis* werden im Original imitiert. Der Text ist mit Ausnahme der Paenultimae syllabisch unterlegt. Die dritte Stimme greift zwar den soggetto zu *quia in pauca* in geraffter Form auf, nicht hingegen denjenigen zu *fuisti fidelis*. Die Paenultima wird jeweils zu langen melismatischen Wendungen gedehnt, wobei das erste *fidelis* des Second Dessus (ab Takt 3) die langen Melismen der dritten Stimme angeregt haben mag. Dem kanonischen Ineinandergreifen der beiden originalen Stimmen widerspricht die Faktur der Zusatzstimme, die die ganze Passage mit ihren Melismen in raschen Notenwerten überspannt und damit im Grund genommen die Konzeption des Originals stört. (Ähnliches ließe sich an Nummer 11 aus *Fulgebunt iusti*, ab Takt 15 demonstrieren.)

Die Beispiele zeigen, daß die dritte Stimme eindeutig nachträglich geschaffen ist, keineswegs der Konzeption der originalen Zweistimmigkeit entspricht, diese stattdessen eher verschleiert oder stört. Entgegen der Behauptung des Verlegers dürfte Lasso schon aufgrund der Faktur als Autor ausscheiden, wofür auch die vergleichsweise häufige Verwendung von Semifusae im Premier Dessus spricht.[17]

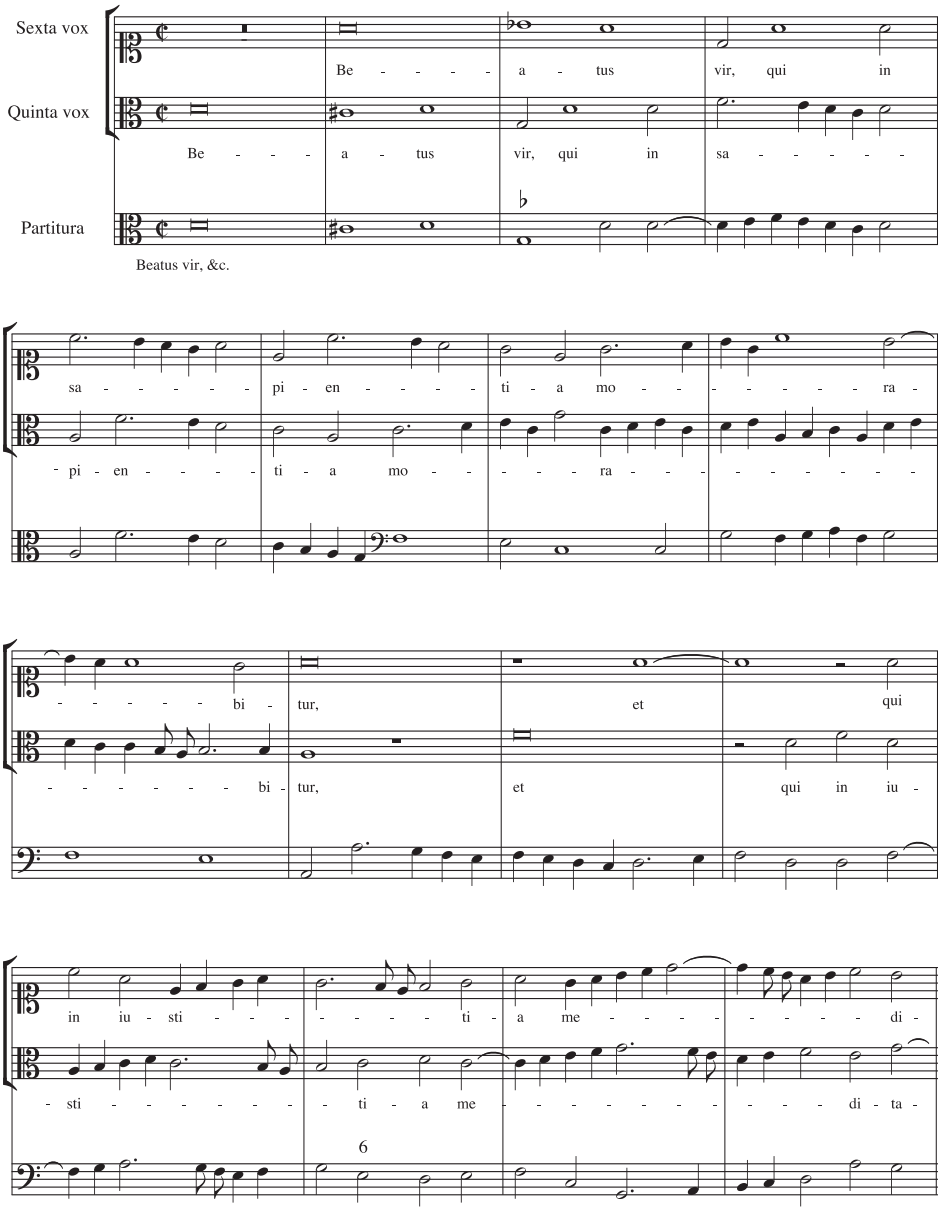
Die Beliebtheit der Bicinien mag zur Erstellung der dreistimmigen Fassung geführt haben; durch die behauptete Autorschaft Lassos wird quasi eine 'legitime' Alternativfassung neben das Original gestellt. Ob zudem didaktisches Interesse als Grund für das Aufstocken zur Dreistimmigkeit zu sehen ist oder nicht, muß offen bleiben. Weder der Titel noch die Mitteilung an den Leser geben entsprechende Hinweise. Auf didaktischen Zweck kann lediglich geschlossen werden, wenn man den le Roy & Ballard-Druck in eine Traditionslinie zu Susatos beiden Büchern mit *Chansons a deux ou a trois parties* stellen will. Susato hatte 1544 und 1552 damals bekannte Chansons niederländischer und fränzösischer Komponisten arrangiert, die entweder mit zwei oder mit drei Stimmen gesungen werden konnten; die Chansons waren für musikalische Anfänger gedacht, erfüllten also didaktische Aufgaben.[18]

Didaktisches Interesse wird kaum der Grund für das Aufstocken zur Dreistimmigkeit gewesen sein. Eher mag die Beliebtheit der Bicinien zur Erstellung einer dreistimmigen Fassung geführt haben; durch die behauptete Autorschaft Lassos wird quasi eine 'legitime' Alternativfassung neben das Original gestellt.

Im Jahr 1625 publizierte Gaspar Vincentz bei Johann Volmar in Würzburg zum gesamten *Magnum opus musicum* Lassos (ursprünglich München, Nicolaus Heinrich, 1604) einen Generalbaß. Dabei übernimmt er fast durchgehend die Baßstimme, die meist nur sparsam beziffert wird. Gelegentlich, wenn der Tenor unter den Baß geht,

[17] BOETTICHER, *Bicinien-Ausgabe*, S. 68–69 diskutiert ausführlich die Frage der Authentizität des Premier Dessus und ebenfalls zur Auffassung daß Lasso nicht der Autor sein kann.

[18] Vergleiche L. F. BERNSTEIN, *Art. Chanson*, III. *Ca. 1520 bis ca. 1600*, 2. *Die Chanson in den Niederlanden*, in L. FINSCHER Hrsg., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, zweite, neubearbeitete Ausgabe, Band 2, Kassel und Stuttgart, 1995, Spalte 591.



Beispiel 6: Nummer 1, Takt 1-16

wird der Generalbaß eine Kombinationsstimme aus den tiefsten Tönen. Zu einer eigenständigen Stimme wird er jedoch bei den hochgeschlüsselten Bicinien , so daß Dreistimmigkeit entsteht.[19]

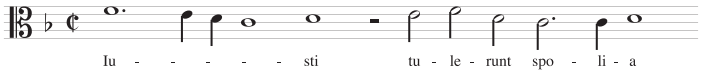
Wie im Beispiel läuft der Generalbaß zu Beginn in der Regel mit der Unterstimme (von minimalen Abweichungen abgesehen). Später (im Beispiel ab Takt 6) wird er zur instrumentalen Stützstimme. Was Vincentz zu seiner Bearbeitung der Bicinien bewogen haben mag, darüber kann nur spekuliert werden. Vincentz berichtet zwar in seiner zunächst lateinisch, dann deutsch gedruckten Einleitung, weswegen er den *Bassus ad organum*, wie er ihn nennt, erstellt hat: Er schreibt über die Aufführung von Motetten unter Weglassung von Stimmen, wenn nicht genügend Sänger zur Verfügung stehen und sieht dies als Grund dafür, daß Lassos Werk *dennoch nun viel Jahr hero in den Kirchen fast nicht mehr gehöret wirdt*. Und weiter: *Diesem vbel haben allem ansehen nach die jenige Rath schaffen wollen, welche von vilen Jahren hero solche Gesänger zu den Orglen gesungen*. Werden nun die Sätze *in Tabulatur* gesetzt (also mit beziffertem Baß versehen), ist deren Aufführbarkeit auch dann gewährleistet, wenn nicht alle Stimmen besetzt werden können. Im Fall der Bicinien mag dies in gewisser Hinsicht ebenfalls zutreffen, weil der Baß als eigenständige Stimme im Fall, daß nur ein Sänger zur Verfügung steht, dafür sorgt, daß dennoch ein gewisser Vollklang zustande kommt, während das Ergebnis nun doch eher dünn ausfiele, wenn ein nur der unteren Stimme entsprechender Baß das Stück zusammen mit nur einem Sänger vortrüge. Dies dürfte jedoch nicht der alleinige Grund sein: Durch das Hinzutreten eines eigenständigen Basses entsteht eine Art Triosatz, vielleicht hat der Typus des kleinen geistlichen Konzerts Pate gestanden. Zu fragen wäre indes, wie die durch Unterlegen eines Generalbasses zustandekommenden Sätze in den neuen Gattungskontext passen. Und wiederum dürfte mit der Bearbeitung nicht unbedingt ein didaktischer Zweck verbunden sein. Eher mag es die Absicht Vincentz' gewesen sein, den Bicinien durch ihre Umgestaltung zu einem modernen Satztyp das Überleben zu sichern, was ja, wie oben ausgeführt, insgesamt als Idee hinter dem Erstellen eines Generalbasses zu Lassos Motetten steht.

3) Sonstige Veränderungen: Änderung der Mensurzeichen und Notenwerte, Transposition, Eingriffe in die kompositorische Faktur:

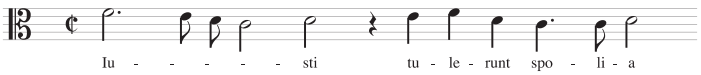
Am Druck von Thomas Este (London, 1598) fällt auf, daß in allen Bicinien das tempus imperfectum diminutum ¢ zum bloßen tempus imperfectum C umgestaltet wird. Dementsprechend ändert sich auch die Bezeichnung für den Abschnitt in perfekter

[19] Franz X. Haberl beschrieb in seiner Einleitung zu Band 1 von LASSO, *GA* (S. XIV) mit knappen Worten das Vorgehen von Gaspar Vintzenz und charakterisiert dessen Arbeit negativ; beigegeben ist ein Abdruck des Basses zu den Nummern I und XC des *Magnum opus musicum*, ferner Vincentz' Vorrede (S. XII–XIX). Auch in LASSO, *GA* Band 3 greift er den *Bassus ad organum* auf, wiederum, um Vincentz zu kritisieren; er druckt dazu den Baß zu den Nummern XCI und CLVI ab (S.XVII–XVIII). In LASSO, *GA*[2] werden Haberls Einleitungen jeweils mit aufgenommen.

Mensur in Nummer 21: Aus Φ_2^3 wird Φ.[20] Die Notenwerte bleiben dabei unverändert. Halbierte Notenwerte stehen indessen in der von Seth Calvisius herausgegebenen Biciniensammlung von 1612-2, und zwar nur in seiner Auswahl der textierten Bicinien, den Nummern 3: *Oculus non vidit*, 6: *Qui sequitur me*, 7: *Iusti tulerunt* und 11: *Fulgebunt iusti*. Die untextierten mit ihren insgesamt schnelleren Notenwerten – Calvisius nimmt alle in seine Sammlung auf – sind davon nicht betroffen.



Beispiel 7a: Nummer 7 (Oberstimme), Anfang original (1577-2)



Beispiel 7b: Nummer 7 (Oberstimme), Anfang Calvisius (1612-2/II)

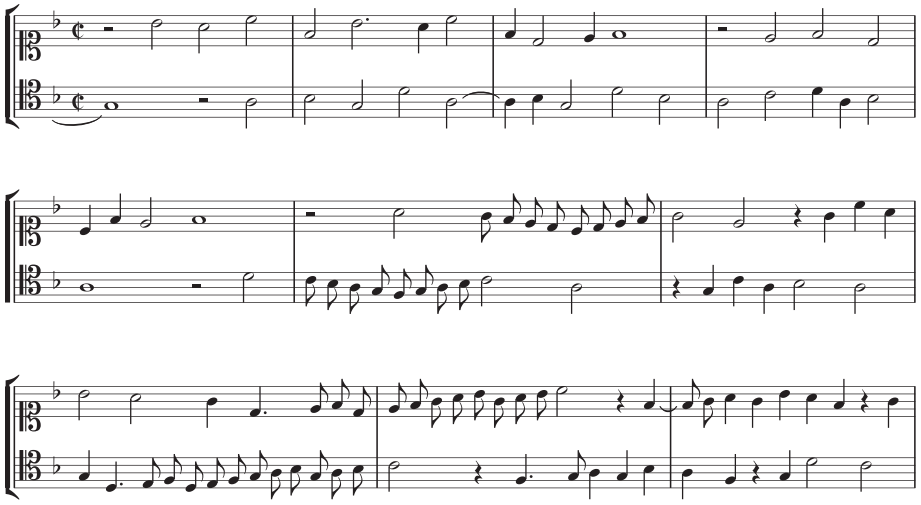
Diese Änderungen seien hier nicht im Detail diskutiert. Michael Praetorius berichtet im *Syntagma Musicum*,[21] daß im frühen 17. Jahrhundert aus dem ¢ unter Verkürzung der Notenwerte ein C gemacht wird. Merkwürdig ist im vorliegenden Fall, daß Este C einführt, die Notenwerte aber nicht verkürzt, während umgekehrt Calvisius die Werte halbiert, aber das ältere Mensurzeichen ¢ beibehält.[22]

Auch in 1609-3 (Phalèses Auflage seines eigenen Drucks von 1590) werden Notenwerte verändert; diesmal jedoch nicht halbiert, sondern verdoppelt: In denjenigen untextierten Bicinien, die sich in ihrem Verlauf hinsichtlich der Werte deutlich beschleunigen, werden diese verdoppelt, um ein gleichmäßig durchgehaltenes Grundtempo zu erreichen.

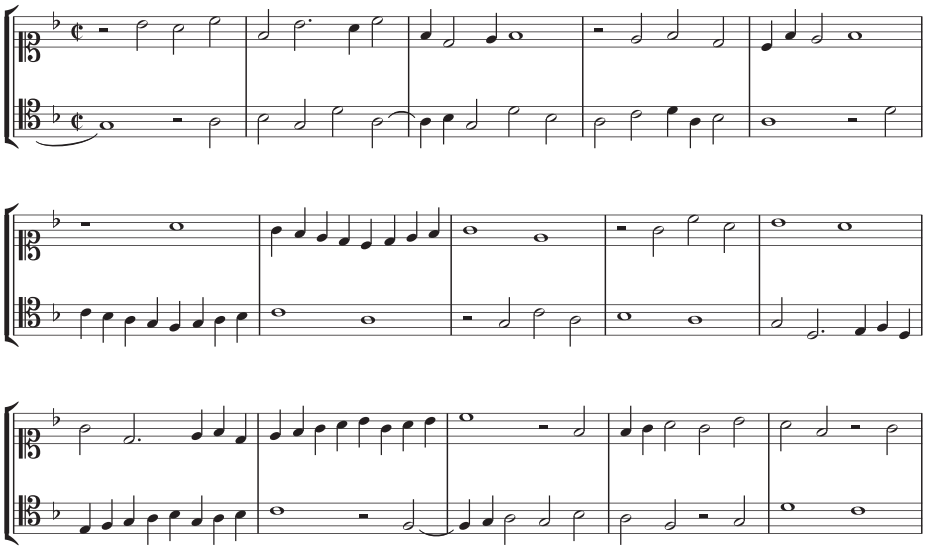
[20] Auch in anderen Drucken finden sich vereinzelt geänderte Mensurzeichen, vergleiche den kritischen Bericht zu LASSO, *GA*[2], Band 1.

[21] M. PRAETORIUS, *Syntagma Musicum III*, Wolfenbüttel 1619, S.49–52.

[22] Zu einem ähnlichen Fall vergleiche F. KÖRNDLE, *Untersuchungen zu Leonhard Lechners ‚Missa secunda, Non fu mai cervo'*, in *Augsburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, [3], (1986), Tutzing, 1986, S. 107–111.



Beispiel 8a: Nummer 16, Takt 15-24 original (1577-2)



Beispiel 8b: Nummer 16, Takt 15-24 Phalèse (1609-3)

Bis Takt 20 sind im Original Minimen und gelegentlich Semiminimen die beherrschenden Notenwerte, Fusae kommen (vor Beginn des Beispiels) nur jeweils in Zweiergruppen vor. Hingegen dominieren Fusae und Semiminimen ab Takt 20. Diese Diskrepanz wird durch die Änderung bei Phalèse nivelliert.[23] Über die Ursache dieser Eingriffe kann man nur rätseln. Vielleicht veranlassten den Bearbeiter ästhetische Gründe, der Wunsch nach einer stärkeren Geschlossenheit des Satzes hinsichtlich seines Tempos mag ihn dazu gebracht haben. Auch in Nummer 23 ist eine Beschleunigung der Faktur zur beobachten. Eine Vereinheitlichung der Notenwerte nimmt Phalèse hier jedoch nicht vor: Da Lasso in diesem Bicinium verschiedene Möglichkeiten der Diminution in unterschiedlichen Rhythmen vorführt, würden veränderte Notenwerte die Komposition empfindlich beeinträchtigen.

Calvisius' Sammlung von 1612 enthält eine Anzahl nach oben transponierter Stücke, wie die folgende Tabelle zeigt:

Nummer	*Incipit*	*originale Schlüsselung*	*Transposition*	*geänderte Schlüsselung*
7	*Iusti tulerunt*	c3 / F3	Quinttransposition	c1 /c3
11	*Fulgebunt iusti*	c4 / F4	Oktavtransposition	c1 /c3
19	— —	c4 / F4	Oktavtransposition	c1 /c3
20	— —	c4 / F4	Oktavtransposition	c1 /c2
23	— —	c4 / F4	Oktavtransposition	c1 /c3
24	— —	c4 / F4	Oktavtransposition	c1 /c3

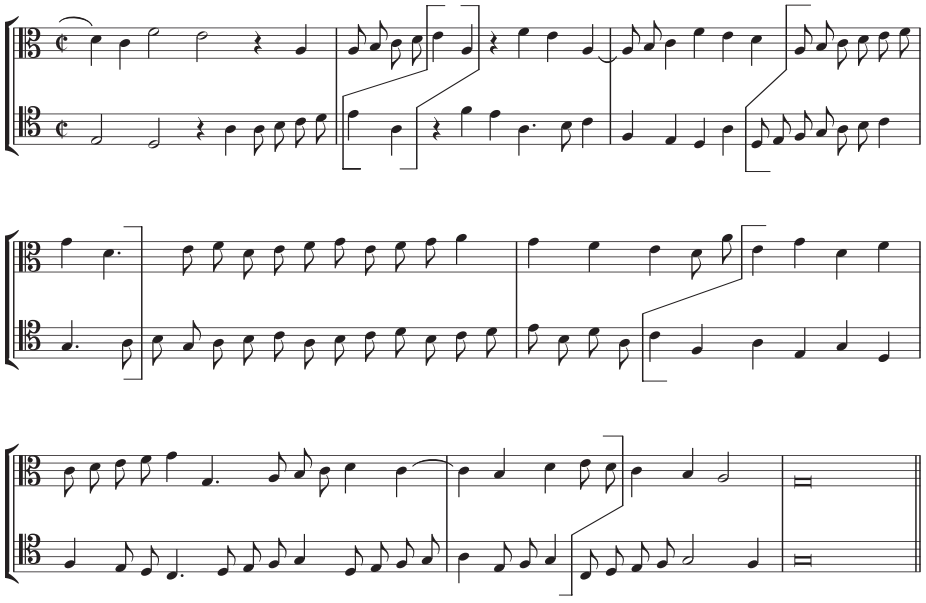
Calvisius transponiert die beiden tiefgeschlüsselten textierten in seiner Sammlung entahletenen Sätze sowie alle tiefgeschlüsselten untextierten Bicinien. Transposition ist bei Bicinien keine Seltenheit. Ein aus Georg Rhaus *Bicinia gallica, latina, germanica* (Wittenberg, 1545) von Gumpelzhaimer und Lindner (jeweils 1591) mit falscher Zuschreibung an Lasso übernommene *Dirige nos*[24] ist gegenüber Rhau ebenfalls eine Quinte nach oben transponiert. Von Calvisius werden die Sätze also aus der Tenor/Baß-Region in den Sopran/Alt-Bereich verlegt und damit der Stimmhöhe von Knaben angepaßt. Grund dafür ist selbstverständlich der didaktische Zweck des Drucks. Auch bei den hochtransponierten untextierten Bicinien kann das zutreffen, dann nämlich, wenn man sie als Singübungen verwendet. Zu beachten bleibt jedoch,

[23] Vergleiche außerdem Nummer 17 (ab Takt 23), Nummer 18 (ab Takt 26), Nummer 19 (ab Takt 24), Nummer 20 (ab Takt 20), Nummer 22 (ab Takt 5) und Nummer 24 (ab Takt 21).

[24] Vergleiche oben Fußnote 8.

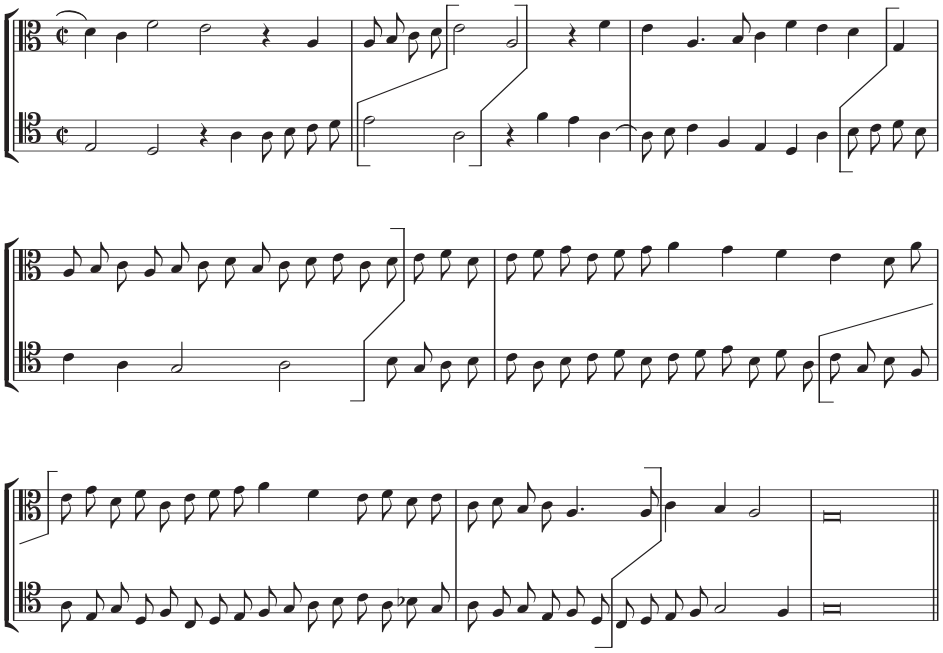
daß die c1/c4-geschlüsselten Sätze Nummer 16, 17 und 18 sowie die c3/c4-geschlüsselten Bicinien Nummer 21 und 22 nicht transponiert werden. Zumindest die Unterstimmen können dann nicht mehr von Knaben gesungen worden sein. Die Verwendung der Bicinien für die Lehre zeigt sich jedoch zusätzlich darin, daß sie jeweils mit Tonartangaben versehen sind. Calvisius erweist sich als Anhänger von Glarean, da er die Nummer 7 *Iusti tulerunt* dem Jonischen zuordnet. Zudem tragen jeweils beide Stimmen Tonartbezeichnungen, was zu einer Unterscheidung nach authentischem und plagalem Bereich führt: So bei *Iusti tulerunt*: *Ad Jonicum* steht bei der Oberstimme, *Ad Hypojonicum* bei der unteren Stimme.

