THE MADRIGAL IN ROME:
MUSIC IN THE PAPAL ORBIT, 1520-1555

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ABSTRACT

LETITIA GLOZER: The Madrigal in Rome: Music in the Papal Orbit, 1520-1555
(Under the direction of John Nádas)

_Cinquecento_ Rome was a city like no other, with her central papal court and the many mini-courts of Cardinals and wealthy families; the decentralized structure of competing households radiating out from the papal court offered numerous venues for the creation and performance of secular music. This dissertation offers a series of case studies of the Italian madrigal as practiced in the city to the early 1550s.

The madrigal, often treated as a genre of Florentine origin, has deep roots in Rome, a result of the tight bond that united the cities during the Medici papacies. Chapter One establishes the state of secular music in the years before and early on in the madrigal’s development. It was during this period that Verdelot arrived in Florence and, after the Sack of Rome, the _Madrigali ... libro primo de la Serena_, the first print to use the word “madrigal” in its title, was published in Rome.

Chapters Two and Three center on the papal court of Paul III, during whose reign Costanzo Festa and Jacques Arcadelt both served in the Cappella Sistina. Arcadelt’s _Quarto libro di madrigali_, 1539\(^2^4\), which includes pieces by the papal singers Festa, Morales, Yvo Barry, and Leonardo Barrè, marks the adoption of the Florentine idiom by composers with no known association to the city and suggests the extent to which the genre would soon dominate Italian secular composition.
Chapter Four demonstrates the breadth of Roman music with a case study of Jacques du Pont’s *Cinquanta Stanze del Bembo*; this large-scale work, by a Frenchman who was employed not within the papal court but by the wealthy Florentine Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, sets an early Carnival text by the Venetian scholar Pietro Bembo.

Chapter Five presents the development of distinctly Roman repertories in circles independent of papal or cardinalate patronage. Hubert Naich’s *Exercitium seraficium*, the black note anthologies, and the arioso madrigal prints of Antonio Barrè, who published his own works alongside those by composers such as Lasso, Palestrina, Lupacchino, and several composers from or active in Naples, all speak to the diversity of the Roman madrigal by mid-century.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although a dissertation is credited to only one author, it bears the marks of many hands. Scholars who served the named author are identified in the bibliography. There are also those whose contributions, less easily categorized, support the author throughout the process of creation in myriad ways. This is the forum in which to offer up gestures of appreciation and single out those most deserving of special mention.

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I had the rare opportunity to be James McKinnon’s student on several occasions, and served as his teaching assistant twice. I only hope that, in my own career as a teacher, I will be able to guide and mentor with the kindness and humor he demonstrated every day. His gentle authority over a classroom emboldened even the shyest student to pose questions, venture guesses, and give voice to ideas which, no matter how poorly formed, were invariably heard, polished, and returned as fully-formed and valuable insights of his or her own devising.

Every doctoral candidate has an advisor; I have been particularly fortunate in having as mine John Nádas, as concerned and thorough a guide as one could wish for. He, too, has been a model of how to run a seminar, and he brings that same vigilant attention to detail to all interactions with his students. Though I have at times surely caused him great frustration, he has continued to support and encourage all my efforts.
I have had as well a *Doktorvater*, James Haar, whose work on the madrigal first fed my interests as an undergraduate, and spurred my desire to attend the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. My propensity toward hero worship has been in no way diminished by his erudition, deft humor, boundless charm, and exceptional prose. My admiration has, rather, only increased over the years, as I have had the opportunity to observe firsthand his gifts as a teacher and mentor. In what must surely be one of the most unusual inversions possible, he even served as my research assistant while in Rome pursuing his own work; such dedication to a field and a student is truly remarkable. Wherever I have gone intellectually he has been there first, and I will spend a lifetime trying to answer scholarly questions in ways that meet his exacting standards.

Last, but certainly not least, I must express my thanks to my husband, Scott Hampton, who supported, funded, and trafficked my graduate school career with eagerness and enjoyment. His willingness to listen to and discuss even the most minor of implications has been a tremendous help. I could not have done any of this without him, although his sole reward is the dubious distinction of knowing more about the madrigal in sixteenth-century Italy than any other artist in the comic book field.
To the memory of my mother

Liselotte Erlanger Glozer

1915-2005

*Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh.*
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<table>
<thead>
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<td>JAMS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the American Musicological Society</em></td>
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Introduction
The Renascence of Rome

*Omnes viae Romam ducunt:* once true, this declaration had become demonstrably false by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Absent a deep seaport, on the course of a river ill-suited to large ships, lacking significant industry, Rome’s chief economic engine was the papacy.\(^1\) During the extended papal sojourn in Avignon (1309-78), followed by the Great Schism (1378-1417), Rome had little to recommend her but pilgrimage sites.

The decay of early Renaissance Rome affected all her citizens. As the elaborate ancient system of aqueducts fell into disrepair over the centuries, large sections of the city were abandoned and residents clustered mainly in the low-lying areas around the flood-prone Tiber; the Borgo and Trastevere on the right bank, and the area from the river to the Campidoglio on the left. The well-settled *Rioni*, Campo Marzio, Ponte, Parione, and Arenula, all lay within the third-century Aurelian Walls.\(^2\) The Forum became the Campo Vaccino, or Cow Pasture; the Tarpeian Rock on the Capitoline, site of executions in ancient Rome, became Monte Caprino, Goat Hill; the former imperial complex had

\(^1\) Rome’s historic seaport is Ostia, about 20 kilometers from Rome, where the Tiber flows into the sea. The seaport of Civitavecchia, c. 50 kilometers from Rome, lies at the north end of the Via Aurelia. This is the port closest to the papal alum mine at Tolfa, discovered in 1462. The Bay of Naples was of no use to Rome after falling first to Islam in the ninth century, then to the Normans in the eleventh.

\(^2\) Of Ancient Rome’s eleven aqueducts only the Aqua Virgo functioned by the fifteenth century. At the behest of Nicholas V, Leon Battista Alberti restored underground segments of the Aqua Virgo, which emptied into a small outlet at the site of the Trevi Fountain. See Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 24.
been entirely abandoned, and was now part of the *disabitato*, or desert. Rome, former *caput mundi*, had become a dilapidated village.

The city’s fortunes began a gradual, spasmodic recovery in 1420 when Pope Martin V (r. 1417-1431) reestablished a united curia, and began the long battle to reassert papal primacy in the region. Of his successors the most notable for the city’s rebirth were Nicholas V, Sixtus IV, and Julius II. The first of these, Nicholas (r. 1447-1455), declared the *Renovatio Roma*, a plan with the shared aims of protecting the Church and reinforcing her power and authority, with a major building program as the solution to both these goals. Sixtus IV (r. 1471-1484) knew that large-scale funding was needed for ambitious programs, so made all curial offices venal appointments, the purchase of which

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4 Martin, born Oddo Colonna, was a member of one of Rome’s most ancient baronial clans, standing which served him well. The papal absence had been good to local landowners who had claimed portions of the Papal States, precious as an expression of temporal power and providers of valuable income and resources. Martin knew the church must reclaim tangible and intangible authority, so fought for both. Martin’s immediate successor, Eugenius IV (r. 1431-47), was in Rome only three years before he was driven out by unrest. He was absent from the city for a decade, but finally quelled the rebellion and spent the final four years of his reign in Rome. Stinger marks Eugenius’s 1443 return as the advent of the Renaissance in Rome, a result of the papal court’s extended stay in Florence; Tuscan attitudes traveled south with Florentines who had joined the curia, while men from other regions had been stimulated by Florence’s intellectual climate. *The Renaissance in Rome*, 6.

5 Under Nicholas repairs and improvements were made to all manner of sites in Rome, from the aqueducts, Aurelian walls and fortifications, to Saint Peter’s. It was Nicholas who reinstated the tradition of liturgical celebration in Rome’s stational churches, many of which he ordered repaired and rebuilt. In recognition of the authority that resided in pomp and ceremony, his chapel traveled with him to services around Rome. On Nicholas V see Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr, Fourth ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1938-53), II: 164-214.

The western intellectual tradition is deeply in Nicholas’s debt for another of his inspirations, creation of the Vatican library. He was himself a humanist, collector of an impressive library of classical and patristic volumes. Sixtus IV brought the idea of the library to fruition in 1475, and it was he who appointed Bartolomeo Sacchi of Cremona, known as Platina, first official Vatican librarian. See Carmela Vircillo Franklin, “‘Pro communi doctorum virorum comodo’: The Vatican Library and Its Service to Scholarship,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 146 (2002), 363-84, especially 367-77.
required sizable payment; and he created new divisions rich in offices, many of which were honorific sinecures. Sixtus’s immediately tangible changes included further repair to the aqueducts, improvement of the port, and continuation and expansion of Nicholas’s refortification of the city. Since its infancy the papacy has had some manner of schola cantorum or cappella pontifici. The chapels we know now, though, are relatively recent organizations: the Sistine Chapel is a fifteenth-century foundation; the Cappella Giulia a few decades younger still. Wealth, which the papacy again had, made the papal chapel one of the best in Europe, “… a model for secular princes to emulate.” Nicholas V increased the number of singers in the chapel, from ten or eleven to fifteen, and almost doubled their wages. The size of the ensemble was increased to twenty-four by Sixtus, from whom

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6 The reigns of Nicholas and Sixtus were separated by three popes: Calixtus III (r. 1455-1458), Pius II (r. 1458-1464), and Paul II (r. 1464-1471). Paul II, a nephew of Eugenius IV, is the pope responsible for suppression of Pomponio Leto’s Roman Academy in 1468, an act that dealt a strong but temporary blow to humanism in Rome. Revival of the Academy was permitted in 1478 by Sixtus IV. See John D’Amico, “Humanism in Rome,” Roman and German Humanism, 1450-1550, ed. Paul F. Grendler (Aldershot [Great Britain]: Variorum 1993), I: 275-77, and Ingrid Rowland, The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 14-16.

7 Peter Partner, Renaissance Rome 1500-1559: Portrait of a Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 20. Refortification had become even more urgent after Ottoman forces conquered the Apulian town of Otranto on the Italian mainland in 1480, only twenty-seven years after the Fall of Constantinople.

8 Pamela F. Starr attributes the development of the papal chapels to the “seemingly endless largesse,” in the form of papal monies and benefices, with which the popes could reward musicians; “Music and Music Patronage at the Papal Court, 1447-1464,” Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1987, 2. Eugenius IV promulgated the 1444 Bull Et si erga, which differentiated sources of income for singers; any revenue from benefices was theirs in addition to their monthly salaries. Each successive pope confirmed privileges adhering to members of the chapel, and some codified restrictions as well; Innocent VIII mandated that papal singers would not maintain concubines, frequent places of ill repute including taverns, or appear without their gowns. See Edward E. Lowinsky, “Music in the Culture of the Renaissance,” Journal of the History of Ideas 15 (1954), 509-53, esp. 510-11.

9 Starr, “Music and Music Patronage at the Papal Court, 1447-1464,” 2.
the modern institution takes its name. Sixtus attempted to create a smaller choir for St. Peter’s as well, a group of ten singers and an organist. It was this ensemble that Julius II built up, after a brief decline during the reign of Alexander VI. In 1513 Julius brought a new mission and a new name to the chapel; the organization we know as the Cappella Giulia was intended to foster native musicians, offering them the sort of training available in the northern maîtrise, in hopes of increasing the number of Italians in the papal chapel.

By the end of Sixtus’s reign Rome had again become a political force within Europe; Italian regional governments were the first to send ambassadors to the city, followed by other nations; Spain, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and England all had representatives at the papal court by the 1490s. The number of wealthy cardinals and businessmen in the city expanded in kind and created a series of small courts capable of patronage even in the absence of papal projects. This type of self-sustaining growth is

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10 For an alphabetical listing of singers at St. Peter’s from 1421-1508, as well as a table giving the number of singers in the chapel arranged by nationality, from 1447-1507, see Christopher A. Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter’s, 1380-1513* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 329-36 and 373-74.


12 1495 was the nadir for this organization, with only three members over much of the summer. See Reynolds, *Papal Patronage and the Music of St. Peter’s*, 51.

13 The most detailed study of the chapel’s foundation known to me is that by Ariane Ducrot, “Histoire de la Cappella Giulia au XVIe siècles, depuis sa fondation par Jules II (1513), jusqu’à sa restauration par Grégoire XIII (1578),” *Mélanges d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’École française de Rome* 75 (1963), 179-240, 467-59.

good for any city, whether the artistic or intellectual end product serves *civis* or *urbs*, and reinforces individual or papal glory.¹⁶

The Italian Wars began during the reign of the Borgia pope Alexander VI (a nephew of Calixtus III, he reigned from 1492-1503) when, in 1494, Charles VIII marched through Italy to claim Naples for France.¹⁷ The balance of power in Italy changed after the invasion, as political alliances came and went. Savonarola’s rise and the Medici expulsion changed Florence, driving away much of her wealth and talent.¹⁸ With Venice at war with the Ottoman Empire from 1499 until 1503; Milan’s Duke Ludovico Sforza battling France; and Cesare Borgia attempting to carve a duchy out of papal territories in the Romagna, Umbria, and Tuscany, Rome became an island of relative stability.¹⁹


¹⁶ Urban renewal got another boost from Alexander VI’s efforts to rebuild Rome’s university, the *Sapienza*, or *Studium Urbis*, founded by Boniface VIII in 1303. Ancient though it was, it never achieved the status of the universities of Paris, Bologna, or Pisa, in large part because papal support for the *Sapienza* was sporadic. In competition with the *Studium Urbis* was Rome’s other leading institution, the pontifical center for the study of theology and canon and civil law. This *Studium Curiae* was a separate institution, which traveled with the papacy to Avignon and back again to Rome. See Gordon Griffiths, “Leonardo Bruni and the Restoration of the University of Rome (1406),” *Renaissance Quarterly* 26 (1973), 1-10, esp. 4, n. 12.

¹⁷ Title to Naples and Sicily, once a united kingdom under Norman rule, was divided after the Sicilian Vespers in 1282, when the French in Sicily were killed or driven out. Charles of Anjou, a younger brother of France’s Louis IX, took control of the Kingdom of Naples, and Pedro d’Aragon became King of Sicily. When the Angevin queen Joan II died in 1435 she bequeathed the kingdom to her distant cousin Louis, Duke of Anjou. Louis and his descendents were titular rulers only, as Alfonso V of Aragon claimed the territory after Joan’s death. When Charles of Anjou died in 1481, Charles VIII of France claimed possession from the cadet branch of his family, but was rapidly defeated. In 1501 Louis XII, Charles’s successor, allied with Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and reconquered the region. The alliance failed and, in 1504, Louis was defeated by one of Ferdinand’s generals and relinquished his claim to Naples.

¹⁸ Florence, which had bloomed during Rome’s dormancy, would never decline to the same extent, as her wealth came from a variety of sources.

¹⁹ Alexander VI did briefly flee the oncoming French forces in 1495, but the city was not sacked.
Julius II (r. 1503-1513), a nephew of Sixtus IV, was the last warrior pope, leading his troops into battle to recover papal territories lost to Cesare Borgia and the French. It was under Julius that the conflation of sixteenth-century and Imperial Rome reached its apogee; humanists neglected no opportunity to draw the obvious parallel between the papal Julius and Julius Caesar, and the pope himself saw the Church as having an Imperial mission. Julius was an avid patron; the architects and artists he employed are a litany of the greatest figures of the early sixteenth century: Bramante, Rafael, Michelangelo, and Sangallo the Younger, to name only a few. His projects include creation of the Cappella Giulia, the Michelangelo commissions to decorate his uncle’s Sistine Chapel, and the rebuilding of St. Peter’s.

Rome’s great past had never been forgotten, but ongoing building campaigns within the city brought to light much of what had been thought lost of Imperial Rome. Humanists had been deeply engaged in the rediscovery of Classical texts for nearly a century, and the recovery of places and objects, survivals from that past, reinforced their

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20 Melozzo da Forli’s magnificent fresco in the Pinacoteca Vaticana, *Sixtus IV Appoints Platina Head of the Vatican Library*, includes, standing behind and between the two figures of the title, the young Cardinal della Rovere.

21 In Partner’s view it was only now, almost a century later, that the papal supremacy sought by Martin V was finally achieved: “The baronial family of Colonna inspired a revolt of noble Roman families in 1511, whose suppression by Julius II meant also the extinction of the last flicker of Roman civic independence.” *Renaissance Rome*, 12. This mirrors the triumph of Imperial Rome over Republican.

22 Considerable continuity of patronage can be seen in some of these names, particularly that of Michelangelo, who served five of six successive popes, from Julius II to Julius III (with an absence from papal service during the short reign of Adrian VI).

23 The first steps toward rediscovery of ancient Rome had been taken under Martin V, most notably by the humanist and papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini, who began to study Rome’s ruins, surveying the territory and scrutinizing the surviving inscriptions, while crosschecking what he learned by studying ancient manuscripts relating to the city. Poggio’s resulting dialogue, *De varietate fortunae*, was begun late in Martin’s papacy and completed in 1448.
sense of recapturing or saving history. Quotidian objects, such as building blocks or damaged artifacts, suffered an unromantic fate; if reusable, they were integrated into new structures. If not they became quicklime that, used in mortar and whitewash, was produced by burning marble in kilns. The practice continued in Rome through the sixteenth century, as the city’s Renaissance present was created quite literally from its Classical past.

Just as Rome had a unique leadership and political structure, so too her musical needs differed from those of other courts. Sacred music, long dominant in the city, was somewhat insulated from changes in the papacy; mandates governed chapel size, structure and obligations, while there were political reasons for maintaining a qualified ensemble. The existence of two chapels, Sistine and Julian, mandated a large music collection, a scriptorium to keep the library supplied, and musicians and repertory to support both (although their degrees of autonomy and independence were variable).

24 When the Laocoön was discovered in 1506 on the Esquiline Hill, Julius II was quick to purchase it as a companion to the Apollo Belvedere in his sculpture garden. The Farnese Bull, another monumental recovered group statue, was found in the Baths of Caracalla in 1546. A thought-provoking volume on the reception of Antique art in Rome is Leonard Barkan’s Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of the Renaissance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

25 Some were quick to recognize the damage being done to the city’s architectural remains; in 1515 Leo X appointed Raphael Commissioner of Antiquities. At the time of the artist’s death, he was purportedly preparing an archeological plan of the ancient city. See Partner, Renaissance Rome, 178-79.

26 But see Richard Sherr, “Competence and Incompetence in the Papal Choir in the Age of Palestrina,” Early Music 22 (1994), 607-29, esp. 609, on the potentially deleterious effects of nepotism on what was, in fact, not a sinecure, but a musical ensemble.

Secular music held a different place in Rome.\textsuperscript{28} If a pope had a personal interest in secular music and the wherewithal to support its creation and performance, the music would in all probability consist of the genres and styles favored in his native region. Cardinals or private citizens represent additional sources of patronage. Given the possibilities, any study of secular music in Rome lends itself to treatment as a series of case studies focusing on different households, families, or social organizations, and it is this model I have followed. With the papacy serving as my axis, I have radiated out into ever larger circles, as the city’s increasing size and wealth offered new opportunities for musicians and their patrons.

Patronage has taken many forms over many centuries, but at its most basic level it is a drama with two central roles: one who (ideally) pays, and one who (hopefully) produces. Exchanges between the two central figures vary from the explicit and contracted, to the optimistic (as with the composer who dedicates or sends a volume in hope of some financial reward). Middlemen serve various functions; some create the artistic programs (I think here of Poliziano and Botticelli), some find the creative person or transmit the patron’s request to him, and some advise the potential patron. In this context I think immediately of the letter of Girolamo da Sestola (known as “il Coglia”),

\textsuperscript{28} In fact, we know little about secular music in Rome before the early sixteenth century. Paolo Cortesi writes of lute players and those who recite their own poetry, singling out his friend Bernardo Accolti and the noted Serafino Aquilano, suggesting the dominance of improvisatori; see Nino Pirrotta, “Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” in \textit{Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque} (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1984), 112.
to Ercole I d’Este about Josquin and Isaac.\textsuperscript{29} This document is a classic in the history of patronage covering, as it does, reputation, work ethic, responsiveness to the wishes of the patron, and expense.

I have barely begun to scratch the surface of the vast literature on patronage, but must single out one reading that has had a particularly strong influence on my thinking: In a summation of and response to work in the field of patronage, Ronald Weissman notes that while the practice has often been taken as a subject in Renaissance studies, “… it has rarely served as a key concept to guide our interpretation of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century Italian society.”\textsuperscript{30} This salvo serves to announce Weissman’s intent to reposition patronage as a cause, not an effect, and a social, rather than cultural, phenomenon. I think this point is too often overlooked: we tend to ask what the artist or musician “chose” to depict or set, when the more likely question for most artists and artisans was, what would please their patrons? In this we are still under the sway of the pervasive Romantic (and here I mean specifically nineteenth-century) notion of the artist driven by pure inspiration, servant to none but the Muses. Any artist not honoring his personal creed is somehow inauthentic, or a mere hack. This anachronistic idea is too frequently

\textsuperscript{29} “To me he [Isaac] seems well suited to serve Your Lordship, more so than Josquin, because he is more good-natured and companionable, and he will compose new works more often. It is true that Josquin composes better, but he composes when he wants to, and not when one wants him to, and he is asking 200 ducats in salary while Isaac will come for 120 – but Your Lordship will decide.” Ercole did in fact decide on Josquin, whose appointment brought prestige to the chapel. The composer stayed only one calendar year before leaving for Condé, a quite short tenure for a maestro. The reasons for his departure are unclear but the result is not; the search for a new maestro began far sooner than usual. See Lewis Lockwood, \textit{Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505} (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1984), 204-07. Lockwood has returned to this document for a reappraisal; he presented a paper at the Seventy-First Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society at Los Angeles in November 2006, and a print version is in preparation.

brought to the study of early music, and Weissman’s clear-eyed and succinct corrective is one I have tried to keep in mind throughout this document.

The simple division of patronage into *clientismo* and *mecenatismo*, useful for artisans such as a jeweler or architect, has only limited applicability to music.\(^{31}\) I find more useful Peter Burke’s identification of different types of patronage, which better encompasses the various roles a musician might fill: 1) The household system, in which the wealthy patron takes the creator into his household, providing room, board, and perhaps gifts, in exchange for which his literary or artistic needs are met by the creator;\(^{32}\) 2) The “made-to-measure” system, a short-term version of the household system, in which support lasts only until the painting or poem’s completion; and 3) The “market system,” in which the creator produces something on his own initiative and then seeks a buyer.\(^{33}\)

Burke is not thinking of music, of course, but the models do map well onto the composer-patron relationship, with some tinkering: the composer hired to sing in and write for a chapel might be asked to take on the additional task of creating secular music.\(^{34}\) At base patronage was, for many, a factor not of personal interest, but of status:

\(^{31}\) Texts must be found or created (thus creating another layer of decision-making), music requires performing forces, and is at times quite susceptible to trends.

\(^{32}\) Papal musicians fit this model of patronage, with the addition of benefices. It was this chance of acquiring a type of particularly remunerative pension that brought so many singers to Rome.

\(^{33}\) Burke’s final two categories are modern conceptions which would have shocked a sixteenth-century patron: 4) The Academy system, which he defines as “government control by means of an organization staffed by reliable artists and writers,” and 5) The “subvention system,” in which an organization such as a foundation meets the financial needs of a creator but imposes no conditions on the final product. *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 89.
wealth buying talent.\textsuperscript{35} Music was lower on the status ladder than architecture or the visual arts, as it was both ephemeral and quickly devalued by changes in taste, hence offering less opportunity for a program of personal or dynastic aggrandizement.\textsuperscript{36}

Claudio Annibaldi has written on the need for studies of Roman and Neapolitan patronage as exhaustive as those by Lewis Lockwood on Ferrara, Iain Fenlon on Mantua, and Allan Atlas on fifteenth-century Naples. He writes that “…what we need is a view of musical patronage able to suggest a correct relationship between any piece of evidence and the more comprehensive situation from which it always derives its true meaning — that is, a view approaching musical patronage not from the standpoint of the music it has caused to come into being, but from the standpoint of the underlying social structures.”\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{34} The papal chapel would be the ideal organization in which to study this phenomenon, if we were better able to tie popes to the commission of secular works. There were always composers in the chapel, and many of them produced secular and liturgical music concurrently. Others, conversely, such as Bernardo Pisano, seem to have stopped composing almost entirely (although, in Pisano’s case, it may be that his proto-madrigalian style was a loser in the Darwinian evolution of Italian vernacular song and his outdated style was simply no longer in demand). There are any number of reasons for this, chief among which I number the following: 1) service as a papal singer left little time to compose unless specific works were demanded; 2) any drop in the number of active composers in the chapel may have meant larger work loads for those who remained; 3) patrons may have preferred one composer over others; or 4) calls for new large-scale works may have occupied all of a composer’s time.

\textsuperscript{35} Competition had a role as well, and surely played a part in the importance of secular music in papal and cardinalate households. Prelates were in no way exempt from the sorts of rivalries seen among worldly rulers; displaying the breadth of one’s taste and sophistication as a patron of the arts was a universal method of reinforcing stature.

\textsuperscript{36} Sacred music was both more universal, and less subject to the trends that have almost certainly always affected vernacular popular music. This guaranteed liturgical music a longer shelf life, as we know from the example of the papal chapel. In that organization the music of composers such as Josquin and Palestrina was performed for decades after their deaths, long after their secular music had fallen into disuse. Gregorio Allegri’s \textit{Miserere}, which remained in the chapel’s repertory for two centuries, is \textit{sui generis}; it is a rare combination of museumization and fetishization, which must have increased its shelf life.

Leaving aside the questionable notion that any one person can determine the “true meaning” of a musical work, which in the case of secular vocal music is in fact already a musician’s interpretation of a poem, perhaps mediated by the demands of a patron, we have the added barriers to understanding of distance and particularity. This last barrier is of especial importance to the study of secular music in Rome. There was no other city like Rome; France had its Princes of the Blood, with their splendid mini-courts, but Princes of the Church were another matter entirely (and not least because there were so many more of them; the number of cardinals fluctuated between consistories and not all were resident in Rome but, in 1586, Sixtus V set the maximum number at 70; if this was intended as a proscription, we can safely assume that membership in the college had at times exceeded that count). In theory any member of the College of Cardinals could become pope, although practice was at odds with theory. Wild-card and compromise candidates have been elected over the centuries, but there have also always been cardinals whose prospects were particularly good, those considered “papabile.” These cardinals were often among the most active patrons, as they demonstrated to those about them their wealth, taste, and political and social acumen.

Cosmopolitan places abounded, especially mercantile centers such as Lyon, Venice, and Antwerp, but the foreigners there were just that; foreigners. In Rome many, if not most, of the residents were foreigners with a special sense of belonging in the city, capital of their faith. Immigrants were often wealthier than the native population and

38 Stinger believes in a distinctly Roman Renaissance: “A shared outlook, a persistent set of intellectual concerns, similar cultural assumptions, and a commitment to common ideological aims bound Rome’s humanists and artists to a uniquely Roman world, different from Florence, Venice, and other Italian and European centers.” The Renaissance in Rome, xi.
brought with them their own interests and standards, their own clients, even their own dialects and other cultural markers.\textsuperscript{40} The wealthiest became part of the city during their time there, building or decorating their palazzi. Their goal, however, was not assimilation into Roman life, but participation in the life of the papal court.

These factors created a city given to the sorts of large-scale shifts that differentiate hereditary and elective leadership.\textsuperscript{41} One pope might express his particular interest in civic architecture by means of a massive campaign of destruction and rebuilding. If he died before completion of the project, as was almost guaranteed to be the case with any monumental undertaking, there was no surety of continuation; the new pope, instead, might have a great fondness for the visual arts, and choose to spend on that. This sort of change of focus was less likely in a duchy such as Ferrara, in which successive leaders were equally invested in the family’s mythologizing or glorification.\textsuperscript{42}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{39} Partner has tallied the percentages of natives versus immigrants in the Roman population based on the 1526–27 Census; of the c. 40\% of households whose places of origin are known, only c. 23\% were from Rome and her environs; another c. 57\% were from the Italian peninsula, Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia; and the remaining c. 18\%, almost one-fifth, were foreigners. Partner is confident that we can extrapolate from this random sample a similar demographic breakdown for the total population. \textit{Renaissance Rome}, 75–76.
\item\textsuperscript{40} Partner states that commerce in Rome was dominated by the luxury industries such as jewelers, silversmiths, and painters, and service industries such as bankers, innkeepers, masons, architects, and land speculators. \textit{Renaissance Rome}, 47–48.
\item\textsuperscript{41} Changes in the papacy occasioned dramatic demographic shifts in Rome, such as the influx of Spaniards under the Borgia popes; the promotion of Florentines under Leo X; and the exodus of luxury service providers under Adrian VI.
\item\textsuperscript{42} There are of course exceptions to this; when Leonello d’Este died in 1450, he was succeeded by his brother Borso. The fine chapel built up by Leonello was of no particular interest to Borso, who was satisfied with plainchant liturgy, so most of the Ferrarese singers left for the papal chapel. Instrumental music flourished during Borso’s twenty-one year reign; in 1456 he had fourteen instrumentalists on his payroll, and a mere two singers. See Lockwood, \textit{Music in Renaissance Ferrara}, 86–98 and 317–18.
\end{itemize}
It is with the Medici popes that I begin my study, as they fostered the strong secular music tradition that allowed the madrigal to flourish in later years. Leo X was elected almost a century after the papal return from Avignon, at a golden time before Martin Luther’s challenge to the authority of the pope changed the religious map of Europe. Leo’s election was the acme of Medici power; Florence had welcomed him back from exile only months before, and now he was pope, fulfilling a family dream of glory, that dated back to 1489, when Innocent VIII had raised him to the purple. Now he was pope, ready to bring to the throne of St. Peter a family tradition of patronage of art and, more specifically, music.

It was in this last realm that Medici influence most shaped the course of a nascent Roman tradition. The papal chapel had typically had at least one, and often more, composers among its members; over the course of the sixteenth century the number of composers, and their stature, increased. It was during the reign of Paul III that Jacques Arcadelt left Florence for Rome, where he entered the Cappella Sistina. Costanzo Festa was already in the chapel, having entered in the early years of Leo’s papacy. The secular styles of those early Medici years were long outdated by the time of Arcadelt’s arrival but Festa’s music had changed with the times and, by 1540, Rome would become one of Italy’s leading centers of madrigal composition.
Chapter 1

The Medici in Rome: Creation of the Rome-Florence Axis

“Let us enjoy the Papacy since God has given it us.” This famous but perhaps apocryphal utterance is attributed to the first Medici pope, on the subject of his election.\(^1\) When Julius II died on 21 February 1513 Cardinal Giovanni de’ Medici was an almost universal favorite to succeed him. He was indeed elected on 11 March, after an unusually short conclave, and took the name Leo X; at his coronation ceremony his childhood friend Cardinal Alessandro Farnese placed the papal tiara on his head.\(^2\) Leo’s election was the fruition of his father Lorenzo’s dream that had begun in 1489, when he had succeeded in having his thirteen-year-old son raised to the purple.\(^3\) Although Leo’s


\(^2\) His coronation took place on 19 March but the official processions and installation were delayed until 11 April, the Feast of his papal namesake, Saint Leo. Reasons for the delay are put forward by Ludwig von Pastor, who notes that Leo was only a deacon at the time of his election and postponement of the coronetion allowed for his ordination first as priest (on 15 March), and then bishop (on 17 March). See Ludwig von Pastor, The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr, Fourth ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1938-53), VI: 33.

Popes play a large role in this study, and confusion as to their family and papal names may arise. I have tried to be consistent in giving both names and, as an aide memoire, I use the name by which they were identified in the period under discussion. As a result the early patronage of Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici can be defined as the years leading up to September 1523 and his election as pope, at which point he became Clement VII.

\(^3\) Giovanni’s older brother Piero had been raised to succeed Lorenzo as first citizen of Florence, but Piero lacked his father’s personal charm and political skill. He and the rest of his family were expelled
reign would not be smooth he did indeed enjoy aspects of it, most particularly the rich opportunities for splendor and patronage.4

After his election Leo acted quickly to further his family’s interests.5 One of the first beneficiaries was his cousin Giulio, illegitimate son of Giuliano de’ Medici, beloved younger brother of Lorenzo “il Magnifico.”6 Giulio was raised in Lorenzo’s household with his cousins, including the future pope Giovanni, who was only two years older.7 By 20 September 1513 Leo had legitimized his cousin, and raised him to the cardinalate nine days later.8 Cardinal Giulio was one of Leo’s most trusted advisors, his deputy in Florence as legate there, and his confidante on all matters political and social.9

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4 Leo’s enjoyment would be severely tempered by opponents such as Martin Luther, but at the time of his election dissension within the church had been stilled by the Fifth Lateran Council, control over the papal states was secure, and his family had only recently and joyously returned to Florence; the future looked bright indeed. The thought of the papal monetary resources may have been on his mind; the Medici Bank had finally closed in 1497, after a slow decline that had reduced the family fortune.

5 Some of his actions were largely ceremonial, such as the grand festival culminating on the Capitoline in which his younger brother Giuliano was invested with Roman citizenship. There was a factual basis to this as Leo and Giuliano’s mother, Clarice Orsini, was Roman. The investiture served two ends; it reminded the citizens that Leo was one of their number, and offered the opportunity for quite lavish public celebration. Leo’s nephew Lorenzo di Piero, son of another Orsini, Alfonsina, was also invested with citizenship, but was not in attendance. Accounts of the event mention music frequently, but specific compositions have not been identified. See Anthony M. Cummings, The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals, 1512-1537 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 53-66.

6 Giuliano had been assassinated on Easter Sunday, 1478. Members of the Pazzi family, with the blessing of Pope Sixtus IV, plotted to murder both Lorenzo and Giuliano, who were attacked while entering Florence cathedral. Lorenzo was wounded, but survived to exile and execute those who took part in what came to be known as the Pazzi Conspiracy.

7 Giovanni was born in 1476, Giulio in 1478.

8 The 1513 consistory also saw the investiture of the papal nipote Innocenzo Cibò, along with Medici loyalists Lorenzo Pucci and Bernardo Dovizi. Additional Medici nipoti were elevated in the 1517 consistory.

9 In the immediate years after Leo’s election governance of Florence was overseen by his nephew, Lorenzo di Piero. Lorenzo died young, in 1519, three years after the death of Leo’s younger brother Giuliano. Cardinal Giulio and Leo became, thus, the only adult males of the family’s main branch. The
The Medici had a glorious history of patronage, and music was dear to them.\textsuperscript{10} Leo seems to have had a particular fondness for instrumental music, and was himself a lutenist and keyboard player.\textsuperscript{11} He may have been Heinrich Isaac’s pupil during the composer’s years in Florence, though no corroborating evidence survives.\textsuperscript{12} Some compositions are ascribed to him, which does argue for a better-than-average musical training.\textsuperscript{13} His love of instrumental music was frequently commented on, as were the numbers of musicians in his employ.\textsuperscript{14} Paride de Grassis, papal Master of Ceremonies, recorded the gift of a valuable monochord (clavicembalo) that Leo had kept in his own rooms and passed on to de Grassis; Leo may have owned as many as three organs, including one described by Castiglione as being made of alabaster.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{10} The family must surely be Italy’s most frequently studied, with the bibliography to prove it. On the subject of the Medici and music the most useful starting place is the bibliography of Frank A. D’Accone’s “Medici,” \textit{New Grove}, 16: 220-21, divided into studies before and after Cosimo I’s ascension.

\textsuperscript{11} Leo’s father Lorenzo and brother Piero played and sang, and his brother Giuliano wrote a sonnet that is thought to be a eulogy for Serafino. Cummings, \textit{The Politicized Muse}, 39. Lorenzo was also a poet of note and Giuliano is one of the interlocutors in Castiglione’s \textit{Il Cortegiano}, in which he is presented as the consummate courtier.


\textsuperscript{12} D’Accone is of the opinion that Isaac taught both Giovanni and his elder brother Piero. Proximity does argue that, if they were educated in practical music, Isaac would have been a likely teacher. Leo and Isaac maintained a patron-client relationship in Leo’s adulthood; Isaac’s motet \textit{Optime pastor} celebrates the papal election, and the fact that Leo assigned the elderly composer a sinecure in Florence, where he died, suggests a special connection between the two, which may have had its roots in a valued student-teacher bond. See Frank A. D’Accone, “Heinrich Isaac in Florence: New and Unpublished Documents,” \textit{The Musical Quarterly} XLIX (1963), 466.

\textsuperscript{13} See André Pirro, “Leo X and Music,” \textit{The Musical Quarterly} XXI (1935), 1-16.

The Tuscanization of papal music began immediately in Leo’s reign; shortly after his coronation the leading Florentine musician, Bernardo Pisano, came to Rome to join the papal chapel, where he would remain for almost thirty-five years. Costanzo Festa, the only native-born early madrigalist, joined Pisano in 1517. I think it is significant

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15 This curiosity was purchased from Leo’s heirs by Federico Gonzaga for his wife, Isabella d’Este, in 1522. The organ arrived in Mantua in 1523, where it became the subject of a Latin encomium from the pen of the Ferrarese humanist Celsio Calcagnini. See William F. Prizer, “Una ‘Virtù Molto Conveniente a Madonne’: Isabella d’Este as a Musician,” *The Journal of Musicology* 17 (1999), 43-44.

16 Pisano (1490-1548) was a native of Florence, from the Pagoli (or Paoli) family. He served in Florence at Santissima Annunziata, the Cathedral, and at the Baptistry; he may have studied with Bartolomeo (or Baccio) degli Organi and was, in turn, Corteccia’s teacher. His friends included Michelangelo and Varchi. A Medici client, he spent the bulk of his career in the papal chapel. “Pisano” is a toponymic suggesting he spent some time in Pisa, perhaps as a student; he was absent from Florence from 1507-11. D’Accone has used the 1522 publication in Florence, by the Giunta firm, of an edition of Apuleius edited by “Bernardus Philomathes Pisanus” as support for this thesis, although he does admit the possibility of two Florentines with similar names. The edition is dedicated to Filippo Strozzi, whose brother Lorenzo wrote the texts for twelve of Pisano’s thirty-five secular compositions. See “Bernardo Pisano: An Introduction to his Life and Works,” *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963), 119-20, 125-26.

Within a few years D’Accone had become convinced of Pisano’s authorship, and wrote of “his edition of Apuleius.” This increase in certainty is derived in part from Vasari’s inclusion of a “Bernardo Pisanello” among the illustrious members of the Florentine Compagnia della Cazzuola. See “Bernardo Pisano and the Early Madrigal,” *Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft: Report of the Tenth Congress, Ljubljana,* 1967, 98. While I do not immediately dismiss the possibility, I am troubled by the progression from “Pagoli,” to “Pisano,” and finally the diminutive “Pisanello,” particularly by Florentine authors, those likeliest to know the composer’s name.

The argument in support of the composer’s erudition gains support from two sources: the first is a letter in which “messer Bernardo Pisan,” a native of Florence, has been hired to serve as a Latin master who has some Greek as well. The lack of certainty remains, though, as the man named in the document is never described as a musician, leaving the possible doppelmeister problem unresolved. See Anthony M. Cummings, *The Maecenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 29-30, 98-99 and 212-13, nn. 62 and 64. Benedetto Varchi provides the second and more compelling piece of evidence, with his description of the composer as an “eccellente musico in que’ tempi, che grande e giudizioso letterato.” See Richard J. Agee, “Filippo Strozzi and the Early Madrigal,” *JAMS* XXXVIII (1985), 229, n. 11.

17 Costanzo Festa (c. 1485-90—1545) has been the subject of considerable investigation. His identification as a “clerico Thaurinensis diocesis,” along with the fact that the largest non-Roman collection of his music is at Casale Monferrato near Turin, is suggestive, but he may simply have held an office in the diocese. His motet *Quis dabit oculis*, for Anne of Brittany, has suggested to some a period of French service, but that is unlikely. If, instead, he came from Turin, regional alliances would explain the motet; the French king Charles VIII was the son of Charlotte of Savoy, and the Savoyards supported his campaigns into Italy. Louise of Savoy, Charles’s cousin, was the mother of Francis I of France, who ascended to the throne in 1515, only a year after Anne’s death, and was married to Anne’s daughter Claude. In light of these family ties a funeral motet from a Savoyard for the French queen seems reasonable.

At some time between 1515 and 1517 Festa was on the island of Ischia where he served Costanza d’Avalos, Duchess of Francavilla, as music tutor to her young nephews, Rodrigo and Alfonso. It was from
that both were composers; with the addition of Carpentras, Leo now had three prolific composers in the chapel, as well as others who produced smaller quantities of music.\textsuperscript{18}

Leo’s patronage of sacred music warrants mention here, largely because we know that both singers and singer/composers in the chapel were involved in performance of sacred and secular music.\textsuperscript{19} Seven months after his election the pope wrote to the French king Louis XII requesting the services of the composer Carpentras, who had served Julius II but left Rome in 1512, perhaps for a position in the French royal chapel.\textsuperscript{20} Now Leo asked that he serve as master of the papal chapel, the first musician to fill a post

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\textsuperscript{18} Juan Scribano composed a Magnificat and a motet and may also have written a lost set of Lamentations; Jean Bonnevin composed Masses and motets; Andreas Michot composed two Masses, one secure motet, and another that is probably his; three Masses and two motets are attributed to Vincent Missone; Eustache de Monteregalis, to whom I will return, wrote sacred and secular pieces; and Andreas de Silva composed two Masses and several motets including one, \textit{Gaude felix Florentia}, which celebrates Leo’s election.

\textsuperscript{19} A recent study of the papal chapel is Rafael Köehler, \textit{Die Cappella Sistina unter den Medici-päpsten 1513-1534: Musikpflege und Repertoire am päpstlichen Hof} (Kiel: Ludwig, 2001). The title is in fact something of a misnomer, as much of the volume is dedicated to the 1545 constitution created during the reign of Paul III.

traditionally reserved for a bishop. Carpentras returned from France with three choirboys; he recruited adult singers as well, most notably from the Mantuan chapel.

(See Table 1.1)

Table 1.1: Singers in the Papal Chapel during Leo’s Reign

A) Singers in the Chapel at the time of Leo’s Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Term of Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juan Hillanis (de Lannis, de Illanis, de Yllianis, de Aragonia)</td>
<td>4/1492 - after 1517… ?9/1518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paolo Trotti (de Trottis)</td>
<td>1/1501 - d. by 1/1523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomasso Fazanis (Jazanis, Jacopi)</td>
<td>2/1502 - d. after 11/1530?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garcias Salinas</td>
<td>2/1502 - 9/1513 (d. by 1522)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphonsus Roderici de Frias</td>
<td>4/1502 - ?1521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Richard Sherr has written on Leo’s selection of Carpentras pointing out that, in 1513, the candidates for such a position were limited: Josquin, Isaac, and Weerbecke were elderly; Mouton had no reason to leave France; and Verdelot, Festa, Willaert, and Jaquet were just beginning their careers. Carpentras was known to Leo and he had already served in the chapel. “Ceremonies for Holy Week, Papal Commissions, and Madness (?) in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome,” in Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren,] Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 392.

22 Boy singers were not used in the Cappella Sistina, but did serve in the Cappella Giulia and perhaps also as musici segreti. The three boys brought by Carpentras were Jean Conseil, who served in the chapel until his death in 1535, Pierre de Monchaire, who might have died in the summer of 1514, and Hilaire Penet, who served from 1514 until 1520, first as a chorister and later as a member of the papal musici segreti, until his departure from Rome. On Leo and Clement’s interest in trebles see Anthony Cummings, “Three Gigli,” 53-61. On recruitment from the Mantuan chapel see William F. Prizer, “La cappella di Francesco II Gonzaga e la musica sacra a Mantova nel primo ventennio del Cinquecento,” in Mantova e i Gonzaga nella civiltà del rinascimento (Mantua: Città di Mantova and Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1977), 268.


24 In 1550 a singer who claimed to have been Hillanis’s servant during the reign of Leo X stated that Hillanis was dismissed c. 1518 because his far-sightedness impaired his ability to perform. Richard Sherr draws our attention to a miniature in the MS C.S. 49, fol. 104v, of a Mass by Hillanis in which one man is portrayed very realistically, wearing glasses, and posits this might be a portrait of the singer. “The ‘Spanish Nation’ in the Papal Chapel, 1492 - 1521,” Early Music XX (1992), 604.
## B) Singers entering or returning to the Chapel during Leo’s Pontificate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicolò de Albis (Albis)</td>
<td>5/1513 - 6/1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorenzo Bergomozzo (Mutina)</td>
<td>5/1513 - 2/1521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andreas Michot</td>
<td>7/1513 - 1526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoine Bruhier (Bruchier)</td>
<td>9/1513 - 3/1521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elzéar Genet, alias Carpentras</td>
<td>11/1513 - 5/1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georges Levasseur (Le Vasseur)</td>
<td>1514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincenzo Nuzanus</td>
<td>1514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Francesco di Basidanis (Guidanis?)</td>
<td>* 1514 ... 7/1519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilaire Turleron (Daleo)</td>
<td>1/1514 - 9/1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Conseil</td>
<td>5/1514 - d. 1/1535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Bonnevin (Beauvarson)</td>
<td>6/1514 - d. 5/1542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonius de Ribera</td>
<td>8/1514 - ? 4/1518 or 4/1520?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Jouault (Brule, Bruele)</td>
<td>8/1514 - 1521, probably 1/1529 - 6/1530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardo Pisano (de Paulis, Paulo)</td>
<td>8/1514 - d. 1/1548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre de Vien</td>
<td>8/1514 - 12/1526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michele Clementi (de Lucca)</td>
<td>9/1514 - 1522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Francesco Zonatis (de Padua, Villano, Villanus)</td>
<td>* 1/1515 - 1517, 2/1533 - d. 7/1539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alessandro Coppini</td>
<td>5/1515 - after 1522 (d. 1527)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent Missonne</td>
<td>8/1515 - after 3/1521, 74/1525 - 7/5/1527 (d. 1550)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Thimille</td>
<td>12/1515 - 6/1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomasso de Macchia (Nuntii, de Licio)</td>
<td>1516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilaire Penet</td>
<td>4/1516 - 5/1520</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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25 He was probably the illegitimate son of the papal singer Remigius de Mastaing, whose position in the papal chapel he took after Remigius’s death. He might have served as a boy singer in the Cappella Giulia from July 1496 until February 1498. See Sherr, “Capsule Singer Bios.”

26 A “Variot Beltrandi” was also in the Mantuan chapel, but did not go to Rome. See Prizer, “La cappella di Francesco II Gonzaga,” 268.

27 Lewis Lockwood believes that “Daleo” is not a proper name, but a misreading of “da Leo,” a reference to the pope. See his “Jean Mouton and Jean Michel: New Evidence on French Music and Musicians in Italy, 1505-1520,” JAMS XXXII (1979), 208, n. 39.

28 De Vien was from Avignon, Carpentras’s home diocese, and may have been one of his recruits. See Sherr, “Capsule Singer Bios.”
The influx of new singers in the chapel after Leo’s election far exceeds the number lost as a result of deaths or departure, so speaks to his desire for a large and skilled establishment. The Medici predilection for French musicians is clear in the membership rolls, but Italian nationals are also well represented. Leo’s interest in French singers was matched by his interest in French repertory; Mouton, maestro of the French royal chapel, is the most frequently encountered composer in Cappella Sistina manuscripts from Leo’s papacy, followed by Willaert, Richafort, and Festa.  

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29. Monteregalis left the papal chapel in 1520 for a four-year tenure as maestro di cappella at the Cathedral of Modena. He returned to the papal chapel in 1525. On his doppelmeister and his compositions see below.

30. Bidon was in the Mantuan chapel in 1509 and was one of only four singers who remained in 1513. At some point after the major exodus for Rome he, too, joined the papal chapel. See Prizer, “La cappella di Francesco II Gonzaga,” 268.
One witness to music in Leonine Rome was the Venetian patrician Marcantonio Michiel, who was in Rome from October 1518 to November 1520, and left us valuable diary entries describing public and private musical events. Some of Michiel’s


Willaert, a student of Mouton, was in Rome by July 1515 with his patron, Ippolito d’Este, surely Leo’s equal as a melomane. Though he did not have papal resources at his disposal, Ippolito’s remunerative clerical offices provided considerable income which supported a flourishing musical establishment. October 1517 to August 1519 were spent by Ippolito and his household (minus Ariosto) at his bishopric of Eger, Hungary. By August 1519 Willaert was in Ferrara and, after Ippolito’s sudden death in September 1520, the composer entered the service of Duke Alfonso I. See Lewis Lockwood, “Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito d’Este: New Light on Willaert’s Early Career in Italy, 1515-1521,” Early Music History 5 (1985), 87-90.

32 One event on which he wrote was the Feast of the Nativity of St. John on 24 June 1520. John is the patron saint of Florence, and this was an historically important celebration; for Leo the day had dual significance, as Florence’s patron saint was his personal namesake. The papal choir put forth especial effort for the Mass celebrated in honor of St. John, for which Leo rewarded them; public celebration was sponsored by the Florentine community, with entertainments which included a horse race, a buffalo race, and evening fireworks. Michiel wrote about the public celebration and, later, a luncheon hosted by Leo at the Castel Sant’Angelo for cardinals and ambassadors. The pope’s celebration included a performance by vocalists and instrumentalists, although no further details are offered.


For discussion of St. John’s Day and other important Florentine celebrations see Richard C. Trexler, Public Life in Renaissance Florence (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), Chapter 8, “The Ritual of Celebration,” 215-78. St. John’s Day marked the end of the Florentine Calendamaggio, or carnival season, so served as the culmination of almost two months of celebration, in which music played a part.

Lorenzo “il Magnifico” wrote poetic texts for several canzoni a ballo, songs sung during the public festivities. Much of the repertory is lost, but there are survivals in the laude tradition which speak to the appeal of this repertory. On the importance of the canti carnascialeschi as part of the heady brew of secular song in early sixteenth-century Florence see Walter H. Rubsamen, “From Frottola to Madrigal: The
observations serve only to corroborate or expand on those of others, but his high station granted him access to private events, and it is in these instances that his diary entries are most valuable to my study.

On 2 August 1520 Leo hosted a delayed celebration of the Feast of St. Peter in Chains. The lavish entertainment at the luncheon included a concert with instrumental and vocal music, and reportedly cost the pope the princely sum of 500 ducats. Michiel offers us a window into the general course of the entertainment but his references to the music consist only of brief descriptives such as a *canzona alla Bergamasca*, a *canzona Todescha*, a *canzona spagnola*, and boys who sang a *macharonescho* “in the English manner”; eventually all the musicians performed together. The account suggests a large number of singers; three groups of ten musicians, each composed of equal numbers of vocalists and instrumentalists, a crumhorn ensemble, and the boy singers. The number of singers exceeds those known to have served Leo as *musici segreti*, but the ensemble could easily be expanded by using members of the papal chapel.

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33 The feast is on 1 August which, in 1520, fell on Wednesday, a day on which Leo, celebrated for his piety, rigorously fasted, hence the delayed celebration.

34 By way of comparison, the monthly salary of a papal singer was 6-8 ducats, and a moderate-sized palace could be rented for the annual sum of 200-400 ducats. Given in Blackburn, “Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X,” 17-18.

35 See Blackburn, “Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X,” 5, 9, and 33. It is possible that Michiel inflated the splendor of the occasion, but as he is just one of those who commented on Leo’s love of music and pageantry, I am inclined to accept his accounts. Leo’s *musici segreti*, made up of vocalists and instrumentalists, numbered almost twenty by the time of his death. See Frey, “Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X. und zu seiner Privatkapelle,” *Die Musikforschung* 8 (1955), 58-73, 178-79, and 412-37, and 9 (1956), 46-57, 139-56, and 411-19.
Lists of Leo’s musicians survive, but these shorthand pay records benefit from Michiel’s information. In August 1520 Leo had in his private service one boy, ten adult singers (some of whom also served in the papal chapel), eight *pifferi* or shawm players, two trombonists, seven lutenists, two keyboard players, and ten other musicians, perhaps string players. Leo’s zealous acquisition of musicians led to the yearlong loan, from May 1520 until April 1521, of a Venetian cornett virtuoso employed by the Doge. He spent liberally on instruments as well, with one purchase of silver and gold instruments from Nuremberg that totaled one thousand ducats.

Another feast day important to Leo was that of Saints Cosmas and Damian on 27 September. The two fourth-century physicians, *medici* in Italian, were the patron saints of the family, and source of the name “Cosimo.” Leo’s celebration of Ss. Cosmas and Damian in 1520 was recorded by Michiel and Baldassare Castiglione.

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38 Cosimo “il vecchio” was a twin; his brother Damiano died in 1390, the year after their birth. See Dale Kent, *Cosimo de’ Medici and the Florentine Renaissance: The Patron’s Oeuvre* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 11. Cosimo had emphasized the saints’ day as an opportunity to celebrate the family without giving the appearance of imposing individual will on the commune. Leo, while a cardinal in Rome before the family’s restoration, used the celebration as an opportunity to assess his supporters and opponents, and to impress on the latter the strength of the former. See Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 422-23.

On the celebration of SS. Cosmas and Damian, now observed on 26 September though traditionally celebrated the following day, see Bonnie J. Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 388-90.

39 Leo had initiated Roman celebrations of the feast day in 1513, and hosted a festive dinner after the Mass, complete with music. In subsequent years he was often out hunting on the feast day, although he did honor the saints with Vespers and a solemn Mass sung by members of his chapel. Leo remained in Rome on the day in 1519; Michiel alludes to the elaborate celebration, which included dramatic entertainment and music, but his cursory report suggests he may not have been present. Paride de’ Grassi records that on this occasion Leo gave the singers “the usual reward” for their services, a substantial financial payment. The pope rewarded his musicians thus twice a year, on the saints’ day and again on the anniversary of his coronation. See Blackburn, “Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X,” 22-23, 36.
reported to Federico Gonzaga that cardinals, other prelates, and ambassadors were the pope’s guests for dinner, followed by a performance by fifty-two musicians dressed as physicians, singing and playing various instruments. Michiel provided a more detailed description, informing the reader, among other things, that some songs about physicians were sung, and the musical entertainment closed with a six-part motet. After the music a comedy in Italian was performed in an adjoining room. Bonnie Blackburn believes that the comedy in question was Machiavelli’s La Mandragola which, given the plot twist in which the young protagonist disguises himself as a doctor, would fit well with the general medico theme.

Clearly, secular music was regularly heard at the papal court. Although specific pieces typically cannot be identified for events described, enough music survives from the time to establish tastes and trends. The numerous Florentine music manuscripts of the early sixteenth century stand as witnesses to the popularity of French and vernacular song among the Medici and their circle. It was in these circles that the sixteenth-century madrigal developed. Iain Fenlon and James Haar write that,

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41 Although none of the secular pieces have been identified Blackburn suggests that the motet performed might have been the anonymous Laetare sancta mater ecclesia, unique to the partbook Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Mss. Magl. XIX. 125bis. In spite of the text’s invocation of “Clement,” she suggests that might be a later redaction of the original “Leo.” See her “Music and Festivities at the Court of Leo X,” 26-32.

42 Richard J. Agee has written on the Strozzi family, delineating their general interest in music as well as specific points of contact with Costanzo Festa and Jacques Arcadelt. See his “Ruberto Strozzi and the Early Madrigal,” JAMS XXXVI (1983), 1-17, “Filippo Strozzi and the Early Madrigal,” 227-37, and “Costanzo Festa’s Gradus ad Parnassum,” Early Music History 15 (1996), 1-58. Strozzi patronage was not limited to the madrigal; Filippo owned at least one manuscript of chansons; on this see Howard Mayer Brown, “Chansons for the Pleasure of a Florentine Patrician: Florence, Biblioteca del conservatorio di musica, MS Basevi 2442,” in Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese, ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1966), 56-66. I will return to the Strozzi below.
... Complete isolation of the “first” cinquecento madrigal is not possible. On the other hand there is no reason to wait for the first appearance (1530) of the term “madrigal” in a collection of printed music, the Madrigali de diversi musici libro primo de la Serena; the canzoni of Pisano and the secular works of Carpentras and Sebastiano Festa, all written in the Rome of Leo X, seem an appropriate place to begin the history of the genre.43

In many ways Rome was an ideal breeding ground lacking, as she did, a strong local written music tradition. The humanist author Paolo Cortesi, writing at the turn of the sixteenth century, implies that improvvisatori were popular, but this in no way sets Rome apart from the rest of Italy.44 It is the absence of other, notated music that distinguishes Rome from Florence or Mantua; the city was in a musical sense a tabula rasa, which gave Leo and his court the opportunity to foster music they preferred without violating local custom.

Musical ties between Florence and Rome were strong during Leo’s papacy, and it is really simplest to view musical styles and preferences in the two cities as one and the same. James Haar has reinforced the conjoined history of the early Florentine-Roman madrigal, writing that “Florence, during the last years of the Republic and the beginning of the Medici principate, and Rome, during the reigns of the Medici popes Leo X (1513-21) and Clement VII (1523-34), may lay near equal claim to being the birthplace of the

43 See Fenlon-Haar, 10-11.

44 Cortesi was reasonably well-acquainted with the foremost names in sacred polyphony. In his discussion of “carmina,” though, he praises only extempore singing of vernacular verse to the accompaniment of the lyre. See Nino Pirrotta, “Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” in Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1984), 80-112, esp. 112.
sixteenth-century madrigal.™ A print important to the history of sixteenth-century Italian vernacular song is the 1520 *Musica di meser Bernardo pisano sopra le Canzone del petrarca*, published by Petrucci. The print has the double distinctions of being the first secular volume devoted to the work of one composer, and the first produced in separate, fully-texted partbooks. Petrarch settings had been seen before, most recently in Petrucci’s later books of frottolas; this print is not a frottola collection but, rather, a group of *sui generis*


47 Only the altus and bassus partbooks of the Pisano print survive. D’Accone provides an extensive concordance table in “Bernardo Pisano: An Introduction to his Life and Works,” 129. Iain Fenlon has commented on an unusual aspect of this volume; Pisano had not been published by Petrucci before, nor had Petrucci devoted an entire volume to one composer. Fenlon speculates, based on these facts, that the print might have been commissioned volume, perhaps arranged for while Petrucci was in Rome in 1520 as a delegate from the city of Fossombrone. See *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy* (London: The British Library, 1995), 27. The extent of the degree to which Petrucci was directly involved is not known. Catherine Weeks Chapman has argued that Pasoti used Petrucci’s type, and may have had a hand in this edition. See “Andrea Antico,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964, 115-16. In Stanley Boorman’s view Petrucci was merely a publisher, rather than a publisher/printer, so the contracting out of a volume, with or without use of his actual type or new type struck from his matrices, would be a logical source of income. Following that line of reasoning, and taking into consideration the innovative format and appearance of a new volume after an hiatus, he suggests Pasoti or Bartolomeo Egnazio as the actual printer. See *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 58-59 and 315-16. Suzanne G. Cusick does not address the provenance of the *Musica de meser Bernardo pisano*, but does disagree with Chapman’s identification of Pasoti’s type as Petrucci’s. Cusick recognizes some similarities between the fonts and suggests that Pasoti designed or purchased type in imitation of that which he admired. See her *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 16.

This volume was for a time thought to be Petrucci’s last music print, but recent discoveries have demonstrated that he was still active in 1538, only a year before his death. See Teresa M. Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, “New Light on Ottaviano Petrucci’s Activity, 1520-38: An Unknown Print of the *Mottetti dal fiore*,” *Early Music* XXIX (2001), 500-532.

48 D’Accone, “Bernardo Pisano and the Early Madrigal,” 100. Boorman reminds his reader that the oblong partbooks of this print are similar in style and format to the Florentine manuscripts in which the repertory had been circulating. *Ottaviano Petrucci*, 316.
compositions characterized by Einstein as “at once the end of a development … and the beginning of a new phase: homage is paid to the singer of Madonna Laura yet the treatment is no longer schematic or ‘monodic,’ but polyphonic as in the motet.”49 Here Einstein has touched on two signal stylistic changes; a shift from the characteristic frottola style of texted upper voice and chordal accompaniment to a fully-realized polyphonic texture, and the abandonment of strophic structure for through-composed works.

In his Musica ... sopra le canzone del Petrarca Pisano demonstrates technical variety. Chordal sections are varied by passages in imitation, short duos or trios offer respite from a four-part texture, individual words or lines of text may be repeated with or without new music, musical phrases of varying lengths might be juxtaposed or overlapped. Repetition of all or part of the last line of text, a prominent feature in the madrigal, is found in several settings. The pieces, though, are still not what one would immediately identify as madrigals; they lack the long-short-short opening so characteristic of the chanson and the early madrigal, and some works do have refrains.50 In some pieces the commiato, the truncated final stanza of a canzona, is given its own setting, which suggested to Einstein that all the preceding stanzas might have been sung

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49 The Italian Madrigal, 1: 128-29.

50 D’Accone has written that Pisano played a “prominent role” in the early development of the madrigal. Following Iain Fenlon and James Haar, I am more inclined to see his music as a transitional phase, a sort of parallel evolutionary development that led nowhere, abandoned in favor of the chanson-based form that triumphed in its Italian manifestation. In the words of Fenlon and Haar, “Pisano’s importance in the evolution of the early madrigal has been much exaggerated; what seems probable is that the Musica, together with a handful of Petrarch settings by Carpentras and Sebastiano Festa, represent a fairly localized and short-lived taste associated with Leo X’s circle.”

I think it worthy of mention that, after composing a quantity of secular works early on, Pisano appears to have abandoned composition while still quite young; D’Accone posits that all his surviving music was composed before 1520, when he turned 30. See D’Accone, “Bernardo Pisano: An Introduction to his Life and Works,” 116 and 134, and Fenlon-Haar, 21-22.
to the music given for only one. If he is right, then these works incorporate elements of the *improvvisatori* and frottola traditions, within a notated, polyphonic framework.\(^{51}\)

Despite its title the Pisano print is not devoted solely to Petrarch settings; of the seventeen compositions, only seven are on texts from the *Canzoniere*; four of the remaining pieces set poems by Lorenzo Strozzi, and there are six anonymous texts. Lorenzo Strozzi, to whom I will return below, fits neatly into the Rome-Florence axis; he was a member of the Medici *parentado*, and his family bank, led by his brother Filippo, rose in prominence over the course of Leo’s reign to become the most important of the banks patronized by Clement.

Pietro Bembo’s presence at the papal court from 1513 as one of Leo’s secretaries encourages speculation that he in some way influenced composers who set Petrarch texts. It would be gratifying to have a print we could discuss as the authorized musical expression of Bembo’s theories of language, but no such grand claims can be made. I searched through Bembo’s *Prose della volgar lingua* (published in 1525 but in preparation long before) hoping to find concordances between poems analyzed by Bembo and set by Pisano, but found none. The disjunction between Pisano and Bembo is even greater than a lack of concordances; the readings of the texts used by Pisano do not derive from Bembo’s 1501 edition of the *Canzoniere* but are descended, in fact, from what has been described as a “highly corrupt textual tradition.”\(^{52}\)

\(^{51}\) Einstein, “Dante, on the Way to the Madrigal,” *The Musical Quarterly* XXV (1939), 142-55, and “A Supplement,” 507-09. He gives *Amor se vuoi ch’io torni, Sì è debile filo, Nella stagion che’l ciel, Lasso me ch’io non sò, Chiare fresche e dolci acque, Che debbio far, che mi consigli, Amore, and S’il dissi mai ch’io venga*, as examples.

Pisano’s music is well-represented in manuscripts of Florentine origin which capture a repertory in transition.\(^{53}\) This new repertory resides in a core of six major manuscripts and a few minor ones, most with Florentine associations, which can be divided into three chronological groupings. The first transmits a quite mixed repertory, from Isaac and Agricola, to new pieces that depart from strophic, refrain-based forms in favor of the “proto-madrigal” style of Pisano and Sebastiano Festa.\(^{54}\) The second group includes some of the transitional composers from group one and introduces Verdelot’s madrigals, while the third shows the triumph of the madrigal over competing vernacular song types.\(^{55}\) (See Table 1.2)

\(^{53}\) Iain Fenlon and James Haar argue persuasively that Einstein’s notion of an “artistic pause” between the frottola and the early madrigal was based on a misreading of the sources, privileging print over manuscript. The absence of prints, in this view, was interpreted as the absence of interest. Close study and dating of manuscripts from the period has gone far to fill in the “pause.” See Fenlon-Haar, 15-16.

\(^{54}\) Little is known about Sebastiano Festa. He was born at Villafrance Sabauda near Turin, a city to which Costanzo had a nominal connection, but no conclusive evidence of kinship has yet been found. Sebastiano’s first datable work is the motet *Angeli Dei* in Bologna, Q19, which carries the inscription 1518 a dì 10 de jugno Seb.Festa, and his last is a previously unpublished piece in the 1530 *La Serena* volume. In October 1520 he was employed by the Genovese nobleman Ottobono Fieschi, who served Leo X as apostolic protonotary. This raises the possibility that Festa may have resided in Rome with his patron, thus taking part in the cultural flowering that was Leo’s court. Bishop Ottobono returned to Genoa during Adrian’s papacy, and died there in 1522; Festa died at Rome two years later.

Festa’s work list consists of ten secure secular pieces (five on Petrarch texts), seven works of dubious attribution, and four motets. His secular compositions are not yet what we would unequivocally identify as madrigals, yet they have moved away from the frottola in significant ways; although they are homophonic, the voices demonstrate greater equality, melodic lines are very smooth, and the works are through-composed with musical repetition only to support rhymes, climax, or symmetry. See Walter H. Rubsam, “Sebastian Festa and the Early Madrigal,” *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Bericht über den internationalen musikkwissenschaftlichen Kongress Kassel 1962*, 122-26, Crawford, “A Review,” 105, and James Haar, “Festa, Sebastiano,” *New Grove*, 8: 731.

\(^{55}\) Even within the groups there is repertorial change; Mss. Magl. XIX. 122-25, dated to c. 1532, includes twenty madrigals by Verdelot and only nine by Arcadelt while Magl. XIX. 99-102, c. 1535, only three years later, contains a preponderance of Arcadelt’s madrigals (thirty-one of his, as against five by Festa and four by Verdelot).
Table 1.2: Manuscript Sources

GROUP 1, early 1520s

Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio MS Basevi 2440

- Florence perhaps owned by a member of the Strozzi family?
- Lorenzo’s poetry is well-represented
- choirbook format, two sections; strophic and non-strophic songs
- Pisano 9; ?Pisano 7; Barth. Organista 7; Isaac 3; Coppini 2; Pesenti 59 2; ?Patavino/da Hostia 2;
- Aiolles [Layolle?] 1; Cara 1; Pesenti/Cara/Tromboncino 1; Agricola 1; C. Festa 1; S. Festa 1

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Mss Magl. XIX. 164-67

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56 For details and bibliography on these sources see Fenlon-Haar, from which my information is drawn. I have tabulated only the Italian secular pieces.

57 On Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Ital. Cl. IV, 1795-98, see Fenlon-Haar, 191-94. This source, copied c. 1520 in Venice or the Veneto, is peripheral to my study, lacking, as it does, any music by Pisano or either of the Festas. It transmits a repertory largely of anonymous pieces as well as some by Tromboncino and Cara. For an edition with commentary see Apografo Miscellaneo Marciano: Frottole canzoni e madrigali con alcuni alla pavana in villanesco (Edizione critica integrale dei Mss. Marc. It. Cl. IV, 1795-1798), ed. Francesco Luisi (Venice: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 1979).

58 See Fenlon-Haar, 156-59.

59 Michele Pesenti (c. 1470-1528) was a lutenist and composer of frottolas, most of which were in print by 1514. He was in the service of Cardinal Ippolito d’Este from 1506-09 and 1511-14, and perhaps 1510 as well. Pesenti was in Rome with the cardinal in 1513-14; while there, he petitioned Leo for benefices on several occasions. He entered papal service at some point after 1514, perhaps after Cardinal Ippolito’s death; in August 1521 he was a papal “cubicularius et familiaris continuus comensalis,” and recipient of a benefice. Upon Leo’s death he left Rome for a position in Mantua and, after a visit to Rome in 1525, returned to his native city of Verona. William F. Prizer, “Pesenti [Vicentino], Michele,” New Grove, 19: 484-85.


Magl. XIX. 164-67 has extensive concordances with Pisano’s Musica ... sopra le canzone del Petrarca, but the vastly different readings argue that Petrucci drew on a different source tradition. Fenlon-Haar, 199.

The manuscript contains an escutcheon that has until recently resisted identification, but Drake argues that it is that of the Buonaparte family, from San Miniato near Florence. Jacopo Buonaparte, a confidante of Clement VII, was one of the many who took refuge with the pope in the Castel Sant’Angelo during the Sack of Rome. Jacopo’s presence in Rome from 1510 until his death resolves the contradictions in this manuscript of a Florentine scribe and Florentine paper in a Roman binding, while Jacopo’s friendship with Clement explains the concordances between this manuscript and the Paris-Cortona partbooks, demonstrated by Cummings as having belonged to Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici. I will return to the partbooks below.
c.1522-23 Florence?\textsuperscript{61} Roman-style binding partbooks; 49 Italian-texted works, 24 French-texted works, 13 Latin sacred pieces
Pisano 12; S. Festa 6; F.P. 2; Tromboncino 2; Vicentino 2;\textsuperscript{62} Compere 1; Obrecht 1; Vicentino/Cara/Tromboncino 1; Tromboncino 1; Josquin 1; Anon. 13

GROUP 2, mid-1520s
Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS Q 21\textsuperscript{63}
c. 1526 copied by Giovanpiero Masaconi Florence? partbooks
S. Festa 6; Verdelot 6; ?Pisano 2; Eustachio 1;\textsuperscript{64} Cara/Tromboncino 1; Tiburtino 1;\textsuperscript{65} F.P. 1;
Fogliano 1; Anon. 52

Chicago, Newberry Library Case MS-VM 1578.M91 and Sutton Coldfield, Oscott College, Old Library MS Case B No. 42, the Newberry-Oscott Partbooks
c. 1526-29 copied by Giovanpiero Masaconi Florence? partbooks
Verdelot 22; ?Verdelot 7; M. Jhan 1

New Haven, Yale University, John Herrick Jackson Music Library Misc. MS 179\textsuperscript{66}
copied before c. 1530 Bologna? Venice? altus partbook only
Verdelot 9; S. Festa 6; C. Festa 4; F.P. 2; Fra Ruffino 1; Eustachio 1; Tiburtino 1;

\textsuperscript{61} Sections of this source were copied by the Basevi 2440 scribe.


\textsuperscript{63} See Fenlon-Haar, 137-42.

\textsuperscript{64} There were two musicians named Eustachio in Rome in the second decade of the century; the papal singer/composer Eustache Montegeralis Gallus, and Eustachius de Macionibus Romanus, from the Maccione family, an instrumentalist and composer. The latter’s volume of duos, \textit{Musica de Eustachio Romano. Liber Primus}, was published by Pasoti in 1521 with a dedication to Archbishop Giovanni Maria del Monte, the future Pope Julius III. Eustachio Romano composed eleven vocal works as well; frottolas attributed to him appear in Petrucci and Antico frottola prints. Eustachius de Monte Regalis Gallus was “… a composer of a higher order,” whose work is free of the “awkward voice-leading, awkward harmonic writing, and rough dissonance technique” of his Italian colleague. The Frenchman composed in a variety of sacred genres (motets, Psalm settings, and Magnificats), and wrote a few frottolas as well; \textit{Si v’osassi di dir}, with its skilled four-part writing, is probably his. He does not warrant a \textit{New Grove} article, but is discussed by Richard Sherr at http://sophia.smith.edu/~rsherr/frmslt.htm, “Capsule Singer Bios.” Both composers are discussed at length in \textit{Eustachio Romano, Musica Duorum Rome, 1521}, ed. from the literary estate of Hans T. Davis by Howard Mayer Brown and Edward E. Lowinsky (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), xvi, 3-7, 10-14. A table with secular works by both, and two that might be by either, can be found on 14.

\textsuperscript{65} I will return to Tiburtino in Chapter 2.

