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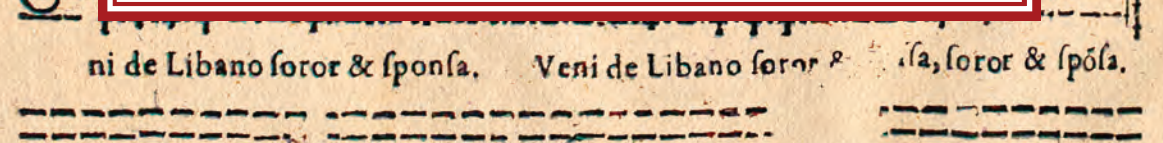
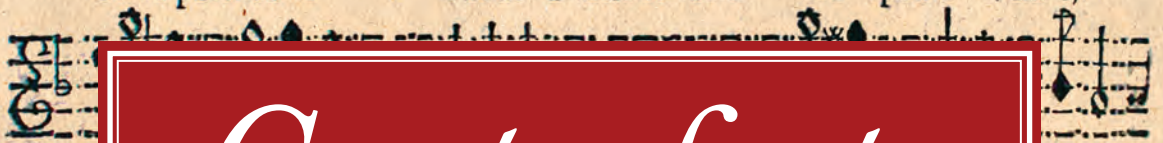
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# *Contrafacta*

*Modes of Music Re-textualization  
in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*

edited by

Marina Toffetti and Gabriele Taschetti

Musica Iagellonica



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Kraków 2020

*On the cover*

Front page: *Nova metamorfosi de diversi autori opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Cavaglieri [...]*  
*Libro terzo*, Milano: Melchiorre Tradate, erede di Agostino, 1610, Canto I, p. 2. Vercelli,  
Fondazione Museo del Tesoro del Duomo e Archivio Capitolare di Vercelli, Biblioteca  
Capitolare di Vercelli, MUSI.CAP.35.

Back page: Franz Tunder, *Hosianna dem Sohne David / Jubilate et exultate vivat Rex Carolus*,  
*Canto primo*. Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Vmhs 36:6.

*Layout*

Andrzej Sitarz

*Revision of the English texts and translation of the articles of Marina Toffetti, Chiara  
Comparin, Tomasz Jeż, Marco Giuliani, and Gabriele Taschetti*  
Michael Webb

*Indexes and music examples*

Gabriele Taschetti

This volume was made possible with the support of the Department of Cultural Heritage  
of the University of Padua and represents the outcome of the International Spring  
School “*Contrafacta*. Music with new texts for new contexts” held at the Conservatorio  
di Musica ‘Arrigo Pedrollo’ in Vicenza (25–29 March, 2019) under the scientific direction  
of Marina Toffetti.

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ISBN 978-83-7099-239-2



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## Foreword

The present book, realized with the support of the Department of Cultural Heritage of the University of Padua, is the result of a longstanding scientific collaboration among scholars belonging to various academic institutions in different European countries. Its most recent precedent is the International Spring School *Contrafacta. Music with new texts with new contexts*, organized with the support of the University of Padua under the scientific direction of the present writer and held at the Conservatorio “Arrigo Pedrollo” in Vicenza from 25 to 29 March 2019. The study meeting represented a unique opportunity to stimulate scientific, cultural and human growth not only among the participants (including students attending bachelor’s and master’s degree courses, as well as PhD students and young researchers from various universities in Italy and abroad), but also among the professors and speakers coming from various parts of Europe (including Croatia, Germany, Poland, and Sweden). The initiative was characterized by an extensive exchange of information and ideas among the participants, by the fruitful interchange between students and scholars of different generations, and by the daily collaboration between musicologists and musicians, which proved particularly valuable in investigating the phonetic and sonic aspects of the compositions examined and the emotional impact they exerted on the listener.

Furthermore, the Spring School on *Contrafacta*, and the present publication that represents one of its tangible upshots, follow in the wake of similar initiatives of an international research group dedicated for over a decade to the study of the dissemination, reception and assimilation of Italian music and musical culture in Central and Central-Eastern Europe during the Renaissance and Baroque eras.<sup>1</sup> Such projects,

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<sup>1</sup> See the international conferences *Polychoral music between the 16th and 17th century: Italy-eastern Europe* (Venice, 2009); *Central-eastern Europe versus the Italian musica moderna*.



which over the years have converged in a considerable number of publications devoted to these topics,<sup>2</sup> have also involved the institutions represented by various scholars participating in the Spring School in Vicenza and/or featured in this volume either with original essays or with the publication of an updated version of articles previously published in a non-vehicular language: the Uppsala University (Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt), the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz (Michael Chizzali), and among the Polish institutions the institutes of Musicology of the Jagiellonian University of Cracow (Aleksandra Patalas), of the University of Warsaw (Tomasz Jeż and Katarzyna Spurgiasz), and of The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (Marek Bebak). My heartfelt thanks go to all of them, and also to Roberto Antonello, director of the Conservatory of Vicenza, the vice-director Stefano Lorenzetti, and their colleagues, who helped to make our initiative, both musicological and musical, possible and significant.

It is my sincere hope that this first survey of the *contrafactum*, an intertextual musical artifact *par excellence*, might represent a stimulus for further investigation on a theme that is not only intrinsically fascinating and highly intriguing, but also worthy of further exploration in the broader field of music history (just think of the amount of presumed *contrafacta* we know of, but whose models have not yet been identified), and in that of musical philology and aesthetics.

*m.t.*

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*Reception, adaptation, integration* (Warsaw, 2011); *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus 1615* (Ljubljana, 2015); *The Reception of Small-Scale Motet in Central-Eastern Europe in the Early Baroque Era* (Padua, 2016), and the International Winter School *Editing, Performing and Analysing Small-Scale Motet* (Milan, 2017), with the participation of Daniele V. Filippi (Schola Cantorum Basiliensis), Aleksandra Patalas (Jagiellonian University, Cracow), Herbert Seifert (University of Vienna), Jana Kalinayová-Bartová (Comenius University, Bratislava), Marina Toffetti (University of Padua), and Cristina Miatello (Conservatory of Venice).

<sup>2</sup> See *La musica poliorale in Italia e nell'Europa centro-orientale fra Cinque e Seicento / Polychoral Music in Italy and in Central-Eastern Europe at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century*, eds. Aleksandra Patalas – Marina Toffetti, Venezia: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2012 (TRADIMUS, Studi e Monografie, 1); *Italian Music in Central-Eastern Europe. Around Mikołaj Zieleński's Offertoria and Communiones (1611)*, eds. Tomasz Jeż – Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska – Marina Toffetti, Venezia: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2015 (TRADIMUS, Studi e Monografie, 2); *Musica Iagellonica*, 8, 2017, Special Issue: *The music of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in Europe: dissemination, adaptation, assimilation*, ed. Marina Toffetti; *The Reception of the Italian Small-Scale Motet in Central Europe*, ed. Jana Kalinayová-Bartová, Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, Filozofická fakulta, Katedra muzikológie, 2017 (Musicologica Istropolitana, 13); *De musica disserenda*, 13/1-2, 2017, *Parnassus Musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615)*, ed. Metoda Kokole; and *Studies on the reception of Italian music in central-eastern Europe in the 16th and 17th century*, ed. Marina Toffetti, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2018.

# INTRODUCTORY ESSAY





Marina Toffetti

## ***Contrafacere*. Retextualizing polyphonic music from the late sixteenth to the seventeenth century**

### **Preliminary considerations**

This volume explores some approaches to retextualization in music from the age of the European Reformations. The procedures of substituting or adapting texts examined here encompass a fairly wide geographical area, which includes the territories of today's Italy, Germany, Poland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, and cover a time-span of around a century (from the last decades of the 16th<sup>1</sup> to the end of the 17th century);<sup>2</sup> whereas, not rarely, the compositions subjected to these procedures had been composed and published several

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<sup>1</sup> Dating from 1587 is the *Primus liber suavissimas praestantissimorum nostrae aetatis artificum Italianorum cantilenas [...] continens*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1587, examined in the essay by Michael CHIZZALI, "Text and context of the Thuringian *contrafactum*. New insights into Melchior Backhaus's *Primus liber* (1587)", in the present volume; the following year saw the publication of the collection *Musica transalpina. Madrigales translated of foure, five and sixe parts*, London: Thomas East, 1588, whose importance for the transmission of Italian musical modes to the British Isles is repeatedly underlined in the essay by Alessandra PETRINA, "The court of James VI of Scotland (1566-1625) and its reception of Italian musical modes", in this same volume.

<sup>2</sup> The last essay in this volume analyzes the musical compositions performed at the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in 1693, and among these the motet *Aspice e caelis* by the Flemish composer Daniel Danielis, revised for the occasion with a new text in Swedish. See Lars BERGLUND, "Mourning a dead Queen. The music at the funeral of Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in Stockholm (1693)".

decades beforehand and sometimes in areas very far from the place where their texts were modified. With few exceptions, the compositions considered here are polyphonic works belonging to both the secular (canzonette, villanelle, and especially madrigals, mainly of Italian origin, disseminated, as is known, throughout much of Europe) and sacred genres (mostly motets). As we shall see, the substitution of the text in many cases determines what, at least formally, might be defined a 'transmigration' of the secular genre into the sacred.<sup>3</sup> Generally speaking (but with many distinctions), the compositions used as the starting point for the operation have been named *models*, while the results of the procedure of retextualization are called *contrafacta*.

In musicological literature the term *contrafactum* has been used sometimes in a limited sense, to refer to a vocal composition originally with a secular text later substituted by a sacred text, so it could be performed in a liturgical or devotional context, and sometimes in a wider sense, to indicate a vocal composition of which the original text, whatever the language and subject matter, at a certain point in its history and for a variety of reasons, has been more or less extensively modified or substituted by a new text, sometimes in another language, evidently held to be more suited to a new and different context.<sup>4</sup> Herein we will use the term in the second, broader sense, investigating the diverse ways, times, conditions and reasons that led to the creation of the different *contrafacta* examined.

The presence of an original text, of a musical construct 'made to measure', and of a new text, adapted to the same musical construct or in turn 'made to measure', makes the *contrafactum* an intertextual artifact *par excellence*, where the system of correspondences between the music and the original text, between the new text and the music, and between the substitute text and the original creates in many cases an intricate network of more or less explicit references, characterized by a rare wealth and complexity.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Further considerations on this matter can be found in Section 4 (Sacred, secular, devotional) of this introduction.

<sup>4</sup> See Robert FALCK – Martin PICKER, "Contrafactum", in NG2, vol. 6, pp. 367–370; Georg VON DADELSEN – Armin BRINZING – Hartmut SCHICK – Reinhard SCHULZ, "Parodie und Kontrafaktur", in MGG2, Sachteil, vol. 7 (1997), coll. 1394–1416.

<sup>5</sup> On the concept of intertextuality, see the chapter "Intertestualità e arte allusiva" [Intertextuality and allusive art] in Maria CARACI VELA, *La filologia musicale. Istituzione, storia, strumenti critici. Volume II*, Lucca: LIM, 2009, pp. 117–173.

Precisely due to its particular complexity, the *contrafactum* not only lends itself to varying forms of investigation, but *needs* to be considered from different perspectives and with complementary methodological approaches. Aspects to be taken into account in order to understand the nature, characteristics and the *raison d'être* of a vocal composition with a substitute text may involve historical-musical questions of a more traditional type (who wrote the poetic text set to music? Where, when and through which channels did the composer come to know of it? Where, when and through which channels did the author of the new text come into contact with the original vocal composition? What motivations – theological, doctrinal, liturgical, political, cultural, practical – lie behind the different procedures of retextualization?), aspects connected to the aesthetics and history of its reception (which features of the poetic text mostly struck the composer? What does his music reveal in its manner of 'reading' and interpreting the poetic composition? How did the different kinds of listeners of the time react on hearing the model and the *contrafactum*? How do today's listeners react?), as well as questions of a technical-compositional kind (which techniques and what musical strategies did the composer adopt to express the emotions he felt on reading the poetic text? What relation exists between the form of the poetic text and the musical structure? At what level, topical and/or macro-structural, can the correspondences between the poetic text and the musical construct it inspired be placed? And what about those between the music and the substitute text?).

When faced with a *contrafactum* we must also ask ourselves, from one case to the other, *how many* compositions constitute the object of study. The answer is not univocal: in some cases, in fact, the text of a vocal composition has been modified only slightly, with the result that these modifications, though evidently deemed necessary to redefine the function of the composition, are not such as to modify the original composition in a significant manner. In other instances, on the contrary, the contrafact differs considerably from its model, sometimes with different subject matter or even with an opposite meaning compared to the original, sometimes also in a different language – a circumstance that gives the composition an overall novel and at times also surprising sound. In such cases it is opportune to consider the original composition and its *contrafactum* as two distinct compositions, though closely related by the presence of a largely corresponding musical construct. We are, then, dealing with three different aesthetic objects, involved in a complex play of reciprocal

references: the poetic text, produced by the impact of one or more experiences (we will never know which) on the sensibility of the poet, who, armed with his artistic predisposition and his skills in versification, has translated them into the language of poetry; the polyphonic-vocal composition with the same text, resulting from the impact of the poetic composition on the sensibility of the composer (in this case acting in the guise of a reader), who has translated his personal aesthetic experience into the language of music (here, instead, acting more properly in the capacity of an artist); and the *contrafactum*, that is the result of a procedure of textual modification or substitution, arising in turn from the impact of listening to the madrigal on a listener with musical and poetic-literary skills.

Alongside these three distinct artistic products, we find three different actors that take their turn on the stage (the poet, the composer, and the author, or the adapter of the new text) and the same number of scenarios regarding their fruition: from the reading (public or private, aloud or silent) of the poem (“c’est l’exécution du poème, qui est le poème”),<sup>6</sup> to the listening (real or mental) to the original composition, and to that resulting from its retextualization. Studying a *contrafactum* therefore means coming to terms with these multiple aspects, taking into account the different moments in the history of the transmission and the reception and trying to identify oneself with the principal protagonists and consumers of the various poetic and musical products, each with their own particular perspectives and horizons of expectation.

When a vocal composition is, for any reason, subjected to a procedure of retextualization, the outcome could, in reality, prove more effective than the original. One needs to assess, case by case, whether the new text, or the more or less extensive modification of the original, has given the composition fresh life, brought about by a novel creative act, is a simple adaptation without any significant consequences, or instead is an unwarranted distortion of the original due to a merely instrumental and at times also fundamentally ill-advised operation.

Other aspects that need to be considered are the phonetic characteristics of the original and the substitute text, and the extent to which they are effectively

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<sup>6</sup> In its time, Paul Valéry’s well known statement had the effect of a detonator, triggering a process of reflection that would lead to the formulation of the so-called theory of reception. On this matter, see Hans Robert JAUSS, “Retrospectiva sulla teoria della ricezione – *ad usum musicae scientiae*”, in *L’esperienza musicale*, pp. 39–50: 39–40.

highlighted in the musical setting; the meaning of the two texts and of the individual words contained in them, and how it is reflected in the musical construct; and, last but not least, the sense perceived when listening to the composition used as a model and to its retextualization, keeping in mind that music is able to convey the general or the profound sense of a text, even without rendering its meaning overtly or topically.

Finally, an investigation into the re-use of pre-existing vocal compositions should not overlook the motivations that lie behind each case of retextualization – whether of a theological, doctrinal, political, practical, or any other kind – and the functions of the *contrafacta* in relation to the circumstances of their use; nor should one neglect to reflect on the relation between the sacred and secular contexts and on the respective musical genres of reference.

## 1. Transmission, translation, be-trayal

Now I'd like to ask a question that takes us to the heart of the matter:

every language is a translation. [...]

A translation by whom? Of what? What is the original?<sup>7</sup>

As far as the history of transmission is concerned, the simple fact that a poetic text has been set to music by a composer indicates, at the very least, that he must have had access to the related text. In the same way, the fact that a pre-existent polyphonic composition, in a given time and space, was provided with a new text, suggests that at that moment and in that place it was accessible, known, and probably appreciated. From the perspective of the history of transmission, a *contrafactum* could therefore be seen as a sign of the diffusion (or dissemination) of a composition, while in the perspective of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, as an indicator of the duration of its efficacy:<sup>8</sup> glancing through the list of collections including *contrafacta* in the addendum to this volume,<sup>9</sup> published from 1576 to

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<sup>7</sup> Raimon PANIKKAR, *Parliamo dello stesso Dio?*, Milano: Jaca Book, 2014, p. 19. Unless otherwise specified, the English translations given here are by Michael Webb.

<sup>8</sup> “the study of receptive behaviour should aim both to identify the reasons for the different fortunes of some works and composers over the course of history, and more especially to clarify why over the course of history some features of a work are highlighted rather than others”. See Michela GARDA, “Teoria della ricezione e musicologia”, in *L'esperienza musicale. Teoria e storia della ricezione*, eds. Gianmario Borio – Michela Garda, Torino: EDT, 1989, pp. 1–35: 22–23.

<sup>9</sup> See Marco GIULIANI, “Printed collections including *contrafacta* (1576–1621)”, pp. 267–324; Gabriele TASCHETTI, “Printed collections including *contrafacta* (1646–1649)”, pp. 325–332.

1621 and from 1646 to 1649, one comes to realize how canzonette, canzoni vilanesche and madrigals were widely circulated in various parts of Europe with substitute texts in Latin, English and German, which tells us that they were still performed and appreciated many years (if not decades) after they had been published, often in places quite far from their place of publication and from the center in which the respective composers were (or had been) active.

However, there can be quite different ways to approach and revitalize the previous poetic or poetic-musical texts. At a first level, the translation of poetic texts was in some circumstances simply a means to make musical products, deemed aesthetically worthy, available for use in other linguistic areas. Consider, for example, Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi's *Primo libro de le napoletane a cinque voci* (1584), printed in the same year in the German translation *Nawwe kurtzweilige deutsche Lieder mit fünff Stimmen*,<sup>10</sup> or the bilingual Italian-German edition of Cesare de Zacharia's *Soave e dilettevole canzonette* (1590) (see figure 1).<sup>11</sup> In other contexts, the translation has moved far beyond the level of a mere transliteration, at times reaching that of a genuine transcreation.<sup>12</sup>

Just as every good translation (where the Latin *traducere* indicates the act of unveiling, but more especially of transferring, taking beyond) is 'a journey towards the elsewhere and the otherwise said', an attempt to deepen the sense of the text, transporting the signified beyond the linguistic barrier of the signifier and revealing meanings that the original language was not able to express in a satisfactory manner, in the same way the affixing of a new text to the musical structure of a pre-existing vocal composition might illuminate its sense in a more effective way than the original.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, just as a mediocre

<sup>10</sup> On this matter, see CHIZZALI, "Text and context of the Thuringian *contrafactum*", pp. 61–82: 63; and Chiara COMPARIN, "From Venice to Nuremberg and Leipzig. *Il trionfo di Dori* (1592) and its German retextualizations", in this volume, pp. 117–150: 117 footnote 2.

<sup>11</sup> Cesare de ZACHARIA, *Soave et dilettevole canzonette*, Munich: Adam Berg, 1590. See COMPARIN, "From Venice to Nuremberg and Leipzig", p. 117, footnote 2.

<sup>12</sup> On this matter, see the reflections on the cultural climate at the court of James VI of Scotland, in which "translation often becomes [...] *transcreation*: within this concept, adaptation and musical transposition also find a place". See PETRINA, "The court of James VI of Scotland", pp. 43–60 : 53 and 58–59.

<sup>13</sup> "For Buddhists, language is not something that saves us because we identify with it; rather, it is something that can transform us when we interact with it. [...] there does not seem to be room in the Buddhist wardrobe for any "one and only" [...] doctrines or words. All words are servants of the truth. And the truth needs many servants". See Paul KNITTER, *Without Buddha I could not be a Christian*, London: One World Publications, 2013, p. 63.



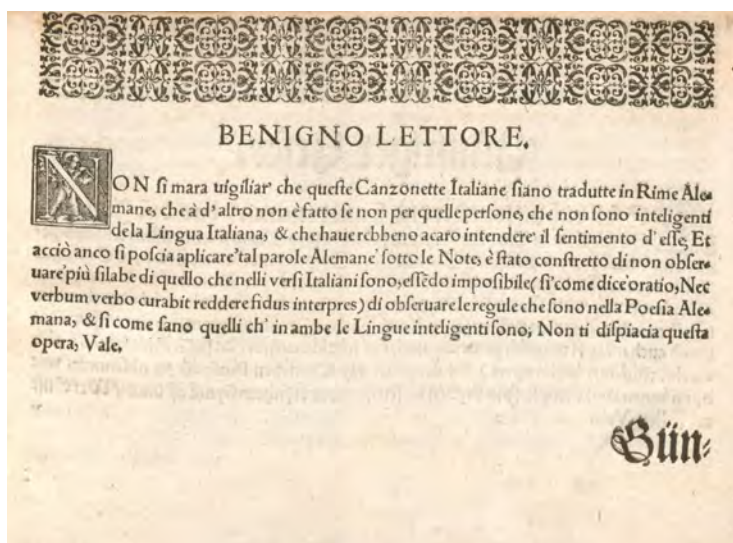


Figure 1a. Cesare de Zacharia, *Soave e dilettevole canzonette* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1590),  
foreword to the “Benigno lettore”.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musikabteilung, 4 Mus. pr. 88.

I.

**C** Anzon vanc volando sempre forte gridando Canzon  
 Eh hin fleug in die Welt Esang schrey laut laß hören dein Clang Eh hin  
 vanc volan- do sempre forte gridando Ogn'vn corre'à ve-  
 fleug in die Welt Esang Schrey laut laß hören dein Clang/ Wer sehen wil das  
 der l' afflitta mesta Alma ch'el crud'amor tanto mole-  
 sehr betrübte Herz mein Der lauff geschwindt die Lieb macht mir schwere  
 sta tanto mo- lesta ogn'vn corre'à veder l'afflitta è  
 Peyn macht mir schwere Peyn Wer sehen wil das sehr betrübte

Figure 1b. Cesare de Zacharia, *Soave e dilettevole canzonette*  
(Munich: Adam Berg, 1590), fol. 1.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Musikabteilung, 4 Mus. pr. 88.



version can distort the sense of the original text, in the same way a new text can betray the sense of the madrigal model (contrary to *traducere*, the verb *vertere*, hence the noun ‘version’, means to address, modify, transform, and communicates the will to bend a text to make it mean something different compared to its original meaning).

It should nevertheless be noted that in some circumstances the deformation (or rather the radical distortion) of the sense of a polyphonic-vocal composition was anything but involuntary. Giovanni Maria Nanino’s madrigal *Morir non può l mio core*,<sup>14</sup> first published in his first book of 5-voice madrigals (c.1570-1575),<sup>15</sup> reappears in his third book of 5-voice madrigals (1586)<sup>16</sup> in a substantially identical musical version, but with a deeply modified text (*Morir può il vostro core*) which, though playing with precise analogies of meaning and with numerous correspondences of signifiers, overturns its global sense:

Giovanni Maria Nanino (1579)

Morir non può l mio core  
e ucciderlo vorrei poi che vi piace,  
ma trar non si può fuori  
del petto vostr’ove gran tempo giace,  
ed uccidendol’io come desio  
so che morreste voi morend’anch’io.

(My heart cannot die  
and I would kill it since it pleases you,  
but it cannot be taken out  
from your breast where it has long lain,  
and on killing it as I desire  
I know you would die as I too would die).

Giovanni Maria Nanino (1586)

Morir **può il vostro** core.  
**Ancidetelo pur come** vi piace,  
**che quant’al trarlo fuore**  
del petto **mio, se pur vi giaqu’o** giace,  
**non averrà com’è vostro** desio  
**ch’ucciso lui debba morir** anch’io.

(Your heart can die.  
**So kill it as you like**  
**because taking it out**  
from my breast, **where it has lain or lies**  
**it will not be, as you desire,**  
**that on killing it I too must die).**

<sup>14</sup> Different versions are known of this madrigal with substitute text. For more details see Addendum. Printed collections including *contrafacta*, pp. 282, 302, 320.

<sup>15</sup> The *editio princeps* of Giovanni Maria Nanino’s anthology was printed approximately between 1570 and 1575, but the first edition to have survived is the reprint of 1579: *Di Gio. Maria Nanino maestro di capella in S. Maria Maggiore di Roma il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci novamente ristampati*, In Venezia: Appresso Angelo Gardano, 1579 (RISM A/I N 26). See Anthony NEWCOMB, “Nanino, Giovanni Maria”, in NG2, vol. 27, p. 611.

<sup>16</sup> *Di Gio. Maria Nanino musico nella capella di Sua Santità il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci. Novamente composti, e dati in luce*, In Venetia: Appresso Angelo Gardano, 1586 (RISM A/I N 31, NN 31; RISM B/I 1586<sup>1/8</sup>).

Therefore, the question that needs to be asked, case by case, is: were the *contrafacta* we are considering conceived with the intention of *traducere* or *vertère*? And do they have the effect of communicating, transferring and transmitting, or modifying? Observing a *contrafactum* from this point of view means entering the realm of cultural transfer, and of the history of reception and assimilation, asking oneself not only *until where* and *until when* the diffusion of a composition arrived, but more especially *how* it was received and what sense it assumed in a new context: it means moving away from a quantifiable context and dealing with cultural questions that are qualitatively more nuanced. Given a vocal composition that is well known and appreciated, but based on a poetic text that is obsolete, or deemed scarcely consonant with a new cultural climate or a new political, social or confessional context, it is one thing to set out to revitalize it, to provide it with a text that is able to say something new, it is another to appropriate it in a merely instrumental fashion, with the sole purpose of adapting it to contingent needs and at the cost of betraying its sense and the original expressive instances. In the first case we are witnessing an act of love, in the second an act of violence. From this perspective, the *contrafacta* examined in this volume, as we shall see, cover a variety of cases.

Traditional music historiography invariably repeats that in the madrigal a unique and inimitable union between music and the text is created:<sup>17</sup> which is certainly true, at least in many cases. Equally true is the fact that, starting from the same music, other unions – countless unions – can be created, each of them just as unique and inimitable.<sup>18</sup> In a certain sense, what is created between the text and music is a unique relationship, but one that is not necessarily indissoluble: it is a love-story open to infinity. Each poetic text is potentially open to countless encounters with the music: each composer can engage with the text and allow himself to be inspired by it, and each encounter can result in a new and surprising outcome. A new sensibility can join that of the poet, each time focusing on different aspects, and the different musical guises assumed by a single poetic text can highlight different aspects on each occasion. Moreover,

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<sup>17</sup> On the subjection of the music to the word within the Italian madrigal see, for example, Claudio GALLICO, *L'età dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento*, Torino: E.D.T. Edizioni di Torino, 1978 (Storia della musica a cura della Società Italiana di Musicologia, 3), p. 85.

<sup>18</sup> On this matter, what Giovanni Pozzi wrote about mystic experiences comes to mind: "One of the paradoxes of the mystic experience, perhaps the first, is that, though highly personal, it is always the same: the same single path". See Angela da FOLIGNO, *Il libro dell'esperienza*, ed. Giovanni Pozzi, Milano: Adelphi, 1992, pp. 31–32.

for us in our attempt to read this process *ex post*, the poetic text set to music could act as a litmus test, able to reveal, through the same reagent, the different reactions prompted by the text in the various different composers.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, when it is the poetic-musical products themselves (madrigals, canzonette, but also sacred compositions like psalms, motets and others still) that in turn prompt other cultural reactions, inspiring the composition of new texts created *ex novo* or adapted from pre-existing texts, it is the music that will act as a litmus test, able to reveal the differences between the reactions of the authors, or of the adaptors, of the new texts. Each text will thus be able to underline and emphasize, but sometimes also reveal, or uncover, aspects of the music that the union with the original text was not able to express in full.

## 2. Sense, sound, and *signifié*

E come giga e arpa, in tempra tesa  
di molte corde, fa dolce tintinno  
a tal da cui la nota non è intesa,  
così da' lumi che li m'apparinno  
s'accogliea per la croce una melode  
che mi rapiva, senza intender l'inno.<sup>20</sup>

Il *sense* delle parole non può essere equiparato alla *realtà* delle parole.  
E nella parola stessa è annidato un mistero.<sup>21</sup>

The first time I heard a *contrafactum* (I think it was *Felle amaro*, where Aquilino Coppini's new text had been set to Claudio Monteverdi's well known madrigal *Cruda Amarilli*) I remember feeling an emotion that was at the same time intense and ambivalent, that I reflected upon for long afterwards. The question

<sup>19</sup> "The pictorial-tonal representation of the events and sentiments expressed in the text is also surely found in the music, to the extent in which it has been felt important by the author". See Arnold SCHÖNBERG, *Pierrot lunaire, Vorwort*, Wien: Universal-Edition, 1914; quoted (in Italian) in Luigi ROGNONI, "Tempo durata, esecuzione musicale", in Id., *Fenomenologia della musica radicale*, pp. 13–22: 18.

<sup>20</sup> (And as a lute and harp, accordant strung / with many strings, a dulcet tinkling make / to him by whom the notes are not distinguished, / so from the lights that there to me appeared / upgathered through the cross a melody / which rapt me, without distinguishing the hymn). See Dante ALIGHIERI, *Divina Commedia, Paradiso*, commento di Anna Maria Chiavacci Leonardi, Milano: Mondadori, 2018<sup>14</sup> (Oscar classici), XIV, 118–123, pp. 407–408; translation by Henry Longfellow, Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867.

<sup>21</sup> (The *sense* of the words cannot be compared to the *reality* of the words. And a mystery is nested in the word itself). PANIKKAR, *Parliamo dello stesso Dio?*, p. 16.

I asked myself at the time was something like this: what happened to me while I was listening to this *contrafactum*? What was it that stirred inside me? and why? This section does not claim to give a definitive answer, but attempts to examine the terms of the question.

In order to properly understand the *raison d'être* of a vocal composition with a substitute text, I believe one should ask, in the first place, what is the point of setting a poetic text to music, affixing a text to a piece of music and, in a broader sense, “uniting words and sounds”. On this matter it seems helpful to quote the words of the philosopher and musician Massimo Donà:

why unite words and sounds? [...] perhaps to reinforce or ‘underline’ musically the meanings of these or those propositional sequences? [...] The fact is that, [...] even where it is used as a simple ‘reinforcement’ of a written (sung) text, music transfigures the *verbum* until making it shine with a sense that in any case will “exceed” (to a greater or lesser extent) the semantics of the word. [...] That is, even where the meaning is only intended to be ‘reinforced’ by this procedure, to take place it will in any case be a process at the end of which the meaning will make a purely rhythmic-timbral ‘enunciation’ possible. [...] But what exactly can we say about such ‘exceeding’? For now we can limit ourselves to pointing out how it shifts the question of the *meaning*, inscribing it, *sic et simpliciter*, within the realm of “sense”.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, the musical construct is perceived as tightly linked to the text from which it is derived, but at the same time as something autonomous, able to go beyond and to reveal, more than the meaning or the meanings conveyed by the text, its deepest sense, translating it into the language of sounds.<sup>23</sup> Following this line of thought, we can say that, in the case of a *contrafactum*, also the substitute text can, in some circumstances and in its own way, help to illuminate this sense; indeed, this sometimes happens even despite the fact that the meanings it conveys differ from those conveyed by the text of the model. If, then we postulate an implicit unity of *sense*, made explicit by the music, over and above the most explicit meanings of the two texts set in reciprocal relation by the procedure of textual substitution, it should come as no surprise to note

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<sup>22</sup> Massimo DONÀ, *Parole sonanti. Filosofia e forme dell'immaginazione*, Bergamo: Moretti & Vitali, 2014, pp. 82–83.

<sup>23</sup> In trying to explain why music has a superior semantic capacity than verbal language, Quirino Principe writes: “The word is in action if the combinations of phonemes that constitute it are able to produce a meaning [...]. In music the number of combinations is staggering and unlimited [...]. This explains why music possesses semantic faculties immeasurably more numerous and powerful in extent and subtlety than the word”. See Quirino PRINCIPE, *Il fantasma dell'Opera. Sognando una filosofia*, Milano: Jaca Book, 2018, pp. 82–83.

that music inspired by the reading of a poetic text that speaks the love of a lover for his loved one, can prove to be so effectively consonant with a text that describes the quivering of the soul in the presence of the Beloved.

The question has also been raised as to whether or not the compositions with substitute texts were in line with the poetics of the *seconda prattica*, which conceived music as *ancella dell'orazione* (the servant of the word). In this case the difficulty lies in the fact that, in a *contrafactum*, the substitute text was composed *after* the music, which would rule out the possibility that music could have an 'ancillary' role in its regard. In reality it is a false difficulty, since, in the best cases, the sensitivity of the poet has ensured that the new text could combine perfectly with the music, so that the latter could be perceived as its servant. What, then, does it mean for music to be 'the servant of the word'? It means adapting itself to the text, highlighting the meanings topically and rendering its overall sense: which, as we have seen, occurs even in the best compositions with a substitute text. It should not be forgotten, in fact, that Claudio Monteverdi, far from complaining about it, spoke favorably about the operation of retextualization carried out by Aquilino Coppini on his own madrigals.<sup>24</sup>

But there is a further aspect to take into consideration. As we have seen above, two of the three protagonists (the composer of the model and the author of the new text) participating in the process that leads to the creation of a *contrafactum* are involved not only as artists, but also as consumers of the artistic objects. In examining the act of fruition, it should therefore be remembered that when contemplating a work of art (or listening to music), what is contemplated is not so much (or at least, not only) the quality of the aesthetic object, but the effect the same object has on the subject (on the listener). If the object determines the effect at a first level, the aesthetic qualities that the subject attributes to the object are produced within the aesthetic experience thanks to their imaginative perception (as is also demonstrated by the fact that irrational beings can perceive sounds, but cannot appreciate music). In saying this, I draw my inspiration freely from the thought of Roger Scruton, and in particular his concept of metaphor.<sup>25</sup> According to Scruton, the imagination

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<sup>24</sup> See Margaret Ann RORKE, "Sacred contrafacta of Monteverdi and Cardinal Borromeo's Milan", *Music & Letters*, 65, 1984/2, pp. 168–175: 175.

<sup>25</sup> See Roger SCRUTON, *The Aesthetics of Music*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997 (2009<sup>2</sup>); ID., *Beauty*, Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2009; ID., *Understanding Music. Philosophy and Interpretation*, New York: Continuum, 2009.

is the faculty responsible for metaphors, which, in their turn, form the basis of aesthetic experience, and in particular of aesthetic-musical experience:<sup>26</sup> “take the metaphor away, and you cease to describe the experience of music”.<sup>27</sup> But what does Scruton mean by metaphor? The metaphor is something that juxtaposes two objects that ordinary experience perceives as dissimilar, something that changes the aspect of an object by relating it to another conceptually distant object, thus transfiguring the response of the receiver. Through the metaphor we arrive at “the experience of seeing and responding to one thing in terms suggested by another”.<sup>28</sup> “The point of such a comparison lies not in the analogy, which is merely a vehicle, but in the transformation of the reader’s experience”.<sup>29</sup> The result is a deeper level of understanding of both.

Allowing ourselves to be guided by this theory of musical fruition, we might suppose that in a vocal composition it is not only the poetic-musical construct, but also the text and the meanings it autonomously conveys that help to direct the formation of metaphors in the listener. In a composition with a substitute text, in fact, the metaphors can be conditioned by the new poetic-musical construct, but also by the text of the model, by the substitute text, and by the relation that is established between the two. If we therefore accept that through the metaphor we can concentrate on two objects at the same time, on the way they appear, and respond to one in terms of the other and vice versa, *contrafacta* can be seen as paradigmatic aesthetic objects, since they make it particularly clear what it means to place oneself in a metaphoric disposition while listening. In fact, in a *contrafactum* two different texts, one secular and the other sacred, one poetic and the other in prose, one in the vernacular and the other in Latin (or in a language different from that of the model), find themselves associated by the sole fact of being set to the same music. Within its structure, music casts a bridge that allows the listener to grasp correspondences, analogies and differences between the two texts in an apparently much more immediate way (but in reality mediated by the musical construct) than reading them one after the other, considering the secular text from the point of view of the sacred and the sacred from the point of view of the secular, thus

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<sup>26</sup> See SCRUTON, *The Aesthetics of Music*, pp. 79–96.

<sup>27</sup> Ivi, p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> Ivi, p. 85. See also Giulio Panizzolo, *Metafore in musica. Sulle tesi di R. Scruton e M. Spitzer* [Metaphors in music. On the theses of R. Scruton and M. Spitzer], BA dissertation, Università di Padova, 2017-2018.

<sup>29</sup> Ivi, p. 86.

enhancing the sense of both the first (through the second) and the second (through the first).

One might, of course, object that this mechanism can be triggered only in those who already know the texts, and so, when listening, can recognize and understand them. Those who instead do not know them, have never read them or heard them recited, will not be able to recognize them, and will lack the cultural tools necessary to understand them. However, on listening first to a vocal polyphonic composition with a text in one language, and then to 'the same music' (the same notes) with a different text in a different language, any listener, even the least cultured and least prepared, will be able to realize that the same music with a different text sounds different, having been *de facto* transformed into a different music, as happens when we listen to a different arrangement of a composition we know, in which the theme originally played by one instrument is now played by another. Such listening experiences lead the listener to wonder what, compared to the previously known composition, has remained the same, and what instead has changed. Any listener will also realize that their personal response to the aesthetic experience of the first and second listening is different. According to Scruton, the difference between two objects can be revealed through their juxtaposition within a metaphor, which will occur only if our attention is focused on their appearance, irrespective of their true coordinates. We might add that, on listening to a vocal composition with a substitute text, the mere fact that we realize that the composition closely recalls another composition that we know, but at the same time sounds a little different, produces a sort of aesthetic 'short circuit' that helps us to enter into a metaphoric mode of listening. Since we do not understand the text, our attention will be focused exclusively on its purely phonic aspect (Scruton would probably say: on the appearance), irrespective of the true coordinates (the meaning) of the two texts.

Moreover, on listening to a *contrafactum* with a text in Latin, anyone, even not understanding the Latin, will be able to understand that the text *is in Latin*, and will tend to associate the Latin with the church, with religious rites, to the mass, in other words with the liturgical or sacred sphere; and so, despite not understanding it ("sanza intender l'inno"), the listener will be able to instinctively establish a link between the new text and sacrality. The mere fact of recognizing the Latin language will trigger a range of impressions different from those prompted by listening to the madrigal, with the result that the new



composition is perceived in a very different way compared to its model; and it is also likely that, in attempting to describe his or her personal aesthetic experience, the listener to a *contrafactum* in Latin will tend to produce metaphors associated with the sphere of the sacred.

### 3. Language, phonetics, timbre

La musica è sorella di quella poesia  
che vuole assorellarsi seco;  
quando non s'intendono bene fra di loro,  
non sono né attenenti, né amiche.<sup>30</sup>

It is self-evident that the same piece of music will sound different when it is associated with texts in different languages. This depends not only on the fact that the presence of a new text determines of necessity a different combination of syllables, and therefore a different distribution of vowels and consonants (which also happens when the new text is in the same language as the original), but also on the phonetic differences between the different languages, that is to say the different way of pronouncing the same letters, and especially the vowels and diphthongs, which, if only on account of their longer duration, most influence the 'sound' of a musical setting.<sup>31</sup> In passing from one language to another the composition thus undergoes a phonetic metamorphosis that the more alert listener cannot help but notice, as shown paradigmatically in Andrea Gabrieli's madrigal *Non ti sdegnar, o Filli*, which was first published in Venice in 1580, was reset seven years later in Thuringia with a German text, and again after another twenty years in Federico Borromeo's Milan with a text in Latin (see table 1).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> (Music is the sister of poetry / that wishes to become its kin; / when they understand one another little, / they are neither relatives, nor friends). The words of Giulio Strozzi on his drama *La Delia*. See *Libretti d'opera italiani dal Seicento al Novecento*, eds. Giovanna Gronda – Paolo Fabbri, Milano: Mondadori, 1997, p. LVII.

<sup>31</sup> It should also be taken into account that, although we do not know how Italian, English, German and even Latin was pronounced in the 16th and 17th centuries, it is quite likely that the pronunciation was in any case different from that of today.

<sup>32</sup> The madrigal *Non ti sdegnar o Filli* was first published in Andrea GABRIELI, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1580 (RISM A/I G 72); the *contrafactum* *Gott ist getrew* is included in *Primus liber suavissimas praestantissimorum nostrae aetatis artificum Italianorum cantilenas*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1587; the *contrafactum* *Ne confide in forma generosa* appears in *Musica tolta da i madrigali di Claudio Monteverde, e d'altri autori, a cinque et a sei voci, e fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini, Accademico Inquieto*, Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1607

Table 1

ANDREA GABRIELI 1580	MELCHIOR BACKHAUS 1587	AQUILINO COPPINI 1607
Non ti sdegnar, o Filli, ch'io ti segua, perché la tua bellezza in un momento fugge e si dilegua e se pria che ti giunga aspra vecchiezza non cogli il frutto de la tua beltade potrai forse pentirti in altra etade.	Gott ist getreu der euch nicht lest versuchen uber ewer vermügen sondern machet das ewer anfechtung so ein endt gewinne das ihrs köndt ertragen wer steht mag wol zu sehen das er nit falle, <i>wer steht mag wol zu sehen das er nit falle.</i>	Ne confide in forma generosa neque spem tuam pone in volubilitate divitiarum. Sperne prudens honores, popula res, qui dilabuntur ut in sole nives nec satiare queunt sitim tuam.

Generally speaking, the greater the difference between the two languages (think of the difference in sound between Italian and German, much greater than that between Latin and Italian), the greater the difference will be between the resulting sound of the *contrafactum* and that of its model. However, on observing certain *contrafacta*, it becomes clear that there has been an attempt to introduce a series of vowels in the substitute text that are as close as possible to those of the original text, almost as if wishing to maintain as close a sound as possible, despite the phonetic differences between the languages. This is what happens, for example, in the first phrase of the madrigal *Non ti sdegnar, o Filli* mentioned above, of which the *contrafactum* in German maintains the succession of the first three vowels O – I – E (see example 1).

(RISM B/I 1607<sup>20</sup>). On *contrafacta* in German, see Helen GEYER, “Wenig beachtete Transfer-Wege italienischer Renaissance- und Frühbarock-Musik im thüringischen Mitteldeutschland”, in *Freiberger Studien zur Orgel. Nr. 11*, Altenburg: Kamprad, 2010, pp. 30–49; Stephen ROSE, “Patriotic purification: cleansing Italian secular vocal music in Thuringia, 1575–1600”, *Early Music History*, 35, 2016, pp. 203–260; on Aquilino Coppini’s *contrafacta*, see RORKE, “Sacred contrafacta of Monteverdi”; Uwe WOLF, “Prima Arianna, poi Maria. Rielaborazioni religiose di musica vocale profana degli inizi del XVII secolo”, in *Intorno a Monteverdi*, eds. Maria Caraci Vela – Rodobaldo Tibaldi, Lucca: LIM, 1999, pp. 351–366; and Marina TOFFETTI, “Aspects of the reception of the music of Andrea Gabrieli in Milan”, *Musica Iagellonica*, 8, 2017, *Special issue: The music of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in Europe: dissemination, assimilation, adaptation* (guest editor: Marina Toffetti), pp. 5–29.



Example 1. Andrea Gabrieli, *Non ti sdegnar / Gott ist getreu / Ne confide*, Cantus, bb. 1–3

Ultimately, if a vocal composition sounds as it sounds, it is because a particular succession of syllables, with a certain sound, is set to a particular succession of notes. Furthermore, in polyphonic music we find ‘vertical’ situations of momentary reinforcement when several voices, in a homorhythmic context, simultaneously sing the same syllable (and thus the same vowel), while in the imitative sections more complex contrapuntal situations are often created, in which different voices simultaneously sing different syllables (and at times also vowels). The final outcome of these combinations of vowels is not totally predictable, and it is likely that, at least to a certain extent, it could even escape the control of the composer himself.

If this is what happens in any polyphonic composition, in the compositions with a substitute text the effects of reinforcement will continue to occur in the homorhythmic episodes (although now the syllables – and thus the vowels – highlighted will be those of the new text), whereas in the imitative episodes the presence of a combination of syllables different from that of the original can produce these effects at different moments (and on different vowels) compared to those of the model. This phenomenon could of course be studied in a more scientific manner, by calculating the exact frequency of the single vowels and consonants and of the respective reinforcements in the original composition and in the one with a new text; but even without the aid of statistics it seems evident that the preeminence of one vowel in place of another could significantly modify the timbral effect of entire passages.

It remains to be ascertained whether, and to what extent, the authors of the *contrafacta* were aware of the consequences the substitute text would have on the timbre, and whether, at least in some cases, such awareness had led them to carry out a careful topical control of the phonetic aspects of the new text. In this respect a distinction should be made between the cases where the original poetic text has been replaced with a pre-existing text, and those where the new text has been purposely prepared. In fact, when a pre-existing text is

used, the creative input of whoever made the adaptation is much more limited, and in most cases is simply a matter of choosing the text (often made on the basis of the content rather than on phonetic or musical considerations) and of how to use it (integrally or in part, faithfully or not faithfully, with or without cuts, repetitions or additions of any sort). Besides this, of course, the adapter must place the syllables correctly beneath the notes, and sometimes adapt the music itself to the new text by making some slight changes (repeated notes, small variations in rhythm, adding rests, and so on). In these cases, then, the correspondences between one text and the other are generally less frequent and, even where present, are likely not to have been entirely planned by the adapter.<sup>33</sup>

Quite different is the case of *contrafacta* with a poetic text created purposely for the new setting, in which numerous and precise topical correspondences can be found, not only concerning the contents (the meanings of the new text, often linked, by analogy or by contrast, to those of the former text), but also metrical and rhythmic elements (the use, in the new text at the same point, of words with the same number of syllables and the same stress pattern) as well as phonetic aspects (assonances or alliterations that occur at corresponding points). In more refined cases – and these are quite numerous – such correspondences, far from being casual, are quite evidently the fruit of very precise aesthetic choices and denote the cultural refinement and versifying skill of the respective authors. In any case, independently of the degree of awareness and scrutiny on the part of whoever carried out the task, in every *contrafactum* a new relationship is created between the text (and its language) and the musical structure of the model.

As concerns the questions as to whether the authors of the substitute texts were aware of the differences in timbre between one text and the other, the answer therefore seems to be mainly in the affirmative: among the *contrafacta* so far examined in the musicological literature – including the essays in the

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<sup>33</sup> On this point, see the observations on the textual adaptation procedures adopted by Geronimo Cavaglieri or by Orfeo Vecchi in their respective *contrafacta* in Antonio DELFINO, “Geronimo Cavaglieri e alcuni contrafacta di madrigali marenziani”, in *Luca Marenzio musicista europeo. Atti della Giornata di Studi marenziani (Brescia, 6 marzo 1988)*, eds. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezani – Mariella Sala, Brescia: Edizioni di Storia Bresciana, 1990, pp. 165–216; in TOFFETTI, “Aspects of the reception”, and EAD., “*Contrafacta* of Palestrina’s works printed in Milan (1597–1605)”, in the present volume, pp. 83–115.

present volume<sup>34</sup> – many have been identified in which the author of the retextualization displays care and singular expertise in the choice of terms to insert in the new text, in close correlation with the phonetic aspect of the original text. In some cases one can observe a tendency to introduce words that start with the same initial letter as the corresponding term of the model, thus creating ‘virtual’ alliterations between the words of original text and those of the substitute text placed in the same position and thus associated with the same motive.<sup>35</sup>

Andrea Gabrieli, *Dolcissimo ben mio* (1580)    Geronimo Cavaglieri, *Surge formosa mea* (1610)<sup>36</sup>

Dolcissimo ben **m**io  
(My very sweetest one).

Surge formosa **m**ea  
(Arise my beauty).

Elsewhere it can be observed how the author of the *contrafactum* has deliberately placed the same vowels in corresponding positions, giving rise to virtual phenomena of assonance.<sup>37</sup>

Andrea Gabrieli, *Sonno diletto e caro* (1580)    Aquilino Coppini, *Bonum est et suave* (1607)<sup>38</sup>

Sonno diletto e **c**aro  
(Beloved and dearest slumber).

Bonum est **e**t su**a**ve  
(It is good and sweet).

In other passages, where the original text features alliterations, assonances or other refined poetic procedures, one can note the effort to likewise insert a recurrent syllable or initial letter, even though different from that of the model.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> See in particular the articles by Toffetti, Chizzali, Comparin and Jež.

<sup>35</sup> On Geronimo Cavaglieri's collections of *contrafacta*, see DELFINO, “Geronimo Cavaglieri e alcuni contrafacta di madrigali marenziani”; TOFFETTI, “Aspects of the reception”, p. 27; and Laura MACY, “Geronimo Cavaglieri, the “Song of Songs” and female spirituality in Federico Borromeo's Milan”, *Early Music*, 39, 2011/3, pp. 349-357.

<sup>36</sup> See Addendum, table xxv: 11.

<sup>37</sup> See TOFFETTI, “Aspects of the reception”, p. 23.

<sup>38</sup> See Addendum, table xvii: 21.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

Marco Scacchi, *Dove, ah dove te n' vai* (1634)    Ambrosius Profe, *Ach wo sol ich hinkehren* (1646)<sup>40</sup>

**Perché** mi fuggi e m'abbandoni, ahi lasso,  
sul **periglioso** passo?  
Qual bene or **più** m'avanza,  
se fuggi tu, dolcissima **Speranza**?

(Why do you flee and abandon me, alas  
wretched,  
on the perilous path?  
What good or else is left me,  
if you flee, sweetest Hope?).

**Herr** sei mir gnädig und wenn ich komme  
zum sterben  
so **hab** mich nicht verderben  
mit deiner **Hand** mich führe  
und leite mich hinauf zur **Himmelstüre**.

(Lord be merciful to me and when I come to  
die  
so spoil me not  
guide me with your hand  
and lead me up to the door of Heaven).

The correspondences mentioned so far concern the sound of the words of the substitute text and that of the original. Besides this, many *contrafacta* show correspondences at a semantic level.<sup>41</sup>

Andrea Gabrieli, *Sonno diletto e caro* (1580)    Simone Molinaro, *Christe Rex virtus nostra* (1610)<sup>42</sup>

Tu mi dimostri, e sia **pur falso o vero**

Auctor salutis guida nos **non falsa, sed vera**

(You show to me, and whether it be false or  
true).

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<sup>40</sup> See Tomasz Jęż, “*Contrafacta* of Italian madrigals in Polish musical sources”, in the present volume, pp. 151–170: 162–163.

<sup>41</sup> For Gabrieli’s madrigal and the respective *contrafactum*, see *Ibid.*; on the madrigals of Marco Scacchi and the respective retextualizations, see Tomasz Jęż, “*Contraffazioni di madrigali italiani nelle fonti musicali polacche*”, in *Il sacro nel Rinascimento. Atti del XII Convegno internazionale* (Chianciano-Pienza, 17–20 luglio 2000), ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi, Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 2002, pp. 163–179 (English translation: “*Contrafacta* of Italian madrigals in Polish musical sources” in this same volume).

<sup>42</sup> See Addendum, table xxiv: 20.

Marco Scacchi, <i>Donna voi vi credete</i> (1634)	Ambrosius Profe, <i>O Tod du darfst nicht glauben</i> (1646) <sup>43</sup>
anzi ero <b>morto</b> e quando vi lasciai <b>rinacqui</b> si ch'io non <b>morro</b> più mai.	das <b>Leben</b> ich doch erbe welches Christus mir herrlich hat erworben aller selber für mich <b>gestorben</b> .
(before I was dead and when I left you I was born anew such as I shall never die again).	(I inherit <b>life</b> which Christ has gloriously acquired for me he who himself <b>died</b> for me).

Similar correspondences are particularly frequent in the poetic texts purposely written by Aquilino Coppini for the madrigals of Monteverdi.<sup>44</sup>

Claudio Monteverdi, <i>Piagn'è sospira</i> (1603)	Aquilino Coppini, <i>Plorat amare</i> (1609) <sup>45</sup>
Piagn'è sospira (She weeps and sighs).	Plorat amare (He cries bitterly).

In several cases, moreover, the substitute text uses, in the same position, a term in the new language that exactly matches that of the original text.<sup>46</sup>

Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Sonno diletto e caro</i> (1580)	Geronimo Cavaglieri, <i>Veni dilecta mea</i> (1610) <sup>47</sup>
Sonno <b>diletto</b> e caro (Beloved and dearest slumber).	Veni <b>dilecta</b> mea (come, my beloved).

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<sup>43</sup> See JEŽ, “Contrafacta of Italian madrigals”, pp. 162 and 165.

<sup>44</sup> The passage is taken from the madrigal *Voi pur da me partite*, published in Claudio MONTEVERDI, *Il quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venezia: Appresso Ricciardo Amadino, 1603 (RISM A/I M 3467); the *contrafactum Tu vis a me* appears in Aquilino Coppini's collection published in 1609 (see Addendum, table XXI: 8); see RORKE, “Sacred contrafacta of Monteverdi”, p. 171.

<sup>45</sup> See Addendum, table XXI: 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> See Addendum, table XXV: 2.



However, the majority of the correspondences highlighted could most likely be perceived and appreciated only by a very limited circle of listeners: by those able to understand the meaning of the substitute text and to remember at least the sense (but possibly also the single words) of that of the model. We must therefore postulate that there could be various levels of fruition depending on the different degree of cultural awareness, sufficient to determine a different approach during the listening. It is not easy to say how many listeners were able, at the time, to enjoy these sophisticated musical products to the full. In any case it would be a huge mistake to conclude that this music could speak only to the cultural élites of the era, leaving all the other listeners indifferent. Also the less cultured listener, even “*sanza intender l'inno*” (“without distinguishing the hymn”, i.e. without understanding the text), would have been able to realize that with a different text, and even more so if in a different language, the music sounded different.

#### 4. Sacred, secular, devotional

Si le beau est présence réelle de Dieu dans la matière,  
si le contact avec le beau est au plein sens du mot un sacrement,  
comment y a-t-il tant d'esthètes pervers?<sup>48</sup>

We have seen how a large number of the *contrafacta* published between the end of the 16th and first half of the 17th century were madrigals, which were then given a new sacred text. In such cases it is generally believed that a secular composition has been ‘transformed’ into a sacred composition (that a madrigal has been transformed into a motet) through a simple substitution of the text. But is it really possible to ‘make sacred’ something that is not sacred? And are we sure that such an operation of substitution is really a simple, ingenuous, or unfailingly instrumental operation? In order to verify the validity of such an affirmation, I believe we must clarify what we mean by sacred music, and more especially what was meant by sacred music in the period in which the practice of textual substitution under examination took place. In the passage quoted at the start of this section Simone Weil defines beauty as an authentic ‘sacrament’;

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<sup>48</sup> (If beauty is the true presence of God in matter, if contact with beauty is, in the full sense of the word, a sacrament, why is it that there are so many perverse aesthetes?). Simone WEIL, *L'ombra e la grazia*, eds. Georges Hourdin – Franco Fortini, Firenze: Giunti-Bompiani, 2017 (1 ed. Bompiani, 2000; ed. orig.: *La pesanteur et la grace*, Paris: Librairie Plon, 1947), p. 268.

and elsewhere, she refers specifically to the art of music, defining it as nourishment for the mind of the listener.<sup>49</sup> Sacred is therefore what acts, functions, prompts an effect: an artistic object able to transform all those who expose themselves to it. In the case of music, sacred is a composition that involves the listener while listening, that produces an impact on him or her, because, while listening, something actually happens inside him or her; sacred is high music, which fathoms the depths of the human soul and intimately probes the listener, allowing him to connect with his deepest sphere and with his most secret dimension; it is music that asks the final question, interrogates about sense; music born from thought, that is itself thought, and generates thought.

But how was sacred music conceived between the end of the 16th and start of the 17th century? And what do the compositions subjected to textual substitution tell us about this? Does it make sense to maintain that the simple substitution of a text was sufficient to ‘make sacred’ a composition that was not sacred? Is it a well-posed question? On the one hand it is true that the definition ‘sacred music’ commonly refers to compositions which, by virtue of their text and their generally serious and solemn character, are thought to be at least ‘suitable’ for use in a liturgical or devotional context.<sup>50</sup> The presence of a text taken from the Holy Scriptures (and especially from certain particularly well-loved books, like the Psalms or the Song of Songs, not by chance both poetic in nature) or from the liturgy are surely important indicators for the purposes of assigning a composition to the sacred as opposed to the secular genre. On the other hand, one might say that the authors of the substitute text – not by chance endowed with a refined musical sensitivity, as denoted by their musical choices – far from perceiving anything *lascivum aut impurum* in it,<sup>51</sup> had in

<sup>49</sup> “Quand on écoute du Bach ou une mélodie grégorienne, toutes les facultés de l’âme se tendent et se taisent, pour appréhender cette chose parfaitement belle, chacune à sa façon. L’intelligence entre autres: elle n’y trouve rien à affirmer et à nier, mais elle s’en nourrit”. (When one listens to Bach or to a Gregorian melody, all the faculties of the soul stretch out and are silent in order to grasp that perfectly beautiful object, each in their own way. Intelligence among others; it finds nothing there to affirm or to deny; but is nourished). See WEIL, *L’ombra e la grazia*, pp. 228–229.

<sup>50</sup> On church and devotional music in the Catholic and Lutheran contexts, see Lorenzo BIANCONI, *Il Seicento*, Torino: E.D.T. Edizioni di Torino, 1982 (Storia della musica a cura della Società Italiana di Musicologia, 5), pp. 115–157.

<sup>51</sup> Uwe Wolf is convinced that the *contrafacta* contravened what he believes to be the “only concrete norm on church music expressed in the Council of Trent, namely that in mensural music during the Mass nothing could be performed that was of secular provenance”. In reality

some way perceived the ‘sacredness’ of the music that they subsequently retextualized (otherwise they would probably have made use of different music); and that the substitution of the text had if anything helped to make evident this intrinsic quality. Besides, if their wish was to celebrate the Divine (admitted, and not taking for granted, that this was the intention of the authors of the new texts), why should they have done so using second-rate music?

For a long time it was believed that, given a sacred text, the music simply served to convey the text or – at most – to enhance its sense (think of what St Augustine wrote in the famous chapter of his *Confessions* dedicated to the sense of hearing).<sup>52</sup> And yet St Augustine, in the same chapter, had repeatedly oscillated between condemning the pleasure of listening and praising the capacity of music to uplift the soul of listeners, thus placing himself under the sign of an irreducible ambivalence. The ambivalence of music, already lucidly discussed by philosophers and theologians of every era (including, in recent times, Hans Küng),<sup>53</sup> led to very different, and even opposite, reactions and attitudes among the principal exponents of the Reformation (think of Martin Luther’s attitude, for whom music was a wonderful gift of God, and that of Calvin, who on the contrary feared its charm and ostracized it) and of the so-called Counter-reformation (think of the different ways the synthetic and generic dispositions regarding music issued during the Council of Trent were interpreted at a local level).<sup>54</sup>

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the indication emanated by the Council asked to avoid performing, with voices or with the organ, music in which “lascivum aut impurum aliquid misceatur”: but the compositions subjected to retextualization were clearly not held to be lascivious or impure. See WOLF, “Prima Arianna, poi Maria”, p. 364.

<sup>52</sup> See AGOSTINO, *Confessioni*, Testo latino a fronte, Monografia introduttiva, traduzione, parafrasi, note e indici di Giovanni Reale, Milano: Bompiani, 2012 (Il pensiero occidentale), pp. 968–971: 969.

<sup>53</sup> “While there are truly religious people who have exalted music as the purest form of spirituality, there are others, precisely for religious reasons, who have condemned it as the most reprovable form of sensuality. Indeed, if some also approve of instrumental music, considering it the highest point of religious enthusiasm, others – not only the Fathers of the Church, but also Calvin – have attempted to ban it from the cult and often even from secular life”. Hans KÜNG, *Musik und Religion. Mozart – Wagner – Bruckner*, München: Piper Verlag, 2006 (trad. it.: Brescia: Queriniana, 2012, p. 12).

<sup>54</sup> See CRAIG MONSON, “The Council of Trent revisited”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55, 2002/1, pp. 1–37; see also the more recent DAVID J. BURN – GRANTLEY McDONALD, “Music, Theology, and the European Reformations”, in *Music and Theology in the European Reformations*, eds. David J. Burn – Grantley McDonald – Joseph Verheyden – Peter De Mey, Turnhout: Brepols, 2019 (Épître musical), pp. 25–32.

Besides these aspects, it is necessary to clarify whether, in the period we are dealing with, there actually existed a substantial distinction between sacred and secular music and, if so, what did this consist of concretely in terms of technique and style. If we attempted to identify the intrinsically musical features that allow us to distinguish the sacred repertoire from the secular, we would probably find rather few. Of course, certain conventions existed regarding the genre of the composition, the choice of text to set (which could be a poetic text, a liturgical or devotional text, or a text on a spiritual matter taken from different sources or composed *ex-novo*), or else the language (Latin for sacred compositions in the catholic sphere, the vernacular for sacred music in territories affected by the Reformation and for secular music). These conventions, however, acted as 'markers' to indicate what in different times and places was defined sacred or secular, or rather, what was considered suitable for a given context of performance. But what, in terms of the musical substance, did these conventions entail? In the case of a vocal composition, did they concern only the text, or did they also involve the formal structure, the type of motives, the tonal plan, and the rhythmic gait of the music?

On this matter it seems helpful to turn to certain concepts already clearly expressed by Heinrich Bessler,<sup>55</sup> whose volume on listening to music in the modern age (1959) offers an original point of view, dealing in a historical perspective with a theme, such as listening to music, traditionally held to be the exclusive territory of the systematic musicologist. In particular, his considerations on the solemn and elevated style of the madrigal in the 16th century contain points of reflection that are still valid today:

Solemnity, dignity are the ideal of the time; throughout Europe music is made in the same way. [...]

The Netherlands, Spain, England, Central and Eastern Europe are all tuned to the same diapason. It is under the sign of this dignity that the Italian madrigal knows its imposing affirmation; and since the art of counterpoint merges here with a new culture of musical blends, the madrigal soon becomes the point of reference everywhere. [...] The vocal polyphonic current originated in the sacred music of the 15th century, with the birth of choral polyphony. In the following century also secular compositions were reshaped according to the same model.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> We like to recall that Heinrich Bessler, before studying musicology with Wilibald Gurlitt, Guido Adler and Wilhelm Fischer, had studied philosophy with Martin Heidegger.

<sup>56</sup> HEINRICH BESSELER, *Das musikalische Hören der Neuzeit*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1959 (trad. it. Maurizio Giani, *L'ascolto musicale nell'età moderna*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993, p. 37).

In the late Renaissance, then, the same uninterrupted flow, the same *gravitas*, and the same composure pervade not only the musical forms with sacred texts, but also those with secular texts (or at least some of them, among which certainly the madrigal). Just as Heinrich Bessler had noted in the 1950s, this can be perceived by any listener in any period. From this, it can be inferred that in the late Renaissance there were no appreciable technical-stylistic differences allowing the listener to distinguish between the sacred output and the secular. And it is precisely this fundamental homogeneity of style that provides the grounds for making such operations of retextualization practicable, aimed, substantially, at transforming compositions born as madrigals into motets. This transformation took place, then, not by ‘rendering sacred’ a composition that previously was not, but rather by modifying its *facies* (the text: the most characterizing element in defining the sacred genre) so as to make it acceptable and practicable also in liturgical or devotional contexts, after having recognized and experienced its charm.

Such considerations should not, on the other hand, lead us to commit the error of believing that the text did not assume any appreciable role. In reflecting on the characteristics of perception and of musical listening in the age of the European Reformations, Bessler suitably underlined the crucial role of the *conceptual* comprehension of the texts of vocal polyphonic compositions. According to him, the 16th century is distinguished by a model of listening oriented towards the “perception” of the meaning of the text, prevalently religious: a model in which “the listener cannot limit himself to listening with the senses, but must at the same time also perceive with his mind”.<sup>57</sup> Bessler claims, in fact, that in compositions from this period “the primary element is not the sonic-musical aspect, but rather a content that is formulated conceptually”<sup>58</sup> within the text, whether poetic, liturgical or paraliturgical, that is set case by case to music. Moreover, “the course of the compositions tends to be organized in a prosastic form, in a free succession of ever new segments (*durchkomponiert*) adhering to the portions of text in turn set to sounds”.<sup>59</sup> In other words, Bessler believes that listening to the vocal music of the 16th century “presupposes that the text is followed section by section, and that the motives are understood

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<sup>57</sup> Ivi, p. 42.

<sup>58</sup> Ivi, p. 39.

<sup>59</sup> Antonio SERRAVEZZA, *Introduzione all'edizione italiana*, in Ivi, p. 10.

starting from the words”,<sup>60</sup> which furthermore explains the use of German in liturgical music within the Lutheran context.<sup>61</sup> But what was the purpose of such an intense form of listening? Solely “to attain a spiritual understanding”.<sup>62</sup>

We know, however, that the retextualized music of the 16th and 17th century did not make use exclusively of the high and powerful genre of the madrigal, but also metabolized simpler and lighter musical genres, based on strophic poetic compositions aimed at pure entertainment, with joyfully sensual or elegantly allusive subject matters: there are numerous cases of canzonette, villanelle, canzoni “alla napolitana” and other light genres that have been given, at times with loving care, at others with a more bigoted intent and like fig leaves, texts of edifying character with a function of educational entertainment.<sup>63</sup> While it is evident that the authors of such operations, understandably in line with the education they themselves had received, were concerned about the malice of the original texts, they nevertheless appear not only to have received, but also appreciated the pleasant freshness and sweet refinement of the compositions chosen as models to serve the noble cause of molding a healthy youth.<sup>64</sup> An example from among the many is Giovanni Ferretti’s 8-voice mascherata *O consia caldari* (1575), taken up by Melchior Backhaus with the substitute text *Veritas triumphat* in his first book of *contrafacta* (1587).<sup>65</sup>

If, then, on the one hand one might be inclined to suggest that in the period under examination the text was the only truly distinctive element in qualifying a vocal composition as sacred or secular (music with a sacred text was sacred,

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<sup>60</sup> BESSELER, *L’ascolto musicale*, p. 39.

<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, the use of German was not an end in itself: “If the congregation understands the language, there is no reason to change it, as the general purpose of reforming the liturgy in terms of language was to make it clear and understandable, not necessarily to make it non-Latin”. See Katarzyna SPURGJASZ, “*Salve Iesu Christe, Rex misericordiae*. Lutheran adaptations of pre-Reformation repertoire from St Elisabeth’s Church in Wrocław”, in this same volume, pp. 173–186: 174.

<sup>62</sup> BESSELER, *L’ascolto musicale*, p. 42.

<sup>63</sup> Numerous collections of *contrafacta* of canzonette and other light genres are included in the Addendum.

<sup>64</sup> In underlining certain no less significant aspects of the phenomenon of the spiritual parody of songs with an erotic subject, Lorenzo Bianconi stressed the “process of the exploitation and domestication of popular culture [...] undertaken with propagandistic zeal by the Church [...] in the modern era”, defining it as a process of appropriation-expropriation. See BIANCONI, *Il Seicento*, p. 130.

<sup>65</sup> On this matter, see the cited article by CHIZZALI, “Text and context of the Thuringian *contrafactum*”, p. 65.

and thus performable in liturgical or devotional settings; music with a secular text was secular, deemed suitable for other contexts), on the other, reflection on the phenomenon of retextualization seems to lead to rather more nuanced conclusions. Far from being a coarse ‘imbraghetamento’<sup>66</sup> or ‘cover-up’, a mere re-packaging or a superficial *maquillage*, many of the *contrafacta* examined prove to be highly refined and accomplished artifacts. They are often the outcome of efforts by culturally sensitive and up-to-date lay individuals or clerics, lovers of music and probably motivated to contribute to the diffusion and perhaps also to a more widespread and ‘democratic’ fruition (a diffusion that, over and above the intentions of the authors of the new texts, actually proved to be wider) of certain artistic-musical products of good quality, which until then had been the exclusive prerogative of quite limited aristocratic circles.

In conclusion, it could be said that in the historical phase we are dealing with, the majority of the retextualization procedures were motivated by two main aims, which were moreover not wholly incompatible: that of prolonging the life of particularly well-loved polyphonic-vocal compositions, by making them performable also in contexts in which they would not have been considered so with their original text; and that of making available to the faithful, and also to the less cultivated, music of appreciable quality that could accompany prayer and make it more effective and elevated.

## 5. Doctrine, boundaries, and *religio*

The reflections made so far could well refer in general terms to any operation of textual substitution; however they more closely concern the *contrafacta* of madrigals by the most famous composers and the operations that could be considered more culturally refined. But in the century we are dealing with in this volume we can also find other ways of re-elaborating the texts set to music, many of which respond to much more concrete needs, among which that of helping the comprehension of a text already set to music where its

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<sup>66</sup> Daniele Ricciarelli (1509–1566), better known as Daniele da Volterra, alias “Il Braghettone” or the “Breeches-maker” was a respectable 16th century painter who would surely have been forgotten were he not sadly known for having “breeched” (that is, covered with clothing and fig leaves) the nudes depicted in Michelangelo’s Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel (certainly, on order of the then pope Pius IV, to whom it would presumably not have been easy to say no...).



language was not understood, and that of making well-loved and appreciated compositions acceptable and performable in a context that is different and far from the original one. It is worth noting that, in some areas affected by different religious reforms and by frequent shifts of borders, it was precisely music that acted as an authentic *religio*, in the etymological sense of the term, and that is as a socio-cultural and properly *religious* unifier irrespective of any geo-political frontier – Katarzyna Spurgjasz expresses this well in her essay on Lutheran adaptations of pre-Reformation repertoire: “The soundscapes of different neighboring ecclesiastical communities seem to be quite similar”<sup>67</sup> – over and above any doctrinal discussion or confessional division, and despite any attempt to impose limits or labels on it. In such a perspective, we will look more indulgently at the countless episodes of textual adaptations (a good number are examined in the present volume, especially in Maria Schildt’s article on the materials of the Düben collection, but there are good reasons to believe that the phenomenon actually assumed much larger proportions), and at the countless topical ‘patches’ applied to the sacred texts to normalize their *facies* and/or to guarantee their usability (think of the many Madonnas praised in pre-Reformation liturgical songs, which were readily transformed into as many Christs by the zeal of the Lutheran choir masters).

As previously mentioned, the use or re-use of a poetic or musical text can be an act of creation, or re-creation, which gives rise to a new birth; when the intention is instead to take up an artistic object, a poetic or musical composition, and to remould it for new functions or for extraneous purposes at the cost of deforming it and misconstruing its sense, then it becomes a case of mis-use, violence, abuse. The first category includes operations of retextualization that respect the sense of the original text, paying attention to its metric and phonetic values, and which are therefore effective as a whole; the second comprises approximate procedures, carried out hurriedly and without respecting the balance between the rhythmic and metric structure of the model and that of the new text, with little attention to the correct accentuation of the words and thus on the whole poorly accomplished. An exemplary case of effective and creative retextualization is that of Claudio Monteverdi’s madrigal *Cruda Amarilli*, reshaped with the substitute text *Felle amaro* in Aquilino Coppini’s collection

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<sup>67</sup> See SPURGJASZ, “*Salve Iesu Christe*”, pp. 173–186: 175.

(1607);<sup>68</sup> a paradigmatic example of a poorly made, miscarried and unaccomplished *contrafactum* is that of Stefano Landi's madrigal *Arde, Filli*, to which Gustav Düben partially affixed the sacred text *Isti sunt triumphatores*, though later abandoning the undertaking.<sup>69</sup>

Alongside these 'extreme' cases, however, there are countless intermediate situations, where a pre-existing vocal composition has undergone only slight modifications without resulting completely transformed or re-created, nor irredeemably disfigured, but simply adapted to a new context. The numerous adaptations made to liturgical music in the Lutheran context (Maria Schildt has examined several of different kinds) mostly belong to this category,<sup>70</sup> and stem from the desire to concile the love for traditional liturgical or devotional music with the respect for certain unrenounceable principles of the new doctrine. As Katarzyna Spurgjasz effectively points out, "all such adjustments, adaptations and *contrafacta* might be considered as traces of living music culture in the times of confessional changes".<sup>71</sup> Paraphrasing somewhat freely the fourth Gospel (John 3, 8), we can only remark that *music* – authentic sacrament, and at times the only true *religio* – *sounds* (and is always resounded) *where it wishes*.

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<sup>68</sup> See Addendum, table xvii: 1; RORKE, "Sacred contrafacta", p. 169.

<sup>69</sup> See Lars BERGLUND, "*Arde Fillis / Isti sunt*: a *contrafactum* by Gustav Düben, based on a madrigal by Stefano Landi, and previously attributed to Giacomo Carissimi", in this same volume, pp. 187–208.

<sup>70</sup> Maria SCHILDT, "Re-using pre-existing music with new texts. Repertoire for court and church in seventeenth-century Sweden", in this same volume, pp. 209–245.

<sup>71</sup> See SPURGJASZ, "*Salve Iesu Christe*", p. 175.

### Summary

The present article examines the *contrafacta*, vocal compositions in which the original text has been modified or substituted with a new text, sometimes in a different language, thus representing intertextual artifacts *par excellence*. The phenomenon of re-textualization is investigated from different points of view: from the phonetic-timbre perspective, it has been observed that the substitution of the text, especially when the new text is in a different language, determines a change in the way the composition sounds, as any listener can note, even without being able to distinguish the words while listening; with regards the reception, it has been observed that the different categories of listeners could appreciate the *contrafacta* each with a different level of comprehension: the more simple listener enjoying it in a less conscious manner; the more informed listener being able to grasp its more refined aspects; from the viewpoint of transmission, the *contrafacta* have been read as signs of the dissemination of a composition; from that of the *Wirkungsgeschichte*, as indicators of the duration of its effectiveness.

Besides the quantitative data of the phenomenon (which madrigals were subjected to the greatest number of re-textualization procedures? Which collections were appreciated longer than others?), an attempt has been made to assess *in what way* the compositions assumed as models have been given new life. From this point of view, the procedure of textual substitution proved to be partly similar to translation. Just as a good translation (*traducere* means to transfer) aims to revive the sense of a text by unveiling in a new language meanings that the original language was not able to render explicit, music similarly does not limit itself to 'clothing' a text, but goes beyond, revealing its deeper sense. In the same way, the affixation of a new text to a pre-existing composition can at times shed further light on the sense of the original text, even if the meaning of the new text is apparently far from that of the first, while in other cases it can betray it. This explains the efficacy of the apparent 'transmigration' of compositions from the secular domain to the sacred: sacred is what produces an emotional impact on the listener, it is the sense conveyed by the music, over and above the meaning of the text that has been set. It is no coincidence that, in an era of frequent doctrinal reforms and confessional divisions such as the one in question (16th- and 17th-century), music acted, in varying circumstances, as a genuine *religio*, uniting different communities within a relatively stable and common sonic landscape, irrespective of the constantly shifting geopolitical borders of the time.

Keywords: *contrafactum*, sense/signifié, text/music, text/context, sacred/secular, music and religion, adaptation/re-use.



## PART ONE

### RE-THINKING AND RE-CREATING MUSIC



Alessandra Petrina

## **The court of James VI of Scotland (1566–1625) and its reception of Italian musical modes**

Between the end of the sixteenth and the early decades of the seventeenth century the madrigal flourished in England, in imitation of the Italian style. Such imitation was expressed in both musical and literary terms: and it is no coincidence that this interest in the musical form of the madrigal encountered the developing interest in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, after the greater attention given in previous years to Petrarch's Latin works, or to his *Triumphs*. In the context of a heightened interest for Italian literature and culture, the *Canzoniere* and its increasing European fame drew poets' and musicians' attention to a poetic form, the sonnet, that could provide the ideal challenge for the creation of new musical forms.

The shift in taste in metrical forms coincided with (or perhaps was determined by) new musical interests. In sixteenth-century England poets progressively abandoned one of the most successful late medieval metrical forms, rhyme royal, which was employed perhaps for the last time by William Shakespeare in his *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), and turned to the sonnet, starting with Sir Thomas Wyatt's early experiments at Petrarchan translations, some of which appeared in print as early as 1557. Such a change is extremely significant, as it signals the English poets' attention for a completely new dimension: the rhyme royal stanza, used most famously by Geoffrey Chaucer in *Troilus and Criseyde*, lent itself to narrative or epic poetry, answering the needs of late medieval literary expression, while the sonnet, with its extremely short, closed



and asymmetric structure, became the ideal vehicle of lyric poetry, demanding the articulation of an idea or the expression of a feeling within a very restricted number of syllables, whose structuring depended on the logical articulation of a concept. As such, the sonnet was the ideal terrain for metrical experimentation (as happened in English poetry, which transformed the octave-and-sixtain structure of the Petrarchan sonnet into three quatrains and a couplet, thus also deeply modifying the very meaning of the form), as well as to musical settings.

The reception and adaptation of the sonnet in England is just one instance of a wide-ranging movement that transformed the Tudor period into an extraordinary moment of development in English literature. It has been famously written that “a study of Elizabethan translation is a study of the means by which the Renaissance came to England”,<sup>1</sup> and although the statement needs some qualification, it is true that English culture in the sixteenth century can be described in terms of *Übersetzungskultur*: a culture of reception, translation and adaptation, of literary texts as well as of artistic, architectural and musical modes. The connection between poetry and music in this instance was strengthened by the fact that a number of poets were also musicians: among the most famous instances is probably Thomas Campion (1567–1620), who used his competence in both poetry and music to develop his theory of metre and write two treatises, *Observations in the art of English poesie* (1591, first published in 1602),<sup>2</sup> and *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint* (1613).<sup>3</sup> But we might also instance the polymath Thomas Watson (1555–1592), who introduced to English culture the Italian sonnet cycle with his *Hekatompathia*, after translating the whole of Petrarch’s *Canzoniere* into Latin, and, towards the end of his life, published *The First Sett of Italian Madrigals Englished, not to the Sense of the Original Dittie, but after Affection of the Noate* (1590), a collection of madrigals which, rather than offering a straightforward translation of the Italian originals, used the music composed by Luca Marenzio for Italian

<sup>1</sup> Francis Otto MATTHIESSEN, *Translation. An Elizabethan Art*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas CAMPION, *Observations in the art of English poesie*, London: Richard Field for Andrew Wise, 1602.

<sup>3</sup> This treatise appeared in print only long after Campion’s death, as part of a larger volume: Thomas CAMPION, *The art of setting or composing of musick in parts. By a most familiar and easie rule: in three severall treatises. I. Of making foure parts in counterpoint. II. A necessary discourse of the severall keyes, and their proper closes. III. The allowed passages of all concords perfect and imperfect*, London: John Playford, 1655.

madrigals in order to offer English *contrafacta*, not conforming to the “sense of the original ditty” but trying to reproduce the “affection of the note” instead.<sup>4</sup> In both cases they drew on a European education (Campion studied first in Cambridge and Gray’s Inn, but finally obtained his degree at the University of Caen; Watson, after spending some time at Oxford, travelled to France, and was both in Paris and at the English college in Douai) and on their knowledge of the Italian language and Italian musical modes in order to move away from the very models they had learnt from, and to propose new, autonomous and wholly English poetic and musical forms. The exchange between poetry and music worked both ways: in his *Art of English Poesy*, George Puttenham described *proportion* as a newly devised concept, “because the Greeks nor Latins never had it in use, nor made any observation”:<sup>5</sup> and dedicating the second book to this concept, borrowed the term and basic concept, as he himself wrote, from mathematics, but much of the terminology and description from music, thus indicating a specificity in the poetry of his own time that resided in its closeness to and interaction with musical practice.<sup>6</sup>

This phenomenon has been studied as part of the great surge of poetic experimentation that makes Elizabethan and Jacobean literature one of the most innovative stages of English intellectual life; Elizabethan music has also been the object of studies that have analysed the relation between word and music and the development of the Elizabethan song as a uniquely hybrid form.<sup>7</sup> Far less attention has been paid to Scotland, whose geographical position and exceptional historical circumstances contributed to the development of a Renaissance that takes a completely different path from that of its neighbour England, or even of Europe as a whole. The marginal position of Scottish early modern literature has often been the object of regret, both on the part of the

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<sup>4</sup> Albert CHATTERLEY, “Thomas Watson”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn., Oxford University Press, 2004; <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28866> (last accessed 24 September 2019).

<sup>5</sup> George PUTTENHAM, *The Art of English Poesy*, eds. Frank Whigham – Wayne A. Rebhorn, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007, p. 146.

<sup>6</sup> PUTTENHAM, *The Art of English Poesy*, pp. 153–219. See also James Anderson WINN, *Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of the Relations between Poetry and Music*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Bruce PATTISON, *Music and Poetry in the English Renaissance*, London: Methuen, 1948; John STEVENS, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court*, London: Methuen, 1961; Winifred MAYNARD, *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and its Music*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

writers of the time and of modern scholars: but it may also be read as the key to Scotland's never-ending exploration of continental models and its development of forms, such as the sonnet, once they had long exhausted their vitality in the continent, particularly in Italy or France. By speaking from the margins, within, as it were, its own cultural time-zone, Scotland transformed this marginal space into a locus of discussion, and proposed an alternative model of literary development, based on a network of translation, coterie literature, cooperation and exchange. What I will explore in the following pages is the heightened interest for Italian culture at a pivotal point of Scotland's cultural and literary development, that is, during the reign of James VI; I will thus attempt to chart the traces we have of the developing relation between literature and music within this frame.

While the development of early modern Scottish literature (especially literature in English) has been made the object of a number of studies, with its relation to Italian literature as the focus of special attention,<sup>8</sup> very few studies have been devoted to early modern Scottish music. It should be remembered that, at least as seen from a European perspective, Scotland's culture remained marginal throughout the sixteenth century: in part this was because of its peculiar historical circumstances. The country's early attempt at internationalization and cultural Europeanization took place during the reign of James IV (1473–1513), with the establishment of the first printing press in Edinburgh and the flourishing of a humanist poetry that had its climax in Gavin Douglas's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*. However, this period of intellectual renewal was brutally cut short by the Scottish defeat against the English army at the battle of Flodden Field in 1513. The King himself was killed, and when his successor ascended the throne he was still an infant, while the Queen Mother (Margaret Tudor) strove against the odds to keep the Court politically and culturally alive. This sudden and catastrophic turn of events considerably slowed down Scotland's attempt to connect with the faster-moving development of European culture, and for some time considerably limited cultural contacts with southern Europe.

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<sup>8</sup> The earliest systematic work is Ronald D. S. JACK, *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1972; see also ID., *Scottish Literature's Debt to Italy*, Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2010<sup>2</sup>.

Yet in the following decades we see the first signs of what has been called “an impossible, or improbable, first Scottish Renaissance”,<sup>9</sup> a Renaissance culminating in the last decade of the sixteenth century with the creation, at the court of James VI, of a literary and musical coterie. King James VI (1566–1625) had, in his turn, ascended the throne while still in his infancy, and had obtained a humanist education thanks to two rather exceptional preceptors, George Buchanan and Peter Young; this education had allowed him to be fluent in a number of languages, and to acquire a library that reflected European cultural trends. Although during his life he would never move for more than a short time outside the British Isles, he was therefore in contact with Italian and French literature, as well as with the classical cultural inheritance. As he moved towards maturity, he realised that the development of Scottish culture depended on a closer interaction with the poetry of Scotland’s neighbours – England, but also France and Italy. He thus drew at his court a group of scholars, poets and musicians, some of them newly graduated in Scottish and European universities, and he himself embarked on a program of writing and translating, mainly from contemporary French poetry and literary theory. Over the last few decades this coterie has been made the object of many studies, both as concerns individual figures and as a cultural movement; the surge of critical interest was initiated by Helena Mennie Shire’s pivotal study, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI*. Although this book was immensely influential for literary historians reconstructing the poetic coterie that was formed under the reign of James VI in the 1580s and that is generally known with the name of Castalian Band (which shall be discussed below, in its relation with the development of continental musical forms), Shire’s main interest, the flourishing of music in sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Scotland, has been strangely neglected. Shire well describes the paradoxical circumstances in which this movement developed:

Not in its history only but in its geography also Scotland asks for individual consideration as a ground for the cultivation of courtly song. Remote and peripheral among countries of Western Europe, it was cut off for more than half the year by impassable weather; poor in resources and undeveloped in comparison with England or France,

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<sup>9</sup> Sarah M. DUNNIGAN, “Reformation and Renaissance”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature*, eds. Gerard Carruthers – Liam McIlvanney, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 41–55: 41.

it was yet, according to its powers, proud in princely state: torn by faction it was yet alert to foreign politics.<sup>10</sup>

Scotland's geographic isolation was one of the many factors that made its relationship with contemporary European culture in many ways unique. In spite of the development of the Edinburgh court, with a King that was increasingly recognised as the source of central power, local thanes and chieftains would exercise control especially in the most remote areas of the country; at the same time, the monarch had to contend with the role of the Church. These central institutions suffered a major setback and were seriously weakened, if far from destroyed, by the Scottish army's disaster at Flodden: but after a few decades, as Scotland moved towards the end of the sixteenth century, the strengthening of both court and Kirk meant that, even if political and ideological dissensions were inevitable, the flourishing of culture would be supported, with different modalities, on both sides.

There was in Scotland a strong tradition of both secular and sacred song; unfortunately, this traditional repertory was never printed in its time, and never entered the European mainstream (very much the same happened with popular poetry, and with writing in Gaelic).<sup>11</sup> This very particular situation had also engendered a special poetic role: the Scottish *makar*, a unique figure that develops from the bard, the ancient minstrel-poet, in the direction of more consciously literary composition, and with a heightened awareness of their role: "in their writing and in their self-conscious examination of their craft, these poets reassess the value and effect of poetry".<sup>12</sup> Such an attitude also required them to move away from the established tradition of bardic composition, and to look abroad (whether in England or in the Continent) to find new modalities of poetry and music-making. As we move into the reign of James VI, we find the *makar* morphed into the Scottish court-poet, a much more European

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<sup>10</sup> Helena Mennie SHIRE, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 6. For a recent collection of essays that re-assesses much of Shire's work (although looking at it exclusively from the point of view of the literary historian), see *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change, 1567–1625*, ed. David J. Parkinson, Leuven: Peeters, 2013.

<sup>11</sup> On this point see Sim INNES – Alessandra PETRINA, "The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", in *The International Companion to Scottish Poetry*, ed. Carla Sassi, Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2015, pp. 44–53.

<sup>12</sup> Lois A. EBIN, *Illuminator, Makar, Vates: Visions of Poetry in the Fifteenth Century*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988, p. 49.

figure, who however maintains this open and curious attitude, and contributes to the absorption of foreign poetic forms. A representative figure is Alexander Scott (c. 1520–1582/83), a true *courtly makar* whose pieces appear in George Bannatyne's collection of ballads (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Ms. Adv. 1.1.6; the collection includes thirty-five poems who may be attributable to Scott), dated 1565–68.<sup>13</sup> Although much of his poetry has echoes of contemporary European modes, having been called “metaphysical rather than Petrarchan”,<sup>14</sup> he apparently was never in direct contact with non-indigenous poetic and musical modes; the generation after him would see a more intense exchange across the border, and across the Channel.

In recent times, though much attention has been dedicated to popular song, court song has only been the subject of sporadic research.<sup>15</sup> In the early part of the sixteenth century, there are attestations of occasional contacts with the continent: in 1529 the musician Thomas de Averencia of Brescia (then in the service of Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan), spent a winter at the court of James IV, King of Scotland.<sup>16</sup> Earlier on, Alexander Stewart (1493–1513), natural son of James IV and Archbishop of St Andrews and another of the casualties of Flodden, was described by Erasmus of Rotterdam, who had accompanied him to study at the University of Padua, in his *Adagia* as “tall, graceful, and dignified of bearing, albeit short-sighted; introspective, devout, quiet, modest, level-headed, yet of a lively intellect, hungry to learn, with a rare ability to tackle diverse tasks simultaneously, and with an innate love of music and aptitude for music-making”.<sup>17</sup> Such traces, however, are too occasional and

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<sup>13</sup> Scott's poetical and musical production is discussed in SHIRE, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 44–55.

<sup>14</sup> Theo VAN HEIJNSBERGEN, “Alexander Scott”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn., Oxford University Press, 2004; <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24857> (last accessed 1 October 2019).

<sup>15</sup> Apart from Shire's study, and from small contributions on individual compositions and musicians, the most important publications in the field are the “Musica Scotica” series, published in the 1990s by the University of Glasgow Music Department.

<sup>16</sup> John PURVES, “Fowler and Scoto-Italian Cultural Relations in the Sixteenth Century”, in *The Works of William Fowler*, vol. 3, eds. Henry W. Meikle – James Craigie – John Purves, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1940, pp. LXXX–CL, p. XCII. See also John McQUAID, *Musicians of the Scottish Reformation*, PhD dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1949, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> Trevor CHALMERS, “Alexander Stewart”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn., Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26454> (last accessed 22 September 2019).



evanescent to offer us the possibility of retracing the development of courtly song in Scotland in the first half of the sixteenth century.

In the 1580s, however, the political situation had changed, and such a change notably influenced Scottish cultural life. Queen Mary, who had also ascended the throne at an extremely early age, in 1542, had married the French Dauphin and lived, however briefly, at the French court. Upon her return, she had brought to Scotland French books and Italian music, but her reign was short and her attempt to bring new cultural fashions to the country had been strongly opposed by the Church. When her son, James VI, became King, he was only thirteen, and for many years his tutelage did not allow him to exert any influence on Scottish intellectual life. But in the early 1580s he began to call at his court poets and musicians, and to attempt a renovation of cultural life. His education had made him fluent in Latin and French, and in the years between his coronation as King of Scotland (1579) and his becoming King of England (1603) he devoted part of his energies and efforts to bring a new Renaissance to Scottish poetry. Music was inevitably drawn into this movement. Ascending on the throne of Scotland at a very early age, James VI invested much of his time and energy in the first years of his reign in creating a circle of poets, musicians and translators – a circle sometimes known by scholars with the name of *Castalian band* – with whom he worked at renovating Scottish culture, drawing from contemporary French and Italian examples; some of the writers of this group, including the King, translated from French and Italian writers such as Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, Petrarch, Ariosto, or Machiavelli, thus positing a radical transformation of Scottish writing, in the exploration of new genres and the acquisition of a new lexicon.