Zu besprechen bleibt abschließend eine Eigenart der Ausgabe durch Calvisius: in den untextierten Bicinien finden sich immer wieder teils kürzere, teils längere umgearbeitete Passagen; die Bearbeitung kann sich auf nur eine Stimme erstrecken, aber auch auf beide. Calvisius` Fassungen werden im kritischen Bericht zur Neuausgabe des Bandes 1 in der Gesamtausgabe[25] abgedruckt. Hier sei ein markantes Beispiel vorgestellt:



Beispiel 9a: Nummer 22, Takt 33 bis Ende des Stücks Calvisius (1612-2/II)

[25] LASSO, *GA*[2].



Beispiel 9b: Nummer 22, Takt 33 bis Ende des Stücks original (1577-2); die eckigen Klammern bezeichnen jeweils die abweichenden Srtellen

An drei Stellen greift Calvisius ein: an der ersten stört ihn offensichtlich der scharfe Gegensatz der Minimen zur raschen Bewegung in Fusae, weswegen er sie zu Semiminimen verkürzt. Die folgende Passage verschiebt sich also bei Calvisius gegenüber der Vorlage um den Wert einer Minima. An der dritten Stelle (in der zweiten Hälfte von Takt 37) finden wir den umgekehrten Vorgang bei Calvisius, da er hier eine in Fusae notierte Passage aus dem Anfang von Takt 38 des Originals auf Semiminimen dehnt. Vielleicht will er Sprünge innerhalb des Laufwerks vermeiden, was sich durch die dritte umkomponierte Stelle bestätigt: Lassos treppenartig springende Fusae werden durch Tonleitersegmente aufwärts ersetzt, die von ruhigeren Notenwerten unterbrochen werden, weswegen der bei Lasso vor dem Ende konzentrierte und geraffte Satz bei Calvisius an Dichte verliert. Insgesamt entsteht der Eindruck, Calvisius habe Lassos Komposition glätten und vielleicht auch leichter ausführbar machen wollen.

Fassen wir die Beobachtungen zusammen: Lassos Bicinien weisen eine so große Vielfalt an Lesarten, Überlieferungsvarianten und Fassungen auf, die derart extrem bei keiner anderen Werkgruppe des Komponisten zu beobachten ist. (Bearbeitungen finden sich sonst in erster Linie in den Bereichen der Parodie und der Kontrafaktur, die bei den Bicinien keinerlei Rolle spielen.) Desweiteren ist Lassos Absicht, sowohl die 'tyrones' als auch die fertigen Musiker mit seinen zweistimmigen Sätzen anzusprechen, eine Besonderheit. Aus der doppelten Funktion der Bicinien resultiert schließlich ihr Auftreten in drei verschiedenen Typen von Drucken: in ausgesprochenen Lehrwerken (Gumpelzhaimer), in Biciniensammlungen mit kurzen Lehrtexten (Lindner, Calvisius) und schließlich in Drucken ohne theoretische Textzusätze. Dies wiederum korrespondiert mit der Tatsache, daß die Bicinien außer in Lehrwerken oder dem sämtliche Motetten Lassos enthaltenden *Magnum opus Musicum* stets gesondert überliefert sind, die Aufnahme in Drucke mit Motetten verschiedener Stimmenzahl blieb ihnen verwehrt.

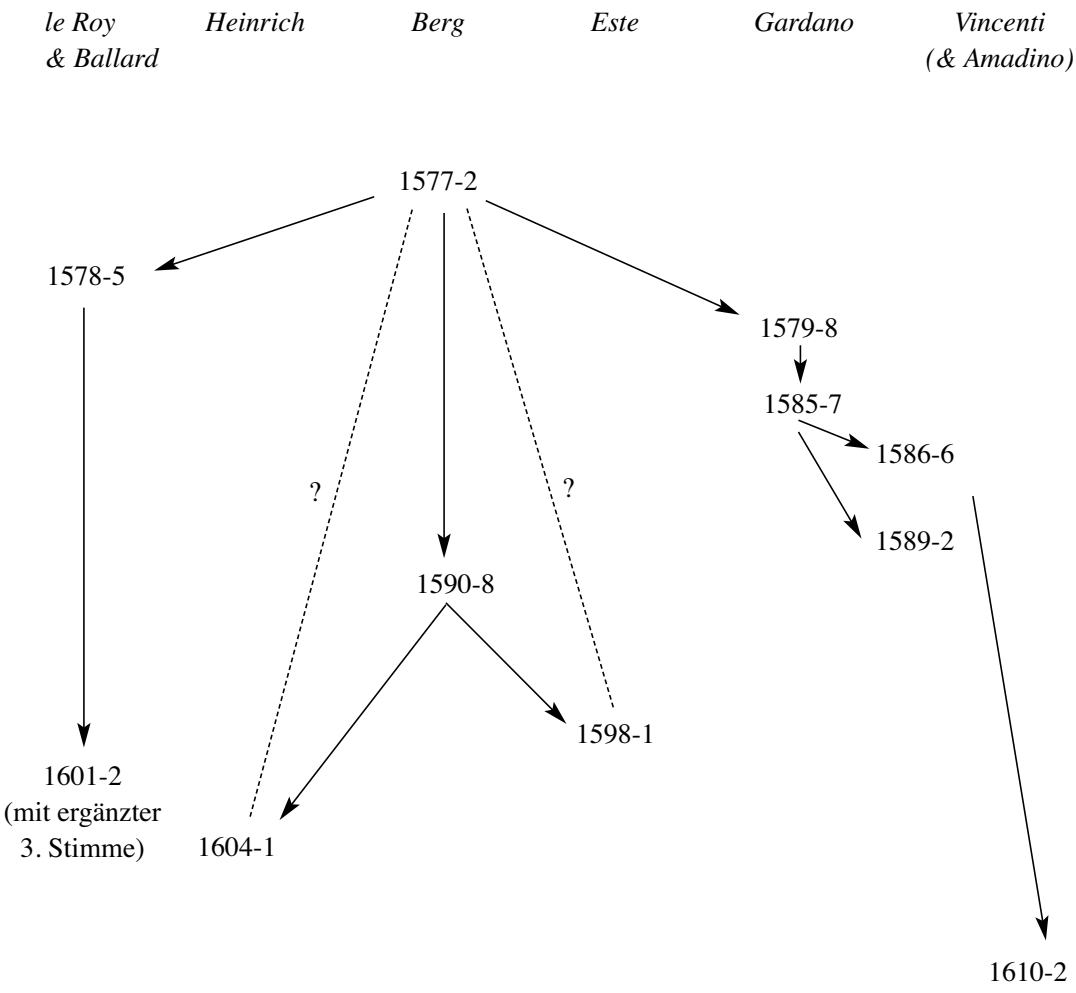
Schon hinsichtlich des Überlieferungsspielraums, der Funktion und der Überlieferungsform kann also gesagt werden, daß die Bicinien eine Sonderstellung einnehmen, sie bilden einen eigenen Typus. Dazu kommt bei Lasso die Satztechnik; nie sonst hat er dermaßen konsequent die Imititation als Kompositionsprinzip eingesetzt, was sich sicherlich aus dem didaktischen Zweck erklärt.[26] In diesem Kontext stellt sich die Frage, ob wir es mit einer eigenen Gattung zu tun haben: Die textierten Sätze lassen sich noch mit einigem Recht der Gattung Motette zuordnen, sie bilden aufgrund der Funktion etc. eine Art Unterabteilung zu didaktischen Zwecken. Die untextierten haben mit der Motette nichts zu tun, da hier das einzige Gattungskriterium, das die Motette von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart aufweist, eben der Text, nicht erfüllt wird. Die enge Verwandtschaft zu den textierten Bicinien ergibt sich jedoch aus dem didaktischen Zweck im Sinne von Singübungen. Die Bezeichnung Ricercar in italienischen Drucktiteln verweist darüber hinaus auf ihre wenigstens regional zu beobachtende Verwendung als Instrumentalmusik. In der Tat sind die untextierten Sätze von der Freude am Spiel mit motivischen Floskeln und ihrer kontrapunktischen Verarbeitung geprägt, quasi abstrakt und musikalisch völlig aus sich heraus komponiert, da ja auf Sprache, Wortbetonung, Textgliederung und -ausdeutung etc. keinerlei Rücksicht genommen werden muß. Nicht von ungefähr greift Calvisius nur bei den untextierten Sätzen bearbeitend ein; auch die Nivellierung der Notenwerte, die bei Phalèse 1609 gezeigt wurde, ist nur bei den textlosen Sätzen zu finden. Aufgrund dieser Diskrepanz zwischen textierten und untextierten Sätzen läßt sich also kaum eine eigenständige Gattung Bicinium postulieren, schon deshalb nicht, weil die textierten Stücke durchaus der Motette zugeordnet werden können. Die oben

[26] Vergleiche oben Fußnote 6.

beschriebenen Gemeinsamkeiten (Funktion, Überlieferung etc.) erlauben jedoch, den Bicinien eine Sonderrolle zuzubilligen, das heißt, wie geschehen, einen eigenen Typus zu konstatieren, der halb an der Motette hängt (textierte Bicinien), halb von ihr unabhängig ist (Sätze ohne Text).

[...] nec non Tyronibus quàm eius artis peritioribus summopere inservientes: Lassos auf verschiedene Funktion zielende Titelformulierung dürfte gedacht gewesen sein, ein großes Publikum anzusprechen. Nimmt man zur schon im didaktischen Zweck begründeten Verbreitung die Tatsache, daß sich Geringstimmigkeit vor und um 1600 großer Beliebtheit erfreute, daß den Bicinien durch die Unterlegung mit einem Generalbaß (1625) schließlich ein neues satztechnisches Umfeld, der Triosatz, eröffnet wurde, dann läßt sich mit Fug und Recht sagen: Lassos Kalkül ist aufgegangen.

Anhang 1: Stemma der Bicinien-Drucke



Anhang 2: Die Quellen der Bicinien

a) geschlossene Überlieferung

1577-2
RISM 1577 c
Boetticher 1577 β

NOVÆ ALIQVOT ET ANTE | HAC NON ITA VSITATÆ AD DVAS VO- | ces Cantiones suauissimæ, omnibus Musicis summè vti- | les: nec non Tyronibus quàm eius artis pe= | ritioribus summopere in- | seruientes. | Authore | ORLANDO DI LASSO, | *Illustrißimi Bauariæ Ducis ALBERTI Mu=* | *sici Chori Magistro*. | Summa diligentia compositæ, correctæ, & nunc primùm in lucem æditæ. | [Vignette] | Monachij excudebat Adamus Berg. | Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæs: Maiestatis. | M. D. LXXVII.
Oberstimme (für Cantus und Tenor), Unterstimme (für Altus, Tenor und Bassus).

1578-5
RISM 1578 d
Boetticher 1578 ε

TENOR. | MODVLI | DVARVM VOCVM | NVNQVAM HACTENVS EDITI | MONACHII BOIOARIÆ COMPOSITI | ORLANDO LASSO | AVCTORE. | LVTETIÆ PARISIORVM. | Apud Adrianum le Roy, & Robertum Ballard | Regis Typographos sub signo | montis Parnassi. | M D LXXVIII. | Cum priuilegio Regis ad decennium.
Superius, Tenor.

1579-8
RISM 1579 c
Boetticher 1579 κ

CANTO | MOTETTI ET RICERCARI | D'ORLANDO LASSO A DVE VOCI, | Nouamente Composti & dati in luce. | LIBRO [Drz] PRIMO. | In Venetia Appresso | Angelo Gardano. | 1579.
Nur Canto erhalten.

1585-7
RISM 1585 c
Boetticher 1585 η

CANTO | MOTETTI ET RICERCARI | DI ORLANDO LASSO | A DVE VOCI, | Nouamente con ogni diligenza Ristampati. | LIBRO PRIMO. | [Drz] | In Venetia Appresso Angelo Gardano | M. D. LXXXV.
Canto, Alto.

1586-6
RISM 1586 b
Boetticher 1586 ζ

ALTO | MOTTETTI | ET RICERCARI | A DVE VOCI, | DI ORLANDO LASSO, | Nonamente [sic] Ristampati. | LIBRO PRIMO. | [Drz] | *IN VENETIA* | *Presso Giacomo Vincenzi, & Ricciardo Amadino compagni*. | M D LXXXVI.
Canto, Alto.

1589-2
RISM 1589 c
Boetticher 1589 β

ALTO | MOTETTI ET RICERCARI | D'ORLANDO LASSO A DVE VOCI· | *LIBRO PRIMO*. | Nouamente Ristampati, & corretti, | [Drz] | *IN VENETIA, Appresso Giacomo Vincenti*. | M D LXXXIX.
Canto, Alto.

1590-8
RISM 1590 c
Boetticher 1590 β

NOVAE ALIQVOT ET ANTE HAC | NON ITA VSITATAE AD DVAS VOCES CAN= | tiones suauissimæ, omnibus Musicis summè vtiles: necnon | Tyronibus quàm eius artis peritioribus summo- | pere inseruientes. | *Authore* | ORLANDO DI LASSO, | *Illustrißimi Bauariæ Ducis Alberti Musici* | Chori Magistro. | Summa diligentia compositæ, correctæ, & nunc primum in lucem æditæ. | Monachij excudebat Adamus Berg. | Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæs: Maiestatis. | M. D. XC.
Oberstimme (für Cantus und Tenor), Unterstimme (für Altus, Tenor und Bassus).

1598-1
RISM 1598 a
Boetticher 1598 α

CANTVS. | NOVÆ ALIQVOT ET AN- | TE HAC NON ITA VSITATÆ AD | DVAS VOCES CANTIONES SVAVISSIMÆ, | omnibus Musicis summè vtiles: nec non Tyronibus | quàm eius artis peritioribus summopere | inseruientes. | ¶ AVTHORE | ORLANDO DI LASSO, | Illustrissimi Bauariæ Ducis Alberti | Musici Chori Magistro. | *Summa diligentia compositæ, correctæ, & nunc* | *primùm in lucem editæ* | [Drz] | ¶ LONDINI. Excudebat Thomas Este. | 1598.
Cantus, Bassus.

1601-2
RISM 1601 a
Boetticher 1601 ζ

TAILLE· | MODVLI | DVARVM, VEL TRIVM | VOCVM: | ORLANDO LASSO | AVCTORE. | LVTETIÆ PARISIORVM | Apud viduam R. BALLARD & PETRVM BALLARD | eius Filium, Regis Typographos, sub signo | montis Parnassi. | M. DCI. | Cum priuilegio Regis ad decennium.
Premier Dessus, Second Dessus, Taille.

1604-1
RISM 1604 a
Boetticher 1604 α

Magnum | *OPVS MVSICVM* | ORLANDI DE LASSO CAPELLÆ BA- | VARICÆ QVONDAM | MAGISTRI. | *COMPLECTENS OMNES* | *CANTIONES QVAS MOTETAS* | *vulgo vocant, tam antea editas quam hactenus nondum* | *publicatas II. III. IV. V. VI. VII.* | *IIX. IX. X. XII.* | *vocum.* | A | FERDINANDO SERENISSI- | MI BAVARIÆ | DVCIS MAXIMILIANI | Musicorum præfecto, & RVDOLPHO, eidem Principi | ab Organis; Authoris filijs summo studio col- | lectum, & impensis eorundem | Typis mandatum | TENOR. | *Cum grat: & Priuil: Sac: Cæs: Maiest: Authori concesso.* | MONACHII, | *Ex typographia Nicolai Henrici.* | M. DCIV.
Sexta vox, Quinta vox.

1625-1
RISM 1625 a
Boetticher 1625 α

IN | MAGNI ILLIVS | MAGNI BOIARIÆ DVCIS | SYMPHONI- ARCHÆ | ORLANDI | DE LASSO | MAGNVM OPVS | MVSICVM | *BASSVS AD ORGANVM NOVA ME-* | *THODO DISPOSITVS;* | STVDIO ET OPERA | GASPARIS VINCENTII AVDOMARIENSIS | ARTHÆSII IN CATHEDRALI WIRCE- | burgensium Organœdi | [Drz] | *Cum Gratia & Priuilegio S. Cæsar. Maiestatis.* | *VVIRCEBVRGI,* | Typis ac sumptibus IOANNIS VOLMARI, | *Anno M. DC. XXV.*

1610-2
RISM 1610 b
Boetticher 1610 β

CANTO | MOTETTI | ET RICERCARI | A DVE VOCI | DI ORLANDO LASSO | Nouamente ristampati | LIBRO PRIMO | [Drz] | IN VENETIA, | Appresso Giacomo Vincenti. MDCX.
Canto, Alto.

b) Sammeldrucke

1590-5
RISM 1590[19]
Boetticher 1590 ζ

BICINIA, SIVE | CANTIONES SVAVISSIMAE | DVARVM VOCVM, TAM DIVINÆ MVSICES | TYRONIBVS, QVAM EIVSDEM ARTIS PERITIORIBVS | *magno vsui futuræ, nec non & quibusuis Instrumentis accomodæ: ex* | *præclaris huius ætatis Auctoribus collectæ: quarum Cata-* | *logum pagella sequens explicat*. | *TENOR*. | ANTVERPIÆ. | Excudebat Petrus Phalesius sibi & Ioanni Bellero. | 1590.
Superius, Tenor.

1591-5
RISM 1591[27]
Boetticher 1591 ζ

BICINIA SACRA, | EX VARIIS AVTORIBVS | IN VSVM IVVENTVTIS SCHOLASTICÆ | collecta: Quibus adjuncta est compendiara in artem canendi Introductio: | unde brevissimo tempore & labore facilimo, | non solum necessaria huius | artis præcepta (quæ nec multa nec difficilia adeò sunt) sed & artem | ipsam canendi, pueri addiscere possunt. Edita à | FRID: LINDNERO. | Zweystimmige Gesänglein / sampt einem kurtzen | vnterricht / wie man soll lernen singen / für die jungen | Schuler neulich im druck außgangen. | VOX INFERIOR. | NORIBERGAE, | *In officina typographica Catharinæ Gerlachiæ. M. D. XCI.*
[Unterstreichung steht für gotische Fraktur im Original]
Nur vox inferior erhalten.

1609-3
RISM 1609[18]
Boetticher 1609 γ

BICINIA, | SIVE CANTIONES | SVAVISSIMAE DVARVM VOCVM, TAM | DIVINÆ MVSICES TYRONIBVS, QVAM EIVSDEM | Artis peritioribus magno vsui futuræ, nec non & quibusuis Instrumentis | accommodæ: ex præclaris huius ætatis Authoribus collectæ. | SVPERIVS. | [Drz] | ANTVERPIÆ | Apud Petrum Phalesium ad insigne Dauidis Regis.
M. DCIX.
Superius, Tenor.

1612-2/II
Boetticher 1612 γ

BICINIORVM | Libri duo: | *QUORUM PRIOR SEPTUAGINTA* | *NUMERO CONTINET AD SENTENTIAS* | *Evangeliorum anniversariorum* | à | SETHO CALVISIO MUSICO | decantata. | *Posterior verò Nonaginta, tàm cum textu quàm sine te-* | *xtu, à præstantißimis Musicis concinnata*. | Omnis ad usum Studiosorum sese in hac arte exercentium oble- | ctantium accomodata & edita. | *Studio & opera ejusdem Autoris*. | Vox superior. | LIPSIÆ, Curante JACOBO APELIO Bibliopol. | *Anno M.DC.XII*
Altera Pars | BICINIORUM | NONAGINTA TAM CUM TEXTU, QUAM SINE TEXTU à PRAE- | stantissimis Musicis concinnatorum, & ad usum | Studiosorum sese in hac arte exercentium | accommodatorum.
vox superior, vox inferior.

c) Lehrwerke

RISM 1591[26]
Boetticher 1591 δ

COMPEN= | DIVM MV- | sicæ, pro | illius artis tironibus. | A | M. Heinrico Fabro Latinè con- | scriptum, & à M. Christophoro Rid | in vernaculum sermonem con= | versum, nunc præceptis | & exemplis | auctum | Studio & operâ Adami | Gumpelzhaimeri, T. | AVGVSTAE | *Excusum typis Valentini Schönigis*. | Anno M. D. XCI.

Boetticher 1610 γ

MVSICÆ | Das ist | Der Freyen lieblichen | Singkunst | Erster vnd Anderer Theil. | Sampt beygefügtem nützlichem Exem= | pelBüchlein / auff dergleichen Schlag vor nie keins | außgangen / nach welches richtiger Anweisung ein jun= | ger / hierzu qualificirter Anfänger auß rechtem Grund | gar leichtlich kann singen lernen. | Alles auß guten bewärten Autoribus zusammen ge= | tragen / mit newen Schematibus vnd Tabulis Augen= | scheinlich fürgewiesen / ordentlich auff einander ge= | richtet / vnd allen Liebhabern dieser Kunst zu | gefallen an Tag gegeben / | Durch | MATERNUM BERINGER, CAN- | TOREM zu Weissenburg. | Nürnberg / | Bey Georg Leopold Fuhrmann.

Musique et politique à Florence dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle: le statut du madrigal à la lumière de nouvelles sources*

Philippe Canguilhem
Université de Toulouse-Le-Mirail

Les guerres d'Italie marquent pour Florence le début d'une des périodes les plus mouvementées de son histoire. Toute la péninsule italienne a certes souffert des invasions françaises et des réactions qu'elles ont provoquées, mais Florence a payé un tribut particulièrement lourd, et a connu de nombreux bouleversements institutionnels depuis 1494 (date de l'arrivée de Charles VIII dans la ville) jusqu'à 1537, lorsque Cosme 1er installe définitivement les Médicis au pouvoir. Revirements brusques d'alliances politiques, coups d'états manqués, assassinats, révoltes populaires et guerre civile reflètent l'agitation de la vie politique florentine de cette période, qui balance entre les aspirations républicaines et le contrôle des institutions par les Médicis (voir Table 1).[1]

La musique s'est naturellement fait l'écho de ces tumultes. Parmi les nombreuses pièces – principalement des motets – qui accompagnent ou commentent la vie publique à la Renaissance, nous en avons conservé certaines qui concernent la situation florentine. Exceptionnelles ou banales, elles témoignent du rôle important que la musique pouvait tenir dans l'affirmation du pouvoir temporel: instrument de propagande ou simple ornement festif, la musique occupe une place à part en raison de son aptitude à transmettre un texte avec une force de persuasion peu commune.[2] Exceptionnelles, à l'image du motet de Costanzo Festa *Florentia tempus est penitentie,* composé vers 1528 alors que le compositeur se trouve au service d'un membre éminent de la famille des Médicis, le pape Clément VII. Cette adresse à la ville de Florence – alors aux mains du camp républicain – afin qu'elle revienne dans le droit chemin et se rende au pape Clément n'a pas été imprimée, mais copiée dans un manu-

* Une partie des recherches qui ont mené à la rédaction du présent article ont été conduites grâce à une bourse offerte par la Newberry Library de Chicago. D'autre part, je remercie Philippe Vendrix d'avoir accepté de relire une première version de cet essai, qui a pu bénéficier de ses précieux et utiles conseils.