\textsuperscript{66} See Fenlon-Haar, 181-83. Thirty-six of the sixty pieces have concordances in Bologna, Q21. Neither Pisano nor Arcadelt are represented in the source; Pisano’s absence suggests to me that its owner either already possessed his music in manuscript, or considered that an old-fashioned repertory. Arcadelt’s absence simply argues for a date prior to c. 1530-32, when the composer’s music first appears in Italian sources.
Cara/Tromboncino 1; Anon. French-texted 1; Anon. 34

Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS y.L IL.8
after 1520-c. 1530 Northern Italy
bassus partbook only
Anon. 46; Verdelot 9; C. Festa 2; S. Festa 1; A. de Silva 1; Pretin 1; Fra Ruffin 1; Tudual 1;
Menon 1; F.P. 1; Cara 1; 4 Latin-texted pieces; 2 instrumental pieces

GROUP 3, 1530s
Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XIX.99-10267
copied c. 1535 Florence?
Arcadelt 31; C. Festa 5; Anon. 5; Corteccia 5; Verdelot 4; Layolle 3; Arcadelt/Corteccia 1;
Verdelot/Festa 1; Arcadelt/Festa 1; 3 instrumental pieces

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Mss. Magl. XIX. 122-2568
copied c. 1532 Florence? circle of Alessandro de’ Medici?
Verdelot 20; Anon. 11; Arcadelt 9; C. Festa 3; Corteccia 2; Layolle 1; F.P. 1; Arcadelt/Festa 1

Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, Basevi 2495 (“The Strozzi Partbooks”)
c. 1530-40 Florence? Strozzi crescent moon decoration on binding
cantus, tenor and bassus partbooks
Verdelot 25; Arcadelt 25; Anon. 12; C. Festa 4; Corteccia 3; Verdelot/Festa 2; Verdelot 1;
Verdelot/Arcadelt 1; Pretin 1; 2 laude

Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique MSS 27.731, FA VI.5 (2-4)69
copied c. 1535-40 Antonio Moro (copyist of the Vallicelliana partbooks)
cantus partbook only
Arcadelt 31; Anon. 16; Corteccia 8; Festa 6; Layolle 5; Berchem 2; Arcadelt/Willaert 1
later additions made in two stages; 1545-50 and c. 1589.
Striggio 6; Danckerts 4; Anon. 1; Cimello 4; de Reulx 2; Arcadelt 1

Perugia, Biblioteca Augusta, MS 3313 (olim I.M.1079)70
c. 1533?
C. Festa 17; Laurus 1; Anon. 1

Florentine and Roman music diverged in the early 1520s following Leo’s death; it
is no accident that, during the papacy of Adrian VI, Florentines returned to Tuscany,

67 See Fenlon-Haar, 164-67.
68 See Fenlon-Haar, 169-72. The altus volume from this five-part set is missing.
69 See Fenlon-Haar, 149-53.
70 See Fenlon-Haar, 186-87. This source is made up of prints and manuscripts bound together.
The repertory germane to my study is a cantus partbook which contains twenty-one madrigals and two motets.
while other artists and artisans fled Rome and the new pope’s asceticism as well. The new Florentine music of the 1520s is that of Verdelot and it is a repertory which survives in manuscripts, most particularly those listed above.

Rome, on the other hand, saw the appearance of several music prints, collecting a quite different repertory, with only vague ties to Medicean or papal music. For the most part these early prints are miscellanies, combining pieces having extensive manuscript concordances with other, unique works. Several of these sources have come down to us as individual volumes from a set, a few are mere fragments, and others are nothing more than brief descriptions. The fragmentary nature of the sources makes comprehensive analysis difficult; identifying a publisher, establishing concordances, or determining transmission based on readings require significant amounts of conjecture. What can be readily determined are changes in repertory and a flurry of music printing in Rome. As Petrucci’s output dropped sharply, and Antico began a twelve-year hiatus, other printers, most notably Valerio Dorico, filled the void. The music they chose to print had no particular regional identity, drawing instead on works from Northern Italy, Florence, the Veneto, and France. The volumes fall into chronological groups, as can be seen below. (See Table 1.3)

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71 Antico had opened his Roman shop in 1510, and was active there until 1518. He then moved to Venice and entered into a brief partnership with a member of the Giunta family from 1520-21. He printed nothing from 1521 until 1533 but, from 1533 until 1539, was active. See Martin Picker, “Antico [Anticho, Antigo, Antiquo, Antiquus], Andrea.” New Grove, 1: 731-33.

See Cusick, Valerio Dorico, for what remains the most thorough study of the printer.
Table 1.3: Early Roman Secular Prints

GROUP 1

Musica de meser Bernardo pisano sopra le Canzone del petrarca

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Petrucci</td>
<td>Fossombrone</td>
<td>1520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisano</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Motetti e Canzone Libro Primo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antico?</td>
<td>Rome?</td>
<td>1520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisano?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

seventeen motets (Mouton, Brumel, Fra Ruffino, Don Michele [Pesenti?], C. Festa and others),
five secular pieces; Fra Rufino 2; S. Festa 1; Don Michele 1; Eustachi 1

Fior de motetti e Canzone novi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pasoti and Dorico?</td>
<td>Rome?</td>
<td>1523?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dedicated to Cardinal Pompeo Colonna

9 Latin-texted works, including one by Verdelot; 5 anonymous Italian-texted secular works

Canzoni Frottole & capitoli da diversi ... Libro primo de la Croce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pasoti and Dorico</td>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>1526</td>
<td>second edition 1533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.P. 3; S. Festa 9; Cara 8; Fra Rufino 1; Tromboncino/Cara 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Canzoni Frottole & capitoli da diversi ... Libro secondo de la croce

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer(s)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorico?</td>
<td>September 1531</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.P. 4; Cara 4; Anon. 3; Fra Jordan 1; Jaquet 1;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tromboncino 1; S. Festa 1; C. Festa 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

two French-texted pieces, one anonymous, one by Jannequin, an anonymous three-part

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72 See Fenlon-Haar, 197-200. Twelve of the seventeen pieces have manuscript concordances in Bologna, Q21, Basevi 2440, and Florence, Mss. Magl. XIX. 164-167.

73 See Fenlon-Haar, 205-07.

74 See Fenlon-Haar, 207-09.

75 No complete set of partbooks survives; a colophon, if present, might have been in the missing bassus book. The volume’s Roman provenance is supported by the dedication to Cardinal Pompeo Colonna.

76 See Fenlon-Haar, 231-16. William Prizer sees this as an important transitional source, mixing as it does three different musical styles: there are two pure frottolas, with their predilection for very regular text forms and accompanying musical repetition; twelve works set flexible texts and take advantage of this with settings that are through-composed or use only occasional repetition; and eight pieces incorporate popular texts and tunes. This final group can be further subdivided into two subgroups; one composition which uses a popular tune as its ripresa, and seven villotte, polyphonic settings of popular monophonic tunes. At least nine, and perhaps ten, of the transitional pieces in the print are Sebastiano Festa’s; Non al suo amante is attributed variously to Cara or Tromboncino. On the basis of style, Prizer considers it most likely a work by Sebastiano Festa. See the edition with commentary of the title’s first edition. Only two folios of the second edition survive; the tavola lists five additional works, all of which appeared on missing folios, although two of the capoversi have concordances. William F. Prizer, Libro primo de la Croce (Rome: Pasoti and Dorico, 1526): Canzoni, Frottole, and Capitoli, Collegium Musicum: Yale University. Second Series, Vol. VIII (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1978), x-xii.

77 See Fenlon-Haar, 216-17.
canon on Quam pulchra es

**Libro terzo de la Croce**

Dorico  
Rome  
1524

Known only from its listing in the Colombina catalogues. Its dating there to 1524 raises the possibility that the known copies of books one and two are subsequent editions.  

**GROUP 2**

**Messa motteti Canzonni... Libro Primo**

superius partbook only  
Nicolo de Judici.  
1526,  
1 Mass; 5 motets (including one by Verdelot); 9 Italian-texted pieces: Pretin 3; Anon. 2; Rugerius 1; Cara 1; “Secondo fa re” 1; Verdelot 1

**Libro primo de la fortuna**

altus partbook only  
Nicolo de Judici? c. 1526?.

Latin-texted pieces 5; French-texted 2; Cara 2; Verdelot 2; Anon. 2; Vicus 1; B.G. 1; Laurus 1; C. Festa 1; Anon. villote 6

**Madrigali de diversi excellentissimi autori, Libro primo de la Serena**

altus only  
Dorico? 1530

Verdelot 8; Carlo 3; C. Festa 2; S. Festa 1; Iacopo da Thoscana 1; M. Jhan 1; Anon. 1; 3 chansons, 2 anon., 1 by Jannequin

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78 See Catherine Weeks Chapman, “Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus,” *JAMS* XXI (1968), item number 73, 71.

79 This volume, not listed in RISM, is housed in the Cathedral of Palma, Mallorca. See Knud Jeppesen, “An Unknown Pre-Madrigalian Music Print in Relation to Other Contemporary Italian Sources (1520-1530),” in *Studies in Musicology: Essays in the History, Style, and Bibliography of Music in Memory of Glen Haydon*, ed. J. W. Pruett (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 3-17. An inventory with concordances can be found in Fenlon-Haar, 210-11.

80 The partbook lacks a colophon but its listing in the Colombina catalogues gives Rome as the place of publication, and provides the date as well. See Chapman, “Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus,” item 76, 72. Additional information can be garnered from the actual volume, which contains a dedication to an illustrious noblewoman, signed by the printer, Nicolo de Judici. See Jeppesen, “An Unknown Pre-Madrigalian Music Print,” 7.

81 See Fenlon-Haar, 218-20. Two of the Latin-texted pieces are by Willaert. The dominance of the younger composers Willaert, Verdelot, and Festa increases the importance of the two de Judici prints as witnesses to the rise of the early madrigalists.

82 This volume does not appear in the Colombina catalogues and, lacking any evidence, dating of the volume has ranged from c.1515 to c.1535. Jeppesen examined the print and demonstrated that it shares text and music fonts, foliation, and gathering structure with the *Messa motteti Canzonni... Libro Primo*. The high number of correspondences between the two prints led Jeppesen to the conclusion that the *Libro primo de la fortuna* also came from the press of Nicolo de Judici, and he dated the volume to c. 1526. See his “An Unknown Pre-Madrigalian Music Print,” 14-17.

83 See Fenlon-Haar, 220-22. The most recent study of this print is Stefano Campagnolo’s “Il Libro primo de la Serena e il Madrigale a Roma,” *Musica Disciplina* 50 (1996), 95-133. I will return to the print and this article in my discussion below.
Positioning the Medici as informed, eager consumers of music is not a challenge, but tying specific members of the family to specific music manuscripts is difficult; no Medici owner has been posited for any of the manuscripts listed above, and prints, by their very nature, are difficult to tie to particular sources or patrons, absent unequivocal evidence for printing subventions. Searching for proto- or early madrigals in manuscripts owned by Leo or Giuliano is not fruitful; Giuliano died in 1516, and Leo in 1521.

The Medici prelate active as a patron both before and after the madrigal’s arrival on the scene was Leo’s cousin, Cardinal Giulio. Giulio was particularly well positioned to participate in Roman and Florentine musical life due to his family tradition of patronage and his increasing wealth: his rapid advancement through the curial ranks included his 1514 appointment as Legate to Bologna, his appointment to the exceptionally remunerative position of Papal Vice-Chancellor in 1517, and, in 1519, his appointment as Papal Legate to Tuscany. Entered in Giulio’s account books for 1521-22 is the sum “Cancelleria di Roma facendo el solito d[ucati] 6000.”

Regardless of his possible patronage, only two sources of secular music can be tied with any certainty to Giulio. The first is the set of partbooks Vatican City,


85 See D. S. Chambers, “The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals,” 299, n. 52. In 1505 Baldassare Castiglione had reported to his mother that the same position paid 12,000 ducats annually. Chambers offers no explanation for the difference in remuneration, which might simply reflect a general decline in papal financial solvency.

86 The Medici exhibited a sense of familial cohesion so tight that it might well be deemed clannishness and, as a result, mottos and devices were used by multiple members of the family, complicating questions of ownership. A sense of the fragility of their regime existed within the family, compensated for with a preference for artistic themes evoking their glorious past; dynastic continuity; rebirth; regeneration; and return. Janet Cox-Rearick sees in the family motto “Le Temps Revient,” “Time Returns,” an encapsulation of Medici faith in the cyclical nature of their returns to Florence and a return as well of the longed-for Golden Age.
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MSS Palatini Latini 1980-81, copied 1513-23, a collection of twenty-five masses, motets, and chansons by composers including Pierre de la Rue, Josquin, Mouton, and Andreas da Silva. Da Silva is the only composer in the manuscript who served in the papal chapel, and his tenure there was brief; only 1519-1520.\textsuperscript{87} The second is the complex Biblioteca Comunale Cortona mss. 95 and 96, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1817, copied 1519-23. The source contains chansons and motets by composers including Agricola, Josquin, Isaac, and Mouton; no Italian composers are included.\textsuperscript{88} Both these sources transmit an early repertory, and one far removed from Italian secular song.

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One example of a recurring device is the motto “GLOVIS,” used variously by Lorenzo “il Magnifico,” Giovanni, Giuliano, and even Cardinal Giulio. The word itself is meaningless, but the Renaissance humanist Paolo Giovio interpreted it as a reversal of “si volg[e],” or “it turns,” an allusion to Lorenzo’s motto, “le temps revient.” On this topic see Janet Cox-Rearick, Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 6.

Even emblems such as a cardinal’s hat are cause for confusion, as the family produced three cardinals in a relatively short period of time; Leo was a cardinal from 1489 until his 1513 election as pope; Giulio was raised to the purple in that year; followed in 1529 by Ippolito, illegitimate son of Leo’s younger brother Giuliano. Several other Medici nipoti entered the College of Cardinals as well but they were sons of Leo’s sisters, so had different patronyms and family emblems. A later Cardinal de’ Medici, Alessandro Ottaviano, was elected to the papacy in the early seventeenth century; I will return to him briefly in Chapter Three.

\textsuperscript{87} This siglum designates two partbooks, tenor and bassus. Five of the pieces in the partbooks appear in the Medici Codex; of these four are in the same order and have readings so close as to suggest that the partbooks were copied from the Codex. Another four works are concordant with VatP 1982, a Medicean source of uncertain ownership. The sole illumination is a gold shield decorated with five red balls, one blue one, and three fleurs-de-lis, surmounted by a gold cross and a red cardinal’s hat; on either side are red tassels and green branches that might be those of the laurel. The emblems identify a Medici cardinal, but the dating of the repertory is too late for Cardinal Giovanni, and too early for Cardinal Ippolito; this leaves Giulio as the likeliest owner. See Cummings, “Giulio de’ Medici’s Music Books,” 75-79, 113-18.

Three of the compositions concordant with VatP 1980-81 and the Medici Codex were published in the print Motetti e Canzoni Libro Primo, 1521\textsuperscript{6} recte 1520, which Cummings takes as evidence of a connection to Medici circles. Ibid., 77-79.

\textsuperscript{88} Biblioteca Comunale Cortona mss. 95 and 96 are the altus and superius partbooks of the set, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a.f. 1817, the tenor. Many of the pieces in the manuscript have concordances in Florentine sources. The family shield with its palle decorates this source as well, accompanied by the gold crucifix, cardinal’s hat, and tassels. The v-shaped crossed branches which frame the family shield are now leafless; attached to the tops of the cut branches are ribbons from which depend two discs with the “GLOVIS” motto. The illumination is placed over the opening of Isaac’s Palle palle, the instrumental composition based on the family motto. Other illuminations in the manuscript have resonances with
The sources discussed above highlight the absence of early madrigal manuscripts of Medici provenance. There is no small irony in this: the composers of the early madrigal were all, at one time or another, employed by members of the Medici family, but source evidence eludes us. The manuscript complex Magl. XIX. 122-25 was surely owned by a Medici associate, although it was not Alessandro’s. The young Duke was indeed Arcadelt’s employer, but in 1535, by which time the madrigal was well-established as a Florentine genre. The previous fifteen years contain no evidence for Medici patronage. Anthony Cummings has suggested that sources which would demonstrate family interest in the madrigal have been lost, but I find his contention insupportable.

symbols used by Lorenzo “il Magnifico.” Earlier scholars identified these partbooks variously as those of Giuliano de’ Medici or his son Ippolito, but Cummings has convincingly argued that, instead, they were Giulio’s; see his “Giulio de’ Medici’s Music Books,” 79-108. Cox-Rearick points out the particular symbolism of the crossed branches seen in this source; crossed branches represent the medicinal laurel, combining the medico/Medici theme with that of Apollo, the healing god. In this interpretation the wounds of Florence are healed through restoration of its medici and the immortal healing laurel, the plant sacred to Apollo and protected even from Jupiter’s wrath. See Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art, 17-18, 30.

The manuscript is decorated with the Medici palle, often used as a device by supporters of the family, and other allusions to Alessandro, but lacks iconic emblems used by the family.

Cummings writes, “…There is always the possibility of loss. The Medici were exiled from Florence in 1527, at the time of the sack of Rome, and although city officials managed to avoid a repetition of the wanton plundering of the Medici palace that had occurred on the occasion of their earlier exile in 1494, there were nonetheless proceedings against some of the members of the family who remained in the city (and their adherents), and some confiscation of property. Personal effects such as music manuscripts may have been among the items lost or confiscated after 1527, and in order to assess how reasonable such a speculation is, one has only to recall the example of an important musical document of the transitional period: the Cortona/Paris partbooks, clearly a Medici manuscript, whose bass partbook is lost and whose superius, altus, and tenor books are now divided between two European cities hundreds of miles apart.” The Maecenas and the Madrigalist, 160-61.

Only Alessandro and Ippolito were in Florence in May of 1527; Clement was in Rome, and presumably his music books would have been with him. Medici volumes confiscated in 1494 were bought back by Leo after the 1512 Medici restoration, and there is no reason to believe that would not have happened again in 1530, when the family returned to Florence once more (and music manuscripts containing madrigals would have been current and still desirable only three years later). As to the dispersal of the Paris/Cortona partbooks, 75% of the set survives, a much higher survival rate than we have for some early prints, which were produced in greater volume.
When the greater Medici circle is considered, we have a substantial amount of repertory. Many of these sources can be conclusively tied to members of the Medici orbit, and speak to the popularity of the madrigal in Medicean Florence. By insisting on Medici centrality to the early madrigal we do a disservice to other, potentially more active, patrons. In broadening the search, though, we risk adding insult to injury: the Medici receive undue credit and others, whose claims may be stronger, lose their importance as they are subsumed into the greater trope of “Medici patronage.”

Among the wider group of Medici friends and partisans one family stands out immediately for their patronage of music; the Strozzi. They were closely tied to the Medici; they had great wealth; there were family members and factors in major centers to attend to banking and cultural interests; and a number of family members had documented interests in the arts. Filippo (1489-1538) and Lorenzo (1482-1549) were among the most influential Florentines of their day. They were active participants in civic life from their youth, taking part in elaborate Carnival processions in 1506 and 1507; they composed and sang songs at various celebrations. In 1508 Filippo married

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91 Positioning the genre’s inception within a narrow radius is not a stretch. The expansion of the madrigal repertory from small social circles to the wider musically literate public is an outgrowth of the printing industry. As Fenlon-Haar state, “There is no reason to think that printed music circulated widely in Italy before the large-scale publishing firms of Antonio Gardano and Girolamo Scotto were established in the late 1530s, and possibly not until the series of reprints of the work of Arcadelt and Verdelot began in 1540. The crucial element in this development seems to have been the shift to single-impression printing which made possible a new era of prolific and commercially viable music publishing.”

92 Lorenzo’s wife was Lucrezia di Bernardo Rucellai; it was in her father’s garden, the Orti Oricellari, that Florence’s elite gathered in the early sixteenth century.

Clarice de’ Medici, daughter of Piero di Lorenzo. Although marriage into an exiled family initially appeared risky, Filippo’s fortunes rose with the family’s restoration. In addition to family banking interests in France Filippo’s personal and business successes were increased by the elections of Leo X and Clement VII. In 1515, only two years after his elevation, Leo made Filippo Depositor General of the Apostolic Chamber. Over time Filippo’s banking enterprises brought him so much success that his financial empire became the rival of that of Augsburg’s Fugger family.

By 1515 Filippo had embarked on a life-long relationship with Costanzo Festa; the first document which attests to this is a letter sent to Filippo in Florence from one of his agents in Orvieto, which included a canzonetta by Festa. That summer, while in Lyon, Filippo received from the same agent, now in Rome, more of Festa’s “canti” and requests from Festa that Filippo serve as godfather to the composer’s newborn son and increase the amount of a loan. The composer, for his part, promised more music, and invited Filippo to send texts of his own for setting. On two more occasions that summer music by Festa was forwarded to Filippo. The patron-client bond between banker and composer continued, and is documented by letters mentioning Festa from 1531 and 1536. In September and October of 1536 Festa himself wrote to Filippo, sending music and requesting assistance in finding a printer for his hymns, Magnificats, and counterpoints.

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94 Filippo and Clarice’s brother Lorenzo became fast friends; Filippo wrote to his own brother Lorenzo that he was second only to Lorenzo de’ Medici in esteem and importance in Florence, where he was Lorenzo’s favorite. See Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi*, 79.

95 Bullard, *Filippo Strozzi*, 1.

on a “basse.”

Festa was not the only madrigalist in contact with Filippo in the 1530s; through Neri Capponi, Filippo received a canzona by Francesco Layolle, a Florentine who relocated to Lyon and worked in some capacity with the printer Jacques Moderne.

Lorenzo was also a patron; his account books record payments to Pisano, Corteccia, and Baccio degli Organi (also identified by the more formal “Bartolomeo Organista”). He paid for the copying of music manuscripts as well, although exactly which manuscripts has not been determined. Lorenzo’s poetry was used with some frequency by madrigalists active in Florence. Filippo and Lorenzo’s habits of patronage continued to the next generation; Lorenzo’s son Giovan Battista, to whom I will return in a subsequent chapter, was also a poet whose texts were set by madrigalists, and Arcadelt was a client of Filippo’s son Ruberto.

I am by no means the first to point out Strozzi centrality to the early madrigal, but feel compelled to review the arguments here. Cummings is at pains to refute the assumption that the Strozzi were more important to the madrigal’s genesis than the Medici but, in the end, I believe he fails here as well; the evidence he musters in support of Medici centrality supports the Strozzi hypothesis equally well. Cummings sees

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98 As was typical of upper-class Florentines, the Strozzi and Capponi families were related by marriage; in Filippo’s generation there were two marriages, that of Filippo and Lorenzo’s sister Caterina to Neri di Gino Capponi, and that of their older half-sister Alessandra to Neri’s brother Niccolò. See Bullard, “Filippo Strozzi,” x and 4.

99 See Fenlon-Haar, 25.

100 See Fenlon-Haar, 77-78.
social groups such as the Compania del Cazzuola as breeding grounds for artistic expression, and has carefully examined the place of music and theatre in the gatherings of this and other companies. Doing so places members of the Medici family in a central location, as members of these companies, but the Strozzi were members as well. The families were of similar social standing (the Strozzi were, in fact, wealthier), moved in the same circles, and engaged in the same civic celebrations. The only thing that separates them, in the end, is the solid proof of Strozzi patronage of the madrigal and madrigalists, as opposed to a lack of such evidence for the Medici before Alessandro’s elevation to the position of Duke of Florence.

None of this is meant to deny an interest in music on the part of Clement VII; documentation of his musical interests extends to his personal abilities and possible training as a musician. Based on a reference in the horoscope of the keyboard player Vincenzo da Modena, H. Colin Slim has suggested that Clement might have studied the organ, although this is at best a supposition. One contemporary witness alluded to papal participation in the 1530 coronation of Emperor Charles V, stating that “after the Secret was finished, the pope said the Preface, and very well, having a good voice and being a perfect musician.” This is a somewhat curious reference, as the Preface is not

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101 The Maecenas and the Madrigalist, 6.

102 I leave aside here what I see as Cummings’s misplaced emphasis on genres such as the canti carnascialeschi as forerunners of the madrigal; he strongly resists the theory of the madrigal’s descent from the chanson, so focuses rigidly on contemporary vernacular song types.


sung. The tantalizing allusion to him as a “perfect musician” might be mere flattery, or might speak to his genuine interest and/or education in the art of music.

As to Clement’s patronage as cardinal and pope, a number of witnesses survive. While still a cardinal he served as Leo’s musical agent, corresponding with their cousin Lorenzo regarding the hiring of instrumentalists to serve the city of Florence. Cardinal Giulio might have been involved in the organization of the 1513 Carnival celebrations in Florence, taking part with his cousin Giuliano in the latter’s Compagnia del Diamante. This activity is equivocal, speaking as it does as much to the Cardinal’s interest in the family per se as to his interest in music. Some references concerning musical activities during Clement’s papacy are quite general, informing us merely that lutenists played for the pope, while others go so far as to specify that the esteemed lutenist Francesco da Milano performed at Clement’s Villa Medici for Isabella d’Este.


One musical association in particular about which I long to know more is that of Clement and Philippe Verdelot; the composer’s biography is a matter of piecework, and some of those pieces involve Clement. The first secure reference to Verdelot’s time in Italy appears in a letter from the papal singer Niccolò de Pictis to Giulio de’ Medici. De Pictis was a Florentine who joined the chapel during the reign of Julius II. Only four months after Leo’s ascension he created for de Pictis the lifetime position of Prior of the Papal Chapel, a post that included responsibility for maintaining the chapel books and assuring decorum among the singers during the Divine Office (with the authority to impose fines should they disobey).

It was in his capacity as Prior that, on 25 May 1521, de Pictis wrote to Cardinal Giulio regarding Verdelot. De Pictis refers to a letter of “several days ago,” also about Verdelot, which is lost. At the time of the surviving document Verdelot was in Florence, at de Pictis’s recommendation, ready to take up employment at an “honest salary” with the Cardinal. The fact that de Pictis considered “Verdollotto” deserving of a good salary suggests that he was already a musician of some standing.


111 The position offered the considerable increase in salary of four ducats per month. See Frey, “Klemens VII. und der Prior der päpstlichen Kapelle Nicholo de Pitti,” 176-77.

112 This document places Verdelot in the city almost two full years before his first mention as maestro di cappella at the Baptistry, and links him with not only the Medici family but, more specifically, Giulio de’ Medici. See Sherr, “Verdelot in Florence, Coppini in Rome, and the Singer ‘La Fiore.’ ” The letter appears in translation on 404, and is transcribed on 409. The most recent summary of Verdelot’s known biography is that of Alexandra Amati-Camperi, “A Fresh Look at the Life of Verdelot, Maestro di Cappella at the Duomo of Florence,” in Atti del VII Centenario del Duomo di Firenze, vol III, “’Cantate Domino,’ Musica nei Secoli per il Duomo di Firenze,” ed. Timothy Verdon and Annalisa Innocenti ([Florence]: Edizioni Firenze, 2001), 89-105.
Most of Verdelot’s early life is uncertain. He was surely born in the village of Les Loges near Montmirail (roughly 60 miles northeast of Paris, in the district of Champagne-Ardenne). Some sources attribute works by him to Philippe Deslouges, now understood as a toponymic; the village of Les Loges survives to this day, and is in the parish of Verdelot. When he was born, where he was trained, and where he served while in northern Europe are more vexed questions.

No information on Verdelot’s early compositions or training has yet come to light, nor do we know why or when he came to Italy. The first reference to the composer on the peninsula comes from Giorgio Vasari, in his life of the Venetian painter Sebastiano del Piombo. Vasari writes that, in 1511, before the painter left Venice for Rome, he painted a portrait of the French musician Verdelot, then maestro at St. Mark’s, with his fellow singer Uberto. Vasari adds that Verdelot took the portrait to Florence when he went there as maestro di cappella at the Baptistry. At the time of Vasari’s writing the portrait was owned by the sculptor Francesco Sangallo (son of Giuliano Sangallo, architect of Poggio a Caiano, and cousin of Antonio Sangallo the Younger). This degree of specificity has of course proven a treasure hunt impossible to resist, and

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113 The earliest sources containing secure works are the 1522 manuscript Padua A17, which transmits two anonymous motets, and the 1523 Roman print Fior de motetti e canzoni novi, which contains one motet with ascription. See Slim, A Gift of Madrigals and Motets, I: 48-49.


115 For a collection of literary references to Verdelot, and their utility in approximating a date of birth, see Slim, A Gift of Madrigals and Motets, I: 42-45.

116 In Doni’s I Marmi Verdelot speaks of his inseparable companion “Bruett.” It has been suggested that “Bruett” might be Hubert Naich, but that seems doubtful. It is likelier that he is the “Bruet” or “Urbech” named in the Libri di Cassa of the Opera of Santa Maria del Fiore on 1 July 1523 and 28 June 1527. See H. Colin Slim and Stefano la Via, “Verdelot [Deslouges], Philippe, New Grove, 26: 427.
several portraits have been put forward as the one in question. As to the other information put forward by Vasari it, too, has been much studied. There are no records for Verdelot as maestro or even a singer at St. Mark’s in the early 1500s, a period for which complete records survive. It is of course possible that Verdelot served at another Venetian church and Vasari was misinformed; his information about the composer’s employment in Florence is entirely accurate.

Verdelot’s stay in Florence, from 1521 until 1527, as a singer at the Duomo and Baptistery, is the only securely datable period of his life. Pay records for the Baptistery from 1521-23 are lost, but a recently-discovered document demonstrates that he was indeed maestro di cappella there by 1521. The information comes from Carlo Strozzi, a senator and member of the guild that managed the Baptistery who, in three volumes, summarized Guild deliberations from 1517-22. Verdelot’s employment as maestro, the highest position available, supports de Pictis’s high recommendation.

By 25 April 1523 Verdelot was maestro at the Duomo as well. In July of that year he was granted leave from his position at the Baptistery, and in December he and two

117 Slim argues for the identification of a double portrait formerly in Berlin, destroyed in World War II. In a quite thorough discussion of the portrait puzzle E. H. Ramsden argues for a painting in the collection of the Palazzo Pitti, “The Concert,” attributed variously to Titian, Giorgione or del Piombo. While Ramsden’s piece bears reading for the evidence he lays out, I remain unconvinced by his conclusions, which require change of attribution, supposition as to provenance, and rationalization of a third figure not mentioned by Vasari. See A Gift of Madrigals and Motets 46-48, and Plate 30, and E. H. Ramsden, “Come, Take This Lute”: A Quest for Identities in Italian Renaissance Portraiture (Salisbury: Element Books Ltd., 1983), Chapter II, “Concerning the Concert,” 5-75.

Amati-Camperi believes Verdelot went to Florence from Rome, and argues that the portrait was painted in the latter city; this is a change to Vasari’s assertion that Verdelot and del Piombo knew each other in Venice. “A Fresh Look at the Life of Verdelot,” 97-99.

118 Slim, A Gift of Madrigals and Motets, I: 45-46.

119 See Amati-Camperi, “A Fresh Look at the Life of Verdelot,” 90-91. The Florentine new year began on 25 March, so the document’s dating of 1521 means that Verdelot held the position by 24 March 1522 at the very latest.

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colleagues, Cornelio Senolart and Francisco Grisovon, were granted a two-month leave
to travel to Rome and sing at Clement’s coronation. He returned as agreed to his
position in Florence, and remained there until his disappearance from the historical
record. In his time there he was the foremost composer in the city, leader of the two
major chapels, and a productive composer. Though it was Clement to whom he owed his
position in Florence, his large secular repertory shows no links to the Medici pope.

Half a year after Verdelot’s appearance in Florence Leo X died suddenly on 1
December 1521. Cardinal Giulio was seen by many as the most logical of successors,
offering an opportunity for a seamless transition, but his opponents were rallied by
Cardinal Pompeo Colonna. A compromise candidate was put forward in the person of
the elderly Adrian of Utrecht, who was elected on 9 January 1522. His selection in no
way quieted concerns about Imperial domination of the Papacy. If Giulio had been truly
discarded by the French faction as too close to Charles, the selection of the Emperor’s
childhood tutor and mentor, serving at the time of his election as Charles’s regent in
Spain, was no wiser.

120 Matteo Rampollini, Verdelot’s predecessor as maestro, agreed to substitute for him without

121 Two studies of his madrigals are Donald Lee Hersh (= Don Harrán), “Verdelot and the Early
Madrigal,” Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1963, and Alexandra Daniela Amati-Camperi,
“An Italian Genre in the Hands of a Frenchman: Philippe Verdelot as Madrigalist, with Special Emphasis
on the Six-voice Pieces,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1994. For specific emphasis on his music for
Machiavelli’s La Mandragola and Clizia see Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, Music and Theatre from
Poliziano to Monteverdi, trans. Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 131–51, and
Slim, A Gift of Madrigals and Motets, 92-104.

122 Colonna had several objections to another Medici papacy; he believed Giulio was an
Imperialist, and feared that his papacy, following immediately after that of Leo, would raise the specter of
the papacy as an hereditary office.
Envoys delivered news of Adrian’s election to him in Spain on 24 January. His progress to Italy was slow; he did not arrive in Rome until 29 August, when he presented himself to the Cardinals in St. Paul fuori le mura rather than St. Peter’s. His coronation took place two days later. His death took place in little more than a year, on 14 September 1523, leaving the throne of Saint Peter once again vacant.\(^{123}\)

Adrian’s health had begun to fail in the summer and, in anticipation of his death, Charles V had instructed his Ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Sessa, to do what he could to ensure election of Giulio de’ Medici as the next pope.\(^{124}\) After a period of mourning for Adrian the cardinals went into conclave on 1 October, and it was taken as an auspicious omen that Giulio’s cell in the Sistine Chapel was below Perugino’s fresco of Christ giving the keys to St. Peter.\(^{125}\) Giulio’s closest rival for the papacy was another Italian, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, but he was unable to claim the number of votes necessary for election. Cardinal Colonna, Giulio’s opponent from the 1521 conclave, was

\(^{123}\) Adrian was an extremely unpopular pope, the subject of quite vicious pasquinades at the hands of Roman humanists. One predating his arrival in Italy alleged that as a child he had inadvertently been castrated rather than circumcised, and a later one attacked his parsimony with the allegation that he did not spend money so that, after death, he might rest underground with precious metals. See Kenneth Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 21.


\(^{125}\) For the 1431 and 1447 conclaves cardinals were sequestered at the convent of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. From 1455 on, they were housed in the Vatican and individual cells were created to provide a modicum of privacy. A surviving description from the 1513 conclave evokes a hospital ward, with cubicles opening off a central aisle and walls created from fabric hangings. The Sistine Chapel was at times large enough to hold all the cells but, in some conclaves, accommodations had to be constructed in other areas of the palace as well. Though assignment of the cells was ostensibly by lottery, the Master of Ceremonies at times manipulated placement to position favored cardinals in the cells considered most auspicious. These were, in descending order of propitiousness: beneath Perugino’s *Donation of the Keys*; on the opposite wall, beneath Signorelli’s scene of Moses handing the golden rod to Joshua; and the spot nearest that on which the papal throne normally stood. In 1503 Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was said to have occupied the cell below Perugino’s Christ and St. Peter, as would also be said of Cardinal Farnese in the 1534 conclave. Giovanni de’ Medici had not been in that cell for the 1513 conclave; he was unwell, so was assigned a cell near the sacristy “for medical or other relief.” See D. S. Chambers, “Papal Conclaves and Prophetic Mystery in the Sistine Chapel,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), 322-26, esp. 325.
appeased with the promise of property and offices, and threw those votes under his control to Giulio.

On 17 November 1523 Giulio de’ Medici was elected pope, and took the name Clement VII. Charles V’s intervention in the election did not go unnoticed: Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga wrote to Isabella d’Este from Rome on 9 January 1522 that “one might almost say that the Emperor is now Pope, and the Pope Emperor.” This inauspicious beginning carries with it the low expectations one might expect from a powerful leader’s lackey, not a pope expected to minister to a continent struggling with religious and political wars.

Expectations for Clement’s role as a patron, on the other hand, were high. In his life of Raphael’s student Giulio Romano, Giorgio Vasari writes with joy of Clement’s election, following as it did that of Adrian, “who cared nothing for painting, sculpture, or anything fine.” Commissions had come to a halt, and the great artists “came near dying of hunger,” saved only by Clement:

There are several theories put forward as to his choice of name: at the time of his election he was titular cardinal-priest of San Clemente, the feast of St. Clement was approaching, and he wished to show clemency to his enemies.


In many ways Clement was sure to suffer by comparison with his immediate predecessors. Julius II had been a powerful personality and ambitious military leader, and Leo X a gregarious man with great personal charm whose spending habits endeared him to many. Both these popes had engaged in costly wars and building projects, expenses which left the papal treasury saddled with considerable debts. Leopold Ranke, The History of the Popes, their Church and State, and Especially their Conflicts with Protestantism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, trans. E. Foster (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1851), I: 24, quotes a report to the Venetian senate by Aluize Gradenigo who wrote, in May 1523, “Leo had left the papal treasury so completely exhausted, that it was found needful to employ for his obsequies the wax candles that had been provided for those of the cardinal St. Giorgio, who had died a short time before him.” In Judith Hook’s view, the wretched state of the papal finances was at the heart of much of Clement’s indecision: “The vacillation for which contemporaries blamed Clement VII was in the main caused by a constant financial problem, hand-to-mouth expedients, and a complete failure to achieve a permanent solution to the papacy’s economic difficulties.” She cites in support of this point Marco Foscari’s assertion, transmitted by Sanuto, that Leo was said to have spent the income of three pontificates; his own, Julius II’s, and Clement’s. The Sack of Rome, 1527 (London: MacMillan, 1972), 69-70.
…While the court, nourished on the greatness of Leo, had come to this pass, and the best artists were at their wits’ end, their abilities being no longer valued, Adrian died, by God’s will, and Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici was elected pope as Clement VII. Thus in one day all the arts of design revived with the other talents ….\textsuperscript{129}

The Florence-Rome axis had weakened during Adrian’s papacy, a period in which the Medici cardinal had passed most of his time in Florence. Now that he was pope, near-constant communication between the two cities was again the norm; Verdelot’s presence as a singer at Clement’s coronation demonstrates the new pope’s continued reliance on the musical culture of his home.

Pietro Bembo had been quick to write a letter of congratulation to Clement after his election and, in a subsequent letter to the papal secretary Benedetto Accolti, expressed his hope that Clement would be one of the wisest, most honored, and revered popes.\textsuperscript{130} Clement’s papacy was, charitably, not a high-water mark of the office, but nothing at the outset of his reign could have suggested just how vain Bembo’s hopes would be.\textsuperscript{131} The conciliar urge for reform was omnipresent during Clement’s reign, but it is the question


\textsuperscript{131} The Reformation, accelerated by Leo’s excommunication of Luther in 1520, gained momentum during Clement’s reign, as region after region was lost. The question of the English divorce hung over Clement as well, a vexing issue that would require that one pope go against the ruling of another. Julius II had granted a papal dispensation so that Henry might marry Katherine of Aragon, widow of his older brother Arthur, in 1509. In 1527 Henry began to fear Katherine would be unable to produce a male heir, so sought the dissolution of his marriage. When Clement refused Henry a divorce or annulment the king ordered the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, to annul his marriage, precipitating the 1534 breach with Rome.
of territory that led to the Sack of Rome, the defining event of his papacy. The Sack was a clear case of temporal power riding roughshod over spiritual authority. Its pre-history is a complicated tale of alliances and promises made, then broken, while the event and its aftermath make up a sad tale of confusion, destruction, and rebuilding.

Francis I, claimant to the disputed territories of Milan and Naples, and Charles V, counterclaimant, were both shrewd and powerful and, although Charles would be the ultimate winner, there were moments when Francis seemed as likely to triumph.132 Clement, naïve and vacillating, threw in his lot first with one, then with the other, put too much faith in empty promises, and ended up a prisoner in the Castel Sant’Angelo for seven months, besieged by the troops of the victorious Charles. He eventually succumbed to Charles’s demands and threw his lot in with the Imperialists. As a result of their treaty Charles won the battle he and Francis I had waged for spiritual authority in Europe when Clement crowned him Holy Roman Emperor in 1530.133

Before the rapprochement between pope and Emperor, though, Clement would suffer a series of indignities and alienate Rome’s citizens.134 In the Fall of 1526 the

132 Both Francis I and Charles V sought papal support for their causes but, in December 1524, concerned that Charles’s military successes in Italy would make him too powerful, Clement allied himself with Francis I, Venice, and Florence, in a secret alliance known as the Italian League. Charles’s revenge came swiftly when the French army was defeated at the Battle of Pavia in February 1525 and Francis was taken prisoner.

133 This was Charles’s second coronation. He and Francis both sought election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519, following the death of Charles’s grandfather Maximilian. Charles promised the seven electors large sums of money, and won a unanimous vote on 28 June 1519. His official coronation took place where that of his ancient namesake had, Aachen, on 23 October 1520. After the Sack his fealty to the Catholic Church had come into question. Public reaffirmation of his title, along with a display of accord between pope and emperor, was a cunning political gambit.

134 Clement became unpopular with the Roman citizenry largely on economic grounds. During his reign, as in Leo’s, much papal business was dominated by Florentines, most importantly the banking system and the papal alum mines at Tolfa, removing funds from the Roman economy. Clement’s straitened
Roman Imperialist Pompeo Colonna and his troops marched on Rome, hoping to drive out the pope.\textsuperscript{135} In what amounted to a rehearsal for events eight months in the future, Clement took refuge in the Castel Sant’Angelo as much of the city was looted, including the Vatican.\textsuperscript{136} A truce was arrived at within a few days of the raid and Colonna, though forgiven, withdrew with his troops, initiating a four-month peace between papal and Imperial forces. The peaceful terms of their treaty reflected recognition on the part of the Imperialists that they had miscalculated, as public opinion turned against them. The Colonna claimed to have acted on Imperial orders to attack the city, which offended the nascent sense of Italianità and galvanized Roman opinion in favor of Clement.\textsuperscript{137}

circumstances forced him to raise taxes, at a time when war was already disrupting revenues from trade and tourism. Papal employees saw salary cuts and, in some periods, no pay at all.

\textsuperscript{135} Rome’s two leading baronial families were the Orsini and the Colonna, which had taken opposite sides in the Medieval Guelph and Ghibelline conflicts. Although the Germanic origins of the terms were irrelevant in sixteenth-century Italy, the Orsini continued the Guelph doctrine of papal authority over Imperial, while the Colonna, in the Ghibelline tradition, advocated the supremacy of Imperial power. Florence, with her pro-French, hence anti-imperial, leanings, fell in naturally enough with the Orsini. The Medici-Orsini relationship was solidified in 1469 when Lorenzo “il Magnifico” and Clarice Orsini were wed, and reaffirmed when their son Piero married Alfonsina Orsini. Intermarriages continued into the sixteenth century with the marriage of Cosimo I’s daughter Isabella to Paolo Giordano Orsini in 1558, at whose hand she is thought to have died in 1576. Isabella was the dedicatee of Stefano Rosetti’s \textit{Primo libro de marigali a sei}, 1566. On Isabella’s musical interests see Donna G. Cardamone, “Isabella Medici-Orsini: A Portrait of Self-Affirmation,” in \textit{Gender, Sexuality, and Early Music}, ed. Todd M. Borgerding (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1-25, and James Haar, “From ‘Cantimbanco’ to Court: The Musical Fortunes of Ariosto in Florentine Society,” in \textit{L’arme e gli amori. Ariosto, Tasso and Guarini in Late Renaissance Florence}, ed. Massimiliano Rossi and Fiorella Giofreddi Superbi (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004), II: 179-97.

\textsuperscript{136} Girolamo Negri, Cardinal Cornaro’s secretary, wrote on 20 September 1526 that “the papal palace was almost completely stripped even to the bedroom and wardrobe of the Pope. The great and the private sacristy of St. Peter’s, that of the palace, the apartments of prelates and members of the household, even the horse-stalls were emptied.” Quoted in Pastor, \textit{History of the Popes}, IX: 332-33.

\textsuperscript{137} The Italian Wars are seen as the impetus for a fragile sense of peninsular unity within Italy’s mosaic of city-states and principalities. This burgeoning idea of \textit{italianità} resides in the recognition of a shared linguistic and literary tradition and descent from the grandeur of Rome, in opposition to rigid regional identification. Petrarch, Boiardo, Francesco Molza, and Ariosto wrote of “Italia,” typically as a victim of foreign aggression. Their use of the corporate “Italia” is read as a signal of a type of nationalism \textit{in nuce}. Most significant for this idea is Machiavelli’s exhortation to Lorenzo di Piero de’ Medici, urging him to free Italy from foreign invaders. See Vincent Ilardi, “‘Italianità’ Among some Italian Intellectuals in the Early Sixteenth Century,” in \textit{Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and
In November Clement himself broke the treaty and, the following month, Colonna entered into an alliance with Charles de Lannoy, Imperial Viceroy of Naples while, from the north, Georg von Frundsberg and his army of Landsknechts reached Brescia. Late that month they battled the papal forces in Borgoforte, near Mantua. The Imperialists continued to gain momentum as, in the winter of 1526-27, Charles V’s commander Charles, Duke of Bourbon, and Frundsberg joined forces and Imperial troops entered papal Emilia, while Lannoy and Colonna approached papal territories from the west. Rome was their point of convergence, but things were not entirely smooth for the Imperialists. Mercenaries in the north threatened to revolt as their pay was long overdue, and they were far from any city which would yield booty.

Two significant events occurred in March: Frundsberg died of an apoplexy while trying to calm his riotous troops, leaving Bourbon in command of Spanish-German troops eager to loot Rome, and a fearful Clement, without promised French aid, left the anti-Imperial League and entered a truce with Lannoy. He demobilized many of his troops and paid out a first installment of 60,000 ducats, which Lannoy promptly sent north to Bourbon with instructions to retreat. Ignoring Lannoy, Spanish troops and Landsknechte continued south. Clement, realizing that the truce had failed, rejoined the


138 It was in this battle that Giovanni delle Bande Nere de’ Medici, leader of the papal troops, was fatally wounded and died five days later on 30 November 1526. He was a member of a cadet branch of the family, descendants of the younger brother of Cosimo “il vecchio.” Giovanni led a skilled group of about 2,000 mercenaries, the “Black Band,’’ whose name came from the four black stripes on their armor, first applied in mourning for Leo X. Giovanni’s death did not mark the end of his line; eleven years later his son Cosimo became Duke of Florence.

139 There is disagreement in the sources as to whether or not Lannoy expected Bourbon to ignore his orders, and whether or not either of them intended to honor this truce. As outrage over the Sack grew the Emperor and Lannoy painted Bourbon as a renegade leader who had attacked the papal city. As Bourbon was conveniently dead, he was unable to defend himself against their accusations.
League on 25 April. His gesture was too little, too late; by 5 May Bourbon’s troops were
camped just outside the city walls on the Janiculum. Constable Bourbon, following
protocol, sent a formal request for the surrender of Rome and offered the opportunity to
pay a substantial ransom for withdrawal of the troops, but his offer was rightly
understood as an empty gesture.

The attack began early on the hazy morning of Monday, 6 May, and was decided
within a few hours. Bourbon was killed early in the battle by an unknown defender of the
city.\(^{140}\) Although there was rejoicing at the news of his death, it was in all probability the
catastrophic event that assured the city’s pillage, as his leaderless troops had no one to
stay their violence.\(^{141}\)

Clement was at prayer in the Vatican when Rome’s walls were breached. He fled
along the elevated passage to the heavily fortified Castel Sant’Angelo, where he was
besieged with cardinals, members of the papal court, and those Roman citizens who
could gain entry; Luigi Guicciardini states he was joined by thirteen cardinals and as
many as three thousand others, one of whom was Benvenuto Cellini.\(^{142}\) Outside the

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\(^{140}\) Benvenuto Cellini implicated himself as the killer of Constable Bourbon. Going with two
others to observe Bourbon’s army at the city walls, Cellini rushed into action: “Directing my arquebuse
where I saw the thickest and most serried troop of fighting men, I aimed exactly at one whom I remarked to
be higher than the rest: the fog prevented me from being certain whether he was on horseback or on foot.”
Cellini continues, writing that after he and his friends had fired two rounds, he “crept cautiously up to the
wall, and observing among the enemy a most extraordinary confusion, I discovered afterwards that one of
our shots had killed the Constable of Bourbon; and from what I subsequently learned, he was the man
whom I had first noticed above the heads of the rest.” At a later date Cellini claims also to have injured the
Prince of Orange, but not seriously \textit{The Life of Benvenuto Cellini}, trans. John Addington Symonds (New

\(^{141}\) The Landesknechts, who would prove to be some of the most violent of the invaders, had been
leaderless since Frundsberg’s death two months before. Whether even their commanders could, or would,
have stopped them is another question.

\(^{142}\) Guicciardini, \textit{The Sack of Rome}, 140.
fortress, meanwhile, the victors swarmed through the city, raping, torturing, pillaging, and ransoming. Nothing, and no one, was spared. Private homes, monasteries and convents were looted, churches were vandalized. Portions of the Vatican were burned, and much of the remainder was gutted; the Basilica of St. Peter’s was subjected to especial degradation when the invaders pressed it into service as the stable for the imperial cavalry.

I have found no mention at all of musicians among the denizens of the Castel Sant’Angelo during the siege, but there may indeed have been some; singers were members of the papal family and, if in the Vatican Palace at the time of the attack, would surely have sought refuge. During the months spent in the fortress religious observances must have taken place. Members of the curia, many of whom were clerics, would have known much of the Proper cycle and holy offices, but the presence of trained musicians would have made liturgical observances easier.

As the Sack began Cellini was admitted to the Castel Sant’Angelo, where he took part in the artillery battle to defend the fortress. Here again Cellini calls his account into question with such brash statements as “Let it suffice that it was I who saved the castle that morning, and brought the other bombardiers back to their duty.” The Life of Benvenuto Cellini, 119.

Hook writes that “whenever there was the remotest possibility of gain, ransoms were placed on every individual aged three years or more. In every case they were extremely high. Five thousand ducats seems to have been the normal market rate for a high-placed ecclesiastic, but more was extorted whenever it could be obtained.” The Sack of Rome, 1527, 175.

During this time the League army was slowly making its way south, fractious and distracted by personal crusades. By the time they reached Isola Farnese, nine miles outside Rome, on 22 May the Imperialists had fortified their positions and Rome seemed impregnable. After plague broke out in the League camp, the army began a retreat to Viterbo on 1 June. Ludovico Ariosto chastised the League for abandoning Rome: “Here sacrilegious murderers you see,/ And Rome in all her regions desolate./ With rapine, rape and arson equally/ The sacred and profane they violate./ The army of the League, which ought to be/ The Pope’s defender, leaves him to his fate;/ Hearing the Roman people shriek and wail/ And witnessing their sorrows, it turns tail.” Orlando furioso, XXXIII: 55, trans. Barbara Reynolds (Middlesex [England]: Penguin Books Ltd., 1977), 2: 292.
The death toll within Rome from Sack-related causes has been estimated at perhaps ten thousand citizens, while as many are thought to have fled.\textsuperscript{145} The losses to business and food stores were great as plague and famine followed the armies, further ravaging the city.\textsuperscript{146} This outbreak of plague was perhaps the most virulent since the Black Death of the Fourteenth Century, and rapidly spread south from its origin in Lombardy. Rome, already weak, was easy prey for the disease. The armies of both sides were hard hit, and some saw a gesture of retribution in the fact that few of the men who sacked Rome survived to tell the tale.\textsuperscript{147} The cultural losses were great as well: in the Spring of 1527 the court Clement had tried to create dissolved about him. According to Vasari, “Many artists were killed and their works destroyed and scattered.”\textsuperscript{148} The Sack was devastating to Roman culture as humanists, curialists, artists, and anyone else who could fled the city.

\textsuperscript{145} Peter Partner managed to find, in the Sack, an unexpected silver lining: “In the history of art and architecture the Sack of Rome is important not as a catastrophe but as the motive for a dispersion which propagated in Italy the ‘Roman’ style of the community of artists and architects which had grown up there in the past decade. Polidoro da Caravaggio, the decorator of the façades of the Roman palaces, left Rome for ever; Giovann Battista Rosso and the architect Baldassare Peruzzi were tortured before they escaped; Giulio Romano and Jacopo Sansovino, also propagators of the Mannerist style, took their talents to other princely courts. Viewed in this light, the Sack can be judged to have been as much a cultural bonus for Italy as a cultural disaster for Rome.” Renaissance Rome, 33. In this narrative what might have been a negative, the destruction of a school, becomes instead a more positive thing, its dissemination to other centers. Some artists returned to Rome, and new ones came too; the massive building campaigns of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century allowed them to create a city far more grand than that which had existed before the Sack.

\textsuperscript{146} Stinger, The Renaissance in Rome, 322-23.

\textsuperscript{147} Cecil Roth, The Last Florentine Republic (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968, a reissue of the 1925 ed.), 74.

\textsuperscript{148} Vasari, “Perino del Vaga,” 3: 131. Curiously, Vasari wrote this in his life of an artist who did not flee, but remained in the city: “After running from place to place with his wife and little girl, Perino was most unfortunately taken prisoner and compelled to pay a ransom, a thing sufficient to unseat his reason. After the sack he was so depressed, being unable to shake off his fear, that he put aside all matters of art, though he painted gauze cloths and other fancies for Spanish soldiers, and when he had recovered his balance he lived in poverty like the others.”
News of Rome’s fall arrived in Florence on 11 May 1527 and by the following day was known throughout the city, where many rejoiced. After years of heavy taxation and rule in the pope’s name by autocratic Cardinals and arrogant, illegitimate offspring of the family, anti-Medici sentiment was strong. Republican fervor swept through Florence and, in a bloodless revolt, the Medici were once again exiled and the Signoria in power.\textsuperscript{149}

Negotiations between Clement and the Imperialists had begun immediately after the conquerors entered the city. On 7 June the pope capitulated to imperial demands and began negotiating for funds to pay his own ransom and that of his companions, but the sums demanded were prohibitive. Unable to collect the papal ransom and faced with starvation and plague, Imperial troops left the city over the course of the summer, leaving only one garrison behind to guard the Castel Sant’Angelo. After marauding, raping, burning and looting their way through the surrounding countryside, some of them began to return in October hoping money would at last be forthcoming from the papal ransom. Clement finally made a payment on the desired ransom and, on 6 December, the Spanish again left the Castel Sant’Angelo.

\textsuperscript{149} Additional resentment surely stemmed from the fact that, with their elevation to the papacy, Medici interests became not communal, but international, so Florentine interests were not as well-represented as the city had hoped. Contemporary authors wrote of the influx of Florentines into Rome after Leo’s election, and their unfair economic advantages, but that was in fact propaganda; with the exception of a favored few, among them members of the Medici parentado, Florentines as a class were not singled out for patronage under the Medici popes. See Melissa Meriam Bullard, “‘Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes’ in the Early Sixteenth Century,” \textit{The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies} 6 (1976), 51-71.
On the night of 7 December Clement escaped; Imperial officers were complicit in his flight, fearing for his safety at the hands of their soldiers. Luigi Gonzaga and a military force met him outside the city, and by the following day he was safe in Orvieto residing in the drafty and decaying Episcopal palace. English ambassadors, seeking annulment of Henry’s first marriage, found him there in March and reported on the sorry state of the papal court. “The furniture of the Papal bedchamber, the envoys supposed, could not have cost twenty nobles. They describe with astonishment how they were led through three apartments, bare of furniture, in which the hangings were falling from the walls.”

As decrepit as the papal court appeared, and surely was, the business of the papacy could not be ignored. Clement had arrived in Orvieto accompanied by only a few cardinals, and he was quick to summon more to him. The first papal bull, promulgated 18 December 1527, revoked many privileges granted during the pope’s imprisonment as part of his campaign to raise money.

Clement’s imprisonment had galvanized his allies and, finally, they again battled the imperial army. By February French troops had reached the kingdom of Naples and taken the Abruzzi and Apulia. The successful advancing army raised fears about Spanish

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150 Indeed, throughout this period no efforts were made to capture the Pope. Had they captured him, they would have been faced with the politically dangerous question of just what to do with him, so adopted instead a policy of siege.

151 Pastor writes that on 20 December 1527 Clement was accompanied by only four cardinals; del Monte, Pucci, Accolti, and Spinola; seven more were summoned by early January. *History of the Popes* X: 2, nn. 4 and 5, and 3.

152 It was at this stage that Alfonso d’Este finally joined the League. The two dynastic rewards he received in exchange were the elevation of his son Ippolito to the cardinalate (as Ippolito II d’Este), and Francis I’s sister-in-law Renée, daughter of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, as bride for his eldest son, Ercole. Both these events increased Este stature, although Ippolito never made the supreme ascent to the papacy that would have guaranteed the family possession of Ferrara.
control of Naples and, paying out two months’ back pay, commanders led the remaining imperial forces out of Rome, after an eight-month occupation.

Romans now actively sought the pope’s return, as a symbol that the city had been restored. A delegation from the city attended Clement in March and invited him to return. Uncertainty about the outcome of the Neapolitan campaign kept him away but, by late April, many of the bureaucrats and several cardinals had reestablished the Curia in Rome.

On 19 April 1528 Marino Sanuto reported that Clement had his singers and others with him in Orvieto and was reconstituting his court in preparation for a hoped-for move to a fortress in Viterbo, which took place in early June. Reconstitution of the papal chapel began in earnest in August, when Clement sent the singer Jean Conseil to France on a recruitment mission. Conseil had trained as a boy at the French royal chapel and was one of the three young singers sent to Italy with Carpentras by Louis XII to honor Leo’s election. Now it was he who went north seeking new singers from French and Flemish institutions. Several reports on Conseil’s efforts survive, in letters sent by the Papal Legate to France, Clement’s cousin Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, to his father, the Florentine banker Jacopo.

One byproduct of the Sack is, naturally enough, the destruction of large swathes of papal records. Little, or scattered, information survives from the second and third

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154 F. X. Haberl wrote on these letters; see “Die römische ‘schola cantorum’ und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts,” in Bausteine für Musikgeschichte III: 71-75. They have been discussed most recently by Anthony Cummings, “Three Gigli,” 53-61, in which he details Clement’s particular interest in boy singers.
decades of the sixteenth century, so membership in the chapel must be reconstructed in
the absence of pay records, relying on a patchwork of beneficial documents,
supplications, and occasional documents.\textsuperscript{155} Two pre-Sack personnel lists survive in the
Sistine archives, one from December of 1526, the other undated.\textsuperscript{156} These documents, a
complement to the \textit{mandati}, are disbursement lists indicating payment made to singers
and in many instances signed by the singer, with an indication that he was in receipt of
his own pay or that of another singer. The dated list offers us a glimpse into the papal
chapel five months before the Sack; the second document contains the names of two
additional singers (Guillermus Gomont and Johannes Francisco Felicis), but no absences
from the 1526 list. It is for this reason that it is assumed to be the later of the two.\textsuperscript{157}
(See Table 1.4)

\textsuperscript{155} The \textit{mandati camerali}, monthly records of payments, are few and far between for the early
sixteenth century. A gap from 1494-1501, during the reign of Alexander VI, is followed by what can only
be described as a gaping hole -- the absence of records for Leo’s papacy, Adrian’s, and the early years of
Clement’s.

\textsuperscript{156} The undated list contains twenty-three names, only one singer away from the full complement
of twenty-four.

\textsuperscript{157} Both documents are bound into Cappella Sistina MS 681, fols. 75 and 76. For discussion and
reproduction of the lists see Sherr, “New Archival Data Concerning the Chapel of Clement VII,” 472-78.
The undated list must have been written shortly before the Sack, based on the presence of two names on the
list, that of the prior Niccolo de Pictis, who left Rome shortly after the Sack, and Antonio Scalino (not a
singer) who died 19 December 1528. Unlike many chapel documents these lists do not give the names of
the singers in order of seniority, nor are they arranged by nation. It was not at all unusual for singers to
serve in the chapel for only a year, so it be must remembered that additional men may have moved through
the institution.

Clement’s ideal chapel contained seven sopranos, seven contraltos, four tenors, and six basses.
Table 1.4: Singers in the Papal Chapel during Clement’s Reign

A) Singers in the Chapel at the time of Clement’s Election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tomasso Fazanis (Jazanis, Jacopi)</td>
<td>2/1502 - d. after 11/1530?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Palomares</td>
<td>10/1503 - after 12/1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Scribano (Scrivano, Scibanus, Escribano)</td>
<td>10/1503 - 8/1539 (d. 10/1557)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicoló de Pictis (dei Pitti)</td>
<td>4/1507 - d. by 7/1529</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro Perez de Rezola</td>
<td>1/1510 - after 12/1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Conseil ¥</td>
<td>5/1514 - d. 1/1535</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Bonnevin (Beausseron)</td>
<td>6/1514 - d. 5/1542</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardo Pisano (de Paulis, Paulo)</td>
<td>8/1514 - d. 1/1548</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre de Vien</td>
<td>8/1514 - 12/1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent Missonne</td>
<td>8/1515 - after 3/1521, ?4/1525 - 75/1527 (d. 1550)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillaume Gomont</td>
<td>9/1517 - after 1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costanzo Festa</td>
<td>11/1517 - d. 4/1545</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Francesco Felici (Felicis)</td>
<td>1518 -12/1556 [1/1557 - d. 1561]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eustache de Monteregali</td>
<td>~4/1519-1520, 1525 - after 12/1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blas Nuñez</td>
<td>6/1563 [7/1563 - d. 11/1563]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio de Ribera</td>
<td>4/1520 - after 12/1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Singers entering or returning to the Chapel during Clement’s Pontificate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singer</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Death</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jean Lourdel</td>
<td>1525 – 1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincentius de Ferraris</td>
<td>1525-1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardo Salinas</td>
<td>? 1525-26 – after 12/1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannes Hieronimus de Confectus</td>
<td>? 1525-26 – after 12/1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Baptista de Fedrigis</td>
<td>? 1525-26 – after 12/1526</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoine Barbet</td>
<td>?1525-26- d. before 4/28/1528</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Corniere (Jacquinot)</td>
<td>?1525-26- 7/1532 (d. Cambrai, 8/30/1532)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Symmardo</td>
<td>?1525-26 – d. 1/1535</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Sanchez de Tineo</td>
<td>?1525-26 - 12/1539, 8/1542 - 3/1558 (d. by 10/1572)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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159 Lourdel was employed by Ippolito d’Este from 1516-20.

160 Sherr includes him in the list of papal singers based on the presence of his name on a 1525-26 supplication list, but he may have been a member of Clement’s musici segreti. The toponymic “de Ferrariis” suggests to me the possibility that he was one of Ippolito d’Este’s musicians. Surviving pay records of the Cardinal’s show three men by that name; Vincenzo da l’Organo (Vincenzo Lusignani), Vincenzo de liuti, and Vincenzo tamburino, Of the three, last to serve Ippolito was Vincenzo tamburino, in 1513. Lewis Lockwood, “Adrian Willaert and Cardinal Ippolito d’Este: New Light on Willaert’s Early Career in Italy, 1515-1521,” 112.

161 Sherr states that Corniere’s name appears in papal mandati from April 1530 until July 1532, but he was at the Cathedral of Cambrai as of 6 May 1532. See “Capsule Singer Bios.”
Vincent Missonne 8/1515 - after 3/1521, 4/1525 - 8/1525
Giacomo Fiorentino 4/1525 - 8/1525
Girolamo Tamagnis 3/1528 - d. 10/1559
Charles d’Argentille (Argentilly) 11/1528 - 12/1555 [1/1556 - d. by 3/1557]
Antoine Souman 1/1529
Pierre Jouault (Brule, Bruele) 8/1514 - 1521, probably 1/1529 - 6/1530
Pierre Vermont 12/1528 - 9/1532 (d. 1558)
Philippe de Fontaines 12/1528 - 1/1534
Jean le Conte 12/1528 - 6/1549
Yvo Barry 12/1528 - 3/1552
Pierre Lambert 12/1528 - d. 8/1563
Girolamo Arduini 7/1529 - 9/1529 (d. after 1543 but before 1550)
Cristoforo de Benedictus (de Urbino) 7/1529 - d. c. 4/1530
Florence de la Haye (Hayois) 7/1529 - d. by 7/1534
Antonio Calasans (Calasanz) 11/1529 - 1573 ... d. 6/1577?
Johannes Driet (de Riet) 4/1530 - 8/1532
Augustinus de Medico 4/1530 - 5/1533
François Chastelain (Castellanus) 5/1530 - 5/1534 (d. 9/1540)
Jacquet (?du Pont) 2/1531 - 3/1532
Jean de Cambrai (Cocu) 3/1532 - d. 11/1535
Genesius Bultheti 11/1532 - d. 7/1555
Petrus Godei (Ispaneo?) 7/1532 - 5/1533
Giovanni Francesco Zonatis (de Padua, Villano, Villanus) * 1/1515 - 1517, 2/1533 - d. 7/1539
Simon Sauvage (Selvaggio, Rustici) 3/1533 - 12/1534 (d. by 3/1565)
Giovanni Battista de Ferrara 10/1533 - d. by 1/1535
Antoine Normant (Normand, Loyal, Mons.r Mon Compère) 3/1534 - d. 10/1557
Franciscus Goes (Ghoust, Zelandus, Ormandus) 5/1534 - d. 11/1539

Legend:
~ = might have served in the Cappella Giulia
* = was in the Mantuan chapel in 1509, but had left for the papal chapel by 1513
… = no records survive
¥ = boy singer sent by Louis XII to Leo
( ) = died outside Rome
[ ] = still a member of the chapel, pensioner (second class list) or only required to perform minimal
number of services due to age or ill health

Clement reentered Rome on the evening of 6 October 1528.  His
immediate concern was the restoration of the city, which gradually took place.

162 Sanchez lost his position in 1540, after striking Ghiselin Danckerts. He was readmitted in
1542, without seniority. This was a significant penalty in an organization as status-conscious as the papal
chapel. See Sherr, “Capsule Singer Bios.”

163 Jouault had entered Leo X’s service from the French Royal Chapel following the death of
Anne of Brittany in 1514. The presumption that he is the same man brought back by Conseil rests in part
on the seniority granted him in the 1529 and 1530 mandati. See Sherr, “Capsule Singer Bios.”

164 Zonatis was a true peripatetic. He was in Ferrara from 1504-1510; in Mantua 1510-14; in
Rome 1515-17; Venice in 1524; and, finally, he returned to the papal chapel in 1533 and remained there
until his death on 22 July 1539. See Sherr, “Capsule Singer Bios.”
The Cardinals were summoned back by a papal encyclical of 14 October, although court-life was limited by poverty, food shortages, and a mood of general seriousness.\textsuperscript{166}

The papal chapel was not limited; Conseil’s recruitment mission must have depended on the likelihood that some singers would not be returning to the chapel, as he went north seeking several singers, not just one.\textsuperscript{167} I am struck, though, by the fact that four of the singers who returned after the Sack had entered the Chapel before Leo’s election; this speaks to the institutional memory of the papal chapel. The new singers recruited by Conseil were Antoine Souman, Pierre Jouault (Brule), Pierre Vermont, Philippe de Fontaines, Yvo Barry, and Pierre Lambert.\textsuperscript{168} All were officially entered into the rolls of papal singers on 24 December 1528, nineteen months after the Sack. Some left the organization after only brief tenures, but this was not at all uncommon and should

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{165} Renewed strife between the Orsini and Colonna had made travel unsafe and delayed Clement’s return. He stayed in Viterbo as the guest of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, first in his fortress and later in his palace, until late September when the papal retinue felt safe enough to travel the final distance. Although no documents attest to this, surely the papal chapel traveled with Clement, preparing for the return to Rome.
\item\textsuperscript{166} Pastor quotes a letter from Clement to Charles, written on 24 October: “We too must rejoice on coming safe to shore, after so great a shipwreck, even if we have lost all things; but our grief for the ruin of Italy, manifest to every eye, still more for the misery of this city and our own misfortune, is immeasurably heightened by the sight of Rome. We are sustained only by the hope that, through your assistance, we may be able to staunch the many wounds of Italy, and that our presence here and that of the Sacred College may avail towards a gradual restoration of the city. For, my beloved son, before our distracted gaze lies a pitiable and mangled corpse, and nothing can mitigate our sorrows, nothing can build anew the city and the Church, save the prospect of that peace and undisturbed repose which depends on your moderation and equity of mind.” \textit{History of the Popes,} X: 30-31.
\item\textsuperscript{167} After the Sack the Cappella Giulia, though, performed only a monophonic repertory; no scribe of polyphonic music was recorded in service to the chapel until the reign of Paul III. See Ducrot, “Histoire de la Cappella Giulia,” 193-94, and Dean, “Scribes of the Papal Chapel,” 160. A document in the Sistine archive states that Clement’s ideal chapel was made up of twenty-four singers; seven sopranos, seven contraltos, four tenors, and six basses. The document has not been dated precisely, and is assigned only to the sixteenth century. See Robert Stevenson, “Cristobal de Morales (ca. 1500-53): A Fourth-Centenary Biography,” \textit{JAMS} VI (1953), 25.
\item\textsuperscript{168} See Bragard, “La vie musicale à la cour du pape Médicis Clément VII (1523-1534),” 58-60.
\end{itemize}
not be interpreted as a response to post-Sack conditions. Charles d’Argentille had been admitted almost a month earlier, on 29 November, and Jean le Conte entered in December. Long-time singers in the chapel who had fled during the Sack returned as well, including Niccolò de Pictis.

As sacred music in Rome saw a revival so, too, did secular, with publication of the first print to use the word “madrigal” in its title, the Madrigali novi de diversi excellentissimi Musici Libro primo de la Serena, of c. 1530. While we should not make too much of the appearance of the word “madrigal,” the print is a significant milestone for my study, marking as it does a sense of generic identity and the publication

169 D’Argentille is a singer about whom there is some speculation. In I marmi Doni identifies a singer “Ciarles” as Verdelot’s companion. It does seem possible, given the date and place of publication, that the Italianate “Carlo” is Charles d’Argentille, who entered the papal chapel in 1527. This theory receives support from the identification of “Carlo d’Argentina” as a singer in the chapel of the Baptistery in Florence in 1526 and 1527; see Frank A. D’Accone, “The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery During the First Half of the 16th Century,” JAMS XXXIV (1971), 22-23. In his dissertation (= Donald Lee Hersch), “Verdelot and the Early Madrigal,” 6, Harrán first drew the link between Ciarles and Charles d’Argentille. See also Don Harrán, “Charles d’Argentille,” New Grove, 5: 499.

170 Jean le Conte is not included in any of the lists of singers recruited by Conseil but his French name and date of entry suggest that he is somehow tied to the group of named singers.

171 De Pictis wrote to Clement that “Da poi in qua che fu la rouina crudele nostra di Roma, che mi parti rimasto pouero et mendico et con fatiga et pericolo mi condussi a Cremona.” The full text is given in Frey, “Klemens VII. und der Prior der päpstlichen Kapelle,” 180-181. nDe Pictis was a provost of St. Catherine in Cremona, a house of the Order of the Humilites, an honor conferred on him by Leo, and it was here that he took refuge after the Sack of Rome. On 30 November 1528 he wrote to Clement, signing himself “Nicholo priore della uostra Cappella,” informing the pope that during his time in Cremona he had composed three masses, three Magnificats and five motets; it is clear from this that he believed the chapel would be reconstituted. Clement’s reply is dated 18 December. He wrote not only to de Pictis but also to the leader of his order and to Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, assuring all of them of his loyalty to and long-standing relationship with the singer. De Pictis returned to Rome and the chapel, remaining there until his death some time before 13 July 1529. His name does not appear on mandati from June of 1529, so he may have died as early as May. Frey, “Klemens VII. und der Prior der Päpstlichen Kapelle Nicholo de Pitti,” 183.

172 RISM 1530. The sole survivor of the first edition is an altus partbook, lacking a colophon, listed in the Colombina catalogue and currently owned by the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville. See Chapman, “Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus,” 72. Two books from the 1533 reprint survive, superius and bassus, the latter of which contains a colophon which identifies Dorico’s Roman firm and gives the publication date of 1 May 1533. The 1533 volume has been reset, perhaps in recognition of the poor quality of the 1530 edition.
in Rome of a genre whose early history is largely Florentine, combined in a print which appeared only two years after Clement’s return, and three years after the Sack.  

