

**Human Echoes
of Divine Words:
Spiritual Madrigals Based on Italian Poetic
Paraphrases of Latin Sacred Texts**

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2020

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School of Arts, Languages and Cultures

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Abbreviations

DBIO	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> , online version
DS	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité</i> (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932–1995)
EEBO	<i>Early English Books Online</i>
GB	<i>Google Books</i>
GMO	<i>Grove Music Online</i>
HAL	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, 1994–2000)
IA	<i>Internet Archive</i>
IC	<i>Internet Culturale. Cataloghi e collezioni digitali delle biblioteche italiane</i>
JSCMI-2	<i>Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music Instrumenta</i> , vol. 2: ‘A Catalogue of Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy, 1516–1770’
LM	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> (Munich and Zurich: Artemis, 1980–1999)
LSJO	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , eds Henry George Liddell, and Robert Scott, online version
LU	<i>Liber usualis</i> (Paris, et al.: Desclée and Associates, 1964)
MGG ²	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , zweite neubearbeitete Ausgabe (Kassel and London: Bärenreiter, 1994–2008)
NCE	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1967)
NV	<i>Bibliografia della musica Italiana vocale profana: pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700</i> , nuova edizione (Pomezia: Staderini, 1977)
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968)
OPAC SBN	<i>Catalogo del servizio bibliotecario nazionale</i>
RISM	<i>Répertoire International des Sources Musicales</i> (online-version of series AI, AII and BI)
USTC	<i>Universal Short Title Catalogue</i>

ABSTRACT

The present thesis examines spiritual madrigals based on Italian poetic paraphrases of Latin sacred texts printed in the Italian States between the late 1530s and 1630. ‘Spiritual madrigal’ is the term used to label madrigals setting texts with explicit religious or moral content instead of secular love lyrics. Virtually ignored by musicologists until half a century ago, the spiritual madrigal finally found its way into scholarly discourse thanks to the works of Elena Ferrari Barassi (1969), Margaret Ann Rorke (1980) and Katherine Susan Powers (1997). Since then, the topic has become established in cultural and musicological historiography, not least due to the general surge of interest in questions surrounding early modern religious devotion. Many of the Italian poetic texts used for the spiritual madrigal are freely composed, but some of them are in fact paraphrases of Latin texts from Scripture or the Catholic liturgy. It is this sub-group of spiritual madrigals that the thesis focuses on.

The musical analysis centers around four major case studies – spiritual madrigal cycles based on paraphrases of sacred Latin texts published in the decades surrounding the turn of the seventeenth century when the popularity of the spiritual madrigal had reached its peak. The cycles were composed by Giovanni Pello, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Giovanni Croce and Flaminio Oddi. The thesis queries the role and the purpose of these spiritual madrigals in the religious and musical culture of late sixteenth-century Italy. The inquiry considers not only the style of the case studies and the biographies of their authors, but also the cultural and religious practices with which the case studies would have been associated by their audiences. It does this from the conviction that knowing on what cultural vocabulary a composition or a poem drew helps to infer what messages its author was trying to convey and what person or group of people could have been interested in that composition or poem.

The inquiry has demonstrated that, despite their lyrics being paraphrases of Latin sacred texts, the musical style of the spiritual madrigals examined was without doubt that of the madrigal rather than that of sacred music. However, the setting of the closest paraphrase, Giovanni Croce’s *Sette Sonetti penitentiali* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7), also contains some allusions to sacred music associated with the Penitential Psalms on which the texts of the madrigals are modelled. The works examined were most probably aimed at individuals who valued the poetic and musical sophistication of the madrigal genre but preferred spiritual texts with scriptural references to secular erotic texts: cultured members of the clergy, monks or nuns hailing from upper-class families and elite members of lay religious confraternities. In addition to their general orientation, at least three of the four cycles examined in detail were published with a specific agenda in mind on the part of their author or dedicatee.

Although poetic paraphrases of Latin sacred texts and the spiritual madrigals based on them are just two of the many types of intertextual cultural outputs created during the sixteenth century, they provide valuable and, due to their nature, specific insights into the cultural reality of the period. The present thesis is the first larger-scale study on Italian devotional music since 2013 and the only study thus far focusing on spiritual madrigals based on paraphrases of sacred Latin texts. Due to the holistic methodological approach taken, the thesis not only provides an analysis and the first ever modern editions of several lesser-known musical works, but also shows how these works were embedded in early modern Italian Catholic culture.

DECLARATION

I declare that no portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project could never have been brought to end without the help of a whole lot of people. I am immensely grateful to all of them.

My postgraduate research was generously funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (North West Consortium Doctoral Training Partnership), the School of Arts, Languages and Cultures of the University of Manchester and the University's President's Doctoral Scholar Award. Thank you for the opportunity to study at Manchester and for assuring my financial stability during these three and a half years of research. My gratitude also goes to all the support staff at the Graduate School of Arts, Languages and Cultures and the Martin Harris Centre for Music and Drama for their valuable help.

I am grateful to countless librarians and archivists in the United Kingdom, Italy and other European countries who trusted me enough to permit me to get my hands on the primary sources and helped me to find my way to the right secondary sources. It wouldn't have been the same without their helpful guidance and without their friendly faces greeting me upon arrival. My great gratitude goes also to the Document Supply department of the Manchester University Library.

Crucial to my project was a two-month residency at the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice in late 2017. I am indebted to Marta Zoppetti who has gracefully handled all the admin and to Francisco Rocca who allowed me to consult the Institute's microfilm collections, even if this meant that he had to make several visits to an off-site store on the mainland. It was a special two months. All the staff of the Fondazione Cini, my fellow researchers there and the taste of Venetian coffee will always remain in my heart.

In the course of my project I have received help from countless colleagues from around the world. Thank you to Tommaso Maggiolo, Massimo Bisson and Pascal Calu for sharing information; Luke and Matteo for proofreading my editions of Bernardo Tasso's poems and their English translations, and to many other people who have offered me advice. Thank you to the Manchester Jesuits for answering my theology questions and to numerous people who proofread larger or smaller portions of this thesis.

My deep gratitude goes also to all my friends from the Music Department of the University of Manchester and from the Manchester Universities' Catholic Chaplaincy who provided me with support, entertainment and free food. Without all these people my postgraduate research experience wouldn't have been so pleasant. Thank you, to Bobby and Jules, my lovely office mates, for rendering the last months before submission bearable and even enjoyable. And to all good people I have encountered on my way to completing this thesis, thank you.

I would have never completed my thesis without the help and guidance from my supervisor Thomas Schmidt. I am indebted to you for all your advice, for reading the same chapter in ever newer versions without complaining and for writing all these letters of recommendation. Thank you for encouraging me when I had little self-confidence and counselling me at moments when I feared my project was doomed. I am also immensely grateful to Professor Susan Rutherford and Professor David Fanning, members of my Progression Panel, for their helpful remarks, advice and motivation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The last credit goes to my family. Thank you for having me, mummy and daddy, and for loving me, no matter what – even when I decided to become a musicologist instead of a diplomat. Thank you for patiently waiting years and years, while I was studying abroad. Thank you for all these food parcels and Skype calls. Lastly, I thank my little brother for his smiles and affection and for showing me that life is more than just certificates and diplomas. Thank you for being my inspiration - this thesis is dedicated to you.

TECHNICAL REMARKS

References to Primary Sources

1. Due to the voluminous nature of the titles of early modern primary sources, their full titles are given only in the Bibliography where, in addition to being presented alphabetically, they are numbered. In the text, only the short title of the source will be quoted. When the source is mentioned for the first time, the number in the Primary Sources list will be provided next to the short title enclosed in square brackets []. Information regarding the availability of digital or physical copies of primary sources is given only in the Bibliography as well.

2. In case of a primary source having several reprints, only the date of the original edition is listed in the Bibliography. If a reprint has to be quoted as well, it will be signalled as such.

References to Web Pages

URL addresses that can be found in the Bibliography will be omitted from the footnotes, and only the title of the site and the access date will be given.

References to Musical Pitches

1. In most cases, musical pitches will be referred to without denoting the particular octave. In these cases, they will be written as capital letters.

2. If the octave has to be specified, its number according to the International Pitch Notation will be added after the letter (e.g. C4 for the middle C).

Transcriptions of Music Examples

1. If no modern edition of the work is available or if the available edition is not suitable to be used in the thesis (e.g. because of the notation conventions used in it), the transcription of the author will be used. It follows the same editorial principles as the transcriptions given in the Appendices.

2. If a modern edition is available and suitable, the music examples will be taken from it and will be following the editorial guidelines of the edition quoted.

Naming and Numbering Issues in Frequently Quoted Texts

The Bible

1. The Latin Vulgate text is quoted from an electronic edition of the Clementine Vulgate: *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam: Editio Electronica*, ed. Michael Tweedale (London, 2005).

2. If not otherwise stated, the English translation is The New Revised Standard Version quoted from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, ed. Michael D. Coogan, fully revised 5th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

3. The Psalms will be referenced according to the numbering of the Vulgate which differs from the one used in The New Revised Standard Version:

Vulgate numbering	New Revised Standard Version Numbering
Psalms 1–8	Psalms 1–8
Psalm 9	Psalms 9–10
Psalms 10–112	Psalms 11–113
Psalm 113	Psalms 114–115
Psalms 114–115	Psalm 116
Psalms 116–145	Psalms 117–146
Psalms 146–147	Psalm 147
Psalms 148–150	Psalms 148–150

If the given verse number is different in The New Revised Standard Version than in the Vulgate (some psalms in the Vulgate count authorship and performance notes as the first verse), it will be added in brackets.

Liber Usualis

The Liber Usualis is quoted from a pre-Vatican II edition: *Liber usualis Missae et Officii pro dominicis et festis cum cantu Gregoriano ex editione Vaticana adamussim excerpto et rhythmicis signis in subsidium cantorum a Solesmensibus monachis diligenter ornato* (Paris, et al.: Desclée and Associates, 1964).

Petrarch's Canzoniere

1. The Italian original is quoted from: Petrarca, Francesco, *Opere*, ed. by Giovanni Ponte (Milan: Ugo Mursia, 1968).

2. If not otherwise stated, the English text will be quoted from: *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The Rime sparse and Other Lyrics*, ed. and tr. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1976).

3. Since there are several possible numberings of the poems, the works will be referenced by their short title.

References to Passages in Poems and Madrigals

Passages in poems will be referenced using the short title of the work followed by a Roman numeral to denote of the number of the poem within the cycle and two Arabic numerals. The first Arabic numeral denotes the number of the strophe in a poem and the second refers to the number of the verse. If the poem has only one strophe, the first Arabic number will be omitted. When quoting from the madrigals that constitute the case studies, the short title will be followed by a Roman numeral for the number of the madrigal, an Arabic numeral for the number of the *parte* and the bar number. If the madrigal consists of only one *parte*, the Arabic numeral will be omitted. Thus, for example, *Salmi* IV, 2, 5 would refer to the fifth line of the second strophe of the fourth poem in Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi* and *Sette sonetti* IV, 2 bar 5 refers to the fifth bar of the second *parte* of the fourth madrigal in Giovanni Croce's *Sette sonetti penitenziali*.

Spelling Policy Regarding Primary Sources

1. In the main text of the thesis, documents as well as poetry and prose texts will be quoted in diplomatic transcription. Ligatures will be resolved, except the ampersand symbol.
2. In the music editions the spelling (but not the vocabulary) will be modernised.
3. Book titles will be transcribed diplomatically as stated above (given an original copy was available for consultation). Distinction will be made between *i/j* and *u/v* but not between *s/f* and *ss/ß*. The use of italics or small capitals and line breaks will be ignored.
4. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian personal names will be given in their modernised form.

Publication Dates

Publication dates that are given in time reckonings other than the Gregorian Calendar (which is in most cases *more veneto*) will be maintained as given with the date according to the Gregorian Calendar added after a forward slash.

For example, Giovanni Croce's *Primo libro de Madrigali a cinque voci*, the dedication of which is signed 8 February 1585 *more veneto*, will be referenced as published in 1585/6.

Romanisation of Words in Non-Latin Alphabets

1. Words originally written in Greek alphabet will be Romanised according to ISO 843.
2. Words originally written in Hebrew alphabet will be Romanised according to ISO 259.

1 INTRODUCTION

I first encountered the use of paraphrases of Latin sacred texts as lyrics of spiritual madrigals in Katherine Susan Powers' study on the Italian spiritual madrigal,¹ in the chapter dedicated to its textual sources and models. The term 'Latin sacred texts' is a definition I use for a heterogeneous group of texts comprising passages from the Bible, texts used in the Mass and the Divine Office as well as non-liturgical Catholic prayers. It was the combination of the sacred and the secular, the standardised and the freely composed that convinced me to delve deeper into the topic. The seemingly unlikely blend of the Italian lyric poetry tradition and liturgical texts which, in my initial understanding, dwelled at the opposite ends of the secular-sacred continuum raised the question of the purpose of these compositions. The first possible explanation was that integrating references to Latin sacred material into devotional madrigals could be a way of giving them a liturgical touch and thus appropriating them for specific worship contexts. Another, even more intriguing hypothesis was that these compositions were intended as an attempt to bring the liturgical repertoire closer to the laity which, in most cases, was excluded from active participation in the sacred rite. Considering that the second half of the sixteenth century was a highly contentious period as far as questions of Catholic orthodoxy were concerned, it seemed to be worth considering whether, as a consequence, the use of liturgical material in spiritual madrigal would have been considered suspect by the censors of post-Tridentine Italy. Purely from a technical point of view, I wanted to find out whether and how the fact that the texts used for the madrigals were transformations of Latin sacred texts affected the musical decisions of the composers.

The three years of research yielded mixed results. For one, the answers to the question of the purpose turned out to be more nuanced than my initial conjectures. As the analysis of the case studies will show, the creation of these works was motivated in different ways. Also, the question of censorship was not as clear-cut as I initially imagined it to be.² As a compensation for having to revise my assumptions, a closer acquaintance with the repertoire and the context surrounding it opened up a fascinating landscape of early modern Italian culture in which art, literature, religious beliefs and social habits intertwined and which raised new questions.

¹ Katherine Susan Powers, 'The Spiritual Madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy', PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1997, 245–257.

² See Chapter 2.1.2 for a more detailed discussion of the question.

In sixteenth-century Italian poetry, it is not always easy to draw the line where isolated instances of borrowing certain elements from sacred texts end and a paraphrase, in the sense of designing the entire work after a specific model, begins. However, one of the prerequisites of a focused study is a clearly-defined repertoire, which means that certain eligibility criteria had to be imposed on the texts considered for investigation. Since the explanation of the difficulties that arise when trying to define what is a ‘paraphrase’ in sixteenth-century Italian literature and the introduction of the chosen eligibility criteria requires a longer discussion, it will be provided not here but in Chapter 2.2. As far as vocal music is concerned, paraphrases of Latin sacred texts are not unique to the spiritual madrigal. They can also be found in other Italian devotional music genres, such as the *lauda*. While staying aware of the existence of paraphrase settings in other types of devotional music, the present study is limited to the spiritual madrigal, a genre that attracted me through its reputation for musical complexity and high literary quality of the texts used. In practice, the distinction between compositions that can be called ‘spiritual madrigals’ and those representing other devotional music genres presented its own challenges, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.3.3. Within the spiritual madrigal repertoire, paraphrases of Latin sacred texts can occur both as individual pieces in otherwise freely composed collections and within madrigal cycles which were wholly conceived as a paraphrase. The number of individual madrigals is not large; so far, I have managed to identify seventeen pieces (listed in Table 8.1 in Appendix A). The majority of the paraphrasing madrigals are concentrated in specially designed cycles. Out of the 48 extant spiritual madrigal collections published in Italy between 1530 and 1630 (listed in Table 8.2),³ five such spiritual madrigal cycles were identified:

- 1) Giovanni Pellio, *Il primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* [205] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578);
- 2) Giovanni Pellio, *Il primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci* [206] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1584);
- 3) Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* [222] (Rome: Francesco Coattini, 1594);

³ The numbers given above represent only the first editions of each collection. If all the reprints are added, the numbers increase to 61 spiritual madrigal collections vs. 6 paraphrase cycles. There are further 7 spiritual madrigal collections that are listed in printers’ catalogues (see Table 8.3) but are now lost. Furthermore, 6 non-extant collections composed by Felice Anerio are mentioned by Giuseppe Baini in his *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol. 2 (Rome: Società tipografica, 1828). Lost collections have not been included in the numbers given above.

- 4) Giovanni Croce, *Li Sette Sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* [112] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7);
- 5) Flaminio Oddi, *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci* [197] (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608).

Four of them were chosen as case studies on which the investigation will focus: Pellio's *Primo libro a sei voci*, Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali*, Palestrina's *Libro Secondo* and Croce's *Sette Sonetti*. Giovanni Pellio's other cycle, the *Primo libro a cinque voci* also satisfied my criteria, but only its Quinto part book is extant, so it could be used only for comparison. Combined together, the case studies contain 46 paraphrasing spiritual madrigals, which accounts for over 70 percent of the total number of examples known to me published individually or within cycles. Moreover, the publication of an entire spiritual madrigal collection dedicated to the same poetic cycle suggests that there was an interest in that particular cycle on the part of the composer or someone else connected to the publication. Thus, exploring the historical background of such publications gives us a richer understanding of the circumstances and motivations that led individuals to composing or publishing spiritual madrigals based on paraphrases of Latin sacred texts.

I decided to concentrate on musical cycles based on single-author poetic texts that themselves were conceived as a coherent unit. I wanted to explore how the coherence of the textual source is, or is not, reflected in the music of these cycles. Chapter 3 includes more than one case study since the poetic cycle it focuses on was used as a basis for a madrigal cycle more than once. For the sake of transparency, it should be noted that, out of the three cycles examined in the chapter, only Giovanni Pellio's madrigal cycles (both the case study and the partly-extant earlier publication) fully match the criterion of being based on texts by a single author. Flaminio Oddi's cycle sets to music a selection of texts from the poetic cycle examined in the chapter and adds two short texts by other authors at the end. However, since Oddi provides an alternative setting based on of the same text source as Pellio's madrigals, it was included among the case studies for the sake of comparison. It is also worth mentioning that two further spiritual madrigal cycles were considered as case studies, but were ultimately not included in the corpus of this thesis: Pietro Vinci's *Quattordici sonetti spirituali della illustrissima et eccellentissima divina Vittoria Colonna a cinque voci* [269] (Venice: Heir of Girolamo Scotto, 1580) and Lodovico Agostini's *Le lagrime del peccatore a sei voci* [57] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1586). Vinci's collection sets to music fourteen (out of more than one hundred) religious sonnets written by Vittoria

Colonna, which means that, same as the selected case studies, it is based on texts by a single author. However, Vittoria Colonna's sonnets are a group of individual poems, not a poetic cycle, and despite displaying numerous references to the Scriptures, only one sonnet out of the fourteen set to music by Vinci can be considered a paraphrase. As for Agostini, although his madrigal cycle is conceived with Catholic penitential practices in mind and displays many instances of musical and literary intertextuality, as has been shown by Laurie Stras,⁴ it is based on a compilation of texts written by several different authors, and only one of the poems satisfies my definition of paraphrase (that will be explained in Chapter 2.2).

My initial inventory of paraphrasing spiritual madrigals was composed of the cases mentioned by Powers⁵ and Daniele Filippi.⁶ It was later augmented by a search through the incipits recorded in the *Bibliografia della musica Italiana vocale profana: pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*,⁷ more widely known as the 'Nuovo Vogel', a search through the *Universal Short Title Catalogue* (USTC) developed by the University of St Andrews and sightings of relevant pieces when consulting primary sources. My research of primary sources was further assisted by the Italian *Catalogo del servizio bibliotecario nazionale* (OPAC SBN) along with its expanded version *Internet Culturale*. Despite the fact that, thanks to the greatly improved online availability of digital facsimiles of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints and several research trips, I was able to consult the original copies or facsimiles of many sources, it was impossible to examine every religious madrigal text that ever existed, so the number of paraphrasing madrigals as listed here cannot be considered definite. However, it should still provide a representative sample.

In order to have a clearly defined geographical boundary, the music and poetry taken into consideration when choosing the case studies derives only from sources that were published in the Italian states (except for some special cases, such as the translations of Croce's *Li sette sonetti penitentiali*). Moreover, the research will be limited to music transmitted in printed sources. Admittedly, the chosen range of sources does not represent the complete picture since some of the works were transmitted in manuscript

⁴ Laurie Stras, 'Imitation, Meditation and Penance: Don Lodovico Agostini's *Le lagrime del peccatore* (1586)', in M. Jennifer Bloxam, et al. (eds.), *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 121–128.

⁵ Powers, 'The Spiritual Madrigal', 245–257.

⁶ Daniele V. Filippi, *Selva armonica: La musica spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento*, *Speculum Musicae* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 35–71.

⁷ Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure and Claudio Sartori (eds) *Bibliografia della musica Italiana vocale profana: pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, 3 vols (Pomezia: Staderini, 1977).

form and a few Italian spiritual madrigals were published outside Italy. This being said, a significant part of the corpus relevant to the present study was transmitted in printed books. Most of these were produced either in Venice, one of the largest book publishing hubs in early modern Europe, or Rome. As far as the chronological boundaries are concerned, the spiritual madrigals that are taken into account in the present thesis come from the nearly hundred years that span the appearance in print of the earliest spiritual madrigals in the late 1530s⁸ and 1630. The initial date is more formal than actual, as the main body of material referred to in the thesis dates from the 1570s or later. In fact, three of the four collections that will be discussed in detail and most of the other examples date from between the years 1580 and 1610, a time when the production of spiritual madrigals had reached its peak.⁹ Regarding the formal closing date, there could have been several possible choices. The first rejected closing date was the end of the sixteenth century, the date chosen by Powers in her study. This closing date would have eliminated one of the case studies. Other extremes would have been to choose the 1650s, the end of ‘early modern Catholicism’ according to Robert Bireley,¹⁰ 1678, when the last spiritual madrigal collection was composed,¹¹ or even later – an approach advocated by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia.¹² Choosing any of these dates would have made the studied period extremely long. The year 1630 was chosen for two reasons. The first reason is symbolic: it marks approximately a hundred years from the publication of the first spiritual madrigals. The second reason was of a more pragmatic nature: the 1630s is the first decade since the 1550s in which no single spiritual madrigal collection was published.¹³ The reason for this fall in numbers might have been of a non-musical nature: in the early 1630s northern Italian cities were ravaged by a bubonic plague pandemic which had a negative impact on many businesses, including book publishing. After the 1630s a few new works were published but the spiritual madrigal was already an old-fashioned form which would shortly become extinct.¹⁴

⁸ Margaret Ann Rorke (‘The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra’, PhD diss., The University of Michigan, 1980, 3) names Adrian Willaert’s *Tanto alto sei Signore e io sì basso* published in 1538 in the *De i madrigali di Verdelotto et de altri eccelentissimi autori a cinque voci* [27] as the first printed spiritual madrigal.

⁹ See *ibid.*, 34 and Powers, ‘The Spiritual Madrigal’, 16.

¹⁰ Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 2.

¹¹ Rorke, ‘Spiritual Madrigals of Quagliati and Cifra’, 34.

¹² Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The world of Catholic renewal 1540–1770*, *New Approaches to European History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 2nd edn 2005), 6–7.

¹³ See Table 1 in Rorke, ‘Spiritual Madrigals of Quagliati and Cifra’, 35.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, 31 and Table 1.

The present thesis does not aim to provide a detailed stylistic analysis of spiritual madrigals composed on paraphrases of Latin sacred texts since the stylistic paradigm of the spiritual madrigal genre has already been described by others.¹⁵ The analyses presented here are intended as a means of discovering links to specific styles, genres or compositions. Discovering these links will help to determine the role and purpose of these spiritual madrigals in the cultural life of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Italy compared to that of ‘regular’ spiritual madrigals on one hand, and paraphrases of Latin sacred texts that circulated without music on the other. I am interested in how these spiritual madrigals would have been seen by the composer and their audiences. In the same vein, the biographical sections of the thesis are not treated merely as a historical backdrop to the textual and musical analysis, but are instrumental in suggesting answers to the questions ‘why?’ and ‘for whom?’ this particular body of texts was written and later set to music. Often there is more than one possible answer to these questions since, in many cases, a published book of madrigals (or poems) is a result of a whole network of intentions.

Speaking of the musical analysis, while the exploration of melody, rhythm and texture can build on a fairly consistent practice among scholars working on sixteenth-century music, the harmonic content analysis comes with certain methodological difficulties. These arise from the absence of a definitive agreement on what premises such analysis should be built. The first controversial point is the role played by medieval and Renaissance modal theory in composing polyphonic vocal music. Bernhard Meier, whose book *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony* was first published in 1974,¹⁶ is probably the best-known proponent of the view that mode was a determining characteristic in the composition process. On the other side of the spectrum, Harold S. Powers’ followers argue that mode was solely an analytical category applied by theorists *a posteriori*. One of Powers’ most significant contributions to musicology was the proposition of an alternative tonal classification, which he called ‘tonal types’ and which, to him, better represented the reality of the Renaissance compositions.¹⁷ To compare the two systems, while mode is determined by the final, range, choice of cadential notes and melodic shape, a ‘tonal type’ is a combination of range as expressed through the choice

¹⁵ In the above mentioned dissertation by Powers.

¹⁶ Bernhard Meier, *The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony: Described According to the Sources, with Revisions by the Author*, transl. by Ellen S. Beebe (New York: Broude Brothers, 1988). Originally published as: *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, Scheltema & Holkema, 1974).

¹⁷ Harold S. Powers, ‘Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34/3 (1981), 428–470.

of clefs, key signature and the lowest-sounding note of the final chord of the composition. Meier's system presumes that all Renaissance composers thought and composed in modes, similar as later composers did this in major and minor keys, which leads to difficulties explaining works that do not conform to the ideal type for their polyphonic mode. Powers' concept, on the other hand, is purely descriptive and can be easily applied to any particular composition. However, the insight into the pitch organisation of a composition that can be gained by using Powers' 'tonal types' is very superficial compared to the insight offered by Meier's modal approach. In its core, Meier's approach is based on period music theory; however, in some cases the different theorists disagreed when it came to attribution of modal labels to particular pieces, which led to conflicting classifications of the same piece in different theoretical treatises. What is more, in the second half of the sixteenth century, there was a disagreement on the total number of modes available. The traditionalists held onto the eightfold division of modes derived from the medieval classification of plainchant tones with the finals D, E, F and G. A new twelvefold classification, incorporating two additional finals A and C that were becoming increasingly popular in the later sixteenth century, was proposed by Heinrich Glarean in 1547¹⁸ and disseminated in Italy through Gioseffo Zarlino's *Institutioni harmoniche* [276] (1558 and 1573).

A significant contribution to understanding the history and the many variations of the Renaissance modal theory was made by Frans Wiering in his *The Language of the Modes* (2001).¹⁹ Wiering demonstrated that the question of polyphonic modes was considered relevant only by theorists writing between the late fifteenth and the early seventeenth-century, so it was almost exclusively a sixteenth-century phenomenon. The notion of mode as a concept underlying polyphonic composition was an important one in the sixteenth-century understanding of music and music criticism; however, only works conceived as modally ordered cycles followed the rules prescribed by theorists to the letter, whereas in other cases adhering to specific modal characteristics was optional. The most recent scholarship devoted to tonal analysis of sixteenth-century music tends to take a neutral position that acknowledges both the modal and non-modal approach to this music without relying on any one of the approaches entirely. For example, Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans in her recent article devoted to the investigation of modal markers in Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* [222] (1594) and

¹⁸ In *Dodecachordon* [149] (Basle: s.n., [1547]).

¹⁹ Frans Wiering, *The Language of the Modes: Studies in the History of Polyphonic Music* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001; originally: PhD diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1995).

Lassus' *Lagrima di S[an] Pietro* [162] (Munich: Adam Berg, 1595) concludes that 'even if Powers is right to denounce Meier's view of the modes as all-embracing categories in musical composition of the sixteenth century, it still remains possible that the modes served as *a priori* references in specific instances without however constituting a universal, all-embracing system'.²⁰ Thus, her conclusion based on analytical insights corresponds to the insights gained from Frans Wiering's historical study.

Informed by Wiering and Ceulemans' findings, the present thesis will rely on modal theory only when speaking of cycles which were conceived with modal ordering in mind, that is in Chapter 4 and partly in Chapter 5. In the analyses of the compositions of Chapter 3, which do not display traits of modal ordering, more important than an attribution to one of the eight or twelve modes is to identify the tonal centre of a composition, its principal cadences and main pitch content - which makes it possible to identify where the composition diverges from this basis. To be sure, these characteristics can be closely associated with modal attribution, but in many cases the developments in the pitch organisation of a composition can be successfully described without attaching the label of a particular mode. Thus, in the detailed analysis of compositions from collections that are not conceived as modal cycles, modal attribution will be used only when referring to specific musical features closely associated with a specific mode. As far as listings of contents of printed music collections are concerned, the combination of features that was defined by Powers as 'tonal type' seems to be an adequate method of classification. Characteristics such as system, clefs or the lowest note of the final chord are frequently used in this kind of 'inventories' in scholarly literature, even if without referring specifically to Powers' 'tonal types'. In case of modally ordered cycles, modal designations will be provided as well in order to ease the reader's navigation between the sections dedicated to each mode. One possible weakness of Powers' system of description is that it recognises only two combinations of clefs - 'high' and 'low' - the assignation to which is defined by the clef of the top voice. While it is true that the clefs in the sixteenth century were becoming increasingly standardised, there were still more than only two clef combinations possible. In order not to miss out on a part of the information, the 'inventories' included in the present thesis will list the clefs instead of merely stating whether they are 'high' or 'low'.

²⁰ Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans, 'Cadential and Modal Treatment in Palestrina's *Delle Madrigali Spirituali a Cinque Voci Libro Secondo* (1594) and Lasso's *Lagrima di San Pietro* (1595)', *Musurgia: analyse et pratique musicales*, 26/2 (2019), 89.

The spiritual madrigal, virtually ignored until half a century ago, has profited from several larger studies in the subsequent years. The pioneering contributions were made by Piet Nuten (1958)²¹ and Elena Ferrari Barassi (1969).²² The most often quoted and still indispensable work on the topic is the already mentioned study by Powers providing a detailed overview over the musical style, texts, and cultural background of the spiritual madrigal (1997). A decade-by-decade introduction to the history of the genre containing useful statistical data has been supplied by Margaret Ann Rorke in 1980.²³ Worth mentioning also is Daniele Filippi's doctoral thesis on Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Selva armonica*, a collection of religious music published in 1617 in Rome, submitted to the University of Pavia in 2004 and published as a monograph in 2008.²⁴ Although Filippi does not focus on the spiritual madrigal as a genre, the impressive quantity of information on the cultural and religious background of the *Selva armonica* presented in the book arguably makes it the most important recent study on early modern Italian devotional music.

Despite the existence of these valuable contributions, the spiritual madrigal still remains a niche area of music history, and this applies in particular to the sub-repertoire of compositions setting paraphrases of Latin texts. Only Powers' broadly-based study devotes a longer passage to the practice of paraphrasing liturgical and biblical texts in spiritual madrigals,²⁵ but even she does not cover the topic in much detail. Ferrari Barassi's pioneering paper only briefly mentions this type of spiritual madrigal. Rorke only mentions some cases and notes that 'the subject is worthy of further investigation'.²⁶ Filippi points out some instances of paraphrasing in his overview of devotional music between 1580 and 1620 but does not delve deeper into the topic.²⁷

²¹ Piet Nuten, *De "Madrigali spirituali" van Filip de Monte, 1521–1603*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten (Brussel, 1958).

²² Elena Ferrari Barassi, 'Il madrigale spirituale nel Cinquecento e la raccolta monteverdiana del 1583', in *Congresso internazionale sul tema Claudio Monteverdi e il suo tempo. Venezia, Mantova, Cremona. 3–7 maggio 1968: Relazioni e comunicazioni*, (Verona: Stamperia Valdovena, 1969), 217–252.

²³ Rorke, 'Spiritual Madrigals of Quagliati and Cifra'.

²⁴ Filippi, *Selva armonica*.

²⁵ Powers, 'The Spiritual Madrigal', 245–257.

²⁶ Rorke, 'Spiritual Madrigals of Quagliati and Cifra', 99–103, quote from p. 103.

²⁷ Filippi, *Selva armonica*, 35–71. The same material was previously published as 'La musica spirituale a Roma dalla lauda al Teatro armonico', in Carla Bianco (ed.) *Il Tempio armonico: Giovanni Giovenale Ancina e le musiche devozionali nel contesto internazionale del suo tempo* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2006), 155–180.

On the literary side of scholarship, devotional poems, much like their musical settings, were long overshadowed by secular poetry. Until the twenty-first century the only works dealing with it in more detail were Amedeo Quondam's chapter on religious Petrarchism in his study on the Italian Petrarchist tradition (1991)²⁸ and Marc Föcking's doctoral thesis reworked into a monograph (1994).²⁹ In 2005 Carlo Delcorno and Maria Luisa Doglio contributed to the field with a collected volume on spiritual poetry.³⁰ Regarding poetic paraphrases of Latin sacred texts, the only group of texts discussed in scholarship so far is the Psalter. It was first addressed by Clara Leri in her two monographs on literary translations of the Psalms between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century (2004 and 2011).³¹ In 2015 a substantial study on psalm paraphrases in Italian poetry was presented by Ester Pietrobon.³² In contrary to poetic paraphrases of Latin sacred texts, questions surrounding the translations of liturgical books and the vernacular editions of the Bible have received considerable attention. The three main authors to have published in this field are Giuseppe Landotti (1975),³³ Gigliola Fragnito (1997, 2005)³⁴ and Giorgio Caravale (2003/2011).³⁵

The opening chapter of the present thesis gives some background information and addresses methodological and terminological issues. The first part of the chapter discusses four aspects important to the understanding of the historical context surrounding the material examined in the main body of the thesis. Its first section gives a brief overview of the scholarly debates surrounding Catholic cultural and historical topics from a time when Europe was agitated by religious controversies. Its aim is not

²⁸ Amedeo Quondam, *Il naso di Laura: Lingua e poesia lirica nella tradizione del classicismo*, Saggi (Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1991), 203–289.

²⁹ Marc Föcking, *Rime sacre und die Genese des barocken Stils: Untersuchungen zur Stilgeschichte geistlicher Lyrik in Italien 1536–1614* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994).

³⁰ Carlo Delcorno, and Maria Luisa Doglio (eds), *Rime sacre dal Petrarca al Tasso*, Collana di studi della Fondazione Michele Pellegrino (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005).

³¹ Clara Leri, *Sull'arpa a dieci corde: traduzioni letterarie dei Salmi (1641–1780)*, Biblioteca di Lettere italiane (Firenze: Olschki, 1994); Clara Leri, *La voce dello spiro: salmi in Italia tra Cinquecento e Settecento* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2011).

³² Ester Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete della cetra. I salmi in volgare e la tradizione della poesia spirituale italiana nel cinquecento', PhD diss., Università degli studi Padua, 2015.

³³ Giuseppe Landotti, *Le traduzioni del Messale in lingua italiana anteriori al movimento liturgico moderno* (Rome: CLV, 1975).

³⁴ Gigliola Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo: la censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura: 1471–1605*, Saggi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997); id., *Proibito capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005).

³⁵ Giorgio Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer: Church Censorship and Devotional Literature in Renaissance Italy* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). First published as: *L'orazione proibita. Censura ecclesiastica e letteratura devozionale nella prima età moderna*, Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa (Florence: Olschki, 2003).

so much to give yet another introduction to this difficult topic, but to show the author's familiarity with the debates and complexities surrounding the historiography of the period and to express the author's own standpoint. The second section addresses the notorious Latin-first policy of the early modern Catholic Church. It will show that restrictions on the use of the vernacular imposed by the Church authorities were not nearly as ubiquitous nor as straightforward as one could expect. The third section explores the market situation of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century book publishing industry, with special focus on religious books. The fourth section gives a concentrated overview of the stylistic trends, themes and ethical questions relevant to religious poetry, which was an essential component of the spiritual madrigal. The second part of the chapter discusses the problematic distinction between different types of 'translations' when speaking of early modern Italian literature and explains the criteria used to set apart texts that are considered 'paraphrases of Latin sacred texts' in this thesis. The last part of the chapter presents some considerations regarding the genre definition and performance contexts of the spiritual madrigal.

As for the three main chapters, each one examines one or two spiritual madrigal cycles based on Italian poetic paraphrases of Latin sacred texts. At the same time, each chapter focuses on a different Latin model text (or group of texts) and introduces a different approach to the model text taken by the poet. The chapters are ordered according to the closeness of the paraphrase observed in the poetic cycles set to music in the case studies, starting from the freest approach and proceeding towards a stricter adherence to the content and structure of the Latin original. Each analysis will be preceded by an introduction to aspects of religious and cultural life of early modern Italy that are key to understanding the publications to be examined. The analysis of the text that follows the historical introduction aims to determine what is common and what distinguishes the paraphrase from its model. It aims to position the paraphrase stylistically among other literary works of the period and to shed light on what the author might have intended to communicate through the poem(s). The music analysis aims to shed light on the musical vocabulary employed by the composers and to identify any other musical genres or specific compositions to which this vocabulary points. It attempts to determine whether there is anything that binds these settings together or sets them apart from other spiritual madrigals and from the madrigal more generally.

Chapter 3 is devoted to settings of poetic texts inspired by the Bible with particular focus on the Psalms. It uses two spiritual madrigal cycles as case studies, one

composed by Giovanni Pello (Venice, 1584) and one by Flaminio Oddi (Rome, 1608). Both of the collections set to music a poetic cycle by Bernardo Tasso (*Salmi* [251], Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1560), a free imitation of the Psalter. Chapter 4 delves into the topic of Marian devotion, which at all times has been one of the most characteristic aspects of Catholicism. The case study, Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* (Rome, 1594), follows the structure of and heavily borrows from the various versions of the Marian Litany and is often referred to by the alternative title *Priego alla Beata Vergine*. Chapter 5 focuses on the Penitential Psalms, a group of seven psalms which circulated detached from their biblical context and were closely connected to the early modern Catholic understanding of virtue, vice, sin and penance. The Penitential Psalms attracted many Italian poets, among them Francesco Bembo whose 'Seven Penitential Sonnets'³⁶ paraphrasing the seven Penitential Psalms were set to music by Giovanni Croce (Venice, 1596). Unlike Tasso's *Salmi*, the *Sette sonetti penitentiali* is an example of a close paraphrase of contents taken from the Bible.

Of the four case studies, only Palestrina's and Croce's spiritual madrigals have been published in modern edition (Croce: Morehen (2003) [127] and Morell (2010) [114]; Palestrina: Haberl (1883) [223] and Bianchi (1957) [224], [225]) while Pello's and Oddi's collections are as yet unedited. In order to make them more accessible to the reader, modern score editions of the two books have been prepared and can be found in Appendix B. In the case of unedited individual works mentioned in the overviews or used for comparison in the analyses of the case studies, only the sections referred to in the text will be edited and presented as music examples.

³⁶ *Sette sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* [76] (Venice: Nicolò Moretti, 1595).

2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND TERMINOLOGY

2.1 Historical Context

2.1.1 Scholarly Debates Surrounding the Historical Period

Inevitably, some additional words have to be said about the period on which this study is centred. The historiography on the Catholic world between the middle of the sixteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century has a history of its own in which the debates sometimes go beyond the polite tone of academic discussions. Starting with accounts almost contemporary to the events written by Paolo Sarpi (1619)³⁷ and Pietro Sforza Pallavicino (1656),³⁸ through the colossal works of Leopold von Ranke (1834–1836)³⁹ and Hubert Jedin (1949–1975),⁴⁰ to the most recent studies by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (1998),⁴¹ John O'Malley (2000, 2013)⁴² and Paolo Prodi (2010)⁴³, the long list of publications displays a wide range of approaches to the period.

Although recently there has been much good work connected to the topic done by musicologists, there is a general trend for musicology to slightly lag behind the newest trends of the discourse. If the significance of the Council of Trent and the term 'Counter-Reformation' began to be questioned by historians during the last decade of the twentieth century, the first musicologist publications supporting this view appeared only in the first decade of the twenty-first century and became more frequent only in the 2010s. For example, Edith Weber's exhaustive but very conservative handbook on early modern Catholic music called *The Council of Trent and Music* (1982) received a second

³⁷ Paolo Sarpi, *Historia del concilio tridentino. Nella quale si scoprono tutti gl'artifici della Corte di Roma, per impedire che né la verità degli dogmi si palesasse, né la riforma del papato, e della Chiesa si trattasse* Di Pietro Soave Polano (London: John Bill, 1619).

³⁸ Pietro Sforza Pallavicino, *Istoria Del Concilio Di Trento Scritta Dal Padre Sforza Pallavicino Della Compagna Di Gesu ove insieme rifiutasi con autorevoli testimonianze e un'Istoria falsa divulgata nello stesso argomento sotto nome di Pietro Soave Polano alla Santità Di Nostro Signore Papa Alessandro VII*, 2 vols (Rome: Angelo Bernabó dal Verme and Giovanni Casoni, 1656). Modern edition by Mario Scotti, *Classici italiani* (Turin: Unione tipografico-editrice Torinese, 1962).

³⁹ Leopold von Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat*, 3 vols (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1834–1836).

⁴⁰ Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols (Freiburg: Herder, 1949–1975).

⁴¹ Hsia, *The world of Catholic renewal*.

⁴² John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2000); —, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013).

⁴³ Paolo Prodi, *Il paradigma tridentino: Un'epoca della storia della chiesa*, Storia (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2010).

edition in 2008.⁴⁴ Regarding the views on music expressed at the Council of Trent, more useful is Craig Monson's article (2002),⁴⁵ which is more nuanced and analyses not only the decrees of the Council but also the preliminary discussions among its participants. Regarding the general musical culture in Italy, a more up-to-date discussion of the period can be found in Filippi's⁴⁶ or O'Regan's⁴⁷ introductions.

There are three points of contention regarding the period about which scholars have been busy arguing over the last hundred years. These are the question of chronology, the question of terminology to be used and the question of the importance of the Council of Trent. Regarding the first point, most of the scholars agree that the developments of the Catholic world roughly surrounding the sixteenth century can be considered a separate period; however, there are several different opinions on where it should begin or end. While Jedin pushes the starting point as far as back around 1300,⁴⁸ Po-Chia Hsia's closing line reaches all the way to 1773.⁴⁹ Some authors speak of the 'long fifteenth century' (Nicholas Terpstra)⁵⁰ or the 'long sixteenth century' (Robert Bireley).⁵¹ The way individual authors position the borders often shows their views on whether and how the pastoral and administrative tendencies within the Catholic Church relate to the developments of the Protestant Reformation.⁵²

No less controversial than its chronological borders, is the question of what terminology should be used in connection with the religious developments of the period. The terms in circulation range from 'Counter Reformation' coined in

⁴⁴ Edith Weber, *Le Concile de Trente et la musique: de la Réforme à la Contre-Réforme*, Musique, musicologie (Paris: H. Champion, 1982; 2nd edn 2008).

⁴⁵ Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55/1 (2002), 1–37.

⁴⁶ Filippi, *Selva armonica*, 3–71.

⁴⁷ Noel O'Regan, 'Music and the Counter-Reformation', in Alexandra Bamji, et al. (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 337–354.

⁴⁸ The time when the papal supremacy began to be questioned, which, according to Jedin, (*Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, vol. 3, 3–4) led to the Protestant Reformation.

⁴⁹ The date refers to the suppression of the Society of Jesus. See the chronological table in Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, xi–xii.

⁵⁰ See Nicholas Terpstra, 'Lay Spirituality', in Alexandra Bamji, et al. (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 263.

⁵¹ Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism*, 2. A good overview of suggested chronological boundaries is given by O'Malley in *Trent and All That*, 120.

⁵² See O'Malley, *Trent and All That*, 125–126.

eighteenth-century Germany,⁵³ ‘Catholic Reformation’, ‘Catholic Restoration’, ‘Catholic Renewal’, ‘Tridentine Age’ and ‘Confessional Age’. The problem with all of them is that they concentrate on specific aspects of the phenomenon they are trying to describe without encompassing the whole of it, and furthermore, each title advocates a certain point of view and a certain value judgment. One has to agree with O’Malley that the only way to do justice to the complexity of the period is to use multiple terms and to use them ‘reflectively’.⁵⁴

The existence of the term ‘Tridentine Age’ shows how much attention is traditionally paid to the Council of Trent (1545–1563). There is no doubt that the Council was an event of substantial political significance⁵⁵ and no study on the period is complete without dedicating at least one chapter to it.⁵⁶ However, the exact role played by it has long been a controversial issue. Current research distances itself from the traditional textbook reading of an all-reforming Church council.⁵⁷ There were too many parties involved,⁵⁸ the local churches at which the ‘reformatory’ part of the decrees was aimed were far too diverse, and the intermediary stages to the actual implementation of the decrees were far too many to enable a straight top-down reform.⁵⁹

As the present thesis is more concerned with the cultural life of the period than with its chronology, the ambiguities regarding the latter can be completely avoided.

⁵³ The term was first used its German form ‘Gegenreformation’ in 1776 by the jurist Johan Stephan Pütter (*Die Augsbургische confession in einem neuen Abdrucke und mit einer Vorrede worinn unter andern der Unterschied der evangelischen Reformation und der catholischen Gegenreformationen wie auch der wahre Grund der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung aus der A. C. selbst erläutert wird* (Göttingen: Wittve Vandenhoeck, 1776)) in the sense of re-catholicising of formerly Protestant lands by secular rulers and has been given a broader meaning by Leopold von Ranke (*Die römischen Päpste*), see O’Malley, *Trent and All That*, 20, 23.

⁵⁴ O’Malley, *Trent and All That*, 5. O’Malley’s is the most extensive recent scholarly discussion on the problem of terminology. See his conclusions on pp. 126–140, which summarise the advantages and the limitations of some of the most widely used terms.

⁵⁵ As O’Malley puts it: ‘The Council of Trent was not a sacristy affair. Its outcome held deep political consequences for the future of Europe, a fact of which the monarchs of the era were keenly aware.’ (O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 7).

⁵⁶ A good example is the quite recent *Ashgate Research Companion on the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), which opens with a chapter by Simon Ditchfield titled ‘Tridentine Catholicism’.

⁵⁷ See Mary Laven, ‘Introduction’, in Alexandra Bamji, et al. (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 6–7.

⁵⁸ See O’Malley, *Trent and All That*, 123–124; O’Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 250.

⁵⁹ See Alberigo, ‘From the Council of Trent to “Tridentinism”’, in Raymond F. Bulman, and Frederick J. Parella (eds), *From Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 22–26 and Judith Pollman, ‘Being a Catholic in Early Modern Europe’, in Alexandra Bamji, et al. (eds), *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013), 165. Regarding the influence on music, see Noel O’Regan, ‘Church Reform and Devotional Music in Sixteenth-Century Rome: The Influence of Lay Confraternities’, in Abigail Brundin, and Matthew Treherne (eds), *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 215–217.

Regarding the terminology, the term preferred in the present thesis will be the most neutral possible label ‘early modern Catholicism’, as suggested by O’Malley.⁶⁰ Regarding the Council of Trent, it will rarely be mentioned with regard to music. As far as the music and texts used in the liturgy are concerned, it is not the legislation passed by the Council that brought changes to them but the policies and practices implemented in its aftermath.⁶¹

2.1.2 Latin First?: Regulations of the Catholic Church Regarding the Use of the Vernacular in Holy Scriptures and Liturgy

One of the reasons why the time following the Council of Trent has gained certain notoriety is its rather negative attitude towards the vernacular languages expressed by different documents prohibiting their use for religious practice. Often, the prohibitions are portrayed as imposed by the Council of Trent; however, a look at the Church legislation of the second half of the sixteenth century reveals that most prohibitions did not originate from the Council of Trent and that the general situation regarding the use of language in the religious sphere was not so clear-cut. Of course, there were ongoing discussions among the religious authorities, including the participants of the Council of Trent, and there were many sensibilities attached to the use of the vernacular. However, one must keep in mind that the discussion on the use of the vernacular took place within the context of demands imposed by Protestants to adopt the vernacular as the language of prayer, liturgy and the Scriptures. It is not only the provenance of this demand that made the Church reluctant to fulfil it but also pragmatic considerations – the more languages were used the more difficult would it become to maintain control over the religious content circulating among the population, which would ease the spread of aberrant doctrines. Thus, at the time when Protestantism was confidently making its way through Europe, every use of the vernacular in a religious context was viewed with suspicion by the Catholic authorities.⁶²

One other important thing that should be noted is that the Council of Trent was primarily concerned with the languages and text editions used in the liturgy since many of the claims posed by Protestants addressed matters concerning the liturgy and the sacraments. Private devotional practices were left to the jurisdiction of the local clergy.

⁶⁰ O’Malley, *Trent and All That*, 8.

⁶¹ See Ditchfield, ‘Tridentine Catholicism’, 16.

⁶² Landotti, *Le traduzioni del Messale*, 18. Gigliola Fragnito (*Proibito capire*, 9) refers to the Church’s first confrontations with the Reformation as the ‘trauma della Riforma protestante’.

The Council discussed the use of national languages in relation to two issues: the Mass and the Bible. The first question clearly pertains only to liturgical occasions, the second is also valid for any theological writings that quote or refer to the Bible. The Council confirmed the Latin Vulgate as the official book. It did not prohibit translations of the Bible as such but only unauthorised editions and it makes the use of the Vulgate compulsory only on public occasions. Of greater relevance to us is a passage found further in the same decree which discusses the interpretation of the Bible and warns against the misuse of the scriptural texts:

In addition, the council wishes to check the lack of discretion by which the words and sentiments of sacred scripture are turned and twisted to scurrilous use, to wild and empty fancies, to flattery, detraction, superstitions, godless and devilish magical formulae, fortune telling, lotteries, and also slanderous pamphlets.⁶³
(Council of Trent, Session 4, second decree)

The text does not specify what kinds of works ‘twist and turn the words and sentiments of sacred scripture’, meaning that the interpretation of the sentence was left to the discretion of the organs implementing the decree. In theory, the admonition could refer to any form of religious literature referencing the Scriptures, including paraphrases. It is easy to imagine how some of the freer poetic paraphrases could be accused of ‘twisting and turning the words and sentiments of sacred scripture’.

Of more direct impact on the book market were the prohibitions found in the *Indices of Prohibited Books*. The first Italian *Index* appeared in Milan even before the start of the Council, in 1538.⁶⁴ The first universal *Index* [38] was issued in 1559, between the second and the third period of the Council of Trent. It was soon overruled by the first post-Tridentine *Index* published in 1564 [39]. The publication of the *Indices* initially fell under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition but in 1572 it was entrusted to the newly instituted Congregation of the Index. It is under this authority that the definitive version of the *Index* was published in 1596 [40]. This edition, known as the Clementine *Index*, remained in force until the mid-eighteenth-century.⁶⁵ As for further local *Indices*, at least

⁶³ Post haec temeritatem illam reprimere volens, qua ad profana quaeque convertuntur et torquentur verba et sententiae sacrae scripturae, ad scurrilia scilicet, fabulosa, vana, adulationes, detractiones, superstitiones, impias et diabolicas incantationes, divinationes, sortes, libellos etiam famosos: mandat et praecipit ad tollendam huiusmodi irreverentiam et contemptum, et ne de cetero quisquam quomodolibet verba scripturae sacrae ad haec et similia audeat usurpare.’ Here and further the Latin text and the English translation of the legislation issued by the Council of Trent are quoted from Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* [243], vol. 2 (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990). Here, quoted from p. 665.

⁶⁴ Paul Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), 73.

⁶⁵ Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 172–173.

seven or eight Italian cities and several other Catholic European countries issued such documents.⁶⁶

The position of the *Indices of Prohibited Books* tended to be averse to Scripture in the vernacular, but the strictness of prohibition differed from edition to edition. The 1559 *Index* forbids any vernacular version of the Bible, unless with the permission of the inquisition:

Bibles written in any vernacular language – German, French, Spanish, Italian, Flemish and other – can be in no wise printed, read or possessed, unless with the permission of the Holy Office of the Holy Roman Inquisition.⁶⁷

The document also includes a list of prohibited editions of the Bible, most of them published in the Protestant lands.⁶⁸ In 1564, in the first post-Tridentine edition of the *Index* [39], the fourth of the ten *Rules* preceding the document allows the possession of non-specified ‘vernacular versions of the Holy Scriptures’ with permission of the inquisition or local ecclesiastic authority:

Fourth Rule

Since experience has shown that because of people’s foolishness more damage than use is gained by always allowing vernacular versions of the Holy Scriptures without any distinction, this shall be left to the judgement of the bishop or the inquisitor, so that having consulted the parish priest or the *Confessor Bibliorum*, they can permit to read verses by Catholic authors in the vernacular to those, who they think would win an increase of faith and piety from this kind of read and not harm. The permission shall be given to them in written form.⁶⁹

In the 1596 *Index* [40], the *Observation Regarding the Fourth Rule* recalls the right of local bishops to allow the possession of scriptural texts in the vernacular granted by the 1564 edition:

⁶⁶ Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, et al. (eds), *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596* [42], Index des livres interdits, vol. 9 (Sherbrooke, Québec, Canada: Centre d’études de la Renaissance, Editions de l’Université de Sherbrooke, 1994), 20; Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 175.

⁶⁷ ‘Biblia omnia vulgari idiomate, Germanico, Gallico, Hispanico, Italico, Anglico, siue Flandrico, & c[eteribus] conscripta nullatenus vel imprimi, vel legi, vel teneri possint absq[ue] licentia sacri Officij S[anctae] Ro[manae] Inquisitionis.’ Quoted from Jesús Martínez de Bujanda, et al. (eds), *Index de Rome 1557, 1559, 1564* [41], Index des livres interdits vol. 8 (Sherbrooke, Québec, Canada: Centre d’études de la Renaissance, Editions de l’Université de Sherbrooke and Genève: Droz, 1990), 785 (facsimile of fol. 33v of a 1559 copy). Here and further English translations of the quotations from the *Indices of Prohibited Books* are by the author.

⁶⁸ See, Bujanda, *Index*, vol. 8, 784–785.

⁶⁹ ‘Regvla qvarta | Cum experimento manifestum sit, si sacra Biblia vulgari lingua passim sine discrimine permittantur, plus inde, ob hominum temeritatem, detrimenti, quam utilitatis oriri; hac in parte iudicio Episcopi, aut Inquisitoris stetur; ut cum consilio Parochi, uel Confessarii Bibliorum, a Catholicis auctoribus uersorum, lectionem in vulgari lingua eis concedere possint, quos intellexerint ex huiusmodi lectione non damnum, sed fidei atque pietatis augmentum capere posse; quam facultatem in scriptis habeant.’ Quoted from Bujanda, *Index* vol. 8, 815 (facsimile of p. 15 of a 1564 copy).

Remark.

Regarding Rule Four.

It should be noted that regarding the fourth rule from the Index of Pope Pius IV of blessed memory, this impression and edition does not renew the possibility for bishops, inquisitors and superiors of regulars to allow to buy, read or possess any vernacular versions of the Bible; since for the moment the possibility for them to dispense this kind of permissions of reading or possessing vernacular bibles or other parts of the New or the Old Testament rendered in any vernacular language has been withdrawn by the mandate and practice of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition. Neither is it allowed to read or possess any summaries, compendia or paraphrases of the same bibles or books of the Scriptures written in any vernacular language. All these regulations must be strictly followed.⁷⁰

This time, the amendment explicitly prohibits not only translations but also synopses of biblical texts ('summaria & compendia etiam historica'). In addition to the 'Remark Regarding Rule Four', a separate document issued by the Congregation of the *Index* in August 1596 laid a ban on any poetic paraphrases of scriptural texts written post 1515 which applied to both Latin and Italian paraphrases.⁷¹ Before 1596 there were only individual attempts by local bishops to exterminate paraphrases of biblical texts. For example, a letter sent in 1576 by an inquisitor shows that at that time poetic 'psalms in the vernacular' ('salmi volgari') were not allowed in Bologna that was under the authority of the reformed bishop Gabriele Paleotti.⁷²

The material presented above shows that, as far as translations of smaller portions of the Bible or paraphrases are concerned, the infamous 'Latin-first' policy was not clearly defined and was not universally binding until 1596. Moreover, it is questionable to what extent the principles laid out in Trent's condemnation of the misuse of the Word of God and the prohibitions declared by the *Indices* were actually implemented. The book market, composed of hundreds of printers distributed through several politically independent states, was difficult to control. In most places there was an ongoing contest for jurisdictional rights between the Inquisition, the Congregation of

⁷⁰ 'Observatio. | Circa quartam regulam. | Animaduertendum est circa suprascriptam quartam regulam Indicis fel[icis] rec[ordationis] Pij Papa IIII. nullam per hanc impressionem, & editionem de nouo tribui facultatem Episcopis, vel Inquisitoribus, aut Regularium superioribus, concedendi licentiam emendi, legendi, aut retinendi Biblia vulgari lingua edita, cum hactenus mandato, & vsu Sanctae Romanae & vniuersalis Inquisitionis sublata eis fuerit facultas concedendi huiusmodi licentias legendi, vel retinendi Biblia vulgaria, aut alias sacra scriptura tam noui, quàm veteris testamenti partes quauis vulgari lingua editas; ac insuper summaria & compendia etiam historica eorundem Bibliorum, seu librorum sacra scriptura, quocunque vulgari idiomate conscripta: quod quidem inuiolate seruandum est.' Quoted from Bujanda, *Index* vol. 9, 929 (facsimile of a 1596 copy).

⁷¹ Fragnito, *Proibito capire*, 118.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 90.

the Index, the local bishop and the local government. The competition often resulted in conflicting policies, which was not helpful for an efficient implementation of censure.⁷³

The only type of vernacular renditions of Latin sacred texts that was gradually eradicated in Italy after the Council were those that contained the full Bible or the full New Testament. According to the catalogue of sixteenth-century Italian Bible editions compiled by the Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, the last full translation of the Bible was the *Bibbia volgare* [23] published by Girolamo Scotto in 1566 and 1567.⁷⁴ Partial translations continued to appear, unaffected by the Indices. For example, the production of Italian lectionaries designed for the preparation for the Mass or for silent reading along with the Latin readings during the Mass continued throughout the sixteenth century. The earliest examples of Italian-language lectionaries appeared as early as the thirteenth century.⁷⁵ The USTC search engine shows an average of six print runs per decade between 1520 and 1559, seventeen between 1560 and 1589 and seven between 1590 and 1639 (see Table 2.1). This suggests that there was a new lectionary edition in the vernacular appearing on the market somewhere between every two years and every four months. The numbers presented in the next section will also show that vernacular religious book market was not completely blocked by the prohibitions documented by the indices.⁷⁶

2.1.3 Sixteenth-Century Italian Religious Literature and the Vernacular Printed Book Market

Leaving aside the laws and rules that were issued with regard to books, it is useful to look at the actual output of Italian printing shops, which can reveal more about the sixteenth-century Italian book market than any legislation. The tool used for the inquiry will be the USTC, a collective database of early modern books. It contains a considerable amount of prints from fourteen European regions and Mexico from the

⁷³ Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*, 174; Ditchfield, 'Tridentine Catholicism', 25. See also Fragnito, *La Bibbia al rogo*, 222–259.

⁷⁴ *Catalogo delle edizioni umanistico-rinascimentali della Bibbia* (accessed 28 September 2018).

⁷⁵ Landotti, *Le traduzioni del Messale*, 53–72, 78.

⁷⁶ Horace F. Brown in his study on book publishing industry in Italy between 1469 and 1800 notes the large discrepancy between the number of printing permissions issued by the Venetian authorities between 1500 and 1600 and the actual numbers of surviving publications. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469–1800: An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished* (Amsterdam: Gérard Th. van Heusden, 1969), 96.

Table 2.1: Print runs of lectionaries in Italian over the decades between 1520 and 1639.⁷⁷

Decade	Number of Print Runs
1520–1529	2
1530–1539	6
1540–1549	9
1550–1559	7
1560–1569	16
1570–1579	13
1580–1589	23
1590–1599	9
1600–1609	13
1610–1619	8
1620–1629	3
1630–1639	1

invention of print up to 1650.⁷⁸ Included among them are 121,771 books printed in the states of the Italian peninsula, a region which comprises the territory of today's Italy and several municipalities which now belong to France but used to be part of the Savoyard state or the Papal state.⁷⁹ The search engine of the USTC offers several filters such as 'language' and 'publication year' which are helpful for the identification of what types of books were printed at a certain period. Very useful also is the 'classification' filter containing such categories as 'religious' and 'poetry' which allows to search for books with specific subject matter. It must be noted that the categories 'classification' and 'language' used by the filters are not exclusive, meaning that one book can be classified under several content categories. Regarding the language, the book is linked to every language contained in it without distinction between the main and the secondary language. This is a disadvantage as it means that the number of Italian books will also include Latin books that have annotations in Italian. However, the error resulting from it is not significant since only a few prints add Italian annotations to a primarily Latin text, as the experience of working with the books listed in the USTC has shown. Of course, the USTC falls short of cataloguing every single book printed in the Italian territories before 1650. One other deficiency of the USTC is that it does not distinguish between first editions and reprints. This is not a problem if only the main tendencies of book consumption are being looked into, but can be problematic if one needs to determine how many new books were published within a certain period. In this case, one would need to check every listed title individually. The third drawback are human or

⁷⁷ Based on data from the USTC collected between 18 September and 2 October 2018.

⁷⁸ Based on the regions listed within the 'Country' filter in USTC search. Data accessed between 18 September and 2 October 2018.

