Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns

Edited by Fiona Kisby

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INTRODUCTION: URBAN HISTORY, MUSICOLOGY AND CITIES AND TOWNS IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE

FIONA KISBY

It was only in the nineteenth century that the sharply demarcated, centrally administered states of Europe in existence today developed. At the first millennium Western Europe consisted of hundreds of principalities, bishoprics, city states, empires and conglomerates of dynastically linked monarchies which together constituted Latin Christendom. Cultural and political interpenetration resulted, for in many cases languages spoken, religions, trading systems, and political and governmental jurisdictions intertwined.[1] The early Middle Ages was an era of predominantly rural existence in most parts of the region. Many urban centres were small – most had populations of less than 5,000 and virtually none had reached 50,000.[2] From 1000 until the 1340s urban expansion, accompanied by general population growth, occurred; after this, owing to a succession of plague epidemics, food shortages and warfare, development dramatically decreased throughout Europe until the beginning of the sixteenth century.[3] However, despite this demographic decay, urban populations as a whole declined no more than 5–10 per cent in the long term while rural communities diminished by around 27–35 per cent. Thus by 1500 a larger proportion of Europe's population lived in urban societies than in 1300.[4] The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed another period of urban growth and the associated technological advances and wealth creation gave rise to Europe's exploration, conquest and colonisation of the New World.[5]

[1] C. R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City 1450–1750* (New York, 1995), p. x; C. Tilly and W. Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, A.D. 1000–1800* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 7, 14; for detailed maps see G. Barraclough (ed.), *The Times Atlas of World History* (London, 1984); G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (London, 1990), p. 31 (The Netherlands) and R. E. Dickinson, *The Regions of Germany* (London, 1945) (German territories).

[2] E. A. Gutkind, *International History of City Development*, 8 vols. (London and New York, 1964–72), vol. III, p. 234; D. Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City 1300–1500* (London, 1997), pp. 1–2. Tilly and Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and the Rise of States*, p. 13. Urban communities in this period were not necessarily distinguished by size; any community that had occupationally heterogeneous populations and that was the focus of communications for considerable regions and locus of specialised production, distribution and administration had urban characteristics.

[3] For population statistics see J. Cox Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948); E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: a Reconstruction* (London, 1981); P. Bairoch, J. Batou and P. Chèvre, *The Population of European Cities: Data Bank and Short Summary of Results* (Geneva, 1988); T. Chandler and G. Fox, *Four Thousand Years of Urban Growth* (New York, 1987); J. Cox Russell, *Medieval Regions and their Cities* (Newton Abbot, 1972), pp. 23, 122; C. M. Cipolla, *The Middle Ages: the Fontana Economic History of Europe*, 6 vols. (New York, 1976), vol. I, pp. 34–41; Tilly and Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and the Rise of States*, p. 13; Nicholas, *Later Medieval City*, p. 50.

[4] Nicholas, *Later Medieval City*, p. 70.

[5] L. N. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World 1492–1700* (London, 1984).

These developments did not occur uniformly across the whole of Europe. In 1000 the world's cultural, political and economic epicentre lay around the Indian Ocean, and Córdoba (in Iberia) and Constantinople (capital of the Byzantine Empire) were the great metropolises located on routes of communication that connected to large non-European cities such as Cairo and Baghdad. The prosperity of regions and size of cities in Western Europe were strongly affected by their relations to, and centrality in, this great Asian-based system of trade.[6] Thus by the mid-fourteenth century until *c.* 1500 the city-states of Italy – on trade routes which linked centres like Constantinople to south-west Germany, Flanders and northern France – rose to prominence.[7] During the sixteenth century the dominance of the southern communities waned and the cities of The Netherlands, west Germany, northern France and southern England were in the ascendant.[8] These trends are shown in Table 1.1.

Despite this general trend in urban growth, most people's experience of Western Europe in Renaissance times was still a rural one, for only around 10–15 per cent of the population lived in towns and cities of any description.[9] Yet this does not mean that urbanisation was beyond their experience. Cities were a constant presence in rural life and their influences on patterns of consumption, modes of thought, religious practice and trade reached out far beyond their physical boundaries and thus had an impact on, at one time or another, the lives of most rural dwellers.[10] Quite clearly, towns played an important role in the economic, political, social and cultural history of early modern Europe and are therefore legitimate objects of study.