The second edition of *La Serena* was printed in 1533 by Valerio Dorico, but his involvement in the c. 1530 first edition has been a matter of conjecture. He had been active in the city before the Sack of Rome, where he was at times a member of a three-way partnership with Giovanni Giacomo Pasoti and Giacomo Giunta. Rome’s history as a center of music printing was a fitful one, which Suzanne Cusick illustrates emphatically when she reminds the reader that ninety-seven percent of music printed in Italy in the sixteenth century came from Venetian presses, while Dorico’s volumes comprise almost one percent of the remaining total. This print gains in importance, then, when one contrasts the paucity of Roman prints with the fact that this influential volume appeared so soon after the city’s partial destruction.

The 1530 *La Serena* differs in several important ways from earlier volumes with

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173 Fenlon-Haar, 54, strike a cautionary note when they write that “Much has been made of the use of the word ‘madrigali’ (for the first time on a music title-page) rather than the more common ‘canzoni’. Here the novelty is more apparent than real.” James Haar argues instead that “ … the history of the published madrigal really begins with two collected editions, one of the works of Verdelot beginning in 1533 [1533, *Libro primo a 4*], the other of Arcadelt’s madrigals starting probably in 1538 [*Primo libro a 4*, 1539, a reprint of the lost first edition],” Essays, 63. Both these prints have concordances with manuscript sources; this fact, coupled with the sudden appearance of numerous books by these composers over a short period of time, suggests that a body of preexisting work was now seeing print.

174 Suzanne Cusick suggests that Pasoti, Dorico’s partner in pre-Sack Rome, might have been involved in this venture as well. See *Valerio Dorico*, 48-49.

175 Cusick rightly emphasizes this statistic to explain Dorico’s importance to the history of music. She writes that, “During his entire career, Valerio Dorico accounted for the publication of something less than one percent of all the music printed in Italy in the sixteenth century. As ninety-seven percent of that music appeared in Venice, Dorico’s claim to have printed close to one of the remaining three percent makes him an improbably important figure. If he was not the most prolific music printer outside Venice, he must surely have come close.” The Dorico press released approximately 300 books and pamphlets, of which a total of fifty-one were included in Cusick’s list of music prints; this represents volumes produced by Valerio (c. 1500-1565) and his brother Luigi, and their heirs. The *New Grove* entry on Dorico, conversely, attributes to him only twenty-eight music volumes, and an additional seven from his heirs. *Valerio Dorico*, xiii, and Suzanne G. Cusick and Maureen Buja, “Dorico, Valerio,” *New Grove*, 7: 507-08.
which Dorico is associated: it is a particularly small volume, with only four staves per
page, and the reduction in size creates problems in the alignment of music and text.  

The font used for the text is a small gothic rotunda, not found in any of his other prints,
which may have been used because of its compact design.

*La Serena* marks a clear shift in Roman printing: the volumes which preceded it
drew on a wide variety of sources to produce prints absent any clear geographic or
repertorial organization, and spanning as well a considerable period of time with
concomitant changes in style and preference. *La Serena*, however, demonstrates rather
more deliberation in the selection of music.  

The print contains seventeen Italian-texted
pieces and three French chansons, two anonymous and one by Jannequin.  

Verdelot is
represented by eight compositions, Costanzo by two, and Sebastiano Festa by one.  

There is one anonymous piece, one each attributed to Maitre Jhan and Iacopo da
Thoscan,
and three unique works attributed to the otherwise unidentified composer

176 See Cusick, *Valerio Dorico*, 41-49, for detailed discussions of Dorico’s type in *La Serena* and
other early volumes.

177 Dorico’s previous prints had drawn heavily on repertory that had already been published; *La
Serena*, on the other hand, transmits several unique pieces, and others with only limited manuscript
distribution. See Stefano Campagnolo, “Il *Libro primo de la Serena* e il Madrigale a Roma,” *Musica
Disciplina* 50 (1996), 99.

178 The chanson in the 1530 edition is by Jannequin. The 1533 reprint adds two chansons by
Claudin de Sermisy, both of which are interpolated before the Jannequin piece.

179 As noted in Fenlon-Haar, 220, this is one of the few collections to include works by both the
Festas. Sebastiano’s secure work is *Se amor qualche rimedio*. The anonymous *Se l’aura a l’ombra*,
attributed to him in another source, is a doubtful work. See Haar, “Festa, Sebastiano,” *New Grove*, 8: 731.

180 Richard Sherr has suggested Iacopo might be the “Jacopo Fiorentino cantore in cappella” who
received payments from the papacy but is on no known lists of singers. See “Clement VII and the Golden
Age of the Papal Choir,” in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth
Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot [England]: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2005), 246. If Iacopo can
indeed be situated in the papal chapel or Clement’s *musici segreti* this print would then move one step
closer to Medici musicians.
“Carlo.” Seven of the Italian-texted compositions in the volume are unique and, of those with concordances, several make their first appearance here. Although no one knows how Dorico gained access to this music, his source(s) clearly provided him with repertory not yet widely circulated.

One of Carlo’s contributions to the print, Perch’io de dir desio, commemorates the wedding of Ortensia Colonna (named in the poem), daughter of Marcantonio I, to Girolamo Pallacivino. The two were betrothed in 1524 and married in 1529 or 1530. One madrigal would not be enough to connect the print to the family, but there is further evidence; the family’s association is encoded in the print’s title; La Serena, or the Siren. The image of the twin-tailed Siren on the volume’s frontispiece has been traced to the siren surrounded by columns (colonne) given as Stefano Colonna’s device in Paolo Giovo’s Dialogo delle imprese, and is shown as an armorial device in Scipione Pulzone’s 1584 portrait of Marcantonio II.

The siren, only recently decoded by a modern musicologist, would surely have been familiar to a Roman in the 1530s; I think we must assume that the Colonna device was so familiar that their name was not needed. Stefano Campagnolo has argued persuasively that La Serena was indeed published by subvention, and he argues for Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, Clement VII’s one-time opponent, as the patron. Pompeo Colonna is the dedicatee of the Pasoti-Dorico Fior de motetti e Canzone novi, from 1523;

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181 See above for Ciarles/Carlo/Charles d’Argentille.

182 Allusions to the siren were not merely visual; a siren is invoked in a sonnet commemorating the 1525 wedding of Vittoria Colonna. See Campagnolo, “Il Libro Primo de la Serena,” 100-03, 109-10, and 131-33.

183 Ibid., 114. Pompeo and Marcantonio I, Ortensia’s father, were not just kinsmen but cousins, grandsons of Antonio Colonna. Inclusion of the madrigal in honor of Ortensia’s marriage comes, then, as no surprise.
whether or not he funded that publication is unknown but, given the absence of his arms or the family siren, I think it likely he was less involved with the earlier volume.

Don Harrán has written on one particular madrigal from the volume, Verdelot’s *Trist’ Amarilli mia*.\(^{184}\) His analysis has not gained universal acceptance, but has spread outside the musicological literature.\(^{185}\) The text is an anonymous sonnet, characterized by Harrán as “a diminutive pastoral drama,” in which a narrator commiserates with Amaryllis over the destruction of her bucolic paradise as “… the flock goes quite strangely astray,” while “Tityrus, … sorrowful, … Quits the fair Tiber and the Vatican.”\(^ {186}\)

\[Trist’Amarilli mia: donqu’è pur vero\]
\[Che di Titiro tuo si stranamente\]
\[Vada la greg’errand’et ei dolente\]
\[Lassi ‘l bel Tebre et Vaticano altiero?\]
\[Oimè ch’io vegio dentro nel pensiero\]
\[Le frond’a terra spars’onde sovente\]
\[S’udian Pastori a l’ombra dolcemente\]
\[Di te cantar, il che mai più non spero.\]
\[Ben seria megli’haver da te la fame\]
\[Cacciat[a], in mez’i campi, scalz’e scinta,\]
\[Povera, sol con le castagne amate,\]
\[Chè i pom’ond’Atalant’anchor fò vinta\]
\[Ti spoglia[n] duramente libertate,\]
\[Ch’al tuo soccorso non è pur chi chiame.\(^ {187}\)

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\(^{186}\) “The ‘Sack Of Rome’ Set to Music,” 413-14, 415, n. 7. Harrán’s suggestion for a completely literal reading would narrow authorship of the text to the period between December 1527 and October 1528, when Clement was absent from Rome.
In Harrán’s reading the poem is an allegory on the Sack of Rome; the inclusion of the traditional pastoral fixtures of the shepherd and his flock, along with references to the Tiber and the Vatican, are indeed suggestive. A pastoral text is in fact ideal for a multivalent work, given the traditional encoding of allegory beneath the benign surface of the pastoral.

Two other Verdelot madrigals set texts with political implications. The first, \textit{Italia, Italia}, is unique to Verdelot’s \textit{Libro secondo a cinque}, published in 1538. Harrán suggests that the anonymous text is a reaction to conditions in the Rome of Paul III but, as there is no evidence to suggest that Verdelot lived to see Paul’s 1534 election, this

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\begin{quote}
My sad Amaryllis: is it really true, then,/ That the flock quite strangely goes astray/ From your Tityrus and that he, sorrowful,/ Quits the fair Tiber and the proud Vatican?/ Alas, in my thoughts I see leaves/ Strewn on the ground where the shepherds/ Oft were heard in the shade singing/ Sweetly about you, which I can hope for no more!/ ‘Twere better to have satisfied your hunger,/ Amidst the fields, barefoot, ungirt,/ and poor, with favored chestnuts only./ For the apples whence Atalanta was conquered/ Rudely deprive you of your liberty,/ Seeing that no one even calls to bring you aid. Taken from Harrán, “The ‘Sack Of Rome’ Set to Music,” 413.
\end{quote}

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\begin{quote}
Harrán states that this is, to his knowledge, the only reference to the Vatican in sixteenth-century vernacular poetry but Campangolo found others; see “Il Libro Primo De La Serena,” 118, n. 81. This text is filled with references and allusions. Harrán points out line 11’s mention of chestnuts and its precedent in Virgil’s \textit{Eclogue} 2, in which Amaryllis’s love of chestnuts is discussed. The sonnet’s sestet invokes Atalanta and the apples by which she was conquered. This imagery is traceable to Theocritus and Virgil, raising the possibility that, in response to political tensions at the time, the poet has relied on themes from canonical poetry to create a modern allegory. These antique motifs were allegorical commentary on contemporary events, particularly in Virgil’s \textit{Eclogues} 1 and 9, with their themes of temporarily or permanently displaced shepherds and wandering flocks, and in both poems the allegory is quite thinly veiled. “The ‘Sack Of Rome’ Set to Music,” 416. In the case of the \textit{La Serena} sonnet the text might simply be the result of an effort to demonstrate the survival of Humanism and Classical knowledge in Rome, or it might indeed be the adaptation of a Classical text to a modern reality. Virgil’s \textit{Eclogue} I mourns the presence of invaders in Italy and a theme that runs throughout the \textit{Eclogues} is the displacement of those who love the land by members of the military.
\end{quote}

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\begin{quote}
On the history of the pastoral see Gerbino, “Orpheus in Arcadia,” esp. 23, for the explicit statement that “The eclogue was perceived as an inherently allegorical genre. Thus the pastoral fiction often served as a sort of ciphered language through which poets and patrons established a privileged level of communication.” The genre’s allegorical significance is at the heart of its Classical precedents, a fact which would have conferred on it tremendous authority in the view of Renaissance humanists.
\end{quote}
madrigal is more difficult to attach to an historic event and could as easily be another Sack-inspired text.\textsuperscript{190}

Verdelot’s setting of Petrarch’s canzone \textit{Italia mia} might have been spurred by the Sack, the fall of the post-Sack Florentine republic, the continuing instability between Italian city-states, or fear of foreign rulers.\textsuperscript{191} Petrarch’s grief at the presence of invaders on Italian soil resonated strongly in the early decades of the sixteenth century and the governing ethos of this text is related to that of \textit{Trist’ Amarilli}.\textsuperscript{192} If the very specificity of \textit{Trist’ Amarilli} is the prime argument for its composition as a lament on the Sack, then it seems to me logical to suppose that the other two works, thematically linked, were inspired by the Italian Wars.\textsuperscript{193}

\textsuperscript{190} There are also pieces in the sacred repertory which are assumed to be responses to the Sack: Festa’s motet \textit{Florentia tempus et penitentie}, unique to the Vallicelliana manuscript, calls upon the city to return to papal obedience. Lowinsky argued for a date of 1527-1529 on the grounds that, once Charles’s forces began the siege of Florence in October of 1529, the animosity on both sides was too great for composition of such a piece. “The Medici Codex…,” \textit{Annales musicologique} V (1957), 112-17. I find this window too small; we do not even know what the status of Clement’s chapel was while he was in Orvieto. Certainly, demonstration that the motet is from 1527 or early in 1528 would suggest that Festa had stayed either with or in close contact with Clement, but existence of the work alone cannot be construed as demonstration of said. Composition post-siege is quite possible, and would show citizens of Florence that, on Clement’s part at least, all was forgiven.

Festa’s motet, \textit{Deus venerunt gentes}, is a setting of Psalm 78, a lament on the destruction of Jerusalem; this is also assumed to allude to the Sack of Rome. See Haar, “Festa, Costanzo,” \textit{New Grove}, 8: 728-31. Bragard considers his motet \textit{Exaltabo te domine}, also in the Vallicelliana manuscript, a celebration of the fall of Florence; see “La vie musicale,” 64.

\textsuperscript{191} The madrigal appears in several sources: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS R142, the Newberry-Oscott partbooks and the related British Library Egerton MS 3665, Verdelot’s \textit{Libro secondo a cinque}, and \textit{Le dotte, et eccellente composizioni de I madrigali a cinque}.

\textsuperscript{192} Petrarch’s text, number 128 in the Canzoniere, begins as follows: “Italia mia, ben che ‘l parlar sia indarno/ a le piaghe mortali/ che nel bel corpo tuo si spesse veggio, ….” (My Italy, although speech does not aid those mortal wounds of which in your lovely body I see so many …), and lines 20-22 continue the imagery of battle with “che fan chi tante pellegrini spade?/ perché ‘l verde terreno/ del barbarico sangue si depinga?” (what are so many foreign swords doing here? Why is the green earth colored with barbarian blood?). Text and translation from Robert Durling, ed. and trans., \textit{Petrarch’s Lyric Poems: The Rime Sparse and Other Lyrics} (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1976), 256-57.

\textsuperscript{193} This may be the first appearance of \textit{Italia mia}, which has concordances in [c.1538\textsuperscript{20}], 1538\textsuperscript{21}, 1540\textsuperscript{18}, 1541\textsuperscript{17}, 1549\textsuperscript{22}, Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS R142, and Lon.Eg.3665. See
Verdelot owed his position in Florence to the Medici and, if he indeed remained loyal to them, then a fifth possibility arises as impetus for *Italia, mia*; the fact that, as Rome had fallen, Florence also cast off the Medici. In this reading the Tiber and Arno both suffer for the loss of Medici leadership, and the madrigal axis of Florence and Rome is strengthened through commiseration. This hypothesis is weakened by the fact that, although Verdelot’s personal politics are unknown to us, he has been presented as having had Republican leanings.\(^{194}\) Certainly Florentine Republicanism had several faces, differing in their degree of radicalism. Verdelot’s inclusion in the *Ragionamenti* of Medici partisan Cosimo Bartoli, in which the composer is presented as a personal friend of the author, argues against political extremism on Verdelot’s part.

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\(^{194}\) Several of his motets in the Newberry-Oscott and Vallicelliana manuscripts have been interpreted as sympathetic to the Republican cause, though these readings have not gone unchallenged. See Edward E. Lowinsky, “A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome,” *JAMS* III (1950), 183-84. Savonarolan themes appear in other texts set by him, perhaps a reflection of the renewal of the friar’s beliefs after the 1527 Medici expulsion. On this see Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, I: 55-59.

Although this is not the forum for it, I believe the Verdelot-as-Republican hypothesis is overdue for reexamination. One pillar of the hypothesis was the complex Mss. Magl. XIX. 122-25 which contains, in addition to Medici *palle*, what was thought to be a caricature of a Moorish face, perhaps Alessandro de’ Medici’s. This image has since been demonstrated to be an armorial device of the Pucci family; Roberto Pucci was an intimate of Alessandro’s, and the manuscript might have been his. See James Haar, “Madrigals from the Last Florentine Republic,” in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, ed. S Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978), 383-403.

The facts that Verdelot owed his position in Florence to the Medici and sang at Clement’s coronation argue for allegiance to the family, at least early in his Florentine years. *Trist’ Amarilli*, if indeed a lament on the Sack, honors Clement. Bartoli’s avowed friendship with Verdelot also places the composer in the Medici camp. In the opposing camp we have the pieces on Savonarolan texts and melodies, and his possible presence in Florence during the Siege. He certainly could not have gone to Rome after the Sack so may have stayed where he was, trapped by work, age, or a lack of options. As to the pro-Republican texts, I believe it behooves us again to remember the most basic tenet of patronage: wealth buys talent. In an era in which artists and musicians were viewed as craftsmen, their personal opinions were of little or no interest. A composer who hoped to further his career would be unwise to refuse a commission because the text went against his personal beliefs, just as we should be hesitant to infer from a text choice any insight into the personal beliefs of the man who set it to music.
The humanistic features of the *Trist’ Amarilli* text are not remarkable, nor is its web of classical allusion unusual in a madrigal text. The Sack of Rome was an event that had shocked Europe, and literary responses to the event began to appear almost immediately. The question of Imperial interference in the church, as well, was one that would affect Charles’s future dealings with the papacy.

In January of 1529 Clement fell ill. Citizens and cardinals rallied round him, demonstrating their support for his cause and their alienation from imperial interests. From Rome, Charles’s envoy Mai reported back to Spain, “The majority of the cardinals are unfriendly to us on account of the ruthless havoc committed by our soldiery throughout Italy from Piedmont to Apulia.”196 Clement’s condition had improved by Easter, and negotiations over the terms of peace resumed. As Clement and Charles drew closer to an agreement fears in Florence increased, as did anti-Medici sentiment among the most avid Republicans. Enemies of the Medici engaged for a possible battle with Clement, and many in the city were subjected to forced loans to pay for the city’s

195 The Sack of Rome has been extensively treated in histories of the time, both primary and secondary, and in volumes devoted to the event. From the vast body of literature on the Sack of Rome I mention only a few here. Contemporary witnesses include Luigi Giucciardini, *The Sack of Rome*, trans. James H. McGregor (New York: Italica Press, 1993). This volume, the work of a Medici partisan, makes no effort at objectivity. Kenneth Gouwens’s *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome*, is an edition with commentary of several contemporary narratives, both pro- and contra Medici. Among secondary sources, I have been most influenced by André Chastel’s *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, and Judith Hook’s volume of the same title, and Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*. Pastor’s work, though over a century old, remains the most encyclopedic of modern discussions, while Judith Hook’s one-volume work offers an excellent summary of the events.

196 Pastor, *History of the Popes*, X: 41. The College of Cardinals feared that Charles’s power would give him undue influence in an election should Clement die, yet no other temporal leader could guarantee safety and freedom from interference. Cardinal Farnese, president of the Sacred College, was at pains to resist French or English pressure as well as that of the imperialists, so rejected French suggestions that the conclave take place in Avignon. He maintained that the College of Cardinals was free to hold the conclave wherever they might wish, regardless of the emperor’s desires. Hook, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, 245.
defense. These developments did not go unnoticed; upon hearing about events at Florence, an English observer reported to Wolsey that, “I have persuaded myself, and been assured by Salviati a thousand times, that the Pope would never join the Emperor. Now, I should not be surprised if he did, for the persecution of his relatives and friends will be a great incitement to him. The French ought to prevail upon the Florentines to restrain themselves.”

One suspected Medici partisan persecuted by citizens of the Republic was Bernardo Pisano, who had returned to his home town after its revolt against Clement. He came under suspicion as an agent of the pope and, as Benedetto Varchi wrote, “the magistrates had Messer Bernardo Pagoli, a singer in the Papal chapel who had come from Florence to Rome, tortured in order to learn the reason for his visit; and after saying that he was as crippled in his mind as he was in his body they threw him out.”

The Treaty of Barcelona, ratified on 29 June 1529, made peace between Clement and Charles. As feared by Wolsey’s correspondent, it was in this treaty that Charles found the price Clement could not resist — the restoration of Florence. Other advantages adhered to the papacy as well but, in his eagerness to regain family territory, Clement put Medici ambition above that of the papacy. Family ambition was furthered in another way.

197 Quoted by Roth, The Last Florentine Republic, 138.


199 Francis I and Charles negotiated an end to their battles with the Peace of Cambrai on 5 August 1529. On 8 July 1530 the widowed Eleanor of Austria, older sister of Charles, married the widower Francis I, a gesture of rapprochement between the two rulers.
in this treaty, in which it was agreed that the young Alessandro de’ Medici would marry Margaret, illegitimate daughter of Charles.\textsuperscript{200}

The Florentine Republic, fearful of a Medici return, prepared to resist conquest in spite of privation. Plague had struck there in the summer of 1527 as it had in Rome. The scope of the deaths was tremendous: perhaps as a result of the civic procession on 2 June in which large crowds took part, the disease spread rapidly. By July deaths were estimated at 200 per day and, by August, that number had increased to three and then four hundred, peaking at a three-day toll of five hundred deaths per day.\textsuperscript{201}

The effects of the siege of Florence can be seen vividly in the records of musical establishments in the city. The Medici heirs had been expelled from Florence and a Republican government installed only days after the Sack of Rome. The Baptistry’s chapel was dissolved at the end of June; not because of political disruption, but as a result of the outbreak of plague that swept the city.\textsuperscript{202} Citizens who could fled the city and, though ordered to return, did not. Famine followed plague, but still those who remained were full of hope. The advance of the imperial army in October 1529 marked a new level of want as a blockade, first partial and gradually tighter, cut off supplies to the city.\textsuperscript{203}

\textsuperscript{200} I will return to this pair in subsequent chapters.

\textsuperscript{201} Roth, \textit{The Last Florentine Republic}, 74.

\textsuperscript{202} A full choir was not reinstated until 1540, although polyphonic music for special occasions was in place by 1537. See D’Accone, “The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistery During the First Half of the 16th Century,” 24-25.

\textsuperscript{203} “The population had been terribly diminished by the plague of two years previous and now amounted in all probability to no more than 57,000, or, with the suburbs, to perhaps 80,000. In addition, the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside, who had taken refuge within the walls upon the approach of the enemy, came to some 15,000, to which must be added about 10,000 mercenary soldiers. Deducting those who had left before the siege commenced, to escape the dangers of war, the total population during the period must be reckoned at something like 110,000.” Roth, \textit{The Last Florentine Republic}, 184.
While Florence was under siege, Charles set sail for Italy in July for his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. He landed in Genoa on 12 August where he was met by three cardinals, one of whom was Alessandro Farnese, Dean of the College of Cardinals. Charles intended to travel northeast after the ceremony to confront the Turkish threat on the far borders of his empire so, breaking with tradition, he arranged for his coronation ceremony to take place in Bologna rather than Rome.\textsuperscript{204} Clement began his journey north for the coronation in early October and made his ceremonial entry into Bologna on 24 October 1529, where he was welcomed and feted. This was the beginning of four months of celebration and politicking in Bologna.\textsuperscript{205}

The papal singers accompanied Clement to Bologna for Charles’s coronation. It is tempting to think that Conseil’s recruitment drive had a goal such as this in mind: Clement had much to lose if he still appeared weak or disorganized, so must have had faith in his chapel to present them alongside Charles’s famed \textit{capilla flamenca}.\textsuperscript{206} Several pieces of music for the occasion have been identified: Charles’s \textit{maestro di cappella} Adrien Thiebault, also known as Pickart, composed the motet \textit{Coronat pontifex} of which only a fragment survives. Gombert, Imperial \textit{maître des enfants}, composed a Mass identified in some sources as \textit{M. Sur tous regretz} but, in a 1542 Scotto print, 

\footnote{204}{On the entries of both men into Bologna see Bonner Mitchell, \textit{The Majesty of the State: Triumphal Progress of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy, 1494-1600} (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1986), 137-46.}

\footnote{205}{The coronation itself took place in two stages. On 22 February Charles received the iron crown of Lombardy, an ancient circlet said incorporate a nail from the true cross, presented to Constantine by his mother, and two days later (the auspicious 24 February, Charles’s birthday and the fifth anniversary of the Battle of Pavia), Clement crowned him Holy Roman Emperor. The two men left San Petronio together, a procession memorialized in the series of engravings by Nicolas Hogenberg, and Robert Péril’s woodcuts.}

\footnote{206}{Discussion of the various descriptions of music surrounding the events in Bologna can be found in Joseph Schmidt-Görg, \textit{Nicolas Gombert: Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V.: Leben und Werk} (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1938), 77-83.
subtitled *Missa A la Incoronacion*; it seems likely this Mass was indeed intended for the celebration in Bologna.\(^{207}\)

The contribution from the papal chapel is Festa’s motet *Ecce advenit dominator*, a six-part work that takes its cantus firmus from the medieval liturgy for Imperial coronation.\(^{208}\) In its reading in the manuscript Cappella Sistina 20, a source dominated by Festa’s music, the cantus firmus carries the acclamation “Christus Vincit, Christus Regnat, Christus Imperat.” A source that has been examined only recently, Civitanova Marche, Biblioteca Comunale, Mss. ss (1), has a different text in the cantus firmus: “Carolus vincit, Carolus regnat, Carolus imperat,” demonstrating unequivocally the Imperial connection.\(^{209}\)

The coronation was the ostensible focal point of the meeting in Bologna but politicking was, as ever, at the heart of the matter. Over the course of their prolonged meeting Charles and Clement reached many accords. One was Charles’s reluctant agreement to the restoration of Francesco Sforza as Duke of Milan; his agreement to the marriage of Catherine de’ Medici was another. Increased prosecution of the war on the

\(^{207}\) The Lupus Mass in honor of Charles V is based on the soggetto cavato “Carolus Imperator Romanorum Quintus.” Though the Mass may have been intended for the 1530 coronation it would, given the reference to Rome, be more appropriate for his 1519 coronation as King of the Romans. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, “Lupus,” *New Grove*, 15: 322.

\(^{208}\) This piece is the subject of the recent article by Klaus Pietschmann, “A Motet by Costanzo Festa for the Coronation of Charles V,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 21 (2002), 319-54, on which I have drawn for my discussion of the piece.

\(^{209}\) In his study of the motet Pietschmann argues that, on liturgical grounds, Festa’s motet was part of an elaborate symbolic conversation with Thiebault’s *Coronat pontifex*. Festa’s work, surely sung by the papal choir, lauds the emperor, while Thiebault’s motet, which must have been performed by the *capilla flamenca*, emphasizes the importance of the pope. Only two of the five voice parts of the Thiebault survive, making musical analysis impossible.
Florentine Republic was also on their agenda, as well as an agreement on the disposition of the besieged city.

A turning point in the Siege of Florence occurred in August 1530, when important leaders from both sides died in battle; the city’s surrender followed on 4 August 1530. Under the terms of the surrender the Medici would return only as private citizens, their property would be restored, and their supporters released from prison. The two latter clauses were obeyed, but the first was either a misapprehension or a polite fiction. Within months Alessandro de’ Medici was made Duke of Florence by Charles, and the family’s uncontested reign had begun.

The damage to Florence was tremendous. The number of dead, both military and civilian, over the course of the siege has been estimated at perhaps as many as 36,000. After the Medici restoration, when refugees returned, the population grew only to 54,000; in three years the city’s population had been halved. One of the casualties may have been Verdelot; the absence of new music by him, allied with his complete absence from the historical record, argue that he did indeed die at some point before August 1530, when Florence capitulated.

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210 Roth, The Last Florentine Republic, 320.


Cochrane states that starvation and plague led to a rapid increase in mortalities during the siege of Florence, increasing from sixty deaths per day in February 1530 to 189 per day in April. Florence in the Forgotten Centuries 1527-1800 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 5. If Verdelot was born c. 1480-85, as Slim suggests, he would have been approaching the age of fifty during the siege, an advanced age at which he would perhaps not have had the strength to withstand the physical sufferings a younger man might survive.
It is Clement’s failure to act decisively and wisely that is seen as the hallmark of his papacy, leading him to spend the first four years casting about for a cohesive strategy and then, after the Sack and his treaty with Charles, propped up and able to rule solely because of Imperial support. 212 I think this does him a disservice. After the Sack he acted quickly to rebuild the arts in Rome and he arranged two dynastic marriages; that of Lorenzo’s daughter Catherine’s to Henri of France, 213 and that of Alessandro to Charles’s daughter Margaret. He did not live to see Catherine queen, or Alessandro married, but he did see Alessandro’s reinstatement in Florence, this must have (falsely, as it would prove) eased some of his fears regarding the family’s fragility. 214

As I have shown, Clement acted rapidly to rebuild the papal chapel and, within eighteen months after the Sack, it was again a thriving institution. He resumed other forms of patronage as well though not, perhaps, on the same scale. His beloved Villa Medici, now known as the Villa Madama, was an indulgence he no longer supported but he did invest in some luxury goods, as witnessed by Cellini.

The artist had left the Castel Sant’Angelo in 1527 after the first articles of peace were signed, but returned to Rome in response to a summons from Clement, perhaps in 1529. In 1530 he completed the design and manufacture of a cope-button for Clement

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212 The other accusation often leveled against Clement is nepotism. While he was certainly a practitioner, his efforts to better his family in no way differentiate him from other occupants of the throne of St. Peter.

213 Henri was a second son when he and Catherine married but, with the death of his older brother in 1536 he became dauphin and, in 1547, king.

214 The shrinking size of the main line would have given pause to anyone with dynastic ambitions: Lorenzo “il Magnifico” had the last sizeable family in the main line, with three sons and three daughters. His three sons between them produced only one legitimate son, Lorenzo di Piero, one legitimate daughter, Clarice Medici Strozzi, and one bastard son, Ippolito. Lorenzo’s death in 1519, following that of his uncle Giuliano in 1516, brought to an end the legitimate male line of Cosimo “il vecchio.”
which met with high praise, but an admission of papal poverty; Cellini records Clement as saying, “Were I but a wealthy emperor, I would give my Benvenuto as much land as his eyes could survey; yet being nowadays but needy bankrupt potentates, we will at any rate give him bread enough to satisfy his modest wishes.” Clement was again an active patron, although one on a budget. Cellini continued to serve Clement until the pope’s death, over which he admits to shedding tears; perhaps the only man to do so.215

Clement died 25 September 1534 after three months of ill health. He was the last member of the Medici family to have grown up in the final glory of Laurentian Florence but, as we shall see, he was not the last witness to that glory. Clement’s role in the madrigal’s genesis seems to have been minimal so, in this regard, the arts did not suffer; his native city’s musical gift to Italy, the madrigal, would continue without him.

Chapter 2

Pauline Rome

On 3 November 1534 members of the Cappella Sistina sang a solemn mass to mark the investiture of their new employer and the most recent occupant of the throne of Saint Peter, Pope Paul III. After a conclave of only two days, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese had been elected on 13 October. His selection came as no surprise; Clement VII had hoped Alessandro would succeed him, and had urged his nephew Cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici to rally as many as possible of his allies toward that goal when the cardinals went into conclave.¹

The chapel inherited by Paul included many singers who had been in the organization since the reign of Leo X, and some who had joined under Clement VII; papal music clearly bore the stamp of the Medici. Paul had firsthand knowledge of Laurentian Florence himself, as he had lived there as a youth. It was then he first met Giovanni de Medici, the future Leo X, with whom he surely became reacquainted in the Rome of Alexander VI.² Although Paul’s time in Florence had been short, the influence of Lorenzo’s brilliant court was profound.³

¹ See Ludwig von Pastor on Paul’s election, which he rightly sums up with the observation that “Farnese’s election had taken place so quickly that the conclave can hardly be spoken of by that name.” History of the Popes, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr, Fourth ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1938-53), XI: 6-14, esp. 12.
The Farnese family came from Lazio, where they owned extensive properties near Lago di Bolsena. The property was granted to Ranuccio Farnese, Paul’s grandfather, by Eugene IV, in gratitude to the former for his service as commander of the papal army. The family began the leap from condottieri to the black aristocracy through marriage: Isabella Orsini, bride of Ranuccio’s second son, and Giovanna Caetani, bride of his third son, Pier Luigi, were daughters of two of the most ancient Roman families. Alessandro, son of Pier Luigi and Giovanna, was born in 1468, the second of five children.

Alessandro’s early education was directed by Pomponio Leto, then continued in Florence under Poliziano, when his long-time ties to the Medici began. It was here that he began the study of Greek, before leaving to continue his education in Pisa.

Alessandro’s immersion in the humanist curriculum earned him a role in Paolo Cortesi’s dialogue *De hominibus doctis*, c. 1490. The three interlocutors in the dialogue are Cortesi himself, Alessandro, and a third who is probably Giovanni Sulpizio of Veroli, one of Cortesi’s teachers in Rome.

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2 When the Medici were expelled from Florence in 1494 Cardinal Giovanni went to Rome.

3 Paul’s lifelong interest in humanism and neoplatonism is attributed by biographers to his time at Florence.

4 This territory would form the nucleus of the state of Castro, established by Paul III. See Clare Robertson, ‘Il gran cardinale’: Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 7-8.

5 Alessandro was in Florence from 1486 until 1489; His sister Girolama had married the Florentine Puccio Pucci in 1483. Roberto Zapperi, *La leggenda del papa Paolo III: Arte e censura nella Roma pontificia* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1998), 41-42.


As to the spelling of the humanist’s name, I have followed D’Amico in adopting the spelling “Cortesi,” rather than “Cortese.” Both have currency but “Cortesi” seems to be winning the battle, perhaps as a byproduct of D’Amico’s work on the author.
Although Alessandro spent only a few years in Florence, from the summer of 1486 until mid-year of 1489, the stay seems to have shaped his life-long participation in the humanist curriculum. While this notion might be an exaggeration, his connection to the Medici was surely strong. Paolo Cortesi’s dialogue in which Alessandro appears is dedicated to Lorenzo de’ Medici, and Lorenzo wrote a letter to his kinsman by marriage, Innocent VIII, recommending Alessandro (unsuccessfully) for a position in the curia.

Alessandro’s credentials as a man of learning might account for his mention in Ludovico Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*:

\[Ecco Alessandro, il mio signor, Farnese: \]
\*[oh dotta compagnia che seco mena!]
\*[Fedro, Capella, Porzio, il bolognese]
\*[Filippo, il Volterano, il Madalena,]
\*[Blosio, Pierio, il Vida cremonese,]
\*[d’alta facondia inessicabil vena]
\*[e Lascari e Mussuro e Navagero,]
\*[e Andrea Marone e ‘l monaco Severo.]

See Alessandro di Farnese come,/ A leader of a learned company:/ ‘Phaedra’, Capella, Porzio, Filippo whom/ Bologna claims, Volterra’s pride, Maffei,/ The Pierian and Maddalenì of Rome,/ Blosio and Vida the Cremonan,/ whose great eloquence flows from

\[7\] Fifty-four early letters to and from Alessandro have been collected in the volume *Carteggio umanistico di Alessandro Farnese*, ed. Arsenio Frugoni (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1950). Included are exchanges with Giovanni de’ Medici; a letter to Lorenzo de’ Medici; letters to Alessandro and Paolo Cortesi; letters to the brothers Puccio and Lorenzo Pucci, ardent Mediceans and Alessandro’s kinsmen by marriage (Puccio was his brother-in-law); three letters to his Roman master Pomponio Leto; and letters to and from the Constantinople-born scholar of Greek Demetrio Calcondila, one of Giovanni de’ Medici’s teachers, who is presumed to have instructed Alessandro as well.


Several of those named were members, with Alessandro, of the Roman Academy of Johannes Goritz, also known as Coricius, a curialist from northern Europe who entered papal service during the reign of Alexander VI, rising eventually to the post of apostolic protonotary. His success allowed him to purchase a villa in Rome, and it was there that he founded his academy. Papal secretaries Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleto attended Goritz’s academy, as did Giles of Viterbo, Mario Maffei, Baldassare Castiglione, Blosio Palladio, and Alessandro Farnese, all drawn by their shared devotion to Neo-Latin poetry. Goritz’s was an illustrious sodality, and his inclusion among such august company argues for Alessandro’s excellent education.

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10 “Phaedra” is the curialist, papal librarian, and humanist Tommaso Inghirami of Volterra, who had performed the role of Phaedra in a performance of Seneca’s Hippolytus; Bernardino Capella, Camillo Porzio, and Evangelisti Paolo Maddaleno were neo-Latin poets; the poet Filippo Beroaldo, a dependent of Leo X, served as prefect of the Vatican, papal librarian, professor of humanities at the University of Rome, and editor of the first six books of Tacitus’s Annales; Mario Maffei, another Latin poet, was the brother of Raffaello Maffei, friend of Paolo Cortesi and editor of the latter’s posthumous De Cardinalatu; “Pierian” is Giampietro Valeriano Bolzani, poet, archeologist, prose-writer and tutor to Alessandro and Ippolito de’ Medici, whose nickname derives from his devotion to the Muses, to whom Mount Pieria in Thessaly is sacred; Blosio is Biagio Palladio, a Roman who served as secretary to Clement VII and Paul; Marco Girolamo Vida was a Latin poet and exponent of Virgilianism, author of Christiad, a version of the life of Christ in Virgilian hexameters; Constantine Lascaris, of Constantinople, taught Greek in Rome before joining the court of Francis I; the Cretan Cardinal Marco Musurro was a friend of Leo X; the Venetian Andrea Navagero wrote Latin poetry and served as librarian and historian of the Venetian Republic; Andrea Marone, friend of Ippolito d’Este, was an improviser of Latin verse; Severo was a poet and monk from Volterra, author of an explanatory letter in De Cardinalatu. Several of those named held positions at Leo’s court and a subgroup, including Alessandro, had ties to Paolo Cortesi. See Reynolds, Orlando furioso II: 741-42; D’Amico, Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome, 44 and 125; and Kathleen Weil-Garris and D’Amico, “The Renaissance Cardinal’s Ideal Palace,” Studies in Italian Art and Architecture, 15th through 18th Centuries, ed. Henry A. Millon, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, vol. 35 (Cambridge [Mass.]: MIT Press, 1980), 45-123.

11 Goritz’s academy was one of the many victims of the Sack of Rome. He fled to Verona, and died soon after his arrival there. See D’Amico, Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome, 108.

12 The 1535-36 edition of Pietro Bembo’s letters is dedicated to Paul III. A pope was a logical dedicatee, just as Clement had been the dedicatee of Bembo’s Prose, but in both instances a case can be
Alessandro’s advancement in the curia owes much to the fact that he became a protégé of Rodrigo Borgia, the future Alexander VI, during Borgia’s tenure as Vice-Chancellor under Innocent VIII. Farnese’s advancement was considered by many to reflect Alexander’s infatuation with his beautiful sister, Giulia Farnese Orsini, who became his mistress. Innocent VIII appointed Alessandro apostolic protonotary in 1491 and two years later Borgia, now pope, raised him to the cardinalate.

Once a cardinal, Alessandro’s ascent through the ranks was swift. In 1494, only one year after his elevation, he was made curial treasurer-general and Cardinal-Deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian. In 1494 he was assigned legation of the Papal states, and in 1499 he was made Bishop of Corneto and Montefiascone. The honors continued when, in 1502, he was made Legate to Ancona; in 1509, Bishop of Parma; in 1513, Bishop of Tusculo; in 1514, Bishop of Benevento; and in 1524 Bishop of Ostia.

made for personal friendship, rather than simple flattery. It was Paul who raised Bembo to the purple, after several attempts.


14 The umbrella term “Cardinal” includes several subdivisions, indicative of rank and standing. Cardinal-Deacons usually occupy some position in papal government; Cardinal-Priests are typically archbishops of important dioceses outside Rome; and Cardinal-Bishops, the most senior, are the bishops of the seven sees around Rome. The Dean of the College of Cardinals is by tradition Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia. Alessandro’s rise in stature can be seen in his elevation over the years from Cardinal-Deacon to, at last, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia.

15 Alessandro was merely a deacon until 1519, when he was ordained as a priest. Pastor, History of the Popes, XI: 21.

16 Carlo Capasso, Paolo III (1534-1549) (Messina: Casa Editrice G. Principato, 1924), I: 47-48, and Pastor, History of the Popes, XI: 18-21. Alessandro was appointed legate to the Imperial Court in 1518, but said he could not go as he was ill. He was replaced by Cardinal Cajetan. Sanuto did not believe he was ill, and thought he simply did not want the position. Pastor, History of the Popes, VII: 231.
Cardinal Farnese’s skills as a diplomat can be inferred from the high standing in which he was held by Alexander VI and Julius II, who had been bitter enemies. One might have expected Julius to overlook someone so clearly a beneficiary of Alexander’s nepotism, but Alessandro was held in high regard by the della Rovere pope; when Julius was too ill to present the opening address to the Lateran Council in May of 1512, he selected Alessandro from the sixteen cardinals in attendance to read in his stead.\textsuperscript{17}

Leo X and Alessandro seem to have enjoyed a particularly collegial relationship, attributed by biographers to their youthful friendship. Be that as it may, at Leo’s coronation, it was Alessandro who placed the tiara on the new pope’s head. Hunting was one of Leo’s favorite pastimes, and he and Alessandro hunted together often. In 1513 Leo had to refuse his invitation, but from 1514 on their hunt became an annual event.\textsuperscript{18} After the attempt by poison on Leo’s life in 1517, Alessandro was one of the three cardinals appointed to the sentencing commission.\textsuperscript{19}

Alessandro had some income from curial revenues put aside for members of the College of Cardinals resident in Rome,\textsuperscript{20} private wealth from his family estates, and that which accrued from his benefices. In 1500 he had been one of the poorest cardinals. In that year Alexander VI issued a papal bull declaring war against the Turks, and levied a

\textsuperscript{17} See Pastor, \textit{History of the Popes}, VI: 406-09.

\textsuperscript{18} See Pastor, \textit{History of the Popes}, VIII: 157-58, 163, and 465 for Leo’s 1513 letter to Alessandro regretfully declining his invitation.

\textsuperscript{19} Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci made the attempt on Leo’s life and Cardinals Remolino and Accolti were Alessandro’s colleagues on the sentencing commission. See Pastor, \textit{History of the Popes}, VII: 174-75.

tithe on all ecclesiastical officials within the church states. A list was compiled in September that detailed the incomes of the 41 cardinals, and indicated the sum owed. The wealthiest cardinal was Ascanio Sforza, with an annual income of 30,000 ducats, followed by Giuliano della Rovere, with an income of 20,000. Farnese was one of seven cardinals collecting only 2,000 ducats per annum.

His economic fortunes rose as he accumulated offices and, within two decades, his combined sources of income conspired to make him one of, if not the, wealthiest cardinals in the Curia. John Clerk, English ambassador to the papal court, wrote on 4 January 1522 that Alessandro “hath patrymony to the valew of VI or VII mil doketts and besides hath II or III bishopryches.” In the Roman census taken c. November, 1526, Alessandro’s household was second only to that of the Pope; Clement had a household of 700, followed by that of the “Cardinale de Fornesio” with 306. The third largest household, that of Cardinal Cesarini, contained 275 members.

After Leo’s death Alessandro remained on good terms with Clement VII and, upon his election Alessandro, now Paul III, built on the Medici artistic heritage. Many of the artists, architects, and craftsmen active at Clement’s court were retained by Paul, from Sangallo (designer of Clement’s tomb) and Michelangelo, to Cellini. Retention of creative clients extended to musici segreti as well; the lutenist Francesco da Milano, a


22 Domenico Gnoli’s 1894 edition of the census has been superseded by that of Egmont Lee, Descriptio Urbis: The Roman Census of 1527 (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1985). For the summary of households of ecclesiastical officials and institutions see 357-58.

23 Paul’s long friendship with the main branch of the family did not extend to Cosimo I, with whom he was frequently in conflict.
long-time Medici *creato*, returned to papal service after the death of Cardinal Ippolito de’ Medici. None of this should be construed as inertia on Paul’s behalf, but rather acknowledgment of the fact that Clement, in the Medici tradition, had set a high standard for artistic patronage, one Paul gladly maintained. Paul’s election was hailed as a new Golden Age for Rome, a hope that accompanied most papal elections, but in his case it was truer than it had been for many; his was a more peaceful reign than those of his immediate predecessors, and the monies invested by others on military campaigns went instead to papal and civic glorification.24

Prior to his ordination Alessandro had four children; Costanza, Pier Luigi, Paolo, and Ranuccio. Identification of their mother or mothers is a matter of dispute, but recent scholarship suggests all four are the children of the Roman matron Silvia Ruffini.25 Pier Luigi and Paolo were legitimizied by Julius II in July, 1505, and their younger brother, Ranuccio, by Leo X in April 1518.26 Both Paolo and Ranuccio died young and without issue. No document legitimizing Costanza is known, but her fate is: she married Bosio Sforza, Count of Santafiore, and their son, Guido Ascanio Sforza, became a cardinal in 1534 at Paul’s first consistory.


26 Robertson and Pastor disagree on the question of when, and by whom, the children were legitimized. As Pastor provides transcriptions of the Vatican documents, I have followed him. *History of the Popes*, XI: 19-20.
Pier Luigi had one daughter and four sons; Vittoria married Guidobaldo II della Rovere of Urbino; Alessandro, a famous patron of the arts, and Ranuccio, became cardinals (Alessandro at the 1534 consistory, Ranuccio in 1545); Ottavio, to whom I will return, was successively Duke of Camerino, Castro, and Parma and Piacenza; and Orazio married Diane of Valois, illegitimate daughter of Henry II of France. Orazio married fairly well, but otherwise played a small role in the family myth. The famous Titian portrait of Paul III with his grandsons depicts the pope with Alessandro, in his cardinal’s robes, and Ottavio in the garb of a courtier.

Alessandro had been considered papabile in the 1521 and 1524 elections but, far from battling his more successful rivals, he demonstrated the statesmanship that led to his eventual selection as pope, proving a loyal and trusted prince of the church. It was he who gave Clement protection in Orvieto in 1527 and 1528 as the treaties which followed the Sack of Rome were drafted. Now, at last, he was pope, the first Roman to occupy the throne since Martin V. At the time of his election members of the College of Cardinals must surely have thought the sixty-seven-year-old would reign only a few more years, but

27 Orazio’s marriage was arranged by Paul in 1547, to strengthen ties with France, but did not take place until 1552.

28 In light of the family’s aspirations, the temptation to read this painting as an allegory proves irresistible; Alessandro, in full regalia, stands behind and to the right of the seated pontiff gazing at the viewer (we see him on the left side of the portrait but from the sitters’ position he occupies the symbolic place ad dexteram, the position held by Giulio de’ Medici in Raphael’s famous portrait of Leo X). Ottavio approaches from the other side, making eye contact with Paul. His pose is an active one that I can best describe as a half bow, perhaps in preparation for kneeling to kiss the papal ring. Alessandro and Paul’s repose, as against Ottavio’s movement, suggests to me evocation of the transitory nature of temporal power, and its deference to spiritual authority. Alessandro’s position so near the papal throne speaks to his hope to occupy the seat, a goal he neared but never achieved.
Paul defied the life expectancy of his day to survive another fifteen years, the lengthiest papacy since that of his family’s benefactor, Eugene IV.29

Paul was a skilled politician and negotiator and, as a result, his tenure as pope was smoother than that of some of his predecessors. Intermittent conflicts erupted between France and Spain during his rule, but he did his utmost to bring the parties to negotiations, with a focus on the common Turkish enemy. The Protestant Reformation Paul left largely to Charles V, in whose territories the movement was strongest, and he convened the Council of Trent to reform the Catholic church from within.30

Paul’s wealth, already significant before his elevation to the papacy, permitted extensive patronage of the arts.31 This tradition was carried on eagerly by his descendants, most notably his grandson Alessandro, who continued projects begun by Paul, and commissioned extensive visual programs which celebrated his grandfather and their shared namesake, Alexander the Great. Paul’s patronage, and that of Alessandro after him, was focused on architecture and the visual arts. Some of this is a reflection of political realities: the Sack and Turkish forays on and around the Italian peninsula mandated strong fortifications in Rome and the papal states, but that does not fully explain away the Farnese penchant for grand buildings. The younger Alessandro hoped

29 Eugene IV held the papal throne for sixteen years (1431-47), Martin V for fourteen (1417-31), and Sixtus IV for thirteen (1471-84).

30 Paul’s conciliar fervor was mild, and he seems to have tried to defuse interest in and delay the event.

31 A study on the topic is Fredrika Herman Jacobs, “Studies in the Patronage and Iconography of Pope Paul III, (1534-1549),” Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1975. This work is of uneven quality (the author writes that “In 1530, the first book of madrigals was published, but it was under Paul’s patronage that Bernardo Pisano made the greatest advances in this form of music,”), and is most interesting for the author’s readings of the programs of large-scale fresco cycles in the Palazzo della Cancelleria and Castel Sant’Angelo.
for election to the papacy but, despite his high stature within the College of Cardinals, he did not rise to his grandfather’s level.\(^\text{32}\)

Paul’s level was high indeed; Peter Partner notes that, although the “untiring old pope” had no known vision of urban renewal he nonetheless undertook a series of grand projects. In these he had the aid of Latino Giovenale Manetti, his archeological consultant, and architects Michelangelo and Antonio da Sangallo. Paul’s various projects set Rome on the path toward reemergence as one of Europe’s great cities, as he took a place with Popes Sixtus IV and Sixtus V in the story of Rome’s urban renewal.\(^\text{33}\)

Antonio Sangallo the Younger oversaw restoration of Castel Sant’Angelo, at Paul’s behest, with improved fortifications, an additional floor, and a splendid papal apartment. As one of the Cardinals who had taken refuge in the fortress after the Sack, Paul’s concerns about improved living conditions make sense, and fear of a Turkish invasion argued for a safer fortress than that which had served Clement in 1527.\(^\text{34}\)

The best-known Farnese building project is the Palazzo Farnese, considered by some the most magnificent Renaissance palace in Rome. Paul began the palace in 1517, and building continued after his death under the direction of his grandsons.\(^\text{35}\)

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\(^\text{32}\) One work on Farnese patronage I found particularly useful as a summary of their activities, with an emphasis on the projects of the younger Cardinal Alessandro, is Robertson’s *Il gran cardinale*: *Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts*. For general discussion on which I draw here see pp. 16-19.


\(^\text{34}\) In 1537 the Sultan of Algiers attacked the coast of Lazio and came quite near Rome.

\(^\text{35}\) This project was Antonio da Sangallo’s his first independent commission after the death of his master, Bramante. When Sangallo died in 1546 Michelangelo replaced him as architect. France has claimed ownership of the building since 1874, when the French government purchased it from the Bourbon kings of Naples (heirs to the Farnese), but the Italian government has mounted periodic challenges on the
other personal building endeavors but, once elected, Paul took on projects intended to rebuild Rome’s monuments and, with them, her prestige. The rebuilding of St. Peter’s, begun under Julius II and Leo X, was resumed, along with improvements to the Vatican palace. Renewal of the Capitoline Hill, ancient locus centralis of Rome’s political, social, and religious life, was a favored project. In 1536 Paul assigned to Michelangelo the task of designing a piazza there which would include a new papal palace next to the Church of the Aracoeli. The grand design was never completed to the original plan, but several elements did see life. Among the most monumental of these is Michelangelo’s ordering of the Campidoglio around the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, relocated from its position in front of the Lateran, and inclusion of the Dioscuri flanking the staircase which leads to the piazza. These elements encapsulate the humanist melding of antique and modern Rome, and are a clear expression of Paul’s beliefs.

It is with music, most particularly extra-liturgical, that Paul’s interests as patron diverge from Leo and Clement. Music, so important to the Medici, does not seem to have had special meaning for Paul. Blasius de Cesena, his master of ceremonies, stated grounds that one of Rome’s most magnificent palaces should not fall to foreign ownership. The palace now houses the French Embassy and the École Français.


The integration of classical past and Christian present appears to have been an especial interest of Paul’s mentor Paolo Cortesi. His Liber sententiarum of 1504 is a theological work written “in classical Latin in order to demonstrate that humanist Latin could express Christian doctrine,” and De Cardinalatu is “one of the few humanist texts to discuss a clerical theme,” in which Cortesi “argued for the integration of humanist and Christian ideas as a model for the life of a cardinal or any man with important political responsibilities.” See John F. D’Amico, “Humanism in Renaissance Rome,” in Roman and German Humanism, 1450-1550, ed. Paul F. Grendler (Aldershot [Great Britain]: Variorum, 1993), 1: 277-78.
that Paul was “well enough trained in the theory of music to understand the intricacies of the art.” This may fall under the category of damning with faint praise; classically educated as he was, Paul had surely been instructed in the monochord and its accompanying music theory. If this is all de Cesena meant, I am correct in considering it in fact an empty statement.  

We have no other evidence suggesting he had musical training or a great love of music, no personal music manuscripts known to have been his. This is no small matter; in the age of Castiglione musical ability was valued, and we have numerous witnesses to the musical proficiency of persons of note. The absence of anecdote does not necessarily mean the absence of ability, but it is an argument against it.

Nino Pirrotta pointed out that, while music was part of the humanist curriculum, its study followed Classical models, with their emphasis on quadrivial aspects such as proportion, and speculative topics, rather than technical study. The result is a limited view:

The most usual attitude of a humanist, however, seems to me to be not one of distrust or contempt toward the most technical aspects of music, but simply one of ignorance for lack of exposure. His musical experience is chiefly empirical, concentrating on the most immediate aspects of this art, on soloistic singing, dance tunes, flourishes of trumpets, lulling sounds of harps and flutes,

38 Dorez’s eleventh chapter, “Les Musiciens de Paul III,” occupies twelve pages, the bulk of which are devoted to Francesco da Milano, while the following chapter, “Les chasses pontificales,” comes in at eleven, *La cour du pape Paul III d’apres les registres de la Trésorerie secrète*, I: 221-43.


40 I think here most immediately of various members of the Medici family, Isabella d’Este, and, famously, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.
and perhaps some display of instrumental virtuosity on the lute or on a keyboard instrument.\(^{41}\)

In Paul’s case, we see a relationship to music that maps perfectly onto the attitude put forward by Pirrotta. Once he became pope, and his family’s standing increased, music gained greater importance. He was now faced with situations that called for musical observance, and he had at his disposal the resources to ensure that the music would be of high caliber.

We are fortunate enough to have two isolated figures which explicate spending on music: in 1526, from a personal income of 3,000 ducats, Clement spent 499 on musicians. The Venetian ambassador reported in 1536 that Paul, on the other hand, spent a mere 205 ducats on music.\(^{42}\) This is a considerable difference, particularly in light of the fact that Paul possessed great wealth, whereas Clement was plagued by constant financial want. Paul’s reduced expenses might be seen as reasonable, given the fact that Leo and Clement both consistently exceeded their incomes, but my point still stands: the Medici popes were willing to risk debt for a musical establishment while Paul, whose resources were abundant, spent what was, by measure of his other expenditures, a pittance on music.\(^{43}\)

\(^{41}\) “Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” 1966, repr. in Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 1984), 89.


Papal singers typically received a salary of nine ducats per month; one singer alone had the potential to earn 108 ducats per year. (The fines regularly collected by singers for various infractions were deducted, hence their actual income was somewhat variable.) Viewed against a chapel member’s salary of 9 ducats per month, Paul’s 205 ducats surely cannot have bought a large musical establishment.
In this regard Paul may represent the norm, and families such as the Medici and the Este an exception. A certain standard of literary and musical understanding was important for courtly life, and no one would have been surprised by a noblewoman who wrote poetry or performed on an instrument. Few other noble families, however, boasted the several generations of literary and artistic effort and support given by the Medici. From Lorenzo and Lorenzaccio de’ Medici’s poetry to Leo’s compositions, from the elaborate music manuscripts owned by the family to the written records of their delight in musical performances, a picture emerges of a strong artistic tradition.

For Paul, on the other hand, secular music seems to have functioned as the expected adjunct to courtly life, one area among many in the household which served an ideal of rank and privilege. In his De Cardinalatu, in which a prince of the church is exhorted to maintain a court equal to that of a secular prince, Paolo Cortesi had set forth the elements of an appropriate establishment, including music. A pope, apex of the Christian hierarchy, would by extention have been under even greater obligation to maintain an establishment correct in every detail.

The papal chapels were maintained for observances of religious ritual. There were at least three separate groups of Roman instrumentalists to whom Paul made occasional payments; the pifari and tamburino of the Castello (the Castel’ Sant’Angelo),

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43 As with artists, the most notable musician employed by Paul, Francesco da Milano (to whom I will return), had been a Medici servant.

44 Although the Medici had no titles through the 1520s, and were eager to be seen simply as citizens of Florence, their lifestyle was clearly that of citizen-nobles.

45 A recent German dissertation by Klaus Pietschmann, “Kirchenmusik zwischen Tradition und Reform: Die päpstlichen Kapelle unter Papst Paul III (1534-1539),” has been announced for publication in book form but as of this writing the volume is not yet available.
the trombetti, pifari and tamburino of the Guardia (the Swiss Guard, ceremonial attendants on the pope since the reign of Julius II), and the trombetti and pifari of the Campidoglio.\footnote{Gifts of money to the musicians are recorded on 1 January of 1536, 1537, and 1538. Paul also distributed monies to the trombetti of Pier Luigi, and the musicians of various secular leaders including, in 1536, the Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua. Surely many more such payments were made. Dorez, \textit{La cour du pape Paul III d’après les registres de la Trésorerie secrète}, 2: 14, 97, 174.} This left household music which, though not part of the public arena, was not truly private, either; visiting dignitaries were routinely received and entertained in the various papal dwellings, and on these occasions the entertainment, of which music was a traditional element, had to be of high quality.

Paul’s grandchildren received the musical education fitting for young nobles. Numerous payments were made for tuning keyboard instruments belonging to the pope’s granddaughters, Vittoria Farnese and Francesca and Giulia Sforza, but the different descriptives used by scribes make it impossible to tell how many instruments are meant; given the gaps in time it is not inconceivable that all three girls shared one instrument, but it may be that each had her own. Vittoria is the only one for whom records of musical instruction exist: her music master was Antonio Brandici.\footnote{Dorez, \textit{La cour du pape Paul III d’après les registres de la Trésorerie secrète}, 1: 226; 2: 10, 36, 50, 93, 113, 125.} Ottavio received lute
instruction from Francesco da Milano; I will discuss both at some length in a subsequent chapter.

All of this is in accord with Cortesi’s ideals. Given the humanist’s importance as a mentor to the young Alessandro Farnese, it should come as no surprise that, once pope, Paul maintained a high-quality chapel; after all, Cortesi had assigned to the Mass preeminence among musical genres. 48

The papal chapel inherited by Paul contained only one singer whose tenure preceded the Medici popes. The extended rule of Leo and Clement was bound to leave a strong musical legacy; what is interesting in this case is the number of singers who remained in the organization for most of their lives. (See Table 2.1)

Table 2.1: Singers in the Papal Chapel during Paul’s Reign 49

A) Singers in the Chapel at the time of Paul’s Election
Juan Scribano (Scrivano, Scribanus, Escribano) 10/1503 - 8/1539 (d. 10/1557)
Jean Conseil y 5/1514 - d. 1/1535
Jean Bonnevin (Beausseron) 6/1514 - d. 5/1542
Bernardo Pisano (de Paulis, Paolo) 8/1514 - d. 1/1548
Giovanni Francesco Zonatis (de Padua, Villano, Villanus) 1/1515 - 1517, 2/1533 - d. 7/1539
Costanzo Festa 11/1517 - d. 4/1545
Giovanni Francesco Felici (Felicis) 1518 -12/1556 [1/1557 - d.1561]
Blas Nuñez 1520 - 6/1563 [7/1563 - d. 11/1563]
Marco Symmardo 1525-26 - d. 1/1535
Juan Sanchez de Tineo 1525 - 12/1539, 8/1542 - 3/1558
Girolamo Tamagnis 3/1528 - d. 10/1559

48 See Pirrotta, “Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy,” especially 91-93 and 102-12.

Yvo Barry 12/1528 - 3/1552  
Jean le Conte 12/1528 - 6/1549  
Pierre Lambert 12/1528 - d. 8/1563  
Antonio Calasans (Calasanz) 11/1529 - 1573 … d. 6/1577  
Jean de Cambrai (Cocu) 3/1532 - d. 11/1535  
Genesius Bultheti 11/1532 - d. 7/1555  
Antoine Normant (Normand, Loyal, Mons.r Mon Compère) 3/1534 - d. 10/1557  
Franciscus Goes (Ghoust, Zelandus, Ormandus) 5/1534 - d. 11/1539  

B) Singers entering the Chapel during Paul’s Pontificate  
François de la Mee 11/1534 - d. 7/1535  
Giovanni Abbate (Abbas) *7/1535 - d. 10/1568  
Paolo Bursanis (de Quevedo) #7/1535 - d. 11/1546  
Mattia Fioran (Floranus, de Tervisio, de Tervisio) 7/1535 - 12/1546, d. 2/1547  
Cristóbal de Morales 8/1535 - 12/1545 (d. 10/1553)  
Stefano Toro (Thoro) *8/1535 - 8/1554 [8/1554 - d. by 5/1555]  
Antonio Cappello 3/1536 - d. 3/1562  
Bartolomeo Escobedo 8/1536 - 8/1555 (d. before 8/11/63)  
Giovanni Antonio de Magnanis 3/1537 - d. 6/1553  
Léonard Bonot (Barré) 7/1537 - 8/1555 [{9/1555 - 9/1560}] d. after 8/1565  
Virgilio de Amanditis (Corso) *11/1538 - d. 10/1571  
Jean Monceau 11/1538 - 6/1539  
Pedro Ordóñez *4/1539 - 12/1550 … d. 11/1551 or (d. 10/1585)  
Jean Mont 8/1539 - 9/1565 [10/1565 - d. by 1/1583]  
Jacques Arcadelt 12/1540 - 6/1551 (d. 10/1568)  
Simone Bartholini (Simone di Carlo, Perusinus) *7/1542 - 9/1565 [10/1565 - 10/1571]  
Ottaviano Gemelli (Aquilano) 11/1542 - 6/1547  
Federigo Lagisio (Lagisius, Algisius) *12/1543 - 3/1574 [3/1574 - d. 10/1582?]  
Virgilio Fortin (Casanova) *5/1544 - d. 1/1562  
Francisco de Montaluo *1/1547 - 1/1572 [1/1572 - 12/1581]  
Gioacchino Carrotta *3/1547 - d. 3/1556  
Vincenzo Vicomercato (Vimercato) *4/1547 - d. 2/1574  
Agnello de Antignano (Neapolitanus) 10/1547 - 10/1584 [10/1584 - d. 9/1589]  

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50 Paul IV ordered Argentille expelled from the chapel in 1556 as he was a Carthusian monk, but he continued to collect his full salary.

51 Francisco de la Mee may be the Franciscus Antonius on the mandato of June 1534.

52 Cappello served in Ferrara from 1529 until 1536 when, at Paul’s request, he entered the papal chapel. His higher-than-usual salary and the fact that his rent was paid by Paul suggest that he was a musico segreto in addition to his service in the chapel. See Sherr, “Capsule Singer Bios.”

53 Danckerts was one of the singers forced to retire when the chapel was reorganized in August 1565, under Pius IV. He was described at the time as having no voice, being “surpassingly rich” (eccellens dives), a womanizer, and useless due to illness (inutilis propter infirmitatem). See Richard Sherr, “Competence and Incompetence in the Papal Choir in the Age of Palestrina,” Early Music XXII (1994), 611-15.
Creation of a new constitution for papal singers took place over the course of seven months in 1545.\(^{54}\) Such documents had existed before, and Vatican archives actually contain two versions, one perhaps from Leo X’s reign, and the other from before December, 1540. The claim, then, that a new constitution to replace those lost in the Sack of Rome, is demonstrably false. In fact, the *maestro di cappella*, Ludovico Magnasco, sought to maximize his control over the organization and new regulations limiting self-governance of the singers in favor of centralized authority vested in the *maestro* was his only opportunity. The singers resented Magnasco’s acts and, in 1550, only months after Paul’s death, they mounted their argument against the *maestro*, and were able to again limit his authority. The 1545 Constitution, though it was quickly challenged and amended, is of great interest to scholars. Apart from the insight it offers into the organization, it provides a snapshot of chapel membership. Every singer in residence signed the document, in order of seniority.\(^{55}\) A blank space was left between

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\(^{55}\) The exception to this was Juan Sanchez de Tineo, who had been dismissed after an altercation with another singer. He was readmitted three years later, but without seniority, a fact highlighted by his
the signatures of Stefano Toro and Antonio Cappello for Morales, who was away when the constitution was signed.56 (See Illustration 2.1)

position on this list; his name would have been fifth on the list (fourth among singers), but instead he appears near the bottom.

56 In January 1545, Morales had been granted the 10-month leave customary for members of the French and Spanish nations for every five years of service; he left for Spain in May. He was not expected back, then, until early in 1546 but, in March 1545 the position of maestro di cappella at the Cathedral of Toledo had become available and, while in Spain, Morales was granted the post. See Stevenson, “Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500-53): A Fourth-Centenary Biography,” 23-27.
Illustration 2.1: Signatories to the November 1545 Constitution of the Cappella Sistina

Biblioteca Vaticana, Vatican CS 611, fol. 31. Used with permission.
Signatories are: Ludovico Magnasco, Bishop of Assisi, maestro di cappella; Bernardo Pisano; Giovanni Francesco Felici; Blas Nuñez; Girolamo Tamagnis; Charles d’Argentille; Pierre Lambert; Yvo Barry; Jean le Conte; Antonio Calasans; Genesius Bultheti; Antoine Normant; Giovanni Abbate; Mattia
Several liturgical manuscripts, monophonic and polyphonic, can be dated to Paul’s papacy.\(^{58}\) Six chant volumes now in the collection of the Cappella Sistina include an antiphonar for Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week copied in 1535, an antiphonar for feast days of the saints for the entire liturgical year, an antiphonar from the post-Epiphanym period up to Advent, c. 1545, a Gradual from c. 1545 for the Mass Propers of Passion Sunday through Pentecost, a Lenten Gradual copied c. 1545, and a Gradual for the Pentecost season, copied in 1541.

A number of large manuscripts of polyphony for the Cappella Sistina were created as well, under the aegis of long-time scribe Johannes Parvus.\(^{59}\) As is typical of Cappella Sistina repertory, there is a considerable retrospective component represented by the inclusion of composers such as Josquin, as well as a strong showing by composers active in the chapel.\(^{60}\) The high regard in which music from preceding decades was held

Fioran; Paolo Bursanis; Stefano Toro; Antonio Cappello; Bartolomeo Escobedo; Giovanni Antonio de Magnanis; Léonard Bonot (Barré); Ghiselin Danckerts; Virgilio de Amanditis; Pedro d’Ordóñez; Jean Mont; Jacques Arcadelt; Simone Bartholini; Juan Sanchez; Ottaviano Gemelli; Federigo Lagisio; Virgilio Fortin. Eight additional names were added in the later 1540s until fol. 32 was full.

\(^{58}\) Llorens made much of these manuscripts as indicators of personal interest: “…The enthusiasm which Paul III felt for sacred music, whether plainsong or polyphonic, is clearly revealed in the codexes written at his command.” In my opinion this view confuses the man with the office, ignoring the notion of a papal chapel constantly in need of new repertory, and new copies of manuscripts worn from use. See José M. Llorens, “The Musical Codexes of the Sistine Chapel Written Through the Generosity of the Pauline Popes,” in \textit{Studies in Musicology: Essays in the History, Style, and Bibliography of Music in Memory of Glen Haydon}, ed. James Pruett (Chapel Hill: University of Chapel Hill Press 1969), 18-50, esp. 23.

\(^{59}\) There are other manuscripts from this era as well, but they lack specific references, in text or heraldry, to Paul. The very nature of Cappella Sistina manuscripts makes dating difficult; they are comprised not of gatherings but of individual \textit{libelli}, so that entire volumes can be disassembled and reassembled readily. An unfortunate byproduct of this process is that damaged \textit{libelli} containing text or images which might aid in dating could be discarded in the reassembly process.

One exemplar that speaks to the composite nature of the sources is Cappella Sistina 64; folios 4-13, collecting music by Mabrianus de Orto, were copied in the late fifteenth century, and are bound together with pieces copied 1538-76, principally by Parvus, by composers including Festa, Palestrina, and Morales.
was typical of the Sistine Chapel, and is one reason for recopying of manuscripts, rather than their disposal; some of the composers who served Paul contributed music to the chapel repertory that was heard for decades. The manuscript Cappella Sistina 13 contains eight masses and seven motets principally by papal singer/composers (Escobedo, Argentille, Arcadelt, Beausseron, Missone and Morales, joined by Jacquet of Mantua and Mouton); Cappella Sistina 17 contains 6 masses and 5 Marian antiphons by Northern, Spanish, and Roman composers (from Claudin and Gascogne to Morales and Festa); Cappella Sistina 18 is a collection of hymns, Magnificats, Magnificat antiphons and Benedicamus settings, all by Costanzo Festa; Cappella Sistina 19 collects 6 masses and 9 motets; Cappella Sistina 24 has no masses, just twenty-six motets, antiphons and sequences by a variety of composers including Josquin, Arcadelt, Escobedo, Morales, and Lhéritier; and Cappella Sistina 154 consists of only 4 masses, by Billon, Josquin, La Rue, and Morales.

Paul’s *musica segreta* consisted of chapel singers and others; the first were clearly identified in the *tesoreria segreta* as *cantori della cappella*, while the second were referred to only as *musici*. This term, customarily used for instrumentalists who may have sung as well, is not consistently applied, further clouding its meaning. The viol virtuoso Giovanni Battista Sansone, known as Siciliano, received twenty ducats per month from 1535 until 1538, when a two-year gap in account books begins. Lorenzo

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61 One particularly puzzling case is that of Galeazzo de Baldi, or Galeazzo di Bologna, who may have served Leo X as well. He is referred to variously as a *cantore* or a *musico*; there are also payments to a “Galeazzo, musico” among the Castel’s *pifferi*, along with a “Galeazzo della viola.” The variety of names and attributes given makes secure identification impossible. See Alison Sanders McFarland, “Papal Singers, the *Musica Segreta*, and a Woman Musician at the Papal Court: The View from the Private Treasury of Paul III,” *Studi musicali* 24 (1995), 217-20.
Spiriti da Gaieta, an organist who had served Clement VII, was employed from 1535 until 1538 at a salary of fifteen ducats per month. Neither man is listed from 1540 on, the era for which account books again survive.

The *musica segreta* included a female singer, Madonna Laura, *musica*. Her name is recorded in the account books from December 1537 until January 1548, with an absence of six months in 1543. Her husband, Francesco de Ruggieri, must be the “Johannes Francesco de Rogeriis” whose sons Julius and Alexander served in the Cappella Giulia (Julius from 1545-49, and Alexander from 1553-54).  

Paul had a vocal ensemble that performed for him as well, though pay records suggest they served infrequently. From January of 1541 Costanzo Festa and companions received payments from the papal treasury. The names and number of singers are unknown, but they were not all from the papal chapel; the payments are dispersed to “cantori della cappella” and “cantori secreti.” A rare example of specificity in the naming of performers appearances at Christmastime, though there may have been other performances as well. What repertory was involved is equally mysterious. In 1546 Paul’s private chapel was made up of six singers, all of whom were drawn from the papal

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62 Madonna Laura’s six-month absence in 1543 may have been a maternity leave. Her husband may himself be the Johannes Franciscus, *puer*, who had served in the Cappella Giulia in 1513-14. A boy soprano who shared his first name, Johannes Paolo de Ruggiero, served in that institution from 1564-65, but no parents or siblings are named in records pertaining to him. Given that the couple’s two known sons take their names from fairly recent popes, the name “Paolo” does suggest that this boy, too, was their son. See Alison Sanders McFarland, “Papal Singers, the *Musica Segreta*, and a Woman Musician,” 220-21.

63 Antonio Cappello was Festa’s successor, or substitute, for one year. See McFarland, “Papal Singers, the *Musica Segreta*, and a Woman Musician,” 223-27.

64 In general the weeks of late December and early January offer among the most detailed pay records; the holidays were traditional times of largesse, hence the urge to indicate gifts given and their recipients.
chapel; Bernardo Pisano was the master, and Arcadelt was one of the members.  

Charles d’Argentille became head of the ensemble in 1547, two years after Pisano’s death. In all these instances the group is led by a composer, but I do not know how significant this is; it may simply reflect seniority in the chapel or a combination of complementary voices.

