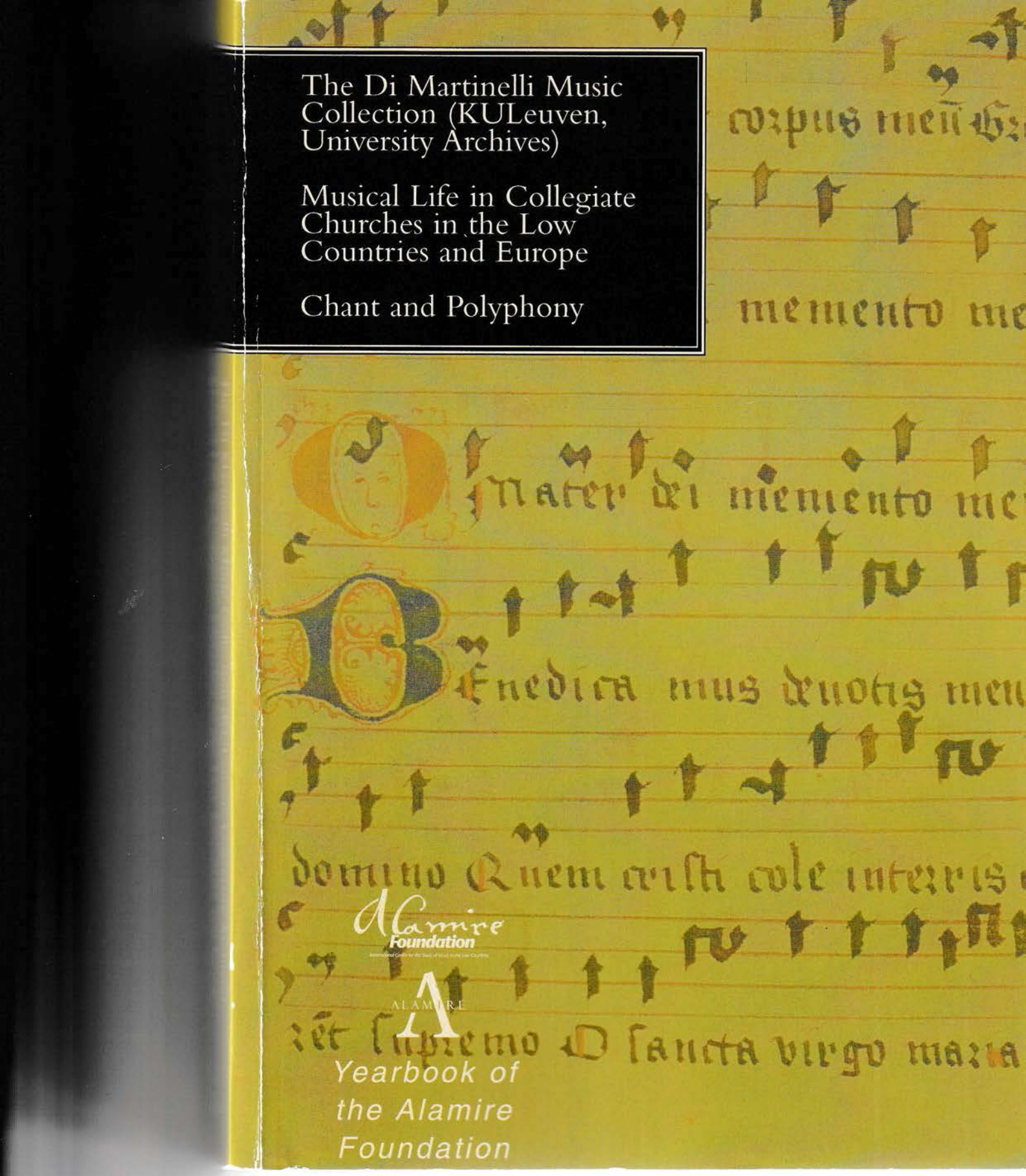
The Di Martinelli Music Collection (KULeuven, University Archives)

Musical Life in Collegiate Churches in the Low Countries and Europe

Chant and Polyphony



Alamire Foundation
International Centre for the Study of Music in the Low Countries

ALAMIRE

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

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The Di Martinelli Music Collection (KULeuven, University Archives)
Musical Life in Collegiate Churches in the Low Countries and Europe
Chant and Polyphony

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Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

4

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Musical Life in Collegiate Churches in the Low Countries and Europe

Chant and Polyphony

Colloquium Proceedings
Leuven 12.02.1997
Leuven 25.10.1997
Leuven 20-21.11.1998

Editors: Bruno Bouckaert, Eugeen Schreurs

Leuven - Peer
2000

Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation

4

THE DI MARTINELLI MUSIC COLLECTION (K.U.LEUVEN, UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES)
MUSICAL LIFE IN COLLEGIATE CHURCHES IN THE LOW COUNTRIES AND EUROPE
CHANT AND POLYPHONY

Colloquium Proceedings Leuven 12.02.1997, Leuven 25.10.1997, Leuven 20-21.11.1998

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INTRODUCTION 9
Bruno Bouckaert & Eugeen Schreurs

THE DI MARTINELLI MUSIC COLLECTION (KULEUVEN, UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES) 11

THE MUSIC COLLECTION OF THE DI MARTINELLI ARCHIVE (KULEUVEN UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES, P 206) 13
Inventory and Setting
Katrien Steelandt & Eugeen Schreurs

THE ARCHIVES OF THE DI MARTINELLI FAMILY IN THE KULEUVEN UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES 51
Marc Nelissen

THE DI MARTINELLIS, ACTIVE IN GHENT, THE HAGUE AND DIEST: 69
A forgotten Musical Dynasty and their Musical Biotope
Eugeen Schreurs

AANTEKENINGEN OVER DE 18DE-EEUWSE MUZIKANTENFAMILIE DI MARTINELLI TE LEUVEN 99
Gilbert Huybens

THE MUSIC MATERIAL OF THE DI MARTINELLI FAMILY ARCHIVE 111
A Case Study of an Eighteenth-Century Private Music Library in the Netherlands
Veronique Verspeurt

THE DI MARTINELLI VIOLIN MANUSCRIPT 131
Stanley Boorman

GOTTFRIED FINGER AND THE DI MARTINELLI MUSIC COLLECTION AT LEUVEN 159
Robert G. Rawson

MUSICAL LIFE IN COLLEGIATE CHURCHES 165

PLANGE QUASI VIRGO 167
An Archaeological Study of the Utrecht Responsory Tradition
Ike de Loos

DE ANTWERPSE ORGANIST, ZANGMEESTER EN COMPONIST 193
JOANNES THOMAS BAUSTETTER (Anholt, ca. 1723 - Antwerpen, 23 januari 1789)
Godelieve Spiessens

LA CHAPELLE MUSICALE DE LA CATHÉDRALE DE TOLÈDE 233
évolution et apogée (XVè-XVIè siècle)
François Reynaud

PETER PHILIPS (1560/1561 - 1628) AND THE VENERABLE 243
ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME
Rachelle Taylor

THE CITY AND THE CHURCH 261
Music, Liturgy, and Government in late 17th-Century Bologna
Marc Vanscheeuwijck

CHANT AND POLYPHONY 281

L'OFFICE DE S. WINOC DE BERGUES (FLANDRES, XIE SIÈCLE) EST-IL 283
À L'ORIGINE D'UNE TENEUR DANS LES MOTETS DU XIIIE SIÈCLE?
Recherches sur la teneur *Aptatur* dans les motets
des manuscrits de Montpellier et de Bamberg
Jean François Goudesenne

COMPOSING CHANT 297
Tenors and Compositional Practice
in the Latin Motets of the Manuscript F-Pn fr. 146
Antonella Puca

RÖMISCHER CHORAL IM POLYPHONEN UMFELD 313
DER LUTHERISCHEN LITURGIE
Volker Schier

USE AND ABUSE OF GREGORIAN CHANT 331
IN THE 18TH-CENTURY DUTCH REPUBLIC
Rudolf Rasch

CHANT AND POLYPHONY IN RUSSIA 357
Historical Aspects
Marina Ritzarev

PLAIN-CHANT OU POLYPHONIE ? 369
À propos de Saint-Martin de Tours à la fin du Moyen Âge
Agostino Magro

LE PLAIN-CHANT DANS LES MOTETS D'EUSTACHE DU CAURROY 385
Marie-Alexis Colin

MONODIE UND VIRTUELLE POLYPHONIE IN ARAGON 399
Susana Zapke

MIXING CHANT TRADITIONS 413
An Italian Passion in Spain
Greta J. Olson

DEATH AND TRADITION 433
The Two Requiem Masses of Juan Esquivel Barahona
Michael O'Connor

THE TWO REQUIEMS BY CRISTÓBAL DE MORALES AND SPANISH 447
COMPOSERS' USE OF CHANT MATERIAL FROM THE OFFICE FOR THE DEAD
Grayson Wagstaff

CIRCLES OF RELATIONSHIPS 465
Chant and Polyphony in the Lamentations of Francisco de Peñalosa
Jane Morlet Hardie

INTRODUCTION

Bruno Bouckaert & Eugeen Schreurs

This fourth Yearbook contains a selection of the papers that were presented at three international colloquia organized by the Alamire Foundation, International Centre for the Study of Music in the Low Countries and the section Musicology of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Leuven in 1998 and 1999.

Part I is devoted to the Di Martinelli Music Collection, as important as it is extensive, which is now in the K.U.Leuven University Archives. Since our University acquired this unique 18th-century music archive - in several stages between 1990 and 1998 - several initiatives have been undertaken to bring it to the attention of musicologists, performers, and music lovers in general. Thus the organization of the colloquium *The Di Martinelli Music Dynasty and their Music Collection* (Leuven, 12 February 1997) was intended as an initial stimulus. The year 1998 saw an exhibition and a CD illustrating the musical treasures of the University Library, as well as the publication of a draft catalogue of the Di Martinelli collection in *Musica Antiqua*. Now Yearbook IV presents a complete and detailed inventory of the archive, realized within the framework of a project of the Alamire Foundation supported by the Max-Wildiersfonds (Fund for Scientific Research Flanders). In cooperation with the *RISM* Zentralredaktion Frankfurt, all manuscripts before 1850 will be incorporated in the *RISM* database (Series A/II: Music MSS after 1600). This first part furthermore offers contributions that deal with specific aspects in more detail: the history of the archive and of the Di Martinelli family, the musical context in which the musicians-composers of the family were active, the contents and importance of the violin manuscript, etc.

Part II contains articles on various aspects of ecclesiastical musical life in five European cities: Utrecht, Antwerp, Toledo, Rome, and Bologna. Four of these contributions were presented at the colloquium *Musical Life at the Collegiate Churches in the Low Countries and Europe from the 14th century until 1797* (Leuven, 25 October 1997).

Finally, Part III is the reflection of twelve contributions to the colloquium *Chant and Polyphony* (Leuven, 20-21 November 1998). The themes and sources dealt with are highly varied, both geographically and chronologically.

Besides all the authors and the scientific committee, we specifically wish to thank the collaborators of the Alamire Foundation who contributed to the realization of this work (Christophe Libbrecht, Mariet Vriens, Katrien Steelandt, Patrick Lenaers). We are also particularly grateful to our privileged partner Alamire Music

Publishers (Martine Sanders) for supervising the printing of this publication. Indispensable financial support for the organization of the colloquia and the publication of these proceedings was provided by the Fund for Scientific Research Flanders.

The Alamire Foundation has further plans for the immediate future. Yearbook V (2001) will contain the papers presented at the colloquium *The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500-1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire* (Leuven, 25-28 November 1999). The results of the colloquium *Bruges-Venice: Music in Two Urban Mosaics* (Bruges, 14-16 December 2001) will find a place in Yearbook VI (2002). These publications are to seen as the continuing fulfillment of one of our most important missions: to provide a forum where researchers from all over the world can meet and discuss the music and the musical life of the Low Countries under the Ancien Régime and their place in a broader European context.

Bruno Bouckaert & Eugeen Schreurs
Alamire Foundation – Department of Musicology (K.U.Leuven)

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THE DI MARTINELLI MUSIC COLLECTION (KULEUVEN, UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES)

The Music Collection of the Di Martinelli Archive (KULeuven University Archives, P 206)

Inventory and Setting*

Katrien Steelandt & Eugeen Schreurs
Alamire Foundation

The story of the Di Martinelli dynasty and its archive is in several respects a remarkable history, not least because such an extensive music collection was, until very recently, completely unknown in the musicological world.[1] The music collection P 206 was part of a large family archive donated to Leuven University Library between 1990 and 1998. In 1990 a first segment was deposited by Mrs. Thérèse Leemans-De Roo and Mrs. Gabrielle de Hasque. In 1994-1995 Mrs. Marguerite Eeman-Mathy also relinquished her share of the music of the Di Martinelli family to the university archive.[2]

The Di Martinelli music collection contains 65 manuscripts and 32 prints mainly from the late seventeenth and eighteenth century and some from the nineteenth century. The latter were omitted from this introduction as it is still unclear how they entered the archive. Italian composers are predominant in the collection (among them Martino Bitti, Giovanni Bononcini, Arcangelo Corelli, Carlo Ambrosio Lonatij, Maddalena Laura Sirmen [Lombardini]), some appearing in editions produced in Antwerp or Amsterdam. Sirmen, both a popular violin virtuoso and a composer,[3] is the only woman in the group. Yet, the major eighteenth century Italian violin composers, such as Giuseppe Tartini and Antonio Vivaldi, are hardly represented. Only one of Vivaldi's works is to be found (no. 54.11): an arrangement of one of his violin concertos (RV 355) (Figure 1). In the second

* The inventory of the music collection of the Di Martinelli archive is part of a project of the Max Wildiers fund (FWO-Vlaanderen) that emphasizes the cataloguing, publication and study of music collections in Flanders from ca. 1650 to ca. 1800. Unlike the earlier *RISM*-project, the Max Wildiers project will not be limited to cataloguing, but will also devote attention to comparative study and publication of music by now forgotten local composers. I'm gratefull to Peter Van Dessel for the English translation of the article.

1 None of the major twentieth century reference works mentions this impressive and varied music collection.

2 See M. NELISSEN, *The archives of the Di Martinelli family in the KULeuven University Archives,* in *Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation,* 4, Leuven-Peer, 2000, p. 51-67

3 C. WHITE, art. *Sirmen, Maddalena Laura,* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. S. SADIE, 17, Londen, 1980, p. 354.

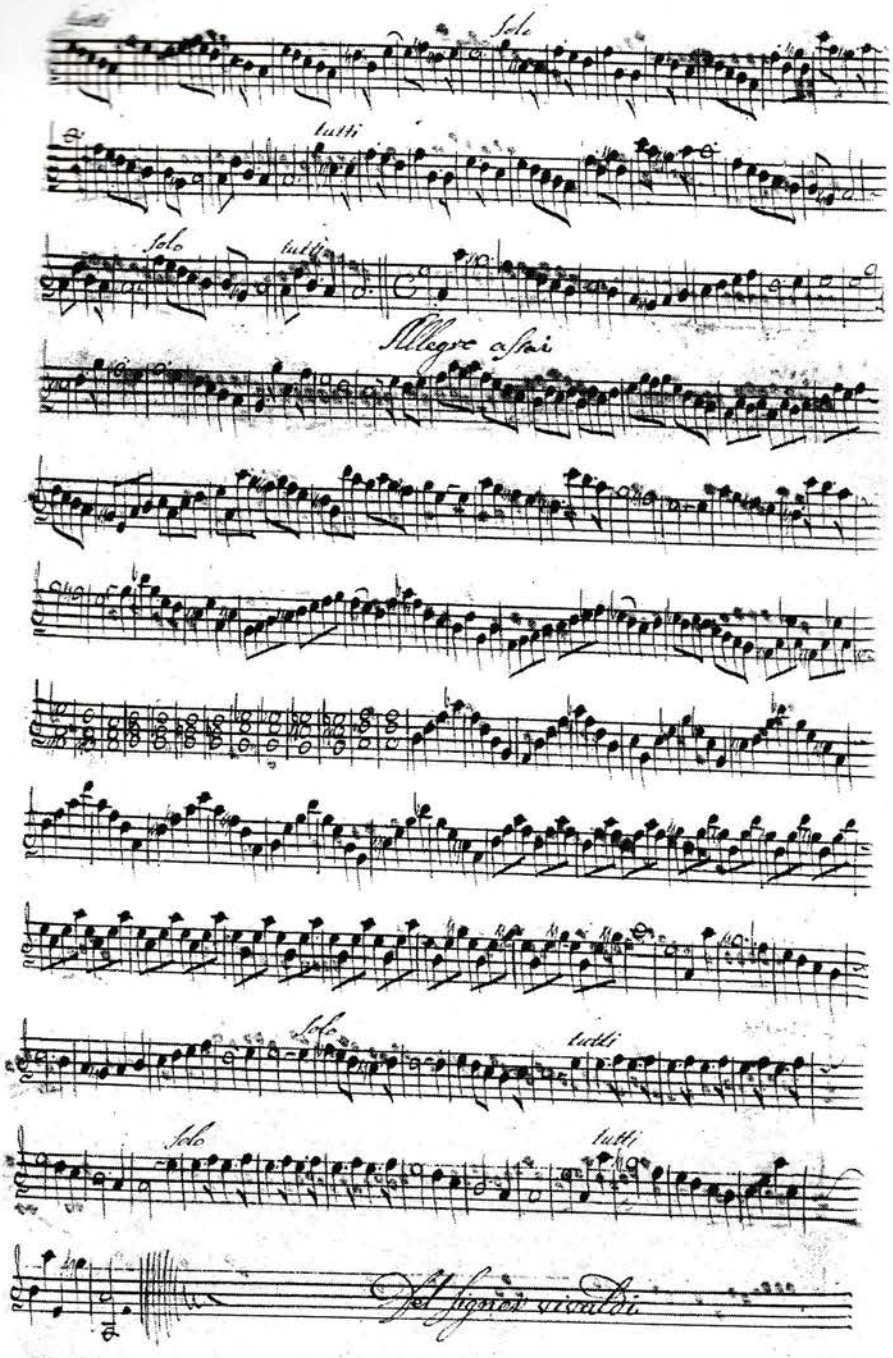
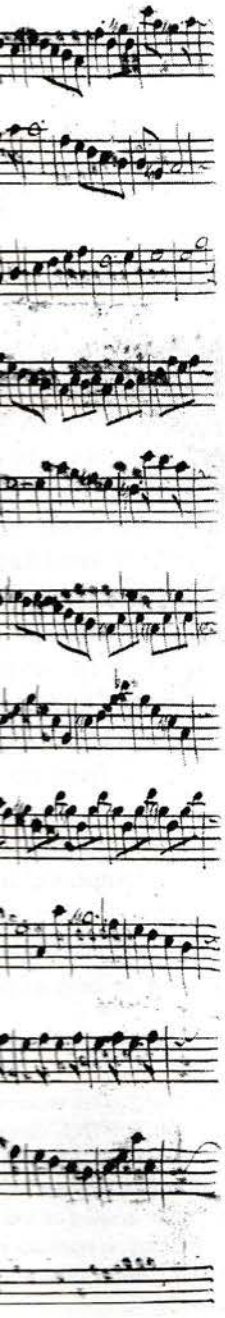


Figure 1. Leuven, Di Martinelli Music Collection, No. 54.11: A. Vivaldi, *Sonata*



.11: A. Vivaldi, *Sonata*

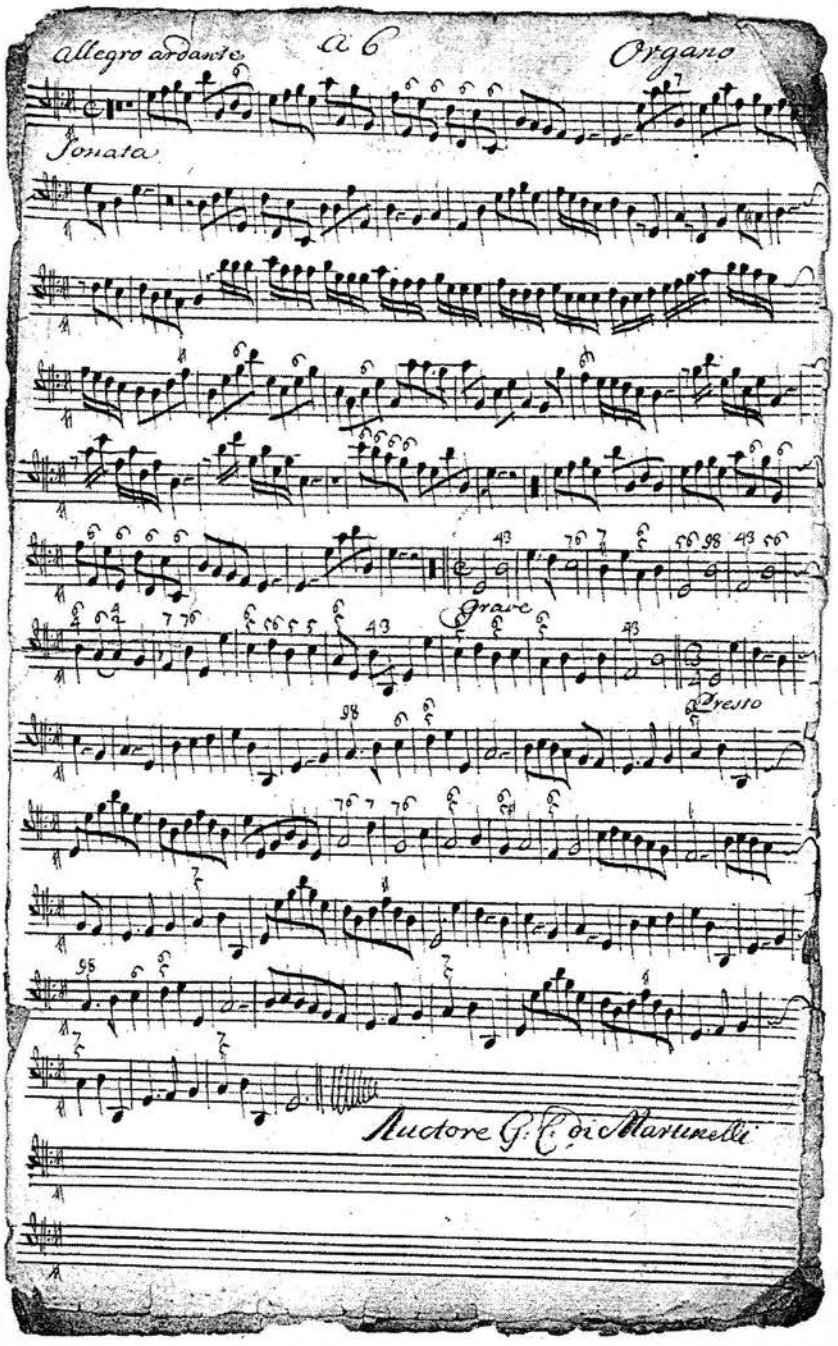


Figure 2. Leuven, Di Martinelli Music Collection, No. 61.1: G.C. Di Martinelli, *Sonata a 6*

place come works by German composers like Johann Jacob Walther, Joseph Anton Aufmann, Franz Gleissner, followed by a few names (Heinrich Ignaz Franz von Biber, Henricus Albicastro [Weissenbergh], Johann Heinrich Schmelzer) from more Central European areas such as Bohemia, Switzerland and Austria. There is rather little French music, but composers from the Northern and especially the Southern Netherlands are, in terms of percentage, reasonably well represented. Quite important are the compositions of Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinelli himself (Figure 2). Seven works can be attributed to him with certainty,[4] three manuscripts were signed with *DM, MD* or *M di M*, presumably Di Martinelli or 'Monsieur/Maestro' Di Martinelli.[5] The collection also contains a considerable number of anonymous compositions, possibly of local origin, as well as the works of the still unidentified N. Goor.[6] It is notable that the printed editions in the Di Martinelli collection contain not one single vocal work. In about half of the manuscripts, on the other hand, vocal compositions are found. Of the 32 manuscripts with vocal music, only five composers are known to us. Most of the prints originate from the Low Countries. The Leuven printer Jean François Maswiens is present with six editions, the Antwerpian Henrico Aertssens with four, and five prints are coming from Amsterdam. Foreign publishers, on the other hand, are present with just one or two works (with the exception of Johann Jacob Lotter who has three)(See Table 1). The Paris editions date primarily from the second half of the eighteenth century.

[4] Works with certainty attributed to Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli:

24	*Tantum ergo*
39	*Sonata a 4 instr.*
40	*Sonata a 6*
41	*Sonata a 6*
58.5	*Symphonia, second dessus*
61.1	*Sonata a 6*
54.10	*Sonata 10ma*

[5] Works for which the attribution to G. C. Di Martinelli is dubious:

23	*In te Domine speravi*	*MD scripti 1 auguste 1737*
42	*Sonata a 3*	*DM*
60.1	*Sonata a 6*	*M:di:M*

[6] The name [Van de(n)] Goor does occur in Diest, but no musician with that name has been found. Diest, Stadsarchief, Stad, 465, stadsrekeningen 1752/1753, p. 218: *Johannes Van Den Goor.* Another possibility is that Goor lived in the Northern Netherlands and that his name refers to the homonymous town in Overijssel. The names Italo and Wenseler presumably refer to Gottfried Finger (ca. 1656-1730) and Nicholas Franz Xaver Wentzely (1643-1722), respectively. Robert Rawson (London), who is preparing a doctorate on Gottfried Finger, made this suggestion for which we would like to thank him. Wenseler is probably a variant spelling of Wentzely; see the contribution of S. BOORMAN in this volume.

Table 1. List of printers in the Di Martinelli Collection

PLACE OF PUBLICATION	PRINTER	NUMBER OF PRINTS	YEAR
Amsterdam	Hummel, Johann Julius	2	1776
Amsterdam	Roger, Estienne	3	[1714]
Amsterdam	Sine nomine	1	s.d.
Antwerp	Aertssens, Hendrik	4	1692, 1696, 1706, 1700
Augsburg	Lotter, Johann Jakob (heirs)	3	1752, 1754, 1755
Leiden	Imprimées aux dépens de l' auteur	1	s.d.
Leuven	Maswiens, Jean François	6	s.d.
Paris	Boyer	1	s.d.
Paris	Bureau d' abonnement Musical	1	s.d.
Paris	Dufaut, Victor and Dubois	1	s.d.
Paris	Jouvemd	1	s.d.
Paris	Le Menu, [Christoph]	1	1770
Paris	Sieber, Jean-Georges	2	s.d.
Salzburg	Höger, Georg	1	1689
S.l.	Anonymous	2	s.d.
S.l.	Les fils de B. Schott	1	s.d.
S.l.	Offenbach, Jean André	1	s.d.

It is obvious that the collection, though it undoubtedly contains many gaps, still reflects the taste and the occupation of its owners. Thus the solo music for violin seems to play an important role. Remarkably, there is a marked preference for a repertoire which until quite recently was considered to have circulated primarily in Italy (Carlo Ambrogio Lonati alias Gobbo), Germany (Heinrich Biber), and to a certain extent also in the Northern Netherlands (David Petersen). In stylistic respect they are hardly represented in the Southern Netherlands barely, if represented at all.[7] Ensemble music for melody instruments and figured bass is well represented with trio sonatas, mostly for two violins and cello or bass violin, by Italian (Vivaldi) and German (Johann Christoph Pez) masters as well as local (Petrus Hercules Brehy) masters. Regarded until recently as rather uncommon for the Southern Netherlands, is ensemble music for larger groups, sometimes even approaching the concerto grosso (e.g. an anonymous sonata a 9 [no. 57.2], completely in the style of Arcangelo Corelli). Highly exceptional for the region are the sonatas for several obligato wind instruments (e.g. no. 55 for two violins, two flutes or oboes and b.c., or no. 56 for two flutes, two oboes, bassoon and b.c.). The

[7] See G. HAENEN, *Vioolmuziek in het Di Martinellifonds,* in *Musica Antiqua,* 17 (2000), p. 153-158.

explicit use of the viola da gamba in church music (no. 29.2: *Salve regina*) is also unusual for the Southern Netherlands, but is quite common in German church music. Likewise, sacred music for solo voice and b.c. is rather exceptional in the Southern Netherlands, where most vocal church music was composed for voices, an instrumental ensemble (usually three to five strings) and b.c.[8]

Functionality is an important feature of much of the music in this collection. From the article on the Di Martinellis in Diest[9] it clearly appears that many instrumental works had both a didactic (e.g. instruction of the sons, of the choristers by the 'first violinist and violin teacher' appointed by the municipal authorities) and a public function. Once these sonatas had been learnt they could be performed for private enjoyment (as chamber music), at public concerts organized by the local collegium musicum, the *Concert volontairelijck*, or during church services in St Sulpitius (again forces were joined with the *Concert volontairelijck*, which received a financial compensation from the city government). The four violin booklets in the collection (nos. 48, 49, 50 and 52), which belonged to Antonius and Johannes Antonius Di Martinelli, perfectly exemplify this double function. Next to their didactic value, it is very likely that the Di Martinellis used these booklets when they performed at feasts of guilds or other associations.[10] The presence of five theoretical works must also be explained by the Di Martinelli's professional activities. Indeed, Guillelmus Carolus, the 'founding father' of the family, was school teacher, violinist and violin teacher in Diest.[11] Nivers' *Traité de la composition de musique* (1697) and the two anonymous theoretical works dealing with chords, figured bass, keys and clefs, were probably used by Guillelmus Carolus or his pupils as study material. The *Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre à jouer du violon* (1770) by Leopold Mozart and the *Méthode pour violoncelle* (1764) by Joseph Bonaventura Tillière belong in all likelihood to the period of Johannes Antonius Guillelmus, the grandson of Guillelmus Carolus.

[8] The most recent monograph devoted to a composer of the Southern-Netherlands is L. BARATZ, *The concerted motets of Petrus Hercules Brehy (1673-1737), zangmeester of the Brussels Collegiate Church of Saints Michael and Gudula*, Phd. Diss., Case Western Reserve University, 1993, where a recent bibliography will be found.

[9] See the contribution of E. SCHREURS in this volume.

[10] On such 'street music' and the relevant literature see G. HUYBENS & E. SCHREURS, *Speelmansboek uit Maastricht. Tongeren, O.L.-Vrouwebasiliek hs. 81*, facsimile-edition with introduction, Peer, 1996.

[11] E. SCHREURS & G. HUYBENS, *De Di Martinelli's en hun muziekboekjes / Les Di Martinelli et leurs recueils de musique*, in *T' Haegelant. Vier 18de-eeuwse muziekboekjes uit Diest/ Quatre recueils de musique du XVIII siècle de Diest*, Peer, 1995, pp. XIV-XVI.

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The music collection of the St Sulpitius church in Diest is also being catalogued and studied.[12] Two connections with the Di Martinelli collection can already be pointed out. Johannes Franciscus De Decker, organist of St Sulpitius from 1763/1764 until the French Revolution, is listed in both archives as the owner of a manuscript (P 206 no. 53, a set of organ works, and Sulpitius no. 92, a motet by Jean Baptiste Pergolesi, *O Jesu o sponse*). In addition to this, the St Sulpitius collection confirms that the Di Martinelli family continued to play an active role in the church's musical life into the nineteenth century: an inscription on the title page of a print with work of Jean Baptiste Schiedermeyer in the church collection reads: *ex musicis Fred. Guil. Di Martinelli Die[...] qui hujus[...] ad M. H. & G. Dei desiderans donavit fabrica S^ti Sulpitii Diesthi hac 18 Julii 1842*. In any event, this collection nicely supplements the Leuven Di Martinelli archive, that is why we have been informed about music from the second half of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century.

Of course the sacred vocal music and the organ works were intended almost exclusively for performance during masses, benedictions, and (the more important) divine offices such as vespers in St Sulpitius. The little organ book from Rotem abbey (near Halen) is a welcome addition to the rather meagre stock of South-Netherlandic organ music, although it remains surprising that the quality of the preserved literature is often inversely proportional to that of the surviving instruments. Would it be too hazardous to assume an unfamiliar tradition of improvisation? In a later period church music is manifestly underrepresented in the Di Martinelli collection, but this gap is fortunately filled by the St Sulpitius archive. It is clear that the Di Martinellis collected mainly instrumental music, the most conspicuous items being the duets for horn and bassoon, some keyboard music, and of course mainly violin music, probably intended for Diest's *eerste viole*.

The role the Di Martinelli family played in the musical life of the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in general (Ghent, The Hague), and for Diest in particular, can hardly be underestimated. The Leuven Di Martinelli collection, together with information from music inventories from the second half of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, enable us to elaborate a broader view of musical life that, also because of the attested repertoire, diverges somewhat from what had already been known in other Flemish towns. The Di Martinelli collection suggests high-quality musical life in our region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Further comparative research based on music from other surviving collections (Our Lady in Antwerp, St Gudula in Brussels, St Bavo in Ghent, St Waldetrudis in Herentals, etc.) will undoubtedly show in the future that our

[12] K. STEELANDT, *Inventaris van het muziekarchief van de Sint-Sulpitiuskerk te Diest,* unpublished inventory, Leuven, 2001. The inventory is available for consultation at the Alamire Foundation and the Diest municipal archive.

present knowledge of the musical life of this period all too often still rests on mere preliminary sampling.

INVENTORY CONCEPT

In view of making the archive accessible we decided to draw up a detailed inventory and to rearrange the collection (See the Inventory). The music collection had a provisional multiple numbering.[13] Hence, the numbers M1 to M27, 1 to 34, and MI-MII (1-4) existed side by side. Numbers M7, M10, M11 and M17 were unexistent or were photocopies of already numbered works. Some works were catalogued as a collection, even though separate manuscripts were involved (e.g. old numbers 27, 29 and 32). The reverse also occurred: individual parts of a work were sometimes given separate numbers (e.g. the old numbers 4, 7 and 10 are all parts of the same mass in C [no. 30.1]; the motet *Gaudeti angeli* in F [no. 30.2]). Rearranging the archive and allocating unambiguous numbering were thus imposed.

Manuscripts and printed editions were separated, by analogy with the procedures of the *RISM*. We also opted to divide the inventory into three subcategories: vocal, instrumental, and theoretical works. In the subcategories vocal and instrumental works, a further distinction was made between manuscripts or prints devoted to a single composer on the one hand, and manuscripts or prints with several composers on the other, both arranged alphabetically according to composer and/or title. To facilitate the search for composers' names in both systems an alphabetical index was added (See Index). Our inventory reflects just one possible classification; for those wishing to apply other search strategies (such as via title or via incipit) there is still the *RISM* CD-ROM.[14]

For the manuscripts the following information is given: new inventory number; old inventory number; composer; title and key; scoring; (in)complete; other relevant information; *RISM* number. The designation "incompl." indicates that not all the parts are in the possession of the University archive. A question mark after the indication "compl./ incompl." means that we do not know with certainty whether the work is complete. Often a continuo part may be lacking. Missing parts are indicated in square brackets in the 'scoring' column. Anonymous

[13] V. VERSPEURT, in the context of the *RISM*-project Belgium, first inventoried the Di Martinelli archive. See E. SCHREURS & V. VERSPEURT, *Het Di Martinellifonds*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 13 (1996), p. 10-15.

[14] The inventory of the music collection of the Di Martinelli archive will be available on the 9th cumulative edition of the CD-ROM *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* A/II: *Manuscrits musicaux après 1600: catalogue thématique*, München, 2001.

works followed by an asterisk (*) bear the inscription *Ex Cartis de G.C. di Martinelli* (Figure 3). However, this does not mean that these works were composed by Di Martinelli himself, only that they were part of his own collection.

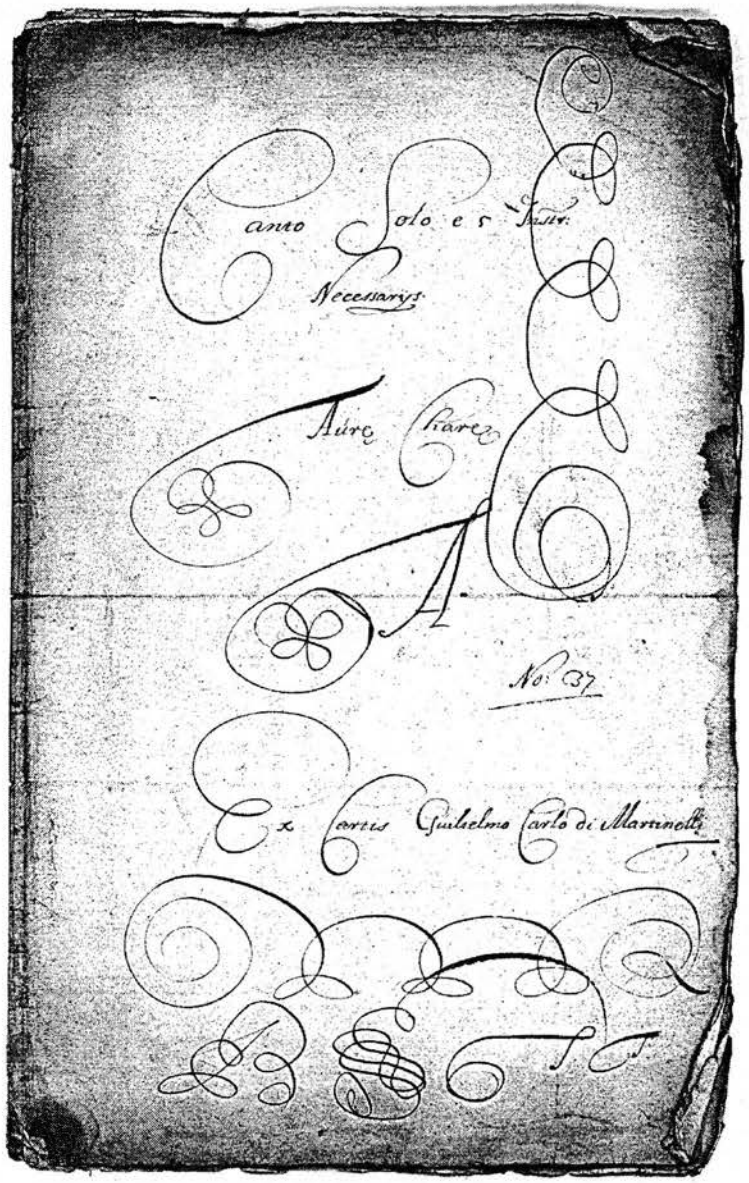


Figure 3. Leuven, Di Martinelli Music Collection, No. 2: Anonymous, *Aure chare*

The printed editions were not yet numbered. The order of information for the prints is as follows: inventory number; composer; title and key; opus number; scoring; (in)complete; name of the printer; place and year of publication; *RISM* number. When a print is unknown in the *RISM* series A/I or B/I-II, this is indicated by the letter N. This does not necessarily mean that these are all unica, since some works were possibly printed or reprinted after 1800 and therefore not eligible for inclusion in *RISM*. However, prints 70 (Petrus Hercules Brehy) (Figure 4), 86 (Johann Kobrich), 94 (Natilis-Christianus Van der Borght), and 96 (Nicalas Haym en Martino Bitti), are in all likelihood unica.

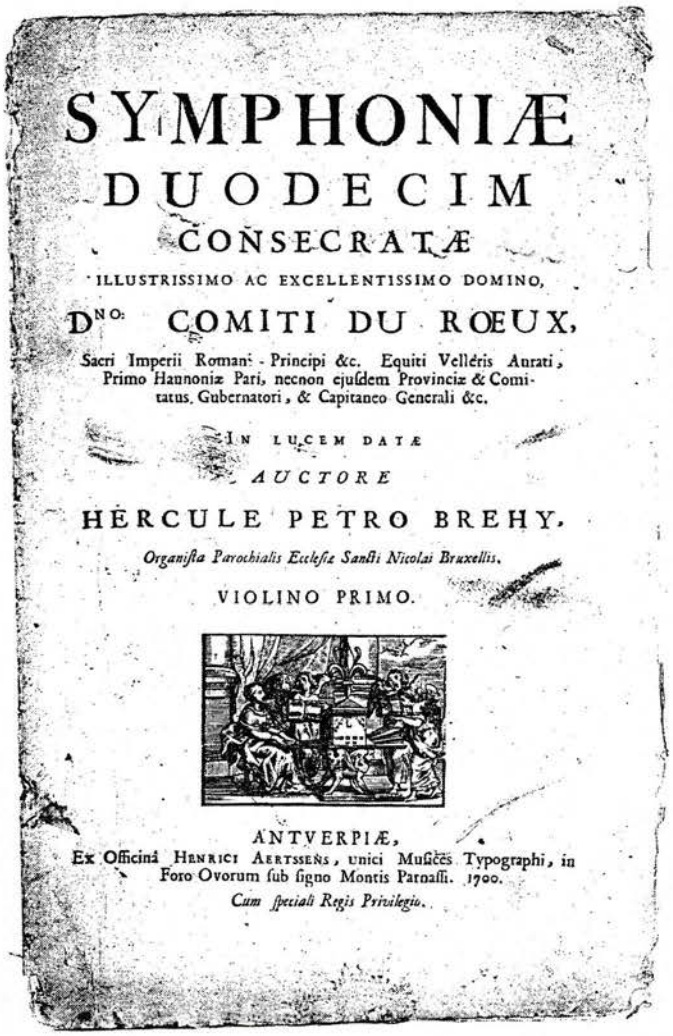

SYMPHONIÆ
DUODECIM
CONSECRATÆ
ILLUSTRISSIMO AC EXCELLENTISSIMO DOMINO,
DNO. COMITI DU ROEUX,
Sacri Imperii Romani Principi &c. Equiti Velleris Aurati, Primo Hannoniæ Pari, necnon ejusdem Provinciæ & Comitatus Gubernatori, & Capitaneo Generali &c.
IN LUCEM DATÆ
AUCTORE
HERCULE PETRO BREHY,
Organista Parochialis Ecclesiæ Sancti Nicolai Bruxellis.
VIOLINO PRIMO.
ANTVERPIÆ,
Ex Officinâ Henrici Aertssens, unici Musices Typographi, in Foro Ovorum sub signo Montis Parnassi. 1700.
Cum speciali Regis Privilegio.

Figure 4. Leuven, Di Martinelli Music Collection, No. 70: P. H. Brehy, *Symphoniae duodecim*

Brehy, *Symphoniae duodecim*

r of information for the
key; opus number; scor-
publication; *RISM* num-
r B/I-II, this is indicated
are all unica, since some
therefore not eligible for
es Brehy) (Figure 4), 86
t), and 96 (Nicalas Haym

Inventory of the seventeenth and eighteenth Century Music collection of the Di Martinelli Archive, (KULeuven, University Archives, P 206)[15]

Katrien Steelandt

I. Manuscripts

1.1. Vocal compositions

1.1.1. Manuscripts devoted to music by a single composer

New inventory number	Old number	Composer	Title and Key	Scoring	Compl or incompl	Other relevant information	RISM AII/702.000.
1	11	Anonymous	*[Albescite flores]*, D	S, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, vlc	Compl ?	De sto vel sta A 4 voc: et 3 instr:	029
2	M 15	Anonymous*	*Aurae non me provocate*, G	S, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, fag, org (bc)	Compl	Canto solo e 5 instr: necessarys	564
3	16	Anonymous	*Beatus vir qui timet*, A	S, B, org (bc)	Compl	A 2 canto é basso	045
4	2	Anonymous	*Congratulamini fideles*, G	S, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, vlc, org	Compl	A 4 voc: et 3 instr:	013

[15] The capitalization of words in the titles and other indications in the manuscripts and prints is very inconsistent. In our inventory we have opted to follow Dutch spelling conventions, and therefore capitalize only the initial word of a phrase (with the exception of proper names). Composers' names are spelled as in *New Grove*, abbreviations are those of *RISM*.

5	M 18	Anonymous	*Laudate dominum*, F	S 1, 2, A, T, B, vl 1, 2,violetta, vlc, org (bc)	Compl	5 voc: et 5 inst: nec: 6ti toni	701
6	18	Anonymous	*Libera me domine*, g	A, T, B, vl 1, 2, org (bc)	Compl ?		047
7	20	Anonymous	*Missa*, G	S, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, org (bc)	Compl	a 4 voc: con violini	049
8	17	Anonymous [Teller, Marcus]	*Missa*, c	S, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, a-vla, vlc, org (bc)	Compl	a 4 voc: et 4 instr : requiem aeternam	046
9	3	Anonymous	*Missa*, C	S 1, 2, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, 3, 4, b-vla	Incompl?	a 5 voc: et 5 instr:	014
10	19	Anonymous	*Missa*, C	S 1, 2, A, T 1, 2, B, vl 1, 2, a-vla, b-vla, org (bc)	Compl	a 6 voc: et 4 instr :	048
11	M 3	Anonymous*	*Miserrime homo*, e	S 1, 2, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, fag, org (bc)	Compl	A 2 canti et 5 instrum: e organo	545
12	8	Anonymous	*O amantissime mi Jesu*, g	T, vl 1, 2, a-vla, b-vla, org (bc)	Compl	Tenore solo cum 4 instr:	025
13	M 23	Anonymous*	*O amantissime Jesu*, a	S or A, vl 1, 2, vlc, org (bc)	Compl	Canto solo o alto con 3 instrum. é organo	741
14	M 16	Anonymous	*O rex invictissime*, d	B 1, 2, vl 1, 2, violetta 1, 2, fag, org (bc)	Compl	Motett: a due bassi con cinque Instrumenti (due violini et due violetta con faggotto e basso per l' organo)	565
15	M 25	Anonymous	*Obsequente mortales*, F	B, vl 1, 2, [fl 1, 2], org (bc)	Incompl	Basso solo con due viol: e due flauti	743
16	22	Anonymous	*Quid a vita*, G	S, vl 1, 2, vlc, org (bc)	Compl	Canto solo con due violini e violoncello	051
17	13	Anonymous	*Quo fugiam miser*, G	B 1, 2, vl 1, 2	Incompl ?	A 2 bassi é 2 violini	031
18	M 20	Anonymous*	*Regina coeli*, D	S 1, 2, A, T, B, vl 1, 2,	Incompl	A 5 voc: et 2 instrum: é organo	715

				org (bc)			
12	8	Anonymous	*O amantissime mi Jesu*, g	T, vl 1, 2, a-vla, b-vla, org (bc)	Compl	Tenore solo cum 4 instr:	025
13	M 23	Anonymous*	*O amantissime Jesu*, a	S or A, vl 1, 2, vlc, org (bc)	Compl	Canto solo o alto con 3 instrum. é organo	741
14	M 16	Anonymous	*O rex invictissime*, d	B 1, 2, vl 1, 2, violetta 1, 2, fag, org (bc)	Compl	Motett: a due bassi con cinque Instrumenti (due violini et due violetta con faggotto e basso per l' organo)	565
15	M 25	Anonymous	*Obstupescite mortales*, F	B, vl 1, 2, [fl 1, 2], org (bc)	Incompl	Basso solo con due viol: e due flautti	743
16	22	Anonymous	*Quid a vita*, G	S, vl 1, 2, vlc, org (bc)	Compl	Canto solo con due violini e violoncello	051
17	13	Anonymous	*Quo fugiam miser*, G	B 1, 2, vl 1, 2	Incompl ?	A 2 bassi é 2 violini	031
18	M 20	Anonymous*	*Regina coeli*, D	S 1, 2, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, [org]	Incompl	A 5 voc: et 2 instrum: é organo	715
19	M 2	Anonymous	*Regina coeli*, D	A, vl 1, 2, org (bc)	Compl	Voce sola con due instrumenti	544
20	1	Anonymous	*Salve regina*, D	S, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, vlc	Compl ?	A 4 voc: et 3 instr:	011
21	12	Anonymous	*Salve regina*, G	S, A, vl 1, 2, org (bc)	Compl	A 2 voc: con 3 instr: concerti	030
22	M 24	Anonymous*	*Veni in hortum*, D	S, vl 1, 2, org (bc)	Compl	Canto solo con due violini e organo	742
23	14	Di Martinelli (?)	*In te domine speravi*, F	T, B, vl 1, 2, org (bc)	Compl	A 2 voc: *Scripti 9 auguste 1737* (signature MD = Di Martinelli?) (endpaper r.)	032
24	M 14	Di Martinelli, Guillelmus Carolus	*Tantum ergo*, a	S, A, T, B, vl 1	Incompl		563
25	M 27	Fiocco, Joseph Hector	*O dilectissime*, D	A-vla	Incompl	Mot: n: 16 – canto solo – duetto - Chorus	745

26	5, 15	Pez, Johann Christoph	*In plenitudine temporis*, F	T, vl 1, 2, b-vla, org (bc)	Compl	Tenore solo con 3 instr. / In festa ascensionis	023
27	6, 20	Teller, Marcus	*Mis*, E	S, A, T, B, vl 1, 2, a-vla, vlc, org (bc)	Compl		024

1.1.2. Manuscripts devoted to music by several composers

28	9	Anonymous			Compl		026
28.1		Anonymous	*Ave regina caelorum*, A	S, org (bc)		Canto solo con organo	027
28.2		Anonymous	*Regina caeli*, C	S, org (bc)		Canto solo con organo	028
29	15	Anonymous			Compl		033
29.1		Anonymous	*Desiste ad amare*, b	S, vl 1, 2, bc		Canto solo con 2 viol	035
29.2		Anonymous	*Salve regina*, b	S, vl 1, 2, vla da gamba, org (bc)		Voce sola con 3 instr.	034
30	4, 7, 10	Anonymous			Compl		012
30.1		Anonymous	*Mis*, C	S 1, 2, A, T 1, 2, B, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, bc			015
30.2		Anonymous	*Gaudeti angeli*, F	S 1, 2, A, T 1, 2, B, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, bc			016
31	M 22	Anonymous*			Compl	Motetti a voce sola con 5 instrumenti e organo	737
31.1		Anonymous	*O dear ge*, Es	S, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, b-vla, org (bc)			736
31.2		Anonymous	*In omnibus quecumque mihi*, Bes	S, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, b-vla, org (bc)			738
31.3		Anonymous	*Quam pulcher es*, D	S, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, b-vla,			739

30	4, 7, 10	Anonymous			Compl		012
30.1		Anonymous	*Mis*, C	S 1, 2, A, T 1, 2, B, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, bc			015
30.2		Anonymous	*Gaudeti angeli*, F	S 1, 2, A, T 1, 2, B, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, bc			016
31	M 22	Anonymous*			Compl	Motetti a voce sola con 5 instrumenti e organo	737
31.1		Anonymous	*O deus ego*, Es	S, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, b-vla, org (bc)			736
31.2		Anonymous	*In omnibus quecumque mihi*, Bes	S, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, b-vla, org (bc)			738
31.3		Anonymous	*Quam pulcher es*, D	S, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, b-vla, org (bc)			739
31.4		Anonymous	*Heu me quando*, A	S, vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, b-vla, org (bc)			740
32	M 9	Anonymous	*Recueil d' airs a boire de differents maistres a deux*	S 1, 2, 3, B 1, 2	Compl?		548, 839-902

1.2. Instrumental compositions

1.2.1. Manuscripts devoted to music by a single composer

33	MII3	Anonymous	*Concerto a 3*, A	Vl 1, 2, vlc, org (bc)	Compl		756
34	21	Anonymous	*Concerto grosso symphonia a 7 instr:*, D	Concertino: vl 1, 2 , concerto grosso: vl 1,2, a-vla, vlc obl, org (bc)	Compl	Sonata 4 violini alto, violoncello e organo	050
35	M 26	Anonymous	[Instrumental music], F	Vl 2	Incompl		744

36	27a	Anonymous	*Intrada a 4 strom.*, g	Vl 1, 2, vla, basso	Compl	Vla = taille	057
37	29	Anonymous	*Sonata a 6*, D	Vlc 2	Incompl		061
38	M 6	Anonymous	*Sonata a 9*, C	Vl 1, 2, clno 1, 2	Incompl		547
39	M 13	Di Martinelli, Guillelmus Carolus	*Sonata a 4 instr.*, g	Vlc, org (bc)	Incompl		562
40	24	Di Martinelli, Guillelmus Carolus	*Sonata a 6*, a	Vl 1, 2, a-vla, vlc 1, 2, org (bc)	Compl		053
41	29a	Di Martinelli, Guillelmus Carolus	*Sonata a 6*, d	[Vl 1,2] a-vla, vlc 1, 2, org (bc)	Incompl	2 viol: 2 bassi, alto e organo	060
42	27	Di Martinelli (?)	[*Sonata a 3*], A	Vl 1, 2, vlc	Compl ?	Signatuur *DM* = Di Martinelli? (vlc fol. 1)	058
43	M 1	Finger, Gottfried[16]	*Symphonia a : 4 n° 2do*	Vl [1], 2, vlc (vl 3 of vla), org (bc)	Incompl		549
43.1			*Sonata prima*, A	Vl [1], 2, vlc		A 3 : 2 violini e violoncello	550
43.2			*Sonata secunda*, D	Vl [1], 2, 3		A 3 violini	551
43.3			*Sonata terza*, Es	Vl [1], 2, vla		A 3 : 2 violini e viola da brazzia	552
43.4			*Sonata quarta*, F	Vl [1], 2, vlc		A 3 : 2 violini e violoncello	553
43.5			*Sonata quinta*, Bes	Vl [1], 2, vlc		A 3 : 2 violini e violoncello	554
43.6			*Sonata sexta*, d	Vl [1], vlc		A 2 violino e violoncello	555
43.7			*Sonata settima*, F	Vl [1], vlc		A 2 violino e violoncello	556

[16] See n. 6 above. The manuscript was copied from Finger's *Sonatae XII pro diversis instrumentis*, London 1688.

43.8			*Sonata octava*, A	Vl [1], vlc		A 2 violino e violoncello	557
43.9			*Sonata nona*, e	Vl [1], 2, 3		A 3 violini	558
43.10			*Sonata decima*, g	Vl [1], 2, 3		A 3 violini	559
43.11			*Sonata undecima*, G	Vl [1], 2, vla		A 3 : 2 violini e viola di brazzo	560
43.12			*Sonata duodecima*, C	Vl [1], 2, vla		A 3 : 2 violini e viola di brazzo	561
44	M 112	Kennis, Willem Gommaar	Opus 8	Vl 1, 2, vlc	Compl.	[6 sonatas] Copied from the print [Paris, 1761]	749 (A1/5 K396)

43.2			*Sonata secunda*, D	Vl [1], 2, 3		A 3 violini	
43.3			*Sonata terza*, Es	Vl [1], 2, vla		A 3 : 2 violini e viola da brazzia	552
43.4			*Sonata quarta*, F	Vl [1], 2, vlc		A 3 : 2 violini e violoncello	553
43.5			*Sonata quinta*, Bes	Vl [1], 2, vlc		A 3 : 2 violini e violoncello	554
43.6			*Sonata sexta*, d	Vl [1], vlc		A 2 violino e violoncello	555
43.7			*Sonata settima*, F	Vl [1], vlc		A 2 violino e violoncello	556

[16] See n. 6 above. The manuscript was copied from Finger's *Sonatae XII pro diversis instrumentis*, London 1688.

43.8			*Sonata octava*, A	Vl [1], vlc		A 2 violino e violoncello	557
43.9			*Sonata nona*, e	Vl [1], 2, 3		A 3 violini	558
43.10			*Sonata decima*, g	Vl [1], 2, 3		A 3 violini	559
43.11			*Sonata undecima*, G	Vl [1], 2, vla		A 3 : 2 violini e viola di brazzo	560
43.12			*Sonata duodecima*, C	Vl [1], 2, vla		A 3 : 2 violini e viola di brazzo	561
44	M II2	Kennis, Willem Gommaar	Opus 8	Vl 1, 2, vlc	Compl.	[6 sonatas] Copied from the print, [Paris, 1766]	749 (AI/5 K396)
44.1			*Sonata I*, A				750
44.2			*Sonata II*, Es				751
44.3			*Sonata III*, D				752
44.4			*Sonata IV*, C				753
44.5			*Sonata V*, Bes				754
44.6			*Sonata VI*, G				755
45	M II1	Schwindl, Friedrich	*Sinfonia* [2]		Compl		746
45.1			*Sinfonia 1ma*, F	Vl 1, 2, ob 1, 2, cor 1(F), 2 (F)			747
45.2			*Sinfonia 2da*, Es	Vl 1, 2,vla, basso, ob 1, 2, cor 1 (Es), 2 (Es), org (bc)			748

1.2.2. Manuscripts devoted to music by several composers

46	M 19	Anonymous*	*A 3* (organo N : 4)	Org (bc)	Incompl	[12 sonatas] *Hi libri pertinent ad Antonium Di Martinelli* (endpaper r.)	703
46.1		Anonymous	*Sonata prima*, D				702
46.2		Anonymous	*Sonata secunda*, d				704
46.3		Anonymous	*Sonata terza*, C				705
46.4		Anonymous	*Sonata quarta*, e				706
46.5		Anonymous	*Sonata quinta*, Bes				707
46.6		Anonymous	*Sonata sexta*, g				708
46.7		Anonymous	*Sonata settima*, F				709
46.8		Anonymous	*Sonata octava*, b				710
46.9		Anonymous	*Sonata nona*, fis				711
46.10		Anonymous	*Sonata decima*, E				712
46.11		Anonymous	*Sonata undecima*, Es				713
46.12		Anonymous	*Ciacconna*, G				714
47	23	Anonymous	*A 4*	Vl 1, 2, b-vla, org (bc)	Compl	[3 sonatas]	052
47.1		Anonymous	*Sonata I*, g				1771
47.2		Anonymous	*Sonata 2da*, d				1772
47.3		Anonymous	*Sonata 3a*, a				1773

46.11		Anonymous	*Sonata undecima*, Es				713
46.12		Anonymous	*Ciacconna*, G				714
47	23	Anonymous	*A 4*	Vl 1, 2, b-vla, org (bc)	Compl	[3 sonatas]	052
47.1		Anonymous	*Sonata I*, g				1771
47.2		Anonymous	*Sonata 2da*, d				1772
47.3		Anonymous	*Sonata 3a*, a				1773
48	M 4	Anonymous	[Instrumental music]	[One part]	Compl?	[38 melodies] *Desen boeck hoort toe Joannes Antonius Giuelleilmus Di Martinelli int jaer 1743* (endpaper v.)	546, 4852–4889
49	M 29	Anonymous	[Instrumental music]	[One part]	Compl?	[124 melodies] *Desen boeck hoeve toe aen Joannes Gillielimus Di Martinelli 1767* (fol. 1v)	3960-4082
50	M 30	Anonymous	[Instrumental music]	[One part]	Compl?	[28 melodies]	4122-4148
51		Anonymous			Incompl?		4083
51.1		Anonymous	*Marche van de fransche pandieven*, D	S			4084
51.2		Anonymous	[Fingerings for traverso]			Flûte travers	4085
51.3		Anonymous	*Marche van d' ulanen*, D	B			4086
52	M 28	Anonymous	Marche violino	[One part]	Compl?	[37 melodies] *J.A. Di Martinelli 1748* (endpaper r.)	4087-4121
53	30	Anonymous [Trazegnies, François-Joseph de]	[Organ book Rottem]	Org.	Compl?	*Voor d'orgel van Rotthem behoort aen J:F: De Decker* (fol. 1r) *12 8ber 1787* (endpaper v.)	4149-4166
54	31	Anonymous e.a.	*Quatuordieci sonati a 4 instr :*	Vl 1, 2, vlc, bc	Compl	[14 sonatas] *Da varii auctori Pertinent ad A: D: M 23 February 1719* (endpaper)	328-342
54.1	31, 1	Anonymous	*A 3 : violini 2 e basso violine*, F				329
54.2	31, 2	Anonymous	*Sonata 2da*, D				330
54.3	31, 3	Anonymous	*Sonata 3xa*, b				331
54.4	31, 4	Valentine, Robert	*Sonata 4ta*, d				332

54.5	31, 5	Anonymous	*Sonata 5ta*, F				333
54.6	31, 6	Anonymous	*Sonata 6ta*, E				334
54.7	31, 7	Anonymuos	*Sonata 7ma*, A				335
54.8	31, 8	Anonymous	*Sonata 8va*, D				336
54.9	31, 9	Anonymous	*Sonata 9na*, a				337
54.10	31, 10	Di Martinelli, G. C.	*Sonata 10ma*, g				338
54.11	31, 11	Vivaldi, Antonio	*Sonata 11ma*, a				339
54.12	31, 12	Anonymous	*Sonata 12ma*, C				340
54.13	31, 13	Anonymous	*Sonata 13tia*, D				341
54.14	31, 14	Anonymous	*Sonata 14ta*, F				342
55	25	Anonymous	*Sonata a 5*	Vl 1, 2, fl 1(ob 1), fl 2 (ob 2), org (bc)	Compl	[3 sonatas]	054
55.1		Anonymous	*Sonata I*, g				1774
55.2		Anonymous	*Sonata 2da*, a				1775
55.3		Anonymous	*Sonata terza*, C				1776
56	26	Anonymous	*Sonata a 5*	Fl 1, 2, ob 1, 2, fag, org (bc)	Compl	[4 sonatas] - 2 flautti e 2 haubois	055
56.1		Anonymous [Finger, Gottfried; Keller, Gottfried][2016]	*Sonata I*, C				1777

55.1		Anonymous	*Sonata I*, g				
55.2		Anonymous	*Sonata 2da*, a				1775
55.3		Anonymous	*Sonata terza*, C				1776
56	26	Anonymous	*Sonata a 5*	Fl 1, 2, ob 1, 2, fag, org (bc)	Compl	[4 sonatas] - 2 flautti e 2 haubois	055
56.1		Anonymous [Finger, Gottfried; Keller, Gottfried]?[16bis]	*Sonata I*, C				1777
56.2		Anonymous [Finger, Gottfried; Keller, Gottfried]?[16bis]	*Sonata 2da*, C				1778
56.3		Anonymous [Finger, Gottfried; Keller, Gottfried]?[16bis]	*Sonata 3a*, d				1779
56.4		Anonymous [Finger, Gottfried; Keller, Gottfried]?[16bis]	*Sonata 4ta*, Bes				1780
57	32b	Anonymous			Compl	[2 sonatas]	056
57.1		Anonymous	*Sonata a 6*, F	Vl 1, 2, a-vla, t-vla, vlc, org (bc)			346
57.2		Anonymous	*Sonata a 9 instr.*, Bes	Concertino : vl 1, 2, vlc, vlne, concerto grosso : vl 1, 2, a-vla, vlc, org (bc)			347
58	33	Anonymous (?) en Di Martinelli, G. C.		vl 2	Incompl	[Instrumental]	348
58.1		Anonymous (?)	*Symphonia I*, F				349
58.2		Anonymous (?)	*Symphonia II*, Bes				775
58.3		Anonymous (?)	*Symphonia III*, f				776
58.4		Anonymous (?)	*Symphonia IV*, g				777
58.5		Di Martinelli, G.C.[17]	*Second dessus* (1-53)			Fol. 18v: *Martinelli Auctor/ Swerinck scriptor/ Vander Putten est Possessor*	350, 787-838

[16bis] According to Robert G. Rawson (see his contribution in this volume)

[17] The *symphoniae* 1-4, however, appear to be written in another hand thand the "second dessus", and have therefore been catalogued as anonymous.

59	28	Anonymous e.a.	[Violin sonatas]	Vl 1, org (bc)	Compl?	[32 sonatas, last sonata incomplete]	109
59.1	28, 1	Petersen, David	*Violino solo con organo*, D				110
59.2	28, 2	Petersen, David	*Sonata secunda*, A				111
59.3	28, 3	Cailo, Gian Carlo	*Sonata terza*, A				112
59.4	28, 4	Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio alias Il Gobbo della regina	*Sonata quarta*, e				113
59.5	28, 5	Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio alias Il Gobbo della regina	*Sonata quinta*, D				114
59.6	28, 6	Walther, Johann Jakob[18]	*Sonata sexta*, G				115
59.7	28, 7	Goor, N.	*Sonata septima*, D				116
59.7.1	28.07	Goor, N.	*Peper stooten*, D				117
59.8	28, 8	Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio alias Il Gobbo della regina	*Sonata octava*, g				118
59.9	28, 9	Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio alias Il Gobbo della regina	*Sonata nona*, D				119
59.10	28, 10	Goor, N.	*Sonata decima*, F				120
59.11	28, 11	Goor, N.	*Sonata 11ma*, F				121

[18] This sonata is wrongly ascribed to Biber in the Di Martinelli manuscript, but is in fact by Walther (Sonata 10, Scherzi). See HAENEN, *Vioolmuziek in het Di Martinelli-fonds*.

		Ambrogio alias Il Gobbo della regina					
59.9	28, 9	Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio alias Il Gobbo della regina	*Sonata nona*, D				119
59.10	28, 10	Goor, N.	*Sonata decima*, F				120
59.11	28, 11	Goor, N.	*Sonata 11ma*, F				121

[18] This sonata is wrongly ascribed to Biber in the Di Martinelli manuscript, but is in fact by Walther (Sonata 10, Scherzi). See HAENEN, *Vioolmuziek in het Di Martinellifonds*.

59.12	28, 12	Goor, N.	*Sonata 12ma*, D				122
59.13	28, 13	Goor, N.	*Sonata 13a*, G				123
59.14	28, 14	Goor, N. (?)	*Sonata 14a*, Bes				124
59.15	28, 15	Goor, N. (?)	*Sonata 15a*, d				1781
59.16	28, 16	Goor, N. (?)	*Sonata 16a*, F				1782
59.17	28, 17	Wentzely, Mikulas Frantisek Xaver	*Sonata 17a*, A				125
59.18	28, 18	Goor, N.	*Sonata 18a*, A				786
59.19	28, 19	Schmelzer, Johan Heinrich	*Sonata 19a*, A				231
59.20	28, 20	Anonymous	*Sonata 20*, b				232
59.21	28, 21	Albicastro, Henricus alias Weissenburg, Johann Heinrich	*Sonata 21*, d				233
59.22	28, 22	Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich	*Sonata 22*, A				234
59.23	28, 23	Anonymous	*Sonata 23*, A				318
59.24	28, 24	Cappellini, Pietro Paulo	*Sonata 24*, Bes				319
59.25	28, 25	Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio alias Il Gobbo della regina	*Sonata 25*, A				320
59.26	28, 26	Walther, Johann Jakob	*Sonata 26*, D				321
59.27	28, 27	Walther, Johann Jakob	*Sonata 27*, C				322

59.28	28, 28	Walther, Johann Jakob	*Sonata 28*, A				323
59.29	28, 29	Walther, Johann Jakob	*Sonata 29*, D				324
59.30	28, 30	Pez, Johann Christoph	*Sonata 30*, g				325
59.31	28, 31	Anonymous	*Sonata 31*, C				326
59.32	28, 32	Anonymous (?) [Finger, Gottfried]?[16ter]	*Sonata 32*, E				327
60	32a	Di Martinelli e.a.			Compl	[2 sonatas]	343
60.1		Di Martinelli (?)	*Sonata a 6*, D	Vl 1, 2, 3, 4, a-vla, vlc, org (bc)		M: di M: = Di Martinelli? (org fol.1)	344
60.2		Anonymous	*Sonata a 6*, F	Vl 1, 2, 3, 4, a-vla, vlc, org (bc)		Sonata 2da	345
61	M 21	Di Martinelli e.a.			Compl	[2 sonatas]	716
61.1		Di Martinelli, G.C.	*Sonata a 6*, G	Vl 1, 2, a-vla, vlc 1, 2, fag, org (bc)			717
61.2		Rubini	*Sonata a 5*, a	Vl 1, 2, alto, vlc 1, fag, org (bc)			718

[16ter] According to Robert G. Rawson (see his contribution in this volume)

62	M 8	Anonymous	[Music theory]	[Chord, harmonic figures in French, p. 31-50]	Incompl		
63	M 13	Anonymous	[Music theory]	[Keys in Dutch]	Incompl		
64	M 5	Rivers, Guillaume Gabriel	*Traité de la composition de musique*	[Copied from print [Paris, 1667]]	Incompl		VI 3 p. 630
65	34	Tillière, Joseph Bonaventure	*Méthode pour violoncelle dediée a Mons. Bagani composée par M. Tillière élève*	[Copied from print, Paris, 1764]	Compl		AH/A 351

				fag, org (bc)			
61.2		Rubini	*Sonata a 5*, a	Vl 1, 2, alto, vlc 1, fag, org (bc)			718

[16ter] According to Robert G. Rawson (see his contribution in this volume)

I.3. Music Theory

62	M 8	Anonymous	[Music theory]	[Chords, harmonie figurée in French, p. 31-50]	Incompl	
63	M 12	Anonymous	[Music theory]	[Keys in Dutch]	Incompl	
64	M 5	Nivers, Guillaume Gabriel	*Traité de la composition de musique*	[Copied from print [Paris, 1667]]	Incompl	VI 2 p. 620
65	34	Tillière, Joseph Bonaventure	*Méthode pour violoncelle dediée a Mons. Rigant composée par M. Tillière élève de Bertini*	[Copied from print, Paris, 1764]	Compl	AII/1: 351

II. Music Prints

2.1. Vocal compositions

Nihil

2.2. Instrumental Compositions

2.2.1. Prints devoted to music by a single composer

Number	Composer	Title and Key	Opus	Strength	Compl or incompl	Music publisher, place and year of publication	RISM A/I
66	Anonymous	*Six sonates en duo, pour deux violons, par monsieur****	1	Vl 1, 2	Compl	Jean Francois Maswiens, Leuven, s.d.	N
66.1		*Sonata I*, F					

66.2		*Sonata II*, Bes					
66.3		*Sonata III*, A					
66.4		*Sonata IV*, G					
66.5		*Sonata V*, D					
66.6		*Sonata VI*, E					
67	Aufmann, Joseph Anton Xaver	*Triplex concentus organicus, seu III. concerti organici a octo instrumentis*		[Vl 1, 2], violetta, vlc, vlne, cor 1, 2, [org]	Incompl	[Johann Jakob Lotter, Augsburg, 1754]	A 2853
67.1		*Concerto I*, Es					
67.2		*Concerto II*, C					
67.3		*Concerto III*, g					
68	Biber, Heinrich Ignaz Franz	*Sonatae, violino solo*		Vl 1, bc	Compl	Thomas Georg Höger, [Salzburg], 1689	B 2616
68.1		*Sonata I*, A					
68.2		*Sonata II*, d					
68.3		*Sonata III*, d					
68.4		*Sonata IV*, D					
68.5		*Sonata V*, e					
68.6		*Sonata VI*, c					
68.7		*Sonata VII*, G					
68.8		*Sonata VIII*, A					

68.1		*Sonata I*, A					
68.2		*Sonata II*, d					
68.3		*Sonata III*, d					
68.4		*Sonata IV*, D					
68.5		*Sonata V*, e					
68.6		*Sonata VI*, c					
68.7		*Sonata VII*, G					
68.8		*Sonata VIII*, A					
69	Bononcini, Giovanni	*Sinfonie a due stromenti*	6	Vl 1, vlc, org	Compl	Henrico Aertssens, Antwerp, 1706	B 3611
69.1		*Synfonia prima*, Bes					
69.2		*Synfonia seconda*, g					
69.3		*Synfonia terza*, D					
69.4		*Synfonia quarta*, a					
69.5		*Synfonia quinta*, d					
69.6		*Synfonia sesta*, b					
69.7		*Synfonia settima*, G					
69.8		*Synfonia ottava*, C					
69.9		*Synfonia nona*, e					
69.10		*Synfonia decima*, A					
69.11		*Synfonia undecima*, F					
69.12		*Synfonia duodecima*, g					
70	Brehy, Petrus Hercules	*Symphoniae duodecim*		Vl 1, 2	Incompl	Henrico Aertssens, Antwerp, 1700	N
70.1		*Sonata prima*, e					
70.2		*Sonata secunda*, g					
70.3		*Sonata tertia*, a					
70.4		*Sonata quarta*, Bes					
70.5		*Sonata quinta*, C					

70.6		*Sonata sexta*, F					
70.7		*Sonata septima*, b					
70.8		*Sonata octava*, A					
70.9		*Sonata nona*, g					
70.10		*Sonata decima*, a					
70.11		*Sonata undecima*, G					
70.12		*Sonata duodecima*, D					
71	Bronnemüller, Elias[19]	*VI sonates à un haubois ou violon & basse continue dont les deux dernières sont bonnes pour la flûte traversière.*				Estienne Roger, Amsterdam, [1712]	B 4568
72	Cambini, Giuseppe Maria (Giocchino)	*Six trios a deux violons et basso*	6	Vl 1, 2, [basso]	Incompl	Sieber, Paris, s.d.	C 467
72.1		*Trio I*, Es					
72.2		*Trio II*, C					
72.3		*Trio III*, F					
72.4		*Trio IV*, a					
72.5		*Trio V*, d					
72.6		*Trio VI*, E					

[19] This work is presently missing from the collection.

72.1		*Trio I*, Es					
72.2		*Trio II*, C					
72.3		*Trio III*, F					
72.4		*Trio IV*, a					
72.5		*Trio V*, d					
72.6		*Trio VI*, E					

[19] This work is presently missing from the collection.

73	Clapisson, (Antoine-) Louis	*Trois duos concertant pour cor et basson*	27	Fag, [cor]	Incompl	Victor Dufaut et Dubois, Paris, s.d.	N
73.1		*1er duo*, F					
73.2		*2me duo*, Es					
73.3		*3e duo*, c					
74	Corelli, Arcangelo	*Accadeia ottabonica overo suonate a tre istromenti da Archangelo Coreli*	4	Vl [1], 2, basso	Incompl	Henrico Aertssens, Antwerp, 1696	C 3772
74.1		*Sonata prima*, a					
74.2		*Sonata secunda*, g					
74.3		*Sonata tertia*, A					
74.4		*Sonata quarta*, D					
74.5		*Sonata quinta*, a					
74.6		*Sonata sesta*, E					
74.7		*Sonata settima*, d					
74.8		*Sonata ottava*, d					
74.9		*Sonata nona*, Bes					
74.10		*Sonata decima*, G					
74.11		*Sonata undecima*, g					
74.12		*Sonata duodecima*, b					

75	Corelli, Arcangelo	*Concerti grossi*	6	Concertino: [vl 1, 2], vlc, [concerto grosso: vl 1, 2, vla, basso]	Incompl	Estienne Roger, Amsterdam, [1714]	C 3844
75.1		*Concerto I*, D					
75.2		*Concerto II*, F					
75.3		*Concerto III*, c					
75.4		*Concerto IV*, D					
75.5		*Concerto V*, Bes					
75.6		*Concerto VI*, F					
75.7		*Concerto VII*, D					
75.8		*Concerto VIII*, g					
75.9		*Concerto IX*, F					
75.10		*Concerto X*, C					
75.11		*Concerto XI*, Bes					
75.12		*Concerto XII*, F					
76	Corelli, Arcangelo	*Suonate da camera a tre*	4	Vl 1, 2, vlc, cemb	Compl	Henrico Aertssens, Antwerp, 1692	CC 3772a
76.1		*Sonata prima*, C					
76.2		*Sonata seconda*, d					
76.3		*Sonata terza*, e					
76.4		*Sonata quarta*, F					

75.12		*Concerto XII*, F					
76	Corelli, Arcangelo	*Suonate da camera a tre*	4	Vl 1, 2, vlc, cemb	Compl	Henrico Aertssens, Antwerp, 1692	CC 3772a
76.1		*Sonata prima*, C					
76.2		*Sonata seconda*, d					
76.3		*Sonata terza*, e					
76.4		*Sonata quarta*, F					
76.5		*Sonata quinta*, d					
76.6		*Sonata sesta*, A					
77	Ditters[dorf], Karl Ditters von	*Simphonie periodique*, F	7	Vl 1, 2, vla, fl 1, 2, cor 1, 2, basso 1, 2	Compl[20]	Johan Julius Hummel, Amsterdam, 1776	D 3274
78	Ditters[dorf], Karl Ditters von	*Simphonie periodique*, Bes	8	Vl 1, 2, vla, ob 1, 2, cor 1, 2, basso 1, 2	Compl	Johan Julius Hummel, Amsterdam, s.d.	D 3271
79	Falb, Remigius	*VI Pastorellae synphoniae a quinque vocibus obligatis*	2	Vl 1, 2, a-vla, vlne, cemb	Compl	Johann Jakob Lotter (heirs), [Augsburg], 1755	F 67
79.1		*Pastorella synphonia prima*, A					
79.2		*Pastorella synphonia secunda*, F					
79.3		*Pastorella synphonia tertia*, D					
79.4		*Pastorella synphonia quarta*, G					
79.5		*Pastorella synphonia quinta*, C					
79.6		*Pastorella synphonia sexta*, Bes					

[20] Page one of the second violin part is incomplete.

80	Filtz, Antonio	*Sonate pour le violoncelle & basse continuë ou le violon seul & basse, tirée du cinqième œuvre*, A	5	Vl, bc	Compl	Jean Francois Maswiens, Leuven, s.d.	F 797, FF 797
81	Fiorillo, Federigo	*Six trios pour deux violons et basse*		[Vl 1, 2, basso], vlc	Incompl	Sieber, Paris, s.d.	F 892
81.1		*Trio I*, Bes					
81.2		*Trio II*, G					
81.3		*Trio III*, F					
81.4		*Trio IV*, D					
81.5		*Trio V*, C					
81.6		*Trio VI*, Es					
82	Ganz, Mauric & Leopold	*Duo concertant pour violon et violoncelle sur des motifs de preciosa de C.M. Weber*, d	7	Vl, vlc	Compl	Les fils de B. Schott, s.l., s.d.	N
83	Gebauer, François René	*Six duos concertants pour cor et basson*	8	[Cor], fag	Incompl	Jouvemd de Musique et Facteurs d' Instrumens Palais Royal N° 96, Paris, [1796]	N
83.1		*1er Duo*, F					
83.2		*2e Duo*, e					
83.3		*3e Duo*, F					
84	Gleissner, Franz	*Sinfonie pour deux violons, viole & basse obligés & une flute, 2 hautbois ad libitum*	1	Vl 1, 2, vla, vlc, basso, vlne, fl, ob 1,2, cor 1	Incompl	Jean André Offenbach, s.l., s.d.	G 2599 AII/1: 702.000.757

83	Gebauer, François René	*Six duos concertants pour cor et basson*	8	[Cor], fag	Incompl	d' Instrumens Palais Royal N° 96, Paris, [1796]	
83.1		*1er Duo*, F					
83.2		*2e Duo*, e					
83.3		*3e Duo*, F					
84	Gleissner, Franz	*Sinfonie pour deux violons, viole & basse obligés & une flute, 2 hautbois ad libitum*	1	Vl 1, 2, vla, vlc, basso, vlne, fl, ob 1,2, cor 1	Incompl	Jean André Offenbach, s.l., s.d.	G 2599 AII/1: 702.000.757
85	Kennis, Willem Gommaar	*Six sonates en trio; deux violons et violoncello*	7	Vl 1, 2, vlc, (bc)	Compl	Jean Francois Mauviens, Leuven,	E 395 [1760-1765]
85.1		*Sonata I*, C					
85.2		*Sonata II*, F					
85.3		*Sonata III*, Bes					
85.4		*Sonata IV*, A					
85.5		*Sonata V*, D					
85.6		*Sonata VI*, G					
86	Kobrich, Joanne Antonio	*Zwei concerten oder clavier-parthien mit accompagnirung*	13	Vl 1, 2, bassetto, cemb	Compl	Johann Jacob Lotter (heirs), Augsburg, 1752	N
86.1		*Parthia prima*, F					
86.2		*Parthia secunda*, C					
87	Loeillet, Jean Baptiste (de Gant)	*XII sonates à une flute & basse continue*	1	Recorder, bc	Compl	Estienne Roger, Amsterdam, [ca. 1710]	L 2712
87.1		*Sonata I*, a					
87.2		*Sonata II*, d					
87.3		*Sonata III*, G					
87.4		*Sonata IV*, F					
87.5		*Sonata V*, Bes					
87.6		*Sonata VI*, C					

87.7		*Sonata VII*, c					
87.8		*Sonata VIII*, d					
87.9		*Sonata IX*, g					
87.10		*Sonata* X, F					
87.11		*Sonata* XI, G					
87.12		*Sonata* XII, e					
88	Mezger, Franz	*Trois symphoniae*		Vl 1, [2], vla, basso, fl 1, 2 ob 1, 2,	Incompl	Boyer, Paris, s.d.	N
88.1		*Sinfonia I*, Es					
88.2		*Sinfonia II*, F					
88.3		*Sinfonia III*, C					
89	Pucci, Carlo Guiseffo	*Concerto per il violino a V istromenti.*, Bes		Vl principale, vl 1, 2, [a-vla], org	Compl	[S.n., Amsterdam, rond 1780]	P 5564
90	Sirmen, Maddalena Laura (Lombardini)	*Six Trios à deux violons et violoncello obligés*	1	[Vl 1, 2], vlc	Incompl	S.n., [London, 1771]	S 3544, S 3545
90.1		*Sonata I*, F					
90.2		*Sonata II*, C					
90.3		*Sonata III*, D					
90.4		*Sonata IV*, A					
90.5		*Sonata V*, G					
90.6		*Sonata VI*, F					
91	Stamitz	*Premier sonate en trio*, D		Vl, fl, basse	Compl	Jean Francois Mauviens, Leuven, s.d.	N
92	Stamitz	*Deuxieme sonate en trio*, Bes		Vl 1, [2, basse]	Incompl	Jean Francois Mauviens, Leuven, s.d.	N
93	Steger, Adolph di Bangeratis	*VI sonates a violon solo et basse continue*	3	Vl, bc	Compl	S.n., Leiden, s.d. Imprimées aux depens de l' auteur	N
93.1		*Sonata I*, F					

90	Sirmen, Maddalena Laura (Lombardini)	*Six Trios à deux violons et violoncello obligés*	1	[VI 1, 2], vlc	Incompl	S.n., [London, 1771]	S 3544, S 3545
90.1		*Sonata I*, F					
90.2		*Sonata II*, C					
90.3		*Sonata III*, D					
90.4		*Sonata IV*, A					
90.5		*Sonata V*, G					
90.6		*Sonata VI*, F					
91	Stamitz	*Premier sonate en trio*, D		Vl, fl, basse	Compl	Jean Francois Maswiens, Leuven, s.d.	N
92	Stamitz	*Deuxieme sonate en trio*, Bes		Vl 1, [2, basse]	Incompl	Jean Francois Maswiens, Leuven, s.d.	N
93	Steger, Adolph di Bangcratia	*VI sonates a violon solo et basse continue*	3	Vl, bc	Compl	S.n., Leiden, s.d. Imprimées aux depens de l' auteur	N
93.1		*Sonata I*, F					
93.2		*Sonata II*, C					
93.3		*Sonata III*, Es					
93.4		*Sonata IV*, Bes					
93.5		*Sonata V*, G					
93.6		*Sonata VI*, A					
94	Van der Borght, Natalis-Christianus	*Six suites pour le clavecin*	2	cemb.	Compl	Jean Francois Maswiens, Leuven, s.d	N
94.1		*Suite I*, A					
94.2		*Suite II*, Bes					
94.3		*Suite III*, G					
94.4		*Suite IV*, F					
94.5		*Suite V*, E					
94.6		*Suite VI*, Es					

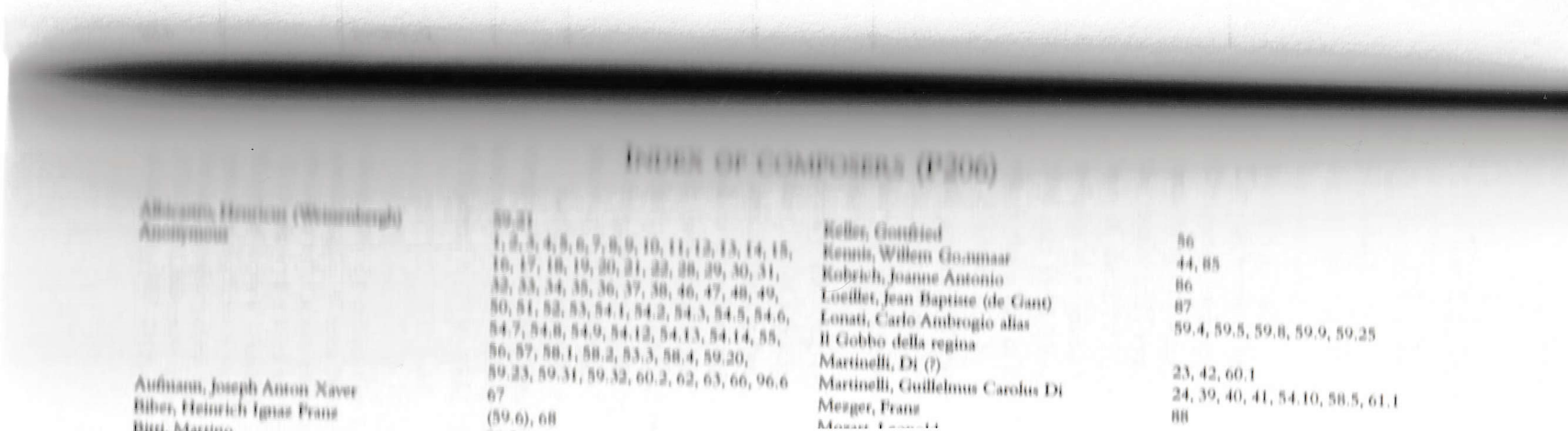
95	Vitzthumb, Ignaz	*Sinfonia a piu stromenti obligati*, G	Vl 1, [2], a-vla, ob 1, 2, basso	Incompl	Cousineau & Vve Daullé (bureau d' abonnement musical), Paris, s.d.	V 2188

2.2.2. Prints devoted to music by several composers

96	Haym, Nicola Francesco e.a.	*Soli del signor Haim anglus*	Vl, bc	Compl	S.n., s.l., s.d.	N
96.1	Haim	*Sonata I*, c				
96.2	Haim	*Sonata II*, d				
96.3	Haim	*Sonata III*, c				
96.4	Haim	*Sonata IV*, a				
96.5	Bitti, Martino	*Sonata V*, c				
96.6	Anonymous	*Sonata VI*, c				

2.3. Music Theory

97	Mozart, Leopold	*Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre à jouer du violon*	Traduite de l' Allemand en Français par Valentin Roeser musicien de S.A.S monseigneur le duc d' Orleans	Mr Le Menu, Paris, 1770	BVI 2. p.601



97	Mozart, Leopold	*Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre à jouer du violon*	Traduite de l' Allemand en Français par Valentin Roeser musicien de S.A.S monseigneur le duc d' Orleans	Mr Le Menu, Paris, 1770	BVI 2. p.601

INDEX OF COMPOSERS (P.206)

Albicastro, Henricus (Weissenbergh)	59.21
Anonymous	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.1, 54.2, 54.3, 54.5, 54.6, 54.7, 54.8, 54.9, 54.12, 54.13, 54.14, 55, 56, 57, 58.1, 58.2, 53.3, 58.4, 59.20, 59.23, 59.31, 59.32, 60.2, 62, 63, 66, 96.6
Aufmann, Joseph Anton Xaver	67
Biber, Heinrich Ignaz Franz	(59.6), 68
Bitti, Martino	96.5
Bononcini, Giovanni	69
Brehy, Petrus Hercules	70
Bronnemüller, Elias	71
Cailo, Gian Carlo	59.3
Cambini, Giuseppe Maria (Giocchino)	72
Cappellini, Pietro Paulo	59.24
Clapisson, (Antoine-) Louis	73
Corelli, Arcangelo	74, 75, 76
Ditters[dorf], Karl Ditters von	77, 78
Falb, Remigius	79
Filtz, Antonio	80
Finger, Gottfried	43, 56,59.32
Fiocco, Joseph Hector	25
Fiorillo, Federigo	81
Ganz, Maurice & Leopold	82
Gebauer, François René	83
Gleissner, Franz	84
Gobbo (Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio)	59.4, 59.5, 59.8, 59.9, 59.25
Goor, N.	59.7, 59.07, 59.10, 59.11, 59.12, 59.13, 59.14, 59.15, 59.16, 59.18
Haym, Nicola Francesco	96
Keller, Gottfried	56
Kennis, Willem Gommaar	44, 85
Kobrich, Joanne Antonio	86
Loeillet, Jean Baptiste (de Gant)	87
Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio alias Il Gobbo della regina	59.4, 59.5, 59.8, 59.9, 59.25
Martinelli, Di (?)	23, 42, 60.1
Martinelli, Guillelmus Carolus Di	24, 39, 40, 41, 54.10, 58.5, 61.1
Mezger, Franz	88
Mozart, Leopold	97
Nivers, Guillaume Gabriel	64
Petersen, David	59.1, 59.2
Pez, Johann Christoph	26, 59.30
Pucci, Carlo Guiseffo	89
Rubini	61.2
Schmelzer, Johann Heinrich	59.19, 59.22
Schwindl, Friedrich	45
Sirmen, Maddalena Laura (Lombardini)	90
Stamitz	91, 92
Steger, Adolph di Bangcratia	93
Teller, Marcus	8, 27
Tillière, Joseph Bonaventura	65
Trazegnies, François-Joseph de	53
Valentine, Robert	54.4
Van der Borght, Natalis-Christianus	94
Vitzthumb, Ignaz	95
Vivaldi, Antonio	54.11
Walther, Johann Jakob	59.6, 59.26, 59.27, 59.28, 59.29
Weissenburg, Johann Heinrich (Albicastro, Henricus)	59.21
Wentzely, Mikulas Frantisek Xaver	59.17

The Archives of the Di Martinelli Family in the KULeuven University Archives

Marc Nelissen
Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

The archives of the Di Martinelli family that are kept in the KULeuven University Archives contain a set of music manuscripts and prints that have raised musicologists's interest. This article aims at providing the context of the history of the family and its archives and of the circumstances in which, for centuries, members of the Di Martinelli family have kept the archives of their ancestors. The archives were given to the KULeuven University Archives in the period between 1990 and 1998. They have been the object of intensive musicological research of which this series of articles is a part. But in the meantime, they have been studied by archivists and historians too. Classification and description of the fonds have made progress.[1] Most of the genealogical data that could be extracted from the documents in the University archives were entered in a genealogical database.[2] Students were stimulated to prepare a licentiate's thesis on aspects of the history of the family.[3]

Generally speaking one can say that the archives offer a rather unique overview of the lives of a bourgeois family during the last 250 years. They give us a singular, almost continuous picture of how the members of the family lived in Diest, a small town in Brabant (Belgium), how they acted as notaries and in other professions, participated in the town government and played a role in political and (catholic) cultural life. At the beginning of this century, a main branch of the family emigrated to Antwerp; subsequently the family was scattered over Brussels, Antwerp and Leuven.

Unfortunately, the early history of the family, being the period in which the composers and musicians lived, is not at all well documented. The family archives hold only a few documents from the time before Johannes Antonius Guillelmus di Martinelli (1730-1818). By means of these few documents however, as well as

[1] Since 1996, the archives have been classified on a volontary basis by Thérèse Leemans-De Roo, granddaughter of Anna Di Martinelli (1883-1962). For the writing of this text her preparatory research on the history of the archives was indispensable.

[2] These data were entered in a ProGen database by RafVan der Donckt, bibliographer at te Central library of Leuven University library. In the meantime this has become an almost complete genealogical reference tool for all research on the family.

[3] See the licentiate's thesis by Maarten Vandervelpen on the life of Jean Guillaume Di Martinelli (1757-1821), referenced *infra*, note 25 and G. SABBE, *Een ongehuwde vrouw in het daglicht, Henriette di Martinelli (1885-1969)*, unpublished licentiates thesis Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2000.

the results of research that was conducted earlier by members of the family, it is possible to give a sketch of a family tree and some main lines of the history of the Di Martinelli family.

The oldest known member of the Di Martinelli family is Carolus di Martinelli. According to the oral tradition in the family, he came from Genua (Italy). The same tradition says that he went to London first, but the oldest archival trace we dispose of situates him in Ghent, where he married Maria De Meyer with whom he had five children. Their names can be found in the parish register of St Michael.[4]

The few pieces of information about the activities of the family in Ghent point clearly in the direction of a musical profession.[5] In the procession that was held for Corpus Christi in 1663, a Carolus Martinelli figured as a singer, while a certain François Martinelli figured as a choirboy.[6] In 1677 Carolus received a payment for a series of performances as a superius in the church of St Jacob.[7] But the central point of his career seems to have been the church of St Nicholas and the Chapter of St Veerle that was attached to it. During the general chapter of 1661, his contract as a singer was continued, a position that he had apparently held for some time already.[8] The accounts of the church of St Nicholas show that a *Charles* or *Carolus Martinelle* was paid from at least 1664 to his dismissal on June 11th, 1678. In may 1669, he receives a payment for the activity of his son as a choirboy. On May 6th, 1680, he figures a last time in the accounts, on the occasion of a financial settlement regarding a claim he still had for the teaching of choirboys.[9]

From Gent, Carolus di Martinelli seems to have moved to The Hague, where he got involved with the beginnings of opera in this city. In a notarial act of May 18th 1683, a certain Augustin de Fleury, *Mr. De Musique icy a la Haije* enters into contract with *Sr. Charle Martinelli, aussi Mr. De Musique icy à la Haije* about the production of an opera, stating that earnings and expenses will be equally shared by the two of them. Apparently, Fleury did not carry on, and at the end of 1683 Di Martinelli is trying to get an exclusive privilege for producing music theatre

[4] Leuven, University archives, Genealogical documentation.

[5] A systematical research into the activities of the family in Gent has not yet been carried out. Most information has been kindly handed to us by the honorary ambassador Jan Koninckx, Gent. These paragraphs rely heavily on his research.

[6] See at Ghent, Town Archives, Bibliotheek 1GD1, the fourth volume of the famous *Polytye boeck* by J. BILLET (1593-1682), a mixture of a chronicle and an account on his activities as *politiemeester* of the town. In the family tree as it stands out now, a François or Franciscus di Martinelli is not known.

[7] Ghent, Church of St Jacob, nr. 1545.

[8] Ghent, State archives, Parish of St Nicholas, nr. 222, fol.66v.

[9] Ghent, State archives, Parish of St Nicholas, nrs. 12, fol.37r; 13 (no fol.); 131, fol.38v and 40r. See also the article by E. Schreurs in the present volume.

[10] J. FRANSEN, *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,* Paris, 1925, pp. 165-167.

in The Hague for the next three years, involving a group of actors and musicians of thirty persons (according to his own saying). The privilege was actually granted, but probably the project did not persist very long, because we lose any trace of his activities after this date and other *comédiens* continue with their performances.[10] We do not know the date or circumstances of his death.[11]

On August 6th, 1682, his son Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli was married to Willelmina Janseni Van Kakercken, daughter of the widow Peternella Van Dyck, from the village Schayk near Ravestein. In The Hague, archival evidence exists for the baptism of their children Jacobus Ludovicus (July 25th, 1686), Antonius (August 30th, 1687) Jacobus Guillelmus (June 1st, 1689) and Maria (June 7th, 1692).[12] Obviously, the couple had more children; their names have been taken from the parish registers of Diest and from a composition of Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli (Figure 1). On this manuscript, he had written the words *Italiano per la vita* and the names of his children, including places of birth and other genealogical information; unfortunately, this document is now lost.[13]

We do not know the circumstances that led Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli to move or the reasons why he came precisely to Diest, a little town in Brabant.[14] In 1695, his name is mentioned for the first time in the Book of resolutions of the town. The entry is not very clear; apparently he was appointed supervisor of the school, a function that was to be combined with that of *zangmeester*.[15] This function implied the teaching of choir members, one and a half hour before noon and the same period in the afternoon. On sundays and holidays he was bound to organise the part-singing and to perform together with the choirboys during masses.[16] In the contract with the town from 1695 it was also stipulated that

[9] The identity of the *Mr. Martinelli* with whom the priest of the Old Catholic community contracted for the position of organ player in november 1682 is not yet clear (see next note).

[10] This information is taken from a report of genealogical research by the Archivist of the Community of The Hague of January 2nd, 1975. The results of this research were sent to J. Scheerder, who asked for it in the context of his research for an article about the Di Martinelli family and their relation with the Crutched Friars in Diest (see J. SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinelli en de kruisheren te Diest*, in *Clairlieu. Tijdschrift gewijd aan de geschiedenis der kruisheren*, 33 (1975), pp. 79-118). A copy of this letter is kept in the Di Martinelli family archives: Leuven, University archives, P 206, Genealogical documentation.

[11] In 1956, it was lent by Marguerite Eeman-Mathy (see *infra*) to Gustave Stroobandt, teacher at the conservatory, who was going to use it for producing some music for the marriage of her daughter. Unfortunately, the teacher had to confess in a letter that he lost the precious document: see Leuven, University Archives, P 206, Letter of Gustave Stroobandt to Marguerite Eeman-Mathy, April 17th, 1957.

[12] Perhaps a link can be found in the fact that besides of Orange, Dillenburg and Breda, Diest was one of the four cities that were controlled by the family of Orange Nassau. The first attempt at performing opera in The Hague had been encouraged by the Prince of Orange: see FRANSEN, *Les comédiens français*, p. 165.

[13] SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinelli*, p. 86.

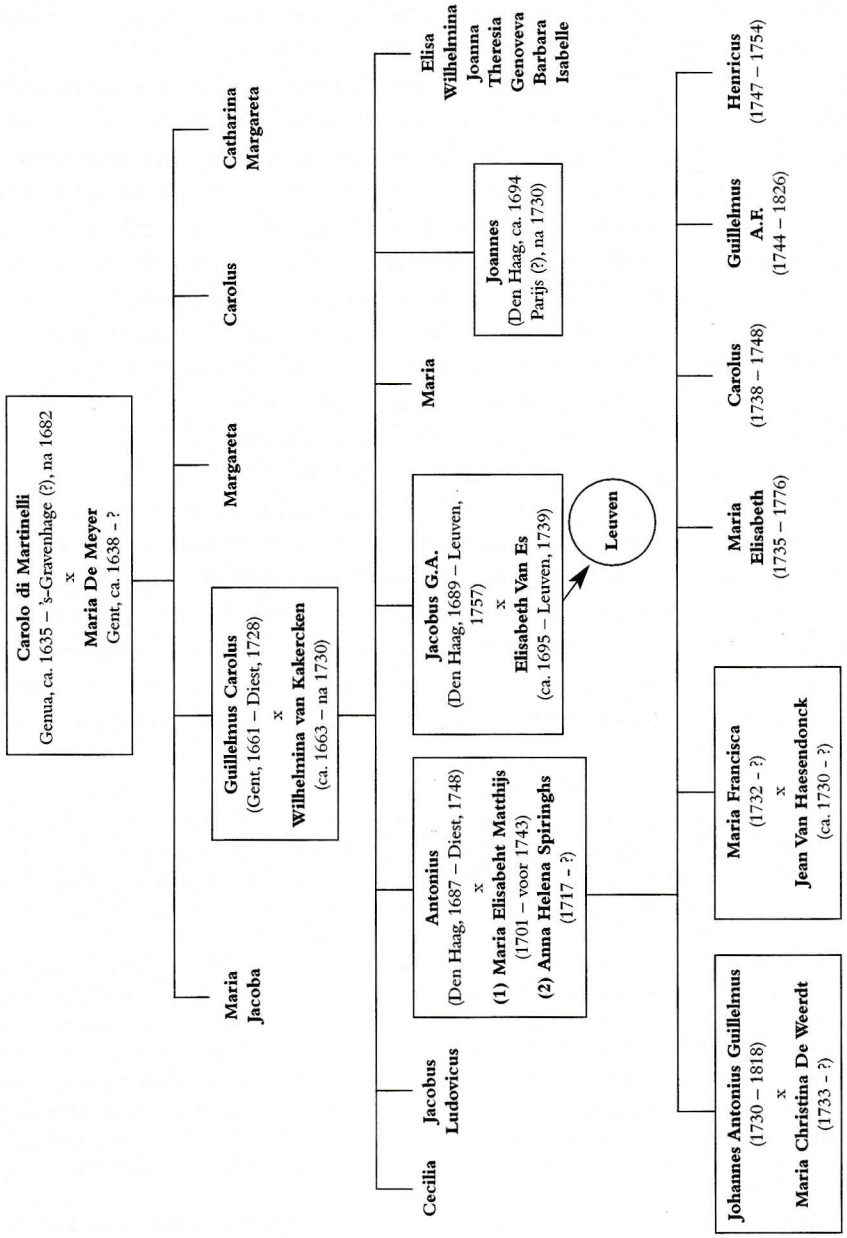
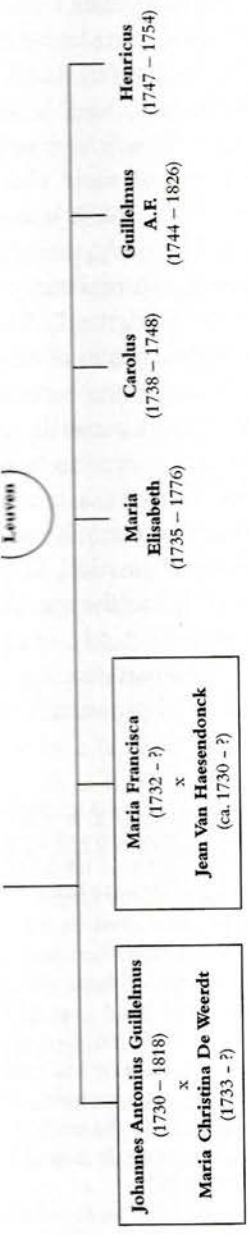


Figure 1. Descendants of Carolus di Martinelli (ca. 1635-after 1682)

Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli had to teach two choirboys to play the violin. After his death in 1728, this duty was probably taken over from the *zangmeester* by the first violinist, who was paid by the town for playing and teaching the choirboys to play. Guillelmus Carolus' son Antonius di Martinelli was the first violinist from 1729 until his death in 1748. From 1751/1752 up to the French Revolution the function was held by his son Johannes Antonius Guillelmus Di Martinelli (1730-1818), grandson of Guillelmus Carolus. Of course the earnings of this function could not support someone: Antonius is said to have been a tanner, his son Johannes Antonius Guillelmus was a notary.

Apart from these data, archival traces of the musical activities of members of the family are scarce in the family archives. The analysis of the music manuscripts shows that of the ones that could be attributed to members of the family, only a few bear the name of Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli – most are anonymous.[17] In 1743, the latter's son Antonius di Martinelli was paid for having played the violin for a year in the church of St Sulpitius, and having taught the choirboys playing it.[18] However, the link between his musical activities in Diest and the six symphonies in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, that are signed *Antonio Martinelli* and dated 1749, still has to be studied.[19] Johannes Antonius Guillelmus was a member of the *Confrerie van d'exercitie van 't Musieck ofte concert volontairelijck*, a fraternity that was supported by the town for musical ornamentation on special occasions, religious and worldly.[20] A brother of Antonius, Jacobus Guillelmus Anselmus Di Martinelli, went to the near-by town of Leuven, where he became the ancestor of a branch of the family that has only recently been reconstructed.



1635-after 1682)

[16] The rest of this paragraph relies on G. HUYBENS & E. SCHREURS, *Beknopt overzicht van het muziekleven te Diest in de 18de eeuw/Aperçu de la vie musicale à Diest au XVIIIe siècle*, in *T' Haegelant. Vier 18de-eeuwse muziekboekjes uit Diest. Quatre recueils de musique du XVIIIe siècle de Diest*, introduction by G. HUYBENS & E. SCHREURS, Peer, 1995, pp. vii-viii.

[17] See the contribution of Katrien Steelandt in this volume.

[18] R. VANNES, *Dictionnaire des musiciens (compositeurs)*, Brussels, 1950, p. 268, referring to E. FRANKIGNOULLE, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de l'art en Brabant*, P. BONENFANT ed., Brussels, 1937, p. 103, nr. 413 (accounts of the church of St Sulpitius, 1743-1744, fol. 179).

[19] R. EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten christlicher Zeitrechnung bis Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, Leipzig*, 1903, 6, p. 352. On September 27th, 1996, the 1st, 2nd, 4th and 5th symphonies were executed by the *Antwerps ensemble Helicon* (Frank Mathé, Marleen De Naeyer, Christian Helsmoortel, Hilde Van Hoijweghen and Kris Wulteputte) during a benefit performance in Antwerp.

[20] HUYBENS & SCHREURS, *Beknopt overzicht*, p. ix and F. DI MARTINELLI, *Diest in de 17e en 18e eeuwen*, Gent - Diest, 1897, pp. 245-246.

Although the members of this family branch lost contact with the Diest branch, many of them played a role in the musical life of Leuven.[21]

But the most obvious proof of the continuing musical interest of the family members is of course the collection of musical manuscripts and prints, the genesis of which will be studied elsewhere; in this text the main goal is to reconstruct the track the family papers have followed from Guillelmus Carolus up to these days. But even this is difficult because the surviving documents in the family archives before 1730 are very few: strictly speaking we do know very little on the whereabouts of family members before the notary Johannes Antonius Guillelmus Di Martinelli (1730-1818).

Guillelmus Carolus died on September 8th, 1728. Apparently his wife kept the collection of 'music' and some musical instruments, as is shown by the texts of three versions of her will. One day after the death of her husband and being ill herself on September 10th, 1728, she gives all her possessions, *item allen het musick instrumenten etcetera*, to her children Antonius and Maria di Martinelli in compensation for their help (with only a small gift in ready money for their brothers Jacobus Guillelmus and Johannes). A month and a half later, on October 31st, 1728 almost everything is given to Maria, *soo van musieck ten huyse des testatrice als [op het:* barred*] in de kerke van St Sulpitius alhier berustende, mede van musicale instrumenten* (with the obligation to give a small sum of ready money to her brothers). Three years later, on November 27th, 1730 the will is changed again: this time the sole heir is her son Antonius di Martinelli, who receives *alle musicaele instrumenten ende [stucken: barred] allen haer musiek* (with the obligation to pay a sum of ready money to his brothers Jacobus Anselmus and Johannes, who is said to be *uitlandich*, in foreign parts, and to his sister Maria, who had married Maximiliaan Struyven on February 7th, 1730).[22]

Following the arrangements in the last will of Willelmina Van Kakercken, the music collection of Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli passed on to his son Antonius, who was a practising musician. It seems more than logical that after his death in 1748, it passed to his son Johannes Antonius Guillelmus (1730-1818), who took over the function of first violinist and played a role in Diest music life.

[21] Research by Gilbert Huybens and Raf Van der Donckt, who also entered the Leuven branch in a genealogical database. As Gilbert Huybens pointed out during the 1997 congress, it is very curious to see that they exclusively played wind instruments, while the family branch of Diest played stringed instruments. Another strange detail in this research is that the two youngest daughters of Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli and Willelmina Janseni van Kakercken, were baptised in the Leuven parish church of St Jacob: Isabella (May 10th, 1703, died December 29th, 1703) and Clara (September 6th, 1703, died September 27th, 1703).

[22] Leuven, University Archives, P 206, Wills of Willelmina Janseni Van Kakercken. The family tradition states that Johannes died as a musician in Paris.

The analysis of the music collection shows that both continued to add manuscripts and prints to it, and that part of it remained in the church of St Sulpitius where it can still be found today.[23] Johannes Antonius probably kept the collection for the rest of his life, which lasted long because he only died in 1818, aged 88 - in the family he is known as *le vieux notaire*. He lived in his house at the Lange Steenstraat in Diest; no doubt the archives and the music collection were kept in this house until his death.[24]

It is useful to take a look at the family tree at this point, to see what happened with the archives and the music collection (Figure 2). Michel Joseph (1768-1824) married Coleta Goidts and became the ancestor of a second Leuven family branch; Guillelmus Antonius (1770-1825) continued the family in Diest and Françoise Sophie Agnes (1771-1847), at last, married Jean François Baptiste Schenaerts who became mayor of Diest. After the death of the vieux notaire, his unmarried daughters Marie Agnes (1756-1834), Anna Christina (1761-1844) and Anna Elisabeth (1766-1850) stayed in the house. At a certain moment, they moved in with their brother Vincent (1762-1833), a notary.[25] At this moment the archives were transferred to the house where their brothers Vincent and, during his stays in Diest, Jean Guillaume (1757-1821) lived in. [26] It was situated in the

[23] See the article of Katrien Steelandt and Eugeen Shreurs in this volume.

[24] The house, situated at the opposite of the choir of the church of St Sulpitius still stands. The actual address is Koning Albertstraat, 1.

[25] Vincent had been appointed notary with the support of his brother in 1801: see M. VANDERVELPEN, *Jean-Guillaume di Martinelli (1757-1821)*, revolutionair te Diest, unpublished licentiate's thesis Leuven, 1998, p. 148. Minutes of notarial deeds by Johannes Antonius Guillelmus and Vincent Di Martinelli can be found in the State Archives in Brussel and in the Town Archives of Diest. There also have been two notaries of the family in Leuven: Félix Théodore Di Martinelli and Thomas Di Martinelli. They were son and grandson of Michel Joseph Di Martinelli (1768 - 1824), who was himself a brother of Vincent Di Martinelli and a son of Johannes Antonius Guillelmus. But most of their minutes have been burnt in Leuven during the first World War. See C.Y. HOLLANDERS de OUDERAEN, *Het notariaat in het arrondissement Leuven. Repertorium van de minuten. Le notariat dans l'arrondissement de Louvain. Répertoire des minutes*, Leuven, 1962, s. v. I have not yet seen the papers that can be found in Brussels, State archives, 2nd series Varia, Family archives, nr. 95; according to a letter from the State archives they hold documents coming from Johannes Antonius Guillelmus di Martinelli covering 1747-1815.

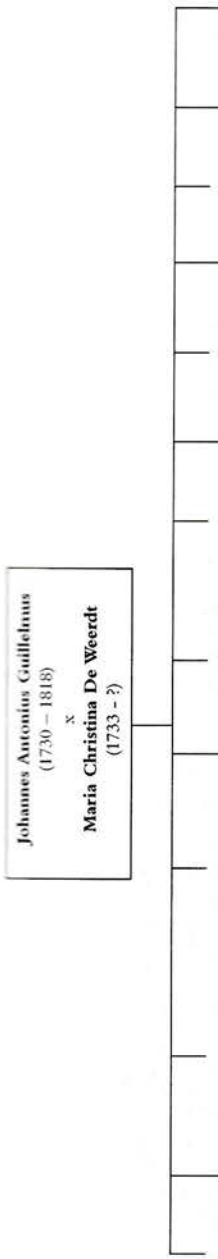
[26] Jean Guillaume Di Martinelli (1757-1821) had a fruitful career as a legist. After the annexation of the Austrian Netherlands by the French government in 1795, he was appointed commissioner of the Executive Government to the municipality of Diest, which made him the first representant of the French authority in Diest. In 1798 he was chosen to represent the *Département de la Dyle* in the *Conseil des cinq-cents* in Paris. This was the legislative body of the Directoire. When this was set aside by the coup of Napoleon Bonaparte on 9 november 1799, Jean Guillaume came back and finished his career as a member of the Court of Appeal (later also called Imperial Court) in Brussel: see VANDERVELPEN, *Jean-Guillaume di Martinelli*. A seal matrix that was used by him as member of the *Conseil des Cinq-Cents*, is still in possession of Armand Di Martinelli (Brussels), descendant of Rodolphe Di Martinelli (1881-1933, see *infra*).

Koestraat; members of the family lived in it until 1912, and the archives and the music collection were kept there all this time (Figure 3). The property was bought in 1799 by Jean Guillaume Di Martinelli. It was in fact a part of the ancient cloister of the Augustinians in Diest that was sold by the government as national property.[27] However, as his carreer as politician and legist did not permit him to stay in Diest for a long time, the house was used by his brother Vincent as a notary's office.

Jean Guillaume died in 1821, but the house in the Koestraat got additional inhabitants in 1825: in that year his brother Guillelmus Antonius Di Martinelli died, leaving five orphans. They were taken in the house by their uncle Vincent. At that moment the main parts of the family archives were the music collection, the archives of the notaries Johannes Antonius Guillelmus and Vincent, private papers of Johannes Antonius Guillelmus and his wife Maria Christina De Weerdt, and papers from Jean Guillaume Di Martinelli. But slowly, as more members of the family grew into the house and left it again, the archives accumulated.

The children of Guillelmus Antonius lived their lives: the youngest, Anne Marie (1811-1884), married a cloth merchant named Jean-François Noël in 1838: they left the house in the Koestraat and went to the aforementioned house of the *vieux notaire* near St Sulpitius where they opened a fabric shop. In 1841, Guillaume Leopold (1808-1872) married Catharina Wellens and went to live in a house in the St Jansstraat. Frédéric Guillaume (1801-1872), on the contrary, never married and stayed in the house with his uncle and aunts. In the family he is called *le candidat notaire*, because he had frequently tried to receive an appointment as a notary, without succeeding. As a notary clerck, he naturally became the minder of his aunts after the death of Vincent in 1833. At the moment the last member of that generation, Anna Elisabeth Di Martinelli (1766-1850), died, Frédéric Guillaume stayed in the house. In 1872, Frédéric Guillaume as well as his brother Guillaume Leopold died. The latter's family, that is his wife Catharina Wellens (1804-1890) and his children Marie (1835-1912), Pierre François Leopold (1840-1893) and Frédéric Jean Guillaume (1842-1903), moved in. In 1875 Frédéric got married; at that occasion a small house was built at the side of the family house

[27] Jean Guillaume bought two parcels: the garden with the prior's house, hospital and some other buildings, and a parcel holding the church (see M.VAN DER EYCKEN & L. JANSSENS, *Steden in beeld*. Diest, Brussels, 1994, pp. 41-42 and ill. 37). In 1845, the Crutched Friars bought the church from the Di Martinelli family, and a part of the former cloister from another proprietor. But in 1870, a serious dispute about the ownership of the house and garden rose between members of the family and the Crutched Friars, who tried to acquire it. In the short term, they had to give up, but in 1901 an agreement was reached. At the death of the last inhabitant, Marie Di Martinelli (1835-1912), the house became their property: see SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinelli*. It has been demolished and was replaced by new building.



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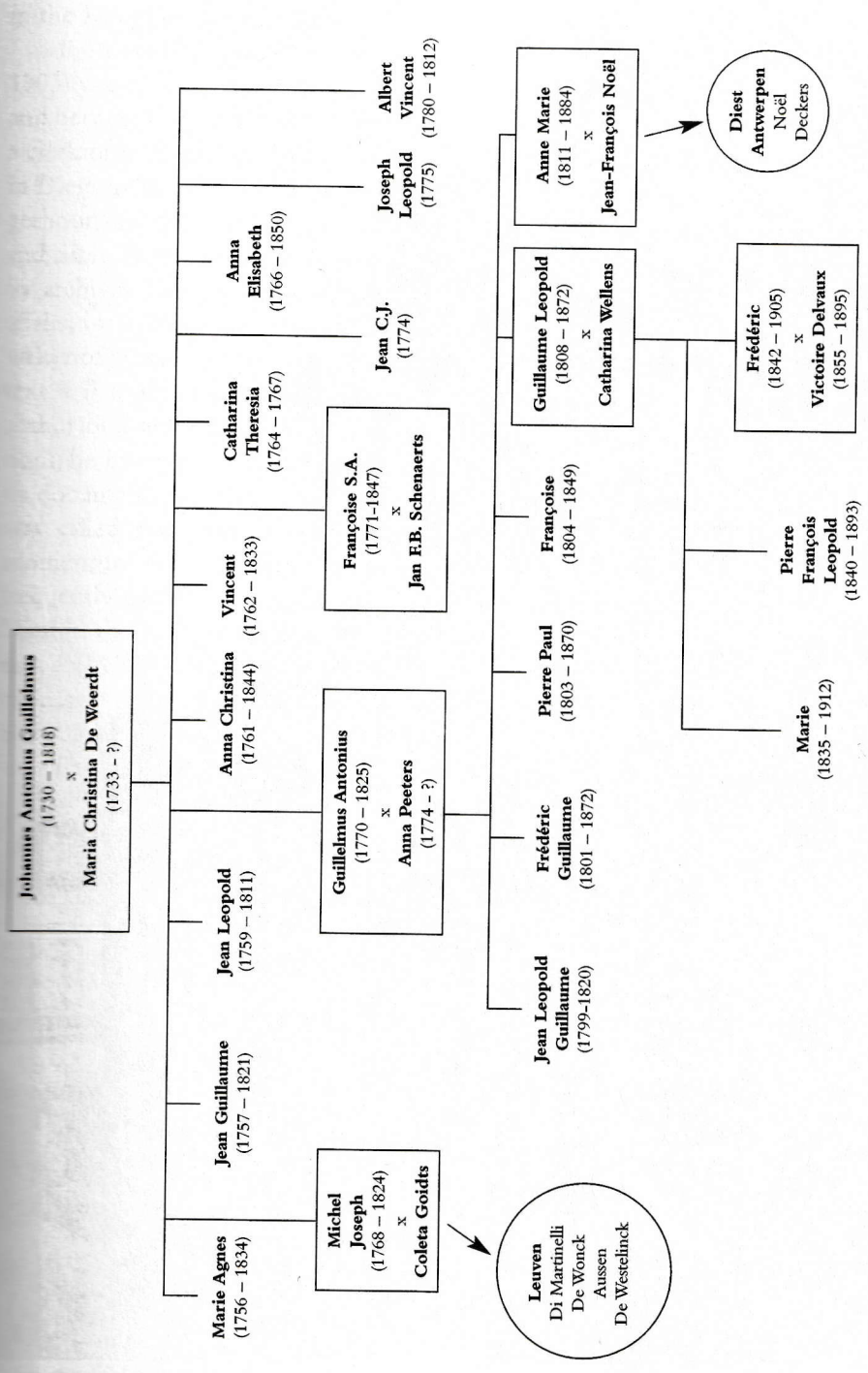

Figure 2. Descendants of Johannes Antonuis Guillelmus di Martinelli (1730-1818)



Figure 3. The house in the Koestraat in Diest (now destroyed)
(KULeuven University Archives, P 206)



destroyed)

in the Koestraat, for his mother, sister and brother.

Frédéric Jean Guillaume, or rather, Frederik Jan Willem Di Martinelli (1842-1903) was a busy man. First he studied land surveying, but he continued studying and became doctor in law in 1866, *candidat notaire* in 1867.[28] We see him acting as a clerk of the court in Diest in 1873. In 1874 he is appointed justice of the peace in Diest, in 1887 in Borgerhout (Antwerp). Frederik and his family move to Borgerhout, and the house in the Koestraat is occupied again by his mother, brother and sister. Frederik was an important person in catholic circles in Diest: the family archives contain many documents that show his strong interest for political affairs, his activities as (mostly anonymous) polemicist for the *Gazette van Diest*, writer of poetry, theater and songs, occasional speecher, and so on. But in this context it is more important to draw attention to his historical writings. He is the author of a series of books about the history of Diest.[29] For all of these publications, he intensely used the material of the family archives. At that time the family documents were brought together in a room in the house of the Koestraat that was called the *papierenkamer*, the room of papers. Frederik spent every free moment to study and write in that room; even when he lived in Borgerhout, he frequently came to Diest for this. The books he has written treat the history of Diest in the years 1787-1794 *(Patriottentijd)*, the seventeenth and eigteenth centuries, and 1794-1800 *(Sanscalottentijd)*. After this, he was working on a book about his native city in the sixteenth century, but it was never finished.[30] Frederik died in 1903.

The family archives remained in the *papierenkamer* until 1912, when his sister

[28] The following is based on Leuven, University Archives, P 206, Papers of Frederik Di Martinelli.

[29] Thus far the following publications were found:
De heilige Joannes Berckmans te Diest verheerlijkt. De jubelfeesten van 13 tot 20 oogst 1888 en Diest-beêvaarteplaats, Diest, 1888, VI-120 pp. Anonymous publication, reprinted as *De heilige Joannes Buckmans te Diest verheerlykt 1888, doer de onbekende Di Martinelli, (Dietsche Cronycke,* 16), Diest, 1999, 140 pp. by the Association of Friends of the Town Museum and Town Archives/ Vrienden van het Stedelijk Museum en Archief, v.z.w.) *Aftocht der 4.000 te Diest*, Diest, 1898², 13 pp.
800 namen uit den Boerenkrijg, Gent, 1898, 73 pp.
These two publications were reprinted in one volume as F. DI MARTINELLI, *Aftocht der 4000 te Diest. 800 namen uit den Boerenkrijg, (Dietsche cronycke,* 14), Diest, 1998, 112 pp., by the reformentioned association.
Diest in den Patriottentijd. Geschiedkundige bijdrage. Gent-Diest, 1892, 252 pp. (reprinted by Ripova, Tienen, 1997)
Diest in de 17e en 18e eeuwen. Geschiedkundige bijdrage. Gent-Diest, 1897, 402 pp.
Diest in den Sanscalottentijd. Geschiedkundige bijdrage. Gent-Diest, 1900, 384 pp. and 1 map (reprinted by Ripova, Tienen, 1990).

[30] See the folder with preparatory notes for a book called *Diest in the age of Emperor Charles* in Leuven, University archives, P 206, Papers of Frederik Jan Willem Di Martinelli.

Marie died. For the first time since long, the family archives were moved, and as it happens so often with archives on the move, this was not a salutary event for a part of them. The *papierenkamer* was emptied by Polydoor Daniëls (1845-1944), friend of the late Frederik, a priest and almost fanatical collector of antiques, books, manuscripts and other archival materials.[31] At that occasion some documents were transferred to his own collection.[32] It is possible that at that time the minutes of the notaries Johannes Antonius Guillelmus and Vincent Di Martinelli have been separated from the family archives.[33] We do not have much information about the way Daniëls worked. The family archives *stricto sensu* were given mainly to Frederik's sons Albert (1879-1958) and Rodolphe Di Martinelli (1881-1933), who happened to be Daniëls' godchild.

According to the family tradition, one document 'concerning Jean Guillaume Di Martinelli and the *Conseil des Cinq-Cents*', which was given to their sister Marguerite was lost during the first World War, when the house of the family Mathy-Di Martinelli was burnt. The safe it was kept in fell from the first floor and afterwards its content was found to be carbonized.

The part that was given to Rodolphe Di Martinelli, on whom we do not have any further information, was lost in his house in Brussels, due to a flood of the Maalbeek in his cellar. The family tradition states that this part of the archives contained the oldest documents and the texts about the Italian roots of the family, but of course this could be wishful thinking, trying to bridge the gap in the history of the family.[34] Even Frederik Di Martinelli, who so intensely studied the history of the family, does not mention such documents in his publications.

The main part of the family archives, on the other hand, which was given to Albert Di Martinelli was fated to survive. The archives of Frederik Jan Willem, the late justice of peace of Borgerhout were added to them. Until shortly after World War II, Albert and his unmarried sister Henriëtte Di Martinelli lived together in a house at the Bredabaan in Merksem (Antwerp). Until 1944 the archives were kept on the attic of their house; during a bombardment the roof was severely damaged, and everything was transported to a washhouse on the ground floor.

At this moment, Marguerite Eeman Mathy (1905-1998) appears in the story. She was a daughter of the aforementioned sister of Albert and Henriëtte, Marguerite Di Martinelli (1878-1947), who had married Dr. Louis Mathy (1868-1944) in Leuven (Figure 4). Since childhood, Marguerite Eeman-Mathy had

[31] See P. VAN ASSCHE, *Het "Fonds Philippen" op het Leuvens Universiteitsarchief*, unpublished licentiate's thesis Leuven, 1997.

[32] VAN ASSCHE, *Het "Fonds Philippen"*, pp. 66-68.

[33] See note 25.

[34] Leuven, University archives, P 206, Letter of Paula Di Martinelli (daughter of Rodolphe) to Henriëtte Di Martinelli, April 19th, 1953.

shown much interest in the history of her family. Chiefly with the help of Henriëtte Di Martinelli, she succeeds in transporting most of the archives to Brussels in 1945. Some documents had been destroyed by water damage on the attic after the bombing. From 1953 on, Marguerite Eeman-Mathy is searching for additional documents, supported by her aunt Henriëtte, the two of them forcing the old uncle Albert to climb his attic and search for remaining archives. At first, in June 1954, two chests were found, and in November 1956 Henriëtte could proudly announce: *j'ai toutes les musiques de feu di Martinelli! Un gros paquet. L'oncle Albert me les a donné [sic]. Comment veux-tu les recevoir?* [35] Apparently this was not the last discovery, because as late as 1957, Albert Di Martinelli wrote to Marguerite Eeman-Mathy: *Les manuscrits qui vous sont parvenus récemment ne sont pour nous que de minime importance et nous sommes heureux de les savoir en bonnes mains; d'ailleurs nous avons réservé ce qui nous intéresse.*[36]

At the occasion of a removal in 1948, Marguerite Mathy conveys the archives in her possession to the State Archives, through the agency of her friend the archivist Arnold Schillings.[37] There, a first inventarisation, of which we do not have any further trace, is begun with. Some of the most water damaged documents are laminated. But after a year, Marguerite badly misses her documents, and at the price of 6000 Belgian Francs for expenses by the State Archives, the archives are brought back to her. After this, the archives seem not to have known many losses, except on two occasions. In 1956, the aforementioned two sheets of music by Carolus Guillelmus di Martinelli are lost.[38] Later, a set of documents concerning Anne Marie Di Martinelli (1811-1884), daughter of Guillelmus Antonius Di Martinelli (1770-1825) and her granddaughter Christine Noël were conveyed by Marguerite Eeman-Mathy to a descendant of this branch of the family, Henri Deckers in Antwerp.

In 1957, Henriëtte hears that Marguerite Eeman-Mathy is no longer interested in the old music; apparently the family history was of greater importance to her. Henriëtte was somewhat disappointed, since the searching for and collecting of the music papers had required a great deal of effort. The music collection is divided again: Marguerite Eeman-Mathy keeps the music manuscripts that she

[35] Leuven, University archives, P 206, Letter of Henriëtte Di Martinelli to Marguerite Eeman-Mathy, November 25th, 1956.

[36] Leuven, University archives, P 206, Letter of Albert Di Martinelli to Marguerite Eeman-Mathy, January 10th 1957. The fact that Albert kept some documents does not pose a problem, since the personal papers of both Albert and Henriëtte came entirely to Marguerite Eeman-Mathy.

[37] See H. COPPENS & R. LAURENT eds., *Het Rijksarchief in België. Les archives de l'État en Belgique. 1796 - 1996. Geschiedenis van de instelling en bio-bibliografisch repertorium van de archivarissen. Histoire de l'institution et répertoire bio-bibliographique des archivistes, (Miscellanea archivistica, Studia,* 86), Brussels, 1996, p. 529.

[38] See note 13.

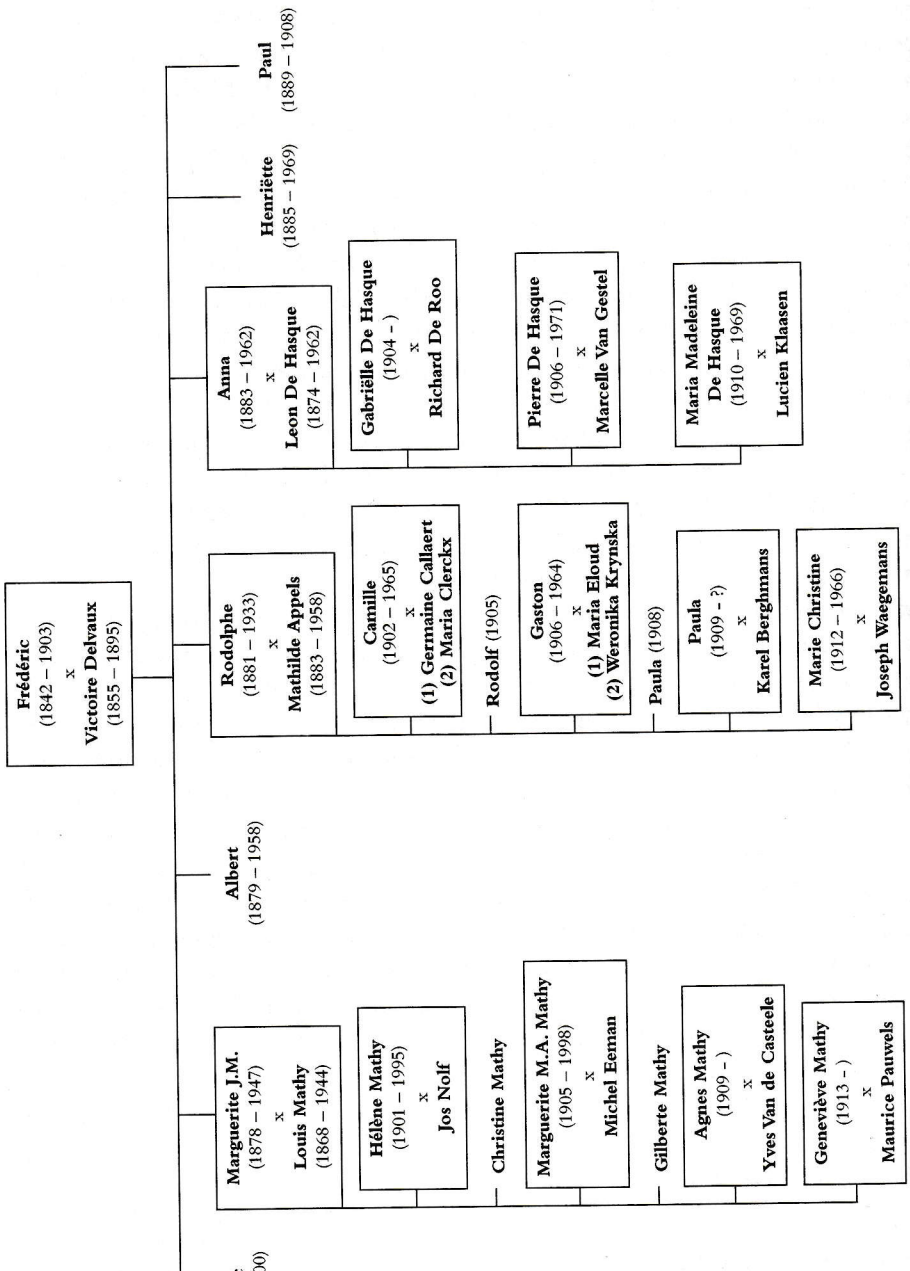

Figure 4. Descendants of Frederik Jan Willem Di Martinelli (1842–1903)

had already arranged among the papers of the supposed composers or possessors, while Henriëtte receives the rest and plans to show them to *des gens qui connaissent la musique ancienne et moderne*.[39] The manuscripts are examined by Hubert Commissaris; after this, in 1959 and 1960 a *Sonata a 7*, attributed to Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli, is executed by the Antwerp chamber orchestra Polyphonia and recorded on disc.[40]

Finally, Henriëtte Di Martinelli, who died in 1969, gave the music papers to Gabrielle De Hasque, daughter of her sister Anna (1883-1962). Through the agency of Thérèse Leemans-De Roo, daughter of Richard De Roo (1902-1960) and Gabrielle De Hasque (1904-), the music was given to the University archives at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in 1990. The archivist, Prof. Jan Roegiers estimated the music at its true value and got in touch with Marguerite Eeman-Mathy. In 1994/1995, she gave her part of the oldest family archives, including all the music, to the KULeuven University Archives. When she died in 1998, mainly her own personal archives and papers from more recent family members were still in her possession. Most of these documents were also generously given to the KULeuven Archives by her daughters Chantal and Micheline at the end of 1998.

The collection was used immediately. In 1991, *a Missa da requiem* by Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli was executed on a benefit concert by the Libra Chamber Choir under the direction of Bart Demuyt.[41] In 1995, four manuscripts from the music collection containing profane music were edited. They contain 234 melodies from everyday life, referring to all kinds of public events, military campaigns, dance music and so on.[42] At the same occasion, 20 of these melodies were executed and brought out on cd.[43]

In 1996 the KULeuven University Library set up an exhibition of the precious music manuscripts and prints in its collection. In fact, most of the materials shown came from the University Archives; the music of the Di Martinelli family was presented at large.[44] At the same occasion a set of three cd's was brought out,

Maria Madeleine De Hasque (1910 – 1969) x Lucien Klaasen

Paula (1908)

Paula (1909 - ?) x Karel Berghmans

Marie Christine (1912 – 1966) x Joseph Waegemans

Gilberte Mathy

Agnes Mathy (1909 -) x Yves Van de Casteele

Geneviève Mathy (1913 -) x Maurice Pauwels

artinelli (1842–1903)

[39] Leuven, University archives, P 206, Letters from Henriëtte Di Martinelli to Marguerite Eeman-Mathy, March 17th, 1957 and March 20th, 1957.

[40] Performances at the Royal Flemish music conservatory, St Jacobsmarkt 11 in Antwerp on April 13th, 1959 and May 9th, 1960. See Leuven, University Archives, P 206, Documentation.

[41] Performances on November 9th, 1991 in the Church of Our Lady, Kortrijk and on November 10th, 1991 in the Church of St Geertrui in Leuven. See Leuven, University Archives, P 206, Documentation.

[42] *T' Haegelant. Vier 18de-eeuwse muziekboekjes uit Diest. Quatre recueils de musique du XVIIIe siècle de Diest*, introduction by G. HUYBENS & E. SCHREURS, Peer, 1995. 500 copies were printed (400 for the sponsor, the planning organisation Interleuven, and 100 for Alamire in Peer).

[43] *T'Haegelant. 18de-eeuwse muziek*, Concept and coordination G. HUYBENS, CD - SABAM 5628 (1100 copies).

including on the first cd performances of compositions that can be attributed to Guillelmus Carolus or his son Antonius di Martinelli: the motet *O rex invictissime* and the concerto grosso *Sonata a 9* by members of Capilla Flamenca and Il Fondamento under the direction of Paul Dombrecht. The second cd contains several pieces of music that were executed from manuscripts and prints from the Di Martinelli collection: seven dances from the already mentioned booklets with profane melodies executed by the Flemish folk group 't Kliekske, the *Sonata 10 in F* by Jean-Baptiste Loeillet, executed by Tomma Wessel, Susanne Braumann and Christine Wauters, and the *Sonata con variationes in A* by Johann-Heinrich Schmelzer, executed by John Wilson-Meyer, Susanne Braumann and Christine Wauters.[45] During the same year, at last, some prints from the collection figured on an exhibition about Antwerp music prints and printers in the museum Plantijn-Moretus.[46] In 1999, a copy of the first publication in Leuven, in Dutch translation, of the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights originally passed by the National Assembly in Paris on 26 August 1789, was shown at an exhibition in the

[44] Exhibition at the Central Library, Leuven, 25 January to 24 February 1996. See the catalogue in *Musica Antiqua. Actuele informatie over oude muziek*, 13 (1996) 1, pp. 9-44, in particular V. VERSPEURT and E. SCHREURS, *Het Di Martinellifonds*, pp. 10-11; G. HAENEN, *32 sonates met vioolmuziek*, pp. 11-12 (on the famous violin manuscript); V. VERSPEURT, *De inventaris van het Di Martinellifonds*, pp. 12-15 (a catalogue of the music manuscripts and prints); G. SPIESSENS, *Drie zeldzame Antwerpse muziekdrukken met werk van Corelli (1692), Bréhy (1700) en Bononcini (1706)*, pp. 40-41 and G. HUYBENS, De Leuvense drukker Maswiens, pp. 42-43.

[45] *Concentu melodiae. Muzikale schatten uit de Leuvense Universiteitsbibliotheek. Musical treasures from Leuven University library*. Concept and coordination G. HUYBENS (1100 copies). The Loeillet and Schmelzer sonatas were also executed during a concert on the occasion of the celebration of the patron saint's day of the KULeuven on February 2, 1996; the motet *O rex invictissime* figured on the programme, but was not executed.

[46] F. DE NAEVE ed., *Antwerpse muziekdrukken. Vocale en instrumentale polyfonie (16de-18de eeuw)*, Antwerp, 1996, in particular nrs. 31, 32 (wrongly attributed to the KULeuven Central Library). To this list must also be added a print of N. ESCHIUS, *Evangelische Peerle: vol devoter ghebeden, godlycker oeffeninghen, ende gheesteliker leeringen*, Antwerpen, 1542, from the collection of Frederik Di Martinelli and separately given to the KULeuven University library by Thérèse and Paul Leemans-De Roo. It figured at an exhibition of preciosa in Leuven University Library: see C. COPPENS ed., *Van Croesus tot Keizer Karel. Preciosa tot c. 1550. Een selectie uit aanwinsten, 1971-1996*, Leuven, 1996, p. 119, nr. 59.

Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia and later that year at the same exhibition, this time in KULeuven Central Library.[47]

The history of the archives of the Di Martinelli family clearly shows the many pitfalls that threaten the tradition of a family archives: moving of the possessor and transfer from one member of the family to another are pivoting points, at which the risk of loss or damage to the documents is at its highest. It must be said that, apart from some lucky historical evolutions that made it possible to keep the archives for a longer time in the same place, the strong historical conscience and feeling of the Di Martinelli family and its descendants made it possible that this rich collection of music manuscripts and prints, but also the extraordinary family archives as a whole have come down to us.

[47] *Leuven in books. Books in Leuven. The oldest university of the Low Countries and its library*, Leuven, 1999, p. 119, nr. 42.

The Di Martinellis, active in Ghent, The Hague and Diest (1659-1797)

A Forgotten Musical Dynasty and their Musical Biotope*

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At the end of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century musical life in Diest was largely determined by the Di Martinelli family, a musical dynasty of Italian origin.[1] Primarily by the donation to the University Library of a fascinating family archive, including an interesting collection of music, the life and work of members of this now virtually forgotten musical dynasty have started to receive, through a colloquium, concerts, editions and recordings, the attention they merit.[2] The present article intends, on the one hand, to highlight their musical activities,

* With sincere thanks to Peter Van Dessel for the English translation of this article.

[1] The following abbreviations are used in this article: GRA: Ghent, Rijksarchief (SBAB: Archief St.-Baafs en Bisdom); DSA: Diest, Stadsarchief; LSA: Leuven, Stadsarchief; LU: Leuven, University Archives. I would like to emphasize that this brief contribution can only present the basic material and that the detailed results of further research will be published at a later stage.

[2] The history of the Di Martinelli archive and of the family's musical activities in Diest was first discussed by G. HUYBENS and E. SCHREURS, *T'Haegelant. Vier 18de-eeuwse muziekboekjes uit Diest, Quatre recueils de musique du XVIIIe siècle de Diest, Familiearchief Di Martinelli (P 206) KULeuven*, Peer, 1995. For an inventory of the archive see V. VERSPEURT, *De inventaris van het Di Martinellifonds* in *Musica Antiqua*, 13 (1996), pp. 12-15. The latest inventory by Katrien Steelandt has been incorporated in the *RISM*-project (*RISM* Serie AII/ *Manuscrits musicaux* après 1600, CD-ROM, 9th edition, 2001). An extensive paper was devoted to the history of the Di Martinelli family by J. SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinelli en de Kruisheren te Diest*, in *Clairlieu. Tijdschrift gewijd aan de geschiedenis der Kruisheren*, 33 (1975), pp. 79-118. More recently, M. NELISSEN has been studying the Di Martinelli archive; see his contribution in this volume. Further musicological research on the Di Martinelli archive as well as on the St.Sulpitius archive is being done within the context of a project of the Musicology section of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, financed by the Max Wildiers fund (FWO Vlaanderen) and realised by Katrien Steelandt. The study of musical life in Diest is to be seen as part of a more broadly conceived comparative examination of musical activity in Flemish collegiate churches (FWO Vlaanderen) under the direction of the undersigned.

It is my pleasant duty to thank all those who have in any way been of assistance: Mrs. Thérèse Leemans-De Roo for further information on the family; Raf Van der Donckt for providing a genealogy; Marc Nelissen, who is well acquainted with the archive, for sundry advice and help; honorary ambassador Jan Koninckx, who already in October 1996 supplied information on the Di Martinellis in Ghent; Christophe Libberecht for assisting with inquiries in The Hague; Mr. Robert Van de Ven, archivist in the city archive in Diest for help and suggestions; Véronique Verspeurt, Patrick Lenaers and Katrien Steelandt for various suggestions and additions; and Bruno Bouckaert for assisting with researches in Ghent.

and on the other, to take a closer look at the musical life in Diest in which the majority of these musicians could flourish and which to date has hardly been studied.

THE DI MARTINELLIS IN GHENT, THE HAGUE AND DIEST

Italian Origin and Period in Ghent

The 'progenitor' of the family, Carolus Di Martinelli, hailed, according to family tradition, from Genoa, where he was born about 1635. However, no corroboration of this has been found as yet. Any relation to the actor Tristano Martinelli (died 1630) or the celebrated singer Caterina Martinelli, who was selected for the title role in Monteverdi's *Arianna* but died in Mantua in 1608 shortly before the opera's premiere, remains uncertain.[3] Still according to the family tradition Carolus Di Martinelli would have worked at the English court, but again no confirmation hereof has been found.[4] About 1658 Carolus Di Martinelli would have married Maria De Meyer in Ghent, and between 1659 and 1666 six children were baptized in the church of St. Michaelis.[5] The earliest archival mentions of Carolus Di Martinelli in the Low Countries as a musician are found in Ghent, in the church of St. Nicolaus, where since 1614 the chapter of St. Pharaildis (St. Veerle) was also resident, since its former homonymous church had been demolished after the second iconoclasm of 1578.[6] This means that the activities of the Di Martinellis must be traced through two archives.

According to the *acta capituli* of St. Pharaildis of 13 July 1661, Carolus *Martinel* and his son, a choirboy, were remunerated for half a year's service. Afterwards Carolus *Matinelli* (sic) remained in service, sometimes with, sometimes without the mention that he served as a singer.[7] This employment as a singer is confirmed

[3] *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 22, 1951, p. 440. For Caterina Martinelli see most recently E. STRAINCHAMP, *The life and death of Caterina Martinelli: new light on Monteverdi's 'Arianna'*, in *Early Music History*, 5 (1985), pp. 155-186. The name of Caterina's father was Donato Antonio. Although no family relationship has yet been established, the regular recurrence of the name Antonio among the Martinellis since the eighteenth century is conspicuous. See the genealogy pp. 54-59, et.al.

[4] A. ASHBEE, *Records of English Court Music*, Aldershot, 1986-1996. A. ASHBEE and D. LASOCK, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians 1485-1714*, Aldershot, 1998.

[5] See the contribution by Marc Nelissen in this volume.

[6] B. BOUCKAERT, *Het muziekleven aan de collegiale kerken van Sint-Baafs en Sint-Veerle in Gent (ca. 1350-ca. 1600)*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1998, p. 232; ID., *Bijdragen tot de studie van het muziekleven in Sint-Veerle te Gent (14de-16de eeuw). Deel 3: Een muziekinventaris uit 1616*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 13 (1999), pp. 174-181.

[7] GRA, SBAB, S 222, ff. 86v, 89v, 98v, 117, 130, 152, 163v.

by his participation in a procession in 1663.[8] He remained in the service of this church, as is shown by the accounts of St. Nicolaus (salary paid until 1678).[9] From 27 June 1666, according to the *cotidiane* of St. Pharaildis, he was also distributor of the anniversaries.[10] From 1 December 1669 he shared the office of distributor (which was probably the same as that of *punctator*, who had to note absences and pay the musicians accordingly) with Petrus Sardonius.[11]

On 11 July 1678 Carolus Di Martinelli is discharged, but on 6 May 1680 he receives overdue wages, from which it may appear he still lived in Ghent. The payment mentions his instruction of the choirboys, which is notable since that was normally the responsibility of the *zangmeester* (singing master or choirmaster, at that moment Petrus Sardonius). Possibly he only gave violin lessons, a division of tasks also attested in Diest and elsewhere.[12]

There is still some uncertainty about Carolus' son, who was a choirboy in the same church of St. Nicolaus, at least from 1663 to 1669.[13] Only once, in 1663, is a first name mentioned: *François*. This is remarkable, for according to the genealogy there was no Franciscus. As we are relying here on secondary sources, we cannot rule out a slip of the pen, or there could have been an other son Franciscus whose birth is still undocumented. According to the genealogy drawn up by the family itself and R. van der Donckt, only two sons were born in Ghent: Guillelmus Carolus (baptized 12 June 1661) and Carolus (baptized 14 October

[8] J. BILLIET, *Belangrijke gebeurtenissen 17de eeuw*, vol. 4 (Ghent, Stadsarchief), provides a survey of the church personnel on the occasion of a solemn procession in 1663. In it Carolo Di Martinelli, singer, and Franciscus Di Martinelli, choirboy of St. Nicolaus church, are mentioned. (With thanks to Mr. Jan Koninckx for this information.)

[9] GRA, SBAB, SN 131, ff. 38v-39; SN 12, fol. 37; S 13, fol. 55r: *Betaelt aen Carolus Martinelli … over twee jaeren en elf daeghen gaighe … tot ende metten 11 juli 1678 daete hij is afghedanckt.*

[10] GRA, SBAB, SN 324, fol. 72r: *Betaelt aen Pieter Sardonius ende Carolus Martinelli distributeurs vande jaerghetijde ….* See also GRA, SBAB, S 325, ff. 72-87v.

[11] A Johannes Sardonius of Liège, probably a relative, was *zangmeester* of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Maastricht in 1607, possibly bassoonist in St. Gudula in Brussels from 1609, and, according to René Vannes, musician of St. Bavo in Ghent (1619). He composed a now lost set of motets for 2-4 voices and basso continuo (*Angelica musica*, Douai, 1629). See R. VANNES, *Dictionnaire des musiciens (compositeurs)*, Brussels, s.d., p. 363; J. QUITIN, art. *Sardonius Jean*, in *The New Grove of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. SADIE, 16, Londen, 1980, p. 497.

[12] GRA, SBAB, SN 13, St. Nicolaus, accounts of the church and *cotidiane* (1675-1681), fol. 55r: *Betaelt aenden selven Martinelli de somme van 24 st. gr. over sijne pretentien die hij was pretenderen int leeren vande coraelen deser kercke ende over andere redenen. D'geenen moverende gon per ordonnan. ende quittan. vanden 6 may 1680.* See also fol. 81v: *Betaelt aen meester Pieter Sardonius sanghmeester… over tspelen van de schalmeyers… vanden jaere 1682.*

[13] GRA, SBAB, SN 131, ff. 38v-40: *Item betaelt aen Charles Martinelli 21 gl. vuer een jaer gaige verschenen 1 julij 1667. Item betaelt aenden voorseyde Martinelli 4 gl. vuer sijnen sone verdient in de maent meye 1669.*

1664).[14] The latter cannot possibly be identified with the choirboy, and even Guillelmus at age three must have been too young to serve. Much later, in 1677, we hear of a Guillelmus participating in a service of the confraternity of the Holy Trinity in the church of St. Jacobus, where as a sixteen-year-old he sang as superius under the direction of the *zangmeester* (1663-1679) and composer Johannes van de Wiele.[15] Identification with Guillelmus Carolus seems obvious here.

Sojourn in The Hague

Between 1680 and 1682 we briefly lose track of the Di Martinelli family. In view of the future activities of Guillelmus Carolus as violinist and violin teacher it seems reasonable to assume that he further perfected himself as a string player, possibly through the teaching of his father and/or as a member of a travelling company. Indeed, the next mention of father Carolus and son Guillelmus concerns their activity as theatre musicians in The Hague. On 5 May 1682 they appear to have become involved in a scuffle with an opera employee who was badly beaten: *...assisté de Charles Martinelly et de son filz Guillaume aussy de la bande dudit opera l'ont empesche ... force battu et acroché les chevaux hors de sa tête.* This happened at a moment when the prince of Orange himself was in the theatre.[16]

On 6 August 1682, shortly after this rather serious incident, Guillelmus Carolus married Wilhelmina van Kakercken in the private chapel of the French ambassador in The Hague. His Ghent origin (*Gandaviensis*) is confirmed in the marriage certificate. Witnesses were Adrianus van de Wiele and brother Johannes Noel.[17] From the account book of pastor Moulart it appears that Carolus Di

[14] The source for Ghent is again Justus BILLIET who mentions a *François Di Martinelli* during a solemn procession in 1663. See alos n. 8 above. For the genealogy see p. 54.

[15] Ghent, St. Jacobus, no. 1545, anno 1677: *voor Guiliamus Martinelli superius 12 stuivers.* On van de Wiele see R. RASCH, *De cantiones natalitiae en het kerkelijke muziekleven in de zuidelijke Nederlanden gedurende de zeventiende eeuw*, Koedijk, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 99-101. He composed a set of twelve *Cantiones natalitiae.* The term *superius* is rather unusual in the second half of the seventeenth century and may indicate that he sang the upper voice as a falsettist.

[16] J. FRANSEN, *Les comédiens Français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1925, p. 165, wrongly speaks of the brothers Di Martinelli here. Clearly we have to do with father and son, as appears from the original act: Den Haag, Gemeentearchief, Notariële akten, no. 809, d.d. 27 juni 1682.

[17] SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinellli*, pp. 83-84: information provided by the archivist of the city of The Hague, H.M. Mensonides in a letter of 2 January 1975 (now kept in LU P 206). It is not yet clear whether Adrianus van de Wiele was related to the aforementioned Ghent *zangmeester* and composer. For the marriage an attestation was presented from Voorburg dated 10 May 1682.

Martinelli was attached [as organist] to the Old Catholic church in The Hague from 2 November 1682 to October 1685. As such he succeeded (probably Carolus) Hacquart, a musician who, like Di Martinelli, also occupied himself with opera and likewise hailed from Flanders.[18] The elder Di Martinelli was paid 10 *rijksdaalders* annually, his son Guillelmus [Carolus] 10 guilders.[19] Carolus Di Martinelli appears to have also engaged himself with the musical theatre, as is confirmed on 18 May 1683 by the prince of Orange's permission for *Sieur Augustijn Fleury*, in association with *Sieur Charle Martinelli, aussi Mr. De musique icij a la Haije*, to stage an opera *sur son theadre de la commedie* [sic].[20] Fleury apparently soon backed out of the undertaking, for on 19 November 1683 Carolus Di Martinelli was authorized by the Holland court to develop a French opera for a period of three years.[21] He motivated his request by positing that his ensemble, which consisted of at least 30 actors and musicians, could not survive without such permission. Presumably his son Guillelmus was also part of the company. However, it is not clear how long the group existed, nor whether it completed its three-year term.[22] In any event, with this undertaking Di Martinelli must be seen as one of the founding fathers of opera in the Netherlands.[23]

[18] A.R. HEYLIGERS, *De Geschiedenis der Oud-Katholieke Gemeente van 's Gravenhage*, The Hague, 1937: see chapter *Het Orgel en de Organisten*, p. 37. See also SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinelli*, p. 85, and the already mentioned letter by Mensonides of 1975. For Hacquart see P. ANDRIESSEN, *Carel Hacquart (±1640-1701?): een biografische bijdrage, het werk*, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België. Klasse der schone kunsten*, 27), Brussels, 1974.

[19] With thanks to C. Libberecht for this information, based on the accounts and notes of pastor Moulart.

[20] FRANSEN, *Les comédiens*, p. 165. The Hague, Gemeentearchief, Notariële akten, 734, pp. 97-98: with the signatures of Augustijn Fleury and Carolus Martinelli.

[21] FRANSEN, *Les comédiens*, p. 166. The Hague, Rijksarchief, Resolutiën van het hof, 19 November, 1683.

[22] These activities of Carolus Di Martinelli are fairly well-known in the musicological literature on the Northern Netherlands. The erroneous reference to the brothers Di Martinelli, instead of father and son, is invariably repeated. See FRANSEN, *Les comédiens*, pp. 165-166; D.J. BALFOORT, *Het Muziekleven in Nederland van de 17de en de 18de eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1938, p. 70. Balfoort refers to D.F. SCHEURLEER, *Het Muziekleven in Nederland in de 2de helft der 18de eeuw*, The Hague, 1909, pp. 23-24, p. 70; R. RASCH, *Het muziekleven in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, 's-Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1981, p. 143; SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinelli*, p. 85. Scheerder refers to H.E. VAN GELDER, *'s Gravenhage in zeven eeuwen*, Amsterdam, 1937, p. 186 as follows: *In 1682 zag den Haag een eigen opera, die reeds spoedig zelfs den steun van den Stadhouder kreeg. De leider was Ch. Martinelli, aanvankelijk met A. Fleury, die zich echter na een paar maanden terugtrok. Zij speelden niet altijd op het Buitenhof, maar in de tot schouwburg omgebouwde kaatsbaan in de Casuarisstraat. Het is echter niet zeker, of Martinelli het heeft kunnen bolwerken gedurende de drie jaren, waarvoor hij vergunning had. In 1688 was er tenminste een andere troep, die onder leiding van een zeker Des Bosses, van den Haag uit, ook voorstellingen in Amsterdam gaf.*

[23] RASCH, *Het muziekleven*, p. 143.

Finally, on 14 June 1684 Carolus Di Martinelli is mentioned as a witness in connection with the training of a wigmaker, but, as noted above, the activities of father and son as organist at the Old Catholic church also came to an end as of October 1685.[24] It is not clear which appointments they afterwards held in The Hague, nor where and when Carolus died. Guillelmus Carolus in any event remained until at least June 1692 in The Hague, where certainly four children were baptized.[25] But it is not clear why and when he moved to Diest.[26] Perhaps there is a connection through his contacts with the prince of Orange, William III (1650-1702), who authorized his father to open an opera, and the fact that the same prince was also lord of Diest.

Stay in Diest and Leuven (?)

Only on 8 May 1695 do we link up again with Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinelli, when he is appointed *rector van de scholen*, presumably teacher in the primary school, and violin teacher in the then Orange city of Diest.[27] He is not listed in the preserved Diest *poortersboek*, but this is perhaps due to the fact that employees of the city and of collegiate churches were often exempt from such duties.[28] According to the municipal resolutions Guillelmus was elected rector of the school by majority vote on the condition that he instruct two choirboys on the *violonce* [violin]. In the event of a separation of rectorship and *zangmeester*-ship his salary as rector was to be reduced to 25 pattacon. The initial appointment was for three years; thereafter extensions could be granted on an annual basis (Annex 1).[29] Such a combination of schoolmaster/violin teacher was not unusual in the

[24] The Hague, Gemeentearchief, Notariële akten, 734, p. 109.

[25] 25 July 1686: Jacobus Ludovicus; 30 August 1687: Antonius; 1 June 1689: Jacobus Guillelmus; 7 June 1692: Maria. For more genealogical information reference may be made to the article of Marc Nelissen in this volume, pp. 55ff. There also would have been a document containing the names of all the children, together with the expression *Italiano per la vita*. According to Mrs. Leemans-De Roo this document was lent to a person in Brussels, who then managed to lose it.

[26] See on this the viewpoint of the article of Marc Nelissen in this volume, p. 53 (nn. 14-15).

[27] At the time Diest was a possession of the House of Orange. The landlord, a descendant of Philip-William, the son of William the Silent, was abducted and raised a Catholic by order of Philip II. Philip-William was interred in the choir of St.Sulpitius in 1618. See M. VAN DER EYCKEN, *Geschiedenis van Diest*, Diest, 1980, pp. 145-147. Musically, too, we can see that Diest was an Orange city: *voort jaergetijt van de heere prince van Orange, voor de jaeren 1694 en 1695*. See DSA, Stad, 921, copies of the accounts of St.Sulpitius, fol. 41v. According to the city accounts Di Martinelli was *rector vande halle*, in 1712 synonymous with the primary school.

[28] DSA, Poortersboeken. SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinellli*, p. 86. See also the *zangmeester*'s contract, Annex 2, no. 7.

[29] DSA, Stad, 7, fol. 147v.