The central importance of urban centres in the development of Renaissance Europe is reflected by the long tradition of civic histories written by city chroniclers, both ecclesiastical and lay, and the interest in the city shown by architects, military historians and cartographers since late medieval times.[11] In fact, one of three great cartographic achievements of the sixteenth century was the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* published by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, the first serious attempt to provide graphic representations of the main cities of the world.[12] Since the early nineteenth century, researchers have shown a growing interest in the town to such an extent that a sub-field of historical scholarship, urban history, has now developed. Owing to different traditions and varying agendas of research affected by archival, political and other factors, important differences in national historiographies have evolved and lively debate, innovative teaching and fruitful international research collaborations have resulted.[13]

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[6] Tilly and Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and the Rise of States*, pp. 7, 13, 14; P. M. Hohenberg and L. H. Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe 1000–1994* (London, 1995), p. 10. Medieval trade routes are illustrated in Barraclough (ed.), *The Times Atlas*, pp. 40–1, 58–9. [7] Russell, *Medieval Regions*, pp. 50, 67, 74, 75.

[8] J. de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500–1800* (London, 1984), pp. 28–9, 158–66.

[9] Russell, *Medieval Regions*, p. 15; Hohenberg and Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe*, p. 8.

[10] A. Cowan, *Urban Europe, 1500–1700* (London, 1998), pp. v–vi. [11] Nicholas, *Later Medieval City*, pp. 297–8.

[12] Published in six volumes between 1572 and 1617: R. A. Skelton and A. O. Vietor (eds.), *Braun and Hogenberg Civitates Orbis Terrarum. Towns of the World, 1572–1618* with an introduction by R. A. Skelton (Cleveland and New York, 1966). These maps show the physical topography of the towns and the landscape of the urban hinterland; aspects of local society are also represented by figures engaged in a variety of activities, see pp. v–viii. Together the volumes contain 363 plates, including images of most of the cities mentioned in the present book.

[13] For historiographical overviews of literature on continental Europe see R. Rodger, *Urban History: Prospect and Retrospect* (Leicester, 1993); P. Clark, 'The Early Modern Town in the West: Research Since 1945', in P. Clark (ed.), *The Early Modern Town: a Reader* (New York, 1977), pp. 1–42. R. Reulecke and G. Juck, 'Urban History Research in Germany: its Development and Present Condition', *Urban History Yearbook* (1981), pp. 39–54; for Britain see S. Reynolds, 'The Writing of Medieval Urban History in England', *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 19 (1992), pp. 43–57; P. Burke, 'The Early Modern Town – its History and Historians', *Urban History Yearbook* (1981), pp. 55–8; I. Hammarström, 'Urban History in Scandinavia: a Summary of Recent Trends', *Urban History Yearbook* (1978), pp. 46–55.

Table 1.1 *Approximate populations of select European cities, 1000–1600*

Centre	Population (1,000s)[a]					
	1000	1200	1300	1400	1500	1600
(Baghdad)	125	100	40	90	—	30
(Constantinople)	300	150	100	75	200	700
Genoa	15	30	100	100	58	63
Milan	—	—	100	90	100	120
Naples	30	30	60	45	125	275
Rome	35	35	30	33	55	100
Venice	45	70	110	100	100	151
Dublin	4	9	11	15	8	5
Edinburgh	—	—	1	2	18	15
London	25	25	35	45	50	200
Oxford	—	—	—	—	5	5
Avignon	—	13	6	30	18	26
Montpellier	1	13	35	17	6	15
Rouen	12	15	35	35	40	70
Toulouse	10	20	30	21	30	40
Paris	20	110	150	275	225	300
Córdoba	450	60	60	40	35	31
Seville	90	80	90	70	45	135
Valladolid	6	—	25	—	30	41
Antwerp	—	15	17	5	30	47
Bruges	12	25	40	125	35	27
Brussels	1	—	18	26	33	50
Ghent	8	25	—	56	55	31
Innsbruck	—	—	1	—	4	6
Vienna	—	12	20	20	20	50
Brunswick	10	21	12	18	18	16
Hamburg	—	2	8	22	15	40
Hanover	—	2	5	5	6	7
Lübeck	—	6	28	25	25	23
Bogotá	—	—	—	—	20	—
Cuzco	—	—	—	24	50	24
Lima	—	—	—	—	—	14
Mexico City	—	—	—	—	80	58

Note:

[a] For urban centres in Latin America, plus Baghdad and Constantinople, see Chandler and Fox, *Four Thousand Years*; for all other centres see Bairoch, Batou and Chèvre, *The Population of European Cities*.