1 On trouvera un tableau général de la situation dans le premier chapitre de F. DIAZ, *Il granducato di Toscana. I Medici*, Turin, 1987; pour un traitement exhaustif du sujet, voir l'excellent essai de R. VON ALBERTINI, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato*, Turin, 1970, 2/1995 [éd. originale en allemand, Berne, 1955].

2 Sur les motets et la politique au XVIe siècle, l'ouvrage de référence est celui d'A. DUNNING, *Die Staatsmotette, 1480–1555*, Utrecht, 1970. On lira une belle étude de cas, plus récente, sur le même sujet, écrite par G. NUGENT, *Anti-Protestant Music for Sixteenth-Century Ferrara*, dans *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), pp. 228–291.

scrit dont le contenu politique a été abondamment commenté (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Ms S[I] 35-40).[3] A côté du motet de Festa, cette source a transmis d'autres exemples, parfois plus ordinaires, de motets politiques, comme celui d'Andrea de Silva, *Gaude felix Florentia*, qui célèbre l'élection de Léon X, premier pape Médicis, en 1513. Le terme «politique» dans ce cas n'est d'ailleurs pas le plus approprié («historique» convient sans doute mieux), car ici, il s'agit simplement d'orner une fête, de rehausser l'éclat d'une cérémonie publique au caractère officiel. Néanmoins, on a voulu voir dans la présence conjointe de ces deux textes à l'intérieur d'un manuscrit à destination privée un signe qui pourrait permettre de déterminer l'engagement, ou du moins les opinions politiques de son propriétaire.

1492	mort de Laurent le Magnifique
1494	son fils Piero est chassé de Florence: restauration de la République, à l'instigation de Savonarole
1498	mort de Savonarole
1512	retour des Médicis, notamment du cardinal Giovanni, fils de Laurent Le Magnifique
1513	Giovanni devient pape (Léon X); son frère Giuliano gouverne Florence
1516	mort de Giuliano; son neveu Lorenzo duc d'Urbin lui succède
1519	mort de Lorenzo duc d'Urbin; le cardinal Giulio lui succède
1521	mort de Léon X
1523	Giulio devient pape (Clément VII)
1527	sac de Rome
1527	les Médicis sont à nouveau chassés de Florence, la République est restaurée
1530	siège de Florence; la dernière République florentine disparaît
1532	Alexandre Médicis, duc de Florence
1535	son cousin le cardinal Hippolyte meurt empoisonné
1537	Alexandre est assassiné par un cousin éloigné, Lorenzino; Cosme 1[er] est le nouveau duc de Florence
1537	défaite des républicains exilés (*fuorusciti*) à Montemurlo, Cosme peut asseoir son pouvoir

Table 1. Chronologie des événements politiques florentins, 1492–1537.

[3] Le manuscrit conservé a été magistralement étudié par E. LOWINSKY, *A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome*, dans *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 3 (1950), pp. 173–232. L'article a été mis à jour dans E. LOWINSKY, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays*, Chicago, 1989, 2, pp. 433–482.

Pour pouvoir atteindre ce but, l'identification de ce propriétaire aurait sans aucun doute été d'un grand secours, mais en l'absence de certitudes de ce côté-là, les spécialistes ont dû se tourner vers l'interprétation des textes des motets contenus dans le manuscrit, avec des résultats contrastés. Le manuscrit de la Biblioteca Vallicelliana a en effet provoqué une controverse musicologique qui s'est cristallisée sur l'interprétation politique de son contenu: fallait-il voir dans cette source copiée vers 1532 la marque des Médicis (et de Clément VII en particulier), ou au contraire reflétait-elle des prises de position républicaines du fait des nombreuses œuvres savonaroliennes qu'elle contient? Aujourd'hui encore, le débat n'est pas clos, en partie à cause de l'incertitude qui règne sur le véritable destinataire du manuscrit.[4] Celui-ci ne constitue d'ailleurs pas l'unique document qui témoigne du rôle actif que la musique a pu tenir à Florence durant ces époques troublées. Il faut notamment relever l'existence d'un autre manuscrit copié à la même période (Chicago, Newberry Library, Case MS-VM 1578.M91), dont l'orientation politique ne fait en revanche aucun doute: conçu comme un cadeau pour le roi d'Angleterre Henry VIII de la part des républicains assiégés, il témoigne des efforts de ces derniers pour s'attacher des alliances politiques nouvelles en des temps difficiles, et contient plusieurs motets aux accents savonaroliens.[5]

Le copiste à qui cette tâche avait été confiée se trouve être également responsable de la rédaction de deux manuscrits copiés une vingtaine d'années plus tard, dont le contenu politique fait l'objet de la présente étude. Giovan Pietro Masacone (1497–1573), chanteur à la cathédrale et au baptistère de Florence depuis son enfance jusqu'à sa mort, était également compositeur occasionnel, et surtout copiste, compilant aussi bien des livres de chœur pour les chanteurs de la cathédrale que des manuscrits de madrigaux pour le divertissement de la noblesse florentine.[6] Ce sont ces der-

[4] Un résumé de la controverse ayant opposé Anne-Marie Bragard à Edward Lowinsky et H. Colin Slim se trouve aux pages 128–129 du livre de I. FENLON et J. HAAR, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century. Sources and Interpretation*, Cambridge, 1988. Edward Lowinsky, enfin, a discuté la proposition de ces deux auteurs consistant à attribuer la propriété de manuscrit à Roberto Pucci dans la réédition de son article qui se trouve dans LOWINSKY, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance*, p. 482.

[5] Le manuscrit a été étudié et édité par H.C. SLIM, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols., Chicago, 1972. La partie d'*altus* manquante fut retrouvée quelques années plus tard à Sutton Coldfield, Oscott College, MS Case B N°4 et publiée par le même auteur: H.C. SLIM, *Ten Altus Parts at Oscott College, Sutton Coldfield*, Santa Ana, California, 1978. Parmi les nombreux essais qui ont abordé les rapports de la musique et de la politique à Florence à cette période, on relèvera en particulier ceux de D. HARRÁN, *The 'Sack of Rome' Set to Music*, dans *Renaissance Quarterly*, 23 (1970), pp. 412–421; J. HAAR, *Madrigals from the Last Florentine Republic*, dans S. BERTELLI et G. RAMAKUS éds., *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, 2, Florence, 1978, pp. 383–403; A.M. CUMMINGS, *The Politicized Muse. Music for Medici Festivals, 1512–1537*, Princeton, 1992; M. FROMSON, *Themes of Exile in Willaert's Musica nova*, dans *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), pp. 442–487; et P. MACEY, *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems*, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 116), Madison, 1999.

[6] Sur Masacone, voir M. FABBRI, *La vita e l'ignota opera-prima di Francesco Corteccia musicista italiano del Rinascimento*, dans *Chigiana*, 22 (1965), pp. 208–209, note 85; et FENLON et HAAR, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century*, pp. 123–125.

niers qui nous intéressent ici, et bien qu'ils aient été copiés à une date tardive (entre 1550 et 1560), le répertoire ancien qu'ils contiennent, le fait qu'ils aient une destination privée et la personnalité du copiste constituent autant d'arguments qui permettent de les rattacher à la tradition des manuscrits cités ci-dessus. Ces sources étant fort méconnues, une rapide présentation permettra de situer leur contexte, préalable indispensable à toute lecture des pièces «politiques» qu'ils renferment.[7]

Le premier des deux manuscrits de Masacone qui nous intéressent est conservé en Italie, à la bibliothèque municipale de Civitanova Marche (Civitanova Marche, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms ss 1). La même bibliothèque possède la partie de *tenor* d'un deuxième manuscrit (Civitanova Marche, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms ss 2), qui a heureusement pu être complété par les parties de *cantus* et de *bassus* conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale de France à Paris (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés Vm7 682), tandis que l'*altus* a pu être localisé à la Newberry Library de Chicago (Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms 5051). Ces deux manuscrits différents, mais rédigés par le même copiste à quelques années d'intervalle, contiennent un répertoire essentiellement florentin: des madrigaux (et quelques motets) composés par Arcadelt, Verdelot, Corteccia ou Layolle entre 1520 et 1540, ainsi qu'un nombre élevé de pièces anonymes inédites.

Le premier manuscrit porte sur la couverture de la partie de *tenor* les armoiries des Médicis, les fameuses *palle*: si le nom du destinataire n'a pas survécu, il paraît probable qu'il ait gravité dans l'entourage de la cour de Cosme 1er. Le deuxième manuscrit, en tous points semblable (même copiste, mêmes caractéristiques paléographiques, même répertoire), porte sur la couverture de la partie de *bassus* le nom de son propriétaire, Lorenzo Corsini, et celui d'un dédicataire, Piero del Corteccia. Les premières recherches ont montré que Corsini, né en 1533, était bien introduit à la cour de Cosme; il deviendra en 1594 le beau-père de Jacopo Corsi, l'un des principaux promoteurs de l'opéra florentin. Quant à Piero, neveu et élève du célèbre Francesco Corteccia, il était collègue de Masacone à la chapelle de la cathédrale et chanteur en vue à la cour. Le nom du copiste, quant à lui, apparaît en initiales sur la couverture de la partie d'*altus*. En résumé, ces deux manuscrits (désormais appelés *Civ1* et *Corsini*) donnent accès à un répertoire «officiel», celui qui était en vogue à la cour de Cosme dans la première décennie de son règne. Ceci peut sans doute expliquer pourquoi les tumultes qui ont agité Florence dans les années qui ont précédé sa prise de pouvoir, en 1537, trouvent un écho prononcé dans certains des madrigaux copiés dans ces deux sources. En effet, les deux manuscrits présentent une véritable chronique de la vie publique italienne, et tout particulièrement florentine, des années 1520 à 1540, comme le montre le tableau récapitulatif suivant:

[7] Les deux manuscrits qui contiennent les œuvres discutées ici font l'objet d'une présentation détaillée dans mon article *Les libri di canzone de Lorenzo Corsini et le madrigal à Florence au milieu du XVI^{e} siècle*, à paraître en anglais, dans *Early Music History*, 24 (2005).

N°	Voix	Auteur	Titre	Évenement Evoque
17	4	Anonyme	*Deh quella verd'etate*	siège de Florence, 1529/1530 (?)
48	5	Anonyme	*Miseri padr'e folli che pur tropp'amorosi*	mort du duc Alexandre, janvier 1537
57	6	C. Festa	*Ecce advenit dominator dominus*	visite de Charles Quint à Florence, avril/mai 1536 (?)

Table 2a. Pièces politiques contenues dans: Civitanova Marche, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms ss 1 (CATQ).

N°	Voix	Auteur	Titre	Évenement Evoque
28	4	J. Arcadelt	*Deh perche si rebella*	sac de Rome, mai 1527
33	4	Anonyme	*Deh quella verd'etate*	siège de Florence, 1529/1530 (?)
34	4	Anonyme	*Oh del' viver humano amaro molto*	mort d'un Médicis: Hippolyte (?)
35	4	Anonyme	*Fedel amico mio pietos'ascolto*	mort d'un Médicis: Hippolyte (?)
36	4	Anonyme	*Amato fior acerbamente colto*	mort d'un Médicis: Hippolyte (?)

Table 2b. Pièces politiques contenues dans: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés Vm7 682 (CB) – Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms 5051 (A) – Civitanova Marche, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms ss 2 (T).

La concordance des deux manuscrits pour l'une de ces pièces (*Deh quella verd'etate*), le fait que le copiste soit identique, le nombre élevé de pièces communes aux deux manuscrits, tout ceci m'incite à étudier l'ensemble du répertoire politique sans tenir compte du fait qu'il provient de sources différentes, puisque dans les deux cas, ces madrigaux étaient chantés par la noblesse florentine dans le cadre de la cour de Cosme 1er. Des cinq *unica* à connotation politique contenus dans les manuscrits de Masacone (car les madrigaux 34–35–36 du manuscrit de Lorenzo Corsini forment trois parties d'une même oeuvre), deux groupes ressortent: celui qui comprend des oeuvres pour lesquelles se dégage une circonstance précise (*Corsini* n° 28 et *Civ1* n° 48), et celui qui nous oblige à ébaucher des hypothèses. Une pièce se différencie des autres et ne sera pas étudiée ici: le motet que Costanzo Festa a écrit en l'honneur de Charles-Quint. Il mérite une étude séparée, d'abord en raison de son caractère éminemment public et cérémoniel, très différent des madrigaux, mais aussi à cause de sa genèse particulière, puisqu'il s'agit en fait du recyclage d'un motet initialement écrit pour le

couronnement de l'empereur à Bologne en 1530.[8] En tout, ce sont donc quatre madrigaux qui seront étudiés ci-dessous: ce travail portera avant tout sur les textes chantés, en faisant abstraction de leur musique, qui dans le cas présent, n'est d'aucun secours pour aider à l'établissement des circonstances de création de ces œuvres.[9]

LE SAC DE ROME ET CLÉMENT VII

Le premier événement évoqué de façon certaine se trouve dans un madrigal attribué à Arcadelt dans une autre source, mais avec un texte légèrement différent.

Ce madrigal, à la différence des autres madrigaux politiques contenus dans les deux manuscrits de Masacone, n'est pas à proprement parler un *unicum,* puisqu'il est paru en 1545 dans la réédition du quatrième livre de madrigaux d'Arcadelt, mais le texte imprimé et la version transmise par Masacone varient sensiblement. Comme le fait apparaître la mise en regard des deux versions, le texte original a été modifié pour permettre d'illustrer une circonstance précise, l'invasion de Rome par les troupes impériales en mai 1527. Le détournement du texte s'est opéré de façon assez simple: la femme aimée est devenue l'Eglise, qui a «caché ses beaux yeux» à l'amour, en d'autres termes qui s'est détournée de ses missions premières, causant ainsi la douleur et la cécité de Rome. Les très légères modifications qui altèrent ensuite le texte original sont presque superflues, tant sa lecture au deuxième degré est aisée: l'Eglise appartient plus aux autres (c'est à dire à ses fidèles) qu'à elle-même (c'est à dire à ses dirigeants); enfin, le dernier vers doit être à présent compris au sens propre, et non plus au sens figuré.[10]

[8] Sur le motet original, voir l'excellent article de K. PIETSCHMANN, *A Motet by Costanzo Festa for the Coronation of Charles V*, dans *Journal of Musicological Research*, 21 (2002), pp. 319–354. La transformation de l'acclamation liturgique traitée sous forme d'*ostinato* et les variantes musicales légères mais significatives montrent qu'il s'agit d'une version postérieure à celle destinée au couronnement de 1530: peut-être a-t-elle été donnée à l'occasion de l'entrée de Charles V à Florence en mai 1536.

[9] Je réserve l'étude musicale de ces pièces à un ouvrage actuellement en préparation, qui comprendra également les partitions les plus intéressantes des *unica* présents dans *Civ1* et *Corsini*. A l'exception de *Deh perche si rebella*, on ignore le nom des compositeurs des madrigaux étudiés ici. D'après leur style musical, ils pourraient avoir été composés aussi bien par Corteccia que par Arcadelt, ou que par un de leurs contemporains.

[10] Il n'est toutefois pas impossible que le texte initial soit déjà une critique de l'Eglise prenant la forme d'une métaphore, plus subtile, et que la version transmise par le manuscrit de Corsini en soit une «explication»: voir par exemple la célèbre métaphore de Michel-Ange, *Per molti, donna, anzi per mille amanti*, ou le madrigal de Verdelot cité dans la note suivante.

***Corsini*, n° 28**	**Arcadelt: *Quarto libro […] ristampato* [= *RISM* 1545[18]], n° 38**
Deh perche si rebella *D'amor* ***celast****'i bei vostri occhi* ***greca*** ***Del che roma ne va doglios' et ceca***	*Deh perchè si ribella,* *D'amor celat'i bei vostri occhi santi* *Perch'ogn'alma ne va dogliosa in pianti.*
Hayme non conoscete *Che piu d'altrui che di voi stessa sete* *Poi che fusti da dio si bell' e cara* *Donat'al mondo* ***sol per*** *cosa rara* *Adunque se pur nostra set' ormai* *Scoprite* ***vostri*** *rai* ***Che volendo servir dio*** *non conviene* *Furar come voi fate l'altrui bene.*	*Oymè, non conoscete* *Che più d'altrui che di voi stessa siete,* *Poi che fusti da Dio si bella e cara,* *Donat'al mondo come cosa rara,* *Adunque se pur nostra siete homai,* *Scoprite i dolci rai,* *Che per alzarvi al ciel non si conviene,* *Furar come voi fate l'altrui bene.*
Hélas pourquoi se rebeller? **Vous avez caché** vos beaux yeux **pleins d'orgueil** à l'amour [10] **Ce qui rend Rome douloureuse et aveugle**	Hélas pourquoi se rebeller ? Vous cachez vos beaux yeux saints à l'amour Ce qui rend toute âme douloureuse et plaintive
Hélas, ne savez-vous pas Que vous êtes plus aux autres qu'à vous-même Car vous avez été donnée par Dieu au monde si belle et si chère **seulement** comme une chose rare Ainsi, si désormais vous êtes nôtre, Découvrez **vos** yeux Car **si l'on veut servir Dieu** il ne convient pas De ravir comme vous le faites le bien d'autrui	Hélas, ne savez-vous pas Que vous êtes plus aux autres qu'à vous-même Car vous avez été donnée par Dieu au monde si belle et si chère comme une chose rare Ainsi, si désormais vous êtes nôtre, Découvrez vos doux yeux Car pour monter au ciel il ne convient pas De ravir comme vous le faites le bien d'autrui

Table 3. *Deh perchè si ribella*: comparaison des versions manuscrite et imprimée. (Les modifications par rapport au texte imprimé en 1545 sont indiquées en gras.)[11]

[11] Je traduis «greca» par «orgueilleux», suivant en cela S. BATTAGLIA, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, Turin, 1961, 7, p. 28 (s.v. *greco*): au paragraphe 11, le mot est synonyme de «superbia, tracotanza (con riferimento alla leggendaria superbia dei Greci)»; les références remontent au XIV[e] siècle (Niccolo del Rosso, Giuliano da Galliano, et Brunetto Latini, Florentin de la fin du XIII[e] siècle).

[12] Merci à Victoria Kirkham et Monica Romano pour leur aide précieuse dans l'établissement de cette traduction et des suivantes.

On pourrait voir dans ce texte un simple ajout à la très longue liste des réactions artistiques et littéraires suscitées par un événement d'une importance historique et symbolique capitale, mais il faut plutôt souligner l'intérêt de ce *contrafactum* en le rapprochant du madrigal mis en musique par Verdelot, *Trist'Amarilli mia,* qui présente un point de vue similaire.[13] Chez Verdelot, compositeur actif à Florence entre 1520 et 1530, c'est également l'Eglise qui est prise à partie à travers une allégorie pastorale dans laquelle le poète demande à Amarylis (l'Eglise) s'il est vrai que Tytire (Clément VII) a quitté le Tibre et le Vatican, abandonnant les troupeaux (les fidèles) errants et dolents. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit non pas de plaindre Rome, mais de rendre responsables, discrètement chez Verdelot, plus ouvertement chez Arcadelt, Clément VII et la curie romaine de la tragédie du sac.[14] Cela peut se comprendre assez facilement dans le cas de Verdelot qui semble avoir été lié au camp républicain, mais il paraît à première vue surprenant de trouver une telle critique d'un pape Médicis et de son entourage dans un manuscrit provenant de la cour de Cosme 1[er]: une explication s'impose.

Alors qu'il était encore en vie, Clément VII fut jugé principal responsable des événements de mai 1527, non seulement par ses adversaires, mais aussi par ses partisans. Ainsi le Florentin Francesco Vettori écrit en 1529 un *Sacco di Roma. Dialogo* dans lequel il explique avoir du mal à évoquer le sujet, «per non dannare uno al quale porto affezione e riverenza».[15] Surtout, Vettori accuse les moeurs romaines du temps, seules responsables du châtiment divin: «era impossibile, alle sceleratezze che si commettevono in Roma e massime per li preti, che quella città potessi indugiare a capitar male».[16] Mais la raison principale qui pourrait expliquer pourquoi les Florentins jugeaient Rome responsable de ses propres malheurs tient au fait que c'est Florence qui était initialement visée par l'armée du connétable de Bourbon au printemps de 1527. Au dernier moment, les impériaux dévièrent leur route et décidèrent de marcher sur Rome, épargnant miraculeusement Florence. On comprend pourquoi ses habitants, *a posteriori,* aient voulu trouver des raisons objectives au choix de

[13] Le madrigal a été étudié en détail par HARRÁN, *The 'Sack of Rome' Set to Music*. Sur la fortune des *contrafacta* consacrés au sac de Rome, voir l'article de A. VIAN HERRERO, *Le sac de Rome dans la poésie historique hispano-italienne: discours politiques et modalités littéraires*, dans A. REDONDO éd., *Les discours sur le sac de Rome de 1527. Pouvoir et littérature*, Paris, 1999, pp. 83–102, en particulier les pp. 93–94. Du même auteur, *El Diálogo de Lactancio y un arcidiano de Alfonso de Valdés: obra de circunstancias y diálogo literario. Roma en el banquillo de Dios*, Toulouse, 1994, pp. 145–243, propose une anthologie de textes littéraires et poétiques espagnols, italiens, allemands et français consacrés au sac de Rome. Sur l'événement lui-même et ses répercussions symboliques et artistiques, voir A. CHASTEL, *Le sac de Rome, 1527*, Paris, 1984.

[14] Symboliquement, le mot «roma» est biffé dans la partie de *bassus* de *Corsini*, sans qu'il soit possible de savoir s'il s'agit d'une initiative du copiste ou de l'interprète.

[15] Cité par M. MARIETTI, *L'évocation du sac de Rome par le Florentin Francesco Vettori*, dans REDONDO, *Les discours sur le sac de Rome de 1527*, pp. 71–72.

[16] MARIETTI, *L'évocation du sac de Rome*, p. 80.