In recent years the literary output of this coterie has been attentively and thoroughly explored, though less attention has been paid to music: yet some of its members, such as the brothers Robert and Thomas Hudson, were musicians, and some of the poets, such as Robert Ayton, used translation as a way of exploring different literary and musical modes, as can be seen in his translation of Giovanbattista Guarini's *Concorso di occhi amorosi*, probably composed in the last decade of the sixteenth century and possibly influenced by Luca Marenzio's setting of this piece, which appeared, with an English translation of the text, in Nicholas Yonge's collection *Musica Transalpina* (1588), which played a pivotal role for the importation of Italian musical modes in the



British Isles.<sup>18</sup> Another member, William Fowler, also signals his preference for poetry to be set to music: he follows the suggestions of contemporary Italian music in a manuscript fragment, the *Lamentatioun of the desolate Olimpia*, based on the characters in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. These are only fragmentary traces of what must have been a more systematic musical activity.

At the core of the poetic activity of the Castalian band is a theoretical manifesto, written by the King himself: in 1584, the then eighteen-year-old King published, with the printer Thomas Vautrollier, *Ane Schort Treatise containing some reulis and cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie* (A short treatise containing some rules and devices to be observed and eschewed in Scottish poetry; normally known as *Reulis and Cautelis*). The treatise, indebted to illustrious predecessors such as the French poet and theorist Joachim Du Bellay's *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Françoise*, aimed at getting some poetic principles established, and also at voicing an ideology by means of these principles, in order to give Scottish literary productions a dignity that might put them on the same level as French, English or Italian literary writings, particularly claiming a uniqueness to Scottish poetry as opposed to English. Such treatises are normally to be read as descriptive rather than prescriptive, but *Reulis and Cautelis* moved in a different direction: rather than looking at the autochthonous literary tradition, James encouraged his own poetic circle to look at foreign models and to find new ways of giving Scotland a literary voice. In particular, the attention paid by the King and the members of his Castalian Band to French and Italian literary works was intended, at least in part, to distinguish Scottish poetry from its English counterpart: "For albeit sindrie hes written of [poesie] in English, quhilk is lykest to our language, yit we differ from thame in sindrie reulis of poesie, as ye will find be experience" (For, although many have written of poetry in English, which is closest to our language, yet we differ from them in many rules of poetry, as you will find by experience).<sup>19</sup> James thus attempted to find a national cultural identity by

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<sup>18</sup> *Musica transalpina*, London: Thomas East, 1588 (RISM B/I 1588<sup>29</sup>).

<sup>19</sup> JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND, "Reulis and Cautelis", in *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Literature 1375–1707*, eds. Ronald D. S. Jack – P. A. T. Rozendaal, Edinburgh: Mercat Press, 1997, pp. 460–473: 461. Translations are mine.

means of acquisition of foreign poetical modes: what his courtly circle achieved was an interesting form of *Übersetzungskultur*.<sup>20</sup>

Such an attempt included also some attention to music, in particular in Chapter 2 of the treatise, dedicated to rhythm in poetry. Here a number of passages clearly show that James thought of poetry as inseparable from musical performance, and unlike Puttenham, did not think of rhythm in strictly mathematical terms: thus, in exhorting poets to pay special attention to the placement of the caesura in a fourteen-syllable line, he cautions them to have a long syllable just before the caesura:

the cause quhy it man be ane of thir twa is for the musique because that quhen your lyne is ather of fourtene or twelf fete, it wilbe drawin sa lang in the singing, as ye man rest in the middes of it, quhilk is the sectioun. Sa as, gif your sectioun be nocht ather a monosyllabe or ellis the hinmest syllabe of a word, as I said before, bot the first syllabe of a polysyllabe, the musique, sall make yow sa to rest in the middes of that word, as it sall cut the ane half of the word fra the vther and sall mak it seme twa different wordis, that is bot ane.<sup>21</sup>

(the reason why it must be one of these two is the music: because, when your line is either of fourteen or of twelve feet, it will be drawn to such a length in the singing, that you must rest in the middle, which is the caesura. So, if you do not insert your caesura just before a monosyllable or the stressed syllable of a word, as I said before, but simply before the first syllable of a polysyllable, the music shall make you pause in the middle of a word, so as to cut half a word from the other half and make it seem two different words, while it is just one).

As Shire observes, “from this would follow that the placing of the caesura plays a part also in the rhythmic structure of the whole poem”.<sup>22</sup> The rules concerning metrical regularity are thus dictated by the possibility of singing comprehensibly while maintaining the required rhythm. Indeed, music is given the function of highlighting the very nature of poetry:

To know and discerne thir kynde of wordis from utheris, youre eare man be the onely iudge, as of all the uther parts of flowing, the verie tuichestane quhair of is musique.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> On the concept of *Übersetzungskultur*, see Armin Paul FRANK, “‘Translation as System’ and *Übersetzungskultur*: On Histories and Systems in the Study of Literary Translation”, *New Comparison*, 8, 1989, pp. 85–98.

<sup>21</sup> JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND, “Reulis and Cautelis”, p. 464.

<sup>22</sup> SHIRE, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, p. 161.

<sup>23</sup> JAMES VI OF SCOTLAND, “Reulis and Cautelis”, p. 465.

(To know and discern these kinds of words from others, your ear must be the only judge, as it is of all the other parts of the rhythm: the very touchstone of this is music).

These instructions, if seen against the background of the new and heightened attention paid to translation, speak of a new interest for forms that needed novel adaptations of the sentence or the text. Translation often becomes, to use Derrick McClure's felicitous neologism, *transcreation*:<sup>24</sup> within this concept, adaptation and musical transposition also find a place.

James's conception of music as an inseparable companion of poetry finds confirmation also in the presence of the Hudson brothers at his court. Unlike the rest of the Castalian band, whose members were exclusively Scottish, Thomas (?–c.1605) and Robert Hudson (?–1596) hailed from England, possibly Yorkshire, and had a position at the Scottish court as professional musicians: their names appear in a 1567 list of *violaris* (viol players) in the service of King James VI, together with James and William Hudson and William Fullartoun.<sup>25</sup> While no music can be directly or with any certainty attributed to either brother, some of Robert Hudson's poetry survives (especially occasional verses written to celebrate the King or other members of the courtly circle), while Thomas, beside writing occasional poems, translated Du Bartas' poem *Judit*, in the same year (1584) and with the same printer as the King's *Reulis and Cautelis*, thus marking his adherence to the King's cultural programme. There were also other professional or semi-professional musicians whose activity we can to a certain extent retrace: the most important (in the sense that he is the one to whom we can attribute with certainty extant music) is Andro Blakehall or Blackhall (1535/6–1609), a former Augustinian canon in Edinburgh who then became a minister in the reformed church, and who composed religious music, with the singular exception of a four-part song setting for the song *About the Banks of Helicon*, probably based on a poem composed by the Castalian Alexander Montgomerie.<sup>26</sup> Montgomerie himself would repay

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<sup>24</sup> J. Derrick McClure, "Translation and Transcreation in the Castalian Period", *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 26, 1991, pp. 185–198.

<sup>25</sup> T. W. Bayne – Willy Maley, "Hudson, Thomas", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn., Oxford University Press, 2004; <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14040> (last accessed 12 October 2019).

<sup>26</sup> A brief discussion of Blakehall's work can be found in Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 69–71. The four-part song has been recorded in 2002 in *Thus spak Apollo myne. The Songs of Alexander Montgomerie, Poet to James VI of Scotland*, Paul Rendall (tenor), Rob MacKillop (lute), Gaudeamus GAU 249 [2002] 1 CD.

study on the interaction of music and poetry, since he seems to have been not only the most notable poet among the Castalians, but also the most adept at song-writing, although he never worked on Italian models, preferring to look at the French tradition of verse setting: thus we have in his case a number of adaptations and in some cases *contrafacta* from French *chansons*, as in the case of his poem *Lyk as the dum Solsequium*, which uses the tune of Nicolas de la Grotte's composition, originally meant for a poem by Jean Antoine de Baïf, *Or voy-je bien qu'il faut vivre en servage*.<sup>27</sup> It is also possible that his own work on these forms influenced the King's theoretical writing on rhythm and the role of music in poetry. But if the relation with French poetry and music seems well established, we have more tentative traces as concerns the Italian influence: the Hudson brothers appear to be the only musicians in the Scottish court who fully took part in the King's programme for the adoption of Italian and French texts and literary modes, working on full-length translations and on the adaptation of these texts for music.

Another interesting figure in James VI's courtly circle is Sir Robert Ayton (1570–1638), who can be considered the youngest and the last of the group of poets and musicians that surrounded the King; he was also among the few that accompanied him to London when he became James I of England. He is said to have composed in Greek and in French as well, but only his poems in Latin and in English survive. His translation of Guarini's *Concorso di occhi amorosi*, mentioned above, is another tantalizing instance in which we glimpse at the possibility of an importation of musical modes: if Marenzio was the most famous musician who transformed Guarini's poem, commonly known as *Tirsi morir volea*, into a madrigal, it may be noted that the poem had been put to music by a number of other musicians, among whom are Benedetto Pallavicino,<sup>28</sup> Giaches de Wert,<sup>29</sup> and Carlo Gesualdo.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that, in choosing this text for his translation, Ayton was also looking at Yonge's collection, *Musica*

<sup>27</sup> SHIRE, *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 143–144.

<sup>28</sup> *Di Benedetto Pallavicino cremonese il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci novamente composti, e dati in luce*, In Venetia: Appresso Angelo Gardano, 1581 (RISM A/I P 773).

<sup>29</sup> Giaches de WERT, *Il settimo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venetia: Angelo Gardano, 1581 (RISM A/I W 884).

<sup>30</sup> See Carlo GESUALDO, *Madrigali a cinque voci, libro primo*, In Ferrara: per Vittorio Baldini stampator ducale, 1594 (RISM A/I G 1721).

*transalpina*, and attempting to bring to Scotland the same combination that had made Italian music so popular in England.<sup>31</sup>

The last poet of the Scottish court on whom I would like to focus is William Fowler (1560/1–1612), whose role at court was rather different from the Hudsons', although like them he was not of noble origins, and who could enjoy more freedom than the professional musicians and integrate poetry and translation into a wider range of cultural activities.<sup>32</sup> Among the Castalians, Fowler most decidedly marked his preference for Italian writing and culture: he travelled extensively and spent some time, in 1592, at the University of Padua;<sup>33</sup> while he was there, he engaged in book exchange, and may have acquired one of the manuscript copies of Philip Sidney's sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella* (now Edinburgh University Library, Ms. De. 5. 96).<sup>34</sup> He translated two of the key texts of Italian literature, Machiavelli's *Prince* and Petrarch's *Trionfi*, and these are the works that have been most studied in recent years; but he also engaged in an imitation of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* and, more in general, in an exploration of the sonnet form, writing a full sonnet sequence, *The Tarantula of Love*, in which the influence of Petrarch and Giordano Bruno plays a major role, as well as experimenting with the form in a number of translations and free compositions. Like his English counterparts, Fowler uses the sonnet as experimental terrain for new rhythmical and metrical solutions. His contact with Sidney's sonnet sequence, mentioned above, might also have encouraged a freer experimentation. There are, besides, other instances of Fowler's attention to Italian poetry, especially after his Italian journey. The most notable is the generally forgotten 'Orcadian' sonnet sequence, a work that has survived in a possibly incomplete draft;<sup>35</sup> this allows us to have a privileged view of

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<sup>31</sup> On point see David GREER, "Sir Robert Ayton's Translation of a Poem by Guarini", *Notes and Queries*, 55, 2008, pp. 225–227.

<sup>32</sup> Fowler's biography can be found in Sarah M. DUNNIGAN, "William Fowler", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn., Oxford University Press, 2004; <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10015> (last accessed 24 September 2019); see also Alessandra PETRINA, *Machiavelli in the British Isles. Two Early Modern Translations of the Prince*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, pp. 69–86.

<sup>33</sup> As noted in the University register for the year 1592 (Archivio Antico, Matricolazione Università Legista, Ms. 30, vol. 1, fol. 142r). See Io. Aloysius ANDRICH, *De Natione Anglica et Scota Iuristarum Universitatis Patavinae*, Patavii: Excudebant Fratres Gallina, 1892, p. 172.

<sup>34</sup> Henry R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, pp. 357–362.

<sup>35</sup> Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Ms. Hawthornden 2063, fols. 9r–15r.

Fowler's methods of compositions, since the copious amount of manuscripts in his hand that has survived includes his notes and drafts. The Orcadian sequence includes not only translations from the *Canzoniere*, as noted by Janet Scott,<sup>36</sup> but notations in Fowler's hand with references to poetic collections such as Lodovico Dolce's *Il primo volume delle Rime scelte da diversi avtori* (1565), Giovanni Francesco Straparola's *Le piacevoli notti* (1550–1553) and Erasmo Viotto's *Raccolta d'alcune piacevoli rime* (1582).<sup>37</sup> Fowler's practice in this sequence was to mark the sources from which he was freely translating, and offering a list of the volumes at his disposal. Interestingly, in this sequence, which has a freer origin than his translations of Machiavelli or of the *Trionfi*, he was also signalling his own preference for poetry to be set to music: thus he would often choose pieces that were set in the madrigal form in the original Italian, a choice that shows some analogies with Robert Ayton.<sup>38</sup> Once again, if there were any musical settings of his poems, or of his translations, they have not survived, so we can only make surmises on the basis of his literary choices.

Fowler's manuscripts also include a number of loose notes and fragments of compositions that appear never to have been brought to completion, and among these I find the last small piece of evidence to be added to this collection. This time he engages not with Petrarch but with Ludovico Ariosto, whose *Orlando Furioso* had been translated by another member of the Castalian band, John Stewart of Baldynneis (1545–1605).<sup>39</sup> Baldynneis, who was using a French intermediary text for his translation, provided a much-abridged text, which relegated secondary characters such as Ariosto's Olimpia to nothing more than a cursory allusion. On the other hand, one sheet in Fowler's manuscript collection (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Hawthornden Ms. 2063, fol. 37r), located not far from the Orcadian sonnet sequence, shows his attempt to work on this same Ariostean character. The sheet is headed *The lamentatioun of the desolate Olympia furth of the tent cantt of Ariosto. To the right hono<sup>l</sup> Ladye Marye Betoun Ladye Boine* (The lamentation of the desolate Olympia from the tenth canto of Ariosto. To the right honourable Lady Mary Beton, Lady

<sup>36</sup> Janet G. SCOTT, *Les Sonnets Élizabéthains. Les Sources et l'Apport personnel*, Paris: Champion, 1929, p. 329.

<sup>37</sup> Roderick J. LYALL, "Personalizing Petrarchism: William Fowler's Orcadian Sonnet-Sequence", forthcoming.

<sup>38</sup> GREER, "Sir Robert Ayton's Translation of a Poem by Guarini", p. 226.

<sup>39</sup> John STEWART OF BALDYNNEIS, *Roland Furious. A Scots Poem in its European Context*, ed. Donna Hedde, Leiden: Brill, 2008.



Boyne).<sup>40</sup> In this case, Fowler too might have worked with the help of a French version: the intermediary would be Guillaume Belliard, secretary to Marguerite of Navarre, who had inserted in his *Premier Livre de poemes* (1578) *La Triste Lamentation d'Olympe, prise du dixiesme chant de l'Arioste*.<sup>41</sup> Fowler here appears to follow the suggestions of contemporary Italian music (any inference must remain at a preliminary stage, since the fragment of the *Lamentatioun* is barely twenty lines long, and almost solely concerning the dedicatee, Mary Beaton): Ariosto had been frequently set to music, and five of the pieces in *Musica Transalpina*, already mentioned in connection with Robert Ayton, are English versions of Ariosto's stanzas.<sup>42</sup> If Ayton chose a madrigal, Fowler here seems to work on another beloved Italian musical form, the *lamento*, a form that still had not found a precise definition in the sixteenth century but was developing among musicians operating in Italy and would find full expression in the following decades. In Fowler's fragment Olimpia's lament is treated as a separate lyric piece, rather than as part of a more complex epic as it was in Ariosto. On the other hand, Mary Beaton, the dedicatee of this fragment, has been identified as the author of a eulogistic sonnet dedicated to Fowler,<sup>43</sup> which also appears in his manuscripts, possibly copied in his own hand, and alluding to his translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*:

If high desyre the preass to win that crowne  
that wearing tyme shall never wast awaye,  
(frend fouler) Lay thy songis of Love adowne  
wheron thy Lute to Liberall was to playe:  
for thow maist on a stronger piller staye  
the giftis wherwith the heavens have thee instorde,  
if thou the learned *Thuskan* wolde assaye,  
and in thy tyme his *Triumphes* doe record  
of *Loue*, of *Chastetie* by *Death* devord,  
of *Fame*, of tyme; if so thow list to sing,  
thess verses shall to thee such fame afford  
that in remembrance newe thy name shall bring,

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<sup>40</sup> The poem is edited in *The Works of William Fowler*, vol. 1, ed. Henry W. Meikle, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1914, p. 310.

<sup>41</sup> John PURVES, "The *Abbregement of Roland Furious*, by John Stewart of Baldynneis, and the Early Knowledge of Ariosto in England", *Italian Studies*, 1946/3, pp. 65–82: 70.

<sup>42</sup> Edward G. AINSWORTH, "Stanzas of the *Orlando Furioso* in English Collection of Madrigals", *The Review of English Studies*, 7, 1931, pp. 327–330.

<sup>43</sup> Sebastiaan VERWEIJ, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland. Manuscript Production and Transmission, 1560–1625*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 85–87.



when men shall see that all thing els decayes  
except Iehouas high eternall prayes.<sup>44</sup>

(If a great desire presses you to win that crown that wearing Time shall never waste away, o Fowler, my friend, lay down your songs of Love, on which your lute used to play too generously: because you must support the gifts given you by Heaven on a stronger pillar. If you will attempt [to translate] the learned Tuscan [i.e., Petrarch], and in time translate his Triumphs of Love, of Chastity devoured by Death, of Fame, of Time; if you can compose these poems, these verses shall bestow on you such fame that they will bring your name into memory even when men see that everything else is decaying, except the high, eternal praise of God).

The praise of the translation is interspersed with allusions to song-making that may be either a recurring poetic *topos* in these occasional exchanges or a reference to an actual musical practice: the author of the sonnet here establishes a clear distinction between the lyrics meant for singing and the stately epic poem whose translation Fowler is undertaking, but both appear to use the allusions to translation and music-making as currency for cultural exchange.

In 1603 Queen Elizabeth of England died, without any direct heir; according to her alleged wishes, her successor was James VI of Scotland, who became a ruler with a double crown, assuming also the title of James I of England. He soon moved with his entourage to London, and “his 1000 year old Scottish kingdom vanished from the outside world’s mental map”.<sup>45</sup> Even if some surviving members of the Castalian band, such as William Fowler, followed him, that season of translation and transcreation was definitely concluded. Scottish court culture had its last representative in William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1649), the nephew of William Fowler, one of the members of the Castalian band, and one of the most interesting poetic voices of early modern Scotland. Like his predecessors, he translated, particularly from Italian, but also from French, Spanish, and English; he wrote madrigals, exploring the full range of the concept of imitation/translation/transcreation, and applying to his writing to music the same principles that supported his translation practice, thus reasserting the closeness of poetic translation to the

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<sup>44</sup> Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Hawthornden Ms. 2063, fol. 6r. The poem is also edited in *The Works of William Fowler*, vol. 1, p. 393.

<sup>45</sup> Jamie Reid BAXTER, sleeve notes, *Thus spak Apollo myne. The Songs of Alexander Montgomerie, Poet to James VI of Scotland*, Paul Rendall (tenor), Rob MacKillop (lute), Gaudeamus GAU 249 [2002] 1 CD.

practice of *contrafactum*.<sup>46</sup> But Drummond remains an isolated figure, and left no perceptible influence. Scotland's impossible Renaissance drew to an early close, and the disappearance of the Scottish kingdom from the world's mental map meant that much of its literature and music was lost.

What we have been pursuing in these pages is a wraith with little substance, since so little has survived of the poetry and music of early modern Scotland. The traces we have speak of a milieu in which the practice of *contrafacta* appears to be one variation in the wider-ranging practice of translation and adaptation: in both cases what is aimed at is the acquisition of musical and poetic practices that will enrich a native tradition that is perceived as inadequate. Court entertainment was borrowing European forms that required a closer conjunction of words and music: as Francis Bacon wrote in his essay *Of Masques and Triumphs*:

These things are but toys, to come amongst such serious observations. But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegance than daubed with cost. Dancing to song is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it, that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music, and the ditty fitted to the device.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> McClure, "Translation and Transcreation in the Castalian Period", p. 193.

<sup>47</sup> Francis Bacon, *The Essays*, ed. John Pitcher, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985, p. 175.

### Summary

Ascending on the throne of Scotland at a very early age, James VI invested much of his time and energy in the first years of his reign creating a circle of poets, musicians and translators with whom he worked at renovating Scottish culture, drawing from contemporary French and Italian examples; some of the writers of this group translated from Du Bartas, Petrarch, Ariosto, Machiavelli. James himself was a poet and translator, and at the age of eighteen wrote a literary treatise, *Reulis and Cautelis* (1584), fundamental for modern scholarship to understand his cultural agenda.

While much effort has been devoted to exploring the literary output of this coterie, less attention has been paid to music: yet some of its members, such as the brothers Robert and Thomas Hudson, were musicians, and some of the poets, such as Robert Ayton, used translation as a way of exploring different literary and musical modes, as can be seen in his translation of Giovanbattista Guarino's *Concorso di occhi amorosi*, possibly influenced by Luca Marenzio's setting of this piece, which appeared in Nicholas Yonge's collection *Musica Transalpina*. Another member, William Fowler, also signals his preference for poetry to be set to music: he follows the suggestions of contemporary Italian music in a manuscript fragment, the *Lamentatioun of the desolate Olimpia*, based on the characters in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Ariosto had been frequently set to music, and five of the pieces in *Musica Transalpina* are English versions of Ariosto's stanzas. If Ayton chose a madrigal, Fowler here seems to work on another beloved Italian musical form, the *lamento*, popular among Italian musicians (like the above-mentioned Luca Marenzio), from Claudio Monteverdi to Adriano Banchieri, who had also chosen Olimpia as the protagonist of one of their compositions; in Fowler's fragment Olimpia's lament is treated as a separate lyric piece, rather than as part of a more complex epic as it was in Ariosto.

Starting from these instances I explore the hitherto unknown musical efforts of the Renaissance Scottish court, and its relationship with Italian models imported in northern Europe.

Keywords: James VI of Scotland; *Reulis and Cautelis*; William Fowler; Robert Ayton.

Michael Chizzali

## Text and context of the Thuringian *contrafactum*. New insights into Melchior Backhaus's *Primus liber* (1587)

*Contrafacta* of Italian secular music play an important role in central-German music culture of the 16th and early 17th century. This is framed, on the one side, by the musical exchange between the central German and Italian regions, which increased significantly in the 1530s and 1540s. Music printing triggered a hitherto unknown intensity in the distribution of music; as a result, secular repertoire published in Italy very soon found its way across the Alps. This is demonstrated, for example, by the Scotto prints of the *Bibliotheca Electoralis* in Wittenberg, which were acquired in the early 1540s and have survived until today.<sup>1</sup> On the other side, the young Reformation in central Germany had recognized the importance of music as a missionary and educational medium; this revaluation confronted the Protestant clergy who were responsible for the syllabus at school, with the task of dealing with music coming from the South and of questioning it with regard to new denominational understandings. Georg Rhau in Wittenberg was totally aware of this, as may be seen by some of his prints – such as the volumes with *Tricinia* (1542) and *Bicinia* (1545) or the Magnificat collection *Postremum vespertini officii opus* (1544) – and he was by no means alone. Importing music produced in Italian printing centers and/

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<sup>1</sup> See Marie SCHLÜTER, *Musikgeschichte Wittenbergs. Quellenkundliche und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2010 (Abhandlungen zur Musikgeschichte, 18), pp. 188–190.

or with vernacular Italian texts reached a new intensity in the second half of the 16th century, when Italian musicians – who could become intermediaries of locally cultivated repertoire and instruments, as well as of playing and vocal techniques – increasingly entered central Germany. Between ritual, education, edification and entertainment, a music with a wide range of repertoire facets was established, which goes beyond any social, confessional, and cultural borders. Evidence for this can be found not only in the numerous collected manuscripts, especially those without a clear functional purpose, but also in a series of prints with *contrafacta* produced between the last third of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century (see table 1). They are situated almost exclusively in the school environment, where the desire for music easy to perform, popular and of high quality is joined by the need for moral texts which absolved the music from the too lascivious content of some *Buhllieder*.

Table 1. Prints with *contrafacta* published in Erfurt, Gera, and Leipzig, 1576–1620

TITLE OF THE COLLECTION	EDITOR(S), POETS	DATE	PLACE	PRINTER
<i>Cantiones suavissimae</i> [...], <i>Tomus primus</i>	L. Schröter (editor) L. Helmbold (poet)	1576	Erfurt	G. Baumann Sr.
<i>Cantiones suavissimae</i> [...], <i>Tomus secundus</i>	L. Schröter (editor) L. Helmbold (poet)	1580	Erfurt	G. Baumann Sr.
<i>Primus liber suavissimas</i> <i>praestantissimorum</i> <i>nostrae aetatis artificum</i> <i>Italianorum cantilenas</i>	M. Backhaus (editor, poet)	1587	Erfurt	G. Baumann Sr.
<i>Amorum filii Dei decades</i> <i>duae</i>	J. Lindemann (editor, poet) C. Schneegass (poet) <sup>2</sup>	1598	Erfurt	G. Baumann Sr.
<i>Vier und Zwanzig</i> <i>Außerlesene vierstimmige</i> <i>Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi</i>	P. Neander (editor, poet)	1614	Gera	M. Spieß Erben
<i>Gregori Langii</i> [...] <i>Neugezierete Tricinia</i> [...], <i>Ersten Theils</i>	H. Dedekind (editor, poet)	1615	Erfurt	M. Wittel
<i>Gregori Langii</i> [...] <i>Neugezierete Tricinia</i> [...], <i>Andern Theils</i>	H. Dedekind (editor, poet)	1615	Erfurt	M. Wittel

<sup>2</sup> Schneegass authored an alternative *contrafactum* of n. 4.

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<i>Triumph de Dorothea</i> [...], M. Rinckart (editor, poet)	1619	Leipzig	L. Köber
<i>geistliches musicalisches Triumph-Crantzlein</i>			
<i>Ander Theil Außerlesener Canzonetten Horatii Vechii</i>	P. Neander (editor, poet)	1620	Gera J. Spieß

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Accordingly, the phenomenon of making *contrafacta* – i.e., most of all, the exchange of a secular text for a sacred one – is vividly maintained, most of all with the spread of secular vocal music, which is represented not only by the Italian *Canzone alla napolitana* and madrigal, but also by German songs and French chansons. Making a *contrafactum* must be seen as an indispensable skill for those who were responsible for a central German *Kantorei* at that time.

This is demonstrated, among others, by the part-books of the collected manuscript D-WRha 3, compiled around 1600 by Sebastian Fleischmann, who was pastor in Udestedt, a tiny village located about twenty kilometers north-west of Erfurt.<sup>3</sup> An example worth mentioning is the song *Geh hin, mein fröhlich Lied, und zweiffel gar nicht* (fols. 41v–42r). It is drawn from the collection *Nawwe kurtzweilige deutsche Lieder mit fünff Stimmen* (1584) by Giovanni Battista Pinello di Ghirardi (ca. 1544–1587), which was also published with Italian texts as *Primo libro de le napoletane a cinque voci* (1584). The German text is a translation by the composer of an Italian text,<sup>4</sup> the exact wording of which has unfortunately been lost. At least the incipit – *Or va canzona mia, non dubitare*, a well-known villanella text – could be reconstructed. The underlay in red ink (which is not easily decipherable) is a quotation from Psalm 37, verse 4: “Habe du deine Lust an gar dem Herrn, und er wird dir geben, was dein Herze wünschet” (Take delight in the Lord, and he will give you the desires of your heart). The particle “gar” inserted between the words “an” and “dem” makes it clear how much the text is adapted to the music. In D-WRha 3, many “Anonymi” suggest a similar origin. Thus, the central-German prints with *contrafacta* – of which the collection *Primus liber suavissimas praestantissimorum nostrae*

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<sup>3</sup> On this collection, see Steffen Voss, *Die Musikaliensammlung im Pfarrarchiv Udestedt. Untersuchungen zur Musikgeschichte Thüringens im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Schneverdingen: Wagner, 2006 (Schriften zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte, 10), pp. 161–179.

<sup>4</sup> On Pinello’s translations, see Rudolf VELTEN, *Das deutsche Gesellschaftslied unter dem Einflusse der italienischen Musik. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der deutschen Renaissance-Lyrik am Ende des 16. und Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg: Carl Winter’s Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1914, pp. 52–57.

*aetatis artificum Italianorum cantilenas 4. 5. 6. & 8. vocum continens* (hereinafter referred to as *cantilena*) edited by Melchior Backhaus will now be discussed more deeply – are to be considered as an overdue consequence of internationalized music consumption.

It may be assumed that the practice of making *contrafacta* by central German editors of the 16th and early 17th centuries was also based on a poetic notion and therefore perceived as an aspect of literary intertextuality. This is suggested by the small treatise *De parodia* (1611) written by the Jena cantor Georg Quitschreiber. In his writing, which is, according to Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, an apology for the inherited musical tradition of Orlando di Lasso, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, and Philippe de Monte,<sup>5</sup> Quitschreiber subsumes a series of adaptation strategies in music under the term of *parodia*. These include, for instance, melodic imitations, arrangements, but also style borrowings and, not least, the exchange of texts, either as translation or re-writing. According to Quitschreiber, there is no reason to criticize Valentin Haussmann, the editor of the three *Classen* of translated canzonettas by Orazio Vecchi (1610), when he underlays foreign texts with German ones.<sup>6</sup>

With the mention of the *parodiae horatianae*,<sup>7</sup> Quitschreiber draws attention to the literary *parodia seria*. By borrowing, remixing and newly interpreting ancient and early Christian texts for pedagogical, edifying, and entertaining purposes, the *parodia seria* experienced its heyday from the mid-1570s onwards – most notably in central Germany around 1600 – and was theorized by neo-Latin poets as both a genre and a technique.<sup>8</sup> According to Jörg Robert, the concept of *parodia seria* is only slightly connected with ancient poetry

<sup>5</sup> See Klaus Wolfgang NIEMÖLLER, “Parodia – Imitatio. Zu Georg Quitschreibers Schrift von 1611”, in *Studien zur Musikgeschichte. Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher*, ed. Annegrit Laubenthal, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995, pp. 174–180.

<sup>6</sup> “Imo Valentino nostro Haussmanno, p.m. nondum vitio datum fuit, quod Italorum et aliorum harmonias germanicis textibus adnoverit”. See Georg QUITSCHREIBER, *De parodia*, Jena: Johannes Weidner, 1611, p. [6].

<sup>7</sup> “Hinc παρωδή vel παρωδία, abusive etiam, in versificationis ac sermonum imitatione servatur, ut multi clarissimi Poetae Parodias Horatianas cum summa laude scribunt. Ergo *Musicus atque Poëta canunt nunc ambo παρωδῆν: Quanta sit ars, dicat, qui bene novit eam*”. See *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> See Jörg ROBERT, “Nachschrift und Gegengesang. Parodie und parodia in der Poetik der Frühen Neuzeit”, in *>Parodia< und Parodie. Aspekte intertextuellen Schreibens in der lateinischen Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Reinhold Gleis – Robert Seidel, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2006 (Frühe Neuzeit, 120), pp. 47–66.

and seems to be an evolution of the 16th century.<sup>9</sup> This is widely discussed for the first time in the *Parodiae morales* (1575) by Henri Estienne (or latinized: Henricus Stephanus).<sup>10</sup> Estienne's writing is divided into two parts: the first contains the *parodiae* themselves, i.e. morally transposed sentences by classical Greek and Roman authors, while the second is a systematic treatise about *parodia* and *cento*. Estienne, who claims to be the inventor of the *parodia seria*, veers away from the traditional Aristotelian meaning of *parodia* as a comic contrast to higher literature, which had still influenced the earliest introduction of *parodia* as a genre by Julius Caesar Scaliger in his *Poetices libri septem* (1561).<sup>11</sup>

Going beyond Quintilian, Estienne tries to build a rhetorical framework for the term *parodia*, when he describes the corresponding shifting procedures with the verbs *accommodare*, *convertere*, *mutare* (or *immutare*), *transferre*, and, most of all, *traducere*. Estienne's understanding of *parodia* as a form of *transductio* (which is, amongst others, one of the *figurae elocutionis*) brings *parodia* close to *imitatio*, whereby it is not the turning into the opposite, but rather the elegant changing of word and sentence meanings (*immutatio*) that gains importance.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, the reference to *immutatio*, which was used by Cicero for defining rhetorical tropes, makes it clear that Estienne's comprehension of *parodia* is not reduced to generic circumstances (as Scaliger did), but also implies a certain way of writing whose proximity to the rhetorical *imitatio* and its procedures is emphasized more than once.<sup>13</sup>

The *parodia seria* was given further conceptual enhancement and deepening by Estienne's close friend Paul Schede Melissus (or Paul Schad). With Melissus, the *parodia horatiana* established itself as a genre of its own in the German regions. Melissus published two collections of *parodiae* (the first of poems by Horace, the second of those of Catullus) within his *Meletemata pia*

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<sup>9</sup> Ivi, p. 49.

<sup>10</sup> Henri ESTIENNE, *Parodiae morales H[enrici] Stephani, In poetarum vet[erum] sententias celeberrimas, totidem versibus Gr[aecis] ab eo redditae*, [Geneva: Estienne?], 1575.

<sup>11</sup> Julius Caesar SCALIGER, *Poetices libri septem*, [Geneva]: Johannes Crispinus, 1561. See ROBERT, "Nachschrift", pp. 49–51.

<sup>12</sup> "At ego, quomodo poeticum aliquod dictum ad alias atque alias res, non solum quae sint eiusdem generis, sed interdum etiam omnino contrarias, transferri possit, idque non solum tacita cogitatione, sed eleganti per parodiam versus immutatione, et unius in plures quasi propagatione, exemplis hoc in libro doceo". See ESTIENNE, *Parodiae morales*, n.p.

<sup>13</sup> See ROBERT, "Nachschrift", p. 53.



(1595),<sup>14</sup> but the reciprocal mentioning in Melissus and Estienne's works from the 1570s onwards clearly shows that Melissus was acquainted with the new approach of *parodia* developed by his friend.<sup>15</sup>

In Melissus's *Parodiae*, the influence of well-established purging practices in vernacular poetry – which are now called *contrafacta* – is substantial.<sup>16</sup> According to Robert, it can be assumed that Melissus might have been the initiator of poetic mixtures between vernacular and Latin forms<sup>17</sup> and therefore, of the amalgamation between a classical genre (*parodia*) and forms of a traditional, locally rooted intertextuality (*contrafacta*). It should be stressed, however, that in Melissus's *Parodiae* the new disposition of the text is not directed against the original content and the author, but tries to transpose his formal authority to modern objects and views by omitting an inner relationship to the contents and themes of the original. This is in sharp contrast to later authors around 1600 – such as Heinrich Meibom or Thomas Sagittarius<sup>18</sup> – who turn the *parodia* from a genre of avant-garde entertainment into a trivial school literature, and transform the ancient models (most of all, by Horace, but also by Catullus and Terentius) into a superficial medium of stereotyped Christian cleansing (*parodia christiana*).<sup>19</sup> According to Robert, this type of *parodia* and its cyclic disposition reflects the Protestant environment and was therefore suspicious of Jesuit polemics.<sup>20</sup> The popularity of the scholastic *parodiae* – in particular by Meibom, whom Robert considers the pioneer of the purged *parodia horatiana*<sup>21</sup> – obviously shaped Quitschreiber, when he wrote his small musical treatise.

<sup>14</sup> Paul SCHEDE (MELISSUS), *Meletematum piorum libri VIII. Paranaeticorum II. Parodiarum II. Psalmi aliquot*, Frankfurt am Main: Hieronymus Commelinus, 1595.

<sup>15</sup> ROBERT, "Nachschrift", p. 56.

<sup>16</sup> Ivi, p. 58. A telltale example in these circumstances is Heinrich KNAUST, *Gassenhawer Reuter und Bergliedlin Christlich moraliter, unnd sittlich verendert*, Frankfurt am Main: Christian Egenolffs Erben, 1571.

<sup>17</sup> ROBERT, "Nachschrift", p. 58.

<sup>18</sup> Heinrich MEIBOM, *Parodiarum horatianarum libri duo*, Helmstedt: Jacobus Lucius, 1588; Thomas SAGITTARIUS, *Horatius Christianus Sive Parodiae Sacrae ad Horatii Ductum Noviter Accomodatae*, Jena: Johannes Weidner, 1615, and *Horatius Prophanus Primus Sive Parodiae ad res Prophanas alias pro Horatij ductu noviter accomodatae*, Jena: Johannes Weidner, 1617.

<sup>19</sup> ROBERT, "Nachschrift", pp. 59–61.

<sup>20</sup> Ivi, p. 61.

<sup>21</sup> Ivi, p. 59.

The assumption that the practice of making *contrafacta* among central German cantors was perceived as a process of literary *parodia*, is corroborated, among others, by the fact that the beginning of publishing music prints with *contrafacta* coincides with the new re-evaluation of *parodia* in contemporary Latin poetry, which, on the one side, accentuates its use for serious contents and, on the other, subsequently strengthens the synonymisation of *parodia* and *imitatio*. However, in Backhaus's *cantilenae* there is no reference to *parodia*, but Backhaus's dealing with both text and music in his edition highlights an increased interest in intertextual procedures which at least may be influenced by the aforementioned poetological discourses.

Concerning Melchior Backhaus (or latinized Bacusius), only a few scraps of information about his life have survived. A catalogue entry of the (now lost) tenor part-book of the *cantilenae*, formerly preserved at the Darmstadt University and State Library,<sup>22</sup> mentions "Melchior Bacusius Gutavinus", which indicates that Backhaus was presumably born in Gotha.<sup>23</sup> In 1570, a "Melchior Backhusius" is listed in the register of the Erfurt University.<sup>24</sup> The same name emerges among the signatories of the Book of Concord in 1580, allocating him to the *Schulmeister und Mittgehülffen in den Schulen deß Fürstenthums Sachsen Coburgischen Theils*.<sup>25</sup> Backhaus's first documented employment dates from 15 July 1586, when he was introduced as *Quartus* at the Gymnasium in Eisleben and cantor of the nearby Church of St. Andreas.<sup>26</sup> However, there is evidence that from the early 1580s Backhaus was strongly connected to the

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<sup>22</sup> See ULB Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landedsbibliothek, *Katalog der Kriegsverluste der Musikalien. A bis Z der Komponisten, B*, pp. 116–117. On-line: <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/KK-Mus-B/0116/image> (accessed 19 June 2019).

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that besides Backhaus's edition no other sources could be discovered that assign the cognomen "Gutavinus" to inhabitants of Gotha. The terms much more commonly used are "Gothanus" (or "Gottanus") and "Got[t]ensis". Therefore, it cannot be excluded that "Gutavinus" refers to another location, for example, to the village "Guttern" (today including the municipalities of "Bischofsgottern" and "Altengottern") between Bad Langensalza and Mühlhausen.

<sup>24</sup> Johann Christian Hermann WEISSENBORN, *Acten der Erfurter Universitaet*, vol. 2, Halle: Otto Hendel, 1884, p. 423. See also Stephen ROSE, "Patriotic purification: cleansing Italian secular vocal music in Thuringia, 1575–1600", *Early Music History*, 35, 2016, p. 235.

<sup>25</sup> See *Concordia. Christliche, Widerholete einmütige Bekenntnis nachbenanter Churfürsten Fürsten und Stende Augspurgischer Confession*, Dresden: Gimel Bergen d. Ä. – Matthes Stöckel d. Ä., 1580, n.p.

<sup>26</sup> See Friedrich ELLENDT, *Geschichte des Königlichen Gymnasiums zu Eisleben*, Eisleben: Georg Reichardt, 1846, pp. 9, 124.

city of Frankenhäusen and the Counts of Schwarzburg-Frankenhäusen. An *epicedium* by Backhaus, published in 1590 on the death of Elisabeth Schlick, the first wife of Count Wilhelm I of Schwarzburg-Frankenhäusen, reveals that he stayed in close contact with the Countess, serving as her scribe since 1582.<sup>27</sup> At the time of Elisabeth's death, Backhaus was also appointed as cantor in Frankenhäusen. The fact that in 1595 a Melchior Bacusius celebrated his wedding in Frankenhäusen<sup>28</sup> suggests that he corresponds to the "Melchior Bacusius" mentioned in the *Thüringer Pfarrerbuch*, who was pastor in Himmelsberg (near Sondershausen) from 1597 on, and died there in 1611 or 1612.<sup>29</sup>

As Stephen Rose noted, the emergence of Backhaus's *cantilenae* is closely connected to the (possibly friendly) relationship between him and the local nobility, which included not only the Counts of Schwarzburg-Frankenhäusen, but also those of Mansfeld-Arnstein.<sup>30</sup> *Symbola* of four members of these two families – Wilhelm I of Schwarzburg-Frankenhäusen, his wife Elisabeth Schlick, Otto (II) von Mansfeld-Arnstein, and his sister Dorothea – were transformed by Backhaus into *contrafacta*. It is probable that the noblemen were not only related by family ties (see table 2), but also by trusting relations between them: this is at least suggested by Wilhelm's funeral sermon (1598), which reports that Otto was Wilhelm's confidant, attending him, amongst others, on his deathbed.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Melchior BACKHAUS, "Christlich Gedechnis, Glaube, Bekentnis, und Leben. Der Wolgebornen und Edlen Gräfin und Frawen, Frawen Elisabeth, gebornen Schlickin, Gräfin zu Schwartzburg, Passaun und Weiskirchen etc.", in Johannes CLAIUS – Melchior BACKHAUS – Jakob WONNA – Wolfgang MELHORN – Matthias FÜHRER – Johannes HILDEBRAND – Christian ÜBELACKER – Johannes KÖPPIUS, *Epicedia in obitum generosae et magnificae Dominae, Dn. Elisabethae Schlickiae, Comitissae in Schwartzburg*, Eisleben: Urban Gaubisch, 1590.

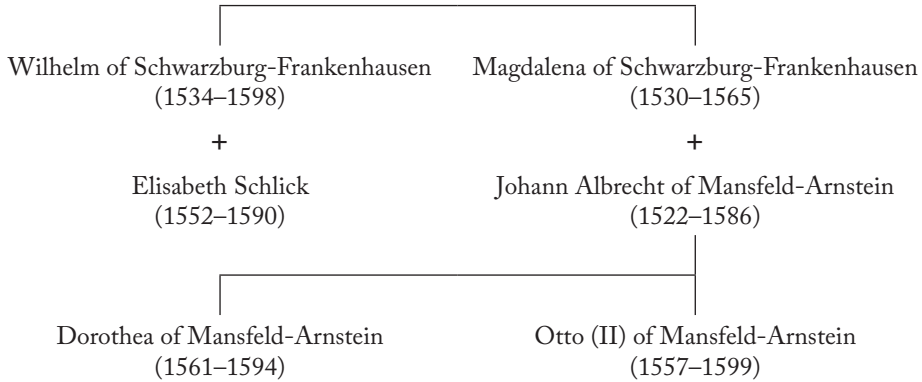
<sup>28</sup> With Margarete Kunze, a servant of Countess Clara of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Wilhelm's second wife.

<sup>29</sup> Bernhard MÖLLER, *Thüringer Pfarrerbuch*, vol. 2, *Fürstentum Schwarzburg-Sondershausen*, Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener, 1997 (Schriftenreihe der Stiftung Stoye, 29), p. 80.

<sup>30</sup> ROSE, "Cleansing", p. 236.

<sup>31</sup> See Erasmus ROTHMALER, *Eine Christliche Leichpredigt Bey der traurigen Gräfflichen Begräbnis Des Wolgebornen und Edlen Herren Herrn Wilhelms der Vier Graffen des Reichs Graffen zu Schwartzburg und Hohnstein*, Erfurt: Johann Beck, 1598, pp. 41–42. Peter Kuhlbrodt reports that Wilhelm for Otto installed an own chamber in the Frankenhäusen castle, the so-called *Graff Ottens Gemach*. See Peter KULHRODT, *Clara grevin undt fraw zu Schwartzburgk wittwe (1571–1658). Leben und Wirken einer geborenen Herzogin in Heringen (Helme)*, Heringen-Nordhausen, 2008. [online: <http://www.lessner-stiftung.de/fileadmin/Geschichte/Dokumente/PDF/109-Graefin-Clara-von-Heringen.pdf> (accessed 19 June 2019)], p. 15.

Table 2. Kinship of the noblemen whose *symbola* are included in Backhaus's *cantilenae*



Apart from Elisabeth, no further information about Backhaus's relationship to the other noblemen is documented. As a significantly younger wife of Wilhelm I, Elisabeth was about the same age as Otto and Dorothea, but also as Backhaus himself, which leads to the assumption that they might have cultivated musical performances during friendly, informal gatherings. Both Elisabeth's funeral sermon and Backhaus's *epicedium* for her highlight the musical talent of the Countess. Elisabeth is said to have had a beautiful voice and to have been well-versed in figural singing; as a virtuoso instrumentalist, she beat a gifted musician (possibly Backhaus himself) in a competition.<sup>32</sup> In the context of praising his benefactor, Backhaus's *epicedium* links Elisabeth's musical enthusiasm to her devotion and fear of God. As an obviously intimate document of the author to his patron, the *epicedium* demonstrates a deep insight in

<sup>32</sup> "Als sie nu kommen ist zu Jarn / hat sie gros Lust mehr zu erfahrn / lernt schlagen auff dem Instrument / darauff war jr Gnad so behend / kein gutn Geselln hiermit veracht / umbs Meisterstück het sie in bracht. [...] Da hette man sein Lust gesehn / wenn sie schlug auff dem Instrument / und sang darein jren Discant / darzu das Frawenzimmer all / das war jrs Hertzen wolgefall". (As she got older, she became more interested [in music] and learned to play the instrument. Her Grace was so skillfull that she didn't avoid a talented rival, defeating him. [...] One saw her joy, when she played the instrument and sang, and for all her dames, this was a pleasure for their hearts). See BACKHAUS, "Christlich Gedechnis", n.p. See also Johann SCHLÖER, *Eine Leichpredigt Bey der Christlichen Begrebnis Der Wolgebornen und Edlen Grevin und Frawen, Frawen Elisabeth gebornen Schlickin, Grevin zu Schwartzburg, Passaun und Weiskirchen*, Jena: Tobias Steinmann, 1590, n.p.

the Countess's religious and devotional practices and gives a detailed overview of the relevant text corpus. Backhaus compiled two prayer books for Elisabeth, one of which he put in her coffin.<sup>33</sup> Beside the texts – which include, amongst others, Luther's Psalter and Small Catechism, gospel texts about 16 miracles of Jesus (including the corresponding exegetic comments by Johannes Mathesius),<sup>34</sup> seven chapters from the Gospel of John, various prayers by Mathesius, Johann Habermann, Martin Moller,<sup>35</sup> and Michael Neander,<sup>36</sup> some biblical sayings, a litany and a book named *Via salutis*<sup>37</sup> – Backhaus also refers to a collection with songs, whose assembling is framed, on the one hand, by Elisabeth's intuition for good-sounding melodies (which is by no means limited to sacred ones) and, on the other, by her harsh disapproval of texts which lack a devotional Christian purpose, thus triggering the need to make *contrafacta*.

Kein Bullied noch vergeblich Wort,  
ward da gesungen noch gehort,  
es must alles andechtig sein,  
aus Gottes Wort gezogen fein,  
wo aber ein schön Melodey  
ir liebet, muste ich darbey  
ein andern Text und Wort hergegn,  
unter dieselben Noten legn,  
es wurd ein mal ein Büchlein fundn  
darin nur Schlapperlieder stundn,  
dasselb, es wer wolfeil odr theur,  
ward flugs verurtheilt zu dem Fewr.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> It is interesting that the assembled texts exclusively consisted of initials: "Ein Buch ich zwier geschriben hab / an jedem Wort den ersten Buchstab / eins hat jr Gnad auch mit im Grab / von jrem Herrn zur letzten Gab". See BACKHAUS, "Christlich Gedechnis", n.p.

<sup>34</sup> Most likely Mathesius's *Kurtze Außlegung der Sontags Evangelien unnd Catechismi*, Nuremberg: Johann Berg – Ulrich Neuber, 1558.

<sup>35</sup> Martin MOLLER, *Soliloquia de Passione Jesu Christi*, Görlitz: Ambrosius Fritsch, 1587.

<sup>36</sup> Michael NEANDER, *Menschenspiegel*, Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1588.

<sup>37</sup> Probably Heinrich SALMUTH, *Via salutis, Das ist der rechte Weg zur Seligkeit*, Leipzig: Jacob Berwaldts Erben, 1584.

<sup>38</sup> (No love song nor word in vain were there neither sung nor heard, everything must be devout, finely drawn from God's word. But if she [the Countess] enjoyed a beautiful melody, I had to change text and word under the same notes. Once a booklet was found which contained only lascivious songs. No matter whether cheap or expensive, it was swiftly thrown into the fire). Cfr. BACKHAUS, "Christlich Gedechnis", n.p.

As Backhaus's *epicedium* suggests, the emergence of the *cantilenae* is clearly connected to private practices of devotion and music in a courtly environment heavily conditioned by a strong orthodox-Lutheran commitment. With regard to the 'Schlapperlieder', Elisabeth's negative attitude exemplarily sketches a traditional scepticism of religious zealots towards secular vocal music, which was by no means limited to central Germany.<sup>39</sup>

In his fundamental study about the Thuringian *contrafactum* of the last quarter of the 16th century, Stephen Rose was able to identify most of the originals used by Backhaus for his *contrafacta*. As the title of the *cantilenae* indicates, these include, without exception, music by Italian composers, namely canzonettas, canzoni, and madrigals for four to eight voices<sup>40</sup> by Orazio Vecchi, Giovanni Ferretti, Girolamo Conversi, Giovanni Maria Nanino, Lelio Bertani, Andrea Gabrieli, and Luca Marenzio. Strikingly, Backhaus probably copied from twelve Venetian prints;<sup>41</sup> one wonders, then, where the sources might have come from. In these circumstances too, a liaison to the above-mentioned aristocrats is possible. Wilhelm, but most of all Otto, was acquainted with Italian culture. Otto was enrolled at the universities of Jena and Ingolstadt and held the post of rector of Jena University in 1578. In 1582, Otto went to Italy; he studied at the universities of Padua and Bologna, and travelled to Rome and Naples to admire ancient artefacts.<sup>42</sup> His return to Mansfeld must have taken place before 1586. With regard to Rose's statement that the prints from which the repertory of the *cantilenae* was picked out are not listed in the Frankfurt fair catalogues,<sup>43</sup> it may therefore be likely that Otto, during his journeys through Italy, obtained music prints or established direct contacts for importing prints to Frankenhausen on a comparatively large scale.

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<sup>39</sup> ROSE, "Cleansing", p. 215.

<sup>40</sup> Rose's attribution list can now be completed with the originals of the two eight-voice pieces (n. 25: *Veritas triumphat*, n. 26: *Inn der Höhe sey Gott Ehr*): Giovanni Ferretti, *O consia caldari candelieri* from *Il secondo libro delle canzoni a sei voci*, Venezia: erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1575 (n. 24), and Luca Marenzio, *Se 'l pensier che mi strugge* from *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1581 (n. 20), respectively.

<sup>41</sup> For the prints, see ROSE, "Cleansing", pp. 237–241.

<sup>42</sup> See Michael CAELIUS – Johannes REINHOLDUS, *Zwo Christliche Predigten Deren die Erste. Bey der Tauffe Weiland des Wolgebornen und Edlen Graffen und Herrn, Herrn Otten Graffen und Herrn zu Mansfeld [...]. Die Andere. Bey dem Begräbnis wolgedachtes Herrn Graffen Otten zu Mansfeld*, [Eisleben]: Urban Gaubisch, 1600, [fol. 43r].

<sup>43</sup> ROSE, "Cleansing", p. 241.



With the Erfurt printer Georg Baumann ‘the Elder’,<sup>44</sup> Backhaus engaged an experienced partner in the field of re-publishing international music for local needs.

Baumann’s awareness of the commercial opportunities of Italian music dates back to 1572, when he published the first volume of the *Odae sacrae* [...] *suavibus harmoniis, ad imitationem italicarum villanescarum*, a co-production of the Mühlhausen cantor Joachim a Burck and the superintendent Ludwig Helmbold. Considering the *contrafactum* as a crucial medium for promoting foreign secular music, Baumann printed collections with *contrafacta* even before Backhaus’s *cantilenae*, as the two volumes of *Cantiones suavissimae* by the Saalfeld cantor Leonhart Schröter and the already mentioned Helmbold (published in 1576 and 1580) demonstrate.<sup>45</sup> In view of the practice of reprinting, Baumann is obviously inferior to his Nuremberg colleagues. On the other hand, Baumann seems to have been extremely innovative with *contrafacta* collections – in Nuremberg, prints with *contrafacta* cannot be proven until after 1600. This clearly shows different niches in order to avoid possible competition in the difficult market of music-publishing.

In comparison to Schröter’s and Helmbold’s more plainly designed *Cantiones suavissimae*, Backhaus’s *cantilenae* corroborate a certain weight, which is evidently caused by the editor’s turning to his noble patrons. Each main voice – with the exception of the *Quinta* and *Sexta vox* – is preceded by one or two introductory epigrams authored by important figures of the region. Apart from the two pieces for eight voices, the *contrafacta* are collocated in

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<sup>44</sup> Georg Baumann ‘the Elder’ was active in Erfurt between 1557 and 1599. He appeared for the first time in 1557 as administrator of the print shop of Gervasius Stürmer in the house *zum bunten Löwen* (to the colored lion) located on the *Krämerbrücke*. In 1573, he moved his print shop to the *Fischmarkt*, where he subsequently became the most prolific printer of the city: the *Register of printed works of the 16th century* published in German-speaking countries (VD16) lists almost 440 prints by him, of which about 50 are music prints (for comparison: Katharina Gerlach’s print shop in Nuremberg published over 200 music prints in about the same period). The majority of Baumann’s music prints are polyphonic song volumes of sacred and secular content for liturgical and/or pedagogical use. The composers and editors came from the region, such as Johannes Steurlein, Joachim a Burck, Leonhard Schröter, Johannes Lindemann, Philipp Avenarius, Georg Weber as well as the *Kapellmeister* Georg Otto, and Nikolaus Rosthius. See Christoph RESKE, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007 (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 51), pp. 207–208.

<sup>45</sup> ROSE, “Cleansing”, pp. 220–233.

groups of four, texted alternately in Latin and German. The pieces are arranged according to the number of voices and seem to create an arc of tension. The collection opens with eight four-part canzonettas by Orazio Vecchi, introducing the popular compositions *Fammi una canzonetta capriciosa* (sic.) and *Fa una canzonetta senza note nere*. These pieces – which, by the way, are the oldest documented *contrafacta* of Vecchi's canzonettas<sup>46</sup> – are followed by five five-part madrigals drawn from well-known collections, such as the *Dolci Affetti* or *De floridi virtuosi d'Italia*. Marenzio, Nanino and in a wider sense also Bertani, Marenzio's teacher, represent the Roman madrigal, which is characterised by a more motet-like setting and discreet use of chromaticism, thus making them suitable for sacred texts. The madrigals are followed by three five-part canzoni, an older repertoire from the 1570s and entirely texted in German. The group of eight six-part pieces consists of madrigals by Luca Marenzio, Orazio Vecchi and Andrea Gabrieli and one canzone by Giovanni Ferretti. The collection culminates with Marenzio's madrigal for double choir *Se 'l pensier che mi strugge* (retexted with a paraphrase of Elisabeth's *symbolon* "Inn der Höhe sey Gott Ehr"), which is, without any doubt, intended by Backhaus as a tribute to Elisabeth.

Regarding Backhaus's *contrafacta*, Rose observed that they "have a stronger devotional focus, often urging the worship of Christ".<sup>47</sup> Their connection to the mentioned literature of Elisabeth's prayer book is striking, as the *contrafacta* exemplarily underline their specific devotional shape. Apart from the *symbola*, it has to be assumed that Backhaus's poems allude to the literature mentioned in the *epicedium* (this still requires further analysis which cannot be given here). Not infrequently, the *contrafacta* centonize biblical verses. In the case of *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebet* (n. 24), there is a strong reference to the Gospel of John, which is quoted in the *epicedium* (see table 3).

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<sup>46</sup> They are not included in Orazio Vecchi. *The four-voice canzonettas. With original texts and contrafacta by Valentin Haussmann and others. Part 1: Historical introduction, critical apparatus, texts, contrafacta*, ed. Ruth I. DeFord, Madison: A-R Editions, 1993 (Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 92).

<sup>47</sup> ROSE, "Cleansing", p. 242.



Table 3. *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebet*, references to the Gospel of St. John

Also hat Gott der Herr die Welt geliebet, das er sein einigen Sohn, für ihre Sünd, in Todt gibet,	John 3:16
auff das wer an ihn gleubet, bekom darvon, das Leben ins Himels thron,	John 3:18
Christ ist das Lamb, davon Johannes zeuget, das er, der Welt Sünd treget,	John 1:29
er hat am Stamm des Creutzs, sein Geist auffgeben, das er uns brechte, ins ewige Leben.	John 19:30

Like the *parodia*, the ancient *cento*, which since Ausonius was characterised by its comic, satiric and ironic function, in neo-Latin poetry of the 16th century has been reinterpreted as a more serious form. This is demonstrated, for example, by Estienne's theoretical observations within his *Parodiae morales*, treating the *cento* as a complementary type of *parodia*,<sup>48</sup> or by the extant contributions to the panegyric *cento* by Lelio Capilupi.<sup>49</sup> As far as one can see, Rose was able to determine a literary model with a non-biblical relationship only for one text, namely for *Dies ist der Werlet lauff* (n. 14), whose text was taken entirely from the school drama *Susanna* by Paul Rebhun (1536).<sup>50</sup>

For the *symbola* too, an intertextual procedure, i.e. the combination of a (biblical) quotation and a (presumably) free poetry, is symptomatic. The text structure of Wilhelm's, Otto's, and Dorothea's *symbola* can be traced in the later devotional book *Geistliche Wasserquelle* by Basilius Förtsch, whose second edition (1615) included them.<sup>51</sup> According to the text layout used by Förtsch, the new verses and the *symbolon* together form the *Gedenckspruch*. In the case of Dorothea's *Gedenckspruch*, the *symbolon* is located at the end of the text (see table 4).

<sup>48</sup> ROBERT, "Nachschrift", pp. 54–55.

<sup>49</sup> See Reinhold F. GLEI, "Vergil am Zeug flicken. Centonische Schreibstrategien und die *Centones ex Virgilio* des Lelio Capilupi", in *>Parodia< und Parodie*, pp. 287–320.

<sup>50</sup> ROSE, "Cleansing", p. 243.

<sup>51</sup> See Basilius FÖRTSCH, *Geistliche Wasserquelle*, Leipzig: Gottfried Grosse, 1615<sup>2</sup>, pp. 521–523.

Table 4. Text structure of the *Gedenckspruch* of Dorothea of Mansfeld-Arnstein

Es ist kein ander Heylandt auff Erden, kein Hülff zu finden, denn Christus tröst allein und löst von Sünden, unverkürtzt ist seine Handt. Wendt alls Unglück, vertreibt Kranckheit und Schmertzen, rett in Not, hilfft im Todt,	New poem
Gott tröst all betrübte Hertzen.	<i>Symbolon</i> (concordance: <i>Wie wol ich jetzt ganz ellendt pin</i> , stanza 4, line 5)

As a source of the *symbolon* the last verse line of the fourth stanza of the sacred song *Wie wol ich jetzt ganz ellendt pin* could be identified, which is included, among other things, in the Heidelberg manuscript *Cod. Pal. Germ. 343*,<sup>52</sup> compiled after 1547.

What can be said about Backhaus's editorial skills? Helen Geyer and Stephen Rose examined *Gott ist getrew*, a *contrafactum* of Gabrieli's madrigal *Non ti sdegnar* (n. 23) and both came to a rather ambivalent conclusion.<sup>53</sup> Geyer's observation that the *contrafactum* tries to follow the imaginative music, but inevitably produces breaks, is particularly visible in the madrigal. However, it is clear that the transposition of subtle intertextual references in a new, spiritual text, which is additionally conditioned by the use of a *symbolon*, is a special challenge. In the aforementioned *Gedenckspruch* for Dorothea of Mansfeld-Arnstein, which Backhaus applies for re-texting Marenzio's madrigal *Per duo coralli ardenti*,<sup>54</sup> the discrepancies are even more conspicuous, because the editor does not eliminate musical madrigalisms (as he did in *Gott ist getrew*). The love poetry of the original text is interspersed with petrarchistic ambivalences, allowing the composer to create expressive musical antitheses: the slow motion, descending melodies, chromaticism, and dissonance used to express death (e.g. *moro, morir*) contrast sharply with the faster notes, rising melodies, and

<sup>52</sup> Fols. 33v–34r.

<sup>53</sup> See ROSE, “Cleansing”, pp. 243–246, and Helen GEYER, “Wenig beachtete Transfer-Wege italienischer Renaissance- und Frühbarock-Musik im thüringischen Mitteldeutschland”, in *Wissenschaftliche Symposien anlässlich des 250. Todestages des Orgelbauers Tobias Heinrich Gottfried Trost*, Altenburg: Kamprad, 2010 (Freiberger Studien zur Orgel, 11), pp. 30–49.

<sup>54</sup> In LUCA MARENZIO, *Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1581 (n. 3).

Example 1. Luca Marenzio-Melchior Backhaus, *Gedenckspruch Frewlin Dorothea Grevin zu Manssfeldt*, bb. 4–16

<sup>55</sup> Measure numbers according to the edition of *Per duo coralli* in Luca MARENZIO, *Opera omnia*, vol. 4, eds. Bernhard Meier – Roland Jackson, Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1978 (CMM, 72), pp. 18–21.

Likewise, the combination of the shift to the major, the short motive insertion and the text “denn Christus” (bb. 19-26) may operate as an announcement of the Saviour. The long, descending melody lines and the new underlay “unverkürtzt ist seine Handt” (his hand is not undiminished, bb. 25-38) have, one might well say, an over-imaginative effect. The invitation “Wendt alls Unglück” (change all bad luck, bb. 39-45) is skillfully underlined, giving the rhythmically accentuated music an appellative character. The words “rett in Not” (rescue in distress) and “hilfft im Todt” (helps in death, bb. 45-52) are set to long note values. In the vivid finale of the madrigal (bb. 52-61), Backhaus replaces the text with Dorothea’s *symbolon* “Gott tröst all betrübte Hertzen” (God comforts all sad hearts), creating the effect of an intensifying plea thanks to the use of repetitive patterns (see example 2).

One cannot deny Backhaus a sincere effort in making a spiritual *contrafactum*. He clearly starts from the madrigal and tries to form appropriate text modules for distinctive musical motifs. What remains problematic is not so much the metrical inconsistency (which could be encountered in musical performance), but rather the fact that there are discrepancies between the expressively fluctuating and contrasting music of the madrigal and the more semantic uniformity of the devotional text. As a result, the combination of the music and its *contrafactum* ultimately has rather the appearance of an exalted motet than a spiritual madrigal. In Marenzio’s madrigal, whose texture is typical for the genre, the musical and textual ‘references’ of the *contrafactum* seem to produce a surreal effect due to the intense connection between music and text of the original, which is, however, not entirely unconvincing.

With regard to the lighter genres (canzone, canzonetta), Backhaus’s re-texting strategies appear more coherent. This is demonstrated, for instance, by the *contrafactum* of Ferretti’s eight-voice mascherata *O consia caldari candelieri* (n. 25).<sup>56</sup> The new text (*Veritas triumphat, invalescit, consistit et durat in aeternum*) includes a hymnic statement, which is continuously repeated within the piece.

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<sup>56</sup> The original mascherata by Ferretti has been identified by the author.

45

D - tzen. Rett in Not, hilfft im Todt.

Q Rett in Not, rett in Not, hilfft im Todt.

A - tzen, rett in Not, hilfft im Todt.

T - tzen, rett in Not, rett in Not, hilfft im Todt. Gott tröst

S rett in Not, rett in Not, hilfft im Todt.

B - tzen, rett in Not, hilfft im Todt.

59

Gott tröst all be - trüb - te Her - tzen, Gott tröst all be -

Gott tröst all be - trüb - te Her - tzen, Gott tröst all be - trüb - te Her - tzen,

— Gott tröst all be - trüb - te Her - tzen, Gott tröst

all be - trüb - te Her - tzen, Gott tröst all be - trüb - te

Gott tröst all be - trüb - te Her - tzen, Gott tröst all be -

Gott tröst all be - trüb - te Her - tzen, Gott tröst all be - trüb - te Her - tzen,

Example 2. Luca Marenzio-Melchior Backhaus, *Gedenckspruch Frewlin Dorothea Grevin zu Manßfeldt*, bb. 45–56

Giovanni Ferretti, *O consia caldari*, original text and Backhaus's *contrafactum*

*Discantus I, Altus, Tenor, Bassus*

Veritas triumphat, invalescit, consistit et  
durat in aeternum,  
sola veritas triumphat, invalescit, consistit et  
durat in aeternum,  
nam veritas triumphat, invalescit, consistit et  
durat in aeternum.

*Canto I, Alto, Tenore, Basso*

O consia caldari! Candelieri, fensor', e  
lucerne da stagnare!  
O chi vol consia caldari? Candelieri, fensor',  
e lucerne da stagnare!  
Chi vol consia caldari? Candelieri, fensor', e  
lucerne da stagnare!

*Discantus II* (in *Quinta vox*)  
Benedictus sit Deus veritatis,  
haec cunctis, quae iusta, administrat,  
et non ullius differenti am personae respicit.

*Discantus III* (in *Sexta vox*)  
Veritas magna valet.

*Tenor II* (in *Quinta vox*)  
Simplex est veritatis, simplex est oratio.

*Tenor III* (in *Sexta vox*)  
Vincit veritas super omnia.

*Canto III* (in *Sesto*)  
A la bella Franceschina, ninina busina, la fili  
bustachina  
Che la vorria mari nininini, la fili bustachi.

*Canto II* (in *Quinto*)  
Alle beline donne!

*Tenore III* (in *Quinto*)  
Caldarrost', caldi, caldi, cott'ades, ades, ades!

*Tenore II* (in *Sesto*)  
O spazzacamin!

In Backhaus's *contrafactum*, which is well-tailored towards the harmonically simple and fanfaresque setting of Ferretti's *mascherata*, the music function has shifted completely from an amusing medium of erotic and obscene allusions to an insistent, confessionally loaded battle cry (see example 3).

Without any doubt, Backhaus's *cantilenae* represent an exceptional document of Italianate music reception. One wonders, then, to what extent the transalpine music imports gathered importance among the central German music culture which is non-courtly embedded? Was the reception of Italian music in Backhaus's time a common phenomenon, whereby "German school musicians had a cosmopolitan awareness of recent Italian secular music",<sup>57</sup> or did it depend on very specific premises with regard to the source transfer, individual profiles and musical networking, as is suggested by the case of the *cantilenae*? Probably the answer lies somewhere in the middle. It is remarkable that the reservations about the amorality of the love poetry in Italian secular music appear not only among humanistic-protestant scholarship, but also at courtly environments often considered progressive and secularized in music-cultural terms. Therefore, the intertextual exchanges described in Backhaus's *epicedium* for Elisabeth show a hitherto rather unnoticed aspect with regard to social circumstances of contemporary Italophile music reception.

One might also ask whether the 'cleansing' of Italian secular music should be linked to the history of patriotic antagonisms.<sup>58</sup> Surely, since Luther the Protestant culture was permeated by prejudices against Italians (which might

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<sup>57</sup> ROSE, "Cleansing", p. 246.

<sup>58</sup> See Ivi, pp. 208–215.

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Discantus I

So - la ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, so - la ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, in - va - les - cit, con - sis - tit et

Altus

- la ve - ri - tas tri - um phat, so - la ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, in - va - les - cit, con - sis - tit et

Tenor

8 So - la ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, in - va - les - cit, con - sis - tit et

Bassus

So - la ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, tri - um - phat, in - va - les - cit, con - sis - tit et

Discantus II

Discantus III

Tenor II

8

Tenor III

8

Vin - cit ve - ri - tas

20

du - rat in \_\_\_\_\_ ac - ter - num, nam ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, nam ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, nam

du - rat in \_\_\_\_\_ ac - ter - num, nam ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, nam ve - ri - tas tri - um -

8 du - rat in \_\_\_\_\_ ac - ter - num, nam ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, nam ve - ri - tas tri - um -

du - rat in \_\_\_\_\_ ac - ter - num, nam ve - ri - tas tri - um - phat, \_\_\_\_\_ nam ve - ri - tas tri -

Ve - ri - tas mag - na va - let. \_\_\_\_\_

8 Sim - plex est, sim - plex est ve - ri - ta - tis, sim - plex est o - ra - ti - o,

8 su - per om - ni - a. Vin -

Example 3. Giovanni Ferretti-Melchior Backhaus, *Veritas triumphat*, bb. 12–31



have influenced the introductory epigrams of the *cantilenae*). However, these struggles were overwhelmed by the goal to adapt a ‘lovely’ (‘liebliche’) music for local needs, heavily conditioned by a Christocentric devotion universally applicable which is typical for Lutheran-Protestant culture. Thus, it is hardly surprising that Elisabeth’s opinion perfectly confirms the regrettable discrepancy between musical quality and textual infamy within Italian secular vocal music, as stated by Ludwig Helmbold already in 1572:

Plurimus Italicis  
in cantilenis est lepos,  
at pietatis habent  
parum: pudoris indigae,  
delicias faciunt  
carni, dolorem pneumati.<sup>59</sup>

As Backhaus’s *cantilenae* suggest, the central-German collections with *contrafacta* constitute a delicate subject in the course of musical transfer. Apparently, they are distantly linked with other phenomena of importing and re-publishing foreign music and therefore their emergence needs particular attention. Regardless of the circumstances in which they arose, the central-German prints with *contrafacta* might have been a living part of the musical practice of that time. They transcended social borders and – down to the smallest village – fed modern and popular developments of music into confessionally founded institutions such as the *Lateinschule* and *Kantorei*, whereby social circles outside the spiritual and pecuniary elites were enabled to participate. In addition, the practice of making *contrafacta* obeys local practices and strategies of intertextuality, which may have been subsumed under the concept of *parodia seria*, and are thus to be seen as an aspect of it. Not infrequently rooted in an exclusive context, the *contrafacta* in their hybrid form seem to have played a not inconsiderable role within musical transfer, which from 1600 onwards gave Italian music a special role in central-German music culture.

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<sup>59</sup> (Most Italian songs sound charming. But they have little piety; without shame, they please the flesh and cause pain for the mind). See Joachim A BURCK – Ludwig HELMBOLD, *Odae sacrae [...] suavis harmoniis, ad imitationem italicarum villanescarum*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann Sr., 1572, n.p.

### Summary

In Central Germany of the 16th and early 17th century, the *contrafactum* forms an important aspect in local music culture. This is demonstrated, among others, by the anthology *Primus liber suavissimas praestantissimorum nostrae aetatis Italianorum cantilenas 4. 5. 6. & 8. vocum continens* (1587) edited by Melchior Backhaus. As a result of international musical transfer, the collection integrates a rich repertory of secular Italian music (i.e. canzoni, canzonettas, and madrigals) by replacing the original love poetry with devotional texts. The focus of the article lies, on the one hand, on the analysis of contents, strategies, and techniques used by Backhaus in his *contrafacta*, and, consequently, on the interaction between the new text and the music. On the other hand, the cultural framework with regard to the role of Protestant devotion as well as local perceptions of (literary) intertextuality, subsumable under the term *Parodia*, should be pointed out. Not least, the biographical, conceptual and pragmatical circumstances concerning the emergence of this unique collection are to be considered.

Keywords: Musical transfer, 16th century, Italy, Germany, Thuringia, Protestantism, devotion, intertextuality, parodia.

Marina Toffetti

## ***Contrafacta* of Palestrina's works printed in Milan (1597–1605)**

### **1. The circulation of Palestrina's music in Milan**

In a previous article on the reception of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's music in Milan between the 16th and 17th century, I examined the question as to which of the composer's single compositions and individual collections were disseminated in Milan, the channels through which they arrived, and how the local musical milieu had reacted to these stimuli.<sup>1</sup> A rich and varied picture emerged, which provides a clear idea of how Palestrina's output raised interest among local composers, music publishers, clerics and men of culture.

While only few of Palestrina's compositions appear to have been copied in Milan between the 16th and 17th century, several collections of his music were reprinted there thanks to the initiative of the publishers Tini and Lomazzo (Francesco ed eredi di Simone Tini; eredi di Francesco e Simone Tini; erede di Simon Tini e Filippo Lomazzo), who played a driving role in the local diffusion of his music and that of other notable composers from outside the musical

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<sup>1</sup> See Marina TOFFETTI, "La ricezione palestriniana a Milano fra '500 e '600", in *Palestrina e l'Europa. Atti del III Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Palestrina, 6–9 ottobre 1994)*, eds. Giancarlo Rostirolla – Stefania Soldati – Elena Zomparelli, Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2006, pp. 855–935. Sections 2–4 of the present article are a revised and updated version of pp. 885–908 of the above-mentioned essay.

milieu of Milan.<sup>2</sup> In line with the tendencies of the local printers, who were in turn influenced by the counter-reformist climate of the Ambrosian archdiocese, preference was given, in choosing which of Palestrina's collections to reprint, to the collections of sacred music: above all to motets (of which there are four Milan reprints) and, in second place, to the masses (of which two reprints have survived, one being a compilation based on two different books); besides these, one book of litanies and one of madrigals were also reprinted, now lost.<sup>3</sup> The only book to be reprinted twice is that of the motets on the Song of Songs, considered still today one of the greatest achievements in sacred polyphonic music of all times. The publishers Tini also imported to Milan an edition of the offertories by Palestrina printed elsewhere, thus contributing to its local circulation. In addition, a reworking for four voices of the *missa papae Marcelli*, which for various reasons would be taken as a paradigm of that clarity of writing recommended in the decrees of the Council of Trent, can be found both within a Milan reprint, and in a printed anthology now lacking the title-page (of which the date, place of publishing and name of the printer are thus unknown) preserved in the Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica of the Duomo of Milan. Contrary to what happened in other centres, nearly all the reprints issued in Milan appeared before Palestrina's death: the first five were certainly published before 1594; the last two, now lost, before 1596.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the later publication of the *Basso prencipale col soprano* of Palestrina's fourth book of four and five part masses (1610), published twenty years after the local reprint of the same collection, shows the wish to make practical and in some ways simplified editions of Palestrina's music available to organists and therefore confirms the continuing interest in his music also after his death. The examination of the Milan reprints and the collation with the respective presumed antigraphs also points to the close association between Milanese music publishing firms and those of Venice.

<sup>2</sup> See Marina TOFFETTI, "Tini", in *Dizionario degli Editori Musicali Italiani dalle origini alla metà del Settecento*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, Pisa: ETS, 2019 (Dizionari, 2), pp. 642–649; EAD., "Tini (Famiglia)", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Istituto per la Enciclopedia Italiana, vol. 95 (2019), pp. 700–704 ([www.treccani.it](http://www.treccani.it)).

<sup>3</sup> A list can be found in the Appendix of Palestrina's individual collections reprinted in Milan, his single compositions (with or without substitute text) printed or reprinted in Milan in collective editions, and re-elaborations with *passeggiature* of some of his compositions.

<sup>4</sup> See Oscar MISCHIATI, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798*, Firenze: Olschki, 1984, pp. 108–109.

Besides the reprinting of individual collections, a key role in the diffusion of Palestrina's works in Milan was played by the collective editions. The presence of well-known compositions by Palestrina within collective editions reprinted in Milan, although assembled elsewhere, allow us to appreciate the extraordinary importance of such publications as vehicles to disseminate the repertoire. It can in fact be observed that almost all of Palestrina's works featured in them would reappear, in versions variously reworked (with either *passeggiature* or substitute texts), in later music editions printed in Milan.<sup>5</sup>

The investigation on the dissemination and assimilation of Palestrina's music in Milan also revealed the importance of the *passeggiature* and *contrafacta* made by some well-known composers and local clerics. Such re-elaborations, as intertextual artifacts *par excellence*, not only point to a receptive and vital approach in the musical milieu in Milan, but also provide a clear indication of the fame that the selected works by Palestrina must have enjoyed there at the time.

## 2. *Contrafacta* of Palestrina's works in Milanese music prints

"Mi è anco parso di servirmi di composizioni note ad ognuno".<sup>6</sup>

In the Milanese prints five compositions by Palestrina appear with substitute texts: two compositions were printed with a text by Orfeo Vecchi, two with a text by Geronimo Cavaglieri, and one composition has both a substitute text by Orfeo Vecchi and one by Geronimo Cavaglieri. The collections in which

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<sup>5</sup> For further details of the Milanese reprints of Palestrina's music, see TOFFETTI, *La ricezione palestriniana, passim*.

<sup>6</sup> (It also occurred to me to make use of compositions well known to all). The quotation is taken from the *avvertimento* "Al virtuoso lettore" found in the second part of the *Regole Passaggi di musica* by Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, published in Venice "appresso Giacomo Vincenti ad instantia delli heredi di Francesco, e Simon Tini library in Milano" (by Giacomo Vincenzi, at the request of the heirs of Francesco and Simon Tini, booksellers in Milan) in 1594. Anastatic reprint: Giovanni Battista BOVICELLI, *Regole Passaggi di musica 1594*, ed. Nanie Bridgman, Kassel-Basel: Bärenreiter, 1957 (Documenta Musicologica. Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles, 12). Giovanni Battista BOVICELLI, *Regole Passaggi di musica* (Venezia, 1594), with an introduction by Giancarlo Rostirolla, Roma: Società Italiana del Flauto Dolce, 1986. English translation in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 4, 1992, pp. 27–44. On Bovicelli's treatise, see Edward V. FOREMAN, *A comparison of selected Italian vocal tutors of the period circa 1500 to 1800*, DMA dissertation, Music, University of Illinois, 1969; Bruce DICKEY, "L'accento. In search of a forgotten ornament", *Historic Brass Society Journal*, 3, 1991, pp. 98–121; John POTTER, "Reconstructing lost voices", in *Companion to medieval and Renaissance music*, London: Dent-New York: Schirmer, 1992, pp. 311–316.

works by Palestrina appear with a substitute text are two books by Orfeo Vecchi — respectively the *Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi [...]* e d'altri eccellentiss. Musici, printed in 1597 and reprinted in 1599 and, with the addition of the score, in 1603,<sup>7</sup> and the *Scielta de Madrigali a cinque [...]* Accommodati in Motetti, published in 1604<sup>8</sup> — and two collections of *contrafacta* by Geronimo Cavaglieri — i.e. the first and second book *Della nova Metamorfosi*, published respectively in 1600 and 1605.

As already suggested in other studies, the first impression one gains from these collections is that Vecchi and Cavaglieri, who were probably in contact with one another, competed in adapting different Latin texts to the same madrigals<sup>9</sup> — or at least influenced each other reciprocally in the choice of compositions, the texts of which were to be substituted. A similar case of emulation (or, at least, the tendency to use the same compositions) can also be detected in the treatises on diminution, including *passeggiature* of some compositions by Palestrina: the madrigal *Io son ferito abi lasso*, for example, appears both in Giovanni Battista Bovicelli's *Regole*, and in Francesco Rognoni's *Selva de varii passaggi*, published in Milan by Filippo Lomazzo in 1620.<sup>10</sup>

It is probable that the compilers of the collections of *contrafacta* and the authors of the diminished versions came to know Palestrina's works through local prints. Of the five compositions reissued in Milan with substitute texts, three had in fact been previously published in *Il quarto Libro delle Muse a cinque voci*, printed in Milan by Francesco and the heirs of Simon Tini in 1587, while the

<sup>7</sup> In the organ score the two *contrafacta*, notated in *chiavette*, are transposed down a fifth.

<sup>8</sup> In this case, Palestrina's madrigal *Io felice sarei* (with the substitute text *Domine in virtute tua*) is the first work of the collection.

<sup>9</sup> On the madrigal models common to the *contrafacta* of Vecchi and Cavaglieri, see Antonio DELFINO, "Geronimo Cavaglieri e alcuni contrafacta di madrigali marenziani", in *Luca Marenzio musicista europeo. Atti della Giornata di Studi marenziani (Brescia, 6 marzo 1988)*, eds. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani — Mariella Sala, Brescia: Edizioni di Storia Bresciana, 1990, pp. 165–216: 178–179. For a comparison among the various substitute texts assigned to madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli in the collections of Geronimo Cavaglieri, Aquilino Coppini and Simone Molinaro, see Marina TOFFETTI, "Aspects of the reception of the music of Andrea Gabrieli in Milan", *Musica Iagellonica*, 8, 2017, *Special issue: The music of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli in Europe: dissemination, assimilation, adaptation* (guest editor: Marina Toffetti), pp. 5–29.

<sup>10</sup> See Claudio SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700*, Firenze: Olschki, 1952 (Biblioteca di Bibliografia Italiana, 23), 1605a 1620c–1620d. Francesco ROGNONI, *Selva de varii passaggi*, anastatic reprint with an introduction by Guglielmo Barblan, Bologna: Forni, 1970 (repr. 1983) (Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis, II/153). On the treatise by Francesco Rognoni, see DICKEY, *L'accento*.

motet *Pulchra es*, reposed by Cavaglieri in 1605 with the text *Salve sancta facies*, had already appeared in the two Milan reprints of the fourth book of five-voice motets (1587 and 1593) (see table 1). In the same way, almost all of Palestrina's works that appear in versions subjected to *passeggiature* had already appeared in previous Milan editions (see table 2).<sup>11</sup> Both the *contrafacta* and the *passeggiature* of Palestrina's compositions provide a clear sign of the vitality with which some composers and local clerics received his production.

The use of sacred texts conveying edifying messages in place of secular texts must certainly have contributed to the circulation among a wide and varied public of works which were previously already known. Nevertheless, it is likely that the deepest significance of such re-workings could be appreciated by a quite limited and elite public, namely by those who had already heard the original compositions. One could in fact say that the full efficacy of these re-visitations, whether re-texted or diminished, could only be perceived by the (presumably few) listeners who were able to recognize the model and remember its characteristics while listening to the re-elaborated version.

It remains to be asked whether and to what extent the composers were aware of such a plurality of levels of reception. Certainly, they appear to have been conscious of the fact that the works subjected to re-elaboration were well known: this can be deduced, among other things, from the metaphor of the bee that gathers the honey from the most scented flowers (the compiler of an anthology that selects the finest compositions) used in the dedication of the *Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi [...] e d'altri eccellentiss. musici* (Milan, eredi di Francesco e Simon Tini, 1597), and again three years later in that of Geronimo Cavaglieri for his first book, *Della nova Metamorfosi* (Milan, Tradate, 1600). Their works therefore assume the form of deliberate acts of homage, whose significance can be fully grasped only by comparison with their respective models.

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<sup>11</sup> Here we do not intend to analyze the many technical, compositional and performing issues involved in late-Renaissance *passeggiatura*; such re-workings, instead, are taken into account only for the purposes of obtaining a general overview of the modalities and channels of the circulation of Palestrina's works in Milan. On the main problems raised by the diminished repertoire (and in particular by the compositions of Francesco Rognoni) see Imogene HORSELEY, "The Solo Ricercar in Diminution Manuals: New Light on Early Wind and String Techniques", *Acta Musicologica*, 33, 1961, pp. 29–40; Howard M. BROWN, *Embellishing Sixteenth-century Music*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976 (Early Music Series, 1); Enrico CARERI, "Le tecniche vocali del canto italiano d'arte tra il XVI e il XVII secolo", *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 18, 1984/3, pp. 359–375.



Table 1

ORIGINAL COMPOSITION	FIRST EDITION	MILAN REPRINT	SUBSTITUTE TEXT	COLLECTIONS INCLUDING THE <i>CONTRACTUM</i>
<i>Io son ferito</i>	1561 <sup>10</sup>	1587 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Quanti mercenarii</i>	Vecchi 1597, 1599 <sup>4</sup> , 1603 <sup>6</sup>
<i>Vestiva i colli / Così le chiome mie</i>	1566 <sup>3</sup>	–	<i>Surge propera / Veni dilecte</i>	Vecchi 1597, 1599 <sup>4</sup> , 1603 <sup>6</sup>
<i>Vestiva i colli / Così le chiome mie</i>	1566 <sup>3</sup>	–	<i>Semper laudabo / Sana me Domine</i>	Cavaglieri 1600 <sup>11</sup>
<i>Saggio e santo</i>	1574 <sup>4</sup>	1587 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Repleatur os meum</i>	Cavaglieri 1600 <sup>11</sup>
<i>Io felice sarei</i>	1574 <sup>4</sup>	1587 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Domine in virtute</i>	Vecchi 1604 <sup>11</sup>
<i>Pulchra es</i>	1583 <sup>4</sup>	1587 1593	<i>Salve sancta facies</i>	Cavaglieri 1605 <sup>6</sup>

Table 2

ORIGINAL COMPOSITION	FIRST EDITION	MILAN EDITIONS	<i>CONTRACTA</i> PUBLISHED IN MILAN	COLLECTIONS INCLUDING THE <i>CONTRACTUM</i>	TITLE OF THE <i>PASSEGGLATURA PASSEGLIATURE</i>	TREATISES INCLUDING
<i>Io son ferito</i>	1561 <sup>10</sup>	1587 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Quanti mercenarii</i>	Vecchi 1597, 1599 <sup>4</sup> , 1603 <sup>6</sup>	<i>Io son ferito</i>	Bovicelli 1594 Rognoni 1620
<i>Io son ferito</i>	1561 <sup>10</sup>	1587 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Quanti mercenarii</i>	Vecchi 1597, 1599 <sup>4</sup> , 1603 <sup>6</sup>	<i>Ave verum</i>	Bovicelli 1594
<i>Io son ferito</i>	1561 <sup>10</sup>	1587 <sup>5</sup>	<i>Quanti mercenarii</i>	Vecchi 1597, 1599 <sup>4</sup> , 1603 <sup>6</sup>	<i>Quanti mercenarii</i>	Rognoni 1620
<i>Vestiva i colli / Così le chiome mie</i>	1566 <sup>3</sup>	–	<i>Surge propera / Veni dilecte</i>	Vecchi 1597, 1599 <sup>4</sup> , 1603 <sup>6</sup>	<i>Vestiva i colli</i>	Rognoni 1620 (2 versions)
<i>Vestiva i colli / Così le chiome mie</i>	1566 <sup>3</sup>	–	<i>Semper laudabo / Sana me Domine</i>	Cavaglieri 1600 <sup>11</sup>	<i>Vestiva i colli</i>	Rognoni 1620 (2 versions)
<i>Pulchra es</i>	1583 <sup>4</sup>	1587 1593	<i>Salve sancta facies</i>	Cavaglieri 1605 <sup>6</sup>	<i>Pulchra es</i>	Rognoni 1620 (2 versions)

Also Giovanni Battista Bovicelli seems to have been aware of the fame of the compositions he reworked, and explains that he has included in the second part of his treatise “compositions known to all” not only as a homage to the greatest composers of his time, but also in a manner that one can “easily see the effect that his *passeggiature* have together with the other parts”, thus taking for granted not only that the works included were known to all, but also that the knowledge of them was indispensable to understand the significance and worth of his re-workings:

Mi è parso, dopò l'haver messo i sopra scritti Passaggi, quasi, come si dice, in astratto, che si possono addattare ad ogni sorte di canto, di mettere ancora alcuni motetti, e madrigali, e falsi bordini passeggiati; acciò più chiaramente si veda l'effetto de i precedenti, e più speditamente possa ogn'uno, ben che novitio in questa professione, sapere il modo, col quale si devono usare. Mi è anco parso di servirmi di compositioni note ad ogn'uno; si per che possa sia chi si voglia, facilmente vedere l'effetto che fanno insieme con l'altre parti; si anco perche ogni debito volea, ch'io mi servissi delle compositioni di quelli autori, che in questa professione di musica sono tenuti, e meritamente in grande stima.<sup>12</sup>

(It occurred to me, after putting the above-written passages, almost, as they say, in abstract, which can be adapted to every sort of canto, to add some further motets, and madrigals, and falsibordini passeggiati; so that the effect of the previous can be seen more clearly, and everyone, even though a novice in this profession, may readily know the way in which they can be used. It also occurred to me to make use of compositions known to all; both so that whosoever can easily see the effect they have together with the other parts; and also because I wished to pay tribute, in using their compositions, to the authors who in this profession of music are held, and justly, in great esteem).

Among the *contrafacta* included in the Milan collections there are two of Palestrina's best known compositions, the madrigals *Io son ferito abi lasso* and *Vestiva i colli*. These works seem worthy of a more detailed account, covering the modalities of transmission and how the music and texts have been treated in the various surviving re-textualizations.

### 3. Orfeo Vecchi versus *Io son ferito abi lasso*

First published in *Il terzo libro delle Muse a cinque voci* (Venice, Antonio Gardano, 1561),<sup>13</sup> the famous five-voice madrigal *Io son ferito abi lasso* was later included in the *Prima stella de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, Girolamo Scotto,

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<sup>12</sup> BOVICELLI, *Regole*, p. 37: “Al virtuoso lettore. L'autore”.

<sup>13</sup> RISM B/I 1561<sup>10</sup>.