Scholars in Britain have played a leading role in these developments. In the 1960s and 1970s a principal spokesman was Professor H. J. Dyos, based at the University of Leicester.[14] Dyos argued that urban history should seek to understand 'urbanisation itself, a process involving concentrations of populations at certain densities and shifts in their occupation and social structures'. He also stressed that it should focus on 'cities themselves and not . . . the historical events and tendencies that have been purely incidental to them'. According to him, it would only be through investigating the different characteristics of cities and 'the ways in which their components fitted together or impinged on other things' that would distinguish urban historians from those who may be said merely to be 'passing through' urban history's territory.[15]

To a certain extent Dyos expanded the agenda of European urban history scholarship in his call for it to address, as far as possible, the 'totality' of the urban experience and unite the concepts of a historical process (urbanisation) and its outcome (an urbanised place). However, if the aims and objectives of the urban historian were relatively straightforward, the techniques and methodologies used to reach them – and thus establish urban history as a distinct 'discipline' – were more difficult to determine. For Dyos the issue could be resolved if urban history was considered a 'focus for a variety of forms of knowledge, not a form of knowledge in itself' and was 'not a single discipline in the accepted sense, but a field in which many disciplines converge, or . . . are drawn upon'.[16] More recently, this view has been reiterated by a number of other urban historians. For Richard Rodger (editor of *Urban History*)[17] urban history is not the sum of a town's 'constituent parts – cultural, physical, organisational and behavioural – but . . . an analysis of their interaction in a unique spatial setting'. Thus urban historians were to commit themselves first to the city and only occasionally to a particular methodology; they were to be more eclectic in their disciplinary approaches and 'sample the methodological and theoretical delights drawn from a wide range of available interdisciplinary possibilities'.[18]

In their attempts to study the process of urbanisation and the site of its development – the city and town – urban historians have tended to focus on three areas: the origins of cities (their constitutional, legal and archaeological history); the activities taking place in cities (especially economic and demographic processes that characterise urban populations); and the social consequences of urban life (including psychological and cultural effects of urban living, material culture, the routines of daily life, sensory experience, social and occupational structure).[19] The work they have produced usually falls into two camps: that of the 'annalists' provides descriptive, narrative histories, often

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[14] The institution has subsequently become a focal point of international research through the creation of its Centre for Urban History in 1985 (www.le.ac.uk/urbanhist). The proceedings of an early conference at Leicester, addressing the materials and methods of urban history, were published in H. J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London, 1968).

[15] H. J. Dyos, 'Urbanity and Suburbanity', in D. Cannadine and D. Reeder (eds.), *Exploring the Urban Past: Essays in Urban History by H. J. Dyos* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 32, 36.

[16] Dyos, 'Urbanity and Suburbanity', pp. 31, 36. H. J. Dyos, 'Editorial', *Urban History Yearbook* (1974), p. 3; (1977), p. 3; (1978), p. 3. This proposal was not without its critics: R. Rodger, 'Urban History: Prospect and Retrospect', *Urban History* 19 (1992), p. 10; S. Glynn, 'Approaches to Urban History: the Case for Caution', *Australian Economic History Review* 10 (1970), pp. 218–95.

[17] *Urban History* was a continuation of the *Urban History Newsletter* (1963–) which became *Urban History Yearbook* (1974–91).

[18] R. Rodger, 'Urban History', p. 4; R. Rodger, 'Theory, Practice and European Urban History', in *European Urban History: Prospect and Retrospect* (Leicester, 1993), pp. 1–18, here p. 3.

[19] Hohenberg and Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe*, p. 2. Some recent examples include: F. Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400–1800* (New York, 1973); P. Clark (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern*

of a single place; while 'analysts' have taken a more international, systematic and comparative approach.[20] The development of the historiography for both the pre- and post-industrial eras is reflected in the *c.* 20,000 entries of the 1996 *Consolidated Bibliography of Urban History*.[21] Interestingly, detailed analysis of its contents reveals a striking lack of interest in one particular area: only around 6 per cent of the citations refer to urban 'culture' in any form, and virtually none concerns music in towns and cities in pre-industrial Europe or indeed that of any time or place.[22]

Clearly, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, urban history tends to be restricted largely to the 'essentially infrastructural' and is still 'a matter of demography, distributive economics and consequential social arrangements and re-adjustments'.[23] However, this lack of interest – in culture and particularly music – is disappointing, especially because, as shown above, urban historians themselves have set an interdisciplinary agenda for their studies in their aim to explore the 'totality' of the urban experience.