Rome, qui selon eux méritait plus que Florence un tel châtiment.[17] Vettori n'est pas le seul à soutenir une telle opinion, reprise notamment par François Guichardin dans son *Histoire d'Italie*. Celui-ci, qui a été partie prenante au moment des faits, puisqu'il servait alors de «ministre des affaires étrangères» de Clément VII,[18] critique en plusieurs endroits de son livre la pusillanimité du pape lors des événements, mais c'est le jugement sans concessions qu'il fait de son pontificat qui pourra mieux que tout autre donner une idée juste du peu d'estime dans laquelle le pape était tenu quelques années après sa mort. Guichardin considère que son pontificat fut plus négatif que positif, car, rappelle-t-il,[19]

> *«quale felicità si può comparare alla infelicità della sua incarcerazione? all'avere veduto con sì grave eccidio il sacco di Roma?* ***allo essere stato cagione di tanto esterminio della sua patria?*** *Morì odioso alla corte, sospetto a' principi, e* ***con fama più presto grave e odiosa che piacevole****; essendo riputato avaro, di poca fede e alieno di natura da beneficare gli uomini».*

> «quel bonheur peut-on comparer au malheur de son incarcération, à la vue du sac de Rome accompagné d'un tel carnage, ***à la responsabilité d'une telle dévastation de sa patrie?*** Il mourut haï par la curie, suspect aux princes, ***et avec une réputation plutôt fâcheuse et odieuse que plaisante****,* car on le tenait pour avare, peu loyal, et peu enclin, par nature, aux bienfaits».

Il faut rappeler que Guichardin fut un fidèle partisan des Médicis, et qu'il est en faveur auprès de Cosme 1[er] lorsqu'il rédige sa *Storia d'Italia*. On comprend pourquoi le madrigal d'Arcadelt a pu être modifié de cette façon, et circuler à Florence dans cette version.[20]

[17] MARIETTI, *L'évocation du sac de Rome*, pp. 75–77; et VON ALBERTINI, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato*, pp. 104–105.

[18] L'expression est de VON ALBERTINI, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato*, p. 225.

[19] C'est moi qui souligne (en gras). Cf. F. GUICCIARDINI, *Storia d'Italia*, livre 20, chap. vii, éd. F. CATALANO, Milan, 1975, 3, p. 976; F. GUICCIARDINI, *Histoire d'Italie 1492–1534*, traduction française sous la direction de J-L. FOURNEL et J-C. ZANCARINI, Paris, 1996, 2, p. 669.

[20] Don Harrán pensait à l'époque de son étude (*The 'Sack of Rome' Set to Music*) que le madrigal de Verdelot était «the only piece in the sacro-secular repertory of the time to refer, more or less explicitly, to the invasion of Rome and its aftermath» (p. 419). Mais à côté du *contrafactum* présenté ici, il existe au moins une troisième pièce musicale consacrée au sac de Rome: le madrigal qui clôt le *Primo libro a 5* de Cesare Tudino (Rome, 1564). Voir mon article *«Caronte chi sei?» Un cas exemplaire de circulation littéraire et musicale dans l'Italie de la Renaissance*, dans *Italian History and Culture*, 5 (1999), où le madrigal est brièvement présenté p. 98, et où son texte est retranscrit p. 109.

Le jugement de Guichardin contribue également à éclairer le texte du madrigal suivant, encore plus critique à l'égard de Clément VII.[21]

Miseri padr'e folli	Pères misérables et fous
Che pur tropp'amorosi et tropp'ai cari	Qui êtes trop avares et trop amoureux
Dolci figluoi vi dimostrat'avari.	De vos fils chers et doux
Soverch'amor il molle fren'ogn'hora	L'amour souverain leur fait parfois lâcher
A quei rallenta et gli conduc'in parte	Le léger frein, et les conduit en partie
Ove l'ingegn'et l'arte	Là où l'esprit et l'art
De serv'in fraude si convert'alhora	Des vils serviteurs s'est alors converti.
Che la tenace man ritir'il morso	Que la dure main enlève le mors
Al piu veloce corso	Lors de la course la plus rapide:
Cosi nel proprio nido	Alors dans son propre nid
Vien frandolent'il figlio il serv'infido	Le fils est détruit par le serviteur infidèle

Nous voici devant un texte tout à fait étonnant, qui tranche avec les poésies habituellement mises en musique par les compositeurs de madrigaux. L'événement évoqué ici a eu lieu dix ans après le sac de Rome: en janvier 1537, le duc de Florence Alexandre était assassiné par son cousin, Lorenzino. Le poète, sans nommer explicitement les différents protagonistes, donne cependant suffisamment d'indices pour que le décryptage de son texte à portée moralisante soit aisé. En voici les principales clés:[22]

Padri: Il ne fait aucun doute que Clément VII est ici visé, lui dont on disait qu'il était le père véritable d'Alexandre, né d'une liaison avec une servante maure, Simonetta. Lui-même répandait la version officielle, selon laquelle Alexandre était le fils naturel de Laurent duc d'Urbin.

Tropp'amorosi, ai cari dolci figliuoi: lorsqu'à la chute de la République florentine en 1530, Clément VII négocia avec Charles-Quint un retour des Médicis au pouvoir à Florence, il favorisa Alexandre aux dépens de son cousin Hippolyte, qui aurait dû logiquement être choisi, car il descendait d'une lignée plus directe. Afin d'écarter ce dernier des affaires florentines, il l'avait nommé cardinal en 1529.

Avari: Clément VII avait la réputation d'être avare, comme le rappelle Guichardin ci-dessus.

[21] Texte établi à partir de *Civ1*, n° 48.

[22] Sur la rumeur bien répandue de la véritable paternité d'Alexandre, voir par exemple B. VARCHI, *Istoria delle guerre della republica fiorentina*, Leyde [*recte* Venise], 1723, col. 485. Sur Hippolyte, voir ci-dessous note 35.

Soverch'amor: Alexandre était connu pour sa vie débauchée et ses passions féminines. Son cousin Lorenzino lui tend un piège dans la nuit du 5 janvier 1537, lui laissant croire à un rendez-vous amoureux. Les commentateurs ont vu tour à tour la belle Caterina Ginori ou Laudomia, la propre sœur de Lorenzino, servir d'appât pour attirer Alexandre dans les appartements de Lorenzino.[23]

Serv'in fraude/serv'infido: Lorenzino de' Medici, cousin du duc, était l'un de ses courtisans et l'un de ses plus proches compagnons de débauche.

Au-delà des circonstances du drame, qui sont décrites avec précision, le poème cherche à en tirer des conséquences morales: c'est bien sûr l'amour tout-puissant et aveuglant, ainsi que la trahison d'un serviteur infidèle qui sont responsables de la mort du duc. Mais le premier vers, «miseri padri e folli», pointe la personnalité de Clément VII comme étant à l'origine de l'assassinat de 1537.

Dans ce madrigal comme dans le précédent, on ne trouve nulle trace de compassion envers l'un des plus importants personnages de la famille Médicis, qui était également l'un des plus controversés. Ces deux textes montrent qu'à la cour de Cosme 1[er], vers 1550, la célébration familiale n'est pas exempte de critique, et que la période troublée qui précède 1537 est analysée avec une certaine objectivité. C'est d'ailleurs la même impression qui ressort à la lecture des histoires contemporaines rédigées dans l'entourage de Cosme, et parfois à sa demande. François Guichardin, Bernardo Segni ou Benedetto Varchi, malgré leur dépendance à l'égard du duc, ne s'abstiennent pas pour autant de toute critique envers les membres de la famille Médicis qui l'ont précédé, qu'il s'agisse d'Alexandre ou de Clément VII.[24]

NOSTALGIE DE L'ÂGE D'OR: LAURENT LE MAGNIFIQUE ET HIPPOLYTE

Les deux autres madrigaux politiques contenus dans les manuscrits de Masacone se distinguent des précédents pour deux raisons: d'abord, ils montrent un narrateur beaucoup plus engagé personnellement, beaucoup plus acteur des événements que ne l'étaient ceux des précédents madrigaux; ensuite, ces textes sont plus difficiles à analyser, car les circonstances précises auxquelles ils font allusion ne sont pas clairement identifiables. La présentation qui suit propose des hypothèses quant à une interprétation, avant de tenter une évaluation globale de ce répertoire et de sa signification.

[23] La relation la plus détaillée (et sans doute la plus fidèle) des faits est celle de VARCHI, *Istoria delle guerre della republica fiorentina*. Voir aussi A. GAREFFI, *La scrittura e la festa*, Bologne, 1991, chap. 6, pp. 219–242.

[24] Une vision d'ensemble de l'historiographie florentine sous le règne de Cosme 1[er] est fournie par VON ALBERTINI, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato*, chap. 5, pp. 306–350.

Le premier madrigal devait être particulièrement apprécié à la cour de Cosme puisqu'il se trouve copié par Masacone dans les deux manuscrits, *Corsini* et *Civ1*.[25]

Deh quella verd'etate et quei fresc'anni	Hélas, la verte saison
Ov'il rio fals'ancor la ria menzogna	et les fraîches années
Non di rossa vergogna	Où la fausseté, les mauvais mensonges
Ne' volti dipingea gli ascos'inganni	Et les tromperies cachées
Torna, deh' torn'homai Signior cortese	Ne peignaient pas les visages
Et mille gravi danni et mille errori	de honte rouge.
Dagl'indurati quori	Reviens, reviens à présent
Faccend'il ver palese	Seigneur aimable
Scaccia et ben mille oltraggi	Chasser mille lourds dommages,
et mill'offese	mille erreurs
	Des cœurs endurcis
	Et rendre la vérité manifeste
	En chassant mille outrages
	et mille offenses

Voici typiquement le cas d'un texte qui peut être interprété de différentes manières, qui peuvent conduire à des versions radicalement opposées. En effet, dans le contexte florentin de l'époque, le «signior cortese» (ou «beato» selon une variante qui figure dans la partie d'*altus*) ici invoqué comme juge de paix dans un contexte particulièrement tendu pourrait fort bien être Jérôme Savonarole, l'instigateur de la république de 1494, exécuté dès 1498, mais qui avait gardé de nombreux partisans à Florence, appelés les *Piagnoni* (les pleurnicheurs).[26] L'un de ceux-ci pourrait très bien être l'auteur du texte, écrit semble-t-il à une période de déchirements internes et d'extrêmes tensions, et l'on connaît les efforts de Savonarole pour ramener la paix civile et la concorde parmi les habitants de Florence.[27] C'est ici que la connaissance des destinataires des sources qui ont transmis ces textes est primordiale: si la période évoquée concerne sans doute la dernière république florentine, entre 1527 et 1530, il est en effet bien plus probable que le «signor» en question soit un Médicis, et non un républicain.

L'atmosphère de méfiance et de crise aiguë qui régnait alors à Florence, notamment après 1529, lors du siège de la ville par les troupes impériales est abondam-

[25] *Corsini* n° 33, *Civ1* n° 17.

[26] Pour un rapide survol des rapports entre Savonarole et la musique, on lira avec profit l'introduction de Patrick Macey à son édition: P. MACEY, *Savonarolan Laude, Motets, and Anthems*, pp. ix–xxi, et la bibliographie citée. Voir aussi P. MACEY, *Bonfire Songs. Savonarola's Musical Legacy*, Oxford, 1998.

[27] Voir VON ALBERTINI, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato*, pp. 11–15.

ment documentée.[28] Les rivalités entre groupes antagonistes (*Grandi*/*Popolari*), le jusqu'au-boutisme des *Arrabiati* (les «enragés»), les trahisons, les défections, tout ceci semble décrit dans les quatre premiers vers du madrigal. Randolph Starn a pu parler de la «increasingly suspicious and hostile atmosphere of republican Florence» qui régnait entre 1527 et 1530.[29]

Si les sentiments de l'auteur et la période à laquelle il écrit sont identifiables, l'identité du «signor cortese» reste toutefois à déterminer. Cet appel est peut-être adressé à un Médicis parti de Florence au moment des faits et qui est susceptible d'y revenir, afin de rétablir la paix civile. Dans ce cas, le seul candidat possible est Clément VII, qui avait dirigé la ville avant son élection au pontificat, entre 1519 et 1523. Mais on a vu plus haut qu'il ne jouissait pas d'une très haute considération après le sac de Rome, et qu'il était critiqué à l'intérieur même des deux manuscrits musicaux qui nous ont transmis ce madrigal. On peut ajouter qu'à l'époque du siège de Florence, Clément VII était allié à Charles-Quint et c'est lui qui encerclait la ville: bien qu'on ne puisse complètement exclure cette possibilité, on ne voit pas qui aurait pu écrire un tel texte en son honneur à un tel moment.

Cet appel doit plutôt être lu différemment, comme une invocation à un «signor» disparu au moment des faits, mais qui aurait laissé le souvenir d'un homme capable de ramener la concorde. Dans ce cas, Laurent le Magnifique serait le plus à même d'incarner cette figure, et il n'est pas impossible que le poète soit nostalgique d'un temps où Florence n'était pas déchirée par la guerre civile. Le double sens du premier vers pourrait ainsi s'expliquer, faisant à la fois référence à une époque désormais révolue, qui correspondrait en même temps à la jeunesse du poète. Cette idéalisation de la période de Laurent le Magnifique s'appuyait à la fois sur le souvenir d'une certaine stabilité politique et sur celui d'une floraison des arts et des lettres, qui avait pu s'exprimer dans la diffusion du mythe de l'âge d'or, auquel fait sans doute référence le *capoverso* du madrigal.[30]

Les déchirements de la guerre civile sont également le sujet du dernier madrigal, qui se présente à la manière d'un triptyque: il s'agit en effet de trois sonnets qui ont en commun le même schéma de rimes, et se présentent comme un dialogue fictif entre le poète et celui qu'il pleure. Cette ambitieuse construction poétique, plus éla-

[28] L'étude classique est celle de Cecil Roth: C. ROTH, *The Last Florentine Republic*, Londres, 1925, R/1968.

[29] R. STARN, *Donato Giannotti and His Epistolae*, Genève, 1968, p. 51. Des exemples concrets de cette atmosphère à l'époque du siège (1530) ont été rassemblés par C. ROTH, *The Last Florentine Republic*, pp. 205–207, dont celui qui concerne un chanteur de la chapelle papale, torturé et emprisonné. Le siège a généré par ailleurs une riche production poétique, rappelée pp. 208–209.

[30] Sur le mythe florentin de *l'età dell'oro*, sa création par les Médicis et sa cristallisation autour de la figure de Laurent le Magnifique, voir entre autres GAREFFI, *La scrittura e la storia*, pp. 41–45, et la bibliographie citée à la note 45, pp. 75–76. Les premiers paragraphes de la *Storia d'Italia* de Guichardin peuvent également donner une bonne idée du souvenir qu'avait laissé Laurent le Magnifique dans l'esprit des partisans des Médicis à l'époque de sa rédaction, entre 1535 et 1540.

borée que le couple traditionnel *proposta-risposta,* n'a à ma connaissance aucun équivalent dans le catalogue des productions de musique vocale italienne de l'époque.[31]

1. Le poète

Oh del' viver humano amaro molto	Oh, très amère vie humaine
Et poc'o nulla dolce oh congiurato	Si peu douce; oh ciel qui conspire
Ciel ne miei danni oh rad'[C: *nud'*] *huomo beato*	Contre moi; oh homme rarement heureux
Se dal nodo mortal pria non è sciolto	Avant d'être délivré du nœud mortel
Oh lacrime, chio spargo et ne rivolto	Oh, larmes que je répands, et que je transforme
Giuste querele a l'empi et sordo fato	En justes querelles faites au cruel et sourd destin
Oh lauro si verde ohime schiantato	Oh laurier si vert, hélas brisé
Oh d'ombra si gentil refugio tolto	Oh, refuge enlevé qu'une ombre si aimable me procurait
Oh per maggior mia doglia ogn'hor presente	Oh pour ma plus grande douleur toujours présente
Somma fede valor alma beltate	La plus haute foi, la valeur, et la beauté
D'amica pianta sul [T: *in sul*] *fiorir sotterra*	D'une plante amie qui fleurissait sont enfouies
Oh perch'inexorabil dispietate	Oh, pourquoi une telle inexorable cruauté
Oh mie speranze acerbemente spente	Oh, mes espoirs prématurément évanouis
Chi troverra mai pace a tanta guerra	Qui trouvera jamais la paix à tant de guerre?

C'est le premier de ces trois sonnets qui contient le plus d'éléments qui permettent de situer leur contexte. Ces éléments sont les suivants:

Lauro/pianta: le texte s'adresse à un membre de la famille des Médicis, symbolisée par le laurier depuis Cosme l'Ancien.
Schiantato/sotterra: le poète pleure sa mort.
Si verde/sul fiorir: il est mort jeune.

[31] *Corsini* n° 34–35–36. Une poésie politique en forme de dialogue fictif fait bien sûr penser à Michel-Ange et à son *Per molti, donna, anzi per mille amanti*. Voir M.-A. BUONARROTI, *Rime*, éd. E.N. GIRARDI, Bari, 1960, pp. 117–118.

D'ombra si gentil: le personnage évoqué était le mécène du poète, il agissait comme un protecteur.[32]

Amica pianta: plus que la perte d'un mécène, le poète regrette un ami, tout du moins quelqu'un dont il était le partisan.

Tanta guerra: il s'agit encore une fois de la référence à la période troublée qui a agité Florence entre 1527 et 1537. Le dernier vers semble signifier que la mort prématurée et tragique de ce personnage fait suite à une longue série d'affrontements: la date de sa mort doit donc être placée plutôt vers la fin de la période.

2. Le mort

La réponse du mort, si elle n'apporte aucun élément nouveau, confirme en tous cas les impressions laissées par le premier sonnet: le personnage qui répond ici, est bien l'ami du poète (*fedel amico*); il est mort jeune (*in si fiorit'etate*); et il est victime des conséquences d'une guerre civile, comme l'indiquent les deux derniers vers. Sa mort, enfin, doit avoir été violente puisqu'elle est susceptible de faire l'objet d'une vengeance.

Fedel amico mio pietos'ascolto *Tuoi non finti sospir et sconsolato* *Fera stella ria sort'iniquo fato* *Chiamare e pur ti scorg'a pianger volto*	Fidèle ami, qui m'écoutes charitablement Inconsolable, tes soupirs ne sont pas feints J'invoque la cruelle étoile, le dur sort, et le destin inique Et je te découvre malgré tout le visage en pleurs
Ma s'a l'instabil mondo m' ha ritolto *Morte crudele in si felice stato* *Mi trov'hor che ben dei* [B: *devi*] *l'aflitt'amato* *Cor aquietare et serenar' il volto*	Mais puisque la mort cruelle m'a enlevé À ce monde instable, Je me trouve en un état si heureux Que tu dois à présent consoler ton cœur affligé (que j'aime) Et rasséréner ton visage

[32] De nombreuses dédicaces de l'époque font référence à cette image pour évoquer le mécénat: voir entre autres R. COOPER, *Litterae in tempore belli. Etudes sur les relations littéraires italo-françaises pendant les guerres d'Italie*, Genève, 1997, pp. 179–180, qui cite une dédicace de 1545 du juriste toscan Emilio Ferretti évoquant Marguerite de Navarre, «sotto l'ombra della quale possa […] quietamente et tranquillamente viver». Voir aussi la dédicace du premier livre de madrigaux de Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1555): «questo mio Primo libro de Madrigali, nati sotto la felicissima ombra di Monsignor Illustriss[imo] è Reverendiss[imo] il Cardinale di Carpi mio Patrone». Reproduit dans l'édition moderne établie par Giuliana Gialdroni: G. GIALDRONI éd., *Il primo libro dei madrigali a quattro voci, Roma, Dorico, 1555 (con i facsimili a fronte di tutte le edizioni superstiti)*, Palestrina, 1989, p. 10. Enfin, le Florentin Giovanni Animuccia utilise l'expression à propos de ses madrigaux («manifestandosi sotto l'ombra del vostro nome») dans la dédicace de son deuxième livre de madrigaux adressée à Alfonso Cambi en 1551.

Non pianger dunque piu che se gia terra	Ainsi, ne pleure plus, car si mon corps
E fatto l'corpo in si fiorit'etate	Est déjà enfoui en si jeune âge
L'alma si god'il ciel etternamente	Mon âme jouit éternellement du ciel
Rimant'in pace Inpar'omai la gente	Demeure en paix, que l'on apprenne désormais
A trovar pace ad ogni civil guerra	A vivre en paix; que soient laissées au juste Dieu
Sien le vendett'al giusto dio lassate	Les vengeances des guerres civiles

3. Le poète

Amato fior acerbamente colto	Fleur aimée, cueillie prématurément
L'acute spine'l cor m'han' trapassato	Les épines acérées m'ont tant transpercé le cœur
Si che vivo di piant'a pianger nato	Que je vis pour pleurer, étant né pour pleurer
Et credo piangerann' anco sepolto	Et je crois que je pleurerai encore dans la tombe
L'alma ben si consola poi ch'accolto	Mon âme peut bien se consoler, puisque
Dalla pieta del redemptore in stato	accueilli par la compassion du rédempteur,
Sei si felice lungi dal ingrato	Tu es si heureux, loin du monde ingrat,
Mondo d'inganni pien obscur' et folto	Obscur et touffu, plein de tromperies
Ma la caduca mia sensibil terra	Mais mon éphémère et sensible condition terrestre
Non potra esser gia [B: *giamai*] *non si lamente*	Ne pourra jamais ne pas se plaindre
Del'infelici tue brevi giornate,	De tes jours courts et malheureux
Deh' chiaro spirto hor preg'humilmente	clair esprit, à présent prie humblement
La divin ineffabile bontate	la divine et ineffable bonté
Che mi dia pace dopo lunga guerra	afin qu'elle me donne la paix après cette longue guerre

Le caractère exceptionnel de ces trois madrigaux ne vient pas tant du thème choisi que de la façon dont il est traité. Rencontré pour la première fois dans les deux manuscrits de Masacone, le genre du *lamento* est en effet, avec la célébration du mariage ou du couronnement, le type de pièce «politique» le plus courant, et aussi le plus convenu. Mais ici, il se distingue de la déploration traditionnelle pour trois raisons au moins: sa longueur et sa construction poétique inhabituelle d'abord, le dialogue fictif établi entre le poète et le mort, et enfin son contenu véritablement politique, qui rend compte d'un engagement bien éloigné des traditionnelles formules laudatives. Les rapports apparemment étroits qui lient l'auteur du poème et la personne à laquelle il rend hommage expliquent pour une large part l'intimité de l'échange, l'aspect privé du discours.[33]

Les éléments réunis lors de la lecture des poèmes font bien évidemment penser au duc Alexandre, dont la figure a été évoquée dans l'autre manuscrit. A première vue, il représente le candidat idéal: un membre important de la famille des Médicis, disparu brutalement dans la fleur de l'âge. La fin du deuxième poème, qui fait allusion à d'éventuelles vengeances consécutives aux faits de guerre civile, semble confirmer cette option, puisque l'on sait que Lorenzino, qui aimait se comparer à Brutus, expliqua son geste par une raison politique et se rallia au camp des exilés républicains conduits par Filippo Strozzi.

