Music and patronage in sixteenth-century Mantua

II
One of the two surviving sketches by Giulio Romano for the ceiling panel of the Sala d’Attilio in the Palazzo del Te. The scene is directed by Mercury, who descends from the clouds; seated beneath him is a central female figure probably representing the Gonzaga family: she receives from winged female geniususes a book, a laurel wreath, armour, a palm, a set square, and a lyre and trumpets. This may be taken to represent the celebration of the virtues of Federico Gonzaga, both as a general in the Imperial armies and as a patron of learning and the arts, with the tokens of scholarship and poetry, victory in war, mathematics, and music. Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection (reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement).
Music and patronage in sixteenth-century Mantua

II

IAIN FENLON
FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
Contents

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Editorial note

1 Jacquet of Mantua [Jacques Colebault]: ‘O Domine Jesu Christe’ (Prima Pars) a4 1
2 Hoste da Reggio: ‘O beata colei’ a4 15
3 Giaches de Wert: ‘Sorgi, e rischiara al tuo apparir il cielo’ a5 19
4 Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga: ‘Padre, che’ll ciel, la terra c’l tutto reggi’ a5 32
5 Paolo Cantino: ‘Rinato il bel Adone’ a5 37
6 Ippolito Baccusi: ‘I’vo piangendo i miei passati tempi’ a6 44
7 Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi: ‘Palme, coron e freggi’ a5 50
8 Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi: ‘Vien, Himeneo, deh vieni’ a5 56
9 Benedetto Pallavicino: ‘Chi vuol veder Amore’ a4 61
10 Giaches de Wert: ‘Hor si rallegrì il cielo’ a5 65
11 Alessandro Striggio: ‘Hor che le stelle in cielo’ a5 72
12 Annibale Coma: ‘Come tutto m’ardete’ a5 78
13 Francesco Rovigo: ‘Misera, che farò’ a5 83
14 Claudio Monteverdi: ‘O come è gran martire’ a5 87
15 Claudio Monteverdi: ‘Lumi miei, cari lumi’ a5 93
16 Luca Marenzio: ‘Solo e pensoso’ a5 99
17 Luca Marenzio: ‘Questi leggiadri, odorosetti fiori’ a5 110
18 Benedetto Pallavicino: ‘O come vaneggiate, donna’ a5 112
19 Benedetto Pallavicino: ‘Lunge da voi’ a5 117
20 Salamone Rossi: ‘S’io miro in te, m’uccidi’ a5 123
21 Salamone Rossi: ‘Lumi miei, cari lumi’ a5 191
22 Benedetto Pallavicino: ‘Una farfalla cupida e vagante’ a5 133

Texts and translations 141
Sources and emendations 149
Acknowledgements

Dr Johnson remarked that ‘a man will turn over half a library to make one book’, and in preparing the present anthology I have incurred debts of gratitude to the staffs of a number of libraries and museums, in particular to the Civico Museo Bibliografico-Musicale in Bologna, the Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, the British Library and the libraries of the Royal College of Music and Westminster Abbey in London, the Bibliothek der Hansestadt Lübeck, the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the library of Christ Church, Oxford, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and the Biblioteca dell’Accademia Filarmonica in Verona. Dr Nigel Fortune of Birmingham University kindly read the script at an early stage, and I am grateful to Stephen Botterill of Queens’ College, Cambridge, who prepared the translations. I owe a good deal to the staff of the Cambridge University Press, particularly to the keen eyes of Damian Cranmer and Eric Van Tassel and to the patient encouragement of Rosemary Dooley. Above all, my thanks are due to the Provost and Fellows of King’s College, Cambridge, who supported me throughout the period when the work was completed.
Introduction

This second volume, an anthology of Mantuan music from the periods of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, and Duke Vincenzo I Gonzaga, is intended to illustrate some aspects of the systems of patronage which are described in the first. Liturgical settings have been deliberately excluded since it is hoped that a selection of pieces composed for the ducal basilica will be included in a future study of the Santa Barbara rite. The present selection is of ceremonial and domestic works whose composition and survival are connected, if only partially (for example through sponsorship of publication), with Gonzaga patronage, and they reflect, as do other artistic consequences of Gonzaga interests and wealth, the temperaments and preoccupations of successive rulers as well as changing musical fashions at the Mantuan court during the second half of the sixteenth century.