The composers within the papal chapel were, as was traditional, called upon to create liturgical music and, as needed, celebratory motets. When Charles V made a state entrance into Rome in April 1536, Paul made payments to servants in the sizeable Imperial entourage, which included pifari, violoni, and trombetti, as well as the musicians of various other nobles in attendance. Charles returned Paul’s gesture with one of his own, rewarding the singers of the papal chapel with a gift of 100 scudi on 28 April.

In 1538 Paul, Charles V and Francis I met for the signing of the Treaty of Nice, an event commemorated in Morales’s motet a6, Jubilate deo omnis terra, which names all three rulers. Paul’s account books record no payment for this motet, nor is any


66 The more specific these sorts of pieces are to a particular event, the less useful they are for others. This makes their composition a particularly useful display of patronal power. There are surviving examples of reuse within this repertory, as with Costanzo Festa’s Quis dabit oculis, composed in 1514 on the death of Anne of Brittany which reappeared with new text, minor alterations, and an attribution to Ludwig Senfl, as a funeral motet for Emperor Maximilian. The measure of disapproval we feel for such reuse, perhaps anachronistically, can be readily seen in the title of the study detailing Quis dabit’s second turn, Alexander Main, “Maximilian’s Second-Hand Funeral Motet,” The Musical Quarterly 48 (1962), 173-89.


mention made in the *Diarii sistini*; how papal composers were remunerated for their compositions is unfortunately unclear. A work such as this, which includes names, is easily dated. Other compositions are not so clear and, if we had such pay records, the dating of occasional works would be useful for biography.\(^{70}\)

One *musico* in Paul’s service about whom more has recently been discovered is the instrumentalist and composer Giuliano Tiburtino. Born in Tivoli c. 1510, Tiburtino entered papal service in 1545, after some years at the della Rovere court in Urbino.\(^{71}\) Payments to Tiburtino of three ducats per month began in January 1545; he is identified only as ‘*musico*’ in the pay registers without any additional information as to what instrument he might have played, or what his duties were, but three ducats is the sum typically received by instrumentalists; singers and composers received larger wages. Francesco da Milano had died c. 1543-44, which suggests to me that Tiburtino may have

\(^{69}\) The hopeful spirit of the motet, built over an ostinato of “Gaudeamus” that unifies the prima and seconda pars, refers to the “principes terrae,” whose meeting will permit that “pax de caelo descendit.” *Jubilate Deo* has very poor distribution: it was printed by Moderne in 1542, and by Scotto in 1549. Given the specific nature of the text, and its citations of rulers who were often enemies, the limited interest in the work is understandable. An edition, with commentary, can be found in Higinio Anglés, ed., *Cristóbal de Morales (+1553): Opera Omnia Volumen II: Motetes 5-XXV*, *Monumentos de la Música Española* XIII, Barcelona, 1953.

Relations between Francis and Charles, never good, had deteriorated over the course of the 1530s, prompted in large part by Francis’s ongoing diplomatic relations with Suleiman the Magnificent. Unlike the French, the Spanish were particularly sensitive to threats of Turkish aggression. The days of al-Andalus and the Reconquista were in the recent past; it was Charles’s grandparents who had finally driven the Moors from Spain. Francis, on the other hand, had sent an envoy to the Golden Porte in 1525, and by 1536 he had an ambassador there. Although Francis spoke of joining Charles and Paul in a crusade he in fact had no such intentions. In 1543 he went so far as to permit the Ottoman fleet to winter at Toulon. See De Lamar Jensen, “The Ottoman Turks in Sixteenth Century French Diplomacy,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 16 (1985), 451-70.

\(^{70}\) Arcadelt, Festa, and others who were just singers all received the same salary. There must, then, have been some special incentive or reward for the active composers.

\(^{71}\) He was probably employed in Urbino before 1532; the first secure notice of his presence, from that year, alludes to him as a “vecchio servitor.” He was still there in 1539, in service to Guidobaldo II, although he was periodically absent.
been his replacement.\textsuperscript{72} Just as Francesco remained at the papal court through several reigns so, too, did Tiburtino, who was still in papal service in 1564, during the reign of Pius IV.\textsuperscript{73}

Tiburtino contributed to a volume of \textit{Fantasie et recerchari} a 3 (Scotto, 1549); his single fantasy and twelve ricercares join ricercares by Willaert, and madrigals by Willaert, Rore, and others. In that same year a collection of his own pieces saw print under the title \textit{Musica diversa a tre voci}. The contents of this volume are diverse indeed; eleven motets (most of which are on Marian texts), a \textit{Missa de Beata Virgine}, and twelve \textit{note nere} madrigals.

One earlier madrigal by Tiburtino, \textit{Madonna s’io potessi}, was in manuscript circulation by the second half of the 1520s, and saw print in 1537.\textsuperscript{74} More music by Tiburtino has only recently been discovered; Augustino Ziino has found several damaged sheets from cantus and tenor partbooks of a previously unknown print produced by Bartolomeo Egnazio, in Ottaviano Petrucci’s shop.\textsuperscript{75} This volume, from 1539, suggests

\textsuperscript{72} Tiburtino received two special payments of eleven ducats each, in January 1546 and 1547; this is the same amount received by the singers of Paul’s \textit{musici secreti}. See McFarland, “Papal Singers, the \textit{Musica Segreta}, and a Woman Musician at the Papal Court,” 220, 226, n.70.


\textsuperscript{74} The manuscripts in question are Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale MS Q 21 and New Haven, Yale University, John Herrick Jackson Music Library Misc. MS 179; the print is \textit{Il Terzo libro de Madrigali de Verdelotto}. See Fenlon-Haar, 137-42, 181-83, and 301-03.

\textsuperscript{75} The title page contains a dedication dated 15 May 1539; on its facing folio is a Latin poem praising Petrucci who is referred to by Egnazio, in the dedication, as “Patrone mio già defunto.” The sheets, used as endpapers for volumes of deeds from the 1550s, were discovered in the Fondo Giudiziario of Fossombrone, now housed in the State Archive of Pesaro.

For this and the following discussion I have drawn on a study in preparation; Teresa M. Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, “Beyond Petrucci: An Unknown Madrigal Collection by Giuliano Tiburtino (Fossombrone 1539).” I thank Professors Gialdroni and Ziino for allowing me to draw on their research before it has seen print.
that Tiburtino, though not a prolific composer, was a steady one; the title page announces
the volume as *Sonnetj, Madrigali e stanze, comode da/ sonare e da Cantare, delle
Excellen-/te Musico Messere Giuliano Tiburtino*. The table of contents lists twenty titles,
more than doubling his known contribution to the madrigal repertory.\(^{76}\)

Most of the texts are anonymous and incomplete. Only two can be securely
attributed: a Petrarch stanza (the earliest known setting of the popular *Alla dolc’ ombra*),
and a Sannazaro sonnet. Several of the remaining, anonymous, texts were used by other
composers; *Donna, s’io non ve veggio* appears in *La Serena* with an attribution to
“Carlo”.\(^{77}\) *Io me credea scemare* was set by Jhan Gero, and Baldassare Donato set
another, *Lasso, se tanto pianto e tanto ardore*.

Though the word “madrigali” is invoked in the print’s title, the Tiburtino
fragments suggest the simple, block-style, largely homophonic technique of his early
*Madonna, s’io potesse*; this is the style of Sebastiano Festa and Pisano, not the Florentine
madrigal of the 1520s and 1530s. The fact that, in 1539, he still hewed to the older style
of the 1520s, and perhaps sought to publish music of a type popular almost twenty years
before, is curious. If this was the music preferred at the court of Urbino, then it can be
safely said that they favored a retrospective repertory.\(^{78}\) Tiburtino’s *Madonna s’io

\(^{76}\) The exact purpose of the surviving leaves are unknown; they may, for example, have been only
printer’s proofs or some sort of press trial, but the presence of a title pages argues that all twenty madrigals
did indeed exist.

\(^{77}\) This text has been tentatively attributed to Dragonetto Bonifacio. Gialdroni and Ziino point out
that, if “Carlo” is Charles d’Argentille, who was a papal singer from 1528-56, then Tiburtino’s selection of
this text “may be more than a coincidence.” Nothing of Tiburtino’s setting survives so, if the pieces are
musically related, we can only hope that another fragment containing it will be discovered.
potesse, a piece which was in no way out of place stylistically in 1520s Rome, was far indeed from the madrigals being composed in 1539, a year by which the music of Verdelot, Arcadelt, and Festa was in wide distribution.

It was during Paul’s reign that madrigals began to appear in print in significant numbers; La Serena had been released in 1530, but the floodgates only really opened in 1533 with publication of the Verdelot Libro primo a4. This print, released the year before Paul’s election, transmits a repertory that had been in manuscript circulation for several years but, as publishers realized how successful madrigal collections might be and rushed to collect music for publication, composers began to rush also to produce more.

There is no small irony in the fact that, although Paul cannot be tied to the creation of secular music, one of the two foremost living composers of Italian secular music, Costanzo Festa, was serving in his chapel at his election. The second, Jacques Arcadelt, entered the Cappella Sistina during Paul’s reign; by the time of his formal entry in 1540 four of Arcadelt’s books of madrigals had seen print. His renown as a madrigalist was surely not of interest to Paul but, during over a decade spent in Rome, Arcadelt was a loyal singer and sacred composer, while also pursuing new trends in madrigal composition. The madrigal, after enjoying preeminence in Florence, was now to dominate Roman secular song as well.

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78 The reference on the title page to these as pieces “commode da sonare e da Cantare” evokes most immediately the frottola; here Tiburtino’s skills as an instrumentalist may have led him to compose in a style or manner with which he had experience as a performer.
Chapter 3
Arcadelt’s Italian Years

There is irony to be found in the fact that two of the three great early madrigalists, Philippe Verdelot and Jacques Arcadelt, are oltremontani; only Costanzo Festa is native-born. The irony that adheres to Festa’s career is the fact that he, although associated with patrons from that city, may never have been in Florence, the city with which the early madrigal is inexorably linked.

We know nothing of Arcadelt’s early life; even his place of origin is uncertain. He may have been in Florence by 1530 based on the presence of motets in the Vallicelliana manuscripts, dated to 1530-32, a Florentine-Roman source. One madrigal that is likely his appears in the Libro primo della Serena, from 1530; he has three motets in Moderne’s 1532 Motetti del Fiore, the second book of motets a 4; and madrigals in Magl. XIX, 122-25. The Florentine author Cosimo Bartoli, probably writing in the mid-

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1 He may be the infant baptized in Namur in 1507, although the name of the father, Gérard Fayl dele Arche d’Elte, is not as secure a cognate as we might like. See Paul Moret, “Jacques Arcadelt, musicien namurois (1507-1568),” Bulletin de la Société Liégeoise de Musicologie 83 (1993), 12-16.


The madrigal in question, Hor vedete madonna, is attributed to Maitre Jhan in La Serena, but ascribed to Arcadelt in the Gardano Secondo libro, 1539, in which it is the opening work.
1550s, is full of praise for Philippe Verdelot, whom he deems second only to Josquin. He turns next to Verdelot’s successor, writing that “Dietro alle pedate del quale caminando poi Archadel, si andava in quei tempi che egli stette in Firenze assai bene accomendando.”

This statement tells us both more and less than we might wish. It is our only (roughly) contemporary witness to Arcadelt’s stature in Florence and depicts him as a follower of Verdelot, but leaves us frustrated as to the nature of the relationship between the two. Were they master and student, and if so, figuratively, or literally? Simply successive composers serving the same court or its courtiers? As yet no evidence places Arcadelt at any religious institution in Florence, nor has Verdelot been tied to Arcadelt’s patrons, leaving only conjecture as to Bartoli’s meaning.

Bartoli may simply have intended to present Verdelot as leader, Arcadelt as follower, to reinforce the probability that they are of different generations. There is certainly a gap in age; Verdelot is thought to have been born c. 1480-85, while Arcadelt’s date of birth is thought to be c. 1507. This difference in age is supported by Verdelot’s earlier entry into the manuscript tradition and the respect accorded him in the early 1520s, as against the journeyman-like quality of the first known works by Arcadelt, datable to the early 1530s.

A more proximate reference to Arcadelt appears in the correspondence of the exiled Florentine Ruberto Strozzi. On 27 March 1534 Ruberto wrote to Florence from

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5 On the Strozzi, a family active in music patronage, see Chapter One.
Venice asking his teacher, Benedetto Varchi, for a madrigal in praise of the lady
Pulisena. No composer was suggested by Strozzi, who voiced instead his faith in
Varchi’s decision. Eight months later, on 19 November, Ruberto received a
communication from his kinsman Lionardo Strozzi in Lyon, forwarding a canzone he had
received from Florence eight days past. Lionardo states that he “… has many new things
from Florence” which he can send if desired, as he has a friend there “who, as soon as
Arcadelt writes any pieces at all, is always the first to have them, and he sends them to
me.”  I consider it significant that Verdelot goes unmentioned in this exchange, and take
his absence as further support for the theory that he had died by that time.

This is the first secure notice of Arcadelt’s presence in Florence, but the evident
regard in which he is held, suggested by the desirability of his newest work, argues that
he had already established a reputation in the city. As to the text commissioned by
Ruberto Strozzi, Richard Agee has argued convincingly that Arcadelt’s Quando co ‘l
dolce suono is the madrigal in question, suggesting a date of composition after March
1534. Agee considers it possible that Varchi, an accomplished writer, wrote the text
himself.  

Only one other document pertaining to Arcadelt’s years in Florence is known, a
1535 pay record for “Alcadelte franzese” from the household of Alessandro de’Medici.  


7 Cuando co ’l dolce suono circulated in two surviving manuscripts, Br. 27.731, in the section
copied c. 1535-40, and Magl. XIX. 99, 100l, 101bis, 102, copied c. 1535, and saw print in Arcadelt’s Primo
libro. For the letter see Agee, “Ruberto Strozzi,” 9-12, 16; the original text is given in n. 13. On dating of
the sources, see Fenlon-Haar, 149-50 and 164-67.

8 The source is a “nota delle persone di casa di Sua Eccellentia levata questo di viii di luglio
MDXXXV,” Florence, Archivio di stato, Carte Strozziane I.13/15. The document names nine musicians
employed by Alessandro, one of whom is listed as “Alcadelte franzese.” Three of the musicians listed
Although documentary evidence is scarce, manuscript evidence attests to Arcadelt’s popularity in Florence. By the time of the first surviving prints of his music he was renowned: in the dedicatory letter of the May 1539 Primo Libro Gardano refers to the composer as the “Divino Arcadelt.” In
the dedicatory letter to Gardano’s Il vero secondo libro the accolades have increased, and Arcadelt is both “famoso” and “grande.”

We do not know how he came to be employed by Alessandro, but Medici family interest in the hiring of musicians is traceable back to 1438 when Lorenzo di Giovanni, brother of Cosimo “il vecchio,” was charged with hiring singers in advance of the

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9 The existence of two lost early editions of Arcadelt’s Primo Libro can only be inferred. In the dedication of the earliest surviving edition, Gardano writes that the volume adds ten madrigals to the fifty of the earlier edition, as well as correcting errors left in when the volume was copied by a printer in Milan (Giovan Antonio de Castelione, not named by Gardano).

Bridges’s reconstruction of release dates suggests that Gardano’s editio princeps was released in May-August 1538, following production of the press’s first volume, Venticinque canzoni francesi, which was printed in April 1538. Castelione’s Milanese Arcadelt volume then followed in the Fall of 1538, giving Gardano about half a year to collect ten additional madrigals, reset the volume, and release his enlarged Primo libro, 1539, in May of that year. Gardano had released a new collection of Arcadelt madrigals in February 1539, Il vero secondo libro. This is also a response to a pirated or unauthorized edition, Scotto Secondo libro of Arcadelt madrigals, of which only cantus and altus parts survive.

Gardano’s Vero secondo has to be a response to Scotto’s volume, thus leaving only January-early February as a narrow window of opportunity for the Scotto print. Gardano’s press activity in the early months of 1539, with the Vero secondo in February and the surviving Primo Libro in May, is further support for a 1538 publication date for the lost Primo libro. See Thomas Whitney Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982, 67-72.

Gardano himself stands as an intriguing exemplar of patronage by a highly-placed bishop: his printer’s mark and early dedications are directed at Leone Orsini, of the Roman clan. Why a Frenchman working in Venice would operate under the protection of a Roman prelate is resolved by the fact that Orsini was the Bishop of the See of Fréjus in southern France, Gardano’s diocese of origin. See Mary S. Lewis, Gardano [Gardane], New Grove 9: 532.

10 Some of the praise heaped on musicians was surely just public relations (Arcadelt, Willaert, and Francesco da Milano come to mind immediately as musicians praised as “il Divino”), but in Arcadelt’s case I find it suggestive this early. His music was not widely disseminated outside of Florence, unless one considers the Strozzi family members in Venice and Lyon, but they clearly held him in high regard. Doni, another advocate for Arcadelt’s music, was not in Venice until 1540, when Arcadelt’s first four books of madrigals were already in print. If the Strozzi were the agents through whom Gardano received Arcadelt’s madrigals, then Ruberto’s praise may have influenced Gardano.
convening of the Council of Florence.\textsuperscript{11} The first recruitment specifically of musicians from the northern \textit{maîtrise} took place in 1447-48, under the aegis of Piero di Cosimo. The singers hired on this and a subsequent trip in 1466 were not Medici servants but, like the men hired in 1438, singers at the principal churches of Florence.\textsuperscript{12}

Although we know of only two trips made to France and the Low Countries by Medici agents in the mid-fifteenth century, pay records show regular employment of \textit{oltremontani} singers. Many stayed only a year, but were replaced almost as soon as they left.\textsuperscript{13} Surely representatives of the family were finding the men who, year after year, made the journey to Tuscany. One representative of whom we know is Guillaume Dufay, who received thanks for the singers he had sent from Cambrai in 1467.\textsuperscript{14}

Lorenzo de’ Medici represented the third generation of the family who oversaw the hiring of musicians for Florence’s churches. By 1473 the \textit{Arte di Calimala}, one of Florence’s major guilds, was responsible for paying singers at the Baptistry, but Lorenzo

\textsuperscript{11} Once in the city the men were paid suspiciously low salaries, suggesting that they served another master as well. Although we have no proof Cosimo was that other master, it is a reasonable conclusion, particularly in light of the actions of his heirs. Frank A. D’Accone, “The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence During the Fifteenth Century,” \textit{JAMS} XIV (1961), 308-13.

\textsuperscript{12} Assignment of singers to specific churches was erratic; for decades singers seem to have had responsibilities at the Cathedral, the Baptistry, and Santissima Annunziata. An independent chapel was established at the Duomo in 1478, but was temporarily abolished in 1485, then reestablished with inclusion of singers from the Baptistry. See D’Accone, “The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence During the Fifteenth Century,” 314-16, 321-22, 326-31.

\textsuperscript{13} The brief tenure of singers may reflect Florentine musical practice. Although the choirs at the major churches sang polyphony, it seems to have been of the simple, improvised sort. The Cathedral was in many ways a civic church, in which confraternities bore some of burden of liturgy by overseeing observances on the days of their patron saints See James Haar and John Nádas, “Antonio Squarcialupi: Man and Myth,” \textit{Early Music History} 25 (2006), 108.

\textsuperscript{14} The letter, dated 1 May 1467, was written by Antonio Squarcialupi, on behalf of Piero and is a well-known piece of the biographies of both musicians, most particularly for the section in which Squarcialupi writes of the esteem in which Piero and his son Lorenzo hold Dufay’s music, and Lorenzo’s desire to have a poem of his creation set to music by Dufay. For a recent discussion of this letter, with exploration of its implications for music in Florence, see Haar and Nádas, “Antonio Squarcialupi: Man and Myth,” 114-116.
was the person informed when new singers arrived. After his death in 1492 his son Piero continued the family’s musical tradition, as can be seen by a letter to him in which the papal singer Johannes Petit rejects an offer to relocate to Florence.  

After Piero’s death in 1503 leadership of the family fell to his younger brother, Cardinal Giovanni de’ Medici. What efforts toward patronage members of the family made during their exile are unknown, but it is certain they were not seeking musicians for service in Florence. 1512 was a turning point in the family’s history, though, when they returned to Florence. An even bigger turning point was Giovanni’s election as pope the following year. His interest in singers from France is well documented, as is that of his cousin Giulio, later Pope Clement VII.

After the Sack of Rome Clement sent the papal singer Jean Conseil on two journeys north to find new singers. The first, in 1528, is the most important, as it signifies the restoration of papal organizations. A later journey, in 1530-31, took him to Cambrai and Paris. It seems quite possible that on one of these trips Conseil sought musicians not only for the papal chapel, but also for Florence, again under Medici control.

Alessandro de’ Medici had been expelled from Florence after the Sack of Rome; his triumphant reentry as Duke occurred in July 1531. The place to which he returned had suffered greatly during his absence; the yearlong siege, which brought the republican government to an end, had both depopulated and impoverished the city. Alessandro’s return had been planned by 1529, and I think it is entirely reasonable to assume that in

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15 See D’Accone, “The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence During the Fifteenth Century,” 325-26, and 344-35.
preparation he, with assistance from Clement or Clement’s agents, established a household that would evoke, for those Florentines who doubted his stature, his glorious forebears. One trait that had distinguished the four generations that preceded Alessandro was their hiring of talented musicians, particularly northerners, a tradition Alessandro could readily carry on.

If we accept c. 1507 as Arcadelt’s date of birth, he was too young to serve in a chapel: he could not become a priest or be part of the liturgy of the mass until 1532, when he reached the age of 25. In that awkward period during which his voice had changed and he could no longer serve as a puer, and before he was of an age to take orders, a position as household musician would be a logical one; he could earn an income and compose while positioning himself for a more permanent position as a chapel member. It is in just such a role that he was serving Alessandro in 1535. The earliest sources for his music all have some sort of connection to the Medici through friendship between owners or texts, positioning Arcadelt within that large circle.

The next secure reference to Arcadelt comes after a five-year gap, and is his acceptance into the Cappella Sistina on 30 December 1540, a position he attained without undergoing examination. The notice of his entry reads as follows: “Eodem die R.

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16 As stated above, Florence was not a city in which an ambitious chapel singer/composer had much of a future, given the lack of emphasis on composed polyphony in her churches. The 1530s were a particularly bad time to be a newcomer there, as Florence was enjoying an era of particularly talented local composers. If, then, the position in Alessandro’s household was agreeable to Arcadelt, he would have been wise to remain there, where he was presumably held in esteem.

17 The admission to the papal chapel of Bartolomeo Escobedo on 23 August 1536, created an uproar within the chapel when members of the French nation refused to attend his inauguration. Haberl posited that the furor was a result of his admission as a result of direct papal intervention, without examination, but more recent scholars have argued that Escobedo’s inclusion created parity between members of the Spanish and French nations, to which the latter group objected. The singers met at the home of Costanzo Festa on 3 September 1536 to resolve the issue. Although Lowinsky read into this a French bias on Festa’s part, it seems likelier to me that he, as one of the chapel’s most senior members and...
Episcopus Castrensis magister Capelle admisit Iacobum Archadet………in numero Cantorum et induit eum cotta et accepit ad ipso juramentum observare etc. vt moris est, postea soluit sua regalia.”\textsuperscript{18} The blank space in the original document was deliberate, leaving space for the naming of a region or diocese. The standard formula was used when Cristóbal Morales joined the chapel on 31 August 1535 with the entry “Eodem fuit admissus in cantorum D. Christophorus de moralis clericus hispalensis,” and Giovan’ Antonio Magnani’s entrance on 22 March 1537 was notated as “Eodem die fuit acceptus dominus Ioannes antonius de maianis ferrariensis dioecesis in cantorem.”\textsuperscript{19} The brevity of Arcadelt’s notice is one of the more tantalizing and, at the same time frustrating, aspects of his career. The fact that he was admitted without trial suggests that someone in a position of power was behind his appointment, and the fact that codification of his admission departed from the standard formula means that we are unable to garner the biographical information often provided when a new singer entered the organization.

The five-year lacuna in Arcadelt’s biography, during which time his first four books of madrigals appeared, is a puzzle for scholars. I have not yet addressed this obscure phase, nor have I suggested any reason or time period for his departure from Florence. Although I have no new findings to report, I have a simple, tidy, hypothesis which I believe explicates his biography, and accounts for his movements; I believe that, part of the Italian nation, was perceived as neutral. See F. X. Haberl, “Die römische ‘Schola Cantorum’ und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts,” \textit{Bausteine für Musikgeschichte} III (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888, repr, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1971), 78 and 84; Robert Stevenson, “Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500-53): A Fourth-Centenary Biography,” \textit{JAMS} VI (1953), 15; and Edward E. Lowinsky, “On the Presentation and Interpretation of Evidence: Another Review of Costanzo Festa’s Biography,” \textit{JAMS} XXX (1977), 126. Regardless of the issues of the Escobedo case, Arcadelt’s admission caused no known reaction within the chapel.


\textsuperscript{19} Raffaele Casimirì, “I Diarrii Sistini,” \textit{Note d’Archivio} 1 (1924), 97, and 3 (1926), 5.
at some point after January 1537 Arcadelt entered the household of Margaret of Austria, Alessandro’s widow, and traveled with her to Rome for her 1538 wedding to Paul III’s grandson. As I will demonstrate below Margaret was nostalgic for her brief time in Florence and, initially unhappy in her second marriage, struggled against it while asserting her Medici connections. I think that Paul, perhaps in an effort to please the daughter-in-law so important to his dynastic goals, appointed Arcadelt to the Cappella Sistina without examination, thus showing favor to a favorite of hers.  

The years 1535 to 1538 were turbulent ones for Florence, even by her standards. The 1530 defeat of the Florentine Republic by combined papal and imperial forces had resulted in the installation of Alessandro de’ Medici as ruler of the city, with the emperor’s daughter as his promised bride. Alessandro was hated by many Florentines, but their attempts to unseat or reform a man who was at once the acknowledged nephew (or unacknowledged son) of the pope, and future son-in-law of the Emperor, were to no avail.  

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20 The controversy surrounding Escobedo’s admission without examination may, as suggested, had more to do with national balance than nepotism; in the wording of the dedication to one of his volumes of masses, Morales implies that Paul III had personally selected him for the chapel, easing his admission, but there is no controversy associated with Morales’s stay in the chapel. See Stevenson, “Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500-53): A Fourth-Centenary Biography,” 12.

21 The only male descendents of Cosimo il Vecchio were the cousins Alessandro and Ippolito, both bastards. Although there is lingering doubt about Alessandro’s parentage, presenting him as the bastard son of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, placed him above Ippolito in the line of succession, as Lorenzo was descended from the line of eldest sons. Ippolito was the son of Giuliano, Lorenzo “il magnifico”’s youngest son, and Pacifica Brandana of Urbino, who gave birth to the boy in 1510. As a child he was taken to Rome, where he was raised at Leo’s court. Ippolito’s elevation to the cardinalate in 1529, in spite of his worldly ambitions, increased the strength of Alessandro’s claim to the leadership of Florence. In fact, Ippolito sought the position held by his cousin and, in pursuit of this goal, allied himself with a group of fuorusciti. Filippo Strozzi and Clement’s cousins Cardinals Ridolfi and Salviati, in conjunction with other exiles, approached Charles V and asked that he void the marriage contract between Margaret and Alessandro, depose Alessandro, and elevate Ippolito to the ducal throne. Charles agreed that, upon the return from his Tunisian campaign he would hear out the rival claimants in Naples, in the summer of 1535, but Ippolito died that August in Itri, on his way to the meeting. Poison was suspected, and its administration was assumed to be at the behest of Alessandro. John Stephens, “Giovanbattista Cibo’s
Alessandro’s betrothed, Margaret, was born in Oudenaarde, Flanders, in the summer of 1522, the result of Charles V’s liaison with Johanna van der Gheenst, most likely a maid of the Baroness von Montigny.\textsuperscript{22} Charles de Lalaing, the Baron, was Charles’s governor in Oudenaarde an der Schelde, in whose castle Charles stayed in the autumn of 1521 during a journey through his northern possessions.\textsuperscript{23}

Margaret was recognized by Charles almost immediately.\textsuperscript{24} Her education and household were, like those of her father and aunts before her, supervised by Margaret of Austria, Charles’s aunt and Regent of the Netherlands, who was custodian as well of the two surviving children of Charles’s sister Isabella, who died in 1525, and her husband, the deposed Christian II of Denmark.\textsuperscript{25} Charles did not marry until 1526 and, until the birth of his son Philip the following year, Margaret was his only child. She had an

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\textsuperscript{22} Charles was in Oudenaarde from late October until early December. On 1 August 1522 Johanna was granted an annual pension, suggesting the child had been born on or before that date: Renato Lefevre, “’Madama’ Margarita d’Austria (1522-1586), Vita d’una grande dama del Cinquecento, figlia de Carlo V, sposa sortunata di Alessandro de’ Medici e duchessa di Parma e Piacenzo con Ottavio Farnese, governatrice dell’Aquila e delle Fiandre, signora di città del Lazio e dell’Abruzzo” (Rome: Newton Compton Editori, 1986), 23. On the occasion of Margaret’s second marriage Paul III gave her two costly jewels, one an ornament (balais) consisting of a diamond and a ruby, valued at 11,000 ducats. Lennep states that these are the jewels associated by astrologers with those born in July, so posits Margaret was born in that month. S.A van Lennep, \textit{Les années italiennes de Marguerite d’Autriche, Duchesse de Parme} (Geneva: Editions Labor et Fides, s.d. [195-?]), 74 and 137, n. 5.
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\textsuperscript{24} As some point before her death Margaret of Austria commissioned three portraits of her great-niece: one for the pope, one for Charles V, and one for her own portrait collection in Mechelin. In the 1533 citation of the commission, young Margaret is referred to not as “Madama,” or “Margaret of Austria,” but as “la fille batarde de l’empereur.” The commission must have been initiated after completion of the Treaty of Barcelona, in June 1529, and before Margaret’s death in November 1530; once the Treaty went into effect the child Margaret was the affianced daughter-in-law of the pope, and I can think of no other reason he would have had an interest in the portrait of a child not from his family. As far as I know, this portrait has not been identified. Dagmar Eichberger and Lisa Beaven, “Family Members and Political Allies: The Portrait Collection of Margaret of Austria,” \textit{The Art Bulletin} 77 (1995), 238.
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\textsuperscript{25} Margaret of Austria was herself a patron of note, to whom I will return.
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immediate role in Charles’s political schemes regardless of her illegitimacy, and was briefly promised to Ercole II d’Este when she was only four years old.\(^26\) Other suitors for her hand were Francesco Gonzaga, hoping to wed her to his son, and Clement VII, who sought her as a bride for Ippolito or Alessandro de’ Medici.\(^27\)

Margaret’s betrothal was one clause of the 1529 Peace of Barcelona.\(^28\) This dynastic marriage, though delayed by her youth and Charles’s reluctance to finalize the arrangement, did indeed take place, but only in 1536. Between the betrothal and marriage, Margaret paid a state visit to Florence in April 1533.\(^29\) Filippo Strozzi and Girolamo Guicciardini, who were in charge of the celebrations in her honor, revived a popular fifteenth-century work, Feo Belcari’s *sacra rappresentazione* known as the *Festa di San Felice*, which had been performed for previous distinguished guests visiting Florence.\(^30\) A surviving account of the 1533 performance alludes to the music performed (dances, instrumental music, and the ambiguous “feste”), but all that survives is a setting

\(^{26}\) Kohler, *Karl V.*, 85. Ercole married well nonetheless, when he wed the sister-in-law of Francis I, Renée of France, on 28 June 1528.


\(^{28}\) In the wedding contract she is referred to as the “Illustre Signora Margherita d’Austria;” the title “Madama” would not be used for several years. See Renato Lefèvre, “L’Eredità Medicea e Margarita d’Austria,” *Ricerche su “Madama” Margarita d’Austria e l’Italia del ‘500* ([Rome]: Castelmadama 1980), 70, n. 27.

\(^{29}\) She had met her prospective groom in June of 1531, when he accompanied Charles to Brussels; this was in fact her first meeting with her father, as well. See Lennep, *Les années italiennes de Marguerite d’Autriche*, 29.

\(^{30}\) The title comes from the church in which the drama was traditionally performed; the narrative is the story of the Annunciation. Fifteenth-century performances had been mounted for Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Charles VIII of France. See Anthony M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals, 1512-1537* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 141-47.
of *Laudate el sommo Dio*, an angelic chorus, which was collected in Serafino Razzi’s 1563 collection, *Libro primo DELLE LAUDE SPIRITUALI*.

There were other entertainments prompted by Margaret’s visits as well; Alessandro hosted a *convito*, or banquet, at which, after dinner, various masquerades, including a *moresche*, were followed by dancing and, to close the evening, performance of a comedy. The description of this event is more cursory than that of the Festa di San Felice, but the event follows a familiar pattern of extensive entertainment, with a variety of musical presentations.

Margaret left Florence in late April and was escorted by Alessandro and her entourage to Rome. There she had a papal audience with Clement VII on 7 May; the pope was said to be enchanted by her. She left for Naples on 10 May and remained there for the next three years, in the care of Françoise de Monthel, Princess of Sulmona, widow of Viceroy Charles de Lannoy.

Charles made a state entrance into Naples on 25 November 1535, flush from the success of his Tunisian campaign against Turkish pirates. The celebratory atmosphere continued into the Carnival season, which was, that year, particularly festive; the wedding was only one justification for the series of balls, receptions, banquets, comedies, and even a joust in which Charles participated, garbed *alla moresca*. Alessandro joined

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31 The text, lacking music, survives in two collections. One includes the “cantasi come,” or “sung to” rubric, the other does not.


33 See Lefèvre, “‘Madama’ Margarita d’Austria (1522-1586), Vita d’una grande dama,” 66.

the court there for his marriage, the first stage of which took place on 29 February 1536, with Charles in attendance.

Alessandro left Naples for Florence on 11 March, followed on 22 March by Charles. The Emperor’s formal entrance into the city so recently conquered by his troops took place on 28 April. He remained only a few days; when Margaret, the new Duchess, entered the city on 31 May, Charles had already left for Spain. On 13 June observances of Alessandro and Margaret’s marriage took place in Florence, in the church of San Lorenzo. The nuptial Mass was followed by a traditional large-scale Florentine celebration, the “‘publicizing” ceremony,” in which the groom’s friends and family participated in feasting and celebrations.

Lorenzino de’ Medici, also known as Lorenzaccio, stemmed from a cadet branch of the family, and was a close companion of Alessandro’s in their youth. In 1536, when the ducal wedding took place, Lorenzino put his skills as a poet in service to the celebrations, with the comedy L’Aridosia. The creation of madrigals to serve as theatre songs was a known feature of Florentine theatrical productions, dating back to the 1520s, so the search for pieces that might have accompanied this production is a natural one.

35 See Lennep, Les années italiennes de Marguerite d’Autriche, 52-54.
37 His given name was Lorenzo but, as he was small, the diminutive was applied. “Lorenzaccio,” or “Bad Lorenzo,” came into use after Alessandro’s murder, and it is that name which serves as the title of the nineteenth-century play by Alfred de Musset. In that work Lorenzo, while not fully rehabilitated, is depicted as a tortured soul, driven to action. I read echoes of Shakespeare’s Macbeth in the Musset play.
38 The tradition of music between the acts is first documented in Ferrara, in 1487, in testimony to the use of solo song and choral singing (“…youths in chains singing with sweet harmony…”) and references to the use of instruments “intermedii a li acti” in a theatrical production. The two most significant types of intermedi are the intermedi non apparente, in which music with no connection to the dramatic action entertained theatregoers between the acts, and the staged intermedi apparente, variously
The earliest madrigals that have been conclusively tied to plays are those Verdelot composed to accompany Machiavelli’s *Clizia* and *La Mandragola*. Polyphonic song both contradicted and supported the notion of the Greek chorus: more than one performer suggests an analogy with the Greek chorus, but polyphony runs the risk of obscuring text. The solution to this problem resides in texture: homophony comes closest to reproducing, in the presence of harmony, the text delivery of a chorus.

This brings me to the means by which music intended to accompany theatre can be identified. Homophony is the most immediate signifier, particularly within a predominantly chordal framework (variation can be readily achieved through devices such as alternation of voice pairings, as in Verdelot’s *Quanta sia lieto*). A clear reference to the Greek chorus is made if a madrigal text is appropriate to a male ensemble. Should a text allude to or speak in the character of a person within a play, a strong case can also be made.

Einstein identified a group of madrigals in Arcadelt’s *Terzo libro* that he thought to have been composed as accompaniment to the performance of a comedy. Nino Pirrotta, based on recurring textual themes, added one more to that group, which now consists of *Dai dolci camp’ Elisi*, *Foll’ è che crede*, *Ecco che pur dopo*, and *Quanto fra*

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39 Four madrigals by Verdelot on texts by Machiavelli have been identified as *intermedi* to accompany these plays. Another collaboration between the two not assigned to a play is subtitled “A Stanze della Barbera,” presumably Barbera Salutati. Other madrigals and chansons by Verdelot may be allied to theatrical events. See H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 1: 92-104.

40 My discussion of markers for madrigals drawn from *intermedi* is based on that of Bridges; he assigns Arcadelt’s *Sostenette quei di fugaci*, from Book Five, to the category of theatre song based on this aspect; “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 36-37.
voi mortali.\textsuperscript{41} John Walter Hill, building on the work of Einstein and Pirrotta, proposes that these madrigals “comment very appropriately” on the action of \textit{L’Aridosia} and I think it is fair to add that their texts, on love, lovers, fate, and happy union, are appropriate to a wedding entertainment.\textsuperscript{42} None of the texts have been assigned an author but Lorenzino meets all the conditions necessary to have written them himself (as Machiavelli wrote the texts for the \textit{intermedii} of his plays); he was in Florence, he was a close associate of one of the honorees at the wedding festivity, and he was a skilled poet. One text Arcadelt set that is possibly by Lorenzino is \textit{Ver’ inferno è’l mio petto}, which saw print in the \textit{Primo libro}.\textsuperscript{43}

Arcadelt’s \textit{Primo libro} contains one madrigal, \textit{Giovanetta regal pur innocente}, in which a “Margarita” is addressed.\textsuperscript{44} This piece is thought to commemorate Margaret’s 1533 visit to Florence. James Haar considers \textit{Giovanetta regal} an early work on stylistic grounds:

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\textsuperscript{41} \textit{The Italian Madrigal I}: 160-1 and 250. In Pirrotta’s view this is still short of a full cycle, which he defines as consisting of a prologue, one madrigal for each of the divisions between acts 1 through V, and a final madrigalian epilogue; see Nino Pirrotta and Elena Povoledo, \textit{Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi}, trans. Karen Eales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 124-26 and 151-53.

Although all four madrigals appeared in Arcadelt’s \textit{Terzo libro … a quatro} they are in no particular order. This is not surprising as Gardano arranged his prints by mode, hence obscuring any organizational principle that might have obtained in the source(s) from which he worked. In the case of this group, there is no surviving manuscript which contains all four; the two that do have manuscript concordances are not sequential in those sources.


\textsuperscript{43} Francesco Berni is the other possible poet. The madrigal has manuscript concordances in Magl. XIX, 99-102 and Brussels 27731, so was probably composed by 1536. For a discussion of this text, with further references, see James Haar, “The Florentine Madrigal, 1540-60,” in \textit{Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood}, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, ([Warren, Michigan]: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 144.

\textsuperscript{44} The dating of this madrigal is complicated by its absence from Florentine manuscript sources: it is unique to the \textit{Primo Libro}.
In its schematic design, blocklike phrasing, and less than perfect attention to verbal accents when the latter cross the iambic pattern of the verse, it could well qualify as an early effort since these are among the features that I think are indicative of the first stages of Arcadelt’s work as madrigalist. And if the suggested date is right, Arcadelt was in 1533 still very much the pupil of Verdelot.⁴⁵

Alessandro was assassinated eleven months after his wedding, on the night of 5 January 1537, by Lorenzino, leaving as issue only bastards.⁴⁶ Chief among these were his two children with his official mistress, Taddea Malaspina; a son, Giulio, and a daughter, Giulia.⁴⁷ At the time of the assassination the boy was four years old, his sister younger. Cardinal Innocenzo Cibò put forward Giulio’s name as successor to Alessandro, but his plan was rejected.⁴⁸

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⁴⁷ I consider the names of the children to be compelling arguments for the case that Clement VII, christened Giulio, was indeed Alessandro’s father.

Cosimo I was entrusted with the care of the children, who were fully integrated into his extended family. He arranged two marriages for Giulia; for the first, in 1550, to Francesco Cantelmo, Lord of Abruzzi, he provided a dowry of 25,000 scudi. After Cantelmo’s death Giulia married a second time, in 1559, to another clan member, Bernardetto de’ Medici. Bernardetto’s brother Alessandro de’ Medici was the remarkably short-lived Pope Leo XI.

Giulio was also a respected member of Cosimo’s court. Early in 1562 he was one of the first men declared by Cosimo a Knight of St. Stephen, an organization intended to fight the Turk, and later that year he was one of the pallbearers at the funerals of Cosimo’s son Giovanni and wife Eleonora. In later years, he served as Cosimo’s minister at the Viceregal court in Naples. The most recent work I have found which addresses both children, with considerable detail given about Giulia, is that of Gabrielle Langdon, cited above. Langdon argues convincingly that Giulia is the child in a Pontormo portrait of Maria Salviati at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore.

⁴⁸ See Giorgio Spini, *Cosimo I e l’indipendenza del principato mediceo* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1980), 29. Cibò, a cardinal of great authority, was the beneficiary of Medici nepotism: his mother, Maddalena, was one of Leo X’s sisters, his father, an illegitimate son of Innocent VIII. Cibò was raised to the purple in Leo’s first conclave.
The other claimant to the ducal throne was Alessandro’s kinsman Cosimo de’ Medici. Although he was the last legitimate male Medici, his was a cadet branch of the family, distant from the wealth and stature of the main line. His father, Giovanni delle Bande Nere, was a hero to many, but he had died in Cosimo’s childhood, and his fame had never been in the political sphere. Cosimo’s claim to power was helped by his mother, herself a member of both the extended Medici clan, and the powerful Salviati family. How the seventeen-year-old Cosimo triumphed over a strong republican opposition is a fascinating story, well told by historians. The aspects of that story relevant to mine begin with Cosimo’s search for allies.

In June of 1537 his claim was recognized by the most powerful monarch in Europe, when the Emperor ruled in favor of his succession. Having been formally recognized as Duke, the next problem facing Cosimo was that of selecting a spouse. He was eager to marry Alessandro’s widow, surely at least in part as an attempt to consolidate Imperial support for what was, at the outset, a fragile hold on authority. Margaret was not yet fifteen years old, a virgin, daughter of the Emperor, was fond of

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49 There was, of course, a legitimate Medici from the principal branch, Lorenzo di Piero’s daughter Catherine. She had married into the French royal family in 1533.

50 Even the name Cosimo had been abandoned in the main branch of the family in 1459; the last member to bear it was Cosimo il vecchio’s beloved grandsons Cosimino, who died at the age of five. Tradition holds that Leo X named Maria Salviati’s son, reviving use of the name in this child who united two branches of the family. Maria was Leo’s niece: her mother was his sister Lucrezia, who had married Jacopo Salviati in 1470.


Cosimo, and seems to have been pleased at the thought of remaining in Florence. Indeed, in the summer of 1537 she was still in Tuscany, in the outlying town of Prato, in the care of Charles’s ambassador Hernadez de Silva, Count of Cifuentes.

It was Charles himself who disapproved of another Medici union. Interest on the part of the Farnese was expressed to Charles by 20 February, only six weeks after Alessandro’s death. Charles saw the utility of cementing such an alliance so, in the Fall of 1537 he agreed to a marriage between the unwilling Margaret and Ottavio Farnese, Paul III’s grandson. Their betrothal was finalized in June of 1538; Margaret was informed the following month, and began her journey south at the beginning of October. At the time of Margaret’s engagement she was, though illegitimate, a significantly more valuable political token than Ottavio Farnese: his family fortunes only began their precipitous rise with Paul III’s election, whereas Margaret was a Hapsburg by birth and a woman of means.

53 When Charles finally agreed to their marriage he insisted that consummation be delayed until eighteen months after the wedding: Alessandro died before that amount of time had passed. See Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain 5: 2, 64-65.


55 See Spini, Cosimo I e l’indipendenza del principato mediceo, 83.

56 See Carlo Capasso, Paolo III (1534-1549) (Messina: Casa Editrice G. Principato 1924), 1: 316. Paul, already old when elected, was presumably in a great hurry to improve the lot of his descendents as quickly as possible, and marriage was the highest form of advancement for those outside the clerical realm. Léon Dorez, La Cour du Pape Paul III d’après les registres de la trésorerie secrète (collection F. de Navenne) (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux 1932), 1: 282-83, states that discussion of the marriage had begun by 4 March.

As Alessandro de’ Medici’s widow, Margaret had legal claim to the properties of her husband, as well as reimbursement of part of her dowry. Negotiations with Cosimo’s agents were protracted, but she did receive the village of Castelsant’angelo near Rome, now called Castel Madama, and a claim to other Medici properties in and around Rome.\(^{58}\) One of these was the Villa Medici, now known as the Villa Madama, in Margaret’s honor.\(^{59}\) It was here that Margaret and her entourage stayed when she reached Rome on 2 November 1538, the night before her ceremonial entrance.\(^{60}\) The Palazzo Madama in

\(^{58}\) To appreciate the scope of her claims, it is worth noting that she had rights even to the Palazzo Medici in the Via Larga. In recognition of her claims Cosimo I reached a provisional accord with her (or, most accurately, her father’s) agents in 1541. Under terms of the agreement Cosimo paid to Margaret an annual pension of 7,500 scudi. The squabbling and dispatches over money might seem petty in families we see as inordinately wealthy and powerful, but it is important to remember that the Spanish Hapsburgs, in particular, were engaged in wars almost constantly, which placed tremendous strain on the treasury. As a result, they were in constant need of money, so aggressively pursued any possible sources of income. The bulk of Margaret’s dowry took the form of annual payments from various Imperial fiefdoms so, while the sums were vast, Charles had not paid out the large sums of cash that were sometimes given as dowries. See Manuela Belardini, “Margherita d’Austria, Sposa e Vedova del Duca Alessandro de’ Medici,” in Margherita d’Austria: Costruzione politiche e diplomazia, tra corte Farnese e Monarchia spagnola, ed. Silvia Mantini (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2003), 25-54, esp. 44-48.

\(^{59}\) The modern-day Villa Madama on Monte Mario in Rome takes its name from Margaret, who was referred to thusly at the papal court after her marriage. The building was originally known as the Villa Medici in honor of its founder, Clement VII, who began construction c. 1518 to a design by Raphael. The classically inspired villa, with its gardens and waterworks, was never completed. The villa came to Margaret indirectly; at Clement’s death all his property in Florence went to Alessandro, and that which remained went to Ippolito de’ Medici. When Ippolito died in 1535 Paul III confiscated his holdings and, at some unclear point in time, possession of the villa fell to the Chapter of S. Eustachio. Margaret seems to have been very fond of the villa, where she spent much of her time; she formalized her possession by acquiring rights from the religious chapter, and in 1540 she enlarged the grounds by purchasing a neighboring property. Paul’s confiscation of the property lasted only during his lifetime, so in 1549 the villa reverted to the Medici. The family let the villa to a succession of tenants and, in 1555, Catherine de’Medici transferred the property to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. For a summary of the Villa Madama’s history see David R. Coffin, The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology XXXIV (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 245-57, and Renato Lefevre, Villa Madama (Rome: Editalia, 1984), Second ed.

\(^{60}\) Ceremonial entries followed a particular pattern from the fifteenth century on. The entrant, whether visiting dignitaries, foreign rulers and their representatives, newly-elected cardinals or those returning from a legation, would send word ahead as Rome drew near. A welcoming party would then travel out from the city to greet the entrant, and accompany him or her to lodgings outside the city. Just what lodgings those might be varied according to time and route but, by the second decade of the sixteenth century, the Villa Madama served as the resting place for travelers from the north who would enter Vatican Borgo. Coffin, The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome, 149-50.
Rome, current seat of the Italian Senate, was hers as well: it is the former Palazzo Medici, and was Margaret’s official dwelling in Rome after 1538.

Although he did not marry the Emperor’s daughter, Florence’s leader did make an Imperial match when he wed Eleonora of Toledo, daughter of Pedro Alvarez de Toledo, the Spanish Viceroy in Naples.  Her official entry into Florence took place on 29 June 1539. This was an important alliance, and the celebratory events were correspondingly elaborate. The musical contributions included a motet, several madrigals, and a commedia erudita with intermedii. None of the music is by Arcadelt, the most famous Florentine madrigalist at the time. His exclusion from an artistic endeavor meant to bring glory to the city suggests that he was either no longer present, or still there but in disfavor.

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61 A union between Cosimo and Paul III’s granddaughter Vittoria was proposed, but rejected in favor of the Spanish marriage. Cosimo’s choice strained Florentine-papal relations, but strengthened ties with the Empire; Spini, Cosimo I e l’indipendenza del principato mediceo, 51-52. Vittoria became something of an object of ridicule because she was repeatedly rejected as a spouse. She was finally wed in 1547, at the advanced age of twenty-six.

62 The pair were betrothed in late March, following extensive negotiations for a bride important enough to compensate for the loss of Margaret. Eleonora’s father Don Pedro was the younger son of the second Duke of Alba. See Spini, Cosimo I e l’indipendenza del principato mediceo 132-37.

63 In their edition of surviving music for the wedding Andrew Minor and Bonner Mitchell write that “this is the first wedding festival for which the music has survived, and the descrizione dell’apparato, having been done by a literary man of considerable talent, is one of the most detailed and most interesting of the entire century.” A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539 (Columbia [Missouri]: University of Missouri Press, 1968), vii. Gardano printed the music for the wedding in August of 1539, as Musicae fatte nelle nozze dello illustissimo Duca di Firenze il signor Cosimo de’ Medici et della illustissima consorte sua mad. Leonora da Tolleto. Pierfrancesco Giambullari, the “literary man” mentioned above, is the author of the complementary Apparato et feste nelle nozze del Illustrissimo Signor Duca di Firenze, et della Duchessa sua consorte, con le sue Stanze, Madriali, Comedia, e Intermedi, in quelle recitati, published in Florence in that same year by Giunti.

64 See James Haar, “The Florentine Madrigal, 1540-60,” 143-44. Cosimo was active as a patron of the arts, but music was not the avocation for him that it had been for Lorenzo il Magnifico and his descendents. Loyalty, rather than innovation, was the talent valued by Cosimo and, while quick to use music for its propaganda value, he did not foster a vibrant musical
Given that the composer’s only known employment before 1540 was as a musico in the ducal household, falling into disfavor would have meant the end of his livelihood, unless he departed from Florence. I cannot imagine that Cosimo, eager to assert both personal authority and dynastic continuity, would have denied Arcadelt a position had the composer wished to stay; no other musician in Florence at the time had Arcadelt’s reputation, which Cosimo would surely have known. What I think likeliest is that, by the time of Cosimo’s wedding, Arcadelt had found a new employer in Margaret of Austria, a theory I will expand on below.65

Where Arcadelt was between 1537 and 1540 remains unknown. His chanson

*Voulant Amour, soubz parler gracieulz*, on a text by Francis I, appeared in Pierre Attaignant’s *Tiers livre contenant xxx. Chaf[n]sons vieilles es leues du plusieurs livres*, from March of 1537. Other composers in the volume can be placed in or around the community. For recent studies of secular music in Cosimo’s Florence see Philippe Canguilhem, “Lorenzo Corsini’s ‘Libri di Canzone’ and the Madrigal in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Florence,” *Early Music History* 25 (2006), 1-57, and Robert Nosow, “The Debate on Song in the Accademia Fiorentina,” *Early Music History* 21 (2002), 175-221. The picture derived from these complementary studies is a one of a city in which recent polyphonic music had little value. Canguilhem’s detailed report on two sets of partbooks reveals a strong tendency toward museumization reminiscent of the latest among the great Florentine Trecento manuscripts, with strong showings by works twenty and thirty years old. The anonymous, undatable, works hew to the style of the early madrigal, not surprising in sources from which amateurs performed. As the madrigal moved away from the amateur-friendly clarity of its origins to a more complex style (I think here most particularly of the Venetian madrigal as exemplified by Willaert and Rore), it became a genre to be performed by professionals for an audience. Cosimo I had no great interest in that sort of musical establishment and, as Nosow has argued, by 1544 members of the influential Accademia Fiorentina valued the improvised oral tradition and condemned written polyphony, presumably on the basis of its complexity (see esp. 186-190 and 200-05). These factors meant that amateurs in search of readily singable repertory were forced to rely on older music or create more in that style. I was intrigued especially by the charge that clerics wasted time on polyphonic music (198), and wonder if the intended target was Matteo Rampollini, whose undated madrigal print, perhaps from the late 1540s or early 1550s, includes works already in progress in the early 1540s. I will return to this volume in the following chapter. Corteccia, Cosimo’s court composer, composed madrigals only sporadically after the publication of his third collection in 1547 and the other notable Florentine madrigalist, Giovanni Animuccia, left that city for Rome around 1550.

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65 This possibility was put forward by Thomas Bridges, when he wrote that, “It seems certain that Arcadelt was in Rome not later than 1538, and likely that he came no earlier than 1535. He may have come with a Florentine patron who moved to Rome, or with Margaret of Austria, whose household may have included artistic dependents.” See “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 48, although he neither singled out Margaret, nor developed the theory.
French court at the time of publication.\textsuperscript{66} While it is possible that Arcadelt was in France, or actively seeking French employment, following Alessandro’s death, I find two strong arguments which militate against that conclusion: the spelling of Arcadelt’s name, and other chansons composed by him during his Italian years.

Attaignant gives the composer’s name as “Harchadel,” recognizably our composer, but far from the spelling he himself used. Between 1528 and 1538 nineteen of Francis’s texts were set, some repeatedly, in the main by composers with strong court associations: Sermisy set ten royal texts; Sandrin, 4; Jannequin, 3; and Vermont, Mahiet, and Certon, one each. The two anomalies in this list are settings by Clemens and Arcadelt.\textsuperscript{67} While this does support the notion that Arcadelt was in some way reaching out to the French court, his music might have traveled several paths, including the sizeable Florentine community in Lyon, or Florentines present at the French court.\textsuperscript{68} Indeed, even before Arcadelt entered French employment, most probably in 1551, sacred and secular works by him had seen print there.\textsuperscript{69} From 1537 until 1551, excepting only 1541, at least one new chanson saw print annually, and several motets appeared as well.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{66} Christelle Cazaux, \textit{La Musique à la cour de François Ier} (Paris: École Nationale des Chartres – Programme “Ricercar,” 2002), 154. For a complete inventory see Daniel Heartz, \textit{Pierre Attaignant Royal Printer of Music. A Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). This text, once attributed to Saint-Gelais, was also set by Mahiet in 1534, and Sermisy in 1541.

\textsuperscript{67} François Lesure, “François Ier: Un Roi-Poète et ses musiciens,” in “… La Musique de tous les passetemps le plus beau … “ \textit{Hommage à Jean-Michel Vaccaro} ([Paris]: Klincksieck), 1998, 283-84.

\textsuperscript{68} The peripatetic French royal court was in Lyon frequently, and spent a great deal of time there during the Italian wars. Another possible conduit is Catherine de’ Medici, who had joined the French court in 1533.

\textsuperscript{69} Arcadelt’s last payment as a singer in the papal chapel was issued on 20 June 1551; Herman-Walther Frey, “Michelagniolo und die Komponisten seiner Madrigale,” \textit{Acta Musicologica} 24 (1953), 189-90. Although no records place him in France until 1554, when he was in Charles IX’s chapel, he had surely been there since 1552, when Le Roy and Ballard were granted a privilege to print his \textit{Missae tres}, in which
One Arcadelt madrigal, *Ecco d'oro l'età pregiata e bella*, cites the names “Ottavio” and “Margarita.” These must surely be Ottavio Farnese and Margaret of Austria, wed in Rome on 4 November 1538, which suggests that Arcadelt was already in Rome by that time.\(^7\) There was a tenor identified as “Jacobus Flandrus” in the Cappella Giulia in January of 1539, who served as *magister puerorum* from April to November, who may perhaps be our Arcadelt, but the identification has not gained universal acceptance. James Haar is “inclined” to accept Haberl’s identification of ‘Jacobus Flandrus’ although, as he reminds his readers, “it cannot be proved.”\(^7\) Bridges questions the reference to someone always identified by his surname, but admits that no other plausible identification has been put forward.

In his biographical survey of Arcadelt’s origin, Thomas Bridges lays out the arguments and sides of the debate on Arcadelt’s nationality. Charles Burney and Edmond vander Straeten favored a Flemish origin based on the composer’s last name.\(^7\)

On the side of French origin are Suzanne Clercx and Bridges himself, who notes that the singer in the Cappella Giulia was referred to as “Jacobus,” whereas Arcadelt is

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Arcadelt is identified as royal musician and *maître de chapelle* to Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine. See Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 51-52.

One possible linkage between Arcadelt and French royal patronage is the Strozzi family. As previously stated, Arcadelt’s earliest documented patron is Ruberto Strozzi. Ruberto’s older brother, Piero di Filippo, was a Florentine exile who led French troops and, in 1556, rose to the position of a Marshall of France. Piero was a person of importance in France before that date, as he was the queen’s cousin; his mother, Clarice, and Catherine’s father, Lorenzo di Piero de’ Medici, were siblings and, after Catherine’s parents died, she was taken into Clarice’s home. Piero di Filippo Strozzi, c. 1510-1558, is not to be confused with the Piero Strozzi who was, with Giulio Caccini, a member of the Accademia degli Elevati.

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\(^7\) Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 53.

\(^7\) The madrigal was published in Arcadelt’s Fifth Book.

\(^7\) “Towards a Chronology of the Madrigals of Arcadelt,” 33.

\(^7\) This view gains support from the assignment to Arcadelt, by Paul III, of two benefices in Liège, in Wallonia.
consistently referred to by his last name (with its numerous variants). I think this is a red herring. Variant forms of entry in the Capella Giulia and Capella Sistina could have any number of explanations, chief among them the likelihood that the two organizations relied on different scribes. Perhaps the “Jacobus” reference was written by a scribe who found that the easier name, or perhaps his last name was so odd that the Cappella Giulia scribe would not venture a guess. By the time our composer entered the Capella Sistina, on the other hand, he had achieved great renown with the early Gardano prints, all of which identify him by last name only. The use of only one name was the norm in the Diarii Sistini, with some qualification if the name was a common one. The choice of first or last seems random although, once entered in a particular way, the assigned name became the norm\textsuperscript{74} In Arcadelt’s case, given the madrigal prints, use of his last name makes sense.

Unambiguous evidence for the spelling of his name, including the first name “Iacobus,” as opposed to the “Jacques” in modern usage, can be found in the new Constitution for papal singers of 1545, which he ratified with the words, “Ita est Iacobus Arcadelt manu propria.”\textsuperscript{75} Given the clarity with which he wrote his last name, the variant spellings given in the Diarii suggest to me a simple effort at phonetics continuing, as had Gardano, the inclusion of an “h” to evoke for a reader the percussive “ch” of “che.”

\textsuperscript{74} Costanzo Festa was “Constantius,” Jean Monceau was “Io. Monceau,” Bartolomeo Escobedo was “Escobedo,” Cristobal Morales was “Morales,” Leonardo Barrè was “Leonardus” (perhaps to differentiate him from Yvo Barry, who was already identified as “Barri”?). There are orthographic variations, to be sure, but admirable consistency governs the use of first or last name.

\textsuperscript{75} Arcadelt had a quite elegant hand, clear enough to be considered of scribal quality; it would be interesting to see if his hand can be found in any music manuscripts from his tenure in the papal chapel.
Stronger support for the theory of French origin is the entry in the *Diarii Sistini* that mention Arcadelt’s leave after five years’ service. The composer’s departure is noted on 6 May 1546 and just over a year later, on 28 May 1547, an entry reads, “Archadeth reversus est de gallia Roma.” Bridges presents several possible interpretations of this annotation; Arcadelt might have returned to his Gallic homeland, he might have traveled through France on his way back from the Low Countries, or the reference might reflect the Papal Chapel’s constitution, in which singers were assigned to one of three nations, French, Italian and Spanish, with those from neighboring lands incorporated into the nation geographically closest. 76

I follow in the footsteps of Haberl and Haar in believing that Jacobus Flandrus is indeed Jacques Arcadelt and I believe, more specifically, that he was a Walloon; this view resolves the competing theories of origin while at the same time offering clarification of his biography. 77 This could account for his identification as “Alcadelte franzese” in the 1535 Medici pay record: Walloons are Francophones, and the scribe might have used “franzese” as a shorthand in just the way that “tedesco” signified someone who spoke a Germanic language. 78 An origin in Wallonia would also explain Arcadelt’s facility with French, and the fact that he was producing chansons early on in

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77 If he was from one of the border regions which changed hands at various times in the sixteenth century as a result of wars between France and the Hapsburgs, my theory would help explain his tenure in France: the Low Countries were a region from which one emigrated during the 1550s and ’60s, not an area which one went willingly.

78 I think first of Heinrich Isaac, a Fleming, whose name was transmitted as Arrigo Tedesco. The same generalizations covered singers in the papal chapel, who officially belonged to one of only three nations; Italian, Spanish, or French. Northerners were, by default, members of the French nation, though they might come from countries with a quite distinct linguistic tradition.
his career. This idea is supported by the possibility that he was born in Namur, a French-speaking region owned by the Dukes of Burgundy from the early fifteenth century. 79

Given, then, that I believe Arcadelt was in Rome by 1539, I come to the madrigal Ecco d’oro l’età pregiata e bella. This piece is a key element in the composer’s biography, and I am certain that he was in Rome at the time of its composition. How he got there from Florence is, of course, the next part of the puzzle, and one for which I believe I have an answer.

Arcadelt’s Strozzi commission was not enough to have turned Cosimo I against him; Costanzo Festa, whose ties to the Strozzi family were far stronger, is a contributor to the wedding music. In addition, Festa was in Rome in 1539, so distance was clearly not an obstacle. Arcadelt’s service to Alessandro was not a disadvantage either, as musicians in the first duke’s service continued to serve his successor. 80 I deem it likely that Arcadelt composed no music for Cosimo’s wedding because he had already left Florence, perhaps in the service of Margaret of Austria, who had no reason to celebrate Cosimo’s marriage.

The few pieces of biographical data we have for the composer in the 1530s, then, are the single commission from Ruberto Strozzi in 1534, the 1535 pay record, and two madrigals celebrating Margaret, from c. 1533 and c. November 1538. The Strozzi connection, while useful for chronology, does not indicate any special relationship and might be nothing more than a piece composed as a one-off. The remaining references all share one common element: Margaret.

79 See Moret, “Jacques Arcadelt, musicien namurois (1507-1568),” 12-16.

80 Kirkendale, The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici, 57. n. 105.
As the daughter of the Emperor, Margaret must have had a household of some stature. In one clause in the Peace of Barcelona regarding her marriage contract to Alessandro, Charles promised his daughter an annual income of 20,000 ducats. Money aside, prestige would have mandated an impressive household for one of Margaret’s rank, particularly upon marriage into the family of the Pope; Charles would certainly not have wanted his daughter surrounded with an establishment inferior to that of a Farnese. Musicians were to be expected in the household of any Renaissance noble of stature, and in this regard Charles was no exception.

Music was historically of great importance to the Burgundian rulers, a custom going back in the written record to the founding of the ducal chapel in 1384 by Philip the Bold. Liturgical polyphony seems to have been formalized by Duke Philip the Good who, in 1431, mandated performance of the daily mass “à chant et à deschant,” one of the earliest pieces of evidence we have for institutionalized polyphony.

81 Sadly, the matters of prestige which interested chroniclers and writers of diplomatic dispatches were size and rank of retinue. As a result there are many references to the rotating stable of noblemen and women who chaperoned or served Margaret, as well as mentions of the number of mules needed to transport her goods, but no attention was paid to the details of low-level servants such as musicians or seamstresses. This is clearly demonstrated in the description of her departure from Flanders in 1533, when her suite purportedly consisted of 150-160 horses; laden beasts of burden; litters and chariots; Margaret; and her court, including members of the Douvrain family, who had housed her as an infant, all served by a vast number of chambermaids, valets, pages, a chaplain, and even a rebec player. Lennep, Les années italiennes de Marguerite d’Autriche, 34-35.

82 This same figure is given as the amount of her dowry when she married Ottavio Farnese. Marino Sanudo, I diarii de Marino Sanuto [sic], XLI, 106, 23 June 1529 and Alfred Kohler, Karl V.: 1500-1558: eine Biographie (Munich: Beck, 1999), 284. Presumably that which is identified as a dowry for the second marriage was in fact an annual income derived, as were the sums mentioned in her first marriage, from the assignment of fiefdoms and tributes. By structuring a dowry in that fashion Charles could reassign future income from his territories, rather than paying out cash from his treasury.

Many northern manuscripts attest to the sacred and secular repertories available to the Burgundian and Austrian courts: the most beautiful of these are the great presentation manuscripts produced at the courts of Philip the Fair, the elder Margaret of Austria, the future Charles V, and Mary of Hungary. The workshop of Petrus Alamire and his predecessors created, at the bidding of Burgundian rulers, manuscripts that collected the music of the court and sent it to recipients throughout the sphere of Hapsburg-Burgundian influence. These were not mere music collections, but markers of political and socio-economic status. Some of the manuscripts from the workshop were perhaps commissioned by and certainly intended for courtiers of high standing, presumably in emulation of the rulers.

The first Margaret of Austria was a particularly noteworthy patron: in addition to those manuscripts given as gifts some personal collections of dance tunes and chansons have come down to us. She was a poet as well, and some of her texts appear in her

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84 Leo X received the gift of three manuscripts from Margaret of Austria: the manuscripts Cappella Sistina 34, 36, and 160. See Jeffrey J. Dean, “The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501-1527,” Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1984, 4.

85 The Chigi Codex (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Chigi C VIII 243), is probably the most famous of these but there are others, such as the Occo Codex (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique MS IV.922), which were commissioned by private citizens. The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535, ed. Herbert Kellman (Ghent; Amsterdam; Luidon: Distributed by the University of Chicago Press, 1999), provides an overview of the manuscripts, with an extensive bibliography for further research.

86 A fair amount of biographical confusion surrounds the elder and younger Margarets: both are identified by the toponymic “of Austria,” a historical alternative to Hapsburg; both served as Regent of the Netherlands; and both were known by the honorific “Madama.” The elder Margaret was born in 1480, the second child of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy. She was married twice; first in 1495, to the Infant Juan of Spain (a union paralleling that of her brother Philip to Juan’s sister Juana), who died in 1497. Margaret then married Philibert of Savoy in 1501. After his death in 1504, she refused to marry again. Philip of Burgundy died in 1506 and, in 1507, Margaret became Regent of the Netherlands and guardian of the future Charles V, then a child of seven. She served as regent until her death in 1530 (with a brief sabbatical from 1515-18, after Charles attained his majority and before he inherited all of his Spanish territories and traveled to the Iberian peninsula), and was succeeded by the widowed Mary of Hungary, Charles’s second sister.
chansonniers. Pierre de la Rue is the most well-known of the composers in her employ, and his music is particularly well-represented in many of the manuscripts commissioned by Margaret.

This Margaret of Austria was the younger sister of Philip the Fair. She was born in 1480 and, though twice married, was left a childless widow by 1504. After Philip died in Spain in 1506 Margaret, at the behest of her father Maximilian I, became Regent of the Low Countries, and guardian of three of his five children. Her guardianship included responsibility for the education of Charles and his sisters, Eleonor, Mary, and Isabella, and we know that music was part of their education. Henry Bredemers was music teacher for the three royal children; pay records survive for his service in instructing them on the manicordium and other instruments in 1510 and 1512. Of the three only Eleanor left traces as a performer: she had her own “clavicenon,” she purportedly played the lute, and sang beautifully.

In 1515, when Charles attained his majority Margaret of Austria reorganized the chapel, assigning to Charles’s court in Brussels a large organization appropriate to his

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The confusion over names only worsened over the course of the sixteenth century as the number of Margarets in noble families increased. Kirkendale fell victim to such an inaccuracy when he identified the younger Margaret of Austria as the woman named by Jacopo Peri in a letter to Virginia Medici d’Este. Kirkendale assigns the letter a date of 1588, but there are a number of problems with this, not least among them Margaret of Austria’s death in 1586. Chief among other prominent Margarets of the era, who would have been known to Virginia, is Margaret Gonzaga d’Este, third wife of Duke Alfonso II d’Este. Margaret was a daughter of Guiglielmo Gonzaga, and shared her father’s love of music (although, unlike him, she is not known to be a composer). Alfonso II d’Este had married his new bride in 1579; his desire to please her musical sophistication is considered the impetus for creation of Ferrara’s famous concerto delle donne. Margaret of Austria’s granddaughter Margaret Farnese was, briefly, in Mantua as the wife of Vincenzo Gonzaga but the marriage only lasted two years (1581-1583), before she retired to the monastic life. If Kirkendale’s dating is indeed correct, then the Margaret referred to by Peri is the Duchess of Ferrara. See Anthony Newcomb, The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579-1597, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, 1: 7. The letter in question is given in Kirkendale, The Court Musicians in Florence During the Principate of the Medici, 193.

stature, while reassembling for herself a smaller chapel for her household in Malines. The royal chapel was reorganized at times of dynastic change or tradition, leaving us a few fixed points of information along the way; 1515 was one of these times of change, as was Charles’s assumption of the Spanish throne.

Margaret died in 1530, and was succeeded as Regent by Charles’s sister Mary of Hungary, widow of King László II of Hungary, who governed the territory from 1531 until 1555. Mary governed as well over the children who had been tended by her aunt.

Mary’s tastes were grander than those of her successor; she was quick to build a new palace at Binches, and she significantly enlarged the musical establishment at her court. Her interest in music extended to secular and ceremonial music; at her death, she had a collection of almost 200 instruments, some inherited from Margaret, but surviving papers demonstrate that many were acquired during her regency. Both of Mary’s brothers relied on her to find musicians for their establishments, testament to the continuing value placed on musicians from northern Europe.

After his abdication in 1555 Charles retired to luxurious quarters he had had built at the monastery of Yuste in western Spain. His private chapel there consisted of nine singers, a third the size of his imperial chapel, but his enjoyment showed no reduction: a

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88 Charles’s domestic chapel was the principal musical establishment. In 1509 it boasted a chaplain, fifteen singers, 4 choirboys, an organist, 2 priests, a fourier (servant), 2 clerks (clerks? clerics?), 2 organbearers, and a scribe, as well as instrumentalists for discant in both the Hours and Divine Service. Most of the chapel members had served Philip, and returned to the Duchy after his death. See Picker, The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria, 27-28.

89 For a thorough history of chapel statutes and changes thereto, see Bernadette Nelson, “Ritual and Ceremony in the Spanish Royal Chapel, c.1559-c. 1561,” Early Music History 19 (2000), 105-200, especially 114-120.

description remains for us of Charles, seated, listening to his chapel while beating time and singing along.\footnote{91 This anecdote derives from Prudencio Sandoval’s Historia de la vida del Emperador Carlos Quinto, published in 1645, which was widely known: Charles Burney relates it, along with an episode in which Charles V, upon hearing a new mass by Guerrero, called the composer a thief and plagiarist, and identified several quotations from other composers. See Charles Burney, A General History of Music (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1957, a republication of the 1935 edition by Frank Mercer), 1: 800-01.}

The Burgundian rulers were not the only royals with a history of extensive music patronage; their Spanish peers also had an august musical tradition. In the Iberian courts of Aragon and Castile the royal children traditionally had their own chapels, and when they left home they took musicians with them. Documents demonstrate that some of the children of Isabella of Castile’s children, Charles’s grandmother, had their own musicians; evidence exists for musicians in the service of Juan, Katherine, and Maria. Though there are no such accounts for Juana, Charles’s mother, later chronicles state that she had studied music as a child, and played, as well.

No mention is made of a chapel when Katherine of Aragon left for England in 1501, to wed the Prince of Wales, but she was accompanied by her own minstrels, a fool, and a drummer and trumpeter. It is certainly possible that a chapel was such a common accoutrement that no mention of it was made. In the case of Juana, again, fewer descriptions exist. No musicians are mentioned as belonging to her 1496 retinue, when she married, but there are pay records for Spanish trumpeters until January 1497, when their names fall from the rolls.

