

zahlt wurde. Angesichts dieser 300 fl. gewinnt auch die Anekdote an Glaubwürdigkeit, die uns von König Alexander überliefert ist, als er sich über Fincks hohe Besoldung scherzhaft beklagte: „Wenn ich einen Finken in einen Käfig setze, so kostet er mich jährüber kaum einen Dukaten und singt mir auch“⁷.

Zusammenfassend läßt sich sagen, daß diese 26 Zahlungsanweisungen die Mitteilungen des Pirnaer Großneffen bestätigen und ergänzen. Da keinerlei Widersprüche auftauchen, darf die Identität des Kantors Henricus mit Heinrich Finck als gesichert gelten. Nach diesen Funden ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß noch weitere Urkunden über Heinrich Fincks polnische Jahre entdeckt werden. Sie würden dazu beitragen, das Lebensbild eines der bedeutendsten deutschen Musiker seiner Zeit zu vervollständigen.

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Sebastian Festa and the Early Madrigal

Until recently all that was known concerning Sebastian Festa's life was the period of his activity as a composer, from 1518 to 1530, approximately. The inscription, "1518 a di 10 de jugno Seb. Festa" may be found in the heading of the motet, *Angeli Dei*, the initial composition of Ms. Q 19 of the Conservatory Library in Bologna, whereas the endpoint of his datable career is a collection of 1530, [*Madrigali de diversi musici libro primo de la serena*,] which contains a single, previously unpublished work by the composer, not two, as has been stated in recent bibliographical sources. Further evidence of Sebastian's productivity during the transitional decade, 1520–1530, can be derived from various prints and manuscripts of the period, such as the *Motetti e canzone libro primo* of ca. 1521, which incorporates his setting of Petrarch's *Perchè al viso d'amor*;¹ the *Canzoni frottole et capitoli . . . Libro primo, De la Croce* of 1526, with nine of his secular works; the Ms. Florence, B. Naz., Magl. XIX, 164–167, containing six of the same compositions; and the Ms. Q 21 of the Bologna Conservatory, dated ca. 1526 by Claudio Gallico in his recent excellent study² of that manuscript, with seven of the same. All told, eleven of Sebastian's secular pieces have been preserved, as compared with only four short, simple motets. Obviously the composer's chief contribution was to the development of the madrigal, whereas that of his namesake and possible relative, Costanzo Festa, was primarily to the broad field of liturgical music.

Otherwise the actual details of Sebastian's life have remained shrouded in darkness, so much so that Knud Jeppesen recently wrote in MGG that nothing is known about the composer's life. Subsequently, in a brilliant and well-documented study of the Medici Codex³ Edward Lowinsky drew our attention to a letter dated Oct. 13, 1520, not actually penned, but signed by the eight-year-old Julia Gonzaga and addressed to her cousin, the Duke of Mantua. This had previously been published in several biographies of Julia, but accurately only in that by Karl Benrath.⁴ She writes: "Intendendo che V. Ecc^{ma} S^{ia} ha molto a piacere

⁷ Zitiert nach A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* III, Lpz. 3/1891, S. 377, Anm. 5.

¹ Published by Walter H. Rubsamen in *Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500)*. University of California Publications in Music, I, 1, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Univ. of California Press, 1943, 66–68.

² *Un canzoniere musicale italiano del Cinquecento (Bologna, Conservatorio di Musica G. B. Martini, ms. Q 21)*, Firenze, L. S. Olschki, 1960. *Historiae musicae cultores*. Biblioteca, 13.

³ *Annales Musicologiques* V (1957), 105, 117 ff.

⁴ *Julia Gonzaga. Ein Lebensbild aus der Geschichte der Reformation in Italien*. Schriften des Ver. f. Reformationsgeschichte, Jg. 16, 4. Stück, Halle, 1900, 109.

et se dilecta de cose di musica et max^{me} cose nove, desiderosa farli cosa grata, gli mando qui alligato un motetto quale ha composto messer Sebastiano Festa servitore del Rev^{mo} Mons^{re} de Mondovi mio Zio honor^{mo}, el quale motetto anchora non è in mano di persona . . ."