1570)<sup>14</sup> and again in an intabulated version for lute, in Vincenzo Galilei's *Fronimo* (Venice, erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1584).<sup>15</sup>

In Milan this same madrigal appeared for the first time in 1587, in *Il quarto Libro delle Muse a cinque voci*.<sup>16</sup> In 1594 it can be found in Giovanni Battista Bovicelli's *Regole Passaggi di musica*, printed in Venice by Giacomo Vincenti "A instantia delli Heredi di Francesco, e Simon Tini, Librari in Milano", while their author was working as choirmaster at the Duomo in Milan, and dedicated to Giacomo Buoncompagno, "Generale de gli uomini d'arme nello Stato di Milano" (general of the men of arms in the State of Milan). After illustrating the main difficulties encountered in the art of passeggiatura, Bovicelli includes two versions (the first without diminutions, the second diminished following the criteria previously explained) of the upper voice of fourteen widely known compositions, with their relative text.<sup>17</sup> Among these we find *Io son ferito abi lasso*, followed in turn by its contrafact *Ave verum corpus*.<sup>18</sup> It seems likely that the choice to diminish this composition stems from the wish to rival in bravura Giovanni Bassano, who just three years before had included in his *Motetti, madrigali et canzoni [...] diminuiti per sonar con ogni sorte di Stromenti, et per cantar con semplice Voce* (Venice, Giacomo Vincenti, 1591)<sup>19</sup> a diminished

<sup>14</sup> RISM B/I 1570<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> RISM B/I 1584<sup>15</sup>. A transcription of the madrigal *Io son ferito* in the version given by Vincenzo Galilei appears in *Vierter Nachtrag zur Gesamtausgabe der Werke von Pierluigi da Palestrina. Ergänzungen, Diminutione, Lautentabulaturen, Textanfänge sämtlicher Kompositionen Palestrinas und Thematischer Katalog derselben. Ausgearbeitet von Franz Xaver Haberl*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, s.d. (reprint: Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers, 1968), vol. 33 (henceforth: HABERL 33), pp. 74–75.

<sup>16</sup> For the later reprints after that of Milan, see RISM B/I.

<sup>17</sup> The featured composers are, in order, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Cipriano de Rore, Tomás Louis de Victoria, Claudio Merulo, Giulio Cesare Gabussi, Ruggiero Giovannelli and Giovanni Battista Bovicelli himself, with two works for each composer.

<sup>18</sup> A transcription of the madrigal *Io son ferito* (and of its contrafactum, *Ave verum corpus*) in the diminished versions by Giovanni Battista Bovicelli appears in HABERL 33, pp. 63–66. The transcription gives just one line of not diminished music (which corresponds, apart from slight divergences, to the one superimposed on the contrafactum *Ave verum corpus* in Bovicelli's treatise).

<sup>19</sup> SARTORI, *Bibliografia*, 1591e. Besides the madrigal *Io son ferito abi lasso*, Giovanni Bassano's collection includes another ten compositions by Palestrina (of which *Benedicta sit sancta* appears in two different versions). On Bassano's collection, see Ernst T. FERAND, *Die Motetti, Madrigali, et Canzoni Francese...Diminuiti...des Giovanni Bassano (1591)*, in *Festschrift Helmut Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstage*, eds. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht – Helmut Hücke, Tutzing: Schneider, 1961, pp. 75–101.

version, with text, of the same madrigal,<sup>20</sup> or at least that Bovicelli had gained the idea from Bassano's collection to rework the same composition, or else that Bassano had turned to the madrigal *Io son ferito* because it was widely known and as such could be easily recognized. The fact that Bovicelli knew the most recent publications on the criteria of *passeggiatura* is confirmed in the introduction to his treatise, where he states he is amazed by the great difference between his *passaggi* and the ones of those who wrote them before him.<sup>21</sup>

Still in Milan, ten years after the publication of the *quarto libro delle Muse*, the first book of five-voice motets by Orfeo Vecchi and other illustrious musicians (1597) was published, which, besides a version with a substitute text of the famous *Vestiva i colli*, includes a contrafact of *Io son ferito*.<sup>22</sup> In 1591 Orfeo Vecchi was awarded the post of mansionarius at the prestigious collegiate church of Santa Maria della Scala in Milan:<sup>23</sup> his compositions must therefore have been destined for some of the most learned exponents of the city's clergy.

With regards the substitute text, it should be remembered that while Aquilino Coppini, professor of Rhetoric at the University of Pavia and an excellent Latin scholar, had himself written the texts of his highly refined

<sup>20</sup> A transcription of the madrigal *Io son ferito*, in the diminished version by Giovanni Bassano, appears in HABERL 33, p. 62.

<sup>21</sup> For a comparative study of the various diminished versions of the best known Renaissance polyphonic compositions, see *Italienische Diminutionen die zwischen 1553 und 1638 mehrmals bearbeiteten Sätze*, herausgegeben von Richard Erig unter mitarbeit von Veronika Gutmann, Zürich: Amadeus, 1979.

<sup>22</sup> A transcription of the two motets of Palestrina with substitute texts adapted by Orfeo Vecchi can be found in Laura MAURI, *Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi maestro di cappella di Santa Maria della Scala in Milano*, M.A. dissertation, Università di Pavia – Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale di Cremona, 1983, pp. 119–126 and 171–176 (critical notes on pp. 67–70 and 76–77). For the purposes of the transcription of the *cantus* part, the 1603 reprint has not been collated; the text inserted below the notes of the upper voice is reconstructed by the editor.

<sup>23</sup> See Marina TOFFETTI, "Nuovi documenti su Orfeo Vecchi. «Presbyter Orfeus Vecchius» (1551–1603), «filius quondam Reinaldi Mediolanensis»: un ignoto status personalis di Orfeo Vecchi, mansionario in Santa Maria della Scala a Milano", *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana*, 30, 1996/3–4, pp. 445–65. For more information on the environment of the royal collegiate church of Santa Maria della Scala and on the musicians linked to this institution, see also EAD., *Gli Ardemanio e la musica in Santa Maria della Scala di Milano nella prima metà del Seicento*, Lucca: LIM-Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004 (Quaderni dell'Archivio per la storia della musica in Lombardia, 2), and Daniele TORELLI, *Benedetto Binago e il mottetto a Milano tra Cinque e Seicento*, Lucca: LIM-Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2004 (Quaderni dell'Archivio per la storia della musica in Lombardia, 3).

*contrafacta* of Monteverdi's madrigals,<sup>24</sup> Orfeo Vecchi chose to adapt some well-known passages from the Old or New Testament to the music of various celebrated composers. The very nature of this operation appears to have been completely different: it would be pointless to search in Vecchi's substitute texts for the careful adhesion to the music that can be discerned in the *contrafacta* of Coppini. This does not mean, though, that the operations involved in the use of pre-existing texts do not reveal, at various levels (from the choice of the new text, to the way of adapting it), the author's notable musical sensitivity and cultural depth. While in a madrigal the relation between text and music commonly sees the prevalence of the former, on which the form and substance of the music, albeit in the most diverse and creative ways, is shaped, in a *contrafactum* using a newly invented text this same relation is overturned, since in this case the new text depends *in toto* on the character and form of the music. Different still is the case of *contrafacta* that use pre-existing texts, where the choice of the new poetic text can respond to intentions quite different from the usual search for the topical adhesion between text and music. In his *contrafacta* Orfeo Vecchi, even though paying attention to the details of the adaptation of single words and of fragments of text beneath the notes, apparently tends to focus more on the relation created between the substitute text and the original one. The new poetic text is thus not used as a comment on the musical structure, but to some extent comments, through the music, on the original text.

An example of this way of working can be seen in the re-elaboration of the madrigal *Io son ferito*. The text adopted by Orfeo Vecchi, *Quanti mercenarii in domo Patris*, is taken from the parable of the prodigal son, found in the Gospel according to St Luke.<sup>25</sup> The original text is given below, with the corresponding lines of the substitute text.

<sup>24</sup> On Aquilino Coppini's *contrafacta*, see Margaret Ann RORKE, "Sacred contrafacta of Monteverdi and Cardinal Borromeo's Milan", *Music & Letters*, 65, 1984/2, pp. 168–175, and Uwe WOLF, "Prima Arianna, poi Maria. Rielaborazioni religiose di musica vocale profana degli inizi del XVII secolo", in *Intorno a Monteverdi*, eds. Maria Caraci Vela – Rodobaldo Tibaldi, Lucca: LIM, 1999, pp. 351–366.

<sup>25</sup> Luke 15, 17–19.

Io son ferito ahi lasso e chi mi diede  
accusar pur vorrei, ma non ho prova  
e senz'indizio al mal non si dà fede  
né getta sangue la mia piaga nuova.  
**Io spasm'e moro**, il colpo non si vede.  
La mia nemica armata si ritrova.  
Che fia **tornar a lei** crudel partito,  
che sol m'abbia a sanar, chi m'ha ferito.

(I am wounded, alas, and she who gave it to me  
I wish to accuse, but have no proof  
and without evidence of evil, none will believe  
nor does my new wound pour forth blood.  
**I shiver and die**, the blow cannot be seen.  
my armed enemy is refund.  
What good would it do to **return to her**, cruel  
happening,  
as only she who wounded me, can heal me).

Quanti mercenarii in domo patris mei,  
abundant panibus, ego autem hic fame pereol  
**Surgam, et ibo ad patrem meum**,  
et dicam ei:  
**Pater, peccavi** in coelum, et coram te;  
iam non sum dignus vocari filius tuus:  
fac me sicut unum  
ex mercenariis tuis.

(How many hired servants of my father  
have bread enough, and I perish with hunger!  
**I will arise and go to my father**,  
and will say unto him:  
**father, I have sinned** against heaven and  
before thee,  
and am no more worthy to be called thy son:  
make me as one  
of your hired servants).

At first reading one can note, above all, the great distance between the two texts: in place of an octave devoted to one of the *tòpoi* of 16th century poetry (the outpouring of an unrequited lover), we now find a pericope taken from St Luke's Gospel, dealing with the famous parable of the prodigal son. Apart from the desperation of the characters that give vent to their feelings speaking in the first person, the only motive common to both situations is the theme of return (to the loved one in one case, to the father in the other). Both situations can be resolved only through the reunion with the loved person, who in the first case is responsible for the pain of the lover, and in the second suffers the consequences of his son's behaviour. The structure of the two texts is nevertheless very different: in the passage from the New Testament the theme of returning appears halfway through the first part ("Surgam, et ibo ad patrem meum"), while in the original madrigal it is mentioned only in the penultimate line ("tornar a lei").

A closer reading reveals a more subtle meaning, of a super-lexical and eminently conceptual nature, underlying the substitution of the text: while, in the madrigal, the unrequited lover invokes justice to see the person who wounded him (by making her fall in love) punished, in the text from the Gospels the repented sinner invokes *on himself* the just punishment that can purify him. While the madrigal expresses the desperation of the unhappy lover towards

the woman who caused his suffering, the motet expresses the desperation of the dissolute son, who after causing his father's grief, recognizes his error and appeals to his paternal mercy, asking for *his own* just punishment. The text of the motet is taken from the most famous of the three New Testament parables on mercy, which express with exemplary simplicity the deepest meaning of the new law of pardon: "Quick, bring here the best robe and put it on him, put a ring on his finger and shoes on his feet. Bring the fatted calf, kill it, let us eat and be merry, because this my son was dead and he is alive again, he was lost and has been found".<sup>26</sup> While the *contrafacta* of Aquilino Coppini reveal the hand of a competent Latin scholar, skilled and sensitive to the musical charm of Monteverdi's madrigals, in those of Vecchi the ecclesiastic seems to have prevailed over the musician.

Since the operation of reworking consists of the search, starting from a composition already known and loved by the public, for a new relationship between text and music, reinvented on the basis of a text different from the original, the outcome is of such intertextual complexity as to create presumably different levels of fruition, from the most aware to the most ingenuous. While any person could have enjoyed listening to the result of the re-texting of a pre-existing composition, even without any knowledge whatsoever of its model, of the old and new text and the nature of the operation (and this is probably the way these *contrafacta* were perceived by the majority of the faithful during liturgical, and paraliturgical services), it is equally indisputable that those who knew the original work, remembered its text and were able to recognize and understand the alternative text, would have been able to better comprehend and appreciate the new composition.

In fact, in order to adequately grasp the sense of the textual substitution, the listener would have to know Palestrina's madrigal (or at least, on hearing the music, should be able to associate it with the corresponding text and remember its theme),<sup>27</sup> as well as understand Latin or, at least, know it sufficiently as to be able to recognize the passage taken from the parable of the prodigal son, and know its conclusion, in which the potential moral of the text is expressed in full. It is likely that the *contrafacta*, sophisticated artistic products, were aimed

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<sup>26</sup> Luke 15, 22–24.

<sup>27</sup> It is doubtful whether the simple listening to a madrigal would be sufficient to allow the poetic text to be fully understood and appreciated in all its nuances.



*in primis* at the refined and elite public of the most prominent exponents of the local clergy. These would certainly also include the dedicatee of Vecchi's collection in which the *contrafactum* *Quanti mercenarii* appears, Francesco Bernardino Porro, canon in Santa Maria della Scala in the same period in which Orfeo Vecchi held the position of mansionarius, doctor in civil as well as ecclesiastical law, apostolic protonotary and referendary, and for a certain time pastoral visitor in Milan.<sup>28</sup>

If we consider the overall sense of the composition, it becomes evident that Orfeo Vecchi was fully aware of his choice, setting the madrigal to a text carrying specularly different values. This is not, however, the only level on which the author worked in adapting Palestrina's madrigal: a careful analysis of the two texts has revealed further correspondences at a rhetorical level, bringing about a similar division in the overall form. Both compositions include an antithesis – “e chi mi diede accusar pur vorrei / ma non ho prove” (and she who gave it to me I wish to accuse / but I have no proof), against “Quanti mercenarii in domo patris mei, / ego autem hic fame pereor!” (How many hired servants in my father's house, / while I perish with hunger) and a sort of lament halfway through the text – “io spasm'e moro” (I suffer and die) – in the first, “Pater, peccavi” (father, I have sinned) in the second. On the other hand, despite such analogies, there are also considerable rhetorical and structural differences between Palestrina's text and the one used by Orfeo Vecchi. The words “Surgam, et ibo ad patrem meum” (I will arise and go to my father), one of the most intense moments of the story of the prodigal son, have no correspondence in the text of the madrigal (and thus in Palestrina's music). The lack of a clear and effective motive in the composition with the alternative text is felt in particular on the word “Surgam”, which in an original composition would almost certainly have prompted some classic madrigal procedures (scales or rising intervals), or in any case a characteristic and clearly identifiable motive, deserving, as a true turning point in the parable (at least in terms of the interior path of the prodigal son), an effective expressive emphasis. This “Surgam” represents the moment of repentance and

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<sup>28</sup> For further biographical details of Francesco Porro and Orfeo Vecchi, see TOFFETTI, *Nuovi documenti*.

results in his intention to return home, but there is nothing in the musical setting to help underline it (see example 1):<sup>29</sup>



Example 1. “Surgam et ibo” from Orfeo Vecchi, *Quanti mercenarii* (contrafact of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Io son ferito abi lasso*), *cantus* part

On the contrary, even without knowing Palestrina’s madrigal, any listener, if able to understand the Latin text, would have been able to enjoy the moments where the textual substitution is most successful and recreates well balanced and efficacious motives. See, for example, one of the most effective moments in the retexting, where the son’s begging for paternal pardon (“Pater, peccavi”) in the new version is made to coincide with the lament of the unhappy lover (“io spasm’e moro”) in the original text (see example 2).<sup>30</sup>

In the *contrafactum* the suffering of the person who is repenting coincides (and is thus compared in nature and intensity) with that of the unhappy lover, so that the sincerity of the repentance finds its natural outlet in the same inconsolable cry in which the suffering of the unrequited lover is vent. Just as happens in Aquilino Coppini’s *contrafacta* of Monteverdi, here too, with a typical Baroque procedure, the religious experience is humanized through the assimilation with one of the most common human experiences, in order to make it immediately accessible to the listener.

Equally successful is the substitution of the first words of the concluding couplet (“che fia tornar a lei”) with those of the exhortation of the repentant son (“fac me sicut unum”), which we give below (see example 3).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The example shows the relative passage in the *cantus* part, transcribed, with halved note values, from Orfeo Vecchi’s *Partitura del Primo libro delli Motetti à cinque voci* (Milan: Appresso l’herede di Simon Tini, e Filippo Lomazzo, compagni, 1603), in which the composition is transposed a fifth lower than the part-books of the previous editions (lacking the *cantus*). In the transcription the original tune has been restored.

<sup>30</sup> The example shows a transcription, in halved note values, of Palestrina’s madrigal; the text of Vecchi’s *contrafactum* is given below the original text.

<sup>31</sup> As in the previous example, here too the text of Orfeo Vecchi’s *contrafactum* is given below the original text.

34

C mia pia - ga no - va \_\_\_\_\_ Io spasm' e  
et di - cam e - i: Pa - ter pec -

A pia - ga no - - - va Io spasm' e mo - ro,  
di - cam e - - - i: Pa - ter pec - ca - vi,

T pia - ga no - va i: Io spasm' e mo - ro, io spasm' e  
di - cam e - i: Pa - ter pec - ca - vi, Pa - ter pec -

Q 8 Io spasm' e mo - ro, \_\_\_\_\_ io  
Pa - ter pec - ca - vi, Pa -

B 8 Io spasm' e mo - ro, \_\_\_\_\_  
Pa - ter pec - ca - vi,

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mo - ro \_\_\_\_\_ e mo - ro  
ca - vi, pec - ca - vi

io spasm' e mo - ro il col - po non si  
Pa - ter pec - ca - vi coe - lum, et co -

mo - ro, io spasm' e mo - ro il  
ca - vi, Pa - ter pec - ca - vi in

spasm' e mo - ro il col - po non si ve -  
ter pec - ca - vi in coe - lum, et co - ram

io spasm' e mo - ro il col - po non si  
Pa - ter pec - ca - vi in coe - lum, et co -

Example 2. "Pater peccavi" from Orfeo Vecchi, *Quanti mercenarii* (contrafact of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Io son ferito abi lasso*)

C

Che fia tor - nar a lei  
Fac me sic - ut u - num

Example 3. "fac me sicut unum" from Orfeo Vecchi, *Quanti mercenarii* (contrafact of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Io son ferito abi lasso*), *cantus* part

Although for a cleric like Orfeo Vecchi the use of a text from the Gospels might appear obvious, it cannot, however, be ruled out that the choice of the new text may have been suggested to him by a member of the clergy who belonged to his *entourage*, possibly a canon of Santa Maria della Scala, or perhaps by Francesco Bernardino Porro himself, to whom the collection is dedicated.<sup>32</sup> The task of adapting the text, which is part of the competences of a composer of vocal music and assumes a role of prime importance when replacing the text of a previous composition, was almost certainly carried out by Vecchi. On this matter, if one examines the correspondence between the textual and the musical phrases in the new composition (as well as the presence of repetitions of some portions of the text and their position), one can note a particular attention to respecting the accentuation of the Latin text, occasionally involving some slight changes to the original melodic line.

If we then compare the distribution of the text in Palestrina's madrigal and in Orfeo Vecchi's motet, certain differences can be found, resulting from the structural differences between the two texts: in correspondence to the fourth line of the madrigal ("né getta sangue la mia piaga nuova"), the Latin text, which simply reads "et dicam ei", is repeated because of the different number of syllables in the new text. The repetition therefore has no expressive purpose, but is simply the result of the need to adapt a text that is shorter than the original one. The same phenomenon can be found in the last two lines of the madrigal, which corresponds in the new text to a single phrase "fac me sicut unum ex mercenariis tuis", with the consequent repetition of some of its parts. Other interventions by Orfeo Vecchi on the physiognomy of the melodic profile simply respond to the needs of syllabification (the addition or elimination of a melodic fragment where there is a greater or smaller number of syllables to set) or of correct accentuation.

The same *contrafactum*, along with Vecchi's re-textualization of Palestrina's madrigal *Vestiva i colli* (with the substitute text *Surge propera*), was included in the reprint of Palestrina's fourth book of five-voice motets published in Antwerp by Pierre Phalèse in 1605.<sup>33</sup> The circumstances surrounding the com-

<sup>32</sup> See TOFFETTI, *Nuovi documenti*.

<sup>33</sup> A transcription of the two *contrafacta* appears in HABERL 33, pp. 37–44. Haberl seems unaware that the re-elaborations are by Orfeo Vecchi; his transcriptions also contain some issues regarding the syllabification of the Latin texts, and differ slightly from Phalèse's reprint in the distribution of the text beneath the notes.

pilation of the reprint, which bears the title *Cantiones sacrae [...] ex cantico canticorum*, are not known to us. It seems quite likely that Phalèse (or in any case the compiler of the collection) had drawn the two *contrafacta* of Palestrina from Orfeo Vecchi's first book of five-voice motets,<sup>34</sup> which the same Phalèse would reprint (but without the two *contrafacta*) only three years later.<sup>35</sup> In this reprint of Palestrina's fourth book of motets, whose contents, with the exception of the two *contrafacta*, coincide exactly with that of previous editions of the collection, there is no explanation as to why the latter two compositions did not originally appear in Palestrina's collection, and that they are actually works by Palestrina re-elaborated by Orfeo Vecchi with substitute texts.<sup>36</sup> And yet the two *contrafacta* by Vecchi are clearly extraneous to Palestrina's collection: not only is *Quanti mercenarii* the only motet on a text from the Gospels, but in the collection printed by Phalèse the text *Surge prospera* is set twice; finally, Vecchi's *contrafactum* based on this text is the only motet of the whole collection divided into two parts.

Having already appeared, in a version with passaggi, in Giovanni Basano's collection *Mottetti madrigali er canzoni francese [...] diminuiti* (Venice, 1591), and also, as we have seen (see table 2), in Giovanni Battista Bovicelli's *Regole Passaggi di musica* (Venice, Giacomo Vincenti at the request of the heirs of Francesco and Simon Tini, 1594), the madrigal *Io son ferito* was then included, along with *Vestiva i colli* and *Pulchra es*, also in Francesco Rognoni's *Selva* (1620).<sup>37</sup> Rognoni proposes two different versions of this composition: the first with echoes named "modo di passeggiar con arte e maestria", without a text and thus conceived for an exclusively instrumental performance; the second with the text used in Orfeo Vecchi's collection of motets, published in 1597 (*Quanti mercenarii*).<sup>38</sup> The title of the composition, dedicated to Donna

<sup>34</sup> See Jerome ROCHE, "The praise of it endureth for ever': the posthumous publication of Palestrina's music", *Early Music*, 22, 1994/4, pp. 631–640: 637.

<sup>35</sup> Pierre Phalèse's edition, contrary to what is written on the title-page (*Cantiones sacrae quinque vocum nunc primum in lucem editae*), is actually a reprint of the first and second book of five-voice motets by Orfeo Vecchi; not only the *contrafacta* of Palestrina have been excluded from the book, but also that of Giovanni Maria Nanino, *Amor deh dimmi come* (substitute text: *Assumpta est Maria*).

<sup>36</sup> RISM A/I P 724 simply describes the reprint as an 'extended' edition.

<sup>37</sup> On the diminished versions of this madrigal, see *Italienische Diminutionen*.

<sup>38</sup> A transcription of Francesco Rognoni's composition, together with a tabulature of Palestrina's original, can be found in Robert L. KENDRICK, *Genres, generations and gender: Nuns' music in early modern Milan, c. 1550–1706*, Ann Arbor: UMI University Press, 1993, pp. 1034–1042.

Ginepra Crivelli, a nun in the convent of Santa Margherita, is “Io son ferito ahi lasso. Madrigale del Palestina (sic) ridotto in Mottetto passeggiato per il soprano”. In the context of musical activity in convents in 17th century Milan, which were well known for their outstanding figures active in the field of both performance and composition,<sup>39</sup> Rognoni’s dedication helps to confirm that the singing skills of the nuns must have been exceptional, to the extent that composers destined some of their more technically challenging re-workings to these nuns.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4. Two approaches compared: Orfeo Vecchi, Geronimo Cavaglieri and the madrigal *Vestiva i colli*

Palestrina’s fame as a composer of madrigals was linked above all to the circulation of a group of works in a style quite close to that of his motets.<sup>41</sup> One of the most outstanding of these is the madrigal *Vestiva i colli*.<sup>42</sup> First published in *Il Desiderio. Secondo libro de’ Madrigali* (Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1566),<sup>43</sup> the highly famous five-voice madrigal was extremely successful both in its original polyphonic form (in which it appears in various printed anthologies),<sup>44</sup> and

<sup>39</sup> See Robert KENDRICK, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

<sup>40</sup> On the same matter, see also Robert KENDRICK, “The Traditions of Milanese Convent Music and the Sacred Dialogues of Chiara Margarita Cozzolani”, in *The Crannied Wall. Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Craig A. Monson, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, [1992], pp. 211–233.

<sup>41</sup> See Michael HEINEMANN, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina und seine Zeit*, Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1994, p. 184.

<sup>42</sup> The composition was at the centre of a musicological debate due to the peculiarity of its modal setting. On this matter, see Harold S. POWERS, “The Modality of *Vestiva i colli*”, in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque music in honor of Arthur Mendel*, edited by Robert L. Marshall and Arthur Mendel, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974, pp. 31–46 (Italian translation in *Il madrigale tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Paolo Fabbri, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1988, pp. 189–206); Wolfgang FREIS, “Tonal types and modal categories: *Vestiva i colli* revisited”, *Music research forum*, 3, 1988/1, pp. 35–66.

<sup>43</sup> RISM B/I 1566<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Before the Milan *contrafacta* the madrigal appears in the *Musica divina di XIX autori illustri*, Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère, 1583 (RISM B/I 1582<sup>15</sup>); in the anthology *Spoglia amorosa*, Venezia: eredi di Girolamo Scotto, 1584 (RISM B/I 1584<sup>5</sup>); in *Gemma musicalis*, Nürnberg: Catharina Gerlach, 1588 (RISM B/I 1588<sup>21</sup>); in *Musica transalpina*, London: Thomas East, 1588 (RISM B/I 1588<sup>29</sup>) and in *Spoglia amorosa*, Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1592 (RISM B/I 1592<sup>15</sup>). For the reprints following those that include the Milan *contrafacta*, see RISM B/I.

in tabulatures for lute<sup>45</sup> and for organ,<sup>46</sup> both printed and manuscript, in diminished versions<sup>47</sup> or with an alternative text.

Among the works of Palestrina reposed in Milan with alternative texts, *Vestiva i colli* is the only one not to have appeared previously in a local reprint (see table 1). Although it cannot be excluded that the composition (which was, in fact, very popular) had circulated in manuscript form, one can hypothesize that the composers in Milan who wrote the *contrafacta* had come to know of the madrigal through one of the numerous anthologies in which it appeared – most likely one of those published in Venice: *Il Desiderio*, or one of the two entitled *Spoglia amorosa*. A further indication of how successful Palestrina's madrigal was within the confines of the Duchy of Milan is the presence of a transcription for lute *different* from the one found in Vincenzo Galilei's *Il Fronimo*, inside an important manuscript tabulature for lute originating from Como (not far from Milan) and dating from the first years of the 17th century.<sup>48</sup>

In Milan, the madrigal *Vestiva i colli* appeared with a new text both in Orfeo Vecchi's collection of motets of 1597, and in Cavaglieri's first book *Della nova metamorfosi*, and also appears in two different diminished versions in Francesco Rognoni's *Selva de varii passaggi* (1620). The fact that both *contrafacta* were based on the same musical-poetic model allows us to highlight more directly the analogies and divergences in the *modus operandi* of the two clerics-adapters.

<sup>45</sup> See Vincenzo Galilei's *Fronimo*, Venezia: Girolamo Scotto, 1568, and Giovanni Antonio Terzi's *Intavolatura di liuto*, Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1593 (RISM B/I 1593<sup>11</sup>), which includes a diminished version. On the transcriptions for lute of *Vestiva i colli*, see Paolo Possiedi, "Intavolature di musiche vocali: note per l'esecutore", *Il Fronimo*, 33, 1980/8, pp. 5–14.

<sup>46</sup> See Johannes FISCHER – Jerzy GOŁOS, *Utwory z tabulatury organowej, 1595* [Works from organ tablatures, 1595], Łódź: Ludowy Instytut Muzyczny, 1990.

<sup>47</sup> See the diminished version "Da cantar in compagnia, & anco con il liuto solo" (i.e. to be sung in company and also with solo lute) included in Girolamo DALLA CASA, *Il vero modo di diminuir con tutte le sorti di stromenti*, Venezia: appresso Angelo Gardano, 1584. Anstatic reprint: Bologna: Forni, 1980 (Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis, Sez. II, n. 23); and the diminished version with a literary text included in Giovanni Bassano's collection of *Motetti, Madrigali et Canzoni*, Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1591. See also Aurelio Virgiliano's *Il Dolcimelo*, ms. datable to around 1600 (modern edition: Aurelio VIRGILIANO, *Dolcimelo. Libro 2. Selections. Thirteen ricercate from Il dolcimelo for solo treble instruments*, London: London Pro Musica, 1980). For an examination of the characteristics of the main diminished re-elaborations of this madrigal (including those successive to the Milan collections), see *Italienische Diminutionen*.

<sup>48</sup> Como, Biblioteca comunale, ms. 1. 1. 20. See Victor COELHO, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music*, New-York & London: Garland, 1995, pp. 68–72.



In Orfeo Vecchi's composition the texts used are *Surge propera* for the first part and *Veni dilecte* for the second (shown below alongside the corresponding lines of Palestrina's madrigal):

**Vestiva i colli e le campagne intorno  
la primavera di novelli onori,**  
e spirava soavi Arabi odori,  
**cinta d'erbe e di fior il crine adorno;**  
quando Licori all'apparir del giorno,  
**cogliendo di sua man purpurei fiori,**  
mi disse: in guiderdon di tanti onori  
a te li colgo ed ecco io te n'adorno.

Così le chiome mie soavemente,  
parlando io cinse e in sì dolci legami  
mi strinse il cor ch'altro piacer non sente  
onde non fia giammai che più non l'ami,  
degli occhi miei né fia che la mia mente  
altri sospiri o desiando io chiami.

**(Clothed the hills and the countryside around  
did Spring with fresh glories,**  
and breathed sweet Arabian fragrances,  
**girded with grasses and with flowers her  
tresses adorned;**  
when Licori at the appearance of day,  
**gathering in his hand purple flowers,**  
said to me: In recompense of so much ardor  
for you I gather them, and behold I you with  
them adorn.

Thus my hair, sweetly speaking  
he girded, and in such gentle hands  
he enfolded my heart, that other pleasure it  
feels not,  
thus shall it never be that no more I love him,  
he of my eyes, nor shall it be that my mind  
for others sigh, or longingly call).

Surge, propera, amica mea,  
columba mea, et veni.

**Iam enim hiems transiit;**  
imber abiit, et recessit.

Surge, propera, amica mea,  
speciosa mea, et veni.

**Flores apparuerunt** in terra nostra.  
Tempus putationis advenit.

Veni, dilecte mi,  
egrediamur in agrum, commoremur in villis.  
Mane surgamus ad vineas;  
**videamus si floruit vinea,**  
**si flores fructus parturiunt,**  
**si floruerunt mala punica.**

(Arise, my love, my dove, my fair one,  
and come away;  
**for now the winter is past,** the rain is over  
and gone.  
**The flowers appear** on the earth; the time  
of pruning has come.

Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the  
fields, and lodge in the villages;  
let us go out early to the vineyards, **and see  
if the vines have budded,**  
**if their blossoms have opened, if the  
pomegranates are in bloom).**

The substitute text adopted by Vecchi is a centonization of two pieces taken from the Song of Songs: the first part from verses 2, 10–12 (with the insertion of the lines “surge, propera, amica mea, speciosa mea, et veni”), the second from verses 7, 11–13. Both texts had already been set to music by Palestrina in his

fourth book of five-voice motets, resulting in two of the most admirable and intense pieces of Renaissance vocal polyphony.<sup>49</sup> Orfeo Vecchi must certainly have known the collection, which was reprinted twice also in Milan, several years before the publication of his first book of five-voice motets (the reprints came out respectively in 1587 and 1593, and they were issued, moreover, by the same family of publishers to whom Vecchi had entrusted the publication of his own book of motets). Why, then, did he choose precisely these two texts?

On the one hand, their presence in Palestrina's book of motets, far from dissuading composers, both in Milan and elsewhere, from using them, must instead have probably contributed to their diffusion. More generally, the Song of Songs always met with great success among Renaissance and early Baroque composers: a success, however, mainly due, besides the indisputable charm of their texts, to the sensuality of the images, and to the precarious balance between allegorical and literal interpretations of their contents. For the same reason, the Song of Songs is also frequently used in several *contrafacta* of Geronimo Cavaglieri, who found it natural, in his intention to render their madrigal models wholly sacred, to combine the intense accents of the madrigals with the richness and multiple meanings inherent in the verses of the Song of Songs.<sup>50</sup> Orfeo Vecchi's approach, in this regard, was quite different. His use of the Song of Songs to re-clothe the notes of one of Palestrina's most famous madrigals does not respond in this case to the need to find a sacred equivalent to the sensuality of the secular model (it has been noted that this madrigal, on the contrary, contains stylistic features quite similar to those of the motets of the same composer). Instead, starting from a composition that, despite having a text that is clearly secular, sounds rather neutral, Vecchi intends to make it wholly sacred through the use of a text that, although certainly rich in sensual

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<sup>49</sup> The text used for the first part of Orfeo Vecchi's *contrafactum* had been set to music by Palestrina in the motet n. 15 (*Surge propera*), which also includes the lines "Vox turturis audita est in terra nostra; ficus protulit grossos suos; vineae florentes dederunt odorem suum"; the text adopted by Vecchi for the second part was used by Palestrina in the motet n. 29 (*Veni, dilecte mi*), which concludes with the line "ibi dabo tibi ubera mea".

<sup>50</sup> See DELFINO, "Geronimo Cavaglieri", pp. 165–216: p. 198: "Ed è forse in ragione di queste affinità fra il contenuto del Cantico ambiguamente inteso e la suadente sonorità della polifonia profana, che il Cavaglieri trova naturale avvicinare i madrigali più famosi (Marenzio soprattutto) con i versetti biblici di Salomone" (And it is perhaps due to these affinities between the ambiguous content of the Song and the persuasive sonority of secular polyphony, that Cavaglieri finds it natural to combine the most famous madrigals (especially Marenzio) with the biblical verses of Solomon).

motives (some of which are also present in the madrigal), carries a deeply spiritual message. Moreover, Vecchi does not appear concerned about the fact that his model was in fact a madrigal by Palestrina, who had already set to music the same two passages from the Song of Songs.

As happens in the *contrafactum* on *Io son ferito*, in this case too the original and the biblical text have much in common: both describe a love scene set within a naturalistic frame; in both we hear the voice of the lover and also that of the loved one (the madrigal opens with a description of the happy memories of the lover, then passing the word to the object of his love, Licori, and finally returning to recount and confide in first person in the second part of the text; in the motet we first hear the words of the groom, who begs his companion to join him, while the second part is entirely devoted to a similar exhortation on the part of the bride). As in *Quanti mercenarii*, here too the two texts share various motives: the spring setting, depicted in the first quatrain and evoked in the biblical text in the description of the end of winter (“iam enim hiems transiit, imber abiit et recessit”); the image of dawn, linked by the poet to the appearance of Licori, and evoked in the exhortation of the bride in the second part of the motet (“mane surgamus ad vineas”); and also the motive of flowers, appearing twice in the madrigal (“cinta d’erbe e di fior il crine adorno” and “cogliendo di sua man purpurei fiori”), and twice in the motet (“flores apparuerunt in terra nostra” and “videamus, si flores fructus parturiunt”), which is entirely centred, in its second part, on the theme of blossoming (“videamus si floruit vinea” and “si floruerunt mala punica”). As in *Quanti mercenarii*, however, the same contents make their appearance in different points of the two texts, so that, in the motet, they coincide with motives different from those used in the madrigal. In summary, the two texts share numerous images, but display few precise points of coincidence.

What does Orfeo Vecchi convey to his listener, through this operation, in which the clergyman seems once again to have prevailed over the composer and his purely artistic reasons? On the one hand, that he appreciated Palestrina’s composition, contributing to its circulation as a mark of homage; on the other, that the experience of love depicted in the madrigal could be substantially assimilated with the one described in the Bible. On the other hand, the exclusion of the final line of the bride in the Song (“ibi dabo tibi ubera mea”), the line most openly linked to the exaltation of sensual love, could also be an indication that Vecchi tended to read the Song of Songs in a rather allegorical key, thus

showing that he adhered to the interpretation preferred since ancient times by many exegetes, which sees the relation between the two spouses described in the Song as an allegory of the love of God for Israel or, more recently, the marriage of Christ with the Church, or else the mystical union of the soul with God — whereas, as we know, in the motet *Veni, dilecte mi* Palestrina had set the whole text to music, respecting its overall sense: “Let us go early to the vineyards to see if the vines have budded, if their blossoms have opened, if the pomegranates are in bloom: *there I will give you my love!*”. Heedless of the example of Palestrina, to whom he is nevertheless paying homage, Orfeo Vecchi believes it more fitting not only to set the madrigal to a biblical text, but also to purge the text of its explicitly carnal references. Orfeo Vecchi's operation proves therefore significant not only for the history of the dissemination of Palestrina's music, but also for that of biblical exegesis in the modern era.

The same overall impression can be drawn from the examination of the third *contrafactum* of Palestrina attributed to Orfeo Vecchi, published posthumously in 1604 in his *Scielta de madrigali [...] accommodati in motetti*. In this case, for the madrigal *Io felice sarei*, Vecchi chooses a biblical text taken from Psalm 20 (21), as follows:

**Io felice sarei,**

se gli occhi, onde io sempre ardo,  
potessi rimirar quanto vorrei.  
O begl'occhi d'amore,  
onde uscir vidi il dardo  
che fieramente mi trafiss' il core.  
La ferita è mortale  
né perciò 'l mio destin' acerb'è rio  
acqueta in me 'l desio  
di mirar voi, cagion d'ogni mio male.

**(Happy I would be**

if I could behold the eyes, for which I ever burn,  
as much as I desire.  
Oh beautiful loving eyes,  
whence I saw depart the arrow  
that ruthlessly transfixed my heart.  
The wound is mortal  
and yet my bitter and adverse fate  
does not calm my desire  
to admire you, cause of all my anguish).

Domine in virtute tua

**laetabitur rex**

et super salutare tuum  
**exultabit** vehementer  
desiderium cordis eius  
tribuisti ei  
et voluntate labiorum eius  
non fraudasti eum.

**(The king shall joy** in thy strength,

and in thy salvation  
how greatly **shall he rejoice!**  
Thou hast given him  
his heart's desire  
and hast not withholden  
the request of his lips).

Nothing in the text of the Psalm corresponds to the image of the eyes of the loved one, which actually appears twice in the madrigal, thus representing, along with that of the wound (equally absent in the *contrafactum*), one of its central motives. Even the corresponding semantic elements (happiness, the heart, desire) occur not only fleetingly, but above all in very different contexts: the lover would be happy (“Io felice sarei”), if he could admire the eyes of his beloved (but cannot do so: thus he is unhappy), while the king rejoices in the power of God (“in virtute tua laetabitur rex”); the lover’s heart is pierced (“il dardo che fieramente mi trafisse il core”), that of the king is gratified; the desire expressed by the unhappy lover finds no satisfaction (“né perciò ‘l mio destin’acerb’e rio acqueta in me ‘l desio”), that expressed by the king has been fulfilled (“desiderium cordis eius tribuisti eius”). In this case too the substitute text carries a clear moral message: earthly love is the cause of eternal unhappiness, the love of God will be fully gratified. This message can, once again, be fully grasped only by comparing the overall meaning of the two texts, placed in reciprocal relation through the same musical guise.

Coming back to *Vestiva i colli*, it remains to examine the treatment it underwent in Geronimo Cavaglieri’s *contrafactum*, published in his first book *Della nova Metamorfosi* just three years after the publication of Orfeo Vecchi’s book of motets. The texts used by the Bartholomite monk are *Semper laudabo* for the first part and *Sana me Domine* for the second.

Vestiva i colli e le campagne intorno  
la primavera di novelli onori,  
e spirava soavi Arabi odori,  
cinta d’erbe e di fior il crine adorno;  
quando Licori all’apparir del giorno,  
cogliendo di sua man purpurei fiori,  
mi disse: in guiderdon di tanti onori  
a te li colgo ed ecco io te n’adorno.

Così le chiome mie soavemente,  
parlando io cinse e in sì dolci legami  
mi strinse il cor ch’altro piacer non sente  
onde non fia giammai che più non l’ami,  
degli occhi miei né fia che la mia mente  
altri sospiri o desiando io chiami.

Semper laudabo Salvatorem meum  
in sono tubae  
et benedicam eum semper  
in toto corde meo  
quia fecit nobiscum  
misericordiam suam  
Sana me, Domine, et salvum me fac,  
et benedicam Salvatorem meum.

Sana me, Domine  
et salvus ero,  
quia peccavi nimis  
in vita mea,  
sana me, Domine  
et benedicam Salvatorem meum.

(Clothed the hills and the countryside around  
did Spring with fresh glories,  
and breathed sweet Arabian fragrances,  
girded with grasses and with flowers her tresses adorned;  
when Licori at the appearance of day,  
gathering in his hand purple flowers,  
said to me: In recompense of so much ardor  
for you I gather them, and behold I you with them  
adorn.

(I shall forever praise my Saviour  
with the sound of the trumpet  
and bless him always  
with all my heart  
because he hath shown  
his mercy unto us  
Heal me, o Lord,  
and save me  
and I shall bless my Saviour.

Thus my hair, sweetly speaking  
he girded, and in such gentle hands  
he enfolded my heart, that other pleasure it feels not,  
thus shall it never be that no more I love him,  
he of my eyes, nor shall it be that my mind  
for others sigh, or longingly call).

Heal me o Lord,  
and I shall be saved,  
that I have greatly sinned,  
in my life  
*heal me o Lord,  
and I shall bless my Saviour).*

Both texts are freely drawn from the book of Psalms, with frequent repetitions of whole lines and fragments. In the exposition of the various fragments of text the voices proceed autonomously, giving rise to polytextual situations that the transcription of the text given above, deliberately synthetic, cannot express. The result is a song of praise with a prevalently neutral tone, lacking in references, general or precise, to the motives expressed in Palestrina's madrigal. Far from the approach adopted by Orfeo Vecchi, Cavaglieri shows here an attitude similar to that already seen in his *contrafacta* of Marenzio,<sup>51</sup> characterized by little attention to the relation between text and music, by the use of frequent repetitions within the texts, denoting scarce literary ambitions, and the search for an even tone and an overall balance. Cavaglieri seems to pursue no other purpose than to pay homage to Palestrina, contributing to the dissemination of his music in a phase of the history of music in which Palestrina's style was considered outdated.

The same approach can also be found in the second *contrafactum* of Palestrina included in Cavaglieri's first book *Della nova Metamorfosi*, the madrigal *Saggio e santo pastor*, retexted with *Repleatur os meum* in the first part and *Exurge gloria mea* in the second:

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<sup>51</sup> See DELFINO, "Geronimo Cavaglieri".

Saggio e santo Pastor, che al gregge pio  
con l'opre accorte e con li preghi onesti  
mostr' hai quaggiù, quanto su ne' celesti  
chiostri il tuo ben oprar sia grato a Dio.  
Ecco, oggi pur, che fuor del cieco oblio  
traendo il popol tuo, sgombri da mesti  
petti il soverchio affanno, indi li vesti  
di vera luce e di sovrano desio.

Onde seguendo l'onorata impresa  
dal lido spera ancor di Costantino  
passar, ov' il Giordan correndo giace.  
A sì nobile desir la mente accesa  
solo gli hai tu, che dal Fattore divino  
impetrar puoi per noi tranquilla pace.

(Wise and holy Shepherd, who to the pious flock  
with judicious works and with honest prayers  
hath shown on earth, how in the heavenly  
cloisters your worthy deeds are pleasing to God.  
Lo, this very day, guiding your people  
out of the dark oblivion, you release from their sad  
breasts the oppressive sorrow, and clothe them  
in true light and sublime desire.

And so pursuing the noble task  
from the shores of Constantine they hope  
again to pass, where the Jordan lies flowing.  
To such a noble desire only you  
have inflamed their minds,  
you who from the divine Maker  
can beg for us restful peace).

Repleatur os meum laude tua  
alleluia  
ut possim cantare  
alleluia  
in te Domine speravi  
non confundat in aeternum  
alleluia  
inclina ad me aurem tuam Deus, alleluia.

Exurge gloria mea  
exurge psalterium et cithara  
exurgam diuino  
cantabo, gaudebunt labia mea  
dum cantauero tibi  
alleluia.

(Let my mouth be filled with thy praise  
hallelujah,  
that I may sing  
hallelujah,  
In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust  
let me never be put to confusion  
hallelujah,  
incline thine ear unto me, and save me,  
hallelujah.

Arise o my glory  
arise psalter and harp  
I will arise early  
I shall sing, my lips shall rejoice  
when I sing to you).

Nor is there any divergence from this *modus operandi* in Girolamo Cavaglieri's third *contrafactum* of Palestrina, which appears in the second book *Della nova Metamorfosi* (1605). Unlike those examined so far, in this *contrafactum* Cavaglieri's new text replaces a previous *sacred* text (that of the motet *Pulchra es amica*,<sup>52</sup> taken once again from the already mentioned fourth book of five-voice motets).

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<sup>52</sup> The text of Palestrina's motet is taken from the Song of Songs (6, 3–4).



Pulchra es, amica mea, suavis  
et decora sicut Jerusalem;  
terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata.  
Averte oculos tuos a me,  
quia ipsi me avolare fecerunt.

(Beautiful you are, my love  
sweet and charming as Jerusalem;  
and terrible like an army ready for combat.  
Remove your eyes from me  
because they overcome me).

Salve, sancta facies redemptoris  
impressa in sudario nivei candoris;  
duc nos ad gloriam regni superioris  
ad videndum faciem Christi Salvatoris.

(Hail, o face of the redeemer  
impressed on a shroud as white as snow;  
lead us to the glory of the highest heavens  
to see the face of Christ our saviour).

Although we cannot rule out that this re-textualization expressed a simple act of homage to Palestrina, the explicit reference to the veil of Veronica that appears in the substitute text makes it seem more plausible that it was motivated by the need to allow Palestrina's motet to be sung in particular liturgical or devotional circumstances.

In the score of these *contrafacta*, as was customary, the text is only given under the bass part, as a guide for the organist, making it unfortunately impossible to study the placing of the text beneath the notes in the various voices. The score of this collection by Cavaglieri, like the part-books (which are lost), was dedicated to Cesare Negri. Doctor in Theology and apostolic protonotary, Giulio Cesare de Nigris (as he is mainly named in the archive documentation) was famous above all for his ability to accumulate ecclesiastic benefits of different kinds and provenance: we know that in 1596 he received contemporaneously an income for the chaplaincy of Santa Marcellina in San Pietro in Rome, one for the chaplaincy of San Bartolomeo in Pisa, for the priesthood of San Fedele in Caranago and of San Taddeo in Montevicchia in the Pieve of Missaglia, as well as a pension on the daily distribution for the canonry of Giovanni Casati in the collegiate church of San Babila in Milan, and two further pensions on the parish portion of San Babila and on the income of the provost of San Lorenzo, again in Milan.<sup>53</sup> From the same year of 1596, in addition to these numerous benefits, he also received that deriving from a canonry at the collegiate church of Santa Maria della Scala, which he held until his death (1611), certainly bringing him into contact not only with Orfeo

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<sup>53</sup> See Giuseppe DE LUCA, "Traiettorie" ecclesiastiche e strategie socio-economiche nella Milano di fine Cinquecento. Il capitolo di S. Maria della Scala dal 1570 al 1600", *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 77, 1993/3, pp. 505–569: 519–520.

Vecchi, but also with Francesco Bernardino Porro, to whom Vecchi's first book of five-voice motets is dedicated. In the light of all this, the milieu of Santa Maria della Scala must therefore have assumed a position of prime importance in both the patronage, and in the production and use of both Orfeo Vecchi's and Geronimo Cavaglieri's *contrafacta*.

## Conclusions

The examination of the relation between text and music in the *contrafacta* of Palestrina produced in Milan, and above all regarding the relation between the original text and the alternative text, has highlighted some peculiarities in the approach used by the various composers in their adaptations. In Orfeo Vecchi's *contrafacta* the sacred text adopted includes motives and images also present in the original text, but often with a diametrically opposed meaning. The substitute texts therefore seem to be more linked to the original texts than to the music of Palestrina. Such sophisticated cultural operations were probably destined to members of the clergy linked, like Vecchi and like the dedicatee of one of his collections of motets that includes *contrafacta* of Palestrina, to the refined milieu of the collegiate church of Santa Maria della Scala. In the compositions of Geronimo Cavaglieri, instead, the new texts are not strictly related either to the original texts, or to the music; in this case, then, one would say the textual substitution was motivated simply by the desire to pay homage to Palestrina by contributing to the circulation of some of his compositions that became famous in the local ecclesiastical milieu.

Over and above the differences in the criteria used for choosing and adapting the substitute texts, the *contrafacta* of Palestrina published in Milan testify to a widespread attitude that is respectful of tradition, but at the same time lively and creative in its adaptation to the tastes and needs of local culture.

## Summary

From 1587 several of Palestrina's collections were reprinted in Milan thanks to the initiative of the publishers Tini, later in association with Filippo Lomazzo. In line with the tendencies of the local press, influenced by the counter-reformist climate of the Ambrosian archdiocese, preference was given, when choosing which of Palestrina's collections to reprint, firstly to those of motets and secondly to his masses, as well as one book of litanies and one of madrigals, now lost. A key role in the dissemination of

Palestrina's works in Milan was also played by the collective editions, to the extent that almost all of Palestrina's works included would reappear, in variously re-elaborated versions (with passaggi or alternative texts), in subsequent Milanese editions.

The reworkings with passaggi and the *contrafacta* made by some well-known composers and local clerics highlight the vital and receptive approach to Palestrina's music in Milan, at the same time giving a clear indication of the fame that the selected works of the composer must have reached.

In the decade following Palestrina's death, five compositions by Palestrina would be published in Milan with substitute texts, either by Orfeo Vecchi or by Geronimo Cavaglieri: the motet *Pulchra es amica mea*, taken from the famous fourth book of five-voice motets on the Song of Songs, and the madrigals *Io sono ferito abi lasso*, *Vestiva i colli* (of which two *contrafacta* have survived, with two different texts adapted respectively by Vecchi and by Cavaglieri), *Saggio e Santo pastor* and *Io felice sarei*. Not by chance, four of these five compositions by Palestrina had been reprinted shortly before in Milan, while the madrigal *Vestiva i colli*, with its second part *Così le chiome mie*, had circulated thanks to various successful collective editions printed elsewhere.

Unlike Aquilino Coppini, who in his *contrafacta* created new lyrics each time, allowing himself to be guided by the emotions provoked by listening to the madrigals with their original text, and giving rise to organisms in which the relation between text and music was no less meaningful than it had been in the original composition, the procedure adopted by Vecchi and Cavaglieri, who moreover most likely came into mutual contact, competing with each other in the retexting of the same madrigals, was quite different. Both, in fact, adapted pericopes or centonizations from the Bible to the music. The article undertakes a detailed examination of the *modus operandi* of Orfeo Vecchi as an adapter, focusing in particular on his approach to the madrigal *Io sono ferito*, reposed with the text of the parable of the prodigal son taken from the Gospel of St Luke (*Quanti mercenarii*). Although the result of this operation lacks the precise adhesion to the music found in Coppini's *contrafacta*, it nevertheless reveals the musical sensitivity and cultural depth of their author, placing the stress on the relation established between the substitute text and the original one.

Finally, Vecchi's approach is compared with that of Cavaglieri, whose *contrafacta* are less interesting in terms of the relation between the original and the substitute text, and between the new text and the musical texture of the model, while not lacking, however, in aspects of the adaptation of the text and of its single words beneath the notes that reveal a certain care and mastery of the craft.

Keywords: *Contrafacta*, Milan, textual adaptation, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Orfeo Vecchi, Girolamo Cavaglieri.

**Appendix**  
**Music collections and compositions by Palestrina**  
**published in Milan or by Milanese publishers (1587–1620)**

- 1587 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Motecta festorum totius anni, cum communi sanctorum. A Io. Petro Aloysio Praenestino quaternis vocibus aedita. Liber primus. Mediolani, apud Franciscum, & haeredes Simonis Tini.*
- 1587 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Liber II. Motectorum quatuor vocum. Nuper recognitus. Mediolani, Apud Franciscum, & haeredes Simonis Tini.*
- 1587 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Liber IIII Motectorum quinque vocum. Nuper recognitus. Mediolani, Apud Franciscum, & haeredes Simonis Tini.*
- 1587 *Benigni Spiriti. Il quarto Libro delle Muse a cinque voci, composto da diversi eccellentiss. musici. Novamente coretto, & ristampato. In Milano, appresso Francesco, & gli eredi di Simon Tini. [In Milano, per Michel Tini. 1587].*

Compositions by Palestrina:

1. *Io felice sarei*
2. *Io son ferito abi lasso*
3. *Le selv'havea*
4. *Saggio e santo pastor*
5. *Se di pianti e di stridi*

- 1588 *Liber primus musarum cum quatuor vocibus, seu sacrae cantiones, quae vulgo motecta appellantur, ab Orlando Lasso, Cipriano Rore, & alijs ecclesiasticis authoribus compositae, et ab Antonio Barre collectae, & in lucem editae, addito nuper dialogo cum octo vocibus Orphei Vecchi. Mediolani, apud Franciscum et haeredes Simonis Tini. [apud Michaellem Tinum].*

Compositions by Palestrina:

1. *O quam suavis*
2. *Nativitas tua*

- 1590 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Missarum cum quatuor vocibus. Liber Primus. Mediolani. Apud Franciscum et haeredes Simonis Tini.*
- 1590 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Missarum cum quatuor, et quinque vocibus. Liber quartus. Mediolani, Apud Franciscum, et haeredes Simonis Tini.*

[c.1590] Choral book *in folio*, without title-page and with no table of contents, date, place of printing and name of printer. The folios are numbered only *recto*.

Compositions by Palestrina: 1. *Missa Papae Marcelli* [anonymous re-elaboration for four voices]

[preserved at the Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano (Librone 23)]

1592 *Missae Dominicales quinis Vocibus diversorum Auctorum, a F. Julio Pellinio Carmel. Mant. Collectae. Mediolani. Ex Typografia Michaelis Tini. Ad signum Famae.*

Compositions by Palestrina: 1. *Missa Dominicalis*

1593 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Motectorum quinque vocum liber quartus ex Canticis Salomonis. Denuo summa opera diligentiaque excussus. Mediolani, Apud haeredes Francisci, et Simonis Tini.*

1594 Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica madrigali e motetti passeggiati. Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti, a instantia delli heredi di Francesco, e Simon Tini, librari in Milano.*

Compositions by Palestrina: 1. *Io son ferito*  
(2nd version with substitute text:  
*Ave verum corpus*)

*ante* 1596 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Letanie a 4. lib. primo.

[printed by the Tini publishers; lost]

*ante* 1596 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Madrigali a 4.  
Palestina a 4. lib. primo.

[printed by the Tini publishers; lost]

*ante* 1596 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Offertoria totius anni, Palestina 1. e 2. parte a 5.

[available in Milan in the bookstore of the Tini publishers]

- 1597 [Orfeo Vecchi] *Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi [...] et d'altri eccellentissimi auttori a 5 voci. Libro primo.*  
Milano, eredi di Francesco et Simon Tini.

Compositions by Palestrina:

1. *Vestiva i colli* (substitute text: *Surge propera amica mea*)  
2nd p.: *Così le chiome mie* (substitute text: *Veni dilecte*)
2. *Io son ferito abi lasso* (substitute text: *Quanti mercenarii in domo patris*)

- 1599 [Orfeo Vecchi] *Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi Maestro di Capella di S. Maria della Scala, e d'altri eccellentiss. musici. A cinque voci. Libro primo. Con diligenza revisti, & ristampati. In Milano, Appresso l'herede di Simon Tini, & Gio. Francesco Besozzi.*

[reprint of the previous]

- 1600 [Geronimo Cavaglieri] *Della nova Metamorfosi dell'infrascritti autori. Libro I. Opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Cavaglieri con alcuni motetti del molt'ill. sig. Lucio Castelnovato. In Milano, appresso Agostino Tradate.*

Compositions of Palestrina:

1. *Vestiva i colli* (substitute text: *Semper laudabo*)  
2nd p.: *Così le chiome mie* (substitute text: *Sana me Domine*)
2. *Saggio e santo pastor* (substitute text: *Repleatur os meum*)  
2nd p.: *Onde seguendo l'onorata impresa* (substitute text: *Exurge gloria mea*)

- 1603 [Orfeo Vecchi] *Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi maestro di Cappella di S. Maria della Scala, & d'altri eccellentiss. auttori. A cinque voci. Libro primo. In questa terza impressione, agiongtonvi un motetto, con diligentia revisti, et corretti. In Milano, Appresso l'herede di Simon Tini, & Filippo Lomazzo, compagni.*

*Partitura del primo libro delli motetti a cinque voci di Orpheo Vecchi, e d'altri eccellentiss. auttori. Terza impressione.*  
*In Milano, Appresso l'herede di Simon Tini, e Filippo Lomazzo, compagni.*

[reprint of Orfeo Vecchi's first book of five-voice motets with the addition of a *contrafactum* of Giovanni Maria Nanino; in the score the *contrafactum* *Quanti mercenarii* is not attributed to Palestrina]

- 1604 [Orfeo Vecchi] *Scielta de Madrigali a cinque voci de diversi eccel. musici, accommodati in motetti da Orfeo Vecchi con la partitura d'essi motetti. Nuovamente data in luce. In Milano, Per l'herede di Simon Tini, e Filippo Lomazzo.*
- Compositions of Palestrina: 1. *Io felice sarei* (substitute text: *Domine in virtute tua*)
- 1605 [Geronimo] *Della nova metamorfosi de diversi autori, opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Cavaglieri dell'ordine di S. Basilio dell'Armeni, libro secondo à cinque voci. In Milano, Appresso Agostino Tradate.*
- Compositions by Palestrina: 1. *Pulchra es amica* (substitute text: *Salve sancta facies*)
- 1605 Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Cantiones sacrae [...]* ex canticis canticorum. Antwerpen, Pierre Phalèse.
- [reprint of Palestrina's fourth book of five-voice motets; it includes the two *contrafacta* from Orfeo Vecchi's first book of five-voice motets, attributed to Palestrina]
- 1608 Orphei Vecchii [...] *Cantiones sacrae [...]* quinque vocum nunc primum in lucem editae. Antwerpen, Pierre Phalèse.
- [reprint of Orfeo Vecchi's first and second book of five-voice motets; it does not include the *contrafacta*]
- 1610 [Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina] *Basso prencipale co 'l soprano del quarto libro delle messe a quattro, e cinque voci dell'eccellentiss. Gio. Pietro Aluigi Palestina* (sic). *Novamente fatto d'Alessandro Nuvoloni organista. In Milano, Presso l'herede di Simon Tini, & Filippo Lomazzo.*
- 1620 Francesco Rognoni Taegio, *Selva de varii passaggi secondo l'uso moderno, per cantare, & suonare con ogni sorte de stromenti [...]* di Francesco Rognoni Taegio. Milano, Filippo Lomazzo.
- Compositions by Palestrina: 1. *Io son ferito*  
(2nd version with a substitute text: *Quanti mercenarii*)  
2. *Vestiva i colli* (2 versions)  
3. *Pulchra es* (2 versions)





Chiara Comparin

## From Venice to Nuremberg and Leipzig. *Il trionfo di Dori* (1592) and its German retextualizations

Between the 16th and 17th century a growing interest in Italian culture was witnessed among German speaking countries. The immediate outcome was an increase in the demand for translated books. At first this mainly concerned works of a religious nature, but it soon extended to include also literary, cultural, historical and political texts. It was in this period that, through the study of the Italian model, German poets and men of culture started to propose co-eval Italian secular music with a German text.<sup>1</sup> Initially this consisted of literal translations from the Italian into German. The operation was certainly not immediate or easy to carry out and required people who had a sound knowledge of both languages. It is no mere chance that the first to venture into this field were Italians working in German territory.<sup>2</sup> The main difficulty doubtlessly

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<sup>1</sup> Susan LEWIS HAMMOND. *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, pp. 155–180.

<sup>2</sup> By way of example we might mention Giovanni Battista Pinello and Cesare de Zacharia, born respectively in Genoa and Cremona but both active in southern Germany. The collection *Narwe Kurtzweilige Deutsche Lieder* (Dresden: Stöckel, 1584), includes Pinello's German translation of his *Libro primo de napolitane* (*Narwe Kurtzweilige Deutsche Lieder, mit fünff Stimmen aus welscher Sprach verdeutschet, welche nach Neapolitanischer Art gantz lieblich zu singen und auff allerley Instrumenten zugebrauchen*, Dresden: Matthäus Stöckel, 1584; RISM A/I P 2389). Cesare de Zacharia printed the collection *Soave et dilettevole canzonette*, Munich: Adam Berg, 1590 (RISM A/I Z 8), which can be considered the only bilingual edition of the period since his 4-voice canzonettas present not only the Italian text but also the translation into

derived from the fact that the meter of the Italian text is based on the number of syllables present in each line, while German verse depended on the number of strong syllables, that is to say stressed, whereas the number of weak, non stressed syllables could vary. To further complicate the matter, we should mention the numerous exceptions in the metric count, resulting from figures such as the synalepha, the dialepha, the syneresis or the dieresis, which abound in the lines of Italian poets. This explains why the German poets and translators preferred the strophic forms of the canzonetta or the villanella to the freer and more refined madrigal.

Poets and musicians who intended to propose Italian secular music with a German text could choose either to translate the original version literally, word by word, changing some elements only if strictly necessary, or to create a new text, which was still linked to the subject and setting of the original text thanks to the preservation of some particularly meaningful words. The most radical approach, though, was to entirely rewrite the text, taking into account only the rhythmic-metric constraints imposed by the music.

An example of these possible procedures can be found in the collections *Musicalische Streitkrantzlein* (Nuremberg, 1612–1613)<sup>3</sup> and *Triumph de Dorothea* (Leipzig, 1619).<sup>4</sup> These two anthologies repropose the twenty-nine madrigals included in the famous collection *Il Trionfo di Dori* (Venice, 1592)<sup>5</sup> with as

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German which, as the composer himself states in his foreword to the “benigno lettore” or the “Günstiger Leser” (the gracious reader), can be used either to understand the text better or to be sung.

<sup>3</sup> Work in two volumes: *Musicalische Streitkrantzlein: hiebevorn von den allerfürtrefflichsten unnd berhümeten Componisten, in welscher Sprach, pro certamine, mit sonderlichem Fleiss, und auffs künstlichst, mit 6. Stimmen aufgesetzt, und dannenhero Triumph di Dori oder Dorothea genennet, und in Druck verfertigt, durch Johannes Lyttichium*, Nuremberg: Abraham Wagmann, 1612 (RISM B/I 1612<sup>13</sup>); *Rest musicalisches Streitkrantzleins: hiebevorn von den allerfürtrefflichsten unnd berhümeten Componisten, in welscher Sprach, pro certamine, mit sonderlichem Fleiss, und auffs künstlichst, mit 6. Stimmen aufgesetzt, und dannenhero Triumph di Dori oder de Dorothea genennet. [...] in Druck gefördert, durch Solomonem Engelhart*, Nuremberg: Balthasar Scherff, 1613 (RISM B/I 1613<sup>13</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> *Triumph de Dorothea [...] geistliches musicalisches Triumph-Crantzlein*. Leipzig: Lorenz Köber, 1619 (RISM B/I 1619<sup>16</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> *Il trionfo di Dori descritto da diversi et posti in musica, da altrettanti autori. A sei voci*. Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1592 (RISM B/I 1592<sup>11</sup>); *Il trionfo di Dori*, ed. Harrison Powley, New York: Gaudia music and arts, 1990. A digital reproduction of *Il trionfo di Dori* (Venice, 1592), preserved in the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna, can be consulted online at the following address: <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=7199> (last accessed 15 December 2019).

many in German. The operation is particularly interesting in that the authors of the German texts, respectively Johann Lyttich and Martin Rinckart, have adopted procedures that are at least partially different and with different aims in mind (see appendix 1).

The original collection was devised and conceived by Leonardo Sanudo, a patrician belonging to one of the oldest Venetian families, who commissioned twenty-nine poets to write one poem each, and then asked the same number of composers to set them to music in the form of a madrigal. All the poems were to have an Arcadian setting and should end with the same phrase, “Viva la bella Dori” (Long live fair Dori), which thus became the unifying element as well as the repeated salutation to the bride. The work was, in fact, a tribute to Elisabetta Giustinian, Sanudo’s wife, concealed behind the image of Doris, the beautiful water nymph, daughter of Oceanus. The fact that Sanudo had involved such a large array of poets and composers clearly points to the exceptional import of a cultural operation that cannot simply be interpreted as a devoted homage to his beloved. Having a wide network of acquaintances at his disposal, the Venetian nobleman could involve musicians virtually unknown to us, like Gasparo Zerto, but also composers of great fame, like Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Giovanni Gabrieli and the Fleming Philippe de Monte, some of the most prominent names in the field of the madrigal, as well as the composer from Mantua Alessandro Striggio, father of the librettist of Monteverdi’s *Orfeo*. The success of the collection was considerable, as testified by the numerous reprints,<sup>6</sup> which then inspired other similar publications, such as *The Triumphs of Oriana* (London, 1601),<sup>7</sup> a collection of English madrigals compiled by Thomas Morley. As in the Venetian anthology, the twenty-three English madrigals all ended with the same couplet: “Thus sang the shepherds and nymphs of Diana: long live fair Oriana”.

The collections of Lyttich and Rinckart are conserved in various European libraries. The six part-books of the first volume of the *Musicalische*

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<sup>6</sup> The collection was reprinted by Gardano in 1599 (RISM B/I 1599<sup>10</sup>) and by Pierre Phalèse in Antwerp between 1595 and 1628, for as many as five times (RISM B/I 1595<sup>2</sup>, 1596<sup>9</sup>, 1601<sup>6</sup>, 1614<sup>11</sup> and 1628<sup>12</sup>).

<sup>7</sup> *Madrigales. The triumphes of Oriana, to 5. and 6. voices: composed by divers severall authors. Newly published by Thomas Morley*, London: Thomas East, 1601 (RISM B/I 1601<sup>16</sup>).

*Streitkrantzlein* are kept in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin.<sup>8</sup> The second volume, *Rest musicalisches Streitkrantzleins*, which should have consisted of six part-books, has instead come down to us incomplete: three part-books (*Alto*, *Tenor* and *Quinto*) are today conserved in the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek* in Dresden.<sup>9</sup>

With regards the *Triumph de Dorothea*, two incomplete copies have survived. Besides the copy again kept in the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek* in Dresden, consisting of the parts for *Cantus*, *Altus*, *Quinta vox* and *Sexta vox*,<sup>10</sup> another copy can be found at the *Stadtbibliothek* in Leipzig, containing the parts for *Tenor*, *Quinta vox* and *Sexta vox*.<sup>11</sup> In summary, the only part-book missing from Rinckart's collection is that of the *Bassus*.

Little is known about the life and work of Johann Lyttich, and his date of birth and death have yet to be definitively established.<sup>12</sup> We know he was born in Plauen, in Saxony, between 1581 and 1584, and died in Eisleben shortly after being appointed as teacher at the *Gymnasium* in Eisleben and *Kantor* at the *Nicolaikirche* of the same town on 10 April 1611. On the title-page of his *Brautgesang aus dem Hohenlied* (Leipzig, 1610) he defines himself a student of theology, but we do not know where and for how long he studied this discipline. This collection, an 8-voice setting of the *Song of Songs*, is the only one to have survived complete, but with regards his work as a composer and music editor, we do know of another seven volumes that are today lost or only

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<sup>8</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ant. pract. L 1200. A digital reproduction can be consulted online at the following address: [https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN100515824X&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0001&DMDID=DMDLOG\\_0001](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN100515824X&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001) (last accessed 27 July 2019). Another two incomplete copies of this volume are conserved at the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek* in Dresden (A, T, 5) and at the British Library in London (S, T, B, 6).

<sup>9</sup> Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. Gri. 22. 2. A digital reproduction can be consulted online at the following address: <https://sachsen.digital/werkansicht/dlf/260088/1/0/> (last accessed 27 July 2019). Another copy of Tenor part-book is preserved at the *Biblioteka Jagiellońska* in Krakow (Mus. ant. pract. E 180). Aleksandra PATALAS, *Catalogue of Early Music Prints from the Collections of the Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Kept at the Jagiellonian Library*, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999, no. 2474.

<sup>10</sup> Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 1. C. 2, 1. A digital reproduction can be consulted online at the following address: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/189683/1/0/> (last accessed 27 July 2019).

<sup>11</sup> Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek, Musikbibliothek, II. 4. 89. A digital reproduction can be consulted online at the following address: <https://sachsen.digital/werkansicht/dlf/197512/1/0/> (last accessed 27 July 2019).

<sup>12</sup> Kurt GUDEWILL, "Lyttich, Johann", in MGG2, *Personenteil*, vol. 11, col. 673; Id., "Lyttich, Johann", in NG2, vol. 11, p. 438.

partially conserved.<sup>13</sup> The most interesting part of his work is what he has left us as editor of Italian madrigals with German texts, an activity that had been successfully established some years before with the numerous editions compiled by Valentin Haussmann. The latter was a German poet-composer who, between 1606 and 1610, edited and translated seven volumes of canzonettas and villanellas by Luca Marenzio, Orazio Vecchi, Giacomo Gastoldi, Thomas Morley and others, printed in Nuremberg by Paul Kauffmann.<sup>14</sup> Johann Lyttich engaged himself in this field with the collection *Musicalische Streitkrantzlein*,<sup>15</sup> where we find thirty-two madrigals by Italian composers equally divided into two volumes. The twenty-nine compositions taken from the Venetian collection *Il Trionfo di Dori*<sup>16</sup> are joined by two works by Hans Leo Hassler and Luca Marenzio.<sup>17</sup> Lyttich did not live to see the publication of his edition: the first part was edited by his brother Daniel, and the second by Salomon Engelhard, a musician from Eisleben who had been among his colleagues at the Mansfeld Gymnasium.

Lyttich wrote three stanzas for each composition, transforming the texts of the Italian madrigals into strophic canzonettas, each ending with the refrain “Meine Schön ist die Beste” (My love is the best) or the variant “meine ist die allerbeste” (My love is the best). Lyttich maintains the pastoral setting of the original texts of *Trionfo di Dori* thus preserving their secular nature, but moves away from their lascivious and passionate character, which would not have been accepted in his Lutheran milieu. The title-page of the *Musicalische Streitkrantzlein* explains that Lyttich’s *contrafacta* were conceived with the intention of honouring “excellent composers” with “amusing and graceful German texts” for all lovers of music, and in particular for “German

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<sup>13</sup> Robert EITNER, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Haertel, 1900–1904, vol. 6, pp. 259–260. RISM A/I L 3143–L 3146.

<sup>14</sup> RISM A/I M 611; RISM B/I 1606<sup>13</sup> = RISM A/I V 1034; RISM B/I 1607<sup>25</sup> = RISM A/I GG 553<sup>a</sup>; RISM A/I M 3700; RISM B/I 1610<sup>19</sup> = RISM A/I V 1035; RISM A/I V 1036 and V 1037.

<sup>15</sup> See footnote 3.

<sup>16</sup> Giovanni Croce’s madrigal *Ove tra l’herbe e i fiori* is proposed by Lyttich with two different texts in German: at the end of the first volume it has the title *Margaretha Edles Perlein*, while at the beginning of the second volume the title is *Kaetchen, mein Mädchen*.

<sup>17</sup> The titles are: *Urania tritt auff* (Hans Leo Hassler) and *Eins mals in grünen* (Luca Marenzio), appearing with the same *incipit*, but with a text that proceeds differently, also in the collection of Rinckart (RISM B/I 1619<sup>16</sup>).

maidens”<sup>18</sup> (see figure 1). In fact, after the first madrigal by Ippolito Baccusi, which is transformed into a song in praise of music,<sup>19</sup> the collection continues with the names of women in alphabetical order, from Annelein to Ursula, as an ideal homage to all German women (see appendix 1).

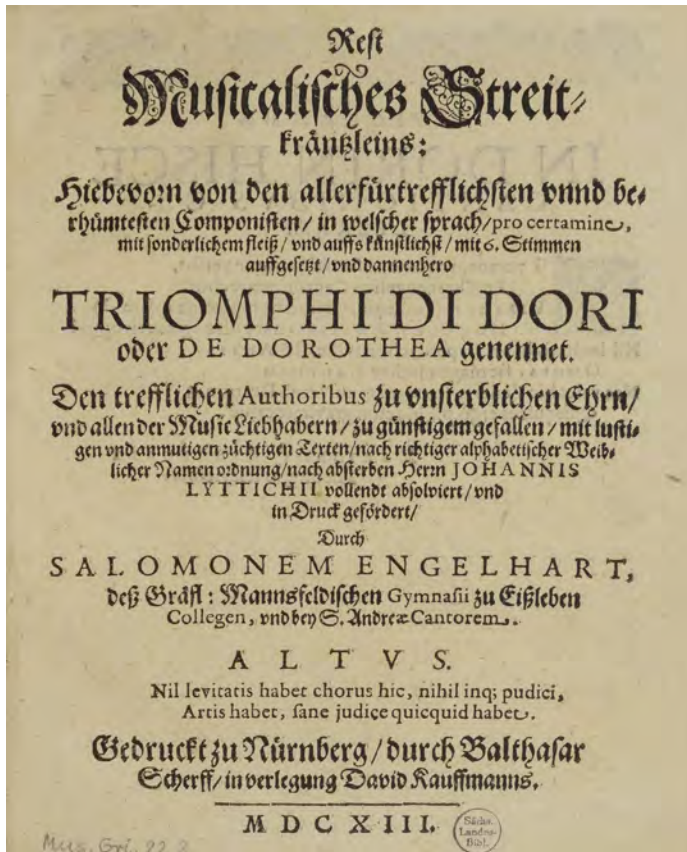


Figure 1. *Rest musicalisches Streitkränzleins*, Nuremberg: Balthasar Scherff, 1613: title-page, *altus*<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> “hiebevonn von den allerfürtrefflichsten und berühmtesten Componisten in Welscher sprach pro certamine mit sonderlichem Fleiß und auff's künstlichst mit 6. Stimmen aufgesetzt und dannenhero Triumph di Dori oder De Dorothea genennet. Den trefflichen Autoribus zu unsterblichen Ehrn und allen der Music Liebhabern zu günstigem gefallen mit lustigen und anmutigen züchtigen Texten nach richtiger alphabetischer weiblicher Namen ordnung nach absterben Herrn Johannis Lyttichii vollendt absolviert und in Druck gefördert”. *Rest musicalisches Streitkränzleins*, title-page.

<sup>19</sup> *Artlich und wol formiret.*

<sup>20</sup> SLUB, Digital Collections, Mus. Gri. 22.2, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id507431405>.



Although the Germanization of the texts of the collection *Il Trionfo di Dori* by Lyttich and Rinckart start from different presuppositions and aim to fulfil partly different purposes, it cannot be denied that the work of Lyttich acted as inspiration for the subsequent operation of Rinckart. On this matter, it should not be forgotten that the paths of the two editors crossed at the *Nicolaikirche* in Eisleben, where Lyttich succeeded Rinckart in the role of *Kantor*. A further link between the *Musicalische Streitkränzlein* and the *Triumph de Dorothea* is the Latin epigram by “Martinus Rinckhart Theologus Isleviensis” (Martin Rinckart, theologian of Eisleben) placed at the start of the second volume edited by Lyttich (see figure 2).<sup>21</sup>



Figure 2. *Rest musicalisches Streitkränzleins*, Nuremberg, Balthasar Scherff, 1613:  
Epigram by Martin Rinckart, *Tenor*<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Rest musicalisches Streitkränzleins*, verso of the title-page of each part-book.

<sup>22</sup> SLUB, Digital Collections, Mus. Gri. 22.2, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id507431405>.

*Epigramma in Dorin hisce cantionibus celebrem*

Nil vereor, quos me poscis subscribere versus,  
Englhart angelico Cantor amate choro.  
Virtutis (quis enim virtutem amplectier ipsam?)  
Hoc opus; artis opus; quis neget artis opus?  
Nil levitatis habet (repeto) chorus iste, sed artis  
omnia, sat magno<sup>23</sup> iudice Calvisio.  
Nec valet hic Veneris, spurcarum aut lerna Dearum;  
Quisquis es ergo pia hic cum gravitate canis.

Martinus Rinckhart  
Theologus Isleviensis

*Epigram to Dori, celebrated by these songs*

I have no fear in subscribing the verses that you ask of me,  
Oh Engelhart, singer beloved of the choir of angels.  
Of Virtue (who could embrace with thought virtue itself?)  
this is work; of Art this is work; who, then, would say it is not a work of Art?  
This choir (I repeat) has nothing of frivolous, but of art  
it has all, in the judgement of the sufficiently great Calvisius.  
Neither has the monster of Venus<sup>24</sup> or of the lurid Goddesses any power here.  
And so, whoever you are, sing here with pious gravity.

Martin Rinckhart  
Theologian of Eisleben

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<sup>23</sup> In *Rest musicalisches Streitkrantzleins* we find the word *magna*. Considering that the final “a” of *magna* should, according to the meter, be long because it comes before the caesura of the pentameter, *magna* could only be a feminine ablative singular; but in that case *magna* would need to agree with *iudice Calvisio*, quite improbably (Rinckhart is referring to Sethus Calvisius), therefore translating as “in the judgement of the quite great Calvisius”. And in any case, again for metrical reasons, *magna* can be neither a neuter accusative plural, agreeing with *omnia* (but all things of Art, which are quite great in the judgement of Calvisius) nor a feminine nominative singular, referring, with an improbable anacoluthon, to *artis* (but all Art, [art that is] sufficiently great in the judgement of Calvisius). The most likely solution is to suppose a simple printing error, therefore reading not *sat magna* but *sat magno*, masculine ablative referring directly to *iudice Calvisio* and thus translating as: “in the sufficiently great Calvisius”: Calvisius, in other words, is said to be “sufficiently great” because he is able to cast judgement on the matter.

<sup>24</sup> Literally: “(the hydra of) Lerna”, killed by Hercules. A moral ‘monster’ with many heads that sings, almost as if it were a choir, reprehensible things, both because the subject matter is erotic (and thus “of Venus”) and, more generally, because it is amoral and lascivious (and thus “of the lurid Goddesses”).

In these few lines the author invites the singing of songs to the “hochednel”,<sup>25</sup> i.e. to the most noble Dori, thus anticipating the transformation, which we find on the title-page of his collection, of the name Dori into Dorothea, which means “gift of God” and which carries a meaningful connotation in the Lutheran doctrine.<sup>26</sup> In this brief epigram we already find a clear distancing from the texts set in the Italian madrigals, which, as we read on the title-page of Rinckart’s *Triumph*, are considered too lascivious and not suitable for worthily honouring the name of Dori. This concept is summarised in the seventh line, in which the amorous and pagan subject matter of the *Trionfo di Dori*, not very suitable for the Lutheran faith, is contrasted with the *pia gravitas* of the Lutheran retextualization of the work<sup>27</sup> as stated in the preface of the tenor part-book of Rinckart’s collection:

[I] undertook my well-meant intention to express myself and so now and then, I underlaid one or another [song] with available spiritual texts; until, finally, it is again hoped that through God’s mercy and the urging of good people therewith it may come so far that my beloved Dorothea is fully liberated from her Italian ungodliness and thus, praise God, might become pure and Lutheran.<sup>28</sup>

Martin Rinckart (1586–1649) was born in Eilenburg, in Saxony, in April 1586. His father, a master cooper, gave him a very thorough education, as proved by the fact that at the age of fifteen he began to study theology at the University of Leipzig, where he graduated in 1609.<sup>29</sup> Rinckart’s musical talent, already enthusiastically nurtured in his home town, led him to sing in the ranks of the choir of the *Thomasschule* in Leipzig under the direction of Sethus

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<sup>25</sup> *Triumph* de Dorothea, title-page: most noble.

<sup>26</sup> *Triumph* de Dorothea, title-page: “Triumph de Dorothea [...] von der hochedlen und recht Englichen Dorothea oder grossen Gotter Gabe; der Frau Musica” (Triumphs of Dorothea [...] of the most noble, and quite angelic Dorothea or the great gift of God; of Lady Music).

<sup>27</sup> I thank Dr Francesco Grotto for his help and his precious contribution in the transcription, translation and interpretation (see note 23 and 24) of Martin Rinckart’s epigram.

<sup>28</sup> *Triumph* de Dorothea, Tenor, introduction: “solch mein wolmeynend intent zu exprimiren mich unterfangen / und je biß weilen eines und das ander mit gegenwertigen geistlichen Texten unterleget / biß es endlich wider verhoffen / durch Gottes Gnad / und guter Leute antreiben damit so weit kommen / daß meine liebe Dorothea von ihrer Welschen Abgötterey völlig erlediget / und nun mehr / Gott lob / gantz lauter und Lutherisch worden”. English translation in LEWIS HAMMOND, *Editing Music*, p. 135.

<sup>29</sup> SiegmAR KEIL, “Rinckart, Martin”, in MGG2, *Personenteil*, vol. 14, col. 173–174; Walter BLANKENBURG – Dorothea SCHRÖDER, “Rinckart, Martin”, in NG2, vol. 21, p. 427.

Calvisius. In 1610 he assumed the role of *Kantor* at the *Nikolaikirche* in Eisleben and of teacher at the local *Mansfeld Gymnasium* founded by Luther in 1546. On 27 April 1617 became archdeacon at the parish church of Eilenburg, where he remained until his death and to which he dedicated his *Triumph*.<sup>30</sup>

Rinckart was much appreciated for his numerous literary works, which included several Lutheran dramas that became quite well-known at the time.<sup>31</sup> Today he is remembered especially for the hymn *Nun Danket alle Gott*, which is one of the most popular protestant hymns. The text of this composition is based closely on the book of *Ecclesiastes* (22–4) and originated in 1630 as a *Tischlied*. It is possible that the famous melody now attributed to Crüger, published for the first time in his *Praxis pietatis melica* (1647), partly derives from a melody by Rinckart himself. According to Robert Eitner, Rinckart was also the author of two motets published in 1645 and 1648, respectively for four voices and for one.<sup>32</sup>

Rinckart's work as a poet and editor shows a strong influence of the Lutheran doctrine, in particular of Luther's writings, in terms of the role he assigns and acknowledges to music. In fact, in several liturgical and exegetical writings, and in numerous letters and prefaces to his hymns, Luther clearly and explicitly declares the noble virtue and function of music recognised by the Lutheran doctrine. Above all, in Luther's conception music is a gift of God to humanity and can be considered 'sonora praedicatione',<sup>33</sup> the musical rendering of a sermon, because "Ego nulli Arti post S.S. Biblia, plus tribuo; quam musicae".<sup>34</sup> This is confirmed by the fact that the Holy Spirit uses music as an

<sup>30</sup> *Triumph* de Dorothea, Tenor, dedicatory. "Einer gantzen löblichen Cantorey Gesellschaft zu Eyleenberg" (The most laudable church-choir society of Eyleenberg).

<sup>31</sup> Walter BLANKENBURG, "Luther, Martin", in MGG2, *Personenteil*, vol. 11, col. 636–654; Robin A. LEAVER, "Luther, Martin", in NG2, vol. 15, pp. 364–369; Robin A. LEAVER, "Lutheran Church Music", in NG2, vol. 15, pp. 369–372.

<sup>32</sup> *Viel Töchter bringen Reichtumb* (Wol! O wol Euch, Herr Bräutigam), Leipzig, 1645; *Venanti Fortunati dulce lignum* (Pange lingua gloriosa), Leipzig, 1648; EITNER, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, 1900–1904, vol. 8, p. 243; RISM A/I R 1729 and R 1730.

<sup>33</sup> *Martinus Luther musicae studiosis. Prefatio doctoris Martini Lutheri*, in *Symphoniae iucundae*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1538 (RISM B/I 1538<sup>s</sup>).

<sup>34</sup> *Triumph* de Dorothea, *Cantus*, prefazione. In this passage Rinckart gives a synthesis of what Luther writes in his preface to the collection *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538): "Hoc unum possumus nunc afferre, quod experientia restis est, Musicam esse unam, quae post verbum Dei merito celebrari debeat". English translation in Martin LUTHER, *Works*, eds. Jaroslav Pelikan – Helmut Lehmann, St. Louis: Concordia and Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 54 vols., vol. 53 (ed.

instrument to instil the inclination to all virtues in prophets, and in this way serves to cast out Satan, the instigator of all sins.<sup>35</sup> This passage, taken from the preface to Georg Rhau's collection *Symphoniae iucundae* (Wittenberg, 1538),<sup>36</sup> is also quoted by Rinckart in the preface to the *Cantus* part-book of his *Triumph de Dorothea*, i.e. in the work that best expresses the intimate fusion between Rinckart's passion for music and the Lutheran doctrine. Indeed, the editor provides each part-book with a different and extensive preface. On the verso of each title-page we find quotations from Luther's writings, from the fathers of the church and ancient Greek philosophers, which give greater force and authority to his anthology. Such prefaces are fundamental for understanding the author's intentions and can be considered a sort of guide for the reader or the musician who intends to perform the music contained therein.<sup>37</sup> Still among the introductory lines that open the *Cantus* part-book we find another quotation in which Luther expresses the saving virtues of music:

She is a comfort to a person in distress. She makes people more gentle and mild, more virtuous and sensible.<sup>38</sup>

The power of music to influence our affections and its importance in the education of individuals is another aspect of the Lutheran doctrine that is

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Ulrich S. Leupold), 1965, p. 323: "We can mention only one point (which experience confirms), namely, that next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise".

<sup>35</sup> Martin LUTHER, *Preface*: "Honorat eam Spiritus Sanctus, cui sui proprii offitii organum, dum in scripturis suis sanctis testatur, dona sua per eam Prophetis illabi, id est omnium virtutum affectus, ut in Eliseo videre est, Rursus per eandem expelli Satanam, id est omnium vitiorum impulsorem, ut in Saule rege Israel monstratur". English translation in Martin LUTHER, *Works*, p. 323: "The Holy Ghost himself honors her as an instrument for his proper work when in his Holy Scriptures he asserts that through her his gifts were instilled in the prophets, namely the inclination to all virtues, as can be seen in Elisha. On the other hand, she serves to cast out Satan, the instigator of all sins, as is shown in Saul, the King of Israel".

<sup>36</sup> RISM B/I 1538<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> The title-page, the dedicatory (present only in the Tenor book-part) and the prefaces to all the part-books have been transcribed in LEWIS HAMMOND, *Editing Music*, pp. 202–209.

<sup>38</sup> *Triumph de Dorothea, Cantus*, prefazione: "Sie ist ein Labsal eim betrübten Menschen: und eine halbe Disciplin und Zuchtmeisterin die das Hertz fröhlich und die Leute gelinder vnd sanfftümtiger sitsamer und vernünftiger macht". English translation in Susan LEWIS HAMMOND, "Editing Italian music for lutheran Germany", in *Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Early Modern German Culture*, eds. Randolph C. Head – Daniel Christensen, Leiden: Brill, 2007, p. 122. Quoted from: Martin LUTHER, "Luther an Ludwig Senfl in Munchen, 4 October 1530", *Briefwechsel*, in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Karl Drescher, Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, vol. 5, section IV, p. 638.

expanded upon in the preface to Rinckart's collection. In particular, in the part-book of *Sexta vox*, he freely adapts a passage from Plato's *Timaeus*:

Music is given to the human race mainly for this reason: that we might consider sweet song and harmonious music as correcting dissonances of the mind, will and heart.<sup>39</sup>

All these themes are expressed in the texts set to music in the collection. The author illustrates the subject dealt with in each composition through the use of running heads in Latin. The themes are also given, this time in German, in the *Register und Ordnung*,<sup>40</sup> which lists the compositions along with the name of the composer and the subject dealt with (see table 1).

Table 1. Martin Rinckart, *Triumph de Dorothea*, *Cantus* and *Tenor* part-books: titles, surtitles and *Register und Ordnung*

TITLE	SURTITLE	REGISTER UND ORDNUNG
I. <i>Frisch auf ihr Musicanten</i> (Baccusi)	Laus Musicae ab incitata societate	Musicen lob: von Exortation der Cantoren Gesellschaft
II. <i>Wo wart ihr Menschenkinder</i> (Croce)	L. M. ab antiquitate	Musicen lob von ihrem Alter
III. <i>Von Gott wir haben</i> (Giovannelli)	L. M. a donorum Dei varietate	Musicen lob von ihrer und andern Gaben Gottes vergleichung
IV. <i>Das Musica die schone</i> (Gabrieli G.)	L. M. a causa efficiente principali	Musicen lob von ihrem Stifter welchs Gott der Vater
V. <i>Jesu wahr Gottes Sohne</i> (Anerio)	L. M. a causa promerente, quae Deus Filius	Musicen lob von ihrem Erwerber welches Gott der Sohn
VI. <i>Wer bringt uns auf</i> (Gastoldi)	L. M. a causa impellente, quae S. Sanctus	Musicen lob von ihrem Untreiber welches Gott der heilige Geist

<sup>39</sup> *Triumph de Dorothea*, *Sexta vox*, preface: "Musica generi humano hanc ob causam praecipue data est; ut suavem cantum et concentum audientes cogitemus de corrigenda dissonantia mentis, voluntatis et cordis". English translation in LEWIS HAMMOND, "Editing Italian music", p. 122.