⁷⁹ Categorized by the USTC as the 'Italian States'.

machine errors that can occasionally be observed in the records. The records of Italian material seem to have been imported to the USTC from EDIT 16 and OPAC SBN and then manually indexed, so now and again they contain errors resulting from the incorrect acquisition of metadata by the USTC system or from incorrect indexing. Most common errors, as far as music prints are concerned, are texts classified as music or vice versa and identification of one set of part books as several different publications. One has to admit that the records contained in the USTC are far from flawless and it is difficult to say with certainty how trustworthy the data won from its search engine are. However, despite all its errors, the USTC is the largest catalogue of early modern printed books up to date offering an unprecedented range of material in terms of chronology, provenance and current location, which makes a quantitative inquiry very tempting, and over 120,000 records should suffice to at least determine broad tendencies of the book publishing market. The results of the inquiry will be visualised using graphs and tables. The full data for the years 1520 to 1640 (the period studied in this thesis with ten additional years on each side) are given in Table 8.4 in Appendix A.

Regarding the general usage of the Italian language in printed books, the results of the USTC search inform us that the percentage curve of books in Italian hit the 50 percent mark in 1528, which remained the average percentage until the mid-seventies when the proportion settled at around 60 percent (Figure 2.1). Another general tendency to become apparent is that, while the number of books in Italian is strongly related the total number of books, the curve for religious literature remains more stable throughout the studied period (see Figure 2.2). Although the number of religious publications does not waver too much, the proportion of the market they occupy changes since, as has been shown before, the overall number of books fluctuates more strongly. Between 1520 and 1560 the proportion of religious books is approximately 24 percent, which also equals to the average throughout the full time range. In the time between 1560 and 1600 it is around 30 percent, with the peak of 35 percent in 1562, during the last phase of the Council of Trent. After 1600 the proportion of religious books falls to the average of 16 percent (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.1: Proportion of books containing text in Italian within the total number of books printed in the Italian states between 1520 and 1640 listed by the USTC.

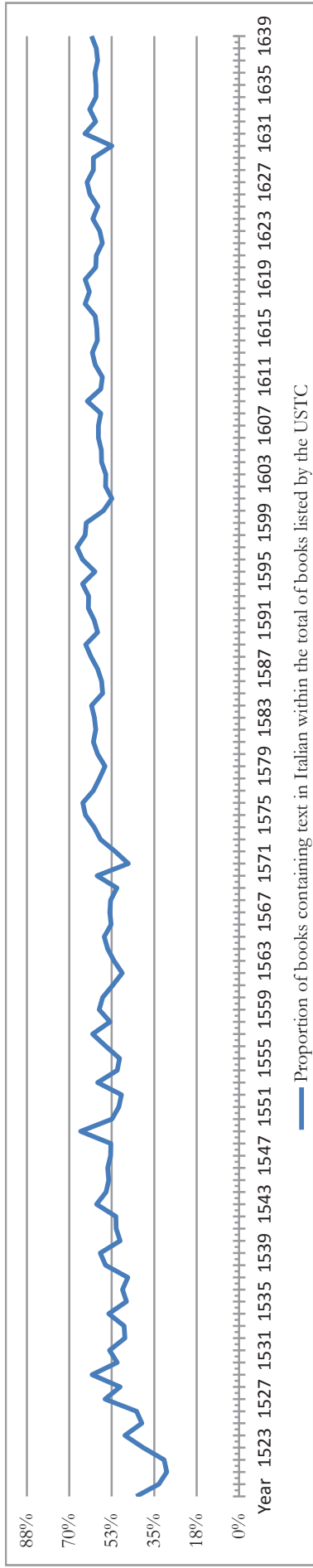


Figure 2.2: Comparison between the overall number of books, number of books containing text in Italian and number of religious books in any language printed in the Italian states between 1520 and 1640, according to the listings by the USTC.

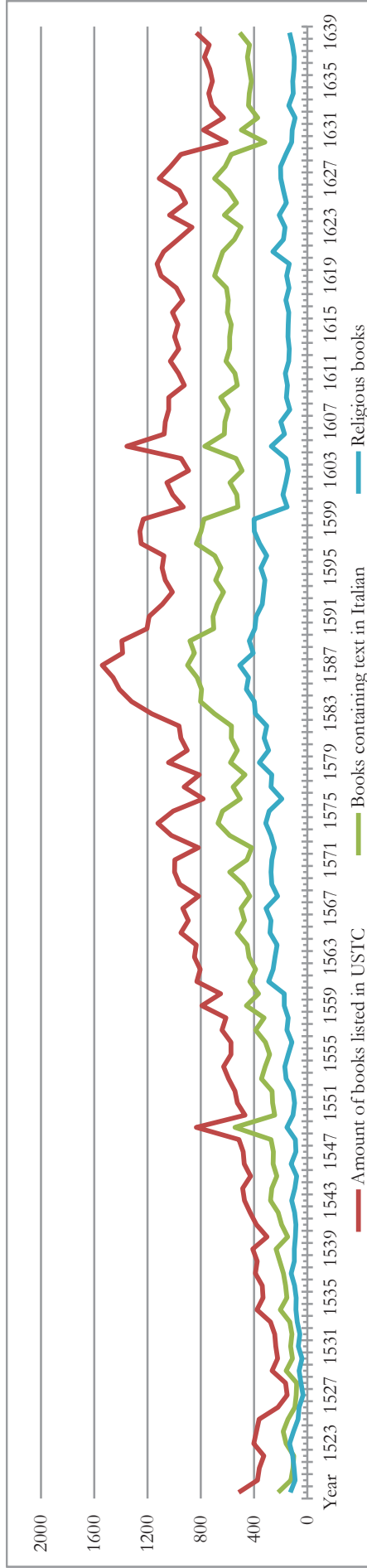
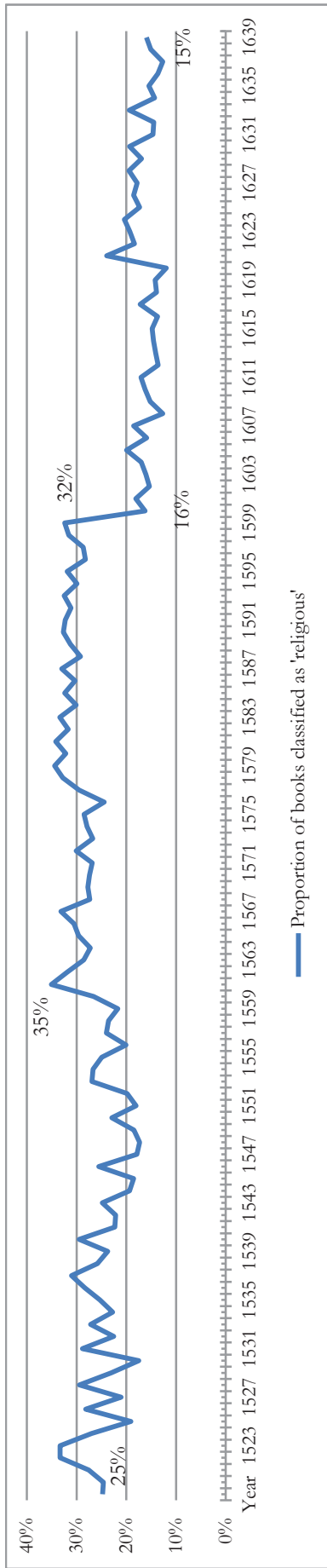


Figure 2.3: Proportion of books in the Italian states between 1520 and 1640 classified by the USTC as 'religious'.



One possible reason for such a decrease in numbers could be the general fatigue with religious production after the turbulences and religious controversies of the sixteenth century. Another reason for the changes in the curve could be the incomplete data classification on the part of the USTC since the data regarding post-1600 publications were added to the catalogue only in recent years. As for the language proportions in religious books, initially the more frequently used language was Latin. However, already by the mid-1530s the numbers of Latin and Italian religious books became approximately equal. This can be seen through the comparison between the proportions of Latin and Italian religious publications (Figure 2.4) as well as on the similar shapes of the curves representing the total number of religious books and that of Italian religious books (Figure 2.5). It is apparent that, regardless of the Church legislation intended to keep the vernacular religious literature at bay, the share of Italian religious books remained relatively stable. The only period when the number of Latin religious publications clearly surpassed the number of those written in Italian was in the late 1550s and early 1560s. This might be caused by the Council of Trent, but even then, the high percentage of Latin publications was not a result of the Council's liturgical language policies but of the sheer amount of decrees and reports in the official language of the Papal state that had to be published at the end of the Council.

Knowing the numbers is useful but does not give a very precise idea of what kinds of books surrounded the paraphrases of Latin sacred texts on the shelves of the bookseller's shop. In order to investigate further, the types of books published in a particular year deserve attention. Taking 1584, the publishing date of the first case study of this chapter, as an example, the USTC lists 1,168 books printed in the Italian states. From these, 696 are classified as containing text in Italian, 474 as containing text in Latin, 18 as containing text in other languages such as Greek, Spanish, French and Armenian (see Figure 2.6). The books containing Greek text are mostly editions of classical authors and educational literature, whereas the books containing French and Spanish text are either multilingual publications or books published in territories politically connected to Spain or France. The one book in Armenian as well as a number of books in Arabic printed in other years represent books published by the Roman Church for the promotion of Catholicism among Middle Eastern and Armenian Christians. A further language not featuring in the list for 1584, but not uncommon in

Figure 2.4: Comparison between the proportion of books classified by the USTC as 'religious' and containing text in Latin or Italian, among books published in the Italian states between 1520 and 1640.

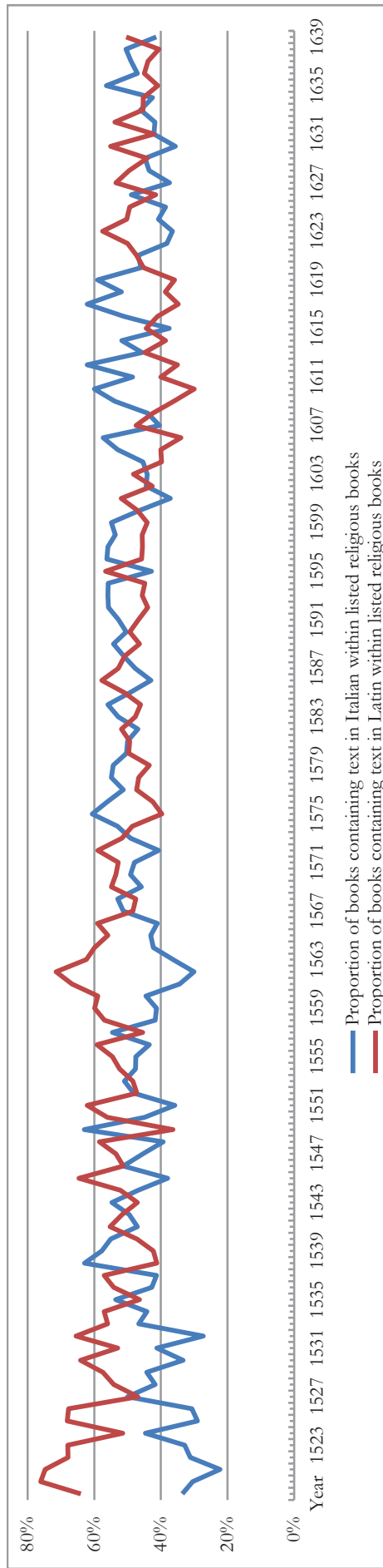


Figure 2.5: Comparison between the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious' and the number of religious books containing text in Italian published in the Italian states between 1520 and 1640.

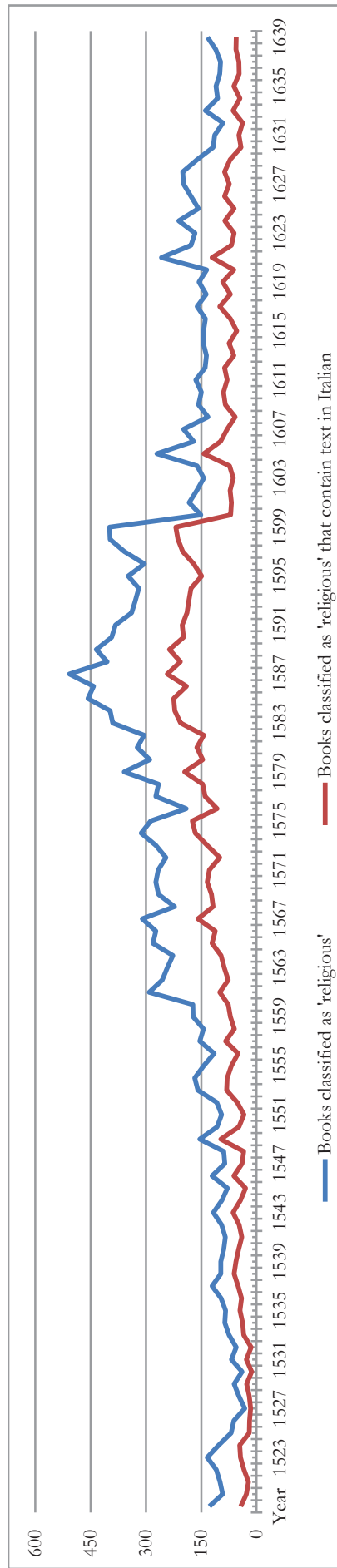
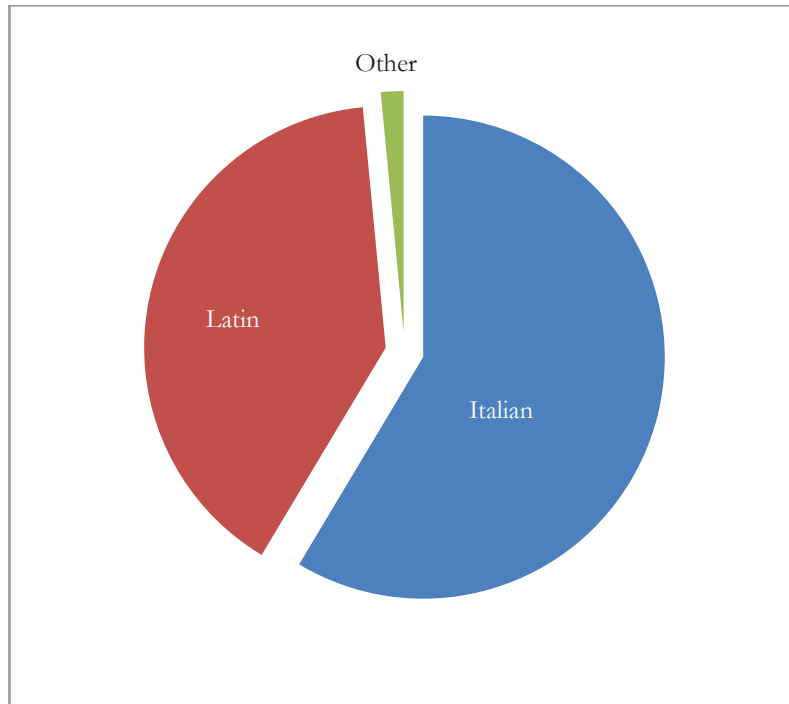


Figure 2.6: Language proportions in books printed in the Italian states in 1584, according to the USTC search results.



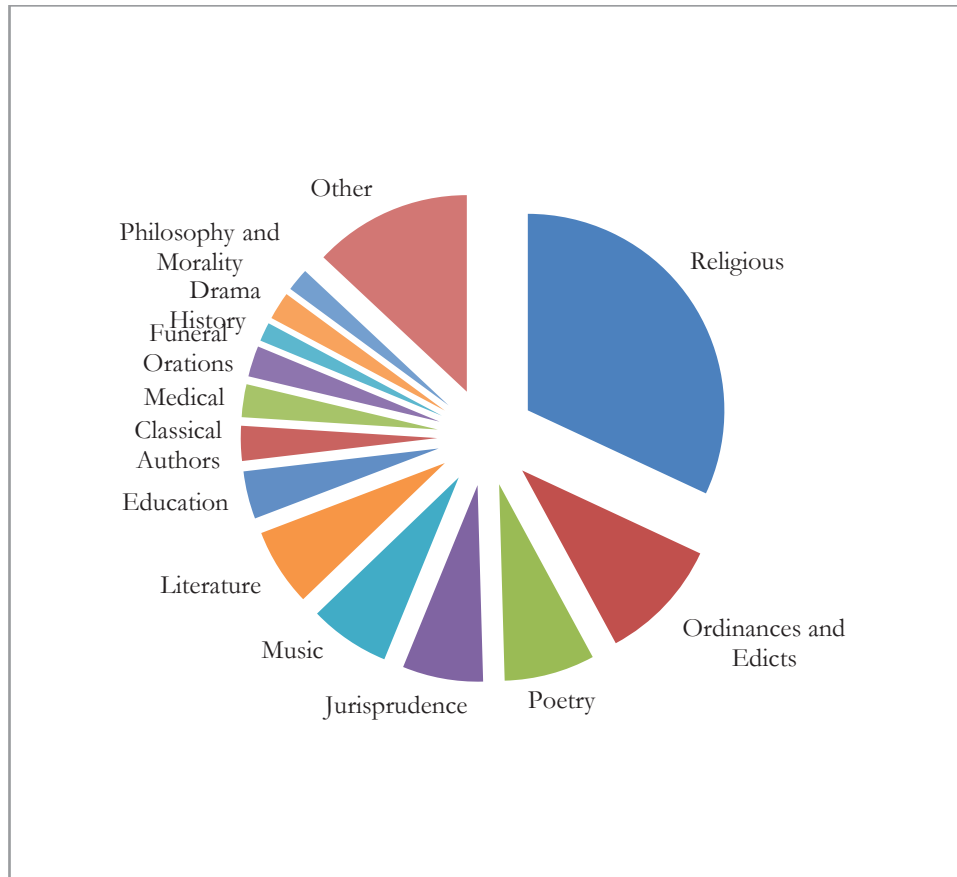
publications, is Hebrew. Publications containing this language were usually either grammar and study books or books for the use of the local Jewish communities.⁸⁰

Regarding the subject matter of the books, as in many other years, publications classified as ‘religious’ belong to the largest category. In 1584 it comprised 390 titles. Thus, even if an average market share of 24 percent might not seem too impressive, religious publications were often the most popular book subject of the year. A further 124 books are classified as ‘ordinances and edicts’. The next most popular subject category is ‘poetry’ with 91 titles followed by ‘jurisprudence’ and ‘music’ comprising 81 titles each and ‘literature’ with 78 titles. Smaller amounts of books are classified as ‘educational’, ‘classical authors’, ‘medical texts’, etc. Figure 2.7 shows fourteen most popular types of books according to the USTC classification. The part labelled as ‘other’ in the pie chart consists of eighteen smaller categories which make up one percent or fewer of the total sum.⁸¹

⁸⁰ According to Adam Shear and Joseph R. Hacker (‘Introduction’, in Joseph R. Hacker and Adam Shear (eds), *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 8), Italy was one of the main centres for Hebrew book production from the late fifteenth century up to the end of the eighteenth century.

⁸¹ According to Andrew Pettegree (*The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 65–66), while the earliest printed books represented only a limited spectre of subject matters, the range of subjects covered by the book printing industry rose significantly in the sixteenth century.

Figure 2.7: Composition of the Italian book market in 1584 according to their subject matter.



A word should be said on music prints since this category of publications is one of the categories the present thesis focuses on. The 7 percent for music prints observed in 1584 is slightly above the general average of 5 percent. It is, however, very much representative of the average for the 1580s (see Figure 2.8). The largest proportion of music prints shown by the USTC can be found between 1604 and 1611 and lies at 9.6 percent. Included within this period is 1609, the year with the highest percentage of music prints (11.7 percent). The lowest average proportion of music prints can be observed during the first decade of the investigated period with music prints constituting only 1.3 percent of the total output. This can be explained by the more complicated and time consuming production of music books on one hand, and a limited number of people who could make use of them on the other.⁸²

⁸² See Stanley Boorman, 'Early Music Printing: Working for a Specialized Market', in Gerald P. Tyson and Sylvia S. Wagonheim (eds), *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in Europe* (Newark: University of Delaware Press and London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1986), 225–228.

Figure 2.8: Proportion of music prints within the total of books published in the Italian states between 1520 and 1640 as listed by the USTC.

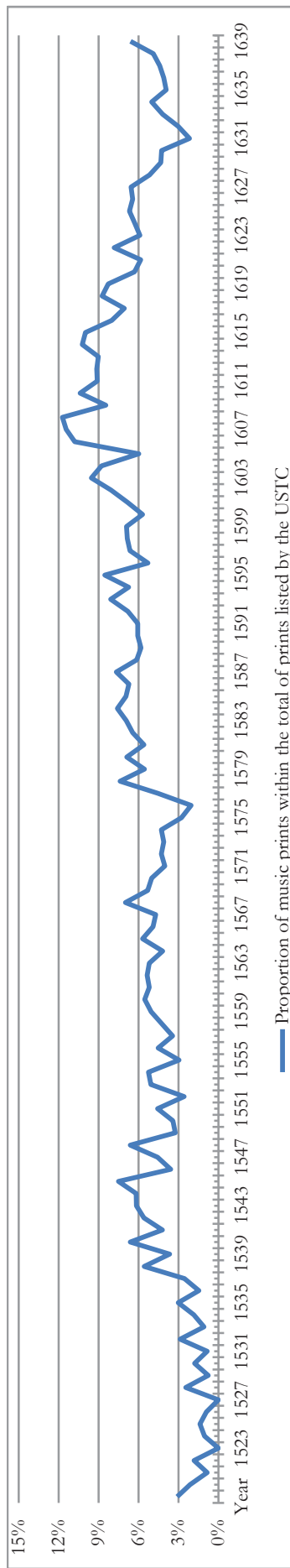


Table 2.2: Amount of music prints produced by three Italian printers: comparison of numbers provided by catalogues of their music prints and the USTC.⁸³

Printer and Time Period	Amount in catalogues prepared by musicologists	Amount shown by the USTC	Difference	Percentual Difference ⁸⁴
Scotto (1539–1572)	399	350	49	12.28%
Antonio Gardano (1550–1559)	112	103	9	8.04%
Valerio Dorico and heirs (1526–1572)	42	35	7	16.67%

⁸³ Research conducted on 6 June 2020. The search criteria were: Printer: contains 'Scoto' / 'Gardane and Antonio' / 'Dorico'; Subject: contains 'Music'; Additional Criteria: '1539–1572' / '1550–1559' / '1526–1572'; Include Lost Books: unchecked.

⁸⁴ The percentage from the amount given by musicologists made up by the difference.

Since the USTC is not a specialist music catalogue, it would be useful to get an idea of how exhaustive its listing is. One method of establishing the size of the USTC's margin of error would be comparing the total number of Italian music prints given by its search engine with the number taken from some other source listing the same material. Unfortunately, there is no universal catalogue of music printed in the Italian states. However, some cataloguing has been done regarding the output of individual Italian music printers during specific periods. The number of extant books listed in such catalogues can be compared with the USTC results. I have conducted such comparisons with the numbers for the Scotto press 1539–1572, Antonio Gardano 1550–1559 and Valerio Dorico with his heirs 1526–1572, as conveyed by the catalogues prepared by Jane A. Bernstein,⁸⁵ Mary Lewis⁸⁶ and Suzanne G. Cusick.⁸⁷ The experiment reveals that the numbers provided by the USTC are on average 12.33 percent lower than those given in musicological studies (see Table 2.2). This is understandable since a specialist study can be expected to offer a more thorough and methodologically flexible investigation than an automated search engine. Yet, the deviation shown by the USTC is not substantial and remains relatively consistent. This allows the conclusion that although the individual numbers cannot be taken as definitive, there is hope that they are informative enough, as far as only the rough trends are concerned.

The 390 religious books published in 1584 comprise a vast range of publications. The most popular type is different handbooks and instructions written for both the clergy and the laity such as the *Modo di comporre una predica* ('A method of writing a sermon') [201] by Francesco Panigarola or the *Breve dichiarazione del modo che si deve tenere ad udir la santa messa, & i meriti, che riceuono quelli, che l'odono devotamente* ('A short explanation of how one should behave when hearing the Holy Mass and the reward received by those who devoutly hear it') [195] by Ippolito Musso. Other popular types of books were lives of saints, miracle stories and martyrdom reports from Protestant countries such as England and the Netherlands. The third most popular type of books comprises

⁸⁵ Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539–1572)* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 223–899. The number given in the table includes the 398 editions of polyphonic music and lute tablature, plus the one theory book. The ten missals have not been counted since the USTC rarely treats missals as music publications (at least none of Scotto's missals are labelled as 'music').

⁸⁶ Mary Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study, 1550–1559* (New York: Routledge, 1997), eBook edition, 173–409.

⁸⁷ Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome', PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1975, 177–255. The dissertation was later published as a monograph (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press and University Microfilms International, 1981). Cusick lists 50 publications in total, but 8 lost publications have been excluded from the count.

Christian meditation guides and collections of prayers, with the most popular prayer being the Rosary. Nevertheless, the sum of books comprising the three most popular types makes up for only about 20 percent of all religious books published that year. Other religious books represented are religious drama, spiritual letters, sermons, confraternity statutes, rules of religious communities and all kinds of legal and administrative communications issued by the Catholic Church. Out of the total 390 publications, those relevant to the subject of the present thesis consist of two Italian Lectionaries, one religious poetry collection, one paraphrasing commentary of the Psalter and Giovanni Pello's *Canzoni spirituali*.

To sum up, despite restricting laws on the part of central and local Catholic authorities, the Italian book market generated multilingual and varied products. Of course, much would have depended on the location of the particular printer. For example, the controlling religious institutions in Venice, the main centre of book production, must have had less influence than those in the cities of the Papal State. Within the variety of books produced in Italy between 1520 and 1640, poetic paraphrases have to be located within the average 11 percent of religious vernacular books, keeping in mind that they form part of one of the most popular broader subject fields within the range of books available on the market. Musical paraphrases make part of the average 5 percent of music prints. It would require long and detailed research to be able to say what the percentage of spiritual madrigals and specifically the ones using paraphrases of Latin sacred texts would make up; however, the percentage would most likely not be higher than 1 percent. For comparison, based on the numbers of secular and spiritual madrigal books published between 1538 and 1678 provided by Rorke, spiritual madrigal collections constituted only an average of 0.3 percent of madrigal books (98 out of 3100).⁸⁸ The numbers reveal that paraphrases of Latin sacred texts were a niche market, although a noticeable one. Truly niche were the spiritual madrigals setting to music these paraphrases, which makes it even more intriguing to find out who produced them and for what purpose.

2.1.4 Development of the Italian Religious Poetic Tradition Between the Late Fifteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries

Most vernacular paraphrases of Latin sacred texts that were used as lyrics of spiritual madrigals were first published in books of religious poetry, so they form the immediate

⁸⁸ Rorke, 'Spiritual Madrigals of Quagliati and Cifra', 36.

literary context to the madrigals discussed in the present thesis. Thus, it is worth keeping in mind the stylistic developments and tendencies prevailing in this area of literature. As this section will show, Latin sacred texts were not the only models for Italian religious poetry but they had a deep impact on both the themes explored by the poets and the poetic imagery they used.

Similar to music, Italian vernacular religious poetry is closely related to its secular counterpart. Its formation went hand in hand with the general trends of Italian literature, after the vernacular had finally asserted itself as a literary language and an equal counterpart to the classical languages by the end of the fifteenth century.⁸⁹ The time when the first collections of poetry labelled ‘spirituale’ appeared coincides with a time of heated debates regarding the grammatical standards that should be applied to the newly established literary *koine*.⁹⁰ These debates led to the publication of the first study on Italian grammar, Giovanni Fortunio’s *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua* [141] (Ancona: Bernardino Viani, 1516)⁹¹ and the founding of the Academia della Crusca in 1582, a society which has ever since been an authority on questions of the Italian language.⁹² One of the key figures in the emancipation of the vernacular was the Venetian intellectual Pietro Bembo. His dialogue *Prose della volgar lingua* [77] (Venice: Giovanni Tacuino, 1525) proposed a literary language modelled on the language of Boccaccio and Petrarch.⁹³

Under Bembo’s influence, Petrarch was established as the role model for lyrical poets, a principle that would shape both secular and religious poetry during most of the sixteenth century.⁹⁴ Petrarch provided the developing religious poetry scene with a sophisticated poetical language that made lyric poetry style possible also for those who

⁸⁹ See Maurizio Vitale, *La questione della lingua*, 2nd edn, *Storia della critica* (Palermo: Palumbo, 1962), 16–21; Brian Richardson, ‘The Cinquecento. Prose’, in Peter Brand, and Lino Pertile (eds), *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 181.

⁹⁰ Vitale, *La questione della lingua*, 22–23; Richardson, ‘The Cinquecento. Prose’, 181–185; Vittorio Formentin, ‘Dal volgare toscano all’italiano’, in Enrico Malato (ed.) *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 4 (Rome: Salerno, 1996), 188–207.

⁹¹ See Formentin, ‘Dal volgare toscano all’italiano’, 207–208.

⁹² In 1612 the academy published a comprehensive dictionary of Italian language: *Vocabolario degli accademici della crusca, con tre indici delle voci locuzioni, e prouerbi Latini, e Greci, posti per entro l’Opera* (Venice: Giovanni, Alberti, 1612). See Vitale, *La questione della lingua*, 59; Formentin, ‘Dal volgare toscano all’italiano’, 213.

⁹³ Vitale, *La questione della lingua*, 33.

⁹⁴ Oldcorn, ‘The Cinquecento. Lyric poetry’, in Peter Brand, and Lino Pertile (eds), *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 253–254.

wished to work on religious themes.⁹⁵ In fact, many poems written by Petrarch can be interpreted in a religious way and a few of them, most notably the *Vergine bella*, are even explicitly religious. It is not surprising that Petrarch's *Canzoniere* was one of the main textual sources for the earliest spiritual madrigals.⁹⁶ However, the adaptation of Petrarchan themes for religious lyric was not problem-free. His poems occupied an ambiguous position in the religious discourse of the time. The reason is that, despite them featuring religious themes, the prevailing subject of Petrarch's poetry was earthly love, either in the form of desire or in the form of melancholy caused by unrequited desire. Any engagement with earthly love, practical or literary, was discouraged by Catholic moral teaching.⁹⁷ In order to succeed in their art, the poets needed a tactic which would enable them to exploit the means of expression provided by their role model Petrarch without recurring to Petrarch's profane contents. On one hand, one was supposed to keep guard against the temptations of earthly love; on the other hand, one wanted to remain appealing to the reader. Even in the early seventeenth century one can still encounter voices complaining about the contradictions over which poetry was torn, as becomes evident from the following quote taken from the *Prousiones academicae oratoriae, historiae, poeticae* [242] (Rome: Giacomo Mascardi, 1617) by the Jesuit Famiano Strada:

For I hear that quite a few poets insist on refraining from using pious themes, for these subjects are mostly colder and sadder, surely less capable of moving the souls of those to whom profane poetry lasciviously tempting with weapons and love evokes a far greater pleasure.⁹⁸

Confronted with a moral dilemma, Italian Catholic poets of the sixteenth century found two different ways of approaching Petrarch.⁹⁹ The first way was to transform his poetry into morally acceptable verse. One of the most prominent examples of this approach is the *Petrarca Spirituale* [168] (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1536), a religious contrafactum of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* written by a Venetian Observant Franciscan Girolamo Malipiero (1480–1547). Although many contemporaries of Malipiero found the expurgated version of Petrarch's poems more comical than

⁹⁵ Föcking, *Rime sacre*, 54–61. However, Föcking stresses the thematic limitations of early Petrarchist religious verse (p. 57).

⁹⁶ See Rorke, 'Spiritual Madrigals of Quagliati and Cifra', 3.

⁹⁷ Föcking, *Rime sacre*, 58–61.

⁹⁸ 'Audio enim non paucos, qui idcirco in carmine condendo abstinere se dictitant à piarum vsurpatione rerum, quòd hæc argumenta frigidiora plerumque ac tristiora, minùs certè capacia sint eorum animi motuum, quibus profana inter arma & amorem illecebras lasciuiendo, admirationem voluptatèmq; longè maximam concitare solent.' Liber I, prolusio 5. Quoted from pp. 157–158 of the digital facsimile of the copy from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [242]. Translation of the author.

⁹⁹ See Föcking, *Rime sacre*, 61.

convincing,¹⁰⁰ the book was reprinted at least seven times, and religious contrafactum as a technique continued to be used and found its way into devotional music.¹⁰¹

A different approach was suggested by a Roman noblewoman, Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547) who used Petrarch’s works solely as a source of inspiration for her own poetry. Her long-unpublished *rime spirituali* modelled on Petrarch’s lyric poetry were circulated in manuscript and printed in pirated editions.¹⁰² Colonna should be mentioned not only because of being a role model for later authors writing religious poetry but also because of the important place the Bible occupied in her work. Colonna was not only a woman of great literary talent but also a faithful reader of the Scriptures. Her works abound with references to biblical passages and characters.¹⁰³ For example, in the sonnet *Padre eterno del ciel, se tua mercede* (‘Eternal heavenly father, if by your mercy’) she refers to Jesus as the ‘true vine’ (‘uera vite’)¹⁰⁴ and calls herself ‘living branch’ (‘vivo ramo son io’) thus referring to John 15:1–6. Colonna’s sonnets also found their way into the spiritual madrigal. The first to set fourteen of them to music was the Sicilian composer Pietro Vinci in his *Quattordici sonetti spirituali della illustrissima et eccellentissima divina Vittoria Colonna* [269] (Venice, 1580). Other composers to use individual sonnets as textual sources for their spiritual madrigals were Philippe de Monte, Stefano Felis and Costanzo Porta.¹⁰⁵

In the mid-sixteenth century several other authors followed Colonna’s footsteps and continued the tradition of religious Petrarchism. One of the most prominent is the Augustinian Canon Gabriele Fiamma (1533–1585) who was not only a poet but also one

¹⁰⁰ Föcking, *Rime sacre*, 64; Quondam, *Il naso di Laura*, 204.

¹⁰¹ See Powers, ‘The Spiritual Madrigal’, 226–233, 238–239. Despite the critique, Malipiero’s collection received numerous editions (Quondam, *Il naso di Laura*, 204; USTC) and some of his contrafacta were set to music: Powers, ‘The Spiritual Madrigal’, 233–238.

¹⁰² Abigail Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 31–33. On Colonna’s reluctance to publish her spiritual poetry see Antonio Corsaro, ‘Manuscript Collections of Spiritual Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Italy’, in Abigail Brundin, and Matthew Treherne (eds), *Forms of Faith in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 40–41. The full corpus of her religious poetry was published only in 1546 [97], short before her death.

¹⁰³ Föcking, *Rime sacre*, 66. For more detail on Colonna’s interpretation of the Bible see Giorgio Forni, ‘Lecture bibliche in Vittoria Colonna’, in Carlo Delcorno and Giovanni Baffetti (eds), *Sotto il cielo delle scritture: Bibbia, retorica e letteratura religiosa (secc. 13.–16.): atti del Colloquio organizzato dal Dipartimento di italianistica dell’Università di Bologna, 16–17 novembre 2007* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 2009), 215–236.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted from the digital facsimile of Colonna’s *Rime* [98] (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1559) available from GB (accessed 8 June 2018). The English translation is by the author.

¹⁰⁵ Patti, ‘Le due Vittorie tra Michelangelo Buonarroti e Pietro Vinci’, in Pietro Vinci, *Quattordici sonetti spirituali della illustrissima et eccellentissima divina Vittoria Colonna d’Avalos de Aquino marchesa di Pescara. Messi in canto da Pietro Vinci siciliano della città di Nicosia maestro di capella in S. Maria Maggiore di Bergamo a cinque voci*, ed. Gloria Patti (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2002), XVII.

of the most famous preachers of his time. In 1584 he was appointed the bishop of Chioggia having been preferred over the famous music theorist Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590) who was also interested in the post. His *Rime spirituali* [137], a collection of poems complimented by the author's own theological commentary appeared in 1570 (Venice: Francesco De Franceschi) and was reprinted twice.¹⁰⁶ Apart from around 120 sonnets and a few canzoni and sestine, the book contains several Italian poetic psalm paraphrases. The first fourteen sonnets (except no. 2) from Fiamma's *Rime spirituali* were set to music by Pietro Paolo Paciotti as his *Primo libro de Madrigali a sei voci* [199] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1582). Different poems from the second half of Fiamma's book constitute the lyrics of Alessandro Marino's *Primo libro de Madrigali spirituali a sei voci* [177] (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1597). Fiamma greatly contributed to the complete assimilation of Petrarchan themes into religious poetry, a process in the course of which the concept of love-induced melancholy was transformed into that of penance. The associated motifs of tears and *affetti contrari* (interchange of contrasting emotions) were also adopted as attributes of the suffering sinful soul.¹⁰⁷

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, in both secular and religious poetry, the classical style shaped by the Petrarchan paradigm began to give way to a new poetic idiom. The sonnet and the canzone which had been the preferred forms of lyric poetry were now rivalled by the form homonymous with the musical genre of the madrigal.¹⁰⁸ In terms of content, the new style broadened the range of possible subjects; they were not bound to Petrarchan themes of desire and guilt any more. Spiritual poetry enjoyed an increase in popularity in the second half of the sixteenth century. At the same time, it became more and more assimilated with its secular counterpart. In some poems from around the turn of the seventeenth century, it is only the context or the heading that discloses the poem as being sacred or secular.¹⁰⁹ For example, one esteemed exponent of the new style, the Benedictine monk Angelo Grillo (around 1557–1629), in his madrigal *Piccioletta farfalla* ('Little butterfly') speaks of the soul's attraction to Christ in erotic terms such as 'sweetest flame of my heart' ('dolcissimo foco del cor mio', *Pietosi*

¹⁰⁶ Gino Pistili, 'Fiamma, Gabriele', in DBIO (accessed 19 March 2019).

¹⁰⁷ Föcking, *Rime sacre*, 69–96.

¹⁰⁸ The musical madrigal used various forms as its lyrics: sonnet, canzone, ottava rima stanzas, sestina, *versi sciolti* and other.

¹⁰⁹ Föcking, *Rime sacre*, 260–270, where he also gives examples from works by Angelo Grillo, Giambattista Marino and Ansaldo Cebà.

affetti [152] (Genoa: s.n., 1581), IX, 5)¹¹⁰ and refers to the soul in its relation to Christ as ‘wounded Love’ (‘Amor piagato’, *Pietosi affetti*, X, 1). Apart from penance and the desire to be closer to God, Grillo’s poems meditate on the passion of Christ from unexpected perspectives comparing the human soul with a bee (*Pietosi affetti*, V) or a butterfly (*Pietosi affetti*, IX).¹¹¹ The meditative nature reveals Grillo as a poet of his generation attracted by medieval mysticism and influenced by Christian meditation handbooks. For him and his contemporaries meditation was the most up-to-date way to approach the Bible.¹¹² The poets also became interested in extreme affects. For example, Giambattista Marino (1569–1625) in some of his *Divotioni*, the religious section of the third volume of his mixed collection *La Lira* [179] (Venice: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1614), uses scenes or quotations from the Bible as the point of departure for the exploration of human emotions and feelings.

A comparison of the above described developments with the developments that took place in secular lyric poetry would make it obvious that religious lyric verse followed the same stylistic trends as its secular counterpart. Despite some moral dilemmas they encountered while dealing with religious subject matter, poets found their way of adapting the language and the tropes sourced from secular poetry to their religious verse. In fact, they adapted it so well that religious lyric poetry became almost indistinguishable from secular lyric poetry towards the turn of the seventeenth century. As far as poetic paraphrases of Latin sacred texts are concerned, the most popular text to be paraphrased was the psalter since the psalms themselves are poetry. Some paraphrases were created for devotional purposes as a means of bringing the sacred text closer to exclusively or primarily Italian-speaking audiences. Others were treated as original poetic works rather than merely a means of making a particular Latin sacred text more accessible. In these cases, the title of the book would name the author and the poetic form used before it made known what the sacred model was. Sometimes, the paraphrases were so free that the only connection to the model was provided by the title or the subtitle of the work.

¹¹⁰ Here and further quoted from the facsimile of a 1601 edition of the *Pietosi affetti* [152] preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. English translations of the author.

¹¹¹ See Föcking, 158, 174–176.

¹¹² See *ibid.*, 163–164, 167–170.

2.2 Defining ‘Paraphrase’

As signposted in the Introduction, the explanation of the criteria imposed on the texts selected for investigation in the present thesis requires a more extensive discussion than it may seem at first glance. In our twenty-first-century understanding, paraphrase represents the middle ground between translation or direct quotation and complete independence of two texts. The material examined in the present thesis has challenged this understanding in two ways.

The first challenge is that the distinction between ‘translation’ and ‘paraphrase’ as between a literal and a free reproduction of original content was not yet present four centuries ago. If we look at the first edition of the *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca* (1612), it defines the verbs ‘tradurre’ and ‘traslatare’ as ‘to turn a text from one language into another’ comparable to the Latin ‘vertere’.¹¹³ The definition lays emphasis on the change of language, not on the expected level of closeness to the original. It is noteworthy that the *Vocabolario* does not quote the Latin words ‘transferre’ and ‘traducere’ (‘to transfer’ or to ‘carry over’) from which the respective Italian verbs derive. The Latin word quoted instead – ‘vertere’ – means ‘to turn around’ or ‘invert’ and suggests a fluid transition from the original to the translation. This, in turn, suggests that the *Vocabolario*’s concept of ‘translation’ allows more freedom than the current understanding of the word.¹¹⁴ ‘Parafrafi’, the etymological equivalent of ‘paraphrase’ was not often used in sixteenth-century religious book titles. The lemma ‘parafrafi’ first appears in the fourth edition of the *Vocabolario* (Florence, 1729–1738) and reads ‘expanded translation’.¹¹⁵ This implies that, at least in the eighteenth century, the volume and not the fidelity towards the original was considered the main difference between ‘translation’ and ‘paraphrase’. Two further words commonly found in titles of vernacular books based on Latin sacred texts are ‘dichiarato’ and ‘esposto’. Both of them are defined in the *Vocabolario* as ‘to explain’ or ‘to convey the main idea’.¹¹⁶ In this case, the definition

¹¹³ *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, 1st edn, 896 and 902.

¹¹⁴ See Peter Burke, ‘Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe’, *European Review*, 15/1 (2007), 90–91. He contrasts Renaissance paraphrasing translation with the medieval ‘word for word’ translation.

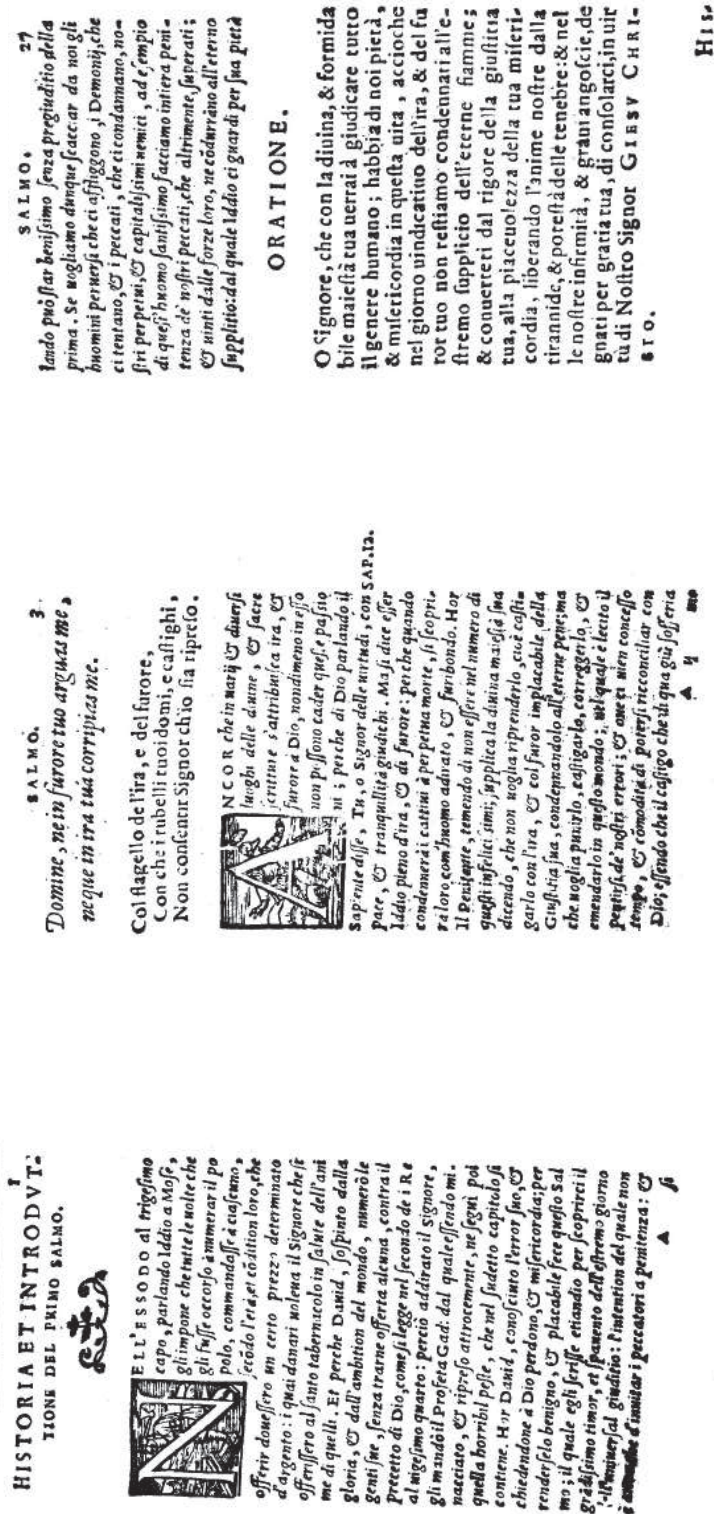
¹¹⁵ *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, 4th edn, see vol. 3, 485.

¹¹⁶ *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, 1st edn, 260 and 321.

underscores the didactic aspect of the techniques concerned and raises the expectation of a commentary-like content.

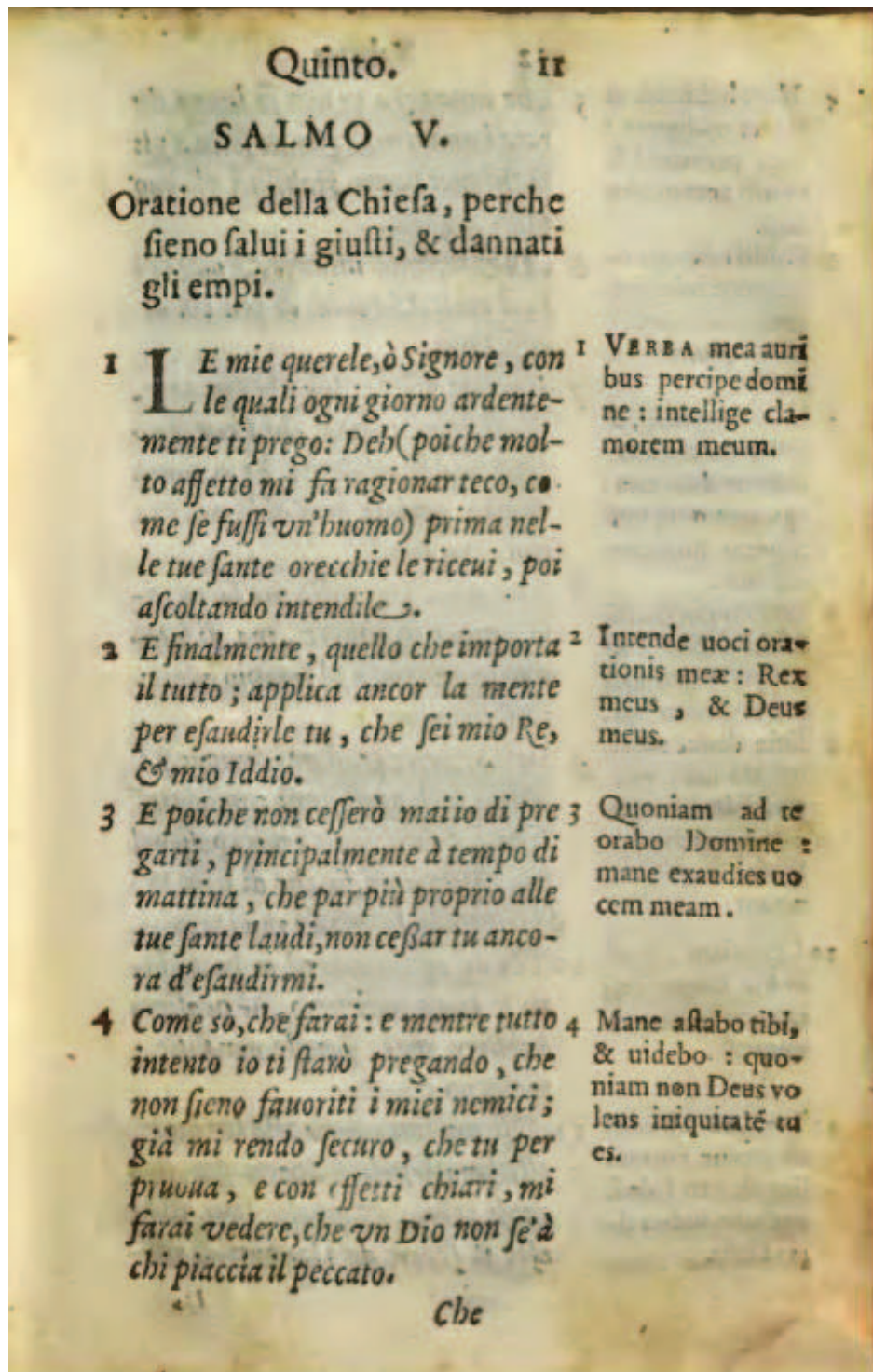
An examination of the actual vernacular religious books shows that the distinction between the different terms is even blurrier in practice than in theory. An example using two of the terms within the same title is Domenico Buelli's *Sette salmi penitentiali tradotti et esposti* ('The seven Penitential Psalms translated and explained') [82]. In this book first published in Novara in 1572, each chapter devoted to one of the seven Penitential Psalms is opened by a 'Summary and Introduction' written by Buelli. The body of each chapter consists of the Latin text of the psalm divided into single verses, each verse followed by its free unrhymed rendition in Italian (the 'translation') and a much longer paraphrase (the 'explanation', see Figure 2.9). The 'explanation' addresses God in the second person and looks more like a meditation on the psalm than a commentary. Each chapter concludes with a prayer. The second example is the *Dichiaratione dei salmi di David* [200] ('A commentary on the Psalms of David') written by Francesco Panigarola (1548–1594). After its first edition in 1570 (Venice: Andrea Muschio), the book was reprinted at least twenty more times. It contains the Latin text of the 150 psalms printed in the margins, with the 'dichiaratione' filling the main space of the page (Figure 2.10). Panigarola's 'explanation' is written in the second person and sounds like a wordy Italian paraphrase of the Latin text. The third example is Angelico Buonriccio's *Le christiane et devote parafrasi sopra tutte l'epistole di S[an] Paolo et le Canonice* ('Christian and devout paraphrases of all Epistles of Saint Paul and the Canonical Epistles') [83] (Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1565). Similar to Panigarola's, Buonriccio's 'paraphrases' are a wordy elaboration on the Latin Vulgate text printed in the margins (Figure 2.11). All in all, none of the three books examined renders the original Latin text precisely and, independently from the title given, all offer an amplified paraphrase of the original differing only in the amount of added words.

Figure 2.9: Domenico Buelli, *I sette salmi penitentiali tradotti et esposti* (Novara: Francesco Sesalli, 1572): introduction, beginning of Palm 6 and concluding prayer.¹¹⁷



¹¹⁷ Images from the digital facsimile available from IC [82] (accessed 3 October 2018).

Figure 2.10: Francesco Panigarola, *Dichiaratione dei salmi di David* (Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1570): beginning of Psalm 5.¹¹⁸



¹¹⁸ Images from the digital facsimile available from GB [200] (accessed 22 July 2016).

Figure 2.11: Angelico Buonriccio, *Le christiane et divote parafrasi sopra tutte l'epistole di S[an] Paolo et le Canonice* (Venice: Andrea Arrivabene, 1565): beginning of the Letter to the Romans.¹¹⁹

I



**PARAFRASI SOPRA LA EPISTOLA
DI PAOLO APOSTOLO,
MANDATA A ROMANI.**



CAPITOLO PRIMO.



O PAOLO, il qual mentre che era de Paulus. dicato al seruitio della gente mia, & perseguitaua la Chiesa di Dio, era dimandato Saolo, ma hora predicatore, & maestro delle genti, son dimandato Paolo, huomo degno di ammiratione, per rispetto della marauigliosa mutatione, la quale ha in me cagionato la destra di Dio eterno, percioche di persecutore de' Christiani, mi ha fatto Dottore, & maestro: di destruttore, & dissipatore della Chiesa sua, hora difensore, & propugnatore: & di orgoglioso, & superbo, hora humile. & abietto seruo di Gesu Christo: al qual io seruo non con timor seruile, ma con amor filiale: al qual io seruo non con speranza di premio temporale, ma eterno: al quale io offerisco, dono, & sacrificio ogni mia virtù interna, & esterna; percioche egli mi ha chiamato dalle tenebre della ignoranza alla luce della verita: da i lacci della morte alla liberta della vita: & dal precipitio della infidelita alla sicurtà della fede. & mi ha eletto Apostolo, & predicatore delle genti, accioche loro io predicassi l'Euangelio di Dio eterno, il qual è legge di liberta, & di gratia: il qual Euangelio l'istesso sommo Iddio già molti secoli per sua gratuita bontà, senza che precedessero i meriti nostri, hauea promesso à tutte le genti per la bocca, non di Sibille, non di profani poeti, ma de' suoi santissimi Profeti. & questa promissione non fù solamente fatta con parole, ma con scrittura

Seruus Iesu Christi

Vocatus Apostolus.

Quod ante promiserat. In scripturis sanctis.

A re, &

¹¹⁹ Image from the digital facsimile available from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [83] (accessed 17 September 2019).

The second challenge results from the fact that manipulation of existing texts is a practice inherent to Renaissance writing. Texts are combined, elements are borrowed, texts refer to one another – and all this exists on a fluid continuum, not on a clearly graded scale. As a result, it is very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to determine where borrowings become a paraphrase. What is more, not all poetic paraphrases have the word ‘paraphrase’ mentioned in their title. In fact, this is the case with all three texts that were set to music in the spiritual madrigal cycles examined in this thesis. Despite the difficulty of drawing the line between different kinds of text manipulations and the fact that one cannot rely on book titles at all times, choices had to be made. In order to have clear criteria, I decided that in the context of the present thesis an Italian text will be considered a paraphrase of a Latin sacred text if:

- a) it follows the structure of the Latin text and closely renders its most characteristic passages, so that the model text can be recognized or
- b) it adopts the title of the Latin text, thus clearly identifying itself with that text (as it is in the case of Bernardo Tasso’s *Salmi*).

Imposing strict criteria on the working definition of ‘paraphrase’ meant that many individual spiritual madrigals and collections that echoed Latin sacred texts but lacked common structure, unambiguous references, or an appropriate paratext were excluded. For example, Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi’s *Sacre Lodi A Diversi Santi A Cinque Voci* [148] (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1587) is inspired by the veneration of the relics of the saints held in the Mantuan ducal church dedicated to Saint Barbara.¹²⁰ Despite the collection being inspired by ceremonies which must have been at least in part liturgical, none of the madrigal titles found therein explicitly refers to a specific Latin sacred text, nor does any of them indicate that the lyrics could be fashioned after one.¹²¹ Also in Lodovico Agostini’s *Le lagrime del peccatore a sei voci* [57] (1586) and in Pietro Vinci’s *Quattordeci sonetti spirituali della illustrissima et eccellentissima divina Vittoria Colonna a cinque voci* [269] (1580) already mentioned in the Introduction, most of the compositions do not qualify as paraphrases in the sense of this thesis. Speaking of the five cycles that meet the criteria set out above, each of them displays a slightly different approach to the Latin texts they paraphrase. In Francesco Bembo’s and Giovanni Croce’s *Sette sonetti penitentiali* each poem transforms a particular penitential psalm into an Italian sonnet. In Antonio

¹²⁰ See Powers, ‘The Spiritual Madrigal’, 191–193.

¹²¹ This judgement is based solely on the table of contents reproduced in the NV since neither the original copy, nor the modern edition were available at the time of the research.

Migliori's text used for Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo*, a set of ottava rima stanze is moulded into a Marian litany. Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi* which served as the basis to Giovanni Pello's and Flaminio Oddi's madrigal cycles uses the Book of Psalms as its conceptual model which determines the poet's choice of structure and tone.

2.3 Devotional Music and the Spiritual Madrigal: Definition and Performance

Contexts

Some further questions worth addressing in the preliminary chapter of a study looking at spiritual madrigals is what defines the genre, what audiences it was usually aimed at and what contexts it was performed in. As the following sections will show, finding a definition that would delimit the madrigal from other vernacular vocal music genres is as difficult as finding a definition for 'paraphrase'. What is more, the concept of 'devotional music', a modern umbrella term covering the spiritual madrigal and other religious music not meant to be used in the liturgy, was unknown in the sixteenth century, and in many cases 'devotional music' genres shared the same performance contexts as their secular counterparts.

2.3.1 *Musica spirituale*

The definition of the spiritual madrigal is inseparable from the place it occupies in the musicological discourse. This place is usually referred to as 'devotional music' or 'musica spirituale' and has only relatively recently been fully acknowledged as a separate category among scholars researching early modern Catholic music. This category of music covers a variety of styles and genres composed using both vernacular and Latin texts. The religious component can range from the quasi-liturgical, as is in the case of many Latin motets,¹²² to being almost indistinguishable from secular, as in the case of some spiritual madrigals and canzonette. One of the possible reasons why 'musica spirituale' was not considered a separate category until well into the twentieth century is that the division into secular, devotional and liturgical music has no precedent in the sixteenth-century categorisation of music. Although the term 'musica spirituale' did occasionally appear on the title pages of music books, as in the case of the famous *Musica spirituale* [79] edited

¹²² On the use of motets in devotional contexts see Kate van Orden, 'Domestic Music', in Iain Fenlon, and Richard Wistreich (eds), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 360.

by Giovanni dal Bene (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1563), it was most probably not perceived as a functional category.

In the twenty-first century, the synonyms ‘musica spirituale’ and ‘devotional music’ are used to denote music that stands between the liturgical and the secular spheres. The texts of the works are predominantly religious but the works themselves are not conceived for use in the liturgy. The first difficulty with such a classification comes from the absence of a clear-cut definition of what liturgy is. The border between liturgical and devotional ritual is blurry. Examples of such ambiguously situated practices are processions or services other than masses and hours of the Divine Office held in Catholic churches, such as the *Salve* services.¹²³ It is maybe because of this blurry distinction that the first four editions of the *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca* (1612, 1623, 1691, 1729–1738), lack such a word.¹²⁴ Sixteenth-century sources writing about music only make a distinction between ‘sacred’ and ‘non-sacred music’ with the main determining factor between the two kinds of music being the language in which the text is written.¹²⁵ Music that now would be defined as ‘liturgical music’ was usually referred to by the function of the specific work, that is, ‘Mass’, ‘Magnificat’ or ‘Vespers’. Compositions which could be employed in several ways, such as motets, could be published under the general title *Cantiones sacrae*¹²⁶ or using the title of the text source.

One further aspect worth noticing in titles of printed music are the adjectives accompanying the genre-defining substantives. Compositions which were considered appropriate for use in the Mass and the Divine Office, the chief ‘liturgical’ contexts, were referred to as ‘sacre’ and ‘sante’. In the first edition of the *Vocabolario* (1612) ‘sacro’ is defined as ‘cosa dedicata a deità’ (‘something dedicated to a god’) and ‘santo’ as ‘eletto da Dio...’ (‘chosen by God’).¹²⁷ Such a definition shows that these epithets, in addition to a general religious connotation, would indicate to the reader that the music contained

¹²³ Some intersections between Catholic liturgy and devotion are pointed out by Lawrence S. Cunningham in ‘Liturgy and Devotions’, *The Way Supplement*, 100 (2001), 13–14.

¹²⁴ Based on the search on <http://www.lessicografia.it> conducted on 7 October 2019. The fifth edition in which the word first appears was published between 1863 and 1923.

¹²⁵ For example, Orazio Tigrini in his counterpoint manual (*Il Compendio della musica nel quale brevemente si tratta Dell’Arte del Contrapunto* [253] (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1588), 36) contrasts ‘cosa Latina & ecclesiastica’ (‘Latin music made for the church’) and ‘cosa volgare’ (‘music in the vernacular’).

¹²⁶ The USTC abounds with such examples (accessed 4 August 2018).

¹²⁷ *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, 1st edn (1612), 742 and 748. This and all later citations from the *Vocabolario* are taken from its online version made available by the Academy of the Crusca at <http://www.lessicografia.it>. The page numbers given refer to the original edition. The keywords of the online version were accessed on 7 and 14 September and 7 October 2019.

in the collection is subject primarily to God's rules and not to human will. In contrast to compositions destined for the Mass and the Office, collections of spiritual madrigals, spiritual canzonette and the like were described using the adjectives 'spirituali', 'pio' and 'devote/divote'. The latter two words derive from the Latin adjectives 'pius' ('upright', 'dutiful')¹²⁸ and 'devotus' ('zealously attached, devoted').¹²⁹ In a similar way to 'sacro' and 'santo', these words have a religious connotation, but they refer to a human subject's positive disposition towards God rather than content ratified by God. Moreover, the words 'pio' and 'divoto' carry a moral judgement in them, which can be seen in their antonym 'profano' which is compared to 'empio', 'scellerato' ('lawless', 'nefarious').¹³⁰

The most difficult term to grasp for a twenty-first-century person is the adjective 'spirituale' defined in the first edition of the *Vocabolario* (1612) as 'attenente a spirito, e a religione' ('pertaining to the spirit or religion [i.e. Catholicism]'). The antonym of 'spirituale' is 'temporale', a word that denotes things that are transient and/or belong to the material world.¹³¹ In short, 'spirituale' describes a subject that deals with matters higher than the themes explored in music and literature made for entertainment purposes. While 'pio', 'devoto' and 'religioso' carry a moral judgement, 'spirituale' simply indicates the subject matter of the text. It does this in the same way as the title 'amorosi' would introduce pieces on amorous subjects, as, for example, in the title of Monteverdi's eighth madrigal collection (Venice: Alessandro Vincenzi, 1638): *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi* [193]. This explains why so many of Petrarch's poems were used for spiritual madrigals although they are not obviously religious or do not directly praise God.