Southern Netherlands and German-speaking areas.[30] In addition, Diest had a tradition of schoolmasters also teaching music.[31]

On 22 December 1697 the schoolmaster – no name is given, but it was undoubtedly Di Martinelli – was discharged without specification of cause.[32] A daughter was baptized on 29 December 1697 in St. Sulpitius, but after that there is no further trace of Di Martinelli in Diest.[33] However, on 10 May 1702 his daughter Isabella is born in Leuven (St. Jacobus), and on 6 September 1703 another daughter, Clara. The latter died in Leuven on 27 September 1703, the former on 29 December of that year, from which we can deduce that Guillelmus Carolus was then living in Leuven. Also, the fact that he was godfather to Barbara Di Martinelli, daughter of his son Jacobus, at her baptism on 2 March 1715, and that Maria Di Martinelli, a daughter who probably lived with them, was godmother on 26 August 1718 to Johannes Franciscus Di Martinelli, third son of Jacobus, would seem to indicate that he was still resident in Leuven.[34] Professional traces of Di Martinelli have not yet been found in Leuven, but, sources permitting, this activity will form the subject of a separate paper. We do have a vague, undated reference to a Carolus Di Martinelli in the archive of St. Peter's in Leuven, in which he has a dispute with Johannes Vander Borght in connection with a permit to play the bassoon.[35]

[30] Cf. for example Zandvliet, where the *zangmeester* also provided music instruction. G. SPIESSENS, *Muziekberichten in de 18de-eeuwse Antwerpse pers (11). Aankondiging van muziekonderricht*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 4 (1987), p. 88.

[31] DSA, Stad, 1b, *Tweede Rootboeck*, fol. 117, anno 1531: *M. Willem den schoolmeester ... dat den sange sal onderhouden worden in beyde collegiate kercken ... ende oick den scholieren leren oft doen leeren hueren sange.*

[32] DSA, Stad, 8, Resoluties, ff. 153, 154. On 22 December 1697 an unnamed schoolmaster was dismissed and on 5 June 1699 the city deducted hundred florins from the *zangmeester*'s three hundred florins salary. That sum was then paid to schoolmaster Peeter du Four.

[33] A Johanna Elisabeth, possibly to be identified with Johanna Theresia or Elisa Wilhelmina, died on 17 January 1726. See DSA, St.Sulpitius, overlijdens, p. 147. According to the family genealogy, which is based on a loose leaf with a list of all Guillelmus Carolus's children, another daughter, Genoveva, was born in 1698, and yet another, Barbara, in 1699.

[34] LSA, doopregister St.Jacobus, no. 391, fol. 63. Witnesses were Germanus van Wange, bachelor of theology, and Isabelle Luts. See also the contribution by Gilbert Huybens in this volume.

[35] Much of the archive of the chapter of St.Peter's in Leuven was lost in war. But an eighteenth-century inventory has survived which refers to several individual acts. See Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Kerkelijk Archief Brabant, Leuven, St-Petrus, no. 1258, fol. 2, under the heading *De phonasco et reliquis Musicis* where we read under no. 8: *Littera seu controversa inter Joannem Van der Borght citatum et Carolum Martinelli actorem occasione suis ludendi pro licentij in instrumento vulgo fagotte.* On a Joannes Baptista Vander Borght, oboe player of the city of Leuven from 1707 until 1728 see G. HUYBENS, *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis van de muziek in Leuven. 17e en 18e eeuw*, in *Arca Lovaniensis artes atque historiae reserans documenta: jaarboek. Mededelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring voor Leuven en omgeving*, 21 (1981), pp. 12-13.

In any event, Di Martinelli returned to Diest, where from 14 September 1720, after the brief tenure of Paul Serigiers,[36] he held the office of *zangmeester* of the church of St. Sulpitius. Unfortunately, the specific terms of employment referred to have not been preserved.[37] According to annotations (*Auctore G.C. di Martinelli*) in seven surviving works in the Martinelli archive in Leuven University Library, Guillelmus Carolus was a creditable composer, primarily of instrumental music. That he must have been reasonably well-grounded as a (first) violinist can be indirectly deduced from the degree of difficulty of the first violin parts, as well as from the set of pieces for solo violin which contain numerous double stops and require scordatura. Although most of the works cannot be easily dated, it is clear that Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinelli over the years built up an extensive and varied collection of music (See e.g. the note *Ex chartis G. C. Di Martinelli* on a number of motets) revealing an international taste without forgetting composers from the Low Countries (instrumental works by Petrus Hercules Brehy, who was active in Brussels, and David Petersen, whose works he may have become acquainted with while in The Hague).[38]

According to a marginal note in the municipal accounts, Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinelli died in Diest on 8 September 1728 and was buried in St. Sulpitius the following day.[39] As is clear from the three wills of 1728-1730 drawn up by his widow, Wilhelmina van Kakercken, Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinelli possessed a substantial music library and instrument collection, which were further enlarged by his oldest surviving son Antonius and then his grandson Johannes Antonius.[40] I cite the relevant passages concerning the musical instruments and books of Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinelli in the three consecutive wills drawn up by his wife:

(1) 1728, 10 September. During her illness, and the day after the death of Guillelmus Carolus, the widow Di Martinelli makes it known that her son Antonius and her daughter Maria will inherit, besides furniture and other household goods, all the music and musical instruments, as compensation for their help (item allen het musiek, instrumenten etc). The other three sons, Jacobus Anselmus, Guillelmus and Johannes, are each allotted 1 pound or 6 florins, a quite low amount.

[36] For Paul Serigiers see n. 90 below.

[37] DSA, Stad, 9, p. 15: *Op 14 september 1720 is Carol. Di Martinelli aengenomen als sanghmeester op conditien staende in het tweede roodtboeck in fine folio 290.* This 'red book', which is still in the city archives, has been re-bound, but unfortunately the last folios, which probably contained a standard fifteenth or sixteenth-century contract, have been lost.

[38] See K. STEELANDT & E. SCHREURS, *The Music collection of the Di Martinelli archive (Leuven, University Archives, P 206). Inventary and Setting,* in this volume, and G. HAENEN, *Vioolmuziek in het Di Martinelli-fonds*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 17 (2000), pp. 153-158.

[39] DSA, Overlijdens Sint-Sulpitius, reg. 753, p. 166: *Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinelli vesperi, sepultus in ecclesia cum capitulo. Exequiae factae sunt 11 octob. 1728.*

[40] LU, P 206. On these three wills see the contribution by Marc Nelissen in this volume, p. 56ff.

(2) 1728, 31 October. Still or once again ill she changes her will for some unknown reason (*sieck te bedde liggend ... begerende om sonderlinge redenen haer movende te sijn ende kiesen haren universelen erfgenaem*). She designates her daughter Maria as principal heir who is also to have the music library and the instruments: *... Maria di Martinelli haer comparants dochter soo van musieck ten huyse des testatrice als in de kerke van St. Sulpitius alhier berustende mede van musicale instrumenten.*[41] The brothers Jacobus [Anselmus] – then already residing in Leuven –, Johannes and Antonius will each receive a modest sum in cash: *... dat de voors. Maria Di Martinelli sal gehauden wesen te geven nae haer comparante doot aen Jacobus di Martinelli woonende tot Loven, Johannes di Martinelli ende Anthoni di Martinelli hare broeders ider een pont groot.*

(3) 1730, 27 November. Wilhelmina van Kakercken finally decides to leave the music library and the instruments to her son Antonius, and that Jacobus Anselmus, living in Leuven, and Johannes, who was then abroad (in Paris?), as well as Maria, who in the meantime had married the musician Maximilianus Struijven, are all to receive the modest sum of 2 shillings:
... aen haeren sone Jacobus Ancelmus di Martinelli woonende tot Looven en Joannes Di Martinelli tegenwoordich uytlandich 2 schellingen.
Ende aen Maria Di Martinelli hare dochter getraut met Maximilianus Struijven ook 2 schellingen.[42]
...aen Anthonius di Martinelli haeren sone alle musicale instrumenten ende [stucken: cancelled] allen haer musiek.

Thus both the music library and the collection of instruments passed to Antonius Di Martinelli. At this moment, however, we do not know where and when Wilhelmina van Kakercken died.[43]

Antonius Di Martinelli, probably Guillelmus's second son, was, as already noted above, baptized in The Hague on 30 August 1687.[44] His essential biographical data are still lacking. He was probably taught the violin by his father, and like him became a violinist and violin teacher. He married late and possibly lived in long with his parents. On 23 February 1719 he possessed a set of fourteen sonatas for

[40] The question of the ownership of the music and instruments — whether they belonged to the family, the church, or the *Concert volontairelijck* — is clearly rather blurry. This may explain why so many scores were spread among several collections.
[41] Maximiliaan Struijven married Maria Di Martinelli on 7 February 1730; he was *altus* in the *Concert volontairelijck*. See n. 64 below.
[42] Diest, Sint-Sulpitius, St.John and Beguinage, death registers, do not list her name.
[43] Jacobus Ludovicus, the elder son of Guillelmus Carolus, presumably died before 1730. See the genealogy, p. 54.

four instruments (two violins, cello and figured bass).[45] At that moment he resided in Hoogstraten where, as may be assumed, he had opportunities to make music. From certificates of good moral conduct he appears to have lived in Hoogstraten for more than a year and a half since 29 October 1719, in the house of the widow of Renaldus van den Elsacker, a former schoolmaster. The three certificates of good conduct were provided respectively by the bailiff, the chapter of St.Catherina's church, and the mayor and aldermen of Hoogstraten. This proves his excellent reputation. We do not know what office he held, but he must have provided unpaid services (possible as violinist or organist) to the collegiate church of St.Catherine (Annexes 3-5).[46] Apparently Di Martinelli needed these certificates to defend himself against certain unspecified accusations (*soo hebben wy dese [der waerhydt getuijgenisse te geven] geirne in faveur van justitie verleent*), and not only to apply for a new position. In any event, on 26 August 1727 Antonius was in Diest, where in the church of St.Sulpitius, just a few months before his father's death, he married Maria Elisabeth Matthijs.[47] After his father's passing he assumed, on an interim basis, the post of *zangmeester* from 17 September 1728 to 31 May 1729.[48] On 13 May 1729 Adrianus De Landtsheer was appointed *zangmeester*, but since he did not play the violin, the duties of first violinist and violin teacher of the choirboys and other children were discharged by Antonius Di Martinelli.[49] Apparently he was also expected to play other instruments. Thus he succeeded his father in this office.[50]

On 27 November 1733 Antonius Di Martinelli's salary was withheld by the Diest aldermen; no specific reason was given, only a reference to the resolution of 1 May 1729 by which he was appointed *tot wederroepens van weth ende raedt*. This

[45] See K. STEELANDT & E. SCHREURS, *The Music collection of the Di Martinelli archive (Leuven, University Archives, P 206). Inventary and Setting*, in this volume, no. 54.

[46] LU, P 206, 3 certificates.

[47] DSA, Stad, St.Sulpitius, marriages: see under the name Matthijs, Maria Elisabeth, married to Antonius Di Martinelli, p. 137.

[48] DSA, Stad, 416, city accounts 1728/1729, fol. 236v: *volgens resolutie van heeren wethauderen van 17 septembris 1728 staende int 2e boeck inter agenda fol. 90 is Ant. Di Martinelli bij provisie ende tot wederroepens gecommitteert tot de directie van het musieck aen een pistoel per maend.*

[49] DSA, Stad, 8 [*resolutieboek, 1707-1719*], p. 149: *van het leren der choralen en jongers en spelen van de viole in de grote kercke ende andere instrumente voort musieck.* According to a note in the genealogy inserted by descendants of Di Martinelli Antonio would have been a tanner. No archival confirmation has been found herefor.

[50] DSA, Stad, 9 [*resolutiekboek, 1712-1749*], p. 104: ... *ende midts den aengenomen sanghmeester geene instrumenten is spelende, vervolgens het selve oock niet en can voortleren, ende niet de voors. hondert guldens sal emploijeren sestigh guldens 'sjaers ende de selve geven aen iemandt van de andere musicanten die bequaem is de voors. leerjongens sulckdanige instrumenten te leren, ende is geresolveert daertoe te assumeren sr. Anthonius di Martinelli tot wederroepens van weth ende raedt, midts dat den selven daerenboven sal assisteren soo in de ordinaire als extraordinaire musieckdiensten.*

notice was accepted by the municipal government on 10 December.[51] In the place of Di Martinelli Johannes Baptist Saphy and Johannes Josephus Snijers – we will encounter a J. Snijers later as bass of the *Concert volontairelijck* – were paid for violin playing.[52] Clearly Di Martinelli must have done something wrong, for on 16 May 1734 he is re-appointed to teach the choirboys provided that he abide by article 2 of the agreement of 13 May 1729 with *zangmeester* De Landtsheer. Also notable is the fact that on 14 December 1734 Antonius (again?) becomes a burgher of Diest, which may indicate that he had left the city, possible because of his dispute with the aldermen.[53]

From May 1734 until his death in 1748 Antonius Di Martinelli served without further interruption as violinist and violin teacher. He is last mentioned in the municipal accounts on 1 June 1748 and was buried in Diest on 13 August of that year. Music was played at his funeral: *sepultus in coemeteria cum missa lecta sub qua musica.*[54] Antonius composed six *simphonies en quatre parties* for two violins, violetta and basso continuo, which were published by [Giovanni] Chinzer (Firenze, ca. 1700 after 1749) in Paris, after 11 March 1749, when the Italian obtained a French privilege to print instrumental music (Figure 1).[55] They are three-movement sonatas (fast-slow-fast) in a galant style, with a dominant and highly idiomatic first violin part, containing numerous syncopated figures, triplets, appoggiaturas, embellishments, alternation between piano and forte, etc. Among the anonymous works preserved in the Di Martinelli archive there may be further compositions by Antonio di Martinelli, but this can only be shown by stylistic study.

[49] DSA, Stad, 8, p. 149: *Opsegginge van Martinelli. Vide resolutie de dato 13 maij 1727. Alsoo op 27 november 1733 aen Antonius di Martinelli van wegens heeren wethauderen is opgesecht de gagie die hij was trekkende van het leren der choralen en jongers en spelen van de viole in de grote kercke ende andere instrumenten voort musieck, is het selve door den raedt geaggreëert ende geapprobeert.*

[50] DSA, Stad, 426, city accounts 1733/1734, p. 211: (In the margin:) *27 nov. 1733 sijnen dienst bij de heren vande magistraet opgeseght ende bij weth en raedt geaccepteerd op 10 dec. 1733. Nu wederom Ant: di Martinelli te beginne 1 juni 1734.* (See *Roodboeck*, fol. 302). *Betaelt in plaets van Ant. Di Martinelli aen Jan Bapt. Saphy ende Johannes Josephus Snijers voor het spelen der viole als boven…*

[51] DSA, Stad, poortersboek no. 25, p. 79. *Anthonius di Martinelli gebortich van 's Gravenhage getrauwt met Maria Matthijs van Diest heeft de eedt gedaen als porter deser stadt, ende heeft gestelt zijn woonhuis tot assurantie als in heeft schepen Reijsts actum 14 december 1734 geb. segel van 4 stuivers.*

[52] DSA, St. Sulpitius, deceases, p. 40.

[53] Zie F. GIUNTINI and J.W. HILL, art. *Chinzer, Giovanni* in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Londen, 2001 (on-line version). Copies of this edition are preserved in the library of Stift Engelberg (Switzerland), in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and in the Royal Academy of Music in London. See *RISM* A I/5, p. 444.

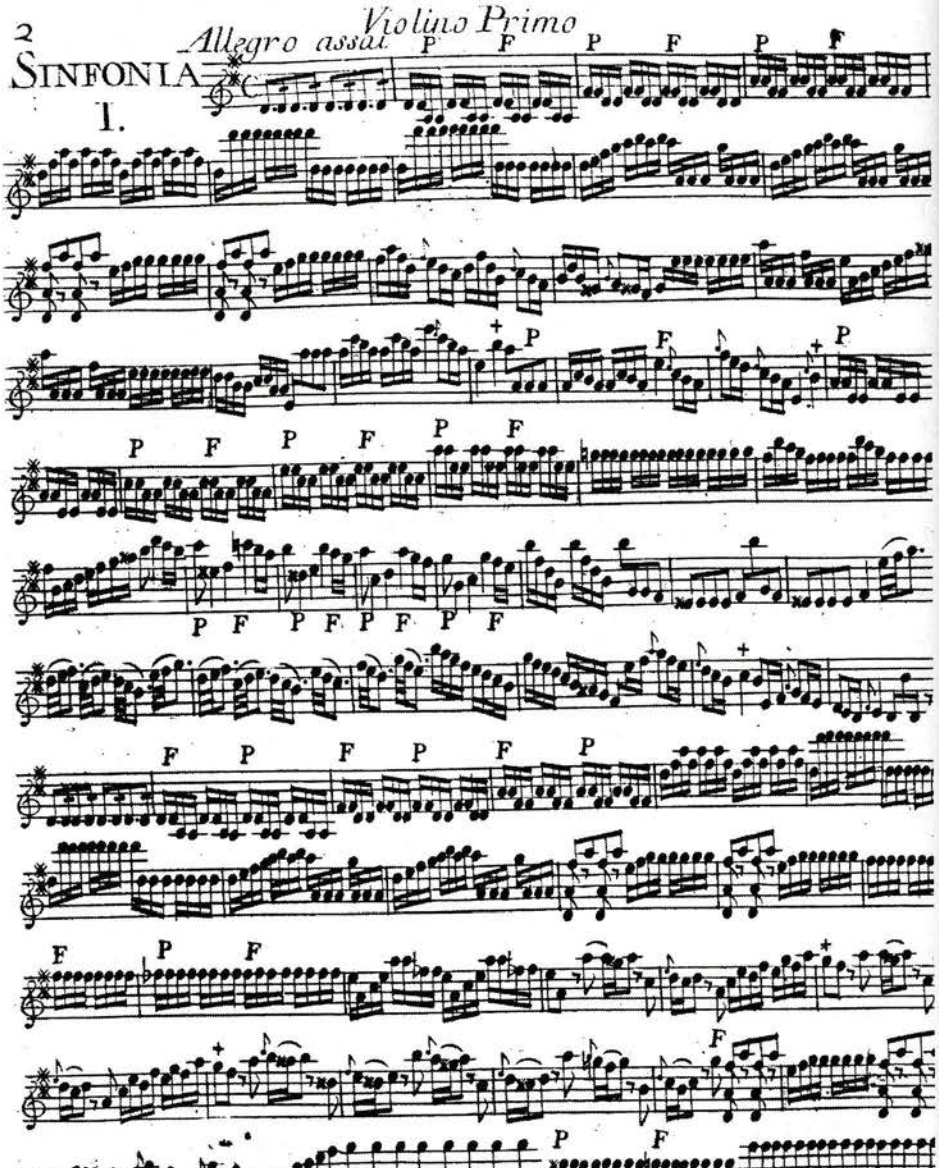
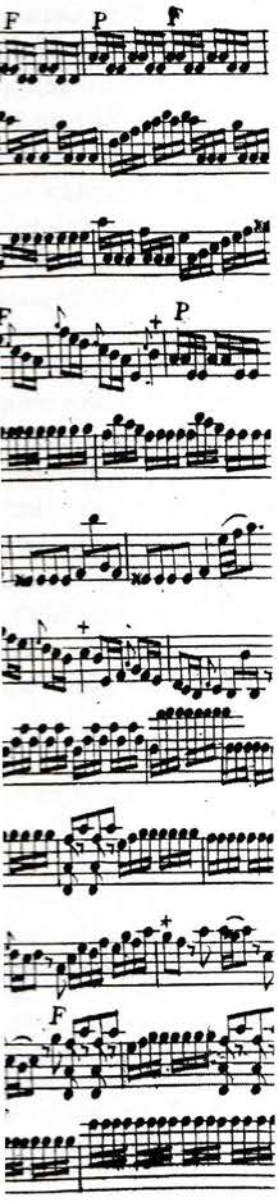


Figure 1. *Six Simphonies en quatre Parties del Signor Antonio Martinelli Faît Graveés par Mr. Chinzer, à Paris*, ca. 1749. Page of the first violin part, Sinfonia I. (Copy Stift Engelberg, Musik-Bibliothek)



üt Graveés par Mr. Chinzer, à
ıgelberg, Musik-Bibliothek)

Guillelmus' third musical son is Jacobus Guillelmus Anselmus, who was baptized on 1 June 1689 in The Hague. Guillemus mentioned Jacobus on a sheet of music, which was kept in the family archive but is now lost, as his fourth child. He later added that Jacobus was active as a musician in Leuven and was married to Elisabeth Van Es (Vannes, Vanesch, Van Nes). The wedding took place on 9 September 1714 in the church of St.Gertrude. His wife died on 1 January 1739.[56] According to the aforementioned will of his mother, Wilhelmina van Kakercken, dated 27 November 1730, and to entries in the family archive, he was then living in Leuven (along to the family tradition in St.Maartenstraat).[57] The couple had nine children, who were baptized in the collegiate church of St.Peter and of whom several became musicians.[58] Thus in 1772 mention is made of a Johannes Di Martinelli, chaplain and bassoonist, as a recipient of alms.[59] In the same church of St.Peter Jacobus had a career as a bass singer. He was buried in St.Peter's on 16 November 1757: *Jacubus Martinelli maritus Elisabethae Vanes Bassus musicae huijus ecclesia sepultus*.[60]

It is not known where nor when Guillelmus' fourth musical son, Johannes, was born. It has been conjectured that it was in The Hague around 1694.[61] Guillelmus Carolus noted on the above-mentioned music sheet that Johannes was a musician in Paris. According to J. Scheerder some compositions by Johannes survive in the Paris archives, but he gives no references.[62] Possibly Johannes was confused with Antonius, whose six *Simphonies*, as noted above, have also been preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. According to family tradition Johannes died in Paris, presumably after 1730, the year in which he is mentioned in his mother's will as *uyt landlich*.[63]

Thus at least four sons of Guillelmus Carolus were active as musicians, of whom Antonius as violinist followed his father's example most closely. Also worthy of mention is that a son-in-law of Guillelmus Carolus, Maximiliaan Struyven

[54] LSA, marriage and death registers. For details see the contribution by Gilbert Huybens in this volume.

[55] LU, P206. See the contribution by Marc Nelissen, p. 56ff.

[56] see the contribution by Gilbert Huybens in this volume, p. 103ff.

[57] See E. SCHREURS et. al., art. *Charles Burney's muzikaal reisverslag met betrekking tot de Lage Landen*, 7, in *Musica Antiqua*, 10 (1993), p. 14: *Johannes Dimartinelli, fagottiste en kapelaan, ontvangt 25 fl. In 1772*. In 1787 a Johannes Di Martinelli was attached as bassoonist to the church of St. Peter. See *De Staten van Goederen uit 1787 als muziekhistorische bron voor het muziekleven in Vlaamse kapittelkeerken in de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden*, ed. E. SCHREURS & B. BOUCKAERT, Leuven – Peer, 1998, p. 440.

[58] LSA, Deceases St. Peter, no. 192, p. 150.

[59] See see the contribution by Marc Nelissen in this volume, p. 54.

[60] SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinelli*, p. 84-85.

[61] According to SCHEERDER, *De familie Di Martinelli*, p. 85 n. 6, without source reference, Johannes already died in 1726; however, this is unlikely as he is still mentioned in the will of 1730.

(1772), the husband of his daughter Maria Di Martinelli, was a musician as well.[64] According to a unique register of the *Concert volontairelijck* in the Di Martinelli collection of Leuven University Library (See below) he was an *altus*. This designation probably refers to his voice rather than to the viola.

Musicians are again encountered in the next generation of Di Martinellis. The most important one is Johannes Antonius Di Martinelli, grandson of Guillelmus Antonius and son of Antonius. It is thanks to him that the music collection and family archive was preserved for the following generations. He was baptized on 27 July 1730 in Diest.[65] He must have started to learn music at a early age, for in 1743, at the age of thirteen, he already had an exercise booklet with monophonic violin music which he may well have copied himself (See e.g. the spelling mistakes in the pieces nos. 14a, 27 and 28 of this collection, and the rather awkward music notation).[66] A second and similar book from 1748 also belonged to him, and was likewise possibly compiled by him: the music is more demanding, with much double stopping, for example.[67] The short works in both manuscripts reflect the tastes of the day: mainly dances (march, menuet, murky) and pieces whose titles refer to a local (i.e. Diest) context.[68] Probably Johannes Antonius combined, from 1751 or 1752, the office of notary with that of first violinist and violin teacher in St. Sulpitius, to be sure a quite remarkable combination in the Southern Netherlands. On 26 July 1755 he married Maria Christiana De Weerdt. He remained first violinist and violin teacher until the abolition of the old ecclesiastical and civil institutions, and thus of the collegiate churches, by the French authorities in 1797.[69] In addition, he also held the post of *fiscus* of the *Concert*

[64] The marriage took place on 7 February 1730. Struijven died on 3 March 1772: *Maximilianus Struyven maritus Catharinae Dimartinelli sepultus in coemeterio cum missa lecta*. See DSA, St. Sulpitius, marriages, p. 143; deceases, 754, p. 270. Probably the second name (Catharina) was noted in St.Sulpitius. Maria died shortly afterwards, on 30 September 1772.

[65] DSA, St. Sulpitius, baptisms, p. 157.

[66] K. STEELANDT & E. SCHREURS, *The Music collection of the Di Martinelli archive (Leuven, University Archives, P 206). Inventary and Setting*, in this volume, no. 48.

[67] K. STEELANDT & E. SCHREURS, *The Music collection of the Di Martinelli archive (Leuven, University Archives, P 206). Inventary and Setting*, in this volume, no. 52.

[68] See G. HUYBENS and E. SCHREURS, *t' Haegelant. Vier 18de-eeuwse muziekboekjes uit Diest. Quatre receuils de musique du XVIIIe siècle de Diest. Familiearchief Di Martinelli (P 206) KU Leuven*. Ms A (present number 48) contains on the back of the flyleaf the mention: *Desen Boeck hoort toe Joannes Antonius Guieleilmus* [sic] *Di Martinelli int jaer 1743*, and Ms B (present number 52) the mention on the flyleaf: *J. A. Di Martinelli 1748*.

[69] DSA, Stad, 463 to 537 (city accounts), always with reference to the first violinist. 1751/1752: *N: Di Martinelli: voor tspelen der viole in alle t'musiek opt oksael in st.Sulpitius kerke ende choorale op de viole te leeren speelen jaerl: 60 fl.* The last mention dates from 1791/1792: *Johannes di Martinelli: voor het spelen der viole in allen musieck opt oxael in ste. Sulpitii kerck ende de chooraelen op de viool te leeren spelen 60 fl.* From 1793 on the entry is nameless: *Du premier violon 51 fl. 43.*

volontairelijck (and was thus responsible for, among other things, its management); this institution was a kind of collegium musicum (See below) and had built up its own music collection, which possibly was integrated in the Di Martinelli archive now in Leuven.[70] Johannes Antonius was buried in Diest on 23 December 1818.[71] His son, Johannes Guillelmus, baptized on 15 September 1757, followed in his father's footsteps as violinist and lawyer. His was the fourth booklet of violin music, dated 1767, which was possibly written out by his father and contains short pieces for solo violin.[72]

MUSICAL LIFE IN DIEST[73]

The musical activities of the Di Martinelli family are inextricably linked to the musical life of the main church, St.Sulpitius. In 1457, at the request of the prelate of the Premonstratensian abbey of Tongerlo, this church was elevated to collegiate status by the Liège prince-bishop Ludovicus de Borbon. The thirteen canonic prebends and the numerous chaplaincies were conferred by the abbot of Tongerlo in principle to regular canons of the abbey. The principal dignitaries among the thirteen canons were the dean, the cantor and the treasurer. The provost too, who was also the pastor of the church, was a monk from Tongerlo. Among the canons there was also a succentor, presumably the cleric responsible to the performance of the (plain)chant.[74]

[70] LU, P 206, register of the *Concert volontairelijck*, loose leaves, among which a request of 26 September 1757 by J.A. Di Martinelli, *fiscus van concert*, that Miss Mazure return a motet to the musical association. This office of *fiscus* of the musicians is already found earlier in the accounts of St.Sulpitius. See DSA, Stad 926 (copies of the accounts of St. Sulpitius), 1707-1709: *Jan Baptist van Dueren als Fiscus van de musicanten voor den dienst vant musieck van het roosencranscken, verschenen pro annis 1705-1707 a 18 gl. jaer.* Shortly after Johannes Antonius Vanden Boom was the *fiscus* (1708), and a year later (1709) Johannes Baptista Peeters, the *zangmeester.*

[71] DSA, St. Sulpitius, deceases.

[72] HUYBENS and SCHREURS, *T'Haegelant*, Ms D. See also K. STEELANDT & E. SCHREURS, *The Music collection of the Di Martinelli archive (Leuven, University Archives, P 206). Inventary and Setting*, in this volume, no. 49: *Desen boeck hoeve toe den Joannes Gilliellimus Di Martinelli. 1767.* For the further careeer of Johannes Guillelmus as a lawyer see the contribution by Marc Nelissen in this volume.

[73] This chapter offers only a brief overview of musical activity in Diest. For 2001-2005 a more com prehensive study on the city's musical life (Middle Ages – 1797) is planned.

[74] Only exceptionally in the Southern Netherlands do we encounter among the canons a *succentor.* On the problems concerning this office see SCHREURS and BOUCKAERT, *Staten van goederen*, p. XX en p. 413.

Concert volontairelijck

A peculiar feature of the situation in Diest is the municipal administration's structural intervention in the financing of the musical performances. Thus two of the four choirboys were provided for at the city's expense, and the *zangmeester*, organist, carillonneur and first violinist (also the choirboys' violin teacher) are all found in the municipal accounts.[75] For these musical performances an external organization was also brought in, namely a collegium musicum called *Confrerie van de exceritie van `t musieck of Concert volontairelijck*.[76] This association was supported by the city as well. Indeed, on 12 January 1712 its allowance was even raised from thirty-six to hundred florins per year.[77] A register for 1756/57, now in Leuven University Library, shows that its membership included many of the Diest's more prominent citizens, such as canons (e.g. G. De Jonghe) and vicars (Thomas Gillebert) of the chapter, lawyers (A. Danckaerts and J. Van den Goedenhuijse), doctors (P.F. Michiels), the mayor (M. Tielens) and aldermen (C.F. Mannaerts). Because of a lack of archives, it is not clear whether they also took part, as amateurs, in the performances.[78] For the mid-eighteenth century the cited register provides the names of the following professional musicians (*Nomina musicorum*): Father Livinus Geerts[79] (organist of the Minorites); J.B. (De) Mazure (*zangmeester*), J.A. Di Martinelli (first violinist), J. De Decker (organist; probably city carillonneur as well), J.M. Jacobs (also organist; probably identifiable with an N. Jacobs, son of Christianus Jacobs), J. Snijders (bass), J.T. de Lespes (temporary organist in St.Sulpitius in 1769/70 and husband of Maria-Josepha De Decker, daughter of the carillonneur Johannes Franciscus De Decker), M. Struijven (altus and husband of Maria Catharina Di Martinelli, daughter of Guillelmus Carolus[80]), J.J. Kenes

[75] DSA, 399-537 (city accounts, 1719/1720 – 1797/*Thermidor, an 5*).

[76] F. DI MARTINELLI, *Diest in de 17e en 18e eeuwen: geschiedkundige bijdrage*, Ghent, 1897, pp. 245-246.

[77] DSA, Stad, 8, fol. 13v: *dat de musicanten in plaetse van sesendertigh guldens, die zij jaarl. van dese stad geprofiteert hebben voor eenighe diensten inde groote kercke, voortaen vande zelve zullen trecken eenhondert guldens jaerl. Mits doende precise alle sondaghe ende H: daghen het lof int musiecq, ende alle andere extraordinaire loven als het de magistraet zal ordonneren als op vieringhen etc. ende dat tot vermeerderinghe van Godts-dienst, ende om de zelve musicanten tot meerderen iver te verwecken.* DSA, Stad, 9, p. 104.

[78] LU, P 206. Mostly only the initials of the first names are given. The full title of this register is as follows: *Naemen der aenhoorders ende musicanten de welcke hebben geteeckent onder sekere conditien hebbende voor tittel: Reglement ende articulen naer welcke een ieder sich in de confrerie van d'exercitie van't musieck ofte CONCERT volontairelijck willende inschrijven sal reguleren hac 3 augusti anno Domini 1756.* See in connection with the distinction 'professional' and 'amateur' musicians also the mention *aen twee vremde liefhebbers*, in the same register.

[79] Possibly an incomplete keyboard piece (without title) by this organist is included in a manuscript of X. Van Elewijck, LU P 195-28, p. 93: *Par le R. P. Geerts, organiste des RR PP Recollet à St. Trond.* See HUYBENS and SCHREURS, *T'Haegelant*, p. xviii, n. 13.

[80] Cf. above, n. 64.

(violinist), E.F. de Boos (violinist), J.B. Bussens (violinist) and J.B. Schaelck (unspecified).

Attendance is carefully noted and absences are fined (Figure 2). The choirboys also take part in the musical performances of this *Concert volontairelijck*, which confirms that this collegium musicum also provided music for and in St.Sulpitius (See payments in the period 1757-1759 with a meal of the choirboys: *gelach der chorialen*). The association possessed its own music collection, of which a partial inventory has been preserved, possibly drawn up by the then *fiscus* (a kind of administrator) Johannes Antonius Di Martinelli.[81] Only a number of acquisitions from August 1756 have been entered, in many cases with a short incipit. It shows that the following works were performed:

- Giovanni Battista Pergolesi: a motet *Plaudite*[82] for solo voice and four instruments, two arias for voice and four instruments from operas (*Piu non si trovano* from *Olimpiade* and *Vuoi punir* from *Adriano in Siria*).
- Anonymous: a mass (without Credo) for four voices and three instruments.
- Natalis (Jean-Noël) Hamal: *Magnum triumphum* for four voices and three instruments.
- A. Belciers[83]: *Care sponse* for solo voice and three instruments.
- Domingo Miguel Bernabe Terradellas: the motets *Date melos* for four voices and three instruments and *Uti clara* for voices [number not specified] and three instruments.
- Anonymous: *a cantate Italiana met een volle concert.*
- Gregorius Rösler: *IV Opus, bestaende in 5 missen, een requiem en 2 motetten* for four voices and instruments.[84]
- Anonymous: *Surgit in caelo* for bass and four instruments.

These acquisitions fit perfectly in the surviving music collections and inventories and clearly reflect the taste of the time, in which the music of local composers was combined with that of foreign masters. This acquisitions list also shows that this music ensemble performed secular as well as sacred music.[85]

[80] Cf. above, n. 70.

[82] *RISM* A/II CD-rom, 8th edition, recognizes the incipit of this motet *Plaudite* as a work of Domingo Miguel Bernabe Terradellas, preserved in B Bc 33886. The homonymous motet is not included in M.E. PAYMER, *Giovanni Battista Pergolesi 1710-1736. A Thematic Catalogue of the Opera Omnia*, New York, 1977. With sincere thanks to Katrien Steelandt for this information.

[83] An Anthonius Belsier was attached as a bass singer to the cathedral choir in Antwerp in 1733. See G. SPIESSENS, *Muziekleven en muzikanten te Antwerpen. 1700-1750*, in *Jaarboek van het Vlaamse Centrum voor Oude muziek*, 1, Peer, 1985, p. 77.

[84] *Bonus Cypri ... missae solemniores*, Augsburg 1749. See E. ROCHE, art. *Rösler, Gregorius*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. SADIE, 16, Londen, 1980, p. 209.

[85] Also the inventary of the Di Martinellicollection reflect a certain taste. See K. STEELANDT & E. SCHREURS, *The Music collection of the Di Martinelli archive (Leuven, University Archives, P 206). Inventary and Setting*, in this volume.

Sometimes works were apparently lent out, as appears from a request of Johannes Antonius Di Martinelli, fiscus of the Concert, who on 26 October 1757 asks a miss Mazure, probably a relative of the *zangmeester* Johannes Baptista De Mazure, to return the recently acquired motets *Uti clara* and *Date Melos*, both by Terradellas (See above).[86]

Possibly part of this musical association's collection passed into the hands of the Di Martinelli family. Another part probably ended up in St.Sulpitius, but most of it, as was the case with so many other collections, has undoubtedly been lost.[87]

Zangmeester (singing master; choirmaster)

The director of this *Concert volontairelijck* was probably the *zangmeester* of St.Sulpitius, who was of course the pivotal figure in the musical activity in Diest's main church.[88] His basic salary was paid by the city, a rather exceptional situation in the Southern Netherlands. This naturally implied that the city had its say in setting the terms of employment. After Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinell's presence in Diest, the following zangmeesters were active in the collegiate church of St. Sulpitius: Gommarus Truyts (1695-1700), Petrus Philippen (1701/02), Johannes Baptista Peeters (1701/02-1715), Franciscus Constantinus Procureur (1 March 1715 - 3 February 1719),[89] and Paulus Serigiers (1719-1720).[90] As (first) violinists the Di Martinellis were of course obliged to work together with the *zangmeester.*

[86] See a loose page in LU P 206 (together with the already mentioned register of the musical association).

[87] For a full inventory of the music collection, see K. STEELANDT, *Inventaris van het muziekarchief van de Sint-Sulpitiuskerk te Diest*, in preparation.

[88] Typical for the situation in Diest is that the offices of schoolmaster and *zangmeesters* were commonly combined in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[89] Franciscus Procureur was the son of Nicolaus Procureur, *zangmeester* of St. Andreas in Antwerp. See G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse musicus Nicolas Procureur (1653-1723)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 4 (1987), pp. 85-87. On 1 September 1713 he was appointed *zangmeester* of St. Gummarus in Lier for one year. According to eighteenth-century music inventories a Procureur would also have composed. Only occasionally the first name of Nicolas is given. See E.T'SEYEN, *Het muziekleven in en rond de Sint-Gummaruskerk te Lier tijdens de achttiende eeuw*, unpublished master's, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1984, pp. 261-262 and B. BOUCKAERT, *Muziek en repertoire te Gent. De 18de-eeuwse muziekinventaris van de Ekkergemse Sint-Martinuskerk als stille getuige van een veelzijdige bibliotheek*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 17 (2000), p. 73. With sincere thanks to Bruno Bouckaert for this communication.

[90] Paul Serigiers was active as *zangmeester* in Antwerp cathedral from 1714 to 1718, but he regularly collided with the chapter, among other things because of arrears in the payment of the musicians. Before that he was *zangmeester* in St. Andrew in Antwerp. See E. SCHREURS, *Alphonse D'Eve. Kapelmeester te Antwerpen en komponist (1666-1727)*, unpublished licentiate's thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 1980, pp. 215-217. SPIESSENS, *Muziekleven en muzikanten*, p. 87.

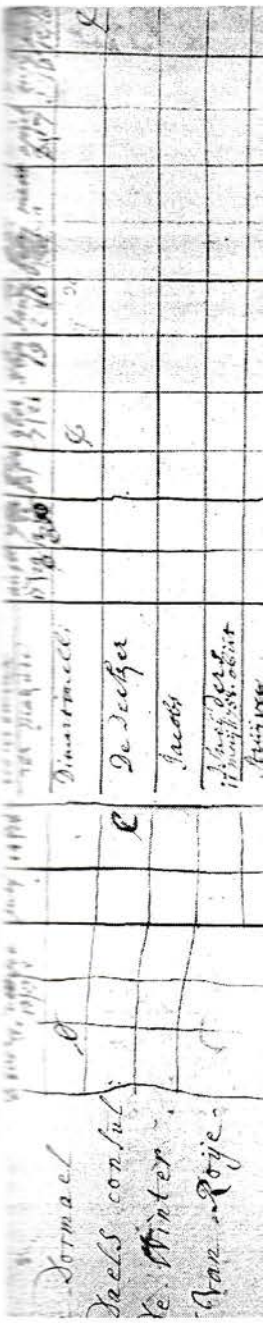


Figure 2. 1757: Table o

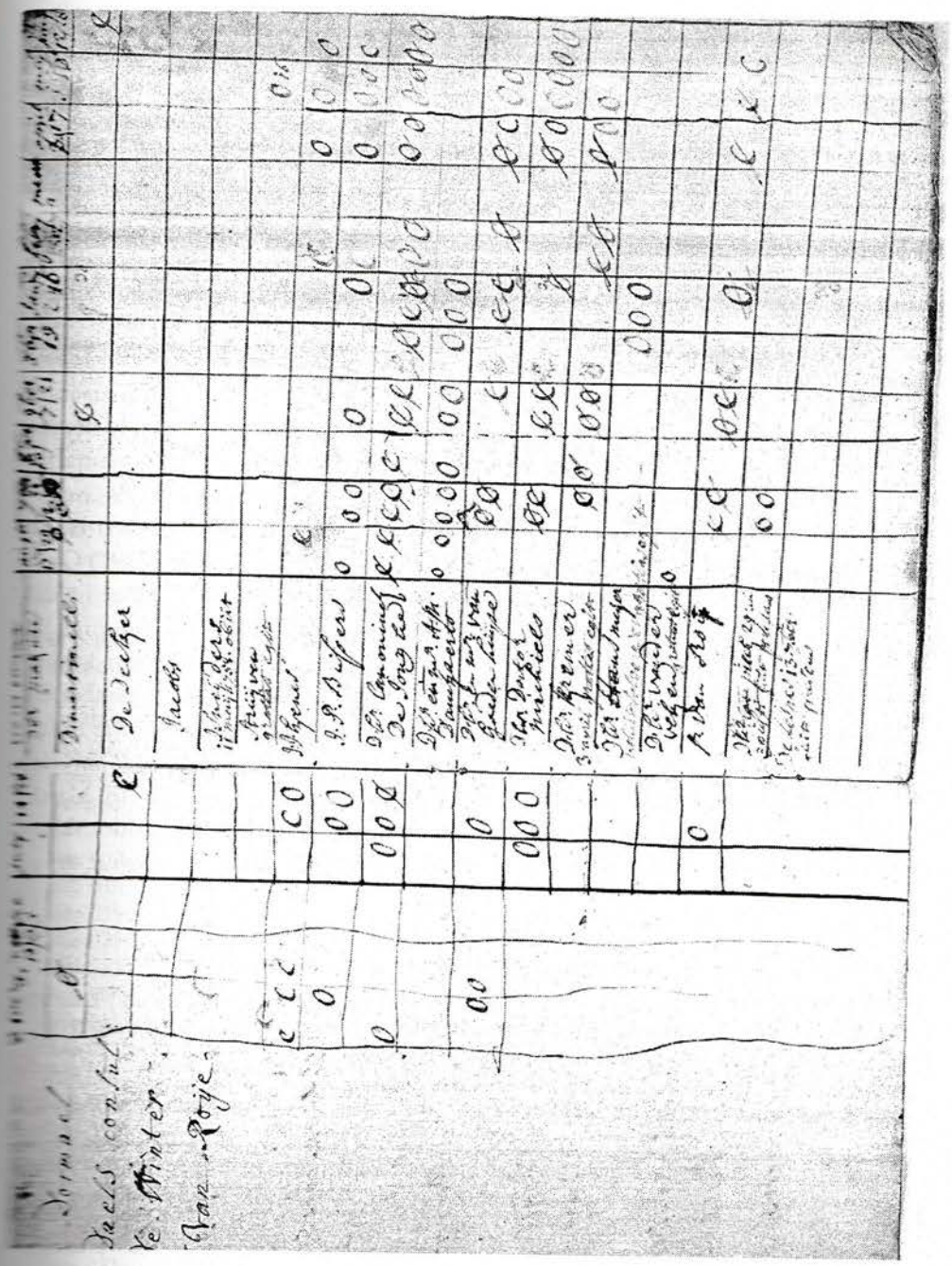


Figure 2. 1757: Table of attendance by the members of the *Concert volontairelijck* (LU, P 260)

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who on 26 October 1757
ter Johannes Baptista De
and *Date Melos*, both by

passed into the hands of
in St.Sulpitius, but most
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See E. SCHREURS, *Alphonse*
npublished licentiate's thesis,
Muziekleven en muzikanten, p. 87.

After the presumable dismissal of Paulus Serigiers, Guillelmus Carolus Di Martinelli was appointed *zangmeester* on 14 September 1720.[91] The duties of the Diest *zangmeester* are known thanks to the terms of employment of Franciscus Procureur (Annex 2).[92] Thus it appears that this *zangmeester*, as in other collegiate churches in the Low Countries, was responsible for the instruction (plainchant and polyphony) of the choirboys during an hour and a half in both morning and afternoon. On sundays and feast days he had to perform polyphonic music with the choirboys. In addition, the *zangmeester* had to give musical instruction to all *borgherskinderen... voor een civilen prijs* [children of the citizens for a reasonable price]. A *zangmeester's* average base salary from the city amounted in the eighteenth century to 280 to 300 florins per year.[93]

After Guillelmus' death on 8 September 1728 the city Diest advertised in *de gazette van Antwerpen* a vacancy of a *zangmeester* (Annexes 6, 7).[94] Possibly because the position of *zangmeester* had to be combined with that of schoolmaster no applications were received. The city therefore decided, on 25 March 1729, to separate the two offices. In the meantime, however, the son Antonius Di Martinelli acted as *zangmeester* ad interim from 17 September 1728 to 31 May 1729.[95] On 1 July 1729 Adrianus De Landtsheer took up the post of *zangmeester*.[96] Since he did not play an instrument, the post of violin teacher was entrusted to Antonius Di Martinelli, at an annual salary of 60 florins. Adrianus De Landtsheer served more than six years, until 4 September 1735, and was succeeded on 5 September by Johannes Baptista (De) Mazur(e),[97] whose association with St. Sulpitius was to last until 1785. De Mazure was in turn succeeded by J[ohannes] B[aptista] Van der Vliet, who probably served until the Revolution.[98] Remarkably, on 15 March 1786 an audition was held for a new *zangmeester*. In the jury were, besides aldermen of Diest, two external experts: Willem Gommaar Kennis, *zangmeester* of

[91] DSA, Stad 9, Resolutieboek, p. 15: *op 14 september 1720 is* [name entered afterwards] *Carol. Di Martinelli aengenomen als sanghmeester op conditien staende in het tweede roodtboeck in fine folio 290.*

[92] DSA, Stad, 8, ff. 20v-21r.

[93] See e.g. DSA, Stad, 426, anno 1733/1734. See also Annex 2.

[94] DSA, Stad, 9, pp. 100-104.

[95] DSA, Stad, 416, city accounts 1728/1729, fol. 236v: *volgens resolutie van heeren wethauderen van 17 septembris 1728 staende int 2e boeck inter agenda fol. 90 is Ant. Di Martinelli bij provisie ende tot wederroepens gecommitteert tot de directie van het musieck aen een pistoel per maend.*

[96] DSA, Stad, 416, p. 236: *Nu Ad: de Landtsheer aengestelt by weth ende raedt den 14 may, beginnende syn residentie 1 junii 1729 op de gagie van hondert pattacons.* According to DSA, 9, p. 104 he was born in *Baestrode* (presumably Baasrode near Dendermonde).

[97] DSA, Stad, 428, p. 196.

[98] DSA, Stad, 11, resolutieboek 1784-1795, fol. 7v-8v. The later city accounts do not mention the name of the *zangmeester*. 1793: *l'instituteur de la Musique.* 1794: *den sanghmeester sjaers 9 april: 280 fl.* DSA, Stad, 537.

St.Peter's in Leuven and a certain Hahn, also from Leuven. The jury decided that two candidates met the requirements (*de ervaerenste ende de vaste inde wetenschap van het musiq*) of the *zangmeester*ship: Andreas Beckers (*zangmeester* at Sint-Truiden) and Cornelius Josephus Vekemans of Ghent.[99] Some aldermen even ranked Beckers above Vekemans. But a part of the council found that the serving *zangmeester* Jan Baptist Vervliet [sic] also had to be given the opportunity to apply, and from the fact that the city accounts show that he remained on the payroll we can deduce that no change was made. The name Van der Vliet is also found on a number of late eighteenth– early nineteenth-century music scores in the archive of St.Sulpitius, which confirms that this *zangmeester* remained in service.[100]

Organist

Another important position in the musical life of St.Sulpitius was that of organist. In the eighteenth century the city paid the organist 150, and from 1769/70 even 175, florins per year. During the time the Di Martinellis were in Diest, seven

[99] In connection with the St. Truiden *zangmeester*, who was active in the collegiate church of Our Lady in 1785-1787, see J. RUTTEN, *De cantorie of sangherije bij het kapittel van onze-Lieve-Vrouw te Sint-Truiden (1451 – 1797)*, in *Historische bijdragen opgedragen aan Pater Archangelus Houbaert o.f.m.*, St.-Truiden, 1980, p. 197.

[100] The following works in the music archive of St.Sulpitius in Diest bear the inscription (sometimes crossed out): *ad usum J.B. Van der Vliet* (the number is that of the inventory compiled by Katrien Steelandt, herewith gratefully acknowledged).

Sulp 002	Anfossi, Pasquale	*[Pange Lingua]*
Sulp 016	Anon.	*Domine ad adjuvandum*
Sulp 019	Anon.	*Gens devota conclamata*
Sulp 025	Anon.	*O Salutaris hostia*
Sulp 033	Anon.	*Salve regina*
Sulp 034	Anon.	*Salve regina*
Sulp 035	Anon.	*Sanctum et terribile*
Sulp 038	Anon.	*Tantum ergo*
Sulp 045	Botson	*Sanctum et terribile*
Sulp 048	Cherubini, Luigi	*[Dixit Dominus]*
Sulp 052	Cimarosa, Domenico	*Pange Lingua*
Sulp 053	Dreyer, Johann Melchior	*Gloria Patri*
Sulp 064	Kobrich, Joannes	Litany
Sulp 073	Krafft, François	*Missa 5ta 1796*
Sulp 078	Krafft, François	*Salve Regina*
Sulp 083	Lustrini, Bartolomeo	*Laudate pueri*
Sulp 087	Paisiello, Giovanni	*[Tibi cor meam]*
Sulp 098	Sacchini, Antonio	*[Ave Maria]*
Sulp 105	Van Ham	*Missa*
Sulp 118	Collective mss	*Tantum ergo (4) – Ave Maria (4)*

organists worked in St.Sulpitius: Martinus Zereso (1671/72–1716/17, possibly the composer of the short unison melody Marlotte which appears in one of the four music booklets in the Di Martinelli archive);[101] Job Vaes (1717/18–1722/23); Christianus Jacobs sr. (1723/24–1743/44); Christianus Jacobs jr. (1744/45–1762/63);[102] Johannes Franciscus De Decker (26/9/1762–1769); Johannes Thomas De Lespes (19/6/1769–1/10/1780, also a member of the *Concert volontairelijck* and son-in-law of the carillonneur/organist Johannes Franciscus De Decker); and finally Johannes Franciscus De Decker again (1/10/1780–after 1791/1792). The latter is the author of an organ manuscript, which he compiled in his capacity of organist of the nearby Cistercian convent of Rotem near Halen for the church there. The manuscript, which contains rather simple organ pieces, somehow passed into the Di Martinelli collection.[103]

First Violinist and Violin Teacher

The third-ranking figure in the musical life of Diest was the first violinist, who also served as violin teacher. Again the city paid the salary of this church musician.[104] As already noted, this position was held for a long time (from 1695 to the French Revolution) by members of the Di Martinelli family: Guillelmus Carolus for a while combined the job with that of schoolmaster; later his son Antonius became violin teacher and violinist of St.Sulpitius, and he was succeeded by his son Joahnnes Antonius. No other violinists were directly paid by the city, though it did support the *Concert volontairelijck*, which numbered many musicians (See above).

Carilloneur

The soundscape of a mid-size city like Diest would not be complete without a carillon. In 1671 the tower of St.Sulpitius contained thirty two bells, cast by the well-known Dutch bell-founder Pieter Hemony.[105] The carillon was enlarged

[101] See facsimile by HUYBENS and SCHREURS, *T'Haegelant*, p. 131.

[102] An organist N. Jacobs was also a painter. He decorated the front of the new city hall. With thanks to Mr. Robert Van De Ven, archivist of the city of Diest, for this information.

[103] LU, P 206, no. 53: *Voor d'orgel van Rotthem. 1787.*

[104] At St. Gummarus in Lier the situation was comparable. There was a position of city trumpetter, but after a while he was replaced by a first violinist. See T'SEYEN, *Het muziekleven*, pp. 16-17.

[105] J. ROTTIERS, *Beiaarden in België*, Mechelen, 1952, pp. 173-174.

with five more bells by Andreas Josephus Van den Gheyn in November 1760.[106] The successive carillonneurs at St.Sulpitius in the eighteenth century were: Christianus Jacobs (before 28/8/1677 - before 14/7/1714), Gerardus Cuppens (14/7/1714-1728/1729), Johannes Josephus De Decker (19/7/1729-17/6/1769)[107] and Johannes Franciscus De Decker (19/6/1769 - after 1791/1792). In a document of 19 June 1769, based on an older agreement, the duties of the new carillonneur Johannes Josephus De Decker are summed up.[108] This document shows, among other things, that the carillonneur also played a part in the performance of church music, since he was involved as a bass player. The salary of this musician was quite high, amounting to 280 florins per year on the part of the city. The carillonneur was also responsible for the changing of the melodies of the automatic mechanism. One of the few attestations hereof is a *Boureé opt spel 12 februarij 1753*, which is included in the last of the four violin booklets (no. 49) in the Di Martinelli archive.[109]

Of course still other musicians (for example, at least four choirboys, two vicars) were involved in the performances of the music preserved in the Di Martinelli collection and in the St.Sulpitius archive. The sometimes extensive scoring on some occasions certainly called for a fairly large ensemble, probably supplemented with free-lance musicians. As already said, the *Concert volontairelijck* undoubtedly played a crucial role in the performance of this music. Further research will surely shed more light on the concrete organization of this musical activity, but the above enumeration already provides a summary overview of the protagonists who defined the musical life of Diest.

CONCLUSION

The Di Martinelli family to a considerable extent determined musical life in Diest in the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century. Several members of this Italian musical dynasty were active there as musicians. Among them we encounter at least two composers, of whom Guillelmus Carolus was undeniable the most important. A substantial part of the music performed in Diest is known

[106] G. HUYBENS, *Beiaarden en torens in België*, 1994, p. 92-93. With regard to carillons and bells, wich includes often the situation in Diest see most recently the article by E. SCHREURS, *Burney's Travelogue and the Staten van goederen: Echoes of a Flourishing Bell and Carillon Culture in Collegiate Churches in Flanders (1772-1787)*, in *Proceedings of the 11th World Carillon Congress. August 9-13, 1998*, ed. L. ROMBOUTS, Mechelen - Leuven, 2000, pp. 43-55.

[107] For a brief autobiography, see Annex 9.

[108] SCHREURS, *Burney's Travelogue*, pp. 43-55.

[109] HUYBENS and SCHREURS, *T'Haegelant*, 1995, p. 131.

through the unique music collection which was partly assembled by members of the Di Martinelli family and passed on, with considerable dedication, from generation to generation. The emergence of such an extensive yet until recently virtually unknown music collection is a unique find for the Low Countries. The collection reflects to a certain extent the personal and professional interests of the Di Martinellis, who were primarily violinists (note the presence of late seventeenth-century violin literature otherwise unknown in the Southern Netherlands, instrumental ensemble music of a fairly high level, and the four didactic violin booklets from the mid-eighteenth century). It is furthermore clear that this collection must also be linked to the music library of the (once collegiate) church of St. Sulpitius, to the music of the organists and carillonneurs who worked there, as well as to the collection of the *Concert volontairelijck*.

It is to be hoped that in the future more such music collections will be saved from oblivion, so that we can develop a more nuanced picture of musical life in the Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of which we in fact know too little.

ANNEX 1: 1695, 8 MAY. APPOINTMENT OF GUILLELMUS CAROLUS DI MARTINELLI AS RECTOR AND VIOLIN TEACHER
DSA, stad, 7, Resoluties, fol. 147v)

Opden 8. meij 1695 is mr. Guilielmus Carolus Di Martinelli bij pluraliteijt van voisen bij weth ende raedt gecosen tot rector vande scholen, om het selve voor den tijdt van drij iaeren te bedienen, naer welcken tijdt, die van weth ende raedt van iaer tot iaer hen opsegghen sullen hebben, op conditie dat den voorss. mr. Martinelli twee coralen sal leeren spelen opde violonce, ende voorts op de conditien, waer op die mrs. van Erp en Borrekens sijn aengenomen, ende andere noch naerder op te stellen, ende in cas die stadt, het rectorschap quame te separeren van het sanghmeesterschap, oft eenen assistent te stellen, sal die gagie van het recorschap vermindert worden ter somme van vijffentwintich pattacons.

ANNEX 2: 1715, 19 FEBRUARY. TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT AS ZANGMEESTER OF FRANCISCUS PROCUREUR
(DSA, stad, 8, Resoluties, ff. 20v-21)

Sanghmeester deser stadt.
Conditien ende voorwaerden waer op Sr. Franc. Const. Procureur bij Weth ende Raedt is aengenomen om te wesen sanghmeester deser stadt op 19 feb: 1715.[110]

1. *In den eersten den voorss. sanghmeester wort aengenomen voor eenen termijn van drij jaeren naestcomende, waer van het ierste jaer zal ingaen prima martij 1715 ende het derde verschijnen prima martij 1718 welcken termijn dese voorss. sanghmeester zal schuldigh wesen te hauden ende voldoen, ten waere des-selffs vader ondertusschen quaeme te sterven, oft anderssints incapabel wierde om het sanghmeesterschap, d'welcke hij tot Antwerpen heeft te comen bedienen, in welcken gevalle hij dit zal moghen quitteren, maer anderssints niet en willende naer desen termijn veranderen zal hij verobligeert zijn t'selven ses wekens te vorens behoorlijck op te segghen.*

[110] Added: *vide den volgende resolutieboeck fol. 104, ende het groot pampiersboeck fol 301.*

2. *Dat hem jaerlijcx voor eene gage, zal betaelt worden die somme van drijhondert guldens courant.*
3. *Dat die voorss. gage gedurende den voorss. termijn aenden voornoemde sanghmeester precisel. zal betaelt worden van 3 tot 3 maenden, oft van halven tot heelen iaere.*
4. *Dat hij zal gehauden zijn te hebben vier choraelen, ende om deselve te vinden soo zal hij schuldigh wesen allcom-men op te soecken de bequaemste jonghelinghen (: de borghers kinderen altijt gaende voor vremden :) ende dan de selve te presenteren aende magistraet, om bij haer genomineert ende aengestelt te worden, zullende d'anders, oft momboirs daer van oock alvorens schuldich zijn, de selve kinderen ten dienste vande kercke t'obligeren den termijn van seven jaeren, sonder vande selven dienste te moghen affwijcken in eenigher manieren, ende in cas iemant vande choralen voor den voorss. termijn t'selve choraelschap quaeme te quiteren sonder consent vande magistraet, soo zullen desselffs anders oft momboirs den sanghmeester zijne moeijte betalen ter arbitragie vande magistraet.*
5. *Dat hij de selve 4 jongelinghen zal moeten instrueren int' musieck ende in cantu Gregoriano, ten diensten vande voorss. kercke sonder cost vande stadt, ende sonder cost vande jonghers.*
6. *Dat hij zal schuldich zijn, soo haest eenen vande voorss. jongelinghen affgaet, ofte muteert, eenen anderen op te soecken ende te presenteren als boven, om in plaetse vande affgaenden te succederen onder conditien, ende obligatien als voor.*
7. *Dat den voors. sanghmeester boven het gene voorschreven is, alnoch zal genieten exemptie van alle borgelijcke lasten, te weten accijns vrije, soldaet vrije, wacht vrije, behandel. in extra-ordinarisse overlasten.*
8. *Dat hij de voorss. choraelen daghel. zal leeren minsten ander halff ure s'morghens ende ander halff ure naer noen.*
9. *Dat hij mette selve des sondaeghs ende s' heijlighdaeghs de heren zal assisteren inden choordienst ende vesperen, ende oock altijt moeten compareren ende de heren canonicken helpen singhen de mettenen, alswanneer deselve op de feestdaghen in den choor geshongen worden, ende oock in alle processien soo ordinaire als extraordinaire.*
10. *Dat hij alle sondaghen ende H: daghen het musieck zal moeten assisteren met zijn choraelen sonder cost vande stadt, ent selve besorghen ende dirigeren naer behooren, ende dat hij voorts op ordre vande magistraet, oock altijt zal gewillich ende gedienstich wesen, in allen extraordinairen dienst vant musieck.*
11. *Dat hij de borgherskinderen, die musieck willen leeren, zal gehauden sijn daer inne te instrueren, voor een civilen prijs, ter arbitragie vande magistraet.*
12. *Dat den voors. sanghmeester sal trecken ende genieten de proufijten van lijcken, missen, processien ende andere, gelijck zijn voorsaeten dat genoten hebben, mits wel dienende, ende heve alleene regulerende naer behooren.*
13. *Desgel. bij zoo vere men van stadtsweghe ten eijnde van voorss. termijn saude willen veranderen van sanghmeester, zoo zullen die borgemeesters van dijen tijt schuldich zijn, t'selve te doen aensegghen oock 6 weken te vorens, en saude den voorss. sanghmeester bij faute van dijen, vermoghen te blijven continueren eenen naerderen termijn als boven salvo ubique een misdienen.*
14. *Ende finaliter soo sal den voorss. sanghmeester zijn choraelen hebben te leeren in alle sedigheijt ende goede manieren ende daer toe schuldich zijn te contribueren, soo binnen als buijten de kercke.*

[In the margins, fol. 20v:]
Memorie: Sr. Paulus Serigiers is op 15 meert 1719 aengenomen bij Weth ende Raedt naer doode van F: Procureur tot sanghmeester voor den tijt van drije jaeren et acceptavit op 31 martij 1719 op de volg. conditien: followed by the above document].

ANNEX 3: 29 OCTOBER 1719. CERTIFICATE OF GOOD MORAL CONDUCT, PROVIDED BY THE BAILIFF [BROSSAARD] OF HOOGSTRATEN FOR ANTONIUS DI MARTINELLI
(LU, P 260)

Ick ondergeteekenden als bedienende het drosaerts amt van Hoogstraeten dat Anthonius Di Martinelli gebortigh van s'Gravenhage in dese vryheyt sigh heeft onthouden, ontrent ander half jaer ten huijse van de wedue

Roenaldus van den Elsacker gewesenen schoolmeester alhier binnen welcken tijdt hij sr. di Martenelli in dese vryheidt sigh heeft gecomponteert als een man met eeren behoort te doen, soo dat op syn comportement maniere van leven, niets tot naerdeels synder reputatie en kan geseydt worden, dan contrarie allen lof die aen een eerlyck man soude konnen toegeschreven worden, tot welck altydt bereydt ben onder eede te verclaeren ende met myn cachet gecassetteert desen 29 octobris 1719. [sign.] J. Gansacker

ANNEX 4: 29 DECEMBER 1719. CERTIFICATE OF GOOD MORAL CONDUCT, PROVIDED BY THE CHAPTER OF HOOGSTRATEN FOR ANTONIUS DI MARTINELLI
(LU, P 260)

Nos decanus et capitulum ecclesiae collegiatae divae Catharinae Hooghstrati omnibus has visuris salutem in Domino cum Antonius Di Martinelli a nobis petierit testimonium vitae et morum, nos ejus desiderio benigne annuentes: attestamur et fidem facimus praefatum Antonium Di Martinelli honestissimae esse vitae, et conversationis atque toto residentia suae tempore in hoc nostro municipio (anni scilicet et dimidij) talem se gessisse qualem honestum ac probum virum decet. Denique eo tempore maximum ecclesiae nostrae (et hoc gratis) prestitisse obsequium, in quorum fidem haec per actuarium nostrum subsignari et sigillo capituli nostri minore muniri curavimus datum Hooghstrati die 29 decembris 1719 [sign.] C. Antonius Valckenaeer Actuarius Capituli.

ANNEX 5: 30 DECEMBER 1730. CERTIFICATE OF GOOD MORAL CONDUCT, PROVIDED BY THE BAILIFF [SCHOUT], MAYOR, ALDERMEN AND JURORS OF HOOGSTRATEN FOR ANTONIUS DI MARTINELLI
(LU, P 260)

Wij bediender van t' schoutethsampt, borgemeester, schepenen ende gesworens der vryheydt Hooghstraeten, certificeren voor de gerechtige waerheijt op den eede onser respective ampten gedaen waerachtigh te sijn dat sekeren Sr. Anthonius Di Martinelli (geboortigh van s'Gravenhaghe soo hij is voorgevende) sich in onse vryheyt heeft onthouden nu omtrent anderhalf jaer ende dat ten huyse van de weduwe Roelandus van den Elsacker onsen gewesenen scholmeester, geduerende welcken tijdt hij sr. di Martinelli sich in dese vrijheyt heeft gecomporteert gelijck een man met eere schuldigh ende gehouden is te doen, dat op syn comportement ende conduitte van leven allhier in onse vryheyt gedraeghen, niets tot naerdeel synder eere ofte reputatie en kan geseght worden, maer ter contrarie alle lof den welcken men aen een eerelcyk man, soude konnen toeschrijven, ende want het Goddelcyk ende redelyck is der waerhydt getuijgenisse te geven, insonderheijt des aensoght sijnde, soo hebben wy dese geirne in faveur van justitie verleent, ende door onsen gesworen secretaris laeten schryven, ende uyt onse namen onderteekenen. Actum Hooghstraten desen 30.en december 1719. Ter ordonnantie van de selve [sign.] G. Schuermans

ANNEX 6: 1728, 31 OCTOBER. ACT CONCERNING THE OFFICES OF *ZANGMEESTER* AND OF SCHOOLMASTER
(DSA, stad, 9, Resoluties, p. 100)

Ten opsichte vande sanghmeester ende schoolmeester. Vid. Infra fol. 103.

Op 31 october 1728 weth ende readt collegialister vergadert sijnde, ende voorgedraghen, dat mits de doodt van Carolus … di Martinelli gewesene sanghmeester, het wel noodich was naer aenen anderen te stellen, ende gemerckt dat twintich jaeren ende achterwaerts is geplagh geweest, dat de sanghmeesters tsamen tschoolmeesterschap deser stadt hebben bedient tot het leren lezen en schrijven vande jonckheijdt ende soo voorts, soo is voorgedraghen oft het niet geraedtsaem en saude wesen de selve voer wederom in te volghen, ende dat men ten dyen eijnde sal laten stellen in d'Antwerpsche gazette, dat het sanghmeesterschap vaceert als oock het schoolmeesterschap, om hij eenen persoon bedient te worden ende dat de ghene daer gadinghe toe hebbende sich connen addresseren aend de heeren Borghemeesters allhier, ende dat de gage sal wesen drijhondert guldens, boven het maendelijck schoolgeldt, ende accidentten van het musieck, ende andere, ende dat daeromme den teghenwoordighen schoolmeester Peeter Fievez sijne dienst van schoolmeesterschap sal opgheleght worden.

[in the margin]: op 5 november 1728 is in collegio aen Peeter Fievez schoolmeester het schoolmeesterschap opgeleght vide tamen infra fol. 105.

ANNEX 7: 1729, 25 MARCH. ACT CONCERNING THE OFFICE OF ZANGMEESTER
(DSA, stad, 9, Resoluties, p. 103)

Op 25 meert 1729 weth ende raedt collegialiter vergadert sijnde, ende voorgedraghen, hoe dat nietteghenstaende verscheijde advertentie door de gazette van Antwerpen gedaen van dat was vacerende het sanghmeesterschap deser stadt, mits dat het selve saude vergeven worden aen eenen persoon, om bij de selven gesamentlijck saude bedient worden met het schoolmeesterschap, ende met uijtdruckingh van die gagie daertoe geordonneert ingevolghe resolutie van 31 october lestleden, gedaen tot hiertoe en hadden gepresenteert, die oft bequaem tot hiertoe en hadden gepresenteert, die oft bequaem oft geneghen waeren dese twee ampten t'samen te bedienen, soo is int delibereatie gestelt, oft men het sanghmeesterschap wederom niet apart en saude geven gelijck het eenighe jaeren herwaerts gebeurt is, ende is geresolveert jae, en dat men aenden selve sal geven de gagie vande voorgaende sanghmeester a hondert patacons, ende dat men sulcx andermael bij de gazette sal publijcq oft bekent maeken.

ANNEX 8: 1734-1815. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF J. DE DECKER
(Leuven, Centrale Bibliotheek, archief, Fonds Philippen, p8/39 (oud XXII, 3)

Manuael voor J.J. De Decker 1766
Ex-libris Polydoor Daniëls and later L. Philippen.

fol. 1
Manuael voor Johannes Joseph De Decker, geboren binnen Scherpenheuvel den 16 oft 17 januari 1707. Den doopen kuijper J. Van Bategem was mijn peter, en Elisabeth van Eertrijck mijn vaders moeder was mijn meter. Mijn vader was Lucas De Decker, mijn grootvader J. De Decker, mijn overgrootvader was Lucas De Decker, mijn overovergrootvader was Hans De Decker is geweest den eersten Borgemeester van Scherpenheuvel, die oock gewerckt heeft als meester beldhouwer aen de kerck tot Scherpenheuvel.

Mijn moeder was Elisabeth Fontijn gebortig van Zichem; mijn moeders moeder was Maeijken Bernaerts, mijn moeders grootmoeder was Lijntien Peten die de erfgenaem geweest is, met Frans Vermeulen, van Oda Verdonck, weduwe van sekeren Spaenschen capitijn, dese Oda Verdonck is overleden binnen Diest in't jaer 1624 t is van dese dat de 2 parceelen goed in en onder Zichem gecomen zijn. en oock het parceel in de Biest onder Zichem dat mijn suster gevallen is in deijling.

- *1725 29 juni ben ik gaen woonen naer Tongerloo om aldaer d'orgel en den Beijaert te spelen ben aldaer gebleven tot 21 juli 1729, en gecomen naer Diest als Beijaertspelder*
- *1729 27 december geaccordeert voor mijn tafelkosten bij de paters Augustijnen voor 40 guldens 'sjaers, en hunnen orgel te spelen, en op mijnen kost in staat te stellen, en te [cancelled: doen] onderhouwen.*
- *1730 in april heeft Verbueken d'orgel uijtgenomen en gestelt heeft gekost 20 guldens. Ik heb hier aen gegeven 12 [fl.]-15 st. en de rest is gesuppleert door pater Renders als doen custos.*
- *1730 28 april ben ik verhuijst van Landsheer den sangmeester en gaan woonen bij J. B. Cordeijs in de Paeschkeers. Ik gaf jaerlijx voor 2 bovencomaers 14 guldens. maer 't 2de jaer heb ik voor de 2 camers moeten betaelen 20 guldens.*
- *1733 22 november ben ik gekosen confrater van de Leliecamer en heeft gecost ruijm 30 guldens*
- *1750 [sic] 4 juli saterdag voor kermis heb ik bedanckt de confreers van de Leliecamer en betaelt voor mijn afgaan 1 [fl.]-15 st. en 8 st. voor een van ons kinderen dat jaer overleden.*
- *1734 23 februari ben ik getrouwt met N. Gert. Franco, d'eerwaerde heer Celest. Abeloos proost heeft ons getrouwt haeren en mijnen vader waeren ons getuijgen.*
- *1734 24 februari heb ik het kremersambacht gekocht voor 12 guldens 15 st. wijngeld.*
- *1734 23 februari geaccordeert met de paters Augustijnen om hunnen orgel te spelen voor 30 guldens s'jaers. Ik heb desen orgel bedient 31 jaeren.*

ANNEX 9: 1786, 15 MARCH. SELECTION OF A NEW *ZANGMEESTER*
(DSA, stad, 11, Resoluties, ff. 7v-9)

[in the margin:] sanghmeester
Eodem 15 meert 1786 heeft den voorseyde heere audtsten borghemeester Smulders voorgehouden dat den heere G. Kennis sanghmeester van Sint Peeter tot Loven ende d'heer Hahn oock woonachtigh aldaer bij heren wethouderen deser stadt geassumeert om te examineren de persoonen hun presenterende om te becomen het vacerende sanghmeesterschap deser stad ende te oordelen over hunne bequaemheydt ende ervaerentheydt in het musiq, de selve persoonen hun daer toe gepresenteert hebbende op gisteren den vierthienden deser dagh daer toegestelt gehoort ende geexamineert hebbende in collegie van heeren wethouderen [cancelled: deser stadt] hadden verclaert, dat sij de ervarenste ende de vaste inde wetenschap van het musiq hadden bevonden Andreas Beckers sangmeester tot Sint Truiden ende [cancelled: Joannes] Cornelius Josephus Vekemans van Gendt, dat hij daer omme ende ingevolghe de resolutie van heer en wethouderen voorn. op het verclaeren vande voors. examinateurs op gisteren genomen, inden keus stelde de selve twee persoonen Andreas Beckers, ende Cornelius Josephus Vekemans om uijt hun twee eenen tot sanghmeester deser stadt verkosen te worden, waerop den voors. heere borgemeester Smeulders beneffens de heeren schepenen Daels, Troosters, Copal, Tielemans ende Wathiu, ende Joannes van Otterbeeck eenen van de thienmannen van den Raedt voortgegaan hebbende tot den keus, soo is bij meerderheijdt van voisen den voors. Andreas Beckers gecosen tot sanghmeester deser stadt hebbende dhr. Cremer tweeden borgemeester, d. heeren schepenen Marcelis en Cantillion, ende de volgende mannen vanden raedt Paulus Van Lombeeck, Egidius Libens, Petrus Van Loffelt, Benedictus Daels, Caspar Libret, Joannes Dissemans, Francis Theunis, Francis Theodoir Rampen ende Rumoldus van Buscom, ghewijgert tot keus over de twee voorgestelde persoonen te comen oft te procederen op pretext dat sy, niettegenstaende het ghedaen verclaeren vande voors. examinateurs, pretendaerden dat oock in den keus moeste gestelt worden selveren Jan Baptist [cancelled: vander] Vervliet, bij de selve examinateurs beneffens meer andere oock gehoort ende geexamineert, alhoewel met het verclaeren derselve examinateurs van dat Andreas Beckers en Cornelius Josephus Vekemans de ervaerenste ende de vaste in het musiq waeren genoeghsaem achter hun gestelt, ende pretenderende eventwel tot het doen van eenen anderen keus onder hun over te gaen.

ANNEX 10: LIST OF THE *ZANGMEESTERS*, ORGANISTS AND CARILLONNEURS (END SEVENTEENTH- END EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY)

Zangmeesters:

Gommarus Truijts	1695 - 1700
Petrus Philippen	12/1701 - 8/6/1702
Johannes Baptista Peeters	1701 - 1714/15
Franciscus Procureur	1715/16 - 1718/19
Paulus Serigiers	1719/20
Guillelmus Carolus di Martinelli	14/9/1720 - 9/7/1728
Antonius Di Martinelli	17/9/1728 - 31/5/1729
Adrianus De Landtsheer	1/6/1729 - 15/6/1735
Johannes Baptista (De) Mazur(e)	15/6/1735 - 1785/86
Johannes Baptista Van Der Vliet	1786/87 - after 1791/92

Organists

Martinus Zereso	1671/72 - 1716/17
Job Vaes	1717/18 - 1722/23
Christianus Jacobs	1723/24 - 1743/44
Christianus Jacobs jr. (son)	1744/45 - 1762/63 (+)

Johannes Franciscus De Decker	26/9/1762 - 1769
Johannes Thomas De Lespes	19/6/1769 - 1/10/1780
[Johannes] Fransciscus De Decker	1/10/1780 - after 1791/92

Carillonneurs

Christianus Jacobs	before 28/8/1677 - 14/7/1714
Gerardus Cuppens	14/7/1714 - 1718/1729
Johannes Josephus De Decker	19/7/1729 - 17/6/1769 (+)
Johannes Franciscus De Decker	19/6/1769 - after 1791/92 (also organist from 1780)

Aantekeningen over de 18de-eeuwse muzikantenfamilie Di Martinelli te Leuven

Gilbert Huybens
Leuven

Leuven wordt in de 18de eeuw muzikaal beheerst door drie figuren die in de nationale muziekgeschiedenis een niet onbelangrijke plaats bekleden. Dieudonné Raick (Luik, 1703 - Antwerpen, 1764), licentiaat in de Beide Rechten en van 1726 tot 1741 organist van de Sint-Pieterskerk, schrijft er zijn eerste van drie klavecimbelboeken.[1] Matthias Vanden Gheyn (Tienen, 1721 - Leuven, 1785) volgt Raick op als organist (1741-1785) en is tevens stadsbeiaardier (1745-1785). Vanuit die functies componeert hij orgel-, klavecimbel- en beiaardmuziek die in druk verschijnt – één bundel zelfs te Londen – of in handschrift wordt bewaard.[2] De regels van de harmonie en de compositie legt hij vast in twee verhandelingen: *Fondements de la basse continue* (Leuven, M. Wijberechts ca. 1761) met twaalf korte maar charmante vioolsonates, en *Fondamentele regels van den basse continue ende de compositie*, een handschrift uit 1783.[3] Willem - Gommaar Kennis (Lier, 1717 - Leuven, 1789) ten slotte was van 1750 tot aan zijn dood kapelmeester van de Sint-Pieterskerk en is vooral 'berucht' als violist en voor zijn vioolcomposities (twaalf opusnummers) die met succes onder meer te Parijs en te Londen worden uitgegeven.[4] Hij zou de bezitter zijn geweest van het muziektraktaat *Harmonie mise en pratique* van de Luikse componist Henri Moreau.[5]

Deze drie componisten hadden vóór hun komst naar Leuven geen enkele band met de stad: Raick studeert er aan de universiteit en verwerft (als geestelijke) een organistenambt; Vanden Gheyn komt in 1726 met zijn familie in Leuven wonen nadat zijn vader, eind maart 1725, met de stad een contract had afgesloten in verband met de levering van een nieuwe stadsbeiaard[6] en Kennis ziet wellicht

[1] G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse jaren van componist Dieudonné Raick*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 11 (1994), pp. 112-115.

[2] G. HUYBENS & L. ROMBOUTS, *Over ridder Xavier van Elewyck. Nieuwe bevindingen betreffende een recente musicologische vondst*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 7 (1990), p. 80-82 (werklijst); G. HUYBENS en L. ROMBOUTS, *Preludia voor Beiaard/Preludes for Carillon, (Monumenta Flandriae Musica*, ed. E. SCHREURS, 2), Leuven - Peer, 1997.

[3] *Suid met klank*, (ed. G. HUYBENS), tentoonstellingscatalogus, Leuven, 1990, p. 80 (nr. 56).

[4] G. HUYBENS ed., Willem-Gommaar Kennis (*Lier, 1717 – Leuven, 1789), leven en werk. Zijn muzikale betekenis in de 18de eeuw; Arca Lovaniensis*, 10/b (1981).

[5] P. BERGMANS, *Variétés musicologiques. Documents inédits ou peu connus sur l'histoire de la musique et des musiciens en Belgique*, in *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, 53 (5de reeks, deel 3), 1901, p. 53.

[6] G. HUYBENS, *Van Elewyck en zijn twee transcripties van de beiaardwerken van Matthias Vanden Gheyn*, in *Klok en Klepel*, 50 (juni 1993), pp. 47-57.

meer voordeel in zijn kapelmeesterschap te Leuven dan te Lier, hetgeen zijn carrière als violist-componist ten goede zal komen. Maar Leuven had ook nog andere, zij het minder bekende, musici waarvan een aantal elders hun muzikaal geluk zijn gaan zoeken. De meesten onder hen waren opgegroeid in een muziek-systeem dat vooral vanuit kerkelijke instellingen, met name de kapittelscholen, eeuwenlang in stand was gehouden. Met de Franse bezetting – de Zuidelijke Nederlanden werden op 1 oktober 1795 bij Frankrijk ingelijfd – ging onder meer door de opheffing van de eredienst, de sluiting van de kerken en de boedelverkoop (orgels, muziekinstrumenten en -bibliotheken) de continuïteit van dit muziekonderwijssysteem grotendeels verloren.[7]

Zoals Raick, Vanden Gheyn en Kennis zich als 'muzikaal immigrant' te Leuven waarmaakten, zo ook konden een aantal leden van een tak uit de Diesterse Di Martinelli-familie, die al vanaf het begin van de 18de eeuw in de Dijlestad was gevestigd, zich laten opmerken. Hoewel 'begaan' met de muziek hebben ze nooit een officiële functie als zangmeester, organist, beiaardier of stadsspeelman bekleed. Enkele figuren fungeren als zanger of instrumentalist aan een of andere Leuvense kerk, anderen zijn muzikaal bedrijvig tijdens de Franse bezetting.

Toen de Sint-Michielskerk in de Naamsestraat op 19 januari 1795 als *Tempel van de Rede* werd ingericht, meldde de Leuvense kroniekschrijver Jean-Baptiste Hous (Leuven, 1756 - 1830): ... *in den tempel waeren alle de musicanten van de stadt en de groote klock moest luyden en den byaert spelen onder het geduerig geroep vivat de republiek, men segt dat sy in den tempel gedanst hebben hand aen hand...*[8] Jean-Baptiste Lameere (Brugge, 1790 - Leuven, 1863), die in zijn 'dagboek' de tekst van zijn schoonvader Hous bijna letterlijk overneemt, vervolledigt: ... *met een woord het was eene opregte patriotieke feest.*[9] Tijdens deze opening treedt een ensemble op bestaande uit 1 fluit, 4 klarinetten, 2 bassons, 1 serpent, 2 (wald)hoorns en 1 tamboer.[10] Twee Di Martinellis zijn hierbij aanwezig, de ene als klarinettist, de andere als bespeler van de serpent, een archaïsch blaasinstrument in S-vorm, dat sedert de 17de eeuw in vele kerken het gregoriaans begeleidde. Een tiental dagen later treedt in diezelfde *Tempel van de Rede* een ensemble op dat samengesteld is uit 4 violen, 3 klarinetten, 2 (wald)hoorns, 1 trompet en opnieuw de serpent die door

[7] G. HUYBENS, *Muziek in de Sint-Pieterskerk te Leuven (1795–1815). Een poging tot reconstructie*, in *Laus Deo – Pax vivis. Het muziekleven aan de Vlaamse kapittelkerken en kathedralen tot ca. 1800*, ed. I. DE LOOS, M. MONTEYNE, E. SCHREURS, tentoonstellingscatalogus, Brussel, 1998, pp. 91-96.

[8] J.B. HOUS, *Leuvense kroniek (1780-1829)*, ed. J. DE KEMPENEER & C. TERLINDEN, Tienen, 1991, p. 21.

[9] J.B. LAMEERE, *Aenteekeningen van merkweerdige geschiedenissen voorgevallen binnen Loven (en omliggende), 1784–1835. Jubileumuitgave 1961 – 1986 van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring voor Leuven en Omgeving*, Leuven, 1986, pp. 23-24.

[10] SAL (Stadsarchief Leuven), Cuv. 10717.

een Di Martinelli wordt bespeeld. Op 29 januari 1798 stappen 6 Di Martinellis op in een stoet ter ere van het *Fête solemnelle de la Paix*. De bezetting is: 1 fluit, 5 klarinetten (waarvan 3 bespeeld door Jean en Jacques Di Martinelli en een Di Martinelli 'fils'), 2 (wald)hoorns (waarvan 1 door Di Martinelli 'père'), 1 serpent, 3 trompetten, slagwerk bestaande uit timbalen, grote en kleine trom, bekkens (waarvan 2 Di Martinellis de ene *minimus* de andere *minor*), en 2 violen. Alles bij mekaar 18 instrumentalisten en 1 dirigent. Het programma is niet bekend.[11]

Twee Di Martinellis zijn voor die periode een vermelding waard: Adrien (Leuven, 1750-1828) en zijn zoon Pierre (Leuven, 1773-1814). In 1797-1798 richten zij zich tot het Leuvens stadsbestuur met de vraag een dansschool op te starten. Pierre (brief december 1797) argumenteert: ... *musicien de profession expose qu'ayant toujours donné répitition de musique, sa pratique, qui consistoit principalement dans les etudiants en droits, medecine &c, c'est venu totalement a cesser depuis la suppression de l'universite chapitres &c, que n'aÿant maintenant d'autre ressource pour se procurer la subsistance à la vie que d'établir une Ecole de danse pour la jeunesse de cette commune, que vues les circonstances et la perte reelle que les habitans de cette commune souffrent par les dites suppressions il est dans la crainte que cette nouvelle entreprise ne reussira pas assez pour par le gain de sa pratique pouvoir paÿer le loÿer d'une salle nécéssaire à la repitition de danse et comme cette commune possede une au jardin du cidevant corps des arbaletriers laquelle dans ce moment lui est d'aucune utilité et que cette sorte d'exercice a toujours merité d'être favorisée dans une république par ce qu'elle donne de l'agilité à la jeunesse, dont le bras est destiné à servir sa patrie, parce qu'elle bannit la stupidité et l'haine reciproque trop long tems prolongé dans ces malheureux paÿs, parce qu'elle établit la conversation, l'amitié, l'union, la bonne intelligence, la fraternité qui seuls peuvent prouver le bonheur de la société; il ose prendre son recours vers vous citoyens administrateurs municipaux les priant tres respectueusement d'accorder au suppliant la permission d'occuper gratuitement par provision et jusqu'a qu'il vous plaira de disposer autrement, la salle au susdit jardin, moÿennant cependant d'une juste retribution par vous a fixer, au jardin dudit jardin pour la peine et embaras que cette entreprise lui pourroit causer.*[12]

In januari 1798 beklaagt Adrien zich eveneens over het feit dat de universiteit werd opgeheven en hij geen muziekles meer kan geven aan studenten. Voor hem is een dansschool onontbeerlijk: ...*musicien de profession, expose qu'ayant toujours donné repetition de musique, sa pratique qui consistoit principalement dans les etudians en droits, medecine &c est venu totalement a cesser depuis la suppression de l'universite &c qu'étant pere de famille de cing enfans et n'ayant d'autre ressource pour se procurer la subsistance ainsi qu'a cinq enfans, il vous implore a ce que vous lui accordiez la permission d'etablir une ecole de danse a la cidevant salle de St. Sebastien moyennant de payer une*

[11] SAL, 10718 en 10729. Voor de samenstelling van deze ensembles zie: J.P. FELIX en G. HUYBENS, *Les orgues et la vie musicale à l'église Saint-Michel de Louvain*, in *Belgisch tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap/Revue belge de musicologie*, 31 (1977), pp. 102-104.

[12] SAL, Cuv. 10774.

somme annuelle de quatre couronnes au profit des enfants de la patrie. Il espère citoyens que vous aurez quelques consideration vu la perte reelle dont il souffre par cette suppression.[13]

Pierre en Adrien hadden dus een goed klienteel in de universitaire middens van de Rechten en de Geneeskunde. Pierre beschouwde de dans vooral als een 'ontspanning' voor het individu en de maatschappij; voor Adrien was het dansonderricht levensnoodzakelijk (kroost met vijf kinderen). Maar het ideaalbeeld van een dansschool en de dans in het bijzonder waar, volgens Pierre *...l'amitié, l'union, la bonne intelligence, la fraternité qui seuls peuvent procurer le bonheur de la société...* ten volle tot uiting moesten komen, zou in een 19de-eeuws Leuvens drukje worden afgedaan als *... de vriendinne van de boosheyd, een verwecsel tot de onkuysheyd, een vyandinne van d'eerbaerheyd...*[14]

Hoewel het verzoek van Adrien door het stadsbestuur goedgunstig werd onthaald[15] – de stad zag, toen ook al, een groot voordeel in de uitbating van een 'dansgelegenheid' – hebben we, geen spoor teruggevonden van de oprichting van een dansschool in het Sint-Sebastiaanshof.[16]

[14] G. HUYBENS, *Over de dans in het oude Leuven*, in *Reuzegom 50 jaar. Een kroniek*, Leuven, 1995, pp. 85-93.

[15] SAL, Cuv. 10774.

[16] Het Sint-Sebastiaanshof was gelegeven in de Handbooghof (Brusselsestraat) en was vroeger eigendom van de handbooggilde van Sint-Sebastiaan.

BIJLAGE

Deze bijlage biedt de volledige samenstelling van de Leuvense Di Martinelli-familie in de achttiende eeuw (met dank aan de Heer Raf Van der Donckt, KULeuven). Omwille van de uniformiteit werd de familienaam consequent als Di Martinelli gespeld, ook al komen in de oorspronkelijke bronnen soms varianten voor. De bronnen waaronder de geboorte-, huwelijks- en overlijdensakten die in het stadsarchief te Leuven (SAL) worden bewaard, staan tussen ronde haken. Gecursiveerde namen (B7, 8, 9; C3; E3; F; G; I) verwijzen naar plaatselijke musici die als peter of getuige optraden.[17]

A. **Guillelmus Carolus** Di Martinelli (Martinel), musicus.

Doopsel: Gent, 12 juni 1661.
Huwelijk: Den Haag, 6 augustus 1682, met **Willelmina Janseni Van Kackercken** (Van Kaekercken, Vankaberchen).
Overlijden: Diest, 8 september 1728.
Kinderen: 1. **Jacobus Guillielmus Anselmus** (zie B).

2. **Isabella**: ° Leuven, 10 mei 1702. (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11896/64); peter-meter: Germanus van Wangh (baccalaureus S. Theologiae) en Isabella Lints; + Leuven, 29 december 1703 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11905/58).

3. **Clara**: ° Leuven, 6 september 1703 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11896/66); peter-meter: rev.dom. Ignatius Augustinus Lamblé (presbyter) en dña Clara Classenus; + Leuven, 27 september 1703 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11905/58).

B. **Jacobus Guillielmus Anselmus**, musicus (1689-1757), zie A 1.

Doopsel: Den Haag, 1 juni 1689.
Huwelijk: Leuven, 9 september 1714, met **Elisabetha Van Es** (Vannes, Vanesch, Van Nes, Van Es) (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11921/35).
Elisabetha: ° Leuven, 28 januari 1681 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11826/10); + 1 januari 1739 (Sint-Pieter, SAL Cuv. 11845 A/123).
Overlijden: Leuven, 16 november 1757 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845 A/151), met vermelding *bassus musicae hujus ecclesiae.*
Kinderen: 1. **Barbara**: ° Leuven, 2 maart 1715 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11828/38); peter-meter: Guilielmus Carolus Di Martinelli en Barbara Cislée; + Leuven, 23 november 1736 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845 A/120).

2. **Ludovicus**: ° Leuven, 29 december 1716 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11828/64); peter-meter: Ludovicus Wouters en Margareta Baudewijns; + Leuven, 16 augustus 1717 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845 A/278).

3. **Joannes Franciscus** (zie C).

[17] Voor deze namen zie onder meer G. HUYBENS, *Bouwstenen voor een geschiedenis van de muziek te Leuven, 17de en 18de eeuw*, in *Jaarboek van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige kring voor Leuven en omgeving*, 21 (1918), p. 5-91.

4. **Henricus**: ° Leuven, 16 december 1720 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11828/111); peter-meter: Henricus Robijns en Maria Catharina Eijlens; + Leuven? (geen informatie).

5. **Winandus**: ° Leuven, 14 december 1721 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11828/122); peter-meter: Winandus Berns en Cornelia Borkens; + Leuven, 6 november 1729 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845/289).

6. **Christina** (Zie D).

7. **Marcus**: ° Leuven, 13 augustus 1727 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11829 A/6); peter-meter: Marcus vander Borght en Catharina Andriaens; + Leuven, 11 oktober 1727 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845/288).

8. **Petrus**: ° Leuven, 29 januari 1729 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11829 A/19); peter-meter: *Petrus de Prins* en Catharina Sergys; + Leuven 14 februari 1729 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845/289).

9. **Jacobus**: ° Leuven, 23 december 1733 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11829 A/56); peter-meter: *Jacobus van den Eijnde* en Catharina Josepha de la Nodije; + Leuven? (geen informatie).

C. Joannes [Franciscus] (1718-1795), zie B 3.

Doopsel: Leuven, 26 augustus 1718 (Sint-Michiel – SAL Cuv. 11853/326); peter-meter: doct. Joannes Franciscus Ballingen en Maria Di Martinelli.

Huwelijk: **1**. Leuven, 30 juni 1748, met **Catharina Engelborghs** (Inborgh, Ingelbert, Ingelborghs) (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11843/131). Catharina: ° Leuven? (geen informatie); + Leuven, 9 juni 1755 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845/145).

2. Leuven, 15 januari 1756, met **Maria (Elisabetha) Dehaes** (Dehaese, Dehoes) (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11843/158). Geboren in Duisburg overlijdt ze te Leuven in het Groot Gasthuis op 13 oktober 1795 (Gasthuis – SAL Cuv. 11934/53).

Overlijden: Leuven, 13 december 1795 (Gasthuis – SAL Cuv. 11934/56) en begraven op 14 december 1795 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11846/274).

Kinderen: *Eerste huwelijk*

1. **Joanna Maria**: ° Leuven, 14 april 1749 (Sint Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 A/18); peter-meter: Jacobus Di Martinelli en Joanna Maria Engelborghs; + Leuven? (geen informatie).

2. **Adrianus** (zie E).

3. **Maria Theresia**: ° Leuven, 2 januari 1753 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 A/58); peter-meter: *Petrus Huygens* en Maria Theresia de Rode.

4. **Guilielmus**: ° Leuven, 8 november 1754 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 A/80); peter-meter: Guilielmus Smeessens en Maria Francisca Di Martinelli; +

Leuven, 17 november 1754 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845/302).
5. **Zonder naam**: geboren en overleden te Leuven op 7 juni 1755 (Sint-Pieter, SAL Cuv. 11845/303).

Tweede huwelijk
6. **Anna Maria Elisabetha** (zie F).

7. **Joannes** (zie G).

8. **Anna Margareta** (zie H).

9. **Marcus Joannes** (zie I).

10. **Petrus Franciscus**: ° Leuven, 21 april 1765 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 B/135); peter-meter: Franciscus Vannes en Catharina Elisabeth Zeevaert.

11. **Arnoldus**: ° Leuven, 11 april 1767 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 B/146); peter-meter: Arnoldus Van der Hulst en Joanna Di Martinelli.

12. **Zonder naam**: geboren en overleden te Leuven op 11 maart 1770 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11926 A/90).

13. **Joannes** (zie J).

14. **Jacobus** (zie K).

D. **Christina** (1725-1782), zie B 6.

Doopsel: Leuven, 11 juni 1725 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11828/160); peter-meter: Philippus De Prins en Christina Van Nes.
Huwelijk: Leuven, 8 mei 1753, met **Joannes Franciscus Debée** (De Bé, De Bay) (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11843/145). **Joannes Franciscus:** ° Leuven, 17 augustus 1712 (Sint-Kwinten – SAL Cuv. 11875/28).
Overlijden: Leuven, 24/26 oktober 1782 (Gasthuis – SAL Cuv. 11933/36).
Kinderen: 1. **Jacobus**: ° Leuven, 1 april 1754 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 A/72); peter-meter: Jacobus Di Martinelli en Elisabeth van Roosendael; + Leuven, 16 oktober 1757 (Sint-Pieter – 11854 A/151).

2. **Joannes Baptista**: ° Leuven, 26 maart 1756 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 B/97); peter-meter: Joannes De Be en Maria van Scheepdael.

3. **Anna Maria**: ° Leuven, 15 december 1758 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 B/127); peter-meter: Alexander Maes en Anna Maria de Prins; + Leuven, 9 januari 1759 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11845/308).

E. **Adrianus**, musicus (1750-1828), zie C 2.

Doopsel: Leuven, 16 december 1750 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 A/34); peter-meter:

Adrianus Ernandus en Maria Beijne.

Huwelijk: Leuven, 26 november 1771, met **Anna Catharina Vertommen** (Vertongen) (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11921/156). **Anna Catharina**: ° Leuven, 29 december 1751 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 A/54); + Leuven, 7 juni 1813. Adrianus hertrouwt op 2 november 1815 met Anne Catherina Costermans. **Anne Catherina**: ° Leuven, 13 januari 1799.

Overlijden: Leuven, 26 april 1828 (Groot Gasthuis) wordt vermeld als muzikant. De overlijdensaangifte gebeurt door zijn zoon Petrus (zie L), *muziekonderwijzer*.

Kinderen: 1. [Anna] **Maria**: ° Leuven, 23 april 1772 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 B/171); peter-meter: Gaspar Vertommen en Maria Josepha Van Espen; + Leuven, 12 mei 1772 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11926/94).

2. **Petrus Maximilianus** (zie L).

3. **Anna Catharina**: ° Leuven, 29 september 1777 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 B/198); peter-meter: *Joannes Baptista Van der Borght* en Anna Catharina Chappel; + Leuven, 20 augustus 1783 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11926 B/134).

4. **Philippus Emmanuel**: ° Leuven, 16 december 1779 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 B/219); peter-meter: Philippus Emmanuel Claessen en Maria de Hont; + Leuven, 7/8 februari 1782 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11926 B/125).

5. **Petrus**: ° Leuven, 10 september 1782 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 B/254); peter-meter: Petrus Goemans en Maria Elisabetha Claessens; + Leuven, 21 augustus 1783 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11926/134).

6. **Maria Catharina**: ° Leuven, 31 oktober 1784 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11918 A/15); peter-meter: Guilielmus Vertommen en Maria Catharina Claessens. De geboorteakte vermeldt: *Maria Catharina Filia Adriani di Martinelli musici (sic)*.

7. **Petrus Martinus Henricus**: ° Leuven, 2 mei 1787 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11918 A/43). In de overlijdensakte van zijn zoon (1827/54) wordt Petrus Martinus *muziekmeester* genoemd.

8. **Joannes**: ° Leuven, 1 september 1790 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11918 A/83); peter-meter: Joannes Goossens en Maria Catharina Vanneck.

9. **Joannes Rumoldus**: ° Leuven, 13 november 1793 (Sint-Michiel – SAL Cuv. 11857/505); peter-meter: Joannes Rumoldus Merckx en Maria Catharina Claessens.

F. Anna Maria Elisabetha (1757-), zie C 6.

Doopsel: Leuven, 12 februari 1757 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 B/107); peter-meter: *Joannes Franciscus Huygens* en Elisabetha van Meerbeeck.

Huwelijk: Leuven, 7 januari 1793, met **Cornelius Coeck** *de Welle in patria alostana* (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11903/72).

Vóór haar huwelijk met Cornelius Coeck had Anna Maria Elisabetha drie onwettige dochters:

1. **Margaretha**: ° Leuven, 29 januari 1783 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11898 A/100); meter: Margaretha Di Martinelli; + Leuven, 10 februari 1783 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11908/44).

2. **Maria Elisabetha**: ° Leuven, 29 januari 1785 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11898 A/213); peter-meter: Antonius Verheydt en Maria Elisabeth Dehaes.

3. **Maria Elisabetha**: ° Leuven, 23 november 1787 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11898 A/361); peter-meter: Antonius Verheydt en Maria Elisabeth Dehaes. Op 24 september overlijdt één van deze twee Maria Elisabetha (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11908/157).

G. **Joannes [Baptista]** (1758-1810), zie C 7.

Doopsel: Leuven, 28 oktober 1758 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 B/126); peter-meter: Joannes Ferry en Maria Elisabetha Heerens.
Huwelijk: Leuven, 7 augustus 1781, met **Joanna Hous** (Hoes, de Haes) (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11844/79). Joanna: ° Leuven, 28 oktober 1759 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 B/136).
Overlijden: Leuven, 4 april 1810 (Groot-Gasthuis).
Kinderen: 1.**Joannes**: ° Leuven, 30 juni 1782 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11832 A/46); meter: Maria De Prins.

2. **Anna**: ° Leuven, 29 september 1784 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11832 A/230); peter-meter: Henricus Hous en Anna Den Dooven.

3. **Joannes Franciscus**: ° Leuven, 1 mei 1787 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11832 A/490); peter-meter: Joannes Franciscus Docquier en Petronilla Josephina Ackermans; + Leuven, 17/18 april 1791(Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11846/192).

H. **Anna Margareta** (1761-1829), zie C 8.

Doopsel: Leuven, 3 januari 1761 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11830 B/150); peter-meter: Jacobus Peeters en Anna Margareta Berckmans.
Huwelijk: Leuven, 1 augustus 1784, met **Petrus Pueron** (Peron, Piron Pierre, Puron) (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11903/13). **Petrus**: ° Leuven, 2 september 1762 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11897/273); + Leuven, 14 oktober 1815.
Overlijden: Leuven, 6 april 1829 (Burgerlijk Gasthuis).
Kinderen: 1. **Susanna**: ° Leuven, 2/3 december 1784 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11898 A/207); peter-meter: Joannes Di Martinelli en Susanna Obbergh.

2. **Antonius**: ° Leuven, 11 november 1786 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11898/310); peter-meter: Antonius Verheydt en Maria Elisabetha Dehaes; + Leuven, 19/21 november 1786 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11908/112).

3. **Ludovicus**: ° Leuven, 26 april 1788 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11900 A/11); peter-meter: Ludovicus Pueron en Maria Catharina Maes.

4. **Joannes**: ° Leuven, 16 oktober 1790 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11900 A/79); peter-meter: Joannes Martinelli (sic) en Petronilla Borremeester.

5. **Maria Theresia**: ° Leuven, 2 mei 1793 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11900/138); peter-meter: Joannes Baptista Di Martinelli en Maria Theresia Borremeester.

6. **Joanna Elisabetha**: ° Leuven, 22/23 augustus 1795 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11900/181); peter-meter: Joannes Baptista Pueron en Joanna Hous; + Leuven, 27 september 1795 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11911/26).

I. Marcus Joannes (1762-1802), zie C 9.

Doopsel: Leuven, 21 november 1762 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 A/122); peter-meter: Joannes vander Borght en Maria Teresia Van der Borcht.
Huwelijk: Leuven, 14 december 1790, met **Anna Elisabetha Borremeester** (Bormeester, Borghmeester, Borgemeester) (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11903/58).
Anna Elisabetha: ° Leuven, 17 januari 1765 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11897/294).
Overlijden: Leuven, 25 augustus 1802.
Kinderen: 1. **Joannes**: ° Leuven, 15 november 1791 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11900 A/105); naam van peter en meter onbekend; in de geboorteakte wordt de vader vermeld als milites sub legione Vierssée.

2. **Naamloos**: geboren en overleden op 27/28 mei 1793 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11911/13); naam van peter en meter onbekend.

3. **Cecilia**: ° Leuven, 25 maart 1796 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11900/192); peter-meter: Gerardus Buelens en Caecilia Borremeester.

4. **Petrus**: ° Leuven, 26 september 1799.

J. Joannes [Baptista] (1772-1818), zie C 13.

Doopsel: Leuven, 2 september 1772 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 B/173); peter-meter: Joannes Tielemans en Catharina Vertommen.
Huwelijk: Leuven, 26 januari 1795, met **Petronilla Borremeester** (Borgemeester) (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11903/88).
Petronilla: ° Leuven, 27 maart 1768 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11897/320); + Leuven, 3 oktober 1832.
Overlijden: Leuven, 6 juli 1818 (Burgerlijk Gasthuis)
Kinderen: twee onwettige kinderen

1. **Arnoldus Borremeester** (filius illegitmus): ° Leuven, 8/9 mei 1787 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11898/340); peter-meter: Arnoldus de Messemaecker en Beatrix Persoons.

2. **Maria Elisabeth** (filia illegitimata): ° Leuven, 20/21 juli 1793 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11900 B/140); peter: Petrus Puron.

Drie kinderen uit het huwelijk:

3. **Joanna**: ° Leuven, 2 april 1795 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11900/176); petermeter: Adrianus Di Martinelli en Joanna van Espen.

4. **Jacobus**: ° Leuven, 9 juni 1802.

5. **Cornelius**: ° Leuven, 16 augustus 1804.

[illegible] Jacobus (1778-), zie C 14.

Doopsel: Leuven, 27 augustus 1778 (Sint-Jacob – SAL Cuv. 11898 A/64); peter-meter: Jacobus Wollens en Elisabeth Di Martinelli.

Huwelijk: Volgens de overlijdensakte van Adrianus en Jean zijn Jacobus en *Maria Geeraerts* niet gehuwd. Jacobus wordt er als musicus vermeld.

Kinderen: 1. **Petrus**: ° Leuven, 3 juli 1802.

2. **Adrianus**: ° Leuven, 8 juli 1804; + Leuven, 10 november 1804.

3. **Jean**: + 27 december 1808.

[illegible] Petrus Maximilianus (1773-1814), zie E 2.

Doopsel: Leuven, 13 oktober 1773 (Sint-Geertrui – SAL Cuv. 11917 B/178); petermeter: Petrus van Hemelryck en Maria Josepha Van Espen.

Huwelijk: met **Anna Maria Theresia Vandermeulen** (geen informatie). **Anna Theresia**: ° Leuven, 31 maart 1778 (Sint-Pieter – SAL Cuv. 11831 A/121).

Overlijden: Leuven, 20 juni 1814. De getuigen bij het overlijden zijn de Leuvense musici François De Grom en Egide Wauters.

Kinderen: 1. **Isabella**: ° Leuven, 20 juni 1803.

2. **Anne Catherine**: + Leuven, 24 maart 1807.

3. **Barbara**: °Leuven, 1804.

The Music Material of the Di Martinelli Family Archive

A Case Study of an Eighteenth-Century Private Music Library in the Netherlands

Veronique Verspeurt
Leuven

The family archive Di Martinelli can be found in the central library of the Catholic University of Leuven in Belgium (P206 in the library catalogue). It contains a considerable number of music manuscripts and music prints composed or used by several musicians in the Di Martinelli family. Nearly all of this material seems to have been part of a fair-sized music library that belonged to the family from the beginning of the eighteenth century onwards. A big portion was probably already collected by the pater familias Guillelmus-Carolus Di Martinelli (1661-1728)[1]. From 1695 on he became the violin teacher, schoolmaster and *zangmeester* at the collegiate church St. Sulpitius in Diest. His son Antonius (1687-1748) and his grandson Johannes-Antonius (1730-1818) equally served in this church, albeit not as *zangmeester* but only as the leading violinists and violin teacher. Antonius was in service from 1729 to 1748, Johannes-Antonius from 1751-1752 to probably the French Revolution.[2]

The Martinelli music collection holds 65 manuscripts and 32 prints; the bigger part consists of music for strings, the smaller of vocal church music. Both genres refer to the above cited musical activities of the Di Martinelli's in Diest.

A Technical Description of the Material

The Prints

The appendix presents a list of the prints in the collection. If one situates them into a timeline one can see that ten prints date from an earlier period in time

[1] The family name Di Martinelli was spelled with a small d (di Martinelli) in all music manuscripts up to the second half of the eighteenth century.

[2] Biographical information based on E. SCHREURS & G. HUYBENS, *Beknopt overzicht van het muziekleven te Diest in de 18de eeuw. Aperçu de la vie musicale à Diest au XVIIIe siècle,* in *T'Haegelant. Vier 18de-eeuwse muziekboekjes uit Diest. Quatre recueils de musique du XVIIIe siècle de Diest. Familiearchief Di Martinelli (P206) KULeuven*, Peer 1995, pp. vii-xiii.See also the article by E. Schreurs in the present volume. Numbers of manuscripts refer to the old numbering

than the others; namely from the end of the seventeenth century to 1714. The parentheses in Table 1 indicate an additional hand-written date on the title page of the print. This might refer to the time that it was purchased or used.

Table 1. The Early prints in the Di Martinelli collection were almost all printed in Antwerp by Hendrik Aertssens and in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger

H.I.F. von Biber	1681 (1689)	Salzburg
G. Bononcini	1706	Antwerp
P.H. Brehy	1700	Antwerp
E. Bronnemüller	1712	Amsterdam
A. Corelli	1692	Antwerp
A. Corelli	1696	Antwerp
A. Corelli	[1700-1710][3]	Amsterdam
A. Corelli	c. 1714	Amsterdam
J.B. Loeillet	1712 (1712)	Amsterdam
N.F. Haym and M. Bitti	[1708-1712][4]	Amsterdam

The other prints were published in the second half of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century. Strangely enough, the collection contains no printed music from 1714 to 1750.

Another interesting fact turns up if one looks at the publishers of the early prints. Apart from Biber's violin sonatas, the music was published by either Hendrik Aertssens in Antwerp or by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam. Thus far a normal situation, as they were the two most important music printers in the Netherlands at that time. Nevertheless, one may wonder why the buyer of this music so abruptly switched from Antwerp to Amsterdam prints after 1706. Even more interesting is that all but one of these prints by Roger[5] were advertised in the printer's catalogue of 1712[6], which is precisely where one can also find a print with two sonatas by a certain composer Mr. Martinelli: *Ravenscroft alias Redieri opera seconda, Sonate à tre, due violini e Basso continuo, seconde édition augmentée de deux sonate de Mr. Guido & de deux de Mr. Martinelli, tous quatre aussi à deux violons & basse*

[3] Estienne Roger in Amsterdam published five editions of this work between 1700 and 1710, cfr. *RISM B/II. Recueils imprimés. VIIIe siècle*, F. LESURE ed., München-Duisburg, 1964, nos. C3806-C3815.

[4] According to F. LESURE, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène (Amsterdam, 1696-1743)*, Paris, 1969, pp. 50, 86.

[5] Corelli's opus 6 from c. 1714 is the exception.

[6] The *Catalogue de la musique, imprimée à Amsterdam, chez Estienne Roger* of 1712 is preserved in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. A transcript can be found in LESURE, *Estienne Roger*, pp. 48-52.

continue.[7] The critical question here is of course: is this Mr. Martinelli our Guillelmus-Carolus Di Martinelli? Music incipits have not yet been compared, but the Martinelli collection contains at least one sonata for two violins, violoncello and continuo in manuscript by *auctore G:C: di Martinelli*[8]. This piece is the only one in the whole collection that is preserved on double copies; one in a collection of 14 sonatas and one as a separate piece but incomplete. If the two sonatas in the Ravenscroft print are indeed our Martinelli's compositions, then it might have been possible that he acquired the other Amsterdam prints at the time that his sonatas were printed by Roger. Unfortunately, there is one problem with this idea. One of these Roger prints, the sonatas by Loeillet of 1712, bears the handwritten inscription: *N.o 1 / TEV Goor / 1712*. Why is Goor's name on this print if Martinelli got this material directly from Roger? It sounds unlikely that Goor received it from Martinelli because the print stayed in the collection. Moreover, if the print dates from 1712 it would imply that Martinelli would have given it to Goor immediately after receiving it from Roger.

The Manuscripts

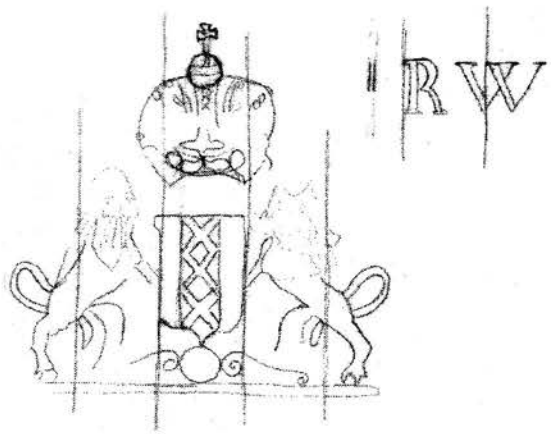
A study of the sizes of the manuscripts in this collection reveals that two thirds of the manuscripts' paper measure 33 x 21 cm (or their halves sized 16,5 x 21 cm). The other third consists of various sizes. This big portion of paper with the size 33 x 21 cm is analogue to similar collections, like the St. Gudule collection in Brussels.

Up to now two thirds of the watermarks and handwritings in the collection of manuscripts have been studied. The following paragraph presents the most important conclusions of this research. The four most frequently found watermarks in the manuscripts of the Martinelli collection are the Arms of Amsterdam, the Seven Provinces, the Fleur-de-Lis on a Crowned Shield and the Strasbourg Bend and Lily (see Figure 1).[9]

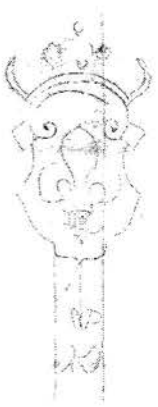
[7] LESURE, *Estienne Roger*, p. 51. *RISM* B/II, p.366, cites this print as follows: *Suonate a tre violini e violone e basso continuo di Giovanni Ravenscroft, alias Rederi inglese opera seconda. Seconde édition corrigée ... augmentée de quatre sonates, deux de M.A. Guido & deux de M.P. Marchitelli*, Amsterdam, E. Roger, [c. 1710].

[8] Ms. Nos. 31 and M13.

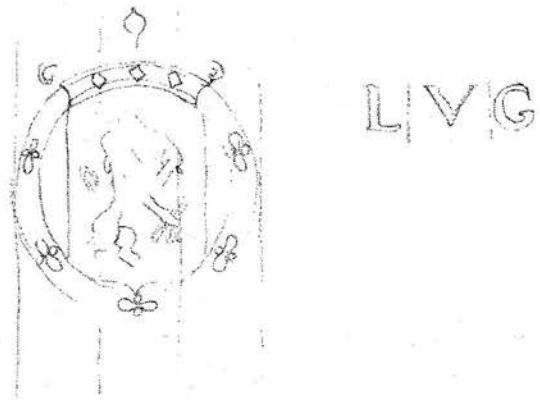
[9] Names for watermarks based on E. HEAWOOD, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries, (Monumenta chartae papyraceae historiam illustrantia*, 1), Hilversum, 1981 and W.A. CHURCHILL, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection*, Amsterdam, 1990.



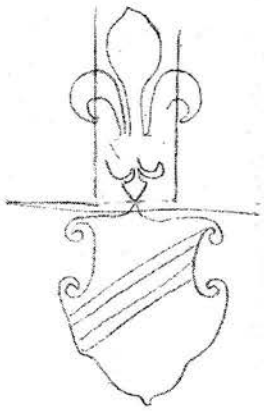
(a) Arms of Amsterdam with counter mark RW (Ms. no. 5)



(b) Fleur-de-Lis on a Crowned Shield (Ms. no. M2)



(c) Seven Provinces with counter mark LVG (Ms. no. 32b)



(d) Strasbourg Bend and Lily (Ms. no. 17)

Figure 1. Four watermarks in the manuscripts of the Di Martinelli collection[10]

The Arms of Amsterdam and the Fleur-de-Lis on a Crowned Shield are typical for paper that was exported from West- and South-West France to the Netherlands in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.[11] The most frequently encountered watermark in the Martinelli collection is the Arms of Amsterdam with the counter marks HS or RW. The Fleur-de-Lis on a

[10] The countermark IVP of the Arms of Amsterdam refers to Jan Van Til, a paper mill in France, and its watermark is identical with the one drawn in Churchill's watermark nr. 43 from 1708. CHURCHILL, *Watermarks*, nr. 43.

[11] HEAWOOD, *Watermarks*, introduction, pp. 21-41.



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Crowned Shield is usually found with the letters WR (maybe WP?) or counter mark CR. The Seven Provinces appear mostly with the counter mark LVG, the initials of Lubertus van Gerrevink. This watermark is known to appear in paper commonly used in Brussels from 1715 to 1725.[12] The Strasbourg Bend and Lily usually has no counter mark. Some manuscripts show the Foolscap as their watermark. Like the Arms of Amsterdam and the Fleur-de-Lis on a Crowned Shield it is commonly found in exported paper to the Netherlands from France in the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century.

Up to now research shows three manuscripts in the collection which do not carry the above described watermarks. The first one has a French watermark with grapes of the paper mill Ainé Riberolle van Thiers in the Auvergne. Churchill mentions the date 1731 for it.[13] The second one carries a watermark with the letters I. Villedary, which refers to the famous paper mill Jean Villedary of Guelderland. Its paper usually shows the Arms of Amsterdam as a watermark, but here no such watermark could be found. Churchill dates Villedary's paper from 1758-1812.[14] The third manuscript only shows the counter mark PIB. The paper was too thick to see any watermark that might be there. Baratz reports that the initials PIB are found on paper in the St. Gudule collection after 1733. This corresponds with the date in the inscription on the Martinelli manuscript *Script: 1 augusti 1737*.[15]

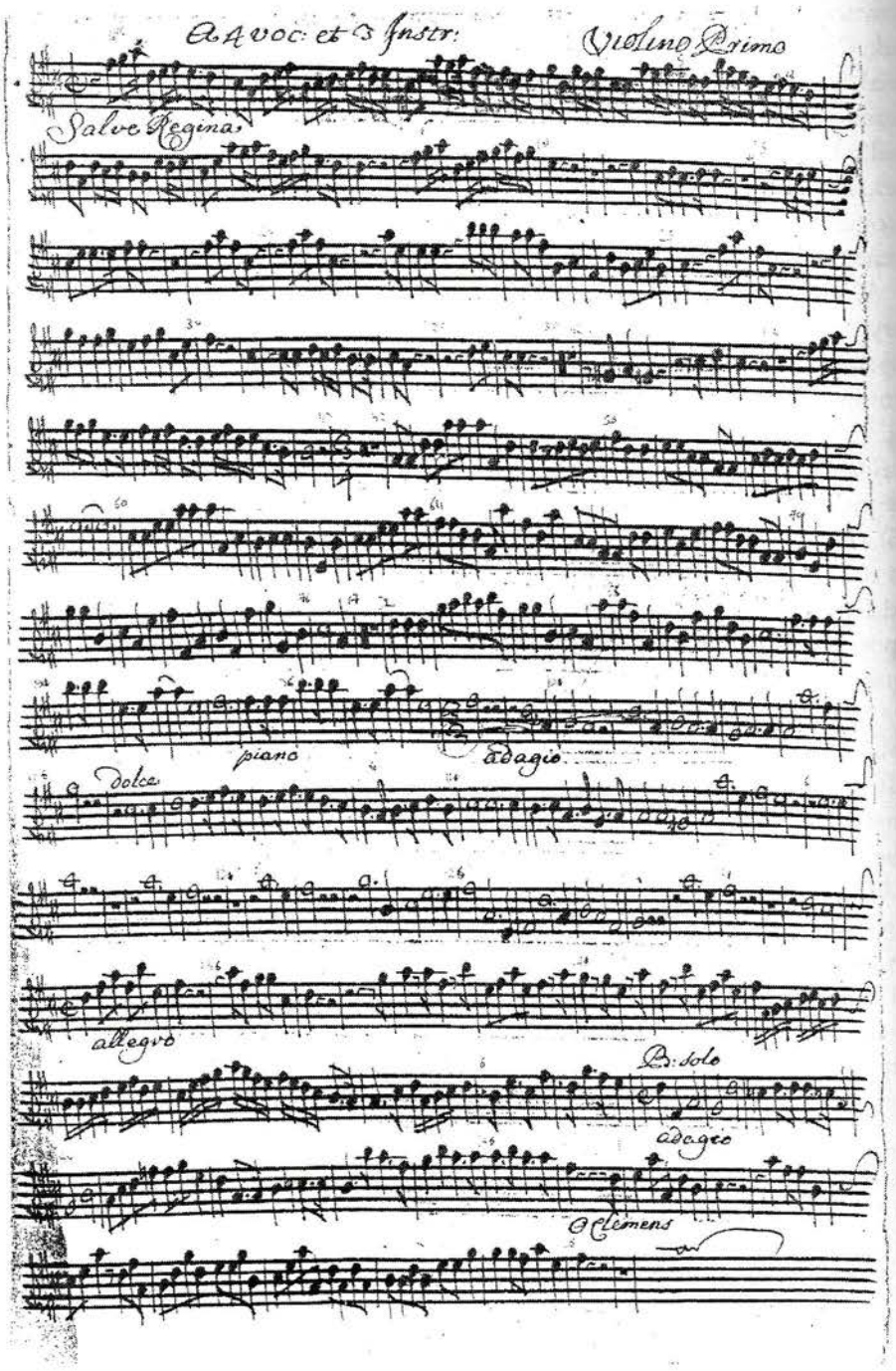
Although the study of the scripts is not yet finished, it already reveals that about 90% of the collection was written in one handwriting. We will call it hand A. It probably dates from the first and second decades of the eighteenth century. Some of these manuscripts mention *auctore G:C: di Martinelli*. Did Martinelli write these manuscripts himself? Unfortunately this tantalising question stays unanswered. Not one signature of Guillelmus-Carolus Di Martinelli could be found in this collection. Moreover, hand A seems to represent a group of copyists rather than one person. One might think of a group of musicians at the St. Sulpitius church in Diest who were trained in a specific style of copying music. This may explain the little differences in the way certain elements are written in different manuscripts made by hand A. An excellent example of this phenomenon can be found in the small inconsistencies that exist in the script of manuscript no. 1 and no. 32.

[11] L.R. BARATZ, *Les oeuvres de Joseph Hector Fiocco (1703-1741) dans la bibliothèque du chanoine Vanden Boom (1688-1769)*, in R. MORTIER & H. HASQUIN eds., *Musiques et spectacles à Bruxelles au XVIIIe siècle, (Etudes sur le XVIIIe siècle)*, Brussel, 1992, p. 54.

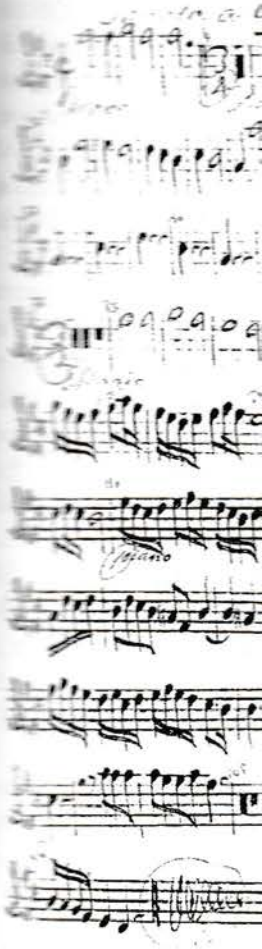
[12] The manuscript contains the *Missa a 6 voc. et 4 instr* in C. On its title page one can find the number 27, which might refer to the number that this item had in the music library of the Di Martinelli's.

[13] CHURCHILL, *Watermarks*, p.[6]. The manuscript mentions the number 144 on its title page and contains two motets: *Ave regina and Regina caeli*.

[14] BARATZ, *Les oeuvres de Joseph Fiocco*, p. 54. The manuscript contains the motet *In te Domine speravi*.

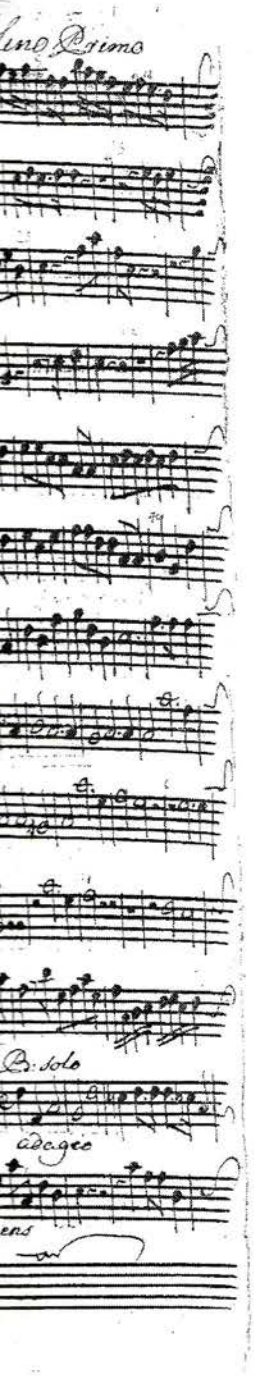


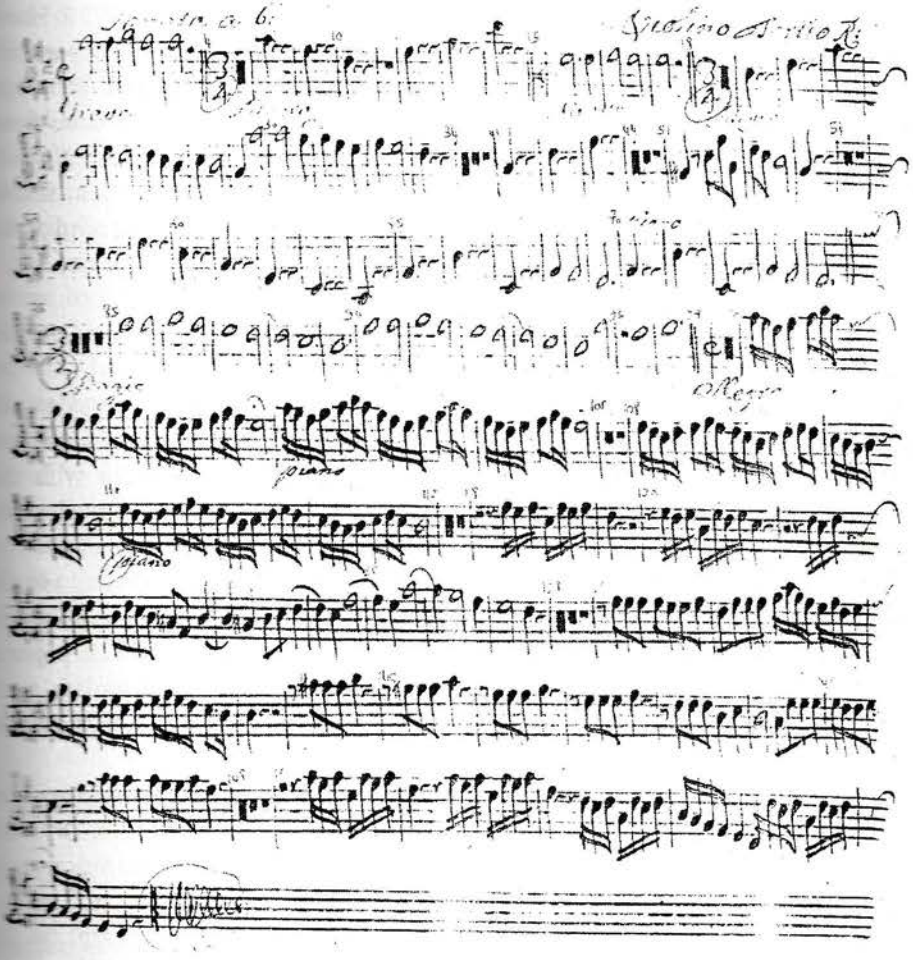
(a)



(b)

Figure 2. A comparison of c
Martinelli Collection





(b)

Figure 2. A comparison of certain elements in manuscripts no. 1 (a) and no. 32c (b) of the Di Martinelli Collection

The 10% other manuscripts were written by six different hands. Hand B is almost certainly Antonius Di Martinelli's. One of his manuscripts was dated *1737*. Hand C is a more recent handwriting than hand A. Hand D wrote only a few parts for a concerto grosso. Hand E might be from the church's organist Johannes Fransiscus De Decker.[16] He only wrote a little organ book. This hand dates from the second half of the eighteenth century. Hand F is the copyist of manuscript no. 33 with the 53 dances by Martinelli. At the end of this work he is identified as *S'werinck*. Hand G is a handwriting from the second half of the eighteenth century. It only features in the copy of Tillière's cello method (manuscript no. 34).

If one interrelates the above presented results some interesting indications about the origins of these manuscripts emerge.

Manuscripts nos. 2 (motet *Congratulamini fideles*), 11 (motet *Albescite flores*), 12 (motet *Salve regina*), 13 (motet *Quo fugiam miser*), 15 (motets *Desiste ad amare and Salve regina*), and 17 (Requiem) all have a paper size 23 x 29,5 cm with the Strasbourg Bend and Lily watermark and no counter mark.[17] They were all written by hand A. Thus this group of religious music seems to belong together.

Another such group is formed by manuscript nos. 16 (motet *Beatus vir*), 20 (mass), 24 (*sonata a 6* by G.-C. Di Martinelli), 25 (3 *sonatas a 5*), 26 (4 *sonatas a 5*), 29 (2 *sonatas a 6*, one by G.-C. Di Martinelli), and M.6 (*sonata a 9*). The paper is also sized 33 x 21 cm.[18] The manuscripts all have the Arms of Amsterdam mark with counter mark HS and were written by hand A. Especially nos. 24, 25, 26 and 29 seem closely related.

Another interesting observation is formed by the matching paper characteristics of the last part of the much discussed violin sonata manuscript no. 28[19] with manuscript no. 5 (motet *In plenitudine temporis* by Pez). No other manuscripts in the Martinelli collection match their corresponding paper sizes: 38 x 24,5 cm for no. 28 and 24,5 x 19 for no. 5. The latter is half of the size of manuscript no. 28. Their watermarks are equally unique in the collection. They are the only manuscripts with a Strasbourg Bend and Lily watermark with counter mark DS. Whereas it is almost sure that the violin sonata manuscript did not originate in the Martinelli family circle, it is clear that hand A added paper and music to the sonata manuscript from page 45 onwards.

[16] V.VERSPEURT & E. SCHREURS, *Muzikale schatten uit de Leuvense universiteitsbibliotheek. Het Di Martinelli-fonds,* in *Musica Antiqua*, 13 (1996), p.10.

[17] Except for the viola da gamba part of the Salve regina motet in manuscript no.15 which has a Fleur-de-Lis mark and countermark AJ. This is seventeenth-century paper from Claude de George who worked for Abraham Janssen. CHURCHILL, *Watermarks*, no. 412.

[18] Paper size of manuscript no. M.6 is 16 x 21 cm which is half of 33 x 21 cm.

[19] Cfr. the article by Stanley Boorman in this volume.

There are numerous other interrelationships to be found in the manuscript collection. Two manuscripts, however, stand out by their unrelatedness to the rest of the material: manuscript no. 14 (motet *In te Domine speravi*) and no. 9 (motets *Ave regina* and *Regina caeli*). The former has been mentioned before because of its peculiar counter mark PIB. It is written by hand B in 1737. The latter has the I. Villedary watermark and has the peculiar size 42,5 x 25,5 cm. Nevertheless, the fact that this piece was written by hand A places it back into the context of the Martinelli collection.

On the title pages of half of the manuscripts one can find a number. This seems to originate in a systematic placing of music material within in a music library. Thus instrumental music was kept on spots numbered up to no. 23. Masses seem to have been placed between no. 25 and no. 33 and from nos. 35 to 144 motets could be found. The numbers that can occasionally be found on the music prints confirm this order.

The description of the manuscripts points at a collection that originated at the latest in the first decades of the eighteenth century. A lot of the material was written by one group of copyists, probably connected to the St. Sulpitius church. Most of the music seems to have been part of a systematically organised music library.

THE CONTENTS OF THE COLLECTION

Masses and Motets

The church music in the collection consists of 6 masses (1 Requiem, Table 2) and 31 motets, all preserved in single manuscript copies per part. Conform to the practice in other church music collections of that time no sketches nor direction scores for this music were found.

Five masses are anonymous. One mentions the Dutch composer's name Marcus Teller (fl. 1715-1727) at the head of the soprano part in the right corner. He is known for composing Catholic church music. However, whether this mass is his making is not sure. The masses are scored quite traditionally – a 4- to 6-part choir with an accompaniment of a string ensemble and continuo. The music is equally conventional. The Requiem seems to be the most interesting piece.

Table 2. The Di Martinelli Collection contains 6 Masses of which only one carries the name of an author[20]

M. Teller?	Mass	E	SATB strings + org (bc)
Anonymous	Mass	C	2SATB, strings
Anonymous	Mass	C	2SA2TB, strings + bc
Anonymous	Mass	C	2SA2TB, strings + bc
Anonymous	Mass	G	SATB, strings + bc
Anonymous	Requiem	c	SATB, strings + org (bc)

Table 3 presents the motets in the Martinelli collection. Nine motets mention *Ex Cartis G: C: di Martinelli*. Whether this means that Guillelmus-Carolus Di Martinelli was indeed the composer is not sure, but possible. In any case up to now not one of these pieces has been identified as being composed by someone else. Five of these Martinelli motets carry a unique text that up to now could not be found elsewhere in the vast motet literature of the eighteenth century: *Aurae non me provocate, Heu me quando videbo te, In omnibus quecumque mihi, Miserrime homo, Quam pulcher es dilecti mi*. The other four compositions feature well-known texts. *O Deus amo te*, for example, is a common text in the eighteenth century. Musically this group of nine motets displays common traits by which one can assume that they were written by the same person. Seven of the nine works are for *Canto solo* with an accompaniment of a remarkable extensive string ensemble. One of the titles *Canto Solo con 3 Instr: o Alto transport a la terza* shows how easy a *Canto solo* piece was transformed into a motet for another voice.

On the Tenor solo part of the motet *In plenitudine temporis* the name Petz was written by the same hand that wrote Teller on the above mentioned mass. This motet might have been composed by the German composer Johann Christoph Pez (1664-1716).[21] As has been mentioned before the manuscript shows common traits to the violin sonata manuscript, in which the 30th piece is a sonata by *Sig.r Petz*.

One of these 31 motets – *In te Domini speravi* in the previously mentioned manuscript no. 14 – is signed *D.M.* on each of its parts. Is this mysterious *D.M.* a Di Martinelli? We might assume this. As this manuscript was dated Script: *1 augusti 1737* the Martinelli who signed here was certainly not Guillelmus-Carolus – he died in 1728 – but was probably his son Antonius.

The other twenty motets are preserved anonymously. Up to now only one of them could be identified. It is the motet *O dilectissime* of Joseph-Hector Fiocco (1703-1741), the *zangmeester* of the St. Gudule cathedral in Brussels from 1737

[20] Incpl = incomplete, SATB = canto, alto, tenore and basso.

[21] He wrote the *Corona stellarum* op.4 (*RISM* A/I P1682, P1683), a collection of 12 solo cantatas for solo voice, two violins and continuo. This is precisely how the motet in the Martinelli collection is scored. Concordances between both still have to be checked.

until 1741.[22] This work can be found in the St. Gudule church music library of which the older part is currently kept in the library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels (catalogue no. 33.798). The Martinelli collection only holds the viola part of the work, the other parts are missing. It is signed *1751/Finis* and is therefore one of the more recent manuscripts in the collection.

The Fiocco motet is not the only link with the St. Gudule music library in Brussels. Another motet in the Martinelli collection on the less common text *Congratulamini fideles* is also found in this big church library (catalogue number 34.046 in the Conservatory library in Brussels). Unfortunately this motet is also anonymous in the collection of Brussels, so no further identification of the author of the work was possible.

Table 3. Motets in the Di Martinelli-Collection

J.-H. Fiocco	*O dilectissime*	vla incpl
D.M. + M.D.?	*In te Domine speravi*	TB strings + org (bc)
G.-C. Di Martinelli?	*Aurae non me provocate*	S strings, fag + org (bc) incpl
G.-C. Di Martinelli?	*Heu me quando videbo te*	S strings + org (bc)
G.-C. Di Martinelli?	*In omnibus quecumque mihi*	S strings + org (bc)
G.-C. Di Martinelli?	*Miserrime homo*	S1, 2 strings, fag + org (bc)
G.-C. Di Martinelli?	*O amantissime Jesu*	S strings + org (bc)
G.-C. Di Martinelli?	*O Deus ego amo te*	S strings + org (bc)
G.-C. Di Martinelli?	*Regina caeli*	S1, 2ATB strings incpl
G.-C. Di Martinelli?	*Veni in hortum meum*	S strings + org (bc)
J.C. Petz?	*In plenitudine temporis*	T strings + org (bc)
Anonymus	*Albescite flores*	SATB strings
Anonymus	*Ave regina*	S org (bc)
Anonymus	*Beatus vir*	SB org (bc)
Anonymus	*Congratulamini fideles*	SATB strings + org
Anonymus	*Desiste ad amare*	S strings + bc
Anonymus	*Gaudete angeli*	S1, 2AT1, 2B strings + bc
Anonymus	*Laudate Dominum*	S1, 2ATB strings +org (bc)
Anonymus	*Libera me*	ATB strings + org (bc) incpl
Anonymus	*O amantissime mi Jesu*	T strings + org (bc)
Anonymus	*O rex invictissime*	B1, 2 strings, fag + org (bc)
Anonymus	*Obstupescite mortales*	B strings, fl + org (bc)
Anonymus	*Quid a vita*	S strings + org (bc)
Anonymus	*Quo fugiam miser*	B1, 2 strings
Anonymus	*Regina caeli*	S + org (bc)
Anonymus	*Regina caeli*	A strings + org (bc)
Anonymus	*Salve regina*	S strings + org (bc)
Anonymus	*Salve regina*	SA strings + org (bc)
Anonymus	*Salve regina*	SATB strings
Anonymus	*Tantum ergo*	SATB strings incpl

[22] BARATZ, *Les oeuvres de Joseph Fiocco.*

Other Vocal Music

The Martinelli collection only holds two items with profane vocal music: a bundle of about 40 French drinking songs *Recueil d'airs à boire de differents maistres à deux* and some more recent songs on texts of Adolph Parte and music of Louis Abadie.[23] The *Recueil* contains duets for two different voices and a few *terzetti* and solo songs. The song book seems to be a copy of one or more of the extremely popular *Recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire* published at the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century in Paris and in Amsterdam.[24] An actual identification stills awaits further research. The *Recueil d'airs à boire à deux parties* by Michel de La Barre (ca. 1675-1743 or 1744) published by Boivin in 1724 seems promissing for finding concordances because of its similar title.

Instrumental Music

There are 254 instrumental compositions which are found in manuscripts as well as prints. Of these works 202 are for small chamber music groups and feature titles like duo's, violin sonatas and triosonatas; 55 other compositions are for a bigger ensemble starting with sonatas a 5 to concerti grossi and symphonies.

As mentioned before there is a double copy of only one piece: the triosonata by G.-C. Di Martinelli. The other compositions are kept in single copies. About 35% of the music is incomplete.

On the manuscripts most of the instrumental pieces are anonymous and date from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Among the few identified works are first of all the Martinelli pieces: one triosonata and three *sonata a 6* by Guillelmus-Carolus Di Martinelli, 53 dance movements by a Martinelli, a concerto grosso by *M: di M.* and another triosonata by *DM* and *MD*. Further there is a composition by Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741) which is in fact an arrangement of a concerto (RyoV.355) into a *sonata a 4*. There is also a *sonata a 6* by a certain *Signor Rubini* and 12 *Symphonia del Signor Italo a 42*[4bis]. Finally there are two manuscripts of more recent composers. The first one contains two symphonies Op. 2

[23] The manuscript mentions still another text writer but I can not decipher his name: Charles de Frane?

[24] For the seventeenth century: 1691/3; 1692/4-7; 1696/3-4; 1697/3-5 in *RISM B/I. Recueils imprimés. XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, F. LESURE ed., München-Duisburg, 1960. It is interesting that these seventeenth-century collections in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger each contain precisely 24f; which is about half the size of this Martinelli manuscript which contains 49f. For the eighteenth century: *RISM* B/II, p. 311-316.

[24bis] See the article of R.G. Rawson in the present volume

nr. 5 and 6 by Friedrich Schwindel (1737-1786).[25] The second one holds the six sonatas op. 8 by Guillaume-Gommaire Kennis (1717-1789), who was kapelmeester at the St. Pieter church in Leuven. The Schwindl manuscript might be an autograph as some parts were signed *Schwindl*. Up to now one anonymous piece has been found elsewhere: the fourth sonata in the collection *Quatuordieci sonati a 4 instr: da varii auctori pertinent ad A.D.M. [Antonio Di Martinelli] 23 febru-arij anno 1719*. It has been described as a concerto in a manuscript in Vienna (RISM A/II sigel A Wn: E.M. 156h). The music incipit of the first movement of the third sonata of the same *Quatuordieci sonati* is identical with one of *Robert Valentine's sonata's 1711* in London (*RISM* A/II sigel GB Lam: MS 173). A definite identification still awaits further research.

Among the prints there is only one anonymous print: *Six sonates en duo pour deux violons*, printed by Jean François Maswiens in Leuven. The Di Martinelli collection contains another five prints by the same publisher. Taking the proximity of Diest to Leuven into account, this seems a normal situation. These prints from Leuven contain two unica: the *Clavier-Parthien* by Johann Anton Kobrich and the six violin sonatas by Nicola Francesco Haym (Haim) (1678-1729)[26] and Martinello Bitti. Another valuable music print in the Di Martinelli archive is the collection of 12 violin sonatas by the St. Gudule *zangmeester* Petrus Hercules Treby (1673-1737) published in 1700 by Aertssens in Antwerp.

This instrumental music was most probably not only used for the private performances by the family Di Martinelli. A big portion of it is also part of the church music repertoire of that time. If one takes the family's responsibilities at the St. Sulpitius church in Diest into account, it is not difficult to imagine that much of the above described material was performed during services in church. Furthermore, part of the music was also used for didactic purposes as several members of the Di Martinelli family held teaching positions in Diest. Finally, we may not forget that the *concert van Diest*, the local music society, of which we know for sure that certain members of the Di Martinelli family were involved, might have used this music library too. An indication of this can be found on the Kobrich print of 1752: *aen het concert van Diest* (to the music society of Diest). Also,

[25] C. JOHANSSON, *Music-Publishing and Thematic Catalogues. 3. Thematic Catalogue 1768-74 in Facsimile, (Publications of the Library of the Royal Swedisch Academy of Music*, 3), Stockholm, 1972.

[26] Haym was an Italian cellist and composer, he played in cardinal Ottoboni's privat orchestra in Rome with Corelli and later he worked in London. In 1705 he spent an autumn in Amsterdam while editing Corelli's opp. 1-4 for Estienne Roger. According to Eitner (R. EITNER, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, New York, 5, p. 78) he was in Holland again after 1710, which might have been the time when he presented his own sonatas to Roger for publishing. This print is not mentioned in Haym's list of works in the main encyclopedia. W. DEAN, art. *Haym*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London, 1981, 8, pp. 415-426.

the names of members of some prominent families in Diest, like for example Van den Hove and Cantillion, on certain music prints point into that direction.

Didactic Music Material

If one knows that some Di Martinelli's were music teachers it seems normal to find didactic material among their belongings. Thus their music library contains three music treatises in manuscript,[27] a French translation of Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* in print and a manuscript copy of Joseph Bonaventure Tillière's cello method.[28] Also the four little music books, known as the four *speelmansboekjes* in the collection, probably served the same didactic purpose. Hence several notes by the children Di Martinelli in them.[29] Up to now only one of the three treatises has been identified; it is a copy of the Dutch translation by Estienne Roger of the *Traitté de la composition de musique* by Guillaume Gabriel Nivers (1617-1714).[30] This work on the theory of composition was extremely popular in the eighteenth century. It is therefore not surprising to find it in the Di Martinelli's extensive music library. The copy only contains the third chapter of the book which treats the theory of writing counterpoint. A comparison of the print with the Martinelli manuscript reveals a pretty precise transcript. The copy was made by hand A. The second treatise consists of a basic music theory with a list of different keys and a short introduction to Gregorian chant. The third treatise is a fragment of a larger document in French. It starts with page 31 somewhere in the fourth chapter and ends with page 50 and treats the rules of harmony. Thus the three treatises present a more or less complete education programme in music theory for church musicians: keys, harmony, counterpoint and Gregorian chant.

At a first glance Tillière's *Methode pour le violoncelle* seems a very precise copy of the print by Bailleux in Paris dated ca. 1774.[31] As mentioned before this ma-

[27] Mss. nos. M5, M12 and M8.

[28] Ms. no. 34.

[29] An elaborate discussion of these four manuscripts can be found in SCHREURS & HUYBENS, *Muziekboekjes*.

[30] Published by J.L. DE LORME and E. ROGER in 1697 in Amsterdam. *RISM* VI2, p. 620.

[31] *RISM* VI2: p. 833. More information can be found in: J.E. GARVIN, *Violoncello tutors of the eigh teenth century and their application to the solo violoncello repertoire*, D.M.A. thesis Stanford University, 1978; a copy of this print can be found in C.D. GRAVES, *The theoretical and practical method for cello by Michel Corrette: translation, commentary, and comparison with seven other eighteenth century cello methods*, Ph.D. thesis Michigan State University, 1971, 2, pp. 261-299. The English version of this print can be found in the facsimile edition: *Joseph Bonaventura Tillière. New and complete instructions for the violoncello. The original English edition (Longman & Broderip, London, c.1790) reproduced in facsimile, with corresponding text from the first French edition (Bailleux, Paris, c.1775)*, P. OBOUSSIER ed., Exeter, 1988.

nuscript was written by hand G, a handwriting that does not appear in any other manuscript of the Martinelli collection.

Conclusion

Although the research on this collection of music is far from finished, it is already clear that the material is of extreme great value to the study of eighteenth-century music practice in the Netherlands. A lot of elements point at the local music life of Diest. Especially the numerous references to certain specific feasts, historical events and prominent families of Diest in the four *speelmansboekjes* are very explicite.[32] Also the rest of the collection contains a lot of indications that put the music library in the center of music life in Diest: e.g. the names of the family members of Van den Hove, De Decker, Cantillion and of course Di Martinelli on title pages of certain compositions; the presence of compositions by local composers like Brehy (Brussels), Loeillet (Gent), Kennis (Leuven); the appearance of a lot of prints from the important publishers of the Netherlands Aertssens (Antwerp), Roger (Amsterdam) and Maswiens (Leuven). Also the paper of the manuscript collection is typical for the Netherlands.

The study of the Martinelli music collection is not only important for our knowlegde about the local music history, but also contains certain aspects that can improve our knowlegde about European music history of the eighteenth century. The uniqueness of the Kobrich *Clavier-Parthien* and the sonatas by Haym and Bitti has already been referred to. Also certain prints of the Leuven printer Maswiens were unknown up to now. Last, but not least, the Martinelli collection contains a very interesting manuscript with a big selection of virtuoso violin sonata's (see elsewhere in this volume).

[32] SCHREURS & HUYBENS, *Beknopt overzicht van het muziekleven.*

APPENDIX. MUSIC PRINTS IN THE MARTINELLI COLLECTION

Auffmann: *RISM*[33] A2853
**Auffmanns III. Concert*[34] [Triplex concentus organicus, ...opus 1 (Augsburg, Johann Jakob Lotter. 1754)] (5 parts: violetta, violoncello, violone, cornu 1, cornu 2)

Biber: *RISM* B2616[35]
**Sonatae, violino solo, ...Anno M.DC.LXXXI* [another X added to this date in pencil] (1 score)

Bononcini: *RISM* B3611
**Synfonie a due strumenti violino, è violoncelle, col basso continuo per l'organo ... Opera sesta. In Anversa, per Henrico Aertssens, ... 1706.* (3 parts: violino, violoncello, organo)
Brehy
**Symphoniae duodecim ... Antverpiae, ex officina Henrici Aertssens, ... 1700.* (2 parts: violino 1, violino 2)

Bronnemüller: *RISM* B4568
**VI Sonates à un haubois ou violon & basse continue dont les deux dernières sont bonnes pour la flûte traversière ... A Amsterdam aux dépens d'Estienne Roger*[36] (1 score)

Cambini: *RISM* C467
**Six trios à deux violons et basso ... Oeuvre 6.e. A Paris, chez le Sr. Sieber*[37] (2 parts: violino 1 and violino 2)
Handwritten on the second violin part: *Posessor JA Di Martinelli/Diesthi* 1780

Clapisson
**Trois duos concertans pour cor et basson ... A Paris aux Troubadours chez Victor Dufaut et Duboix* [op.27] (2 parts: basson, basson)
Plate number: V.D & D.565

Corelli: *RISM* CC3772a; C3772; C3844
**Suonate da camera, a tre, doi violini, violoncello, e cembalo ... Opera quarta. Prima parte. In Anversa, da Henrico Aertssens, ... 1692* (4 parts: violino 1, violino 2, violoncello, cembalo)
**Accademia Ottobonica overo suonate a tre'istromenti ... opera quarta. In Anversa, per Henrico Aertssens, ..., 1696.* (2 parts: violino 2, basso continuo)
Handwritten on second violin part: miserere nobis
*[Opera quinta. parte seconda][38] (no music)
**Concerti grossi con duoi violini e violoncello di concertino obligati e duoi altri violini, viola e basso di concerto grosso ad arbitrio ... Opera sesta. A Amsterdam chez Estienne Roger* (1 part: violoncello del concertino)

[33] RISM A/I, *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. Einzeldrücke vor 1800, K.*, SCHLÄGER ed., Kassel - Basel, 1971.
[34] Title page missing.
[35] This print contains one page in manuscript.
[36] This print is mentioned in the 1712 Roger printer's catalogue. LESURE, *Estienne Roger*, p. 50.
[37] This print is mentioned in a printer's catalogue of 1777. C. JOHANSSON, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, 2, Facsimile no. 108.
[38] Only a violoncello part was preserved. It can be found in the violoncello part of the Mezger print.

Ditters von Dittersdorf: *RISM* D3271; D3274
**Symphonie périodique à deux violons, taille, & basse. Flûtes ou hautbois & cornes de chasse … A Amsterdam chez J.J. Hummel*[39] (9 parts: violino 1, violino 2, viola, oboe 1, oboe 2, corno 1, corno 2, 2 basso)
Plate number: 132
Handwritten on the first violin part: *N.o 3 Van den Hove*[40]
Handwritten on the second violin part: *Van den Hove 1776*
**Symphonie périodique à deux violons, taille, & basse. Flûtes ou hautbois & cornes de chasse. …A Amsterdam chez J.J. Hummel*[41] (9 parts: violino 1, violino 2, viola, basso, flauto 1, flauto 2, corno 1, corno 2, basso)
Plate number: 204
Handwritten on the first violin part: No. 6.to Van den Hove
Handwritten on the second violin part:Van den Hove 1776
Falb: *RISM* F67
**VI. Pastorellae synphoniae … opus II. Augustae-Vindelicorum, sumptibus Joannis Jacobi Lotteri Haeredum. MDCCLV* (5 parts: violino 1, violino 2, viola, violone, cembalo)

Fiitz
**Sonate pour le violoncelle & basse continue, ou le violon seul & basse. Tirée du cinquième oeuvre … A Louvain, de l'imprimerie de J.F. Maswiens* (1 score)

Fiorillo: *RISM* F892?
**Six trios pour deux violons et basse … A Paris chez le Sr. Sieber* (1 part: violoncello)

Ganz, Maurice and Leopold
**Duo concertant pour violon et violoncelle sur des motifs de Preciosa de C.M. De Weber … Oeuvre 7 … Mayence chez les fils de B. Schott* (2 parts: violino, violoncello)
Plate number: 2425
Handwritten on violin and violoncello part: à Di Martinelli Diest

Gebauer
**Six duos concertants pour cor et basson … A Paris chez Jouve* (1 part: basson)

Gleissner: RISM G2599
**Sinfonie pour deux violons, viole & basse obligés & une flûte, 2 hautbois && ad libitum … Oeuvre 1.L2 Offenbach s/m chés Jean André*[42] (9 printed parts: violino 1, violino 2, viola, 2 basso è violoncello, flauto, oboe 1, oboe 2, corno 1; 2 manuscript parts: violino 2, tiors)
Plate number: 1454

Hennis: *RISM* K395
*Handwritten title: *Opus 7 Leuven, J.F.Maswiens* (3 parts: violino 1, violino 2, violoncello)

* Dates from 1770. C. JOHANSSON, *J.J.B. Hummel. Music-publishing and thematic catalogues*, Stockholm, 1972, table no. 132.
** Van den Hove is an important family in eighteenth-century Diest. I would like to thank Mme. Leemans for this information.
*** Dates from 1771. JOHANSSON, *J.J.B. Hummel*, p.84.
**** Dates from 1800 or 1801. W. MATTHÄUS, *Johann André Musikverlag zu Offenbach am Main*, Tutzing, 1973.

Kobrich
**Angenehmer musicalischer Unterhalt, bestehend in zwei Concerten oder Clavier-Parthien mit Accompagnirung zweier Violin & Bassetto ... opus XIII. Augustae-Vindelicorum. Apud Joannis Jacobi Lotteri Haeredes. 1752*[43] (4 parts: violino 1, violino 2, bassetto, cembalo)
Handwritten on the last page of the cembalo part: *aen het concert van Diest*

Loeillet: RISM L2712
**XII Sonates à une flûte & basse continue ... premier ouvrage. A Amsterdam chez Estienne Roger*[44] (1 score)
Handwritten on title page: *N.o 1 TEV Goor 1712*

Mezger
**Nouvelle suite de symphonies à grand et petit orchestre ... N.o 3 ... 2.e livre de symphonies ... A Paris chez Mr. Boyer* (7 parts: violino 1, viola, basso, flauto 1, flauto 2, oboe 1, oboe 2)
Handwritten on the first violin part: *Ex chartis A.A.[?] Cantillion*[45]

Mozart, Leopold: *RISM* BVI2: p.601
**Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre à jouer du violon ... A Paris chés Mr Le Menu*[46] (1 book)

Pucci: *RISM* P5564
**Concerto per il violino a V. Instromenti*[47] (4 printed parts: violino principale, violino 1, violino 2, basso. 1 manuscript part: violoncello)

Sirmen: maybe *RISM* S3544 or S3545
**Six trios à deux violons et violoncello obligé* ...(1 part: basso)

Stamitz
**Première sonate en trio pour un violon, flûte traversière, & basse. ... A Louvain, chez J.F. Maswiens* (3 parts: violino 1, flauto, basso)
**Deuxième sonate en trio, pour deux violons et basse ... A Louvain, ... Maswiens* (1 part: violino 1)

Steger
**VI. Sonates a violon solo et basse continue ... Oeuvre troisième. ... A Leyde*
Handwritten: *N.o 23* (1 score)

Van der Borcht
**Six suites pour le clavecin ... Oeuvre 2 ...* [Louvain, Maswiens][48] (1 score)

[43] No other print of this work is known. H. RHEINFURTH, *Der Musikverlag Lotter in Augsburg (ca. 1719-1845)*, Tutzing, 1977, p. 139 mentions the print but adds that it is not sure that it ever existed.
[44] It is mentioned in the 1712 catalogue of Roger. LESURE, *Estienne Roger*, p. 50.
[45] The Cantillion's were an important family in nineteenth-century Diest. I would like to thank Mme. Leemans for this information.
[46] Dates from 1770. JOHANSSON, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues*, p. 111. *RISM B VI2. Ecrits imprimés concernant la musique*, F. LESURE ed., München – Duisburg, 1971.
[47] JOHANSSON, *J.J.B. Hummel*, Facsimile 9.
[48] This title can be found in the Maswiens printer's catalogue found in the anonymous print in the Martinelli collection.

Fitzthumb
Sinfonia a piu stromenti obligati ... A Paris chez Cousineau (5 parts: violino 1, alto viola, basso, oboe 1, oboe 2)
Handwritten on first page of first violin part: *Miroglia* [?]

Collective print: Haym and Bitti
*Handwritten title: *Soli del Signior haim anglus N.o 9* (1 score)
[Sei sonate à violino o haubois solo e bc. del sign. Haim e Martinello Bitti][49]

Anonymous
Six sonates en duo, pour deux violons, ... Oeuvre premier ... A Louvain, chez Jean François Masuiens (2 parts: violino 1, violino 2)
Contains the printer's catalogue

[49] LESURE, *Estienne Roger*, p. 86. Not mentioned in *RISM*. Martinello Bitti might be the same composer as the Martino Bitti who wrote the *Sonate a due violino e basso* published in London in 1711 by Walsch and Hare and also the *Solo's for a Flute, with a through Bass* of c. 1712. Ruf mentions that little is known about this composer. Johann Gottfried Walther writes that he was a musician at the Florentine Court. The oratorium *Il martiro di S. Agatha* (Florence, 1696) is by his hand and he is also known to have composed the solo cantata *Silvia nella partenza d'Erinto* preserved in manuscript. H. RUF, *Vorwort*, in *Martino Bitti. Sonaten für Altblockflöte (Querflöte, Oboe, Violine) und Basso continuo, (Hortus musicus,* 191), Kassel, 1965, volume 1.