<sup>40</sup> The "Register und Ordnung nach folgender Gesänge mit ihren Autoren und darinnbe-griffenen materien" is only present in *Triumph de Dorothea*, *Tenor* part-book, fol. 5r.



vii. <i>Herbey wer Musickunst</i> (Porta)	L. M. a causa efficiente minus principali, quae artifices	Musicen lob von ihren Künstlern den Componisten
viii. <i>Was haben wir zu singen</i> (Bozi)	L. M. a causa materiali spirituali	Musicen lob von ihren geistlichen Materien
ix. <i>Jesu laß mir gelingen</i> (Florio)	L. M. a materiali singulari, q. Iesus Christus	Musicen lob von ihrer sonderbaren materi, Christo Jesu
x. <i>Viel hundert trausent</i> <i>Englein musiciren</i> (Eremita)	L. M. a causa formali angelorum	Musicen lob von mancherley wunder art der Englischen Stimmen
xi. <i>Oftmals und auch</i> <i>jetzunder</i> (Leoni)	L. M. a causa formali, rationalium hominum	Musicen lob von mancherley wunder art Menschlicher Stimme
xii. <i>Bringet her ihr</i> <i>Lautenisten</i> (Macque)	L. M. a causa formali, instrumentorum	Musicen lob von mancherley wunder art der Instrumenten
xiii. <i>Eins mals gieng ich</i> <i>spatzieren</i> (Preti)	L. M. a causa formali, avicularum	Musicen lob von mancerley wunder art des Vogelgesangs
xiv. <i>Die Lerch thut sich gar</i> <i>hoch erschwingen</i> (Massaino)	L. M. a causa formali, singulari: a laudae	Musicen lob von sonderbarer wunder art des Lerchen Gesangs
xv. <i>Wach auff mein Ehre</i> (Palestrina)	L. M. a causa final. 1. q. gloriae divinae augment	Musicen lob von ihrem I. Nutz und Ende daß sie sey Gottes Ehre
xvi. <i>O Mensch bedenck dich</i> <i>wol und eben</i> (Balbi L.)	L. M. a causa final. 2. q. proximi emolumentum	Musicen lob von ihrem 2. Nutz und Ende daß sie dem Nechsten diene
xvii. <i>Domine, quis linguae</i> <i>usus in tabernaculo tuo?</i> (Erbach)	L. M. a causa finali 3. q. ecclesiae ornamentum	Musicen lob von ihren 3. Nutz und Ende daß sie der Kirchen Schmuck und Zierde
xviii. <i>Eins mals im grünen</i> <i>Meyen</i> (Marenzio)	L. M. a causa finali 4. q. nostrum oblectamentum	Musicen lob von ihrem 4. Nutz und Ende daß sie sey unser Lust und Fremde
xix. <i>Hört wunder uber</i> <i>wunder</i> (Vecchi)	Musica: secundum poetas ethnicos, miraculorum effectrix potentissima	Musicen krafft in genere daß sie eine gewaltige Wunderthäterin



xx. <i>Musiken klang und Menschen stimm darneben</i> (Marenzio)	Musica, secund. camer. animorum et corporum vivificatrix efficacissima	Musiken krafft in genere daß sie träftige Leibs und Seelen Ernehrerin
xxi. <i>Da Israel den Herren</i> (Costa)	Musica, secundum illud 2. chron. 5. coelorum aperitrix certissima	Musiken krafft in specie daß sie eine gewisse Himmelspfortnerin
xxii. <i>Solt man mit Musiciren</i> (Zerto)	Musica secundum Augustinum, Iehovae victrix blandissima	Musiken krafft daß sie eine Herzbrechende Gottes Überwinderin
xxiii. <i>Gleich wie ein süßes Zucker</i> (Striggio)	Musica secundum Basilium, ecclesiae informatrix felicissima	Musiken krafft daß sie eine hoch gelahrte Doctorin
xxiv. <i>Nur weg Teufel weg</i> (Stabile)	Musica, ad illud 1. Sam. 16. Satanae expultrix animosissima	Musiken krafft daß sie eine Geist fremdige Zeuffelsbannerin
xxv. <i>O du hoch edle Musica</i> (Sabino)	Musica, secundum Arist. laetitiae et vitae nutritrix praesentissima	Musiken krafft daß sie rechte Fremd und Lebens krafft.
xxvi. <i>Sihe, wie fein und lieblich ist es</i> (Bonini)	Musica, ad illud Psal. 133 animorum conciliatrix dulcissima	Musiken krafft daß sie ein inbrünstiges Liebes Jemer
xxvii. <i>O wie viel armer Knaben</i> (Monte)	Musica, secundum Siracidem c. n. 44 et Luth. pauperum promotrix opulentissima	Musiken krafft daß sie der Namen reiche Patronin.
xxviii. <i>Hoch thewr und werth sind alle freye Künste</i> (Cavaccio)	Musica, secundum Lutherum, artium corona floridissima	Musiken krafft daß sie Freyen Künste Ehren Krone
xxix. <i>Gleich wie ein edel Gsteine</i> (Asola)	Musica, secundum Sirac. c. 32 convivii gemma lucidissima	Musiken krafft daß sie ein schön Convivien und hochzeit Geschenke
xxx. <i>Wolauff, wolauff mein Ehre</i> (Colombani)	Musica, ad illud Esaiae 6. Luc. 2. angelorum socia jucundissima	Musiken krafft daß sie eine liebliche Engels Gespielin
xxxı. <i>Fahr hin, fahr hin, fahr mein Klage</i> (Bertani)	Musica, vitae aeternae idea exactissima	Musiken krafft daß sie ein Augenscheinlicher Ewigen Lebens Spiegel
Appendix: <i>Ich weiß mir Gott lob viel ein schöner Hauß</i> (Scandello)	Das himmlische gebawte Hauß	Musiken Hauß Worinn sie ewig sol seyn und wird bleiben

Besides the twenty-nine madrigals, Rinckart's collection also includes another three works by Christian Erbach, Luca Marenzio and Antonio Scandello.<sup>41</sup> The volume is divided into two parts. The first eighteen madrigals exhort us to praise music for different reasons ("Laus musicae a variis causis").<sup>42</sup> The first twelve *contrafacta* invite us to pray to God with voices and instruments, or else praise various aspects of the universe of music, for example the art of composition, which is at the centre of the *contrafactum* *Herbey wer Musickunst* based on Costanzo Porta's madrigal *Da lo spuntar de matutini albori*. The texts added to the compositions by Alfonso Preti and Tiburzio Massaino are instead a prayer for the music of the natural world. The lines composed for the pieces by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and Ludovico Balbi deal with the difference between the peculiarities of the human voice and the cries of animals. The remaining fourteen works have the heading "Laus musicae a variis effectis"<sup>43</sup> and illustrate the effects of music (from xvii to xxiv) or else offer a praise to music itself (from xxv to xxix), with quotations taken from the Bible, St Augustine, St Basil, Aristotle, Plato and Luther. After the works by Orazio Colombani (xxx) and Lelio Bertani (xxxi), which elaborate on the theme expressed in the final refrain of all the compositions ("Unsere Kunst bleibt ewig" – Our art endures eternally), the collection closes with an Appendix containing a work by Antonio Scandello, in which the existence of a heavenly dwelling for his Lutheran audience is evoked through the heading "Das Himmlische gebawte Hauß" (The celestial dwelling).

It appears quite evident, then, that the chosen themes are far from those of the original Venetian collection. Although Rinckart clearly distances himself from the 'lascivious' Italian texts, it is nevertheless possible to find a link with Sanudo's *Trionfo* through the mention of Arcadian milieux and pastoral

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<sup>41</sup> The compositions *Domine, quis linguae usus in tabernaculo tuo?* (Christian Erbach) and *Eins mals im grünen Meyen* (Luca Marenzio) are in the centre of the collection (nn. xvii and xviii), while the piece by Scandello, *Ich weiß mir Gott lob viel ein schöner Hauß*, is at the end, in an Appendix.

<sup>42</sup> The *Cantus* and *Quinta vox* part-books contain the Latin phrase "Laus musicae a variis causis" (Praise to music in accordance with various causes), while the *Sexta vox*, *Altus* and *Tenor* part-books have in German: "Musicen Lob, nach allen causis und Umständen" (Praise to music according to all causes and circumstances).

<sup>43</sup> Here too the *Cantus* and *Quinta vox* part-books have in Latin, "Laus musicae a variis causis" (Praise to music in accordance with various effects), while in the *Sexta vox*, *Altus* and *Tenor* part-books we find in German: "Musicen Lob / Musicen Krafft und Wirkung" (Praise to music according to the power and effect of music).

themes that recur throughout the collection. Alfonso Preti's piece *Eins mals gieng ich spatzieren*, for example, describes a vision of paradise as a natural environment in which birdsong resounds in forests, mountains and valleys. Instead, the nineteenth *contrafactum*, *Hört wunder uber wunder*, on Orazio Vecchi's madrigal *Or ch'ogni vento tace*, recalls the myth of Orpheus.<sup>44</sup> This piece may therefore be seen as a conjunction between the spiritual and the natural-pastoral universe.

Particularly interesting is the case of Ludovico Balbi's 6-voice madrigal *Mentre pastori e ninfe*.<sup>45</sup> The author of the poetic text is Martino Palma, a minor poet whose biographical profile is difficult to reconstruct due to the lack of documentary information. It is, however, possible to note a certain predilection for the Arcadian world, which draws him close to the figure and work of Torquato Tasso. Like all the texts used in Sanudo's collection, also the one set to music by Balbi is full of images and words that composers, as in the best tradition of madrigal writing, try to render in their musical settings. For example, all the voices describe the bowing in honour of the beautiful Dori through a falling melodic line (bb. 44–48), while the adjective "liete" (happy) is represented by a rapid succession of quavers used uniquely on that occasion. In Balbi's madrigal each line corresponds to a musical phrase. Johann Lyttich and Martin Rinckart adopt a different approach, in that they transform the madrigals into strophic canzonette by setting a text consisting of three strophe. Generally speaking, Lyttich closely respects the relation between the meter of the Italian lines and the musical setting. Rinckart adopts a different approach because for him the most important aspect is the message to be transmitted, for which reason he does not hesitate to modify the score according to the needs of the text and its expressive requirements. An example of this is the composition *Fahr hin, fahr hin, fahr mein Klage*, *contrafactum* from Lelio Bertani's madrigal *Dori a quest'ombre e l'aura*, in which Rinckart inserts a repetition of the triple section, not present in the original score and neither in Lyttich's *contrafactum*, so as to allow the whole text to be set. What remains unvaried with respect to the *Trionfo di Dori* is the conclusion characterised, as in all the works of the collection, by the same final couplet. Martin Rinckart confirming

<sup>44</sup> Another example is *contrafactum* xiv, *Die Lerch thut sich gar hoch erschwingen*, by Mas-saino, in which also the lark praises the Lord with its chirping.

<sup>45</sup> A transcription of Balbi's madrigal with the original and both substitute texts is given in Appendix 2.

his devotion to the art of music, concludes with “Unsere Kunst bleibt immer und ewig” (Our art endures forever).

One can also readily note that both Lyttich and Rinckart place the repetition of a line in the same bars as in the original version. Moreover, in most cases, when a syllable is set to several notes in the original compositions, the same procedure is used in the German texts.<sup>46</sup>

Ludovico Balbi’s madrigal *Mentre pastori e ninfe* sets a text with an evident pastoral and Arcadian setting, featuring shepherds and nymphs ready to sing in honour of the beautiful Dori. It consists of a single stanza of eleven septenary and hendecasyllable lines with the following rhyming scheme: ABBCDDEEFGG.

*Mentre pastori e ninfe* from *Il Trionfo di Dori* (Venice, 1592)

Text by Martino Palma

Mentre pastori e ninfe con amoroso zelo lodavan l’alma dea del terzo cielo, voci liet’e divine cantaro alti concenti, che risonar fer l’aria in questi accenti: “Nova dea fra voi regna, di vostre lodi degna! Ciascun a lei s’inchini, cantando pieni di celesti ardori: Viva la bella Dori!”	While shepherds and nymphs with amorous zeal praised the life-giving goddess of the third heaven, happy and divine voices sang loud harmonies that made the air resound with these verses: “A new goddess reigns among you and is worthy of your praises. Let each one bow before her singing full of heavenly ardor: Long live fair Dori!”
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The same joyful setting is similarly maintained in Lyttich’s text (*Sagt mir ihr lieben Schwestern*), which depicts a wedding scene. In the first part the bride is waiting for her groom and asks her sisters where she should look to find her beloved, because without him she cannot live. Finally, the groom arrives and declares his whole love to the guests.

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<sup>46</sup> In Balbi’s madrigal, for example, the following bars represent an exception: 17 (*Quinta vox*), 18 (*Cantus*) and 21 (*Sextus*).

*Sagt mir ihr lieben Schwestern* from *Rest musicalisches Streitkränzleins* (Nuremberg, 1613)  
Text by Johann Lyttich

Sagt mir ihr lieben Schwestern  
sagt mir mein allerliebsten  
wo sol ich mich hin wenden  
ihn zu finden?  
Ohn ihn kan ich nicht leben.  
Ihm hab ich mich ergeben  
bey ihm zu seyn inn guter Ruh und Friede,  
ach wie bin ich so müde:  
komm her schöns Lieb und freu dich  
komm her, komm her, hie bin ich.  
Ich sag nicht vil ihr lieben Freund und Gäste,  
mein ist die allerbeste.

Lob und preiß will ich sagen  
bey allen meinem Tagen  
nein allerliebsten Bulen  
nicht zu g[e]fallen  
sondern Tugend zu rühmen  
nach ihren schönen Namen  
ihr tugendreich und sitsam friedlich leben  
kan ihr g[e]nug zeugnuß geben  
inn Fried beysammen wohnen  
ist's Beste unter der Sonnen.  
Ich sag nicht vil ihr lieben Freund und Gäste,  
mein ist die allerbeste.

Mein ist die allerbeste  
mein ist die allerliebste  
ist friedlich, freundlich, frölich  
und holdselig  
ist über alle zu loben  
die wir bißher erhoben  
über ein fromm häußlich, friedlich Weib in Ehren  
solt man nichts mehr begehren  
die hab ich hier gekrieget  
drümm bin ich wol vergnüget.  
Ich sag nicht vil ihr lieben Freund und Gäste,  
mein ist die allerbeste.

In the text *O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben* Rinckart urges the performer and audience to consider the primary function of the human voice and why we have received this so precious a gift. Rinckart asks the listeners “Why do you

use your voice to speak badly or to stutter, if God gave you a beautiful voice with which you can speak clearly?”<sup>47</sup>

*O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben from Triumphi de Dorothea (Leipzig, 1619)*

Text by Martin Rinckart

O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben  
warum hat dir Gott [ge]geben  
ein deutlich redende Zunge,  
Mund und Stimme?  
Daß man lalle und murre?  
Odr wie ein Klotz erstumme?  
Und nicht viel mehr  
dass man in ganzen Leben  
sein klar und deutlich Mundwerk von sich gebe?  
Gern rede, grüsse, lehre,  
vermahne, straffe, wehre,  
tröste, erbarm, bekehre  
daß jederman hier zeitlich und dort ewig.  
Gott lob und preise mit uns klar und deutlich  
denn unsere Kunst bleibt im[me]r und ewig.

O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben  
warum hat dir Gott [ge]geben  
ein lieblich klingende Zunge,  
Mund und Stimme?  
Dass man fluche im Grimme?  
Und schelt mit Ungestüme?  
Und nicht viel mehr  
dass man in ganzen Leben  
sein schön und lieblich Mundwerk von sich gebe?  
Gern sing und musicire,  
und andre excitire,  
mit Herzenslust und Giere  
daß jederman hier zeitlich und dort ewig.  
Gott lob und preise mit uns schön und lieblich  
denn unsere Kunst bleibt im[me]r und ewig.

O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben  
warum hat dir Gott [ge]geben  
ein frölich singende Zunge  
Mund und Stimme?  
Daß man heul ungezieme?

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<sup>47</sup> “Warum hat dir Gott gegeben eine deutlich redende Zunge, Mund und Stimme? Daß man lalle und murre? Oder wie ein Klotz verstumme? Und nicht viel mehr dass man in gantzen Leben sein klar und eutlich Mundwerck von sich gebe?”

Sich stetig herm und greme?  
Und nicht viel mehr  
daß man im ganzen Leben  
sein frisch und frölich Mundwerk von sich gebe  
sing, klinge, jauchze, springe,  
im Herzen guter Dinge  
und andr auch mit auffbringe  
daß jederman hier zeitlich und dort ewig.  
Gott lob und preise mit uns frisch und frölich  
denn unsere Kunst bleibt im[me]r und ewig.<sup>48</sup>

In this piece Rinckart continues in the same vein as the previous *contrafactum*, Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Wach auff mein Ehre* (*Quando dal terzo cielo*). In fact, compositions xv (*Wach auff mein Ehre*) and xvi (*O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben*) of the 1619 collection both speak of the characteristics that differentiate the human voice from that of animals. As frequently underlined in texts of the Lutheran tradition, the purpose of the human voice is to pray to God. This function distinguishes and raises the voice of men above the animal world. On this matter, it is worth quoting another passage by Luther taken from the Preface to the collection *Symphoniae iucundae* printed by Georg Rhau, addressed to the "musicæ studiosis":<sup>49</sup>

Thus it was not without reason that the fathers and prophets wanted nothing else to be associated as closely with the Word of God as music. Therefore, we have so many hymns and Psalms where message and music join to move the listener's soul, while in other living beings and [sounding] bodies music remains a language without words. After all, the gift of language combined with the gift of songs was only given to man to let him know that he should praise God with both word and music, namely, by proclaiming [the Word of God] through music and by providing sweet melodies with words.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> I thank Dr. Lucie Anna Ruth Oberhollenzer for her precious help in transcribing the German texts of the contrafacta by Lyttich and Rinckart.

<sup>49</sup> Martin LUTHER, *Preface*, "Martinus Luther musicæ studiosis" (Martin Luther to the devotees of music).

<sup>50</sup> Martin LUTHER, *Preface*: "Unde non frustra, Patres et Prophetæ, verbo Dei nihil voverunt esse coniunctius quam Musicam, Inde enim tot Cantica et Psalmi, in quibus simul agunt et sermo et vox in animos auditoris, dum in caeteris animantibus et corporibus, sola musica sine sermone gesticulatur. Deniq; homini soli præcaeteris, sermo voci copulatus donatus est, ut sciret, se Deum laudare oportere verbo et musica, scilicet sonora prædicatione, et mixtis verbis suavi melodiae". English translation in Martin LUTHER, *Works*, p. 323–324.



Rinckart's texts highlight the fundamental role of music, acknowledged and affirmed repeatedly in texts of the Lutheran tradition, but through a path that also brings into play his own belief. The collection can, in fact, be read as a sort of expression of Rinckart's personal faith and his total trust in Christ. This aspect is further confirmed in Rinckart's *symbolum* found in the *Bassus* part-book: "M.M.R. M.V.S.I.C.A." (Magister Martin Rinckart Mein Vertrawen Steht In Christo Allein).<sup>51</sup>

As a theologian Rinckart was able to recognise the potential power and educational strength of transmitting the Word of God through familiar melodies. In this sense, the choice of the Venetian collection appears significant, since the compositions contained within it were most likely not new to the ears of the listeners to whom Rinckart's work was addressed. This, together with the many reprints,<sup>52</sup> confirms the fact that the anthology must have been well known also outside of the Italian borders.

The use of the art of music as a pedagogical and edifying tool was one of the prime tasks assigned to music by the Lutheran doctrine. And it was precisely to the younger part of the audience that Rinckart wished to turn. In the preface that opens the *Tenor* part-book, he identifies two groups of people to whom his collection was especially addressed. The first typology of listener includes musicians and music lovers, who would surely be enchanted on listening to the compositions of the collection: "for the recreation of the senior masters and emeritus musicians and honorable tutors and spectators, and the delight of these same in listening".<sup>53</sup> More significant, though, is Rinckart's intention to propose the collection to the children of the aforementioned musicians and music lovers, and to all young people. The latter are invited to sing the compositions contained in the anthology every day for the purpose of praising God:

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<sup>51</sup> *Triumphus de Dorothea, Cantus*: "My trust remains in Christ alone". The part-book for the *Bassus* has been lost, but this information is attested to in Johannes LINKE, *Martin Rinkarts geistliche Lieder*, Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1886, p. 183 and in LEWIS HAMMOND, *Editing Music*, p. 136.

<sup>52</sup> See footnote 6.

<sup>53</sup> *Triumphus de Dorothea, Tenor*: "Die Herren Seniores und Emeriti Musici tanquam Tutores et specatores honorum ihnen zur recreation und ergetzung die selbe mit anzuhören". English translation in LEWIS HAMMOND, *Editing Music*, p. 135.

“For their children and youth. They [the songs] may be recommended and assigned for frequent practice”.<sup>54</sup>

Although pursuing different paths and purposes, Johann Lyttich and Martin Rinckart created, with their works, something new and meaningful for the communities they belonged to. Their works thus favoured the dissemination and performance of madrigals of Italian origin in religious and educational contexts, contributing to the protracted reception of Italian secular music in the Lutheran milieu.<sup>55</sup>

### Summary

Between the 16th and 17th century Italian culture was the object of growing interest, particularly in German-speaking territories; this led to an increase in the demand for translated books. At first the demand involved above all works of a religious nature, but it soon extended to literary, cultural, historical and political texts. It was in this period that poets and men of German culture began to propose the coeval production of secular Italian music with texts in German. Poets and musicians who intended to pursue this operation could choose to translate the original Italian texts literally, word by word, modifying some elements only if strictly necessary, or to create a new text while remaining linked to subject and setting of the original. The most radical approach consisted of rewriting the text completely, taking into account only the rhythmic-metric constraints of the musical score. Among the numerous editions of Italian madrigals translated into German, of particular cultural significance were the works that intended to replace the secular Italian texts with ones that could convey the principles of Lutheran culture. Of particular note in this context is the case of *Il trionfo di Dori*, an anthology containing 29 six-voice madrigals composed by the same number of Italian composers and poets. The collection, printed in Venice by Angelo Gardano in 1592, met with a remarkable success throughout the whole of Europe, a fact confirmed by the reprint in 1599, again by Gardano, and the five reprints published in Antwerp by Pierre Phalese between 1595 and 1628. Some years later the collection was also reprinted in Nuremberg (*Musicalische Streitkrantzlein*, 1612–1613) and Leipzig (*Triumph de Dorothea*, 1619), but with new texts in German created respectively by Johann Lyttich and Martin Rinckart, two literati and publishers associated with the climate of Lutheran reform.

The *Musicalische Streitkrantzlein* contains thirty-two madrigals by Italian musicians, divided equally into two volumes. In addition to the twenty-nine compositions taken from the collection *Il Trionfo di Dori* there are two other works, by Hans Leo Hassler

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<sup>54</sup> *Triumph de Dorothea*, Tenor: “Ihren Kindern aber und der jungen Mannschaft zum liberali exercitio, recommendiret und befohlen sein lassen”. English translation in LEWIS HAMMOND, *Editing Music*, p. 136.

<sup>55</sup> On this matter see Susan LEWIS HAMMOND, “German Consumers of Early Modern Music Book”, in EAD., *Editing Music*, pp. 155–188.

and Luca Marenzio. Lyttich wrote three stanzas for each composition, transforming the texts of the Italian madrigals into strophic canzonettas, each of which concluded with the refrain “Meine Schön ist die Beste”. In his texts, Lyttich maintains the pastoral setting of the original texts of *Trionfo di Dori*, thus conserving their secular nature but moving away from their lascivious and passionate character, which was not suitable for the Lutheran milieu they were intended for. At the start of the second volume of *Musicalische Streitkrantzlein* we find a Latin epigram signed by “Martinus Rinckhart Theologus Isleviensis” that leads us to infer a close connection between this anthology and the *Triumph de Dorothea* compiled by Martin Rinckart six years later. In this case too, the new texts by Rinckart are written in three strophes.

While Lyttich closely respected the relation between the metre of the lines of the Italian texts and the musical setting, Rinckart adopts a different approach, since the most important aspect for him is the message he wishes to transmit. This is why he does not hesitate to make changes to the score based on the needs of the text and its expressive requirements. Indeed, through the ample material found in the introduction and his new texts, Rinckart intended to convey one of the fundamental messages of Lutheran doctrine, namely the importance of the art of music as a pedagogical and edifying tool in the life of all people, and in particular of the young.

In this way, the works of Johann Lyttich and Martin Rinckart favoured the dissemination and performance of madrigals of Italian origin in religious and educational contexts, contributing to the protracted reception of Italian secular music in the Lutheran milieu.

Keywords: *Il trionfo di Dori*, Johann Lyttich, Martin Rinckart, German retextualization, Italian culture, Lutheran milieu.

Appendix 1  
Contents of the collection of madrigals (1592) and of the collections of *contrafacta* (1612–1613 and 1619)

<i>Il Trionfo di Dori</i> (Venice, 1592)		<i>Musicalische Streitkrantzlein</i> (Nuremberg, 1612–1613)		<i>Triumph de Dorothea</i> (Leipzig, 1619)	
COMPOSER	TITLE	AUTHOR OF THE TEXT	TEXT: J. LYTICH	TEXT: M. RINCKART	
Giovanni Croce	<i>Ove tra l'herbe e i fiori</i>	Giacomo Belloni	xvi. <i>Margaretha Edles Perlein</i> (1612) i. <i>Kaetchen, mein Mädchen</i> <i>mein Liebschen</i> (1613)	ii. <i>Wo wart ihr Menschenkinder</i>	
Orazio Colombani	<i>Al'apparir de Dori</i>	Giorgio Muscorno	vii. <i>Clara scheint die liebe Sonne</i> [Clara] (1612)	xxx. <i>Wolauff, wolauff mein Ebre</i>	
Orazio Vecchi	<i>Or che ogni vento tace</i>	Giovanni Battista Zuccarini	iii. <i>Agnes ist teusch und stille</i> (1612)	xix. <i>Hört runder uber runder</i>	
Giovanni Gabrieli	<i>Se cantano gli augelli</i>	Orazio Guargante	iv. <i>Blandina meine Schöne</i> (1612)	iv. <i>Das Musica die schone</i>	
Alfonso Preti	<i>Ninfè a danzar venite</i>	don Vitalino Giscaferio	v. <i>Bey dir ist Freud und Wonne</i> [Beata] (1612)	xiii. <i>Eins mals gieng ich spatzieren</i>	
Luca Marenzio	<i>Leggiadre ninfè</i>	monsignor Lorenzo Guicciardi	vi. <i>Barbara komm inn deinen schönen Garten</i> (1612)	xx. <i>Musien klang und Menschen stimm darneben</i>	
Giovanni de Macque	<i>Vaghe ninfè selvagge</i>	Erasmus di Valvasone	vii. <i>Christlich fromm und Gottseelig</i> [Christina] (1612)	xii. <i>Bringet her ihr Lautenisten</i>	
Ippolito Baccusi	<i>Un giorno a Pale sacro</i>	don Maurizio Moro	i. <i>Artlich und wol formiret</i> (1612)	i. <i>Frisch auf ihr Musicanten</i>	
Giovanni Cavaccio	<i>Giunta qui Dori</i>	Giacomo Semprevivo	ix. <i>Dorothea Gottes gabe</i> (1612)	xxviii. <i>Hoch theur und werth sind alle freye Künste</i>	

Annibale Stabile	<i>Nel tempo che ritorna</i>	Leandro Sanvido	x. <i>Elend hat sich verkehret</i> [Elisabeth] (1612)	xxiv. <i>Nur weg Teufel weg</i>
Paolo Bozi	<i>A l'ombra d'un bel faggio</i>	Bartolomeo Roncaglia	xi. <i>Ey lieber rath ihr Schwestern</i> [Eva] (1612)	viii. <i>Was haben wir zu singen</i>
Tiburzio Massaino	<i>Su le fiorite sponde</i>	Francesco Lazaroni	xii. <i>Forthin wil ich alls trauren</i> legen [Fortuna] (1612)	xiv. <i>Die Lerch thut sich gar hoch erschwingen</i>
Gio. Matteo Asola	<i>In una verde piaggia</i>	Andrea Litegato	xiii. <i>Getreues Hertz inn ehren</i> [Gertraut] (1612)	xxix. <i>Gleich wie ein edel Gsteine</i>
Giulio Eremita	<i>Smeraldi eran le rive</i>	Lodovico Galeazzi	xiv. <i>Her, her, ihr Edlen Jäger alle</i> [Helena] (1612)	x. <i>Viel hundert trausent Englein musiciren</i>
Philippe de Monte	<i>Lungo le chiare linfe</i>	Sebastiano Pizzacomino	xv. <i>Jungfräulein ewrent wegen</i> [Justina] (1612)	xxvii. <i>O wie viel armer Knaben</i>
Ippolito Sabino	<i>Dove sorge piacevole</i>	Francesco Bozza cavallier	ii. <i>Annelein Zuckermündelein</i> (1612)	xxv. <i>O du hoch edle Musica</i>
Pier Andrea Bonini	<i>Quando lieta e vezzosa</i>	fra Francesco Corazzini	ii. <i>Lucretiae ihr Tugend</i> (1613)	xxvi. <i>Sibe, wie fein und lieblich ist es</i>
Alessandro Striggio	<i>Eran ninfe e pastori</i>	Muzio Manfredi	iii. <i>Martha hat viel zu schaffen</i> (1613)	xxiii. <i>Gleich wie ein süßes Zucker</i>
Giovanni Florio	<i>Più trasparente velo</i>	Giulio Benalio	iv. <i>Mariae Magdalенаe sind schöner Namen</i> (1613)	ix. <i>Jesu laß mir gelingen</i>
Leone Leoni	<i>Di pastorali accenti</i>	Maddalena Campiglia	v. <i>Margreth, du edle Perle</i> (1613)	xi. <i>Oftmals und auch jetzunder</i>
Felice Anerio	<i>Sotto l'ombroso speco</i>	fra Marziale di Catanzaro	vi. <i>Regiert auch wieblich Geblüte</i> [Rebecca] (1613)	v. <i>Jesu wahr Gottes Solme</i>
Gaspere Zerto	<i>L'inargentato lido</i>	Cesare Accelli	vii. <i>Regina hoch geboren</i> (1613)	xxii. <i>Solt man mit Musiciren</i>
Ruggiero Giovannelli	<i>Quando apparisti</i>	Giovanni Domenico Alessandri	viii. <i>Sie will Studenten haben</i> [Sibylla] (1613)	iii. <i>Von Gott wir haben</i>
Gasparo Costa	<i>Mentre a quest'ombre intorno</i>	Claudio Forzate	ix. <i>Susanna keusch und reine</i> (1613)	xxi. <i>Da Israel den Herren</i>

Lelio Bertani	<i>Dori a quest'ombra e l'aura</i>	Camillo Camilli	x. <i>Sara, liebe Sara</i> (1613)	xxxI. <i>Fabr hin, fabr hin, fabr mein Klage</i>
Ludovico Balbi	<i>Mentre pastori e ninfe</i>	Martino Palma	xi. <i>Sagt mir ihr lieben Schwestern</i> [Salome] (1613)	xvi. <i>O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben</i>
Giovan Giacomo Gastoldi	<i>Al mormorar de liquidi cristalli</i>	Pietro Malombra	xii. <i>SO kommt nun all'</i> [Sophia] (1613)	vi. <i>Wer bringt uns auf</i>
Costanzo Porta	<i>Da lo spuntar de matutini albori</i>	Pietro Cresci	xiii. <i>SCHOnt thut andere nicht so hoch erheben</i> [Scholastica] (1613)	vii. <i>Herbey wer Musickunst</i>
Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Quando dal terzo cielo</i>	Cortese Cortesi	xiv. <i>Sagt einer viel von seiner</i> [Sabina] (1613)	xv. <i>Wach auff mein Ebre</i>
Luca Marenzio <sup>1</sup>	–	–	xvii. <i>EINs mals im grünen Mayen</i> [Einich Meine] (1613)	xviii. <i>Eins mals im grünen Meyen</i>
Hans Leo Hassler	–	–	xv. <i>URania tritt auff</i> [Ursula]	–
Christian Erbach	–	–	–	xvii. <i>Domine, quis linguae usus in tabernaculo tuo?</i>
Antonio Scandello	–	–	–	Appendix: <i>Ich weiß mir Gott lob viel ein schöner Hauß</i>

<sup>1</sup> See Addendum, table xxvii: 16; table xxx: 18.

## Appendix 2

### Ludovico Balbi, *Mentre pastori e ninfe*.

#### Transcription criteria

The music and the text in Italian have been transcribed from the six fascicles of *Il Trionfo di Dori* (Venice, Angelo Gardano, 1592) constituting the copy preserved in the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna (R 271, henceforth TD 1592). For the *contrafacta* with substitute texts in German, the following sources have been used:

- *Rest musicalisches Streitkrantzleins*, Nuremberg: Balthasar Scherff, 1613 (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. Gri. 22. 2, henceforth RMS);
- *Triumph de Dorothea*, Leipzig: Lorenz Köber, 1619 (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 1. C. 2, 1, henceforth TD 1619).

These collections have come down to us incomplete, as they lack the part-books of the *Cantus*, *Sexta vox*, *Bassus* (RMS) and of the *Bassus* (TD 1619). The texts of the missing part-books are given in italics, having been deduced from the surviving fascicles and adapted by the editor beneath the notes.

The texts that have been set are: *Mentre pastori e ninfe* by Martino Palma; *Sagt mir ihr lieben Schwestern* by Johann Lyttich; *O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben* by Martin Rinckart.

In all three cited sources the voices are notated with a B flat in the key signature and with the following clefs: soprano clef (*Canto* and *Sesto*), mezzo-soprano clef (*Alto*), tenor clef (*Tenore* and *Quinto*), baritone clef (*Basso*). In the transcription the time signature **C** present in TD 1592 has been kept, as well as the original note values. The accidentals placed before the notes are present in all three editions mentioned, while those above the staff are suggested by the editor.

#### Critical notes

In TD 1619, all the part-books have the *tempus imperfectum diminutum*, **C**;

b. 14, Q, 2, TD 1619 there is no tie because Rinckart's text has one syllable more compared to those of Palma (TD 1592) and Lyttich (RMS);

b. 27, A, 2, TD 1619, G;

b. 31, A, 2, TD 1619, F.



Ludovico Balbi

*Mentre pastori e ninfe* (1592) / *Sagt mir ihr lieben Schwestern* (1613) / *O Mensch bedenck dich wol und eben* (1619)

Canto

Men - tre pa - sto - ri\_e nin - fe,  
Sagt mir ihr lie - ben Schwe - stern,  
O Mensch be - denck dich e - ben,

Sesto

Men - tre pa -  
Sagt mir ihr  
O Mensch be -

Alto

Men - tre pa - sto - ri\_e nin -  
Sagt mir ihr lie - ben Schwe -  
O Mensch be - denck dich e -

Tenore

Men - tre pa - sto - ri\_e nin -  
Sagt mir ihr lie - ben Schwe -  
O Mensch be - denck dich e -

Quinto

Basso

men - tre pa - sto - ri\_e nin - fe,  
sagt mir ihr lie - ben Schwe - stern  
be - denck dich wol und e - ben:

sto - ri\_e nin - fe  
lie - ben Schwe - stern  
denck dich e - ben:

- fe,  
- stern,  
- ben,

men - tre pa - sto - ri\_e nin - fe  
sagt mir ihr lie - ben Schwe - stern  
be - denck dich wol und e - ben:

- fe  
- stern,  
- ben,

con a - mo -  
sagt mir mein  
be - denck dich

Men - tre pa - sto - ri\_e nin - fe  
Sagt mir ihr lie - ben Schwe - stern,  
O Mensch be - denck dich e - ben,

con a - mo -  
sagt mir mein  
be - denck dich

Men - tre pa - sto - ri\_e nin - fe  
Sagt mir ihr lie - ben Schwe - stern  
O Mensch be - denck dich e - ben,

9

con a - mo - ro - so ze - lo  
sagt mir mein al - ler - lieb - sten  
wa - rum hat dir Gott ge - ben

ro - so ze - lo  
al - ler - lieb - sten,  
dir Gott ge - ben

con a - mo - ro - so ze -  
sagt mir mein al - ler - lieb -  
wa - rum hat dir Gott ge -

ro - so ze - lo, con a - mo - ro - so ze -  
al - ler - lieb - sten, sagt mir mein al - ler - lieb -  
wohl und e - ben. Wa - rum hat dir Gott ge -

ro - so ze - lo  
al - ler - lieb - sten,  
wol und e - ben

con a - mo - ro - so ze - lo  
sagt mir mein al - ler - lieb - sten  
be - denck dich wol und e - ben

13

lo - da - van l'al - ma dea del ter -  
wo sol ich mich hin - wen - den ihn -  
ein deut - lich re - den - de Zun - ge, Zung Mund -

lo - da - van l'al - ma dea  
wo sol ich mich hin - wen -  
ein deut - lich re - dend - den Zun -

lo da - van l'al - ma  
sten, wo sol ich mich hin -  
ben ein deut - lich re - dend

lo da - van l'al - ma dea del  
sten, wo sol ich mich hin - wen - den,  
ben ein deut - lich re - dend Zun - ge, Mund -

lo da - van l'al - ma dea del  
wo sol ich mich hin - wen - den,  
ein deut - lich re - dend Zun - ge, Mund -

lo da - van l'al - ma dea del  
wo sol ich mich hin - wen - den,  
ein deut - lich re - dend Zun - ge,

17

zo cie - lo, vo - ci liet'  
zu fin - den? Ohn - ihn kan  
und Stim - me? Dass man lal -

del ter - zo cie - lo, vo - ci liet'  
den ihn zu fin - den? Ohn - ihn kan  
ge, Mund und Stim - me? Dass man lal -

dea del ter - zo cie - lo, vo - ci liet'  
wen den ihn zu fin - den? Ohn - ihn kan  
Zun - ge, Mund und Stim - me? Dass man lal -

8 ter - zo cie - lo, vo - ci liet'  
ihn zu fin - den? Ohn - ihn kan  
Mund und Stim - me? Dass man lal -

8 ter - zo cie - lo, vo - ci liet'  
ihn zu fin - den? Ohn - ihn kan  
Mund und Stim - me? Dass man lal -

ter - zo cie - lo, vo - ci liet'  
ihn zu fin - den? Ohn - ihn kan  
Mund und Stim - me? Dass man lal -

21

vo - ci liet' e di - vi -  
Ohn ihn kan ich nicht le -  
Dass man lal - le und mur -

e di - vi - ne  
ich nicht le und mur - re?  
le und mur - re?

e di - vi - ne, vo - ci liet' e di -  
ich nicht le - ben, ohn - ihn kan ich nicht -  
le und mur - re? Dass man lal - le und

8 e di - vi - ne,  
ich nicht le und mur - re?  
le und mur - re?

8 vo - ci liet' e di - vi -  
Ohn ihn kan ich nicht le -  
Dass man lal - le und mur -

vo - ci liet' e di - vi -  
Ohn ihn kan ich nicht le -  
Dass man lal - le und mur -

From Venice to Nuremberg and Leipzig

25

ne,  
ben.  
re?

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen -  
Ihm hab ich mich er - ge -  
Odr wie ein Klotz ver - stum -

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen - ti,  
Ihm hab ich mich er - ge - ben,  
Odr als ein Klotz er - stum - me?

vi - ne can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen - ti,  
le - ben. Ihm hab ich mich er - ge - ben,  
mur - re? Odr als ein Klotz er - stum - me?

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen - ti,  
Ihm hab ich mich er - ge - ben,  
Oder wie ein Klotz er - stum - me?

ne  
ben.  
re?

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen -  
Ihm hab ich mich er - ge -  
Odr als ein Klotz er - stum -

ne  
ben.  
re?

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen -  
Ihm hab ich mich er - ge -  
Odr als ein Klotz er - stum -

29

ti,  
ben,  
me?

che ri - so - nar fer  
bey ihm zu seyn inn  
Und nicht vielmehr, dass

ti con - cen - ti,  
mich er - ge - ben,  
Klotz er - stum - me?

che ri - so - nar fer  
bey ihm zu seyn inn  
Und nicht vielmehr, dass

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen - ti,  
ihm hab ich mich er - ge - ben,  
Odr als ein Klotz er - stum - me?

che  
bey  
Und

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen - ti,  
ihm hab ich mich er - ge - ben,  
Odr wie ein Klotz er - stum - me?

cen - ti,  
ge - ben,  
stum - me?

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen - ti,  
ihm hab ich mich er - ge - ben,  
Odr als ein Klotz er - stum - me?

ti,  
ben,  
me?

can - ta - ro\_al - ti con - cen - ti,  
ihm hab ich mich er - ge - ben,  
Odr als ein Klotz er - stum - me?

Chiara Comparin

33

l'a - ria in que - sti ac - cen - ti, che ri - so -  
 gu - ter Ruh und Frie - de, bey ihm zu  
 man in gantz, in gant - zen Le - ben sein klar un

l'a - ria in que - sti ac - cen - ti, che ri - so -  
 gu - ter Ruh und Frie - de, bey ihm zu  
 man in gantz, in gant - zen Le - ben sein klar und

ri - suo - nar fer l'a - ria in que - sti ac - cen - ti, che ri - so -  
 ihm zu seyn inn gu - ter Ruh und Frie - de, bey ihm zu  
 nicht viel mehr dass man in gant - zen Le - ben sein klar und

che ri - so -  
 bey ihm zu  
 sein klar und

che ri - so -  
 bey ihm zu  
 sein klar und

che ri - so -  
 bey ihm zu  
 sein klar und

37

nar fer l'a - ria in que - sti ac - cen - ti,  
 seyn in gu - ter Ruh und Frie - de  
 deut - lich Mund - werck von sich ge - be?

nar fer l'a - ria in que - sti ac - cen - ti: «No - va  
 seyn in gu - ter Ruh und Frie - de ach wie  
 deut - lich Mund - werck von sich ge - be? Gern re -

nar fer l'a - ria in que - sti ac - cen - ti:  
 seyn in gu - ter Ruh und Frie - de  
 deut - lich Mund - werck von sich ge - be?

nar fer l'a - ria in que - sti ac - cen - ti: «No - va  
 seyn in gu - ter Ruh und Frie - de ach wie  
 deut - lich Mund - werck von sich ge - be? Gern re -

nar fer l'a - ria in que - sti ac - cen - ti: «No - va  
 seyn in gu - ter Ruh und Frie - de ach wie  
 deut - lich Mund - werck von sich ge - be? Gern re -

41

di vo - stre lo - di de - gna.  
komm her schöns Lieb und freu dich,  
ver - mah - ne, stra - fe, weh - re,

dea fra voi re - gna, cia - scun  
bin ich so mü - de: komm her,  
de, grüs - se, leh - re, trö - ste

di vo - stre lo - di de - gna. Cia -  
komm her schöns Lieb und freu dich, komm  
ver - mah - ne, stra - fe, weh - re trö -

dea fra voi re - gna, di vo - stre lo - di de - gna.  
bin ich so mü - de: komm her schöns Lieb und freu dich,  
de, grüs - se, leh - re, ver - mah - ne, straf - fe, weh - re,

dea fra voi re - gna Cia -  
bin ich so mü - de komm  
de, grüs - se, leh - re, trö -

dea fra voi re - gna Cia -  
bin ich so mü - de komm  
de, grüs - se, leh - re, trö -

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Cia - scun a lei s'in - chi - ne, can - tan - do pie -  
komm her, komm her hier bin ich. Ich sag nicht vil  
trö - ste, er - barm, be - keh - re, dass je - der - man

— a lei s'in - chi - ne,  
— komm her hier bin ich.  
— er - barm be - keh - re,

scun a lei s'in - chi - ne, can - tan - do pie - ni  
her, komm her hier bin ich. Ich sag nicht vil ihr  
ste er - barm be - keh - re, dass je - der - man hier

Cia - scun a lei s'in - chi - ne, a lei s'in - chi - ne,  
komm her, komm her hier bin ich, komm her hier bin ich,  
trö - ste er - barm be - keh - re, er - barm be - keh - re,

scun, cia - scun a lei s'in - chi - ne, can -  
her, komm her, komm her hier bin ich. Ich  
ste, trö - ste er - barm be - keh - re, dass

scun, a lei s'in - chi - ne, can - tan - do pie - ni  
her, komm her hier bin ich. Ich sag nicht vil ihr  
ste, er - barm be - keh - re, dass je - der - man hier

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ni di ce - le - sti\_ar - do - ri  
ihr lie - ben Freund und Gä - ste  
hier zeit - lich und dort e - wig.

can - tan - do pie - ni di ce - le - sti\_ar - do - ri:  
Ich sag nicht vil ihr lie - ben Freund und Gä - ste  
Gott lob und prei - se mit uns klar und deut - lich

di ce - le - sti\_ar - do - ri, di ce - le - sti\_ar - do - ri:  
lie - ben Freund und Gä - ste, lie - ben Freund und Gä - ste  
zeit - lich und dort e - wig mit uns klar und deut - lich

can - tan - do pie - ni di ce - le - sti\_ar - do - ri:  
Ich sag nicht vil ihr lie - ben Freund und Gä - ste  
Gott lob und prei - se mit uns klar und deut - lich

tan - do pie - ni di ce - le - sti\_ar - do - ri:  
sag nicht vil ihr lie - ben Freund und Gä - ste  
je - der man mit uns hier zeit - lich und dort e - wig

di ce - le - sti\_ar - do - ri:  
lie - ben Freund und Gä - ste  
zeit - lich und dort e - wig,

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Vi - va la bel - la Do - ri, la bel - la Do - ri!».  
mein ist die al - ler be - ste, die al - ler be - ste.  
uns - e - re Kunst bleibt e - wig, bleibt imr und e - wig.

Vi - va la bel - la Do - ri!».  
mein ist die al - ler be - ste.  
denn uns - re Kunst bleibt imr und e - wig

Vi - va la bel - la Do - ri!».  
mein ist die al - ler be - ste.  
denn uns - re Kunst bleibt imr und e - wig.

Vi - va la bel - la Do - ri, la bel - la Do - ri!».  
mein ist die al - ler be - ste, die al - ler be - ste.  
denn uns - re Kunst bleibt ewig, bleibt im - mer und e - wig.

Vi - va la bel - la Do - ri, la bel - la Do - ri!».  
mein ist die al - ler be - ste, die al - ler be - ste.  
denn uns - re Kunst bleibt im - mer, im - mer und e - wig.

Vi - va la bel - la Do - ri, vi - va la bel - la Do - ri!».  
mein ist die al - ler be - ste, mein ist die al - ler be - ste.  
denn uns - re Kunst bleibt im - mer, bleibt im - mer und e - wig.



Tomasz Jeż

## *Contrafacta* of Italian madrigals in Polish musical sources\*

The historical phenomenon of the musical madrigal – a secular musical artifact *par excellence* – can also be examined in the context of research into the religious culture of Renaissance and Baroque Europe. This highly widespread artistic product was subjected to numerous re-elaborations, not only involving the repertoire deriving from sources of Italian provenance, but also that transmitted by sources coming from beyond the Alps. At that time the relations between Italy and Poland were particularly intense. The bibliography on this topic takes into account the wealth of such cultural exchanges,<sup>1</sup> but the

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\* This is a revised English version of an article published in Italian in 2002: Tomasz Jeż, “Contraffazioni di madrigali italiani nelle fonti musicali polacche”, in *Il sacro nel Rinascimento. Atti del XII Convegno internazionale* (Chianciano-Pienza, 17–20 luglio 2000), ed. Luisa Secchi Tarugi, Firenze: Franco Cesati Editore, 2002, pp. 163–179.

<sup>1</sup> Among the most important works regarding the musical contacts between Italy and Poland, the following can be mentioned: Zdzisław JACHIMECKI, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* [Italian influences on music in Poland], Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1911; Adolf CHYBIŃSKI, *Muzycy włoscy w kapelach katedralnych krakowskich 1619–1657* [Italian musicians in the music chapel of Cracow Cathedral 1619–1657], Poznań: s.n., 1927; Zofia STĘSZEWSKA, “Tańce włoskie w Polsce i tańce polskie we Włoszech w XVI–XVII wieku” [Italian dances in Poland and Polish dances in Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries], *Muzyka*, 1970/1, pp. 15–30; Zofia STĘSZEWSKA, “Popularność pieśni włoskiej w Polsce w XVII wieku” [The popularity of Italian song in 17th-century Poland], *Pagine*, 1973/2, pp. 263–275; Elżbieta ZWOLIŃSKA, “Twórczość kompozytorów włoskich dla kapeli rorantystów wawelskich w I połowie XVII w.” [The musical output of Italian authors composed for the Rorantist chapel in Wawel cathedral in the first half of the 17th century], *Pagine*, 1974/3, pp. 203–215; Anna SZWEYKOWSKA, *Dramma per musica*

dissemination of the genre that is probably the most representative of Italian musical culture – the madrigal – has only recently been the object of a monographic study.<sup>2</sup> It appears opportune to summarize in what way this form may have contributed to the transmission of Italian musical culture in the territory of what today is Poland. The results of studies on this matter allow us to better define the nature of the musical relations between Italy and Poland, their continuity in time and their intensity.

The development of the genre of madrigal appears strictly linked to the complex stylistic processes that interested music between the Renaissance and the Baroque. Besides the madrigal in its 'pure' vocal form, different transformations can be found in the extant sources, deriving from a change in the ensemble or in the vocal and/or instrumental destination (as happens in the instrumental tablatures), as well as from the substitution of the original texts (in Italian) with texts in other languages. These local adaptations of the madrigal assumed the form of hybrids. At the same time the process of transplanting the madrigal genre into the realm of sacred music led to further transformations. The use of secular vocal forms in the context of sacred music brought about significant stylistic changes, contributing to the enrichment of the expressive quality of the latter. The *contrafacta* we are dealing with here were created through the use of a 'spiritual reworking' (*travestimento spirituale*) or of the parody technique, thus giving the secular forms a sacred imprint.

Many aspects of the re-textualization procedure in the sacred context have already been the object of musicological studies.<sup>3</sup> Among other things, it has

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w teatrze Wazów [The *dramma per musica* in the theatre of the Vasa Kings], Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1976; Anna and Zygmunt SZWEYKOWSCY, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [The Italians in the chapel of the Vasa Kings of Poland], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997.

<sup>2</sup> See Tomasz JEŻ, *Madrygał w Europie północno-wschodniej. Dokumentacja – recepcja – przeobrażenia gatunku* [The madrigal in North-Eastern Europe. Documentation – reception – transformations of the genre], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Domenico ALALEONA, "Le laudi spirituali italiane nei secoli XVI e XVII e il loro rapporto coi canti profani", *Rivista musicale italiana*, 16, 1909, pp. 1–54; Edward J. DENT, "The Laudi Spirituali in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries", *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 17, 1916, pp. 63–95; Elena FERRARI-BARASSI, "Il madrigale spirituale nel cinquecento e la raccolta monteverdiana del 1583", in *Congresso internazionale sul tema Claudio Monteverdi e il suo tempo*, Venezia-Mantova-Cremona: Valdonega, 1969, pp. 211–252; Giulio CATTIN, "«Contrafacta» internazionali: musiche europee per laude italiane", in *Musik und Text in der Mehrstimmigkeit des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Ursula Günter – Ludwig Finscher, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984, pp. 411–442.

been revealed that the proliferation of spiritual reworkings that occurred after the Council of Trent, which involved a wide range of secular musical genres, had a profound theological and pastoral justification. On this matter a typical practice of the Catholic Church can be observed: that of exploiting the secular culture, conferring a religious meaning on pagan forms – the so called *interpretatio christiana*.<sup>4</sup> The theological conception of music in that period placed importance on the text used in a musical context. In other words the sacred character of a work was conceived not as an intrinsic characteristic of the music, but rather as an acquired quality, determined by the presence of the ‘sacred text’ – seen as the Word of God. This meant that the essence of the Renaissance view of the sacred in music stemmed from the humanistic conception of the subordination of the music to the word.<sup>5</sup> This concept authorizes the coexistence, within the art of music, of secular and sacred elements, thus legitimizing the many procedures of re-textualization and parody.

On examining the documents of the Council of Trent regarding musical questions, one might gain the impression that the requirement to not perform “*nihil lascivum aut impurum*” in a liturgical context<sup>6</sup> was in a certain sense directed against the *praxis musicae* of the time. In the light of the observations made above, this same directive issued by the Council could instead be read as a sort of approval of the state of things. In other words, it is likely that the very impossibility to eliminate secular forms from churches led to their assimilation. All such reworkings, including the parody masses and motets, became at a certain point a key element of the religious culture of the time, which, relative to its own needs, used everything it had acquired during the course of history.

Besides the motives of a pastoral nature, also the stylistic qualities of the musical madrigal should be taken into consideration. The decisive question for their approval was the other demand of the Council of Trent, that of the intelligibility of the text (“*verba ab omni percipi possint*”),<sup>7</sup> as in the madrigal,

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<sup>4</sup> See Piero DAMILANO, “Liturgia e musica nell’epoca palestriniana”, in *Atti del Convegno di studi Palestriniani*, 28.IX–2.X 1975, Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina – Centro di Studi Palestriniani, 1977, p. 324.

<sup>5</sup> See Claude V. PALISCA, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought*, New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1985; Nino PIRROTTA, “Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy”, *Journal of American Musicological Society*, 19, 1966, pp. 127–161.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by the 17th session of the Council in September 1562.

<sup>7</sup> This issue was dealt with by a commission of cardinals between 1564 and 1565 after the Council had already closed. It should be underlined that this postulation has been the object

which – as a narrative genre that subordinated the musical discourse to the expressive quality of the literary text – fulfilled the humanistic requirement of the perfect intelligibility of the words. Precisely on account of its specific features, the madrigal could, after a suitable change of text, be used by the protagonists of the Counter-reformation to proclaim the Gospel in an effective manner.

The above-mentioned phenomena are duly reflected also in the musical sources coming from today's Poland. In the manuscripts I examined, over 100 *contrafacta* were identified, part of which are in the form of parodies (49 masses and 21 Magnificats), while the rest can be defined as 'spiritual re-workings' in Polish, German and Latin. This repertoire is mostly transmitted in manuscript copies of vocal compositions, preserved in Breslau,<sup>8</sup> Brieg<sup>9</sup> and Gdańsk,<sup>10</sup> but also in some tablatures for organ, notably those of Pelplin<sup>11</sup> and Liegnitz.<sup>12</sup>

The most substantial group consists of the *missae parodiae*, cycles composed on the basis of the musical model of another composition – in this case the madrigal. The authors of these parodies were often little known local

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of an extensive musicological bibliography. The most important studies include those of Karl WEINMANN, *Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik*, Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms, 1919; Karl G. FELLNER, "Church Music and the Council of Trent", *Musical Quarterly*, 39, 1953, pp. 576–594; Oscar MISCHIATI, "«Ut verba intelligerentur»: circostanze e connessioni a proposito della *Missa Papae Marcelli*", in *Atti del Convegno di studi Palestriniani*, 28.IX–2.X 1975, Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina – Centro di Studi Palestriniani, 1977, p. 426; DAMILANO, "Liturgia e musica", pp. 315–325.

<sup>8</sup> See the manuscripts in the Emil Bohn collection, currently preserved at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek), nn. 10, 23, 39, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103, 105, 176 & 197. See Emil BOHN, *Musikalischen Handschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau*, Breslau: Georg Olms, 1890.

<sup>9</sup> Collections of the Brieg Gymnasium, today lost: nn. Br. K. 2, Br. K. 52. See Friedrich KUHN, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Alten Musikalien – Handschriften und Druckwerke – der Königlichen Gymnasium zu Brieg*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1897.

<sup>10</sup> Gdańsk, Biblioteka PAN, Ms. 4005, 4006, 4007. See Otto GÜNTHER, *Die Musikalischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek und der in ihrer Verwaltung befindlichen Kirchenbibliotheken von St. Katharinen und St. Johannes in Danzig*, vol. 4, *Musikalische Handschriften*, Danzig: Kommissions-Verlag der L. Saunierschen Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1914; Danuta POPINIGIS – Danuta SZLAGOWSKA, *Musicalia Gedanenses. Rękopisy muzyczne z XVI i XVII wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Gdańskiej PAN. Katalog* [The musical manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries in the collections of the PAN Library of Gdańsk. The catalogue], Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej im. Stanisława Moniuszki w Gdańsku, 1990.

<sup>11</sup> Pelplin, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego, nn. 304a–308a. This anthology also includes the only spiritual madrigal by Francesco Terriera da Conegliano extant in the Polish musical sources: *Ave. Dio ti salvi Maria* (n. 899).

<sup>12</sup> Liegnitz, Library of prince Georg Rudolph, n. Libr. Mus. n. 99, now lost.

composers (like Giovanni Battista Biondi, Valentin Hausmann or Augustin Plattner). The parody technique used in these compositions is generally limited to the use of the initial motive of the madrigal adopted as a model. This is often subjected to rhythmic modifications to adapt it to the text of the *ordinarium missae*. Rarely, there is a more precise correspondence between the compositional features of the original and those of the parody: in some sections the original arrangement of the voices in imitation is maintained.<sup>13</sup> An interesting example of the technique of dialoguing voices can be observed in Giulio Belli's *Missa super Mentre qual viva pietra*.<sup>14</sup> In this case the composer has used pairs of voices in imitation as the model for a polychoral composition: the 5-voice madrigal by Luca Marenzio has therefore been expanded until reaching the dimensions of a double 4-voice arrangement. It should also be mentioned that in the preserved sources there are also complete cycles for the *ordinarium missae* in five parts, as well as pairs of Kyrie-Gloria (*missae breves*) commonly used in protestant circles,<sup>15</sup> thus revealing the popularity of the parody technique among different confessions.

In the repertoire examined parody Magnificats are much less common. The presence of forms of this type in post-Council liturgical music is explained in the musicological literature by the need to compete with new and aesthetically attractive musical forms that had already been exploited by the Reform.<sup>16</sup> For reasons discussed above, the composers of Magnificats frequently drew from secular compositions, especially madrigals.

Eight of the Magnificats are by Johannes Stadlmayer, one of the most illustrious composers of his time and chapel master of Archduke Maximilian III

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<sup>13</sup> This happens, for instance, in the *Missa super Io mi son giovinetta*, transmitted anonymously in the Ms. nowadays stored in Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, n. 60123 Muz.

<sup>14</sup> Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, *Bohn*: 19): fols. 37v–39r.

<sup>15</sup> This is the case, for example, in the Danzig manuscript Ms. 4012, now lost. Two of these are anonymous pieces based on very well-known madrigals: Palestrina's *Io mi son giovinetta* and Alessandro Striggio's *Nasce la pena mia*. Other cycles are by Andreas Hakenberger (*Missa super Perit fuga a me* for six voices) and Bartholomeus Gesius (*Missa super O misero mio core* on the madrigal by Giulio Eremita).

<sup>16</sup> See *Parodiemagnificat aus dem Umkreis der Grazer Hofkapelle (1465–1619)*, ed. Gernot Gruber, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1981 (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, 133), Introduction, p. vii.

in Innsbruck;<sup>17</sup> the other Magnificats are anonymous. Similarly to the *missa parodia*, the Magnificats also use the technique of maintaining the initial motive. The rhythmic aspect of these motives, which link the even lines of the Canticle elaborated polyphonically, is mostly subordinate to the written text.<sup>18</sup> The characteristic feature that distinguishes the Magnificats from the *missae parodiae* is a decidedly superior musical correlation between the *contrafactum* and the original. In the various verses one can often find references to subsequent musical-textual sections of the reworked madrigal. However, this correlation is frequently offset by the need to link the semantics of the text of the *Magnificat* to the erotic texts of the sonnets in an artistic (and theologically acceptable) manner. To achieve this only certain musical verses of the madrigal are used, and sometimes also their order changes.<sup>19</sup> These allude to the original through the use of complex rhythmic or metrical structures.<sup>20</sup> Correspondences at a lower formal level are instead somewhat rarer and, as such, are hard to justify from a semantic point of view: in the above-mentioned Magnificat<sup>21</sup> we find correspondences between the words *nomen* and *canto* and *semper* and *pastori*, highlighted by the *polyptoton* figures.

Closer to their original secular model are the *contrafacta* of madrigals transformed into motets with a Latin text, or into canzoni with a text in the vernacular language. Most of these *contrafacta* are quite faithful copies of the originals, modified only minimally due to the need to adapt them to the new religious text. The *contrafacta* are mainly based on simple (if not homorhythmic) madrigal models, which made it easier to insert the new text. Besides the Latin texts, in the sources examined there are also texts in German and Polish (mostly translations of Psalms).

Of particular interest is the translation of Psalm XLIII, *Niewinność Panie moje*, made by the famous Polish humanist Jan Kochanowski, and used as a

<sup>17</sup> See Helmuth FEDERHOFER, "Graz Court Musicians and their Contributions to the Parnassus musicus Ferdinandaeus (1615)", *Musica Disciplina*, 9, 1955, pp. 167–244; Johann Stadlmayr – *Zwei Parodien-Magnificat mit Ihnen Vorlagen und Magnificat a 8 zu 5, 6, und 8 Stimmen*, ed. Hilde H. Juckermann, in *Das Chorwerk*, eds. Friedrich Blume – Kurt Gudewill, Heft 130, Mössler Verlag Wolfenbüttel, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> This is particularly notable in the *Magnificat Primi Toni super D'un si bel fuoco* on the madrigal by Giaches Wert (composed by Johannes Stadlmayr, see Pelplin tablature: n. 427).

<sup>19</sup> Johannes Stadlmayr, *Magnificat super Or che soave l'aura* (Pelplin tablature: n. 426).

<sup>20</sup> Johannes Ch. DEMANTIUS, *Magnificat super Leggiadre Ninfe*, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, *Bohn*: 105), fols. 7v–8r.

<sup>21</sup> *Magnificat super Or che soave l'aura*.



*contrafactum* of the canzonetta by Hans Leo Hassler<sup>22</sup> included in the Pelplin tablature. Since both texts are known, it is possible to reconstruct the *contrafactum* and analyze the re-elaboration technique employed, which adopts the same structure as the madrigal text. Although a certain correspondence is visible in the versification, the final form of the text of the *contrafactum* is the result of linking the text to the actual music:

ORIGINAL TEXT <sup>23</sup>	MUSICAL SECTION	SUBSTITUTE TEXT <sup>24</sup>
Io son ferito Amore	a	Niewinność, Panie moję
d'un stral pungent'il core.	b	Przyjmij w obronę swoją
<i>Io son ferito Amore</i>	a	Przeciw potwarzy żywěj
<i>d'un stral pungent'il core.</i>	c	I powieści fałszywěj.
E quella che mi diede	d	Chciej sie przy mnie ząstąwić
fugge più non la vegg'io affrett'il piede.	e	Mnie z rąk srogich wybąwić, <i>srogich wybąwić</i>
<i>E quella che mi diede</i>	d	<i>Chciej sie przy mnie ząstąwić</i>
<i>fugge più non la vegg'io affrett'il piede,</i>	e	<i>Mnie z rąk srogich wybąwić srogich wybąwić</i>
<i>fugge più non la vegg'io affrett'il piede.</i>	f	<i>Mnie z rąk srogich wybąwić srogich wybąwić.</i>

A unique monument is represented by the sacred *contrafacta* of the madrigal cycle by Marco Scacchi, musician at the court of King Sigismund III Vasa and chapel master of Ladislaus IV in the years 1633–1649. Of Scacchi's collection *Madrigali a cinque, concertati da cantarsi su gli stromenti*, published in Venice by Bartolomeo Magni in 1634 and dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand II, only the canto primo and secondo parts have survived.<sup>25</sup> Fortunately, though,

<sup>22</sup> Pelplin tablature: n. 163. See Jerzy Gołos, *Polskie organy i muzyka organowa* [Organ and organ music in Poland], Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1972, p. 162.

<sup>23</sup> Cited from Hans Leo HASSLER, *Messen für 4 bis 8 Stimmen*, ed. Joseph Auer, Neuauflage, revised by Russel Crosby Jr., Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1961 (Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, Folge 1, Band 7), p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Cited from Jan Kochanowski. *Psalterz Dawidów. Część 5. Melodiae na Psalterz polski przez Mikołaja Gomółkę uczynione*, introduction and musical transcription by Mirosław Perz, transcription of the text by Jerzy Woronczak, Wrocław etc.: Ossolineum, 1990, p. 81.

<sup>25</sup> Marco SCACCHI, *Madrigali a cinque, concertati da cantarsi su gli stromenti, di Marco Scacchi Romano Maestro di Cappella della Maesta Serenis.ma di Polonia, e Svecia. Dedicati All'Invittiss.mo e Gloriosissimo Imperatore Ferdinando Secondo*, Venezia: Bartolomeo Magni, 1634. See Marco Scacchi: *Madrygały na zespół wokalny i basso continuo* [The madrigals for vocal ensemble and basso continuo], ed. Zygmunt M. Szwejkowski, Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1979 (Źródła do historii muzyki polskiej 26); Anna and Zygmunt SZWEJKOWSCY, *Włoski*

these compositions have been preserved in a Breslau manuscript recently re-discovered in Berlin,<sup>26</sup> as well as in two prints published by Ambrosius Profius, organist of the church of St Elisabeth in Wrocław.<sup>27</sup> These compositions are based on sacred texts in German – paraphrases of the Psalm texts,<sup>28</sup> mostly consisting, though, of anonymous songs with a character similar to the Psalms themselves. Their original models were mostly composed on poems by Battista Guarini, quite popular in Poland, where he was also known for his extra-literary activities.<sup>29</sup> On account of their extraordinary phonic beauty, Guarini's texts (in particular *Il pastor fido*) were extremely popular among madrigal composers.

At this point we are going to examine a dozen compositions: the original Italian models and their German *contrafacta* taken from the prints mentioned above. The provision of a detailed list of their literary texts seems all the more justified by the fact that both groups of works adopt exactly the same musical texts. The comparison of the pairs of texts also allows us to identify the syntactic analogies between the various works. In most cases this consists of using a poetic structure based on contrast between two sections. Such correlation in the order of the versification can, of course, occur to a greater or lesser degree: lesser when they involve Psalm texts, where the successive lines of the text are illustrated with the fragments of melody that correspond to the frequent repetitions of the lines in the model:

*w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [The Italians in the chapel of the Vasa Kings of Poland], Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1997, p. 219.

<sup>26</sup> Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, *Bohn*: 197). See Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "Ocalałe źródła do Marcina Mielczewskiego w połowie XVII stulecia ze zbiorów Stadtbibliothek we Wrocławiu" [The survived sources related to Marcin Mielczewski in the mid-17th century from the collection of the Stadtbibliothek in Breslau], *Muzyka*, 1994/2, pp. 3–10.

<sup>27</sup> *Vierdter und letzter Theil Geistlicher Concerten, aus den berühmsten Itälienischen und andern Authoribus [...] colligiret und publiciret von Ambrosio Profio, Organ. zu S. Elisabeth in Breslau*, Leipzig: Timotheus Ritsch, 1646 and *Cunis solennibus Jesuli Recens Nati Sacra Genethliaca. Id est Psalmodiae Epaeneticæ. Edit. Studio et Sumptib. Ambrosi Profi Elisabetani Vratislav. Organoedi*, [Breslau]: Typis Ligiis Sartorianis, 1646.

<sup>28</sup> They are, for example, Psalms: 1 (*Wohl, o wohl dem der nicht wandelt*), 27, 4–5 (*Eins bitte ich vom Herren*), 34, 20 (*Der Gerechte muss viel leiden*) and 83, 2 (*Ach Gott, schweige nicht so stille*).

<sup>29</sup> In 1574 he visited Krakow twice as a diplomat of the court of Alfonso d'Este, candidate for the Polish throne.



Sì, mi dicesti, ed io  
quel dolcissimo sì mandai nel core  
subitamente, ed arsi  
di quel fuoco dolcissimo d'amore

che per altr'essa non potea destarsi.  
Or che voi vi pentite,  
*or che voi vi pentite*  
anch'io mi pento,

*anch'io mi pento.*  
E come un sì [m']accese,  
*e come un sì m'accese*  
un no m'ha spento.

Giovanni Battista Guarini<sup>30</sup>

Wohl, o wohl dem, der nicht wandelt  
im Rat der Gotlosen  
noch tritt auf den Weg der Sünder  
sitzt auch nicht da die Losengötter sitzen,

*sitzt auch nicht da die Losengötter sitzen.*  
sondern hat Freude am Gesetz des Herren,  
der ist gleich einem Baume,  
der feine Früchte bringet,

und seine Blätter die werden nicht verwalchken.  
Aber die Gottlose ist gleich wie Spreue  
welche der Wind zerstrauret  
und seine Wege vergehen plötzlich.

Psalm 1

In some cases we find the opposite situation, where the successive sections of the madrigal text correspond to repetitions of the lines of the sacred text:<sup>31</sup>

O che soave bacio  
dalla mia donna ebb'io  
non so se don di lei, se furto mio.  
Era un no, che voleva, un atto misto  
di rapina, e d'acquisto.  
Un negar sì gentile, che bramava  
quel, che negando dava;  
un cortese vietar, che ad assalire  
facea sì caro invito  
ch'al rapir, chi rapiva, era rapito.  
Un restar e fuggire  
ch'affrettava il partire.  
Deh, se quest'è pur furto alcun non sia,  
che brami cortesia.  
Fatti pur ladr' Amor, ch'io te l'perdono  
e ceda in tutto alla rapina il dono.

Giovanni Battista Guarini<sup>32</sup>

Eins bitte ich vom Herren,  
*eins bitte ich vom Herren*  
Das hätt' ich fortzlich gerne  
daß ich in seinem Haus wohnen wäre,  
*daß ich in seinem Haus wohnen wäre*  
damit Freuden zu schauen,  
*damit Freuden zu schauen*  
die schönen Dienste bei Herren,  
*die schönen Dienste bei Herren,*  
*die schönen Dienste bei Herren*  
des Herren meines Gottes,  
*des Herren meines Gottes*  
und den Verlingen mich beizufortzen,  
*und den Verlingen mich beizufortzen*  
die sich bei seinem Danckaltar ergotzen,  
*die sich bei seinem Danckaltar ergotzen.*

see Psalm 27, 4

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<sup>30</sup> Giovanni Battista GUARINI, *Rime del molto illustre signor cavaliere Battista Guarini*, Venezia: Giovan Battista Ciotti, 1598, CVI, p. 111.

<sup>31</sup> See for example *O che soave – Eins bitte ich vom Herren*.

<sup>32</sup> Giovanni Battista Guarini, *Delle opere del cavalier Battista Guarini*, tomo secondo, Verona: Giovanni Alberto Tumermahi, 1737, LXVIII, p. 81.

In other compositions the correspondence in the order of the lines between the original and the *contrafactum* is almost perfect; the rare exceptions can be attributed to differences between the two languages. It is certainly no mere chance that in the majority of cases biblical texts are not used, but rather texts created purposely to be used by the author of the *contrafactum*. In these cases the original metrical structure, consisting of complete lines (*endecasillabi*) alternated with broken lines (*settenari*), is replicated in a precise manner.<sup>33</sup> In order to remain faithful to this formula, the author of the *contrafactum* had to show considerable agility in the construction of the phrases, which sometimes required the use of fairly complex devices, such as *enjambement*:<sup>34</sup>

Moro o non moro omai **non mi negate**  
mercede o feritate

Hilf doch, wenn ich flosse, **daß ich in folster Angst**  
**nicht Vergosse**, o mir ist wehe!

or else:

O come sei gentile,  
caro augellino, **o quanto**  
**è 'l mio stato** amoroso al tuo simile.

Herr für dein Angesichte  
Täglich ich trete, **o höre**  
**Meine Stimme**, wenn ich Herr zu dir rufe.

Maintaining the original etherometry – the mixed line – was especially useful precisely for the musical interpretation of the text. It allowed a certain fluidity and mobility of the musical structure, as well as the use of different rhythmic models. It should also be added that within the compositions that copy this scheme of versification also the types and arrangement of rhymes are respected.

A correlation between the German *contrafacta* and the madrigals of Marco Scacchi can also be seen at a semiotic level. In the examined compositions the symbolic level, the signifier of the German and Italian text (the *signifiant*), is closely matching. Both the arrangement of the text and the formal aspects are taken into account. For example, in the pair *O come sei gentile* – *Herr für dein Angesichte* the original rhetorical concept, linked to the keyword *canto*, has in a certain sense been ‘translated’ literally in the *contrafactum*:

<sup>33</sup> For example: *Voi volete ch'io mora* – *Herr, gieb Friede dem Lande*: 7+7+7+11 / 11+7+7+11; *O come sei gentile* – *Herr für dein Angesichte*: 7+7+11 / 7+7+11 / 7+7 / 11+11; *Parlo, misero, o taccio* – *Ach Gott schweige nicht*: 7+11+11+11 / 7+7+7 / 11+11.

<sup>34</sup> *Voi volete ch'io mora* – *Herr, gieb Friede dem Lande*.

O come sei gentile,  
Caro augellino, o quanto  
è 'l mio stato amoroso al tuo simile.

Herr für dein Angesichte  
Täglich ich trete, o höre  
Meine **Stimme**, wenn ich Herr zu dir **rufe**.

Tu prigion, io prigion, tu **canti**, io **canto**,  
tu **canti** per colei che t'ha legato,  
ed io **canto** per lei.

Lasset uns **lobsingen**,  
Laßt unser **Seitenwerck** aufs nar erzwingen,  
Und die **Harffen** drein **klingen**.

Ma in questo è **diverente**  
la mia sorte dolente:

Herr, du **stillst** in unsern Herten  
Allen Kummer und Schmerzen.

che giova pur a te l'esser **canoro**,  
vivi **cantando**, ed io **cantando** moro.

Drumb muß dir aller Volck zu Füsse fallen  
**Dancket** und **preiset** und **lobet** dich für allen.

Giovanni Battista Guarini<sup>35</sup>

The words associated with song, appearing several times in the first part of the madrigal (the *polyptoton* figure), are matched in the *contrafactum* by a cluster of terms connected to a wider semantic field: that of the acoustic illustration of the glorification of God by mankind. This effect is enhanced by specific rhetorical choices used in the musical composition, namely the evocative illustration of the words *io canto – lobsingen*. The madrigalistic opposition of the two vocal groups in the repetition of the phrase *tu prigion – io prigion, tu canti – io canto* (in this case 'prisoner' refers both to the little bird – *l'augellino* – and to the unhappy lover) finds an analogy in the apostrophe repeated by the two choirs: *lasset uns – lasset uns, lobsingen – lobsingen*.

The contrast of the second section of the piece, which serves to illustrate a new meaning (the disclosure of a certain difference between the lyrical subjects of the madrigal), is matched by the decisive change of character in the German text, where God appears in the capacity of a consoler of human misadventures. The musical structure of this passage, written in a homorhythmic style that contrasts with the rest of the composition, is accompanied by a manuscript dynamic marking: *pian*. In both versions, the two following lines act as a 'resolution' of the lyrical situation that semiotically, despite the clear contraposition in meaning, once again uses song as the keyword.

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<sup>35</sup> Giovanni Battista GUARINI, *Rime del molto illustre signor cavaliere Battista Guarini, di nuovo in questa impressione corrette, e accresciute dallo stesso autore*, Venezia: Giovan Battista Ciotti, 1621, LII, p. 285.

The correspondences between the two works in question go even further: one can note the exact correspondence of rhetorical figures like the *exclamatio* (*Voi! – Herr!*<sup>36</sup>; *o feritate! – o mir ist wehe!*<sup>37</sup>) or the *interrogatio* (*Dove, ah dove t'en vai – Ach wo sol ich hinkehren?*<sup>38</sup>). In other cases, though, the musical figures accompanying the literary text change their meaning to illustrate very different concepts. This is so in the pair *Voi volete – Herr gieb Friede*, in which the contrast between the dissonant figure of the *passus duriusculus* and the sudden change of movement (the *mutatio per motus*) in the original serve to illustrate the amorous hesitations of the lyrical subject (*moro – e non moro omai*), whereas in the *contrafactum* they reinforce the supplication to the Lord (*Hilf doch – wenn ich flosse*).

Mention should also be made of the frequent *assimilationes*, which illustrate in particularly significant acoustic terms the abundantly employed madrigalisms, as well as allusive annominations. Considering the literary aspect of the *contrafacta* examined, one can find a very rich repertoire of purely sonic techniques, which bear witness to the high competence of author of the *contrafacta*. The analysis of the various pairs of works shows how much this Petrarchist tradition of text composition, based to a large extent on purely acoustic values of the language, has been profoundly assimilated and adapted to the author's own language.<sup>39</sup>

In the material examined here we find a vast range of phonic figures, such as alliteration, assonance, consonance, paronomasia and epanalexis, which together constitute a particularly complex *ornatus*. It appears evident that the aim of the author of the *contrafacta* was to achieve a maximum correlation with such figures, imitating them at the specific moments in the rhythmic flux of the work. On several occasions this ambitious aim encountered an insurmountable limit, that of the language. It is interesting to note that – with few exceptions<sup>40</sup> – the works mentioned below have nothing in common in their content. Since

<sup>36</sup> *Voi volete ch'io mora – Herr gieb Friede dem Lande.*

<sup>37</sup> *O come sei gentile – Herr für dein Angesichte.*

<sup>38</sup> *Dove, ah dove t'en vai – Ach wo sol ich hinkehren.*

<sup>39</sup> These aspects, in relation to the literary school of the Petrarchists, have been discussed, for example, in Maria PICCHIO SIMONELLI, *Figure foniche dal Patrarca ai petrarchisti*, Firenze: Licos, 1978 (Studia Historica et Philologica, 7). In the field of comparative philology similar questions have been discussed in a study on translation aspects by Luigi MARINELLI, *Polski Adon – O poetyce i retoryce przekładu* [The Polish Adon – On the poetics and rhetorics of translation], Warszawa: Świat Literacki, 1997.

<sup>40</sup> *Dove, ah dove t'en vai – Ach wo sol ich hinkehren; Donna voi vi credete – O Tod du darfst nicht glauben.*

they are not translations of the meaning, the *contrafacta* therefore constitute a transcription of the form, the one hidden in the sequences of vowels and their groupings. Let us consider three examples of such ingenious elaboration:<sup>41</sup>

Voi volete ch'io mora  
ne mi togliete ancora  
questa misera vita  
e non **mi** date incontro a morte aita.

**Moro o non moro omai non** mi negate  
mercede *o feritate*  
ch'in sì dubbiosa **sorte**  
assai più fero è il **morir** che **morte**.

Giovanni Battista Guarini

O **chiome** erranti, o **chiome**  
dorate inanellate  
*o come* belle *o come*  
e volate e scherzate.  
Ben voi scherzando, *scherzand'* errate  
e **son dolci** gl'*errori*;  
ma **non** errate in allacciando i cori.

Giovan Battista Marino<sup>42</sup>

Dove, ah dove te n'vai  
unico del mio **cor** dolce **conforto**?  
Poi che non **lungo** omai  
del mio **lungo** cammin si scopre il porto,  
**perché** mi fuggi<sup>43</sup> e m'abbandoni, ahi lasso,  
sul **periglioso** passo?  
Qual bene or più m'avanza,  
se fuggi tu, dolcissima Speranza?

Alessandro Striggio<sup>44</sup>

Herr, gieb friede dem lande  
zerriß die kriegesbande,  
so muß **immerlich** quälen  
der **immer** dringet uns gar an die festen.

**hilf** doch, wenn **ich** *flosse*, daß **ich** *in* folster angst nicht  
*vergosse*, *o mir ist wehe!*  
nindere **folgen** **leiden**  
und **laß** uns selig dann von hier abfinden.

Trett **her** und **helfft** dem **Herren**  
**ein** neues dancklied **singen**,  
*kommt*, laßt **eure** stimmen  
zu den **instrumenten** erklingen,  
laßt unser schall durch die wolcken dringen  
greiß und daurt **Lob** und *Ohre*  
sei dir gefragt, o **Gott** in mehr und mehre.

Ach wo sol ich hinkehren  
zu **meinem** Gott **allein** fleht **mein** begehren  
zeige mir **deine** Liebe  
daß der **Feind** **seine** Türk an mir nicht übe  
**Herr** sei mir gnädig und wenn ich komme zum sterben  
so **hab** mich nicht verderben  
mit deiner Hand mich führe  
und leite mich hinauf zur Himmelstüre.

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<sup>41</sup> In the following examples we have kept the original reading in the German texts, but overlooking the upper case letters at the start of nouns, so as to illustrate more clearly the phonic figures common to both texts (given in upper case). Other phonic similarities (annominations, analogies and derivations) are shown in italics.

<sup>42</sup> Giovan Battista MARINO, *Rime del molto illustre signor cavaliere Battista Guarini*, Venezia: Giovan Battista Ciotti, 1618.

<sup>43</sup> *Recte*: ti parti.

<sup>44</sup> Alessandro STRIGGIO, *L'Orfeo*, Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino 1609, Atto III, Scena unica, 29–36.

The last *contrafactum* is particularly interesting, since the phonic correspondences of the original text are imitated by the play of sounds between the possessive pronouns that mark the principal characters of the sinner's drama: *meinem gott – deine liebe – seine Türk*.<sup>45</sup>

A final consideration regarding the *contrafacta* of the madrigals by Scacchi concerns the semantic aspects. At this point it should be remembered that the correspondences between erotic and mystic meanings derives from the biblical and exegetic tradition<sup>46</sup>. We have already mentioned correlations of this kind when speaking of the *contrafactum* of *O come sei gentile*. A similar example can be found in another adaptation that exploits the contraposition between the words *parlo* and *taccio*. The example given below<sup>47</sup> may present some critical points, but deserves at least a partial quotation:

**Parlo**, misero, o **taccio**?  
S'io **taccio**, che soccorso avrà il morire?  
S'io **parlo**, che perdono avrà l'ardire?

Ach Gott, **schweige** nicht so **stille**,  
auf, auf, Herr und **eröffne deine Ohren**  
erwache, wenn der Feind macht uns Drängel, **erhöre**.

Giovanni Battista Guarini<sup>48</sup>

see Psalm 83, 2–3

Besides the semantic organization at a microformal level, the adaptation of the whole text is particularly interesting: the semantic relations in the *contrafactum* seem to be perfectly transcribed from the dramatic situation set out in the original. The text, taken from act III of Alessandro Striggio's *L'Orfeo*, is a pathetic lament of the mythical hero while descending into the underworld in search of the woman he loves. The *contrafactum* is, instead, an ardent prayer, in Psalm style, of an earthly wanderer who has discovered the eschatological

<sup>45</sup> See Alessandro MARTINI, "Ritratto del madrigale poetico fra Cinque e Seicento", *Lettere italiane*, 1981/4, p. 539.

<sup>46</sup> The starting point and model for this interpretation is the Christian tradition, dating back to the times of Origen's exegesis (*Commentarium in Canticum canticorum*, *Homiliae in Canticum canticorum*) of the *Song of Songs*, which for centuries was the source of particularly fine and theologically profound liturgical texts.

<sup>47</sup> The same text by Guarini (*Parlo, misero, o taccio*) is used in Claudio Monteverdi's madrigal (*Concerto: settimo libro de madrigali, con altri generi de canti*, Venezia: Bartolomeo Magni, 1619). The composer also wrote a reworking of it: the same music with the text *Longe mi Jesu* was published by Profius in the collection *Corollarum geistlicher collectaneorum*, Leipzig: Timotheus Ritsch, 1649.

<sup>48</sup> Giovanni Battista GUARINI, *Rime del molto illustre signor cavaliere Battista Guarini*, Venezia: Giovan Battista Ciotti, 1598, LIII, p. 84.

purpose of his wandering. Below are some extracts from the two texts with some phrases in bold to indicate the correspondences in the *signifié*:

**Dove, ah dove te n' vai**

unico del **mio cor dolce** conforto?  
Poi che non lunge omai  
del mio **lungo cammin** si scopre il porto,  
perche mi fuggi e **m'abbandoni**, ahi lasso,  
sul **periglioso passo**?  
Qual bene or più m'avanza,  
se fuggi tu, **dolcissima Speranza**?

**Ach wo soll ich hinkehren?**

Zu **meinem Gott allein** fleht mein Begehren.  
Zeige mir deine Liebe  
daß der Feind seine Türk an mir nicht übe  
Herr sei mir gnädig und **wenn ich komme zum sterben**  
so hab mich **nicht verderben**  
mit deiner Hand mich führe  
und leite mich hin auf zur **Himmelstüre**.

Alessandro Striggio<sup>49</sup>

Another example of semantic correspondence can be found in the pair of works *Donna voi vi credete – O Tod du darfst nicht glauben*. In the original the desperate lament of the abandoned lover is reflected in the opposition between the words *morte* and *vita* (death and life). This concept has been exploited in an even more evident manner in the text of the *contrafactum*, which speaks of the redemptive mission of Christ. The extraordinary precision of this reworking is also translated into specific analogies in the content (see vv. 1–2), which are only hinted at in the musical setting of the two texts (for example, in the figure of the descending fifth that accompanies the words *Donna – O Tod*).

**Donna voi vi credete**

d'havermi tolt'il core  
co'l tormi il vostro Amore  
vano pensier chi non ha corè **morto**  
ed io mi sono accorto  
d'esser tanto del solito più **vivo**  
quanto di voi son privo  
anzi ero **morto**  
e quando vi lasciai  
**rinacqui** si ch'io non **morro** più mai.

**O Tod du darfst nicht glauben,**

daß du durch deine Pfeile  
das **Leben** könnest rauben  
alles umbsonst, ob ich gleich zeitlich **sterbe**  
das **Leben** ich doch erbe  
welches Christus mir herrlich hat erworben  
allerselber für mich **gestorben**.  
O selige **Sterben**!  
Es hat gar keine Noth  
weil durch den **Tod** das **Leben** ich kan erben.

Giovanni Battista Guarini<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Alessandro Striggio, *L'Orfeo*, Atto III, Scena unica, 29–36.

<sup>50</sup> Giovanni Battista GUARINI, *Delle opere del cavalier Battista Guarini, tomo secondo*, Verona: Giovanni Alberto Tumermahi, 1737, XCV, p. 90.



In discussing the repertoire of *contrafacta* in the German language it should not be forgotten that numerous secular imitations of madrigal genres also exist. These are both compositions that imitate Italian prototypes *nach art der welschen Madrigalien und Canzonetten*,<sup>51</sup> and exact copies of the original musical pieces, accompanied by new secular texts. Works of this type were quite common in North-Eastern Europe in the form of prints.

Four anthologies of works of this type have been preserved in today's Polish libraries; all are the fruit of the work of the composer, poet and publisher Valentin Haussmann.<sup>52</sup> His works have already been the object of musicological studies and have been judged favourably by the critics.<sup>53</sup> By adding German texts to collections of Italian *canzonette*, Haussmann wished to disseminate the lighter genres of Italian poetry among a wider group of musicians:

*Canzonetten Horatio Vecchi welche zuvor von jme mit italienischen Texten componiert und jetzt denjenigen, welchen die italienische sprache nicht bekandt ist, zu mehrer ergetzlichkeit und besserm gebrauch mit unterlegung Teutscher Texte.*<sup>54</sup>

Another aim, not mentioned in the sub-heading of the work, will have been the diffusion of the literary patrimony, which was undoubtedly noteworthy from a linguistic and artistic point of view. Haussmann's skill as a translator is characterized by the tendency to reflect especially the deepest level of the original content. The translation of the text in itself is instead quite free, but

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, Jacob REGNART, *Kurtzweilige teutsche Lieder, nach Art der Neapolitanen oder welschen Villanellen*, Nürnberg: Katharina Gerlach & Johann Berge Erben, 1576; Leonard LECHNER, *Neue teutsche Lieder, nach art der welschen Villanellen gantz kurtzweilig zu singen*, Nürnberg: Katharina Gerlach & Johann Berge Erben, 1576; Hans Leo HASSLER, *Neue teutsche Gesang nach art der welschen Madrigalien und Canzonetten*, Augsburg: Valentin Schöningk, 1596.

<sup>52</sup> The works in question are: *Auszug aus Lucae Marentii 4 Theilen seiner italienischen dreistimmigen Vilanellen und Neapolitanen [...]* Valentino Hausmanno, Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1606; *Die erste Class der vierstimmigen Canzonetten Horatio Vecchi [...]* durch Valentinum Hausmann, Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1600; *Die ander Class der vierstimmigen Canzonetten Horatio Vecchi [...]* Valentini Hausmann, Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1610; *Die dritte Class der vierstimmigen Canzonetten Horatio Vecchi [...]* Valentini Hausmann, Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1610.

<sup>53</sup> Walther DÜRR, "Die italienische Canzonette und das deutsche Lied im Ausgang des XVI. Jahrhunderts", in *Studi in onore di Lorenzo Bianchi*, Bologna: Zanichelli, 1906, pp. 71–102; Clotilde MORRICONE – Adriana SALOTTOLO, "Valentin Haussmann trascrittore e le canzonette italiane in Germania", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, 5, 1970, p. 73; Sara DUMONT, "Valentin Haussmann's Canzonettas. The Italian Connections", *Music and Letters*, 63, 1982, pp. 59–68.

<sup>54</sup> Cited from: *Die erste Class der vierstimmigen Canzonetten Horatio Vecchi*, Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1600.



in certain cases though, the author makes use of keywords or even of entire sequences of phrases:<sup>55</sup>

Occhi **ridenti**, io moro  
in mezzo busco<sup>56</sup> di saette d'oro  
e in van **lagrima** il core  
ch'al mondo non è fede u' regna Amore.

**Canzonette d'amore**  
che m'usciste del core  
**cantate i miei dolori**  
le man bacciando a la mia bella Clori.

Weil du **verlachst** mein Schmetzen  
und wilt die heißen Threnen nicht beherzten  
durch mein **klägliches** Weinen  
so muß du habn ein Herz von harten Steinen.

**Ach ihr Liedlein der Liebe**  
Kommt aus Venus Getriebe  
**singt von dem grossen Schmetzen**  
den mir die Schönst thut an ihn meinen Hertzen.

Besides the integral use of the madrigal form in a spiritual reworking,<sup>57</sup> the repertoire under examination also includes examples of a certain modification of the original. In most cases it is the number of voices that is changed in the *contrafactum*; this may either be reduced to the minimum essential for the work as a whole,<sup>58</sup> or supplemented by adding new vocal parts, which more often leads to significant changes in the formal structure of the composition.<sup>59</sup>

In the context of musical sources of Polish provenance, particularly interesting is the only collection of instrumental music: the *Canzoni e concerti* by Adam Jarzębski, which has survived through a manuscript from 1627.<sup>60</sup> At least six of the 28 compositions contained in this source are instrumental transcriptions

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<sup>55</sup> In the examples given here the semantically related parts of the text are shown in bold.

<sup>56</sup> *Recte*: in mezz'un bosco.

<sup>57</sup> *Diligam te Domine – Nasce la pena mia* (Pelplin tablature: n. 220); *Sacrabo cor et corpus – In questa piaggia amena*, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, *Bohn*: 20): fols. 165v–166r); *Die Augen unseres Gottes – Ove tra l'erbè i fiori*, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, *Bohn*: 21): fols. 246v–247r.

<sup>58</sup> For example *Lobet, lobet ihr knechte – Ecco nuncio di gioia* and *Gleichwie der Hirsch schreiet – Che nuovo e vago sol*, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, *Bohn* 21): fols. 87v–88r and 244r–245v.

<sup>59</sup> *Loquimini vos tandem – Ninfe leggiadrè belle* (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, *Bohn*: 19): fols. 142r–145r). Here, two supplementary voices have been added to Ippolito Baccusi's 7-voice madrigal, allowing an arrangement for two choirs (4+5 voices).