Cependant, je ne crois pas qu'Alexandre soit le personnage évoqué ici: c'est plus probablement son cousin le cardinal Hippolyte que le poète chante ici, et je voudrais rapidement énumérer les nombreux arguments qui plaident en sa faveur. D'abord, tout ce que l'on sait d'Alexandre, de sa vie, de son comportement, de ses goûts, tout s'oppose à ce que sa mort, même violente et imprévue, ait pu générer une telle poésie. Alexandre n'était pas un mécène particulièrement recherché, et il n'avait pas la réputation d'être un *huomo beato* ou un *chiaro spirto,* pas plus que *l'alma beltate* ou la *somma fede* ne peuvent le caractériser.[34] Or la sincérité du discours, la proximité du poète avec celui qu'il pleure, non seulement affaiblissent la candidature d'Alexandre, mais renforcent aussi celle de son cousin. Celui-ci, nommé cardinal par Clément VII à dix-huit ans, fut l'un des plus grands mécènes de son temps. Ami des arts et des artistes, il fut poète lui-même (ce qui pourrait expliquer le stratagème du dialogue utilisé ici), et les portraits physique et intellectuel que nous ont laissés

[33] A ce propos, on pourra utilement comparer ces textes avec un autre *lamento* écrit pour un Florentin à la même époque, mis en musique par Arcadelt. *Deh come trista dei*, publié en 1544 dans son cinquième livre de madrigaux, propose un texte beaucoup plus conventionnel et bien moins informatif sur le contexte, à tel point que James Haar a pu hésiter sur l'identité de la personne regrettée, balançant entre le duc Alexandre et Filippo Strozzi. Voir J. HAAR, *The Florentine Madrigal, 1540–60*, dans J.A. OWENS et A. CUMMINGS éds., *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, Warren, Michigan, 1997, p. 145.

[34] Sur Alexandre, voir la bibliographie citée par VON ALBERTINI, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato*, p. 204.

Le Titien et Paolo Giovio ressemblent beaucoup à celui qui est brossé ici par le poète anonyme.[35] A la mort du pape en 1534, Hippolyte prit la tête des exilés républicains dans leur tentative de démettre son cousin Alexandre du trône de Florence. Mais alors qu'il allait défendre sa cause et celle de ses partisans auprès de l'empereur Charles-Quint qui séjournait à Naples en août 1535, il meurt subitement en route, pris par des coliques suspectes. Tous les contemporains étaient persuadés que seul l'empoisonnement pouvait être responsable de cette mort prématurée, et une rumeur insistante voulait que le duc Alexandre en fut le commanditaire.[36] Ainsi, mort à vingt-quatre ans, victime d'une guerre civile, Hippolyte a toutes les chances d'être le personnage chanté dans ces trois madrigaux. Cette hypothèse trouve d'ailleurs un appui bienvenu dans un passage du premier sonnet, dans lequel le poète se réfère à la fin de ses espoirs (*Speranze acerbemente spente*): cette référence s'explique aisément lorsqu'on sait qu'après 1534, tous les espoirs des *fuorusciti* modérés étaient placés en Hippolyte.[37]

Ainsi, ces trois madrigaux constituent à ma connaissance l'unique souvenir musical du brillant cardinal, qui fut pourtant un grand protecteur de musiciens, au nombre desquels figure le célèbre luthiste Francesco da Milano.[38] La présence de ces pièces

[35] Il n'existe à ma connaissance aucune synthèse qui évalue le mécénat d'Hippolyte, dont la cour était «ripiena di Letterati, di musici e di uomini eccellenti, e famosi», selon un témoin de l'époque cité dans l'article d'A. CUMMINGS, *Three Gigli: Medici Musical Patronage in the Early Cinquecento*, dans *Recercare*, 15 (2003), p. 62, qui propose une mise au point sur le mécénat musical du cardinal. Je remercie Anthony Cummings de m'avoir communiqué son travail avant sa publication. Le même auteur avait déjà abordé le sujet (et inclus les portraits du Titien et de Paolo Giovio) dans son livre, CUMMINGS, *The Politicized Muse*, pp. 227–228. Si mon hypothèse s'avère exacte, le poète pourrait être l'un des deux secrétaires particuliers d'Hippolyte, Claudio Tolomei ou Francesco Maria Molza. A propos des hommages posthumes, L'Arétin a formulé un avis très clair: ceux qui les écrivent ont été employés par ceux dont ils font l'éloge. Ainsi, lorsqu'on lui demande de contribuer au tombeau de Marguerite de Navarre, il répond: «circa il far'io qualche memoria della di Navarra Reina non parlo; imperoché, chi delle sue carità gode ciò dee et n'ha obligo, et non quegli che non ne ritrasser' mai nulla, nè sperano». Cité par COOPER, *Litterae in tempore belli*, p. 203.

[36] A titre d'exemple, voici les nouvelles que reçoit le nonce du pape en France, à la date du 12 août 1535. Après l'avoir averti de la mort d'Hippolyte, son informateur romain ajoute: «La qual' morte certo […] è molto dispiaciutta a tutti, ma molto più il modo qual dicono esser stato di veneno venuto di Fiorenza et propinato per il suo scalco secreto chiamato G. Andrea de casa […] il quale arrivara qui domani prigione». J. LESTOCQUOY éd., *Correspondance des nonces en France. Carpi et Ferrerio 1535–1540*, Rome–Paris, 1961, p. 60. Le 2 septembre, le nonce Carpi répond qu'à la cour de France, la culpabilité d'Alexandre est tenue pour chose certaine (p. 67).

[37] Voir entre autres VON ALBERTINI, *Firenze dalla repubblica al principato*, p. 204.

[38] Le violiste Giovanni Battista Sansone, dit «il siciliano», et le claveciniste Lorenzo da Gaeta étaient également à son service. Voir CUMMINGS, *Three Gigli*, pp. 63–69. Cet intérêt pour la musique instrumentale n'était pas exclusif, comme le rappelle Giovanni Andrea Gilio da Fabriano en 1564: «Hebbe musici di voce, e di suoni i primi d'Italia» (cité par CUMMINGS, *Three Gigli*, p. 64). A part cette phrase, rien n'avait jusqu'à présent été trouvé concernant Hippolyte et la musique vocale, profane ou religieuse. A l'instar du poète, le compositeur de ces trois madrigaux pourrait bien avoir été employé – même occasionnellement – par le jeune cardinal.

dans un manuscrit ayant appartenu à un membre de la cour de Cosme 1[er] montre que sa mémoire était entretenue bien après sa mort.[39]

Pour résumer, et si ma lecture de ces textes s'avère exacte, c'est un véritable album de la famille Médicis que nous proposent les deux manuscrits en question. Pour autant, les sentiments exprimés à l'égard de ses différents membres sont loin d'être identiques: ils oscillent, par ordre chronologique, entre une confiance inébranlable dans les qualités d'homme politique de Laurent le Magnifique, le ressentiment contre les actions de Clément VII, l'adulation pour Hippolyte, et l'acceptation de la fatalité pour Alexandre. D'après ce que l'on peut apprendre des travaux des historiens qui travaillaient à Florence au milieu du XVI[e] siècle (Benedetto Varchi, Filippo de' Nerli, Bernardo Segni) ces sentiments étaient partagés par la grande majorité des courtisans de Cosme, dont faisaient partie les propriétaires des deux manuscrits qui contiennent ces pièces.[40] Ces sources sont donc apparemment caractérisées par une certaine cohérence quant à leur contenu politique, cohérence renforcée par la présence d'un motet en l'honneur de Charles-Quint, celui qui avait permis aux Médicis d'asseoir définitivement leur pouvoir sur Florence, puis sur la Toscane.

Mais les questions que posent ces madrigaux ne se limitent pas à déterminer les personnages qu'ils célèbrent ou les événements auxquels ils font référence, puis à en tirer des enseignements sur les opinions de ceux qui les chantaient: on peut en effet se demander quel est le rôle exact de ces pièces, dès lors qu'elles sont mises en musique. Ont-elle pour but d'entretenir simplement la mémoire de façon plus efficace qu'une simple poésie? D'agir comme instrument de propagande? Ou encore de permettre une écriture ou une ré-écriture de l'histoire? Ces madrigaux posent également la question du statut des pièces politiques à la Renaissance. Par leur nature, les motets qui célèbrent un souverain ou un événement sont publics, car ils sont destinés à être exécutés dans un lieu public; les madrigaux, lorsqu'ils sont édités, ont un statut comparable, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de déplorations ou d'épithalames. Ici en revanche, nous avons affaire à un type de pièce apparemment réservé à la sphère privée, qui circulait en manuscrit dans un milieu relativement fermé.

Ainsi, tout en élargissant le nombre de pièces musicales directement issues de la situation politique florentine de la première moitié du XVI[e] siècle, ces madrigaux nous donnent également la possibilité d'envisager les rapports de la musique et de l'histoire à la Renaissance autrement que sous l'angle du *Staatsmotette*. L'intrusion de la dimension historico-politique dans la sphère privée par le truchement de la musique vocale permet d'enrichir encore – s'il en était besoin – le champ d'action et le statut du premier madrigal, un genre qui dépasse de très loin le rôle de simple divertissement musical auquel on l'a parfois cantonné.

[39] Hippolyte avait laissé un excellent souvenir à la cour de Cosme au milieu du XVI[e] siècle, comme en témoignent les Elogi de Paolo Giovio et le discours de Cosimo Bartoli, cités par CUMMINGS, *The Politicized Muse*, p. 227.

[40] Sur l'historiographie à la cour de Cosme, voir ci-dessus, note 24.

Selling the Madrigal: Pierre Phalèse II and the Four 'Antwerp Anthologies'

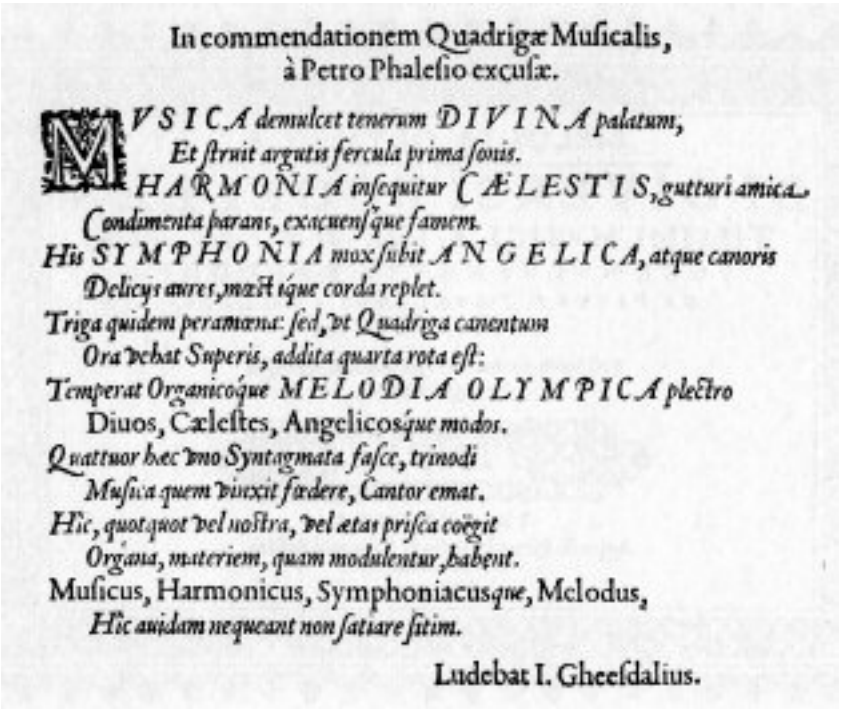
Susan Lewis Hammond
University of Victoria

Pierre Phalèse II (c. 1550–1629) attempted to woo buyers by including a witty Latin verse as a preface to his madrigal collection *Melodia olympica* (Antwerp, 1591). The Latin verse composed by the northern poet Johannes Gheesdalius appears on folio 1 verso of the *Tenore*, *Basso*, and *Sesto* partbooks. Though not entirely new, it was still an unusual strategy. In fact, only two other anthologies, compiled by Phalèse's father, Pierre the Elder, had included Latin poems as prefaces: *Chansons a qvatre parties... de Jehan de Latre* (Louvain, Phalèse I, 1552) and the instrumental collection *Hortvlvs Cytharae* (Louvain, Phalèse I, Antwerp, Bellère, 1570).[1] At the start of Phalèse II's collection, Gheesdalius's poem honours the printer himself, Phalèse, and praises the four madrigal anthologies *Musica divina* (1583), *Harmonia celeste* (1583), *Symphonia angelica* (1585), and *Melodia olympica* (1591). Printed in Antwerp, these four collections are among the earliest volumes of Italian madrigals to appear north of the Alps. Together they transmit 268 Italian songs by at least 65 different composers of Italian and northern descent. At the end of the laudatory poem, Gheesdalius's play on words transforms the titles of the four anthologies into the authors, commentators, and performers of the music: *Musicus* [*Musica divina*] denotes Theorist, *Harmonicus* [*Harmonia celeste*] implies Composer, *Symphoniacusque* [*Symphonia angelica*] a Performer, and *Melodus* [*Melodia olympica*] a Singer. The change in font for the title words of the four anthologies reinforces the connection (see Figure 1).

Phalèse continued to use Gheesdalius's poem to promote reprints of the four anthologies through the seventeenth century. It appears in extant partbooks from *Melodia olympica* (1594, 1611, 1630), *Harmonia celeste* (1614), and *Musica divina* (1614, 1623, 1634). In doing so, he encouraged consumers to purchase all four collections of the madrigals as a set, as Gheesdalius instructs in lines 13–14 of the poem: 'May the singer buy these four collections in one bundle, which Music tied with a three-knotted bond.'

This use of Latin verse is an especially clear example of Phalèse's attempts to promote the Italian madrigal, a relatively new genre in the northern marketplace. Early inventories of private, court, and institutional libraries suggest that this strategy met with some degree of success: several buyers and collectors acquired complete sets of

[1] See, respectively, H. VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils*, Brussels, 1990, no. 8, pp. 18–19, 353, and no. 148, pp. 162–168, 364. I would like to thank Jane Bernstein for pointing out these examples.



In commendationem Quadrigæ Muſicalis,
à Petro Phaleſio excuſæ.

MVSICA demulcet tenerum DIVINA palatum,
Et ſtruit argutis fercula prima ſonis.
HARMONIA inſequitur CÆLESTIS, gutturi amica,
Condimenta parans, exacuenſque famem.
His SYMPHONIA mox ſubit ANGELICA, atque canoris
Delicijs aures, mœſtáque corda replet.
Triga quidem peramœna: ſed, vt Quadriga canentum
Ora vehat Superis, addita quarta rota eſt:
Temperat Organicóque MELODIA OLYMPICA plectro
Diuos, Cæleſtes, Angelicosque modos.
Quattuor hæc vno Syntagmata faſce, trinodi
Muſica quem vinxit fœdere, Cantor emat.
Hic, quotquot vel noſtra, vel ætas priſca coëgit
Organa, materiem, quam modulentur, habent.
Muſicus, Harmonicus, Symphoniacusque, Melodus,
Hic auidam nequeant non ſatiare ſitim.

Ludebat I. Gheeſdalius.

Figure 1. *Melodia olympica*. Antwerp, Phalèse & Bellère, 1591. Tenor partbook, fol. 1v (facsimile edition in *Corpus of Early Music*, 22, Brussels, 1970).

all four anthologies.[2] This article uses the 'Antwerp anthologies' as a case study for assessing the marketing of madrigals at the Phalèse firm. The marketing of early modern music books incoporates strategies familiar to us from modern marketing practices, such as product development (which includes brands and packaging), pricing strategies, distribution channels, advertising, and promotion. For Phalèse, the anthology format itself served as a marketing tool. Whereas volumes of one author's madrigals highlighted the virtue of a single composer, anthologies highlighted the cosmopolitan nature of the madrigal as a genre, thereby creating and reinforcing cul-

[2] The Uppsala copies, for instance, include all four anthologies in addition to *Il lauro verdi* (1591) and *La fleur des chansons d'Orlande de Lassus* (1592) – see R. WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog of the Music Printed by Hubert Waelrant and Jan de Laet*, Warren, Michigan, 1994, p. 194. The name *Nicolaij Dapperichs* and the date *1604, 27 Aprilis* are written inside. The volumes are found in sixteenth-century leather bindings with the name *Guilhelmvs Knopehevs* and the date stamp *Anno Dominvs 15 93*. See also J. BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: the Scotto Press (1539–1572)*, New York – London, 1998, Appendix C, pp. 933–950, where binder's volumes attest to acquisition by collectors of series or sets of editions. Mary Lewis discusses the ownership and collecting of Gardano music books in M. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano: Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, New York, 1988–, 1, pp. 123–162.

tural consumption. The large, 36-folio size of each collection reveals a bigger ambition on the part of Phalèse: to become an active player in the European music trade. Though madrigals had appeared in northern editions as early as Orlando di Lasso's *Opus 1* (Antwerp, Susato, 1555), the 'Antwerp anthologies' mark a shift in focus from northern composers and regional markets, to Italian composers and the European marketplace.[3] The contents of each anthology are presented in Appendix 1.

The article first argues that Phalèse created a brand of madrigal books that relied on consumer recognition. The 'Antwerp anthologies' retain the 'look and feel' of music books from the Phalèse shop, while at the same time they transmit contents that represent a marked shift away from the specialization of his father, Pierre Phalèse I, on French chansons and lute books. Second, Phalèse used outside compilers to build a target audience of patrons who received praise in both words and music in the 'Antwerp anthologies.' Third, Phalèse allied himself with prominent bookdealers and publishers in the region to expand the market for the collections to virtually all corners of Europe. Finally, Phalèse reprinted the anthologies multiple times over the course of fifty-one years to create a lasting market presence. Phalèse and his heirs printed a combined total of twenty-three editions of the four collections, which form the largest recurring body of Italian madrigals in the north.[4]

[3] Scholars have noted the significance of the 'Antwerp anthologies' for the northern dissemination of madrigals by Italian composers. See F. PIPERNO, *Madrigali siciliani in antologie transalpine (1583–1616)*, (*Musiche Rinascimentali Siciliane*, 6), Florence, 1991; F. PIPERNO, *Gli 'Eccellentissimi musici della città di Bologna' con uno studio sull'antologia madrigalistica del cinquecento*, (*Historiae Musicae Cultores Biblioteca*, *Madrigalisti dell'Italia Settentrionale*, 2), Florence, 1985; F. PIPERNO, *Polifonisti dell'Italia meridionale nelle antologie madrigalistiche d'Oltralpe (1601–1616)*, in *La musica a Napoli durante il seicento. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Napoli, 11–14 Aprile 1985*, (*Miscellanea Musicologia*, 2), Rome, 1987, pp. 77–92; and F. PIPERNO, *Il madrigale italiano in Europa. Compilazioni antologiche allestite e pubblicate oltralpe: dati e appunti*, in ALBERTO COLZANI et al. eds., *Il madrigale oltre il madrigale. Dal Barocco al Novecento: destino di una forma e problemi di analisi*, Como, 1994, pp. 17–48. On their importance for the development of the English madrigal, see J. KERMAN, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study*, (*American Musicological Society: Studies and Documents*, 4), New York, 1962, especially pp. 48–51, 57–58. Kristine K. Forney was among the first to draw attention to Antwerp as a northern centre for the madrigal – see K. FORNEY, *Antwerp's Role in the Reception and Dissemination of the Madrigal in the North*, in ANGELO POMPILIO et al. eds., *International Musicological Society 14th Congress 1987. Round Table IV. Produzione e distribuzione di musica nella società del XVIe e XVII secolo*, Turin, 1990, 1, pp. 239–253, especially pp. 247–249. Gerald R. Hoekstra focuses on the audience for Italian music in G. HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal in Antwerp and the Low Countries, 1555–1620*, in *Musica Disciplina*, 48 (1994), pp. 125–187. On the printing and publishing history of Lasso's *Opus 1*, see K. FORNEY, *Orlande de Lassus's 'Opus 1': The Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 39–40 (1985/86), pp. 33–60.

[4] Friedrich Lindner's three-volume series *Gemma musicalis* (Nuremberg, Gerlach, 1588–1590) contains a comparatively large number of madrigals, but was never reprinted. The dates for the reprints of the 'Antwerp anthologies' are summarized in HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, p. 126, n. 4 as follows: *Musica divina* (1588, 1591, 1595, 1606, 1614, 1623, 1634); *Harmonia celeste* (1589, 1593 [with slight modifications], 1605, 1614, 1628); *Symphonia angelica* (1590 [with slight modifications], 1594, 1611, 1629); and *Melodia olympica* (1594, 1611, 1630).

PRODUCING MADRIGAL BOOKS AT THE PHALÈSE PRINT SHOP

Phalèse the Younger was the heir to a reputable family printing firm founded by his father, Pierre Phalèse the Elder (c.1510–c.1576), in Louvain in 1542.[5] Upon inheriting the business, Phalèse *fils* moved the operation to Antwerp: an entry for *Valesus* confirms that Phalèse II joined the Guild of St. Luke that regulated the print trade in Antwerp in 1581.[6] His decision to relocate may have been motivated by the firm's association with the printer-publisher Jean Bellère (1526–1595), who had served as the firm's Antwerp distributor since 1570.[7]

In his early years in Antwerp, Phalèse gradually incorporated madrigals alongside works similar to those published by his father. During the first thirteen years of the firm's activity in Antwerp (1582–1595), the names Phalèse and Bellère appear at the bottom of the title pages of thirty-two volumes of music (see Table 1).[8]

Eighteen of the thirty-two volumes contain Italian-texted music: nine single-composer editions, six anthologies, and three mixed-genre books. This rate of transmission suggests a steady market, if not a flourishing one, for the Italian madrigal. A close examination of Table 1 reveals that Phalèse II's earliest editions cautiously rely on well-known composers and repertories. The first three volumes contain works by northerners Jean de Castro (c.1540/45–1600) and Orlando di Lasso (1530/32–1594). Both composers had established reputations in the northern marketplace. Castro's music was printed in Louvain, Antwerp, and Paris and included a multi-genre volume that grouped three-voice canzones, madrigals, and motets (Antwerp, Laet, 1569).[9] Lasso was an even safer investment for a northern printer; volumes devoted to his

[5] On the biography of the Phalèse family, see S. BAIN and H.VANHULST, art. *Phalèse*, *Pierre (i)* and *(ii)*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 19, pp. 545–549.

[6] P. ROMBOUTS and T. VAN LERIUS, *De Liggeren en andere Historische Archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, Antwerp – Amsterdam, 1864, repr. Amsterdam 1961, 1, p. 276. There is no entry for Phalèse in the *Antwerpse Poortersboeken* ('citizenship books') which record entries of new citizens.

[7] On Jean Bellère, see L. VAN DEN BRANDEN, *Archiefstukken Antwerpse Boekwezen*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 61–63 (1983–1985), pp. 179–187; A. ROUZET, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraries et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Niewkoop, 1975, pp. 9–10; and S. BAIN, art. *Bellère, Jean*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 3, p. 189.

[8] Table 1 follows entries found in K. SCHLAGER ed., *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, (*Répertoire international des sources musicales*, ser. A/I, 1–9, 11–13), Kassel, 1971–; and F. LESURE ed., *Recueils imprimés XVIe–XVIIe siècles*, (*Répertoire international des sources musicales*, ser. B), Munich, 1960. Volumes without *RISM* numbers are drawn from the listing of publications by Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère in BAIN and VANHULST, art. *Phalèse, Pierre (ii)*, p. 547. Table 1 does not include the reprints of Rinaldo del Mel's *Sacrae cantiones* (*RISM* M2196, 1589), *Musica divina* (*RISM* 1588[16], 1591[11], and 1595[4]), *Harmonia celeste* (*RISM* 1589[9] and 1593[4]), *Symphonia angelica* (*RISM* 1590[17] and 1594[8]), and *Melodia olympica* (*RISM* 1594[7]).