During the period of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga’s considerable influence on Mantua’s religious and political life, sustained through his overlapping roles as reforming churchman and as a member of the regency that controlled the duchy in the period of Duke Guglielmo’s minority, musical life in the city, was dominated by Jacquet of Mantua (1483–1559). Jacquet, a northerner from Vitré, settled in the city about 1526 and from 1534 until his death was titular maestro di cappella of Mantua Cathedral. Although Hoste da Reggio (fl. 1545–60) does not seem to have held an appointment at the court or in any of the city churches in Mantua, his Primo libro de madrigali a quatro voci (Venice, 1547) is dedicated to Ercole Gonzaga; ‘O beata colei’ (2) is, in its command of mid-century elements and its elegiac tone, typical of the Primo libro as a whole. It may well have been through Ercole that Hoste was introduced to Ercole’s younger brother Ferrante, Governor of Milan from 1546. Three of Hoste’s madrigal publications brought out in 1554 describe him as Ferrante’s maestro di musica and are dedicated to Ferrante, to his wife Isabella di Capua, and to Ippolita Carrafa, one of their children, on the occasion of her marriage. Il terzo libro de madrigali a quattro voci, also published in 1554, carries a dedication to one of Ferrante’s colleagues in the Imperial army, Cristoforo Fornari, paymaster of the forces in Piedmont.

If Hoste da Reggio’s contacts with Mantua seem to have been slight, Jacquet of Mantua, both personal musician to Ercole Gonzaga as well as
maestro di cappella in the cathedral, was the most important composer in Gonzaga service for a period of more than thirty years. His spiritual successor, and the predominant composer for much of the second half of the century, was another northerner, Giaches de Wert (1535–96), first brought to Mantua about 1564 to serve the new ducal basilica of Santa Barbara. Many of his later publications are dedicated to members of the Gonzaga family, and presumably at least some of their contents were written for performance at court. Il settimo libro is dedicated to Vincenzo Gonzaga and Margherita Farnese on the occasion of their ill-fated marriage in 1581, and ‘Sorgi, e rischiara al tuo apparir il cielo’ (3), reminiscent of Andrea Gabrieli in its use of short phrases, clear diatonicism and final sequential peroration, is the opening piece of the book; it was presumably written for the wedding celebrations and performed on that occasion. Il nono libro is also dedicated to Vincenzo and again opens with a celebratory piece, ‘Hor si rallegrì il cielo’ (10), to a text by the court chronicler Federico Follino written in honour of Vincenzo’s coronation as Duke of Mantua in September 1587.

Guglielmo Gonzaga, Vincenzo’s father and Duke from 1558 until 1587, occupies an unusual position as a ruler and patron who not only had an interest in music but was also a composer. The greater part of his enthusiasm was directed towards the provision of music for the specially constructed rite of the Palatine Basilica of Santa Barbara which he founded as a ducal and state church. During his lifetime the music there was directed by Wert and (for a brief period) by Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi. Gonzaga seems to have been on good terms with both Wert and Benedetto Pallavicino, as well as with a number of composers outside Mantua including Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina who corresponded with the Duke from 1568 until the latter’s death. Guglielmo’s activities as a composer place him in a small group of aristocrats (including Alessandro Striggio, Carlo Gesualdo and Alfonso Fontanelli) who practised the art, and it is clear from works dedicated to him and from surviving correspondence that he maintained a lively series of contacts with composers living outside Mantua. His own published works include the Sacrae cantiones (Venice, 1583) and the Madrigali (Venice, 1583), both of which appeared anonymously, while some sacred works including three masses, a Te Deum and some Magnificat settings survive among the Santa Barbara manuscripts. The madrigal ‘Padre, che ’l ciel, la terra e ’l tutto reggi’ (4) is related to the setting of the same text in Wert’s Il quarto libro de madrigali, where it is attributed as a work ‘Del Serenissimo Sig. Duca di Mantoa’.

Both Paolo Cantino (fl. 1580–1608) and Ippolito Baccusi (c. 1550–1609) were associated with the cathedral rather than with the court, though it is clear from documents that relations between the two institutions were close even to the extent that personnel would be exchanged on occasion. Cantino is recorded in Mantua at various times between 1580 and 1608. He was
organist at the cathedral in 1580–1 and between 1601 and 1608, and was employed as maestro there in 1589–90. As a contributor to L’amorosa caccia (Venice, 1588), an anthology entirely devoted to works by ‘mantovani nativi’, he was presumably born in the city, and he also wrote a piece for the Novellì ardori (Venice, 1588), another compilation with a distinctly Mantuan flavour. Il primo libro, from which ‘Rinato il bel Adone’ (5) is taken, is his only other known work and is dedicated to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga. Baccusi was deliberately more prolific. He too was born in Mantua, but he spent his early career in Venice, Ravenna, and Verona where he was maestro di cappella at the church of Santa Eufemia. By 1580 he had returned to his native city as maestro di cappella at the cathedral, a post he retained until 1589 when he was succeeded by Cantino. His next move (his last) was to Verona, where he served as maestro at the cathedral. Among his pupils during his Mantuan period was Lodovico Zacconi, who had first studied with Baccusi at the convent of San Stefano in Venice and who, according to his Pratìca di musica seconda parte (Venice, 1622), moved to Mantua in 1583 specifically to continue his studies. A number of publications reflect Baccusi’s connections with Mantua and Gonzaga. His first work, Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque et a sei voci, con doi a sette et otto (Venice, 1570), is dedicated to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga, while Il quarto libro de madrigali a sei voci (Venice, 1587) is addressed to Don Ferrante Gonzaga, Prince of Molfetta and rejuvenator of the most important literary academy of the period, the Accademia degli Invaghi. The Petrarch setting ‘I’vo piangendo i miei passati tempi’ (6) from Il quarto libro is typical of the strong if old-fashioned literary orientation of Baccusi’s writing.

Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi (c. 1550–c. 1622) is a rather more versatile and at times more serious composer than the superficial charm of the balletti might suggest. Born in Caravaggio, he had moved to Mantua by 1572 to take up a post at the ducal basilica of Santa Barbara. There he remained in various capacities, succeeding Wert as maestro di cappella in 1592, until 1608. The balletti achieved immediate popularity, and the five-voice book of 1591 was reprinted not only in Venice but also in Antwerp, Rotterdam, Amsterdam; they were also influential in England and served as both literary and musical models for Thomas Morley’s The First Booke of Balletts to Five Voyces (London, 1595), which in turn inspired Thomas Weelkes’s Balletts and Madrigals to Five Voyces (London, 1598) as well as other examples of the genre by Henry Youll, Francis Pilkington, Thomas Greaves, Thomas Tomkins and the younger John Hilton. Apart from the two books of balletti, which are cast in the form of an entertainment, Gastoldi wrote a good deal of theatrical music and pieces for ceremonial occasions; these are scattered throughout his madrigal publications, many of which are dedicated to members of the Gonzaga family as well as state officials and high-ranking Mantuan clergy. ‘Vien, Himeneo, deh vieni’ (8), probably composed for celebrations marking
Introduction

the marriage of Vincenzo Gonzaga to Leonora de’ Medici in 1584, is typical of Gastoldi’s ceremonial manner. Much of his large output of sacred music was evidently written for Santa Barbara. This is clearly the case with the Sacre lodi, which gives particular prominence both to St Barbara, (as in ‘Palme, corone e freggi’ (7)), and to other saints whose relics were venerated in the side-chapels of the basilica and whose feast-days were celebrated with particular elaboration in the Santa Barbara rite.

As with so many other musicians Benedetto Pallavicino (1551–1601) entered the service of the Gonzaga in Mantua by having first worked for one of the minor branches of the family; in this way the dissemination of music and the movements of composers and performers merely emphasises the importance of familial ties for artistic patronage and is a consequence of the diplomatic system. Pallavicino began his career by working for Vespasiano Gonzaga at Sabbioneta, but by 1584 he had taken up employment at Mantua where he remained until his death. From the very beginning of his time in the city he seems to have held positions of some responsibility; in 1586 he was in Venice supervising the publication of Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga’s own Magnificat settings (they seem not to have been printed but may survive among the Santa Barbara manuscripts), and ten years later he succeeded Wert as court maestro di cappella though this did not include responsibility for the music at the ducale basilica of Santa Barbara, where Gastoldi had already been serving as maestro since 1592. Pallavicino’s early pieces are competent and imaginative within the limitations of the conservative musical styles in vogue at the Mantuan court during the last decade of Guglielmo’s rule. ‘Chi vuol veder Amore’ (9) – from the Mantuan anthology Novelli ardori of 1588, itself old-fashioned in its retention of the four-voice medium quite apart from the character of many of the contributions – is a fair example of this early manner. The accession of Vincenzo Gonzaga in 1587 had a dramatic effect on all aspects of Mantuan cultural life including music, where Vincenzo’s formation of a concerto di donne in emulation of the Ferrarese concerto which he had heard and admired during the 1580s went hand-in-hand with his sponsorship of recent fashions in madrigalian composition and of new theatrical and balletic forms which had been elaborated at Ferrara and Florence. The effects on Pallavicino’s music were equally dramatic and appear for the first time in Il quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice, 1588), where the intrusions of slow-moving dissonant passages contrasting with the surrounding brisk polyphony and the emphasis on diminution (a response to the abilities of the Mantuan concerto) mark new departures. Three late pieces – ‘O come vaneggiate, donna’ (18), ‘Lunge da voi’ (19) and ‘Una farfalla cupida e vagante’ (22) – show the refinement of virtuoso writing and the development of a wide range of ‘expressive’ techniques in subsequent publications; for these aspects of style Pallavicino was clearly indebted to Wert, as comparison of the two composers’ settings of ‘Cruda Amarilli’ makes
clear,* and at his best Pallavicino seriously rivals the older composer's achievement. It is not impossible that Monteverdi's celebrated sneer (if such it is) masks a degree of admiration.†