The Di Martinelli Violin Manuscript

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When, through the kindness of Mme. Leemans and her brother[1], I first heard about the Di Martinelli-collection, I was excited by the promise of its scope and importance. When, later, I saw pictures of the manuscripts, the Violin Manuscript (New inventory number 59) particularly stood out for its size, its notation in score, and the wide geographical spread of its contents. Written somewhere in present-day Belgium, and within a few years of 1700, the manuscript documents an important stage in the history of violin playing. It contains a major collection of pieces in scordatura, it presents new works by significant musicians of the time, and it introduces first compositions by at least three composers, one a major find, and another apparently resident in the area of the Low Countries.

Thus, the manuscript is a source of considerable significance, and its music an important addition to the repertoire. As it survives today, the manuscript contains 31 pieces, with an incomplete 32nd. All are for solo violin with a figured bass: the inscription to the first suggests organ accompaniment, but there is no other indication elsewhere. The list of composers includes notable members of the Imperial circle, a distinguished German, and some significant Italians, as well as local names. A detailed inventory, indicating not only the titles and keys of all works, and a list of movements, but also the tunings of the scordatura works, starting with the lowest string, appears at the end of this paper.

The manuscript now has 34 folios, and is certainly incomplete at the end. It shows every sign of beginning with the first extant folio, and of not having been bound, rather merely sewn together. It now contains two gatherings, one of 11 folios and one of 6. From the state of the manuscript, there were probably at least two other gatherings, following these. The manuscript has a modern pagination, which I shall use here.

The manuscript was almost certainly written by one hand throughout, though not as one continuous process. For one thing, the two gatherings are on quite different paper: the first uses paper with a mark of a fleur-de-lys on a shield surmounted by a crown. Below are the initials D A, and a countermark has the

[1] I am grateful to Mme. Leemans, for making the manuscript known to me, and for other kindnesses.

mill initials of C D G. The second paper also has a fleur-de-lys for a mark, and a countermark of the letter D S, very like a mark listed in Heawood as No.1469, which was used in Amsterdam in around 1670.[2]

Secondly, the scribe used three different rastra: the first, giving a stave 10 mm high, was used to rule pages 1–43. The distance between staves is quite variable, and they are not always very straight. A second, slightly narrower, rastrum drew the staves on pages 44 and 45 (the last of gathering one and the first of gathering two), and a third was then employed for the rest of the second gathering. This produced staves that were 11 mm high, and more consistently about 12 mm apart.

As the inventory indicates, these changes of rastra do not exactly coincide with the ends and starts of pieces. However, the styles of hand-writing (and certain other features which I shall mention) suggest that the first 20 works were copied as one, rather extended, process. Piece 21 was written in a much more cramped version of the hand, and was evidently copied at a different time. While it starts with staves ruled by the first rastrum, it continues onto some of the narrower staves. At that point the scribe had ruled the staves which he needed to complete that piece, on pages 44 and 45. Page 45 then contains the opening of the first piece of the third layer of copying, which is otherwise on paper ruled with the third rastrum. This layer also shows a smaller version of the first hand, with less attractive textual initials.[3]

An obvious implication of this sequence is that the three stages of copying must have been consecutive, in the order in which they are now preserved. Each of the stages is outlined, and given a roman numeral, in a Table suggesting the order of compiling the manuscript, appearing at the end of this paper. As this Table shows, I think there were probably additional divisions in the process of copying, a suggestion based partly on repertoire and partly on details of scribal practice. These substages, with a letter following the roman numeral, are indications of changes of repertoire, and, as I believe, of the probable sources for the music copied.[4]

We can not tell how much time elapsed between each of these copying stages, although I think, from the state of the handwriting, that Ia and Ib were more or less continuous. Section IIIb certainly shows breaks in the copying: the

[2] This mark appears in E. HEAWOOD, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries (Monumenta chartae papyriceae historiam illustrantia*, 1), Hilversum, 1950, as No.1469.

[3] There are significant differences in the hand at various stages. For example, numerals seem to show two different forms. However, these two forms are not consistently used in different parts of the manuscript, but appear together, interspersed throughout the whole source. One has to conclude that there was a single hand, with more than one series of symbols available to it.

[4] Notice that, in this table, I have included two anonymous pieces, numbers 12 and 15, among Goor's works. I shall mention some stylistic reasons for this later.

last pieces were each written with a different ink, and perhaps a different nib. We can, however, advance approximate dates for the overall process. The date of 1670, assigned to Heawood's example of a paper similar to gathering 2, is surely too early for any part of this manuscript. The two works by Petersen, which open the volume, were published in Amsterdam in 1683, and Walther's compositions were published in his *Hortus Chelicus* of 1688. I believe the manuscript to have been started late in the 1690s, and to have been completed soon after 1700.

As may be suspected, and will become evident, the manuscript was very probably written in Flemish-speaking areas, perhaps in or near Brussels, and by someone more fluent in Italian than in French. There are also connections with other material in the Di Martinelli collection. The second watermark also appears in a manuscript of the motet *In plenitudine temporis*, attributed to Petz.[5] One voice-part of this motet was probably copied by the copyist of the violin manuscript, at about the time he was writing in numbers 28–30, though on a different paper.

The scribe was certainly more fluent in musical Italian than in French. His *Vólti subito* injunctions are consistently in Italian. This holds throughout the manuscript, even in the layers of compositions with French titles, with one exception, which is unusual and apparently copied from an exemplar. Then, too, the composers are consistently referred to as *Signore* – although the spelling of the standard abbreviation is by no means consistent. However, this does not really help in identifying him, for both languages were readily used in the area.

The nature of the repertoire, the manner of copying, and the condition of the manuscript would all suggest that it was compiled for a professional violinist, and intended to provide a repertoire for performance. However, there is little evidence of use, and what there is suggests that only selected pieces were used in that way. There are, it is true, several corrections, and even a large collette. However, the great majority of the erasures and corrections seem to have been made at the time of copying, presumably as a result of checking the copy against the exemplar. This is necessarily true for the collette, which covered part of the first line of No. 10 on page 25, and also obscured the already-entered composer's name. This name was then re-written further to the left, and in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. If these corrections were made while the manuscript was being copied, it is also significant that there is quite a number of small errors in the musical text, many which have not been corrected.

The only pieces of evidence suggesting that the manuscript was used for performance lie in the following later additions:

[5] This is No.5 in the provisional numbering of the collection. It contains four parts. I am grateful to Veronique Vespeurt who informed me that she also had detected the correspondence in mark and hand between these manuscripts.

1) the pieces are numbered: the early numbers were added at the time of copying, in an Italian style: *sonata quinta*, etc. Numbers 11-13 are also called *Sonatas*, but the numberings seem to have been added after the music was copied, though they are in the same hand. This change does coincide with a division in the repertoire – for those three works, despite their titles, are really Suites. The remaining pieces rarely have any title, and those that are there evidently are copied from the exemplars. Even though the first few of these are also Suites, all subsequent numerals are clearly much later, in a different hand and ink, and most show no indication of being based on Italian style. The numerals, from 14 to 32, were certainly entered after No.31 was copied, at the earliest. One of these numbers is entered at the wrong place. The number 23 is placed in the middle of Suite 22: and I have therefore used the numeral 23a for the actual new composition. This extended numbering certainly shows that a later owner needed to find his way around the manuscript.

2) a number of the pieces in *scordatura* have small boxes above the first system, giving the numerical intervals represented by the unusual tuning: thus a tuning that ascends a, e', a', e'' is prefaced by the numerals 545: another, tuned b, f#', b, d'', is numbered 345, reading downwards. The numbers apparently serve as an aid in tuning the violin. The player of course needed to know at least one (apparently the highest) of the actual pitches in order to tune the violin against the continuo keyboard instrument, before beginning to play any composition. But the numbers would allow him to tune more easily, and to maintain the tuning throughout a performance, by checking the intervals between strings.

These entries are certainly later, and may have been written by the hand that finished the piece numbers: they are not found on all the *scordatura* compositions, and probably signalled the compositions that this annotator intended to play. The inventory indicates when the numbers are present. These include both pieces by Schmelzer, the Gigue by Wenseler, with its consequent Sarabande by Goor, and a selection of other works by Goor.*

3) there are also a very few corrections to the music, entered in a later hand. One major example is in composition No.25, one of Lonati's works. This must have been written by a performer. On the other hand, there is a fair number of copying errors that have not been corrected.

Thus, I believe that one owner of the manuscript, apparently not the scribe, used it for performance, and that we can identify some of the pieces he chose.
Certainly, the source was intended for use: at some 380 mm in height, it would

* Since several pieces by Goor do not have these numbers, he was probably not the violinist who wrote them into the manuscript.

have been easily legible. The spacing of the music in the layer that I have called Ia, and in all of layer III, is generous. The scribe was extravagant with white space: no new compositions begin on the lowest brace: indeed, he would not even start internal movements anywhere other than at the very beginning of this lowest system. At the end of layer Ia, on page 22, he leaves the last two staves empty, apparently because this is the end of the first stage of copying: it confirms the separation between layers Ia and Ib.

By contrast, in layer Ib, the scribe is very careful not to waste any space. More movements start near the end of a system, and more music is crammed onto every line. At one point he begins a new composition on the last system, and twice he adds short extra staves at the foot of a page, in order to squeeze in the last measures of a composition. Finally, page turns are generally less well-handled. At this point, therefore, he seems to have hoped to complete the available repertoire in the first gathering, without adding more paper.

Layer II is the most cramped of all. The rastrum is the smallest, and the music is compressed to a point at which the score would be significantly harder to use in performance.

Table 1 indicates not only the major sections of copying, but also some other information of importance: it separates the works into those which do or do not involve *scordatura* tuning of the violin; it also separates works which use French titles from those which follow Italian style. The scribe is apparently capable of reading and transcribing both languages, in that there are few spelling errors, and the occasional abbreviations that are used are correct.

As can be seen from the Table, the patterns of repertoire and of *scordatura* more or less follow the divisions that I have proposed on the strength of paleographical evidence. Most noticeable are two features: one is the group of works using French movement titles, beginning with No. 11 and proceeding to the end of layer I. The second is the division between pieces in standard violin tuning and those in *scordatura*. There is a run of these latter pieces, from No. 10 to No. 23a. The only exceptions are the standard tuning in No. 21 (the later addition of an Albicastro sonata), and the earlier use of *scordatura* in No. 7. This pattern is important when considering the probable musical influences of Goor, the central figure in this manuscript, but otherwise almost completely unknown.[7]

Scordatura, the deliberate mis-tuning of strings, was not an unusual phenomenon during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It was much more common in members of the lute family, where tuning bass strings down added extra resonance, and allowed for accompaniment at the 16-foot range. In violin music, it was, by the late seventeenth century, a particularly German and Imperial

[7] Mlle. Verspeurt tells me that she has so far discovered no evidence of other works by Goor in the Di Martinelli collection.

phenomenon. Certainly, a number of Italians had already used the technique during the mid-century. But composers in Vienna and Bohemia and Moravia took it to much greater lengths in the years before 1700. Soon thereafter, however, the device was taken up in France and northern Europe, and it was exploited well into the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most famous examples are Biber's set of Mystery Sonatas, and a number of pieces written by Schmelzer.

Both these composers are represented in the manuscript, Biber by one Sonata (No. 6 wrongly ascribed and in fact by Johan Jacob Walther) in the standard tuning. Schmelzer's works (both Suites)[8] are in the most common tuning – a, e', a', e'' – also used by Biber, and cited by both Corrette, in France, and Tartini, in Italy. The tuning for the anonymous No. 15 (probably by Goor), as well as for the piece attributed to Wenseler (No. 17), is related, merely lowering the pitch of the top string to produce the sequence a, e', a', d'' – also used by Biber. In addition, Goor's Sarabande (No. 18), intended to accompany Wenseler's piece, necessarily uses the same tuning.

Both these tunings were among the most common, and both act to reinforce the sonority of A, major or minor. They make chords on A and D much easier to play, and also use the sympathetic vibrations of unplayed open strings to strengthen the sound of these chords. The two works in the first tuning are, predictably, written in A major, while the three in the second tuning are in D minor or major. An additional advantage with both these tunings was that raising the pitch of the lower two strings a tone also made them produce a more brilliant sound, reinforcing the virtuosic effect of the compositions.

All the other nine compositions in *scordatura* either are ascribed to Goor, or are anonymous in the manuscript. They use a total of seven different tunings, only three of which appear in Biber's Mystery Sonatas, and some of which are quite unusual. Two of these tunings are close to the normal one for the violin: one, the anonymous No. 23a, written in G minor, merely tunes the top string down one tone – g, d', a', d''. The other – a, d', a', d'' – is used for further compositions in D major (No. 7 and 12). These tunings, in common with the first two I have mentioned, are built up solely of fourths and fifths, and exploit pitches and chordal strengths that are already latent in the standard tuning, and for which violins were built.

The remaining six compositions use five different tunings, for none of which is more than one string tuned to its accustomed pitch. Four of these are attributed to Goor, and it is probable that he wrote all six. Only one (No. 11) also concentrates on intervals of a fourth or a fifth, with a tuning corresponding to that for numbers 7 and 12, but up another tone (b, e', b', e''), supporting a composition in E major. Another group of three compositions, with two tunings, uses a third

[8] These are numbered 19 and 22-23. As I noted above, the number 23 was added in the wrong place by a later user of the manuscript.

between the middle two strings. This shows a desire to make full triads easier to play, especially in the tonic: the tuning of b, g', b', d'' is used for a piece (No. 13) in G major, while c', f', a', d'' reinforces two compositions (10 and 16) in F major.[9] The first of these is particularly unusual, both in raising the lowest string to b, and in the lowest interval: instead of the more normal fourth or fifth, both of which reinforce the resonance of the instrument, this uses a minor sixth between the two lowest strings. The second tuning encourages the composition of chords in close position, for all four open strings lie in the compass of only a ninth.

The final two tunings also use a third among the intervals, but look to be even more unusual, for both appear to use the interval of a tritone (b-f') for the lower two strings. For No. 20, there is in fact a sharp placed before the beginning of the composition, indicating that the f should be raised: this piece is composed in B minor, and the violin is tuned b, f' sharp, b', d'', again giving a complete chord on open strings.[10] In the case of No. 14, there is no such indication: the apparent tuning of b, f', a', d'' needs the lowest string actually to be tuned to b flat, the tonic of the composition. This is immediately evident from the notation of the first cadences in the violin part, as well as from the small box with numerals 435 (added later above the piece). Both these tunings, therefore, keep a perfect fifth between the two lower strings, and both emphasise a triad in their tuning.

The range of composers represented by these pieces is significant: Schmelzer was certainly dead by the time the music in his layer of this manuscript was copied, but he had worked almost all his life in Vienna.[11] Finger was employed at Olomouc and probably Kromeriz, both in Moravia.[12] I suspect that the ascription to Wenseler refers to the composer Mikulaj Wentzely, who passed much of his career in church positions in Prague.[13] If I am right, this Gigue becomes the first purely instrumental composition by him to surface in modern times. Unfortunately, it is not a very interesting piece, showing a number of stylistic weaknesses. It is probably an arrangement of an ensemble composition.

[9] This tuning, as well as the more unusual c', f', a', c'', can be found in the violin manuscript now in the Minoritenkonvent in Vienna. It is cited in Corrette's *École d'Orphée* of 1738, as well as by Castrucci and Tartini. Both were used by Biber.

[10] A similar tuning, with the top string on e'', appears in two works in the Minoritenkonvent manuscript.

[11] He had been a member of the imperial court since at least 1636, and rose to the highest positions before his death in 1680. One set of solo sonatas for violin, *Sonatae unarum fidium*, was published in 1664: a modern edition can be found in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, xciii (1958). Other solo sonatas survive in manuscript.

[12] On Finger, see the contribution of Robert G. Rawson in the present volume.

[13] See the biographical entry in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S. SADIE ed.

In this manuscript, the music of all three of these composers (Finger, Schmelzer and Wentzely) lies in close proximity to works by Goor. In the first layer, the sole composition by Biber is transmitted with one by Goor, and is linked to it in another, interesting manner, to which I shall refer shortly: the work by Wentzely is formally associated with a work attributed to Goor, the *Sarabande pour la Gigue de Wenseler.* and the first Schmelzer composition is surrounded by music by Goor. His music, like theirs, uses *scordatura*, markedly extending the range of tunings employed. It seems evident that he was a skilled violinist of the late 17th century, and that he knew a range of unpublished music from Vienna or Bohemia. He apparently owned violin music, for his signature and the date 1712 appear on a copy of Loeillet's Op.1, 12 sonatas printed by Etienne Roger, and also in the Dr Martinelli collection.[14]

In addition to these Eastern composers, one true German is also represented in the manuscript. Johann Jakob Walther worked for much of his life in the court at Mainz,[15] where in 1688 he published the set of sonatas, *Hortus Chelicus*, from which these descriptive pieces come. The pieces themselves are notoriously hard to perform, not only technically, but also because of the expressive demands that they impose. They are one more indication that the copyist or the user of the manuscript must have been a performer of the very highest ability.

It seems evident that the Bohemian and Viennese music arrived at the copyist's desk by some personal conduit more or less directly from its region of origin. The presence of music by the minor Wentzely argues for that, as does the way they are mixed in with works by the unpublished Goor. The compositions by Walther, however, were much more likely to have been transcribed from a copy of the printed edition.

Next in number of compositions, if not of renown, comes a smaller group of Italian composers. While the most famous Italians, Uccellini or Marini, or more particularly Corelli or Vitali, are lacking, the music of the three men included here is attractive and historically interesting.

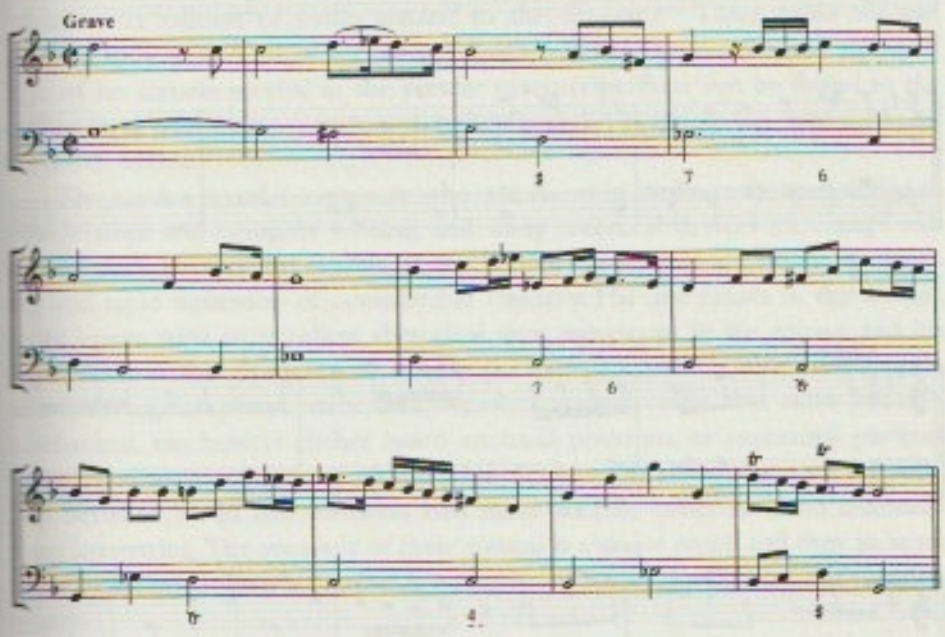
The earliest is Pietro Paolo Cappellini, a shadowy figure, who probably worked in Rome in the mid-seventeenth century.[16] His sonata is stylistically the earliest work in the manuscript, and does not present the alternation of slow and

[14] See the article by Veronique Verspeurt in the present volume.

[15] He moved to Mainz at least by 1681. However, he had previously been at the court of Saxony in Dresden. While there, he had published his *Scherzi da violino solo*, 1676: a modern edition is in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, Reihe 1, 17. The *Hortus Chelicus* comes from his time at Mainz.

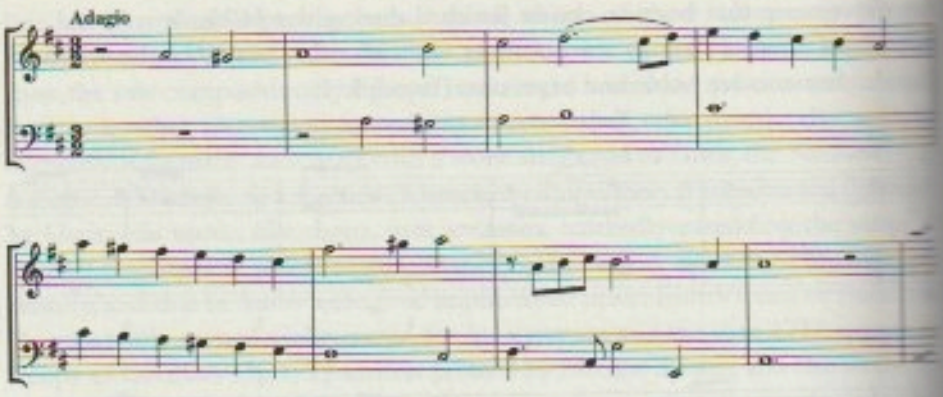
[16] The only biographical information, given in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S. SADIE ed., comes from evidence in his score for *La forza d'Amore*. There is one other violin work, now in the British Library.

fast movements that became almost standard during the 1670s. It is lyrical and technically simpler than its surroundings. As with other works of the time, the slow movements are noble and expressive (Example 1).

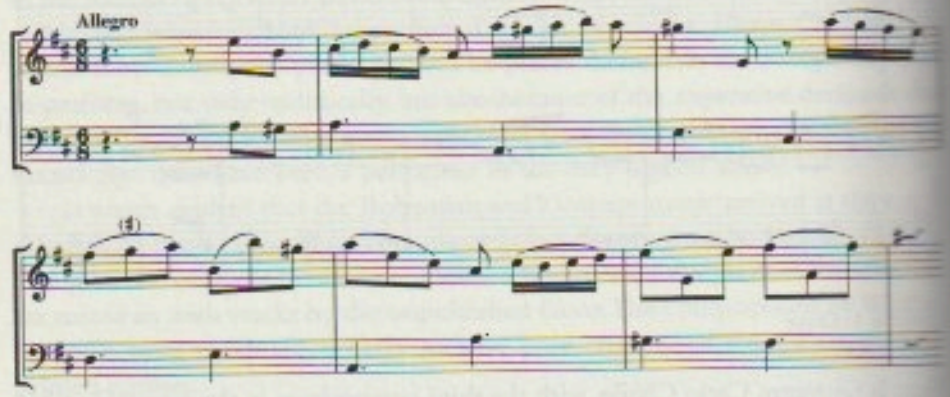


Example 1. Grave

Next is Giovanni Carlo Chailo, with the third composition in the manuscript. He was born ca. 1653, and seems to have passed his early years and studied in Rome. He was well-known as a virtuoso, and spent much of his career as principal violinist in the Neapolitan Royal Chapel. Despite his reputation, this is the first of his works to have survived. It is an excellent sonata, with three pairs of slow-fast movements, and an interest in making digressions into the minor mode. The opening Adagio is elegantly turned, and is followed by a Canzona which looks straightforward on the page, but is effectively written. The last pair comprise a fine Adagio in triple metre, and a witty Allegro, both derived from dance-styles (Example 2).



a) Adagio



b) Allegro

Example 2.

Both these works lie on the more melodious side of the great divide between virtuosity and lyricism that characterises late seventeenth-century violin writing, and they are excellent examples of the school which reached a culmination in the music of Arcangelo Corelli.

By contrast, the third Italian represented here was regarded as one of the most brilliant vituosos of his time. Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, nicknamed *Il Gobbo della Regina* (The Queen's Hunchback) worked in Rome for some years as violinist and singer for Queen Christina of Sweden, was a successful composer of opera, and later moved to other Italian cities – Genova, Mantova and Modena among

them.[17] While both Chailo and Cappellini were lyrical composers, and their music was not especially violinistic, Lonati wrote music that was more fanciful, more wayward, and yet more idiomatic for the instrument.

Lonati is thought to have had contacts with circles in Vienna, for he dedicated his 1701 edition of violin sonatas to the Emperor.[18] Three more sonatas, ascribed only to C.A., now survive in Vienna, and have been attributed to him.[19] Five of his sonatas survive in the present manuscript. Four can be found in the earliest layer of copying. I suspect that they probably pre-date the publication of the 1701 edition.

The sonatas reveal a composer who was fluent in violin technique, skilled at double stops and complex writing, and using technical devices for completely musical ends. He was also capable of, and known for, producing fantasia-like writing and rapid figuration of considerable intensity. His first sonata in this manuscript opens with an excellent rhetorical slow movement in the minor, and his movements in this character are usually the most successful. Often, however, he falls into regular phrase structures, repeated melodic cells that soon become mechanical, mechanical clichés based on hand positions, or sequential patterns that extend too far. The later addition, No. 25, is rather better, with the relationship between violin and continuo bass more skilfully conceived, and musically more interesting. The recovery of these sonatas is a major event, and they indicate a side of Italian violin playing that was largely lost under the influence of Corelli's sonatas.

The placing of Lonati's sonatas in this manuscript is suggestive of the manner of their transmission to the Low Countries. The late one appears, with a work by Cappellini, next to the four sonatas of Walther: as a group, they seem to represent a distinct layer of copying, after the works by Schmelzer. It seems probable that all six of these came to the scribe together, perhaps from Dresden: in that case, the two Italian works would be just one more manifestation of the wide-ranging nature of musical patronage at that court at the end of the century.

The earlier sonatas, on the other hand, are coupled with the Neapolitan work by Chailo, and surround music by Walther and Goor (no. 6 and 7). There is every reason to believe that these were collected in the Low Countries. The pieces by Walther and Goor are indicative here: each has an ascription somewhere in the piece, that is presented in Flemish. The Walther sonata is headed *Cockoeck*, rather than with its German title of *Cuca*: and the last movement of Goor's sonata is

[17] Once again, the only recent biographical information is to be found in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S. SADIE ed. : the problems surrounding attributions to him are outlined in the list of works attached to the article there. None of the three Italian composers - Cappellini, Chailo and Lonati - feature in the survey of the repertoire in W. APEL, *Italian Violin Music of the Seventeenth Century*, Bloomington, 1983.

[18] This set has been published, in *Prattica musicale*, Winterthur, 1981, vol. 3.

[19] There is no obvious alternative composer, unless it be Marini.

headed *Peper Stooter*. The movement is apparently intended to imitate a stutterer. Music Example 3c presents part of that movement, replacing the *scordatura* notation with sounding pitches. Such pictorial movements, famous in the music of Walther, are rare outside the work of German and central European composers. However, this movement is matched by one in the preceding Walther sonata, headed *Largo Cecca*. In a similar attempt at humour, this contains very fast, very high rattling pitches, apparently depicting the title, which could refer to chattering birds or women.[20] The combination of Flemish inscriptions in these two sonatas, coupled with the pictorial movements, suggests strongly that the scribe of the Di Martinelli manuscript gathered these two pieces from a local source. Given the presence of the two opening pieces, by the local David Petersen, it is likely that the intervening works, by Chailo and Lonati, also circulated freely in the Low Countries.

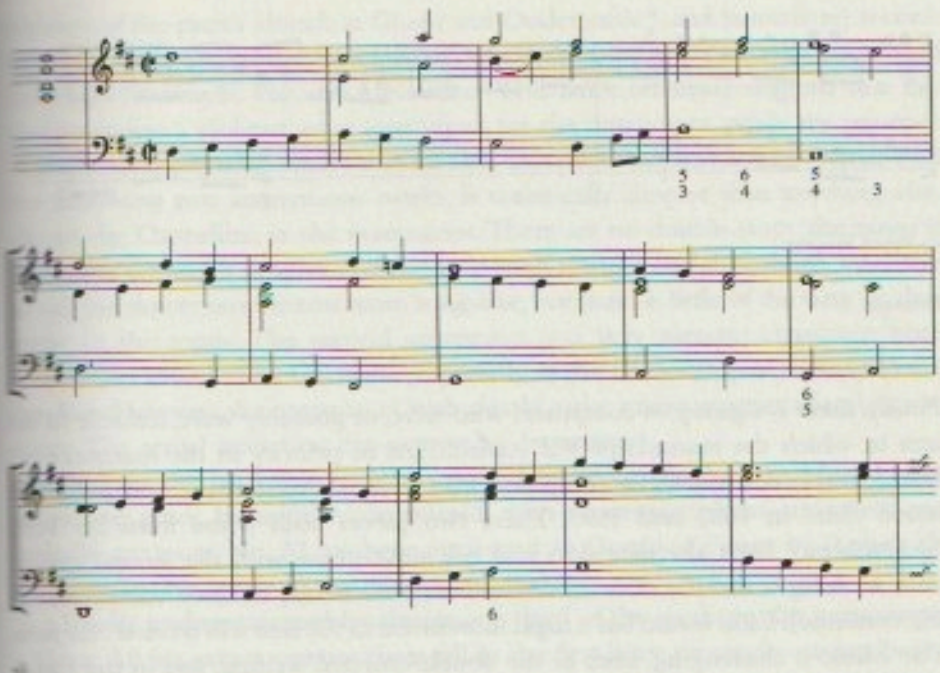
In fact, I doubt that any of the Italian music came directly from Italy. The absence of music by Corelli is particularly significant, for he was well-known in the Low Countries. Although his solo sonatas, Op. 5, were not printed in Amsterdam until the turn of the century,[21] trio sonatas had been printed in Amsterdam before 1690.[22] The likelihood must be strong that any direct access to violin music in Italy would have included some of his solo works, or those of Antonio Veracini, Tomaso Vitali or Marini.[23] Instead, the presence of the relatively older and more obscure Cappellini argues for a more indirect route of transmission. At the same time, it tends to suggest that the manuscript must have been completed by about 1705.

[20] An alternative translation, offered for example by Barbara Reynolds (in *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary*), is "to sing or play out of tune".

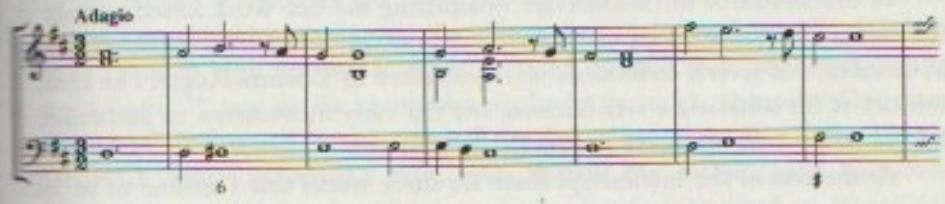
[21] The first editions in the north are generally undated: two of his solo sonatas were published in Amsterdam, probably in 1698, by Estienne Roger (see *RISM* [1698]7). A complete Op. 5 appeared from the same press soon after its debut in Italy, in 1700 (*RISM* C3806), as did an edition from Walsh in London.

[22] Di Martinelli apparently owned copies of Corelli's Opus 4: they survive in his collection, and one set has a catalogue number on the parts. The list of his music supplied in Veronique Verspeurt's article shows that he also owned other solo violin music, including a volume by Biber. There is a reference to music by Corelli in a 1695 petition from Francois Barbry of Bruges, requesting permission to print music by him, and by Albicastro, Vitali, D. Gabrielli, Matteis and others. Given the other names in the list, it is possible that this request was for solo violin sonatas, or (perhaps more probably) for trio sonatas. E. VAN DER STRAETEN, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe Siècle*, Brussels, 1867-1888, vol. 5, p. 234.

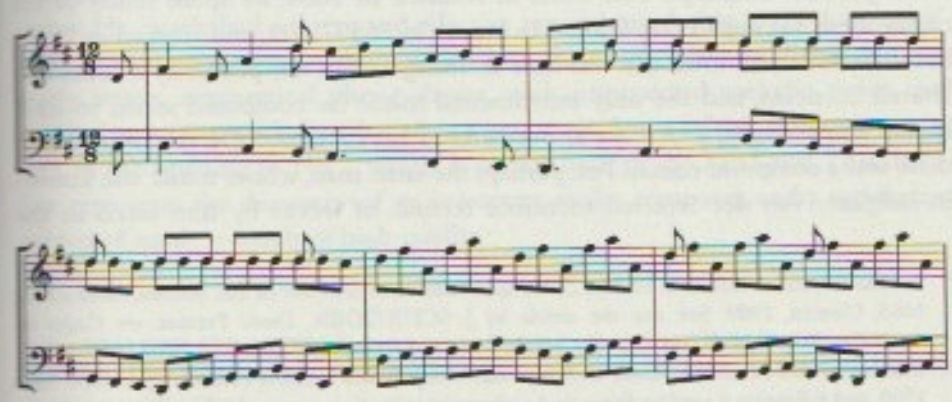
[23] In fact, there seem to have been no editions of Vitali from any press north of the Alps, apart from a single piece in an undated anthology published by Walsh, probably in 1705. This is also the year in which Carlo Marini's sonatas were first published, in Venice, to be followed (probably quite quickly) by an edition from Roger, in Amsterdam. Veracini's music was also published by Roger, though during the preceding decades.

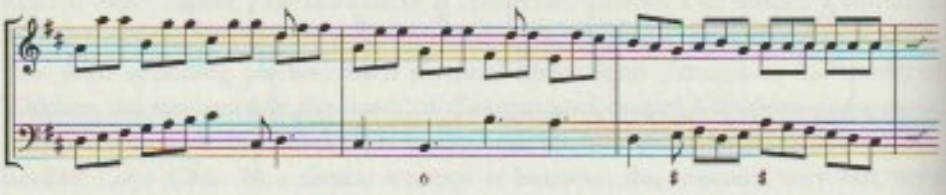


a)



b) Adagio





c) Peper Stooter

Example 3.

Finally, there is a group of composers who were, or probably were, resident in the area in which the manuscript was copied. First in priority in the manuscript is David Petersen, a northern composer, who lived in Amsterdam, and published music there in 1683 and 1693. These two pieces both come from his 1683 *Speelstukken*.[24] Both alternate slow and fast movements, with the second ending with an Adagio, and the slow movements are consistently in three voices (one in the continuo). Each sonata has a fugal movement: in the first it is headed *Alle furie*. The music is challenging, both in the double-stopped writing, and in the range, going up to high f and e, higher than in most other works of the manuscript.

In the middle of the manuscript, comprising the one work added at stage II, is a sonata by Weissenburgh, or Albicastro. A brilliant violinist, his music was much in demand, and several collections were published by Etienne Roger. The characteristics of his sonatas are well-known, and the early movements, in particular, of this work are both virtuosic and musically effective.

At the end of the manuscript there are three works that I assume to be local in provenance. The first is attributed to Petz, whose identity is somewhat problematic. There are two possible identifications: one, the most immediately plausible, is Johann Christoph Pez. Born in Munich in 1664, he spent much of his career there. He apparently studied in Rome in 1689-1692, and worked in Bonn between 1694 and 1701. He was later in Stuttgart. He was primarily a court and church musician, and the only instrumental music he composed seems to have lain in trio textures, which act as overtures to his cantatas.[25] On the other hand, there was a composer named Pez, perhaps the same man, whose music was known in Belgium. Van der Straeten mentions records of works by him listed in the

[24] See the facsimile edition, D. PETERSEN, *Speelstukken met een Viool en Bas continuo*, Amsterdam, 1683, Utrecht, 1989. See also the article by J. SCHRÖDER, *David Petersen: ein Geiger im Amsterdam des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Alte Musik: Praxis und Reflexion*, Winterthur, 1983, pp. 267-271.

[25] Editions of trio sonatas appeared in Amsterdam (Roger) and London (Walsh), again soon after 1700, and following a single edition in Augsburg in 1696. Some are published in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern*, 27-28 (1928).

archives of the parish church at Ghent and Oudenaarde[26], and (elsewhere) records of a collection of manuscripts donated to Oudenaarde in 1734, which included works by Martinelli, Pez and Albicastro.[27] This latter reference suggests that this composer was a violinist, or at least wrote for the instrument, while the presence of a solo motet by Petz shows that he also wrote for the church. His sonata, with the following two anonymous works, is technically simpler than anything else, except the Cappellini, in the manuscript. There are no double-stops, the range is lower, the texture is simpler, and the style itself is more straightforward. I hesitate to call the slower movements more song-like, but there is little of the fiery or dramatic in the music. The second movement is a very pleasant chaconne: both movements sound more Germanic, especially in the relationship of melody to the bass line. However, the presence of such clearly easier music suggests a local provenance. The actual ascription can not yet be determined.

As I say, the last two sonatas are also relatively simple. Even so, No. 31 is an interesting piece, beautifully constructed, with interesting phrase-structures and melodic contours. No. 32 has been attributed to Gottfried Finger by Robert G. Rawson (see his article in the present volume).

Finally, and represented by almost one third of the works in the manuscript, is Goor. All his extant compositions fall in the first layer: six works are attributed to him, and at least three others are probably also his. He was clearly a skilful violinist: his are the works with the more unusual tunings, and he demands a wide range of string crossing to exploit the effects they make available. He does not require as much high writing as either Petersen or Albicastro, very rarely going above a high c`'': nor do his compositions display as much virtuosity. Goor can write in both Italian and French genres:[28] the first of his works (No. 7) lies among others with italian movement titles, even though the melodic and harmonic rhythm of one movement if reminiscent of a Sarabande. Like numbers 10 and 11, this work adopts Italian tempo markings. His remaining works all label their movements with French dance names, and he is skilful at using dance metres and forms. He clearly had a fluent and effective musical mind, able to think in specifically instrumental terms without falling into chains of violinistic clichés. He regularly writes assymetrical phrase-shapes, with unexpected melodic twists, and alternatives to the stock four-bar phrase structures. Some of this character can be seen in the opening to No.7, which is on the back of the hand-out. This therefore represents the discovery of an important violin composer, and a significiant corpus of music – much of high quality.

[26] See VAN DER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas…*, vol. 5, p. 232, and vol. 1, p. 214.

[27] E. VAN DER STRAETEN, *Recherches sur la musique à Audenarde avant le XIXe siècle*, Antwerp, 1856, pp. 220-225.

[28] I have already mentioned his ownership of an edition of Loeillet's Opus 1 sonatas.

I have tried to make clear, in as many ways as possible, that this highly important manuscript was written somewhere near its present location, and that it contains some of the most significant violin music of its time. The original owner was a skilled player of international calibre, part of a virtuoso tradition: the named local composers were similarly of high quality. The presence of Petersen at the start of the manuscript acts as a signature for both the provenance and the significance of the source and its contents. If none of these contents came directly from Italy, as I believe, we can deduce the more probable sources: some from somewhere in Vienna or further east, and some perhaps from Dresden, with the remainder drawn from sources previously in the area of the manuscript. The whole confirms the international taste of the Low Countries around 1700, and the extent to which music was freely disseminated, in print and manuscript, throughout northern Europe.

It is tempting, though (I think) fruitless, to look for the hand of Di Martinelli, in either the music or the copying. A majority of the anonyma, as I say, probably belong to Goor, but he is unlikely to have been the copyist. The only compositions that could possibly have been written by Di Martinelli are the ones at the very end of the manuscript, and there is no reason to suggest such an attribution. Nonetheless, the scribe of this manuscript does appear once elsewhere in the Di Martinelli collection,[29] suggesting that he was a minor copyist in the circle, and primarily a performer.

Whoever the scribe was, this one scribal concordance does tie him to Di Martinelli and his circle. While much of the manuscript music elsewhere in the collection is anonymous, and some is probably local, the particular manuscript shows that the musical taste at Diest was not parochial, but could embrace the work of leading composers from all over Europe. At the same time, in Goor, it adds another significant name to that group.

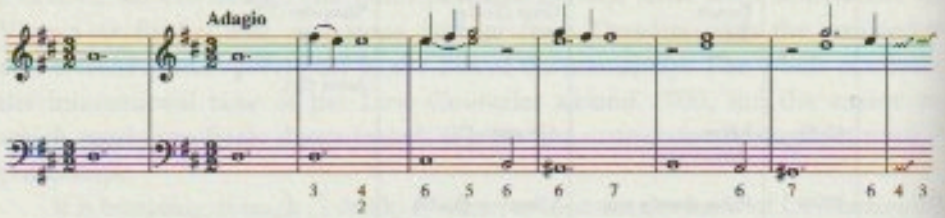
[29] I have found his work in one voice-part, that to No.5 of the collection. See again the adjacent article by Veronique Verspeurt.

Table 1. Stages of compilation

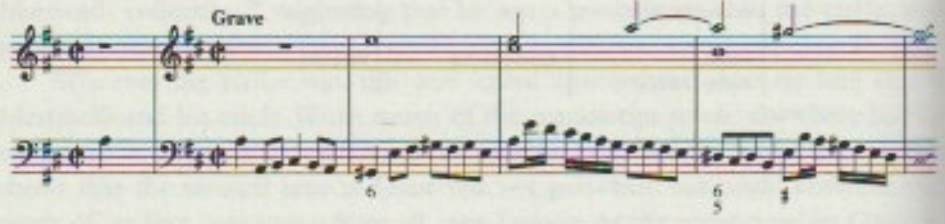
Layer	Pages	Language and titles	With scordatura	Without scordatura
Ia	1–25	Italian abstract titles	Goor (7)	Petersen (1–2) Chailo (3) Lonati (4,5,8,9) Biber (6)
Ib	25–42	Italian	Goor (10–11)	
		French dance titles	Goor (11–16)	Wensseler (17) Goor (18) Schmelzer (19) Anon (20)
II	42–45	Italian abstract titles	Albicastro (21)	
IIIa	45–49	Italian abstract titles	Schmelzer (22–23)	
		French/Italian dance titles	Anon (23a)	
IIIb	49–68	Italian abstract titles	Cappellini (24)	Lonati (25)
		Italian descriptive titles		Walther (26–29)
		Italian abstract titles	Anon (31–32)	Petz (30)

THE DI MARTINELLI VIOLIN MANUSCRIPT: INVENTORY

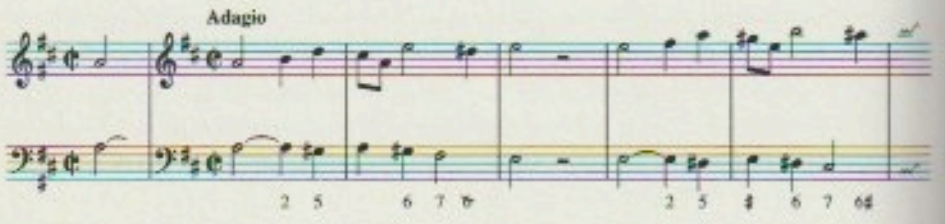
1 p.1 *Violino Solon con L. Organo* *del Sig^r Peterson*
Adagio; Allegro; Tremulo; Alle furie [fugue];
Adagio – Presto; Adagio – Allegro – Adagio – Allegro



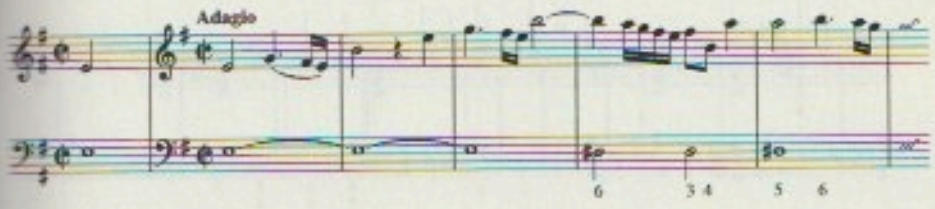
2 3.vi *Sonata Secunda* *Del Sig^r Peterson*
Grave; Presto – Adagio; Allegro; Adagio [- Allegro]



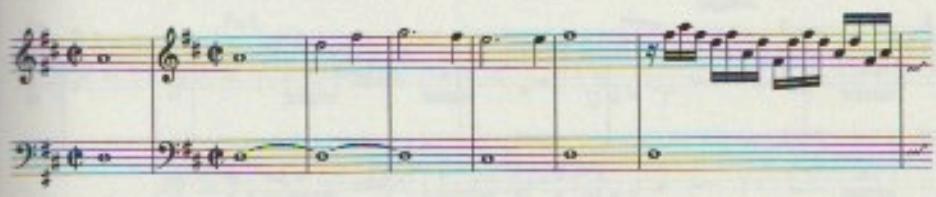
3 5 *Sonata terza* *Del Sig^r Cio Carlo Chailo.*
Adagio; Canzona; Adagio – Allegro; Adagio; Allegro



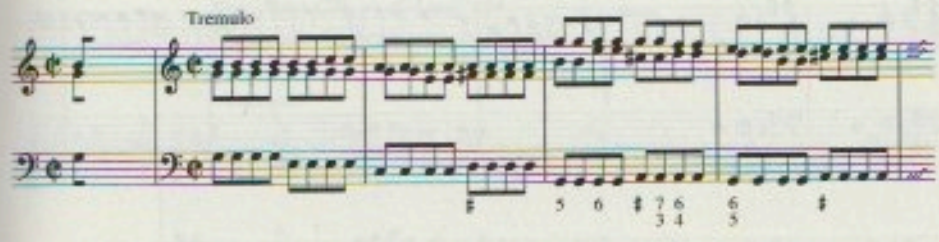
4 7.vi *Sonata quarta* *Del Sig^r Carlo Ambrosio*
Lonatij dette Il Gobbo
Adagio; Allegro; Adagio; [Allegro] – Adagio



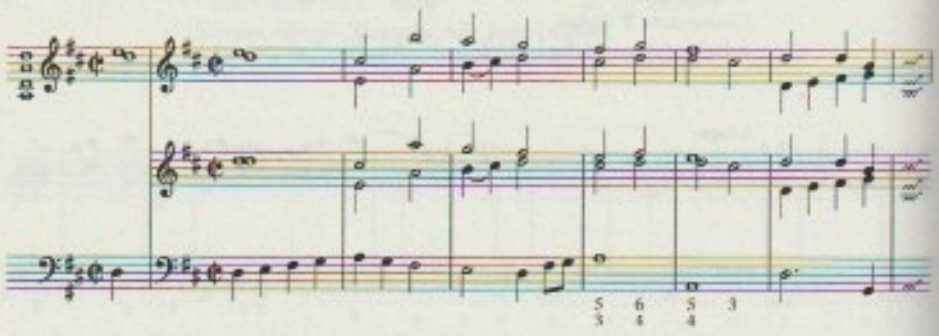
5 10 *Sonata quinta* *Del Sig^r Gobbo.*
[Adagio]; [Allegro]; Canzona; Grave [– Allegro]; Adagio – [Allegro, fugato]



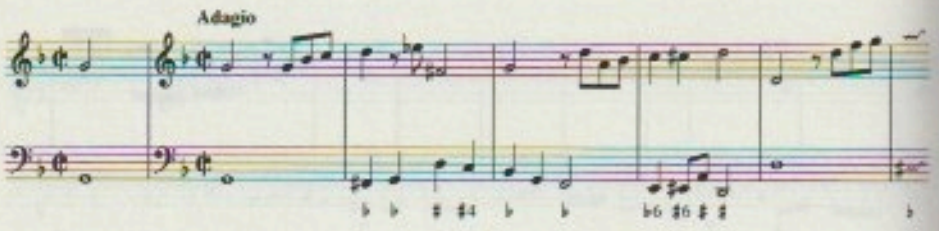
6 13 *Sonata Sexta* [and] *Cockcock* *Del Sig^r Biber* [J.J. Walther]
Tremulo [– Allegro]; [Adagio]; Grave; [Allegro];
Adagio: [Allegro]; Largo – Largo Cecca; [Largo]



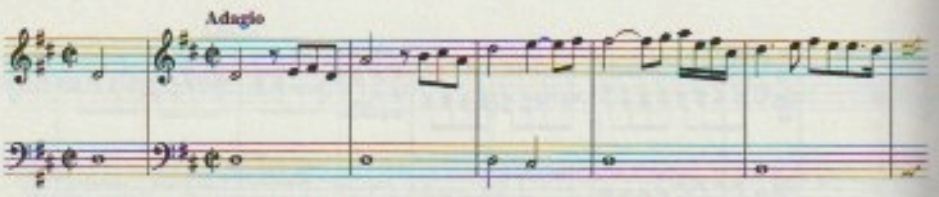
7 16 *Sonata Septima* *Del Sig^r N. Gorr.*
Scordatura: a, d', a', d''
[Adagio]; Presto – Adagio; Adagio [Sarabande];
[Allegro: fugato]; Presto; Prestissimo; Peper Stooter



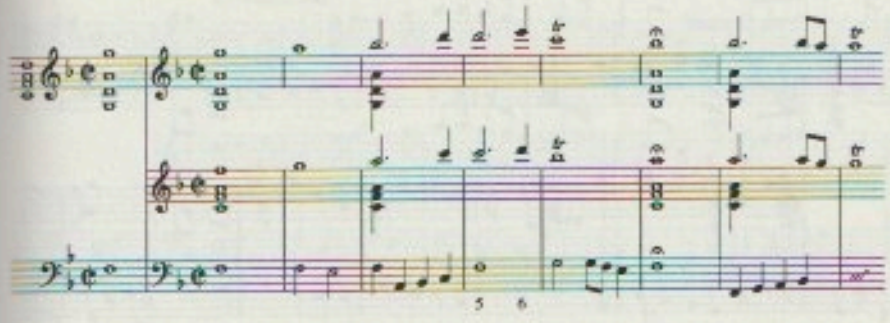
8 19.ii *Sonata Octava* *Del Sig^r Gobbo.*
Adagio [- Allegro]; Lento; Allegro; Tremulo; Adagio; Adagio; Aria [and] Presto;
Gigue [and] Largo



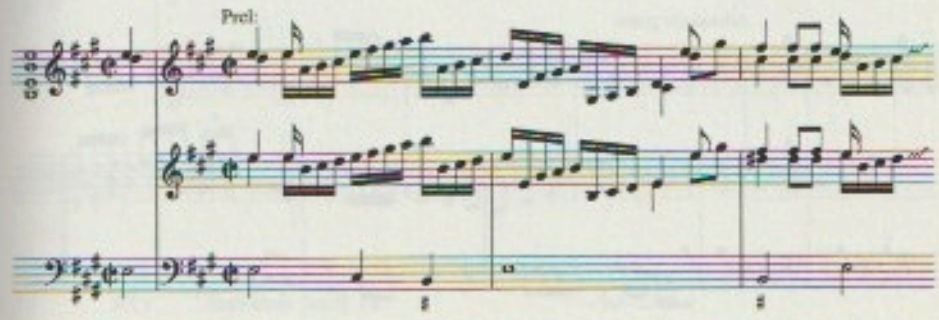
9 23 *Sonata Nona* *Del Sig^r Gobbo.*
Adagio – Allegro; Adagio; Allegro – Adagio – Allegro; Arietta



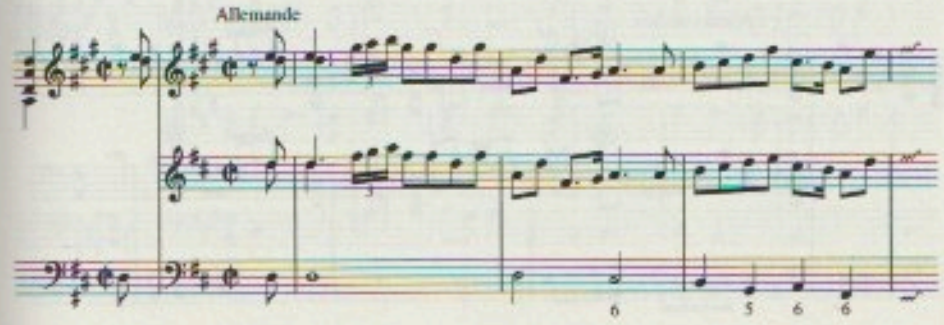
10 25.ii *Sonata decima.* *Del Sgr Goor.*
Scordatura: c', f', a', d''
[Adagio]; [Allegro]; [Aria]; [Allegro]; Grave; Vivace



11 28 *Sonata 11ma* *Del Sigr Goor.*
Scordatura: b, e', b♭, e''
Prel:; Courente; Grave; Vivace; Gigúe; Canzon;
Allegro

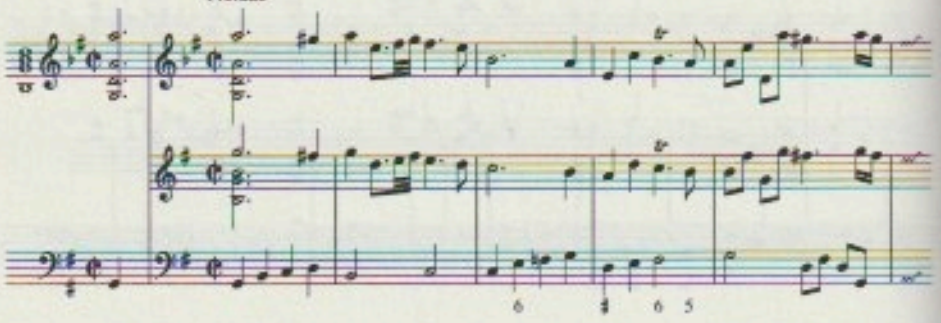


12 30.iii *Sonata 12ma* [Anon.: ?Goor]
Scordatura: a, d', a', d'' [and] 454
Allemande. Gigue; Courante; Sarabande



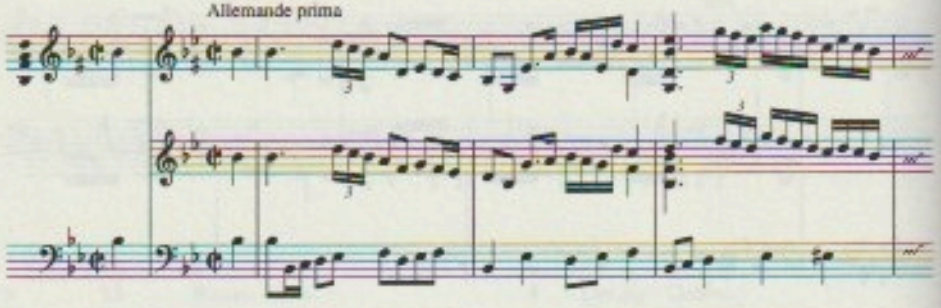
13 32.viii *Sonata 13ª* *Del Sigr Goor.*
Scordatura: b, g', b', d''
Prelude; Allemande; Courante; Grave – [Allegro];
Gigue [and] Presto

Prelude



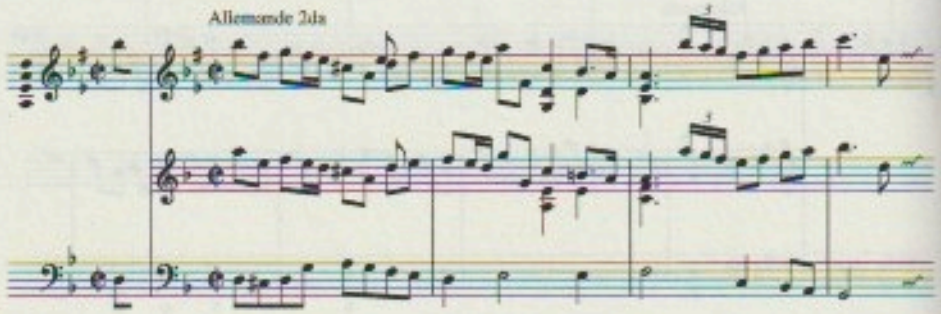
14 35.iii [*Suite*] *14ª* *Del Sigr Goor.*
Scordatura: b flat, f', a', d'' [and] 435
Allemande prima; Courante; Gavotte; Gigue

Allemande prima

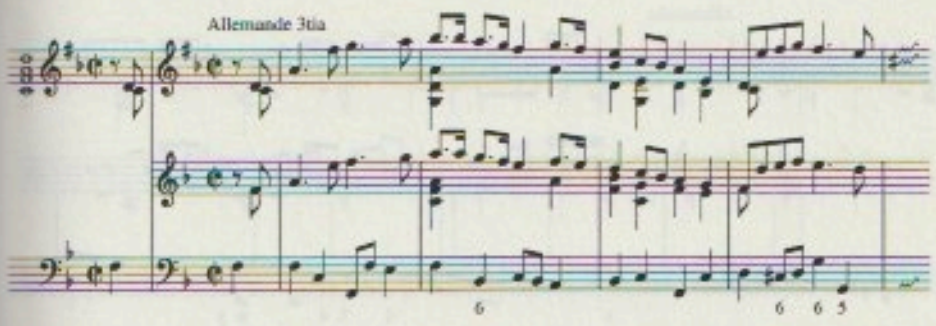


15 36.vii [*Suite*] *15ª* [Anon.: ?Goor]
Scordatura: a, e', a', d'' [and] 445
Allemande 2da; Courante; Gavotte; Aria; Gigue

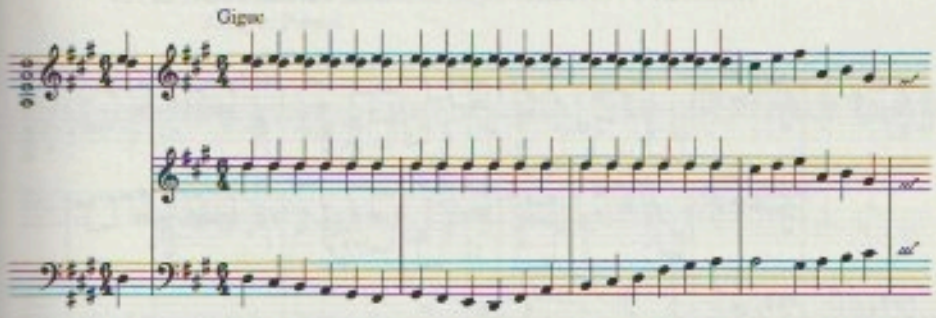
Allemande 2da



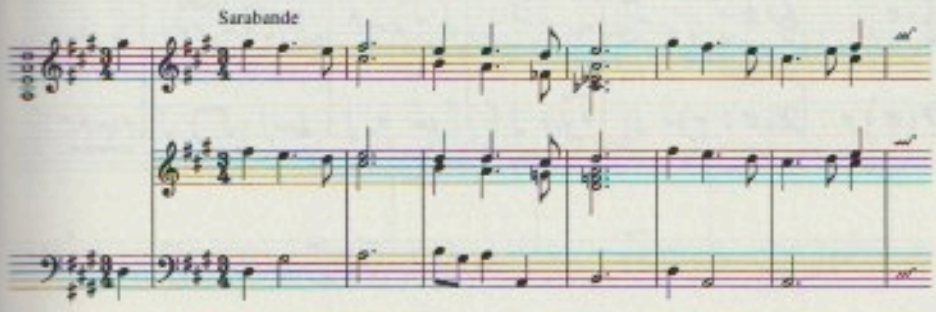
16 38 [*Suite*] *16*ᵉ, F major [Anon.: ?Goor]
Scordatura: c', f', a', d'' [and] 434
Allemande 3ᵗᵃ; Courante; Gigue



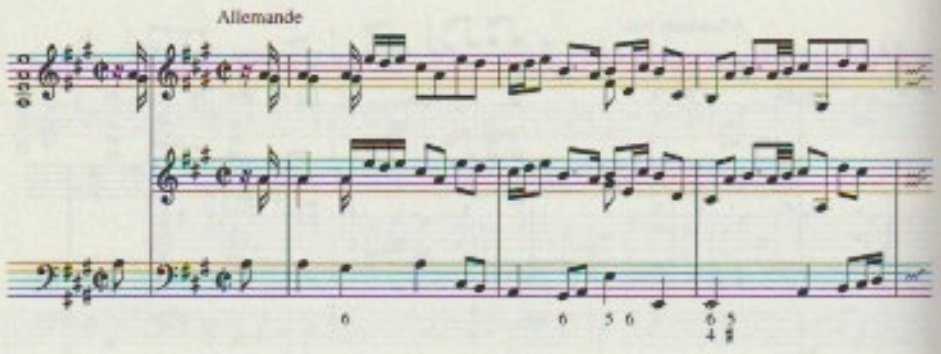
17 39.ii *Gigue* [and] *17*ᵉ, D major *von Wenseler*
Scordatura: a, e', a', d'' [and] 445



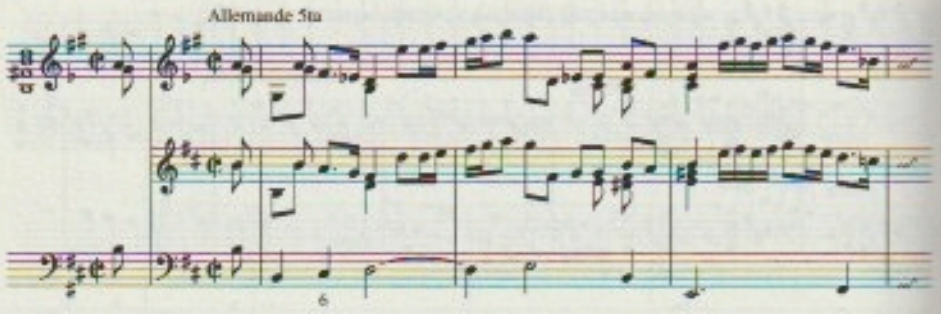
18 39.v *Sarabande* [and] *18*ᵉ *Aut Goor*
Headed: Sarabande pour la Gigue de Wenseler [and]*on joust cette Sarabande quatre fois*
Scordatura: a, e', a', d''
The keyboard part is written out only once.



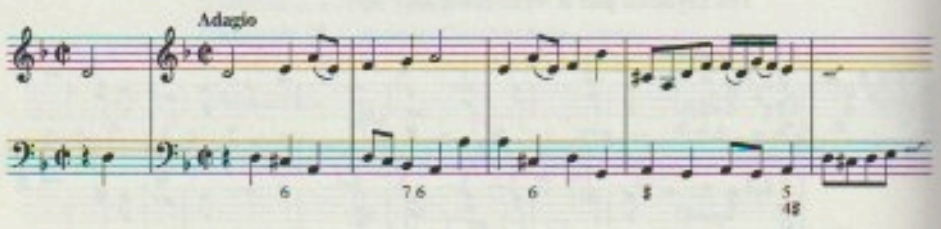
19 40 [*Suite*] *19ª* *del Sr Smelzer*
Scordatura: a, e', a, e'' [and] 545
Allemande; Gigue; Sarabande



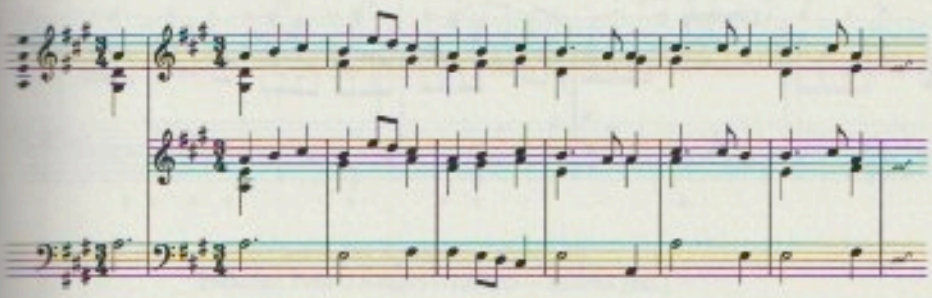
20 40.viii [*Suite*] *20* [Anon.]
Scordatura: b, f' sharp, b', d'' [and] 345
Allemande 5ta; Courante; Gigue; Sarabande; Gavotte; L'echo; La Fin



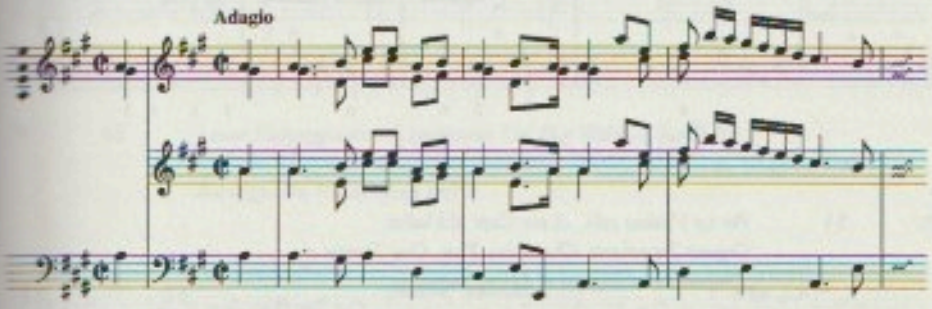
21 42.vii [*Sonata*] 21 *Violino Solo del Sig^r Weissenbergh*
Adagio; Presto – adagio; Canzona Allegro; Adagio; Allegro; Grave; Presto



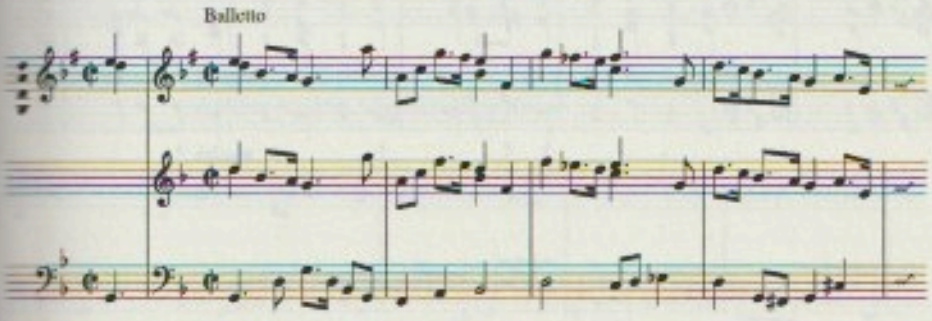
22 45.ii *22 Sonata a Violino Solo* *del Sig^r J.H. Smelzer*
Scordatura: a, e', a', e'' [and] 545
[Allegro: variations over a ground]
The keyboard part is written out only once.



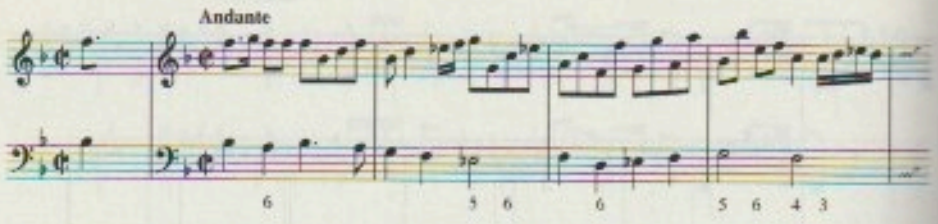
23 47.vi *Viol: Solo* [and] *23* [Anon.]
[This is probably a continuation of No. 22]
Scordatura: a, e', a', e''
Adagio; Presto



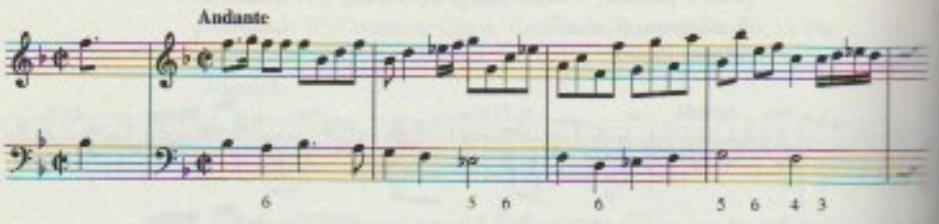
[23a] 48.iv [*Suite*] [Anon.]
Scordatura: g, d', a', d''
Balletto; Courant; Sarabande; Gigue; Retirada



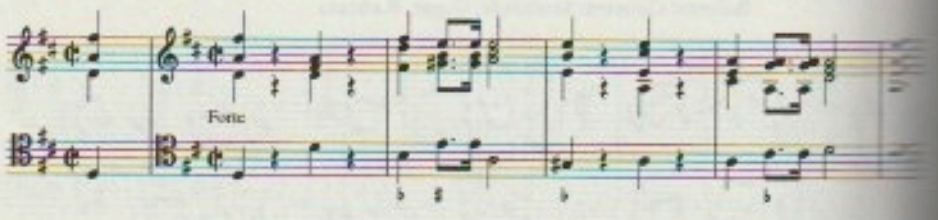
24 49.v [*Sonata*] 24 *Del Sig^r Pietro Paulo Cappellini*
Adagio; Poco Allegro; Adagio; Grave; Presto



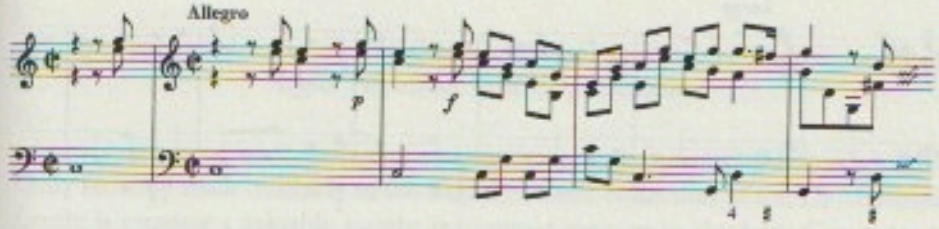
25 51.v [*Sonata*] *25* *Del Sig^r Gobbo*
Grave – Allegro; Allegro; Adagio; Allegro; Allegro



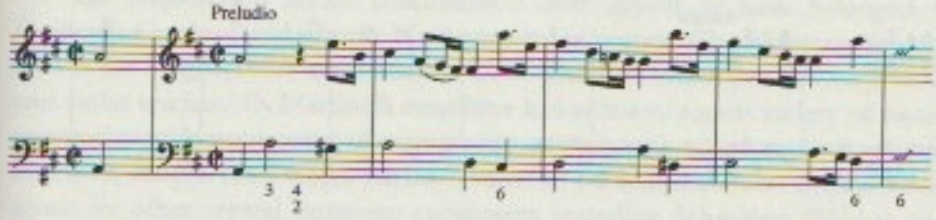
26 54 *Per un Violino solo. A un Coro di Violini Organo Tremolante Chitarrino, Piva, Due Trombe e Timpani, Lira Todesca et Harpa smorzata*
Del Sig^r Walther
This piece has indications at various points of the instruments which the violin is to imitate



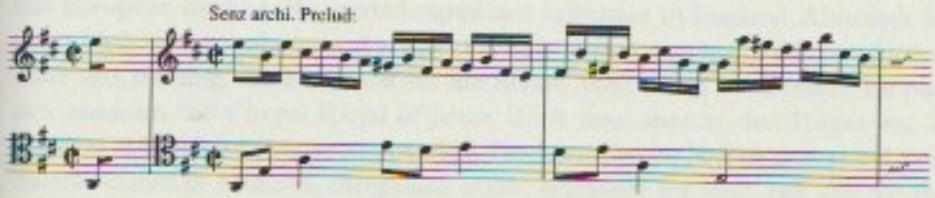
27 57.iii *Scherzo d'Angelli con il Cucù del Sig Walteriamus* [and] *27*
Allegro; Adagio; [Allegro]; [Allegro]



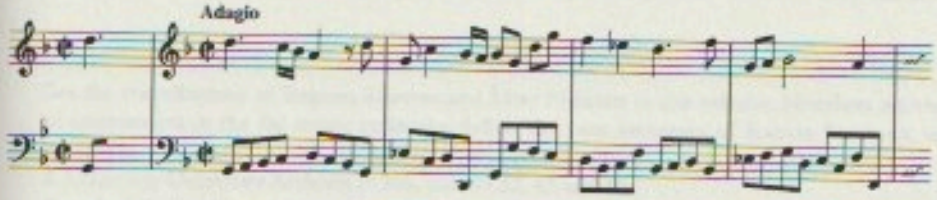
28 59.vi *Galli e Galline Del Sig Waltherio* [and] *28*
Preludio; Presto; Adagio – Allegro – Gallina [etc.]



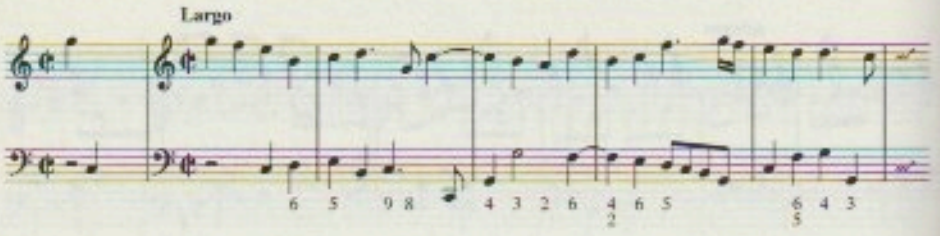
29 62 *Leuto Harpeggiante e Rossignuolo Del Sigr Waltheri* [and] *29*
Prelud:; Allem:; Rossignolo con l'arco; Sarab[ande];Giga; [Repeat for]
Rossignolo; Finale senz archi



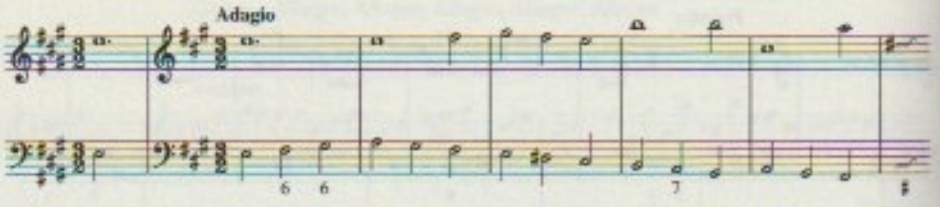
30 64 [*Sonata*] *30*, G minor *Del Sig Petz.*
Adagio; Allegro; Adagio; Adagio; Gigue



31 66.vi *Sonata* [and] *31*, C major [Anon.]
Largo; Vivace; Largo – Presto; Allegro

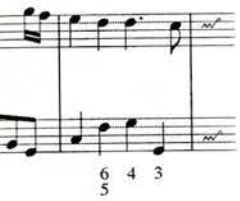


32 68.v *Sonata* [and] *32*, E major [Anon, G. Finger]
Adagio; Allegro – Presto [incomplete]



Gottfried Finger and the Di Martinelli Music Collection at Leuven

Robert G. Rawson
Anglia Polytechnic University, Cambridge



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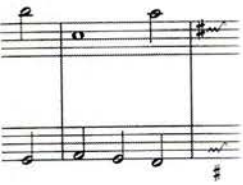


Only recently made available to scholars, the music collection of the Di Martinelli family is proving a valuable insight into music making in the Low Countries in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This article is going to look at three of these manuscripts and their connections with Gottfried Finger (ca. 1655-1730).

The manuscripts under consideration here appear to have belonged to Guillemo Carolus Di Martinelli. He was probably born in Ghent, eventually married in the Hague(1682) and settled in Diest where he was active as a *zangmeester* and violin teacher.[1] Di Martinelli must have had access to a great variety of music; among his wide assortment of manuscripts and prints is a rare original print of Heinrich Biber's 1681 violin sonatas. However, Di Martinelli also owned violin music by other central European composers, including Schmelzer, Walther, and Finger. In addition to a single violin sonata by Finger, Di Martinelli possessed a manuscript copy of Finger's op. 1 *Sonatae pro diversis instrumentis*, and four sonatas for two recorders, two oboes and continuo which are attributable to Finger.[2]

Gottfried Finger, a little-known but prolific and versatile musician from Olomouc in Moravia, was a widely travelled virtuoso whose experience of central European musical life exerted significant influence in England. Although his exact birth date is unknown, it seems that he was born around 1655. Until a few years ago, nothing was known of his life before 1687 when he received his post as a musician the Chapel Royal of James II.[3] It now appears that Finger was in London at least by 1686, or even earlier. Furthermore, he had an active and productive career in Moravia, composing music primarily for viols, but also for the violin, the viola d'amore, the baryton, and at least one small-scale vocal work. Finger's earliest identifiable work is his *Sonata jucunda* for two bass viols (continuo part missing) from the early 1670s of which the second viola da gamba part is preserved in the collection of Bishop Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno at Kroměříž.

[1] See the contributions of Eugeen Schreurs and Marc Nelissen in this volume. Numbers refering to manuscripts in the the music collection follow the new inventory of Katrien Steelandt, see pp.23–47

[2] K.U.Leuven Univeristy Archives P 206, nos. 59.32, 43 and 56

[3] *Records of English Court Music*, ed. A. ASHBEE, Aldershot, 1991, vol. 5, p. 84.

To what extent Gottfried Finger was in the service of Bishop Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno is difficult to determine. It must be kept in mind that Finger may have only been an occasional musician for the Bishop. However, surviving evidence strongly supports the notion that he was an active participant in the musical life of the area. Several pieces composed and/or copied by Finger are preserved in the Bishop's music collection at Kroměříž, and other early compositions were copied throughout the region before he left for England. A 'ballettae' (now lost) by Finger survived in Osek until 1945 in northern Moravia, among similar such works by Biber, Dolar, Schmelzer, Bertali, Kalĭká, Míčá and other composers active in the region. In addition, an early sonata (before 1686?) by Finger is preserved in the Hungarian town of Soprán.[4]

One area of Finger's output which has been overlooked are his sonatas for violin. Burney remarks that Finger composed a large body of violin sonatas.[5] Stylistically, the bulk of Finger's twenty surviving violin works bridge the gap between the pieces for viols from his Moravian period and his later works (after 1686) for England, Germany, and Austria. The sources for his violin sonatas are peculiar. While none of his violin sonatas survive in central European sources, some of them survive amongst the works of his central European contemporaries.

One manuscript from the Di Martinelli collection in Leuven, deserves special attention. The Di Martinelli violin manuscript (B-LVu P 206, no. 59) contains, predominantly, music of composers from the Hapsburg lands and the Low Countries. The Low Countries are represented by David Petersen, (the mysterious) Goor, and Heinrich Albicastro (who here goes by the name *Wiessenberg*), and the central European representatives include Johann Schmelzer, Heinrich Biber, Johan Jakob Walther (1650-1717), Gottfried Finger, and a lone gigue by *Wenseler*.[6] This gigue for scordatura violin and continuo is probably by the Prague-based Mikuláš František Wentzely (ca. 1643 - 1722) who seems the only plausible candidate for by *Wenseler* who could have been found alongside the works of the other composers of the Hapsburg lands. If correct, this is his only surviving work for violin and continuo. The central European composers represented in P 206, no. 59 appear together in other sources in central Europe, the most notable of which is the music collection of Bishop Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno in Kroměříž.

[4] *H-Se EV*, J206, No. 129. Although this sonata was only published in Amsterdam in 1699, the reason to suppose an earlier date for the piece is because it is preserved among the works of other regional composers from earlier in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

[5] Ch. BURNEY, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 4 vols. London, 1776-1789, ed. F. MERCER, London, 1935), p. 984 (page reference is to reprint edition).

[6] The sonata which is attributed to Biber in this manuscript is actually by J.J. Walther.

Sonata No. 59.32 is anonymous in this Di Martinelli manuscript but attributed to Finger in a larger eighteenth-century manuscript collection in London (*GB-Lbl* Add. 31,466, fols. 65v-66r) as well as in a late seventeenth-century manuscript now preserved in New York (*US-NYp* MS JOG 72-50, fols. 15v-17r). While this is not the only place where Finger appears alongside these composers, it is a rare example of a (nearly) complete surviving source. If Finger did meet Di Martinelli in the Low Countries, Finger may have supplied him with the sonatas of the other central European composers. The appearance of Finger in this manuscript is different from other sources of Finger's violin music. In most other extant sources, Finger's violin sonatas are found alongside his British-based contemporaries such as Daniel Purcell, Nicola Matteis, John Eccles, and others. In the Di Martinelli manuscript, British-based composers are not represented at all, posing the strong possibility that the source for the Finger sonata in this particular manuscript lay among his other central European elders or near contemporaries.

Among Di Martinelli's collection of instrumental pieces is a set of part books entitled *Symphonia Del Sigr Italo* (P 206, no. 43), which is actually a manuscript copy of Finger's op. 1 *Sonatae pro diversis instrumentis* (London, 1688) but missing the first violin book.[7] This was far from the only occasion Finger styled himself as an Italian. A set of *Six Sonatas or Solos* was issued by Walsh in 1699 with the first three sonatas by an *Italian Mr* and the second three by William Croft (1678-1727). Concordances with manuscript sources reveal Finger to be the enigmatic *Italian Mr*.[8] Finger's habit of styling himself as an Italian is not unique. Many composers 'Italianised' their names, but Finger replaced any version of his name with other generic names, such as the amusing *Sigr Italiano*. No doubt, Finger hoped that his works would circulate and gain credibility and popularity as works by some mysterious Italian master. Finger's efforts in this department are not necessarily the result of a desire to compose Italian-style music, but rather an outward sign of the social and financial pressures which created an insatiable demand for all things Italian.

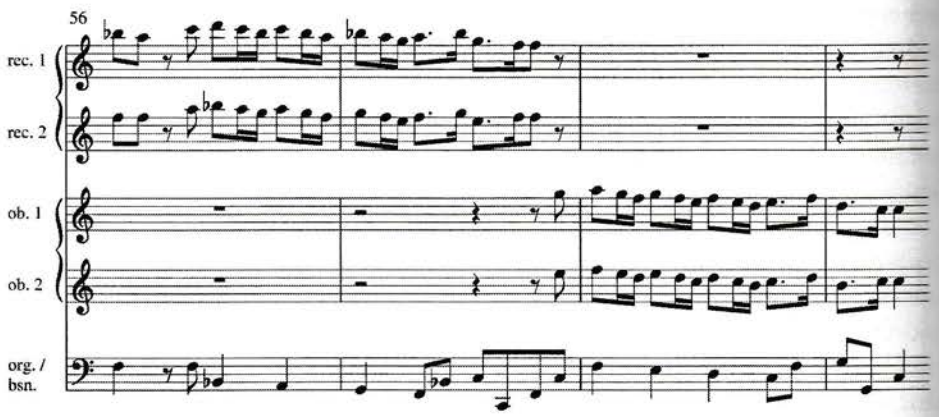
In Finger's op. 1 *Sonatae XII pro diversis instrumentis*, the first three pieces are scored for violin, viola da gamba and continuo; numbers 3-6 for two violins and continuo (from this point the viola da gamba part is labelled viola di basso and mostly doubles the continuo); numbers 7-9 for three violins and continuo; and numbers 10-12 for two violins *viola da brazzo* and continuo. It does not appear that the copyist of B-LVu P 206, no. 43 copied the parts from the version pu-

[7] *B-LVu* P 206, no. 43. Little is known of Di Martinelli's early life (see the contribution of Eugeen Schreurs and Marc Nelissen in this volume). It is not known when Di Martinelli procured his copy of Finger's sonatas.

[8] Of the three sonatas by the *Italian Mr* (London, 1699), number 2 appears in *US-R* M1490.B113 among other works by Finger, and number 3 appears in *D-W* Cod. 295 as *flute solo per Mons Finger*.

blished in 1688. The pieces are in an entirely different order, and the viola da gamba part is headed *violoncello* in the Di Martinelli copy. However, the part was not adapted to suit the cello, but retains Finger's idiomatic writing for the viola da gamba.

There is still more to link Finger with the Di Martinelli collection. In 1698 Finger, together with Gottfried Keller, published a set of sonatas for four trebles and continuo: 2 recorders, 2 oboes or violins, and continuo (Amsterdam, Etienne Roger, 1698). These works are dedicated to an as yet unidentified *Henry Haaks*, a name which itself suggests connections with the Low Countries. The Di Martinelli collection also preserves four anonymous sonatas in B-LVu P 206, no. 56 for the exact same instrumentation and similar style to those of Finger's 1698 collection. This fairly obscure instrumentation suggests a connection with either Finger or possibly Keller, and also considering that Di Martinelli collected other works by Finger, their attribution to Finger seems appropriate. In addition, the sonatas contain several stylistic idiosyncrasies of Finger's which help to further support their attribution to him. These idiosyncrasies include Finger's predilection for using passages for continuo alone, especially to link sections together, or to conclude a section or movement. Another device typical of Finger in writing for this particular orchestration is his polychoral treatment of the four voices as two groups (Example 1). It is surely no coincidence that the only other place with a concentration of seventeenth-century music for two groups of two trebles with continuo is in the music collection in Kroměříž.



Example 1. Anon./Finger?: Sonata I, 2 recs, 2 obs, bc, B-LVu P 206, no. 56, bars 58–61

It is difficult to judge from the pieces themselves as to when the Di Martinelli copies where made. However, there is an intriguing gap in Finger's London career (between 8 April 1697 and 17 February 1699) when he seems to have travelled

to Italy. On 1 December 1704 his music library was advertised as A *Choice Collection of Vocal and Instrumental Music in Italian, French and English, composed by several great masters (the Italian music being most of them originals) with a catalogue given Gratis… this being the Collection of a Great Master, who has left the land*, adding that the music had been *made on his travel thrô Italy*.[9] It appears that may have visited the Low Countries as well. It was during this mysterious gap (between 8 April 1697 and 17 February 1699) that Finger's four sonatas (together with two by Gottfried Keller) for two recorders, two oboes, and continuo were published in Amsterdam by Estienne Roger. The coincidence is too tantilising to ignore.

The appearance of Finger's music in the Di Martinelli music collection offers new insight into Finger's activities during an otherwise silent period in his London career. Also, the fact that the Finger violin sonata in *B-LVu* P 206, no. 59 is found amongst works by his fellow central European contemporaries suggest that the work dates from before Finger's arrival in London. It would seem that Di Martinelli (or someone is his employ) had access to apparently early works by Finger. While there are several other surviving manuscript copies of Finger's op.1 (*F-LYm* and *GB-DRc*) the others all maintained the layout of the original. Perhaps the copyist of the Di Martinelli set of part books had access to a copy other than the 1688 print, revealing a wider dissemination of these popular works. There is a paucity of source material relating to Finger's personal activities, but through the discovery of these important manuscripts, and their concordances, a few more clues into the life of this fascinating composer have been revealed, and even better, a few more pieces of music have been brought to light.

[9] *The Diverting Post* (London), 25 November 1701.

Musical Life in Collegiate Churces

PLANGE QUASI VIRGO

An Archaeological study of the Utrecht responsory tradition[1]

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THE OFFICE REPERTORY IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

Up to now the repertory of the Divine Office has been approached in various ways. One of the most extensive and comprehensive studies is Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* [*CAO*], which attempts to reconstruct, on the basis of the Advent responsories, the archetypical antiphoner.[2] Another approach, in which the results of the study of the Mass repertory are transferred to those of the Divine Office, is applied by some adherents of the Solesmes school.[3]

Since the Office repertory is not as homogeneous as the Mass repertory, its study should benefit from a clearer insight into the available manuscripts. Here Hesbert's *CAO* offers an indispensable tool. This is obvious from the role it plays in the indexes compiled by the *CANTUS*-project, which in their turn also play a major part in the 'unlocking' of the Office.[4]

The Office repertory displays numerous regional traditions, with more melodic and modal variants than the Mass repertory and also more and greater

[1] With sincere thanks to Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz for advice concerning the Utrecht manuscripts and for critical comments.

[2] R.J. HESBERT, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, (*Renum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes*, 7-12), Rome, 1963-1979, vols. 1-6 [= CAO].

[3] This view, formulated by Fr. Kees Pouderoijen, is summarized in I. DE LOOS, *Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties in de 12e en 13e eeuw*, Doct. Diss. Univeristy of Utrecht, 1996, par. 1.4 of the introduction. The study of the Mass repertory itself is in *Le Graduel Romain. Edition critique par les moins de Solesmes*, Solesmes, [c. 1957], vol. 2: *Les Sources*; vol. 4: *Le texte neumatique*, vol. 4/1: *Le groupement des manuscrits*; volume 4/2: *Les relations généalogiques des manuscrits*.

[4] *CANTUS. A Database for Gregorian chant. Indices of chants in selected manuscripts and early printed sources of the Divine Office*, University of Western Ontario, Canada; project director: Terence Bailey; internet address: http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/).

textual variants. Among the many regional variants of the repertory a specific place is occupied by the tradition of the Low Countries, and again therein by the episcopal city of Utrecht, with its Cross of Churches, and with the numerous surviving manuscripts of the Church of St Mary, which contribute considerably to the reconstruction of the repertory in this region.

For a correct understanding of the Utrecht tradition it is necessary to sketch the development of the repertory and its several variants in the Low Countries and adjacent territories. Gregorian chant, which was then current in an extensive area for liturgical singing, suffered from the outset from a certain lack of uniformity. Probably already during the period of oral transmission several variants developed. These became noticeable from the moment they were written down, and accordingly several families have long been distinguished in the study of plainchant. The principal division is into 'East Frankish' and 'West Frankish', or 'German' and 'Romance', dialects. Not only are there musical differences between these two 'dialects', they are also notated differently: in the West Frankish region we find more square notation, in the East Frankish region more *Hufnagelschrift*.

Both hant dialects have their own melodic characteristics. East Frankish melodies are more jagged and less supple, favouring the tones which were structurally to play an ever greater role in later polyphony: the *c* and the *f*, with their strong tonic function. The West Frankish variants are more flexible and might appear to be closer to authentic plainchant as it sounded in its heyday.

The Low Countries more or less formed the border area between the East and West Frankish (or German and Romance) repertory dialects. Hence influence from either direction is possible. Recent research into plainchant in this region has therefore tended to focus on the resolution of this problem.[5]

THE RESPONSORIA PROLIXA FOR THE MATINS

Responsoria prolixa, great responsories, are responsorial chants that alternate with the lections of Matins. They consist of a part for the schola (the respond), a verse for the soloist, and then a partial repeat of the schola part (the repetendum). Most responsories, certainly those from the older layers of the Office repertory, make

[5] For some general observations on Gregorian chant in the Low Countries, see my paper *Het Gregoriaans in de Lage Landen*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 16 (1999), p. 5-13. For some comments on the poly-melodic antiphon *Ecce Maria genuit* in U406, and on the *Benedicite*-antiphons, see R. STEINER, *Antiphons for Lauds on the Octave of Christmas*, in J. SZENDREI & D. HILEY eds., *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hildesheim-Zurich, 1995, pp. 307-315. On the notation: DE LOOS, *Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties*, chapter II.

use of fixed melodies for the solo verses. Like psalm tones, these melodies or verse tones are tied to a mode, and each mode has its own verse tone.[6]

The responsory repertory of the Low Countries also shows traces of the mixing of different traditions. This part of the repertory is by no means equally uniform in all respects. Although a responsory usually has just one verse, one regularly finds that one and the same responsory has different verses in different areas. This is in fact a quite frequent occurrence, e.g. for Advent. Often the East and West Frankish region used different verse texts. In addition to textual variants there are also differing musical traditions. Thus we have a fair number of responsories handed down in different modal variants. Together, all these elements define how a tradition was built, and analysing them can shed light on hybrid forms, like those that functioned in the Low Countries.

An analysis of the Utrecht responsory repertory shows that, even though the city was part of the German Empire, many West Frankish elements are to be found in several parts of the liturgical year. It also appears that a number of Utrecht responsorial melodies originated from a fusion of several other versions.[7]

CORRECTIONS AS INDICATORS OF TRADITION-FORMING

The present article bears the subtitle 'an archaeological study'. A few years ago, Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz employed a similar term in a study of usage traces in the manuscripts of St Mary's Church Utrecht. She established, with the aid of candle-wax spots on the folia containing the dedication office, of the which manuscripts had actually been used in St Mary's.[8]

The term 'archaeological study' is applicable to the present contribution in the sense that it also departs from traces of use, more particularly from some erasures in the now well-known 12th-century antiphoner from St Mary's (Utrecht,

[6] See for the verse tones the modern editions of the Office (such as the *Liber Hymnarius* or the *Antiphonale Monasticum*), or *Antiphonale Sarisburiense. A Reproduction in Facsimile of a Manuscript of the Thirteenth Century with a Dissertation and an Analytical Index* by W.W. FRERE, London, 1901-1924, reprint Farnborough, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 3-5.

[7] See on this also the analyses of Hesbert concerning the responsory verses: *CAO*, vol. 6, esp. pp. 114-116, 126, 138 and 141. One of the few Dutch manuscripts included in Hesbert's study, a fifteenth-century breviary from the Utrecht St. Paul's Abbey (with CAO siglum 869), is classified by Hesbert in "le groupe cistercien-Bursfeld", see pp. 179 and 211. For the Advent responsories and some East and West Frankish influences in the melodies of the Utrecht manuscripts, see my article *The Transmission of the Responsoria Prolixa according to the Manuscripts of St. Mary's Church Utrecht*, in *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 49/1(1999), pp. 5-31.

[8] G. GERRITSEN-GEYWITZ, *Kaasvet en kerkwijding*, in *Rapiarijs. Een afscheidsbundel voor Hans van Dijk*, (Ruyghbewerp 16), Utrecht, 1987, pp. 45-47.

University Library, 406), concerning corrected responsorial verse melodies. In four responsories of this antiphoner the verse tone has been erased or struck through and replaced by another, thus changing the mode. As will appear from what follows, these responsories have been assigned to different modes in differing regions. In St Mary's Utrecht apparently arose, in the course of the centuries, some doubt as to the correct mode. That is why these changes can help us to better set the Utrecht tradition in its proper context.

Of these four responsories two are for Advent (*Ecce radix Jesse* and *Nascetur nobis parvulus*) and two for Holy Week (*Plange quasi virgo* which is for Holy Saturday, and *Conclusit vias meas*, which is sung elsewhere in that week).

In the first piece, *Ecce radix Jesse* (fol. 12v), the original 7th mode of U406 has been changed to an 8th mode. Without removing the original verse tone the new tone has been written beneath the older one on the same staff (see Figure 1). Only very few manuscripts have a 7th mode here: apart from the Utrecht manuscript only a few isolated examples from North Italy and Aquitania.[*] The 8th-mode variant, i.e. the new mode of U406, on the other hand, is widely attested.

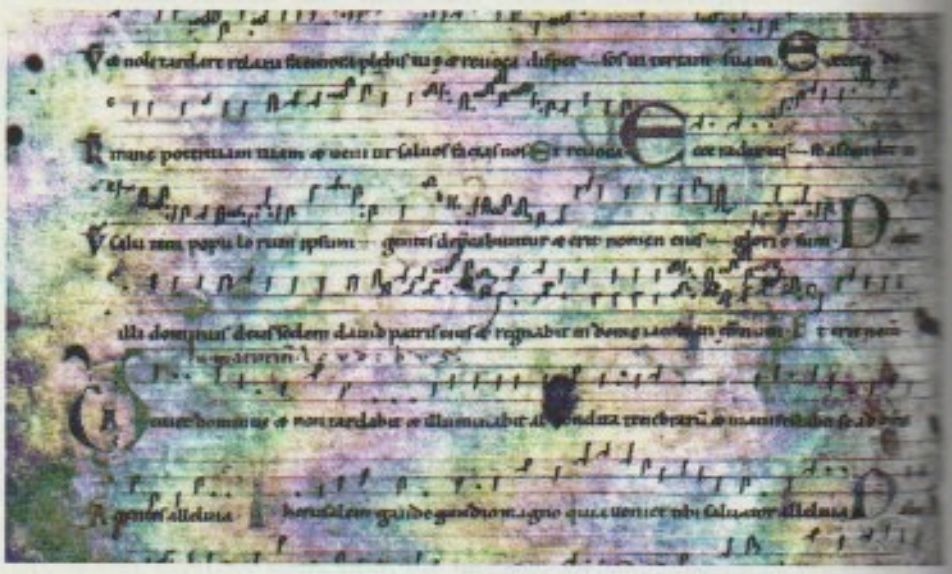


Figure 1. Responsory *Ecce radix Jesse* as in U406, fol. 12v.

Conversely, the other Advent responsory, *Nascetur nobis parvulus* (fol. 15v.), has been changed from an 8th into a 7th mode. Here too the new mode is found in more manuscripts than the older mode, which, again, appears mainly in North Italy and Aquitania.

[*] See the appendix for an explanation of the sigla and the circulation of the responsories with their modal assignments and verse texts.

In these two Advent responsories we are dealing with a choice between an authentic and a plagal mode of the same modal pair, the *tetardus maniera*, the modal pair with final *g*. The 7th and 8th mode both have the same final, and although they have a different ambitus and dominant, the change of verse poses no insurmountable problems.

That is not the case with the two responsories for Holy Week. There we are dealing with a choice between an *f* mode and a *g* mode, which presents the risk that the new verse will clash with the final. In *Conclusit vias meas* the 6th mode, an *f* mode, has been changed to an 8th, a *g* mode. Nevertheless the change works well, as the responsory is notated in transposition and ends on a *c*, which can serve as transposed final in a 6th as well as an 8th mode. The new version of the responsory, with final *c* and an 8th-mode verse, therefore meets the requirements of then prevailing music theory.

Plange quasi virgo is a different matter: here the mode has been changed from a 7th to a 5th, thus creating a corrupt version of the responsory; the final *g* of the 7th mode is retained, despite the fact that a 5th mode should end in *f* (see Figure 2).

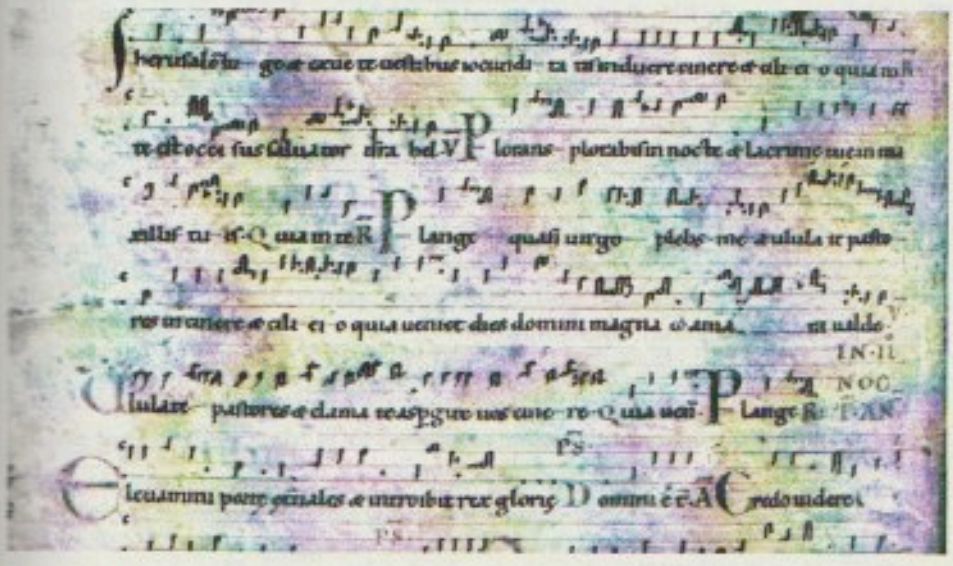


Figure 2. Responsory *Plange quasi virgo* as in U406, fol. 95v.

Taking a look at the two Holy Week responsories in manuscripts from other parts of Europe, one sees that their modal assignment is somewhat more complex than in the two Advent responsories: indeed, they display more than two modal assignments. *Plange quasi virgo* appears mostly in the 5th mode, here and there in the 7th, and only occasionally in the 2nd and 8th. So here again it may be said that U406

originally had an unusual mode (the 7th) which was later replaced by a more common one (the 5th).[10]

Conclusit vias meas is the only instance in which the old and new modes were simultaneously in vogue; this responsory is regularly found in a 6th as well as an 8th mode, both occurring equally often and in various parts of Europe. In addition, it is encountered once in a 2nd and a 7th mode, both in North Italy.

Therefore, in different regions all four of these responsories had different modal variants. Generally speaking it may be said of these responsories that the new mode of U406 enjoyed more widespraed use than the original, abandoned mode. This can be made geographically more specific: the original mode of U406 appears more than once in West Frankish manuscripts, and even comparatively often in Aquitanian or Italian copies, as well as in a single insular case, whereas the new mode of U406 is found in a number of more northern (French) and practically all East Frankish (German) manuscripts.

THE LATER MANUSCRIPTS OF ST. MARY'S

The 12th-century U406 displays a notation which is also found in some other manuscripts from the Low Countries or their vicinity The most conspicuous being those from Stavelot, Aachen and Trier, tough resembling notations are found in Rhineland manuscripts from Xanten and Cologne.[11] This notation is quite characteristic and easily recognizable. It is a fine, carefully written notation, with all the characteristics of the notations of the Low Countries. It remained in vogue through the ensuing centuries, and can be traced for a long time in a number of younger manuscripts from St Mary's, among them the antiphoners U407 (2nd quarter or mid 14th century) and U408 (2nd quarter 15th century), and the Missale U405 (3rd quarter 15th century).

However, many more manuscripts from St Mary's have survived. In Tiele's catalogue of manuscripts in the Utrecht University Library, 15 manuscripts dating from the 12th to the 16th centuries are attributed to St Mary's.[12] The great major-

[10] It can still be seen that U406 originally had a 7th mode. The c-clef was on the second line from the bottom; this line is coloured pale yellow. Above *clamate* and *cinere* remnants of the middle and final cadence of the 7th mode are still visible. For reasons unclear the repetendum *Quia veniet* is a third too low; the repeat *Plange*, however, is notated at the correct pitch.

[11] DE LOOS, *Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties*, chapter II, esp. par. II-4a; *Le répons-graduel 'Iustus ut palma' reproduit en facsimilé d'après plus de deux cents antiphonaires manuscrits d'origines diverses du IXe au XVIIe siècle. Paléographie Musicale*, Solesmes, 1891, reprint Bern, 1974, vol. 2-3, pl. 131-134. In Aachen a similar notation has been in use. Notations in Xanten and Cologne diverge mainly in the form of the clivis that can be both angular as rounded in one and the same manuscript.

[12] P.A. TIELE, A. HULSHOF & B. KRUITWAGEN, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae, Part 1*, Utrecht etc., 1887, pp 137-142. A few manuscripts from St. Mary's are not kept in the University Library, but elsewhere; but because these manuscripts contain no music notation, they have not been taken into account for the present article.

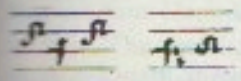
ry of them contain the Offices for the dedication of the west altar and for the Church's dedication in September; these feasts are proper to St Mary's, and thus corroborate Tiele's ascription.[13] But in the Winter breviary U404 and the *Officium Dedicationis / Triduum Sacrum* U419, in which the month of September does not occur, this Office does not appear, and therefore we have no proof that these two manuscripts originated in St Mary's.

The 15 manuscripts display different types of *Hufnagelschrift*. All in all, three kinds of notation can clearly be distinguished (see Figure 3):

(1) The above mentioned *Hufnagelschrift*, with an angular pes and a rounded torculus; this is already found in the 12th century and still appears in the 15th century. This type of notation is also found elsewhere in the Low Countries.

(2) A *Hufnagelschrift* in which both pes and torculus display an angular upstroke, as is common in many medieval manuscripts. This is a rather neutral hobnail shape without special traits. The only conspicuous feature is that few if any quilismas and strophic neumes are found, whereas these neumes are still present in many other late *Hufnagelschrift* forms, if only rudimentarily.[14]

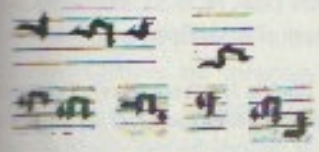
(3) A *Hufnagelschrift* with two shapes for both pes and torculus; these can have either the common angular upstroke, or a smaller, sometimes more hook-shaped one. This notation becomes more common in the late 15th or early 16th century. The meaning of these two shapes of pes and torculus, if any, is still wholly obscure.



1. Notation with angular pes and rounded torculus (twelfth–fifteenth century). Examples taken from U408.



2. Notation with both pes and torculus (second half fifteenth–early sixteenth century). Examples from U404.



3. Notation with two shapes for pes and torculus: a normal angular shape, and a smaller, more closed or hook-shaped one (early sixteenth century). Examples from U409 and U413.

Figure 3. The three types of notation from St. Mary's Utrecht

[13] GERRITSEN-GEYWITZ, *Kaarsvet en kerkwijding*, pp. 45–47. For a description of the church and altar dedication Offices of St. Mary's see DE LOOS, *Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties*, Appendix D, pp. 255–256.

[14] See for this e.g. the responsory verse melodies of the 7th mode, for instance those of the Advent responsory *Aspiciens a longe*; whereas these verses begin, in most Hufnagel notations, with the quilismatic rise d-d-f, U404 here has the simple third d-f.

The 15 manuscripts from St. Mary's in Tiele's catalogue, when arranged in chronological order, make up the following list:[15]

	Notation staffless
1. U424, *Collectarius*, mid-12th century	1
2. U406, *Antiphonarium integrum*, 2nd half 12th century	1
3. U417, *Sequentiarium*, 1st half 13th century	2?
4. U419, Off. *Dedicationis/Triduum Sacrum*, 2nd half 13th century	1
5. U407, *Antiphonarium integrum*, 2nd quarter or mid-14th century	1
6. U418, *Psalterium*, 2nd quarter or mid-14th century	1
7. U408, *Antiphonarium integrum*, 2nd quarter 15th century	1
8. U400, *Pontificale*, c. 1450	1
9. U405, *Missale notatum*, 3rd quarter 15th century[16]	2
10. U403, *Missale*, c. 1470 - 1480[17]	2
11. U404, *Breviarium notatum, pars hiemalis*, 4th quarter 15th century[18]	2
12. U410, *Antiphonarium, pars aestivalis*, late 15th & early 16th century	2
13. U411, *Antiphonarium, pars aestivalis*, late 15th & early 16th century	3
14. U409, *Antiphonarium, pars aestivalis*, 1st quarter 16th century	3
15. U413, *Graduale*, 1st quarter 16th century[19]	

To further study the four mentioned responsories in these manuscripts, we must confine ourselves to those for the Divine Office, however disregarding the summer parts since the responsories in question all belong to Advent and Holy Week. Thus the following five manuscripts remain:

[15] In most cases the dating has been established by Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz. Many data on the manuscripts of St. Mary's are to be found in manuscript descriptions drawn up in the 1980s under the direction of Gisela Gerritsen-Geywitz and Kees Vellekoop; these can be consulted in the MS-room of Utrecht University Library. During the last few years a number of datings have been revised. See for concise descriptions and illustrations K.VAN DER HORST, *Illuminated and Decorated Medieval Manuscripts in the University Library, Utrecht: an illustrated catalogue*, Maarssen, 1989.

[16] The manuscript was in use in Lopik, which was subject to St. Mary's. It contains both a church and an altar dedication Office, which do not appear in the Proprium Sanctorum, and are also not mentioned in the calendar; unlike the other manuscripts from St. Mary's this one does not specify that the subject of the dedication is a west altar.

[17] Unlike U405 the proprium chants are not provided with notation. The parts that are notated are in Hufnagelschrift on red lines. Place of origin: Northern Netherlands (Southern part of Holland province?).

[18] Erroneously called Missale in TIELE et.al. *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum*.

[19] The church dedication Office follows the votive masses on fol. 143. In the Proprium Sanctorum there is a reference to this form between the feasts of Matthew and of Mauritius and his companions (fol. 114).

1. U406, *Antiphonarium integrum*, 2nd half 12th century	1
2. U419, Off. *Dedicationis / Triduum Sacrum*, 2nd half 13th century	2?
3. U407, *Antiphonarium integrum*, 2nd quarter or mid-14th century	1
4. U408, *Antiphonarium integrum*, 2nd quarter 15th century	1
5. U404, *Breviarium notatum, pars hiemalis*, 4th quarter 15th century	2

No. 1 on this list is the antiphoner U406 with the four corrected responsory verses. The relationship with St Mary's is clear from the church and altar dedications in this manuscript.

No. 2 is MS U419, a rather peculiar manuscript which contains only the Offices for a church dedication and the Triduum Sacrum (Maundy Thursday to Holy Saturday). It is a simple volume, numbering 48 folios. It is not clear how and why such a book came into existence. There were hitherto no clear indications that it belonged to St Mary's, exept for Thiele's attribution. Furthermore, the notation is somewhat obscure: it displays a rather careless *Hufnagelschrift*, in which the torculus alternates between a rounded or angular initial stroke, in other words a notation different from U406, U407 and U408, in which the torculus is always rounded. The manuscript has a conspicuous feature: of the 15 manuscripts from St Mary's it is the only pre-15th century item not in type 1 notation.

Nos. 3 and 4 are U407 and U408, two *Antiphonaria integra*. Both contain the church and altar dedication Offices in September, and both display the same *Hufnagelschrift* as U406. Tiele's ascription to St Mary's Utrecht cannot be doubted here.

Fifth and last is the Winter breviary U404, with a fairly crude *Hufnagel* notation on four black lines, without the characteristic distinction between pes and torculus. The notation also differs in other aspects from the Utrecht *Hufnagelschrift*: it is rather sober, with few quilismas and strophic neumes. The altar and church dedication Offices in September, so typical of the manuscripts from St Mary's, are of course lacking in U404, as the month of September does not appear in a Winter part.

In two of these five manuscripts, U419 and U404, the church and altar dedication Offices are missing, so the relation with St Mary's cannot be proved. In addition, these manuscripts have a notation form different from that commonly used in St Mary's as well as a layout (viz. in two columns) that deviates from that of the other St Mary manuscripts. Here the above-mentioned responsories may reveal whether these two manuscripts fit in the tradition of St Mary's.

Looking at the four altered responsories from U406 in the later manuscripts from St Mary's we find the following:
The responsory *Ecce radix Jesse* in U406 is changed from a 7th to an 8th mode (see Figure 1). It is found in two of the younger manuscripts, viz. U407 and U404,[20] and both of these give the 7th mode. The correction, therefore, was not adopted. But that does not mean that the copyists of these manuscripts did not base themselves on U406. In U406 both melodies are visible, the new are written below the old one on the same staff, so the copyists had a choice.

Nascetur nobis parvulus is altered in U406 from an 8th to a 7th mode, and in this case the new mode is also found in U407 and U404.

Conclusit vias meas is corrected in U406 from a 6th to an 8th mode, and here again the new mode appears in U407, U408 and U404.

Finally, then, the responsory *Plange quasi virgo* of Holy Saturday, in U406 in a corrupt version with final *g* and the 5th-mode verse (see Figure 2). This is the only responsory of the four to also appear, in addition to U407, U408 and U404, in U419, the manuscript with the combination of church dedication and Triduum Sacrum; chronologically this manuscript, which dates from the second half of the 13th century, is closest to U406.

U419 contains on fol. 45v exactly the same corrupt version (with final *g* in combination with a verse of the 5th mode) as U406 after alteration (see Figure 4). What is more, the repetendum *quia* is erroneously set too low, viz. on *a-d*, a mistake which can have originated in only one way, namely by inattentive copying of the version of U406. There the repetendum is incorrectly notated a third too low; in addition, the corrector has written the new verse so carelessly that the link between verse and repetendum became unclear.[21] This was obviously adopted unthinkingly in U419. From this it may be concluded that U419 is in the tradition of St Mary's, and indeed must have been modelled on U406.

[20] In the other Antiphonarium integrum, U408, this responsory is lacking; but this is a heavily damaged manuscript with some lacunae, among them in Advent.

[21] As the lines of the staff were erased, the corrector's writing is not straight but slanted. The final note of the verse, an *a*, should be on the bottom line of the staff, but it is about a third too high, so that the link between verse and repetendum is obscured.

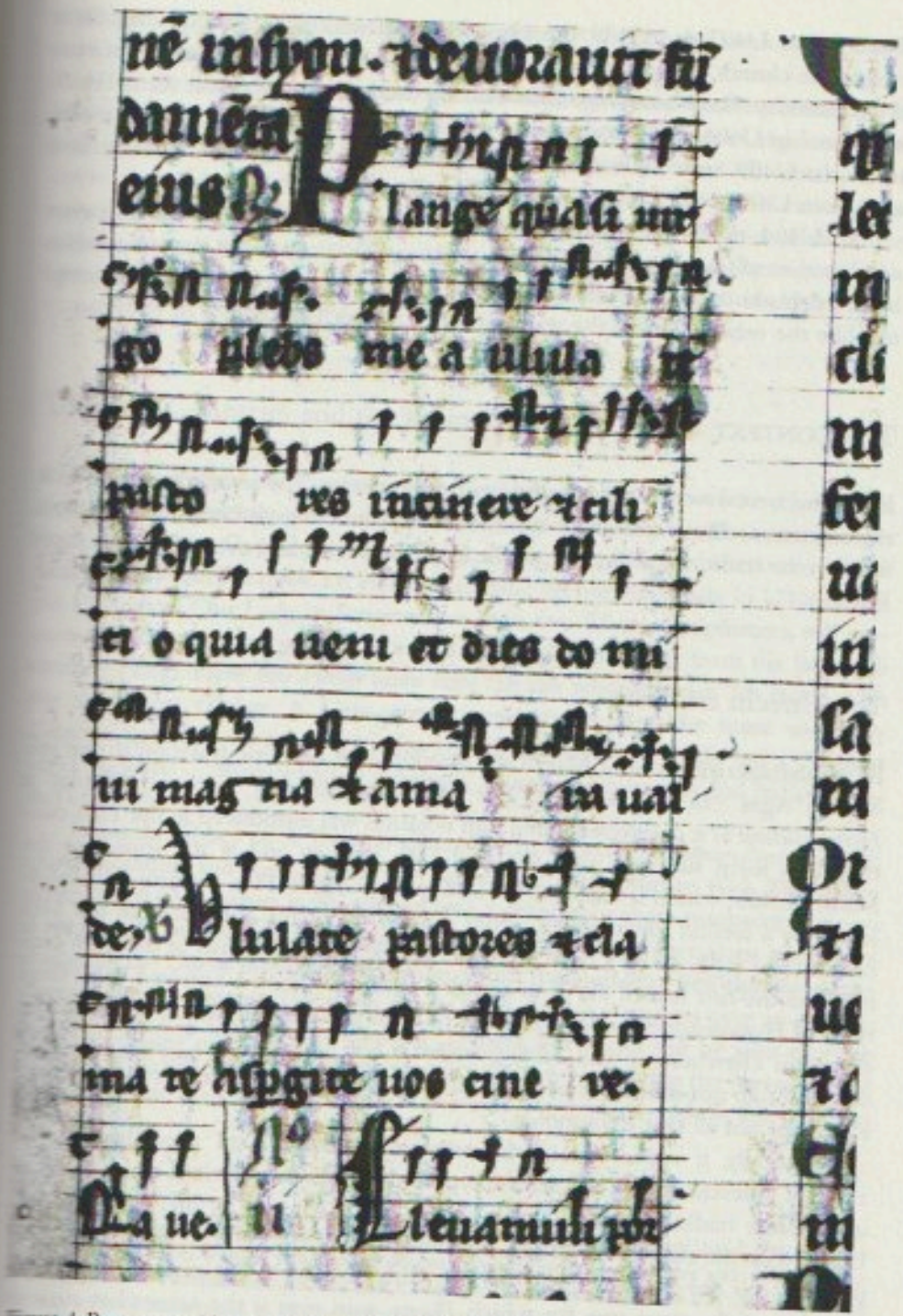


Figure 4. Responsory *Plange quasi virgo* as in U419, fol. 45v.

Then follow U407 and U408, the manuscripts of which the type of notation as well as the church and west altar dedication Offices point to St Mary's. Here too the responsory *Plange quasi virgo* shows how a theoretically incorrect form, which originated in U406 through alteration of the verse tone, can persist over the centuries. In U407 and U408 this corrupt version has been copied exactly as it appears in U406, with only the repetendum set correctly.

In U404, the Winter breviary, *Plange quasi virgo* also displays the incorrect combination of final *g* and 5th-mode verse. As in U407 and U408 the repetendum has been made to accord with the corpus of the responsory. So this manuscript too, like the others, follows the tradition of St Mary's.

THE CONTEXT

From this overview several conclusions can be drawn. The source material, with the responsory *Plange quasi virgo* and the three other corrected responsories, sheds light on the tradition of Utrecht, of the Low Countries, and even of the whole of Europe.

The Utrecht tradition

In the manuscripts from St Mary's the development of music notation in the late Middle Ages can be followed. The oldest manuscripts primarily display a *Hufnagelschrift* as it developed when staff notation was introduced in the 12th century. This form survived until the mid-15th century, and is still found in the Missale U405, which is dated to the 3rd quarter of the 15th century. It was followed by a second form, which rather quickly, about the beginning of the 16th century, was replaced by a third form. So, during the second half of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century, within less than a hundred years three types of *Hufnagelschrift* are found. None of these three is unique to St Mary's; they all appear elsewhere as well. *Hufnagelschrift* is less uniform than square notation, and although not much is known of other scriptoria, the material from St Mary's is perhaps not all that exceptional.

Secondly, it appears from the responsory *Plange quasi virgo* that, despite external differences such as notation type and page layout, all cited manuscripts fit in the same tradition. For two manuscripts, viz. U404 (the Winter breviary) and U419 (with the church dedication and the Triduum Sacrum) this responsory even provides our only evidence for the link with St Mary's. The manuscripts are all branches of the same tree, for which *Plange quasi virgo* is the somewhat curious

proof: unimpeded by any considerations of music theory the same corrupt version is adopted from century to century.

Thirdly, from the version in U419 a *terminus ante quem* for the corrections in U406 can be deduced. The original 7th-mode verse of *Plange quasi virgo* must have been replaced by the 5th-mode verse by the second half of the 13th century; otherwise it could never have been adopted in that form in U419. In view of the correspondences in script and neume shapes the same can be said of the three other corrected responsories. Thus we may conclude that these alterations in the Utrecht responsorial repertory were introduced in the course of the 13th century, probably in the first half of it.[22]

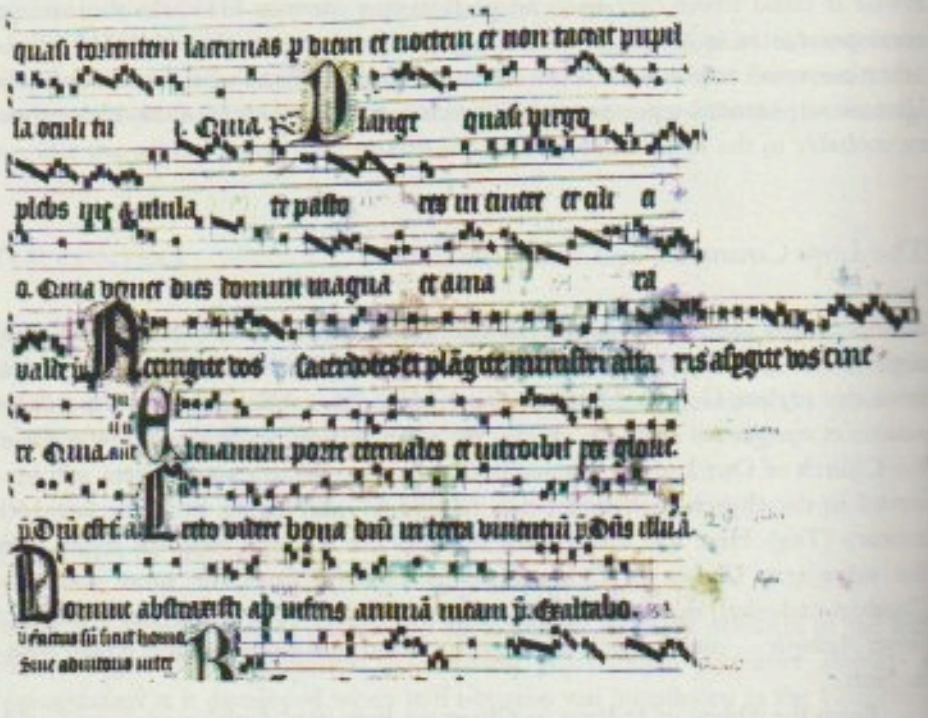
The Low Countries and the Rhineland

A brief tour of the Low Countries and the Rhineland will show how *Plange quasi virgo* which apparently posed a modal problem is treated in other manuscripts from this region. G, probably from Liège, has a 7th mode and the verse *Ululate pastores et aspergite vos cinere*, i.e. exactly the same version originally in U406. From the Church of Our Lady in Tongeren we have two Winter antiphoners, still preserved in the church itself under nos. 63 and 64, and dating from the late 14th century (Tng). Here too *Plange quasi virgo* has the relatively rare 7th mode with the verse text *Ululate*. A 13th-century manuscript from the more southerly Cambrai cathedral, in square notation (Cm), also has a 7th mode but a different verse: *Accingite ... cinere*, which is primarily found in Aquitanian and Italian manuscripts.

From the Abbey of St Bavo in Ghent we have two *Antiphonaria integra*, with square notation and dating from the end of the 15th century (Gt). The abbey existed until 1536, when it was turned into a chapter. In these manuscripts several responsory verses have been erased and replaced. These alterations point to a change in the Ghent responsory tradition, and it is plausible to link these with the conversion to a chapter. The verse *Plange quasi virgo* also appears over an erasure. The new version has the text *Accingite ... cinere*, but it can still be seen that the original verse was shorter. The new verse is so much longer that the corrector had to write in the margin. The original verse text was *Ululate ... cinere*, and one can

[22] *Plange quasi virgo* and *Ecce radix Jesse* were possibly corrected by the same hand, but, as some entries appear over erasures while others do not, it is difficult to establish this with certainty. The corrections to *Nascetur nobis parvulus* and *Conclusit vias meas* can also be by this same hand. The text-writing and neumes of all four corrections together point to the first half of the thirteenth century.

see that the last letters were left unchanged (see Figure 5). The original text version in Ghent was therefore exactly the same as that in Utrecht and Tongeren, but the modal situation differs: a 5th mode, where the other manuscripts from the Low Countries have a 7th.



In Arras (Ar) we find a transposed 2nd mode with the verse *Accingite*. It is a slightly uneasy melody, ending on *g* and using a *b* flat in the final cadence, thus causing an unpleasant transition to the verse, which uses *c* and *a* as reciting tones. Perhaps the scribe was aware that he had problems: the repetendum does not match the respond.

In two Rhineland manuscripts (Xan and Rhl) an 8th mode verse is found with the text *Ululate*. Nothing is wrong with these versions, though it must be noted that the Xanten verse melody is not written by the original hand. However, in Cologne contaminated melodies are found again. A manuscript from the collegiate church of St Severin (KöS), dating from ca 1200, displays a 5th mode verse *Ululate* with final *g*. In a 14th century manuscript from the church of Mariengraden (KöM) the final cadence and verse tone have been reworked into a 5th mode version; the original reading is illegible. And a 13th century Aachen manuscript (Ach) has a 5th mode with the verse *Ululate*, with the peculiarity that the

final turn on *f* is in a younger hand and written over an erasure; the original reading is no longer discernible; was it a final turn on g?[223a]

All this shows the complexity of the tradition of the Divine Office in the Low Coutries and the adjacent Rhineland. In this comparatively small area no less than four modal forms and two verse texts were in use, representing almost every possible variant. Only the (East Frankish) verse *Plauserunt* is not found, not even in the Rhineland manuscripts. In addition, the many erasures and corrections reveal a large measure of confusion.

The rest of Europe

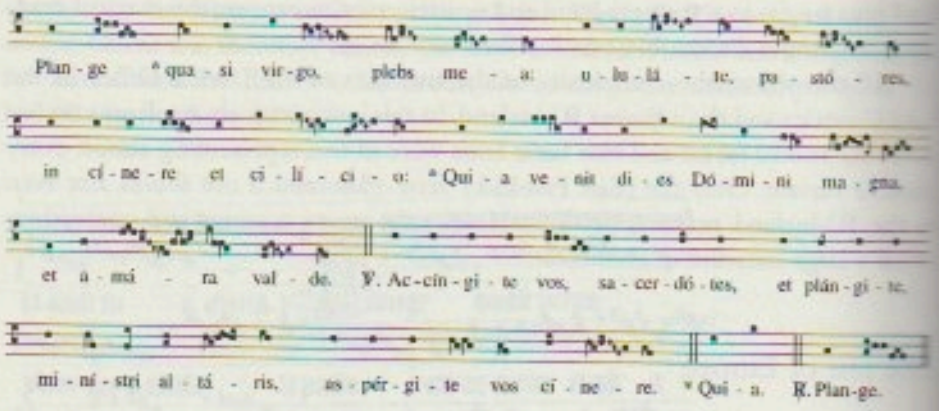
It is not surprising that *Plange quasi virgo*, with its strongly authentic melody, its opening motif reminiscent of the 5th mode, and its numerous 7th-mode central cadences, has been transmitted in both 5th and 7th modes. A striking feature of this responsory is the *d*, which serves as the dominant in much of this chant and is prominently present in the phrase *in cinere et cilicio*, thus evoking the 7th-mode atmosphere (see Example 1). Virtually the same phrase, but on another tonal step, occurs in the 5th-mode responsory *Jerusalem luge et exue te*, also for Holy Saturday: a conspicuous exchange of material between 5th and 7th mode.

But, as already noted above, there are more modal variants: assignments to plagal modes, which for this melody are not so obvious: the 8th-mode version of 12th-century Rhineland manuscripts, and the 2nd-mode versions in two mutually remote areas as North Italy and Arras (Nit and Ar).

All in all, there appears to be a modal tradition in which (certainly in German and French regions) the 5th mode is predominant, but alongside that also has a 7th-mode version in large parts of the Low Countries, as well as in Worcester and Benevento, an 8th mode in the Rhineland, and a 2nd mode in Arras and North Italy.

The text tradition shows the verse *Ululate* in many parts of the West Frankish region and the Low Countries and the Rhineland, the verse *Plauserunt super me* in the East Frankish area, and the verse *Accingite* here and there in the southern part of the Low Countries (Cambrai and Ghent) and in Aquitanian and Beneventan manuscripts.

[223a] Fifth mode versions with the verse text *Ululate* are found in Euskirchen and Ahrweiler too, but no microfilm of these manuscripts could be studied. See: W. KREMP, *Quellen und Studien zum Responsorium prolixum in der Überlieferung der Euskirchner Offiziumsantiphonare, (Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, 30)*, Köln, 1958, p. 239; and: W.A. HECKENBACH, *Das Antiphonar von Ahrweiler. Studien am Codex 2a/b des Pfarrarchivs Ahrweiler (um 1400), (Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, 94)*, Köln, 1971, p. 243.



Example 1. Responsory *Plangi quasi virgo* as in *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae*, Deslée et socii, Paris etc., 1957, pp. 325-326.

The first conclusion is that the textual and modal traditions do not coincide. The mere fact that the verses *Ululate* and *Plauserunt* are linked, respectively, to the French/Lorraine and German regions contrasts markedly with the finding that the 5th mode is predominant in both areas. The transmission of the repertory, then, is by no means univocal; on the contrary, the separate elements of a tradition can apparently be transmitted independently.

The second conclusion, which is bound up with the first, is that the Office tradition in the Low Countries must have originated in a very complex manner. One cannot simply state that neighbouring traditions collided with one another and that both left their traces, as has been posited after analyses of the notations of the Low Countries, which consist of French and German elements.[23] Not only does the East Frankish element appear to be almost totally absent - the verse *Plauserunt*, the only definitely East Frankish element, is the only one not found in the Low Countries - but it is also striking that some of the variants encountered have a parallel in a far distant region: the 7th and 2nd modes of *Plange quasi virgo*, which are not found in adjacent areas, but in Worcester and Middle and North Italy, respectively, and the verse text *Accingite* encountered in Aquitanian and Italian manuscripts.

[23] For music notation: DE LOOS, *Duitse en Nederlandse muzieknotaties*, chapter II, and *Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Ms 406 (3.J.7). Publications of Medieval musical manuscripts No. 21*, introduction by I. DE LOOS, index by CH. DOWNEY, edited by R. STEINER, Ottawa, 1997, pp. ix-xiv.

As already established above, the original forms of the other three corrected responsories also point to a tradition which does not link up directly with that of the neighbouring countries, but relates more closely to that of the southern part of the West Frankish area. About a century later this was apparently felt to be incorrect, and so several corrections were made, with the result that the chants related more closely to those of the Low Countries' immediate eastern and southern neighbours. It remains an open question whether the correspondence with the southern part of the West Frankish area goes any further than this limited number of responsories.

APPENDIX. MANUSCRIPT CONSULTED.

The sigla employed in the present study have been formed as much as possible after the place of origin (or for which the manuscript was made); the sigla of Hesbert's CAO have been preserved. At the end of each entry I have indicated between square brackets how the manuscript was consulted.[24]

Some antiphoners inventoried in the CANTUS project have been omitted, viz. if they might tend to upset the picture of the tradition, such as manuscripts of relatively young religious orders. There the production of manuscripts was often directed more centrally, so that the geographical divergence of certain versions was eliminated.

Ach: Aachen, Domarchiv, 20	Aachen Dom, thirteenth century (secular cursus) [manuscript]
Ar: Arras, Bibl. Mun., 465 (893)	Monastery of St. Vaast, Arras, fourteenth century (monastic cursus) [CANTUS index; microfilm]
B: Bamberg, Staatsbibl., lit. 23	Bamberg Cathedral, twelfth century [microfilm]
B25: Bamberg, Staatsbibl., lit. 25	Bamberg Cathedral, late thirteenth century [microfilm, CANTUS index]
C: Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 17436	Compiègne, c. 860–880 (secular cursus; no notation) [CAO]
Clu: Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 12601	Monastery of St. Taurin l'Echelle, c. 1064 - 1095 (cluniac use) [CANTUS index]
Cm: Cambrai, Bibl. de la Ville, 38	Cambrai Cathedral, c. 1230 - 1250 [microfilm, CANTUS index]
Cor: Gradual-Antiphoner of Mont-Renaud	Corbie ?, 10th century (monastic cursus) [fac simile PalMus XVI]

[24] The indication *PalMus* refers to the facsimile series *Paléographie Musicale & Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican*, published by the monks of Solesmes.

D: Paris, Bibl. Nat., 17296	Abbey of St. Denis, twelfth century (monastic cursus) [CAO, microfilm]
E: Ivrea, Bibl. Capit., 106	Ivrea, 11th century (secular cursus) [CAO]
Ei: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl., 611	Monastery of Einsiedeln, fourteenth century (monastic cursus) [CANTUS index]
F: Paris, Bibl. Nat., 12584	Abbey of St. Maur-des-Fossés, 11th - twelfth century (cluniac use) [CAO]
F2: Paris, Bibl. Nat., 12044	Abbey of St. Maur-des-Fossés, early twelfth century (cluniac use) [microfilm, CANTUS index]
Fir: Florence, Arcivescovado, s.c	Florence Cathedral, twelfth century [CANTUS index]
G: Durham, Chapter Library, B iii 11	Liège ?, 11th century (secular cursus) [CAO, microfilm]
Gt: Ghent, University Library, 15/1	St. Bavo's Abbey, Ghent, c. 1470 - 1480 (monastic cursus) [microfilm][25]
H: St. Gall, Stiftsbibl., 390-391 ('Hartker Antiphoner')	Abbey of St. Gall, c. 1000 [CAO, facsimile PalMus 2/1]
Kl2: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, 1012, Antiphoner summer part	Klosterneuburg, twelfth century (secular cursus) [microfilm]
KöM: Cologne, Dombibliothek, 226, Graduale-Antiphonarium	Cologne, collegiate church of Mariengraden, mid 14th century (secular cursus) [manuscript][26a]
KöS: Cologne, Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln, PfA. St. Severin, A II 3	Cologne, collegiate church of St. Severin, late 12th-early 13th century (secular cursus) [manuscript][26b]
Kl3: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, 1013, Antiphoner winter part -	Klosterneuburg, twelfth century (secular cursus) [microfilm]
Kre: Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibl., 290 (183)	Kremsmünster, twelfth century (monastic cursus) [CANTUS index]

[25] Ghent, University Library, Ms. 15 is in two parts (15/1 & 15/2), both antiphonaria integra, one for each side of the choir

[26a] P. HEUSGEN: *Der Gesamtkatalog der Handschriften der Kölner Dombibliothek, (Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins E.V., 15)*, Köln, 1933, pp. 5-6.

[26b] *Handschriftencensus Rheinland, Erfassung mittelalterlicher Handschriften im rheinischen Landesteil von Nordrhein-Westfalen mit einem Inventar*, ed. G. GATTERMANN, bearb. von H. FINGER [et al.], Wiesbaden, 1993, nr. 1370.

L: Benevento, Bibl. Capit., 21	Benevento ?, twelfth century (monastic cursus) [CAO, microfilm]
Lam: The Gottschalk Antiphoner	Lambach Abbey, Austria, late twelfth century (monastic cursus) [CANTUS index]
Lbt: Graz, Universitätsbibl., 29-30	St. Lambrecht Abbey, Austria, fourteenth century (monastic cursus) [CANTUS index]
Lc: Lucca, Bibl. Capit., 601	Lucca, early twelfth century (monastic cursus) [facsimile PalMus IX]
M: Monza, Bibl. Capit., c.12.75	Monza, 11th century (secular cursus) [CAO]
Ms: Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1090	St. Jean-de-Maurienne, Marseilles, twelfth century (secular cursus) [CANTUS index]
Mtz: Metz, Bibl. Munic., 83 (lost)	Abbey of St. Arnulfus, Metz, thirteenth century (monastic cursus) [microfilm]
Nev: Paris, Bibl. Nat., nal. 1236, Antiphoner winter part	Nevers, twelfth century (secular cursus) [microfilm]
Nit: Toledo, Bibl. capitular, 48.14	Northern Italy, early twelfth century (monastic cursus); only the incipits of the responsories and antiphoners, edited in PalMus IX, have been consulted
Pav: Monza, Bibl. Capitolare, c.15.79	St. Mayeul, Pavia, twelfth century (secular cursus) [CANTUS index]
Pia: Piacenza, Bibl. Capitolare, 65	Piacenza Cathedral, twelfth century [CANTUS index]
Pnd: Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 15181-15182	Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris, c. 1300 [CANTUS index]
Q: Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preuss. Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40047	Quedlinburg, 11th century (secular cursus) [facsimile][26]
R: Zürich, Zentralbibl., Rh. 28	Rheinau, thirteenth century [CAO]
Rhl: Brussels, KB, 353 (cat.nr. 510), Breviary winter part	Rhineland, twelfth century (secular cursus) [manuscript] [27]

[26] H. MÖLLER, *Das Quedlinburger Antiphonar (Berlin Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40047)*, *(Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 25/1-3), Tutzing, 1990.

[27] Weingarten Abbey, twelfth - thirteenth Brussel, KB Albertina, inv.nr. 353 (cat.nr. 510), with unlined German neumes. M. COENS, *Note sur un bréviaire d'origine rhénane conservé à Bruxelles*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 87 (1969), p. 410 states that the manuscript, like inv. no. 104, is Rhenis, pointing to a number of saints venerated "dans la region rheno-westphalienne.

Ro: Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, C. 5	Rome, Benedictines of San Sisto, twelfth century (monastic cursus) [CANTUS index]
S: London, British Library, Add. 30850	Silos, 11th century (monastic cursus) [CAO]
Sa: Vorau, Stiftsbibl., 287 (29)	Salzburg, 1st half fourteenth century (secular cursus), [CANTUS index]
Sar: Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9 ('Barnwell Antiphoner')	Sarum Antiphoner, c. 1225–1250 (secular cursus) [facsimile, CANTUS index][28]
Se: Paris, Bibl. Nat., nal. 1535	Sens Cathedral, early thirteenth century [CANTUS index]
Si: Silos, Monast., 9	Abbey of Silos, twelfth century (monastic cursus) [microfilm]
St: Graz, Universitätsbibl., 211 ('Codex Albensis')	Stuhlweissenburg (Hungary), twelfth century (secular cursus) [facsimile][29]
Tng: Tongres, Church of Our Lady, 63, Antiphoner winter part	Chapter Church of Our Lady, Tongres, late fourteenth century [microfilm][30]
To1: Toledo, Bibl. Capitular, 44.1	Aquitaine, 11th century (mixed cursus) [CANTUS index]
To2: Toledo, Bibl. Capitular, 44.2	Aquitaine, 11th - twelfth century (secular cursus) [microfilm, CANTUS index]
Tou: Tours, Bibl. Municipale, 149	Chapter Church of St. Martin, Tours, thirteenth - fourteenth century [CANTUS index]
U400, Utrecht, University Library, 400, Pontificale	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, c. 1450 [microfilm]
U403, Utrecht, University Library, 403, Missal	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, c. 1470 - 1480 [manuscript]
U404: Utrecht, University Library, 404, noted Breviary winter part	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 4th quarter fifteenth century [manuscript]
U405: Utrecht, University Library, 405, noted Missal	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 3rd quarter fifteenth century [manuscript]

[28] *Antiphonale Sarisbu-rien-se. A reproduction in facsimile.*

[29] Z. FALVY & L. MEZEY, *Codex Albensis. Ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert (Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, ms. nr. 211)*, Budapest, 1963.

[30] In the church of Our Lady in Tongeren two identical winter antiphoners are preserved, Mss. 63 & 64, one for each side of the choir.

U406: Utrecht, University Library, 406	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 2nd half twelfth century [CANTUS index, manuscript, facsimile][24]
U407: Utrecht, University Library, 407	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 2nd quarter or mid fourteenth century [manuscript]
U408: Utrecht, University Library, 408	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 2nd quarter fifteenth century [microfilm]
U409: Utrecht, University Library, 409, Antiphoner summer part	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 1st quarter sixteenth century [manuscript]
U410: Utrecht, University Library, 410, Antiphoner summer part	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century [manuscript]
U411: Utrecht, University Library, 411, Antiphoner summer part	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century [manuscript]
U413: Utrecht, University Library, 413, Gradual	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 1st quarter sixteenth century [manuscript][25]
U417: Utrecht, University Library, 417, Sequentiarium ('Utrechts Prosarium')	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, thirteenth century [manuscript]
U418: Utrecht, University Library, 418, Psalter	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 2nd quarter or mid fourteenth century [manuscript]
U419: Utrecht, University Library, 419, Officium Dedicationis / Triduum Sacrum	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, 2nd half thirteenth century [manuscript]
U424: Utrecht, University Library, 419, Collectarius V: Verona, Bibl. Capit. XCVIII	Chapter Church of St. Mary's, Utrecht, mid twelfth century [manuscript] Verona, 11th century (secular cursus) [CAO]
Val: Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Conv. Sopp. 560	Monastery of Vallombrosa, late twelfth century (monastic cursus), [CANTUS index]
Wal: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS. 20541 E ('Penpont Antiphoner')	prepared for a non-monastic church in Wales, ca. 1320 - 1390 (secular cursus; Sarum Use) [facsimile, CANTUS index][26]

[24] Utrecht, Bibli-otheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Ms 406 (3.J.7).

[25] *The Utrecht Prosarium. Liber sequentiarum ecclesiae capitularis Sanctae Mariae Ultraiec-tensis saeculi XIII, codex Ultraiectensis, Universitatis biblio-thecae 417*, N. DE GOEDE s.c.j. ed. (*Monumenta Musica Neer-lan-dica*, 6), Amsterdam, 1965.

[26] *National Library of Wales MS 20541 E. The Penpont Antiphonal*. Publications of Medieval musical manuscripts No. 22. Introduction and indices prepared by O.T. EDWARDS, Ottawa, 1997.

Wc: Worcester, Cathedral Library F 160	Worcester Cathedral, thirteenth century [facsimile, CANTUS index]
Wg: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., HB.I.55	Weingarten Abbey, twelfth - thirteenth century (monastic cursus) [CANTUS index]
Xan: Xanten, Stiftsarchiv H 104	Xanten, Dan St. Viktor, late 12th century or ca. 1200 (secular cursus); microfilm
Zw: Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibl., 60	Zwiefalten, 2nd half twelfth century, notation fourteenth century (monastic cursus) [microfilm, CANTUS index][35]

The four responsories analysed, with their mode and verse text

The title of the responsory is followed by its *CAO* number and the *CAO* manuscripts in which it is found. Then follow the data of the manuscripts consulted. The antiphoners are ordered geographically, within the same region according to modal assignment, then verse text, and therein alphabetically.

Each line begins with the mode number (followed by a T in the event of transposition) accompanied by a lower case letter indicating the text of the verse (on which see the *CAO* and cantus indexes); then follow the sigla, with folio number in brackets. In Cor the verses are not provided with notation, so that the mode cannot be established. An arrow means 'corrected to'; an asterisk points to an incipit.

[35] *Antiphonarium Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug.perg. 60. Farbmikrofiche-edition. Musik- und liturgiege-schichtliche Einführung und Beschreibung der Handschrift von* H. MÖLLER. (*Codices illuminati medii aevi 37*), München, 1995.

RESP. *ECCE RADIX JESSE ASCENDIT*
6606 - CGBEV HRDFSL

Verse texts: a = *Deus a Libano*; b = *Dabit ei Dominus*; c = *Et erit justitia*; z = Non-*CAO* verse

South Germany (including Switzerland)
8a: B25 (9r), Ei (8r), H (29), Wg (4v), Zw (11v)

Central Europa (including Austria)
8a: Kre (108v), Lbt (17v), St (12v)
8ba: Kl3 (16v)

Central/North Germany
8a: Q (11v)

Rhineland
8a: Ach (10r)
8ba*: Rhl (12v)

Low Countries
7b: U407 (41r), U404 (35r)
7b ‡ 8b: U406 (12v)
8b: Ar (25v), Cm (20r), Gt (10r)
8c: G (137v), Tng (29v)

Insular countries
8z: Wc (15)
Lorraine

Central/North France
8a: Tou (33v)
8b: D (10v), F2 (1r), Pnd (123v), Se (11v)
8z: Nev (13v)
?a*b: Cor (52v)

South France/Aquitaine
7b: Ms (6v), Si (10r)
8b: To2 (9r)

North Italy
8b: Fir (8r), Lc (15, 380), Pav (12r), Nit, Pia (280r), Val (9r)

Central Italy
7z: R.o (2v)
8b: L (2v)

RESP. *NASCETUR NOBIS PARVULUS*
7295 - GBEMV HRDFSL

Verse texts: a = *Eae advenit dominator*; b = *In ipso benedicentur*; c = Et adorabunt; d = *Multiplicabitur*

South Germany (including Switzerland)
7a: Ei (12v), H (32), Zw (13v)
8a: Wg (10r)

Central Europa (including Austria)
7a: Kl3 (24v), Kre (115r), Lam (11v), Lbt (24r), St (11r)

Central/North Germany
7a: Q (14r)

Rhineland
7a: Aq (21v)
8a: Rhl (20r)

Low Countries
7b: Cm (26v), U404 (46r), U407 (44r)
7d ‡ 8b: Gt (16v)
8b ‡ 7b: U406 (15v)
8b: Ar (32v)
8c: Tng (39r), G (139v)

Insular countries
8d: Wc (24)

Lorraine
7a: Mtz (19r)

Central/North France
7a: D (16r), Nev (17r, 107r), Pnd (130r, 471v), Tou (46r)
7b: Se (16r)
?ab: Cor (53v)
?: F2 (5v)

South France/Aquitaine
8b: Ms (9r)
8d: Si (16r), To2 (15r)
?d: To1 (1r)

North Italy
7b: Pia (281v)
7d: Pav (16r)
8b: Fir (13r)
8d: Lc (21, 382), Pav (221r), Nit, Val (12v)

Central Italy
7b: L (7v)
8ba: Ro (6v)

RESP. *PLANGE QUASI VIRGO PLEBS MEA*
7387 - CGBEMV HRDFSL

Verse texts: a = *Ululate … cinere*; b = *Plauserunt super me*; c = *Accingite vos … cinere*

South Germany (including Switzerland)
5b: B25 (54r), Ei (87r), H (222), Wg (79v), Zw (92r)

Central Europa (including Austria)
5b: Kl3 (142r), Kre (214v), Lbt (165v), St (82v)

Central/North Germany
5b: Q (66r)

Rhineland
5a: Ach (95r); final cadence corrected
8a: Rhl (173r), Xan (13v)

Low Countries
2Tc: Ar (155r)
7a: G (152r), Tng (158v)
7c: Cm (115v)
7a‡ 5a: U406 (95v)
5a (final g): U404 (180r), U407 (141r), U408 (74v), U419 (45v)
5a ‡ 5c: Gt (92r)

Insular countries
5a: Sar (233), Wal (94v)
7a: Wc (125)

Lorraine
5a (final g?): Mtz (121v)[21]

Central/North France
5a: F2 (98r), Nev (153r), Pnd (291r), Tou (295v)
?a: Cor (87r)

South France/Aquitaine
5a: Ms (72v), Si (67v), To2 (90r)
5c: To1 (74v)

North Italy
2Tc: Nit
5a: Pav (101r)
5c: Fir (110r), Lc (202), Pia (329r), Val (109v)

Central Italy
5ba*: Ro (148v)
7c: L (133r)

[21] This MS appears to pose a problem similar to that of the Utrecht manuscripts. The verse tone is that of the 5th mode, but the finalis seems to be g. Unfortunately, the MS itself has been lost and the available microfilm is of poor quality.

RESP. *CONCLUSIT VIAS MEAS INIMICUS*
e306 - CGBEMVHRDFSL

Verse texts: a = *Factus sum in derisu*; b = *Omnes inimici mei*

South Germany (including Switzerland)
8b: B25 (50r), Ei (77v), H (171), Wg (71r), Zw (85r)

Central Europa (including Austria)
6a: St (75r)
6b: Kl3 (131v)
8b: Kre (208r), Lbt (143v), Sa (81r)

Central/North Germany
8b: Q (60r)

Rhineland
5a: Ach (95r; final cadence on erasure)
5a: (final g):KöS (70r)
?a ➤ 5a: Köm (223r)
?a ➤ 8a: Xan (106r)

Low Countries
6a: G (150v)
6Ta: Ar (142v), Cm (102r), Gt (81r)
6Tb: Tng (145r)
6Tb ➤ 8Tb: U406 (88v)
8Tb: U404 (166v), U407 (130r), U408 (67r)

Insular countries
6Ta: Sar (204), Wal (82r), Wc (115)

Lorraine
8b: Mtz (110r)

Central/North France
6a: F2 (89r)
6Ta: Pnd (272v)
8a: Tou (266r)
8b: Nev (140r), Se (56v)
?ab: Cor (82v)

South France/Aquitaine
6a: Ms (63v), Si (67v), To1 (68r), To2 (81r)

North Italy
2a: Fir (99v)
6a: Nit
6Ta: Lc (176), Val (106r)
7b: Pav (89r)
8a: Pia (323r)

Central Italy
6a: L (119v)
8a: Ro (137v)

De Antwerpse organist, zangmeester en componist Joannes Thomas Baustetter

(Anholt, ca. 1723 - Antwerpen, 23 januari 1789)

Godelieve Spiessens
Antwerpen

Joannes Thomas Baustetter was een zoon van de Duitse componist Johann Conrad en werd ca. 1723 vermoedelijk in Anholt geboren.[1] In die tijd was zijn vader (Nuremberg, vóór 1700 - Antwerpen 1743) immers kapelmeester aan het Hof van Anholt, totdat hij zich van daaruit in 1726 in Antwerpen kwam vestigen, waar hij *musicien* van de Sint-Walburgiskerk en later van de Sint-Jacobskerk werd.[2] Zijn familienaam komt ook voor in de spellingen Bausetter, Bausteiter, Bautsetter, Bautstet(t)er, Bauwstetter, Bauzetter, Baut(t)ztetter, Baw(t)stetter, Bawtsetter, Batstetter, Boutzetter, Boutsetter, Baudsetter, enz. Na zijn humaniorastudies trad Jan Thomas in het Antwerpse seminarie en op 20 september 1743 ontving hij de tonsuur en de vier lagere wijdingen in de kapel van het bisschoppelijk paleis. Op 20 december 1754 werd hij tot diaken en op 29 december ten slotte tot priester gewijd door de Antwerpse bisschop G.D. de Gentis.[3] Hij werd kapelaan van de Sint-Andrieskerk en later van de kathedraal, waar hij ten slotte kanunnik van de Eerste fundatie werd (zie infra).

Organist en klavecinist

Op 13 september 1744 overleed Gaspar Caulier, organist van de Sint-Andrieskerk; hij werd opgevolgd door zijn erfgenaam Nicolaes Caulier maar niet voor lang want nog in hetzelfde jaar werd Jan Thomas Baustetter benoemd. Deze laatste zou de functies van organist en kapelaan hier blijven waarnemen tot aan zijn benoeming in de kathedraal in 1771. Zijn jaarwedde als organist in de Sint-An-

[1] P. VISSCHERS, *Geschiedenis van St. Andries kerk te Antwerpen sedert hare opkomst, tot den huidigen dag*, Antwerpen, 1853, 2, p. 86–87; L. DE BURBURE, *Notes historiques. Uittreksels uit de archieven der stad en der kerken van Antwerpen, 1100-1796* (hs.), 7, p. 43, en 9, p. 29–30, die veronderstelde dat J.T. Baustetter ca. 1724 in Amsterdam geboren werd, omdat verkeerdelijk aangenomen werd dat zijn vader toen daar gevestigd was als organist.

[2] G. SPIESSENS, *Joan Conrad Baustetter, een Antwerps componist van Duitse komaf (Nuremberg, ca. 1695?-Antwerpen, 1743)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 14 (1997), p. 101–106.

[3] Kathedraalarchief Antwerpen (KAA), Capsa episcoporum 202(13) (*G.Ph. de Herzelles 1743-1746*), nr. 70, en 202(15) (*G.D. de Gentis 1749-1758*), nrs. 1782 en 1843. Vgl. DE BURBURE, *Notes historiques*, 9, p. 35.

drieskerk bedroeg 48 gld. Op 1 oktober 1771 ontvingen hij en zijn opvolger Franciscus Treseniers samen een bedrag van 96 gld. voor twee jaar gage.[4]

In de Sint-Andrieskerk had organist Baustetter een instrument van Blasius Bremser ter beschikking, dat van 1675 dateerde. Maar dat kon hij slechts een tiental jaar bespelen want in 1755 werd het vernield door het instorten van de toren en sindsdien moest de organist zich met een positief behelpen.[5]

Na zijn benoeming tot zangmeester in de kathedraal werd Baustetter nog regelmatig als orgelexpert gevraagd. In 1778 nam hij de supervisie op zich van de werken aan het nieuwe orgel van Louis Delhaije voor de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel in de kathedraal[6] (zie ook infra). Op 2 juni 1783 keurde hij de restauratiewerken van Peter van Peteghem sr. aan het orgel in de kerk van de H. Maria Magdalena in Reet goed.[7] Op 5 juli 1784 ondertekende hij met organist Joannes Hoefnaegels en Frans Jozef de Trazegnies, organist van de Sint-Walburgiskerk, een vernietigende expertise over het nieuwe orgel van Joannes Tits in de Sint-Andrieskerk.[8] Het orgel van Christiaen Penceler (1720) in de O.-L.-Vrouwekerk in Hoboken werd onder andere in 1786 door Egidius Franciscus van Peteghem gerestaureerd en toen traden Baustetter en Petrus Van den Bosch als experten op.[9] Baustetter werd verder ook als deskundige geraadpleegd voor andere muziekinstrumenten.

[4] Rijksarchief Antwerpen (RAA), Rekeningen Sint-Andries 20 (1741-1749), annis 1743-1745, 1745-1747, 1747-1749; 21 (1749-1761), annis 1749-1751, 1751-1753, 1753-1755, 1755-1757, 1757-1759, 1759-1761; 22 (1761-1767), annis 1761-1763, 1763-1765, 1765-1767; 23 (1767-1777), annis 1767-1769, 1769-1771.

[5] Zie G. SPIESSENS, *Het voormalig Bremserorgel van de Antwerpse Sint-Andrieskerk* (1675), in *Adem*, 24 (1988), p. 69-70; P. VISSCHERS, *Geschiedenis van St. Andries kerk te Antwerpen*, 2, p. 201.

[6] Zie G. SPIESSENS, *Een orgelbouwgeschiedenis. Het voormalige orgel van Louis Delhaye in de kapel van O.-L.-Vrouw-Lof in de Antwerpse kathedraal (1778)*, in *Celesta*, 3 (1989), p. 109-115.

[7] E.G.J. GRÉGOIR, *Historique de la facture et des facteurs d'orgues*, Antwerpen, 1865, p. 197; A. FAUCONNIER en P. ROOSE, *Het historisch orgel in Vlaanderen, IIIa. Antwerpen-art. Antwerpen*, Brussel, 1983, p. 613 (Reet). Vgl. G. PERSOONS, *Kapelmeesters van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwkerk te Antwerpen. Overzicht van 16e tot 19e eeuw*, in *Antwerps kathedraalkoor. Gouden jubileum gedenkboek 1927-1928/1977-1978*, Antwerpen, 1978, p. 85 (zonder bronvermelding).

[8] VISSCHERS, *Geschiedenis van St. Andries kerk te Antwerpen*, 2, p. 203; GRÉGOIR, *Historique de la facture et des facteurs d'orgues*, p. 175. Vgl. G. SPIESSENS, *Het Antwerps muzikantengeslacht De Trazegnies (17de, 18de en 19de eeuw)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 7 (1990), p. 11 (*Franciscus Josephus de Trazegnies*). Volgens L. JAGENAU, *Archivalia. St.-Andries, Antwerpen*, in *De Schalmei*, 2 (1947), p. 111, zou Jan Thomas Baustetter zelfs orgelbouwer geweest zijn want de auteur kondigt een studie aan over een orgelcontract met handtekening van Baustetter. Vermoedelijk heeft de auteur een al te vluchtige inzage genomen van het contract (1778) van orgelbouwer Tits met de expertise van 1784 die onder andere door Baustetter ondertekend werd.

[9] Zie GRÉGOIR, *Historique de la facture et des facteurs d'orgues*, p. 197, 200, die daarvoor steunde op de heden verloren werklijst van het atelier van Peter van Peteghem sr., maar foutief 1800 als jaartal en niet als kostprijs opgaf (1800 gld.). Vgl. FAUCONNIER & ROOSE, *Het historisch orgel in Vlaanderen, IIIa. Antwerpen-art. Antwerpen*, p. 491.

Zo expertiseerde en verdeelde hij in 1756 de muziekinstrumenten en bibliotheek uit de nalatenschap van wijlen kanunnik Jacob Gerard Knijff.[10]

Jan Thomas Baustetter werd een gewaardeerd leermeester in het klavierspel, zowel orgel als klavecimbel. In 1749-1761 gaf hij muzieklessen aan de kinderen van de vrouw van James Dormer, een te Antwerpen gevestigd bankier en zakenman van Engelse komaf. Over dit onderricht bleven er vijf kwijtingen bewaard, waarvan de eerste van 3 £ 6 sch. drie maanden leergeld plus zes lessen aan jw. Plowden (Plouden, van Plauden) in 1749 betrof. Een tweede betaling van 2 december 1750 gold drie maanden les aan de dochter van mevr. Dormer en een derde kwitantie van 20 sch. voor een maand les aan jw. Plowden met nog eens 20 sch. voor jw. Dormer ondertekende Baustetter op 1 juli 1751. Voor zes maanden leergeld van 1758 tot februari 1760 werd een niet genoemd bedrag betaald en voor zes maanden les aan dochter en zoon Dormer werd 42 gld. betaald op 1 december 1761.[11] Het ligt voor de hand dat het hier om klavecimbellessen ging.

In 1753 werd in Oosterhout (Nederland) een nieuw orgel opgeleverd en de toekomstige titularis, de kosterszoon Willem van Werelt, kwam voor enkele maanden in de leer en de kost bij "Bausetter, organist te Antwerpen".[12]

Blijkens de volkstelling van 1755 woonde priester Bautstetter, organist van de Sint-Andrieskerk, toen op de Grote Goddaert, nr. 167, en onder hetzelfde dak leefden zijn moeder, zijn twee zusters van respectievelijk 25 en 17 jaar, een dienstmeisje en een zestienjarige student.[13] Dat was trouwens nog het ouderlijk huis want bij de volkstelling van 1747 woonde zijn moeder, de weduwe Boutsetter, met haar kinderen reeds op dit adres.[14] De twee zusters bleven verder bij hun broer-priester wonen tot na zijn dood en zij zouden zo hun rolletje spelen in het koraalhuis (zie infra).