Although devotional music is considered to be a religious genre, it shares much common ground with secular repertoires. Most of the subgenres of devotional music can be encountered also in the secular sphere. The distinction between devotional madrigals, canzonette or arie from their secular counterparts is signalled only by one of the characteristic epithets – 'spirituali', 'devote', etc. – added to the genre definition. One genre name exclusive to devotional music is 'lauda', a term that sets apart religious popular strophic song from its secular counterpart. However, the musical difference

¹²⁸ For meanings of Latin words see OLD.

¹²⁹ *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*, 1st edn (1612), 299 and 629.

¹³⁰ 'Profano' is given as the antonym to 'religioso', which is given as a synonym to 'pio'. See *ibid.*, 654 and 693.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 836 and 878.

between the two is again less pronounced than the textual and functional difference. In fact, borrowing melodies from the secular song was a well-established practice in the *lauda* repertoire. This technique of ‘spiritualising’ secular music, known as *travestimento spirituale*, worked very well with strophic genres, but was occasionally employed also in the madrigal genre.¹³² One interesting example of *travestimento spirituale* is Aquilino Coppini’s three books of spiritualised versions of Claudio Monteverdi’s madrigals (*Musica di Claudio Monteverde fatta spirituale* [189]–[191] (Milan: Alessandro and Melchiorre Tradate, 1607–1609)) in which the original Italian lyrics are substituted with biblically inspired Latin texts. The resulting hybrid compositions do not fulfil the linguistic requirements for the madrigal any more, while the music does not fit the motet genre which would normally be associated with this type of text. The mixture of the biblical and the secular is a feature that Coppini’s contrafacta share with the spiritual madrigals discussed in the present thesis. However, there are two differences that lead to Coppini’s exclusion from the analysis conducted in this study. The most obvious difference between the *Musica di Claudio Monteverde fatta spirituale* and the madrigals analysed in the thesis is the language in which they are written. It did not seem reasonable to expand the inquiry to non-Italian texts, even if some of these do paraphrase Latin sacred texts. The second difference is that the *travestimento spirituale* represents an approach different from the one observed in the poetic cycles that provided the lyrics for the case studies of this thesis. Coppini tailored his texts to Monteverdi’s music, whereas in the case studies, the music was tailored to the texts. Moreover, the poetic works analysed in the thesis were intended not as a substitute for existing secular material but as original works drawing from both secular and sacred realms.

To sum up the above considerations, neither ‘devotional’, nor ‘liturgical’ were current labels in the sixteenth century. Music publishers and buyers were apparently more interested in the genre, language and subject matter of the music. As for ‘devotional music’, it seems that, at least the part of it that was written in the vernacular, was considered to be a morally appropriate version of secular music rather than a type of sacred music. Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that the now-common division into ‘secular’, ‘devotional’ and ‘liturgical’ music should be abandoned. Indeed, the addition of the category of ‘devotional music’ has greatly helped musicologists to explain the nature of genres such as the spiritual madrigal. One should merely be aware that these

¹³² See *ibid.*, 365.

categories were not used in the same way, or not used at all, by the contemporaries of the music in question.

2.3.2 Performance Contexts

The best-documented performance contexts of devotional music are the ones involving the largest groups of people or specific institutions. For example, we learn from the title page of a collection of laude published in Fermo in 1595 that the pieces contained in the collection were ‘sung after the speeches [i.e. sermons] of the reverend fathers of the Congregation of the Oratory’ (‘Che si sogliono cantare dopò i ragionamenti delli Reuer[endi] Padri della Congregatione dell’Oratorio’).¹³³ As far as the spiritual madrigal is specifically concerned, there is some archival evidence of spiritual madrigals being performed in religious plays. For example, the diaries of the Florentine youth confraternity *Compagnia dell’Arcangelo Raffaello* dating from the last decades of the sixteenth century, mention the singing of madrigals during religious plays staged on special feast days.¹³⁴ Another source explicitly mentioning the performance of religious madrigals in a theatrical context is a manuscript from the Biblioteca Estense in Modena discovered by Laurie Stras. It contains eight theatrical entertainments (titled ‘veglie’) composed by Annalena Aldobrandini, a Vallombrosan nun, for the use of her convent during the Carnival season and on Calendimaggio (May Day). The manuscript indicates that four of these plays devoted to moral and religious themes featured music referred to as ‘madrigal (‘madriale’).¹³⁵ Another source frequently quoted regarding the performance context of the spiritual madrigal is Girolamo Nappi’s account mentioning ‘madrigals’ being performed during public defences in Jesuit colleges.¹³⁶ However, there is no evidence regarding what kinds of subjects were explored in the ‘madrigals’ sung in the defences.¹³⁷ Another Jesuit context for the performance of the spiritual madrigal and other devotional music presented itself during the recreation periods which were part of the daily routine

¹³³ *Delle Laudi Spirituali Che si sogliono cantare...* [28] (Fermo: Heirs of Sertorio de’ Monti, & Giovanni Bonibello, 1595). Quoted from the copy preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, shelf mark: C 090C 247.

¹³⁴ John Walter Hill, ‘Oratory Music in Florence, I: “Recitar Cantando”, 1583–1655’. *Acta Musicologica*, 51/1 (1979), 112, 114, 115, 116, 133–134.

¹³⁵ Laurie Stras, ‘The *Ricreationi per monache* of Suor Annalena Aldobrandini’, *Renaissance Studies* 26/1 (2012), 34–59, esp. see Appendix 4 in pp. 57–58.

¹³⁶ First quoted in musicological context by Thomas Frank Kennedy in ‘Jesuits and Music: The European Tradition 1547–1622’, PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982, 165–166 based on Girolamo Nappi’s *Annali del Seminario Romano* [14], 623–624.

¹³⁷ Judging on Louise Rice’s findings regarding the texts performed during public defences, (‘Jesuit Thesis Prints and the Festive Academic Defence’, in John W. O’Malley, et al. (eds), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences and the Arts 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 159), martial themes were popular.

in Jesuit colleges. Different documents attest that colleges allowed students to sing and practice musical instruments in their free time as long as there was no lascivious content involved.¹³⁸ Non-Jesuit educational institutions might have also allowed and even encouraged the practice of music, especially the morally appropriate ‘spiritual’ compositions since music formed part of the competences expected from the members of the elite sent for instruction to these institutions.¹³⁹

More difficult to track down are performance contexts that took place in the domestic space. The evidence pertaining to domestic music making that we do have is mostly indirect. It comes from iconographic sources, discussions related to music in courtesy and conversation literature as well as inventories and dedications to music collections.¹⁴⁰ Sources mentioning specifically devotional music or the spiritual madrigal are hard to come by, and good portion of documents relevant to domestic music making do not specify the genre of the music performed at all. Thus, it can be only inferred that this evidence is applicable also to devotional music or the spiritual madrigal.

As for iconography, there are quite a few sixteenth-century images representing music making in domestic recreational contexts. Two good examples are Giovanni Cariani’s *Concerto* (ca. 1518–1520) and Caravaggio’s *Musicians* (1597). Cariani’s painting depicts three men, one of whom is playing the lute and singing. Another man is holding an oblong format book which could be a bound part book (see Figure 2.12). Caravaggio’s painting depicts three young boys dressed in a classicising manner with Cupid standing behind them. One of the boys holds a lute and seems to be tuning it. Another boy is reading from a part book with illegible printed vocal music and has a violin and more sheet music lying next to him. The third boy is holding a cornetto (see Figure 2.13). The painting is thought to be a commission by the cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte (1549–1626) and might draw inspiration from the musical performances that took place in his household.¹⁴¹ Although the images discussed are a source of information regarding performance practice, it is impossible to tell what repertoire is being performed in the representations.

¹³⁸ See Kennedy, ‘Jesuits and Music’, 35–36, 39–41, 74–75, 132–134.

¹³⁹ See Amedeo Quondam (with Iain Fenlon, et al.), ‘Imparare, leggere, comprare musica nell’Europa del Cinquecento: “Institutio” musicale e “humanae litterae” nella cultura del Classicismo’, *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 18/1–2 (2011), 211–213. On the musical education of girls see Paolo Cecchi, “Per esser voi di quelle prime discepolo che de me cominciassi imparare di musica molt’ anni sono”. Sull’educazione alla musica della nobildonna nell’Italia del secolo XVI’, in *ibid.*, 217–230.

¹⁴⁰ Kate van Orden (with Iain Fenlon, et al.), ‘The Parisian Chanson: Prints and Readers’, in *ibid.*, 192–193.

¹⁴¹ Keith Christiansen, Catalogue entry for accession number 52.81, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017 (accessed 10 October 2019).

Figure 2.12: Giovanni Cariani, *Concerto* (ca. 1518–1520), oil on canvas, 92.0 cm x 130.0 cm, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.¹⁴²



Figure 2.13: Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Musicians* (1597), oil on canvas, 92.1 cm x 118.4 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.¹⁴³



Another type of source that can provide glimpses into musical pastime activities are courtesy manuals and conversation manuals. The best-known courtesy manual to mention music is Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il libro del cortegiano* (“The Book of the Courtier”) [90] (Florence: Filippo Giunti, 1528)). In the first book, one of the speakers of the dialogue refers to music making as an honourable recreational activity for the ideal courtier and lists musical literacy among the skills expected from him.¹⁴⁴ In the

¹⁴² Source: NGA Images <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.90793.html> (accessed 11 October 2019). See RIDIM, id no 4754, https://db.ridim.org/display.php?ridim_id=4754 (accessed 9 October 2019).

¹⁴³ Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435844> (accessed 11 October 2019). See RIDIM, id no 5398, https://db.ridim.org/display.php?ridim_id=5398 (accessed 9 October 2019). The author of the RIDIM record assumes that the music held by the singer is madrigal.

¹⁴⁴ Fols 47–48 in the digital facsimile from GB [90].

second book, the interlocutors discuss what the noblest musical performance practice would be, whereas they give precedence to solo singing accompanied by the viol.¹⁴⁵ Castiglione underlines that musical activity has to appear spontaneous, so that it does not look like the courtier is bragging.¹⁴⁶ If Castiglione is more interested in aspects pertaining to performance practice, Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica* ('Dialogue on music') [133] (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1544) is very specific about the sort of music performed. In fact, it even provides the music of thirteen madrigals by different composers supposedly sung by the four men participating in the dialogue. The compositions are interwoven into a playful conversation about music, literature and women.¹⁴⁷ It might be that the dialogue is just an elaborate way of presenting a collection of four-part madrigals, but it is very probable that the idea is based on existing practices. In reality, such gatherings could range from singing in a family circle, for example, after dinner,¹⁴⁸ through *ridotti* – discussions and performances for invited guests¹⁴⁹ – to the larger but still-closed circles of an academy. In the academies, a wide variety of music was practised, and the spiritual madrigal also cannot be excluded. In fact, there is evidence that the *Accademia filharmonica* in Verona owned printed and manuscript copies of spiritual madrigals.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, spiritual madrigal composers Giovanni Matteo Asola and Leone Leoni were themselves members of academies and dedicated their works to fellow academicians, which suggests that their spiritual madrigals were performed during the gatherings of these societies along with secular madrigals and different other kinds of music.¹⁵¹

The last 'domestic' performance spaces to be mentioned were located in monasteries and convents. There are different pieces of indirect evidence showing that monks and nuns performed music during their recreation periods. For example, the

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, fol. 63bis (unnumbered).

¹⁴⁶ For a more detailed discussion on attitudes to music in the *Libro del Cortegiano*, see Franco Piperno (with Iain Fenlon, et al.), 'Imparare, leggere, comprare musica nell'Europa del Cinquecento: Alfabetizzazione e apprendimento musicale delle élites nella prima età moderna', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 18/1–2 (2011), 183–184.

¹⁴⁷ See James Haar, 'Madrigal', in James Haar (ed.), *European Music, 1520–1640*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music (Woodbridge, UK and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006), 230–231.

¹⁴⁸ See Flora Dennis, 'Interior Spaces for Music', in Iain Fenlon, and Richard Wistreich (eds), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music*, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 274 and van Orden, 'Domestic Music', 349.

¹⁴⁹ See Dennis, 'Interior Spaces for Music', 275.

¹⁵⁰ See Powers, 'The Spiritual Madrigal', 138–139.

¹⁵¹ See *ibid.*, 149–165 (on Asola and the *Accademia dei moderati* in Verona), 166–171 (on Leoni and the *Accademia olimpica* in Vicenza).

Benedictine abbot and poet Angelo Grillo mentions in a letter to Claudio Monteverdi that some of his monks performed madrigals from Monteverdi's *Sesto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* [192] (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1614) for him.¹⁵² Robert L. Kendrick in his monograph on nuns in early modern Milan quotes a visitation report from the Milanese Humiliate convent Santa Maria Maddalena al Cerchio dated 1575 which mentions music made by some nuns during their recreation time. The types of music listed in the report, based on the music copies seized and the testimony of the nuns interrogated, spans a variety of genres and characters: motets, Bergamasque songs and laude.¹⁵³ The dedication text of Serafino Razzi's *Libro primo delle Laudi spirituali da diversi eccel[enti] e divoti autori* [232] (Venice: Heirs of Bernardo Giunti, 1563) praises the long-standing tradition of communal singing of laude as part of monastic recreation and complains about the more recent practice of singing of secular songs. Although the idea of conflicting musical practices might be introduced into the dedication text merely for the sake of rhetoric, it may have been inspired by some kind of existing practices of recreational music making in convents, which is also suggested by the findings of the visitation to the Milanese Humiliate convent Santa Maria Maddalena al Cerchio mentioned above. Coming closer to the music explored in the present thesis, a handwritten inscription on the only extant set of part books for Flaminio Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci* (Rome, 1608) records that the copy belonged to a Franciscan brother from the monastery of San Francesco a Ripa. Music classified today as 'devotional' seems especially appropriate for performance in monastic institutions since it could provide the same music but with a less-suspicious textual content. Apart from vocal or instrumental performance, such music could also be enjoyed by silent reading, which, according to Iain Fenlon, was not as rare in the sixteenth century as now commonly assumed. Silent reading would have required a high level of musical literacy, so the majority individuals experiencing music that way would have been composers or music theorists.¹⁵⁴ However, even less musically literate readers or those that had access only to

¹⁵² 'These monks of mine after having well pondered on them [i. e. your madrigals], for the work demands advanced consideration and preparation, rendered part of them to me, whereby my heart was as much ravished by the sweetness of the harmonies as my intellect was refreshed by the newness of the craft.' / 'Questi miei monaci doppo l'averlo ruminato ben bene, come che l'opera ricerchi premeditatione, & preparatione, me n'han fatto sentir parte, onde si come il cuore m'è stato rapito dalla soauità del concerto, così l'intelletto m'è stato ricreato dalla nouità dell'artificio.' Italian text quoted from Pietro Petracchi (ed.), *Delle lettere del Angelo Grillo* [153], vol. 3 (Venice: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1616), 127. Translation of the author.

¹⁵³ Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 51–56.

¹⁵⁴ Iain Fenlon, 'Imparare, leggere, comprare musica nell'Europa del Cinquecento: Introduction', *Il Saggiatore musicale*, 18/1–2 (2011), 179. Fenlon quotes the correspondence of the composer Giovanni

a single part book could gain something from a look at it since they could still enjoy the poetic text and recognise word painting devices achieved through the melodic shape or the melody's position within the range of the voice part.

As far as the social differences between the madrigal, be it amorous or spiritual, and canzonette, villanelle or *laude* are concerned, they lie in greater part not in the audiences but in cultural connotations attached to each of the genres. The madrigal was associated with the learned register,¹⁵⁵ whereas the vilanella and the napolitana had a rustic character, be it natural or pretended. The *lauda* would have been associated with piety and, possibly, with certain religious groups that were particularly fond of this genre.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the madrigal had a reputation as an experimenting field for composers both rhetorically and stylistically.¹⁵⁷ Oftentimes, a madrigal would have been more demanding on performers than an average canzonetta or *lauda*. Especially some of the more complex examples like Claudio Monteverdi's, Luca Marenzio's and Carlo Gesualdo's madrigals would have required a high level of musical skill and good coordination between performers,¹⁵⁸ as well as increased concentration from the listeners. However, the different characters of the genres do not necessarily imply different audiences or performers; they rather were designed to cater for different types of recreational occasions.

2.3.3 Defining 'Madrigal'

The introduction to the Grove Music Online article titled 'Madrigal' defines this genre label simply as 'a term in general use during the 16th century and much of the 17th for

Spataro with Pietro Aaron and other musicians as an example of discussions between such 'silent readers' of music and notes that they would have not necessarily needed to see the music in score format in order to be able to make a judgement about it.

¹⁵⁵ James Haar argues that the madrigal originated in Florentine *accademie* and courtly circles. See Haar, 'The Early Madrigal: A Re-Appraisal of Its Sources and Its Character', in Iain Fenlon (ed.), *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 170–171 and id., 'The Early Madrigal: Humanistic Theory in Practical Guise', in James Haar (ed.), *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1600* (Berkeley, et al.: University of California Press, 1986), 63. One madrigal anthology from 1540 even explicitly advertises its contents as 'learned compositions' (*Le dotte, et eccellente compositioni de i madrigali a cinque voci da diuersi perfettissimi Musici fatte* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1540).

¹⁵⁶ For information on some of these groups see Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

¹⁵⁷ Haar, 'Madrigal', 225.

¹⁵⁸ This is confirmed by Angelo Grillo's letter to Claudio Monteverdi quoted above, where the abbot notes that the madrigals from his *Sesto libro* 'demand advanced consideration and preparation'. For the full quotation see footnote 152.

settings of various types and forms of secular verse'.¹⁵⁹ Grove's description illustrates the general problem: a definition that would allow to uncontradictably delimit the madrigal from any other vernacular vocal genre does not exist. Rather than giving an explicit definition of the 'madrigal' style as such, musicologists tend to describe the style of individual composers or individual 'schools'. The general definition of the madrigal seems to be part of implicit knowledge that is rarely explicitly discussed. One of the most detailed studies of the madrigal style as compared to other vernacular Italian genres was undertaken by Ruth DeFord. It deals with one of the most problematic points as far as the classification of repertoire is concerned – the difference between the madrigal and the so-called 'lighter genres'.¹⁶⁰ Although DeFord expresses the belief that the distinction between 'madrigal' and 'non-madrigal' was clear enough in the sixteenth century,¹⁶¹ she points out numerous examples where the difference is less clear.¹⁶² As DeFord aptly notes, the greatest difficulties in distinguishing the madrigal from the 'lighter genres' arise with works published from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onwards,¹⁶³ which is, unfortunately, exactly the period from which most of the music relevant to this thesis derive.

Turning to sixteenth-century music theorists for their opinion on the madrigal, few authors mention the madrigal at all, and distinguishing between individual musical genres does not seem to have been considered a topic worth much discussion. One work that does name some of the madrigal's characteristic features is Pietro Ponzio's *Ragionamento di musica* (1588), a series of dialogues discussing questions surrounding music theory and composition.¹⁶⁴ The word 'madrigale' appears in the fourth dialogue, which treats questions of notation, tempo and mensuration. After having presented the notational possibilities available to a composer, Ponzio gives recommendations on what relative tempi, expressed through the choice of note values, are suitable for different musical genres. The madrigal is the only secular vocal genre to be discussed in the chapter, with the genres it is compared against being mass and motet compositions. According to Ponzio, the madrigal should be composed in shorter note values and have

¹⁵⁹ Kurt von Fischer, et. al., 'Madrigal', in *GMO*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40075>, subscription required.

¹⁶⁰ Ruth DeFord, 'Musical Relationships between the Italian Madrigal and Light Genres in the Sixteenth Century', *Musica Disciplina*, 39 (1985), 107–168.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 122–133.

¹⁶³ She refers to periods 'after about 1570' (*ibid.*, 121) and after 1580 (*ibid.*, 122).

¹⁶⁴ Pietro Ponzio, *Ragionamento di musica* [228] (Parma: Erasmo Viotto, 1588).

shorter soggetti than the motet. He also notes that a composition branded as a madrigal should use word painting:

I also inform you that it is quite appropriate to compose it [i.e. the madrigal] in semiminims as well as in minims if the latter are used in syncopes. Know also that oftentimes the parts have to run closely together, but fast, moving in minims or semiminims. Great attention has to be paid to the words; for instance, if the words treat hard and rough things, one needs to compose hard and rough passages; and if the words describe running or battling, it is fitting to make the composition faster than before. If the words will speak of falling or rising, be aware to write these parts of your composition falling or rising stepwise or in leaps.¹⁶⁵

Another music treatise that provides relevant information is Ludovico Zacconi's *Prattica di musica* (1592).¹⁶⁶ In the section explaining repetition signs, Zacconi notes that these signs are commonly used in canzonette and villanelle, but not in madrigals and motets.¹⁶⁷ Thus, according to him, marked repetitions are not to be found in a madrigal. One further characteristic of the madrigal can be derived from Girolamo Diruta's organ playing handbook *Il Transilvano* (1593).¹⁶⁸ In the fourth book of the second volume concerned with accompanying plainchant and *alternatim* playing, Diruta makes a side remark that, in order to achieve excellence, the organist should have examined a wide variety of repertoire since there is something to be learnt from every genre of music. As the thing to be learnt from the madrigal, he indicates 'varying harmonic effects' ('variati effetti d'armonia').¹⁶⁹

The characteristics of the madrigal gathered in the paragraph above are useful, but they are not enough to be able to unambiguously set apart 'a corpus of madrigals' since none of the authors provides a formula for determining with certainty whether any particular setting of a vernacular text is a madrigal or not. The fact is, that not all music that displays features typical of the madrigal is labelled as such, and not all music that is labelled as the madrigal exactly corresponds to the typical description of it. This problem can be explained by a look at the history of the use of the term 'madrigale'. The

¹⁶⁵ 'Vi fò anco sapere, che il suo proprio è di fargli delle Semiminime assai, & anco delle Minime fatte in sincopa. Sappiate ancora, che spesse volte le parti debbono andare vualmente insieme, con moto però veloce di Minime, ouer di Semiminime. Si deue hauere osseruanza gra[n]disssima di seguir le parole, come se trattano di cose dure, & aspre; trouare di quelli passaggi duri, & aspri. Se anco le parole trateranno di correre, ouer di combattere; conuiene fare la compositione sia veloce rispetto à quella di prima. Se le parole ragioneranno di cadere, ouero inalzarsi, sarete auertito di far le parti della vostra compositione, che vadano per grado congiunto, ouer disgiunto abbassandosi, ouer alzandosi' (ibid., 160). Quoted from the facsimile available from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Translation of the author.

¹⁶⁶ Ludovico Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* [274] (Venice: Girolamo Polo, 1592).

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., fol. 80v.

¹⁶⁸ Girolamo Diruta, *Il Transilvano* [132] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1593).

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., vol. 2, book 4, 16.

earliest known use of this term with regard to music was as an editorial label in the early 1530s. The word itself, as James Haar suggests, was borrowed from poetry due to the literary madrigal's reputation as 'free poetry', not being attached to a particular rhyme scheme and having a free choice between seven- and eleven-syllable verses. This freedom was comparable to the free form of the musical compositions for which the label was adopted.¹⁷⁰ The new label became increasingly popular as the decades went on, and the music contained under it evolved and grew ever new stylistic traits. The label's eventual decline in popularity towards the end of the sixteenth-century can be seen on the growing number of collections that move the word 'madrigali' into their subtitles, giving precedence to various metaphoric titles, such as 'Spoils of Love' ('Spoglia amorosa') or 'Sweet and harmonious consort' ('Dolci ed harmoniosi concerti'). Although, apart from text in the vernacular – the madrigal's main defining feature – certain characteristics, such as the freedom of form, remained relevant throughout the period examined in this thesis, the precise idea of what could be called a madrigal probably varied, depending on the decade and musical opinions as well as the breadth of repertoire known to individuals.

Knowing that the largest proportion of the repertoire that musicologists refer to as 'spiritual madrigals' falls into the period in which it is difficult to define with any degree of certainty what a 'madrigal' is, my decisions had to be based on pragmatic principles. Firstly, I decided to trust the genre labels provided by the publishers, assuming that they and their customers would have had a mutual understanding of style. Secondly, I decided to look for the characteristic features of the madrigal discussed above. Although it is not always possible to say for sure if a composition *is* a madrigal, one can determine whether it *is likely to be* a madrigal - or *almost certainly not* a madrigal.

¹⁷⁰ Haar, 'Humanistic Theory', 51.

3 IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE PROPHETS: SPIRITUAL MADRIGALS BASED ON FREE POETIC RECOMPOSITIONS OF SCRIPTURE

The first of the three main chapters is devoted to free recomposition, the most difficult to deal with type of paraphrase. The reason for the difficulty is that free recompositions are hard to identify as paraphrases if they are not signposted by the title. And even having identified them, it is not always easy to justify why they should still count as paraphrases. Even having taken into consideration that translation and paraphrase were understood more freely in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than today, it is difficult to understand recompositions since, instead of rendering one text, they seem to combine several texts and recombine them into a new work. However, the authors of these texts still link them with one source more strongly by naming it in the title. The main source for this chapter's case study is the Bible – the most frequently paraphrased of all Latin sacred texts. The Bible is also one of the first works of literature that a sixteenth-century person would have gotten to know in the course of their education.

The madrigal cycles analysed in this chapter are two collections of spiritual madrigals based on a religious poetic cycle by Bernardo Tasso (1493–1569) called *Salmi*. As the title suggests, the main model for it was the Psalter but the paraphrase is so loose that only with the help of the title are parallels discovered between Tasso's cycle and its model. The *Salmi* [251] was published in 1560 by Gabriel Giolito de'Ferrari in Venice and inspired three spiritual madrigal cycles composed by Giovanni Pellio and Flaminio Oddi. Two of them, Giovanni Pellio's *Primo libro de' canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (Venice, 1584) [206] and Flaminio Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci* (Rome, 1608) [197], were chosen as case studies and will be examined in more detail. The third collection, Giovanni Pellio's *Primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1578) [205], of which only the Quinto part survives could not be analysed in detail but can be used as a comparison to its sister collection, the *Primo libro a sei voci*. Modern transcriptions of Pellio's *Primo libro de' canzoni spirituali a sei voci* and Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci* can be found in Appendix B.

Before delving into the analysis of the case studies, a number of Italian religious groups that had similar theological views to Protestant communities but arose and acted independently from the transalpine reformers will be introduced. This introduction is necessary since many Italian poets from the first half of the sixteenth century were associated with this movement. Most important, however, is the influence that these

religious groups had on Bernardo Tasso and the text which provided the lyrics to the case studies of this chapter. Tasso has not been proved to be a member of any of the groups but he knew many of the key members of the Italian Catholic reform movement¹⁷¹ and, as the following text analysis will show, was influenced by their attitudes.

3.1 Reformed Spirituality in Sixteenth-Century Italy: The *Spirituali* Movement

In the eyes of their contemporaries the *spirituali* who were active in Italy from the beginning to around the middle of the sixteenth century were a paradoxical group. While genuinely and consistently remaining Catholic,¹⁷² some of their opinions came perilously close to those held by the reformed communities from beyond the Alps. The beliefs that the *spirituali* had in common with the Protestants can be summed up in three points: the centrality of the Scriptures, the justification by faith and the predestination of man to salvation.¹⁷³ It was in particular the last two points that caused tensions. In accord with the Protestants, the *spirituali* believed that no person could be saved on their own merit, for no good deeds or penance could provide sufficient satisfaction for the human errors resulting from the original sin. It is Jesus Christ who through his death on the cross has paid off the debts of all people and has called them to salvation. Only faith in him can win eternal life.¹⁷⁴ The mainstream teaching of the Catholic Church, for its part, pleaded for the necessity of human effort for attaining salvation. It placed great emphasis on the three-step sacrament of penance. The first step was *contrition*, that is the recognition of one's sins and the wish to improve. The second step was *confession*, the enumeration of one's sins in front of a priest. The third stage was *satisfaction*. It could be achieved in form of prayers, works of mercy, pilgrimages or donations. It was a well-intended concept which, however, gave plenty of opportunity for abuse.¹⁷⁵ The belief in justification by faith alone, seen from the perspective of the Catholic Church, would have not only questioned the legitimacy and the necessity of one of the seven

¹⁷¹ Rosanna Morace, 'Bernardo Tasso e il gruppo valdesiano. Per una lettura "spirituale" dei Salmi', *Quaderni della Sezione di Italiano dell'Università di Losanna*, 9 (2014), 57–60. Digital copy from Academia.edu (accessed 8 June 2018).

¹⁷² According to Dermot Fenlon (*Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counter Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 16, 19–20), the *spirituali* movement arose as an early Catholic reaction to the challenges posed by Martin Luther.

¹⁷³ Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*, 43–44; Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 13–14.

¹⁷⁴ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 17–19.

¹⁷⁵ See Council of Trent, Session 14, 'Teaching concerning the most holy sacraments of penance and last anointing' (Tanner, 703–709).

sacraments but would have also posed a threat to the important role claimed by the Church as an institution within the individual's path to salvation. For this reason, the belief in justification by faith led to a conflict between Catholic and Protestant theologians and brought the Italian *spirituali* into an increasing tension with Rome. The main difference between the *spirituali* and the Protestants was that the former believed that cutting ties with the pope was not the right solution to the problem. Instead, they strove for the reconciliation of the reformed communities with Rome by reforming and renewing the Church from within.¹⁷⁶

Starting in the early 1530s, the movement grew out of private initiatives and small circles of like-minded individuals gathered around two main centres. The first centre formed in northern Italy, in Venice and Padua. A significant number of the *spirituali* were associated or had been previously associated with the University of Padua. Prominent members of this group were the poet Marcantonio Flaminio, a young English scholar Reginald Pole who was later to become cardinal, and the Venetian state official Gaspare Contarini who became one of the ideological leaders of the group.¹⁷⁷ Pietro Bembo, already famous for his writings, also sympathised with the movement.¹⁷⁸ Another influential supporter was Gian Matteo Giberti, the bishop of Verona, himself interested in reforming his diocese.¹⁷⁹

An important role in the spiritual formation of the northern Italian group was played by the Cassinese congregation of the Benedictine order. One of the influential people was Gregorio Cortese who, during his time as the abbot of the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice (1532–1537), had attracted a group of intellectuals who met to discuss religious and cultural questions. Among the people attending the meetings at San Giorgio Maggiore were Gaspare Contarini, Pietro Bembo, Marcantonio Flaminio and Reginald Pole.¹⁸⁰ Another Benedictine that provided inspiration to the *spirituali* movement at its earliest stages was Don Marco from the monastery of Santa Giustina in Padua whose private lectures on the Pauline Epistles, one of the key texts in the

¹⁷⁶ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 17.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 18–19.

¹⁷⁸ Massimo Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, transl. Richard Bates (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 64.

¹⁷⁹ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 29; Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 128–129.

¹⁸⁰ Massimo Zaggia, *Tra Mantova e la Sicilia nel Cinquecento*, volume 2: *La Congregazione benedettina cassinese nel Cinquecento*, Biblioteca Mantovana (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003) 466, 478.

theology of justification by faith, attracted quite a few later members of the movement.¹⁸¹

Another group contemporary to and nurturing similar aspirations to that of Venetian and Paduan reformers emerged in Naples. Its main ideological leader was a Spanish exile named Juan de Valdés. Valdés himself had been influenced by a Spanish religious movement active in the 1520s and early 1530s known as the *alumbrados*, or the ‘enlightened’.¹⁸² Their central belief was in the importance of God’s grace and of the inspiration by the Holy Spirit, whereas they assigned only a marginal role to the Church and the practices recommended by it.¹⁸³ The movement was soon proclaimed a heresy. In the 1530s Valdés fled to Italy eventually settling in Naples.¹⁸⁴ There he began spreading his own interpretation of the teachings of the *alumbrados* among the local nobles and intellectuals. Important helpers in the dissemination of Valdés’ views were two Catholic preachers who sympathised with his theology, the Capuchin Bernardino Ochino and the Augustinian Canon Pietro Vermigli.¹⁸⁵ A person linking the northern and the southern Italian groups was the poet Marcantonio Flaminio who moved to Naples in 1538.¹⁸⁶ A remarkable aspect regarding the group gathered around Valdés is that some of its key members were female. These were the noble widows Giulia Gonzaga, Caterina Cybo and Vittoria Colonna whose wide acquaintances and social status helped to protect the group.¹⁸⁷ At the centre of Valdés’ teaching was the individual path of spiritual perfection that every person was to follow by studying the Scriptures. According to him, real knowledge of the truths revealed by the Scriptures could be gained only by surrendering to the Holy Spirit and giving up the ambition to understand the Bible by means of ‘human prudence’.¹⁸⁸ According to Valdés, all what it takes for a person to be saved is being open to God’s message. Salvation is a gratuitous

¹⁸¹ Zaggia, *La Congregazione benedettina cassinese nel Cinquecento*, 463–465. It has been suggested that Don Marco’s birth name was Mario Armellini. See Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 31–32. A detailed study of the intellectual history of the Cassinese congregation, including their teachings on justification and touching upon their connections with the spirituali can be found in Bary Colett’s monograph *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua*, Oxford Historical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, repr. 2002).

¹⁸² See Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 5.

¹⁸³ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 13.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 18, 29–31.

¹⁸⁵ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 70.

¹⁸⁶ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 131.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 33, 36–37; Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*, 64.

¹⁸⁸ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 41–44.

gift, 'the benefit of Christ', offered to Christians through his death.¹⁸⁹ Good deeds are a person's response to God's gift of salvation and not the means of attaining it. Valdés' teaching concentrated on the question of redemption and on the reform of individual spiritual life, it did not touch upon the questions of institutional authority or the practical organisation of the Church,¹⁹⁰ and, although his teaching was closer to the beliefs of the Protestants than to Catholic doctrine, he admonished his followers against incurring an open conflict with Rome.¹⁹¹

During the 1530s, when the movement began, neither the northern nor the southern *spirituali* were at odds with Rome. In fact, Pope Paul III (1534–1549) was in favour of them. He made Gaspare Contarini cardinal in 1535 and governor of Bologna in 1542. Reginald Pole, Pietro Bembo and Gregorio Cortese were made cardinals in 1536, 1539 and 1542, respectively. They were entrusted with the task of combatting the spread of Lutheranism in Italian lands through Catholic preaching and the abolishment of abuse in local churches.¹⁹² Despite the support from the pope, the years around 1540 were a difficult time for the *spirituali*. An attempt to stop the schism of the Church through the Colloquy of Regensburg in 1541, in which Gaspare Contarini was one of the Catholic delegates, failed. Juan de Valdés died in 1541, followed by Gaspare Contarini in 1542. What is more, in 1542 the group lost its two leading preachers Bernardino Ochino and Pietro Vermigli who, to the great shock of their former companions, broke their ties with the Catholic church and fled to Switzerland. The apostasy and flight of the two preachers was provoked by the process initiated against them in Rome by the Inquisition under the leadership of cardinal Giovanni Pietro Carafa.¹⁹³ Carafa was a contemporary and a keen observer of the northern branch of the *spirituali*. Contrary to them, he did not think that the Protestant problem could be solved by dialogue which, in his opinion, would only enhance the spreading of false doctrines. The solution proposed by him was fast and consistent repression and elimination of heretics. Thanks to Carafa, in 1542 the reform minded groups gained their first institutionalised adversary in the form of the Congregation of the Holy Office,

¹⁸⁹ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 69–70; Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 45.

¹⁹⁰ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 69–70. See also Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 40–41.

¹⁹¹ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 52–53.

¹⁹² Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 49–50.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 45–46.

otherwise known as the Roman Inquisition.¹⁹⁴ The fact that two of their leading members had fled Italy to join the side of the Protestants made it more difficult than ever for the *spirituali* to deflect the suspicions of the Inquisition.

The remaining members of the two *spirituali* groups gathered around Marcantonio Flaminio and cardinal Reginald Pole. The latter was made the governor of the papal territory Patrimonio di San Pietro with a seat in Viterbo. The thus formed community which became known as the *Ecclesia Viterbiensis* was a small but active group. Apart from the patron Reginald Pole and the ideological leader Marcantonio Flaminio, a prominent member of the group was Vittoria Colonna.¹⁹⁵ The Viterbo group continued the *spirituali* tradition of devotional ceremonies in a private circle and evangelisation through personal acquaintance, but they also became involved in broader outreach projects that the first generation *spirituali* had never ventured. On one hand, outreach to the wider population was made possible through prelates who shared the same ideology – Giovanni Morone, bishop of Modena, Vittore Soranzo, bishop of Bergamo and the cardinals Gregorio Cortese and Pietro Bembo. On the other hand, the group intensified their book publishing activities. Vittoria Colonna published her first edition of *Rime Spirituali* [97] in 1546 (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi), but more importantly, Marcantonio Flaminio curated the publishing of books presenting the theology of Juan de Valdés. He prepared for publication several of Valdés' works which hitherto had circulated only in manuscript form. The most influential publication that emanated from the Viterbo circle was a small book titled *Trattato utilissimo del beneficio di Giesu Christo crocifisso verso i Christiani*¹⁹⁶ [169] (Venice: Bernardino Bindoni, 1543).¹⁹⁷ The *Beneficio di Christo*, the title of which alludes to one of the key concepts of Juan de Valdés' teaching, was published anonymously in Venice in 1543. It immediately became a bestseller. Later investigations of the Inquisition revealed that the first draft of the text was written by a Cassinese monk Benedetto da Mantua (Benedetto Fontanini) and then revised by Flaminio.¹⁹⁸ It consists of six chapters explaining the doctrine of justification by faith put into a simple and persuasive language and backed by numerous references to the Scriptures and the

¹⁹⁴ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 126–127.

¹⁹⁵ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 45–46, 71–72; Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 142; Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*, 47.

¹⁹⁶ Its first English translation was made five years after the original Italian print (1548). The manuscript had the title *A Treatise Most Profitable of the Benefitt that True Christianes Receiue by the Dethe of Iesus Christe* [13] and is now known as Cambridge, University Library, MS Nn. 4.43.

¹⁹⁷ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 147–148.

¹⁹⁸ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 73–75.

Fathers of the Church. In a way, the book was ‘a kind of manifesto of the *spirituali*’, whose beliefs were centred on the doctrine of justification.¹⁹⁹ Despite its popularity and favourable reviews it received from bishops sympathising with the *spirituali*,²⁰⁰ it was a highly controversial book. Apart from Valdés’ teachings, it was influenced by John Calvin’s *Christianae religionis institutio* (‘Principles of the Christian religion’) [86] (Basel: s.n., 1536), which in no way was an orthodox Catholic book.²⁰¹ It did not take long for the *Beneficio di Christo* to end up on the list of prohibited books after the *spirituali* lost the favour of the Holy See.

One of the reasons why the *spirituali* and other groups sympathetic to the idea of justification through faith could survive in Catholic Italy was that until the Council of Trent the Church did not have any officially confirmed doctrine regarding the role of faith and works in the way to salvation. The statement that works are necessary for salvation was the mainstream opinion, but other interpretations were not forbidden. This grey zone in the doctrine made the existence of the *spirituali* possible. For this reason, it was a great defeat for Reginald Pole and the community of Viterbo when in early 1547 the sixth session of the Council of Trent issued its decree and canons *On Justification*²⁰² which did not approve the idea of justification by faith alone. From that moment, the teachings of the *spirituali* became officially wrong.²⁰³ Moreover, the last years of the 1540s saw the death of three people important to the movement. Vittoria Colonna, one of the key members of the community died in 1547.²⁰⁴ The same year, they lost Pietro Bembo whose support was crucial.²⁰⁵ Most unfortunate of all was the death of Pope Paul III in 1549. The future of the *spirituali* could still have been positive, had Reginald Pole secured the one conclave vote which separated him from becoming Paul III’s successor, but he failed to secure it. Even worse, the disappointment turned into tragedy after the deaths of Julius III (1550–1555) and Marcellus II (April to May 1555) when Giovanni Pietro Carafa became Pope Paul IV (1555–1559). The election of their most severe adversary meant open prosecution to the *spirituali*.²⁰⁶ Some of the

¹⁹⁹ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 154.

²⁰⁰ See Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 85–86.

²⁰¹ See *ibid.*, 75–81.

²⁰² For the text of the decree and the canons see Tanner, 671–681.

²⁰³ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 195; Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 155.

²⁰⁴ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 217.

²⁰⁵ See Carlo Dionisotti, ‘Bembo, Pietro’, in *DBIO* (accessed 19 March 2019).

²⁰⁶ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 167.

members such as Reginald Pole and Giovanni Morone got silenced and either renounced their beliefs or tried to keep them secret. The ones that refused to comply with the doctrine of the Church either fled or were brought to trial and executed. Marcantonio Flaminio died in 1550 before he could be convicted. He died under suspicion of heresy, yet not having renounced his loyalty to the Catholic Church. There was a time of relief for the *spirituali* during the reign of Pius IV (1559–1565), but his successor Pius V (1566–1572) was another pope recruited from the ranks of the Inquisition. It is during his reign that reformed teachings were finally eradicated from Italy, including the last traces of the *spirituali* movement.²⁰⁷

Although the *spirituali* eventually lost their battle for the reunification of the Catholics and the Protestants and ended up being rejected by both camps, they did have a considerable influence on the religious climate in Northern Italy and Naples.²⁰⁸ Moreover, they significantly contributed to the Council of Trent, with Reginald Pole being the cardinal who opened it²⁰⁹ and Giovanni Morone bringing it to its end.²¹⁰ What makes this chapter of Italian religious history interesting to the present thesis, is the fact that several leading literary figures such as Pietro Bembo, Vittoria Colonna and Marcantonio Flaminio were involved in it. In general, the composition and exchange of written texts in the vernacular played an important role within the religious endeavour of the *spirituali*.²¹¹ Although Bernardo Tasso was formally not a member of any of the groups presented above, the theology conveyed by his *Salmi* (1560) is very much in line with that of Vittoria Colonna and Marcantonio Flaminio.

3.2 Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi* and Their Afterlife as Spiritual Madrigals

Bernardo Tasso (1493–1569) is a representative of the second generation of Petrarchists who learned their skill from Pietro Bembo. His poetic cycle *Salmi* was published in 1560. The *Salmi* is a well-crafted example of a translation of scriptural text that works on multiple levels – the material taken from the Psalter is adapted not only to the vocabulary and grammar of the Italian language but also to the contemporary literary style and intellectual climate. Due to Tasso's free picking and choosing from the Psalter,

²⁰⁷ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 174–176.

²⁰⁸ Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy*, 22, 285.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 101.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 285.

²¹¹ Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*, 49, 64.

the model cannot be automatically recognised without the helpful paratext provided by the title of the collection and the labelling of the individual poems as ‘Psalm Number x’.

As far as the musical setting is concerned, none of the two composers studied in this chapter provided music for the entire cycle. Giovanni Pellio’s setting starts from the beginning of the poetic cycle in the *Primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* (1578) and proceeds in the order chosen by Bernardo Tasso, but it ends by *Salmo X* in the *Primo libro de’ canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (1584), that is after one third of the poems. Flaminio Oddi’s *Madrigali spirituali* contains only four poems from the *Salmi* and combines them with two short texts of similar style. Apart from the poems used by Pellio and Oddi, only the *Salmo XXVI*²¹² and two of the sonnets²¹³ have been set to music. Pellio’s and Oddi’s collections are the only ones that use the *Salmi* as the prevalent source of the lyrics. In general, Tasso’s secular poetry was more popular in music than his sacred verse. The most frequently set poem from the *Salmi* is the fifth (*Vago augelletto*) which was set to music three times: by Pellio and Oddi as well as by Giovanni Vincenzo Macedonio.²¹⁴ The present section will look into the most characteristic features of Tasso’s text and how these are set to music by Pellio and Oddi. It will discuss the possible reasons for choosing the *Salmi* as the source of the lyrics. The section will also look at what elements of both composers’ musical environment had the most influence on their settings.

3.2.1 Bernardo Tasso: His *Ode* and *Salmi*

In the history of Italian literature Bernardo Tasso (1493–1569) is overshadowed by his famous son Torquato (1544–1595). Nevertheless, he authored a substantial five-volume compilation of *Rime* [249] (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1560), a large number of literary letters [247] (Venice: Girolamo Giglio and Companions, 1559) and *Amadigi* [248] (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1560), an epic poem that was received very favourably after its publication. Born into a noble Bergamasque family, he completed his studies in Bergamo and Padua where he studied with Pietro Bembo. He served most of

²¹² As part of Silvio Marazzi’s *Primo libro de’ madrigali a tre voci* [174] (Parma: Seth Viotto, 1577). Marazzi chose *Salmo XXVI* as the opening piece for a collection where Tasso’s poetry accounts for around half of the lyrics. Tasso’s other poems found in the collection are mostly taken from his three books of the *Amori* (1531–1537).

²¹³ The first of the two sonnets *All’anima* was set to music by Lodovico Agostini in his *Lagrime del peccatore a sei voci* [57] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1586). The second of the two sonnets *A Christo* was set to music by Giovanni Francesco Alcarotti in his *Secondo libro di madrigali a cinque et a sei voci* [59] (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1569).

²¹⁴ Giovanni Vincenzo Macedonio di Muzio, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* [167] (Naples: Giovanni Giacomo Carlino, 1606). Information based on NV 822.

his life as a secretary to different noblemen. Most of his patrons were associated with religious reformist movements. One of his first patrons Renata d'Este, the Duchess of Ferrara, was a follower of Jacques Lefèvre, a reformist French theologian. She later became a keen supporter of French Protestants such as Clement Marot and even Jean Calvin himself.²¹⁵ Tasso's longest employment lasting from 1532 until the early 1550s was with Ferrante Sanseverino, the Prince of Salerno, who sympathised with Juan de Valdés' ideas and received Marcantonio Flaminio into his household when he moved to Naples in 1538. In the 1550s, for his allegiance to France, Ferrante was declared a rebel by the Spanish government of the Kingdom of Naples. He died in exile. Although there is not enough proof of Ferrante's formal conversion to Calvinism, he was certainly sympathising with the Calvinists.²¹⁶ Tasso's last employer Guglielmo Gonzaga, the Duke of Mantua, also seems to have been tolerant to reformist beliefs spreading among his courtiers,²¹⁷ so that the Mantuan court ended up being the epicentre of a major expurgation operation performed by the Inquisition in 1567–1568.²¹⁸ Despite Tasso's relationships with figures supporting reformatory religious ideas, the poet himself managed to stay clear of suspicions. There is no direct evidence of him being one of the *spirituali* or taking part in other reform movements.²¹⁹

As far as his literary profile is concerned, Tasso presents himself as a poet rooted in two traditions: Italian and classical. In the prefaces to his published collections, he seeks to introduce himself as an innovator drawing his inspiration from the heritage of the Antiquity, which is a typically Humanist pose. While the preface to Tasso's first published book, the *Libro primo degli amori* [245] (1531) presents his works as 'imitations' of authoritative Italian and classical examples,²²⁰ in the preface to the second volume of the *amori* [246] published three years later (1534), the author's voice sounds more confident and more ambitious. Already within the first sentence, he refers to his

²¹⁵ Eleonora Belligni, 'Renata di Valois-Orleans', in DBIO, vol. 86 (2016) (accessed 26 March 2019).

²¹⁶ Firpo, *Juan de Valdés and the Italian Reformation*, 131; Luca Addante, 'Sanseverino, Ferrante', in DBIO, vol. 90 (2017) (accessed on 19 March 2019).

²¹⁷ Morace, 'Bernardo Tasso e il gruppo valdesiano', 57–58.

²¹⁸ Anderson Magalhães, 'All'ombra dell'eresia: Bernardo Tasso e le donne della Bibbia in Francia e in Italia', in Rosanna Gorris Camos (ed.), *Le donne della Bibbia, la Bibbia delle donne: Teatro, letteratura e vita. Atti del XV Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Verona, 16–17 ottobre 2009, Gruppo di studio sul Cinquecento francese* (Fasano: Schena, 2012), 212–213.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 160, see also 162.

²²⁰ *Libro primo degli amori* [245] (Venice: Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio and Brothers, 1531), fol. 2.

poems as a ‘novel fabric’,²²¹ and the novelty of his work is underlined in several other passages.²²² Tasso’s listing of his shortcomings and expectations directed toward the coming generations of poets are, in fact, a declaration of his literary programme: renewing the Italian poetic tradition following the model of the Latin classics, until it becomes ‘the poetry of the ancients taken into modern hands’.²²³ Tasso goes into even more detail claiming that he envisions creating an Italian version of the hexameter and has already created a new poetic form for this purpose.²²⁴ Looking at the contents of the two books of the *Amori*, the *Libro primo* (1531) displays more Italian than classical influence. The prevalent poetic form is the sonnet, and the prevalent theme is love. Apart from sonnets, there are *terze rime*, *canzoni* and *sestine*. The collection contains only one poem that does not fit any of the traditional Italian poetic forms. It consists of five-verse stanzas with an abacc-rhyme. Classical influence manifests itself only in the themes of some poems, which are clearly modelled on classical Latin poetry, especially the *Odes* of Horace, Latin strophic poems written in the first century BC in meters adopted from Greek lyrical poetry. In the *Libro secondo* (1534), the first half of the collection is similar to the *Libro primo* and consists of love poems written in Italian forms. What Tasso refers to with his claim of novelty, is probably the contents of the second half titled ‘hymns’, ‘odes’, ‘eclogues’ and ‘elegies’. These poems are written either in five-verse long strophes an example of which can be found already in the *Libro primo* or in a form that resembles *endecasillabi sciolti* but does display some sort of rhyme scheme. Despite Tasso’s aspirations, none of these two forms truly corresponds to hexameter, even if one of them graphically resembles it. After all, Latin poetry is based on syllable lengths and Italian poetry is based on syllable-counting, so the hexameter cannot work in Italian. It is probably in anticipation of critique, that in the preface of the *Libro secondo*, Tasso distances himself from his ‘Italian hexameter’ project by assigning its completion to future generations of poets. Indeed, he admits that his current attempts at creating an Italian analogue of hexameter leave room for improvement:

I will not deny that the verse is endecasillabo and not hexameter – despite all my efforts to prolong the verse form in order it to have the same number of syllables as the

²²¹ ‘Nouella tela’, fol. ii. The preface of the *Libro secondo degli amori* was reused as the preface to the *Rime* edition of 1560. Here and further on, Tasso’s works are quoted from the digital facsimiles of the *Rime* [249] and its separate volumes ([250] and [251]). English translation is by the author.

²²² *Ibid.*, fols ii verso, iii, iv, iv verso, vi.

²²³ ‘...poesia de gliantichi [!], colta dalle mani moderne’, fol. iv verso.

²²⁴ preface to the *Rime*, fol. v verso–vi.

hexameter without making it sound like prose rather like poetry, I have never succeeded to give it the shape that I had made up in my mind...²²⁵

Tasso republished the unconventional strophic pieces from the *Libro secondo degli amori* along with some new pieces written in the same form as one of the volumes of his *Rime* edition. He titled the volume *Ode* [250] (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1560). In its classical sense, 'ode' (lat. 'ode' or 'oda', gr. 'ōidé') means a piece of poetry written for sung performance. A well-known classical example of 'odes' are the aforementioned *Odes* of Horace, which served as a thematic inspiration for Tasso. The title *Ode* was already used for the same five-verse strophic poems in the *Libro secondo*, but there it was only one in a list of classicising titles used to name the poems. In the preface to the *Ode*, Tasso is more reserved with his aspirations than in the *Libro secondo degli amori* – either because this preface is all in all shorter and less elaborate or because Tasso had become more realistic about the possibilities offered by Italian metrics by 1560. Rather than aiming for an "Italian hexameter", he claims to 'imitate the good Greek and Latin poets, not so much in metre, impossible to imitate in our Italian tongue, but in invention, order and figures of speech'.²²⁶ In this sentence, Tasso refers to the first three of the five canons of rhetoric: the *inventio*, the *dispositio* and the *elocutio* (the choice of material, the ordering of material and the formulation of ideas).²²⁷ Thus, what the reader is encouraged to look for in Tasso's poems, is not classical meters but classical themes, poem structure following that of classical poetry and tropes borrowed from classical authors. Despite ultimately having failed to reproduce any one of classical poetic forms, Tasso's newly invented strophic form, which later became known as the 'ode', was there to stay. Later it became more flexible allowing not only five-verse strophes but also those with six verses. Tasso used this form also in his *Salmi*, which provided the text for this chapter's case studies.

The year 1560, when Tasso's full *Rime* edition appeared, was a difficult time for the poet. His master, Ferrante Sanseverino, had fled in 1551 and Tasso had been in search for a new employer ever since. One of the patrons he was interested in was

²²⁵ 'Non neghero il uerso esser endechasillabo, & non exámetro; ma tutto che d'allungarlo, & di renderlo al numero di quello piu simile, che si potesse, mi sia affaticato, non ho potuto giamai quella forma darli che gia nell'animo fabricata m'hauea; si che piu tosto numero di prosa non hauesse, che di uerso' (ibid., fol. vi).

²²⁶ '...ad imitatione de buoni Poeti Greci, e Latini; non quanto al uerso, il quale in questa nostra Italiana fauella è impossibile d'imitare, ma ne l'inuentione, ne l'ordine, e ne le figure del parlare' (preface to the *Ode*, p. 5).

²²⁷ See Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, 4th edn (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008), 139.

Emmanuel Philibert (1528–1580), the Duke of Savoy.²²⁸ It is probably for this reason that he decided to dedicate the *Ode*-volume to Emmanuel Philibert. Probably not less than pleasing the duke, Tasso was interested in pleasing the duke's spouse Margaret de Valois (1523–1574). She was a woman of letters who, despite her husband's opposition to the religious heterodoxy in the Savoy state, surrounded herself with Huguenot intellectuals she had brought along from France after marrying the Duke in 1559. Tasso offered to Margaret another volume, a sister-collection of the *Ode* titled *Salmi* ('The Psalms'). The dedication of such a work to the Duchess was well-chosen, knowing her religious sympathies and her interest in the Scriptures.²²⁹ The *Salmi* consists of thirty poems written in Tasso's new strophic form and a few poems in more conventional forms appended at the end: a *Canzone a l'anima* and four religious sonnets. It is possible that Tasso's decision for the main body of the cycle to consist of thirty pieces was influenced by the example of his friend Marcantonio Flaminio, whose collection of psalm paraphrases in Humanist Latin verse, the *Paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos versibus scripta* [140] (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546), also consists of thirty pieces.²³⁰ Tasso knew Flaminio from the time of his studies at Padua in the 1520s, and the two men are known to have maintained a correspondence after moving on from Padua.²³¹

In the same way as the 'invention', the 'order' and the 'figures of speech' of the *Ode* are modelled after classical Latin and Greek poetry, the *Salmi* is oriented towards the Bible. Probably the most noticeable borrowing on the level of the *inventio* and the *dispositio* is the sorrowful plea for God's mercy and its placement at the head of some poems. For example, *Salmo* XIV begins with the words 'Have mercy, oh Lord'.²³² These words echo the opening of Psalm 50: 'Have pity on me, O God, according to your great mercy'²³³ or the first line of the Psalms 6 and 37: 'O Lord, do not rebuke me in your anger, or discipline me in your wrath'.²³⁴ Sometimes the first invocation of a *Salmo* is formed as a reproach, which is also borrowed from the Psalter:

²²⁸ See 'Tasso, Bernardo', in EI-1937 (accessed on 9 June 2018).

²²⁹ Morace, 'Bernardo Tasso e il gruppo valdesiano', 84–85.

²³⁰ See Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete della cetra', 180; Morace, 'Bernardo Tasso e il gruppo valdesiano', 83–84.

²³¹ Morace, 'Bernardo Tasso e il gruppo valdesiano', 62; Magalhães, 'All'ombra dell'eresia', 162–163.

²³² 'Pietà, Signor, pietate', *Salmi* XIV, 1, 1.

²³³ 'Miserere mei, Deus, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam', Psalm 50:3. In this line the English translation is of the author.

²³⁴ 'Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripas me', Psalm 6:(1)2 and Psalm 37:(1)2.

How long, Lord, will this lost soul follow the mind without any light?²³⁵
(*Salmi*, II, 1, 1–3)

How long, O Lord? Will you forget me forever?²³⁶
(Psalm 12:1)

Many of the biblical psalms end with a positive note, either praising God or promising to praise him for his saving help. Similarly, Tasso's *Salmo X* ends with the words:

And forever singing you praises and glory with a zither I will remind to the world
that a heart that is not a stone obtains grace and mercy by your pity.²³⁷
(*Salmi*, X, 12, 1–5)

Looking at the level of tropes, one of the images borrowed from the Bible is that of sin as a burden. In the *Salmi* II and IX the human soul is portrayed as burdened, for example the ninth stanza of the *Salmo* II speaks of the 'earthly burden' ('mole terrena', *Salmi*, II, 9, 2). This is a metaphor borrowed from the Psalter:

For my iniquities have gone over my head; they weigh like a burden too heavy for
me.²³⁸
(Psalm 37: (4)5).

Another trope common with the Psalter is the metaphor of sin as illness, as for example, in Psalm 6:

Be gracious to me, O Lord, for I am languishing; O Lord, heal me, for my bones are
shaking with terror.²³⁹
(Psalm 6: (2)3)

This metaphor is employed by Tasso in the *Salmo VI* and the *Salmo XXII*. The *Salmo XXII* draws an expressive image of a soul consumed by earthly affairs:

Like a sick man whose veins and chest are so boiled with fever that the soft and cool
bed seems to him rough and boiling, so my soul hurt by so many troubles and set on fire
by their flame burns with bad fever.²⁴⁰
(*Salmi*, XXII, 1, 1–2, 4)

²³⁵ 'Sin a quando Signor questa suata | Anima, senza luce | Seguirà il senso [...]?'

²³⁶ 'Usquequo, Domine, oblivisceris me in finem?'

²³⁷ 'E le tue lodi sempre, e la tua gloria | Cantando con la Cetra, | Farò al mondo memoria, | Che'l cuor,
che non è pietra | Gratia, e mercè da tua pietate impetra.'

²³⁸ 'Quoniam iniquitates meae supergressae sunt caput meum, | et sicut onus grave gravatae sunt super me'.
Some further similarities to the Psalter are named in Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete della cetra', 184.

²³⁹ 'Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum; | sana me, Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea'.

²⁴⁰ 'Come infermo, cui ardente | Febbre le uene e'l petto | Cuoce così, che'l letto | Gli pare aspro e
cocente | Ch'è molle, e fresco, ond'ei ne sia dolente: | | Così da febbre ria | Di tante noie offesa; | E del
suo fuoco accesa; | Arde l'anima mia'.

Similarly, the *Salmo VI* starts with the invocation of the Holy Spirit as a doctor contrasting it with three figures from classical mythology known for their healing powers:

Come, oh mild comforter of our sick souls, you that are certainly a better doctor for our torments than Oenone,²⁴¹ Podaleirios or Machaon²⁴² ever were.²⁴³
(*Salmi*, VI, 1, 1–2).

Despite its similarities with the Psalms, Tasso's attitude to sin differs from that of the Old Testament. The poet's interpretation is closer to the New Testament and clearly influenced by the writings of the *spirituali*. For example, although the image of sin as illness is known from the Bible, the notion of the healing power of the Holy Spirit discussed above could have been brought to Tasso's attention by the *spirituali* who, on their part, had it from Juan de Valdés teachings.²⁴⁴ For example, a similar image to that quoted from the *Salmo VI* can be found at the end of the opening chapter of the *Beneficio di Christo*, only here the healing power is attributed to Christ:

For no one ever looks for a doctor unless he knows he is sick, and he does not acknowledge the excellence of the doctor or the debt he owes him, unless he recognizes that his illness is pestilential and deadly. In the same way, no one recognizes Christ, who is the only doctor for our souls, unless he sees that his soul is sick. Also he cannot know Christ's excellence or the obligation that he has towards him, unless he comes to realize his grievous sins and his pestilential illness, contracted through the contagion of our first parents.²⁴⁵

(*Beneficio di Christo* I, 41–48)

One of the most notable differences between Tasso's text and the message conveyed by the Old Testament is the attitude to sin and punishment. In the actual psalms, punishment and suffering are tragic consequences of sin. In the *Salmi* God is

²⁴¹ A nymph, the first wife of Paris, the only person able to heal him in case of a wound in the Trojan war.

²⁴² Podaleirios and Machaon were sons of the god of medicine Asclepius. In the *Iliad* they are portrayed as having healing powers.

²⁴³ 'Dell'egre, inferme menti | Vieni, o consolatore | Clemente; o de tormenti | Nostri, Medico certo assai migliore, Che non fu mai Enone, | Che non fu Podalirio, o Macaone.'

²⁴⁴ See Rosanna Morace, 'Del "rinovellare" la lingua volgare: i "Salmi" di Bernardo Tasso', in B. Alfonzetti, et al. (eds), *I cantieri dell'italianistica. Ricerca, didattica e organizzazione agli inizi del XXI secolo. Atti del XVII congresso dell'ADI – Associazione degli Italianisti* (Roma Sapienza, 18–21 settembre 2013) (Rome: Adi editore, 2014), 11–12.