The music in L'amorosa caccia (Venice, 1588), a Mantuan anthology largely devoted to pieces by composers employed at the cathedral are arguably inspired by Ferrarese precedents such as the two collections for Laura Peperara, Il lauro verde (Ferrara, 1583) and Il lauro secco (Ferrara, 1582), is very variable in quality and provides a useful barometer of Mantuan taste in the final years of Duke Guglielmo's rule. Of all the 'native' contributors the most prestigious was Alessandro Striggio (c. 1540–1592), a member of an old-established Mantuan aristocratic family. Although Striggio entered the service of the Medici in Florence in 1559 and remained in that employment until the 1580s, he nevertheless maintained strong contacts with Mantua and its ruling family throughout that time. A forty-voice motet, perhaps that which has survived in Zwickau, Rattenschulbibliothek MS Mus 109/1 (dated 1587) as 'Ecce beatam lucem', was presented by Striggio to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga in celebration of the latter's marriage to Eleonora of Austria in 1561. His Missa in dominicis diebus is one of a number (others were composed by Gastoldi, Giovanni Contino, Wert, Francesco Rovigo, and Palestrina) written for the rite of Santa Barbara during the 1580s, probably at about the time that Striggio finally returned to Mantua with his family. Among his posthumous publications, Il terzo libro de madrigali e cinque voci (Venice, 1596) is dedicated by his son Alessandro (Monteverdi's librettist for Orfeo) to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga. While Striggio's 'Hor che le stelle in cielo' (11) shows the influence of lighter styles fashionable at the Florentine court during the 1580s and imported to Mantua by Leonora de' Medici after her marriage to Vincenzo in 1584, Annibale Coma's contribution to L'amorosa caccia, 'Come tutto m'ardete' (12), is more conservative in technique. Except for a short period during the severe plague of 1576–7, Coma (fl. 1568–98) was paid as organist at Mantua Cathedral from 1570 to 1580. His earliest publication, Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice, 1568) is dedicated to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga and opens with a piece addressed to him, while Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice, 1585) is one of a number of madrigal books by local composers addressed to Ferrante Gonzaga (see above). The third selection from L'amorosa caccia, 'Misera, che fard' (13), is by Francesco Rovigo, a local organist who studied with Claudio Merulo in Venice about 1570 and later became court organist to Archduke Karl II in

---


Introduction

Graz. After the Archduke’s death in 1590 Rovigo returned to Mantua as organist of Santa Barbara. Much of his output is liturgical and was specially written for the ducal basilica, but he also composed one book of madrigals, published in 1581 and dedicated to Guglielmo Gonzaga, and contributed to a number of anthologies.

It was as part of Vincenzo Gonzaga’s reorganisation of the court music in the years immediately following his accession that Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) was first employed in 1589/90; he remained in Mantua, despite dissatisfaction with conditions and terms of service and personal hardships including the death of his wife until, following dismissal along with many other members of the music establishment in 1612, he took up the position of maestro di cappella at St Mark’s in Venice. During his Mantuan years Monteverdi published five books of secular music, the opera L’Orfeo and the Mass and Vespers of 1610. Other works from the period include the lost music for the prologue to a performance of Guarini’s comedy L’Indropica, the opera L’Arianna (also lost except for the famous lament), and Il ballo delle ingrate, which has survived but was not published until 1658. These three were all composed for presentation as part of the elaborate celebrations marking the marriage of the Gonzaga heir, Francesco, to Margherita of Savoy in 1608. The two Guarini settings ‘O come è gran martire’ (14) and ‘Lumi miei, cari lumi’ (15) both come from Il terzo libro (Venice, 1592) dedicated to Vincenzo Gonzaga, and in their virtuoso passagework both reflect the capabilities of the Mantuan concerto.