The children of Philip the Fair and the Infanta Juana were inheritors, then, of two rich musical traditions. Charles had a chapel by 1501, when he was only a year old. His younger brother Ferdinand, born and raised in Spain, already employed musicians by
1503, the year of his birth. In addition to the two capellanes and three mozos, or boy singers, in his chapel, Ferdinand’s establishment included four ministriles: one tañedor de rabel, one tañedor de tamboryno, one menestrel de rabel, and one tañedor de harpa.  

Charles’s grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon, continued to oversee the upbringing of his grandchildren, Ferdinand and Katherina, or Catalina, after Juana’s sequestration. The first notices of Katherine’s chapel comes from 1513, when she was assigned a maestro, Fray Juan de Avila, along with Alonso de Alva, capellán and sacristán mayor. Katherine, who had been born in 1507, was only six at the time, but a gesture at an independent establishment was already being made. That musical establishment had grown by 1518, when “Myn Sanchez,” “tañedor de vihuela,” to the Infanta Catalina was paid.

During the lifetime of Empress Isabella of Portugal, Charles V’s wife, the Spanish court had two chapels: Charles’s famous capilla flamenca, dominated by the northerners for which it was named, which traveled with him, and the Spanish Chapel, founded by the Empress in 1526, which remained in Spain. When Isabella died, her household was reorganized, and the musicians reassigned to her children. The Infant Philip, aged

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92 Mary Kay Duggan, “Queen Joanna and her Musicians,” Musica Disciplina 30 (1976), 75-79.

93 Higinio Anglés, Carlos V, 5.  
The term capellán distinguished clerics who sang only chant, as opposed to capellanes cantores, singers of polyphony. See Duggan, “Queen Joanna and Her Musicians,” 74.

94 Alonso de Alva had joined the chapel of Isabel of Castile in 1491, and is listed in 1507 as a capellan and sacristan to Juana. See Duggan, “Queen Joanna and Her Musicians,” 89-90.

95 Vander Straeten, La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe Siècle, 4 (vi), 208-09.

96 The tradition of dual chapels, with national labels, persisted until 1636, when the two were united as the Royal Chapel. See Isabel Pope, “The ‘Spanish Chapel’ of Philip II,” Renaissance News (1952), 1-2, 38.
twelve, was assigned his own chapel with magister, while his young sisters, Maria and Juana, aged eleven and four, shared an establishment. The organists Antonio de Cabezón and Francisco de Soto were the two chapel masters for a time, moving between the households in six-month rotations.

The background I have established thus far is that of a dynasty aware of the status conferred by a musical establishment, but drawn also to music as a source of personal pleasure. Margaret, raised at the Burgundian court by her great-aunt and aunt, would have grown up with private and public music and, if the elder Margaret’s childrearing techniques held, might well have had the sort of basic musical training provided for Eleanor, Mary of Hungary, and Charles himself.

No evidence of Margaret’s early musical training or patronage has yet come to light, although some work has recently been done on her later years as patron. The occasional tantalizing glimpses into her household have surfaced, such as a 1550 inventory in which six violins are included among her possessions.

It was only in 1559 that Margaret established a fully independent household; before that time she had been a dependent variously of her husbands or her father. Her half-brother Philip II appointed her Governor of the Low Countries when he left that region for Spain and so, after twenty-six years in Italy, she returned to the Netherlands in

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97 Cabezón was Philip’s music teacher and, in his will, described himself as “músico de camara del rey don Felipe nuestro señor,” Louis Jambou, “Cabezón [Cabeçon],” New Grove, 4: 765.

98 Higinio Angles, La Musica en la Corte de Carlos V, Con la transcripción del “Libro de Cifra Nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela” de Luys Venegas de Henestrosa (Alcalá de Henares, 1557) Monumentos de la Música Española (Barcelona, 1944), 61.

99 Seishiro Niwa, “‘Madama’ Margaret of Parma’s Patronage of Music,” Early Music XXXIII (2005), 27. Niwa writes that “at present it is not possible to reconstruct the musical personnel in Margaret’s service before 1559,” 25. This article surely derives from the author’s 2002 dissertation, “Duke Ottavio Farnese’s Chapel in Parma, 1561-1586,” International Christian University.
June of that year. Three records regarding her household musicians survive from her years in Brussels; two member lists, one from October 1559 and one from 1567, and a payroll document from 1566. The membership stood at 14 on the 1559 list; the master of the chapel, ten singers, an organist, a tuner, and one musician listed by name only, who might have been a harpist. By 1567, Margaret’s last year in Brussels, membership had expanded to include the master, thirteen singers (with a preponderance of trebles: eight boy sopranos, two altos, one tenor, and two basses), an organist, a tuner, a harpist, a lutenist, a sackbutt player, a cornettist, and four “instrumentalists.”

The 1566 payroll document includes also musicians who did not serve in the chapel, and still more musicians appear on two lists from 1567. One of these lists records New Year’s gifts, so it is difficult to know if the artists named are in her regular employment or were simply hired for special occasions. Be all that as it may, these three records include payment to a trumpeter, five Italian violin players, a fifer and drummer, extra singers for the chapel, and two instrumentalists “della casa,” instrument unspecified.

There is evidence that northern singers were still highly prized members of southern chapels, as Margaret’s maestro di cappella was sent on two recruitment drives in

100 Margaret’s job description was in fact different from that of her great-aunt and aunt: they were Regents, while her title was downgraded from Regent to Governor, as her governing authority was reduced.

101 Kellman, ed., The Treasury of Petrus Alamire: Music and Art in Flemish Court Manuscripts 1500-1535, 16. As a young man Charles had had both a grande chapelle and a chapelle domestique. This latter organization had seven singers, an organist, a fourrier, an organ carrier, a clerk, and two instrumentalists. Margaret’s organization, with its inclusion of instrumentalists, fits the model of the chapelle domestique. Several of the singers from the 1559 list had served in the chapels of Mary and Philip; Margaret’s maestro, for instance, was a member of Philip’s chapel in Madrid before serving as master of her chapel for her entire tenure in Brussels, and was still master of the chapel in 1576. On Charles’s organization see Picker, The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria, 21-31, and Joseph Schmidt-Görg, Nicolas Gombert: Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V.: Leben und Werk (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1938), 25-72, and on Margaret’s see Niwa, “‘Madama’ Margaret of Parma’s Patronage of Music,” 30.
1564, seeking boy singers for Philip’s Spanish chapel, and that of her husband Ottavio in Parma. The result of the search to staff Philip’s chapel is unknown, and the one boy found for Ottavio’s was not allowed to leave Cambrai.

Margaret clearly had an interest in secular music, as evidenced by a surviving exchange between one Tommaso Machiavelli, a diplomat at Margaret’s court, and Ottavio. In 1566 Machiavelli wrote to the duke, enclosing a sonnet Margaret had already seen. He informed Ottavio that Margaret had wanted the poem set to music, so he has commissioned a setting from Josquin Persoens, a member of Ottavio’s chapel.102

As the political situation in the Low Countries deteriorated, exacerbated by relentless taxation and the spread of Protestantism, Philip became increasingly concerned about the region and, in 1567, recalled Margaret and installed Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba, in her place.103 Alba’s mission was to put down the Protestant Revolt, which he did in such a way as to earn the nickname “The Butcher of Flanders.”104

102 See Niwa, “‘Madama’ Margaret of Parma’s Patronage of Music,” 27-29.

103 Margaret is the dedicatee of a work by the Flemish composer Andreas Pevernage. His Cantiones aliquot sacrae sex, septem et octo vocum, quibus addita sunt elogia nonnulla versibus latinis expressa was published in Douai, by Bogaerd, in 1578. The fourth Elogia, Nympha patris magni, is dedicated to “Margaretae Austria, Parmae duci.” Margaret had left the Netherlands in 1567, eleven years before publication, and would not return for another two years. The motet may have been composed before her departure, or even during her absence; in the opening line she is hailed as the daughter of a great father, not an active ruler, which does argue for composition while she was in Italy. I have not yet had an opportunity to examine the motet but am sure that its text will prove interesting. On the composer see Kristine Forney, “Pevernage [Bevernage, Beveringen], Andreas [André, Andries],” New Grove, 19: 530-31.

104 Margaret had fostered a system of government wherein a council of nobles had limited input into questions of regional government, and Protestantism was tolerated. Alba, however, favored the eradication of heretics. He wanted to bring the Inquisition to the Low Countries, but Philip resisted such extreme measures. Instead, Alba inaugurated the “Council of Troubles,” an authority that, between 1567 and 1573, oversaw ca. 12,000 trials, 9,000 confiscations of property, and over 1,000 executions. Among the very first to be executed were Lamont, Count of Egmont, and Philippe de Montmorency, Count of Hornes, both Knights of the Golden Fleece. More importantly for the region’s economy, as many as 60,000 citizens fled the persecutions, most taking refuge in the Protestant states of Germany. Although the
When Margaret returned to Italy a musical establishment of eleven traveled with her, though some members of her chapel remained in Brussels to serve Alba.\textsuperscript{105} After a brief stay in Piacenza with her husband Margaret traveled to her own territory in Abruzzo, the fiefdom she had inherited from Alessandro de’ Medici. She settled in Aquila, and in 1572 Philip declared her governor for life of that city.

Only scattered traces of a musical establishment exist for this phase of her life: this again makes sense, as her records now were household accounts, not part of a diplomatic calendar. One reference to music at Margaret’s court is the result of a visit to Aquila from a papal special nuncio in 1579, there on behalf of Gregory XIII to reward Margaret with a golden rose for her service to the church. The account of the event mentions multiple choirs and brass instruments (\textit{trombe}), but this information can take the modern reader only so far. No actual numbers of musicians are given, nor are we told that any of the musicians were actually in Margaret’s service: I suspect that the “\textit{moltiplicati cori di scelti musici}” were members of the chapel of the church of San Francesco, along with Margaret’s chapel members. The actual musical forces, following this line of reasoning, might have been rather small, hence the vague “\textit{moltiplicati chori}.”\textsuperscript{106}

Margaret’s retirement was shorter than she had thought as, in 1580, she was recalled by Philip to the Low Countries, where she stayed for three years. Her son,

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\textsuperscript{105} See Niwa, “‘Madama’ Margaret of Parma’s Patronage of Music,” 29-32.

Alessandro Farnese, had succeeded his uncle Don Juan of Austria as Governor-General of the territory now known as the Spanish Netherlands, following division of the region on religious lines. Margaret was brought back to manage civil government, while Alessandro waged war on the Protestant secessionists in a successful effort to regain some of the lost territory.

In 1583 Margaret was at last permitted to return to Italy. She did not rejoin her husband in Parma, but instead returned to Abruzzo. She had clearly been preparing for this, as she had purchased the city of Ortona in 1582, for the sum of 54,000 ducats, probably with the intention of enlarging her holdings with a seaport. Again, as she was living in a sort of retirement, few records about her household survive: descriptions of anything noteworthy about a person’s establishment were typically provided by visiting ambassadors or functionaries, but there was little call for this sort of attendance on someone who had left public life.

As with anyone of means she did have a will and, in her case, we have one written only about two weeks before her death. At that time Margaret had a household of 56, a sizable establishment. Numerous bequests were made to retainers, including monies to fund returns home for servants from Flanders. Included in this number are the members

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107 In the marriage contract between Margaret and Ottavio the bride’s inherited Neapolitan fiefdom, the Duchy of Penne, was enlarged when Charles V added Cittaducale, Montereale, and Leonessa, also in Abruzzo. Renato Lefevre, “Viaggio in Abruzzo sulle orme di Margarita,” Ricerche su “Madama” Margarita d’Austria e l’Italia del ‘500 ([Rome]: Castelmadama, 1980), 142-43.

108 Ortona, like the rest of her territory in the Abruzzi, adhered to the Kingdom of Naples and had been given to the Lannoy family, the Princes of Sulmona, in 1525 (surely as a reward for military excellence at the Battle of Pavia). The territory remained in the Farnese family into the eighteenth century. Renato Lefevre, “Vita di una grande dama del ‘500,” in Ricerche su “Madama” Margarita d’Austria e l’Italia del ‘500 ([Rome]: Castelmadama, 1980), 52-53.

of Margaret’s chapel; a maestro di cappella, an organist, an organ tuner, three Flemish boy sopranos, two adult sopranos, three altos, one tenor, one bass, and an instrumentalist. Curiously, a letter about Margaret’s singers, to which I will return, asserts she employed three tenors and two basses, though the testament disputes this. The larger number of tenors and basses would seem right for balance, but the will suggests that this was a treble-dominated chapel, as was her chapel in 1567.

One of the singers named in Margaret’s will was a castrato: although he is identified only as a soprano, details about him can be found in the above-mentioned letter, to which I now return. Castrati had achieved considerable popularity in Italy by mid-century; Guglielmo Gonzaga, a significant music patron and a composer in his own right, regularly sought such singers. The combination of popularity and scarcity of castrati meant, however, that they could command high salaries which the penurious Gonzaga could not, or would not, meet. As a result, he was regularly on the lookout for any castrati who might be available. Among the extensive documents relating to Guglielmo’s search for castrati is one in which Margaret figures: the letter dates from 19 April 1586, three and half months after her death. In it Scipione Gonzaga, serving as Guglielmo’s agent in Rome, wrote to the Mantuan agent about the singer, who was indeed engaged for the Mantuan court, although he was not well-received there. Just

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110 A “rollo de persone” from 1586, undated, varies somewhat from the information provided by Margaret’s will: one soprano named in the will is absent from the payroll, one alto listed in the payroll is omitted from the will, and two singers each listed only as “musico” in the pay record are identified as an alto and a tenor in the will, and two men whose occupations are given as “doorkeepers” in the pay record appear as an instrumentalist and an alto in the will. Of these two documents I am inclined to accept the will, as it was an official document written by a notary, as opposed to a less formal household record.

111 Renato Lefevre, “Il testamento del 1586,” 165-84, especially 170 and 172-73.
when and why he left Mantua is unknown, but he is absent from the list of singers made after Guglielmo’s death in 1587; by 1589 he had joined the Cappella Giulia.\textsuperscript{112}

The castrato, Jacomo Antonio Pales, is not named in the 1567 membership rolls from Margaret’s Brussels chapel, which contained only boy sopranos. There are several possible explanations for this: his name might be on a list we have not yet found, he might have been one of the unnamed “additional singers” from 1567, or he may have entered her establishment at some time after her return to Italy. If this last is the case it suggests that Margaret kept abreast of current trends in performance, and had managed to secure for her personal chapel one of the most fashionable sorts of musician available.\textsuperscript{113}

In Margaret’s will the singers are all grouped together as members of her chapel, while in the pay record from that same year two of the singers are identified as \textit{musici}. The man identified simply as “instrumentalist” was probably not an organist, as another man is specifically named as organist. The ways in which the “instrumentalist” and the two vocalists are described raises the possibility that they were chamber musicians rather than chapel members; the problem with this theory, though, is that one of the \textit{musici} was the only tenor in the chapel. That leaves, then, the chance that they were chapel members who did double duty.

A posthumous inventory of Margaret’s possessions includes a number of musical instruments. (See Table 3.1)

\textsuperscript{112} In Spain, in 1565, a good castrato could reportedly earn a salary of at least 500 ducats per year, while Guglielmo employed at that time three castrati to whom he claimed to pay a mere three ducats per month, plus expenses. One particularly favored castrato at the Mantuan court earned two more ducats per month, still only a fraction of what seems to have been the going rate. Richard Sherr, “Guglielmo [sic] Gonzaga and the Castrati,” \textit{Renaissance Quarterly} 33 (1980), 36. 44-45 and 55.

\textsuperscript{113} Pales served in Mantua for only a short time: his name is absent from court rolls compiled after Guglielmo’s death in 1587. By 1589 he had joined the Cappella Giulia. See Sherr, “Guglielmo Gonzaga and the Castrati,” 45.
Table 3.1: 1586 Inventory of Margaret’s Musical Instruments

An organ with a wooden case
Two brass trombones with “chiavi,” probably coiled crooks to change pitch, with a chest
Nine recorders and their black stamped-leather case
Four cornamuse and their black stamped-leather case
Eight recorders and their carrying case
Two bassoons
Two large cornetti and a black stamped-leather case
Three small cornetti, one with a stamped-leather case
Three brass cases for trombones
Five large music books
Loose sheets of music

This is a very small instrument collection in comparison to the approximately 200 instruments owned by Mary of Hungary, and suggests only moderate interest in non-vocal music. The trombones and cornetti were presumably for ceremonial occasions, the recorders for chamber music. Conspicuously absent from this list are any lutes,


116 Margaret’s half-brother, Don Juan of Austria, had a larger collection; in 1572 an agent purchased, on his behalf, six shawms; thirteen cornetti; two dulcians; trumpets from Augsburg and Nuremberg; and a chess of recorders, along with prints by Rore, Lasso, Ruffo, and Guerrero. See Michael J. Levin and Steven Zohn, “Don Juan of Austria and the Venetian Music Trade,” Early Music XXXIII (2005), 439-46, especially 443-44.
violins, viols, or keyboard instruments other than the organ, which I assume is the one used in her chapel. That the bound music books are described as large suggests first to me that they are volumes of liturgical music, though “grandi” might be used in the sense of “thick,” to indicate bound partbooks; no mention is made of any other noteworthy feature such as illuminations or elaborate bindings. The most tantalizing items of the inventory are of course those loose sheets of music, the “fogli da musica slegati.”

Other than the unidentified five large books of music and the loose folios, I have not been able to locate any specific music books owned by Margaret; the closest I have come is an inventory of the Farnese library in Parma made in 1653. That collection included a significant collection of theological and patristic writings, a history collection ranging from classical to modern with, as might be expected, strong showings of volumes on members of the Farnese family; Spain, her people, and her territories; and papal and Roman histories; natural sciences (everything from Galen, Euclid, and astronomy to astrology and ethnobotany); to literature and philosophy. Scattered among this last group are a few music prints, but the inventory is neither large enough, nor accurate enough, to be trusted.

117 Seventeen recorders is in fact a small collection; Henry VIII of England, who played the recorder himself, owned 76 in the 1547 inventory of his goods. Trumpet, cornett and shawm players were all known to double on the recorder. See David Lasocki, “Recorder,” The New Grove, 21: 37-52.

118 The inventory from 1550 mentioned above listed in her possession six violins. Some instruments from her collection may have been in the ducal household in Parma but, considering her estrangement from Ottavio, it is reasonable to assume that anything she had in Parma was of little or no interest to her.


120 One representative entry reads, “Testori (Guglielmo). Madrigali. Parme, 1608.” There is indeed a composer whose name approximates that, Guglielmo Textoris, but the Nuovo Vogel lists as his only publication Il primo libro de madrigali de Guglielmo Textoris mvsico excellentiissimo, a cinque voci,
The earliest music volume listed is by Cipriano de Rore. As he spent the last four years of his life serving the Farnese, I would expect that he would be well-represented. However, the inventory includes only one Rore volume, and that inaccurately: there is a 1557 edition of *Il terzo libro di madrigali*, a reprint of the first edition from 1548, but the place of publication is given in this inventory as Turin. I know of no music publisher in that city in the sixteenth century, and the title page of Rore’s third book lists as publisher Plinio Pietrasanta, of Venice.

Some of the music books listed in the inventory are quite logical, such as Giovanni Ferretti’s *Primo libro delle canzoni alla napolitana*, a6, of 1573: one of the works in this print is a musical celebration of the Battle of Lepanto, at which Alessandro Farnese, under the leadership of his uncle Don Juan of Austria, helped defeat the Turkish fleet. If indeed Margaret had owned this volume, though, it would not have been described as “large;” all three editions are in quarto format. The first edition is dedicated to Giovanni da Panzano; the second and third editions, as one might expect, carry no dedications.


The entry “Salina (Francesco). De Musica libri VII. Palerme, 1677” can be expanded: there was indeed a Francesco de Salinas, author of *De musica libri septem*, which was published in Salamanca in 1577. Salinas was a blind organist and theorist of Spanish birth who served at least one Cardinal in Rome during the reign of Paul III. Salinas died in 1590, aged almost 77. “Zero (Giovanni). Madrigali. Naples, 1603” might be music by Jhan Gero; there is no 1603 edition of his madrigals, but the inventory is so inaccurate that may not matter. See Claude V. Palisca, “Salinas, Francisco [Franciscus] de,” *New Grove*, 22: 156-57, and Fossier, “La bibliothèque Farnèse: le fonds imprimé,” 1:2, 409-24.


122 The same logic applies to music by Claudio Merulo, who served at the court and cathedral of Parma, but his works are entirely absent.

There is not a single volume of printed sacred music in the collection, suggesting to me three possibilities: the music prints were inventoried haphazardly, volumes were lost or discarded, or the family’s chapel continued to perform liturgical music from choirbooks in manuscript, such as Margaret’s five large books. Taken as a whole, then, the inventory raises more questions than it answers, and offers no hints as to what music might have been included among Margaret’s possessions.

Although certain eras and aspects of Margaret’s life are well-documented, others are not. The minor details of her household are naturally those of interest to me but, with Margaret as with so many others, those are the pieces of information we lack. We know she loved Florence and wanted to remain after Alessandro’s murder, we know she took Giulio di Alessandro into her household and wanted to take him with her to Rome, and we know from her last years that those members of her household who have been identified stayed with her for considerable periods of time.

I propose that, at some point after Alessandro’s death, Margaret took Arcadelt into her household, and that he relocated to Rome as part of her retinue. Even one musician for performance of the liturgy, with a cleric, was enough to qualify as a chapel, as seen in the case of the Infanta Catalina.\(^{124}\) We know that in Margaret’s case the bride sought to surround herself with familiar people; she was so attached to Alessandro’s young son Giulio that she applied to Cosimo for permission to take the boy with her to Rome but, loathe to entrust a potential Medici rival to the Farnese, he denied her request, instead lodging the boy with his own mother.\(^{125}\)

\(^{124}\) By 1537 Arcadelt would have been able to take orders, and so serve at mass.

\(^{125}\) See Spini, *Cosimo I e l’indipendenza del principato mediceo*, 146.
One witness to Margaret’s circle in Rome is Benvenuto Cellini. Although his testimony must always be taken *cum grano salis*, the anecdote in question has nothing to do with Cellini’s own abilities or prowess, and appears in a context in which his talents as a fabulist are irrelevant. To wit, in 1538, Cellini was imprisoned on the orders of, so he maintained, Pier Luigi Farnese. Fearful of the vindictive, powerful, Farnese, Cellini planned and executed an escape. His destination was Margaret’s residence: “I chose her house for refuge, because I was quite certain that many of my friends, who had come with that great princess from Florence, were tarrying there.” The date of this event is not given, but Cellini alludes to the feast of Corpus Christi, 1539, as occurring after his escape. Given that he attributed his imprisonment to animosity on the part of Pier Luigi, seeking refuge in the home of his daughter-in-law might on the surface seem an odd choice, but it does speak to Margaret’s power, and the fact that she held herself apart from the Farnese, and was a locus for the Florentine community.

Margaret’s first years in Rome were unhappy. She had not wanted to marry a boy younger than she, of low rank (not even a duke), and tried to escape her marriage. Ottavio had been promised a territory with significant revenues as part of the marriage contract, but it was slow in coming. On 5 November 1540 he was invested with the Duchy of Camerino, in the Marches, but ownership of the territory was under dispute, and it would be some time before his possession was secure. In what must have been an

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127 Ottavio’s date of birth is a matter of some dispute, given as anywhere from 1521 to 1525.

effort to, so to speak, pad his curriculum vita, on 1 November 1538 Ottavio was made Prefect of Rome.\textsuperscript{129}

Margaret’s assertions of independence were particularly strong in 1539 and 1540, when she still hoped for an end to her marriage. An annulment seems to have been her goal; she claimed she had not spoken the words of consent during their wedding ceremony and, famously, she refused to consummate the marriage, providing considerable grist for Pasquino’s mill.\textsuperscript{130} Increased religiosity was one way in which she sought refuge and, by 1540, Margaret was attending services at the Oratory of Divine Love, presided over at the time by Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, the austere reformer who would be elected Pope Paul IV in 1555.\textsuperscript{131} It was presumably at the Oratory that Margaret met and took as confidante Vittoria Colonna, another seeker of austerity and purity of spirit. Colonna was considered a bad influence on Margaret, someone who would encourage her to seek a way out of her marriage.\textsuperscript{132}

Another increasingly influential figure in Margaret’s life was Ignatius Loyola. Margaret attended his ceremonies of baptism of converted Jews; the two corresponded;

\textsuperscript{129} In 1545 the couple were made Duke and Duchess of Castro. This was something in the manner of a consolation prize: Pier Luigi had been assigned the Duchy of Parma and Piacenza, which Margaret had wanted for herself. She would indeed become Duchess of Parma and Piacenza in 1547 after her father-in-law was assassinated, an action in which her father is thought to have colluded.

\textsuperscript{130} Drei, \textit{I Farnese}, 27-29.

\textsuperscript{131} In 1540 pressure on Margaret to consummate her marriage, which she had delayed for two years, increased. Her father, concerned that his emissary, Lope Hurtado, was encouraging her resistance, sent a new agent, Jean, Sire d’Andelot, to inform Margaret that the honor of both families was at risk, and an annulment was not to be. D’Andelot seems to have persuaded Margaret that there was no escape and, by August of 1540, she informed Paul III that she would tolerate visits from Ottavio. See Capasso, \textit{Paolo III}, II: 62-74.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., II: 63-64, n. 3.
and she took as her confessor Loyola’s close associate Diego Laynez. Under the influence of Loyola and Laynez, who had the support of her families, Margaret became resigned to her husband and her new life.

On 27 August 1545 Margaret gave birth to twin boys, given the family names Carlo and Alessandro. In addition to gifts of money and jewelry for mother and infants, Paul III sent musicians to Margaret the day after the birth. Sadly, the Treasury entry records only “a li quattro musici de Madama per lor manza che N. S. gli dà per il felice parto de S.E.;” I wish, naturally, to know who the musicians were or what they played, but the gift of musical entertainment is itself an interesting note.

The twins were baptized on 3 November by Ignatius Loyola, at the church of San Eustachio. Carlo, a frail child, died very young, but Alessandro thrived. His birth and concerns for his future created in Margaret a marked change in orientation from individual to dynastic welfare, as evidenced by her increased pressure for a worthy territory. Her interests, which had centered on her profound religiosity, grew to include increased political advancement for herself and her spouse and, by extension, her son. As to Margaret’s musical interests in this era, nothing is known. I would like to believe that Arcadelt was one of the singers sent to her in August 1545 to commemorate this event in her life as he had others, but I cannot prove it.

133 Lefevre, ‘Madama’ Margarita d’Austria (1522-1586), 156-58.

134 Lefevre, “Vita di una grande dama del ‘500,” 25. The birth took place at the Palazzo Madama, a reminder of Margaret’s economic superiority to her husband.

135 Lefevre, “‘Madama’ Margarita d’Austria (1522-1586), 169.

136 The event, as with Margaret’s entrance into the city years before, had been scheduled to coincide with the anniversary celebration of Paul’s coronation.

137 Lefevre, “‘Madama’ Margarita d’Austria (1522-1586), 169-78.
What I do believe, though, is that Arcadelt was in Rome as early as November 1538, perhaps part of a large circle of Florentines gathered around Margaret. Some scholars have suggested that he spent the years between Alessandro’s death and his admission into the papal chapel in Venice, overseeing production of his madrigal prints, the first four of which appeared in 1539. This argument is weakened by the fact that books one through three of the madrigals contain many anonymous and misattributed madrigals: surely if the composer were present, he would have tried to attach his name to his works and omit or separate out those compositions actually by others.

Additionally, none of the volumes carry dedications from the composer; if he were seeking work dedication of a volume to a prospective patron would be logical. Finally, and I think particularly important, is the fact that, in the collections of his music his last name is almost always given as “Archadelt,” but that is not the spelling he himself used.

If, however, as I argue, Arcadelt was in Rome by 1538, several problems are resolved. The madrigal honoring Margaret and Ottavio was composed by a local composer, the errors of attribution in Books 1, 2, and 3 of Arcadelt’s madrigals in 1539 can be assigned to un- or misinformed composers, and the otherwise unaccounted-for

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138 There are also the two lost editions of the First Book, presumably from 1538, which I addressed above.

139 This point is discussed at length by Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 27ff.

140 The exception is Gardano’s 1541 edition of the Secondo libro, which gives the composer’s name as “Arcadelt.” “Archadelt” is the spelling used by members of the Strozzi family (see Lionardo’s letter quoted above, the original of which is given and transcribed in Agee, “Ruberto Strozzi and the Early Madrigal,” 9-11. As I suggested above, this may simply be the easiest way to render the composer’s name in Italian with some measure of phonetic fealty.
“Jacobus Flandrus” who sang in the Cappella Giulia in January of 1539 can now be identified as Arcadelt.

In my discussion above of Arcadelt’s early madrigal prints I have not included the fourth book, which brings me to another piece of the hypothetical puzzle. As stated above, books 1-4 of Arcadelt’s madrigals appeared in 1539. The Quinto libro appeared five years later, in 1544, and Haar writes of this book that it “seems almost certain to have originated in Rome, though it contains some music probably written earlier,” and he says of the preceding volume that “the presence of music by Morales, Yvo Barry, and Leonardo Barrè, all papal singers, in Book Four gives a fairly good basis for supposing that its contents may have been assembled, if not all written, in Rome.”

I propose that James Haar’s “may have been assembled” (italics mine) might be rephrased as “must surely have been assembled” in Rome. The Quarto libro’s colophon bears the date September 1539, months after the February and March dates for surviving editions of Books One and Two from the Gardano press. The gap raises the possibility that neither Gardano nor Scotto had enough music on hand to rush a fourth volume into print in the Spring, but were instead forced to wait. I do not mean to imply by this suggestion that I think all the Arcadelt pieces in this print were composed in Rome, but the lack of concordances for many works does leave room to infer that they were new.


142 Scotto’s Terzo libro is dated only “1539,” and Gardano’s rival volume did not see print until 1541. See Fenlon-Haar, 253.

143 In Gardano’s shop volumes were set concurrently; this one might have been in production as early as July. See Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano: Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), 1: 75.
The presence in this print, with attribution, of pieces by the above-mentioned papal singers, is most readily explained by Arcadelt’s presence in Rome. Table 3.2 shows the contents of the first edition of Arcadelt’s *Quarto libro*.\(^{144}\) Attributions are given here as they appear in the print, with corrections noted.\(^{145}\) I have indicated in boldface those works not found in earlier sources, thirty of the thirty-nine, a fairly high percentage. By way of comparison, the *Primo libro* contains 60 pieces, only 23 of which lack earlier concordances. The numbers shift with Gardano’s *Vero secondo*, in which twenty-two pieces of the total of twenty-nine debut here, but Scotto’s *Secondo libro* relies more heavily on preexistent sources, with only ten new works out of twenty. Scotto’s *Terzo libro* suggests again that Gardano had greater access to new works, as this volume contains thirty-five previously unpublished madrigals, from a total of forty-eight. (See Table 3.2)

\(^{144}\) The two subsequent editions of the *Quarto libro*, 1541\(^{12}\) and 1545\(^{18}\), differ in order, content, and some details of attribution.

\(^{145}\) For a discussion and concordance list see Fenlon-Haar, 257-60.
Table 3.2: Arcadelt’s Quarto libro

Title: IL QUARTO LIBRO/ DI MADRIGALI D’ARCHADELT A/ QUATRO VOCI COMPOSTI ULTIMAMENTE INSIEME CON/ ALCUNI MADRIGALI DI ALTRI AUTORI NOVAMENTE CON/ OGNI DILIGENTIA STAMPATI ET CORRETI
Colophon: IN VENETIA NELLA STAMPA S’ANTONIO GARDANE/ Nellano del Signore M.D. XXXIX. Nel mese di Setembre./ [Gardano device] CON GRATIE ET PRIVILEGIO
Dedication: none
RISM: 1539
Inventory:

| Gli prieghi miei tutti gli port’ il vento (Boccaccio) | Arcadelt |
| Si grand’ e la pieta che ho di me stesso (Cassola) | Arcadelt |
| Apri’il mio dolce carcer le porte | Anon. |
| Dal bel suave ragio | Arcadelt |
| Madonhna per oltragg’ o per martire | Arcadelt |
| Calde lagrime mie sospir cocenti | Petrus Organista |
| Col pensier mai non maculai | Anon. |
| Altro non e’l mio amor ch’l proprio inferno (Cassola) | Iachet Berchem |
| Ditimi o si o no senza timore | Morales |
| Ardenti miei desiri | Arcadelt |
| Qual senza mot’ et senza razz’ el sole | Arcadelt |
| Madonna oime ch’io ardo | Arcadelt/L. Barrè |
| Tengan dunque ver me lusato stile (Petrarch) | Arcadelt |
| Amor quanto piu lieto | Arcadelt |
| Giurando’l dissi amore | Arcadelt |
| Viddi fra l’herbe verde | Arcadelt |
| Sio non lodo madonna’l vostro volto | Arcadelt |
| Donna i vostri belli occhi | Arcadelt |
| Quando i vostri belli occhi un chiaro velo (Sannazaro) | Arcadelt |
| Donna quel fidel servo | Corteccia |
| Io nol dissi giamai | Arcadelt |
| Dolce nimica mia | Arcadelt |
| Io son talvolta donna per morire | Verdelot |

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146 This piece is attributed to Francesco de Layolle in 1541 and omitted from 1545. It is included in Cinquanta Canzoni a quattro voci, c.1540, the edition of Layolle’s secular Italian works published by Moderne under Layolle’s supervision. On the Cinquanta Canzoni see Fenlon-Haar, 280-82.

147 This is a paraphrase of Verdelot’s setting a5. I will return to this madrigal in Chapter 4.

148 The attribution to Barrè appears in 1545.

149 Anonymous in Flor B 2495 and 1530, this madrigal is attributed to Verdelot in 1540 and is probably by him.

150 Probably by Corteccia; it appears in his Book 1 a 4, 1544, and is eliminated from 1545.

151 This madrigal was eliminated from 1545. It was also excluded from Corteccia’s collection of his own works and is probably not his.

152 This work circulated with attributions to both Verdelot and Arcadelt.
Several of the unique works in this print are by composers in the papal chapel, an organization of which Arcadelt was not yet a member. The only little-known composer in this volume is Petrus Organista, and here I take again the opportunity to reinforce my Roman origin hypothesis.

The famed lutenist Francesco da Milano, a native of Milanese territory, had entered papal service by May 1514; he, at times with his father, served as private musician to Leo X. He served Clement VII as well, but seems to have left Rome for a period of time (perhaps because the papal court was absent?). From 1531 until 1535

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153 The madrigal appears in Layolle’s Cinquanta Canzoni. It was reprinted in 154112, without attribution.

154 This text was set by Bernardo Lupacchino in his Book 1 a4.

155 Two settings of this text are attributed to L. Barrè: (1) a 4 in Arcadelt’s Book 5 a 4, (2) a 5 in 154018. The text was also set by Cambio.

156 Attribution appears in 154112. This work was parodied by Palestrina. See James Haar, “Pace non trovo: A Study in Literary and Musical Parody,” Musica Disciplina 20 (1966), 95-149.

157 Francesco’s brother Bernardino was in Rome “in the company” of Jean Conseil on 4 January 1529, only three months after the return of the papal court. Bernardino may have been a musician, as a horoscope of Francesco stated that he had three brothers, all musicians. Given uncertainties at the time
he was employed by Ippolito de’ Medici. Ippolito died in August; by December, Francesco was lute instructor to Ottavio Farnese, and in that month Paul III gave Ottavio 4 scudi “per comprarse doi leuti et corde per imparare di sonare da messer Francesco da Milano.”

In January 1538 Francesco is included in a list of members of the household of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. He accompanied the papal entourage to Nice in June of that year for the meeting of Paul, Charles V and Francis I. A payment made by Francis suggests that Francesco played for the French king, who referred to him as luteplayer of the Pope, not the Cardinal. The following month he married a noblewoman of means from Milan, but whether or not he settled there is unclear; he and his father were again papal musicians early in 1539, after which he becomes increasingly elusive. He had died by September 1543, but not in Milan, as no record of his death has been found in the records there.

Francesco was the author of several books of intabulations, the third of which, Intabolatura de lauto di M. Francesco Milanese et M. Perino Fiorentino suo discipulo di

about the disposition of Milan, it is possible that he may have journeyed to a safer place where his father and brother were household members of high standing. Franco Pavan, “Francesco Canova and his Family in Milan: New Documents,” Journal of the Lute Society of America XXIV (1991), 5-6.

Dorez, La Cour du Pape Paul III 1: 226, 2: 12. In light of the fact that 4 scudi was adequate for the purchase of two lutes and strings, the gifts to Pierino take on increased significance.


Francesco’s official status as a member of the Cardinal’s household, while apparently serving the pope as well, is worth noting. Clearly a position with one member of a family was a nominal distinction only, and the borrowing of servants within the clan was not unusual. By extrapolation, then, if Arcadelt was a member of Margaret’s household, he might also serve a member of her family. If, as I believe, Arcadelt is Jacobus Flandrus, his brief tenure in the Cappella Giulia, the pope’s personal chapel, would be entirely reasonable.

recercate madrigali & canzone francese …, (Gardano, 1547), names his most famous student. The volume was reprinted twice, with alterations. The third edition, published by Dorico and Fratello in 1566, purports to have been prepared with the assistance of Perino, identified within Dorico’s preface as “Pierino.” Pierino’s contributions to the volume include intabulations of Arcadelt’s O felice occhi mei and Quanti travagli, along with Francesco’s intabulation of Quand’io pens’al martire and Quanta belta, all from the Primo libro.

H. Colin Slim identified Pierino as Petrus Organista, or Perino degli Organi, son of the Florentine musician Bartolomeo, or Baccio, degli Organi. Baccio began his professional career as a singer at Santissima Annunziata in 1488. By 1495 he had learned to play the organ, and pursued that profession until his presumed death in 1539. Baccio was connected to many Florentine practitioners and patrons of music; he borrowed money from Lorenzo Strozzi in 1509, and his former student Francesco Layolle


162 Wienandt, “Perino Fiorentino,” 7, Slim, “Francesco da Milano II,” 118-19. Quand’io pens’al martire is the piece which can be seen in a seventeenth-century portrait, believed to be a copy of an original from c. 1540, of a man identified in the painting as “Francesco del liuto.” There is no way to be certain of the portrait’s subject, but the possibility exists that it is indeed Francesco da Milano. Slim, “Francesco da Milano I,” 81-82.

Quand’io pens’al martire was also intabulated by Albert de Rippe, the Italian-born lutenist at the French royal court. See Slim, “Arcadelt’s ‘Amor, tu sai,’ “ 101-02.


164 Baccio set three texts by Lorenzo Strozzi, Se talor questa, Questo mostrarsi e lieta, and Quando e begli occhi. The latter two, along with others, were also set by Bernardo Pisano, who might have been a pupil of Baccio’s. The settings are all collected in Ms. Basevi 2440, which also contains Layolle’s setting of Questo mostrarsi lieta. In addition, Baccio composed music for a Carnival mascherata organized by Lorenzo’s brother Filippo Strozzi in 1507. See Frank A. D’Accone, “Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi: Two Florentine Composers of the Renaissance,” Analecta Musicologica 4 (1967), 52-53.
became his brother-in-law in 1515, fifteen years after Baccio’s own wedding. Two of Baccio’s many children became professional musicians in Florence; Antonio, born 1504, was a choirboy at the Baptistry and later organist at Santa Maria Novella and the Badia; Lorenzo, born in 1519, followed Francesco Corteccia as organist at the Baptistry.

Baccio’s youngest son, Pierino, was born 8 December 1523. He vanished from Florentine archival records in May 1536, shortly before his first appearance at Paul III’s court on 4 January 1537. He must have demonstrated great talent at a young age, as he was just thirteen years old. On that occasion he was one of a number of family, musicians, and servants, who received gifts from the Pope. Pierino, “creato di messer Francesco Milanese,” received five scudi, but the following January he was given only four. The later payment does differ from others on that date, and from that of 1537, in that the annotation specifies, “pagati per commissione di sua Santità.”

Documents tie Francesco to Paul III, Ottavio Farnese, and, via his intabulations, Arcadelt. Pierino can be linked only to Paul and, again through intabulation, Arcadelt.

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166 See D’Accone, “Alessandro Coppini and Bartolomeo degli Organi,” 44-49.


169 On 1 October 1538, a payment was made that has caused some confusion. “Pietrino, organista, olim famigliare di sua Santità,” received 10 scudi “quali se li donano per possere ritornare a Siena,” Dorez, *La Cour du Pape Paul III*, 2: 245. Our Perino was indeed dubbed “organista” at times, but he was from Florence, not Siena, and was still in service in Rome, so a trip to the latter city is odd. Members of Paul’s entourage went to Siena to meet Margaret on the occasion of her procession south, but these are notated as such in the *tesorio segreto* records, and the dates are wrong as well; she left Siena for Rome on 12 September, so Pierino was clearly not traveling with the group that had gone north to escort her.
Any record putting Pierino in the immediate orbit of Ottavio would of course be helpful, as that might offer proximity to Ottavio’s bride but, lacking that, I must rest this portion of my argument with the certain presence of Pierino at the papal court and, suggestively, as a contributor to Arcadelt’s *Quarto libro*.

Three fantasias are attributed to Pierino in the 1547 Gardano print; these, with the two Arcadelt intabulations, represent his current work list. If, as I believe, he is indeed the composer of *Calde lagrime mie sospir cocenti*, then his modest corpus is significantly enlarged by the addition of another piece.

Stefano Mengozzi believes he has identified another Arcadelt-based work by Francesco da Milano, his Fantasia 22, published in 1536, which uses as its basis motives from the Arcadelt madrigal *Quanta beltà*. Francesco’s intabulation of this madrigal was not published until 1547. Mengozzi describes the intabulation as “almost a literal transcription of the Arcadelt model,” whereas Fantasia 22 takes as its model the intabulation, expanding on idiomatic gestures introduced in the transfer from vocal to instrumental conception. Where this technique falls on the continuum of composition-arrangement-parody-paraphrase-new work is an interesting question, but I am more interested in chronology. If, indeed, the intabulation predates the Fantasia, then the intabulation itself was created by 1536, eleven years before its publication.¹⁷⁰

The madrigal *Quanta beltà* was not published until 1538 or 1539, in Arcadelt’s Primo libro, and has no manuscript concordances. The clearest line of transmission I can draw runs through Pierino, who was in Florence in May 1536, and established in Rome.

¹⁷⁰ Stefano Mengozzi, “‘Is this Fantasia a Parody?’ Vocal Models in the Free Compositions of Francesco da Milano,” *Journal of the Lute Society of America* XXIII (1990), 15-17, esp. n. 15. Mengozzi suggests the intabulation might have been made as early as 1535, based on James Haar’s dating of the madrigal to 1534-35.
by January 1537. It strikes me as entirely plausible that, to raise his stock with his famous teacher, Pierino might have brought with him *libretti* or loose folios of recent madrigals, which Francesco then quickly intabulated. This hypothesis, while admittedly self-serving, does have a basis in the repertory, and draws Arcadelt and the two lutenists more closely together.

Regardless of how or exactly when he arrived in Rome, Arcadelt’s twelve-year tenure in the papal chapel is surely the least obscure period of his life. For the first time we have a day-to-day record of his activities, He seems to have been in poor health during much of his time in the chapel, based on the frequent entries in the *Diarii sistini* asserting that “Arcadelt infirmus.” His work load was significant as well; most of his sacred music derives from his time in the chapel. While his masses and motets from this period were composed while he served Paul, only one piece seems to have a specific impetus; the motet *Corona aurea*. This work stayed in the chapel’s repertory into the nineteenth century as a piece sung to mark papal coronations and their anniversaries, as well as the installation of bishops.\(^{171}\) The earliest known appearance of the motet is in the manuscript Cappella Sistina 24, ff. 43v-48. This is one the manuscripts copied entirely by Johannes Parvus, active as a scribe of polyphony from 1538 until 1580.\(^{172}\) I have previously addressed the unusual construction of Cappella Sistina manuscripts, and


\(^{172}\) Papal music scribes specialized in polyphony or chant, with little overlap. See Dean, “The Scribes of the Sistine Chapel, 1501-1527,” 14.
addressed just why this makes their dating more difficult. Mitchell Brauner has attempted to identify specific characteristics of Parvus’s script that changed over time, in an effort to date the many volumes with which he is associated. He has identified the script of *Corona Aurea* as Parvus’s Style IV, datable to 1538-39. This is a narrow window indeed but, if Brauner is correct, then this motet, which has specifically Roman connotations, must have been composed for Paul’s coronation anniversary on 3 November of 1538 or 1539, placing Arcadelt in the Roman orbit at least a year before he entered the papal chapel.

On 22 April 1545 Paul III conferred on “Iacobo Archadelt canonico ecclesiae sancti Bartholomaei Leodien.,” described as “in capella nostra cantori capellano et continuo commensali nostro,” benefices at the aforementioned church of Saint Barthelemy and Saint Pierre, also in Liège. The identification of Arcadelt as a canon of Saint Barthelemy is suggestive, but may merely reflect a benefice granted at an earlier date, rather than personal origin in that diocese. The significance of the location of the benefices should also not be overstated as representing a region of origin as, on the same day, Yvo Barry, identified as “clerico Parisien.,” received a benefice in Cambrai and Ghiselin Danckerts, “clerico Leodien.,” benefices in the dioceses of Capua and

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173 Ibid., 16-19.


175 Margaret entered Rome on 3 November 1538; her arrival in the city had been timed for that date in recognition of the festive character of Paul’s coronation anniversary.
d’Aversa.176 At the time of Arcadelt’s death in Paris, on 14 October 1568, he held canonicates there and in Rheims, as well.177

The Quinto libro is Arcadelt’s final collection of four-voice madrigals. It is in this volume that a link between Arcadelt and Hubert Naich can first be seen. There are seven Naich madrigals in the volume, six of which had appeared in his Exercitium seraficum.178 I will return to the question of Naich and Arcadelt in a subsequent chapter, but it is important to note here that Naich’s Spargi tebro de fior names “Margarita,” and might celebrate Madama Margaret’s marriage to Ottavio Farnese.179 (See Table 3.3)

176 Angelo Mercati, “Favori di Paolo III a Musici (Giacomo Archadelt – Ivo Barry – Bartolomeo Cotti – Francesco [Canova] da Milano),” Note d’Archivio per la storia Musicale 10 (1933), 110. Mercati notes that the Vatican registers in question record a large number of assignments, with no distinction made between occupied or unoccupied benefices. After the naming of Arcadelt’s benefices Mercati describes “gli reserva una prebenda nelle medesime chiese.” I infer from this that the collations are simply expectatives: the specificity of the benefices granted to Barry and Danckerts, which include sums and indications as to whether the posts are cum or senza cura, increases my suspicion that Arcadelt received only promises. Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 11, noted Mercati’s uncertainty about the availability of the benefices, but offered no conjecture regarding the markedly different wordings of those conferred on the three composers.

177 Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 52-53. Again, we should not presume French origin based on these benefices. Whether or not Arcadelt actually took possession of his Flemish benefices is uncertain. If he hoped to stay in French royal service he may have traded the earlier expectatives, or the benefices themselves, for other positions. If he spent time with the court in Paris he could have held a canonicate cum cura there, which would have been more remunerative than a sine cura position. Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine, was archbishop of Rheims, and may have had a role in the composer’s position there.

178 The Exercitium seraficum Madrigali de M. Hubert Naich a quattro et a cinque voci was printed in Rome by Blado, but is undated. Fenlon-Haar, 261 n. 3, note that “The six concordances in the Quinto libro with Naich’s undated Exercitium makes one wonder which volume came first; it seems probable that Gardano took them from Naich’s volume.” Naich’s patron or patrons are unknown, but the Exercitium is dedicated to the anti-Medicean Florentine exile Bindo Altoviti. I will return to this topic in Chapter Four.

179 The “fior” of the capoverso is of course another floral reference appropriate to Margaret but, given the frequency of floral imagery in poetry, it is important to proceed with caution.
Table 3.3: Arcadelt’s Quinto Libro

Title: ARCADELT/ IL QUINTO LIBRO DI MADRIGALI DI ARCHADELT A/ QUATRO VOCI NOVAMENTE STAMPATO/ ET POSTO IN LUCE/ A QUATRO [Gardano device] VOCI/ Venetijs Apud Antonium Gardane./ M.D. XXXXIIII./ CUM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO

Dedication: The print is dedicated by Gardano to Andrea da Leze

RISM: 1544\textsuperscript{16}, 1550\textsuperscript{17}

Inventory\textsuperscript{180}:

| Dolce rime leggiadre (Petrarch) | Arcadelt\textsuperscript{181} |
| Pietose rime & voi freddi sospiri | Arcadelt |
| Rara belta divina leggiadria | Arcadelt |
| Ecco d’oro l’eta pregiata e bella | Naich\textsuperscript{182} |
| Hor tregu’ havran i miei caldi sospiri | Arcadelt\textsuperscript{183} |
| Amorosetto fiore | Arcadelt\textsuperscript{184} |
| Come potro fidarmi | L. Barre\textsuperscript{185} |
| Le rose insieme i gigli e le viole | Naich\textsuperscript{186} |
| O fortunato augello | La Martoretta\textsuperscript{187} |
| Qual ingegn’ o parole | Arcadelt\textsuperscript{188} |
| Deh come trista dei | Anon.\textsuperscript{189} |
| In me sol regnar fede | Arcadelt |
| Se tanta gratia amor mi concedesse | Arcadelt |
| Fatto son esca de la donna mia | Arcadelt |
| Lachrime meste & voi sospiri dolenti | L. Barre\textsuperscript{190} |

\textsuperscript{180} The order and contents are unchanged in the 1550 reprint. The only alteration is the addition of the phrase “Con Alcuni de altri Autori” on the title page. The notes which follow on concordances and attributions are drawn from Fenlon-Haar, 261-63.

\textsuperscript{181} Reprinted in 1567\textsuperscript{12}.

\textsuperscript{182} Appears in Naich’s *Exercitium seraficum*.

\textsuperscript{183} Reprinted in 1567\textsuperscript{12}.

\textsuperscript{184} Reprinted in 1567\textsuperscript{12}. Doni’s *Dialogo* of 1544 contains a setting of this text for six voices, attributed to Arcadelt.

\textsuperscript{185} Barrè set the same text a5; that setting appears in 1548\textsuperscript{18}. Arcadelt’s a4 setting appears in 1539\textsuperscript{14}.

\textsuperscript{186} Appears in Naich’s *Exercitium seraficum*.

\textsuperscript{187} This text was also set by Bernardo Lupacchino in his *Madrigali* a4.

\textsuperscript{188} See Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 44, on the text.

\textsuperscript{189} This work is attributed to Arcadelt in 1550\textsuperscript{17}, but only in the cantus and bassus books.
As with Arcadelt’s earlier volumes, the mix of composers in this case combines those we would expect with the little-known. Leonardo Barrè, already associated with Arcadelt in the Fourth Book, is represented by two madrigals. “La Martoretta,” the Calabrian composer Giandomenico La Martoretta, has no known connection to Rome or the papal chapel although, like Arcadelt, he composed *note nere* madrigals. His contribution, like the pieces by Maitre Jhan and Perissone, may have been added by Gardano to fill out the volume.

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190 This work appears without attribution in Willaert’s *Madrigali a4*.

191 The text alludes to “Margarita.”

192 Appears in Naich’s *Exercitium seraficum*.

193 Appears in Naich’s *Exercitium seraficum*.

194 Lasso’s setting of this text appears in his Book One a4. Fenlon-Haar notes that it “shows at its beginning a resemblance, probably deliberate, to Perissonne’s madrigal.” Perissonne was a Fleming active in Venice who is thought to have been a friend of Gardano’s. James Haar, “Perissonne [Pierreson, Pyrison] Cambio,” *New Grove*, 19: 436-37.

195 Appears in Naich’s *Exercitium seraficum*.

196 Appears in Naich’s *Exercitium seraficum*.

The Arcadelt pieces in this volume have a considerably less complicated concordance history than those from Books 1-4, largely because so many of them first appeared here. Three of them, including *Ecco d’oro l’eta*, allude to specific people or events. *Qual ingegn’ o parole* is addressed to a “gentil Vittoria,” praised for her intelligence and virtue. Two eminent Vittorias in Rome in the 1530s and 1540s were Vittoria Farnese, Ottavio’s sister, and Vittoria Colonna. Both have been suggested as possible dedicatees of the madrigal. I consider Vittoria Colonna the likelier subject, particularly given her close friendship with Margaret by 1540.199

*Deh come trista dei/ Esser Fiorenza meco*, anonymous in the first edition, carries an attribution to Arcadelt in the third edition. The only concordance for this madrigal is Florence, Magl. 99-102, a Florentine source of unknown provenance that is rich in the music of Verdelot and Arcadelt. The text, a lament, might memorialize Alessandro de’ Medici, or perhaps Filippo Strozzi. Either of these subjects would place Arcadelt on the side of Cosimo de’ Medici’s opponents, and there are strong arguments to be made for both. A madrigal by Arcadelt honoring the deceased poet-patriarch of the Strozzi would come as no surprise. Margaret made much of mourning her dead first husband, 201

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198 Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 44.

199 Colonna had left Rome for Viterbo in 1541 but returned to the city in 1544. Her strong friendship with Michelangelo is another possible tie to Margaret’s Florentine circle. I know of no links between Margaret and Michelangelo. Arcadelt set two of Michelangelo’s poems, *De dimm’amor* and *Io dico fra voi*, both in manuscripts and both published in the *Primo libro*. Michelangelo knew the madrigals, as well as settings of his texts by Festa and Conseil, but expressed no personal regard for any of them. See Bridges, “The Publishing of Arcadelt’s First Book of Madrigals,” 29-35.

200 The manuscript is dated to c. 1535 and was copied by one scribe. Inclusion of the lament text forces us to expand the dating to c. 1538, which incorporates the deaths of both men. The manuscript was intended to be large: each partbook has a generous complement of ruled pages on which nothing was entered. *Deh come trista* is the last vocal piece in the manuscript, which concludes with three instrumental pieces in a later hand. See Fenlon-Haar, 164-67.

201 See Haar, “Towards a Chronology of the Madrigals of Arcadelt, 35.
dressing in mourning for him at her Farnese wedding, and an Arcadelt piece in his honor would likely have pleased her. 202

James Haar is the only scholar who has attempted to establish a chronology for Arcadelt’s madrigals. 203 He relies principally on manuscript and text evidence, on the grounds that the early madrigal’s musical style was a reflection of a consciously-assumed maniera, hence of variable utility in attempting to establish a date of composition. Arcadelt does seem to have left us a number of student works, probably a reflection of his youth and on-the-job training as a secular composer. If Arcadelt was born in 1507 and trained in a northern cathedral school, he would have had to learn Italian rapidly, and absorb the style of the Florentine madrigal as well. These facts would explain the “general technical roughness” of pieces singled out by Haar as early, characterized by their lack of attention to text declamation; predominantly chordal texture; phrases that come to a full cadence followed by a caesura rather than flowing smoothly into one another; melodies based on stepwise motion with much pitch repetition and a narrow ambitus; rhythmic emulation of Verdelot’s movement by minim with the occasional variant of a dotted minim-semiminim pattern; frequent musical repetition when setting rhymed lines; and a closing line that is an echo of one of the opening musical phrases. 204

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202 The wearing of black was indicative of mourning but was also a significant aspect of the so-called Spanish style, a preference for black clothing. While this has connotations of piety, there is a deeper meaning, one which reflects the Burgundian past of Spain’s sixteenth and seventeenth-century rulers: black is one of the most complex and costliest of natural dyes, and well-dyed black cloth was a mark of distinction for dyers in the Low Countries. No single plant or insect yields black dye, so the color must be created using often-secret combinations of organic matters and mordants, or through overdying: both methods are tricky and time-consuming, hence costly. Additionally, black is a particularly fugitive color, increasing its mystique.

Haar selects as the paradigm of Arcadelt’s “middle” style the *Primo libro*’s *Il bianco e dolce cigno*. The most readily apparent stylistic traits are expansion on those seen in his early works; stepwise motion is still the norm in melodic lines, but the ambitus has increased. Text is declaimed gracefully, with due given to dramatic gestures; melodic lines are fluid; phrases, though still marked by cadences, flow smoothly after one another; and themes are developed rather than simply repeated; mastery of the form and language have been achieved.205

*Maniera*, or *bella maniera*, describes a mode of socially-acceptable behavior or, in art, an appropriate style. What later critics took as self-limiting, and leading to repetition, was to Vasari a desirable thing, adherence to that which was recognized as good or right.206 Sixteenth-century musicians attached a variety of meanings to the concept of *maniera*, one of the most important of which was an aspect of the relationship between words and music; the most beautiful piece was one in which the two, joined, had rhetorical power greater than the parts.

An exemplar is Arcadelt’s *Il bianco e dolce cigno*, with its sensitive reading of the text, its attention to drama, its musical rhetoric which moves from descriptive exordium

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204 Haar writes that “What really sets these madrigals apart from those of Verdelot is a negative trait: they are as neutral in their declamatory relationship to the text as they are bland in every other respect.” “Towards a Chronology of the Madrigals of Arcadelt,” 36-37. This might reflect Arcadelt’s relatively short time in Italy and a lack of the linguistic sensitivity he would demonstrate in a few years.

205 Ibid., 38-39.

206 Sixteenth-century musicians attached a variety of meanings to the concept of *maniera*. It was an aspect of the relationship between words and music; an individual composer’s *maniera* was his stylistic mark; *gratiosa maniere* includes a singer’s attire, deportment, and “proper attitudes.” Compositions met with negative assessments were those which “seemed intended to break the stylistic conventions – the very *maniera* – of sixteenth-century music.” James Haar, “*Maniera* and Mannerism in Italian Music of the Sixteenth-Century,” *Essays on Mannerism in Art and Music. Papers Read at the West Chester State College Symposium on Interdisciplinary Studies November 18, 1978*, ed. Sterling E. Murray and Ruth Irwin Weidner (West Chester [Pennsylvania]: West Chester State College, 1978), 37-39, 42-43.
to contentment, via the musical drama of the unexpected harmonies of “piangendo.” As Haar writes, “Surely this is maniera in something of Vasari’s sense: graceful, facile, a recognizably individual use of standard elements.”

In the madrigal’s early history it is just this adherence to a generic maniera that complicates not only dating, but attribution: composers working within a deliberately constrained idiom leave only a limited fingerprint. The choice of texts was a significant factor in the unity: the petrarchisti perpetuated a poetic maniera that had become allied well with a particular musical style, and there was no small degree of self-perpetuation. Again, James Haar: “Arcadelt’s maniera was a much loved, much imitated one, echoing though the century in hundreds of madrigals on a variety of texts.” As we have seen Arcadelt’s style was based on that of Verdelot, so those imitating Arcadelt were also, to a degree, imitating his predecessor.

In 1542 Gardano released the Primo libro di Madrigali d’Archadelt a tre voci. This slender volume contains six madrigals attributed to Arcadelt, five to Festa, and one anonymous work. Ten of the madrigals occur in a Florentine source (the only one devoted to three-voice madrigals), perhaps the possession of a member of the Capponi family, probably from the 1530s. Arcadelt’s few five and six-voice madrigals were anthologized, as there were not enough for a putative solo volume.

Regional styles, such as that of the Venetian madrigal, by extension represent regional maniere, differentiation from the Florentine musical vocabulary.


Dramatic changes in the style of the madrigal were occasioned by changes in texts; the poetry of Tasso or Guarini, with its increased dramatic content, engendered a broader range of musical gestures.

The volume was reprinted three times.
Also in anthologies were Arcadelt’s *note nere* madrigals, all probably from his Roman period. As mentioned above, Arcadelt suffered from ill-health while in Rome and had considerable job responsibilities. A survey of the first five books of madrigals (including the *Secondo libro* and the *Vero Secondo*) reveals a pattern of increasingly smaller volumes with progressively more compositions absent from the manuscript sources. Arcadelt was a composer of renown by 1538 and the manuscript tradition had not yet been strongly affected by the rise of single-impression printing, so we should expect inclusion of his works in manuscripts.

Of the *Primo libro*’s 60 madrigals, thirty-seven of the pieces attributed only to Arcadelt have manuscript concordances, and thirteen (including *Giovanetta regal*, the madrigal thought to be for Margaret), do not. Gardano’s *Vero Secondo* is a considerably smaller volume, with a total of 25 pieces from which only 19 have unchallenged attributions. This subgroup is divisible into a large group of 14 madrigals with concordances, and five which make their first appearances here. The *Vero Secondo* is only slightly larger; it contains 29 madrigals. Of the 22 not ascribed to other composers, 18 lack manuscript concordances.

The Third, Fourth and Fifth Books have roughly the same ratios of works with and without manuscript concordances, although the number of madrigals per volume drops dramatically: the *Terzo libro* contains 48 pieces, 43 of which are probably Arcadelt’s; 12 have concordances, 31 do not. Of the *Quarto libro*’s 28 secure pieces by Arcadelt, from a total 39, only 8 have concordances. The *Libro quinto*, coming after a

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211 The manuscript is Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS FA VI.5 (2-4), also known as MS 27.511. See Fenlon-Haar, 147-49 and 238-29.

212 In my tallies I have excluded pieces with conflicting attributions in manuscripts or prints.
five-year gap, consists of only 31 madrigals. Of the 17 with uncontested attributions a mere five can be found in manuscripts, and 12 first saw print in the volume.

What can be said about the pieces first found in print format? I see the following possible explanations: 1) former patrons had lost interest in Arcadelt’s music; 2) Arcadelt had lost touch with patrons and could not send new music for inclusion in their manuscripts, 3) sources in which the madrigals appeared have been lost, or 4) these pieces were of such recent vintage that they had not yet been collected so were traveling as loose folios. Notice that I have assumed the presence of patrons as an element in creation of the composer’s secular music. We have no reason to suspect Arcadelt was a poet, which means that someone was writing the anonymous poems (the bulk of his texts), or selecting known poetry for setting. As to my possible explanations, the first is simply silly and the second unlikely, which leaves the remaining two possibilities. I personally favor the last, although it does not fully explain the mix of old and new.

I do not believe that Arcadelt himself provided music to Gardano or Scotto, for reasons already stated. The person or persons who served as conduit(s) had access to both Arcadelt and Venetian printers over a period of at least seven years, but either did not know with absolute certainty which pieces were his, or neglected to transmit that information to the printer when the music was sent. There is also the cynical possibility that Arcadelt’s music traveled with attributions but printers, in an effort to trade on the composer’s renown, assigned to him pieces by others in hopes of increasing sales.\(^{213}\)

The body of work under discussion was composed over a period of c. 14 years, in two cities, while in service to at least two masters, and at the behest of patrons we can

\(^{213}\) The commercial value of Arcadelt’s name cannot be overstated; the popularity of his *Primo libro* is unrivalled in the history of *Cinquecento* music.
almost never identify. All that can be safely said, after Arcadelt’s entry into the papal chapel, is that his employer was most likely not the impetus for his madrigal-composition. What can be said with certainty is that his style continued to evolve, as can be seen in his contributions to the *note nere* anthologies, in which the composer adopted a new, non-Florentine, *maniera*; one widely practiced in Rome.
Jacques du Pont is a little-known but intriguing figure, an important musician in Rome outside of papal employment. We know neither his date nor place of birth, but he was surely a Frenchman. At some point prior to 1529 he made the acquaintance of his long-time employer, Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, whom he accompanied to Italy. Du Pont remained in Italy in a variety of musical positions until 1545, at which point he vanished from the written record. His major work, the Cinquanta stanze del Bembo, sets a 1507 Carnival text by Pietro Bembo.¹ This print, first published in 1545, is an interesting one for many reasons, not the least of which is its position as the first securely datable large-scale madrigal cycle.²

The cyclic madrigal originated in the early 1540s and saw its period of greatest activity in the 1560s and 1580s.³ Just why composers turned to cyclic composition is unknown, but by the 1540s the madrigal, now in its twenties, was an increasingly self-

¹ The print has been edited, from the 1545 edition, by Lino Bianchi and Elio Piattelli, Giaches de Ponte, Cinquanta Stanze del Bembo (Rome: Pro Musica Studium, 1981), 2 vols.

² I use “cycle” here not in the nineteenth- or twentieth-century sense of a work with a unifying musical theme or consistent mode but, rather, to categorize a work which is organized around a single idea; in this case the text, a continuous narrative with a firm dramatic structure.

³ Of particular relevance to my study is Patricia Ann Myers, “An Analytical Study of the Italian Cyclic Madrigals Published by Composers Working in Rome ca. 1540-1614,” Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971.
conscious genre, and an effort to augment its specific gravity thus comes as no surprise. In Einstein’s view, “One can estimate the seriousness of a madrigalist and the extent of his relations to the musical *accademie* of Italy by considering the extent of his canzone compositions.”\(^4\) Means by which the change might occur, though, are less obvious. A desire for or interest in structural unity is one possible impetus, taking the cantus firmus mass as a point of origin.\(^5\) Polyphonic Magnificat settings are another possible inspiration, with their verse-by-verse settings, often involving variation of texture or style from one verse to another.\(^6\)

In her study of madrigal cycles Patricia Ann Myers begins with the idea of a multi-strophic text as the most obvious progenitor of multi-verse work. She takes as her starting point Petrucci’s ninth book of frottolas, from 1508, which contains an anonymous setting of the first verse of Petrarch’s double sestina *Mia benigna fortuna*, with the remaining eleven stanzas provided at the bottom of the page.\(^7\) The idea of one melodic formula for multiple verses is not a new one; in this volume Petrucci codified the essence of the centuries-old tradition of the *cantastorie*.\(^8\) While not an unambiguous move toward the composition of a true madrigal cycle this is an important stage, asserting as it does recognition of organic text cycles.

\(^4\) *The Italian Madrigal*, I: 432.

\(^5\) Here the influence of the *improvvisatori* or *cantastorie* can be traced in the occasional use of *arie* throughout. I will discuss *arie* and arioso madrigals at length in the next chapter.

\(^6\) Maintaining the same number of voices throughout a cycle is in fact less common than variation.

\(^7\) Myers, “An Analytical Study of the Italian Cyclic Madrigals Published by Composers Working in Rome ca. 1540-1614,” 1.

\(^8\) The difference resides in the fact that an improviser would not repeat the same unaltered melody for each successive verse, but would introduce variation; if Petrucci is capturing in print vestiges of a performance tradition, then the notated verse would be best seen as the template which the performer is free to vary or ornament.
The first through-composed madrigal cycle to see print was Jacquet de Berchem’s setting of the Petrarch sestina *Alla dolc’ ombra*, a text which would prove extremely popular over the course of the century.\(^9\) The date of composition is unknown, but the cycle was included in Antonfrancesco Doni’s 1544 *Dialogo della Musica*. The technique of varying the number of voices over the course of the cycle can be seen here; the first two stanzas are set for five voices; the third stanza is a trio; the fourth a quartet; the fifth returns to five voices, and a sixth is added for the final stanza. Unity is provided by use of a recurring melodic formula, presented in a series of variations, a compositional technique surely derived from the tradition of elaborating on a basic tune in the improvised performance of poetry.\(^10\)

As with so many of the early madrigalists, Berchem’s biography is unclear. He is thought to have been born in Berchem-lez-Anvers, c. 1505-1510, but nothing is known of his origins, training, or migration to Italy.\(^11\) Early in his career Berchem worked in the major Renaissance genres; mass, motet, chanson and madrigal, but he is best known for the last of these.\(^12\) His presence in Italy by 1535-40 is attested to by madrigals in

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\(^9\) Giovanni Animuccia’s setting was published in 1547 in his *Primo libro di madrigali*, a volume which contains several other canzoni, and Rore’s appeared in 1550. The individual stanzas of *Alla dolc’ ombra* were popular as well, with many composers setting only part of the sestina.

It is possible that other cycles, such as Rore’s *Vergine* setting, published in 1548, were composed about the same time as Berchem’s *Alla dolc’ ombra*, but until new information appears he must claim the title of first. Myers gives pride of place to Matteo Rampollini as probably the first to provide new music for each verse of a canzona, based on Einstein’s dating of 1540/41 for the print, but subsequent investigation has occasioned reconsideration of the volume’s dating, a topic I will address below.

\(^10\) See *Essays*, 91 and 188.

\(^11\) George Nugent posits a birth date of c. 1505; see “Berchem, Jacquet de,” *New Grove*, 3: 304. Dale Hall, on the other hand, suggests c. 1510; see his “Jacquet Berchem and his Capriccio,” *Studies in Music* XII (1978), 35.

\(^12\) Attribution of masses and motets is a vexed issue in Berchem studies. The four Jacquets, Jacquet de Berchem, Jacquet de Mantua, Jacques Brumel, and Jacques Buus, were all rough
Arcadelt’s surviving *Primo Libro*, from 1539, and in Brussels, Ms. 27.731, dated to 1535-40. In 1546 Scotto published his first print, the *Madrigali a cinque libro primo*, and, that same year, he became *maestro di cappella* in Verona, where he remained until circa 1550.

The *Madrigali a cinque ... libro primo* offers the first hints regarding Berchem’s patrons; in its dedication to the Venetian Giovanni Bragadino, the composer refers to himself as Bragadino’s “amorevole domestico.” Berchem writes to Bragadino that “.... I pray you to deign to concede to me the favour of your honored name, so that carrying it marked in the front [of the volume], these [efforts] can with more authority eagerly emerge into light and can be known to be of Giachetto de Berchem, your affectionate domestic, and not of others, for I know that there are not lacking in the world today crows contemporaries, and the sorting out of their various compositions has taken some time. Most of the works have now been assigned a composer, although there is still argument about two masses attributed variously to Berchem or Jacquet de Mantua. See George Nugent, “The Jacquet Motets and their Authors,” Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1973. Nugent accepts only two masses as secure compositions by Berchem, *Mort et fortune* on Gombert’s chanson, and *Mort ou merci*. See “Berchem, Jacquet de,” *New Grove*, 3: 305. Others accept the *Missa Altro non è il mio*, a parody Mass on Verdelot’s madrigal on that text; see James Haar, “Alto non è il mio amor,” in *Words and Music: The Scholar’s View; A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt by Sundry Hands*, ed. L. Berman (Cambridge [Mass]: Department of Music, Harvard University, 1972), 107, 109. JoAnn Taricani accepts the *Missa Deus misereatur nostrī* in part because it is published with an attribution by Gardano, who had produced the 1546 print in which Berchem attacked those who had taken credit for his work, suggesting that Gardano had enough contact with the composer to verify his authorship. Although she does not state this explicitly, the fact that it is a parody mass seems to play a part in her attribution as well. See “The Early Works of Jacquet de Berchem: Emulation and Parody,” *Revue Beige de Musicologie* XLVI (1992), 61.

The two madrigals in Brussels Ms. 27.731 are *Perché non date voi, donna crudele*, and *Vostra fui è sarà mentre ch’io viva*. Their style is that of the Florentine madrigal, and James Haar has suggested on those grounds that they might have been composed for Florentine expatriates living in Venice. See Fenlon-Haar, 63-64. The six works in Arcadelt’s *Primo libro* that are elsewhere attributed to Berchem are *O s’io potessi donna, Perche non date voi donna crudele, Pungente dardo che’l mio cor consumi, Ragion è ben ch’alcuna volt’ io canti, Sapete amanti perchè amor è pene, and Vostra fui e sarà mentre ch’io viva.*

He might have left Verona as early as 1550. See Nugent, “Berchem, Jacquet de,” *New Grove*, 3: 304-05.

Ibid., 304.
who would dress themselves in the plumage of the swan ....” This has been interpreted as a possible reference to Orlando furioso, Canto 35, stanzas 10-22, in which Astolfo, guided by St. John, sees plaques inscribed with the names of noble patrons thrown into the river Lethe, from whence crows and vultures try to steal the names. They are defeated in their effort by two swans, which convey the plaques to a temple sacred to immortality. If this is indeed a reference to Ariosto’s epic, it raises the possibility that Berchem was gaining familiarity with the text of his great cycle, the Capriccio, to which I will return, by 1546.16 

The sources and compositions offer a few more clues to his biography; as stated above, Doni’s Dialogo contains Berchem’s Alla dolc’ ombra; his motet Unica lux Venetum is dedicated to a “Marcantonio” who has been tentatively identified as Marcantonio Trevisan.17 These facts, along with the dedication of the Madrigali a cinque, argue for Berchem’s presence in the area of Venice, although there are no pay or household records containing more definite information.