²⁴⁵ 'Perciocché, si come niuno mai cerca il medico, se non conosce di esser infermo, né conosce la eccellenza del medico, né l'obbligo che gli deve avere, se non conosce che la sua infirmità è pestifera e mortale: così niun conosce Christo, unico medico delle anime nostre, se non conosce l'anima sua esser inferma; né può conoscer la eccellenza di Christo, né l'obbligo che gli dee avere, se non discende nella cognizione delli suoi gravissimi peccati e della infirmità pestifera, che abbiamo contratta per contagione de' nostri primi parenti.' The Italian text is quoted from Salvatore Caponetto's edition [170] to which the given line numbers refer. The English version is quoted from the translation by Ruth Prelowski [172].

often addressed as a merciful Father (*Salmi* III, 9, 6; V, 8, 1; X, 9, 1; XV, 1, 1, etc.).²⁴⁶ Already the first poem in the collection presents punishment as a didactic tool employed by God to prevent the wayward soul from getting into even bigger trouble:

You punish me as a loving father who shows himself cruel and pitiless to his son in order to spare him from even greater suffering.²⁴⁷
(*Salmi* I, 3, 1–4)

The image of God as a merciful father is found in the New Testament, in passages like the famous prodigal son parable. This image was willingly exploited in the theology of the *spirituali*. For example, the fourth chapter of the *Beneficio di Christo* says:

He [i. e. God] regards our works like a merciful father and not like a severe judge, and he has compassion on our fragility;²⁴⁸
(*Beneficio di Christo* IV, 334–335)

Another aspect in which the *Salmi* differs from the Old Testament is the meaning of the word ‘enemy’. This word frequently appears in both the Psalter and Tasso’s poetic cycle, but it is used in a completely different sense. The ‘enemies’ of the Old Testament are human enemies of the speaker. In the *Salmi* the word ‘enemy’ is expressed as singular and is sometimes also referred to as ‘the serpent’ (see *Salmi* II, 3, 2; V, 8, 4; etc.). All these names are metaphors for the Devil.²⁴⁹ The Devil is described as a predator seeking to snatch the helpless human soul. In the *Salmo* V, 6–7 the Devil is fashioned as a wolf trying to attack the soul-lamb. In the *Salmo* VIII, 8 he is compared to a bird-catcher. The image of the Devil as a serpent is known already from the Old Testamental book of Genesis and is revisited in the third chapter of the *Beneficio di Christo*:

He [Christ] is that most happy seed, who has crushed the head of the poisonous serpent, namely the devil, so that all who believe in Christ and place their whole trust in his grace, will conquer sin, death, the devil, and hell, with him.²⁵⁰
(*Beneficio di Christo* III, 191–194)

One of the key concepts characterising the beliefs of the *spirituali*, and especially of Juan de Valdés, is the idea of divine illumination.²⁵¹ In the seventy-fifth of his *Cento e*

²⁴⁶ See Morace, ‘Bernardo Tasso e il gruppo valdesiano’, 79.

²⁴⁷ Come padre amoroso, | Che si mostra al figliuol crudele, & empio | Per torlo a maggior scempio, | Me punisci’.

²⁴⁸ ‘Egli considera le nostre opere come padre misericordioso e non come severo giudice, avendo compassione alla nostra fragilità...’

²⁴⁹ Morace also notes that the plea to punish the enemies is absent in Tasso, see ‘Del “rinovellare” la lingua volgare’, 11.

²⁵⁰ ‘Questo é quel felicissimo seme, che ha percorso il capo al velenoso serpente, cioè al diavolo, perciocché tutti quelli che credono in Christo, ponendo tutta la loro fiducia nella grazia di lui, vincono col Christo il peccato, la morte, il diavolo e lo inferno.’

dieci divine considerazioni ('Hundred and ten considerations') [258] (Basel: s.n., 1550) Juan de Valdés teaches:

Wishing to understand in what manner we, who are members of Christ, doe obtaine all the things of God through Christ, I consider that as all men who have the outward sight of the eyes cleare, do know the outward being of things through the benefit of the Sun, in which God hath set his outward light; so all men who have the sight of their inward eyes cleare, doe know all inward things by the benefit of Christ, in whom as Saint Paul saith, *God hath set all the Treasures of his Divinity*.²⁵²

(*Le Cento e dieci divine considerazioni*, beginning of LXXV)

Similar ideas can be found in Tasso's religious poems. The *Salmo VII* has a several strophes long passage building on the metaphor of God as light:

I seek you, oh my Lord, to serve you and to love you, but I cannot find you, for the cloud of wicked sin interposes between me and my longing | and hides your light, my shining sun, away from me, so the blind mind, without anyone to guide it or to illuminate it, returns to its old habits. | Like a ray of bright scorching sun sometimes clears away the cloud, which every moment disturbs the air with its darkness and makes it pale, so let one single pinpoint of the light of your immense grace, like a burning torch, show me, a lost and weary pilgrim, the straight path.²⁵³

(*Salmi VII*, 2, 4–5, 5)

Even more Valdesian in its tone is the ninth strophe in which the divine light is contrasted to 'human thoughts' ('pensier humani'):

But if this living ray of your grace clears away those human thoughts that like shadows disguise my journey so that I have no light any more...²⁵⁴

(*Salmi VII*, 9, 1–5)

This is reminiscent of the concept preached by Valdés that salvation and true understanding of God can be attained only by revelation and grace and not by 'human prudence', as the Spanish theologian terms it.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ See Morace, 'Bernardo Tasso e il gruppo valdesiano', 77–78.

²⁵² 'Volendo intendere, in che maniera noi che siamo membri di Christo, conseguiamo tutte le cose di Dio per Christo, considero che si come tutti gl'huomini, che hanno chiara la vista degli occhi esteriori, conoscono l'essere esteriore delle cose per beneficio del sole, nel quale Dio ha posto la sua luce esteriore: cosi tutti gli huomini che hanno chiara la vista degli occhi interiori, conoscono tutte le cose interiori per beneficio di Christo, nel quale, come dice San Paolo, Dio ha posto tutti li tesori della sua divinità.' Italian text quoted from the digital facsimile of the *Cento e dieci divine considerazioni* [258] available from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, pages are unnumbered in the first Italian edition. English text, quoted from the anonymous translation published in Oxford in 1638, digital facsimile from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [259], 189–190.

²⁵³ 'Ti cerco, o Signor mio | Per servirti, & amarti, | Ma non posso trouarti, | Che la nube del rio | Peccato, | s'interpone al mio desio || E mi nasconde il lume | Di te, mio sol lucente | Si, che la cieca mente | Tornerà al suo costume. | Se non è qui la guidi, o che l'allume: || Come raggio talhora | Di chiaro ardente Sole, | Sgombrar la nube suole | Che l'aria adhora, adhora | Conturba col col suo fuoco, e discolora. | Così un solo lumicino | De la tua gratia immensa | Come faccella accensa | Mostri il dritto cammino | A me smarrito, e stanco pellegrino'.

²⁵⁴ 'Ma se col uiuo raggio | Di tua gratia disgombrè | Questi ch'a guisa d'ombre | Mi celano il uiaggio | Pensieri humani, ond'io lume non haggio'.

The sinful soul is depicted in the *Salmi* as restless. This idea might be a borrowing from the Psalms (for example, compare *Salmi*, VI, 3, 6 and Psalm 37:4). However, it might also be a pointer to one more cultural layer providing the basis for Tasso's poetry. Tasso is not the only Italian author using this type of depiction. The same notion of restlessness is already perceivable in some of Petrarch's poems, such as the sonnet *Solo e pensoso*. Next to the Bible and Valdesian spirituality, a further source of influence for the *Salmi* is constituted by the tradition of Petrarchism. The *Salmi* operates the standard poetic vocabulary of the said tradition. One of the most prominent examples is the use of 'gelo/ghiaccio' (*Salmi* VI, 4, 4; VIII, 3–4) to describe sin²⁵⁶ and 'fuoco' (*Salmi* IV, 2, 1; VIII, 1, 2) to describe divine love. God or the Holy Spirit are expected to melt the ice of sin with their flame (see *Salmi* VIII, 1, 1–5). In Petrarch's works, as for example in the sestina *L'aere gravato* (strophe 4), 'gelo' is used as a metaphor for a woman's heart that does not respond to the courtship of the speaker. Another possible way to use the word can be found in Pietro Bembo's sonnet *Lasso, ch' i' piango* (verse 6). Here 'ice' is a metaphor for the speaker's resistance to his beloved lady's charms which are represented by 'fire'. In Petrarch's works 'fire' is used as a metaphor for love, as for example in the ballata *Quel foco ch'i' pensai che fosse spento*. In *Salmo* IX, 5, 5 the joys of this world are described as having 'impious sweetness' ('*Pempia dolcezza*'). This attribute is a reminder 'bitter sweet' motif of Petrarch, who, for example, uses the expression 'sweet bitterness' ('*dolce amaro*') in the sonnet *Dolci ire* (line 6) when speaking about his feelings towards his beloved one.

Tasso's Humanist heritage, yet another cultural layer, is visible through the use of classical mythological characters as points of comparison for the inner state of the speaker. Examples of such comparisons are the Harpies gnawing on the sinner's soul (*Salmi* V, 9, 3–4; X, 5, 4–6, 1) and the reference to the drowning of the mythical couple Ceyx and Alcyone²⁵⁷ as an image of the soul drowning in sins (*Salmo* XX, 3, 3–5). Tasso also employs bucolic scenes and converts them into religious imagery.²⁵⁸ For example, in *Salmo* VI (strophe 6) a meadow adorned with countless flowers is compared to the soul of the speaker filled with countless worries. In *Salmo* IX (strophes 8–9) a very similar

²⁵⁵ See Morace, 'Bernardo Tasso e il gruppo valdesiano', 78.

²⁵⁶ See Föcking, *Rime sacre*, 67 on the use of 'ghiaccio' in Vittoria Colonna's religious poems.

²⁵⁷ Ceyx's ship was sunk in a storm provoked by Zeus, and his wife Alcyone drowned herself after she heard about the death of her husband.

²⁵⁸ See Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete della cetra', 184–186 on combining classical and biblical elements in religious poetic texts.

picture serves as a representation of the beauty of Paradise. The image of a water spring is often used as a metaphor for God's grace (e.g. *Salmo VIII*, strophe 4).

Tasso's *Salmi* is by far not the first attempt to draw on the Psalter as a source of inspiration for Italian verse, and it is not the last. Examples of works of this kind abound. What makes Tasso's collection stand out, is his creative way of using biblical material and his experiments with form. The *Salmi* manages to build bridges between the biblical, classical Latin and Petrarchist poetic traditions. The cycle influenced later authors – Bartolomeo Arnigio and his *Sette psalmi della penitencia* [66] (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio with Francesco and Pietro Maria Marchetti, 1568), Laura Battiferri and her *Sette salmi penitentiali* [72] (Florence: Heir of Bernardo Giunti, 1564), Gabriele Fiamma with his *Parafrasi poetica sopra alcuni salmi di David profeta* [139] (Venice: Nicolò Bevilacqua, 1571) and others – who copied the *ode*-form for their own psalm paraphrases.²⁵⁹

3.2.2 Giovanni Pello and His Benedictine Patron

The first madrigal cycle to be examined, Giovanni Pello's *Primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci* [206] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1584), is based exclusively on Tasso's *Salmi*. Regarding the composer's biography, neither his date of birth nor the place where he was trained is known. The earliest obtainable document containing his name is the minutes of the general assembly of the congregation of the Roman church of San Luigi dei Francesi on 3 November 1577 where Pello is listed as a candidate for the post of the *maestro di cappella*. In the minutes documenting the final round of the competition at San Luigi, he is referred to as 'Johannes Pello, presbyter Leodiensis',²⁶⁰ which suggests that he was a native of Liège and a priest. It also means that he probably was born before 1553 since the minimum age requirement for the priesthood introduced by the Council of Trent was 24 years.²⁶¹ Pello got the job but resigned after only five months of service.²⁶² Nothing is known about his whereabouts in the three years following his resignation. In 1581 he reappears in the records as the *maestro di cappella* of San Luigi dei Francesi. This time he seems to have held the post for

²⁵⁹ See *ibid.*, 189, 195–196.

²⁶⁰ Here and further the documents from San Luigi dei Francesi are quoted diplomatically from Herman-Walther Frey, 'Die Kapellmeister an der französischen Nationalkirche San Luigi dei Francesi in Rom im 16. Jahrhundert. Teil II: 1577–1608', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 23/1 (1966), 32–60, here 35.

²⁶¹ Session 23, canon 12. For the text of the canon see Tanner, 748.

²⁶² Frey, 'Die Kapellmeister', 35.

two and a half years until the end of July 1583.²⁶³ His second resignation must have been quite abrupt, according to the records of the church:

On Sunday, 31 July 1583 Master Johannes Pellius from Flanders, *maestro di cappella* of the church of San Luigi, once again, resigned without a reason and without the permission of the Rectors, driven solely by the inconstancy of his character; he took off, as they say. The Lord direct his steps.²⁶⁴

The description of Pello's second resignation is the last secure record of his musical employment available. It is unknown when he died, but he probably was still alive in July 1597 when the dedication of his last publication, the *Secondo libro delle canzoni spirituali a sei voci* [207] (Venice: Angelo Gardano) was signed, as it refers to the composer in the manner one would speak of a living person. As far as Pello's musical output is concerned, he is known mainly for his three books of *Canzoni spirituali* (Venice, 1578, 1584, 1597). No liturgical music written by him has survived, and his only surviving secular work is a madrigal in G. B. Moscaglia's *Secondo libro de madrigali a quattro voci con alcuni di diversi eccellenti musici di Roma* [193] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1585).²⁶⁵

Apart from the composer, one other person connected with at least the first two books of *Canzoni spirituali* is Don Serafino Fontana, a high-ranking Benedictine monk. Fontana was a member of a wealthy Milanese family. He entered the Benedictine order in 1548 at the monastery of San Simpliciano in Milan. He soon embarked on an impressive career within the Cassinese Congregation, starting as the congregation secretary in Rome (*generalis procurator*) from 1572 to 1575. After this, he served as the abbot of different houses, starting with Santa Maria di Farfa in the Sabina region in 1574 and ending as the abbot of his native San Simpliciano in Milan at the time he died in January 1597.²⁶⁶ He was also elected the President of the congregation twice (in 1589

²⁶³ Ibid., 39.

²⁶⁴ 'Die D(omi)nica XXXI Julij 1583 dñs Johannes pellius flander magr capelle ecc(lesi)e Sti Ludouici, nulla subsistente causa, sed solita cerebri sui volubilitate ductus jterum recessit absque dñorum Rectorum licentia, jmo hospite, vt dici solet, jnsalutato, cuius gressus dirigit d(omin)us.' Quoted from Frey, 'Die Kapellmeister', 39.

²⁶⁵ Pier Paolo Scattolin, 'Pello, Giovanni', in GMO (accessed 14 November 2016).

²⁶⁶ *Matricula monachorum congregationis Casinensis ordinis S. Benedicti* [2], ed. Arcangelo Bossi, and Leandro Novelli, (Cesena: Badia di Santa Maria del Monte, 1983), 31, 581; Fortunato Olmo, 'La storia del monastero di S. Giorgio Maggiore' [21], ed. Sergio Baldan, 542; Emmanuele Antonio Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni Veneziane (raccolte ed illustrate da Emmanuele Antonio Cigogna cittadino Veneto)*, vol. 4 (Venice: Giuseppe Picotti, 1830), 266. The documents of the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore generally start the new year on 1 January but it is possible that the date given by Olmo is *more veneto*, meaning that Fontana's death would then fall in January 1598 of the Gregorian Calendar.

and 1593)²⁶⁷ and served as the main treasurer (*principalis capserius*) of the congregation from 1592 until his death.²⁶⁸

Fontana's and Pello's paths must have crossed for the first time in Santa Maria di Farfa in the Sabina region north of Rome sometime after 1575, the year in which Fontana was appointed abbot of the monastery. Pello was either already resident there or moved in shortly after Fontana's appointment.²⁶⁹ It is unclear how intensive their patron-client relationship was, but Fontana's name features in the dedications of two out of three publications containing Pello's music (1578, 1584), and the dedicatee of the third and last collection was certainly acquainted with Fontana through his office in the Cassinese Congregation. Who was this Benedictine connected with the publication of Pello's spiritual madrigals? Snippets of information can be gathered from biographical and archival sources and some can be found in the dedication texts of Pello's publications. However, before embarking on further discussions on the topic, a few words on using dedications of musical works as sources of biographical information should be said.

In sixteenth-century Italy, a dedication text was treated as a letter and subject to the same rhetorical standards that would be expected from a well-written letter. For example, Angelo Ingegneri in his handbook for aspiring secretaries *Del buon segretario* [157] first published in 1594, in the part dedicated to letter writing, describes a dedication as a non-commercial letter written either by an inferior person to a superior or by equal to equal. He notes that this sort of letter first and foremost calls for 'decoro', that is rhetorical elaboration.²⁷⁰ Earlier in the book, Ingegneri suggests that one of the best ways of achieving the 'decoro' is by using *loci communes*.²⁷¹ Such *loci* were usually learned by imitating the writing of others. For this purpose, numerous volumes of literary letters written by prominent figures or even generic sets of exemplary letters (*formularii*) were published. The publication of the six-volume collection of *lettere*

²⁶⁷ *Matricula monachorum congregationis Casinensis*, 24–25.

²⁶⁸ He is mentioned in Venice, Archivio di Stato, San Giorgio Maggiore, B. 6, registro DD: *Liber Instrumentorum Congregationis* [5], fols 239, 241, 242v, 245v, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253v, 255, 256v, 257v, 259, 260v, 263.

²⁶⁹ A record from the aforementioned election of the *maestro di cappella* of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome dated 3 November 1577 lists Pello as 'living in Fara' ('degens alla fara'). Another minute from the congregation meeting dated 24 November 1577 records that Pello was paid one scudo to cover his travel costs back to the monastery. Frey, 'Die Kapellmeister', 32, 35.

²⁷⁰ Angelo Ingegneri, *Del buon segretario libri tre di Angelo Ingegneri* [157] (Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1594), 68.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 50.

dedicatorie by the Bergamasque printer Comino Ventura at the turn of the seventeenth century²⁷² shows that exemplary dedication texts were no less in demand than other types of letter. What the knowledge of the aforementioned publications tells us, is that a big part of what is said in dedication texts is there for rhetorical purposes and cannot be treated as biographical material. However, artificial as they were, the dedication texts were not allowed to drastically contradict the reality. Angelo Ingegneri admonishes his reader that they should not allow the rhetorics to go off-limits, so that the text retains its credibility.²⁷³ One work devoted specifically to the phenomenon of dedicating books is Giovanni Fratta's dialogue *Della dedicatione de' libri* [142] published in 1590. Fratta's work is not a manual but rather a discussion on historical and ethical questions surrounding the dedication of books. Although it is not very instructive about what particular types of dedication letters were expected to look like, it gives some general idea around the culture of book dedication. As far as the choice of dedicatee is considered, the leading character of Fratta's dialogue expresses the expectation that the type and the main theme of the work should match the interests and the capabilities of the dedicatee, otherwise he or she might refuse the patronage.²⁷⁴ Thus, although by far not every word of the dedication can be taken at face value, these texts can provide some clues about the dedicatee, the author or the general situation.

The first collection, *Il primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* (1578), is dedicated directly to Fontana. The dedication text is signed not by the composer himself but by a certain Giovanni Bassiano.²⁷⁵ There could be different reasons why Pellio did not sign the dedication himself, one of the most likely being that Don Serafino's acquaintance with him or his work was not close enough for the composer to approach the abbot directly. In the dedication text Fontana is praised for his musical abilities:

²⁷² [*Sei*] *libri di lettere dedicatorie Di Diuersi* [263] (Bergamo: Comino Ventura, 1601–1602).

²⁷³ Ingegneri, *Del buon segretario* [157], 45.

²⁷⁴ Giovanni Fratta, *Della dedicatione de' libri* [142] (Venice: Giorgio Angelieri, 1590), fol. 19.

²⁷⁵ Neither the author of this study nor Katherine Susan Powers, one of the few authors to mention Pellio's *Canzoni spirituali* at all, could find any information on Bassiano's biography. As Powers notes ("The Spiritual Madrigal", 88, footnote 132), 'Bassiano' could be an alternative spelling for 'Bassano', which would suggest Giovanni Bassano, a Venetian musician and composer. However, if the author of the dedication was really Giovanni Bassano, he would have been no more than eighteen years old in 1578 (according to David Lasocki, et al., 'Bassano family' in *GMO*, (accessed 6 February 2020), he was born in 1560 or 1561) – a very young age for a patron of another person's work.

...since I know that you are, according to the judgement of the skilled, not only very capable in practice and theory of music but also able to clearly demonstrate this to those dear to you through your own works.²⁷⁶

The author of the text may be exaggerating the level of Fontana's ability, but the passage might as well contain a grain of truth. If the abbot allowed such an image of himself being publicised, he might well have had an interest in music and possibly even enjoyed making music privately. To confirm such an assumption, there is one other printed source referring to Fontana's musical abilities. It is the second edition of Pietro Calzolari's *Historia monastica* [88] (Rome: Vincenzo Accolti, 1575), a compendium of biographies of prominent monks and nuns that describes Fontana as 'an excellent musician'. Unfortunately Calzolari does not give any details about Fontana's musical talents, but what it tells us is that Fontana was known not only for his musical ability but also for his patronage ('a lover of the skillful in their art who can be called their other Maecenas').²⁷⁷ Fontana's reputation as a patron explains why Pellio (or Giovanni Bassiano) may have chosen him as the dedicatee of the collection.

Pellio's second collection, the *Primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci*, was published in Venice in 1584, when Fontana was the abbot of the monastery of Sant'Eufemia in Brescia. This time, his name is not the most prominent one in the dedication text. The print is dedicated to Willem Hellemans, a rich Venetian merchant. Fontana is mentioned as a 'close' friend of his:

I am so obliged to the Reverend Father Don Serafino Fontana that I cannot disobey to his will. He commands that some of my *Canzoni spirituali* be printed; I consent and, in order to please him even more, I dedicate them to your lordship knowing what a close friend of yours he is.²⁷⁸

It is possible that Pellio had financial reasons for choosing Hellemans as the dedicatee of his *Canzoni spirituali* while the mention of Fontana's name in the dedication text was presumably supposed to provide a degree of prestige which Hellemans, a member of the

²⁷⁶ '...perche sò che nella Pratica, & nella Theorica della Musica [...] non pur molto valete, al giuditio de gli intendenti, ma fare anco cio chiaramente conoscere con le proprie vostre opere a coloro, che vi sono cari.' Quoted from the part-book preserved in Regensburg [205].

²⁷⁷ '...molto eccellente Musico'; 'amatore de virtuosi, che si puo chiamare un' altro loro Mecenate.' Pietro Calzolari, *Historia monastica* [88], fol. 466. The first edition of the work [87] was published in 1561 by Lorenzo Torrentino in Florence. This edition does not mention Fontana yet since he would have been too young to be mentioned in this kind of work in 1561.

²⁷⁸ 'Son tanto obligato al R[uerendo] Padre D[on] Serafino Fontana, che non posso disdire alla sua volontà. Comanda egli che si stampino alcune mie Canzoni spirituali, me ne contento, e per dargli maggior sodisfatione le dono à V[ostra] S[ignoria] sapendo quanto egli sia stretto seco in amicitia.'

citizen class and a foreigner, could not offer.²⁷⁹ It might have even been in the interest of Hellemans himself to publicise his ‘friendship’ with Fontana. As the documents preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Venice show, the two men were linked not only by a mutual appreciation of music, but also by a business connection. Hellemans was a descendant of an Antwerp-based family of merchants resident in Venice where he ran a jewel business together with his brothers.²⁸⁰ The family had commercial relations with Antonio Maria Fontana, another merchant specialising in jewels. After the death of Antonio Maria, his brother Serafino, already a Benedictine by that time, stepped in as his legal representative to conclude unfinished business between the two families, while Willem acted as the representative of the Hellemans family. The archives of the notary Pietro Partenio contain several records documenting the agreements between Serafino Fontana and Willem Hellemans with the first record dating from July 1584.²⁸¹ It is possible that this time Fontana exercised his patronage not only by providing his name but also by recommending Pellio to Hellemans who, together with his brother Karel, was a well-known cultural patron.²⁸²

The dedication of the *Secondo libro delle canzoni spirituali a sei voci* dated July 1597 is signed by the publisher Angelo Gardano and does not feature Fontana’s name any more. A possible reason for this could be that Fontana was already dead by then. The print is dedicated to a different Benedictine monk, Antonio Antonioli from San Giorgio Maggiore known as Antonio da Verona. Professed in the same monastery in 1571,²⁸³ he is mentioned in the documents as the vice-treasurer of the Cassinese Congregation from

²⁷⁹ Giovanni Fratta in his *Della dedicatione de’ libri* [142] (fol. 19v) is rather critical about dedicating books to members of the merchant class who, in his opinion, are not cultivated enough to appreciate such a gift.

²⁸⁰ Maartje van Gelder, *Trading Places: The Netherlandish Merchants in Early Modern Venice, Library of Economic History* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1–3; Rodolfo Baroncini, ‘Giovanni Gabrieli e la committenza privata veneziana: i ridotti Helman e Oth’, in *Spazi veneziani. Topografie culturali di una città*, ed. Sabine Meine (Rome: Viella, 2014), 31.

²⁸¹ Venice, Archivio di Stato, Notarile, Atti, Pietro Partenio, B. 10671 [3], fols 395v–397v, 412v–413v, 425–425v, 558–558v, 559–561v and B. 10676 [4], fols 263v–265. There is a French summarising translation of the records by Wilfrid Brulez and Greta Devos (*Marchands flamands à Venise*, Brussels and Rome, 1965) [1], see record nos 98–100, 106–107, 176. Nos 98–100 and 106–107 give misleading references to B. 10669.

²⁸² According to van Gelder (*Trading Places*, 175), Karel Hellemans valued the arts and owned many artworks by Venetian artists, such as Titian. On the musical patronage of the Hellemans brothers, and especially their relation to Giovanni Gabrieli, see Baroncini, ‘Giovanni Gabrieli e la committenza privata’, 30–42.

²⁸³ His *promessa di fede* (a solemn promise of fidelity to the congregation written down on a piece of paper and placed upon the altar at the moment of profession) is still preserved in the archives of the monastery: Venice, Archivio di Stato, San Giorgio Maggiore, B. 17, Proc. 8B [6].

1589 until 1598.²⁸⁴ As the vice-treasurer he must have known Serafino Fontana, who was the main treasurer from 1592 until his death.²⁸⁵ Antonioli is praised as

...the one who has raised these precious delights from the darkness, for their author, being devoutly engaged in higher and better thoughts, had, to everyone's great loss, forgotten about them.²⁸⁶

Of particular interest in this quotation is the part referring to Pellio 'being engaged in higher and better thoughts'. It is likely that this passage is a rhetorical exaggeration of Antonioli's merit and Pellio's *gravitas*; however, it might also be a hint that composing music was not Pellio's main priority at the time the *Secondo libro a sei* appeared or that he had found some kind of clerical employment. It remains an open question whether Pellio's last collection has any direct connection to Serafino Fontana. One can only speculate whether Fontana was intended as the dedicatee and, after his death, was replaced by his vice-treasurer, or whether the abbot had contributed to Pellio's acquaintance with Antonioli in any other way.

When searching for the reasons why Fontana, a Cassinese abbot, would have been interested in musical settings of Bernardo Tasso's poems, a biographical link between the poet and the Cassinese Congregation emerges. A letter written by Torquato Tasso to the poet Angelo Grillo, also a Cassinese Benedictine, states that his father, while serving Ferrante Sanseverino in Salerno, was friends with two Benedictine monks from the Monastery of Santissima Trinità in Cava dei Tirreni, about fifty kilometres southeast from Naples:

Let your favour sustain me, and that of Father abbot Guidi, Father Girolamo Trojano and all Fathers of your congregation, for which I have an affection due to an old and intimate friendship I had with many of them in the monastery of Cava where as a child I was often stroked by Father Pellegrino dall'Erre who was the abbot there and then by his successor who was an offspring of the counts of Potenza.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ *Liber Instrumentorum Congregationis* [5], fols 210v, 212v, 214, 218, 241, 242v, 245v, 246v, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253v, 255, 256v, 257v, 259, 260v, 263.

²⁸⁵ Fontana's and Antonioli's names appear together in all of the records starting February 1592 (*Liber Instrumentorum Congregationis*, fol. 239). The last record (fol. 263) is from March 1598, which would be an argument for dating Fontana's death as 1598. Another possible reason for the record post-dating his death could be that his name was continued to be used in the documents until the election of the new treasurer.

²⁸⁶ '...ma perche queste preciosissime gioie sono state da Lei di quelle tenebre tratte, doue l'Autore loro, in piu alti, & eccellenti pensieri santamente impegato, se le haueua con tanta perdita comune dimenticate.' Quoted from the digital facsimile of the *Secondo libro a 6* [207] made available by the Anna Amalia Library in Weimar (accessed 3 September 2015).

²⁸⁷ 'Mi conservi la sua grazia, ed in quella del R. P. Abate Guidi, e del R. P. Don Girolamo Trojano, e di tutti i Padri della sua Congregazione, a' quali sono affezionato per l'antica, ed intrinseca dimestichezza, che io ebbi con molti di loro nel monastero della Cava; dove, essendo fanciuletto, fui spesse volte assai

One of the monks from Torquato's childhood, Pellegrino degli Erri, professed in 1507 in Modena. He was the abbot of the Santissima Trinità in Cava only for a year from 1549 to 1550. He spent most of his life in Northern Italy and certainly knew a number of *spirituali*, some of whom were members of the same congregation.²⁸⁸ The other Benedictine, Girolamo de Guevara, professed in 1507 in Naples and was the *generalis procurator* of the congregation in 1520.²⁸⁹

As far as the doctrinal context is concerned, it is not surprising that madrigals based on a poetic cycle that is so close to the theology of the *spirituali* emerged from a Cassinese Benedictine environment. As was mentioned in the first part of the chapter, it was Benedictine abbots and preachers who inspired and supported the early Northern Italian *spirituali* groups. Even if Pellio's *Canzoni spirituali* appeared ten years after the reorganisation and expurgation of the congregation by Pope Pius V in 1568,²⁹⁰ there might have been some tacit sympathisers with the heterodox doctrines left. One such sympathiser could have been Serafino Fontana, Giovanni Pellio's patron. In 1548, when he entered the congregation, Reginald Pole was the order's Cardinal Protector.²⁹¹

Moreover, the choice of the Bible as the model for a poetic text to be set to music is consistent with the interests of the Cassinese Congregation more generally. Between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth centuries, the Cassinese congregation (initially called the congregation *de Unitate* or congregation of Santa Giustina) displayed a keen interest in patristic and biblical scholarship and many of its members were capable of reading the Bible in its original languages.²⁹² Even after the reorganisation of the congregation in 1568, this interest continued, if less overtly. For example, in 1573 a collection of Psalm paraphrases in Latin and Italian [137] composed by Pellegrino degli Erri, one of the Benedictines Bernardo Tasso was acquainted with, was posthumously published by Giordano Ziletti in Venice. The title

accarezzato dal P. Don Pellegrino dall'Erre, che v'era Abbate, e poi dal suo successore, che fu de' Conti di Potenza...? Quoted from: Giovanni Rosini (ed.), *Opere di Torquato Tasso colle controversie sulla Gerusalemme*, vol. 13. *Lettere di Torquato Tasso* (Pisa: Niccolò Capurro, 1825), 24–25.

²⁸⁸ See Zaggia, *La Congregazione benedettina cassinese nel Cinquecento*, 451. Degli Erri also served as the president of the congregation in 1558 and 1561. He died in Padua in 1564 (*Matricula monachorum congregationis Casinensis*, 23, 208–209).

²⁸⁹ *Matricula monachorum congregationis Casinensis*, 31, 281.

²⁹⁰ See Zaggia, *La Congregazione benedettina cassinese nel Cinquecento*, 461–462.

²⁹¹ Pole was the Cardinal Protector of the Benedictines from 1547 to 1555, see *ibid.*, 474.

²⁹² Colett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars*, 8–10.

page of the book names the author but does not refer to him as a member of the Cassinese Congregation.²⁹³

One earlier example of an overlap between the Cassinese interest in biblical scholarship and music can be found in Gioseffo Zarlino's settings of texts from Isidoro Chiari's *Song of Songs* translation into Latin published in the 1540s. Isidoro Chiari entered the Cassinese Congregation in Parma in 1517, and his *Song of Songs* translation [95] was published by Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari in Venice in 1544. This was not the first revised edition of the Scriptures prepared by Chiari: he had already published a new translation of the Latin New Testament amended according to the Greek originals [93] (Venice: Peter Schoeffer, 1541) and a three-volume edition of the entire Bible [94] (Venice: Peter Schoeffer, 1542).²⁹⁴ Chiari's *Song of Songs* edition offered a Latin translation of the poems attributed to king Solomon, amended and restructured according to the Hebrew original along with an extensive commentary. It is not known how and why the composer Gioseffo Zarlino, himself a Franciscan, decided to turn Chiari's translation into a cycle of motets. One possible reason might be the composer's own interest in Hebrew biblical sources since Zarlino is known to have studied Hebrew after his move to Venice in the early 1540s.²⁹⁵ In his motets, the *Song of Songs* text from Chiari's 1544 edition is set in a remarkably straightforward way, without any deviations, omissions or repetitions. According to Cristle Collins Judd, any singer performing or reading Zarlino's setting would have had the experience of "reading" the *Song of Songs* in Chiari's translation in a continuous version that omitted the scholia.²⁹⁶ Judd suggests that Zarlino initially intended to set the complete book but abandoned the project halfway through it and published the ten pieces he had already composed as separate motets dispersed within three different collections issued in 1549.²⁹⁷ Although Zarlino's motets are also an example of the Cassinese interest in the Scriptures leaving a trace in

²⁹³ Zaggia, *La Congregazione benedettina cassinese nel Cinquecento*, 452.

²⁹⁴ Colett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars*, 88, 143–144.

²⁹⁵ This is known from Zarlino's *vita* written by Bernardino Baldi (1553–1617) found in Enrico Narducci (ed.), *Vite inedite di matematici italiani* (Rome: Tipografia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche, 1887), p. 168. As for the date of Zarlino's move to Venice, see Cristle Collins Judd, 'Introduction', in Gioseffo Zarlino, *Motets from 1549. Part 1. Motets based on the Song of Songs*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 145 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2006), vii. Judd notes that there is a possibility that Zarlino was commissioned to compose the music for Chiari's translation but admits that she could not find 'any evidence linking Zarlino directly or indirectly to Chiari or any Cassinese institutions' (ibid., ix).

²⁹⁶ Ibid., xi; see also x.

²⁹⁷ *Quinque vocum Moduli. Liber Primus* [275] (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1549); *Primo libro de motetti a cinque voci da diversi* [48] (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1549); *Il terzo libro di motetti a cinque voci di Cipriano de Rore* [26] (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1549). See Collins Judd, 'Introduction', xvi.

music, there is probably no connection between them and Pellio's *Canzoni spirituali*. Moreover, there are two substantial differences between Zarlino's and Pellio's cycles. The first difference is the genre, which has implications on the language of the lyrics and the style of the music. The second is the motives behind the composition. Of course, no one can be sure about the motivation that triggered the composition of either of the cycles. However, Zarlino's cycle is more likely to have been inspired either by the composer's interest in Chiari's scholarly translation, his interest in the Hebrew Bible or his willingness to face the challenge of transferring a text conceived for meditative continuous reading into music.²⁹⁸ In Pellio's case, the interest in the Scriptures was probably only a secondary factor, the main motivation coming from the interest in Bernardo Tasso's poetic text as such and the interest in music or specifically the madrigal genre.

To sum up, there are several factors that could have contributed to Serafino Fontana's interest in a musical setting of Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi* offered by Pellio. There is no proof that Fontana knew Tasso personally and, in fact, it seems improbable due to their difference in age, but Tasso was certainly familiar to the Cassinese congregation as a community. Furthermore, the dedications of Pellio's collections and the characteristics given by Pietro Calzolari suggest that Fontana had an interest in music and was known for patronage. The traces of *spirituali* teachings found in Tasso's text and its scriptural connections also fit the profile of a Cassinese monk whose spiritual formation years fall into the period when excellence in biblical scholarship and ties with the *spirituali* movement belonged to the immediate past of the congregation. Even less is known about the composer Giovanni Pellio and his views regarding Tasso or the *spirituali*. One thing that becomes apparent though, is that he found a benevolent patron in the person of Serafino Fontana.

3.2.3 The *Primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (Venice, 1584)

Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi* provided the texts for the first two books of Pellio's *Canzoni spirituali*. Since Tasso's poems are multi-strophic, and Pellio set them to music in their entirety, his madrigals are extremely lengthy, consisting of three to eleven *parti* each. Alfred Einstein names this type of madrigal which became increasingly popular from

²⁹⁸ See *ibid.*, xiv.

the 1560s onwards the ‘cyclic canzone’.²⁹⁹ He does this with reference to the title of the *Canzone et Madrigali a sei voci* [196] (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1557) by Giovanni Nasco, a composer who was very fond of this form. A list of Roman cyclic madrigals compiled by Patricia Ann Myers counts 523 titles.³⁰⁰ The earliest pieces, Bartolomeo Tromboncino’s frottole *Che debb’io far, si è debile il filo* and *Se il dissi mai*, date from 1507 and are found in the *Frottole libro septimo* [212] published by Ottaviano Petrucci. The latest example on Myers’ list, Antonio il Verso’s *Amico hai vinto*, was published in 1619.³⁰¹ According to the scholar, the periods in which the largest numbers of cyclic madrigals were produced were the 1560s and the 1580s (see Table 3.1).³⁰² Thus, multipartite madrigals were certainly not unknown in the late 1570s when Pellio’s first collection appeared. For example, Giovanni del Bene’s *Musica spirituale* (Venice, 1563) considered to be the first full collection of spiritual madrigals³⁰³ also includes two cyclic pieces. According to Myers, pieces consisting of four to eight *parti* were the most common. The first cyclic madrigals were settings of Petrarch’s canzoni which remained one of the favourite sources. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, pastoral poetry became increasingly popular. The favourite poetic forms to be set to music as cyclic madrigals were, apart from the canzone, the ottava rima and the sestina.³⁰⁴ Tasso’s *Salmi* with its unusual form is rather an exception.

In terms of the presentation of Tasso’s text, Pellio’s *Primo libro a sei voci* (1584) is a continuation of his *Primo libro a cinque voci* (1578). The 1578 collection sets the *Canzone a l’anima* and the *Salmi* I to V from Tasso’s poetic cycle. The 1584 collection begins with the *Salmo VI* and ends with the *Salmo X*. The two collections together provide the music for approximately one third of the cycle. Although Pellio published one more book of *Canzoni spirituali* in 1597, his third collection does not continue with the setting of the *Salmi* and uses a compilation of poems written by different authors instead.

²⁹⁹ Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, transl. by Alexander H. Krappe, et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971, first printed in 1949) vol. 1, 432.

³⁰⁰ Patricia Ann Myers (‘An Analytical Study of the Italian Cyclic Madrigals Published by Composers Working in Rome ca. 1540–1614’, PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971, v) defines a madrigal as cyclic if it consists of four or more movements.

³⁰¹ In the *Decimo Quinto Libro de’ Madrigali a Cinque Voci* [266] (Palermo: Giovan Battista Maringo, 1619).

³⁰² Myers, ‘The Italian Cyclic Madrigals’, 3.

³⁰³ Rorke, ‘Spiritual Madrigals of Quagliati and Cifra’, 9.

³⁰⁴ Myers, ‘The Italian Cyclic Madrigals’, 16, 19.

Table 3.1: Chronological distribution of cyclic madrigals published by composers working in Rome between 1540 and 1609.³⁰⁵

Decade	Number of Cyclic Madrigals
1540–1549	21
1550–1559	42
1560–1569	106
1570–1579	84
1580–1589	125
1590–1599	75
1600–1609	49

The formal structure of Pellio’s settings of poems from Tasso’s cycle is closely tied to the structure of the text. One full *Canzone* contains one full *Salmo* divided into several *parti*. The *parti* differ in length depending on the grammatical caesuras in the text. As an example, the third *Canzone* divides the eight strophes of Tasso’s *Salmo VIII* into three groups of 3-3-2 strophes, whereas the first *Canzone* distributes the same amount of strophes of the *Salmo VI* into five *parti* (see Figure 3.1). On the subordinate structural levels, Pellio, as most madrigal composers, complies with the grammatical construction of the text rather than with the formal division of the poem. In cases where Tasso’s poems contain enjambments forcing the composer to choose whether to open a new musical phrase with a beginning of a new grammatical unit or at the beginning of a new line, he is more likely to give precedence to the meaning of the text than to its poetic form. Occasionally the composer tries to negotiate between different possibilities of division. One of the more striking examples of this can be found in the third *parte* of the fourth *Canzone* where Tasso’s text contains an enjambment between the strophes 8 and 9. Pellio connects the last verse of strophe 8 with the beginning first verse of strophe 9 (IV, 3 bars 132–133). The border between the musical passages is unmistakable due to the use of different numbers of voices (four for the first passage and three for the second) and differing text declamation (melismatic cadence for the first passage and syllabic setting for the second).

³⁰⁵ A summary of a more detailed table published by Myers in ‘The Italian Cyclic Madrigals’, 11–14.

Figure 3.1: Comparison of text division in Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi* (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1560) and Giovanni Pellio's *Primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1584).

Salmo VI

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	2		3		4	5	

Canzon Prima

Salmo VII

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2		3			4		5	

Canzon Seconda

Salmo VIII

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1			2			3	

Canzon Terza

Salmo IX

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1			2			3			4	

Canzon Quarta

Salmo X

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1		2		3		4		5		6	

Canzon Quinta

By choosing to compose for six voices, Pellio picks one of the more elaborate scoring options the 1580s have to offer for this type of composition although six-part madrigals were not completely uncommon. Table 3.2 presents the number of results returned by the USTC when searching for book titles from 1550–1609 containing the keywords ‘madrigali’ plus ‘a quattro’/‘a cinque’/‘a sei’/‘a sette’ ordered according to decade. Although the numbers cannot be taken as absolute, knowing the weaknesses of the USTC explained in Chapter 2.3, they can be used to show some general trends. While, for example, Philippe de Monte published nine books of madrigals for six voices and Luca Marenzio published six books, the preferred scoring at the time remained for five voices. As far as the cyclic canzone is concerned, only around 17 percent of the collections were composed in six parts in the 1580s and less than 2 percent featured more than six voices. In the surrounding decades the proportion of six-part collections was 23 percent.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ Based on the data collected by Patricia Ann Myers, see Table I in ‘The Italian Cyclic Madrigals’, 11–14.

Table 3.2: Number of results returned by the USTC for madrigal books scored for four, five, six and seven parts in different decades between 1550 and 1609.³⁰⁷

Decade	'a quattro'/'a quatro'	'a cinque'	'a sei'	'a sette'
1550–1559	70	40	13	5
1560–1569	129	126	28	9
1570–1579	41	110	48	8
1580–1589	58	247	107	9
1590–1599	27	173	75	4
1600–1609	36	218	96	1

As far as the pitch organization of the five *Canzoni* is concerned, Pellio seems to be aiming for variety rather than a specific modal pattern. The succession of finals, ranges and cadential plans gives no indication of the collection being conceived as a modally ordered cycle (see Table 3.3), and the total number of five pieces is anyway not very conducive to a modal cycle, which would require at least eight or twelve pieces. If Pellio approached the composition of the *Canzoni* from the perspective of modal theory at least to some extent, then he must have been working with a twelve-mode system in mind since the final C and the voice ranges of the opening piece match the characteristics of the Hypoionian mode (mode 12).³⁰⁸

Speaking of the *Canzon prima*, it seems to be the most interesting piece of the collection from the perspective of pitch content and the way it is organised. Although its external characteristics point to mode 12, internally it alternates between the actual Hypoionian area with cadences in C and G and a Phrygian area which operates *cadenze in mi* on E or A as well as conventional cadences on A. The cadences and melodies centered around C or G are in place when the text speaks of God or the Holy Spirit, and Phrygian sonorities dominate when the text speaks of death, Devil and sin. The *Canzone* begins with a slow *soggetto* laden with alteration signs. The imitation is opened by the Sesto voice with a melody that outlines the ascending Lydian species of fourth (*ut-re-mi-fa*) that is transposed so far into the realm of *musica ficta* that it would be placed in the theoretically non-existent hexachord on B containing a D# (see Example 3.1). The Quinto follows a fifth underneath and also adds two *mi*-signs. It is accompanied by

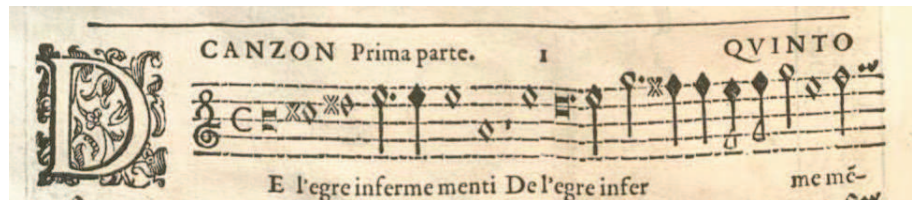
³⁰⁷ The search was conducted on 26 February 2020. The search words used in the 'Title' field were 'Madrigali' and 'a quattro'/'a quatro'/'a cinque'/'a sei'/'a sette'.

³⁰⁸ I use the numbering given in the first edition of Zarlino's *Istituzioni* [276] (1558), which was adopted also by Tigrini [253] and Zacconi [274] in their treatises. Zarlino, in his later works, changed the number of the C-modes from 11–12 to 1–2.

Table 3.3: Contents of Giovanni Pello's *Primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1584).

<i>Canzone</i> No	Number of <i>Parti</i>	Length in Breves	Key Signature	Lowest Note of the Final Chord	Clefs (C, A, T, B, Q, S)
1	5	172	♭	C	G2, C2, C3, F3, C3, G2
2	5	165,5	♭	G	G2, C2, C3, F3, C4, G2
3	3	127,5	♭	F	G2, C2, C3, F3, C3, C1
4	4	183	♭	G	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3, C1
5	6	199,5	♭	G	G2, C2, C3, F3, C3, G2

Example 3.1: Beginning of the first *Canzone* in the Sesto part book (erroneously labelled as 'Quinto' on that page). Giovanni Pello, *Primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (Venice, 1584).³⁰⁹



the parallel thirds of the Alto, who sings a modified version of the melody. Already in the second line of the text, the music moves into a more regular harmonic area with cadences on C and G. It seems that the quirkiness of the opening passage is supposed to illustrate the sickness referred to in the opening line: 'of our sick, weak souls' ('dell'egre, inferme menti'). One of the unusual things about this *soggetto* is the ascending direction of the line. Normally, in painful contexts, one would use a slow descending melody. Also the use of two *mi*-signs in direct succession and the transformation of a Phrygian fourth into a Lydian fourth is a rather unusual decision, so it is indeed not just the negativity of the text content that is being expressed in the passage but also the aspect of being in an abnormal physical state. The eccentric *soggetto* is placed at the opening of a madrigal, which is a prominent position, especially considering that this is the first madrigal of the collection. The 'sickness' of the soul is referred to again at the beginning of the final *parte* of the piece: 'heal the aching soul' ('sana l'alma dolente', I, 5, bars 137–139). Here, the Alto melody that begins the imitation presents a shortened version of the first *soggetto* as it was then sung by the Quinto. This time, only the *mi*-sign before G is indicated, but since leaving the

³⁰⁹ Image from the digital facsimile available from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [206].

preceding F unraised would result in an augmented step, one feels compelled to raise the F as well. This passage is no less quirky than the opening passage. In the Alto, which begins the imitation, after the ascent from E to A, not much happens with the melody, only the G-A step is repeated until it turns into the descant clausula of an A-cadence. One is left to wonder whether the *mi*-sign carries over to the space between the first and the last Gs of the passage, which have it notated. As a singer seeing only his or her own line, one would logically think that the raised leading tone remains since the same step is repeated again and again. However, the G-sharp would clash with the C-natural of the Sesto. To cut this discussion short, with its expressive *soggetto* and pitch hierarchies that correlate with the text content, the *Canzon prima* is a truly interesting composition and a well-suited opening piece of a cycle.

In all of the *Salmi*, the story that emerges from the poems revolves around the initial misery, penance and redemption of the human soul. Pellio's music seeks to enhance this story. The musical vocabulary he uses for this purpose comes mainly from the secular madrigal. The difference lies in the ideas these musical devices are used to convey. There are many secular works that could be used to exemplify the relation of the *Primo libro a sei voci* with the secular madrigal. For the sake of simplicity, the secular examples used for comparison in the present chapter will derive from just two prints. These are two volumes of a madrigal anthology published by the Ferrarese court printer Vittorio Baldini in 1582–1583 bearing the titles *Il lavro secco* [34] and *Il lavro verde* [36]. The two richly-decorated volumes were published to mark the occasion of the wedding of Laura Peverara, member of the famous *concerto delle donne* of the Ferrarese Court, and Count Annibale Turco.³¹⁰ The two-volume collection consists of around fifty short poems by Torquato Tasso featuring the word 'laurel' ('lauro') as an allusion to Laura Peverara, set to music by the best madrigal composers of the time. Both volumes were reprinted outside Ferrara in the 1590s – *Il lavro verde* [37] in 1591 by Pierre Phalèse in Antwerp and *Il lavro secco* [35] in 1596 by Angelo Gardano in Venice. The two collections are a good source of comparison since they were published at a similar time as Pellio's *Primo libro a sei voci* and 'gather together all of the most vital styles in the madrigal around 1580'.³¹¹

³¹⁰ Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara 1579–1597*, 2 vols, Princeton Studies in Music (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 69.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

Example 3.2: The setting of the words ‘noie ed affanni’ in Giovanni Pellio’s *Primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1584), Canto, I, 4, bars 110–136. Marking of the author.



Coming back to the case study of this chapter, Pellio chooses to express the sufferings of the human soul, so vividly portrayed by Bernardo Tasso, by using longer than average note values, descending melody or by adding dissonances. For example, the text of I, 4 begins with a bucolic scenery, the setting of which runs mainly in minims and fusae. As soon as the ‘troubles and worries’ (‘noie ed affanni’) are mentioned in bar 126, the music slows down and the melody begins to descend. This contrast is obvious in the facsimile of the Canto part where the note values of the melody double and the melody descends by a seventh (Example 3.2).

Longer note values can be also found in the first *parte* of the third *Canzone* in the musical setting of the Petrarchan metaphor of ‘hardened ice’ used to describe sin. In this passage, not only the tempo slows down but also some suspensions and dissonant passing notes are added to amplify the effect. In general, Pellio employs dissonance and longer note values not only to portray the miserable state of the soul but also for other negative subjects, such as the ‘wicked sin’ (‘rio peccato’, II, 2, bars 26–27), the ‘evil enemy’ (‘empio nemico’, III, 3, bars 100–103) or the ‘impious sweetness’ (‘empia dolcezza’, IV, 2, bars 85–87). In the madrigals of the *Lavro* series, longer note values often appear in passages portraying erotic pleasure or erotic suffering. For example, in Luca Marenzio’s madrigal *Mentre l’aura spirò* from the *Lavro secco* (1582) longer note values are used in a passage describing how the beloved ‘sweetens’ the pain of the speaker. To add some more tension, the words ‘sweetens’ (‘addolcia’) or the word ‘pain’ (‘doglie’) are placed under the leading tone of what turns out to be a *cadenza fuggita* (see Example 3.3).

Example 3.3: Setting of the words ‘addolcia le mie doglie’ in Luca Marenzio, *Mentre l’aura spirò*, bars 10–13 (*Il Lavro secco* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1582)).³¹²

The musical score is for five voices: Canto, Alto, Quinto, Tenore, and Basso. The key signature is G minor (one flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: 'ad - dol - cia le mie do - glie le mie do - - glie.' for Canto; 'le mie do - glie ad - dol - cia le mie do - - glie.' for Alto; 'ad - dol - cia le mie do - glie ad - dol - cia ad - dol - cia le mie do - glie.' for Quinto; 'ad - dol - cia le mie do - glie ad - dol - cia le mie do - glie.' for Tenore; and 'ad - dol - cia ad - dol - cia le mie do - - glie.' for Basso. The score includes a rehearsal mark '11' at the beginning of the Canto line.

Another method used by Pello to express the painful earthly reality of the speaker is by neglecting the regular pitch hierarchies, that is by cadencing on notes that are not part of the piece’s normal plan or introducing *clausulae in mi* typical of the Phrygian modes into otherwise non-Phrygian contexts. For example, the second *Canzone* has G as its final and a B flat key signature, so it can be expected that its main cadences fall on G and its upper fifth D. Most of the time, this is indeed the case, but there are also exceptions. Already in the first *parte* a two-part *cadenza in mi* leading to the note A appears (II, 1, bars 7–8, A and Q). This cadence closes the phrase ‘I call [for your help] against the evil serpent’ (‘contra l’angue maligno Chiamo’). *Cadenze in mi* can also be seen in the third *parte* with the words ‘nothing helps me’ (‘nulla mi giova’, II, 3, bar 84, S and B, bar 86, C and Q), in the fourth *parte* with the words ‘earthly shell’ (‘terreno manto’, II, 4, bars 107–108, C and S) and in the fifth *parte* with the word ‘worthless’ (‘vile’, II, 5, bars 151–152, C and Q). While there is a possibility that the listed *cadenze in mi* get overlooked within the harmonic fabric, there is a passage in the second *parte* where they are difficult to miss. The passage that tells of the ‘dark cloud of sin’ that separates the speaker from God and obscures his guiding light (II, 2, bars 25–32) is set to music as a series of homophonic blocks, most of which end with simple ³¹³*cadenze in mi* on A or on D. In the Tenore part book, this harmonic change is visible through the added *fa*-signs on the E’s before they descend to D (see Example 3.4).

³¹² Here and further, the transcriptions from the *Lavro secco* are the author’s: based on the facsimile of the 1582 edition [34]. There is an alternative transcription of this madrigal in the music examples volume of Newcomb’s *The Madrigal at Ferrara*.

³¹³ By saying ‘simple’, I mean that the cadence does not feature a dissonance on the antepenultimate note. A cadence that has a dissonance will be referred to as ‘ornamented cadence’. These terms are borrowed from Zarlino’s *Istitutioni*, vol. 3, chapter 53, where he divides cadences in ‘semplici’ and ‘diminuite’, depending on whether the cadence has a dissonance on the antepenultimate note or not.

Example 3.4: Beginning of II, 2 in the Tenore part book. Giovanni Pellio, *Primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (Venice, 1584).



A pair of similar homophonic passages ending with *cadenze in mi* can be found in the first *parte* of the fifth *Canzone* which has G as its final and no signs in its key signature. Here, the homophonic passage invokes God to wash the stains of the speaker's sin: 'perchè le macchie lavi' (V, 1, bars 25–28). In fact, the whole second half of the first *parte* which speaks of the speakers's tears of penance is removed from the main centres G and D towards A. D, as a note which has a fifth-relationship with both G and A, is used as a gateway for the change. A return to the regular final G is allowed only on the closing phrase of the *parte*. One more short digression into cadences ending on A and *cadenze in mi* ending on E can be found in the third *parte* where the forgiveness of sins is implored and the sins gnawing on the speaker's soul like harpies are described (V, 3, bars 95–100). At the end of the fifth *parte* the *cadenza in mi* on E is used to illustrate how the soul is being lead away by the Devil (V, 5, bars 169–170, C and A). A cadence on A also appears not far from it (V, 5, bars 163–164, A, T and B), but in this passage, it interchanges with the cadence on D (V, 5, bars 167–168, S, T and B), which is more normal for a piece with a G-final.

Looking at our secular example, the *Lavro* series, a comparable example of use of expressive *cadenze in mi* could be Ippolito Forini's madrigal *Ode l'anima mia gioia* from the *Lavro secco*, a piece with a final G and a B flat in the key signature. The words 'and you, cruel do not want it' ('e tu, crudel, non vuoi') conclude with an ornamented *cadenza in mi* on A (see Example 3.5). In *Tra Verdi rami*, another piece by the same composer found in the *Lavro verde*, a similar ornamented *cadenza in mi* on A is used for the words 'amorous zeal' ('amoroso zelo') (see Example 3.6). The madrigal itself concludes with a cadence on G and has no flat sign in the key signature. On the repetition of the phrase the melody line turns to an ornamented cadence leading to C, which allows an easier return to the regular harmonic environment. The same sequence of A- and C-cadences

Example 3.5: Setting of the words ‘e tu, crudel, non vuoi’ in Ippolito Fiorini, *Ode l’anima mia gioia*, bars 20–23 (*Il Lavro secco* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1582)).

20

Canto E tu, e tu, cru-del, non vuo - i,

Alto vi-go - re... Non vuo - i, E tu, cru-del, non vuo-i,

Tenore E tu, cru-del, non vuo-i, E tu, cru-del, e tu, cru-del, non vuo - i,

Quinto vi-go-re. E tu, cru-del, e tu, cru-del, non vuo - i,

Basso vi-go - re... Non vuo - i, E tu, cru-del, non vuo - i,

Example 3.6: Setting of the words ‘in amoroso zelo’ in Ippolito Fiorini, *Tra verdi rami* (*Il lavro verde* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère, 1591)).³¹⁴

29

Canto On - de vi-vrà in e - ter - no In a - mo - ro - so ze - lo, In a - mo - ro - so ze - lo,

Sesto On - de vi-vrà in e - ter - no In a - mo - ro - so ze - lo,

Alto On - de vi-vrà in e - ter - no In a - mo - ro - so ze - lo,

Tenore On - de vi-vrà in e - ter - no In a - mo - ro - so ze - lo,

Quinto On - de vi-vrà in e - ter - no In a - mo - ro - so ze - lo,

Basso On - de vi-vrà in e - ter - no In a - mo - ro - so ze - lo,

³¹⁴ Here and further, transcriptions from the *Lavro verde* are the author’s based on the facsimile of the 1591 reprint [37].

reappears when the mention of ‘amorous zeal’ is repeated together with the last three lines of text. These are only two examples of *cadenze in mi*, but there are more to be found in the *Lavro* series, especially in the *Lavro secco*, which has many passages that express suffering because of the infidelity of the beloved symbolised by the laurel tree. Thus, it can be seen that, similar as in the case of suspensions, the means that Pellio uses to illustrate the suffering caused by sin are used to illustrate love suffering or erotic sentiments in the *Lavro* series.

Deviation from the regular cadential plan can be used not only to provide a changed sonic environment in passages dealing with sin, but also as means of direct word painting in passages in which the text mentions deviation or displacement. An example of it can be found in the second *parte* of the fourth *Canzone*. This *Canzone* is one more example of a piece ending in G with a B flat in the key signature. Apart from the cadences on G and D, another prominent closing note in the piece is B, the upper third of the main final. However, in the first *parte*, which speaks of ‘perpetual exile’ (‘perpetuo esiglio’) the cadences strike out in new directions. The first verse of the text ends with an ornamented cadence on C (IV, 2, bar 55, C and Q) and with the second verse (IV, 2, bars 59–60, S, Q and T) it goes on to a three-part ornamented cadence on F, which is meant to illustrate the word ‘exile’ pronounced there. Only after two *cadenze in mi* illustrating the perils awaiting the displaced speaker, just about when the text changes topic, a more regular cadence on B is introduced (IV, 2, bar 70, C, S and A). This is soon followed by an even more prominent cadence on G, which reinstates the regular pitch hierarchy (IV, 2, bars 73–74, S, T and B). It should be mentioned that Pellio is not the only spiritual madrigal composer to express words connected to change of location or state with alterations to the cadential pattern. This word painting technique can be also observed in the two opening madrigals of Lodovico Agostini’s *Lagrima del peccatore*. Both madrigals are imitations of a piece written by Guglielmo Gonzaga, the dedicatee of Agostini’s cycle. They both end without a formal cadence with a chord on C and have no flat in the key signature. In the first madrigal, the passage with the words ‘bring me back to the right way’ (‘rimena me al camin della man destra’) ends on D, a note that has no fifth- or third-relationship with C. The singer and the listener are ‘brought back’ to the correct final only with the next verse that ends on C (see example 3.7). In the second madrigal, the same cadence combination is used for the passage with the words ‘ch’al natural mio corso mi vegga giunto o fatto più vicino’ (‘so that I can reach or come closer to my natural course’), where it starts off with a weak cadence on D and returns to C at the end of the passage (see Example 3.8). Moreover, the unnaturalness of the

Example 3.7: Bars 77–92 in Lodovico Agostini's *Lagrima del peccatore* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1586), madrigal no 1 (*Padre del ciel*).³¹⁵

77

Canto: o più lon-tan tra-vi-e, Ri-me-na-mial ca-min,

Sesto: o più lon-tan tra vi-e, Ri-me-na-mial ca-min, ri-me-na-

Alto: tra-vi-e, Ri-me-na-mial ca-

Quinto: o più lon-tan tra-vi-e, Ri-me-na-mial ca-min, ri-

Tenore: più lon-tan tra-vi-e, Ri-me-na-mial ca-min, ri-me-na-mial ca-min,

Basso: Ri-me-na-mial ca-min, ri-

82

C. ri-me-na-mial ca-min del-la man de-stra Col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio,

S. mial ca-min del-la man de-stra Col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio, col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio,

A. min... Col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio, non con la sfor-za,

Q. me-na-mial ca-min del-la man de-stra Col rag-gio, Si-gnor

T. ri-me-na-mial ca-min del-la man de-stra Col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio, non con

B. me-na-mial ca-min del-la man de-stra Col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio, non

87

C. non con la sfor-za, Col rag gio, si-gnor mio, non con la sfor-za,

S. non con la sfor-za, Col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio, non con la sfor-za, non con la

A. non con la sfor-za, Col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio, non con la sfor-za,

Q. mio, non con la sfor-za, Col rag gio, Si-gnor mio, non con la sfor-za, non con la

T. la sfor-za, Col rag-gio, Si-gnor mio, col rag gio, Si-gnor mio, non con la sfor-za, non con la sfor-

B. con la sfor-za, Col rag gio, Si-gnor mio, non con la sfor-za, non con la

³¹⁵ Transcription of the author from the facsimile available from the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria in Modena [57].