Lowinsky points to the importance of Julia's letter, as "it tells us that Sebastiano's patron is a member of the Gonzaga family, an uncle of Giulia Gonzaga, and it fixes his place of service in Mondovì." In a well-reasoned postscript to the article, he argues that the Monsignore in question must have been Ercole Gonzaga, Julia's cousin, who was only 15 years old in 1520, but whose subsequent patronage of music is well documented, since it was he, as Cardinal of Mantua, whom Jachet de Mantua served for many years.

Surprisingly, however, Lowinsky disregards the possibility that Julia may also have had an uncle on her mother's side. The following are the true facts in the matter: Julia's mother, born Francesca Fieschi, was a member of a noble Genovese family that had given two popes, many cardinals, and numerous other prelates to the church. The Monsignore mentioned in the letter could only have been Ottobono Fieschi, Francesca's brother, and Bishop of Mondovì from 1519–1522.⁵ Another brother, Sinibaldo, became the father of that Gian Luigi the Younger who organized a plot against Andrea Doria, commemorated by Schiller in *Die Verschwörung des Fiesko zu Genua*. Lowinsky's other assumption, that Festa served in Mondovì, a small city in the foothills of the Maritime Alps, is also incorrect. Pope Leo X, in a bull of Sept. 7, 1518, approved the naming of his Apostolic Protonotarius, Ottobono Fieschi, to be Coadjutor of Mondovì with the right of succession. When Bishop Lorenzo Fieschi of that city, Ottobono's uncle, died in 1519, the consistory elected Festa's patron Bishop, but his Procurator, and not he himself, took possession of the office on April 11, 1519. Residence was not required of prelates in the Renaissance, hence Ottobono never did visit his bishopric. According to the *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*,⁶ he was made assistant to the Pope on March 10, 1521, "*licet nondum consecratus*." This must refer to his not having been consecrated bishop, as he had not gone to Mondovì for the purpose.

As Protonotarius, then assistant to Leo X, the Bishop as well as his musical servitor must have lived in Rome during the period in question. Although not actually in the Pope's service, Sebastian Festa was in his general entourage, thus participating indirectly in the artistic and musical life that made the epoch of Leo X so famous. The Bologna Ms. mentioned earlier, which Lowinsky shows belonged at one time to Diane de Poitiers, may have been copied out by Sebastiano while he was in the service of Ottobono Fieschi in Rome. This would explain the relatively large number of works in the Ms. by himself and by Costanzo Festa, his supposed relative. It is perhaps no coincidence that the latter became a papal singer in 1517.

When Leo died on December 1, 1521, not only his great choir, but the prelates who loved art and music were desolate, as he had been perhaps the most liberal and magnanimous patron of the arts that Rome had ever seen. His successor, Adrian VI, was just the opposite. No wonder, then, that in 1522 Ottobono Fieschi returned to his family residence in Genoa, intending finally to visit Mondovì, but fell ill and died in his native city before he could do so. The Bishop, who was a "prelato per ricchezze, e splendor eminentissimo,"⁷ might have

⁵ I am grateful to Dr. Franco Gazzola of Mondovì for his help in this matter. See Gioachino Grassi, *Memorie Istoriche della Chiesa Vescovile di Monregale in Piemonte . . .* Torino, Stamperia Reale, 1789. Tom. I, 59–60; Carlo Giuseppe Morozzo, *Chronologica Historia*, vol. I (Ms. in the Archivio del Capitolo della Cattedrale di Mondovì); Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, Roma, V. Mascardi, 1652. T. 4, p. 1530; Natale Battilana, *Geneologia delle famiglie nobili di Genova*, Genova, 1833 ff. T. 3, p. 6.

⁶ Ed. by Guilelmus van Gulik and Conradus Eubel, München, 1910. Vol. 3, 267.