By 1553 he had made his way south to Apulia, settling in the town of Monopoli. There he took a position at the cathedral and made an advantageous marriage to Giustina de Simeonibus, daughter of a noble family of the town. His Il primo libro de gli madrigali a quattro voci of 1555 is dedicated to the Neapolitan gentleman Andrea Marzato, who served as governor and military captain of Monopoli.18 One of the

16 Taricani, “The Early Works of Jacquet de Berchem: Emulation and Parody,” 55-58. Berchem set nothing from Canto 35, although he did set portions of Canto 34 in which Astolfo meets St. John and accompanies him to the moon, one stanza from Canto 38, and four from Canto 39. Evocative as the scene on the banks of the Lethe might be, it does not fit into the Capriccio’s careful program.

17 See Nugent, “The Jacquet Motets and their Authors,” 171-73. The motet was published in 1549, when Berchem might still have been in the Veneto.
madrigals in the volume, *Glorioso pastore*, addresses a prelate who has not been conclusively identified but may be Ottaviano Preconio, Bishop of Monopoli, or Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Inquisitor-General at Rome.\(^{19}\) New pieces by Berchem appeared in Venetian and Roman volumes until 1563, when his last published work appeared.\(^{20}\) He is mentioned as still living in Ludovico Guicciardini’s *Descrittione di tutti i paesi basi*; the volume was published in 1567 but might have been completed earlier, suggesting a date of death of c. 1565-67.\(^{21}\)

Berchem knew at least one piece by Jacques du Pont; his *A qualunque animale*, printed in 1555, is a parody of du Pont’s *Con lei foss’io*, published in 1542; Berchem took only the cantus from du Pont’s madrigal, and composed new music for the three lower voices. The texts are related; they are the first and last stanzas of Petrarch’s canzone 22. Another testament to Berchem’s early years in Italy is his *Altro non è il mio amor*. The work, published in Arcadelt’s fourth book, of 1539, is based on Verdelot’s setting of the same text. James Haar writes of Berchem’s setting that “the whole of his piece stands so near its model that Berchem would seem to have written it as an exercise in adapting another man’s work.”\(^{22}\)

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\(^{19}\) If Alvarez were the addressee their association could help explain the appearance of Berchem’s work in Roman collections, but that is sheer speculation on my part.

\(^{20}\) The final publication in question is Berchem’s madrigal *Madonna poi ch’uccider* in Lasso’s third book a5. Hall, “Jacquet Berchem and his *Capriccio*,” 35.

\(^{21}\) Hall suggests 1565, “Jacquet Berchem and his *Capriccio*,” 35; Nugent offers only “before 2 March 1567,” *New Grove*, 3: 305.

\(^{22}\) “*Altro non è il mio amor*,” 107. Berchem’s use of parody techniques does seem to be a fairly reliable stylistic indicator, supporting Taricani’s acceptance of the *Missa Deus misereatur nostrri* attribution.
Others early works by Berchem, including motets and chansons, are closely modeled on specific pieces or emulate structural procedures used by other composers, suggesting attempts on his part to learn the styles and techniques favored in Italy. A third madrigal, Berchem’s *Cogliete delle spine*, from the *Primo libro a 4*, 1555, borrows the two upper voices of Rore’s *Anchor che col partire*. I think it worth pointing out that, in his campaign of study, Berchem borrowed from two masters of the madrigal genre, Verdelot and Rore; I am not sure just where du Pont fits into this scheme, and can speculate only that *Con le foss’io, a note nere* madrigal, was chosen as a model of that popular new style.

*Alla dolc’ombra* aside, Berchem is indispensable to any study of the madrigal cycle because of his major work, his enormous cycle on texts from Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*, known as the *Capriccio*. The full title is *Primo, secondo et terzo libro del capriccio di Iachetto Berchem con la musica da lui composta sopra le stanze del Furioso novamente stampati & dati in luce all’ ill. et eccell. duca di Ferrara a quatro voci*. Gardano published the volume in 1561, with a dedication to Alfonso d’Este signed by the printer. 

Ariosto is the focal point of the dedicatory letter, which mentions Berchem only fleetingly. The stature of Ferrara’s famed poet is attributed to the distinction of the family glorified in his epic, suggesting that Gardano hoped for some manner of reward

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25 Sadly, this in no way illuminates the question of the composer’s connection to the house of Este. The logical assumption is that Berchem set portions of an epic so dear to the Este family at the request of, or in hopes of a position with, a member of the family, but there is no evidence that he was ever in contact of any sort with any of the Estense.
from the Duke. There is no evidence to suggest that the cycle was commissioned by any of the Estense. That what is, in a sense, the Este family epic, would be the subject of such a large-scale work by a composer with no known associations with the family is a puzzle, as is the question of whether Berchem would have embarked on a project of this magnitude without a commission.  

26 The Este historically maintained a strong musical establishment and had madrigalists in their employ during Berchem’s active years; Alfonso dalla Viola served in Ferrara for over forty years, from 1528 until 1572 and was, variously, in charge of the musici segreti and, in his later years, maestro at the cathedral. Cipriano de Rore served in Ferrara from 1546 until 1559; he was already a published and respected composer when he entered the family’s service and continued to produce madrigals while their client. Willaert, who had served Cardinal Ippolito I d’Este, had remained in contact with the family after taking up his position in Venice, and his Musica Nova is dedicated to Duke Alfonso.

As established in its title the Capriccio is divided into three “books” of thirty-one madrigals each, for a total of ninety-three madrigals. Ninety-one of the texts are ottava rima stanzas from Ariosto’s Orlando furioso; two, numbers sixty-seven and sixty-eight, are of uncertain provenance.  

27 The stanzas, taken from various parts of the poem, create a self-contained narrative; the outer units detail Orlando’s love, madness, and recovery, while the inner episode begins with a description of Orlando’s mad deeds, followed by


27 Ariosto’s poem appeared in varied editions in 1516, 1521, and 1532. Based on orthographical variation between the three editions, Hall believes that Berchem used that of 1532. There is a ninety-fourth piece in the Capriccio, a new setting composed “at the request of a friend,” of O s’io potessi donna, an earlier setting of which had appeared in Arcadelt’s Primo libro. Hall, “Jacquet Berchem and his Capriccio,” 37.
the introduction of several more characters and the laments of Isabella and Bradamante. As James Haar as pointed out, the division into three books, each of which is a discrete section within the larger unit, evokes a traditional *improvvisatore*’s performance over several days.

The madrigals, all for four voices, show a variety of styles, suggesting composition dating back to the 1540s and continuing through the 1550s. The repetition of melodic material throughout the cycle, along with reliance on the declamatory style known as *arioso*, reinforce the influence of the *improvvisatore* tradition. In the case of this work the influence extends to the actual inclusion of arias associated with the *cantastorie* and the *Furioso*. It is possible that this is a continuation of Berchem’s parody procedures, but it might also be an homage to the performance tradition of Ariosto’s poem. Dale Hall argues for the latter interpretation, and suggests the title is meant to draw this parallel for the audience; Benedetto Varchi’s explication of the word

28 For a detailed table showing the derivation of each text see Haar, “The *Capriccio* of Giachet Berchem,” 132-33. Just who may have organized the text cycle is unknown so, absent another name to attach to the project, conception of the project and selection of the texts is assigned to Berchem in the literature.

29 See Essays, 99.


31 Ibid., 136-140 and 143-56 for discussion and examples of some of the tunes used, and their varied presentations over the course of the cycle.

capriccio in literature as denoting “ingenious fantasies, divine inventions or contrivances,” is expressed in Berchem’s reworking of traditional arias used for solo singing of epic poetry into an elaborate polyphonic framework, demonstrating his ingenuity and inventiveness.³³

A very different cycle, far from the tradition of improvised ottava rima stanzas, is Matteo Rampollini’s Il primo libro/de la musica di M. Mattio Rampollini/Excellente Musico Fiorentino sopra di alcune/Canzoni del Divin Poeta/M Francesco Petrarca, which brings me back to Florence and Petrarch. Rampollini was a Florentine, born in 1497, and thought to have died in 1553.³⁴ No details are known about his early training, but it might have taken place at San Lorenzo or the Cathedral school, the first two institutions at which the composer was employed.³⁵ If Rampollini studied at the Cathedral his master was Bernardo Pisano, who took the post of teacher of polyphony in

³³ Berchem is the first composer known to have applied the word “capriccio” to music, but he was not the last. Vincenzo Ruffo (who also served as maestro at the cathedral at Verona) titled an 1564 instrumental collection Capricci in musici a tre voci. Suggestively, Ruffo uses preexistent melodies as the basis for several of the pieces in the print. The word was used by several other composers active in Venice and Verona (Ludovico Balbi, Paolo Fonghetti, Giovanni Bassano, and Francesco Stivori), and was applied to instrumental and vocal music. The word acquired a more restrictive meaning after 1600, when it was used to designate to instrumental pieces in imitative style, many of which used preexistent melodic material. See Hall, “Berchem and his Capriccio,” 38-39.

³⁴ The most detailed study of Rampollini and his cycle is Frank A. D’Accone, “Matteo Rampollini and his Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles,” Musica Disciplina 27 (1973): 65-106, on which I have drawn throughout this discussion.

³⁵ Corteccia was a student at the Baptistry, Pisano at the Cathedral, so there were clearly several places a young Florentine musician might receive his training. The school at San Lorenzo had been founded in the late 1450s in response to a charge and endowment from Cosimo de’ Medici. A master and twelve clerks were employed in the school although, during the years Rampollini might have been a student, there is no evidence for the teaching of polyphony.

   The Cathedral’s school was established in 1436 by a moto proprio of Eugene IV, who provided both an endowment and regulations governing the master’s duties, the curriculum, and the selection of students. Polyphony was taught at the Cathedral school as early as 1478, although an official position was not created until 1485, when the incumbent chapel master took the title. He was required to teach polyphony to at least twelve of the school’s clerks, who in turn sang under his direction at Saturday morning mass and various other services. In 1494 the chapel and the position for teacher were abolished, perhaps at Savonarola’s bidding; the Cathedral chapter was reestablished in 1501.
1511 and, in 1512, chapel master. Rampollini himself became maestro in 1520, after a period as teacher of polyphony and plainchant at San Lorenzo’s school, from February of 1515.\(^{36}\)

The composer served at the Cathedral Chapel until 1528, joining the Baptistry’s chapel during that period as well. The joint association brought him into regular contact with prominent musicians such as Verdelot, with whom he appears to have shared the title of master at the Cathedral.\(^{37}\) Rampollini became an official member of the Baptistry chapel in August of 1526 and served there with Verdelot until the organization was disbanded in June 1527. There are no further documents attesting to Verdelot’s existence, but Rampollini’s name can be found in Cathedral documents until its chapel was dissolved in 1528.

Rampollini’s whereabouts in the late 1520s are unknown; he might have gone to his father’s property in the Florentine possession of Castel Fiorentino, which he declared as his place of residence as late as 1532. In November of 1530, three months after the Medici restoration, he was named to Pisano’s chaplaincy at San Lorenzo. His appointment at that time suggests that Medici approval or funds were very important to

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\(^{36}\) San Lorenzo was the Medici family church, and remained of such importance to the family that when Leo X visited Florence in 1515 he selected San Lorenzo as the site of all papal functions, and his musicians performed a polyphonic Mass there every morning. The Cathedral was also under some degree of Medici control: D’Accone states that the Medici had apparently helped Pisano attain the position of maestro years earlier (Frank A. D’Accone, “The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry During the First Half of the 16th Century,” \textit{JAMS XXIV} 24 [1971], 15), and may also have helped place Rampollini; the twenty-three-year-old was promoted into the position over several more experienced musicians, suggesting that either he was held in particular esteem by his contemporaries, or that he had served in the chapel at some point. D’Accone, “Matteo Rampollini and his Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles,” 72-73.

\(^{37}\) As stated in Chapter One, Verdelot is named as chapel master in documents from April 1523 and June 1525, and Rampollini is assigned the same title in documents from 1524, 1525, and 1526. In a 1527 account book the two are listed together, though neither is referred to as master. When Verdelot received his two-month leave in December of 1523 to travel to Rome and sing at Clement’s coronation, Rampollini agreed to discharge his duties.
chapel income. Given the control traditionally exerted by the Medici over this institution, Rampollini’s chaplaincy might have been a reward for loyalty, perhaps conferred at the request of Clement himself.\textsuperscript{38}

On 11 September 1534 Rampollini resigned from San Lorenzo, but he remained in or around Florence; five years later both he and Corteccia contributed to the celebrations of Cosimo’s 1539 wedding.\textsuperscript{39} The composer’s brother, Giovanbattista, was music teacher to Cosimo’s children; the brothers are recorded as co-renters of a house in Florence’s Santa Croce neighborhood in 1547, his last secure biographical notice.\textsuperscript{40} He might have retired, returned to his home in Castel Fiorentino, or, the hypothesis D’Accone finds “particularly attractive,” traveled to Lyon, where his Florentine contemporary Layolle served as editor for Moderne, publisher of Rampollini’s music.\textsuperscript{41}

Rampollini’s \textit{Primo libro} contains settings of seven Petrarch canzone in their entirety, for a total of forty-nine stanzas.\textsuperscript{42} The volume, dedicated to Cosimo I, was printed by Moderne; the unique surviving set, in Wolfenbüttel, is undated. The sixteenth-

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\textsuperscript{38} D’Accone believes Pisano must have been forced to resign the position after a voyage from Rome to Florence in 1529, when he was accused of being a spy, imprisoned, tortured, and finally expelled as a Medici sympathizer. Corteccia joined San Lorenzo as a chaplain in March 1531, perhaps also as part of the Medici effort to rebuild the establishment. See “Matteo Rampollini and his Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles,” 75.

\textsuperscript{39} Rampollini composed two madrigals for the event.

\textsuperscript{40} See James Haar, “A Musical Accompaniment to Petrarchan \textit{Lezioni} at the Accademia Fiorentina,” \textit{Annali d’Italianistica} 22 (2004), 275.

\textsuperscript{41} D’Accone, “Matteo Rampollini and his Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles,” 77.

\textsuperscript{42} Rampollini set the canzoni \textit{Sì è debile ’l filo}, \textit{Se ’l pensier}, \textit{Standom’un giorno}, \textit{Solea de la fontana}, \textit{Che debb’io far}, \textit{Poi che per mio destino}, and \textit{Di pensier in pensier}. The ordering in the print is not that of the Canzoniere; canzoni one, two, six and seven, are from the \textit{vita} section, while the three inner cycles are drawn from the \textit{morte section}. The stanzas are numbered individually, suggesting possible performance as free-standing entities, but various devices, including mode, rhythmic gestures, and melodic and harmonic correspondences are used at times to link constituent parts of a canzone. See D’Accone, “Matteo Rampollini and his Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles,” 8.
century author Michele Poccianti stated that the work was printed in 1560 (the year in which he claimed the composer died), a date accepted by Vogel, but Einstein suggested variously 1540, 1541, or 1545. Samuel Pogue accepted Poccianti’s date as he was the nearest contemporary witness, although printing evidence suggested to him a date closer to 1554. Incorporating Pogue’s work, while factoring in biographical evidence, D’Accone settled on 1546-54 as the likeliest period. Haar agrees with D’Accone’s approximate dating, but would further refine the nine-year spread to 1550-54.

Establishing an approximate date for Rampollini’s print is important to our understanding of cyclic prints. If it was indeed published between 1546 and 1554, then it is among the first volumes dedicated to madrigal cycles. The du Pont Cinquanta Stanze, dated 1545, would still hold pride of place as the first, but the two are quite different in design; du Pont set ottava stanzas by a living poet, while Rampollini set canzone. The Rampollini cycle was already underway by 1542; in that year his Novo piacer che ne

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43 The music font for this print was used first in 1545, establishing a *terminus a quo*, while the signature numbering, initials, and paper all suggest the early 1550s. The initials were used by Moderne for the first time in a print dated 1554. The dedication is by Rampollini so, if we accept the death date of December 1553 posited by D’Accone, the volume might have been assembled and printed as late as the end of that year or early in 1554. The dedication contains the phrase “this little bit of life I have left,” raising the possibility that Rampollini was in poor health or frail; he was nearing 50 in 1546 and had not held a position for twelve years, supporting the possibility that he was feeling aged or infirm when writing the dedication. See Samuel F. Pogue, *Jacques Moderne, Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1969), 213-18.


46 The next volume that approaches its magnitude is Barrè’s 1555 *Primo libro de le muse a cinque*, a collection of multi-strophic settings by Arcadelt, Vincenzo Ruffo, Jachet Berchem, and Barrè; I will discuss this volume briefly in the Conclusion.
gl’unan’ingegni, a setting of the fifth stanza of the cycle’s opening canzone, *Si è debile il filo*, saw print in the anthology *Di diversi autori il primo libro di madrigali ... a quatro*.\(^47\)

The Accademia Fiorentina, formally constituted under the patronage of Cosimo I in 1541 (a reinvention of the slightly earlier *Accademia degli Umidi*), took up the *questione della lingua* with presentations and discussions on Dante and Petrarch. Rampollini is not known to have been a member of the organization, but may have been commissioned to compose works in response to lectures. One well-known interpreter of Petrarch, Bernardo Sdegni, gave a *lezione* in 1542 on the canzone *Si è debile il filo*, the very one which opens the Rampollini print and from which an isolated stanza was published in 1542.\(^48\)

The Florentine author Cosimo Bartoli mentions Rampollini in Book Three of the *Ragionamenti* (published in 1567, although perhaps written as early as 1543). At the time of Bartoli’s writing the composer was still alive and, to read Bartoli, acclaimed:

P. Tell me, don’t we still have here [in Florence] M. Mattio Rampollini, whose compositions, I give you my word, have earned him a marvelous reputation, especially among foreigners?

G. Certainly, one can’t speak of him without saying that he is talented.

L. I remember the last time I was in Rome. One day I was at the home of M. Bindo Altoviti, where many of the best musicians in Rome at the time were gathered. The discussion turned to his [Rampollini’s] works, and they were highly praised.

P. One can’t deny him his ability, for certainly in composition and even in reworking [material] he is skillful, fast and capable.\(^49\)

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\(^{47}\) The piece is incorrectly attributed to Arcadelt.

The exact date of this section cannot be known, but it suggests that Rampollini’s music was widely circulated. If indeed this section was written as early as 1543 the Primo libro de la musica would have to have been well underway; Rampollini’s other compositions are the two madrigals for Cosimo I’s wedding in 1539 and a small handful of madrigals in anthologies; his claim to fame as a composer resides in his Petrarch cycle.

Just when or why Rampollini embarked on composition of the full cycle is another mystery, as is the question of who might have been his patron. A work of this size must have been created in response to a commission; Rampollini was not a man of means, and supported himself with income earned from his duties as a musician. The dedication, while offering no clues on that subject, is of interest nonetheless. It reads, in part, “I am very much aware that such noble, sweet and musical texts merited being composed by the father of music, the most excellent IOSQUINO, and [by] ADRIANO, GIACHETO [Berchem] and other composers more worthy than I. [It was] not, however, from presumption, but rather as one who was very much attached to our Poet that, stimulated by the nature [of his works], I undertook this venture with little effort.”

49 See D’Accone, “Matteo Rampollini and his Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles,” 80. Bindo Altoviti and gatherings in his home will figure prominently in the following chapter, but for now all that is significant is the fact that Altoviti, a wealthy Florentine expatriate, was active as a patron of music.

50 “Giacheto” is assumed by D’Accone to be Berchem presumably because of the Capriccio, seeing in Rampollini’s choice a reference to madrigal cycles. It is also possible that Rampollini referred to Jacquet of Mantua. Josquin and Willaert were widely published in the early 1540s, as was Jacquet of Mantua, and all three belonged to a slightly older generation than Berchem. In his Ragionamento Cosimo Bartoli singles out for praise “Giachetto da Mantova” which I think gives some weight to my hypothesis. See James Haar, “Cosimo Bartoli on Music,” in The Science and Art of Renaissance Music (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 49.

51 See D’Accone, “Matteo Rampollini and his Petrarchan Canzoni Cycles,” 78.
The names omitted are as interesting as those included: both Verdelot and Arcadelt are unnamed. I have suggested that Arcadelt was already out of favor by 1539, so his omission is perhaps unsurprising. Many of Verdelot’s works were traveling without attribution in early sources, but Verdelot had been Rampollini’s colleague and the younger man surely knew his music. The composers who are named by Rampollini are Josquin, whose works were still well-known; Willaert, the leading composer of the day, and the elusive Jacquet. This last aside, Josquin and Willaert were, by mid-century, lionized as serious composers; perhaps, by invoking them, Rampollini was trying to demonstrate that his music was to be associated not with “popular” composers, but with revered masters.

The emphasis on Petrarch in the title, and the dedication’s positioning of him as “our Poet” are interesting, and in keeping with Pisano’s focus on the poet in his Musica de meser Bernardo Pisano sopra le canzone del Petrarcha. I wonder if there is in fact a message in the choice of texts and their advertisement and if, in fact, Rampollini is responding in some way to Bembo and non-Florentine composers, firing off a salvo in the defense of Tuscan preëminence in both music and poetry. Florence, home of the madrigal, had not been at the forefront of composition since Arcadelt’s departure, and perhaps this print was meant to suggest that the city was again a force with which to be reckoned. The anti-Bembists were strong in Florence and the print is dedicated to Cosimo, both suggestive of some sort of effort to reclaim a lost position.

52 As stated in Chapter One the volume is not really what it purports to be, as only seven of its seventeen compositions are settings of Petrarch. The emphasis on Petrarch in the title might be simply an advertising device, or might be intended to demonstrate the seriousness of the volume’s contents.
The Bartoli excerpt given above serves to take me back to Rome. Bindo Altoviti’s home was a locus for Florentine *fuorusciti*, one of whom was Cosimo’s uncle, Giovanni Salviati, Du Pont’s employer. Salviati (1490-1553) was an important cardinal, one of the most serious contenders in the conclave that elected Julius III. His father was Jacopo Salviati, member of a powerful Florentine family, but the cardinal’s rise to power in the Curia had more to do with his mother, Lucrezia de’ Medici. Her younger brother Giovanni had become Pope Leo X in 1513, and Leo wasted no time in raising his sisters’ sons to the purple. The first papal *nipoto* so honored was Innocenzo Cibò, son of Leo’s sister Maddalena and Francesco Cibò, son of Innocent VIII, in 1513. The 1517 Consistory included Giovanni Salviati and Nicolò Ridolfi, son of Leo’s sister Contessina and Piero di Nicolò Ridolfi.53

When Giulio de’ Medici became Pope Clement VII in 1524 he continued in Leo’s footsteps, advancing the careers of his cousins whenever possible. One such step was the appointment of Cardinal Salviati as papal legate to the Spanish and French courts. Salviati went to Spain in 1525 after the disastrous defeat of Francis I at the battle of Pavia, in an effort to negotiate a peace between Clement and Charles. After the failure of that effort he left for France in 1527. Shortly after his arrival there, he engaged du Pont as his *maestro di cappella*. The Medici family had a long and fruitful connection to France and French traditions, particularly French or Francophone musicians, hence it is not surprising that Salviati would engage a Francophone as his *maestro*. Salviati

53 Ridolfi was born in 1501 and died in 1550. There were two other Salviati cardinals in the sixteenth century; Giovanni’s younger brother Bernardo (1508-1568), and their nephew Antonio Maria (1537-1602).
remained in France during the Sack of Rome, leaving late in 1529, and settled in Rome late in 1530.  

Salviati was an important and influential cardinal, and an active patron of the visual arts but, as far as we know, du Pont was the only musician he employed. As far as we know. Du Pont took on other work as well; we know he served for a time as maestro di cappella at San Luigi dei Francesi, the French national church in Rome. In

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56 There is surely more work to be done on musicians in Salviati’s household, as Hurtubise obliquely suggested when he noted that “... Jacquet ne fu probablement pas le seul musicien au service du Cardinal. Nous trouvons dans des inventaires dressés en 1546 et 1552 de la garde-robe du prélat mention d’un petit orgue, de quatre clavecins, de six violes et de deux luths qui manifestement n’étaient pas au seul usage de Jacquet du Pont.” Hurtubise continues, suggesting that “il n’est d’ailleurs pas impossible que le prélat lui-même touchât l’un ou l’autre de ces instruments. Castiglione, ami et protégé du cardinal, ne recommandait-il pas à l’honnête homme de son temps d’apprendre à chanter et à jouer de la viole?” Salviati’s life seems quite well-documented, yet I am not aware of any pay records to musicians other than du Pont. The collection of instruments might reflect an image Salviati wished to send of the Prince of the Church as patron, or it is possible that documents related to musicians in his household or in his occasional employ have yet to be found.

57 San Luigi dei Francesi is a sixteenth-century foundation; the modern building was begun in 1518 under the protection of Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici, but its construction was interrupted by the Sack of Rome. The church received its formal consecration on 8 October 1589, presided over by Sixtus V and Cardinal François Joyeuse, then “protector Gallorum.” In preparation for the new building a musical chapel was formally constituted in 1514. Only sporadic registers and pay records for the chapel survive from this period, so there is no way to develop a full picture of the chapel’s activities, but there is enough to know that it was a small musical establishment consisting of the maestro, an organist, a tenorista, one additional singer, and one boy.

In November of 1519 Jacotinus Level became maestro. Very little is known about Level, who served in Leo’s private chapel from June 1516 until August 1517, and again from February 1519 until September 1520. His second term of service with Leo coincided with his tenure at San Luigi, a position he held until March 1521. He was succeeded by Jean l’Héritier, who remained in the position only from July 1521 until August 1522. For a period of years thereafter surviving records are spotty at best, and in some instances entire years, including 1531 and 1533-35, are missing. The only musical position regularly
his study of the Salviati family Pierre Hurtubise notes that du Pont received special mention in Salviati’s 1544 will, in which “ce dernier lui laissera, en effet, une pension viagère de 60 écus par an ou son entretien et celui d’un serviteur, sa vie durant, pourvu qu’il acceptât de s’installer à Florence, comme le souhaitait le prélàt.”

Cappella Sistina mandati from February 1531 to March 1532 record payments to a Jacquet, but no further identification is given. It is a common name, which threatens the notion that du Pont is the one meant, but on the other hand he was in Rome, and employed by a relative of Clement’s, so it is certainly possible that he substituted in the Cappella Sistina. Instances of musicians moving freely from one Roman institution to another are common, a pattern that would continue for decades. Jacotin Level’s employment pattern of moving specifically between the Cappella Giulia and San Luigi does support the possibility that du Pont also served at the two institutions.

occupied was that of organist; singers appear to have come on loan from other establishments, including the Cappella Giulia.

In an entry in the Libri Introitus et Exitus from 21 November 1536 maestro Jacques du Pont first appears. Lacking the earlier records we cannot know when exactly he became leader of the chapel, but he retained the position until January 1538. After his departure San Luigi was without a maestro until April 1539, when Robin Mallapert served there for seven months between positions at Santa Maria Maggiore and the Cappella Giulia. After he left the pattern of hiring, whenever possible, a French maestro continued, as did the pattern of brief periods of service. See Herman-Walther Frey, “Die Kapellmeister an der französischen Nationalkirche San Luigi dei Francesi in Rom im 16. Jahrhundert, Teil 1: 1514-1577,” Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 22 (1965), 272-93, esp. 272-79, and Leeman L. Perkins, “Notes bibliographiques au sujet de l’ancien fond musical de l’Église de Saint Louis des Français à Rome,” Fontes Artis Musicae 16 (1969), 57-58.

The document in question is in the Archivio Salviati, Pisa, Com. III, fol. 43r. Pierre Hurtubise, Une famille-témoin, les Salviati (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985), 306. No trace of du Pont as a resident of Florence has been discovered as yet. Salviati lived almost a decade longer; the composer may have predeceased him or, perhaps, returned to France.


Frey, “Die Kapellmeister an der französischen Nationalkirche San Luigi dei Francesi,” 274.
The Venetian aristocrat Pietro Bembo was born in 1470. His father Bernardo served as ambassador to Florence from July 1478 until May 1480, and Pietro accompanied his father to the Florence of Lorenzo il Magnifico, a visit that would have a great influence on his later life. While they were there Bernardo Bembo, himself a humanist and scholar of some repute, became a member of Ficino’s Platonic Academy. In 1491 Angelo Poliziano paid a visit to the Bembos in Venice, to examine a manuscript of Terence’s comedies in Bernardo’s collection. Pietro was at Messina, in Sicily, from 1492 until 1494, where he read Greek with Constantine Lascaris; his interest in the study of Greek may have been fostered by his acquaintance with Poliziano, one of the first Italians to master the language.

The years around the turn of the century were important ones for Pietro. In 1497 he accompanied his father to Ferrara, where he met the humanist Jacopo Sadoleto (who would become one of Leo X’s secretaries) and the poets Ercole Strozzi and Ludovico Ariosto. Pietro had begun his association with the Aldine Press in 1495 when he and a fellow student of Greek brought Lascaris’s Greek grammar from Messina to Venice. The professional relationship with Aldus Manutius would prove a fruitful one; in 1501 Bembo edited an edition of Petrarch for the Aldine Press, followed the next year by an edition of Dante. These editions, along with his own De Aetna of 1495, an account of his journey to the famed mountain, quickly established him as an important humanist.

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Upon completion of *De Aetna* Bembo began a quite different work, which saw print in 1505 under the title *Gli Asolani*. The court of Asola was presided over by the exiled Caterina Cornaro, a Venetian patrician who had become Queen of Cyprus through her marriage to James II Lusignan. The king died in 1473 but Caterina continued to rule until 1489, when the island fell to Venice. The territory of Asola was granted to Caterina as a reward for her abdication, allowing her to rule over her small court until her death in 1510.

Bembo visited Asolo in 1495, during the celebration of the marriage of one of Caterina’s ladies, the event which serves as the starting point for his dialogue on love. The idea for the work took several years to see fruition; the bulk of the work on *Gli Asolani* was not done until 1502-03, while Bembo was in Ferrara. The first edition of the volume is dedicated to Lucrezia Borgia, with whom the poet had a quite extended epistolary relationship, though the exact nature of their friendship has resisted explanation.

In 1506 Bembo went to Urbino, where he stayed until 1512. He left the duchy for Rome where, in 1513, he became papal secretary to his childhood acquaintance, Giovanni de’ Medici, newly elected Pope. He remained in that position until 1521. Upon Leo’s death Bembo retired to Padua, where he could devote more time to writing

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63 The popular Bembo texts *Voi mi ponest’ in foco* and *Quand’io penso al martire* are from *Gli Asolani*. 
and readying his manuscripts for publication. One of his works published during this time was the *Prose della volgar lingua*, a portion of which is dedicated to Clement VII.\(^{64}\)

Bembo had been unable to settle into his own accommodations and devote himself to his studies earlier in his life because, although he was a highly educated member of the Venetian patriciate, he was not a wealthy man. Like other humanists such as Paolo Cortesi or Angelo Poliziano he was, in fact, in the odd position of serving as both client and patron. His education and social standing assured him a place at court, but his own means were quite limited. The life of a courtier, to which he was so well suited, carried with it some burdens and, more significantly, complications. His strong association with the Medici, both his friendship with Giuliano de’ Medici and his service to Leo, forced him to walk a political tightrope between the Medici and their foes. After Duke Guidobaldo’s death, Leo was quick to seize the duchy at spearpoint and invest his nephew Lorenzo as Duke.\(^{65}\) It must have been very difficult for Bembo, who was serving Leo at the time, to witness the dissolution of the Urbino court but he managed, somehow, to remain on good terms with all parties.

Paul III nominated Bembo to the cardinalate on 19 March 1539 but there was initial opposition, particularly in light of Bembo’s long relationship with the Roman

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\(^{64}\) His return to public life came in 1529, when the Republic of Venice assigned him the post of Official Historian and, shortly thereafter, Librarian of St. Mark’s. Had he lived out his life in Venice, writing and editing, he would have been one of the most renowned men of his city, but there was more varied service to come.

\(^{65}\) Duke Guidobaldo, a man of frail health, had died in 1508 and the Duchy passed to his nephew, Francesco della Rovere, whose succession had been arranged by his uncle Julius II. Upon Julius’s death Francesco’s legitimacy as heir was immediately challenged by Leo X. In an effort to further his own dynastic ambitions Leo declared his nephew Lorenzo Duke of Urbino in 1516, a title Lorenzo held until he himself died in 1519. After a year and a half under papal control, the ducal throne was resumed by Francesco in December of 1521, immediately after Leo’s death.
woman Morosina, who had borne him three children. In October of 1539 Bembo was recalled from his Paduan retreat to Rome by the pope, and finally given the red hat. Two years later Paul made him Bishop of Gubbio, in the See of Urbino, a post vacated by the death of Bembo’s long-time friend Federico Fregoso. In 1542 the bishopric of Gubbio was reassigned and Bembo was made Bishop of Bergamo. There were complications surrounding his occupation of the new benefice and so, in March of 1543, the seventy-three-year old literary lion decided to return from his retirement in Gubbio to Rome, where he remained until his death on 18 January 1547 having been, over the course of his lifetime, a famed author, editor, scholar, and servant of the church.

Pietro Bembo wrote his *Cinquanta Stanze* in 1507 for a Carnival entertainment in Urbino. The poem is a fifty-stanza ottava rima cycle on love and those who deny its power. The *Stanze* are rife with Classical references, Petrarchan allusions, and not a little humor; this is the Bembo of *Gli Asolani*, not the *Prose della volgar lingua*. The first document we have pertaining to the history and reception of the text is a letter from Bembo to Ottaviano Fregoso, written only days after the *Stanze* were debuted.

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66 Faustina Morosina della Torre, who may have been a courtesan, gave birth to Lucilio in 1523, Torquato in 1525, and Elena in 1528. See C[arlo] Dionisotti, “Bembo, Pietro,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome: Società Grafica Romana, 1966), 8: 141.

67 On March 1 1544 Bembo was still in Gubbio, but his next letter, dated 15 March, was written from Rome. There are no letters between 2 March and 14 March.

68 The previous year’s entertainment was the pastoral *Tirsi*, by Baldassare Castiglione and his cousin Cesare Gonzaga.

69 The first edition of the stanze states that they were “… recitate per giuoco dallui e dal S. Ottaviano Fregoso, mascherati a guisa di due ambasciatori della dea Venere …,” and the performance took place on the night of Carnival. Dionisotti, *Prose e Rime*, 651.
Al Signor Ottaviano Fregoso.

Arei voluto, Illustre Signor Ottavian mio, che le stanze che furono da V.S. ordite, e da me tessute con frezzoloso subbio questi di piacevoli, che per antica usanza si donano alla licenza e alle feste a fine che elle si recitassero per giuoco da mascherati dinanzi la nostra Signora Duchessa e Madonna Emilia vostre zie secondo il sentimento della finzion loro, recitate e udite una volta nella maniera che s’ordinò, si come venne lor fatto d’essere, elle del tutto nascoste si fossero e dileguate da gli occhi e dalla memoria di ciascuno, in modo che altro di loro che la semplice ricordanza non fosse rimaso. Perciò che assai assai [sic] vi dee esse chiaro, che in quella guisa e in tale stagione può per aventura star bene e dilettar cosa che in ogni altra sarà disdetta e sommamente spiacerà. E queste medesime stanze sono di qualità, che si come il pesce fuori dell’acqua la sua vaghezza e piacevolezza non ritiene, così elleno fuori della occasione e del tempo loro portate non averanno onde piacere. Oltra che ognuno che le sentirà o leggerà, se esse pure si lasceran leggere, non saperà che elle siano state dettate in brevissimo spazio, tra danze e conviti, ne’ romori e discorrimenti che portan seco quei giorni: come sanno quelli che le videro e udirono dettare. È era certo il meglio fuggire il rischio della riprensione, là dove acquisto alcuno di loda non può aver luogo. Ma poi che a voi pur piace d’averle appresso di voi, e di poterle innanzo vostra mostrare a chi richieste ve le ha, come dite, e a me non è licito ritenervi quello che è non men vostro parto che egli si sia mio, quantunque più tosto si possa ciò sconciatura che parto chiamare, io a V.S. le mando, ricordandovi che, se nell’opera delle arme e della cavalleria séte voi ricco e abondevole di gloria, io in quella del calamo e delle scritture vie più ne son povero, e più bisogno me ne fa, che io possa di lei a tempo niuno sicuramente far perdita. State sano. Il secondo giorno della Quaresima dell’anno MDVII. Di Castel Durante.70


I would have wished, my illustrious Signor Ottaviano, that the stanze which were designed by your lordship, and which were woven together by me with a hasty shuttle during these pleasant days which, according to custom, are given over to license and festivities, in order that they be recited for entertainment by maskers before our lady duchess and lady Emilia, your aunts, according to the sense of their conceit, to be recited and heard once in the manner which you requested, indeed having served their purpose, they would be entirely hidden away and kept from the eyes and memory of everyone, in such a way that nothing other than mere recollection might remain. Since it ought to be very clear to you that in that style and season a thing might be well received and please which in any other would be disdained and entirely displeasing. And these stanze are of such a kind that, just as a fish out of water loses its charm and is not pleasing, so they, taken out of their occasion and time would not please. Moreover those who might hear them or read them, even if these stanzas allowed themselves to be read, will not be know that they were spoken in a short period of time amidst dancing and feasting, and amid the gossiping and chatting which these days carry with them: as they know who saw and heard them performed. And it was certainly better
The letter establishes quite clearly that the literary conceit was Fregoso’s, and merely the execution Bembo’s. The verb “ordire,” used by Bembo in the opening clause, can mean “to mount on a loom,” or “to weave.” With that verb Bembo establishes the metaphor of weaving “with a hasty shuttle,” all choices emphasizing his role as craftsman serving Fregoso’s design. Some of this is surely a pose of modesty, reinforced in the closing section of the letter in which Bembo juxtaposes arme and calamo, the sword and the reed.

It appears that Fregoso has requested the poems so that he might share them with others, and Bembo grants him permission to do so. This suggests that, protestations as to their inception aside, the poet was actually pleased with the cycle. Brian Richardson has written that “… Bembo made a clear distinction between private diffusion, within a strictly limited inner circle, and making his work available to the public at large. When he sent a first redaction of a sonnet with a letter to one of a small handful of close friends, he usually specified that it was not for publication and could go no further than the recipient and perhaps one other trusted friend, because he would normally want to revise it at least once.”

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It is always difficult, with a letter of this sort, to determine what is truth and what is authorial modesty. When the Stanze were published in the 1530 edition of Bembo’s *Rime* the letter to Fregoso appeared virtually unchanged. In the letter Bembo seems dismissive of the cycle, but his tone is typical of the dedicatory letter. The fact of publication suggests that Bembo was surely pleased with the Stanze, while still eager to inform the reader that they were mere Carnival trifles. I consider it likely that, quality or degree of informality aside, the Stanze marked a period in Bembo’s life about which, in 1530, he felt nostalgic. Fregoso had died in May 1524, Elisabetta Gonzaga in 1526, and Baldassare Castiglione in 1529. The brilliant court of Urbino was only a memory, and perhaps Bembo sought to memorialize the glory of a lost epoch.

There is a subtext of sexual innuendo in the Stanze, but it is presented as an element of the exotic East. The suggestive nature of the text is not out of keeping in a Carnival entertainment, yet Bembo is clearly writing a private entertainment for a sophisticated court, rather than a boisterous street audience. Throughout the cycle he tempers the freedom of his topic with an elevated and highly erudite tone, invoking Homer, Ovid, and such famed lovers as Catullus and Lesbia. Those who know only the Bembo of *Il Cortegiano*, with his expressions of the platonic ideal of love, might be surprised by these texts, but there is considerable artistic continuity with *Gli Asolani*, particularly the character of Perottino, thought to be Bembo himself.

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72 There are a number of orthographic alterations, but the only change of substance is the omission of one “assai” from line 10.

73 By the time the first edition of the *Rime* was in production Lorenzo de’ Medici was dead and Urbino had been returned to Francesco della Rovere, yet Bembo did not include the Stanze in that volume. I doubt that Bembo would have delayed publication of the cycle out of loyalty toward Leo and Clement, thus my suggestion that the deaths of members of the court prompted publication.
filled with such literary tropes as cold-hearted women, the pains of unrequited love, and a woman’s duty to give herself in love that she might, like Phyllis, be remembered; this is distant indeed from the serious literary critic of the Prose della volgar lingue. The tone can be seen in the stanzas given below, in which Venus explains to her messengers the urgency of their mission in Urbino, where Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga (“she who governs”) and Emilia Pia, her companion have rejected love and preach dreaded chastity:

(See Example 4.1, Pietro Bembo, Cinquanta Stanze, Stanzas 8-10.)

Example 4.1 Pietro Bembo, Cinquanta Stanze, Stanzas 8-10

8. 
L’una ha ‘l governo in man de le contrade, 
l’altra è d’onor e sangue a lei compagna. 
Queste non pur a me chiudon le strade 
dei petti lor, che pianto altrui non bagna, 
ch’ancor vorrian di pari crudeltade 
da l’Orse a l’Austro e da l’Indo e la Spagna 
tutte inaspir le donne e i cavalieri, 
tanto hanno i cori adamantini e feri.

9. 
E vanno argomentando, che si deve 
castitate pregiar più che la vita, 
mostrando ch’a Lucrezia non fu greve 
morir per questa, onde ne fu gradita; 
tal che la gloria mia, come a sol neve, 
si va struggendo e, se la vostra aita 
non mi riten quel regno a questo tempo, 
tutto il mi vedrò tòrre in picciol tempo.

10. 
Però vorrei ch’andaste a quelle, fere

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bembo’s Stanzas</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. L’una ha ‘l governo in man de le contrade,</td>
<td>One holds the government of the country in her hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l’altra è d’onor e sangue a lei compagna.</td>
<td>The other is her equal in honor and lineage/blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queste non pur a me chiudon le strade</td>
<td>These [women] do no only close to me the way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dei petti lor, che pianto altrui non bagna,</td>
<td>into their hearts, which do not feel the tears of others,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch’ancor vorrian di pari crudeltade</td>
<td>but yet wish [with] equal cruelty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da l’Orse a l’Austro e da l’Indo e la Spagna</td>
<td>From North to South, and from the Indus to Spain,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutte inaspir le donne e i cavalieri,</td>
<td>to embitter all of the ladies and gentlemen,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanto hanno i cori adamantini e feri.</td>
<td>so adamantine and fierce are their hearts.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Bembo’s Stanzas</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9. E vanno argomentando, che si deve</td>
<td>And they preach that one ought to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>castitate pregiar più che la vita,</td>
<td>value chastity more than life,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mostrando ch’a Lucrezia non fu greve</td>
<td>Showing that to Lucrezia it was not grievous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morir per questa, onde ne fu gradita;</td>
<td>to die for it, rather it was a pleasure;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tal che la gloria mia, come a sol neve,</td>
<td>So that my glory, like snow in the sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si va struggendo e, se la vostra aita</td>
<td>Is being destroyed, and if your help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non mi riten quel regno a questo tempo,</td>
<td>does not regain this realm for me immediately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutto il mi vedrò tòrre in picciol tempo.</td>
<td>I will see it all swiftly taken away.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bembo’s Stanzas</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Però vorrei ch’andaste a quelle, fere</td>
<td>Therefore I would have you go to them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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74 In Gottfried’s edition of Gli Asolani he places it within the context of Bembo’s other works. He writes of the Stanze that “the poem is a graceful plea for natural love, the kind of love which, as we are told, made Catullus write of Lesbia and Ovid of Corinna; it contains nothing which is distinctively Platonic.” This leads to a discussion of Bembo’s role in The Courtier, where he presents an impassioned speech on love. As Gottfried notes, “... Castiglione clearly owes a debt to the ideas expressed in [the] concluding pages of Gli Asolani; but a comparison also reveals that in some things (as, for example, in explaining how love ascends from individual to universal beauty) The Courtier is much closer to Plato than Gli Asolani is.” Gottfried expands on this idea; “It becomes evident that the Platonic tradition, however distorted and diluted by the Renaissance, had a more genuine representative in Castiglione than in Bembo.” Gli Asolani, vii-xvii.
Some of Bembo’s allusions to the nugatory quality of the entertainment might refer to its composition in *ottava rima*, a decidedly casual poetic form for a humanist, and one strongly associated with the *cantastorie*, occasional poems, and epic poetry.\textsuperscript{75} There is almost no mention of ottava form in Bembo’s *Prose della volgar lingua*; this is not surprising in light of the fact that Boccaccio was the only one of the *tre corone* who used it.\textsuperscript{76} Surely the models for Bembo’s choice of *ottava rima* are the occasional poems such as those of Angelo Poliziano, Lorenzo de’Medici, Veronica Gambara, and others.\textsuperscript{77}

As to the members of the court at Urbino, while not known to be poets themselves, they were surely accustomed to all manner of courtly entertainments. The Genoese noblemen Ottaviano and Federico Fregoso were the sons of Agostino Fregoso and Gentile, natural daughter of Federico da Montefeltro. Both Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga and Emilia Pia were their aunts by marriage. Elisabetta Gonzaga was the

\textsuperscript{75} The perceived problem with *ottava rima* for elevated prose was its regularity, the very element which made it so well-suited for the *cantastorie*. Other poetic forms are of course also regular, but none approach the potentially stifling metric regularity of a string of ottava stanzas. The sonnet, for all its metric regularity, has the immediate possibility of division into octet and sestet, both of which can be subdivided variously depending on the sense of the poem. In the latter half of the century composers setting ottava stanzas would rely on techniques such as enjambment as one way to break the pattern of endecasyllabic lines, but a composer of du Pont’s generation would not have used such a technique.

\textsuperscript{76} Petrarch’s *L’Africa* is written in eight-line stanzas, but in Latin, rather than Italian. Dante never used the form. It is the third of the *tre corone*, Boccaccio, who is considered its “inventor”; his *Teseida* (1341) and *Filostrato* (c. 1335-40, the source for Chaucer’s story of Troilus and Cressida), are both in *ottava rima*.

\textsuperscript{77} The Poliziano wedding *ottave*, *Stanze per la giostra di Giuliano de’ Medici*, were begun in 1475, and abandoned in 1478 after Giuliano’s assassination.
Duchess of Urbino, wife of Federico’s son Guidobaldo, and Emilia Pia was the widow of Guidobaldo’s illegitimate half-brother Antonio, hence sister-in-law to Guidobaldo and Elisabetta, at whose court she remained after her husband’s death. Ottaviano Fregoso, born in 1470, was Bembo’s exact contemporary, although their upbringings were very different. Ottaviano was raised to a life as a political leader, and in 1513 he was declared Doge of Genoa. He renounced that title in 1515 when Francis I made him Viceroy of the city.

Bembo and Fregoso were then, if not social equals, not far from one another in social standing, but in Urbino Fregoso had the advantage of royal relations and, no matter where he was, he had the advantage of wealth. Bembo’s financial troubles only came to an end when he was created Cardinal Bembo and, at last, had secure stipends. Before that time Bembo wrote and edited, often at the behest of others, achieving if not wealth then surely fame.

Bembo’s collected letters include only one additional epistle to Ottaviano Fregoso, but many to Federigo, suggesting a relationship of long standing. Through the letter given above, and its inclusion in the 1530 Rime, as well as his most important later work, Bembo went far to memorialize the Fregoso brothers as patrons of the literary arts.

78 Pia is one of the women named in Ariosto’s Orlando furioso, 46: 4, eight stanzas before the reference to Alessandro Farnese given in Chapter Two. She was famous for her beauty, her chastity, and her refusal to remarry.

79 His date of birth is uncertain and is appears in the literature as anywhere from 1470 to c. 1477.


81 It is difficult from this distance to know just how poor Bembo was, by standards of a sixteenth-century Venetian patrician. It seems to me quite possible that he consistently overspent trying to build his “Schatzkammer,” a treasury of which he was justifiably proud.
Bembo’s lifelong interest in the vernacular, and most specifically the Tuscan dialect, saw its culmination in the *Prose della volgar lingua*, a dialogue in which the interlocutors spend three consecutive evenings around the fireside discussing the Italian language. The work, published in 1525, is set in 1502. The four speakers are Carlo Bembo, Pietro’s brother, Giuliano de’Medici, youngest son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, Federico Fregoso, and the Ferrarese poet Ercole Strozzi, son of Tito Vespasiano.\(^\text{82}\)

Today Bembo’s fame rests on the *Prose*, although in his own time *Gli Asolani* and the *Rime* were also widely known. Many of his texts were set by composers, although he himself evinced no interest in music.\(^\text{83}\) Prolific letter writer though he was, Bembo never mentioned du Pont's setting of his text. His library was vast, but there is no evidence to suggest that he owned the du Pont print. The possibility exists that he did, but his library contained many rare manuscripts, including what were believed to be three major autograph manuscripts; Petrarch’s autograph of the *Canzoniere*, an autograph of

\(^{82}\) Carlo had died young, in 1503, before the *Prose* was begun; this is viewed as Pietro’s memorial to him. Giuliano de’ Medici died of consumption in 1516. Some of Bembo’s protagonists are reunited as interlocutors in Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano*, set in 1507, in which the principal speakers are Lodovico da Canossa, Giuliano de’ Medici, Ottaviano Fregoso, Federico Fregoso, Bembo, Elisabetta Gonzaga, Emilia Pia, Francesco della Rovere, and the Florentine Bernardo da Bibbiena. Castiglione worked on his text for many years, perhaps beginning as early as 1511. The most active stage in his drafting process was 1513-18, and the work was published in 1528, the year before his death. Castiglione was in Spain as papal nuncio at the time, with papal legate Giovanni Salviati, and asked Bembo (among others) to shepherd his book through the printing process. See Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione’s Cortegiano* (University Park [Pennsylvania]: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 23, 26, 40.

\(^{83}\) In fact, in a 1541 letter, Bembo wrote to his daughter that “… Io sai contento che tu impari di sonar di Monacordo, to fo intender quello che tu, forse per la tua troppo tenera età, non puoi sapere: che il sonare è cosa da donna vana e leggera. E io vorrei che to fosti la più grave a la più casta e pudica donna che viva.” I suspect that Bembo’s disapproval reflects, at least in part, her daughter’s status; as a bastard of only modest means her behavior had to exceed appropriate decorum to ensure a good marriage. If, as suggested above, her mother had been a courtesan, there would have been an even greater desire to discourage musical training, lest she run the risk of being seen as acquiring social skills associated with her mother’s profession. See Pietro Bembo, *Pietro Bembo: Lettere*, ed. Ernesto Travi, (Bologna: Commissione per i Testi di Lingua, 1993), 4: 398-99.
the *Decameron* that Boccaccio had made for Petrarch, and Dante’s autograph of the *Divine Comedy*. Add to those his collection of gems and other treasures and it is easy to see how, in a collection of that stature, a recent music print might go unnoticed. I have not been able to find a full inventory of his holdings, and the suggestion in the secondary literature is that there was no comprehensive catalogue at the time of his death.  

The madrigal print itself offers no clues. There is no letter of dedication, nothing to indicate who might have been behind its publication. The thread found in some of the early literature suggesting that Bembo himself might have arranged for the print, is now largely ignored.  

Fame notwithstanding, Bembo was by no means wealthy and seems instead to have been plagued with financial concerns until his appointment as cardinal. Apart from that, there is his lack of interest in music.

It seems to me that the patron behind this print had considerable interest in music, and the funds to produce a large volume. Giovanni Salviati meets these requirements, and his demonstrated connections to both poet and composer argue strongly for his role as initiator of du Pont’s cycle.

Several letters from Salviati to his father demonstrate that he had at least a passing interest in the hiring of musicians, and the contacts to do so himself. He oversaw some of Jean Conseil’s efforts during the singer’s 1528 trip north to find new singers for the papal chapel, and sent reports back to his father, Jacopo, in Rome.  

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84 Writings on Bembo’s library focus on versions of his will, and what is known about the dissemination of his impressive collection.

85 Until the discovery of the records connecting du Pont to Salviati, Bembo was thought to have been his patron. This idea was fostered by the *Cinquanta stanze*, but nothing else in Bembo’s biography suggests any employment of, or interest in, musicians.

86 On Conseil’s mission see Chapter 1.
determine if Conseil resided in or traveled as a member of Salviati’s household on this journey, but I think the strong possibility exists that du Pont was in some way connected to Conseil’s search for new singers and, for some reason, Salviati decided to hire him as a personal musician.

The Cardinal, who owed his career and early success to his uncle and cousin, continued to prosper even after Clement’s death in 1534. Although his relationship with the Farnese was at times not the best, he had family wealth and had accrued a considerable number of benefices, so was sufficiently established to prosper in the absence of further nepotism. Salviati was so well-placed and respected within the College of Cardinals that he was at times considered a likely candidate to succeed Paul III, but was never elected.

Thus far I have found only two pieces of evidence for direct contact between Bembo and Salviati; an undated letter thought to have been written in mid-October 1530, in which Bembo wrote that Cardinal Salviati had dined with him, and a 1539 letter from Bembo to Salviati. (See Appendix 1 for this document.) There are some letters in which the recipient is asked to extend Bembo’s greetings to the cardinal, and one in which Bembo alludes to a rare manuscript that his secretary is to copy from an exemplar owned by Salviati. 87 Both men were in Leonine Rome, but there is no evidence at all for any contact between them. It is possible of course that, resident in the same city, they had no

87 The manuscript in question may be Vat. Gr. 2181, a late fourteenth-century Aristophanes codex owned by Salviati which he may have purchased while in Spain. See Seth Benardete, “Vat. Gr. 2181: An Unknown Aristophanes Ms,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 66 (1962), 241.
reason to write to or of one another. Another possibility is that their relationship
developed after 1530, when Salviati returned to Italy from Spain.\textsuperscript{88}

I have not yet found any specific event for which du Pont’s \textit{Cinquanta Stanze}
might have been composed. If Bembo’s 1539 investiture as Cardinal was the intended
occasion, then publication took an inordinately long time, so long indeed that the link
between event and music is obscured. Bembo’s daughter Elena married the nobleman
Pietro Gradenigo in 1543, nearer the time of publication, and the themes of love in the
Stanze would not be out of place at a wedding celebration, yet the very personal
connection of the texts to Urbino, at a time when Elena was not yet born, argue against
that occasion. Another possibility is Bembo’s final return to Rome from Gubbio in 1544.

As I stated above, three madrigals by du Pont appear in anthologies, all of which
are collections of note nere pieces. The three are \textit{Con lei fuss’ io}, the final stanza of a
Petrarch sestina, in \textit{Il primo libro di Madrigali a misura di breve} (Gardano, 1542\textsuperscript{17}, with
numerous reprints\textsuperscript{89}), the unusual \textit{Cald’arost!}, published in \textit{Il vero terzo libro di
madrigali .... a note negre} (Gardano, 1549), a prose text incorporating chestnut sellers’
street cries, reminiscent of Sermisy and Jannequin, and the Bembo sonnet \textit{Tant’è
l’assentio e’l fel}, in the \textit{Secondo libro de li Madrigali de diversi ... a misura de breve}
(Gardano, 1543\textsuperscript{17}). The presence of another Bembo text is intriguing, and raises the

\textsuperscript{88} Castiglione had been at the Spanish court with Salviati. I do not automatically assume that this
is a case of “the friend of my friend is my friend,” but a shared admiration for the recently-deceased
Castiglione is one possible avenue for the opening of a relationship between Salviati and Bembo, and may
reward further investigation.

\textsuperscript{89} This madrigal is attributed to Arcadelt in some editions, and du Pont in others, and is
anonymous in MS Magl. XIX, 130.
possibility that du Pont acquired this text from the source that provided the Cinquanta stanze.

Du Pont’s three chansons are Gracieuse en dictz et faictz plaisante in the Second livre contenant XXV. chansons nouvelle à quatre (Attaignant, 1536\textsuperscript{5}); Fringotés, jeuxnes fillettes; and Hau de par Dieu, hau m’amie, hau, in the Secondo libro di canzon francese a quattro (Gardano, 1548\textsuperscript{5}). His motets are Cenantibus illis accepit Jesus panem, a4 in Cap. Giulia Cod. XII-4; Domine quid multiplicati sunt, published in 1564\textsuperscript{1}; and Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus, a 5.

The Cinquanta Stanze is clearly du Pont’s significant work. The print must have been fairly popular, as five editions survive. The 1545 edition was followed by reprints in 1551, 1554, 1558, and 1567. (See Table 1) This was not based solely on the music. The title page of Scotto’s 1558 edition clearly emphasizes Bembo over du Pont, and every edition retains the designation “Cinquanta Stanze,” never “Madrigali” or “Canzoni sopra.” (See Table 4.1)

Table 4.1: Editions of the Cinquanta Stanze del Bembo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<td>1545</td>
<td>CINQVANTA STANZE / DEL BEMBO CON LA MVSICA DI SOPRA COMPOSTA PER / L’ECCELLENTE MVSICO .M. GIACHES DE PONTE / NOVAMENTE STAMPATE ET POSTE IN LUCE / A QUATRO VOCI / Venetjis Apud Antonium Gardane / M.D.XXXXV. / CON GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO.</td>
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<td>1551</td>
<td>CINQVANTA STANZE / DEL BEMBO / CON LA MVSICA / DI SOPRA COMPOSTA PER L’ECCELLENTE / Musico M. Giaches de Ponte Nouamente / Con ogni diligentia Ristampate. / CON GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO / In Venetia Appresso di / Antonio Gardane / 1551</td>
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There is an edition from 1554, now lost, but described by Eitner lacking location or publisher, 4 stb. in quarto format, Cantus, Altus, and Bassus, lacking one leaf. Eitner
inventoried the partbooks in the collection of the Königlich und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Königsberg, later the Prussian State Library in Berlin. 90

CINQUANTA STANZE / DEL BEMBO / CON LA MUSICA DI SOPRA COMPOSTA / per l’Eccellente Musico M. GIACHES de PONTE / Nouamente con ogni diligentia / Ristampate. / In Viniega, / Appresso Girolamo Scoto / M D LVIII.

Cinquanta Stanze / del Bembo con la musica di sopra / composta per l’eccellente musico . M. Giaches de Ponte / Di nuovo ristampato et corretto Primo e Secondo Libro. / A quattro voci. / In Venetia. Appresso li heredi di M. Marchisio Sessa. / MDLXVII.

The way in which the print was presented suggests that demand for it had a great deal to do with the poet, rather than the composer. The Cinquanta Stanze is included in Doni’s Libraria as “Stanze del Bembo cinquanta,” with no mention whatsoever of the composer. 91 Fewer than half of the Cinquanta stanze were set by other composers, which comes as no surprise, given the poem’s narrative structure. (See Appendix 2 for a list of other settings, including those by Animuccia, Palestrina, Lasso, and de Monte, all of whom were in and around Rome from the 1540s to the 1560s.)


91 Several of the madrigals were intabulated in Fronimo Dialogo / Di Vincenzo Galilei Fiorentino, / Nel quale si contengono le vere, / Et necessarie regole del Intavolare la Musica nel Liuto, / Posto nuovamente in luce, & da ogni errore emendato, / In Viniega, / Appresso Girolamo Scoto. / MDLXVIII. The Fronimo contains intabulations of the first five madrigals from the Cinquanta Stanze for lute, but the order is changed: the first intabulation is the second stanza; the second intabulation is the fourth stanza; the third intabulation is the fifth stanza, the fourth intabulation is the third stanza, and the fifth intabulation is the first stanza. I see no immediate musical reason for the change but, once the texts are gone, order becomes less important.

There is a second edition as well; Fronimo / Dialogo / Di Vincenzo Galilei / Nobile Fiorentino, / Sopra l’arte del bene intavolare, / Et rettamente sonare la musica / Negli strumenti artificiali si di corde come di fia / to, & in particolare nel Liuto. / Nuovamente ristampato, & dall’Autore istesso arrichito, / & ornato di novitá di concetti, & d’esempi. / In Viniega, / Appresso l’Herede di Girolamo Scotto, / M.D.LXXXIII. See Alberto Cametti, “Jacques du Pont e la sua ‘Canzon di cald’arost,’” Rivista Musicale Italiana 23 (1916), 274.
Du Pont is a somewhat elusive composer, one made more so by the fact that he seems to have produced music only in the early 1540s. The immediate questions about the Cinquanta Stanze are, I think, why did he compose such a large cycle, and why, if he was in search of texts, did he settle on Bembo’s Carnival poem, almost fifty years old? These are not questions which I can answer with certainty, but I believe there is strong evidence for my hypothesis, which begins as follows:

I do not believe Bembo had any part in commission of the cycle. There is no reason to assume acquaintance between a humanist and nobleman of Bembo’s stature and a composer, but Bembo and Salviati were indeed known to one another. They were both at the papal court during Leo X’s reign and, after 1539, they were fellow princes of the church. They were correspondents as well, linked by a few, temporally scattered, letters.

Salviati was just the sort of man to know Bembo’s literary works (the famous Prose della volgar lingua, is dedicated to his cousin Clement VII); and he had in his employ a household musician. Given the absence of other documented musicians in the household, reconstructing du Pont’s duties is difficult, but his work load was clearly light enough that he could serve at San Luigi and, perhaps, in the Cappella Giulia as well.

In the next chapter I will discuss, at some length, a single-composer print of Roman origin, Hubert Naich’s Exercitium seraficum. Little is known of Naich’s life, but he, too, is associated with Bindo Altoviti, in whose palazzo Rampollini’s music was discussed. Altoviti, like Salviati, was one of Cosimo I’s opponents; both men were important members of the Florentine fuorusciti community. The exact nature of the patron-client relationship between Salviati and du Pont regarding the Cinquanta Stanze is

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92 He was a quite skilled composer, which makes the brevity of his compositional career all the more curious.
unknown, and nothing but his mention in the dedicatory letter ties Altoviti to the Naich volume. This is pure speculation on my part, but I wonder if Altoviti and Salviati, Florentines of means, had a hand in funding these volumes to demonstrate the vitality of the music from their home in the city in which they settled.

In the end, once the biographies and spheres of influence have been traced and connections suggested, all that is left is the fact that, at some point prior to its 1545 publication, Jacques du Pont set Pietro Bembo’s *Cinquanta stanze*. The presence of recent styles such as the *note nere* madrigal, combined with the overall unity of the cycle suggest composition over a fairly short period of time.

Gardano did not indicate the month of publication on the first edition of the *Stanze*, but on 20 February 1544/45 he was granted a privilege to print “La musica sopra le stanze del reverendissimo Cardinal Bembo composta per maestro Jaques da Ponte.” Mary Lewis has been unable to determine when exactly the volume might have been in preparation, but the work was surely not begun before the February granting of the privilege. The dating of the privilege also suggests that the music had all been composed by February of 1545.

By 1545 Gardano had been in business for seven years. After 1539 the number of copyrights he sought dropped dramatically, and those works for which he took out a privilege were first editions. Many of the volumes he produced after his first year in business were single-composer volumes with dedications to a patron but, if he received a

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subvention for this one, there is nothing to inform us of that fact. He may have taken on the cycle because it was a novelty or, perhaps, because Bembo, a much-heralded Venetian, was the poet. The number of editions does speak to the popularity of the volume, but separating popularity of text from popularity of music is an exercise in futility.

The cycle contains several note nere madrigals. I will return to this subgenre in the next chapter, but it is important to point out at this juncture that note nere madrigals came into vogue in the very late 1530s and early 1540s and were quite popular in Rome.\textsuperscript{94} Du Pont’s choice of note nere style, then, places him at the center of Roman madrigal composition, an observation reinforced by the fact that his three other madrigals, as stated above, appear in Roman note nere anthologies.

The continuity of style suggests to me that the Cinquanta stanze cycle was composed over a fairly short period of time, most likely a matter of months. (See Table 4.2)

\textsuperscript{94} The misura a breve designation is the first to appear, in a 1540 print of Claudio Veggio’s madrigal.
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NARRATOR CATALOGUES THE JOYS EXPERIENCED BY LOVE

4. Quanto esso ha deciso un uom che trascin
G V
45. O quanto è doloroso, amato, o mistero
C G VII
46. Passa venone, che tu mi porti
G VII
47. Perché non posso non amerlo
G VII
48. Con questa voce, quanto vescovo
C G
49. Con questa voce, quanto vescovo
C G
The clear narrative structure of the text breaks down into a dozen set pieces. Some of them are as short as could be (stanza twelve, for example), while others are extended (the narrator’s two final arguments; stanzas 34-43, and 44-50). The opening descriptive section and stanza twelve are stylistically homogeneous (though one would expect little else from the single verse), but the remaining sections introduce musical variety into the narrative unit by changes in style (insertion of at least one note nere madrigal into each section and occasional use of voce pare settings), thus breaking up the monotony that might set in over the course of fifty ottava stanzas, with their inherent regularity. The voce pare pieces are particularly useful in the pursuit of variety; such a distinct change in ranges, and the sonic shift occasioned by the sound of four men’s voices, make a strong impression on the listener.

Du Pont’s cycle is a sort of compendium of the madrigal nearing mid-century; there are settings that are largely homophonic, others that are almost relentlessly imitative, with so many staggered entrances that there is no full, a4, internal cadence (and all voices meet at the final cadence at which one, typically the cantus, has a Verdelot-like pedal point); others that mix imitation and homophony; voce pare settings; pure note nere madrigals; and, finally, those that vary the homophony with note nere passages.\footnote{This technique, used by Yvo Barry as well, puts the note nere sections to particularly good dramatic effect, as the structural cohesion and clear motion of the homophonic portions gives way to the rapid, patter-like quality of note nere writing.}

As to contemporary performances of the cycle, I can only speculate. Fifty madrigals constitute a considerable body of music and, if performed consecutively, would probably take somewhat longer than two hours. This is an extended entertainment, but not out of the question, leaving open the possibility that the cycle was
performed in its entirety without interruption. Another possibility is that of performing “units” from the cycle, discrete dramatic sections performed as musical interludes divided by dining, dancing, or a theatrical production, or over the course of a few evenings. Bembo’s poem was in wide circulation by the time the cycle was composed, raising the possibility that listeners at a performance could read along, experiencing a familiar text in a new way.

In general, we are hampered by a lack of precise information about performance of music at private gatherings in the sixteenth century. As was seen in Chapter One, in the case of Marcantonio Michiel’s comments on musical events at Leo’s court, quite general comments are the norm. References to the singing of songs, or the delightful sounds of a lute are often all that comes down to us in the record. Mention of argues for the presence of at least one instrument, but these sorts of references are of no real utility.

One author who stands out for his detailed descriptions is Cristoforo Messisbugo, a steward for the Este family, who has left us descriptions of three Ferrarese banquets, two from 1529 and one from 1532. These were lengthy events with considerable variety of musical entertainment, dancing, and theatrical performances, presented before, during, and after the various courses of the meal. The dinners described ranged from seven courses to seventeen, with entertainment before the first course and dancing, by entertainers or even the guests themselves. Viewed in the light of his accounts, the length of du Pont’s Cinquanta Stanze would clearly not be an obstacle to performance, either in one unit or as a part of a large-scale entertainment.

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96 His accounts were discussed by Howard Mayer Brown, “A Cook’s Tour of Ferrara in 1529,” Rivista italiana di musicologia 10 (1975), 216-41, on which I have drawn for the following discussion.
The du Pont madrigals are eminently singable, and that is one possible reason for their successful printing history. Bembo’s renown is of course another possibility, and then there is the print’s combined appeal on musical and literary grounds. The very idea of an enormous cycle must have garnered attention, and the number of reprints suggest this was a popular volume.

I have discussed above the three large early cycles, those of du Pont, Rampollini, and Berchem. Issues of dating complicate the history of the latter two, but they were surely underway in the 1540s based on scattered publications from the volumes; du Pont’s was almost certainly the first to see print. United by their design as wholes, the works are quite different in intent; Rampollini’s is both the most elevated and the most Tuscan, and he sets only canzoni. Berchem’s, the largest, shows the most careful literary construction; someone, perhaps the composer, created a cohesive and representative mini-drama from Ariosto’s vast epic. Du Pont’s contribution took a text that the author had denigrated as a mere Carnival trifle (though he was clearly proud enough of the poem to publish it), and elevated it to the stature of a musical novelty volume. Both du Pont and Berchem set ottava rima stanzas, but du Pont’s varied settings distance the texts from the cantastorie tradition, while Berchem chose to allude to it.

One thing shared by all three volumes is the fact that none are identified as madrigals. This might derive from the very fact of their presentation as cycles, something clearly intended as large-scale, “conceived” works, as opposed to short songs with texts quite variable in quality. These works, with their careful textural and musical structure, demonstrate that secular song is a genre to be taken seriously, something capable of creating its own narrative and structure.
The *Cinquanta stanze* is a valuable artifact; it unites a Venetian poet and a French composer, presumably under the patronage of a Florentine Cardinal, in the creation of the first work of its kind a large-scale cycle with long-range musical design and structure.

The Florentine madrigal, in this Roman manifestation, has become quite something new. While not as well known as Festa or Arcadelt, Jacques du Pont was clearly an important composer in the Rome of his day. His *Cinquanta Stanze del Bembo* is a substantial and unusual contribution to the history of the early madrigal, and one that offers us a window onto trends in the Roman madrigal of the 1540s.
Chapter 5

New Patterns of Patronage

In preceding chapters I have detailed examples of papal, ducal, and cardinalate patronage. These are not new types of patronage, nor were the relationships differently constituted in the sixteenth century: popes still offered to their employees the possibility of benefices, the nobility continued to assert their importance through displays of wealth, and the households of cardinals only became more imposing over the course of the century, as Cortesi’s princes of the church strived to outdo one another in displays of culture and magnificence.¹

A branch of patronage I have not touched on thus far is that of private individuals but I am fortunate indeed to have the example of a Roman madrigal print, dedicated to one of the preeminent Florentines living in Rome, by a composer with no documented employer, around which to frame my discussion. Bindo Altoviti is the dedicatee, and the print is Hubert Naich’s *Exercitium seraficum* (Seraphic exercise), a collection of thirty 4, 5, and 6-voice madrigals printed by Antonio Blado in the early 1540s. Five of the madrigals were reprinted in Arcadelt’s *Quinto Libro* (Gardano, 1544¹⁶), where they were

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joined by Naich’s *Spargi, Tebro*, honoring Margaret of Austria and Ottavio Farnese. I have mentioned this madrigal elsewhere, but return to it here as it argues for Naich’s presence in Rome in 1538, when its subjects were married.\(^2\) Naich was also a contributor to the anthologies of black note, or *note nere*, madrigals, which enjoyed considerable vogue in the early 1540s.

Typically, composers came to Rome seeking papal patronage and its promise of benefices, but Naich’s career path did not follow that trajectory. He is yet another of the somewhat mysterious figures common in the history of sixteenth century music. Much ink has been spilled over whether or not the madrigalist is the singer “Ubretto” named by Antonfrancesco Doni, in *I marmi*, as Verdelot’s companion. According to Vasari, Ubretto or, alternatively, Bruet, was depicted in a double portrait with Verdelot painted by Sebastiano del Piombo in Venice before the two men came to Florence. Chronology and the presence of a likelier candidate, a singer documented in Florence in 1527, suggest that Hubert Naich is in fact not the man to whom Doni referred, but his identification as such continues in the literature.\(^3\) Of several similarly-named men, our composer is tentatively identified as the Liegoise singer who served at St. Martin from 1529-32.\(^4\)

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\(^2\) See Chapter Two.

\(^3\) On the painting and the possible identification of Ubretto as the singer Urbech who is recorded in Florence in 1527 see H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), I: 45-51.

Donatella Pegazzano states unequivocally that “Naich’s first published madrigal appears in a collection of music by Verdelot, and both appear among the protagonists in Anton Francesco Doni’s *Marmi.*” She further posits that “Doni may have introduced Naich to Bindo Altoviti, since Doni was known to be friendly with the Altoviti family.” See her “A Banker as Patron,” in *Raphael, Cellini and a Renaissance Banker: The Patronage of Bindo Altoviti*, ed. Alan Chong, Donatella Pegazzano, Dimitrios Zikos (Boston [Mass.]: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2003), 70.