<sup>60</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (olim: Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, *Bohn* 111).

of vocal works.<sup>61</sup> Here we will analyze the canzone *Diligam te Domine*, which is none other than a transcription of the well-known 6-voice madrigal *Nasce la pena mia* by Alessandro Striggio<sup>62</sup> (it should also be mentioned that, within the sources examined, this is not the only case in which these two texts coincide).<sup>63</sup> The instrumental adaptation of the vocal composition is an exact copy of the original. The sequence of the textual sections of the madrigal correspond to the sections of the canzone; the similarity between the two structures can also be seen at a higher formal level:

	POETIC TEXT	SECTION	BARS	PREVALENT COMPOSITIONAL TECHNIQUE
1.	Nasce la pena mia	A	1–11	imitative
2.	non potendo mirar mio vivo sole;	A <sub>1</sub>	11–28	concertante
3.	e la mia vita è ria	A <sub>2</sub>	28–30	concertante
4.	qual or lo miro per ch'il guard'e tale	A <sub>2</sub>	31–36	concertante
5.	che lasciarmi peggior che morte suole.	A <sub>3</sub>	36–45	concertante
6.	Ahi, vita trista e frale	B	46–57	concertante
7.	che fia dunque di me che far mi deggio?	C	57–72	concertante
8.	S'io mir' ho male, e s'io non mir' ho peggio.	D	72–80	homophonic
6.	Ahi, vita trista e frale	B <sub>1</sub>	80–92	concertante
7.	che fia dunque di me che far mi deggio?	C <sub>1</sub>	92–107	homophonic
8.	S'io mir' ho male, e s'io non mir' ho peggio,	D	107–115	homophonic
8.	s'io mir' ho male, e s'io non mir' ho peggio.	A <sub>4</sub>	115–123	concertante

In this case it is quite clear how, through various formal and musical means, the literary structure of the madrigal has been conveyed. The material used in

<sup>61</sup> See Andrzej CHODKOWSKI, “Adama Jarzębskiego transkrypcje instrumentalne dzieł włoskich mistrzów” [The instrumental transcriptions of the works of Italian masters by Adam Jarzębski], *Pagine*, 1979/3, pp. 111–117; Marcin SZELEST, “Opracowanie wobec pierwowzoru: “Venite exultemus” Adama Jarzębskiego i “Io son ferito, ahi lasso” Palestriny” [“Io son ferito, ahi lasso” by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and “Venite exultemus” by Adam Jarzębski – the Vocal Original in an Instrumental Adaptation], *Muzyka*, 2000/3, pp. 49–62.

<sup>62</sup> Alessandro Striggio, *Primo libro de madrigali a sei voci*, Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1560 (RISM A/I S 6950).

<sup>63</sup> The exact liturgical use of the Latin canzone (*Diligam Te Domine fortitudo mea* – Psalm 18) is uncertain. A similar *contrafactum* can already be found in the 16th century *Partes di Olkusz* (Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, n. 7.41.5.14; see Mirosław PERZ, “Rękopiśmienne partesy olkuskie” [The handwritten part-books from Olkusz], *Muzyka*, 1969/2, pp. 18–44), as well as in the Pelplin tablature (n. 220).

the elaboration of the first stanza (vv. 1-4), relatively concise from a rhetorical point of view, is homogeneous: the successive lines are variants of the first musical section (A, A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>3</sub>). The second stanza, consisting of three phrases that differ totally in terms of expression (5 – *exclamatio*, 6 – *interrogatio*, 7 – *responsus*), has been illustrated using a sequence of three contrasting sections: B, C and D. Jarzębski, like the author of the vocal original, repeats this strophe twice, modifying the sections in question.

The main challenge for the composer who transcribes a 6-voice composition into an arrangement for a trio is to reduce the writing in a way that allows all the rhetorical phenomena of the original to be treated in as detailed a fashion as possible and to turn them into a ‘condensed’ version. A careful comparative analysis of the madrigal and of the instrumental canzone reveals how much Jarzębski’s musical sensibility was closely ‘in tune’ with the essence of the work he transcribed. He does not blindly follow the original structure, but rather tries to reflect the idea behind the composition: in other words, what the composer had wanted to say.<sup>64</sup>

These observations on Jarzębski’s technique of composition give rise to an important question regarding his attitude towards the vocal and textual originals he employed. Such an evident concentration on the original text and such faithfulness to the details of the musical version of Striggio’s madrigal raise doubts as to the importance the new Latin text of the canzone had in the creative process. The analysis seems to indicate that a second linguistic identity of the reworking in question was perhaps not even taken into consideration by Jarzębski. This conclusion highlights a characteristic of the *contrafacta* that is often overlooked, that is to say their tight relation with the original model.

The phenomena observed in the field of the parody and the *contrafactum* seem representative of how madrigal genres were treated in the regions beyond the Carpathian mountains. The diversity of these forms and the very high musical and literary level shown by their authors is surprising. The madrigals are exploited as a source of musical material that is already universally known. This repertoire hidden by the *contrafacta* reflects the deepest layer of musical knowledge of ancient composers, a layer of great importance for the character

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<sup>64</sup> See *Fronimo. Dialogo di Vincentio Galilei nobile fiorentino sopra l'arte del bene intavolare et rettamente sonare la musica negli strumenti artificiali si di corde come di fiato et in particolare nel liuto*, Venezia: Gerolamo Scotto, 1584, p. 48 (facsimile edition: Kassel-Leipzig: Bärenreiter, 1978).

of the patrimony of the genre in North-Eastern Europe, thus supporting the historical image of its *longue durée*.

The questions discussed here are also relevant to the field of studies on culture that is not exclusively secular or sacred. The phenomenon of the *contrafacta* illustrates the true historical relations between the two poles of the *single* culture. By concentrating elements of translation, rhetoric and more strictly musical aspects, it reveals the deep semantic links existing between the realms of *amor profanus* and *amor divinus*.

### Summary

In the music sources of today's Poland one can find not only madrigals copied in their original form, but also preserved as parodies and *contrafacta* – pieces provided with new sacred texts, thanks to which they served for religious purposes. Such 'spiritual reworking' was frequent after the Council of Trent, because the madrigal fulfilled the humanistic ideal of the intelligibility of the text. Apart from some *missae parodiae*, composed on the basis of the musical madrigals, there are also some examples of parody Magnificats, used especially in the catholic environment. But the most common form of the reworked madrigal is the sacred *contrafactum*, adapted to Psalm texts translated into Polish, German or Latin and used in different confessional contexts. These pieces reveal that the procedure of spiritual reworking was made by local composers and arrangers in a very conscious way, considering not only its macro- and microformal structure, but also the correspondence at a semantic level, the parallel character of the dramatic qualities of the text, its rhetorical concepts, metric structure and even linguistic and phonic figures (such as alliteration, assonance, consonance, paronomasia and epanalexis), used in the texts of both the original madrigal and in its spiritual reworking.

Keywords: madrigal; reception; *contrafacta*; music sources; Poland.

## PART TWO

### RE-USING AND ADAPTING MUSIC



Katarzyna Spurgjasz

*Salve Jesu Christe, Rex misericordiae.*  
**Lutheran adaptations of pre-Reformation repertoire  
from St Elisabeth's Church in Wrocław\***

The early Lutheran attitude towards the pre-Reformation tradition of sacred music, as well as towards the contemporary repertoire promoted by both Catholics and Reformed, was rather ambiguous, depending on local circumstances and primarily on the textual content of the pieces. A general rule addressed by Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians – “Test everything; hold fast what is good, abstain from every form of evil”<sup>1</sup> – seems to be applicable also in those relations. The idea that Lutheran liturgy differed entirely from its earlier ‘Catholic’ or ‘pre-Reformation’ form is rather a rhetoric construct, quite similar to the one associating Latin exclusively to Catholic forms of worship, and vernacular languages to Lutheran ones (or, more widely, to those of all Evangelical denominations). What was Luther’s – and his followers’ – purpose, was predominantly to improve what needed an improvement and to correct the errors of the *existing* Church, not necessarily to create in a revolutionary way a new quality without any connections to the previous one. The same attitude can be observed in liturgy and sacred music. Latin was still used in different forms of Lutheran worship, especially in the centers of humanist culture and education. If the congregation understands the language, there is no reason to

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\* The author was awarded the scholarship of the Foundation for Polish Science for young scientists (START) and the scholarship of the National Science Centre of Poland (Etiuda), both for the academic year 2018–2019.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Thessalonians 5: 21–22 (New Revised Standard Version of the Bible).



change it, as the general purpose of reforming the liturgy in terms of language was to make it clear and understandable, not necessarily to make it non-Latin.

As far as church music is concerned, one can find a huge repertoire of pre-Reformation chant and sacred songs that was adopted by the Lutherans. Even the pieces whose text was irrelevant for the new doctrine could be maintained by introducing some adjustments or, at least, by changing the text completely, i.e. by making a *contrafactum*. The musical structure of the piece was probably considered more neutral than the text, and the association of the melody itself with some phrases or words that were used to be sung with it was quite easily replaced. Adapting a music piece to a different context by changing its text had been a common practice already for centuries; secular songs and dances were often given a new text to be used during religious celebrations, and – on the other hand – many sacred pieces notated in sources bear only the note '*cantasi come*' (or its equivalents) instead of an entire melodic line.

In the context of confessional changes, existing melodies were also a base for creating several new texts, even if the original was not controversial at all and remained in use. Multiple versions derived from one melody could function with different texts of various forms and contexts, as was the case of the ancient melody of the hymn *Veni Redemptor gentium*, which was sung not only with at least two different German translations of this text (*O Herr erlöser alles Volcks* and, better known, *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*) but was also used as a prayer for peace (*Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich*) and a polemical song against the Pope and Turks (*Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*).<sup>2</sup>

A special case of pre-Reformation repertoire which was primarily renounced by the Lutherans for doctrinal reasons, but then adopted after textual adjustments, is that of the Marian antiphons: *Alma redemptoris mater*, *Ave regina caelorum*, *Regina caeli*, and *Salve Regina*. All of these were criticized by Luther himself and by his collaborators, especially because Mary was presented there as a mediator between human and God, while according to Lutheran theology, the sole mediator between human and God could be Christ himself. The antiphons were nevertheless so deeply rooted in late medieval culture that instead of rejection they had their texts adjusted and continued to be used also in Protestant circles. In the *Salve Regina*, which was the most popular of

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<sup>2</sup> See Robin A. LEAVER, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*, Grand Rapids MI – Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007, p. 201, ex. 13.2.

these, a prayer for the intercession of Mary was changed into a prayer for the intercession of Christ; there were several variants of the new text (e.g. *Salve Rex Christe, pater misericordiae*; *Salve Jesu Christe, Rex misericordiae*; *Salve mi Jesu, plene misericordiae* and others).<sup>3</sup> They were in use throughout the entire 16th century, and in the 17th century they seem to have been sung even more frequently; as Mary Frandsen points out, “after all the battles over Mary had been fought, these same texts reemerged in a new Lutheran context, one far less preoccupied with issues of confession and theology, and more focused on the essential nature of the individual believer’s relationship with Christ”.<sup>4</sup> It seems very likely that the same antiphons – in the original Marian version – experienced a similar kind of revival among Catholics at this time, also due to a more ‘individual’ attitude towards religiousness.

All such adjustments, adaptations and *contrafacta* might be considered as traces of living music culture in the times of confessional changes; they affected the text, but quite rarely also the musical part. The soundscapes of different neighboring ecclesiastical communities seem to be quite similar; even if the texts of their church repertoire might differ, the musical language remained more or less the same. Social contacts and geographical proximity resulted in a cross-confessional exchange of repertoire, even in those communities whose attitude to music was quite far from each other.<sup>5</sup>

Adjusted pieces may be considered not only as a source for research on lasting music culture in a changing world; sometimes they constitute unique traces of the original version not preserved elsewhere, and may be used to reconstruct its possible form before the adaptation was made. That is the case, for example, of several church concertos by the Polish court composer Marcin Mielczewski, which have survived only in manuscripts from Lutheran churches in Breslau, and their Latin texts, often concerning the cult of

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<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of Lutheran adaptations of the Marian antiphons, their cultural context and repertoire see Mary E. FRANDSEN, “Salve Regina / Salve Rex Christe: Lutheran Engagement with the Marian Antiphons in the Age of Orthodoxy and Piety”, *Musica Disciplina*, 55, 2010, pp. 129–218.

<sup>4</sup> FRANDSEN, “Salve Regina / Salve Rex Christe”, p. 133.

<sup>5</sup> For the example of Catholic and Reformed communities in Switzerland and links between their music culture see Claudio BACCIAGALUPPI, *Artistic disobedience. Music and Confession in Switzerland 1648–1762*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2017, pp. 143–156 *passim*.

saints, were replaced by Latin or German texts corresponding to Lutheran doctrine.<sup>6</sup>

Two settings of the same text, *Salve Jesu Christe Rex misericordiae*, are testimonies of pre-Reformation music tradition adapted by the Lutherans, as well as traces of Latin repertoire which remained in use over many decades. Both pieces are preserved in the same source, a handwritten appendix to a collection of music prints, originating from the milieu of St Elisabeth's church in Breslau in the 2nd half of the 17th century. The source is now kept at the University of Warsaw Library, Music Department.<sup>7</sup> It contains six partbooks, in which there are five to nine prints bound together; each partbook also contains a handwritten appendix of more than forty pieces, the majority of which are German sacred songs in simple polyphony. The presence of a handwritten collection of music pieces, as well as numerous annotations in the prints, testify to the use of this repertoire.

St Elisabeth's Church in Breslau, the main parish church of the city since the Middle Ages, was considered among the most important ecclesiastical centers also during the time of the Reformation. It was a center of education as well: the parish school evolved into the *Gymnasium Elisabethanum*, a renowned institution, many *alumni* of which continued their studies, mainly at German, but also Italian and Swiss universities. In the 17th century both the Church and the Gymnasium had a vivid music culture. Music prints and

<sup>6</sup> See Barbara PRZYBYSZEWSKA-JARMIŃSKA, "Odpisy oraz opracowania kompozycji Marcina Mielczewskiego i innych muzyków polskich Wazów w siedemnastowiecznej kolekcji muzykaliów kościoła św. Marii Magdaleny we Wrocławiu" [Copies and elaborations of compositions by Marcin Mielczewski and other musicians of the Polish Vasas in the 17th-century music collection of the church of St Mary Magdalen in Breslau], *Muzyka*, 51, 2006/1–2, pp. 117–146.

<sup>7</sup> PL-Wu SDM 241–249. On the history of the so-called Wrocław collection at the University of Warsaw Library, transferred after World War II from Wrocław to Warsaw, see e.g. Adam MRYGON, "Die niederschlesischen Musikhandschriften in den Sammlungen der Warschauer Universitätsbibliothek", in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Schlesiens. Musikkultur – Orgellandschaft*, Tagungsbericht Liegnitz 1991, eds. Jarosław Stępowski – Helmut Loos, Bonn: Schröder, 1994, pp. 292–300; Maria BURCHARD, "Losy wrocławskich kolekcji muzycznych po 1945 roku" [The fate of Breslau music collections after 1945], in *Muzykologia we Wrocławiu. Ludzie – historia – perspektywy* [Musicology in Wrocław. People – History – Perspectives], ed. Maciej Gołąb, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005, pp. 91–99; Agnieszka DROŻDŻEWSKA, *Życie muzyczne na Uniwersytecie Wrocławskim w XIX i I połowie XX wieku. Edukacja muzyczna – działalność naukowa – ruch koncertowy* [Musical life at the Wrocław University in 19th and 1st half of 20th century. Music education – scientific activity – concerts], Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2012 (*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, 3381 – *Musicologica Wratislaviensis*, 7).

manuscripts collected by their cantors, organists and teachers consist of resources of a world-class level still today.<sup>8</sup>

The rather simple repertoire notated in the appendix to the collection of prints seems to be a trace of everyday music practice and culture. Apart from German part songs, the copyists of the appendix have written down four pieces in Latin. Inside the front cover of each partbook there is an anonymous 4-part falsobordone setting of the canticle *Benedictus*, used by Christians of different denominations during the Lauds or other forms of morning prayer. The second piece is *Ecce quomodo moritur iustus* by Jacob Handl, which has numerous concordances in both Catholic and Protestant sources; in the 2nd half of the 17th century it could already have been considered a kind of 'early music', but was still sung and arranged.<sup>9</sup> The two last pieces, notated at the very end of the appendix, are two settings of the same text, *Salve Jesu Christe Rex misericordiae*, a christocentric adaptation of the antiphon *Salve Regina*. Many versions of it appeared in different sources from as early as 1523 onwards,<sup>10</sup> but this variant seems to be as close as possible to the original.

Marian antiphon *Salve Regina* and its christocentric adaptation  
used in PL-Wu SDM 241–249

Salve Regina, mater misericordiae,  
vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.  
Ad te clamamus, exules filii Evae,  
ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes  
in hac lacrimarum valle.  
Eia ergo, advocata nostra,  
illos tuos misericordes oculos  
ad nos converte.  
Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,  
nobis post hoc exilium ostende.  
O clemens, o pia, o dulcis Virgo Maria.

Salve **Jesu Christe, Rex** misericordiae,  
vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.  
Ad te clamamus, exules filii Evae,  
ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes  
in hac lacrimarum valle.  
Eia ergo, **advocate noster**,  
illos tuos misericordes oculos  
ad nos converte.  
Et **te** Jesum, benedictum **Patris tui Filium**,  
nobis post hoc exilium ostende.  
O clemens, o **pie**, o dulcis **Fili Mariae**.

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<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Tomasz Jęż, *Danielis Sartorii Musicalia Wratislaviensia*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2017; further literature listed there.

<sup>9</sup> On the reception of Jacob Handl's output in the Protestant circles of Breslau see Tomasz Jęż, "The Motets of Jacob Handl in Inter-confessional Silesian Liturgical Practice", *De musica disserenda*, 3, 2007/2, pp. 37–48.

<sup>10</sup> See FRANDSEN, "Salve Regina / Salve Rex Christe", pp. 147–148. In Breslau the text was published for the first time by Martin HELWIG in his *Gnomae sive sententiae morales, tyronibus literarum praescribendae, iuxta seriem Alphabeticam collectae, et Germanicis verbis citra figuras expositae*, Wratislaviae, In officina Typogr. Crispini Scharffenbergii, 1565.

The first setting appears in the same form in each partbook. It is monodic, notated in chant (square) notation on five-line staves with both C and F clefs. The only neumes used are the *punctum* and *virga*, without any compound neumes or ligatures; when needed, the neumes are linked by slurs. There are no accidentals notated, even in places where the note should be altered (e.g. 6th note of the piece: B flat instead of B). The melodic line remains close to the original melody of the antiphon, however some passages or ornaments are different. The hypothesis that this melody is a local version of *Salve Regina*, dating to late medieval times and transmitted through oral tradition, is very likely, though not yet confirmed by other sources. The Lutheran circles of Breslau were not affected by the unification of Catholic liturgy introduced by the Tridentine reform, and might preserve more local variants of chant melodies (see figure 1).



Figure 1. Monodic setting of *Salve Jesu Christe*, PL-Wu SDM 241-249

The second setting of the same text is a four-part polyphonic piece, written for canto, alto, tenor and bass. Only the beginning of the canto part resembles the chant melody of the antiphon; there are no other similarities between the two settings. The whole piece seems to be the latest entry in the handwritten



appendix; it was probably entered in the late 17th century. Its copyist is not identified and has written only this piece in each partbook.

The structure of the piece is quite simple; the texture is mostly homorhythmic, sometimes with ornaments or dialogues between two pairs of voices. The ambitus is rather limited (C:  $D_4$ – $F_5$ ; A:  $G_3$ – $A_4$ ; T:  $E_3$ – $E_4$ ; B:  $F_2$ – $B_3$ ). All those features make the piece available for everyday use even by a not very trained ensemble of singers, for example a school choir. Dissonances on the words *exules, gementes et flentes*, as well as a rest in the middle of the word *suspiramus* might be perceived as traces of musical rhetoric, however not exuberant (see figure 2).

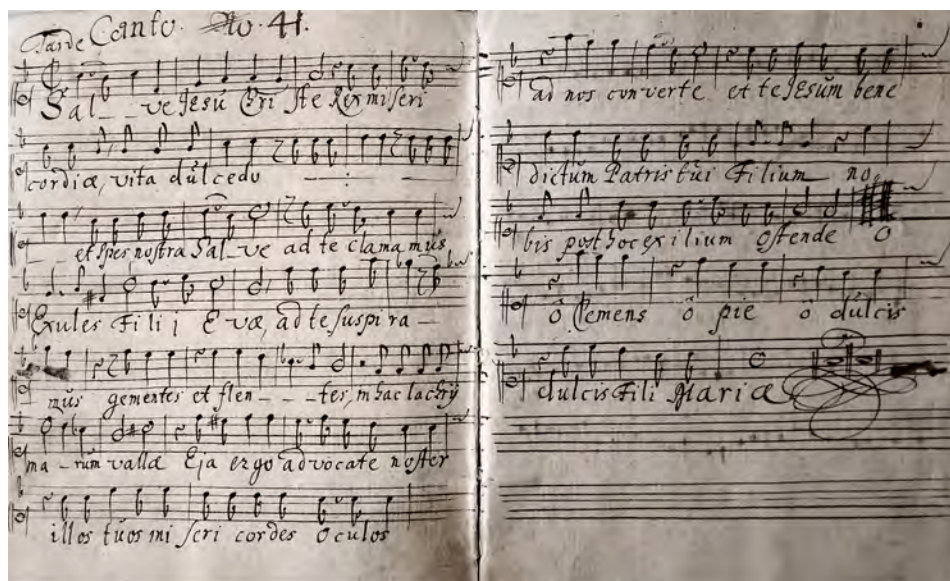


Figure 2. Canto part of *Salve Jesu Christe* for 4 voices (Anonymous, PL-Wu SDM 241–249)

The handwritten appendix to PL-Wu SDM 241–249 is not the only source of this piece. It is also recorded in another music manuscript from St Elisabeth's – *Vollständiges Musicalisch-Elisabetanisches Kirchen Gesang-Buch*,<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> PL-Wu RM 2806; see also Hans-Adolf SANDER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lutherischen Gottesdienstes in Breslau. Die lateinischen Haupt- und Nebengottesdienste im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Breslau: Verlag Priebatschs Buchhandlung, 1937, p. 31.

compiled and written after 1720 by Johann Gottlieb Günther, who was then *subsignator* of this church. The piece is entitled *Salve Jesu Christe, welches bey den begräbnissen gesungen wird*; it differs slightly from the earlier version (some of the lowest notes in the bass part are transposed an octave higher, a few notes have a different rhythmic value). Although not unique, it still remains anonymous, because none of the two sources bear any attribution; it might have been composed locally. The remark on its use during funerals is also interesting, because it was one of the possible circumstances in which a Marian version of *Salve* was performed by the Catholics as well; the funeral rites and music repertoire are usually very deeply rooted in the collective memory, which make them particularly long-lasting.

The two settings of *Salve Jesu Christe* presented here trace the local tradition of Lutheran church music and its roots in the pre-Reformation liturgical customs, as well as their adjustments and elaborations. It is not possible to prove in a detailed way exactly how long both versions were in use afterwards, but the chant tradition in the late 17th century and the Latin tradition in the 18th century might be perceived as traces of some *longue-durée* cultural phenomena. At the time Breslau was a multiconfessional center in which different communities influenced the culture of their neighbors also in terms of music and liturgical tradition. The repertoire was exchanged, adapted and adjusted in different ways, as can be seen in the example of two *Salve* settings from the main church of the city, St Elisabeth's.

### Summary

Adaptations of pre-Reformation liturgical repertoire to a new doctrine were very common among Lutherans in the 16th and 17th century. Controversial texts – like those concerning Virgin Mary and saints – were replaced by different *contrafacta* or, at least, adjusted to a new context by changing some significant words. Music itself seems to have been considered more neutral, or probably more deeply rooted in common practice, so that in many cases it was allowed to remain untouched by new circumstances and regulations. One of the most widespread examples was the adaptation of Marian antiphon *Salve Regina* to a christocentric text such as *Salve Rex* or *Salve Jesu*. In a manuscript originating from St Elisabeth Church in Wrocław – an important center of culture and education – one can find two examples of this adjusted antiphon. The first one is monodic and notated in chant notation; it contains some melodic variants different from other sources. As the text remains as close as possible to the pre-Reformation original Marian antiphon, it is highly likely that the melody is also a trace of long-lasting local tradition. The second version is an anonymous 4-voice setting based on several fragments of the antiphon's chant melody. This adjusted antiphon was very popular among Lutherans in Wrocław, who used to sing it in Latin, at the end of the day and during funerals, at least up to 18th century.

Keywords: Reformation, Wrocław, antiphon, adaptation, *Salve Regina*, Lutheran music, 17th century, chant, polyphonic setting.



**Appendix**  
**Anonymous, *Salve Jesu Christe* (PL-Wu SDM 241–249)**

Transcription criteria

The music and the text have been transcribed from the four fascicles of the copy preserved in the University of Warsaw Library, Music Department (SDM 241–249; henceforth SDM) – a handwritten appendix to the collection of prints bound together. The four parts of the piece were entered by the same copyist in each of the six part-books respectively (Tenore and Basso parts were entered in two different part-books each, however the material in both copies is identical, even with the same text errors). Furthermore, another source has been collated: the score preserved at the University of Warsaw Library (RM 2806; henceforth RM). All variants have been listed in the critical notes below.

In both cited manuscripts the voices are notated with a B flat in the key signature and with the following clefs: soprano clef (*Canto*), alto clef (*Alto*), tenor clef (*Tenore*), bass clef (*Basso*).

In the transcription the original time signature has been kept, as well as the original note values. The modern natural sign has been used instead of the sharps and flats with the same function. The accidentals placed before the notes are present in both manuscripts; the tautological accidentals (repetitions within the same bar) have been removed in the transcription.

Text

The repetitions of the text indicated by the repetition signs in SDM are indicated with the use of italics in the transcription.

In transcribing the text the orthography has been standardised using the following criteria:

- lowercase and uppercase letters have been adjusted to modern usage;
- punctuation has been introduced and/or standardised;
- the orthography has been tacitly modernised (for example *filiij*=*fili*; *lachrymarum*=*lacrimarum*; *eja*=*eia*).

Salve Iesu Christe Rex misericordiae  
vita, dulcedo et spes nostra salve  
ad te clamamus exules filii Evae  
ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes  
in hac lacrimarum valle.<sup>12</sup>  
Eia ergo, advocate noster,  
illos tuos misericordes oculos  
ad nos converte  
et te Iesum benedictum Patris tui Filium  
nobis post hoc exilium ostende.  
O clemens,<sup>13</sup> o pie, o dulcis Fili Mariae.

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<sup>12</sup> *vale* T.

<sup>13</sup> *o pie* T.

Critical notes

- b. 1, C T, 1–2, slur between the first and the second note;
- b. 1, A B, 1–2, RM, slur between the first and the second note;
- b. 2, C, 3–4, SDM, slur between the third and the fourth note;
- b. 2, A, 1–2, SDM, slur between the first and the second note;
- b. 2, A, 1, RM: C<sub>4</sub>;
- b. 2, B, RM: instead of 2, two quavers A<sub>2</sub> Bb<sub>2</sub>;
- b. 3, B, 1, RM: F<sub>3</sub>;
- b. 6, T, RM: instead of 5, two quavers Bb<sub>3</sub> Bb<sub>3</sub>;
- b. 8, C, 1–2, slur between the first and the second note;
- b. 9, T, 4–5, RM: F<sub>3</sub> F<sub>3</sub>;
- b. 10, B, 4–5, SDM, slur;
- b. 11, A, 5–6, SDM, slur;
- b. 11, T, 4–5 and 6–7, SDM, slur between the fourth and the fifth note and between the sixth and the seventh note;
- b. 13, C A, 1–2, SDM, slur between the first and the second note;
- b. 14, B, 2–3, RM: Ab<sub>3</sub> Ab<sub>3</sub>;
- bb. 15–16, C, RM, slur between the last note of b. 15 and the first note of b. 16;
- bb. 15–16, T, SDM, slur between the last note of b. 15 and the first note of b. 16;
- b. 15, B, 3–4, SDM, slur between the third and the fourth note;
- b. 18, T, 2–3, RM: D<sub>4</sub> D<sub>4</sub>;
- bb. 18–19, A, SDM, slur between the third note of b. 18 and the second note of b. 19;
- b. 19, B, 2, RM: F<sub>3</sub>;
- b. 21, C, 1–2, RM: two quavers C<sub>5</sub> C<sub>5</sub>;
- b. 21, B, 3–4, RM: two quavers E<sub>3</sub> E<sub>3</sub>;
- b. 23, C, 3–4, RM: a dotted quaver and a semiquaver Bb<sub>4</sub> Bb<sub>4</sub>;
- b. 23, A, 4, RM: F<sub>4</sub>;
- b. 23, T, 4, RM: Bb<sub>3</sub>;
- b. 24, C, 3, RM: D<sub>5</sub>;
- b. 24, A, 2–3, SDM, slur between the second and the third note;
- b. 24, A, 3, RM: C<sub>4</sub>;
- b. 24, B, 2–3 and 4–5, slur between the second and the third note and between the fourth and the fifth note;
- b. 25, T, 1, RM: D<sub>4</sub>;
- b. 25, C T, 1–2, slur between the first and the second note;
- b. 28, C, 4, RM: A<sub>4</sub>;
- b. 29, C, 5, RM: C<sub>5</sub>;
- b. 30, A, 1–2, RM, slur between the first and the second note;
- b. 34, A, RM: instead of 3, two quavers E<sub>4</sub> E<sub>4</sub>;
- b. 34, T, 3–4, SDM, slur between the third and the fourth note;
- b. 34, T, 4–5, RM: F<sub>3</sub> F<sub>3</sub>;
- b. 35, A, 1–4, SDM, slur between the first and the fourth note;
- b. 36, C A T B, SDM, two juxtaposed *breves*;
- b. 36, C A T B, 1, RM, *brevis*.

Tarde

Canto  
Sal - ve Ie - su Chris - te Rex mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae vi - ta, dul -

Alto  
Sal - ve Ie - su Chris - te Rex mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae vi - ta, dul -

Tenore  
Sal - ve Ie - su Chris - te Rex mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae

Basso  
Sal - ve Ie - su Chris - te Rex mi - se - ri - cor - di - ae

5  
- ce - do vi - ta, dul - ce - do vi - ta, dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra  
- ce - do vi - ta, dul - ce - do vi - ta, dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra  
vi - ta, dul - ce - do vi - ta, dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra et spes nos - tra  
vi - ta, dul - ce - do vi - ta, dul - ce - do et spes nos - tra sal -

8  
sal - ve ad te clama - mus e - xu - les fi - li - i E -  
sal - ve ad te cla - ma - mus e - xu - les fi - li - i E -  
sal - ve ad te cla - ma - mus e - xu - les fi - li - i E -  
- ve ad te cla - ma - mus e - xu - les fi - li - i E -

12

- vae ad te sus-pi - ra - mus ge-men - tes et flen -

- vae ad te sus-pi - ra - mus ge-men - tes et flen -

- vae ad te sus-pi - ra - mus ge-men - tes et flen -

- vae ad te sus-pi - ra - mus ge-men - tes et flen -

16

- tes in hac lac - ri - ma - rum val - le.

- tes in hac lac - ri - ma - rum val - le.

- tes in hac lac - ri - ma - rum in hac lac - ri - ma - rum val - le.

- tes in hac lac - ri - ma - rum in hac lac - ri - ma - rum val - le.

20

E - ia er - go, ad - vo - ca - te nos - ter, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los

E - ia er - go, ad - vo - ca - te nos - ter, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los

E - ia er - go, ad - vo - ca - te nos - ter, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los

E - ia er - go, ad - vo - ca - te nos - ter, il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los

24

ad nos con - ver - te et te le-sum be - ne - dic - tum Pat-ris tu - i

ad nos con - ver - te et te le-sum be - ne - dic - tum Pat-ris tu - i

ad nos con - ver - te et te le-sum be - ne - dic - tum Pat-ris tu - i

ad nos con - ver - te et te le-sum be - ne - dic - tum Pat-ris tu - i

28

Fi - li-um no - bis post hoc e - xi - li-um os - ten - de. O cle - mens,

Fi - li-um no - bis post hoc e - xi - li-um os - ten - de. O cle - mens,

Fi - li-um no - bis post hoc e - xi - li-um os - ten - de. O cle - mens,

Fi - li-um no - bis post hoc e - xi - li-um os - ten - de. O cle - mens,

32

o pi - e, o dul - cis, dul-cis Fi - li Ma - ri - ae.

o pi - e, o dul - cis, dul-cis Fi - li Ma - ri - ae.

o pi - e, o dul - cis, dul-cis Fi - li Ma - ri - ae.

o pi - e, o dul - cis, dul-cis Fi - li Ma - ri - ae.

Lars Berglund

***Arde Fillis / Isti sunt: a contrafactum* by Gustav Düben,  
based on a madrigal by Stefano Landi,  
and previously attributed to Giacomo Carissimi**

Among the roughly three thousand manuscripts in the Düben collection, there are a number of odd and intriguing items. They are odd, because they deviate from the standard appearance of more typical Düben collection manuscripts; and intriguing, since even though diverging, they always have something interesting to reveal about the history of the collection and about seventeenth-century musical practices in general.

One such item puzzled me for a long time. It is a set of parts in manuscript with the Uppsala University library call number Vmhs 11:2.<sup>1</sup> The set consists of seven part-books, five for voices (SSATB) and two for basso continuo. According to the title pages of the part-books, the set presents two madrigals: one *Arde Fillis* (or *Arde filis*), and one *Io amo*. The title page of the part designated *Bassus pro Organo* also provides the composers: “1: Arde filis de Carissimi”, and “2: Io amo di Galeazzo Sabbatini” (see figure 1).

The vocal parts do not present the full text of the two madrigals, only the first two words. Instead, in the first piece – the one ascribed to Carissimi – the

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<sup>1</sup> The acronym Vmhs of S-Uu (Uppsala University library) stands for Vocal music in manuscript (*Vokalmusik i handskrift*). The reader can find scanned reproductions of all the Düben collection manuscripts online at the *Düben Collection Database Catalogue*, eds. Lars Berglund – Kia Hedell – Erik Kjellberg – Maria Schildt – Kerala J. Snyder: <https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/>.

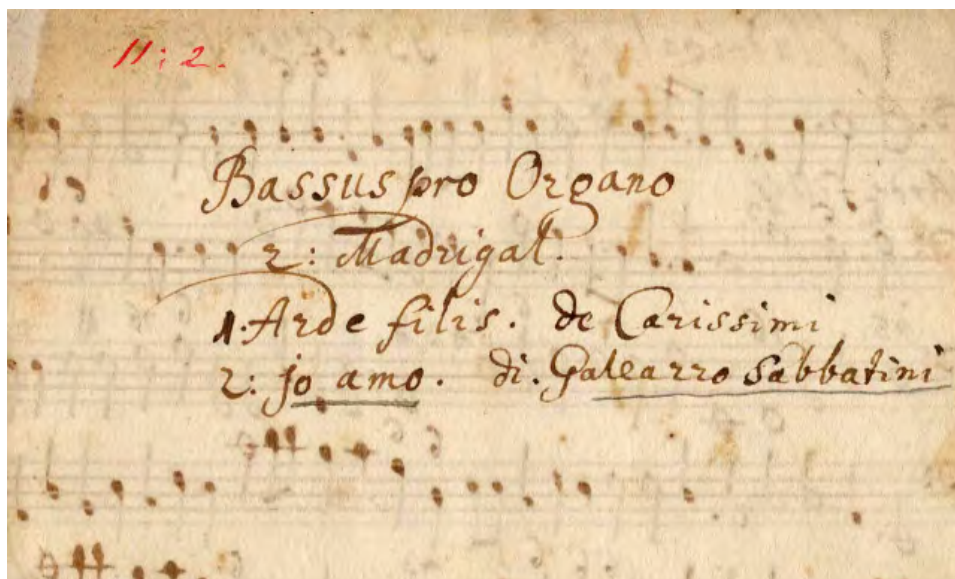


Figure 1. Bc part of S-Uu, Vmhs 11:2, with title inscription by Gustav Düben

first thirty-seven bars of the canto primo part present a Latin, sacred text: “Isti sunt triumphatores sancti et veri amici Dei”.

Until today, this work has been attributed to Carissimi, albeit with some reservations. Andrew Jones discussed the composition in his study on the motets of Carissimi. He characterised the piece as a “puzzling *unicum*” and provided it with a question mark in his thematic catalogue, thus designating it as a “motet possibly or probably not by Carissimi”.<sup>2</sup> I quote the full passage on the manuscript in Jones’ book, since it is the only treatment of the work and the manuscript in previous literature:<sup>3</sup>

“Isti sunt triumphatores” is a rather puzzling *unicum*. In the manuscript (Vok.mus.i hdskr Caps 11:2) it is called “Arde filis” (or “fillis”) on the front cover of each of the part books. It is paired with a piece entitled “Io amo”, and both are headed “Madrigal” (or “Madrigalia”) on the front cover of each part book, and “Madrigal” at the head of the music text. On the front cover of the *basso continuo* part book the composers are named as Carissimi and Galeazzo Sabbatini respectively. All of these inscriptions on front covers are in the hand of a scribe who wrote out the music. In his attribution of

<sup>2</sup> Andrew JONES, *The motets of Carissimi*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982, vol. 2, pp. 1 and 57.

<sup>3</sup> JONES, *The motets of Carissimi*, vol. 1, pp. 101–102.

"Io amo" to Sabbatini he was correct: it was included in that composer's third book of madrigals (Venice, 1634). No other source is known for the Carissimi work. In the music text only a verbal incipit ("Arde filis") is given in S2, A, T, B, and bc. In S1 a *different* scribe has erased the incipit and replaced it with a Latin text under the first two of the five lines of music: "Isti sunt triumphatores sancti et veri amici Dei". It is by no means impossible that "Isti sunt triumphatores" / "Arde filis" could be an authentic composition by Carissimi's, but before accepting it as such a number of problematical matters must be taken into account. In each of the part books "Io amo" follows immediately (that is, beginning on the next stave of the same page) after "Isti sunt"; such juxtaposition of a sacred and a secular piece is rather unusual. Presumably, since it appears in *all* the parts and since it has been erased in S1, "Arde filis" was the original textual incipit; but why did the original scribe not complete the text? (The words "Isti sunt", as already mentioned, were added by a different scribe). The description "Madrigal", which is in the hand of the original scribe, is not one which is normally associated with a sacred and/or Latin text in the mid to late seventeenth century. And, finally, although the piece ends clearly in A minor, it begins with a strong suggestion of the Phrygian mode, as can be seen from the incipit in appendix A. None of the definitely authentic motets has such a distinctive and pronounced modal flavor. It is probably safer, in view of the problems associated with "Isti sunt", to regard it at present as of uncertain authenticity.

In spite of his own reservations in the thesis, Jones decided to include the piece in the list of works in the Grove article on Carissimi, this time without a question mark.<sup>4</sup> The work is currently also attributed to Carissimi in the RISM A/II catalogue.<sup>5</sup>

Jones makes some accurate observations in this passage, and others that are more debatable. He is correct in that the blatantly Phrygian opening melody of the piece is very uncharacteristic of Carissimi. He could also have added that the piece is generally written in an older style, seemingly predating Carissimi's music by almost a generation, and that the musical style is much more typical for the genre of the secular madrigal than for an Italian motet. He is also correct in pointing out that the madrigal genre was not primarily associated with sacred topics, and particularly not with liturgical texts in Latin. What he overlooks, however, is that the piece could be a *contrafactum*: a piece originally composed to an Italian secular text, but re-texted with a Latin sacred one. This is somewhat surprising, since the madrigal by Galeazzo Sabbatini should have provided a clue.

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<sup>4</sup> Andrew JONES, "Carissimi", *Grove Music Online*, accessed in June 2019.

<sup>5</sup> RISM online catalogue: <https://opac.rism.info> (accessed in June 2019). In the MGG article on Carissimi, Günter Massenkiel has excluded the works that Jones classified as spurious, which means that *Arde Fillis / Isti sunt* is left out.



The scribe whom Jones refers to, who wrote both the title pages and the music, is well known in the research on the Düben collection. The hand belongs to the original owner of the collection, Gustav Düben Sr. (1628/29–1690). However, Jones was mistaken in claiming that the Latin text was entered by another scribe. Comparison with the large number of manuscripts copied by Gustav Düben confirms that the entire set of parts were written by him, including the Latin text, the title inscriptions and the music. As we shall see, there is a possible explanation for the slight differences in handwriting between the titles and the text that Jones rightly observed.

Regarding text and genre, it was probably the text incipit that confused Jones. He consistently refers to the piece as “Arde filis”, and seems to interpret this as a Latin incipit, which is perhaps linguistically possible, but not very comprehensible. Out of the thirteen cases where the incipit occurs, however, on title pages and in the parts, in eleven cases the text incipit is indicated as “Arde fillis”, whereas the pseudo-Latin variant “filis” only occurs twice. This suggests that the text is in Italian rather than in Latin, and should be interpreted as “Arde Fillis” or “Arde Phyllis” – Phyllis (or Fillide) being a name appearing in classical Greek mythology.

All previous observers seem to have overlooked that one of the part-books provides additional information about the original text. The extra basso continuo part has, in fact, a title inscription containing four words of the original incipit: *Arde fillis d'un viso*. Provided with this longer title, it was possible to search for the text in the RePIM database, and find the original composition.<sup>6</sup> As it turns out, the piece is not by Carissimi. It is a madrigal composed by Stefano Landi (1587–1639), included in his first book of madrigals, *Madrigali a cinque voci libro primo. Con basso per sonare*, published in Venice in 1619.<sup>7</sup> The actual text of the madrigal is “Arde Filli, d'un viso”.

<sup>6</sup> *Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica, 1500–1700*, ed. Angelo Pompilio, <http://repim.muspe.unibo.it/> (accessed in May 2019).

<sup>7</sup> According to the present update of RISM A/I L 529, this music print is preserved in two complete sets, one in the Padre Martini collection at *Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica* in Bologna, and one at the library of the *Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini* in Florence. There is also one basso continuo part-book at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. For this study, the digitised online version of the Bologna source was consulted: <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/scripts/gaspari/scheda.asp?id=7445> (accessed May 2019).



Figure 2. Comparison between the opening soprano parts of the 1619 Landi publication and the Düben collection manuscript

It thus appears that Gustav Düben used this part-book set to produce performance material for two Italian madrigals, by Stefano Landi and Galeazzo Sabbatini. As we could see in the quotation above, Andrew Jones identified the Sabbatini madrigal with a piece published in the composer's third book of madrigals. Jones seems to have used the 1634 reprint of the copy preserved at the British Library for reference. The composition is also included in the first edition of Sabbatini's third madrigal book, *Madrigali concertati a cinque voci* op. 4, published in Venice in 1627.<sup>8</sup>

The title pages of the seven part-books in the Düben collection, providing short titles of the two madrigals, suggest that they were intended as performance material for the original versions of the Italian madrigals. However, the voice parts were never provided with the text. At some point Düben decided to

<sup>8</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Claudia Adami at the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona for providing me with scans of the music print.

make a *contrafactum* out of Landi's madrigal with a Latin liturgical text, using the same part-books. He never completed the project. The Latin text is only entered for thirty-seven out of one hundred and four bars of the first soprano part, and for eleven bars of the alto part.

To gain an understanding of the background and possible purpose of this *contrafactum*, we first need to take a look at the date and original context of this manuscript.

The major part of the Düben collection comprises music acquired by Gustav Düben, and prepared for performances at the Royal court and the German Church during Düben's tenure as *Hofkapellmeister* and organist at the German congregation, 1663–1690. After his death, it was passed on to his sons Gustav Jr. and Anders. In 1732, Anders von Düben donated it to Uppsala University.

The manuscript in question, Vmhs 11:2, belongs to the earliest layers of the collection. The chronology of the items in the collection can be established with some accuracy, much thanks to Jan Olof Rudén's comprehensive study of papers in the collection containing watermarks with the fool's cap and bell motive.<sup>9</sup> The Vmhs 11:2 set contains the watermark variant "Narr / 5 typ I", according to Rudén's nomenclature, and he indicates 1651–1655 as the likely period. Rudén's dating is based on two observations linked to the reference material:

1) The instrumental parts of Gustav Düben's early composition *Veni sancte spiritus* are written on the same paper, and that composition is explicitly dated 16 May 1651.<sup>10</sup>

2) Rudén was able to find the very same watermark in official documents in the Regional State Archive in Uppsala. In all, he found nine such instances, dated between December 1651 and December 1652.<sup>11</sup> Düben generally used papers purchased by the Government Offices in this way, and Rudén was able to find much reference material in archives of the royal administration.

In his dating of the Düben collection manuscripts, Rudén used a standard consumption time of four years from the earliest occurrence, a margin of

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<sup>9</sup> Jan Olof RUDÉN, *Vattenmärken och musikforskning: presentation och tillämpning av en dateringsmetod på musikalier i handskrift i Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks Dübensamling*, Licentiate dissertation, Uppsala University, 1968. The study is available online at <http://www.ordom-musik.se/duben/>.

<sup>10</sup> S-Uu, Vhms 19:13.

<sup>11</sup> RUDÉN, *Vattenmärken*, Appendix I; one of the documents is in the Stockholm Municipal Archive (Stockholms stadsarkiv).

error established by Theodor Gerardy.<sup>12</sup> The experience from working with the Düben collection suggests that most of the papers were used during the first year or the first two years.<sup>13</sup> This suggests that the parts were most likely copied sometime between late 1651 and 1653.

At this point Gustav Düben's father Andreas was still the *Hofkapellmeister*, and Gustav himself a young musician and member of the court ensemble. All items in the Düben collection dating from before he was appointed *Kapellmeister* in 1663 seem to emanate either from his early studies,<sup>14</sup> from his European journey around 1645–1649,<sup>15</sup> or from specific musical activities at court where he was somehow involved.<sup>16</sup> These included the activities of a French violin band, recruited to Sweden at the Embassy to Paris in 1646,<sup>17</sup> and the visit of an Italian ensemble of singers and musicians to the court of Queen Christina in 1652–1654.<sup>18</sup> Some of the manuscripts in the collection containing this particular watermark are associated with that Italian ensemble: one set of part-books with twenty-six Italian motets,<sup>19</sup> and Giacomo Carissimi's polychoral setting of *Salve Regina*, preserved in Uppsala in a unique source.<sup>20</sup>

As already pointed out, the vocal part-books do not contain the entire text of the Latin *contrafactum*. The *cantus primus* only presents the first eight words, *Isti sunt triumphatores sancti et veri amici Dei*, composed out over thirty-seven bars.

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<sup>12</sup> Theodor GERARDY, *Datieren mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen: Beispielhaft dargestellt an der Gesamtproduktion der Schaumburgischen Papiermühle Arensburg von 1604–1650*, Bückeburg: Grimme, 1964 (Schaumburger Studien, 4).

<sup>13</sup> This is also consistent with Gerardy's observations regarding the Arensburg paper mill.

<sup>14</sup> Such as the tablature book S-Uu, Imhs 408.

<sup>15</sup> Such as, for example, the wedding music for Count Robert Douglas and Hedvig Mörner from Leipzig 1645; see Peter WOLLNY, "Eine anonyme Leipziger Hochzeitsmusik aus dem 17. Jahrhundert", in *Über Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke. Aspekte musikalischer Biographie*, ed. Christian Wolff, Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999, pp. 46–60.

<sup>16</sup> For a more comprehensive discussion, see Maria SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work: Musical Repertory and Practice of Swedish Court Musicians, 1663–1690* (PhD dissertation), Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2014, pp. 87–116.

<sup>17</sup> For example the tablature book S-Uu, Imhs 409, mainly containing French ball music.

<sup>18</sup> There are about fifty manuscripts in the collection associated with Christina's Italian musicians. This material will be dealt with in a forthcoming study by the author in collaboration with Maria Schildt.

<sup>19</sup> S-Uu, Vhms 53:10.

<sup>20</sup> S-Uu, Vmhs 11:19.

Jones was right in observing that the handwriting of the Latin text in the *cantus primus* is slightly different from the handwriting of the titles; for example, the letter “p” is written in different ways. This does not reflect different copyists, as Jones assumed, but rather different stages of Gustav Düben’s handwriting. In his youth, he seems to have experimented with different calligraphic styles, which he no longer used after he became *Hofkapellmeister* in 1663.<sup>21</sup> Examples of this are the ways in which “p” and “g” are written. In a contemporary manuscript, Giacomo Carissimi’s *Omnes gentes gaudete* (S-Uu, Vmhs 53:10 no. 1, Vox1), we find examples of how Düben tries out different shapes of “p” and “g”, e.g. in the fifth system, “plaudentibus”, including the shape found in the title inscription in Vmhs 11:2 (see figure 3).

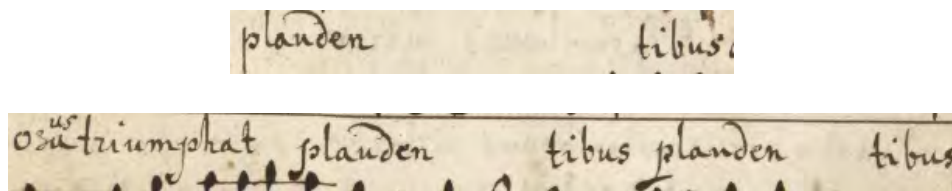


Figure 3. Gustav Düben’s early handwriting: variations of the letter “p” in S-Uu, Vmhs 53:10 no. 1, Vox 1

The Latin text written in the *cantus primus* part does not reveal any of these calligraphic traits. It is more regular and more consistent with manuscripts that Düben prepared in the 1660s and later.

Apart from this passage in the *cantus primus*, we also find a short fragment added to the bottom of the *altus* part. It appears as if someone has made an attempt to figure out the text underlay and the modifications to the music necessary for the Latin *contrafactum*. This passage is eleven bars long, presenting the same eight words of the text (see figure 4). We also find the complete Latin text written on the title page of the extra basso continuo part (see figure 5). This text and the short fragment in the alto part are written by one and the same copyist. This is not Gustav Düben, but most probably some other musician active at the royal court, or possibly at the German church.

<sup>21</sup> I am grateful to Maria Schildt, who pointed this out to me.



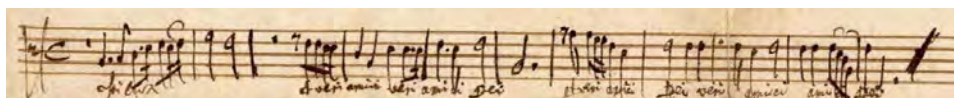


Figure 4. S-Uu, Vmhs 11:2, fragment at the bottom of the alto part

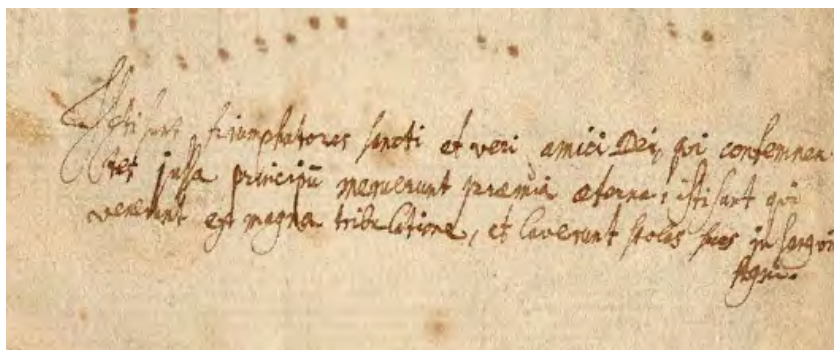


Figure 5. S-Uu, Vmhs 11:2, title page of basso continuo

It has not been possible to identify this copyist so far.<sup>22</sup> I will return to the question about the dating and possible circumstances of the *contrafactum* at the end of this essay.

The text in question is compiled from two closely associated liturgical songs: the Responsory and Responsory verse for the Common of Apostles. The text in the Düben collection source display some slight deviations from the liturgical text found in the plain chant repertoire. This is the text as represented on the extra b.c. part in Vmhs 11:2:

Isti sunt triumphatores sancti et veri amici Dei	These are the victors and true friends of God
qui contemnentes iussa principum	who, disdaining the rule of princes
meruerunt praemia aeterna	earned eternal rewards
Isti sunt qui venerunt ex magna tribulatione	These are they which came out of great
	tribulation
et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni.	and have washed their robes in the blood of
	the Lamb.

<sup>22</sup> The music handwriting bears some resemblance to that of the court musician Christian Geist, who was active in Stockholm 1670–1679. However, the writing of the text is not consistent with his hand.

Compared to the most common liturgical original, the text has the following deviations:<sup>23</sup>

*Contrafactum* IN S-UU VMHS 11:2

LITURGICAL TEXT

Isti sunt triumphatores **sancti et veri** amici Dei  
qui contemnentes jussa principum  
meruerunt praemia aeterna.

Isti sunt triumphatores et amici Dei  
qui contemnentes jussa principum  
meruerunt praemia aeterna **modo  
coronantur et accipiunt palmam.**

What, then, is the origin of this particular reading of the text? In general, composers active in regions embracing the Lutheran confession did not take their texts from liturgical books. It seems they rather took them from prayer books, for example,<sup>24</sup> or arguably more commonly copied them from previous musical settings, not seldom by Italian composers. Therefore, it makes sense to search for that particular text variant in other polyphonic settings.

There are a number of compositions to that text preserved, for instance by Andrea Gabrieli,<sup>25</sup> Ruggiero Giovannelli,<sup>26</sup> Asprilio Pacelli,<sup>27</sup> Carlo Berti,<sup>28</sup> and Antonio Bertali.<sup>29</sup> All of these are settings of the regular liturgical text, without the insertion of the words *sancti et veri*, and including the last five words of the Responsory text, *modo coronantur et accipiunt palmam*. Moreover, none of these cases represent music that Gustav Düben had access to.<sup>30</sup>

There is one case, however, that seems a likely copy text for Gustav Düben and his helpers. Gasparo Casati composed a motet to the text *Isti sunt triumphatores*, published in *Il terzo libro de sacri concerti*, Venice 1640. This

<sup>23</sup> According to a large number of hits in the *Cantus Manuscript database*: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca> (accessed in May 2019).

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. Olga GERO, *Dietrich Buxtehudes geistliche Vokalwerke: Text, Formen, Gattungen*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2017 (Studia Musicologica Upsaliensia, 26), pp. 30–34.

<sup>25</sup> Published in *Concerti di Andrea, e di Gio: Gabrieli*, Venice, 1587 (RISM B/I 1587<sup>16</sup>).

<sup>26</sup> *Sacrarum modulationum [...] liber primus*, Rome, 1593 (RISM A/I G 2446).

<sup>27</sup> *Promptuarium musicum, Pars Tertia*, ed. Abraham Schadaeus, Strassbourg, 1613 (RISM B/I 1613<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>28</sup> *Florilegii musici Portensis sacras harmonias sive motetas [...] pars altera*, ed. Erhard Bodenschatz, Leipzig, 1621 (RISM B/I 1621<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>29</sup> MS. PL-Wu.

<sup>30</sup> See the list prepared by Maria SCHILDT, “Concordances between MSS in the Düben Collection and printed collections & anthologies”: <https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Concordances.pdf> (accessed May 2019).

motet uses precisely the same reading of the text that appears on the title page of the extra basso continuo part of the Düben collection manuscript, S-Uu Vmhs 11:2.

Casati's publication appeared in several editions. It was reprinted in Venice several times,<sup>31</sup> but was also published in 1644 in Antwerp, in an edition issued by the so-called "héritiers du Pierre Phalèse", that is, the two sisters Madeleine and Marie Phalèse, who took over the printing shop after their father in 1629. Their trademark was reprints of Italian prints, especially from Venice, publications immensely important for the dissemination of Italian sacred music to Northern Europe.

A copy of the Phalèse 1644 edition of Casati's publication is preserved in Uppsala, and very likely belongs to the Düben collection.<sup>32</sup> This strongly suggests that Casati's motet, published in the 1644 Phalèse edition, provided the source for the text which Gustav Düben intended to use for the *contrafactum*.

The task of adapting the Latin Responsory text borrowed from Casati's motet to the madrigal by Stefano Landi was not an easy one. The texts are quite different, not only because of the differing languages, but also the metrical design and the content.

The text used for Stefano Landi's 1619 madrigal was published in at least two different books of poetry: *Rime de i tre concordi*, printed in Vicenza in 1600, and *Le imagini overo madrigali morali*, printed in Venice in 1611.<sup>33</sup> In the latter volume, the poem is ascribed to Matteo Piacentini.

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<sup>31</sup> There are reprints from 1642, 1644, 1650 and 1654.

<sup>32</sup> The manuscripts and prints of Anders von Düben's donation in 1732 was later separated by the library and the provenance was unfortunately not documented. Maria Schildt was able to establish a list of music prints originating from the Düben collection; see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work* pp. 50–52 and 116–130. The list is published on the website of the *Düben Collection Database Catalogue*.

<sup>33</sup> See *Rime de i tre concordi* Valerio Buratini d'Agort, Mattheo Piacentini da Castelfranco, & Pietro Bonfadio da Salo. *Dedicate all'illustriss.[...] Federico Cornaro*, Vicenza: per Francesco Bolzetta libraro in Padova, 1600, p. 44; *Le imagini overo madrigali morali, & heroici de' più illustri, e celebri poeti italiani; parte terza del gareggiamento poetico: del Confuso Accademico Ordito* [Carlo Fiamma], In Vinegia [Venice]: appresso Barezzo Barezzi, 1611, p. 187.



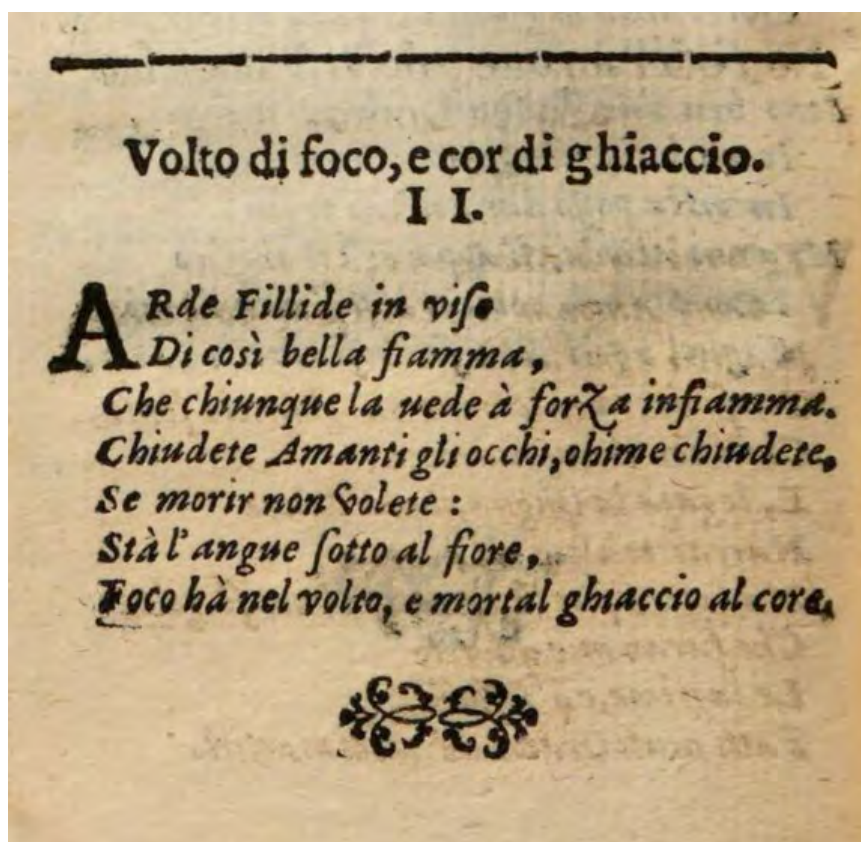


Figure 6. The poem in *Rime de i tre concordi*, Vicenza: per Francesco Bolzetta, 1600

The reading of the text in these two publications is identical. It consists in a single stanza of seven lines, set in *verso sciolto*, i.e., a free alternation between lines of seven and eleven syllables (*settenari* and *endecasillabi*). The text used in Landi's madrigal deviates slightly, in the very first line. The version set to music by Landi is slightly odd, and results from a misreading of the text. The mistake suggests that the text could have been transcribed from memory, or via oral transmission.

MATTEO PIACENTINI'S POEM

Arde Fillide in viso  
di così bella fiamma [...]

STEFANO LANDI'S MADRIGAL

Arde Filli d'un viso  
di così bella fiamma [...]

There are some structural similarities between the poem set to music by Landi and the Latin motet text chosen for the *contrafactum*. They are of similar length, and it is technically possible to divide the Latin responsory prose text into sections very roughly corresponding to the madrigal text. Such an arrangement could look something like this; the number of syllables are indicated at the end of each line:

LANDI'S MADRIGAL

Arde Filli d'un viso (7)  
di così bella fiamma (7)  
che chiunque la vede a forza infiamma (11)  
chiudete Amanti gl'occhi ohime, chiudete (11)  
se morir non volete (7)  
sta l'angue sotto al fiore (7)  
foco ha nel volto e mortal giaccio al core (11)

LATIN RESPONSORY

Isti sunt triumphatores (8)  
sancti et veri amici Dei (10)  
qui contemnentes jussa principum (10)  
meruerunt praemia aeterna (10)  
isti sunt qui venerunt (7)  
ex magna tribulatione (8)  
et laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni (14)

The differences in the number of syllables in each line or prose segment could principally be handled by adapting the music: splitting notes into smaller note values, or tying the notes together, i.e., using melismas to fit one syllable to several notes, or on the contrary setting melismas in the original piece syllabically. Still, the number of syllables are not the only challenge for adapting the text to the music. Other challenges are differences in the stress patterns, and not least, the fact that Landi's madrigal is typically not set to music so that each line of the poem corresponds to a musical phrase. Instead, in the madrigal the text has been cut into smaller units, something that makes it much more problematic to directly adapt the Latin text to the music. The segmentation of the text according to musical phrases in Landi's madrigal in reality looks like this:

Arde	(2)	gl'occhi, ohimè chiudete	(6)
Filli d'un viso	(5)	se morir	(3)
di così bella	(5)	non volete	(4)
fiamma	(2)	sta l'angue sotto al fiore	(7)
che chiunque la vede	(7)	foco ha nel volto	(5)
a forza infiamma	(5)	e mortal giaccio al core.	(7)
chiudete Amanti	(5)		

An interesting effect of such a segmentation is that the *sinalefi* in the original verses are in several cases annihilated. The *versi sciolti* patterns are not followed in the musical setting, and thus, the number of syllables increases – for instance *la vede\_a forza infiamma*, and *nel volto\_e mortal giacco* [sic!], where the verses have been divided precisely where the *sinalefi* is located.

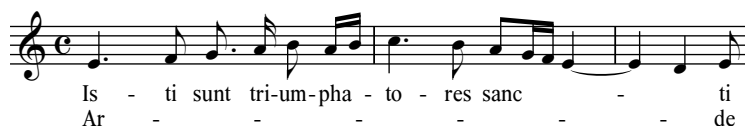
It only takes a few experiments of comparison to figure out that the combination of segmentation of the text into musical phrases and the diverging stress patterns makes it more or less impossible to directly adapt the Latin text to the music. Such an adaptation requires some manipulations. Let us now turn our attention to how that challenge is approached in this particular case.

The longest re-texted section is found at the beginning of the *cantus primus* part of the *contrafactum* (see figure 2). This corresponds to the *quintus* part in Landi's original madrigal.

To begin with, it appears that before the text “Isti sunt” was entered, the words “Arde Filli” was written into the beginning of the part, and then later scratched out. This text incipit also appears in the other four vocal parts, but in those cases they are clearly not intended as text underlay, but rather as titles or headings. They are not written under the corresponding notes, but before them. Moreover, the *canto* part in Landi's madrigal, which in Düben's manuscript is designated *cantus secundus*, does not start with the words “Arde Filli”, but with “Filli d'un viso”, and the entries of the other parts consist in a long melisma on the syllable “Ar-”, and not the full incipit.

This suggests that Düben might have had a different purpose for these parts when he first prepared them in the 1650s. In fact, it indicates that these parts could originally have been prepared for instrumental performance.

In contrast to the long melisma on the syllable “Ar-”, opening the madrigal, Düben (or his helper) chose to set the opening phrase syllabically. Thus, the fourteen notes long melisma presenting the word “Arde” in the opening phrase of Landi's *quinto*, presents the ten syllables of the text line “Isti sunt triumphatores sancti”, with a short melisma at the end on “sancti”.



Example 1. Comparison between the beginning of the madrigal and the *contrafactum*

The adaptation of the music for the new Latin text uses the techniques described previously (see music example 2 a and b). Longer note values are split into two shorter ones, to accommodate two syllables instead of one (e.g. bar 5), and notes that are syllabically set in the madrigal have been joined into short melismas in the *contrafactum* (bars 24 and 26).

Example 2 consists of two musical excerpts, labeled 'a' and 'b'. Excerpt 'a' shows two staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 5/4 time signature. It contains a melodic line with lyrics: '-ci et ve-ri a - mi-ci De - i,'. The second staff continues the melody with lyrics: '-so dico-si bel-la fiam - ma,'. Excerpt 'b' also shows two staves of music. The first staff has a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a melodic line with lyrics: 'a - mi - ci De - i, is - ti \_ sunt tri -'. The second staff continues the melody with lyrics: 'di co-sibel - la, di co-si bel - la'.

Example 2. Comparison between the original madrigal and the adaptation  
(a: bb. 5–7; b: bb. 24–27)

In some places, syncopated rhythms in the original madrigal have been modified to follow a more regular metric pattern – see for example bars 24–25 in music example 2b, and bar 9 in music example 3. Such modifications were apparently not just motivated by the metrical demands of adaption to the new text, but also by taste and habit. Especially in bars 24–25, it would have been possible to keep the syncopation together with the new text, and the result would arguably be rhythmically more interesting. In the repertoire of sacred vocal music that Gustav Düben and his associates most commonly performed, that kind of rhythmical sophistication is, however, unusual. Perhaps they were also deemed to be too secular, and inappropriate in an adaptation intended for the church.

Example 3 shows two staves of music. The top staff has a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a melodic line with lyrics: 'is - ti sunt tri-um - pha - to - res sanc - ti et ve - ri,'. The bottom staff continues the melody with lyrics: 'ar - - - de Fil - li d'un vi - so,'.

Example 3. Comparison between original madrigal and the adaptation, bb. 7–10

In bars 24–27, the adapter has chosen to change the text when a motive is repeated in melodic sequence, something that seems musically slightly insensitive, and is not motivated by any practical considerations (see example 2b).

In accordance with the tradition of the genre, Stefano Landi's madrigal contains some instances of word painting. These effects are irrevocably lost in the *contrafactum*, simply because there are no corresponding words in the liturgical text at the relevant places. For example, in the opening of the madrigal, the word *arde* (burns) is illustrated by an ascending melisma in punctuated rhythms, imitating a flickering flame. The same figure is later used to illustrate the word *fiamma* (flame). In the *contrafactum*, these phrases instead syllabically present the words *Isti sunt triumphatores*.

It is not obvious why the project to produce a *contrafactum* from Landi's madrigal was aborted. A practical attempt to reconstruct the entire adaptation, accommodating the whole text for all the parts demonstrates that this is at some places tricky, but far from impossible.<sup>34</sup> The remaining part of the piece does not present any more considerable challenges than the completed first section. Moreover, with one vocal part of the adaptation completed, it is a relatively easy task to finish the other parts, since the modifications of the musical phrases can be reused for the corresponding words of the text.

Of course, we cannot know for sure that the task was aborted. Düben or his helper could have decided that it was more feasible to start afresh, copying out new part-books for the *contrafactum*. However, no such set of parts is preserved in the Düben collection. Considering the small number of losses in the collection in general, this does not seem very plausible.<sup>35</sup> Instead, it seems more likely that the undertaking was actually aborted, perhaps because Düben did not find the result good enough, or because he realized that it was not needed, or for some other reason – on this we can only speculate.

When, and for what purpose was the attempt begun to produce this *contrafactum*, and by whom? Also in this case, it is difficult to reach any definitive conclusions, but there are indications enough to attempt a hypothesis.

The set of parts containing the two madrigals by Landi and Sabbatini was most certainly prepared by Gustav Düben himself in the 1650s. At this point,

<sup>34</sup> I would like to thank the participants of the international spring school *Contrafacta. Music with new texts for new contexts* (Vicenza, 25–29 March 2019) for the enthusiastic way they took on this challenge, in many cases coming up with better solutions than mine.

<sup>35</sup> See SCHILDT, *Düben at Work*, pp. 64–74.

he was not yet *Hofkapellmeister*, but served as a musician at court, probably mostly from the organ or harpsichord. It is not clear which originals were used as copy texts. The printed madrigal collections of Landi and Sabbatini are not preserved in the Düben collection, or elsewhere in Sweden. It is clear though, that similar publications of madrigals were owned by the court or by court musicians. For example, the 1637 reprint of Sabbatini's fourth collection of madrigals (op. 5) is preserved in the Düben collection.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, preserved inventories reveal that printed madrigal collections of a similar kind were bought for the court music in the 1620s and 1630s.<sup>37</sup> It appears likely that the Landi and Sabbatini publications used by Düben could have been part of his father's music library, which was later lost, possibly in the fire at the royal castle in 1697.

There are two other possibilities; the prints could have been bought by Düben during his study trip in the mid-1640s. However, the publication dates seem too early for that; moreover, this does not explain why they are not preserved in the Düben collection; a second possibility is that they were brought by the Italian musicians visiting Sweden in the 1650s; still, the printing dates seem too late for this, and in addition, polyphonic madrigals do not appear to have been part of their repertoire.

The original part-books prepared by Düben in the 1650s lacked text underlay, and as we have seen, their design suggests that they could have been intended for instruments rather than voices. In this context, there is still one more enigma to take into consideration. The extra part-book for basso continuo is transposed a fifth (or actually a fourth downwards), from e to b. This is also indicated on the title page, by the inscription: *Basso Continuo / transpositia per Quintam / Arde fillis*. This b.c. part only contains the Landi madrigal, not Sabbatini's piece. The paper has the same 1650s watermark as the other parts, and Düben's handwriting on the title page reveals the calligraphic traits typical of his early years. This suggests that the transposed part-book was prepared together with the other parts. The purpose of this transposed part is not clear.

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<sup>36</sup> S-Uu, Uvmtr 418–423; Maria SCHILDT, "Printed music in the Düben collection": [https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Printed\\_Music.pdf](https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Printed_Music.pdf) (accessed in June 2019).

<sup>37</sup> Erik KJELLBERG, *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden: studier kring deras organisation, verksamheter och status ca 1620–ca 1720*, vol. 1, PhD dissertation, Uppsala University, 1979, pp. 290–296; for instance, an inventory dated 1626 includes madrigal collections by Ruggiero Giovannelli, Orazio Angelini and Allegro Porto, as well as madrigal collections by "various authors" (*Madrigalien variorum Authorum*).



The fact that the transposed b.c. part only contains the Landi piece could suggest that it was somehow connected with the Latin *contrafactum*. There are, however, quite strong evidences that the *contrafactum* is of a later date than the original set of part-books.

One evidence is Düben's handwriting in the Latin text underlay. As already pointed out, it seems more consistent with his later handwriting, lacking the calligraphic variations found in sources from the 1650s. There are also other grounds to assume that the *contrafactum* was produced much later than the original set of parts. As Maria Schildt has demonstrated, Gustav Düben started to make this kind of alteration to pre-existing music in the 1660s, and there is reason to presume that he got the idea and models during his visits to Lübeck in these years, and his contact with the organist in the *Marienkirche* there, Franz Tunder.<sup>38</sup> It was also not until his appointment as *Hofkapellmeister* and organist in the German church that he would have had use for a reworking of this kind, converting an erotic madrigal into a piece of figural music for the church service.

The Latin text, *Isti sunt triumphalis*, is a modified version of the Responsory for the Common of Apostles, or in some liturgical sources the Common of Evangelists. Even though the Lutheran churches in Sweden did not follow the Roman Catholic liturgy, Latin sacred texts were often used for similar occasions as the one prescribed in the Roman Catholic liturgy.<sup>39</sup> This would suggest that the re-texted version of the madrigal was intended for a church service on an Apostle's Day.

The reduction of Holidays resulting from the reformation in Sweden in the sixteenth century notwithstanding, many of the old feasts were held onto well into the eighteenth century.<sup>40</sup> Among them were the ten to thirteen Apostle's Days,<sup>41</sup> and they were traditionally celebrated with some degree of solemnity. This would suggest that our *contrafactum* could have been intended for one of the feasts of the Apostles, the most important of which were Matthew,

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<sup>38</sup> See SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 365–366.

<sup>39</sup> See for example LARS BERGLUND, *Studier i Christian Geists vokalmusik*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2002 (*Studia musicologica Upsaliensia*, 21), pp. 81–88.

<sup>40</sup> GÖRAN MALMSTEDT, *Helgdagsreduktionen: övergången från ett medeltida till ett modernt år i Sverige 1500–1800*, PhD dissertation, University of Gothenburg, 1994; a far-reaching reform was carried through in 1772, but until then most of the old holidays were still celebrated.

<sup>41</sup> The number varied between different dioceses; in the archdiocese of Uppsala, thirteen such Apostle's Days were celebrated.



or *mattsmäss* (24 February), Peter and Paul, or *persmäss* (29 June) and Bartholomeus, or *barsmäss* (24 August).<sup>42</sup>

This suggests the German church of St Gertrude in Stockholm as a likely location for the planned performance of the piece. Gustav Düben was the organist there from 1663 and until his death in 1690. During his first ten years in the double position as *Hofkapellmeister* and organist in St Gertrude's, the King was of minor age, and the realm was ruled by a regency. This meant that festive church services at court were relatively sparse, and figural music seems to have been used mainly for major feast days such as Easter, Christmas and Pentecost.<sup>43</sup> At the German church, however, Düben was expected to supply music on a more regular basis. For such occasions he often engaged some of the court musicians. A considerable part of the manuscripts in the Düben collection were most likely prepared for performances at the German church.<sup>44</sup>

The music performed in St Gertrude's was generally for relatively small scorings. This raises the question as to whether Düben's arrangement was planned for five voices, or perhaps rather for a reduced scoring of two to three voices, the organ filling in for the other parts.

The *contrafactum* *Arde Fillis / Isti sunt* is a rare case in many ways. It is a re-texting that was never completed, but for unknown reasons aborted. The project was odd from the beginning. It is the only example of a secular madrigal re-texted with a sacred text in the entire Düben collection, and the attempt was made at a time when this procedure already more or less belonged to history. I have used the term *contrafactum* here, even though it is usually associated with much earlier artifacts, precisely because it stands out as a relic of the past. Unfortunately, many things still remain obscure, and must wait to be illuminated by future research, if this is even possible. Therefore, some concluding remarks can be made with more certainty, whereas others must remain more tentative.

There is no doubt that the attribution to Carissimi can be decidedly refuted. The composer is Stefano Landi, and the madrigal was originally published in

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<sup>42</sup> *Mattismäss*, *persmäss* and *barsmäss* are the old Swedish names for these days, which were of importance in popular notions, since they marked the beginning of spring, summer and autumn; in ancient folklore, weather signs and other omens on those days gave important indications about the weather of the upcoming season.

<sup>43</sup> BERGLUND, *Christian Geist*, pp. 80–100.

<sup>44</sup> On this issue, see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 221–250.

1619, and set to a poem by Matteo Piacentini, even though the first line of the madrigal text contains a misreading of the poem.

The Latin text used for the *contrafactum* was doubtlessly borrowed from a motet by Gasparo Casati, and copied from the Phalèse reprint of Casati's collection, published in Antwerp 1644, a music print that Gustav Düben had in his possession. This is clear from the deviations from the more common version of the liturgical original that was usually set to music.

It is also clear that Gustav Düben himself prepared the set of part-books containing the madrigals by Landi and Sabbatini in the 1650s. The original purpose is not entirely clear, but it seems likely that it was intended for instrumental performance. It has not been possible to establish who wrote out the text on the additional basso continuo part, and wrote the fragment at the bottom of the alto part. Therefore, we do not know what relation that copyist had to Düben. It could have been one of the court musicians in Stockholm, who regularly helped him with copying music. The odd thing is that this copyist wrote out the full text on the transposed basso continuo part. This, in combination with the short fragment sketching out the adaptation of the opening bars of the alto part, suggests that the impetus to produce the *contrafactum* could have come from this musician, rather than from Düben himself. This would suggest that the fragment in the alto part is an instruction or suggestion to Düben about how the adaptation could be carried out. Until this particular copyist is identified, this enigma must remain open.

The transposed b.c. part is puzzling. It was prepared already in the 1650s, together with the other part-books. It could arguably be connected to an instrumental performance. This could mean that the soprano parts were raised a fifth to suit two violins, the range being changed from g'-f'' in the original *cantus* to d'-c''', and from a-f'' in the original *quintus* to e'-c'''. However, there are no transposed instrumental parts preserved, and moreover the range seems unusually high for violins. The transposition also does not really make sense if intended for voices. Another hypothesis is that the part could be intended for a transposed accompaniment instrument, but it is not clear what it could be, and there are no similar cases preserved in the collection.

Finally, the ascription to Carissimi is intriguing. It is written by Gustav Düben on the title page of the part-book designated *Basso pro Organo*, i.e., the regular, untransposed basso continuo part. This could possibly reflect the fact that this set of parts was prepared in the 1650s, when an ensemble of Italian

musicians were present at court. The Italians brought a large number of compositions by Carissimi from Rome. Eighteenth pieces by him are preserved in the Düben collection, dating from this time. Several of them are copied on the same paper as the manuscript under scrutiny here, a paper which as we have seen is associated with the stay of the Italian ensemble.

The title inscription “Bassus pro Organo” uses the calligraphic “p” and “g” typical of Düben’s early handwriting. At least judging from the color of the ink, the ascriptions to Carissimi and Sabbatini seem to have been entered at the same time – in that case during the 1650s. It seems that Düben for some reason confused Landi’s madrigal with the many pieces by Carissimi brought to Sweden by the Italians. This could also suggest that Landi’s madrigal was brought to Sweden by the Italians, even though this appears less likely, since their repertoire was more up-to-date and consisted mainly of sacred music and secular arias by composers active in Rome.

As pointed out at the beginning, the case presented here is in several ways odd and rare for the Düben collection. Still, it also exemplifies many characteristics of Gustav Düben’s practices: his copying out of music in preparation for different performances, his preferences for Italian composers and his relentless way of adapting and arranging music with new specific occasions and uses in mind. Even though this particular case of recycling may have been a failure, it still gives an interesting insight into such practices, as well as into the complex, detailed and sometimes seemingly contradictory information that a music manuscript can hide.

### Summary

A Düben collection manuscript with the shelf number Vmhs 11:2 contains a composition ascribed to Giacomo Carissimi, with the text incipit *Isti sunt triumphatores*. The attribution to Carissimi has been regarded as uncertain, but it is still included in several work catalogues. This article shows that the attribution is certainly false. The piece is a re-texted version of a madrigal composed by Stefano Landi, included in his first collection of madrigals, printed in Venice 1619. The title of the original madrigal is “Arde Filli d’un viso”. The text is a poem by Matteo Piacentini published first in Vicenza in 1600, and then again in Venice in 1611, but in Landi’s madrigal the text is modified, or likely misread; the title of the original poem is “Arde Fillide in viso”. The Vmhs 11:2 manuscript in Uppsala contains a complete set of partbooks of two madrigals for five voices, the one by Stefano Landi, and Galeazzo Sabbatini’s “Io amo che tanto basta”. They were prepared by the young Gustav Düben in the early 1650s, perhaps originally intended for instrumental performance. At a later moment, probably after 1663, Düben started to prepare a *contrafactum* of Landi’s madrigal, using a Latin liturgical text, *Isti sunt triumphatores*. The text appears to have been borrowed from a printed collection of motets by Gasparo Casati, in that case most likely from the Antwerp reprint published by Marie and Madeleine Phalèse. Liturgically, the text is associated with the Feasts of Apostles, and the *contrafactum* could possibly have been intended for such a service in the German Church in Stockholm, where Gustav Düben was the organist. It was most likely at this point that Düben misattributed the piece to Carissimi, perhaps associating the manuscript with the time when an ensemble of Italian singers visited the Swedish court between 1652 and 1654, bringing with them a large number of works by Carissimi.

The *contrafactum* is not completed. Only the first thirty-seven bars of the canto primo part have text underlay, and eleven bars of the alto. Since the Latin text was very different than the Italian madrigal text, both regarding meter and content, the re-texting involved a number of challenges. In the preserved part, a number of modifications have been made to the music, which is typical of re-texting practices. The melismatic passage opening the madrigal has been set syllabically in the *contrafactum*, thus annihilating the word painting in the original. Notes have been split in two to accommodate the text, or on the contrary joined in melismas. The attempt at a re-texting does not seem very successful, and it is possible that Düben abandoned the task for this reason, even though such an assumption must remain tentative.

Keywords: Giacomo Carissimi, Stefano Landi, Gustav Düben, *contrafactum*, Düben collection.

Maria Schildt

## Re-using pre-existing music with new texts. Repertoire for court and church in seventeenth-century Sweden

Chapel masters at northern European courts in early modern times experienced a constant and manifest demand to realize an appropriate repertoire for all aspects of court culture that included music. The Kapellmeister could himself be a skilled composer with the ability to provide the court with compositions for prestigious occasions. On other occasions, he instead re-used old music. In some cases, the texts were adapted to new circumstances, or even replaced with new ones. The many aspects connected to these *contrafactum* practices are still in need of research. The extant music library of the Swedish chapel masters 1650–1725, today known as the Düben collection, contains a substantial number of *contrafacta* prepared before performances at court and in churches in Stockholm. These *contrafacta* can be divided into three groups, according to their function and the motivation for adapting the texts: texts altered for theological reasons, the change of language, and texts adapted to new occasional circumstances or a new addressee. In this article, I discuss these different types of *contrafactum* practices, although I will mainly focus on music re-used for the veneration of the Swedish King Charles XI (1655–1697). I argue that the selection of the pre-existing music was often most likely a deliberate choice, and that the compositions were carefully selected on the basis of their original texts and contexts. An intricate web of intertextual and contextual relationships between the original compositions and their *contrafacta* emerges.

Moreover, these examples provide rare insights into and knowledge of the circumstances and practices of the chapel masters in their task of providing appropriate repertoire for courts in early modern northern Europe.

### **Gustav Düben and the Düben family's music collection**

Gustav Düben Sr. (1628/29–1690), Kapellmeister at the Swedish royal court from 1663, was a key person for music life in Sweden in the second half of the seventeenth century. He succeeded his father Anders Düben Sr. as court Kapellmeister, as well as organist in the German Church in Stockholm in 1663. During Gustav's tenure, 1663–1690, and the following tenures of his two sons Gustav Jr. and Anders Jr., 1690–1726, the repertoire for the court musicians' performances was continuously assembled in the family's music collection, which, with time, became substantial. In 1732, when the youngest son Anders Jr. had left all music engagements at court, he donated the family's music collection to Uppsala University.

The Düben collection comprises over 2000 compositions in more than 3000 sources (i.e. sets of parts and/or tablatures), and ca. 150 printed music collections.<sup>1</sup> The collection contains the originals from which the chapel masters Düben acquired their repertoire, i.e. music prints, foreign manuscripts and autographs, side by side with additional parts (or sets of parts) made in Sweden before the performances. This circumstance, as well as its considerable size, makes the Düben collection suitable for studies on different coeval adaptation practices.

Altering or replacing the text of a vocal composition is one of the most common adaptation procedures that has been made to music in the collection. This was a well-established practice with a long tradition. The German composer and music theorist Georg Quitschreiber (1569–1638) identified substitution of texts as one of four categories of *parodia* in his text *De parodia*

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<sup>1</sup> For updated information on the contents of the Düben collection, as well as other details about the collection and Gustav Düben, see Maria SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work: Musical Repertory and Practice of Swedish Court Musicians, 1663–1690*, Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2014. The Düben Collection Database Catalogue is accessible online: <https://www2.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php>.

*tractatus musicalis* (1611),<sup>2</sup> in addition to making new versions of pre-existing music (such as parody masses), the adding or reduction of the number of parts, and stylistic imitation.

There are about 75 compositions in the Düben collection that have had their texts modified in different ways.<sup>3</sup> These compositions with their textual adaptations can be divided into three groups, considering the function of the music and the motives behind the alteration:

- adapting the texts motivated by theological considerations, i.e. adaptation of explicitly Catholic texts in order to suit a Protestant liturgical context, or providing new repertoire for the liturgical year (ca. 40 compositions);
- providing repertoire in the Swedish language (ca. 30 compositions);
- adaptation to the circumstances and context of a new occasion, e.g. changing the addressee and the context of a laudatory composition (7 compositions).

### **Adaptations of texts motivated by theological considerations**

In the vogue of Italian music in northern Europe, the most explicitly Catholic texts needed to be adapted before performing the music within Protestant services. In particular, texts that were connected with the feast of Corpus Christi were seen as especially problematic. Luther strongly disapproved of the celebration of this feast, which had been abolished in Wittenberg in 1524.<sup>4</sup> Musical settings of texts contained in the Corpus Christi liturgy, such as *Pange lingua* (with *Tantum ergo*), *Verbum supernum prodiens* (with *O salutaris hostia*),

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<sup>2</sup> Georg QUITTSCHREIBER, *De Parodia, tractatus musicalis musicae studiosis propositus*, Jena: J. Weidner, [1611].

<sup>3</sup> This article deals only with compositions with substantial changes in the text. I will thus not consider all the instances where only single words have been replaced, or a short section, as for example the last words in Andrea Braun's *Aethra plaude*, S-Uu Vmhs 38:6. For a discussion on some of the examples from the Düben collection that are included in this article, see Friedrich KRUMMACHER, "Parodie Umtextierung und Bearbeitung in der Kirchenmusik vor Bach", *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, 53, 1971, pp. 23–48.

<sup>4</sup> Lars ECKERDAL, "Kommunionsång i Svenska kyrkan" [Communion singing in the Church of Sweden], *Svenskt gudstjänstliv* [Church life in Sweden], 2007, pp. 87–88. Gustav LINDBERG, *Kyrkans heliga år: en historisk-principiell undersökning med särskild hänsyn till det svenska kyrkoåret* [The sacred liturgical year: a fundamentally historical investigation specifically in regard to the Swedish liturgical year], Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1937, p. 426.



*Sacris solemnis* (with *Panis angelicus*) and *Lauda Sion salvatorem* (with *Ecce panis Angelorum*) were in general avoided in Protestant areas, as shown by extant seventeenth-century music collections as well as inventories of lost music. Gustav Düben similarly rejected settings of these texts when he selected repertory from printed collections by Catholic composers.<sup>5</sup>

Other compositions with explicitly Catholic texts were not avoided, but their texts were instead adapted to fit the Protestant context. Thirty-five compositions in the Düben collection have had their texts altered apparently for such theological reasons (see table 1).<sup>6</sup>

Table 1. Settings in the Düben collection of explicitly Catholic texts that have been altered<sup>7</sup>

Attribution in source, [corrected attribution], text incipit in source	Incipit of altered text	Shelf number S-Uu Vmhs
Daniel Danielis [?], <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve mi Jesu salvator mi</i>	12:17, 83:76
Franz Tunder [?], <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve coelestis pater misericordiae</i>	36:10
Giacomo Carissimi, <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve Rex Christe pater misericordiae</i>	53:10, 11:20, 80:117
Johann Melchior Gletle, <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve mi Jesu Deus misericordiae</i>	24:12, 12:11

<sup>5</sup> *Lauda Sion salvatorem* (S-Uu Vmhs 51:14, 82:42) and *Pange lingua* (S-Uu 51:22, 83:42), both by Buxtehude, provide exceptions. Both are headed “Sub communione” in the manuscripts, suggesting that these compositions were performed during the Holy Communion. Gustav Düben also copied a setting of *Pie pelicane*, from Johann Melchior Gletle’s first volume of *Expeditionis musicae classis* (Augsburg, 1667). An unattributed setting of *Lauda Sion salvatorem* (S-Uu Vmhs 81:131) is actually by Gaspard de Verlit and is contained in his *Missae et moteta* (Antwerp, 1661). This setting is extant only in a foreign tablature and nothing indicates that it was performed in Sweden.

<sup>6</sup> There are two settings of *Salve regina* in which the text in the manuscript parts have not been altered, one by Carissimi (S-Uu Vmhs 11:19) and one by Rovetta (S-Uu Vmhs 33:15). These two compositions were probably never performed in Stockholm, at least not vocally. The parts of *Salve regina* by Carissimi bear no text, and it was probably performed with only instruments and no vocal parts. An alternative heading “Salve Regnator” in the source could suggest that the composition was intended to be supplied with an altered text at a later point. The set of parts for *Salve regina* by Rovetta (included in RISM A/I R 2964) was copied by a non-Swedish hand on non-Swedish papers, and shows no signs of a performance in Sweden.

<sup>7</sup> In this and following tables, all the composers’ names, the titles and the text incipits are normalized. In many cases, the spelling can differ from part to part in a set of parts, or differ between a set of parts and a tablature of the same work, making it difficult to extract a general spelling for a piece.