[9] See WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog*, no. 32, pp. 149–154.

works were issued in Munich, Nuremberg, Antwerp, Paris, Louvain, Rome, Milan, and Venice, far exceeding the publications of any other sixteenth-century composer.[10]

Clearly, Phalèse attempted to expand his niche by slowly introducing the madrigal, with its foreign text, into the pre-established market for his editions. *Musica divina* was a signal publication for Phalèse as his first anthology devoted exclusively to Italian madrigals. Yet, once again, Phalèse remains cautious by diminishing the term 'madrigal' on the title page: it only appears in small font in the sixth line of the text. Instead, Phalèse favoured the appealing metaphor of 'divine music' for the anthology's title.[11] This is a significant marketing maneuver: while the name of a famous composer was usually used to promote volumes devoted to single authors, in the case of anthologies, the title (and title page) was the primary point of reference for booksellers, publishing catalogues, and consumers. The typographical layout is also suggestive. All four of the 'Antwerp anthologies' lack a printer's mark and are framed with the same scrolled border in use since the publication of *Septiesme livre des chansons a quatre* by Phalèse the Elder in 1567.[12] Phalèse *fils* may have retained the cover design to attract customers already familiar with his firm's chanson books (see Figure 2).

Though Phalèse compiled *Musica divina* himself, he employed outside editors for the remaining 'Antwerp anthologies'. Managing the print shop would certainly have occupied his time, and may have prevented him from taking on the additional task of compiling new anthologies. He probably relied on his compilers Andreas Pevernage (1542/43–1591), Hubert Waelrant (c.1517–1595), and Peter Philips (1560/61–1628) for access to Italian music as well. Pevernage, the compiler of *Harmonia celeste* (1583), for instance, had close ties to the Officina Plantiniana, the Antwerp-

[10] His music survives in over 280 single-composer editions and another 250 anthologies – see BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, p. 204, drawing figures from J. ERB, *Orlande de Lassus: A Guide to Research*, New York, 1990, p. xvi.

[11] For a history of title pages, see M. SMITH, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460–1510*, London, 2000; and B. RICHARDSON, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge – New York, 1999, pp. 131–135. The importance of illustration and decoration in the northern book world is stressed in K. BOWEN, *Christophel Plantin's Books of Hours: Illustration and Production*, Nieuwkoop, 1997. The title page styles of the Venetian firms of Scotto and Gardano are examined in BERNSTEIN, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, pp. 70–79, 199 and nn. 47–49; and M. LEWIS, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer*, 1, pp. 31–32, 43–48, and 2, pp. 39–40 and n. 65. See also PIPERNO, *Gli 'Eccellentissimi musici della città di Bologna'*, pp. 8–9, 11–12, 30; and PIPERNO, *Madrigali siciliani*, pp. xvi–xvii.

[12] The title pages to *Paradiso musicale* (1596), *Il vago alboreto* (1597), and *Madrigali a otto voci* (1597, 1598) were printed without the scroll border. The title page designs and printer's marks used by Phalèse the Elder in Louvain are discussed in VANHULST, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain*, pp. xv–xviii, 199. The scroll design was also used by his contemporaries, Joannes I Bogardus and his son and successor Jean II Bogard, in Douai. See G. PERSOONS, *Joannes I Bogardus, Jean II Bogard en Pierre Bogard als muziekdrukkers te Douai van 1574 tot 1633 en hun betrekkingen met de Officina Plantiniana*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 66–67 (1988–1989), pp. 613–667, especially pp. 638–641 and 660–663.

YEAR	*RISM* SIGLUM	COMPOSER	SHORT-TITLE AND CONTENT (GENRE AND LANGUAGE)
1582	C1475	Jean de Castro	*Chansons*, *madrigaux et motetz*, 3vv; French chansons, Italian madrigals, Latin motets
1582	C1476	Jean de Castro	*Livre de chansons*, 3vv; French chansons
1582	L941	Orlande de Lassus	*Libro de villanelle, moresche, et altre canzoni*, 4–8vv Italian secular songs
1582	1582[16]	Anthology	*Hortulus citharae vulgaris*; instrumental music
1583	1583[14]	Anthology	*Harmonia celeste*, 4–8vv; Italian madrigals
1583	1583[15]	Anthology	*Musica divina*, 4–7vv; Italian madrigals
1583	1583[21]	Anthology	*Chorearum molliorum collectanea*, 4vv; instrumental music
1585	1585[19]	Anthology	*Symphonia angelica*, 4–6vv; Italian madrigals
1586	C1477	Jean de Castro	*Chansons*, 5vv; French chansons
1588	M2206	Rinaldo del Mel	*Madrigali*, 6vv; Italian madrigals
1588	M2195	Rinaldo del Mel	*Sacrae cantiones... cum litania*, 5–12vv; Latin sacred music
1588	C1479	Jean de Castro	*Madrigali*, 3vv, *con doi canzoni francese*, 6vv; Italian madrigals, French songs
1588	none	Giovanni Battista Mosto	*Madrigali*, 5vv; Italian madrigals[1]
1589	T1435	Jean de Turnhout	*Il primo libro de madrigali*, 6vv; Italian madrigals
1590	1590[19]	Anthology	*Bicinia sive cantiones suavissimae*; Bicinia (2-voice repertory; includes four madrigals)[2]
1591	C1482	Jean de Castro	*Recueil des chansons*, 3vv; French chansons
1591	1591[8]	Anthology	*Il lauro verde*, 6vv; Italian madrigals
1591	1591[10]	Anthology	*Melodia olympica*, 4–8vv; Italian madrigals
1592	1592[22]	Emanuel Adriaenssen, arr.	*Novum pratum musicum... diversorum autorum*;[3] Lute music
1592	C1484	Jean de Castro	*Triciniorum sacrorum, quae moteta vocant... liber unus*, 3vv; Tricinia (3-voice repertory)
1592	C1486	Jean de Castro	*Chansons, stanses, sonets, et épigrammes... livre second*, 2vv; French songs
1592	C1487	Jean de Castro	*Sonets, avec une chanson... livre premier*, 2vv; French songs
1592	1592[9] =L1002	Orlande de Lassus	*La fleur des chansons*, 4–8vv; French and Italian songs; one by Cipriano de Rore
1593	none	Orlande de Lassus	*Cantiones italicae* (lost)[4]

1593	P696	G.P. da Palestrina	*Cantiones sacrae*, 4vv; Latin sacred music[5]
1593	M572	Luca Marenzio	*Madrigali... ridotti in un corpo*, 5vv; Italian madrigals
1593	none	Matthias Thalman	*Missae*, 4–6vv (lost); mass settings[6]
1594	D1814	Jean Desquesnes	*Madrigali... il primo libro*, 5vv; Italian madrigals
1594	G122	Giovanni Battista Galeno	*Il primo libro de madrigali*, 5vv; Italian madrigals
1594	1594[14] =M522	Luca Marenzio	*Madrigali... in un corpo ridotti*, 6vv; Italian madrigals; one by Antonio Bicci
1594	1594[5]	J.P. Sweelinck and C. Verdonck	*Chansons*, 5vv; French chansons
1595	C1492	Jean de Castro	*Harmonie joyeuse et delectable... stanzes et chansons*, 4vv; French chansons

[1] The Antwerp edition is not listed in either *RISM* or among the composer's works in D. ARNOLD and T. MORSANUTO, art. *Mosto, Giovanni Battista*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 2001, 17, p. 187. It is, however, included in the list of Phalèse II and Bellère publications in BAIN and VANHULST, art. *Phalèse, Pierre (ii)*, p. 547. A Venetian edition of *Il terzo libro de madrigali*, 5vv appeared in 1588 (*RISM* M3814).

[2] See HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, p. 172–173.

[3] Phalèse published an earlier volume without Bellère: Emanuel Adriaenssen (arranger), *Pratum musicum longe amoenissimum...* (*RISM* 1584[12]).

[4] The edition is not listed in *RISM*, but is included in the list of Phalèse II and Bellère publications in BAIN and VANHULST, art. *Phalèse, Pierre (ii)*, p. 547.

[5] Bellère's name does not appear in the entry in *RISM*, though the volume is included in the list of publications by Phalèse II and Bellère in BAIN and VANHULST, art. *Phalèse, Pierre (ii)*, p. 547.

[6] The edition is not listed in *RISM*, but is included in the list of publications by Phalèse II and Bellère in BAIN and VANHULST, art. *Phalèse, Pierre (ii)*, p. 547.

Table 1. Music editions by Pierre Phalèse II & Jean Bellère (all published in Antwerp).


MVSICA DIVINA
DI XIX. AVTORI ILLVSTRI.
A IIII. V. VI. ET VII. VOCI. NVOVAMENTE
RACCOLTA DA PIETRO PHALESIO,
ET DATA IN LVCE.
Nella quale si contengono i più Excellenti Madrigali
che hoggidì si cantino.
CANTO
IN ANVERSA.
Appresso Pietro Phalesio & Giouanni Bellero.
1583.

Figure 2. *Musica divina*. Antwerp, Phalèse & Bellère, 1583. Canto partbook, fol. 1v (facsimile edition in *Corpus of Early Music*, 19, Brussels, 1970).

based printing and publishing house founded by Christopher Plantin (c.1520–1589). Several of his sacred collections were issued there, and he may even have served as music advisor to the master printer.[13] Pevernage may have acquired source books for *Harmonia celeste* through Plantin's publishing networks, which extended to virtu-

[13] For correspondence between Plantin and Pevernage, see P. DENUCÉ, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, Antwerp, 1916, repr. Liechtenstein, 1968. For biographical material on Pevernage, see K. FORNEY, art. *Pevernage, Andreas*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 19, pp. 530–531; R. DE MAN, *André Pevernage en Kortrijk (1543–1591)*, in *Handelingen. Koninklijke Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, new series 44 (1977), pp. 3–42; R. DE MAN, *Miscellanea*, in *Handelingen. Koninklijke Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, new series 75 (1978), pp. 389–394; G. HOEKSTRA ed., *Andreas Pevernage. The Complete Chansons*, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 61–64), Madison, Wisconsin, 1983; I. BOSSUYT, art. *Pevernage, Andreas*, in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 12 (1987), cols. 595–600; B. BOUCKAERT et al., *Andreas Pevernage (1542/3–1591) en het muziekleven in zijn tijd*, in *Musica antiqua*, 10 (1993), pp. 161–175; B. BOUCKAERT, *Music and Repertoire in Ghent: The Music Inventory of 1616 of the Collegiate Church of St Veerle and Information on the Purchase of Music Books in the 16th Century*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 43 (1999), pp. 41–51; and J. STELLFELD, *Andries Pevernage. Zijn leven – zijne werken*, (*Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, Ser. 6, 66), Leuven, 1943.

ally all corners of Europe. The composer also had direct ties to the Venetian music presses. His own earliest works, four motets, appeared in the Venetian anthology series *Novi atque catholici thesauri musici*, compiled by Petrus Joannelli and published by Gardano in 1568.[14]

Waelrant, the compiler of *Symphonia angelica*, offered Phalèse experience as both madrigalist and, more importantly, as a professional music editor.[15] Between 1554 and 1558 he worked in partnership with the Antwerp-based printer Jean de Laet. As the firm's publisher, bookseller, financial manager, and artistic director, Waelrant played a central role in bringing Italian-texted music to press.[16] His own volume of chansons and madrigals appeared at the firm in 1558.[17] As a publisher, Waelrant had access to Venetian music books and the latest works of native composers. There is also evidence that Waelrant had close ties with Italy, where he may have travelled as a youth.[18] Further, his madrigal *Quand'io pens'al martire* appeared in *Madregali di Verdelot a sei insieme altri madregali de diversi eccellentissimi autori* (Venice, A. Gardano, 1561) and Girolamo Scotto issued a book of thirty four-voiced *canzone napolitane* by Waelrant in 1565.[19]

[14] The motets appear in books 2–4 of the series (*RISM* 1568$^{3-5}$). FORNEY, *Pevernage, Andreas,* p. 531 incorrectly gives the date *RISM* 1564$^{3-5}$.

[15] On the life and music of Waelrant, see A. GOOVAERTS, *Les Deux Hubert Waelrant*, in *Revue Artistique*, 1 (1878), pp. 14–18; W. PIEL, *Studien zum Leben und Schaften Hubert Waelrants unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Motetten*, (*Marburger Beiträge zur Musikforschung*, 3), Marburg, 1969; G. PERSOONS, *De genealogie van de Antwerpse toonkundige Hubertus Waelrant (1517–1595). Zijn biografische data en 'Voces belgicae'*, in *De Gulden Passer*, 57 (1979), pp. 142–163; R. WEAVER, art. *Waelrant, Hubert*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 26, pp. 923–926; G. HOEKSTRA ed., *Waelrant. Il primo libro di madrigali e canzoni francesi for 5 voices (1558)*, (*Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, 88), Madison, Wisconsin, 1991; and G. SPIESSENS, *Een nieuwe Kijk op Componist Hubert Waelrant*, in *Musica antiqua*, 12 (1995), pp. 52–64.

[16] On Waelrant's responsibilities at the firm, see R. WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet: Music Publishers in Antwerp's Golden Age*, Warren, Michigan, 1995, pp. 113–117.

[17] See WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog*, no. 16, pp. 81–87. The five-voice madrigal *Sento laura* from this volume also appears in a manuscript copied c. 1566, now housed at the Swedish Royal Library (MS S227). See WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog*, no. 68, p. 207.

[18] WEAVER, art. *Waelrant, Hubert*, p. 923.

[19] Earlier editions of Gardano's publication appeared in 1541 (*RISM* 1541^{16}) and 1546 (*RISM* 1546^{19}) without Waelrant's setting (WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog*, no. 46, p. 177). Seventeen compositions from Scotto's volume survive in Winchester College MS 153, which was copied as early as 1564. See WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog*, no. 48, pp. 179–181 (*Le canzon napolitane a qvattro voce*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1565) and no. 72, pp. 210–211 (Winchester MS 153). Waelrant's madrigals also survive in the manuscript Bologna Q26, which was copied in Flanders in the mid-1560s. See WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog*, no. 62, p. 204. See also WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 49; cf. FORNEY, *Antwerp's Role in the Reception and Dissemination of the Madrigal*, pp. 243–246 on the dating of these manuscripts.

The title page of the last of the four 'Antwerp anthologies,' *Melodia olympica* (1591), names *Pietro Phillippi Inglese* as the volume's compiler. Among the foremost English musicians on the Continent, the Catholic Philips fled his native England in 1582, settling first in Rome and making contacts at the English College with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (who became his patron) and Felice Anerio, who was appointed *maestro di cappella* at the College in 1585. Music by Anerio later appears in two Phalèse publications, *Madrigali*, 6vv (1599) and *Canzonette*, 4vv (1610); perhaps Philips helped Phalèse gain access to Anerio's music. After a brief period in Paris, Philips settled in Antwerp and was employed as a keyboard instructor there from 1590 until 1597. During these years, he cultivated the city's most elite patronage circles; Cornelius Pruenen, the dedicatee of *Symphonia angelica*, was godfather to his daughter Leonora.[20] Philips retained his ties to Antwerp even after moving to Brussels to assume the post of organist at the court of Albert and Isabella.[21] Philips's Antwerp connections assured him longevity in the northern print world. Phalèse issued three volumes of his madrigals: two books of six-voice settings (1598, 1603) and one for eight voices (1598), in addition to six volumes of sacred music.[22]

Besides using Pevernage, Waelrant, and Philips to build the contents of the anthologies and enhance their prestige, Phalèse used them to build a clientele for his editions. All of the compilers had close connections with the respective dedicatees of the anthologies, a group that formed the immediate circle for Phalèse music books.

CREATING A TARGET MARKET: THE DEDICATEES OF THE 'ANTWERP ANTHOLOGIES'

Dedications offer insight into the characteristics of a defined community of consumers of early modern music books. The dedicatees of the 'Antwerp anthologies' are representative of both Phalèse's existing and hoped-for target audience for Italian music books. The dedicatees and their occupations are listed in Table 2. Three of the dedicatees were Italians living in Antwerp. As scholars have noted, the Italian mercantile community was an avid sponsor of the madrigal, dating back to Lassus's *Opus 1* (Antwerp, Susato, 1555), which bears a dedication to Stefano Gentile (a Genoese

[20] J. STEELE, art. *Philips, Peter*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 19, p. 589.

[21] On Philips's activity in Brussels, see K. PROESMANS, *Het muziekleven aan het hof van Albrecht en Isabella (1598–1621)*, Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1988.

[22] See *Il primo libri de madrigali*, 6vv (1596); *Madrigali*, 8vv (1598); *Madrigali*, 6vv... libro II (1603); *Cantiones sacrae*, 5vv (1612); *Cantiones sacrae*, 8vv (1613); *Gemmulae sacrae*, 2–3vv (1613); *Deliciae sacrae*, 2–3vv (1616); *Litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, 4–9vv (1623); and *Paradisus sacris cantionibus*, 1–3vv, 1a pars (1628).

merchant-banker then active in Antwerp).[23] Over the next two decades, the Laet firm issued four publications containing madrigals by Hubert Waelrant (1558), Séverin Cornet (1563), Noe Faignient (1568), and Jean de Castro (1569) with addresses to Italians.[24] With the 'Antwerp anthologies', Phalèse tapped into an established tradition of Italian patronage of madrigals in the north.

Relatively little is known about the relationships between the Italian dedicatees and the compilers of the 'Antwerp anthologies'. Philips's dedication of *Melodia olympica* to Giulio Balbani, for instance, is entirely conventional and reveals only that Balbani was *patrono mio osservantissimo*, which merely implies that Philips was financially obligated to Balbani in some way.[25] The dedications of *Musica divina* and

ANTHOLOGY	DEDICATEE AND OCCUPATION	SIGNED BY
Musica divina (1583)	Giovanni Battista Bartolomei, jeweler	Pierre Phalèse
Harmonia celeste (1583)	Cesare Homodei, merchant from Milan; resided first in Antwerp, then in Cologne	Andreas Pevernage
Symphonia angelica (1585)	Cornelio Pruenen, Antwerp city treasurer and local merchant specializing in Baltic trade	Hubert Waelrant
Melodia olympica (1591)	Giulio Balbani, banker in Antwerp; family from Lucca*	Peter Philips

* Balbani belonged to a noble family from Lucca that was earlier active in Bruges, and, in the sixteenth century, based in Antwerp; see art. *Balbani, Giulio*, in A.M. GHISALBERTI ed., *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 5 (1963), pp. 322–324; and HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, p. 150.

Table 2. The patronage of the 'Antwerp anthologies'.

[23] On Italian sponsorship of music in Antwerp, see HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, pp. 133–135, 148–150; FORNEY, *Antwerp's Role in the Reception and Dissemination of the Madrigal*, pp. 239–240; S. WILLAERT and K. DERDE, *Het mecenaat van de Genuese natie in Antwerpen in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw*, in I. BOSSUYT ed., *Orlandus Lassus en Antwerpen 1554–1556*, Antwerp, 1994, pp. 47–56; and D. CARDAMONE, *The Salon as Marketplace in the 1550s: Patrons and Collectors of Lasso's Secular Music*, in P. BERGQUIST ed., *Orlande de Lassus Studies*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 64–65. See also K. BOSTOEN, *Italian Academies in Antwerp: Schiappalaria and Vander Noot as 'Inventors' for the Genoese Community*, in D. CHAMBERS and F. QUIVIGER eds., *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1995, pp. 195–204. On the foreign 'nations' (as they were known) in Antwerp, see G. ASAERT et al., *De Antwerpse Naties: Zes eeuwen actief in stad en haven*, Tielt, 1993. On the Italian merchants, in particular, see J. DENUCÉ, *Italiaansche koopmansgeslachten te Antwerpen in de XVIe–XVIIIe eeuwen*, Mechelen – Amsterdam, 1934, pp. 43–56.

[24] For their contents, see WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog*, no. 16, pp. 81–87; no. 25, pp. 120–124; no. 32, pp. 149–154; and no. 34, pp. 155–160.

[25] HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, p. 149.

Harmonia celeste are somewhat more revealing. The dedicatory addresses of these two anthologies are paired with dedicatory music: madrigals that glorify patrons, thus offering an aural, musical counterpart to the penned prefaces they follow. Anthologies were particularly well suited to provide the combination of a flattering dedication and musical selections that reflected well on a patron. Phalèse follows his dedication of *Musica divina* with the four-voice madrigal *Fra l'altre virtu*, also dedicated to Bartolomei. Together, the dedication and dedicatory madrigal form a double-opening (folios 1v–2r). Though the madrigal is unattributed in the 1583 edition of *Musica divina*, the headline in the 1588 edition names *Peuernage* as the composer. This link between Bartolomei and Pevernage suggests the composer may have served as the point of contact between the dedicatee and the compiler/printer, Pierre Phalèse.
This hypothesis is supported by the fact that later in 1583 Pevernage himself compiled the next anthology in the series, *Harmonia celeste*. He dedicated the volume to the Milanese merchant Cesare Homodei, who was active in Antwerp prior to becoming a citizen of Cologne on 19 August 1585.[26] Two madrigals by Pevernage, *Qvando la voce al dolce canto* and *Con humilatto sta fatica mia*, follow the dedication. They each bear the headline *Al Molto Magnifico S.[ignore] Cesare Homodei*. A final dedicatory madrigal, *Cesar gentil degno da loro* (also by Pevernage), opens the six-voice settings on folio 23 verso with praise of Homodei's love of music.

The strongest link between compiler and dedicatee is found in *Symphonia angelica*, addressed to the senator and treasurer of Antwerp, Cornelius Pruenen.[27] As a northerner of high social standing, Pruenen was a model dedicatee with well-honed musical skills, tastes, and spending habits.[28] Pruenen had supported several local musicians, including Waelrant, and in 1582 purchased madrigal books from the Plantin shop.[29] In fact, Waelrant's dedication of *Symphonia angelica* honours an association

[26] H. STEHKÄMPER, *Kölner Neubürger 1356–1798. Erster Teil: Neubürger 1356–1640*, (*Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, 61), Cologne, 1975, p. 156, cited in K. DERDE and S. WILLAERT, *Andreas Pevernage*, p. 174, n. 61. Despite the move, Homodei remained a significant patron of Antwerp music books: Jean de Castro's *Madrigali... con doi canzoni* (Antwerp, Phalèse & Bellère, 1588) also bears a dedication to him.

[27] For biographical information on Pruenen, see I. GHIJS, art. *Pruynen, Cornelis*, in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, 13 (1990), columns 670–672.

[28] On the musical literacy of Antwerp audiences, see HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, pp. 147, 152–156. On the education of Antwerp citizens in general, see G. MARNEF, *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577*, Baltimore, 1996, pp. 33–37; and J. MURRAY, *A smackering of... Grammar*, in *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel*, Norman, Oklahoma, pp. 96–113.