His worklist is absent almost any sacred music, containing as it does only two motets, both of which were published by Moderne in the *Quartus liber... Motetti del fiore* ([1539\(^{11}\))], with attribution to Robert Naich.\(^5\) He composed a single chanson, *De moins que riens*, published in Pierre Phalèse’s collection *Le rossignol*, 1597\(^{10}\). His remaining compositions are madrigals.\(^6\) The *Exercitium seraficum* is the only volume advertising Naich on the title page; eleven of his other madrigals are included in the Black Note anthologies, where Naich is subsumed into the category of *diversi* or *altri autori*.

One last madrigal, attributed to “Robert,” may be his. The work, *S’il sogno*, is unique to the Verdelot *Libro terzo a4* (Scotto, 1537\(^{11}\)), which includes madrigals by Festa (named in the title), Maitre Jan, and Arcadelt. Harrán includes this as a secure work based on the composer’s identification as Robert in the *Motetti del fiore*, but other scholars treat the attribution as tentative. If his, *S’il sogno* is Naich’s first published work however, as all but his chanson had seen print by 1544, we are still dealing with a narrow time frame. The anonymous, gender-neutral first-person text offers no clues; the protagonist appeals to Love, in hopes that reality might prove as satisfying as dreams. Musically, the piece has nothing to set it apart from the norms of the decade. The text is set line by line in a texture that moves between homophonic and staggered imitative entrances, and the declamation is largely syllabic with occasional emblematic flourishes.

\(^{5}\) In Johannes Ott’s collection *Hundert und fünffizehen guter newer Liedlein*, published in Nuremberg, 1544\(^{20}\), *Rara beltà*, from the *Exercitium*, is attributed to “Robertus N.” Ott is thought to have gathered the bulk of his repertory from print sources. See Fenlon-Haar, 83.

\(^{6}\) Don Harrán has adjudged three works to be spurious; all appear in the first anthology of black note madrigals. *Il capo d’Hydra* is attributed to Naich in the bass part of only three of the thirteen editions, *S’io credessi per morte* carries an attribution to Naich in the three lower voice parts in the first edition only, and is assigned to Anselmo de Reulx in the remaining twelve editions; and *Che giova saettar* is variously attributed to Naich, Rampollini, and Berchem, the likeliest composer. *Huberti Naich Opera omnia* ([Rome]: American Institute of Musicology; Neuhausen-Stuttgart, Hännsler-Verlag, 1983), xvii.
I accept Harrán’s desire to attribute the composition to Naich on the basis of the name “Robert” but I recognize that this is a slender claim so, in the interest of caution, I fall on the side of Iain Fenlon and James Haar’s “perhaps Hubert Naich,” bringing the composer’s body of work down to forty-one madrigals from the forty-two in the complete works.\(^7\)

Just how a composer so little-known warranted a volume devoted solely to his music is a conundrum. His body of work is on the surface modest in size, but the madrigal repertory is filled with the names of composers who wrote as few as eight or ten works. Naich’s contributions to the black note anthologies would position him with these composers. Add to that the existence of the *Exercitium*, and he immediately becomes considerably more than an “occasional” madrigalist. The publication of so many works in one volume, by a composer with no name recognition outside of Rome, situates him as an artist with access to resources adequate for subvention of a volume.

The distribution of Naich’s madrigals is interesting, but no pattern has thus far revealed itself to me. Fourteen madrigals are unique to the *Exercitium seraficum*; twelve are unique to the black note anthologies; seven appear in the *Exercitium* and Rore’s *Secondo libro ... a cinque* (1544\(^17\)); four are in the *Exercitium* and Arcadelt’s Fifth Book; one saw print in the *Exercitium*, Arcadelt’s Fifth Book and one of the black note volumes; one is in the *Exercitium*, Arcadelt’s Fifth Book, and Ott’s *Hundert und fünfzehn ...Liedlein*...\(^8\); one is found in the *Exercitium* and one of the black note volumes.

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\(^7\) See Fenlon-Haar, 303.

\(^8\) The Ott volume contains madrigals by Verdelot, but none attributed to Arcadelt. One unique, anonymous madrigal in the volume, *Quando io veggio*, may be by Arcadelt or, perhaps, Layolle. See Fenlon-Haar, 82-23.
volumes; one, the madrigal for Margaret and Ottavio, is unique to the Arcadelt volume; and one of uncertain attribution is in the Verdelot print. This is limited distribution by some standards, but the appearance of Naich madrigals in volumes headlined by Arcadelt and Rore surely helped spread his name.

The *Exercitium* is not the only single-composer volume produced by a composer active in Rome during the 1530s and 1540s. In the previous chapter I discussed Jacques du Pont’s *Cinquanta Stanze*, with its strong Florentine connections. That print shares a presumed Roman origin and ties to Florence via patronage, but is a more unified volume setting, as it does, a single poetic text.

Another print, which predates those of Naich and du Pont, is Costanzo Festa’s *Libro primo*, printed in 1538. Like the *Exercitium* it is a single-impression volume, one of the earliest produced in Italy, and there are other similarities as well. Both prints use gothic type on the title page and roman for the remainder of the volume, and some of the initials appear to have been printed from the same blocks. Clefs, notes, *custodes*, and accidentals are all different, as is layout and foliation. Registration and underlay are of

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9 Based on the concordance tables given by Don Harrán, “Hubert Naich, Musicien, Académicien Notice bio-bibliographique,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 28 (1981), 186-93. This study derives from work Harrán did in preparation for the edition of Naich’s complete works; the table of compositions in this article is more useful for quick reference than the complete edition.

10 For variants in the readings of Naich’s madrigals see the commentary in Harrán, *Huberti Naich Opera omnia*.

11 See Chapter 3. Giovanni Salviati, du Pont’s patron, was another client of the Altoviti bank; see Pegazzano, “A Banker as Patron,” 69. This is not surprising, but suggestive. Salviati and Bindo were united in their opposition to Alessandro and Cosimo de’ Medici, so surely traveled in the same circles. The composers associated with them did as well; Naich and du Pont, in addition to solo prints, both contributed to the black note anthologies.

12 On this print see James Haar, “The Libro Primo of Costanzo Festa,” *Acta Musicologica* 52 (1980), 147-55, on which I have relied for this summary.
poor quality suggesting, as with the *Exercitium*, “…evidence of technical insecurity if not downright ineptitude…”\textsuperscript{13}

Where the *Libro primo* differs substantially from the *Exercitium* is in the anonymity of its printer; only cantus and altus partbooks survive, and the colophon may have been in one of the lost volumes.\textsuperscript{14} A process of elimination taking into consideration quality, style, and typography, rules out the presses of Gardano and Scotto, as well as Ferrarese and Neapolitan printers. A privilege is given on the reverse of the title page, the wording of which suggests Roman origin.\textsuperscript{15} This is not conclusive, but the possibility, along with the typographical elements (and lack of finesse) shared with the *Exercitium*, and Festa’s long residence in the city, are strong arguments for Roman origin.

Another early Roman print, one that may have introduced new musical styles to the city, is the *Madrigale a tre et arie napolitana*.\textsuperscript{16} This single-impression volume is undated and lacks a colophon (only the cantus and tenor partbooks survive; the colophon may have been in the bassus partbook), but has been convincingly identified as a product

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\textsuperscript{13} Haar, “The Libro Primo of Costanzo Festa,” 150.

\textsuperscript{14} The only emblem or device in the print is a facing pair of lions rampant holding a laurel wreath, in a shield. Surrounding the shield are a banderole and the letters C and F; a similar device is in the Vatican manuscript Cappella Sistina 18, a collection of Festa’s music copied by Johannes Parvus. The presence of this design in two Festa anthologies suggests that it may have been his personal seal. See Mitchell P. Brauner, “The Parvus Manuscripts: A Study of Vatican Polyphony, ca. 1535 to 1580,” Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1982, 124-26.

\textsuperscript{15} See Fenlon-Haar, 274-75.

\textsuperscript{16} On this print see Donna G. Cardamone, “‘Madrigali a Tre et Arie Napolitane’: A Typographical and Repertorial Study,” *JAMS* XXXV (1982), 436-81, on which I have based my discussion.
of the Dorico presses from c. 1537.\textsuperscript{17} Costanzo Festa is the composer of eleven of the title’s thirteen a3 madrigals, but they are not attributed to him, nor is his name given on the title page.\textsuperscript{18} The remaining madrigals consist of two by Arcadelt, and one perhaps by Ihan Gero.

The ten \textit{arie} would be almost entirely lost to posterity without this print: the texts are anonymous, no composers are named, and there are no known concordances. Given the Roman axis of Festa and Dorico, one must wonder if the \textit{arie} are truly Neapolitan or merely \textit{alla napolitana}, in the words of Fenlon and Haar, “a station in the northward progress of the \textit{canzone villanesca}.”\textsuperscript{19}

Antonio Blado began publishing in 1516 and became \textit{stampatore apostolico} in 1535.\textsuperscript{20} The \textit{Exercitium seraficum} is his first known polyphonic print and, in the words of Iain Fenlon, “it looks like it.”\textsuperscript{21} The composers at Blado’s shop had not yet mastered

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\item The first known single-impression music print of Italian provenance is Dorico’s \textit{Libro de canto a tre di Carpentras}, a collection of hymns, from 25 August 1537. On this volume, once thought lost, see Cardamone, "‘Madrigali a Tre et Arie Napolitane’: A Typographical and Repertorial Study,” 441-42 and 478.
\item These omissions may have prompted publication of his \textit{Libro primo}, as well as the two volumes of his madrigals released by Gardano in 1538 and 1543. Festa’s high status and long residence in Rome make the absence of his name particularly odd; the likeliest answers are simple omission, or piracy. See Cardamone, “‘Madrigali a Tre et Arie Napolitane’: A Typographical and Repertorial Study,” 443-45.
\item Perisson Cambio set one of the texts in his \textit{Canzone}. See Fenlon-Haar, 227-28.
\item Blado released over 1,200 editions of some 430 titles, ranging from guidebooks and devotional works to volumes in Greek, Hebrew, and Ethiopian; Buja argues persuasively that his music printing volumes, with their specialized fonts, “may have been considered an offshoot of these ventures into exotic fonts.” Many of his publications were little more than pamphlets, but that does not diminish the importance of his press. He died in 1567, and his wife and son continued the business until their deaths in c. 1588 and 1584. His daughter-in-law and granddaughter continued to publish under the Blado name until 1626. See Thomas W. Bridges, “Blado, Antonio,” \textit{New Grove}, 3: 669-70, and Maureen Elizabeth Buja, “Antonio Barré and Music Printing in Mid-Sixteenth Century Rome,” Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1996, 16-17.
\item Iain Fenlon, review of \textit{Opera omnia by Hubert Naich}, by Don Harrán, \textit{Music & Letters} 67 (1986), 227.
\end{enumerate}
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the skills and equipment required for a volume of polyphonic music. The type used for this volume does not reappear in any of his later music books, text underlay is haphazard, and the impressions are sometimes fuzzy, perhaps because too much ink has been applied. Why Blado decided to produce polyphony, and when exactly he began, are unknown. He had a background in the printing of music and may have been motivated by the commercial success of Venetian printers using the single-impression method. Rome offered him proximity to composers who may themselves have hoped to emulate the Gardano and Scotto publishing ventures. 

The title page shows a haloed half-figure. Although seraphs are the highest of the nine orders of angels, the clumsy design of this particular seraph is infelicitous; the distorted perspective renders its arms overly long and badly proportioned, and its truncated hands resemble flippers. The poor design may be the result of cropping a figure to fit the space but, whatever the reason, it suggests a press that could not attain the standards set by Gardano. The print’s title is in a banderole around the seraph’s head and, in the tenor partbook, “seraficium” has been abbreviated (“seraficy”) to fit in the banderole, an odd choice to make in a work’s title.

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22 The music font used by Blado is the same used by the printer of the uncredited Burning Salamander volumes, and was used also at times by Gardano, Scotto, and Bughlat. Scotto, unlike the other printers named, used the font for more than twenty years, which suggests that the firm owned the matrices and loaned, rented, or sold them to competitors. See Jane A. Bernstein, “The Burning Salamander: Assigning a Printer to Some Sixteenth-Century Music Prints,” Notes 42 (1986), 487.

23 In addition to Dorico’s Libro de canti a tre di Carpentras, mentioned above, the Madrigali a tre et arie napoletane, c. 1537-38, which lacks attribution to a printer, may also be a Dorico volume. Suzanne G. Cusick, Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome (Ann Arbor [Michigan]: UMI Research Press, 1981), 19.

24 I have been unable to decode the meaning of the seraph, or ascertain why exercises of any type should be seraphic. Nothing in the print suggests the device, nor do we know enough about Naich to posit an interpretation. Bindo Altoviti had only two known emblems, both anti-Medicean, and both adopted c. 1550; the first, of which no exemplar is known, was described as a bull throwing a yoke off its horns,
None of Naich’s madrigals are in Florentine manuscripts. This militates against his presence in Florence and, more compellingly in my view, it is a strong argument against his association with Verdelot. Naich’s corpus of works is small, and nothing is datable to before 1537. No music by Verdelot was composed at that late a date, and Verdelot’s companion is identified only as a singer, not as a singer and composer. If Naich was in Florence with Verdelot in the 1520s he would, one assumes, have been composing as well. I am unable to imagine a scenario in which a body of work by him, composed in Florence, would have remained entirely anonymous in both manuscripts and prints, nor does it strike me as plausible that a man who was an adult singer in the 1520s would have turned to composition a decade and a half later.

What is known is that Naich was, in one way or another, a client of Bindo Altoviti, addressed in the dedication of the *Exercitium seraficium* by the composer as his “most respected patron,” a man who is “as great a lover of music as he has been the unique protector of all those who practice it.”

Bindo Altoviti was a member of a prominent Florentine banking family with strong Republican leanings; his father Antonio was a banker to the Apostolic Chamber by perhaps an allusion to Leo X’s motto of “SUAVE,” “My yoke is easy.” The second is a female figure in a windblown cloak gripping a column. She has been interpreted variously as *Forteza*, *Fortitudo*, or *Speranza*, but is most likely *Costanza*, in the sense of constancy or endurance in the face of adversity. Both the portrait of Bindo by Jacopino del Conte and the reverse of a portrait medallion of him display the figure. See Pegazzano, “The Life of Bindo Altoviti,” 10; Jodi Cranston, “Desire and Gravitas in Bindo’s Portraits,” 116; Philippe Costamagna, “Portraits of Florentine Exiles,” 341; and “Bindo’s Collection,” 402-03, all in *Raphael, Cellini and a Renaissance Banker: The Patronage of Bindo Altoviti*, ed. Alan Chong, Donatella Pegazzano, Dimitrios Zikos (Boston [Mass.]: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2003).

*S’il sogno* is in a print in which Verdelot gets top billing but the volume has all the characteristics of an anthology. All but one of the Verdelot madrigals can be found in earlier, Florentine sources and the print came out years after Verdelot’s probable death, so there is no basis on which to suppose that inclusion of the madrigal demonstrates familiarity between the composers.

A transcription and translation of the dedication are given in Harrán, *Huberti Naich Opera omnia*, xix.
the mid-1480s. In 1487 Antonio was made director of the Zecca, the papal mint.\textsuperscript{27} His marriage to his cousin Dianora Altoviti took place the same year; these two events solidified his personal fortune; when Bindo was born in 1491, the family’s future seemed secure.\textsuperscript{28} Antonio Altoviti had become a leader in Rome’s banking hierarchy by the time of his death in 1507, when his business interests were taken over by the sixteen-year-old Bindo, Antonio’s only legitimate son.\textsuperscript{29} Bindo signed a marriage contract the next year, choosing as his bride Fiametta Soderini, a relative of the anti-Medicean Piero Soderini.\textsuperscript{30} The marriage itself did not take place until 1511, the year in which Rafael painted the young banker’s portrait.

Bindo’s bank did well during the reigns of the two Medici popes, suggesting that whatever family animus guided his father no longer bothered later generations in both families.\textsuperscript{31} He did not, however, have the great success of another Florentine banker,

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\textsuperscript{27} The Altoviti family was allied with the Albizzi, Medici rivals who were exiled by Cosimo il vecchio.
\textsuperscript{28} Dianora’s mother was Clarenza Cibo, sister of Pope Innocent VIII. For the most recent biographical studies of Bindo, on which I have drawn, see Donatella Pegazzano, “Il gran Bindo huomo raro et singhulare: The life of Bindo Altoviti,” 3-19, and Melissa Meriam Bullard, “Bindo Altoviti, Renaissance Banker and Papal Financier,” 21-57, both in the volume Raphael, Cellini and a Renaissance Banker: The Patronage of Bindo Altoviti.
\textsuperscript{29} Little is known about Bindo’s youth or early education. He was at the papal court in 1511, when Julius II included him among the young noblemen who were in attendance on the papal hostage Federico Gonzaga, son of Isabella d’Este. See Pegazzano, “Il gran Bindo huomo raro et singhulare: The life of Bindo Altoviti,” 5.
\textsuperscript{30} The Altoviti, after their exile, seemed eager to reassert their “Florentine-ness.” This stands in contrast to the Medici who, eager to expand their connections, had arranged a Roman union for Lorenzo di Piero, who married Clarice Orsini. The difference may simply reflect a desire on the part of the Medici to ascend socially; they were still a banking family at the time of Lorenzo’s marriage, but by 1497 they had closed their financial operations, an opportunity seized upon by families like the Altoviti and Strozzi.
\textsuperscript{31} For a detailed discussion of his banking interests see Melissa Meriam Bullard, “Bindo Altoviti, Renaissance Banker and Papal Financier,” 21-57.
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Filippo Strozzi, who had married into the Medici parentado. Nonetheless, Bindo was an important figure in the Florentine community in Rome; in 1531 he was elected consul of the Florentine Nation, a post he held again in 1550. That his interests in Florence and Rome were of equal importance is suggested by the fact that Fiametta Altoviti and their children resided in a household he maintained in Florence, where he himself spent part of the year until 1549.

Filippo and Bindo shared, in addition to a series of joint banking ventures, a desire to depose Alessandro de’ Medici as Duke of Florence; Bindo made large loans to Ippolito de’ Medici, whom he hoped would succeed Alessandro. He may even have had some knowledge of Lorenzino de’ Medici’s plan to commit the murder of his kinsman: Lorenzino was the son of Pierfrancesco de’ Medici and Maria Soderini, sister of Bindo’s wife Fiametta and, after Alessandro’s assassination, Bindo sent Lorenzino a large sum of money.

In 1527 ‘Bino de Altoviti’ had a household of only thirteen; the establishment of “Monsignor da Gonzaga,” presumably Cardinal Ercole, numbered twenty-six. Filippo Strozzi is not listed under that name, but may be the “Philippo Stroci” who had a household of twenty-five. Egmont Lee, ed., Descriptio Urbis: The Roman Census of 1527 (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1985), 59, 73, 75.


Filippo Strozzi was also a significant guarantor of loans to Ippolito. This political behavior puts both Bindo and Filippo in the camp of conservative Florentines who were not strict Republicans but favored, instead, an oligarchy; Cardinal Giovanni Salviati was the leader of the Roman branch of oligarchists. The Altoviti had a history of opposing the rule of Florence by any individual; conspirators plotting against Savonarola met, in 1497, in the home of Antonio Altoviti (not Bindo’s father, but a kinsman of the same name), and Francesco Altoviti published an anti-Savonarolan pamphlet. See Pegazzano, “Il gran Bindo huomo raro et singhulare: The life of Bindo Altoviti,” 5-6, and 17, n. 32.

The exact amount is unclear; the sums of 200 and 500 ducats are given, both with citations to the 1858 edition of Varchi’s Storia fiorentina. Bullard, “Bindo Altoviti, Renaissance Banker and Papal Financier,” 40, repeats the smaller sum with a citation to 3: 189; Paolo Simoncelli, “Florentine Fuorusciti at
It was during the papacy of Paul III that Bindo’s bank reached its apogee; in 1535 Paul appointed him to the position of depositor general of the Apostolic Chamber, among other curial banking offices he would receive. Bindo, like Paul, was hostile toward Cosimo I though both banker and Pope, when their own interests might be furthered, were willing to deal with him. One of Bindo’s sons, Giovanni Battista, was present at the Battle of Montemurlo in 1537 (Giovanni Battista was only eight years old at the time, so he was surely not a participant), but a duke and a banker cannot remain at odds for long, and Cosimo was forced to turn to the Altoviti bank for “considerable sums” of money.

Antonio Altoviti, Bindo’s older son, was named archbishop of Florence in 1548. The Altoviti family had by then become one of the foremost among the Roman fuorusciti with marriage, as ever, binding like-minded families together. Marietta Altoviti married one of Filippo Strozzi’s nephews, the poet Giovan Battista Strozzi “il Vecchio”; Giovanni Battista Altoviti married Clarice Ridolfi, a granddaughter of Filippo and niece of the fuoruscito Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi, who had stood godfather to Antonio.

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37 Filippo Strozzi’s assumption of the position of Depositor General in the reign of Leo X had been a significant milestone in his professional ascent. Now his descent was mirrored by Bindo’s climb. This is most obvious in the position of Treasury of the Marches, a major source of income from the papal states; Strozzi lost this position to Altoviti in 1535. See Bullard, “Bindo Altoviti, Renaissance Banker and Papal Financier,” 35.


39 Antonio’s patronal activities exceeded his father’s, in the area of music. Lasso resided in the Altoviti palace from 1551 until 1553, as Antonio’s guest; Claudio Merulo, Venetian organist and composer, dedicated a book of mass settings published in 1568 to Antonio; and he is also the dedicatee of Giovanni Animuccia’s 1552 motet collection in which Animuccia writes of conversations on music theory with the Archbishop. See Donna G. Cardamone, “Orlando di Lasso and Pro-French Factions in Rome” in Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994 (Peek, 1995), 29 and 31.

Relations between Cosimo and the Altoviti had deteriorated by this time and Cosimo, presumably concerned that an archbishop who opposed his rule would be a formidable opponent, prevented Antonio from taking his post until 1567.\textsuperscript{41}

In 1552 Bindo resorted to a direct attack on Cosimo I when he raised money and recruited troops to support the city of Siena, under attack from Cosimo. Other \textit{fuorusciti} families such as the Soderini, Ridolfi and Strozzi also rallied against Cosimo. Piero Strozzi, Filippo’s warrior son, backed by Bindo, led the French troops and Giovanni Battista Altoviti led a contingent of 200 foot soldiers and 100 cavalry supplied by his father. When Strozzi and Altoviti were defeated at Marciano in 1554, Bindo was found guilty of rebellion against Cosimo and his properties throughout Tuscany were confiscated.\textsuperscript{42} Cosimo pleaded with Julius III for confiscation of Roman Altoviti possessions as well, but the pope, who had continued Paul’s patronage of the banker, refused.\textsuperscript{43}

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  \item of the godparents to Bindo’s children as a reflection of his changing fortunes and political alliances. When Dianora was baptized in 1524, Portuguese ambassador Miguel da Silva was her godfather. Giovanni Battista, born in 1529, had as godfather Giovanni Carducci, a relative of the gonfaloniere of the Florentine Republic, Francesco Carducci. This choice argues for Bindo’s support for the city’s independence, but by 1528 he was back in Rome (he doesn’t seem to have been in the city during and after the Sack). Loans he and Filippo Strozzi made to Clement VII at the time were, in fact, funding the war on Florence while, at the same time, Bindo was loaning sums of up to 3,000 florins per year to the Florentine public debt, the \textit{Monte Comune}. These actions may reflect nothing more than the strange bedfellows forced on anyone seeking success in business, or supporting both sides in hopes of a happy personal outcome. There is no doubt that Bindo’s personal politics took an anti-Medicean turn during Alessandro’s reign; this might reflect the fact that, under Paul III, papal and Florentine interests separated, and Bindo no longer had to reconcile divided loyalties.
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\textsuperscript{41} Marks of papal favor continued to accrue to the Altoviti when, in 1550, Antonio was made president of the Zecca, the post held by his grandfather in the previous century.

\textsuperscript{42} The Florentine and Tuscan properties confiscated by Cosimo were considerable; their value was placed, “conservatively,” at 50,000 florins. By way of comparison, in 1520 Bindo bought a villa in Tuscany from a cousin for 660 florins; in 1532 he purchased a mill and the lands around it for 420 florins; and in 1533 he purchased two houses in Florence for 300 florins. Clearly he was a major landholder, and the confiscation did much to enlarge the ducal purse. See Bullard, “Bindo Altoviti, Renaissance Banker and Papal Financier,” 42, 44, 47.
Bindo had a large palace on the Tiber, in the Ponte district, across from the Castel Sant’Angelo. Perhaps in emulation of cardinalate and princely courts, all manner of comers were entertained here; Cellini was in residence on multiple occasions while he worked on his bronze bust of Bindo; Vasari abused Bindo’s free hospitality for months until, in payment, he had to fresco the loggia; and the palazzo served as a meeting place for Florentine exiles.

Bindo began hosting large gatherings at his palazzo in the 1540s and 1550s. Those who assembled may have been the members of the so-called Accademia de li amici named in the Naich print. The quintus partbook contains, on the last page, the statement “Il fine de Madrigali de M. Hubert Naich della Accademia de li amici” and, in

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43 The papacy was the most important client of the Altoviti bank, but cardinals and their families numbered among his clients as well. The association with the Pucci family is particularly interesting to me. Bindo’s father Antonio had a financial association with Lorenzo Pucci going back as early as 1503 and, when the Cardinal died in 1531, Bindo’s bank was responsible for the estate’s debts. Antonio and Roberto Pucci remained with the Altoviti bank and in the late 1530s and early 1540s engaged in regular transactions with Bindo. Bullard, “Bindo Altoviti, Renaissance Banker and Papal Financier,” 39–40. The significance of this to my study is the fact that Roberto Pucci is also a documented patron of music, owner of the Vallicelliana manuscript and, possibly, Magl. XIX. 122-25.

44 The palazzo Altoviti was destroyed in 1888 as part of a campaign to manage the course of the Tiber and reduce flooding. Much of the family’s archival material seems to have been destroyed by flooding or lost in demolition of the palazzo, which had been remained in the family until its destruction.

45 It is possible that we owe Vasari’s magnum opus, his Lives of the Artists, to Bindo: Vasari claimed that the idea for the project came from a dinner he attended in 1546 hosted by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to whom he had been introduced by Bindo and Paolo Giovio in 1543. Vasari’s accuracy is called into question, as is so often the case in his work, because the guests he names as being, so to speak, present at the creation, were not – one had been dead for two years. Clare Robertson, in her biography of the Cardinal, does not rule on Vasari’s veracity, and states that “it says much about the artistic interest of the Cardinal’s court that Vasari should locate the conception of his book there.” Robertson, ‘Il gran cardinale’: Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 55, 68.


47 Pegazzano notes that the name recalls the compagnia degli amici, the Venetian group constituted by Pietro Bembo at the beginning of the Cinquecento. There is more here, I think, to explore: Bindo’s circle radiated out to Bembo, Raphael, Michelangelo, and any number of contacts in the financial and artistic world. There is nothing to suggest Bindo had a humanistic education but, as his social standing increased, emulation of the educated nobility may have been a shrewd way to position himself as more than just a banker. He did at one point begin collecting antique busts, but that might have been nothing more than a simple response to fashion. See “A Banker as Patron,” 70-71, 87, n. 77.
the dedication, Naich attributes publication of the volume to “the pressure exerted on me by my friends,” (La forza, che ni han’ fatto gli amici), another invocation of the amici trope. No formal academy by that name is known, but academies at the time took many forms; to label one’s group as an academy was, to all intents and purposes, to become one. Naich’s identification as a member argues for the organization’s democratic nature.

The tradition of academies and sodalities was undergoing a resurgence in the early 1540s. These organizations prospered, in large part, due to their adoption of the vernacular; the groups were immediately more inclusive than those prominent in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, which drew on a strong command of Latin and or Greek. Many were formal, with established goals, disputations or presentations; if such events took place at the Altoviti palazzo, though, they have left no trace.

Florence had a history of gatherings in the pursuit of learning and discussion going back to the fifteenth century. Marsilio Ficino’s Platonic Academy was founded in 1470 under the protection of the Medici and the organization takes its other name, the Accademia Careggiana, from the Medici villa in Careggi where meetings took place. The organization was moribund by the end of the fifteenth century following Lorenzo’s death in 1492, and Ficino’s in 1499. Regardless of the circumstances of its creation, or

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48 Dale Kent has written that “The name of Bindo’s academy alludes to the working of the Florentine patronage system. As head of a wealthy family, Bindo functioned as a broker of patronage, but the fulfillment of most requests required the participation of the chain of amici who clustered around him.” The Rise of the Medici: Faction in Florence, 1426-1434 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 92.

49 A founding date of 1462 can be found throughout the literature, and derives from a letter written from Ficino to Cosimo de’ Medici. The notion of Cosimo’s support for Ficino’s academy has come under attack by James Hankins, who challenges the “foundation myth” put forward by Ficino, the date of 1462, Cosimo’s gift of a home in Careggi for Ficino, and even Cosimo’s great interest in Plato, positioning the banker, rather, as an Aristotelian, and the “Academy” itself as a fiction. See “Cosimo de’ Medici and the ‘Platonic Academy,’ “ Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 53 (1990), 144-62.
perhaps as a result, the Platonic Academy differed from other academies in its lack of statutes.\textsuperscript{50}

Informality characterized meetings in the Orti Oricellari, in Florence, gatherings at which members of the later Accademia fiorentina were in attendance.\textsuperscript{51} The Orti Oricellari is the name given to the gardens of the Rucellai family; meetings took place there from c. 1502-06 until 1522, when two of the group’s members were executed for their involvement in the conspiracy to assassinate Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici, a plot perhaps hatched at the Orti. Members of the group were not all anti-Mediceans, though; Filippo and Lorenzo Strozzi were both members.\textsuperscript{52} I use the term “members,” though, loosely; no statutes or records of meetings have come down to us, other than personal reminiscences or allusions to specific gatherings.

Meetings at the Rucellai gardens ranged over such topics as linguistics, philosophy, politics, literature, and history. If Antonfrancesco Doni is to be believed, women were permitted to attend: La Zinzera, a Florentine singer who appears as an interlocutor in \textit{I Marmi}, states that she was to sing at a meeting in the garden devoted to a discussion of Petrarch. Significantly, la Zinzera’s comment is directed to Verdelot and


\textsuperscript{51} On these groups and the various Companies active in \textit{Cinquecento} Florence see Anthony M. Cummings, \textit{The Maecenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal} (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004),

the allegorical figure Plebei, a stand-in for the common man of Florence. One would wish, of course, to connect a Petrarch setting by Verdelot to discussion in the Orti Oricellari, but the closest we can come is La Zinzera’s mention of an (unnamed) frottola of Verdelot’s that she has sung (in an undisclosed location).53

Another group, which shared some members with attendees at the Orti Oricellari, was the Accademia Sacra Medicea, also known as the Sacro Ginnasio. This academy was founded c. 1515 under the patronage of Leo X, and was still active in 1519. This was a well-organized group, comprised of young noblemen and others with strong literary and musical interests, with offices, records, and ambassadors. One aim of the academy was the repatriation of Dante’s bones from Ravenna. Michelangelo, a member, so supported the group’s goal that he offered to create a tomb for the poet.54 Lorenzo Strozzi, father of Giovan Battista, was a member as well.

The Accademia fiorentina, a formal association under the patronage of Cosimo I came into being in 1541, a reconstituted version of the more casual Accademia degli umidi, which had been founded in November 1540. The organization’s original name, Academy of the Damp Ones, was a play on the name of its immediate predecessor in Padua, the Accademia degli infiammati, or Academy of the Burning Ones.55 The grammatical construction of these organizations is mirrored in “de li amici,” and the name may have a potential double meaning as well (as did the infiammati and its


55 See Richard S. Samuels, “Benedetto Varchi, The Accademia degli Infiammati, and the Origins of the Italian Academic Movement,” Renaissance Quarterly 29 (1976): 599-634. I believe Samuels’s point about the adoption of the vernacular is of particular importance to Altoviti patronage: though he was certainly an educated man, we have no evidence for an interest in classical languages on Bindo’s part.
derivative umidi), with the dual interpretation of friends of Florence, and men brought together as friends because they were from Florence.

Like Rome, Venice had a sizable population of *fuorusciti*, including members of the Capponi and Strozzi families. Neri Capponi, Filippo Strozzi’s nephew, came to Venice in 1538, the year of his uncle’s death, from Lyon, where he had managed a branch of the Strozzi bank. He created a musical academy soon after his arrival, and it was at his home that Doni heard works by Willaert that are thought to have appeared years later in the *Musica Nova*. The viol player and pedagogue Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontego, viol tutor to Ruberto Strozzi and Neri Capponi, described Willaert as “principio” of Capponi’s “divino e sacro collegio.” Note that the term academy is not used; what we have in this instance seems to be a gathering along the somewhat informal lines of the meetings in the Rucellai gardens, though on a smaller scale, with an emphasis on music. As with the Orti Oricellari gatherings the music is performed by skilled musicians rather than amateurs; La Zinzera in Florence, and Polissena Pecorina in Venice. Verdelot’s music could be performed by skilled amateurs, and it is possible that La Zinzera was included for her soprano range. Willaert’s madrigals, however, are quite difficult, and do not reward the amateur. The musical evening is moving, in this context, from a participatory art form to one of pure entertainment or, in Feldman’s words, “The courtly amateur was gradually becoming the ceremonial host, a position that would become commonplace later in the sixteenth century.”

Castiglione’s ideal of the educated courtier was now gone, at least in Venice, displaced by professionals.

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56 Capponi left Venice in 1544, at which point he largely disappears from the record, perhaps returning to Florence. On Capponi and his gatherings see Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 24-37.
In its lack of ceremony, the Accademia de li amici may have more in common with the casual groups seen in Florence in the first decades of the century and Neri Capponi’s Venetian gatherings than with the Florentine Academy. It seems to me entirely plausible that Bindo Altoviti, in an effort to recreate the informality of a type of academy in decline, hosted in his home meetings of a similar group; Florence-in-Rome being, thus, as up-to-date as the longed-for homeland.

Naich’s allusion to Bindo’s interest in music is supported by Cosimo Bartoli who wrote, in the person of well-traveled Florentine Lorenzo Antinori, that “I remember the last time I was in Rome. One day I was at the home of M. Bindo Altoviti, where many of the best musicians in Rome at the time were gathered. The discussion turned to [Rampollini’s] works, and they were highly praised.”

Dating of the dialogue is difficult, as it was written over a period of at least fifteen years; Rampollini died c. 1553 but is spoken of in the present tense, so this section must predate his death. More information on the music and musicians at the Altoviti home would be welcome, but Bartoli’s strong Tuscan bias found expression in the naming of only one composer, a Florentine. Arcadelt had come in for praise from Bartoli earlier in the Ragionamenti so, if he were present, one might expect mention of his name, but if Antinori was in Rome after June 1551 Arcadelt had already left.


In Bartoli’s excerpt he writes of “discussion” of Rampollini’s music. The original Italian, “che è venne a ragionare delle sue composizione,” is less formal than the sort of presentation meant by “lezione,” but “ragionare” transmits an element of the didactic. This may be wishful thinking on my part, but the wording does, in my view, increase the likelihood that what our three interlocutors took part in, at the Altoviti palazzo, was a meeting of the academy type.

Arcadelt and Naich were in Rome at the same time, both moved in Florentine circles, and their works appear together in several prints from the 1540s. I find it plausible that Arcadelt would have been a member of the Accademia de li amici, but no documentation provides the secure link I would like. In the *Exercitium*’s letter of dedication Naich explained his reluctance to publish his own works as fear that he would be seen as competing with “… so many famous and first-rate composers who marvelously enhance this divine science and delightful art of music today with their own graceful compositions.” The likeliest composer to whom he might be referring is Arcadelt who was, at the time, a superstar, actively composing, and in Rome. All of this is highly suggestive of an acquaintance between the two composers but, much as one might hope, the journey from “suggestive” to “conclusive” is a long and arduous one. Arcadelt’s association with Florence’s cultural elite is well-documented and includes many of the names that have surfaced in my discussion of Naich: given how tightly bound the Tuscan expatriate community was, I assume the composers knew one another, and deem it possible that Arcadelt may have been one of the musicians who attended Bindo’s gatherings but, in the absence of proof, I must rest with that.

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59 Don Harrán, *Huberti Naich Opera omnia*, xix, “… mettendo le cose mie fuori à paragone di tanti famosi & eccelenti Componitori, che oggi questa divina scienza & dilettevole arte della Musica co i loro leggiadri componimenti maravigliosamente illustrano.”

60 The narrow circumference of Florentine society at home and in Rome can be readily seen in the connections radiating out from Arcadelt’s Michelangelo settings. The two madrigals were composed in 1537 at the request of Luigi del Riccio, a friend of the artist. Riccio worked for a time at the Strozzi bank but, by 1538, was a cashier for the Altoviti institution. Michelangelo was himself at first only an occasional patron of the Altoviti bank, with documented transactions from 1511 until 1549, but in 1550 he transferred his business from his former bank to Bindo’s. In addition to his financial association with Bindo the artist was part of the banker’s larger social circle. No Altoviti commission from the hand of Michelangelo is known but Bindo received, as a gift from the artist, the cartoon used to create *The Drunkenness of Noah* on the Sistine ceiling. See Fenlon-Haar, 90, and Pegazzano, “A Banker as Patron,” 70-73, and 87, n. 89.
Bindo’s career had followed the trajectory of Filippo Strozzi’s, and they shared political beliefs. After the assassination of Alessandro de’ Medici, an event welcome to both, they became kinsmen as well, when Filippo quickly arranged marriages between his sons Piero and Ruberto, to Laudomia and Maddalena de’ Medici, Lorenzino de’ Medici’s sisters, and Bindo’s nieces. Filippo and his brother Lorenzo were cultured in ways Bindo was not (the brothers were members of academies; Lorenzo was a poet, as was his son; they were active patrons of musicians and were intimately involved with the development of the madrigal). By betrothing his daughter Marietta to Lorenzo’s son, Bindo married into a *parentado* more cultured than his own and I think it possible that, in emulation of members of the Strozzi family, bellwethers of Florentine culture and patronage, he sponsored an academy of his own.

The *Exercitium seraficum* is the first music collection composed specifically in the orbit of an academy, be it however informal. It is tempting to extrapolate from this that the Accademia de li amici is among the earliest known sixteenth-century academies to support music and musicians, but I believe a note of caution should be interjected. It is always tempting to identify firsts, particularly if a place or person central to one’s research can thus be moved from the periphery to a focal position, but the occasional scholarly tendency to do so must be guarded against. In the case of Naich and his amici, I must proceed with caution: there are risks in overstating the benchmarks set by an

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61 Both weddings took place in 1539.

62 An amorphous organization certainly pales in comparison with Verona’s Accademia filarmonica, founded in 1543. It was the first academy to make music an important part of the organization; in addition to the music volumes and instruments owned by the group, a full-time music director, Giovanni Nasco, was hired in 1548. Nasco’s presence was required on a regular schedule, and he was expected to generate settings for the poetry of members. See Howard Mayer Brown and Iain Fenlon, “Academy, §3: Italian Academies,” *New Grove*, 1: 41-43, esp. 42.
organization that is itself still hazy. No other musicians has been linked to the group, and we have no idea what Naich’s status may have been.

Nowhere is there any suggestion that Naich was paid to compose the madrigals in the print. It is not unreasonable to assume there was some sort of remuneration, but the fact that he presented himself as one of a group of friends, rather than as servant to a group of patrons, should be remembered. The only person to whom Naich defers is Bindo Altoviti, and the only madrigal we can posit as a possible commission is *Gentil almo paese*.

Who funded publication is another vexed question. We know very little about the costs of producing a volume and the few agreements that have survived show considerable variety in business relationships. A rare example of a publishing contract for 500 copies of a set of four partbooks does exist: in 1526 the cost was twenty-seven ducats, split between composer and printer, with the profits to be divided equally as well.\(^{63}\)

When Cristóbal Morales contracted with Antonio de Salamanca, Giovanni della Gatta, and Valerio Dorico in 1543 for publication of a book of masses the contract was quite complicated. The number of copies to be produced was set at 525, with Morales to bear the costs of paper and production for 250 copies, as well as the full costs of any decorations or illustrations he might want. In return he was to receive 275 copies of the volume, while the other three men would retain the remaining half of the print run.\(^{64}\) If a

\(^{63}\) The volume in question, a set of frottole by the otherwise-unknown composer Mathei Boschi, is lost; we know of it only through its inclusion in Fernando Colón’s catalogue and the printing contract. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, “The Printing Contract for the *Libro Primo de Musica de la Salamandra* (Rome, 1526),” *The Journal of Musicology* 12 (1994), 345-56.
composer as established as Morales was considered a risk by a printer, what costs might Naich or his agent(s) have had to bear?

In Naich’s letter of dedication he asserts that most of the madrigals were composed for his fellows in the Accademia, and the volume saw print at their urging. This latter claim comes perilously close to the “meager flowers of my youth” topos with which so many composers propitiate the gods in their dedicatory letters, so we should exercise caution when drawing inferences about reasons for publication.

Martha Feldman writes of the “double claims of novelty and exclusivity” that adhered to the music heard at Neri Capponi’s Venetian gatherings. She sees a particularly Florentine ethos in the emphasis on new music, debuted in a private setting. Novelty and exclusivity are, of course, only of value if the greater world knows that a private sphere has existed: Naich’s letter of dedication serves this purpose for the Accademia de li amici, a group which would not otherwise be known. Through the print, additionally, Bindo is positioned as the Maecenas at the center of a circle of musicians and poets.

I think Alfred Einstein made a particularly important point in describing the known career of Naich when he wrote that, “Hubert Naich is an exemplary writer to order, an expert tradesman expertly carrying out his commissions.” It is, in Einstein’s view, a result of his association with the Accademia de li amici that the *Exercitium*

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65 Cusick’s assertion that members of the Accademia funded publication must be dismissed: Naich’s letter of dedication speaks of the pressure put on the composer to publish his madrigals, but this may well be no more than invocation of a modesty topos. Not even Bindo himself is put forward as instigator or guarantor of the printing endeavor, although he would be the likeliest. *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome*, 20.

66 The *Musica Nova*, as mentioned above, is the paradigm of this attitude. *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, 31-34.
seralficium contains such a variety of musical types, ranging from madrigals and canzone to a mascherata.\footnote{L’alta gloria d’Amor, in the Exercitium and reprinted in Rore’s second book (1544) was identified by Einstein as a threnody on the death of an unknown woman. No one has as yet identified the woman eulogized, nor do I think her identity can be determined, given the general nature of the text. The Italian Madrigal, I: 429-30. The mascherata is Tu, tu candida luce, which includes complicated plays on words and invocations of several women.} Others are not so sanguine about Naich’s expertise; John Milsom, in his review of Harrán’s Naich edition, raises the possibility that Naich was not a “paid musician,” hence his madrigals might be “…in truth the legacy of someone to whom composing was not altogether a normal activity.” Harrán does point out numerous errors in counterpoint but is, in Milsom’s formulation, “keen that [Naich] should have been” by profession a musician, though Milsom cleverly sidesteps the distinctions between “musician,” “composer,” and “singer.” Milsom is unconvinced as to Naich’s profession, writing that “it is difficult to believe that Naich was fully in control of the established technique.”\footnote{John Milsom, Review of Collected Works by Hubert Naich, by Don Harrán, Early Music XVI (1988): 279-81.}

Because most the texts Naich set were written to order, it comes as no surprise that most are uncredited and not set by other composers. Naich did set a few traditional texts: there are four Petrarch texts among his secure works and, in the dubious madrigals, one poem by Bembo and another by Ariosto. Although Naich did not set texts chosen by composers such as Verdelot and Arcadelt, several of the texts he chose were set by other composers.

The Exercitium seraficium is undated, and no agreement as to its precise date of publication has been reached within the scholarly community. The Nuovo Vogel assigns
it a date of c. 1550, but this is surely wrong. Jane Bernstein dates the print to 1540-42, using as criteria typographical and repertorial evidence. Just what this evidence might be is unclear, as she offers no discussion. Don Harrán gives as the date only “around 1540,” as had Einstein.

Suzanne Cusick uses internal evidence to argue for a more specific dating of 1542-1544. The dedicatory letter states that the pieces included had not been printed before. Gardano’s *Primo libro ... a misura di breve* (1542) contains several madrigals by Naich one of which, *Vezzosi fiori*, is duplicated in the *Exercitium*. If the dedicatory letter is to believed, then (and we have no reason to doubt it), the *Exercitium* must have seen print shortly before the Gardano volume. If this one madrigal slipped through the net or was just overlooked, the *terminus ad quem* could be adjusted out to 1544, when six of Naich’s madrigals appeared in Arcadelt’s Fifth Book, also published by Gardano.

The only work in the print tied to a known event or person is the five-voice madrigal *Gentil almo paese*, which names a “Marietta.” This is assumed to be Bindo’s daughter Marietta, who wed the poet Giovan Battista Strozzi, another Tuscan, hence the text’s lauding of the “gentil almo paese,” home of “la bella coppia.” Marietta had been born in 1525 so, at the time of her wedding in 1542, was seventeen, approaching the outer limits of marriageability (her husband, at thirty-seven, was of an age at which men

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69 2: 1218-19.


traditionally wed); a long betrothal would have been out of place for such a couple.\textsuperscript{72} The madrigal, then, must have been composed late in 1541 or in 1542. In light of that variable I am willing to push Cusick’s suggested 1542 back to late 1541, but I do not believe the print can be assigned a date as early as 1540. If the claims as to the newness of the madrigals are to be believed then the volume has to have appeared by 1542.

Giovan Battista Strozzi had considerable experience in nuptial commemorations, having served as one of the writers for the festivities surrounding Cosimo I’s wedding in 1539. Strozzi wrote the texts set by Corteccia for the \textit{intermedii} to Antonio Landi’s comedy \textit{Il Commodo}.\textsuperscript{73} This event, coming only a year after Filippo Strozzi’s death in Florence’s \textit{fortezza da basso}, speaks to shifting allegiances and exoneration in sixteenth-century Florence: loyalty to one’s family was expected but, when the political winds changed, forgiveness, or at least the pretense thereof, was the word of the day.

\textit{Gentil almo paese}, may not be the only madrigal for the wedding of Marietta and Giovan Battista. \textit{Vezzosi fiore}, with its references to the Arno and a pair of lovers, is as suited to a wedding as \textit{Gentil almo paese}; if the latter lacked the name Marietta, we would have nothing to tie it to the event. Don Harrán has in fact argued that \textit{Vezzosi fiore} was composed for a wedding in Florence and may thus argue for Naich’s presence in the city, but I believe the text could have been written anywhere and simply intended for an

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\textsuperscript{72} For a genealogy of the Altoviti in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see Pegazzano, “The Life of Bindo Altoviti,” 14-15.
In Bindo’s own case the three-year delay between betrothal and wedding was mandated by the bride’s youth; Fiametta was only eleven when their marriage contract was completed.

\textsuperscript{73} See Minor and Mitchell, \textit{A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence in 1539}, esp. 27-30. The authors raise the possibilities that Cosimo invited Strozzi to participate as a gesture of clemency or, perhaps, the poet volunteered as a demonstration of loyalty.
\end{flushright}
individual or couple from Florence, thus making it, too, appropriate for the Altoviti-Strozzi marriage:

_Vezzosi fiori e vaghi,_
_Dolce su le tue rive,_
_Apri mai sempre, O Arno, primavera,_
_E lo mio cor appaghi_  
_D’ardente fiamme vive_  
_Questa gentil d’amanti coppia altiera,_
_In voce chiara in terra_  
_Suoni l’aria il bel nome,_
_E spieghi l’auree chiome_  
_La bella donna e le ne invidia il sole_  
_Mentre io canto di lei queste parole_  

May pretty, charming flowers/That sweetly line your banks/ Inaugurate e’er after, Arno, spring;/ And may this pair of lovers/ Benevolent and true./ Content my heart with living, burning flames./ In full, clear tones may air/ Resound her lovely name,/ And may the lovely lady/ Spread golden locks and may the sun be jealous/ While I extol her in these words I sing.

The first-person narrative of _Vezzosi fiori_ is abandoned in the secure work for the couple, replaced by an omniscient narrator:

_Gentil’almo paese_  
_Ove di lieti amanti_  
_Nacque la bella coppia rara eletta,_  
_Aere vago cortese_  
_Ei più seren di quanti_  
_Si vider mai, et tu, diva Marietta,_  
_In compagnia d’Amore_  
_Di si pregiato honore_  
_Col tuo pastore in voce alta e perfetta:_  
_Rendete gratie insieme al gran motore._

Benign and gentle land;/ From which a lovely, rare/ And chosen pair of happy lovers hailed,/ Delightful, gracious air, As cloudless as was e’er/ Observed, and you, celestial
Marietta,/ In partnership with Love,/ So valued for his rank,/ And with your shepherd: in a loud, full voice/ Pay tribute jointly to great nature’s power.\textsuperscript{74}

The two madrigals differ in number of voices, cleffing, and mode, but share textual affect. I wish I could prove that the bridegroom authored both texts, but I cannot. A comparison with his \textit{intermedii} texts for Cosimo’s wedding shows only a series of shared tropes: shepherds, blondes, love, flames, the Arno – these are the stuff of generic sixteenth-century love poetry, adding only the Arno and shepherds to Petrarch’s own poetic vocabulary.\textsuperscript{75}

\textit{Basciami, vita mia} is an interesting madrigal, and one that bears some discussion. The text is an anonymous ottava stanza characterized by strenuous repetition of variants of the verb \textit{baciare}, to kiss. The text is a formal tour-de-force: the verb and its various forms change tense, position, grammatical function, stress, and, in a final flourish, inflection:

\begin{verbatim}
Basciami, vita mia, basciami anchora,
Nè ti spiaccia baciarmi un’altra volta,
Chè ‘l finir di baschiar così m’accora
Che senza baci m’è l’anima tolta.
Basciami mille volte e mille ogn’hora,
E poi mi bascia si che chi n’ascolta
Numerar mai non possa i nostri basci:
Che fai, dolce cor mio, che non mi basci?
\end{verbatim}

Kiss me, my life, and kiss me evermore,/ Nor be displeased by kissing me anew:/ If kissing ends, my heart becomes so sore/ That left un kissed, I say to life adieu./ Kiss me a thousand times, a thousand more:/ Then kiss me in a way that e’en the few/ Who overhear us ne’er could count our kisses:/ Why is it that my sweetheart scarcely kisses?

\textsuperscript{74} Taken from Harrán, \textit{Huberti Naich Opera omnia}, xl-xli, xlvi-xlix.

\textsuperscript{75} Petrarch’s parentage is quite clear: note the “l’auree” in line 9 of \textit{Vezzosi fiore}.

\textsuperscript{76} Harrán, \textit{Huberti Naich Opera omnia}, xxxvii-xxxviii.
The final line, with its sudden shift of tone, is quintessentially Petrarchan, but the remainder of the stanza evokes, in my view, Catullus’s *Carmen 5*, with its insistent reiterations: “Da mi basia mille, deinde centum,/ dein mille altera,” he demands of Lesbia, – “Give me a thousand kisses, then a hundred, then another thousand.” And, further on, a sentiment echoed in the stanza’s sixth and seventh lines, “Dein, cum milia multa fecerimus,/ conturbabimus illa, ne sciamus,/ aut ne quis malus inuidere possit,/ cum tantum sciat esse basiorum.” (“Then, when we have created many thousands, we will mix them up so that none will envy us when they know the number of our kisses.”)\(^77\)

The transition from Petrarch’s desexualized expressions of longing to the undisguised sexual content of Catullus marks a change in textual preferences. I see in several of Naich’s works, particularly the black note madrigals, evocations of Catullus’s bawdiness, a topic to which I will return below. The elevated Petrarchan world of Willaert and Rore has been left far behind, just as Willaert’s dense, motetlike style has been ignored.\(^78\)

I have alluded several times to the subgenre of black note madrigals. These works are identified variously in sixteenth century prints as *madrigali a note nere*, *cromatico*, or *misura a breve* (Gardano and Scotto used all three designations).\(^79\) All

\(^77\) Deliberate obfuscation of the number of kisses is thought to derive from an ancient superstition against tallying up sources of one’s happiness, or allowing others to do so, for fear of misfortune. See Francis P. Simpson, ed., *Select Poems of Catullus* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), 3-4, 75. Kisses and sparrows, signal images from some of Catullus’s most memorable poems, were “topics of fascination bordering on obsession” for his sixteenth-century imitators. See Julia Haig Gaisser, *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 233.

\(^78\) Willaert set quite a few ribald texts; they are to be found not in his madrigals, but in his chansons.

\(^79\) The following discussion is based on the work of James Haar, “The Note Nere Madrigal,” reprinted in *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, 201-221. For a list of *note nere* prints, in chronological order, see pp. 212-16.
three names are efforts to draw attention to a new compositional technique, use of the mensuration sign C, *misura di breve*, rather than the more common ĝ, *misura comune.*\(^8^0\) Shorter note values are the norm in these madrigals, with text set to minims and semiminims. The result is a piece that, on the page, seems darker, or more colored, hence *note nere* or *cromatico.*\(^8^1\)

In the largest sense, what these madrigals demonstrate is not strict diminution, but extension of the notational system.\(^8^2\) As expressed by James Haar, this extension “...allowed for a widened range of note values, from a quick declamatory patter (seen also in the villanella at this time) and close, nervously syncopated imitative entries to long-held notes useful for setting laments, sights and invocations; in this respect its presence is a sign of change in the direction of heightened expressiveness.”\(^8^3\) The extremes of fast and slow declamation made possible by the new mensuration are a hallmark of the *note nere* style, and central to its rhythmic vitality.

The *Madrigali a quattro voci di messer Claudio Veggio, con la gionta di sei altri di Arcadelth della misura a breve*, released by Scotto in 1540, is the first print to advertise the inclusion of *note nere* madrigals. The volume appeared at a time when the

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\(^8^0\) Don Harrán has argued for pushing the origins of the *note nere* technique back to the 1520s, based on a few pieces that he sees as “Some early examples of the madrigale cromatico,” *Acta Musicologica* 41 (1969), 240-46.

\(^8^1\) This change is exacerbated in modern editions with reduced note values: the preponderance of eighth and sixteenth notes results in a fussy, cluttered look and, for the average sight-reader, a tendency to rush. This is an exaggeration of the response to the notational change. I am charmed by Einstein’s description of notation in C as “so much more lively to the eye,” *The Italian Madrigal*, I: 399.

\(^8^2\) The correlation between change in mensuration and change in tactus is not clear but Haar posits convincingly that what is meant is not an exact proportional relationship but instead the implication of some acceleration of tactus. “The Note Nere Madrigal,” 203-05.

vogue for *note nere* madrigals was in its infancy, and was followed quickly by other prints.\(^{84}\)

The anthologies of black note madrigals produced in Venice contain a hodgepodge of composers; Berchem, Gero, Yvo Barry, Naich, Arcadelt, Corteccia, Vincenzo Ruffo, and a host of others. The assembly of works by composers from so much of Italy must reflect effort on the part of the printer. By 1542 Gardano and Scotto were the foremost music printers in Italy, so surely had a well-established system for collecting music.

The first of the anthologies, *D. autori il primo libro di madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori a misura di breve novamente con grande artificio composti ...*, was published by Gardano in 1542, and reprinted twelve times.\(^{85}\) Gardano’s second volume, *Il secondo libro de li madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi autori a misura di breve ...* was not as successful: its initial release in 1543 was followed by only one reprint. The success of the collections continued to decline: the *Libro terzo de d. autori eccellentissimi li madrigali a quatro voce a notte negre* from the Scotto press in 1549 was not reprinted,

\(^{84}\) The inclusion of Arcadelt madrigals in what is billed as a collection of works by Veggio, a composer whose career kept him in his native Piacenza, is explained in the dedication, in which Veggio thanks Scotto for allowing him to use these pieces, which he had about. This is one of those instances that raise many questions about the transmission of music from composer to printer. Haar has noted that one of the Arcadelt pieces in this print, *Un di lieto gianmai*, appears in the early source Magl. XIX, 122-25. The madrigal is a curious inclusion in the Veggio print for several reasons. The text is a carnival song by Lorenzo de’ Medici, a genre which had fallen out of favor, only to have a brief resurgence of popularity in the early 1530s. Additionally, Arcadelt’s setting is not truly a *note nere* setting; the text is declaimed on minims and semibreves, with semiminims used for melismas. “Towards a Chronology of the Madrigals of Arcadelt,” *The Journal of Musicology* (1987), 37-38.

\(^{85}\) For details on various editions and their considerable alterations see Don Harrán, ed., *The Anthologies of Black-Note Madrigals* ([Rome], American Institute of Musicology: Hänssler-Verlag, 1978), I: xxi-xxv.
nor was Gardano’s *Il vero terzo libro di madrigali de diversi autori a note negre*, released in the same year.

The faddishness of black note madrigals can be seen in the avidity with which publishers promoted the volumes (this in itself may have contributed to their decline); nineteen prints, including those already named, advertise black note madrigals among the contents. These claims vary in their degrees of veracity, as can be seen in two representative volumes from the Scotto press: *Di Girolamo Scotto i madrigali a tre voci con alcuni alla misura breve*, printed in 1541, contains fifty-six madrigals, only three of which are in fact black note pieces. The *Madrigali a quatro voce di Geronimo Scotto con alcuni a la misura breve*... from 1542 has a higher percentage, eight out of a total of thirty-seven.\(^{86}\)

The *note nere* style is not exclusively Roman, nor did it begin in Rome, but it flourished there to an extent not seen in other centers. It was with adoption of the *note nere* style that madrigalists in Rome departed from the Florentine model that had dominated the genre and a truly Roman corpus of madrigals appears. Given the geographical spread of composers in the black note anthologies, no particular patron or patrons can be identified with the subgenre. In Rome, we do have the black note *Exercitium* madrigals, along with examples from the pens of composers in the papal chapel, and Jacques du Pont.

\(^{86}\) Among the most successful of the volumes of black note madrigals was Rore’s *Di Cipriano il primo libro de madregali cromatici a cinque voci con una nova gionta del mesedimo autore* (Gardano, 1544), an enlarged version of the 1542 edition, which omitted the word *cromatici*. The popularity of this print, which saw a total of nine editions, cannot be attributed solely to the presence of *note nere* madrigals, but redounds also to their composer, one of the finest madrigalists of his century.
The effervescence of music and text may be traceable in part to the villanella; as Einstein pointed out, the genre is characterized by rhythmic animation and syncopation and, as has been remarked on in Naich’s work, there are frequent fifths between parts (perhaps an evocation of the rustic, a studied naiveté cultivated through deliberate contravention of the rules of counterpoint?). The syncopation and slight acceleration implied by the mensuration sign, and the accompanying reduced note values, result in a musical levity in many of these works that is matched by a levity in the texts.

What might be considered a type of rusticity also characterizes many of their texts which are, to put matters as bluntly as they often do, overtly sexual. Don Harrán, continuing the tradition of categorizing types or schools of madrigals by their texts, has stern words for some of the black note composers: “The blatant pornography of *Madonna io son un medico* …, *Deh dolce pastorella*…, and other *madrigali cromatici* by Yvo and Uberto [Naich] – two masters of this notorious genre – remains alien to those madrigalists claiming a modicum of literary pretension.”

This is unfair; literary pretension is not absent from the black note madrigals, which have their fair share of elevated sonnets, and even texts by Bembo and Petrarch. What they add to the repertory is, along with expanded notational possibilities, expanded content. I see in this infiltration of the *villanesca*, bringing with its sprightly rhythms and nervous syncopations a change from the increasingly derivative texts of the *Petrarchisti*.

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87 *The Italian Madrigal*, I: 365-67. The villanella preserves the older time signature of $\frac{\circ}{\circ}$, as opposed to the C of the *note nere* repertory.

The women in many of these texts are far from unattainable, and we are treated to some quite specific details regarding their attainment.\(^89\)

As to the question of “pornography,” I return again to the notion of expansion; just as notational possibilities expanded, adding greater nuance to the madrigal’s music so, too, expansion of texts beyond Petrarch and the Petrarchists added variety to a form that had gained sudden and rapid acceptance. One of the texts singled out by Harrán, *Madonna, io son un medico*, would not be out of place if recited by a later *commedia del’arte* lecher:

*Madonna, io son’un medico perfetto,*  
*Chè senz’ado[e]rar ferro nè foco*  
*Guarisc’ogni gran male in tempo poco.*  
*Et a voi vengo perché mi fu detto*  
*Ch’una gran piag’havete;*  
*Et se guarir volete,*  
*Una gran tasta adopro, et vi so dir[e]*  
*Che vi farà guarire.*  
*Nella piagha la pongo et à un liquore*  
*Che sana con dolcezza ogni dolore.*

Milady, I’m a consummate physician,/ For with no use of irons or of fire/ I cure all mighty ills in little time,/ I’ve come to you because I have been told/ That you’ve a mighty wound;/ And if you want it cured,/ I’ll use a mighty rod which, I assure,/ Will bring about your cure./ I place it in the wound and it contains/ A liquid that can sweetly heal all pains.

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\(^89\) There is also Naich’s amusing *Per Dio, tu sei cortese*, in the *Primo libro di madrigali ... a misura de breve*, deemed by Einstein “The height of vulgarity,” *The Italian Madrigal*, I: 180. In this madrigal the protagonist, as a reward for his great service to the god Amor, has attained something even more lasting than love: syphilis. This is the only madrigal known to me in which the poet must find a rhyme for *mal franzese* (his choice is *palese*). See Harrán, *The Anthologies of Black-Note Madrigals*, I: LXI.
This work was popular enough to warrant inclusion in twelve volumes; it saw print in the *Exercitium seraphicum*, the *D. diversi autori il primo libro ... a misura de breve* from 1542, and its later editions of 1546, 1548, 1550, 1552\(^1\), 1552\(^2\), 1557, 1558, 1560, 1563, and, finally, 1567\(^1\).\(^90\)

As can be seen from the number of composers who wrote them, and the geographical spread represented by those composers, *note nere* madrigals were a popular subgenre. Fashions in music, though, can be fleeting, and the *note nere* vogue was a fairly brief one. It was followed by another mid-century subgenre, the *madrigale arioso*, a more specifically Roman phenomenon. The term *madrigale arioso* seems to have been coined by Antonio Barrè, a singer, composer, and printer active in Rome.\(^91\) I will return to Barrè below, but begin with a discussion of the enigmatic term *madrigale arioso*.\(^92\)

Einstein saw arioso madrigals as “pre-monodic monody,” declamatory pieces with simple textures that served as an important stepping stone on the road to the cantata. This impression was fostered, for him, by the setting of blocks of related stanze, rather

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\(^90\) See Harrán, *The Anthologies of Black-Note Madrigals*, 1: LXXI.

\(^91\) Antonio was a Frenchman, from the diocese of Langres, in eastern France. He is probably not related to the madrivialist and papal singer Leonardo Barrè, who came from the diocese of Limoges. The soprano Alessandro Barrè who sang in the Cappella Giulia in the 1560s is surely the son of Leonardo or Alessandro. The former was dismissed from the papal chapel in 1555 by Paul IV because he was married and had a family; this has tipped the scales of parentage in his direction although, as marriage is not a prerequisite for procreation, we cannot be absolutely certain. For this information and much that follows I have drawn on Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” esp. 1. Antonio’s last name is given variously in the literature as “Barre” (Einstein), “Barré” (Cusick, Steele, and Campagnolo), and Barrè (Bridges/Buja in the *New Grove*, Buja, Brown, and Haar). I have chosen the latter based on the authority conferred by the *New Grove* but, when quoting an author who selected another version, have retained his or her diacritical choice.

\(^92\) I am fortunate in my discussion of the *madrigale arioso* to have several detailed studies on which to draw, as will be seen from my citations below. My purpose is not to challenge, but to position this repertory within the Roman orbit that is my focus.
than discrete, isolated, texts. The rhythmic flexibility of these pieces, which permits increased consideration of textual nuance, is a clear extension of the *note nere* style.

There is an etymological link between *madrigali ariosi* and *arie*, or *arie di cantare*, melodic formulae used by *improvvisatori*. but no clear derivation can be consistently traced. Some *madrigale ariosi* share bass patterns, others contain themes which can be securely traced to *arie*; while still more include only what seem to be fragments. It is here that we begin to walk on shaky ground and must, in the absence of evidence, proceed with caution. A familiar pattern of movement in the bass may reflect little more than the influence of a dance pattern or incipient harmonic motion. Melodic fragments, I would argue as well, may be nothing more than recurring melodic gestures, a tip of the hat from the through-composed, written tradition, to the strophic forms favored in the oral tradition. Reminiscences or evocations of *arie* may also be deliberate

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93 The content of the texts is important to his conception as well; Einstein attributes some of the increasing drama and pathos of the later sixteenth-century madrigal to the shift from Ariosto texts, with their wry humor and “capricious arabesques,” to the determinedly earnest (if not downright humorless), poetry of Torquato Tasso. *The Italian Madrigal*, I: 208-09.

94 This might be a reflection of the fact that some of the madrigals in Barré’s arioso volumes were, in the words of James Haar, “fillers,” put in because more pieces were needed to fill out the volume, or because the composer represented had name value. “The ‘Madrigale Arioso,’ ” 232.

95 It is the loss of the oral tradition that makes aspects of its survival so difficult to trace. Haar points out that the music which survives from the Renaissance is the notated music of a small elite. The true popular music of the era, the orally transmitted song and dance repertories that appealed to the widest demographic, is lost to us. *Essays*, 76.

96 The main proponent of the bass pattern theory was Howard Mayer Brown, to whom I will return. He is certainly correct in his identification of patterns, some of which are named, but I think that at times his background as an instrumentalist and his clear gift for structural analysis led him to privilege bass patterns to the detriment of melodic elements. This is particularly clear in his “Verso una definizione dell’armonia nel sedicesimo secolo: sui ‘madrigali ariosi’ di Antonio Barré,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 25 (1990), 18-60.

97 John Steele’s position is the inverse of Brown’s, and centers on melodic content. In his view, musical similarities might be no more than the sorts of coincidence one would expect “within the bounds of an essentially simple, harmonically conceived style.” While I understand that he attached no particular
choices on the part of composers, evoking a familiar style without drawing on its actual substance. In either situation the gesture to the past would be most appropriate in settings of *ottava rima stanze*, or *strambotti*, as these were the bread and butter of the *cantastorie*, performers of epic verse.

Where we are on firmer ground is with the survivals of named *arie*. The exact origins of these tunes are unknown, but they may have their roots in folk song, dance tunes, or reciting formulae. It is also possible that some were formulae composed in imitation of established melodies, bridging the gap between the two traditions. A baggage to the term “harmonically conceived.” I think we are better served to consider the modal basis of the music: this serves to remind us that there are particular melodic gestures associated with the different modes, such as the way in which the modal fifths and fourths are laid out, patterns that would be common to both true *arie* and newly-composed pieces. “Antonio Barré: Madrigalist, Anthologist and Publisher—Some Preliminary Findings,” in *Altro Polo: Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, ed. Richard Charteris, Frederick May Foundation for Italian Studies/University of Sidney, Sidney Australia, 1990, 82-112.

There are examples within the madrigal repertory in which one composer quotes another’s setting of a particular fragment of text; what we construe as the original may, in fact, be itself a survivor from an earlier, non-notated fragment. On this see Haar, *Essays*, 61, 79-89. *Cantastorie* were just one of the various categories of musicians in the oral tradition, whose repertories ranged from the folk or popular music performed by the *cantimbanchi* to renowned *improvvisatori* such as the poet and musician Serafino dall’Aquila (or Aquilano, 1466-1500), who sang Petrarchan verse while accompanying himself on the lute.

An early discussion of the topic is Alfred Einstein’s “Die Aria di Ruggiero,” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 13 (1912), 444-54, in which the author details several musical examples from works by Caccini and d’India which can be tied to specific ottava stanze by Bernardo Tasso and his son Torquato, written decades before Caccini’s 1601 *Le nuove musiche*.

In seeking to differentiate we may be placing too fine a generic division on the question as well, given how far removed we are from orality.

Claude Palisca has discussed a further complication in tune identification that arises from the fact that some of the surviving named *arie* that have come down to us consist of two separable parts, the tune, or discant, and its underlying chordal structure. The confusion, in his view, resides in the fact that both parts of the aria carry the same name (the *aria della Girometta*, or *aria di Ruggiero*), yet may serve as bass or descant formulae. Palisca points to Sigismondo d’India as one composer who did differentiate his source material (*Musica sopra il Basso dell’aria di Genova*, as opposed to the *Musica a due voci sopra*...
complex of named *arie* are associated with Ludovico Ariosto’s *Orlando furioso*, one of the most popular literary works of the sixteenth century. These have been discussed by James Haar, who details identification and appearances of melodies associated with the epic. As Haar reminds us, the poem enjoyed tremendous popularity across the spectrum of Italian popular song, from the cantimbanchi and cantastorie to the madrigalists, so we should not be surprised that composed settings of Ariosto’s texts invoked an aspect of their performance in the oral tradition.\(^{104}\)

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\(^{103}\) The poem, building on the adventures of characters introduced in Matteo Maria Boiardo’s *Orlando innamorato*, saw print in several versions, from 1516-1532, the year before Ariosto’s death.

Haar reminds his readers that, just as the oral tradition influenced the written the reverse was also true, as poets borrowed turns of phrase from the cantastorie. Boiardo, for example, calls his listeners to attention as would a *cantastorie*: his deliberate salutation of “listeners,” rather than “readers,” for his audience is part of the literary pretence. *Essays*, 92-94. In the case of Ariosto I am particularly charmed by his willingness (eagerness?) to, in the words of the theatre, break the fourth wall and comment on the action of the text. Though I accept that the shifts from omniscient narrator to tongue-in-cheek editorialist may simply be a pose, they can also be read as a type of direct interaction with the author, who is “reading” along and discussing the text with his audience.

The resolution to competing answers to the question of just what a *madrigale arioso* is, can be most readily found in words written by Antonio Barrè himself. In the dedication of his inaugural volume of arioso madrigals, he describes the pieces he has collected as “ariosi e piacevoli.” These terms describe qualities of the madrigals, rather than structure or heredity. If we, then, heed Barrè, and use the vocabulary of his time, the pieces become serene, limpid, or, perhaps, tuneful and fluent. These broad descriptives include aspects of traditional *arie*, along with the rhythmic ease and fluency that was a hallmark of the *note nere* repertory. The rhythmic activity of arioso madrigals, often made manifest by syncopation, is perhaps their most distinctive feature. Tying all these strands together, then, we arrive at a broad definition incorporating works containing known melodies or bass patterns, as well as pieces trading on familiar musical gestures that may be, or may merely evoke, *arie*, all united in their rhythmic flexibility.

These gestures were familiar throughout Italy, but had particular resonance in the south, region of origin of the most renowned late-fifteenth century *improvvisatori*,

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106 The notation of rhythmic nuance has always been a challenge; expansions of the notational system have historically had far more to do with rhythm than with pitch. Rhythmic liberties permitted a soloist are difficult to imitate in an ensemble but the expanded notational vocabulary of the *note nere* style surely helped in the *madrigale arioso*’s evocation of improvised *arie*.

107 James Haar, “The ‘Madrigale Arioso.’ “ 229-32. Haar has further developed this idea in “Arioso and Canzonetta: Rhythm as Stylistic Determinant in the Madrigals of Giaches de Wert,” in *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596) and His Time: Migration of Musicians to and from the Low Countries (c. 1400-1600)* (Leuven: Peer, 1999), 89-120.