Example 3.8: Bars 80–90 in Lodovico Agostini's *Lagrime del peccatore* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1586), madrigal no 2 (*Padre del ciel*).

80

Canto
 piac - cia - ti, pria, ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor - so

Sesto
 piac - cia - ti, pria, ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor - so, ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor - so

Alto
 Ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor - so, ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor -

Quinto
 Piac - cia - ti, pria, ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor -

Tenore
 pri - a, ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor - so, ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor -

Basso
 Piac - cia - ti, pri - a, ch'al na - tu - ral mio cor -

85

C.
 Mi veg - ga giun - to, mi veg - ga giun to o fat - to più vi - ci - no

S.
 Mi veg - ga giun - to o fat - to più vi - ci - no

A.
 - so Mi veg - ga giun - to...

Q.
 - so Mi veg - ga giun - to, mi veg - ga giun - to o fat - to più vi - ci - no

T.
 so Mi veg - ga giun - to, mi veg - ga giun - to

B.
 - - so Mi veg - ga giun - to o fat - to più vi - ci - no

speaker's course is illustrated by the harmonic instability of the 'mi vegga giunto' phrase, which fails to conclude with a proper cadence, lost between the many added *mi*- and *fa*-signs.³¹⁶ In Pellio's *Canzoni spirituali*, a similar harmonic instability is found in the third *Canzone* although there the area dominated by *mi*-signs is separated from and contrasted with the area dominated by *fa*-signs. The contrasting alteration signs are used to illustrate the opposition between the flame of God's love and the earthly passions (III, 1, bars 24–29).

³¹⁶ The passage also features a deliberately neglected clash between the C-sharps of the Sesto and the C-natural of the Tenore, as well as the F in the Alto and the Basso, to emphasise the word 'naturale'. See Stras, 'Imitation, Meditation and Penance', 25.

Coming back to missing or ‘displaced’ cadences used to illustrate texts mentioning displacement and looking for a relevant example in the *Lavro* series, one can point out Tiburzio Massaini’s madrigal *La fiamma, c’hai nel petto* from the *Lavro secco*. The text of the madrigal discusses a love triangle and the problem of pretended feelings. Such a topic is very inviting for harmonic games, and indeed, the piece consists of several passages where different irregular finals compete with the main final A.³¹⁷ What is interesting for us, however, is the turn to D with the words ‘ove ti sei traslata?’ (‘where have you transplanted yourself?’, see Example 3.9). Although an increased presence of D as a note could be noticed already a few passages earlier, this is the first time in the piece that a cadence on D appears. The cadence is completed only after several voices have unsuccessfully attempted it by singing raised leading tones indicated in their parts, which is possibly due to the fact that, in terms of syntax, the phrase is a question; or the leading tones could be simply a means of expression. Summing up, the use of irregular cadence notes for illustrating spatial changes can be found not only in Pellio’s, but also in Agostini’s spiritual madrigals, and it can also be detected in secular madrigals of the *Lavro* series. As far as the text contents are concerned, spiritual madrigal composers had no need to ‘spiritualise’ them since displacement as an idea is not bound exclusively to neither profane nor religious context.

In Bernardo Tasso’s text, the Devil is often compared to a serpent, and it is probably for the sake of imitating the moves of a serpent that Pellio often chooses melodies circling around one or two tones when he sets to music passages mentioning the Devil, especially in those instances where the word ‘serpent’ actually appears. Such circling melody can be seen in the passage from the *Canzon seconda* which depicts the serpent-Devil ‘twisting around’ the speaker’s ‘afflicted heart’ (‘mi serpe intorno a questo afflitto cuore’, II, 1, bars 12–19). It can also be found in the passage from the *Canzon prima* describing how the Devil entices the soul ‘pretending to be her friend’ (‘simulato amico’, I, 3, bars 95–98). In analogy with the ‘serpent’ passages or as a means of direct word painting, Pellio uses a circling melody when setting to music the description of sin ‘surrounding the heart’ of the speaker (‘che mi circonda il cuore’, III, 1, 13–17). Also in the *Lavro verde* one can find melodies mimicking physical moves but in a completely different thematic background since none of the poems features the Devil or serpents. Most of the passages of this kind appear in positive bucolic contexts. For example, in Paulo Bellasio’s madrigal *Amor, che vide* short melismatic figures distributed between the

³¹⁷ There are no flats in the key signature, so, in terms of modal theory, it is more likely to be an Aeolian piece rather than transposed Dorian or Phrygian.

Example 3.9: Setting of the words ‘ove ti sei traslata’ in Tiburzio Massaini’s madrigal *La fiamma ch’ai nel petto*, bars 22–28 (*Il Lavro secco* (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1582)).

The musical score for Example 3.9 is presented in two systems. The first system covers bars 23 to 28, and the second system covers bars 25 to 28. The vocal parts are Canto, Quinto, Alto, Tenore, and Basso. The lyrics are: 'o - ve ti sei, o - ve ti sei, o - ve ti sei tra - sla - ta, Cre - den - do es - ser' a - ma - ta?'. The score is in 4/4 time and features a variety of note values and rests, with some notes marked with a sharp sign (#).

voices mimic the fluttering of spirits around the beloved laurel tree like birds (see Example 3.10).

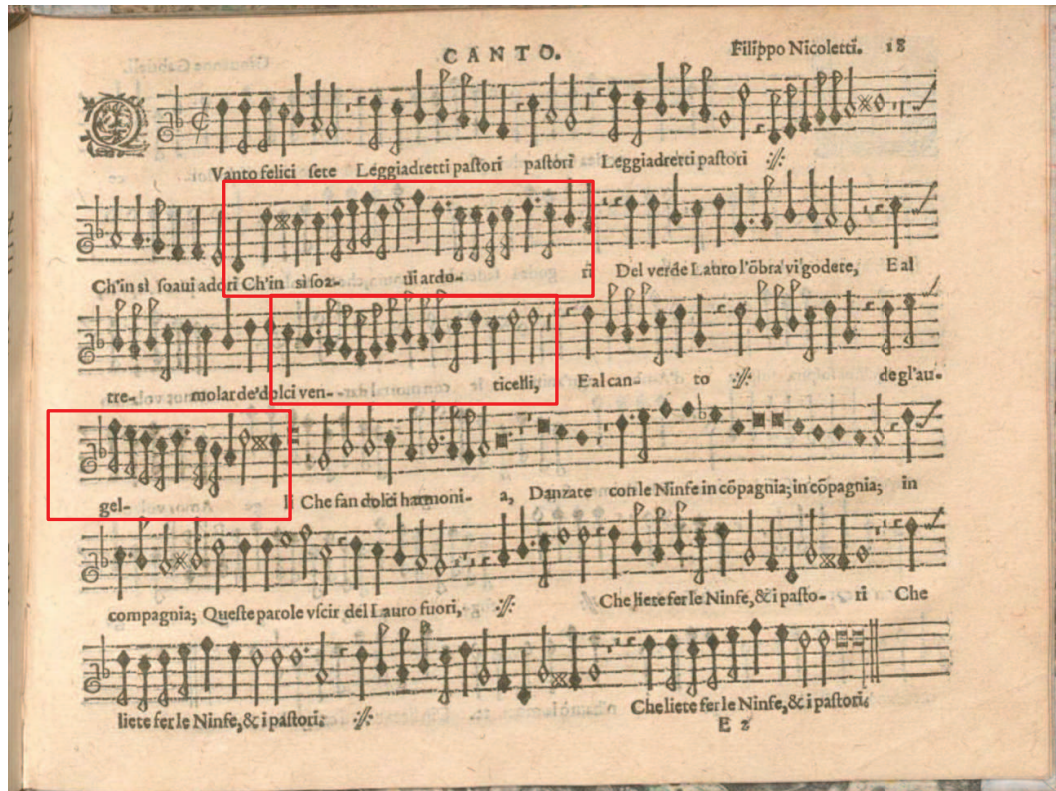
Another typical word painting device employed by Pellio is melismas on words denoting water, wind or fire. For example, in the fourth *Canzone* the passage that contains the image of the wind gently inflating the sails of a boat after a storm has passed by (IV, 1, bars 26–34) is set with several melismas on the words ‘water’ (‘onda’) and ‘wind’ (‘vento’). In many cases, in Tasso’s poems the word ‘stream’ serves as a metaphor for tears and ‘fire’ represents God’s power. For example, in V, 2, bars 72–74, the image of ‘a deep and broad river’ (‘rivo cupo e largo’) serves as a metaphor for the penitent speaker’s tears. Pellio does not forget to compose a long melisma in five out of six parts on the word denoting ‘river’. Also in the *Lauro* series, examples of such

Example 3.10: Paulo Bellasio, *Amor, che vide*. bars 1–10 (*Il lavro verde* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère, 1591)).

The image displays a musical score for a six-part vocal setting. The score is organized into three systems of staves, each containing six parts: Canto (Soprano), Sesto (Alto), Alto, Tenore (Tenor), Quinto (Tenor), and Basso (Bass). The music is written in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words connected by long horizontal lines to indicate melismas. The lyrics include: "A - mor, che vi - d'un gior - no ben mil - le spir - ti e - let - ti", "Ben mil - le spir - ti e - let - ti Vo - lar, co - m'au - gel -", "A - mor, che vi - d'un gior - no ben mil - le spir - ti e - let - ti Vo - lar, vo - lar co -", "Ben mil - le spir - ti e - let - ti Vo - lar, co -", "Ben mil - le spir - ti e - let - ti...", "Vo - lar, co - m'au - gel - let - ti Al ver - de lau - ro in - tor -", "let - ti, Vo - lar, co - m'au - gel - let - ti Al ver - de", "m'au - gel - let - ti, (vo lar vo - lar, vo - lar, vo - lar) co - m'au - gel - let -", "m'au - gel - let - ti, (Vo lar co - m'au - ge - let - ti,) Vo - lar, co -", "let - ti, Vo - lar, vo - lar, co - m'au - gel - let -", "Al ver - de lau -", "no, (Al ver - de lau - ro in - tor - no)", "lau - ro in - tor - no, Al ver - de lau - ro in - tor -", "ti Al ver - de lau - ro, (lau ro) in - tor - no", "m'au - gel - let - ti Al ver - de lau - ro, al ver - de lau - ro in - tor - no", "ti Al ver - de lau - ro in - tor - no, al ver - de lau - ro in - tor - no", "ro in - tor - no".

melismas abound. For example, Filippo Nicoletti’s madrigal *Quanto felici sete* from the *Lauro verde* has long melismas on the words ‘sweet flames’ (‘soavi ardori’), ‘winds’ (‘venticelli’) and ‘birds’ (‘augelli’), not counting some smaller melismas, as can be seen from the facsimile of the Canto part reproduced in Example 3.11.

Example 3.11: *Il lavro verde* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère, 1591): Filippo Nicoletti, *Quanto felici sete*, Facsimile of the Canto part.³¹⁸ Markings of the author.



To conclude this exploration, which compared the means using which Pellio brought to life Bernardo Tasso's texts and the ways the same means were employed in contemporaneous secular madrigals, one can state that Pellio adapted musical vocabulary used in secular madrigal to highlight erotic or bucolic passages to the deeply religious world of Bernardo Tasso's poems. Some of these devices were borrowed from secular music not only by Pellio but also by other spiritual madrigal composers, as the comparison with two compositions by Lodovico Agostini has shown. In fact, such a practice extends even further than just the spiritual madrigal or music in general – in adapting expressive devices from secular music to a religious context, Pellio mirrors numerous writers of religious poetry, Bernardo Tasso included, who incorporated metaphors used in love poetry into the context of their religious work. From a twenty-first-century perspective which draws a clear distinction between religious and non-religious music or literature, it might seem jarring that neither the poet nor the composer of the *Primo libro de' canzoni spirituali a sei voci* shied away from using elements originally applied in very down-to-earth contexts in a work fashioned after a book from the Bible. However, in the sixteenth century, when all aspects of life were connected to

³¹⁸ Image from the digital facsimile available from the digital collections the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [37].

religion, this shift between the secular and the sacred realms would probably have looked less drastic.

3.2.4 The *Primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1578)

Pellio's *Primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* [205] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578), his first work based on Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi*, was published six years earlier than the collection discussed in the previous section. The book contains six pieces consisting of three to eleven *parti* that set the *Salmi* I to V and the *Canzone all'anima* from Tasso's cycle. It would have made sense to discuss the earlier collection first and to compare the two collections at the end, but the source availability dictates a different order. Out of what must have been around five hundred full copies,³¹⁹ only one single part book of the *Primo libro a cinque voci* has survived and is now preserved in the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proskesche Musikabteilung in Regensburg. The fact that the part available is the Quinto is an advantage for a scholar wanting to explore the scoring since it is the least predictable part of a madrigal composition. Less helpful is it for those wanting to understand the harmonic structure of the piece since the Quinto is not the part which would contain the most useful clues in terms of pitch organisation as its final cadences are less likely to lead to the final of the tonal type. Moreover, the Quinto is less often the first part to start the imitation and there is a larger probability that the *soggetti* it sings represent a modification of the musical theme characterising the passage or a counter-subject.

Judging from the clefs used in the *Primo libro a cinque voci* (1578), the Quinto functioned as one of the middle voices. In most of the pieces, it is notated in a C2 clef, and only in the third *Canzone* it is notated in C3 (see Table 3.4). The exact role of the Quinto within the texture is difficult to judge since several different clef combinations with a Quinto in C2/C3 can be found in five-part collections of the time. One can only guess that the Quinto was above the Tenore in the pieces where it is notated in C2 since the Tenore parts are most commonly notated in C3 or in C4. In the *Primo libro a sei voci* (1584) the Quinto varies between C2 and C4 and has the same range as either the Alto or the Tenore (except for in the second *Canzone*, where it runs below the Tenore, see Table 3.3). In Pellio's third publication, the *Secondo libro a sei voci* (1597), the Quinto is

³¹⁹ Five hundred copies is the average print run size for a commissioned music publication in the mid-sixteenth century suggested by Jane Bernstein (*Music Printing in Renaissance Venice*, 117).

Table 3.4: Number of *parti* and clefs used for the Quinto part in Giovanni Pello's *Primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578).

<i>Canzone</i> No. and pp.	No of <i>Parti</i>	Clef of the Quinto
1 (pp. 1–11)	11	C2
2 (pp. 12–14)	3	C2
3 (pp. 15–19)	4	C3
4 (pp. 19–22)	4	C2
5 (pp. 23–26)	4	C2
6 (pp. 26–30)	5	C2

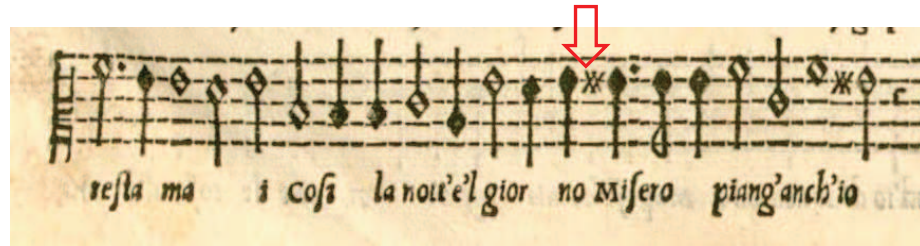
Table 3.5: Clefs used in Giovanni Pello's *Secondo libro delle canzoni spirituali a sei voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1597).

Incipit	Clefs					
	C	A	T	B	Q	S
La carn' e'l mondo	C1	C3	C4	F4	C3	C1
Quand' il Signor al chiodo la man porse	C1	C3	C4	F4	C3	C1
Se quasi aurora	C1	C3	C4	F4	C3	C1
Qui giacque il mio Signor	C1	C3	C4	F4	C4	C2
Langu' il mio petto o Dio	C1	C3	C4	F4	C4	C3
Figlio che figlio sei caro	C1	C3	C4	F4	C4	C3
Amor impenna l'ali	C1	C3	C4	F4	C4	C1
Quando vedrò	C1	C3	C4	F4	C3	C1
Vincitrice superba	C1	C3	C4	F4	C4	C3
Sacra horrori	G2	C2	C3	F3	C3	G2

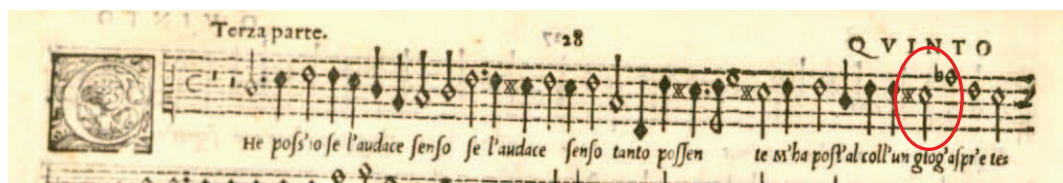
notated using C3 or C4 clefs although it also switches between the Alto and the Tenore. Its lower clefs are due to the generally lower range of the collection (see Table 3.5).

The musical style of the *Primo libro a cinque voci* (1578), as far as can be ascertained, is similar to that of the *Primo libro a sei voci* (1584), even slightly more eccentric. In addition to usual madrigalisms, the extant Quinto part contains some chromaticisms and one strange leap, comparable material to which cannot be found in the 1584 collection. In the first *parte* of the sixth piece the words 'giorno' and 'misero' are separated by raising the tone G a semitone (see Example 3.12). It is unlikely that placing the *mi*-sign before the second of the two Gs is a misprint since the first note

Example 3.12: Chromatic step in the Quinto part of the first *parte* of the sixth *Canzone* of *Primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578). Marking of the author.³²⁰



Example 3.13: Unusual leap in the third *parte* of the sixth *Canzone* of the *Primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578). Marking of the author.



falls on the end of one verse and the second opens another. One can assume that the chords surrounding the two Gs were different, but the melodic line resulting from it places an unexpected emphasis on the word 'misero' ('poor me'). The unusual leap is found in the third *parte* of the same piece. The melody at the beginning of the *parte* alternates between the *naturale* hexachord starting on C and a *musica ficta* hexachord starting on D, introduced through raising the note F. On the words 'giogo aspro' ('a rough yoke') the melody, which had been in the *naturale* hexachord for a while, switches into the *musica ficta* hexachord implying a Descant clausula, but the cadence remains unfinished: on the next syllable the melody leaps up. The leap ends one note above the highest note of the *naturale* hexachord which calls for a lowering since the step above the *la* has to be a semitone. The whole manoeuvre results in a very unusual diminished leap F sharp to B flat (see Example 3.13). Also here, a misprint is a possibility. Nevertheless, the given combination appears to make sense in terms of hexachord based tonality, however unusual it is.

It is a shame that only one part of the *Primo libro a cinque voci* has survived. Much of the musical content contained in it has been lost for the researcher and the performer; however, what survives, is enough to show that Pellio's first collection is within the same stylistic frame as its later counterpart, only requiring five singers instead of six. It is an ambitious work reflecting the madrigal trends that remained in fashion

³²⁰ Here and further, the examples are taken from the digital images provided by the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proschesche Musikabteilung in Regensburg ([205]). Reproduced with permission.

even after its time, as the comparison of Pellio's later *Canzoni* with the *Lauro* series has shown.

3.2.5 The Composer Flaminio Oddi and the Dedicattee of His *Madrigali spiritivali A Quattro Voci* (Rome, 1608)

Unlike all other case studies of this thesis, Flaminio Oddi's *Madrigali spiritivali A Quattro Voci* [197] (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608) does not treat its main textual source as a coherent cycle of poems. The composer was very selective with the contents of the *Salmi* – only four out of thirty are set to music, and the original order of the poems is not preserved. Moreover, two texts that are not taken from the *Salmi* are added at the end. However, a strong argument for including Oddi's cycle among the case studies is that it draws on the same text source as Giovanni Pellio's first two books of *Canzoni spiritivali* discussed earlier in this chapter. This allows the comparison how the same poetic cycle was interpreted by two composers working within a chronological distance of a quarter of a century.

As for the biography of Flaminio Oddi, even less can be said about him than about Giovanni Pellio due to the lack of documentary evidence. The *Annali* of the Seminario Romano written by the Jesuit Girolamo Nappi lists 'Flaminio Oddi Sabino' as one of the *maestri di cappella* of the institution.³²¹ Since there is no date next to the name, the exact years of his work at the Seminario cannot be determined. The dates are given only for the first four *maestri di cappella*. The last one of the four is Feliciano Capocci who became *maestro di cappella* in 1581. There are further four *maestri* between Oddi and Capocci, the composer's direct predecessor being Agostino Agazzari. Raffaele Casimiri suggests that Oddi with Abondio Antonelli and Antonio Cifra, two composers that follow him on the list, served at the Seminario Romano between 1602 and 1606.³²² According to Jerome Roche, Antonio Cifra was *maestro di capella* of the Seminario Romano from 1605 to 1607.³²³ Thus, if the names are listed in chronological order, Oddi must have been the *maestro di capella* before 1605. In any case, by the early 1600s he must have been mature and skilled enough to be hired as a *maestro di cappella* at the Seminario Romano. This allows the presumption that he was born before 1580.

³²¹ Nappi, *Annali del Seminario Romano* [14], 45.

³²² Raffaele Casimiri, "Disciplina musicae" e "maestri di capella" dopo il Concilio di Trento nei maggiori Istituti Ecclesiastici di Roma: Seminario Romano – Collegio Germanico – Collegio Inglese (sec. XVI–XVII), *Note d'archivio per la storia musicale* 12/2 (1935), 79.

³²³ Jerome Roche, 'Cifra, Antonio', in *GMO* (accessed 19 March 2019).

Since Oddi is described as ‘Sabino’ in the *Annales*, he must have been born in the Sabina region northeast of Rome. This assumption is supported by the fact that the dedication of his *Madrigali spiritivali A Quattro Voci* is signed from Fara in Sabina.³²⁴ Furthermore, a book of spiritual letters written by the Franciscan Bartolomeo da Saluzzo published in Rome in 1629 contains a letter addressed to a certain ‘Flaminio Oddi da Montopoli’ dated 17 February 1613.³²⁵ There are two towns named Montopoli in Italy. One of them is in the Province of Pisa and the other is in the Province of Rieti in the Upper Sabina. The presence of a town with such a name in the Sabina region supports the hypothesis that the Flaminio Oddi from Montopoli addressed in the letter is the same Flaminio Oddi recorded as the *maestro di cappella* of the Seminario Romano by Girolamo Nappi. Saluzzo’s letters are divided into four parts according to the religious status of the addressees. The letter to Oddi is found in part four of the book which contains letters to lay people. Thus, if the original recipient of the letter was indeed our composer, he was not a cleric. Lay status should not have been an obstacle for him to be admitted to work in the Seminario Romano since its very first *maestro di cappella*, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, was also a layman.³²⁶

The *Madrigali spiritivali A Quattro Voci* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608) is the only surviving publication containing music composed by Oddi. Besides the one full set of part books preserved at the Museo internazionale e Biblioteca della musica in Bologna and a Bass part book of the same cycle in the Fondo Chigi in the Vatican Library, only a few other works by Oddi survive – all of them preserved in manuscript form. A manuscript from the Cappella Sistina [15] contains four masses composed by him. The masses are dated 1611 and 1612 and signed with his name, suggesting that they were copied by the composer himself. A nineteenth-century copy of one of the four masses contained in the Cappella Sistina manuscript is preserved in Münster [19]. Oddi’s work with the widest reception appears to be his double-choir motet *Beatus vir*, which was copied by several late eighteenth and nineteenth-century musicians interested in early music. The surviving copies are now stored in Rome [16], [17], Münster [18] and Moscow [20].

³²⁴ See Casimiri, “Disciplina musicae” e “mastri di capella”, 79.

³²⁵ Bartolomeo Cambi (da Saluzzo), *Lettere spiritivali* [89] (Rome: Francesco Cavalli, 1628), 643–645.

³²⁶ Palestrina is not listed by Nappi but mentioned in other early documents from the Seminario Romano: Casimiri, “Disciplina musicae” e “mastri di capella”, 17–19.

Oddi's only surviving music publication is dedicated to Giannantonio Orsini, Duke of San Gemini (d. 1639). Although resident in Montelibretti and Nerola on the border between the Lazio and the Sabina, he spent a lot of time in southern Italy and especially in Naples where his family, the Gravina branch of the Orsini, had a *palazzo*.³²⁷ Oddi's acquaintance with the duke can be explained by the fact that they came from the same region. Montopoli, Oddi's possible hometown, was about 20–25 kilometres to the north from either of the duke's residences. Fara in Sabina, the location given in the dedication, is approximately halfway between Montopoli and Nerola. The dedication text is concise and consists mainly of polite formulas. It is uninformative about the nature of the relationship between the dedicatee and the composer or the profile of the dedicatee; however, it is very straightforward in expressing the composer's expectation of ongoing support from the duke.³²⁸ The year in which Oddi's madrigals were published corresponds to the year in which Orsini was accepted to the prestigious Order of the Holy Spirit by Henry IV the King of France,³²⁹ so the publication time might have been deliberately chosen by the composer with the hope of benefiting by celebrating Orsini's success. However, this must remain an assumption since the dedication text does not refer to the award in any way.

The mention of Fara raises the question of Oddi's or the duke's link to the composer and the dedicatee of the previous case study who first met in a monastery built in the outskirts of the said town. Since Serafino Fontana died in 1596, more than ten years before Oddi decided to publish his spiritual madrigals, his contribution to Oddi's decision is improbable. There is always a possibility that Orsini or Oddi met Fontana in Rome at some point during the last decade of the sixteenth century; however, there is no documentary evidence that would even hint at this. Even more difficult is to say anything about Giovanni Pellio since neither his place of residence after the resignation from San Luigi dei Francesi nor his date of death are certain.

³²⁷ Lucia Sebastiani, 'Affetti e vita familiare: dalla corrispondenza dei duchi di San Gemini', published on the online platform of the European Network for Baroque Cultural Heritage (ENBaCH) (accessed 28 August 2018), §§4–5.

³²⁸ Antonio Ingegneri's handbook quoted in Chapter 3.2.2 considers undisguised expectations of reward or favor in dedicatory letters to be a sign of the writer's lack of tact (Ingegneri, *Del buon segretario* [157], 68).

³²⁹ Leone Tettoni, and F. Saladini, *Teatro araldico ovvero raccolta generale delle armi ed insegne gentilizie delle più illustri e nobili casate che esisterono un tempo e che tuttora fioriscono in tutta l'Italia illustrate con relative genealogico-storiche nozioni*, vol. 5 (Lodi: Wilmant and Sons, 1846). See Orsini, Tav. XII; Pierre Heylot and Giuseppe Francesco Fontana (transl.), *Storia degli ordini monastici, religiosi, e militari, e delle congregazioni secolari Dell'uno, e l'altro sesso, fino al presente istituite, con le vite de' loro fondatori, e riformatori*, vol. 8 (Lucca: Giuseppe Salani and Vincenzo Giuntini, 1739), 425.

Theoretically, it would have been possible for Oddi's or Orsini's paths to cross with his, but again, there is no evidence of it. It is more probable that Oddi could get to know Tasso's texts or Pellio's music in printed format.

The choice of Tasso's *Salmi* as the main source of the lyrics for his madrigals seems unusual of Oddi at first glance. In 1608, Petrarchist poetry from the mid-sixteenth century was out of fashion, having been replaced by poets who published in the late sixteenth century. The most plausible explanation of Oddi's choice is that Tasso's texts were of interest to the patron of the collection. As mentioned previously, Orsini had a connection to Naples, a city in the surroundings of which Tasso spent a part of his life. Even more intriguing in this context is the text source's proximity to the ideas of the *spirituali* which were very active in Naples in their day. This raises the question of Giannantonio Orsini's religious sympathies. Although the *spirituali* movement had already been suppressed and the followers of Juan de Valdés had been dispersed by 1600, some beliefs might have been tacitly preserved within the Orsini family. What is more, Giannantonio was knighted by Henry IV of France, a king educated as a Huguenot, though converted to Catholicism in 1593, whose religious views are still disputed among historians.³³⁰

The assumption of heterodox religious beliefs being involved is further strengthened by Oddi's other text choices. Tasso's *Salmi* provide the lyrics for the first four pieces of the collection. The fifth madrigal uses a sonnet attributed to an author named Fabio Galeota in the collection *Rime di diversi autori scelti* [51] (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari and Brothers, 1550). It reappears under the same name in the new editions of the *Rime di diversi* in 1553 [52] and 1564 [53]. The time of the first publication of the poem suggests that Galeota was a contemporary of Bernardo Tasso's. Strangely enough, there is no information on Fabio Galeota in Italian literary histories, even in the usually very exhaustive eighteenth-century ones. Tobia R. Toscano suggests that Fabio might have been a pseudonym used by the Neapolitan poet Mario Galeota (ca. 1500–1585). While he spent the first half of his life quietly earning his living as an expert on military fortifications, between 1549 and 1559 he had to undergo several trials and was sentenced to imprisonment for supporting *spirituali* teachings.³³¹ Galeota's troubles with

³³⁰ Ronald S. Love's *Blood and Religion: The Conscience of Henri IV 1553–1593* (Montreal, et al.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) is only one of many studies devoted to the topic, see Love's literature review on pp. 4–13.

³³¹ Tobia R. Toscano, 'Fabio o Mario Galeota? Sull'identità di un rimatore napoletano del XVI secolo', *Filologia & critica*, 35/2–3 (2010), 187–188, 190.

the inquisition would explain the use of a pseudonym in publications. Thus, the second poet set to music by Oddi potentially has an even more direct connection to the reformatory religious movement active in the first half of the sixteenth century. The name of the poet who wrote the lyrics for the last and shortest madrigal is still to be discovered. The metrics suggest that the text is a canzone stanza. It begins by addressing the text as an animate subject: 'go forth mournful, my canzone' ('canzon vanne dolente'). The shift of attention from the main addressee of the poem onto the text itself is known as the rhetorical figure of *apostrophe*. It is a commonplace in the *commiati*, the shortened last stanzas of the canzone.³³² This suggests that the text used for Oddi's last spiritual madrigal is one of such *commiati*. The canzone which goes with it is yet to be determined. Of course, it cannot be excluded that the text was written by Oddi himself as a conclusion to his spiritual madrigal collection. In this case, a canzone preceding this *commiato* would not necessarily exist at all. However, so far, no proof could be found supporting Oddi's or, for that matter, any other individual's authorship of the text of the final piece.

The last interesting detail about Flaminio Oddi is his connection to Bartolomeo da Saluzzo, the author of the letter presumably addressed to the composer, published with Saluzzo's other letters by his fellow Franciscan Giorgio da Fiano in 1629. Born in 1558 into a peasant family as Bartolomeo Cambi, he entered the Franciscan order in 1575 and later became a popular preacher whose fiery homilies caused public upheaval everywhere he went. This led to various restrictions imposed on Fra Bartolomeo by the Church authorities. He spent the end of his life confined to the monastery walls in Fonte Colombo near Rieti (1605–1607) and in Rome at San Francesco a Ripa and San Pietro in Montorio (1607–1617) writing books (and occasionally having apocalyptic visions).³³³ The letter presumably addressed to the composer is not the only clue connecting him and the controversial Franciscan friar. Two further connections between Oddi and Bartolomeo da Saluzzo cannot escape notice: first, the monastery of Fonte Colombo is in the Sabina region, a good forty kilometres north of Montopoli, Montelibretti and Nerola. Second, the copy of Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali* preserved in Bologna has markings on the title page of each part book indicating that they used to be owned by a Franciscan monk from San Francesco a Ripa (see Figure 3.2). However, the dating of the ownership inscription is uncertain, and even if it were from the early seventeenth century, it would not necessarily prove of a link between Fra Bartolomeo and Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci*.

³³² The above mentioned poetic anthologies contain many examples of such *commiati*.

³³³ Adriano Prosperi, 'Cambi, Bartolomeo', in DBIO vol. 17 (accessed 1 June 2020).

Figure 3.2: The title page with ownership inscription of the Canto part book of Flaminio Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608).³³⁴



³³⁴ Image from the digital facsimile available from the digital collections of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna [197] (accessed 28 March 2020).

3.2.6 The *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci* (Rome, 1608)

Oddi's first and only spiritual madrigal collection is written for four voices. Judging by the numbers seen in Table 3.2, this is a less popular scoring choice for the early seventeenth century, when five- or six-part madrigal collections were more common. Of course, it is possible that Oddi's spiritual madrigals were written several decades before their publication, when four-part madrigal collections were more frequent, but this would mean that he would have been very advanced in age when he became the *maestro di capella* of the Seminario Romano in the early 1600s. Another possible explanation that comes to mind is that the less-popular scoring was chosen as a deliberate allusion to the scoring preferences of the mid-sixteenth century, the time in which the texts used by Oddi originated. The four madrigals based on Tasso's *Salmi* consist of three to five *parti* and are 110 to 195 breves long. The fifth piece setting a sonnet by Fabio Galeota has two *parti* and is 53 breves long. The sixth piece consists of only one 35 breves-long *parte*. Three out of the six madrigals end with a chord on C, two on F and one piece concludes on A (see Table 3.6). In all of the madrigals, the lowest note of the final chord is also the end note of the final cadence.

Being a free selection of poems from the *Salmi*, Oddi's collection presents a more varied set of texts than Pellio's *Canzoni spirituali*. The dominating theme is still sin, penance and the search for closeness to God since these are the main themes of the *Salmi* in general, but there are also other themes such as gratefulness and blessing. By not having to adhere to the original order of the poems, Oddi can choose the texts that work best for him and that offer the most opportunities for a musical setting. Each of the four poems set in the *Madrigali spirituali* explores different themes in its metaphoric imagery. In the first madrigal, the soul is compared to a bird; the second madrigal uses agricultural metaphors; in the fourth madrigal, sin is compared to sleep, and the third madrigal explores the metaphor of sin as sickness. The two short poems added at the end also contribute to the variety without damaging the stylistic unity of the cycle.

When setting the texts to music, Oddi employs melodic shape and texture as his preferred means of expression. As in Pellio's settings, longer note values and suspensions are used in passages speaking of negative subjects (e.g. 'that torments me with pain'/'di duol che mi molesta', III, 4 bars 133–136) or for passages employing the Petrarchist motif of a hardened heart ('due to that much hardness'/'per la tanta durezza', V, 2, bars 30–35). Also melodies circling around one or two tones already

Table 3.6: Contents of Flaminio Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608).

Madri- gal No	Source of the Lyrics	Number of <i>Parti</i>	Length in Breves	Key Signa- ture	Lowest Note of the Final Chord	Clefs (C, A, T, B)
1	Tasso, <i>Salmo V</i>	5	171	b	F	G2, C2, C3, F3
2	Tasso, <i>SalmoXXVIII</i>	3	110	♮	C	G2, C2, C3, F3
3	Tasso, <i>SalmoXXII</i>	5	195	♮	A	C1, C3, C4, F4
4	Tasso, <i>SalmoXXIII</i>	5	186	b	F	C1, C3, C4, F4
5	Sonnet by Fabio (Mario) Galeoti	2	53	♮	C	G2, C2, C3, F3
6	Anonymous canzone stanza	1	35	♮	C	G2, C2, C3, F3

mentioned when discussing Pellio's *Canzoni* can be found. They are used to imitate circling movements described in the text (e.g. 'had been wandering around'/'intorno givan', II, 1, bars 4–8; 'every hour surrounds and girds'/'ogn'or cinge e circonda', IV, 4, bars 139–141; 'wander around [...]'/ 'vagar intorno [...]', I, 3, bars 100–105). The same figure is also used to illustrate the sins compared to harpies attacking the speaker's heart in the fifth *parte* of the first madrigal, bars 158–162.

A standard madrigalist means of expression found in Oddi's spiritual madrigals is the topical use of melismas for words such as 'fire', 'flee' (e.g. I, 2, bar 52; III, 1, bars 33, 35, 36; VI, bars 31, 32) or highly melismatic texture used in passages describing a sea storm (III, 3, bars 97–98) and winds that dispel dark clouds (II, 2, bars 37–44). Two further typical means of word painting to be mentioned are the use of voice range extremes to strengthen the affective impact of certain words (e.g. 'Misero' in I, 1, bars 21–22) and reducing the amount of voices to illustrate texts referring to solitude, as with the word 'alone' ('sola') introduced by the Tenore alone on top the final chord of the previous phrase (I, 4, bars 122–123). A similar reduction of voices is used to express the words 'torn and dead' ('lacerata e morta'): the phrase starts in three parts and its concluding *cadenza in mi* is reached by the two upper parts only (I, 4, bars 127–129).

A less commonplace example of word painting can be found in the fourth madrigal. There, the words 'an old habit' ('un'invecchiata usanza') are set to music with a relatively long passage in *faux bourdon* (IV, 4, bars 126–127). One can almost imagine an early seventeenth-century singer taken by surprise by the harsh parallel chords. *Faux bourdon* is hinted at also in the neighbouring passages which contain the negative words

‘sluggish and wicked’ (‘pigro e rio’, IV, 4, bars 125–126) and ‘rough and hard’ (‘aspro e duro’, IV, 4, bars 131–132). Later, when the ‘old grown habit’ is alluded to by the words ‘until it melts in grief and loses the stubborn pride’ (‘che in cordoglio si stilli e perda l’ostinato orgoglio’), the *faux bourdon* returns (IV, 4, bars 143, 146 and 147). Although *faux bourdon* as a means of highlighting text with negative meaning is not unknown in the spiritual madrigal repertoire (for example, it can be also found in Orlande de Lassus’ *Lagrima di S[an] Pietro* to add colour to the description of the crowing cock that made Peter aware of his denial of Jesus (no 3, bars 14–15)),³³⁵ it is less common than the devices discussed in the paragraph above. Another clever example of word painting can be found at the end of the sixth madrigal where the words ‘it runs to the precipice like a fool’ (‘quasi insensata al precipizio corre’, VI, bars 30–35) are set to music with a little sequence of falling fourths in the Basso, the Tenore and the Alto. Oddi uses a melody that employs sequenced series of intervals also in the fourth madrigal when describing the soul wandering lost in the darkness (‘andrà per queste tenebre smarrita’, IV, 5, bars 158–162), so it is possible that sequencing is one of his preferred means of illustrating the loss of direction.

Oddi’s collection contains no instances where a divergence to an area with a different pitch hierarchy can be unambiguously associated with a specific text content, as it was the case with Pellio’s first and fourth *Canzoni* (as discussed in Chapter 3.2.3). However, there is one instance where the decision where to place a conclusive cadence is used as means of text expression. In the the second *parte* of the fourth madrigal, the last text verse speaks of ‘a deceitful road’ (‘via fallace e torta’). That *parte* concludes without a proper cadence (IV, 2, bar 76), and a three-part cadence in the piece’s final F is reached only at the beginning of the next *parte*, with the verse which describes ‘the road to the true Orient’ (‘strada al vero Oriente’, IV, 3, bars 77–79). Like in Pellio’s collection, *cadenze in mi* are sometimes used to create a dark mood in passages speaking of death or suffering (e.g. ‘torn and dead’/‘lacerata e morta’ in I, 4, bars 127–129; ‘has been abandoned, lost in darkness’/‘rimasta è quivi in tenebre smarrita’, VI, bars 23–27). In addition to that, *cadenze in mi* are used as means of expressing humility, as for example in II, 2, bars 65–67 with the words ‘humble peace’ (‘pace umile’) or in IV, 4, bars 120–123 with the words ‘humble and unworthy creature’ (‘umile e vil fattura’).

The only text that is shared with Giovanni Pellio’s *Canzoni spirituali*, and thus can be directly compared, is *Come vago augeletto*, Tasso’s *Salmo V*. It is set as the first piece in

³³⁵ The bar numbers refer to Fritz Jensch’s edition (1989) as part of Lassus’ New Complete Edition [164].

Oddi's book and as the final *Canzone* of Pellio's first book (1578). A look at the two settings makes clear that the two composers interpret the same text differently. Both of them divide the nine-strophe poem into five *parti*, but while Pellio's division is 2+1+2+2+2 strophes, Oddi chooses 2+2+2+2+1 (see Figure 3.3). Both divisions work well since Tasso's text makes good sense divided in multiple ways. It should also be noted that the text version set by Oddi slightly differs from the one used by Pellio. The most prominent difference occurs in the last line of the third strophe where Pellio's version reads 'Ché da te spesso fuggo; a te rivengo' ('for I often flee from you; I now return to you') and Oddi's version is 'Ché da te spesso fuggo, e m'allontano' ('for I often flee from you and I distance myself from you'). The wording found in Pellio's setting corresponds to that found in the 1560 *Salmi* edition which forms a separate volume of his *Rime*. Knowing that the 1560 edition was the only known edition of the *Salmi* until the mid-eighteenth century, one wonders where Oddi found his version of the text. There are four possible answers to this question. One possibility is that the composer worked from a now lost *Salmi* edition. However, if such an edition had ever existed and the entire print run had gotten lost, it probably would still have been mentioned or referenced somewhere. Another possibility is that Oddi found the altered text in a poetic anthology that is still to be determined; however, so far, none of the poetic anthologies consulted contains Tasso's *Come vago angelletto*. More probable seems the explanation that Oddi was given or made a manuscript copy containing the altered text, or that he altered the text in order to make it flow better. Also on the level of melody, the two composers seem to be interpreting the text differently. They almost never use the same melodic gestures for the same text. However, some caution is required with assumptions of this kind since only a very limited comparison between the melodies can be made, given that the only extant part of Pellio's setting is one of the structurally less important parts that probably does not present the *soggetti* in their most characteristic shapes.

Looking for possible borrowings from Pellio's *Canzoni spirituali*, the only instance in which a connection to Pellio's settings may be considered is the third madrigal (*Come inferno*). Its text is based on Tasso's *Salmo XXII*. It compares the sinner to a sick man, which is a recurring motif in the *Salmi* and is also extensively used in the *Salmo VI* on which the first *Canzone* in Pellio's 1584 collection is based. As has been discussed in Chapter 3.2.3, Pellio's setting ends with a cadence on C, but makes extensive use of Phrygian sonorities. It uses a slow ascending *soggetto* placed within the Phrygian fourth

Figure 3.3: Division of Bernardo Tasso's *Salmo V* in Giovanni Pellio's *Primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578), VI and Flaminio Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608), I.

Salmo V		Pellio	Oddi
1	Come vago augelletto, Ch'ï suoi dogliosi lai Fra i rami d'arbuscel tenero e schietto, Chiuso di Febo ai rai Sfoga piangendo e non s'arresta mai.	1	1
2	Così la notte e il giorno, Misero, piango anch'io Le gravi colpe, ond'ïl cuor cinto intorno, E con affetto pio Chieggio perdono a te, Signore e Dio.		
3	Ma tu, lasso, non senti Il suon di mercé indegno De dolorosi miei duri lamenti. Se forse hai preso sdegno, <i>Pellio/Tasso: Ché da te spesso fuggo; a te rivegno.</i> Oddi: Ché da te spesso fuggo e m'allontano.	2	2
4	Che poss'io, se l'audace Senso tanto possente M'ha posto al collo un giogo aspro e tenace, Oimè, che non consente, Che stabil nel tuo amor sia la mia mente?	3	
5	Né repugnare al senso Può [<i>P/T: Va!</i>] la fragil natura, Fatto sì forte e di valor sì intenso [<i>P/T: immenso</i>], Se non pigli la cura Tu, padre pio, di questa tua fattura.		3
6	Semplice e pura agnella Se talor per errore Vagar intorno per la selva bella Lascia sola il Pastore, Ella è rapita e ei danno ha, e dolore.	4	
7	Deh, non lasciar in preda Quest'alma poco accorta Al suo nimico sì, ch'errar la veda Sola e senza tua scorta; Onde ne resti lacerata e morta.		4
8	L'hai tu, Padre benigno, Con le tue man creata Per in preda lasciare a quel maligno Serpe, una cosa amata, Una fattura tua sì cara e grata?	5	
9	Vincati delle mie Miserie, omai pietate E di man tommi a queste crude arpie, Cure del mondo ingrante, Sì, ch'ïo non muoia [<i>P/T: sì, che non muoia</i>] in tanta indignitate.		5

E–A or B–E, with *mi*-signs used to alter the expected Phrygian intervals as an expression of the ill state of the soul. Oddi's setting ends with a cadence on A, which is one of the possible final cadences in pieces that display Phrygian characteristics. The melody is dominated by *soggetti* that fill the space between the pitches E and C or A and E usually associated with the Phrygian modes. Thus, Oddi also chooses to set the description of illness in a Phrygian modal environment. Even more noteworthy, however, is that Oddi's madrigal employs slow linear *soggetti* with *mi*-signs in prominent positions: as the counter-subject to the opening *soggetto* and as the opening *soggetti* in the second and the fourth *parti*. The choice of such *soggetti* could be inspired by Pellio's 'sickness'-*Canzone*. However, Oddi never exactly repeats Pellio's *soggetto*. The similarity between the *soggetti* could be due to the fact that both composers chose to use long note values and characteristic elements of the Phrygian mode, which is probably the most distinctive of all modes available in the modal palette, when setting the metaphor of illness to music. It would indeed be intriguing to know whether Oddi had any acquaintance with Giovanni Pellio or his madrigal collections, but the evidence for any statements on this topic is poor.

All things considered, Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali* is a depository of pious music in madrigal style, the performance of which does not demand too many singers. At the same time, the setting makes the best of the voice distribution possibilities a four-part scoring can provide, and the parts are often brought into a playful dialogue with each other. The texts presented in the collection offer enough variety in terms of metaphoric imagery, mood and length while still preserving stylistic unity. The music maintains a good balance between simpler and more sophisticated material. Differing lengths of the compositions make the collection adaptable to various circumstances. These traits make Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali* a perfect leisure music for cultured clerics, such as the *frater* who owned the Bologna part books. The heterodoxy of the texts used for the madrigals seems not to have been a major obstacle to the collection's publication, but it also suggests that someone involved in the creation of the book – either Oddi himself or another person – must have been interested or supportive of the ideas expressed in Tasso and Galeota's texts.

3.3 Conclusion

The analysis of Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi* has demonstrated how the poet used the scriptural text as raw material for composing his own text which he shaped according to the style he had learnt from the older generation of Petrarchists while remaining faithful to his Humanist ideals. One can only guess to what extent the theological ideas from Valdesian and *spirituali* circles interspersed in the poems reflect Tasso's views, or whether they are only there in order to please Margaret of Valois who was known to sympathise with the religious reform movements.

One can conclude that both Giovanni Pellio and Flaminio Oddi provided a suitable musical setting for Tasso's portrayal of penance, suffering and hope of redemption. Looking at the composers' attitude towards the *Salmi* as a cycle, Pellio's setting shows more respect to its integrity. Pellio, in his 1578 and 1584 books of *Canzoni spirituali*, set the first ten of Tasso's *Salmi* to music and maintained the order in which these are presented in their 1560 edition, whereas Oddi set to music only four selected poems, one among which had the text slightly altered, and appended two short texts by other authors. It remains an open question whether Pellio intended to set all thirty of the *Salmi* but abandoned the project having composed the music for only one third of the text. It is also a mystery why Pellio's third collection that uses the same title *Canzoni spirituali* does not continue with the setting of the *Salmi*.

As for the musical style, both collections are clearly orientated towards secular models, which makes them attractive candidates for recreational use although devotional use cannot be excluded either. Oddi's collection is more 'lightweight' in terms of the number of voices involved, length of the pieces and the proportion of lively imitative passages. Pellio's compositions are longer, and the larger amount of voices offers the possibility of heavier, denser sonorities, which befit the penitential focus of the pieces. Pellio's *Canzoni* are slightly more sophisticated than Oddi's *Madrigali* and, in general, they are less inviting to relaxed performance due to their considerable length. However, despite their penitential character and their length, they remain representatives of the madrigal genre. It is possible that the learned tone of Pellio's spiritual madrigals has to do with the publication's Benedictine connections or the composer's respect to Tasso's text modelled after the Psalter. The fact that some of the musical devices used by Pellio can be found in less pious contexts elsewhere would have not necessarily offended contemporary audiences.

Also Oddi's collection seems not to have escaped the monastic environment, as the ownership inscription found on its only extant copy shows. That the part books containing spiritual madrigals belonged to a monk, is not extraordinary considering that regulars and clerics coming from upper-class families were one of the target groups for spiritual madrigal composers. It remains an open question whether a text with heterodox implications, such as Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi*, would have been considered problematic by some superiors of religious communities. It is possible that the discrete heterodoxy of Tasso's religious statements did not stop either of the madrigal cycles from being published or owned as long as the text or its author were not officially on some local or universal *Index*.

To some extent, the choice of text must have reflected the beliefs of the patrons who stood behind the two madrigal cycles. In case of Serafino Fontana – the beginnings of his congregation were marked by reformatory thinking until it was curtailed by the Church in the mid-sixteenth century. As for Giannantonio Orsini, his religious views are not well documented, but his Neapolitan and French connections would be an argument in favour of his proximity to heterodoxy.

4 SINGING OF THE HOLY VIRGIN: THE MARIAN LITANY IN THE SPIRITUAL MADRIGAL

Chapter 4 examines a poetic paraphrase in which the model is identifiable even without being explicitly referred to in the title. At the same time, the text discussed here still represents a relatively free paraphrase. The Latin sacred text that will be in the focus in this chapter is the Marian Litany, a prayer that is mostly used in paraliturgical contexts. In the sixteenth century, the Marian Litany was not a single text but rather a type of prayer that existed in numerous variants. The prayer's different versions all share the same structure: a series of invocations, each followed by a set response. Each invocation contains an epithet assigned to the Holy Virgin, which is usually taken from the Bible or from the writings of the Church Fathers. What distinguishes the different versions from each other, is the number and the choice of the invocations used. Looking from a broader perspective, many litanies, including those invoking other objects of devotion than Mary, existed in early modern Catholicism. However, the different variants of the Marian Litany were among the most widely-used examples of this prayer.

The nature of the Marian Litany as a series of sometimes very sophisticated epithets, makes it a compendium of theological ideas that have been constructed around the figure of Mary throughout the centuries of Christianity. The epithets translate abstract concepts pertaining to Mary into images that make them accessible to the wider population. These images were not created specifically for the Marian Litany. They built up over time and were recurrent in different prayers. Moreover, they were a major source of inspiration for literature and the visual arts. Since the poetic text examined in this chapter cannot be fully understood without having an idea of what types of imagery were used with regard to the Holy Virgin and where they originated, the first half of the chapter will be dedicated to a structured overview of the images, trying to keep the discussion as concise as possible dealing with a topic this vast. The overview will be concluded with a section that introduces the history and the structure of the litany prayer. Although the Marian Litany was the channel through which the aforementioned images found their way into this chapter's case study, the images employed in it link with many other Marian texts as well as other works of literature, music and art, by being part of the same network of Marian imagery.

The second half of the chapter will be devoted to the case study itself, which is Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* [222].

This cycle of 30 spiritual madrigals published in 1594 by Francesco Coattini in Rome paraphrases several different variants of the Marian Litany. The chapter will look into the historical background of the cycle and will introduce its textual source – a little-known poem by Antonio Migliori. It will also provide some suggestions on the purpose for which the *Libro secondo* was created. Since Palestrina is a well-known composer, two published modern editions of his *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* were available for use. These form part of Palestrina's Complete Works editions supervised by F. X. Haberl (1862–1907) [223] and R. Casimiri (1939–1987) [224]. The present chapter uses a reprint of Casimiri's edition [225] as the main source, supplemented by the digital facsimile of the original print available from the digital collections of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna [222].

4.1 Bride, Queen and Mother: Early Modern Images of Mary and Their Reflections in Italian Literature and Music

While theologians debated on what can and cannot be stated about the Virgin Mary, the wider population perceived her not in form of doctrinal statements but through a set of images. They encountered these images on the pages of devotional prints, on the walls of churches, in street shrines, in the prayers they said and in the texts of the songs they sang to honour the Virgin. People could grasp and relate to these images more easily than to facts and opinions formulated in theological language.³³⁶ A whole variety of such images could be identified; however, most of them can be subsumed under one of the following three categories: Mary the Queen of Heaven, Mary the Heavenly Bride and Mary the suffering Mother of Christ.

4.1.1 Queen of Heaven

The first big category of Marian images portrays Mary as the Queen of Heaven.³³⁷ It appeared in the Middle Ages alongside the spread of the belief in her assumption to heaven after death. The feast of Mary's 'Dormition', as it was believed that her death occurred by falling asleep, was introduced in the seventh century by one of the Byzantine emperors and was declared a feast of universal observance around the

³³⁶ Nathan D. Mitchell, in the introduction to his monograph on the Rosary, underlines the importance of images and narratives for early modern Catholics (*The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Re-invention of Catholicism* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2009), 3).

³³⁷ See Sarah Jane Boss, 'The development of the Virgin's Cult in the High Middle Ages', in Sarah Jane Boss (ed.), *Mary: The Complete Resource* (Oxford, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2007), 156–157 and Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London: Allen Lane, 2009), 306.

beginning of the eighth century. Later, the belief in Mary falling asleep instead of dying was supplemented by the idea of the reception of her soul into heaven by Christ. By the twelfth century, the Catholics had further developed this idea into the belief in Mary's full bodily assumption into heaven. Eventually, the feast commemorating the end of Mary's life celebrated on 15 August became known as the feast of 'Assumption' instead of the feast of 'Dormition' and developed into one of the main Catholic feasts.³³⁸

As a consequence, in the imagination of the people the mother of Jesus assumed a position above the angels and the Saints being subject only to God himself.³³⁹ One of the biblical images that began to be associated with Mary was the apocalyptic woman 'clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars' described in Revelation 12:1.³⁴⁰ In visual arts, this description inspired a species of Marian iconography very popular in the sixteenth century. In this type of images, Mary is depicted standing on a moon, with stars crowning her head and her whole figure being surrounded by the rays of the sun.³⁴¹ The engraving inserted into the Marian Office of the *Libro da compagnia* [44] published in 1577 by Bartolomeo Sermartelli in Florence for the use of the city's confraternities is a typical example of this kind of depiction (Figure 4.1). The image of Mary 'clothed with the sun' was also associated with two Marian epithets taken from the *Song of Songs* (6:10) – 'Fair as the moon, bright as the sun' – and the idea of Mary's Immaculate Conception, which will be discussed in more detail in the following section. For now, it suffices to say that Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484) approved a special prayer to Mary the Immaculate, which granted 11 000 years of indulgence if prayed before this type of Marian image. Sixtus' IV prayer remained in use throughout the whole sixteenth century.³⁴²

³³⁸ Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 103–105; Henry Mayr-Harting, 'The Idea of the Assumption of Mary in the West, 800–1200', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary: Papers Read at the 2001 Summer Meeting and the 2002 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer and Ecclesiastical History Society, 2004), 86; Rubin, *Mother of God*, 100–101.

³³⁹ Mayr-Harting, 'The Idea of the Assumption', 89 based on Pseudo-Dionysius's treatise *Heavenly Hierarchy* translated into Latin in around 860.

³⁴⁰ Chris Maunder, 'Mary in the New Testament and Apocrypha', in Sarah Jane Boss (ed.), *Mary: The Complete Resource* (Oxford, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2007), 13.

³⁴¹ See Alexandra Ziane, *Amor divino, Amor profano: Liebe in geistlicher Musik und bildender Kunst in Rom um 1600*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 2011), 109.

³⁴² On the prayer and its settings to music see Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Virgin and the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124/2 (1999), 157–195.

Figure 4.1: Engraving depicting Mary as the apocalyptic woman from Revelation 12:1. *Libro da compagnia* (Florence: Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1577), 36b.³⁴³



The image of Mary as the woman described in Revelation 12:1 is reflected in the antiphons *Salve regina* and *Ave regina caelorum*. Moreover, it inspired the first stanza of Petrarch's famous *Canzone alla vergine*. In Petrarch's *Canzone* the Virgin is invoked as one 'clothed with the sun and crowned with stars':

Beautiful Virgin who, clothed with the sun and crowned with stars, so pleased the highest Sun that in you He hid His light: love drives me to speak words of you, but I do not know how to begin without your help and His who loving placed Himself in you.

I invoke her who has always replied to whoever called on her with faith. Virgin, if extreme misery of human things ever turned you to mercy, bend to my prayer; give succour to my war, though I am earth and you are queen of Heaven.³⁴⁴

(Petrarch, *Canzone alla Vergine*, I, 1–130)

As both the mother of the king Jesus and a queen in her own right, Mary enjoyed a special relationship with Christ. In the heavenly hierarchy modelled after the

³⁴³ Here and further the images from the *Libro da compagnia* [44] are taken from the digital facsimile available from GB (accessed 15 February 2019).

³⁴⁴ Vergine bella, che di sol vestita, | coronata di stelle, al sommo Sole | piacesti sì, che 'n te Sua luce ascose: | amor mi spinge a dir di te parole, | ma non so 'ncominciar senza tu' aita, | et di colui ch'amando in te si pose. | Invoco lei che ben sempre rispose | chi la chiamò con fede. | Vergine, s'a mercede | miseria extrema de l'humane cose | giamai ti volse, al mio prego t'inchina, | soccorri a la mia guerra, | ben ch' i' sia terra et tu del Ciel regina.⁷

structures present in feudal society, she assumed the position of a mediator.³⁴⁵ Christ's role was to exercise justice, Mary's to show mercy.³⁴⁶ Through her reputation of mercy Mary began to be seen as a powerful intercessor ready to take pity on poor sinners and to save their souls from the Devil.³⁴⁷ One of the special graces that could be obtained from Mary, according to medieval beliefs, was a pardon when the supplicant was deemed too sinful to be pardoned by Christ. Stories of the Holy Virgin saving a soul of a sinful devotee abounded in the high Middle Ages.³⁴⁸ In the early modern era, the medieval beliefs were continued in the form of devotions to Mary as an intercessor on behalf of the Holy Souls in Purgatory.³⁴⁹ Many prayers to Mary, including the second half of the *Ave Maria*, contain a plea to take care of the soul of the praying person. Also the antiphon *Salve regina* invokes Mary as 'the mother of mercy' ('mater misericordiae').

In art, there was even a specific iconographic type of Marian image called 'the mother of mercy' depicting Mary embracing a group of people (usually the commissioners of the picture) with her outspread cloak. A typical example of Mary as the merciful mother is Domenico Ghirlandaio's (1448–1494) fresco *Madonna della misericordia* painted around 1470 for the Vespucci altar in the church of San Salvatore di Ognissanti in Florence (Figure 4.2). In literature, the same image of Mary the merciful can be found in Dante's famous *Vergine madre figlia del tuo figlio* which opens the final *canto* of his *Paradiso*. Among other, Mary is addressed with the following tercet:

Your compassionate aid is not only given
to those who ask, but oftentimes also
is freely given before being sought.
(Dante, *Paradiso*, XXXIII,16–18)³⁵⁰

The Marian Litany draws on the image of Mary the merciful as well. For example, the Litany of Loreto contains the invocation 'merciful virgin' ('virgo clemens').

³⁴⁵ Iona McCleery, 'The Virgin and the Devil: The Role of the Virgin Mary in the Teophilus Legend and its Spanish and Portuguese Variants', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and Mary: Papers Read at the 2001 Summer Meeting and the 2002 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, Studies in Church History* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer and Ecclesiastical History Society, 2004), 151; Boss, 'The Virgin's Cult', 157.

³⁴⁶ Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul*, 26.

³⁴⁷ Eva De Visscher, 'Marian Devotion in the Latin West in the Later Middle Ages', in Sarah Jane Boss (ed.), *Mary: The Complete Resource* (Oxford, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2007), 185–186.

³⁴⁸ See McCleery, 'The Virgin and the Devil', 147–156.

³⁴⁹ See Trevor Johnson, 'Mary in Early Modern Europe', in Sarah Jane Boss (ed.), *Mary: The Complete Resource* (Oxford, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2007), 371.

³⁵⁰ 'La tua benignità non pur socorre | a chi domanda, ma molte fiata | liberamente al dimandar precorre.' Original text and the English translation quoted from Dante Alighieri, *Paradiso*, transl. Stanley Lombardo based on Giorgio Petrocchi's critical edition (Milan: Mondadori, 1966) (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, 2017) [7].

Figure 4.2: Domenico Ghirlandaio (1448–1494), *Madonna della misericordia* 1470–1471, fresco, Vespucci altar in the church of San Salvatore di Ognissanti, Florence. The figures under Mary’s cloak represent the members of the Vespucci family.³⁵¹



4.1.2 Mary as the Heavenly Bride and Beloved

The second category of Marian images can be roughly summarised as ‘the Heavenly Bride’. This type of imagery is closely tied to the belief that Mary was a virgin when she conceived Jesus from the Holy Spirit and that she remained such after his birth and, furthermore, that Mary was free from the Original Sin. These beliefs served as a justification for the gradually increasing number of theological links between the figure of Mary and certain passages from the Old Testament. These links, besides contributing new aspects to the image of Mary, offered an abundance of material for the Marian Litany.