Luca Marenzio (c. 1553–1599) was evidently connected with the Gonzaga both through his teacher Giovanni Contino, who held a post at Santa Barbara from 1568 to 1574, and, if a remark of Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga is to be trusted, through having spent some time in the service of the family. On two occasions during the 1580s Marenzio was considered for positions at Mantua: in 1583 he was one of a number of Roman musicians thought of as a possible replacement for Wert, who was then seriously ill, but his name was rejected on the advice of Palestrina, who expressed a strong preference for his own pupil Annibale Zillo; and in 1586–7 there were long negotiations between the court and Marenzio which finally broke down when Guglielmo Gonzaga refused to meet his requirements over payment and other arrangements. An important intermediary in these latter discussions was Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga, an enlightened and educated churchman to whom Marenzio dedicated his Motecta pro festis totus anni cum Communi Sanctorum (Venice, 1585). L’Ottavo libro, yet another publication dedicated to Ferrante Gonzaga, marks a radical change of direction in Marenzio’s five-voice writing with its monologues and narratives dependent for their effect not on the stock rhetorical devices of traditional madrigal composition but rather on homophony, declamation and unexpected chordal conjunctions. Elements of this new approach are evident in ‘Questi leggiadri, odorosetti
Introduction

fiori’ (17). Marenzio’s last book of madrigals, Il nono libro of 1599, dedicated to Vincenzo Gonzaga, is a different matter: as Alfred Einstein put it, ‘If the eighth book was devoted to homophony, hedonism, and the pastoral, the ninth aspires to the highest possible specific gravity, both in its choice of texts and in its musical treatment of them.’* ‘Solo e pensoso’ (16), perhaps the best-known piece from this book, is indeed a true essay in musica reservata.

If in Il nono libro Marenzio effected something of a return to Petrarch, he did so somewhat against the current trends (trends moreover which he helped to shape in his sixth and seventh five-voice books), which were now strongly in favour of Tasso and more particularly of Guarini, especially Il pastor fido. Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci of Salamone Rossi (1570–c. 1630), from which ‘S’io miro in te, m’uccidi’ (20) is taken, is characteristic of Mantuan taste about 1600 in its emphasis on Guarini’s poetry. Rossi, a Jew, was almost certainly born in Mantua and seems to have remained there throughout his career. Although he is only sporadically recorded as a Gonzaga employee, it cannot be assumed that he was a permanent member of the court music establishment, and it may be that his principal professional connections were with one of the Jewish theatrical troupes that played such a prominent role in Mantuan theatrical life. Nevertheless, in the period before 1612 he evidently had strong connections with the court. His earliest work, the Canzonette of 1589, is one of a large number of new music publications by local composers that were produced in the years immediately following Vincenzo Gonzaga’s accession and opens with a piece in praise of the new Duke. Il primo libro itself is dedicated to Vincenzo, and Il secondo libro, the source of ‘Lumi miei, cari lumi’ (21) – which can be instructively compared with Monteverdi’s setting of the same text (15) – is addressed to Felicita Guerrera Gonzaga, Marchesa of Pallazzulo. In 1608 Rossi was one of a number of composers, including Monteverdi, who provided incidental music for a performance of Guarini’s L’Idropica (see above). Although many court musicians left Mantua with the death of Vincenzo Gonzaga in 1612, Rossi seems to have stayed; he composed further theatrical music to accompany a performance of Giovanni Battista Andreini’s La Maddalena given in 1617, and in 1622 he is recorded as a viol player at court. By this time the cultural life of the Gonzaga court had entered its final decline, and it may well be that Rossi himself perished during the destruction of the ghetto and the plague which followed the sack of Mantua at the hands of the Imperial troops in 1630, events which in political, economic and cultural terms mark the end of an era.

Editorial note

The original spelling and punctuation have been preserved in the editions with the exception that obsolete letter forms have been regularised, and contractions, abbreviations and ampersands realised without comment. Variants in spelling between the voice parts, usually introduced by the printer to accommodate words to notes, have been kept. Text repetitions indicated by the conventional signs ‘ij’ are italicised. Modernised versions of the texts together with translations are on pp. 141–7.

All pieces have been scored in modern clefs in the original note values. The original clefs, indicated on prefatory staves, apply throughout each piece (except for no. 21, where two changes to avoid using leger-lines in the basso continuo part have been silently emended). Final longae have been translated into notes of one bar’s duration with a fermata to indicate the imprecision. All accidentals that appear in the source are placed on the stave, even when the introduction of bar-lines might make them seem superfluous to the modern performer. The only concessions to modern practice in this respect are the use of a natural instead of a sharp to cancel a flat and, in two cases in no. 16, the use of a natural instead of a flat to cancel a sharp. When the repetition of a note requires the performer to understand repetition of an accidental, the accidental has been added editorially over the relevant note. Otherwise editorial accidentals have been inserted in accordance with the widely known ‘rules’ of musica ficta.