[29] A payment to *Huybrecht Walravens sanger* dates from 1567 (Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Vierschaar 330, *Processtukken Pieter Matheuss: Van Dyck tegen de Stad Antwerpen*, quoted in PERSOONS, *De Genealogie van de Antwerpse Toonkundige Hubertus Waelrant [1517–1595]*, pp. 153–154). An entry in Plantin's *Grand livre 1582–1589* (7 June 1582) confirms that Pruenen acquired the *Secondo libro di Regnard* and *Madrigali di prenestim* from the Officina Plantiniana (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Grand livre 1582–1589*, Arch. 20, fol. 50).

with Pruenen that dates back to 1558 with the appearance of Waelrant's sixth book of motets for five and six voices, which also bears an address to Pruenen.[30] Waelrant's subsequent dedication of *Symphonia angelica* reveals that Pruenen enjoyed music with his friends, as both performer and patron of Italian music (fol. 1v):[31]

> *HAVENDO noi fatto Scelta & elettione (S^{or} mio oss^{mo}) del fiore di | tutta la Musica, che insino al presente si ritruoua, opera veramen- | te degna di comparire dauanti a qual si voglia Principe, mi é par- | so debito mio, per molti fauori & beneficij riceuuti da V.S. di | farnele parte, dedicandole questo libro intitolato SYMPHONIA | ANGELICA &c. come a personaggio, che tra le sue altre virtu ama & pregia | tantò questa scienza & arte liberale, che non ostante li suoi negotij & tanti | trauagli del Paese, non intermette di goderne spesso insieme con li amici, fa- | uorendo in tutti i modi li autori. Priego adunque V.S. d'accettare il presen- | te, ben che piccolo alli suoi gran' meriti, con la solita benignita & gratia sua, alla | quale mi offero & raccommando, pregando l'altissimo per la sua prosperita | con lunga vita.*
>
> Having made a choice and selection (my most worthy Sir) of the flower of all the music composed up to the present, a work truly worthy to appear before any Prince, it seemed my duty, for the many favors and benefits received from you, your worship, to share them with you, dedicating to you this book entitled *Symphonia angelica*, as to a person[age] who, among his other virtues, loves and prizes this science and liberal art so much that, notwithstanding his activities and many labors for his country, [he] does not refrain from *frequently enjoying it together with his friends, [while] supporting the authors in every way* [emphasis mine]. I pray you then, your worship, to accept this offering, although small, to your great merit, with your usual kindness and grace, to which I offer and recommend myself, wishing your highness prosperity and long life.

The dedicatee is praised once again by the inclusion of the dedicatory madrigal *Tra rumor di tamburi* by Waelrant, which recalls the siege of Antwerp of 1585.[32] The madrigal is prominently positioned at the head of the section for six-voice settings (folio 22v), a fitting placement for a piece that honoured Pruenen, one of the deputies

[30] The Latin dedication of Waelrant's sixth book of motets (1558) is transcribed and translated into English in WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 323–324. See also WEAVER, *A Descriptive Bibliographical Catalog*, no. 17, pp. 87–92; and PIEL, *Studien zum Leben und Schaffen Hubert Waelrants*, p. 196.

[31] The translation is from WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, p. 330.

[32] The madrigal also appears in a much later source, London, British Library, MS Additional 31409, fols. 113–115 – see FORNEY, *Antwerp's Role in the Reception and Dissemination of the Madrigal*, p. 252, n. 53.

Tra romor di tamburi & suon di trombe,	Through the din of the drums, and the
D'archibusi, moschetti	sounding of trumpets of arquebusses and
Onde par che la Terr' et l'Ciel ribombe	muskets,
t'appresento (Cornelio) l'arme mie	so loud that Heaven and Earth resound,
Differenti di tuono & d'armonia:	I offer you (Cornelius) my arms,
Quelle minaccian' fur' et guerre rie,	which are different, in tone and harmony:
Queste pac' & riposo tuttavia:	The former threaten furor and evil wars;
Sia (ti priego Signore) dalla mia.	The latter, however, bring peace and rest.
	Be on my side (I beg you, Lord).

who negotiated with Alexander Farnese for the surrender of the city on 8 July 1585.[33] Pruenen's name appears directly in the text and is singled out by a textural shift from overlapping voice entries to homophony for the patron's name, *Cornelio*, which is illustrated by the text below:[34]

In addition to *Tra romor di tamburi*, there are four more madrigals by Waelrant and two by Cornelius Verdonck, another composer in the Pruenen circle. Verdonck was supported by Pruenen for many years during his stay in Antwerp from 1581–84; following his service at the royal chapel in Madrid (from 1584), Verdonck returned to Antwerp (by 1599) under the patronage of Cornelius's nephew, Joannes de Cordes, governor of Wichelsen and Serskamp.[35] Verdonck dedicated his *Madrigali novamente posti in luce, 6vv* (Antwerp, Phalèse, 1603) to Cordes, and included a setting of Pruenen's own text *Tempo fia ormai, benigno signore* in the volume.[36]

The political context surrounding the printing of *Symphonia angelica* in 1585 may have shaped the local reception of the volume and its Antwerp contributors. That same year, Waelrant, Verdonck, and Pevernage were praised as national heroes in the first stanza of a sonnet by the poet Jan vander Noot: '[Trehou], Waelrant, Verdonck, and Pevernage, they together | Adorn Belgica, O most beautiful, strong land, | With the heavenly art (full of honor, free from infamy) | Of music: which rouses men to

[33] The Treaty of Submission of the city of Antwerp was dated 17 August 1585 (Archives communales, Anvers, Privilegie Com, O, pg. 369 [French] and Placards de Brabant, I, pg. 614 [Flemish]), transcribed in F. VERACHTER, *Inventaire des Anciens Chartes et Priviléges et autres Documents conservés aux Archives de la Ville d'Anvers, 1193–1856*, Antwerp, 1860, p. 240.

[34] Translation from K. JUNGHÄNEL cond., *Symphonia Angelica: Madrigals by Waelrant, Gabrieli, Marenzio, De Monte, Ferretti*, ACC 8864 D.

[35] Verdonck returned to the Low Countries from Madrid by 1599, when he took part in celebrations marking the official visit of Archduke Albrecht and Archduchess Isabella to Antwerp – see R. LENAERTS and K. FORNEY, art. *Verdonck, Cornelis*, in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., London, 2001, 26, p. 472.

[36] HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, p. 151; and FORNEY, *Antwerp's Role in the Reception and Dissemination of the Madrigal*, p. 248, p. 252, n. 54.

virtue and freedom.'[37] With the inclusion of patriotic composers and texts such as *Tra romor di tamburi*, the anthology *Symphonia angelica* illustrates how the Italian madrigal could be adapted to the local context of Antwerp's surrender in 1585. As a Flemish diplomat, Pruenen paved the way for future support from other northern dignitaries; many of Phalèse's subsequent madrigal editions bear dedications to Netherlanders rather than Italians.[38] The selection of dedicatees for the 'Antwerp anthologies' forecasts a broader pattern in Phalèse editions: a gradual shift from Italian-born to native patrons for his Italian works.

DISTRIBUTION TO REGIONAL AND FOREIGN MARKETS

As a printer (and later sole publisher), Phalèse's livelihood depended on patronage from consumers across Europe. Though Kerman and Hoekstra have emphasized the Antwerp-based audience for Phalèse madrigal books, there is ample evidence that Phalèse took great care to reach consumers outside the city as well.[39] With its range of composers and styles the anthology naturally appealed to patrons, collectors, and performers across northern Europe. Kerman's own analysis of Nicholas Yonge's reliance on the three earlier 'Antwerp anthologies' as source material for *Musica transalpina* (1588) attests to their transmission and reception in England.[40] All four anthologies were part of the ducal library in Munich that now survives at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. *Symphonia angelica* (1585), *Musica divina* (1588), *Harmonia celeste* (1589), and *Melodia olympica* (1594) belonged to the court library

[37] The translation by Mary Matthijssen-Maris is from WEAVER, *Waelrant and Laet*, pp. 331–332. Matthijssen-Maris interprets *Trehou* as a reference to the composer Jean-Jacques de Turnhout, rather than Gregorius Trehou, a Netherlander who was later active in Denmark. The original Dutch is as follows: *Trehou*, *Walrands*, *Verdonck en* | *Pivernage mede* | *Verçieren Belgica*, *u schoonste* | *strydtbaer landen* | *Medt de hemelsche kunst'*, *(vol eeren,* | *vry van schanden)* | *Musica*, *die den mensch' verweckt tit* | *deughdt en vrede* – see W. WATERSCHOOT, *De 'Poetische werken' von Jonker Jan Van der Noot: Analytische bibliografie en tekstuitgave met inleiding en verklarende aantekeningen*, Ghent, 1975, 2, p. 204. See also J. STELLFELD, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*, Brussels, 1949, p. 140; and K. BOSTOEN, *Dichterschap en koopmanschap in de zestiende eeuw: Omtrent de dichters Guillaume de Poetou en Jan vander Noot*, Deventer, p. 267.

[38] A shift from Italian to northern dedicatees is immediately apparent when examining the table of dedications of madrigal books printed in the Low Countries, 1555–1620, in HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, pp. 169–170.

[39] KERMAN, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, p. 49; and HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Italian Madrigal*, p. 147–156. Cf. FORNEY, *Antwerp's Role in the Reception and Dissemination of the Madrigal*, pp. 248–249; and K. FORNEY, *Music Patronage and the Rise of Bourgeois Culture in the Low Countries*, in *Actas del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología*, *Revista de Musicología*, 16 (1993), 1, pp. 607–610.

[40] KERMAN, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, pp. 48–57.

of King Christian IV of Denmark.[41] *Harmonia celeste* (1583), *Symphonia Angelica* (1585), *Musica divina* (1588), and *Melodia olympica* (1591) appear in the inventory from 1620–1625 of the music library of the protestant Kantorei St. Anna in Augsburg.[42] And *Melodia olympica* was registered in the 1613 inventory of music at the court of Landgrave Moritz of Kassel, whose extensive library included volumes of madrigals by Orazio Vecchi, Hans Leo Hassler, Alessandro Striggio, and Benedetto Pallavicino.[43]

How did Phalèse reach this extended market? The most effective method for distributing the 'Antwerp anthologies' was through other bookdealers, who served as intermediaries in the transfer of music books from producers to consumers. The anthologies appear regularly in printed stock catalogues of regional publishers, notably those of Cornelis Claesz in the Northern Netherlands and Balthasar Bellère in Douai, in the Southern Netherlands.[44] For publishers from German-speaking lands, the semiannual bookfairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig were the most important venues for the exchange of printed books of all kinds.[45] All four anthologies are found in the Frankfurt bookfair catalogues compiled by the Augsburg printer-publisher Georg Willer; they also frequently appear in related bookfair catalogues by Lutz, Portenbach, Lamberg, the *Katholischer Katalog*, and the *Frankfurter öffentlicher Katalog*.[46]

[41] On the Danish court collections, see H. SCHWAB, *Italianità in Danimarca: Zur Rezeption des Madrigals am Hofe Christian IV*, in R. BOHN ed., *Europa in Scandinavia: Kulturelle und soziale Dialoge in der frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt, 1995, pp. 142–145.

[42] The music library was under the direction Adam Gumpelzhaimer. See R. SCHAAL, *Das Inventar der Kantorei St. Anna in Augsburg. Ein Beitrag zur protestantischen Musikpflege im 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert*, (*Catalogus Musicus*, 3), Kassel, 1965.

[43] Folio 5r of the *Inventarium aller Musicalischen bücher am 14ten Februarij ao. 1613* (Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, Signatur 4b–46a, nr. 3), transcribed in E. ZULAUF, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landgräflich-Hessischen Hofkapelle zu Cassel bis auf die Zeit Moritz des Gelehrten*, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, new series 26 (1903), p. 107. No date for *Melodia olympica* is indicated in the inventory. On individual owners of the 'Antwerp anthologies,' see also note 2 above.

[44] H. VANHULST, *La musique dans le Catalogue des livres françois de Cornelis Claesz (Amsterdam, 1609)*, in *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 44 (1990), pp. 57–77; B. VAN SELM, *Een menighte treffelijcke boecken: Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw*, Utrecht, 1987, pp. 176–179; A. LABARRE, *Les catalogues de Balthasar Bellère à Douai, 1598–1636*, in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 55 (1980), pp. 150–154; and H. VANHULST, *Balthasar Bellère, marchand de musique à Douai (1603–1636)*, in *Revue de musicologie*, 85 (1999), pp. 227–263. See also the auction catalogue printed upon the death of Leiden musician Cornelis Schuyt: R. RASCH and T. WIND, *The Music Library of Cornelis Schuyt*, in A. CLEMENT and E. JAS eds., *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: Donum natalicium Willem Elders*, (*Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis*, 21), Amsterdam, 1994, pp. 327–353.

[45] For a description, see J. WESTFALL THOMPSON ed., *The Frankfort Book Fair: The Francofordiense Emporium of Henri Estienne*, Chicago, 1911, repr. New York, 1968.

[46] A. GÖHLER, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien*, Hilversum, 1965, pp. 35, 48. For a facsimile of the Willer catalogues, see B. FABIAN ed., *Die Messkataloge des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1–5, Hildesheim – New York, 1972–.

Phalèse could access these markets from much closer to home through contacts with the Officina Plantiniana, which distributed Phalèse music books to consumers across Europe.[47] Business relations between the Phalèse and Plantin firms date back to 1566.[48] In contrast to the early decades of contact between the firms, when Plantin sold mainly foreign editions, at the end of the century he relied more heavily on local and regional printers for his supply. Phalèse II became Plantin's most important supplier of Italian music; the 'Antwerp anthologies' were regularly transferred through the firm from 1583 through the 1640s.[49]

The account books of the Officina Plantiniana offer a small glimpse into the chain of hands that managed the transfer of the 'Antwerp anthologies' from Phalèse's print shop to his consumers. Two surviving sets of account books of the Officina Plantiniana offer an especially clear illustration of how the market worked. Plantin kept accounts in a series of *Journaux* that detailed purchases and sales on a daily basis, and in a complementary volume, the *Grand livre*, which recorded transactions arranged by supplier or client. For the most part, the *Journaux* are more informative than the *Grand livres*. The most complete *Journaux* entries include (1) the date, (2) the supplier or client (seller or purchaser), (3) their professsion/occupation and/or origin, (4) the title of the work, (5) the number of copies purchased or sold, and (6) the price of the transaction. Transactions recorded in these sources can shed light on

[47] J.A. Stellfeld was the first to emphasize the amount of evidence about music in the Plantin archives and to highlight Plantin's role in the diffusion of sixteenth-century polyphony. See J. STELLFELD, *Het muziekhistorisch belang der catalogi en inventarissen van het Plantinsch archief*, in *Vlaamsch Jaarboek voor Muziekgeschiedenis*, 2–3 (1940–41), pp. 5–50; and STELLFELD, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales plantiniennes*. On the business and printing practices of Plantin, the work of Leon Voet remains central, especially L. VOET, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 1–2, Amsterdam, 1969–1972.

[48] Relations between Plantin and Phalèse I have been studied extensively by Henri Vanhulst: H. VANHULST, *La diffusion des éditions de musique polyphonique dans les anciens Pays-Bas à la fin du XVIe siècle et au début du XVIIe siècle*, in H. VANHULST and M. HAINE eds., *Musique et Société: Hommages à Robert Wangermée*, Brussels, 1988, pp. 27–51; H. VANHULST, *Les Phalèse, éditeurs et imprimeurs de musique à Louvain (1545–1578)*, Ph.D. diss., Université Libré de Bruxelles, 1984, 1, pp. 364–372; H. VANHULST, *Suppliers and Clients of Christopher Plantin, Distributor of Polyphonic Music in Antwerp (1566–1578)*, in B. HAGGH ed., *Musicology and Archival Research: Colloquium Proceedings*, *Brussels 22–23.4.1993*, Brussels, 1994, pp. 558–604; and H. VANHULST, *Plantin et le commerce international des éditions de musique polyphonique, 1566–1578*, in *Actas del XV Congreso de la Sociedad Internacional de Musicología*, *Revista de Musicología*, 16 (1993), pp. 2630–2640. Beginning in 1570, Bellère acted on Phalèse I's behalf as the sole bookdealer to the Plantin publishing house; he continued to act as Phalèse II's bookseller until his own death in 1595. A few Phalèse editions were transferred to the Plantin firm through Bellère's widow until 1597. Phalèse II had already established his own account for dealing with the Officina Plantiniana by 1584.

[49] The Nuremberg printer-publisher Paul Kauffmann was also important as a northern supplier of Italian music to Plantin. See Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Reg. 795, *Libri Venales*, 1550–1670; and Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Reg. 269, *Catalogus Francfurtensis 1597–1618*, transcribed in STELLFELD, *Het muziekhistorisch belang der catalogi en inventarissen van het Plantinsch archief*, pp. 18–23, 36–44.

the production time and distribution cycle for the anthologies. The earliest transaction for *Musica divina*, for example, dates from 6 June 1583 for two volumes; on 3 November 1583 two copies of *Harmonia celeste* were transferred from Jean Bellère to the Officina Plantiniana.[50] The most intriguing transaction is a sale of six volumes of *Melodia olympica* on 3 December 1590, a year earlier than the date that appears on the title page.[51] Perhaps Phalèse promised the anthologies in advance of their completion. More likely, the anthology was completed near the end of 1590 and, rather than marketing the volume with a year-old date, Phalèse printed a title page to reflect the distribution period of 1591.

The account books suggest that Phalèse reprinted the collections as a strategy to both meet existing demand and build new consumer interest in his publications. Phalèse's 1623 reprint of *Musica divina* both satisfied demand (five copies of the volume were transferred to the Officina Plantiniana that year) and offered a promotional opportunity to create further interest in both this volume and the series as a whole.[52] The reprinting of *Harmonia celeste* in 1628 resulted in the sale of four volumes of both this anthology and *Musica divina* to the Officina Plantiniana that year.[53] Further, in 1634, the year of the last reprint of *Musica divina*, multiple sets of all four anthologies were supplied to the firm by Phalèse's daughter, Maria, after a period of fading interest in the repertory.[54] Within the context of a declining market for madrigal

[50] For *Musica divina*, see Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Libraires d'Anvers D, 1577–1580 [1582–1590]*, Arch. 41, fol. 126; and the corresponding entry in Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Journal 1583*, Arch. 61, fol. 70v. For *Harmonia celeste*, see Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Libraires d'Anvers D, 1577–1580 [1582–1590]*, Arch. 41, fol. 146; and Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, *Journal 1583*, Arch. 61, fol. 143r.

[51] Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 112, *Libraires d'Anvers DD, 1590–1602*, fol. 54; cf. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 67, *Journal 1590*, fol. 137r. This transaction is listed in an account for Phalèse, though Bellère continued to sell Phalèse editions to the Plantin firm in the 1590s.

[52] The transaction dates from 22 April 1623 (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 114, *Grand livre d'Anvers FF, 1615–1629*, fol. 167; and Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 230, *Journal 1623*, fol. 77v). The sale of two more volumes of *Musica divina* appears in the *Grand livre* on 9 July 1623 (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 114, *Grand livre d'Anvers FF, 1615–1629*, fol. 167).

[53] The sales date from 15 September 1628 (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 114, *Grand livre d'Anvers FF, 1615–1629*, fol. 279; and Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 235, *Journal 1628*, fol. 131v).

[54] The sale dates from 20 September 1634 and includes mainly sacred volumes in addition to *Balletti di Giacomo Gastoldi* (two copies), *Madrigali a 4. voci* (two copies), four *Concertti musicale*, four each of *Musica divina* and *Harmonia celeste* (editions unspecified), two each of *Symphonia angelica* and *Melodia olympica*, and two *Trionfi di dori* (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Arch. 738, *Libraires d'Anvers HH, 1629–1639*, fol. 217). On the management of the firm under Phalèse's heirs (his daughters), see H. VANHULST, *Magdalena en Maria, de erfgenamen van Petrus II Phalesius*, in Museum Plantin-Moretus en Stedelijk Prentenkabinet ed., *Antwerpse Muziekdrukken. Vocale en instrumentale polyfonie (16de–18de eeuw)*, Antwerp, 1996, pp. 33–35; H. VANHULST, *De Antwerpse muziekuitgaven van Petrus II Phalesius en zijn erfgenamen (1582–1674)*, in *Musica antiqua*, 10/2 (1993), pp. 57–62; and A. GOOVAERTS, *Historie et bibliographie de la typographie musicale dans les Pays-Bas*, Antwerp, 1880, pp. 88–114.

books in general, it is tempting to argue that reprints became a strategic tool for retaining consumer interest in the genre.

Selling the madrigal abroad required a consistent marketing and promotional program. Phalèse's artistic profile and commercial drive during his first decade in Antwerp established his business plan for the rest of his career. With clients already familiar with chanson and instrumental music books bearing the Phalèse family name, Phalèse II strengthened the firm's focus on a new product line, the Italian madrigal. He used anthologies to familiarize audiences with the music of Italian composers, and often followed-up by issuing single-author volumes devoted to their works. In all, he printed sixty-seven volumes of Italian madrigals (excluding reprints) before his death in 1629.[55] Professional compilers must have improved the firm's access to source madrigals, the raw materials of the 'Antwerp anthologies'. Pevernage and Waelrant were also ready to supply dedicatory madrigals to honour the addressees. While such additions assured Phalèse a strong local following, the sheer size and diversity of the anthologies secured his entry into wider markets. Phalèse relied on local, regional, and German bookdealers to reach them more efficiently. Finally, he used prefatory material such as Gheesdalius's poem first seen in *Melodia olympica* (1591) to promote (and hopefully sell) the 'Antwerp anthologies' as a series.

[55] This figure includes madrigal anthologies and anthologies including madrigals (19), madrigal books (and mixed genre volumes including madrigals) by individual composers (45), and lutebooks containing madrigals (3). See HOEKSTRA, *The Reception and Cultivation of the Madrigal*, pp. 171–187.

APPENDIX: COMPOSERS AND CONTENTS OF THE FOUR 'ANTWERP ANTHOLOGIES'[1]

Musica divina.

Transcription of title page, from *Canto* partbook, fol. 1r.
[title page within a decorative frame] MVSICA DIVINA | DI XIX. AVTORI ILLVSTRI, | A IIII. V. VI. ET VII. VOCI, NVOVAMENTE | RACCOLTA DA PIETRO PHALESIO, | ET DATA IN LVCE. | *Nella quale si contengono i più Excellenti Madrigali* | *che hoggidi si cantino*. | *CANTO* [voice designation within a decorative frame] | IN ANVERSA. | Appresso Pietro Phalesio & Giouanni Bellero. | [rule] | 1583.