Urban historians' reluctance to embrace musicological scholarship may be owing to a fear of the perceived incomprehensibility of its historiography resulting from the technicality of its methodologies; and the assumption that music played only a marginal role in any urban communities and is consequently irrelevant to their concerns. Admittedly, the history of music has most often traditionally charted the rise and decline of particular styles or forms. Also, the musical medium has often been characterised as a set of compositional techniques used by 'great male composers' to write pre-composed – as opposed to improvised – mensural, polyphonic music. This is sometimes thought to be most effectively and appropriately understood by structural analysis using technical language only intelligible to the highly trained, musically literate. However, certain musicologists have more recently reorientated their approaches and have endeavoured to focus equally on the context as well as the content of musical works and have characterised the music of history – particularly of late medieval and early modern times – more as a series of 'responses to social, economic and political circumstances and to religious and intellectual stimuli'.[24] For them, Renaissance music is not a medium spreading evenly over the landscape but something which grew from the concentration of artistic talents in particular times and places. Urbanisation is seen as the process which produced the social, economic, religious and political matrices in which musical culture could flourish and therefore the music history of towns and cities in Europe has most often been the subject of their enquiry.[25] Such work is mostly of a 'non-technical' nature and

Europe (Cambridge, 1995); P. Clark and B. Lepetit (eds.), *Capital Cities and their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 1996); P. Clark and A. Aerts (eds.), *Metropolitan Cities and their Hinterlands in Early Modern Europe* (Leuven, 1990); H. Schmal (ed.), *Patterns of European Urbanisation since 1500* (London, 1981); P. Bairoch, *Cities and Economic Development: from the Dawn of History to the Present* (London, 1988); D. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (eds.), *Towns in Societies* (Cambridge, 1979); R. Rörig, *The Medieval Town* (London, 1967); G. Sjoberg, *The Pre-Industrial City* (New York, 1960); R. Holt and G. Rosser (eds.), *The Medieval Town* (London, 1990); J. Barry (ed.), *The Tudor and Stuart Town* (London, 1990).

[20] Rodger, 'Theory', pp. 1–2.
[21] R. Rodger (ed.), *Consolidated Bibliography of Urban History* (Aldershot, 1996), p. xiv.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. xi–xvii.
[23] P. Collinson and J. Craig (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500–1640* (Basingstoke, 1998), p. 3.
[24] M. Everist (ed.), *Models of Musical Analysis: Music Before 1600* (London, 1990), pp. vii–xii; I. Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance* (London, 1989), pp. ix, 1. This debate is the subject of polemical discussion in J. Kerman, *Musicology* (London, 1985).
[25] Several hundred items will be analysed in F. Kisby, 'Musical Culture in European Urban Societies to *c.* 1650: a Bibliographical Survey', in preparation; L. Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara, 1400–1505* (Oxford, 1984), p. 7.

more 'historical' in its methodologies. It has demonstrated that music was not at the periphery of the pre-industrial townscape but rather was a central and significant aspect of the urban experience. Accordingly it has begun to show how music shaped space and time within the urban environment and how the various institutions, organisations, associations and social structures which developed in towns and cities in response to the process of urbanisation had an impact on musical activity of various kinds. In the light of this, musicology must now be legitimised as one of those disciplines upon which, in their purported intellectual promiscuity, urban historians draw.

Yet if disciplinary co-operation is to occur, it must be a two-way process; and if urban historians have been reluctant to embrace musicological work, so too have musicologists who have focused on music in towns been unwilling to learn from urban history and investigate the widest possible arena for the production, consumption and performance of music in Renaissance towns. For example, many exploiting the 'music in . . .' model have often used the concept only as a convenient label for geographical location; particular genres, or the music of elite institutions or individuals (composers, performers and patrons) that simply happened to be based/produced/heard *in* particular urban centres are merely placed in a context the impact of which is thereafter mostly neglected.[26] As Tim Carter has argued, by focusing on the role of a leading patron *in* the urban context scholars are perpetuating the notion of the 'great composer' present in the older historiography of musical style. By fetishising genres or institutions – with little further imaginative examination of how that context had a bearing on musical activity in the broadest sense – they have merely offered 'anthropomorphic versions' of the very same thing.[27]

In the light of this, if music offers another medium through which to view the city, and the diverse methodologies of its study – not all of them 'technical' – offer additional interpretative frameworks of understanding upon which, it has been argued, urban historians could usefully draw, future musicological work must move towards reconceptualising music's multi-faceted role in urban contexts. Only then will all the arenas in which music was heard, produced, patronised and performed be uncovered and musicology will take its legitimate place as one of the many disciplinary tools used to decode the 'urban variable'.[28] Music must be viewed as a sound-world embedded in and explicable through reference to a framework of devotional, spiritual, social, political, economic and artistic activity.[29] In the first instance, anthropological approaches could prove useful. Thus, 'place' consists of much more than a physical setting; it also embodies locale – the social worlds which provide settings for social interaction; and the sense of place or identification with a place engendered by living in it.[30] Second, ethnomusicological

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[26] E.g. see the articles by C. Monson and J. Haar in Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance*, pp. 251, 315; and Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara*. It is perhaps no coincidence that in the title of one of the most successful recent examples of this genre of work (M. Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley, 1995)), the culture of the city is given a prominent place.