Johann Melchior Gletle, <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve o Jesu donum misericordiae</i>	84:92, 83:35a
Didaco Philetari, <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve Rex Christe fons misericordiae</i>	32:1, 79:36
Anon [Leopold von Plawenn], <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve mi Jesu Deus misericordiae</i>	45:11
Georg Arnold/Balthasar Erben [Leopold von Plawenn], <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve suavissime Jesu</i>	45:14, 77:22, 20:11
Franz Tunder [Rovetta], <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve mi Jesu pater misericordiae</i>	36:11
Giovanni Rovetta, <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve Rex Christe fons misericordiae</i>	33:16
Anon [Simon Vesi], <i>Salve regina</i>	<i>Salve Jesu Christe salve pater</i>	86:67
Giovanni Antonio Grossi, <i>Ave regina caelorum</i>	<i>Ave suavis dilectio</i>	81:74
Leopold von Plawenn, <i>Ave regina caelorum</i>	<i>Ave o Jesu Rex benedicte</i>	32:2
Giovanni Antonio Rigatti, <i>Ave regina caelorum</i>	<i>Ave Regnator coelorum</i>	32:15, 77:111
Anthonis Vermeeren, <i>Regina coeli laetare</i>	<i>O Jesu Christe</i>	37:9, 81:120
Giacomo Carissimi, <i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	a. <i>Alleluia Jesum nostrum</i> b. <i>Jesu mea vita</i> (only text incipit)	53:10, 11:1, 83:5
Anon, <i>Sub tuum praesidium</i>	<i>Sub tuum praesidium</i>	38:24
Anon, <i>O quam speciosa facta es</i>	<i>O quam speciosus factus es</i>	86:1a
Georg Arnold, <i>Adeste quoquot amatis Mariam</i>	<i>Adeste quoquot diligitis</i>	2:9, 77:121
Giacomo Carissimi, <i>O dulcissimum Mariae</i>	<i>O mi chare Jesu Christe</i>	83:62a
Giacomo Carissimi, <i>Omnes gentes gaudete cum Maria</i>	<i>Omnes gentes gaudete cum victore</i>	53:10, 11:15, 80:116
Guillaume Bart, <i>Mundi dilitiae salvete</i>	<i>Mundi dilitiae salvete</i>	3:4a, 82:2
Francesco Foggia, <i>Quare suspiras in dolore</i>	<i>Quare suspiras in dolore</i>	53:10
Giacomo Carissimi, <i>Audite sancti</i>	<i>Audite justi</i>	53:10, 11:6, 83:2
Francesco Foggia, <i>Celebrate o fideles sacratum diem</i>	<i>Celebrate o fideles diem resurrectionis</i>	23:2, 80:122
Francesco Foggia, <i>Egredimini</i> [?]	<i>Egredimini addicti Chisti</i>	23:5, 80:124
Francesco Foggia, <i>Excelsi</i> [?] <i>uminis cultores</i>	<i>Excelsi luminis cultores</i>	23:6, 77:63

Francesco Foggia, <i>Laeta nobis refulget dies</i>	<i>Laeta nobis refulget dies</i>	43:1, 77:67
Francesco Foggia, <i>Laetantes canite diem laetitiae</i>	<i>Laetantes canite diem laetitiae</i>	23:10, 77:61
Francesco Foggia, <i>Gaudete jubilate</i>	<i>Gaudete jubilate</i>	23:7
Leopold von Plawenn, <i>O felix o fausta dies</i>	<i>O felix o fausta dies</i>	32:3, 77:123
Georg Arnold, <i>O quam venerandus</i>	<i>Cantate et jubilate</i> (only text incipit)	77:15
Georg Arnold, <i>Pater alme quam decorus</i>	<i>Dulcis Jesu quam decorus</i>	40:17, 77:27

These compositions can be divided into two major groups: settings of Marian texts and of texts venerating saints. Among the pieces with Marian texts we find settings of all four major Marian antiphons (*Salve regina*, *Ave regina caelorum*, *Alma redemptoris mater* and *Regina coeli laetare*), in addition to *Sub tuum praesidium*, *O quam speciosa facta es*, *Adeste quoque amatis Mariam*, *Quare suspiras in dolore*, *O dulcissimum Mariae*, *Omnes gentes gaudete cum Maria* and *Mundi dilitiae salvete*. The six settings by Francesco Foggia, as well as *Audite sancti* and *O felix, o fausta dies*, are all settings of texts venerating saints.

## Salve regina

Included in table 1 are eleven settings of the *Salve regina*.<sup>8</sup> Along with the other Marian antiphons, this text was avoided by the reformists.<sup>9</sup> Martin Luther strongly rejected the *Salve regina* text.<sup>10</sup> The history of modifying the text of *Salve regina* and adapting the text to a Lutheran context goes back to the

<sup>8</sup> Geoffery Webber focuses on settings of *Salve regina* in his dissertation, although he identified only six Italian settings in the Düben collection. Geoffery WEBBER, *A Study of the Italian Influence on North German Church and Organ Music*, PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1988, pp. 257–258.

<sup>9</sup> On this topic, see Mary E. FRANDSEN, “‘Salve regina / Salve rex Christe’: Lutheran Engagement with the Marian Antiphons in the Age of Orthodoxy and Piety”, *Musica Disciplina*, 55, 2010, pp. 129–218, and Hans-Ulrich DELIUS, “Luther und das ‘Salve regina’”, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 38, 1964, pp. 249–251.

<sup>10</sup> Luther writes: “tollenda etiam censemus illa cantica, de quibus nihil in scripturis, imo quae manifeste sunt contra scripturas: ‘Salve regina’ etc.”, Martin LUTHER, *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (“Weimarer Ausgabe” WA), WA BR 3 (1523–1525), pp. 134–135. See the sermons from 1522 onwards in WA III.

time after the Reformation and there are alterations of the *Salve regina* text dating from the years shortly after 1517.<sup>11</sup>

*Salve regina* compositions with altered or substitute texts are also found in other extant seventeenth-century music collections, as well as in Ambrosius Profe's and Johann Havemann's printed collections with Italian sacred music.<sup>12</sup>

Table 2. Extant *Salve regina* compositions with altered texts in St Nikolai in Luckau (D-LUC), the Bokemeyer-Österreich collection (D-B), the collection of Ratsbücherei Lüneburg (D-Lr), the Grimma collection (D-DI), and in Ambrosius Profe's and Johann Havemann's anthologies<sup>13</sup>

ATTRIBUTION IN SOURCE	TEXT INCIPIT	SCORING	COLLECTION OR PRINT
–	<i>Salve rex Jesu Christe</i>	B vl bc	D-LUC, 3482B, S-Uu
Valentin Molitor	<i>Salve mi Jesu</i>	B 2vl bc	D-LUC, 3482B
Valentin Molitor	<i>Salve mi care Jesu</i>	C 2vl b bc	D-LUC, 3482B
Johann Rosenmüller	<i>Salve mi Jesu pater misericordiae</i>	CAB 4vle bc	D-B, Mus. ms. 18882
Johann Rosenmüller	<i>Salve mi Jesu adoro te</i>	CB 3vle bc	D-B, Mus. ms. 18882
Johann Rosenmüller	<i>Salve mi Jesu pater misericordiae</i>	B 5vle bc	D-B, Mus. ms. 18883
Giovanni Battista Bassani	<i>Salve rex Christe pater misericordiae</i>	A 2vl bc	D-B, Mus. ms. 1162
Giovanni Battista Bassani	<i>Salve rex Jesu</i>	T 2vl bc	D-B, Mus. ms. 1162
Jacob de Le Kainge	<i>Salve salvator pater misericordiae</i>	A 2vl bc	D-B, Mus. ms. 30095
Antonio Sartorio	<i>Salve mi Jesu pater misericordiae</i>	C 5vle bc	D-B, Mus. ms. 19520
Giovanni Battista Vitali	<i>Salve mi Jesu</i>	C 2vl fag bc	D-B, Mus. ms. 30293

<sup>11</sup> Early variants of *Salve regina* are listed and discussed in Kerala J. SNYDER, *Johann Rosenmüller's Music for Solo Voice*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970 (PhD dissertation).

<sup>12</sup> For re-textings included in music collections, in inventories and in anthologies edited by Ambrosius Profe and Johann Havemann, see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 320–337.

<sup>13</sup> In addition to the RISM online catalogue, see Karl PAULKE, "Musikpflege in Luckau. Neue Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte der Niederlausitz", *Niederlausitzer Mitteilungen. Zeitschrift der Niederlausitzer Gesellschaft für Anthropologie und Altertumskunde* 14, Guben: Koenig, 1920, Harald KÜMMERLING, *Katalog der Sammlung Bokemeyer*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970 (Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, 18), Friedrich WELTER, *Katalog der Musikalien der Ratsbücherei Lüneburg*, Lippstadt: Kiestner & Siegel, 1950, and Andrea HARTMANN, *Katalog der Musikhandschriften der Fürstenschule Grimma*, Dresden: RISM-Arbeitsgruppe, 2009.

Claudio Monteverdi	<i>Salve mi Jesu</i>	TT bc	D-Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K.N. 206
Claudio Monteverdi	<i>Salve mi Jesu</i>	ATB bc	D-Lr, Mus. ant. pract. K.N. 206
Johann Melchior Gletle	<i>Salve rex Christe pater misericordiae</i>	ATB bc	D-Dl, Grimma coll.
Johann Albrecht Kress	<i>Salve rex Christe o fons misericordiae</i>	A 4vle bc	D-Dl, Grimma coll.
Gasparo Casati	<i>Salve princeps misericordiae</i>	AT bc	D-Dl, Grimma coll.
Giovanni Rovetta	<i>Salve mi Jesu / Jesu mein Heyland</i>	CATTB bc	Profe, <i>Corollarium</i> <sup>14</sup>
Gasparo Casati	<i>Salve rex Christe</i>	CC bc	Havemann, <i>Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten</i> <sup>15</sup>
Giovanni Rovetta	<i>Salve rex Christe</i>	TB bc	Havemann, <i>Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten</i> <sup>16</sup>

As shown in table 2, there is a limited number of ways to alter the first line, two alternatives being by far the most common, *Salve mi Jesu* or *Salve rex Christe*. Settings with modified *Salve regina* texts are thus easily identified, also in inventories of now lost music, even though only the titles and not the music are preserved. In these inventories, titles such as “Salve rex Christe”, “Salve rex pater”, “Salve o Jesu” by Catholic composers were certainly originally *Salve regina* settings where the original text had been altered, but also many anonymous compositions with similar titles were likely to have been settings of *Salve regina*.<sup>17</sup>

Surprisingly enough, the extant *Salve regina* settings in the Düben collection have different alterations of the original text. None of the new text versions is identical to another. One could assume that it would have been practi-

<sup>14</sup> *Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum, berühmter Authorum, so zu denen bißhero unterschiedenen publicirten vier Theilen gehörig und versprochen; Nunmehr sampt beygefügtten Erraten, dieselben zu rectificiren, gewähret*, ed. Ambrosius Profe, Leipzig: T. Ritzsch, 1649 (RISM B/I 1649<sup>6</sup>).

<sup>15</sup> *Jesu hilf! Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten, mit 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. und 7. Stimmen, theils mit, theils ohne Instrumenten, nebenst ihrem gewöhnlichen Basso Continuo*, ed. Johann Havemann, Berlin – Jena: Georg Sengenwald, 1659 (RISM B/I 1659<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> For possible re-textings of *Salve regina* included in extant inventories, see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 320–337.

cal and timesaving for an editor or a musician to use one standard alteration of the *Salve regina* text, and to apply it to the different music settings. This was however not the case for Gustav Düben, and the same diversity is notable in other collections with extant music, as well as inventories of now lost music.<sup>18</sup> Each of the modified texts were applied carefully to the music, according to the accents and number of syllables. There are no similarities with the early *contrafacta* of *Salve regina* that did not fully follow the number and accents of the syllables, resulting in awkward relations between the music and the new text.<sup>19</sup>

The settings of *Salve regina*, although the text had to be altered and modified, were apparently attractive in the Protestant north. These compositions would otherwise have been simply rejected, as in the case with settings of texts from the Corpus Christi liturgy. Aspects such as scoring, key and representation of affect were probably some of the crucial factors for Gustav Düben in his selection of repertoire. The *Salve regina* settings extant in the Düben collection show similarities in the scoring, as well as in the character of the music.

Table 3. *Salve regina* compositions with modified texts  
in the Düben collection with their scoring and key

CORRECTED ATTRIBUTION AND TEXT INCIPIT IN SOURCE	SCORING	KEY
Joahnn Melchior Gletle, <i>Salve mi Jesu Deus misericordiae</i>	B 2 vl fag bc	C
Johann Melchior Gletle, <i>Salve o Jesu donum misericordiae</i>	T 5 viole bc	b
Didaco Philetari, <i>Salve rex Christe fons misericordiae</i>	S 4 viole bc	a
Franz Tunder [Giovanni Rovetta], <i>Salve mi Jesu pater</i>	A 5 viole bc	C
Anon. [Simon Vesi], <i>Salve Jesu Christe salve pater</i>	S 5 viole bc	e
Georg Arnold / Balthasar Erben [Leopold von Plawenn], <i>Salve suavissime Jesu</i>	S 5 viole bc	F

<sup>18</sup> See the collections included in table 2. The many ways to modify *Salve regina* are also evident from records of now lost music in inventories, for example, the inventory from the St Michaelisschule in Lüneburg, Max SEIFFERT, “Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach’s Zeit”, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 9, 1908/4, pp. 593–621.

<sup>19</sup> SNYDER, *Johann Rosenmüller’s Music for Solo Voice*, p. 62. These are settings of the fifteenth-century variant of the *Salve regina* text, beginning with “Salve regina misericordiae”. In the sixteenth century, the word “mater” was added, giving the beginning “Salve regina mater misericordiae”. Consequently, Luther’s discussions in connection with this text concerned Mary as “the queen of mercy” and not as “the mother of mercy”. DELIUS, “Luther und das ‘Salve regina’”, p. 250.

Anon [Leopold von Plawenn], <i>Salve mi Jesu Deus misericordiae</i>	S 2vl bc	D
Franz Tunder [?], <i>Salve coelestis pater misericordiae</i>	B vl bc	F
Daniel Danielis [?], <i>Salve mi Jesu salvator mi</i>	SS 2vl bc	a
Giacomo Carissimi, <i>Salve rex Christe pater misericordiae</i>	SSB bc	d
Giovanni Rovetta [?], <i>Salve rex Christe fons misericordiae</i>	SS bc	a

Eight of the eleven settings included in table 3 constitute solo motets with string accompaniment, six of them with full string texture for four or five string parts. This was a common scoring for Catholic composers when setting the *Salve regina* text. Five of the settings are copied from printed collections, all scored for solo voice and string accompaniment. This fact is elucidating, since in these cases we know that the pieces have been selected out of several other possible candidates, and it displays the attraction of these settings.<sup>20</sup> The *Salve regina* settings with other scorings and in other keys show however that other aspects were significant when music was selected, such as representation of affect and the overall character of the composition. To understand why these settings gained so much attraction in Lutheran Northern Europe, their function and role in the liturgy must be considered, and the knowledge of the specific place this music had in the Lutheran service is unfortunately still insufficient.

### Adaptations for the liturgical year

Five other compositions in the Düben collection were supplied with new texts or had their texts altered, most likely in order to provide repertoire for services, as the texts in their new form were shaped to suit certain feasts in the liturgical year.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> This scoring, for solo voice and full string accompaniment, was also attractive in general for chapel masters and organists in Northern Europe. This is clear from extant music collections as well as inventories of lost music. See the discussion of full string texture in SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, chapter 4.2.

<sup>21</sup> In the case of another piece in the Düben collection, *Arde Fillis* by Landi, it was apparently intended to be substituted with a sacred text, “Isti sunt triumphatores sancti”, but this seems never to have been realized. On this topic see Berglund’s article in this same volume.



Table 4. Text adaptations providing music for the liturgical year

ATTRIBUTION IN SOURCE	ORIGINAL TEXT	MODIFIED OR NEW TEXT	SHELF MARK S-UU VMHS
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Klinget für Freuden</i>	<i>Klinget mit Freuden</i>	51:13, 51:13a, 50:15, 6:14
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Schlagt Künstler die Pauken</i>	<i>Erfreue dich Erde</i>	50:15
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Salve desiderium</i>	<i>Salve desiderium</i>	51:24, 82:42
Tobias Zeutschner	<i>Es ist kein ander Heil</i>	<i>Quis est quem metuis</i>	77:44, 45:8
Tobias Zeutschner	<i>Herr hebe an zu segnen</i>	<i>Laetare nunc in Domino</i>	77:49, 43:3

The two compositions by Tobias Zeutschner from his *Musicalische Kirchen- und Haus-freude* (Leipzig, 1661) were supplied with alternative texts in Stockholm. The original German text of Zeutschner's *Es ist kein ander Heil* is only suggested by the incipit, while the text copied in the set of parts begins with the words "Quis est quem metuis". The same holds for *Herr hebe an zu segnen*, which was supplied with a new text, beginning with "Laetare nunc in Domino". Both the new texts are appropriate for the Easter period, which is shown for example by the sections "your ineffable ascending into heaven has unlocked the doors of eternal life" (in *Quis est quem metuis*), and specifically for Pentecost, "O hail, light of the heart, the torch of love, Holy Spirit, hail, O hail" (in *Laetare nunc in Domino*). The shift from German to Latin is significant, as the Latin language was associated with royal presence. The issue of the language in services was considered in a proposal for the Swedish Church law in 1686, although it probably reflects a local tradition that was already present. According to the proposal, the Latin language in figural music was linked to royal celebrations, as biblical texts might be sung in Latin at solemn feasts such as coronations, royal weddings, and thanksgiving services after victories.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> "[V]id höga Verdslige Högtider, såsom Klg. Kröningar, Klg. Bröllop, Tacksägelse för Segervinningar, måge Bibliske texter siungas på Latin uti Coral Music, ther vid kunne ock Pukor, Trummeter ock Pipor brukas, aldeles effter som Vi thet förordne" (At solemn occasions, such as Royal coronations, Royal weddings, Thanksgivings for victories, may biblical texts be sung in Latin in the choral music, there also timpani, trumpets and pipes could be used, all according to our regulation). *Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia. Andra serien. Kyrkoordningar och förslag dertill före 1686* [Documents regarding the history of Sweden. Second series. Church ordinances and their proposals before 1686], eds. Nils Axel Kullberg – Otto von Feilitzen, Stockholm: Norstedt, 1864.

*Salve desiderium* by Buxtehude was supplied with an additional modified text, seemingly appropriate for the Christmas period.<sup>23</sup> The two other pieces by Buxtehude were originally wedding songs. *Klinget für Freuden* was modified to *Klinget mit Freuden*, transforming the occasional poem for the wedding between Charles XI and Ulrika Eleonora into a text appropriate for the feast of Circumcision (New Year).<sup>24</sup> Buxtehude's wedding song for Joachim von Dalen and Catharine Margarethe Brauer von Hachenburg in Lübeck in 1681, *Schlagt Künstler die Pauken*,<sup>25</sup> was transformed into a Christmas piece, *Erfreue dich Erde*. The original text "die man lauter süße Schmetzen, lieblichkeiten hertzens Schertzen" was replaced by "wenn Er kommt zu euch hin abe, als ein zarter menschen Knabe". For a further occasion, it was altered again, this time to "wenn Er stiegt auß dem Grabe, leget Schmetz und Leiden abe", appropriate for Easter. Both pieces by Buxtehude (in original and in later versions) include parts for trumpets. In the same way that the Latin language was associated with the presence of royalty, the proposal for the Church law from 1686 states that also trumpets, timpani and pipes could participate in such solemn feasts.<sup>26</sup>

Considering the examples above, the music was seemingly regarded as important in itself, and the text could be substituted or altered if the piece was to be re-used in another context. *Klinget für Freuden* was originally composed for the wedding between Charles XI and Queen Ulrika Eleonora in 1680. The connection between the royal wedding and the new performance was likely a deliberate decision. Although this wedding took place outside Halmstad at a great distance from Stockholm, this original context was likely to have been known to listeners, also outside the immediate circle of the Kapellmeister and the clergy involved in the service.

<sup>23</sup> When this music was performed with the altered text, the piece seems to have been shortened. Only the first stanza of the aria, for soprano 1, was included, while the two other stanzas, for soprano 2 and basso, were omitted. This is typical for several compositions re-used in the 1690s. SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, p. 244.

<sup>24</sup> The designation "In festo Circumcisionis" is written on the set of parts.

<sup>25</sup> Printed text: *Der Hochzeitfeyer, Des Hochedelgebohrnen Gestrengen Vest, und Hochgelahrten Herrn, Hn. Joachim von Dalen, Beyder Rechten Doctoris, &c. &c., Und, Der Hochedlen Jungfrauen, Jfr. Catharinen Margarethen, Brauerin von Hachenburg, So in der Käyserl. Freyen Reichsstadt Lübeck den 14., Martii dieses 1681. Jahres wird prächtig vollzogen werden, Übersendet, diese geringe Music zum Zeichen seiner Danckbarkeit, dessen gehorsamer Diener, Charedon, Lübeck: s.n., 1681.*

<sup>26</sup> See footnote 22.

## Providing repertoire in Swedish

Almost 30 compositions in the Düben collection have been supplied with new texts in Swedish:

Table 5. Music in the Düben collection supplied with new texts in Swedish

ATTRIBUTION IN SOURCE	INCIPIT OF ORIGINAL TEXT	INCIPIT OF SWEDISH TEXT	SHELF NUMBER S-Uu VMHS
– [Christian Flor]	<i>Es ist g'nug Herr</i>	<i>Det är nog Herre</i>	41:5, 79:30
–	<i>Erschrecke Liebste Seele</i>	<i>Förfäras icke käre själ</i>	18:14
–	<i>Warumb soll der Mensch</i>	<i>Vi begär människan leva</i>	18:24, 44:9
–	<i>Nun gute Nacht du Jammerwelt</i>	<i>Så hav god natt du jämmerdal</i>	18:24, 44:09
Dietrich Becker	<i>Schaff' in mir Gott</i>	<i>Skapa i mig Gud</i>	3:6, 86:68
Christoph Bernhard	<i>Schaffe in mir Gott</i>	<i>Skapa i mig Gud</i>	79:64
Clemens Thieme	<i>Schaffe in mir Gott</i>	<i>Skapa i mig Gud</i>	35:23
Tobias Zeutschner	<i>Gott sei mir gnädig</i>	<i>Gud var mig nådelig</i>	37:15
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Herr nun lässt du deinen Diener</i>	<i>Herre nu låter du din tjänare</i>	51:3, 85:84
Heinrich Schütz	<i>Herr nun lässt du deinen Diener</i>	<i>Herre nu låter du din tjänare</i>	19:6
Johann Krieger	<i>Ich will in Friede</i>	<i>I frid vill jag nu fara</i>	57:14
Joachim Eimwag	<i>Wem soll ich mein Elend</i>	<i>Have sig vem som begärer</i>	19:18, 67:22, 164:22
Christian Ritter	<i>Einen guten Kampf</i>	<i>En god kamp på världen</i>	32:17
Christian Ritter	<i>Alles was ist auf dieser Welt / Wie dank ich gnugsam dir mein Gott</i>	<i>Allt vad på denna världen är</i>	63:14
Johann Sebastiani	<i>Mein Gott ich sehe</i>	<i>Min Gud jag ser</i>	35:4
Franz Tunder	<i>Ach Herr lass deine lieben Engelein</i>	<i>Ach Herre lät dina helga änglar</i>	38:3, 79:49
Daniel Danielis	<i>Aspice e coelis</i>	<i>Ack vad hörs för sorg och klagan</i>	54:1, 68:3
Martin Schneider	<i>Kom heilger Geist</i>	<i>Kom helige And'</i>	18:17
Anthonis Vermeeren	<i>Caro mea vere</i>	<i>Mitt kött är den rätte maten</i>	37:5, 81:116

Heinrich Schütz	<i>Ehre sei Gott in der höhe</i>	<i>Ära vare Gud</i>	41:3
Heinrich Schütz	<i>Fürchtet euch nicht</i>	<i>Frukten er ej</i>	41:13
Christoph Bernhard	<i>Fürchtet euch nicht</i>	<i>Frukten er ej</i>	67:20
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Fürchtet euch nicht</i>	<i>Frukten er ej</i>	50:17, 82:35
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Eins bitte ich</i>	<i>Ett beder jag</i>	50:13, 85:8
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Nun lasst uns Gott den Herren</i>	<i>Nu låt oss Gud vår Herre</i>	51:17, 85:3
Dietrich Buxtehude	[?]	<i>Herren vår Gud</i>	85:14
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Lobe den Herren meine Seele</i>	<i>Lova Herren min själ</i>	85:79, 85:82
Dietrich Buxtehude	<i>Alles was ihr tut</i>	<i>I allt vad I gör eller talar</i>	50:2, 54:9
JNH [Johann Nicolaus Hanff] <sup>27</sup>	<i>Ich will den Herren loben</i>	<i>Jag vill lova Herren</i>	56:1

Several of these pieces were most likely performed at funerals. In several cases, this is attested by notes in the manuscripts, such as “In exequias”. Other compositions are settings of texts that were traditionally performed at funerals, or of texts that clearly point to a performance on such occasions.<sup>28</sup> Considering the choice of the Swedish language, these compositions were apparently not intended to be performed in the German Church, but rather at funerals for the royal family or the Swedish speaking aristocracy.

Daniel Danielis’ *Aspice e coelis* was originally performed at the funeral of Eleonora of Mecklenburg-Güstrow, infant daughter of Gustav Adolph of Mecklenburg-Güstrow. According to the printed publication, it was performed together with another piece by Danielis, *Cessavit gaudium*.<sup>29</sup> Both compositions were probably re-used in Stockholm at one of the funerals of the Swedish royal princes in 1685 and 1687, as will be discussed below. *Aspice e coelis* was re-used

<sup>27</sup> Friedhelm Krummacher suggests that the monogram “J.N.H.” should be resolved as Johann Nicolaus Hanff. This seems to be in accordance with the late appearance of the source unit. See Friedhelm KRUMMACHER, *Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitungen in der frühen evangelischen Kantate: Untersuchungen zum Handschriftenrepertoire evangelischer Figuralmusik im späten 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert*, PhD dissertation, Freie Univ. Berlin, 1965, p. 129.

<sup>28</sup> SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 375–413.

<sup>29</sup> *Leichbestätigung Der Durchleuchtigen Fürstinn Princessin Eleonora Hertzogin zu Mecklenburg Fürstin zu Wenden Schwerin und Ratzeburg auch Gräffin zu Schwerin der Lande Rostock und Stargard Fräwlein [...] Hierauff folgen die beyden Musicalische Stücke so in der Domkirchen gesungen und vom Fürstl. Capellmeister Daniele Danielis componiret worden*, Güstrow: Christian Scheppel, 1672.

once more, most likely on the occasion of the death of Ulrika Eleonora in 1693, then with a Swedish text, as discussed by Lars Berglund.<sup>30</sup> While all the Swedish texts in table 5 are more or less faithful translations of the original texts, the Swedish text applied to *Aspice e coelis* provides an exception, as it is carefully composed to suit the new addressee and the new context. Another piece, *Ein guten Kampf* by Christian Ritter, was provided with a new Swedish text most likely before the same occasion, the Queen's funeral in 1693.<sup>31</sup> The piece had probably been performed with its original German text at an earlier occasion in Stockholm, at the funeral of Maria Euphrosyne of Zweibrücken, the sister of Charles X in 1688.<sup>32</sup> In addition to the link with the original occasion, such re-use of music from earlier funerals within the royal family can be seen as an aspect of the carefully observed traditions within courtly ceremonies.

Other compositions supplied with Swedish texts in table 5 were performed at funerals within the aristocracy. According to a note on the manuscript parts, Christian Ritter's aria *Alles was ist auf dieser Welt / Wie dank ich gnugsam dir mein Gott* was performed at the funeral of Johan Adolf Rehnskiöld (1646–80).<sup>33</sup> Rehnskiöld was of a newly ennobled family and had served as secretary in the royal office. His funeral was celebrated in the main church of Stockholm (*Storkyrkan*) in December 1681. The vocal parts were later supplied with an additional Swedish text, although the circumstances for that second performance are unclear. Johann Sebastiani's funeral piece *Mein Gott ich sehe* was originally printed in Königsberg on the death of a Rosina von Dobenecks in 1663.<sup>34</sup> It was re-used in Stockholm in 1682 with a new text in Swedish, at the funeral

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<sup>30</sup> Lars BERGLUND, "Sorge-Musique för en död drottning: om musiken vid Ulrika Eleonora den äldres begravning 1693", *Svensk Tidskrift för Musikforskning*, 86, 2004, pp. 27–48. English translation in this same volume.

<sup>31</sup> SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 382–384.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Title written on the manuscript sources: "Aria auf herr Rehnschildts Begrebnuß", S-Uu Vmhs 63: 22, 86:45. The composition is supplied with two different texts: "Was nimmt der eitle Mensch" (five stanzas) and "Wie dank ich gnugsam dir mein Gott" (three stanzas). It is not clear which of the texts belongs to Rehnskiöld's funeral, if not both of them. In the same way Daniel Eberlin's *Ich kann nicht mehr ertragen* (S-Uu Vmhs 54: 4) appears with an alternative German text "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist", a funeral poem by Nikolaus Herman.

<sup>34</sup> *Christliches Sterb-Lied Aus dem Spruch 2. Timoth am letzten Cap vers 18. Der Herr aber wird mich erlösen von allem Ubel und außhelffen zu seinem Himlischen Reich welchem sey Ehre von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit Amen. [...] Geschrieben von M. Job. Rölting P. P. und in die Music gebracht von Johann Sebastiani, Churfl. Br. Pr. Capellm., Königsberg: Reusner, 1663.*

of Maria Eleonora Drakenhielm (1650–1682). She had been the wife of Eric Dahlbergh (1625–1703), who was one of the most distinguished men in Sweden ever since his involvement in the great crossing of the sound of Lilla Bält in 1658, and later became Governor-General of Livland and Field Marshal.<sup>35</sup>

Four compositions included in table 5 are settings of texts appropriate for Christmas. These include the first intermedium, *Angelus Canto solo* (*Fürchtet euch nicht*), and the second intermedium, *Chorus Angelorum* (*Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe*) of Heinrich Schütz's *Die Geburt unsers Herren Jesu Christi* (Christmas oratorio). The first text, *Fürchtet euch nicht*, was also set by Christoph Bernhard and Dietrich Buxtehude, and both of these were also supplied with a Swedish translation in the manuscript sets of parts. The source for Bernhard's composition bears a handwritten designation: "Juhl-Concert" (Christmas concert). This designation is not found anywhere else in the Düben collection, indicating the type of occasion on which these Christmas pieces were performed with their new texts in Swedish.

Martin Schneider's *Kom heilger Geist* was copied from the copy preserved within the Düben collection of his *Neuer geistlicher Lieder* (1667).<sup>36</sup> The manuscript parts can be dated to the late 1670s or the early 1680s.<sup>37</sup> The occasion of the performance of the re-texted composition is not known, but the fact that it was performed in the Swedish language, the participation of trumpets in addition to the dating of the source would indicate that it was performed in connection with the celebrations of the coronation and entry of Ulrika Eleonora in 1680.

Gustav Düben copied *Caro mea vere* by Anthonis Vermeeren into a set of parts in the 1660s. A new cantus part with a Swedish text, *Mitt kött är den rätta maten*, was copied and added to the vocal parts before a later occasion, probably

<sup>35</sup> Maria SCHILDT, "Tillfällets musik" [Music for the occasion], *Att dikta för livet, döden och evigheten: Tillfällesdiktning 1500–1800* [Poems for life, death and eternity: occasional poetry 1500–1800], eds. Arne Jönsson – Valborg Lindgärde – Daniel Möller, Lund: Makadam, 2019 (in print).

<sup>36</sup> *Erster Theil: Neuer geistlicher Lieder. Ariaetten, Canto solo cum sonatella a 5. Violin, doi violini, doi viola di braccio e violone cum basso continuo*, Liegnitz: Schneider, 1667 (RISM A/I S 1892).

<sup>37</sup> Jan Olof RUDÉN, *Vattenmärken och musikforskning: presentation och tillämpning av en dateringsmetod på musikalier i handskrift i Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks Dübensamling* [Watermarks and musicology: presentation and application of a method to date manuscript music in the Düben collection in Uppsala University library], Licentiat dissertation, Uppsala University, 1968, Appendix I, p. 143.



in the 1690s. The occasion of the second performance of the music with the Swedish text is not known. Swedish translations of Latin texts are very scarce in the Düben collection. In addition to this piece there is only one other example, Daniel Danielis' *Aspice e coelis*.

Seven of the compositions listed in table 5 are settings by Dietrich Buxtehude. *Lobe den Herren meine Seele* and *Herr nun lässt du deiner Diener* have new texts in Swedish that are translations of Biblical prose. In *Alles was ihr tut* and *Eins bitte ich* and *Fürchtet euch nicht* – all three concerto-aria settings – the Swedish texts constitute translations of both the concerto section and the aria.<sup>38</sup> In the case of *Herren vår Gud var dig blid*, a paraphrase of Psalm 20, the text is included in the Swedish hymn book of 1695–1697, and it was one of the standard *pro exitu* hymns in early modern Sweden.<sup>39</sup> The melody used by Buxtehude for his composition was commonly used in Sweden for the text *Herren vår Gud vare dig blid*. Scholars have not previously questioned Buxtehude's setting as an original one of the Swedish text.<sup>40</sup> I would instead argue that the manuscript parts in the Düben collection most likely present a *contrafactum*. The Swedish text does not exactly fit the hymn melody used by Buxtehude, when it comes to the number of syllables. It is clear from Buxtehude's setting that the second, fourth, seventh and eighth lines of the hymn would have seven syllables. The Swedish text, as it appears in Swedish hymn books, have eight syllables in

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<sup>38</sup> Only some of the aria stanzas of *Alles was ihr tut* and *Eins bitte ich* are supplied with Swedish texts in the sources in the Düben collection. In the case of *Fürchtet euch nicht*, Swedish text is entirely missing for the aria sections, which suggests that the compositions were shortened at the same time as they were supplied with Swedish texts. Sources in the Düben collection reveal that this was a common practice in the 1690s, as mentioned earlier. SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, p. 244.

<sup>39</sup> The first official hymn book for the entire Swedish kingdom was printed in 1695. Two years later, it was reprinted with added tunes for all hymns: *Then swenska psalm-boken: medh the stycker som ther til höra, och på föliande blad vpteknade finnas: vppå Kongl. Maj.tz nådigste befalning åhr MDCXCV öfwersedd och nödtorfteligen förbättrad* [The Swedish hymn book: with the pieces that belong to it, and on following pages are recorded: by the orders of his Royal Majesty anno MDCXCV revised and somewhat improved], Stockholm: Georg Gottlieb Burchardi, 1697.

<sup>40</sup> See the work lists in Georg KARSTÄDT, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Dietrich Buxtehude: Buxtehude-Werke-Verzeichnis*, rev. ed., Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985. Kerala J. SNYDER, *Dieterich Buxtehude: organist in Lübeck*, rev. ed., Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007.



these lines.<sup>41</sup> In the Swedish hymn book of 1697 (the one that includes notated music), the melody therefore appears slightly modified, compared to versions in German hymn books, which instead follow the German original from Burkhard Waldis' Psalter (1553).<sup>42</sup> This was apparently made in order to suit the additional number of syllables of the Swedish text. Buxtehude set the original tune as it appears in the Waldis' Psalter. Consequently, one syllable in each of the second, fourth, seventh and eighth lines of the Swedish text are omitted in Gustav Düben's tablature copy of Buxtehude's setting.

Table 6. The hymn *Herren vår Gud vare dig blid* as it appears in the Swedish hymn book (1695–1697), in the setting by Buxtehude, and the original text included in the Waldis' Psalter<sup>43</sup>

<i>Herren vår Gud vare dig blid</i> IN THE SWEDISH HYMN BOOK OF 1695–1697	<i>Herren vår Gud vare dig blid</i> IN S-UU VMHS 85:14	<i>Ach Herr wie lang wiltu jetzt mein</i> , IN WALDIS' <i>Psalter</i> (1553)
Herren vår Gud vare dig blid	Herren vår Gud vare dig blid	Ach, Herr, wie lang wiltu jetzt mein
Och <b>lâte</b> dig nåden finna	Och lät' dig nåden finna	so gar und ganz vergessen?
Han höre din bön i nödens tid	Han höre din bön i nödens tid	Verbirgst das frölich Antlitz dein,
Och <b>styrke</b> din hug och sinne	Och styrk' din hug och sinne	weil mich Unfall besessen?
Jakobs Gud han beskydde dig	Jakobs Gud han beskydde dig	Wie lang sol sich ängsten teglich
och löse utav vände	och löse utav vände	mein Seel und Herz verschmachten
Så önska vi <b>alle</b> innerlig	Så önska vi all' innerlig	Wie lang sol doch der Feind mir nach
Vår <b>konung</b> till vattn och lande	Vår kung till vattn och lande	stellen und gar verachten
Förlän dig Gud sin ande.	Förlän dig Gud sin ande.	und über mich erheben?

Since Buxtehude did not modify his tune to fit the number of syllables of the Swedish text, he probably had a German hymn text in mind when composing the piece. In German speaking areas, the melody used by Buxtehude appears most often in connection with the text *Ach Herr wie lang wiltu jetzt mein*.<sup>44</sup> Buxtehude would instead have had that text, or *Sei mir gnädig, o Herre*

<sup>41</sup> See for example the Swedish hymn book of 1695–1697, as well as several manuscript sources included in the catalogue "Svensk koralregistrant" with more than 20 000 records of Swedish hymn tunes in manuscript and in print, kept at the Music and Theatre Library, Stockholm.

<sup>42</sup> Burkhard WALDIS, *Der Psalter In Newe Gesangs weise vnd künstliche Reimen gebracht*, Franckfurt am Main: Christian Egenolff, 1553.

<sup>43</sup> The words in which syllables are missing in Buxtehude's setting are indicated in bold. For this text and the following text, I use normalized spelling, as often the spelling differs from part to part in a set of parts, or between a set of parts and a tablature.

<sup>44</sup> Harald GÖRANSSON, *Koralpsalmboken 1697: Studier i svensk koralhistoria* [The chorale book 1697: studies in Swedish choral history], Hedemora: Gidlunds, 1992, p. 241.

*Gott* (the German version of *Herren vår Gud vare dig blid*), as the original text for his composition.

This case is similar to another work by Buxtehude included in table 5, *Nun lasst uns Gott den Herren*. The piece is supplied with an additional Swedish text, *Nu låt oss Gud vår Herre*. This was a well known hymn in seventeenth-century Sweden, included in the Swedish hymn book of 1695–1697 under the heading “Communion hymns” (“Måltidz-Psalmer”). The melody used by Buxtehude is the same as the melody commonly used for the Swedish text. The piece is preserved in the Düben collection in a set of parts and a tablature, all with Swedish text and annotations in Swedish.<sup>45</sup> The same composition is also preserved in another tablature, with the original German text. This tablature was apparently the original from which Gustav Düben copied the other parts. The same could have been the case for *Herren vår Gud var dig blid*, although in this case an original tablature has not survived, as in many other cases in the Düben collection. Existing hymn texts already translated into Swedish and included in Swedish hymn books were thus applied to existing compositions, as in Buxtehude’s two settings. This music was probably performed within services celebrated at the royal court.

In other cases, the new Swedish text was not just copied from an already existing Swedish hymn or Bible translation. Franz Tunder’s setting of *Ach Herr lass deine lieben Engelein* was supplied with a new text in Swedish. The original text constitutes the last stanza of the poem *Herzlich lieb hab’ ich dich, o Herr* by Martin Schalling. This hymn was translated into Swedish in the 1640s and included in the Swedish hymn book of 1695–1697 as number 290 under the heading “In distress, trials and tribulation” (“I Bedröfwelse, Kors och Anfächtning”). It would have been easy just to replace the German hymn stanza with the Swedish one in use at the time. The Swedish text applied to Tunder’s music in the Düben collection differs considerably, however, from how it reads in the Swedish hymn book of 1695–1697. Possibly, this freedom to not use the pre-existing hymn text can be understood from the specific occasion, in this case probably a funeral, on which the music was performed.

The three non-metrical texts *Schaffe in mir Gott*, *Fürchte euch nicht* and *Herre, nun lasset du* appear in more than one composition. Although the new

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<sup>45</sup> In a single violone part the incipits are noted in German. This part has served as a cover for the other parts.

texts agree with the Swedish translation of the Lutheran Bible (1545) in use at the time, and thus are similar, the adaptations of these texts display different solutions, recalling the many different adaptations of the *Salve regina* text.<sup>46</sup> The application of the new text was carefully done, and some of the direct connections between the music and the text, such as instances of word painting, were often maintained. In the second paragraph of his composition treatise *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, Christoph Bernhard emphasized not only that the voices should be singable, but also the importance that the music and the text should fit together.<sup>47</sup> Gustav Düben, who knew Bernhard personally, was apparently following this principle.

The majority of the Swedish translations included in table 5 were made and added in the 1680s or 1690s. This coincides with a new role for the Swedish language that seems to have been put forward by, above all, the royal chancellery.<sup>48</sup> The status of the Swedish language was, for example, discussed at the diet in November 1686.<sup>49</sup> Coincidentally this discussion took place on the day before the inauguration of the first Swedish theatre stage, which was used by *Dän Swänska Theatren* (The Swedish Theatre), active at the royal court in Stockholm 1686–1691.<sup>50</sup> It furthermore coincides with a seeming ‘Swedification’ of the court in Stockholm. In the 1680s the King ordered that his Queen of Danish origin should only be attended by Swedish courtiers, while

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed study on these adoptions, see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 405–408.

<sup>47</sup> “It [counterpoint] serves particularly to such an end that the text and the music fit well together [reimen]. For, otherwise, it can occur that music which, by itself, has a good melody will sound poor when a text is added; and the contrary can also be true”. Translation according to Richard David STREETMAN, *Christoph Bernhard*, Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984 (PhD dissertation, North Texas State University 1967), p. 77.

<sup>48</sup> This is treated in Stina HANSSON, *Svenskans nytta Sveriges ära. Litteratur och kulturpolitik under 1600-talet* [The good of Swedish, the glory of Sweden. Literature and cultural politics in the seventeenth century], Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 1984, especially p. 59 and p. 109. Regarding the publication of translations into Swedish, see Stina HANSSON, *Afsatt på Swensko. 1600-talets tryckta översättningslitteratur* [Translated into Swedish. Printed translated literature of the seventeenth century], Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg, 1982.

<sup>49</sup> See Kristian Stockfleths letter, 24 November 1686. *Handlingar rörande Sverges historia ur utrikes arkiver samlade och utgifna* [Documents regarding the history of Sweden drawn and published from foreign archives], vol. 2, ed. Anders FRYXELL, Stockholm: Hjerta, 1836, p. 345.

<sup>50</sup> On this theatre troupe see Gunilla DAHLBERG, *Dän Swänska Theatren: studier kring vår första fasta teatertrupp, dess scen och repertoar* [The Swedish theatre: studies in our first permanent theatre troupe, its stage and repertoire], PhD dissertation, University of Gothenburg, 1976.

the Danish courtiers were dismissed.<sup>51</sup> As discussed above, at the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora in 1693 music from earlier funerals within the royal family was re-used. On this occasion, the compositions were however supplied and performed with texts in Swedish.

### Adaptations of the text for a new addressee and a new context

Within the Düben collection, we find seven compositions in which the original texts have been altered to suit a new addressee and a new context.<sup>52</sup>

Table 7. Music supplied with modified or new texts, which altered the addressee or the context of the performance

COMPOSER	ORIGINAL / NEW TEXT INCIPIT	SCORING	S-Uu Vmhs
Francesco Della Porta	<i>Obstupescite redempti / Obstupescite mortales</i>	ATB, bc	32:12
Daniel Danielis	<i>Cessavit gaudium / Cessavit gaudium</i>	SATB, 3 vdg, bc	54:1
Augustin Pflieger	<i>Plaude musa Ferdinando plaude musa Caesari / Plaude musa regi nostro plaude musa Carolo</i>	2 SATB, 4 strings, bc	69:6b 86:66
Franz Tunder	<i>Hosianna dem Sohne David / Jubilate et exultate vivat Rex Carolus</i>	2 SATB, 4 strings, bc	36:6

<sup>51</sup> Fabian PERSSON, *Servants of Fortune: the Swedish court between 1598 and 1721*, Lund: Wallin & Dalholm, 1999, p. 117. Notably, as early as 1662 Gustav Düben – in his application for the post of Hofkapellmeister after his father's death – emphasized his education in foreign countries, but also took pains to call attention to the fact that he was a native-born Swede (“een infödd Swensk är”). Erik KJELLBERG, *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden: studier kring deras organisation, verksamheter och status ca. 1620–ca. 1720* [Royal musicians in Sweden: studies of their organization, activities, and status ca. 1620–ca. 1720], PhD dissertation, Uppsala University, 1979, p. 404.

<sup>52</sup> In addition to the titles included in table 7, there are a number of wedding compositions in the Düben collection that seem to have been re-used, and sometimes with altered texts. These will not be dealt with, as the changes in most cases are small and seemingly often insignificant. A wedding song from 1680s, when it was re-used later, had to be textually adapted to the new circumstances. This “schöne Paar” was replaced by this “wherte Paar”, and “Tugend” replaced the name of the bride. Both examples are from the sources for Gustav Düben's wedding song *Man sagt sonst was geschwind entsteht* (S-Uu, Vmhs 19:8).

Giovanni Carisio	<i>Laetetur arctos /</i> <i>Laetetur arctos</i>	2 S, bc	10:20
Gaspard de Verlit	<i>Laetamini omnes /</i> <i>Laetamini omnes</i>	2 SA2TB, 4 strings, bc + ripieno parts	37:4, 80:149
Johannes Schröder	<i>Adesto virtutum /</i> <i>Adesto virtutum</i>	SATB, 2 vl, 2 cnto, bc + ripieno parts	34:19

Five of these compositions are large-scale compositions appropriate for grand occasions at the Swedish court where the music was re-used, as will be shown later. The music was apparently carefully selected, when it comes to level of solemnity, decorum and representation of affect, but also considering the original context and circumstances of the pieces.

The motet by Francesco Della Porta was copied from his second book of motets, first printed 1648.<sup>53</sup> The composition was performed with a modified text in Stockholm at the funeral of Charles X in 1660, according to a printed publication including the texts for the music pieces performed at the occasion.<sup>54</sup> The other pieces were composed by the Kapellmeister Anders Düben, his son Gustav Düben, and by the esteemed Uppsala professor Olof Rudbeck, most likely for the specific occasion.

<sup>53</sup> *Motetti a due, tre, quattro, e cinque voci con un Magnificat, litanie della Beata Vergine a quattro, e cinque, si placet [...] libro secondo*, op. 3, Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1648. Reprinted as *Cantiones II. III. IV. V. vocum cum uno Magnificat et litanis Beatae Virginis quatuor, vel quinque vocibus ad libitum decantandis, cum basso continuo, libri secundi, opus tertium*, Antverpiae: apud Magdalenam Phalesiam et cohaeredes, 1650.

<sup>54</sup> *Klage- och Sorge Sång öfwer then fordorm Stormechtigste Högborne Furste och Herre Herr Carl Gustaff Sweriges Göthes och Wändes Konung [...] Sungen uthi Sabl. Kongl. Maystz Begräffning uthi Ridderholms Kyrckian den 7. Novemb. An. 1660* [Lament and dirge for the late mighty noble Prince and Lord Charles Gustav, King of Sweden [...] to be sung at the late Royal Majesty's funeral in Riddarholmen's Church on 7 November 1660], Stockholm: s.n., 1660.

Table 8. The text of Della Porta's *Obstupescite* (sic) *redempti*, and the altered text for Charles X's funeral in 1660<sup>55</sup>

TEXT IN <i>MOTETTI</i> (VENEZIA 1648)	TEXT FOR CHARLES X'S FUNERAL IN 1660 (S-UU MHS 32:12)
Obstupescite redempti et admiramini fideles Venite et videte Deum nostrum videte Crucifixum pro nobis Salvatorem suspendum in patibulo. Videte et obstupescite et admiramini fideles. Videte et obstupescite et videte et adorete dicentes. O summa Jesu bonitas O amor, o charitas, adorete dicentes. Salvator admirabilis, o Iesu mira charitas, o amor, o bonitas, o amor ineffabilis In horto languet anima, in Cruce spirat Dominus et morte tam mirabilis. Adae resurgunt filii o dolor, profucus, o nostra faelicitas obstupescite et admiramini.	Obstupescite <b>mortales</b> et <b>contristamini</b> <b>praesentes</b> Venite et videte <b>Regem</b> nostrum videte <b>Regem nostrum mature interemtum</b> <b>jacentem hic in loculo.</b> Videte et obstupescite et <b>contristamini mortales.</b> Videte et obstupescite et videte et <b>deplorate</b> dicentes. <b>O fatum lacrumabile</b> o <b>dolor</b> , o <b>lacrumae</b> , <b>deplorate</b> dicentes. <b>O Regis mors deflebilis,</b> o <b>fatum lacrumabile,</b> o <b>dolor</b> , o <b>misera</b> , o <b>dolor</b> ineffabilis In <b>lecto</b> languet <b>Regis anima</b> in <b>agone</b> spirat Dominus et morte tam <b>effebili.</b> Adae <b>tristantur</b> filii o <b>dura mors Regis</b> o nostra <b>misera</b> obstupescite et <b>contristamini.</b>

In the new version of the text for the funeral 1660, all references to Christ and the Passion have been replaced with references to the King and his death, sometimes explicitly as in “In lecto languet regis anima in agone spirat Dominus” (In the bed the King languishes, in agony the Lord breathes) replacing “In horto languet anima, in cruce spirat Dominus” (In the garden the soul languishes, on the cross the Lord breathes).

In the case of the second motet in table 7, the previously mentioned *Cessavit gaudium* by Daniel Danielis, the original text for Eleonora of Mecklenburg-Güstrow was altered only at one specific point in the Swedish manuscript parts: “Gustavus Princeps” replaced the name “Eleonora”. Prince Gustavus may refer either to the royal prince Gustav, buried together with his brother Ulrich at their joint funeral in 1685, or to their brother Karl Gustav, buried in 1687. Since *Cessavit gaudium* and *Aspice e coelis* were clearly copied at the same point

<sup>55</sup> All differences have been indicated in bold.

(i.e. originally sharing some of the leaves and copied into the same book of tablature), *Aspice e coelis* was probably performed at the same occasion. Since this text was based on Biblical quotations (Isaiah 63:15 and 64:5–12) and displays no specific connection with Eleonora, it was therefore not necessary to modify this text.<sup>56</sup>

### Augustin Pflieger's motet *Plaude musa* retexted for a new context

Within the Düben collection, we can find a motet, *Plaude musa regi nostro, plaude musa Carolo*, preserved as a tablature and as three separate instrumental parts, with a text venerating the Swedish King. The tablature and the manuscript parts lack any attribution. The music turns out to be identical to a motet with the text *Plaude musa Ferdinando, plaude musa Caesari*, by the Gottorp court Kapellmeister Augustin Pflieger. The piece was originally composed for the solemn inauguration of the university in Kiel, *Accademia Christiano-Albertina*, on 5 October 1665. It is one of a total of six odes set to music, all included in the official printed description.<sup>57</sup> The author of the texts was Daniel Morhof, at this time court poet at the Holstein-Gottorp court, and the addressees were Emperors Ferdinand III and Leopold I, and the Dukes Frederick III and Christian Albrecht.<sup>58</sup> Augustin Pflieger set Morhof's six odes to music to be part of the inauguration celebrations. The settings of the four Latin odes were probably performed within a solemn service in the church of St Nikolai.<sup>59</sup> Apart from Pflieger's four Latin motets, a *Veni sancte Spiritus* was performed at the beginning of this service, and a *Te Deum* at the end. Although the printed description does not include the name of the composer for these two settings, it is likely that Pflieger was the composer. This is attested by the fact that the

<sup>56</sup> Later re-use of this music is discussed in Lars Berglund's article in this volume.

<sup>57</sup> *Auspice D.T.O.M. Regnantibus. Divo Ferdinando Tertio. Et Leopoldo Primo Romanorum Imperatoribus Augustis. Meditatae a Gloriosiss. Memoriae In Cimbrica Chersoneso Academiae Divo Friderico [...] Successoris Filii [...] Christiani Alberti [...] Kiloniae Fundatae. Ejusdem Inaugurationis Panegyrica Descriptio*, Kiel: Holwein, 1666.

<sup>58</sup> The odes are: 1. *Plaude musa* (Emperor Ferdinand III), 2. *Magne Caesar* (Emperor Leopold I), 3. *Friderice qui per astra* (Duke Frederick III), 4. *Magne magni nate patris* (Duke Christian Albrecht) 5. *Ferdinand Fürst aller Fürsten* (Emperor Ferdinand III), 6. *Mächtiger Friedrich* (Duke Frederick III).

<sup>59</sup> Friedrich BLUME, "Augustin Pfliegers Kieler Universitäts-Oden", *Syntagma musicologicum*, 8, 1943, pp. 275–301.



tablature preserved in the Düben collection including the two compositions is an autograph.<sup>60</sup>

The tablature of *Plaude musa* preserved in the Düben collection was copied by Gustav Düben, while the only extant parts, for theorbo and two violas, were copied by Johann Stockmann, Düben's colleague and an accomplished composer and poet.<sup>61</sup>

Table 9. Morhof's text set by Augustin Pfleger,  
and the modified text prepared in Sweden ca. 1675<sup>62</sup>

MUSIC PRINT (1666)	MANUSCRIPT TABLATURE (S-UU VMHS 86:66)
Plaude musa Ferdinando, plaude musa Caesari! Vivat inter astra Caesar, vivat ejus gloria!	Plaude musa Regi nostro, plaude Musa Carolo! Vivat <b>Rex aeternae</b> , vivat <b>crescat</b> ejus gloria!
Age grates, cane laudes, quate chordas meritorum memor, o diva, priorum, et aprico glomera juba caelo, ut et ipsis venerandum resonet nomen in astris.	Age grates, cane laudes, quate chordas, <b>seculorum memor</b> , o diva, priorum, et aprico glomera juba coelo, ut et ipsis venerandum resonet nomen in astris.
Cape laurus vidui germina Pindi, sacra plectris et amicis sacra sceptris, virides rore sacro perplue ramos, positas sacra adole nunc humilis thura per aras.	Cape laurus vidui germina Pindi, sacra plectris et amicis sacra sceptris, virides rore sacro perplue ramos positas sacra adole nunc humilis thura per aras.
Modo noster chorus illum celebravit, quod egenis tribuens otia Musis spatiosis bene protexerit alis, modo cuncti sacrosanctum trepida voce salutant.	<b>Subditorum coetus illi vota facit ut illius regimen sit benedictum utque Deus ipsum custodiat utque modo cuncti supplicantes humili voce precantes.</b>
Sibi sanctum memorat Cimbria nomen, et in ipso pretiosum notat auro. Age divos, pater, huc exere vultus. Novus istis Helicon, Te Duce, nunc nascitur oris.	Sibi <b>sibi</b> memorat <b>Suecia</b> nomen et in ipso pretiosum notat auro. Age divos pater huc exere vultus, <b>en in nato denuo Patriis</b> nasceris oris.

<sup>60</sup> Blume identifies the set of parts for *Veni sancte Spiritus* attributed to Augustin Pfleger in the Düben collection as one of the compositions, but regarded Pfleger's *Te Deum* as presumably lost. Blume seems not to have noticed the tablature including both pieces, which was identified by Peter Wollny as being copied by Augustin Pfleger. Peter WOLLNY, "Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Sammlung Düben", *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 87, 2005, pp. 100–114.

<sup>61</sup> Stockmann had studied at the university in Leipzig before he came to Sweden. In 1667, he was appointed Kantor of the German Church. Jan DREES, *Die soziale Funktion der Gelegenheitsdichtung: Studien zur deutschsprachigen Gelegenheitsdichtung in Stockholm zwischen 1613 und 1719*, Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets-, historie- och antikvitetsakademien, 1986, p. 242. KJELLBERG, *Kungliga musiker*, p. 220. Johan Anton August LÜDEKE, *Dissertatio historica de ecclesia Teutonica et templo S[anc]tae Gertrudis Stockholmiensi*, Uppsala: Edman, [1791], p. 82.

<sup>62</sup> Altered parts have been indicated in bold.

Ita junctis precibus dicimus omnes. tibi laudes recinemus, tibi grates. sua donec numerabit polus astra, et hincos glomerabit Thetis interflua fluctus.	Ita junctis precibus dicimus omnes tibi laudes recinemus, tibi grates sua donec numerabit polus astra, et hincos glomerabit Thetis interfluens fluctus.
Tibi celsas tribuet Fama quadrigas, neque terris bene claudenda nec astris, quod amicos foveat hic Pindus alumnos, totidem nunc tibi linguas, totidem solvimus ora.	Tibi celsas tribuet Fama quadrigas, neque terris bene claudenda nec astris, quod <b>fideles numerat Suecia cives</b> totidem nunc tibi linguas, totidem <b>concinunt</b> ora.

While the three instrumental parts are difficult to date from the type of paper, it is evident that the tablature was copied around 1675.<sup>63</sup> In this year, a grand occasion was celebrated at the Swedish court, the coronation of Charles XI in Uppsala cathedral. According to the official descriptions of the coronation ceremony, five pieces of figural music were included in the solemn act. Two were settings of *Te Deum* and *Veni sancte spiritus*, while no titles are given for the other three. The number would correspond to five compositions in the Düben collection. Apart from the fact that all five are large lavish compositions including trumpets, the sources can be dated to ca. 1675 and all interconnected by sharing the same type of papers and copyists.<sup>64</sup>

In order to understand the relationship between the university inauguration in Kiel and the coronation in Uppsala ten years later, it is important to recall the close relationship between the Swedish royalty and the Holstein-Gottorp dynasty. Throughout the entire seventeenth century, these two courts and dynasties were closely related. Already at the beginning of the century, the spouse of Charles IX, Christina, was of the house of Holstein-Gottorp. Their son, Gustav II Adolph, was thus cousin to Frederick III of Holstein-Got-

<sup>63</sup> RUDÉN, "Vattenmärken och musikforskning", pp. 54, 88, and appendix I, p. 133.

<sup>64</sup> These are *Te Deum*, *Veni sancte Spiritus* and *Plaude musa* by Pflieger, and two unattributed compositions, *Herre Konungen frögdar sig* [Lord, the King is rejoicing] and *Exaudiat te Dominus. Exaudiat te Dominus* is a setting of Psalm 20 which is one of the "King psalms" traditionally connected with the act of coronation. The character of the music and the lavish scorings indicate an occasion of magnitude and high solemn level. *Herre Konungen frögdar sig* was in all likelihood composed by the Swedish polyhistor and amateur musician Olof Rudbeck. For details on the music performed at the 1675 coronation, see Maria SCHILDT, *Karl XI:s kröning 1675: musiken, musikerna och två anonyma festkompositioner ur Dübensamlingen* [The coronation of Charles XI in 1675: the music, the musicians and two unattributed compositions from the Düben collection] Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2004 (Musikvetenskapliga serien, Uppsala, 58), and EAD., *Hyllningsmusik till Karl XI: en studie kring 18 tillfälleskompositioner* [Laudatory music for Charles XI: a study of 18 occasional compositions], Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2007 (Master's Thesis, Musikvetenskapliga serien, Uppsala, 61).

torp, the addressee for one of Morhof's odes. Frederick was also grandfather to Charles XI, since Frederick's daughter, Hedwig Eleonora, was Charles X's spouse. The founder of the *Accademia Christiano-Albertina*, was, as the name reveals, Duke Christian Albrecht of Holstein-Gottorp. He was Hedwig Eleonora's brother. Hedwig Eleonora, one of the most influential members of the Swedish court at this point, had been the head of Charles XI's regency that had ended in 1672. Politically the two courts were allies, above all united against their mutual enemy Denmark, during a large part of the early modern period.

The two occasions also have some elements of consecration in common: the use of the blessing and the calling down of the Holy Spirit (as illustrated by the performance of *Veni sancte spiritus*). Interestingly enough, the second stanza with the section "humbly offering holy incense at the raised altars" ("positas sacra adole nunc humilis thura per aras") is one of the two stanzas that has been kept in its entirety.

### **The transformation of Franz Tunder's *Hosianna dem Sohne David* into laudatory music**

Franz Tunder's motet for the first Sunday in Advent (or for *Palmarum*) is preserved in the Düben collection in two sets of parts, both copied in Sweden. The originals from which these were copied (i.e. Tunder's autographs or north German copies) are not extant within the collection. The German text *Hosianna dem Sohne Davids*, copied by Gustav Düben, is most likely the original one, while the Latin text venerating the Swedish King, *Jubilate et exultate, vivat Rex Carolus*, was supplied later in Stockholm. This is attested by the fact that the original cover, inside which the parts were kept together, gives only the German title. It is also clear from the manuscript parts that there has been an adjustment of the text to the music. The original "Hosianna" was substituted by "Rex Carolus", with the consequence that two slurs had to be replaced by one ("Rex"), and one extra semiquaver had to be inserted ("Carolus") (see figure 1).



Figure 1. The retexting of Franz Tunder's *Hosianna dem Sohne David*, Cantus 1 part.  
Uppsala, University library, S-Uu Vmhs 36:6

All the parts (with both texts) were copied on the same sort of paper, used by Gustav Düben in the late 1660s.<sup>65</sup> The second set of vocal parts with the new text in Latin was copied by Johann Stockmann. Not only the watermarks, but also the early stage of Stockmann's handwriting supports a copying date in the late 1660s.<sup>66</sup> The fact that Stockmann copied some of the parts could possibly point to a performance in the German Church where he was Kantor. There seem however to have been only few substantial solemn acts in this church in the second part of the seventeenth century in the presence of royalty.<sup>67</sup> It is more likely that Gustav Düben had engaged Stockmann for an occasion at the royal court.<sup>68</sup> Gustav Düben paid Stockmann as an extra musician at

<sup>65</sup> This type of paper was used in the period 1668–1672, with an emphasis on the first one and a half years. RUDÉN, "Vattenmärken och musikforskning", p. 152.

<sup>66</sup> Jan Olof Rudén noticed that the copyist "A-Sthlm" is identical to the copyist "K2", and that these in fact reflected two different stages of the same copyist's handwriting. RUDÉN, "Vattenmärken och musikforskning", p. 54.

<sup>67</sup> Lüdeke reports in his history of the German Church only a few solemn celebrations that would have included the presence of the royal family. Apart from the inauguration of the royal gallery in 1672 and the visit of the royalty on the 4th day of Christmas 1682, Lüdeke mentions *Mennonitarum* baptisms in the years 1663, 1666, 1670, 1674, and 1676, *Iudaerum* baptisms (several, the most grand in 1681), one *Nigrorum Americanorum* baptism (in 1679), and one *Muhammedanorum* baptism (in 1686). LÜDEKE, *Dissertatio historica*, pp. 34–35.

<sup>68</sup> Stockmann probably assisted Gustav Düben in copying music even before he was appointed Kantor in the German Church in the autumn of 1667. The parts of a mass by Gaspar Verlit (S-Uu Vmhs 37:3) were copied jointly by Gustav Düben and Stockmann. Gustav Düben copied the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo into each part while Johann Stockmann completed each

occasions celebrated at the royal court, for example a ballet in December 1667, the coronation of Charles XI in 1675 and the coronation of the Queen consort Ulrika Eleonora in 1680.<sup>69</sup> Stockmann's participation in these occasions is also testified by his handwriting in extant musical sources that have survived from these celebrations.<sup>70</sup>

The affect and character of Tunder's music was appropriate not only for celebrating Christ, but also a worldly King, illustrated, for example, by the repeated figure of a quaver followed by two semiquavers. The original text of the composition, the people's tribute to Christ as a king, was certainly a deliberate choice when looking for music for this, most likely, grand occasion. Since there were also parts copied with the original text, it is possible that Tunder's composition had been performed with its original text previously and that more people than just the initiated and those directly involved in the performance could have had knowledge about the connection between these texts.

Table 10. Original German text for Franz Tunder's composition, and the re-texting made in Stockholm ca. 1667

ORIGINAL TEXT	NEW TEXT SUPPLIED IN STOCKHOLM CA. 1667
Hosianna dem Sohne David.	Jubilate et exultate vivat Rex Carolus et crescat et floreat per cuncta saecula.
Gelobet seÿ der da kombt im nahmen des Herren.	Benedicat tibi Dominus ex Sijon custodiat te Deus et det tibi pacem.
Hosianna dem Sohne David.	Jubilate et exultate vivat Rex Carolus et crescat et floreat per cuncta saecula.
Gelobet seÿ der da kombt im nahmen des Herren.	O felix dies o laeta dies o veneranda dies in qua progressus et natus est.
Hosianna, hosianna!	Gloria Sweciae et gaudium Livoniae!
Gelobet seÿ der da kombt im Nahmen des Herren.	Nos ergo laetantes cantam[us].
Hosianna hosianna in der Höhe.	Alleluia alleluia vivat Rex Carolus.

part with the music for the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. Gustav Düben dated the source "1666", a date which is also supported by the watermarks.

<sup>69</sup> KJELLBERG, *Kungliga musiker*, pp. 145, 199 and 207.

<sup>70</sup> Johann Stockmann copied parts of Augustin Pfleger's *Plaude musa regi nostro* (for the 1675 coronation) and parts for Johann Schröder's *Adesto virtutum chorus* (for the coronation 1680), both pieces being discussed in this article.

The new text provides not merely a translation of the original text. The original text (Matthew 21:9) and the new one venerating Charles XI have, however, the obvious point in common as they both express the people's tribute for their king.<sup>71</sup> The entry into Jerusalem was a recurrent theme in princely panegyrics in early modern Europe. In a music piece composed by Gustav Düben on the King's return to Stockholm from a 1680 war campaign, the same motive is found: "Seh't! windet und bindet auch Palmen zusammen Ihr Schweden und machet die Pforten bereit".<sup>72</sup> Princely iconography often makes allusion to Christ's entry into Jerusalem. In the Swedish court painter David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl's monumental painting *The coronation of Charles XI* the people hold sprays of spruce ("the palm leaves of the North") in their hands.

The re-texting of Tunder's piece resembles another composition preserved in the Düben collection, *Osanna alleluia vivat et floreat Rex Casimirus*. This piece was composed by the Polish Kapellmeister Marco Scacchi for the coronation of John II Casimir in 1648.<sup>73</sup> Gustav Düben had acquired this music at the beginning of the 1660s. Although it is difficult to prove, this text could possibly have served as a model when Tunder's piece was to be given a new text. In both cases, the "Alleluia" before the "vivat Rex" lend the text an obvious sacred direction. The new text for Tunder's piece has another biblical connection, in the same way as in Scacchi's piece. "Benedicat tibi Dominus ex Sijon custodiat te Deus et det tibi pacem" is drawn from Numbers 6:24–26: "benedicat tibi Dominus et custodiat te [...] et det tibi pacem". This section is the origin of the blessing and is central in, for example, coronation ceremonies. The

<sup>71</sup> There are other similar cases, for example in G. F. Händel's *Zadok the priest* (*Coronation anthems* for George II) with its text drawn from 1 Kings 1:34, the Israeli people's voice has been transformed into the voice of the English subjects.

<sup>72</sup> *Unterthänigste Pflicht und Freudens-Bezeigung alß [...] Carolus der XI. [...] nach wieder erlangten [...] Friede sich naher dero [...] Residentz Stockholm wendete*, Stockholm: Johann Georg Eberdt, 1680. Another coeval Swedish example is Valentin Korn's panegyric for Charles XI published on the occasion of the Swedish army's victory in Lund 4 December 1676: *Quantum Hosiana på then store tacksäyelse dagen som [...] celebrerades i Stockholm den 3. januarij anno 1677. för then herlige victorie [...] den 4. decembris 1676. ved Lund i Skåne* [Quantum Hosiana on the solemn thanksgiving [...] that was celebrated in Stockholm 3 January 1677 for the glorious victory [...] 4 December 1676 near Lund in Skåne], [Stockholm, 1677]. Mårten SNICKARE, *Enväldets riter: kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den yngre* [The rites of the absolutism: royal celebrations and ceremonies shaped by Nicodemus Tessin the younger], Stockholm: Raster 1999, p. 78.

<sup>73</sup> John Casimir (Vasa) was son to Sigismund Vasa, Swedish King 1592–1599 and Polish King 1587–1632.



section “O felix dies o laeta dies o veneranda dies in qua progressus et natus est” would, however, point rather to one of Charles XI’s birthdays in the late 1660s, although it remains to identify the specific occasion when this music was supplied with its new text and performed.

## Two more examples of musical tributes to Charles XI: *Laetetur arctos* and *Laetamini omnes in Domino*

*Laetetur arctos*, from the printed collection *Sacri concerti* op. 1 (1664) by Giovanni Carisio,<sup>74</sup> was supplied with a new text also addressed to Charles XI. Giovanni Carisio was employed as a musician at the Savoy court in Turin from ca. 1665. The original addressee was *Madama Reale*, i.e. Maria Cristina di Francia (1606–1663), the sister of Louis XIII and regent at the Savoy court.<sup>75</sup> The Düben collection contains a copy of this first opus by Carisio, and this was most likely the original from which Gustav Düben copied the tablature and the parts for *Laetetur arctos*.

Table 11. The original text for *Laetetur caeli jubilet terra* as included in Giovanni Carisio’s *Sacri concerti* op. 1 (1664), and the retexting made in Stockholm in the late 1660s<sup>76</sup>

TEXT IN GIOVANNI CARISIO’S <i>SACRI CONCERTI</i> OP. 1 (1664)	TEXT IN S-UU VMHS 10:20
Laetetur caeli jubilet terra in hac Christine solemnitate quae victrix impij tjranni baccantem furorem et rabiem irristi	Laetetur <b>arctos</b> jubilet <b>orbis</b> in hac <b>Caroli</b> solemnitate qui <b>tener vitii perversi</b> baccantem furorem et rabiem <b>devicit</b>
et beatis septa cohortibus in caelis coronata triumphat. Christine ergo plaudite Virgine et laetum citharis edite sonitum vos autem pueri carmina dicite et dulci strepitu pulsate tympana.	et <b>regiis</b> septus <b>virtutibus</b> â Marte coronatur triumphat. <b>Carolo</b> ergo plaudite <b>juveni</b> et laetatum citharis edite sonitum vos autem pueri carmina dicite et dulci strepitu pulsate tympana.

<sup>74</sup> *Sacri concerti del sig. Giovanni Carisio cieco torinese a due, tre, quattro, e cinque voci. Con tre motetti del sig. Gio. Battista Trabattone, suo maestro. Opera prima*, Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1664 (RISM A/I C 1219).

<sup>75</sup> The piece is headed “Per il giorno di S. Christina festa di Madama Reale” in the printed collection.

<sup>76</sup> Altered parts have been indicated in bold.



O qua benigne [...] <sup>77</sup>	O quam bene jubilat polus, o quam bene resonat tellus Caroli laudibus qui inter vitiorum fervorem, inter immanes belluas et tetrum perversi temporis squalore[m] victor ad astra ascendit.
Christinam igitur stipate floribus fulcite violis canori socij vos quoque filij caelestis solijmae spargite lilia plaudite vocibus. Eia surgite cantemus jubilemus gratulemur tantae Virgini quae triumphali pompa in caelum evolavit.	<b>Virtutem principis</b> stipate floribus fulcite violis canori socij vos quoque <b>proceres invictae Sueciae</b> spargite lillia plaudite vocibus. Eia surgite cantemus jubilemus gratulemur <b>magno principi</b> qui triumphali pompa <b>ad fasces coronatur.</b>
Vivat igitur vivat Christina vivat Regina vivat in aeternum!	Vivat igitur vivat <b>Carolus</b> vivat <b>Rex noster</b> vivat in aeternum!

The second composition, the motet *Laetamini omnes in Domino*, is included in the printed collection *Missae et moteta* by the Flemish composer Gaspard de Verlit, published in Antwerp 1661.<sup>78</sup> Although no copy of this print is preserved in the Düben collection, it is likely that Gustav Düben had access to a copy of Verlit's collection, as he copied no less than four motets and one mass from this publication. *Laetamini omnes in Domino*, which originally venerated St Peter, has been transformed into a composition that celebrates the Swedish King, as in the case of the text of Carisio.

Table 12. The original text for *Laetamini omnes in Domino* as included in Gaspard de Verlit's *Missae et moteta* (1661), and the retexting made in Stockholm in the late 1660s

GASPARD DE VERLIT'S <i>MISSAE ET MOTETA</i> (1661)	S-Uu VMHS 37:4
Laetamini omnes in Domino laetamini in cymbalis bene sonantibus, in canticis iubilationis, quia hodie, gaudet in caelis Sanctus Petrus, Sancte Petrus.	Laetamini omnes in Domino laetamini in cymbalis bene sonantibus in canticis iubilationis quia hodie <b>solemnem celebram[que] diem Regis nostri.</b>

<sup>77</sup> The printed part-book of the Cantus II is lost and therefore the original text of this section is not possible to reconstruct.

<sup>78</sup> *Missae et moteta nec non quatuor antiphonae B. Mariae Virginis IV. V. VI. vocum cum instrumentis & ripienis*, Antwerp: Heirs of Phalèse, 1661 (RISM A/I V 1245).

O felix anima, quae caelum hodie triumphans, ingreditur et celestibus gaudijs fruitur.	<b>O dies serena, o dies laetitiae, o dies jucunda, o dies verae gloriae!</b> <b>Quam laetum, quam gloriosum jubilat nunc regnum hoc et innumeris gaudiis fruitur.</b>
Unde exultant Angeli, laetantur Archangeli cantantes et dicentes regnet nobiscum Sancte Petrus.	Unde exultant <b>incolae laetantur subditi.</b> <b>Vivat crescat et floreat Carolus Rex noster ut in annos Nestoreos sit tutor regni nostril Suecii!</b>

The parts for Carisio's concerto with the new text can be dated to ca. 1669, and the set of parts for Verlit's work were likely copied at the same point, as the same type of paper with printed staves was used for both sets of parts.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, these two sets of parts were supplied with 355 and 356 as their *numerus currens*, when Gustav Düben rearranged his music collection in the 1670s, suggesting that the parts for these two compositions were kept together, and copied at the same point of time, and presumably also performed at the same occasion.

In the new text for Carisio's piece, all references to its original addressee Christina were replaced by the name and the references to Charles. More or less all of the remaining text was kept intact, also the section drawn from Song of Songs ("stipate floribus fulcite violis canori socii"). Certain features in the new text, especially "qui triumphali pompa ad fasces coronatur", would indicate a type of occasion other than a birthday. Apart from celebrations of royal birthdays, there were few large celebrations during Charles XI's regency in the 1660s.<sup>80</sup> A major occasion was however celebrated at the Swedish court in the summer of 1669, when the young Charles XI was honoured with the Order of the Garter. The Order was officially bestowed by the Earl of Carlisle in connection with a solemn ceremony in the Hall of the Realm at the royal castle on 29 July 1669.<sup>81</sup> The point of time corresponds to the dating of the music

<sup>79</sup> It is possible to date the tabulature for *Laetentur arctos* to ca. 1668–1670. RUDÉN, "Vattemärken och musikforskning", Appendix I, p. 31. The parts are copied on the same type of paper (watermark: Monogram/CB) as other sources within the collection; two of them are dated "1670".

<sup>80</sup> SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 450–539, 564.

<sup>81</sup> "Berättelse, huru det tilgikk den 29 julii år 1669, då kon. Karl den XI:te blef af den ängelska ambassadeuren gr. Carlisle solenniter gjord til riddare af Strumpebands-orden, på Riks-salen i Stockholm" [Report on the occasion of 29 July 1669 when King Charles XI was solemnly bestowed by the English ambassador Count Carlisle with the Order of the Garter in the Hall of Realm at the Royal palace], in *Kritiska och historiska handlingar* [Crucial and historical documents], ed. Erik EKHOLM, vols. 1–3, Stockholm: Peter Hesselberg, 1760, p. 15.

performance material, and it seems reasonable to assume that *Laetamini omnes* and *Laetentur arctos* were selected and prepared with their modified texts for this occasion. A detail such as the mention of Nestor's age (in *Laetamini omnis in Domino*) is also found in a composition printed in connection with this occasion, Gustav Düben's song *O großer König dieser Reichen*.<sup>82</sup>

## New Year's music re-used for the coronation of the Swedish Queen Ulrika Eleonora

The composition *Adesto virtutum chorus* by the Danish court Kapellmeister Johannes Schröder (d. 1677) is preserved in a unique copy within the Düben collection. This is the only extant music known to have been attributed to this composer. Since Schröder died in 1677, the piece was composed sometime before this point. The music was probably offered to the Swedish royalty in the 1670s. The engagement of Charles XI and the Danish princess Ulrika Eleonora had been announced in 1675, and this could have been the motive for Schröder to offer the piece to the Danish-Swedish couple. It could possibly have been presented as a New Year's offering, suggested by the line "Annus revolvitur, nova surgunt auspicial" (The year is revolving, a new beginning is rising).

Table 13. The original text of Johannes Schröder's *Adesto virtutum chorus*, and its later alterations<sup>83</sup>

ORIGINAL TEXT	ALTERED TEXT
Adesto virtutum chorus, adesto charitas. Annus revolvitur, nova surgunt auspicia. Io date gloriam sedenti super thronum Regi Carolo nostro.	Adesto virtutum chorus, adesto charitas. <b>Iam coronata est Regina,</b> <b>Suecia nova surgunt gaudia.</b> Io date gloriam sedenti super thronum Regi Carolo nostro.

Official description in manuscript: "Ceremonial som böör effterlefwas widh Riddar ordrens öfwerlefwererande till H. K. M:t Wår allernädigste Konungh och Herr. A: 1669" [Ceremonial that should be obeyed at the bestowal of the order of the knights to our gracious King and Lord. A. 1669], S-Uu, Nordin collection, 263.

<sup>82</sup> *Glückwünschende ode Als mit sonderbahrer Königl. solennitet, Ihrer Königl. May.t unserm Allernadigstem Könige und Herren Im Nahmen Ihrer Königl. May.t von Engellandt Durch den Herrn Graffen von Carlisle, der Welberühmte Ritterorden des Guldernen Hosenbandes offeriret worden*, [Stockholm: Meurer, 1669].

<sup>83</sup> Later alterations have been indicated in bold.

Io date honorem et gloriam Reginae nostrae.  
Io benedictionem principi nostro date,  
Carolo nostro Regi potentissimo,  
Reginae felicissimae, Principi optimo  
virtutum omnium candidato.  
Fides, Prudentia, Salus, Justitia, Robur,  
Clementia, Spes, Vigilantia, Pietas, Charitas,  
Honor, Felicitas,  
se sistunt ante thronum.  
Vigete, valete, vivete omnes.

Io date honorem et gloriam Reginae nostrae.  
Io benedictionem principi nostro date,  
Carolo nostro Regi potentissimo,  
Reginae felicissimae, Principi optimo  
virtutum omnium candidato.  
Fides, Prudentia, Salus, Justitia, Robur,  
Clementia, Spes, Vigilantia, Pietas, Charitas,  
Honor, Felicitas,  
se sistunt ante thronum.  
Vigete, valete, vivete omnes.

The text of the piece was later modified before a second, later performance. The dating of the sources places a second performance with its modified text in ca. 1680, and the new text “Iam coronata est Regina, Suecia nova surgunt gaudia” (Now the Queen is crowned, a new joy is rising in Sweden), suggests that it was performed in connection with Queen Ulrika Eleonora’s coronation in 1680.<sup>84</sup>

All compositions included in table 7 are large-scale compositions, apart from Carisio’s and Della Porta’s pieces. The new texts are all in Latin. In the case of Tunder’s motet, there is a shift in the language, from German to Latin. This was an unusual practice for Gustav Düben and his colleagues. Other pieces in the Düben collection display a language shift from Latin or German into Swedish. The choice of the Latin language was in all probability motivated by the close connection Latin had with the presence of royalty, as discussed above.

The original contexts of the compositions seem to have been significant in these cases. To consciously link up with a previous occasion or another person has a long tradition in music history, with well known examples, such as Costanzo Festa’s *Quis dabit oculis*, composed on the death of Anne of Brittany in 1514, re-used in 1519 for the funeral of Emperor Maximilian I.<sup>85</sup> The original compositions were probably carefully selected. It was no coincidence that the people’s celebration of Christ’s entry into Jerusalem or the panegyrics

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<sup>84</sup> For a more detailed discussion on Schröder’s piece, the sources and the circumstances of the performance, see SCHILDT, *Hyllningsmusik till Karl XI*, pp. 106–110.

<sup>85</sup> Alexander MAIN, “Maximilian’s Second-Hand Funeral Motet”, *The Musical Quarterly*, 48, 1962, pp. 173–189.

of another princely person such as Maria Cristina di Francia or Eleonora of Mecklenburg-Schwerin were selected and supplied with modified texts. The connection with the inauguration of Kiel University and the transformation of the text for another inauguration, the coronation, also seems to have been a deliberate choice. In the case of the music for the Danish Ulrika Eleonora's coronation in 1680, the re-using of music by the Danish Kapellmeister Johannes Schrøder, probably composed for the announcement of the engagement five years earlier, was in all probability also a deliberate choice.

## Conclusion

In this article, three different motives for textual changes and *contrafacta* procedures have been considered: to adapt Catholic music to a Protestant liturgical context, to acquire repertoire in Swedish, and to adapt music for a new occasion and another addressee. Considering the large number of compositions in the Düben collection that have been supplied with a new or modified text, the *contrafactum* practice was an essential part of the Swedish Kapellmeister's responsibilities. Other European collections and inventories of now lost music show that this was by no means unique to the Swedish court.

For the seventeenth-century Kapellmeister, the text of a composition was apparently not always seen as an, in all respects, indispensable part of the composition, and it could be altered or even substituted. This was true not only for aria settings in which the relationship between text and music was not always of essential importance, but also for concertato settings with a sometimes intimate relationship between them. The new texts were carefully adapted and adjusted to the music. Standard solutions were generally avoided and in each case, a unique solution was provided when altering the text, even with a frequently set text, such as *Salve regina*.

Apart from the Catholic repertoire adapted to a Protestant context, modification and replacement of the texts were made in order to transform pre-existing music into repertoire appropriate for new occasions and new addressees. This re-use seems in many cases to have been clearly a deliberate choice. The original context of the music was probably often of importance when selecting repertoire. By forming a connection with another royal person or another occasion of magnitude, also non-musical values could be transferred into the new context.

A considerable amount of work was invested in the *contrafactum* procedures, in selecting appropriate compositions as well as adapting and mounting texts. In addition to performance and composition, the *contrafactum* practice was one of the main tasks for chapel masters and musicians in early modern Europe.

### Summary

Chapel masters at courts in early modern Europe certainly experienced a constant and manifest demand to realize appropriate music for all aspects of court culture that included music. The Kapellmeister could himself be an accomplished composer with the ability to provide the court with compositions for prestigious occasions. On other occasions, he instead re-used old music. The texts were then often replaced with new ones, or at least adapted to the new circumstances. Our knowledge of the many aspects connected to these *contrafacta* practices is still scarce. The extant music library of the Swedish court 1650–1725, today known as the Düben collection, provides a unique source of information pertaining to these practices. The approximately 75 *contrafacta* in the collection can be divided into three groups, regarding the function of the substitute texts:

- adapting the texts motivated by theological considerations, i.e. adaptations of Catholic texts for a Protestant context, or repertoire for different feasts of the liturgical year;
- providing repertoire in the Swedish language;
- adapting the texts to new circumstances or a new addressee.

In this article, I discuss these different types of *contrafacta* practices, although I focus mainly on compositions included in the last group: compositions re-used as laudatory music for the Swedish King Charles XI (1655–1697). It turns out that the re-use of music was most likely often a deliberate choice, and that these compositions were carefully selected, considering their original texts and contexts. The intricate web of intertextual and contextual relationships between the original compositions and their *contrafacta* supports this assumption. Moreover, these examples provide rare insights into and knowledge of the circumstances and the practices of chapel masters in their task of providing appropriate music for their courts in early modern Europe.

Keywords: court music, 17th century, *contrafacta*, music collections, occasional music, Charles XI (Swedish King), re-texting.





Lars Berglund

## Mourning a dead Queen. The music at the funeral of Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in Stockholm (1693)

The festivities, the ceremonies, the solemn princely and royal celebrations were extraordinarily important events in early modern society. They were, with a formulation borrowed from Gino Stefani, occasions when the entire society at the same time expressed itself and articulated its hierarchical structure, with all its means of expression available.<sup>1</sup> In seventeenth-century Sweden, as in the rest of Europe, the state assembled all its resources for highly impressive manifestations at the great functions of the realm. Royal weddings, coronations and funerals were celebrated with exceptionally costly ceremonies, characterised by an effective integration and coordination of the different arts.

One of the most impressive functions of this kind in Sweden was the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in 1693. It was the most important state ceremony since the establishment of absolute monarchy in Sweden, at the dioceses in 1680 and 1682. The new form of government led to a massive display of royal power with a particular focus on the royal family. The Danish princess Ulrika Eleonora was married to King Charles XI in May 1680, and in the autumn of the same year she was crowned Queen of the realm. It was a highly symbolic union, manifesting the peace between the two Kingdoms after the Scanian War 1675 to 1679.<sup>2</sup> In the public, political rhetoric the Queen

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<sup>1</sup> Gino STEFANI, *Musica barocca. Poetica e ideologia*, Milano: Bompiani, 1974, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Lars BERGLUND, *Studier i Christian Geists vokalmusik*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2002 (Studia musicologica Upsaliensia, 21, PhD dissertation), pp. 238–242.

was portrayed as the mild and pious mother of the entire kingdom and all its subjects.<sup>3</sup> This image of the relation between subject and realm as a large family, where the King and Queen were the parents, was certainly conventional, but was given particularly strong emphasis in the official political rhetoric during Ulrika Eleonora's thirteen years as queen. From this viewpoint, her sudden death was comparable to the decease of a beloved mother.

The arrangements at her funeral are relatively well known and described. In particular, the visual decorations are depicted and analysed in Mårten Snickare's excellent study of occasional architecture for royal ceremonies during the era of absolutism.<sup>4</sup> However, much less is known about the music at the funeral, a gap which this essay aims to fill.<sup>5</sup>

### A Queen is buried

Ulrika Eleonora passed away at the castle of Karlberg in northern Stockholm on 26 July 1693, but the funeral had to wait until 28 November. The solemn funeral ceremony was held in the Riddarholmen Church (*Riddarholmskyrkan*), which served as the royal burial site. The decorations of the church were designed by the court architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728).<sup>6</sup> During almost three months, artisans and carpenters were occupied with adorning and partly rebuilding the interior of the church. The funeral ceremony was arranged as an impressive and compassionate symbolic representation of the exceptional dignity of the Queen and of the royal dynasty. This was combined with references to the religious import of the ceremony: reminders of the transience of earthly life and allusions to the triumphal reception awaiting the Queen in heaven. Tessin used wooden constructions draped with black cloth to reshape the irregular plan of the medieval church into a symmetrical space, more in line with the baroque-classicist taste in vogue. For

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<sup>3</sup> Nils EKEDAHL, *Det svenska Israel: myt och retorik i Haquin Spegels predikokonst*, Uppsala: Gidlund, 1999 (Studia rhetorica Upsaliensia, 2, PhD dissertation), p. 93; Mårten SNICKARE, *Enväldets riter: kungliga fester och ceremonier i gestaltning av Nicodemus Tessin den yngre*, Stockholm: Raster, 1999 (Uppsala, PhD dissertation), pp. 71–75.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 3.

<sup>5</sup> This is a revised English version of an article published in Swedish in 2004: Lars BERGLUND, "Sorge-Musique för en död drottning. Om musiken vid Ulrika Eleonora den äldres begravning 1693", *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning*, 86, 2004, pp. 27–48.

<sup>6</sup> This and the following build on SNICKARE, *Enväldets riter*, pp. 83–114.

the presentation of the Queen's coffin, he created a grandiose *castrum doloris*, crowned by a pyramid. The pyramid was covered in black taffeta and decorated with inscriptions and emblems. These were written in transparent gold, and were illuminated by candles placed inside the pyramid. Along the sides of the nave, Tessin placed skeletons carrying large candelabra. The pyramid was held by four winged representations of death (see figure 1).

For the most prominent guests at the funeral, a temporary stand was built in the southern aisle. Moreover, the entire grand organ was dismantled and removed, to give space for the foreign envoys and other participants, in all 300 persons. For the music, a temporary loft was built by the pulpit.

An official, printed account describes the funeral ceremony in relative detail.<sup>7</sup> The full ceremony lasted several hours. It was preceded by a short procession from the Royal castle to the church, including the royal family, the Council of the Realm and the nobility. The dead Queen was represented in the procession by an empty coach, draped in black. When the King entered the church, the musicians started to perform "mourning music" (*Särge musique*). After this the hymn *O Herre Gud af Himmelrik! / Vår tilflygt är du evinnerlig* was sung – a Swedish translation of the Lutheran hymn *Herr Gott Vater im Himmelreich*, by Cornelius Becker. Then the arch-bishop Olof Svebilius held an hour-long funeral sermon. It was based on a verse from the Pauline Epistle to the Philippians, which had served as the Queen's motto: "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain". After the sermon, Svebilius read the *personalia*, i.e., an account of the Queen's biography. When he descended from the pulpit, "mourning music" was performed again. Another hymn was sung, and three members of the Royal Council removed the Queen's regalia, which had been placed on a pillow on top of the coffin. One more hymn was sung, while the Queen's coffin was carried to the Royal funeral chapel. Then the service was concluded with the benediction and a final hymn.<sup>8</sup> In the evening after the

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<sup>7</sup> *Kort relation / Om Högst Sahl. Hennes May:tz / Wär alldernädigste Drottning / Ulricae Eleonorae Lijk Process, som skedde uthi Stockholm den 28. Novembris 1693* [Brief account of Her Most Blessed Majesty, our all merciful Queen Ulrica Eleonora's funeral, that took place in Stockholm on 28 November 1693].

<sup>8</sup> The three hymns sung were *Jesus är mitt liv och hälsa* (Jesus is my life and health, a hymn by Johann Gerdes, former vicar of the German Church in Stockholm), *Med glädje och frid far jag hän* (a Swedish translation of Martin Luther's *Nunc dimittis* paraphrase *Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin*), and *I himmelen, I himmelen* (In Heaven, in Heaven, by the Swedish priest Laurentius Laurinus).



Figure 1. Queen Ulrika Eleonora's funeral in the Riddarholmen Church, with the *castrum doloris* in the center. Tinted drawing by Nichodemus Tessin the Younger used for an engraving produced in Paris by Pierre Le Pautre (the image is therefore inverted). Stockholm, National Museum, NM H THC 4822

ceremony, there was a banquet at the Royal castle, where all four estates of the realm were represented.

As we can see from this account, four Lutheran hymns were sung during the funeral. In addition, there were at least two occasions for mourning music, termed *sorge-musique* in the printed Swedish account. This is an important distinction: *musique* at this time would have meant figural music, i.e., composed, polyphonic music, presented by the singers and instrumentalists of the Royal *Hofkapelle*.

### Preserved poems and songs to the memory of the Queen

According to a royal edict, services were held in all the churches of the realm, simultaneously with the funeral ceremony in the Riddarholmen Church. They all included a funeral sermon and reading of the *personalia*. All of the sermons, several of which are preserved in print, addressed the Queen's motto from the Pauline Epistle.