In 1767-1768 gaf Boutsetter/Bautsetter dertien maanden klavecimbelles, tegen 7 gld. per maand, aan jonkvrouw Joanna Ludovica Josepha Du Bois (6 november 1768), de enige dochter van jonker Arnoldus Henricus Joannes Du Bois (12 oktober 1757), heer van Vroylande, enz.: *Item aen den Eerweerden heer*

[10] G. SPIESSENS, *Muzikale nalatenschap van de Antwerpse kanunnik Jacob Gerard Knijff (1756)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 3 (1986), p. 89-92.

[11] Stadsarchief Antwerpen (SAA), *Insolvente boedels 1202* (Privépapieren van James Dormer; kosten voor onderwijs en pension, lessen gegeven aan de zoon, de dochter en Juffrouw Plowden; Baustetter, Thomas J., 1749-1761), vijf stukken. Zie ook G. SPIESSENS, *Vijf Antwerpse archiefstukken (17471750) over de Brusselse componist Charles-Joseph Van Helmont*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 4 (1987), p. 13-14.

[12] F.P.M. JESPERS, *"Het loflyk werk der Engelen". De katholieke kerkmuziek in Noord-Brabant van het einde der zeventiende eeuw tot het einde der negentiende eeuw*, Tilburg, 1988, p. 89-90.

[13] SAA, Privilegekamer 2562 (Volkstelling 1755), 5e wijk, 1e quartier, p. 37-38.

[14] Zie SAA, Privilegekamer 2560 (Volkstelling 1747), fol.17v.

Bautsetter voor twee maenden leeren op de clavecimbale by quittantie...f. 14.[15] Petrus vanden Bosch leverde een klavecimbel tegen 30 gld. en de jongedame kreeg ook les van dansmeester Bout tegen 5 gld. 5 st. per maand.[16] Vermoedelijk werden de lessen gegeven in de prachtige grote herenwoning van Du Bois in de Lange Nieuwstraat (heden nrs. 20-24: stadsgebouw Burgerlijke Stand), die ca. 1740 door Jan Pieter van Baurscheit gebouwd werd. Tijdens de ambtsperiode van Baustetter was Pierre Joseph vanden Bosch orgeltitularis van de kathedraal en bijgevolg een naaste collega van hem (zie ook infra). Dansmeester Franciscus Baut was uit Mechelen afkomstig en werd op 5 mei 1769 poorter van Antwerpen. In 1777 zou hij tijdens acht redoutes van het Aalmoezenierstheater spelen en de dans leiden.[17] Misschien is hij ook te identificeren met ene Baut die in 1770-1781 de tweede viool hield in het instrumentaal ensemble van de Sint-Jacobskerk.

Jan Thomas Baustetter schreef in op enkele muziekpublicaties van inlandse tijdgenoten en uiteraard ging het vooral om klavecimbelmuziek. Hij staat als *Mr. Baustetter, organiste de S. André à Anvers* vermeld in de intekenlijst voor het *Deuxieme livre de clavecin* van Dieudonné Raick. Dit opus 2, dat zes klavecimbelsuites bevat, werd volgens het titelblad in Gent uitgegeven maar niet gedateerd. Het werd tot dusver tussen 1741 en 1757 gesitueerd maar kan in elk geval pas in of na 1744 verschenen zijn want pas in dat jaar werd Jan Thomas organist in de Antwerpse Sint-Andrieskerk. Zijn vader Jan Conrad was toen reeds overleden, zodat het niet meer nodig was een voornaam toe te voegen aan de famielienaam Baustetter. Raick bleef tot 1757 organist in Gent en zijn opus 2 moet daar dus tussen 1744 en 1757 uitgegeven zijn. Jan Thomas Baustetter zou ook ingetekend hebben op het opus 3 van de Leuvenaar Matthias vanden Gheyn: *Six Divertiment [sic] pour le clavecin*, Londen, Welcker, s.a. (ca. 1764).[18] In het opus 5 van Pierre-Joseph vanden Bosch (1736-1803): *Quatre sonates pour le clavecin, avec violon et basse ad libitum*, Paris, Le Menu, etc., s.a. (ca. 1772?)[19] wordt hij bestempeld als *J. Baustetter, maitre de musique à la cathédrale d'Anvers*. In de lijst van de intekenaars op het opus 1 van Pierre-Joseph Guislain, *6 Sonates à 2 violons*, Anvers, chez l'auteur. Imp.

[15] SAA, Notariaat 2179 (*P. Huybrechts 1767-1768: Staeten en rekeningen*): Staat, rekening, bewijs en reliqua van sterfhuis jonker A.H.J. Du Bois, onder de rubriek uitgaven, nrs. 136, 151, 174, 226, 235, 267, 276, 300, 408, 477. Dit document werd ons aangewezen door mevr. G.VAN HEMELDONCK, waarvoor wij haar van harte danken.

[16] Ibidem, uitgaven nrs. 141 en 135, 150, 189, 218, 242, 284, 287, 307.

[17] SAA, Vierschaar 163 (Poortersboek 12: 1757-1775), fol.16v. Zie G. SPIESSENS, *Geschiedenis van de gilde van de Antwerpse speellieden, bijgenaamd Sint-Joden-Sint-Maria-Magdalena (16e eeuw1794)* (5) *1740-1794*, in *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, 44 (1990), p. 122, nr. 11; DE BURBURE, *Notes historiques*, 9, p. 512.

[18] Volgens DE BURBURE, *Notes historiques*, 7, p. 307. Het heden enig bekende exemplaar van deze druk in Cambridge, Kings College, Rowe Music Library (*RISM* G1764) bevat echter geen intekenlijst, zodat we dit gegeven niet konden controleren.

[19] Vgl. E.VAN DER STRAETEN, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle*, 4, Brussel, 1878, p. 365.

par P.Van den Berg, s.a. (ca. 1780)[20] staat hij vermeld als *Mr. J.T. Baustetter, Prêtre et maître de Musique de la cathédrale à Anvers*. Guislain was een belangrijke figuur in het Antwerpse muziekleven van toen. Sinds 1777 speelde hij als extra violist in de kapel van het Venerabel in de kathedraal en hij werd eerste violist in het aalmoezenierstheater en dirigent van het Concert bourgeois.[21] In het opus 2 van FrançoisJoseph de Trazegnies: *Six divertissemens pour le clavecin*, zes sonaten voor klavecimbel, uitgegeven in Parijs, Le Menu (ca. 1782) staat Jan Thomas Baustetter onder de intekenaars vermeld als *Mr. J.F. Bauestetter Prêtre bénéficier & maitre de Musique de la Cathedrale d'Anvers*, waarbij de tweede initiaal van zijn voornaam wel als T. zal bedoeld geweest zijn. De Antwerpse organist en klavecinist François Joseph de Trazegnies was een zoon van Gummarus Franciscus de Trazegnies, die onder andere organist van de twee kapellen van de kathedraal was en gelegentlijk ook het orgel van het hoogkoor bespeelde, en dus een collega van Baustetter was.[22]

Op 12 juni 1752 nam *Joannes Thomas Baustetter (Bausteiter), theologant ende musicien alhier* de hem bij testament van 29 februari 1752 gelegateerde muziekinstrumenten en boeken van jonker Joannes Josephus Vecqemans in ontvangst, namelijk *alle desselfs bassen, violen ende fluijten, 't sij à becq ofte traversiere, midtsgaeders alle desselfs gedruckt ende geschreven musieck*.[23] De gebroeders Joannes Josephus en Philippus Albertus Vecquemans, die samenwoonden, waren blijkbaar grote muziekliefhebbers want in hun huis kwamen geregeld Antwerpse muzikanten, zoals de gebroeders Jan Adam en Jan Frederik Faber, respectievelijk koraalmeester van de kathedraal en organist van de Sint-Jacobskerk, en ook stadsspeelman Henricus Theodoor Henricx.[24] Jonker Joannes Josephus Vecquemans moet een

[20] Vgl. E.G.J. GRÉGOIR, *Bibliographie musicale*, in *Messager des sciences historiques*, 1871, p. 370; G. SPIESSENS, *Pierre Joseph Guislain, Six sonates à deux violons, op. 1*, in *Antwerpse muziekdrukken. Vocale en instrumentale polyfonie (16de-18de eeuw). Museum Plantin-Moretus, Tentoonstellingscatalogus*, Antwerpen, 1996, nr. 36.

[21] E.G.J. GRÉGOIR, *Notice sur les sociétés et écoles de musique à Anvers*, Antwerpen, 1869, p. 23; R. VANNES, *Dictionnaire des musiciens (compositeurs)*, Brussel, s.a. (1947), p. 186; W. DEHENNIN, *Het Muziekleven*, in *Antwerpen in de XIXde eeuw*, Antwerpen, 1964, p. 308; H. BAECK-SCHILDERS, *De Sodaliteit als concert en spektakelzaal*, in *De Nottebohmzaal. Boek en mecenaat*, Antwerpen, 1993, p. 59; G. SPIESSENS, *Pierre Joseph Guislain, Six sonates à deux violons, op. 1*, in *Antwerpse muziekdrukken. Vocale en instrumentale polyfonie (16de18de eeuw). Museum Plantin-Moretus, Tentoonstellingscatalogus*, Antwerpen, 1996, nr. 36.

[22] G. SPIESSENS, *Franciscus Josephus de Trazegnies (1743-1820)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 7 (1990), p. 12; G. SPIESSENS, *Gummarus Franciscus de Trazegnies II (1717-1786)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 6 (1989), p. 115-118.

[23] SAA, Notariaat 1586 (J.L. Francot 1752-1753), fol.342r (testament); 397r-398v (ontvangstbewijs); 561v-562r (staat van goederen). Deze documenten werden ons gesignaleerd door mevr. G. VAN HEMELDONCK, die wij daarvoor van harte danken.

goede vriend van de familie Baustetter geweest zijn want in 1731 hield hij Joannes Baustetter, een broer van Jan Thomas, boven de doopvont.[23]

ZANGMEESTER VAN DE KATHEDRAAL

Op 20 april 1771 legde Eerwaarde Heer Ludovicus van Noorbeek zijn ambt van zangmeester aan de Antwerpse kathedraal neer, omdat hij in Brugge tot zangmeester van de O.-L.-Vrouwekerk benoemd was. Hij was evenwel bereid om zijn taak in Antwerpen te blijven vervullen totdat hier een plaatsvervanger zou aangesteld zijn. Het Kapittel besloot om in zijn eerstvolgende vergadering het zangmeesterschap voor een keer zonder voorafgaandelijk concours toe te kennen. Er hadden zich reeds verscheidene hoogst ervaren muzikanten als kandidaat aangeboden (Bijlage A1a).

Hoogkoor

Op 27 april 1771 werd bij geheime stemming, zoals gebruikelijk, een nieuwe zangmeester gekozen en dat werd E.H. Jan Thomas Bawstetter, die reeds kapelaan was van de kathedraal. Hij zou een contract met voorgeschreven voorwaarden moeten ondertekenen en dat zorgvuldig naleven (Bijlage A1b).[24] Deze vijf voorwaarden kwamen voor elke nieuwe zangmeester steeds ongeveer op hetzelfde neer. Die moest de metten, lauden en andere koorofficies bijwonen en psalmodiëren, zodat hij beter op de koorkinderen kon letten en ook moest hij ze van het koraalhuis naar de kerk en terug brengen. Voor het muziekonderricht aan de koralen mocht hij zich niet laten vervangen en hij mocht geen publieke concerten bijwonen, vooral geen theatervoorstellingen. Hij moest zijn erfgenamen verplichten om na zijn dood, zijn geschriften en aantekeningen in verband met zijn dienstgages aan het Kapittel over te dragen. Ten slotte werd hij gehouden om de bestaande en toekomstige verordeningen van het Kapittel in verband met zijn taken als zangmeester te aanvaarden (Bijlage A1c). De ondertekening gebeurde op 2 mei en 's anderendaags moest hij zijn eerste dienst waarnemen, namelijk de conventuele mis van vrijdag 3 mei, maar hij had zich nog te onthouden van het Marialof in de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel en het hof in de Venerabelkapel (Bijlage A1d).

[23] G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse componist Joannes Adamus Josephus Faber (°Mainz?, ca. 1692- Antwerpen, 1759)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 11 (1994), p. 69; G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse organist Jan Frederik Faber (1703-1764)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 3 (1986), p. 123-125.

[24] Zie SPIESSENS, *Joan Conrad Baustetter*, p. 101.

[25] Volgens DE BURBURE, *Notes historiques*, 9, p. 29, gebeurde de benoeming op 2 mei 1771, maar dat was de datum van de ondertekening van het contract.

In de rekeningen van de kerkfabriek staat de jaarwedde van de zangmeester niet afzonderlijk vermeld maar ze werd naar alle waarschijnlijkheid meegerekend in de gezamenlijke jaarwedde voor de zangers en de stadsspeellieden samen, en ten tijde van Baustetter kon die schommelen tussen de 196 gld. en de 726 gld.[27] Omstreeks 1719 kreeg de zangmeester een dubbele zangerswedde[28] en vermoedelijk was dat toen reeds een traditie die trouwens tot het einde van het ancien régime toe onveranderd zou blijven.[29]

O.-L.-Vrouwekapel

In principe werd Baustetter ook zangmeester van de kapellen van O.-L.-Vrouw-Lof en het H. Sacrament, maar blijkbaar gingen de respectievelijke kapelmeesters niet onmiddellijk akkoord met zijn benoeming. Op hun kamervergadering van 1 mei hadden die van de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel hem nochtans benoemd, op voorwaarde dat hij behoorlijke muziek zou leveren bij alle missen en loven in de kapel en zich bij afwezigheid door ziekte of een reis, met toelating van de kapelmeesters, door een bekwaam iemand zou laten vervangen. Zijn jaarwedde zou 120 gld. bedragen met daarbij jaarlijks nog drie vaste vergoedingen, namelijk $10^{1/2}$ gld. voor extra dienst en 4 gld. voor het kinderlof tijdens het octaaf (van O.-L.-V.-Hemelvaart), en 3 gld. voor de requiemmis na het octaaf. Losse vergoedingen streek hij op voor bepaalde gelegenheden, zoals de H. Geestmissen naar aanleiding van de keuze van de nieuwe kapelmeesters en de inleidingsmissen voor deze verkozenen, die telkens 30 gld. opbrachten. Bij deze missen kwamen twee waldhoornblazers te pas en daarvoor werd 1 gld. 8 st. gegeven, zodat de totale kostsom 31 gld. 8 st. was. Het totale jaarinkomen liep dus meestal op tot 200 gld. 6 st. Baustetter verklaarde zich akkoord met de bezoldiging en de voorwaarden, die in de toekomst eventueel nog konden uitgebreid of ingekort worden, en hij werd in het bezit gesteld van zijn ambt. Tijdens het daaropvolgende lof van halfzes werd op het oksaal zijn aanstelling nogmaals officieel bevestigd en nadat hij de muziekuitvoering geleid had, werd hij voorgesteld aan de kapelmuzikanten die hem hadden te gehoorzamen en te respecteren (Bijlage B1). Blijkbaar kwam er

[27] KAA, Rekeningen Kerkfabriek 35 (1773-1782), a° 1772-1773, fol.54v (288-8); a° 1773-1774, 45v (196-17); a° 1774-1775, fol.40v (379-12); a° 1775-1776, fol.39v (254-18); a° 1776-1777, fol.42r (435-5); a° 1777-1778, fol.42r (264-15); a° 1778-1779, fol. 42r (356-13); a° 1779-1780 fol.42r (292-11); a° 1780-1781, fol.42v (511-4); a° 17811782, fol.42r (340-5); 36 (1783-1793), a° 1782-1783, fol.41r (420-19); a° 1783-1784, fol.39r (493-13); a° 1784-1785, fol.38v (375-9); a° 1785-1786, fol.38r (405-7); a° 1786-1787, fol.39v (346); a° 1787-1788, fol.39v (726-4); a° 1788-1789, fol.41r (477-7).

[28] Zie L. DE BURBURE, *Notes tirées des archives de la cathédrale de N. Dame d'Anvers* (hs.), 1, p. 54.

[29] Volgens GRÉGOIR, *Notice sur les sociétés et écoles de musique à Anvers*, p. 279, trok hij in de kathedraal een wedde van 20 gld. 8 st.

nog een kink in de kabel, vermoedelijk omdat andere leden van de Lofgilde achteraf niet akkoord gingen met zijn benoeming. In een kapittelvergadering werd geacteerd dat de Lofmeesters Baustetter vóór de aanvang van het kleine Marialof naar beneden in het koor geleid en hem daar zogezegd in het bezit van zijn ambt gesteld en de aanwezige muzikanten bevolen hadden hem te gehoorzamen. Maar niettemin had hij in hetzelfde lof de muziek gedirigeerd, voordat hij zijn contract getekend had, en op die manier had hij zich het recht van zangmeester voorbarig toegeëigend. 's Anderendaags besloot het Kapittel om notaris Gerardi bij de bewuste kapelmeesters protest te doen aantekenen tegen hun nieuwigheden ten opzichte van de nieuwe zangmeester, voor zover die indruisten tegen de rechten van het Kapittel (Bijlage A1e). Op hun kamervergadering van 4 mei besloten de Lofmeesters om te antwoorden dat ze niet meenden eenige nieuwigheden ten opzichte van de nieuwe zangmeester te hebben begaan (Bijlage B2). Ze hadden dus de bedoeling hun notaris een contraprotest te laten indienen bij het Kapittel en daarvan bleef ook een kladschrift bewaard in hun archieven (Bijlage B3). Maar uit hun kamervergadering van 16 mei bleek dat er nog steeds geen antwoord was gegeven op het protest van het Kapittel en de Lofmeesters besloten om eerst hun advokaten te consulteren. In hun vergadering van 21 mei zagen ze af van een contraprotest, omdat hun aanstelling van de nieuwe zangmeester immers volgens de regels was geschied en omdat die sindsdien zijn dienst probleemloos en ononderbroken vervulde (Bijlage B4-5).

Voor zijn diensten in de kapel van O.-L.-Vrouw-Lof[30] kreeg Baustetter, zoals gezegd, een vaste jaarwedde van 120 gld. en die werd half maart uitgekeerd. Voor zijn eerste dienstjaar 1771-1772 moest hij nog twee maanden wedde doorbetalen aan zijn voorganger Louis Van Noorbeeck want hij vatte zijn werk in de kapel pas na 1 mei aan. Voor zijn laatste dienstjaar werd slechts de wedde van negen maanden (1 mei 1788 tot 31 januari 1789), hetzij 90 gld. betaald, want hij overleed immers op 23 januari 1789. Wel werden de drie gepresteerde vaste extra diensten betaald. Na zijn dood werd hij ad interim gedurende twee maanden en zestien dagen opgevolgd door zijn zuster Anna Maria Baustetter, namelijk van 31 januari tot 17 april 1789, en daarvoor werd haar 25 gld. 3½ st. uitgekeerd. De jaarwedde van 120 gld. betrof ongetwijfeld de dagelijkse viering van het Marialof in de kapel en daarnaast trok Baustetter, zoals gezegd, jaarlijks nog drie vaste vergoedingen voor extra diensten tijdens en na het octaaf (van O.-L.-Vrouw-Hemelvaart) en enkele losse vergoedingen voor bepaalde gelegenheden.[31] In 1787-1788 werd behalve 30 gld. voor de inleidingsmis van de nieuwe kapelmeesters nog 9 gld. 8

[30] KAA, GL 5 (Rekeningen 1745-1791), a° 1771 t/m 1790.

[31] H. Geestmissen in 1778-1779, 1779-1780, 1780-1781, 1781-1782, 1782-1783, 1786-1787; inleidingsmissen in 1774-1775, 1776-1777, 1778-1779, 1779-1780, 1780-1781, 1781-1782, 1782-1783 en 1786-1787.

st. betaald voor extra muzikanten. Een uitzonderlijke gelegenheid was een dankmis voor de schenking van een zilveren lamp van 25 gld. aan de kapel in 1775-1776.

Zangmeester Baustetter werd bovendien regelmatig terugbetaald voor levering van bassnaren en ook al eens voor het verharen van een strijkboog, voor de aankoop van een houten cellokas, voor een reparatie aan de contrabas en voor de aankoop van een cello[32] en hij repareerde ook muziekboeken.[33] Voor de zaterdagse dienst leverde hij in 1777-1778 drie symfonieën (*drij wercken symphonien*) en een bundel missen (*een werck missen*) en daarvoor werd hem 4 gld. 4 st. en 5 gld. 12 st. betaald plus 1 gld. 15 st. voor het binden. Vermoedelijk betrof het hier eigen compositie van Baustetter want uit een document van 1792 weten we dat hij vrijaf kreeg, wanneer hij voor de kapel aan het componeren was (zie infra). Naar aanleiding van het 300-jarig bestaan van de gilde van O.-L.-Vrouw-Lof in 1778 werd aan Louis Delhaije een nieuw orgel voor de kapel besteld en Baustetter, die immers organist geweest was, nam de leiding van de werken op zich, waarvoor hem in 1780-1781 een honorarium van 8 gld. 18½ st. betaald werd ingevolge de resolutie van de kapelmeesters op 30 december 1780 (zie ook supra). Ingevolge het overlijden van E.H. Bauwsetter werd in het Resolutieboek van de Lofmeesters op 25 april 1789 als opvolger Goddart (Goddeen) aangenomen.[34]

H. Sacramentskapel

Gaven de Lofkapelmeesters zich dus vrij vlug gewonnen, dat was niet het geval met van die van de Venerabelkapel. In een buitengewone kapittelvergadering op zondag 5 mei 1771 vroeg Bautetter hoe hij de muziek in het avondlof van die dag in de H. Sacramentskapel moest leiden. Hem werd bevolen zich zoals gewoonlijk en op het gebruikelijke uur met de koralen naar de kapel te begeven en indien hij in de uitoefening van zijn dienst zou gehinderd of gestoord worden, geruisloos met de koralen te vertrekken teneinde verwarring en opschudding te vermijden (Bijlage A1f). In een buitengewone vergadering op 7 mei gaf Baustetter verslag van zijn wedervaren in de H. Sacramentskapel op 5 mei. Toen hij even voor het begin van het avondlof met zijn koralen het hoogzaal besteeg, werd hij onmiddellijk door twee kapelmeesters en notaris Rossaert aangeklampt die hem

[32] Snaargeld: 1 gld. 15½ st. in 1771-1772; 1 gld. 15 st. in 1772-1773; 12 st. (1 bassnaar) in 1773-1774; 19 st. in 1774-1775; 5 st. in 1776-1777 (1 snaar); 2 gld. 16 st. (1 bassnaar) in 1780-1781; Varia: 5 st. *voor 't vullen van hair van eenen boog en 5 gld. 14 st. voor verschot van een houte kasken voor den klynen bas* in 1777-1778; 5 gld. 5 st. voor repareren van *den grooten bas* en 14 gld. voor aankoop van *eenen clijnen bas of violoncelle* in 1776-1777.

[33] Voor het plakken van muziekboeken kreeg hij 14 st. in 1774-1775 en 3½ st. in 1776-1777.

[34] KAA, GL 11 (*Gilde O.-L.-Vrouw-Lof. Resolutieboeck… 30 Meert 1734[-1772]*), Kamervergadering nr. 159.

vroegen met welk mandaat hij daar kwam. Toen hij zei vanwege het Kapittel te komen om de muziek te dirigeren, werd hem door genoemde notaris gezegd dat hij daar geen leiding te geven had en hij werd gedwongen het hoogzaal te verlaten, niettegenstaande zijn verzoek om ten persoonlijke titel te mogen blijven om verwarring en opschudding te vermijden. Het Kapittel besloot daarop om notaris Peeter Gerardi protest te laten aantekenen tegen de handelwijze van de kapelmeesters tegenover zangmeester Baustetter, die wettelijk verkozen was op 27 april 1771. Indien de kapelmeesters geen afdoend antwoord zouden geven en de zangmeester in de toekomst niet tot hun hoogzaal toelieten onder dezelfde voorwaarden en vergoedingen als zijn voorganger, zou dat als een ontkenning van de vonnissen van 23 december 1765 en 14 januari 1766 door de Raad van Brabant aangaande de benoeming van de zangmeesters in de kathedraal beschouwd worden. In dat geval zou het Kapittel de nodige juridische stappen ondernemen om de kapelmeesters te dwingen tot naleving van genoemde vonnissen (Bijlage A1g).[35] In een buitengewone kapittelvergadering van 9 mei 1771 werd lezing gegeven van het antwoord van notaris Rossaert vanwege de directeur van de H. Sacramentskapel. Dit antwoord op het protest van notaris Gerardi vanwege het Kapittel had vertraging opgelopen omdat de kapelmeesters eerst hun raadsman in Brussel hadden moeten raadplegen, en bestond alleen uit de vraag om kopie van de aanstelling van de bewuste zangmeester. Het Kapittel van kanunniken zond zijn scholasticus, E.H. Bruynincx, voor advies naar Brussel en antwoordde alvast reeds dat zijn geduld uitgeput was en indien de kapelmeesters erop stonden de benoemingsakte van de zangmeester te krijgen, dat ze zich zouden moeten verantwoorden in de Raad van Brabant (Bijlage A1h). Op 10 mei antwoordden de meesters van de H. Sacramentskapel dat ze niet gehouden waren om de zangmeester van het Kapittel in dienst te nemen, tenzij die ook speciaal door hen verkozen was en verder dat hun kapeldiensten wel zonder zangmeester konden gebeuren, zodat ze bijaldien die onkosten konden vermijden (Bijlage A1i). Bij zijn terugkeer wist Bruynincx te vertellen dat de Brusselse rechtskundigen oordeelden dat het Kapittel moest procederen en een uitvoeringsbevel in verband met het decreet van 14 januari 1766 van de Raad van Brabant aan Van Tilborgh, directeur van de H. Sacramentskapel, en confraters bezorgen (Bijlage A1j). In een buitengewone kapittelvergadering van 27 mei werd beslist dat de actuarius aan de appar-

[35] De notarisakten van 2 en 7 mei vindt men ook met toegevoegd antwoord, evenals het getuigenis van 10 mei door Baustetter over zijn wedervaren in de H. Sacramentskapel op zondag 5 mei, in SAA, Notariaat 1790 (*P. Gerardi 1771*), doc. nrs. 40, 43 en 44. Deze documenten werden ons gesignaleerd door mevr. G. VAN HEMELDONCK, die wij daarvoor van harte danken. In het notarieel verslag van Baustetter vernemen we nog enkele details meer, namelijk dat hij zonder problemen op 5 mei de parochiemis had mogen dirigeren en dat hij gezegd had dat, indien hij niet mocht dirigeren in het lof, zijn koralen dan ook niet zouden zingen, verder dat hij zijn eigen muziekboeken voor het lof had aangeboden en dat die geweigerd werden want de kapel had zogezegd haar eigen muziekboeken.

itori cortes een brief zou bezorgen met opdracht om een uitvoeringsbevel aan de kapel te bezorgen. In een verzoekschrift aan de Raad van Brabant vroegen de kapelmeesters om de uitvoering van het vonnis van 1766 te verhinderen en op 31 mei besliste het Kapittel om binnen de acht dagen het advies in te winnen van de deken van de kathedraal (Bijlagen A1k-l). In een buitengewone kapittelvergadering van 11 juni 1771 deelde Bruyninckx het vonnis van 10 juni van de Raad van Brabant mee. De conclusie in het rekwest van de meesters van het Venerabel in verband met de vonnissen van 23 december 1765 en 14 januari en 9 augustus 1766 werd niet ontvankelijk verklaard en de nieuwe zangmeester moest binnen de drie dagen toegang krijgen tot de kapel op straf van een boete van 100 patacons ten voordele van de Raad van Brabant. De supplianten moesten ook de gerechtskosten betalen (Bijlage A1m). Misschien hadden de kapelmeesters van het Venerabel zich tegen de benoeming van Baustetter verzet omdat ze hun voorlopige kapelmeester J. Somers in het ambt wensten te zien bevestigen.[36] In elk geval moesten de kapelmeesters van het Venerabel het onderspit delven want Baustetter werd achteraf in hun archieven als de waarnemende zangmeester vermeld.[37]

Sint-Niklaaskapel

Het hoofdambacht der droogscheerders had zijn kapel in de Lange Nieuwstraat, namelijk de Sint-Niklaaskapel, met een eigen zangkoor. In 1781-1783 berustte de leiding van dit koortje in handen van Batstetter en dat kan niemand anders geweest zijn dan Jan Thomas Baustetter. De diensten beperkten zich tot een aantal kerkfeesten en uiteraard vooral dat van Sint-Niklaas.[38]

Sint-Ceciliamis in hoogkoor

Een jaarlijkse traditie was de Sint-Ceciliamis met extra luisterrijke muziek tijdens de conventuele mis op 22 november, waarvoor de zangmeester de heren van het Kapittel kwam uitnodigen met de bede hem het gebruikelijke honorarium te willen toekennen, dat hem steevast welwillend werd toegezegd. Op 23 november 1771 kwam Baustetter zich verontschuldigen omdat hij voor de eerste maal uit onwetendheid nagelaten had het Kapittel bijtijds uit te nodigen voor de jaarlijkse

[36] Volgens GRÉGOIR, *Notice sur les sociétés et écoles de musique à Anvers*, p. 272, was deze orkestmuzikant in 1771 als kapelmeester ad interim aangesteld en dus vóór het aantreden van de heer Baustetter in 1772.

[37] Deze niet geklasseerde archieven zijn moeilijk toegankelijk en daarom konden we hier geen verdere gegevens meedelen.

[38] E. GEUDENS, *De Keizerskapel, met eenige schetsen uit de jaarboeken van haren voormaligen eigenaar, het Droogscheerdersambacht*, Antwerpen, 1920, 3, p. 53, noot 1.

Sint-Ceciliamis. Zijn excuus werd aanvaard en ook zijn verzoek om de gewoonlijke vergoeding. Het jaar daarop kwam hij het Kapittel tijdig uitnodigen voor het Sint-Ceciliafeest van 's anderendaags 21 november 1772, en dat zou hij nog eens herhalen op 20 november 1773, 19 november 1774, 18 november 1775, 16 november 1776, 15 november 1777, 21 november 1778, 20 november 1779, 18 november 1780, 17 november 1781, 16 november 1782, 15 november 1783, 20 november 1784, 19 november 1785, 18 november 1786, 17 november 1787 en 15 november 1788. Op het Sint-Ceciliafeest van 1779 kwam de bisschop het vormsel toedienen in het koor en werd de mis door de cantor opgedragen zonder extra muzikale opluistering. Niettemin kreeg de zangmeester zijn gebruikelijke vergoeding (Bijlage A4).

Muzikanten in dienst van hoogkoor

Tijdens de ambtsperiode van Baustetter telde de zangkapel van de kathedraal acht koraalzangers en een tiental volwassen zangers. Bij zijn aantreden in 1771 bestond het mannenkoor uit Claude Gilles (A), Jan Michael Reichenbach (B), Stefan Fossion (B), die alle drie in dienst bleven tot na de dood van Baustetter, verder uit Nicolas Stevens (A) (†1772), Henri Colette (T) (†1775) en Johannes De Somer (T) (†1775). Na de dood van Stevens kwamen André Joseph Blavier (A), Joseph Roland en Paul Joseph Conrard kort na elkaar in dienst. Laatstgenoemde vertrok in 1779 en in zijn plaats kwam Peter Charels (A), die aanbleef tot na de dood van Baustetter. Colette werd na zijn overlijden vervangen door Frans de Meijer (†1782) (T) en na diens dood kwam Jacob Neel (T) in dienst. Toen De Somer overleed, trad Henri Joseph Seghein (T) (†1778) aan en die werd op zijn beurt na zijn dood opgevolgd door Petrus Josephus Bille (T), die in 1779 vertrok en vervangen werd door Nicolas Genard (T) en N(omine) Keirsmaekers (T), die beide aanbleven tot na de dood van Baustetter. Ten slotte waren nog de volgende baszangers in dienst: (Peeter Frans) Dufour (†1782) in 1772, JanBaptist Huygens in 1774 en Judocus Petrus van Laerebeke (†1797) in 1779.

Op 19 november 1774 kwam zangmeester Baustetter zich bij het Kapittel beklagen over de zanger Regenbagh die hem en de andere muzikanten zeer vaak hinderde in hun dienstuitvoering en bijgevolg de hele samenzang verstoorde door met zijn voet te stampen of te vlug te zingen, enz. En dat was zelfs gebeurd tijdens de uitstalling van het H. Sacrament en het beeld van de H. Maagd tijdens de avondlofzangen van het octaaf van O.-L.-Vrouw-Hemelvaart, en ook tijdens de viering van de overleden gelovigen en onlangs nog bij het feest van de verheffing van de relieken van Sint-Rochus. Het gedrag van de zanger, dat met schandaal gepaard ging, was te wijten aan overdreven drankgebruik. Daarom besloot het Kapittel, dat hem trouwens reeds dikwijls persoonlijk vermaand en berispt had,

hem na voorafgaandelijk overleg op te roepen voor de eerstvolgende gewone vergadering (Bijlage A2). Joannes Michael Reichenbach (Neustadt/Bohemen 1746 Antwerpen, 4.11.1805) was sinds 1764 baszanger in de Antwerpse kathedraal.[39]

Kerkdiensten in opdracht van derden

Einde 1779 vroegen de kerkmeesters van de voormalige jezuietenkerk aan Baustetter of hij naar aanleiding van het feest van Sint-Carolus, de plechtige hoogmis en het avondlof, die door de bisschop zouden gezongen worden, in hun kerk wou komen dirigeren en zijn koralen meebrengen. Dit mocht echter niet gebeuren zonder toestemming van het Kapittel, dat in een buitengewone zitting van 31 oktober welwillend de gevraagde toelating verleende (Bijlage A3).

Ook in opdracht van particulieren voerde Jan Thomas Baustetter bepaalde muziekdiensten uit in de kathedraal. Zo leidde hij in 1777 de zang tijdens de begrafenismis van Joannes van den Bogaert en volgens de staat van diens sterfhuis (10 mei 1790) werd hem daarvoor 13 gld. 6 st. betaald.[40]

Stadsdienst

Als zangmeester van de Antwerpse hoofdkerk werd Baustetter regelmatig van stadswege betaald voor prestaties in opdracht van het magistraat. Voor deze betalingen, die door de zangmeester met de vaste zangers en speellieden en eventuele bijkomende andere uitvoerders moesten gedeeld worden, werden telkens een collegiale akte met goedkeuring van het schepencollege en de overeenkomstige post in de stadsrekeningen teruggevonden. Het ging hier om religieuze diensten in de kathedraal en in de eerste plaats om de vaste jaarlijks weerkerende diensten voor de naamfeesten en verjaardagen van de keizers van Oostenrijk, in casu Maria Theresia en haar zoon Jozef II.

Voor een mis en Te Deum op 15 oktober 1771, naamdag van keizerin Maria Theresia, ontving zangmeester Baustetter een bedrag van 28 £ Artois en die diensten zouden in 1774 en 1775 op dezelfde datum herhaald worden en sinds 1776 van jaar tot jaar op 13 mei, haar geboortedag. Eenzelfde bedrag voor gelijkaardige diensten op 19 maart 1772, naamdag van de keizer, werd jaarlijks uitgekeerd

[39] Zie G. SPIESSENS, *François Joseph Wilmet, zangmeester van de Antwerpse Sint-Jacobskerk, componist en vermoedelijk vioolbouwer (Mons 1735-ibid.? na 1788)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 12 (1995), p. 23.

[40] *E.H. J.F. Boutzetter, sangmeester der Cathedraele kercke alhier [...] voor 't musieck op d'uytvaert van den voorschreven afflyvigen.* De initiaal van de tweede voornaam van Baustetter was ongetwijfeld een verschrijving voor T. Zie SAA, Notariaat 1277 (J.P. De Witte 1792), doc. nr. 64. Dit document werd ons gesignaleerd door mevr. G.VAN HEMELDONCK, die wij daarvoor van harte danken.

tot en met 1788, en voor laatstgenoemd jaar ten slotte werd het verschuldigde bedrag in april 1789 aan de erfgenamen Baustetter uitbetaald (Bijlage C,I).

In de tweede plaats waren er eenmalige diensten voor uitzonderlijke gelegenheden, onder andere overlijdens in de keizerlijke familie. Voor extra muziek tijdens de mis van de H. Geest op 16 augustus 1779 naar aanleiding van de keuze van het nieuwe armenbestuur, ontving de zangmeester, ingevolge een collegiale akte van 30 oktober, een som van 35 £ Arthois (Bijlage C,II).

Naar aanleiding van de dood van landvoogd Karel Alexander van Lotharingen op 4 juli 1780 werden op 17 en 18 juli van 16 tot 19 uur in de kathedraal, met als voorzanger de bisschop van Antwerpen, de plechtige waken gehouden en daarvan bleef een gedetailleerde beschrijving bewaard. Baustetter was toen zangmeester en dus verantwoordelijk voor de muziek bij de plechtigheden, die ingezet werden met het koningsgelui. Tijdens de Vespers en de Lauden werden de psalmen afwisselend in *fauxbourdon* en in het Gregoriaans gezongen en het Magnificat en het Benedictus in *fauxbourdon*. Van elke nachtwake werden de antifonen en de eerste twee psalmen in het Gregoriaans en de derde psalm in *fauxbourdon* gezongen. De eerste Lectio van elke nachtwake, het derde, zesde, zevende, achtste en negende Responsorium werden in muziek uitgevoerd en daarmee werd polyfonie met instrumentale begeleiding bedoeld want er werden twaalf koorzangers opgeroepen. En voor het instrumentaal ensemble werden drie eerste en vier tweede violen, twee altviolen, twee klarinetten, twee waldhoorns, twee kleine cello's en drie basviolen gevraagd met daarbij het orgel en vier stadsspeellieden met dobbel bassen en eventueel serpent, indien er iemand van hen dat kon bespelen. Elke muzikant kreeg een vergoeding van 18 st. en de zangmeester 1 gld. 12 st., zodat in totaal 16 gld. betaald werd. Op 18 juli werd om 11 uur een Requiemmis gezongen met medewerking van dertig muzikanten die een globale vergoeding van 45 gld. kregen.[41] Voor extra muziek tijdens de waken en uitvaart van keizerin Maria Theresia (29 november 1780) op 3 en 4 januari 1781 betaalde de stad een bedrag van $108^{1/2}$ £ Artois, ingevolge een collegiale akte van 31 januari (Bijlage C,III).

Voor buitengewone muziek tijdens een plechtige dankmis op 14 juni 1787 voor een niet gepreciseerde gelegenheid ontving zangmeester Baustetter een som van 56 gld., luidens een collegiale akte van 10 december 1787 (Bijlage C,IV).

[41] Zie E. GEUDENS, *Vorstelijke rouwstaatsies in de cathedraal van Antwerpen*, in *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis inzonderheid van het oud Hertogdom Brabant*, 1913, p. 455-456, 458, 465. Het is niet duidelijk of de genoemde vergoedingen door de stad dan wel door de kerkfabriek gedragen werden. In de collegiale actenboeken en stadsrekeningen hebben we daarover geen gedetailleerde betalingen teruggevonden, wel een globale uitgave van 35 £. Zie SAA, Rekening 213 (1-2-1780/31-1-1781), fol.284v; KAA, Kapittel O.-L.-Vrouwekerk, Acta capituli, 16 (1772-1786), *In Extraord° 17a Julij (1780)*. Geudens moet dus nog een andere bron geraadpleegd hebben, maar die konden we tot dusver niet achterhalen.

Dood en opvolgers

Baustetter overleed op 23 januari 1789 en werd op 26 januari in de namiddag begraven op het kerkhof van het Kiel; bij zijn dood woonde hij op de Melkmarkt. Zoals gebruikelijk voor een kapelaan in dienst van de kathedraal, kreeg hij twee dagen later een plechtige uitvaartmis, opgedragen door de deken van het Kapittel met assistentie van negen kapelanen.[42] Volgens klokluider Jan Peter Van Dyck werd op 14 februari in het Besnijdeniskoor van de kathedraal nog een uitvaartdienst voor zangmeester Baustetter gehouden door niet minder dan zestig muzikanten.[43] Baustetter was titularis van de kapelanie *Beatae Mariae in novo opere* van de Eerste Fundatie in de kathedraal geweest en na zijn dood werd die toegewezen aan Eerwaarde Heer Frans Jozef de Gruytters.[44]

Als zangmeester werd Baustetter opgevolgd door Eerwaarde Heer Lambert Joseph Godart, die vrijwel onmiddellijk een proces zou aanleggen tegen Anna Maria en Maria Baustetter, zusters en erfgenamen van de overledene, over de prijs van diens nagelaten composities, die het Kapittel wenste op te kopen.[45]

In een ontwerp voor een nieuw reglement van ca. 1791 voor de leiding van het koraalhuis staan nog enkele toespelingen op wijlen Jan Thomas Baustetter en zijn twee ongehuwde zusters die het vermelden waard zijn.[46] Onder de leiding van "een priester en twee vrouwenkwezels" werden sommige koorkinderen na drie of vier jaar effectieve koordienst zonder vergoeding weggezonden. Onder hetzelfde bewind zijn er leerlingen geweest die nooit bekwaam waren om de koordienst te vervullen en die toch tot hun achttien jaar gehouden werden, alleen omdat ze als huisknecht dienst deden voor de meester en de gouvernantes of muziek kopieerden voor de meester, die hun daarvoor maandelijks een geldstukje van 10 duiten (1/4 sou) gaf, ofschoon ze voor dat werk wel 10 of 12 gld. hadden moeten verdienen. De kapelmeesters van O.-L.-Vrouw-Lof hadden destijds toegestaan dat wijlen mr. Baustetter uit het dagelijkse Klein lof afwezig bleef in de periodes dat hij aan het componeren was voor de kapel. Ook was er ooit een

[42] SAA, Parochieregister 282 (O.-L.-Vrouw; overlijdens 1775-1792), fol.79v; 284 (O.-L.-Vrouw-Zuid; overlijdens 1748-1797), fol.200r. Vgl. DE BURBURE, *Notes historiques*, 9, p. 29-30.

[43] Zie L. THEUNISSENS, *Aanteekeningen van Jan Peter Van Dyck, kerksluiter en opperluider der kathedraal van Antwerpen over geschiedkundige en wetenswaardige voorvallen deze kerk betreffende, in den voebelen tijd (16 september 1782 tot 2 december 1804) in orde gebracht en volledigd*, Antwerpen, 1892, p. 28.

[44] DE BURBURE, *Notes tirées*, 2, p. 573.

[45] Zie G. SPIESSENS, *Lambert-Joseph Godart, de laatste 18de-eeuwse zangmeester van de Antwerpse kathedraal, en zijn muziekinventaris van 1792*, in *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, 49 (1995), p. 101-127.

[46] G. SPIESSENS, *Zedenverwildering van de muzikanten der Antwerpse kathedraal tegen het einde van de 18de eeuw: Ontwerp van ca. 1791 van een nieuw reglement voor de regie van het koraalhuis*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 12 (1995), p. 168-170.

potsierlijke woordenwisseling tussen de cantor en de ondermeester geweest in aanwezigheid van de heer Baustetter en de koorknapen, die het verhaal hadden verspreid. Verder werd aangehaald dat de zangmeester met zijn koralen uit het koraalhuis naar de kerk moest vertrekken op het half kwartier vóór de uurslag en dat was vroeger ook steeds gebeurd, toen er nog twee lekenmeesters waren om het koraalhuis te besturen. Maar sinds hun vervanging door twee priesters twintig jaar geleden, was dat niet meer het geval. De twee meesters hadden elkaar gehaat en nooit overleg gepleegd in verband met de koralen en omdat beiden hun beschermheren hadden, konden ze dat gedrag gedurende achttien jaar aanhouden: de ene had nooit nagelaten om elk jaar zijn maand vakantie te nemen zonder voor een plaatsvervanger te zorgen en de andere ontbrak het aan de nodige godsdienstijver en die was evenmin geneigd geweest om de afwezigheid van zijn collega enigzins te compenseren. De ene was een zeer bekwaam leraar maar had alleen les gegeven op momenten dat de oudere koralen door stemwisseling in gebreke bleven. Misschien had deze passage eveneens op Baustetter betrekking. De beschreven wanordelijkheden in het koraalhuis had men gedurende negentien jaar geduld en dus was deze toestand compleet op de ambtsperiode van Baustetter te betrekken want die had bij zijn dood in 1789 een ambtstermijn van achttien jaar achter de rug.[47]

WERK

Voor zover bekend, componeerde Jan Thomas Baustetter alleen klavecimbel/orgel en vooral kerkmuziek en dat lag voor de hand want hij startte zijn loopbaan als organist en beëindigde ze als zangmeester. Zijn muziek bleef tot dusver, op enkele klavecimbelstukjes na, alleen in handschrift bewaard. Handschriften met kerkmuziek van hem bevinden zich, behalve in het kathedraalarchief, ook in de bibliotheek van het Antwerpse conservatorium en in de archieven van de Sint-Jacobskerk en de Sint-Andrieskerk. Op de titelbladen van de orgelpartijen staan soms nummers vermeld en die kunnen respectievelijk de volgnummers in de persoonlijke muziekverzameling van Baustetter of/en die van de Sint-Jacobskerk of de kathedraal geweest zijn. Over het algemeen zijn de bewaarde partituren ook enkele losse partijen in hetzelfde slordige handschrift genoteerd, dat vermoedelijk dat van Baustetter zelf is, terwijl de meeste losse partijen door verschillende andere handen, vermoedelijk die van kopiisten, opgetekend werden. Uit zijn biografie weten we dat Baustetter zijn koralen aan het werk zette om zijn composities te kopiëren en normaliter zullen die wel de losse partijen uitgeschreven hebben uit de autografische partituur van de meester. Voor de losse partijen is er trouwens

[47] Zie SPIESSENS, *Zedenverwildering*, p. 164-173.

meer dan één hand aan het werk geweest en daarin treft men wel schrijffouten aan, zoals *violoncello seconda, canto seconda*, enz.

Instrumentale muziek

1-3. Drie stukken voor klavecimbel: *Allegro* (in D), *Sarabanda* (in C) en *Capriccio (Presto)* (in F), bevinden zich in een handschrift met werken van 18de-eeuwse Zuidnederlandse componisten in het Leuvense Universiteitsarchief[48] en werden in de vorige eeuw uitgegeven door Van Elewyck.[49] Het eerste en derde stukje "in een aangename schrijftrant" werden volgens Van den Borren beïnvloed door de Italiaanse preklassieke sonate, terwijl het tweede stukje teruggrijpt naar een verouderde dansvorm.[50]

4. Een *Andante* van *Baustetter junior* bevindt zich in het Beiaardboek van Joannes De Gruytters, 1746 (hs. Conservatorium Antwerpen).[51] Onder Baustetter jr. moet zonder twijfel Jan Thomas verstaan worden, want dit *Andante* is muzikaal heel wat ingewikkelder dan de eenvoudige menuetjes van zijn vader in hetzelfde handschrift.[52] Zonder twijfel gaat het hier om bewerkingen van klavecimbelmuziek voor beiaard.

5-6. Twee of meer orgelfuga's in handschrift, die tot dusver niet teruggevonden werden. Op 6 mei 1856 werd in Mechelen de muziekbibliotheek van de firma J.J.A. Tuerlinckx geveild en in de catalogus staan onder andere drie schriften van kanunnik André vermeld met fuga's van Händel en Baustetter en verder nog een

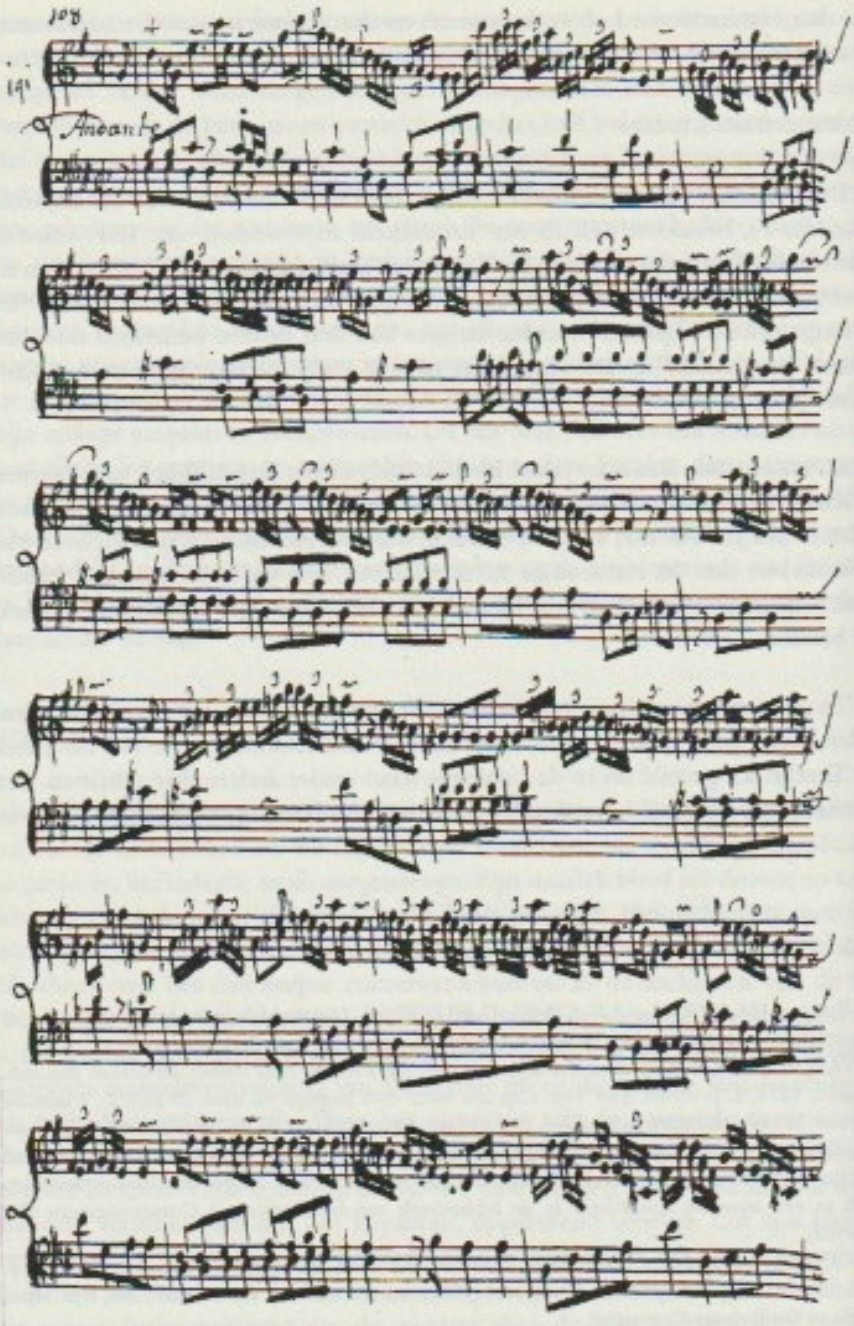
[48] KULeuven, UA, P 19528, p. 127-130. Zie G. HUYBENS, *Nieuwe bevindingen betreffende een recente musicologische vondst over ridder Xavier van Elewyck*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 7 (1990), p. 81.

[49] X. VAN ELEWYCK, *Collections d'oeuvres composées par d'anciens et de célèbres clavecinistes flamands*, Brussel, 1877, 2, p. 60-64. Het stuk *Capriccio* werd ook uitgegeven door AVEDEZ., *Vlaamsche Muziek, een muziekuitgave voor iedereen*, Antwerpen, s.a., p. 151, nr. IV. In *Bij de muziek in dit nummer, ibidem*, p. 143-144, wordt gezegd dat dit stuk van een bevallige factuur is en licht en dartel in zijn ongedwongenheid. Een kalligrafische kopie van de stukjes *Allegro* en *Capriccio* bevinden zich in een anoniem handschrift in de bibliotheek van het Antwerpse Conservatorium (TP 119582).

[50] C. VAN DEN BORREN, *Geschiedenis van de muziek in de Nederlanden*, Antwerpen, 1951, 2, p. 147, die de componist E.G.K. Baustetter (1811) noemt en hem dus verwart met zijn broer Stefanus Guillielmus Conradus.

[51] P. 108-109bis, nr. 141. De naam van de componist staat alleen in de inhoudstafel opgegeven. Zie Reprints door EIJSBOUTS, Asten, 1968; VAN POPPEL, Amsterdam, 1971.

[52] Zie SPIESSENS, *Joan Conrad Baustetter*.



Afbeelding 1. Eerste bladzijde van een stuk van J.T. Baustetter (1744) in het Beiaardboek van Joannes De Gruytters (1746)

handschrift met orgelfuga's van Vanden Gheyn, Baustetter, Dussek, Scarlatti, enz.[53] De genoemde Mechelse firma, die als producent van houten en koperen blaasinstrumenten een internationale faam verwierf, werd in 1782 opgericht door Jan Arnold Antoon Tuerlinckx (Aarschot, 1753 - Mechelen, 1827) en door diens zoon Cornelis Jan Jozef (Mechelen, 1783-1855) voortgezet.[54] Daar het orgelmuziek betrof, veronderstellen we dat het om composities van Baustetter jr. ging, te meer daar die een oudere tijdgenoot van vader Tuerlinckx geweest is.

7. Onder bovenstaande rubriek over Baustetters bedrijvigheid in de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel signaleerden we dat hij in 1777-1778 betaald werd voor *drij wercken symphonien* en *een werck missen*, die ingebonden waren. Zoals gezegd, mag men veronderstellen dat het hier om eigen composities van Baustetter ging, namelijk drie symfonieën en een bundel missen, die niet bewaard bleven.

8. De muzikale bloemlezing *Allerhand Musicalia von den berühmtesten Meistern*, in 1784 uitgegeven door Jacob Schuster in Amsterdam en Leipzig, bevatte onder andere werk van Fiocco, *Bausteder*, Fesch, Hurlebus en d'Bouck, om alleen de Nederlandse componisten te noemen.[55] Maar vermoedelijk ging het hier wel om kamermuziek van vader Joan Conrad Baustetter, ontleend aan één van diens gedrukte bundels.

Vocale muziek

1-9. In het archief van de kathedraal (UFSIA), waar Jan Thomas Baustetter zangmeester was, bleven *del Signor Bautstetter* negen lamentaties bewaard van de Lectiones voor de Donkere Metten op de laatste drie dagen van de Goede Week (*Triduum Sacrum*), drie voor de eerste dag (Witte Donderdag: *In coena Domini*), drie voor de tweede dag (Goede Vrijdag: *In Parasceve*) en drie voor de derde dag (Paaszaterdag: *Sabatho Sancto*). Van elke eerste nocturne werden de drie lessen bewerkt voor één tot drie solistische zangstemmen met een instrumentale begeleiding. Voor elk van deze negen Tenebrae van Baustetter bleven de afzon-

[53] De initialen J.J.A. staan vermoedelijk voor J.A.A. Zie R. VAN AERDE, *Les Tuerlinckx, luthiers à Malines*, Mechelen, 1914, p. 86 en 89. André was organist in de Mechelse Sint-Romboutskerk en had in 1827 samen met J.A.A. Tuerlinckx herstellingen aan het orgel gedaan. Zie G. VAN DOORSLAER, *Historische aanteekeningen betreffende de orgels in de Sint-Romboutskerk te Mechelen*, in *Mechlinia*, 3 (1924), p. 121-122.

[54] VAN AERDE, *Les Tuerlinckx, luthiers à Malines*; J.M BOWERS, art. *Tuerlinckx*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. SADIE, 19, Londen, 1980.

[55] A. GÖHLER, *Die Messkataloge im Dienste der musikalischen Geschichtsforschung. Eine Anregung zur zeitgenossischen Bücherbeschreibung*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 41-42.

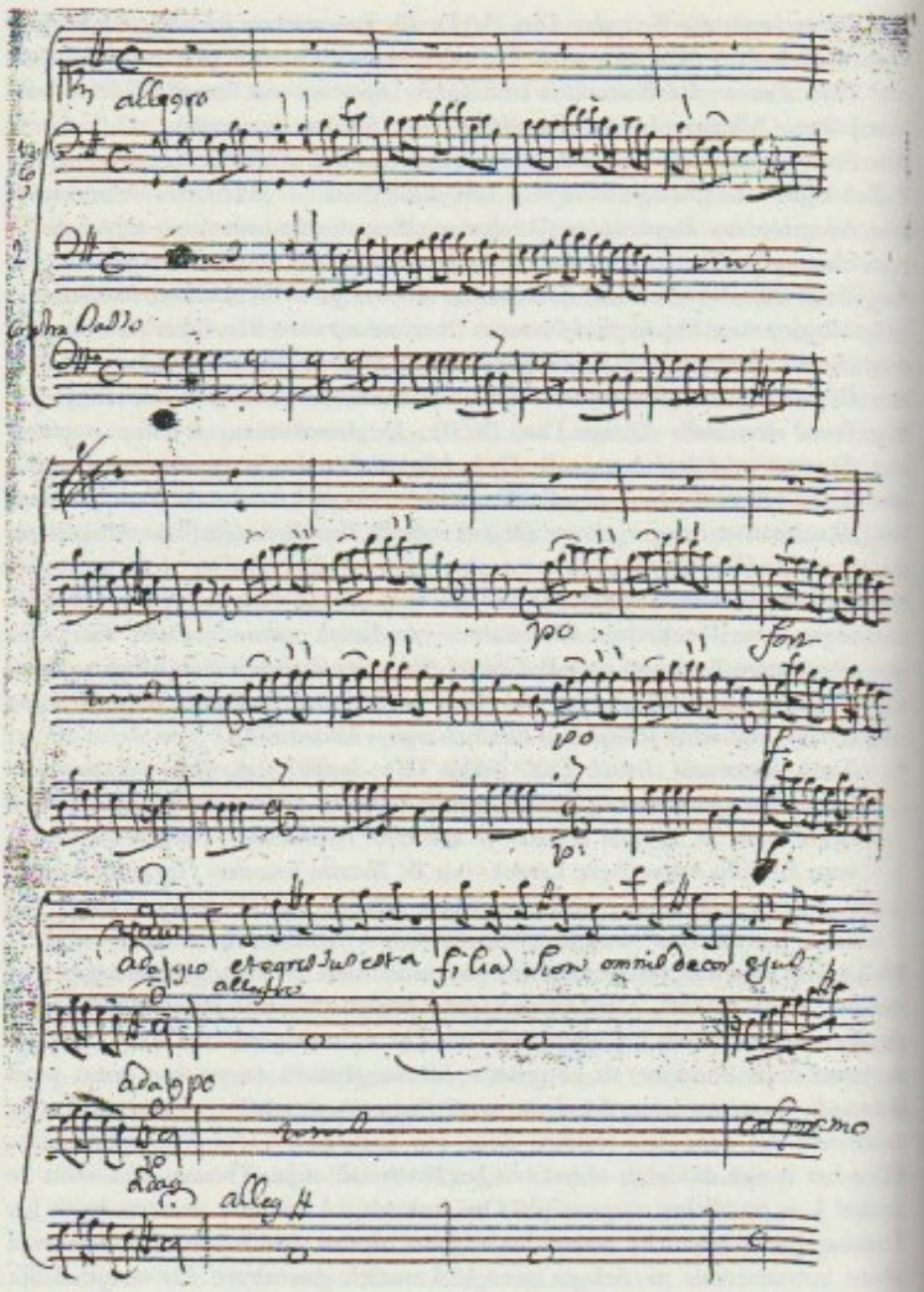
derlijke partijen bewaard en voor die van de eerste en de derde dag, ook de partituren. Deze *Neuf Lamentations du même [= Baustetter] à 2, 3, & 4 Voix, deux Violoncelles & Basse Continue* staan vermeld in de kathedraalinventaris 1792 van Godart.[56] De zangstemmen (S1,S2/A,T,B) kunnen solo, per twee (Duo/Duetto) of per drie (Trio/Terzetto) optreden (Canto primo/secondo of Cantus primus/secundus; Alto; Tenore; Basso). De begeleiding is voor twee cello's (Violoncello primo/secondo) en klavecimbel (cimbalo) met contrabas (contra Basso) voor het continuo (becijferde baspartij), waarbij de tweede cello in unisono met de eerste cello of in octaaf met de contrabas speelt. Zoals gebruikelijk begint elk van de drie (eerste) nocturnes met een recitatief *Incipit lamentatio Jeremiae.* Verder werd elke lamentatie in een aantal fragmenten in wisselende bezettingen opgesplitst (recitatieven, aria's, duo's, trio's) en eindigt ze steeds op het keervers *Jerusalem* in een langzame beweging, meestal een Largo. De allerlaatste lamentatie (3de van de 3de dag) begint met *Incipit oratio Jeremiae prophetae.* Dikwijls wordt een korte instrumentale beweging als inleiding of intermezzo ingelast. De letters van het Hebreeuwse alfabet (Aleph, Beth, enz.) bij het begin van de verzen krijgen meestal een kort of lang melisme, maar ook wel twee lange noten (met orgelpunt) of een soort van cadensformule. De één- tot driestemmige aria's zelf hebben doorgaans een eenvoudige syllabische structuur, met al eens een uitgesponnen melisme op bepaalde woorden zoals b.v. *Do(minum)* en *De(um).* De voorkomende bezettingen zijn: S voor de eerste en S1S2 voor de tweede en derde lamentatie van de eerste dag; SAT voor de eerste en S1S2 voor de tweede en derde lamentatie van de tweede dag; STB voor de eerste, SB (*a 2 voci: Canto e Basso*) voor de tweede en S1,S2/T,B voor de derde lamentatie van de derde dag.

- *Prima lamentatio Primae Diei* (S). *Incipit lamentatio Jeremiae* (Recitativo); *Aleph. Quomodo sedet* (Recitativo) - *Beth. Plorans* (Adagio - Poco allegro); *Ghimel. Migravit* (Larghetto) - *Daleth. Viae Sion* (Adagio); *Heth. Facti sunt* (Larghetto) - *Parvuli ejus* (Largo - Recitativo); *Jerusalem* (Largo).
- *Seconda lamentatio Primae Diei* (S1S2). *Vau. Et egressus est* (Recitativo: Allegro - Adagio - Allegro); *Zain. Recordata est* (Allegretto - Largo); *Heth. Peccatum peccavit* (Adagio); *Thet. Sordes ejus* (Recitativo: Allegro - Adagio); *Jerusalem* (Largo).
- *Tertia lamentatio Primae Diei* (S1S2). *Jod. Manum suam* (Andante) voor S1; Caph. Omnis populus - Vide domine (Recitativo) voor S2; *Lamed. O vos omnes* (Duetto: Adagio - Andante); *Nun. Vigilavit* (Recitativo: Allegretto - Adagio) voor S1; *Jerusalem* (Duo: Adagio - Largo).

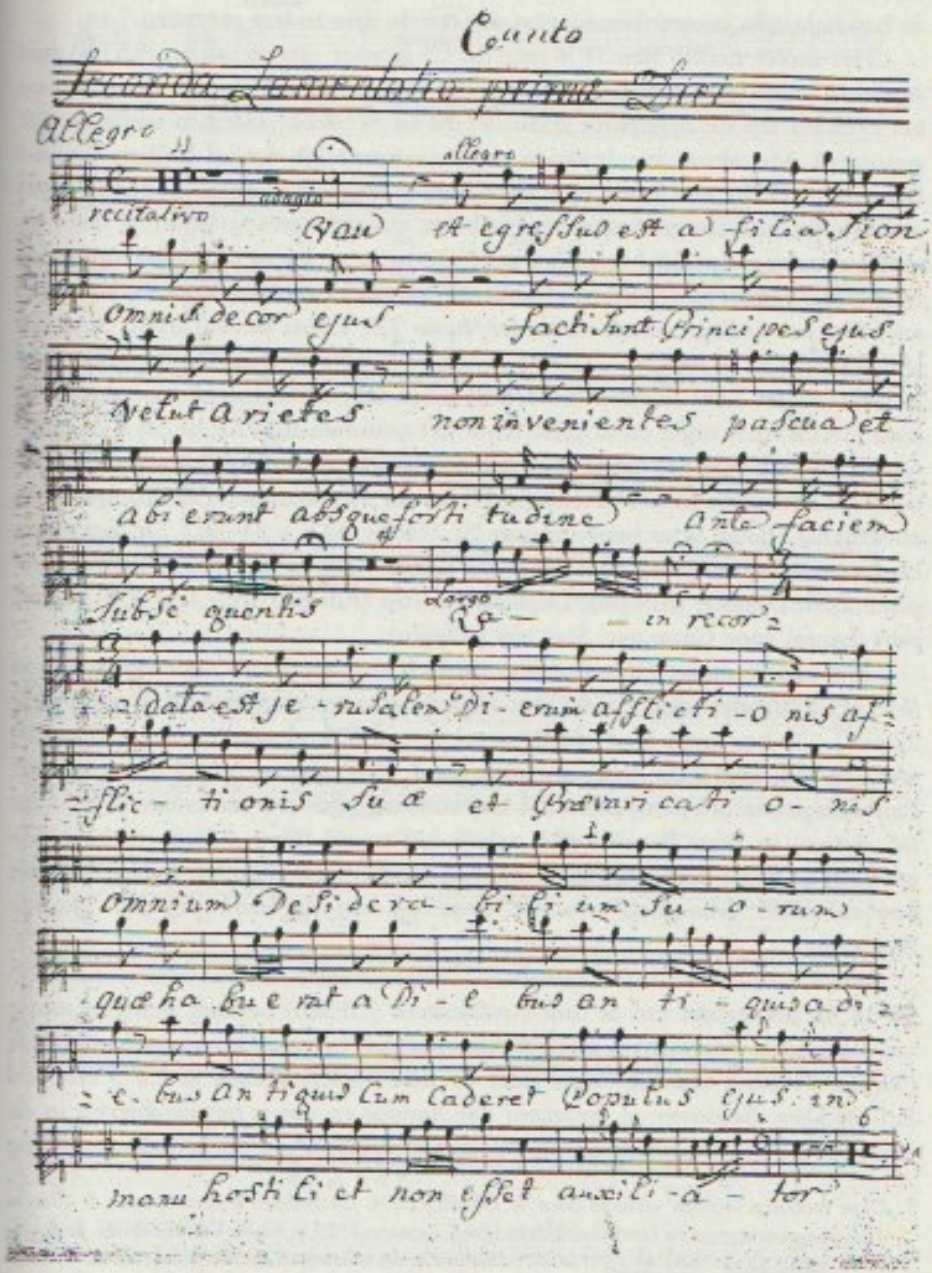
[56] Zie SPIESSENS, *Lambert-Joseph Godart*, p. 114 en 127.

- *Prima lamentatio Secundae Diei* (SAT). *De lamentatione Jeremiae* (Recitativo: Allegr(ett)o - Adagio) voor S/T; *Heth. Cogitavit Dominus* (Andantino) - *Thet. Defixae sunt - Jod. Sederunt in terra; Caph. Defecerunt prae lacrymis* (Recitativo: Largo - Allegro - Largo); *Jerusalem* (Trio: Andante - gratiozo).
- *Secunda lamentatio Secundae Diei* (S1S2). *Lamed. Matribus suis* (Recitativo: Adagio - Larghetto); *Mem. Cui comparabo* (Aria 1 - Recitativo: Allegretto - Adagio); *Nun. Prophetae tui* (Recitativo); *Samech. Plauserunt super te* (Adagio) - *Haeccine est* (Recitativo - Aria 2: Andante); *Jerusalem* (Duetto: Larghetto).
- *Tertia lamentatio Secundae Diei* (S1S2). *Aleph. Ego vir* (Recitativo: Moderato - Adagio) voor S1; *Aleph. Meminavit* (Recitativo) voor S1; *Aleph. Tantum in me* (Aria 1: Andante); *Beth. Vetustam; Beth. Aedificavit; Beth. In tenebrosis; Ghimel. Circumaedificavit* (Recitativo - Aria 2: Andante); *Jerusalem* (Duetto: Largo).
- *Prima lamentatio Tertiae Diei* (STB): *De lamentatione Jeremiae prophetae* (Recitativo: Adagio) voor B; *Heth. Misericordiae domini* (Andante - Largo - Andante); *Heth. Novi diluculo* (Recitativo: Largo - Andante); *Heth. Pars mea* (Recititativo: Adagio - Poco allegro) voor B; *Thet: Bonus est* (Trio: Allegretto); *Jerusalem* (Trio: Largo).
- *Secundae lamentatio Tertiae Diei* (SB: a 2 voci/Canto e Basso). *Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum* (Recitativo: Moderato - Andante) voor S; *Beth. Filii Sion* (Recitativo: Andante) voor B; *Ghimel. Sedet Lamiel* (Recitativo: Adagio - Poco allegro) voor B; *Filia populi mei* (Aria: Largo) voor B; *Daleth. Adhaesit lingua* (Duo: Larghetto); *Jerusalem* (Duetto: Largo - Andantino).
- *Tertia lamentatio Tertiae Diei* (S1S2/TB). *Incipit oratio Jeremiae prophetae* (Recitativo: Moderato - Grave) voor B; *Recordare domine* (Aria: Andante poco largo) voor B; *Aegypto dedimus* (Recitativo: Moderato - Adagio - Allegro) voor B; *Pellis nostra* (Aria: Largo) voor B; *Terzetto Jerusalem* (Terzetto: Largo).

10-14. Vier motetten van Boutzetter(?) bevinden zich in handschrift in het archief van de Sint-Jacobskerk (UFSIA) en daarvan bleven alleen de afzonderlijke partijen door verschillende kopiisten bewaard. Op de orgelpartij van drie van deze motetten staat onderaan als componist *J.B.* aangegeven en op één ervan werd bovenaan door een latere hand de naam *Boutzetter* geschreven, zodat men mag aannemen dat deze drie stukken door een Baustetter gecomponeerd werden. Maar het is niet duidelijk of het om Jan Koenraad of Jan Thomas gaat, want de initiaal J. is op allebei toepasselijk. Ons insziens zal het hier wel om zoon Jan Thomas gaan want voor zover duidelijk tot dusver, heeft vader Jan Koenraad alleen instrumentale muziek en geen kerkmuziek geschreven. En vermoedelijk was laatstgenoemde reeds overleden toen deze muziek gecomponeerd werd, zoniet had de kopiist de tweede initiaal van de voornaam wel toegevoegd om verwarring te voorkomen.



Afbeelding 2. Eerste partituur van een lamentatie van J.T. Baustetter in de bibliotheek van het Antwerps Conservatorium, vermoedelijk autograaf



Afbeelding 3. Eerste bladzijde van een partij van dezelfde lamentatie, vermoedelijk kopiewerk

Het vierde stuk werd eveneens aan Baustetter toegeschreven, waarschijnlijk omdat de handschriften overeenkomen met die van de drie andere motetten.[57]

Het motet *Letatus sum. A 4 voix* (in C) is voor vier stemmen (SATB) met *organo* en *contre basse* voor het continuo (SJ 7/1; hs. 30 x 24,5 cm). Bovenaan op het titelblad van de orgelpartij staan *N° 94* en *N° 4* en onderaan rechts *Et.J.B.* genoteerd. Met deze drie initialen werd vermoedelijk Stefan Willem Conrad Baustetter (1728), een broer van Jan Thomas, bedoeld. Volgens oudere auteurs immers zou ook die gecomponeerd hebben, maar hoogstwaarschijnlijk werd hij met zijn vader en/of zijn broer verward.[58] Dit lange motet werd in vijf fragmenten opgesplitst: *Letatus sum* (Allegro); *Jerusalem* (Allegro - Largo - Allegretto) voor *Alto solo; Fiat pax* (Allegro assai) voor *duo/duetto TB; Gloria patri* (Largo); *Sicut erat* (Allegro).

Het motet *Sacris solemniis* (in B/Bes) is een Largo (93 maten) voor vier stemmen (SATB) met orgel en strijkbas voor het continuo (SJ 7/2; hs. 30 x 24 cm.). Onderaan rechts op het eerste blad van de orgelpartij staat a *J.B.* genoteerd.

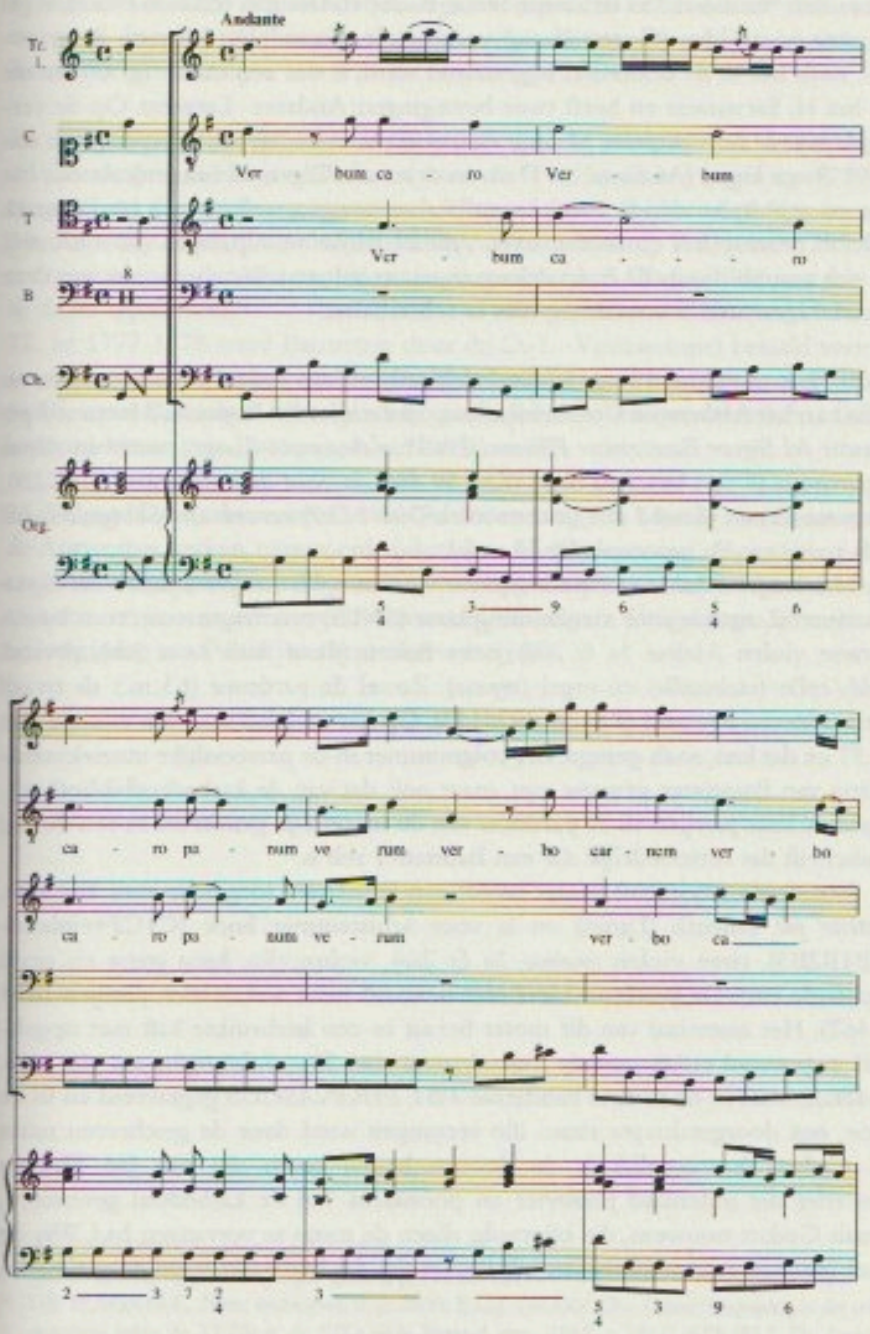
Het ene motet *Dixit Dominus* (in D) is voor vier stemmen (SATB) met orgel en strijkbas (*Basso*) voor het continuo (SJ 7/4; hs. 32,5 x 24 cm.). Op het eerste blad van de sopraanpartij staat *N48*. Dit motet werd in vier fragmenten opgesplitst: *Dixit Dominus* (Allegro); *Dominus a dextris* (Allegro) voor Trio ATB; *Gloria patri* (Largo) voor *Canto solo; Sicut erat* (Allegro).

Het andere motet *Dixit Dominus* (in F) is een Moderato voor vijf stemmen (S1S2T1T2B) met orgel en strijkbas (*Basso*) voor het continuo (SJ 7/6; hs. 29 x 22 cm.). Op het eerste blad van de orgelpartij staat onderaan rechts a *J.B.* genoteerd en bovenaan links door een latere hand, *Boutzetter* en *N° 89*, en rechts *N2*. Een doorgeschrapte partij *Basso* (94 m.) voor strijkbas van een motet *O Salutaris* (Moderato) in B(es) bevindt zich achter het motet *Sacris solemnis* in hetzelfde geschrift en moet deel uitgemaakt hebben van een meerstemmig motet, dat niet bewaard bleef. Misschien was het eveneens van de hand van Jan Thomas Baustetter.

15-16. In het archief van de Sint-Andrieskerk (UFSIA) bevindt zich een motet van Baustetter, waarvan zes afzonderlijke partijen bewaard bleven in handschrift (30,5 x 24 cm.). Op het etiket luidt de titel *Motetto Verbum caro, à 3 voces del R.D.M.Dom. Baudsetter ad [ecclesiam] divi Andreae* en dus is het geschreven in de jaren 1744-1771, want toen was de componist in dienst van die kerk. De bezetting

[57] Deze motetten worden vermeld door W. DEHENNIN, *Muziekleven te Antwerpen in de 17de en 18de eeuw*, onuitgegeven licentiaatsverhandeling, Leuven, 1951, p. 82; W. DEHENNIN, *Inventaris der musicalia tussen 1600 en 1800 in de kerkarchieven van Antwerpen. Eerste bijdrage tot het inventariseren der musicalia tussen 1600 en 1800 in de Kerkarchieven van St Andries en St Jacob te Antwerpen*, onuitgegeven getypt stuk, s.a., p. 10.

[58] Hij was wel ook priester, evenals zijn broer Jan Thomas, en doceerde in 1778 Latijn aan de koralen van de Antwerpse kathedraal. Zie SPIESSENS, *Joan Conrad Baustetter*.



Muziekvoorbeeld Incipit partituur motet *Verbum caro* (hs. SintAndrieskerk), transcriptie G. Spiessens

is voor drie stemmen (STB: Canto, Tenor, Basso) en trompet (*Clarino Primo*), orgel (organo) en strijkbas (Contre Basso) voor het continuo.[59] Dit Motetto de venerabili, zoals het in de ondertitel bijgenaamd werd, is dus een motet (in G) ter ere van het H. Sacrament en heeft twee bewegingen: Andante Largetto. Op de versozijde van de trompetpartij bevindt zich nog een volledige trompetpartij van een motet *Pange lingua* (Andante) in D en in driemaat. Tegen de binnenkant van het voor en achterplat van de bundel werd ter versteviging telkens een blad muziek gekleefd, waarop het einde van twee vermoedelijke vioolpartijen (in solsleutel) van een compositie in Es en in driemaat genoteerd staat. De componist van deze muziekfragmenten is vooralsnog niet te achterhalen.

17-20. Drie motetten, afkomstig uit de bibliotheek van de kathedraal, berusten nu in die van het Antwerpse Conservatorium. Het motet *De Profundis. Motetto a 3 pro defunctis del Signor Bauttztetter Phonasci BMV in Antwerpia* (Largo), waarvan alleen de partituur (8 pp.) bewaard bleef (KM 59 466), is voor drie stemmen (C1C2B), met twee fluiten (*flauti 1 et 2*), twee violen (*viol 1 & 2*) en een altviool (genoteerd in de partij van de gezongen B) en orgel.

Het motet *Beati mortui qui in domino moriuntur. Motetto pro defunctis del Signor Bautztetter* (Largo) is voor vierstemmig koor (SATB) met fragmenten voor bassolo, twee violen (*violino 1o & 2do*), twee fluiten (*flauti/flutti 1o et 2do*), altviool (*viola*)/cello (*violoncello*) en orgel (*organo*). Zowel de partituur (63 m.) als twaalf partijen bleven bewaard (KM 59 492/113). Op het titelblad staat een etiketje met *N° 57* en dat kan, zoals gezegd, het volgnummer in de persoonlijke muziekverzameling van Baustetter geweest zijn, maar ook dat van de kathedraalbibliotheek. Zowel de losse partijen als de partituur van dit motet zijn genoteerd in een slordig handschrift dat vermoedelijk dat van Baustetter zelf is.

Een derde (anoniem) motet wordt aan Baustetter toegeschreven: *Tria sunt. Mottetto pro defunctis* (Largo) en is voor achtstemmig koor (C1C2+ripieno-ATB1B2B3), twee violen (*violino 1o & 2do*), violoncello, *basso grosso* en orgel (becijferde bas). De partituur bleef niet bewaard maar wel dertien partijen (KM 59 467). Het materiaal van dit motet berust in een herbruikte kaft met opgekleefd gegraveerd etiket met de ingeschreven titel *Duo Salve regina con alto viola*. Onderaan staat in de rechtse banderole *PBT. PHONASCUS* gegraveerd en in de linkse, een doorgeschrapte naam die vervangen werd door de geschreven naam *L.J. Godart*. Vermoedelijk is de doorgeschrapte naam die van Jan Thomas Baustetter die inderdaad presbyter en phonascus van de kathedraal geweest is, evenals Godart trouwens, die bijgevolg alleen de naam te vervangen had. Was dit etiket gewoon een ex-libris van J.T. Baustetter, dat herbruikt werd door Godart,

[59] DEHENNIN, *Inventaris der musicalia*, p. 5, bestempelde het werk als "op. 18", maar die vermelding konden wij op het originele stuk niet terugvinden.

of diende het alleen om Baustetters eigen composities te betitelen?[60] In het laatste geval kan het verdwenen duo *Salve regina* eveneens een compositie van Baustetter geweest zijn.

21. Een *Messe solemnelle* voor vier stemmen en acht instrumenten uit het kathedraalfonds ging in elk geval verloren, want die werd in de inventaris van 1792 van zangmeester Godart nog gesignaleerd: *Messe solemnelle à 4 Voix & 8 Instrumens par Mr. Baustetter.* Godart stipuleerde dat de partituur hem op 8 oktober 1792 werd overgemaakt: *La Partition en a été remise au soussigné le 8 Octobre 1792 pour faire partie de ses appaisemens.*[61]

22. In 1777-1778 werd Baustetter door de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel betaald voor *drij wercken symphonien* en *een werck missen.* Vermoedelijk ging het hier om eigen composities van Baustetter, namelijk drie symfonieën en een bundel missen, die niet bewaard bleven (zie Instrumentale muziek, nr. 7).

23. Volgens De Burbure werd in de 19de eeuw nog een *Miserere* van Baustetter in de Antwerpse kerken uitgevoerd tijdens het Allerzielenoctaaf. Het werk, dat wij tot dusver niet konden terugvinden, was opgevat in versierd Gregoriaans voor solostem en koor in alternerende versetten. En volgens Grégoir zou het zelfs ooit bij vergissing aan Palestrina toegeschreven zijn![62]

[60] Zie SPIESSENS, *Lambert-Joseph Godart*, p. 116.
[61] Zie SPIESSENS, *Lambert-Joseph Godart*, p. 114 en 127.
[62] DE BURBURE, *Notes historiques*, 9, p. 2930; E.G.J. GRÉGOIR, *Galerie biographique des artistes musiciens belges du XVIIIe et du XIXe siècle*, Brussel, enz., 1862, p. 15; G. STRIELS, *De Zangkapel van de kathedraal van Antwerpen*, in *Muziekcultuur van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouw kathedraal van Antwerpen*, Antwerpen, 1968, p. 16.

BIJLAGEN

A. ARCHIEVEN KAPITTEL (KATHEDRAAL)

1. 1771, 20 april tot mei. Uittreksels over benoeming van de zangmeester.

a. 1771, 20 april. Het Kapittel besluit om voor één keer een nieuwe zangmeester zonder concours te benoemen.

In ord° 20a Aprilis 1771. Comparuit RD Lud. van Noorbeek, phonascus noster, qui provisus de phonascatu Ecclesiae Collegiatae B.M.V. Brugis gratias agens, reposuit phonascatum hujus cathedralis ad manus RR DD unaque praesentavit continuare munus phonasci pro tempore quo hic adhuc novari intendit quam desistentiam uti et praesentationem RR DDni. acceptarunt et resolverunt hac vice sine concursu conferre phonascatum in ord° proximo ex quo varij in arte musica probatissimi sese praesentent, in quem finem RR DDni. praevie convocabuntur.

KAA, O.-L.-Vrouw, Acta capituli 15 (1755-1771), op datum.

b. 1771, 27 april. E.H. Jan Thomas Bawstetter wordt per geheime stemming benoemd.

In ordinario 27a Aprilis [1771]. Electio Phonasci / Conformiter ad resolutionem captam in ord° praecedenti RR DDni praeviè convocati, omnium votis secreto ut moris datis et collectis, in phonascum hujus Cathedralis Ecclesiae elegerunt RD JT Bawstetter, dictae Ecclesiae cappellanum, sub conditionibus ei praevié prescribendis et per illum subsignandis ac ad amussim observandis.

Ibidem, op datum.

c. 1771, 2 mei. Voorwaarden voor de zangmeester.

Conditiones a Phonasco admittendae et subsignandae conformiter ad resolutionem captam in ordinario 27 Aprilis 1771.

1° *Ut tam in Matutinis et Laudibus quam alijs Chori officijs praesens sit, et psalmodiet ut ita melius in pueros choraules invigilare valeat quos ad Ecclesiam secum ducere et domum reducere debebit.*

2° *Ut per se et non per alium seu alios Musicam Choraules doceat.*

3° *Non poterit frequentare concerta publica praesertim Theatralia.*

4° *Promittit et obligat se et heredes suos vacante phonascatu per mortem vel discessum deferre quascumque memorias et annotationes respicientes emoluementa sui officij ad Capitulum.*

5° *Denique admittere debebit ordinationes Capituli circà functiones phonasci huc usque factas et in posterum faciendas.*

Ego infrascriptus suprascriptas conditiones admitto ijsdemque me subjicio ac subscribo. Antverpiae hac 2a Maij 1771.

[get.] Joannes Thomas Baustetter, phonascus ecclesiae cathedralis B.M.V.

KAA, Capsa dominorum 24 (Vicarissen en choralen; zangmeester 1583–1792), nr. 30. Zie ook KAA, O.-L.-Vrouw, Acta capituli 15 (1755–1771), op datum (2 mei 1771), met als titel: *Conditiones pro Phonasco/ Ter ordonnantie van de seer Eerw: ende Edele Heeren Deken ende Capittel voors. sign. Festraets actuarius. Deinde conformiter ad resolutionem captam in ord° praecedenti concepti conditionibus phonasco praelectis easdem admisit ysdemque se subjecit et subscripsit quae sunt ut sequitur.*

d. 1771, 2 mei. De zangmeester moet op 3 mei zijn taak aanvatten in de conventuele mis maar moet zich onthouden van het Marialof in de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel en het lof in de Venerabelkapel.

Finaliter ipsi mandatum est die crastina inchoare in Missa Conventuali functiones suas atque ab ijsdem exercendis hodiedum abstinere tam in Laudibus Marianis quam Illustrissimi Sacramenti.

KAA, O.-L.-Vrouw, Acta capituli 15 (1755–1771), op datum

e. 1771, 2 mei. Verzet van de meesters van de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel tegen de nieuwe zangmeester en protest van het Kapittel.

In extraordinario 2da Maij [1771]. Magistri Sacelli Venerabilis Sacramenti/ Cum ad notitiam nostram pervenerit Magistros Sacelli B.M.V. in hac Cathedrali togis suis indutos heri ante parvas Laudes vespertinas Marianas phonascum nostrum noviter electum, deducisse ad odeum dicti sacelli eumdemque ibidem quasi in possessionem misisse atque mandasse musicis ibidem praesentibus ut ipsi pareant eumdemque in ijsdem Laudibus musicam tunc direxisse nondum signatis conditionibus ejdem praescribendis atque ità videantur sibi arrogare jus assumendi phonascum resolverunt RR DDni ad dictos Magistros mittere notarium P. Gerardi ad eatenus protestandum in modum seguentem.

"Den notaris Peeter Gerardi sal sigh uyt den naem ende wegens de seer Eerw: ende Edele Heeren Deken ende Capittel der cathedrale van Antwerpen begeven ende transporteren by de dienende Heeren Cappel ende Lofmeesters van Onse Lieve Vrouwe cappelle in deselve Cathedrale kercke ende protesteren tegens alle nieuwigheden van wegens deselve heeren Cappel ende lofmeesters van Onse Lieve Vrouwe, op woonsdagh prima Maij 1771 geplogen nopens den Eerw: Heere Bawtstetter, nieuwen gecosen sanckmeester der voorseide Cathedrale op 27 april van desen jaere, voor soo veele die souden konnen praejudicieren aen de gerechtigheden van het voorseide Capittel Cathedrael, houdende relacs van syn wedervaeren ende daervan leverende copye. Actum binnen Antwerpen in het Extraordinair Capittel den 2 Meij 1771." [in marge:] Nota. Dicta die facta est eadem protestatio per dictum notarium.

Ibidem, op datum

f. 1771, 5 mei. Na vezet van de meesters van het H. Sacramentskapel tegen zijn benoeming, vraagt Baustetter aan het Kapittel wat hem te doen staat.

In Extraordinario 5a Maij [1771]... Comparuit RD Baustetter, phonascus noster, expetens qualiter sese gerere debeat hodiedum in Laudibus vespertinis celebrandis in sacello SSmi Sacramenti. Et ispi injunctum est comparere in odeo ibidem hora et modo ordinarijs cum choraulibus nostris atque si in functione sua impediatur seu turbetur, cum ysdem sine strepitu vitandae confusionis et scandali causa descendit.

KAA, O.-L.-Vrouw, Acta capituli 15 (1755–1771), op datum.

g. 1771, 7 mei. Baustetter werd door de kapelmeesters van het Venerabel buiten gesmeten en het Kapittel laat een notaris protesteren.

In extraordinario 7a May [1771]. PhonascusMagistri Sacelli Venerabilis/ Exposuit RD Baustetter, hujus Ecclesiae Cathedralis phonascus, quomodo conformiter ad resolutionem captam in Extraord° 5a hujus die dominica praeterita 5a hujus, circa horam 5am paulo ante Laudes vespertinas celebrandas in sacello SSmi Sacramenti, cum suis pueris Choraulibus ascenderit odeum ejusdem sacelli quodque eum immediatè subsecuti sint duo magistri seu Directores dicti sacelli cum assistente notario Rossaert qui petiverunt de cujus mandato advenisset quodque ex mandato RR DDnum de Capitulo qua phonascus pro dirigenda musica responderit sese adesse, quod dicti magistri tum dixerint ipsum in illo loco nullam directionem habere. Item quod praescriptus notarius tum protestatus fuerit et ijdem Magistri eum descendere coegerint, non obstante quod tamquam privatus ibidem remanere ut varij alij vitandae confusionis et scandali causa obtulerit, consequenter RR DD commisenunt notarium P. Gerardi ad eatenus protestandum et requirendum in modum ut sequitur./Den notaris Peeter Gerardi sal sigh uyt den naem ende van wegens de seer Eerw. ende Edele Heeren Deken ende Capittel der Cathedrale kercke van Antwerpen begeven ende transporteren by de heeren dienende cappelmeesters van het Venerabel derselver cathedrale ende protesteren tegens alle feytelykhydt ende attentaet door hun begaen op het excael van Venerabel Cappel op sondagh laestgeleden tegens den Eerw. heer Baustetter, sangmeester door het voorseid Capittel verkosen ende aengestelt op 27 April ook laestleden. Ende om voordere confusien ende schandaelen te voorkomen, sal uyt den naem als boven aen deselve afvraegen oft sy verstaen den voors. heere sangmeester in dese syne qualiteyt op de excael van de Venerabel Capel te admitteren, op den voet ende maniere voorgaendelyk geplogen ende op de emolumenten door desselfs voorsaet genoten, in conformiteyt van de provisionele vonnissen van den souverynen Raede van Brabant de dato 23 december 1765 ende 14 januarij 1766 ende in cas van geene cathegorique voldoende antwoort te geven sonder dilay soo sal sulcx aengenomen worden voor refues ende sal denselven notaris uyt den naem voorseid daertegens protesteren in forma ende tegens alle voordere attentaeten ende feytelykheden, kosten schaeden ende intresten geleden ende te leyden, houdende van syn wedervaeren pertinente notitie ende ons daervan leverende copye in forma. Actum etc.

Ibidem, op data.

h. 1771, 9 mei. De directeurs van de H. Sacramentskapel vragen kopie van de benoemingsakte van de nieuwe zangmeester.

In extraordinario 9a Maij [1771]... Circa magistros Venerabilis/ Lectum est responsum ex parte Directorum sacelli SSmi Sacramenti, insinuatum hesterna die RAD Decano per notarium Rossaert tenoris ut sequitur.

De ondergeteeckende capelmeesters van de Venerabele Capelle in dezer stads Cathedrale zeggen op de afvraeginge aen hun door den notaris Peeter Gerardi op zeven en acht dezer maend ende jaere respective gedaen, dat hunnen Raed is woonende binnen de stad Brussel, aen denwelken zy immediatelyk copye van de gemelde commissie hebben toegesonden ende van hem hebben versogt aen de ondergeteeckende zyn advies over te zenden, welk bekomen hebbende, zy ondergeteeckende, instantelyk op de voorseide afvraeginge zullen antwoorden hetgene zy om redenen hier vorens vermeld, tot nog ter tyd niet en konnen doen ende zonder praejuditie dier oft zonder hun ergens in te willen praejudicieren. Zoo is 't dat den notaris Petrus Franciscus Rossaert ten dezen aenzogt uyt den naem ende van wegens de ondergeteeckende aen den zeer Eerweerden ende Edelen Heere Deken van het Capittel Cathedrael dezer stad, zal versoeken ende 't eene wegen afvraegen copye der admissie van den pretensen heere zangmeester omme etc. van zyn wedervaeren houden pertinente notitie ende leveren relaes in forma. Actum Antverpiae 8a Maij 1770 een en zeventig, waeren onderteeckent E.V. Tilborgh q.q. Paul. Jos. Pauwels, Francois A. van den Bogaert ende Balthasar Solvyns. Leeger staet 'Concordantiam attestor sign. P.F. Rossaert nots. publ.'
Consequenter ad desuper agendum prout Consilij Bruxellas deputatus est RD Bruyninckx scholasticus./Insuper resolutum respondendum per RAD Decanum praedictis magistris, si instent pro habenda acta electionis phonasci RR DDnum patientiam esse exhaustam et consequenter illos responsuros in Consilio Brabantiae.

Ibidem, op data.

i. 1771, 11 mei. De kapelmeesters van het Venerabel zeggen dat ze niet verplicht zijn de zangmeester van het Kapittel in dienst te nemen.

In ordinario 11ma May 1771. Responsum Magistri Sacelli Venerabilis/ De ondergeteeckende dienende capelmrs. van de Venerabele Capelle in dezer stads Cathedraele, geheel ende ongepraejudicieert in alles antwoordende op de affvraeginge van wegens de zeer Eerw. ende Edele Heeren van het Capittel cathedrael door den notaris Peeter Gerardi op zeven ende acht dezer respective aen de ondergeteeckende gedaen, zeggen dat hunne capelle niet gehouden en is voor haere diensten den zangmr. van het Capittel te gebruyken ten zy denzelven daertoe specialyk door de Meesters derzelve capelle is verkozen, mitsgaeders dat de diensten der capelle zonder zangmr. konnen geschieden ende dat al volgende dezelve Capelle dien onkost niet noodigh heeft. Actum in Antwerpen dezen 10en Meij 1700 een en zeventig. Waren ondert. E.V.Tilborgh, Paul Joseph Pauwels, Francois A. van den Bogaert, Balthazar Solvijns.

Ibidem, op data.

j. 1771, 19 mei. Het Kapittel moet gerechtelijk bevel tot uitvoering van het vonnis van 1766 laten bezorgen.

In extraordinario 19a May [1771]...Circa Magistros Sacelli Venerabilis/ Retulit RD Bruyninckx Bruxellis redux sese ibidem conformiter ad resolutionem captam in extraord° 9a hujus, egisse cum juris peritis ipsosque judicasse in dicta causa procedendum fore via executionis et consequenter litteras executoriales super decreto Concilij de 14 jan. 1766 per apparitorem cortes insinuatas fuisse 14a hujus D° n(omine) Van Tilborgh, Magistro seu Directori sacelli Venerabilis Sacramenti pro se et confratribus suis.

Ibidem, op data.

k. 1771, 27 mei. De actuarius van het Kapittel moet de openbare aanklager schrijven.

In extraordinario 27 May [1771]... Expediet RD Actuarius commissionem apparitori cortes ad prosequendam executionem de qua in Extraord° 19a hujus.

Ibidem, op data.

l. 1771, 31 mei. Het Kapittel vraagt het advies van de deken van de kathedraal.

In Extraordinario 31a Maij [1771]. Supplica ex parte magistrorum sacelli Venerabilis Sacramenti exhibita concilio Brabantiae in finem impediendi executionem, de qua in praecedentibus, communicata RAD Decano, apostilata pro advisamento nostro intra octiduum, lecta fuit.

Ibidem, op data.

m. 1771, 11 juni. De kapelmeesters worden bij vonnis verplicht de nieuwe zangmeester toegang tot hun kapel te verlenen op straf van een boet van 100 patacons.

In extraordinario 11a juny [1771]... Magistri Sacelli Venerabilis Sacramenti/ RD Bruyninckx redux Bruxellis exhibuit dictum sententiae latae in Concilio Brabantiae hesterna die contra Magistros sacelli Venerabilis Sacramenti quod est tenoris ut sequitur. De dienende meesters der Venerabel Capelle binnen de cathedrale kercke van O.L.V. binnen Antwerpen supplianten. Die eerw. Heeren Deken ende Capittel der voors. cathedrale kerke advisanten. Gesien etc. 't Hoff verclaert de supplianten niet gefondeert nochte ontfankbaer in de conclusie genomen by hunne requeste, "venue en Cour" ende inhererende in de vonnissen ende appointement respectivelyk van den 23. Xber 1765 ende van 14 jan. ende van 9. aug. 1766, ordonneert aen de supplianten den nieuwen gecosen sanghmeester ten processe vermelt binnen dry daegen te admitteren op pene van hondert pattacons amende ten behoeve der Casse van Exploiten van desen Raede, solidairelyk te verbeuren door de supplianten,

condemneert de supplianten in de costen in hunnen eygen naem. Actum 10. Juny 1771.
Ibidem, op data.

2. 1774, 19 november. De zangmeester beklaagt zich over zanger (Johannes Michael) Regenbagh.

Finaliter dictus Phonascus conquestus est de vicario nostro musico Regenbagh quod ipsum in suo officio reliquosque musicos et sic omnem concentum musicum pede calcando vel celerius canendo etc. saepius inturbaverit idque - etiam exposito Venerabilis Sacramenti et Divae Virginis - quod in laudibus vespertinis durante octava assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis, item fidelium defunctorum et novissime festo exaltationis reliquiarum Sti Rochi, prae nimio potu cum scandalo accidit. Quare praehibita deliberatione resolutum dictum Regenbagh iam saepius privatim admonitum et correptum citare ad capitulum ordinarium proximum per capituli virgarium.
KAA, O.-L.-Vrouw, Acta capituli 15 (1755-1771), op datum.

3. 1779, 31 oktober. Baustetter mag met zijn koralen het feest van Sin-Carolus in de voormalige jezuietenkerk gaan zingen.

In Extraord° 31. 8bris [1779]. Chorales festo Si Caroli cantant sub missa solemni, etc., in ecclesia quondam jesuitarum./ Roganunt magistri ecclesiae quondam jesuitarum RD Bautsetter, phonascus hujus cathedralis, ut musicam, quae proxima feria 5a festo Sti Caroli ibidem habebitur sub missa solemni et laudibus vespertinis decantandis per Rev(erendissi)mum D(omi)num Episcopum, dirigere vellet et secum adducere pueros chorales ad cantandum sub dictis officiis. Sed cum rogatis annuere nequeat nisi in eum finem specialiter authorizatus sit a capitulo, hinc ex parte praenominati D. hodiedum postulata fuit praedicta authorizatio, quae eidem gratiosè concessa fuit sed pro hoc vice dum taxat.
KAA, O.-L.-Vrouw, Acta capituli 16 (1772-1786), op datum.

4. 1771-1788. Baustetter nodigt het Kapittel uit voor de Sint-Ceciliamis en vraagt het gebruikelijke honorarium.

a. 1771, 23 november.

In ord° 23a novembris 1771. [...] Deinde comparuit RD Phonascus noster, petens excusari quo in ord° preterito RR DDnos, ut moris, ignorantia non invitaverit ad missam solemnem Stae Caeciliae, uti et expetere sicuti modo, expetit honorarium eatenus elargiri solitum, RR DDni admissa excusatione honorarium pro hoc anno concesserunt.
KAA, O.-L.-Vrouw, Acta capituli 16 (1772-1786), op datum.

b. 1772, 21 november.

In ordinario 21. Novembris [1772]. Missa Stae Caeciliae. / Comparuit Phonascus noster invitans RR. DDnos ad sacrum solemne quod in choro nostro die crastina in festo Stae. Caeciliae decantabitur, et supplicans honorarium ordinarium, quod RR DDi annuentes concesserunt pro hoc anno.

Ibidem, op datum. Idem voor 1773-1778, 1780-1788. Ibidem,op data.

c. 1779, 20 november.

In Ordinario 20a Novembris [1779]: Collatio Sacramenti confirmationis in cathedrali. Cum Reverendissimus Dominus Episcopus proxima feria 2a festo Sanctae Caeciliae collaturus sit in ambitu chori nostri sacramentum confirmationis, dicta die immediate post matutinum decantabuntur succesive reliquae parvae horae et sub iisdem legetur missa conventualis... Missa Stae Caeciliae: Comparuit phonascus noster, invitans Capitulum ad missam conventualem habendam in festo Stae Caeciliae, rogansque RR DD ut ei solitum honorarium addicere dignarentur, qui petitis gratiose annuerunt pro hoc vice, quamvis praedicta missa quae solemniter decantanda esset nisi obstaret impedimentum de quo supra, hoc anno celebranda sit per R.D. cantorem absque ullo concentu musico.

Ibidem, op datum.

B. ARCHIEVEN O.-L.-VROUWEKAPEL (KATHEDRAAL).

1. 1771, 1 mei. Benoeming van Baustetter door de meesters van de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel.

Caemervergaederinge gehouden op 1a may 1771, in de capelle van d'H. Maghet ende Moeder Godts Maria in de cathedraele kerke deser stadt, alwaer naer behoorlyke convocatien van alle de confraters, aen de presente hier ondergenoemt, door my ondergeteeckenden dienende oppermeester en boeckhouder is voorgestelt den persoon van den Eerw. Heere T. Bauwstetter tot de bedieninge van 't sangmeesterschap deser capelle (vacerende by bedankinge van den Eerw. Heere Louis Van Norbeck, geweesene sangmeester dezer cappelle). Waertoe hy sig aen alle de meesters had gepresenteert, soo is by eensaemelyke resolutie en met alle voisen, tot het vacerende sangmeesterschap gekosen en is hetzelve gegeven aen den voorseiden Eerw. Heere Bauwstetter op de conditie hiernaer volgende.

1° dat den zangmeester schuldig en gehouden zal zyn alle de diensten van missen en loven in deze cappelle gebeurenede, wel ende behoirelyk te doen executeren, daertoe leverende goed musiek volgens den loon synder gagie;

2° dat in gevalle den sanghmeester impotent ofte met ziektens overvallen ware ofte met kennis der dienende meesters uyt de stad quam te gaen, dat hy alsdan gehouden zal zyn eenen

bequaemen persoon ten zynen coste in zyne plaetse te stellen dengene alsdan de diensten in zyne plaetse zal executeren en dat op de volgende emolumenten, te weten:

voor gagie 's jaers, de somme van	*fl. 120-*
voor extraordinaire in 't octave	*10-10*
voor het kinderlof in 't octave	*4*
voor de misse van Requiem naer 't octave	*3*
voor de misse van den H. Geest mits voorvallende	*30-*
voor 2 wauthoreblasers in cas als vore	*1-8*
voor de misse van d'inleyding mits als vore	*30-*
voor 2 wauthoreblasers mits als vore	*1-8*
	fl. 200-6

Welke hiervoore staende conditiën aen den voorseiden heere Bauwstetter, in de Camer geroepen zynde ende gevraegt ofte hy dezelve wilde accepteren, heeft geantwoord dat ja. Al volgens zyn door de Camer gecommitteert de 4 dienende meesters, geassisteert met d'heer Knudden en d'heer Deschieter, oude meesters om de voorseide Eerw. Heere in possessie te stellen van het voorseid zangmeesterschap. Reserverende aen sig de Camere de voorseide conditie te vermeerderen ofte verminderen, zoo ende gelyck men by vervolging van tyde bevinde zal te behooren [...] De Camer gescheyden zynde ende de klokke halffuere 6 geslagen zynde, zoodat het loff moeste beginnen, is den voorseide Heere Bauwstetter door my, ondergeteekenden dienenden oppermeester, ende de dry andere dienende met de 2 gecommitteerde meesters op den occaele van onze capelle gestelt in possessie van zyn nieuw bekomen ampt van zangmeester ende heeft denzelven het musiek tot het voorseid loff gedirigeert, hetwelke geeyndigt zynde, hebben aen de musikanten geordonneert den voorseiden Eerw. Heere als hunnen zangmeester te obedieren ende te reverenderen. Ita est. [get.:] H. De Meulder.

KAA, GL 11 (Gilde O.-L.-Vrouw-Lof. Resolutieboeck van de Lofmeesters van de Capelle van de alderh. maeghet en moeder Godts Maria binnen de cathedraele deser stadt Antwerpen, is begost op 30 Meert 1734–[1772]), p. 290-291.

2. 1771, 4 mei. Besluit om notaris Gerardi te antwoorden dat er geen nieuwigheden ten opzichte van de nieuwe zangmeester begaan werden.

Caemervergaederinge gehouden op 4 Mey 1700 eenenseventig, in de capelle van de H. Maghet ende Moeder Godts Maria in de cathedraele kerke deser stad Antwerpen, over de aenseggynge ende proteste van wegens den Eerw. Heere Deken ende Capittel door den notaris Peeter Gerardi gedaen ten dezen, gezien ende gelezen, ende luyt als volgt [...] Onder stont "Ter ordonnantie van de Zeer Eerw. ende Edele Heeren Deken en Capittel voorseid" ende was onderteeckent "Festraets, actuarius". Uyt cragte ende naer vermogen van de vorenstaenden last ende schriftelycke commissie hebbe ick, onderteekenden notaris binnen

deze stad Antwerpen residerende, mij getransporteert ende gevonden, geassisteert zynde van Josephus Antonius Paschalis Botson als getuygen, bij d'heeren De Meulder ende Pauwels, opperdienende Cappel ende Lofmeesters van Onse-Live-Vrouwecapelle binnen deze cathedrale ende naer prelecture mynder vorenstaende commissie aen jeder van dezelve gecommuniceert ende den proteste daerin vermelt aen dezelve gedaen, die my daerop voor antwoord hebben gegeven dat sy hunne confraters daervan zullen part geven. T'oirconden in Antwerpen, dato als boven, ende waren onderteeckent J.H.P. Botson ende P. Gerardi, notaris 1771. Waerop derzelve Camere met volle voisen is geresolveert des daertoe aensogt wordende, te antwoorden en verclaeren dat de Lofmeesters niet en vermeynen eenige nieuwigheden deswegens begaen te hebben. [get.:] H. De Meulder.

Ibidem, p. 291-292.

3. 1771, na 4 mei. Contraprotest van de meesters van de O.-L.-Vrouwekapel tegen de nieuwe zangmeester.

Alsoo den notaris Peeter Gerardi uijt den naem ende van wegens de seer Eerw. ende Edele Heeren Deken ende Cappittel der Cathedraele kercke alhier, op den tweeden deser, aen de dienende Capel ende Loffmeesters van Onse Lieve Vrouwe Cappelle in de Cathedraele voorsijdt, gedaen heeft sekeren onbestandighen en ijdelen proteste. Ende vermits deselve Cappel ende Loffmeesters in het kiesen, aennemen ende inleijden van hunnen sanghmeester, den Eerw. Heere Bawtsetter, gedaen hebben 'tgene sij vermochten te doen ende waertoe sij absolutelijcke gerechtight sijn, soo sal den notaris ... uijt den naem ende van wegens de dienende end oude meesters ende regeerders van deselve Cappelle van Onse Lieve Vrouwe sigh transporteren bij den seer Eerw. ende Edelen Heere Deken van hetselve Cappittel in sijne qualitydt ende tegens denselven over het voorsijdt gedaen protest contraprotesteren in forma, houdende van sijn wedervaren pertinente nottitie ende leveren relaes in forma, om aen de requiranten te dienene daer ende alsoo. Actum.

KAA, GL 5 (losse stukken), 11b.

4. 1771, 16 mei. Besluit om advokaten te raadplegen over een eventueel contraprotest.

Camervergaederinge gehouden op 16 Meij 1771, in de capelle [...] over de resolutie van de camervergaederinge gehouden op 4 dezer. Mits daerop tot nu toe geene antwoord en is gevraegt, dus andermael geresolveert van over den inhoud derselve resolutie te adviseren met d'heeren Advocaten Eeckelaers, Bom ende Mens, omme ter substantie dier te geven hun schriftelyk advies. Authoriserende ter dier effecte de dienende meesters, beneffens d'heeren De Witte en d'heer Deschieter, oude meesters der voorseide capelle, met authorisatie van dezelve, om in cas van noode andere heeren advocaten te assumeren [...]

KAA, GL 11 (Resolutieboek 1734-1774), p. 293.

5. 1771, 21 mei. Besluit om geen contraprotest bij het Kapittel in te dienen.

Camervergaederinge gehouden op 21 Meij 1771, in de capelle [...] ter presentie der meesters hieronder genoemt, waerin naer rapport gehoort te hebben der dienende en geconmitteerde meesters wegens het consult door hun over de resolutie der voorgaende Camer genomen. En vermits 't consult dier heeft gedragen dat het kiezen, aennemen ende inleyden van den sangmeester wel ende te rechte is geschiet ende ook in de paysibele possessie dier zonder interruptie is continuerende, zoo is naer inhoud der voorseide consultatie, goet gevonden en ook met meerderheyd der stemmen geresolveert, van tegens den voorseyden proteste vooralsnog ter tyd niets te doen. Presentes [...]

Ibidem, p. 294.

C. Stadsarchieven

I. 1771-1788. Naam en verjaardagen van keizer(in)

1. naamdag/verjaardag keizerin (15 oktober en 13 mei)

a. collegiale akten

Geordonneert te betaelen aen den Eerw(eerdigen) heere Boutsetter, sanghm(eeste)r der Cathedrale kercke alhier, de somme van 28 guls. eens, voor soo veel dat aen denselven is toegevoeght voor het doen ende becostigen van het extraordinair musieck der H. misse geschiet op den naemdagh van Haere ende Coninckl(yke) Maj(estey)t op den 15 8ber 1771. Actum in Coll(egio) den 13 9ber 1771.

SAA, Privilegekamer 614 (Collegiaal actenboek 1767-1775), fol.151r. Idem voor de jaren 1772-1780. Zie ibidem, fol.190v, 230v-231r, 266v; Privilegekamer 615 (Collegiaal actenboek 1775-1784), fol.26v, 35r (verjaardag), 77r (idem), 117v (idem), 141r (idem), 183r (idem).

b. rekeningen

Aen J.F. Bauwstetter, zanghm(eeste)r der Cathedrale alhier, de somme van achtenturintigh ponden Artois, voor 't doen van 't extraordinair musiek der H. misse ende Te Deum op 15 october 1771, naemdag van Haere Keijserl(yke) en Coninkl(yke) Maj(estey)t, luyt de acte coll(egiael), ord(onnantie) en quitt(antie)....XXVIII £."

Rekening 204 (1-2-1771/31-1-1772), p. 433. Idem voor de jaren 1772-1780. Zie Rekening 205 (1-2-1772/31-1-1773), p. 470; 206 (1-2-1773/31-1-1774), fol.436r-v; 207 (1-2-1774/31-1-1775), fol.476v-477r; 208 (1-2-1775/31-1-1776), fol.222v; 209 (1-2-1776/31-1-1777), fol.258v (verjaardag); 210 (1-2-1777/31-1-1778), fol.266r-v (verjaardag); 211 (1-2-1778/31-1-1779), fol.270r-v (verjaardag); 212 (1-2-1779/31-1-1780), fol.275r (verjaardag); 213 (1-2-1780/31-1-1781), fol.270r (verjaardag).

2. naamdag keizer (19 maart)

a. collegiale akten

Geordonneert te betaelen aen den Eerw(eerdigen) heere Boutsetter, sanghm(eeste)r der Cathedrale kercke alhier, de somme van 28 guls. eens, voor soo veel dat aen denselven is toegevoeght voor het doen ende becostigen van het extraordinair musieck der H. Misse geschiet op den naemdagh van Syne Keyserlycke ende Coninckl(y)cke Maj(estey)t op den 19 meert 1772. Actum in Collegio den 1 Junij 1772.

SAA, Privilegekamer 614 (Collegiaal actenboek 1767-1775), fol.172r. Idem voor de jaren 1773-1788. Zie ibidem, fol.211v, 251r (gebortendagh op 19 maart! wegdoen); Privilegekamer 615 (Collegiaal actenboek 1775-1784), fol.26v, 35r, 77r, 117v, 141r, 183r, 202r, 228r, 252r; 616 (Collegiaal actenboek 1784-1795), fol.8v, 36v, 59r, 89r, 124v, 147v (erfgenamen Bautsetter).

b. rekeningen

Aen den heere Baustetter, sangmeester der Cathedraele alhier, de somme van achtentwintig ponden Artois, over soo vele aen hem van stadts wegen is toegevoegt tot het becostigen van het extraordinair musiek der H. misse ende Te Deum op 19 meert 1772, den naemdagh van Syne Keyserlijke ende Coninklijke Maj(estey)t, luijt de acte collegiael ende ord(onnantie) en quittantie...XXVIII £".

(in marge:) Transeat by requeste, acte collegiael ende ordonnantie.

Rekening 205 (1-2-1772/31-1-1773), p. 469-470. Idem voor de jaren 1773-1788. Zie Rekening 206 (1-2-1773/31-1-1774), p. 436; 207 (1-2-1774/31-1-1775), fol.476v; 208 (1-2-1775/31-1-1776), fol.222v; 209 (1-2-1776/31-1-1777), fol.258r; 210 (1-2-1777/31-1-1778), fol.266r; 211 (1-2-1778/31-1-1779), fol.270r; 212 (1-2-1779/31-1-1780), fol.274v; 213 (1-2-1780/31-1-1781), fol.269v-270r; 214 (1-2-1781/31-1-1782), fol.296r, en 215 (1-2-1781/31-1-1782), fol.185v-186r; 216 (1-2-1782/31-1-1783), fol.295r-v; 217 (1-2-1783/31-1-1784), fol.300r-v, en 218 (1-2-1783/31-1-1784), fol.175r-v; 219 (1-2-1784/31-1-1785), fol.291v, en 220 (1-2-1784/31-1-1785), fol.163v; 221 (1-2-1785/31-10-1785), fol.315r-v; 222 (1-11-1785/31-10-1786), fol.314v-315r, en 223 (1-11-1785/31-10-1786), fol.189r; 224 (1-11-1786/31-10-1787), fol.317v; 225 (1-11-1787/31-10-1788), fol.326v; 226 (1-11-1788/31-10-1789), fol.315r-v, en 227 (1-11-1788/31-10-1789), fol.162v. Vgl. E.G.J. GRÉGOIR, *Littérature musicale. Documents historiques relatifs à l'art musical et aux artistesmusiciens*, 2, Brussel, enz., 1874, p. 910 (a° 1780 en 1781).

II. 1779, 16 augustus H. Geestmis voor het nieuwe armenbestuur.

a. collegiale akte

Geonl(onneer)t te betaelen aen den Eerw(eerdigen) h(ee)r Bautsetter, sanghm(eeste)r der Cathedrale alhier, de somme van f. 35 eens, voor het extraordinair musiek der misse van den H. Geest op 16 aug(us)ti 1779, ter oorsaecke van de nieuwe bestieringe van den algemijnen armen deser stadt geschiet. Actum in Coll(egio) 26 8ber 1779.

Privilegekamer 615 (Collegiaal actenboek 1775-1784), fol. 151v.

b. rekening

Aen denselven [E.H. J.T. Baustetter, sanghmeester der Cathedrale alhier] alnoch de somme van vyfendertigh ponden Artois, voor het doen ende bekostigen van het extraordinair musiek der misse van den H. Geest, geschiet op 16 augustij 1700 negenenseventig, ter oorsaeke van de nieuwe bestieringe van den algemynen armen deser stad, luijd de acte collegiael ende ordonnantie de dato 30 8ber van denselven jaere [1779] met quitt(antie), dus...XXXV £".

Rekening 212 (1-2-1779/31-1-1780), fol.275r.

III. 1781, 34 januari Dodenwake en uitvaart keizerin

a. collegiale akte

Geord(onneer)t te betaelen aen den Eerw(eerdigen) heere Bautsetter, sangm(eeste)r der cathedraele alh(ie)r, de somme van f. 108-10 voor het musieck gedient hebbende voor de vigilien ende uytvaert van wylen Haere Keyserlyke ende Koninckklyke majesteyt, geschiet op 3 ende 4 Jan(ua)rij 1781. Actum in Coll(egio) ul(tim)a Jan(ua)ry 1781.

Privilegekamer 615 (Collegiaal actenboek 1775-1784), fol.202r.

b. rekening

Aen den Eerweerdigen heere Baustetter, sanghmeester der Cathedrale alhier, de somme van honderd aght ponden thien schellingen Artois over het bekostigen van het musiek gedient hebbende voor de vigilien ende uijtvaert van wijlen Haere Kijserlijke ende Koninklijke Majestijt, geschiet op 3. ende 4. Januarij 1700 eenentachentigh, luijd de specificatie met acte collegiael ende ord(onnan)tie de dato 31. Januarij van denselven jaere met quittantie, dus hier ... Ic VIII £, X sch. l?

Rekening 213 (1-2-1780/31-1-1781), fol.285v-286r. Vgl. E. GEUDENS, *o.c.*, p. 458, zie noot 1.

IV. 1787, 14 juni. Niet gepreciseerde dankmis.

a. collegiale akte

Geord(onneert) te betalen aen den Eerw(eerdigen) h(ee)r J.T. Baustetter, zangm(eeste)r der Cathedrale alhier, de so(mme) van f. 56- voor extraordinair musiek van de solemnele misse van dankbaerhyd, geschiet op 14 Juny 1787. Actum in Coll(egio) 10 Xber 1787.

Privilegekamer 616 (Collegiaal actenboek 1784-1795), fol.109r.

b. rekening

Aen den eerweerdigen heere J.T. Baustetter, sangmeester der Cathedraele alhier, de somme van sesenvyftigh ponden Arthois, over soo vele myne heeren hem hebben toegevoegt voor het bekostigen van het extraordinair musiek van de solemnele misse van dankbaerheijd op veerthien junij 1700 sevenentachentigh, luijd de acte collegiael ende ordonnantie met quittantie, dus hier...56-.

Rekening 225 (1-11-1787/31-10-1788), fol.326r.

La chapelle musicale de la cathédrale de Tolède

Évolution et apogée (XVè-XVIè siècle)

François Reynaud
CNRS, Tours

Depuis une quarantaine d'années, les recherches sur la musique dans les cathédrales espagnoles se sont multipliées, donnant naissance à des catalogues de livres de musique et à des études dont beaucoup sont parues sous forme d'articles, notamment dans l'*Anuario Musical*, les plus imposantes monographies ayant fait l'objet d'ouvrages.

Le dossier bibliographique diffusé en mai 1996 par Miguel A. Marín à l'occasion du séminaire d'Avila: *La catedral como institución musical* (1500-1800), regroupe l'essentiel des travaux publiés sur ce sujet depuis une vingtaine d'années.[1] Le nombre important des articles et ouvrages cités dénote un vif intérêt de la part de la communauté scientifique internationale, mais surtout de la jeune génération espagnole, pour l'histoire musicale des cathédrales d'Espagne, institutions qui génèrent et diffusent le répertoire polyphonique sacré. Dans le même temps, et selon le même engouement, les chapelles musicales des cours, des cathédrales et des collégiales de plusieurs pays européeens ont aussi été étudiées, du Moyen-Age à l'époque moderne.[2] Le nombre et la diversité de leurs modèles invitent dès aujourd'hui à des études comparatives qui feraient apparaître les traits communs à ces institutions en même temps que leur caractères spécifiques, leurs tendances novatrices ou leurs résistances conservatrices à l'égard du culte en général et de ses pratiques.

La cathédrale de Tolède, capitale de l'Espagne, siège de la primatiale et du plus vaste et riche archevêché de la péninsule, n'avait jamais fait l'objet d'une monographie musicale exhaustive. Durant près de vingt ans, j'ai centré mes recherches sur le développement de la musique polyphonique dans cette ville, des premiers témoignages aux environs de 1600, dans le cadre d'un doctorat d'Etat dirigé par le professeur Bartolomé Bennassar, le grand historien du Siècle d'Or.[3] Si la cathédrale est bien le premier foyer musical, j'ai jugé bon d'élargir l'enquête à la cité

[1] *Seminario la catedral como institución musical (1500-1800)*, Avila, 10-12 de Mayo de 1996.

[2] Citons en particulier les travaux de groupe sur les cathédrales de Sens, Bénévent et Prague dans le cadre de l'ARIMM de la fondation Royaumont, sous la direction de Marcel Pérès.

tout entière en dépouillant les archives notariales, paroissiales et diocésaines en plus de celles conservées à la cathédrale. Mon propos se limitera aujourd'hui à expliquer comment est née, puis s'est développée, la chapelle musicale de la primatiale, des années 1490 au début du XVIIe siècle. Pour obtenir une vue d'ensemble cohérente, il me semble nécessaire de rappeler brièvement ce que fut cette chapelle musicale au Moyen-Âge, avant qu'elle ne prenne son essor dans le dernier quart du XVe siècle et parvienne à son plein épanouissement à la fin du siècle suivant.

Après la reconquète de Tolède par Alphonse VI, en 1085, le nouvel archevêque Bernard, un moine clunisien, reconsacre la cathédrale Sainte-Marie et y introduit la liturgie grégorienne. Son successeur, Don Raimundo, est confirmé primat d'Espagne par le pape Honorius II. L'ancienne liturgie wisigothique ou mozarabe est abandonnée. Tolérée en certains lieux, elle coexistera avec la liturgie romaine sans contamination. A la fin du XVe siècle, le cardinal Mendoza, puis son successeur le cardinal Cisneros, voulant préserver une tradition séculaire, décideront de faire transcrire les anciens codex wisigothiques depuis longtemps illisibles, travail confié au docteur Alonso Ortiz. Une chapelle est fondée, dans laquelle l'office mozarabe est encore célébré de nos jours.

Avant le milieu du XIVe siècle, on ne sait rien des pratiques polyphoniques introduites à Tolède dans la liturgie romaine; on sait seulement que le gouvernement du chant liturgique, dans son ensemble, est soumis à l'autorité du chantre, le second dignitaire du chapitre après le doyen. Sous sa direction, les offices sont chantés par les chanoines répartis entre le choeur du doyen et celui de l'archevêque, selon les exigences de la psalmodie.

Les constitutions de 1388 confirment bien ce rôle du premier chantre, le *precentor*, appelé aussi *chantre* ou *capiscol*. Il veille au bon déroulement des offices, à la régularité des lectures, corrige les chanteurs et les enfants de choeur, entonne les psaumes, le *Magnificat* des vêpres, le *Nunc dimittis* des complies, le *Benedictus*, ainsi que les antiennes et les répons des processions. Dans la pratique, ces tâches incombent surtout au sous-chantre, le *socapiscol*. En 1467, le pape Paul II affectera l'une des cinquante rations à cette charge.

Au XIIIè siècle, les polyphonistes qui pratiquent le déchant figurent certainement parmi ces chanoines ou quelques chapelains de la cathédrale, mais il n'existe encore pas de chapelle de *cantores* proprement dite. Avant le XVe siècle, nous n'avons aucun témoignage de ces pratiques; cependant, un manuscrit de *l'ars antiqua*, autrefois possession de la cathédrale et conservé aujourd'hui à la B.N. de Madrid sous la cote 20586, publié par Luther Dittmer, montre qu'on y a chanté

[3] F. REYNAUD, *La polyphonie toledane et son milieu, des premiers témoignages aux environs de 1600, (Collection Documents, études et répertoires)*, Turnhout, 1996. On y trouvera toutes les références aux sources utilisées dans celle communication et les individus cités dans l'index onomastique à la fin de l'ouvrage.

le conduit et le motet à l'instar des modèles parisiens qui essaimèrent dans toute l'Europe. Ce manuscrit présente des aménagements particuliers par rapport aux modèles français, notamment la suppression de la voix de ténor de certains motets, ou encore des créations à quatre voix originales. Je renvoie au travail de Jetta Pumpe sur les motets de ce manuscrit.[4]

Le premier personnage attestant de l'enseignement du chant polyphonique, Alonso Ferrández, n'apparaît dans les archives qu'à la fin du XIVe siècle. On peut estimer qu'il a eu des prédecesseurs. Il est alors qualifié de *cantor* et, en 1418, il apprend le *canto de órgano* aux enfants de choeur. Cette année-là, le *cantor* Pedro Sánchez note sur douze cahiers des *chansonnettes* en l'honneur du Christ et de la Vierge et des *miserere*.

On ne parle pas encore des *cantores* adultes. L'enseignement du chant polyphonique semble ne concerner alors que les enfants de choeur. Non pas tous les enfants, mais seulement ceux que l'on appellera un peu plus tard les *seises*, soit six parmi les 30 que compte alors la cathédrale.[5] Diego Alonso, Pedro de Yepes et Juan de Triana, compositeur contemporain de Juan del Encina, assumeront successivement cette fonction de maître du chant polyphonique dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle.

Une *consueta*, rédigée à la fin du XIVe siècle, mentionne déjà, mais sans précision, l'emploi de l'orgue durant la procession qui précéde la grand messe. On sait aussi qu'en 1354, la cathédrale est dotée d'un instrument que le cloîtrier Pedro González est chargé de jouer. Les constitutions de 1388 précisent bien ce rôle parmi ses obligations, si toutefois ses compétences le lui permettent. Vers 1420, c'est un chapelain, Miguel Sánchez, qui est appointé pour le faire. La fabrique de la cathédrale conserve des comptes relatifs aux travaux de réparation et de construction des orgues, notamment celles construites par Fray Giraldo vers 1425, remaniées par le facteur Juan Rodriguez de Córdova. C'est l'horloger Fray Pedro, vers 1430, puis le maître des enfants de choeur Alfonso de Fontova vers 1450, qui entretiennent les instruments avant que l'on ne fasse appel à un organier de métier, maestro Ximeno. Ce sont les quelques éléments qui attestent la pratique de la polyphonie au Moyen-Age. On voit qu'il n'est pas encore question d'une vraie chapelle, soumise à l'autorité d'un maître confirmé.

[4] J. PUMPE, *Die Motetten der Madrider Notre-Dame Handschrift*, Tutzing, 1991.

[5] La première mention du terme seise que j'ai rencontrée à Tolède date de 1461.

EVOLUTION DES DIFFÉRENTES COMPOSANTES DE LA CHAPELLE MUSICALE

Les cantores

En dehors des maîtres qui enseignent le *canto de órgano* aux enfants, très rares sont les mentions de *cantores* polyphonistes avant 1490. En 1472, on relève le nom de Juan de Villareal, chapelain du choeur; en 1474, celui de Juan Fernándo de Sahagún, *el tenor*, c'est la toute première mention d'un registre vocal. S'ils ne sortent pas du rang des chanoines prébendiers, ces *cantores* ne vivent probablement que de leur présence aux offices de la cathédrale. S'ils sont chapelains, ils bénéficient des dotations desinées aux messes anniversaires de leur chapellenie, mais ils ne perçoivent aucune rémunération particulière pour leurs prestations de chanteurs.

A Tolède comme ailleurs, le besoin d'avoir un nombre suffisant et permanent de chanteurs polyphonistes attitrés se fait sentir quand les pratiques de la polyphonie s'imposent de plus en plus dans l'ordinaire de la messe et les hymnes des vêpres. A la fin du XVe siècle, des nobles tolédans, comme le marquis de Villena, ont déjà des chapelles musicales privées complètes, avec chanteurs polyphonistes, des instrumentistes, un organiste, qui prêtent leur concours à la cathédrale pour les grandes fêtes comme l'Assomption ou le *Corpus Christi*. Le chapitre ressent donc le besoin d'avoir sa propre chapelle et, dans ses lettres apostoliques *Decorem Domus Dei*, le pape Innocent VIII affecte six des cinquante rations dont bénéficie la cathédrale à des *cantores instructi in cantu organico*, c'est à dire ayant une bonne maîtrise du chant polyphonique. Une épidémie de peste repoussera l'application de cette bulle à l'année 1492.

A cette époque, le passage progressif d'une écriture de trois à quatre voix, confirmée par le répertoire de musique sacrée péninsulaire, nécessite l'extension du nombre des chanteurs de six à huit, que confirment les lettres apostoliques *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam* du pape Alexandre VI affectant à la cathédrale deux rations de *cantores* supplémentaires.

Les huit *cantores* – deux dans chacun des quatre registres: *tiple, contra alto, tenor* et *contrabajo* – sont répartis en deux choeurs disposés dans les stalles, en vis à vis à l'intérieur de la clôture: celui du doyen et celui de l'archevêque. Cette répartition, qui n'est pas toujours équitable, suscitera un grave litige en 1509.

Le nombre des cantores rationnaires, c'est à dire payés à l'année en trois tiers, selon leur registre et leur habileté, double entre 1509 et 1530; il augmente encore sensiblement entre 1590 et 1600.

A ces rationnaires au salaire annuel fixe, payé par le réfectoire et la fabrique dans une proportion moyenne de 2/3 1/3, il faut en ajouter d'autres, habiles à

chanter le répertoire polyphonique. Ils sont rémunérés par distributions, c'est à dire en fonction de leur participation aux cérémonies, selon la mention qui, à partir de l'année 1523, les différencie des *cantores* rationnaires dans les livres de dépenses. Un pourcentage de ce qu'ils gagnent, soit en moyenne le tiers, correspond bien à leur participation au *canto de órgano*.

Une dernière catégorie de cantores, les *psalmeadores*, apparait en 1558. Comme leur nom l'indique, ils sont surtout destinés à renforcer le choeur des chanoines, souvent défaillant, pour l'exécution de la psalmodie et leur présence à certains offices est obligatoire. Quelques uns ont des compétences qui les autorisent à se regrouper autour du lutrin pour participer à la polyphonie avec les autres *cantores*; leur salaire est modeste.

A la fin du XVIe siècle, la cathédrale dispose donc d'une trentaine de *cantores*, toutes catégories confondues; elle peut aisément en déléguer quelques uns dans les paroisses et les monastères de la ville, pour les fêtes patronales et le *Corpus Christi*, ou encore au monastère de Guadalupe, ou dans quelque cathédrale voisine. De temps à autre, les meilleurs prêteront leur concours à la chapelle royale, *in situ* ou en déplacement avec elle.

Les maîtres de chapelle

C'est très progressivement que l'on passe des premiers maîtres de chant, à la fin du XVe siècle, aux maîtres de chapelle et compositeurs du XVIe siècle, tels que Cristóbal de Morales ou Alonso Lobo, qui ont autorité sur l'ensemble de la chapelle musicale. Pedro Lagarto est désigné en 1503 par les termes *maestro de los niños seises del coro* et *maestro de la música*, ce dernier terme étant employé pour la première fois. Ceci semble confirmer son autorité sur l'ensemble des pratiques polyphoniques. Précisons qu'il s'agit de l'un des compositeurs du célèbre *Cancionero de Palacio*. Après lui, Juan de Espinosa – connu surtout comme théoricien – Aldomar, Juan de Vera, Francisco de Lugones, Francisco de Toledo, Francisco Maldonado seront encore appelés "maitres de la musique". Ce n'est qu'avec Andrés de Torrentes que le terme *maestro de capilla* commence à être employé en 1538, à partir de son élection, et c'est ainsi que seront désignés tous ses successeurs.

L'élection du maître de chapelle est l'objet d'un véritable concours jalonné d'épreuves musicales difficiles. On a conservé le détail de celles qui furent imposées au tout début du XVIIe siècle aux candidats à la succession d'Alonso Lobo, dont Alonso de Tejeda sortit vainqueur.

Le maître de chapelle assume de nombreuses tâches matérielles et d'ordre musical. Il veille au recrutement des *seises*, va parfois lui-même en chercher fort loin, auditionne les candidats. Il a la charge totale des *seises*, les héberge dans une maison mise à sa disposition par le chapitre, leur enseigne le chant, assure leur

nourriture, leur habillement, leur couchage, contrôle strictement leur présence, veille à leur discipline, à leur santé. On l'envoie occasionnellement très loin pour évaluer des *cantores* et décider les meilleurs à venir servir la cathédrale. Son opinion est prépondérante lors de l'audition des impétrants, où l'on demande aussi le jugement des *cantores* rationnaires les plus qualifiés. A ceux-là, le maître de chapelle donne chaque jour une leçon de *canto de órgano*. Il a aussi la charge des livres de polyphonie; ils servent à ses leçons de chant et il les corrige de temps à autre, non pas en les raturant, mais en apportant oralement aux chanteurs les corrections nécessaires qui relèvent le plus souvent de la *musica ficta*. Il est tenu de composer les traditionnels *villancicos* de Noël et de l'Epiphanie et enrichit le répertoire en faisant acquérir de nouveaux livres de musique à la cathédrale. Le choix de ce qui sera chanté et accompagné à la messe, aux vêpres, durant les processions passe par son agrément, en accord avec le sous-chantre, l'organiste et les *ministriles* avec qui il définit l'alternance voix-orgue-instruments selon le degré de solennité de la cérémonie. Ainsi, grâce à son talent, sa perspicacité, ses relations avec les compositeurs du temps et grace à la prodigalité du chapitre, la cathédrale va se constituer peu à peu le plus beau fonds de cantoraux de la péninsule, dont 34 sont parvenus jusqu'à nous malgré les outrages du temps et le vandalisme. Dès les années 1540, le chapitre engagera un important programme de confection de livres de musique avec des copistes, des enlumineurs et des relieurs. Nous en avons heureusement conservé les pièces comptables, d'un extraordinaire intérêt pour l'histoire de l'art et des techniques liées à la confection des codex manuscrits.

Enfin, le maître de chapelle dirige les *cantores* rassemblés autour du lutrin pendant la messe et les offices, mais aussi durant les processions. Paradoxalement, à Tolède, ces obligations et le prestige lié à cette charge ne trouvent pas de compensation véritable dans un salaire élévé. Parce que, jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle, il n'existe pas de ration correspondant à la fonction de maître de chapelle; c'est seulement l'une des rations ordinaires de *cantor tenor* du choeur du doyen qui lui est affectée. La modestie d'un simple salaire de rationnaire peut aisément expliquer l'amertume de Cristóbal de Morales. Conjuguée à des revers de santé, elle poussera l'insigne compositeur à quitter Tolède deux ans seulement après son admission. Torrentes, en revanche, obtiendra des émoluments exceptionnels quand il reviendra, très vieux, servir à nouveau cette charge en 1572. Ce n'est qu'en 1600 que Rome affectera une ration à la charge de maître de chapelle, après de nombreuses requêtes du chapitre. Ces conditions matérielles, qui contrastent beaucoup avec celles des *ministriles*, très bien payés, n'ont pourtant pas été un frein au développement de la polyphonie sacrée, à la pompe des cérémonie, à l'enrichissement du répertoire et à la renommée de l'ensemble de la chapelle musicale qui reposaient largement sur les efforts constants et le talent des maîtres de chapelle successifs.

Les organistes

On l'a vu, le cloîtrier peut être considéré comme le premier organiste de la cathédrale qui dispose très tôt d'un important instrument. Dans la première moitié du XVIe siècle, la construction de l'orgue de l'Empereur, situé dans le transept sud, répond à un besoin liturgique et deux chapelles de la cathédrale, la *capilla* de San Pedro – qui est paroisse – et celle de don Pedro Tenorio possédent leur propre instrument; elles disposent d'un organiste après 1550. En complément, le *realejo*, l'orgue portatif, est utilisé depuis longtemps lors des processions solennelles hors de l'église.

Dès le Moyen-Âge, on porte à ces instruments un soin constant. D'abord entretenus par l'horloger – génial bricoleur – ou le maître des enfants de choeur, on les confiera à un organier professionnel à la fin du XVe siècle. La création d'une ration affectée à un organiste, en 1482, tend à démontrer que l'on a de plus en plus besoin de lui et non plus de la prestation du cloîtrier ou de celle d'un clerc bénévole plus ou moins habile.

En 1500, la cathédrale admet Andrés López, organiste du marquis de Villena et compétent en facture, a la demande du Cardinal Cisneros et sur la recommandation du marquis. L'absentéisme obstiné de López obligera le chapitre à faire appel à un auxiliaire en la personne de Gaspar de Chaves. L'aveugle Francisco de Sazedo succède à López en 1539. A sa mort, on n'arrivera pas à lui trouver un digne successeur, malgré des contacts avec le valencien Miguel Hieronimo de Frías ou le célèbre Pedro Alberto Vila, de Barcelone. Leurs exigences sont probablement excessives. En attendant de pourvoir la ration, deux organistes, Juan de Peñalosa et Francisco López, assureront cette charge pendant trente ans, à la grande exaspération de la majorité du chapitre. En réalité, cette situation profita à la cathédrale, puisqu'on avait la certitude de pouvoir assurer toutes les cérémonies, de pallier l'éventuelle maladie de l'un des deux et de prêter éventuellement son concours à l'extérieur. Cette situation prendra fin en 1580 avec l'élection de Gerónimo Peraza, issu d'une extraordinaire lignée de musiciens originaires de Séville, fils de Juan Peraza, l'un des *ministriles* de la cathédrale. Gerónimo sera secondé très peu de temps par son jeune frère Francisco, âgé de 18 ans, qui tiendra l'orgue à matines, puis par Gregorio de Peñalosa.

A partir de 1523, on relève dans les livres de compte de la fabrique les noms et les émoluments des souffleurs d'orgue, travail assuré auparavant par les enfants de choeur. La montée en puissance des instruments leur rendait la tâche trop pénible et l'on dut se résoudre plus tard à faire appel à des adultes. Un seul *clerizon*, Diego de Astorga, sans doute particulièrement vigoureux et en limite d'âge, figure dans la liste des *entonadores* où l'on note aussi un *cantor*, Jan de Resa.

Il est dommage que la documentation soit presque muette sur les fonctions précises de l'organiste et les moments où il intervient durant les offices de la

cathédrale; il manque pour Tolède le *Directorio del coro* que possède la cathédrale de Siguenza, magistralement étudié par Louis Jambou[6], ou encore la consueta de la cathédrale de Grenade sur laquelle s'est appuyé J. López Calo[7]. Un mémorial de 1604 et un cérémonial rédigé à la fin du XVIe siècle, annoté jusque dans les années 1630 par Juan Chaves Arcayos[8], un chanoine qui fut le secrétaire du chapitre, nous informent très partiellement sur l'intervention de l'orgue à la messe et aux vêpres selon *l'alternatim*. Ils confirment des usages probablement beaucoup plus anciens, nuancés par le concile de Trente.

Les *ministriles* de la cathédrale

Tolède est, avec Séville, la première cathédrale d'Espagne à se doter d'instrumentistes, à l'exemple de la chapelle royale et de quelques chapelles de nobles comme celle du marquis de Villena. Non loin de Tolède, Doña Teresa Enriquez – la folle du St Sacrement –, disposera d'une chapelle dans la collégiale de Torrijos qu'elle fait édifier entre 1509 et 1518. L'archevêque Fonseca, en 1525, a déja ses propres *ministriles* qui servent occasionnellement la cathédrale.

Ces exemples aidant, en 1531, le chapitre recrute trois *ministriles altos* qui ont chacun un *oficial* employé pour les seconder et à qui ils reversent une partie de leur salaire. On les désigne plus souvent par le registre des instruments qu'ils jouent que par le nom de ces instruments. Ils sont liés à la cathédrale par des contrats d'embauche draconiens et leurs obligations de service sont très strictes pour les laics qu'ils sont.

Les plus habiles jouent de plusieurs instruments à vent qui leur appartiennent en propre, mais la cathédrale en achète aussi et en fait réparer. Leur effectif augmente au cours du siècle. Il se maintient à huit jusqu'en 1563, avec une baisse passagère entre 1547 et 1554. On en dénombre entre huit et neuf entre 1563 et 1585, date à partir de laquelle leur nombre se stabilise à dix jusqu'au début du XVIIe siècle et peut-être au-delà.

Les hauts instruments qu'ils jouent produisent des sonorités riches et variées. Sacqueboutes, chalemies, cornets à bouquin et flûtes de différents registres, bassons, figurent dans la panoplie des instruments qui leurs sont familiers et qui se font bien entendre dans la vaste cathédrale.

[6] L. JAMBOU, *La capilla de la catedral de Siguenza en el siglo XVI. Ordenación del tiempo musical litúrgies: del Renacimiento al Barroco*, dans *Recista de Musicologia*, 6 (1983), p. 271-298

[7] J. LÓPEZ CALO, *La música en la catedral de Granada en el siglo XVI. Vol. I. Texto*, Granada, 1963

[8] Ceremonial de Juan Chaves Arcayos, Archiva y Biblioteca capitolar, catedral de Toledo, MS 42-29

Ils sont placés sous l'autorité du plus chevronné, le *maestro de ministriles*, qui les fait travailler et se met d'accord avec le maître de chapelle sur leurs interventions durant les cérémonies. Nous n'avons pas conservé de partitions de leur répertoire, mais nous savons que chaque voix était le plus souvent notée sur des cahiers de papier séparés, sans soin particulier, ce qui explique probablement leur disparition. En revanche, nous savons qu'un livre à leur usage regroupait des pièces à trois et quatre voix, écrit sur parchemin, comme les livres de polyphonie vocale, mais de décoration fort sobre. Concernant ces livres à leur usage, malheureusement disparus, en 1536, le *ministril* Geronimo de Cuellar est chargé de les garder, de les faire réparer ou de les renouveler.

Le cérémonial de Juan Chaves Arcayos nous donne quelques indications sur le moment où les *ministriles* interviennent. On sait que, pour les grandes fêtes, ils jouent seuls, à la fin de la procession solennelle précédant la grand-messe, à l'offertoire et à la fin de la messe ainsi qu'à la à la fin des vêpres et jusqu'au début des complies qui les suivent. Ils alternent avec les *cantores* et l'orgue pour le *Magnificat* des vêpres du jour, selon les principes de l'*alternatim*, et cette alternance, dans ses formes les plus développées, se retrouve lors des grands événements, lorsqu'ils participent à la polyphonie *a quatro choros* du *Te Deum* solennel. La répartition du discours polyphonique va de la sobriété du plain-chant, confié au choeur des chanoines, à la brillance de l'orgue et des hauts-instruments. C'est pourquoi les livres de polyphonie vocale ne donnent la plupart du temps que le texte d'un verset sur trois, soit celui qui est confié aux *cantores*, les autres étant répartis en alternance entre les chanoines, l'orgue et les *ministriles* qui ne se privent certainement pas de gloser et d'employer pour ce faire maintes diminutions, à la limite de l'improvisation. C'est ce répertoire, noté sur ces cahiers séparés selon les directives du maître des *ministriles*, dont on déplore la perte, mais dont les gloses de Diego Ortiz nous donnent sans doute une idée, alors que l'orgue usait des procédés qui feront la renommée des *tientos*.

Il est donc indéniable que la chapelle des *ministriles* a très largement contribué à la splendeur musicale des cérémonies de la cathédrale; les salaires, qui évoluent rapidement et dépassent aisément les 100.000 maravedis à la fin du XVIe siècle pour les meilleurs d'entre eux, en disent assez sur le prix que le chapitre attache à leurs prestations.

L'étude des différentes composantes de la chapelle musicale de la cathédrale de Tolède fait apparaître, dans l'ensemble, une évolution progressive et constante des effectifs des chanteurs et des instrumentistes placés sous l'autorité du maître de chapelle. Les livres de comptes disent de façon éloquente l'inflation des dépenses affectées à cette chapelle musicale d'une année sur l'autre. Cette inflation s'accélère beaucoup dans les années 1540, avec le recrutement de chanteurs autres que les rationnaires et des *ministriles*, fort bien payés, dont le nombre ira en augmentant.

Sans parler de la confection ou de l'achat des livres de musique dont certains dépassent le salaire annuel moyen du maître de chapelle. Cet effort considérable est rendu possible grâce aux revenus colossaux du plus riche archevêché de la péninsule, mais le mérite de cette ascension et de son apogée, à la fin du Siècle d'Or, revient pour beaucoup à la volonté du chapitre et des prélats successifs, soucieux de la beauté du culte et du rayonnement de la primatiale dans toute la péninsule et hors des frontières de ce qui était alors la première nation d'Europe.

PETER PHILIPS (1560/1561 - 1628) AND THE VENERABLE ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME*

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At the time of Peter Philips' departure from England in early August of 1582, opportunities were scarce for recusant artists who did not enjoy the protection of the moneyed Catholic nobility. Elizabeth's religious policies, the recent succession of anti-Catholic acts and proclamations, and the covert activities of the government's intelligence system made the situation particularly dangerous from the early 1580's until the end of the century. Already the composer of a successful keyboard Pavan,[1] Philips was eager to travel to Italy because (to paraphrase his words) he had heard there were excellent musicians there.[2] He repaired to Rome and the Jesuit English College, which had a tradition of receiving English Catholic exiles.

A distinctive feature of Philips' oeuvre is his use of Italian styles, and this was fostered by Rome's musical environment. From the Italians he learned the techniques of the early keyboard toccata, which he used in his elaborate intabulations. In his motets, Philips employed an extremely wide inventory of styles (among these works are several examples of Marenzian word-painting), composing *basso continuo* parts for them from 1612 on. Philips obviously admired Caccini, for as early as 1603, only two years after the publication of the *Nuove Musiche*, he wrote an exquisite keyboard arrangement of a six-part setting of *Amarilli, mia bella*.[3] His expertise in Italian musical trends was appreciated by the Antwerp printer Phalesius who, in 1591, published a collection of madrigals edited by Philips, the *Melodia Olympica*.

* For collections of manuscripts, transcriptions, and state records, the following abbreviations are used: *AHSI:* Publications of the *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu*; *ARSI:* Various manuscript collection in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*; *CRS:* Publications of the Catholic Record Society *MHSJ:* Publications of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*; *PRO:* Various manuscript collections in the Public Record Office, London (*SP*=State Papers, in these records; *RESPJ:* H. FOLEY, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, London, 1875-1883; *Stonyhurst, Coll. P:* Manuscripts preserved at Stonyhurst College, in the series of Grene's *Collecteana, P; at. Arch.:* Various manuscript collections in the Vatican Archives

1 Philips' earliest known work is a Pavan dated 1580 in the *Fitzwilliam virginal Book* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Mu 168, p. 168). The piece later became extremely popular.

2 *(...) he had harde it there were excellent men of his facultie...* (*PRO, SP* 84, 47, fol.62, Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593).

3 *Amarilli, di Julio Romano* is dated 1603 in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal book* (on p. 155 of the ms.). The six-part vocal model is from the Phalesius print of 1601, *Ghirlanda di marigali a sei voci*.

Philips' first published works were madrigals. In these pieces he favoured the restrained spirit of the madrigals of Palestrina and Felice Anerio and turned his back on the new trends coming from Ferrara, Mantua and Florence. Anerio was *maestro di cappella* at the Jesuit English College at the time of Philips' association with that institution, and Palestrina was employed at the Jesuit Roman Seminary from 1566 to 1571, at which time he left to direct the *Cappella Giulia*.

During the early years of the Order, the Jesuit college system in Rome also employed Tomas Luis de Victoria, Agostino Agazzari, Jacobus Peetrinus, Pierre Bonhomme, Giovanni Francesco Anerio, as well as Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberber for the dramas. Examined superficially, the colleges seemed to provide a whole range of musical opportunities. Examined closely, these institutions, the product of the mind and spirit of Ignatius of Loyola, had to contend with the vagaries of the Counter-Reform; music had to adjust (when it was not considerably censured) in style, form, content, and performance to conform with the decrees of the Council of Trent. A deeper examination reveals that these colleges harboured, and occasionally were seriously undermined by, the covert intelligence activities bred by this same Counter-Reform.

Peter Philips' career was seriously affected by his association with the English College in other, extra-musical ways. As we will see later, when Philips joined the service of Thomas, Baron Paget whom he met at the college in February of 1585, he stepped into an arena of intrigue that was to cloud a significant number of his productive years. But what exactly he was called upon to do at the college from 1582 to 1585 can only be perceived from the following reconstruction.

PETER PHILIPS' ASSOCIATION WITH THE JESUIT ENGLISH COLLEGE, ROME

The only document in the college's archives that records Philips' association with the institution is the College Pilgrim Book, which mentions his arrival on 22 October 1582 and the period of twelve days' hospitality offered him at the college's hospice. It contains, however, no indication of his status as a musician.[4] The college's account books, which unfortunately shed very little light on the frequency and extent of music performances at the college, contain not a trace of

[4] *Petrus Philippus, Anglus, diocesis [lacuna] receptus fuit Hospitis 20 octobris 1582 ad 12 dies.* In *The Pilgrim Book of the English College, PRO* 31/9, fol.12. Printed in A.G. PETTI, S.J., *Peter Philips, Composer and Organist 1561-1628*, in *Recusant History*, 4 (1958), p. 48.

Philips' employment as an organist.[5] However it appears from these records that, as early as 1580, organists did work at the college. According to entries in the *Entrata-uscita* book and the *Libro mastro del Collegio* for 1580, two organists, Maestro Lorenzo and *Maestro Domenico*, received money respectively in February and September. In these records it is clear that payments were made more often for repairs than for playing. After these entries for September 1580 there are no more payments to organists until 22 June 1588, at which time a *Maestro Hieronimo* was paid for repairs.[6]

The total blank regarding Philips in the college's own records makes it extremely difficult to pinpoint the regularity with which he performed his duties. It is also unfortunate that the composer is not mentioned in visitation reports, annual letters of the Society of Jesus, or in other documents, including diaries, of the Order.

It is a peripheral document dated 22 September 1593 that yields the information: in a letter from the English ambassador at the Hague, George Gilpin, to Lord Burghley (where it should be noted that the information likely came from Philips himself, for he had been questioned in the presence of Gilpin on charges of conspiracy), one reads: *(...) he was player on the organs in the English Jesuit College.*[7]

The composer's certificate of residence in Brussels, dated 4 August 1597, provides the explanation for Philips' absence from college payment records: "(...) Master Peter Philips, English organist aged 36 years, left the kingdom of England because of his Catholic faith in the year eighty-two, taking refuge in Rome where he stayed for three years in the service of his Highness the third Cardinal Farnese".[8] According to the college's Bull of Foundation, Alessandro Farnese was its Cardinal Protector.[9] It was therefore deduced that Philips provided his services as organist to the college because his terms with Farnese required him to do so, and since the institution possessed little means of its own for music.[10]

There was a certain idealism concerning music at the English College from the outset. In the very Bull of Foundation, the Pope specifically mentioned that

[5] Two sets of records give the details of the college's revenues and expenditures: the *Libro di entra ta e uscita* and *the Libro mastro del Collegio*, both preserved in the college archives. Entries that concern musicians from 1579 to 1589 are transcribed in T.J. CULLEY, S.J., *Musical Activity in Some Sixteenth Century Jesuit Colleges, with Special Reference to the Venerable English College, Rome*, in *Analecta Musicologica*, 19 (1980), pp. 22-29.

[6] Cf. CULLEY, *Musical Activity*, p. 28.

[7] *PRO, SP* 84, 47, fol.62.

[8] *AGR, Papiers de l'état et de l'audience,* 139T. In PETTI, *Peter Philips*, p. 58, the full text of the certificate in the original French is transcribed.

[9] Gregory XIII's Bull of Foundation of the English College, 23 April 1597. The Bull is printed in *Bullarum, privilegiorum ac diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum... Tomus quartus, pars tertia...*, Rome, 1746, pp. 359-262. It is summarized in CULLEY, *Musical Activity*, p. 13.

[10] The interpretation was first formulated in PETTI, *Peter Philips*.

students had to be trained in liturgical singing. The college's Constitutions also allude to music: "On certain solemn feast days, let the students sing the Divine Office, Vespers and Mass in choir – as is fitting."[11] On the day of the promulgation of the Bull, Alfonso Agazzari was named its first Rector and it was he who was probably responsible for the focus on music in these documents.[12] Music flourished at the German College during Agazzari's term as Rector there, and the strong musical programs at both the Roman Seminary and the German College would have provided a model for the new affiliate college.[13]

The situation was more complex in regard to the English College than it was for the other Roman colleges. The English College evidently lacked the funds to maintain an uninterrupted musical program over a substantial amount of time.[14] Before its re-foundation in 1579 under Jesuit administration, the college also acted as a hospice for English travellers visiting Rome. The transition to Jesuit government was painful, and involved clashes between two opposing factions of English exiles (a subject I will address in detail later). This was surely a serious obstruction to institutional growth and consequently, to the development of a strong music program. Yet despite these problems, performances at the College were recognized for their beauty as well as for their elaborate nature, especially on the occasions of the feasts of the Most Holy Trinity and of St. Thomas of Canterbury, England's patron saint. A contemporary description of one of these ceremonies reads: "The chapel was splendidly decorated, and strains of devout music, composed for the occasion, added not a little to the impressiveness of the function, which drew an immense concourse."[15]

In the decrees made after a visitation report in 1585, the following recommendation was made: "Let the students – at given hours according to the judgment of the superiors – not omit the diligent study of music."[16]

[11] *Constitutiones Colleggi Anglicani*, printed in *CRS*, 37 (1940), pp. xiii-xiv.

[12] Alfonso Agazzari was a relation of Agostino Agazzari, who served both the German and English colleges as *maestro di cappella*.

[13] The Roman Seminary was founded in 1564, immediately after the close of the Council of Trent; the German College was founded years before, in 1552. Ignatius had founded the Roman College in 1551 and these institutions, along with the English College, formed the Jesuit university system in Rome during that period. See T.F. KENNEDY, S.J., *Jesuits and Music: The European Tradition 1547-1622*, Ph.D. diss. University of California, 1982. Also, G. DIXON, *Musical Activity in the Church of the Gesù in Rome During the Early Baroque*, in *AHSI*, 49 (1940), pp. 323-337.

[14] There is a lack of documentation concerning musical activities in the Roman colleges, in spite of generous archives for the provincial Assistancies. Within Rome, permissions for liturgical music could be obtained by simply speaking to the Order's authorities. Many documents may also have disappeared in the nineteenth century, when the Seminary's library was lost under Garibaldi's unification of Italy. See KENNEDY, *Jesuits*, p. 12.

[15] *RESPJ*, 6, p. 110. Also, CULLEY, *Musical Activity*, p. 14.

[16] *RESPJ*, 6, p. 114.