[27] T. Carter, 'The Sound of Silence: Models for an Urban Musicology', Tagung der Fachgruppe für Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte der Musik, Berlin-Schmökwitz, November 1999. I am grateful to Professor Carter for allowing me to read his unpublished typescript.

[28] Rodger, 'Theory', pp. 16–18; S. B. Warner, 'The Management of Multiple Urban Images', in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds.), *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London, 1983), pp. 383–94; C. Geertz, 'Ideology as a Cultural System', in D. E. Apter (ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*, International Yearbook of Political Behaviour Research 5 (London, 1964), p. 73 n. 19.

[29] B. Wilson, *Music and Merchants: the Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 1–4.

[30] J. A. Agnew, *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (Boston, 1989), pp. 1–8.

perspectives, which investigate how music was integrated with other sensory aspects of life (moving away from the legacy of the post-Romantic Western Art tradition which has characterised music as a mono-sensorial experience), may also help. These approaches can only be successful if music is characterised as a pluralistic medium so that musicologists investigate not only the notated, pre-composed, mensural polyphony of elite 'high culture' but also the improvised, monophonic, non-mensural material that infrequently survives in written form. More importantly, they should observe how these two cultures interacted and overlapped, if at all.[31]

The perspectives advocated here may involve interpreting patterns of source-survival in different ways and possibly searching for evidence of musical culture *even* if no music survives.[32] In the latter case, sound must be reconstructed from the silence of the archives, which must be used imaginatively and viewed as texts to be interpreted rather than objective records of past events.[33] They will require the reinterpretation of conventional terms such as consumer, producer, patron, player and performer and as much emphasis/effort should be placed on rediscovering the outward effects of music in this period as well as on its internal substance. They will involve looking equally at how music was woven into the fabric of daily life as well as special occasions and investigating how, when, where and why music was made available to ordinary citizens.[34] Musicians will have to be viewed as acoustical and visual symbols as well as performers. Music could be regarded as sound ('good' *and* 'bad') which was an index of politics and a focus for tensions and social contest, as a medium which was subject to power-play by emerging interest groups through its control and provision and as a tool of subversion and parody in the face of institutionalised power.[35]

It is the aim of this collection of essays – which examines urban communities in different locations in Renaissance Europe and the New World – to begin to address some of these issues and bring musicology within the sphere of urban history, just as some of its closest sister disciplines, such as art history and literature, already are. Its comparative approach is particularly significant for, in the face of patchy or arbitrary survival of music and historical sources, this facilitates a greater variety of related questions concerning the role and function of music in urban contexts to be comprehensively addressed.

Collectively, the essays focus on the relationships between music production, performance, education, patronage and civic structures and environments *of all kinds*.[36] Not only does this approach allow authors to highlight difference and similarity in the production, performance, sponsorship, forms, dissemination, function and 'meanings' of musical activity in specific towns and cities, but it also begins uniquely to facilitate a greater understanding of musical cultures in comparable/generic urban contexts upon

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[31] For a discussion of this issue, see C. Story, 'GB-Lbl Harley MS 2942: Music in Context', M.Mus. thesis, Royal Holloway College, University of London (1998).

[32] A. Wathey, 'Musicology, Archives and Historiography', in B. Haggh, F. Daelemans and A. Vanrie (eds.), *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique. Musicology and Archival Research: Colloquium Proceedings, Brussels 22–23 April 1993*, Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique 46 (Brussels, 1994), p. 6; J. Milsom, 'Songs and Society in Early-Tudor London', *Early Music History* 16 (1997), pp. 235–94.

[33] Carter, 'The Sound of Silence'; Wathey, 'Musicology', p. 6.

[34] H. M. Brown, 'Minstrels and their Repertory in Fifteenth-Century France: Music in an Urban Environment', in S. Zimmerman and R. Weissman (eds.), *Urban Life in the Renaissance* (London, 1989), p. 142.

[35] See E. Cockayne, 'Cacophony; or, Vile Scrapers on Vile Instruments. Bad Music in Early-Modern English Towns', *Urban History (Special Music Issue)*, forthcoming.

[36] For information on individual cities covered in this volume see Gutkind, *International History of City Development*; for their locations, see Illustration 1.1.

1.1 Select urban centres in Renaissance Europe.

which future studies can build. Thus, Reinhard Strohm examines three Austrian cities, two of which (Vienna and Innsbruck) grew in political importance with their selection as residences by the Habsburgs from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively. Iain Fenlon investigates Venice, a wealthy city-state republic and one of the largest territorial powers of late medieval Italy.[37] John McGavin studies Haddington, an incorporated Scottish burgh;[38] and Barra Boydell looks at Dublin, a regional port and the administrative headquarters of English colonisation of Ireland.[39] The colonial theme is

[37] W. H. McNeill, *Venice: the Hinge of Europe 1081–1797* (Chicago and London, 1974), pp. xiii, xvi, xvii, 46, 51, 69, 72.