Dedication (fol. 1v) to Giovanni Battista di Bartolomei, signed *Pietro Phalesio*.
RISM 1583[15]
Later editions: 1588[16], 1591[11], 1595[4], 1606[7], 1614[13], 1623[7], 1634[6]

COMPOSER	TEXT INCIPIT	FOLIATION
A4.		
[Andreas Pevernage]	*Fra l'altre virtu con si grand'ardor*	2r
Orlando di Lasso	*Poi ch'el mio largo pianto*	2v
Ferabosco	*Io mi son giouinett' & volontieri*	3r
[Anonymous]	*Amor che deggio far che mi consigli*	3v
[Girolamo Scotto]	*Gionto m'hamor fra bell'e crude braccia*	4r
[Giovanni Palestrina]	*Gia fu chi m'hebbe cara*	4v
[G. Pratoneri]	*Dolce contrade, o chiusi e chete valli*	5r
Giaches de Ponto	*Con lei fuss'io da che si part'il sole*	5v
[Giovanni Palestrina]	*Qval piu crudel martire*	6r
Filippo de Monte	*Alma ben nata se mi duol e dolci*	6v
[G.L. Primavera]	*Amor quando m'inuia*	7r
Cypriano de Rore	*Anchor che col partire*	7v
Filippo de Monte[2]	*Qvando da gli'occhi del diuin mio sole*	8r
Filippo de Monte[3]	*Da bei rami scendea*	8v
Giouanni de Macque	*Non al suo'ama[n]te piu Diana piacque*	9r
Giouanni de Macque	*Amor e'l ver fu meco*	9v
A5.		
Noe Faignient	*Chi per voi non sospira*	10r
Gironimo Vespa	*Ditemi'o Diua mia*	10v
Gio. Maria Nanino	*Morir non puo'el core*	11r
Gio. Maria Nanino	*Scoprirò l'ardor mio*	11v
	Se voi set'il mio sol se per voi (2.pt.)	12r
Giro. Conuerso	*Ma se tempo giamai*	12v
Filippe de Monte	*Ahi chi me romp'l sono*	13r
	Di ch'ella mosso (2.pt.)	13v
Giaches de Vuert	*Cara la vita mia*	14r
	Poi che con gl'occh'io veggio l'aria suaue (2.pt.)	14v
Noe Faignient	*Parmi veder la bella donna mia*	15r

Gio. Maria Nanino	*Erano i capei d'oro*	15v
	Non era: [l'andar suo] (2.pt.)	16r
Giannetto Palestina	*Festiua'i colli'e le campagn'intorno*	16v
	Cosi le chiome mie suauemente (2.pt.)	17r
Andrea Gabrieli	*Caro dolce ben mio perche fuggire*	17v
[Giovanni Palestrina]	*Ogni loco mi porge dogli'e pianto*	18v
[Giovanni Palestrina]	*Poscia che per mio mal*	19r
Pietro Vinci	*Sappi signor che Lidia son io*	19v
Giro. Conuerso	*Sola soletta i me ne vo*	20r
Alessandro Striggio	*Chi fara fed'al cielo*	20v
[Luca Marenzio]	*Liquide perle'amor da gl'occhi sparse*	21r
Giouan Ferretti	*Sei tanto gratioso e tanta bella*	21v
Giouan Ferretti	*Donna crudel tu m'hai rubat'il core*	22r
Gio. Ferretti	*Come poss'io morir se non ho vita*	22v
A6.		
Gio. de Macque	*Di coralli e di perle*	23r
Gio. de Macque	*Sedendo in su l'arena d'un bel rio*	23v
Stefano Felis	*Non fos'Amor m'inganna*	24r
Stefano Felis	*Anzi no ch'ombr'e sol o'una fallace (2.pt.)*[4]	24v
Stefano Felis	*Cossi pur l'ombr'e'l timor folle insieme (3.pt.)*	25r
Filippo di Monte	*Amorosi pensieri lagrim'amare*	25v
Gio. de Macque	*Moriro di dolor prima ch'io veggia*	26r
Gio. Ferretti	*Qvesta fera gentil che scherz'e fugge*	26v
Allessandro Striggio	*Partirò dunque E perche mi s'asconde*	27r
A8.		
Gio. Ferretti	*Sv sù non piu dormir*	27v
[Alessandro Striggio]	*Ecco ch'io lass'il core*[5]	28r
A6.		
Filippo de Monte	*La dolce vista*	28v
Gio. Piero Manenti	*Se pensand'al partir pens'al morire*	29r
Filippo de Monte	*Poi ch'el mio largo pianto*	29v
Gio. de Macque	*Il vago e lieto aspetto*	30r
Gio. Ferretti	*Corrette tutti quanti o suenturat'amanti*	30v
Filippo de Monte	*Leggiadre Nimfe e pargolett'amori*	31r
	Il dolc'e desiato frutt'ho colto (2.pt.)	31v
Alessandro Striggio	*Alla mia dolce e vaga*	32r
Orlando Lasso	*Di pensier in pensier di mont'in monte*	32v
Alessandro Striggio	*Non rumor di ta[m]buri o son di trombe*	33v
Gio. de Macque	*Fra belle Ninfe in vn bel prato*	34r
Stefano Felis	*Di fauille d'Amor di riuerenza*	34v
A7.		
Filippo de Monte	*Anima doue vai doue mi lassi*	35r
Filippo de Monte[6]	*Ansi da lui deriua*	35v
TAVOLA.		36r

Harmonia celeste.

Transcription of title page, from *Canto* partbook, fol. 1r.
[title page within a decorative frame] | HARMONIA CELESTE | DI DIVERSI ECCELLEN- | TISSIMI MVSICI A IIII. V. VI. VII. ET VIII. | VOCI, NVOVAMENTE RACCOLTA | PER ANDREA PEVERNAGE | ET DATA IN LVCE. | *Nella quale si contiene vna Scielta di migliori Madrigali | che hoggidi si cantino*. | *CANTO*. [voice designation within a decorative frame] | IN ANVERSA. | Appresso Pietro Phalesio & Giouanni Bellero. | [rule] | 1583.

Dedication (fol. 1v) to Cesare Homodei, signed *Andrea Peuernage*.
RISM 1583[14]
Later editions: 1589, 1593 [with slight modifications], 1605, 1614, 1628

COMPOSER	TEXT INCIPIT	FOLIATION
A4.		
Andrea Peuernage	*Qvando la voce al dolce canto*	2r
	Con humilatto sta fatica mia (2.pt.)	2v
Filippo de Monte[7]	*Per diuina bellezz'indarno mira*	3r
Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	*Non mi togl'il ben mio*	3v
Marc'Antonio Pordenon	*Donna la bella mano*	4r
Orlando di Lasso	*Per pianto la mia carne si distilla*	4v
Filippo de Monte[8]	*Io son si vago de li miei sospiri*	5r
Noë Faignient	*Basciami vita mia*	5v
Benedetto Palauicino	*Qvando benigna stella*	6v
Marc'Antonio Pordenon	*Si gra[n]d'e il mio gioire*	7r
Paolo Masnelli[9]	*Non puo dolce mia vita*	7v
Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	*Spess'in parte dal ciel lucent'e bella*	8r
Noë Faignient	*Qvesti ch'inditio fan del mio torme[n]to*	8v
Andrea Peuernage	*Dolce mio foco ardente*	9r
Orlando	*Appariran per me le stell'in cielo*	9v
A5.		
Luca Marenzio	*Che fa hoggi il mio sole*	10r
Giaches de Vuert	*D'vn si bel foc'e d'vn si nobil laccio*	10v
	Scorgo tant'alto il lume (2.pt.)	11r
Filippo de Monte	*Che fai alma che pensi*	11v
	S'al hor tace la lingua e'l cor si lagna (2.pt.)	12r
Luca Marenzio	*Tirsi morir volea*	
	Frenò Tirsi il desio (2.pt.)	13r
	Cosi moriro i fortunati amanti (3.pt.)	13v
Andrea Peuernage	*Il dolce sonno mi promise pace*	14r
Stefano Felis	*Sonno scendesti in terra*	14v
	Tv la ritorni a riua (2.pt.)	15r
Andrea Peuernage	*Misera che faro poi ch'io mi moro*	15v
Gio. Francesco Violanti	*O saette d'amor*	16r

Gio. Maria Nanino	*Amor deh dimmi come*	16v
Filippo de Monte	*Veramente in amore si proua*[10]	17r
Alfonso Ferabosco	*Tv dolce anima mia*	17v
Annibal Stabile	*D'amor le ricche gemme*	18r
Stefano Felis	*Da l'arcadia feconda*	18v
	Qvesto pastor prude[n]te (2.pt.)	19r
	Tirsi al pastor s'inchina (3.pt.)	19v
Luca Marenzio	*Madonna poi ch'vccider mi volete*	20r
Giannetto Palestrino	*O bella Ninfa mia*	20v
Gironimo Vespa	*Madonna se volete*	21r
Girolamo Conuersi	*Qvando mi miri con quest'occhi ladri*	21v
Giacomo Gastoldi	*Miracol' in natura voglio dire*	22r
Girolamo Conuersi	*Io vò gridando come spiritato*	22v
A6.		
[Andreas Pevernage]	*Cesar gentil degno da loro*	23r
	Sequita dunque Signor (2.pt.)	23v
Stefano Felis	*Al vostro dolce azuro*	24r
Filippo de Monte	*I begl'occhi vnd'io fui percosso in guisa*	24v
	Qvesti son que begl'occhi che l'imprese (2.pt.)	25r
Alessandro Striggio	*Nasce la pena mia*	25v
Gio. Ferretti	*Nasce la gioia mia*	26r
Luca Marenzio	*Qval viue Salamandra in fia[m]ma*	26v
Gio. de Macque	*Amor io sent'vn respirar si dolce*	27r
Andrea Gabrieli	*Dolcissimo ben mio*	27v
Hippolito Bacchusi	*Poi chel mio largo pianto*	28r
Tiburtio Massaino	*Ne mai pui vag'in ciel ne piu bell'Alba*	28v
	Piaccia a l'eterno Amor (2.pt.)	29r
Filippo de Monte	*Corrette fiumi a le vostre alte fonti*	29v
	Cosa non vada piu come solea (2.pt.)	30r
Stefano Felis	*Ahi chi mi romp'il sonno*	30v
	Di ch'ella mossa (2.pt.)	31r
Orlando	*S'io esca viuo de dubbiosi scogli*	31v
Gio. Battista Mosto	*Se voi set'il mio cor la vit'e l'alma*	32r
Antonio Pace	*Mi parto [vita mia]*	32v
Gio. de Macque	*Dal suo volto scendea dolcezz'et gratia*	33r
Filippo de Monte	*Ch'io sciua di costei be[n] m'hai tu detto*	33v
Gio. de Macque	*Tre gratiosi Amanti*	34r
A7.		
Hippolito Sabino	*Facciansi lieti quanti*	34v
	Hor vi torni la gioia (2.pt.)	35r
A8.		
Paulo Quagliati	*Qvando del mio bel sol*	35v
TABLE.		36v

Symphonia angelica.

Transcription of title page, from *Canto* partbook, fol. 1r.
[title page within a decorative frame] | SYMPHONIA ANGELICA | DI DIVERSI ECCELLEN- | TISSIMI MVSICI A IIII. V. ET VI. VOCI, | NVOVAMENTE RACCOLTA PER | HVBERTO VVAELRANT, | ET DATA IN LVCE. | *Nella quale si contiene vna Scielta di migliori Madrigali | che hoggidi si cantino*. | *CANTO*. [voice designation within a decorative frame] | IN ANVERSA. | Appresso Pietro Phalesio & Giouanni Bellero. | [rule] | 1585.

Dedication (fol. 1v) to Cornelius Pruenen, signed *Huberto Vuaelrant*.

RISM 1585[19]
Later editions: 1590[17] (with slight modifications), 1594[8], 1611[12], 1629[8]

COMPOSER	TEXT INCIPIT	FOLIATION
A4.		
Giouan Nasco	*Laura celeste che si dolcemente*	2r
	Et io che sempre desioso e'intento (2.pt.)	2v
Cornelio Verdonch	*Donna bella e gentile*	3r
Paulo Animuccia	*Tv mi ponest'innanz'a gl'occh'amore*	3v
Huberto Vvaelrant	*Vorria morire per vscir di guai*	4r
Vincentio Ruffo	*Sento dentr'al cor mio*	4v
Vincentio Ruffo	*Cantan fra rami gl'augeletti vaghi*	5r
Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	*Chi vuol veder tutta raccolt'insieme*	5v
	Vedra i biondi capei (2.pt.)	5v
Giouan Contino	*Viuete lieti & se viuer volete*	6v
	Gloir, e vita vera qual (2.pt.)	7r
Giaches de Vvert	*Chi salira per me madon[n]'in cielo*	7v
Bartolomeo Spontone	*Vieni soaue & dilettoso Maggio*	8r
Vincentio Ruffo	*Prima che spunt'il sol i vaghi rai*	8v
Vincentio Ruffo	*Ben mille nott'ho gia passato'in pianto*	9r
Vincentio Ruffo	*Fiere siluestre che per lati campi*	9v
A5.		
Gio: M. Nanino	*Mentre ti fui si grato*	10r
Gio. Battista Moscaglia	*Mentre ti fui si cara (2.pt.)*	10v
Luca Marenzio	*Hor pien d'altro desio (3.pt.)*	11r
Gio. de Macque	*Hor vn laccio vn'ardore (4.pt.)*	11v
Luca Marenzio	*Madonna mia gentil ringratio Amore*	12r
Rinaldo del Mel	*Tirrhena mia*	12v
Filippo di Monte	*Occhi vaghi amorosi oue risplende*	13r
	Occhi leggiadri ond'io (2.pt.)	13v
Gio. Pizzoni	*Dvo begli occhi lucenti*	14r
Gio. Giacomo Gastoldi	*Vn nouo cacciator segu'vna fiera*	14v

Horatio Angelini	*Tra le chiome de l'or nascose'l laccio*	15v
Giro. Conuersi	*Io canterò di quell'almo splendore*	16r
	Ben pos'Amor Natura (2.pt.)	16v
Gio. Ferretti	*Basciami vita mia*	17r
Lelio Bertani	*Ch'ami la vita mia nel tuo bel nome*	17v
Oratio Vecchi	*Tra mille fiamme & trà mille cathene*	18r
Horatio Angelini	*Qvesta fera gentil che scherza e fugge*	18v
Luca Marenzio	*Amor poi che non vuole*	19r
	Chi strinse mai piu bella mano (2.pt.)	19v
Luca Marenzio	*Rose bianche e vermiglie (2.pt.)*	20r
Gio. Ferretti	*Leggiadra Giouinett'anima mia*	20v
Gio. Ferretti	*Far potess'io vendetta di colei*	21r
Gio. Maria Nanino	*Lasso ch'ogni augelletto*	21v
Pomponio Nenna	*Torna amato mio bene*	22r
A6.		
Huberto Vvaelrant	*Tra romor di tamburi & suon di trombe*	22v
Gio. Ferretti	*Mirate che m'ha fatto sto mio core*	23v
Hippolito Sabino	*Tirsi in ira di Filli il duol lo guida*	24r
	Et secca o gran pieta quasi ogni vena (2.pt.)	24v
Gio. Ferretti	*Occhi non occhi ma lucenti stelle*	25r
Michele Comis	*Gioia al mondo non e*	25v
	Cosi cangia costei co'l viuo sguardo (2.pt.)	26r
Huberto Vvaelrant	*Vorria morire per vscir di guai*	26v
Huberto Vvaelrant	*Mi voglio fare hor mai lo fatto mio*	27r
Huberto Vvaelrant	*Qvanto debb'allegrarse la natura*	27v
Gio. de Macque	*Vorria saper da voi occh imortali*	28r
Gio. Battista Lucatello	*Gia primauera di vari colori*	28v
Cornelio Verdonch	*Vn Ape esser vorrei*	29v
Hippolito Baccusi	*Io son bell'e delicata*	30r
Gio. Ferretti	*Vn pastor chies'ad vna ninfa amore*	30v
Gio. Ferretti	*Dolc'amorose e leggiadrette ninfe*	31r
Gio. Ferretti	*Pascomi sol di pianto e viue in pene*	31v
Hippolito Baccusi	*Il sol si part'ohime*	32r
Hippolito Baccusi	*Felice in braccio a la mia Dea godea*	32v
Gio. de Macque	*Bacciami vita mia*	33r
Andrea Gabrieli	*[Sonno diletto e caro]*	33v
Andrea Gabrieli	*Cinto m'hauea tra belle e nude braccia*	34r
Andrea Gabrieli	*Come voi tu ch'io viua*	34v
Andrea Gabrieli	*Gloria Damo[n] dicea*	35r
Gio. Ferretti	*[Vn tempo sospiraua piangeva]*	35v
Gio. Ferretti	*Qvandro mirai ssa bella faccia d'oro*	36r
TAVOLA		36v

Melodia olympica.

Transcription of title page, from *Canto* partbook, fol. 1r.
[title page within a decorative frame] | MELODIA OLYMPICA | DI DIVERSI ECCELLEN- | TISSIMI MVSICI A IIII. V. VI. ET VIII. | VOCI, NVOVAMENTE RACCOLTA | DA PIETRO PHILLIPPI INGLESE, | ET DATA IN LVCE. | *Nella quale si contengonô i più Eccellenti Madrigali | che hoggidi si cantino*. | *CANTO*. [voice designation within a decorative frame] | IN ANVERSA. | Appresso Pietro Phalesio & Giouanni Bellero. | [rule] | 1591.
Dedication (fol. 1v) to Guilio Balbani, signed *Pietro Phillippi*.
RISM 1591[10]
Later editions: 1594[7], 1611[11], 1630[3]

COMPOSER	TEXT INCIPIT	FOLIATION
A4.		
Andrea Peuernage	*O come grand martire*	2r
Cornelio Verdonch	*A che piu strali Amor*	2v
Pietro Philippi	*Voi volete ch'io muoia e mi date dolor si crud'e*	3r
Luca Marenzio	*Non al suo ama[n]te*	3v
Francesco Farina	*Morirò cor mio*	4r
Rugiero Giouanelli	*Ahi che farò ben mio*	4v
Gio. Palestina	*Morì quasi il mio core*	5r
Paulo Bellasio	*Donna i begli occhi vostri*	5v
Gio. Battista Moscaglia	*Sì dolci son gli sguardi*	6r
Gio. Maria Nanino	*Legò questo mio core*	6v
Gio. Palestina	*Veramente in Amore*	7r
Pietro Philippi	*Amor sei bei rubini (1.pt.)*	7v
	Perche non poss'ahime (2.pt.)	8r
Gio. de Macque	*Se d'altro mai non viuo*	8v
Guglielmo Blotagrio	*Amor io sent'vn respirar si dolce*	9r
Gio. Battista Moscaglia	*Solo e pensoso in piu deserti campi*	9v
A5.		
Gio. Battista Mosto	*Dolci al pestre parole*	10r
d'Incerto	*Lvmi miei cari*	10v
Luca Marenzio	*Spuntauan gia per far il mo[n]do adorno (1.pt.)*	11r
	Qvando'l mio viuo sol (2.pt.)	11v
Gio. Maria Nanino	*Qvesta si bianca neue*	12r
Giacomo Gastoldi	*Clori mia pastorella*	12v
Gio. Maria Nanino	*Dolce fiammella mia*	13r
Guglielmo Blotagrio	*Amor io no[n] potrei*	13v
Cornelio Verdonch	*Fiammeggiauan due stelle'a me d'intorno*	14r
Hippolito Baccusi	*Qvesto è quel chiaro fonte*	14v
Luca Marenzio	*Deggio dunque partire (1.pt.)*	15r
	Io partiro ma il core (2.pt.)	15v
	Ma voi caro ben mio (3.pt.)	16r

Anibal Zoilo	*Chi per voi no[n] sospira*	16v
Giacomo Gastoldi	*Caro soaue e desiato bene (1.pt.)*	17r
	Perche se troppo tardi tu vedrai (2.pt.)	17v
Gianetto Palestrina	*Non son le vostri mani*	18r
Oratio Bassani	*Poi che ne prieg'ancor ne pia[n]to impetra*	18v
Fabritio Dentici	*Ahi crudel stato mio*	19r
Lelio Bertani	*Moui il tuo plettro Apollo*	19v
Felice Anerio	*Il giouenil mio core*	20r
Gio. Maria Nanino	*Qvando fra bia[n]che perle al canto (1.pt.)*	20v
	Sentomi aprirsi tutto il lato manco (2.pt.)	21r
Giaches de VVert	*Vaghi bohscteti di soaui Allori*	21v
d'Incerto	*Mille siate o dolce mei guerira*	22r
And. Peuernage	*Infinita beltà ch'in voi risple[n]de*	22v
A6.		
Pietro Phillipi	*Amor che vuoi ch'io facci*	23r
Andrea Gabrieli	*[Sperar non si potea] (Sestina, 1.pt.)*	23v
Vincenzo Bellhauer	*[Sparve ogni Nume] (2.pt.)*	24r
Claudio da Correggio	*Tra pure neui alme purpuree rose (3.pt.)*	24v
Baldissera Donati	*Tratto fuora del Mar (4.pt.)*	25r
Oratio Vecchi	*Italia bella alta nudrice d'Arno (5.pt.)*	25v
Tiburtio Massaino	*Poi disse hor che'l tuo amor stima (6.pt.)*	26r
Tiburtio Massaine	*Va Musa inanz' àl'ALBA (Chiusa)*	26v
Oratio Vecchi	*La mia Candida Ninfa*	27r
Luca Marenzio	*Potro viver io piu*	27v
Alessandro Striggio	*La ver l'aurora che si dolce l'aura*	28r
d'Incerte	*Tirsi morir volea (1.pt.)*	28v
	Frenò Tirs'il desio (2.pt.)	29r
	La bella Ninfa sua (3.pt.)	29v
	Cosi moriro i fortunati amanti (4.pt.)	30r
Alessandro Striggio	*Ancor ch'io possa dire*	30v
Gio. Turnhout	*Vorria parlare e dire*	31r
Gio. Battista Moscaglia	*Del secco incolto Lauro*	31v
Hippolito Sabino	*Vestiua i colli e le campagne intorno (1.pt.)*	32r
	Cosi le chiome mie (2.pt.)	32v
Luca Marenzio	*Ne fero sdegno mai Donna(1.pt.)*	33r
	Talche douunque vò (2.pt.)	33v
Gio. Battista Mosto	*Io mi son giouinetta e volentieri*	34r
Giulio Eremita	*Poiche'l mio largo pianto*	34v
Giulio Eremita	*Arsi del vostr'amor*	35r
Cornelio Verdonch	*Tirsi son io quel misero*	35v
A8		
Pietro Filippi	*[Ditemi o diva mia]*	36r
TAVOLA.		36v

[1] The listing of composers and contents follows their ordering in the *Canto* partbook of the earliest edition of each anthology. Text repetitions have been omitted. First lines of text not taken from the *Canto* partbook are indicated in brackets. Spellings of both composers' names and madrigal texts conform to their appearance in the *Canto* volume. Conflicting or doubtful attributions are given in footnotes. Composers of unattributed madrigals, where known, are given in square brackets with attributions taken from the respective composer entry in S. SADIE and J. TYRRELL eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 1–29, London, 2001.

[2] Madrigal by Sessa D'Aranda; Phalèse misattributes the madrigal to Philippe de Monte.

[3] Madrigal by Jacob Arcadelt; Phalèse misattributes the madrigal to Philippe de Monte.

[4] Felis's setting does not appear in the *Canto* partbook; Philippe de Monte's *Amorosi pensieri* erroneously appears in its place. The error is corrected in the remaining partbooks.

[5] *Ecco ch'io lass'l core* appears for the first known time in Giovanni Ferretti's *Il secondo libro delle canzoni a sei voci* (Venice, 1575; *RISM* F534), where it is designated as an anonymous *D'incerto*. The madrigal is attributed to Alessandro Striggio in *RISM* 1584[12].

[6] The attribution of this madrigal is uncertain.

[7] The setting is correctly attributed in the headline, but incorrectly attributed to *Orlando di Lasso* in the *TABLE* on folio 36v.

[8] Though attributed in *Harmonia celeste* to Philippe de Monte, the canzona is by Gio. Francesco Caldarino.

[9] The piece is misattributed to Marc'Antonio Ingegneri in the *TABLE* on folio 36v.

[10] The piece is not listed in the *TABLE* on folio 36v.

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

6

ALAMIRE

Alamire Foundation