Then there is the following, full liturgical program: "On Sundays and on other solemn feasts, which are made holy by precept of the Church, the Mass is sung by the priests and ministers, that is, with deacon and subdeacon, master of ceremonies, six or eight canons, two acolytes, a thurifer and, in addition, the singers and musicians in the choir; and the latter are always present at the solemn singing of Vespers."[17]

In spite of this description of an elaborate liturgy, the college's Annual Letter of 1585 (Annual Letters were reports sent from the various colleges to the Father General's headquarters in Rome, the *casa professa*) paints a grim picture of the institution's immediate prospects: "At the close of the year 1585, our diminished income compelled us to reduce the number of both our fathers and of the students."[18] Thus it seems that the gains made in the first flush of enthusiasm over music were quickly and seriously curtailed by poor finances. The final blow came in 1587, when the existing music program, already seriously affected, was abolished. The passages that follow from a letter of Father Robert Persons explain that the object of the English mission was not well served by cultivating an extensive music program at the college. It was unlikely that any Jesuit priest trained at the English College and sent back to England would be in a position to use his musical skills, preoccupied as he would be with mere survival – an argument in favour of stopping choral singing. The letter also provides a choice example of the kind of views many Jesuit authorities held in regard to music in their institutions: that it was not of itself a bad thing, but allowed to get out of hand, it could tempt seminarians away from their mission and prove to be morally distracting.

"Since our Father Rector has told me that our Father General wishes that there be a new consideration of the question of stopping or continuing figured singing in this college, and your Reverence has asked my opinion the other day, I have thought beyond the reasons that Father Rector will give in writing for both sides of the question, and add these three following points, which more than anything else make me lean toward one side [stopping figured singing] than the other.

The first reason is the paucity of our men in this government, not ordinarily being more than five or six persons. They have many distractions, especially the feasts, during which it is hardly possible for them to say their prayers or maintain some spirit of recollection on account of the ordinary concerns of the choir. In addition there is a continuous concourse of outsiders on those feast days, and their conversation both with the students and with the Jesuits, is of a kind that the front door can rarely be closed now and many also enter through the church. Eventually, this could be for a large number of us not only a waste of time, but also a waste of spirit. To this one adds the fact that every time some of the students celebrate their first

[17] *ARSI, ms. Rom.* 156, 1, fol.60v. Translated in CULLEY, *Musical Activity*, pp. 13-14.
[18] *Ibid.*

Mass here (which among many of them occurs quite frequently) they regard it a thing of such importance that they expect the Rector to concede them extraordinary music, and an even greater number of singers, and they also invite to the celebration their friends from outside, and this is a great bother to the Superior, and a matter of ambition among themselves. Most of the problem would disappear if it were not for the solemnity of the choir.
The second reason is that when the young students are sitting every feast day as canons in the church, which is quite small, various ladies come to sit very close, almost in front; other youths and foreign gentlemen come to gaze around very indecently, whereby, I know in particular that some students have received great detriment, and one can only fear for the others.
The third reason is that to continue choir there necessarily needs to be in the house, beyond the Maestro di Cappella, some boy sopranos, who for the most part are wicked, on account of the bad experiences they have had with the other singers. [...] These and some other reasons touching upon the temporal well-being which Father Rector will give in writing, make me very much inclined to restrict the singing to Gregorian chant, considering above all, that due to poverty and the small number of students, there is not so much a need for figured singing, neither in regard to the college's end in England, nor for the profit of the lay students here, nor as an aid to the outsiders who can hear music in all the other churches in the area as much as they want, with more comfort, according to the capacities of the churches. The only problem that remains is that of taking away a good thing that has already begun, but this can be done (if it seems best) without too much trouble."[19]

To quote Thomas Frank Kennedy, S.J.: "Considering that this letter was written by one of the most important and influential Jesuits of the time, who had a long term as Rector of the college, it is a wonder that any musical tradition beyond Gregorian chant survived at all."[20]

The aims of the Bull of Foundation and the college's Constitutions, the encouragement of Alfonso Agazzari, the strength of music programs in sister colleges in Rome, the patronage of Farnese (a generous supporter of the arts in that city) and the abilities of Peter Philips and Felice Anerio were not enough to prevent the serious curtailment of music at the English College from as early as 1585, the year Philips left Rome. As we have seen, bad finances, conflicts, the aims of the English mission and the biases of the English Jesuits were undermining factors. Before discussing these negative issues, let us reconstruct the music program as it might have been carried out before it was stifled.

[19] Persons is writing to Paul Hoffaeus, Assistant to the German provinces. The German Assistancy included the mission territory of England. The college's Rector in 1587 was Agazzari's successor, William Holt, who was not renowned for his encouragement of music. The letter is found in *ARSI*, Germ., 167, fol.224–224v. The full text of the document is printed in KENNEDY, *Jesuits*, pp. 103–104.

[20] KENNEDY, *Jesuits*, p. 105.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF MUSICAL ACTIVITIES AT THE ENGLISH COLLEGE, 1579-1585

Only can a thicker description than that which is obtained from the Constitutions and account books of the college help us to reconstruct a picture of musical life there. The Jesuit Order is apostolic and, from the beginning, was very active in preaching, teaching Christian doctrine, giving retreats and doing mission work. Its association with education is well known. Structurally, there is strong emphasis on obedience under a Superior General who is elected for life.

The Constitutions of the Order make it very clear that the singing of Hours and the use of musical instruments is prohibited in Jesuit houses.[21] This was presumably due to the time taken away from apostolic works by music rehearsals, but another factor was Ignatius' wish to clearly distinguish Jesuits from monastics.[22] However, music was needed to attract outsiders to the colleges, to meet the needs of the students who required some training in ecclesiastical singing, and to help spread the doctrines of the Counter-Reform.

Apart from the liturgy, publicly enacted religious dramas (a unique feature of Jesuit musical activity in the colleges) and disputations on theology and philosophy also required music. Ironically, the Jesuits were creating in their colleges additional venues for music, while trying at the same time to censure it. At various times in the early years, the Society's authorities attempted to limit or standardize musical performances in the colleges, but this too was extremely difficult to achieve. The Society eventually bowed to regional musical traditions. Again, to quote Thomas Frank Kennedy, S.J.: "Flexibility and rigidity are two sides of the same Counter-Reformation coin."[23]

Eventually the situation was partially resolved by allowing a substantial musical tradition to evolve in many European colleges, with the *proviso* that professed members be exempted from musical obligations. In other words, the Jesuits salvaged the original aims of the Society by disassociating themselves from what they could not keep from happening in their own institutions. More precisely: if there was going to be a substantial amount of music in any given college, outsiders had to be engaged to direct choir, play the organ, and lead the singing. If concessions had to be made and the Mass and Vespers sung, Ignatius favoured *falsobordone*, because it had the advantage of contrasting with monastic singing, drew more people to the liturgy and allowed the text to come out clearly: "If it is discerned that singing ought to be undertaken then he [Ignatius] has reserved the type of

[21] See G.E. GANSS, trans., *St. Ignatius Loyola, the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, St. Louis, 1970, p. 160.

[22] GANSS, *Ignatius*, p. 261.

[23] T.F. KENNEDY, S.J., *Jesuits and Music: Reconsidering the Early Years*, in *Studi Musicali*, 17/1 (1988), p. 72.

singing. Thus he has decided that [...] they not use that simple chant [i.e. Gregorian chant], but rather that more simple figured singing which they call falsobordone, that the people may be drawn to the sacred Offices."[24] The use of *falsobordone* also fitted in perfectly with the recommendations of the Council of Trent concerning the performance of liturgical music.[25]

After this first concession had been made to choral singing, the door was open. Simplicity of style was important, but more powerful were regional traditions. Rome, of course, had to lead the way and, encouraged by the Pope, the performance of music in the Roman colleges grew in complexity and frequency. Thus Paul IV, who saw the Jesuits as a precious asset to the Counter-Reform, imposed on them his idea of choir which meant, according to the irascible Pontiff, that even the professed Fathers should chant the Office. The conflict that grew out of these opposing views of the Pope and the Jesuits was only resolved by Paul IV's death soon after he made the pronouncement.[26]

The success of the Roman colleges prompted Pius IV to institute, in 1564, a seminary that would serve as a model according to the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Pope removed the responsibility for the existing seminary from the Roman Curia and gave it over to the Jesuits, amid much conflict (conflict was also the order of day when the English College was re-founded under Jesuits). The organizational structure of the Roman college system revolved around the Roman Seminary; although the other colleges maintained their own musical traditions, communication between musicians working in one or the other institution was not only possible, but probable.

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina was maestro di cappella at the Roman Seminary in 1566 and was succeeded in 1571 by Tomas Luis da Victoria, who came from the German College where he had held the same post. Given the contributions of composers as accomplished and respected as these, there can be no doubt that polyphonic music was seriously cultivated in Jesuit colleges in Rome. This state of affairs was a significant departure from the original aims of the Society. In fact, the apostolic mission, the highly-structured academic program, and the liturgical and para-liturgical requirements of these colleges all combined to provide more than one channel for the performance of music, as is succinctly described in the following passage: "The Society used music within its apostolic works in four principal ways: in the liturgical and paraliturgical music performed

[24] KENNEDY, *Jesuits*, p. 78. The original text in latin is in *MHSJ, Chronicam Polanci*, 6 (1980), p. 89. It is a report of what happened in 1556 after Ignatius' consultation with Jesuits of the *casa professa* on musical matters in the colleges.

[25] *Falsobordoni* are choral pieces based on Gregorian psalm tones. Because of their homophonic style, their texts are clearly understood. Cf. M.C. BRADSHAW, *The Falsobordone, a Study in Renaissance and Baroque Music*, Stuttgart, 1978, p. 46.

[26] For a full description of the crisis, which occurred in 1559, see *AHSI*, 40, pp. 216-232.

within the churches and colleges of the Society; in the dramatic productions mounted in the Jesuit colleges; in the academic assemblies and public disputations of the colleges; and in the Marian Congregations which were pious societies of students within the colleges."[27]

For reasons described earlier, an organist's functions at the English college must be reconstructed from sources other than the college's own records. To begin in Rome, the *Annali del Seminario Romano* shed some light on these functions.[28] Documents from the late 1579's in these archives show that there was a hierarchy in the music staff at the Seminary: a choirmaster, hired from the outside, governed the music program; a rehearsal director, usually a cleric from inside the institution, assisted the choirmaster; and an organist, an outsider, provided music as required by the choir and taught organ to those students who were judged capable of learning. These are the organist's duties: "Every morning the organist will find himself present for Mass in the seminary. He will give organ lessons after first table, morning and evening, until the end of recreation and he will be told who ought to learn to play. On all Saturdays of the year and on Vigils of Our Lady, as well as other first-class feasts, he will be present at the Litanies in the Seminary."[29]

Another set of documents, this time concerning colleges outside Rome and drawn up for presentation to Jesuit authorities, contains valuable evidence of musical performance within the liturgy. In the absence of similar details in archives relating to Roman colleges, and considering that Jesuit authorities desired (if they could not always enforce) uniformity in their college system, this information can be safely applied to the English College.[30]

The documents relate that Mass was sung with varying amounts of music according to the solemnity of the feast. For a first-class feast such as Christmas, Epiphany or Easter, the *Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei* and *Deo Gratias* were sung in polyphony. A motet was introduced if the Mass was long enough. Second-class feasts such as those of the Saints and Apostles combined chant, *falsobordone* and polyphony. Third-class feasts (Sundays and the feasts of certain martyrs, confessors and virgins) called for the entire service to be sung in Gregorian chant.[31]

For the Offices, first and second Vespers of second-class feasts used less polyphony than the Mass. Third-class feasts involved only second Vespers, and here

[27] KENNEDY, *Reconsidering*, p. 73.

[28] The *Annali* were compiled by Girolamo Nappi, S.J., from 1640 to 1647. They are preserved in the *Archivio Pontifica Universita Gregoriana*, 142. The documents are printed in *AHSI*, 32 (1962). Excerpts are translated in KENNEDY, *Jesuits*, pp. 144ff. The *Annali* cover events at the Roman Seminary from its foundation to the mid-1640's.

[29] KENNEDY, *Jesuits*, p. 122.

[30] The documents are contained in *ARSI, Roma, Fondo Gesuitico presso la curia*, 1486 (*Collegia/13*). Passages are translated in KENNEDY, *Jesuits*, pp. 83ff.

[31] *In solemnitatis demum tertiae classis omnia forma Gregoriana cantri decantur* (*ARSI, Roma*, int. 4, W 25, fol.1v).

Gregorian chant was used instead of polyphony. Only the *Te Deum* at Matins was sung in polyphony at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Assumption and All Saints. The *Benedictus* at Lauds was sung in *falsobordone*, and the Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary could be sung in polyphony after Matins, if desired. The Gradual, Offertory, Communion and *Deo Gratias* verses could all be replaced on occasion with a motet.

Again according to the documents from provincial Assistancies, light music was not to be used. All motets had to be pious, serious and devout. They had to be diligently practised and not sung for the first time at the Mass. The choirmaster did not sing with the choir, which in Jesuit colleges was small (two or three singers on each part). The organist played the *Introit, Kyrie, Agnus Dei* and *Gloria Patri* with the choir, *alternatim*.

Although they concern mainly choir, these documents give some indication of the organist's role: he is third in order of importance after the *maestro di cappella* and the choir's rehearsal director; he teaches students to play the organ; and his presence is required for *alternatim* performance of parts of the Mass Ordinary. There is no room for elaborate organ solos; indeed, on regular days, "no permission may be given to use in our churches and schools where the daily office is sung, the large organ or even a small substitute moveable one, and no other musical instruments whatever."[32]

Philips scholar John Steele has aptly remarked: "Considering Philips' 30 years as a professional organist, his legacy in this genre is disappointing."[33] In view of the details just provided however, it becomes obvious that Philips would have had very little occasion to perform one of his own compositions in any one of the musical venues at the English College. It must also be remembered that the Jesuit institutions were at the very front line of the Counter-Reform, and that the Order was anxious to foster the decrees of the Council of Trent. Philips' next employers were the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, who effectively saw themselves as the spearhead of the Counter Reform in Northern Europe. Among other things, they sanctioned many Jesuit publications, including one to which Philips himself collaborated, *Les Rossignols spirituels*.[34] In view of these facts, the compos-

[32] The passage appears in the section entitled *Admonitio* in a document from 1587 written by Father Hoffaeus, *De ratione cantus in nostriis ecclesiis*. Translated in KENNEDY, *Jesuits*, p. 100.

[33] J. STEELE, art. *Philips, Peter*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. SADIE, 8, London, 1980, pp. 650–656.

[34] P. PHILIPS, *Les Rossignols spirituels*, Valenciennes, 1616. This collection of pious songs set by Philips is also the single source for Palestrina's Magnificat Antiphon of second Vespers on the feast of Assumption, *Hodie Maria Virgo coelos ascendit*. See L. PIKE, *Peter Philips' Les Rossignols spirituels*, in *The Consort*, 27 (1971), pp. 50–63.

er's keyboard oeuvre is naturally concentrated in the thirty four or so works designed for the virginals, and not in liturgical organ works (of which only one ascribed to Philips survives).[35]

PHILIPS AND COUNTER-REFORM POLITICS

It is not my purpose in this section to prove beyond a doubt that Peter Philips was a spy or that Jesuit colleges were the breeding ground for covert operations. However, a better understanding of Philips' efforts to survive as an exile in an extremely difficult political and religious context might colour what few details of his biography survive. As for the Jesuits, the phenomenal growth of their institutions (over four hundred colleges throughout Europe by 1600) is a certain indication that they had tapped the vein of the Counter-Reform.

As regards the English problem, Ignatius could not have predicted the scenario of intrigue that developed in the colleges in the late 1570's – after all, he died three years before Elizabeth's accession. The Society had put much effort into stemming the tide of Luther's reforms: the German Assistancy was a strong focus of the Order's early mission. But the English question developed a different configuration. Beginning in the early 1560's, large numbers of English exiles arrived on the Continent. They formed a community whose acknowledged leaders, the Jesuits William Allen and Robert Persons, purposed to re-instate a Catholic government in England with the help of Spain, France and the Holy See. On the heels of these exiles were the spies and *agents provocateurs* of Secretary Walsingham. Walsingham's principal targets were the Jesuit colleges, which served as ports of call for the exiles. Owing in large part to the undermining efforts of these agents, divisions among the exiled community began to appear by the late 1570's, and the focus of the conflict was the English College, Rome.

At the centre of the controversy were Allen, Persons and a Welsh prelate, Owen Lewis. Lewis had been a fellow of New College, Oxford when the religious changes introduced by Elizabeth forced him to retire to Flanders about 1562. Lewis was nominated Regius Professor of canon law in the recently-founded college of Douai. Further promotions let to his appointment to the Archdeanery of Haineault and to a canonry at the Metropolitan See of Cambrai. In 1574 he won the favour of Gregory XIII for his help with a lawsuit in Rome, after which he became a leading adviser to the Pope in all matters which concerned England. Having helped Allen in the foundation of the Seminary at Douai and its later removal to Rheims, Lewis was instrumental in the foundation of the English

[35] *Veni Creator Spiritus* (twelve versets, in Oxford, Christ Church College ms. 89, fols. 21-27). The piece is mis-titled, for the bass melody is actually a Whitsun sequence, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.

College in Rome. Through his influence, his friend and fellow Welshman, Dr. Maurice Clenog, who had been a chaplain at the English hospice, was chosen to direct the new college. Troubles soon arose between the college's English and Welsh students, whom Clenog was accused of favouring at the expense of the English. Students also claimed that their Jesuit superiors were making use of the college to attract promising young men to their own order, and directing their energies away from the English mission.[36]

At the invitation of Persons, Dr. Allen came to Rome to reconcile the conflicting interests. He urged upon the General of the Society, as a measure of reconciliation, to send some of the Jesuits into England as auxiliaries of the secular clergy. Thus Persons and Edmund Campion were sent to England with special faculties granted to them by the Pope, a mission that ended with the martyrdom of Campion. Persons returned to Paris after taking refuge at the headquarters of Bernardino De Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London. Mendoza instilled in Persons a bias toward political intrigue that was to mark every step of his subsequent career.

The upshot of the conflict was that Clenog was dismissed, Lewis was promoted up and away to Milan and, following pressures exercised by Allen, the English College was placed entirely under Jesuit government and re-founded with new statutes by virtue of the Papal Bull of 1579 discussed earlier.

Our attention now shifts over to Paris and on two shadowy figures of the exiled community, Thomas Morgan and his friend, Charles Paget. It will be recalled that Mary, Queen of Scots, after her defeat at Langside by her rebellious subjects in May of 1568, fled to England and there began her years of imprisonment by the English Government which ended with her execution in February of 1587 amid the government-fomented Babington plot. The Queen of Scots' first gaoler was the Earl of Shrewsbury, and it was Thomas Morgan who was engaged as Shrewsbury's secretary. While thus employed, Morgan gave information to Mary of the intrigues against her at the English court, as well as directing her secret correspondence. These dealings of Morgan were soon exposed and, after a short term of imprisonment, he fled to Paris in 1575. In view of later developments, it is important to keep in mind that Morgan, rather than working for Mary, may have been infiltrating the Queen of Scots' immediate circle at Walsingham's behest. After all, much lesser conspiracies had deserved much greater punishment than a short term in prison. Indeed, the practice of staging imprisonments was a favourite tactic of Walsingham's.

About 1580, Morgan was appointed cipher clerk to the Queen of Scots' ambassador in Paris, the Archbishop of Glasgow. By thus controlling her corres-

[36] A number of documents concerning this episode are printed in R. PERSONS, *Domesticall Difficulties*, in *CRS*, 2, pp. 85ff. Also, in J.H. POLLEN, S.J., *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1920, pp. 271ff.

pondence, Morgan acquired an even greater position of trust with Mary. Morgan was joined in Paris in 1581 by Charles Paget, the fourth son of William, second Baron Paget. Morgan and Paget became intimate friends. As early as July of 1581, Paget had an interview in Paris with Walsingham, and his correspondence with Elizabeth's councillors as well as his double-dealings as a Catholic recusant impostor are well documented.[37]

Having gained control over the Queen of Scots' correspondence, Morgan and Paget now assumed the administration of her French dowry, the considerable sum of 30,000 crowns *per annum*. Allen, Persons and other Catholic leaders in Paris such as the Duke of Guise, Glasgow, the Papal Nuncio, and the Spanish Ambassador began to view Morgan and Paget with suspicion. This group of Catholics held conferences in Paris in early 1582 to consider a plan of invasion concocted by Earl of Lennox, and they excluded Morgan and Paget from their meetings.[38] The two took umbrage on account of it, and became the leaders of the opposition to Dr. Allen and Persons, the so-called Welsh faction, named after the conflict which had originated with Owen Lewis at the English College.

"There were living in Paris two English gentlemen, servants (as they kept asserting) of the Queen of Scots, one named Charles Paget, brother of Lord Paget, the other Thomas Morgan, A Welshman, who had been a servant to the said Queen in Shrewsbury's house. They took it very ill that they had not been called to the conference which had been convened by the Apostolic Nuncio and other lords, or a least that the affair had not been communicated to them, while its execution had been entrusted to two Fathers of the Society. The truth is that the Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Glasgow did not consider these two men as trustworthy, fearing lest they might hold secret correspondence with some of the council in England, though the said Queen of Scots trusted greatly in them contrary to the wish and opinion of the said Duke and Archbishop, her Ambassadors."[39]

Morgan and Paget, thus alienated from the Jesuits, sought revenge by undermining affairs at the English College. Owen Lewis, by the removal of his friend Maurice Clenog and the assignment of the college to the Jesuits, was also alienated from the Society and from Allen. According to Robert Persons, the transfer of the English College to the Jesuits.

[37] Robert Persons wrote copiously about Paget, esp. in *Responsiones ad praecipuas calumnias Caroli Pageti* (1598) (*Vat. Arch. Nunz. Diverse*, 264, fol.229). Charles Paget's career is summarized in L. HICKS, S.J., *An Elizabethan Problem*, London, 1964, pp. 7-11.

[38] Lennox was James IV of Scotland's cousin, Esmé Stuart, Lord d'Aubigny. Encouraged by Mendoza, Lennox had brought about the fall of the English Party in Scotland in 1581. He drew up a plan for the invasion of England through Scotland by foreign troops, to restore the old faith and set the Q. of S. free. See HICKS, *Problem*, p. 14.

[39] R. PERSONS, *Notes Concerning the English Mission*, in *CRS*, 4, p. 63.

"[...] did put such a pike in the Archdeacon [Owen Lewis] and his nephew [who had been expelled from the English College in the imbroglio] as they were never taken to be well united more unto the College, but what scholar soever (especially if he were of their country) had any dislike or complaint against his superior, he knew ever where to have recourse and where to be moved. And soon after in Paris two other gentlemen named Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan joined themselves in the same league, and little by little drew in others both within and without the College, so as hereof began the very first root, as it were, of the great differences that have fallen out since that time among Catholics of our nation."[40]

A letter from the Jesuit Dr. Barrett in Rheims to Rector Agazzari provides a glimpse of the devastation caused by these conflicts both in the English College and in the exiled community at large. Barrett is writing about his observations of an English pensioner of the Pope and partisan of Lewis' faction, Salomon Aldred:

"[...] And the attitude of mind revealed toward some of ours [at the college in Rheims] as well as some of yours [at the college in Rome] I fear, he has derived from another source, namely from that which has infected the College from its foundation, and has spread far and wide to other parts."[41]

On 23 November 1583, it was Charles Paget's eldest brother, Lord Thomas Paget, who fled England after the discovery of the Throckmorton Conspiracy.[42] He went first to Paris and joined Charles and his circle of Catholic exiles, staying in France until February of 1585, when he left for Rome, as it seems, to obtain a pension from the Holy See.[43] In Rome he repaired to the English College, which records his stay from 22 February to 19 March 1585.[44] He seems to have met (not surprisingly) with a cold reception there. He arrived with two servants, and left with Peter Philips in his retinue.

Thomas Paget was not successful in obtaining a pension from the Pope, and he proceeded to Spain to obtain the money from another pension granted him a year earlier by the King of Spain. Why did Paget, apparently in need of money, take on Peter Philips? Was he in league with his brother Charles and with Thomas

[40] PERSONS, *Domesticall Difficulties*, p. 88.

[41] *Barrett to Agazzari, Rheims, 16 November 1582*, in T.F. KNOX, *Records of the English Catholics under Penal Laws; I-The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, London, 1882, p. 320.

[42] Francis Throckmorton was arrested on 7 november 1583 on suspicion of having conveyed letters to and from the Q. of S., and on other trumped-up charges following a search of his chambers by Walsingham's men. The affair seems to have precipitated Thomas Paget's departure to France, but other sources state that the trip had been planned for a year and a half (*CRS*, 21, pp. 121-122).

[43] There are several papers in the *PRO* showing Lord Paget's attempts to obtain money in the form of a pension (*PRO*, Transcripts 31/9, Bundle 81. Translated in HICKS, *Problem*, p. 174, n. 500).

[44] *RESPJ*, 6, p. 556.

Morgan who, from their headquarters in Paris and using money from the Queen of Scots' dowry, were fomenting trouble in the Jesuit colleges and recruiting members to their faction? Did Philips, now in desperate straits because of cutbacks in the music program of the English College, throw in his lot with the Morgan/Paget faction? A re-examination of events leading to Philips' arrest in 1593 will provide some answers to these questions.

The triumph of Walsingham and his spies in the Babington plot, the infiltration of recusant circles, and the execution in 1587 of the Queen of Scots all added to the division and disarray among Catholics all over Europe. After Mary's death, the focus of covert activities shifted from Paris and Rome to Antwerp and Brussels, along the front lines of the British army's indecisive progress in the Low Countries. In this war the Duke of Parma lead the Spanish military campaign.[45] One of Parma's principal *hommes de guerre* was Colonel William Stanley, an English exile and later a valued member of the Archduke Albert's war council. This William Stanley had been highly regarded as an English military leader, but he deserted the British forces on 29 January 1587, dealing a huge blow to the English campaign. Colonel Stanley was also the cousin of Ferdinando Stanley, the fourth Earl of Derby, whom Persons included in his roster of candidates for the succession. Thus William Stanley naturally became the focus of British covert operations in the Netherlands.

Francis Walsingham and his successors Robert Cecil (Lord Burghley, son of William Cecil), the Earl of Essex, and Thomas Heneage, had agents mingling with the English exiles who now gathered around the Brussels court of the Duke of Parma. Among these exiles we find Thomas and Charles Paget, and Peter Philips. Robert Persons, now Rector of the English College, is a frequent visitor to Parma's court in his indefatigable pursuit and promotion of Catholic successors to the throne of England.

When Lord Paget died in Brussels in 1590, Philips went to live in Antwerp and began in earnest what was to become a highly successful career. In 1591 he married into a prominent family of art dealers and maintained himself by work-

[45] The Duke of Parma was Alessandro Farnese, who bore the same name as his uncle, the third Cardinal Farnese.

ing as a music master to children.[46]

In September of 1593, Philips made a trip to Amsterdam, allegedly for musical purposes.[47] In the port city of Middleburg where he had stopped on his way back home to Antwerp, Philips was intercepted and denounced by an English informer as being involved in an assassination plot against Queen Elizabeth, as well as dealing with Spanish forces to deliver the town of Ostend. Another Englishman found in the company of Philips, Robert Poley, was also denounced by the informer whose name was Roger Walton. Philips, Poley and Walton were arrested by Dutch authorities and brought to the Hague for questioning on 22 September. All three were imprisoned. Poley was immediately let go, Walton was confined several months and returned to England, and Philips was detained until 1 November 1593, after which he was released with a caution not to leave his place of residence.[48]

It was the personal intervention of the Earl of Essex that caused the release of Philips, which is surprising in view of the fact that the agent for the Dutch United Provinces dealing with the affair, Noel Caron, reported not to Essex, but to Cecil. This seemingly small detail bears examining, for it brings the other man, Robert Poley, into the picture.

To the student of the Elizabethan intelligence system, Robert Poley is a well-known figure. Not only was he a key player in the Babington plot as Walsingham's principal double-agent, an infiltrator of catholic circles at home and abroad. He was also present, just three months before Philips' arrest, at the mysterious death of the playwright Christopher Marlowe (who also worked for Walsingham and, after Walsingham's death in 1590, for Essex).[49] Poley was also the first government agent to be sent to the Queen of Scots' ambassador in Paris to re-open the chan-

[46] Philips wed Cornelia de Mompere on 26 May 1591. This fact was first discovered in the Antwerp Parish Archives by Maria-Helena Samoyski. See M.-H. SAMOYSKI, *Peter Philips, sa biographie, son oeuvre instrumentale*, unpublished Licentiate dissertation Catholic University of Louvain, 1965. The information did not appear in subsequent biographical notices until it was included in G. SPIESSENS, *De Antwerpse Periode van Peter Philips*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 7-8 (1990-91), pp. 108-121. See also, E. DUVERGER, *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw, vol. 1: 1600-1617*, Brussels, 1984, pp. 44-45. An entry dated 1 October 1601 describes the contents of the Philips' matrimonial home and reveals that Cornelia died in childbirth on 26 July 1592, and that their only daughter, Leonora, died on 20 December 1599. I am grateful to Ms. Katrien Steeland for bringing these documents to my attention.

[47] *To see and hear an excellent man of his faculties in Amsterdam*, (Gilpin to Burghley, 22 September 1593, *PRO, SP* 47, fol.62).

[48] According to the Catholic pamphleteer Richard Verstegan, Walton was *racked about the ciphers he had with Paget* (*Stonyhurst, Coll. P*, fol.153). Verstegan states that he got his information directly from Philips.

[49] On Marlowe and Poley, see F.S. BOAS, *Robert Poley: An Associate of Marlowe*, in *Nineteenth Century and After*, 1 (1928), and C. NICHOLL, *The Reckoning*, London, 1992.

nel for her secret correspondence. His first contacts in this mission were Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan. He knew Paget and Morgan very well, and he had likely met Lord Paget and Peter Philips, who resided in Paris for a full year and a half in 1587-1588, while Poley was tying up loose ends for Walsingham after the Babington affair. Writing to the Queen of Scots in 1586, Thomas Morgan relates: "Charles Paget and I recommend some English in London to the French ambassador, to do him pleasure and service there, and amongst others, one Robert Poley, who hath given me assurances to serve and honour your Majesty to his power, being but a poor gentleman."[50] This "poor gentleman" was in fact indispensable to the machinations of Walsingham that brought about the ruin of the Queen of Scots.

After Walsingham's death and the shift of covert activities to the Low Countries, Poley's territory was Antwerp, Brussels and the smaller port towns. By 1593, he was reporting to his immediate superior, the Earl of Essex, the man who issued Philips' release order.

Why did Robert Poley, a seasoned agent and a man of considerable abilities and obvious connections, let himself be ensnared in an affair as transparent and facile as that which occurred in September of 1593? The likelihood that the arrest and imprisonment of Philips was what it appeared to be on the surface falls entirely to the ground when it is considered that Walton too was a government agent who knew Robert Poley.[51] What is more likely is that Philips was being "prepared" by Poley, or at least approached by him, to engage in covert activities. By being "marked", through imprisonment for the Catholic cause, as a true Catholic sympathizer, Philips would more easily move in recusant circles without suspicion, especially considering his past with the Pagets. Reinforcing this view is the tried-and-true tactic of the English intelligence system which consisted of creating an Catholic 'identity' for agents by throwing them in prison for a while. We will never know, of course, if Philips agreed, for financial or other reasons, to become a spy. The deeper one goes into the maze of possibilities, the more delicate the issues become.

On 4 August 1597, Philips signed his certificate of residence at Brussels and entered the household of the Archduke Albert. On that very same day, Charles Paget signed a certificate of residence almost identical to that of Philips. Thus it

[50] Morgan to Q. of S., 18 January 1586. The letter is given in full in W. MURDIN ed., *Collection of State Papers*, London, 1759.

[51] Roger Walton is described by Verstegan as *a sometime page to the Earl of Northumberland* (*CRS*, 2, p. 204.). A less important agent than Poley, he was in France with him in 1586, reporting to Walsingham. He appears frequently in *PRO* Chamber Accounts between 1588 and 1593. Although it is possible Walton may have clashed with Poley (Walton was a Cecil agent, and Poley, an Essex man), the case is weak for an out-and-out denunciation of Poley who was, after all, working for the same interests.

appears that the two arrived in Brussels together.[52] It is difficult to say what led to Philips' promotion to the viceregal court. Certainly by contemporary accounts, his reputation was already widespread: Francis Meres, in his *Palladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury* of 1598, placed Philips among the greatest masters of Europe.[53] Perhaps Colonel William Stanley, to whom Philips dedicated his first book of eight-part madrigals in 1598, had something to do with the composer's promotion.

Charles Paget, whose name also figures in a work by Philips,[54] kept up a correspondence with Elizabeth's government. Later we find him in Paris giving information to the English Ambassador, who forwarded reports to Cecil. The Paget estates were restored to Charles on 13 July 1603, and James I granted him a substantial pension that same year.

Peter Philips stayed on in Brussels and continued his career as organist and composer at the Archdukes' court chapel, probably until his death in 1628. If indeed he was planted at the Brussels court to pass on information to the English government through Paget, it is unlikely this would have gone unsuspected for over thirty years. Perhaps certain covert activities at the Brussels court became less intense after the death of Elizabeth in 1603 and Paget's return to England, from which time Philips was able to devote all his energies to composing.[55]

On the other hand, beginning from the time he entered Lord Paget's service amid the great discord at the English College, Philips may have keenly experienced what Lord Burghley described in 1593: "I find the matter as in a labyrinth: easier to enter into it than to get out."

[52] *AGR, Papiers de l'état et de l'audience*, 1389T. Charles Paget's name also appears in the list of English exiles in Flanders who refused to sign the address of the English Fathers of the Society of Jesus. See KNOX, *Douay Diaries*, p. 408.

[53] F. MERES, *Palladis Tamia, or Wit's Treasury*, London, 1598, fol.288v.

[54] The *Pavan and Galliard Paget*, for keyboard. In a source now in Uppsala, the Pavan is named *Scharlabaget*, and the Galliard, *Scharbaget*, an obvious reference to Charles, not Thomas.

[55] According to archives of the Archdiocese of Brabant at Mechelen, Peter Philips was ordained in 1608, subsequent to taking minor orders and being raised to subdeacon and deacon. He received benefices in collegiate churches at Soignies, Tienen and Bethune from 1610 on. Further archival research may reveal his ultimate whereabouts.

The City and the Church

Music, Liturgy, and Government in late Seventeenth-Century Bologna

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Modern musicians and musicologists who study the baroque era have not often concentrated on late seventeenth-century sacred music. When they have, moreover, they have focused mainly on the so-called traditional values represented by the Venetian or the Roman schools. Early German musicology, with its desire for clarity and a generalized systematic approach, established strict distinctions between these two centers, categorizing the hundreds of the other cities and towns as stylistically dependent on or influenced by either Rome or Venice. However, recent research has shown that 'provincial' centers also had their own musical profiles, and the performers responded positively to the discovery of these new repertories. While not wholly independent of the mainstream stylistic traditions, many composers and *maestri di cappella* still developed a personal style, often creating a distinctive local tradition.

The musical chapel of the Basilica of San Petronio in Bologna was more prominent than that of other Italian churches, thanks to the development of the trumpet there as an instrument for sacred music, and to the evolution of instrumental music with trumpets and strings in the last third of the seventeenth century. While most of the editions published, both then and now, are collections of instrumental music, this part of the repertoire was barely 12% of the total output of the composers who worked in San Petronio.[1] Clearly, if musicians perform Bolognese music today, it will be primarily instrumental music or secular cantatas, and the same can be said about research on Bolognese music. With the exception of such scholars as Oscar Mischiati, Carlo Vitali, Peter Smith, Anne Schnoebelen,

[1] Out of a total of approximately 300 compositions written for San Petronio that I have been able to gather for the period 1674–1695, only 40 are purely instrumental, and that includes eight short organ sonatas. See M. VANSCHEEUWIJCK, *De religieuze muziekproduktie in de San Petronio-kerk ten tijde van Giovanni Paolo Colonna (1674-1695). Een onderzoek naar culturele, historische, liturgische en muzikale aspekten uit de Bolognese hoog-barok*, Diss. Universiteit Gent, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 401–411.

and others, most have worked exclusively on the trumpet school.[2] My purpose in this essay is not only to emphasize the importance as such of Bolognese sacred music over the instrumental production, but also to propose a research method in which the total available manuscript music in the church archives forms the basis for the construction of my hypothesis. My raw materials are, first, archival documents concerning services, duties of the musicians, payments to them, and son on; second, historical sources; and third, the local liturgy. Final results will show both what kind of music was played for which occasions and by what sort of musical ensembles, and what specific role Bologna played in late seventeenth-century music history.

Contrary to what many visitors to Bologna think, San Petronio is not the city's cathedral church; that honor belongs to San Pietro. The construction of the San Petronio basilica was decided by the Bolognese Senate in 1388. Two centuries earlier, in 1141, the body of the fifth-century bishop Petronius was discovered in the basilica of Santo Stefano (about 200m from the modern site of San Petronio), and of course the Church found in promoting and the publicizing the event an excellent fund-raising opportunity. Based on historical documents, a monk promptly created a legend which soon elevated Petronius to patron saint of the city. It was not until the late fourteenth century that Bologna had gained enough autonomy and privileges from the infinitely weakened pope - not yet returned from Avignon - to win his consent to build a huge temple to the patron saint as a reflection of the civil power of the Bolognese government.[3]

[2] See A. CAVICCHI, *Corelli e il violinismo bolognese*, in *Studi Corelliani*, 1 (1968), pp. 33-46; E.J. ENRICO, *The Orchestra at San Petronio in the Baroque Era*, Washington D.C., 1976; O. GAMBASSI, *La Cappella Musicale di S. Petronio. Maestri, organisti, cantori e strumentisti dal 1436 al 1920*, Firenze, 1987; G. GASPARI, *La Musica in San Petronio*, Bologna, 1870; O. MISCHIATI, *La Cappella Musicale e il suo archivio*, in *La Basilica di San Petronio*, Milano, 1983-1984, vol. 2, pp. 323-330; O. MISCHIATI, *La prassi musicale presso i canonici regolari del Ss Salvatore nei secoli XVI e XVII e i manoscritti polifonici della biblioteca musicali "G.B. Martini" di Bologna*, Rome, 1985; A. SCHNOEBELEN, *The Concerted Mass at S. Petronio in Bologna ca. 1660-1730. A Documentary and Liturgical Study*, Diss. Univerisity of Illinois, 1966; A. SCHNOEBELEN, *Performance Pratices at S. Petronio in the Baroque*, in *Acta Musicologica*, 41 (1969), pp. 37-53; A. SCHNOEBELEN, *Cazzati vs. Bologna*: 1657-1671, in *Musical Quarterly*, 57 (1971), pp. 26-39; A. SCHNOEBELEN, *Bologna 1580-1700*, in ed. C. PRICE, *The Early Baroque Era. From the late 16th century to the 1660's*, London, 1993, pp. 103-120; P. SMITH, *The Bolognese School*, in *Musical Times*, 109 (1968), pp. 27-29; P. SMITH, *Liturgical Music in Italy, 1660-1725*, in *New Oxford History of Music*, 5, Oxford, 1986, pp. 370-397; L.F. TAGLIAVINI, *La scuola musicale bolognese*, in *Accademia Musicale Chigiana*, 9 (1956), pp. 16-23; C. VITALI, G.P. *Colonna maestro di cappella dell'Oratorio filippino in Bologna – Contributi bio-bibliographici*, in *Revista Italiana di Musicologia*, 14 (1979), pp. 128-154.

[3] See VAN SCHEEUWIJCK, *Religieuze muziekproduktie*, vol. 1, pp. 93-102 and M. FANTI, *La Fabbrica di S. Petronio in Bologna dal IV al XX secolo. Storia di una instituzione*, Rome, 1980, pp. 1-55.

In 1390 architect Antonio di Vincenzo was charged with drawing up plans for the new church. Unusually for most churches (but typical for its civil function), the Gothic church was built on a north-south orientation with its facade on the Piazza Maggiore (to the north) next to other civic *palazzi*, such as the *Palazzo dei Notai* and the *Palazzo Communale*, residence of the *Anziani*.[4] Although building campaigns went on until 1674, the church was never finished. Only the nave with six arcades was built; the sixth of these became the large choir, when a semi-circular apse was added to it. Indeed, even the façade remains unfinished (see Figure 1).

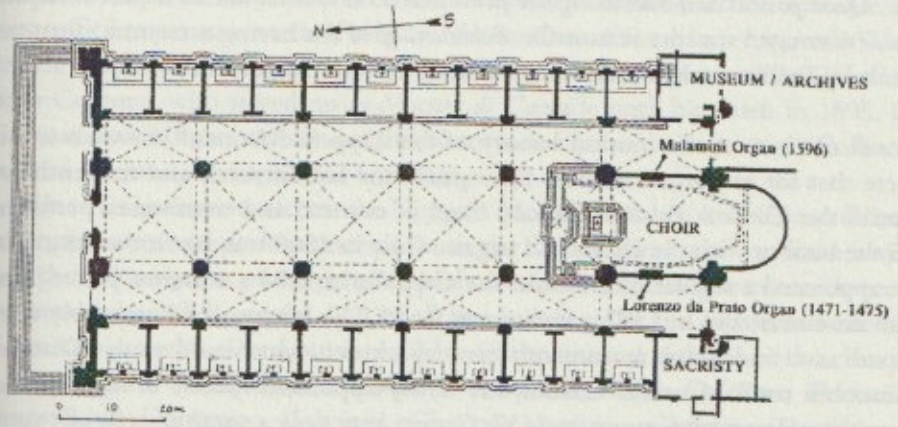

Figure 1. Bologna, the church of San Petronio

[4] During the period in which the city was part of the Papal States the highest authority of the Bolognese government was ultimately the Pope. An archbishop represented him *in loco* for religious affairs, and a legate and a vice-legate (both ecclesiastical) did for civil affairs. They were assisted by the *Rota* (who took care of law) and a group of fifty senators for all other affairs (the *Reggimento*, who exercised actual governmental power). Within the Senate, everyone was assigned rotating specific functions. The highest function was that of the *Gonfaloniere di Giustizia*, who was elected for two months along with eight *Anziani* and *Consoli*. Another institution within the Senate was the hierarchically lower group of the *Magistrato dei Collegi*, wich included the *Massari delle Arti* (elected for three months, representing and controlling the corporations) and the sixteen *Tribuni della Plebe* (elected for four months, representing the rest of the population). The senators who did not belong to any of these three groups were in charge of the different *Assonterie de Reggimento* and had a wide variety of responsabilities such as the militia, water services, taxes, university, city maintenance, the vestry board of San Petronio, etc.

On 4 October 1436 a musical chapel was officially installed by pope Eugene IV.[5] Six days later a list of twenty-four paid clerics had already been compiled. *Don Bartolomeo da Zenoa mastro de canto che insignia a li cherixi colegiadi in San Petronio* can be considered the first chapel master.[6] Cardinal Capranica elevated the basilica to collegiate church in 1464 with a chapter of eighteen chaplains.[7] Seven years later, in 1471, the vestry board or *Fabbriceria* – a group of senators – decided to finance the construction of a 24-foot organ with ten independent stops by the Tuscan builder Lorenzo di Giacomo from Prato. Finished in 1475 and restored by Facchetti in 1531, the instrument is still intact, and is now located *in cornu epistolae. Quod possint cum duobus organis fieri concertus et chori ac musica duplex et responsiva ac alternata*,[8] was the reason the *Fabbriceri* gave for having a second instrument built by Baldassare Malamini in 1596, now on the Gospel-side.

I will not retrace the musical history of the *Cappella Musicale*,[9] but wish to note here that for important services throughout the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the *Concerto Palatino*, the city band of cornetts and trombones, performed in the basilica with the choirs and organs. Only in 1560 was the first sackbut player appointed a regular musician in the *Cappella*; in 1574 a cornetto player joined the ensemble, and in 1582 a violinist as well.[10] The instrumental ensemble developed as a traditional seventeenth-century church wind band under Girolamo Giacobbi until Maurizio Cazzati, the newly-appointed *maestro di cappella*, thoroughly reformed the group in 1657. Cazzati kept only a small *cappella* of twenty-eight musicians: eleven singers, two organists, three violins, two alto violas, one tenor viola, two *Violoni* (i.e., one regular *violone*, being a large cello, and a *violone*

5 By Papal Bull, Bologna, Archivio di Stato, *Demaniale, Capitolo di S. Petronio, busta 5: [...] unum Primiceriatum, et unam scolasticam (scolastriam?), ac unam cantoriam, qua in ibi non dignitates, sed perpetua officia existant, nec non decem capellanias sine cura, quatuor puerorum clericorum seu viginti quatuor loca pro totidem pueris clericis in prefate Ecclesia, auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium instituimus, errigimus, et creamus.* "... with the apostolic authority we institute, elevate, and create by this occasion in the aforementioned church a chapter, a school (?) and a group of singers, who will not be there for ceremony alone but as a perpetual service; and also ten chaplains without responsabilities, of which one should be a sacristan pro tempore; and a college of twenty-four young clerics or twenty-four places for as many young clerics."

6 See I-Bsp, Archivio della Fabbriceria di San Petronio, *Libro Mastro*, cart. 512, fol. 319r: "Don Bartolomeo of Genoa, chapel master who teaches the collegiate clerics in San Petronio."

7 In the *Costituzioni Reatine "Ad ea libenter"* of 5 June 1464, Cardinal Angelo Capranica, bishop of Rieti, legate of Bologna and later *Cardinale reatino*, completed the clerical structure by adding a chapter of 31 laymen, later replaced by 18 chaplains.

8 "In order to perform vocal-instrumental music or vocal music, and double-choir music in dialogue with two organs." See MISCHIATI, *Cappella Musicale*, p. 324.

9 See MISCHIATI, *Cappella Musicale*, pp. 323-330; GAMBASSI, *S. Petronio*, pp. 9-44; VAN SCHEEUWIJCK, *Religieuze muziekproduktie*, vol. 1, pp. 138-177.

10 See GAMBASSI, *San Petronio*, pp. 76, 83, & 87.

grosso or a 16-foot double bass), one theorbo, one trombone, and four musicians whose instrument we do not know.[11] Cazzati was the first composer to use the trumpet in his compositions. When he reformed the chapel in 1657 virtually all musicians were fired, and only eleven were rehired following an audition.[12] The chapel had been characterized in the previous decades by tradition of nepotism, in which sons took over their fathers' place in the ensemble, regardless of their abilities. Cazzati, a 'foreigner' born in Luzzara, had been hired by the *Fabbriceria* to end this situation (not unlike Monteverdi in San Marco forty-four years earlier), but resentment quickly grew among the old musician families in the city. Eventually in 1666 they founded the *Accademia Filarmonica*, which was able to exert sufficient pressure on the *Fabbriceri* to have Cazzati forced to resign in 1671.[13] He was followed in 1674 by the Bolognese organist and organ-builder Giovanni Paolo Colonna, who stayed on as *Maestro di Cappella* until his death in 1695. In this essay I will focus mainly on the twenty-one years during which Colonna directed the musical chapel (1674–1695).

Since an institution such as the *Cappella Musicale* has as its only 'raison d'être' the organization and performance of music for the liturgical services in the basilica, a short description of the genres which occurred in the late seventeenth-century repertoire will be useful. Out of all the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts with sacred music available in the musical archives of the church – 154 boxes – only the composers Giovanni Paolo Colonna, Petronio Franceschini, Domenico Gabrielli, Giuseppe Jacchini, Giuseppe Torelli, and Giacomo Antonio Perti fit into the period I will consider.[14]

The complete output of these musicians for the church can be divided into two major categories: first, compositions in seventeenth-century *stile antico*, and second, music in *stile concertato*.[15] The first category contains compositions in the seventeenth-century version of the *stile osservato* or *alla Palestrina*; or works in traditional polyphonic style with four parts (one choir) or eight parts (two choirs) called *stile antico*. The music in *stile antico* represents approximately 28% of the total

[11] See I-Bsp, Archivio della Fabbriceria di San Petronio, *Mandati [di pagamento]*, cart. 602 (1630-1669), December 1658.

[12] These musicians were the organists L. Barbieri and G.C. Arresti; tenors P. Fontana, O. Cechi, and G. Monti; bass L. Ferri, violinists Ercole Gaibara and Giovanni Benvenuti; violist Reale de'Reali, theorbo player F. Bonini, and the former *maestro di cappella* A. Bertelli.

[13] See W. KLENZ, *Giovanni Maria Bononcini of Modena*, Durham, 1962, p. 45; A. SCHNOEBELEN, *Cazzati vs. Bologna*, p. 35; U. BRETT, *Music and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Italy. The Cazzati-Arresti Polemic*, New York – London, 1989; and VANSCHEEUWIJCK, *Religieuze muziekproduktie*, vol. 1, p. 88, note 221, and pp. 158–159.

[14] Respectively classified in the I-Bsp, Archivio Musicale di San Petronio under Lib. C.55 & 56, Lib. F.1-6, Lib. G.1, Lib. J.1, Lib. T.1-3, and Lib. P.1-6, 11-16 & 41-42.

[15] I exclude purely instrumental music (for ensemble or organ) and the omnipresent *cantus planus* with or without organ continuo (often performed in *falso bordone*).

output in San Petronio in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Colonna himself published seven collections (out of a total of twelve printed editions) of music in that style. Most of these masses, psalms, litanies, antiphons and motets only appear in print with vocal parts and one organ continuo in each choir. This does not mean however that music in the *stile antico* was exclusively performed with such a skeleton crew of musicians. According to the importance of the liturgical feast day – as we shall see later – the chapel master was supposed to add voices and instruments, since the printed part books were only a minimal summary of the contrapuntal material. An excellent example of this is the psalm *Memento Domine David, Salmo a 8 voci e strumenti*, published in Colonna's Opus I (*Salmi Brevi per tutto l'Anno a otto voci, con uno, o due Organi se piace*) in 1681, but also extant in manuscript.[16] A quick look at the parts is extremely revealing for performance practice in the basilica. The two choirs each have twenty part books (4S-4A-6T-6B), but in the first choir a violin plays the soprano part, an alto cornetto and three alto violas double the alto part, two tenor trombones and two tenor violas double the tenor part, two bass trombones and two *violoni grandi* and the first organ (the Gospel organ or *organo di concerto*) play the continuo. The same instruments play the same parts in the second choir, except for the soprano part, which is accompanied by three violins. This makes a total of forty vocal and thirty-nine instrumental parts.[17] Taking into account the possibility that more than one musician sang or played from the same part book, and the fact that space in the *cantoria* is sometimes exiguous, it is easy to imagine this psalm being performed by at least eighty and at most 140 musicians.[18] There is a strong emphasis (44%) on voices and instruments performing the bass parts; this fact relates directly to the acoustics of the building, which among other phenomena features a reverberation (N.b., not a echo) of approximately twelve seconds.

The second category of compositions includes the concerted music or music in *concertato* style, nearly 60% of the total musical output. This I divide into two subcategories: the small-scale concerted music and the large-scale *concertato* compositions. Under small-scale compositions I count masses, psalms, motets, lamentations etc. with one to four solo parts, without *ripieno*-choir and with an accom-

[16] In the catalogue of G.P. Colonna's compositions, compiled in VANSCHEEUWIJCK, *Religieuze muziekproduktie*, vol. 2, pp. 238-273, the printed version is numbered GPC.16; the manuscript (in I-Bsp, Archivio Musicale di San Petronio under *Lib.* C.56, 4) bears number GPC.16b.

[17] See M. VANSCHEEUWIJCK, *La cappella musicale di San Petronio ai tempi di Giovanni Paolo Colonna (1674-1695): esempio di organizzazione di una istituzione musicale*, in *La cappella musicale nell'Italia della Controriforma (Atti del Convegno, Cento 13/15-X-1989)*, ed. O. MISCHIATI & P. RUSSO, Firenze, 1993, pp. 303-324. On the partbooks, see p. 308.

[18] In addition to the archival documents and partbooks, iconographic sources such as the *Insignia degli Anziani* (vols. IX-XIII for the period from 1668 to 1741, in the Bolognese Archivio di Stato), give some valuable information about the vast number of musicians present in some of the most solemn masses and/or vesper services in San Petronio.

paniment of basso continuo only, or two violins, bass and continuo. An example of this would be Franceschini's *Laudate Pueri, Salmo à 4 voci, e 3 Istromenti* with four vocal part books and nine for the instruments,[19] or Colonna's *Laudate à 4 con violini* of 1675, for which ten part books were copied: four vocal parts, two violin parts, a cello, a double bass, a theorbo and organ.[20] Large-scale are all compositions with from one to four *ripieno* choirs (in four or five parts), soloists, instruments and from one to four continuo groups. Typical in San Petronio are psalms or masses set *a otto* or *a nove con trombe, violini e ripieni*. In this last case the score includes five vocal soloists and a full five-part *ripieno*-choir in the first group, four soloists and a four-part choir in the second, either trumpets or an instrumental concertino and a large five-part string ensemble, each of the four groups having its own independent continuo group. Often two *Positiv* organs were added in the *Cantoria* to the two large 24- and 16-foot instruments.

Most of Colonna's compositions are preserved only in scores copied in 1686 for the Austrian Emperor Leopold I,[21] which had meant the loss of precise information about instrumentation and number of performers. These scores are now in the Oesterreichische Nazionalbibliothek in Vienna. On their title pages we often find the number of parts copied for a performance; for example, a *Beatus A 9 voci, con Violini, et Trombe et Ripieni di Gio. Paolo Colonna/ Parti 92*, dated 1679, provides at least the general indication that ninety-two parts used to exist[22] (See Figure 2). Fortunately, Giacomo Antonio Perti bequeathed half the music he

[19] In I-Bsp, Archivio Musicale di San Petronio under *Lib.* F.4, 1. On the last folio a hand-written note mentions: *fù finita l'Anno 1674 del Mese di Luglio alle 12 per il caldo estivo.* The number of partbooks is mentioned on a separate note on the inside of the cover: *Parti che cantano: N°4: Strumenti N°9/ con suo spartito.*

[20] *Parti N°10/ Finito li 3 lulio 1675/ di/ Gio. Paolo Colonna*, (GPC.150; Ms. in A-Wn: *Cod.* 16784).

[21] Through his court musician in Innsbruck Carlo Bussier, Habsburg emperor Leopold I ordered transcriptions of most of Colonna's available sacred compositions for his private library. Those scores (almost a hundred leather-bound and extremely well-preserved volumes), were evidently copied by a San Petronio copyist. Carlo Bussier's letter to Colonna in broken Italian is preserved in I-Bc: P.142, n°40: *Mi excusi dell incomedo com questa mia lettre/ Io vengo per suplicare il V.S. Illus[t]ro/ delli suvi operi in Musica mandarmi unn/ Catalogum, di tutti li opere stampati, è li prezij/quel che costano. Io mi far venir, è ill pagamento./ Pagaro per li Sig. Mercanti che vengano alla fiera/ in Boglzan, o qui In Inspruck dal Sig. Giov/ Widenhueber Mercante e Sig. di Cambio. Subito/ per adesso si potessi haber subito Motetti à voce solla/ Soprano, com Instromenti, è senza, è/ per la chiesa, per la camera, e cosi anco Motetti/ voce sola di Basso, com Instromenti, e senza/ perla chiessa, è perla Camera, poi quando vengi ill catallogo, io compraro litanie, salmi messe/ Mottetti Simphonien Corrent. è altri compositioni/ di V.S. Illustrissimo, è com questo Io mi recomandi/ humilmente e facio Revverentia all Illustro Sigg. Sig. Patron Mio A di 22 7ber 1686 In Inspruck/ Carlo Bussier Musico di Corte S.S.C.M./ In Inspruck.*

[22] In A-Wn: *Cod.* 15544 (GPC.163).

wrote for San Petronio to the archives, so his autograph scores and the parts (in some cases of several versions) are still available.[23] Of his *Mottetto à cinque con Trombe, e Strumenti, GAP 'Ad jubila ad cantus'* (datable between 1690 and 1693), there are sixty-five parts for a first version and forty-six additional parts for a second version, probably performed in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

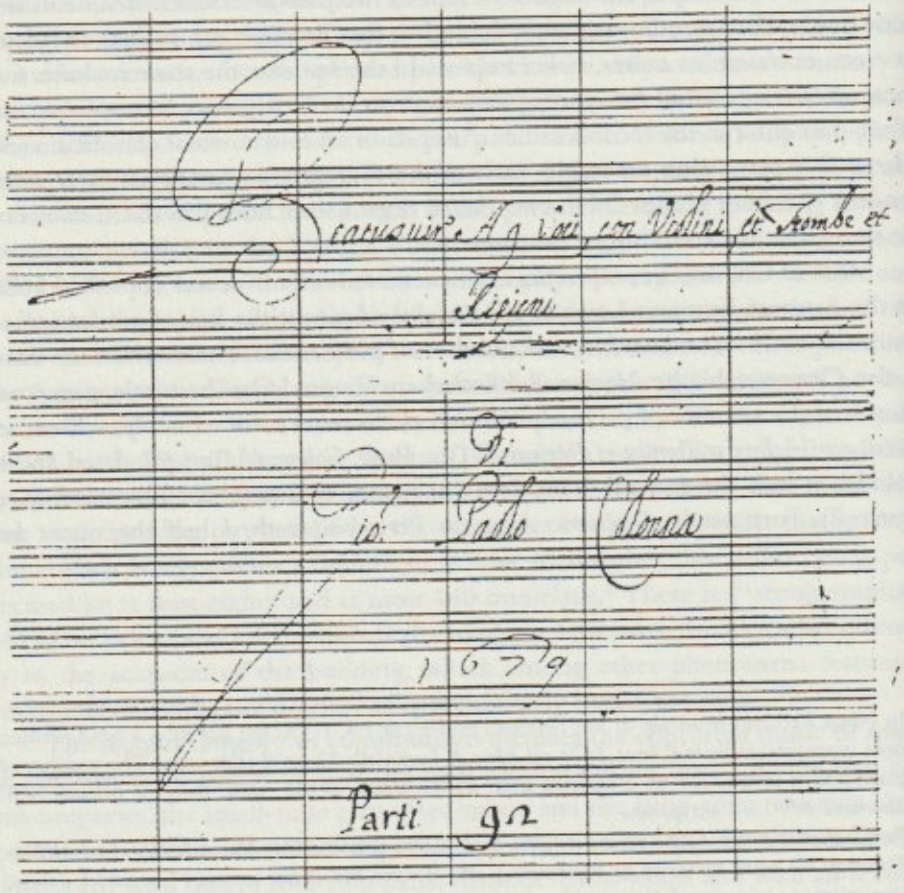

Figure 2. Giovanni Paolo Colonna, *Beatus A 9 voci, con Violini, te Trombe et Ripiene*, 1679

[23] Most of the preserved sacred compositions of Giacomo Antonio Perti (1660-1756, *maestro di cappella* from 1696 until his death) are in I-Bsp: Archivio Musicale di San Petronio: *Lib.* P 1-61. Upon his death, his former student Padre Giovanni Battista Martini and Perti's successor in San Petronio, Don Giuseppe Carretti divided his compositions in two halves according to Perti's will (dated 9 November 1754). The first half was left in the San Petronio musical archives, the other went to the Jesuit church of Santa Lucia where Perti had received his early education. Santa Lucia was suppressed in the early nineteenth century and most of Perti's music was lost, although part of it might have been added to the collection now in I-Bc (See L. BUSI, *Il Padre G.B. Martini, Musicista-letterato del secolo XVIII*, Bologna, 1891, pp. 136-138.)

I will not detail allthe instruments and voices, but the general organization is five solo parts, twenty-five vocal parts for the *ripieno* choir and thirty-five instrumental parts. Here again the bass group is approximately 45% (twenty-nine parts) of the entire ensemble.[24]

With these few examples it is clear that the scores, and in particular the part books, give us valuable information about which music was performed. For a more complete understanding of what musical life was in San Petronio in the late seventeenth century, we need to study various archival documents and compare them to the liturgical calendar used in the basilica. Earlier I emphasized the importance of San Petronio as a *chiesa cittadina*, a city church, governed more by the city Senate (see note 4) than by the church, although Bologna was part of the Papal States without interruption from 1506 until 1797. This political situation also profoundly affected the liturgy.

Through a comparative study of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, Antonio Masini's *Bologna Perlustrata*,[25] reports of festivities in the *Gazzetta di Bologna* and in chronicles, and documents in the musical and historic archives of San Petronio, I have reconstructed precisely which days the San Petronio clergy considered to be most important. The traditional ranking in *simplex* and *duplex* days is of course usually maintained in San Petronio. However, other civil celebrations, such as the anniversary of the senators, the anniversary of the death of two Bolognese popes Gregory XIII and Gregory XV, and – most important – the only *festa solennissima*, the feast of Saint Petronius on 4 October, are not included in the Roman liturgical calendar and occur only in San Petronio. This gradation is also reflected in a booklet published (probably by Cazzati) in 1658, entitled *Ordini Per la Musica*

[24] I-Bsp: Archivio Musicale di San Petronio: *Lib.* P.15. The two copyist's hands are identical to those in dated compositions by G. Torelli of 1692 and by A.M. Bononcini of 1693. Moreover the presence of the tenor viola part in tenor clef situates the composition during Colonna's tenure. The tenor part was typically copied in alto clef for a *Viola seconda* in the eighteenth-century version: string ensemble texture was exclusively four-part in San Petronio after 1700, except in cases such as the present one where older compositions were re-used.

[25] A. MASINI, *BOLOGNA Perlustrata. Terza impressione notabilmente accresciuta, in cui si fà mentione ogni giorno in perpetuo delle Fontini Sacre, e Profane di tutto l'Anno (…)*, Bologna, 1666; *Aggiunta alla Bologna perlustrata. Con i successi più memorabili doppo l'ultima stampa dell'Anno 1666*, Bologna, 1690; *Aggiunta alla seconda / terza parte*, MS s.d.n.l. : a guidebook for everything that happened in Bologna, with a strong emphasis on liturgical services, processions, etc.

dell'Insigne Collegiata di San Petronio: "Dovrà il Mastro di Cappella nel far la Musica haver riguardo di far differenza dalle feste più, e meno solenni, pero oltre alli giorni, che si farà Cappella dovrà anche far cantare sù gl'Organi nelli giorni descritti nel fine del presente libretto, & in altri ancora à suo beneplacito".[26]

It appears from this list that for some services only one organ was required; for others two; for others *si canta sugli organi*; and for others yet *si fa cappella*. The only *festa solennissima*, far more important than Easter and Christmas, was the 4 October, the feast of San Petronio, on which obviously *si fa[ceva] cappella*, *i.e.*, usually music in *concertato* style, often including trumpets. The whole ensemble also performed on *Feste Solenni*, services such as every day between Wednesday in the Holy Week trough Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, etc., or sixteen occasions altogether. For all other duplex feasts, *si canta[va] sugli organi*, meaning that double-choir polyphony in *stile antico* was performed by the choirs, the organs, and often instruments as well. On regular Sundays the choir sang *al leggile*, down in the choir; it performed mostly plainchant, or occasionally polyphony in four parts accompanied by one organ and a couple of bass instruments, as the huge choir books with music by Cazzati (preserved in the archives) can testify. A document in the *Decreta Congregationis* of 1701 confirms all the days in which the full *cappella* was supposed to perform during the liturgical year: twenty-four days for a

[26] "Concerning the music the chapel master will have to be careful to respect the difference between more or less solemn feasts. Apart from these days in which the entire musical chapel is supposed to participate, he will have the choirs sing with the organs on the balcony on the days described at the end of this booklet, and also on other days of his choice." See: *ORDINI Per la Musica dell'Insigne Collegiata di S. Petronio, Reformati d'ordine de gl'Illustrissimi Signiori Presidente, e Fabbricieri della Reverenda Fabbrica di essa*, Bologna, 1658, p. 10, last paragraph. (I-Bsp: 17, Stor. Eccl. Bol., cap. H15, n.22; reproduced in facsimile in VANSCHEEUWIJCK, *Religieuze muziekproduktie*, pp. 178-217, passim.)

total of forty-nine services.[27] To provide a clear synthesis of the annual activities of the musicians in the musical chapel of San Petronio, I have combined all these sources and organized them in Table 1 in decreasing order of musical forces (column 1), and for each feast-day (column 2) I mention all services and their sections to be set to music.[28]

[27] I-Bsp: Archivio della Fabbriceria di San Petronio, vol. 25: *Atti della Fabrica* (*Decreta Congregationis*), VII (1673–1704), fol. 165b (Friday, February 25th, 1701).

Le funzioni, à quali saranno obligati servire li sud[dett]i musici/ ogn'anno sono le infra[crit]te cioè, che in tutto sono n[umero] 48. [recte : 49]

primo giorno dell'anno	*funzioni No. 2*
epifania	*2*
purificatione della B.V.	*1*
Capella per Gregorio XV	*1*
Giorno delle Ceneri	*1*
Dopenica delle Palme	*1*
Mercordi santo	*1*
Giovedi Santo	*2*
Venerdi Santo	*2*
Sabato Santo	*2*
Dom[enic]a e Due feste di Pasqua	*6*
[fol. 166a] Rogazioni	*3*
Assenscione	*2*
Capella di Gregorio XIII	*1*
Pentecoste	*2*
Corpus D[omi]ni	*3*
S. Petronio	*4*
Capella d'Innocento IX	*1*
Giorno di tutti li santi	*2*
Giorni di morti	*1*
Anniversario de Sig[no]ri Senat[o]ri	*1*
Giorno (con il conseguire però p[er] questa la distributione si dà/ dalla Camisa) di S. Andrea per Clem[en]te VIII	*1*
Notte di Natale	*1*
Giorno di natale, di S. Steffano, e/ di S. Giovanni	*6*

[28] There are three services in the first category; sixteen in category 2a; twenty-five in category 2b; and in category 3. This adds up to a total of forty-eight services in which the complete *Cappella Musicale* was expected to participate. Categories 4 and 5 show seventy-four services (seventy-six from 1693 and seventy-eight from 1694) during which musicians performed down in the middle of the choir around the big lectern; twenty-three services with only one organist (category 6); and five undefined services (category 7). The total comes to 150 services annually (respectively 152 and 154) of which four were performed outside the Basilica. This figure does not include Saturdays and Sundays outside of Advent and Lent periods, nor 'regular' non-festive Saturdays and Sundays.

Table 1. Annual activities of the musicians in the music chapel of San Petronio

MUSICIANS	DAYS	SERVICES (PER GIVEN DAY)
1. *Solennissimo* services: Choir, all instruments trumpets, 2 organs	3/10	Vespers, *mottetto alla Testa*
	4/10	Mass – Vespers, motet for St Stephen
2a. *Si fa Cappella* services:		
Choir, all instruments, 2 organs. Obligatory (sanction: exclusion)	Wednesday in Holly Week	Matins: 1st Lament., Resp., Benedictus, Miserere (evenings)
	Maundy Thursday	Short Mass (Kyrie-Gloria) – motet at consecr. Pange lingua in procession – evenings Matins (same as Wednesday, 2nd Lament.)
	Good Friday	Mass and procession – motet at consecration – evenings: Matins (same as Wed., 3rd Lament.)
	Holy Saturday	Prophecy of Nebuchadnezar – Mass – Vespers – Complines – Marian motet
	Easter Day	Mass and sequentia – Vespers – Marian motet
	Easter Monday	Mass and seq. – Short Vespers (4 Ps.) – motet
	Easter Tuesday	Idem (3 Ps.)
	Rogation days	Veni Creator – Litanies during procession Tuesday: service in S.M. della Morte Wednesday: Te Deum – idem
2b. *Si canta sù gl'organi* services: Idem 2a. Obligatory (sanction: fines)	1/1, 6/1	Mass – Vespers, Marian motet
	9/2, 13/5, 29/10 (popes)	Mass
	1/11	Mass – Vespers – Sancti Dei omnes – Marian motet
	2/11, 3/11 (senators)	Mass – Motet at catafalque

	Tuesday: service in S.M. della Morte Wednesday: Te Deum - idem	
2b. *Si canta sù gl'organi* services: Idem 2a. Obligatory (sanction: fines)	1/1, 6/1	Mass – Vespers, Marian motet
	9/2, 13/5, 29/10 (popes)	Mass
	1/11	Mass – Vespers – Sancti Dei omnes – Marian motet
	2/11, 3/11 (senators)	Mass – Motet at catafalque
	30/11 (Paggi)	Mass – (Short Vespers: 4 Ps.)
	24/12	Te Deum – Night Mass
	25/12	Mass – Vespers, Marian motet
	26/12	Mass – Short Vespers (4 Ps.)
	27/12	Mass – Short Vespers (3 Ps.)
	Ash Wednesday	Pange lingua in procession
	Psalm Sunday	Antiphons in procession (?)
	Ascension	Mass – Vespers, Marian motet
	Pentecost	Mass and sequentia – Vespers
3. Choir, chapel (or part of it), 1 organ	2/2	Small cappella in City Hall
	Corpus Christi	Mass – Procession - Vespers
4. *Al leggile* services: Choir with (cornetts), sacjbuts, violoni, 2 organs	31/10, Whitsum Eve, Blessed Trinity Eve, Blessed Trinity Sunday	Vespers, Marian motet
	Ascension Eve	Complete Vespers
5. *Al leggile* services: Choir with (cornetts), sackbuts, violoni, 1 organ	5/1, 1/2, 2/7, 14/8, 7/9, 7/12 (Eve)	Complete Vespers, Marian motet
	17/1, 20/1, 24/2, 19/3, 25/4, 1/5, 3/5, 21/9, 29/9, 18/10, 28/10, 11/11, 28/12, every	Mass - Hymn and Magnificat

	Sunday except during Advent and Lent	
	2/2, (15/8), 8/9, 8/12, 31/12	Mass – Vespers, Marian motet
	24/3	Vespers in morning – Complines, Marian motet
	25/3	Mass – idem 24/3
	13/6, 24/6, 12/10, 21/11 (from 1694), 16/12 (from 1693)	Mass – Complete Vespers
	23/6, Vig. Corp. Christi	Complete Vespers
	28/6	Short Vespers (3 Ps.), Hymn, Magnificat
	29/6, 30/11	Idem (4 ps.)
	11/10	Vespers – Matins
	29/11, Passion Sunday	Hymn and Magnificat
	Every Saturday except during Advent and Lent	Litanies or Marian motet
	Whit Monday	Mass and sequentia – 4 Ps., Hymn, Magnificat, Marian motet
	Whit Tuesday	Idem - 3 Ps.
	Blessed Trinity Sunday	Matins: Te Deum, Hymn, Benedictus
	Vig. Oct. Corp. Christi	Matins
6. 1 organ only	3/2, 23/2, 12/3, 25/7, 26/7, 5/8, 10/8, 24/8, 28/8, 30/9, 7/12 (St Ambrose), 21/12, Oct. Corp. Christi	Mass
	30/4, 2/5, 24/7, 4/8, 9/8, 23/8, 20/9, 27/10, 20/12	Vespers (?)
7. Undefined: *con Musica or Solenne*; probably same as categories 4 or 5	4/2 or 25/6, 21/8, 31/8, 5/11, 6/11	Mass (?) [31/8: Mass for the Dead]

It is possible to gather still more detailed information by checking the payments to everyone who worked in or for the basilica, which are preserved in the *Liste e Ricevute*.[29] Here we find not only detailed lists of names and salaries of the musicians monthly paid, but also receipts for the expenses of the purchase of *carta rigata* (staff paper), of the copy work and the detailed account of what the paper was used for. In the *Liste e Ricevute* of the expenses for the San Petronio celebration of 1679, for example, we find in cart. 578, document No.7 (authenticated by the signatures of copyist Caldani and *Maestro di Cappella* Colonna), the following information:

Nota 7
Salmi, cioue Ripieni Copiati per la Festa di/ S. Petronio

Domine	*Fogli 26*
Instromenti, e Ripieni/ del Dixit	*Fogli 15*
Confitebor	*Fogli 11*
Beatus	*Fogli 48*
Instromenti, e Ripieni/ del Magnificat	*Fogli 40*
Instromenti, e Ripieni del/ Chirie, e Gloria	*Fogli 68*
In tutt'Fogli	*208*
à soldi 8 il Foglio/ importa	*£ 83.4*
Carta dà cantare Quinterni/ 12 à soldi 25 il quinterno	*£ 15*
e più per aver mandato/ Ioseppo à Modena per il/ Sigr. Siface	*£ 3.8*
	£ 101.12

[29] The *Liste e Ricevute* for the period 1674–1695 are found in I-Bsp: Archivio della Fabbriceria di San Petronio, cart. 578–580.

Corp. Christi | 30/4, 2/5, 24/7, 4/8, 9/8, 23/8, 20/9, 27/10, 20/12 | 4/2 or 25/6, 21/8, 31/8, 5/11, 6/11 | 7. Undefined: *con Musica or Solenne*; probably same as categories 4 or 5

Vespers (?) | Mass (?) [31/8: Mass for the Dead]

For the feast of Saint Petronius many singers and instrumentalists from other churches and cities were hired to augment the regular musical chapel. Moreover, 4 October was the only occasion for which trumpet players – who were never on the regular payroll at San Petronio – were hired; it is thus almost certain that most concerted music with trumpets was destined for that specific occasion. For instance, in 1679 almost 650 lire were spent for the music alone, to pay for eighty additional musicians[30] who – according to the *Mandati [di pagamento]* of October 1679 – served as regularly paid singers and instrumentalists.[31] By counting the numbers of parts of the music performed, the paper purchased for the copies, the payments to the musicians, and the number of regular and additional musicians, I found that most of the results agree. This reveals not only meticulous bookkeeping in San Petronio; through this coincidence of all available items, we can identify quite accurately the dates and performance practices of compositions for which not all such information is available.

For instance, returning to the *Beatus A 9 voci, con Violini, et Trombe et Ripieni* (GPI.163) mentioned above: we know that it was composed in 1679 for the feast of San Petronio, since it includes two trumpets. Moreover, when the composition was copied in score for Leopold I after 1686, it had ninety-two part books. Colonna composed the piece for two trumpets, five-part string ensemble, soprano solo, double choir (2 X SATB), and basso continuo. Given the high salary of Sesti (see note 30), we may assume that he sang the soprano solo part. The presence of both regular organists and Clemente Monari, who played a smaller organ hauled unto the high podium in the apse, suggest that each choir and the string ensemble had its own continuo organ. This of course means that the musicians were located in the only three large spaces available: logically the only possibility was to have the first choir on the Gospel-side and the second choir next to the old organ. Violinists probably played standing in the corridor behind the balcony in the back of the church, thus leaving space for the group of ripieno bass instruments such as trombones, cellos, and *violoni*, and maybe even the trumpets on the elevated podium in the apse. In combining the aforementioned data in the *Mandati* and those in the *Liste e Ricevute*, we know that nine soloists were used, fifty-seven ripieno singers, two trumpet players, three organists and fifty-two string players and at least three sackbut players, making a total of 123 performers

[30] Actually, this was to pay for 101 additional musicians among vocal and instrumental solists (including two trumpet players), and *ripieno* vocalists and instrumentalists. As a basis for comparison, as *Maestro di Cappella* Colonna earned 81 lire a month; the first organist (G.C. Arresti), 25 lire; the first violinist (L. Brugnoli), 22 lire. Sesti, problably a castrato soprano invited to sing in the three services on 3 and 4 October 1679, received 150 lire, whereas a regular choir singer earned 3 lire.

[31] See I-Bsp: Archivio della Fabbriceria di San Petronio, *Mandati [di pagamento]*, cart. 603, October 1679.

who may have participated in this *Beatus Vir* for which ninety-two parts were preserved, forty-eight of which at least had been copied for the additional musicians hired for the *festa solennissima*.[32]

These results are tremendously revealing, both for purely historical purposes and for performance practice, particularly since it is almost impossible to date compositions in San Petronio on the basis of a purely stylistic analysis. Even though the presence of an exceptionally good trumpet or cello player or bass singer may coincide with more virtuoso parts for these instruments or voice, the number of precisely dated compositions combined with that type of data is insufficient to make anything but precarious speculations regarding the chronology of undated works.

The San Petronio style has often been described as old-fashioned, transitional, not yet fully tonal. I contend however, that we do not give the music its full historical significance and aesthetic value if we analyze it from an evolutionary point of view, often based on *ex post facto* criteria of value. It is fundamental to consider these compositions not only in the light of the theoretical background from which they emerged[33] – which was still largely based on modality and *prima pratica* counterpoint, though adapted to seventeenth-century practices – but also in their historical, functional, and acoustic context. I would argue that some of the most important determinants of the compositional style in San Petronio are, first, the strong influence of the conservative *Accademia Filarmonica*, and second, the unique acoustic characteristics of the building.

[32] To assume that fifteen musicians shared their parts with a colleague is certainly not unrealistic, especially among *ripieno* violinists, violists, and cellists. Although only forty-eight *fogli* had been bought for transcribing music for the *Beatus Vir*, this does not mean that no parts were available yet: the document explicitly mentions instrumental and vocal *ripieno* parts. Most of them could have been written on one single four-page *foglio*. Also we do not precisely know what the twelve *quinterni di carta da cantare* were used for. If we hypothesize that the forty-eight sheets were each used for one single part, and that the nine solo parts, the two trumpet parts, the three organ parts, the parts for each of the ten instrumentalists of the *Cappella* (who probably were section leaders) already existed, this leaves us with twenty remaining parts (out of ninety-two mentioned in the score) which may have been made before, or added later on. Unfortunately, in the case of this composition the partbooks did not survive.

[33] Found in such theoretical treatises as L. PENNA (da Bologna), *Li primi albori musicali per li principianti della Musica Figurata*, Bologna, 1672; G.M. BONONCINI (Modanese), *Musico prattico*, Op. VIII, Bologna, 1673; B. BISMANTOVA, *Compendio Musicale*, MS Ferrara, 20 January 1677; reprint Firenze, 1983; and A. STRADELLA, *Libro de Primi Elementi*, MS dated 1694, I-Bc: E66. An excellent account of late seventeenth-century theory is given in R. GROTH, *Italienische Musiktheorie im 17. Jahrhundert, in Italienische Musiktheorie im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Antikenrezeption und Satzlehre, (Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, 7), Darmstadt, 1989, pp. 308-379. See also SCHNOEBELEN, *Bologna 1580-1700*, pp. 108-110.

Founded in 1666 by Count Vincenzo Carrati, the *Accademia dei Filarmonici* exerted a strong influence upon its composer members, who to be admitted needed to prove their skills in the art of counterpoint *in stile antico*. After Cazzati all composers and most instrumentalists and singers (at least the soloists) were members, and consequently their musical style was strongly determined by the weekly meetings and performances of the Academy. Moreover, all the composer members of the Academy had a chance each year to compare notes and listen to each other's large-scale sacred compositions during the mass and vespers for the annual celebration of the patron saint of the *Accademia*, Sant'Antonio di Padova, given during the summer in the church of San Giovanni in Monte in Bologna.[34] I should mention that the case of Bologna is not an isolated one: we can characterize the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in Italy as a revival of the classical counterpoint in *stile antico*. On the other hand, the acoustics of the basilica, with its nearly twelve-second reverberation time[35] and the strong presence of the pure major third as the fourth overtone, had two noticeable effects. First, it perpetuated the use of the Picardy third in every final chord of otherwise 'minor' movements. Secondly, it did not allow too many modulations, which explains the mainly slow harmonic rhythm in sections with a complex texture. Although fundamentally tonal, the harmony in the large-scale sacred works of Colonna and his colleagues is definitely determined both by the acoustics of the building and by a strong respect for the great masters of classical polyphony, Palestrina in particular. Colonna himself shows extreme faith in the precepts of the old (Palestrina) and 'new' Roman schools (his own teachers Abbatini, Carissimi and Benevoli) in his exchange of letters with Antimo Liberati regarding the polemic on the parallel fifths in Corelli's *Opus III* during the fall of 1685.[36]

[34] See O. GAMBASSI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Bologna. Fondazione, statuti e aggregazioni*, Firenze, 1992, pp. 271-304.

[35] This reverberation time is somewhat reduced (but only to about nine seconds) by the *addobbi* or cloth adornments fastened on the columns and in the arches of the church, on the balconies of the choir, and by the presence (if the Basilica is filled) of approximately ten thousand people.

[36] The original letters are lost, but they were copied around 1700 in a manuscript (I-Bc: D1) which Gaetano Gaspari transcribed again along with other sources in the mid-nineteenth century (I-Bc: D2). Colonna refers to his teachers on fol. 34v of MS D1 and also mentions the importance of the sound result of a composition in a given acoustic environment as opposed to the way it looks on paper (MS D1, fol. 40r-v). For a building such as San Petronio this remark is evidently of a fundamental interest.

There are some very obvious consequences of the physical characteristics which composers dealt with in their music. Both organs used to be tuned in mean-tone temperament, but Colonna was probably the first organ builder to experiment with a new tuning which allowed a greater number of acceptable keys.[37] Since the trumpets are usually in D (and only rarely in C), most of the music for the San Petronio feast-day is in D major or in the Dorian mode. Trumpets make an obviously great effect, but so do also soprano and bass solo voices, and solo violins. To overcome the loss of bass frequencies, the orchestra comprised from between 40 and 50% basses, including organs, cellos, *violoni*, double basses, trombones, bassoons, and theorboes.

Because of its celebratory function the music was mainly meant to be overwhelming and contrasted. Although the very complex counterpoint – which usually occurs in the final section of a composition – obviously did sound massive and overwhelming in the nave of the church, its clarity was not diminished in the choir, where city and church dignitaries attended services. Composers used contrasts in every possible way: between choir sections in *stile antico* and in *stile concertato*; in the instrumental timbres (trumpets and strings); between soloistic and *ripieno* settings in voices and instruments; between long melodic developments and the short, often dactylic passages; between consonant harmonies and chromatic passages; between fugal, imitative or pseudo-imitative and purely homorhythmic sections; etc. Sacred music in San Petronio also included a great deal of instrumental music such as the *Sonate, Sinfonie* or *Concerti* with one or two trumpets and strings by Petronio Franceschini, Domenico Gabrielli and Giuseppe Torelli, performed as an introduction for masses and solemn vespers and during parts of the proper such as the epistle, communion or *Ite missa est*.

While the music performed at San Petronio for regular or solemn feast-days was not fundamentally different from the style of other churches in Emilia Romagna at the end of the seventeenth century, the instrumental and particularly the vocal compositions created for the San Petronio feast-day were unique in

[37] After lightning damaged the two organs in San Petronio on 25 May 1674, Giovanni Paolo Colonna – who was also an organ builder – was hired by the *Fabbriceri* to tune the Malamini organ (400 lire paid on 29 April 1675; see I-Bsp, Archivio della Fabbriceria di S. Petronio, *Atti della Fabrica VII*, fol. 16a) and to restore the old instrument (2150 lire paid on 10 May 1675; *ibidem*, fol. 18b). Colonna probably made the mean-tone tuning less rigorous and removed the semitones during that major restoration. With the restoration done by the Tamburini-firm in 1974-1982 under the supervision of L.F. Tagliavini and O. Mischiati, the old organ has been brought back to its mean-tone temperament with the subsemitones as G.B. Facchetti had left the instrument in 1531. See O. MISCHIATI, *Profilo storico e lineamenti del restauro*, in ed. A. EMILIANI, *Il restauro degli organi di S.Petroni*, Bologna, 1982, pp. 13-28; and L.F. TAGLIAVINI, *Cronologia sommaria della storia organaria di S.Petronio*, in *Ibidem*, pp. 30-39.

their genre.[38] Many studies have pointed out the importance of the Bolognese trumpet concertos and sonatas for the further development of the late baroque concerto and instrumental sonata.[39] I would not hesitate to consider the vocal-instrumental concerted music of San Petronio as one of the most progressive high baroque connective tissues between the early concertato style of the Venetians and Romans, a tradition that goes through Vivaldi and Zelenka to Johann Sebastian Bach. Through its *Maestro di Cappella*, the San Petronio style of the late seventeenth century seems even to have had an impact on Haendel. When Vincent Novello published a *Domine ad adiuvandum* and an exerpt of a *Beatus Vir* from Colonna's psalm settings *Opus XII* in 1825, he wrote in his foreword that "It was the opinion of Dr. Boyce, that COLONNA was Handel's model for choruses accompanied with many instrumental parts different from the vocal. Dr. Boyce himself appears to have been a great admirer of the productions of COLONNA, as the Editor of the present Work has seen an extensive Collection of them in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, in Dr. Boyce's own hand-writing." I am convinced that detailed research on eighteenth-century Italian sacred music[40] will reveal more direct influence from Bologna than has previously been accepted.

[38] This does not mean however that we cannot identify stylistic differences among the composers who worked in San Petronio under Colonna. Colonna definitely uses more complex textures in his works than e.g. Franceschini, whose melodies are much more concise. The acoustical result in San Petronio is that his large-scale compositions sound less 'blurred' in the nave of the church than Colonna's. Franceschini seems to show more concern for what people heard in front of the altar, whereas Colonna writes for the dignitaries in the choir. Comparing the styles of Colonna, Franceschini, Gabrieli, and Torelli, one element is constant: the strong concern of each of these musicians to adapt to and to exploit in an optimal and personal way the particular acoustical characteristics of the Basilica.

[39] See J. BERGER, *Notes on some 17th-Century Compositions for Trumpets and Strings in Bologna*, in *Musical Quarterly*, 37 (1951), pp. 354-367; A. HUTCHINGS, *The Baroque Concerto*, London, 1959, 4th ed. 1978; D.L. SMITHERS, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721*, London, 1973, 2nd ed. 1988; SCHNOEBELEN, *Bologna 1580-1700*, pp. 111-112.

[40] Primarly in Italy but also elsewhere, particularly in the case of a composer who spent time in Italy studying counterpoint under Bolognese composers (see M. VANSCHEEUWIJCK, *Mozart en Padre Martini (Bologna 1770)*, in *Musica Antiqua*, 8 (1991), pp. 63-67.

Le plain-chant dans les motets d'Eustache du Caurroy*

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Des motets composés par Eustache du Caurroy (1549-1609) ne subsistent aujourd'hui que les cinquante-trois pièces réunies dans les deux volumes de *Preces ecclesiasticæ* édités pour la première et dernière fois en 1609, sur l'initiative du compositeur lui-même.[1] Ce dernier amorçait alors l'édition de son œuvre complète,[2] et dans la dédicace qu'il adressa à Henri IV, au début du premier volume des *Preces ecclesiasticæ*, il justifia l'aspect tardif de ces publications par le souci de perfection qui l'avait préoccupé tout au long d'une carrière consacrée à servir les membres de la famille royale de France.[3] Haute-contre de la chapelle d'Henri III à partir de 1575, il y remplit également la fonction de sous-maître. À ces charges s'ajouta en 1595 celle de compositeur de la musique de la chambre d'Henri IV, puis en 1599 celle de compositeur de la musique de la chapelle royale.

Malgré leur édition tardive, les *Preces* sont l'œuvre d'un contemporain de Guillaume Boni, Roland de Lassus, Giovanni Gabrieli, Tomas Luis da Vittoria ou encore William Byrd. Par ailleurs, elles constituent aujourd'hui l'unique témoig-

* L'étude suivante ne présente que les premiers résultats d'un travail en cours qui s'inscrit dans une perspective comparative entre les motets de du Caurroy et ceux de ses contemporains ou de ses modèles. J'aimerais remercier Madame Barbara Haggh-Huglo qui a accepté de relire cet article et m'a donné de nombreux conseils et suggestions. Voir M.-A. COLIN, *Eustache du Caurroy et le motet en France à la fin d XVI siècle*, thèse de doctorat en cours, Tour (CESR).

1 *Preces ecclesiasticæ ad numeros musices redactæ authore Eustachio du Caurroy, Regiæ capellæ Musices præfecto. Henrico IIII. Franc. et Navar. Regi Christianissimo Dicatæ. Liber primus…*, Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1609; *Preces ecclesiasticæ ad numeros musices redactæ authore Eustachio du Caurroy, Regiæ Capellæ Musices præfecto. Reginæ Margaretæ Dicatæ. Liber secundus…*, Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1609. Pour des informations complémentaires concernant Eustache du Caurroy et ces deux publications, voir E. DU CAURROY, *Preces ecclesiasticæ*, éd. M.-A. COLIN, Paris, 2000.

2 L'année suivante, l'éditeur parisien Pierre Ballard publia les *Meslanges de la Musique de Eust. du Caurroy* (soixante-trois pièces profanes composées de trois à sept voix) et les *Fantasies a III. IV. V et VI. parties* (quarante-deux compositions instrumentales). Une édition de sa *Missa pro defunctis*, messe de Requiem à cinq voix chantée lors des funérailles d'Henri IV, parut en 1636; trois autres messes composées à quatre voix sont perdues et ne sont connues que grâce au témoignage de Marin Mersenne (*Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1636, passim).

3 *Preces ecclesiasticæ… Liber primus*, fol. 2r: *Si j'ay dormi durant quarante ans, que j'ay eu cet honneur d'avoir servi en ma charge vos predecesseurs Roys, et à present vostre Majesté: ç'a esté les yeux ouverts pour me resoudre de plus en plus sur les difficultez de ceste science, par la lecture de bons autheurs et pratique des antiens, outre ce que j'y ay apporté par mon estude et labeur […].*

nage des techniques de composition du motet en France à la fin du XVIe siècle et au début du XVIIe siècle, puisque c'est la seule publication française de ce genre à l'époque, entre les *Psalmi Davidici* de G. Boni[4] et les *Officii Divæ Ceciliæ* d'Abraham Blondet.[5]

Alors que le titre des deux volumes est relativement courant dans la littérature de dévotion,[6] il n'apparaît que rarement dans les publications musicales, rappelant le recueil de motets que Jacobus de Kerle avait composés à la demande des pères du concile de Trente.[7] La destination privée des motets suggérée dans le titre est confirmée dans l'une des pièces liminaires du second volume. Mais il semblerait que l'auteur du sonnet, Laurent de la Hyre, fasse ici davantage référence au divertissement qu'à la dévotion:

Au recit des beaux Airs la France se recrée,[8]
Et luy semble d'ouir ce chantre Thracien:
Mais quand elle entend David ce sainct Musicien,
Quand elle oyt (DU CAURROY) ta musique sucrée [sic]

C'est un Nepenthe doux, un Moly precieux,
Panace chasse-maux, Dictame officieux,
Qui charme, et qui descharme, et guerit, et r'avive.[9]

C'est peut-être la destination particulière des deux volumes qui explique la singularité du corpus textuel des *Preces ecclesiasticæ*. En effet, dans ses deux recueils, du Caurroy y mêle des textes fréquemment utilisés tout au long du XVIe siècle à d'autres, beaucoup moins courants,[10] voire même parfois inconnus (voir Tableau 2, col. 5). *Beati immaculati* (nos. 1 et 30), *Mane prima sabbati* (no. 10), *Mittit ad vir-*

4 Paris, Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1582.

5 Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1611.

6 Voir, par exemple, les *Preces ecclesiasticæ quæ collectæ vulgo dicuntur… Georgius Cassander auctore…* (Coloniæ, 1560), les *Preces horariæ ex Sacris literis et SS. Patrum sententiis collectæ… Joanne Olivero auctore…* (Antverpiæ, J. Bellerum, 1560) ou encore les *Preces Christianæ omni status…*(Argentorati, […], 1578).

7 *Preces speciales pro salubri generalis concilii successu* (Venezia, Antonio Gardano, 1562).

8 A cette époque, 'se recréer' signifie 'se divertir'. Voir Jean NICOT, *Thresor de la langue françoyse, tant ancienne que Moderne*, Paris, David Douceur, 1606; Randle COTGRAVE, *A Dictionarie of the french and english tongues*, London, Adam Slip, 1611.

9 Extrait du sonnet de L. de La Hyre, *Preces ecclesiastice… Liber secundus…*, fol. a 3v.

10 Parmi les textes les plus fréquemment mis en musique au XVIe siècle, figurent notamment *Da pacem Domine* (Brumel, La Rue, Divitis, Mouton, Agricola, Appenzeller, Gombert, Sermisy, Willaert, Certon, Lassus,…), *Inviolata, integra* (Isaac, Josquin, Mouton, Gombert, Verdelot, Willaert, Certon, Maillard,…), *Pater noster* (Josquin, Richafort, Mornable, Gombert, Goudimel, Verdelot, Certon, Willaert, Palestrina, Lassus, Guerrero,…), *Salve Regina* (Josquin, La Rue, Richafort, Verdelot, Sermisy, Vaet, Lassus,…), *Veni sancte Spiritus* (Josquin, Mouton, Sermisy, Senfl, Willaert, Piéton, Lassus, Palestrina, Anerio,…) et *Victimæ paschali laudes* (Josquin, Verdelot, Morales, Willaert, Maillard, Ingegneri,…).

ginem (no. 11), *Christus vincit, Christus regnat* (no. 15), *Dixerunt discipuli* (no. 33), *Benedicamus Domino* (no. 38), *Gloria, laus et honor* (no. 47), *Ave salus mundi* (no. 48) figurent parmi ceux que seuls quelques compositeurs de la génération de Josquin Desprez ou de ses successeurs immédiats ont exploités au XVIe siècle, parfois parce qu'ils furent supprimés par les artisans de la Contre-Réforme, lors de la révision du missel romain.[11] Certains de ces textes avaient déjà suscité l'intérêt de compositeurs qui avaient entretenu des relations avec la cour de France durant la première moitié du XVIe siècle. Ainsi, l'hymne de procession des Rameaux *Gloria, laus et honor* (Tableau 2, no. 47) fut mise en musique par Jean Richafort et Antoine Le Riche (dit Divitis);[12] Jean Prioris et Claudin de Sermisy composèrent chacun un motet sur le texte de l'antienne de Pâques *Alleluya, O filii et filiæ* (Tableau 2, no. 39). Du Caurroy présente également une pièce sur l'acclamation carolingienne *Christus vincit, Christus regnat* (no. 15) qui, auparavant, avait retenu l'attention de Mathieu Gascongne et Jean Mouton.[13] En outre, certains textes rarement mis en musique au XVIe siècle et présents dans les *Preces* avaient déjà fait l'objet d'un intérêt particulier de la part de Josquin Desprez et surtout d'Adrian Willaert,[14] qui, tous les deux, semblent figurer parmi les bons autheurs dont du Caurroy s'est nourri.[15]

[11] C'est notamment le cas de plusieurs séquences: *Mane prima sabbati, Mittit ad virginem, Inviolata integra, Ave Maria… virgo serena.* Leur nombre fut réduit à quatre - *Lauda Sion, Stabat mater, Veni sancte Spiritu* et *Victimæ Paschali laudes* - dans l'édition officielle du missel romain publié par Pie V dès 1570, quelques années après la fin du concile de Trente (1563). Voir É. WEBER, *Le concile de Trente et la musique. De la Réforme à la Contre-Réforme*, Paris, 1982, pp. 119-26.

[12] La version de Richafort est éditée dans le *Liber primus quinque et viginti musicales quatuor vocum Motetos complectitur…* (Paris, Pierre Attaingnant, 1534, *RISM* 1534[3]) (édition moderne: A. SMIJERS & T. MERRIT, *Treize livres de motets parus chez Pierre Attaingnant en 1534 et 1535*, Paris - Monaco, 1934-1966, 14 vol., vol. 1, pp. 25-33). La pièce de Divitis est publiée dans le *Liber decimus: Passiones dominice in ramis palmarum veneris sanctemecnon lectiones feriarum quinque sexte ac sabbati hebdomade Sancte…* (Paris, Pierre Attaingnant, 1535, *RISM* 15352) (édition moderne: SMIJERS & MERRIT, *Treize livres de motets…*, vol. 10, pp. 146-158).

[13] La pièce de Gascongne paraît dans le *Liber secundus: quatuor et viginti musicales quatuor vocum Motetos habet…* (Paris, Pierre Attaingnant, 1534, *RISM* 1534[4]) (édition moderne SMIJERS & MERRIT, *Treize livres de motets…*, vol. 2, pp. 57-66). La version de Mouton est éditée dans le *Motetti libro secondo…* (Rome, Andrea Antico et Andrea Torresano, *RISM* [1521][4]).

[14] Josquin a composé un motet sur la séquence *Mittit ad virginem*; Willaert a mis en musique *Benedicamus Domino, Mane prima sabbati, Mittit ad virginem, O crux ave spes unica.*

[15] La bibliothèque de du Caurroy comprenait certaines œuvres de Josquin Desprez ainsi que les *Istitutioni Harmoniche* et les *Sopplimenti musicali* de Zarlino qui lui permirent d'appréhender le style de Willaert. Voir l'inventaire après décès du compositeur: Paris, Archives Nationales, Minutier central, Étude XLI, 126, 22 août 1609, d'après N. DUFOURCQ, *À propos d'Eustache du Caurroy*, in *Revue de musicologie*, 95-96 (1950), pp. 102-108. D'autre part, Marin Mersenne (*Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1636, proposition XXXI de son septième livre *Des Instruments*, p. 61), confirme l'influence de Willaert sur du Caurroy: *[…] Adrian le Vieillard, dont l'ouvrage a servy d'idee aux plus grands Maistres pour la Composition: car l'on tient qu'Eustache du Caurroy en a puisé une bonne partie de l'Art de son contrepoint.*

Par ailleurs, les *Preces ecclesiasticæ* contiennent des textes qui ne semblent pas avoir été mis en musique auparavant: c'est le cas de trois des motets consacrés à sainte Cécile (*Favus distillans, O diva quæ dulces* et *Dum ipsa fleret*), de la prière *Protector in te sperantium*, et des hymnes dédiées respectivement à Luc et Jean-Baptiste, *Corporis ex medico* et *Sanctorum soboles*.[16] Le texte *Sanctorum soboles* fut publié en 1576 à Paris dans un recueil que son auteur, l'humaniste Marc-Antoine Muret, dédia à Guillaume de Gonzague, duc de Mantoue.[17]

L'examen des pièces dont les textes ont été identifiés[18] a révélé que certaines d'entre elles ne portaient aucune trace de mélodie liturgique (Tableau 2, pièces nos. 1, 3, 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 29, 30 à 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 48, 49 et 51). En revanche, dans tous les autres motets, l'influence du plain-chant se manifeste de deux manières différentes, qui se combinent parfois. D'une part, la mélodie liturgique apparaît comme un élément essentiel de la présentation du texte mis en musique; d'autre part, le compositeur introduit le plain-chant à l'intérieur de la pièce, soit en le paraphrasant (dans une ou plusieurs voix), soit en le présentant sous la forme d'un *cantus firmus*.

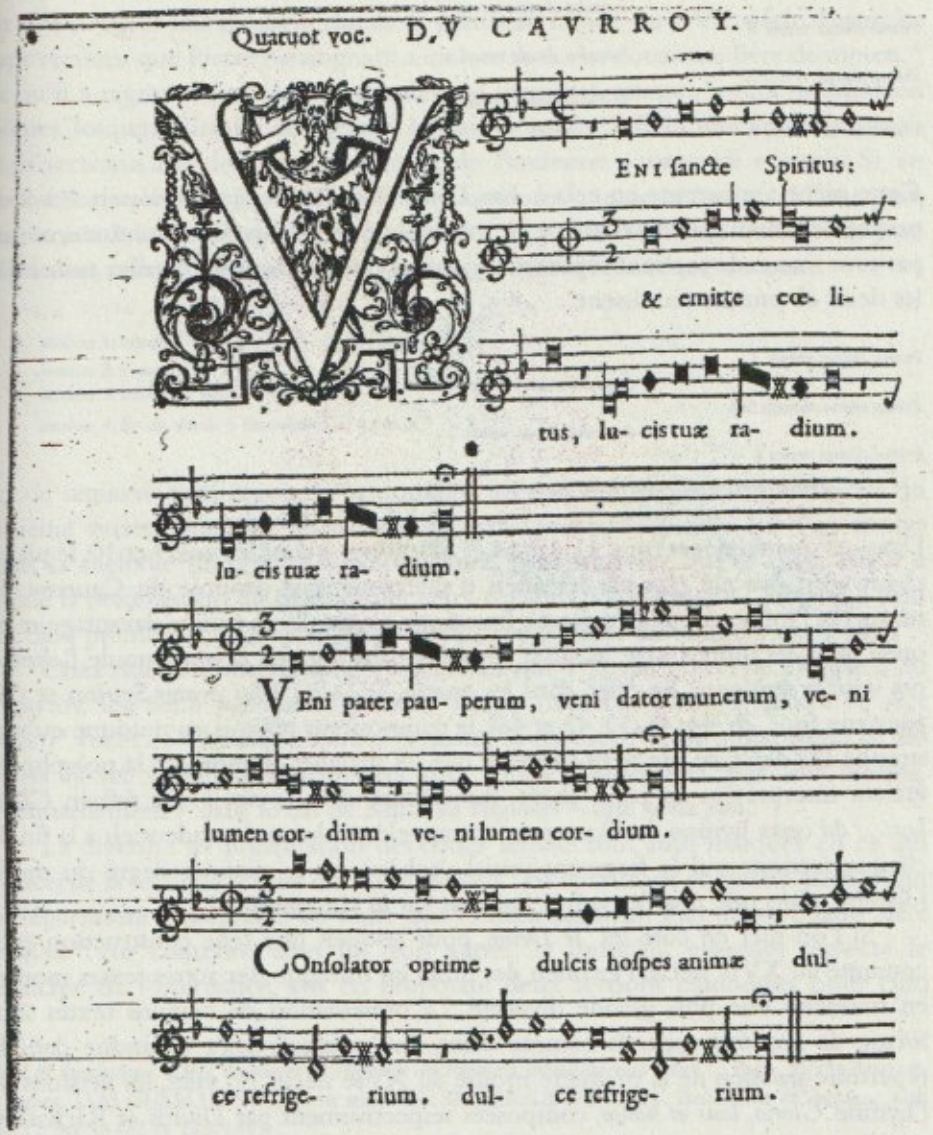
Treize des cinquante-trois pièces des *Preces* renvoient au premier cas de figure (Tableau 2, nos. 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 26, 43 à 47, 52 et 53). Cette situation concerne la plupart des motets présentés sous forme de courtes sections et pour lesquels aucune indication de *secunda pars* ou de *tertia pars* n'est donnée: il s'agit des quatre *Te Deum* (nos. 26, 44, 45, 53), de *Veni sancte Spiritus* (no. 9; Exemple 1), de *Mane prima sabbati* (no. 10), de *Veni creator Spiritus* (no. 43), de *Qui paracletus* (no. 46), et de *Gloria, laus et honor* (no. 47). À chaque section polyphonique proposée par du Caurroy correspond systématiquement une des strophes du texte soutenu par la mélodie liturgique originelle.

Il semblerait que le plain-chant influence également la présentation de *Mittit ad virginem* (no. 11), *Inviolata, integra* (no. 13), *Salve Regina* (no. 14) et *Vox Domini* (no. 52), tous composés pour double-chœur. Dans les trois premières pièces (nos. 11, 13 et 14), les interventions respectives des deux masses chorales sont présentées sous forme de sections séparées. Les deux chœurs évoluent alors selon les principes d'une antiphonie stricte, n'intervenant jamais de concert.

[16] Tableau 2, nos. 6, 40, 42, 23, 34 et 12.

[17] *M. Antonii Mureti I. C. et civis R. Hymnorum sacrorum liber, Jussu serenissimi Gulielmi Ducis Mantuae, etc. conscriptus. Ejusdem alia quaedam Poemata*, Paris, Mamert Patisson, 1576. Lors de la mise en musique, du Caurroy a suivi le schéma métrique d'une des formes de l'asclépiade adoptée par M.-A. Muret dans son hymne.

[18] Certains textes du corpus n'ont malheureusement pas encore pu être clairement identifiés: *Favus distillans* (no. 6), *Ave virgo gloriosa* (no. 7), *Salve ô pulcherrima* (no. 19), *Ave Maria… tua gratia* (no. 28), *Corporis ex medico* (no. 34), *O diva quæ dulces* (no. 40) et *Dum ipsa fleret* (no. 42).



Exemple 1. *Veni sancte Spiritus* (extrait): *Preces ecclesiasticae … liber primus*, fol. 14v

Contrairement aux pièces nos. 11 et 13, dans lesquelles le compositeur s'est appliqué à faire correspondre une section musicale à chaque strophe de la séquence en question, *Salve Regina* est construit de façon moins systématique, comme le montre le schéma ci-dessous:

Primus chorus: versets 1–2

Secundus chorus: versets 3–4

Primus chorus: verset 5

Secundus chorus: verset 6

Primus chorus: verset 7

Secundus chorus: verset 8

Primus chorus: verset 9

Cette pièce s'apparente en cela à *Vox Domini*, composée sur les versets 3 à 9 du psaume 28. Bien que du Caurroy ait présenté ce motet de façon continue, et non pas sous forme de sections séparées, ce n'est qu'à l'occasion du dernier verset que les deux chœurs se réunissent:

Primus chorus: verset 3

Secundus chorus: verset 4

Primus chorus: versets 5–6

Secundus chorus: verset 7

Primus chorus: verset 8

Primus chorus et *Secundus chorus*: verset 9

Dans ces quatre pièces (nos. 11, 13, 14 et 52), comme dans les nos. 9 et 10, le plain-chant n'est évoqué que par les effets d'alternance que propose du Caurroy. En revanche, l'influence de la mélodie liturgique originelle se trouve davantage marquée pour les motets nos. 26, 43 à 46 et 53, dans lesquels la pratique de l'*alternatim* semble évidente. En effet, dans les quatre *Te Deum*, *Veni creator Spiritus* et *Qui paracletus* (nos. 26, 44, 45, 53, 43 et 46), le compositeur n'a mis en musique qu'une strophe sur deux, ce qui peut suggérer que les strophes absentes de la polyphonie étaient interprétées en plain-chant. Par ailleurs, dans le no. 47, le refrain *Gloria laus*... de cette hymne des Rameaux est rappelé par les arrêts cadentiels à la fin de chaque section: seul le fragment initial s'achève sur le premier degré du mode (dorien), alors que tous les autres finissent sur le cinquième.

Si l'on met de côté les *Te Deum*, pour lesquels une telle construction était courante au XVIe siècle, l'examen des mises en musique des autres textes montre en revanche une plus grande diversité. La présentation de certains textes sous forme de sections apparaît comme étant une pratique assez répandue dans le répertoire parisien de la première moitié du XVIe siècle. En effet, les versions de l'hymne *Gloria, laus et honor*, composées respectivement par Divitis et Richafort, sont également construites en quatre sections correspondant au refrain et aux trois strophes. Toutefois, seule la pièce de Richafort s'apparente à celle de du Caurroy par la présence, à la fin de chaque section, d'une ponctuation harmonique particulière destinée à signaler le rôle de refrain du premier segment, *Gloria, laus*.[19]

[19] Dans cette pièce composée en mode dorien, seule la première section s'achève sur le premier degré du mode, alors que toutes les autres finissent sur le cinquième degré.

Par ailleurs, il semblerait que le développement en plusieurs sections de l'antienne *Salve Regina* soit fréquent durant la première moitié du XVIe siècle. Parmi les sept versions que Pierre Attaingnant a inclues dans son douzième livre de motets,[20] et qu'il a regroupées d'après le nombre de segments, quatre – celles de Mathieu Sohier, Josquin, Claudin de Sermisy et Jean Conseil – offrent une présentation en trois sections, avec le cinquième verset de l'antienne pour unité centrale. Si, en revanche, la pièce de Jean L'Héritier ne comporte que deux sections (d'une part, les versets 1 à 4, d'autre part, les versets 5 à 9), celles d'Hotinet Barra et de Jean Richafort offrent, en quatre sections, une répartition identique du texte:

section 1: versets 1 à 4
section 2: verset 5
section 3: début du verset 6 (*Et Jesum*)
section 4: fin du verset 6 (*benedictum…*) à verset 9

Ici, le segment final répond à la troisième section qui ne donne que l'incise du sixième verset. Une telle répartition du texte, conforme à celle que l'on trouve sous la mélodie liturgique correspondante, peut suggérer que le plain-chant a guidé la présentation du texte de ces deux versions polyphoniques, alors que dans les cinq premiers cas évoqués les sections s'apparentent davantage à des 'parties'.

Chez Adrian Willaert, dont il semblerait que l'œuvre a servi de modèle à du Caurroy, les deux versions d'*Inviolata integra* (respectivement à quatre et sept voix),[21] celles de *Veni sancte Spiritus* (à quatre et six voix),[22] et le motet *Mittit ad virginem* (à six voix)[23] se développent sous forme d'ensembles avec une *secunda*, éventuellement – dans le cas de *Mittit ad virginem* – une *tertia pars*.

La diversité de présentation des textes semble tout aussi marquée en ce qui concerne la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle. C'est également en quatre 'parties' qui se répartissent l'intégralité du texte que Vittoria construit l'un de ses quatre *Salve Regina*.[24] Au contraire, dans les trois autres, le musicien espagnol respecte le principe de l'alternance, soit en proposant deux sections composées pour cinq

[20] *Lib. duodecimus XVII. musicales ad virginem christiparam salutationemes habet…*, Paris, Pierre Attaingnant, 1535 (*RISM* 1535[4]) (édition moderne: SMIJERS & MERRIT, *Treize livres de motets…*, vol. 12, pp. 14-22 et 115-181).

[21] Version à quatre voix dans: *Musica quatuor vocum… Liber primus*, Venise, Antonio Gardano, 1545; édition moderne: A. WILLAERT, *Opera omnia*, éd. H. ZENCK, Rome, 1950 (*CMM* 3/1), p. 95. Version à sept voix dans: *Musica nova*, Venise, Antonio Gardano, 1559, édition moderne: A. WILLAERT, Opera omnia, éd. H. ZENCK & W. GERSTENBERG, Rome, 1957 (*CMM* 3/5), p. 223.

[22] Version à quatre voix dans *Musica quatuor vocum… Liber secundus*, Venise, Antonio Gardano, 1545; ed. H. ZENCK, Rome, 1950 (*CMM* 3/2), p. 41. Version à six voix dans *Musica nova…*, p. 88.

[23] *Musica nova…*, p. 173.

[24] *Motecta…*, Venise, Fils d'Antonio Gardano, 1572; édition moderne: T.L. VICTORIA, *Opera omnia*, éd. P. PEDRELL, *Opera omnia*, 1902, Ridgewood, 2/1966, vol. 7, p. 112.

voix qui se partagent la totalité du texte,[25] soit en ne mettant en musique qu'un verset sur deux de l'antienne, soit enfin en développant cette dernière sous la forme de deux chœurs alternés à quatre voix.[26] Lassus choisit aussi le principe du double-chœur pour mettre en musique le cantique de Zacharie, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israël*.[27] En revanche, dans son motet *Veni sancte Spiritus*, il adopte la présentation en sections et ne met en musique que les versets pairs de la séquence pour la Pentecôte.[28]

Si la possibilité d'une pratique de *l'alternatim* s'avère pour certains motets de du Caurroy, elle implique dans le même temps une orientation d'interprétation liée plus que jamais à la question des sources liturgiques de plain-chant utilisées par le compositeur. Cette démarche rejoint en cela celle qui consiste à s'interroger sur la nature du plain-chant comme élément structurel intrinsèque de la polyphonie.

Les mélodies liturgiques utilisées par du Caurroy dans ses motets n'ont pu, la plupart du temps, être identifiées à des sources contemporaines au compositeur. C'est pourquoi la cinquième colonne du Tableau 2 se réfère le plus souvent à des sources modernes.[29] Toutefois, le motet *Mane prima sabbati* est construit sur la même mélodie que celle qui est conservée dans un manuscrit copié au XIVe siècle pour la paroisse de la Madeleine à Paris.[30] Les quatre *Te Deum* ont été composés en majeure partie sur un plain-chant proche de celui que renferme le recueil de *Psalmes et cantiques qu'on chante en la Chapelle de la Congregation à certains jours*, imprimé par Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard en 1583.[31]

[25] *Motecta*..., Rome, Alessandro Gardano, 1583; T.L. VICTORIA, *Opera omnia*..., p. 108.

[26] Pour ces deux pièces: *Liber primus qui missas, psalmos, Magnificat ad Virginem Dei Matrem salutationes*..., Venise, Angelo Gardano, 1576; édition moderne: T.L. VICTORIA, *Opera omnia*..., p. p. 104 et 120.

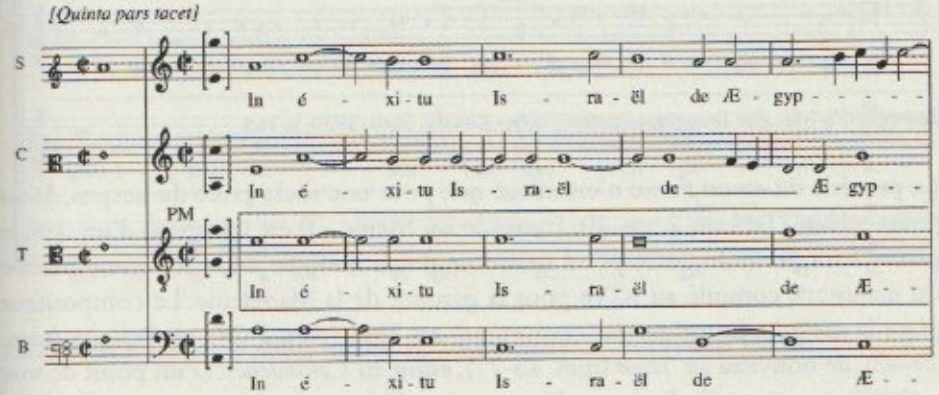
[27] München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung. Musica MS 49 et 50 [manuscrits compilés vers 1585-1590], édition moderne: O. LASSO, *Opera omnia*, éd. P. BERGQUIST, Basel, 1980, vol. 24, p. 105.

[28] *Patrocinium musices Orlandi de Lasso*..., Munich, Adam Berg, 1574; édition moderne: LASSO, *Opera omnia*, Basel, 1993, vol. 23, p. 93.

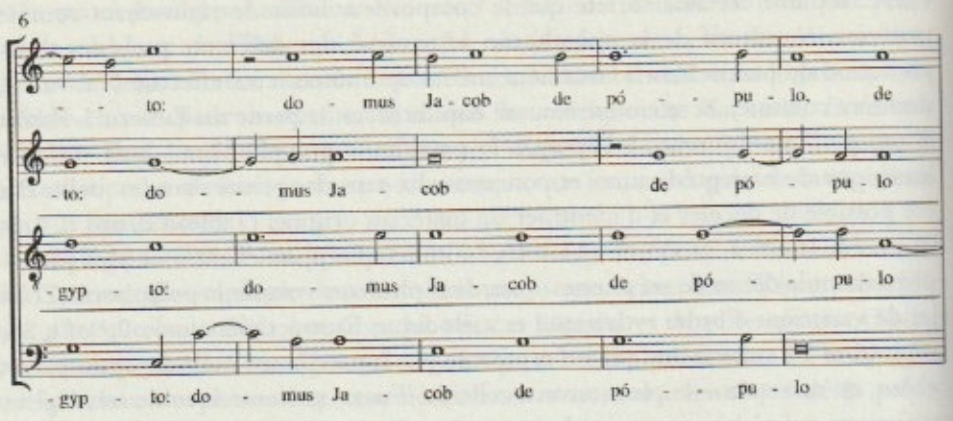
[29] Pour le détail, et la bibliographie, voir Tableau 1, première partie.

[30] F-Pn, Dépt des ms., Lat.861, fol. 364v.

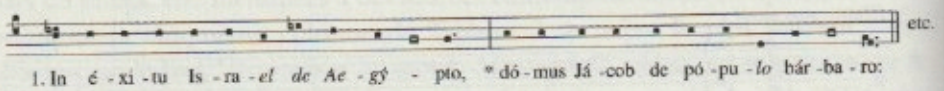
C'est avec une certaine variété que le compositeur utilise le plain-chant comme matériau constitutif de la polyphonie. Un relevé des différents procédés d'exploitation du plain-chant à l'intérieur même des motets a été effectué (Tableau 2, dernière colonne), et se trouve résumé dans la seconde partie du Tableau 1. Reflet d'une pratique courante à l'époque, la paraphrase polyphonique de la mélodie liturgique de base prédomine, et concerne dix-sept des pièces dans lesquelles il a été possible de déceler et d'identifier un matériau originel (Tableau 2, nos. 2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 13, 16, 25 à 27, 33, 39, 44 à 46, 50 et 53). Le plain-chant – et plus particulièrement le début de ses phrases – est, dans plusieurs voix de la polyphonie, l'objet de variations d'ordre rythmique et mélodique. Dans les pièces nos. 2, 9, 11, 26, 44 à 46 et 53, cette technique est renforcée par la paraphrase mélodique du plain-chant, qu'une voix – le plus souvent celle de *Tenor* – présente avec de très légères variations qui n'altèrent en rien la perception du matériau originel (Voir Exemple 2).



[31] F-Pn, Rés. B1653, pp. 11-13. Les différences mélodiques entre ce recueil et trois des quatre pièces (Tableau 2, nos. 44, 45 et 53) apparaissent systématiquement à partir de la strophe *Tè ergo quæ sumus*, ce qui confirme que le recueil de Le Roy et Ballard ne peut en aucun cas être considéré comme l'ouvrage utilisé par le compositeur. Dans le *Tè Deum* à six voix qui clôt le premier volume des *Preces ecclesiasticæ*, les variantes avec la source liturgique sont perceptibles dès la strophe *Tu ad liberandum*.

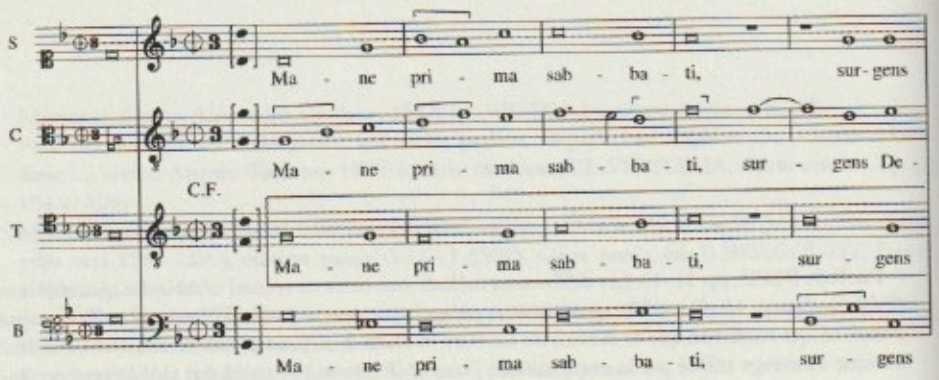


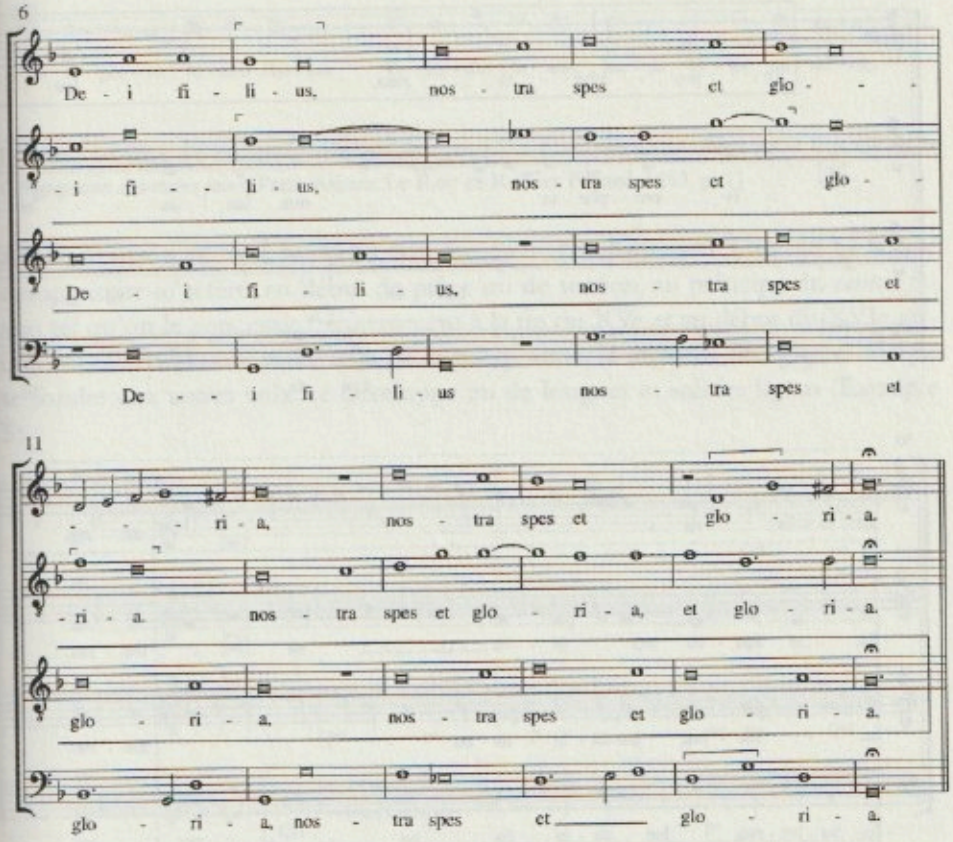
Exemple 2a. *In exitu Israël* (extrait), *Preces ecclesiasticae… Liber primus*, fol. 4v



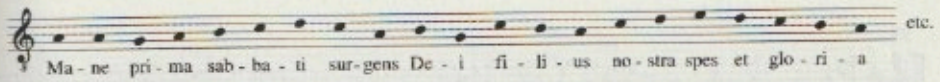
Exemple 2b. Mélodie liturgique (extrait): *Liber Usualis*, Paris, 1930, p. 165

Le procédé du *cantus firmus* n'est utilisé que pour une seule pièce du corpus, *Mane prima sabbati* (Tableau 2, no. 10; Exemple 3). Même s'il est transposé d'un ton, le plain-chant présenté correspond strictement à la mélodie de la séquence pascale du manuscrit compilé au XIVe pour la paroisse de la Madeleine. Le compositeur place la mélodie liturgique successivement au *Tenor* (mes. 1-28), au *Superius* (mes. 29-42), de nouveau au *Tenor* (mes. 43-77), enfin au *Contratenor*. D'un point de vue rythmique, cette mélodie ne se distingue pas des autres voix.



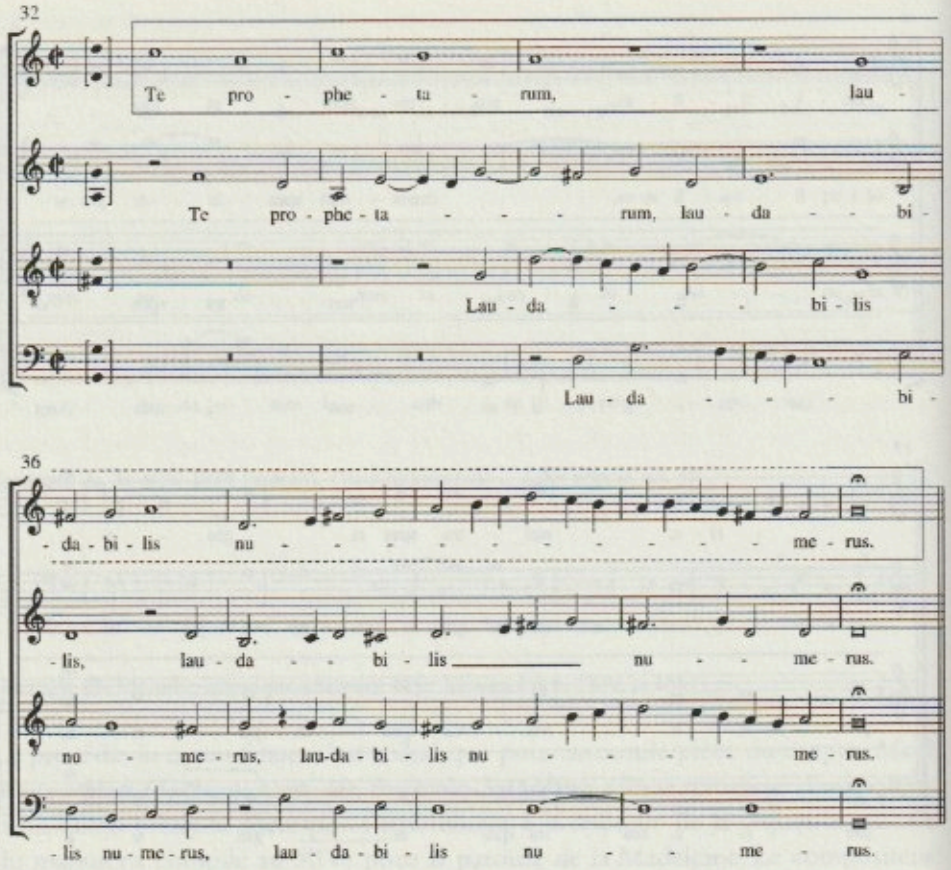


Exemple 3a. Mane prima sabbati (section 1), *Preces ecclesiasticae… Liber primus*, fol. 16v

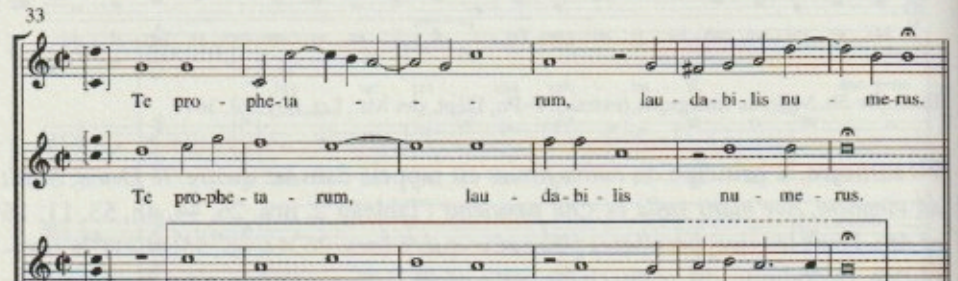


Exemple 3b. Mélodie liturgique (extrait): F-Pn, Dépt. des Ms., Lat. 861, fol. 364v

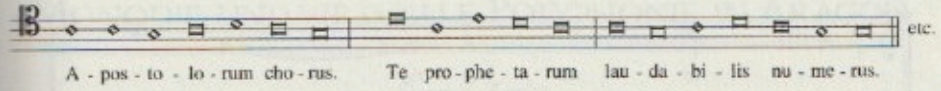
Néanmoins, le principe du *cantus firmus* est rappelé dans les quatre *Te Deum, Mittit ad virginem, Ave maris stella* et *Qui paracletus* (Tableau 2, nos. 26, 44, 45, 53, 11, 16 et 46). Dans les cinq premières pièces évoquées (nos. 26, 44, 45, 53, et 11), la paraphrase mélodique du plain-chant est parfois si ténue qu'on peut la considérer comme un *cantus firmus* (Exemple 4).



Exemple 4a. *Te Deum* (section 5), *Preces ecclesiasticae… Liber secundus*, fol. 18v

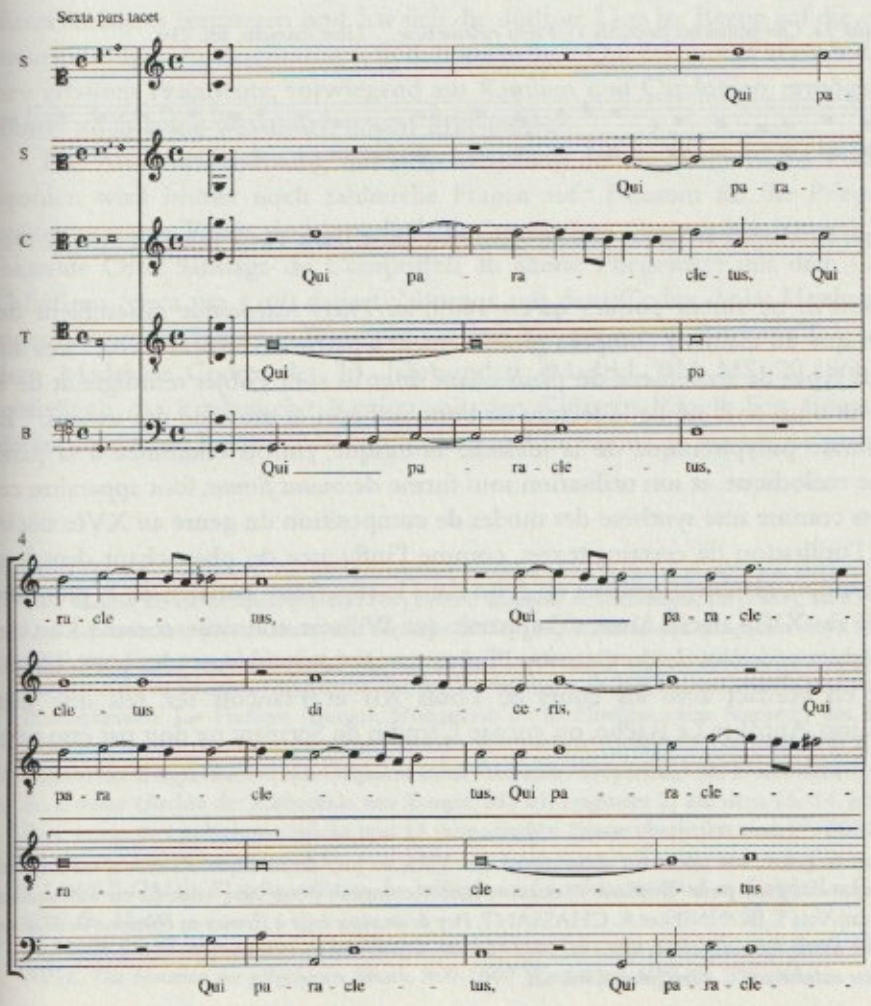


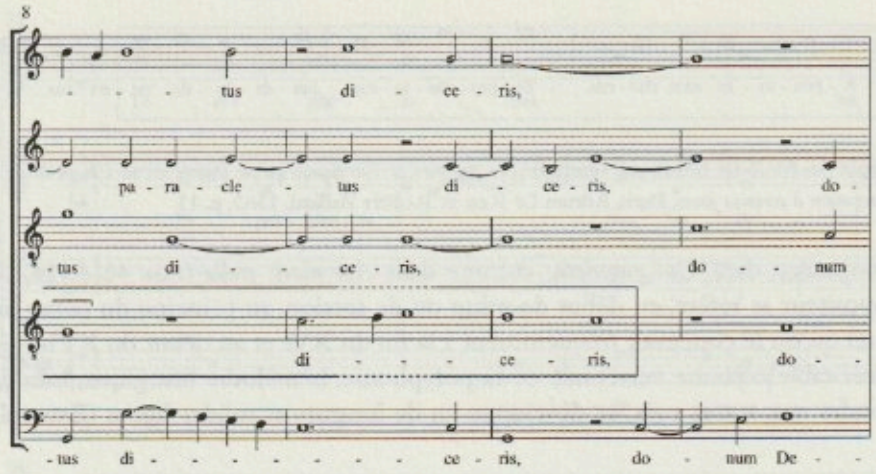
Exemple 4b. Te Deum (section 5), *Preces ecclesiasticae… Liber secundus*, fol. 20r



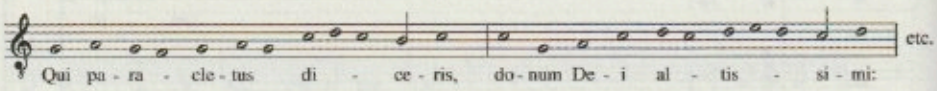
Exemple 4c. Mélodie liturgique (extrait): *Les psalmes et Cantiques qu'on chante en la Chapelle de la Congregation à certains jours*, Paris, Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1583, p. 11

Au contraire, dans *Qui paracletus* comme dans *Ave maris stella* (nos. 46 et 16), le compositeur se réfère, en début de pièce ou de section, au principe du *cantus firmus* tel qu'on le concevait fréquemment à la fin du XVe et au début du XVIe siècle: véritable colonne vertébrale de la polyphonie, la mélodie liturgique, loin de se fondre aux autres voix, se développe en de longues et solides lignes (Exemple 5).





Exemple 5a. *Qui paracletus* (section 1), *Preces ecclesiasticae… Liber secundus,* fol. 21v

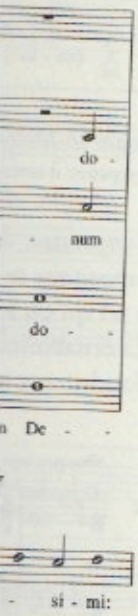


Exemple 5b. Mélodie liturgique (extrait): *Directorium* Chori, [Paris, Pierre Ballard, c. 1650], p. 194.

Même s'ils ne furent publiés qu'en 1609, les *Preces ecclesiasticæ* rassemblent des pièces que du Caurroy composa probablement à partir des années 1570.[32] Les différents types de traitement du plain-chant dont ils sont l'objet témoignent de la maîtrise d'un style né de la lecture de bons autheurs et pratique des antiens.[33] La paraphrase polyphonique de la mélodie liturgique, parfois combinée à sa paraphrase mélodique, et son utilisation sous forme de *cantus firmus*, font apparaître ces motets comme une synthèse des modes de composition du genre au XVIe siècle. Mais l'utilisation de certains textes, comme l'influence du plain-chant dans leur présentation, semblent trouver un écho dans le répertoire parisien de la première moitié du XVIe siècle. Ainsi, s'il apparaît que Willaert constitue comme l'un des principaux modèles de du Caurroy, l'influence de compositeurs plus particulièrement en contact avec les cours de Louis XII et François Ier, tels que Jean Richafort, Antoine Le Riche, ou encore Claudin de Sermisy, ne doit pas être négligée.

[32] Dans ce genre, son talent fut récompensé dès 1576, au puy de musique d'Évreux, où il obtint l'orgue d'argent pour *Tribularer si nescirem*, motet composé pour cinq voix (il est aujourd'hui perdu). Voir T. BONNIN et A. CHASSANT, *Puy de musique érigé à Évreux en l'honneur de Madame sainte Cécile*, Évreux, 1837, Genève, 1972 (*La vie musicale dans les provinces françaises*, 2), p. 68.

[33] *Preces ecclesiasticæ… Liber primus*, fol. a2r.



, c. 1650], p. 194.

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Monodie und virtuelle Polyphonie in Aragón

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Dieser Beitrag ist Teil einer umfassenden Arbeit über die mittelalterliche musikliturgische Reform in Aragón (Nordspanien). Das hier vorgestellte Thema behandelt nur spekulativ und peripher die polyphone Praxis in den aragonesischen Quellen des Mittelalters. Ziel der Darlegung ist eine allgemeine Reflexion über die aufgrund mangelnden Quellen schwer belegbare polyphone Praxis in Aragón bis zum 14. Jahrhundert anzuregen. Sehr hilfreich für die folgenden Überlegungen war der Aufsatz von Max Lütolf.[1] Obwohl mehrere Jahre seit Erscheinen dieses Aufsatzes vergangen sind, hat sich die dürftige Lage im Bezug auf die ersten mehrstimmigen Aufzeichnungen in den spanischen Quellen wenig verändert. Die neu erfaßten Fragmente, vorwiegend aus Kastilien und Catalonien, ermöglichen immer noch keine wesentlich neuen Erkenntnisse.

Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Ursprung der mehrstimmigen Praxis in Spanien wirft immer noch zahlreiche Fragen auf.[2] Bekannt für die Pflege der mehrstimmigen Praxis sind innerhalb der spanischen Geographie hauptsächlich folgende Orte: Santiago de Compostela als älteste Pflegestätte mit dem Codex Calixtinus (circa um 1160 datiert);[3] Burgos, mit dem Codex de las Huelgas und einem *Prosarium-Troparium* Fragment aus dem Kloster von St. Esteban;[4] Toledo mit dem Madrider Codex des 13. Jahrhundert (Madrid, BN MS 20.486); und schließlich die katalanische Region mit den Klöstern Ripoll, San Cugat und Poblet sowie den Kathedralen von Tortosa und Tarragona als wichtigste geistliche

1 M. LÜTOLF, *Fünf Punkte zur Mehrstimmigkeit in Spanien*, in *Alfonso X el sabio y la música, Symposium Madrid 26-28 de septiembre de 1984*, *Revista Española de Musicología*, 10 (1987), Ss. 53-66.

2 Das *Répertoire international des sources musicales* (*RISM*) registriert in den Ausgaben von 1966 und 1969 eine Liste von 13 Quellen mit insgesamt 294 mehrstimmigen Stücken bis zum Auftreten der *Ars Nova* in Spanien. Der größte Teil der Stücke, mehr als 240, stammt vorwiegend aus zwei Handschriften: Las Huelgas (Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas, ohne Signatur) des 13.-14. Jahrhundert und das Madrider Codex des 13. Jahrhundert (Biblioteca Nacional, MS 20.486). Ebenso aus Burgos stammt das Fragment eines Prosarium-Tropariums des Dominikanerklosters St. Esteban (Archiv der Kathedrale von Burgos, MS 61, Fragment 2) aus dem 13.-14. Jahrhundert, worin drei polyphone Stücke und 14 monodischen Prosae überliefert sind; LÜTOLF, *Fünf Punkte zur Mehrstimmigkeit*, S. 53.

3 J. LOPEZ-CALO, *El codice calixtino. La polifonía*, in *La música medieval en Galicia*, La Coruña, 1982, Ss. 43-54.

4 H. ANGLES, *El codex musical de las Huelgas, musica a veus dels segles XIII-XIV*, Barcelona, 1931; W. APEL, *Die Notation der polyphonen Musik, 900-1600*, Wiesbaden, 1981, Ss. 359-361.

Zentren. Die Untersuchungen bezüglich der Anfänge der Polyphonie in Spanien kreisen meistens um diese vier geographischen Räume. Weniger bekannt ist jedoch die polyphone Praxis außerhalb dieser bedeutenden Pflegestätten. In der Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid befinden sich außerdem verschiedene Quellen, nicht immer bekannter Herkunft, mit nachträglich eingefügten mehrstimmigen Gesängen.[5] Dabei handelt es sich nicht nur um musik-liturgische, sondern um hagiographische, grammatische und sonstige Quellentypen.

Higinio Anglés postume Studie über die mittelalterliche Musiktradition in Navarra, erschienen 1970, bringt keine neuen Ergebnisse bezüglich der polyphonen Praxis dieses Landstriches. Anglés wiederholt vielmehr die Ergebnisse seiner vorherigen Studie, erschienen bereits 1935, über die Musiktradition in Catalonien.[6] Er vertrat die Existenz einer polyphonen Praxis in der Kathedrale von Pamplona (Navarra) im frühen 9. Jahrhundert. Diese Aussage konnte er anhand der epitalamischen *Versi Domna Leodegundia regina*, Tochter des Königs Ordoño I. von Asturien (850–866) und verheiratet mit dem König von Pamplona, Fortún Garcés, festmachen.[7] Die erste Strophe ist mit westgotische Neumen versehen. Anglés argumentiert die mehrstimmige Praxis und die Verwendung von Instrumenten anhand des Textinhaltes. Er hebt besondere Stellen hervor, die als Indiz zu einer solchen Praxis hingedeutet werden könnten, insbesondere die Verse

[5] MSS 6528, Fragment eines *Troparium*s des 12. Jahrhunderts. Conductus *Lux illuxit*.
MS 19421, *Troparium* aus Catania, 12.–13. Jahrhundert. Drei zweistimmige Gesangsstücke. Zwei weitere nicht lesbar.
MS 20324, *Missale Benedictinum*, 13. Jahrhundert. Zweistimmige Motete *Spiritus et alme orphanarum Paraclite*.
MS 1361, *Graduale-Antiphonarium Missae*, 14. Jahrhundert. *Matutinariums*-Fragment aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, fol. 196v: *Agnus Die* und *Iuste iudex Ihesu Xpti. Regum rex et Domine*, dreistimmig. Fol. 197v: *Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi*, dreistimmig. *Te ergo quesumus tuis famulis subveni*, dreistimmig (fol. 197v–198); *Gloria. Et in terra*, dreistimmig.
Ferner ist in der Handschrift mit der Signatur T.I.12 aus der Bibliothek des Klosters San Lorenzo del Escorial, ein zweistimmiges *organum* enthalten: *Benedicta es celorum regina*, fol. 309v. Die Quelle besteht aus einer Zusammensetzung patristischer Texte und Fragmente eines Troparium und eines Graduale. Vgl. *Polifonía. Indice de cantos polifónicos*, in I. FERNANDEZ DE LA CUESTA, *Manuscritos y fuentes musicales en España. Edad Media*, Madrid, 1980, Ss. 348–364.

[6] H. ANGLES, *La polifonía anterior al segle XIV a Catalunya*, in *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII*, Barcelona, 1935, Ss. 258–266; H. ANGLES, *La música polifónica medieval en Navarra*, in *Historia de la música medieval en Navarra*, Pamplona, 1970, Ss. 105–128.

[7] Der Text befindet sich in der Handschrift aus Roda, El Escorial a-I-13, fol. 232. ANGLES, *Historia de la música en Navarra*, Ss. 42–48. G. GAZTAMBIDE bestätigt diese Aussage in seine Abhandlung *La capilla Musical de la Catedral de Pamplona. Desde sus orígenes hasta 1600*, (*Música en la Catedral de Pamplona*, 2), Pamplona, 1983, Ss. 3–34. Auf die polyphone Aufführungspraxis in der altspanischen Liturgie hatten bereits Brou und Fernandez de la Cuesta hingewiesen. L. BROU, *Séquences et tropes dans la liturgie mozarabe*, in *Hispania Sacra*, 1951, Ss. 27–41; I. FERNANDEZ DE LA CUESTA, *Quelques remarques paléographiques et littéraires à propos du déchant polyphonique dans la liturgie vieille-hispanique*, (*Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 31/2), 1988, Ss. 95–100.

22-24 *Nervi repercussi manu cithariste/tetracordon tinniat armoniam concitet/ut resonent laudes dulces domne Leodegundie. Dum lira reclangit tibia resonat/Pampilone civibus melos dantes suabiter/recitantes in concentu laudent Leodegundiam.* Nicht nur in den epitalamischen Versen sind Andeutungen auf eine polyphone Aufführungspraxis und auf die Verwendung von Instrumenten. In der altspanischen Hymnodie sind ebenso zahlreiche Texthinweise enthalten.[8]

In Katalonien stand der Ursprung der mehrstimmigen Praxis in engem Zusammenhang mit der politisch-kulturellen Verbindung zu Südfrankreich. Das Kloster Ripoll wird von Anglés als das spanische St. Martial im Bezug auf die Komposition von Sequenzen und mehrstimmigen Gesängen bezeichnet. Die Beziehungen zwischen Ripoll und den Klostergemeinschaften von Fleury, Saint-Germain, Cluny und anderen südfranzösischen und italienischen Zentren erklären die frühe polyphone Praxis auf katalanischem Gebiet. Allein die Kopien theoretischer Traktate in Ripoll beweisen die erläuterte Sachlage. Aus dem 11. Jahrhundert stammen die Kopien der *Musica Enchiriadis* und der *Scolica Enchiriadis*, wahrscheinlich in der Zeit der Mönche Oliva und Pere (zwischen 1018-1046).[9] Ferner wies Anglés auf verschiedenen Textstellen in einer Quelle aus Ripoll, (Paris, BN, lat. 5132, fol. 101v) woraus eine Discant-Praxis zu schließen wäre.[10]

Die Verbindung zwischen Ripoll und Compostela ist durch die Pilgerbewegung zu begründen. Beide geistliche Zentren ordnet er wiederum der martialenser Schule zu, was wiederum von Lopez-Calo anbezweifelt wurde.[11]

[8] Der spanische Dichter Prudentius, laut Dreves der *Horatius christianus*, gibt verschiedene Argumente für die Annahme einer polyphonen Praxis in der altspanischen Liturgie: *Carmina sanctorum, resonant iam sola virorum, concertu triplici regum laudantia caeli* (Apotheosis, Verse 152/153). P.L. MIGNE & M.P. CUNINGHAM, *A Preliminary Recension of the Older Manuscripts of the Cathemerinon, Apotheosis and Hamartigenia of Prudentius*, in *Sacris Erudiri*, 3 (1962), Ss. 5-59. Zitiert von ANGLES, *Historia de la música medieval en Navarra*, S. 51.

[9] ANGLES, *La música a Catalunya*, S. 258.

[10] Verschiedene Ausdrücke interpretierte er als zweifellosen Beweis der mehrstimmigen Praxis in Spanien: *duplici concentu, triplici concentu, cum organo* usw... ANGLES, *La musica a Catalunya*, S. 259. Die Schriften von Isidor von Sevilla werden ebenso als Kriterium herangezogen, etwa die *Ethymologien*, III, 21 mit den Termini *organum, melos, modos*. I. Fernandez de la Cuesta interpretiert einer mehrstimmigen Praxis in den altspanischen Antiphonarium von León, ms. 8, fol. 229v. Die lange am Rande notierten Melismen über die Termini *melos, modos* und *organum*, weisen auf eine solche Intention hin. Cf. FERNANDEZ DE LA CUESTA, *Quelques remarques paléographiques*, Ss. 95-100.

[11] Lopez Calo stellte wesentliche Unterschiede zwischen dem Codex Calixtinus und den martialenser Quellen fest. Er sah eine engere Verwandstschaft zu Paris, die durch die Dokumentarquellen der Kathedrale von Santiago wiederum bestätigt wurde. Cf. LOPEZ-CALO, *La música medieval en Galicia*, S. 53. Auf die in Frage gestellte Vorstellung einer bislang allgemein akzeptierten Martialenser Schule soll hier nicht weiter eingegangen werden. Wir weisen auf die grundlegende Abhandlungen von Haas und Fuller hin, M. HAAS, art. *St. Martial*, *MGG* (neue

Seit Erscheinen der besprochenen Arbeiten sind keine grundlegenden Entdeckungen oder Erkenntnisse in Zusammenhang mit der frühen mehrstimmigen Praxis in Spanien geleistet worden obwohl in den letzten Jahren neue mehrstimmige Quellenfragmente, vorwiegend aus Kastilien und Katalonien, erfaßt wurden und somit den Forschungsstand ein wenig vorangetrieben haben.[12] Global betrachtet bleibt jedoch das von Lütolf 1984 angesprochene *desideratum* durch "eine systematische Durchforschung der Archive und Bibliotheken, bei der nicht nur auf die Musikhandschriften, sondern auf die Bucheinbände und Schutzblätter" das Geschichtsbild der frühen spanischen Mehrstimmigkeit vervollständigen zu können, weiterhin bestehen.

Daß eine mehrstimmige Praxis außerhalb der erwähnten Zentren ebenso bekannt sein müßte, auch wenn die benötigten Beweise für manche Regionen nicht existent, für andere nur sehr spärlich erhalten sind, sollte allgemein akzeptiert werden. Für die Gebiete Aragón, das Baskenland oder für den gesamten südspanischen Raum (Málaga, Granada, Sevilla u.a.) sind die überlieferten Quellen sehr spärlich.

Ausgabe, in Druck). Ich danke an dieser Stelle Max Haas, der mir freundlicher Weise die erste Version seines Artikels zur Verfügung gestellt hat. Bezüglich der Differenzen zwischen Ripoll und den Codex Calixtinus vgl. P. WAGNER, *Die Gesänge der Jakobusliturgie zu Santiago de Compostela. Aus dem sogenannten Codex Calixtinus*, Freiburg/Schweiz, 1931, Ss. 82-87, 91-92. Über die enge Beziehung zwischen Vézelay und den Pilgerzentren St. Jacques d'Asquins und Santiago de Compostela vgl. M. HUGLO, *Les pièces notées du Codex Calixtinus*, in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, Tübingen, 1992, Ss. 105-124.

[12] Unter den neuesten Beiträgen im Zusammenhang mit der Polyphonischen Praxis des Mittelalters in Spanien sind folgende Autoren zu nennen: M.C. GOMEZ-MUNTANE, *Deux nouveaux fragments polyphoniques antérieurs à l'Ars Nova dans un manuscrit du monastère de Santa María de Vallbona*, in *Aspects de la Musique liturgique au Moyen Age*, ed. C. MEYER, Paris, 1991, Ss. 177-190; M.C. GOMEZ-MUNTANE, *Más códices con polifonía del siglo XIV en España*, in *Acta Musicológica*, 53 (1981), Ss. 85-90; M.C. GOMEZ-MUNTANE, *Quelques remarques sur le répertoire polyphonique antérieur à l'Ars nova provenant de l'ancien royaume d'Aragon*, in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 31 (1988), Ss. 101-110; M.C. GOMEZ-MUNTANE, *Deux nouveaux fragments polyphoniques antérieurs à l'Ars Nova dans un manuscrit du monastère de Santa María de Vallbona*, in *Aspects de la Musique liturgique au Moyen Age*, ed. C. MEYER, Paris, 1991, Ss. 177-190; I. FERNANDEZ DE LA CUESTA, *Fragmento polifónico del Ars Antique en Castilla*, in *Revista de Musicología*, 7 (1984), Ss. 453-466. Weitere zweistimmige Fassungen von Messgesängen aus kastilischen Quellen werden in der Doktorarbeit von Kathleen Nelson vorgestellt, K. NELSON, *Medieval Liturgical Music of Zamora*, (*Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, 67), Ottawa, 1996. Kathleen Nelson konnte in verschiedenen Fragmenten und einer Plenarquelle des 13. Und 14. Jahrhunderts aus Zamora fünf polyphonen Stücke auffindig machen: *Gloria. Spiritus et alme, Benedicta. Virgo Die genitrix, Alleluya. Que est ista tam formosa, Conlaudemus omnes pie, Deo nos agentes*. Die zwei letzteren stammen aus einem *Misal votivo* des 15. Jahrhunderts (*Misal votivo para uso de Zamora*, Madrid, Biblioteca Lázaro Galdiano, MS 662) wobei die polyphonische Stücke einem älteren Teil der Handschrift des 14. Jahrhundert angehören. Die drei ersten Stücke stammen aus einem Fragment des Archivo Histórico Provincial in Zamora, Z 184, 13. Jahrhundert. Cf. NELSON, *Medieval Liturgical Music*, Ss. 200-221.

Stellt man die Frage nach den frühesten Belegen mehrstimmigen Repertoires in Aragón, stoßen wir auf die gleichen Probleme wie sie bereits bei den Untersuchungen in Kastilien, Katalonien und Galizien entstanden. Ein Großteil der erhaltenen aragonesischen Quellen befindet sich in folgenden Archiven: Kathedrale von Huesca, Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial und Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. Das Archiv der Kathedrale von Huesca besteht aus insgesamt 85 Handschriften, von denen 56 liturgische Quellen sind. Zum ältesten Bestand, 11.-12. Jahrhundert gehören die Signaturen MS 1, 3 und 4. Eine zweite Gruppe aus dem 12. Jahrhundert bilden die Brevieren MS 2, 7-9 und das *Sacramentarium-Evangeliarium-Epistolarium* MS 5. Aus dem 13. Jahrhundert sind das *Pontificale-Benedictionale*, MS 10, das *Missale Oscense*, MS 11 und das *Breviarium* MS 12 zu erwähnen. Aus dem 14. Jahrhundert datieren das *Missale*, MS 15-18, das *Lectionarium*, MS 19, das *Breviarium Oscense*, MS 14, und die Schrift *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* von Guillermo Durando, MS 15. Keine einzige dieser Quellen weist ein mehrstimmiges Repertoire auf. Erst aus dem 18. Jahrhundert datieren die erhaltenen polyphonen Quellen des Kathedralarchivs von Huesca. Es sind Kopien der Passionsvertonungen des Kappelmeisters aus dem 16. Jahrhundert Juan de Olorón.[13] Weitere Kopien aus dem 18. Jahrhundert enthalten eine Ansammlung mehrstimmiger Messen bekannter Komponisten wie Guerrero, Salas, Palestrina, Luis de Vitoria etc. Strikt genommen ist also eine schriftlich belegbare polyphone Praxis in der Kathedrale von Huesca nur ab dem 16. Jahrhundert möglich.

Die Durchforschung der Schutzblätter und Einbände der Notariaten im Archivo Histórico Provincial von Huesca ergab einen Bestand von insgesamt 60 Fragmenten musik-liturgischer Quellen des 12.-14. Jahrhundert mit ausschließlich monodischem Repertoire. Die Erschließung der Fragmente des Kathedralarchivs und des Bistumsarchivs von Jaca brachte ebenso keine mehrstimmigen Aufzeichnungen zutage.[14]

[13] Die mehrstimmige Vertonung der Passionslesungen von Juan de Olorón und die Möglichkeit einer früheren mehrstimmigen Praxis, die womöglich wiederum auf die einstimmige Passionsvertonung in der altspanischen Liturgie basierte, wurde an einer anderen Stelle angesprochen, cf. S. ZAPKE, *Juan de Olorón, Kappelmeister von Huesca und die Passionsvertonung more hispano im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Kirchenmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift Hans Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Köln, 1998, Ss. 149-170.

[14] Die Untersuchungen in weiteren Archiven von Aragón, so im Kloster Sta. Cruz de la Serós, der Kirche von St. Felix in Munébrega, der Kathedrale La Seo in Zaragoza u.a. brachten ebenso keine weitere Belege mehrstimmigen Repertoires. Cf. Über die Fragmente S. ZAPKE, *Antes del gregoriano: El viejo canto hispano*, in *Primeras Jornadas del Canto Gregoriano, Zaragoza 4-13 de noviembre de 1996*, Zaragoza, 1997, Ss. 45-91, facsimile-Bilder einiger Fragmente, Ss. 89-91. Eine Ausnahme stellt der polyphon vertonte Hymnus *Vexila Regis* in einer Quelle aus La Seo in Zaragoza, vgl. P. CALAHORRA, *Historia de la música en Aragón*, Zaragoza, 1977, Ss. i-xvii.

Wie soll auf der Basis dieses Befundes auf die Frage nach der frühen mehrstimmigen Praxis in Aragón, bzw. in Huesca eingegangen werden? Die erhaltenen Quellen lassen eine unüberwindbare Überlieferungslücke bezüglich eines mehrstimmigen Repertoires entstehen. Ist in der Zeit der *Ars antiqua* und der *Ars nova* in Aragonien die Mehrstimmigkeit nur in improvisierter Form praktiziert worden? Das *Missale Oscense*, MS 11 und das *Pontificale Benedictionale*, MS 10, aus dem 13. Jahrhundert notieren die Anwesenheit der *pueri chori* in dem Kathedralkult, die mit den tiefen Stimmen des Chores abwechselnd sangen.[15] Die Orgel war in der Kathedrale von Huesca mindestens seit 1386 im Gebrauch. Wie erklärt sich, daß die ersten polyphonen Quellen der Kathedrale von Huesca aus dem 15. Jahrhundert zuzuordnen sind?