Ulrika Eleonora's death resulted in an immense number of poems, orations and songs. There are several hundred such occasional prints preserved, deriving from the major cities of the country, including those in the German and Baltic provinces, such as Rostock, Riga, Greifswald, Stade, etc.<sup>9</sup> In Stade, Vincent Lübeck composed two cantatas for the mourning service, on commission by the city's Swedish administration.<sup>10</sup> There is also a "Trauer-Ode" composed by Paul Itzen, possibly in the city of Lüneburg, and a lament written by Johann H. Schaefer and performed in the Trinity Church in Gävle.<sup>11</sup> In addition, there is a large number of poems written to be sung to well-known melodies.

None of these pieces, however, can be connected with the *musique* performed at the official funeral ceremony in the Riddarholmen Church. The music for that ceremony must instead be searched for in the Düben collection in Uppsala. This large collection, donated to Uppsala University in 1732 by

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<sup>9</sup> These are preserved at Uppsala University library (Sv. Personvers, Svenska kungl. Personer, Ulrika Eleonora d. Ä.) and at the Royal Library in Stockholm (Verser till och över enskilda).

<sup>10</sup> Wolfram SYRÉ, *Vincent Lübeck: Leben und Werk*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000, pp. 61–62.

<sup>11</sup> See Carl Allan MOBERG, *Från kyrko- och hovmusik till offentlig konsert. Studier i Stormaktstidens svenska musikhistoria*, Uppsala: Lundequistska, 1942 (*Studia musicologica Upsaliensia*, 4), pp. 70–71.



Anders von Düben, contains large parts of the repertoire of the Royal Swedish *Hofkapelle*, from the 1650s and until the 1720s.

In the Düben collection, there are actually some music manuscripts that can be associated with the 1693 funeral. The perhaps most obvious example is an anonymous aria for soprano, two *viola d'amore* and basso continuo, *Ach Swea Thron är klädd I sorgedräkt* (Alas, the throne of Sweden is dressed in a mourning veil).<sup>12</sup> The text describes how the house of the King is filled with sorrow and the realm filled with tears, and Ulrika Eleonora is mentioned by name. The piece is highly interesting, but it is hardly a candidate for the funeral service in the Riddarholmen Church, simply because it is very clearly a secular text, not suitable for the church service. It could possibly have been sung at the banquet arranged at the royal castle after the funeral.

There are however at least two more compositions that can be related to the 1693 funeral. The first is Pierre Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv*, preserved in the Düben collection with call number Vmhs 37:1. The second one, somewhat surprisingly perhaps, is a motet from 1672 by the Flemish composer Daniel Danielis, *Aspice e coelis*, S-Uu Vmhs 54:1. In the following I will try to substantiate that these two works are identical to the *Sorge-Musique* performed at the Queen's funeral.

### The 1693 funeral music

Pierre Verdier (1627–1706) was a French violinist, who was recruited to the court of Queen Christina already in 1646, in connection with an embassy, as part of a string band of seven. Verdier remained in Sweden as a court musician until his death in 1706.

Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv* is scored for soprano, bass, violin, two violas and basso continuo, and the key is c minor. The text is a free paraphrase on the first chapter of the epistle to the Philippians, starting with the motto of the Queen and the topic of the funeral sermon – this is obviously a strong argument for associating it with the funeral. Also the dating of the manuscript confirms the connection. Through watermark studies, Jan Olof Rudén was able to date one of the papers found in the set of parts to the late 1680s or

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<sup>12</sup> S-Uu, Vmhs 67:3.

early 1690s.<sup>13</sup> But an even stronger argument is found in the text. The second strophe contains the lines:

All the splendour of the world I miss the least  
for Jesus has given me  
a heavenly crown, an angel's garb  
from earthly Queen I shall become the bride of Christ.<sup>14</sup>

Those lines of the text unequivocally refer to the Queen. They also agree with the sermon delivered by the arch-bishop, where he emphasizes the honour and the celestial coronation that shall befall the Queen as she is received in heaven. The piety and modesty of the Queen referred to in the text ("All the splendour of the world I miss the least") also resonates strongly with the public rhetoric surrounding the Queen in her life.

The second candidate for the mourning music mentioned in the official account of the funeral is a composition by the Flemish composer Daniel Danielis (1636–1696). In 1693, he was *maître de musique* at the cathedral in Vannes in Bretagne, and had no known contacts with the Swedish court. The piece in question, however, was composed already in 1672. At that time, Danielis was *Kapellmeister* at the court of Duke Gustav Adolph of Mecklenburg-Güstrow (1633–1695). Gustav Adolph ruled over a small duchy in northern Germany, which had close contacts with Sweden. The Duke was married to a sister of the Swedish Queen dowager Hedvig Eleonora, who was the mother of King Charles XI, Ulrika Eleonora's consort.

Daniel Danielis' composition *Aspice e coelis* is preserved in a music print published in Güstrow in 1672, together with another Latin motet, *Cessavit gaudium*.<sup>15</sup> It is clear from the print that these pieces were originally the music

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<sup>13</sup> Jan Olof RUDÉN, *Vattenmärken och musikforskning: presentation och tillämpning av en dateringsmetod på musikalier i handskrift i Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks Dübensamling* [Watermarks and music research: presentation and application of a method for dating musical manuscripts of the Düben collection in the Uppsala University Library], Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1968 (licentiate dissertation), appendix I, p. 84. The study is available online at <http://www.ordom-musik.se/duben/>.

<sup>14</sup> "All verdzens Pracht jag saknar minst / Ty Jesus har mig givit / En himlisk Crona Engla Skrud / Af jordisk konung är jag Christi Brudh".

<sup>15</sup> Catherine CESSAC, *L'Oeuvre de Daniel Danielis (1635–1696). Catalogue thématique*, Paris: CNRS Editions, 2003, pp. 103–104 and pp. 111–112. The music print is entitled *Leich-Bestätigung Der Durchleuchtigen Fürstinn Princessin Eleonora Hertzogin*, Güstrow, 1672; there are surviving copies in D-SWI, D-Mu and D-ROu.



for the funeral of a daughter of Duke Gustav Adolph, princess Eleonora of Mecklenburg-Güstrow who died that year, only fifteen years old. Princess Eleonora was thus a cousin of the Swedish King Charles XI.

However, the two motets *Aspice e coelis* and *Cessavit gaudium* are also preserved in manuscript in the Düben collection. The source consists in a score in organ tablature (S-Uu, Vmhs 54:1) and sets of parts for the two works.

Among these manuscripts, there is a very interesting part-book, belonging to the tablature score, Vmhs 54:1. It is an extra soprano part for Danielis' *Aspice e coelis*, with a Swedish text (see figure 2). Both the paper, the ink and the handwriting differs from the rest of the source. Strangely enough, it is transposed from c minor to b minor. This soprano part is of a later date than the rest of the source. Jan-Olof Rudén has dated it to c. 1692.<sup>16</sup>

The Swedish text in this part is not a translation of the original Latin text, but a freely composed prose text, resembling a prayer. It is a lament of sorrow, and a prayer for grace and mercy. The text describes a pain and sorrow too strong to bear, but a sorrow that is a punishment for the sins of the people that have annoyed God. In translation, the text begins like this:

Alas! What sorrow and lament is now heard,  
alas! That we have sinned so,  
alas! Shall all our joy, our delight and lust end like that!  
Lord, you alone are Holy and we are all mull, dust and ash,  
alas! That we have sinned so against You,  
Lord, although you are furious now,  
alas! Our sorrow is great,  
and no one can adequately pity our lament,  
it is the sin of our sin.  
Alas! That we have sinned so!

This was a central topic in the political rhetoric of the era, and a recurring *topos* in the sermons delivered all over the Kingdom in the Great Days of Prayer (*Storböndagar*), celebrated three times a year, and centred on penitence, prayers for the health of the royal family and the welfare of the realm.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the idea that the people were responsible for the welfare of the realm and of the royal persons through their acts and their way of living, was thoroughly impressed on the subjects of the Kingdom.

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<sup>16</sup> Jan Olof RUDÉN, card catalogue prepared for RISM, Uppsala University Library.

<sup>17</sup> Göran MALMSTEDT, *Helgdagsreduktionen. Övergången från ett medeltida till ett modernt år i Sverige 1500–1800*, Göteborg: Göteborg University, 1994 (PhD dissertation), pp. 94–106, and BERGLUND, *Studier i Christian Geists vokalmusik*, pp. 92–93.

*Soprano Solo.*

Auf! Groß Gott, in des Himmels Hagen, auf! auf! att  
 wir so schwebet Luf-wa, so Hym-nat, Hym-nat  
 Luf-wa, auf! Huch dich was glück, was frohlocke dich  
 so ändet uns, was frohlocke so an-sat uns! Herr  
 du aller-na ist Selig und wir sind Mitle, Huch og  
 Achte alle-schwebet, auf! auf! att wir so  
 schwebet, so schwebet, so schwebet, auf Jägers! auf att wir  
 auf! att wir so schwebet Huch dich! auf! att wir so  
 schwebet Huch dich! Herr, Herr du schwebet uns  
 auf! was dich ist Herr, was dich ist Herr, auf was Jägers in =  
 von Huch dich ist Herr, was dich ist Herr, auf was Jägers in =  
 auf! att wir so schwebet Luf-wa!

Figure 2. Soprano part of Danielis' motet with the new Swedish text

There is nothing in this text that explicitly refers to Queen Ulrika Eleonora and the 1693 funeral. However, there is an additional manuscript in the Düben collection that provides strong evidence that this soprano part with the Swedish text was originally intended for the funeral.

Apart from Pierre Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv*, there is another manuscript in the Düben collection with a title inscription suggesting it to be a setting of the same text: "Christus är mitt Lijf / Soprano solo / et / 3 Violdigamba / et / Basso Continuo" (S-Uu Vmhs 68:3). There is no vocal part preserved in this set. It consists of eleven part-books: two identical ones for viola 1, three for viola 2, four violone parts and two bc parts. A closer examination of this piece reveals the instrumental parts to be identical with Daniel Danielis' *Aspice e caelis*, or in the Swedish version, *Ach! Hwad hörs nu för sårg och klagan*.

What has happened here? Why is the manuscript titled "Christus är mitt Lijf"? There seem to be two possible scenarios, both based on the same precondition. The court *Kapellmeister*, who at this time was Gustav Düben Jr. (1659–1726), needed appropriate music for the Queen's funeral. Someone suggested Danielis' composition as a suitable candidate, being originally composed for the funeral of a royal person, a relative of the King. Following this assumption, there are two possibilities. Either, the original plan was to fit the text *Kristus är mitt liv* to Danielis' motet. This, however, would be an impossible task, since Danielis' piece presents a Latin prose text set in a free recitative, closely adapted to the prosody of the text. But if this was the original idea, it would explain why that text incipit was written on the title page of the manuscript.

A second possibility is that the musician responsible for preparing the performance material for the funeral music simply confused the two compositions and put the wrong title in the wrong place. In my opinion, this second explanation appears somewhat more plausible, but we cannot know for sure.

Regardless of which explanation we choose, the set of parts for Danielis' motet with the wrong title connects the two compositions, and offers strong evidence that the Swedish *contrafactum* of that piece was prepared for the 1693 funeral.

An additional piece has been pointed out by Maria Schildt as a possible third composition, to be performed at the funeral ceremony.<sup>18</sup> It is an arrangement

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<sup>18</sup> Maria SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 382–383.

of the Lutheran hymn *Einen guten Kampf*,<sup>19</sup> made by Christian Ritter, who was court musician in Stockholm 1688–1699.<sup>20</sup> It may originally have been used at the funeral of Maria Euphrosyne of Pfalz-Zweibrücken in 1688. She was the sister of King Charles X Gustav, and thus the aunt of Ulrika Eleonora's husband, Charles XI. She had been married to the former Seneschal of the Realm (*Riksdrots*), Count Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie. The composition is preserved in a Düben collection manuscript (S-Uu, Vhms 32:17). This set of parts appears to contain a later layer, comprising vocal parts with the hymn in Swedish translation: "Een god Kamp pa wärdlen här". These vocal parts in Swedish are copied on a paper with a watermark that is also found in the parts for Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv*, which suggests that the Swedish translation of the hymn could have been prepared for the 1693 funeral.

### Decorum and affect: the selection of music for the funeral

The two pieces by Verdier and Danielis are both clearly suitable for the occasion. They are both set in c minor, a mode characteristically associated with sorrow, pain and mourning – what Athanasius Kircher called *affectus luctus seu planctus*.<sup>21</sup> Moreover the instrumental setting in both compositions with viole da gamba and / or viole da braccio was typical for funerals, laments and with the Passion.<sup>22</sup> The performance material for both the compositions suggests an unusually large scoring, with double or even triple string parts and large basso continuo sections. This is very unusual for the performance material from the Swedish court, and suggests that a particularly strong and rich timbre was desired at this occasion.

Also Christian Ritter's setting of *Einen guten Kampf* would be suitable for the occasion. The four-part vocal setting of the chorale is imbedded in an instrumental arrangement including violins, viols, viola d'amore and recorders

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<sup>19</sup> The text was by Heinrich Albert, and published in Johann CRÜGERS *Praxis pietatis melica*, 5 ed., Berlin: Christoff Kunge, 1653 (no. 461, pp. 876–877), to be sung to the melody of *Schwing dich auf zu deinem Gott*; this melody is also used by Ritter.

<sup>20</sup> After 1690, Ritter seems to have performed some of the duties of the *Hofkapellmeister*.

<sup>21</sup> Athanasius KIRCHER, *Musurgia universalis*, Romae: ex typographia haeredum Francisci Corbelletti, 1650, vol. 1, p. 598.

<sup>22</sup> Eva LINFIELD, "The Viol Consort in Buxtehude's Vocal Music: Historical Context and Affective Meaning", in *Church, Stage and Studio: Music and Its Contexts in Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Paul Walker, Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1990 (Studies in Music, 107), pp. 163–192.



(*fleutez doux*), which renders it a soft and sweet affect. Moreover, the Swedish version of the fourth strophe from the Philippians contains a paraphrase of the Queen's motto from the Epistle to the Philippians: "Death is now my reward, life is Christ himself" (*Döden winning min nu är, Lijfwet Christus sjelfwer*).<sup>23</sup>

Pierre Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv* is set as a duet in dialogue between soprano and bass. This scoring is common in funeral pieces from this period, and can be interpreted as a rhetorical personification (*prosopopoeia*), where the two voices symbolised a dialogue between the Queen (or the Queen's soul) and the Lord.<sup>24</sup> This piece was most likely composed for the particular occasion, using the Queen's motto for the text.

More interesting is the adaptation of Daniel Danielis' motet for this occasion. Why was this composition chosen, and why did they go through the laborious task of providing the piece with a new, Swedish text?

We have already seen that Danielis' motet was originally composed for the funeral of a German Princess, who was not only a close relative of the royal family, but also bore the same name as the Swedish Queen, Eleonora. It was thus clearly suitable for the occasion. Interestingly, this was not the first time that Danielis' funeral music for Princess Eleonora had been re-used at the Swedish court. Its sister piece, *Cessavit gaudium*, is preserved in a Düben collection organ tablature containing both of the pieces. In this score, the words "Eleonora Princeps" have been modified to "Gustavus Princeps". It was most likely performed at the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora's son Prince Gustav, who died in 1685,<sup>25</sup> possibly together with *Aspice e caelis*.<sup>26</sup> In this sense, re-using the piece marked a continuity of dynastic ceremony, which was a very common ingredient in both funerals and coronations at this time.

<sup>23</sup> There is also some evidence associating Heinrich Albert's text *Einen guten Kampf* with Queen Ulrika Eleonora; see SCHILDT, *Gustav Düben at Work*, pp. 385–387.

<sup>24</sup> Gregory S. JOHNSON, "Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in Seventeenth-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz' Musikalische Exequien (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693)", *Journal of Musicology*, 9, 1991, pp. 186–213.

<sup>25</sup> Jean-Roch Jamelot suggested that the piece was used for a commemoration of the death of King Gustav II Adolf; see *Petits motets d'Uppsala / Daniel Danielis*, ed. Jean-Roch Jamelot, Versailles: Centre de musique baroque de Versailles, 1996 (Patrimoine musical français, 3, 1), p. 28; the funeral of Prince Gustav in 1685 is a much more likely occasion.

<sup>26</sup> Maria Schildt has proposed that they were both performed at this occasion. This appears likely, considering that they are preserved together in the tablature Vmhs 54:1; there are no corresponding modifications to the text of *Aspice e caelis*, but this is because there is no reference to the Princess in that text.

Daniel Danielis' *Aspice e caelis* is a highly emotional piece, set in an expressive *stile recitativo* from beginning to end. The original text is a free paraphrase of selected verses from the Book of Isaiah, Ch. 63 and 64. It is a penitential text, asking God for condonation for the sins of humanity. As we have already seen, the Swedish re-texting addresses similar themes, but compared to the Latin original, it speaks more straightforwardly about loss and pain.

Metrically, the new Swedish text fits the music perfectly (see example 1). Considering the complexity of rhythm and accentuations in the *stile recitativo* setting of Danielis, there can be no doubt that this text was custom-made to fit the music. Moreover, the author must either have been skilled in both music and letters or, alternatively, he used the prosody of the Latin text as a close model for designing the Swedish text. In a few places, there are modifications of the musical rhythm; either a longer note has been split into two shorter ones, or, in one case, a melisma on the word "miserationum" in the original version has been set syllabically in the Swedish *contrafactum*. These modifications actually suggest that the author wrote the words based on the musical rhythm, and not on the Latin original text. Interestingly, the anonymous author has carefully strived also to follow the content and the affect of the original, especially at places with more pregnant motifs and affects.

Where the Latin original speaks about the fury of the Lord ("ecce ut iritis est", and "ne irascaris Domine") the Swedish text presents similar topics: "Lord! You almost turn angry now" ("Herre! Tu fast wredgas nu") and "Alas! Do not turn angry, dear Lord" ("Ach! Wredgas icke Herre kär"). Where the Latin text in the concluding section mentions the deserted Sion, and describes how everything we desire or love are turned into sorrow and despair ("omne desiderabile nostrum fuit in desolationem"), the Swedish text presents a more general feeling of loss: "Gone now is all our comfort and joy" ("Bårta är nu vår hugnadt och vår glädie"). At other places the literal sense has been modified, but the strong affect represented in the music is still maintained. There is no doubt that whoever prepared the Swedish text was exceptionally aware of the strong connections between text and music, both regarding rhythm, content and affect.

The Swedish *contrafactum* of Daniel Danielis' motet is a unique case of its time. There are no other examples of a full composition in this kind of expressive *stile recitativo* with a Swedish text.

Canto

Ach! Hwad hörs nu för sårg och kla - gan, ach! Ach! Att wij så syn - dat  
 As - pi - ce, as - pi - ce e coe - lis, as - pi - ce, as - pi - ce et

Vdg. 1, 2

Organo

haf - wa, så syn - dat, syn - dat haf - wa, ach! Skall doch wår  
 vi - de de ha - bi - ta cu - lo, sanc - ti - ta - tis

gläd - je, wår frögd och lust så än - dasnu, wår frögd så än - das  
 tu - ae et glo - ri - ae, et glo - ri - ae, glo - ri - ae tu -

nu. Her - re tu al - le - nast est He - lig  
 ae. U - bi, u - bi ze - lus tu - us!

Example 1. Daniel Danielis' motet, bars 1-11 with both the Swedish and the Latin text<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The Swedish re-texted soprano part has here been transposed from b minor to c minor.



### Recycling as a tool for dynastic continuity

The way in which these compositions were re-used for several funerals is highly interesting. *Aspice e caelis* was thus first used for King Charles XI's cousin in Güstrow, a namesake of his consort Queen Ulrika Eleonora. It was then used for the funeral of their sons, before finally being performed at the Queen's funeral, with a new, Swedish text. *Einen guten Kampf/ Een god Kamp* was first produced for the funeral of the King's aunt, and then reused for his Queen's funeral, once again with a Swedish text.

Interestingly, similar instances of recycling can be found also in the visual decorations for royal funerals. Mårten Snickare has shown that the candelabras shaped as skeletons made for Ulrika Eleonora's funeral in 1693 were re-used as late as 1751, for the funeral of King Frederick I.<sup>28</sup> There are also indications that elements from the Queen's funeral were re-used at the funeral of her consort King Charles XI four years later. For example, a pyramid similar to the one of the Queen's *castrum doloris* was used.

There are also indications that the music for the Queen's funeral was used again at the funeral of her husband in November 1697. According to the printed report from that occasion, a piece to the text *Jesus är mitt Lijf* was performed. This is not unlikely to have been Pierre Verdier's composition for the 1693 funeral. Such recycling – musical and visual – was arguably not made for economic reasons, but to mark the crucial continuity of royal power and dynasty, something that in fact constituted its political legitimacy.

Interesting too is the use of Swedish texts at the funeral. This was something new, which must be related to the ambitions of nation building that marked King Charles XI's rule, especially after the establishment of royal absolutism in the early 1680s. At the funeral of his father, Charles X Gustav in 1660, music with Latin texts was performed.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, as we have seen, Latin texts seem to have been used for the funeral of Prince Gustav in 1685. The ambition to only have Swedish texts for the funeral music of Queen Ulrika Eleonora in 1693 should be seen in the light of a general drive at this time to use the Swedish language more in different official contexts.

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<sup>28</sup> SNICKARE, *Enväldets riter*, p. 104.

<sup>29</sup> The works were *Miserere* by the Hofkapellmeister at that time, Andreas Düben, *Cessavit gaudium* by his son Gustav Düben, and Francesco Della Porta's *Obstupescite redempti* with a modified text (*Obstupescite mortales*).

The funeral of Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in the Riddarholmen Church, on 28 November 1693, must have been a strong and overwhelming experience for the participants. Nicodemus Tessin's impressive decorations of the church with its intricate illuminations, the skeletons reminding everyone of their mortality and the frailty of life on earth, and in the centre the illuminated pyramid of the *castrum doloris* in black and gold, the long and elaborate sermon of the archbishop, the singing of hymns, and the figural music – all this were means put to work together in a totality meant to move the senses and the emotions. It was a ceremony that spoke about power and hierarchies, through the symbolic representation of the elevated position of the King and the Queen. But such royal ceremonies of the early modern period also articulated a sense of community and belonging, which doubtlessly had a strong and true meaning for many of the participants. I have tried to describe the role of the music in this integrated ceremony. Affect was a crucial aspect here. The trust in music's potential to move the passions of the listeners was very strong at this moment in history. The music also had an important function in presenting and intensifying the import of the texts sung. But it could also, independent of the text, express a complex of more or less definite symbolic meanings that were an important ingredient in the dense web of significations articulated in the solemn ceremony.

### Summary

Ulrika Eleonora the Elder, Queen of Sweden from 1680, died in July 1693. She was buried in the Royal funeral church, Riddarholmskyrkan, on November 28 of the same year. The Queen's funeral was designed to be one of the most magnificent ceremonies of state in Sweden during the Baroque era. The decorations for the ceremony were created by the Royal court architect, Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728). For the Queen's coffin he built a *castrum doloris* with a huge black pyramid, covered with emblems and inscriptions painted in a golden colour, which were illuminated by lamps inside the construction. Little or nothing has been known about the music played during this ceremony. According to the official printed account two musical works were performed. In this article I am able to show that the works referred to consisted of one composition by the French court violinist Pierre Verdier, *Kristus är mitt liv*, and one by the Flemish composer Daniel Danielis, *Aspice e caelis*, with a new text in Swedish. This can be shown by means of source and watermark studies and by analysing the texts. The biblical verse on which Verdier's piece is based (Phil. 1:21: "[for to me,] to live is Christ and to die is gain"), was the Queen's motto and the text for the funeral sermon. Moreover, Danielis' *Aspice e caelis* was originally composed for the funeral of princess Eleonora of Güstrow-Mecklenburg, who was a cousin to Ulrika Eleonora's husband, the King. That piece has been re-texted with an undoubtedly tailor-made Swedish text, which closely follows the varied rhythm and stress patterns of Danielis' recitative setting, at the same time mirroring the import and affect of the original text, but not the exact wording. Both works are marked by a sad, plaintive affect appropriate for such an occasion. Both are scored for gamba consort, which at this time was associated with tears and sorrow. In both works we find instances of symbolic, rhetorical personification: in Verdier's composition the duet between bass and soprano can be associated with the Queen's tender relation to Christ. In Danielis' motet the solo soprano voice represents the female gender of the person being buried. Apart from these two works, also a choral arrangement by Christian Ritter, *Einen guten Kampf*, can be associated with the funeral.

The recycling of music for the funeral is not a coincidence, but should be understood as a representation of dynastic continuity. In a similar way, the visual decorations of the funeral were re-used at later royal funerals. There are also indications that Verdier's *Kristus är mitt liv* was used again at the funeral of Ulrika Eleonora's husband King Charles XI in 1697.

Keywords: funeral music, Sweden, Düben collection, Daniel Danielis, Pierre Verdier, Christian Ritter, *contrafactum*.



## ADDENDUM

PRINTED COLLECTIONS INCLUDING *CONTRAFACTA*



Marco Giuliani

## Printed collections including *contrafacta* (1576-1621)

This section provides a chronological list of the printed collections that include *contrafacta* published in various parts of Europe between 1576 and 1621, as well as a description of the contents of each of them (see tables I–XXXII).<sup>1</sup> This list includes nearly all of the collections of this type published up to the 1620s,<sup>2</sup> when the genre of the madrigal underwent a substantial transformation in

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<sup>1</sup> Tables I–IV, VII–XII, XVI–XXVII and XXX were compiled by Marco Giuliani; tables V–VI, XIII–XV, XXVIII–XXIX and XXXI–XXXII by Gabriele Taschetti. The information given in the tables is partly taken from the R.I.M. data-base (Rinascimento Musicale Italiano), which extends and completes the functions of the Nuovo Vogel (Emil VOGEL, Alfred EINSTEIN, François LESURE, Claudio SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, Pomezia: Staderini-Minkoff, 1977). This data-base, managed by Marco Giuliani, but not yet accessible on-line, covers 27 attributes and contains the transcription of over 44,000 documents including title-pages, complete texts of poems, dedicatory letters and supplementary notes providing the names of poets and information about any facsimiles or modern editions. On the collective anthologies of Italian vocal music, see also Marco GIULIANI, *Identité, évolution et organisation interne des programmes poético-musicaux dans les recueils italiens de madrigaux et canzonette “di diversi autori” de la Renaissance* (*Identità, evoluzione ed organizzazione interna di programmi poetico-musicali nelle raccolte rinascimentali italiane di madrigali e canzonette di diversi autori*), PhD diss., Université Toulouse 2 Le Mirail (Prof. Philippe Canguilhem) – Università degli studi di Bologna (Prof.ssa Nicoletta Guidobaldi), 2014.

<sup>2</sup> The peculiar bilingual collection of Cesare Zacharia (München: Adam Berg, 1590, NV 3005) has been omitted, as well as the individual collections of Italian music with the substitute text in German printed in Germany – the individual collection of 3-voice *villanelle* by Luca Marenzio (Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1606, NV 1703), the collection of 4-voice *canzonette* in three parts by Orazio Vecchi (Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1610, NV 2801, 2808, 2813); and the collection of 3-voice *canzonette* by Orazio Vecchi and Geminiano Capilupi (Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1606, NV 2837) – with the exception of those mentioned in the present volume (see tables XXVIII and XXXI).



technique and style.<sup>3</sup> For each collection there is a corresponding table divided into six columns, which indicates respectively:

- the sequential number of the compositions within the collection;
- the *incipit* of the text of each composition, as given in the relative collection of *contrafacta*;
- the number of voices;
- the name of the composer, where known;<sup>4</sup>
- the *incipit* of the text of the model, where known;<sup>5</sup>
- any catalogue or bibliographic repertoire relative to the model, followed by the position of the model inside the collection in which it first appears.<sup>6</sup>

In transcribing the *incipits* of the Italian texts, the following criteria have been adopted:

- abbreviations are written out in full (the Tironian note has been changed to *e* or *ed*);
- the graphics have been modernized to distinguish the vowel *u* from the consonant *v*;
- diaereses have been added where necessary;
- accents on the prepositions have been deleted (*trà* → *tra*; *frà* → *fra*).

<sup>3</sup> The following tables (xxxiii–xxxv) describe the contents of the collections published after 1621 and mentioned inside the volume; see Gabriele TASCHETTI, “Printed collections including *contrafacta* (1646–1649)”, pp. 325–332.

<sup>4</sup> The first and/or last names that do not appear in the source and any integrations to those appearing there are given in square brackets. First and last names have been standardized as in NG2; where the names diverge substantially, the original reading has been maintained, followed by the standardized spelling in square brackets.

<sup>5</sup> Where not indicated in the collection of *contrafacta*, the *incipit* of the original composition identified is given in square brackets. Unless otherwise indicated, the model was identified by the person who compiled the table. When the *incipit* of the original composition identified and given in square brackets is the same as that of the composition included in the collection, it means that the composition has not been re-texted (see table xi: 2).

<sup>6</sup> For example: “NV 2997, RISM 1545<sup>20</sup>, 10” means that the composition in question was first published in 1545 in Adrian Willaert’s collection of *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana* (listed in the *Nuovo Vogel* and RISM catalogues with the respective numbers), within which it is in tenth position. The date is added at the end in round brackets when this is not possible to deduce directly from the catalogue number: “NV 856, RISM D 3404, 15 (1550). For collections present in both RISM A/I and B/I, the numbering of the series B/I is given.

- link apostrophes no longer in use in modern graphics have been removed (*el* → *e'l*)
- uppercase letters have been adjusted to modern usage;
- punctuation marks have been added where deemed necessary;
- accents and apostrophes have been standardized to modern usage;
- the spelling *ti* of digraphs with a voiceless dental fricative has not been maintained: *gratia* → *grazia*;
- the use of the *h* has been standardized, eliminating the etymological *h* (e.g. *hor* → *or*);
- where the adoption of single or double consonants no longer in use in modern spelling is solely a question of graphics, the version coinciding with modern Italian has been chosen;
- the synthetic form of adverbs has been adopted (e.g. *al fin* → *alfin*).

In transcribing the *incipits* in languages other than Italian (Latin, English, German) a relatively conservative approach has been adopted, modernizing with extreme parsimony only where the coeval orthography would have created excessive difficulty for the modern reader.<sup>7</sup>

The aim of this section is not to offer an exhaustive examination of such a wide-ranging and complex phenomenon as *contrafacta* between the last decades of the 16th and the first two of the 17th century, but to highlight the extraordinary diffusion of this practice and the state of research devoted to this topic, focusing not only on the most studied collections, but more especially on those that are still in need of further investigation. The index of names mentioned in the tables, besides facilitating their fruition, also contributes to demonstrating the pervasiveness of *contrafacta*, pointing out the composers, the collections and the individual compositions most greatly involved in the phenomenon.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> We thank Pietro Calore, Michael Chizzali, Marco Mangani and Alessandra Petrina for the revision of the incipits of the texts.

<sup>8</sup> The index of the names of composers mentioned in tables I–XXXV can be found at the end of the Addendum, on pp. 333–336.

## List of collections

- I. *Cantiones suavissimae, quatuor vocum ante hac in Germania numquam editae. Tomus primus*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1576.  
VE 1576, 2; RISM B/I 1576<sup>2</sup>
- II. *Cantiones suavissimae quatuor vocum, ante hac in Germania nunquam editae. Tomus secundus*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1580.  
RISM B/I 1580<sup>7</sup>
- III. *Primus liber suavissimas praestantissimorum nostrae aetatis artificum Italianorum cantilenas 4. 5. 6. et 8. vocum continens, quae partim Latinis, partim Germanicis, sacris ac pijs textibus ornatae, et nusquam hactenus in Germania excusae sunt*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1587.  
RISM B/I 1587<sup>14</sup>
- IV. *Musica transalpina. Madrigales translated of foure, five and sixe parts, chosen out of divers excellent Authors, with the first and second part of La Verginella, made by Maister Byrd, upon two Stanz's of Ariosto, and brought to speake English with the rest. Published by N. Yonge, in favour of such as take pleasure in musicke of voices*, London: Thomas East, 1588.  
RISM B/I 1588<sup>29</sup>
- V. *The First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished, not to the Sense of the Original Dittie, but after the Affection of the Noate. By Thomas Watson Gentleman. There are also heere inserted two excellent Madrigalls of Master William Byrds, composed after the Italian vaine, at the request of the sayd Thomas Watson*, London: Thomas East, 1590.  
RISM B/I 1590<sup>29</sup>
- VI. *Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi [...] et d'altri eccellentissimi auttori a 5 voci. Libro primo*, Milano: eredi di Francesco e Simon Tini, 1597.  
RISM A/I V 1062
- Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi maestro di capella di s. Maria della Scala, e d'altri eccellentiss. musici, a cinque voci, libro primo, con diligenza revisti, et ristampati*, Milano: er. Simon Tini, Gio. Francesco Besozzi, 1599.  
RISM A/I V 1063; RISM B/I 1599<sup>4</sup>
- Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi maestro di Capella di S. Maria della Scala, & d'altri eccellentiss. auttori, a cinque voci, libro primo. In questa terza impressione, aggiuntovi un motetto, con diligenta revisti, et corretti*, Milano: er. Simon Tini, Filippo Lomazzo, 1603.  
RISM A/I V 1064; RISM B/I 1603<sup>6</sup>
- VII. *Canzonets. Or Little Short Songs to foure voyces: selected out of the best and approved Italian Authors by Thomas Morley, Gent. of her Maiesties Chappell*, London: Peter Short  
RISM B/I 1597<sup>23</sup>

- VIII. *Musica transalpina. The Seconde Booke of Madrigalles, to 5. et 6. voices: translated out of sundrie Italian Authors et Newly published by Nicolas Yonge*, London: Thomas East, 1597.  
RISM B/I 1597<sup>24</sup>
- IX. *Madrigals to five voyces celected out of the best approved Italian Authors. By Thomas Morley Gentleman of hir Maiesties Royall Chappel*, London: Thomas East, 1598.  
RISM B/I 1598<sup>15</sup>
- X. *Amorum Filii Dei decades Duae Das ist Zwantzig liebliche und gantz anmutige Lateinische und Deutsche Neue Jharß, oder Weyhenachten Gesenglein, Zu Lob und Ehren dem Neugebornen Christkindlein Jesu zum Theil unter etliche fröliche Madrigalia und Balletti*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1598.  
RISM A/I L 2426
- XI. *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine N. S. fabricatoli per opra del R. P. Giovenale A. P. della Congreg. dell'Oratorio. Prima parte a 3 voci*, Roma: Nicolò Mutij, 1599.  
RISM B/I 1599<sup>6</sup>
- XII. *Nuove Laudi Ariose della Beat.ma Vergine Scelte da diversi Autori a quattro voci per il Rever. D. Giovanni Arascione Piemontese da Cairo Prete secolare*, Roma: Nicolò Mutij, 1600.  
RISM B/I 1600<sup>5</sup>
- XIII. *Nova metamorfosi dell'infrascritti autori. Opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Cavaglieri con alcuni Motetti Del Molt'Ill. Sig. Lucio Castelnovato. Libro primo*, Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1600.  
RISM B/I 1600<sup>11</sup>
- XIV. *Scielta de Madrigali a cinque voci de diversi eccel. Musici, Accommodati in Motetti da Orfeo Vecchi. Con la Partitura d'essi Motetti Nuovamente data in luce*, Milano: herede Simon Tini, Filippo Lomazzo, 1604.  
RISM B/I 1604<sup>11</sup>
- XV. *Della nova metamorfosi De diversi Autori. Opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Cavaglieri dell'Ordine di S. Basilio dell'Armeni. Libro secondo a cinque voci*, Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1605.  
RISM B/I 1605<sup>6</sup>
- XVI. *Hortus musicalis, variis antea diversorum authorum Italiae floribus consitus. Iam vero latino fructus, mira suavitae quinq; vocibus concinendos, pie et artificiose germinans. Authore R. P. Michaelae Herrerio, ad S. Nicolai Strasburgi praeposito. Liber primus, Pataviae*<sup>9</sup>: Matthaeus Nenninger, 1606.  
RISM B/I 1606<sup>6</sup>
- XVII. *Musica tolta da i madrigali di Claudio Monteverde, e d'altri autori, a cinque, et a sei voci, e fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini Accademico Inquieto. Con la Partitura*,

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<sup>9</sup> I. e. Passau. See „Passau (IV. Instrumenten-, Orgelbau und Notendruck)“, in MGG2, online edn.

*e Basso continuo nella Sesta parte per i quattro ultimi Canti a sei. All'Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Sig. il S. Cardinale Borromeo Arcivescovo di Milano*, Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1607.

RISM B/I 1607<sup>20</sup>

*Partito. Musica tolta da i madrigali di Claudio Monteverde, e d'altri autori, a cinque, et a sei voci, e fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini Accademico Inquieto. Con la Partitura, e Basso continuo nella Sesta parte per i quattro ultimi Canti a sei. All'Illustriss. et Reverendiss. Sig. il S. Cardinale Borromeo Arcivescovo di Milano*, Milano: per Melchion et Her. Di Agostino Tradate, 1611.

RISM B/I 1611<sup>15</sup>

- XVIII. *Johann-Jacobi Gastoldi und anderer Autorn Tricinia Welche zuvor mit Italianischen Texten componiert jetzo aber denen so dieselbige Sprach nicht verstehen zu besserm Nutz und Gebrauch mit Teutschen Weltlichen Texten in Druck gegeben Durch Valentinum Hauszmann Gerbipolensis (sic)*, Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1607.

RISM B/I 1607<sup>25</sup>

- XIX. *Il secondo libro della musica di Claudio Monteverde e d'altri autori a cinque voci fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini regio lettore di retorica, et accademico inquieto*, Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1608 (lost).

V n. 56, pp. 519–520.

NV 1946

- XX. *Neue Teutsche Canzonetten mit dreyen Stimmen, von den fürtrefflichsten italianischen Componisten auff ihre Sprach componiret, und hiebvor in Italia zusammen getruckt. An jetzo aber mit unser Sprach den teutschen Musicis, Instrumentisten, und andern der Music Liebhabern zu Gefallen unterlegt. Durch Andream Myllerum*, Frankfurt am Main: Nikolaus Stein, 1608.

RISM B/I 1608<sup>22</sup>

- XXI. *Il terzo libro della musica di Claudio Monteverde a cinque voci fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini regio lettore di retorica, et accademico inquieto con la partitura*, Milano: Alessandro ed eredi di Agostino Tradate, 1609.

RISM A/I M 3504

- XXII. *Hortus musicalis, variis antea diversorum authorum Italiae floribus consitus, iam vero latinis fructus, mira suavitatae Quinque et Sex vocibus concinendos, pie et artificiose parturiens, authore R. P. Michele Herrerio, ad S. Nicolai Strasburgi Praeposito. Liber secundus*, Munich: Adam Berg, 1609.

RISM B/I 1609<sup>14</sup>

- XXIII. *Fatiche Spirituali di Simone Molinaro Maestro di Capella del Duomo di Genova. Libro primo A Sei Voci*, Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1610.

RISM A/I M 2939; RISM B/I 1610<sup>2</sup>

- XXIV. *Fatiche Spirituali di Simone Molinaro Maestro di Capella del Duomo di Genova. Libro secondo A Sei Voci*, Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1610.

RISM A/I M 2940; RISM B/I 1610<sup>3</sup>

- xxv. *Nova Metamorfosi De diversi Autori. Opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Cavaglieri dell'Ordine di S. Basilio dell'Armeni. Libro terzo a sei voci*, Milano: Melchiorre Tradate, erede di Agostino, 1610.  
RISM B/I 1610<sup>10</sup>
- xxvi. *Musicalische Streitkrantzlein: hiebevorn von den allerfürtrefflichsten unnd berhümtesten Componisten, in welscher Sprach, pro certamine, mit sonderlichem Fleiss, und auff's künstlichst, mit 6. Stimmen aufgesetzt, und dannenhero Triumph di Dori*, Nürberg: Abraham Wagenmann, 1612.  
RISM B/I 1612<sup>13</sup>
- xxvii. *Rest Musicalische Streitkrantzlein: Hiebevorn von den allerfürtrefflichsten und berhümtesten Componisten in welscher Sprach, pro certamine, mit sonderlichem fleiss, und auff's künstlichst, mit 6 Stimmen aufgesetzt, und dannenhero Triomphi di Dori oder de Dorothea genennet*, Nürberg: Balthasar Scherff, 1613.  
RISM B/I 1613<sup>13</sup>
- xxviii. *Vier und Zwanzig Außerlesene vierstimmige Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi*, Gera: Martin Spieß Erben, 1614.  
RISM A/I V 1038
- xxix. *Madrigali de diversi auttori, accommodati per concerti spirituali, dal r. p. f. Girolamo Cavaglieri dell'Ordine di S. Basilio, opera quinta*, Loano: Francesco Castello, 1616.  
VE 1616, 2; RISM B/I 1616<sup>8</sup>
- xxx. *Triumph di Dorothea, non illa Italico-Prophana; sed Angelico-coelesti et immortalis, id est: musica, sive laus musicae, a praestantissimis musicorum italicorum coryphaeis, olim, quasi aliud agentibus; sub nomine Dorotheae cujusdam, 6. vocibus, decantata. Das ist Geistliches Musicalisches Triumph-Kraentzlein Von der hochedlen und recht Englischen Dorothea oder grossen Gottes Gabe, der Fraw Musica; Ibrem vortrefflichem Adel; hohem Alter; eigentlichem Ursprung; vielfaeltiger Art und Eigenschaft unzehligem ewigwehrendem Brauch Nutz und Fronunen auch wunderbaren Guettlichen Krafft und Wirekung. Aus dem/der aller vortrefflichsten Italiänischen Componisten, Certamine Musico Triomphi di Dori entlehnet: Und Got und der Kunst zu Ehren so wol als allen Geistfrewdigen Musicanten und Music. Liebhabern zum liberali Exercitio, lust und ergetzung auff solche art und weise mit gantz newen Deutschen geistlichen Texten exorniret Durch m. Martinum Rinckhardum Ilebergensem, musicophilum sempiternum. Was lebt und und schwebt sing frölich Unsere Kunst bleibt ewig*, Leipzig: Lorenz Köber in Vorlegung Bartholaemei Voigts, 1619.  
VE 1619, 1; RISM B/I 1619<sup>16</sup>
- xxxi. *Ander Theil Außerlesener Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi*, Gera: Johann Spieß, 1620.  
RISM A/I V 1039
- xxxii. *Concerti sacri Scielti, et trasportati dal Secondo, et Terzo libro de Madrigali a cinque voci Con il Basso per l'Organo. Del M. R. Sig. D. Stefano Bernardi Maestro di Capella nel Duomo di Verona. Alle parole de' Cantici di Salomone per publico Commodo de Musici Ecclesiastici, dal R. P. F. Gio. Girolamo de' Servi*, Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1621.  
RISM A/I B 2056

The following abbreviations are used in the tables:

- D            Ruggero DEL SILENZIO, *Bibliografia delle opere dei musicisti bresciani pubblicate a stampa nei secoli XVI e XVII. Opere in antologie*, Firenze: Olschki, 2002 (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 173).
- NV           *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, eds. Emil Vogel – Alfred Einstein – François Lesure – Claudio Sartori, 3 vols., Pomezia: Staderini–Minkoff, 1977.
- R            Stephen ROSE, “Patriotic purification: cleansing Italian secular vocal music in Thuringia, 1575–1600”, *Early Music History*, 35, 2016, pp. 203–260.
- RISM C 551 *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. A/I: Einzeldrucke vor 1800 (Individual Prints before 1800)*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–2012.
- RISM 1545<sup>20</sup> *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. B/I: Recueils imprimés XVIe–XVIIe siècles*, ed. François Lesure, München–Duisburg: Henle, 1960.
- V            Emil VOGEL, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500–1700: enthaltend die Litteratur der Frottole, Madrigale, Canzonette, Arien, Opern etc.*, 2 vols., Berlin: Druck und Verlag von A. Haack, 1892.
- VE           Emil VOGEL – Alfred EINSTEIN, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500–1700, mit Nachträgen von Prof. Alfred Einstein*, 2 vols., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962.



I. *Cantiones suavisimae quatuor vocum* [...] *tomus primus*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1576

INCIPIT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Pectoris recedat sollicitudo	4	[Francesco Silvestrino]	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 10 R
2 Suspiret corde	4	[Adrian Willaert]	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 15 R
3 O pretiosa lingua	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 14 (1545) R
4 Unde iudicibus	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 15 (1550)
5 Qui vina fecit ex simplicibus	4	[Adrian Willaert]	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 12 R
6 Ex costa sponsi	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 1 (1545) R
7 Turba de Christo	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 6 (1550)
8 Dulce commercium, caste loquentum	4	[Francesco Corteccia] <sup>1</sup>	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 14 R
9 Ades illuminator animorum	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 3 (1545) R
10 Beatus ille qui periclitando	4	[Orlande de Lassus]	NV 1387, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 17 R NV 1387 bis, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 17
11 Omnia plena vis facisque Deus	4	[Orlande de Lassus]	NV 1387, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 16 R NV 1487 bis, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 16
12 Rumpe somnium fuga	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 9 (1550)
13 O Iesu Christe	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 7 (1550)
14 Cum sit omnipotens	4	[Orlande de Lassus]	NV 1387, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 13 R NV 1387 bis, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 13
15 O mi redemptor Christe Dei	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 2 (1545) R

<sup>1</sup> This composition is included in the collection *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana di M. Adriano Wigliaret a quattro voci*, Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1545 (RISM 1545<sup>10</sup>) where, in all the part-books, and unlike any of the others, it is unnumbered and written on the same page as the previous composition (*Madonna l'ogg'amato*), attributed to Francesco Corteccia.

<sup>2</sup> The Tenor of this composition corresponds to the Cantus of the homonymous 3-voice canzone by Vincenzo Fontana, included in *Canzone villanesche*, Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1545 (RISM F 1476), transposed down a fifth.

<sup>3</sup> The Tenor of this composition corresponds to the Cantus of the 3-voice canzone of the same name by Vincenzo Fontana (RISM F 1476), transposed down an octave.

16	Animam atque corpus	4	[Orlande de Lassus]	Tu sai, madonna mia <sup>4</sup>	NV 1387, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 14 R NV 1387 bis, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 14
17	Quis maior est Ioanne	4	[Orlande de Lassus]	No giorno t'aggio avere <sup>5</sup>	NV 1387, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 15 R NV 1387 bis, RISM 1555 <sup>19</sup> , 15
18	Quidquid agit homo	4	[Adrian Willaert]	Madonna, io non lo so perché lo fai	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 15 R
19	Esse bonum licet modo	4	[Adrian Willaert]	Madonn'i t'aggio amato	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 13 R
20	Christo prudentiores	4	[Perissone Cambio]	Zuccaro porti	NV 467, RISM C 551, 4 (1545) R
21	Quam dirus hydrops inquinavit omnes	4	[Baldissera Donato]	O quant' amore	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 4 (1550)
22	Quid hoësitas rogare	4	[Baldissera Donato]	Quanto debb'allegrarse	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 19 (1550)
23	Adesse nuptiales	4	[Baldissera Donato]	Madonn'io son constretto	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 20 (1550)
24	O dulce sacramentum	4	[Adrian Willaert]	O dolce vita mia	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 2 R
25	Dulcis quies brevisque	4			

<sup>4</sup> The Tenor of this composition corresponds to the Cantus of the 3-voice canzone of the same name by Vincenzo Fontana (RISM F 1476), transposed down an octave.

<sup>5</sup> The Tenor of this composition corresponds to the Cantus of the 3-voice canzone of the same name by Vincenzo Fontana (RISM F 1476), transposed down an octave.

II. *Cantiones suavisssimae quatuor vocum* [...] *tomus secundus*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1580

	INCIPIT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPIT AND REPERTOIRES
1	Quidquid est ubique rerum	4		
2	Odi, benigna labra	4	[Francesco Silvestrino]	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 8 R
3	Opera quem vis commendant magistrum	4	[Francesco Silvestrino]	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 7 R
4	Abijce sordes purus est Olympus	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 4 (1545) R
5	Purificantur decem scabiosi	4	[Adrian Willaert]	NV 2996, RISM 1544 <sup>27</sup> , 2 R
6	Quid carcere minare debitori	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 8 (1550)
7	Scis veritatem sed times profari	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 16 (1550)
8	Tot sunt apostoli quot signa coeli	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 9 (1545) R
9	Abominatio stat in sacello	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 18 (1550)
10	Redemptus es ab inferis	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 18 (1545) R
11	Anime mi te macerare noli	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 16 (1545) R
12	O homo qui suspiras	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 13 (1545) R
13	Non audit ociosa vota Christus	4		
14	Cur coecus nascitur	4	[Adrian Willaert]	NV 2996, RISM 1544 <sup>27</sup> , 3 R
15	O generosa sed despecta	4	[Adrian Willaert]	NV 2996, RISM 1544 <sup>27</sup> , 6 R
16	Canit volans a lauda	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 8 (1545) R
17	Quid toties te iactas	4	[Tiberto Fabrianese]	NV 845, RISM 1551 <sup>13</sup> , 3 R
18	Heu nos mortales	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 6 (1545) R
19	Ingratitudinis monebo	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 5 (1550)
20	Iesu Ierusalem petens triumpho	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 13 (1550)
21	Non est humana	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 10 (1545) R
22	Aureus annus redit	4	[Perissone Cambio]	NV 467, RISM C 551, 7 (1545) R
23	Veni novena turba	4	[Baldissera Donato]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 12 (1550)
24	Cum sis coelestis	4		NV 845, RISM 1551 <sup>13</sup> , 13
25	Credidit Abraham Deo loquenti	4	[Adrian Willaert]	NV 2997, RISM 1545 <sup>20</sup> , 1 R

III. *Primus liber suavisimas praestantissimorum nostrae aetatis artificum Italianorum cantilenas [...] continens, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1587*

	INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1	Quas Christe, quas grates tibi canemus	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Fammi una canzonetta capricciosa] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 4 (1580) R
2	Felicem ter et amplius fideli	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Fa una canzone senza note nere] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 18 (1580) R
3	Quicumque Christi profitendo nomen	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Nel vago lume] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 20 (1580)
4	Credula plaude turba, laeta iubila tollens	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Se pensando al partire] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 3 (1580) R
5	All notturnff Gott bescheret	4	Orazio Vecchi	[O donna, ch'al mio danno] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 6 (1580) R
6	Hat jemandt wol gelernet Christ	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Chi vuol veder un bosco] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 7 (1580) R
7	Gottes gewalt und allmacht	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Neriglia, anima mia] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 8 (1580) R
8	Von Himels Thron	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Amor spiega l'insegna] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 14 (1580)
9	Laudum Deus tuarum	5	Luca Marenzio	[Or pien d'altro desio] RISM 1582 <sup>4</sup> , 3 R
10	Christus orbis Salvator	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Poiché 'l mio amor v'annoia] RISM 1582 <sup>4</sup> , 4 R
11	Expectata diu, salus propinquat	5	Lelio Bertani	[Ch'ami la vita mia] RISM 1583 <sup>11</sup> , 3 R
12	Faustus qui novus est annus	5	Luca Marenzio	[In quel ben nato] RISM 1582 <sup>4</sup> , 15 R
13	Hat Gott der Gnad vergessen?	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Amor, deh dimmi come] NV 1993, RISM 1581 <sup>10</sup> , 8 R
14	Diß ist der Werlet lauff	5	Girolamo Conversi	[Canzon va al mio bel sol] NV 608, 32 (1573) R
15	Falsch Hertz und süsse wort	5	Giovanni Ferretti	[Or va canzona mia non dubitare] NV 940, RISM F 512, 1 (1567) R
16	Last preisen Gott den Herren	5	Girolamo Conversi	[Sta nott'io mi sognava] NV 607, RISM C 3545, 12 (1572) R
17	Deo nostro perennis gloria sit	6	Andrea Gabrieli	[Dolcissimo ben mio] NV 1040, RISM G 72, 8 (1580) R
18	Adeste liberalem Dei benignitatem	6	Orazio Vecchi	[Tu dolce anima mia] NV 2827, RISM V 1040, 13 (1583) R
19	O fax certa precumque gratiaeque	6	Giovanni Ferretti	[Mirate che m'ha fatto] NV 964, RISM F 534, 5 (1575) R
20	Unicuique suam viro puellam	6	Andrea Gabrieli	[Se vuoi ch'io muoia] NV 1040, RISM G 72, 7 (1580) R
21	Frewet euch in dem Herren	6	Orazio Vecchi	[Sciogliet la voc'umile] NV 2827, RISM V 1040, 6 (1583) R
22	Es ist kein ander Heylandt	6	Luca Marenzio	[Per duo coralli ardenti] NV 1647, RISM M 500, 4 (1581) R
23	Gott is getrew	6	Andrea Gabrieli	[Non ti sdegnar] NV 1040, RISM G 72, 17 (1580) R
24	Also hat Gott der Herr	6	Orazio Vecchi	[Che fia, lasso, di me] NV 2827, RISM V 1040, 8 (1583) R
25	Veritas triumphat	8	Giovanni Ferretti	[O conscia caldar] NV 964, RISM F 534, 32 (1575)
26	In der Höhe sey Gott ehr	8	Luca Marenzio	[Se 'l pensier che mi strugge] NV 1608, RISM M 539, 20 (1581)

IV. *Musica transalpina. Madrigales translated of foure, five and sixe parts, London: Thomas East, 1588*

INCIPIT	w.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPIT AND REPERTOIRES
1 These that be certaine signes	4	Noë Faigñient	Questi ch'indizio RISM 1583 <sup>14</sup> , 13
2 The faire Diana	4	Giovanni de Macque	Non al suo amante più NV 1536, RISM M 86, 5 (1579)
3 Ioy so delights my hart	4	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Gioia m'abond'al cor NV 2099, RISM P 763, 6 (1586)
4 False Love now shoot	4	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Amor, ben puoi NV 2099, RISM P 763, 3 (1586)
5 O griefe, if yet my griefe	4	Baldissera Donato	Dolor, se 'l mio dolor NV 851, RISM 3414, 7 (1568)
6 As in the night	4	Baldissera Donato	Come la notte ogni NV 851, RISM 3414, 11 (1568)
7 In vayne hee seekes for beautie	4	Philippe de Monte	Per divina bellezza NV 759, RISM M 3355, 2 (1571)
8 What meaneth Love to nest him	4	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Perché s'annida Amore NV 2099, RISM P 763, 23 (1586)
9 Sweet Love when hope was flowing	4	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Amor quando fioriva NV 2099, RISM P 763, 16 (1586)
10 Lady that hand	4	Marc'Antonio da Pordenon	Donna la bella mano NV 2235, RISM 1580 <sup>11</sup> , 4
11 Who will ascend	4	Giaches de Wert	Chi salirà NV 2963, RISM W 866, 29 (1562)
12 Lady your looke so gentle	4	Cornelis Verdonck	Donna bella e gentile RISM 1585 <sup>1</sup> , 3
13 From what part of the Heaven	5	Philippe de Monte	In qual parte del Ciel NV 759, RISM M 3355, 1 (1571)
14 In vaine hee seekes	5	Philippe de Monte	Per divina bellezza 2. pars NV 759, RISM M 3355, 2 (1571)
15 In every place	5	Anon. [G. P. da Palestrina]	Ogni luogo RISM 1559 <sup>16</sup> , 4
16 Thirsis to dye desired	5	Luca Marenzio	Tirsi morir volea NV 1597, RISM M 530, 6 (1580)
17 Thirsis that heat refrayned	5	Luca Marenzio	Frenò Tirsi il desio 2. pars NV 1597, RISM M 530, 7 (1580)
18 Thus these two lovers	5	Luca Marenzio	Così morì 3. pars NV 1597, RISM M 530, 8 (1580)
19 Susanna fayre	5	Orlande de Lassus	Susann'un iour NV 1389, RISM L 764, 22 (1560)
20 Susanna fayre	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Susann'un iour
21 When shall I cease	5	Noë Faigñient	The note of Chi per voi non RISM 1583 <sup>15</sup> , 17
22 I must depart	5	Luca Marenzio	Io partirò NV 1608, RISM M 539, 2 (1581)
23 I saw my lady weeping	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Vidi pianger madonna
24 Like as from heaven	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Come dal ciel

25	So grateful	5	Giovanni Ferretti	Sei tanto graziosa	NV 940, RISM F 512, 5 (1567)
26	Cruell unkind	5	Giovanni Ferretti	Donna crudel	NV 940, RISM F 512, 2 (1567)
27	What dorth my pretty dearling	5	Luca Marenzio	Che fa oggi l' mio sole	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 10 (1580)
28	Sleepe mine onely Iewell	5	Stefano Felis	Sonno scendesti 1. pars	NV 923, RISM 1585 <sup>3</sup> , 76
29	Thou bringst hir full nye mee	5	Stefano Felis	Tu là ritorni 2. pars	NV 923, RISM 1585 <sup>3</sup> , 7
30	Sound out my voyce	5	Giovanni Perluigi da Palestrina	To the note of Vestiv'i colli	RISM 1566 <sup>3</sup> , 7
31	Liquid and watry pearles	5	Luca Marenzio	Liquide perle	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 1 (1580)
32	The nightingale	5	Orlande de Lassus	Le rossignol	NV 1389, RISM L 764, 13 (1560)
33	Within a greenwood	5	Giovanni Ferretti	In un boschetto	NV 959, RISM F 537, 18 (1585)
34	Sometime when hope reliv'd mee	5	Rinaldo del Mel	Già fu ch'io	NV 720, RISM 1585 <sup>6</sup> , 4
35	Rubyes and pearles	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Perle rubini	NV 929, RISM F 254, 10 (1587)
36	O sweet kisse	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	O dolcissimo bacio	NV 929, RISM F 254, 11 (1587)
37	Sometime my hope	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Già fu mia dolce speme	NV 929, RISM F 254, 12 (1587)
38	Lady that hand	5	Lelio Bertani	Donna la bella mano	NV 346, RISM B 2114, 10 (1584)
39	My hart alas	5	Girolamo Conversi	Alma già dotta	NV 607, RISM C 3545, 2 (1572)
40	Lady if you so spight mee	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Donna, se voi m'odiate	NV 929, RISM F 254, 20 (1587)
41	When I would thee embrace	5	Giovanni Battista Pinello di Chirardi	Quand'io voleva	
42	Thiris enjoyed the graces	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Godea Tirsi gl'amori	NV 929, RISM F 254, 17 (1587)
43	The nightingale	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Le rossignol	
44	The faire young virgin	5	William Byrd	La virginella 1. pars	<i>Psalms, sonets</i> (1588), <sup>1</sup> 24
45	But not so soone	5	William Byrd	Ma non sì tosto 2. pars	
46	I will goe dye for pure love	6	Luca Marenzio	Io morirò d'amore	NV 1656, RISM M 507, 1 (1585)
47	These that bee certaine signes	6	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Questi ch'indizio	RISM 1583 <sup>14</sup> , 13
48	So far from my delight	6	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Se lungi dal mito sol 1. pars	

<sup>1</sup> *Psalms, sonets, and songs of sadness and pietie, made into musicke of five parts*, London: Thomas East, 1588.

49	She onely doth not feele it	6	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Sola voi nol sentite 2. pars	
50	Loe heere my heart	6	[Alfonso Ferrabosco]	Ecco ch'io lasso	NV 964, RISM F 534, 8 (1575)
51	Now must I part	6	Luca Marenzio	Parto da voi	NV 1656, RISM M 507, 7 (1585)
52	Zephirus brings the time	6	Girolamo Conversi	Zefiro toma 1. pars	NV 614, RISM C 3551, 1 (1584)
53	But with me wretch the storms	6	Girolamo Conversi	Ma per me lasso 2. pars	NV 614, RISM C 3551, 2 (1584)
54	I was full neare my fall	6	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Fui vicin'al cader 1. pars	
55	But as the byrd	6	Alfonso Ferrabosco	Or com'auget 2. pars	
56	I soung sometime	6	Luca Marenzio	Cantai già 1. pars	NV 1653, RISM M 504, 12 (1584)
57	Because my love	6	Luca Marenzio	Che la mia donna 2. pars	NV 1653, RISM M 504, 13 (1584)



V. *The first sett of Italian madrigals englished*, London: Thomas East, 1590

	INCIPT	w.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1	When first my heedlesse eyes	4	Luca Marenzio	Non vidi mai NV 1587, RISM M 578, 1 (1585)
2	O merry world	4	Luca Marenzio	I lieti amanti NV 1587, RISM M 578, 19 (1585)
3	Farewell cruel and unkind	4	Luca Marenzio	Veggio dolce mio bene NV 1587, RISM M 578, 3 (1585)
4	Zephrus breathing	4	Luca Marenzio	Zefiro torna NV 1587, RISM M 578, 22 (1585)
5	Faire shepherds queene	4	Luca Marenzio	Madonna sua mercé NV 1587, RISM M 578, 13 (1585)
6	Ev'ry singing byrd	4	Luca Marenzio	Vezzosi augelli NV 1587, RISM M 578, 14 (1585)
7	Alas, what a wretched life is this?	4	Luca Marenzio	Ahi dispietata NV 1587, RISM M 578, 15 (1585)
8	This sweet and merry month of May	4	William Byrd	
9	Though faint and wasted	5	Luca Marenzio	Lasso ch'io ardo NV 1597, RISM M 530, 11 (1580)
10	Since my heedlesse eyes	5	Luca Marenzio	Quando i vostri NV 1597, RISM M 530, 5 (1580)
11	When al alone my bony love	5	Girolamo Conversi	Sola, soletta NV 607, RISM C 3545, 7 (1572)
12	When I beheld the faire face	5	Luca Marenzio	Venuta era madonna NV 1597, RISM M 530, 12 (1580)
13	Alas where is my love	5	Luca Marenzio	Ohimè dov'è 'l mio bene NV 1597, RISM M 530, 2 (1580)
14	Sweet hart life	5	Luca Marenzio	Spuntavan già NV 1597, RISM M 530, 3 (1580)
15	But if the country gods	5	Luca Marenzio	Quando 'l mio vivo NV 1597, RISM M 530, 4 (1580)
16	When from my selfe sweet Cupid	5	Luca Marenzio	Madonna mia gentil NV 1597, RISM M 530, 14 (1580)
17	Sweet singing Amarillis	5	Luca Marenzio	Cantava [la più vaga pastorella] NV 1597, RISM M 530, 15 (1580)
18	Fancy retire thee	5	Luca Marenzio	Partirò dunque NV 1597, RISM M 530, 17 (1580)
19	How long with vaine complaining	5	Luca Marenzio	Questa di verd'erbette NV 1597, RISM M 530, 16 (1580)
20	All ye that joy in wailing	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Morir non può 'l mio core NV 1989, RISM N 26, 16 (1579)
21	O heare me heavenly powrs	6	Luca Marenzio	Tal che dunque [2. parte] NV 1660, RISM M 510, 9 (1587)
22	In chains of hope and fear	6	Luca Marenzio	Né fero sdegno [1. parte] NV 1660, RISM M 510, 8 (1587)
23	When Meliboeus soull	6	Luca Marenzio	Di nettare [1. parte] NV 1660, RISM M 510, 2 (1587)
24	Now twinkling starrs	6	Luca Marenzio	Sonar le labra [2. parte] NV 1660, RISM M 510, 3 (1587)

25	Unkind, o stay thy flying	6	Luca Marenzio	Crudele perché	NV 1660, RISM M 5 10, 7 (1587)
26	Love hath proclaimed war by trumpet sounded	6	Alessandro Striggio	Non rumor di tamburi	NV 2683, RISM S 6967, 15 (1571)
27	The Fate alas	6	Luca Marenzio	Questa ordi [il laccio]	NV 1660, RISM M 5 10, 14 (1587)
28	This sweet and merry month of May	6	William Byrd		

VI. *Motetti di Orfeo Vecchi [...] e d'altri eccellentiss. musici*, Milano: Appresso l'erede di Simon Tini, et Gio. Francesco Besozzi, 1597

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER <sup>1</sup>	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Benedicum Dominum	5		
1 bis Assumpta est Maria <sup>2</sup>	5	[Giovanni Maria Nanino]	[Amor, deh dimmi come] NV 1993, RISM 1581 <sup>10</sup> , 8
2 Surge propera, 1. pars	5	del Palestina	Vestiva i colli, 1. parte RISM 1566 <sup>3</sup> , 7
3 Veni dilecte mi, 2. pars	5	[Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina]	Così le chiome mie, 2. parte RISM 1566 <sup>3</sup> , 8
4 Veni Sancte Spiritus, 1. pars	5		
5 In labore requies, 2. pars	5		
6 Deus, Deus meus	5	di Ruggiero Giovannelli	
7 Hymnum cantate Dominum	5		
8 Nigra sum sed formosa	5	di Annibale Zoilo	
9 Perambulavi hortos	5		
10 Psallite Deo nostro	5		
11 En dilectus meus	5		
12 Congratulamini	5		
13 Isti sunt qui viventes	5		
14 Quanti mercenarii	5	del Palestina	Io son ferito ahi lasso RISM 1561 <sup>10</sup> , 9
15 Omnes gentes plaudite	5		
16 Repleatur os meum, 1. parte	5		
17 Exurge Gloria mea, 2. parte	5		
18 Lapidabant Stephanum, 1. parte	5		
19 Positis autem genibus, 2. parte	5		
20 Consolamini popule meus	5		
21 Domine quando veneris	5		

<sup>1</sup> According to the title of the present collection, some of the compositions appearing in it with no specific attribution may be attributed to Orfeo Vecchi.<sup>2</sup> This composition appears only in the reprint of 1603 (see *List of collections*), where it is in second place.

VII. *Canzonets. Or little short songs to foure voyces selected out of the best and approved Italian authors, London: Peter Short, 1597*

	INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1	Now that each creature	4	Giovanni Bassano	[Ora che ogni animal riposa] NV 283, RISM B 1231, 16 (1587) VE
2	Since that the time of fleeting	4	Giovanni Croce	[Poi ch'ora mi conviene] NV 660, RISM C 4469, 18 (1588) VE
3	Lady, let me behold	4	Giovanni Croce	[Lasciatemi mirar, donna] NV 660, RISM C 4469, 4 (1588) VE
4	Lo lady for you love	4	Giovanni Croce	[Per voi, donna gentil] NV 660, RISM C 4469, 3 (1588) VE
5	Fine dainty girle delightsome	4	Giovanni Bassano	[Donna leggiadra e bella] NV 283, RISM B 1231, 18 (1587) VE
6	White lilies be her cheeks	4	Giovanni Croce	[Candidi gigli e fresche rose] NV 660, RISM C 4469, 17 (1588) VE
7	Flora faire love	4	Felice Anerio	[Flori morir debb'io] NV 54, RISM A 1085, 3 (1586) VE
8	My heart why hast thou taken	4	Thomas Morley	
9	Still it frieth	4	Thomas Morley	
10	Kiss me mine only Jewel	4	Giovanni Bassano	[Bacciami vita mia] NV 283, RISM B 1231, 9 (1587) VE
11	Faine would I die	4	Lodovico Grossi da Viadana	[Io morirei d'affanno] NV 1292, RISM V 1405, 2 (1590) VE
12	Come shepherds goods	4	Orazio Vecchi	[O donna ch'a mio danno] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 6 (1580) VE
13	Weary and windles running	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Mentr'io vissi in dolore] <sup>1</sup> NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 2 (1590) VE
14	Miraculous loves wounding	4	Felice Anerio	[Miracolo d'amore] NV 54, RISM A 1085, 13 (1586) VE
15	Fast by a brook	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Guerriera mia costante] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 6 VE
16	When loe by break of morning	4	Felice Anerio	[Quest'è quel chiaro giorno] NV 54, RISM A 1085, 22 (1586) VE
17	Long hath my love been kept	4	Felice Anerio	[Gitene canzonette] NV 54, RISM A 1085, 1 (1586) VE
18	Pearle, crystal, gold and ruby	4	Felice Anerio	[Morir non può 'l mio core] NV 54, RISM A 1085, 16 (1586)
19	Cease shepherds cease I pray you	4	Felice Anerio	[Quando 'l mio vivo sole] NV 54, RISM A 1085, 21 (1586)
20	Daphne the bright	4	Giovanni Croce	[Mentre la bella Dafne] NV 660, RISM C 4469, 7 (1588) VE

<sup>1</sup> This canzonetta is a response to *Mentr'io campai contento*, included in the *Libro primo* of 4-voice canzonette by Orazio Vecchi, Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1580 (RISM V 1010).

VIII. *Musica transalpina. The second booke of madrigalles, to 5. to et 6. voices, London: Thomas East, 1597*

	INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1	The white delightful Swanne	5	Orazio Vecchi	[Il bianco e dolce cigno] NV 2826, RISM V 1043, 1 (1589) VE
2	Zephirus brings	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Zefiro torna] NV 930, RISM F 255, 12 (1587) VE
3	So farre, deere life	5	Giulio Eremita	[Lungi ben mio] NV 893, RISM E 745, 18 (1589) VE
4	Cynthia thy song	5	Giovanni Croce	[Cinzia il tuo dolce canto] NV 668, RISM C 4477, 9 (1592) VE
5	Fly if thou wilt bee flyng	5	Giulio Eremita	[Fuggi se sai fuggire] NV 893, RISM E 745, 21 (1589) VE
6	At sound of hir	5	Lucrezio Quintiani	[Al suon d'amata] NV 2299, RISM Q 113, 2 (1588) VE
7	Browne is my love but gracefull	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Bruna sei tu, ma bella] NV 930, RISM F 255, 17 (1587) VE
8	The wine that I so deerly got	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	
9	Dolorous mourneful	5	Luca Marenzio	[Dolorosi martir] NV 1597, RISM M 530, 9 (1580) VE
10	In flowre of Aprills springing	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Nel più fiorito aprile] NV 930, RISM F 255, 21 (1587) VE
11	Hills and woods	5	Lucrezio Quintiani	[Monti, selve, fontane] NV 2299, RISM Q 113, 3 (1588) VE
12	Lady my flame	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Donna, l'ardente fiamma] NV 930, RISM F 255, 7 (1587) VE
13	Sweet Lord	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Signor, la vostra fiamma] NV 930, RISM F 255, 8 (1587) VE
14	Sweet sparkle	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Dolce fiammella] NV 1993, RISM 1581 <sup>10</sup> , 4 VE
15	Now springs each plant to heaven	5	Lucrezio Quintiani	[Creschin a gara sin al ciel] NV 2299, RISM Q 113, 13 (1588) VE
16	Sweet eyes admiring	5	Stefano Venturi	[Occhi mirando] NV 2862, RISM V 1190, 5 (1592) VE
17	Love quench this heat consuming	6	Benedetto Pallavicino	[Deh, scena il foco, amore] NV 2131, RISM P 782, 5 (1587) VE
18	Cruelly why dost	6	Benedetto Pallavicino	[Cruel perché mi fuggi] NV 2131, RISM P 782, 6 (1587) VE
19	O gracious and worthiest	6	Giovanni Croce	[O graziosa e cara, Anima mia] NV 670, RISM C 4473, 15 (1590) VE
20	Shall I love	6	Luca Marenzio	[Vivrò dunque lontano] NV 1665, RISM M 515, 21 (1591) VE
21	So sayth my faire and beautifull	6	Luca Marenzio	[Dice la mia bellissima] NV 1660, RISM M 510, 9 (1587) VE
22	For grieve I dye enraged	6	Andrea Feliciani	[Io per languir mi sfaccio] NV 920, RISM 1586 <sup>15</sup> , 5 VE
23	Daintie white Pearle	6	Antonio Bicci <sup>1</sup>	[Candide perle] NV 1665, RISM M 515, 4 (1591) VE
24	Hard by a Christall fountaine	6	Giovanni Croce	[Ove tra l'erb'e i fiori] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 16 VE

<sup>1</sup> Mistakenly attributed to Luca Marenzio in VE.

IX. *Madrigals to five voices. Collected out of the best approved Italian authors, London: Thomas East, 1598*

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Such pleasant boughes	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Non vide il mondo] NV 930, RISM F 255, 2 (1587) VE
2 Sweetly pleasing singest thou	5	Giovanni Battista Mosto	[Dolci alpestre parole] RISM 1583 <sup>11</sup> , 1
3 I think that if the hills	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Si ch'io mi credo omai] NV 930, RISM F 255, 18 (1587) VE
4 Come lovers forth	5	Giovanni Ferretti	[Venit'amanti a nimir costei] NV 959, RISM F 537, 16 (1585)
5 Loe ladies where my love	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[O timida leprezza] NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 18 (1593)
6 As I walked	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Mi sfidate guerriera] NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 19 (1593)
7 Delay breeds daunger	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Come potrò già mai] NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 20 (1593)
8 My Ladie still abhors mee	5	Giovanni Ferretti	[Donna mi fugg'ognora] NV 959, RISM F 537, 17 (1585)
9 Doe not tremble but stand fast	5	Orazio Vecchi	[Tremolavan le frondi] NV 2826, RISM V 1043, 5 (1589) VE
10 Harke and give care	5	Giulio Belli	[Udite amanti] NV 320, RISM B 1777, 3 (1592) VE
11 Life tell mee what is cause	5	Orazio Vecchi	[Deh dimmi, vita mia] NV 2826, RISM V 1043, 3 (1589) VE
12 Soden passions	5	Alessandro Orologio	[Ma se pietà del grave incendio mio] NV 2065, RISM O 120, 5 (1586) VE
13 If silent	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[S'io taccio il duol] NV 929, RISM F 254, 9 (1587)
14 O my loving sweet hart	5	Luca Marenzio	[Caro dolce ben mio] NV 1613, RISM M 546, 2 (1582) VE
15 I languish to complaine mee	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Vorrei lagnarmi appieno] NV 929, RISM F 254, 8 (1587) VE
16 Loe how my colour rangeth	5	Ippolito Sabino	[Ecco i' mi discoloro] NV 2533, RISM 1589 <sup>16</sup> , 8 VE
17 Thirsis on his faire Phillis	5		
18 For verie grieffe I dye	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Morirò di dolor prima ch'io veggia] NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 15 (1593) VE
19 The nightingale, 1. part	5	Peter Philips	[Quel rossignolo]
20 O false deceit, 2. part	5	Peter Philips	[O che lieve è ingannar]
21 As Mopsus went	5	Stefano Venturi	[Quell'aura, che spirand'a l'aura mia] NV 2862, RISM V 1190, 21 (1592)
22 Flora faire nimphe	5	Giovanni Ferretti	[Una piaga mortal mi sent'al core] NV 959, RISM F 537, 3 (1585)
23 My sweet Layis	5	Giovanni de Macque	[Or un laccio, un ardore] RISM 1582 <sup>4</sup> , 4
24 Say sweet Phillis	5	Alfonso Ferrabosco	[Or un laccio, un ardore] NV 929, RISM F 254, 5 (1587)

X. *Amorum Filii Dei decades duae*, Erfurt: Georg Baumann, 1598

	INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1	Congratulamini cum iubilo	5	Christoforus Clavius Papeberg[ensis]	
2	Lieben Christen singet alle	5	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	O compagni, allegrezza NV 1075, RISM G 508, 1 (1591) D
3	Jesu wolst uns weisen	6 <sup>1</sup>	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	Viver lieto voglio NV 1075, RISM G 508, 3 (1591)
4	Heut preiset Gott, welcher aus Noht	5	Adilon	La douce palm
5	Impleta sunt quae praecinere vates / Erfüllet ist, was propheceit zuvorenn	5	Giovanni Ferretti	Donna crudel NV 940, RISM F 512, 2 (1567)
6	Herr Jesu sey gepreiset	5	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	Piacet, gioia e diletto NV 1075, RISM G 508, 4 (1591) D
7	In dir ist Freude	5	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	A lieta vita NV 1075, RISM G 508, 2 (1591) D
8	Zu Gott im neuen Jhare	5	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	Turti venite armati NV 1075, RISM G 508, 10 (1591) D
9	Vera Dei patris imago / Herr Christ des Vaters Bilt und Ehre	5	Andreas Pevernage	O seigneur, Dieu, mon esperance RISM P 1670, 8 (1589) R
10	Frisch auff singet alle	5	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	Più d'ogn'altra, o Clori NV 1075, RISM G 508, 16 (1591) D
11	Patris dicamus laudem / Lob, Ehr, sagn wir Gott Vater	5	Andreas Pevernage	Seigneur, j'ai mis entente RISM P 1670, 6 (1589) R
12	Christus des Weibes sahme	5	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	Possa morir chi t'ama NV 1075, RISM G 508, 15 (1591) D
13	Jesu nun sey gepreiset	5	Johann Hermann	Jesu nun sey gepreiset <i>Cantilinae latinae et germanicae</i> , Wittenberg, 1591, part 2, 35 R
14	Exultent Domino mortales singuli / Frewt euch ihr Christen al	5	Jacob Regnart	Alarm, alarm, a l'arme, o fidi NV 2325, RISM R 738, 16 (1574) D
15	Wolauff ihr Musicanten, zu diesem Newen Jahr	5	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	Questa dolce sirena NV 1075, RISM G 508, 12 (1591) D

<sup>1</sup> The original composition by Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi is for five voices.



16	In terras Dominus misit de coelis / Gott hat von Himels Thron	5	Teodoro Riccio	Più belle set' assai che non è 'l sole	NV 2342, RISM R 1295, 15 (1577) D
17	Prodiit Pusio dulcis / Welch ein liblich Kindlein	5	Luca Marenzio	Togli, dolce ben mio	NV 1613, RISM M 546, 20 (1582) D
18	Gelobt sey Gott	5	[Giovanni Ferretti] <sup>2</sup>	O là chi mi sa dar novella	NV 955, RISM F 527, 11 (1572)
19	Grates dicamus / Danck sagn wir alle	5	Girolamo Conversi	Io vo gridando come spiritato	NV 607, RISM C 3545, 1 (1572) D
20	Wir sagen Lob und Danck	5	incerti auctoris	Pavane neapolitane a 5	
21	Herr Jesu Christ, nu sey gepreiset	5	Ieronymus Schulte [Praetorius] Organisten	Hamburgische Saltarell	R
22	Fröhlich last uns singen	6	Lambert de Sayve	Tant vous alles douce	

<sup>2</sup> Mistakenly attributed to Girolamo Conversi in this print.

XI. *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine [...] prima parte a tre voci, Roma: Nicolò Mutij, 1599*

INCIPIT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Gli ardenti miei desiri	3		
2 Lodate Dio, lodate	3	Giovanni Animuccia	[Lodate Dio, lodate] NV 83, RISM A 1235, 42 (1563)
3 Benedit' il Signore	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Benedit' il Signore] RISM 1588 <sup>u</sup> , 1
4 In vita e in morte mia	3	d'incerto	
5 Vergin ch' in questa valle	3	abbate romano	
		[Giacomo Belletti di Monte d'Olma]	
6 O de' beati e santi	3	abbate Pitigliano	
7 Di regia stirpe ebreia	3	don Remigio	
8 Or non nasce ciascun	3	don Remigio	[Or non nasce ciascun] RISM 1591 <sup>3</sup> , 28
9 Non più fasce ne cuna	3	don Remigio	
10 Non più pappe né latte	3	don Remigio	
11 Scende l'Angel dal Cielo	3	don Remigio	
12 Piena del Verbo eterno	3	don Remigio	
13 Pura più che colomba in bianca neve	3	don Remigio	
14 Che luce è questa o Dio	3	don Remigio	
15 Donna ab eterno eletta	3	don Remigio	
16 Vergine santa pigliat' il cor mio	3	abbate napolitano	
17 Alto principio e monte	3	Scipione Dentice	
18 Poiché Vergin di te son fatto privo	3	Vespasiano Roccia	
19 Or eccoti 'l mio core	3	del medesimo [Vespasiano Roccia]	[Or eccoti 'l mio core] RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 20
20 Lacci e catene forti	3	d'incerto	
21 Vergin luce amorosa	3	d'incerto	[Vergin luce amorosa] RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 29
22 Alzando gli occhi al ciel	3	Bartolomeo Roy	[Alzando gli occhi al ciel] RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 28
23 Tua bellezza suprema	3	Giovanni Maria Nanino	

24	Donna celeste	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Donna celeste]	RISM 1588 <sup>11</sup> , 17
25	È nato grand'Iddio	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa] <sup>1</sup>	[È nato grand'Iddio]	RISM 1583 <sup>2</sup> , 24
26	Di te la vita nasce <sup>2</sup>	3	Giovanni de Macque	[Oggi la vita nasce]	RISM 1594 <sup>3</sup> , 23
27	Sorgi dal sonno <sup>3</sup>	3	Cristoforo Montemayor	[Sorgi dal sonno]	RISM 1583 <sup>4</sup> , 24
28	Il tuo bel sol, 2. parte	3	[Cristoforo Montemayor]	[Il tuo bel sol]	RISM 1583 <sup>4</sup> , 25
29	L'unico figlio dell'eterno padre	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[L'unico figlio]	RISM 1577 <sup>3a</sup> , p. 55
30	Nell'apparir del sempiterno sole	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]		
31	Due rose il Mammol mio <sup>4</sup>	3	d'incerto		
32	O di Gesù Madre dement'è pia	3	d'incerto		
33	Or'èccoti presente, anima mia <sup>5</sup>	3	Scipione Calabrese		
34	Odi Vergine sacra i miei lamenti	3	d'incerto		
35	Luce dell'alma mia	3	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Occhi dell'alma mia]	NV 1241, RISM G 2466, 11 (1588)
36	Non veggio al mondo cosa	3	Scipione Dentice	[Non veggio al mondo]	NV 807, RISM D 1660, 21 (1591)
37	Deh tramm' in pace omai	3	Mico Montelli [Domenico Montella]	[Deh tramm' omai Signor]	RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 30
38	Stanca del suo penar mia vita omai	3	d'incerto		RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 39
39	Vergine se ti calse	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]		RISM 1583 <sup>4</sup> , 10
40	Vergine tu del Ciel'alma reina	3	d'incerto		
41	Perché non mi consoli, o Vergin pia	3	d'incerto [Francisco Soto de Langa]	[Perché non mi consoli]	RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 7
42	Passano i giorni e i mesi	3	d'incerto		
43	Se ben riguardi, o core	3	d'incerto	[Se ben riguardi]	RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 34

<sup>1</sup> Anonymous in RISM 1583<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The text coincides with the one included in the *Secondo libro delle laudi spirituali*, Roma: Alessandro Gardano, 1583 (RISM 1583<sup>4</sup>); the music corresponds to that found in the *Nuove laudi spirituali raccolte da diversi autori moderni*, Napoli: Nicola Antonio Stigliola a Porta Reale, 1594 (RISM 1594<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> The musical settings of this text included in the *Tempio armonico* and attributed to Cristoforo Montemayor (XI: 27, 45) differ from one another.

<sup>4</sup> "Il mio babin" instead of "il Mammol mio" in *Lodi, et canzonette spirituali*, Napoli: Tarquinio Longo, 1608 (RISM 1608<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> A version for four voices of this composition is included in the *Nuove laudi ariose*, Roma: Nicolò Mutij, 1600. See XII: 32.

44	Vergin che Luna e Sol'ed ogni stella	3	d'incerto			
45	Sorgi dal sonno	3	d'incerto [Cristoforo Montemayor]	[Sorgi dal sonno]		RISM 1589 <sup>21</sup>
46	Chiario viso leggiadro alm'è gentile	3	Prospero Santini			
47	Da ch'a noi riscoprìsti 'l tuo bel viso	3	Arcangelo Crivelli			
48	Qual chi di gran febr'arde 'l ber desia	3	Arcangelo Crivelli			
49	S'in me potesse morte a par del duolo	3	Teofilo Romano			
50	O Vergine Maria	3	Vespasiano Roccia			
51	S'io parto, o Madre	3	d'incerto			
52	O de gli angeli in Ciel ricco tesoro	3	d'incerto			
53	Rifondi a l'alma mia	3	Mico Montelli [Domenico Montella]			
54	S'al tuo felice sguardo	3	Mico Montelli [Domenico Montella]			
55	Vag'augelletto che cantando vai	3	d'incerto	[Vag'augelletto]		RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 31
56	Chiari bei raggi ardenti	3	d'incerto	[Chiari bei raggi]		RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 3
57	Del sol e d'ogni stella	3	Scipione Dentice			
58	Alme ch'ornando il Cielo	3	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Stelle ch'ornando il cielo]		RISM 1585 <sup>7</sup> , 3
59	Ogni giorno m'è notte	3	abbate Pitigliano	[Ogni giorno m'è notte]		RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 40
60	Vorrei, Vergine bella	3	Scipione Dentice			
61	Non è cosa più bella	3	d'incerto			
62	Vergine più del sol lucent'è bella	3	d'incerto			
63	Cor mio duro, che fai	3	d'incerto	[Cor mio duro, che fai]		RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 21
64	Madre divina	3	Paolo Quagliati	[Madre divina]		RISM 1585 <sup>7</sup> , 15
65	Mentre lo sposo mio	3	d'incerto	[Mentre lo sposo mio]		RISM 1588 <sup>11</sup> , 8
66	Alma del redentor	3	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Alma del redentor]		RISM 1585 <sup>7</sup> , 23
67	Come Fenice regni al mondo sola	3	Annibale Marchese napol[etan]o			
68	S'a la mia trista vita	3	d'incerto	[S'a la mia trista vita]		RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 8

69	Vergine dolc'e pia <sup>6</sup>	3	d'incerto		
70	Se 'l vostro chiaro viso	3	d'incerto		
71	Se pensando di te s'infiama il core	3	d'incerto		
72	O Vergine Maria	3	Mico Montelli [Domenico Montella]		
73	Non più Giove né Marte	3	Ortensio Spalenza		
74	Lungi, lung'in felice	3	dell'istesso [Ortensio Spalenza]		
75	Già si veggon disgombrare	3	del medesimo [Ortensio Spalenza]		
76	Ali, pargoletto infante, in cui m'assiso	3	Arnoldo Fiamengo [Arnoldus Flandrus]		
77	La Vergin madre pia	3	Bartolomeo Roy		
78	Aprimm' 'l petto e 'l core	3	Mico Montelli [Domenico Montella]	[Aprimm' 'l petto e 'l core]	RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 16
79	Ohimè, qual fu l'estrem' aspro dolore	3	d'incerto		
80	Da g'aspri tuoi martiri	3	Vespasiano Roccia napoletano		
81	Non son tant' onde in mare	3	d'incerto		
82	Fugge da gl'occhi il sonno	3	d'incerto	[Fugge da gl'occhi il sonno]	RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 4
83	Ahimè pur s'avicina	3	Luca Marenzio	[Se 'l raggio de' vostr'occhi] <sup>7</sup>	RISM 1591 <sup>12</sup> , 19
84	Ohimè che tal martire	3	Francesco Roccia		
85	Il pietoso Giesù	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Il pietoso Giesù]	RISM 1591 <sup>3</sup> , 4
86	Con dolor fiero e forte	3	Benedetto Narducci		
87	Cristo al morir tendea	3	fra Marc'Antonio da San Germano minor conventuale		
88	Ond'è che l'aureo crine	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Ond'è che l'aureo crine]	RISM 1588 <sup>11</sup> , 23
89	Quando rimiro 'l Ciel	3	d'incerto [Francisco Soto de Langa]	[Quando rimiro 'l Ciel]	RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 32
90	Vergine donna del Ciel'alma regina	3	Mico Montelli [Domenico Montella]		

<sup>6</sup> Other settings of this text can be found in *Nuove laudi ariose* (XII: 1, 50).

<sup>7</sup> Reworking for three voices of the homonymous canzonetta for four voices.