The latest and the biggest Catholic doctrinal controversy regarding Mary proved to be the question whether or not she was free from the Original Sin already at the moment she was conceived in her mother’s womb. The belief in Mary’s virginity at the moment of the incarnation, during pregnancy and after Jesus’ birth could be dealt with more easily since it is grounded in Luke 1:29–37 and Matthew 1:18–25.³⁵² Also the notion that Mary should be immaculate from any other type of sin appeared relatively early on in the history of Christianity since this quality was necessary in order for her to be able to provide a suitable dwelling for God incarnate inside her body. The

³⁵¹ Public domain digital reproduction available from Wikimedia Commons https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4b/Domenico_ghirlandaio%2C_madonna_della_misericordia%2C_ognissanti%2C_Firenze.jpg (accessed 15 February 2019).

³⁵² Tina Beattie, ‘Mary in Patristic Theology’, in Sarah Jane Boss (ed.), *Mary: The Complete Resource* (Oxford, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2007), 96–97.

controversial part of the case was the question whether Mary was already free from sin at the moment of her conception or whether she was freed from sin afterwards.³⁵³ Unfortunately, neither the canonical nor the apocryphical Gospels say anything with regard to this question. Around the turn of the twelfth century, a treatise entitled *De conceptione sanctae Mariae* ('On the Conception of Saint Mary') by the English Benedictine Eadmer of Canterbury (c. 1060–c. mid-twelfth century) presented the first fully-formed version of the doctrine of Immaculate Conception, that is the teaching that Mary was already conceived without sin.³⁵⁴ The doctrine presented by Eadmer was not banned, but the Church was hesitant to make it part of its official teachings.³⁵⁵ The main opponents of the Immaculate Conception were the Dominicans, of which Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) is perhaps the best-known example. The other camp was led by the Franciscans with John Duns Scotus (1266–1308) as their mouthpiece.³⁵⁶ Although it came very close to becoming universal doctrine under the schismatic pope Felix V in 1439 and during the reign of the Franciscan pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484), and although the corresponding feast on 8 December had been universally celebrated since the fifteenth century, the Immaculate Conception was not declared dogma until 1854.³⁵⁷ Around 1600, however, the theological debate had reached its most heated point. During this period, the pope came under intense pressure to approve Immaculate Conception as dogma, which could spare it from further questioning. The debate was carried out not only in theological writings but also in visual arts and literature.³⁵⁸ In Spain, which had the largest concentration of 'immaculists', some people were ready even to shed their blood protecting their belief in Mary's Immaculate Conception. The debates receded only with the beginning of the Enlightenment that brought other problems into the foreground.³⁵⁹

As for the 'Marian' Old Testament passages, one of them, Isaiah 7:14 ('Look, the young woman is with child and shall bear a son, and shall name him Immanuel')³⁶⁰

³⁵³ Sarah Jane Boss, 'The Development of the Doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception', in Sarah Jane Boss (ed.), *Mary: The Complete Resource* (Oxford, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2007), 210.

³⁵⁴ Rubin, *Mother of God*, 173–174. See also Boss, 'The Development of the Doctrine', 210.

³⁵⁵ Johnson, 'Mary in Early Modern Europe', 373.

³⁵⁶ Boss, 'The Development of the Doctrine', 212.

³⁵⁷ Blackburn, 'The Virgin and the Sun', 178; Boss, 'The Development of the Doctrine', 207–208.

³⁵⁸ Johnson, 'Mary in Early Modern Europe', 373–380. On Immaculate Conception in visual art, see Ziane, *Amor divino*, 127–131.

³⁵⁹ Johnson, 'Mary in Early Modern Europe', 373–380.

³⁶⁰ 'Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium, | et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel.'

was identified as a prophecy of Mary's virginal birth already in the Gospel of Matthew. Interestingly, the Hebrew word 'ālmāh'³⁶¹ translated in the Vulgate as 'virgin' actually gives no reference to the state of virginity and simply means 'a young woman'. The origin of the interpretation of the word as 'virgin' can be traced back to the Septuagint, the Hellenistic Greek translation of the Old Testament where 'ālmāh' was translated as 'parthénos',³⁶² which explicitly means 'virgin'. Since the Septuagint was used by many early Christian writers, the interpretation of the word 'ālmāh' as 'virgin' entered into Christian use.³⁶³ Another Isaiah passage considered a Marian 'prefiguration' in the Old Testament was Isaiah 11:1 mentioning 'a shoot coming out of the stump of Jesse' ('Et egredietur virga de radice Jesse'). The very imagery of the excerpt – a new branch shooting forth from a stump of a tree – lent itself as an allegory for Jesus' birth, but the acoustic similarity between 'virga' for 'shoot' and 'virgo' for 'virgin' also raised its attractiveness to theologians looking for parallels between the Old and the New Testament.³⁶⁴

Furthermore, Mary began to be identified with the bride from the *Song of Songs*. Although the couple of lovers described in the *Song of Songs* could also be interpreted as an allegory of the union between Christ and the human soul, the interpretation as an allegory for Mary's union to God during the act of Incarnation was no less popular during the Middle Ages. The *Song of Songs* was a popular source for Mass texts of Marian feasts and for lyrics of Marian motets.³⁶⁵ The *Song of Songs* added an abundance of poetic metaphors to the literary portrait of Mary: 'rose' and 'lily of the valleys' (2:1), 'tower of David' (4:4), 'a locked garden' (4:12), 'a well of living water' (4:15), 'honeycomb' (5:1), 'terrible as an army with banners' (6:4) amongst others.

Possibly inspired by the association of Mary with the bride in the *Song of Songs*, poets, starting with the French troubadours, began to write chivalric poetry devoted to her.³⁶⁶ The most popular title for Mary in twelfth-century France was 'Notre Dame' ('Our Lady').³⁶⁷ Mary became the ultimate unobtainable beloved.³⁶⁸ The same image of

³⁶¹ See HAL, vol. 2, s.v. אֵלְמָה.

³⁶² See LSJO, s.v. παρθένος (accessed 15 March 2019).

³⁶³ Rubin, *Mother of God*, 9; Visscher, 'Marian Devotion in the Latin West', 178.

³⁶⁴ Visscher, 'Marian Devotion in the Latin West', 178.

³⁶⁵ Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul*, 48, 61.

³⁶⁶ See David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (Oxford, et al.: Oxford University Press, 2011), 4–8.

³⁶⁷ Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul*, 2.

Mary can be found in several *lauda* texts from the *Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine* [62] (Rome: Nicolò Muzi, 1599) published by the Oratorian priest Giovenale Ancina. The titles in question display amorous wordings such as ‘Your supernal beauty’ (‘Tua bellezza superna’), ‘My burning desires’ (‘Gli ardenti miei desiri’) or ‘When I think of you, beautiful Virgin’ (‘Al’hor ch’io penso à voi Vergine bella’).³⁶⁹ Even in secular music collections the Virgin Mary was never far away. David J. Rothenberg notes that from as early as the thirteenth century it was common to place a Marian piece at the beginning of manuscripts which otherwise contained predominantly secular music. Petrucci’s *Harmonice musices odhecaton* [211] (Venice, 1501), the first printed collection of polyphonic music, also starts with a Marian piece, which is Marbrianus de Orto’s *Ave Maria*.³⁷⁰ In Francesco Terriera’s *Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* [251] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1606), a spiritual madrigal based on a paraphrase of the *Ave Maria* closes the collection. The rest of the print is filled with typical secular madrigals featuring love-sickness, nature and beautiful shepherdesses. In Terriera’s case, the starting position was reserved for madrigals honouring the patrons. One more representation of the Holy Virgin to be discussed with the second category is the association of Mary with the biblical Wisdom. Through Christ, who represented Wisdom incarnate, Mary, his bearer, could legitimately be called ‘the seat of Wisdom’. Some time later, she began to be identified with Wisdom herself. Further excerpts from Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and other so-called ‘Wisdom writings’ were added to the list of ‘Marian’ Old Testament passages.³⁷¹ Moreover, the association with wisdom led to the analogy between Mary and the wise virgins from the Gospel (Matthew 25:1–13).³⁷²

Lastly, from late Antiquity onwards, Mary was seen as the new Eve in analogy with Christ being called the new Adam by St Paul (1 Corinthians 15:45).³⁷³ The theological connection between Mary and Eve could be reinforced by the passage in Genesis describing the fall of humanity where God pronounces the prophecy of enmity between the Woman and the Serpent (Genesis 3:15). The image of the Woman treading on the head of the Serpent was seen as a prefiguration of Mary subduing Original Sin.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁸ Ziane, *Amor Divino*, 109.

³⁶⁹ See Ziane, *Amor Divino*, 137.

³⁷⁰ Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise*, 8.

³⁷¹ Boss, ‘The Virgin’s Cult’, 166–169.

³⁷² The same image of the wise virgins was used for any virgin saint, see Boss, ‘The Virgin’s Cult’, 169.

³⁷³ Beattie, ‘Mary in Patristic Theology’, 77.

³⁷⁴ Ziane, *Amor Divino*, 139. See the *ibid.* for Mary as the new Eve in visual arts.

The image of Mary as the new Eve features in the text of the Marian hymn *Ave maris stella*. Similarly, in the antiphon *Salve regina* she is contrasted to Eve as the ancestor of humanity.

4.1.3 *Mater Dolorosa*: Mary as a Co-Sufferer of Christ

The third group of Marian representations, the least visible one in the Marian Litany, is the ‘mother of sorrows’ (‘mater dolorosa’). This type of depictions was inspired by the account of Mary’s presence during the crucifixion found in John 19:25–27. Further scriptural backing was provided by the prophecy pronounced to Mary by Simeon during the infant Jesus’s presentation at the temple (Luke 2:35) that ‘a sword would pierce her soul’.³⁷⁵ This allowed Mary to be seen as a co-sufferer of Christ almost to the degree of becoming one with him during his suffering and thus co-participating in the process of redemption of the world.³⁷⁶ From the twelfth century onwards, Mary appears in depictions of the crucifixion scene showing gestures of sorrow and bearing an expression of pain on her face.³⁷⁷ Apart from the Calvary scene, there are two other types of image depicting Mary’s suffering. The first one goes back to Simeon’s prophecy described in Luke 2:35. It depicts Mary crying or pierced by several swords. Sometimes she is surrounded by medallions containing representations of the ‘Seven Sorrows of Mary’ (selected episodes from the childhood and the passion of Christ). An example of this type of representation can be seen in the 1577 Florentine *Libro da compagnia* already quoted in section 4.1.1 (see Figure 4.3). The second type of image is the *Pietà* in which Mary is depicted cradling the body of the crucified Jesus on her lap.³⁷⁸ One of the best known examples of this type is Michelangelo’s marble sculpture made between 1497 and 1500 for a funerary chapel in St. Peter’s Basilica.

Mary also played an important role in the medieval passion plays. In literature *Planctus Mariae*, or ‘Mary’s lament’, developed into a distinct religious poetic genre.³⁷⁹ Probably the best-known example of a poetic text centred on Mary’s suffering at the foot of the cross is the *Stabat mater*, composed in the thirteenth century. The poem has

³⁷⁵ Visscher, ‘Marian Devotion in the Latin West’, 181–182.

³⁷⁶ Sandro Sticca, *Il Planctus Mariae nella tradizione drammatica del Medio Evo* (Sulmona: Teatro Club, 1984), 31–35; Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul*, 78, 92.

³⁷⁷ Rubin, *Mother of God*, 243–244.

³⁷⁸ See Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), 206.

³⁷⁹ Sticca, *Il Planctus Mariae*, 153–155.

Figure 4.3: Example of a visual representation of the seven sorrows of Mary: engraving from the *Libro da compagnia* (Florence: Bartolomeo Sermartelli, 1577), unnumbered sheet between fols 36 and 37 verso.



been attributed to Jacopone da Todi (†1306) and Saint Bonaventure (†1274) but the actual author is uncertain. It consists of 10 six-line stanzas in trochaic metre with the rhyme scheme aabccb. The first four stanzas describe Mary's sufferings in the third person, while the six remaining stanzas address the Virgin directly with a plea to help the speaker to merit eternal life by taking part in Christ's suffering the same way his mother did.³⁸⁰ The text could be used in votive masses devoted to the co-suffering of Mary,³⁸¹ however, for a long time its main use lay in the devotional sphere. Only in the nineteenth century, when Pope Pius VII rendered universal the feast of the Seven Sorrows of Mary celebrated locally since the fifteenth century, the text became the sequence of the day.³⁸² In addition to the plainchant melody, there were numerous polyphonic settings of the Latin *Stabat mater* text. An Italian paraphrase of the *Stabat mater* set to music by Giovanni Maria Nanino in form of a cycle of canzonette spirituali was published in 1592 in Rome by Simone Verouio under the title *Il deuoto pianto della Gloriosa Vergine* [265]. Each strophe of the poem is set to music as a separate canzonetta.

³⁸⁰ Magda Marx-Weber, 'Mit der Gottesmutter leiden: Stabat-mater-Vertonungen seit dem 16. Jahrhundert', in Martina Bick, et al. (eds), *Modell Maria. Beiträge der Vortragsreihen Gender Studies 2004–2006 an der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hamburg* (Hamburg: Von Bockel, 2007), 95–96.

³⁸¹ Émile Bertaud, 'Douleurs', in DS, 1694–1695.

³⁸² Marx-Weber, 'Stabat-mater-Vertonungen seit dem 16. Jahrhundert', 96; Rouillard 'Marian Feasts', in NCE, 211–212.

The same Italian version of the *Stabat mater* can be found in an Oratorian collection of *laude* published in Fermo in 1595 [28]. A different Italian paraphrase of the poem can be found in the *Libro primo delle Lavdi spirituali* [232] compiled by Serafino Razzi published in 1563 in Venice.

4.1.4 The Litany as a Compendium of Images

The many images of the Holy Virgin presented above are collected in the Marian Litany. As Christine Getz notes, early modern spirituality valued meditative forms of prayer and considered repetition one of the paths to contemplation. Getz suggests that one of the goals of Post-Tridentine Marian meditation books ‘was assisting the reader in building a biblical and liturgical lexicon’, so that ‘even if the listener did not understand the Latin text [...] itself, he could tap into its hermeneutic significance through the loose association of a key phrase or two with both a particular meditation and the feast or feasts on which the text was performed every year’.³⁸³ Being a prayer composed of a series of invocations (which are often quotations from the Scriptures or writings of the Church Fathers) followed by a set response (‘have mercy on us’, ‘pray for us’ and the like), the litany can be considered a lexicon building tool *par excellence*. More importantly, the litany provided a structural model for the text used in the madrigal cycle examined in this chapter.

The name ‘litany’ derives from the Greek word ‘litanía’ meaning ‘prayer of supplication’. In its Catholic context the word is normally used in Latin and only in plural. In liturgical usage ‘litaniae’ denotes the repetitive prayers said on the rogation days: 25 April (*Litaniae maiores*, suppressed after the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965)) and the three days before Ascension (*Litaniae minores*). Other liturgical prayers in litany form are the *Kyrie* and the *Agnus Dei* from the Ordinary of the Mass.³⁸⁴ In its less strictly liturgical sense, the word ‘litaniae’ denotes a prayer known in current English usage as the ‘litany’. This type of prayer existed, and still exists, not only in conjunction with the Marian cult but also in connection to Christ, the Holy Spirit, the saints, guardian angels or any other object or person of devotion. The best known of the longer litanies is the Litany of All Saints which is used liturgically as part of the Baptism

³⁸³ Christine Getz, *Mary, Music, and Meditation: Sacred Conversations in Post-Tridentine Milan, Music and the Early Modern Imagination* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 13.

³⁸⁴ Balthasar Fischer, ‘Litanies’, in DS, vol. 9, 865–866.

rite during the celebration of the Easter Vigil and whenever Baptism is celebrated. It can be also sung during processions.³⁸⁵

Before the first litany prayer devoted to Mary appeared, series of invocations to her were already used in the hymns of the Eastern Church.³⁸⁶ As far as the Catholic prayer of the ‘Marian Litany’ is concerned, two types of it can be distinguished: varying sets of Marian invocations often bearing the subtitle ‘taken from the Scriptures and the Church Fathers’ (*ex sacra scriptura et patribus desumpta*) and a consolidated set of invocations known as the ‘Litany of Loreto’. The total number of litanies belonging to the first group is difficult to determine since their variations were endless in the sixteenth century. For example, an anonymous collection of litanies published in 1589 by Wolfgang Eder in Ingolstadt [45] contains three *Ex sacra scriptura* litanies, and a collection of litanies edited by the Jesuit Thomas Saily published in 1598 by Rutger Velpius in Brussels under the title *Thesaurus Litaniarum* [239] contains six.³⁸⁷ The Litany of Loreto, on the other hand, was a set text with only minimal variations occurring from source to source. It is named after the place with which it was associated – the Holy House of Loreto and the basilica connected to it. The little town of Loreto located on the Adriatic coast about 30 kilometres south of Ancona was one of the most important Marian pilgrimage sites of early modern Europe boasting what was purportedly the house in which Mary grew up and where the Annunciation had taken place. According to the legend, the house was brought there by angels after the Holy Land was conquered by the Turks in the late thirteenth century. Along with the rising popularity of Loreto as a destination for pilgrims, the Litany of Loreto became the most popular Marian litany in Europe.³⁸⁸ The popularity of both the town and the devotions connected to it was boosted by the Jesuits, who were in charge of the Holy House of Loreto since 1554 and conducted a well-managed publicity campaign. The Jesuits not only introduced the Litany of Loreto in their colleges outside Loreto³⁸⁹ but also sought Papal approval for the text of the litany, which was granted by pope Sixtus V on the occasion of the

³⁸⁵ See David Anthony Blazey, ‘The Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy’, PhD diss., University of Durham, 1990, 14–15.

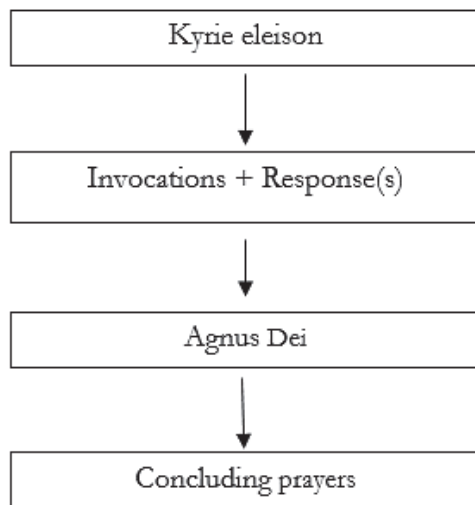
³⁸⁶ C. H. Bagley, ‘Litany of Loreto’, in NCE, 790–791.

³⁸⁷ See Alexander J. Fisher, ‘*Thesaurus Litaniarum*: The Symbolism and Practice of Musical Litanies in Counter-Reformation Germany’, *Early Music History*, 34 (2015), 58.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 57.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 59–60.

Figure 4.4: Outline of the structure of an average litany.



consecration of the basilica of Loreto, completed in 1587.³⁹⁰ In 1601, along with the other normative tendencies of the post-Tridentine Catholic Church, Pope Clement VIII officially declared the Litany of Loreto the only permitted Marian litany.³⁹¹ The *Litaniae Lauretanae* could be prayed in conjunction with the Divine Office, the best suited office being the Compline on Saturday, the day consecrated to Mary. The prayer could also be said during processions or in prayer meetings in confraternities.³⁹²

Although there are many different types of litanies, they all share the same structure. The prayer begins with the invocation ‘Kyrie eleison’, which is a modified version of the *Kyrie* from the Mass Ordinary, followed by several series of invocations combined with a set response, which may change for each series or remain the same for the whole of the litany (see Figure 4.4). The first series of invocations usually addresses the Holy Trinity, while the following ones are specific to each litany. The prayer is concluded by a variation of the *Agnus Dei* and one or several short prayers. In some sixteenth-century sources, a series of ‘Kyrie eleison’-invocations, a hymn, or an antiphon could be added at the end. As can be seen from Figure 4.5, the Litany of Loreto perfectly fits this model, as do many other Marian litanies.

³⁹⁰ Magda Marx-Weber, ‘Römische Vertonungen der Lauretanischen Litanei: Palestrina – Cifra – Graziani – Foggia – Cesarini’, in Markus Engelhardt, and Christoph Flamm (eds), *Musik in Rom im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: Kirche und Fest* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2004), 211.

³⁹¹ Ibid, 211; Fisher, ‘*Thesaurus Litaniarum*’, 57.

³⁹² Blazey, ‘Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy’, 17–19, 21, 23. For a summary of possible uses, see p. 27 of Blazey’s dissertation.

Figure 4.5: The Litany of Loretto³⁹³

Kyrie, eleison. R. <i>Christe, eleison.</i>	Lord, have mercy on us. R. <i>Christ, have mercy on us.</i>
Kyrie, eleison. Christe, audi nos. R. <i>Christe, exaudi nos.</i>	Lord, have mercy on us. Christ, hear us. R. <i>Christ, accept our prayer.</i>
Pater de caelis, Deus, R. <i>miserere nobis.</i>	God the Father of heaven, R. <i>have mercy on us.</i>
Fili, Redemptor mundi, Deus, R.	God the Son, Redeemer of the world, R.
Spiritus Sancte Deus, R.	God the Holy Spirit, R.
Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, R.	Holy Trinity, one God, R.
Sancta Maria, R. <i>ora pro nobis.</i>	Holy Mary, R. <i>pray for us.</i>
Sancta Dei Genetrix, R.	Holy Bearer of God, R.
Sancta Virgo virginum, R.	Holy Virgin of virgins, R.
Mater Christi, R. <i>ora pro nobis.</i>	Mother of Christ, R. <i>pray for us.</i>
Mater Divinae gratiae, R.	Mother of divine grace, R.
Mater purissima, R.	Mother most pure, R.
Mater castissima, R.	Mother most chaste, R.
Mater inviolata, R.	Mother inviolate, R.
Mater intemerata, R.	Mother undefiled, R.
Mater amabilis, R.	Mother most amiable, R.
Mater admirabilis, R.	Mother most admirable, R.
Mater Creatoris, R.	Mother of the Creator, R.
Mater Salvatoris, R.	Mother of the Savior, R.
Virgo prudentissima, R. <i>ora pro nobis.</i>	Virgin most prudent, R. <i>pray for us.</i>
Virgo veneranda, R.	Venerable Virgin, R.
Virgo praedicanda, R.	Virgin most worthy of praise, R.
Virgo potens, R.	Powerful Virgin, R.
Virgo clemens, R.	Merciful Virgin, R.
Virgo fidelis, R.	Faithful Virgin, R.
Speculum iustitiae, R. <i>ora pro nobis.</i>	Mirror of justice, R. <i>pray for us.</i>
Sedes sapientiae, R.	Seat of wisdom, R.
Causa nostrae laetitiae,	Cause of our joy,

³⁹³ Latin text based on the version found in the *Litaniae Catholicae* (Ingolstadt, 1589) [45] and the *Thesaurus Litaniarum* (Brussels, 1598) [239] with modernised spelling and capitalisation. English translation adapted from the version given in the *Thesaurus Precum Latinarum* (accessed 10 April 2018).

R.	R.
Vas spirituale, R. <i>ora pro nobis.</i>	Spiritual vessel, R. <i>pray for us.</i>
Vas honorabile, R.	Honourable vessel, R.
Vas insigne devotionis, R.	Singular vessel of devotion, R.
Rosa mystica, R.	Mystical rose, R.
Turris Davidica, R.	Tower of David, R.
Turris eburnea, R.	Tower of ivory, R.
Domus aurea, R.	House of gold, R.
Foederis arca, R.	Ark of the covenant, R.
Ianua caeli, R.	Gate of heaven, R.
Stella matutina, R.	Morning star, R.
Salus infirmorum, R.	Health of the sick, R.
Refugium peccatorum, R.	Refuge of sinners, R.
Consolatrix afflictorum, R.	Comforter of the afflicted, R.
Auxilium Christianorum, R.	Help of Christians, R.
Regina Angelorum, R. <i>ora pro nobis.</i>	Queen of Angels, R. <i>pray for us.</i>
Regina Patriarcharum, R.	Queen of Patriarchs, R.
Regina Prophetarum, R. <i>ora pro nobis.</i>	Queen of Prophets, R. <i>pray for us.</i>
Regina Apostolorum, R.	Queen of Apostles, R.
Regina Martyrum R.	Queen of Martyrs R.
Regina Confessorum, R.	Queen of Confessors, R.
Regina Virginum, R.	Queen of Virgins, R.
Regina Sanctorum omnium, R.	Queen of all Saints, R.
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, R. <i>parce nobis, Domine.</i>	Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, R. <i>spare us, O Lord.</i>
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, R. <i>exaudi nos, Domine.</i>	Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, R. <i>accept our prayer, O Lord.</i>
Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, R. <i>miserere nobis.</i>	Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world, R. <i>have mercy on us.</i>
V. Ora pro nobis, Sancta Dei Genetrix, R. <i>Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.</i>	V. Pray for us, O holy Mother of God, R. <i>That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.</i>
Oratio Gratiam tuam, quaesumus Domine, mentibus nostris infunde: ut qui angelo nuntiante Christi filii tui incarnationem cognovimus, per passionem eius, & crucem, ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum, R. <i>Amen.</i>	Prayer Pour forth, we beseech you, O Lord, your grace into our hearts, that we, to whom the incarnation of Christ, your Son, was made known by the message of an angel, may by his passion and cross be brought to the glory of his resurrection, through the same Christ our Lord, R. <i>Amen.</i>

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the litany of Loretto and other Marian litanies were popular texts to be set to music. Magda Marx-Weber lists eleven Italian prints published between 1575 and 1672 dedicated exclusively to Marian litanies and adds that many more settings were published in mixed collections.³⁹⁴ David Anthony Blazey's study on litany settings in the seventeenth century lists more than 300 prints containing almost 600 settings of various litanies published between 1601 and 1700.³⁹⁵ Out of this number, 'almost a third [...] appeared in publications devoted either exclusively or chiefly to settings of the Litany of Loreto.'³⁹⁶ Mixed publications that feature Marian litanies include collections of masses, motets, Compline, Vespers settings or combinations of any of the above. To give an impression, Tables 8.5 and 8.6 in Appendix A list 9 litany collections and 41 mixed collections containing musical settings of Marian litanies published in the Italian states from 1575 to 1610.

The repetitive format of the Litany served as an inspiration to poets writing praises to Virgin Mary. The most renowned example is Petrarch's *Canzone alla Vergine*. Similar to the structure of the Litany, each of the stanzas, except for the seventh, the eighth and the *commiato*, start with the invocation 'Vergine' ('Virgin') followed by a characterisation of Mary. Each strophe ends with a request from the speaker to the Virgin (see Table 4.1). In the centuries following its composition, the *Canzone alla Vergine* had a widespread reception in Italian literature and music. The original poem and some of its paraphrases were set to music by various composers. Even more composers chose to set fragments of the text. Table 8.7 in Appendix A gives a list of composers who set the full poem as well as a list of collections centred around the text of the *Canzone alla Vergine*.³⁹⁷ The first composer to set the full *Canzone* to polyphonic music was Cipriano de Rore. Other publications which devote an entire cycle to the *Canzone* featured such respected names as Gian Matteo Asola or Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.

³⁹⁴ Marx-Weber, 'Römische Vertonungen der Lauretanischen Litanei', 212 (the litany prints are mentioned throughout the whole article).

³⁹⁵ Blazey, 'Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy', 2.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

³⁹⁷ Settings of individual strophes are listed in Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 62–63 (Tables 3.1 and 3.2) and Powers, 'Spiritual Madrigal', 266–267 (Table 28).

Table 4.1: Invocations and requests in Petrarch's *Canzone alla Vergine*.³⁹⁸

Stanza	Invocation	Request
1	<p><i>Vergine bella</i> Beautiful Virgin</p> <p><i>Di sol vestita, coronata di stelle</i> Clothed with the sun and crowned with stars</p> <p><i>Del Ciel regina</i> Queen of Heaven</p>	<p><i>Soccorri alla mia guerra</i> Give succor to my war</p>
2	<p><i>Vergine saggia</i> Wise Virgin</p> <p><i>Una delle beate vergini prudenti</i> One of the number of the blessed wise virgins</p> <p><i>Saldo scudo de le afflitte genti</i> Solid shield of afflicted people</p> <p><i>Refrigerio al cieco ardor</i> Relief from the blind ardor</p>	<p><i>Volgi gli occhi al mio dubbio stato</i> Turn your eyes to my perilous state</p>
3	<p><i>Vergine pura, d'ogni parte intera</i> Pure Virgin, whole in every part</p> <p><i>Del tuo parto gentil figliuola e madre</i> Noble daughter and mother of your offspring</p> <p><i>Fenestra del ciel</i> Window of Heaven</p> <p><i>Sola electa</i> The only chosen one</p> <p><i>Vergine benedetta, che 'l pianto d'Eva in allegrezza torni</i> Blessed Virgin who turns the tears of Eve to rejoicing again</p> <p><i>Beata senza fine</i> Blessed without end</p> <p><i>Coronata nel superno regno</i> Crowned in the kingdom above</p>	<p><i>Fammi de la Sua grazia degno</i> make me worthy of His grace</p>
4	<p><i>Vergine santa d'ogni grazia piena</i> Holy Virgin, full of every grace</p> <p><i>Che salisti al ciel</i> Who mounted to Heaven</p> <p><i>Madre, figliuola e sposa</i> Mother, daughter and bride</p> <p><i>Vergine gloriosa</i> Glorious Virgin</p> <p><i>Donna del Re</i> Lady of the King</p> <p><i>Vera beatrice</i> True bringer of happiness</p>	<p><i>Nelle cui sante piaghe prego ch'appaghe il cor</i> Let my heart quiet in His holy wounds</p>

³⁹⁸ See also table 3.4 in Karen Shirley Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina', DMA diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1999, 79–80.

5	<p><i>Vergine sola al mondo senza esempio</i> Virgin unique in the world, uexampled</p> <p><i>Che 'l Ciel di tue bellezze innamorasti</i> Who made Heaven in love with your beauties</p> <p><i>Vivo tempio al vero Dio</i> Living temple of the true God</p> <p><i>Vergine dolce e pia</i> Sweet and merciful Virgin</p>	<p><i>Sia mia scorta, et la mia torta via dirizzi a buon fine</i> Be my guide and direct my twisted path to a good end</p>
6	<p><i>Vergine chiara et stabile in eterno</i> Bright Virgin, stable for eternity</p> <p><i>Stella di mare tempestoso, fidata guida d'ogni fedel nocchier</i> Star of this tempestous sea, guide on whom every faithful helmsman relies</p> <p><i>Virginal chiostro</i> Virginal cloister</p>	<p><i>Pon' mente in che terribile procella i' mi ritrovo</i> See in what terrible storm I am</p> <p><i>Prego che 'l tuo nemico del mio mal non rida</i> I beg you that your enemy may not laugh at my harm</p>
7	<p><i>Vergine sacra et alma</i> Holy and life-giving Virgin</p>	<p><i>Non tardar</i> Do not delay</p>
8	<p><i>Donna del ciel</i> Lady of Heaven</p> <p><i>Nostra dea</i> Our goddess</p> <p><i>Vergine d'alti sensi</i> Virgin of deep wisdom</p>	<p><i>Por fine al mio dolore</i> Put an end to my sorrow</p>
9	<p><i>Vergine in cui ho tutta mia speranza</i> Virgin in whom I have put all my hopes</p>	<p><i>Non mi lasciare in su l'estremo passo</i> Do not leave me at the last pass</p> <p><i>Non guardar me, ma Chi degnò crear me</i> Not consider me, but him who deigned to create me</p> <p><i>Adempi 'l mio cor lasso di santé et pie lagrime</i> Fill my weary heart with holy repentant tears</p>
10	<p><i>Vergine humana, et nemica d'orgoglio</i> Kindly Virgin, enemy of pride</p>	<p><i>Miserere d'un cor contrito humile</i> Have mercy on a contrite and humble heart</p> <p><i>Scorgimi al miglior guado, et prendi in grado i cangiati desiri</i> Lead me to the better crossing and accept my changed desires</p>
11	<p><i>Vergine unica et sola</i> Single and sole Virgin</p>	<p><i>Raccomandami al tuo figliuol, ch'accolga 'l mio spirito ultimo in pace</i> Commend me to your Son, that He may receive my last breath in peace</p>

Apart from the *Canzone alla Vergine* and Antonio Migliori's *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria In Ottava Rima composto* [181] (Rome: Guglielmo Faciotti, 1593), another poem inspired by the Marian litany is the *Eccellenze di Maria Vergine* [154] written by the Lombard physician Orazio Guarguante. His work praising Mary's body and soul in forty ottava rima-stanzas was first published by the Giolito de' Ferrari in Venice in 1589 and later reprinted several times. According to the dedication, it was written on the occasion of Catherine Michelle, a descendant of the Spanish Habsburgs and Duchess of Savoy, giving birth to her first child. The collection was set to music as a cycle of spiritual madrigals by Philippe de Monte. The musical setting [187] was published in 1593 in Venice by Angelo Gardano.

4.2 The *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria* (1593 and 1594)

Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* [222] (Rome: Francesco Coattini, 1594) is one of the best-known collections of spiritual madrigals. The reputation of the composer has certainly been an important factor in drawing scholarly attention.³⁹⁹ However, its distinctiveness from the repertoires Palestrina is best-known for and the fact that it is the last work prepared for publishing by Palestrina himself has also fascinated musicologists.⁴⁰⁰ The cycle consists of thirty Marian spiritual madrigals, each of them setting to music a stanza from the same poem composed by Antonio Migliori, a priest from Ascoli, a little town in the Marche. The text, which is, at its core, a prayer for intercession presented to the Virgin Mary, is driven forward by the succession of invocations which form an impressive catalogue of Marian images. The following sections will explore the text and its musical setting along with their historical background and will offer suggestions regarding the main motivations behind their creation.

³⁹⁹ A fair amount of information on the collection is transmitted either in general studies on Palestrina, such as Lino Bianchi's *Palestrina: nella vita, nelle opere, nel suo tempo*, Musica e musicisti nel Lazio 3 (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina 1995), or in studies specialising in a specific part of Palestrina's oeuvre, like Johanna Japs' monograph on his madrigals (*Die Madrigale von Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina: Genese, Analyse, Rezeption*, Collectanea musicologica (Augsburg: Wißner, 2008)).

⁴⁰⁰ For example, this attitude is obvious in the introduction to Lino Bianchi's edition of the collection, which states that the work was 'venerated' and 'admired' by all major Palestrina scholars and refers to the collection as Palestrina's 'swan song': 'Dal Burney al Martini all'Ambros e all'Haberl, dal Baini fino al Cametti l'elogio, la venerata ammirazione per questo "canto del cigno"...' (Lino Bianchi, 'Il volume ventesimosecondo delle opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina', in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Il libro secondo dei madrigali spirituali a 5 voci [Priego alla B. Vergine] secondo la stampa originale del 1594*, ed. Lino Bianchi, Le opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, vol. 22 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 1957), IX).

4.2.1 Antonio Migliori

The alternative title to the *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* (1594), *Priego alla Beata Vergine*, used by Palestrina's *Opere complete* edition [224] cannot be found on the front page of the original part books. The title can be inferred from the dedication text where Palestrina himself uses 'priego alla B[eata] Vergine' in reference to the collection. Neither the title page nor the dedication of the collection gives any information about the source of the lyrics. Since the 1593 Guglielmo Faciotti print entitled *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria In Ottava Rima composto* [181], one extant copy of which is preserved in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome,⁴⁰¹ is almost unknown to musicologists, many scholars writing about the *Libro secondo* were left to wonder whether the 'priego alla B[eata] Vergine' was a pious metaphor or a reference to an actual title. In fact, it took musicologists some time even to acknowledge that the lyrics of *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* form a poetic cycle. In the preface to volume 22 of the *Opere complete* containing the edition of the *Priego* (1957), Bianchi still felt the need to prove that the book contains a cycle and not just a series of individual thematically related madrigals.⁴⁰² In 2001 the Grove article on Palestrina already refers to the work as 'a modally-ordered cycle of thirty pieces [...] of unknown origin'.⁴⁰³ Fillippi, Japs and Ziane also acknowledge that the collection is based on a single poem but do not provide any details regarding its source.⁴⁰⁴ The first scholar to make the link explicit was Rodobaldo Tibaldi in his *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* article of 2015, who names the author of the lyrics as the 'canonico ascolano Antonio Migliori', attributing the finding to Paolo Cecchi.⁴⁰⁵

Antonio Migliori (1551–1616), although revealed as the author of the *Priego*, remains a mysterious figure, for one can hardly find any mention of him in the literature. The main sources containing information about him are works published by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars from his native region in southern Marche. One such author, a nobleman from Camerino called Giuseppe Colucci, transcribed the

⁴⁰¹ Shelf mark: RR.5.51-52/2 [181].

⁴⁰² Lino Bianchi, 'Il volume ventesimosecondo, X.

⁴⁰³ Lewis Lockwood, Noel O'Regan and Jessie Ann Owens, 'Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da', in GMO (accessed 19 March 2019). Peter Ackermann, 'Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da', in MGG², Personenteil, vol. 13, pp. 7–46, here 39, Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina' (1999), 67 and Powers, 'The Spiritual Madrigal' do not mention the question of text authorship at all.

⁴⁰⁴ Filippi, *Seba armonica* (2008), 52; Japs, *Die Madrigale Palestrinas* (2008), 152; Ziane, *Amor divino* (2011), 122 (footnote 52).

⁴⁰⁵ Rodobaldo Tibaldi, 'Pierluigi da Palestrina, Giovanni, detto anche "Il Palestrina"', in DBIO (accessed 19 March 2019).

inscription found on Migliori's tombstone in the cathedral of Ascoli in volume 10 of his *Delle antichità picene* (1791).⁴⁰⁶ The inscription provides not only the poet's birth date and age at the time of death but also some details on his life:

D[eo]. O[ptimo]. M[aximo].
 ANTONIO MELIORI PATRIT[io]. ASCVL[ano].
 SIXTI V. P[ontificis]. M[aximi]. EXCUBICULARIO
 SACRAE. HVIVS. BASILICAE. CAN[onico].
 VIRO. POETICIS. POLITICIS. SACRISQVE
 LITERIS. INSIGNITO
 DYMNSTIUM. PRAESVLVMQ[ue]. CONSORT[i].
 ET. ERVDITOR[i]. NON. MINVS. QVAM
 SVIMET. INGENIL. MONVMENTIS
 DOMI. FORISQVE. CLARVS
 AMICO. INCOMPARABILI
 SEBASTIANVS. ANDREATONELLIVS. I[uris]. C[onsultus]. ASC[ulanus].
 NVDVM. FECIT. TITVLVM
 OCTAVIVS. FR[atr]I. OPT[imo]. POSVIT. LAPID[em].
 VIXIT. AN[nos]. LXV. OBIT. V. KAL[endarum]. OCT[obris].
 MDCXVI.⁴⁰⁷

In God, most good, most great. | To Antonio Migliori, Ascolan citizen, | ex-chamberlain to Sixtus V, the greatest Pontiff, | canon of this sacred basilica, | a distinguished poet and author of political and sacred writings, | a friend of rulers and prelates, | [distinguished] in private and public life [for his activities] as a teacher no less than for the monuments of his own talents. | The renowned Ascolan jurisconsult Sebastiano Andreatonelli wrote this simple inscription to his incomparable friend, | [and] Ottavio erected a tombstone to his honourable brother | who lived sixty-five years and passed away on the 27th of September 1616.⁴⁰⁸

The inscription informs the reader that Migliori was a cleric hailing from a local family (and probably a noble one, as the word 'patritio' suggests), had broad interests, many acquaintances, and was active as a writer. In addition to the information provided by the epitaph, Colucci presents him as a collector of antiques and the owner of gardens admired by his contemporaries.⁴⁰⁹

More information on Migliori's ecclesiastical career can be found in Giovanni Panelli's *Memorie degli uomini illustri e chiari in medicina del Piceno, o sia della Marca d'Ancona* (1757):

...Antonio Migliori native of Acquaviva, my hometown, most dear to Sixtus V, bishop of San Marco Argentano [a town in Calabria that had its own bishop's see], and then governor of the [hospital of] Santo Spirito in Sassia, who, being not able to get over

⁴⁰⁶ Giuseppe Colucci, *Delle antichità picene*, vol. 10 (Fermo: self-published, 1791), 199 (CXCIX).

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 199 (CXCIX).

⁴⁰⁸ Translation of the author.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 198 (CXCVIII).

an unexpected misfortune while he was nurturing hopes to be made a cardinal, lost temper and returned to his hometown, where he died...⁴¹⁰

According to Panelli's account, Migliori was a protégé of pope Sixtus V (1585–1590), who hailed from the same province as himself. He seems to have begun a brilliant ecclesiastical career, being made bishop and the governor of the papal hospital in Santo Spirito in Sassia, a highly prestigious post.⁴¹¹ His advancement was, however, evidently interrupted by some unexpected event. Thanks to Francesco Russo's edition of numerous papal documents regarding the Calabrian dioceses, one can find the exact dates Migliori was awarded his responsibilities. According to the documents, he was made bishop of San Marco on 13 October 1586, and the governorship of the Santo Spirito hospital was entrusted to him on 1 February 1588.⁴¹² The appointment of Migliori's successor after his resignation from the diocese of San Marco is dated 20 March 1591.⁴¹³ According to Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo's paper on the Santo Spirito in the sixteenth century, the papal hospital was already under new management in 1591, and Clement VII had started an investigation into Migliori's 'mismanagement' of the institution.⁴¹⁴ Thus, the unfortunate event referred to by Panelli must have taken place around 1590–1591. Most probably the event was the death of Migliori's patron Sixtus V in August 1590. It is not difficult to believe that Migliori, the 'distinguished poet', was not naturally gifted in healthcare management; however, it is also probable that the loss of his post at the hospital and the subsequent investigation were less the consequence of Migliori's bad performance as the governor than a natural result of the change of personnel in the Roman Curia. Whatever the reason, it is worth noting that 1593, the publication year of Migliori's thirty *ottave* dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was very close to the year of his resignation from the Santo Spirito in Sassia and his return to Ascoli.

⁴¹⁰ '...Antonio Migliori, che fu d'Acquaviva mia Padria carissimo a Sisto V, Vescovo di S[an] Marco, e quindi Commendatore di Santo Spirito in Saxia, il quale mal soffrendo un colpo non preveduto di sinistra fortuna nel mentre che si alimentava, d'una sicura speranza per conseguire il Cappello Cardinalizio, uscì de' gangheri, e tornò a morire nella Padria,...' Quoted from; Giovanni Panelli, *Memorie degli uomini illustri e chiari in medicina del Piceno, o sia della Marca d'Ancona*, vol. 1 (Ascoli: Niccola Ricci, 1757), 346. Translation by the author.

⁴¹¹ See Diana Bullen Presciutti, *Visual Cultures of Foundling Care in Renaissance Italy* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2015), 202.

⁴¹² Francesco Russo (ed.), *Regesto vaticano per la Calabria*, vol. 5, (Rome: Gesualdi, 1979) [22], document nos 23898 and 24016.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, document no 24216.

⁴¹⁴ Maria Teresa Bonadonna Russo, 'Decadenza e rinascita degli ospedali romani nel secolo XVI', *Il Veltro*, 45/5–6 (2001), 234.

4.2.2 The Dedicatee: Christina of Lorraine: (1565–1636)

Both Migliori's text and Palestrina's musical setting are dedicated to the same person – Christina of Lorraine (1565–1636). Christina was the wife of Ferdinando I de' Medici (1549–1608), the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Born as the youngest son of duke Cosimo I de' Medici, Ferdinando was made cardinal at the age of fourteen succeeding two of his older brothers in the role after their untimely deaths. After the heirless death of his oldest brother Francesco in 1587, he became the Grand Duke. Since he had never been ordained as a priest, he could renounce the cardinalate in favour of marriage without much trouble. Christina of Lorraine, who became his bride, was related to the Medici through her maternal grandmother Catherine de' Medici, the queen of France from 1547 to 1589.⁴¹⁵

Christina of Lorraine cultivated the image of a pious woman and was especially known for her Marian piety. She had particular respect for the Madonna of Santissima Annunziata in Florence and the Marian shrines of Monsummano near Pistoia and La Verna north of Arezzo.⁴¹⁶ She undertook a pilgrimage to Loreto between 15 September and 7 October 1593, the same year as Migliori's *Priego* was published. Visiting Loreto seems to have been a tradition among the Grand Duchesses of Tuscany. In 1573 Christina's predecessor Joanna of Austria visited the shrine; and in 1613 the pilgrimage was undertaken by Christina's successor Maria Maddalena of Austria.⁴¹⁷ The chronological proximity of Christina's visit to Loreto to the publication of the *Priego* as well as the work's structural similarities with a litany associated with Loreto suggest a connection between the *Priego* and the pilgrimage. Moreover, although Migliori's native Ascoli is about ninety kilometres away from Loreto, it is still part of the same region as the famous pilgrimage site. Devotion to the Madonna of Loreto must have been well-known and practised there.

A hint regarding how a connection between the Grand Duchess of Tuscany and Migliori could have come about can be found in the dedication text of the poem. The

⁴¹⁵ Luisa Bertoni, 'Cristina di Lorena, granduchessa di Toscana', Stephan Skalweit, 'Caterina de' Medici, regina di Francia' and Elena Fasano Guarini, 'Ferdinando I de' Medici, granduca di Toscana' in DBIO (accessed 19 March 2019). See also Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 11–16 and Alice E. Sanger, *Art, Gender and Religious Devotion in Grand Ducal Tuscany*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 4–5.

⁴¹⁶ Sanger, *Art, Gender and Religious Devotion*, 45, 56, 100.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 101. A conventionalised description of her visit can be found in the *Historiae Lauretanae* [254] by Orazio Torsellini (Rome: Luigi Zanetti, 1597), a chronologically ordered miscellany of legends and historical accounts regarding the Loreto shrine, 261–262.

text mentions a certain ‘Father Friar Simeone, a brother of mine’ (‘P[adre] F[rate] Simeone mio fratello’) serving Christina’s husband in ‘spiritual matters’ (‘cose dello Spirito’). A figure that fits this description very well is the observant Franciscan Simone Soderini, Ferdinand’s confessor who, like Migliori, was a native of Ascoli. The word ‘brother’ used in the dedication is probably just an affective epithet towards a compatriot since Migliori was not a Franciscan. However, since Migliori’s former patron Sixtus V belonged to the same congregation of the Friars Minor, it is not surprising that he knew another influential Franciscan who, apart from catering to the spiritual needs of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, had been the confessor of pope Pius V and the Vicar General of the observant Franciscans at some point in time.⁴¹⁸ Moreover, Migliori’s deceased papal patron also knew the duke since Ferdinando de’ Medici, while still a cardinal, was instrumental in the Franciscan’s success during the conclave that resulted in his election as Sixtus V (1585).⁴¹⁹

The dedication text of Palestrina’s *Delli Madrigali Spirituali libro Secondo* speaks of a previously existing ‘protection’ from Ferdinando (‘come [...] godo della prottention della S[ua] Alt[ezza]’). One cannot say for sure to what particular benefits received by Palestrina from the duke this polite formula refers. None of Palestrina’s earlier publications is dedicated to him. However, during his cardinalate, Ferdinando was the cardinal protector of the confraternity of Santissima Trinità in which Palestrina was a member.⁴²⁰ Japs mentions Palestrina receiving ‘a generous reward’ from cardinal de’ Medici for the music he provided during Lent 1578.⁴²¹ It is also unclear whether Palestrina was acquainted with Antonio Migliori or Simone Soderini. Theoretically, the composer could have met one or both of them in Rome since all three had been employed by the pope or his Curia in the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴²² It is crucial to bear in mind, however, that Palestrina’s social status was lower than that of the two clerics. If he had ever spoken to any of them, this was more likely to have

⁴¹⁸ [Francesco Antonio Marcucci], *Saggio delle cose Ascolane e de’ vescovi d’Ascoli nel Piceno. Dallla Fondazione della Città fino al corente Secolo decimottavo, e precisamente all’ Anno mille settecento sessantasei dell’ Era volgare. Pubblicato d un abate Ascolano* (Teramo: Consorti and Felcini, 1766), 399 (CCCXCIX); 412–413 (CCCCXII–CCCCXIII).

⁴¹⁹ Japs, *Die Madrigale von Palestrina*, 99.

⁴²⁰ Nielsen, ‘The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina’, 12; Japs, *Die Madrigale von Palestrina*, 100.

⁴²¹ Japs, *ibid.*

⁴²² On Palestrina’s places of employment see Noel O’Regan, ‘Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-Place’, *Early Music*, 22/4 (1994), 552, 553.

happened later in his career when his fame as a composer had counter-balanced his social rank to a certain extent.

That an elderly and financially secure Roman composer looking forward to returning to his native town of Palestrina⁴²³ would want to approach a patron from Tuscany or publish a work as niche as a cycle of spiritual madrigals, may seem puzzling. This could explain why Lino Bianchi suggests that the cycle was an act of devotion for Palestrina, who sensed that he was not far from leaving this world.⁴²⁴ Nielsen (1999) and Japs (2008) also detect in the text of the *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria* an expression of Palestrina's personal beliefs.⁴²⁵ However, the earlier publication of the text with the same dedicatee, makes less likely that providing a musical setting for the *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria* was a personal project of Palestrina's. It is more probable that Palestrina was either sought out by the dukes themselves as a suitable candidate to set Migliori's poem to music or that he was recommended by someone.⁴²⁶ Christina of Lorraine visited Loreto in the autumn of 1583. The title page of Migliori's poem bears the date 1593, so it was published in the year of the Duchess's pilgrimage. The dedication of the musical setting is signed 'il primo giorno dell'anno 1594', which should not be more than a few months after her return to Florence, assuming that Palestrina's Roman publisher considered 1 January to be the first day of a new year.⁴²⁷ This chronological proximity strongly suggests that the publication dates were chosen deliberately and that of both versions of the *Priego* were intended either as a literary-musical keepsake or as a public advertisement of Christina's pilgrimage.

⁴²³ See *ibid.*, 552.

⁴²⁴ Bianchi, 'Il volume ventesimosecondo', X.

⁴²⁵ Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 77, 107; Japs, *Die Madrigale von Palestrina*, 163.

⁴²⁶ See Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 107. Nielsen does not make any suggestions regarding where the initiative for Palestrina's setting came from. In her conclusion she argues that the *Priego* is a late work (without any knowledge of Migliori's 1593 print).

⁴²⁷ According to *The Oxford Companion to the Year* (ed. by Bonnie Blackburn and Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 784–785), 1 January, the New Year's date according to Roman law, was advocated by the Humanist movement and was adopted in many parts of Europe in the sixteenth century. The Roman Curia used 25 December as the New Year's date, but it seems more likely that the city's publishers followed the more universal secular dating convention.

4.2.3 Migliori's *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria* (Rome: Guglielmo Faciotti, 1593)

The *Priego alla Beata Vergine* consists of 30 strophes in ottava rima. All strophes of this form consist of eight endecasillabi with an abababcc-rhyme.⁴²⁸ The poem is styled as a prayer directed to the Virgin Mary by a penitent speaker. In every strophe Mary is invoked using one or several titles, most of them already known from other Marian literature. The invocations are paired with petitions which pertain to the salvation of the speaker's soul. Nielsen, Ziane and Magda Marx-Weber suggest the poem's connection with the genre of the litany, but they disagree on the type of connection and the exact model of the piece. Nielsen (1999) considers it 'a paraphrase of the Loretan Litany',⁴²⁹ whereas Marx-Weber (2004) refers to it as an 'Italian paraphrase of the *Litaniae ex sacra scriptura depromptae*'.⁴³⁰ Ziane (2011) states that, despite having 'allusions to the symbols used in the Marian Litany',⁴³¹ the poem cannot be called a 'vernacular litany' since it lacks the response 'ora pro nobis' that plays an essential structural role in a litany.⁴³² The present thesis agrees with Japs (2008) that the *Priego* follows both of the litanies.⁴³³ As will be discussed below, the closing strophe points to the Litany of Loreto. At the same time, most of the Marian titles used in the work can be found in various versions of the *Ex sancta scriptura* litany (see Table 8.8 in Appendix A). Ziane is right about the missing response, but one could argue that there are other elements in the poem that substitute it.⁴³⁴ In general, it seems unhelpful to pursue this line of enquiry. The works examined in this thesis have shown that in the sixteenth century, the texts labelled as 'paraphrases' or even 'vernacular versions' display a wide range of relations between the paraphrase and its model. The borderline between a paraphrase of a text and a work only inspired by it is not easily drawn. What can be said, is that the *Priego* contains and systematically uses many titles of Mary featured in various Marian litanies. Although its vernacular poetic metre suggests that it was definitely not meant to replace a litany in devotional activities, the way its contents are structured bears many similarities to a litany (see Figure 4.6).

⁴²⁸ See Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 74.

⁴²⁹ Ibid., 82.

⁴³⁰ Marx-Weber, 'Römische Vertonungen der Lauretanischen Litanei', 214.

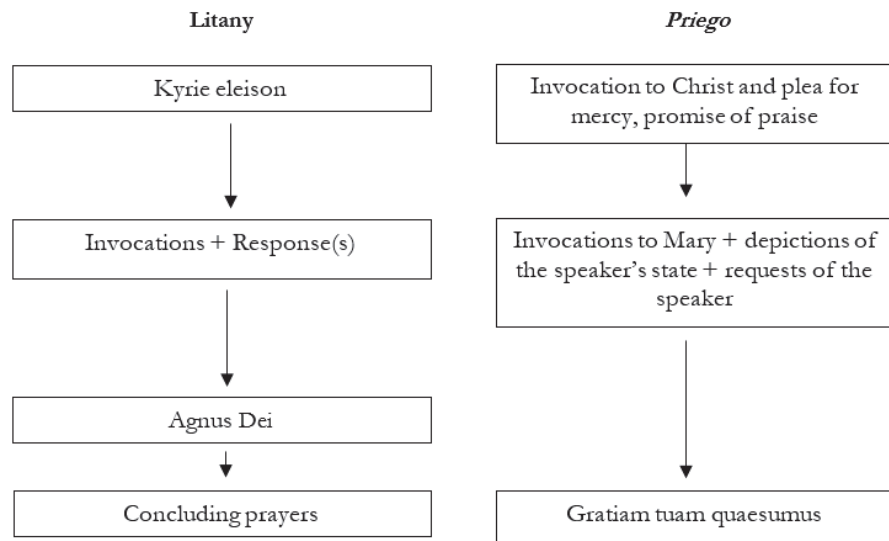
⁴³¹ Ziane, *Amor divino*, 117.

⁴³² Ibid., 119.

⁴³³ See Japs, *Die Madrigale von Palestrina*, 152.

⁴³⁴ Japs holds the same opinion. See *ibid.*, 154.

Figure 4.6: Comparison between the structure of an average litany and the structure of Antonio Migliori's *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria* (Rome: Guglielmo Faciotti, 1593).



As mentioned in section 4.1.4, a litany begins with a *Kyrie* which leads into a series of different invocations interspersed with a set response, followed by the *Agnus Dei*, possibly another *Kyrie* and one or several final prayers. The first stanza of the *Priego* addresses Christ as God incarnate asking him to forgive the sins of the speaker:

Immortal son of immortal Father, and mortal
 Son of mortal mother, and God on high
 And man, [...]
 Turn full of pity towards me, turn *your gaze*,
 Which *perpetually* rules and governs the world:
 Whereas of my errors, which are so manifold,
 I ask your forgiveness through your Mother.
 (Migliori, *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria*, 1, 1–3°. 5–8)⁴³⁵

Thus, the poem opens with a passage which conveys the same idea as the *Kyrie*. The first half of the second stanza elaborates on the speaker's initial plea, while in the second half, the speaker addresses the angels and saints, asking them to open his lips for praise:

Benign spirits of the sky, open these
 sealed lips to his praise...
 (Migliori, *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria*, 2, 5–6)⁴³⁶

This could be a variation on the first four invocations of a litany, which address the Holy Trinity, but it is more probable that the passage is used as a poetic *topos* following

⁴³⁵ 'Figlio immortal d'immortal Padre, e figlio | Mortal di mortal Madre, e Dio superno; | Et huom, [...] | Volgi pietoso à me, volgi quel ciglio, | Ond hà 'l mondo ad ogn'hor legge e gouerno; | Mentre de' falli miei, che tanti sono, | Chieggo(!) per la tua Madre à te perdono.' Here and further quoted from the digital image provided by the Biblioteca Angelica [181]. The English translation (by Cristina Perissinotto and Karen Nielsen) is taken from Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 92–102, with slight adjustments (printed in italics) and punctuation/capitalisation by the author.

⁴³⁶ 'Almi spirti del Ciel, queste serrate | Labbia aprite à sue lodii...'

the example of classical poems which often begin with an invocation to the Muses. Another possibility is that the invocation is a distant echo of the words from psalm 50: ‘O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will declare your praise’, which were used as the opening versicle to the Matins of the Divine Office, including the Marian votive Office.

The following twenty-seven strophes contrast the speaker’s state with Mary’s holiness, followed by supplications asking for aid in changing the speaker’s ways so that he might be granted salvation in the afterlife. While the titles of the Virgin mirror the invocations found in the Marian Litany and are borrowed from the Bible and the Church Fathers, the tropes that describe the speakers state originate from the broader Italian poetic tradition. The petitions presented by the speaker correspond to the qualities implied by the title(s) used to invoke the Virgin. For example, in the third stanza Mary is invoked as ‘the Sun’ (echoing ‘*electa ut sol*’ – ‘elect as the sun’ – from the *Song of Songs*). This title is contrasted with the ‘tepid’ heart of the speaker, surrounded by a ‘dark veil of errors’. The speaker pleads for the Mother of God to ‘tear away’ the veil as the sun overcomes the darkness:

Now you, Sun who embellish our earth
And embellish the sky with lively life-giving splendors
Warm my tepid heart and
Tear away from it the shadowy veil of errors...
(Migliori, *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria*, 3, 1–4)⁴³⁷

In the thirteenth stanza, Mary is compared to the flaming bush from which God addressed Moses for the first time (Exodus 3:1–4:19), a title found in some of the *Ex sancta scriptura* litanies. This is combined with the description of the speaker’s soul which, after ‘having been inflamed by the flames of lust’, is now ‘kindled with hope’:

And, if burning in the fire of lusts
I kept my wretched heart oppressed many years,
So that, almost turned to ashes, I understand
That in prey to the senses I forget myself.
Now that, dying to the world, I am kindled
With hope and I lament about my fault so often,
Turn towards me your beautiful pitying eyes,
You Bush that ever burning is never consumed.
(Migliori, *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria*, 13, 1–8)⁴³⁸

The poem’s connection to Loreto is underscored in the last strophe:

⁴³⁷ ‘Hor tu Sol, che di vivi almi splendori | Fai bello il terren nostro e bello il cielo, | Il tepido cor mio scalda e d’errori | Sgombrali intorno il tenebroso velo...’

⁴³⁸ ‘E se nel foco di lasciuie ardendo | Tenni molt’ anni il cor (misero) oppreso. | Che fatto quasi cenere, comprendo, | Ch’io tutto in preda al senso, oblio me stesso; | Hor che morendo al secolo, m’accendo | Di speme, e piango il mio fallir sì spesso; | Volgi ver me pietosi i tuoi bei lumi, | Rubo, ch’ardendo ogn’hor non ti consumi.’

And you, Lord, you infuse your grace
 in [my] heart, and as through the supernal messenger
 I knew that you alone make fruitful
 Her virginal *womb* with your eternal Son,
 Thus, thanks to her deep sighs
To her bitter tears and *to her* internal pain
Caused by his Cross and precious death,
 May I fly in joy to the celestial court.
 (Migliori, *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria*, 30, 1–8)⁴³⁹

This stanza paraphrases the prayer *Gratiam tuam quaesumus*, which some sixteenth-century sources give as the final prayer to the Litany of Loreto:⁴⁴⁰

Pour forth, we beseech Thee, O Lord, Thy grace into our hearts, that we, to whom the incarnation of Christ, Thy Son, was made known by the message of an angel, may by His passion and cross be brought to the glory of His resurrection, through the same Christ our Lord.⁴⁴¹

Another work that has served as a model for the *Priego* is Petrarch's famous canzone *Vergine bella* which, as suggested in section 4.1.4, is based on similar principles as the litany.⁴⁴² It is likely that it was the *Vergine bella* that gave Migliori the idea of substituting the set response with a variety of petitions. Another important characteristic shared by the two poems is the penitential character underscored by contrasting descriptions of the speaker and Mary. The works also share some Marian epithets (see Table 8.7). Some of them are popular Marian attributes and are unlikely to be quotations from Petrarch. However, the place in the poem of some suggests that they were intended as reminiscences of the *Vergine bella*. For example, it is probably no coincidence that both Petrarch's and Migliori's characterisations of Mary begin with the poetic image of the Sun. Although Migliori's words 'Now you, sun who embellish our earth and embellish the sky with lively life-giving splendours' ('Hor tu sol, che de' viui almi splendori | Fai bello il terren nostro', e fai bello il Cielo', *Priego*, 3, 1–2) are more likely to be borrowed from the *Song of Songs* 6:10 ('bright as the sun'), while the incipit of Petrarch's famous canzone refers to the apocalyptic 'woman clothed with the sun'

⁴³⁹ 'E tu Signor, tu la tua gratia infondi | Al core: e come al messaggier superno | Conobbi, che tu solo à lei fecondi | L'aluò Virgineo del tuo Figlio eterno: | Così mercè de' suoi sospir profondi, | Del pianto amaro, & del dolore interno, | De la sua Croce, e pretiosa Morte | Lieto men'vola à la Celeste Corte.'

⁴⁴⁰ Daniele V. Filippi (*Selva armonica*, 52) was the first to notice that the last strophe of the *Priego* is a paraphrase of this prayer.