⁷ Federico Federici, *Della Famiglia Fiesca Trattato*, Genova, ca. 1640, 44.

become one of the great Renaissance patrons of music, but for his untimely death. Ariosto includes him prominently in *Orlando Furioso* (final version, Canto 26, stanza 50) among the princes famous at their time for liberality and magnificence, who hunt and kill a beast, symbolic of avarice, at the fountain of Malagigi:

"Con Otobon dal Flisco, Sinibaldo
Caccia la fera, e van di pari in fretta."

(Sinibaldo is the aforementioned brother of Ottobono and Francesca Fieschi)

It has long been known that Sebastian Festa participated in the transition from frottola to madrigal, but the measure of his contribution has not yet been accurately estimated. As the true madrigal was set to poetry of high quality, in the manner and form of the idolized Petrarch, Festa's works correspond almost perfectly to the definition, for five of his eleven secular pieces have texts by Petrarch himself, another five use canzoni or madrigals in the Trecento manner, and only one is a villotta (*L'ultimo dì de Maggio*). Even more characteristic of the madrigal, however, are the equivalence of textually conceived and smoothly melodic voices that seek constantly to express the inner meaning of the text, and a basically through-composed form, containing repetitions of phrases only for rhyming reasons, for the achievement of a climax, or to establish a symmetrical pattern. In the frottola, on the other hand, usually only the uppermost voice is conceived vocally, whereas the others bear a somewhat jagged profile because of their function as instrumental accompaniment; repetitions of phrases sometimes are motivated by rhyming lines, but more often than not they are purely arbitrary, with neither a poetical or a formal premise; and only rarely is the music expressive of the textual content.

The characteristic isometric, homophonic texture of the frottola carries over into the early madrigals of Verdelot, for example, as do the phrases that begin and end simultaneously in all voices, but the Netherlander avoids the cliché of feminine phrase endings in the frottolistic manner, makes his bass somewhat less harmonic, and, what is most important, writes the remaining voices smoothly and melodically, with precise declamation. He repeats phrases rarely, and then only for rhyming reasons or for cumulative effect.

This type of repetition, closely allied to the text, can be found in Sebastian Festa's secular works also, for instance, in the modified repetition at the end of *O passi sparsi* (Ex. 1), or in the sequential passages at the close of *Vergine sacra, benedetta et alma* (Ex. 2). His finely-developed formal sense makes itself evident in other ways also, one device being the shortening of note values towards the end of a composition in order to achieve a climax. But he usually does this in a frottolistic manner, that is, in the uppermost voice only, as in *Ben mi credea* (Ex. 3) and *Amor che mi tormenti*, where the discant sings melismatically in a soloistic passage reminiscent of the Justiniane in Petrucci's *Frottole Libro 6*. The latter composition, on the other hand, resembles many contemporary chansons in that Festa repeats the entire section of seven measures containing the melisma, thus rounding off his form as does an orator who summarizes his conclusions.

The most noticeable element of Sebastian's style is his adhesion to the homophonic, isometric technique of the frottola, but in so doing he generally binds the voices together in accurate declamation which admirably reflects the accentuation of the text. In his only villotta, for example, the folk-song begins alone in the tenor, but the remaining voices soon join in isometrically (Ex. 4). Sometimes Festa alternates between short voice-pairs and the usual four-voiced complex, and occasionally he writes imitatively at the start of a composition, but otherwise he completely avoids the polyphonic, through-imitative devices of the Netherlanders.