Aufgrund der eingeschränkten Quellenlage ist das Unterfangen einer Rekonstruktion der Anfänge der mehrstimmigen Musikpraxis in den verschiedenen Regionen von Spanien sehr schwierig. Wenn dies anhand von Primärquellen, d.h. von musik-liturgischen Handschriften, nicht festzustellen ist dann sollte ein hypothetischer Versuch anhand von Sekundärquellen eine mögliche Alternative bieten. Die Hinweise in den Ritualien (*libri caerimoniarum*) und *Consuetudine* der jeweiligen Kathedralen und Diözesen können diesbezüglich eine hilfreiche Informationsquelle bieten.[16] Einige nicht ganz eindeutige Indizien einer polyphonen Praxis entnehmen wir aus den Kapitularakten der Kathedrale von Huesca. Der Begriff *organo* erscheint in Zusammenhang mit einem testamentarischen Dokument aus dem Jahre 1274 in dem Pelegrin de Otal seinen Neffen, den Prior Pedro López de Bagón, einen *liuro de organo* (Organo-Buch) vererbt. Ob das Wort *organo* hier für Mehrstimmigkeit oder für das Instrument steht ist schwer zu sichern. Dagegen steht fest, daß die Kathedrale von Huesca in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts bereits eine Orgel besaß.[17]

Wichtig für die Klärung der Frage nach der mehrstimmigen Praxis in Aragón ist die Berücksichtigung der kirchlich-politischen Umstände, bzw. der sozio-politischen Umbruchslage in Aragón im 12. Jahrhundert. Das Datum 22. März 1071 gehört zu den relevantesten der aragonesischen Kirchenpolitik. Es ist das Jahr an dem die altspanische durch die fränkisch-römische Liturgie, bei einem zeremoniellen Akt in Anwesenheit des Königs Sancho Ramirez, im Kloster von San Juan de la Peña (Altoaragón) ersetzt wurde. Von nun an sollte, mit Hilfe aqui-

[15] Vgl. A. DURAN GUDIOL, *La capilla de música de la catedral de Huesca*, in *Anuario Musical*, 19 (1966), Ss. 29-55.

[16] Lütolf wies bereits auf den Gedanken einer schriftlosen Mehrstimmigkeit hin und auf die Notwendigkeit oder nicht- Notwendigkeit der schriftlichen Aufzeichnung der Melodien, vgl. LÜTOLF, *Fünf Punkte zur Mehrstimmigkeit*, S. 57.

[17] Archiv der Kathedrale von Huesca, *De actibus capituli*, II-333 und II-707. Vgl. A. DURAN GUDIOL, *Organos, organistas y organeros de la catedral de Huesca*, in *Argensola*, 10 (1959), Ss. 297 ff.

tanischer Mönche, ein langer Prozeß der Memorisation des neuen Repertoires beginnen. Neue Bücher wurden angeschafft, eine neue Schrift und eine neue Notation sollten erlernt werden. Erst 1096 wurde Huesca von den Mauren zurückerobert und somit der Bistumssitz von Jaca nach Huesca verlagert. Die Kathedrale von Huesca übernahm eine Führungsrolle in der Anschaffung neuer Bücher. Die Existenz eines Scriptorium in der Kathedrale von Huesca ist anzunehmen.

Die progressive Aufnahme des importierten, fränkisch-römischen Repertoires in Aragón war nicht nur mimetischer Natur, sondern verlief parallel zu einer eigendynamischen kompositorischen Kreativität. Obwohl bekannt ist, daß der Import von Repertoire bzw. von ganzen Quellen eine wichtige Rolle innerhalb der liturgischen Reform in Aragón gespielt hat, bilden Neukompositionen ebenso ein wichtiges Moment innerhalb dieses Assimilationsprozesses.

Der Quellenbestand der Kathedrale von Huesca liefert in dieser Hinsicht ein aussagekräftiges Material. Die meisten erhaltenen Quellen stammen aus der Zeit nach 1099, als der Bischofssitz, nach der Wiedereroberung der Stadt, von Jaca nach Huesca versetzt wurde.[18]

Das *Prosarium-Troparium* von Huesca, MS 4, ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit in den Scriptorium der Kathedrale entstanden und in die Zeitspanne zwischen 1099 und 1122 zu datieren. Diese Quelle ist alles andere als ein importiertes Produkt infolge einer eiligen Anschaffung von Quellen für die Übernahme des neuen Ritus in der Kathedrale von Huesca. Vielmehr enthält es eine Reihe von Unica, die die Kreativität und aktive Mitwirkung der monastischen und kirchlichen Gemeinschaften Aragoniens während der liturgischen Reform bestätigen.

[18] In diese Periode fällt ebenso die Tätigkeit des *scribanus* Sancho de la Rosa, der die karolingische und die westgotische Schrift perfekt beherrschte. Sancho de la Rosa war in der Kathedrale von Huesca bis 1122 tätig. Dann wurde er zum Bischof von Zaragoza berufen. Der neue Bischoff von Huesca, Esteban, führte während seiner Amtszeit von 1099-1130 eine sehr aktive Politik hinsichtlich der Konsolidierung seiner Bistumsgrenzen. Damit löste er zahlreiche Konflikte nicht nur mit Rom sondern auch mit den päpstlichen Legaten und mit den aragonesischen König Pedro I. aus. In seine kirchenpolitischen Linie war er sehr skeptisch gegenüber der übermächtigen Präsenz von südfranzösischen Klerikern. Dies zeigte sich bereits bei seinem Vorgänger, der Bischof Pedro, der nicht bereit war sein Sitz in Jaca zu verlassen bevor die Kompetenzlage im Bistum von Huesca aufgrund der Ansprüche seitens der Kanoniker von Montearagón und St. Pons de Thomières geklärt wurde. Diese politischen Hintergründe sind wichtig um die Haltung der aragonesischen Kirche gegenüber der südfranzösischen Präsenz besser einschätzen zu können, eine Haltung, die sich in der Gestaltung des neuen Ritus und in der Zusammenstellung der einzelnen Quellen auch wiederspiegelt. A. DURAN GUDIOL, *La sede episcopal de Huesca (1097)*, in *La iglesia de Aragón durante los reinados de Sancho Ramírez y Pedro (1062?-1104)*, Roma, 1962, Ss. 70-72; A. DURAN GUDIOL, *Historia de la catedral de Huesca*, Huesca, 1991, Ss. 11-13.

Ob das *Prosarium-Troparium* aus dem Scriptorium von Huesca, unter Mitwirkung aquitanischer Kleriker, oder aus einen südfranzösischen Scriptorium stammt – wichtig ist in beiden Fällen, daß bei der Konfiguration der Handschrift zwei Komponenten berücksichtigt wurden. Es überwiegt zwar einerseits das aquitanische Modell, insbesondere mit den Quellen aus Moissac, Narbonne und Toulouse verwandt, andererseits ist das autochthone Repertoire ebenso vertreten.[19]

Als Beleg solchen individuellen Gestaltungswillen seien in folgenden die Prosen des *Prosarium-Tropariums*, MS 4, aufgelistet, die bislang in keiner weiteren Quelle belegt sind und somit als Unica eingesehen werden können.[20]

fol. 18	*Nostri promat chori caterva*	AH 34, 15; AH 53, 123. S. Andreae; R.H 30028 Epiphania Dni. (Add. 12. Jahrhundert)
fol. 27	*Adest enim festa*	AH 7, 65, vgl. 53, 97. In Sabbato Pasche[21]
fol. 30v	*All. Scendit Ihesus in montem*	
fol. 42v	*Alleluia. Sacra pangat*	AH 34, 287; R.H 33022. Sci. Vincenti (sine neumae. Add. 13. Jahrhundert?)[22]
fol. 82	*Eterno regis canremus*	AH 34, 204; R.H 35073. Sci. Iacobi
fol. 83v	*Laudes Xpisto solvat orbis*	AH 34, 260; R.H 29015. In vincula Sci. Petri
fol. 85v	*Alleluia. Festivum psallat*	AH 34, 258; R.H 26586. In vincula Sci. Petri
fol. 108	*Adest dies omni mundo*	AH 34, 232; R.H 34993. Sci. Martinus
fol. 114v	*Adsunt Sancti Nicholai*	AH 34, 245; R.H 35046. Sci. Nicholai
fol. 116v	*Psallat mens nostra*	AH 34, 297; R.H 31986. In ntle. Confessorum[23]

[19] Die Zuordnung der Kyrietropen des *Prosarium-Tropariums* von Huesca zu den Repertoiren von Moissac (Pa 1871), Narbonne (Pa 778) und Toulouse (MaBN 136) hat Eva Castro Caridad überzeugend geprüft. Cf. E. CASTRO CARIDAD, *Tropos y Troparios hispánicos*, Santiago de Compostella, 1991, Ss. 232-236. Diese Zuordnung stimmt wiederum mit meiner eigenen Zuordnung des Antiphonars von Sta. Cruz de la Serós (Jaca) überein. Die gleichen Verwandtschaften ergaben sich bei der komparativen Erschließung der Zusammenstellung des Repertoires. Im Hintergrund dieser Übereinstimmungen steht ein kausaler Zusammenhang mit der Kirchenpolitik des aragonesischen Reiches, cf. S. ZAPKE, *Das Antiphonar von Sta. Cruz de la Serós, XII. Jahrhundert*, Neuried, 1996, Ss. 50-58.

[20] Die Textedition und melodische Transkription des *Prosariums-Tropariums* von Huesca, MS 4 wird von der Autorin dieses Beitrages vorbereitet. Die Herausgabe des *Prosariums-Tropariums* ist bei der Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza, geplant. Die abgekürzten Angaben beziehen sich auf folgende Editionen:
AH: *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. C. BLUME - H.M. BANNISTER, Leipzig, 1905-1906.
R.H: *Repertorium Hymnologicum. Cataloge des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'Eglise latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. U. CHEVALIER, Louvain-Brussels, 1892-1920.

[21] Der Text in Huesca differiert von AH.

[22] Der ursprüngliche Text wurde weg radiert, um die Prosa an S. Vincentius darauf zuschreiben. Ohne Notation.

[23] Der Text in AH differiert von Huesca, MS 4.

Neben diesem Bestand eigener Kompositionen, etwa die Prosen an S.Valerius und S.Vicentius, Schutzpatronen der Kathedrale von Huesca oder die bekannte Prosa über die Wiedereroberung von Huesca, *Alleluia Festivum psallat*, bildet das aquitanische importierte Repertoire einen wesentlichen Bestandteil der Handschrift. Das Repertoire des *Prosarium-Tropariums* ist offensichtlich für die Kathedrale von Huesca zusammengesetzt worden. Die noch ungelöste Frage ist die der Herkunft im Sinne des Entstehungsortes dieser Quelle. Ist das *Prosarium* in der Kathedrale von Huesca oder in einen südfranzösischen Scriptorium verfaßt worden? Laut Durán Gudiol ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit eines sehr aktiven Scriptoriums in der Kathedrale von Huesca sehr hoch gegeben. In der Zeit nach der Wiedereroberung von Huesca im Jahre 1096 mußten zahlreiche Bücher für den neuen Ritus angeschafft werden. Sancho de Larrosa, Bischof von Pamplona im Jahre 1122 und Abt des Klosters San Adrián de Sasave zwischen 1101 und 1104, war Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts in Huesca als *Canonicus* und *scribanus* tätig. Er beherrschte gleichermaßen die westgotische und die karolingische Schrift. Durán Gudiol ordnet zweifelsohne das Sacramentarium MS 5 des 12. Jarhhundert, die Breviarien MS 7-9 aus dem 13. Jahrhundert sowie die Breviarien MS 13 und 14 aus dem 14. Jahrhundert dem Scriptorium von Huesca zu.[24] Wichtig ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß die Neukompositionen, die oben aufgelistet sind, stilistisch wenig innovativ erscheinen. Lütolf spricht diesbezüglich von einem "retrospektivem Stil".[25] Viel mehr folgen sie eine archetypischen Gestaltungform der aquitanischen Prosen. Eine zweistimmige Vertonung dieser Prosen konnte bislang durch keine weiteren Quellen belegt werden. Dagegen sind folgende Prosen von Huesca meridionaler Provenienz in zweistimmiger Vertonung überliefert. Die mehrstimmige Vertonung der Ordinarium missae-Sätze ist in den spanischen Quellen häufiger als in den aquitanischen oder in den Notre-Dame Quellen vertreten. Ebenso häufig sind sie aber in englischen Quellen zu finden, wo sie sogar eine frühere mehrstimmige Fassung aufweisen. Beispielsweise ist bei den Tropen *Rex virginum amator, Spiritus et alme* und *Mortes dira* an einen insularen Einfluß auf Spanien zu denken.[26]

fol. 5 *Prome casta concio* (In octaba Pasche) Paris, BN f. lat. 3719, fol. 50-53

fol. 14 *Christi hodierna* (In ntle. Dni.) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, fol. 93-94

fol. 21 *Epiphaniam Domino* (In Epiphania Dni.), Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, fol. 94-95.

fol. 22v *Fulgens preclara* (In resurrectione Dni.), Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473, fol. 96-98

[24] Vgl. A. DURAN GUDIOL, *Los manuscritos de la catedral de Huesca*, in *Argensola*, 4 (1953), Ss. 293-322.

[25] LUTOLF, *Fünf Punkte zur Mehrstimmigkeit*, S. 58.

[26] Cf. LÜTOLF, *Fünf Punkte zur Mehrstimmigkeit*, Ss. 60-61. Keine dieser Tropen ist in Huesca überliefert. Der Gloria-Tropus *Spiritus et alme* ist ebenso aus einer weiteren Quelle aus Zamora bekannt, NELSON, *Medieval Liturgical Music*, Ss. 205-206.

fol. 33	*Victimae paschali* (In resurrectione Dni.), Paris, BN f. lat. 3549, fol. 159v; Huelgas, fol. 54v-56)
fol. 34v	*Rex omnipotens* (In ascensione Dni.) Paris, BN f. lat. 3549, fol. 159v)
fol. 36	*Sancti spiritus adsit* (In Pentecostem) Paris, BN f. lat. 3549, fol. 159v-160; Paris, BN, f. lat. 3719, fol. 46v-47v
fol. 37v	*Alma chorus Dni.* (In pentecostem) Paris, BN f. lat. 3719, fol. 49-50
fol. 59	*Hac clara die turma* (In Purificatione BMV) W1 HAB ms. 268, fol. 207v-208, 190v-191
fol. 98	*Alle-celeste nec non* (In nativitate BMV) Paris, BN f. lat. 3549, fol. 158
fol. 106v	*Christo inclita* (Omnium Scorum.) Paris, BN f. lat. 3549, fol. 158v-159

Unter den Ordinarium missae-Sätzen sind die Kyrietropen *Rerum conditor* (fol. 134v) und das *Rex regum Domine* (fol. 134v), die zum Anlagebestand der Quelle gehören, einzig durch Huesca MS 4 bekannt. Zweistimmige Vertonungen folgende Ordinarium missae-Sätze von Huesca MS 4 sind in weiteren spanischen Quellen überliefert: Codex Calixtinus aus der Kathedralbibliothek in Santiago de Compostela, 12. Jahrhundert, ohne Signatur; Codex Las Huelgas, Bibliothek Las Huelgas, Burgos, 13. Jahrhundert, ohne Signatur; Wolfenbüttel 1, Herzog-August-Bibliothek 628 (olim 677).

fol. 126	*Cunctipotens genitor*	Kyrie-Tropus: Milán, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, fol. 56-56v, Calixtinus, fol.190. Las Huelgas, fol. 1-1v (gleiche Melodie, verschiedener Text *Rex virginum*), W 1, f. 193, 176.
fol. 137	*Fons bonitatis*	Kyrie: Huelgas, fol. 2v-3v
fol. 145	*Clangat hodie vox*	Osanna Sanctus-Prosula: Huelgas, fol. 15-16
fol. 148	*Laudes Deo ore*	Sanctus: W1, fol. 93-93v

Dieser Befund weist auf eine synchrone monodische und polyphone Praxis in Spanien hin, die im engen Zusammenhang mit der kirchenpolitischen Ideologie der jeweiligen Regionen steht. Aragón, eine der frühesten Enklaven nach Katalonien, in dem das altspanische Repertoire durch das fränkisch-römische ersetzt wurde, zeigt sich wiederum konservativ was die Komposition neuer Gesangsstücke anbetrifft, wie die Faktur der Eigenkompositionen zeigt. Auch die Offiziumsquellen aus dem Kathedralarchiv von Huesca wie das dreiteilige *Breviarium Oscense*, MS 7-9, Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts, das *Breviarium Oscense*, MS 2, 12. Jahrhundert und das *Breviarium oscense*, MS 12, 13. Jahrhunderts, weisen eine Reihe von Eigenkompositionen auf, in diesem Falle Responsoriumsprosen, die die Vitalität der eigenständigen Tradition reflektieren.

Responsoriumsprosen: Alphabetische Reihenfolge und Belege in weiteren Quellen

Prosa	Responsorium	Hs.	Folio	Weiteren Quellen
A patre procedens	Erant omnes	8	47	Unika
Adveni et subveni	Hodie Maria	9	56–56v	Unika
Alle nunc hodie	Erant omnes	2	158v–159	Unika
Alta concinite	Dum transisset	2	133	Unika
Atque proiectus	Michael et angeli	9	208–208v	Barc. Bibl. Catalunya, 662, Montse. Klosterbibl. s.n.
Auri thuris	Tria sunt munera	7	74v	Unika
Carus Christi	Thomas martyr	9	26v	Unika
Celestis aule ianuas	O claviger regni	9	125	Unika
Columbarum tui sunt	Ave festina	9	171–171v	Unika
Est in crucis vita ligno	Per tuam crucem	9	96	Unika
Fac Domine Deus	Descendit de celis	12	48v	BN, ms. lat. 1084, 1118
Fac Domine Deus	Descendit de celis	7	53	BN, ms. lat. 1084, 1118
In sapientia divina	Luce splendida	9	259	Unika
In tempore atque	O constantia	9	223	Montse. Kolsterbibliothek 72, BN ms. lat. 1338
Inviolata Maria	Gaude Maria	9	80v–81	BN, ms. lat. 1084, 1139, 3719 etc.
Ita fiet in novissima	Viri Galilei	8	36–36v	Limoges 2, BN, ms. lat. 776
Ortum predestinatio	Et valde mane	2	135v	Unika
Preparavit atque	Inter natos	9	114v	Unika
Quia verbum hodie	Gloria in altissimis	12	55	Barc. Bibl. Central, M 706 (Verbeta)
Quia verbum hodie	Gloria in altissimis	7	63v–64	Barc. Bibl. Central, M 706 (Verbeta)
Quo pascuntur celi	O felix sacrorum	9	144v	Unika
Rex celi et terre	Angelus Domini	2	132–132v	Unika
Sospitati dedit	Ex eius tumba	9	4	Vic Bibl. Museo episcopal, 74, Montse. Klosterbibliothek, 36 etc.

Die meisten Responsoriumsprosen sind Unica. Keiner dieser Quellen weist jedoch polyphone Aufzeichnungen auf. Als Erklärung dafür wäre an die Praxis einer schriftlosen Polyphonie, die auf der Erfindung und Improvisation der Sänger

beruhte, zu denken. Eine sogennante Mehrstimmigkeit alla mente, ein *cantus compositus super librum*, wären durchaus vertretbare virtuelle Formen der polyphonen Praxis in der Kathedrale von Huesca. Aber es kann genau so legitim erscheinen, daß im 13. Jahrhundert monodische Prosen weiterhin komponiert worden sind. Huglo hat bereits auf die zwei Möglichkeiten, das Officium 'auszuschmücken', *pro ornatu ecclesiasticorum carminum*, hingewiesen. Die Officiums-Responsorien boten auf zweierlei Weisen die Gelegenheit hierzu. Entweder auf der horizontalen Ebene, durch Hinzufügung eines Neuma den man später mit einem Text unterlegte, oder auf der vertikalen Ebene durch das *organum*.[27] Bei den Breviarien von Huesca wurde die erste Möglichkeit gewählt. Am Rande sei nur erwähnt daß das Vokabular der neukomponierten Texte ebenso Anhaltspunkte für eine hinter der metaphorischen Sprache verborgene Spekulation über die virtuelle mehrstimmige Praxis, bietet. Ob diese Terminologie einer reinen stilistischen Konvention, einer metaphorischen Rethorik oder einer reellen Praxis entspricht, muß erst durch weitere Argumente bestätigt werden.[28]

Die dargelegten Bestandsaufnahmen ermöglichen mehrere Schlußfolgerungen. Zunächst die Feststellung einer bilateralen Konfiguration des neu eingeführten Repertoires in Spanien, die die Idee einer beinahe Kolonisation der spanischen Klöstergemeinschaften durch aquitanische oder cluniacensische Legaten somit relativiert. Die genaue Untersuchung des Repertoires der einzelnen Quellen des Kathedralarchives von Huesca weist eine aktive Mitgestaltung von spanischer Seite auf. Das *Prosarium-Troparium* von Huesca MS 4 ist ein klares Paradigma der Begegnung zwei verschiedener Traditionskreise, Aquitanien und Nordspanien. Die Diversität seines Inhaltes im Hinblick auf die verschiedene Provenienz und Datierung des Inhaltes, deutet einerseits auf eine nicht allzu methodische und organisierte Rezeption des neuen Repertoires, andererseits auf die Circulation verschiedener Quellen oder *libelli*, aus denen die einzelnen Gesangstücke ausgewählt wurden, hin.[29]

[27] M. HUGLO, *Du répons de l'Office avec prosule au répons organisé*, in *Altes im Neuen, Festschrift Theodor Göllner*, Tutzing, 1995, Ss. 25-36.

[28] Die vollständige Textausgabe der Prosen und Responsoriumsprosen der aragonesischen Quellen wird an dieser Stelle nicht wiedergegeben. Die Edition wird voraussichtlich 2000 bei der Institución Fernando el Católico herausgegeben. Auf die Musikmetaphoren der Tropen hat bereits G. IVERSEN aufmerksam gemacht, *Corpus Troponum. VII. Tropes de l'ordinaire de la messe. Tropes du Sanctus*, Stockholm, 1990.

[29] Bei diesem Auswahlprozeß wurden Prosen und Tropen unterschiedlichen Verbreitungsgrades übernommen, allerdings zeigen die Quellen der Kathedrale von Huesca eine Tendenz zu den älteren Versionen im Gegensatz zu der progressiveren Zusammenstellung des Repertoires bei den katalanischen Quellen. Castro Caridad bemerkt z.B., daß die Variante der Sanctus Tropen von Huesca eine ältere sei als die der katalanischen Troparien, obwohl diese einer älteren Datierung vorweisen, CASTRO CARIDAD, *Tropos y Troparios*, S. 257. Dazu muß ergänzt werden, daß

In dieser ersten Phase der Gestaltung und Konsolidierung eines völlig unbekannten liturgischen Komplexes ist jedoch die mehrstimmige Gesangspraxis anhand von Quellen nicht belegbar. Ein Zustand der etwas anachronistisch im Bezug auf andere Zentren der schriftlich überlieferten mehrstimmigen Praxis in Spanien erscheint. Man denke allein an Ripoll, Santiago, Burgos und Toledo. Die lange Verwendung der aquitanischen Notation in Spanien bis ins 16. Jahrhundert zeigt ebenso eine zeitliche Verschiebung im Vergleich zu den geistlichen Zentren auf der anderen Seite der Pyrenäen, die sich, wie oben angesprochen, nicht nur auf der schriftlichen, sondern auch auf der stilistischen Ebene der Neukompositionen bemerkbar macht.[30]

Diese anachronistische Physiognomie der aragonesischen Quellen, sowohl inhaltlich als auch im Bezug auf die Notation, ist ein Indikator der langsamen Rezeption des fränkisch-römischen Repertoires. Auch eine oppositionelle Haltung gegenüber der drastischen politischen Entscheidung des Ritualwechsels ist darin impliziert zu sehen.[31] Ebenso die Tatsache, daß die Reform vorwiegend von monastischen Zentren durchgeführt wurde spricht für eine konservativere, der Innovation weniger aufgeschlossenen Haltung.[32] Diese Deutungen dürfen selbstverständlich nicht die polyphone Praxis in Aragón bis ins 14. Jahrhundert in Frage stellen, zeigen aber eine Zurückhaltung gegenüber seiner schriftlichen Fixierung. Es sei nochmals auf die Möglichkeit einer schriftlosen Mehrstimmigkeit hingewiesen. In diesem Zusammenhang ist es auch relevant an die Präsenz französischer Mönche und Kleriker in den aragonesischen Klöstern und Kathe-

Huesca MS 4 auf monastische Modelle zurückgeht während die katalanischen Quellen dem Kathedral-officium angehören. Siehe diesbezüglich die Rolle der Libelli bei der Zusammenstellung der ersten Troparien, M. HUGLO, *Les Libelli de Tropes et les premiers Tropaires-Prosaires*, in *Pax et Sapientia. Studies in Text and Music of liturgical Tropes and Sequences. In Memory of Gordon Anderson*, ed. R. JACOBSSON, (*Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 28), Stockholm, 1986, Ss. 13–22.

[30] Die gleichzeitige Verwendung der altspanischen und der aquitanischen Notation in vereinzelt erhaltenen liturgisch-musikalischen Quellen des 12.–13. Jahrhundert ist auch ein klares Symptom für den langsamen Reformationsprozeß und den allmählichen Lernprozeß mancher Scriptoria. B. SHAILOR, *The Scriptorium of Sahagún: A Period of Transition*, in *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter*, ed. B.F. REILLY, New York, 1985, S. 44. Neuere Befunde bezüglich der gleichzeitigen Verwendung der aquitanischen und der altspanischen Notation aus der 1. Hälfte des 12. Jahrhundert bieten die Arbeit von NELSON, *Medieval liturgical Music*, Ss. 76–77.

[31] Die internen kirchenpolitischen Spannungen in Aragón bei der Ersetzung des altspanischen durch das aquitanische Repertoire wurden an einer anderen Stelle besprochen, cf. ZAPKE, *Das Antiphonar von Sta. Cruz de la Serós*, Ss. 50–60. Die Beibehaltung des Sanctorale und manche Zeremonien des altspanischen Ritus deuten ebenso in diese Richtung hin.

[32] Cf. N. VAN DEUSEN, *Music at Nevers Cathedral*, (*Musicological Studies*, 30/1), Henryville, 1980, Ss. 400 ff.

dralen als Chronisten, Sänger, *magistri musici* oder 'maestros de canto' bis ins späte 15. Jahrhundert hin zu erinnern.[33] Ein möglicher Grund für die mangelnde schriftliche Aufzeichnung der mehrstimmigen Gesänge hängt mit ihrer Notwendigkeit zusammen. Die langanhaltende Präsenz französischer Kleriker in Aragón spricht für eine oral tradierte, *super librum* praktizierte Mehrstimmigkeit.

[33] *Es de creer que en el curso de este siglo actuaban ocasionalmente cantores extraordinarios, probablemente de polifonía como sucedió en 1481, en cuyo mes de diciembre intervinieron en la Catedral unos franceses maestros en canto para cuya alimentación gastó la prepositura 24 sueldos en trigo* (*De actibus capitulii*), zitiert bei DURAN GUDIOL, *Historia de la catedral de Huesca*, S. 124.

DEATH AND TRADITION

The Two Requiem Masses of Juan Esquivel Barahona

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The chants and texts for the Missa pro defunctis, or Requiem Mass, are among the oldest in the Roman Catholic Church. The Requiem liturgy, however, varied widely from region to region before its standardization in the late sixteenth century. This variety of liturgical practices and the solemnity of the ritual may have contributed to the late arrival of the Requiem as a source for polyphonic composition. Although the first polyphonic Requiems date from the fifteenth century, the surviving Renaissance settings of the Mass for the Dead were composed primarily in sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[1] This apparent increase is certainly due in part to the advent of music printing which allowed the preservation of more examples, but by the early sixteenth century composers seemed to have looked to the Requiem as a new compositional challenge.

The most important stimulus for new Requiems was certainly the publication of the revised Missale (1568) and Breviary (1570) of Pius V, based on the liturgical reforms that issued from the proceedings of the Council of Trent. With these new documents church musicians had, for the first time, a codified liturgy for the Mass and Office for the Dead. Thus, a Requiem composed in Rome could, in theory, also be sung in Madrid, Munich, or Leuven. An examination of the surviving polyphonic pre-Tridentine Requiems from Spain, however, suggests that a traditional approach to Requiem composition in the areas of Old Castile and Andalucia had already been in place before the attempts to codify the liturgy. Moreover, this tradition apparently survived in certain Spanish cathedrals following their adoption of the Roman liturgy. The incorporation of the new liturgy for many large Spanish churches meant the acceptance of the Roman texts and only those chants that did not exist in traditional Spanish versions. Composers working under this new liturgy were faced with conflicting demands of tradition and reform. The two Requiem settings by Juan Esquivel (ca. 1562 - ca. 1625), published during the first decade of the seventeenth century, provide an opportunity to examine one composer's reconciliation of these demands.

[1] Surveys concerning the development of the liturgy and music for the *Missa pro defunctis* include H.T. LUCE, *The Requiem Mass from Its Plainsong Beginnings to 1600*, Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1958; G. ROWELL, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: An Introductory Survey of the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites*, London, 1977; R.J. SNOW, art. *Requiem Mass, Music of*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 12, Washington, 1966, p. 384.

In his 1995 dissertation on the Spanish polyphonic Office and Mass for the Dead, Grayson Wagstaff identifies the following common practices that point to a sixteenth-century Spanish tradition: (1) a consistent formulary determining those parts of the Ordinary and Propers that were to be set polyphonically; (2) the use of chants from the Spanish tradition as cantus firmus; (3) the placement of the cantus firmus in the uppermost voice of the polyphonic texture mostly in unadorned breves; (4) the use of extended chant intonations for the Introit, Gradual, and Offertory.[2] These features are evident, with only minor variations, in sixteenth-century settings such as those by Escobar, Morales, Vasquez, and Guerrero. There is also evidence indicating that these essential characteristics survived the initial wave of Tridentine reforms in Spain.

The initial point of contact for Spanish reform is Francisco Guerrero's revision of his *Missa pro defunctis*, that appeared in his *Missarum liber secundus* (Rome, 1582). Guerrero's original Requiem, published in his *Liber primus missarum* (Paris, 1556), was composed to suit the Sevillian liturgy for the Dead. The revised version was a direct response to the acceptance of the Roman Rite by the Seville Cathedral in 1575. The revisions consisted of the removal of those texts from the Sevillian tradition that would no longer be used and the addition of two newly composed Communion settings. Guerrero did not compose a completely new work based on Roman chants but kept those parts of his Requiem, whose texts did not vary from the reformed liturgy. This revised Requiem by Guerrero may well have served as a model for younger Spanish composers such as Tomás Luís de Victoria, Sebastián de Vivanco, and Juan Esquivel. In order to understand the effects of Tridentine reform on the Spanish Requiem tradition, the two Requiem settings published by Juan Esquivel, a composer who began his career after the reforms of Trent, have been chosen to illustrate how tradition was retained while conforming to the reformed liturgy.

Esquivel's two settings of the *Missa pro defunctis* place him in the company of Cristóbal de Morales, Tomás Luís de Victoria, and the Portuguese musician Duarte Lôbo. The earlier of the Esquivel settings is a five-voice work, contained in his *Missarum... liber primus* (Salamanca, 1608). Unfortunately the only extant copy of the print is damaged and lacking sections of the Benedictus and Communion as well as the entire Agnus Dei. The second of Esquivel's Requiems, a four-voice composition, was published among a large collection of Masses, Magnificats, and Office items (Salamanca, 1613). It is complete and has been published in modern edition.[3] Neither Requiem bears a specific dedication, but the 1608 setting may

[2] G.G. WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the Officium and Missa pro defunctis by Spanish Composers Before 1630*, Ph.D. diss. University of Texas at Austin, 1995.

[3] Both Requiems and the corresponding Office items have been set in modern notation in M. O'CONNOR, *The 1608 and 1613 Requiem Masses of Juan Esquivel Barahona: A Study of the Tridentine Missa pro defunctis in Spain*, master's thesis Florida State University, 1995.

have been composed as early as 1598, the year of Philip II's death. Esquivel was *maestro de capilla* at the Ciudad Rodrigo Cathedral at the time of his publications, but the loss of the cathedral's chapter records for the years 1569-1641 prevents an investigation into the reaction of the chapter to the death of king. Robert Snow first suggested that the lack of dedications may indicate that the works were intended for daily or seasonal use at the Ciudad Rodrigo cathedral. He proposes that the Office items and motets that accompany each Mass provide clues to the intended function for each work.[4] The 1608 Requiem is accompanied by a six-voice setting of the burial antiphon *In paradisum*, one of only two compositions in the *liber primus* that are not Masses; the other is a setting of *Asperges me* which heads the volume. The reprinting of this antiphon following the five-voice Mass for the Dead does suggest that the work was intended for use on the day of burial. The ordering is practical since the *In paradisum* text is assigned to the time when the body is to be removed from the church on the way to the burial site.

The Office items surrounding the 1613 Requiem suggest a different use for this work. In the 1613 print, the Mass is accompanied by a four-voice, *falsobordone* setting of the Matins lesson *Responde mihi*, and a five-voice Matins responsory *Ne recorderis*. Snow points to the reformed breviary of Pope Clement VIII (1602), which indicates that these two Matins items were to be sung on Tuesdays and Fridays when votive Requiems were to be performed. Since the approbation that precedes the musical content of the 1613 print specifically indicates that the contents were in accordance with the Clementine breviary, the four-voice Requiem indeed may have been intended for weekly votive services. Of course both works would have been appropriate for the Feast of All Souls and the commemoration of important persons as well.

An examination of the plainsong sources and the polyphonic settings of both Requiems will demonstrate Esquivel's acquaintance with other Spanish Requiems and the traditional elements in their composition. Since both works share common formularies, the polyphonic settings are discussed simultaneously. The first connection the Spanish tradition of Requiem composition can be seen in the formulary for polyphonic setting (Table 1).

For both works Esquivel set the traditional parts of the Ordinary: Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei – the Gloria and Credo being omitted – in votive Masses. The setting of the Agnus Dei for the 1608 Requiem can only be assumed since those pages are missing from the only extant copy of that Mass. The 1613 Requiem also includes a very short settings of the *Requiescant in pace* and *Amen*, replacing the standard *Ite missa est*. Although the setting of the Requiem Ordinary was fairly uniform throughout Europe, the variation in practice appears in the

[4] R.J. SNOW, *The 1613 Print of Juan Esquivel Barahona*, (*Detroit Monographs in Musicology*, 7), Detroit, 1978, p. 33.

Table 1. Formularies for the two *Missæ pro defunctis* by Juan Esquivel

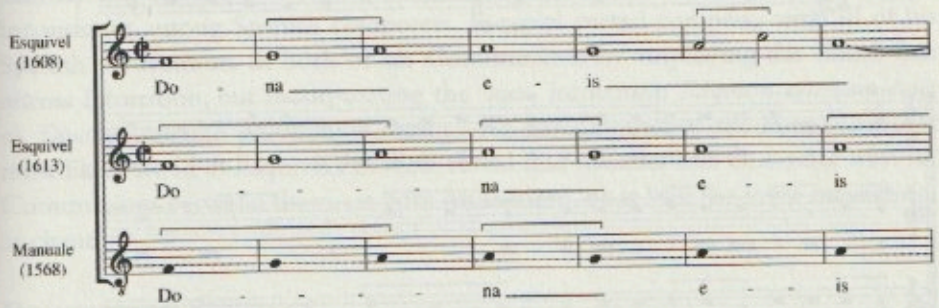
1608, 5vv.	1613, 4vv.
	Matins Lesson – *Responde mihi*
Introit – *Requiem æternam*	Introit – *Requiem æternam*
Kyrie	Kyrie
Tract (4vv) – *Absolve Domine*	Tract – *Absolve Domine*
Offertory – *Domine Jesu Christe*	Offertory – *Domine Jesu Christe*
Sanctus/Benedictus	Sanctus/Benedictus
Communion – *Lux æterna*	Communion – *Lux æterna*
Antiphon (6vv.) – *In paradisum*	Sequence – *Dies iræ* (*Lacrimosa* to end)
	Matins Responsory – *Ne recorderis*
	Dismissal – *Requiescant in pace* (5vv.)
	Amen (5vv.)

choices of texts and chants for the Requiems Propers. Esquivel set the same parts of the Propers for both of his Requiems: Introit, Tract, Offertory, and Communion. Esquivel's Propers settings conform mostly to the sixteenth-century Spanish model except that he sets the Tract rather than the Gradual. This practice has precedent in non-Spanish Requiems by Pierre de la Rue, Jacob Vaet and Orlandus Lassus. Precedence in Spanish Requiems can be seen in a pre-Tridentine setting by Antonio Gallego (fl. 1560, *Sicut cervus*), and Tridentine settings by Antonio Pallares (ca. 1600, *Absolve Domine*), and Sebastián de Vivanco (ca. 1587 - 1592,[5] *Absolve Domine*). The preference for the polyphonic Tract over the Gradual may have been a regional matter. Pallares and Vivanco each worked for the Avila cathedral, Gallego was employed at Valladolid, and Esquivel at Cuidad Rodrigo. Since these cities are clustered in west-central Spain, the setting of the Tract rather than the Gradual may have indeed been a regional preference. In addition to the Propers items listed above, the 1613 Requiem includes a setting of the final three verses of the sequence *Dies irae*. The appearance of the sequence in a Spanish Requiem is quite unusual. The only other example of its inclusion by a Spanish composer before 1630 is a setting of the final verse, *Pie Jesu*, in Morales' five-voice Requiem, composed in Rome. Moreover, Esquivel's sequence appears in the print following the Communion and preceeding the Matins responsory and Dismissal. The ordering of these items has no liturgical precedence and may have been the result of their late addition or the optional nature of their use.

Esquivel's use of distinctly Spanish chant sources for most of the canti firmi for the polyphonic settings further places these two Requiems within the Spanish tradition. Although a manuale has not yet been found that contains all of the exact chants that Esquivel used, a *Manuale Sacramentorum* published in Mexico City (Ocharte, 1568), that was certainly based on Sevillian usuage, contains very close

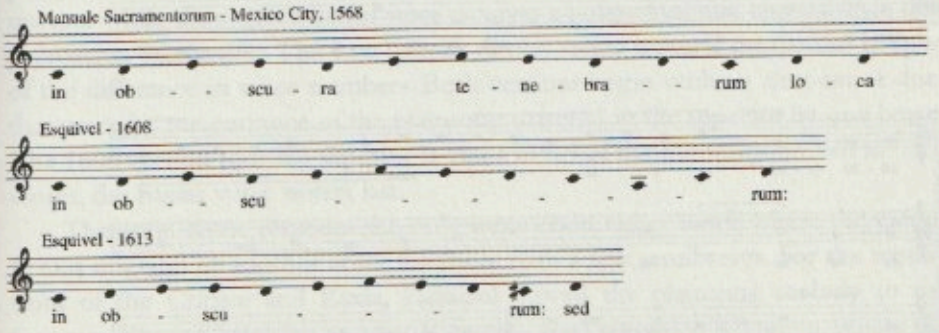
[5] WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead...*, pp. 591-592.

matches to many of the Spanish chants used by Esquivel in both Requiems. Esquivel, like his predecessors, treated the plainsong very faithfully and placed it in the upppermost voice of the polyphonic texture in mostly long note values. He was not, however, averse to abridging the original melody slightly or to relocating some of the text for his polyphonic purposes. The cantus firmus of the 1613 Requiem more closely resembles the original chant melody than its 1608 counterpart, reflecting the simpler nature of the 1613 Requiem, which is less rhythmically active and a bit more austere than the 1608 setting. This strengthens Snow's claim that the later work was intended for frequent use. A comparison between a section of the Introit chants and the Mexican manuale (Example 1) illustrates the slight difference in plainsong treatment.



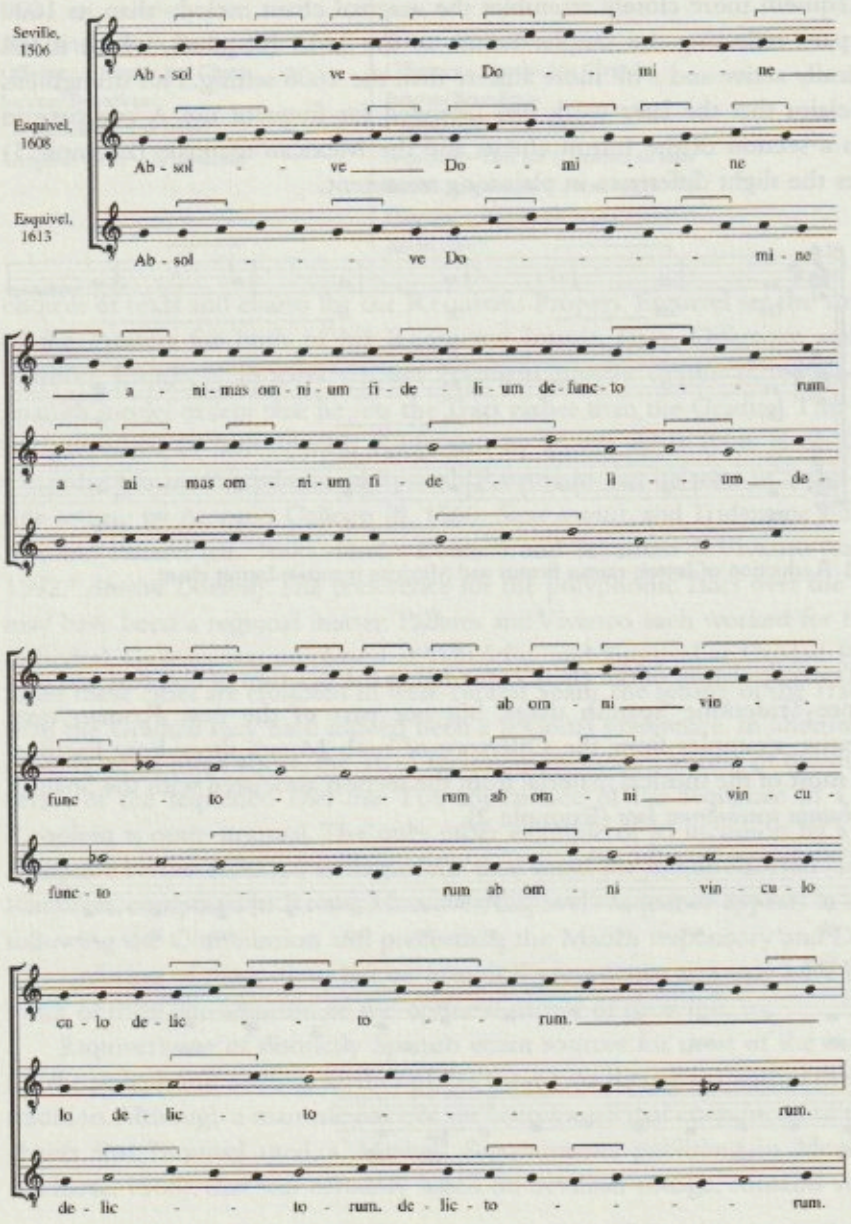
Example 1. Reduction of Introit cantus firmus and Mexican manuale Introit chant

Esquivel's manipulation of the chant extended to the deletion of text that was part of the pre-Tridentine Spanish usage, but not part of the new Roman text. Comparative examples from the Offertory of both Masses show how Esquivel retained most of the musical material from the section associated with the Spanish text *in obscura tenebrarum loca* (Example 2).



Example 2. Reduced section of Offertory canti firmi and corresponding section of manuale chant

The versions of Roman chants that Esquivel employed correspond very closely to sixteenth-century sources for those chants. Some minor variations occur such as those seen in the Tract cantus firmus of both Requiems. These are compared to a Franciscan chant source (1506, Seville) in Example 3.



Example 3. Reduction of Tract canti firmi and Franciscan Tract chant

The placement of the cantus firmus in the polyphonic texture, and the length of the chant intonations that precede the polyphony of the Propers are two defining aspects of the Spanish tradition. Esquivel followed the practices set by his predecessors in both these respects. Surviving examples show that Spaniards preferred setting the text *Requiem aeternam* from the Introit as chant intonation, while other regions of Europe tended to begin the polyphonic section immediately following the intonation of the word *Requiem*. The use of the extended intonation is perhaps a reflection of the authority of the *sochantres* in Spanish cathedrals whose traditional intonations were transferred from the plainchant versions of the *Missa pro defunctis* to the polyphonic settings. The traditional use of extended intonations extends to the Gradual (*Requiem aeternam*) and Offertory (*Domine Jesu Christe Rex Gloriae*). The use of chant intonations within the Communion, however, was more inconsistent among Spanish composers. Esquivel parted company with all of his Spanish predecessors in both of his Communions by employing the initial *Lux aeterna* intonation, but incorporating the verse intonation *Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine* into the polyphonic settings. An examination of the Requiems that most likely stood as Esquivel's models, reveal that Morales and Guerrero, with six Communions between them, set both intonations, or at least the verse intonation, as chant.

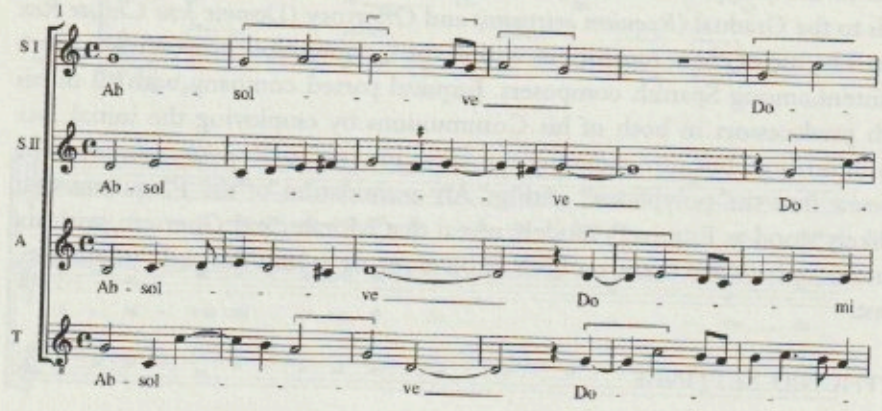
Polyphonic Settings

The polyphonic settings demonstrate that, while Esquivel had a traditional model, he was willing to experiment with some expressive devices, even in this solemn genre. There are many points of similarity as well as variance between the two works but only a few may be discussed here. The polyphony opens in both compositions with the Introit, *Requiem aeternam*. In both works Esquivel followed Spanish custom by reflecting the original nature of the Introit plainsong in the polyphonic setting. The melismatic antiphon melody is set in a mildly imitative manner while the syllabic Psalm verse receives a homorhythmic chordal style that approaches *falsobordone*. The two Introits display many textural similarities in spite of the difference in voice numbers. Both versions begin with an altus-tenor duet that precedes the entrance of the plainsong material in the superius by one breve. The 1608 version adds the superius II voice in b.5 of the transcription, but in both works, the bassus voice enters last.

The 1608 Kyrie provides the only instance in either work where the cantus firmus migrates to another voice for more than a few semibreves. For the repetitions of the Christe and Kyrie, Esquivel moved the plainsong melody to the Superius II voice, bringing to mind Victoria's 1605 six-voice Requiem, where the plainsong travels primarily in that voice. Perhaps Esquivel had seen Victoria's work before composing his first Requiem and wished to pay a quick respect to his older

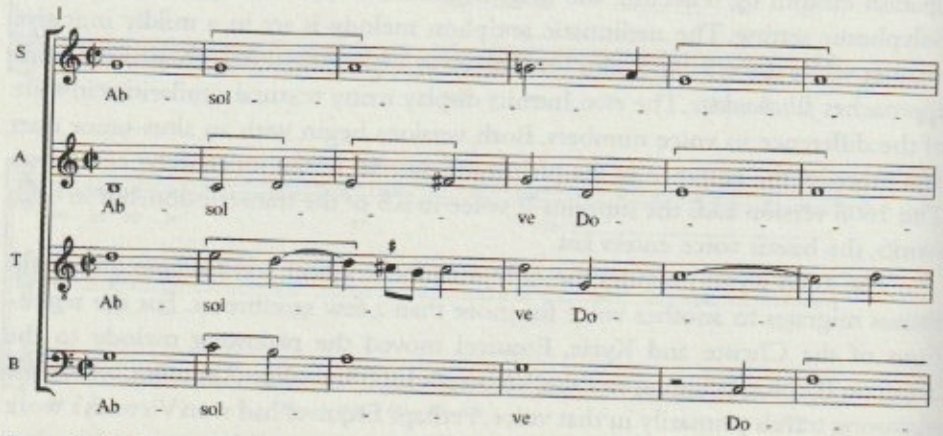
colleague. Whether this was the reason or not, the movement of the cantus firmus to the lower voice gave Esquivel the opportunity to harmonize the plainchant a third above, providing some musical variety to the repetition of the text.

Esquivel's experimental nature is most readily heard in the first moments of both of the Tract settings where the word *Absolve* is marked by an unusual moment of intentional parallelism. For the 1608 Tract Esquivel provided a type of double-leading-tone movement in parallel fourths, between the Superius II and Altus voices, that can only be interpreted as an expressive device for this request for absolution of the souls for the faithful departed (Example 4a)



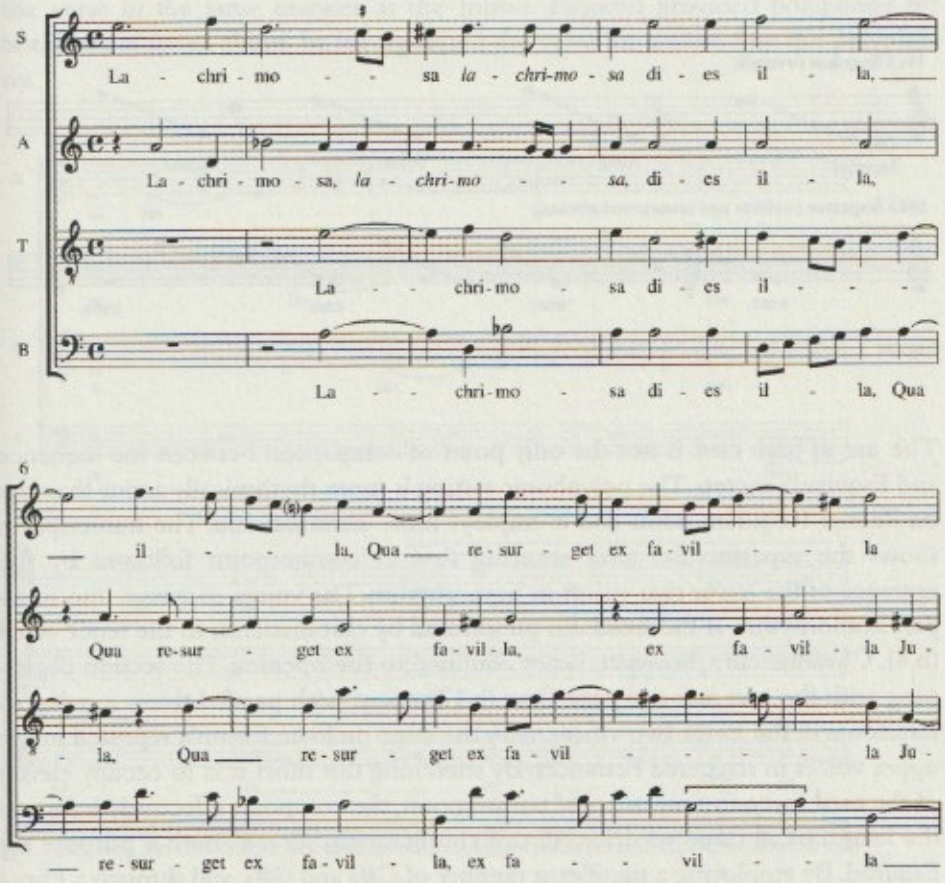
Example 4a. Esquivel 1608 Tract, transcription bb. 1-6 (Bassus voice is tacet)

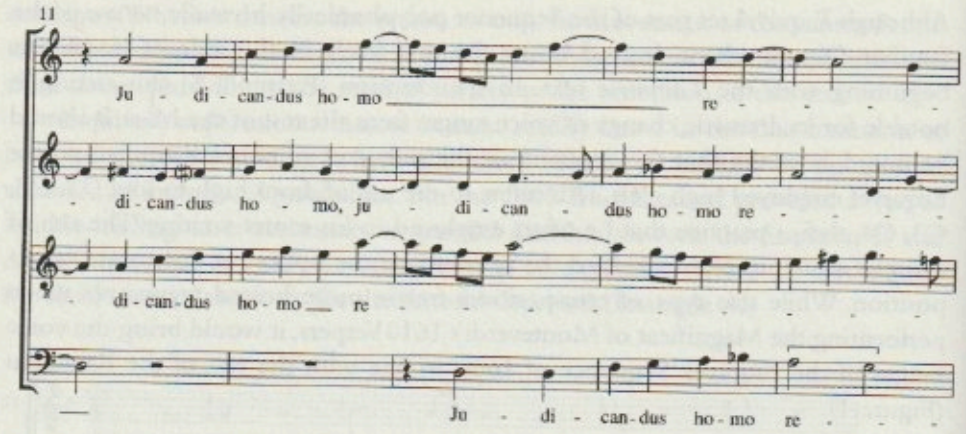
Apparently this device so pleased Esquivel that he used it again in the 1613 Tract (Example 4b). In the later work, however, he prepared the dissonance a bit better with a decorative figure preceding the C-sharp in the Tenor voice.



Example 4b. Esquivel 1613 Tract, transcription bb. 1-6

Although Esquivel set part of the Sequence polyphonically, he made no use of the familiar *Dies irae* chant. Instead he set the text freely in the style of his motets beginning with the *Lacrimosa* text. In transcription (Example 5) this setting is notable for its dramatic change of voice ranges from the rest of the Mass. It should be noted, however, that the Sequence is the only part of either Requiem where Esquivel employed high clefs. This refers to the use of, from high to low, G2, C2, C3, C4 clefs, a practice that he often employed in his motet writing. The use of this clef structure often signified the necessity or the option of downward transposition. While this type of transposition creates more heated arguments when performing the Magnificat of Monteverdi's 1610 Vespers, it would bring the voice ranges of the Esquivel 'Sequence of 1608' in line with the rest of the Requiem (Figure 1).





Example 5. Esquivel 1613 Sequence

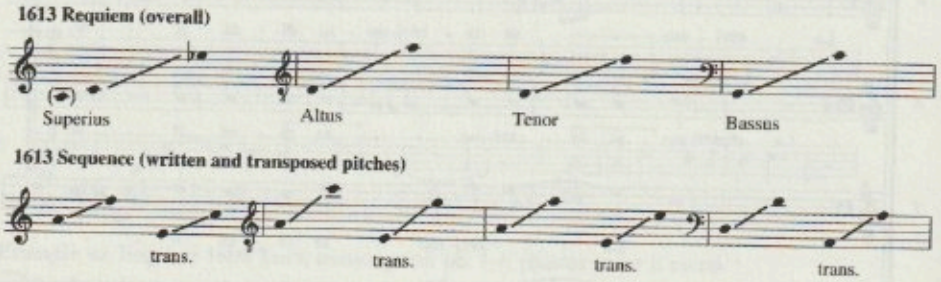


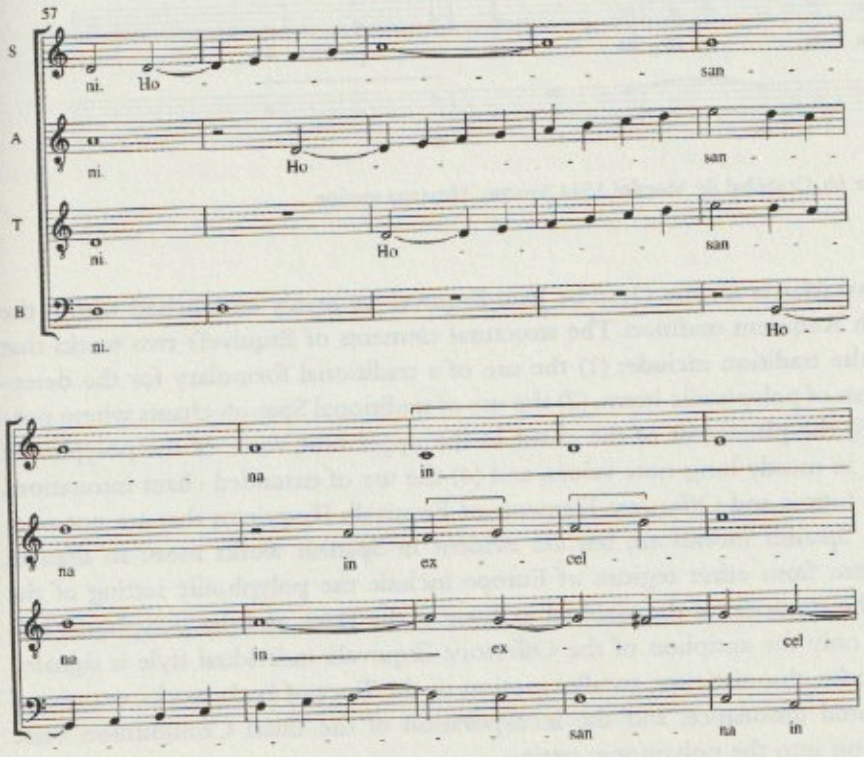
Figure 1

The use of high clefs is not the only point of comparison between the sequence and Esquivel's motets. The polyphonic setting is more rhythmically active than the traditional Requiem items and it employs more chromaticism. The transcription shows the superius and altus entering first in counterpoint followed by the entrance of the lower two voices in homorhythm. The voices converge into four-part homorhythm at the word *dies* punctuated by chromaticism in the tenor voice (b.4). Chromaticism, however, is not confined to the opening. The section beginning with the text *huic ergo parce Deus* (b.17) opens with parallel thirds moving in semitones in the lower two voices, with the same melodic formula repeated in the upper voices in staggered entrances. By stretching this short text to occupy eleven of the total forty-five measures of transcription, the composer effectively balanced the length of all three versicles. All this chromaticism served another purpose for Esquivel. By employing a significant number of C#s and G#s, and through a Phrygian cadence at b.23 and a subverted Phrygian cadence at b.27, he effectively ob-

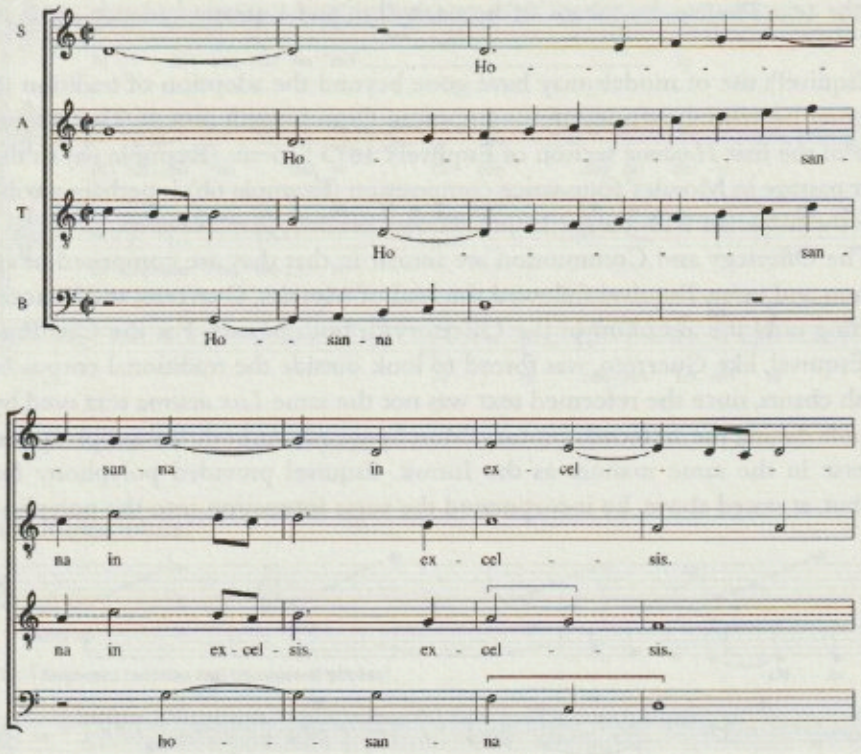
scured the modality of the second versicle. The return to stability is, appropriately, at the text *Pie Jesu*, by means of homorhythm and a strong cadence on F in b.31.

Esquivel's use of models may have gone beyond the adoption of tradition to the actual borrowing of ideas from his more famous predecessors. The resemblance of the first *Hosanna* section of Esquivel's 1613 Sanctus (Example 6a) to the similar passage in Morales' four-voice composition (Example 6b) is perhaps a tribute to the musician who taught Esquivel's own teacher, Juan Navarro.

The Offertory and Communion are similar in that they are comprised of an antiphon and verse. Esquivel followed the lead of Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria by setting only the antiphon of the Offertory in both Masses. For the Communion Esquivel, like Guerrero, was forced to look outside the traditional corpus of Spanish chants, since the reformed text was not the same *Lux aeterna* text used by Spaniards during the sixteenth century. Most Spaniards set both the antiphon and the verse in the same manner as the Introit. Esquivel provided polyphony for both, but, as stated above, he incorporated the verse intonation into the polyphony.



Example 6a. Esquivel 1613 Sanctus, Hosanna section



Example 6b. Cristóbal de Morales 1544 Sanctus, Hosanna section

The two Masses for the Dead by Juan Esquivel are firmly entrenched within the Spanish Requiem tradition. The structural elements of Esquivel's two works that signal the tradition include: (1) the use of a traditional formulary for the determination of polyphonic items, (2) the use of traditional Spanish chants where possible, (3) the placement of the chant in the uppermost voice of the polyphonic texture in mostly long-note values, and (4) the use of extended chant intonations for the Introit and Offertory. Elements of Esquivel's Requiems that are not necessarily Spanish inventions, but are evident in Spanish works more so than in Requiems from other regions of Europe include the polyphonic setting of the Tract, the omission of the Gradual in favor of the Tract, and the polyphonic setting of only the antiphon of the Offertory. Esquivel's individual style is signaled by melodic chromaticism, parallel motion in the Tract of both works, occasional unprepared dissonance, and the incorporation of the usual Communion verse intonation into the polyphonic setting.

While the two *Missa pro defunctis* settings provide new insights into Esquivel's compositional style, they also provide evidence that the Spanish Requiem tradition, begun in the early sixteenth century, was passed on to a new group of composers whose music was directly affected by the liturgical reforms that issued from the Council of Trent. The ties to tradition and the similarities to Requiems of earlier musicians provide more evidence that composers of polyphony drew from the works of their esteemed predecessors. The survival of this uniquely Iberian tradition is certainly a testament to the importance of tradition in Spain and how that tradition was reconciled with the spirit of reform in the early seventeenth century.

L'office de s. Winoc de Bergues (Flandres, XIe siècle) est-il à l'origine d'une teneur dans les motets du XIIIe siècle?

Recherches sur la teneur *Aptatur* dans les motets des manuscrits de Montpellier et de Bamberg

Jean François Goudesenne
IRHT-CNRS Orléans

Pierre Aubry, à la suite d'Edmond De Coussemaker, s'est fortement impliqué dans l'étude et l'édition des motets du XIIIe siècle. Les manuscrits de Montpellier (H 196) et de Bamberg (lit 115[1]) se présentent comme les deux sources principales du corpus des compositions polyphoniques du milieu du XIIIe siècle, qui émanent des successeurs de Pérotin et marquent un florissant épanouissement de *l'Ars antiqua*. De nombreux motets de ces deux manuscrits dérivent de l'organum et ont une origine liturgique.[2] Comme la séquence ou le trope mélogène dans le haut Moyen Âge, ces motets résultent de l'adaptation polyphonique d'un texte littéraire à un mélisme préexistant, dénommé teneur ou ténor. La paraphrase polyphonique ainsi créée à partir d'une pièce grégorienne associe le motet au souvenir d'une fête liturgique. Les motets latins représentent la part la plus importante des compositions dans ces deux sources: cent huit pour Montpellier et quarante-huit pour Bamberg.

Aubry et Gastoué, dans la recherche de l'origine des ténors latins, ont remarqué qu'un des plus usités était *aptatur*,[3] sans pouvoir en déterminer l'origine, c'est la découverte de l'office de saint Winoc par l'abbé Bayart en 1908 qui leur a permis d'émettre une hypothèse quant à l'origine de ce ténor.[4] Pourtant, cette origine suscite d'emblée des réserves, à cause de l'éloignement géographique de cet office, issu d'un monastère des Flandres au milieu du XIe siècle, dont la diffusion reste très limitée.[5] Si Dom Beyssac puis à sa suite Yvonne Rokseth[6] optent plutôt pour l'office de s. Nicolas, largement diffusé et très 'populaire', il n'en demeure pas

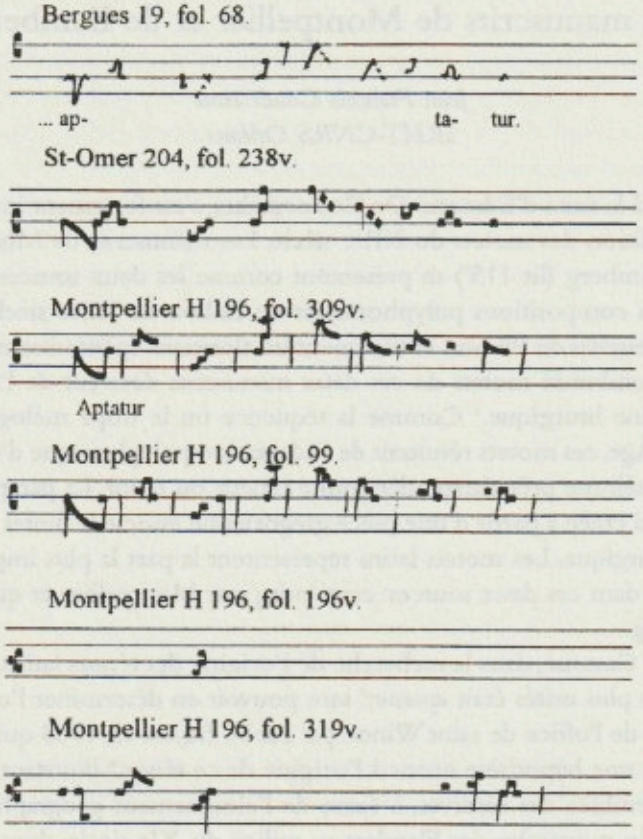
[1] *Olim* Ed IV 6.

[2] P. AUBRY, *Cents motets du XIIIe siècle publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV. 6 de Bamberg*, (*Etudes et commentaires*, 3), Paris, 1908, New-York, 1964 (rééd.), pp. 16-18.

[3] P. AUBRY et A. GASTOUE, *Recherche sur les ténors latins dans les motets du XIIIe siècle d'après le manuscrit de Montpellier*, dans *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, 1907, p. 173.

[4] P. BAYART, *Les anciens offices de s. Winoc et de s. Oswald*, dans *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, 1908, pp. 56-57 et note 1.

moins que cette énigme n'est toujours pas résolue: seul le neuma final du répons *Cum in hora* de l'office de s. Winoc correspond mot pour mot et note pour note au ténor des manuscrits de Bamberg et de Montpellier. Personne à ce jour n'a encore pu éclairer ni résoudre cette véritable petite énigme bientôt séculaire (Exemple 1)![7]



Exemple 1. Le ténor Aptatur

[5] Il n'est diffusé qu'à l'abbaye voisine de Saint-Bertin (Saint-Omer), dans un antiphonaire du XVIe s. (Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 205).

[6] Y. ROKSETH, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle: le manuscrit H 196 de la bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, Paris, 1935, tome 4 (commentaire), pp. 193-194.

[7] Yvonne Rokseth affirme qu'Aubry a du renoncer à son identification, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle.*

L'Office de s. Winoc et le recueil hagiographique de Bergues

Découvert il y a près d'un siècle par Paul Bayart qui l'a publié et analysé à plusieurs reprises, une première fois dans la *Tribune de Saint-Gervais* en 1908 et dans les *Annales du Comité Flamand de France* en 1926,[8] l'office de s. Winoc présente comme plus ancien témoin un recueil hagiographique provenant de l'abbaye de Saint-Winoc de Bergues, datant du milieu ou de la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle.[9] Le manuscrit offre la particularité d'être un des rares témoins de cette époque à s'inscrire dans la droite tradition des luxueux recueils hagiographiques de la troisième renaissance carolingienne, notamment ceux de l'abbaye voisine de Sithiu (Saint-Omer, B. M. ms. 764; Boulogne-sur-mer B. M. ms. 107) et de la collégiale Notre-Dame de Saint-Omer (Saint-Omer, B. M. ms. 698). Les miniatures et les dessins au trait représentant s. Winoc, s. Oswald et sainte Lévinne établissent une parenté, certes lointaine, avec le manuscrit issu du scriptorium de l'abbé Odbert de Saint-Bertin.[10]

L'office a été composée à partir de la *Vita* qui le précède dans le manuscrit, à savoir la *Seconde Vie* de s. Winoc (BHL 8954), attribuée à Bovon de Gand dans le milieu du XIe siècle, entre la fondation du monastère de Bergues en 1022 et les *Miracula* de Drogon (+ 1070) (BHL 8956).[11] Il se répartit en deux groupes de pièces: le premier, le plus important, rassemble vingt-et-une antiennes, treize répons et trois hymnes pour la fête de la déposition; le second regroupe douze antiennes, six répons propres et un répons du commun, qui ne reçoivent pas d'affectation liturgique précise et peuvent donc être chantées *ad libitum*, par exemple pour l'octave de la fête.

En ce qui concerne la composition musicale en général, on observe une assez grande unité, qui se traduit par l'affranchissement quasiment total des formes du "vieux-fonds" grégorien[12] au profit d'un nouveau style 'prosulaire', qui illustre toutes les caractéristiques du XIe siècle, à savoir l'élaboration d'une mélodie ornée,

[8] ROKSETH, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle* et ID., *Les offices rimés de s. Winoc et de s. Oswald d'après le ms. 14 [19] de la bibliothèque de Bergues*, dans *Annales du Comité Flamand de France*, 35 (1926).

[9] F: Bergues, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 19.

[10] C. DEREMBLE, *L'enluminure*, dans *Nord roman: Flandre, Artois, Picardie, Laonnois*, Zodiaque *(La nuit des temps)*, 1994, pp. 259-339.

[11] L. VAN DER ESSEN, *Etude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique*, Louvain-Paris, 1907, p. 410; N. HUYGHEBAERT, *La Vita secunda s. Winnoci restituée à l'hagiographie gantoise*, dans *Revue Bénédictine*, 81 (1971), pp. 216-258.

[12] Quelques éléments persistent dans de rares timbres et quelques intonations, comme celle du répons *Advenit dies sancto* qui se rattache au groupe D du huitième mode.

construite à partir de la répétition de cellules, tant à grande échelle qu'au niveau de chaque mot ou groupe de mots.[13]

La question des attributions d'auteurs et surtout des influences stylistiques des autres écoles de composition nous paraît plus importante. Bayart s'appuie sur les chroniques du monastère pour attribuer l'office, ou tout au moins une partie, à un certain abbé Germain, d'origine parisienne, arrivé à Bergues aux alentours de 1030.[14] Les chroniques le présentent comme liturgiste et compositeur:

Hic composuit multas sequentias sive responsoria, quibus romana utitur ecclesia: nimirum prosam de Sp. S. Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia; responsoria de nativitate Domini Judaea et Jerusalem; de S. Petro Cornelius centurio; de S. S. Martyribus Concede nobis, et O constantia martyrum.[15]

On ne peut porter un regard très sérieux sur ces attributions pour lesquelles certaines pièces sont plutôt redevables à Robert le Pieux.[16] S'il est étonnant qu'il ne soit dit mot des offices de s. Winoc et de s. Oswald, une chose est sûre, c'est que Germain était versé dans les questions de liturgie et de musique. Nous sommes donc tout à fait disposés à considérer les hypothèses de Bayart comme acceptables, à savoir donc, que c'est sous l'abbatiat de Germain qu'a vu jour un office, tiré de la *Seconde Vie* de Bovon de Gand, composée à la même époque, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, entre 1022 et le milieu du siècle. Pour Bayart, le complément des pièces *ad libitum* est probablement redevable au moine Drogon de Bergues, auteur des *Miracula* desquels sont tirés plusieurs compositions. Autant dans son premier article de la Tribune de s. Gervais Bayart insiste sur le rôle de Germain comme compositeur d'une partie de l'office, autant dans son article de 1926, il semble privilégier la part prise par Drogon, sans vraiment résoudre la question.[17] L'hagiologue bollandiste Huyghebaert est revenu sur les positions de Bayart pour mettre beaucoup de réserves quant à l'attribution à Drogon de la *Secunda Vita* mais aussi de son office.[18] Il est vrai que par ses ruptures de style, tant sur le plan lit-

[13] Analyse plus détaillée dans J.-F. GOUDESENNE, *Les offices historiques ou historiae composés pour les fêtes des saints du VIIIe au XIe siècle dans la Province ecclésiastique de Reims*, Thèse de doctorat Université de Tours, 1996, I/2, pp. 476–483.

[14] BAYART, *Les anciens offices*, pp. 118–9 (1908) et pp. 275–7 (1926).

[15] A. PRUVOST, *Chronique et cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Bergues-Saint-Winoc*, Bruges, 1875, 2 vol.

[16] BAYART, *Les anciens offices*, p. 118 (1908).

[17] *Idem*, pp. 37–39 (1926): "Assurément, si les chants que contient notre manuscrit ont été composés, en tout ou en partie, avant 1041, c'est à cet abbé [Germain] qu'il faut en attribuer la paternité. Cette hypothèse n'est pas admissible si les offices ont été composés par Drogon entre 1058 et 1070. Alors qui les [les offices de s. Winoc et de s. Oswald] aurait mis en musique? Drogon peut-être, disciple lui-même de Germain."

[18] N. HUYGHEBAERT, *Un moine hagiographe: Drogon de Bergues*, dans *Sacris Erudiri*, 20 (1971), p. 194: "Laissant de côté ici les compositions musicales attribuées au moine Drogon sur la base d'arguments qui devraient être attentivement revus, (...) ".

téraire que musical, l'office trahit deux époques sinon deux esthétiques différentes, probablement celle des écoles de Paris et d'Île de France, d'une part et l'école voisine de s. Bertin (Saint-Omer), d'autre part. C'est cette dernière dont il ne faudrait pas minorer l'influence, Huyghebaert ayant rappellé l'indubitable influence de l'école bertinienne sur ce moine hagiographe Drogon, auteur de pièces hagiographiques pour s. Winoc qui aurait pu suivre sa formation à l'école de Sithiu.[19] Nous préférons ne pas trancher la question qui reste posée et qui n'exclut nullement une part de la composition de l'office au deux auteurs, sinon à leur entourage.

LE TÉNOR *APTATUR*

On retrouve le ténor dans neuf motets du manuscrit de Montpellier et neuf fois dans celui de Bamberg. Cinq motets sont communs aux deux manuscrits. Un motet est attribué à Adam de la Halle et un autre est cité par Francon de Cologne[20] (voir Tableau 1).

Le ténor *aptatur* présente toutes les caractéristiques modales du *tritus* plagal (6e mode), avec son tétracorde inférieur et sa sous-tonique altérée (*mib* ou *sib*).

[19] HUYGHEBAERT, *Un moine hagiographe*, p. 215.

[20] Manuscrit H 196 de Montpellier: E. DE COUSSEMAKER, *L'Art harmonique aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1865; ROKSETH, *Polyphonies du XIIIe siècle*; G. REANEY, *Montpellier-Handschriften*, dans *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 9,Kassel-Basel, 1961, pp. 534-535; H. TISCHLER, *Why a New Edition of the Montpellier Codex?*, dans *Acta Musicologica*, 46/1 (1974), pp. 58-75; H. TISCHLER, *Latin Texts in the Early Motet Collections: Relationships and Perspectives*, dans *Musica Disciplina*, 31 (1977), pp. 31-44; M.E. WOLINSKI, *The Compilation of the Montpelier Codex*, dans *Early Music History*, 11 (1992), pp. 263-301; *Sources, Ms, § V, 2: early motet, principal sources*, dans *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 17, London, 1980, p. 656. Manuscrit de Bamberg (Staatsbibliothek, lit. 115): P. AUBRY, *Cents motets du XIIIe siècle publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV. 6 de Bamberg*, (*Etudes et commentaires*, 3), Paris, 1908; New-York, 1964 (rééd.); G.A. ANDERSON, *Compositions of the Bamberg manuscript*,(*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 75), 1977; *Sources, Ms, § V, 2: early motet, principal sources*, dans *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 17, London, 1980, p. 656.

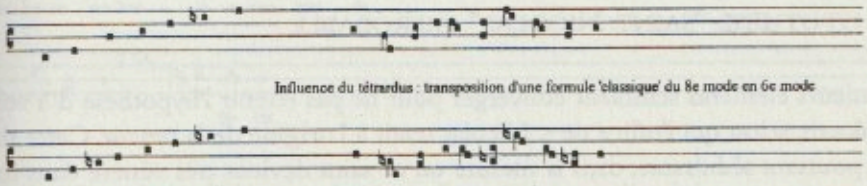
Tableau 1. Liste des motets avec ténor *aptatur*

Manuscrit, folio	Titre	Fête	Compositeur	Bibliographie
		MONTPELLIER ET BAMBERG		
Mo, f. 98v-9 (F[21] 4) B, f. 16	Psallat chorus Eximie pater	Nicolas	cité par Francon de Cologne (CK n18)	Aubry 76-7
Mo, f. 112-3; 198v-9 (F 5) B, f. 18v	Hé! Marotèle, allons En la prairie Robins			
Mo, f. 280v (F 7) B, f. 13	Entre Adan et Haniket Chief bienséant		Adam de la Halle	Aubry 72
Mo, f. 295v-6 (F 7) B, f. 18	Salve virgo virginum Est-il donc einsi	BMV		trope du Salve regina Aubry 78
Mo, f. 319v (F 7) B, f. 36v	Amor vincens omnia Marie preconio	BMV	Francon de Paris (CK n16)	prose BNF lat. 1107, f. 374v (Paris) Au 91
		BAMBERG		
B, f. 21	De voie tres serie Hé! Bonne amourete			Aubry 80
B, f. 45v	Nus ne m'i pourroit nonne sui			Aubry 96
B, f. 54v	Ave plena gracie Salve virgo regia	BMV		Aubry 103-4
B, f. 57v	Je ne chant / Talens m'est pris / Optatur Omnes			double teneur Aubry 106
		MONTPELLIER		
Mo, f. 56 (F 2)	Je suis joliete sadete			
Mo, f. 196-7 (F 5)	Hé! Mère Diu regardez La virge Marie loial	BMV	pastiche de la pièce Hé! Marotèle, allons...	Au 78
Mo, f. 379 (F 8)	Ave mundi gaudium Ave salus hominium			
Mo, f. 309v (F 7)	Diex qui porroit En grant dolour			

[21] Numéro de cahier d'après WOLINSKI, *The Compilation of the Montpellier Codex*, pp. 263-301.

LES RÉPONS DU SIXIÈME MODE DE L'ANTIPHONAIRE GRÉGORIEN

L'analyse du corpus des répons de sixième mode de l'antiphonaire grégorien montre d'emblée que cette teneur *aptatur* n'est pas redevable au vieux-fonds romano-franc et n'en présente pas les formules habituelles. Parmi les quarante-neuf répons de l'antiphonaire de Worcester,[22] la plupart ont une configuration mélodique modale différente: ils exploitent moins le tétracorde inférieur (*fa*[1] *do*[0]), ne présentent pas toujours les mêmes degrés et surtout ignorent le septième degré bémolisé (*mi* bémol), qu'on ne trouve que dans huit pièces, tout au plus. Les répons du vieux-fonds reprennent en général les mêmes matériaux mélodiques que ceux du mode authente correspondant et y ajoutent quelques petites cadences au *ré* ou au *do* grave,[23] par exemple dans le répons *Abscondi tamquam aurum* (Exemple 3). L'altération de la sous-tonique (*mi b* pour *fa* ou *si b* pour *do*) résulte d'une transformation modale, fréquente à partir du Xe siècle, comme le font remarquer Auda[24] et Gevaert.[25] La thèse de ce dernier, pourtant vieille de plus d'un siècle, nous semble la plus plausible; le *mi* bémol résulte d'une dénaturation apportée au tonaire de Réginon de Prüm (début Xe s.), par une confusion modale entre le sixième mode et le *tétrardus* (Exemple 2). Quelques répons présentent des analogies structurelles et modales avec notre neuma *aptatur*: mis à part quelques rares fêtes du temporal et du sanctoral du vieux-fonds,[26] ce sont surtout des offices de saints composés à l'époque romane (Xe-XIIe siècles): *Honor virtus* (Ste-Trinité), *Sacerdos Dei Lucianus* (s. Etienne), *Igne fervoris* (s. Cuthbert), *Consecrandus* (s. Wulstan) (Exemple 3). La particularité modale apportée par cette quinte parfaite entre le *mi b* et le *si b*, explique probablement le succès de ce ténor *aptatur* dans les compositions polyphoniques du XIIIe siècle.



Exemple 2. Altérations du sixième mode

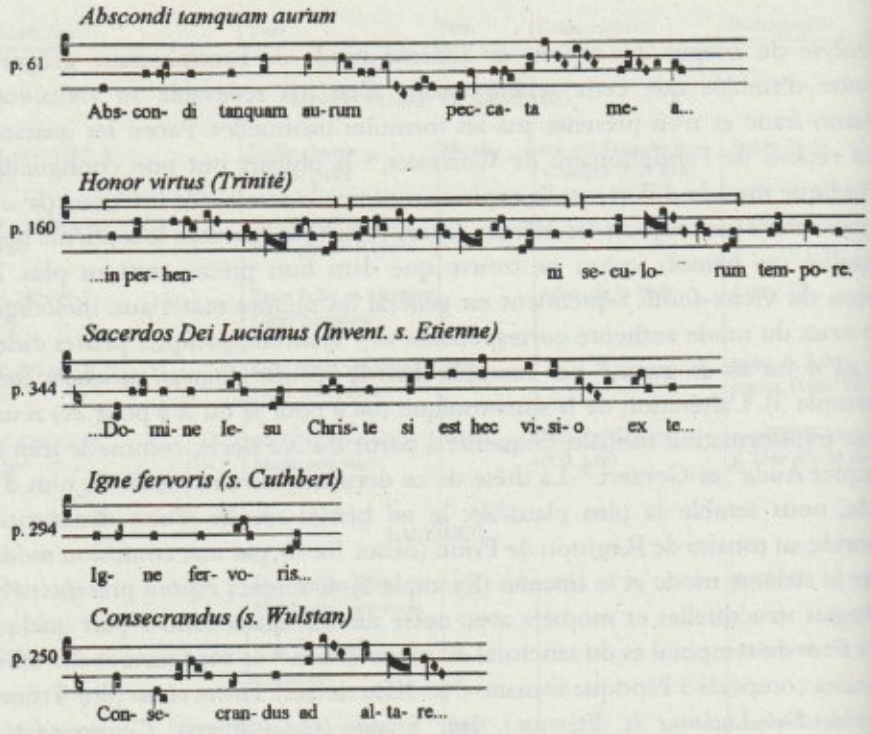
[22] Bibl. du Chapitre, F 160, édité en facsimile dans la *Paléographie musicale*, 12, Solesmes, 1922 (réed. 1971).

[23] W.H. FRERE, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense: a reproduction in facsimile of a manuscript of the thirteenth century with a dissertation and analytical index*, London, 1901-1924, p. 41.

[24] A. AUDA, *L'Ecole musicale liégeoise au Xe siècle: Etienne de Liège*, Bruxelles, 1923, p. 170.

[25] F.A. GEVAERT, *La mélopée antique dans le chant de l'Eglise latine*, Gand, 1895, pp. 198-199.

[26] *Benedicens ergo, Festa dies mundo* (s. Laurent), *Magne Deus* (Dédicace), *Maria Magdalene* (s. Marie-Madeleine).



Exemple 3. Quelques répons du 6e mode

L'HYPOTHÈSE "SAINT NICOLAS" IMPROBABLE

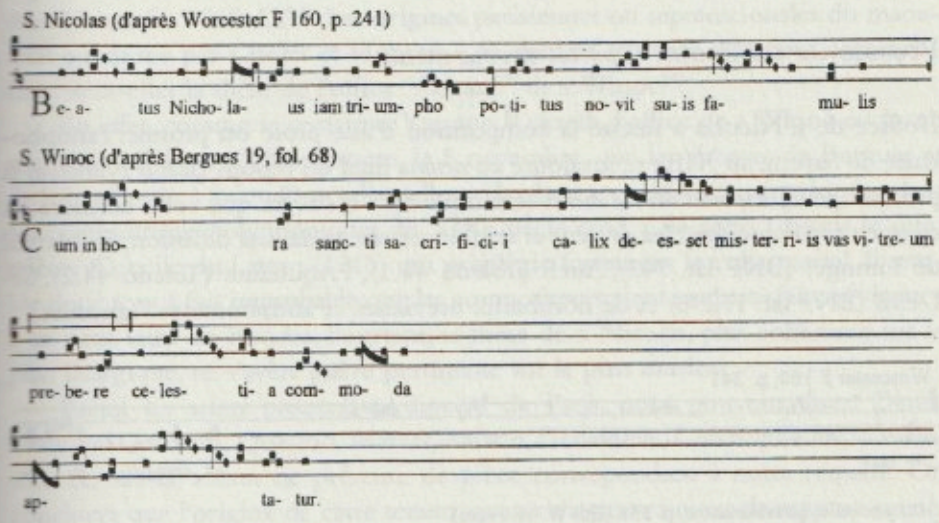
Plusieurs éléments semblent converger pour ne pas retenir l'hypothèse d'Yvonne Rokseth, selon qui l'office de s. Nicolas serait à l'origine de la teneur. Cette thèse est pourtant séduisante, dans la mesure où ce saint devient très vénéré dans toute la chrétienté latine à partir du Xe siècle. Reginold d'Eichstätt compose un office séculier avant 966, qu'Isembert de Saint-Ouen de Rouen, moine d'origine allemande, adapte au cursus monastique entre 1033 et 1054.[27] A côté de la Bienheureuse Vierge Marie, figure principale de toute la dévotion au XIIIe siècle, c'est bien s. Nicolas qui représente un des principaux saints dans les manuscrits de Montpellier et de Bamberg.[28]

[27] C. HOHLER, *The proper Office of St Nicholas*, dans *Medium Aevum*, 1967, p. 42.
[28] Voir Tableau 1 supra et les index des principales éditions de ces deux sources.

Degré de ressemblance à la teneur

Malgré quelques variantes, la formule du répons de s. Nicolas *Beatus Nicholaus*,[29] sur les mots *praebere celestia* présente d'indéniables différences avec le neuma *aptatur* du répons de s. Winoc (Exemple 4, 2e système):
- elle ne descend pas initialement à la quarte inférieure (*do* grave)
- la seconde période ne présente pas de répétition sur le troisième degré (*la*)
- le torculus final présente de nombreuses versions avec une quarte (*sol-sib-fa*)

Les différentes écritures de notre teneur *aptatur*, copiée neuf fois dans les manuscrits de Montpellier et Bamberg ne présentent aucune variante mélodique ou rythmique qui pourrait la rapprocher du répons de s. Nicolas; elles sont exactement identiques au neuma du répons de s. Winoc.



Exemple 4. Formules semblables entre les répons *Beatus Nicholaus* et *Cum in hora*

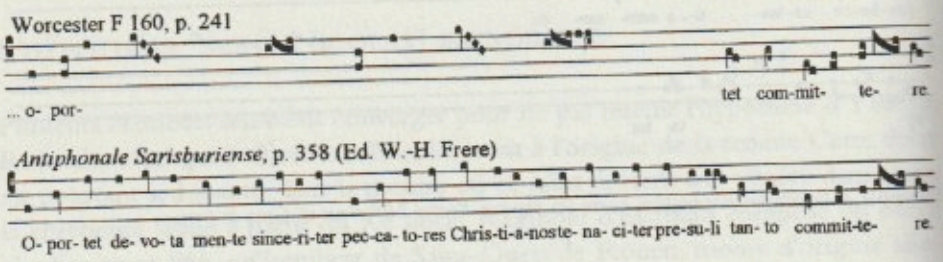
[29] Sources consultées: Toledo 44.2 (XIe s.), Antiphonaire d'Aquitaine; BNF lat 743 (XIe s.), Bréviaire de St-Martial de Limoges, f. 11; Sarum (FRERE, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*); Worcester, voir note 22.

Dépendances de l'Office de Bergues

Il ne nous semble pas que le répons *Cum in hora* soit une adaptation du répons *Beatus Nicholaus*. Malgré la présence de formules nouvelles, distinctes des standards du vieux-fonds grégorien, ce dernier répons présente une facture assez classique, caractérisée par des cordes de récitation (*fa, sib, do*) et par une écriture continue, sans répétition mélodique, à l'exception du neuma de forme aab. Dans le second, on assiste à une érosion encore plus marquée des formules types au profit d'un style fleuri, dans lequel la répétition de formules identiques marque un degré de centonisation et d'adaptation très développé, à l'instar de nombreux offices composés aux XIe et XIIe siècles. La parenté des répons s'explique davantage par l'appartenance à un même groupe, caractérisé surtout par l'intonation et quelques formules cadencielles nouvelles du 6e mode, avec *mi bémol*. Quant aux neumas respectifs de ces deux répons, ils divergent.

Prosule de s. Nicolas *Oportet devota mente*

L'office de s. Nicolas a suscité la composition d'une prose ou prosule: l'antiphonaire de Sarum, au XIIIe s., surajoute au *neuma* final du répons *Beatus Nicholaus* la prosule (*prosa*) *Oportet devota mente* (Exemple 5).[30] Il s'avère que cette dernière est très peu répandue dans les sources et semble restreinte dans sa diffusion: St-Martial de Limoges (BNF lat. 743), Auch (Toledo 44.1), l'Aquitaine (Toledo 44.2), St-Denis (BNF lat. 17296) et de nombreux bréviaires et antiphonaires l'ignorent.



Exemple 5. Neuma du R.Beatus Nicholaus et prosule Oportet devota mente

[30] Sur *oportet committere*.

On en conclut que dans le répons *Beatus Nicholaus*, ce n'est pas la formule de *prebere celestia* qui a retenu l'attention des chantres, mais bien le neuma, le mélisme terminal, qui en général, est bien à l'origine des enrichissements de type "trope" ou polyphoniques. Le neuma final *aptatur* du répons de s. Winoc constitue donc une hypothèse plus probable, de par sa fonction mélismatique qui correspond mieux à la nature de la teneur (la plupart des teneurs proviennent des mélismes terminaux des répons ou graduels). En outre, le texte littéraire est le même (*aptatur*), ce qui renforce notre faisceau de convergences pour l'hypothèse "s. Winoc", au détriment de l'hypothèse "s. Nicolas".

Perspectives historiques et enjeu de cette recherche

Contenus dans les sept premiers fascicules du manuscrit de Montpellier, à l'exception d'un seul, les motets à teneur *aptatur* ont donc été copiés, d'après Wolinsky dans les années 1260-1270. Les origines parisiennes ou septentrionales du manuscrit enluminé par Cholet et Honoré – ce dernier est venu d'Amiens à Paris[31] – favorisent-elles la thèse de l'office "flamand" de s. Winoc?[32]

En effet, comme le remarque Yvonne Rokseth, l'office de s. Winoc est local: seules ne célèbrent l'office propre, le 5 novembre, que les abbayes de Bergues et de Saint-Bertin à Saint-Omer. Par ailleurs, la place accordée aux saints locaux dans les compositions polyphoniques du XIIIe siècle tend à décroître, depuis le quatrième Concile du Latran (1215) qui privilégie fortement le culte marial. Il semble donc tout à fait improbable que les compositeurs aient souhaité faire révérence à ce petit saint de Flandre. Pourtant, la thèse de s. Nicolas, plus cohérente sur le plan liturgique, ne s'avère guère pertinente sur le plan musical.

Parmi les saints propres au diocèse de Paris, nous pouvons citer: Denis, Maurice, Germain, Quentin, Marcel, Martin, Geneviève, Gendulphe etc.[33] Parmi tous ces saints, aucun ne présente de pièce correspondant à notre requête. On concluera que l'origine de cette teneur *aptatur* n'a pas vraiment de rapport avec la fête d'un saint populaire; ni saint Nicolas, ni aucun autre grand saint parisien.

[31] R. BRANNER, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles*, Berkeley, CA, 1977, pp. 237-239.

[32] Coussemaker insiste sur la présence dans le ms. de Montpellier de nombreux textes de trouvères citant des villes du Nord de la France (E. DE COUSSEMAKER, *L'Art harmonique aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1865, pp. 191-192) et une notice descriptive de l'IRHT-CNRS (section romane) donne pour origine du ms. le Nord de la France. Tischler indique Paris (*Musica Disciplina*, 31 (1977), p. 43); Wolinsky n'indique pas d'origine précise, *The Compilation of the Montpellier Codex*.

[33] D'après le sanctoral du grand brévaire de la Chapelle de la Sorbonne, BNF lat. 15181-2, ca 1300. Manuscrit indexé par Suzan Kidwell dans Cantus database http://publish.uwo.ca.

S'agirait-il d'un saint plus tardif comme s. Louis ou un saint au culte plus limité encore comme s. Guillaume de Bourges (XIIIe s.)?[34] Nous ne trouvons aucune autre piste, ni même sur le terrain de la grande province ecclésiastique de Belgique seconde, pour laquelle nous avons consulté une quarantaine d'offices propres.[35]

Malgré tout, plusieurs arguments de poids nous orientent pour la piste de s. Winoc. Le répons *Cum in hora* – y compris le mot *aptatur* – est tiré des chapitres 12 et 14 de la *Vita Secunda*, attribuée à Bovon de Gand (BHL 8954). L'implication dans la composition de la musique d'un auteur d'origine parisienne comme l'abbé Germain (1030-1041) et à sa suite un de ses disciples, Drogon (1058-1070).[36] s'avère être un élément intéressant pour la recherche des dépendances musicales de l'office de s. Winoc. Du reste, cette influence stylistique de l'Île de France pourrait se trouver corroborée par la notation musicale du manuscrit de Bergues. En territoire flamand, généralement acquis dans cette seconde moitié du XIIe siècle à la notation messine adaptée aux portées,[37] le manuscrit hagiographique de Bergues présente de nombreux éléments dits français dans sa notation à points liés:

Tableau 2. Formes neumatiques

formes neumatiques	Bergues[38]	St-Bertin[39]	Cambrai[40]	Lille[41]	St-Amand[42]	Jumièges[43]
Punctum						
Pes						
torculus resupinus						
Scandicus						
Clivis						
Porrectus						

[34] Voir le ms. Troyes 1148.
[35] GOUDESENNE, *Les Offices historiques ou historiae*.
[36] BAYART, *Les anciens offices*, pp. 118-119 (1908) et pp. 275-277 (1926).
[37] HOURLIER, *Le domaine de la notation messine*, dans *Revue Grégorienne*, 30 (1951), pp. 96-113 et 150-158.
[38] Bergues 19 (XIIe s. 2/2).
[39] Arras 269 (XIIe s. 1/2).
[40] Cambrai 60 (XI-XIIe s.).
[41] Cambrai 61 (XI-XIIe s.).
[42] Valenciennes 114 (XIIe s. 4/4) et 516 (XIIe s. 2/2).
[43] Rouen 1383 (Y 80) (XIe s.), D. HESBERT éd., *Les manuscrits musicaux de Jumièges*, Mâcon, 1954, pl. VI-VII. Id., *La notation musicale des chants liturgiques latins*, Solesmes, 1991, p. 37 col. 1, notice 19.

D'autre part, la piste offerte par cet office "franco-flamand" renforcerait l'hypothèse d'un rôle actif des centres intellectuels situés entre L'Angleterre et le continent. En effet, Gordon A. Anderson dénombre plusieurs motets illustrant un échange entre l'Angleterre et les régions voisines du continent.[44] Saint-Winoc de Bergues serait-il ainsi, même par *contrafactum* un relais géographique significatif dans la genèse des compositions polyphoniques et dans leur diffusion au XIIIe siècle?

CONCLUSION

Dans l'absence d'un inventaire plus exhaustif des offices de saints,[45] on est réduit à d'insuffisantes conjectures qui néanmoins méritent toujours d'être approfondies. L'enjeu d'une découverte plus convaincante encore permettrait de déterminer si les offices monastiques locaux, témoins de la grande renaissance spirituelle et artistique de l'an mil, ont pu resplendir de façon continue et significative jusqu'à l'époque gothique, au point d'influencer les compositeurs de motets et les trouvères dans les répertoires profanes, tel Adam de la Halle, qui avant d'entrer à l'Université de Paris avait peut-être été formé à l'abbaye cistercienne de Vaucelles, au diocèse de Cambrai.[46]

[44] Il s'agit du motet *Psallat chorus/eximie pater/aptatur*, G.A. ANDERSON, *Notre-Dame Latin double Motets*, dans *Musica Disciplina*, 25 (1971), pp. 64-65.

[45] Notons toutefois l'important inventaire d'A. HUGHES, *Late medieval liturgical offices: resources for electronic research*, Toronto, 1994 (LMLO).

[46] F. FERY-HUE, *Adam de la Halle*, dans *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises*, Paris, 1992, p. 10.

Composing Chant

Tenors and Compositional Practice in the Latin Motets of the Manuscript F-Pn fr. 146

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Recent studies of the late medieval motet have pointed out the importance that the citation of liturgical chant has in the construction of motet tenors. In some cases, the chant melody is cited in its entirety, in its presumably original form. In most cases, some degree of elaboration is involved. This paper presents a study of the techniques of chant citation in the early motet, focusing on the repertory of motets gathered together in the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds français 146 (F:Pn fr. 146).[1] After a survey and a classification of the modes of chant citation, I will consider one case which involves a substantial reworking of the original chant melody, and suggest that the scriptural and exegetical context of the original chant contributes to account for the tenor's construction.[2]

As one would expect, the reference to liturgical chant is a prominent feature in the tenors of Latin motets in the manuscript F:Pn fr. 146. This manuscript, dating from the second decade of the fourteenth century, contains the *Roman de*

[1] On the tenors of the motets in F:Pn fr. 146, see A. CLARK, *Concordare cum materia: The Tenor in the Fourteenth-Century Motet*, Ph.D. Diss. Princeton University, 1996; A. WALTERS ROBERTSON, *Local chant readings in the Roman de Fauvel*, in *Fauvel Studies*, M. BENT & A. WATHEY eds., Oxford, 1998, pp. 495-524; A. WALTERS ROBERTSON, *Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the Roman de Fauvel*, in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, D. PESCE ed., New York, 1966, pp. 52-81. The study of Alice Clark considers the ars nova motets of the Fauvel collection, as well as later ars nova sources. The studies of Anne Walters Robertson include comparative tables of chant variants for the motets *Tribum / Quoniam / Merito hec patimur* and *Firmissime / Adesto / Alleluia* based on a wide range of sources from Paris and Northern France, and a comprehensive study of chant variants for the monophonic chantlike pieces. For an analytical catalogue of the chantlike pieces in F-Pn fr. 146, see S. RANKIN, *The Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez in Bn fr. 146: A Catalogue Raisonné*, in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 421-466. I thank Edward Roesner for his comments and suggestions.

[2] On the implications of the Biblical and liturgical references in the tenor for the interpretation of the Fauvel motets, see W. ARLT, *Triginta denariis- Musik und Text in einer Motette des Roman de Fauvel uber dem Tenor Victimae paschali laudes*, in *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences*, in *Memory of Gordon Anderson*, R. JACOBSSON ed., (*Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 29), Stockholm, 1986, pp. 97-113; M. BENT, *Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: Tribum que non abhorruit / Quoniam secta latronum / Merito hec patimur and its 'Quotations'*, in *Hearing the Motet*, pp. 82-103.

Fauvel in an interpolated version, with Chaillou de Pesstein's extensions to the original French text, illustrative miniatures, and a rich array of musical pieces, representative of the variety of musical genres of the *ars antiqua* and early *ars nova* in France.[3] Among the 34 motets interpolated in the *roman*, fourteen have tenors based on an identified liturgical chant melody (Table 1).

Table 1. F:Pn fr. 146. Motet tenors - textual and musical concordances.

Title	Text	Melody/Liturgical Assignment
1. Scariotis geniture / Iure quod / Superne	Superne matris gaudia	Sequence
2. In mari miserie / [Manere]	John 21:22	Gradual St John the Evangelist Exit zermo V. Sed sic eum
3. Ad Solitum vomitum vomitum		Alleluia Assumption BMW Alleluia V. Hodie Maria
4. Plange / Nulla pestis / Vergente	Vergente Mundi Vespere	Sequence
5. Qui secunur / Detractor / Verbum	Proverbs 30:8, Psalm 5:7	Matins Responsory, Historia de Sapientia
6. Ve qui / Quasi / Trahunt / Displicebat	Augustine, Confessions 8	Matins Responsory, Feast of St Augustine Volebant enim V. Displicebat ei
7. Servant / O Philippe / Rex regum	Apocalypse 19:16	Matins Responsory, Advent III
8. O Nacio / Condicio / Mane prima sabbati	Mane prima sabbati	Sequence
9. Veritas arpie / Johanne	Matthew11:11	Alleluia, Nativity of John the Baptist, Alleluia V. Inter natos
10. Inter amenitatis / Revertenti	Genisis 14:17	Matins Responsory, Quinquagesima Sunday, Revertenti V. Benedictus
11. Sicut / Inflammatus / [Victime]	Victime Paschali Laudes	Sequence
12. Hue Fortuna / Aman novi / Hue me	Ps. 119:5, Mark 14:34, Matt 26:38	Antiphon, Office of the Dead Matins Responsory, Maundy Thursday
13. Quoniam / Tribum que / Merito	Genesis 42:21	Matins Responsory, Lent 3
14. Adesto / Firmissime / Alleluia	Daniel 3:52	Alleluia, Trinity Alleluia V. Benedictus

Most of the chant tenors of the *Fauvel* manuscript are based on Matins Responsories and Mass Sequences.[4] The *Fauvel* manuscript is the only *ars nova* source to use Sequences, including citations from well-known and widely disseminated

[3] The manuscript has been published in facsimile in *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Francais 146*, introduction by E. ROESNER, F. AVRIL and N. FREEMAN REGALADO, New York, 1990. For an edition of the motet repertory of the Roman de Fauvel, see L. SCHRADE ed., *The Roman de Fauvel, reprint of The Roman de Fauvel*, published in *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century*, I, with a new introduction by E. ROESNER, Monaco, 1984.

[4] See G. ANDERSON, *Responsorial Chants in the Tenors of Some Fourteenth-Century Continental Motets*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 29 (1976), pp. 119-127.

Sequence melodies. Only four motet tenors are based on Alleluias and Graduals from the Mass, which are by far the most cited liturgical sources in the thirteenth-century motet repertory. Among these latter, the motets *In mari miserie / Manere, Ad solitum vomitum / Regnat* and *Veritas arpie / Johanne* have concordances in the Notre-Dame repertory and are based on tenor melismas which are widely used in the thirteenth-century motet corpus. The prevalence of Responsory melodies in the tenors of the F:Pn fr. 146 motets reflects an emphasis in this collection on chants taken from the liturgy of the Office, which is unusual among early motet sources.

The treatment of chant material ranges from the exact citation of the original chant melody to the substantial reworking of preexistent material. Table 2a lists a group of motets with tenor melodies that have exact concordances in contemporary liturgical sources.

Table 2. 'Modes' of chant citation

2A. EXACT CONCORDANCES

1.	Scariotis / Iure quod / Superne	F: Pn lat 1086 fol. 77v (Limoges)
10.	Inter amenitatis / Revertenti	GB:Cu Mm.ii.g (Sarum)
		GB:Worch Chapter Lib Ms F 160 (Worcester)
		Dominican: GB: LBl Add 23935 fol. 274r (Paris St Jacques)
11.	Sicut / Inflammatus / [Victime]	F:Pn lat. 1086 fol. 48r
		F:Pn lat 17311 fol. 251 (Cambrai)
		F: Pn lat.1107 fol. 352v-353r (Paris-St Denis)
		I:R Vat. lat. 4756 fol. 203v (Chartres)
13.	Quoniam / Tribum que / Merito	F:Pn 12044 (Paris-St. Maur)
14.	Adesto / Firmissime / Alleluia	F: Arras, Bm 437 fol. 53v (Arras)
		F: Arras, Bm 444 fol. 177v (Arras)

2B. TRANSPOSITION

2.	In mari miserie / Manere	Transposition from C to F(down a fifth)
5.	Qui secuntur / Detractor / Verbum	Transposition from C to G (up a fifth)
6.	Ve / Quasi / Trahunt / Displicebat	Transposition from C to G (up a fifth)
13.	Quoniam / Tribum / Merito	Transposition from F to C (up a fifth)

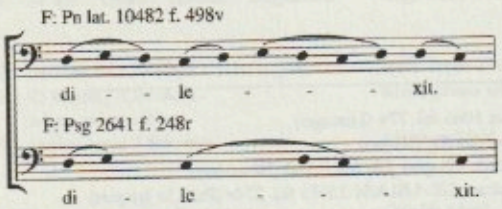
2C. ENDING VARIANTS

2.	In mari miserie / Manere	Melismatic extension
4.	Plange / Nulla pestis / Vergente	3-note extension
1.	Scariotis / Iure quod / Superne	Sharp on penultimate note
5.	Qui secuntur / Detractor / Verbum	Different final note
10.	Inter amenitatis / Revertenti	Chant fragment repeated 3 times, last note (g) omitted

2D. EXTENSIVE COMPOSITIONAL REWORKING

8.	O Nacio / Condicio / Mane	Elaboration of strophes 1-3 of the sequence
12.	Heu Fortuna / Aman novi / Heu me	Combination of two different chants

Most of the chants cited in the *Fauvel* manuscript enjoyed a wide dissemination in Paris and Northern France and appear in a variety of liturgical uses.[5] With few exceptions, the selection of chants cited in the tenors of the *Fauvel* manuscript favours melodies that have a stable manuscript transmission, that have a stable and consolidated liturgical placement, and that could have been readily identifiable by singers or experienced listeners coming from different liturgical backgrounds. A comparaison of the chant snippets cited in the tenors of the *Fauvel* motets with corresponding readings in Parisian, Northern French and a selected number of English sources from the early thirteenth century to the mid fourteenth century shows a high degree of stability in transmission, both in terms of the chant melodies and of their liturgical placements.[6] For the most part, variations entail differences of detail such as the filling of thirds (Example 1), the repetition of a motive in a melismatic passage (Example 2), two- or three- notes insertions (Example 3), and transposition(Example 4).[7]

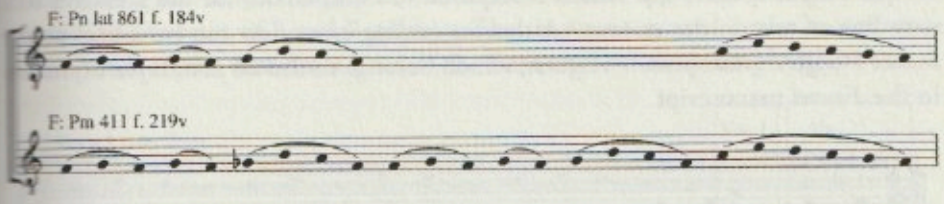


Example 1. Variant: filling of thirds

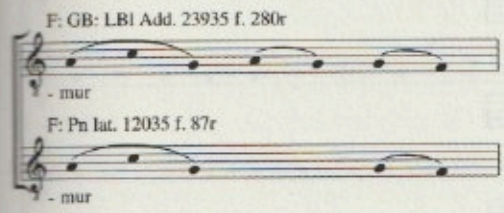
[5] One notable exception is the chant cited in the tenor of the motet *Inter amenitatis / Revertenti*, which among the French sources listed in the appendix to this paper, appears only in Dominican manuscripts. See for instance the manuscripts GB: London, British Library 23935 (Paris-St Jacques) and US: Philadelphia, Free Library, J.F. Lewis Coll. 158 (Paris). The manuscript GB:LBl Add 23935 is a copy of Humbert of Romans' Archetype codex (I-Roma, Santa Sabina XIV.L.1) and was presumably prepared in 1260-63 as a portable copy for the master general of the Order. For a description of this manuscript, see G. R. GALBRAITH, *The Constitutions of the Dominican Order 1216-1360*, Manchester, 1925, pp. 193-202; L. BOYLE, *Dominican Lectionaries and Leo of Ostia's Translation S. Clementis*, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 28 (1958), pp. 362-394; W. BONNIWELL, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, New York, 1944, pp. 94-95. On the influence of the Dominicans on late medieval polyphony, see K. LEVY, A *Dominican Organum Duplum*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 27 (1974), pp. 183-211.

[6] See the list of manuscript sources consulted for this study in Appendix 1.

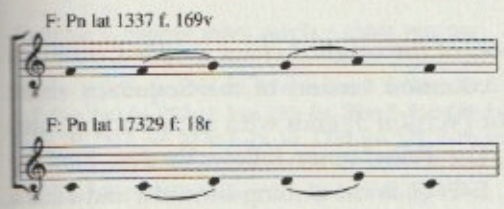
[7] M. HUGLO, *Notated performance practices in Parisian chant manuscripts of the Thirteenth century*, in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, T. F. KELLY ed., Cambridge, 1992, pp. 32-44. On the wide range of melodic variants within the Parisian tradition, see C. WRIGHT, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1500*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 248-250.



Example 2. Variant: repetition of a motive



Example 3. Variant: melodic insertions

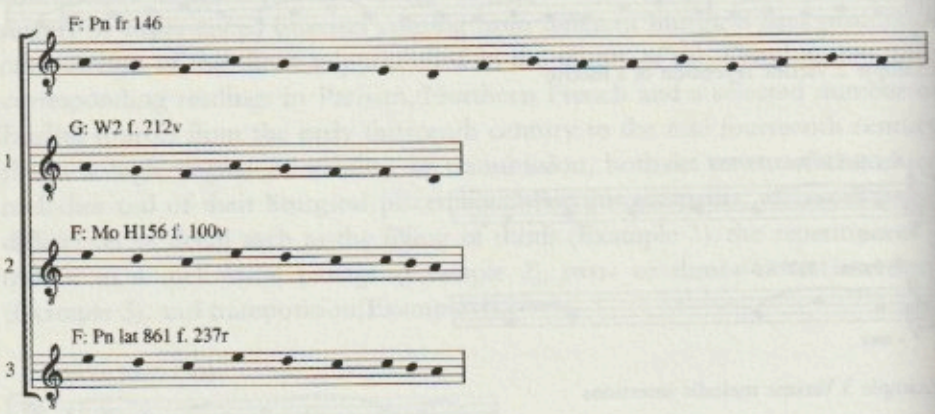


Example 4. Variant: transposition

One of the most frequent types of compositional change that the chant melodies undergo in the tenors of the *Fauvel* collection consists of transposition, down or up a fifth (Table 2b). One group of motet tenors present variants from their chant source in their ending section, ranging from melismatic extentions to omission/alteration of pitches. (Table 2c). Example 5 compares the ending section of the tenor melody of *In mari miserie / Manere*, as found in the *Fauvel* manuscript, to its version in earlier motet sources and to the original chant melody as found, among others, in F:Pn lat. 861. Like the tenor of the three-voice version of this motet in the Notre-Dame manuscript G:Wolfenbuttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Helmstedt 1099 (W2), the *Fauvel* tenor has been transposed down a fifth from the original chant.[8] The *Fauvel* tenor version includes an ending melisma which is

[8] The version of this motet in W2 has two French-texted upper voices: *De la vile issoit pensant / A la vile une vieille a qui prent / Manere*. The Fauvel *motetus* melody corresponds to the melody of the *triplum* in the W2 motet.

unique to this source, and which is required to compensate for the addition of a new line of text in the *motetus*.[9] A shorter ending extension can be found in the motet *Plange / Nulla pestis / Vergente*, which belongs to the *ars nova* layer of motets in the *Fauvel* manuscript.



Example 5. Ending variants: *In mari miserie* / Manere

In other cases, only the last note or notes of the original chant is added, omitted, or modified. In Example 6, the most common version of the Sequence chant *Superne matris gaudia* quoted in the tenor [Version 3] ends with an ascending third from E to G on the penultimate note. The *Fauvel* tenor follows Version 1 of the chant in presenting a stepwise motion, E-F-G, as the ending formula, and adds a sharp sign on the F which is not found in any of the plainchant sources. Both these alterations have a contrapuntal justification, strenghtening the sense of final cadence at this point in the motet.[10]

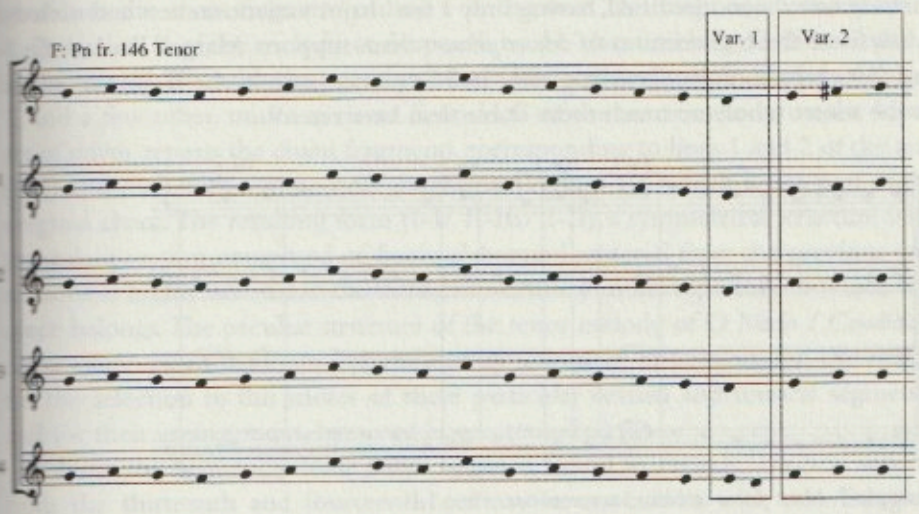
In some cases, the original chant material undergoes a more radical compositional reworking, which cannot be accounted for purely in terms of the polyphonic unfolding of the motet (Table 2d). One of the most elaborate cases of manipulation of the original textual and musical material occurs in the tenor of *O Nacio / Condicio / Mane prima sabbati*, a motet that appears not only in the *Fauvel* collection, but also in the somewhat earlier Montpellier codex (F-Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine Ms H 196), where it is the opening piece of the fourth fascicle.[11] Table 3 presents the text of the Sequence *Mane prima sabbati*

[9] The motet *Ad solitum vomitum / Regnat* has also been 'Fauvelized' with the insertion of an additional line of text in the *motetus*: *in quo tenet baculum Fauvellus et anulum*. The tenor part, however, is incomplete, and the ending extension missing.

[10] See the discussion of this motet tenor in CLARK, *Concordare cum materia*, pp. 52-53.

[11] The motet is edited in H. TISCHLER ed., *The Montpellier Codex, (Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, 2-8), Madison, 1978-1985, 2, pp. 32-34.

from which the tenor melody is drawn. The text is typically arranged in lines composed of verses of 8 and 7 syllables. The fragment quoted in the motet tenor corresponds to the first three lines of the Sequence (chant setting: ABB).



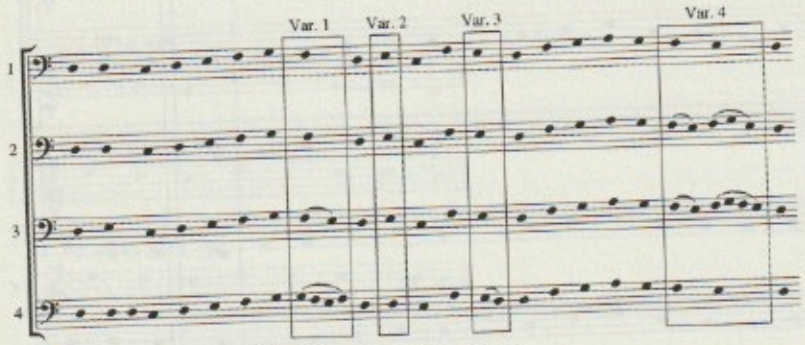
Example 6. *Superne matris gaudia* – chant versions

Version 1: F-Pn lat 1086 fol. 77v; Version 2: B-Brux, Br II 3824 fol. 294v; F: Abbeville, Bm 7, fol. 214v; Version 3: F-Pars 110 fol. 252r; F-Pars 197, fol. 250r; F-Pars 595 fol. 282v; F-Pn lat. 830 fol. 325v; F-Pn lat 861 fol. 366r; F-Pn lat. 1112, fol. 227r; F-Pn lat. 1335 fol. 379; F-Pn lat 1337 fol. 379r; F: Pn lat. 14452 fol. 209r; F: Pn lat. 17320 fol. 278; F-Reims Bm 224 fol. 257; GB-LBl Add 23935 fol. 439v; I-Bari 1 fol. 281r; Version 4: F-Pn lat. 17311 fol. 261v-262r; Version 5: F-Pn lat. 842 fol. 189r.

Table 3. Sequence *Mane prima sabbati* – text

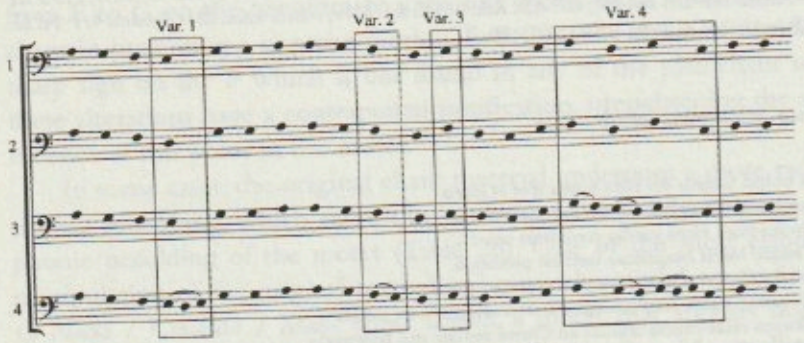
1. Mane prima sabbati surgens dei filius nostra spes et gloria
2. Victo rege sceleris rediit ab inferis cum summa victoria
3. Cuius resurrectio omni plena gaudio consolatur omniaa
4. Resurgentis itaque Maria Magdalene facta est prenuncia
5. Ferens Christi fratribus eius morte tristibus expectata gaudia
6. O beati oculi quibus regem seculi morte iam deposita prima est intuita
7. Hec est illa femina cuius cuncta crimina ad Christi vestigia eius lavit gratia
8. Que dum plorat et mens orat facto clamat quod cor amat Iesum super omnia
9. Non ignorat quem adorat quid precetur sed deletur quod mens timet conscia
10. O maria mater pia stella maris appellaris operum per merita
11. Matri Christi coequata dum fuisti sic vocata sed onore subdita
12. Illa enim fuit porta per quam salus est exorta hec resurgentis nuncia mundum replet leticia
13. Illa mundi imperatrix ista beata peccatrix leticie primordia fuderunt in ecclesia
14. O maria magdalena audi nota laude plena apud Christum chorum istum clementer concilia
15. Ut fons summe pietatis qui te lavit a peccatis servos suos atque tuos mundet data venia
16. Hoc det eius gratia qui regnat per omnia Amen

Examples 7 and 8 present several versions of the chant as found in thirteenth and early fourteenth-century liturgical manuscripts from Paris, England and Northern France (lines 1 and 2). For each line of text, four main versions of the chant melody have been identified, having only a few major variants in text and melody. Analysis of the transmission of *Mane prima sabbati* supports Margot Fassler's finding that melodic units occurring early in a Sequence, such as the fragment quoted in the motet tenor, are much more stable than later ones.[12]



Example 7. *Mane prima sabbati*: chant versions – line 1

Version 1: F-Pars 197, fol. 192r-v; F-Pn lat 830, fol. 308v; F-Pn lat. 845 fol. 215v; F-Pn lat. 861; F-Pn. lat. 1112 fol. 264v; F-Pn lat 1337 fol. 347v; F:Pn 17311, fol. 251v; F-Psg 1259 fol. 106v; GB-LBl Add 16905 fol. 144v; GB: OxBl lat. lit. b5 fol. 43v; US-Balt WAG 302; I-Bari 1 fol. 26r;Version 2: F-Sens, Bm 16 fol. 86v;Version 3: F:Chartres, Bm 520 fol. 178r;Version 4: Reims, Bm 264 fol. 87v.



Example 8. *Mane prima sabbati*: chant versions – lines 2/3

Version 1: F:Abbeville Bm 7, fol. 29r; F:Pars 110 fol. 174r; F-Pars 197 fol. 192r; F:Pn lat 830 fol. 308v; F:Pn lat 845 fol. 215v; F:Pn lat. 1112 fol. 264v; F-Pn lat 1337 fol. 347v; F-Pn lat. 10502 fol. 101v; F-Rouen Bm 277 fol. 383v; F-Sens, Bm 16 fol. 86v; GB-LBl Add 16905 fol. 144v; GB- Ma JRL lit.24 fol. 238v; I-Bari 1, fol. 26r; Version 2: F-Verdun, Bm 759 fol. 275v;Version 3: F:Chartres, Bm 520 fol. 178r; F-Provins, Bm 12; I-Rang 435 fol. 59v;Version 4: F:Reims, Bm 264 fol. 87v.

[12] See M. FASSLER, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 170-178 and M. FASSLER, *The Role of the Parisian Sequence in the Evolution of Notre Dame Polyphony*, in *Speculum*, 62 (1987), pp. 345-374.

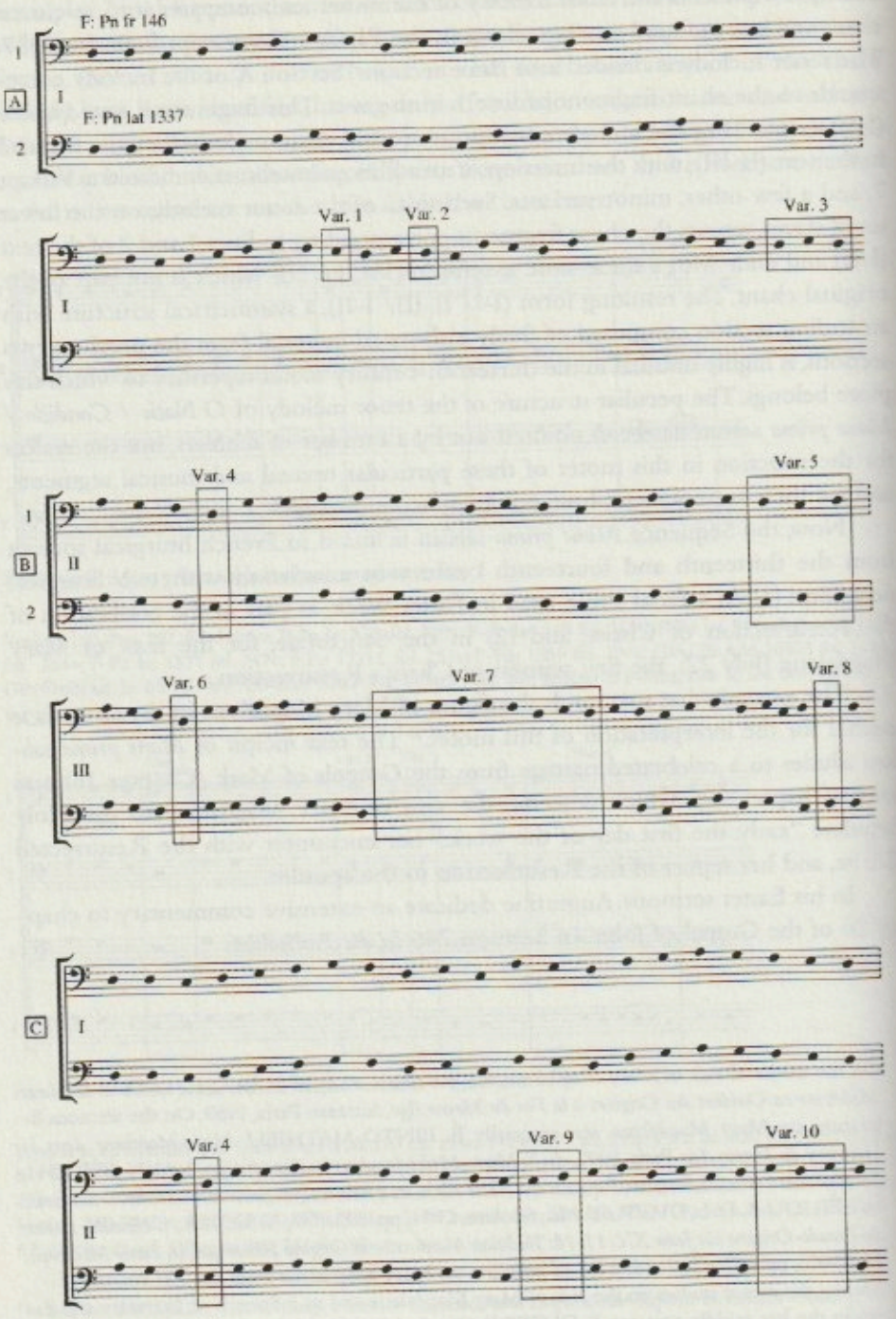
Example 9 presents the tenor melody of the motet and compares it to its closest chant version, as found among others, in the Parisian manuscript F-Pn lat. 1337. The tenor melody is divided into three sections. Section A of the melody corresponds to the chant fragment of line 1 in the text. This fragment is stated twice (I-I); section B of the melody corresponds to the chant melody for lines 2 and 3 in the text (II-III), with the insertion of an additional melisma, indicated as Variant 7, and a few other, minor variants. Section C of the tenor melody, on the lower set of staves, repeats the chant fragments corresponding to lines 1 and 2 of the text (I-II) and ends with a three-note extension [Variant 10] which is not part of the original chant. The resulting form (I-I/ II-III/ I-II), a symmetrical structure with an ending section composed of freely elaborated material from the previous two sections, is highly unusual in the thirteenth-century motet repertory to which this piece belongs. The peculiar structure of the tenor melody of *O Nacio / Condicio / Mane prima sabbati* has been pointed out by a number of scholars, but the reason for the selection in this motet of these particular textual and musical segments, and for their arrangement, have not been accounted for.

Now, the Sequence *Mane prima sabbati* is found in French liturgical sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth century in association with two liturgical occasions: (1) As a ferial Prose used in Easter Week, as part of the celebration of the Resurrection of Christ, and (2) in the Sanctorale, for the feast of Mary Magdalene (July 22), the first witness of Christ's Resurrection.

The exegesis that sorrounds the figure of Mary Magdalene in the Gospels is central for the interpretation of this motet.[13] The text incipit of *Mane prima sabbati* alludes to a celebrated passage from the Gospels of Mark (Chapter 16) and John (Chapter 20), which describe the visit of Mary Magdalene to the Holy Sepulcre "early, the first day of the week," her encounter with the Resurrected Christ, and her report of the Resurrection to the apostles.

In his Easter sermons, Augustine dedicate an extensive commentary to chapter 20 of the Gospel of John. In Sermon 246 *In die Paschalibus*

[13] On the medieval cult of Mary Magdalene, see the classic study of V. SAXER, *Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des Origines à la Fin du Moyen Age*, Auxerre-Paris, 1959. On the sermons literature on Mary Magdalene, see especially É. PINTO-MATHIEU, *Marie-Madeleine dans la Litérature du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1997, *ch. 1: Marie-Madeleine dans les Sermons*, pp. 3-43; N. BÉRIOU, *La Madeleine dans les Sermons Parisiens du XIIIè siècle*, in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*, N. BÉRIOU & D. L. D'AVRAY eds., Spoleto, 1994, pp. 323-399; V. SAXER, *L'Homélie Latine du Pseudo-Origène sur Jean XX, 11-18: Tradition Manuscrite et Origine Historique*, in *Studi Medievali*, 26 (1985), pp. 667-676 (with a list of homilies on Mary Magdalene from the XII century). Among the recent studies on the cult of Mary Magdalene and its influence on literature and the arts in the late middle ages, see E. DUPERRAY ed., *Marie Madeleine dans la Mystique, les Arts et les Lettres: Actes du Colloque International, Avignon 20-21-22 Juillet 1988*, Paris, 1989.



Example 9. *Mane prima sabbati* – tenor and sequence V.1–3

Mary Magdalene with the temporal Church, to which the divinity of Christ has not yet been fully revealed.[14] As Augustine explains, the divinity of Christ is rooted in the special nature of his conception:

Aliter Pater unigeniti Filii, aliter Pater noster: illius Pater per naturam, noster per gratiam. [...] Nos enim omnes Deus noster per propaginem peccati formavit: ille et homo aliter factus est. Ille de virgine natus est: illum mulier non concupiscendo, sed credendo concepit. Ille propaginem peccati ex Adam non traxit. Nos omnes per peccatum nati sumus: ille sine peccato natus est, qui peccata mundavit.

God is the Father of his only Son in a different way than being our Father. He is His Father by nature, while He is our Father by Grace. [...] God gave life to all of us by making us born from a race of sinners, but Christ has been given birth in a different manner. He was born from a virgin. His mother conceived him not in lust, but in faith. He did not receive the germ of sin which Adam transmits to his posterity. We are all born in sin: He is born without sin, He who came to purify us from sin.

The themes associated with Mary Magdalene's encounter with Christ on Easter Day that Augustine discusses in his homily are at the heart of the narrative of the *triplum* text in the motet *O Nacio / Condicio / Mane prima sabbati*. Like Augustine's homily, the *triplum* stresses the special nature of Christ's birth, the role of the Virgin, and the importance of faith in salvation. The faith in the divinity of Christ is necessary to be delivered from the heritage of Adam's sin. As the text states with reference to the example of the Virgin, "devotion put an end to doubt" and "redemption and sanctification profited Adam more than Eve's fault damaged him."[15]:

Condicio nature defuit
in filio quem virgo genuit
Contagio sola nam caruit

Nature was not at work
in the Son whom the Virgin bore
for she alone was without contamination

quam vicio nemo defloruit
et ideo parto non doluit
Hec actio patrem non habuit
hec proprio dono promeruit
ludibrio que non succumbuit
Hec ratio mundi desipuit

no one deflowered her in vice
and so she did not suffer in childbirth
This action has no father
she earned it as her own gift
who never yielded to scorn
This plan deceives reason

[14] AUGUSTINE, *Sermo CCXLVI In Die Paschalibus*, in *Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Augustin*, vol. 18: *Sermons au Peuple, Première, Deuxième et Troisième Séries*, Paris, 1872.

[15] H. TISCHLER ed., *The Montpellier Codex*, vol. 4, p.20 (Latin text edited by J.C. RELIHAN).

hec questio scrutari renuit	*this matter refuses investigation*
Solutio filio Dei sic placuit	*This solution pleased the Son of God*
devocio dubio finem proposuit	*devotion put an end to doubt*
Redemptio sanctio plus Ade profuit	*Redemption and sanctification profited Adam*
commissio quam Eve nocuit	*more than Eve's fault damaged him*

Among the fathers of the Latin Church, Gregory the Great dedicated more attention to the interpretation of the figure of Mary Magdalene in the Gospels than perhaps any other. In Gregory's Homily 33, the figure of Mary Magdalene undergoes a radical remodelling, which had a profound impact of the image of the saint in the later middle ages.[16] Gregory identifies as "Mary Magdalene" three distinct characters from the Gospel's narrative. The first of the three Marys is the woman who witnessed the Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Christ. The second "Mary", is Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha who invites Christ to perform the miracle of the resurrection of Lazarus. The third "Mary", is the "sinner" who, according to Chapter 7 of the Gospel of Luke, goes to meet Christs in the house of Simon the Pharisee, and asks for his forgiveness. According to Luke, the woman weeps on Christ's feet, anointing them with ointment, and in so doing she breaks the Jewish laws of the clean and the unclean. Being ritually impure, her touch would pollute others. The Pharisee, who witnesses the scene, interprets Christ's acquiescence in the woman's behaviour as a proof that he is not a prophet, otherwise he would not have allowed her to touch him. By adhering to the Law strictly, the Pharisee deserves Christ's reproach, while the woman is praised for the "faith which saved her".

Of the three aspects of Mary's identity, that of the repented sinner described by Luke is the one which more strongly attracted Gregory's attention. In Homily 33 on the Gospels, Gregory explains that Mary Magdalene, the "sinner" of Luke's story, can be regarded as a symbol of the converted Jews:[17]

Quem namque Pharisaeus de falsa justitia praesumens nisi Judaicum populum, quem peccatrix mulier, sed ad vestigia Domini veniens et plorans, nisi conversam gentilitatem designat?	*What does the Pharisee with his false justice represent if not the Jewish people, and what does the woman sinner crying at the feet of Jesus represent, if not the converted Gentiles?*

[16] GREGORY, *Homilia XXXIII in Evangelia*, PL 76, col. 1238-1246.

[17] GREGORY, *Homilia XXXIII in Evangelia*, PL 76, col. 1242.

[18] GREGORY, *Homilia XXXIII in Evangelia*, PL 76, col. 1244: *Moyses quippe sedit in lapide, cum lex requievit in Ecclesia. Sed haec eadem lex manus graves habuit, quia peccantes quosque non misericorditer pertulit, sed severa districtione percussit.*

According to Gregory, the Law which condamns those who observe it according to its letter, is a source of liberation if interpreted with the "spiritual intelligence" of faith. In comparing the Old Law of Moses to the New Law of Christ, Gregory notices that Moses sat on a stone by leaving the Law to the Church. Moses' hands were "heavy", because the Law did not treat the sinners "with compassion, but rather stroke them with rigour".[18] According to the New Law of Christ, on the other hand, faith grants forgiveness and salvation. Gregory invites the Church to imitate the example of Mary Magdalene in conversion:[19]

Amemus jam Redemptoris nostris vestigia, quae peccando contempsimus. Ecce, ut diximus, ad recipiendos nos supernae pietatis sinus aperitur, nec maculosa in nobis vita contemnitur. [...] Revertentes nos Dominus clementer ampletitur, quia peccatorum vita ei esse indigna jam non potest, quae fletibus lavatur in Christo Jesu Domino nostro.

Let us, therefore, love the vesiges of our Redemptor. The womb of the divine piety will then open for us, disregarding the spots of our soul. [...] God will welcome our return with clemency. The life of sinners has dignity for him, as it can be washed with tears in Christ, our Lord.

The themes of Gregory's homily underlie the narrative in the *motetus* text of *O natio / Conditio / Mane prima sabbati*. Like Gregory, the author of the *motetus* text accuses the "wicked nation" of the Jews of interpreting the Law falsely according to the "letter", and of disregarding its "mystical" sense. Like Gregory's homily, the motetus text recalls the role of Moses in delivering the Law to the Jewish people, and concludes with an invitation to convert and win through grace the pardon of one's faults:

O nacio nephandi generis
cur gratie doni abuteris
Multiplici reatu laberis

dum litteram legis amplecteris
et littere medullam deseris
Gens perfida, cecade deperis

si Moysen consideraveris
nec faciem videre poteris
si mistice non intellexeris
in facie cornuta falleris

O nation of wicked people
why do you pervert the gifts of grace?
You committ multiple violations of the law

as you embrace its letter
and disregard its marrow
Treacherous and blinded people you lose yourself

if you consider Moses
nor will you see his face
unless you understand it mystically
you will be deceived by his horned face

[19] GREGORY, *Homilia XXXIII in Evangelia*, PL 76, col. 1245.

Considera misera quare damnaveris	*Consider, wretched people, why you will be damned*
quod litteram properam interpretaversi	*for you have interpreted the letter too properly*
Convertere propere, nam si converteris	*Convert properly, for if you convert*
per gratiam veniam culpe mereberis	*you will win through grace the pardon of your faults*

In both the motetus and the *triplum* texts of the motet *O nacio / Condicio / Mane prima sabbati*, the composer emphasises the themes related to Mary Magdalene as a type of the temporal Church, and as an *exemplum* of the importance of faith for salvation. As an historical figure, with a well-defined profile from the Gospels' narrative, Mary Magdalene is never explicitly mentioned in these texts. The episodes relating to Mary Magdalene in the Scriptures are regarded in this motet in the light of their "spiritual" and moral meaning.

In the tenor as well, by chosing to quote only the melody of the first three lines of the sequence, the composer avoids any reference to specific characters of the Gospels. The lines which correspond to the chant segment cited in the motet tenor celebrate the Resurrection, and make no reference to Mary Magdalene as an historical figure:

1. Mane prima sabbati / surgens dei filius / nostra spes et gloria
2. Victo rege sceleris / rediit ab inferis / cum cumma victoria
3. Cuius resurrectio / omni plena gaudio / consolatur omnia

The first explicit reference to Mary Magdalene in the Sequence occurs in the fourth line, in which "Mary Magdalene is made to announce the Resurgent Christ". The melody of this verse, as the remaining verses of the Sequence, is omitted in the motet tenor:

4. Resurgentis itaque / maria magdalenae / facta est prenuncia

In *O nacio / Condicio / Mane prima sabbati*, the selection of the chant fragment used in the tenor results from a careful compositional choice which fosters a reading of the events associated with Mary Magdalene in the Gospels allegorically, on the line indicated by Gregory and Augustine in their homilies. In order to be adapted to the much longer texts of the upper voices, the chant segment selected by the composer had then to be extended, repeated and manipulated in ways which single out this motet in the thirteenth-century repertory. A consideration of the tenor melody in its scriptural and exegetical context contributes to shed ligth on the tenor's melodic structure, and on the principles which might have guided the composer in his selection of this particular tenor segment from the original Sequence chant.

APPENDIX: MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

The dates in the following list are established according to *Le Graduel romain: Edition critique par les moines de Solesmes*, vol 2: *Les Sources*, Solesmes, 1957; W. H. FRERE ed., *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica: A Descriptive List of Latin Liturgical Manuscripts of the Middle Ages preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, Hildesheim, 1967; V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, 6 vols, Paris, 1934.

PARIS

B: Bruxelles, BR 4334	Processional	13-2nd half	Nôtre Dame
F: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal 110	Gradual	14	Paris
F: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal 197	Gradual	13 final quarter	St.Victor
F: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 411	Missal	ca. 1380	Nôtre Dame
F: Paris, BN lat. 830	Missal	13-3rd quarter	St. Germain l'Auxerrois
F: Paris, BN lat. 861	Missal	14-beg	Nôtre Dame
F: Paris, BN lat 1112	Missal	ca. 1220	Nôtre Dame
F: Paris, BN lat. 1337	Gradual	13-14	Paris
F: Paris, BN lat. 9441	Missal	13	Paris
F: Paris, BN lat. 10482	Breviary	14-beg	Paris
F: Paris, BN lat 13255	Gradual	13-end	Cluniac
F: Paris, BN lat. 14452	Gradual	13-3rd decade	St.Victor
F: Paris, BN lat 15181	Breviary	13-14	Nôtre Dame
F: Paris, BN lat. 15182	Breviary	13-14	Nôtre Dame
F: Paris, B Ste. Geneviève 1259	Missal	13-3rd decade	Ste. Geneviève
F: Paris, B Ste. Geneviève 2641	Antiphoner	13-2nd half	Ste. Geneviève
GB: British Library Add 16905	Missal	14	Nôtre Dame
GB: London, British Library Add 23935	Correctorium	ca. 1260	Paris-Dominican
I-Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 695	Troper/Proser	13	St.Victor/Reims
I-Bari, Cappella S. Nicola 1	Gradual/Proser	ca. 1250	Ste. Chapelle
US-Baltimore Walters Art Gallery W 302	Gradual	ca. 1425	Paris
US-Philadelphia, JRF 158	Antiphoner	13	Paris-Dominican

FRANCE, OTHER LOCATIONS

B: Bruxelles, BR II.3824	Gradual	13	Dijon
F: Abbeville, BM 7	Missal	13-14	Noyon
F: Amiens, BM 112	Breviary	13	Amiens
F: Arras, BM 412	Breviary	14	Arras
F: Arras, BM 465	Breviary	13	Arras
F: Auxerre, BM 51	Missal	13-15	Auxerre
F: Auxerre, BM 54	Breviary	14	Auxerre
F: Auxerre, BM 55	Breviary	14	Auxerre
F: Auxerre, BM 60	Antiphoner	14	Sens
F: Cambrai, Mediathèque Muncipale, 38	Antiphoner	13	Cambrai
F: Châtres, BM 520	Missal	13	Châtres
F: Le Mans, BM 437	Missal	14, 1st half	Le Mans
F: Metz, BM 83	Antiphoner	13	Metz
F: Paris, Bubliothèque de l'Arsénal 153	Breviary	13	Meaux
F: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal 279	Breviary	13	Bayeux
F: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal 595	Breviary	13-14	Chalôns-sur-Marne
F: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 405	Missal	13, 1st half	Meaux
F: Paris, BN lat. 802	Breviary	13	Chalôns-sur-Marne
F: Paris, BN lat. 842	Missal	1325	Chalôns-sur-Marne
F: Paris, BN lat. 845	Missal	14, 2nd half	Chalôns-sur-Marne
F: Paris, BN lat. 1020	Breviary	13	Orléans
F: Paris, BN lat. 1030	Breviary	13	Beauvais

F: Paris, BN lat. 1105	Missal	1265-72	Bec
F: Paris, BN lat. 1255	Breviary	13/15	Bourges
F: Paris, BN lat. 1266	Breviary	1309	Meaux
F: Paris, BN lat. 1535	Antiphoner	13	Sens
F: Paris, BN lat. 10502	Missal	13-1st half	Sens
F: Paris, BN lat 12035	Breviary	12-13	Meaux
F: Paris, BN lat. 16853	Missal	13-2nd half	Compiègne
F: Paris, BN lat. 17310	Missal	13-14	Châtres
F: Paris, BN lat. 17311	Missal	14-1st half	Cambrai
F: Paris, BN lat. 17312	Missal	13	Auxerre
F: Paris, BN lat. 17329	Gradual	13	Compiègne
F: Paris, BN n.a.lat. 541	Gradual	13-1st half	Rouen
F: Paris, BN n.a.lat. 1535	Antiphoner	13	Sens
F: Paris, BN n.a.lat. 1773	Missal	13-beg	Evreux
F: Paris, B Ste. Geneviève 117	Antiphoner	13-14	Beauvais
F: Provins, BM 11	Missal	13	Sens
F: Provins, BM 12	Gradual	13-beg	Châtres
F: Reims, BM 217	Missal	14	Reims
F: Reims, BM 221	Missal	12	Reims
F: Reims BM 264	Gradual	13	Reims
F: Rouen, BM 248	Antiphoner	13	Jumiège
F: Rouen, BM 252	Antiphoner	14	Rouen
F: Rouen BM 277	Missal	1240-1250	Rouen
F: Rouen, BM 289	Missal	14	Rouen
F: Sens, BM 16	Gradual	13-14	Sens
F: Sens, BM 17	Gradual	13-14	Sens
F:Vendome, BM 17E	Breviary	1245-1266	Vendôme
F:Verdun, BM 759	Missal	13, 1st half	Verdun
I-Roma, Biblioteca Angelica 435	Sequentiary	13th, beg	Châtres
I-Roma, BAV Vat. lat. 4756	Breviary	13	Châtres

ENGLAND

F: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsénal 135	Missal	13, 2nd half	London or Canterbury
GB: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 369	Missal-Breviary	13	Lewes
GB: Cambridge, UL Mm 2.9	Antiphoner	13-late	Sarum
GB: London, British Library Egerton 3759	Gradual	13	Crowland Abbey
GB: Manchester, JRU Library lit. 24	Missal	13, 2nd half	Exeter (Sarum)
GB: Oxford, Bodleian Library lit. b.5	Gradual	14/15	York
GB: Worcester, Chapter Library F 160	Antiphoner	13	Worcester

Römischer Choral im polyphonen Umfeld der lutherischen Liturgie

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Die Termini Alt und Neu, nicht nur im semantischen und semiotischen Sinn ein Gegensatzpaar, spielen in den meisten geisteswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen eine große Rolle. So wurde in der entwicklungsorientierten Historiographie, die die Forschung bis in die erste Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts prägte, mit dem 'Alten' zumeist dasjenige bezeichnet, das im Vergleich zum beschriebenen zeitgenössischen Zustand als vorausgehend, ja teilweise notwendigerweise voraussetzend galt. Ohne das Alte hätte sich das Neue nicht entwickeln, sich nicht hiervon absetzen können. Oft wurde das Alte deshalb mit dem Überkommenen, mit dem Rückständigen gleichgesetzt (denken wir etwa an die Beschreibung der *prima prattica* im Vorwort zu Claudio Monteverdis 5. Madrigalbuch von 1605, obwohl Giovanni Artusi in seinem *Ovvero, Delle imperfezioni della moderna musica* von 1600 die 'alten' Komponisten als den Maßstab sieht). Das Neue hingegen galt oft als das Moderne, das im Hinblick auf die weiteren *Entwicklungen* in der Retrospektive gesehen Wegweisende. Das Moderne war (wie im Fall der seconda prattica von Monteverdi) der Nukleus, aus dem sich die weiter 'Entwicklung' ableitete. Zwar wurden 'neue' Ansätze wohl zu jeder Zeit von denjenigen, die sie als zur bestehenden Situation als 'anders' empfanden, als 'neu' propagiert (der Vergleich mit Monteverdis neuem Ausdrucksstil trifft auch in diesem Fall zu), ihre Verbreitung und mögliche Durchsetzung war jedoch zum Zeitpunkt ihrer Formulierung keinesfalls absehbar.

Wurde die entwicklungshistorisch orientierte Historiographie in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten von – nach heutigen Maßstäben – besser nutzbaren Ansätzen großteils verdrängt, so bleibt nach wie vor das Faktum bestehen, daß sich die historisch orientierten geisteswissenschaftlichen Fächer mit dem Problem unterschiedlicher Ebenen bei der Beschreibung eines durch seine Zeit definierten 'Zustandes' befassen müssen und die Begriffe 'Alt' und 'Neu', einschließlich der damit verbundenen Probleme einer 'Wertigkeit', werden für absehbare Zeit die Terminologie unseres Faches prägen.

Warum diese Einleitung zu einem Beitrag, der im Rahmen eines Kongresses zu Fragen der Ein- und Mehrstimmigkeit steht? Auch in diesem Kontext liegen zwei unterschiedliche Ebenen vor, ich will hier bewußt nicht von einem Gegensatz sprechen. Bis vor nicht all zu langer Zeit wurde die Mehrstimmigkeit, deren schriftliche Überlieferung erst später als die Aufzeichnung monodischer

Gesänge einsetzte, oft mit dem 'Neuen' assoziiert. Eine Wertung war häufig bei dieser Einschätzung enthalten, wobei der Mehrstimmigkeit in vielen Fällen ein höherer künstlerischer – in der älteren Literatur sogar ein Kultur definierender – Wert zugesprochen wurde. Die Monodie hingegen wurde oft nicht nur in ihren Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten der Polyphonie als unterlegen charakterisiert.

Ich beziehe mich auf eine Quelle, die in einem unmittelbaren Bezugsverhältnis – ich vermeide hier bewußt das Wort Spannungsverhältnis – zwischen Einstimmigkeit und Mehrstimmigkeit entstand.

Sprechen wir von einer Choralquelle, so gehen wir beinahe automatisch von der Überlieferung einer mittelalterlichen Praxis aus. Choral als lebendiger liturgischer Gesang war in seiner Verwendung und Überlieferung jedoch keinesfalls auf nur eine Epoche beschränkt, nicht einmal auf die Liturgie nur einer der christlichen Kirchen. Wenig bekannt ist selbst unter Musikwissenschaftlern die lateinische Choralpraxis der lutherischen Kirche in Deutschland, die erst in wenigen Arbeiten behandelt wurde.[1]

Im Rahmen meines gegenwärtigen Forschungsprojekts über die Musikkultur in der Reichsstadt Nürnberg vor der Reformation wurde ich von William Voelkle, dem Kurator für mittelalterliche und Renaissance-Handschriften der Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, auf die von der Bibliothek erst kürzlich erworbene Handschrift M. 1109 aufmerksam gemacht.[2] Es gelang mir in der Vorbereitung dieses Beitrags festzustellen, daß diese Quelle – aus dem Bestand der berühmten Norica – Bibliothek des Geschichtsprofessors an der Altdorfer Universität Georg Andreas Will (1727-1798) stammt. Die Handschrift weist die ursprüngliche Ex libris sowie die Signatur VII 1425 4° auf, die im 1744 gedruck-

[1] Die im folgenden angegebene Literatur soll einen Überblick über die unter-schiedlichen Ansätze in der Forschung geben. Nach wie vor als grundlegende Arbeit kann die Dissertation von T. SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges in den protestantischen Gottesdiensten*, (*Veröffentlichung der gregorianischen Akademie zu Freiburg in der Schweiz*, 15), Freiburg /Schweiz, 1930 gelten. B. HÖCKER beschäftigt sich in seiner *Disseration Lateinische Gregorianik im Lutherischen Gottesdienst?*, (*Dissertationen Theologische Reihe*, 69), St. Ottilien, 1994, nur am Rande mit Choralgesängen in der protestantischen Liturgie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. A. BOND, *Plainsong in the Lutheran Church*, in *Musical Times*, 114 (1973), Ss. 582-587, 993-997, 1114-1118. E. KLUSEN, *Gregorianischer Choral und reformatorisches Kirchenlied*, in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 50 (1966), Ss. 75-92. E. KLUSEN, *Gregorianischer Choral und früh-protestantisches Kirchenlied. Neue Gesichts-punkte zur Beurteilung ihrer gegenseitigen Beziehung*, in *Bericht über den siebenten internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Köln 1958*, G. ABRAHAM et al. ed., Kassel etc., 1959, Ss. 157-159. W.H. RUBSAMEN, *The International 'Catholic' Repertoire of a Lutheran Church in Nürnberg (1574-1597)*, in *Annales Musicologiques*, 5 (1957), Ss. 229-327.

[2] Für seine große Hilfe bei der Beschaffung eines Mikrofilms möchte ich Martin Adam Jacobs danken.

ten Katalog nachgewiesen ist.[3] Die Sammlung war nach dem Tod von Georg Andreas Will von der Stadt Nürnberg gekauft worden und ist seitdem Teil der Stadtbibliothek.

Nach Aussage des Titelblatts verzeichnet die Quelle Gesänge, die von Johannes Schirmer, dem Kantor der *scholae Sebaldinae*, der Schule von St. Sebald in Nürnberg, gesammelt worden waren (Abbildung 1). Aufgezeichnet sind *Antiphonae, Responsoria, Hymni, Introitus, Missae, Alleluia, Tracuts etc. qui Dominicis diebus itemque Festis Apostolorum etc. per annum in Templo Sebaldino Choraliter cantari solent.*

Die formale Gestaltung des Titelblattes läßt bei erster Betrachtung einen Druck (Holzschnitt) vermuten, es handelt sich in der Tat jedoch um eine Federzeichnung, die offensichtlich das Titelblatt eines Druckes imitieren will, eine Beobachtung, die auch für weitere Federzeichnungen der Handschrift gilt. Ob diese Anpassung an die Gestaltung eines Druckes der Handschrift eine höhere Autorität zuweisen soll, oder ob wir in diesem Fall vielleicht eine Vorlage besitzen, die für einen späteren Druck aufbereitet worden war, wird noch zu klären sein.

Auffällig ist die von einer anderen Hand hinzugefügte Jahreszahl *A. 1599.* Johannes Schirmer wurde als Lehrer der Sebaldusschule im Jahr 1598-1599 berufen, Kantor wurde er erst im Jahr 1607, ein Posten, den er bis zum Jahr 1618 behielt, als er der Rector an St. Lorenz wurde.[4] Bereits Russel Bartlett Butler war in seiner Dissertation über *Liturgical Music in 16th Century Nürnberg* aus dem Jahr 1970 zu dem Schluß gekommen – ohne allerdings die Quelle jemals einsehen zu können –, daß das angegebene Datum keine adäquate Datierung sein könne, denn Schirmer wurde erst sieben Jahre nach 1599 der Kantor, eine Bezeichnung die der Titel ausdrücklich nennt. Vertrauen wir der Angabe zu seinem Amt, so müßte die Quelle in den Jahren zwischen 1607 und 1618 geschrieben worden sein, demnach zu einer Zeit, die in der Musikforschung gemeinhin als eine Epochengrenze mit einer 'Trennung' von 'alten' und 'neuen' Formen (wenn auch sicher nicht im Hinblick auf die Mehrstimmigkeit) gesehen wird.

[3] *Bibliotheca Norica Williana oder Kritisches Verzeichnis aller Schriften welche die Stadt Nürnberg angehen und die zur Erläuterung deren Geschichte seit vielen Jahren gesammelt hat nun aber beschreibet Georg Andreas Will*, Pars III: *Scriptorum ad Hist[oriam] Literariam*, Pars IIII: *Ad Hist[oriam] Naturalem et mixtam pertinentium*, Altdorf, 1774, Nr. 647. Siehe auch R. JÜRGENSEN, *Norimberga Literata*, in K. GARBER ed., *Stadt und Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum der Frühen Neuzeit*, Tübingen, 1998, Ss. 425-490.

[4] R.B. BUTLER, *Liturgical Music in Sixteenth-Century Nürnberg. A Socio-Musical Study*, Phil. Dissertation University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970, Xerokopie Ann Arbor, 1975, S. 373.



Abbildung 1. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109, Titelblatt



Die Quelle enthält, wie der Titel vermuten läßt, die liturgischen einstimmigen Gesänge für den Jahresablauf der Kirche St. Sebald in Nürnberg, einer der beiden Stadtpfarrkirchen. Darüber hinaus finden sich teilweise sehr genaue Angaben zur Aufführungspraxis, wobei alle beteiligten Personen und die Form ihrer Beteiligung genannt werden.

'Alt' und 'Neu', Einstimmigkeit und Mehrstimmigkeit, wie kommen diese Bereiche in der Quelle Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109 zum Ausdruck? Die musikalische Quellenlage für die beiden Stadtpfarrkirchen, St. Sebald und St. Lorenz, zeigt für die nachreformatorische Zeit die Singularität dieser Quelle. In keiner weiteren Handschrift wurde der Choral, der zumindest in der musikalischen Überlieferung nach wie vor klar in der vorreformatorischen Tradition der Diözese Bamberg und des Bamberger Doms steht, aufgezeichnet. Auch wenn der Ablauf der Liturgie nach den Erfordernissen des lutherischen Gottesdienstes angepaßt wurde und große Teile der für die Diözese Bamberg typischen Heiligenfeste aus diesem Grund nicht aufgenommen sind, ebenso Gesänge, die der lutherischen Lehre entgegenstanden, etwa das Offertorium, so wurden zumindest für die Hochfeste des Kirchenjahres die meisten choralen Gesänge textlich und melodisch praktisch unverändert beibehalten.