⁴⁴¹ 'Gratia[m] tuam qu[a]esumus D[omi]ne, mentibus nostris infunde vt qui Angelo nuncia[n]te Christi Filij [I]ui incarnationem cognouimus, per passione[m] eius, & crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur. [P]er eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.' Quoted from the *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Brussels, 1598) [239], p. 67. English text of the prayer quoted from the *Thesaurus Precum Latinarum* (accessed 18 May 2018). Also the *Litaniae Catholicae* (Ingolstadt, 1589) gives *Gratiam tuam quaesumus* as the final prayer to the Litany of Loreto.

⁴⁴² See Japs, *Die Madrigale Palestrinas*, 152.

(Revelation 12:1), any reader who knew the *Vergine bella* would be able to make a connection between the two. In case someone were unable to recognise this allusion to Petrarch, Migliori inserted direct quotations from the *Vergine bella* into his poem. One of them, found in strophe 20, reproduces Petrarch word for word:

Ben ch'ì sia terra, e tu del ciel regina.	Ben ch'io sia Terra e tu del Ciel Regina.
Though I am earth and you are queen of Heaven. (Petrarch, <i>Vergine bella</i> , 1, 13)	Though I am <i>earth</i> ⁴⁴³ and you the Queen of heaven. (Migliori, <i>Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria</i> , 20, 8)

The words quoted by Migliori form the last line of the first strophe of the *Vergine bella*. Since they are from the opening strophe of the canzone, they would have been familiar even to people who did not know the *Vergine bella* very well and would have thus been impossible to miss.

The other two quotations are slightly paraphrased by Migliori. In the first one, the prelude 'blessed Virgin' of Petrarch is substituted with 'Mother of all beauties' and the 'tears' and 'joy' are expanded to 'tears and evil' and 'benign and joyful life', respectively. In the second one, the wording is slightly changed.⁴⁴⁴

1.	
Vergine benedetta, che 'l pianto d'Eva in allegrezza torni.	Madre d'ogni beltà, che'l pianto e'l male D'Eua tornasti in vita alma, e gioiosa.
Blessed Virgin who turns the tears of Eve to rejoicing again. (Petrarch, <i>Vergine bella</i> , 3, 9–10)	Mother of all beauties, who turned the tears and evil Of Eve into benign and joyful life. (Migliori, <i>Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria</i> , 14, 3–4)
2.	
Raccomandami al tuo Figliuol, verace Homo et verace Dio Ch'accolga 'l mio spirto ultimo in pace.	Prega l'huomo tuo figlio e Dio verace Ch'accolga lo mio spirto ultimo in pace.
Commend me to your Son, true man and true God, that He may receive my last breath in peace. (Petrarch, <i>Vergine bella</i> , 11, 5–7)	Pray to your son, man and true God, that He may accept my last breath in peace. (Migliori, <i>Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria</i> , 10, 7–8)

However, despite some quotations from Petrarch's famous canzone, Migliori's work goes far beyond a mere paraphrase of the *Vergine bella*. First of all, the forms of both poems differ significantly. There had been enough remakes of the *Vergine bella*

⁴⁴³ Nielsen translates the word as 'dust' ('The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 100).

⁴⁴⁴ For these and some other minor quotations from the *Vergine bella* in the *Priego*, see Table 7 in Japs, *Die Madrigale Palestrinas*, 152.

before Migliori. All of them were written as canzoni or sonnets, that is in lyric meters. The *Priego* is written in ottava rima, a metre more often used in epic poetry. Migliori's Marian epithets are more numerous and more sophisticated than those used by Petrarch. They go much deeper into Marian exegesis. While Petrarch's speaker is concerned with overcoming his love for Laura and making peace with God before death, Migliori's poem has no autobiographical elements. Moreover, apart from penance and self-denial, the poem reveals the speaker's desire to get closer to God and his mother. Certain lines, such as 6, 7–8 where the speaker asks to be 'inflamed by living love' or to be cleaned from 'the stench of his sins', communicate a new, post-Tridentine spirituality. Neither can the *Priego* be considered a vernacular version of a litany. It would be more fitting to describe it as a poetic elaboration on the theme of the litany. The titles used by Migliori would have sounded familiar to his readers. A lot of the readers would have connected them with Marian litanies, but probably none of them would have thought of using it as a substitute for an actual litany.

In her chapter on Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* Ziane argues that many of the Marian titles used in its text praise the Virgin's purity. She suggests that the text supports the idea of Mary's Immaculate Conception and uses this as an argument in favour of locating the *Libro Secondo* in Jesuit circles since the Jesuits are known to have been keen supporters of the doctrine of Immaculate Conception.⁴⁴⁵ One can agree that the purity of the Holy Virgin is a frequent theme in Migliori's poem. However, it could be a reference to the Virgin birth or part of a general Marian imagery without specifically referring to the doctrine of Immaculate Conception. One has also to take in consideration that many of the titles used by Migliori are second hand and were common in devotional language of the late sixteenth century. Were it the case that Migliori did intend to express his belief in the Immaculate Conception, this was more likely to be due to the influence of the Franciscans than of the Jesuits. As discussed in 4.1.2 and as Ziane herself notes further in her book,⁴⁴⁶ the Franciscans were no less supportive of the Immaculate Conception than the Jesuits. The main argument for the Franciscans being the source of immaculist influence on Migliori is the fact that both his patron Sixtus V and his connection at the Tuscan court Simone Soderini were Franciscans.

⁴⁴⁵ Ziane, *Amor Divino*, 122–124.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 125.

4.2.4 Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* (Rome, 1594)

Palestrina is known primarily as a composer of sacred, and especially liturgical music, but he also published two collections of secular madrigals⁴⁴⁷ as well as two books of spiritual madrigals.⁴⁴⁸ In fact, Palestrina was a successful madrigal composer and some of his contemporaries who were not particularly interested or involved in church music might have known him rather as a madrigal composer than through his sacred works. His earliest madrigal collection was reprinted eight times, and his works were included in numerous madrigal anthologies. Individual madrigals of Palestrina's were published in Venice, Antwerp, Nuremberg and London.⁴⁴⁹ According to Franco Piperno who has analysed 157 madrigal anthologies printed in the Italian states between 1530 and 1620, Palestrina was one of the most popular authors, surpassed only by Alessandro Striggio, Giovanni Maria Nanino and Jacques Arcadelt.⁴⁵⁰

Antonio Migliori's *Priego alla Beata Vergine* provided the lyrics to Palestrina's second collection of spiritual madrigals, the *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo*, published in 1594, thirteen years after his first spiritual madrigal collection and just a month before his death. Palestrina turned each stanza of Migliori's text into a series of one-part madrigals, each between 43 and 54 breves long. The madrigals are scored for five voices. The Quinto voice is either in the Alto or in the Tenore range, and in some cases, it represents the only part in the tenor range while the voce labelled as 'Tenore' doubles the Alto.⁴⁵¹ The pieces are arranged in ascending modal order. Since the total number of the madrigals is thirty, the mode changes every three to five pieces (see Table 4.2).

One obvious difference between Palestrina's *Libro secondo* and the case studies discussed in Chapter 3 is that Palestrina's spiritual madrigals are shorter than those in Pellio and Oddi's collections. This is due to the fact that the text set to music in each

⁴⁴⁷ *Il primo libro di madrigali a quattro voci* [213] (Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico, 1555) and *Il secondo libro de Madrigali a quattro voci* [216] (Venice: Heir of Girolamo Scoto, 1586).

⁴⁴⁸ *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* [214] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1581) and *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* [222] (Rome: Francesco Coattini, 1594).

⁴⁴⁹ Japs, *Die Madrigale Palestrinas*, 33–34, 36, 39.

⁴⁵⁰ Franco Piperno, 'L'antologia madrigalistica a stampa nel Cinquecento', in *Gli "Eccellentissimi musici della città di Bologna" con uno studio sull'antologia madrigalistica del Cinquecento*, *Historiae musicae cultores* 33, *Madrigalisti dell'Italia settentrionale* 2 (Florence: Olschki, 1985), 16–22, especially the table presented in 21–22.

⁴⁵¹ Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans ('Cadential and Modal Treatment', 72) suggests that in these cases, the publisher erroneously interchanged the Quinto with the Tenore.

Table 4.2: Contents of Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* (Rome: Francesco Coattini, 1594).⁴⁵²

Madrigal No	Length in Breves	Key Signature	Lowest Note of the Final Chord	Clefs (C, A, T, B, Q)	Mode Represented
1	54	b	G	G2, C2, C3, F3, C2	1 (transp.)
2	45	b	G	G2, C2, C3, F3, C2	1 (transp.)
3	51	b	G	G2, C2, C3, F3, C2	1 (transp.)
4	46	b	G	G2, C2, C2, F3, C3	1 (transp.)
5	43	b	G	G2, C2, C2, F3, C3	1 (transp.)
6	52	b	G	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4	2 (transp.)
7	45	b	G	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4	2 (transp.)
8	53	b	G	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4	2 (transp.)
9	46	b	G	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4	2 (transp.)
10	46	b	G	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4	2 (transp.)
11	50	♮	E	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4	3/4
12	43	♮	E	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3	3/4
13	48	♮	E	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3	3/4
14	45	♮	E	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3	3/4
15	52	♮	E	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3	3/4
16	54	♮	E	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3	3/4
17	54	b	F	G2, C2, C3, F3, C3	5
18	50	b	F	G2, C2, C3, F3, C2	5
19	48	b	F	G2, C2, C3, F3, C2	5
20	50	b	F	G2, C2, C3, F3, C2	5
21	43	b	F	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3	6
22	44	b	F	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3	6
23	46	b	F	C1, C3, C4, F4, C3	6
24	43	♮	G	G2, C2, C3, C4, C2	7
25	49	♮	G	G2, C2, C3, C4, C3	7
26	46	♮	G	G2, C2, C3, C4, C3	7
27	49	♮	G	G2, C2, C2, C4, C3	7
28	52	♮	G	C1, C3, C3, F4, C4	8
29	53	♮	G	C1, C3, C3, F4, C4	8
30	48	♮	G	C1, C3, C3, F4, C4	8

⁴⁵² Nielsen, 'Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 120 and Bianchi, *Palestrina*, 787–788 also provide tables listing the contents of the collection.

madrigal is only eight verses long. On the other hand, Migliori's *Priego* is a single poem, not a set of thematically connected poems like Tasso's *Salmi*, so the *Libro secondo* could be considered one long cyclic madrigal (even though the settings of the individual *ottave* are not labelled 'parte x', as it would be the case in a true cyclic madrigal). Instead of making each stanza into a *parte* of one single madrigal, Palestrina pays respect to the unity of the *Priego* by composing the *Libro secondo* as a modally ordered cycle. The same structuring device is used also in his setting of Petrarch's *Vergine bella* published in his first book of spiritual madrigals (*Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*) in 1581. The connection between the settings of the individual stanzas is even stronger in the *Vergine*-cycle since the voice disposition remains the same throughout the whole cycle, whereas it changes in the *Libro secondo*. Modal arrangement as a technique of form building can also be observed in Palestrina's fourth book of five-part motets (1583–1584) setting to music texts from the *Song of Songs*,⁴⁵³ which is composed in four blocks representing the four main authentic modes. A possible reason why, unlike the two collections of spiritual madrigals, it is not a proper modal cycle could be that the motet collection does not set the entire *Song of Songs* to music.

Looking for a comparable cycle to the *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* among Palestrina's works, the first one to come to mind is his *Primo Libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (1581) mentioned in the paragraph above. Apart from the the first eight stanzas of Petrarch's *Vergine bella*, it sets to music two *lauda* texts: *Spirito santo amore* and *O Iesu dolce*. Both the older and the newer collection are scored for five voices, which was standard for the madrigal in the 1580s and was still common in the 1590s. The madrigals of the *Vergine*-cycle with their average length of 76 breves are longer than the madrigals of the *Priego*, which average 48 breves. This difference is partly due to the structure of the poem chosen as the lyrics – while an *ottava rima* stanza is composed of eight verses, one stanza of the *Vergine bella* has thirteen. However, in addition to having a higher word count, the *Vergine*-cycle has more text repetitions. In general, it displays longer phrases, on average longer note values and a sonorous polyphonic texture, which makes it feel a little motet-like. A likely reason for a more concise setting of the *Priego* than that of the *Vergine bella* might be the significantly larger overall number of strophes that the composer had to handle in the 1594 cycle. The other two cyclical madrigals from the *Primo libro* (two *laude* in ballata form written by Leonardo Giustinian) display

⁴⁵³ *Mottetorum quinque vocibus liber quartus* [217] (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1583–1584).

similar note values and lengths of phrases as the *Priego*. Their less voluminous setting might be due to the fact that these texts come from the *lauda* repertoire.

Palestrina's other cycle that uses mode as a structuring principle, the *Mottetorum quinque vocibus liber quartus* (1583–1584), is also sometimes compared with the *Priego*.⁴⁵⁴ The first thing that comes to mind regarding the text sources of both publications is that the *Song of Songs* set to music in the motet collection was a popular source of Marian imagery, as section 4.1.2 has shown. The *Song of Songs* is also the source for many epithets used to describe Mary in the *Priego*, which could be an argument in favour of a relation between the two cycles. However, Palestrina himself preferred the other interpretation of the *Song of Songs*: he saw it as love poetry describing the union between Christ and the soul rather than a Marian text, as he states in the preface of the *Mottetorum liber quartus*. The *Song of Songs* texts have an erotic note to them, which, according to the preface text, gives the composer the license to explore a 'livelier' ('alacrior') musical style in his settings. One of the qualities subsumed under the definition 'livelier style' is that Palestrina allowed himself to add some word painting devices into the *Liber quartus* that are more commonly associated with the madrigal, as for example the madrigalesque dotted-rhythm *soggetto* mimicking the leaping of a gazelle in a passage where the beloved is compared to it (*Mottetorum quinque vocibus liber quartus*, XIV, bars 13–15 and 17–18).⁴⁵⁵ This and other madrigalisms coupled with the minim-based pace of the music, unusually fast for a motet, has led Japs to characterise the *Mottetorum quinque vocibus liber quartus* as 'madrigalised motets'. She even suggests that both the *Priego* and the *Song of Songs* motets were written for the same performance context, which, according to her, was paraliturgical celebrations of religious confraternities.⁴⁵⁶ However, as Japs herself admits, the musical style of both collections is not identical. The *Priego*-settings are typical madrigals centered on text declamation. They rely on short phrases and frequent use of homophony or quasi-polyphony. The *Song of Songs* cycle has more melismatic vocal lines and is dominated by fuller polyphonic sonorities.⁴⁵⁷ The overall sentiment of the two texts is completely different as well. While the *Song of Songs* texts

⁴⁵⁴ For example, when Lino Bianchi wants to underline that the musical quality of Palestrina's *Libro secondo* is not inferior to that of his motets, he draws a comparison with the *Mottetorum quinque vocibus liber quartus* (Bianchi, 'Il volume ventesimosecondo, IX). Japs also compares the two collections (*Die Madrigale Palestrinas*, 360–364).

⁴⁵⁵ The bar numbers refer to the numbering in the reprint of Raffaele Casimiri's edition: *Madrigals for 5 Voices*, ed. Raffaele Casimiri, The Complete Works, vol. 23 (Huntington Station L. I. N. Y: Edwin F. Kalmus, [1965–1972]) [215].

⁴⁵⁶ Japs, *Die Madrigale Palestrinas*, 359–360.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 361.

are love poems, the *Priego* is a penitential text. Despite the motet cycle's use of some madrigal elements, the two collections belong to two different musical genres and probably would not have been regarded as the same kind of music by contemporary audiences.

Palestrina's choice to associate the madrigals of the *Libro secondo* with specific modes imposes certain limits on the available range of text expression devices since the pitch content and, to some extent, the melodic shape of the soggetti has to be compliant with the characteristics of the mode. However, there is still a good number of possibilities left. There is still the choice between fast and slow movement, melismatic and syllabic setting, also the direction of the melody and the texture can be changed if necessary. As many other madrigal composers, including the previous chapter's case studies, Palestrina uses melismas for words like 'I flee' ('fugo', V, bars 20–21)⁴⁵⁸ or 'rivers of tears' ('fiumi di pianto', XVIII, bars 27–28) and ascending scalar melody for the words 'straight way to heaven' ('la dritta del ciel strada', VII, bars 18–20). The passage describing a storm is set to music in fast semiminim runs ('l'asprissima procella', XXIX, bars 17–18). Downward and upward motion is used for words describing the respective dimensions (e.g. 'deep'/'profondi', XVIII, bars 37–38; 'stairway of heaven'/'scala del ciel', IV, bars 1–7), and long notes are used for words that describe long durations ('eternal life'/'eterna vita', XV, bars 37–39). In the twenty-eighth madrigal (*Regina delle Vergini*) the word 'sighing' ('sospirando') is set to music with a rest separating the first syllable of the word from its other syllables (XXVIII, bars 41–49).⁴⁵⁹ Another interesting example of word painting can be found in madrigal number two (*E se mai voci di qua giù*), where the homorhythmic presentation of the words 'these sealed lips' ('queste serrate labbia', II, bar 19) is followed by a rest in all parts. The silence, coupled with homophonic declamation of the preceding words, not only emphasises the passage but also expresses the absence of language inside the sealed lips.⁴⁶⁰

Like in Pellio and Oddi's collections, as well as many other madrigals of the time, painful text is associated with slower, syncopated movement. Even more than the case studies of Chapter 3, Palestrina employs the descending direction of melodies to

⁴⁵⁸ The lyrics and the bar numbers are quoted from a reprint of Lino Bianchi's edition: *Sacred Madrigals for 5 Voices*, The Complete Works, vol. 52 (Huntington Station L. I. N. Y: Edwin F. Kalmus, [1965–1972]) [225]. The English translation is quoted from Nielsen, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 92–102.

⁴⁵⁹ This example is also mentioned by Ziane (*Amor Divino*, 122).

⁴⁶⁰ Nielsen ('The Spiritual Madrigals of Palestrina', 151–152) mentions this passage as an example of 'expressive use of silence'.

express pain and sadness, as for example, for the words ‘grave and unworthy’ (‘grevi ed indegni’) in XVI, bars 25–30. Some of such descending lines might form suspensions or dissonant passing notes, as the words ‘wicked and harsh’ (‘spietato e duro’, VI, bars 22–26) although, in general, Palestrina uses dissonances sparingly and only with text passages expressing extremely negative affect. Some of the effect can be achieved not only through the musical material of the particular passage but also through contrast with the passages surrounding it. A good example of such contrast can be found in the fourteenth madrigal (*Vincitrice dell’empia hidra infernale*), where it is described how the Virgin Mary turned Eve’s misery caused by sin into joy. The ‘misery’ passage (‘che’l pianto e’l male d’Eva’, XIV, bars 14–19) is set to music with descending lines of breves and semibreves that produce some suspensions while the ‘joyful’ passage (‘tornasti in vita alma e gioiosa’, XIV, bars 19–22) is set to music mostly in syllabic semiminims. One more interesting point about this passage is that this particular line of text is a quotation from the third stanza of Petrarch’s *Vergine bella*. This same stanza is set to music as madrigal number three in Palestrina’s *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque* (1581). Also there, Palestrina makes good use of contrast between lines of breves, and faster movement in semiminims (see Examples 4.1 and 4.2). It is possible that, seeing that the text of the *Priego* quotes the *Vergine bella* and having previously set that passage to music, Palestrina ‘recycled’ the music from the *Vergine*-setting adapting it to the wording and context in which the line shows up in the *Priego*.

Coming back to Palestrina’s ways of expressing negative text contents, *cadenze in mi*, like dissonances, are used as an expressive device only in exceptional situations. For example, a *cadenza in mi* ending on A can be found in the Hypomixolydian twenty-eighth madrigal (*Cedro gentil*) with the words ‘the virtues of the soul were destroyed’ (‘del’alma le virtù distrutte’, XXVIII, bars 28–31). Probably the most extreme example of an expressive *cadenza in mi* is the passage speaking of the soul leaving the ‘frail dress’ of the body in the Mixolydian twenty-sixth madrigal (‘pur che sia tua, fuor della fragil gonna’, XXVI, bars 29–35) where, at first, B flats are introduced to produce a weak version of a *cadenza in mi* on A, followed by a more elaborate *cadenza in mi* on E in the next passage. As an alternative to harmonic devices, Palestrina sometimes uses melismas to express negative text contents, as, for example with ‘death’; (‘morte’, III, bars 25 and 27), ‘miseries and sins’ (‘miserie e peccati’, IV, bars 29–30) or ‘infernal hydra’ (‘hidra infernale’, XIV, bars 3–6).

Example 4.1: Setting of Petrarch's words 'che'l pianto d'Eva in allegrezza torni' in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1581), no 3, bars 85–95.⁴⁶¹

85

Canto
che'l pian - to d'E - va in al - le-grez-za tor - ni.

Alto
che'l pian - - - to d'E - va in al - le-grez-za tor - ni, in al - le-grez-za

Tenore
che'l pian - to d'E - va in al - le-grez-za tor - ni.

Quinto
che'l pian - to d'E - va in al - le-grez-za

Basso
che'l pian - to d'E - va in al - le-grez-za tor - ni, in al - le-grez-za

Example 4.2: Setting of the Petrarch-quotation in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* (Rome: Francesco Coattini, 1594), XIV (*Vincitrice dell'empia hidra infernale*), bars 14–22.⁴⁶²

14

Canto
che'l pian - - - to e'l ma - le, e'l ma - le D'E -

Alto
che'l pian - - - - - to e'l ma - - - le D'E - - -

Quinto
che'l pian - to e'l ma - le, e'l ma - le D'E - - -

Tenore
che'l pian - to e'l ma - le D'E - - - va

Basso
che'l pian - - - - - to e'l ma - - - le D'E - - -

19

C.
va tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa, tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa,

A.
va tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa, tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa,

Q.
-va tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa, tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa,

T.
tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa, tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa,

B.
va tor - na - sti in vi - ta al - ma e gioi - o - sa,

⁴⁶¹ Quoted from the reprint of Raffaele Casimiri's edition [215].

⁴⁶² This and further transcriptions from the *Libro secondo* are the author's since Lino Bianchi's edition halves the note values, which conceals the original note lengths.

As could be expected from a cycle of madrigals dedicated to Mary, the Virgin receives special attention in the musical setting. In many instances, words or phrases addressing Mary are adorned with melismas, for example, ‘Queen of heaven’ (‘del ciel Regina’, XX, bars 45–50) or ‘Lady and Mistress’ (‘Donna e Signora’, XXV, bars 39–49). Also ornamented are words denoting virtues or other spiritual concepts, for example, ‘faith’ (‘la fede’, XXV, bars 3–4 and 6–7) and ‘blessed’ (‘beato’, XXVIII, bars 44–46 and 49–52). Moreover, similar to Pello and Oddi, Palestrina makes sure that text lines that are worded as prayers or address God directly are intelligible and stand out against the texture of the surrounding passages. The most convenient way to do this is by using homophonic declamation. A striking example of such homophonic declamation is the phrase ‘Threshold of the glory of God, and paradise of happy pleasures’ (‘Della gloria di Dio Soglio, e d’allegri piaceri Paradiso’) from the twentieth madrigal (XX, bars 22–29). There, it is not only the homophonic texture that catches the eye but also the rhythm and the tempo of the declamation when the notation temporarily switches to the *sesquialtera* proportion (see Example 4.3). This proportion change is unnecessary in terms of the natural prosody of the line, but it is an efficient means of highlighting the words that speak of God and paradise since a triple rhythm was considered ‘perfect’ in the sixteenth century. Moreover, the number three might have been associated with the Holy Trinity.⁴⁶³

Unlike the previous two case studies, Palestrina does not exploit the poetic description of the speaker’s state with its metaphors borrowed from secular poetry to their full potential. Although he does compose an occasional melisma or even a descending series of suspensions for passages describing suffering or crying, his setting is more reserved than Pello’s or Oddi’s. For example, the twenty-second stanza of the *Priego* speaks of a soul as ‘lying in a bed of thousands and thousands of sins’ and Mary, ‘the help for the sick’ is implored to raise it.⁴⁶⁴ The passages speaking of sin and illness (XXII, bars 1–5 and 36–44) are composed with some melismas elaborating the cadence, but this is about it. There is nothing like the quirky *soggetto* of Pello’s ‘sickness’ *Canzone* or the slow passages with alterations as in Oddi’s *Come infermo*. In fact, much more interesting are the lively settings of the passages describing Mary’s help (e.g. XXII, bars 15–21 or 26–32). Similarly, the first phrase of the thirteenth madrigal (*E se nel foco*)

⁴⁶³ Japs believes that the triple rhythm is meant to express the ‘joyfully-positive’ content of the text. See *Die Madrigale Palestrinas*, 214.

⁴⁶⁴ ‘E dal letto di mille e mille colpe, In cui giacqui tant’anni e lustri, Risorga, e’l tuo favor mi scarchi e scolpe, E le tenebre mie rischiari e illustri.’

Example 4.3: Setting of the words ‘Della gloria Soglio e d’allegri piaceri Paradiso’ in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina’s *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* (Rome: Francesco Coattini, 1594), XX (*Novella Aurora*), bars 22–29.

The image displays a musical score for five voices: Canto, Alto, Quinto, Tenore, and Basso. The score is divided into two systems. The first system (bars 22-29) features the lyrics: "Del - la glo - ria di Dio So - - glio". The second system (bars 30-35) features the lyrics: "e d'al - le - gri Pia - ce - ri Pa - ra - di - so,". The music is in a 4/4 time signature with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). A 3/2 time signature change is indicated above the Canto part in the first system. The lyrics are written below the corresponding vocal lines.

that speaks of ‘fire of lusts’ (‘E se nel foco di lascivie ardendo’, XIII, bars 1–6) is handled relatively quickly and unimpressively.

A surprising example of a more expressive setting is the seventh madrigal (*E se’l pensier della future morte*). Its text is centered around death. However, it seems that it is not the secular connotation attached to the word ‘death’ that has inspired the setting but the penitential ‘end of life’ motif. The opening two passages which speak of thoughts about the inevitably approaching death are set to music in homophonic declamation (‘E se’l pensier della futura morte, Che schivar non si puo’, VII, 1–10), while the passages addressing or describing Mary are set to music in polyphony and some are ornamented with melismas. The culmination of the madrigal is reached when Mary is asked to pray to her son for a sooner end of the speaker’s miserable life (‘e’l infinita bonta del figlio tuo prega...’, VII, bars 30–35). There, the texture is quasi-homophonic, and the word ‘pray’ (‘prega’, bars 34–35) is sung with a melismatic melody by the Canto as a soloist

accompanied by a long lying chord in the other four parts. The only other madrigal in the collection that is set to music with so much thought around every detail is the closing madrigal of the cycle, which is obliged to be more elaborate by its prominent position as the closing prayer. The reason for the elaborate setting of the seventh madrigal could be its symbolic number or the respect to its expressedly penitential and Petrarchan character. If the collection was composed not much earlier than it was published, it could also be Palestrina's personal stamp on the cycle. After all, being an elderly man, he could relate to the idea of approaching the end of the earthly journey.⁴⁶⁵

Since the text used in the *Libro Secondo* draws much material from the Marian Litany, one more type of musical work with which it is worth comparing is the polyphonic litany. Palestrina provides enough examples of this genre with two books of four-voice litanies published in 1593 and some settings for larger choir preserved in manuscript.⁴⁶⁶ However, it soon becomes apparent that there are no musical parallels between litany settings and the madrigals of the *Libro secondo*. The reason for this lies already in the texts. While the poem borrows many elements from the litany, it ignores the recurring response, which is one of the litany's most defining features. To be sure, the *Priego alla Beata Vergine* is a poetic text written to display literary skill and subject to the formal and metrical rules of the ottava rima, while the litany is a purely functional text. In order for the musical setting of a litany to remain usable as a prayer, the music cannot obscure the text's repetitive structure. As can be seen from an excerpt from the upper voice of one of Palestrina's four-part litanies (Example 4.4) reprinted in Georg Victorinus' *Thesaurus litaniarum* [268] (Munich: Adam Berg, 1596), the melody consists mainly of repeated notes convenient for the recitation of the litany. When the other parts are added, the overall impression is slightly enlivened by a retarded entry of the top voice and formulaic ornaments in the three lower parts (see Example 4.5), but all in all, the music of the litany is less complex and entails less variety than the through-composed stanzas of the *Priego*.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁵ However, this does not necessarily mean that the *Libro secondo* was intended as the life-crowning final work of the composer, as was believed by Lino Bianchi and many early Palestrina scholars.

⁴⁶⁶ See Lino Bianchi, 'Il volume ventesimo delle opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina', in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Le Litanie a (3), 4, 5, 6, e 8 voci: Secondo la ristampa del 1600 e i diversi codici manoscritti*, ed. Lino Bianchi, *Le opere complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol. 20 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 1955), IX–XI.

⁴⁶⁷ Ziane expresses the same opinion: 'Ebenso wenig bietet sich der *Priego alla B. Vergine* musikalisch im Gewand einer Litanei dar. Viel zu komplex und vielschichtig ist dafür die musikalische Faktur des [...] Satzes' ('The music of the *Priego alla B. Vergine* does not resemble that of a litany much. It is far too sophisticated and far too complex in its texture [to be a litany]', *Amor Divino*, 121).

Example 4.4: Beginning of the Discantus part of Palestrina's Marian Litany for four voices, in Georg Victorinus' *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1596), Discantus part book, *Litaniarum liber secundus*, no 6.⁴⁶⁸



Example 4.5: Transcription of bars 23–32 of Palestrina's Marian Litany for four voices, in Georg Victorinus' *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1596), *Litaniarum liber secundus*, no 6.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁸ Image from the digital facsimile of the *Thesaurus litaniarum* [268] available from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

⁴⁶⁹ Transcription of the author.

To sum up, the *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo* offers a reasonably expressive version of Migliori's *Priego alla Beata Vergine*, but avoids any kind of excess or indecent allusions. Some parallels could be established between the collection examined and Palestrina's 1581 spiritual madrigal collection, especially the *Vergine bella*-cycle. A comparison with Palestrina's litany settings yielded less positive results: although the text of the *Libro secondo* is modelled on the Marian Litany, no musical similarity to a litany setting could be detected. This is probably due to the difference in function between the *Priego* and its Latin sacred model as well as functional differences between their musical settings.

4.3 Conclusion

The analysis has shown how Antonio Migliori managed to accommodate the standard structure of a litany to the poetic form of the ottava rima. The resulting text incorporates many of the Marian images found in the Litany of Loreto and the *ex sacra scriptura* litanies but substitutes the typical response of the litany with petitions that change in every stanza. By doing this, Migliori might have been following the example set by Petrarch in his *Canzone alla Vergine*. At the end, it cannot be fully ascertained whether Migliori wrote with one specific version or the Marian Litany in mind or whether he was looking at this prayer from a more general point of view and what role exactly Petrarch's famous canzone played in the concept of the *Priego*. What can be stated, however, is that the poem displays a sophisticated web of literary and theological allusions.

Speaking of Palestrina's musical setting compared to the madrigal cycles analysed in the previous chapter, Palestrina's cycle gives a greater sense of unity between the individual pieces since all the madrigals have a similar length and are arranged in ascending modal order. However, a stronger cohesion between the pieces in Palestrina's cycle is not surprising, considering that it is based on one single poem and not a group of separate poems. Another feature distinguishing Palestrina's setting from Pellio's and Oddi's is its more temperate treatment of the text. One cannot say that Palestrina's setting is plain or avoids any type of madrigalism – it simply avoids the extremes. Moreover, Palestrina's music brings out the religious aspects of the text and stays away from affects of ambiguous connotation. One could wonder whether it is Palestrina's attempt to distance himself from the secular madrigals he had published in his younger years or the typical 'Palestrina style' that lies behind the conservativeness of the setting.

However, an even more likely reason seems to be the fact that the patron of the publication was a woman who, in addition to that, occupied a role in which careful guard over one's reputation had to be kept.

One can only speculate about the exact circumstances in which the *Priego alla Beata Vergine Maria* came into being. If the work was written after 1590, it might have been an attempt by Antonio Migliori to find a new patron after the death of pope Sixtus V. He might have been introduced to the ducal couple by his influential friend Simone Soderini. Of course, the *Priego* could have been an older text as well, repurposed and published in 1593, but in any case, it appears likely that the publication was meant to celebrate Christina of Lorraine's pilgrimage to Loreto. By choosing to structure the content as a litany, Migliori found an ingenious way of displaying his literary talents and theological knowledge as well as paying homage to his native region and the destination of the Duchess's pilgrimage. Neither is it known precisely under whose influence Palestrina composed the music for Migliori's poem. It seems more likely that he was commissioned rather than undertaking it on his own initiative. Whoever invited Palestrina to set Migliori's text to music, they were certainly aware of his reputation not only as a composer of high-quality liturgical music but also as a successful madrigalist. They might have been aware of his other spiritual madrigals, which would have testified to his suitability for such a project. In any case, it seems likely that Palestrina had access to the text at least some time before its printed edition appeared on the market. Otherwise, it would have been a challenging commission for the elderly composer, considering that he would have had only a few months to produce music for thirty *ottave* of text.

As far as the possible audiences are concerned, one would have required advanced education to fully appreciate the text of the *Priego*. However, even those less-versed in Marian theology would have been able to enjoy it. The titles listed in Migliori's stanzas would have simply sounded familiar or evoked memories of devotions they had experienced. After all, the theological and literary context surrounding the cycle would have been part of the culture its readers, singers and listeners had grown up in. As for Palestrina's musical setting, its difficulty is comparable to that of an average madrigal print available on the market in the second half of the sixteenth century. It is obvious that these compositions were not aimed at buyers interested in avant-garde compositions. They would have been more appealing to buyers with an appreciation for well-tried style and established composers. The collection would have certainly pleased

individuals with a special devotion to the Virgin Mary although the publisher seems to have been aiming at a wider public since the title page of the print advertises the author and the genre instead of the work's Marian connection.

5 THE POETICS OF PENANCE: SPIRITUAL MADRIGALS BASED ON THE PENITENTIAL PSALMS

Chapter 5 introduces the closest out of the three paraphrases discussed in this thesis. The Latin sacred text it is modelled on represents one of the poetic highlights of the Bible – the Seven Penitential Psalms. Treated as a separate cycle within the Psalter since late Antiquity, during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries these seven psalms belonged among the devotional essentials for Catholics and Protestants alike. The poetic text explored in the present chapter is a cycle of seven sonnets written by the Venetian nobleman Francesco Bembo [76], first published in 1595 (Venice: Nicolò Moretti). Each of the sonnets is a paraphrase of one of the Penitential Psalms. As the chapter will show, the historical background of the publication is rather intriguing, which raises the question of the extent to which the ideas conveyed by the text were influenced by Bembo's personal circumstances during the years surrounding the publication of the sonnets.

The first half of the chapter will give an introduction to the cultural and religious history of the Penitential Psalms. It will begin by discussing their usage in Catholic liturgy and devotion before introducing the rather scanty tradition of their musical settings in Italy. After this, a little digression into the theological concept of the 'seven cardinal vices' will be necessary. This concept had been linked to the Penitential Psalms since the Middle Ages and had an impact on the case study discussed in this chapter. The last section of the first part will delve into the tradition of Italian-language poetic paraphrases of the seven-psalm cycle, a tradition much richer than that of musical settings.

The musical case study explored in this chapter is Giovanni Croce's cycle *Sette sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* ('Seven penitential sonnets for six voices') [112] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7) based on Bembo's text. Unlike the other three case studies discussed in the thesis, Croce's publication was commercially successful enough for Giacomo Vincenzi to reprint it in 1603 [113]. Moreover, it had a considerable impact beyond the Italian territories, as evidenced by translated versions published abroad shortly after the publication of the original (Nuremberg: Paul Kaufmann, 1599 [118]; London: Thomas East for William Barley, 1608 [125]; London: Humphrey Lownes and Matthew Lownes, 1611 [126]). These editions will be explored in the last third of the chapter. Like in case of Palestrina's *Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo*, a

modern edition of the *Sette sonetti* was available. The English version of the cycle was edited by John Morehen in 2003 [127], and in 2010, Martin Morell published an edition comprising all three versions of the book [114].

Despite its relative popularity, Croce's *Sette sonetti* remains an exception among Italian spiritual madrigal cycles. It is the only known musical setting of Bembo's text and, in general, the only musical setting of a paraphrase of the complete Penitential Psalms cycle.⁴⁷⁰ The present chapter aims to shed some light on the motivation that led the respective authors of the text and the music of *Sette sonetti* to composing it. The analysis seeks to identify the statements that can be read between the lines and the associations the poetic and musical vocabulary of the cycle evoke. Also to be investigated are the reasons why, despite the *Sette sonetti* being reprinted and exported to two other countries, no other cycle of this kind was published in Italy.

5.1. The Seven Penitential Psalms

5.1.1 Use in Liturgy and Devotion

The Seven Penitential Psalms on which the *Sette sonetti* is based were a well-known group of texts in early modern Europe. They appeared in several liturgical contexts and were used in devotional practices. The first Christian source to combine these seven texts is Cassiodorus' commentary on the Psalms written in the sixth century but possibly based on an already existing tradition.⁴⁷¹ The group established by him comprises the Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142 (see Table 5.1). The common feature of all seven texts is the description of the unfortunate state of the speaker and the hope of God's saving intervention.

In the Tridentine liturgy – which was the prevailing one at the time that Bembo's paraphrase was written – the Penitential Psalms could occur either as a cycle or as single items. As a cycle they featured in the ritual of the anointing of the sick. Such usage is attested in a 1615 edition of the Roman Ritual which prescribes that:

⁴⁷⁰ Martin Morell in the Introduction to his edition of the *Sette sonetti* also expresses the belief that Croce's setting is a unique case in sixteenth-century Italy (Giovanni Croce, *Sette Sonetti Penitenziali and Sacred Madrigals*, ed. Martin Morell, Quatercentenary edition of the sacred music of Giovanni Croce (Weingarten (Baden): Edition Michael Procter, 2010), ii).

⁴⁷¹ Georg Langgärtner, 'Bußpsalmen: Westen', in LM, vol. 2, 1153; Hannibal Hamlin, 'Sobs for Sorrowful Souls: Versions of the Penitential Psalms for Domestic Devotion', in Jessica Martin, and Alec Ryrie (eds), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 211.

Table 5.1: Incipits of the seven Penitential Psalms.

Psalm 6	<i>Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me</i>
Psalm 31	<i>Beati quorum remissae sunt iniquitates</i>
Psalm 37	<i>Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me</i>
Psalm 50	<i>Miserere mei Deus</i>
Psalm 101	<i>Domine exaudi orationem meam</i>
Psalm 129	<i>De profundis clamavi ad te Domine</i>
Psalm 142	<i>Domine exaudi orationem meam</i>

...before the priest begins to anoint the patient, let him advise the others present to pray for the patient and, if the time, the place and the amount of people present allow it, *to recite the Penitential Psalms with the accompanying litanies or other prayers while the priest administers the Sacrament of the unction...*⁴⁷²

The whole penitential cycle was also part of the consecration of churches or graveyards.⁴⁷³ The Tridentine Breviary prescribes the seven psalms to be prayed along with a special penitential litany on every Friday of Lent.⁴⁷⁴ As individual texts, the seven psalms could occur as part of the psalmody in the Divine Office or as texts for the Mass Proper. Some of the psalms were used in the burial rite or in the Office for the Dead. In cases where the seven psalms were not used as a cycle, the Psalms 50 (*Miserere*) and 129 (*De profundis*) were the most popular.

In terms of this chapter's case study, it is highly significant that the Penitential Psalms were also used in devotional contexts. They passed from the realm of liturgy into devotion in two ways: first, through the rites connected to death and burial, and second, through the sacrament of penance. In the first case they would be recited as prayers for the deceased.⁴⁷⁵ In the second case the Penitential Psalms had a double function: as *satisfaction* (the third and last component of the sacrament of penance) and as a means to prevent or to repent for everyday sins between confessions.⁴⁷⁶ At least the incipits of the

⁴⁷² 'Antequam Parochus incipiat unger e infirmum, moneat adsantes, ut pro illo orent; & ubi commodum fuerit, pro loco, & tempore, & adstantium numero, vel qualitate, *recitent septem Psalmos Poenitentiales, cum Litanijis, vel alias preces, dum ipse vnctionis Sacramentum administrat*'. Quoted from the facsimile of the *Ritvale Romanum* [54] (Rome: Stamperia Camerale, 1615), 77. Translation and italics by the author.

⁴⁷³ Ludwig Eisenhofer, and Joseph Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite*, transl. by A. J. and E. F. Peeler (Edinburgh and London: Nelson, 1961), 432, 435.

⁴⁷⁴ The copy consulted was a digital facsimile of a reprint: *Breviarium Romanum* [25] (Rome: Paolo Manuzio, 1570), 189 (accessed 7 December 2018).

⁴⁷⁵ According to Clare L. Costley King'oo ('David's "Fruytfull Saynges": The Penitential Psalms in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern England', PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2005, 5) the Penitential Psalms in this case were combined with the Litany or the Office for the Dead.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4, 59.

seven psalms must have been familiar to large parts of the population, including the illiterate and the semiliterate since they were part of penitential practices and were quoted in sermons.⁴⁷⁷

5.1.2 Penitential Psalms in Sixteenth-Century Italian Polyphonic Music

In Italy, polyphonic psalm settings were usually composed either for use in the Divine Office or as motets based on texts from the Proper of the Mass. For this reason, the texts of the Penitential Psalms were mostly set to music individually. The individual settings were published either in collections of Vesper psalms or in motet collections. Table 5.2 presents the genre/function distribution of 447 liturgical and para-liturgical music prints that appeared in the sixteen years leading to the publication of the *Sette sonetti*. 158 prints out of this number (35.3 percent) were motet collections and 60 (13.4 percent) were collections of Vesper psalms. Together with 97 polyphonic mass ordinaries (21.7 percent) they form the three largest groups of sacred music prints during the period. As for the Penitential Psalms, only the *Miserere* (Psalm 51) and the *De profundis* (Psalm 129) are recited in the Vespers. Thus, the other five psalms were less attractive to motet composers.

Composing a polyphonic cycle containing all of the Penitential Psalms was not a popular practice in Italy. Kerchal Armstrong in his thesis on Penitential Psalm settings between 1560 and 1620 lists only four polyphonic settings of the full cycle published in Italy during the given period: Giovanni Tommaso Lambertini's *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* [159] (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1569), Andrea Gabrieli's *Psalmi Davidici, qui Poenitentiales nuncupantur* [145] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1583), Innocenzo Alberti's *Salmi penitentiali a sei voci* [59] (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1594) and Orfeo Vecchi's *In septem Regij prophetarum Psalmos Sacrarum modulationum Liber quartus* [261] (Milan: Heirs of Simone Tini and Giovanni Francesco Besozzi, 1601). In the period covered in in the table (1580–1596) the two Penitential Psalm motet editions account only for 0.4 percent within the total of 477 prints. It seems that Penitential Psalm motets were more of a specialism in Germany, where Foss records twice the number of settings during the same period.⁴⁷⁸

Croce's *Sette sonetti* is the only cycle based on a vernacular paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms. Other composers of spiritual madrigal cycles chose lyrics based on

⁴⁷⁷ There are even sets of published sermons on the Penitential Psalms such as Girolamo Rocca's *Delle homilie sopra i sette salmi penitentiali* [234] (Mantua: Francesco Osanna, 1597).

⁴⁷⁸ See the table in Kerchal Foss Armstrong, 'Musical settings of the Penitential Psalm cycle, 1560–1620', PhD diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1974, 3–6.

Table 5.2: Genre/function distribution of 447 liturgical and paraliturgical music prints published in the Italian states between 1580 and 1596.⁴⁷⁹

Genre/Function	Number of Prints	Percentage within the total
Motet collections	158	35.3%
Ordinary of the Mass settings	97	21.7%
Vesper psalms	60	13.4%
Polyphonic <i>Magnificats</i>	28	6.3%
Other music for Divine Office	38	8.5%
Music for Holy Week	30	6.7%
Collections containing several genres of liturgical music	14	3.1%
Proper of the Mass settings	9	2.0%
Music for Mass/Office for the dead	6	1.3%
Penitential Psalms	2	0.4%
Plainchant accompaniments for organists	2	0.4%
Litanies	2	0.4%
Music for procession	1	0.2%

other subjects or paraphrases of other religious texts. All in all, the only other example of a paraphrase of a particular penitential psalm set to music, is Francesco Beccuti's (1509–1553) paraphrase of Psalm 6 *Signor le colpe mie danna e coreggi* which was set to music as a spiritual madrigal by Felice Anerio (1585).⁴⁸⁰ One further setting of the same text was composed by Orlande de Lassus, but this setting was published across the Alps from Italy, in Paris (1584) and Nuremberg (1587).⁴⁸¹ Beccuti's paraphrase is a canzone which consists of four stanzas and a *commiato* (a shorter final stanza). Lassus' setting uses the full text, while Anerio sets only the first stanza to music. In addition to *Signor le colpe mie danna e coreggi*, Beccuti wrote paraphrases of three further penitential psalms (Psalm

⁴⁷⁹ Out of 1362 prints published in the Italian States 1580–1596 and classified by the USTC search engine as 'music'. Data accessed between 4 and 9 February 2019. In the context of this chapter 'liturgical and para-liturgical music' comprises Ordinary and settings of parts of the Mass, settings for the Divine Office, music for other official rites of the Catholic Church, litany settings and motets.

⁴⁸⁰ Published in his *Madrigali Spirituali a Cinque Voci. Libro primo* [63] (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585).

⁴⁸¹ Published in *Continuation du Mellange* (Paris: Adrian le Roy and Robert Ballard, 1584) and *Madrigali: A Quattro, Cinque et sei Voci* (Nuremberg: Katharina Gerlach, 1587).

31, 37 and 129),⁴⁸² but these were never set to music. A possible reason could be that the paraphrase of Psalm 37 was considered too similar to that of Psalm 6 since both psalms have the same incipit and Beccuti renders them in the same canzone form. Furthermore, the form of the other two (*terza rima* and *versi sciolti*) were not the most convenient ones for setting to music as a madrigal. In the *lauda* repertoire, a paraphrase of Psalm 50 by Benedetto Varchi can be found in Serafino Razzi's 1563 laude collection.⁴⁸³ Although there were very few musical paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms, the cycle had a deep impact on sixteenth-century Italian religious poetry in general. Its influence is also felt in Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi*, as explored in the previous chapter.

5.1.3 Cardinal Vices and Virtues, and Their Association with the Penitential Psalms

Each of the pieces in Giovanni Croce's *Sette sonetti* has a caption under their title stating that the particular sonnet counteracts a certain cardinal vice (see Figure 5.1). The same caption system can be found in the text edition of the sonnets. In fact, it relates to a well-established tradition of associating the seven Penitential Psalms with a corresponding number of cardinal vices. Since the notion of cardinal vices occupies a significant place in the cultural background of the case study, it is worth considering this theological concept in greater depth. In English the term 'cardinal vices' is often substituted by the expression 'deadly sins', which is less accurate since the phenomenon in question more specifically relates to vicious inclinations that lead to sin rather than actual sinful deeds themselves.

The concept of cardinal vices goes back to quite early in the history of Christianity. The first listing of vicious inclinations appeared in the fourth century AD in a treatise called *Praktikos* written by Evagrius Ponticus, an author from the eastern Christian tradition.⁴⁸⁴ Evagrius' list was introduced into the western Christianity by John Cassian in his treatises *Instituta* and *Collationes* in the early fifth century. Cassian's list contained eight vices.⁴⁸⁵ In the sixth century, Gregory the Great restructured the list

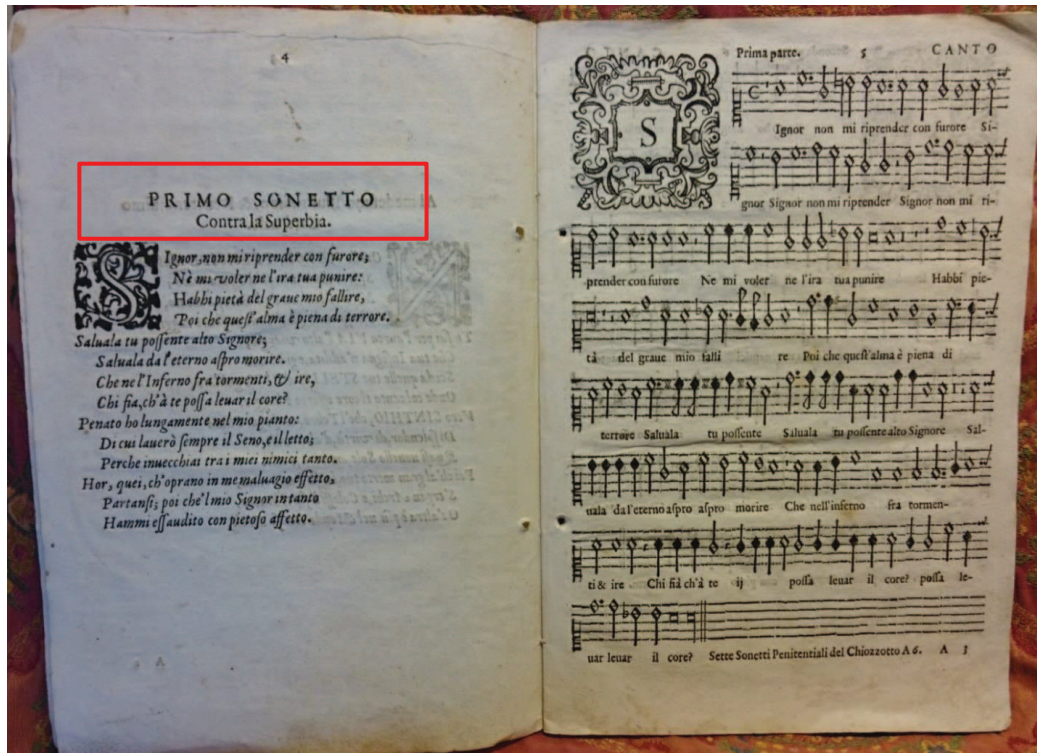
⁴⁸² According to the critical edition of his poems by Andrea Crismani ('Edizione critica delle rime di Francesco Coppetta dei Beccuti, PhD diss., University of Padua, 2012.

⁴⁸³ See Pietrobon, 'La penna inteprete', 239.

⁴⁸⁴ Siegfried Wenzel, 'The seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research', *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 2–3; Aimé Solignac, 'Péchés capitaux', in DS, vol. 12/1, 853–854.

⁴⁸⁵ Solignac, 'Péchés capitaux', 854.

Figure 5.1: The beginning of the Canto part of the first madrigal in Giovanni Croce's *Sette Sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7). Marking of the author.⁴⁸⁶



of eight vices into a group of seven governed by one main vice – pride. Six hundred years later, Hugh of St Victor merged pride with vainglory, another of Gregory the Great's vices, and thus produced a list of seven equal vices with pride on top (see Table 5.3).⁴⁸⁷ The list established by Gregory the Great and Hugh of St Victor was still relevant in the sixteenth century, by which time 'tristitia' was definitively substituted by 'acedia/acidia' translated into English as 'sloth' but initially denoting an indifference toward the surrounding world or a depressive state. There is no firmly established order in which the vices appear in early modern Italian publications, their succession varies from source to source. However, 'superbia' tends to come in the first place, recalling the hierarchy present in Gregory the Great's list, and 'acedia' tends to come last. Like the Penitential Psalms, the seven vices were part of early modern Catholic general knowledge. They also played a role in the sacrament of confession, though in a different component of it than the Penitential Psalms: along with the Decalogue, the list of cardinal vices was used as an aid to the examination of the conscience.

⁴⁸⁶ Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea M.130.3 A. Photography by the author. Reproduced with permission.

⁴⁸⁷ Solignac, 'Péchés capitaux', 855–857, 859.

Table 5.3: Lists of cardinal vices from John Cassian to Hugh of St Victor.

	John Cassian		Gregory the Great		Hugh of St Victor	
1.	<i>gastrimargia</i>	Gluttony	<i>superbia</i> (pride) leads to:		<i>superbia</i>	pride
2.	<i>fornicatio</i>	Lust	<i>inanis gloria</i>	vain glory		
3.	<i>filarguria</i>	Greed	<i>invidia</i>	envy	<i>invidia</i>	envy
4.	<i>ira</i>	Wrath	<i>ira</i>	wrath	<i>ira</i>	wrath
5.	<i>tristitia</i>	Sadness	<i>tristitia</i>	sadness	<i>tristitia/acidia</i>	sadness/ bitterness
6.	<i>acedia</i>	Sloth	<i>avaritia</i>	greed	<i>avaritia</i>	greed
7.	<i>cenodoxia</i>	vain glory	<i>ventris ingluvies</i>	gluttony	<i>gula</i>	gluttony
8.	<i>Superbia</i>	Pride	<i>luxuria</i>	lust	<i>luxuria</i>	lust

As with many other religious phenomena, the concept of the seven cardinal vices had an impact on medieval literature.⁴⁸⁸ The most famous Italian example is Dante's *Purgatorio*, where each terrace of the Purgatory is associated with one of the cardinal vices in the order laid out by Hugh of St Victor.⁴⁸⁹ As can be seen from Table 5.4, in the subtitles of his penitential sonnets Francesco Bembo adheres to the tendency of presenting pride as the first vice, but his order differs from that used by Hugh of St Victor.

By the Middle Ages, the vices had already started appearing in combination with other theological lists comprising seven items. For example, Hugh St Victor's treatise *De quinque septenis* presents the seven vices in opposition to the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the seven virtues or the seven beatitudes from Matthew 5:3–9.⁴⁹⁰ A more common link was that with the seven Penitential Psalms since there is a logical connection between sin and penance. One example from sixteenth-century devotional literature that pairs the vices with the Penitential Psalms is the Conventual Franciscan's Bonaventura Gonzaga's *Ragionamenti sopra i sette peccati mortali* [150] published in 1566 (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari). The book consists of seven moral dialogues centred on the cardinal vices, each followed by an Italian

⁴⁸⁸ Morton W. Bloomfield (*The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1952), 123–155) gives a good overview of the vices in European literature thirteenth century.

⁴⁸⁹ See Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 157–159.

⁴⁹⁰ Solignac, 'Péchés capitaux', 856–857.

Table 5.4: The succession of cardinal vices in Francesco Bembo's *Sette sonetti penitentiali* (Mantua: Francesco Osanna, 1596) compared with the list presented by Hugh of St Victor in the *Summa de sacramentis christianae fidei* (c.1160) II, 13.

Hugh of St Victor		Francesco Bembo, <i>Sette Sonetti</i> [76]	
<i>Superbia</i>	Pride	<i>Superbia</i>	Pride
<i>Invidia</i>	Envy	<i>Avarizia</i>	Greed
<i>Ira</i>	Wrath	<i>Ira</i>	Wrath
<i>Acidia</i>	Sadness/Bitterness	<i>Lussuria</i>	Lust
<i>Avaritia</i>	Greed	<i>Gola</i>	Gluttony
<i>Gula</i>	Gluttony	<i>Invidia</i>	Envy
<i>Luxuria</i>	Lust	<i>Accidia</i>	Sloth

paraphrase of one of the Penitential Psalms.⁴⁹¹ Another example is Agostino Agostini's *Sette salmi penitentiali* [56] (Venice: Girolamo Porro, 1595).⁴⁹² The book has five main sections that appear in the following order: a liturgical calendar, Agostini's poetic paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms, a set of engravings paired with sonnets on the seven vices by the same author, a few other devotional texts and a confession manual. Returning to Bembo's text, there seems to be no specific reason for pairing particular vices with particular Penitential Psalms other than just the result of putting together two different lists, each in the order Bembo knew them in.

As mentioned above, the Penitential Psalms could be used in devotion in two different ways: in connection to death and burial and in connection with the sacrament of penance. By pairing them with the cardinal vices, Bembo emphasises the association with penitential practices and the devotional character of the cycle. It is also possible that by embracing the idea of 'mending' the vices through penance, the speaker of the sonnets (who, as will become evident in due course, represents Bembo himself) is portrayed as a sinner who can improve if only he is given a chance. There was also a potential financial gain from the captions for Giovanni Croce – the idea that singing of his madrigals could counteract the vices, implicit in the captions, must have increased the market value of the cycle.

⁴⁹¹ See Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete', 264.

⁴⁹² See *ibid.*, 266, 286–288.

5.1.4 Penitential Psalms in Sixteenth-Century Italian Religious Poetry

Although the choice of the Penitential Psalms as a subject was unusual for a composer of spiritual madrigals, there was a well-established literary tradition of paraphrasing the seven psalms. Ester Pietrobon counts 21 different poetic paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms between 1471 and 1596. A comparison with the numbers of poetic paraphrases of the full Psalter (2 full and 2 incomplete versions), psalm selections other than the Penitential Psalms (3 versions) and freely composed poems imitating the Psalter (6 versions) shows that the Penitential Psalm cycle was the preferred set of psalms to paraphrase in verse.⁴⁹³ The reason for that was the small scale and the self-contained nature of the cycle as well as its familiarity.⁴⁹⁴

As far as the target audiences of the poetic paraphrases are concerned, a wide variety of profiles is attested. The publications range from poems with modest literary aspirations, such as the anonymous 1490 print (Venice: Andrea di Calabria) [50], to stylistically more elaborate paraphrases, such as Laura Battiferri Ammannati's version [75] (1564). Some of the publications contain one single author's take on the Penitential Psalm cycle, while others present paraphrases by more than one author, such as Francesco Turchi's *Salmi penitentiali di diversi eccellenti autori* [255] (Venice: Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1568), which contains paraphrases written by five different authors along with Turchi's own work.⁴⁹⁵ Some other Penitential Psalm paraphrases were published in books containing several devotional texts of varied or uncertain authorship, such as the aforementioned *Sette salmi penitentiali* by Agostino Agostini (1595). An interesting publication is Vitale Vitali's *Il vero soggetto delle prediche... sopra li sette salmi penitentiali* [271] (Venice: Domenico Nicolini da Sabbio, 1561), which paraphrases not the Penitential Psalms themselves but Franceschino Visdomini's homilies on them.

Some of the paraphrases appeared as part of their authors' *Rime* or *Opere* (i. e. 'complete works') editions, as was the case with Luigi Alamanni, whose paraphrases were published as part of his *Opere toscane* [58] (Florence: Bernardo Giunti, 1532). Thus, the author or the publisher could underscore the artistic aspirations of the work. In Alamanni's case the poetic ambition is obvious, for his version only remotely follows

⁴⁹³ Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete', 339–382. With two exceptions, Pietrobon considers printed editions only. There is no comprehensive study on Italian psalm paraphrases in manuscript.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 262–263.

⁴⁹⁵ Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, Bonaventura Gonzaga, Laura Battiferri Ammannati, Luigi Alamanni and Pietro Orsilago.

the text of the actual Penitential Psalms. Another way of emphasising the poetic value as opposed to devotional value was to give the paraphrase a title that did not contain any allusion to the word ‘psalms’. The title *Sonetti penitentiali* chosen by Bembo is an example of this practice. According to Pietrobon, one more indicator of how the role of the author of a paraphrase was perceived is the preposition used next to his name on the title page. The prepositions ‘da’ and ‘di’ introduce the author as an active agent who fully owns the work, while the preposition ‘per’ signals that the poet sees himself and his work subordinate to the biblical source.⁴⁹⁶

One title to become increasingly popular in religious poetry towards the end of the sixteenth century was ‘Lagrima’. The USTC records an outpouring of publications containing the word ‘lagrima’ (‘tears’) in their titles from 1585 onwards. Such a title could be used for devotional poetry or for collections of poems in memory of a deceased person.⁴⁹⁷ The most prominent example of ‘lagrima’ in the sphere of devotional poetry is Luigi Tansillo’s cycle *Lagrima di San Pietro* [244] (Vico Equense: Giovanni Battista Cappelli and Giuseppe Cacchi, 1585), which was reprinted numerous times and later set to music by Orlande de Lassus [162] (Munich: Adam berg, 1595). Due to the word’s connotations of sorrow and repentance, several poets chose the title *Lagrima* for their Penitential Psalm paraphrases (see Table 5.5).⁴⁹⁸

There was no particular poetic form designated by the Italian poetic tradition specifically for psalm paraphrases, neither does the form of the biblical psalms suggest one. Theoretically, any Italian poetic form would have been a possibility; however, in sixteenth-century poetic paraphrases certain forms were more popular than others. The most popular were those that allowed for more freedom regarding the length of the poem. This is no wonder considering that poets had to deal with psalms of substantially different lengths.⁴⁹⁹ One of the most popular forms was the *terza rima*. Consisting of an unlimited amount of three-line groupings it allowed the poets to be flexible with the length of the work. It was among the first forms to be used in a printed vernacular paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms with the anonymous *Psalmi Poenitentiales* published

⁴⁹⁶ Pietrobon, ‘La penna interprete’, 258–259.

⁴⁹⁷ Accessed 19 July 2017. The USTC lists only one new book that contains the word ‘Lagrima’ in the title published before 1550, 10 published between 1551 and 1584, and 21 published between 1585 and 1599. Out of the 32 examples listed by the USTC, 14 are religious works and the remainder are funeral poetry.

⁴⁹⁸ Pietrobon, ‘La penna interprete’, 325–326.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19, 20.

at the end of the fifteenth century.⁵⁰⁰ The paraphrases in *terza rima* appeared in waves, the first being in the decades surrounding 1500 and the second towards the end of the sixteenth century. The middle of the century witnessed the use of another form coming from epic poetry, namely the non-rhymed *endecasillabo* or *endecasillabi sciolti* (see Table 5.5). The absence of stanzas and rhyme structures meant that this form allowed the greatest possible flexibility for the rendition of the psalms. However, relatively few poets were attracted to it, for it did not allow much room for poetic virtuosity. The most popular epic poetry form for paraphrasing the Penitential Psalms was the *ottava rima*, possibly because its multistrophic nature allowed the flexibility of length so necessary for psalm paraphrases.