Sebastian Festa was the only Italian composer of the transitional period whose experiments with the madrigal were reprinted and sung during the epoch of the classical madrigal itself. One looks in vain for the works of Pisano, Don Michele, Cara and Tromboncino in the madrigal publications of the 1540's and later, but Sebastian's settings of Petrarch were reprinted both in Italy and France during the epoch that followed, thus documenting his influence both upon the early madrigalists and the Parisian school of chanson composers. The aforementioned setting of Petrarch's sonnet, *O passi sparsi*, retains some frottolistic elements, but also fulfills most of the requirements of the true madrigal. Published under Sebastian's name in 1526⁸ and in the enlarged reprint of 1533 (mistakenly labelled 1531⁹ in RISM), it may be found also in four contemporary manuscripts.⁹ Remnants of the frottolistic tradition are the harmonically-conceived bass, the feminine endings of phrases with repeated notes (especially prominent in the first section), and the sometimes faulty prosody of the inner and lower voices. The composer often neglects to leave enough "air" in the middle voices, and repeats the entire first section in the manner of the frottola, but in one respect, that of expressiveness, he comes closer to the madrigal than any of his Italian contemporaries. Obviously intending all voices of the composition to be sung, he gives living meaning to the words by returning again and again to a sustained chord for the outcry, *Deh!*, especially that into which the discant leaps by an ascending tenth, which is followed by a dramatic pause in all the voices (Ex. 1). These sudden, combined leaps upward are a veritable earmark of Sebastian's style, incidentally, for they occur in several other madrigals.

Probably this heightened expressiveness, so unusual in a work of the transitional years, caused its republication between 1544 and 1566 in nine different editions of a collection devoted primarily to Verdelot.¹⁰ That Sebastian was also a key figure in the musical relations between Italy and France at that time is shown by Attaignant's publication of both *O passi sparsi* and *Perchè al viso d'amor* in the missing collection once located in Wernigerode, *Chansons musicales à 4 parties*, identified by Eitner¹¹ as 1533a, but not mentioned in RISM. The Parisian publisher subsequently included *O passi sparsi*, now erroneously ascribed to Costanzo Festa, in a collection (RISM 1549¹⁸), from which it was republished three times between 1561 and 1573 by Le Roy and Ballard. Because his compositions were appreciated by a later, critical generation, and because he was able to express the meaning of a classical text in a purely vocal complex, Sebastian Festa emerges as perhaps the most progressive Italian participant in the early development of the madrigal.

I O PASSI SPARSI (ending)

ma-le, deh! re-sta-ti'a ve-der qual è'l mio ma-le, Deh! re-sta-ti'a ve-der
 le, deh! re-sta-ti'a ve-der qual è'l mio ma-le, Deh! re-sta-ti'a ve-der
 le, deh! re-sta-ti'a ve-der qual è'l mio ma-le, Deh! re-sta-ti'a ve-der
 le, deh! re-sta-ti'a ve-der qual è'l mio ma-le, Deh! re-sta-ti'a ve-der

⁸ *Canzoni, Frottole et Capitoli... Libro Primo*. De La Croce. Roma, Joh. Pasotus Val. Dorich, 1526.

⁹ Bologna, Conservatory, Ms. Q 21, no. 24; Florence, Bibl. Naz., Ms. Magl. XIX, 164-167, no. 25; Magl. XIX, 111, no. 10; Modena, Bibl. Estense, Ms. y. L. 11. 8, f. 2^o-3 (all anon.).

¹⁰ Verdelot a quatro voci, Venezia, A. Gardane, 1544 ff.

¹¹ *Bibliographie der Musiksammlwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Bln, 1877.

qual è'l mio ma - le, qual è'l mio ma - - le.
 qual è'l mio ma - le, qual è'l mio ma - - le.
 qual è'l mio ma - le, qual è'l mio ma - - le.
 qual è'l mio ma - le, qual è'l mio ma - - le.

2 VERGINE SACRA (ending)

a tan - to erro - re, a tan - to erro - re, a tan - to erro - re.
 a tan - to erro - re, a tan - to erro - re, a tan - to erro - re.
 a tan - to erro - re, a tan - to erro - re, a tan - to erro - re.
 a tan to erro re, a tan to erro re, a tan to erro re.

3 BEN MI CREDEA (ending)

gnia, è men ver - go - - gnia, è men ver - go - - gnia.
 gnia, è men ver - go - - gnia, è men ver - go - gnia.
 gnia, è men ver - go - - gnia, è men ver - go - gnia.
 gnia, è men ver - go - - gnia, è men ver - go - gnia.

4 L'ULTIMO DI (beginning)

d'un bel mat -
 d'un bel mat -
 L'ul - ti - mo di de Mag - gio d'un bel mat -
 d'un bel mat -