[38] M. Lynch, 'Towns and Townspeople in Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in J. A. F. Thomson (ed.), *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1988), pp. 173–89; M. Lynch, M. Spearman and G. Stell (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (Edinburgh, 1988).

[39] C. Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Blackrock, 1989), pp. 19–39; R. A. Butlin, 'Irish Towns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in R. A. Butlin (ed.), *The Development of the Irish Town* (London, 1977), p. 61.

pursued by Egberto Bermúdez who surveys musical life in Spanish America, the urban centres of which became the base for colonisation in the New World for they were the communities which offered the most stability and scope for the reproduction of European civilisation.[40] Valladolid, a city which was, in the first half of the sixteenth century, at its peak of prosperity as the capital and main court residence of the king of Spain (a country newly united under Charles I/V, Holy Roman Emperor) is discussed by Soterraña Aguirre Rincón.[41] Beth Anne Lee-De Amici studies a university town and Joachim Kremer deals with several members of the Hanseatic League, an association of some 200 towns active during the late fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries in protecting trading interests in the North Sea and Baltic areas.[42] Magnus Williamson investigates Louth, one of the 500–600 small market towns of pre-industrial Britain, which channelled trade in farm produce from the surrounding countryside.[43] Gretchen Peters describes Montpellier and Toulouse which, in demographic terms, figured amongst the thirty or so first-rank towns in late medieval Europe;[44] she also focuses on Avignon which experienced a great influx of wealth and population during the fourteenth century when it became the seat of the papacy.[45] Barbara Haggh looks at Brussels, one of the largest cities north of the Alps which became the northern capital of the Dukes of Burgundy throughout the fifteenth century and, owing to the accession of Charles V (son of Philip the Fair of Burgundy) in the sixteenth century, was also the centre of the Holy Roman Empire.

Through his extensive survey of the musical life of Vienna, Innsbruck and Bolzano in late medieval times, Reinhard Strohm introduces a whole range of topics which then receive further detailed examination in subsequent essays on other urban contexts. His observations cover music produced in both the public and private domains and sacred and secular spaces; and the data he presents relate to the music produced by singers and instrumentalists working in or patronised by secular churches, parishes, cathedrals, monasteries, local guilds and fraternities, universities, schools, domestic/noble households or courts, municipal governments, taverns and town thoroughfares. He identifies the urban rituals and describes the liturgical calendar in these Austrian towns which stimulated musical activity and examines the repertories, both extant and lost, to which these gave rise. He also describes how certain forms of music were partly financed by private benefactors or through the public purse. Most importantly he highlights the interrelationships between the musical cultures of the various institutions in each town and points out that their musical forces were often co-ordinated and harnessed for the greater civic ceremonies of common interest.

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[40] M. A. Burkholder and L. L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America* (Oxford and New York, 1998), pp. 36–7, 46, 160, 183, 184.

[41] Clark, *The Early Modern Town*, p. 15; B. Bennassar, *Valladolid au siècle d'Or: Une ville de Castile et sa Campagne au XVIe siècle*, Civilisations et Sociétés, 4 (Paris, 1967), pp. 124–7.

[42] P. Dellinger, *The German Hansa*, trans. and ed. D. S. Ault and S. H. Steinberg (London, 1970), pp. xvii–xxi, 282–3.

[43] A. Dyer, 'Small Market Towns', in P. Clark (ed.), *Cambridge Urban History of Britain II: 1540–1840* (forthcoming); P. Clark (ed.), *Country Towns in Pre-Industrial England* (Leicester, 1981), pp. 2, 13.

[44] J. Caille, 'Urban Expansion in Languedoc from the Eleventh Century to the Fourteenth', in K. Reyerson and J. Drendel (eds.), *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc 1000–1500* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 23–50.

[45] J. Rollo-Koster, 'Mercator Florentinensis and Others: Immigration in Papal Avignon', in Reyerson and Drendel, *Urban and Rural Communities*, pp. 73–95; A. Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon* (Ann Arbor, 1983), pp. 1, 21, 30–31, 150, 153.