91	Ami chi vuol amare	3	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Ami chi vuol amare]	RISM 1592 <sup>8</sup> , 13
92	Contempla nòt'e giorno, anima mia	3	Paolo Quagliati		
93	Di Dio madre beata	3	d'incerto		
94	Ove vai, donna santa?	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Ove vai, donna santa?]	RISM 1598 <sup>4</sup> , 13
95	O donna gloriosa	3	Cristoforo Montemayor	[O donna gloriosa]	RISM 1583 <sup>9</sup> , 39
96	Allor ch'io penso a voi	3	Felice Ancerio	[Allor ch'io penso a voi]	RISM 1592 <sup>5</sup> , 11
97	Mentre ch'io servo a voi	3	Rinaldo Melli [Del Mel]	[Mentre ch'io servo a voi]	RISM 1592 <sup>5</sup> , 12
98	Alti sospir che m'uscite dal petto	3	d'incerto		
99	Vergin, del vero Sol felice aurora	3	d'incerto [fra Martino da Corigliano]		RISM 1599 <sup>6</sup> , 99
100	Ave del mare stella e vag'aurora	3	d'incerto		
101	Venite alme devote al paradiso	3	d'incerto		
102	Perché così facesti?	3	Dorisio Isorelli		
103	Or non sapevi forse	3	del medesimo [Dorisio Isorelli]		
104	Allor con gl'occhi bassi	3	dell'istesso [Dorisio Isorelli]		
105	Vergin diletta sposa	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]		
106	Lascia la bella Roma a mezz'aprile	3	don Remigio		
107	Indi spirando poi l'aura seconda	3	don Remigio		
108	Mentre del Capricorno	3	don Remigio		
109	Il bel tempo primier, 2. parte	3	[don Remigio]		
110	Chiaro gioisce il Tebro, 3. parte	3	[don Remigio]		
111	Mira Vergine madre, 4. parte	3	[don Remigio]		
112	E s'ci t'adora umil, 5. parte	3	[don Remigio]		
113	O bel viso leggiadro	3	Giovanni Andrea Dragoni		
114	Già s'apre il sacro tempio, 2. parte	3	[Giovanni Andrea Dragoni]		
115	Tu dunque, o madre pia, 3. parte	3	[Giovanni Andrea Dragoni]		
116	Alma Vergin gentile	3	Giovanni Maria Nanino		

117	Oggi che dolce mele, 2. parte	3	[Giovanni Maria Nanino]
118	Mira felice madre, 3. parte	3	[Giovanni Maria Nanino]
119	Il Ciel tutto si vela, 4. parte	3	[Giovanni Maria Nanino]
120	Volgi pietosa i lumi, 5. parte	3	[Giovanni] Bernardino Nanino
121	Ben so ch'acerbe pene, 6. parte	3	[Giovanni Maria Nanino]
122	Deh movati a pietade, 7. parte	3	[Giovanni Maria Nanino]
123	Di che t'ammiri stolto	3	[Giovanni] Francesco Anerio
124	Due grandi abissi, 2. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
125	Dop' Osea i tre maggior, 3. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
126	Per la città che torna, 4. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
127	Grida qual Giona, 5. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
128	Credan sia questo de' flagelli, 6. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
129	Che se non fosse oggi, 7. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
130	Non temer tu se vivrai, 8. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
131	Capir non puoi, 9. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
132	Più larga a' poveri, 10. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
133	Vien' ogni mal, 11. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
134	Nasce ogni ben, 12. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]
135	Vergin ben posso dire	3	Paolo Papini
136	Qual'ape al suo favo da gli amati fiori	3	Francesco Martini Fiamengo
137	Mentre più coce, 2. parte	3	[Francesco Martini Fiamengo]
138	E pur partir convienmi, alma regina	3	Fulvio Novelli
139	Parto da voi, 2. Parte	3	[Fulvio Novelli]
140	Lasso, che fia di me, 3. parte	3	[Fulvio Novelli]
141	Che sia di me non so, 4. parte	3	[Fulvio Novelli]
142	Lungo viver m'è noia, 5. parte	3	[Fulvio Novelli]



143	Valli vicine e rupi	3	Simon Boyleau	[Valli vicine e rupi]	NV 1405, RISM 1560 <sup>18</sup> , 17
144	Nascan'erbette, e fiori, 2. parte	3	[Simon Boyleau]	[Nascan'erbette]	NV 1405, RISM 1560 <sup>18</sup> , 18
145	In questo di giocondo, 3. parte	3	[Simon Boyleau]	[In questo di giocondo]	NV 1405, RISM 1560 <sup>18</sup> , 19
146	Al tuo bel tempio santo	3	fra P. Paolo da Cavi agostiniano		
147	Per aspri monti vidi girne lieta	3	D. Paolo Papini		
148	Per aspri monti vidi girne lieta	3	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Per aspri monti vidi]	RISM 1591 <sup>3</sup> , 1
149	Ben scorgi di lontano alma regina	3	Scipione Calabrese		
150	Sentovi di lontano alma regina	3	Giovanni Francesco Anerio		
151	Odor ch'India o Sabea, 2. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]		
152	L'opre di meraviglia, 3. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]		
153	E perché lungi son, 4. parte	3	[Giovanni Francesco Anerio]		
154	Angel dal Ciel disceso	3	P. Giovenale [Ancina]		
155	Salce son io, ch' in aspra e dura selce	3	del medesimo [Giovenale Ancina]		
156	Sacra Vergin di stelle incoronata	3	P. Giovenale [Ancina]		
157	Se dal freddo Aquilon	3	dell'istesso [Giovenale Ancina]		
158	Stendi al popol roman	3	dell'istesso [Giovenale Ancina]		
159	Mentre a noi vibra il Sol	3	Dorisio Isorelli		
160	Alta armonia gentile	3	Francesco Martini fiamengo		
161	Alta armonia gentile	3	Giovanni Francesco Anerio romano		
162	Alta armonia gentile	3	Francesco Soriano		

XII. *Nuove laudi ariose*, Roma: Nicolò Mutij, 1600<sup>1</sup>

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Vergine dolc'e pia	4	Scipione Dentice	
2 Vergin, del vero Sol felice aurora	4	fra Martino da Corigliano	RISM 1599 <sup>6</sup> , 99
3 Casto pensier che mi levasti al Cielo	4	abbate Pitigliano	
4 Chi vol veder in terra	4	Pietro Taglia	NV 2695, RISM T 28, 15 (1555)
5 Ella con rai atterra, 2. parte	4	Pietro Taglia	NV 2695, RISM T 28, 16 (1555)
6 Vergin beata è questa, 3. parte <sup>2</sup>	4	Pietro Taglia	
7 Vergine bella del gran Padre eterno	4	Cristoforo Montemayor	
8 Passato è il verno i ghiacci e le pruiue	4	Giovanni de Macque	RISM 1583 <sup>4</sup> , 32
9 L'alto fattor che l'universo regge	4	Giovanni de Macque	RISM 1583 <sup>4</sup> , 32
10 Mira se cosa mai più vaga e bella	4	Cristoforo Montemayor	
11 La vita fugge e non s'arresta un'ora <sup>3</sup>	4	Cristoforo Montemayor	
12 S'io di te penso e del tuo amor Maria	4	[Giovanni Battista] Villanova	
13 S'io di te penso e del tuo amor Maria	4	Giovanni de Macque	
14 Chioistro beato e santo <sup>4</sup>	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	RISM 1591 <sup>1</sup> , 72–78
15 Tra verdi campi e la stagion novella <sup>5</sup>	4	Orazio Vecchi	NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 21 (1580)
16 Qual donna attende a gloriosa fama	4	Pietro Taglia	NV 2695, RISM T 28, 5 (1555)
17 Ivi 'l parlar che nullo st'l'aguaglia	4	Pietro Taglia	NV 2695, RISM T 28, 6 (1555)
18 Giunt'i pastori a l'umile presepe	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	RISM 1583 <sup>4</sup> , 9

<sup>1</sup> In this collection some compositions present slight modifications compared to the models.<sup>2</sup> Does not appear in Pietro Taglia's *Il primo libro de' madrigali a quattro voci*, Milano: Francesco et Simone Moscheni fratelli, 1555 (RISM T 28).<sup>3</sup> Although the incipits coincide, the text does not correspond to no. 272 of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.<sup>4</sup> In RISM 1591<sup>1</sup> all the strophes have the same setting.<sup>5</sup> Only the first strophe of the text corresponds to the one included in Orazio Vecchi's *Canzonette* [...] *libro primo a quattro voci*, Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1580 (RISM V 1010).

19	I' piansi un tempo	4			
20	Il tuo Giesù, o Vergine madre	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Il tuo Giesù]	RISM 1583 <sup>4</sup> , 42
21	Si gioioso mi fanno i dolor miei	4	Pietro Taglia	[Si gioioso mi fanno]	NV 2695, RISM T 28, 19 (1555)
22	Poiche 'l mio largo pianto	4	Orlande de Lasus	[Poiche 'l mio largo pianto]	RISM 1583 <sup>15</sup> , 2
23	Che fai donna? Che guardi?	4	Prospero Santini	[Che fai donna?]	NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 22
24	Ov'è l'anima mia? dov'è sparita?	4	abbate Pitigliano	[Ov'è l'anima mia?]	RISM 1598 <sup>4</sup> , 42
25	Ohimè dov'è 'l mio ben	4	Jan Nasco	[Ohimè dov'è 'l mio ben]	NV 2004, RISM N 78, 22 (1554)
26	O donna gloriosa	4	Giovanni de Macque	[O donna gloriosa]	RISM 1583 <sup>4</sup> , 37
27	Donna, ch'al santo regno alzata sei	4	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Occhi dell'alma mia] <sup>6</sup>	NV 1241, RISM G 2466, 11 (1588)
28	Vergin che Luna e Sol vinci e le stelle	4	Pietro Taglia	[Ella non sa se non in van]	NV 2695, RISM T 28, 7 (1555)
29	Vergin Dea, che 'l Ciel adora e ama	4	Baldissera Donato	[Quattro dee ch'il mond'onora]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 25 (1550)
30	De' Cieli alta regina	4	Cristoforo Montemayor		
31	Vergin ben posso dire	4	fra Paolo Papini		
32	Or eccoti presente, anima mia <sup>7</sup>	4	Scipione Calabrese		
33	Se mai, Vergine pia	4	Montelli Mico [Domenico Montella]		
34	Chi sta soggetto al van idol d'amore	4	Scipione Dentice	[Chi sta soggetto al van]	RISM 1594 <sup>4</sup> , 48
35	Alma del Ciel regina	4	Fulvio Novelli		
36	E noi fidel viventi	4	Fulvio Novelli		
37	Vergin di grazia fonte e d'ogni bene	4			
38	Porgi conforto al mio turbato core	4	Vincenzo Ferro		
39	Vergin che debbo far, che mi consigli	4	[Domenico Maria] Ferrabosco		
40	Mentre cerco il mio bene	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Raggi, dov'è il mio bene?]	NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 10 (1580)
41	Deh se pietosa sei	4	Prospero Santini	[Deh se pietosa sei]	RISM 1588 <sup>11</sup> , 32

<sup>6</sup> Reworking for four voices of the villanella for three voices by Ruggiero Giovannelli. See XI: 35.

<sup>7</sup> A version for three voices of this composition appears in the *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine*, Roma: Nicolò Mutij, 1599. See XI: 33

42	Noi siamo rie peccatrici	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]		
43	Demonio e carne insieme	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Damon e Filli insieme]	NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 21
44	Tu madre e Vergin pura	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Eran guardi possenti] <sup>8</sup>	NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 21
45	S'allor che più sperai dal Ciel conforto	4	Paolo Animuccia	[S'allor che più sperai da voi]	NV 251, RISM 1555 <sup>25</sup> , 22
46	Parto da voi e so con quanta pena	4	Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	[Parto da voi e so]	NV 1342, RISM I 53, 13 (1579)
47	Spero tomar ben che sicuro e certo	4	Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	[Parto da voi e so]	NV 1342, RISM I 53, 13 (1579)
48	Poscia che troppo i miei peccati	4	Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	[Poscia che troppo]	NV 1342, RISM I 53, 1 (1579)
49	Santa madre del Ciel, unica speme	4	Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	[Santa madre del Ciel]	NV 1342, RISM I 53, 2 (1579)
50	Vergine dolc'è pia, Vergine madre	4	Baldissera Donato	[Baciarmi vita mia]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 22 (1550)
51	Non veggio al mondo cosa	4	abbate Pitigliano		
52	Stendi al popol roman	4	Giovanni da Todi		
53	Tra ghiaccio e ardente foco	4	abbate Pitigliano		
54	Non mi lasciar in su l'estremo passo	4	Guglielmo Testori		
55	Ave del mare stella	4	Michelangelo Cancineo		
56	Prendendo tu quell'ave	4	Michelangelo Cancineo		
57	Ave del Ciel regina	4	Michelangelo Cancineo		
58	Oggi al Ciel va vostr'alma genitrice	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Oggi al Ciel va]	RISM 1591 <sup>3</sup> , 51
59	O glorioso corpo di Maria	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[O glorioso corpo]	RISM 1591 <sup>3</sup> , 57
60	Vergine più del sol lucida stella	4	Giovanni Maria Trabaci		
61	Or eccoti Laureto, anima mia	4	Prospero Santini		
62	Qual delicato e più soave odore	4	fra Paolo Papini		
63	Vite di vera vita intatta e pura	4	fra Paolo Papini		
64	Vergine bella al nostro mare stella	4	abbate Pitigliano		
65	Più potente e più forte	4	Baldissera Donato	[Più leggiadra e più bella]	NV 856, RISM D 3404, 3 (1550)

<sup>8</sup> Second strophe of the canzonetta *Damon e Filli insieme* (see XII: 43).

66	Ecco dal chiaro vostro almo splendore	4	Baldissera Donato	[Ma se dal chiaro vostro]
67	Madre Vergin, cui veste il chiaro Sole	4	fra Paolo Papini	
68	Già l'augusta città, che largo impera	4	fra Paolo Papini	
69	Or che la fredda neve e 'l duro ghiaccio	4	Fulvio Novelli	[Or che la fredda neve] RISM 1588 <sup>11</sup> , 16
70	Primavera gentil, rident'è bella	4	Fulvio Novelli	
71	Alma Vergin che fai? Vergine pia	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	
72	Come ti veggio, ohimè, di dolor cinta	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	[Come ti veggio ohimè] RISM 1577 <sup>31</sup> , p. 65
73	Empiasi il cor di gioia e di dolcezza	4	Prospero Santini	[Empiasi il cor di gioia] RISM 1598 <sup>4</sup> , 41
74	Ave di grazia piena	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	
75	Godi del Ciel regina	4	P. [Francisco] Soto [de Langa]	

XIII. *Nova metamorfosi dell'infrastritti autori, opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Casaglieri [...] libro primo, Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1600*

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER <sup>1</sup>	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Repleatur os meum, 1. parte	5	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Saggio e santo pastor, 1. parte] RISM 1574 <sup>4</sup> , 2
2 Exurge gloria mea, 2. parte	5	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Onde seguendo, 2. parte] RISM 1574 <sup>4</sup> , 3
3 Nigra sum sed formosa, 1. parte	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Scoprirò l'ardor mio, 1. parte] RISM 1576 <sup>3</sup> , 5
4 Ecce tu pulchra es, 2. parte	5	del medemo [G. M. Nanino]	[Se voi siete il mio sol, risposta] RISM 1576 <sup>3</sup> , 6
5 Exaudi Deus	5		
6 Iubilare et exultare	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Donna gentil] RISM 1574 <sup>4</sup> , 4
7 Gaudent in coelis	5	Benedetto Pallavicino	[T'amo mia vita] RISM P 789, 8 (1593)
8 In canticis et citharis	5	Giovanni Domenico da Nola	[Datemi pace] NV 1254, RISM N 778, 16 (1567)
9 Immaculata Virgo	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Che puoi tu farmi, amor] RISM 1583 <sup>13</sup> , 2
10 Domine ne in furore	5		
11 Laetamini in Domino	5	d'incerto autore	
12 Tentavit Deus Abraham	5	Cristoforo Malvezzi	[Occhi miei che vedeste] NV 1556, RISM 1583 <sup>16</sup> , 2
13 Veni in hortum meum	5	d'incerto autore	
14 Semper laudabo, 1. parte	5	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Vestiva i colli, 1. parte] RISM 1566 <sup>3</sup> , 7
15 Sana me Domine, 2. parte	5	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Così le chiome mie, 2. parte] RISM 1566 <sup>3</sup> , 8
16 Surgens Iesus	5		
17 Ecce sacerdos	5	Giovanni de Macque	[Viv'Oriente mio] RISM 1574 <sup>4</sup> , 5
18 Rorate coeli	5	[Francesco] Roselli	[Tolse dal ciel] RISM 1574 <sup>4</sup> , 8
19 Tulerunt Dominum	5	Bartolomeo Roy	[Quando termineràn] RISM 1574 <sup>4</sup> , 27
20 Isti sunt viri sancti	5	d'incerto autore	
21 Ecce dilectus meus	5	d'incerto autore	

<sup>1</sup> According to the title-page (see p. 271, n. XIII), compositions nos. 5, 10 and 16, or some of them, could be attributed to Lucio Castelnuovo. See *Castelnuovo (Castelnuovate)*, *Lucio* in NG2; RISM 1600<sup>11</sup>.

XIV. *Scielta de madrigali a cinque voci de diversi excell. musici*, Milano: erede di Simon Tini, Filippo Lomazzo, 1604

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Nos autem gloriosi	5	Giovanni Gabrieli	O ricco mio tesoro RISM 1583 <sup>11</sup> , 15
2 Ego dormio	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Dolcemente dormiva NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 2 (1593)
3 Maria Magdalena	5	Marc'Antonio Ingegneri	Talor per trovar pace NV 1345, 5
4 In te Domine speravi	5	Cristoforo Malvezzi	Vago dolce e bel Arno NV 1556, RISM 1583 <sup>16</sup> , 3
5 Domine ne in furore	5	Cristoforo Malvezzi	Occhi miei che vedeste NV 1556, RISM 1583 <sup>16</sup> , 2
6 Domine quid multiplicati	5	Claudio Merulo	Miramì, vita mia RISM 1583 <sup>13</sup> , 6
7 Tu es gloria mea	5	Philippe de Monte	Che fai alma NV 748, RISM M 3333, 1 (1567)
8 Deus iudex iustus	5	Philippe de Monte	Talor tace la lingua NV 748, RISM M 3333, 2 (1567)
9 Assumpta est Maria	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Amor, deh dimmi come NV 1993, RISM 1581 <sup>10</sup> , 8
10 Principes persecuti	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Erano i capei d'oro NV 1989, RISM N 26, 3 (1579)
11 Vide humilitatem	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Non era l'andar suo NV 1989, RISM N 26, 4 (1579)
12 Laetamini in Domino	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Morir non può NV 1989, RISM N 26, 16 (1579)
13 Domine in virtute	5	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	Io felice sarei RISM 1574 <sup>1</sup> , 28
14 Cantate Domino	5	Bartolomeo Roy	Quando termineranno RISM 1574 <sup>1</sup> , 27
15 Audite disciplinam	5	Orfeo Vecchi	
16 Ad Dominum cum tribularer	5	Pietro Vinci	Sappi, signor NV 2918, RISM V 1675, 8 (1571)
17 Quemadmodum desiderat	5	Giaches de Wert	Cara la vita mia NV 2967, RISM W 855, 13 (1558)
18 Sitivit anima mea	5	Giaches de Wert	Poi che con gli occhi NV 2967, RISM W 855, 14 (1558)
19 Vadam et circuibò	5	Giaches de Wert	D'un sì bel foco RISM 1576 <sup>1</sup> , 3
20 Quam pulchra es	5	Giaches de Wert	Scorgo tant'alit'l lume RISM 1576 <sup>1</sup> , 4
21 Levavi oculos	5	Annibale Zoilo	Qui caddi al laccio RISM 1574 <sup>1</sup> , 27

XV. *Della nova Metamorfosi de diversi autori. Opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Cavaglieri [...] libro secondo*, Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1605

	INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1	Exaudi	5	Domenico Micheli	[Com'avrà vita amor] NV 1842, RISM M 2677, 5 (1564)
2	Gaude quae genuisti	5	Cristoforo Malvezzi	
3	En dilectus meus	5	Domenico Micheli	[Baciami vita mia] NV 1841, RISM M 2676, 11 (1564)
4	Salve sancta facies	5	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Pulchra es amica mea] RISM P 716, 22 (1583)
5	Versa est	5	Giulio Cesare Gabussi	
6	Veni sponsa	5	Pomponio Nenna	[Torna, amato mio bene] RISM 1585 <sup>19</sup> , 22
7	Iudith	5	Luca Marenzio	[Che fa oggi il mio sole] NV 1597, RISM M 530, 10 (1580)
8	Laudate Dominum	5	Simone Molinaro	
9	Exultate iusti	5	Guglielmo Arnone	
10	Haec dies	5	incerto autore	
11	Ioannes praecursor	5	Cesare Borgo	
12	Non turbetur, 1. parte	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Erano i capei d'oro, 1. parte] NV 1989, RISM N 26, 3 (1579)
13	Dum complerentur, 2. parte	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Non era l'andar suo, 2. parte] NV 1989, RISM N 26, 4 (1579)
14	Gaudeamus	5	[Giovanni Domenico] Rivolta	
15	Surge propra	5	Orazio Scaletta	
16	Ad te Domine clamabo	5	Giovanni Domenico Rognoni	
17	In civitate Domini	5	Philippe de Monte	
18	O veneranda	5	Philippe de Monte	
19	Regina coeli	5	Giulio Cesare Ardemanio	
20	Pater noster	5	Luca Marenzio	[Tirsi morir volea, 1. parte] NV 1597, RISM M 530, 6 (1580)
21	Panem nostrum	5	Luca Marenzio	[Frenò Tirsi il desio, 2. parte] NV 1597, RISM M 530, 7 (1580)



XVI. *Hortus musicalis* [...] *liber primus*, Pataviae: Matthaeus Nenninger, 1606

INCIPT		vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES	
1	Deus solare jubar lucis aetherae	5	Luca Marenzio	[Questa di verd'e]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 16 (1580)
2	Plaudite cuncti, 2. pars	5	eodem [Luca Marenzio]	[Partirò dunque]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 17 (1580)
3	O dulcedo beata	5	Orazio Vecchi	[Chi vi mira, Renea]	NV 2826, RISM V 1043, 2 (1589)
4	O decus o gloriae, 2. pars	5	[Orazio Vecchi]	[Deh dimmi, vita mia]	NV 2826, RISM V 1043, 3 (1589)
5	Sanctus Sebastianus	5	Ercole Pasquini	[Mentre che la bell'Isse]	RISM 1591 <sup>9</sup> , 10
6	Lassus in via mala	5	Francesco Maria Guaitoli	[Lasso, che i dolci baci]	NV 1294, RISM G 478, 6 (1600)
7	Desiderio gravi	5	eodem [Francesco Maria Guaitoli]	[Et è questa la fede]	NV 1294, RISM G 478, 7 (1600)
8	Profundo in amore	5	Orazio Vecchi	[Il bianco e dolce cigno]	NV 2826, RISM V 1043, 1 (1589)
9	O beatum Martinum	5	Marsilio Santini	[Quanto più son trafitte]	RISM 1598 <sup>6</sup> , 12
10	Te Dominum amplectimur	5	Giaches de Wert	[D'un sì bel foco]	RISM 1576 <sup>1</sup> , 3
11	Est gloria, 2. pars	5	[Giaches de Wert]	[Scorgo tant'alt'il lume]	RISM 1576 <sup>1</sup> , 4
12	Qui caelorum cacumen	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Scoprirò l'ardor mio, 1. parte]	RISM 1576 <sup>1</sup> , 5
13	Tuo qui radio, 2. pars	5	[Giovanni Maria Nanino]	[Se voi siete il mio sol, risposta]	RISM 1576 <sup>1</sup> , 6
14	Quis est ut leo fortis?	5	Luca Marenzio	[Che fa oggi il mio sole]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 10 (1580)
15	Lasso quis manus praebebit	5	eodem [Luca Marenzio]	[Lasso ch'io ardo]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 11 (1580)
16	O pie pelicane	5	Hans Leo Hassler	[Ach Schatz ich tu dir klagen]	RISM H 2336, 15 (1596)
17	Qui mundi huius variis	5	Orlande de Lassus	[Ein meidlein zu dem brunnen gting]	RISM L 856, 11a
18	En gravi nostra, 2. pars	5	[Orlande de Lassus]	[Das meidlein tregt Pantoffen an]	RISM L 856, 11b
19	Omnes morti vicini	5	Luca Marenzio	[Tirsi morir volea]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 6 (1580)
20	Suspirant ad te, 2. pars	5	[Luca Marenzio]	[Frenò Tirsi il desio 2. parte]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 7 (1580)
21	Et importuno, 3. pars	5	[Luca Marenzio]	[Così morio 3. parte]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 8 (1580)
22	Eya o Iesu parvule	5	eodem [Luca Marenzio]	[Dolor tant'è la gioia]	NV 1622, RISM M 553, 14 (1585)
23	O gloriae paternae	5	Giovanni Ferretti	[Sei tanto graziosa]	NV 940, RISM F 512, 5 (1567)
24	Tu figura substantiae, 2. pars	5	[Giovanni Ferretti]	[Donna crudel]	NV 940, RISM F 512, 2 (1567)

25	Te ergo quesumus, 3. pars	5	[Giovanni Ferretti]	[Come poss'io morir]	NV 940, RISM F 512, 4 (1567)
26	Deus qui Patris nostri	5	Stefano Felis	[Sonno scendesti 1. parte]	NV 923, RISM I 585 <sup>3</sup> , 76
27	Et tu beate Pater, 2. pars	5	[Stefano Felis]	[Tu là ritorni 2. parte]	NV 923, RISM I 585 <sup>3</sup> , 7
28	Rex aeternae qui sanctis	5	Orlande de Lassus	[De l'éterne tue sante]	NV 1461, RISM L 959, 1 (1585)
29	Idcirco regnum, 2. pars	5	[Orlande de Lassus]	[Per questo alti misteri, 2. parte]	NV 1461, RISM L 959, 2 (1585)
30	Date manum velocem	5	Luca Marenzio	[Deggio dunque partire]	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 1 (1581)
31	Hinc daemonis, 2. pars	5	[Luca Marenzio]	[Io partirò, 2. parte]	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 2 (1581)
32	Sicque omni solutus, 3. pars	5	[Luca Marenzio]	[Ma voi, caro ben mio, 3. parte]	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 3 (1581)
33	Bethsaidum corona	5	Ippolito Baccusi	[Come venir poss'io]	RISM I 598 <sup>6</sup> , 7
34	O Rex Emanuel	5	Lucrezio Ruffolo		
35	Qui super thronum sedes	5	Benedetto Pallavicino	[Tutto eri foco, amore]	NV 2114, RISM P 785, 5 (1588)
36	Succurrite ah lasso	5	[Giovanni] Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Io son ferito ah lasso]	RISM I 561 <sup>10</sup> , 9 M
37	In stadio dum longo	5	Giovanni Matteo Asola	[In questa carne morta]	RISM I 598 <sup>6</sup> , 13
38	Festiva dies agitur	5	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Vestiva i colli]	RISM I 566 <sup>3</sup> , 7 M
39	Solemnitas haec est, 2. pars	5	[Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina]	[Così le chiome mie]	RISM I 566 <sup>3</sup> , 8 M
40	Te fontem sitio o Deus	5	Alessandro Oroligio	[Com'avrà vita amor]	NV 2066, RISM O 124, 14 (1595)
41	Tristitia implevit corda	5	Luca Marenzio	[Fillida mia]	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 9 (1581)
42	Ad te de luce clamo	5	eodem [Luca Marenzio]	[Amor, poiché non vuole, 1. parte]	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 6 (1581)
43	Illabere tu menti, 2. pars	5	[Luca Marenzio]	[Chi strinse mai, 2. parte]	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 7 (1581)
44	Miraculum in mundo	5	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Miracol in natura]	RISM I 583 <sup>14</sup> , 40
45	Audi quid loqueris?	5	Orazio Vecchi	[Tich toch. Chè quel?]	NV 2831, RISM I 590 <sup>31</sup> , 7 (1590)
46	Ave deipara Virgo	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Aventuroso più d'ogni altro colle]	NV 1993, RISM I 581 <sup>10</sup> , 19
47	Sacrifica Deo	5	Luca Marenzio	[Liquide perle]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 1 (1580)
48	Ergo sint meriti, 2. pars	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Dolce fiammella]	NV 1993, RISM I 581 <sup>10</sup> , 4
49	Salus, honor et virtus	5	eodem [Giovanni Maria Nanino]	[Questa sì bianca neve]	NV 1993, RISM I 581 <sup>10</sup> , 5
50	Salve candidula	5	Luca Marenzio	[Venuta era madonna]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 12 (1580)
51	Salve profunda, 2. pars	5	[Luca Marenzio]	[Intanto il sonno]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 13 (1580)

XVII. *Musica tolta da i madrigali di Claudio Monteverde e d'altri autori [...] fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini, Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1607*

INCIPT		w.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES	
1	Felle amaro me potavit populus	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Cruda Amarilli	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 1 (1605)
2	Deus noster fidelis	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Filli cara ed amata	NV 1211, RISM G 2459, 13 (1586)
3	Qui pendit in cruce, Deus meus	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Ecco, Silvio, colei	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 4 (1605)
4	Pulchrae sunt genae tuae	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Ferir quel petto, Silvio?	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 8 (1605)
5	Stabat virgo Maria	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Era l'anima mia	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 3 (1605)
6	Spernit Deus cor durum	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Ma tu più che mai dura	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 11 (1605)
7	Confitemini Deo	5	Adriano Banchieri	Apprestateci fede	NV 237, RISM B 827, 3 (1603-04)
8	Sancta Maria quae Christum peperisti	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Deh, bella e cara e sì soave	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 10 (1605)
9	Maria, quid ploras ad monumentum?	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Dorinda ah! dirò mia	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 6 (1605)
10	Te, Iesu Christe, liberator meus	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Ecco piegando le genocchie	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 7 (1605)
11	O quam inanes gressus	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	O come vaneggiate	NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 4 (1593)
12	Sanctissima Maria sis advocata mea	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Baciatemi cor mio	NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 13 (1593)
13	Moritur in ligno Dominus noster	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Morirò di dolor	NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 15 (1593)
14	Ergo ne vis abire	5	Luca Marenzio	Deggio dunque partire	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 1 (1581)
15	Suavissime Iesu	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Soavissimi fiori	NV 1211, RISM G 2459, 17 (1586)
16	Dulce est et iucundum	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Occhi miei che miraste	NV 1218, RISM G 2479, 1 (1593)
17	Ure me, Domine, amore tuo	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Troppo ben può	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 15 (1605)
18	Gloria tua manet in aeternum	5	Claudio Monteverdi	T'amo, mia vita	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 17 (1605)
19	Artifex mirus es, aeternae Deus	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Erano i capei d'oro	NV 1989, RISM N 26, 3 (1579)
20	Vives in corde meo, Deus meus	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Ahi come a un vago sol	NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 14 (1605)
21	Bonum est et suave	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Sonno diletto e caro	NV 1040, RISM G 72, 1 (1580)
22	Veni in hortum, soror mea, sponsa	6	Orazio Vecchi	Dicea Damet'a Cloride	NV 2821, RISM V 1026, 4 (1587)
23	Ne confide in forma generosa	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Non ti sdegnar, o Filli	NV 1040, RISM G 72, 17 (1580)
24	Cantate laudem Deo	6	Orazio Vecchi	E vivere e morire	NV 2821, RISM V 1026, 12 (1587)

XVIII. *Johann-Jacobi Gastoldi und anderer Autorn Tricinia*, Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1607<sup>1</sup>

INCIPIT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPIT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Amor in was für schmerz	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Sin fede del mio amore] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 7 (1592)
2 Gagt mir eins, Jungfrau	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Per mirar lo splendor] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 8 (1592)
3 Venus gibt mir zu schaffen	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Amor fa quanto vuoi] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 20 (1592)
4 In eurer Lieb bin ich hertzlieb <sup>2</sup>	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	
5 Zartes Jungfräulein reine	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Mentre scherzava Clori] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 10 (1592)
6 Mein gedanken thun mich	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Poi che l' poter m'è tolto] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 6 (1592)
7 Jungfrau, ich denck jetzunder	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Mi tra' d'oggi in dimane] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 5 (1592)
8 All meiner freud bin ich worden	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Amerò donna] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 15 (1592)
9 All meiner jungen tage	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Io son già mort'ahi lasso] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 14 (1592)
10 Von lieb bin ich entzündet	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Torna dolce il mio amore] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 18 (1592)
11 Ach ir zarte und schöne	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Ahi, Filli, anima mia] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 2 (1592)
12 Jungfrau, ich red mit grunde	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Questa è colei che sola] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 12 (1592)
13 Lasst uns ietze frölich singen	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Poi che non m'è concesso] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 1 (1592)
14 Ach wie empfindt mein Hertze	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Ahi, che mi tiene il core] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 16 (1592)
15 Mein sehnen un mein dichten	3	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Cercai fuggir amor] NV 1102, RISM G 550, 17 (1592)
16 Amor ich bin gefangen	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Caro albergo d'amore] NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 1
17 O du hertziges Hertz	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[O dell'anima mia] NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 2
18 An einem guten orte	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Del sol così splendenti] NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 3
19 O unfreundliches Hertze	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[Doloroso martire] NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 6
20 O falsches Hertz es bring	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Non più pene o più tormenti] NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 7
21 O Hertz von harten etemen <sup>3</sup>	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Da cor di pietra dura] NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 9

<sup>1</sup> The *contrafacta* in this collection present some exchanges between the voices and other slight variants compared to their respective models.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the other compositions in the collection, this does not appear in any other collection of 3-voice canzonette by Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi known to date.<sup>3</sup> One tone lower than the model.

22	Ich sing und ist mein Hertze	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Fiamme che da begli occhi]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 21
23	Bey nacht und auch bei tage	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Felice chi vi mira]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 23
24	Dass ir mein Hertz besitzt	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[Voi pur da me partite]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 24
25	Amor, ich bin verwundet	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Filli, già non è spenta]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 25
26	Mein augen Threnen	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Ben ebbe amica stella]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 19
27	Komm, mein Schatz, mit mir	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[Aura soave]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 20
28	Auff dein Liebe hab ich	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[S'aver pur debbo]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 10
29	Ach schatz, O süßes Leben	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[Filli mia, Filli dolce]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 12
30	Als ich bey meinem schönen	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[Mentre stava Mirtillo]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 14
31	Ach lieblichs Bild	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[Ahi, per uscir]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 26
32	Jungfräulein gehn euch	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Ahi, Lidia non credevi]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 27
33	Auff einem gülden Wagen	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[Il faretrato nume]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 28
34	Holdselig's Hertze	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[Deh, non più pene]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 18
35	Ach Schatz wo bleibt	3	Orazio Vecchi	[Amor opra che puoi]	NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 15
36	Im Leib mein junges hertze	3	Orazio Vecchi	[Se gli è vero, Imeneo]	NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 14
37	Mir ist verwundet sehr	3	dell'Invaghito [Tommaso Pecci]	[L'ardor ch'omai]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 30
38	Wer Kan es doch ermessen	3	dell'Affettuoso [Mariano Tantucci]	[Occhi, un tempo mia vita]	NV 2164, RISM 1599 <sup>11</sup> , 11
39	Ach wie werd ich von Cupido	3	Luca Marenzio	[Novo Tizio son io]	NV 1699, RISM M 604, 5 (1587)
40	Durch das brennende feur	3	Luca Marenzio	[I begli occhi sereni]	NV 1699, RISM M 604, 23 (1587)
41	Ich brinn so ungeheure	3	Luca Marenzio	[Come potrò già mai] <sup>4</sup>	NV 1689, RISM M 594, 23 (1585)
42	Es sass ein Voglein	3	Orazio Vecchi	[Non vuo' pregare]	NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 17
43	So vil mann Wasserwellen	3	Valentin Hausmann		
44	O grimmig Lieb, verbrenn	3	Valentin Hausmann		
45	Grete Magd sachte Merten	3	Valentin Hausmann		
46	Jep Dilltent, derselbe Fent	3	Valentin Hausmann		
47	Ey Simmer dan Botz Velten	3	Valentin Hausmann		

<sup>4</sup> The composition presents numerous musical variants compared to the model.

XIX. *Il secondo libro della musica di Claudio Monteverde e d'altri autori [...] fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini, Milano: Agostino Tradata, 1608*<sup>1</sup>

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 O dies infelices	5	Claudio Monteverdi	O com'è gran martire NV 1906, RISM M 3459, 2 (1592)
2 Florea sarta	5	Claudio Monteverdi	La giovinetta pianta NV 1906, RISM M 3459, 1 (1592)
3 Te sequear Iesu	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Ch'io t'ami, e t'ami più de la mia vita NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 9 (1605)
4 Qui regnas	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Che dar più vi poss'io NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 12 (1605)
5 Animas eruit	5	Claudio Monteverdi	M'è più dolce il penar per Amarilli NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 13 (1605)
6 O mi fili, mea vita	5	Claudio Monteverdi	O Mirtillo, Mirtillo anima mia NV 1922, RISM M 3465, 2 (1605)
7 Praecipitantur	5	Claudio Monteverdi	O primavera, gioventù dell'anno NV 1906, RISM M 3459, 11 (1592)
8 O infelix recessus	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Ah dolente partita NV 1914, RISM M 3467, 1 (1603)
9 Praetert hora	5	Giovanni Paolo Cima	Chiudimi gli occhi amore
10 Venit o cara	5	Giovanni Paolo Cima	Giunt'è pur, Lidia, il mio
11 Dum Stephanum	5	Giovanni Croce	Ella che pur ardea NV 674, RISM C 4478, 19 (1594)
12 O infelix recessus	5	Giovanni Pietro Flaccomio	Ah dolente partita
13 Lacrimae amarissimae	5	Giovanni Pietro Flaccomio	O dolcezze amarissime d'Amore
14 Ardeo in hac flamma	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Ardo sì, ma non t'amo NV 1211, RISM G 2459, 1 (1586)
15 Marta soror, 2. parte	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Ardi e gela a tua voglia NV 1211, RISM G 2459, 2 (1586)
16 Dilige debemus	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Amatemi ben mio NV 1211, RISM G 2459, 7 (1586)
17 Iam laqueis	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Se da' tuoi lacci sciolto NV 1211, RISM G 2459, 3 (1586)
18 De te, de tuo sole	5	Luca Marenzio	Che fa oggi il mio sole NV 1597, M 530, 10 (1580)
19 Respice, o Iesu	5	Claudio Merulo	Miramì, vita mia RISM 1583 <sup>1,2</sup> , 6
20 Nemora densa	5	Flaminio Tresti	Se de la mia vita

<sup>1</sup> The source listed in I-Ma (Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana) is currently untraceable. The data presented here are taken from NV 1946 and from V, no. 56, pp. 519–520.

XX. *Neue Deutsche Canzonetten mit dreyen Stimmen*, Frankfurt am Main: Nikolaus Stein, 1608

	INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1	Soll ich denn meiden dich und soll noch singen	3	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Ahi, che quest'occhi miei erano lieti] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 1
2	Als Piramus kam an des Brunnens quelle	3	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Da così dotta man sei stato fatto] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 2
3	Warumb wiltu jetzunder von mir scheiden	3	Francesco Soriano	[Ameni colli, vaghi monticelli] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 3
4	Gleich wie ein Adler hoch in Lüfften schwebet	3	Giovanni Battista Zucchelli	[Mentre l'aquila sta mirando il sole] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 4
5	Mit liebes Fewr bin ich entzünd	3	Jacobus Peetrinus	[Ardenti miei sospiri e dolorosi] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 6
6	Du edle Music eben	3	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Vermiglio e vago fiore] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 7
7	Wovon sagt mir ohn Schertze	3	Arcangelo Crivelli	[Io me n'avedo, Amore] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 8
8	Ein trewes Hertz in Ehren	3	Jacobus Peetrinus	[Poiché mesto o dolente] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 9
9	Ich sag gantz unerlogen	3	Giovanni Maria Nanino	[Tutta gentile e bella] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 10
10	Ich hab, o Jungfrau zart	3	Annibale Stabile	[Ohimè partito è 'l mio bel sol] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 11
11	Amor, du bitter Trancke	3	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Fugge da gli occhi il sonno] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 12
12	Soll ich dir Schatz nicht klagen	3	Giovanni Battista Zucchelli	[Ohimè crudele Amore] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 13
13	Wie soll ich fröhlich singen	3	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Si vaga è la mia fiamma] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 14
14	Wiewol auff dieser Erden	3	Felice Anerio	[Al suon non posa il cuore] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 15
15	Nun mehr hab ich mit Recht	3	Giacomo Ricordi	[Io ardo, o Fili, e tu] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 16
16	O holdseliges Bilde	3	Antonio Orlandini	[Ingiustissimo amore] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 17
17	Was ists mein Schatz	3	Paolo Quagliati	[Ancora che tu m'odii] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 18
18	Mein Hertz ist gar verzehret	3	Felice Anerio	[Fiamme, che da begli occhi] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 19
19	Wann wirdt einmal ein End	3	Gasparo Costa	[Se fredda è la mia donna] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 20
20	Ich frewe mich mir ist einmal gelungen	3	Francesco Soriano	[Vedo ogni selva rivestir] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 21
21	Dein Äuglein leuchten	3	Giovanni Battista Locatello	[Donna gentil, voi siete] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 22
22	Amor, du brennendt Fewre	3	Felice Anerio	[Donna, se 'l cor levasti] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 23
23	Herzlich thut mich erfrewen	3	Luca Marenzio	[Donna, se nel tuo volto] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 24
24	Oh weh, meins Lebens Krafft	3	Felice Anerio	[Mentre il mio miser core] RISM 1589 <sup>11</sup> , 25
25	Gleich wie ein Binlein recht	3	Andreas Myller	
26	Nun hat ein End	3	Andreas Myller	

XXI. *Il terzo libro della musica di Claudio Monteverde [...] fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini, Milano: Alessandro ed eredi di Agostino Tradate, 1609*

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Una es <sup>1</sup>	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Una donna fra l'altre onesta e bella
2 Amemus te	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Amor, se giusto sei
3 Qui pietate	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Ma se con la pietà non è in te spenta
4 Iesu dum te	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Cor mio, mentre vi miro
5 Iesu tu nobis	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Cor mio, non morì? E morì
6 Luce serena	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Luci seren'è chiare
7 Plagas tuas	5	Claudio Monteverdi	La piaga ch'ho nel core
8 Tu vis a me	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Voi pur da me partite
9 Cantemus	5	Claudio Monteverdi	A un giro sol de' begl'occhi lucenti
10 Plorat amare	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Piagne e sospira, e quand'i caldi raggi
11 Anima quam dilexi	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Anima del cor mio
12 Longe a te	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Longe da te, cor mio
13 O Iesu mea vita	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Sì ch'io vorrei morire
14 Anima miseranda	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Anima dolorosa
15 O stellae	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Sfogava con le stelle
16 Ardebat igne	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Volgea l'anima mia soavemente
17 Domine Deus	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Anima mia, perdona
18 O gloriose martyr	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Che se tu se' il cor mio
19 Rutilante in nocte	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Io mi son giovinetta
20 Qui laudes	5	Claudio Monteverdi	Quell'augellin, che canta

<sup>1</sup> This *contrafactum* was published before its respective model, included in Claudio Monteverdi's *Sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1614 (RISM M 3490).



XXII. *Hortus musicalis* [...] *liber secundus*, Munich: Adam Berg, 1609

INCIPT			vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES	
1	Musica Dei donum		5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Ridono l'erbe e i fiori]	NV 1211, RISM G 2459, 4 (1586)
2	Sponte mea in tympano		5	Luca Marenzio	[Spuntavan già]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 3 (1580)
3	Nam bonus, 2. pars		5	[Luca Marenzio]	[Quando il mio vivo sol, 2. parte]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 4 (1580)
4	Ad nitida caelorum		5	Alessandro Striggio	[Chi farà fede al Cielo]	RISM 1566 <sup>3</sup> , 4
5	Ite pastores quaerite		5	Luca Marenzio	[Itene all'ombra]	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 11 (1581)
6	Vernans flore iucundo		5	Felice Anerio	[Amor, se bei rubini]	NV 62, RISM A 1084, 5 (1585)
7	Qui in caligine		5	Jean de Castro		
8	Si quis extolli vult		5	Giovanni Andrea Dragoni	[Pensai fra queste ripe]	RISM 1583 <sup>11</sup> , 23
9	O dux bone protector		5	Giovanni Maria Nanino		
10	Adoramus te o Christe		5	Valentin Hausmann		
11	Ave regina sanctissima		5	Jacob Regnart	[Dolc'amorose leggiadrette ninfe]	NV 2325, RISM R 738, 12 (1574)
12	O dura mors		5	Orlande de Lassus	[Sur tous regretz]	NV 1389, RISM L 764, 16 (1560)
13	Alme Pater		5	Jacob Reiner	[Viel Hass und Neid]	RISM R 1081, 18 (1581)
14	O Domine qui sponte		5	Alessandro Orologio		
15	O fide dux letitiae, 2. pars		5	[Alessandro Orologio]		
16	Dulce dum pondus		5	Pomponio Nenna		
17	Omnis gloria est		5	Giaches de Wert	[Tolse barbara gente]	NV 2985, RISM W 881, 10 (1577)
18	Sed corde tacito, 2. pars		5	[Giaches de Wert]	[Sono i guerrieri suoi, 2. parte]	NV 2985, RISM W 881, 10 (1577)
19	Salve Virgo		5	Orlande de Lassus	[Del auro crin]	NV 1481, RISM 1570 <sup>6</sup> , 20
20	Arca tu saderis, 2. pars		5	[Orlande de Lassus]	[Con le stelle e col sol, response]	NV 1481, RISM 1570 <sup>6</sup> , 21
21	Dolore plena est		5	Luca Marenzio	[Dolorosi martir]	NV 1597, RISM M 530, 9 (1580)
22	O te matrem moestissimam		5	Bartolomeo Pulsela	[O tu ch'a le mestissime]	RISM 1598 <sup>6</sup> , 19
23	In planctu suspirans		5	Luca Marenzio	[I' piango ed ella il volto]	NV 1608, RISM M 539, 15 (1581)
24	Tandem o Christe		5	Orlande de Lassus	[Comme la tourterelle languit]	NV 1393, RISM L 789, 13 (1565)

25	A portu, 2. pars	5	[Orlande de Lassus]	[Ou t'atend, response]	NV 1393, RISM L 789, 14 (1565)
26	O Deus fabricator	6	Luca Marenzio	[Qual vive salamandra]	NV 1647, RISM M 500, 5 (1581)
27	O dux Israel	6	eodem [Luca Marenzio]	[Leggiadrissima, eterna primavera]	NV 1665, RISM M 515, 1 (1591)
28	Salve o Rex, 2. pars	6	[Luca Marenzio]	[Già le muse e le grazie, 2. parte]	NV 1665, RISM M 515, 2 (1591)
29	Elevare Domine	6	Giovanni Ferretti	[Su su non più dormir]	NV 964, RISM F 534, 7 (1575)
30	Exacerunt linguas, 2. pars	6		[Ecco ch'io lass'il core] <sup>1</sup>	NV 964, RISM F 534, 8 (1575)
31	Ornate corda vestra	6	Orlande de Lassus	[Ornando come suole]	NV 1420, RISM L 981, 31 (1587)
32	Evigilate somno	6	Luca Marenzio	[Leggiadre ninfe]	NV 1665, RISM M 515, 3 (1591)
33	O veneranda dies	6	Orazio Vecchi	[Or ch'ogni vento tace]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 3
34	Veni in hortum meum	6	Peter Philips anglo	[Amor che voi ch'io facci]	RISM 1591 <sup>10</sup> , 43
35	Extrema gaudii	6	Giovanni de Macque	[Il vago e lieto aspetto]	NV 1536, RISM M 86, 21 (1579)
36	Nascitur cum dolore	6	Alessandro Striggio	[Nasce la pena mia]	NV 2672, RISM 1560 <sup>22</sup> , 3
37	Nascitur cum dolore	6	Giovanni Ferretti	[Nasce la gioia mia]	NV 964, RISM F 534, 21 (1575)
38	Magi ab oriente	6	Peter Philips	[Poiché voi non volete]	NV 2209, RISM P 1991, 15 (1596)
39	Cantate Deo Jacob	6	Luca Marenzio	[Nel più fiorito aprile]	NV 1647, RISM M 500, 9 (1581)
40	Tu gloria Ierusalem	6	Giovanni Ferretti	[Un pastor chiese]	NV 961, RISM F 531, 1 (1573)
41	Omnes morti vicini	6	Benedetto Pallavicino	[Tirsi morir volea]	RISM 1588 <sup>21</sup> , 15
42	Suspirant, 2. pars	6	[Benedetto Pallavicino]	[Frenò Tirsi il desio, 2. parte]	RISM 1588 <sup>21</sup> , 16
43	Et importuno, 3. pars	6	[Benedetto Pallavicino]	[Così morio i fortunati amanti, 3. parte]	RISM 1588 <sup>21</sup> , 17
44	In saevo mari	6	Giovanni Turchetti	[O beltà rara]	NV 2775, RISM T 1435, 4 (1589)
45	Cantate Deo adiutori	6	Luca Marenzio	[Cantate ninfe]	NV 1647, RISM M 500, 14 (1581)
46	Salus es mihi Deus	6	Ippolito Baccusi	[Un giorno a Pale sacro]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 1
47	Quam diu livor edax?	6	Giovanni Croce	[Ove tra l'erbe e i fiori]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 16

<sup>1</sup> Anonymous composition in Giovanni Ferretti's *Secondo libro delle canzoni a sei voci*, Venezia: erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1575 (RISM F 534).

XXIII. *Fatiche spirituali di Simone Molinaro [...] libro primo, Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1610*

INCIPIT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Veni o Iesu	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Flora gentil vieni e discaccia NV 1040, RISM G 72, 14 (1580)
2 Cur te lusit amor	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Con che lusing'amor NV 1038, RISM G 66, 11 (1574)
3 Hic licet multi	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Non ti sarò NV 1038, RISM G 66, 12 (1574)
4 Cantate Deo	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Or che a noi torna NV 1040, RISM G 72, 13 (1580)
5 Cantabant Domino	6	Orazio Vecchi	Saltavan ninfe NV 2821, RISM V 1026, 2 (1587)
6 Iam mundi	6	Orazio Vecchi	Deh lascia Fili NV 2821, RISM V 1026, 3 (1587)
7 Eripe te infelix	6	Simone Molinaro	Dal tuo carro gelato
8 Genae tuae Virgo	6	Antonio Bicci	Candide perle NV 1665, RISM M 515, 4 (1591)
9 Alma tu coeli dignata	6	Rinaldo Del Mel	Ma tu che ne' color NV 722, RISM M 2209, 16 (1594)
10 Veni Creator Spiritus	6	Giovanni de Macque	Per pianto lo mio core NV 1545, RISM M 87, 2 (1581)
11 Laudate Dominum	6	Simone Molinaro	
12 Nativitas Ioannis	6	Orazio Vecchi	Or ch'ogni vento tace RISM 1592 <sup>II</sup> , 3
13 O mundi lumina	6	Giovanni de Macque	Mai non vuo' pianger NV 1545, RISM M 87, 1 (1581)
14 Observa Fili	6	Orazio Vecchi	Dicea Dameta NV 2821, RISM V 1026, 4 (1587)
15 Quasi stella matutina	6	Simone Molinaro	
16 O quam iucunda aurora	6	Orazio Vecchi	O che vezzosa aurora NV 2827, RISM V 1040, 01 (1583)
17 Ut vivit salamandra	6	Luca Marenzio	Qual vive salamandra NV 1647, RISM M 500, 5 (1581)
18 In tribulatione	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Dolcissimo ben mio NV 1040, RISM G 72, 8 (1580)
19 O beate Laurenti	6	Philippe de Monte	Se giamai tempo o loco NV 781, RISM M 3339, 09 (1569)
20 O sacrum convivium	6	Simone Molinaro	
21 Ego flos campi	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Se vuoi ch'io moia NV 1040, RISM G 72, 7 (1580)

XXIV. *Fatiche spirituali di Simone Molinaro [...] libro secondo, Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1610*

INCIPT		vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES	
1	22	Lucia sponsa Christi	6	Andrea Gabrieli	La bella pargoletta NV 1040, RISM G 72, 5 (1580)
2	23	O spes miseriarum	6	Andrea Gabrieli	O dolci parolette NV 1035, RISM G 62, 27 (1570)
3	24	Si te benigne Iesus	6	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Allor che la felice
4	25	Attendite qui Dominum	6	Leonardo Levanto	Or che la mia bellissima
5	26	Virgo immaculata	6	Giovanni de Macque	Non veggio oggi il mio sole NV 1546, RISM M 88, 1 (1582)
6	27	Audite me docebo vos	6	Giovanni de Macque	Preso son io NV 1546, RISM M 88, 2 (1582)
7	28	Amo te me non amas	6	Orazio Vecchi	Ardo sì, ma non r'amo NV 2827, RISM V 1040, 2 (1583)
8	29	Congratulamini	6	Alessandro Striggio	Non rumor di tamburi NV 2683, RISM S 6967, 15 (1571)
9	30	Si scires fili	6	Philippe de Monte	Leggiadre ninfe NV 781, RISM M 3339, 23 (1569)
10	31	Cum ergo tuo	6	Philippe de Monte	Il dolce e desiato frutto NV 781, RISM M 3339, 24 (1569)
11	32	Virgo famosa	6	Luca Marenzio	Filli mia bella, a Dio NV 1653, RISM M 504, 16 (1584)
12	33	Vos omnes sancti et sanctae	6	Luca Marenzio	Leggiadre ninfe NV 1665, RISM M 515, 3 (1591)
13	34	O peccator attende	6	Philippe de Monte	Se per far la mia vita NV 793, RISM M 3368, 14 (1580)
14	35	Sed quod non percipis	6	Philippe de Monte	Ma se volgete altrove NV 793, RISM M 3368, 15 (1580)
15	36	Omnes qui querunt pacem	6	Luca Marenzio	Vita de la mia vita NV 1653, RISM M 504, 18 (1584)
16	37	Suspiro ad portas Sion	6	Giovanni Battista Della Gostena [?]	Ninfe cantate meco <sup>1</sup>
17	38	Que sunt, o rex benigne	6	Luca Marenzio	Donò Cinzia a Damone NV 1656, RISM M 507, 14 (1585)
18	39	Sic dilecta, o Christe	6	Luca Marenzio	Se bramate ch'io mora NV 1660, RISM M 510, 1 (1587)
19	40	Domine inquirentes	6	Luca Marenzio	S'a veder voi NV 1665, RISM M 515, 15 (1591)
20	41	Christe rex, virtus nostra	6	Andrea Gabrieli	Sonno diletto e caro NV 1040, RISM G 72, 1 (1580)
21	42	A te longe ne vivam	6	Luca Marenzio	Vivò dunque lontano NV 1665, RISM M 515, 21 (1591)

<sup>1</sup> The madrigal *Ninfe cantate meco* by Giovanni Battista Della Gostena included in his *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque*, Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1584 (RISM D 811), does not correspond to the model of this contrafactum.

XXV. *Nova metamorfosi de diversi autori opera del R. P. F. Geronimo Cavaglieri [...]* Libro terzo, Milano: Melchiorre Tradata, erede di Agostino, 1610

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Osculetur me	6	Alessandro Striggio	NV 2683, RISM S 6967, 6 (1571)
2 Veni dilecta mea	6	Andrea Gabrieli	NV 1040, RISM G 72, 1 (1580)
3 Laetentur coeli	6	Luca Marenzio	NV 1665, RISM M 515, 3 (1591)
4 In civitate Dei	6	Andrea Gabrieli	NV 1040, RISM G 72, 4 (1580)
5 Sana me Domine	6	Pietro Vinci	NV 2926, RISM 1579 <sup>6</sup> , 11
6 Quem vidistis pastores	6	Girolamo Belli	NV 312, RISM B 1737, 10 (1584)
7 Ego dilecto meo	6	Guglielmo Arnone	NV 169, RISM A 2482, 1 (1600)
8 Gaude quae genuisti	6	Luca Marenzio	NV 1647, RISM M 500, 5 (1581)
9 O sacrum convivium	6	Simone Molinaro	
10 Hymnum cantate nobis	6	Claudio Merulo	RISM 1579 <sup>3</sup> , 1
11 Surge formosa mea	6	Andrea Gabrieli	NV 1040, RISM G 72, 8 (1580)
12 Isti sunt viri sancti	6	Ippolito Sabino	NV 2528, RISM S 48, 1 (1582)
13 Semper laudabo	6	Giovanni Ferretti	NV 961, RISM F 531, 1 (1573)
14 Aperi mihi	6	Alessandro Striggio	NV 2672, RISM 1560 <sup>22</sup> , 3
15 Adiuro vos	6	Cesare Borgo	
16 Maria Magdaleneae	6	Andrea Gabrieli	NV 1040, RISM G 72, 5 (1580)
17 Vulnerasti cor meum	6	Pietro Vinci	NV 2926, RISM 1579 <sup>6</sup> , 12
18 O doctor optime	6	Giovanni Paolo Costa	
19 In toto corde meo	6	Claudio Merulo	RISM 1579 <sup>3</sup> , 6
20 Audivi vocem de caelo	6	Giovanni Battista Mosto	RISM 1591 <sup>10</sup> , 66
21 Tota pulchra es	6	incerto	

XXVI. *Musicalische Streitkrantzlein [...]* *Triumphli di Dori oder Dorothea genennet*, Nürnberg: Abraham Wagenmann, 1612

	INCIPIT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPIT AND REPERTOIRES
1	Artlich und wol formieret	6	Ippolito Baccusi	[Un giorno a Pale sacro] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 1
2	Annelein Zuckermündelein	6	Ippolito Sabino	[Dove sorge piacevole] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 2
3	Agnes ist keusch und stille	6	Orazio Vecchi	[Or ch'ogni vento tace] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 3
4	Blandina meine schöne	6	Giovanni Gabrieli	[Se cantano gli augelli] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 4
5	Bey dir ist freud und wonne	6	Alfonso Preti	[Ninfe a danzar venite] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 5
6	Barbara komm inn deinen schönen Garten	6	Luca Marenzio	[Leggiadre ninfe] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 6
7	Christlich fromm und Gottseelig	6	Giovanni de Macque	[Vaghe ninfe selvagge] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 7
8	Claar scheint die liebe Sonne	6	Orazio Colombani	[A l'apparir di Dori] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 8
9	Dorothea Gottes gabe	6	Giovanni Cavaccio	[Giunta qui Dori] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 9
10	Elend hat sich verkehret	6	Annibale Stabile	[Nel tempo che ritorna] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 10
11	Ey Lieber rath ihr Schwestern	6	Paolo Bozi	[A l'ombra d'un bel faggio] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 11
12	Forthin will ich alles trauren legen	6	Tiburzio Massaino	[Su le fiorite sponde] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 12
13	Getreues Hertz in ehren	6	Giovanni Matteo Asola	[In una verde piaggia] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 13
14	Her, her, ihr edlen Jäger alle	6	Giulio Eremita	[Smeraldi eran le rive] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 14
15	Jungfräwlein eurent wegen	6	Philippe de Monte	[Lungo le chiare linfe] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 15
16	Margaretha Edles Perlein	6	Giovanni Croce	[Ove tra l'erbe e i fiori] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 16

XXVII. *Rest Musicalische Streitkrantzlein [...] Triumph di Dori oder Dorothea genennet, Nürberg: Balthasar Scherff, 1613*

	INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 17	Kätchen mein Mädchen mein Liebchen	6	Giovanni Croce	[Ove tra l'erbe e i fiori] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 16
2 18	Lucretiae, ihr Jugent, helfft mir	6	Pietro Andrea Bonini	[Quando lieta e vezzoza] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 17
3 19	Martha, Martha hat viel su schaffen	6	Alessandro Striggio	[Eran le ninfe] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 18
4 20	Mariae Magdaleneae sind schöner Namen	6	Giovanni Florio	[Più trasparente velo] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 19
5 21	Margarita Du giebst mir nach zu spüren	6	Leone Leoni	[Di pastorali accenti] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 20
6 22	Regiert auch weiblich guete	6	Felice Anerio	[Sotto l'ombroso speco] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 21
7 23	Regina hoch geboren	6	Gasparo Zerto	[L'inargentato lido] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 22
8 24	Sie will, Studenten haben	6	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Quando apparisti] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 23
9 25	Susanna Kusch und reine	6	Gasparo Costa	[Mentre a quest'ombre] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 24
10 26	Sara, Liebe Sara	6	Lelio Bertani	[Dori a quest'ombre] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 25
11 27	Saget mir, ihr lieben	6	Ludovico Balbi	[Mentre pastori e ninfe] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 26
12 28	So kommt nun alle	6	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Al mormorar] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 27
13 29	Schont, thut andere nicht so hoch erheben	6	Costanzo Porta	[Da lo spuntar de' matutini albori] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 28
14 30	Sagt einer viel von seiner	6	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Quando dal terzo cielo] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 29
15 31	Urania tritt auff	6	Hans Leo Hassler	
16 32	Eins mals im grünen Mayen	6	Luca Marenzio	[Leggiadre ninfe] RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 6

XXVIII. Vier und Zwanzig Außersene vierstimmige Canzonetten Horatii Vecchi, Gera: Martin Spiels Erben, 1614

INCIPIT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Lobet den Herren alle	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Porgimi, cara Fili] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 14
2 Herr, unser Herrscher	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Se da le treccie mie] NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 3 (1590)
3 Last uns von Herten singen	4	Orazio Vecchi	[L'antiche mie fiammelle] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 15
4 Erhebet ewre Herten	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Udir' udite, amanti] NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 1 (1590)
5 Herr, lehre uns bedencken	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Damon e Fili] NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 21
6 Herr, der du gnädig warst	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Madonna, io v'ho da dir] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 5 (1580)
7 Lobt Gott den Herrn mit schallen	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Ment'io campai contento] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 2 (1580)
8 Ich wil dem Herren danken	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Ne gli occhi d'angioletta] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 5 (1580)
9 Ach Gott, thu dich erbarmen	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Deh prega, Amor] NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 23
10 O Gott, o unser Herre	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Non sarò più ritrosa] NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 6 (1590)
11 Wie lang in meiner Seelen	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Se giusto innamorato] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 11 (1580)
12 Ach Herr, strafe mich nichte	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Che fai, Dori] NV 2831, RISM 1590 <sup>31</sup> , 22
13 Nicht uns, nit uns, Herr	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Se 'l vostro volto] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 11 (1580)
14 Auff meinem lieben Gotte	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Raggi, dov'è 'l mio bene] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 10 (1580)
15 Ich frewe mich der Reden	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Quando l'aurora] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 12 (1580)
16 Jauchzet Gotte, alle Land	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Se pensando al partire] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 3 (1580)
17 Wie der Hirsch rennet	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Non son già sguardi] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 17 (1580)
18 Singet dem Herren lieblich	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Chi mira gli occhi tuoi] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 6 (1580)
19 Herre, ich trawe auff dich	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Se tu vuoi pur ch'io mora] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 11
20 Meinm lieben Gott und Herrn	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Ecco novello Amor] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 21
21 Froloket Gott, ihr Völcker	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Sia maledetto Amore] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 8
22 Herr Gott, mit diesem Gesang	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Ombre del cieco Averno] NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 12 (1590)
23 Ich wende meine Augen	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Son questi i crespi crini] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 4 (1580)
24 Ehr sey dem Vater schone	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Amor, se vuo' ch'io porti] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 20



XXIX. *Madrigali de diversi auttori, accomodati per concerti spirituali dal R. P. F. Girolamo Cavaglieri, Loano: Francesco Castello, 1616*<sup>1</sup>

INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Vulnerasti cor meum	5	Luca Marenzio	Deggio dunque partire NV 1608, RISM M 539, 1 (1581)
2 Sanctissima Maria	5	Luca Marenzio	Io partirò, 2. parte NV 1608, RISM M 539, 2 (1581)
3 Ave de Caelis alma	5	Luca Marenzio	Ma voi, caro ben mio, 3. parte NV 1608, RISM M 539, 3 (1581)
4 Immaculata Virgo	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Che puoi tu farmi, Amor RISM 1583 <sup>1,2</sup> , 2
5 Dilectus meus mihi	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Morir non può il mio core NV 1989, RISM N 26, 16 (1579)
6 O Mater veneranda	5	Annibale Zoilo	Chi per voi non sospira RISM 1574 <sup>4</sup> , 12
7 Veni in hortum meum	5	Luca Marenzio	Che fa oggi il mio sole NV 1597, RISM M 530, 10 (1580)
8 Carissima soror	5	Luca Marenzio	Fillida mia NV 1608, RISM M 539, 9 (1581)
9 Ego dilecto meo	5	Luca Marenzio	Amor, poichè non vuole, 1. parte NV 1608, RISM M 539, 6 (1581)
10 Quam pulchra es	5	Luca Marenzio	Chi strinse mai, 2. parte NV 1608, RISM M 539, 7 (1581)
11 Veni amica mea	5	Ruggiero Giovannelli	Donna la bella mano RISM 1589 <sup>7</sup> , 8
12 Sponsa aeterni Patris	5	Alessandro Striggio	Chi farà fede al Cielo RISM 1566 <sup>3</sup> , 4
13 Mater intemerata	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Amor, deh dimmi come NV 1993, RISM 1581 <sup>10</sup> , 8
14 Iubilate, et exultate Deo	5	Giovanni Maria Nanino	Donna gentil RISM 1574 <sup>4</sup> , 4
15 Iesu dulcissime	5	Andrea Gabrieli	Aminta mio gentil NV 1032, RISM G 59, 13 (1566)
16 Vidi speciosam	5	d'incerto	
17 Mater misericordiae	5	Domenico Micheli	Cantate o [nove] alme <sup>2</sup> NV 1844, RISM M 2679, 9 (1569)
18 Salve regina	5	Pietro Vinci	Salve regina RISM V 1658, 29 (1572)
19 Surge formosa mea	5	Andrea Gabrieli	Caro dolce ben mio RISM 1576 <sup>5</sup> , 27
20 Filia summi regis	5	Luca Marenzio	Mentre qual viva petra NV 1629, RISM M 557, 15 (1594)

<sup>1</sup> On this collection, see Antonio DELFINO, "Geronimo Cavaglieri e alcuni *contrafacta* di madrigali marenziani", in *Luca Marenzio musicista europeo. Atti della giornata di studi marenziani, Brescia, 6 marzo 1988*, eds. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzi - Mariella Sala, Brescia: Edizioni di storia bresciana, 1989 (Annali, 2), pp. 186-187.

<sup>2</sup> Mistakenly indicated as *Cantate o felici alme* both in the part-books and in the table of compositions.

XXX. *Triumph de Dorothea*, Leipzig: Lorenz Köber in Vorlegung Bartholaei Voigts, 1619

	INCIPT	w.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES	
1	Frisch auf ihr Musicanten	6	Ippolito Baccusi	[Un giorno a Pale sacro]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 1
2	Wo wart ihr Menschenkinder	6	Giovanni Croce	[Ove tra l'erbe e fiori]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 16
3	Von Gott wir haben	6	Ruggiero Giovannelli	[Quando apparisti, o vag'o amata Dori]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 23
4	Das Musica die schone	6	Giovanni Gabrieli	[Se cantano gli augelli]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 4
5	Jesu wahr Gottes Sohne	6	Felice Anerio	[Sotto l'ombroso speco]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 21
6	Wer bringt uns auf	6	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi	[Al mormorar de' liquidi cristalli]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 27
7	Herbey wer Musickunst verstehet	6	Costanzo Porta	[Da lo spuntar de' matutini albori]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 28
8	Was haben wir zu singen	6	Paolo Bozi	[A l'ombra d'un bel faggio]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 11
9	Jesu laß mir gelingen	6	Giovanni Florio	[Più trasparente velo]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 9
10	Viel hundert trausent Englein musiciren	6	Giulio Eremita	[Smeraldi eran le rive]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 10
11	Oftmals und auch jetzunder	6	Leone Leoni	[Di pastorali accenti]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 20
12	Bringet her ihr Lautenisten	6	Giovanni de Macque	[Vaghe ninfe selvagge]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 12
13	Eins mals gieng ich spatzieren	6	Alfonso Preti	[Ninfe a danzar venite]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 13
14	Die Lerch thut sich gar hoch erschwingen	6	Tiburzio Massaino	[Su le fiorite sponde]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 14
15	Wach auff mein Ehre	6	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	[Quando dal terzo cielo]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 15
16	O Mensch bedeck dich eben	6	Ludovico Balbi	[Mentre pastori e ninfe]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 26
17	Domine, quis linguae usus in tabernaculo tuo?	6	Christian Erbach		
18	Eins mals im grünen Meyen	6	Luca Marenzio	[Nel più fiorito aprile]	NV 1647, RISM M 500, 9 (1581)
19	Hört wunder uber wunder	6	Orazio Vecchi	[Or ch'ogni vento tace]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 3
20	Musiceu klang und Menschen stimm darneben	6	Luca Marenzio	[Leggiadre ninfe]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 6
21	Da Israel den Herren	6	Gasparo Costa	[Mentre a quest'ombre intorno]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 24
22	Solt man mit Musiciren	6	Gasparo Zerto	[L'inargentato lido]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 22
23	Gleich wie ein süßes Zucker	6	Alessandro Striggio	[Eran le ninfe e pastori]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 18

24	Nur weg Teufel weg	6	Annibale Stabile	[Nel tempo che ritorna]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 10
25	O du hoch edle Musica	6	Ippolito Sabino	[Dove sorge piacevole]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 2
26	Sihe, wie fein und lieblich ist es	6	Pietro Andrea Bonini	[Quando lieta e vezzosa]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 17
27	O wie viel armer Knaben	6	Philippe de Monte	[Lungo le chiare linfe]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 15
28	Hoch thewr und werth sind alle freye Künste	6	Giovanni Cavaccio	[Giunta qui Dori]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 9
29	Gleich wie ein edel Gsteine	6	Giovanni Matteo Asola	[In una verde piaggia]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 13
30	Wolauff, wolauff mein Ehre	6	Orazio Colombani	[A l'apparir di Dori, anzi del sole]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 8
31	Fahr hin, fahr hin, fahr mein Klage	6	Lelio Bertani	[Dori a quest'ombre e l'aura]	RISM 1592 <sup>11</sup> , 25
32	Ich weiß mir Gott lob viel ein schöner Haufß	6	Antonio Scandello		

XXXI. *Ander Theil Außersener Canzonetten Horatii Vecchii*, Gera: Johann Spiß, 1620

	INCIPT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1	Der Herr ist mein trew Hirte	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Lasso ch'io son costretto] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 15 (1580)
2	Gott sey uns gnädig allen	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Neriglia, anima mia] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 8 (1580)
3	Eyle zu mir, Herr Gott	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Corse alla morte] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 13 (1580)
4	Kompt herzu: im Herren frölich seyn	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Core mio, tu mi lasciasti] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 2
5	Jauchtzet dem Herren alle	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Dove s'intese mai] NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 4 (1590)
6	Mein Seel soll dich, o Gott	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Or che 'l garrit] NV 2809, RISM 1585 <sup>35</sup> , 1
7	Gebet dem Herren Her	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Non ti fuggir da me] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 7 (1580)
8	Ich ruff zu Dir, Herr, hör mein sehnlich flehen	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Le chiome d'or] NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 13 (1590)
9	Ach mein Herr ins Himmels Thron	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Non si sa chi tu sei] NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 21 (1590)
10	Lobt den Herren, ihr Knechte	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Vivo in foco amoroso] NV 2815, RISM V 1027, 19 (1590)
11	Ich schrey zu Gott und fleh dem Herrn	4	Orazio Vecchi	[O tu che vai per via] NV 2796, RISM V 1010, 18 (1580)
12	Lobt Gott im Heiligthume	4	Orazio Vecchi	[Amor con ogni impero] NV 2803, RISM V 1017, 12 (1580)

XXXII. *Concerti sacri scielti et trasportati dal secondo et terzo libro de madrigali a cinque [...] del M. R. Sig. D. Stefano Bernardi, Venezia: Alessandro Vincenti, 1621*

INCIPIT	vv.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Fuge dilecte mi	5	Stefano Bernardi	Ah non t'avessi mai NV 337, RISM B 2066, 8 (1616)
2 Egredimini	5	Stefano Bernardi	O bellissima bocca NV 337, RISM B 2066, 9 (1616)
3 Haec dies	5	Stefano Bernardi	Occhi [ch'a la mia vita] NV 337, RISM B 2066, 18 (1616)
4 Salve radix	5	Stefano Bernardi	Dolce Filli NV 337, RISM B 2066, 15 (1616)
5 Nigra sum	5	Stefano Bernardi	Occhi miei NV 337, RISM B 2066, 1 (1616)
6 O Iesu	5	Stefano Bernardi	Tu parti NV 337, RISM B 2066, 3 (1616)
7 Hymnum dicite	5	Stefano Bernardi	Con la candida man NV 337, RISM B 2066, 4 (1616)
8 Nunqui vos	5	Stefano Bernardi	Quando miro le rose NV 337, RISM B 2066, 17 (1616)
9 Introduxit me rex	5	Stefano Bernardi	Lagrimosa pietà NV 337, RISM B 2066, 19 (1616)
10 Adiuro vos	5	Stefano Bernardi	Piangete [occhi miei] NV 337, RISM B 2066, 20 (1616)
11 Vulnerasti cor meum	5	Stefano Bernardi	Se tu m'ami NV 339, RISM B 2067, 1 (1619)
12 Venite omnes populi	5	Stefano Bernardi	O tanto desiata NV 339, RISM B 2067, 2 (1619)
13 In te speravi	5	Stefano Bernardi	Tu sei l'anima mia NV 339, RISM B 2067, 3 (1619)
14 O dulcissime Iesu	5	Stefano Bernardi	O Clorinda crudele NV 339, RISM B 2067, 4 (1619)
15 Isti sunt	5	Stefano Bernardi	O d'amor NV 339, RISM B 2067, 7 (1619)
16 Exaltabo in te	5	Stefano Bernardi	È tornato il mio ben NV 339, RISM B 2067, 14 (1619)
17 Quam pulchri sunt	5	Stefano Bernardi	Ecco 'l mio cor NV 339, RISM B 2067, 12 (1619)
18 Indica mihi	5	Stefano Bernardi	Deh girate NV 339, RISM B 2067, 13 (1619)
19 O quam suavis	5	Stefano Bernardi	Bellezze amate NV 339, RISM B 2067, 15 (1619)
20 O quam tu pulchra	5	Stefano Bernardi	Mentre pomposa NV 339, RISM B 2067, 18 (1619)

Gabriele Taschetti

## Printed collections including *contrafacta* (1646-1649)

The present section provides a description of the collections including *contrafacta* printed after 1621 and already mentioned within this volume.<sup>1</sup> If compared with the collections published up to the 1620s, these collections, all compiled by Ambrosius Profe, feature a new generation of musicians and an up-to-date musical taste. Out of a total of 94 compositions, 30 are *contrafacta* of polyphonic madrigals for 2 to 8 voices and basso continuo and, at times, with two or three instruments; while 40 are motets by Italian composers for very varied combinations, already previously printed. In the latter group Profe's interventions are minimal: the compiler has, in fact, limited himself to eliminating the references to Mary and, in just a few cases, provided the music with a new text in German. The criteria used in presenting the tables have been

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<sup>1</sup> The collections *Cunis solennibus Jesuli recens nati sacra genethliaca*, [Legnica]: Typis Ligiis Sartorianis, 1646 (table xxxiii) and *Geistlicher Concerten, aus den berühmtesten Italiänischen und andern Authoribus*, Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch, 1646 (table xxxiv) are mentioned in Tomasz JEŻ, "Contrafacta of Italian madrigals in Polish musical sources", in this same volume, p. 158n. The contents of table xxxiv also appear in Tomasz JEŻ, *Danielis Sartorii Musicalia Wratyslaviensia*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Sub Lupa, 2017 (Fontes Musicae in Polonia, A/I), pp. 602–604. The collection *Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum*, Leipzig: Timotheum Ritzsch, 1649 (table xxxv) is mentioned in Maria SCHILDT, "Re-using pre-existing music with new texts. Repertoire for court and church in seventeenth-century Sweden", in this volume, p. 216, and in JEŻ, "Contrafacta of Italian madrigals", p. 164.

slightly adapted compared to the previous ones,<sup>2</sup> so as to take into account the possible inclusion of instrumental parts, present in 36 compositions.

### List of collections

- XXXIII. *Cunis solennibus Jesuli Recens Nati Sacra Genethliaca. Id est Psalmodiae Epæneticae. Edit. Studio et Sumptib. Ambrosi Profi Elisabetani Vratislav. Organoedi*, [Legnica]: Typis Ligiis Sartorianis, 1646.  
RISM B/I 1646<sup>3</sup>
- XXXIV. *Vierdter und letzter Theil Geistlicher Concerten, Aus den berühmtesten Italiänischen und andern Authoribus, so theils mit andern, oder auch noch mehrern Texten beleget, und zum Lobe Gottes, in öffentlichen Kirchen-Versammlungen zu gebrauchen, auch zu Gefallen allen Music-Liebhabern, colligiret und publiciret Von Ambrosio Profio, Organ. zu St. Elisabeth in Breßlaw*, Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch, 1646.  
RISM B/I 1646<sup>4</sup>
- XXXV. *Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum, berühmter Authorum, so zu denen bißhero unterschiedenen publicirten vier Theilen gehörig und versprochen; Nunmehr sampt beygefügtten Erraten, dieselben zu rectificiren, gewähret von Ambrosio Profio Organ. bey der Kirchen zu St. Elisabeth in Breßlaw*, Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch, 1649.  
RISM B/I 1649<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See the criteria listed in Marco GIULIANI, “Printed collections including *contrafacta* (1576–1621)”, in this book, p. 268. Column “vv., instr.”, which replaces column “vv.” in the previous tables, shows the number of voices and of instruments, where present (for example “3, 2” means that the composition is for three voices and two instruments; if there is only one number it means that no instrumental parts are present). All compositions included in collections XXXIII–XXXV have a basso continuo part.

XXXIII. *Canis solennibus Jesuli recens nati sacra genethliaca*, [Legnica]: Typis Ligijs Sartorianis, 1646

INCIPIT	vv., instr.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPIT AND REPERTOIRES
1 O felix lucidissima nox	2	Alessandro Grandi	[O felix lucidissima nox] RISM G 3448, 12 (1625)
2 Iubilate, exultate / Frewet euch / Singet, singet	2	Giovanni Priuli	
3 Quando natus es	2	Galeazzo Sabatini	[Quando natus es] RISM S 7, 4 (1637)
4 O magnum mysterium	2	Giovanni Battista Aloisi	[O magnum mysterium] RISM A 876, 4 (1637)
5 Dies sanctificatus	2	Giovanni Rovetta	[Dies sanctificatus] RISM R 2964, 9 (1635)
6 Natus est Iesus	2	Gasparo Casati	[Natus est Iesus] RISM 1640 <sup>1</sup> , 3
7 Nunc surgite / Du mächtiger Fürst	2	Ambrosio Cremonese	Ah, come [un vago sol] RISM A 933, 3 (1636)
8 O felix felicitas	2	Gasparo Casati	[O felix felicitas] RISM 1640 <sup>1</sup> , 1
9 Lob Gott, ihr Christen	3	Ambrosio Cremonese	Perché [si dura pietra] RISM C 933, 12 (1636)
10 Ein Kindelein	4 / 5 <sup>1</sup>	Samuel Scheidt	[Ein Kindelein] RISM S 1359, 11 (1635)
11 Psallite unigenito	4	Samuel Scheidt	
12 Quid vidistis o magi	4	Gasparo Casati	[Quid vidistis o magi] RISM 1640 <sup>1</sup> , 25
13 O grosse Wunder	5	Marco Scacchi	O chiome [erranti] RISM S 1131, 12 (1634)
14 Frewet euch und jubiliert	3, 2	Francesco Turini	Vanne [vattene amor] RISM T 1394, 12 (1629)
15 O Wunder gross	3, 2	Francesco Turini	Ch'io [r'ami più crudel] RISM T 1394, 10 (1629)
16 Dem newgebohrnen Kindelein	5	Bartholomäus Gesius	
17 Seyd frölich und jubiliert	5	Gregor Lange	
18 Wohl auff wohl auff	5	Gregor Lange	
19 Der Engel sprach	5	Gregor Lange	
20 Da Christus gebohren war	5	Gregor Lange	
21 Kom Himmel hoch	5	Johann Hermann Schein	
22 Maria hat ein feines Kindelein	6	Ambrosius Profe	

<sup>1</sup> Compared to the model for four voices, the *contrafactum* presents, “cum licentia Authoris”, a fifth additional voice *ad libitum*.



23	Was für Mehre	3, 3	Giovanni Priuli	Pastorella [vaga e bella]	RISM P 5483, 6 (1625)
24	Nun ist es zeit zu singen hell	6	incerti		
25	Gegrüßet seys tu Jesulein	5, 1	Ambrosius Profe		
26	Was bringet / Deus rector caeli / Krieg hat	4, 2	Giovanni Priuli		
27	Alleluja. Ach, mein Hertzliebes	6	Andreas Hammerschmidt		
28	Dixit Dominus	5, 2	Maurizio Cazzati	[Dixit Dominus]	RISM C 1577, 2 (1641)
29	Nativitas Christi / Ecclesia Christi	8	Alessandro Grandi	[Nativitas tua Dei genitrix]	RISM 1610 <sup>6</sup> , 21
30	Singet und Sprienget	5, 3	Giovanni Priuli	La violetta [che 'n su l'erbeta]	RISM P 5483, 9 (1625)
31	Das ist gebohm ein Kindelein	8	Michael Praetorius		

XXXIV. *Vierder und letzter Theil. Geistlicher Concerten, aus den berühmtesten Italiänischen und andern Authoribus, Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch, 1646*

INCIPT	vw., instr.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Veni Sancte Spiritus	4	Gasparo Casati	[Veni Sancte Spiritus] RISM C 1404, 26 (1640)
2 Laudate pueri Dominum	2, 2	Giovanni Rovetta	[Laudate pueri Dominum] RISM R 2971, 6 (1642)
3 Deleantur de libro viventium	4	Giovanni [Battista] Aloisi	[Deleantur de libro viventium] RISM A 876, 19 (1637)
4 Omnes sancti	4	Galeazzo Sabbatini	[Omnes sancti] RISM S 3, 17 (1626)
5 Quasi cedrus exaltata sum	4	Alessandro Grandi	[Quasi cedrus exaltata sum] RISM G 3455, 16 (1630)
6 Magnificat	4	Orazio Tarditi	
7 Nun dancet / Me pastor Dominus	4	Sessa d'Aranda	Fu 'l vincer RISM S 2842, 1 (1571)
8 Missa (Kyrie – Gloria)	4	Galeazzo Sabbatini	
9 All unser elendes Leben	4	Ambrosio Cremonese	Io moro RISM C 933, 16 (1636)
10 Ego dormivi et soporatus sum	4	Romualdo Honorio	[Ego dormivi et soporatus sum] RISM H 6450, 17 (1638)
11 Benedicam Dominum	4	Romualdo Honorio	[Benedicam Dominum] RISM H 6450, 19 (1638)
12 Laudate pueri Dominum	4	Galeazzo Sabbatini	
13 Laudate Dominum, cantata di 4 voci	4	Giovanni Rovetta	Spiegli i contenti suoi, cantata di 4 voci RISM R 2985, 14 (1640)
Laudate, 2. pars	4	Giovanni Rovetta	Amor saettami, 2. stanza
Quia ipse dixit, 3. pars	4	Giovanni Rovetta	O passi miei, 3. stanza
Dracones, 4. pars	4	Giovanni Rovetta	Altri caro ad Amor, 4. stanza
Laudate, 5. pars	4	Giovanni Rovetta	Felice vedami, 5. stanza
Vos, vos saevae bestiae, 6. pars	4	Giovanni Rovetta	Io quanto più seguò, 6. stanza
Reges terrae, 7. pars	4	Giovanni Rovetta	Ite lungi da me, 7. stanza
Iuvenes atque virgines, 8. pars	4	Giovanni Rovetta	Quanto tra lor discordano, 8. stanza
14 Languet anima mea	5	Ignazio Donati	[Languet anima mea] RISM D 3398, 15 (1629)
15 Ecce quam bonum	3, 2	Francesco Turini	Ove ch'io vada RISM T 1394, 9 (1629)
16 In montes elevo / Ah Christe	3, 2	Francesco Turini	Ch'io t'ami più crudel RISM T 1394, 10 (1629)
17 Nisi Deus nobiscum	3, 2	Francesco Turini	Vanne vattene amor RISM T 1394, 12 (1629)

18	Gaude Ierusalem / Exaltabo te rex	3, 2	Giovanni Rovetta	Rosa, riso [d'amor]	RISM R 2985, 8 (1640)
19	Beatus vir	3, 2 / 1, 2 <sup>1</sup>	Antonio Rigatti	[Beatus vir]	RISM R 1413, 8 (1640)
20	Laudate pueri	3, 2	Antonio Rigatti	[Laudate pueri]	RISM R 1413, 10 (1640)
21	Quo progrediar	5	Paolo Cornetti	[Quo progrediar]	RISM C 3948, 21 (1638)
22	O bone Iesu Christe	5	Alessandro Grandi	[O bone Iesu Christe]	RISM G 3427, 14 (1614)
23	Iste cognovit iustitiam	5	ejusdem [Alessandro Grandi]	[Iste cognovit]	RISM G 3427, 2 (1614)
24	Laudate pueri Dominum	3, 2	Tarquinio Merula	[Laudate pueri Dominum]	RISM M 2340, 16 (1639)
25	Herr gib Friede del Lande	5	Marco Scacchi	Voi volete [ch'io mora]	RISM S 1131, 1 (1634)
26	Wie gut ist / Ad te Deus	5	ejusdem [Marco Scacchi]	Vezzose aurette	RISM S 1131, 16 (1634)
27	Herr höre meine Stimme	5	ejusdem [Marco Scacchi]	O come sei gentile	RISM S 1131, 4 (1634)
28	Iesu dulcis memoria	1, 4	Francesco Maria Marini	[Iesu dulcis memoria]	RISM M 627 (1637)
29	Beatus vir	3, 2	Giovanni Rovetta	[Beatus vir]	RISM R 2971, 6 (1642)
30	Verbum Patri coaeuum	3, 2	Francesco Turini	Mentre vaga angioletta	RISM T 1394, 7 (1629)
31	Dixit Dominus	4, 2	Giovanni Rovetta	[Dixit Dominus]	RISM R 2971, 1 (1642)
32	Descendens Spiritus / Gleich wie Regen	6	Giovanni Priuli	Come rumpir	
33	Laudate pueri Dominum	4, 2	Giovanni Rovetta	[Laudate pueri Dominum]	RISM R 2971, 1 (1642)
34	Anima mea	3, 3	Francesco Maria Marini	[Anima mea]	RISM M 627 (1637)
35	Ave regnator coelorum	1, 5	Antonio Rigatti	[Ave regina caelorum]	RISM R 1413, 23 (1640)
36	Non habemus vinum	6	Stefano Bernardi		
37	Exaltabo te, Deus meus	6	Giovanni [Battista] Aloisi	[Exaltabo te, Deus meus]	RISM A 876, 28 (1637)
38	O du allersüßester	5, 2	Heinrich Schütz		
39	Iesum viri senes, iuvenes	5, 2	Giovanni Rovetta	Venga dal Ciel	RISM R 2985, 11 (1640)
40	Deus in adiutorium	5, 2	Maurizio Cazzati	[Domine ad adiuvandum]	RISM C 1577, 1 (1641)

<sup>1</sup> In the table of compositions and in the part-books the two possible combinations are given (for three voices and two instruments, or for a solo voice and two instruments), already indicated in *Messa e salmi parte concertati* 3, 5, 6, 7 et 8 voci, con due violini, et altri instrumenti a beneplacito et parte a 5 a capella, Venezia: Bartolomeo Magni, 1640, by Antonio Rigatti (RISM R 1413).

41	Laudate Dominum	5, 2	ejusdem [Maurizio Cazzati]	[Laudate Dominum]	RISM C 1577, 6 (1641)
42	Magnificat	5, 2	ejusdem [Maurizio Cazzati]	[Magnificat]	RISM C 1577, 7 (1641)
43	Ah Christe mi	6, 2	Giovanni Rovetta	A che bramar	RISM R 2985, 12 (1640)
44	Laetatus sum	6, 2	Giovanni Rovetta	[Laetatus sum]	RISM R 2966, 13 (1639)
45	Magnificat	8, 6	Giovanni Rovetta		

XXXV. *Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum*, Leipzig: Timotheum Ritzsch, 1649

INCIPIT	vv., instr.	COMPOSER	MODEL: INCIPT AND REPERTOIRES
1 Venite ad me / Accurrite	1	Pietro Andrea Ziani	[Venite ad me] RISM Z 174, 2 (1640)
2 Haec est crux pretiosa <sup>1</sup>	1	Pietro Andrea Ziani	[Salve crux pretiosa] RISM Z 174, 14 (1640)
3 O dulcis Iesu	2	Chiara Margarita Cozzolani	[O dulcis Iesu] RISM C 4360, 8 (1642)
4 Du Herr Iesu	2	Giovanni Rovetta	Voi partite RISM R 2985, 1 (1640)
5 De luce quæro	2	Giovanni Rovetta	Or lieto RISM R 2985, 4 (1640)
6 Longe mi Iesu	3	Claudio Monteverdi	Parlo, miser, [o taccio] RISM M 3494, 20 (1619)
7 Plagæ tuæ	3	Giovanni Felice Sances	[Plagæ tuæ] RISM S 768, 18 (1638)
8 Kommet last uns	3	Giovanni Giacomo Arrigoni	Volo [ne' tuoi begl'occhi ignudo] RISM A 2490, 5 (1635)
9 Iova rector / Jesu mollst	3	Giovanni Rovetta	[Ave maris stella] RISM R 2964, 27 (1635)
10 O Iesu	4	Claudio Monteverdi	Tu dormi RISM M 3494, 21 (1619)
11 O rex supreme	4	Claudio Monteverdi	Al lume [delle stelle] RISM M 3494, 22 (1619)
12 Salve mi Iesu / Jesu mein heyland	5	Giovanni Rovetta	[Salve regina] RISM R 2964, 36 (1635)
13 Veni Sancte Spiritus	3, 4	Sigismund Ranisius	
14 O du mächtiger Herr	6, 2	Claudio Monteverdi	Or che [l Ciel] RISM M 3500, 2 (1638)
15 Dein allein, 2. pars	6, 2	[Claudio Monteverdi]	[Cosi sol d'una chiara fonte, 2. parte] RISM M 3500, 3 (1638)
16 Resurrexit / Veni veni	7, 2	Claudio Monteverdi	Vago augelletto RISM M 3500, 21 (1638)
17 Alleluja / Freude	8, 2	Claudio Monteverdi	[Ardo, awampo] RISM M 3500, 15 (1638)
18 Auff ihr hen / Sein Gnad und War	3, 2	Tarquinio Merula	Chiacona

<sup>1</sup> Beneath "Haec est" in all the part-books we find: "Salve".

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- MGG1 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 14 vols., Kassel–Basel: Bärenreiter, 1949–1968 (+ Supplement 2 vols. 1973–1979).
- MGG2 *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, 29 vols. (Personenteil, 17 vols.; Sachteil, 9 vols. + Register, 2 vols. + Supplement), Kassel–Basel–London–New York–Prag: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart–Weimar: Metzler, 1994–2008.
- NG2 *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musician*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols., London–New York: Macmillan, 2001.
- NV *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, eds. Emil Vogel – Alfred Einstein – François Lesure – Claudio Sartori, 3 vols., Pomezia: Staderini–Minkoff, 1977.
- RISM A/I *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. A/I: Einzeldrucke vor 1800 (Individual Prints before 1800)*, 9 vols., 4 supplements, index, CD-ROM, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–2012.
- RISM B/I *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales. B/I: Recueils imprimés XVIe–XVIIe siècles*, ed. François Lesure, München–Duisburg: Henle, 1960.
- VE Emil VOGEL – Alfred EINSTEIN, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocal-musik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500–1700, mit Nachträgen von Prof. Alfred Einstein*, 2 vols., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962.

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The present volume offers a reflection on the phenomenon of the re-textualization of vocal music in the 16th and 17th century. Its main object of investigation is the *contrafactum*, an intertextual artifact *par excellence* that is studied here from multiple points of view.

The first part of the book examines some procedures of textual substitution carried out in various parts of Europe by poets, literati, men of culture, or culturally updated members of the clergy, who produced highly refined *contrafacta*.

The second part deals with the adaptation of texts dictated by necessities of various kinds (celebratory, political, confessional), often made in a hasty manner and re-using pre-existing vocal compositions, but still able to reveal significant aspects of the history of religious culture in Europe at the time of the Reformations.

Furthermore, it represents a useful work tool for anyone wishing to carry on the research into the European assimilation of the secular vocal forms in the Italian language, by making available to the reader a description of the contents of most printed collections including *contrafacta* published in Europe between 1576 and 1649.