108 The use of short note values and syncopation allows the natural accentuation patterns of Italian to thrive in spite of the strong-weak-strong-weak, or strong-weak-weak cycles of duple and triple meter. Syncopation becomes, by analogy, a type of musical elision, tying notes together across downbeats to give an agogic accent that supports prosodic stress.
Benedetto Gareth (il Chariteo) and Serafino Aquilano. What these men did in Naples was an expansion of a familiar art form; the traditional text forms of *strambotti* and *terze rime* joined with sonnets by, and in the style of, Petrarch. Eleonora of Aragon, who married Ercole d’Este in 1473, may be the hinge between the rich tradition of the *improvvisatori* and northern composed vernacular song; James Haar states that “The roots of the frottola are in the poetry and song of *improvvisatori*,” and Eleonora is tied, by proximity, to both those practices. Pietrobono, a famed northern lutenist and *improvvisatore* at the Este court, completed the circle by traveling to Naples several times in the 1470s and ‘80s.\(^\text{109}\)

Antonio Barrè draws together the strands I have laid out thus far, with his use of the designation *madrigale arioso* in three prints released in Rome in the 1550s. The composers represented (among whom he himself numbers) were active in Rome and Naples, as the Florence-Rome axis was replaced by ever-stronger ties to Naples. He further supports the general theme of this study, by virtue of the fact that he was a Frenchman who went to Rome, surely in search of patronage and, while there, composed madrigals.\(^\text{110}\) He was in Rome by 2 June 1551, when he served as one of the witnesses to the debate on genera between Nicola Vicentino and Vicente Lusitano.\(^\text{111}\) He entered the Cappella Giulia in 1552 and remained there for several years, which must have helped to

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\(^\text{109}\) *Essays*, 44-45. The performance tradition of the frottola, with its easy adaptation to solo singing or four-part vocal performance, has clear resonances with the oral tradition, as does its refrain-based structure.

\(^\text{110}\) Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 1-5.

\(^\text{111}\) I will return briefly to the debate in the following chapter.
cement his musical reputation in the city.  

112 That his reputation had in that instance preceded him is suggested by his presence at the Vicentino-Lusitano debate.

1555 marked the beginning of Barrè’s career as a publisher and was his most productive year, with a total of seven prints, one of which was Vicentino’s *L’antica musica ridotta alla moderna practica*.  

113 He was already a published composer; in 1552 the Dorico press released his *Madrigali a Quattro Voci ... Libro Primo*, a collection of twenty-three madrigals, mainly on Cassola and Bembo texts.  

114 The collection of Barrè’s madrigals is dedicated to Honofrio Vigili, a jurist from Spoleto who passed his

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112 He entered the organization in March 1552 and served under Palestrina. Barrè left the chapel fourteen months later but was readmitted as a tenor, having previously sung alto, in June 1554. He remained at least until the end of 1554; records for 1 January 1555-31 December 1557 are lost, and Barrè’s name is absent from the rolls which begin 1 January 1558. He was still in Rome in 1572, when he signed a promissory note from a lender, although his occupation at the time is unknown. Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 13-14.


Like the Blado and Dorico presses, to which he can be linked, Barrè’s publications were not limited to music. One of his volumes from this year is the opus posthumous *Dialogo dell’imprese militari et amorose* by Paolo Giovio, one of the most important sixteenth-century volumes on the symbolism of personal devices.

114 For discussion of Barrè’s compositional style, with close readings of several of his madrigals see John Steele, “Antonio Barrè: Madrigalist, Anthologist and Publisher--Some Preliminary Findings,” 82-112. Within the traditional madrigal framework of imitative and homophonic sections, Barrè’s work is marked by frequent employment of false relations and dissonant, augmented intervals. Steele cannot decide if these are expressive gestures or errors; the determination is made more difficult in the case of the Dorico collection of Barrè’s madrigals, as the altus partbook is lost.

This was only the beginning of Barrè’s association with Dorico: in 1564, he published a madrigal collection under his own imprint using Dorico type. He regularly used type owned by Blado as well, beginning with the Vicentino volume. There are even instances in which Barrè appears to use, in one volume, type borrowed from both Dorico and Blado. The specialization seen in Venetian presses was not the case in Rome, where publishers released many different sorts of volumes. This forced them into partnerships and probably accounts for the use and reuse of type between printers. The sorts of rivalries we might expect among competitors does not seem to have been the case in Rome’s printing families, which were close-knit: one of Blado’s sons married a Dorico daughter, and a Blado daughter married into the Gigliotti family, another of Rome’s prominent publishing firms. Thomas W. Bridges, “Blado, Antonio,” *New Grove*, 3: 669-70, and Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 6-7, 19 n. 4, 31.
professional career in Rome.\textsuperscript{115} Why he decided to become a printer is unknown but, given his musical literacy and his professional acquaintance with the leading musicians of the city, an effort to set up a specialty music-publishing house was not unreasonable.\textsuperscript{116}

The printer’s mark used by Barrè in several volumes is an elaborate woodcut depicting Apollo seated in a grove, holding a lyre on his lap, surrounded by the nine Muses.\textsuperscript{117} The symbolism of the apollonian conceit is reinforced by the title of several of his prints, and asserts their conception as parts of a series, the \textit{Libri delle M use}. The source of the image is Roman, and speaks to Barrè’s time spent in the Vatican; it is drawn from Raphael’s studies for the fresco Parnassus, in the \textit{Stanza della Segnatura}. This image was known in two forms at the time; the completed fresco, and an engraving by one Marcantonio; Barrè’s mark is derived from the engraving which, by virtue of its reduction of a full-color image to black and white, lent itself more readily to his needs.\textsuperscript{118}

Barrè’s books of the Muses contain an assortment of vocal music; madrigals, villanelle, and moresche.\textsuperscript{119} All are of importance to the history of music in Rome, as

\textsuperscript{115} In 1554 the Doricos included in some of their colophons the phrase “Printers to the Roman People.” Just what this meant is unclear, as no publishing commissions from the city survive, but two of the books which carry the slogan are dedicated to Vigili. One of these is Giovanni Animuccia’s \textit{Madrigali a cinque} (which may in fact be a second edition, as Blado released a \textit{Secondo libro de i madrigali a cinque} in 1551, which has no dedication). Though he was originally from Spoleto Vigili established himself in Rome and, in 1554, was elected \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government. Several books were dedicated to him during his term as \textit{Caporione}, a two-year position in civic government.

\textsuperscript{116} Viewed in this light what seems more curious, then, is the press’s failure to thrive.

\textsuperscript{117} On the various printer’s marks used by Barrè over the course of his career see Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 145-62.

they contain a strongly Roman repertory, though of the eight titles in Barrè’s original
Muses series only three advertise arioso madrigals. It is these which are my subject in
this chapter; I will only touch on his other volumes here, but will return to them in my
conclusion.

One of the prints issued by Barrè in his first year in business is the *Primo libro
delle Muse/ a quattro voci/ madrigali ariosi di Ant. Barre [sic] et altri/ diversi autori*,
155527, its arioso madrigals are highlighted, and Barrè gives himself top billing. He is
well-represented in the volume, with eleven of the thirty madrigals. With the exception
of three anonymous madrigals (why Barrè would have printed music of uncertain
provenance is a mystery I cannot explain), the remaining works are difficult to categorize
apart from the arioso label. Several composers contributed one madrigal each;
Vincenzo Ruffo, Caldarino, the papal singer Ghiselin Danckerts; Lamberto, Alex.

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119 Though Barrè held privileges for publication in Rome his volumes were rapidly pirated. The contents underwent change, but the concept of the muses was maintained. Buja’s descriptive catalogue goes into great detail on editions derived from the Barrè originals. See her “Antonio Barrè,” 187-358.

120 There are several other “Muse” collections, as well as other prints which invoke ariosi in their titles. For lists of both see Haar, “The ‘Madrigale arioso,’ “ 234-35, n. 3 and 5.

121 Buja’s bibliographical study of the volume is complemented by the edition with commentary that comprises the latter half of Stefano Campagnolo’s dissertation, “La ‘Danza delle muse’: Il libro Primo delle Muse, Madrigali ariosi de Antonio Barrè (1555), e il madrigale a Roma (1527-1559),” 161-274, 296-490.


123 Ruffo (c. 1508-1587) is a northern Italian, associated with Milan and his natal city of Verona. He did serve in positions elsewhere, returning to Verona several times over the course of his career. No period of Roman service is known although Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan during Ruffo’s service at the cathedral, did commission sacred music from him for the famous trial of textual intelligibility in 1565. See Lewis Lockwood and Alexandra Amati-Camperi, “Ruffo, Vincenzo,” *New Grove*, 21: 874-75.

Venitiano, Giulio Fiesco, Paolo Animuccia, and Giovandomenico da Nola, while Vincenzo Ferro and Lerma are each represented with two works, and Lupacchino with four. Many, but not all, of the composers were active in Rome; those not known to have been in Rome were in several instances in Naples. Some of the composers were prolific, others have left few traces.

125 Scotto’s Primo libro delle Muse a tre, 1562, attributes one madrigal to “Lambert courtoys,” perhaps the same composer. See Jane A. Bernstein, Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, 1539-1572 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 605. The other contender is the Pierre or Petrus Lambert who served in the papal chapel from 1528 until his death in 1563.

126 The obscure Alex. is clearly Venetian, but nothing more is known. I infer that he might have been in Rome based solely on his presence in this volume. He is not recorded in the papal chapel, but might have been in a cardinal’s household, or the Basilica di San Marco, the Venetian national church in Rome.

127 Fiesco, who flourished 1550-70, was a fairly prolific madrigalist, perhaps from Ferrara; the dedicatees of his prints are members of the d’Este family or close associates thereof. See David Nutter, “Fiesco, Giulio,” New Grove, 8: 786.

128 Paolo Animuccia (c. 1500-1569), who was probably Giovanni’s brother, served as maestro di cappella at the Lateran from 1550 until 1552, when Bernardo Lupacchino succeeded him. It is possible that he knew Lasso, who entered the chapel in 1553; madrigals by Paolo are included in two Lasso collections, 1557 and 1563. Paolo’s next known employer is Guidobaldo II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. Lewis Lockwood, “Animuccia, Paolo,” New Grove, 1: 688.


130 Ferro’s work list consists of fifteen madrigals, all found in the note nere and Barrè anthologies. See Don Harrán, “Ferro, Vincenzo,” New Grove, 8: 726. He was, with Barrè, signatory to the Vicentino-Lusitano debate, so must have had some status in Roman musical circles. See Haar, “The ‘Madrigale Arioso,’ ” 235, n. 7.

131 Lerma is a Spanish name, suggesting a Spanish or Neapolitan origin for this composer. His only known works are in Barrè’s Books Two and Three a4. The strong local thread of Barrè’s volumes suggest Lerma was in Rome or Naples; his near-absence from the historical record suggests to me that he may have been a household musician or, perhaps, a singer at a national church, as these are the sorts of records that are often lost. Either of these means of employment would have offered opportunities to meet other musicians in Rome.

132 Three of the Lupacchino texts create a cycle; the two outer texts, both madrigals, are attributed to Cassola by Campagnolo, although the middle text (also a madrigal) is not found in collections of his poetry “La ‘Danza delle muse,’ ” 244-46. Buja does not note the attribution.
Barrè dedicated the volume to Felice Ursina (Orsini) and her husband, MarcAntonio Colonna, subjects of a cycle of five encomiastic wedding stanzas on texts by Francesco Bellano. Oddly, the bridal pair is also invoked in the text of Barrè’s *Spirito gentil*, but within the volume the madrigal carries an internal dedication “Al Cardinal Santa Fiore,” Paul III’s grandson Guido Ascanio Sforza, a powerful cardinal in his own right.

The *Primo Libroro a quatro madrigali ariosi* contains several Ariosto texts; the four-part Barrè madrigal *Dunque fia ver dicea*; Alex. Venitiano’s *Sia vil a gli altri*; Lupacchino’s *Il dolce sonno mi promise*; and the two-part contribution by Danckerts, *Fedel quel sempre fui*. The texts are from quite different parts of the poem, and some carry no trademarks of an ongoing narrative (the text set by Alex., *Sia vil a gli altri*, I: 44, is a self-contained spurned lover text, while that selected by Lupacchino, *Il dolce sonno*...
 promise, XXXIII: 63, praises the peace brought by sleep, juxtaposed against the pains of wakefulness), while others are clearly related, such as the consecutive stanzas set by Danckerts, the declaration of undying love sent from Bradamante to Ruggiero (XLIV: 61-62). The Barrè cycle that opens the volume (XXXII: 18-21) sets four stanzas of Bradamante’s extended lament on Ruggiero’s abandonment.135

Given the strong narrative structure of the two Bradamante cycles, it is not perhaps surprising that arie have been identified in both. The particular tune which opens the Danckerts setting was used by several other composers, demonstrating unequivocally its conception not as a bass pattern, but as a melody. The other composers used sections of the tune but Danckerts was more consistent in his reliance on it; as James Haar writes, “No other madrigal in this repertory shows so clear-cut a use of a preexistent tune.”136 Einstein wrote of the Danckerts and Barrè pieces that, while both “… make use of the ‘aria’ melodies to which the folk sang Ariosto’s verse; this stands out particularly clearly in Danckerts’ music. But to the use of these melodies Barre has added the principle of rapid homophonic declamation that the impassioned scene requires.”137

135 Bradamante’s lament is one of the most frequently set scenes from the poem. Composers who were at various times in Rome make a particularly strong showing in this context; Lasso; the early seventeenth-century composer Filippo Nicoletti; Antonio Cifra; Lupacchino; Annibale Zoilo; and Domenico Ferrabosco all set at least one of the stanzas chosen by Barrè. Bradamante’s is not the only lament in Orlando furioso, and many of the others proved popular with composers as well. On madrigal cycles setting the lament octaves see Sally Eileen Norman, “Cyclic Musical Settings of Laments from Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso,” Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994; she offers detailed and sensitive analyses of settings by several of the composers touched on here. Of particular interest to the general study of Ariosto’s importance to madrigal composers is Norman’s tabulation of stanza settings by decade up to 1600, which shows a veritable explosion of settings from 1550-1569, with a gradual decline thereafter. “Cyclic Musical Settings of Laments from Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso,” 10.

136 “The ‘Madrigale Arioso,’ ” 224. For discussion and examples of all five settings, by Corteccia, Hoste da Reggio, Pierre Cléreau, and Jacquet Berchem, see James Haar, “Arie per cantar stanze ariostesche,” 42-44.
Barrè tune has, to my knowledge, resisted identification, though Steele does go so far as to recognize “aria formula bass patterning” of the type identified by Brown in the third stanza, but this seems to be an exemplar of Barrè’s “aria-like” use of the designation madrigale arioso.138

Three years elapsed before publication of Barrè’s next collection of arioso madrigals, The Secondo libro delle Muse, a quattro voci, Madrigali ariosi, de diversi eccellenti autori, con doe Canzoni di Giannetto, 1558139. The diminutive has fallen into disuse now but, early on in Palestrina’s career, it was well-enough known that Barrè chose to use it in a title. The two canzone advertised are settings of Bembo’s Voi mi poneste in foco, and Petrarch’s Chiare, fresche e dolci acque.140

To such now-familiar composers such as Lerma, Paolo Animuccia, Lasso, Berchem, Lupacchino, Nola, il Caldarino, Arcadelt, and Barrè himself, new composers are added in this volume: Francesco Rosello (François Roussell);141 Matelart;142 Philippo

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137 The Italian Madrigal, II: 645

138 Steele, “Antonio Barré,” 98.

139 The press of course had not been idle in the three-year gap, but no volumes of arioso madrigals were released.

140 Arcadelt set this text as well, in a five-part cycle. Barrè published the full cycle in his Primo libro delle Muse a 5, not one of the arioso madrigal volumes, which is odd as the setting is unified by the presence of a tune that appears in all five stanzas. This particular “melodic type” has left traces in several madrigals, most frequently in the cantus. See Haar, “The ‘Madrigale Arioso,’ “ 225-26.

141 Roussell (c. 1510-after 1577) was employed by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1544, and a member of his household in 1563. The Cardinal may have had a hand in Roussell’s nomination to the post of magister puerorum of the Cappella Giulia in 1548, and his later position as maestro di cappella at S. Lorenzo in Damaso in 1564. He continued to move between institutions in Rome, serving at the French national church of S. Luigi from 1566-71, and at the Lateran from 1572-75. He composed eight masses, fourteen motets, and several chansons, but was most prolific as a madrigalist. Two volumes of madrigals appeared under his own name (one a4 and one a5; both contain works by others, including Palestrina and Ruffo), published by Dorico, and works of his appear in several anthologies. See Greer Garden and Richard Sherr, “Roussel, François [Rosselli, Francesco],” New Grove, 21: 810.
de Monte;\textsuperscript{143} il Rosso;\textsuperscript{144} Paulo da Fuligno,\textsuperscript{145} and, again, oddly, two anonymous pieces. Giaches de Wert makes his only appearance in the Barrè anthologies in this volume, which appeared in the same year as his \textit{Primo libro de madrigali}.

In among the anonymous poetry are texts by Ariosto, Tansillo, and Petrarch. The oddest inclusion, to my mind, is the Arcadelt madrigal, \textit{S’infinita bellezza e leggiadria}, (on a Cassola text). It had already seen print three times, beginning in 1544 but Barrè chose to reprint it now, seven years after Arcadelt had left Rome.

The dedication, from Barrè, is to Monaldo Monaldeschi della Cervara; he and his family figure in other dedications as well. Monaldo is the dedicatee of 1563\textsuperscript{11}, \textit{Il terzo libro... a cinque ... d’Orlando di Lassus}\.\textsuperscript{146} A Monaldesco of Cervara had been the dedicatee of other Barrè volumes; his two states of the Fleming Jacob Kerle’s hymn

\begin{enumerate}
\item The Flemish composer Ioanne Matelart (before 1538-1607) is of a younger generation than many of the composers seen thus far. He may have been in Italy as early as 1558, based on the presence of a madrigal by him in one of Barrè’s Muse volumes. He became \textit{maestro di cappella} at S. Lorenzo in Damasco in 1565, after Rousse’s departure, where he remained for over forty years. Only two madrigals by him are known; he also composed a collection of responsories, hymns, and antiphons, and produced a volume of intabulations. See Godelieve Spiesse, “Matelart [Martellato, Matalarte, Matelarte, Matelartus, Mathalart, Mattlart], Ioanne [Giovanni, Ioannes, Johannes],” \textit{New Grove}, 16: 118.
\item Another Fleming, de Monte (1521-1603) was a very prolific composer. Most of his life was spent in Hapsburg service (Philip II from 1554-55, Maximilian II from 1568-1576, Rudolph II from 1576-1603), but did have a brief period in service in Naples (perhaps in the late 1540s and early 1550s?), and was in Rome and, again, Naples, in the late 1550s and perhaps the early 1560s as well. See Robert Lindell and Brian R. Mann, “Monte, Philippe de [Filippo di],” \textit{New Grove}, 17: 16-21.
\item Giovanni Maria de Rossi (c. 1522-1590) has no documented period of service in Rome. He served in a variety of capacities at the Mantuan court, from curator of the ducal instrument collection to maestro di cappella and cathedral organist. He also oversaw music at the household of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga during the Council of Trent and may, at some point, have traveled with the Cardinal, perhaps to Rome. See Pierre M. Tagmann and Iain Fenlon, “Rossi [Rosso], Giovanni Maria de [del] [il Rosso],” \textit{New Grove}, 21: 721.
\item I have been unable to identify this composer.
\item This volume seems to have been produced in conjunction with Blado, whose type was used to produce the volume; the Monaldesco arms appear in the cantus partbook, while Blado’s printer’s mark of the eagle is in the bassus book. Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 158.
\end{enumerate}
cycles (K441-1558 and K441-1560) are dedicated by Kerle to his patron, Luca
Monaldeschi della Cervara, and signed from Orvieto.\(^{147}\) In the Secondo libro delle Muse, a quattro voci, Madrigali ariosi dedication, Barrè seems to be appealing to Monaldo for a position when he writes, “… I will be most satisfied when your Lordship condescends to accept me (together with these madrigals) in the number of his most affectionate servants, under which grace I will hold myself most fortunate and happy.”\(^{148}\)

If this was in fact a plea for a position, it went unanswered, as Barrè was still in Rome, and still without a patron, when he published the final of his three arioso madrigal collections, the Terzo Libro delle Muse a Quattro Voce, Madrigali Ariosi, da Diversi Excellentissimi Musici, 1562\(^7\). Although the Muses are still invoked in the title the printer’s mark of Apollo and the Muses is gone, replaced by the coat of arms of the Neapolitan nobleman who is the volume’s dedicatee: Don Indico Piccolomini d’Aragonia, Duke of Amalfi, Marquis of Capistrano, and Count of Celano.\(^{149}\) Indico, also identified as Innico or Inigo, fourth duke of Amalfi, died in Rome in 1566, and is buried there. I have not yet discovered when he came to Rome, but he was surely there at least by 1562, given the Barrè dedication.\(^{150}\)

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\(^{147}\) These volumes have a complicated printing history and the question as to whether they are two edition or two states of the same edition has prompted considerable discussion. On this topic see Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 103-04, 110-15, and 327-40.

\(^{148}\) “… Io ne starò in tutto sodisfatto quando V.S. si degni accettarmi (insieme con gli Madrigali) nel numero de gli suoi Affettionatissimi servitori, sotto la cui gratia me terrò fortunatissimo & felice.” Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 322.

\(^{149}\) Buja states that Piccolomini settled in Rome after fleeing Naples on murder charges, but offers no citation. “Antonio Barrè,” 97.

\(^{150}\) Don Innico warrants further research. My preliminary investigations suggest he is the son of a Costanza d’Avalos, but her parentage is a matter of debate; some sources say she is a poet and daughter of Innico II d’Avalos, brother of Costanzo Festa’s patron Costanza, others argue she is Innico II’s granddaughter, a child of Festa’s student Alfonso d’Avalos. The Costanza d’Avalos who was a poet was
The replacement of Barrè’s printer’s mark with the nobleman’s arms raises the possibility that some manner of subvention had been given for the volume’s production. Though it may be simple flattery, Don Innico is described in the dedication as “... extremely gifted in the art of music, by virtue of nature and of your studies.”

The contents support dedication to a Neapolitan; along with composers common to the Muse volumes, one anonymous madrigal along with works by Rore; Barrè; Palestrina; Lasso; Ruffo; Rosselli; Lerma; and de Monte, a group of new composers are introduced. Some of these men are obscure (I have been unable to identify Alessandro Maresio or Francesco Barratto); another, Ludovico Agostino, is a Ferrarese whose link to Rome is unknown to me. The final composers who appear for the first time in a Barrè edition are a Roman and two Neapolitans, Annibale Zoilo, Stefano Lando, and Luigi Dentice.

both kinswoman and friend of Vittoria Colonna. If indeed Don Innico is her son, ties to Barrè’s larger circle become stronger. Should she prove to be Alfonso’s daughter, there are strong musical connections in that branch of the family as well: Alfonso’s eldest son, Ferrante Francesco, was the dedicatee of Wert’s first book of madrigals (1561); and one of Alfonso’s many daughters, Maria, was Gesualdo’s unfortunate first wife.


152 Zoilo (c. 1537-1592) is an important composer in Reformation Rome; he and Palestrina were chosen by Gregory XIII in 1577 to generated corrected editions of the major liturgical books, though the project was abandoned. He served in the Cappella Giulia from 1558-1561, then served as maestro di cappella at S. Luigi dei Francesi from 1561-66; in 1570 he entered the Cappella Sistina, from which he retired in 1577. He held other positions as well; he served a cardinal; the Oratorio di SS. Trinità; the cathedral at Todi; and, finally. as maestro at the Santa Casa in Loreto, where he died. See Harry B. Lincoln, “Zoilo, Annibale,” New Grove, 27: 862-63.

153 Lando (c. 1530-1571) is not to be confused with the much younger Stefano Landi (1587-1639), who composed, among other works, Sant’Alessio. Lando was a composer and, almost certainly, instrumentalist; he was a chamber musician to the Viceroy of Naples, and keeper of the vihuelas at the palace. See Pier Paolo Scattolin, “Lando, Stefano,” New Grove, 14: 223.

154 Dentice (1510-20?–1566), a nobleman, was both composer and theorist. See Keith A. Larson, “Dentice. (1) Luigi Dentice,” New Grove, 7: 220.
Just as, in previous chapters, I have detailed Florentine networks, or, more often, Florentine networks in Rome, I can now tie together Roman networks, extending past the network of composers in Rome of which Barrè was clearly a vital part. One example can be seen in the anthology of poetry dedicated to the memory of Livia Colonna which he published.\textsuperscript{155} *Vestiva i colli*, in this anthology, was set by Palestrina and published in 1566. A Roman woman is eulogized in a volume published in Rome, and one of the eulogies then takes on a new life as a madrigal by the most famous composer in Rome.

Whether or not Barrè ever had a long-term relationship with a patron is unknown. Remarks made in the dedication to Vigili in the *Primo libro delle Muse a cinque*, as well as dedications to him by other printers, suggest he may simply have been an underwriter for the press.\textsuperscript{156} The Colonna family is invoked in two volumes from the Barrè press, but no clear chain of patronage can be established. The Livia Colonna volume seems to have been a commission from the poet with no clear link to the Colonna family and, in fact, MarcAntonio II and Livia were from somewhat distant branches of the family. Nicolo Vicentino commissioned printing of his treatise, as was the case with some of the press’s other editions.\textsuperscript{157} If Barrè relied heavily on commissions, their failure to arrive steadily could explain the failure of his business.

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\textsuperscript{155} This is the second Colonna-linked volume, coming in the same year as the arioso madrigal volume dedicated to the Orsini-Colonna bridal pair. Livia was a sister of the Ortensia Colonna whose wedding was celebrated in a madrigal in *La Serena*. See Chapter One.

\textsuperscript{156} See Steele, “Antonio Barrè,” 92-93.

\textsuperscript{157} Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 178-79.
At the opening of this section I alluded to the arioso madrigal as a largely Roman subgenre of the madrigal. The term itself fell into disuse in the 1580s, but the declamatory freedom which originated in the *note nere* repertory, and was further developed in arioso madrigals, would affect the genre for decades to come.
Conclusion

In the opening chapter of this study I was able to document the presence in Rome of the composers Carpentras, Pisano, and Festa, as well as members of the papal chapel who composed only sporadically. Talented though the triumvirate were (most particularly Festa), they are little-known figures in the history of sixteenth-century music, a century rich with composers such as Josquin, Willaert, and Victoria. The three composers just named were deliberately chosen, not only because of their stature, but because they were all, at some point, in Rome, so speak to the city’s power to attract, if not necessarily retain, musicians.

A list of composers who spent time in Rome in the middle decades of the century is considerably larger, and includes the most renowned of the era, Orlando Lasso and Palestrina, along with such gifted contemporaries as Morales, Arcadelt, Jacques du Pont, Giovanni Animuccia and, perhaps, Giaches de Wert.¹ Add to that list the lesser knowns, men such as Bernardino Lupacchino, Antonio Barrè, Naich, Domenico Ferrabosco, and other composers named in the preceding chapters, and a picture emerges of a vibrant musical culture.

The composers I have named are largely those who served religious institutions whose records have survived.² Some of them remained in Rome for most, if not all, of

their professional lives, others just passed through. A city that, in the fifteenth century, had struggled at times to maintain her most basic musical institutions now had a thriving musical culture and a larger population of musicians than any other city in Europe.

Popes remained the focal point of Roman life but, as the city grew in wealth and power, her private and public institutions were increasingly buffered against changes in the papacy. Composers still came to Rome in search of employment, but the papal chapels were not the only positions available. Filippo Neri’s gatherings, first at the Confraternita della Ss. Trinità and, later, as the officially recognized Congregazione dell’Oratorio at the Chiesa Nova, were a locus for the singing of congregational song, much of it by Giovanni Animuccia. He served, of course, at the Cappella Giulia as well, but was productive enough to serve both masters. The Confraternity at Ss. Trinità, after a gradual build-up in the third quarter of the century, became a significant employer of

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2 Religious institutions were still the major employers. Movement between them seems to have been quite common but papal employment, with its possibility of benefices, was still the ideal position. The example of a composer such as Marenzio, who was able to support himself for a time as an independent musicista and composer, was still something of a rarity before the 1570s.

3 There are others, such as Vincenzo Ruffo, whose music was known there even in the absence of the composer; a Mass of his was performed as part of the famous Tridentine trial of intelligibility. Ruffo was serving at the time as maestro di cappella at the cathedral of Milan. The city’s archbishop was the reform-minded Carlo Borromeo, who commissioned Ruffo’s Mass. As a comment on cyclic structure of this study, I must point out that, from 1533-34 until 1546, Ruffo was musicista to Alfonso d’Avalos, who had been tutored in music by Costanzo Festa in the ’teens. See Lewis Lockwood and Alexandra Amati-Camperi, “Ruffo, Vincenzo,” New Grove 21: 874-75.

4 This would change as wealthy middle classes became patrons of public music at opera houses and concert venues across Europe but, at the time I am discussing, that change was far in the future. The number of institutional posts in Rome at mid-century is estimated at about forty-six; six meastri and forty adult male singers. See Noel O’Regan, “Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-place,” Early Music XXII (1994), 553. When the positions as meastri in wealthy households and musicisti throughout the city are added to these, the number grows appreciably.

5 Animuccia’s masses have been the subject of a recent study by Megumi Nagaoka, “The Masses of Giovanni Animuccia: Context and Style,” Ph. D. diss., Brandeis University, 2004, but his two volumes of laude have not yet been studied or edited.
musicians in the final quarter. National churches, another source of employment, served their own mandates and, as they increased in stature, their musical establishments became larger and more secure.

Other Roman churches grew in or were restored to prominence. The Lateran, cathedral church of Rome and, accordingly, home to her bishop, the pope, had been the official papal residence in the Medieval era. As part of Nicholas V’s campaign to assert maximum spiritual authority, he felt that the pope, successor to St. Peter, should dwell in close proximity to the apostle’s tomb, so declared the Vatican the official papal residence. Although the Lateran never again became the papal residence, its increased stature can be seen in the names of the men who served there as maestri. (See Table 1)

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7 One fairly recent study of musical activity at a single church is Luca della Libera, “L’attività musicale nella Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso nel Cinquecento,” *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 32 (1997), 25-59, a quite thorough study of singers at the church. Among the Cardinals for whom this was a titular church are Giulio de’ Medici (1517-23), Lorenzo Pucci (1523-31), Pompeo Colonna (1531-32), Ippolito de’ Medici (1532-35), and Alessandro Farnese (1535-89). Among the singers and organists documented by Libera are some who served in the papal chapels as well; Leonardo Barre served at S. Lorenzo as maestro di cappella from January 1556 until December 1558, and Matelart held the same position from April 1559 until December 1561, and again from January 1567 until July 1604.


8 Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, 264. The Lateran palace had been badly damaged by fire in the early fourteenth century.
Table 1: Maestri de cappello at San Giovanni in Laterano

1548-49: Robin Mallapert
1550-52: Paolo Animuccia
1552-53: Bernardo Lupacchino
1553-55: Orlando di Lasso
1555-60: Giovanni Pierluigi di Palestrina
1561-70: Annibale Zoilo
1570-72: Bartolomeo Le Roy
1571-73: Francesco Rosselli
1573-75: Francesco Adriani
1575-76: Annibale Stabile

Several of the composers on this list were published by Barrè, some served in the papal chapels, and some had periods of service at other Roman institutions; this suggests to me the breadth of opportunity available to musicians in Rome by mid-century.

Pope Paul III died on 10 November 1549, purportedly of an apoplexy brought on by the bellicose actions of his grandson Ottavio, Margaret of Austria’s husband. The

9 Taken from Giancarlo Rostirolla, ed., L’Archivio musicale della Basilica di San Giovanni in Laterano: Catalogo dei manoscritti e delle edizioni (secc. XVI-XX) (Ministero per I beni e le attività culturali direzione generale per gli archivi 2002), I: xxviii-xxix. The Lateran’s large music collection has been catalogued in this volume.

10 Mallapert’s career could serve as an archetype of employment in Rome. From 1538-39 he was employed at Santa Maria Maggiore, where Palestrina may have been one of his charges. The day after he left Santa Maria Maggiore he was made maestro di cappella at San Luigi dei Francesi, where he remained only seven months. His next post, which he held from December 1539 until January 1545, was that of director of the Cappella Giulia. He was maestro at the Lateran from October 1548 until November 1549. On 1 January 1550 he returned to the Cappella Giulia, a position that became Palestrina’s after Mallapert’s departure on 1 September 1551. He was again asked to serve at Santa Maria Maggiore in 1553, but the maestro in residence did not leave until 1561, and Mallapert’s biography for this period and later is unknown. See Allan W. Atlas and Mitchell P. Brauner, “Mallapert, Robin,” New Grove, 15: 706.

11 I say “purportedly” only because Paul was, at the time of his death, in his eighty-second year, a remarkable age for a man of his era. Paul’s son Pierluigi, invested as Duke of the papal fiefdoms of Parma and Piacenza, had been assassinated on 10 September 1547 in a plot led by Ferrante Gonzaga, possibly with the collusion of Charles V. Creation of the Duchy had introduced a new territorial leader between Milan and the Gonzaga territories of Mantua and Monferrato, inserting a new power into the delicate balance of the old feudal families; Pier Luigi was in conflict with Ferrante Gonzaga, Charles V’s governor of Milan, as the younger men served as proxies in the rivalry between Charles and Paul. The duchy, only created in 1545, had been difficult to control before the assassination and, now, Paul resigned himself to the return of the territory to the papal states from which it had been carved out. Ottavio, who saw in this the possible
Cardinals assembled in conclave on 29 November, and were there into the new year. This conclave could hardly have been further from that which resulted in Paul’s election in a matter of days; in this instance French and Imperial factions were, as always, at odds, but the parties in support of particular cardinals were strong, and united in their desire to avoid domination by a secular power. Among the Cardinals considered most *papabile* were the pro-French Giovanni Salviati and the favored candidates on the Imperialist side, the Englishman Reginald Pole, Paul’s grandson Alessandro Farnese, and the Spaniard Juan de Toledo.\(^\text{12}\) The two candidates seen as most independent were Cardinals Cervini and Carafa, both of whom would be elected before the decade was over.\(^\text{13}\)

After more than two months in conclave, and dozens of scrutinies, the compromise candidate Cardinal Giovan Maria del Monte was finally elected on 7 February 1550. Cardinal del Monte had long been at the center of curial events; he was one of the cardinals who took refuge in the Castel Sant’Angelo with Clement VII during the Sack of Rome and, later, was one of the hostages given to the Imperialists by the loss of his patrimony, appealed to the French king for support, abandoning Farnese efforts at maintaining a neutral third way between the powerful poles of France and Empire.

\(^{12}\) Farnese had remained neutral for a time but, assuming that Imperial loyalty would ensure his brother’s investiture as Duke of Parma and Piacenza, he joined with Charles’s supporters. See Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 13: 5.

Ippolito II d’Este, who was considered in the conclaves of 1550, 1555 (twice) and 1561, was hampered by his strong ties to France, sure to raise Imperial ire. The Estense had much at stake, as they held Ferrara only as a papal fief and sought independent investiture. Had the family produced a pope they would certainly have been spared the 1598 departure from Ferrara for Modena after Alfonso II’s death left them with no legitimate male heir.

\(^{13}\) Pastor, *History of the Popes*, 13: 6. Marcello Cervini, a trusted advisor to Cardinal Farnese, was elected in 1555 in a four-day conclave after the death of Julius III, and took the name Marcellus II. His coronation took place on 10 April; twenty-two days later he was dead. His successor, Cardinal Giovanni Pietro Carafa, a Neapolitan who resented Spanish domination, was a candidate expressly forbidden by Charles V; as a gesture of defiance, he was elected pope on 23 May 1555. Born in 1476, the same year as Leo X (by now dead for thirty-four years), he had had an auspicious curial career as one of the cardinals who most ardently supported reform of the church. His greatly-advanced age at the time of election guaranteed that his tenure would not be overly-long, though it was in fact long enough to permit the creation of such Counter-Reformation tools as the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, first codified in 1559.
pope. He served as first president of the Council of Trent, and opened the Council with an oration on 13 September 1545.

Paul III had made him Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina in 1542 and it is his association with that diocese that has suggested to scholars he may have been an early patron of Palestrina’s, perhaps the patron who brought him to Rome. He had been the dedicatee of an early Roman music print, the, *Musica de Eustachio Romano. Liber Primus*, published by Pasoti in 1521, and was also the dedicatee of Palestrina’s first volume of Masses, published in 1554. Julius III appointed Palestrina maestro of the Cappella Giulia in 1551 and, in spite of his marriage, made him a member of the Cappella Sistina in 1555 without examination or approval of the other singers.¹⁴

Julius’s five-year reign was a difficult one, filled, as had been those of his predecessors, with attempts to maintain a precarious balance between France and Spain. The city, though, in spite of some setbacks, continued its renewal during his papacy and those which followed. Rome’s population in the census of 1526-27 had been approximately 54,000, a level not reached again until 1560, when the estimated population was 50,000. In 1600 there were an estimated 100,000 residents in the city, a population equal to London’s.¹⁵

¹⁴ The installation of a favored musician by the pope was not unknown; Paul III had purportedly appointed Morales to the Cappella Sistina without observing regulations, and in neither instance is there any surviving record of resentment on the part of the other singers.

When Palestrina entered the Cappella Sistina, Giovanni Animuccia took his position at the Cappella Giulia, which he held from January 1555 to his death in March 1571, when Palestrina returned to the position.

¹⁵ Paolo Giovio had estimated that, a decade before the Sack the city had 85,000 residents, but this figure has been received with speculation. Recovery in the first decade and a half after the Sack was slowed by terrible flooding in 1530, followed by poor harvests in 1533 and 1538-39. The population of Rome in the flood year is estimated at 32,000, and the city’s residents are estimated at 45,000 in 1545. See Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome*, 82-83
As the city expanded so, too, did her industries, even music-printing. Suzanne Cusick wrote that “The history of Rome’s music printing industry during the first half of the sixteenth century is largely a story of successive false starts ….” Buja puts forth several possible reasons, most compellingly the fact that “… stability only came via the institutions.” In support of this point she reminds the reader that Blado and Dorico, most successful of the city’s printers, held the positions of Apostolic printer and printer to the University of Rome. These seem like lucrative contracts, yet the shops continued to share type and woodcuts, nor did either press have a category of publication that was theirs exclusively. The lack of specialization may have been a disadvantage to Roman publishers, who might have been better served by following the models of Venetian bookmen, who often had quite specific niches.

Saverio Franchi has contributed a recent survey of music-printing in Rome in the second half of the sixteenth century. During the period on which he focused Rome became second only to Venice in the number of volumes produced, but such a distant second as to remain little more than a footnote; of the 4,486 music prints released in Italy from 1570-1630, 73% were produced in Venice; 9% in Rome; 6% in Milan; 4% in Naples; and 8% in other Italian cities. Roman music printing reaches its apogee in the


18 Girolamo Scotto printed books on numerous subjects, but almost half the volumes from his press were music books. Gardano, on the other hand, released only three non-music volumes. See Jane A. Bernstein, “The Burning Salamander: Assigning a Printer to Some Sixteenth-Century Music Prints,” Notes 42 (1986), 485-86.
decades 1610-30, when fifteen or more volumes saw print per year.\textsuperscript{20} The increase was largely in the number of prints of sacred music produced as part of Counter Reformation fervor and its attendant liturgical revision.\textsuperscript{21}

Barrè figured significantly in my discussion of the arioso madrigal, but his other prints are important too, attesting, as they do, to the vibrancy and variety of music in Rome.\textsuperscript{22} His Primo libro delle Muse a cinque voci, madrigali de diversi autori, 1555\textsuperscript{26}, is a collection of canzone settings a5 by Arcadelt, Ruffo, Berchem, and Barrè himself.\textsuperscript{23} The Arcadelt cycle in this volume is his five-stanza setting of Petrarch’s Chiare fresch’e dolc’acque. Ruffo’s contribution is the four-stanza canzona Per pianto la mia carne si distilla from Sannazaro’s L’Arcadia; and Berchem’s sestina Hai lass’io mi credea fuggend’il sole sets a Tansillo text. The remaining texts, Barrè’s own cycle and his closing piece, the six-voice dialogue madrigal Deh fusse il ver, are anonymous.

\textsuperscript{19} The difference between 73% and 9% of a market is so great as to render Roman printing of the era a permanent footnote, regardless of efforts to demonstrate centrality.

\textsuperscript{20} See Franchi’s tables on 11-22, demonstrating the growth in Roman editions. As he observes, some composers in Rome chose to have their sacred music printed there while their secular volumes continued to see print in Venice.


\textsuperscript{22} That we do not know why Barrè’s business ceased is unfortunate. He was clearly trying to specialize in music volumes (although he published non-music volumes as well they were few and, perhaps, commissioned), but was only active for nine years. There are any number of reasons he might have stopped publishing, but I think that, if the business had thrived, someone else might have taken it over, rather than letting it go fallow.

There was clearly room for another music printer in Rome; Alessandro Gardano, one of Antonio’s sons, moved there in the early 1580s and set up a shop. Alessandro produced musical and non-musical editions in collaboration with other Roman printers, but he never neared the volume of his brother Angelo, who had remained in Venice. See Richard J. Agee, “Gardano [Gardane] (2) Alessandro Gardane,” New Grove 1: 533.

\textsuperscript{23} In the letter of dedication to Honofrio Vigili, dedicatee of Barrè’s own Madrigali a Quattro Voci ... Libro Primo from the Dorico shop, the publisher describes this volume as “le primitie della mia Stampa.”
The variety of works published by Barrè can be seen in the title of the third volume in the Muse series, *Secondo libro delle Muse a tre voci, Canzoni Moresche de diversi aut.*, also from 1555 (EV: 1555-5). This volume is dedicated by Barrè to Monsignor Francesco de la Mola, to whom Barrè refers as his patron. The contents are nine anonymous musical settings of anonymous texts. Bibliographical study of Barrè’s output is somewhat complicated by the fact that another *Secondo Libro a tre voci* exists but this one, published in 1558, follows the comma with *Canzon Villanesche alla Napolitana*, another collection of anonymous works. The dedication, by Barrè, is to Oliviero Crec, “abbate di Iouis, & Consigliero di sua Maiestà Christianissima,” Henri II’s nuncio to Rome, sent after Julius III joined with France against Spain. Barrè urges the

24 No *Primo libro delle Muse a tre voci* from Barrè’s press is known. Scotto released a volume by that name, 1562, which contains five madrigals by Barrè and might, through reasonable inference, be considered a pirated edition of a lost Roman book. See John Steele, “Antonio Barrè: Madrigalist, Anthologist and Publisher--Some Preliminary Findings,” 95. As Buja has demonstrated, though Barrè’s titles were reused, contents underwent considerable alteration in Gardano and Scotto’s editions, so we should proceed with caution in establishing even a tentative list of works that might have appeared in a Barrè original. Some composers seem likely based on their contributions to other volumes from his press (Lasso, Ferro, Fiesco, Lerma, Rosello, Lambert Courtoys, Mateart and Lusitano), but others (A. Festa, Rampollini, Nasco, Perinsonne Cambio and Montanaro), have only limited, if any, ties to Rome. Lusitano’s contribution to the Scotto volume is his only madrigal, the three-voice *All’hor ch’ignuda*. The composer had become a Protestant and applied unsuccessfully for a position in Stuttgart in 1561; this publication is his last known entry in the historical record. See Bonnie J. Blackburn, “Lusitano, Vicente [Lusitanus, Vincentius],” *New Grove* 15: 326-27.

25 Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, I: 372-73, writes that Barrè was the first to collect *moresche*, often lewd or parodistic homophonic pieces for the entertainment of Venetians and Neapolitans. This speaks to the strong Roman-Neapolitan axis in Barrè’s prints.

26 This dedication interests me, in part because it breaks Barrè’s pattern of strong Roman orientation. It does speak to the cosmopolitanism of Rome that a French printer would publish Italian-tested works with a strong regional flavor and dedicate them to a Frenchman but I wonder if, at the same time, Barrè was exploring an opportunity to return to France. The notion that Italian song would find a home at the French court is not surprising, given the fact that Henri’s queen was Catherine de’ Medici. Seen in this light, Barrè statement that he will send more such music might reflect an effort to position himself as a supplier worthy of a position.
nuncio to share this music with his friends in Rome and at the French court, in wording
that suggests he had personal acquaintance with the nuncio’s musical interests.  

Barrè printed two volumes devoted primarily to Lasso’s music. The first of these
is the final volume of the Muse series, the _Secondo libro delle Muse a cinque voci,
Madrig. d’Orlando di Lassus con una canzone del Petrarca_, 1557. The title suggests that
this was conceived as a Lasso collection, but was expanded to include one madrigal each
from Barrè, Paolo Animuccia, and Vidue. The provenance of the Lasso pieces is
uncertain; the composer had left Rome several years before, and Barrè’s editor,
Giovanbattista Bruno, wrote in the dedication that the music came into his hands while he
was in Spoleto, a city with which Lasso has no known association.  

Another Lasso volume appeared in 1563, _Il terzo libro... a cinque ... d’Orlando di
Lassus_. The cantus partbook bears the coat of arms of the dedicatee, Monaldo
Monaldesco della Cervara, while the bassus book bears Blado’s mark of the eagle. The
type used for the volume is also Blado’s.  

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27 Donna G. Cardamone, “Erotic Jest and Gesture in Roman Anthologies of Neapolitan Dialect
Songs,” _Music & Letters_ 86 (2005), 368. Le Crec seems to be also the Olivier de Crec who was once an
owner of the Copenhagen Canzoniere; see G. Thibault and E. Droz, “Le Canzoniere de la Bibliothèque

28 Vidue may be the Fleming Hector Vidue who served at the Cathedral of Ancona c. 1562. See
Buja has proposed, based on changes in the gathering structure, that this was to be a shorter
volume but, at some point while the title was at press, new pieces were procured. When extra signatures
were added there were not enough works by Lasso to fill them, so works by other composers were then

29 Lasso was in Antwerp in late 1554-early 1555 and by 1556 he held a position at the Bavarian
court. Bruno is himself a figure of some mystery; his name survives only as the author of dedications for
two madrigal prints, this Lasso volume and a volume of madrigals by Philippe de Monte, printed by
Dorico, which the composer himself condemned as unauthorized in his own preface to his second book of
Publisher--Some Preliminary Findings,” 95, and Cusick, _Valerio Dorico_, 105.

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dedicatee of other Barrè volumes; his two states of the Fleming Jacob Kerle’s hymn cycles (K441-1558) and its reprint (K441-1560) are dedicated by Kerle to his patron, Luca Monaldeschi della Cervara, and signed from Orvieto.  

Barrè’s production declined sharply after 1555: one volume of music appeared in 1557; three in 1558; 1560 saw the reprint of one of the 1558 volumes and one new work; and one book came out per year in 1562, 1563, and 1564, after which his presses stopped. He worked for another publisher while still producing volumes himself; he edited one volume for the Venetian printer Rampazetto in 1563, a collection of sacred music by Lasso, Rore, and others. 

The last volume from the Barrè press is Olivier Brassart. Il Primo Libro delli Soi Madrigali a Quattro, 1564, dedicated to Cardinal Giulio Feltre della Rovere of Urbino (1533-78). The texts are a mix of anonymous and famous; Ariosto, Cassola, Bembo, Guarini, and Petrarch. The letter of dedication, from Brassart, suggests that he has been

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31 These volumes have a complicated printing history and the question as to whether they are two edition or two states of the same edition has prompted considerable discussion. On this topic see Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 100-01, 113-17, and 322-35.

32 One of Barrè’s later volumes is the Madrigali a Quattro Voci, di Francesco Menta, from 1560. The dedication, by the composer, is signed from Naples and neither the composer nor his dedicatee, Ferrante Ingrignetta, are otherwise known; the print may have been produced as a vanity volume. Buja notes that there are an unusually large number of printing errors, rare in Barrè’s work. Another oddity is the fact that the music type used is Blado’s, while the printer’s mark is Dorico’s. Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 102.


34 As a demonstration of Paul III’s centrality to the history of sixteenth-century Rome, I remind the reader of the marriage of Vittoria Farnese, Paul’s granddaughter, to Guidobaldo II della Rovere of Urbino. As part of the marriage accords Guidobaldo’s younger brother Giulio Feltro della Rovere received the red hat from Paul III in July 1547 and was made Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincolo, a title that had been held by his great-uncle Giuliano della Rovere before his election as Julius II. See Sabine Eiche, “Cardinal Giulio della Rovere and the Vigna Carpi,” The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 45 (1986), 118.
in the cardinal’s service for some years. Della Rovere’s arms replace the printer’s mark, again suggesting a vanity volume but, as only the tenor partbook survives, it is possible that Barrè’s mark was in one of the missing volumes.\footnote{Della Rovere is the dedicatee of a 1549 Gardano print, a volume of 4-voice motets by Urbino’s \textit{maestro di cappella} Francesco Lupino. As with Barrè’s print the Cardinal’s arms appear on the title page. The Gardano book is also of interest because all copies are on one particular paper, suggesting that a special batch of paper was set aside or purchased just for this publication. See Mary S. Lewis, “The Printed Music Book in Context: Observations on Some Sixteenth-Century Editions,” \textit{Notes} 46 (1990), 912. The type used is not one seen before in Barrè volumes, but was used by the Doricos, while some of the ornamental devices used are Blado’s. See Buja, “Antonio Barrè.”}

Although Brassart is otherwise unknown, the Cardinal is a well-documented patron of music. He was identified as the Cardinal of Urbino because that was his place of origin, but he was in fact well traveled, residing variously in Urbino, Rome, and Ravenna.\footnote{See Eiche, “Cardinal Giulio della Rovere and the Vigna Carpi,” 115-33.} It may have been he who recommended Paolo Animuccia for the position of maestro di cappella in Urbino, serving the Cardinal’s brother, Duke Guidobaldo II. Musicians including Costanzo Porta corresponded with him and he was at least once the employer of the papal singer Bartholomeo Bartoli who, when dismissed from the papal chapel in 1565, wrote the Cardinal asking to reenter his service.\footnote{See Richard Sherr, “A letter from Paolo Animuccia: A composer’s response to the Council of Trent,” \textit{Early Music} XII (1984), 75. Sherr documented twenty-four letters from Porta to the Cardinal and, in 1984, expressed the hope of publishing transcriptions of all known letters between composers and the Cardinal. See “A letter from Paolo Animuccia,” 77 and 78, n.7.} All these facts, taken together, suggest he was an active patron of music, and it is surely his time in Rome that led to his familiarity with Animuccia and Barrè.

A Barrè publication on which I have touched only briefly is Nicola Vicentino’s \textit{L’Antica Musica ridotta alla moderna prattica}, only one of the treatises which was
written as an outgrowth of Vicentino’s disputation on music theory with Vicento Lusitano. This topic has been thoroughly discussed in the secondary literature, and I bring it up here simply as another example of Rome’s thriving musical culture, in which theoretical discussion now held a place. The event draws together many themes on which I have touched in this study; music in private homes, the patronage of a wealthy cardinal, and activities of papal singers outside the chapel.

The disagreement between the two men stemmed from an argument surrounding performance of a Regina coeli setting performed in the Roman dwelling of Bernardo Acciaiuoli-Rucellai. The piece was, in Lusitano’s opinion, purely diatonic, the gender in which all modern music was composed, while Vicentino argued that modern composers indiscriminately mixed the diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic genera. Lusitano took upon himself the role of Everymusician, and wagered two gold scudi that he did indeed know the genera. The two men agreed to a public debate on the topic, which took place in multiple stages from 2 to 7 June 1551. The debate began in Santa Maria in Aquiro, the

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39 Vicentino (1511-76) was, as suggested by the toponymic, from Vicenza; at some point he went to Venice, where he studied with Willaert. He served in Ferrara before relocating to Rome with his patron, Ippolito II d’Este. While in d’Este service he traveled with the cardinal, between Ferrara and Rome with time spent also in Siena. He was back in Vicenza by 1563 as maestro di cappella, but did not stay long; the last years of his life are poorly documented. Henry W. Kaufmann and Robert L. Kendrick, “Vicentino, Nicola,” New Grove 26: 526-28.

Lusitano (the name is not a family name, but the Italian for “Portuguese”), was a theorist, composer, and teacher. He flourished in the 1550s, and vanishes from the record after 1561. A volume of his motets was published in the early 1550s (only one copy of the volume survives, and its date of publication has been changed from 1551 to 1555), and several works traveled in manuscripts and anthologies. His treatise, Introduttione facilissima, et novissima, di canto fermo, figurato, contraponto semplice, et in concerto, ... et compositioni, proportioni, generi, s. diatonico, cromatico, enarmonico, was published in 1551. See Blackburn, “Lusitano, Vicente [Lusitanus, Vincentius],” New Grove 15: 326-27.
titular church of Cardinal Ippolito d’Este, Vicentino’s patron.\textsuperscript{40} Cardinal d’Este was in attendance, one member of a learned audience that may have included Lasso.\textsuperscript{41} The first judges selected were the papal singers Danckerts and Escobedo.\textsuperscript{42} Giulio da Rozzi, or da Reggio, was added later, to serve as a tiebreaker.\textsuperscript{43} Four witnesses were signatory to the judgment in Lusitano’s favor; Don Jacobo Martelli, Vincenzo Ferro, Stefano Bettini, and Barrè. Both Vicentino and Lusitano submitted written summations of their arguments, from which their subsequent treatises derive.

I have only touched on the second half of the century with the publication of Barrè’s volumes. The following decades offer fertile ground for further study, of interest both for our conception of secular music in a major Italian city, and for insight into the place occupied by music in a place that attracted some of the finest musicians of their age for the pursuit of sacred music.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{40} See Buja, “Antonio Barrè,” 4-5.

\textsuperscript{41} See Adolph Sandberger, \textit{Lassus: Opera Omnia} (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, s.d.), II, I, xxiv.


\textsuperscript{44} The city’s support for music demonstrated by volumes such as Gasparo Fiorino’s \textit{La nobiltà di Roma}, a collection of villanelle a 3 setting verses in praise of the gentlewomen of Rome (Scotto, 1571, reprinted in 1573 and 1582). The music is printed on facing pages: one side presents the a3 vocal original, the facing page contains the same work in a lute intabulation by Francesco di Parisé, described simply as “musico eccellentissimo in Rome.” Fiorino, a Calabrian, was briefly employed by Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este. In producing a volume such as this, with its strong sense of civic pride (or flattery), must have carried hopes for commercial success. On the print see Iain Fenlon, “‘Foederis in Turcas Sanctio’: Music,
A significant change to the Roman musical scene occurred in 1584, when the city’s musicians created their own confraternity, the Compagnia dei Musici di Roma, predecessor to the later Accademia di S. Cecilia.\textsuperscript{45} The organization reflects the importance of confraternities in the Counter Reformation and, more particularly, speaks to the number of professional musicians in Rome.\textsuperscript{46} This was only the first confraternity for musicians; it was quickly joined by more as the number of musicians in the city swelled in response to new employment opportunities.\textsuperscript{47}

Members of the Compagnia collaborated on two madrigal anthologies; \textit{Dolci Affetti. Madrigali a Cinque Voci de diversi Eccellenti Musici di Roma} (The Heirs of Scotto, Venice, 1582\textsuperscript{4}), and \textit{Le Gioie. Madrigali a Cinque Voci de Diversi Eccellenti Musici della Compagnia de Roma ... Libro primo} (Amadino, Venice, 1589\textsuperscript{7}). The first of these volumes was released before formation of the Compagnia, but the overlap among composers encourages their discussion as a set. These volumes are far from my focus on Farnese Rome but must be mentioned, as they are indicators of just how far the madrigal had come from its roots as a private repertory in Florence, and how far Rome had come as a musical center.\textsuperscript{48}

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\textsuperscript{45} Sixtus V recognized the organization in 1585. The need for such an association had become more urgent in the years after the Council of Trent, when some singers lost their positions as a result of Carlo Borromeo’s insistence that church musicians be clerics (and, thus, unmarried). See O’Regan, “Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-place,” 553.


\textsuperscript{47} See O’Regan, “Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-place,” 554-55.

\textsuperscript{48} For studies of these volumes see Nino Pirrotta, “‘Dolci affetti’: I musici di Roma e il madrigale,” \textit{Studi musicale} XIV (1985), 59-104, and James Haar, Some Sixteenth-Century ‘Thematic’
The work I have done thus far has suggested several areas for further research. By the 1550s, almost a century and a half after the end of the Schism and a quarter of a century after the Sack, Rome was in flower. The arts flourished at a variety of venues: Philip Neri’s Oratorio; the papal chapels; the Lateran; other stational churches; and national churches – the Counter-Reformation and its attendant spiritual renewal were good to musicians in search of employment. Sacred music was not all there was in Rome, though, and much could be learned by close study of secular music. Rome’s centrality to the development of madrigal cycles has been examined, but I believe detailed studies of individual composers or complexes of particular cycles, including those published in Antonio Barrè’s volumes, might reward further research.

The musical patronage of Ippolito II d’Este has been touched on by a number of authors, but a large-scale study of him, along the lines of Mary Hollingsworth’s recent monograph on his uncle, Ippolito I, would prove rewarding. A composer who would reward greater study is Giovanni Animuccia, whose two books of madrigals have never been edited. His early biography is mysterious but, as perhaps the most important composer of Florentine origin in the second half of the century, should be investigated.

49 Marenzio, for example, was in Rome almost continuously from the 1570s, serving a series of cardinals.


A topic which I believe would yield great fruit is a close investigation of the musical ties between Rome and Naples in the second half of the sixteenth century. Naples was far closer geographically than other large cities on the peninsula, but its culture was as Spanish as it was Italian. The election of Paul IV, an anti-Imperial Neapolitan, increased the resentment of Spanish domination that flared up periodically in the region. Thorough studies of Neapolitan music have been done by Keith Larson and Donna Cardamone, and I am of the opinion that there is now enough known of Naples to allow us to better understand her musical interaction with Rome, particularly the increasing interest in Rome in the light forms favored in Naples.

One composer whose secular output is long overdue for reexamination is Palestrina. The last major work done on his madrigals is Peter Wagner’s study, now over a century old. The vast body of new work on Palestrina by Noel O’Regan has enlarged our understanding of the composer’s career and sacred works, knowledge that would surely benefit our understanding of his madrigals. Palestrina’s parody of the Yvo madrigal *Pace non trovo* is a rare example of that technique in the madrigal literature; close examination of other works by Palestrina might reveal other connections to the works of other madrigalists active in Rome. Palestrina had ample opportunities to leave

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52 Peter Wagner, “Das Madrigal und Palestrina,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 8 (1892), 423-86.

53 O’Regan’s contribution to the musicological literature on *Cinquecento* Rome does not stop, of course, with his work on Palestrina.

54 On these compositions see James Haar, “*Pace non trovo*: A Study in Literary and Musical Parody,” *Musica Disciplina* 20 (1966), 95-149.
Rome after his dismissal from the Cappella Sistina. He chose, however, to stay, and was able to have a long, distinguished and, we must assume, remunerative career.

By the last quarter of the Cinquecento Rome had a vibrant music culture that was the rival, if not the actual better, of any in Europe. The quality and variety of music there, sacred and secular, reflected the wealth and varied population of the city. Rome was, for many, no longer the capital of the world, but a symbol of its filth; the Roman imperial dream of a city that would be the world’s capital was not possible in a post-Reformation world but, for Catholics it remained the center of their faith. This world may have been smaller but, for composers in search of work, temporarily or permanently, all roads, once again, led to Rome.

55 He was offered positions in Mantua (he had a decades-long epistolary relationship with Duke Guglielmo), and at the Austrian court, though neither carried with it a salary he would accept. His masses on models by Jaquet of Mantua have been interpreted as coded expressions of interest in a position there, but Guglielmo’s treasury was always overstressed. See George Nugent, “Some Reflections on Patronage: Palestrina and Mantua,” in Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood, Ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 241-42.
A Salviati (Mons Giovanni).

R.mo e Ill.mo Mons.mio oss.mo. Voleva rimandare i muli a V.S. R.ma da Firenze, ma il Mag.co M. Alamanno ne lo proibì, e usò meco ogni instanza acciò mi servissi d’esse per tutto ‘l viaggio. Il quale, poi, a San Casciano mi fece così gentile e caro e onorevole presente, come dire si possa, delli migliori Ortolani e Trebbiani e Formaggi che io gustassi giamai. E come quello che sapeva di avermi a caricar di robba, volle anco che io avessi il modo da poterle condurre. Onde ho menati i detti muli sino a Roma. Se V.S.R. ma non fosse tanto mio Signore quanto ella è, direi che la molta cortesia, e sua e del Mag.co suo fratello, avesse fatto discortese me; ma la osservanza mia, e la benignità sua, non tolerano che io usi con esso lei sì fatte parole. La ringrazio adunque con tutto ’l cuore, e sentonele quello obligo che debbo; il quale riporrò con gli altri molti che io a V.S.R.ma ho. Alla cui buona grazia umilmente mi raccomando. Alli XXIII di Ottobre MDXXXIX. Di Roma.

My most revered, illustrious, and worthy lord. You had wanted the mules sent back to your lordship at Florence, but his magnificence Messer Alamanno prohibited it, and used every persuasion with me so that I might be served by them for the entire voyage. Just

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2 RVc = Ms Chigiano L VIII 304, sec. XV. RVv9 = Ms Vaticano latino 10979, *T. Tasso, Lettere raccolte da Zappa*, sec. XVIII.

3 Messer Alamanno Salviati, (1510-71) was Giovanni’s younger brother.
as, afterwards, at San Casciano he made to me the gracious, and costly, and honorable gift, if it can be said, of the finest ortolans\(^4\) and wines and cheeses such as I had never tasted. And as one who knew that he had heaped me with things to carry, he expected me also to have a way to transport them. Wherefore I took the mules all the way to Rome. I would say that the abounding courtesy, both that of yourself and your brother, had made me discourteous, but my regard and your goodness do not permit that I would use such conventional phrases. I thank you, therefore, with all my heart and I feel in it [my heart] that obligation that I owe which I shall place with the many others that I have to your lordship. To whose good grace I humbly recommend myself. 23 October 1539. From Rome.

\(^4\) Technically the ortolan is Emberiza hortulana, but taken loosely can refer to any bunting or small songbird.
Appendix 2

Additional settings of verses from the *Cinquanta Stanze del Bembo*, as given in *Nuove Vogel*.

I. Ne l’odorato e lucido Oriente
set by Giovanni Paien in *Di Gioan Paien il Primo Libro de Madrigali a due voci dove si contengono le Vergine, novamente ristampate* ... Gardano, 1564 and a 1597 reprint, as well as a first edition presumed lost.¹

II. A cui più ch’altri mai servi e devoti
set by Giovanni Paien in *Di Gioan Paien il Primo Libro de Madrigali a due voci dove si contengono le Vergine, novamente ristampate* ... Gardano, 1564.

III. La qual in somma è questa: ch’ogni uom viva
set by Giovanni Paien in *Di Gioan Paien il Primo Libro de Madrigali a due voci dove si contengono le Vergine, novamente ristampate* ... Gardano, 1564.

IV. A questo confortando il popol tutto
set by Giovanni Paien in *Di Gioan Paien il Primo Libro de Madrigali a due voci dove si contengono le Vergine, novamente ristampate* ... Gardano, 1564.

VII. Si come là, dove ‘l mio buon romano
set by Giovanni Paien in *Di Gioan Paien il Primo Libro de Madrigali a due voci dove si contengono le Vergine, novamente ristampate* ... Gardano, 1564.

set by Jacopo Corfini in *Di Iacopo Corfini organista del duomo di Lucca il primo libro de Madrigali a sei voce*... L’herede di Girolamo Scotto, 1575.

set by Francesco Gianelli in *Di Francesco Gianelli il Primo Libro de Madrigali a tre ...* 1592.²

set by Geronimo Tastavin in *Di Hieronimo Tastavin il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque ...* Gardano, 1569.³

¹ Paien, who flourished at mid-century, is known only for this collection of duos. His reliance on such well-known texts as Petrarch’s *Vergine* cycle and familiar Ariosto *ottave* raises the possibility that the print was commissioned, perhaps by Gardano, to exploit the contemporary vogue for settings of popular texts. See James Haar, “Paien, Gioan,” *New Grove*, 18: 900.

² This print contains Gianelli’s only known compositions, many of which “suggest a rather uncomfortable alliance between the canzonetta and the rhetoric of the serious madrigal.” The volume is dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro d’Este and a copy survives in Ferrara, but Gianelli is not known to have served there. See Iain Fenlon, “Gianelli, Francesco,” *New Grove*, 9: 823.

³ The dedication to Flavio Orsini suggests he may have been the composer’s employer. This is the only known publication credited to Tastavin (fl. ?1560-80); one *napolitana* attributed to “Hieronimo
Dedicated to Monsignor Flavio Orsini

set by Giulio Zenaro in Di Giulio Zenaro da Salò il Primo Libro de Madrigali a tre ...Vincenzi, 1589.4

XXVI. Quanto in mill’anni il ciel devea mostrane
set by Paolo Aretino in Libro primo delli Madrigali cromali (sic) di messer Pavolo Aretino .... H. Scotto, 1549.5

set by Matteo Rufilo in Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci, di Matteo Rufilo de Malfetta .... Scotto, 1561.6
Dedicated to Don Cesare Gonzaga, Principe di Malfetta

set by Nollet in Verdelot a sei Madrigali di Verdelot et de altri autori .... Gardano, 1546. Reprinted in 1561.7

XXVII. Rose bianche e vermiglie ambe le gote
set by Giovanni Animuccia in Animuccia. Primo Libro di Madrigali a quatro a cinque et a sei ... Gardano, 1547.

set by Luca Marenzio in Di Luca Marenzio il Terzo Libro de Madrigali a cinque ... Gardano, 1582. Reprinted in the Phalese and Bellero Madrigali a cinque ... ridotto in un corpo, 1593.

Tast.” saw print in 15719, an anthology. Other poets whose works are set in the Primo libro include Petrarch and Sannazaro. See Donna G. Cardamone, “Tastavin, Geronimo,” New Grove, 25: 118.

4 Zenaro (d. after 1590) was fairly prolific, composing a total of sixty-four madrigals in three volumes; a Primo libro a5, a Primo libro a3, and a Madrigali Spirituali a3. See Patricia Ann Myers, “Zenaro, Giulio,” New Grove, 27: 788.

5 Aretino (1508-84) is said to have studied under Corteccia, but no actual evidence supports that contention. His madrigals are in a conservative style reminiscent of Pisano and Corteccia. He was known at the Medici court and dedicated his only other madrigal collection to Francesco de’ Medici, but his career was spent in Arezzo. He composed a considerable amount of sacred music. See Frank A. D’Accone, “Aretino, Paolo [Paolo Antonio del Bivi],” New Grove, 1: 871.

6 Known only for this and one additional volume of madrigals, Rufilo (fl. 1561-63) left few traces. The dedication of the Primo libro a5 is signed from Naples, and that of the Primo libro a4 from Ariano, near Salerno. See Iain Fenlon, “Rufilo [Rufolo], Matteo,” New Grove, 21: 875.

7 Nollet (fl. 1538-46) was a Northerner. His only known works are seven secure madrigals, primarily note nere pieces, and one of contested attribution, all published in anthologies. His S’io potessi mirar, a4, opens the second part of Doni’s Dialogo; the interlocutor Veggio claims to be “delighted with this quite perfect little madrigal,” “the work of Nollet.” See Don Harrán, “Nollet [Noleth, Nolet, Noletto, Nolletto],” New Grove, 18: 17-18, and James Haar, “Notes on the Dialogo della Musica of Antonfrancesco Doni,” in The Science and Art of Renaissance Music, ed. Paul Corneilson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 280.
XXVIII. *Se non fosse il penser crudele et empio*
set by Palestrina in *Di Giovanni Petralyosio da Palestina il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a quattro voci* ... l’herede di Girolamo Scotto, 1586.

XXIX. *Così più d’un error versa dal fonte*

XXXIV. *Non vi mandò qua giù l’eterna cura*
set by Fabrice Marin Caietain in *Second livre d’Airs. Chansons, Villanelles napolitaines et espagnolles mis en musique a quatre parties par Fabrice Marin Caietain...Le Roy et Ballard, 1578.*  

XXXIX. *Pasce la pecorella i verdi campi*
set by Giovanni Battista Galeno in *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a sette ... Amadino, 1598.*  
Dedicated to Rudolph II

set by Francesco Gianelli in *Di Francesco Gianelli il Primo Libro de Madrigali a tre ... 1592.*

set by Geronimo Tastavin in *Di Hieronimo Tastavin il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque ... Gardano, 1569.*

set by Giulio Zenaro in *Di Giulio Zenaro da Salò il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque ... Vincenzi, 1588.*

XXXII. *Che giova posseder cittadi e regni*
A. set by Perissone Cambio in *Perissone. Primo Libro di Madrigali a quatro .... con alcuni de Cipriano Rore ... Gardano, 1547.*

set by Pierre Clereau in *Dixième Livre de Chansons tant françoise qu’italiennes, nouvellement composées à quatre ... Le Roy et Ballard, 1559 and a 1564 reprint.*

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8 Adriani (1539-75) belongs to a much younger generation than du Pont. He was born near Ancona, but nothing is known of his early life or training. He published three books of madrigals (one a6 in 1568, and two a5, both in 1570) which, unfortunately, cannot be studied as only bassus partbooks survive for all three volumes. He entered the Cappella Sistina in 1572, but remained there only one year before taking the position in which he would spend the remainder of his life, maestro at the Lateran. See Patricia Ann Myers, “Adriani, Francesco,” *New Grove, 1:* 688.

9 Caietain (fl. 1570-78), an Italian active in France, may have been from Naples. He was a client of the Guise. See Frank Dobbins, “Caietain [Cajetan, Gaietanus, Gaiettane], Fabrice [Fabricio, Fabriciault] Marin,” *New Grove, 4:* 810-11.

10 Galeno is both physically and temporally peripheral to my topic, but an attempt to identify his source for this stanza might prove interesting.
set by Ihan Gero in *Di Ihan Gero il Secondo Libro di Madrigali a tre* ... Gardano, 1556.

set by Lasso in *Madrigali: a quattro, cinque et sei voci* ... Gerlach, 1587.

set by Sweelinck in 1612.\(^{12}\)

B. set as a pair:

| XXXXII. | Che giova posseder cittadi e regni |
| XXXXIII. | Ma che non giova aver fedeli amanti |

set by Olivier Brassart in *Il Primo Libro degli suoi Madrigali a quattro* ... *Al illustiss. et reverendiss. card. [Giulio Feltrio della Rovere] d’Urbino* ... Barrè, 1564.

set by Giovanni Paien in *Di Gioan Paien il Primo Libro de Madrigali a due voci dove si contengono le Vergine,* novamente ristampate ... Gardano, 1564.

C. set as a four-part cycle

| XXXXII. | Che giova posseder cittadi e regni |
| XXXXIII. | Ma che non giova aver fedeli amanti |
| XXXXIV. | Quanto esser vi dee caro un uom che brami |
| XXXXVII. | Però che voi non sete cosa integra |

set by Andrea Gabrieli in *Libro primo di madrigali a3*, Il figliuoli di Antonio Gardano, 1575.

set by Giaches de Wert in *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a quattro voci di Giaches de Wert* ... G. Scotto, 1561. This cycle opens the print.

| XXXXIII. | Ma che non giova aver fedeli amanti |

See XXXXII. B and C, above

| XXXXIV. | Quanto esser vi dee caro un uom che brami |

A. See XXXXII. C, above

B. Set as a three-part cycle

| XXXXIV. | Quanto esser vi dee caro un uom che brami |
| XXXXV. | O quanto è dolce perch’amar la stringa |
| XXXXVI. | Puossi morta chiamar quella di cui |

set by Marc’Antonio Ingegneri in *Di Marc’Antonio Ingegneri il Secondo Libro de Madrigali a cinque* ... il figliuolo di Antonio Gardano, 1572, reprinted in 1585.

| XXXXV. | O quanto è dolce perch’amar la stringa |

\(^{11}\) The Frenchman Clereau (fl. 1539-67) wrote sacred and secular music. This is one of nine madrigals by him; he also set texts by Tansillo and Ariosto. He was a client of the Guise. See Frank Dobbins, “Clereau, Pierre,” *New Grove*, 6: 49-50.

\(^{12}\) As in the case of Galeno, I am curious as to how or why Sweelinck selected this text.
set by Filippo de Monte in *Secondo Libro*, Scotto, 1569.\(^{13}\)

See XXXXIV. B, above

XXXXVI. *Puossi morta chiamar quella di cui*
See XXXXIV. B, above

XXXXVII. *Però che voi non sete cosa integra*
set by Giovanni Paien in *Di Gioan Paien il Primo Libro de Madrigali a due voci dove si contengono le Vergine, novamente ristampate* ... Gardano, 1564.
See XXXXII. C, above

\(^{13}\) This print contains quite a few Bembo settings, perhaps a reflection of de Monte’s years in Rome.
Bibliography

I have included here all works cited, as well as those which have helped shape my thinking on the subject but might not have been referred to within the text.


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