Zwar waren für einige Jahre nach der Reformation, die in Nürnberg in den Jahren zwischen 1524 bis 1526 erfolgte, der mehrstimmige Gesang und auch die Orgel aus dem Gottesdienst verbannt, in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts nahmen mehrstimmige Gesänge, nicht zuletzt aufgrund des Druckes des musikinteressierten Patriziats auf den Klerus, einen immer breiteren Raum in der Liturgie ein. Zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts scheint – so die umfangreiche Quellenlage – eine überwiegend mehrstimmige Form der Gottesdienste und der verbliebenen Teile des Offiziums die Norm gewesen sein, auch wenn die Aufführung einstimmiger lateinischer Choräle möglich war: Alleine 29 handschriftliche Quellen mit mehrstimmiger liturgischer Musik, 71 Drucke mit mehrstimmigen Anthologien und 96 Drucken mit mehrstimmigen liturgischen Werken eines Komponisten lassen sich von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis etwa 1615 im Zusammenhang mit Nürnberg aufzeigen, ein Zahlenverhältnis, das im Hinblick auf die Choralquellen eine deutliche Sprache zu sprechen scheint.[5]

Darauf, daß der Choral nach der Reformation einen gewissen Stellenwert in der Praxis der Nürnberger Kirchen behielt, weisen jedoch neben der St. Sebalder Quelle Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109 einige Choraldrucke und Handschriften mit der Provenienz Nürnberg. Aus dem Jahr 1554 stammt ein lateinisches Responsoriale mit dem Titel *Responsoria quae annuatium in veteri Ecclesia de Tempore, Festis et Sanctis cantari solent, Additis etium quibusdam aliis communibus can-*

[5] BUTLER, *Liturgical Music in Sixteenth Century Nürnberg*, Ss. 793–822.

tis.[6] Eine weitere Sammlung, primär mit Responsorien, stammt aus dem Jahr 1572 und selbst in den Sammlungen Officium Sacrum von 1664 und *Agenda Diaconorum* von 1697 finden sich lateinische Choralgesänge zum Kirchenjahr.[7] In der Handschrift *Antiphonale Selectum in usum Chori Ecclesiastici* (Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, St. Egidien 34), kompiliert vom stellvertretenden Kantor der Nürnberger Egidienkirche Johannes Matthesius von 1724, liegen selbst die Feste für Andreas, Thomas, Matthias, Philippus, Jacobus, Petrus, Paulus, Jacobus, Bartholomäus, Mattäus, Simon und Juda noch in einer traditionellen lateinischen Fassung vor.[8]

Diese Beibehaltung lateinischer Gesänge in der Liturgie von St. Sebald scheint in erster Linie auf die angegliederte Schule zurückzugehen. Martin Luther hatte sich wiederholt gegen die Praxis der Kontrafaktur von lateinischen Chorälen mit deutschen Texten gewehrt, so auch gegen die Neutextierung des Osterintroitus: *Will man deutsch singen, so singe man gute deutsche Lieder; will man lateinisch singen, wie's Schüler tun, so behalte die alten Choral und text und tut das Unrein davon, besser wirds keiner machen.*[9] Luther propagierte zwei unterschiedliche Gottesdienstformen.[10] In der *Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittembergensi* aus dem Jahr 1523 empfiehlt er, daß an *Stiften und Domen*, an denen ein Chor vorhanden war – auch aus Gründen der Sprachübung – nach wie vor lateinisch gesungen werden sollte, besonders jedoch in Kirchen mit angegliederten Schulen: *Bei lateinischen Schulen soll man lateinisch singen, in deutschen Kirchen soll man deutsch predigen, so gehet es recht.*[11] Die im Jahr 1533 entstandene Brandenburg-Nürnberger Kirchenordnung, die zum Vorbild für weitere Kirchenordnungen in Nord- und Süddeutschland werden sollte, folgt im wesentlichen der Form der

6 SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, S. 113.

7 SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, S. 113.

8 RUBSAMEN, *The International 'Catholic' Repertoire of a Lutheran Church*, S. 235. Im Jahr 1741 kompilierte Johann Matthesius noch zwei weitere Kodices für St. Egidien: Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Fen. IV, 2o 228, eine Quelle u.a. mit einer vollständigen Folge von Tractus für das Kirchenjahr, außerdem Sequenzen, Responsorien und Hymnen. Die Handschrift Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Ms. Fen. IV 2o 229 enthält Antiphonen für das Kirchenjahr, Hymnen und Tractus für die wichtigen Feste.

9 Zitiert nach SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, S. 9. Zu Äußerungen Luthers über den lateinischen Choral siehe auch HÖCKER, *Lateinische Gregorianik im Lutherischen Gottesdienst?*, Ss. 35-51.

10 RUBSAMEN, *The International 'Catholic' Repertoire of a Lutheran Church*, S. 237.

11 SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, Ss. 10, 59. In der Wittenberger *Kirchenordnung* von 1533 findet sich das folgende Verbot für die Schüler deutsch zu singen: *Deutzsch sollen die schuler nicht singen, ohn allein, wenn das volck mitsinget.*

lutherischen Messe nach der *Formula Missae*.[12] Für kleine und ländliche Kirchen ohne Chor verfaßte Luther 1524–1525 die Gottesdienstordnung *Deutsche Messe*, in der eine Liturgie allein in deutscher Sprache empfohlen wird.[13]

Eine weithin einheitlich protestantische Liturgie gab es im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert zu keiner Zeit, als zu verschieden erwiesen sich die Voraussetzung und das jeweilige Umfeld. Die Vorstellungen Martin Luthers wurden aus diesen Gründen auch abweichend umgesetzt und die Verwendung lateinischer Choräle in der Liturgie konnte durchaus unterschiedlich ausfallen.

Bedeutung als Sammlungen von lateinischem Choral in den lutherischen Gebieten erhielten die *Psalmodia* des Lucas Lossius, Rector am Johanneum in Lüneburg, die in fünf Auflagen zwischen 1553 und 1579 erschien und durch die *cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selectae [...] per totius anni circulum* besonders für den Gebrauch an Kirchen und Schulen zugänglich gemacht werden sollten, ebenso das zweibändige *Missale, hoc est cantica, preces, et lectiones sacrae* von 1589 des Domdekans Matthäus Ludecus an der Kathedralkirche zu Havelberg und die *Cantica sacra* des Franziscus Eler, eine Sammlung die 1588 in Hamburg gedruckt wurde.[14] Allen genannten Sammlungen gemeinsam ist die Beibehaltung eines umfangreichen Repertoires lateinischer Introiten, besonders auffällig jedoch bei Lucas Lossius, der im wesentlichen den Bestand und die Ordnung des römischen Graduale nicht nur für die Sonntage, sondern sogar bei Wochentagen übernimmt.[15] Ebenso finden sich in allen Sammlungen die drei Marienfeste *Annuntiatio, Purificatio* und *Visitatio* und zusätzlich die Heiligenfeste *Conversio Pauli, Natalis Joannis, Maria Magdalene, Decollatio Joannis Baptistae, Michel Archangelus, Festum omnium Sanctorum, Apostolorum* und *Martyrum*.[16]

Die Handschrift Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109 scheint sich in diese Tradition einzureihen, im Detail zeigen sich jedoch deutliche Unterschiede. Waren die genannten Sammlungen für einen weiten Kreis von Rezipienten gedacht, so gibt es im Fall der Handschrift Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109 hierfür keinen Beleg. Die Quellenlage zeigt die Singularität der Quelle: Sie war offensichtlich nicht der Ausgangspunkt einer weiteren Überlieferung in

[12] SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, S. 69f. In Nürnberg erschienen Neuausgaben der Kirchenordnung in den Jahren 1564 und 1592. Das Agendenbüchlein des Predigers and der Nürnberger St. Sebald Kirche, Veit Dietrich, geht ebenfalls in wesentlichen Teilen auf die Brandenburg-Nürnberger Kirchenordnung zurück. Zur Nürnberger Liturgie von 1524 bis ca. 1536 siehe BUTLER, *Liturgical Music in Sixteenth-Century Nürnberg*, Ss. 155–241.

[13] RUBSAMEN, *The International 'Catholic' Repertoire of a Lutheran Church*, S. 237.

[14] SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, Ss. 22–25.

[15] SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, S. 27.

[16] SCHREMS, *Die Geschichte des Gregorianischen Gesanges*, S. 28.

Manuskripten oder Drucken und es stellt sich somit die Frage, ob eine Weitergabe der aufgezeichneten Praxis jemals intendiert war.

So scheint es möglich, daß es sich bei der Handschrift Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109 um eine Sammlungsquelle handelt, in der Choräle und ihre Aufführungspraktiken aus primär enzyklopädischen Gründen fixiert wurden. Hierfür könnte das Titelblatt sprechen, nach dem die Gesänge von Johannes Schirmer *collecti*, gesammelt worden wären. Dies könnte darauf hinweisen, daß das Repertoire der Quelle erst zu diesem Zeitpunkt kompiliert worden war, man darf vermuten, auf der Basis redigierter vorreformatorischer Quellen der Provenienz St. Sebald. Für St. Lorenz sind Choralhandschriften des 15. Jahrhunderts erhalten, die noch im 18. Jahrhundert für eine Nutzung im lutherischen Gottesdienst durch Streichungen und textliche Änderungen angepaßt wurden. Gegen einen im eigentlichen Sinn liturgischen Gebrauch spricht auch die äußere Form der Quelle. An keiner Stelle wird ihr ein 'offizieller' Charakter zugesprochen, auch befand sich die Quelle nicht im Besitz der Pfarrei. Die in die Handschrift aufgenommenen Federzeichnungen mit oftmals säkularen Inhalten lassen einen offiziellen liturgischen Hintergrund ebenfalls kaum zu. Als wahrscheinlichere Hypothese kann gelten, daß die nur noch beschränkt gebräuchlichen Choralgesänge in einer Form zusammengestellt wurden, die besonders für den Kantor die Vorbereitung von Aufführungen erleichterte. Demnach scheint es sich bei der Handschrift Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109 um die private Handschrift des Kantors an St. Sebald gehandelt zu haben.

Die Aufzeichnung von liturgischer Monodie, von einer – sicherlich auch nach den Maßstäben des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts – 'alten' Praxis, in einem mehrstimmigen 'neuen' Umfeld muß Implikationen nicht nur für die Aufzeichnung der Gesänge und für ihre Aufführung haben, sondern auch für die Melodien selber. Die Auf-zeichnung verrät in der Tat Merkmale, die in einer semiotischen Deutung als "Metasigns" oder "Signifiers" gewertet werden können, die zwar für das inhaltliche Verständnis der Aufzeichnung eher sekundär sind, allerdings zur Darstellung einer vollständigen Performanz der aufgezeichneten Formen und 'Sprache' (in diesem Fall angewandt auf die Musik) unabdingbar werden.[17] Derartige "Metasigns" dienen primär zur Kennzeichnung, aber auch zur Abgrenzung einer "group membership", in diesem Fall der beiden Kathegorien Monophon und Polyphon. "Metasigns" mögen oft unauffällig und kurz, leicht zu übersehen und häufig redundant sein, in vielen Fällen auch banal, aber dennoch sind sie für den Prozeß der Übermittlung wichtig.

[17] Nach der Terminologie von Boas, Sapir, Whorf. Vgl. hierzu R. HODGE & G. KRESS, *Social Semiotics*, Ithaca - New York, 1988, S. 81.

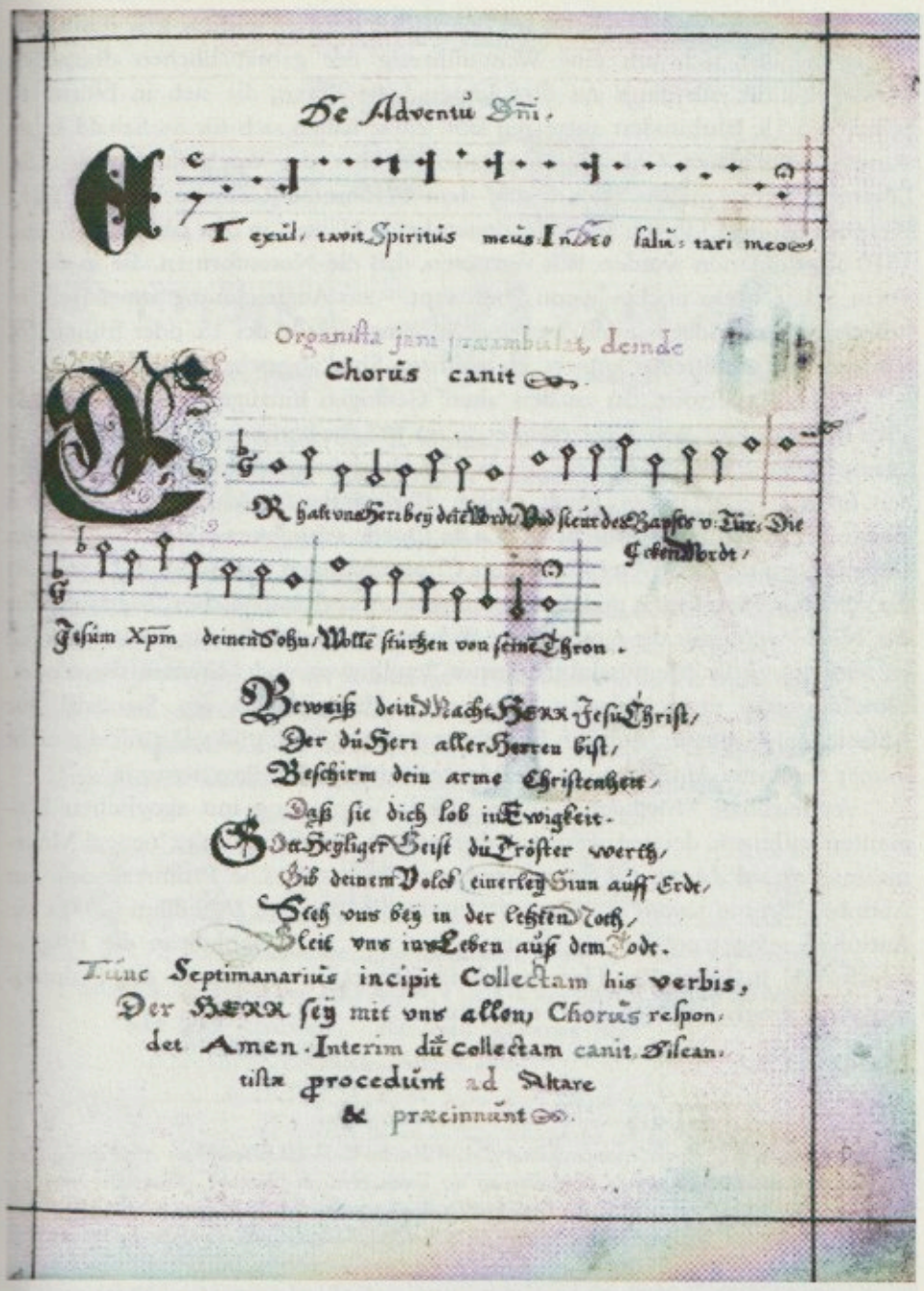


Abbildung 2. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109, fol. 7

Die Notation der Quelle scheint bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung klar retrospektiv. Es handelt sich um eine Weiterführung der gebräuchlichen deutschen Hufnagelschrift, allerdings auf fünf Linien, eine Praxis, die sich in Nürnberg primär im 15. Jahrhundert aufzeigen läßt. Zwar haben sich für St. Sebald keine vorreformatorischen Choralquellen erhalten, aber der Vergleich mit den St. Lorenzer Choralquellen, allen voran dem berühmten Gänsebuch New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 905[18], dessen beide Hälften in den Jahren 1507 und 1510 abgeschlossen wurden, läßt vermuten, daß die Notenformen, die in dieser Form sicher kaum noch – wenn überhaupt – zur Aufzeichnung von Musik in Nürnberg verwendet wurden, aus einer Vorgängerquelle des 15. oder frühen 16. Jahrhunderts unmittelbar kopiert, im wahrsten Sinn 'abgeschrieben' wurde.

Neues Repertoire, das zu den 'alten' Gesängen hinzugefügt wurde, wurde auch in neuer Notation aufgezeichnet, so im Fall des berühmten protestantischen 'Kampfliedes' *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*, das durch den zweiten Vers *und steur des Bapstes und Türcken mordt* einige Berühmtheit nicht nur unter den Zeitgenossen erlangte (Abbildung 2). Die Quelle schreibt es, im ausdrücklichen Gegensatz zu den späteren Nürnberger Chorordnungen von 1639 und 1664, für die Vesper an Hochfesten und Sonntagen vor.[19] Als offensichtliches "Metasign" für das 'Neue' wurde für die einstimmige Fassung des Liedes die für die Polyphonie entwickelte weiße Mensuralnotation mit Semibreven und Minimen verwendet, allerdings mit abwechselnder Kaudierung, die sich als ein Standard zur Aufzeichnung vokaler Musik in Nürnberg etabliert hatte und selbst für die nicht immer regelhafte Aufzeichnung der Meisterlieder herangezogen wurde.

Vergleichbare "Metasigns" lassen sich in Verbindung mit agogischen Elementen aufzeigen, deren Aufzeichnungselemente ebenfalls aus der 'neuen' Mehrstimmigkeit auf das 'alte' Repertoire übertragen wurde. Die Psalmrezitation zur Antiphon *Spiritus sanctus in te descendet* macht dies deutlich (Abbildung 3). Ist die Antiphon selber zunächst als kurzes Inzipit und im Anschluß an die Rezitationsformel in klassischer Hufnagelschrift notiert, so werden in der Psalmenrezitation agogische "Metasigns" angewandt.

[18] Zur Handschrift Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 905 siehe C. SCHLEIF, *Donatio et memoria. Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg*, (*Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien*, 58), München, 1990, S. 202. V. SCHIER, *Tropi in ecclesia sanc ti laurentii in nurenberg. Nürnberger Quellen für die Bamberger Tropenpraxis*, in *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch*, 7 (1998), Ss. 9–44.

[19] *Agendenbüchlein für die Nürnbergischen Kirchendiener in der Stadt und auff dem Land*, Nürnberg, 1639.
Ordo Sacrum, quod in Aede D. Sebaldi Norimbergensium primaria, singulis anni diebus exhiberi solent, Nürnberg, 1664.
Ordo Oficii Sacri in S. Aede Laurentiana, in *Officium Sacrum [...] Sebaldi*, Nürnberg, 1664, Ss. 217–246.

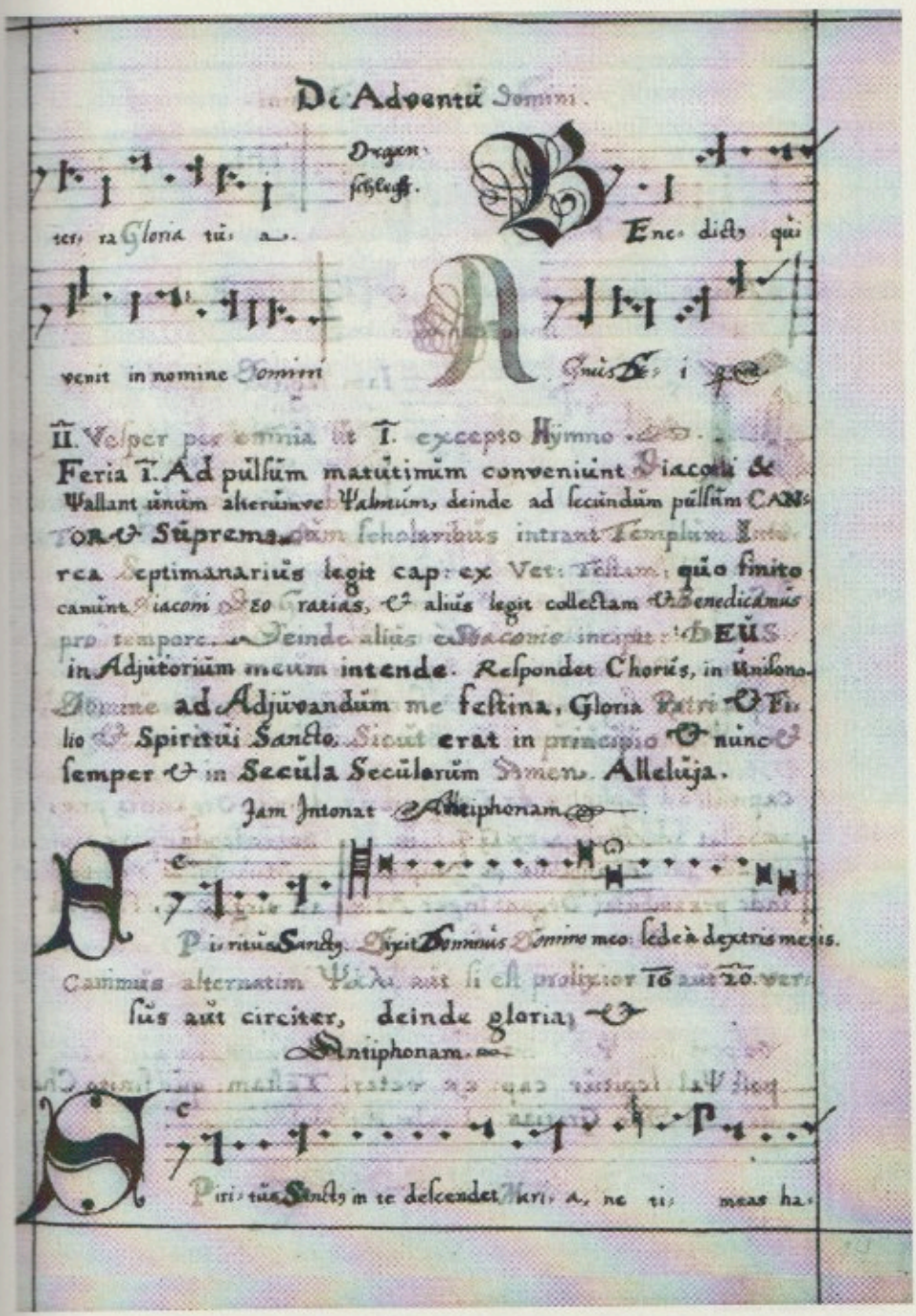


Abbildung 3. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109, fol. 13

Eine Rhythmisierung wird offensichtlich nicht angestrebt, die Anklänge an Brevis- und Semibrevisformen, die zwar ausgefüllt und nicht kaudiert sind, machen die Problematik der beiden Ebenen deutlich: Ein ursprünglich für die exakte Festlegung der Tondauer in der Polyphonie entwickeltes System dient als "Signifier" für ein Repertoire mit Akzentsystem, dem in seiner ursprünglichen Form ein fixiertes rhythmisches Proportionsverhältnis fremd ist, ein Faktum, das Johannes Schirmer zweifelsohne durch die gängigen musikalischen Lehrbücher bekannt war.[20] Dies ist ein Sachverhalt, der exakt im reziproken Verhältnis zur allmählichen Durchsetzung des von Heinrich Besseler als Akzentstufentakt bezeichneten 'neuen' Schwerpunktsetzung im 'Taktsystem' um 1600 steht und die Problematik der Überlagerung beider Ebenen vollends deutlich macht.[21]

Besser scheint hier die Fermate gewählt, die in den meisten Rezitationsformeln der Quelle die Längung der *mediatio*, der Mittelkadenz anzeigt. Hier liegt eine noch komplexere Umformung vor, zeigt doch dieses Zeichen in der Polyphonie das Pausieren oder die Längung einer Note über ihren fest zugewiesenen rhythmischen Wert hinaus. Ein Zeichen, das in seiner um 1600 zeitimmanenten 'neuen' Bedeutung ein festes rhythmisches System an definierten Stellen (Kadenzen, Melodieende) quasi vorübergehend aussetzt und ihm eine agogische Komponente gibt, die dem starren Aufzeichnungssystem nicht immanent ist, jedoch dem musikalischen Vortrag der aufgezeichneten Werke, entspricht geradezu mustergültig den Aufführungs- und Aufzeichnungsbedürfnissen des 'alten' Chorals. Die Psalmrezitationen zu Antiphonen, die in den 'alten' Nürnberger Handschriften nicht ausgeschrieben worden waren, wurden in einer Form fixiert, die im Hinblick auf die zeitimmanente Rezeption des Repertoires 'Sinn' ergab. Im semiotischen Sinn bedeutet dies, daß eine 'andere' Form Sängern oder Organisten mit primär Ausbildung in mehrstimmiger Musik durch derartige "Metasigns" übermittelt werden konnte.

Doch wenden wir uns nun dem unmittelbaren Nebeneinander von monophonen und polyphonen Beiträgen in einer konkreteren Form zu: Der Aufführungspraxis des Chorals.

Die völlige Einbindung der choralen Gesänge in ein mehrstimmiges Umfeld wird besonders durch die Verwendung der Orgel deutlich. Die berühmte große Schwalbennestorgel von St. Sebald, die 1443 an der Westwand durch Heinrich Traxdorf aus Mainz erbaut wurde, war trotz zahlreicher Umbauten aus späterer

[20] Etwa das für die St. Lorenzer Schule geschriebene Lehrbuch des J. COCHLÄUS, *Tetrachordum musices*, Nürnberg, 1512, das nicht nur im 16. Jahrhundert eine weite Verbreitung im süddeutschen Raum hatte.

[21] Eine Entwicklung von quantitativen Längenbezügen zu qualitativen Akzenten, wie es Heinrich Besseler für die Zeit um 1600 durch den Aktzentstufentakt propagiert, kommt hier keinesfalls in Frage.

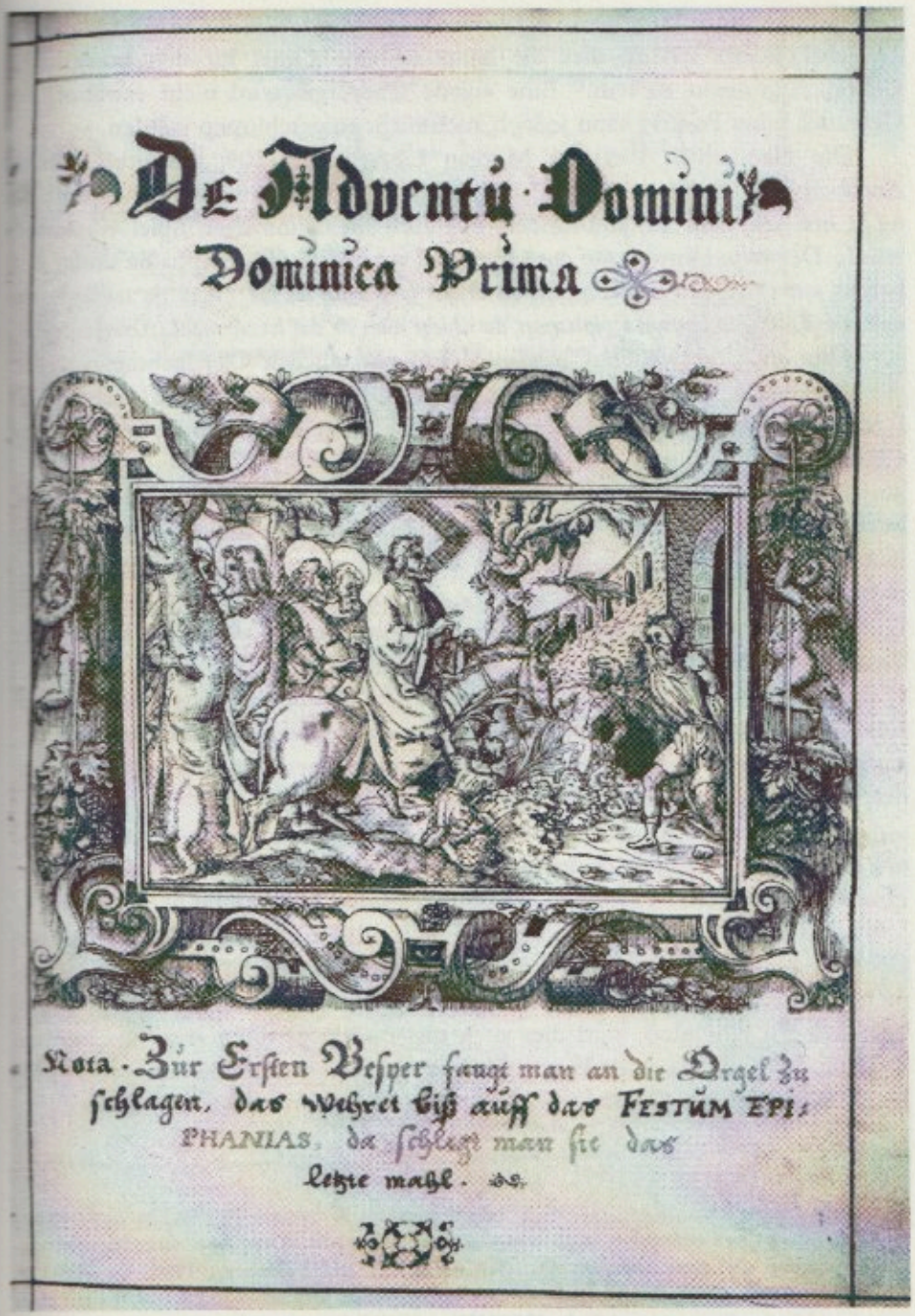


Abbildung 4. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109, fol. 2

Zeit in ihrem Kern im frühen 17. Jahrhundert erhalten.[22] In der zweiten Hälfe des 16. Jahrhunderts scheint dies die hauptsächliche Orgel für den liturgischen Gebrauch gewesen zu sein.[23] Eine eigene Chororgel wird nicht erwähnt, der Gebrauch eines Positivs kann jedoch auch nicht ausgeschlossen werden.

Die Handschrift Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109, gibt stets genaue Angaben über die Verwendung der Orgel in der Liturgie, eines Instruments, das nicht erst seit dem 17. Jahrhundert nur zum mehrstimmigen Spiel verwendet wurde. Der erste Hinweis auf das Orgelspiel von Advent bis Epiphanie findet sich bereits auf Folio 2: *Nota. Zur Ersten Vesper fang man an die Orgel zu schlagen, das wehret biß auff das Festum Epiphanias, da schlegt man sie das letzte mahl* (Abbildung 4).

Aber auch die weiteren, häufigen Hinweise auf den Orgelgebrauch stellen die Frage, ob die Quelle nicht dem Organisten von St. Sebald als Referenzhandbuch für den – möglicherweise nicht mehr täglich gepflegten – Choral diente?

Während Festzyklen des Kirchenjahres, Weihnachten, Ostern und Pfingsten, ist die Mitwirkung der Orgel bei praktisch allen Choralgesängen vorgeschrieben, wobei zwingend anzunehmen ist, daß die Beteiligung der Orgel in einer polyphonen Form erfolgte, möglicherweise improvisiert auf der Basis der in der Quelle zusammengetragenen Melodien, obwohl manche wichtige Passagen der Ordinariumsmelodien fehlen.

Die Beteiligung der Orgel betrifft nicht nur das 'einspielen' der einzelnen Gesänge, was meistens mit dem Hinweis *modulatio, intonatio* oder *organista* [...] *praeambulat* kenntlich gemacht wird, sondern auch Überleitungen, etwa zwischen den einzelnen Antiphonen der Vesper (Abbildung 5).

Besonders bedeutsam erscheint auch der Hinweis zum Hymnus Veni redemptor gentium. Hier findet sich der Hinweis: *NB. Organista modulatur super Hymnum: Veni Redemtor Gentium, su[per] G: mollariter* (Abbildung 6).

Die bekannte Hymnenmelodie, die auch für den Hymnus für den heiligen Geist *Veni creator spiritus* verwendet wird, ist zwar nicht in die Quelle aufgenommen, aufgrund der großen Bekanntheit, die auch zahlreiche deutsche Textierungen einschloß, wird dies auch nicht nötig gewesen sein. Die meisten Quellen, so auch die vorreformatorischen Quellen aus Nürnberg, geben eine Melodie im plagalen G-Modus (8. Ton) an.

[22] H. FISCHER & T. WOHNHAAS, *Sieben Jahrhunderte Nürnberger Orgelbau*, in *Der "schöne" Klang. Studien zum historischen Musikinstrumentenbau in Deutschland und Japan unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des alten Nürnberg*, D. KRICKEBERG ed., Nürnberg, 1996, Ss. 158–170.

[23] 1520 wird noch eine laut schreiende kleine Orgel erwähnt, vermutlich ein Regal, das auf einer neu errichteten Empore stand. Siehe FISCHER & WOHNHAAS, *Sieben Jahrhunderte Nürnberger Orgelbau*, S. 167. Allerdings ist aufgrund des Klangs wenig wahrscheinlich, daß diese für choralen Gesang herangezogen wurde.

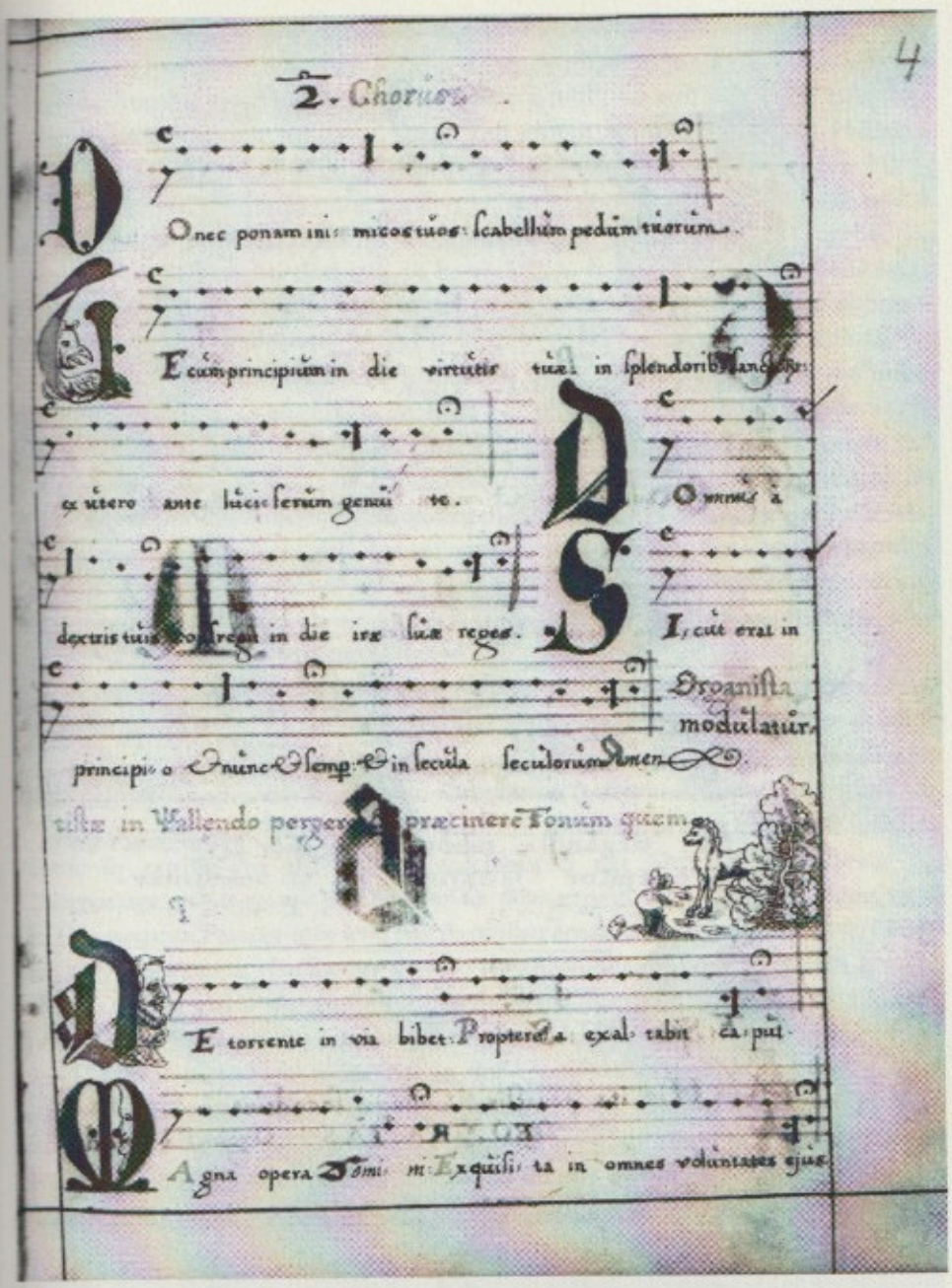


Abbildung 5. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109, fol. 4

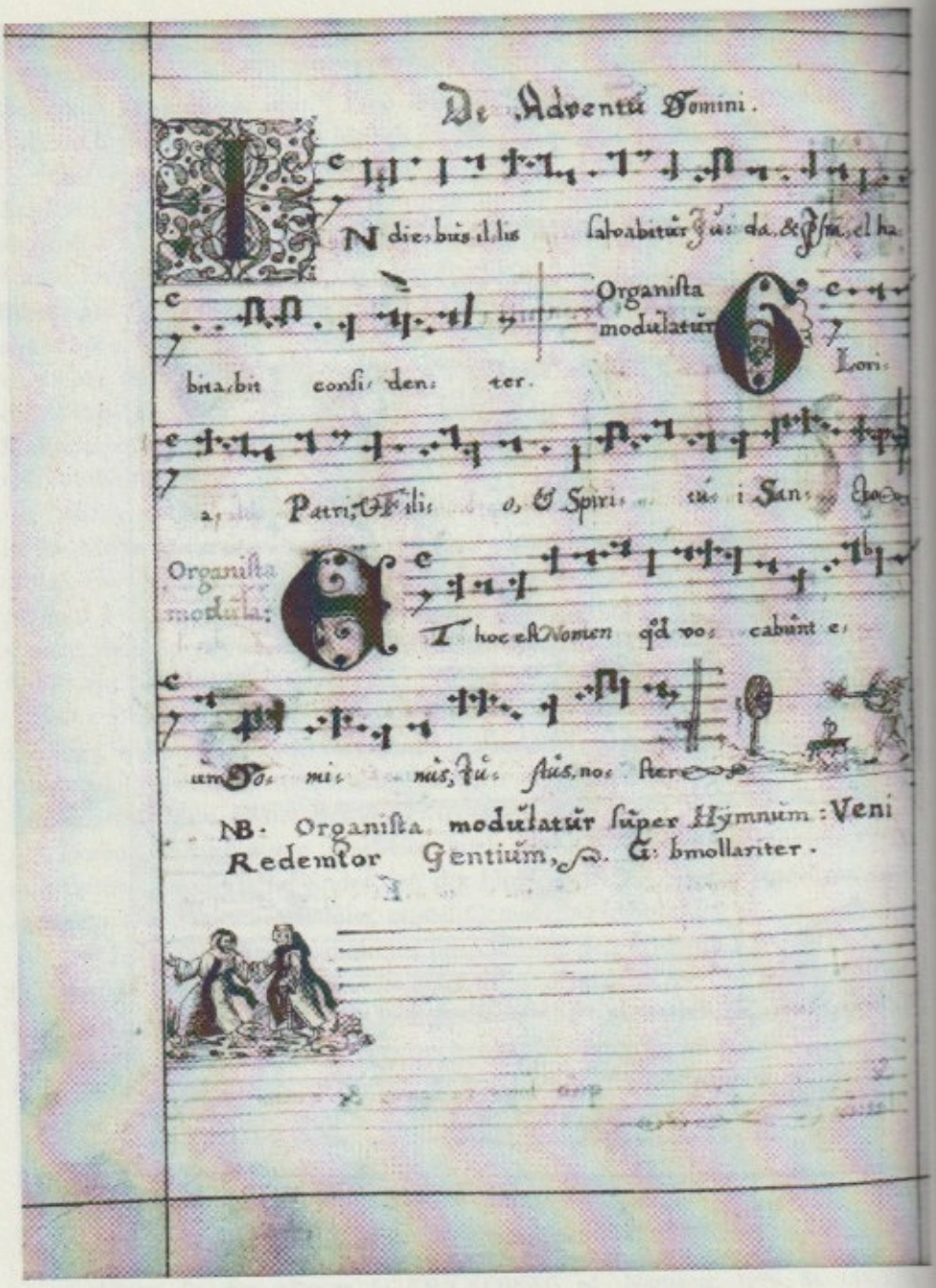
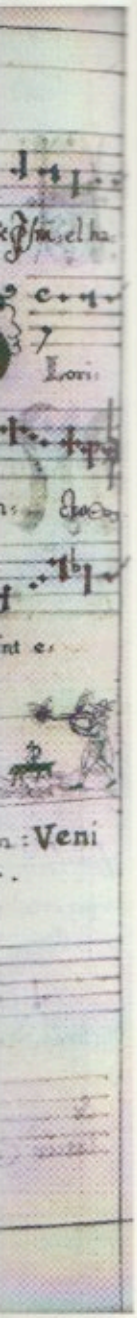


Abbildung 6. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 1109, fol. 5v



Der Organist wird nun angewiesen, nicht etwa im VIII. tonus über der Hymnenmelodie zu *modulieren*, also den Modus zu verdeutlichen, sondern auf *G: b mollariter*, eine Angabe, die zwei Deutungen zuläßt: g moll, das von sich aus ja eine doppelte B-Vorzeichnung hat, oder auf G mit einem *b molle*, mit einem Halbtonschritt zwischen der zweiten und dritten Stufe, entsprechend der ersten Hälfte einer Mollskala, allerdings ohne molltypischen Halbtonschritt zwischen 5. und 6. Stufe. Der Finalton ist zwar in beiden Fällen identisch, die sich ergebenden tonalen Verschiebungen sind jedoch beträchtlich. In der ersten Melodiehälfte ist dies nicht so problematisch, wird in der Melodie der Ton h konsequent übergangen, so daß nicht zwischen h und b unterschieden werden muß. Auch in der zweiten Melodiehälfte zeigt sich der Ton h meist als Durchgangston auf unbetonten Silben, so daß ein Halbtonschritt a-b nicht zu drastischen Veränderungen führt, obwohl sich der tonale Charakter bereits verändert. Probleme ergeben sich jedoch im Hinblick auf den Halbtonschritt d-e, zumal e der Spitzenton der Melodie ist. Die Verwendung von es anstelle von e ändert den Charakter der Melodie doch wesentlich, so daß der Interpretation des Textes der Vorzug einzuräumen ist, nach welcher der Organist über einer G Skala mit verminderter dritter Stufe modulierte, demnach einen doch recht ungewöhnlichen 'gemischten' Modus für die Sänger verdeutlichte.

Interessant ist auch die Praxis zur Aufführung von Gloria und Sanctus. Beide Gesänge scheinen bei erster Betrachtung der Quelle nicht in ihrer Gänze *choraliter* gesungen worden zu sein, sondern nur Passagenweise. Die verbindenden Melodieteile wurden demnach vom Organisten (polyphon) ohne Begleitung des Chores geschlagen. Demnach wäre bereits im Anschluß an die knappe Einleitung *Gloria in excelsis deo* ein erstes Zwischenspiel der Orgel erfolgt, bevor die Chorpassage *gratias agimus propter Gloriam tuam* erneut vom Chor gesungen wurde. Die gesamte Passage *et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis, Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te* wäre demnach alleine von der Orgel gespielt worden. Diese Form der Aufteilung zwischen Orgel und Chor würde auch für die weiteren Passagen des Gloria gelten, der Ablauf des Sanctus ist vergleichbar.

Denkbar ist jedoch auch, daß in der Quelle nur die Passagen verzeichnet sind, die völlig von der Orgel unbegleitet blieben. Demnach scheint es auch möglich, daß die nicht ausnotierten Passagen vom Chor unter polyphoner Orgelbegleitung vorgetragen wurden, was aufgrund der theologischen Bedeutung der Textpassagen nicht aus der Luft gegriffen scheint.

Die wenigen Beispiele machen in jedem Fall deutlich, daß die choralen Gesänge stets von polyphonen Orgelpassagen eingerahmt und eingebunden waren. Dieses Bild wirkt geradezu wie ein 'Programm' der Quelle: Das 'Alte' wird in das 'Neue' eingebettet, es wird in einen Rahmen gestellt, den es nicht verlassen kann. Der Rahmen ist ein Kontext, der das 'Alte' – das im Zusammenhang der Quelle po-

sitiv gekennzeichnet ist – modernisiert und in eine Form bringt, die auch neue Aussagen zu transportieren vermag. In diesem Zusammenhang sind keine "Meta-signs" in der Quelle als subtile Abgrenzungen oder auch Grenzüberschreitungen nötig, durch die die beiden Ebenen in Bezug gesetzt werden. Es sind allein die schriftlichen Zusätze zur Aufführungspraxis, die aus der Quelle das machen, was sie ist: Eine Choralquelle im polyphonen Umfeld.

Use and Abuse of Gregorian Chant in the Eighteenth-century Dutch Republic

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Introduction[1]

From about the late sixteenth century onwards Gregorian chant was no longer looked at as a repertoire worth its own stylistic consideration, but rather as something from a distant past that was badly in need of adaptation and correction, in order to meet contemporary needs. This not only led to the Roman revisions which were in principle obligatory for the entire church, but also to national or regional practices, which often went in different directions. In the Dutch Republic, where the Roman Catholic Church was not an officially recognized denomination, Gregorian chant was subject to a continuous process of correction and revision, especially during the eighteenth century. An interesting feature of these developments is that not only Gregorian chant was altered to make it conform to the style of contemporary art music, but non-Gregorian repertoires were also revised to make them look like Gregorian chant.

Before discussing the changes that Gregorian chant repertoire underwent in the United Provinces, something must be said about the special position of the Catholic Church in Dutch religious and cultural life. The Dutch Reformed Church was the dominant church, whereas the Catholic Church was only tolerated as a kind of 'underground church' (to which roughly one quarter to one third of the population belonged). In principle there was no religious persecution. Catholic worship was allowed when it was not publicly recognizable. Catholics established churches in normal houses, which looked like any other house from the outside. For Rome, the Dutch Republic was a mission area, the so-called 'Dutch mission', watched and ruled, as far as possible, from Brussels and Bonn. Since the official Roman-Catholic hierarchy was prohibited, a kind of shadow hierarchy developed. There were stations (Dutch: *staties*) instead of parishes, archpriests instead of deans, provicars instead of bishops, and an apostolic vicar instead of an archbishop.

[1] I would like to thank Kees Vellekoop (Utrecht, Netherlands), Jan Valkestijn (Haarlem) and Frans Jespers (Heerlen) for their valuable comments on the subject matter of the present contribution, and Patrice Connelly (Sidney, Australia) for her assistance regarding the English wording.

Catholic ecclesiastical life was characterized by a continuous lack of means because of the seizure of the real estate of the Roman Catholic Church by the States General in favor of the Dutch Reformed Church. For their survival, the Roman Catholic stations were entirely dependent on the contributions of the faithful. This held true for the musical aspects of the services as well.

In the eighteenth century Jansenism caused a schism in the Dutch Catholic Church, leading to the establishment of the so-called Old Catholic Church, which set up its own hierarchy. Since the Old Catholics hoped to reunite with the mother church they tried to keep ceremonies, including music, true to the Roman Catholic Church.

DUTCH LITURGICAL BOOKS

Liturgical books with notated chant as used by the Catholic Churches in the Dutch Republic may be divided into five categories: (1) *Gradualia*; (2) *Antiphonaria*; (3) volumes entitled *Appendix ad Graduale*; (4) collections of *Missae novae*; and (5) miscellaneous publications.[2] These books were first imported from southern cities such as 's-Hertogenbosch,[3] Louvain, and Antwerp. From the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards they were printed locally in Utrecht and Amsterdam. A limited number of Dutch publishing firms specialized in the production and sale of liturgical books: in Utrecht Arnoldus van Eynden, in Amsterdam Johannes Stichter, his son Cornelis and the latter's widow and heirs, father and son Willem and Gerard van Bloemen, father and son Hendrik and Cornelis Beekman, Frederik Johannes van Tetroode and his widow, and Theodorus Crajenschot.[4]

The Utrecht book printer and seller Arnoldus van Eynden (ca. 1650? - 1718) was the first person to produce Catholic liturgical books in the Dutch Republic. Editions of the *Graduale, Antiphonale* and the *Appendix ad Graduale* from his press, dating from the period 1678-1700, are extant.

Founded by Johannes Stichter (1635 - ca. 1705) in 1677, the Stichter firm was the first and also the most important Amsterdam (or even Dutch) firm pro-

[2] Earlier surveys of Dutch liturgical books and practices can be found in A.I.M. KAT, *De geschiedenis der kerkmuziek in de Nederlanden sedert de Hervorming*, Hilversum, 1938; J.A.S. BANK, *Geschiedenis van de katholieke kerkmuziek*, Amsterdam, 1947 and F. JESPERS, *De Noord-Nederlandse Gregoriaanse zangboeken*, in *Gregoriusblad*, 110 (1986), pp. 209-213.

[3] 's-Hertogenbosch was brought by Frederic Henry under the rule of the States General in 1629, so that before that year it has to be considered a 'southern' city.

[4] The data about the Amsterdam publishers of Catholic liturgical books are mostly derived from L. LEUVEN, *De boekhandel in Amsterdam door katholieken gedreven tijdens de Republiek*, Diss. Amsterdam, 1951.

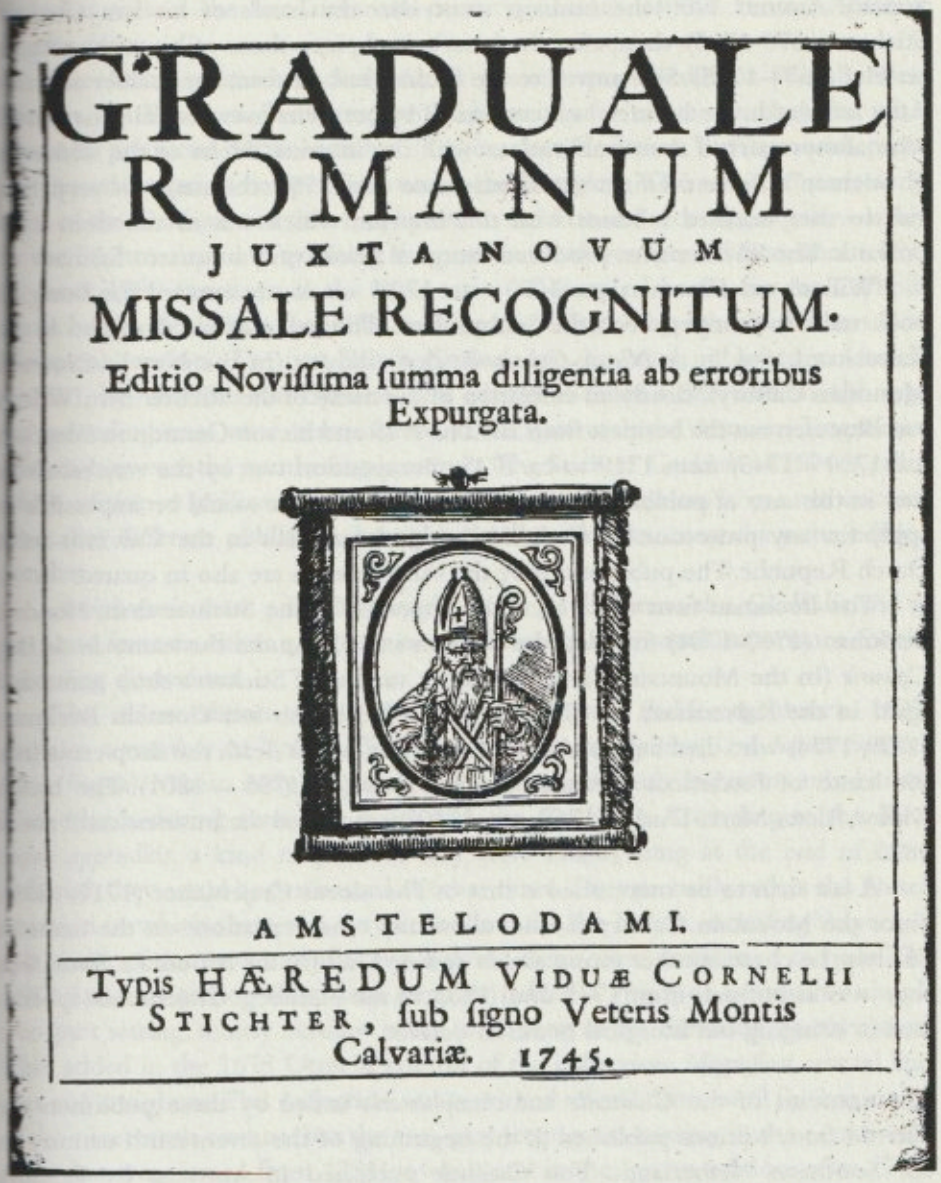

GRADUALE
ROMANUM
JUXTA NOVUM
MISSALE RECOGNITUM.
Editio Noviſſima ſumma diligentia ab erroribus Expurgata.
AMSTELODAMI.
Typis HÆREDUM VIDUÆ CORNELII STICHTER, ſub ſigno Veteris Montis Calvariæ. 1745.

Figure 1. *Graduale Romanum* (Amsterdam: Heirs of the Widow of Cornelis Stichter, 1745), title-page

ducing and selling Catholic liturgical books. The shop was in the Kalverstraat, with the name *In de Oude Berg Calvary* (In the Old Mountain Calvary). (The name is also a pun on the name of the street, which, however, simply means 'Calf

Street'). Around 1700 the business went into the hands of his son Cornelis Stichter (1670–1705), then, after the latter's death, into those of his widow, Agnes ter Hel (1674–1715). She moved to the Rokin (not far from the former address). After her death, the business was continued by her heirs over several generations, who always marked their publications with the imprint "Heirs of the widow of C. Stichter".[5] Since the firm was in existence until 1796, this makes it very difficult to date undated editions with this imprint, which was in use from 1714 onwards. The Stichter firm produced liturgical books only in quarto format.

Willem van Bloemen (ca. 1670 - ca. 1720) obviously entered the liturgical book trade to compete with the Stichter firm. The name of his shop, also in the Kalverstraat, was *In de Nieuw-Gekroonde Berg Calvarie* (In the Newly-Crowned Mountain Calvary), clearly an emulation of the name of the Stichter firm. Willem van Bloemen ran the business from 1692 to 1719 and his son Gerard van Bloemen (ca. 1700 - 1745) from 1719 to ca. 1745. Competition was, by the way, relatively easy in this area of publishing, because it was clear that it would be impossible to apply for any protection of Catholic liturgical materials in the Calvinist-ruled Dutch Republic. The publications by the Van Bloemen are also in quarto.

The Beekman firm was a second competitor to the Stichter firm. Hendrik Beekman (1700–1784) founded the business in 1727 under the name *In de Berg Calvarie* (In the Mountain Calvary), again a variant of Stichter's shop name and again in the Kalverstraat. In 1753 he was joined by his son Cornelis Beekman (1729–1774) who died before his father. After the latter's death the shop came into the hands of Fredericus Johannes van Tetroode (ca. 1755 - 1801). The latter's widow, Aletta Maria Durlet (1768 - ca. 1820?) continued the business until about 1820.

A last firm to be mentioned is that of Theodorus Crajenschot (1717–1803). Since the Mountain Calvary did not allow any other variations on the name of his shop, he chose another mountain: *In de Berg Sinai* (In the Mountain Sinai). His shop was in business from 1745 until 1803, in the Heisteeg. Crajenschot specialized in bringing out liturgical books in octavo.

The contents of the *Gradualia* and *Antiphonaria* issued by these publishers are derived from editions published at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Southern Netherlands. The *Graduale* published in Antwerp by Joachim Trognaesius in 1607 and the *Antiphonale* published in Tournai by Carolus Martinus in 1617 are the basic editions, which were first reprinted in 's-Hertogenbosch and Louvain during the seventeenth century. These books conform with the Roman missal and breviary as far as their texts are concerned; the

[5] Four heirs can be mentioned as managers of the shop: Albert ter Hel (active 1714 - ca. 1750), Christiaan de Groot (ca. 1750 - 1772), Cornelis Willebrordus Duyvensz (ca. 1760? - 1786), and Hendrik van Staden (ca. 1775 - 1796).

melodies follow the late sixteenth-century editions of the famous Antwerp Plantin firm.

The Dutch editions include nicely printed quarto-editions (Van Eynden, Stichter, Van Bloemen, Beekman), probably mainly for use in churches, and more modestly produced octavo-editions (Crajenschot, Beekman, Van Tetroode), probably issued for private or personal use in the first place. The series of quarto editions of the *Graduale* and the *Antiphonarium*, the first and second categories, issued by the Stichter firm and spanning the one-hundred-year period from about 1690 to about 1790 functions as the basic series of liturgical books for the Catholic Churches in the Dutch Republic, making the editions by other publishers (Van Bloemen) 'reprints'. The first Dutch *Graduale* was, however, published in Utrecht in 1691, by Arnoldus van Eynden. This edition is called a fifth edition, although the preceding ones were unnumbered. If we start with the Antwerp Trognaesius edition, however, the numbering is correct. The Stichter *Graduale* of 1694 is called a fifth edition as well, as is the 1701 *Graduale* of Van Bloemen. It was not uncommon that different publishers brought out these books using the same edition number.

Antiphonaria were published by the same publishers as the *Gradualia* and in the same formats: either quarto or octavo. They are of limited importance for the following discussions.

The oldest edition of the *Appendix ad Graduale* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1627) contains a number of hymns (*Te Deum, Veni Creator Spiritus, Veni Sancte Spiritus, Pange lingua*), Marian antiphons and related items, obviously in common use in the Netherlands during mass, but missing in the Gradualia. According to the *Ratio hujus appendicis*, a kind of preface, they were mostly sung at the end of mass, although they could be performed at other times. They probably reflect the Dutch situation in which there was very little room for the Hours, including Vespers, so that some of the most essential and beloved items were transferred to mass. The 1642 Antwerp edition (Henricus Aertssen) added a group of hymns in a simple two-part setting, mostly *elevation pieces*, to be sung at the Elevation. Further items were added in the 1678 Utrecht edition of the collection: *Magnificat*, several litanies and antiphons. This collection was reprinted several times until the beginning of the nineteenth century, but the two-part settings are missing in the octavo-editions that were issued from 1751 onwards and in the quarto-editions after 1762.

The *Appendix* was produced by the same publishers that brought out the *Gradualia* and in the same formats (quarto and octavo), so that they could easily be bound with them.

The fourth category of Dutch liturgical books consists of a whole string of publications of mass ordinaries, usually entitled *Missae novae*. Again, the normal format of publication was quarto, which made it possible for them to follow the *Graduale* and the *Appendix ad Graduale* in one binding. To distinguish among

them, the *Missae novae* were identified by number. At the end the series contained 29 numbered and a few unnumbered items. Since most editions bear no date, the chronology of the series is very difficult to establish, especially after the middle of the eighteenth century. The first eight were published as a set, for the first time in connection with the Stichter *Graduale* of 1694. The collection was first augmented with five more masses; the resulting set of thirteen was first published by the Stichter firm in 1726. This set was periodically reprinted until the end of the century. From the second quarter of the eighteenth century onwards, many more new masses (numbered from 14 to 29) were issued by the Beekman and Van Tetroode firms, mostly as single items in the form of undated gatherings without title pages.[6] One finds the *Missae novae* most often bound after a *Graduale* and a copy of the *Appendix*.

A number of Dutch chant publications fall outside one of the categories mentioned so far; they make up the fifth category. Among them are such diverse books as the *Hymni et versiculi per totum annum* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Antonius Scheffer, 1623), the *Nieuwe Hymnussen* (Willem van Bloemen, 1707), and the *Cantiones missarum et vesperarum... tot gebruik der devote dienaaren van Maria* ("for use by the pious servants of Maria"; Crajenschot, 1753).

Further editions of the tradional chants as well as of the newly-composed eighteenth-century music appeared in the Netherlands until well into the nineteenth century. Gradually, during the middle decades of that century, however, the Amsterdam editions were replaced by editions imported from Malines, Liège and, later, Regensburg (Pustet).

Many of the editions mentioned above claim revisions, corrections, additions, and augmentations, and indeed it is possible to see on the one hand a large core repertoire reprinted time and again albeit sometimes revised or adapted, and on the other hand a newly composed repertoire.

MISSAE NOVAE

The development of the stylistic requirements to which newly composed chant had to conform may best be sketched with the help of the series of *Missae novae*. A total of about three dozen examples appear in the Dutch chant books, from about 1690 until 1790.

The first eight of these new masses were probably composed as a block. At first sight, they look like traditional Gregorian chant. A closer look, however, reveals many elements of contemporary art music: tonal melodies in keys like F major, D minor, A minor, etc. reinforced key by signatures (one flat only) or acci-

[6] Masses 25-27 wered issued as a set of three, all the other singly, at least as far as the editions in quarto are concerned. The octavo editions always are collective.

dentals (flats and naturals, the latter used as sharps, especially to create a G# in the A-minor *Missa quarta*). Most remarkable are, however, the related incipits among two or more sections of the Ordinary. Table 1 presents some data about the set.

Table 1. Main features of *Missae novae* 1-8

Missa	Clef and key-sign.	Key	Related incipits				
			Kyrie	Gloria	Credo	Sanctus	Agnus
Prima	C4 (flat)	F major	X	X	X	X	X
Secunda	C4 (flat)	D minor		X	X		
Tertia	C3 (flat)	F major		X	X		
Quarta	C4	A minor					
Quinta	C4 (flat)	F major		X	X		
Sexta	F3 (flat)	F major	X	X			
Septima	C3 (flat)	F major	X	X	Y	Y	Y
Octava	C4	D minor	X	X		(X)	

Their origin has not yet been established except in one case: the *Missa octava* is the first mass of the *Cinq messes en plein-chant musical, appellées Messes Royales* by Henri Dumont (Paris 1669). It is possible that the other ones also are of French origin, where a good deal of this kind of music was composed, known as neo-Gallican chant.

Five more *Missae novae* (numbered 9 through 13) were added to the repertoire from the 1726 Stichter edition of the *Missae novae* onwards. More or less the same stylistic principles as in the eight first were applied. Only the characteristic cyclic incipits are absent. The *Missa duodecima* is subtitled *vulgo Hispanica* – for some unknown reason. Table 2 lists clefs, keys and key signatures.

Whereas the first thirteen new masses were added in two blocks, of eight and five, respectively, further additions to the repertoire were done one by one (except one group of three, the *Missae novae* 25-27). Presumably, the new masses numbered from 14 through 29 were all of local – that is Dutch – origin, although strict proof is missing, since they are all anonymous.

Table 2. Clefs, keys and key signatures of *Missae novae* 9-13

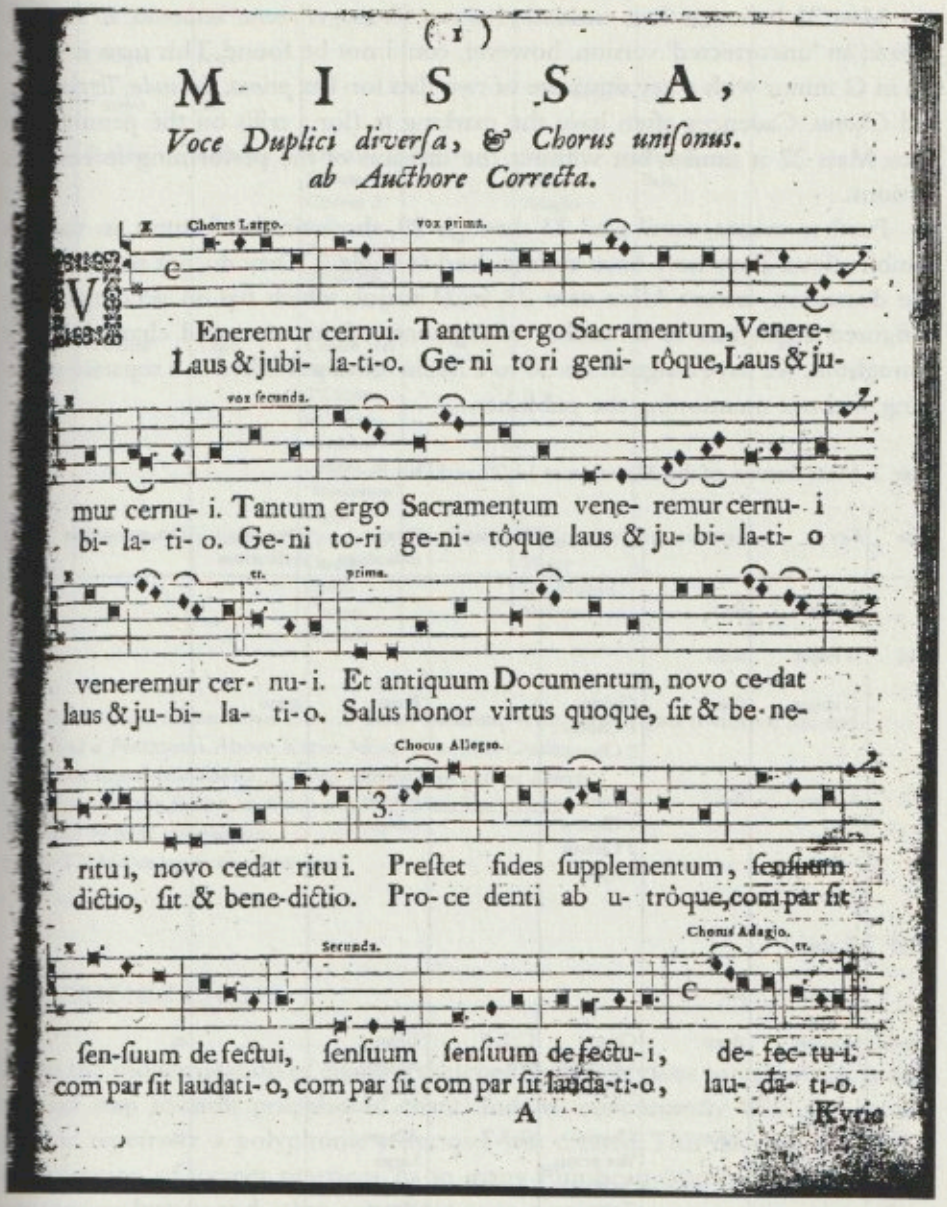
Missa	Clef and key-sign.	Key
Nona	C4	A minor
Decima	F3 (flat)	D minor
Undecima	C4	G major
Duodecima	C4 (flat)	D minor
Decima-tertia	C4	A minor

Masses 14 and 15 look normal enough, apart from the fact that the latter one is marked *Tono: Te deum laudamus*: it is like a monophonic parody mass, using the melody of the hymn as the basis for the various sections of the Ordinary. This procedure creates cyclic incipits like those of the first eight. This mass has two added *Salve Regina* with different melodies. The sixteenth mass, in a regular G major, shows some novel features, perhaps as an attempt to reflect contemporary performance practices. All parts of the Ordinary as well as the preceding *Tantum ergo* are divided into sections alternately for the full choir (marked *Chorus*), one half thereof (*1. Chorus*) or the other half (*2. Chorus*). In addition, indications for tempo (such as *presto*) and dynamics (such as *piano*) appear. The sharp of the key signature is notated as an asterisk, obviously since the regular sharp was not available in the Gregorian type fonts.

Mass 17 displays the same principles. The use of tempo and dynamic indications has been refined. *Allegro* and *Adagio* show up, and *forte*. Durational values are now specified by combining two square notes to one syllable to form a double value or one square and one diamond-shaped note to form one-and-a-half values. Small melodic portions have been inserted without text, with the indication *Organo*. This mass is in F-major with a key signature of one flat.

Mass 18 is marked *Toni: Veni Creator* and indeed uses the hymn in its melodic construction. Besides this, it has no remarkable characteristics. Mass 19 is in F major with a key signature of one flat. It begins with a *Tantum ergo* and ends with an *Ave verum corpus*.

Mass 20, headed *Voce duplici diversa, et chorus unisonus, ab auctore correcta*, is an arrangement of Mass 16. It is scored, so to speak (because everything is monophonic and on one staff only), for *Vox prima, Vox secunda* and *Chorus*. The *Vox prima* and *Vox secunda* are certainly meant as solo voices, as opposed to the choir. Durations are fully measured, with barlines and time signatures (C, 2, 3). Trills are indicated, as well as tempi (*Allegro, Adagio, Vivace*). As Mass 16, it is in G major, with a key signature of one (regular) sharp.


(1)

M I S S A,

Voce Duplici diverſa, & Chorus uniſonus.
ab Auctore Correcta.

Chorus Largo. vox prima.

Eneremur cernui. Tantum ergo Sacramentum, Venere-
Laus & jubi- la-ti-o. Ge- ni to ri geni- tôque, Laus & ju-

vox ſecunda.

mur cernu- i. Tantum ergo Sacramentum vene- remur cernu- i
bi- la- ti- o. Ge-ni to-ri ge-ni- tôque laus & ju- bi- la-ti- o

tr. prima.

veneremur cer- nu- i. Et antiquum Documentum, novo ce-dat
laus & ju-bi- la- ti-o. Salus honor virtus quoque, ſit & be-ne-

Chorus Allegro.

ritu i, novo cedat ritu i. Preſtet fides ſupplementum, ſenſuum
dictio, ſit & bene-dictio. Pro-ce denti ab u- trôque, com par ſit

Chorus Adagio.

Secunda. tr.

ſen-ſuum de fectui, ſenſuum ſenſuum de fectu- i, de- fec- tu- i.
com par ſit laudati- o, com par ſit com par ſit lauda-ti-o, lau- da- ti-o.

A Kyrie

Figure 2. *Missa nova* 20: First page with *Tantum ergo*

Mass 21 is similar. It is entitled *A 4 voce diversa, et chorus unisonus, ab aucthore correcta*; an 'uncorrected' version, however, could not be found. This mass is written in G minor with a key signature of two flats for *Vox prima, Secunda, Tertia, Bas.* and *Chorus*. Cadences often have the marking *tr.* (for a trill) on the penultimate note. Mass 22 is similar, but without the division of the performing forces into sections.

Further masses, numbered 23 through 29, show similar features, in various combinations. They have been summarized in Table 3. They do not need a separate discussion, except *Missa nova 28*, in D major, which has an accompanying unfigured organ bass to a number of segments of the measured chant, but not throughout. We have assigned no. 30 to a *Messa nuova* published as a separate gathering without mentioning the publisher.

Table 3. Main features of the *Missae novae* 14–29 and [30]

Missa	Key	Signature	Forces	Time sign.	Tempo indications	Dynamic indications	Ornamentation
14	F major	flat					
15 (a)	G major	none					
16	G major	sharp	Chorus 1 Chorus 2 Chorus		Presto	piano	
17	F major	flat	Chorus 1 Chorus 2 Chorus Organo		Allegro Adagio		
18 (b)	G major						
19	F major	flat					
20 (c)	G major	sharp	Chorus Vox prima Secunda	C, 2, 3 6/4	Largo Allegro Adagio		tr.
21 (d)	G minor	2 flats	Chorus Vox prima Secunda Tertia Bas Organo	C, 3, 2	Allegro Largo Adagio Vivace		tr.
22	F major	flat		3, C	Adagio		tr.
23	D minor	none					tr.
24 (e)	F major	flat	Chorus 1 Chorus 2 Chorus	C, 3/4	Presto Adagio Allegro		tr.

25 (f)	D minor	none					
26	C major	none					
27	F major	flat					
28	D major	2 sharps	Chorus Chorus 1 Chorus 2 Solo Partly with unfigured bass	C, 6/4	Vivace Allegro Adagio	Piano Echo	
29	C minor	3 flats	Cantor [vel Sacerdos] 2 Cantor, or "Vrouwenkoor" Omnes, or "Mannekoor" organ				
[30]	G major	1 sharp	Coro Cantore Primo Cantore Secondo	C	Adagio Vivace Lamentabile Andante	Piano	tr

(a) *Missa in festis solemnioribus. Tono: Te Deum laudamus.* With *Salve Regina* (twice) at the end.
(b) *Missa a Pentecosten.* Above Kyrie: *Missa, Tono: Veni Creator.*
(c) *Missa, voce duplici diversa, et chorus unisonus, ab authore correcta.*
(d) *Missa a 4 voce diversa, et chorus unisonus, ab authore correcta.*
(e) *Missa in festis solemnitatis.*
(f) 25–27: *Missae pro festis solemnibus.*

POLYPHONIC CHANT

From the modernization of chant as sketched in the previous paragraphs, it is only a small step towards polyphonic chant. Indeed, concurrently with the monophonic repertoire a polyphonic repertoire was created. This development was a continuation of former practices. As in many European countries, a tradition of composing hymns and other sacred pieces in a primitive two-part (or, less often, three part) setting had developed in the Low Countries during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A small repertoire of two-part hymns and *cantiones sacrae* from this tradition was repeatedly published in the *Appendix ad Graduale* already in the seventeenth century.

During the third quarter of the eighteenth century, a small repertoire of two- and three-part masses 'in Gregorian style' was created in the Dutch Republic. As

an example, we can look at the (unnumbered) *Missa nova ex duabus vocibus* published by H. & C. Beekman in two partbooks. In fact, only the sections marked *Primo & Secondo* are in two voices: they move in thirds or show simple cadential figures. In the sections marked *Chorus* both voices sing in unison. The rhythm of this mass is unmeasured; both voices are strictly homophonic.

A *Missa nova pro defunctis* was published in two partbooks by F.J. van Tetroode. Here, the sections marked *Chorus* are in two voices; they are alternated by passages marked *Solo* which are either for the first or the second voice. Again, the rhythm is unmeasured and voices are strictly homophonic.

Other examples are found in manuscripts. A most remarkable collection of adapted chant is the manuscript with six masses by the Utrecht musician Gerardus Nielen (ca. 1715 - 1769).[7] The first three masses show a continuous alternation of sections in (usually monophonic) chant notation and sections in modern notation, for one to three vocal parts and figured bass. In both types of writing there are sections for solo, omnes, chorus primus, chorus secundus. The fourth mass of this collection is entirely a *tribus vocibus*, in modern notation, for Canto primo, secondo, Basso and Organo. The fifth mass is entitled *Missa decima sexta abbreviata* and is indeed a shortened version of *Missa nova 16*, entirely monophonic in chant notation. The sixth mass, finally, is a *Missa a duabus vocibus*, written in a two-part note-against-note counterpoint in chant notation with some, but not complete mensuration.

The end of the development of the mass in polyphonic chant are the so-called *Sex missae novae duabus vocibus cantandae*, a set of six masses composed in two parts by an anonymous person described as "a priest of the Dutch mission" and afterwards augmented with a figured bass by an "Amsterdam music lover". The first edition is undated but was probably issued between 1775 and 1780 by Van Tetroode. The volume made it to a fifth edition in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.[8] There is a tradition to ascribe the two upper voices to Johannes Baptista Scheepens (died 1762), priest/chaplain of the Amsterdam Church *'t Duifje*, but this is probably wrong. The figured bass is usually, and probably rightly so, attributed to Frederik Wansing (1759-1827), organist of the Roman Catholic Church *Moses en Aaron* from some point in the 1790s probably until his death.

In this publication, the rhythmic notation is completely measured, according to the interpretation of the chant notation mentioned before. In fact, the *Sex missae novae* are tonal music in a simple classical idiom. Remarkable is the added Organo part, which is quite extensively figured, except with the solo sections. There, the solo melody is given above the bass with the suggestion to play it with the bass in order to help the soloist (and not to confuse him with a true accom-

[7] Now to be found in the library of the Old-Catholic Church in The Hague, No. 215.

[8] All editions are undated.

paniment). Another interesting feature, which appears in four of the six masses, is that the melody voices have to be transposed to be in conformity with the bass, which indicates – so the preface tells us – the performing pitch.

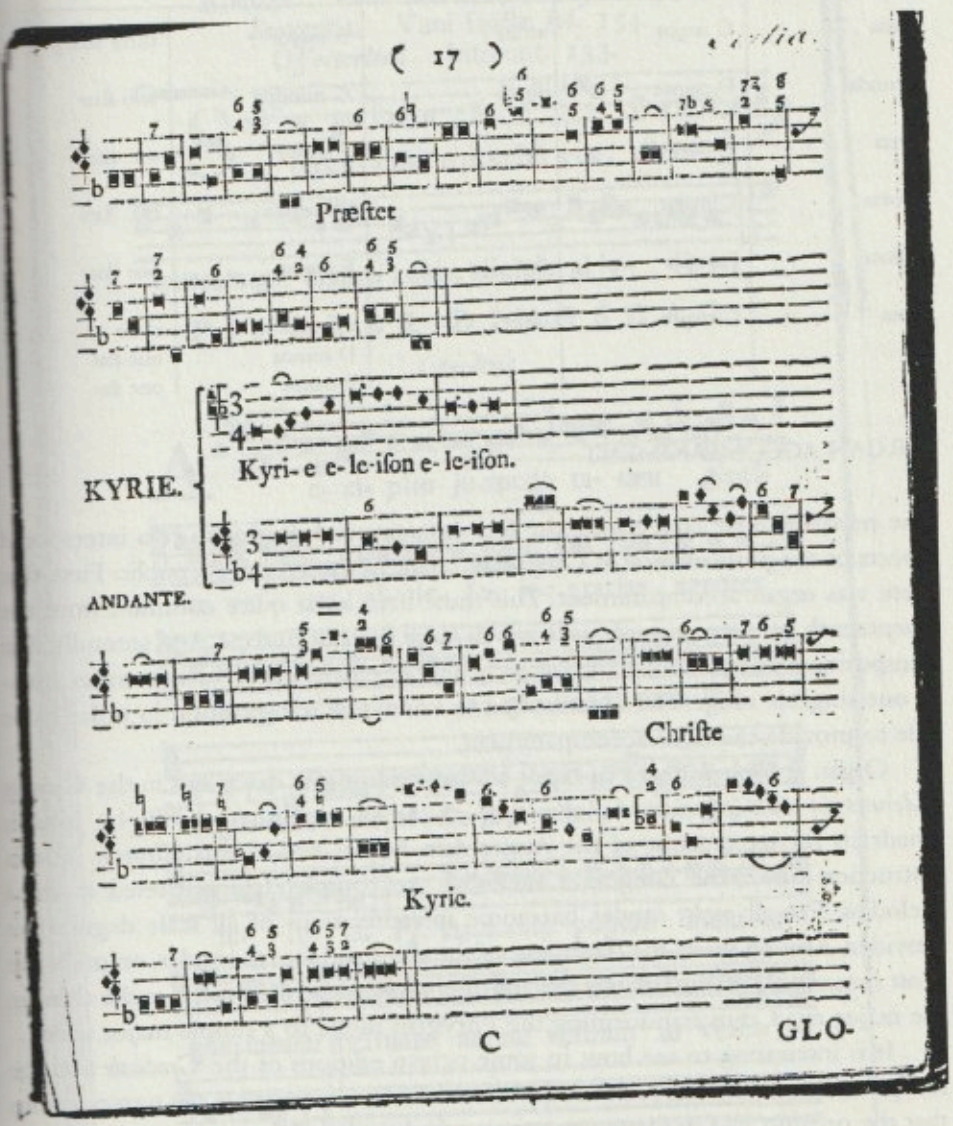


Figure 3. Page of Organo part of *Sex missae novae*

Table 4. Transpositions in the *Sex missae novae*

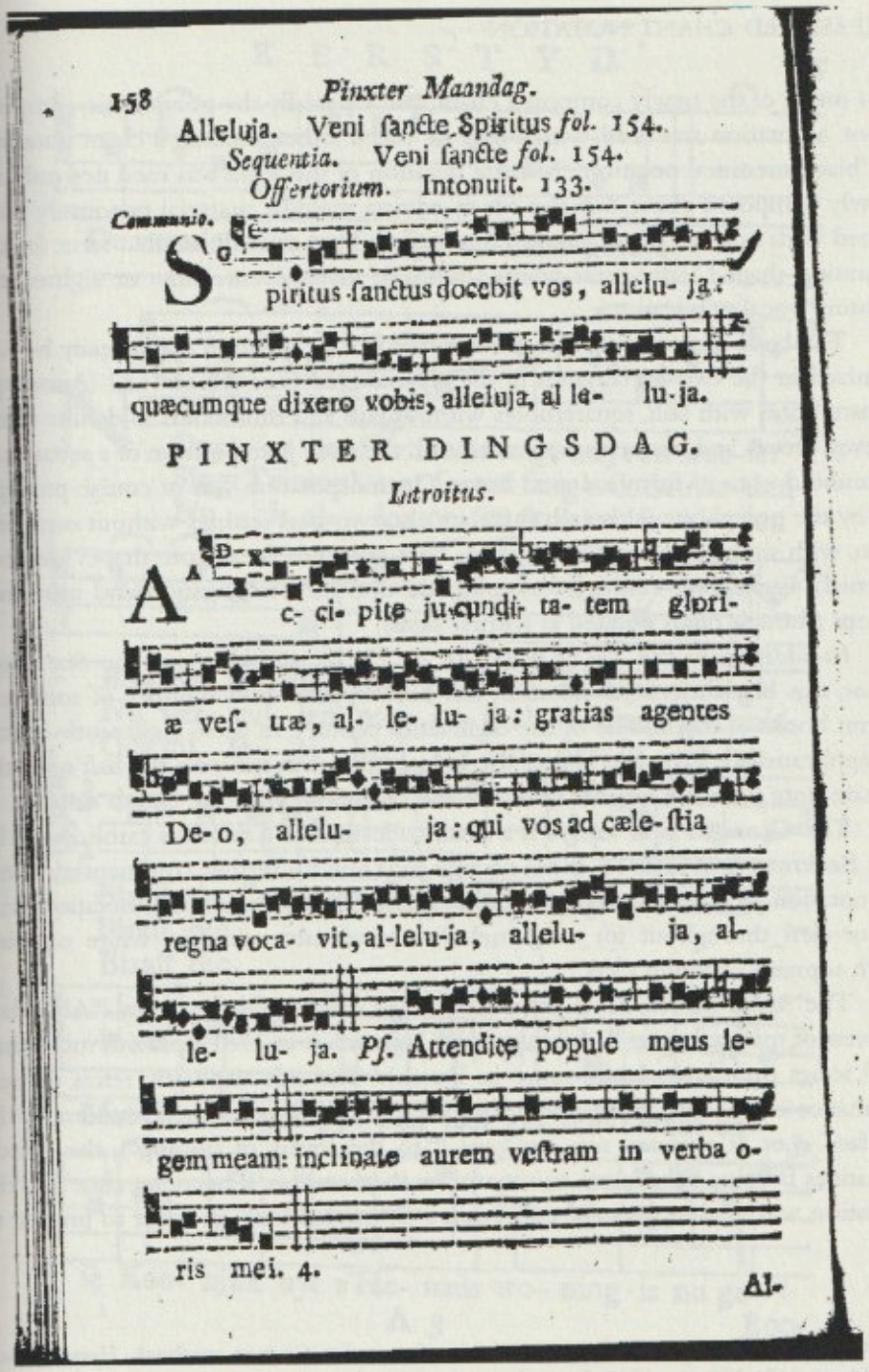
Missa	Vocal parts		Figured bass	
	Key	Signature	Key	Signature
Prima	C major	none	A major	three sharps
Secunda	D minor	flat	G minor	two flats
Tertia	F major	flat	F major	one flat
Quarta	C major	none	Bb major	two flats
Quinta	F major	flat	F major	one flat
Sexta	C major	none	C major D minor F major	none one flat one flat

ORGAN ACCOMPANIMENT

The remarks above concerning the *Sex missae novae* bring us to two interrelated aspects of the performance of Gregorian chant in the Dutch Republic. First, that there was organ accompaniment. This must have been quite common from the seventeenth century onwards, as it was in large parts of Europe. And secondly, that transposition was obviously applied to bring the chants in the various tones within one singable range. The organist had to know this transposition in order to be able to provide the right accompaniment.

Organ accompaniment of chant is comprehensively described in the *Grondig onderwys in de Gregoriaansche choorzang of choraal* (published 1789) by Johann Friedrich Jürrns, organist of the Amsterdam Mozes-and-Aaron Church. In this instruction book, the Gregorian melodies are completely interpreted as tonal melodies. For all eight modes harmonic interpretations of all scale degrees are provided. Among them, the treatment of the third and fourth modes, on mi, is the most remarkable. Jürrns advises the organist to treat the final pitch as the third in the major triad, thus transforming the Phrygian mode to a simple major scale.

It is interesting to see how, in some octavo editions of the *Graduale* and the *Antiphonarium* by F.J. van Tetroode (1792 and 1790, respectively), the transpositions that the organist had to carry out were marked explicitly in every piece of chant. Around the clef, which was always an F-clef on the middle line of the five-line staff or a C-clef on the third or fourth line, two letters were added: one in front of the clef, indicating at what pitch the melody begun, and one behind the clef, to indicate at what pitch the clef had to be read. If necessary, a key signature was added, with up to two flats or four sharps.


158 *Pinxter Maandag.*

Alleluja. Veni ſancte Spiritus *fol.* 154.
Sequentia. Veni ſancte *fol.* 154.
Offertorium. Intonuit. 133.

Communio.

Spiritus ſanctus docebit vos, allelu- ja:
quæcumque dixero vobis, alleluja, al le- lu-ja.

PINXTER DINGSDAG.

Introitus.

A- ci- pite jucundi- ta- tem glori-
æ veſ- træ, al- le- lu- ja: gratias agentes
De- o, allelu- ja: qui vos ad cæle-ſtia
regna voca- vit, al-lelu-ja, allelu- ja, al-
le- lu- ja. *Pſ.* Attendite populo meus le-
gem meam: inclinate aurem veſtram in verba o-
ris mei. 4.

Al-

Figure 4. Page from *Graduale* (Amsterdam: Widow P.J. van Tetroode, 1792), showing transposition of Gregorian chant melodies

MEASURED CHANT NOTATION

For much of the newly composed chant, and especially the polyphonic compositions, a notation was used, which may be called either 'measured chant notation' or 'black mensural notation'. Musical notation of this kind was used not only for newly composed chant, but also for re-editing melodic material previously published with normal 'white' mensural notation, if we can still use that term for the diamond-shaped letter-press-printed notes of most seventeenth- or eighteenth-century vocal publications.

The basic characteristics of this measured chant notation may already be recognized in the two-part hymns in the *Appendix ad Graduale* of 1642 (Antwerp): square notes with tails, square notes without tails and rhomboids to denote semibreves, breves, and minima, respectively, and the close juxtaposition of a square and rhomboid note to form a dotted breve. The mensuration was of course prompted by the polyphony (although there are also two-part settings without mensuration, with simply the same notation in both voices as far as note shapes are concerned). Eighteenth-century examples add dots for prolongation and introduce sharps (though often notated as natural signs).

In addition to the *Missae novae* 20, 21, 22, 28, and [30], and the *Sex missae novae*, this black mensural notation has been applied in a number of song and hymn books of the middle of the eighteenth century. In these eighteenth-century applications it is best to equate the square note with tail with the half note, the square note with the quarter note and the rhomboid with the eighth note.

The *Gezangen in de kerstyd* is a small collection of Christmas carols issued by the Beekman firm in 1756. It has no title page and no further commentary about its notation. It is letter-press-printed and uses the black mensural notation with tenor-clefs throughout for song melodies previously edited in white notation with soprano or violin clefs.

The *Messis copiosa, dat is Overvloedige oogst der geestelyke gezangen* ("Abundant harvest of spiritual songs"), published by Crajenschot in 1761, contains more than 200 songs (mostly in Latin, some in Dutch).[9] The title explicitly refers to performance of this song repertoire during service, namely after the Elevation. In the preface *Aan de minnaars van den zang* ("To the lovers of singing"), the editor, Johannes Baptista Scheepens, comments on the notation. It becomes clear that the notation was used to give the collection a Gregorian look, in order to present to

[9] Reportedly, the *Messis copiosa* is a re-edition of an earlier German songbook, *Hymnodia sacra* (Mainz, 1671; Münster, 1742). It may be assumed that the melodies that were notated in normal music notation in the source edition were simply renotated in the *Messis copiosa*. [I had no opportunity to consult a copy of the *Hymnodia sacra*.]

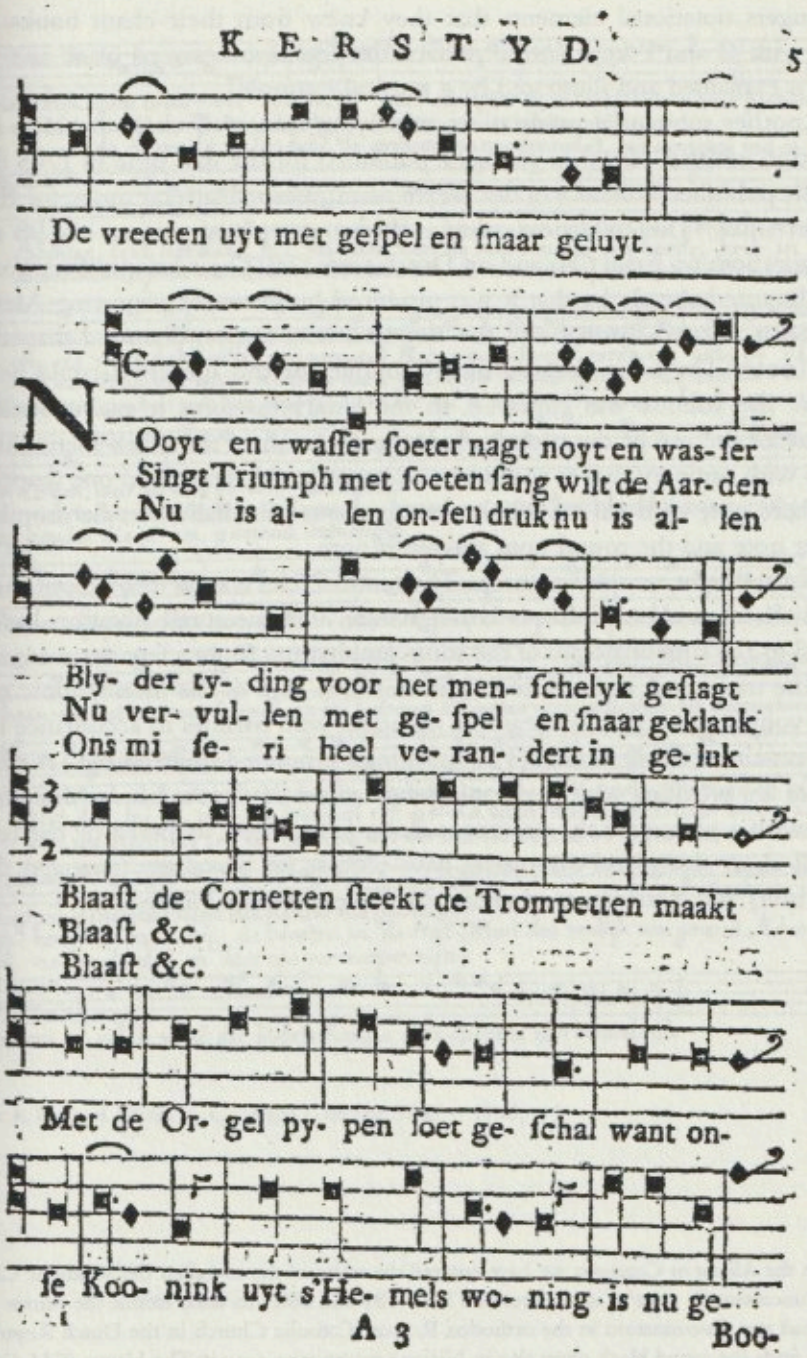


Figure 5. Page from *Gezangen in de Kerstyd* (Amsterdam: H. & C. Beekman, 1756)

the singers notational elements that they knew from their chant books: black notes with C and F keys. In the preface the equation between black and white notes is explained and illustrated by a musical example.

Another substantial publication employing measured chant notation is the collection entitled *Missen en gezangen*, published for the first time in 1745 by the Utrecht publisher Willem van der Weyden and reissued several times, for the last time in 1803.[10] The collection contains three monophonic masses and 98 songs, the songs both on Latin (74) and on Dutch texts (24). The edition differs from the ones discussed already by that it was produced by means of engraving. Melodies have been notated throughout; the notation uses square, diamond-shaped, and round notes. The latter shape is nearly unique for this source; it could be used because the volume was engraved. In the letterpress fonts it was unavailable.[11] Because of the use of the round notes, the equation of the black mensural note shapes with ordinary shapes could be and has indeed been shifted one shape: now the square note with tail is a whole note, without tail a half note, the rhomboid a quarter note and the round note an eighth note.

Natural signs are used as sharps. The tenor-C clef is used throughout the volume, with or without a flat as key-signature. The measured notation has been applied to the large majority of the songs and hymns. Only a few items are notated in the traditional, unmeasured chant notation. Two of the monophonic masses in the volume use the fully measured notation, with barlines in accordance to the common-time (C) signatures. (The third mass is notated unmeasured.) A number of items are provided with performing indications of various kinds. Many hymns begin with a phrase for the precentor alone (*voorzanger*), followed by the rest for the full choir (*koor*), and the masses have phrases for *voorzanger* (*precentor*), *1 koor* (first choir) and *2 koor* (second choir), like several of the *Missae novae*.[12]

[10] With the *Missen en Gezangen*, we have entered the realm of the so-called Old-Catholic Church. It is uncertain, in spite of its reissues of 1772, 1781 and 1803, to what extent the *Missen gezangen* had any dissemination in the orthodox Roman-Catholic Church in the Dutch Republic.

[11] One finds the round black notes also in Nielen's manuscript, now in The Hague (Old-Catholic Church).

[12] The masses have even incidental indications for the registration of the organ accompaniment: tremblant and holpijp (Hohlflöte)!

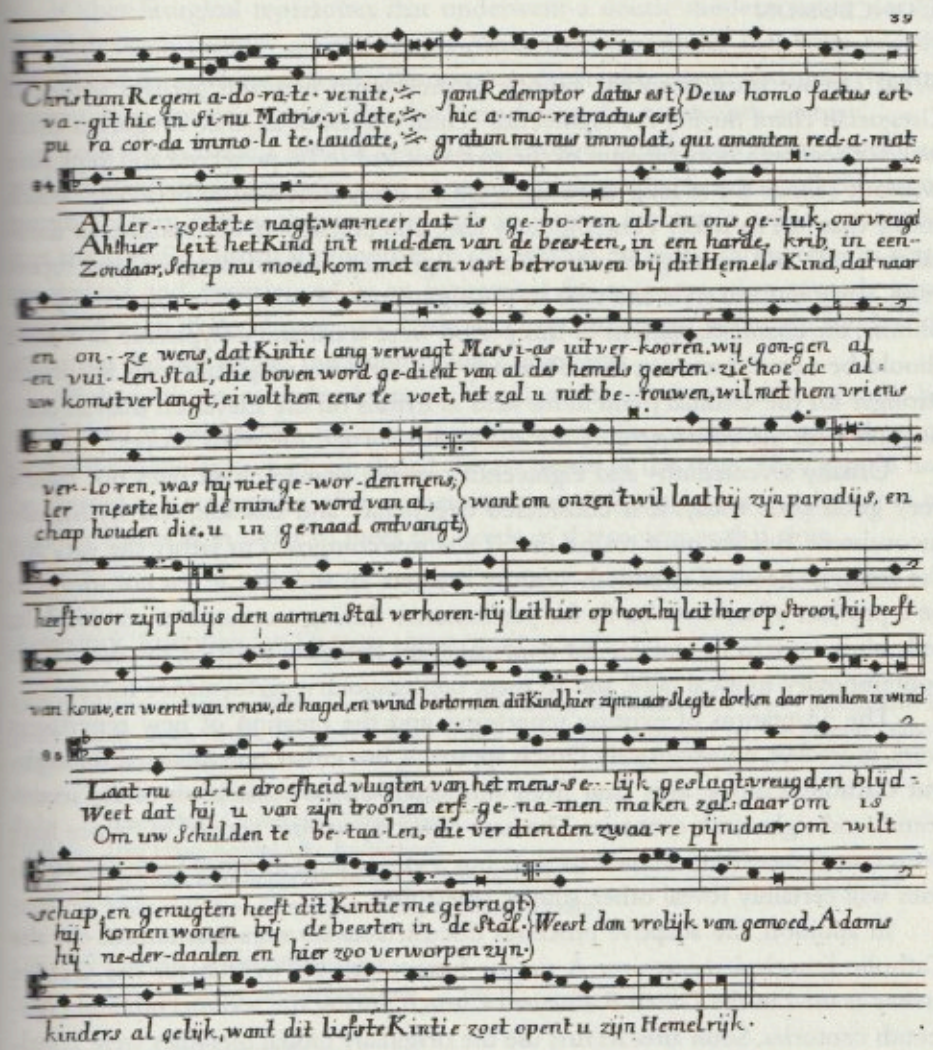


Figure 6. Page of *Missen en Gezangen* (Utrecht, 1803 = 1745)

CONCLUSION

What can we learn from the history of the Dutch uses and perhaps abuses of Gregorian chant during the eighteenth century? First of all, that Gregorian chant was not seen as a holy treasure of the past that had to be preserved and kept alive without change for as long as possible. Chant was considered to be living church music that had to satisfy contemporary taste and practice. It was considered natural to revise and to adapt this traditional repertoire and to compose new repertoire. Since musical style and taste in the eighteenth century were tonal and polyphonic, the chant adaptations of this period were tonal and polyphonic as well. It should be noted, however, that obviously the need for adaptation was felt much stronger for the Ordinary and items such as hymns on the Elevation than in connection with the contentens of the *Antiphonarium* and the Mass Proper.

Usually seventeenth- and eighteenth-century reform chant does not have a very good press today: it is considered degenerate and tasteless, and stylistically inconsistent. But we must realize that it was not composed to satisfy the ears and the aesthetic needs of twentieth-century listeners. In addition, it was not meant to be a product of art or to be fit for performance during a concert of any kind. Its only aims were to be suitable for contemporary liturgical practice, to conform to contemporary musical taste, and to meet contemporary performance forces.

The adaptation of existing repertoires and the creation of new repertoires were, moreover, no exclusively Dutch approach, but rather one followed throughout Catholic Europe, as is clear from almost any chant publication of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The new chant repertoires created in France have been comprehensively studied to date, but a closer look at other Catholic countries will certainly reveal other, similar repertoires.

In addition, the adaptive processes discussed so far were not unique for the Catholic liturgical repertoires. A similar history can be written for the Geneva psalter as used in the Dutch Reformed Church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Soon after its first use the originally modal melodies were 'tonalized', by the addition of leading tones. Their mensural rhythm was either simplified or modified to fit contemporary duple and triple times. During the seventeenth century, transpositions of the various C clefs were introduced to fit the melodies into a fixed range, to accommodate them to organ accompaniment. During the eighteenth century melodies were arranged in contemporary keys and meters and provided with preludes, interludes, and ornamentation. Occasionally, as in the settings of Willem Lootens (1776), the melodies were entirely recomposed into a contemporary idiom. During the nineteenth century, a 'back-to-basics' developed movement in the Dutch Reformed Church. The Lutheran psalter in the Dutch Republic has a similar history during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Other liturgical repertoires that underwent a drastic modernization during the eighteenth century are the Jewish Ashkenazic repertoires that were heavily influenced by contemporary western art music. Jewish music also underwent a reform stage stressing its original character during the nineteenth century.

So it seems to be a general rule that repertoires of religious music developed with contemporary practices until at some point in (the first half of) the nineteenth century. It is in that century, with its intense interest in earlier centuries, that the specific historical properties of the various ecclesiastical repertoires were recognized and experienced as an incitement for reconstruction towards what they had been in the distant past. Catholic chant, protestant psalmody and Jewish recitation did not escape their restoration movements.

Eighteenth-century developments in these liturgical repertoires should be considered as worthwhile material for study, because they represent the end-point in the development which paralleled the art music of the time. They should not be viewed as a corruption of an authentic chant tradition, but as an adaptation of a living tradition in order to meet the needs of the society at that time.

APPENDIX. EDITIONS OF DUTCH LITURGICAL BOOKS

Unless otherwise stated, published in Amsterdam. The listing of extant copies is very incomplete. In general, only those copies have been listed which have been consulted by the present author. Abbreviations used are:

Atb	Amsterdam, Toonkunst-Bibliotheek
Aub	Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek
DHkb	Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
Hbm	Haarlem, Bisschoppelijk Museum (now in Ucc)
SGV	Collection Sint-Gregoriusvereniging (now in Uub)
Ucc	Utrecht, Catharijne-Convent
Ulb	Utrecht, Letteren-Bibliotheek
Uub	Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek

Graduale Romanum: Quarto editions

Edition number	Edition/Issues	Title, copies
	1627 's-Hertogenbosch: Anthonius Scheffer	*Graduale Romanum juxta novum missale recognitum. Editio novissima correctior* Uub SGV
	1633 Leuven: Bernardinus Masius	DHkb 2 M1; Uub 320 E 13
	1648 Leuven: Bernardinus Masius	Ucc Hbm 21 J 4
5	1691 Utrecht: A. van Eynden 1694 J. Stichter [5]1701 W. Van Bloemen	Uub 319 D 17 Uub 315 C 3 *... Editio novissima summa diligentia ab erroribus expurgata.* Ucc Hbm 20 B 1

6	1730 Heirs widow C. Stichter 1730 G.Van Bloemen	Ulb Muz GR. 0-6 Private
7	1738 Heirs widow C. Stichter 1745 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Extant? Uub SGV
8	1763 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Aub 1011 A 20
9	1789 Heirs widow C. Stichter	*Graduale, volgens het Roomsch Misboek.* Atb 205 D 26; Ucc Hbm 20 B 9

Graduale Romanum: Octavo editions

Edition number	Edition/Issue	
2 [13]	1755 Th. Crajenschot 1756 H.&C. Beekman	Aub 1399 E 1 Private; GB Lbl 81.c.98
3	1763 Th. Crajenschot 1770 H.&C. Beekman	Aub 350 G 23 Aub 368 G 26
4	1781 Th. Crajenschot 1780 F.J. van Tetroode	*... auctum, et correctum.* Uub SGV Uub 312 J 32
5	1792 F.J. van Tetroode	Uub SGV; Ucc Hbm 20 B 18
6	1815 Widow F.J. van Tetroode	Atb 20 H 8

Antiphonarium Romanum: Quarto editions

Edition number	Edition/Issue	Title, copies
	1624 's-Hertogenbosch: A. Scheffer	*Antiphonarium Romanum.* Uub SGV
	1651 Antwerp: Hendricus Aertssen	Private.
	1685 J. Stichter 1700 Utrecht: Arnoldus van Eynden	Ucc Hbm 20 B 5 Uub 321 D 21
5	1726 G.Van Bloemen 1735 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Uub SGV Aub 562 G 8
6	1765 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Ulb Muz GRO 7, Uub 319 D 18
7	1797 F.J. van Tetroode	DHkb 10 E 1

[13] It is not clear to which first edition this number refers. BANK, *Geschiedenis van de katholieke kerkmuziek*, p. 185 mentions a "kleine uitgave" (small edition) by W.Van Bloemen of 1720 (in the collection of Museum Amstelkring; I had no opportunity to inspect this copy). Another possibility is that W.Van der Weyde, who published an octavo *Antiphonarium* for the first time in 1744, also issued an octavo *Graduale*, unknown today.

Antiphonarium Romanum: Octavo editions

Edition number	Edition/Issue	Title, copies
	1744 Utrecht: Willem van der Weyde	*Antiphonarium Romanum*. Aub 333 J 10
2	1754 Th. Crajenschot n.d. H. & C. Beekman	Aub 333 J 5 Nijmegen, Universiteitsbibliotheek
3	1769 Crajenschot	Aub 350 G 24
4	1780? F.J. van Tetroode	Aub 333 J 19
5	1803 Widow F.J. van Tetroode	Aub 206 F 1

Appendix ad Graduale Romanum: Quarto editions

Edition/Issue	Title, pages, copies
[1627 's-Hertogenbosch: Scheffer]	*Appendix ad Graduale Romanum*. 36 pp. Uub SGV
1642 Antwerp H. Aertssen	46 pp. Ucc Hbm 21 J 4
1653 Antwerp: H. Aertssen	Ucc Hbm 20 L 12
1678 Utrecht Arn. v. Eynden	74 pp. Uub ODJ 1
1690 Utrecht Arn. v. Eynden	Uub 319 D 17
1693 Johannes Stichter	Uub 315 C 3
1701 W.Van Bloemen	Ucc Hbm 20 B 1
1727 W.Van Bloemen	74 pp. Private
1730 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Ulb Muz GRO 6
1737 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Private
1762 Heirs widow C. Stichter	74 pp. Aub 1011 A 20
1790 Heirs widow C. Stichter	*Bylage tot het Graduale Romanum*. 63 pp. Atb 205 D 26

Appendix ad Graduale Romanum: Octavo editions

Edition/Issue	Title, pages, copies
1751 Th. Crajenschot	*Appendix ad Graduale*. 54 pp. Aub 1399 E 1
1770 Th. Crajenschot	Aub 350 G 23
1788 Th. Crajenschot	Uub Tho TAA 414
1769 H&C Beekman	71 pp. Aub 368 G 26
1780 F.J. van Tetroode	*Appendix tot het Graduale Romanum*. 71 pp. Atb 210 H 7
1786 F.J. van Tetroode	Atb 210 H 8
1791 F.J. van Tetroode	*Bylagen tot het Graduale Romanum*. 81 pp. Private

Missae novae Quarto editions. For the separate editions no locations have been indicated

Missa(e)	Editions/Issues	Titles, pages, copies
1-8	after *Graduale* J. Stichter 1694	No title page, 64 pp. Uub 315 C 6
	W.v.Bloemen 1710	No title page, 55 pp. Private
1-13	1726 Heirs widow C. Stichter	*Missae novae, festis solemnioribus decantandae.* 96 pp. Uub Tho Rijs 140-201
1-13	1739 Heirs widow C. Stichter	92 pp. Ulb Muz GRO 7
	1745 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Private
	1755 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Uub 319 D 17
	[1763] Heirs widow C. Stichter	Aub 1011 A 20
	1790 Heirs widow C. Stichter	Atb 205 D 26
	c1810 Widow F.J. van Tetroode	Private
1-13	1727 G.Van Bloemen	88 pp. Ucc Hbm; Uub 321 B 5
1-13	H. & C. Beekman	76 pp. Uub 308 D 23
14	H&C Beekman	*Missa nova.* 8 pp.
	Heirs widow C. Stichter	
15	H&C Beekman	*Missa nova.* 4 pp.
	Heirs widow C. Stichter	8 pp.
	Widow F.J. van Tetroode	
16	H&C Beekman	*Missa nova.* 10 pp.
	Heirs widow C. Stichter	12 pp.
	Widow F.J. van Tetroode	
17	H&C Beekman	*Missa nova.* 8 pp.
	Heirs widow C. Stichter	12 pp.
18	H&C Beekman	*Missa nova.* 8 pp.
	Heirs widow C. Stichter	
	Widow F.J van Tetroode	
19	H. Beekman	*Missa nova.* 12 pp.
	H&C Beekman	
	Widow F.J. van Tetroode	
20	H&C Beekman	*Missa voce duplici diversa, et Chorus unisonus ab Auctore correcta.* 12 pp.
	[Widow F.J. van Tetroode]	
21	H&C Beekman	*Missa a 4 vocibus diversa, et Chorus unisonus, ab auctore correcta.* 12 pp.
	F.J. van Tetroode	
	Widow F.J. van Tetroode	
22	H&C Beekman	*Missa nova.*12 pp.
	F.J. van Tetroode	
	Widow F.J. van Tetroode	
23	H&C Beekman	*Missa nova.* 10 pp.
	[Widow F.J. van Tetroode]	
24	H&C Beekman	*Missa in festa solemnitatis.* 12 pp.
	Widow F.J. van Tetroode	

25-27	H&C Beekman F.J. van Tetroode Widow F.J. van Tetroode	*Missae pro festis solemnibus*. 20 pp.
28	F.J. van Tetroode Widow F.J. van Tetroode	*Missa nova* : "Utrechtse Mis". 10 pp.
29	F.J. van Tetroode Widow F.J. van Tetroode	*Missa nova*, signed "J.F.R.". 8 pp.

Missae novae Octavo editions

Missae	Edition/Issue	Remarks
1-18	1750c H. Beekman	*Missae novae festis solemnioribus decantandae*. 128 pp. Uub Tho WRT 80-268
1-22	1770 H. & C. Beekman 168 pp.	Uub Tho ALV 29-77
1-21=22	1770s? Th. Crajenschot 164 pp.	Missa 20 missing; 20 here = 21 elsewhere; 21 here = 22 elsewhere. Aub 1399 E 1
1-23	1781 Th. Crajenschot	180 pp. As previous, with 22 here = 29 elsewhere; 23 as added gathering = 28 elsewhere. Uub Tho TAA 414
1-22	1792 F.J. van Tetroode	*Nieuwe missen, te zingen op de plechtige feesten*. Mass 1-19, 20 (=22), 21 (=20), 22 (=21). 161 pp. Private
1-28	1815 Widow F.J. van Tetroode	Octavo, 175 pp. Private

Chant and Polyphony in Russia

Historical Aspects

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"Slowly but steadily, my studies with Dehn make progress, and we continue to struggle with fugues; I am almost sure that it is possible to connect the Western fugue with the conditions of our music by the bounds of a legal marriage."[1] This was written by Mikhail Glinka to his friend K. A. Bulgakov, in 1856, in the same letter where the composer delightfully records works of Bach, Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, and Cherubini, which he managed to listen to in Berlin during the winter season. He used a note of exclamation when he wrote about Bach's Motet and Cherubini's Requiem and comments on Bach's B minor Mass: "there are wonders of poesy and invention". One can see that Glinka was especially enthusiastic about polyphonic oratorical masterpieces.

Siegfried Dehn, mentioned here, was the most authoritative German theoretician and specialist in counterpoint, to whom Glinka came to study. The mature composer undertook this after many years of intensive creative searches in his compositions. Seeing in Russian folk music a powerful source of inspiration he elaborated it by contemporary means of Western art-music. However, the composer himself was not always satisfied with his own results and felt that he would not succeed in his most ambitious tasks without such a universal base as traditional Western counterpoint.

There is no indication of what exactly Glinka implied under "conditions of our music". One can guess that it could be something that differs from conditions of "not our", i.e. Western European music. It could either be Russian rural folklore, or ancient orthodox chant, or – more likely – what is common to both. The common element is monody as a principle of musical thinking, resulting in modality and linear polyphony.

Both folklore and ancient chant lived their own lives within their traditions. But, the composer – Glinka – as a culture hero, needed them as a symbol of some ideal, which he wanted to bring to his listeners. He could not bring it in its original form. It had to be submitted to the aesthetics of a fine society in order to be understood. This is what he meant by "legal marriage": one has to appear at a reception with his wife, and not with a servant maid as a mistress. To become a

[1] M. GLINKA, *Full Collection of Works, Literary works and correspondence*, A. S. ROSANOV ed., Moscow, 1977, vol. 2, p. 180.

legal wife, she had to be acculturated. Acculturation means diffusion of styles and their mutual changing. A legal marriage does not always mean a happy one. A happy marriage implies both sides preserving their self-identifications.

At the time when music in Europe was dominated by Gregorian chant and remained modal, the "Western fugue" (as Glinka put it) had not yet existed. "Western fugue" implies functional harmony as it has been formatted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But then, there was already no trace of modality; one excluded the other. While in western Europe, functional harmony pushed out modality, and nobody seemed to regret it, enlightened Russians wanted to have both: to preserve their self-identification as Russians in keeping modality, and to belong to the European cultural entity as an equal part – to be in the stream of functionality. The history of chant and polyphony in Russia is the history of modality and functionality, which reflects Russia's bicultural reality in all its confusion of geographical and historical identities caused by Russia's conversion to Orthodoxy. Glinka was neither the first nor the last on this historical direction. He put in words what had been going on during many centuries.

The Byzantine chant, introduced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the Orthodox Church, was monodic. Instrumental accompaniment was forbidden, in keeping with ancient Jewish tradition after the destruction of the Second Temple. The prohibition of instrumental music eventually delayed the development of Russian instrumental art-music for many centuries. Naturally, the Russian Orthodox Church prohibited polyphony as well. Yet, Russian rural folklore – in the middle regions of the country – included multi-part singing as its very important and richly developed segment, at least from the fifteenth century. This is so called *protiazhnaya* song, which literally means "protracted" and is often translated as "melismatic" song. This definition articulates monody as a basis for melodic structure and, consequently, the linear character of polyphony. The existence of such a genre in Russian folklore indicates that multi-part singing is habitual in the Russian musical mentality. No wonder, that the history of Russian church music during the thirteenth-seventeenth centuries is the history of singers struggling for their artistic right to multi-part singing.

The first scores of multi-part church singing were written in the same notation as chant – *znamyona or kryuki* – (ancient Russian neumes), and appeared as late as the seventeenth century. However, there are sources indicating the existence of scores in the sixteenth century. Russian scholars suppose that this tradition goes back even much earlier. They also admit, that specific Russian polyphony using subsidiary voices has not been recognized by singers as multi-part singing and was considered a monophonic one. (In some places it still is).[2]

[2] S. SKREBKOV, *Russkaya khorovaya muzyka XVII-XVIII veka*, (*Essays*), Moscow, 1969, p. 50.

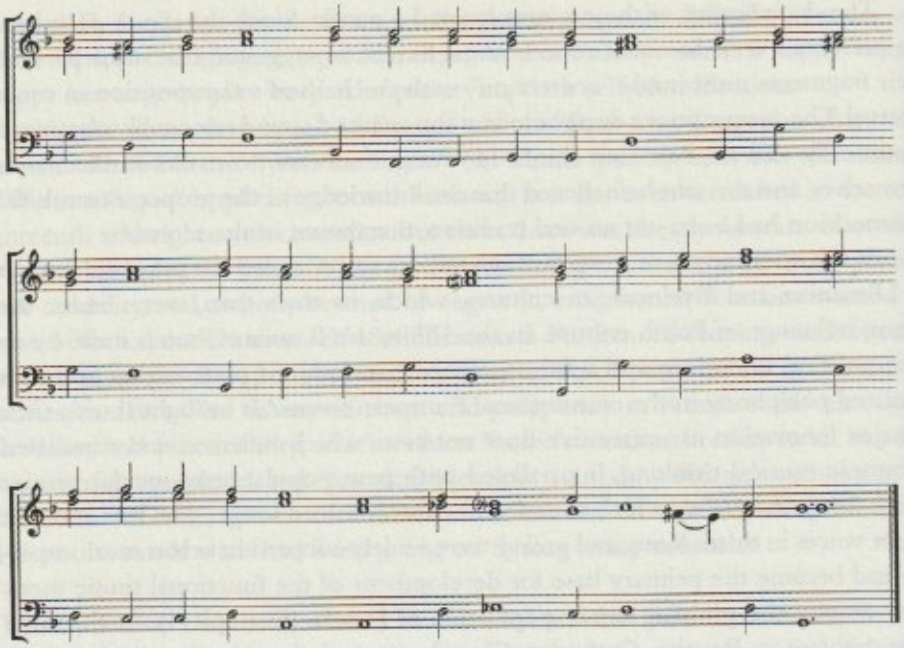
The deciphering of these scores created a puzzle. Since the direct deciphering presents a very dissonant sound, Sergei Skrebkov suggested that some parts or their fragments must imply "correction" with the help of a transposition in some interval. The compositions deciphered by this method sound reasonably organized acoustically and are based on thirds. However, there are no marks in the scores themselves, and the scholar believed that the knowledge of the proper intervals for transposition had been just an oral tradition, not shown in the scores.[3]

In the seventeenth century, Russian culture experienced the powerful impact of Ukrainian and Byelorussian cultures, which, in their turn, were under the strong influence of Polish culture. In the 1650s, the Russian Church itself, by its own political intentions and reforms, officially introduced part-singing and thus legalized polyphony in the conventional European forms.[4] It brought Russia such a major innovation as square five lines notation, which reflected and stimulated harmonic musical thinking. It paralleled with new, popular semi-secular genres: Polish *kanty* and *psalmy* which sounded like three-voiced songs – the bass and two upper voices in third. *Kanty* and *psalmy* were widely adopted in urban music-making and became the primary base for development of the functional music mentality among the growing urban population of Russia (Example 1). At the same time, reforms in Russian Orthodox Church demanded unification of the traditional liturgy. The development of printing let the church print the whole compendium of ancient chant in *kryuki*. For various reasons the edition did not come out. With time, a modernized edition of the compendium – Russian ancient chant translated into square notation – had been prepared, though it saw light only a century later, in 1772, in four volumes: *Irmolog, Oktoikh, Prazdniki, Obikhod*.

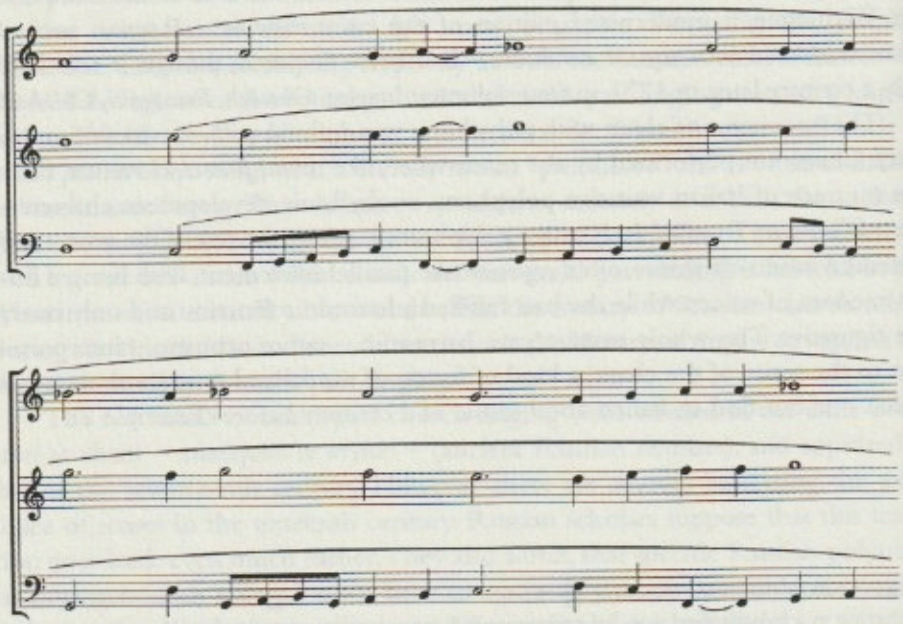
The encounter of chant with polyphony was defined with remarkable ambiguity. Chant was performed by the tenor voice, like *cantus firmus*. However, there was no trace of Italian imitative polyphony, or rhythmic development characteristic of German *Tenorlied*. In Russian polyphonic settings, the rest of the voices had presented mono-rhythmic, often *organum* like parallel movement, with limited linear freedom of voices; while the bass fulfilled a harmonic function and only rarely was figurative. The whole texture gave harmonic – rather acoustic – interpretation to the tones of the chant, a kind of fusion of modal and functional elements which one can find in Italian vocal music of a century before (Example 2).

[3] SKREBKOV, *Russkaya khorovaya*, pp. 51-53. Since the author suggested this method of deciphering as a hypothetical one, his colleagues still cannot either completely rely on it, or suggest anything more convincing.

[4] N. USPENSKY, *Russkiy khorovoi kontsert kontsa XVII – pervoi poloviny XVIII vekov*, Leningrad, 1976, p. 15.



Example 1. Vasily Titov, *Rhythmic Psaltery*, Moscow, after 1682



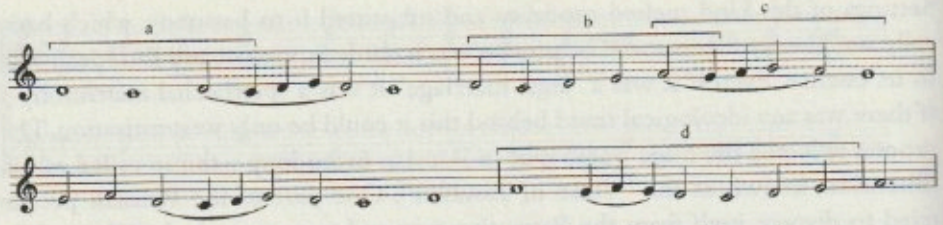
Example 2. Prichastnyi stikh *Khvalite Gospoda s nebes* (the beginning of the eighteenth century, N. Uspensky, *Drevnerusskoe pevcheskoe iskusstvo*, Moscow, 1971, p. 439)

Settings of this kind melted modality and submitted it to harmony, which basically was already functional. The process was hazardous, violent and European-like in its essence. Even if it was a "legal marriage" it was a "patriarchal matrimony". If there was any ideological trend behind this it could be only westernization. The process reflected the huge tragic split in Russian orthodoxy – the so called *raskol*, dissension, known as the "Time of Troubles". One part of the Russian people tried to divorce itself from the Byzantine past and turn towards the West, while the other part firmly stayed in the old positions. This segment of the population – the Old Believers – left the central part of the country moving on to extremities, and still – until today – maintains old customs and preserves monodic chant. Russia has never recovered from this dissension which took various forms of an internal ideological fight, whose protagonists were known as Slavophiles and Westernizers.

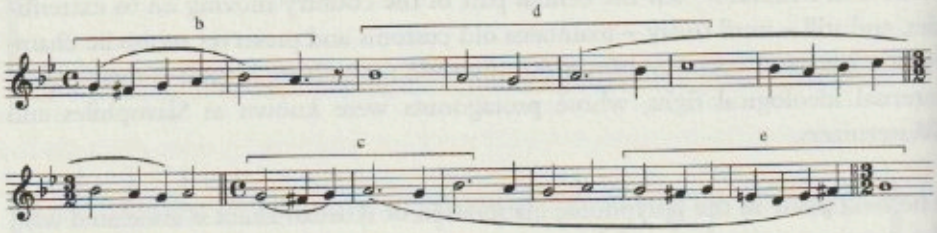
The next phase in the polyphonic elaboration of Russian chant is associated with the creative work of one of the most prominent eighteenth century Ukrainian-Russian composers, Dmitry Bortniansky (1751-1825). He is known primarily as the one who defined the classic style of the only traditional-professional Russian genre of the spiritual choral concerto a cappella during the time of Catherine the Great. In his legacy, however, one can find a number of ancient orthodox chants set in four-voice polyphony and arranged according to the classic concepts of functional harmony. First of all, Bortniansky elevated the chant from tenor voice to the upper voice and made it a harmonically active part, which itself defined harmonization. In the choice of chords, he used the style of *kanty* and *psalmy* as it existed since the end of the seventeenth century and was based on the tonic and dominant chords of relative keys.

What Bortniansky had to do was to cut down the entire melismatic element of the chant. He preserved only its framework, suitable to the functional interpretation. Naturally, the modality of the chant was also minimized and was reduced to a mutable mode formed by juxtaposing the minor-mode tonic and dominant to the relative major-mode key. (See the comparison between the same chant in its monodic versions and in Bortniansky's setting, Examples 3-5). In a few cases, however, Bortniansky related to this task with sophistication not typical of his time and searched for other modal harmonic successions, incorporating them in his versions with great taste.[5]

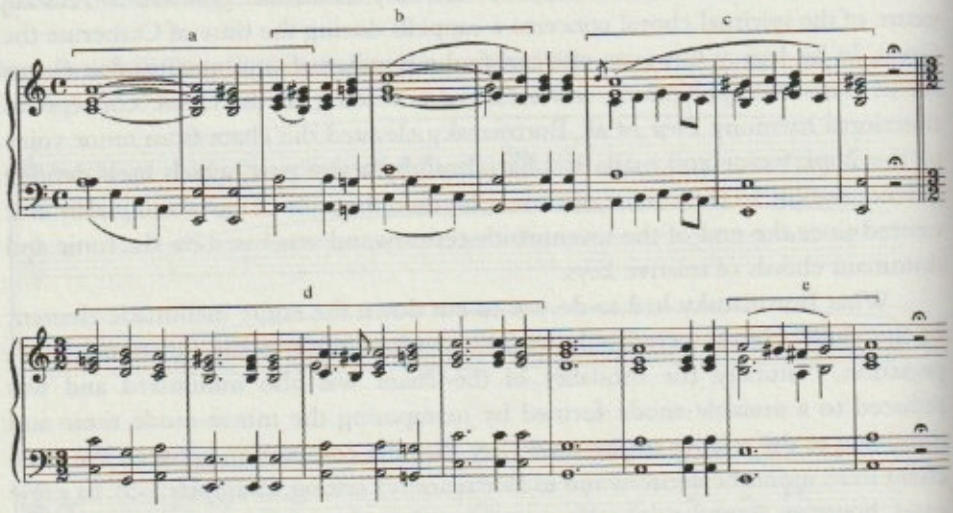
[5] M. RITZAREV (RYTSAREVA), *Kompozitor D. Bortniansky*, Leningrad, 1979, pp. 219-220.



Example 3. *Nïne silï nebesnïya s nami*, anonym from the *Solovtsy collection*, eighteenth century



Example 4. *Nïne silï nebesnïya s nami*, anonym from the Prayer book, 1864



Example 5. Dmitry Bortniansky, *Nïne silï nebesnïya s nami*, 1810s

Bortniansky's settings stimulated further attempts in this direction. This interest continued into the nineteenth century with all the romantic-nationalist ideological approach characteristic of the 1820–1850s. On one hand, Bortniansky's works were appreciated as forerunners of the trend, highly suitable to the Russian cultural restoration of Byzantine-Muscovite self-identification. On the other hand, he had been criticized for not enough devotion to its national traits – melismat-

ics and modality.[6] At any rate, Bortniansky's name was broadly used in the context of the national-restorative idea. During some decades in the middle of the nineteenth century, a certain manuscript treatise, which was anonymous and titled *Project for Printing of the Ancient Russian Kriuk Chant*, was circulated and eventually published in 1878.[7] The authorship of the work was apocryphally attributed to Bortniansky as a canonized figure in Russian church music, and the treatise itself was known in the history of Russian musical culture as the so called 'Bortniansky's Project'. However, when in 1901 Bortniansky's one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary attracted public attention to him and his contribution to Russian music began to be reconsidered, his authorship of the *Project* was seriously questioned.

Regardless of the question of the author (I strongly doubt Bortniansky's active involvement), this call for the cultivation of the ancient Russian chant as a fundamental source for the completely national culture, fell on very welcoming ground. The treatise articulated an idea, very close to that of Glinka: "I am sure – wrote the author – when I claim that quick successes of Italian music were due to the counterpoint, and, accordingly, Russian counterpoint may produce similar, or even better successes."[8]

The church composer whose works show a possible link to the ideas of Bortniansky's *Project* was Peter Ivanovich Turchaninov (1779-1856). He wrote many settings of the Russian Orthodox chant, but based on other principles than those of Bortniansky. He left the whole melismatic melody of chant untouched, as it was in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, and harmonized it by means of functional harmony, occasionally incorporating modal elements. His works had more success as an idea than as an artistic accomplishment, and the composer is hardly remembered today. However, his searches had a highly remarkable prolonged effect.

The hybrid of chant and half-functional;half-modal harmonization was further developed in works by Fyodor Petrovich Lvov (1766–1836) and his son Alexey Fyodorovich Lvov (1798–1870).[9] Father and son, in succession, succeeded Bortniansky in the post of director of the Imperial Court choir and eventually produced a bulk of tasteless settings, officially promoted them and, thus, confirmed the standard for the nineteenth-century Russian church music, separating it drastically from the stylistic searches of Russian secular music. The younger Lvov

[6] V. ODOEVSKY, *Letter to A. N. Serov, August 27, 1863*, in *Muzykal'no-literaturnoe nasledie*, G.B. BERNANDT ed., Moscow, 1956, p. 506.

[7] *Protokoly godovogo sobrania chlenov Obshchestva lyubiteley drevney pis'mennosti 25 aprelya 1878 goda*, St Petersburg, 1878, Supplement III.

[8] A. ROGOV, *Muzykal'naya estetika Rossii XI-XVIII vekov*, Moscow, 1973, p. 212.

[9] Fyodor Petrovich Lvov was the nephew of Nikolai Alexandrovich Lvov (1751-1803), the compiler of well-known *Collection of Russian Folk Songs*, 1790.

became the creator of the official Russian anthem *Bozhe, Tsarya khrani* [*God, Save the Tsar*]. The style of the anthem unequivocally indicated the semiotic sign of *old*. *Old* is a necessary sign of authentic. Altogether it became a strong symbol of *Autocracy*, inseparable from *Orthodoxy*. Perceiving himself probably as a founder of the only right style in chant settings, he wrote: "Bortniansky felt the necessity to set the ancient chant by appropriate harmony, but he suggested that the time had not yet come and let his successors accomplish it".[10] A century later, in 1943, even more elements of chant – modality and melismatics, were used by the creator of the official Soviet anthem, Alexander Vasilievich Alexandrov (1883–1946). The composer's entire background had been Russian choral church music a cappella. Mixing that style in ideal proportion with the motives from the International by Pier Degheitor, Alexandrov created a Soviet musical emblem, which most successfully suited (and stated!) the spirit of Stalinism.

The notable contributor to the development of polyphonic elaboration of Russian chant was Alexander Dmitrievich Kastalsky (1856–1926). A choir conductor, composer and arranger, he was also an enthusiastic and serious collector and researcher of Russian multi-part folk songs. His principal creative idea was combining chant and polyphony of the folk type, with broad use of subsidiary voices.

Ancient Russian chant was occasionally cited in nineteenth-century Russian music by Musorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Lyadov, Taneev, Chaikovsky, Grechaninov. However, it was Sergei Rachmaninoff who perhaps made the greatest artistic achievement in this field. Impressed by Kastalsky's ideas, Rachmaninoff wrote the Liturgy (1910) and Vespers (1915). The broadly known example of his use of the chant is the opening theme of his Piano concerto no. 3 D minor, which he wrote in the same year as the Liturgy. The likeness between his theme and the vesper chant of the Kievan tradition was noticed and explored by Joseph Yasser. Yet, Rachmaninoff – in his reply to Joseph Yasser's letter – rejected any conscious intention of borrowing elements of chant in this particular case.[11] This only proves that in incorporating the elements of orthodox chant in his art-music, Rachmaninoff used it not as a citation but as a motivic material or even as a way of melodic thinking. "The very nature of Rachmaninoff's melodies is monodic", claims Tatyana Bershadskaya.[12] Later, in emigration, Rachmaninoff used *Dies ire* in

[10] A. LVOV, *Biografia Bortnyanskogo*, in *Muzykal'nyi svet*, 1855, 8, p. 4.

[11] J. YASSER, *The Opening Theme of Rachmaninoff's Third Piano Concerto and its Liturgical Prototype*, in *Musical Quarterly*, 55 (1969), pp. 313–328.

[12] T. BERSHADSKAYA, *Echshe raz o Rackhmaninove*, in L. IVANOVA & N. AFONINA eds., *Muzykal'noe prinoshenie k 75-letiu E. A. Ruchievskoi*, St Petersburg, 1998, pp. 153–156.

his major works, although it was in a manner of Berlioz or Chaikovsky: as a symbol and not as chant per se.[13]

This trait of Rachmaninoff's creative work was broadly known among Russian-Soviet musicians and highly appreciated, as well as Glinka's famous idea of the "legal marriage" between the "Western fugue" and "conditions of our music", but nobody seemed to be interested in developing this idea. However, there was a political reason for this: Stalin's so called "cultural revolution", which lasted from 1927 until the 1960s. During this "revolution" the church art including music, had been banned. As it always happens with forbidden cultural values, this evoked intensive underground interest. When in the 1960s the ban was cancelled, the orthodox chant experienced a renaissance in concert practice, in research, and in art-music compositions.

The post-Stalin period witnessed the intensive wave of interest in the ancient chant on the part of modern composers. For modern composers it served as a source of high inspiration. It became a certain alternative to peasant folklore, the main element of "The Mighty Five's" style, doctrinized by Soviet official nationalism. From the early 1970s, chant became one of the basic elements of another kind – unofficial nationalism. Again, as in the seventeenth century, chant became a symbol of the tradition of Old Belief, or even simply Belief – in a dissident sense of protest against the regime and urbanization, and the reflection of tragic passion and eschatological moods of the present "Time of Troubles". "Symbolic implications of addressing liturgical music are clear, particularly before *glasnost'* was officially declared, when religion, along with sex and political adversary, was a forbidden subject" – concludes M. Mazo.[14] Analyzing the Democratic Movement in the Soviet Union in the 1960s, Andrei Amalrik defined three ideologies composing it: "genuine Marxism-Leninism, Christian ideology, and liberal ideology".[15] No wonder, that Christian ideology as an important element of public consciousness of Soviet intelligentsia found its reflection in Soviet art-music of the time.

The ancient chant, with its endless expressive potential of melismatic melody, also appeared to be highly compatible with modern techniques of composition. This was not a discovery, but rather a rediscovery of what had been discussed a half a century earlier.

There is an indirect indication that the process of elaborating the ancient chant in modern art music could have taken place in Russia some decades earlier

[13] J. YASSER, *Moe obshchenie s Rakhmaninovym*, in Z. APETYAN ed., *Vospominania o Rakhmaninove*, Moscow, 1988, vol. 2, 5th edition, pp. 352-372.

[14] M. MAZO, *The Present and the Unpredictable Past: Music and Musical Life of St. Petersburg and Moscow Since 1960s*, in *International Journal of Musicology*, 5 (1996), p. 379.

[15] A. AMALRIK, *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, New York, 1970, pp. 11-12.

if it were not stopped by ideological prohibitions. In the decade following the year 1910, in parallel with Rachmaninoff's Russian liturgical works, there was a stormy polemic between two protagonists of the newly born Jewish national school nourished by the Russian musical aesthetics. The opponents were Joel Engel, considering folklore as the only true element for building any national school, and Lasare Saminsky who, supported by Alexander Krein, Mikhail Gnessin, Shlomo Rosovsky, and others, argued that in the modern epoch the true element must be the chant.[16] Since this was in the period of the revolution and Civil War in Russia, the entire group of these young Jewish composers split into three directions: Russia, Palestine and the United States.

While neither Russian, nor Russian-Jewish composers remaining in Soviet Russia could continue to develop any ancient chant in their art music during the "cultural revolution", their Palestinian-Israeli and American counterparts proceeded in this manner. In the 1960s all the streams met and they flourish intensively, competing in a variety of individual styles, techniques of composition, and creative tasks. Thus, Russian ancient chant, indirectly – through Byzantine – rooted in ancient Jewish chant, encounters today its "cousin" in the area of the twentieth-century art-music.[17]

In Russian-Soviet music of the 1960s-1990s one can find a broad range of approaches to chant in art-music: from fashionable flirtation to deep culture-historical symbolism as exemplified in the work of the composers of various generations and schools: Leningrad-St. Petersburg, Moscow, Baltic, Caucasus, Central Asia, Diaspora, and others. As examples of outstanding works based on chant, the compositions of Sergei Slonimsky (b. 1932, the nephew of Nicholas Slonimsky) should be mentioned first of all. He wrote *Antiphones* for string quartet (1967), in which he incorporated ancient Jewish chant, and some symphonic works in the 1970s-1980s using ancient orthodox chant. Another work which should be mentioned is Alfred Schnittke's Concerto for Mixed Choir (1984-1985) on the text of the "Book of Sorrowful Chants" by the Armenian poet Gregor Narekatsi (951-1003) in which the composer most creatively reproduced features of Russian church music, and which gained world recognition. Joseph Bardanashvili (b. 1948, Georgia) successfully elaborates Georgian-Jewish chant, beginning in Georgia and continuing in Israel. His cantata *God's Children* (1997) for countertenor and symphony orchestra on texts from the Old Testament, New Testament, and Koran is

[16] L. SABANEEV, *The Jewish National School in Music*, in *Musical Quarterly*, 15 (1929), pp. 448-468.

[17] I express here my gratitude to the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, who supports my project *Three Branches in Twentieth-Century Jewish Music of Russian ORIGIN: Israeli, Russian, American*, which enriched my perspective on the problem of chant and polyphony in Russia; and to Margarita Mazo, who organized my presentation of this paper in Ohio State University (Columbus, February 24, 1999) and suggested some critical remarks.

based on three traditional chants derived from the three monotheistic faiths, which are sophisticatedly incrustated in expressive post-modern symphonic narrative.

The history of chant and polyphony in Russia shows that through the entire millenium, techniques and meanings changed but the tension between these two types of music and doctrines, ideas, and traditions, associated with them remains. And this promises us inexhaustible creative perspectives.

PLAIN-CHANT OU POLYPHONIE?

À propos de Saint-Martin de Tours à la fin du Moyen Âge

Agostino Magro
CESR, Tours

Les pertes documentaires concernant la collégiale Saint-Martin de Tours, on le sait, ne sont pas négligeables. Ce matériau lacunaire a néanmoins permis aux historiens de la basilique d'obtenir, sans difficultés majeures, des résultats significatifs. Pour les historiens de la musique en revanche, cette même documentation se révèle malheureusement insuffisante. La collégiale de Tours, bien évidemment, ne constitue pas une exception, et consacrer une étude aux pratiques musicales – qui plus est polyphoniques – en usage à Saint-Martin de Tours représente une tâche remplie des incertitudes bien connues des musicologues lorsqu'ils s'intéressent à une église en particulier. Cet article rassemble toutes les informations que j'ai pu extraire des archives et de la Bibliothèque municipale de Tours pouvant fournir des suggestions à ce propos.[1] La question, par ailleurs soulignée dans le titre, demeure évidemment inchangée: plain-chant ou polyphonie?

Les différentes fondations établies par les princes du royaume et les puissants bourgeois étaient certainement avantageuses pour l'enclave royale de Saint-Martin de Tours.[2] L'inventaire des titres G 530, conservé aux Archives départementales de Touraine (AD), concerne la fondation des chapelles. Grâce à cet énorme volume, on peut avoir un panorama, plus ou moins complet, du nombre et du nom des diverses chapelles fondées dans les différents autels de la collégiale et déjà existant au XVème siècle. Elles sont au nombre de trente, bien que la liste ne soit probablement pas exhaustive:[3]

[1] Ici on ne parlera que de la fin du Moyen Âge, surtout du XVème siècle, mais la situation n'est point différente ni pour la période précédente, ni pour la Renaissance. Pour le XIIIème siècle, le livre ordinaire de la collégiale nous donne des renseignements sur ses pratiques polyphoniques; à ce sujet voir A. MAGRO, *Un aperçu sommaire sur le Rituel de Péan Gatineau (XIIIème siècle), chanoine de Saint-Martin de Tours*, dans *Musica e Storia*, VII/2 (1999), pp. 257-291.

[2] A ce sujet voir A. MAGRO, *Basilique, pouvoir et dévotion. Ockeghem à Saint-Martin de Tours*, dans *Johannes Ockeghem. Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, P. VENDRIX ed., Paris, 1998, pp. 79-100.

[3] Voir AD, G 530.

Chapelle du Chevet	Chapelle de la Gisante	Chapelle St Nicolas
Chapelle St Maur	Chapelle du Plessis	Chapelle de la Madeleine
Chapelle St Jean Baptiste	Chapelle St Brice	Chapelle St Perpet
Chapelle de la Royauté	Chapelle St Aubin	Chapelle St Julien
Chapelle de la Perdrix	Chapelle de St Cloust	Chapelle de la Cigogne
Chapelle des Dévoyés	Chapelle de Crissé	Chapelle de l'Orphevrie
Chapelle St Catherine	Chapelle St Yves	Chapelle du Crucifix
Chapelle Dupuy	Chapelle de trois Maries	Chapelle d'Armilly
Chapelle St Mathurin	Chapelle St Louis	Chapelle St Georges
Chapelle de la Pinterie	Chapelle St Michel	Chapelle St Jacques

La plus importante était certainement la chapelle Notre-Dame du chevet, c'est-à-dire la chapelle de la famille Bouciquaut. Les documents la concernant ont déjà été examinés par Paul Nobilleau, érudit tourangeau, dans une étude réalisée en 1873.[4] La chapelle Notre-Dame fut fondée le 16 novembre 1363 par Jean le Meingre de Bouciquaut, maréchal de France. Comme son nom l'indique, elle était située dans le chevet, derrière le maître autel. Cette fondation envisageait une messe quotidienne du Saint-Esprit devant être remplacée, après la mort du fondateur, par une messe anniversaire constituée par une vigile et une *Messe à notes*, ce que Nobilleau interprète comme "avec notes et musique".[5] Evidemment la chapelle servait toute la famille. C'est ainsi que le 10 juin 1406, Jean le Meingre de Bouciquaut fils, fonde une *Messe collegiale solemnelle du Saint Esprit à note et ordre au maître autel*. Nobilleau l'explique ainsi "[...] chaque jour devait être célébrée une messe canonicale en musique, au Grand Autel".[6] Pendant cette messe, chantée collégialement, on distribuait aux participants 16 *livres tournois*. Après la mort, cette fondation aurait dû être remplacée par une messe anniversaire solennelle avec vigille *à note et ordre*, chantée non plus au maître autel, mais plutôt à l'autel même de la chapelle. Le texte de cette fondation nous apprend également que le chef de saint Martin était placé à côté de la chapelle des Bouciquaut, et qu'une procession à cette sainte relique était faite tous les jours, entre vêpres et complies. Le fondateur avait demandé que, pendant cette procession, on s'arrête devant la chapelle du chevet pour dire un *De profundis* avec le *Subvenite*. La fondation de Geoffroy le Meingre Bouciquaut, chambellan du roi, nous apparaît moins conventionnelle. Fondée le 8 novembre 1407, elle était tout à fait substantielle: 5.000 *livres tournois*. Après sa mort il fallait chanter, à la chapelle, une messe haute à diacre et sous-diacre (troisième rang de célébration après la messe pontificale et la messe solennelle):[...] *à la chapelle seroit perpetuellement célébrée une Messe à notes de Requiem à*

[4] P. NOBILLEAU, *Sépultures des Boucicault en la basilique de Saint-Martin (1363 - 1490)*, Tours, 1873; certains travaux de Nobilleau doivent être aujourd'hui considérés avec réserve, et pour le présent article j'ai pu vérifier les documents cités dans son livre. Ces documents se trouvent dans un inventaire rédigé au XVIIIème siècle concernant la chapelle de Notre-Dame du chevet (voir AD, série G 593).

[5] NOBILLEAU, *Sépultures des Boucicault*, p. 19.

[6] NOBILLEAU, *Sépultures des Boucicault*, p. 38.

Diacre et Sousdiacre, qu'elle seroit chantée durant la pulsation de Prime, par 13 personnes, chanoines, vicaires ou chapelains en l'Eglise, excepté qu'aux fetes annuelles, dimanches et fetes doubles [...].[7]

Le 26 mars 1437, le chapitre informe le chambellan du roi de ce que, pour une telle fondation, considérant l'importance de la charge, il faut attendre le consentement du pape par décrétale. On l'obtiendra, bien que le document ne nous donne pas de date.

La signification exacte du terme "à note" ou *cum nota* est objet de débat. Dernièrement, Richard Sherr a fait à ce propos le point sur la situation.[8] Son étude sur la cathédrale de Bourges laisse supposer que l'expression "messe à note", rencontrée dans certains documents issus de cette institution ecclésiastique, fait, dans certains cas, vraisemblablement référence à l'emploi de chants polyphoniques. Une définition significative de *Missa cum nota* apparaît dans le dictionnaire de Du Cange. Sous l'entrée *Nota* on trouve une citation de l'abbé Ingulfus, historien anglais du XI/XIIème siècle: *Missae, quae cum nota canuntur, id est, cum modulatione musica, libro notis musicis notato coram proposito* (*Scema* I, 886).[9] De cette définition, on peut comprendre que la messe *cum nota* est une messe chantée en utilisant un livre choral, ou bien, une messe célébrée avec apparat, dont la présence d'un livre liturgique noté devient alors l'un des éléments essentiels. Les termes *cum nota*/à note(s) et *cum ordine*/à ordre sont souvent cités ensemble. "À ordre" désigne une volonté de cérémonie plus somptueuse, avec apparat, en présence d'un nombre de ministres sacrés bien défini, qui servent la messe et l'office. À Saint-Martin, par exemple, pour les jours fériaux, la messe était célébrée seulement par un diacre, un sous-diacre, un acolyte et un petit clerc, le dimanche par un diacre, trois sous-diacres, quatre acolytes, sans compter le prêtre qui dit la messe. Dans un certains sens, la présence même du livre liturgique, un livre choral par exemple, participait à *l'amplificatio* du service divin. On peut lire dans le *Rituel* de Saint-Martin de Tours (XIIIème siècle), pour les jours fériaux: *Ad Missam est diaconus, subdiaconus, acolitus et clericulus; et serviunt sicut in festo novem lectionum et unius candelabri, sed totum dicitur ad pulpitum chori; et clericulus* [...] *cantat* [...] *Alleluja, sed non in libro.*[10] Chanter une messe "à note et à ordre" peut simplement indiquer la célébration d'une messe avec apparat en employant un certain nombre de ministres sacrés qui servent l'office et, parmi les livres liturgiques, la présence d'un livre choral noté con-

[7] AD, G 593, pp. 161-165.

[8] R. SHERR, *Music at the Cathedral of Bourges in the time of Ockeghem. A preliminary and fragmentary Report*, dans *Johannes Ockeghem. Actes du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, P. VENDRIX ed., Paris, 1998, pp. 193-201.

[9] C. DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Niort, 1883-1887, 10 vols., sous l'entrée *Nota, 5*, p. 609.

[10] A. FLEURET, *Rituel de Saint-Martin de Tours, documents et manuscrits*, Paris, 1899-1901, p. 21.

tribue à *l'augmentatio* du service divin. En revanche, il pourrait s'agir aussi bien de notes de plain-chant que de notes de musique polyphonique.[11] La Collection Baluze 77 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, mentionne une autre fondation de messe à note à chanter en la collégiale Saint-Martin. En février 1465, Louis XI voulut fonder en perpétuel deux messes *cum nota* quotidiennes: *duas Missas in hac Ecclesia cum nota singulis diebus in perpetuum celebrandas fundare*. La réponse du chapitre pourrait nous suggérer que ces deux messes *cum nota* envisageaient de la polyphonie. En effet le chapitre considérait ces deux messes quotidiennes comme une charge trop importante pour les chanoines, *magni oneris existere*. Le chapitre, demanda pourtant au roi, désireux de le servir, de changer les modalités de cette célébration.[12] Ce n'était pas la première fois que cela se produisait. Toujours dans la collection Baluze on trouve une lettre de Jean Le Meingre de Boucicaut fils, adressée au chapitre de Saint-Martin. Citée par Nobilleau, son sujet concerne la

[11] Dans l'acte de fondation de la chapelle des chantres du duc Charles II de Lorraine, fondée à l'autel Notre-Dame de la collégiale Saint-Georges de Nancy (19 mai 1421), on peut lire: *[...] pour à icelui aultel et chappelle célébrer et chanter à notes et à deschant, doresenavant chascun jour à tousjoursmais perpétuellement, une haulte messe de Nostre Dame [...] se chantera ladicte messe sollempnellement et aus orgues quant il y ara organiste [...]*; Archives départementales Meurthe-et-Moselle (ADMM) G 345 liasse (document n° 30); je suis reconnaissant envers Pascal Desaux, fin connaisseur des archives et de l'histoire musicale en Lorraine, de m'avoir communiqué ce document. Cet acte de fondation est exceptionnel, car rarement on peut voir réuni dans une seule phrase « une messe haute à chanter solennellement avec les orgues, à note et à déchant ». Dans Paris, AN, LL 290, fol.49, on peut lire, à propos du motet *Ave Maria* de Brumel *[...] et debet dici cum notulis discantus [...]*, 14 mai vers 1501. Dans différents documents originaires de Notre-Dame de Paris, on parle de polyphonie en terme de *Res facta; Res facta sive notula; Discantus notulis; Discantus in cantu notulato*; voir C. WRIGHT, *Music and Ceremony at Notre-Dame of Paris, 500-1550*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 350 et 363 (Doc. 13).

[12] Voici le texte complet: *1464.ultima Februarij - Eadem die tractantibus ipsis Dominis meis super hoc quod Dominus noster Rex eisdem per Dominum Baillinum Turoniae significari fecit intentionis suae existere duas Missas in hac Ecclesia cum nota singulis diebus in perpetuum celebrandas fundare, subjungendo quid ipsi Domini mei scripto eidem Domino Baillino hodie infra meridiam eorum intentionem super hoc ac modum et formam quibus in eadem Ecclesia Missae praedictae celebrari possent transmitterent, attendentibus ipsis Dominis meis hujusmodi celebrationem Missarum cum nota in eadem ecclesia in perpetuum singulis diebus, ut praemittitur, magni oneris existere, attentis alijs servicijs divinis in eadem celebrare consuetis, fuerunt tamen opinionis ipsi Domini mei beneplacitis ipsius Domini nostri Regis obedire et obtemperare, prout eisdem obediri et obtemperari concluserunt, committendi, prout commiserunt, Dominus Decanum, Cantorem, Scholasticum, Subdecanum, Granicarium, et Praepositum de Courcayo ad ilico faciendum memoriale super praemissis ac de modo et forma quibus servicium praedictum duarum Missarum in eadem Ecclesia cotidia celebrari et continuari puterit, ac hujusmodi memoriale eidem Domino Baillino ex parte Dominorum meorum praedictorum transmittendum*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Baluze 77, fol.370; voir aussi MAGRO, *Basilique, pouvoir et dévotion*, p. 85, nota 30.

fondation de la messe à note opérée par son père: [...] *que le service qui ne s'y est faict de long tems, en la forme que faire se doict, et, que vous y estes obligés. C'est à sçavoir la messe à nottes de monseigneur mon père* [...].[13]

On est en droit de se demander pour quelles raisons le chapitre de Saint-Martin de Tours avait du mal à assurer les fondations des messes à notes. En général, la fondation d'une messe *cum nota* n'était pas toujours associée à une messe solennelle. Qu'omettaient-ils de faire ? La réponse la plus simple serait que probablement les chanoines remplaçaient cette messe par un simple mémorial ou bien par une messe basse. Par contre, dans le cas de la fondation de Louis XI, on peut se demander ce que les chanoines considéraient être, pour la célébration d'une messe *cum nota*, une charge trop importante: chanter la messe avec du plain-chant? Chanter la messe *cum apparatu*, en utilisant un élégant livre liturgique noté? Chanter la messe avec de la polyphonie ? Ceci me fait penser à un passage du *Rituel* de Saint-Martin, déjà cité, où, pour les laudes du jour de l'an il signale: *et debent organizari Vitatorium, versiculi, responsoria et prose et Benedicamus, ad unumquemque psalmum conductum dici, si est qui faciat.*[14] L'expression *si est qui faciat* en référence au chant du *conductus* (vraisemblablement en polyphonie) nous laisse supposer que, pour ce genre, il était probablement requis une compétence particulière et que, évidemment, il n'était pas toujours possible d'en assurer le chant.

Une autre fondation est pour nous intéressante, celle de la chapelle de la Royauté. Elle fut fondée le 26 février 1493 par Jean Le Roy, chanoine et chevecier de la collégiale.[15] Mettant de côté le problème concernant son éventuelle identification avec le compositeur, ce qui nous intéresse ici est un extrait de l'inventaire général des titres de la fabrique de Saint-Martin de Tours (AD, G 594). Ce document concerne la copie de l'acte de fondation faite par Jean le Roy, chevecier de Saint-Martin, d'une chapelle Saint Jean Baptiste et Saint Jean l'Evangéliste de la Royauté. La fondation consiste à *faire dire à toujours perpétuellement* aux

[13] Paris, BN, Coll. Baluze 76, p. 126; NOBILLEAU, *Sépultures des Boucicault*, p. 41.

[14] FLEURET, *Rituel de Saint-Martin de Tours*, pp. 37-38; voir aussi MAGRO, *Un aperçu sommaire*, pp. 273 et suivantes.

[15] AD, G 594, p. 385; inutile de dire que ce dernier nom nous laisse quelque peu perplexes. Un récent article le concernant, a été publié par Pamela Starr. On peut trouver d'autres renseignements à son sujet aux Archives départementales d'Indre-et-Loire; voir P. F. STARR, *Southern Exposure: Roman Light on Johannes Regis*, dans *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 49 (1995), pp. 27-38; A. MAGRO, *Le compositeur Johannes Regis et les chanoines de Saint-Vincent de Soignies et Saint-Martin de Tours. Une nouvelle contribution*, dans *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, 52 (1998), pp. 369-376.

charges du chapitre, différents services, parmi lesquels la fondation d'un *Ave verum corpus polyphonique, en choses faictes chanté solemnellement par les chantres, les enfans de choeur et les orgues.*[16]

Comme il m'a été donné l'occasion de le constater durant mes recherches aux archives de Tours, il est très rare de trouver des témoignages explicites sur l'utilisation de polyphonie à Saint-Martin. Le document concernant la fondation du chevecier de la collégiale que l'on vient de voir, représente une exception. Tous les autres documents que j'ai pu trouver, ne sont pas si explicites. Implicites, en fait, sont les différentes définitions qualifiant un office particulier lié à une occasion particulière, comme un obit, la visite d'un personnage illustre ou une translation solennelle. On peut seulement imaginer ce que, à Saint-Martin, un office célébré *cum solemnitate, cum solemni pompae funebri, cum apparatu et pompa magnificis, et pompa solemni, cum pompa decantato, Missa solemnissimo ordine cum organorum harmonico jubilo, cum immensa solemnitate*, pouvait sous-entendre.[17]

En conclusion de cet aperçu documentaire sur Saint-Martin de Tours, il me semble à propos d'évoquer son fameux trésorier: Jean de Ockeghem.

Certains registres des recettes et des dépenses appartenant à la collégiale sont encore aujourd'hui conservés aux Archives départementales de Touraine.[18] Ils datent du XVIème, XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles bien entendu, mais il est encore possible d'y trouver les paiements relatifs aux fondations faites par certains chanoines de la collégiale à l'époque du compositeur.[19] Ockeghem, on le sait, fonda une messe de Saint Martin et un *memento* à célébrer annuellement en basili-

[16] AD, G 594, p. 385 - *Fondation de la Chapelle de St. Jean Baptiste et St. Jean l'Evangeliste de la Royauté par Mr. Jean Le Roy, chanoine et chevecier de Saint Martin* - 26 février 1492 - *Copie de la donation et fondation*; et encore AD, G 548, Liasse - Chapelle Saint-Jean l'évangeliste de la Royauté (1493 - 1789); pour les textes complets voir MAGRO, *Le compositeur Johannes Regis*, pp. 373-374.

[17] Pour ces notices se rapportant à des occasions liturgiques et cérémoniales particulières à Saint-Martin au XVème siècle, voir MAGRO, *Basilique, pouvoir et dévotion*, pp. 82-85.

[18] AD, G 578, G 592, G 593.

[19] Guillaume de Sauzay, le grangier, par exemple, fonda une messe de la Vierge Marie: *Item pro celebratione anniversarii unius misse de virgine maria pro defuncto magistro guillermo de sonzayo huius ecclesie granicario distribuite fuerunt manualiter xx livres v souls xxiii mense de [...] ... xx lt*; AD, G 575, p. 16. Dans la série G 592 on trouve une table, malheureusement incomplète, qui concerne les anniversaires. Elle a été rédigée au XVIIème siècle et contient seulement les mois de novembre et décembre. On y trouve les fondations, *cum ordine et magna pulsatione*, de Matthieu Hubaille (8 novembre), de Jean du Puy (24 novembre) et de Jean Bouhalle (29 novembre), chanoines de la collégiale (tous les chanoines cités ont participé, avec Ockeghem, à la cérémonie de la translation des reliques de saint Martin du 10 mars 1454; voir MAGRO, *Basilique, pouvoir et dévotion*, p. 97). En général il s'agit d'un *Subvenite* suivi par le *De profundis*. Geoffroy Chiron, chambrier de la collégiale, membre de la chapelle royale pour une courte période (1475) et personne très proche d'Ockeghem (il fut son procureur, son officier à la trésorerie de la collégiale et son

que le 18 juin, du moins au XVIème siècle.[20] En fait, les feuillets de compte épars que l'on trouve dans la série G 575 datent du siècle suivant la mort du compositeur. Dans la même série, cette fois sans date précise, on peut s'apercevoir qu'Ockeghem avait fait d'autres fondations. Malheureusement le texte ne spécifie pas de quoi il s'agissait: vers 1556 – *Alia recepta fundatione venerabilis magistri Jo. de Okeghem huius ecclesie thesaurarii.*[21] Dans les registres de la collégiale pour l'année 1773-1774,[22] on trouve encore les paiements relatifs aux fondations d'Ockeghem:

Pour celle [messe d'obit] *fondée par Jean Okeghem le 31 dud. [mai] ..... 76 lt*
Pour 52 semaines du memento fondée par Jean Okeghem à 5s. 10d. chacune .... 15 lt 3 s 4 d
Pour la procession de l'octave du St. Sacrement fondée par Jean Okeghem le 9 dud. [juin] ..... 20 lt

On sait que les processions stationales étaient des moments particulièrement privilégiés pour la polyphonie, et Saint-Martin de Tours ne faisait pas exception, le

chapelain, voir A. MAGRO, "*Premierement ma baronnie de Chasteauneuf ...*". *Jean de Ockeghem treasurer of St Martin's in Tours*, dans *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), pp. 190 et 192), fonda, le 22 septembre 1496, trois chapelles consacrées à saint Michel en titre de bénéfice perpétuel. Chaque chapelle était dotée de 30 lt et desservie par trois chapelains perpétuels (AD, G 593, pp. 495-496). Ces chapelains devront dire quotidiennement à l'autel Saint Michel une messe basse, selon la solennité du jour, à la fin de Prime. La messe terminée, on dira le *Subvenite*. La succession des messes quotidiennes, que l'on pourrait qualifier de conventionnelle, si ce n'était pas pour la messe de Saint Martin, est la suivante:

Dimanche:	messe du jour
Lundi:	messe des Anges
Mardi:	messe de Saint Martin
Mercredi:	messe des trépassés
Jeudi:	messe du Saint Esprit
Vendredi:	messe de la Sainte Croix
Samedi:	messe de la Vierge Marie

La chapelle de Bouciquaut et les trois chapelles Saint Michel fondées par Chiron, furent supprimées en 1744/1746 pour créer trois nouvelles places de musiciens semi-prebendés; voir AD, G 593, p. 509. La chapelle Saint Jacques fut fondée à l'autel Saint Louis le 24 mars 1436 par Jacques Dargouges, sous-doyen de la collégiale; voir AD, G 594, p. 15. La succession des messes quotidiennes est pratiquement identique à celle de la fondation de Chiron, sauf pour le mercredi, où l'on dira une messe basse des Apôtres; voir AD, G 594, p. 59.