The significance and development of the physical spaces in which civic ceremonial occurred and the variety of musical and ritual elements used during such public occasions form the subject of the chapter by Iain Fenlon. His work describes some of the processions and ceremonies that marked the annual religious calendar, the victories and treaties of the Venetian state and the election of its doge. All contributed in various ways to 'the myth of Venice' – the politico-religious rhetoric which, among other things, perpetuated the notion of Venice as the perfect city-state through its outstanding beauty, religiosity and republicanism.[46] Fenlon describes the shaping of the main theatre in which much of the urban ritual and ceremonial occurred, the piazza of the basilica of St Mark (the saint appropriated by the urban community and identified as the special protector of the city). He also draws attention to the topographical variety of Venice and explores the other settings for ceremonial and devotional events and investigates the interconnections between them. The participants and audiences of what he shows to be very differentiated types of celebration and the contrasting modes of musical performance experienced by them during the celebrations are considered. This evidence is then used to reassess the reception of the 'myth of Venice'. Rather than viewing it as an ideology that received 'wholesale societal attachment', Fenlon suggests that the myth itself was a vital aspect of the attempt at patrician control over 'the population of a city which certainly contained heretical and dissenting elements'.

Both Gretchen Peters and John McGavin examine more closely the role of municipalities as patrons of music in late medieval and early modern times. McGavin analyses the language used to describe minstrel activity which appears in Haddington's municipal records and also considers the significance of the 'silence' or lack of evidence preserved in these documentary sources. He shows how Haddington's burgh minstrels contributed to the ritual noises of the town and were a prominent element of public display, and demonstrates how the regulation of their behaviour by various interest groups within the town became a focus for group rivalry and an index of power politics within this particular urban context. Peters found that, in late medieval times, the autonomous governing councils of Montpellier and Toulouse maintained a civic ensemble which participated in a whole variety of secular and sacred ceremonials connected with urban rule. Containing five members performing on trumpets, reeds and percussion, the Montpellier group which was established by the mid-fourteenth century was one of the largest and earliest to be founded in Europe and, as Peters argues, probably reflected the city's prosperity and wealth. That references to it continued to occur during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries indicates that musical patronage remained a high priority even when Montpellier, like other European cities mentioned above, was experiencing economic and demographic decline. In contrast, although by the mid-fourteenth century Avignon – the principal residence of the papal court – had a population almost as large as Montpellier's, the civic support of music was far more limited there and no civic-subsidised wind band appears to have existed until the mid-fifteenth century. As Peters points out, this development occurred after the papal departure when the city council had begun to gain more autonomy.

Certain contributions focus on contrasting 'communities' within urban societies. This examination of music from the perspective of religious, social, economic, administrative, educational or political groupings (e.g. guilds, fraternities, colleges, courts or

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[46] For more on this topic see E. Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 1–23.

parishes) allows a closer examination than ever before of music's place and function in the various 'worlds within worlds' that characterised urban communities throughout pre-industrial Europe. Beat Kümin examines the music occurring in the English parish, the basic ecclesiastical and administrative unit in which men and women conducted their public spiritual lives and the focal point of local identity. His investigation of the preconditions for music at the local level demonstrates how these parochial communities played an important role in the cultural life of the nation as a whole. Not only does this essay draw attention to the role of lay benefaction in the gradual elaboration of parochial liturgy which had such a large impact on the development of English polyphony in the century before the Reformation, but it also highlights the extensive secular pursuits that gave rise to musical activity in the various neighbourhoods. Moreover, this author's comparison of both urban and rural communities highlights the different ways in which music functioned in each local context. Magnus Williamson discusses in greater detail one particular association which figured large in the English parish life before the Reformation: the local guild or fraternity. As the accounts of these organisations – which existed to provide intercessory Masses for the dead and pastoral support and conviviality (through feast-day celebrations) for the living – have rarely survived, their role as patrons of music has seldom been considered. However, through a detailed case-study of the parish of St James's in the town of Louth, whose local guild accounts are extant, Williamson highlights the diverse ways in which guild sponsorship helped to enrich the musical life of this provincial centre.

Beth Anne Lee-De Amici and Soterraña Aguirre Rincón investigate two types of community which have tended to be viewed by musicologists as self-enclosed entities which maintained little contact with the urban societies within which they were located: the academic colleges in late medieval Oxford and the royal court in sixteenth-century Valladolid. By focusing on the links between town and gown and court and community not only do both authors uncover new details concerning these institutions' musical lives, but they also shed new light on the cultural histories of the respective towns. In Oxford, Lee-De Amici shows that the academic colleges used sacred liturgy and its associated music as a means by which to interact with fellow members of the university, scholars from sister colleges and the Oxford townsfolk. In Valladolid, Aguirre Rincón demonstrates that the repeated presence of the court of Charles I of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor, was the catalyst for the metamorphosis of the cultural life of the town and modified the uses to which music was put by its citizens.

One of the most prominent topics in the historiography of early modern Europe – the Reformation – is the main focus of contributions by Joachim Kremer and Barra Boydell. Hitherto, musicological studies of religious reforms have tended to focus on the impact of change on liturgy, doctrine and style. However these authors considerably expand this perspective and relate musical culture (in the broadest sense) to its 'total' setting and one of its primary contexts – towns at the local level; additionally they consider the 'long' sixteenth century in its entirety and examine the various (dis)continuities in musical culture both before, during and after the main reforms. Kremer, for example, questions the very meaning of the term 'reformation' as it is commonly understood in the older musicological historiography. By examining the pace of religious change as it affected the musical life of and personnel employed in various institutions in a number of urban centres in north Germany throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, he shows how the Reformation – although indeed an important historical turning

point – was not a 'sudden' event. Thus, with respect to musical reform, geographical and chronological unity existed to only a limited extent. Boydell shows how the provision and development of music within Christ Church cathedral priory, Dublin, during the century of reform was subject to the competing authorities of Church, city and state. In the late fifteenth century the cathedral's music was intimately associated with its urban context, as its boy choristers whose voices embellished the liturgy were supported by an endowment made by a prominent local citizen. With the establishment of Protestantism by the late sixteenth century these civic associations were severely curtailed and the characteristics of the cathedral's musical life were redefined. Thus, while Dublin became an increasingly recusant city the cathedral developed closer links with the Anglican government and state. Among other things, musicians from cathedrals in England were appointed and on occasions the musicians of the Lord Deputy of Ireland joined Christ Church's choir in musical performances on certain feast days.

The thematic focus is further broadened by the articles of Barbara Haggh and James Saunders which examine the personal and professional experiences of particular groups of musicians in various towns. Through a detailed survey of the titles and functions of personnel in the secular churches of Brussels, Haggh identifies those individuals who played a major role in the development and performance of chant and liturgical polyphony in this flourishing Burgundian capital. In his study of cathedral choirmen, Saunders investigates the socio-economic contexts within which they operated in England after the earliest religious reforms until the Civil War. This prosopographical essay draws attention to the fact that, in the period under consideration, most choirmen interacted with the economy of the urban communities in which many of their institutions were located and took a wide range of additional jobs whose remuneration supplemented that earned from their singing careers. Owing to this, Saunders convincingly argues that it is highly unlikely that most choirmen were the penurious professionals that certain contemporaries of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (with their own partisan agenda) described. Neither does this evidence support the belief, often expressed in older scholarship, that high-calibre musicians were unlikely to require employment in institutions whose remuneration appeared, at face value, to be so low. If income from supplementary jobs was a common form of moonlighting for choirmen of the period, then quality musicians may not only have been found at the larger, richer institutions.

If cities were important social and administrative centres in mainland Europe such settlements played an even greater role in the formation of the new colonies in Latin America in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The highly developed urban-based political order already established by the native peoples was usurped by the earliest Spanish explorers and remodelled to provide the base for powerful royal and ecclesiastical administration in the new lands. Provision was also more easily made in the urban centres (either those previously founded by the indigenous tribes or newly built by the explorers) for the familiar amenities of European civilisation that the first settlers endeavoured to reproduce wherever they went. This volume would therefore not be complete without a consideration of music in the cities and towns of the New World. This is provided by Egberto Bermúdez who explores many of the themes highlighted in earlier essays in relation to the transplantation of European musical culture to the American colonies. He describes the new opportunities for Spanish musicians created by the Church when it established its institutions in the newly discovered lands; he also outlines the

various ways in which the indigenous peoples were exposed to European musical traditions through the Church's bid to indoctrinate in the Catholic faith. The music performed during various civic ceremonials, religious festivities and other kinds of spectacle is investigated and Bermúdez explores the ways in which Amerindian elements were assimilated to these European-modelled events. This author also points out that Spaniards and indigenous Indians were not the only racial groups present in the urban colonies; others were present, in particular African slaves brought to the New World to work for the Spanish settlers. All these groups thus had an impact on music in the urban environment and the opportunities for interaction between their various artistic cultures were numerous. Finally, Bermúdez indicates how the possession of musical instruments and books or the performance of certain kinds of music was an indication of status in both the private and public spheres.

The research represented here is an offering to those working within at least two disciplines. To urban historians it shows the range of work beginning to be undertaken by music and other historians. To musicologists it presents some of the different approaches, questions and perspectives which may lead to new lines of enquiry for future investigations of the 'music in . . .' type. It provides no definitive paradigms, but simply aims to make a start in the right direction. By doing this it is hoped that not only will more contributions to the interdisciplinary 'field of knowledge' on the urban history agenda since the 1960s be made, but a fuller understanding of the processes and circumstances which shaped late medieval and early modern musical forms in urban contexts will eventually be obtained.