[20] *Item pro celebratione unius misse de beatissimo martino fundatore per venerabilem virum magistrum jo. de okeghem huius ecclesiae thesaurarium pro qua distribute fuerunt manualiter [ ] xviii die junii ..... x lt - Item pro memento dicti thesaurarii tradidi [ ] matriculariis huius ecclesie pro ebdomadario ..... x lt*; AD, G 575; voir J. M. VACCARO, *Jean de Ockeghem, trésorier de l'église Saint Martin de Tours de 1459 (?) à 1497*, dans *Johannes Ockeghem en zijn tijd. Tentoonstelling gehouden in het Stadhuis te Dendermonde, 14 november - 6 december 1970*, Dendermonde, 1970, p. 68.

[21] AD, G 575, p. 20.

[22] AD, G 578, pp. 46-48.

Rituel de la collégiale étant très clair à ce sujet.[23] On pourrait seulement imaginer qu'Ockeghem lui même ait écrit de la musique à chanter pour cette dernière procession. En fait, aucun document nous montre, de façon explicite, Ockeghem jouant son rôle de compositeur au sein et pour le compte de la collégiale. Par contre, certains livres liturgiques provenant de Saint-Martin, aujourd'hui conservés à la Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, peuvent nous le suggérer indirectement. En ce qui concerne les motets d'Ockeghem, je n'ai pu trouver une version à l'usage de Saint-Martin de l'antienne *Salve Regina*, mais j'ai pu vérifier que la paraphrase de l'antienne *Alma Redemptoris Mater* utilisée par Ockeghem dans son motet homonyme, semble se rapprocher de la version donnée par un bréviaire noté à l'usage de Saint-Martin de Tours du XIVème siècle.[24] Je dois avouer que cette

[23] Voir FLEURET, *Rituel de Saint-Martin de Tours*, pp. 39-40 et 60-62; voir aussi MAGRO, *Un aperçu sommaire*, pp. 273 et suivantes. À ce propos je voudrai ici rappeler l'existence d'un document explicite dans ce sens. Souvent négligé, il provient de la collégiale Sainte-Croix d'Orléans et concerne le compositeur Eloy d'Amerval: 1483 - *Audit messire Eloy d'Amerval, la somme de cent quatre solz parisis, pour la valleur de quatre escuz d'or à lui ordonnez estre paiez et baillez en recompense & remuneracion de avoir dité & noté en latin & en françois ung motet, pour chanter doresenavant ès processions qui se font chacun an ledit viije jour de may [...]; duquel motet il a fait deux livres [...], l'un pour bailler aux chantres, & l'autre aux enffans de cueur d'icelle eglise Saincte Croix, pour chanter à la stacion qui se fait devant la porte Dunoise [...]*, Archives communales d'Orléans, registre des comptes de 1483, CC. 669, fol.32; voir J. QUICHERAT, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Paris, 1849, pp. 312-313; A. DE FOULQUE DE VILLARET, *Recherches historiques sur l'ancien Chapitre cathédral de l'Eglise d'Orléans*, dans *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique d'Orléans*, 19 (1883), pp. 500-503; H. JACOMET, *Pierre Plume, Gilles Mureau, Jehan Piedefer, chanoines de Chartres, Pelerins de Terre Sainte et de Galice, 1483-1484, 1517-1518*, dans *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loire*, 50 (1996), p. 30, d'où j'ai tiré la version ici présentée. Un autre document concerne Eloy d'Amerval et Saint-Martin de Tours. Le 16 sep-tembre 1480, le maître de la psalette de Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand de Poitiers, Eligio de Amara Valle (Eloy d'Amerval), obtient un congé pour se rendre à Tours afin d'y porter un livre qu'il a écrit pour la collégiale Saint-Martin. Il est possible qu'il s'agisse de la messe *Dixerunt discipuli*, dont le cantus firmus est propre à la fête de la Saint Martin d'hiver (11 nov.); Archives Départementales de la Vienne, G 527, p. 37; voir R. FAVREAU, *Orgues et psallettes à Poitiers à la fin du Moyen-Age, dans Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4e série, 12 (1973), p. 57, n. 80 et 81; JACOMET, *Pierre Plume, Gilles Mureau, Jehan Piedefer*, p. 30.

[24] Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, ms. 159, fols. 223v-223. Il s'agit d'un recueil assemblé au XVIIIème siècle pour les fêtes *Duplex in VII et in V candelabrorum* (les deux degrés de solennité majeurs avant le Dimanche). Le bréviaire noté du XIVème siècle en constitue la dernière partie. Incomplet, il commence à la fête de la Pentecôte (fol.146) et se termine par l'office de Saint Clément (fol.307). Le ms. 159 est ainsi constitué: 1) un calendrier du XIVe siècle, peut-être celui qui appartenait au bréviaire, 2) un Psautier du XIVe siècle, 3) un Antiphonaire du XVIIIe siècle (de Noël à Pâques), 4), le Bréviaire du XIVe siècle (Pentecôte et Sanctoral).

méthode d'analyse n'est pas toujours rigoureuse, étant donné qu'il faudrait collationner toutes les versions connues d'un chant particulier, dans ce cas l'*Alma Redemptoris Mater* dans ses différentes versions du moins jusqu'au XVème siècle, et encore, sans tenir compte des manuscrits aujourd'hui perdus! Cela dit, je pense que le résultat obtenu par ce genre d'analyse appliqué au motet d'Ockeghem nous donne un premier résultat appréciable.

Certains indices nous permettent d'affirmer que le bréviaire du XIVème siècle présent dans le ms. 159 n'était pas originaire de Saint-Martin de Tours. En fait il a été entièrement révisé et modifié au XVème siècle pour le rendre "à l'usage" de la collégiale.[25] Les textes sont souvent corrigés, des antiennes et des doxologies, avec leur notation, ont été rajoutées et les neumes des répons et des antiennes ont été à plusieurs endroits poncés, pour pouvoir reconstituer la version à l'usage de Saint-Martin de Tours. Il en est de même pour l'antienne *Alma Redemptoris Mater* (fols. 223v-224 – Assomption, *ant. ad Magnificat*), dont la version originale, qu'on peut aisément reconstituer, se rapprochait beaucoup de celle présente aujourd'hui dans l'*Antiphonale monasticum* du 1934.

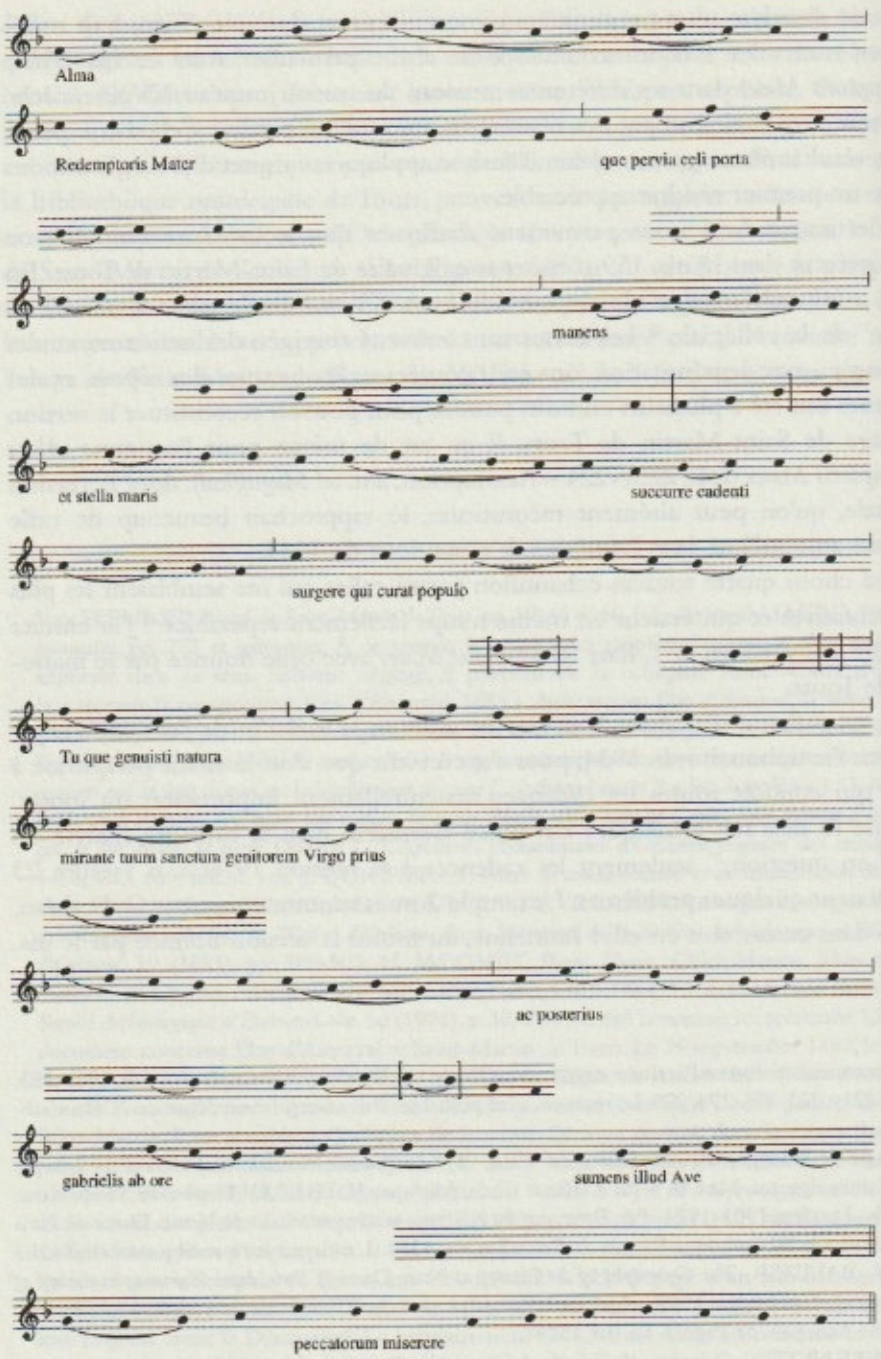
J'ai choisi quatre sources échantillon parmi celles qui me semblaient les plus représentatives et qui étaient en même temps facilement repérables.[26] J'ai ensuite comparé ces versions de l'*Alma Redemptoris Mater* avec celle donnée par le manuscrit de Tours.

Il est suffisant d'analyser le motet en utilisant la mélodie de l'antienne restituée par l'antiphonaire de 1934, pour s'apercevoir que c'est le chant paraphrasé à l'altus qui conduit toutes les cadences structurellement importantes du motet. Comme l'a déjà fait remarquer Lawrence Bernstein dans sa brillante analyse du motet en question,[27] seulement les cadences à la mesure 19 et à la mesure 23 présentaient quelques problèmes. L'exemple 2 nous montre comment Ockeghem, même dans ce cas, suit en effet l'antienne, du moins la version donnée par le ms. 159.

[25] On reconnaît aisément l'écriture cursive du XVème siècle; voir par exemple aux fols. 180v-183, 221-221v, 223, 275-276, 279. La révision a été probablement entreprise au début du XVème siècle.

[26] Il s'agit de l'*Antiphonale monasticum* du 1934, de l'*Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, University Library of Cambridge, ms. Mm. ii. 9, du XIIIème siècle, édité par H. FRERE, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, 6 vols., London, 1901-1924, d'un Bréviaire du XIIIème siècle provenant de Notre-Dame de Paris conservé à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles, ms. 4334 (L'antienne en question a été déjà édité par R. BALTZER, *The Geography of the Liturgy at Notre-Dame of Paris*, dans *Plainsong in the age of Polyphony*, Cambridge, 1992), d'un autre Bréviaire noté du XIVème siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, f. lat. ms. 15181.

[27] L. F. BERNSTEIN, *Ockeghem the Mystic. A German interpretation of the 1920s*, dans *Johannes Ockeghem. Acte du XLe Colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours, 3-8 février 1997*, P. VENDRIX ed., Paris, 1998, pp. 813-822; pour l'analyse il utilise l'antienne du ms. 15181 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris.



Exemple 1. *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, Bibliothèque municipale de Tours, ms. 159, ff. 223v-223. Reconsitution; [reconstitution hypothétique]

La version du ms. de Bruxelles est en général très proche à la version du ms. de Tours, à la mesure 18, elle est la seule à partager les notes *fa, mi, ré, mi*, avec la version corrigée de Saint-Martin. À la mesure 23, la variante du ms. de Tours demeure, pour le moment, unique (Exemple 2a). À la mes. 29 (Exemple 2b) elle partage les deux mi seulement avec la version de l'*Antiphonale Monasticum*. Aux mes. 84-91 (Exemple 2c) les mss. de Bruxelles et de Tours vont encore dans le même sens, pour s'éloigner à nouveau à la mes. 103 (Exemple 2d).

Les antiennes *Alma Redemptoris Mater, Ave Regina caelorum, Regina caeli laetare* et *Salve Regina* étaient les antiennes mariales les plus répandues utilisées, selon la saison, pour terminer les offices. La dernière est sûrement celle qui peut compter le plus grand nombre de versions polyphoniques, les autres, avec l'*Ave Maria*, suivent immédiatement. Je n'ai pas réussi à identifier, pour Saint-Martin de Tours, la saison propre à l'*Alma Redemptoris Mater* et le *Rituel* n'est pas clair non plus. On sait que normalement on ne disait pas le mémorial pour la Vierge Marie pendant la semaine sainte: à Saint-Martin il était également omis à partir de Noël jusqu'à l'octave de l'Epiphanie (*non fiat salutatio beate Mariae*). De l'Epiphanie à Pâques on chantait *Salve Regina*, de Pâques à la Pentecôte on chantait *Regina caeli*, de la Trinité jusqu'à l'Assomption *l'Ave Regina caelorum*. Il ne nous reste donc plus qu'à supposer que l'*Alma Redemptoris Mater* à Saint-Martin était chanté jusqu'à la fin de l'Avent. Elle était aussi utilisée pour les fêtes *Duplex* suivantes:

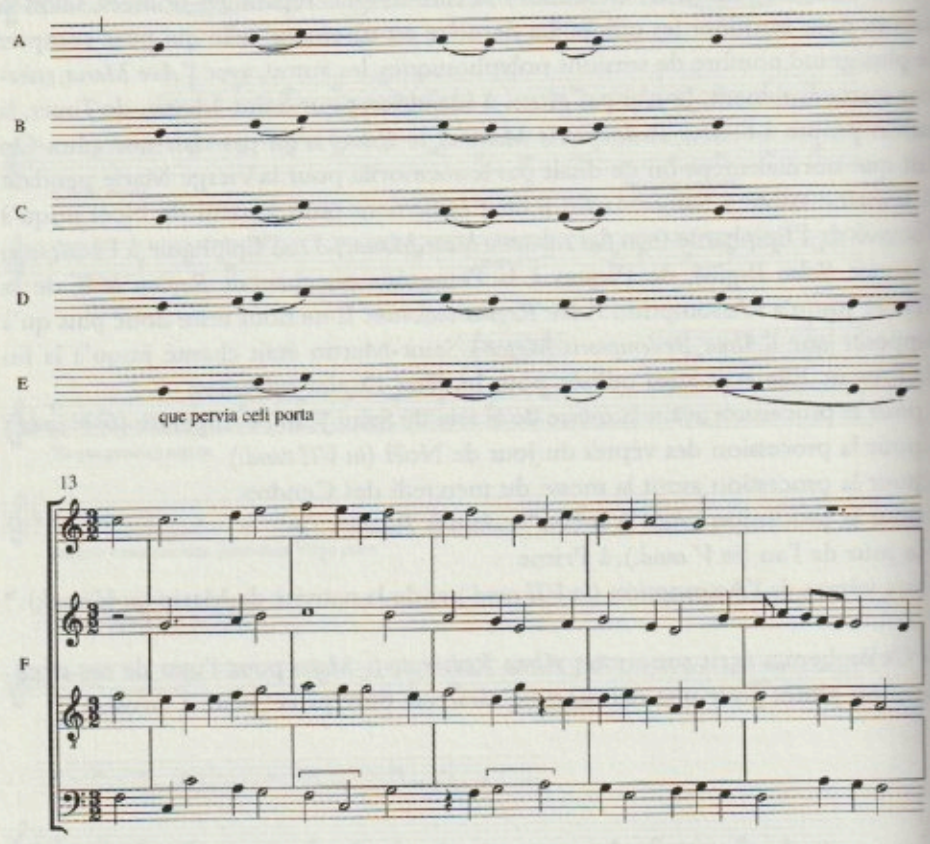
- pour la procession avant la messe de la fête de Saint Jean l'évangéliste (*in V cand.*)
- pour la procession des vêpres du jour de Noël (*in VII cand.*)
- pour la procession avant la messe du mercredi des Cendres
- pour la procession avant la messe *in crastino Pasche*
- le jour de l'an (*in V cand.*), à Prime
- aux vêpres de l'Assomption (*in VII cand.*) et de la nativité de Marie (*in V cand.*).[28]

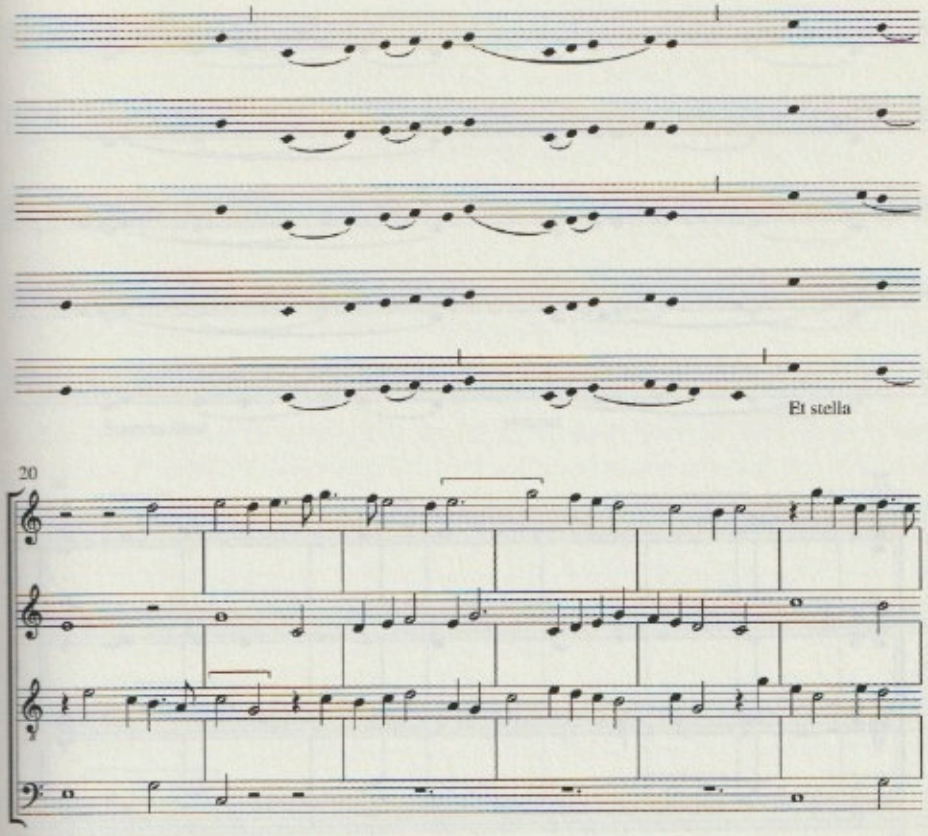
Si Ockeghem a écrit son motet *Alma Redemptoris Mater* pour l'une de ces occasions ou plutôt pour une occasion de caractère plus 'privé', reste à savoir.

[28] Voir FLEURET, *Rituel de Saint-Martin de Tours*, pp. 32, 34, 38, 45, 79-80.

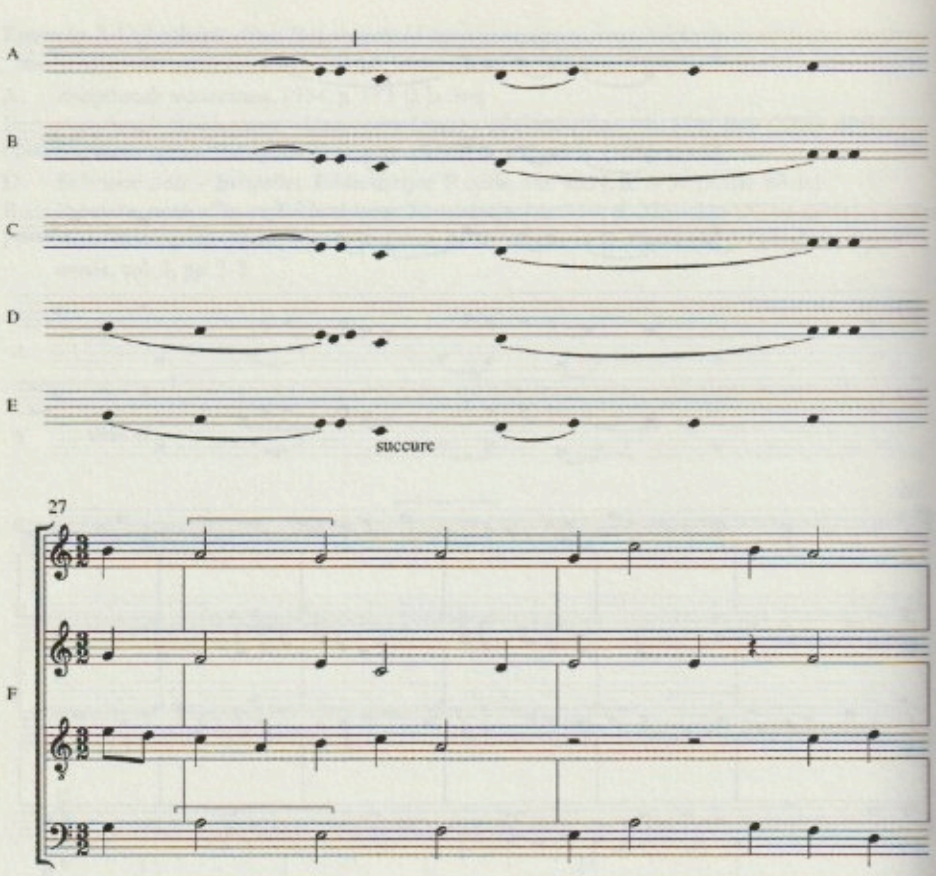
Exemple 2. Ockeghem, *Alma Redemptoris Mater*

A: *Antiphonale monasticum*, 1934, p. 173 (à la 5te)
B: *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* - University Library of Cambridge, Ms. Mm. ii. 9 (XIIIe siècle)
C: Bréviaire noté - Paris, BN, f. lat. Ms. 15181, ff. 451-451v (XIVe siècle)
D: Bréviaire noté - Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 4334, ff. 3-3v (XIIIe siècle)
E: Bréviaire noté - Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 159, ff. 223v-224 (XIVe siècle), à la 5te
F: *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, d'après l'édition de R. Wexler et D. Plamenac, *J. Ockeghem, Opera omnia*, vol. 3, pp. 3-5

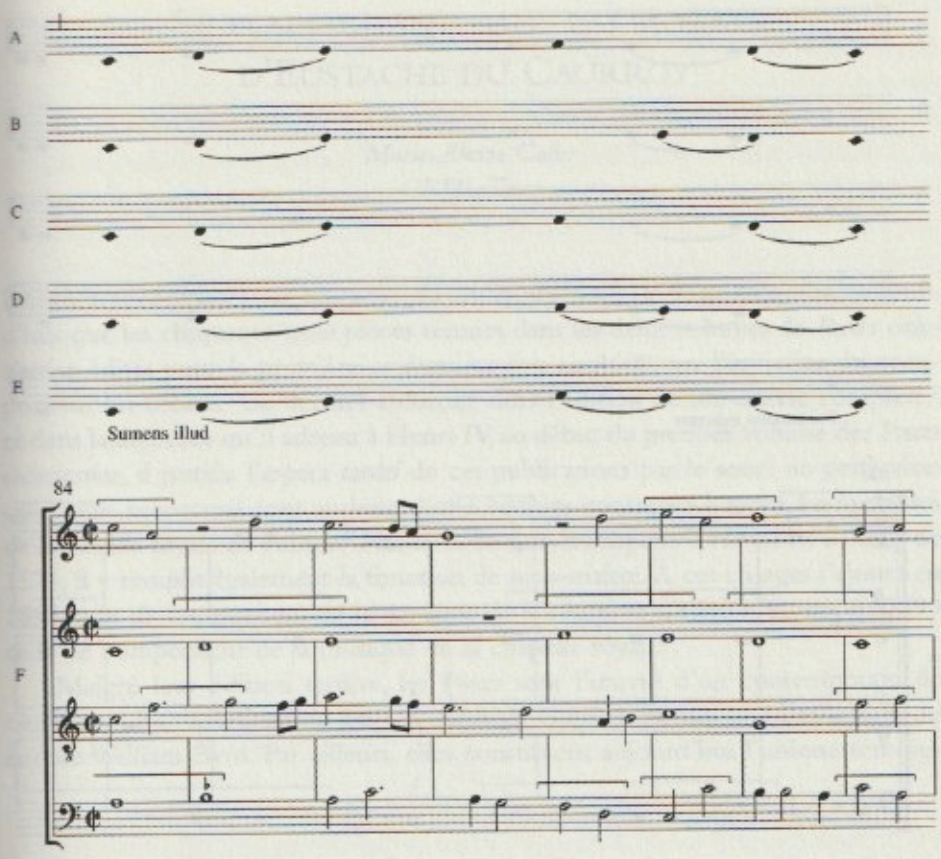




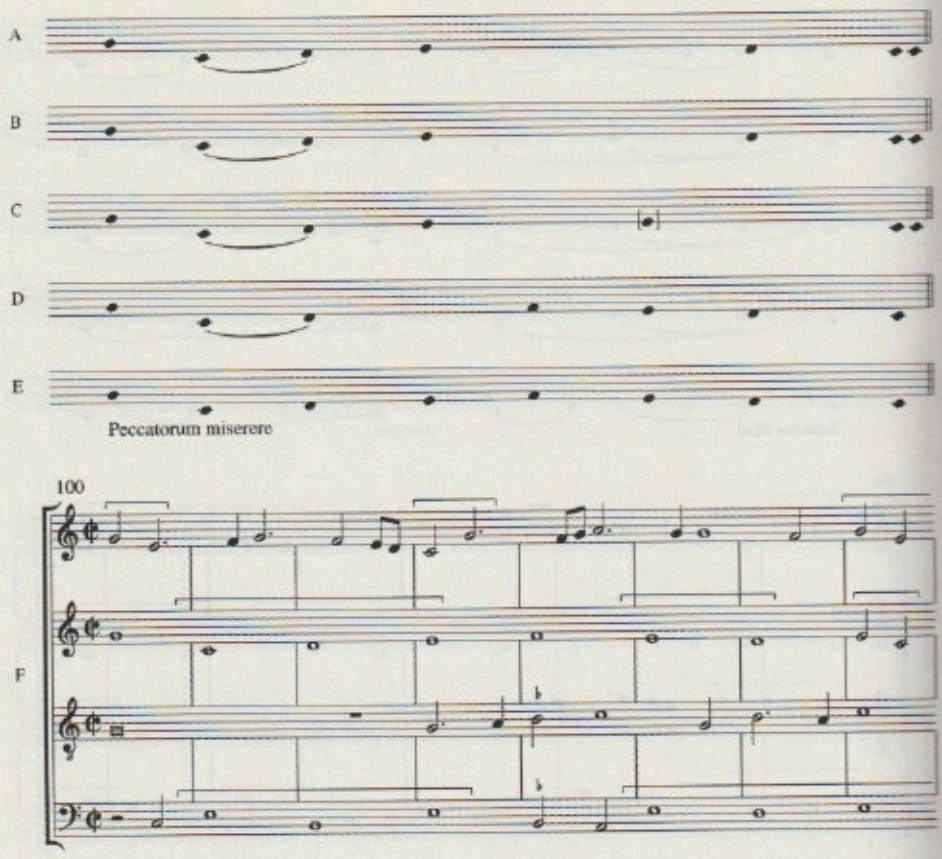
Exemple 2a. Mesures 13 à 24



Exemple 2b. Mesures 27 à 29



Exemple 2c. Mesures 84 à 91



Exemple 2d. Mesures 100 à 107

Mixing Chant Traditions

An Italian Passion in Spain*

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The Council of Trent's efforts to unify the liturgy and ritual resulted in the publication of several revised liturgical books. Most churches were expected to adopt these new volumes, but exemptions were made primarily for certain institutions, religious orders or regions which could demonstrate that their own practices existed for more than two centuries.[1] In the later sixteenth-century many churches in central and southern Spain used the Toledan rite, but the Roman ceremonial and liturgical books were officially accepted in eastern Spain. Nonetheless, a growing body of evidence for Catalonia shows that the purchase and utilization of the revised Roman liturgical and musical books in northeastern Spain was not always speedy.[2] Consequently some older, uncorrected or unofficial books seemed to have remained in the repertory. One group of older books that remained in usage was a set of chants for the four Passions along with other Holy Week materials. These were printed in Zaragoza with some frequency until 1563 and again in 1612.[3] The Aragonese passion chants then remained in usage in some locales for a considerable period of time beyond 1612.

* An earlier version of this study entitled *Some Clues to the Transmission of an Unusual Passion Setting: Nasco's St. Matthew Passion* and Spain was read on 9 July 1994 at the *Sixth Biennial Conference on Baroque Music* held at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. The author wishes to thank Bruno Turner, Kurt von Fischer, Murray Steib and Juan Carlos Ascensio Palacios for help with and comments on earlier versions of this paper, Herbert Kellman of the Musicological Archives for Renaissance Manuscript Studies, the staff of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Grayson Wagstaff and the late Robert Snow for access and permission to use their materials.

1 See I. FENLON, *Patronage, Music, and Liturgy in Renaissance Mantua*, in *Plainsong in the age of polyphony*, T.F. KELLY ed., Cambridge, 1992, pp. 209-235; R. GASTON, *Liturgy and Patronage in San Lorenzo*, Florence, 1350-1650, in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, F.W. KENT and P. SIMONS eds. with J.C. EADE, Oxford, 1987, pp. 111-133; L. LOCKWOOD, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo*, Venice, 1970.

2 In particular, see Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of H. KAMEN, *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation*, New Haven - London, 1993.

3 *Opvs Harmonicvm in historia passionis Christi a quatvor evangelistis conscripta in lamentationibvs, et cantorvm tvrba, iuxta optimam MVSICAE Rationem, ac noui Missalis, Vulgataeque Editionis sidem*, Zaragoza: Lanaja et Quartanet, 1612. Studies of sixteenth-century Aragonese chant by J-V. GONZÁLEZ VALLE ed., *La tradición del canto litúrgico de la pasión en España: estudio sobre las composiciones monódicas y polifónicas del "cantus passionis" en las catedrales de Aragón y Castilla*, (*Monumentos de la Música Española*, 49), Barcelona, 1992; *La tradición polifónica del canto del «passio» en Aragón:*

Marginalia containing phrases of plainsong and text found in multiple copies of one setting of the St. Matthew Passion will be used to show that Aragonese and Toledan chants were used with the same polyphony in different regions of Spain of the seventeenth century. The dates of these and other manuscripts will attest that Aragonese passion chants continued to be copied and presumably used late in the seventeenth century and even into the eighteenth century at various institutions. Further, textual *marginalia* from other Aragonese cathedral *pasionarios* indicate that these chants were sung even in the mid-eighteenth century. The variety of source materials from different parts of eastern Spain and from different centuries confirms that Aragonese passion chants were fostered in the face of civic and ecclesiastical decrees to accept and abide by the resolutions of the Council of Trent.

One setting of the St. Matthew Passion is commonly attributed in modern catalogues of Spanish archives to Juan Bautista Comes (ca. 1582 - 1643).[4] In fact the work has roots in a through-composed setting based on the Roman passion tones by the Flemish composer, Jan Nasco (ca. 1510 - 1561).[5] Nine emended copies (or fragments thereof) of Nasco's work are currently found in various

Passiones de los siglos XV, XVI y XVII de las Catedrales de Albarracín (Teruel), Gerona, Segorbe (Castellón) y Zaragoza, (*Polifonía aragonesa*, 6), Zaragosa, 1990; and *Die Tradition des liturgischen Passionsvortrags in Spanien: Studien zur ein- und mehrstimmigen Passionvertonung in den Kathedralen von Aragón und Castilla*, Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1974.

[4] J. CLIMENT [BARBER], *Fondos musicales de la región valenciana: Catedral Metropolitana de Valencia*, Valencia 1979, pp. 32-33, 123; J. CLIMENT [BARBER], *Fondos musicales de la región valenciana: Real Colegio de Corpus Christi Patriarca*, Valencia, 1984, pp. 20, 239-240; S. RUBIO, *Catálogo del Archivo de Música del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial*, Cuenca, 1976, pp.17, 254; M. NOONE, *Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks from El Escorial: Physical Descriptions and Inventories*, in *Revista de Musicología*, 17 (1994), pp. 243, 45, 74-75, 83-84, 87, 89, 292, 294. Much of the latter information is reprinted in *Appendix 1* of his *Music and Musicians in the Escorial Liturgy under the Habsburgs, 1563-1700*, Rochester, NY and Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK, 1998, albeit attributions for this work in three (of five) manuscripts, E-MO M 751, E-E LF 5, and US-NYhsa, MS HC 392/288 are now credited to Jan Nasco. (Note that the manuscript sigla used in this paper follow the abbreviations used in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*).

[5] Only one copy of Nasco's through-composed St. Matthew Passion is extant in partbooks and currently located in Bologna at the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, I-Bc Q24. For a transcription and study of this passion, see A. SCHMITZ ed., *Oberitalienische Figuralpassionen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, (*Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Musikwissenschaft, Musikalische Denkmäler*, 1), Mainz, 1955. For information about Nasco, see G. TURRINI, *Il maestro fiammingo Giovanni Nasco a Verona (1547-1551)*, in *Note d'Archivio*, 14 (1937), pp. 198-199; J.A. OWENS ed., *Jan Nasco: Il primo libro de madrigali a quatro voci (Venice, 1554)*, (*Sixteenth-Century Madrigal: Previously unpublished full scores of major works from the Renaissance*, 20), New York - London, 1991, p. 12; G. NUGENT, *Nasco, Jan*, (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 13), London, 1980, p. 40.

archives or libraries in Spain and New York.[6] These are listed in Table 1. Many of these manuscripts were probably copied during the last years of the sixteenth century or early in the seventeenth century; one extant copy is probably from the late seventeenth century and another copy preserved at the Valencia Cathedral is dated 1740. The Spanish version of the passion setting was often performed in Valencia, where copies from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are preserved at the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi and the Valencia Cathedral.[7]

Several of the seventeenth-century manuscripts are copied on parchment or on multiple sheets of paper glued together to create an illusion of the weight and importance of vellum. Although the works preserved or originating in central Spain are devoid of decorations beyond the occasional use of red ink, the works in Valencia contain frequent illuminations and other decorative artwork. Rather exceptional is the colorful title page of E-VAc LA XIV which bears the letter *M* (for Maria) held aloft by angels.[8] Similar but less sophisticated in design is the title page of E-VAcp LPVI containing the emblem of the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi. The importance and value of these works is seen not only in the materials used in their creation and decoration but also in the fact that many have been owned or used at chapels associated with royalty or other nobility: Ferdinand of Aragon, the Duke of Calabria; Don Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas,

[6] Kurt von Fischer mentions variants of the Nasco are found in two of these nine manuscripts. See s.v., Passion, (*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 14), p. 280.

[7] E-VAc Leg. 198/3 and E-VAcp I/27. A further uncatalogued copy stamped on the cover with the year 1854 but with the title page bearing the date 1679 is found in the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi (Valencia), Musical Archive; the hand copying this work is clearly from the 19th century. It contains plainsong phrases for Ancillas 1 and 2 and Uxor Pilati using largely Aragonese chant but with a melismatic cadential formula common to Roman passion chants for the end of the phrase. Climent mentions this work continued to be sung at the Colegio until the vernacular liturgy was implemented: "..Todavía se venía cantando esta obra en el Real Colegio del Corpus Christi de nuestra ciudad, hasta la implantación de la liturgia en castellano." See CLIMENT [BARBER], *Fondos ... Catedral Metropolitana de Valencia*, p. 32. There are additional uncatalogued twentieth-century copies in the Musical Archive of the Real Colegio – Seminario de Corpus Christi (Valencia)

[8] A reproduction of this title page is found in J. CLIMENT BARBER, *Los polifonistas del siglo XVII* in *Historia de la Música de la Comunidad Valenciana*, Valencia, 1992, p. 168.

Duke of Lerma (King Philip III's prime minister); the San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial (built by King Philip II); the Royal Convent of the Incarnation (Madrid); and the Valencian Archbishop John of Ribera (1532-1611), (the founder of the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi, and close associate of Kings Philip II and III).

The first four manuscripts listed in Table 1 (those now at the Hispanic Society in New York, the Escorial, and the Monastery of Montserrat) originated in or were used in central Spain. The group of eastern Spanish manuscripts includes those preserved at the Valencia Cathedral, the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi, Orihuela Cathedral and Albarracín Cathedral.

Table 1. Sources of Emended Versions of Nasco's St. Matthew Passion

Source	Attribution	paper/parchment	date of copy	remarks
Hispanic Soc. US-Nyhsa, MS HC:392/278 fol. 12v-34	anon.	paper glued in imitation of vellum	late 16th C or early 17th C	Turba only; same hand as Escorial and Montserrat copies; moved to Lerma before 1616 by G. Díaz[9]; Duke of Lerma's coat-of-arms embossed on the cover
Hispanic Soc. US-Nyhsa, Ms HC:392/288 fol. 0-56v and 102v-124	anon.	paper glued in imitation of vellum	late 16th C or early 17th C	Processus[10] and Turba; same hand as Escorial and Montserrat copies; moved to Lerma before 1616 by G. Díaz[11]
Escorial E-E, LF 1, fol. 13v-21 & LF 5, fol. 10v-36[12]	anon.	parchment (LF 1) and heavy paper (LF 5)	late 16th C or early 17th C	Processus and Turba; LF 1 performed before the King Philip III in 1607 perhaps in Lerma or Madrid[13]; Turba is titled *La passion de Valençia*
Montserrat, E-MO	anon.	heavy paper	late 16th C or	Processus for 4 voices;

[9] L. CERVERA VERA, *La iglesia colegial de San Pedro en Lerma*, Burgos, 1981, pp. 201-202; D.K. KIRK, *Churching the Shawms in Renaissance Spain: Lerma, Archivo de San Pedro Ms. Mus. 1*, Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1993, pp. 55, 64, 82, 89-90; NOONE, *Manuscript Polyphonic* Choirbooks, p. 292. This is a volume of lamentations, passions and other music for Holy Week; it is described in the 1616 inventory as ... *otro [libro grande] de lamentates*...

[10] The following terms will be used interchangeably: Narrator, Evangelist, Cronista, or Processus; Turba, Synagoga, or Dichos; and, Christ or Jesus.

[11] CERVERA VERA, *La iglesia*, pp. 201-202; KIRK, *Churching the Shawms*, pp. 55, 64, 82, 89-90; NOONE, *Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks*, p. 292. The volume contains 3 passions and one motet; it is described in the 1616 inventory as ... *uno [libro grande] de la Pasión de Valencia*...

[12] RUBIO, *Catálogo ... de El Escorial*, pp. 3, 4, 17.

[13] NOONE, *Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks*, pp. 274-277.

751, fol. 1-56[14]			early 17th C	previously owned by the Royal Convent of the Encarnación in Madrid[15]
Valencia Cathedral, E-VAc LA XIV & XVI[16]	anon. /Comes[17]	parchment	Turba dated 1606	Turba and Processus; a few sections are most likely by Comes
Real Colegio, E-VA cp LP V & VI[18]	anon.	parchment	late 17th C	Processus and Turba; copyist paid on 17/1/1605[19] for a copy no longer extant. LP V & VI are nearly identical to LP VII, the St. John Passion by Comes. LP VII is dated 1679

[14] A. OLIVAR, *Catàleg dels manuscrits de la biblioteca del monestir de Montserrat*, Montserrat, 1977, p. 167.

[15] OLIVAR, *Catàleg*, p. 167; NOONE, *Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks*, pp. 283-284.

[16] CLIMENT [BARBER], *Fondos musicales... Catedral Metropolitana de Valencia*, pp. 32-33. One facsimile can be found in GONZÁLEZ VALLE ed., *La tradición del canto litúrgico*, p. 228 and a transcription, pp. 189-208. (Note that González Valle cites an older set of shelf marks). Of the two sections of the Processus and twenty Turba sections transcribed here and linked to Comes, eighteen are found in the earlier setting by Nasco.

[17] This has been partly based upon the title page(s) (now lost) which presumably was part of EVAc LA XVI. Juan Bautista Guzmán recorded the title page of an unidentified St. Matthew Passion by Comes: *Passio in Dominica Palmarum, á 4 voces, que comprende todo el texto Evangélico y la turba. El la primera hoja del libro que contiene el texto, se halla escrita la siguiente portada: Processus / Passionis / Domini nostri Jesu Christi / Secundum Matheum. / Quatuor vocibus / A Joanne Baptista Comes, Presbítero /Valentinae Eclesiae Musicorum Praefecto.* (See J. B. GUZMAN ed., *Obras musicales del insigne maestro español del siglo XVII, Juan Bautista Cómes, escogidas, puestas en partitura é ilustradas*, Madrid, 1888, 1, p. xvii). Today none of the extant copies bear this title page and of those in Valencia with which Guzmán might have been familiar, only E-VAc LA XVI (the Narrator) is missing a title page. In other ways EVAc LA XVI is sufficiently alike in appearance to LA XIV, the 1606 Turba, for the two manuscripts to have been copied as a pair. E-VAc LA XIV has an elaborately decorated title page which makes no mention of the author; however, on the second folio, there is the name *M. Comes* in a rounded script. Most likely the initial *M* stands for *Maestro* since none of the Comes family members' names begin with the letter M.

[18] CLIMENT [BARBER], *Fondos ... Colegio*, pp. 239-240. The Colegio also has a modern copy (score and parts) of the same work with the shelf mark PA/5 which is not part of this study.

[19] J. CLIMENT BARBER and J. PIEDRA MIRALLES, *Juan Bautista Comes y su tiempo: estudio biográfico*, Madrid, 1977, pp. 45-46. Citing the Libro Gastos de la Fundación at the Colegio de Corpus Christi they indicate that Cosme Rodrigo was paid for copying an [unidentified] passion sung at the [Valencia] Cathedral. They also acknowledge that the two Passions are 'twins'. If this notation refers to the polyphonic St. Matthew Passion (and not a monophonic passion), then there are differences between the works (beyond the addition of the passages by Comes in E-VAc LA XIV) which may be attributed to the existence of one or more presumably earlier copies.

Orihuela Cathedral, E-ORI LA IX[20]	anon.	parchment	early 17th C	Processus only; markedly deteriorated; a few pages have been replaced with unique material
Albarracín Cathedral, E-ALB LP I/5, fol. 33v-34[21]	anon.	paper	late 16th C	extant fragment has been rebound with Processus & Turba in the same volume
Valencia Cathedral, E-VAc LA XIII[22]	Comes	paper	dated 1740	Processus only; Sasus and Senent are copyists; last 1/4 is revised, lowering the upper range.

This passion setting is usually referred to by the text incipit, part book name, and/or day on which it is performed.[23] However, two copies preserved at the Escorial refer to this work as *La passion de Valencia* and this reference is also used to identify the work in an inventory from 1616 preserved at the collegiate church

[20] J. CLIMENT [BARBER], *Fondos musicales de la región valenciana: Catedral de Orihuela, (Facultad de Teología San Vicente Ferrer, Series Valentina*, 18), Valencia, 1986, p. 22. Note that this page contains one facsimile of the manuscript.

[21] J.Mª. MUNETA MARTINEZ DE MORENTIN, *Catálogo del archivo de música de la Catedral de Albarracín*, Teruel, 1984, p. 23. A facsimile of the fragment is found on pages 234–235 of GONZÁLEZ VALLE ed., *La tradición del canto litúrgico*.

[22] CLIMENT [BARBER], *Fondos musicales … Catedral Metropolitana de Valencia*, p. 32. This contains a transcription of the entire title page; a partial facsimile of the title page and a page of music is found on GONZÁLEZ VALLE ed., *La tradición del canto litúrgico*, p. 229.

[23] The manuscript shelf marks and titles are listed below:

Source	Title
E-E LF I fol. 13v.	*Turba de la passion de Vàlençia D. in ramis palmorum*
E-E LF 5 fol. 10v	*La passion de Valençia*
E-Mo 751 fol. 1v-2	*Passio[n] D[omin]i n[ost]ri Jesu Christi secu[n]du[m] Matheu[m]. Dominica in Ramis Palmaru[m]*
US-NYhsa MS HC:392/288 fol. 1	*Passio[n] Domini nostri Iesu Christi secu[n]dum Matheum, cum quatour vocibus*
US-NYhsa MS HC:392/278 fol. 1	*La turb[a] del Domingo. 12* (from the table of contents)
E-VAc LA XIV fol.1	*Turba / Passionis Domini N[ost]ri Jesu Xpi Secu[n]dum Matthæum / 1606*
E-VAc LA XIII fol. 1	*Processus / Passionis / Domini Nostri / Iesv Christi Secvndum Matthæum. / Quatuor vocibus. / Per Joane[m] Bap[tiste] Comes Præsbyterum Sancta / Metropolitana Ecclesiæ Valentina eruditis / simum Rhythmicum fuit compositus. / Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem / Mortem autem crucis; propter quod & Deus exaltavit illũ. / Franciscus Sasus Præsbyter, et Dr. Vicentius Senent scripserunt Valentiæ Anno Domini MDCCXL*
E-VAcp LA VI fol.1	*Turba Passionis Do / mini Jesu Xristi / secundum Mattheum*
E-VAcp LA V fol. 1	*Processus Passi / onis D[omi]ni. Nostri Je / su Christi secundum / Mattheum / quatuor vocibus*

of San Pedro in Lerma.[24] Consequently I have used this name to distinguish this Spanish variant from the *res facta* by Jan Nasco.

The most likely dissemination path suggests that a copy or copies circulated in the north Italian area near Treviso where Nasco worked. This area would likely include Ferrara where the mother and two sisters of the Duke of Calabria were living with the d'Este family after 1508. Perhaps family members, including his aunt, Eleanora of Aragon, wife of Ercole I, Duke of Ferrara, or friends sent the Duke of Calabria a copy of this passion. Alternatively the Duke's sisters could have brought a copy with them when they moved to Valencia in 1534.[25] The Duke of Calabria (who was the Valencian viceroy during the 1530s and 1540s) received a copy at some point prior to 1550 as evidenced in Table 2; two manuscript copies of the emended passion (E-E LF 1 fol. 13v and US-NYhsa MS HC:392/288 fol. 1v-2) contain references to the Duke of Calabria having given a copy of the passion to the Valencia Cathedral. US-NYhsa MS HC:392/288 fol. 1v-2 further identifies the work as already a rare or unusual item. Since the Duke died in the fall of 1550, the gift to the cathedral had to be made prior to that date. Therefore the work had to be composed earlier than 1550 making Nasco's setting one of the earliest through-composed passions.[26]

Table 2. List of Manuscript Marginalia in the Emended Versions of Nasco's St. Matthew Passion[27]

Source	Marginalia
E-E LF 1 fol. 13v	*entrego esta pasion el duque de calabria a la igle[sia] mayor de Vale[n]cia*
E-E LF 1 fol. 14r	*en esta s[ani]a casa se ca[n]to por la primera vez el año de 1607 decla[n]te del Rey Felipe 3°*[28]
E-E LF 1 fol. 19v	*Vers. Heli Heli, lama sabactani*, quare in penultimo folio
US-NYhsa MS HC:392/288 fol. 1v-2	*Esta passio[n] entrego el duq[ue]; de Calabria a la iglesia Cathedral de Valençia por cosa rara*
US-NYhsa MS HC:392/288 fol. 22v	*Un ançla luego et tu au[m] y su galileo eraz*

[24] CERVERA VERA, *La iglesia colegial*, pp. 201-202; KIRK, *Churching the Shawms*, pp. 55, 64, 82, 89-90; NOONE, *Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks*, pp. 292. The volume, Hispanic Soc. US- NYhsa, Ms HC:392/288 fol. 0-56v and 102v-124, contains 3 passions and one motet; it is described in the 1616 inventory at *Lerma as ...uno [libro grande] de la Pasión de Valencia...*

[25] W.M. MCMURTRY, *Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, and the Estensi: A Relationship Honored in Music*, in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 8 (1977), pp. 20-25.

[26] K.VON FISCHER, *Zur mehrstimmigen Passions-Vertonung des 16. Jahrhunderts in Spanien und Böhmen*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 52 (1995), pp. 5-10.

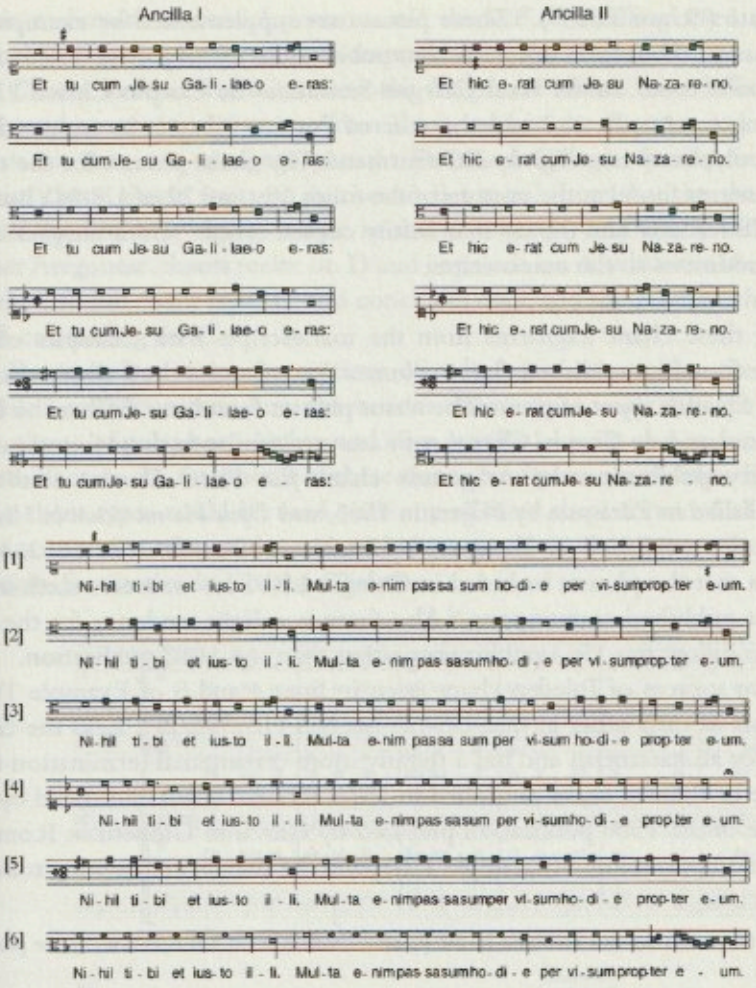
Nearly fifty years after the Duke of Calabria gave a copy of *La passion de Valencia* to the Valencia Cathedral, we find reference to a now lost copy in Valencia. According to payment records at the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi, a copy was apparently made in 1605. Another copy, extant at the Valencia Cathedral, LF XIV, is dated 1606 while LF XVI is undated. The set, LF XIV and XVI, is distinct from those preserved in other institutions in that they have several unique sections which are probably by Juan Bautista Comes.[29] Nonetheless, the remaining seventeenth-century copies are unified by an interesting pattern of omissions. All nine of the Spanish copies are alike in that all passages of direct speech normally assigned to the Turba, whether by Jesus or other speakers (for example Peter, Pontius Pilate or his wife, or the two young women who identify Peter) are omitted from the polyphony and presumably sung in plainsong. Replacing the passages of direct speech spoken by one person with monophony may have enhanced the characterization and religious associations. This is especially true for the part of Jesus, where the use of plainsong may have strengthened the liturgical and religious connections in a manner consistent with the Counter-Reformation practices. When these parts were excised and by whom is unknown, but in these early seventeenth-century copies the excisions are consistent.

If the missing parts are to be supplied by chant, then the question arising is which type of chant: Roman (since the original polyphony incorporates a simplified, migratory Roman chant), Toledan (since it was often used in central Spain during the time period under consideration), or possibly the Aragonese chant common in eastern Spain? Several manuscripts reveal information to help answer this question. The Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi LF VI, and the Hispanic Society US-NYhsa MS HC:392/278 Anonymous. *Pasionarios. La turb[a] del Domingo* contain a few phrases of plainsong embedded between the staves of polyphony or in the margins. These two manuscripts were used in different regions of Spain and as might be expected, contrasting types of plainsong are used to set the same text passages. Transcriptions of these passages are shown in lines 1 and 4 of Example 1, a comparative table of the three chant phrases sung by the two young ladies (Ancilla 1 and Ancilla 2) who identify Peter, and by the wife of

[27] Much of this information is in RUBIO, *Catálogo ... de El Escorial*, pp. 3-5; NOONE, *Manuscript Polyphonic Choirbooks*, pp. 243-245, 294, and s.v., *Music and Musicians in the Escorial*, pp. 193-194, 227.

[28] Michael Noone argues against "esta casa" referring to the Escorial; see NOONE, *Music and Musicians in the Escorial*, p. 118, fnt. 34 and 193. Because this particular manuscript has several sections each with distinct papers and hands, it is not at all impossible for the individual parts to have been used in different locations before being bound in the present format. If this is the case, the work could have been performed previously in the Royal Chapel, among other locations.

[29] See fnt. 16-17 for data about the manuscript attributions and available transcriptions. The differences between the variants will be the subject of a forthcoming study.



Example 1. Comparative chart of the chant phrases for Ancilla 1, 2 and Uxor Pilati

Aragonese Examples. [1] Valencia. Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi. E-VA cp LF VI. Anon. *Turba Passionis Domini Jesu Xristi*, pp. 18–19; [2] [*La passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi*] (Cesaragustana : B. Najera, 1563 from colophon). Valencia E-VA uv R.2/19; [3] *Opus Harmonium in Historia Passionis* (Cesaragustae: Lajana & Quartanet, 1612), fol. 13v. Barcelona. E-Bc M. 601.

Todelan Examples [4] New York. Hispanic Society. US-NY has MS HC: 392/278. Anon. *Passionarios*, fol. 22v.; [5] *Passionarium cum officio maioris… cum cantu sancte Ecclesie Toletane…* (Toledo: Joannes á Plaça, 1576). Madrid. E-Mn M. 471.

Roman Examples. [6] Gio. Guidetti, *Cantus ecclesiasticus Passionis D. N. Jesu Christi* (Rome: Andrea Phaeum, 1615, reprint of 1586 publication). *Verba Turbatarum*, page 4. US-BE M2154. G84. C3 1615 Case X.

Pontius Pilate ("Uxor Pilati").[30] These phrases are supplemented by examples of the same passage taken from selected chant publications of Aragonese, Toledan and Roman passion tones. In the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi LF VI, the plainsong for Ancilla 1, 2 and the wife of Pontius Pilate is interspersed between the polyphony in a slightly different hand. The chant phrases for the three female statements found at the bottom of the folios 18v and 22 of US-NYhsa MS HC:392/278 fol. 18v and 22 are in a hastily copied script.[31] Both *marginalia* are likely later additions to the manuscripts.

Comparing these chant fragments from the manuscripts with examples of the same phrase found in published chant volumes demonstrates their close relationship to two Spanish types of chant. The chant phrases found in LF VI at the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi copy are very similar to those found in two contemporary publications of Aragonese chant *[La Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi]* published in Zaragoza by Nájera in 1563, and *Opus Harmonicum in Historia Passionis* ... also published in Zaragoza by Lanaja & Quartanet in 1612. Most noticeable is that the phrases included in Colegio LF VI are written a sixth higher than their published counterparts.[32] Also there is a slight tendency for the terminations to follow the 1563 publication rather than the 1612 publication.

The two sources of Toledan chant (seen in lines 4 and 5 of Example 1) are slight variants of each other in that US-NYhsa MS HC:392/278 lacks the rising intonation for all statements and has a slightly more ornamental termination than the example of Toledan chant published in 1576. Roman chant, illustrated by the 1615 reprint of the 1586 publication prepared by Giovanni Guidetti in Rome, is located on the bottom line of Example 1. Beyond the unadorned reciting tone on

[30] The character names are not included in the printed chant edition but occasionally are penned in by hand.

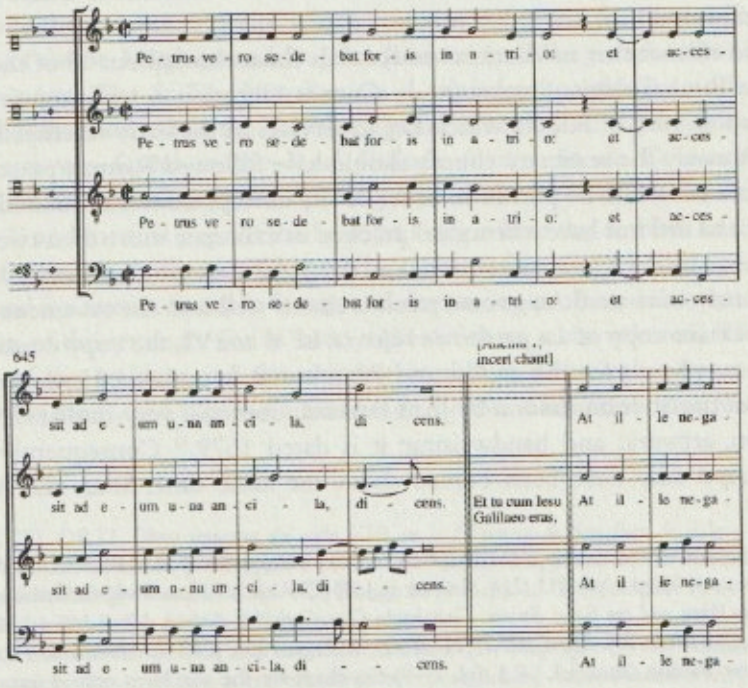
[31] Additional sets of Toledan phrases are included on the inside back cover of LF 1 at San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial (See RUBIO, *Catálogo ... de El Escorial*, p. 5). The arrangement of the chant phrases in LF 1 is quite practical since the volume contains seven passions; two of these set the St. Matthew passion, and one of these is La passion de Valencia. Including these phrases on the back cover makes them accessible for performance with either passion. A final manuscript copy of this passion extant at the Hispanic Society, US-NYhsa MS HC:392/288 fol. 22v, contains only the text for Ancilla 1, as noted above in Table 2; neither music nor text for Ancilla 2 or for the wife of Pontius Pilate were copied into this source.

[32] Additional examples of transposed passages or of entire partbooks books of chant are found in an uncatalogued manuscript in Segorbe Cathedral (Valencia) entitled *Liber Passionis / pro dominica / palmarum. Turba/ v. Dichos.* A large number of the Turba phrases are transposed, usually a third lower than the same passage in the 1563 or 1612 Aragonese *pasionarios*. In the Segorbe manuscript, the chants for Ancilla 1 and 2 and Uxor Pilati are notated an octave lower than those in E-VAcp LF VI. Another example of transposed chants is the uncatalogued Jesus partbook from the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi, to be discussed below. Jane Morlet Hardie has suggested that unusual transpositions may be indicative of different voice types used to sing those parts.

F, the melismatic cadential patterns and the use of a falling third (rather than falling fifth) for internal cadences are striking in the Roman chant.

Clearly, in these Turba sections, the Aragonese chants have different reciting tones and termination patterns from those used in the Roman and the Toledan chants for the same synagoga passage. The Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi chant phrase starts on A, rises to B-natural (note that the sharp above or below the first B is clearly visible in the manuscript) and finally cadences on F. Other Aragonese chants recite on D and conclude on A, while the recitation tone for the Toledan chant is on C, and concludes on F, and the Roman chant remains on F concluding on C.

Example 2 contains the sections of polyphony surrounding the phrases for Ancilla 1 to demonstrate how the various chants types work with the polyphony. The phrase of polyphony before and after Ancilla 1 begins and ends on a F major chord. Because the final notes of these three chant phrases are either F, A or C, the three chant types could be used with any of these three forms of chant, barring the incongruity of a prolonged recitation on B in the source from the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi.



Example 2. Anon. [Jan Nasco] *St. Matthew Passion*, bars 639-652. Polyphony Surrounding Ancilla 1 [Source: E-VAcp LF V, used with permission of D. Juan J. Blanco Oliver of the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi (Valencia)] (computer typesetting by Philip Brink)

These three phrases are similar in that they are spoken by women and would probably have been sung by the choirboys, since their voices are more reminiscent of a woman's voice than the voice of an adult male singer. Very possibly the chant phrases were included in the polyphony for the Turba part as an aid to the choirboys, who might not have had the music securely memorized. Similarly, the same chant phrases are copied into the margins of other polyphonic passions, for example the settings of the anonymous St. Matthew Passion preserved in Toledo, BC, MS B. 22 and in Villanueva's setting of this passion in the Escorial, LF 1, (this volume also contains a copy of *La passion de Valencia*).[33] The Toledo and Villanueva examples are preserved in or written for institutions which used Toledan chant and as might be anticipated, the ancilla chant phrases are also derived from Toledan chant. On the other hand, in *La passion de Valencia* and its *res facta* the polyphony is based upon the Roman passion tones. These Spanish copies of *La passion de Valencia* are unusual in that one Valencian manuscript contains indications of Aragonese chant and one copy from central Spain has marginalia showing Toledan chant.[34] The inclusion of these chant phrases suggests that different types of chant were used in different regions of Spain in conjunction with the same polyphony, most likely in conformity with the traditions of the institutions where the music was performed.

Did all churches in Valencia use Roman chant throughout all of their services? The Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi is a seminary founded by Archbishop John of Ribera which began services in the early seventeenth century. Presumably the seminary church should have followed Roman practices, since it was not known to be part of an order or rite exempt from the Council of Trent's control and did not have a liturgical practice in existence more than two hundred years prior to the Council of Trent. Yet, the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi may have used Aragonese passion chants well into the seventeenth century. The extant copy of *La passion de Valencia*, LF V and VI, the copy containing the Aragonese phrases for the *ancillae* and Pilate's wife, is undated. However, LF VIII, a copy of the St. John Passion by Juan Bautista Comes, is very similar in size, construction, artwork, and handwriting; it is dated 1679.[35] Consequently the two manuscripts may have been copied about the same time. Since the Aragonese

[33] The chant is reproduced in a transcription of this setting in GONZÁLEZ VALLE ed., *La tradición del canto litúrgico*, pp. 211, 214; also see R.J. SNOW ed., *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4*, (*Monuments of Renaissance Music*, B.J. BLACKBURN ed., 9) Chicago, 1996, p. 41. In Martín de Villanueva's St. Matthew Passion (Escorial, LF 1, fol. 1v-9) the chant for the ancillas is copied into the manuscript after verses 7 and 16; see RUBIO, *Catálogo ... de El Escorial*, p. 3.

[34] For more about the use of the migratory (Roman) chant in the res facta, see SCHMITZ ed., *Oberitalienische Figuralpassionen des 16.*, pp. 11-14.

[35] CLIMENT [BARBER], *Fondos ... Colegio*, 1984, pp. 20-21. Further, the 1854 copy of this manuscript indicates the year 1679 on the title page; see fnt. 7 above.

chant phrases in LF VI appear to be in a second hand, the Aragonese chant may have been added after 1679. The number of printed Aragonese *pasionarios* extant at the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi adds weight to the idea that Aragonese passion chants may have been used at this chapel. In particular, their musical archives contain:[36]

Passionarius. In hoc volumine co[n]tinetur Passio Iesu [Christi] quattur eva[n]gelistar: quaterna cantus pulchra modulatione notatu[n], Caesaraugustana: G. Coci, 1510 [E-VAcp SJR (v) 41][37]

In hoc volumine co[n]tinetur Passio Iesu [Christi] quattur eva[n]gelistar: quaterna cantus pulchra modulatione notatu[m], Cesaraguste: George Coci, 1538 [E-VAcp SJR (v) 40]

Opvs Harmonicvm in historia passionis Christi..., Zaragoza: Lanaja et Quartanet, 1612 [3 uncatalogued copies exist in the Musical Archive of E-VAcp, the outer cover of each volume identifies the singer(s) to have used the part]

Additionally there is a manuscript which contains the music for the *exordium* and Jesus part of the St. Matthew and St. John passions (and the text for the Narrator and Turba parts). The St. Matthew Passion is copied on parchment with several striking illuminations while the St. John Passion is copied on paper. This uncatalogued copy was found in the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi, Archivo General de la Casa.[38] The opening folio of the St. Matthew Passion (seen in Figure 1) and the first page of the St. John Passion bear the emblem of the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi. The emblem functions similarly to a coat-of-arms and is a feature found in books and documents produced shortly after the foundation of the seminary (or in later copies of these same volumes). The elaborateness of the emblem and the copying implies that the volume was copied especially for the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi, perhaps within the

[36] V. CARCEL ORTI, *Obras impresas del siglo XVI, en la Biblioteca de San Juan de Ribera, in Anales del Seminario de Valencia*, 11 (1966), p. 276 and A. SANVICENTE, *Tiento sobre la música en el espacio tipográfico de Zaragoza anterior al siglo XX*, Zaragoza, 1986, pp. 13-15. Note that a new catalogue of the Biblioteca de San Juan de Ribera is in preparation.

[37] The final folios of this passion and the 1538 *Pasionario* [E-VAcp SJR (v) 40] contain the alto and bass voices of an anonymous and otherwise unreported three-voice Passion setting in a style similar to that found in E-SEG O-9, the St. Mark Passion. One phrase of music is repeated for 8 pericopes of each of the St. Mark and Luke passions, and also for the 7 pericopes of the St. John passion.

[38] It may subsequently have been transferred to the Biblioteca de San Juan de Ribera, next to the previously cited prints with the shelf marks SJR (v) 40-41.

first decade of its inception in 1603.[39] The hands used to copy the St. Matthew and St. John passions are distinct: that used in the St. Matthew Passion suggests a person trained in the sixteenth century (see Figure 2), while that copying the St. John Passion sometimes attempts to replicate current printing styles, a feature found in a number of musical manuscripts copied in the seventeenth-century Valencia.[40]

Slight musical differences occur between the various publications of Aragonese chant, most often in rhythm, the use of upper neighboring tones or brief ornaments at the terminations. However, this uncatalogued manuscript volume containing the Jesus part for the St. Matthew Passion is most similar (but not identical) to the Aragonese *pasionario, Passionarium*, published by Bartolome de Nájera in Zaragoza in 1563.

Extant financial records at the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi do not reveal when money was spent to purchase or copy these Aragonese *pasionarios*. Certainly large numbers of books were bought and others copied for use at the Colegio during the first two decades of the seventeenth century. The library at the Colegio was enhanced by the enormous bequest of the Archbishop Juan de Ribera in 1611, but catalogues of the Archbishop's library holdings do not reveal these printed or manuscript *pasionarios*.[41] These volumes could also have been donated by others, but gifts to the Colegio normally indicated the name of the donor and sometimes date of the presentation on the title page or inside front cover of the book. The lack of these notations in the four *pasionarios* further suggests that these volumes were bought or prepared for use by the Colegio.

The existence of multiple copies of printed Aragonese *pasionarios*, published in 1510, 1538 and 1612, one volume containing the hand-copied Jesus part for the St. Matthew and St. John passions probably copied after 1603, and the inclusion of Aragonese chant fragments in volumes of polyphony copied probably near the end of the seventeenth-century for use at an institution founded in the early seventeenth century provide strong, albeit circumstantial evidence, that Aragonese passion chants continued to be used well after one might reasonably expect this type of chant to have been discarded. While other churches might have argued that this type of chant formed the basis of the liturgy they had been using for several hundred years, it is clear that the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi could not present such an argument. Yet the presence of so many Aragonese *pasionarios* weighs heavily in favor of the continued use of these non-Roman chants.

[39] A companion volume containing the music and text of Lamentations of Jeremiah is copied in an identical style and features the same institutional emblem on the opening folio.

[40] The author wishes to thank D. Juan José Garrido Zaragozá, Emilio Mesenjuer and D. Vicente España Laveda for their assistance in this project.

[41] V. CARCEL ORTI, *Inventario de las bibliotecas de San Juan de Ribera, en 1611*, in *Analecta sacra tarraconensia*, 39/2 (1966), pp. 319-379.

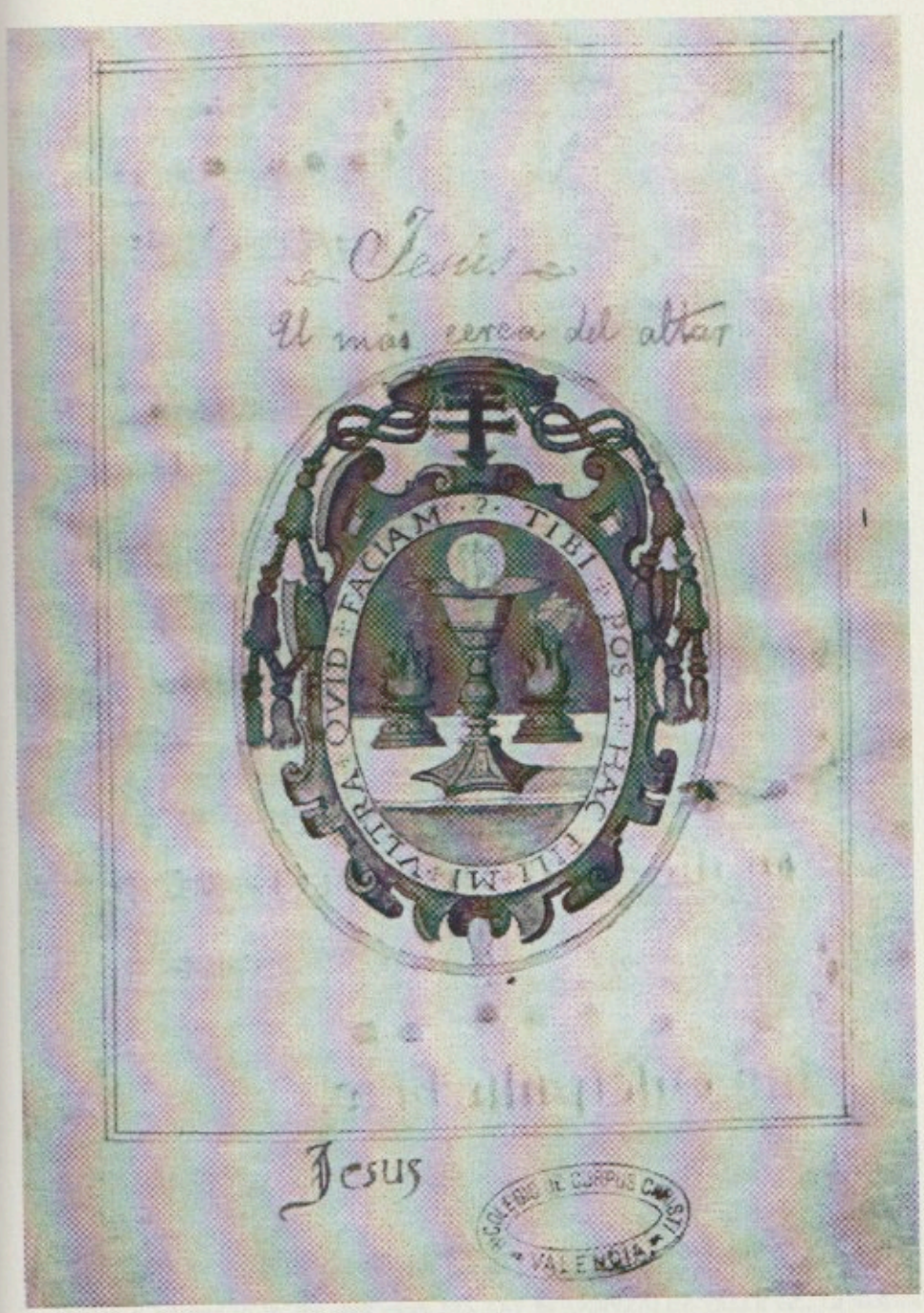


Figure 1. Emblem from Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi *Pasionario*, fol. 1
Archivo de la Casa, uncatalogued manuscript. Reproduced with permission of D. Juan J. Blanco Oliver of the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi (Valencia)



Figure 2. First page from Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi *Pasionario*, fol. 1v
Archivo de la Casa, uncatalogued manuscript. Reproduced with permission of D. Juan J. Blanco Oliver of the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi (Valencia)

The church fathers overseeing the Colegio must have been aware of their choice of musical and liturgical books and the fact that these volumes did not represent the most recent publications authorized by Rome. Although books recording the comments of the Visitations by the Bishop and/or his representatives for the early part of the seventeenth-century are not extant, in the volume covering 1649-1739 we find an entry for 1654 in which the Visitors order the purchase of a new Breviary and Missal and they recommend those printed by Plantin or some other good printer who clearly marks accentuated syllables.[42] Plantin, a sixteenth-century printer in Antwerp, was contracted by King Philip II to print missals for the Escorial, and his volumes were obviously still esteemed in the mid-seventeenth century.[43] Nonetheless, in the mid-seventeenth-century, the Visitors' comments demonstrate that this fifty-year old Seminary church was in need of updating the books used in the liturgy. This is surprising since the Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi taught the young men and priests who would become a significant part of the fabric of the community.

The Real Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi is not alone in its retention of the Aragonese *pasionarios* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A few later copies include the previously mentioned Segorbe Cathedral *pasionario* from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.[44] Other eighteenth-century copies of Aragonese *pasionarios* can be found from the Barcelona Cathedral in Codices 165 and 166,[45] and from Huesca Cathedral, Codex 55, the latter being

[42] Valencia. Colegio-Seminario de Corpus Christi. *Advertencias y Visitas desde 1649 a 1738. copia.* Vol. 37 fol. 15r. Date: *1654, dei quinto mensis Juni y le iesdem anni: Item ordenamos y mandamos que se merque un Bevario de media Camara para el choro y un misal grande del Rego moderno y impression de Plantino, o otra buena que esten bien accentuados y se tenga gran cuidado en la pronunciacion y accento en el choro.* For more on the importance of correct pronunciation in recitation, see L. ROBLEDO [ESTAIRE], *Los 'tonos' oratorios en la «Rhetorica christiana» (1647) de Juan Bautista Escardo,* in *Música y literatura en la península ibérica: 1600-1750,* in *Actas del Congreso Internacional, Valladolid, 20-21 y 22 de febrero, 1995,* Valladolid, 1997, pp. 445–457.

[43] KAMEN, *The Phoenix and the Flame,* p. 96. Also see L. VOET, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp,* 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1969, especially vol. 1, *Christophe Plantin and the Moretuses: Their Lives and Their World,* pp. 3-122; and his *The Plantin Press (1555-1589): A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden,* 6 vols., Amsterdam, 1980–1983; and R.M. KINGDON, *The Plantin Breviaries: A Case Study in the Sixteenth-Century Business Operations of a Publishing House,* in *Bibliothèque d' humanisme et renaissance, travaux et documents,* 22/1 (1960), pp. 133–150. The author also thanks David Crawford for providing a great deal of information on this topic. The Plantin press was known to Archbishop Juan de Ribera who owned four Bibles printed by Plantin; see *El Tesoro de la Palabra: Las Biblias de San Juan de Ribera,* Valencia, 1998.

[44] Refer to fnt. 29. This work is not in the catalogue for the Musical Archive of the Segorbe Cathedral, but a three voice polyphonic passage appearing later in this volume in the St. Mark Passion is referred to by the shelf mark MS. O-9 by GONZÁLEZ VALLE ed., *La tradición polifónica del canto del «passio» en Aragón,* pp. 9–10 and his *La tradición de canto litúrgico,* p. 65, and 93 mentions the existence of three copies of the 1612 *pasionarios.*

[45] Hill Monastic Library Project No. 30,419 and 30,420.

dated 1787.[46] Certainly the late date on the copy at Huesca Cathedral suggests that this type of chant continued to be copied, if not performed, well into the eighteenth century. That the performance of Aragonese chant occurred in the eighteenth century is seen in one copy of the 1612 *pasionario* published by Lanaja et Quartanet, extant at Albarracín Cathedral: *Pasionario* Number 3 contains the notation on the last folio *Año de 1757/58/69 cantó el Passio en este libro Mosen Fco. Gomez Lahoz de Thenor, de esta Sta. Iglesia, infante que fue de esta Sta. Iglesia. 1749 cantó el Ldo M. Vicente Larraz.*[47] While the dates cited here are surprising, the pattern of slow acceptance or utilization of Roman liturgical materials echoes the findings cited for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Catalonia by Roger Kamen.

The Toledan rite was frequently used in central Spain, and listed as the officially sanctioned rite in a variety of documents, including Martín de la Vera's *Ceremonias* for the Escorial.[48] On the other hand, churches in northeastern Spain often used locally produced volumes prior to the changes imposed by the Council of Trent, but after 1565 the Tarragona councils and prelates generally advised the use of the Roman rite.[49] In Valencia, the number of local liturgical publications suggest that the province officially followed Roman practices; most notable is the publication of a Roman Missal by the order of Archbishop Juan de Ribera in

[46] Hill Monastic Library Project No. 31,608.

[47] MUNETA MARTINEZ DE MORENTIN, *Catálogo ... de Albarracín*, p. 22.

[48] M. DE LA VERA, *Ordinario y Ceremonial, según las costumbres y rito de la orden de nuestro Padre San Gerónimo, nuevamente añadido y enmendado, conforme a las Reglas y Rúbicas del Missal y Breviario Romano de Pio V, de nuevo reformado por Clemente VIII y Urbano VIII, Pontíces Romanos y según el Ceremonial de los Obispos del Clemente VIII y el Ritual de Paulo V*, Madrid, 1636, fol. 129: *...pues no solo ay dispe[n]sacio[n], sino obligacio[n] para hazerlo; y lo q[ue] se ca[n]ta tambie[n] en el coro, sea tambie[n] segun el ca[n]to Toledano, y el Tonario antiguo de la Orde[n]...* It is a century later before individual churches in this order are given permission to choose which rite they are to follow. It is important to note that although the Escorial was a Jeronimite monastery and Martín de la Vera was one of the monks who had pro-fessed there, they followed the Toledan usage. But not all churches in the Order of St. Jerome necessarily used the Toledan rite. The Constitutions for the Order of St. Jerome (Madrid, 1597) provides a calendar and a fairly detailed Consueta but it does not specify which rite or types of chant should be used. Other Constitutions which may be of interest include: *Constituciones y Extravagantes de la Orden del Glorioso Doctor nuestro Pe. S. Geronymo*, Madrid, 1613; and *Ordinario, Constituciones y Reglas de la orden de sant Jeronymo en la insigne vniversidad de Alcala*, Alcalá de Henares, 1527.

[49] KAMEN, *Phoenix and the Flame*, p. 94.

1599.[50] However, for many years large sections of northeastern Spain were combined into one ecclesiastical province, that of Tarragona. Other changes in demography, economy or political structures also affected the ecclesiastical organization, and in one case forced the consolidation of the Albarracín and Segorbe Cathedrals from 1259-1577.[51] Such changes may have helped in the dissemination of *La passion de Valencia* and the Aragonese *pasionarios* from Segorbe to Albarracín. The intertwined geographical, historical, and political history of the region may have provided additional justification for continuing elements of the local liturgy despite the advice of the provincial councils.[52]

The late Professor Robert Snow had noted cases of different churches performing the same polyphonic work using different versions of Toledan chant. Despite the resulting incongruity between the chant and polyphony, he commented that "musicians of the time were not disturbed by a lack of conformity between the version of the Synagoga material used in the polyphonic sections and the one used for those sung monophonically."[53] Given the evidence found in the Spanish copies of *La passion de Valencia* which includes different types of chant

[50] See also the *Processarium iuxta ritum et usum metropolitanae ecclesiae valentianae*, Valencia, 1578; *Missale romanum ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Tridentini restitutum. PII V. Pont. Max. iussu editum*, Valentiae: Ex Officina Petri à Huete, 1577; *Festa celebranda ex praecepto S. D.N. Sixti Papae V. Quorum nomina sequenti pagina continentur*, Valentiae: Apud Philippum Mey, 1589; *Officia propria sanctorum, quorum festa iam olim in dioecesi valentina celebrari consueverunt...*, Valentiae: Aput Petrum Patricium Mey, in platea Herbaria, 1587; *Officium ex praecepto S. D. N. Sixti Papae V. recitandum in festo S. Didaci Confessoris. Die XII Novembris*, Valentiae: Apud Michaelem Borrás, 1589; *Officium proprium S. Iacobi apostoli hispaniarum patroni. Ad forman Breviarij Romani restitutum*, Valentiae: Apud Gabrielem Ribas, 1591; *Proprium missarum sanctorum dioecesis Valentinae, et omnium sanctorum...*, Valentiae: Apud Didacum de la Torre, 1599. The Roman rite was approved in the local synod meetings of 1578 and 1586. See Ramón Robres Lluch, *San Juan de Ribera, Patriarca de Antioca...*, Barcelona, 1960, p. 223 and 228.

[51] *Archivos, (Guía de los archivos y las bibliotecas de la iglesia en España*, 1), Leon, 1985, p. 110.

[52] The ecclesiastical district of Tarragona (included as an ecclesiastical center in 259 A.D.) is one of the oldest in Spain. The dimensions of this province changed with time but in the 14th century, the province extended from the French border to just north of modern Alicante; the newer ecclesiastical province of Zaragoza, carved from the Tarragona province, encompassed much of modern-day Aragon. In 1492, former Valencian archbishop and then Cardinal Rodrigo de Borja (Borgia) convinced Pope Innocent VIII to raise Valencia (included in the Province of Cartagena from ca. 527-47 but after the second reconquest in 1238, assigned to the ecclesiastical province of Tarragona) to the status of a Metropolitan Cathedral (granted 9 July 1492) and thus the center of its own ecclesiastical province. Further redivisions of the ecclesiastical province of Valencia in the 16th and 18th centuries saw additional adjustments to the southern and western provincial boundaries of Valencia. See Q. ALDEA VAQUERO, T. MARIN MARTÍNEZ, and J. VIVES GATELL, *Diccionario de historia eclesiastica de España*, 4 vols., Madrid, 1972, 2, pp. 984-1010, article entitled *Geografía eclesiastica*.

[53] SNOW ed., *A New-World Collection of Polyphony*, p. 42, fnt. 41.

inserted between the polyphony or in the margins of the music, it seems that we might be able to expand Professor Snow's comments from different versions of the same type of chant to different chant types. With *La passion de Valencia* we have a case for versions of Jan Nasco's *St. Matthew Passion* being performed with Toledan or Aragonese chants.

The additional evidence for a number of churches in eastern Spain either copying or still using the Aragonese *pasionarios* in the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries raises many questions which cannot be answered here. Financial issues may have played a role in that some churches may not have been able to purchase new music prints when first issued by Rome. Over time, the importance of the new passion chants may have lessened and/or the ability, interest and effort necessary for the priests to learn the new chants may have resulted in a resistance to their use. Further considerations involve the availability of the printed musical materials in eastern Spain and even the willingness of the churches to relinquish their own musical traditions (which may have been linked to a local church identity) and accept the Roman liturgy and chant. While these cases are not indicative of a consistent practice in eastern Spain, further research may clarify the complex liturgical and musical traditions that prevailed.

The Two Requiems by Cristóbal de Morales and Spanish Composers' Use of Chant Material from the Office for the Dead

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As a genre, the Mass for the Dead provides a unique opportunity to compare different composers' methods of incorporating the pre-existing chant materials into polyphonic settings. This avenue of research is important not only because there are so many surviving Requiem Masses by composers from various regional traditions in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries but also because of the many liturgical parameters inherent in this particular Mass that illuminate regional chant traditions.[1] Spanish and Franco-Flemish composers are the earliest known to have written polyphonic Requiems; the different approaches developed by the two schools would continue on into the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[2] Since the settings by the Franco-Flemish would be the basis for the later works by Italian composers, the Spanish method would become something of a separate branch within this genre.[3]

The topic of how chant performance practices affected polyphonic composition has received little attention from scholars of what might still be called mainstream Renaissance music, a fact noted by Richard Sherr in a study in which he examined the influence of mensural chant renditions of Credo IV on polyphon-

1 On the better known composers of polyphonic settings, see J.W. PRUETT, art. *Requiem*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S. SADIE ed., London, 1980. Concerning the musico-liturgical parameters, see R.J. SNOW, art. *Requiem Mass, Music of*, in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1967. The seminal study of the texts used for various items in this Mass throughout western Europe is C. GAY, *Formulaires anciens pour la Messe des Défunts*, in *Études Grégoriennes*, 2 (1957), pp. 70–82.

2 G. WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead: Polyphonic Settings of the Officium and Missa pro defunctis by Spanish and Latin American Composers before 1630*, Ph.D. diss. The University of Texas at Austin, 1995 (UMI 9603974) provides an overview of important polyphonic Masses and how these works relate to liturgical traditions and chant performance practices.

3 I have used the traditional label "Franco-Flemish" as a convenient way to group the composers Dufay, Ockeghem, and La Rue despite the confusion that this may cause. I apologize for this given the kindness of our Belgian hosts.

ic settings of the melody.[4] Although he was able to find clear evidence of polyphonic works by composers who seem to have known the mensural reading(s) of the chant, Sherr states that such monophonic traditions in various areas were more variable than we might assume. Sherr's caution is important to apply in my own research because the Requiems by Spaniards reveal evidence of monophonic practices that are different from what is represented in works of composers outside Spain; much more rarely, the Spanish settings also reveal differing practices among some Spanish regional traditions. Therefore, even within Spain itself, such practices could have varied widely in nearby institutions.

As are most scholars who study the relationship between monophonic and polyphonic music, Sherr is drawn to the mensural versions of some items in so-called late chant and how they affected polyphonic settings. However, my own interests are wider in that sixteenth-century Spanish composers went to great care to incorporate many aspects of the monophonic tradition-structures of the monophonic materials, contrasts of who sang what, and faithful adherence to the melodic materials – as well as any such mensural qualities heard in the monophonic performance.

To explain the extent to which monophonic melodic and performance traditions affected polyphonic music by Spanish composers in the Mass and Office for the dead, I adopted many precepts from my teacher, the late Robert Snow, who employed his profound understanding of chant performance practices to explain many characteristics of polyphonic liturgical genres in Spain and Latin Americ.[5] Indeed, sensitivity to chant traditions has become something of a hallmark in the study of Spanish sacred music in the Renaissance and Baroque, as demonstrated in this volume by the work of Jane Hardie and Greta Olson, who are following different possible avenues of this research in Spanish sources. Despite the fact that Hispanicists have developed a high level of sensitivity to regional differences in Spanish chant practices and how these effected polyphonic music, we often continue to use vague terms to distinguish the differences in how Spanish composers used chant from the methods used by composers in France, Belgium,

[4] R. SHERR, *The Performance of Chant in the Renaissance and Its Interactions with Polyphony*, in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, T. FORREST KELLY ed., Cambridge, 1992, pp. 178-208. Sherr cites the seminal research of Mary Berry (Sister Thomas Moore), *The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss., Cambridge, 1968 and *The Performance of Plainsong in the Later Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 92 (1965-1966), pp. 121-134. As Sherr states, few recent scholars have followed up her research.

[5] R. J. SNOW, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service: Guatemala City, Cathedral Archive, Music MS 4*, (*Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 9), Chicago, 1996. Snow's explanation of the "liturgico-musical aspects" of Holy Week genres, pp. 27-64, should serve as a model for all scholars of Renaissance sacred music, not just those of Hispanic repertories.

and the Netherlands.[6] In my study of the Office for the dead, I succumbed to some of these traditional labels to delineate the Spanish 'approach' from the Franco-Flemish. Therefore, I view this essay as part of an ongoing attempt to clarify the stylistic qualities created by these different methods of using chant.

Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500 - 1553), the greatest Spanish composer of the early sixteenth century and also the most internationally recognized during his lifetime, wrote two settings of the Requiem Mass.[7] The first was included in a 1544 Roman publication and was modeled on the liturgy and chant of Rome; the second was commissioned by an Andalusian nobleman and composed after 1545 when Morales had returned to Spain from his tenure in the Sistine Chapel.[8] The points of contrast in these two Masses demonstrate the level of understanding that Morales had in terms of the tastes of his two audiences and the differing expectations of how chant melodies and performance practices should be encoded in the polyphonic setting. The two Requiems are examined to determine what specific qualities in each setting are created by his approach to presenting the chant melodies.

This topic is complicated by various issues: one is the unique contribution of Spanish composers to the Office, specifically Matins for the dead, as opposed to the Requiem itself, which is part of a wider international trend in composition. The polyphonic responsories for Matins, written between 1470 and 1510, reflect prior improvisatory traditions on these texts, a situation that may have affected

[6] On the historiographic problems affecting the discussion of Spanish music and how it relates to music in other regions, see E. ROS-FÁBREGAS, *Musicological Nationalism or How to Market Spanish Olive Oil*, in *Newsletter of the International Hispanic Music Study Group*, W. SUMMERS ed., 4/2 (1998) and *Historiografía de la música en las catedrales españolas: nacionalismo y positivismo en la investigación musicólgica*, in *Codexxi: Revista de la Comunicatión Musical*, 1 (1998), pp. 68-135.

[7] The standard survey of Morales' biography and oeuvre is R.M. STEVENSON, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age*, Berkeley, 1961, pp. 3-131, recently updated as *La música en las catedrales españolas del siglo de oro*, Madrid, 1993. See also by this author art. *Morales, Cristóbal de*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S. SADIE ed., London, 1980.

[8] The five-voice work is edited in H. ANGLÉS, *Cristóbal de Morales, (d. 1553): Opera Omnia*, (*Monumentos de Musica Española*, 15), Rome, 1954, 3, pp. 114-153; Anglés' edition is based on the 1544 Roman publication. There are two published editions of the four-part work, based on two different manuscript copies of the Mass: Sister Marie Sagués, *Anonymous, Valladolid codex Missa pro defunctis*, (*Música Liturgica*, 2), Cincinnati, 1960; and A. MUÑIZ HERNÁNDEZ, *Cristophori de Morales (d. 1553), Pro defunctis missa, a 4*, Barcelona, 1975. See WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead*, pp. 445-480, for a discussion of the various manuscript readings of this work. Since the publication of these editions, Elleanor Russell identified a copy of the four-part work in Valladolid Cathedral, Manuscript without number ("MS SS"), that contains several items with texts specific to pre-Tridentine Andalusian formularies. None of these items was included in the editions by Sagués or Muñiz Hernández. See RUSELL, *A New Manuscript* Source, below.

how Spanish composers approached the Requiem.[9] Such connections are important because Requiems by Spanish composers fit into performance traditions in which other genres in this liturgy, particularly for Matins and processions, were probably still sung with improvisatory polyphony even after the advent of written Masses. A related, difficult problem in discussing this period in Spain is the concept of a Spanish 'school'. Although the responsories were composed and sung in many regions of Spain, the Requiem is much more centered in Andalusia, where both Morales' and Guerrero's works were written; these Masses would become the basis for both the later Iberian and Latin American traditions. Therefore, much of what is stated here about Requiems might more correctly be termed 'Andalusian' than Spanish in a wider sense.

A third problem is a wider historiographical issue affecting this discussion: the assumption that the tradition in Spain was a reaction to or much influenced by Franco-Flemish works.[10] As I stated in my dissertation, this assumption is not tenable for the Mass and Office for the Dead. Eventhough one movement of Ockeghem's Requiem survives in Tarazona Cathedral MS 5, there is little in terms of his approach to this genre or composition in general that connects his setting to Spanish music. In addition, there are dated descriptions from fifteenth-century Spain of various funeral or memorial ceremonies with polyphonic music revealing that items for this Liturgy developed in Spain concurrently or possibly even earlier than in the Low Countries and France.[11] In fact, the theorist Ramos mentions his own setting of *Requiem*, a work probably composed before 1472.[12] The fact that the Spanish tradition is being considered as an independent development, not spurred by trends outside the region, should be clear even though I will make a brief digression to Ockeghem and the Franco-Flemish tradition.

[9] Such practices may have included two different traditions: one related to mensural performance of the lessons tones and the second, similar to Notre Dame polyphony, a representation of the contrast between the portions of the responsories sung by the cantors versus the segments sung by the choir. There is at least one account from fifteenth-century Spain that describes the cantors singing improvised polyphony of some kind.

[10] This idea was promoted by E. RUSSELL, *The Missa in Agendis Mortuorum of Juan García de Basurto: Johannes Ockeghem, Antoine Brumel, and an Early Spanish Polyphonic Requiem Mass*, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis*, 29 (1979), pp. 1-37. Although I disagree with several of Russell's conclusions, her studies-including that of Morales' five-part Requiem cited below-are seminal reseach for understanding the Spanish tradition. The relationship of the fifteenth-century Spanish tradition to Franco-Flemish music is examined in WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead*, pp. 251-300.

[11] The accounts from Barcelona are discussed in K. R. KREITNER, *Music and Civic Ceremony in Late Fifteenth-Century Barcelona*, Ph.D. diss. Duke, 1990, pp. 334-87; see WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead*, pp. 75-119, for discussion of these accounts and various other evidence.

[12] WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead*, pp. 76-80; Ramos' work may not have been an introit for the Requiem Mass but instead a polyphonic responsory, since a commonly used version of Matins for the Dead included a responsory with the text *Requiem aeternam*.

Gustave Reese described the effect created by late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composers in the polyphonic Requiem as changing the "character" of the chant melodies by embellishing the monophonic chants and by adding mensural values.[13] As he stated about Ockeghem's Mass, "the paraphrasing of the chant melodies varies from simple to very ornate, *but always changes their character*" (Emphasis mine). Reese's essential point is that the composer incorporated the melodies into his own compositional language and somewhat freely adapted them to his needs. This allowed vocal parts derived from the appropriate chants to be used in the polyphonic weave in a way that does not distinguish the pre-existent melodies from other material. Leeman Perkins described Ockeghem's use of chants in general as "lightly embellished" and similar to techniques used "early in the century"- what I assume is a reference to Dufay's approach to paraphrasing liturgical melodies.[14] Both scholars, I believe, are describing the process of reworking the chant to incorporate it as a melody integrated into the polyphonic web so that the chant-bearing voice becomes homogenized, that is similar to the other voice parts.

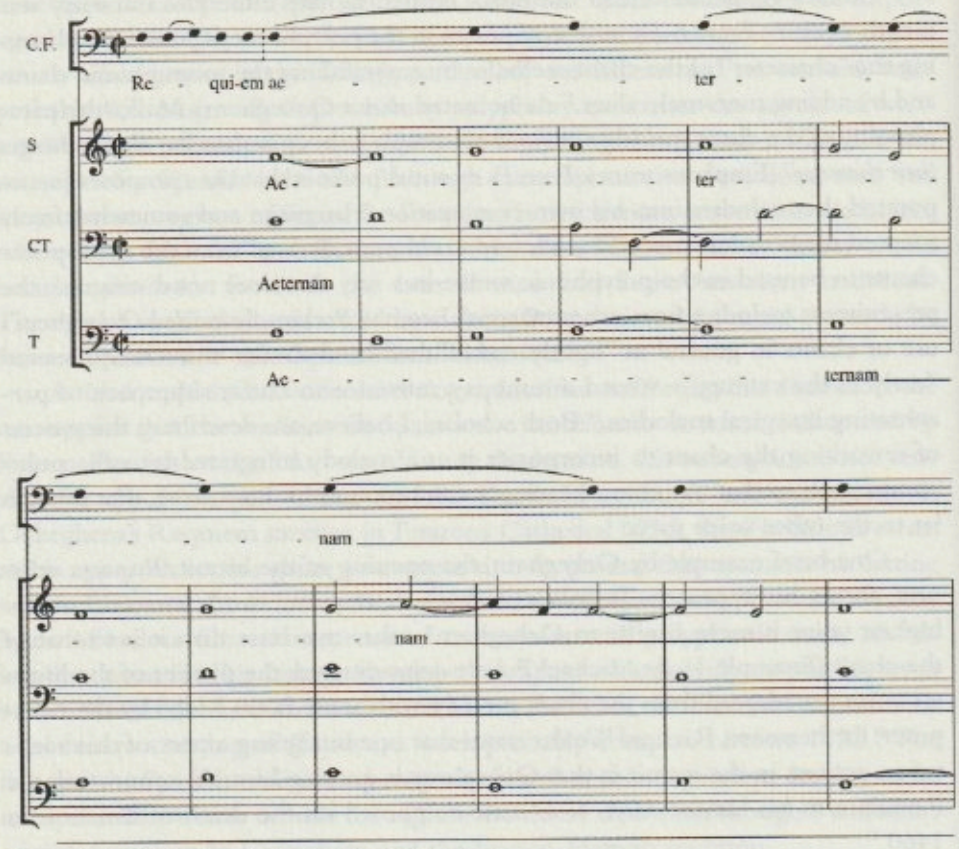
One brief example by Ockeghem, the opening of the introit, *Requiem aeternam*, shows his approach. To follow Reese's description, the "character" of the highest voice is more similar to Ockeghem's other two lines than it is to that of the chant (Example 1). As Michael Eckert demonstrated, the pitches of the highest voice are adapted from the chant melody with some notes added by the composer; furthermore, Richard Wexler states that one intriguing aspect of this adaptation process in the introit is that Ockeghem is quoting himself, connecting the Requiem to his lament *Mort, tu as navré*-composed on the death of Binchois in 1460.[15]

The changed "character", however, is caused not just by the pitch additions but because of the mensural equality; i.e. that the upper voice is as active rhythmically as the other two parts. Although this is the briefest mention of the Franco-Flemish approach, the quality created is clear: a polyphonic "web" of material that incorporates the pre-existing melody in a voice of equal interaction with the others. The chant looses much of what Reese might have called its "identity" through this incorporation process. Ockeghem is striving to create interesting polyphony, not to present the chant as a distinct part, differentiated from the other voice lines.

[13] G. REESE, *Music in the Renaissance*, New York, 1959, p. 131.

[14] L. PERKINS, art. *Ockeghem*, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, S. SADIE ed., London, 1980.

[15] M. ECKERT, *The Structure of the Ockeghem Requiem*, Doctoral Paper, The University of Chicago, 1977, pp. 10-11, first connected this motive in the Requiem to the ca. 1460 lament. Wexler has discussed this motive in the introit and what it may mean in terms of the date of composition of the Requiem.



Example 1. J. Ockeghem, Mass for the Dead; Introit
Edition after Eckert (publication permitted by the author)

This approach by Ockeghem in the oldest surviving Requiem is similar to that of the settings by La Rue and Brumel, who also incorporated the chants so that they became fairly indistinguishable from the other voices. Furthermore, the two younger composers also used chant melodies as the basis for points of imitation, a technique that makes the melody even further integrated into their polyphonic treatment.[16] Both these factors, the integration process and how much the chant is used as a basis for imitation, are important factors to probe in the Spanish tradition.

The earliest Requiem extant in Spain is by Pedro de Escobar, a Portuguese

[16] REESE, *Music in the Renaissance*, p. 267, stated about La Rue's Mass that "in the *Osanna* and Agnus, it [the chant melody] is treated in cantus firmus fashion; but it is encountered much more often in very free paraphrase, the derived motifs being at times worked out in imitation."

composer employed by Ferdinand and Isabella; it is believed that his work was composed between 1480 and 1500, possibly for the funeral of the Catholic Monarch's heir, Juan, who died in 1497.[17] Escobar, like most later composers in Spain, presented the melodies in an extremely pure fashion with almost no embellishment. It is not only the melodic purity that is different but the fact that the chants are very often presented somewhat consistently in long notes in the highest voice. This creates an obvious focus on the chant line since the other voices support the melody with few references to it in imitative entries, making it differentiated from the other parts.

It should be noted once again that the Requiem was but one genre from this Liturgy set by Spaniards, and it seems to have been much less important in the Spanish tradition before Morales than were works for Matins and the processions. From Escobar's time, there are two polyphonic responsories, *Ne recorderis* by Francisco de la Torre and *Libera me, Domine* by Juan de Anchieta, that were widely disseminated in many regions of Spain. The Requiem by Escobar survives in only one manuscript even though it was probably sung in royal ceremonies. Torre's responsory is found in almost every city in Spain where late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music survives, perhaps a singular distinction for a work disseminated only by manuscript. Morales' works for Matins for the Dead, his invitatory *Regem cui omnia* and lessons, are among his most widely disseminated works even though they too were never published. As mentioned above, there is evidence that the surviving written versions of these items for Matins are based on an improvisatory tradition of creating polyphonic performances of the chant melodies.

When we turn to Morales' two Requiems, I will examine first the later one, the Requiem for four voices, because it is the direct successor to Escobar's work and mirrors so many aspects of the later setting by Guerrero. Morales' 'Spanish' Requiem is believed to have been composed between 1548 and his death in 1553, when he held posts in Andalusia.[18] He probably took pains to use Andalusian style and traditional approaches because the work was written for the fourth Count of

[17] Escobar's Requiem is uniquely preserved in Tarazona Cathedral 2/3, a manuscript probably copied in Seville; Tarazona Cathedral 5, at least the portion containing Basurto's "compliation" work, is believed to have originated in Tarazona. There is no published edition of Escobar's Mass. See WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead*, pp. 190-229 for discussion of the work.

[18] E. RUSSELL, *A New Manuscript Source for the Music of Cristóbal de Morales: Morales's 'Lost' Missa pro defunctis and Early Spanish Requiem Traditions*, in *Anuario Musical*, 331-335 (1978-1980), pp. 9-51, established conclusively that this is the same Mass cited by Bermudo even though most manuscript versions of the work give a different reading for the portion that the theorist used as an example. Robert Stevenson and Miquel Querol had earlier stated that this was same work. See WAGSTAFF, *Music for the Dead*, pp. 441-445.

Ureña, Juan Téllez Girón, whose court was near Seville; the Count was reputedly a knowledgeable musician himself and active patron of the Cathedral of Málaga.[19] Morales probably considered this work a way to gain Téllez Girón's good graces for help with future appointments, a hypothesis supported by the fact that Morales did work at Málaga as his final post.

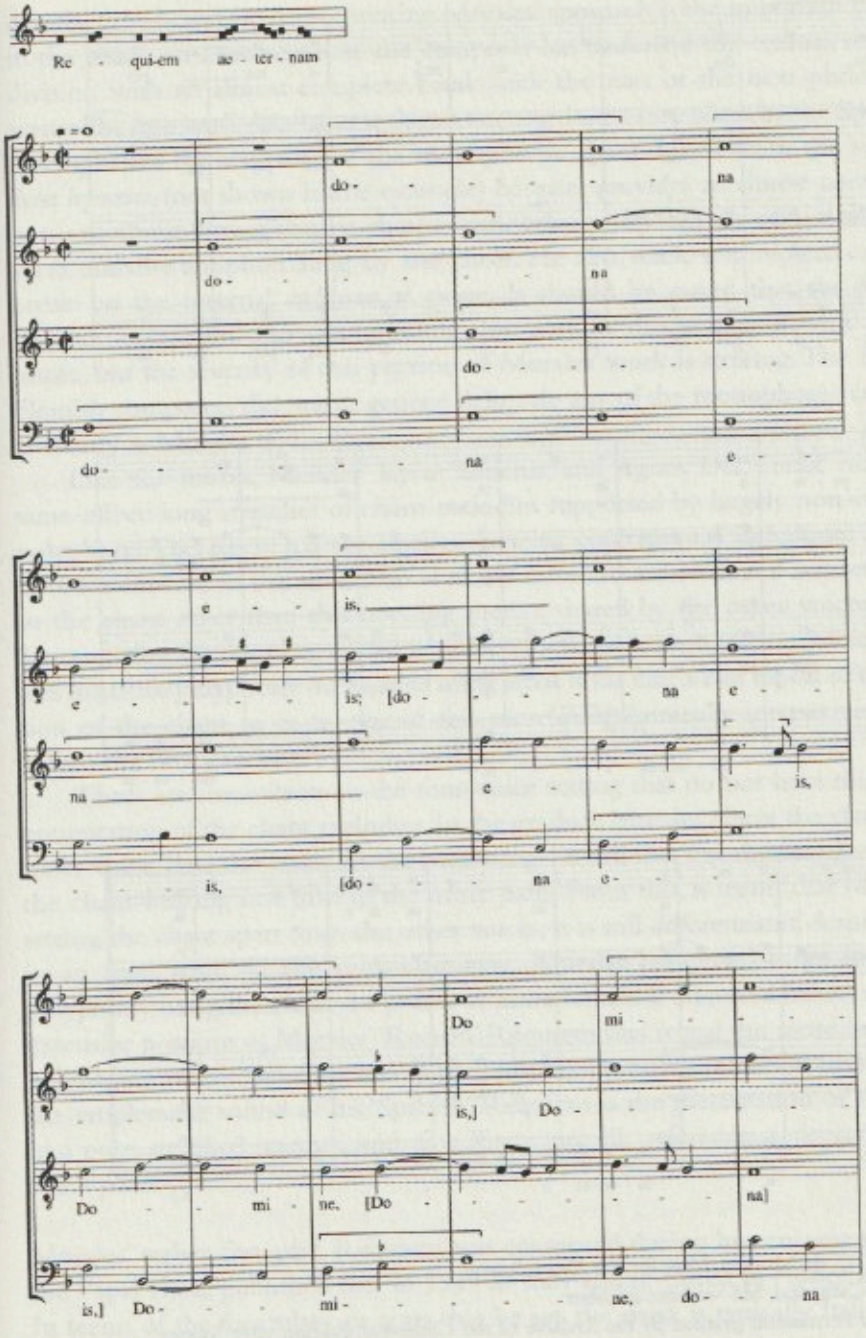
As had Escobar in his Requiem around 1500, Morales placed the chant melody throughout most of the introit in long notes in the highest voice (See Example 2). The purity of the chant line is almost complete. If we compare the superius of the introit with a version of the chant published in Mexico in 1560, we see that Morales has incorporated all of the small details that differ from the Roman version of this Requiem chant.[20] The few notes that are not based on the chant are added to form cadences; there are no insertions or extensions of the melody as found in Ockeghem's work. This is an important point: Morales' setting is indeed that, a presentation of the liturgical melody, intact as it would have been heard in monophonic performance.

How the chant derived voice relates to other parts is another factor to consider: after the opening 'point' based on the chant, the other lines support the melody without making reference to it. Even at the places where the lower voices have imitation or suggestions of it, their motives are generally not derived directly from the chant, thus creating an effect of removal from the polyphonic web. This difference with the typical approach to setting the Requiem is important: the Spaniards created almost a 'harmonization' of the chant, which is supported by the other voices. This fact affects the sound of the work in an important way: the vertical constructs are somewhat more limited because of this very strict presentation of the chant.[21] Ockeghem, his fellow Franco-Flemings, and the later Italian composers were not bound by this necessity to create vertical relationships that were consonant with the liturgical melody if they created a mensural version of the chant that allowed more freedom. Of course, the melodic additions made to the chant-bearing voice by Ockeghem and others also added to this freedom.

[19] Based on a history of the Count's family, I have established that the chapel on his estate at Osunna followed the ancient liturgy of the Cathedral of Seville, not the Roman Curial rite celebrated at the Cathedral of Málaga and nearby in Granada. This explains several 'optional' items included in some copies of Morales' Requiem and other aspects of the formulary.

[20] *Manuale Sacramentorum*, Mexico City?, 1560 provides the only pre-Tridentine source for the Requiem chants–derived from an Andalusian tradition–that I have been able to consult. There are a number of later publications in Mexico that are based directly on this *Manuale* or some other shared exemplar. These publications also include the Requiem chants. For brevity, I have not included the chant melody from the *Manuale*.

[21] This differs markedly from works such as Morales' *Missae de Beata Virgine*, discussed briefly below, in which the chant is integrated into the polyphonic web in a way more similar to the approach used by Ockeghem.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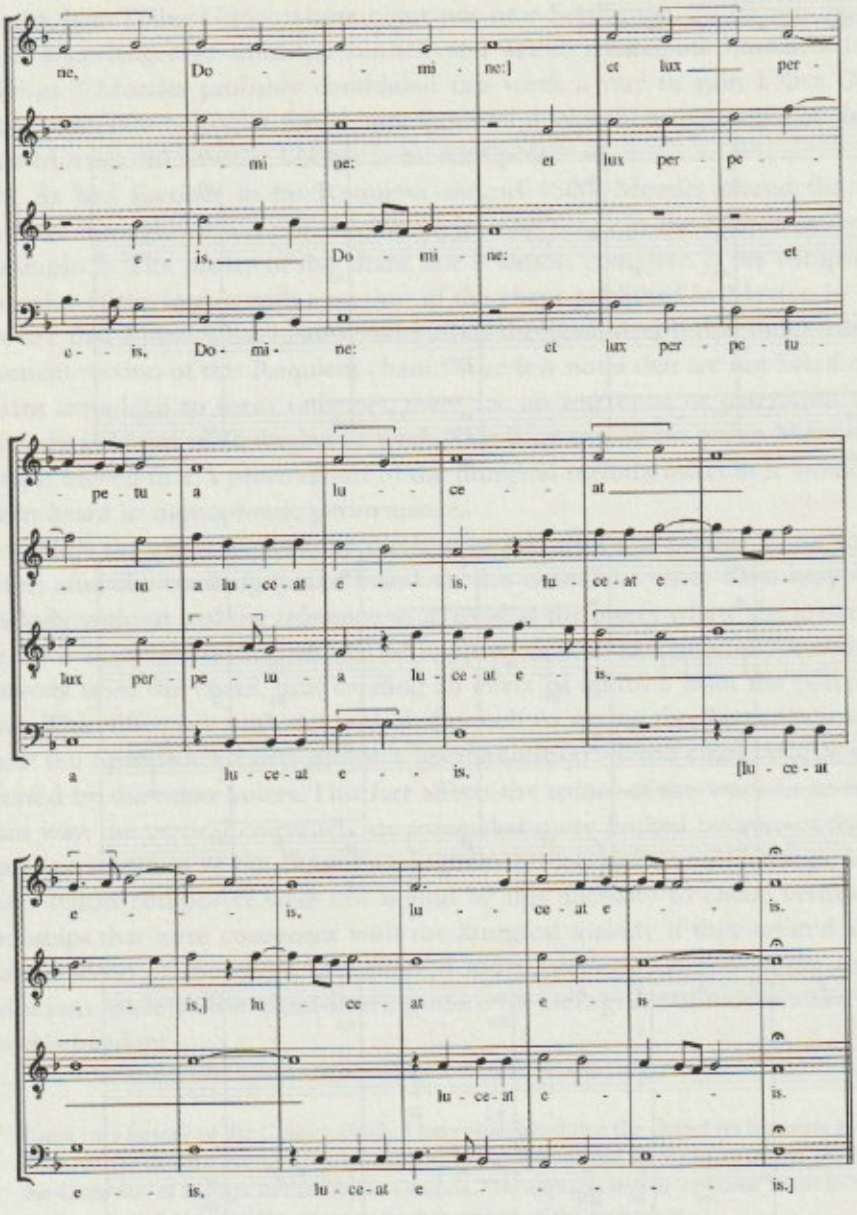


Example 2. C. de Morales, Mass for the Dead; Introit
Valledolid Cathedral, MS without number
Publication Permission granted by the Archive of the Cathedral. Edition after Sagues

Another characteristic demonstrating Morales' approach is the important cadence in the chant, on *Domine* where the composer has underlaid this textual, semantic division with an almost complete break with the start of the next phrase. This seems like one small detail, but it shows once again the care taken by the Spaniards to emphasize the structure of the monophonic chant. Likewise, in the verse *Te decet hymnus*, (not shown in the example) Morales provides an almost completely homorhythmic setting that emphasizes the contrast between the soloistically sung verse and the antiphon sung by the choir. He also made a complete cadential break on the internal cadence at *meam*. It should be noted that the Franco-Flemish composers also distinguished this portion of the introit with simpler music, but the severity of this portion of Morales' work is striking. The Franco-Flemish composers did not in general delineate any of the monophonic cadences as clearly as Morales had.

Like the introit, Morales' Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, create much the same effect: long stretches of chant melodies supported by largely non-imitative polyphony. The Kyrie has the smallest bow to contrapuntal technique: a three-note for-imitatio in the altus. Also as in the introit, there are few if any references to the chant other than this opening motive shared by the other voices. In the Sanctus, after the opening *sanctus* with its typical chant presentation, Morales creates imitative polyphony on *hosanna* using what is for him a rare repeat of this portion of the chant so as to extend this more polyphonically interactive section before the final cadence.[22]

There are some items in the four-voice setting that do not have this typical presentation of the chant melodies. In the gradual, Morales places the chant in an inner voice, here the tenor. At the beginning, he still uses less rhythmic activity in the chant-bearing line than in the other parts. From this, it seems that Morales is setting the chant apart from the other voices; it is still differentiated despite being in an inner part. As this item continues, Morales composed more interactive polyphony using the chant for points of imitation. As is discussed below, there are extensive portions of Morales' 'Roman' Requiem that reveal this more interactive polyphony with extensive contrapuntal display. However, it should be clear that the emblematic sound of his 'Spanish' Requiem is the presentation of the chant in a pure, stratified manner, with few if any melodic references to it in the other voice parts.

Morales' earlier, five-part, Requiem was composed during his ten-year period in the Papal choir, published first in 1544 in Italy and re-issued in France in 1552.[23] In terms of the formulary or texts that he set, the work is typically Italian as can

[22] The rareness of such manipulation of the chant may have been what attracted Esquivel to this portion of Morales' work. See Michael O'Connor's study elsewhere in this volume.

[23] *Missarum Liber Secundus*, Rome, 1544, RISM 1544[3].

be surmised from published liturgical sources; the Mass is in conformity with the Roman Curial liturgy that later became the basis for the post-Tridentine reformed rite. Although the texts and chant melodies are all in accord with Roman practice, there are other aspects that are not so easily categorized. One interesting musico-liturgical parameter is the use of intonations; the Mass is somewhat compelling because the intonations or portion of chant left to be sung monophonically in most items in this Mass are the same as those followed in monophonic traditions in Spain.[24] It should be stated that this aspect of the work is based directly on the monophonic practice in that the composer is representing the traditional role served by the cantor before the entrance of the choir. However there was no consistent method employed by composers working in Italy, meaning that the monophonic practices could have changed frequently, or how much chant was intoned before each item was a very localized matter, perhaps differing from region to region or even church to church. This is quite different from the situation in Spain where the same intonations used by Morales were followed by the overwhelming majority of other composers who wrote polyphonic Requiems in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Even though this Mass was intended for the Roman audience, there are some portions that seem to reveal elements of Spanish approach in terms of presentation of the chant melodies in the polyphonic material. In the introit for instance, after the opening with its imitation and suggestions of imitation, the cantus is supported by the other voices, which largely do not make reference to the melody. As he did in the four-voice work, Morales presents an extremely pure version of the chant in the cantus.[25] There is almost no ornamentation of the original melody except to form cadences. Morales does not demarcate the structural units of the monophonic material as he had in the earlier work: unlike the introit in the five-part Requiem, Morales does not underscore the cadences in the chant but instead creates seamless polyphony throughout the antiphon with some voices continuing through the cadences of the chant bearing cantus.

Although several items from the Mass do have such typical Spanish characteristics, let us turn to those items that may reveal Morales' knowledge of his Roman audience's expectations. The offertory creates a very different impact because Morales moves the chant melody from its place in the cantus into the cantus 2. Because of this move, the chant bearing voice becomes more obscured by the movement above and below it. In addition to this placement in the texture, throughout much of this item, the voice with the chant becomes fully in

[24] This is another factor clearly distinguishing the Requiems by Spanish coposers from those in the Franco-Flemish tradition.

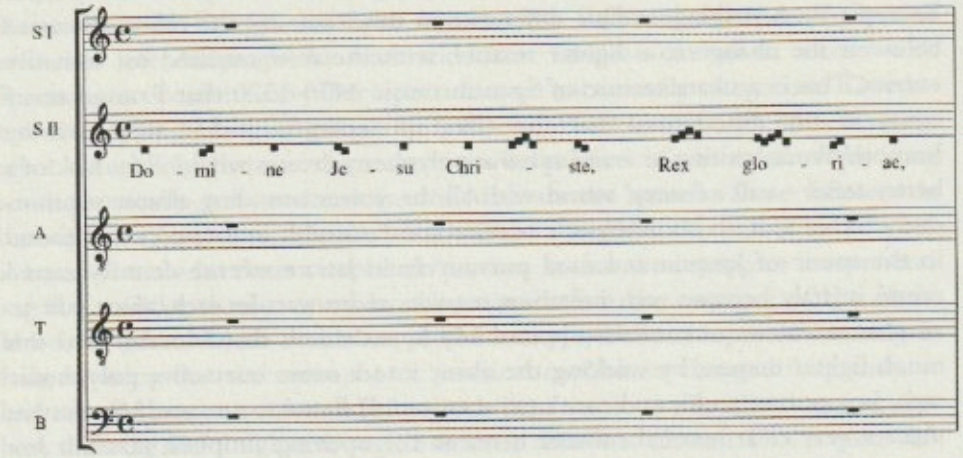
[25] The melody can be compared to those published in the *Graduale* (Venice, 1560); it is virtually identical to those in the modern *Graduale Romanum*.

meshed in the polyphonic texture, with little or no distinct "identity" (see Example 3). A striking, audible difference in this item and the others discussed below is the change to a lighter texture, with the rests required for imitative entries. This is a characteristic of Spanish music 1470-1520 that I noted many times in my dissertation: that the chant presentation, either supported by homorhythmic writing or non-imitative polyphony, creates what I – for lack of a better term – call a 'heavy' sound with all the voices sounding almost continuously.[26] This Spanish homorhytmic texture contrasts with imitative 'points' found in the music of Josquin and used purvasively in later sixteenth-century sacred music in Italy because such imitation requires more rests in each voice part to emphasize entries of successive points. My hypothesis is that Morales used this much lighter texture, by working the chant into a more interactive polyphonic web, as a gesture to his audience's expectations. Related to texture, Morales has made a very clear textural contrast between the opening antiphon (*Domine Jesu Christe*) and the beginning of the verse (*Hostias*) in four parts in which cantus 1 is tacet and returns on the closing *Quam olim* for all five parts. He underscores the monophonic repetendum, the point at which the full choir entered after the soloist's portion of the verse. No such contrasts of ensemble scoring are found in Morales' 'Spanish' Requiem, but such effects were used by the Franco-Flemish and Italian composers.

An important part of this discussion is the different approach Spanish composers had to imitation, meaning most specifically points of imitation but also what I term pseudo-imitation, than did the Franco-Flemish and Italian composers.[27] As a compositional technique, point-of-imitation came into use fairly late in Spain. Peñalosa, among the composers active in the realm of Ferdinand and Isabella, was the only one who used the technique fairly consistently. Morales, like most of the Spanish composers, makes very clear distinctions between items that were to be based on imitation and those that are not. For example, Morales set polyphonically the reciting 'tones' for all three lessons for the first nocturn of Matins for the dead: these are set homorhythmically throughout with almost no polyphonic independence of the voices. When Morales borrowed these same texts for freely composed motets, he created imitative, polyphonically activated works.

[26] This is particularly noticeable in the early settings of responsories.

[27] See G. WAGSTAFF, *A Re-Evaluation of Music Attributed to Pedro Fernández de Castilleja*, in *Revista de Musicología*, 16/5 (1993), pp. 2722-2733. Fernández, one of the possible teachers of Morales during his boyhood in Sevilla, used various kinds of pseudo-imitation more than actual points. It is possible that Morales' skill with point-of-imitation technique may have been honed in Rome and that some works not based on points were in fact composed before 1535 when he left Spain to work at the Vatican.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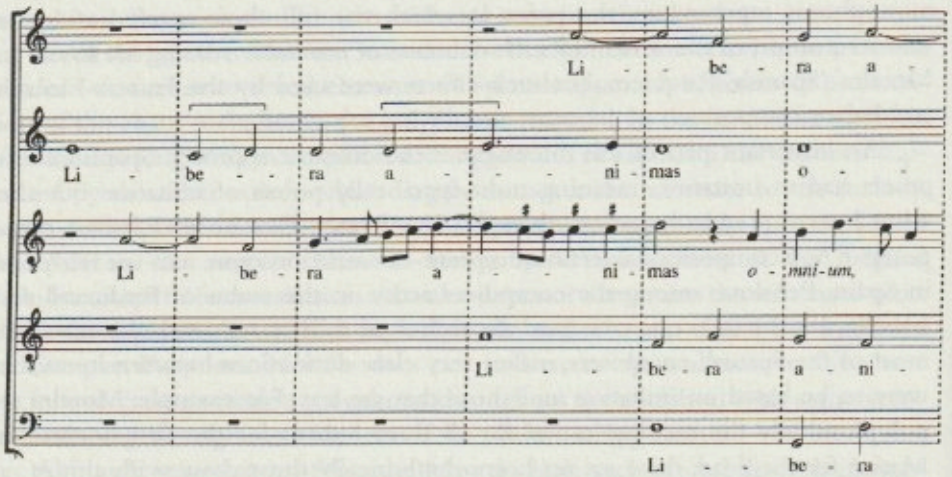
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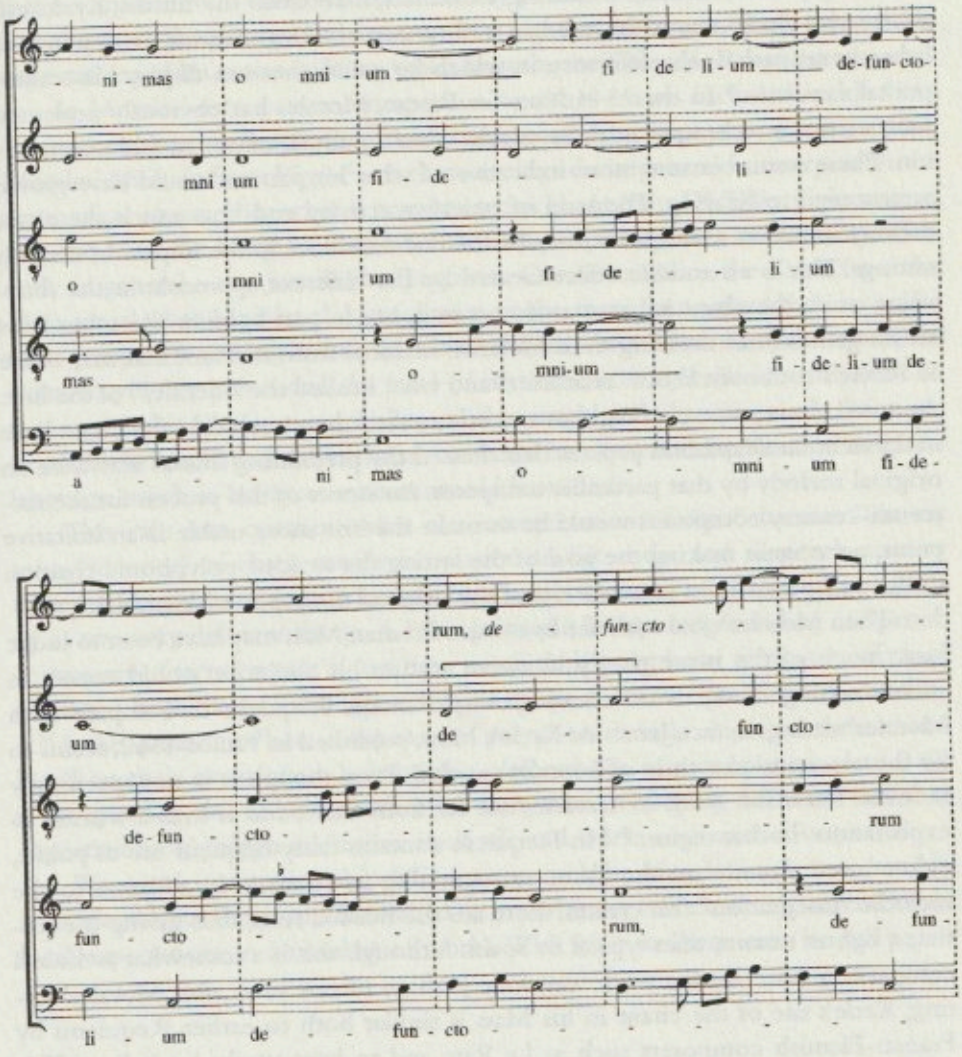

Example 3. C. de Morales, Mass for the Dead; Offertory
Edition after Anglés

In his Requiems, Morales is making a distinction between the introit, Kyrie, etc, where the chant was to be used in a very conservative manner, as opposed to other items such as the offertory, in which he could chose to display his contrapuntal expertise.[28] In the 1544 Mass for Rome, Morales has obviously presented such virtuoso technique in three proper items: gradual, offertory, and communion. These items became more indicative of what his patrons would have grown accustomed to hearing. The level of imitative activity, and how much the chant melody is used as a basis for it, may be the real difference in the impact of the two settings. This is an audible effect created by the different approach: in the four-voice work, the chant is heard as almost inviolate in part because the other lines are, in general, not deriving their imitative material from it, a fact that may relate to Reese's comment about "character" and what I called the "identity" of the line. As noted above, when Ockeghem and others used these melodies, the chant lines underwent an adaptation process that dressed the preexisting line as if it were an original melody by that particular composer. An aspect of this process for the sixteenth-century composers would be to make the line more usable as an imitative point, once again making the goal of the setting the striking polyphonic creation of the composer not a presentation of the original monophonic material.

Then Morales' goal with the five-voice Roman Mass may have been to judge how much of the more purely imitative texture his audience would expect in such a setting. There is no contemporary Roman Requiem to compare with Morales' setting; in fact, Jacob de Kerle's Mass, published in Venice 1562, seems to be the closest to the time of Morales' work.[29] Even though it is not specifically Roman, Kerle did work in Orvieto, not far from there, and is thus a witness to expectations in that region.[30] His Requiem contains fairly frequent use of points, either based directly on the chant or suggesting its contour. In addition to the melodic "integration" this creates, there are the needed rests, thus giving the setting a lighter texture than typical in Spain. Although this is a somewhat awkward comparison since Kerle's work was done perhaps fifteen years after Morales' setting, Kerle's use of the chant in his Mass is similar both to earlier Requiems by Franco-Flemish composers such as La Rue and to later works by Italians. This implies that there was an accepted, inherited method for writing a Requiem, an expectation perhaps based on Brumel's published setting of 1516. This would mean a similar continuum in Italy as the Requiem tradition in Spain. I believe that Morales reacted to these stylistic expectations; this is supported by the fact

[28] This problem as it concerns the definition of 'motet' in Renaissance music was probed by A. CUMMINGS, *Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34 (1981), pp. 43-59.

[29] Kerles' Requiem is edited in *Tresor Musical: Musique Religieuse*, 22 (1886), pp. 3-28.

[30] It is interesting that Kerle was in Barcelona briefly at some point between Aug. 1563 and May 1564.

that his Spanish four-voice setting so closely parallels the earlier work by Escobar and the later Requiem of Guerrero, showing that he returned to the stylistic expectations of his native country when he retourned after his Roman soujourn.[31]

In Morales' own oeuvre, comparison to other masses included in his 1544 Roman publication might be fruitful. Although this is not a direct parallel, Morales' *Missa de Beata Virgine* – as these settings do in general – incorporates the appropriate chants from what is now known as chant Mass IX.[32] We might assume that the Mass for Mary would reveal that Spanish composers used chant differently in general – not just in the Requiem. On the contrary, the Kyrie from the Mass reveals that Morales did use chants in the more intergrated fashion as did most composers writing in Italy at this time. This is true in terms of the use of the chant to provide points and the level of rhythmic activity built into the lines. In that regard, this Mass is more similar to other works in Italy, particularly the masses of Palestrina. The chant material has been incorporated in Morales' imitative language, much as Italian composer would have done.

This calls into question what our interpretation of this "character" or my term "identity" of chant means in relation to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century understanding. Musicologists have until recently thought of chant and polyphony as two very different things. A basic principle in my understanding of Spanish composers of sacred music is just how much their polyphony grows out of chant traditions, both the melodic repertory and the performance practices surrounding it.[33] Is the question of how composers of polyphonic music employed these chants based on their experiences hearing the performance of monophonic music? Or is the question one of how much what were then developing different "tastes" or expectations in polyphonic music itself affected works such as the Requiem?

We could assume that this different approach by Morales in the two settings is accidental, but this seems farfetched to me. Morales was extremely careful about local expectations in a number of works. With his two Requiems, he has provi-

[31] The earliest extant Requiem by Guerrero is published in his 1566 collection, but there is evidence that he issued a Mass for the dead, perhaps this same one, in 1559. This Mass is assumed to be based on the liturgy of Seville, where Guerrero matured and was employed for most of his adult life. He re-issued this Mass, extensively revised to suit post-Tridentine liturgical reforms, in 1582.

[32] For an edition of this Mass, see ANGLÉS, *Cristóbal de Morales*, pp. 66 ff.

[33] This can be seen in works like Morales's masses but even more so in the almost formulaic settings for Matins for the Dead. In the lessons in particular, Morales created what I think of as metered polyphonic "reading" of the lessons. He does not seem hindered by the sparseness of melodic interest; on the contrary, he created a haunting four-voice version of the monophonic recitation. These lessons are typically found in manuscripts that also contain his four-part Requiem, implying that both the lessons and the Mass were in common use in their respective services in institutions where these works survive.

ded for us an interesting example of a composer's awareness of what we might label 'reception history'. Since Spaniards seem to have had an inordinate fondness for polyphonic music in the Liturgy for the Dead, perhaps Morales could not escape some of the typical gestures from Spanish tradition in his five-voice work for Rome. As early as 1549, Juan Bermudo in his *Declaración de instrummentos* stated that "the excellent" Morales was a "foreign" composer in that he combined the "charm" and "sonority" of the Spanish with the "profundity, the technical perfection, and the artistry of foreign music."[34] I have argued that works such as Morales' lessons for Matins reveal his background in Spanish music, possibly improvised practices that composers around 1500 had translated into written polyphony. Many of the masses in his Roman publication are like the *Missa de beata Virgine*, obviously directed toward an international audience that expected a grand display of technique. Morales' two Requiem settings are shades of gray not distinct contrasts. He was always a Spaniard even while in Rome. Perhaps this is fitting in that Morales would betray his Spanish roots most in this archetypal Spanish genre, the Mass for the dead.

[34] J. BERMUDO, *Comiença el libro primero dela declaracion de instrumentos*, Osuna: Juan de León, 1549, fol.x verso.

Circles of Relationships

Chant and Polyphony in the Lamentations of Francisco de Peñalosa

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Relationships between chant and polyphony can sometimes offer multidirectional glimpses into compositional and/or performance process. Texts may provide the clue to a regional or local chant usage, chant may provide a clue to polyphony's provenance, polyphony may provide clues to chant performance, and the nexus of chant and polyphony may provide clues to liturgical reconstruction. Looking first at each of these propositions, I will then show how they apply to the three polyphonic Lamentations of Jeremiah by Francisco de Peñalosa (ca. 1474 - 1528), and the liturgical chant on which they may be based.

In earlier studies of Iberian liturgical chant,[1] I demonstrated that text patterns could aid in the geographical identification of material and thus a Use in chant sources, and that this could in turn lead to decisions about the provenance of polyphony based on chant. Once having arrived at a 'possible' chant for a region via the texts, one is often faced with one of the as yet unsolved puzzles that reside in sources of Iberian provenance. This is the use, in some sources, of a notation that may carry with it hints of mensural (or at least possibly rhythmically differentiated) note values.[2]

In some Iberian chant sources (including those from Toledo/Logroño), the chant is written in a notation that contains note shapes that later we associate with meanings of short, shorter, long and longer, some of which are discussed in a rather ambiguous manner by theorists of the time. There is little doubt that a long, a long with a dot, a *punto con dos plicas* (in this context a point with two tails), a *doblado* (a breve and a long on the same pitch), and a long followed by rhomboids, are all longer than a breve, but how much longer, and how the signs might relate to each other, and to the breve, are unresolved, and one's reading must be affected by the stance of a particular theorist or group of theorists.

[1] See my *Kyries tenebrarum in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, in *Nassarre: Rivista Aragonesa de Musicología*, 4 (1988), pp.164-194, and *Lamentations in Spanish Sources Before 1568: Notes Towards a Geography*, in *Revista de Musicología*, 16 (1993), pp. 912-942.

[2] For some studies of mine that address this topic see *Proto-Mensural Notation in Pre-Pius v Spanish Liturgical Sources*, in *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 39 (1998), pp. 195-200, and *Lamentations Chant in Spanish Sources: A Preliminary Report*, in *Chant and Its Peripheries: Essays in Honour of Terence Bailey*, B. GILLINGHAM & P. MERKLEY eds., Ottawa, 1998, pp. 370-389.

Kathleen Nelson, in an excellent survey of the writings on notation and plainchant from the main Spanish theorists of the late fifteenth to the mid sixteenth centuries divides these writers into two categories which she calls "equalists" and "non equalists". The first group, consisting of Domingo Marcos Durán (treatise dates of 1492, 1498 and 1502), Bartolomé Molina (1504), Alonso Spañon (?1504), Gonzalo Martínez de Bizcargui (1508), and Gaspar de Aguilar (1530) she calls "equalists"; and the other group, which included the Anonymous from Barcelona (Biblioteca de Catalunya Ms. M. 1327, end of the fifteenth century), Guillermo de Podio (1495), another Barcelona Anonymous (early sixteenth century), and Pedro Ferrer (1548) she calls "non-equalists". The distinction, in Nelson's opinion derives from two essentially different approaches to the question of compas (or roughly speaking 'beat' although not exactly *tactus*). For the equalists, the breve was the unit of the *compas*, and the other noteshapes (the *doblado* and the *punto con dos plicas*) were equal to two *compases* without ever disturbing the essentially unchanging *compas* (breve). For the non-equalists on the other hand, different noteshapes carried with them the notion of mensurable values derived from their shape and the meaning of that shape within mensural music; and the notion of a mensurably equal *compas* was absent. While some of these theorists, (notably Durán) speak of *composición antiguo* versus *composición nuevo* it is not clear from the context whether they mean current as opposed to earlier practice, and if the latter how much earlier since Durán in saying *antiguo* includes Pythagoras!

It is Juan Bermudo, in his *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Osuna 1555) who brings the two sides of a theoretical divide together, and in a famous passage where he talks of the *tres compases ay en el canto llano*[3] he points out that the possibility remained for both Nelson's equalists and nonequalists to live side by side, and that the choice between approaches to rhythm (and thus the notation) was to be made on the basis of the kind of texts being used.

Spanish polyphonists through to the late sixteenth century tended, when basing new sacred compositions on preexistent material, to decorate that material (when it was liturgical chant) very little, and to quote it pretty much exactly as it was taken from the liturgical source. *Polyphonic* music of the time may therefore shed some light on questions of notation and/or rhythmic interpretation of the chant, and by extension the positioning of certain theorists in the nexus of theory and praxis. In fact, both Richard Sherr[4] and Robert Snow in a more recent publication[5] have remarked on this possibility, and I will explore it further here.

[3] J. BERMUDO, *Declaración de Instrumentos Musicales*, Osuna, 1555, fol. 17v.

[4] R. SHERR, *The Performance of Chant in the Renaissance and its Interactions With Polyphony*, in *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 178-208.

[5] R.J. SNOW, *A New-World Collection of Polyphony for Holy Week and the Salve Service*, (*Monuments of Renaissance Music*, 9), Chicago, 1996.

The only three known polyphonic Lamentations by the Spanish composer Francisco de Peñalosa (one of the first generation of influential polyphonists who worked at the Cathedral of Seville, and the Court of Ferdinand of Aragón) survive in an unique reading in Tarazona, Catedral Mus.Ms. 2/3, fol. 288v-297.[6] These works provide four-voice polyphony for the first *Lectio* on each of the three days of the *Triduum*. No indication is given in the manuscript of a place or Use for which these Lamentations might have been appropriate – if indeed a liturgical performance was intended at all. I argue however that information contained within the polyphonic works suggests a region or Use, a possible source for the chant, and some pointers towards performance of the chant. This information in turn allows an identification of those sections that might have been sung in *canto llano* if the polyphonic Lamentations were indeed used within the liturgy and aids in an hypothesis about liturgical reconstruction, and possible performance conventions.

The place to start is, as always, the texts.[7] Since different text configurations seemed to be regionally or locally based, it is often possible to identify a region or locality for a set of Lamentations based on the text configurations alone. For example, the number of verses read in each *Lectio* varied from place to place, as did the choice of specific verses, and in some places it was customary to start with an *Exordium* which could itself be divided into those with the *Vulgate* text, and those with slightly different version commonly used in Spain.

Peñalosa's set of Lamentations provides polyphony for only *Lectio* 1 on each of the three days. However, even such small segments of the whole allow, on the basis of the texts used, a tentative assignment of location for the underlying chant material and a probable liturgical Use (see Table 1).

In the case of these particular Lamentations, it is possible to move quickly to an assignation to Toledo, based on the texts used and a *terminus ad quem* of 1528 (the year of Peñalosa's death) for the dating of the polyphony.[8] The pitches of the

[6] For a modern edition of these Lamentations see J.M. HARDIE ed., *Francisco de Peñalosa: Lamentations of Jeremiah*, Ottawa, 1999.

[7] For the normal Schema of the whole Lamentations complex, see my *Lamentations Chant in Spanish Sources: A Preliminary Report*, in *Chant and Its Peripheries: Essays in Honour of Terence Bailey*, B. GILLINGHAM & P. MERKLEY eds., Ottawa, 1998, p. 374.

[8] I should like to add a digression here on the *stability* of text patterns, and the implications of this in this kind of study. Even though many of the Spanish liturgical books containing Lamentations chant are of a later date than Peñalosa's Lamentations, analysis of the text patterns alone from these later books (shown to have been stable through comparison with earlier manuscript and printed Breviaries) lead to the same conclusion. Let me show how this would have worked here. As is consistent with text patterns that I have discussed in an earlier study, the most uniformity among sources appears at the start of Feria V. Here, on the basis of the use of the 'Spanish' Exordium (as distinct from the Vulgate version) and *Aleph, Beth* and *Gimel* from Chapter I, we

Toledo sources (Toledo Reservado 6,7,8,[9] and 1516) are reproduced exactly by Peñalosa in his polyphony, and an identification of the Toledo books as the most probable source for Peñalosa is confirmed.[10]

Thus far then, we have moved from the texts of the polyphony to a group of liturgical books, and back to the polyphony for confirmation of a particular source or sources from a single place. Having established the most likely source of the chant, let us consider ways in which this chant might inform performance of the polyphony and vice versa.

While editing the notes of the polyphony from the Tarazona manuscript was not problematic, as the source is very clear and accurate, text underlay was often ambiguous. Moreover, as we all know, the way in which text is underlaid can significantly affect a reading of a piece. By consulting the chant, it is possible to resolve most of the ambiguities, as Peñalosa reproduced many of the ligatures from Toledo 1516 in his polyphony, and the text underlay of the chant is unambiguous. Similarly, in a small number of places more than one solution is possible in the application of *music ficta*. Again, if one wishes to remain faithful to the liturgical source, solutions are provided by the chant. Thus, the chant in this case aids in the performance of the polyphony.[11] The only places where the polyphony departs from the chant in any substantial way is at the melismas that occur in the chant at the end of each section preceding a new alphabet letter. Here, Peñalosa does not quote the chant exactly, but rather, staying faithful to the overall shape

could identify sources from Toledo (1516, and Toledo Mss. Reservado 6,7 and 8), Logroño 1531, Palencia 1536, Zaragoza 1538, Burgo de Osma 1562, or a much earlier source in Acquitanian notation from Huesca (Huesca 2). For Feria VI however, the field narrows. On the basis of the Lectio 1 texts used by Peñalosa (Aleph, Beth and Gimel from Chapter II), we can eliminate the sources from Huesca and Zaragoza. Similarly, Logroño is disqualified by text on Sabbato Sancto, leaving the sources from Toledo, Palencia and Burgo de Osma as possibilities. In this 'hypothetical' situation where the three sources could be regarded as equal on the basis of their texts, confirmation of one rather than the others might be made by the chant. Indeed this is the case here. While the chants of all three sources are substantially the same in outline, Palencia and Burgo de Osma (identical with each other) differ in detail from Toledo. And, as they say, 'the Devil is in the detail', for the pitches of the Toledo sources (Toledo Reservado 6,7,8, and 1516) are reproduced exactly by Peñalosa in his polyphony, and the identification of the Toledo books as the most probable source for Peñalosa is confirmed.

[9] Ismael Fernandez de la Cuesta identified Toledo Reservado 6,7,8 as siglo XV sources. See his *Manuscritos y Fuentes Musicales en España*, Madrid, 1980, pp. 188-189.

[10] The polyphony for Feria V reproduces the Toledo chant at pitch mostly in the tenor. For Ferias VI and Sabbato Sancto the chant is transposed up a fourth, and appears predominantly in the cantus part. Not surprisingly, the chant is less ornamented for Feria V than for the later days, where some elaboration occurs.

[11] For the most part remaining faithful to the Toledo source, on Feria V the chant is quoted at pitch, and on each of the following two days it is transposed up a fourth. On each day the cantus prius factus migrates from the second to the top voice and back again in quite balanced patterns.

of the melisma, he varies the internal detail each time. There is however no mistaking the chant source of the section in each instance.

Moving now to the vexed question of a possibly rhythmic interpretation of the chant itself, let us see whether the nexus between the notation of the chant in the liturgical book, and the quotation of that chant by the polyphonist can throw any light on possible performance conventions of the chant. The notational features of Toledo 1516 include breves, longs, longs followed by lozenges, longs with a dot, *doblados* and *puntos con dos plicas*.

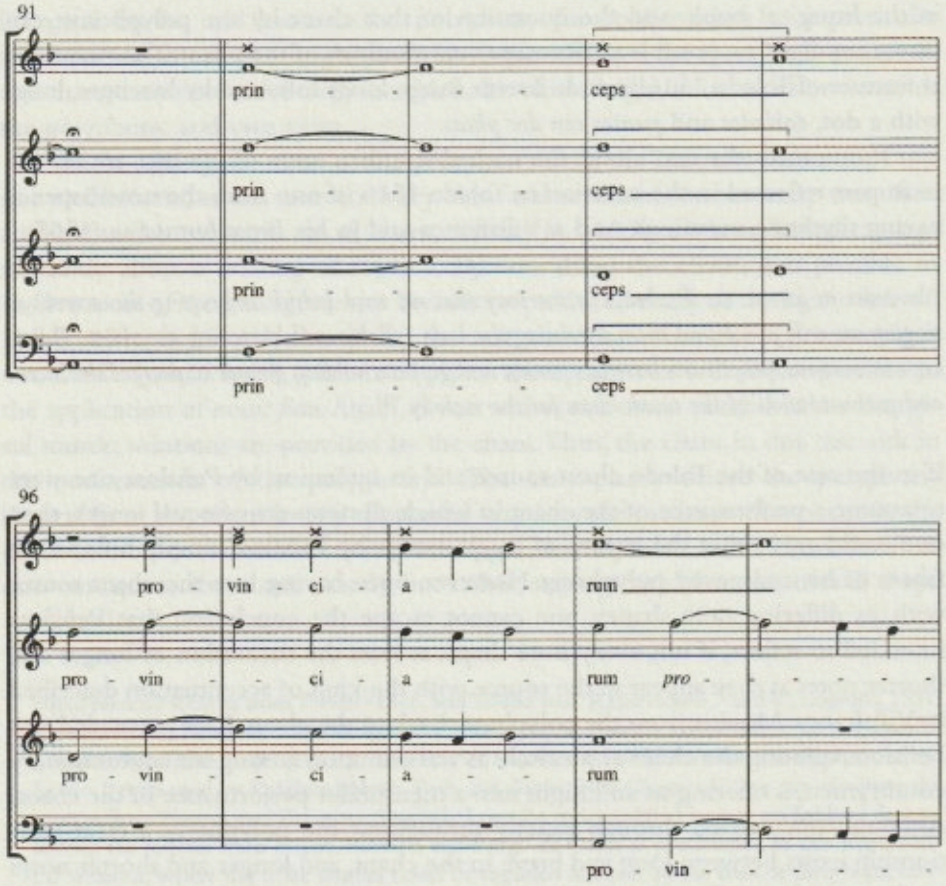
If one reads the text aloud, the natural length accents of the text are for the most part reflected in the notation in Toledo 1516 (if one reads the noteshapes as having rhythmic meaning). And as Villafranca said in his *Breve Instruccion* (1565):

"In order to intone the Psalms...in the way that we read (which is keeping the accent) so singing we will pronounce them detaining the long syllable and hastening the short. This is kept in orations, prophecies, lessons, epistles, and gospels, holding greater respect for the accent and pronunciation of the words than for the melody."[12]

If in the case of the Toledo chant source and its quotation by Peñalosa one were to assume a performance of the chant in which all notes are of equal length, then one could argue that the nature of its quotation by Peñalosa simply reflects the fabric of his composed polyphony. However, once having *seen* the chant source with its differing note shapes, one cannot escape the conclusion that Peñalosa intended to reflect, if not every note shape, at least the succession of longer and shorter notes as they appear in the source with the kind of accentuation described by Villafranca. Moving from the polyphony back to the chant, I am persuaded that Peñalosa, quoting the chant as precisely as was common among his contemporary countrymen, is offering us an insight into a mensuralist performance of the chant. Although not carried through exactly throughout the polyphony, a clear relationship exists between long and breve in the chant, and longer and shorter notes in the polyphony. Equally, the longest notes in the chant-bearing voice of the polyphony, and those that are lengthened by ornamentation and melisma, mostly correspond with the use of the *doblado, punto con dos plicas* and the long with a dot in the chant. All three are clearly signalling values longer than that of a simple long. Unfortunately we cannot yet go further, for sometimes the *doblado* and/or the *punto con dos plicas* translates into the equivalent of two *compases*, sometimes

[12] Villafranca in the *Breve Instruccion* (1565): *Para entonar los los psalmos ... de la manera que leemos (que es guardando el acento) assi cantando los pronunciaremos deteniendo la síliba luenga, y coriendo la breue, esto se guardara enlas oraciones, prophecias, lectiones, epistolas y euangelios: teniendo mas respecto al accento y pronunciacion delas palabras que no a la canturia* (fol. [21]). Quoted by M. DUNCAN, *A Sixteenth-Century Mexican Chant Book*, PhD University of Washington, 1975, p. 65.

three; and sometimes even four. The long with a dot is often associated with either a pitch accent (the highest note of a phrase), or a length accent that becomes melismatic or ornamented, and is often cadential (see Example 1).



Example 1. Francisco de Peñalosa, Lamentations of Jeremiah, Feria V
Note: The noteshapes above the staff are from the chant source Toledo *Passionarium* 1516, and the quotation of pitches from this chant is shown by crosses above the note.

It would be nice at this point, to be able to relate Peñalosa's rhythmic treatment of the chant to the writings of one or other of the theorists named earlier, and to come down clearly on the side of either the "equalists" or "non-equalists" (to use Nelson's term). I do not believe it possible, on the strength of the evidence here to yet make such a fine distinction. I do however consider it quite feasible to relate Peñalosa's quotation of his *cantus prius factus* to both Bermudo (1555) when he says:

"there are three compases in plain chant. One serves for psalmody, another for specific hymns, and the third for all that is the most pointed (rhythmic). The compas of the psalms should not show all equal values, but should rather reflect all the long and short syllables according to the rules of grammar".[13]

and so on, and to the brief extract from Villafranca (1565) quoted earlier. These extracts argue for an approach to the chant that respects the accents of the text while retaining an underlying sense of *compas* (Bermudo), and for a similar but possible slightly freer approach (Villafranca). Since both of these theorists are regarded as codifying then current or at least recent practice, we might be justified in regarding the notation of the chant in the Toledo sources and Peñalosa's approach to the quotation of its rhythmic dimension in his Lamentations as progressive.[14] If we accept a rhythmic interpretation of the chant, then this pseudo-mensurally performed chant controls the polyphony and in this case, it is the polyphony that shows the way to such an interpretation of the intended performance practice of the chant.

Finally, using all the evidence provided by Peñalosa's polyphony which led first to the Toledo texts, then to the chant, it is possible to move towards a reconstruction of the Lamentations for a liturgical performance.

Having established the texts of the *Lectios* for the whole complex from the polyphony and the *Passionarium Toletanum* 1516, and for the particular Responsories and Responsory Verses that would have been used from the *Breviariarium Toletanum* 1555 (or indeed any other Breviary for Toledo Use of the time), and using the evidence now before us from both the polyphony and the chant, it is possible to reconstruct the Lamentations according to the Use of Toledo around 1516. Although without chant we can go no further yet than the texts for the Responsories, it is possible through the performance clues gained, plus the gestalt of the whole service, to suggest that on each day of the *Triduum*, *Lectio* 1 might have been sung in polyphony and *Lectios* 2 & 3 chanted using the

[13] *Tres compases ay en el canto llano. Vno sirue para la psalmodia, otro para hymnos particulares, y el tercero para todo lo demas puntado. Le compas de los psalmos no mira hazer todos los puntos yguales, sino va midiendo todas las sylabas breues y longas, segun las regas gramaticales.* BERMUDO, *Declaración*, fol. 17v.

[14] However, this observation must be tempered by the fact that other Toledo sources identified by Ismael Fernandez de la Cuesta as earlier also exhibit the notational features discussed here. There may be others.

notation of the Toledo *Passionarium* 1516 in a pseudo mensural performance and even possibly alternatim (see Table 2).[15]

In conclusion, while there can be no absolute certainties it does seem that in the case of the Peñalosa polyphonic Lamentations we have been able to trace some overlapping circles of relationship, where one aspect first influenced, and was then influenced by another. The texts of the polyphony led to an identification of a particular text grouping, and thus a Use. This in turn led to a particular chant. Information from this chant influenced the transcription and the performance of the polyphony. From there, it was possible to use the quotation of the chant in the polyphony, together with the writings of some contemporary theorists to determine relationships between note shapes and a possibly rhythmic interpretation of the chant. Polyphony thus influenced a reading of the chant notation and its resulting rhythmic performance. All of these elements combined to allow a reconstruction of the whole complex.

This small study argues the case for the usefulness of late (printed) liturgical books in helping to unlock secrets of both contemporary polyphony and earlier practice for which less evidence survives. Such a contextualist approach to musicology shows how evidence of different kinds, often in the past separated by disciplinary 'lines in the sand' can be used in the service of a greater understanding of a whole picture.

[15] In these three Lamentations by Peñalosa, the chant moves from one voice to another. Not in a seemingly random fashion as is sometimes the case with a migrating cantus prius factus, but in a way that suggests a scheme related to the structure of the texts. This raises the possibility that at the time there may have been a known and accepted 'alternatim' performance practice for Lamentations chant. I say 'known' as no performance indications appear in the chant source so that it would have had to be a practice that everyone knew existed and therefore needed no specification. My comment must of course remain purely speculative at this time although I intend to study this aspect further.

Table 1. Texts of Francisco de Peñalosa's Lamentations. Tarazona Catedral Mus Mss. 2/3 folios 288v-297 (Roman numerals refer to source chapters, Arabic numbers to verses)

FERIA V	Et factum est postquam…
I,1	Aleph Quomodo sedet sola… facta est sub tributo…
I,2	Beth Plorans ploravit in nocte... et facti sunt et inimici
I,3	Ghimel Migravit Judas propter afflictionem… inter angustias. Jherusalem, Jherusalem convertere…
FERIA VI	
II,1	Aleph Quomodo obtexit caligne in furore suo… in die furoris sui!
II,2	Beth Precipitavit Dominus, nec pepercit…polluit regnum et principes ejus.
II,3	Ghimel Confregit in ira fuoris sui… flammae devorantis in gyro. Jherusalem, Jherusalem convertere…
SABBATO SANCTO	
IV,1	Aleph Quomodo obscurantum est aurum… in capite omnium platearum!
IV,2	Beth Filii Sion inclyti… opus magnum figuli!
IV,3	Ghimel Sed et lamiae nudaverunt mammam… quasi struthio in deserto.
IV,4	Daleth Adhaesit lingua lactentis…et non erat qui frangeret eis. Jherusalem, Jherusalem convertere…

Table 2. Lamentations According to the Use of Toledo 1516

Sources:

POLYPHONY:
Francisco de Peñalosa. Three Lamentations from Tarazona Mus Ms 2/3, fol. 288v-297

CHANT AND TEXTS:

Toledo *Passionarium toletanum* 1516	Chant only
Toledo *Breviarium toletanum* 1551	Texts of Lectios and Responsories, no chant

FERIA V		
Exordium (Spanish)	Et factum est postquam…	Polyphony
Lectio 1	I: 1-3	Polyphony
Resp I	In monte oliveti//Vigilate eum	No chant
Lectio 2	I: 4-6	Chant (possibly alternatim)
Resp II	Tristis est anima//Ecce appropropinq	No chant
Lectio 3	I: 7-10	Chant (possibly alternatim)
Resp III	Ecce vidimus eum//Vere languores	No chant

FERIA VI		
Lectio 1	II: 1-3	Polyphony
Resp I	Omnes amici mei//Et dederunt	No chant
Lectio 2	II: 4-6	Chant (possibly alternatim)
Resp II	Vinea mea//Sepivite	No chant
Lectio 3	II: 7-10	Chant (possibly alternatim)
Resp III	Tanquam ad latronem //Cumque inj	No chant

SABBATO SANCTO		
Lectio 1	IV:1-4	Polyphony
Resp I	Sepulto domino//Accedentes	No chant
Lectio 2	IV:5-10	Chant (possibly alternatim)
Resp II	Hierusalem *luge//Deduc quasi	No chant
Lectio 3	V:1-22	Chant (possibly alternatim)
Resp III	Plange quasi virgo//Ululate pastores	No chant

*For an explanation of this textual variant see my *Lamentations in Spanish Sources Before 1568: Notes Towards a Geography,* in *Revista de Musicología*, 16 (1993), pp. 912-942.