Among forms used in lyric poetry, the most popular was the ‘ode’ (invented by Bernardo Tasso and used in his *Salmi* (see Chapter 3)). The poets must have been attracted by its simplicity compared to other lyric forms. An ‘ode’ could consist of an unlimited number of five- or six-line stanzas with a simple alternate or enclosed rhyme scheme. Compared to the sonnet, the canzone and the ballata, which were rather restricting in terms of size and rhyme, Tasso’s ‘ode’ offered poets more possibilities to shape the content. Other lyric metres were less popular. As becomes evident from Table 5.5, few poets chose to write in canzoni. As for the sonnet, apart from Bembo, only Angelo Grillo (1593) composed his paraphrases in this form. There are no complete cycles of Penitential Psalm paraphrases in forms of the ballata and the sestina, just a few examples of paraphrases of individual psalms not belonging to the cycle.

The significantly larger number of examples of Penitential Psalm paraphrases in literature than in music suggests that Croce’s madrigal cycle was composed with musically active readers of the poetic psalm paraphrases in mind rather than for music lovers who might have a coincidental interest in the Penitential Psalms. In the early seventeenth century one could still find vocal music collections with titles that indicated the poetic forms in which the lyrics of the compositions were written. It is very probable that the average buyer of any madrigal collection was no less interested in the texts than in the music contained in the print.

⁵⁰⁰ The oldest copy listed by the USTC (accessed 12 July 2017) was published by Johann Petri in Florence in 1471 [49] but Pietrobon (ibid., 22) mentions several manuscript copies and early printed versions.

Table 5.5: Vernacular poetic paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms in Italy between 1471 and 1596.⁵⁰¹

Author and date of first edition	Terza rima	Ottava rima	Endecasillabi	Ode	Canzone	Sonnet	Accompanied by another devotional text in the edition	Accompanied by other poetry in the edition	Lagrima
Anon. (attributed to Dante), 1471 [49]	X								
Anon., begins: 'Io chiamo e prego el mio eterno idio', 1490 [50]		X							
Benivieni, 1505 [79]	X								
Alamanni, 1532: published in <i>Opere toscane</i> [58]	X							X	
Vitali, 1561 [271]		X							
Battiferri, 1564 [75]				X					
Gonzaga, 1566 [150]				X			X		
Arnigio, 1568 [67]					X		X	X	
Cattaneo, 1568 [91]				X			X	X	
Turchi, 1568 [255]			X				X	X	
Buelli, 1572 [82]			X						
Vecchi, 1574 [259]					X				X
Anon., 1577: published in <i>Fiori del giardinetto detto il sole</i> [30]		X					X		
Ancarani, 1588 [61]		X							
Cesari, 1590 [92]		X							
Manzano, 1592 [173]		X							
Badoer, 1594 [72]				X					
Grillo, 1593 [151]						X			X
Agostini, 1595 [56]	X						X		
Orsilago, 1595 (first published in Turchi, 1568) [198]	X								
Bembo, (1595?)1596 [76]						X			

⁵⁰¹ Indispensable for this overview were the detailed metrical tables provided by Pietrobon in 'La penna interprete', 339–382.

5.2 Giovanni Croce and the *Sette sonetti penitentiali*

5.2.1 Francesco Bembo and His Penitential Sonnet Cycle

Although Francesco Bembo came from a well-known family that produced several famous authors and politicians, not much is known about the poet's life. The only sources to provide any information about him at all are encyclopaedic monographs by early nineteenth-century Italian philologists such as Emmanuele Antonio Cigogna's (1789–1868) *Delle iscrizioni Veneziane*.⁵⁰² However, the profile that can be reconstructed gives evidence of an intriguing life which began in 1544⁵⁰³ and reached a sad end in 1599 with Bembo's public beheading in the Piazzetta San Marco under the charge of treason. An account of Bembo's execution and the events leading to it survives from the hand of the Venetian nobleman Nicolò Contarini (1553–1630/31), as recorded in his *Istorie Veneziane*.⁵⁰⁴

Among the nobility [there was] a certain Francesco Bembo, a vain man of low esteem, very lavish in his appetites but lacking in wealth, who, as the years went by, obtained a magistracy (he was the Superintendent of Customs), by which he had access to the senate for some time. Having been employed by an Italian prince (the Grand Duke of Tuscany), he drew a salary from him for divulging public secrets, and continued to do so during the two-year term of his magistracy. Desiring not to lose this income on his departure from office, he did so by insidiously obtaining information from one person or another and passing it on [to the duke]. When he was found out and the discovery of his letters meant he could no longer deny [his guilt], he confessed and subsequently was publicly executed in disgrace.⁵⁰⁵

No correspondence between Bembo and the Grand Duke of Tuscany survives, but Cigogna reproduces some letters written to Bembo by Bianca Capello, the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. These, however, do not deal with state affairs at all. The intimately

⁵⁰² Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. 5, 563–564.

⁵⁰³ Along with Bembo's assumed birth date Cigogna (vol. 5, 563) gives a list of his possible parents. Out of this list he judges Gaspare 'the doctor' to be the most probable one.

⁵⁰⁴ The work was not published by the author. Some of the chapters (not including the section quoted) were published in 1982 by Gino Benzoni and Tiziano Zanato as: Contarini, Nicolò, 'Delle istorie veneziane et altre a loro annesse', in *Storici e politici veneti del Cinquecento e del Seicento*, Storici, politici e moralisti del Seicento (Milan and Naples: R. Ricciardi, 1982) [10]. Three manuscript volumes containing the full text, formerly in the possession of Doge Marco Foscarini (1695–1763), are preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (shelf mark: Cod. 6177–6179) [9].

⁵⁰⁵ '[Fu] Tra la nobiltà un tale Francesco Bembo uomo vano di poco credito, molto profuso nel senso et angustissimo de' beni di fortuna, che nel progresso dell'età aveva ottenuto un Magistrato (era stato Provveditore sopra i Dazii) col quale per certo tempo aveva l'ingresso nel senato, essendo stato guadagnato da un principe d'Italia (il Granduca di Toscana), pigliò un stipendio da lui con propalarli secreti pubblici, e così continuò per il tempo del magistrato, che fu di due anni; ma uscito volendo seguitare per non perder il provento, lo fece in maniera tale che dimandando or a questo or a quello ciò che si facesse insidiosamente cavata qualche cosa la partecipava; scoperto e ritrovate le scritture non potendo più negare confessò, onde infamemente in pubblico fu fatto morire.' Quoted after Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni Veneziane*, vol. 5, 564 since the modern edition of the *Historie* does not contain the quoted passage and the manuscript was not available. English translation is of the author.

written letters rather convey a deep friendship between the Duchess and the poet and their shared appreciation for art.⁵⁰⁶

Cigogna mentions that Bembo's penitential sonnets were first published in Venice in 1595, an edition that has not survived.⁵⁰⁷ The text has been preserved in a Mantuan 1596 edition and two reprints from 1625. These dates show that the work was published at the end of Bembo's life, possibly at a time when he was already undergoing trial or awaiting the death sentence. As the overview given in section 5.1.4 and Table 5.5 make clear, the form chosen by Bembo was not the most popular one for paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms. The lack of popularity for this form is most probably due to the restrictions imposed by it – a paraphrase in sonnet form would always have to be 14 eleven- or seven-syllable verses long, which causes problems considering the original psalms differ in length. The Penitential Psalms are on average 16 verses long, but in liturgical psalmody practice each verse is divided into two half-verses of an unlimited number of syllables. If the verse is particularly long, an additional line break is added thus making each verse more than one line of text in length. As a result, all seven Penitential Psalms are longer than the sonnet form allows, so the poet would be forced either to be very selective with the content or to artificially stretch it and distribute one psalm between several sonnets. Angelo Grillo, the one other author who wrote his paraphrases in sonnet form, opts for the second solution. In his *Lagrima del penitente* (1593) one sonnet corresponds to one psalm verse. This decision increases the overall number of sonnets in the cycle from 7 to 177 and thereby introduces a large amount of freely composed material. Bembo settles upon the first solution and ruthlessly cuts the psalm texts. While the eight-verse Psalm 129 can be retained almost in its entirety, the contents of the twenty-nine-verse Psalm 101 are almost cut by half.

Knowing that Bembo had to cut a great deal makes it particularly interesting to see what he decided to retain. The first and most obvious part to retain are the opening lines of each psalm. A faithful rendition of these lines is necessary in order to make the model psalm recognisable.⁵⁰⁸ Bembo's other choices regarding the content might seem random at first glance: sometimes he skips only half of a verse, sometimes several verses. As Pietrobon has convincingly argued, the key to understanding why Bembo

⁵⁰⁶ See Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni Veneziane* vol. 5, 564–566.

⁵⁰⁷ Martin Morell believes that the date 1595 given by Cigogna must be wrong since other sources he has consulted give 1596 as the date of the Venetian edition. It is possible that 1595 is a *more Veneto* date. See Morell, 'Introduction', footnotes 7 and 9.

⁵⁰⁸ See Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete', 234.

chose specific verses while omitting others lies in the awareness of the overall structure the poet works towards. Each sonnet is meant to delineate a passage from sin and suffering to forgiveness and grace.⁵⁰⁹ While Angelo Grillo's sonnets represent an extended meditation on the Penitential Psalms, Bembo's work is a set of condensed and straightforward invocations of God's mercy.

The themes of sin and forgiveness emphasised by Bembo are present in the original Penitential Psalms. The psalms usually begin at the 'worst' point of the speaker's state and end on a more positive note. However, between these two states there is no clear logical sequence. Bembo condenses the material of each psalm and orders it as a clear sequence of motifs leading from sin to redemption. He removes any thematic repetitions and metaphors that contribute no new content. Bembo's selectiveness with the content is exemplified by his paraphrase of Psalm 31 rendered in Table 5.6, where the sections of the psalm retained by Bembo are printed in bold, the shortened sections in italics. As expected, Bembo leaves the first verse of the psalm unaltered. However, he shortens verse 2 and completely cuts verses 3 and 4. These, although they contain beautiful descriptions of the speaker's state, distract from the theme of sin which is the main theme of the first quatrain of the sonnet. The other important theme is the remission of sin. The turn from sin to forgiveness takes place in the second quatrain. The material is taken from verses 5 and 6 of the psalm, but Bembo cuts short the repetitious wording of the original. The first tercet is reserved exclusively for verse 7, which is a call for redemption. The second tercet has to fit in the last four verses of the psalm that comprise a total of 10 lines of text. Bembo completely cuts verses 8 and 9 containing the comparison of the sinner to a horse or mule and skips directly to the admonition in verse 10. He also shortens verse 11, condensing the material into half a line.

Bembo's paraphrase keeps relatively close to the ideas of its model but one can still find instances of the poet's own interpretation of the biblical text. He changes or adds some words in order to underscore ideas that are important to him. For example, he reinforces the ideas of damnation and redemption and gives them a Catholic touch.

⁵⁰⁹ "The poet styles the biblical text in a way that captures the penitential essence of each psalm. [He does this] by outlining in every sonnet the individual phases of the passage from the state of sin to the state of grace through confession, penance and Divine Forgiveness" ('Il poeta opera una stilizzazione del testo biblico che cattura l'essenza penitenziale di ogni salmo, riproponendo in ciascun sonetto le singole fasi del trapasso dallo stato di peccato allo stato di grazia attraverso la confessione, il pentimento e il perdono divino', *ibid.*, 233).

Table 5.6: Psalm 31 in the Vulgate and in Francesco Bembo's *Sette sonetti penitentiali* (Mantua: Francesco Osanna, 1596).

Vulgate	Translation (New Revised Standard Version)	Bembo, <i>Sette sonetti</i> (1595)	Translation
1. Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata.	1. Happy are those whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.	Beati quci, ch'ottengono perdono Delle lor colpe e degli eccesi loro: E beati non meno anco coloro, Di cui coperti i rei peccati sono.	Blessed are they who obtain pardon Of their faults and excesses, And no less blessed are they For whom their guilty sins are covered.
2. <i>Beatus vir cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum, nec est in spiritu eius dolus</i>	2. <i>Happy are those to whom the Lord imputes no iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no deceit.</i>		
3. Quoniam tacui, inveteraverunt ossa mea, dum clamarem tota die.	3. While I kept silence, my body wasted away through my groaning all day long.		
4. Quoniam die ac nocte gravata est super me manus tua, conversus sum in ærumna mea, dum configitur spina.	4. For day and night your hand was heavy upon me; my strength was dried up as by the heat of summer.		
5. <i>Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam meam non abscondi. Dixi: Confitebor adversum me injustitiam meam domino; et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei.</i>	5. <i>Then I acknowledged my sin to you, and I did not hide my iniquity; I said, 'I will confess my transgressions to the Lord,' and you forgave the guilt of my sin.</i>	Feci a te noto il mio delitto; e in dono Me l'hai rimesso: ond'io via più t'adoro. Per questo a te Signor del sommo Choro, Ogni Santo orerà nel tempo buono.	I have made plain to you my crime, and in return You have absolved me of it, and so I adore you yet more. For this to you, Lord of the supreme hosts, Shall every saint pray at the opportune time.
6. Pro hac orabit ad te omnis sanctus in tempore opportuno. Veruntamen in diluvio aquarum multarum, ad eum non approximabunt	6. Therefore let all who are faithful offer prayer to you; at a time of distress, the rush of mighty waters shall not reach them.		

<p>7. Tu es refugium meum a tribulatione quæ circumdedit me; exsultatio mea, erue me a circumdantibus me.</p>	<p>7. You are a hiding place for me; you preserve me from trouble; you surround me with glad cries of deliverance.</p>	<p>Tu, mio refugio, e mia letizia vera, Libera mi Dio mio, che? tutto puoi, Da' miei fieri nemici, anzi ch'io pera</p>	<p>You my refuge and my true happiness, Free me, my Lord, who can accomplish all, From my fierce enemies, lest I perish.</p>
<p>8. Intellectum tibi dabo, et instruam te in via hac qua gradieris; firmabo super te oculos meos.</p>	<p>8. I will instruct you and teach you the way you should go; I will counsel you with my eye upon you.</p>		
<p>9. Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus. In campo et freno maxillas eorum constringe, qui non approximant ad te.</p>	<p>9. Do not be like a horse or a mule, without understanding, whose temper must be curbed with bit and bridle, else it will not stay near you.</p>		
<p>10. Multa flagella peccatoris; sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit.</p>	<p>10. Many are the torments of the wicked, but steadfast love surrounds those who trust in the Lord.</p>	<p>Molti flagelli per gli errori suoi, Seguono il peccator. Ma chi in te spera Pietade ottien. Gioite or giusti voi.</p>	<p>Many scourges, for his errors, Follow the sinner. But who hopes in you Receives mercy. Rejoice then, ye just.</p>
<p>11. Latamini in Domino, et exsultate, iusti; et gloriamini, omnes recti corde.</p>	<p>11. Be glad in the Lord and rejoice, O righteous, and shout for joy, all you upright in heart.</p>		

The ‘enemy’ (‘inimicus’) from Psalm 142 is translated as the ‘infernal enemy’ (‘nemico infernal’).⁵¹⁰ In Psalm 50 the ‘hidden wisdom’ which God reveals to the speaker (‘you have taught me hidden wisdom’;⁵¹¹ ‘incerta et occulta sapientiae tuae manifestasti mihi’) is changed into ‘the path which leads to heaven’ (‘ma tu, ch’apri la via ch’al Ciel ne mena’, *Sette sonetti*, IV, 6). Although normally Bembo prefers cutting over adding content, he adds an extra line into his paraphrase of Psalm 142 in order to underscore hope in God’s redemption: ‘I entrust all to your mercy’ (‘Ma tutto al fine a tua pietà riseruo’, *Sette Sonetti*, VII, 7).

The poet is unusually generous when rendering the words ‘death’ or ‘hell’ in his paraphrase of Psalm 6. In the original psalm both words stand on their own. ‘For *in death* there is no remembrance of you; *in Sheol* who can give you praise?’ (‘Quoniam non est *in morte* qui memor sit tui; *in inferno* autem quis confitebitur tibi’, Psalm 6:(5)6).⁵¹² The Hebrew version of the same psalm uses the word ‘šə’wōl’ which denotes the realm of the dead, awaiting every person after their death, independently from how righteous their earthly life had been. The Vulgate uses the word ‘[mundus] infernus’ one of the words used by Pagan Romans to denote the underworld. In ancient Roman religion ‘infernus mundus’ or ‘inferi’ was not associated with any moral judgment similar to the Hebrew ‘šə’wōl’.⁵¹³ Only in Christian usage did this word began to denote the place of eternal punishment for sinners translated into English as ‘hell’. Bembo presents an intensified Christian interpretation of ‘in inferno’ by adorning words denoting ‘death’ and ‘hell’ with epithets. Death becomes ‘eternal and bitter’ and hell is full of ‘torments and anger’. Together with the additions of ‘powerful’ and ‘high’ to the word ‘Lord’ taken from verse 5, Bembo transforms the second quatrain of the sonnet, rendering vv. 5–6 of Psalm 6, into an emotionally charged cry for help:

Save it [i. e. this soul], you powerful high Lord,
Save it from the eternal bitter death,
For in hell, amidst torment and anger,
Who shall be able to lift their hearts to you?⁵¹⁴
(*Sette sonetti*, I, 5–8)

⁵¹⁰ Here and elsewhere the text of Bembo’s *Sette sonetti* is quoted from the copy preserved at the Biblioteca d’Arco in Mantua [75]. Unless otherwise stated, the translation is quoted from Morell, ‘Introduction’, xxii–xxviii.

⁵¹¹ Translation by the author.

⁵¹² Emphasis added by the author.

⁵¹³ See OLD, s.v. ‘Infernus, a, um’ and HAL, s. v. לִשְׁאוֹל.

⁵¹⁴ ‘Saluala tū possente alto Signore | Saluala *da l’eterno aspro morire*. | Che *ne l’inferno fra tormenti, & ire* | Chi fia, ch’a te possa leuar’ il core?’ Emphasis added by the author.

Another theme underscored by Bembo's additions is sin. In the paraphrase of Psalm 50 the words of the original psalm are rearranged in a way which leads to a triple repetition of the word 'peccato/peccator' ('sin/sinner').⁵¹⁵

Che sol dinanzi à te mio Dio *peccai*.
Nacqui in *peccato*, e *peccator*: tu'l sai'
(*Sette sonetti*, IV, 4–5)⁵¹⁶

The Latin psalm uses the synonyms 'iniquitas' and 'peccatum' thus weakening the polyptoton 'sinned-sin-sinner':

Tibi soli peccavi, et malum coram te feci;
[...]
Ecce in iniquitatibus conceptus sum,
et in peccatis concepit me mater mea.
(Psalm 50:(4a)6a.(5)7)⁵¹⁷

In Psalm 6 which originally does not use any word denoting sin at all, Bembo expands the simple 'have mercy on me'⁵¹⁸ ('miserere mei', Psalm 6:3) to 'have pity on my serious failings' ('habbi pietà del graue mio falire', *Sette sonetti*, I, 3). Moreover, in the same sonnet, the suffering of the speaker expressed in the phrase 'I am weary' ('laboravi' –, Psalm 6:(6)7) ('laboravi') is replaced by 'I have done penance' ('Penato ho', *Sette sonetti*, I, 9). In Psalm 142 the biblical line 'teach me the way I should go' ('notam fac mihi viam in qua ambulem', Psalm 142:8)⁵¹⁹ is reworded and expanded to include a more explicit reference to sin: 'Make known to me my fault, and your will' ('Fammi noto il mio fallo, e'l tuo volere', *Sette sonetti*, VII, 8).

Another idea that Bembo reinforces is that of personal devotion.⁵²⁰ In the paraphrase of verse (15)17 of Psalm 50 ('O Lord, open my lips, and my mouth will declare your praise' – 'Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam') the praise is turned into reverence and devotion: 'So I may adore you with yet more fervent *affection*'⁵²¹ ('Ond'io t'adori con più viuo affetto', *Sette sonetti*, VI, 11). The same can be observed at the beginning of the next tercet by Bembo's transformation of

⁵¹⁵ See Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete', 235.

⁵¹⁶ 'For before you only, my God, have I sinned. | I was born in sin, and a sinner am I, you know...'

⁵¹⁷ 'Against you, you alone, have I sinned, and done what is evil in your sight [...] Indeed, I was born guilty, a sinner when my mother conceived me.'

⁵¹⁸ Translation by the author.

⁵¹⁹ Translation by the author.

⁵²⁰ See Pietrobon, 'La penna interprete', 235.

⁵²¹ The translation suggested by Martin Morell for the word 'affetto' is 'emotion'; however, it seems more likely that in this case Bembo means 'affection' rather than 'emotion'.

the impersonal ‘sacrifice’ (‘sacrificium’, Psalm 50:(17)19) into a personal act of devotion: ‘Thus will I be able constantly to dedicate myself to you’ (‘Così potrò me stesso ogn’hor sacrarti’, *Sette sonetti*, IV, 12). Similar alterations can be found in the paraphrase of Psalm 129. The incipit ‘De profundis’ (‘Out of the depths’) is translated as ‘From the depths of my heart’ (‘Dal profondo del core’, *Sette sonetti*, VI, 1). Later on in the psalm, the words ‘let Israel hope in the Lord’⁵²² (‘speret Israel in Domino’, Psalm 129:6) are translated as ‘Thus the world shall ever be devoted to you’ (‘così’l Mondo à te ogn’hor divoto fia’, *Sette sonetti*, VI, 11). Bembo extends the notion of Israel onto the whole of humanity and collective hope is substituted with personal reverence. The most striking changes occur at the end of the same sonnet. In the original Psalm 129 the last two lines read as follows:

For with the Lord there is steadfast love, and with him is great power to redeem. | It
is he who will redeem Israel from all its iniquities.⁵²³
(Psalm 129:7–8)

In the Old Testament the circumstances from which God delivers Israel are expressed with the rather general word ‘iniquities’. Bembo’s wording is more precise as it specifies these circumstances as the sinfulness of the speaker:

Everyone has found compassion in you,
Redeemer of Israel. Who forgets you not,
Is changed through you from sinner to blessed.⁵²⁴
(*Sette sonetti*, VI, 12–14)

By juxtaposing sin and redemption, Bembo adds a personal dimension to the last line. The references to personal devotion are further reinforced by the condition he imposes on the person seeking redemption: he has to remain faithful to God.

While its concise format and relative fidelity to the biblical psalms makes Bembo’s cycle suitable for devotional purposes, the title presents it as a set of sonnets, not as a set of psalms.⁵²⁵ The *Sette sonetti* is a simple and yet an intricately crafted work. Its author aims for a maximum of content and affect using the simplest means possible, which, according to Sara Springfield, conforms with the ideals pursued in the sonnet

⁵²² Translation by the author.

⁵²³ ‘Quia apud Dominum misericordia, | et copiosa apud eum redemptio | Et ipse redimet Israel | ex omnibus iniquitatibus ejus’.

⁵²⁴ ‘Misericordia ogniuno in te ha trouato, | Redentor d’Israel. Chi non t’oblia | Diuien per te di peccator beato.’

⁵²⁵ See Pietrobon, ‘La penna interprete’, 233–234.

form.⁵²⁶ The inclusion of the poetic genre in the title of the cycle shows that the form mattered to Bembo. He chose the sonnet form despite the fact that it was one of the least convenient forms for paraphrasing the psalms. One possible reason for such a choice is literary ambition. The sonnet is one of the most important forms of Italian lyric poetry extensively used by Petrarch and zealously pursued by Petrarch's imitators. It can be encountered in almost every sixteenth-century Italian poetic anthology or complete works edition. It is thus a worthy challenge to render the essence of the psalms in a form that is both so limiting and so obliging. Moreover, in the sixteenth century the sonnet had become a means of social discourse within educated society. Sonnets were written to congratulate, to honour, to commemorate and even to criticise others. There was a fashion of extemporising sonnets.⁵²⁷ Knowing this, it is impossible to overlook amidst the sinner's calls for redemption the pledge of the imprisoned Bembo himself.

5.2.2 Giovanni Croce

Giovanni Croce was born in 1556⁵²⁸ in Chioggia, a small town located on the southern shore of the Venetian lagoon. From the name of his hometown Croce derived the nickname 'Chiozzotto' found on the title pages of many editions of his works. He began his professional life as a contralto in the choir of San Marco, where he was possibly taught by Gioseffo Zarlino,⁵²⁹ also a native of Chioggia. Croce settled in Venice – he seems never to have travelled abroad, and the Basilica of San Marco remained the main stage for his musical career throughout his life. In the early 1590s he was made *vicemaestro di cappella*.⁵³⁰ In 1603, on the death of Baldassare Donato, and six years before his own death, he reached the highest point of his career being made *maestro di cappella* of

⁵²⁶ Sara Springfeld, *Modi di cantar sonetti: Italianische Sonettvertonungen bis ins 17. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: heiBOOKS, 2018), online edition, 33–34 (accessed 9 February 2019).

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵²⁸ According to Laura Davey, 'The Life of Giovanni Croce', PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1998, 9. This date is based on the record of his ordination as subdeacon on 21 September 1577 at the age of 21. It is only one of several suggested Croce's dates of birth. A good overview of the suggested dates is given by Lilian Putz in *Die Tonsymbolik im Madrigalwerk Giovanni Croces*, Grazer musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1976), 7.

⁵²⁹ See Davey, 'The Life of Giovanni Croce', 28–29. According to Davey (p. 3), there is no proof of Croce being a pupil of Zarlino's, other than the mention of Zarlino as his 'most honourable and never sufficiently praised Master' ('mio honoratissimo & non mai a pieno lodato Maestro') in the dedication of the *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* [100] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1585/6).

⁵³⁰ See Giovanni Croce, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* [105] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1592). The title page of the collection refers to him as the 'Vice Maestro di Cappella della Serenissima Signoria di Venetia in S[an] Marco'. According to Davey (*ibid.*, 24), *vicemaestro di cappella* was a nominal rather than an official role since it is not mentioned in the records of San Marco.

San Marco.⁵³¹ However, his ability to fulfill his duties to a high standard was increasingly impaired by illness.⁵³² His death is recorded in the *Libro dei morti* of San Marco with the date 16 May 1609.⁵³³

Croce was a prolific composer with more than twenty collections covering several different genres published during his lifetime as well as a number of posthumous publications (see work list in Table 8.9 in Appendix A). Some of the works were reprinted several times. In addition to publications of his own music, his compositions featured in numerous anthologies of the time. In his early years Croce published only secular music starting with his *Primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1585/6). His first sacred collection, the *Compietta a otto voci*, was published in 1591 by Giacomo Vincenzi, the music publisher with whom Croce collaborated from 1588 until the end of his life. The *Sette sonetti penitentiali*, Croce's only cycle of spiritual madrigals, was published in his early years as the *vicemaestro di cappella* at San Marco (1596/7). Apart from the *Sette sonetti*, only three other spiritual madrigals composed by him were published as part of two collected works.⁵³⁴

5.2.3 The Dedicatée and Some Unanswered Questions Related to the Work

Croce's musical setting is dedicated to Cinzio Aldobrandini (1551–1610), also known as the Cardinale di San Giorgio after the patron saint of his diaconate. Aldobrandini was the cardinal nephew of the reigning pope Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini, r. 1592–1605) and officially acted as the secretary of the Papal State. Although initially a favourite of the pope, he later started losing his influence, becoming overshadowed by his younger cousin Pietro (1571–1621). In early 1597, when the *Sette sonetti* was published, the rivalry between the two papal nephews was reaching its climax. It culminated in 1598 with the annexation of Ferrara to the papal state – a personal victory of Pietro Aldobrandini winning him even more favour in the papal court. Pietro's achievement was marked by his triumphant entry into Ferrara. For Cinzio, by then reduced in standing, the duty of attending the triumph of his competitor was deeply

⁵³¹ He was elected *maestro di cappella* on 13 July 1603 and presented to the Doge six days later (ibid., 48–49).

⁵³² Denis Arnold, 'Croce, Giovanni', in GMO (accessed 19 March 2019); Davey, 'The Life of Giovanni Croce', 49–50.

⁵³³ Davey, ibid., 50.

⁵³⁴ *Musica spirituale composta da diversi eccellentissimi musici a cinque voci* [47] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1586) and *Delli pietosi affetti del molto Rever.do Padre D. Angelo Grillo monaco cassinese posti in musica da diversi reverendi & eccellentissimi autori a cinque voci* [29] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1598). For more details about the three other spiritual madrigals, see Morell, 'Introduction', vii–x.

humiliating. Offended, he fled his office and settled near Venice, where he attempted to build alliances against the Papacy. The pope, however, managed to make peace with him and persuaded him to resume his office in 1599.⁵³⁵

The dedication of the *Sette sonetti* states that it was Croce's well-thought-out choice to dedicate the collection to Cinzio Aldobrandini:

...since I have been compelled to put this work in print by many who have heard it, I contemplated for a few days under whose protection it should appear since it is by this means rather than any other that I wanted the expertise of others and my own labour to be dignified. Thus, I have pondered and I have decided to publish it under the protection of your most illustrious Lordship, to my great satisfaction and joy.⁵³⁶

Despite this solemn statement praising the cardinal's virtues, a more probable reason why the collection was offered to him seems to have been his generous patronage from which several other poets and musicians had already profited. Just two years before Croce, Luca Marenzio had dedicated his *Sesto libro de Madrigali a cinque voci* [176] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1594) to the cardinal. In 1600 Aldobrandini's friends and protégés united their efforts and honoured him with the *Tempio all'Illustrissimo et reverendissimo Signor Cinthio Aldobrandini* [241] (Bologna: Heirs of Giovanni Rossi), a decorative print of almost four hundred pages containing an impressive number of poems praising Aldobrandini in Italian, Latin and Ancient Greek. Along with many lesser-known figures the collection contains a few poems by celebrities such as Battista Guarini (1538–1612) or Angelo Grillo (1557–1629). What the collection does not contain, is any contribution by Francesco Bembo or Giovanni Croce. And elsewhere, there is nothing connecting either of the authors to Aldobrandini apart from Croce's dedication of the *Sette sonetti*.⁵³⁷

It is not completely clear how Croce came to setting Bembo's sonnets to music. The reason stated in the dedication sounds not very convincing. The passage in question is likely to draw on *loci communes* appropriate to the dedication of a co-authored work. It praises the quality of Bembo's text and expresses Croce's wish to do justice to this text in his setting:

⁵³⁵ Elena Fasano Guarini, 'Aldobrandini, Cinzio', in DBIO, vol. 2 (accessed 19 March 2019).

⁵³⁶ 'Non dimeno perche da molti, che hanno vdito quest'opera, io sono grandemente astretto à darla in luce, son ito più giorni tra me stesso pensando sottoqual nome ella douesse vsire, & essere protetta: desiderando di honorar più con questo, che con altro mezzo, & la virtù d'altri, & la fatica mia. Onde ho pensato, e terminato farlo nella persona di V[ostra] S[ignoria] Illustrissima & Reuerendissima con mia grandissima satisfatione, & allegrezza'. Here and further quoted from the copy of Croce's *Sette sonetti* preserved in the Biblioteca Ariosteia in Ferrara [112]. In this and the following quotation, the English translation is the author's.

⁵³⁷ See Morell, 'Introduction', ii–iii.

Having seen the new and acclaimed work on the seven penitential sonnets by the most renowned Francesco Bembo; due to the sweetness and nobility of the verse, the devotion and gravity of its subject, and the important difficulties that he had to overcome in order to attain such a praiseworthy result, I found the work so commendable that I long endeavoured to receive it as a gift and to set it to music. This has finally happened. I have given my best to pay tribute not only to the courtesy but also to the spiritual and delightful work of this gentleman.⁵³⁸

Having said this, it cannot escape notice that the author of the dedication puts extreme effort into highlighting the value of Bembo's sonnets, to the degree that it pushes Croce's musical settings, the object that is actually being dedicated, into the background. Apart from the praises given in the dedication, another particularity of the edition that ensures that Bembo's contribution does not remain unnoticed are the texts of the sonnets printed on a separate page preceding each setting. This is an unusual choice, which must have raised the printing costs significantly. The texts are more likely to be printed on a separate page in editions intended as gifts, such as the *Lavro secco* (Ferrara, 1582), a wedding gift to the Ferrarese court singer Laura Peverara. These characteristics suggest that presenting Bembo's sonnets was at least an equally important aim of the edition as presenting Giovanni Croce's musical endeavours.

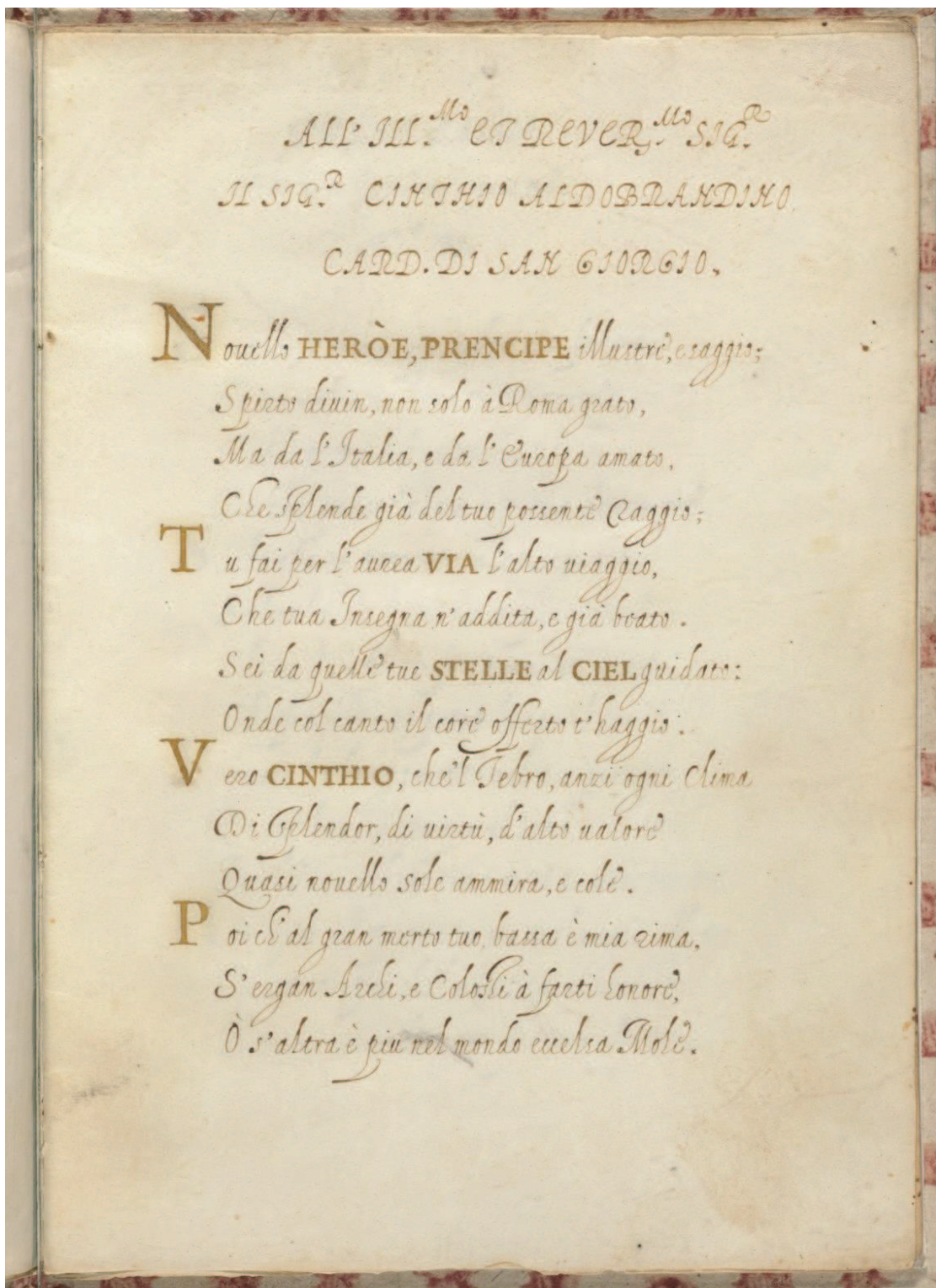
An interesting piece of evidence in the puzzling story of the *Sette sonetti* is preserved at the Houghton Library of the Harvard University. The object in question is a richly decorated manuscript bearing the date 1595 on its title page.⁵³⁹ The manuscript consists of nine vellum leaves containing the texts of the seven sonnets by Bembo and a panegyric sonnet honouring Cinzio Aldobrandini (see Figure 5.2). This suggests that the lavish manuscript was intended as a gift to the cardinal.⁵⁴⁰ Moreover, the same panegyric sonnet is reprinted in both editions of Croce's madrigal cycle, thus clearly linking the manuscript with the printed edition. Unfortunately, it has not been established who the sponsor of the manuscript was. The library accounts for its provenance only as far back

⁵³⁸ 'Veduto ch'io hebbi la nuoua, & com[m]endata opera delli sette Sonetti Penitentiali del Clarissimo Sig[nore] Francesco Bembo; la giudicai così degna & per la dolcezza, e nobilità della poesia, & per la deuotione, e grauità del contenuto, & per l'importanti difficoltà, per le quali ogniuno conosce essere stato necessario passare per peruenire à così lodato fine; che io ho lungamente procurato di hauerla in dono per metterla in Musica, si come finalmente m'è successo: honorando più che per me è stato possibile, non solo il fauore, ma la spirituale, & diletteuol fatica di questo Signore.'

⁵³⁹ Shelf mark: MS Typ 191 [8].

⁵⁴⁰ Morell ('Introduction', iv) takes the manuscript as evidence that the text of the *Sette sonetti* was in Aldobrandini's possession prior to Croce dedicating his musical setting to him.

Figure 5.2: Francesco Bembo, *Ridvttione delli sette Salmi penitentiali in sette sonnetti*, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., MS Typ 191. (manuscript, 1595): page with the sonnet honouring Cinzio Aldobrandini.⁵⁴¹



⁵⁴¹ This and the following image are taken from the facsimile available from the digital collections of the Houghton Library [8] (accessed 15 February 2019).

as the nineteenth century.⁵⁴² The only difference between the manuscript and the printed edition is that instead of the subtitles denoting the seven cardinal vices, the manuscript contains the Latin incipits and the numbers of the psalms paraphrased in each sonnet (see Figure 5.3). The dedication of the first text-only edition of Bembo's cycle might provide the missing piece of the puzzle, but, unfortunately, no surviving copy of it has been discovered yet, and the second edition has no dedication.⁵⁴³

A further argument in favour of the assumption that the set of Penitential sonnets was presented to Cinzio Aldobrandini on behalf of Francesco Bembo with a hope that the cardinal would intervene and save him from execution, is that there was one other poet coeval with Bembo whom Aldobrandini had helped in difficult circumstances. This poet was Torquato Tasso. Aldobrandini offered his patronage to Tasso in 1593 when the latter was wandering around Italy struggling to find an income after having recently spent seven years in an insane asylum.⁵⁴⁴ It is possible that Bembo, encouraged by Tasso's luck, nurtured hopes of receiving help from the cardinal. The penitential character and the condensed format of the work make it very suitable as an appeal for protection. However, Bembo's reputation as a poet was much humbler than Tasso's, which explains why he would have sought collaboration with somebody like Giovanni Croce who was already a reputed musician at the time.⁵⁴⁵

Unluckily for Bembo, his attempts to be saved from execution were unsuccessful. It is likely that Cinzio Aldobrandini did not want to intervene in an internal Venetian affair.⁵⁴⁶ Moreover, 1595 was not the ideal time to disturb the cardinal with such issues since at this time he had enough concerns about his own problems at the Roman Curia and the ongoing rivalry with his cousin. It remains unclear what role Croce and his spiritual madrigal cycle played in this story. It is possible that Bembo commissioned him to set the sonnets to music and thus make them more attractive to cardinal Aldobrandini, although one cannot entirely reject the possibility that Croce

⁵⁴² The earliest ownership inscription is by Gaetano Bozzolini from 1828. See Harvard Library catalogue entry <http://id.lib.harvard.edu/alma/990095934360203941/catalog> (accessed 2 January 2019).

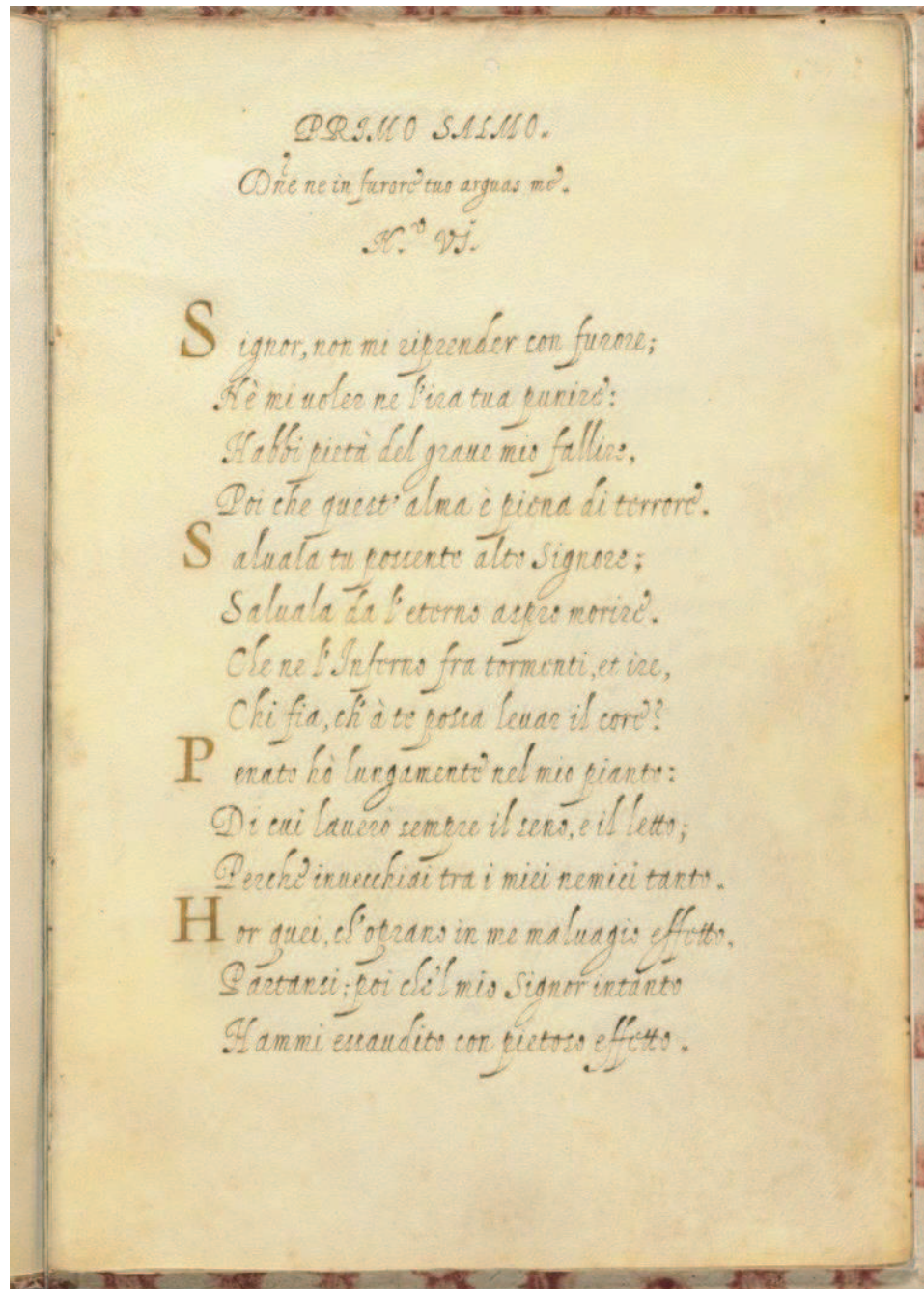
⁵⁴³ See Morell, footnote 9 to the 'Introduction'.

⁵⁴⁴ Roberto Fedi, 'Torquato Tasso', in Enrico Malato (ed.) *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 5 (Roma: Salerno, 1997), 236; also see Morell, 'Introduction', ii.

⁵⁴⁵ The theory that the publication of Croce's setting of Bembo's sonnet cycle was intended to help the poet improve his situation is also espoused by John Morehen although he credits Laura Davey for the idea. See Morehen, 'Introduction', in Giovanni Croce, *Musica Sacra (1608)*, ed. John Morehen, English Madrigalists (London: Stainer & Bell, 2003) [127], iv.

⁵⁴⁶ See Morell, 'Introduction', iv.

Figure 5.3: Francesco Bembo, *Ridvttione delli sette Salmi penitentiali in sette sonnetti*, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., MS Typ 191. (manuscript, 1595): the first sonnet.



simply came across Bembo's new penitential cycle and found it attractive for experimenting with vernacular religious music. The fact that the dedicatee of these sonnets was a rich cardinal who had a reputation of generous spending on the arts, was certainly advantageous when searching for funding for the new project. Adding subtitles which presented the sonnets as an antidote to the seven cardinal vices was a way to increase the market value of the work .

5.2.4 The Music of the *Sette sonetti*

As far as their musical form and scoring are concerned, Croce's *Sette sonetti* do not display any unusual features. The bipartite structure used throughout the cycle is very common among madrigals based on sonnets from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.⁵⁴⁷ Nor is the six-voice texture extraordinary – there are many late sixteenth-century madrigal collections written for six voices, including Croce's own *Primo Libro de Madrigali a sei voci* [103] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1590). This texture seems to have been the preferred one in Italian Penitential Psalm settings. It was chosen by Andrea Gabrieli for his *Psalmi Davidici, qui Poenitentiales nuncupantur* (1583) and by Innocenzo Alberti for his *Salmi penitentiali* (1594). The practice was continued by Orfeo Vecchi, who also wrote his Penitential Psalm settings (1601) for six parts. As in many other six-part collections of the time, the *Sette sonetti* is composed for the regular *a voci piene* ensemble and two added voices, one of which is in the Tenore range, while the other shares the Tenore range in some of the pieces, the Canto in others (see Table 5.7).

More interesting is the tonal organisation of the cycle. The succession of final chords, key signatures and ranges used suggests a modal ordering. This alone would not be unusual among Penitential Psalm settings. Indeed, there are many examples of modal ordering among them. However, Croce's final chord succession differs from the usual succession chosen by other composers. Table 5.8 compares the 'tonal types'⁵⁴⁸ of Gabrieli's *Psalmi Davidici* (1583), three modally ordered German Penitential Psalm settings (1570, 1584, 1586) and the *Sette sonetti* (1596/7). It cannot escape notice that in Croce's cycle the fifth and the seventh madrigals both have A as the lowest note of their final chord, which is unusual for a representation of the fifth and the seventh modes. In the other cycles listed in the table, Psalm 101 ends on F⁵⁴⁹ and Psalm 142 on G.

There are two possible explanations to the irregularities of Croce's succession of final chords. The first explanation could be that the similarities between the *Sette sonetti* and modally ordered Penitential Psalm motet cycles are a coincidence and that Croce did not intend to allude to any succession of modes. However, it would need a remarkable coincidence for five out of seven pieces in a cycle without modal ordering to

⁵⁴⁷ Springfield, *Modi di cantar sonetti*, 150 (accessed 9 February 2019).

⁵⁴⁸ Powers' 'tonal types' seem to be the most convenient method of summarising the main characteristics that inform about the pitch hierarchies within a composition so that these can be compared in table format, so Tables 5.8 and 5.9 will make use of them.

⁵⁴⁹ The only exception is Gabrieli's setting, which ends on C. But in his case, it is merely a transposition of the mode: as can be seen from the use of clefs that are lower than usual and the combination of finals for *partes* of the psalm: C/G/C/G/C.

Table 5.7: Contents of Giovanni Croce's *Sette sonetti penitentiali* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7).

Madrigal No	Length in Breves	Key Signature	Lowest Note of the Final Chord	Clefs (C, A, T, B, Q, S)
1	84	♮	D	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4, C4
2	83	♭	G	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4, C4
3	78	♮	A	G2, C2, C3, F3, C3, G2
4	88	♮	E	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4, C1
5	65	♭	A	G2, C2, C3, F3, C3, C3
6	73	♭	F	C1, C3, C4, F4, C4, C1
7	81	♮	A	G2, C2, C3, C4, C3, G2

display 'tonal types' identical with those found in modally ordered cycles. The second and more likely explanation is that the harmonic organisation of the *Sette sonetti* is indeed meant to represent a succession, but the principle behind this succession differs somewhat from the principle determining the arrangement of the above-mentioned Latin Penitential Psalm cycles. This explanation is corroborated by the fact that the 'problematic' endings of the fifth and the seventh madrigals can be found in positions five and seven of ordered cycles; only these cycles are ordered not by mode but by psalm tone. The first place where one can find an identical or almost identical succession of 'tonal types' is in cycles of polyphonic *Magnificat* settings. Table 5.9 compares the 'tonal types' found in the *Sette sonetti* with those found in Croce's *Magnificat omnium tonorum* [123] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1605) and in Palestrina's *Magnificat octo tonum. Liber Primus* [219] and [220] (Rome and Venice: Gardano, 1591). The table shows that the 'tonal types' of Croce's *magnificats* are identical with those of his *Sette sonetti*, except for tone 1 which is transposed. In Palestrina's *Magnificat* settings, it is only the transposition of tone 1 and the absence of the B flat in tone 5 that make up the difference.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁵⁰ Michael Procter also notes that the 'tonal types' of the *Sette sonetti* match those in polyphonic settings of the *Magnificat* and he names Orlande de Lassus' *magnificats* as another source displaying the use of final A in tone 7, but he does not further elaborate on the topic. See Procter, 'Modal organisation of the *Sette Sonetti* – a note by Michael Procter', in Giovanni Croce, *Sette Sonetti Penitenziali and Sacred Madrigals*, ed. Martin Morell, Quatercentenary edition of the sacred music of Giovanni Croce (Weingarten (Baden): Edition Michael Procter, 2010), 175.

Table 5.8: Comparison of 'tonal types' in Alexander Utendals's *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (Nuremberg: Dietrich Gerlach, 1570), Andrea Gabrieli's *Psalmi Davidici, qui Poenitentiales nuncupantur* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1583), Orlande de Lassus' *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales, modis musicis redditi* (manuscript, 1565; Munich: Adam Berg, 1584) and Jacob Reiner's *Cantionvm piarvm, septem psalmi poenitentiales tribvs vocibvs* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1586) with Giovanni Croce's *Sette sonetti penitentiali* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7).

Psalm No	Utendal (1570)		Gabrieli (1583)		Lassus (1565/1584)		Reiner (1586)		Croce (1596/7)	
	Tonal Type	Mode Represented	Tonal Type	Mode Represented	Tonal Type	Mode Represented	Tonal Type	Mode Represented	Tonal Type	Mode Represented
6 (I)	High b G	1(transp.)	High b G	1 (transp.)	Low h D	1	High b G	1 (transp.)	Low h D	1
31 (II)	Low b G	2(transp.)	Low b G	2 (transp.)	Low b G	2 (transp.)	Low b G	2 (transp.)	Low b G	2 (transp.)
37 (III)	Low h E	3	Low h E	3	Low h E	3	Low h E	3	High h A	3
50 (IV)	Low b A	4 (transp.)	High b A	4 (transp.)	Low h E	4	Low h E	4	Low h E	4
101 (V)	High h F	5	Low h C	5 (transp.)	High b F	5	High b F	5	High b A	?
129 (VI)	Low h F	6	Low b F	6	Low b F	6	Low b F	6	Low b F	6
142 (VII)	High h G	7	High h G	7	High h G	7	High h G	7	High h A	?

Table 5.9: Comparison of ‘tonal types’ in Giovanni Croce’s *Sette sonetti penitentiali* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7), his *Magnificat omnium tonorum* (Venice, 1605) and in Palestrina’s *Magnificat octo tonum* (Venice, 15910).

	Giovanni Croce <i>Sette Sonetti</i> (1596/7) (6vv)		Giovanni Croce <i>Magnificat omnium tonorum</i> (1605) (6vv)		Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina <i>Magnificat octo tonum</i> (1591) (4vv)	
Psalm No	Tonal Type	Mode Represented	Tonal Type	Tone	Tonal Type	Tone
6 (I)	Low ♯ D	1	High ♭ G	1	High ♭ G	1
31 (II)	Low ♭ G	2	Low ♭ G	2	Low ♭ G	2
37 (III)	High ♯ A	3	High ♯ A	3	High ♯ A	3
50 (IV)	Low ♯ E	4	Low ♯ E	4	Low ♯ E	4
101 (V)	High ♭ A	5	High ♭ A	5	High ♯ A	5
129 (VI)	Low ♭ F	6	Low ♭ F	6	Low ♭ F	6
142 (VII)	High ♯ A	7	High ♯ A	7	High ♯ A	7

Another choral music genre based on psalm tones is the *falsobordone*, chordal psalm recitation mainly performed in alternation with psalm verses recited in traditional monodic way. While the *falsobordone* originated as a simple harmonisation of monodic psalm recitation tones, it began to move away from its plainchant roots. At the end of the sixteenth century, the tone of a *falsobordone* setting could better be recognised from its final chord and key signature than from its melodic material.⁵⁵¹ Table 5.10 compares the succession of the lowest notes of the final chord and key signatures in the *Sette sonetti* with the most popular combinations of lowest notes of the final chord and key signatures found in late sixteenth-century *falsobordoni*. Also here, one finds a strikingly high level of correspondence.

The reason why polyphonic music written in psalm tones does not always build its final chords on the same note as music written in the modes that the tones derive from is that in polyphonic psalm tones the final chord is determined by the final note of the underlying psalm recitation model, the *differentia*, which is not always the same as the

⁵⁵¹ Murray C. Bradshaw, ‘The History of the Falsobordone from Its Origins to 1750’, PhD. diss., University of Chicago, 1964, 2, 126.

Table 5.10: Comparison of the lowest notes of the final chord and key signatures in Giovanni Croce's *Sette sonetti penitentiali* (Venice, 1596/7) and those typical in late sixteenth-century *falsibordoni*.⁵⁵²

Giovanni Croce's <i>Sette Sonetti</i> (1596/7)		Late Sixteenth-Century <i>Falsibordoni</i>	
Madrigal No	Lowest Note and Key Signature	Lowest Note and Key Signature	Tone
1	♮ D	♮ D	1
2	♭ G	♭ G	2
3	♮ A	♮ A	3
4	♮ E	♮ E	4
5	♭ A	♮ or ♭ A or F	5
6	♭ F	♭ F	6
7	♮ A	♮ A	7

final of the mode.⁵⁵³ Beside the *differentia*, another touchpoint between a polyphonic psalm recitation model and its monodic ancestor is the middle cadence (*mediatio*), which comes at the end of the first hemistich of the psalm verse. Also here, the final chord of the polyphonic version tends to reflect the concluding note of the monodic *mediatio*.⁵⁵⁴ Keeping in mind that polyphonic psalm tones exhibit a two-hemistich structure, which repeats the tonal framework of monodic psalm tones, it is worth examining whether the *Sette sonetti* mimic polyphonic psalm tone settings only in their final chords or also in their 'medial cadences'. Since all seven madrigals consist of two *parti*, there is no difficulty in determining where the end of the presumed first hemistich would be. Table 5.11 compares the lowest notes of the chords ending the first *parte* in the *Sette sonetti* with the lowest notes of the chords most frequently used to end the first hemistich in *falsobordone* settings. The resulting correspondence is four cases out of seven; however, if one considers the second most popular final chords in tones 2 and 6 (given in brackets in the table) the correspondence is six out of seven. And even the E is attested as the lowest note of the final chord of tone 3 in two *falsobordone* settings.

⁵⁵² Data based on Bradshaw, 'History of the Falsobordone', table 3, pp. 124–125. The original table provides a systemised list of final chords and key signatures found at structurally important points of 300 *falsibordoni* taken from one manuscript and three printed collections dating from between 1594 and 1601. I quote only the most frequently used final chords and key signatures for each tone, except tone 5, where two kinds of final chord and key signature were equally popular.

⁵⁵³ See Wiering, *The Language of the Modes*, 76–77. Wiering notes the difference between psalm tones and modes numbered 5 and 7 quoting the advice given by Adriano Banchieri in the 'Esame sopra gli tuoni and modi' found in the *Cartella musicale* [74] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1614).

⁵⁵⁴ Except for tone 6, where C and F are more popular than the actual median A, and tone 7, which tends to have its final chord on A instead of E. See Bradshaw, 'History of the Falsobordone', table 3, pp. 124–125.

Table 5.11: Lowest notes of the final chords of the first *parti* in Giovanni Croce's *Sette sonetti penitentiali* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7) compared to those most frequently used to end the first hemistich in *falsobordone* settings.⁵⁵⁵

Giovanni Croce's <i>Sette Sonetti</i> (1596/7)		Late Sixteenth-Century <i>Falsibordoni</i>	
Madrigal No	Lowest Note of the Chord Ending the <i>Parte Prima</i>	Lowest Note of the Chord, Ending the <i>Mediatio</i>	Psalm Tone
1	A	A	1
2	D	B flat (D)	2
3	E	C	3
4	A	A	4
5	C	C	5
6	F	C (F)	6
7	A	A	7

The results of the comparison lead to the conclusion that the large-scale pitch organisation of the *Sette sonetti* follows that of late sixteenth-century polyphonic psalm recitation models. This might seem surprising for a cycle of madrigals, but appears a much more obvious choice for a cycle consisting of psalm paraphrase settings. It would be tempting to seek correspondence between polyphonic psalm recitation models and the *Sette sonetti* also on the smaller-scale level; however, this could lead to unnecessary speculation, knowing the difference of length and complexity. A *falsobordone* setting can accommodate only two lines of text (two hemistichs of a psalm verse), a big part of which is recited on a single chord, whereas the madrigals of the *Sette sonetti* contain fourteen lines of text and often use imitated soggetti as means of presenting it. Of course, the *Sette sonetti* also contains homophonic passages, some of them even similar to chordal psalm recitation, but the chords used vary and do not necessarily correspond to those expected of the recitation chords of the same tone. In general, the madrigal as a genre dictates more freedom, a greater tonal variety and a closer attention to the text content than liturgical psalm recitation, which is built around repetition.

As far as the musical style in which the madrigals of the *Sette sonetti* are written is concerned, it is firmly rooted in the Venetian madrigal tradition. It displays stylistic elements, such as contrasts between slow and fast passages and word painting, that can be found also in Willaert's *Musica nova* [272] (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1559), Andrea Gabrieli's *Primo libro a cinque voci* [144] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1566) or Croce's own secular madrigals. However, there are also signs suggesting that the *Sette sonetti* could

⁵⁵⁵ Based on the same table in Bradshaw.

evoke parallels to Penitential Psalm motet repertoire among listeners versed in this kind of music thus putting on display Croce's knowledge of the common musical vocabulary used in Penitential Psalm settings. These signs can be observed at the beginnings of madrigals based on the two best-known psalms, the *Miserere* (IV) and the *De profundis* (VI). In musical settings of the *Miserere*, recitation on repeated notes followed by a semitone step upwards is a *topos* in the opening *soggetto*. It can already be found in Josquin des Prez' setting composed between 1503 and 1504 (Example 5.1),⁵⁵⁶ where the *soggetto* starts with a repeated B3 leading to C4. Repeated notes and a semitone step can be also found in Gabrieli's setting of the psalm (1583, Example 5.2) as well as in two settings composed in Germany by Alexander Utendal (1570, Example 5.3) and Orlande de Lassus (1584, Example 5.4). Croce also makes use of the same *soggetto*, but in a different texture. Other composers use repeated notes with a semitone step as the melody presented for imitation, but in Croce's fourth sonnet, they appear as the top voice (Quinto) of a three-part homophonic passage which gives way to imitation based on a different *soggetto* (Example 5.5).

Example 5.1: Incipit of the fourth Penitential Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus*, as set by Josquin des Prez, bars 1–11.⁵⁵⁷

The image shows a musical score for the incipit of the fourth Penitential Psalm, 'Miserere mei, Deus', by Josquin des Prez, bars 1-11. The score is in C major, 4/4 time, and features five vocal parts: Superius, Altus, Tenor primus, Tenor secundus, and Bassus. The lyrics are: 'Mi - se - re - re me - i, de - us'. The Tenor secundus part includes the lyrics 'Mi - se - re - re me - i, de - us' and 'Mi - se - re - re me - i, de - us'. The Bassus part includes the lyrics 'de - us'.

⁵⁵⁶ For the dating of the work see Patrick Macey, et al., 'Josquin des Prez, §10: Works: canon and chronology', in *GMO* (accessed 26 March 2019). For the transmission see Josquin des Prez, *Motets on Texts from the Old Testament* (vol. 18), ed. Leeman L. Perkins, New Josquin Edition (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2011), XVI.

⁵⁵⁷ Quoted from Leeman L. Perkins' edition [231].

Example 5.2: Incipit of the fourth Penitential Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus*, as set by Andrea Gabrieli in *Psalmi Davidici, qui Poenitentiales nuncupantur*, (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1583) *psalmus quartus*, bars 1–7.⁵⁵⁸

Musical score for Example 5.2, showing the incipit of the fourth Penitential Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus* as set by Andrea Gabrieli. The score is for four voices: Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are: "Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us" for Cantus, Altus, and Tenor, and "Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us se - cum -" for Bassus.

Example 5.3: Incipit of the fourth Penitential Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus*, as set by Alexander Utendal in *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (Nuremberg: Dietrich Gerlach 1570), *psalmus poenitentialis quartus*, bars 1–6.⁵⁵⁹

Musical score for Example 5.3, showing the incipit of the fourth Penitential Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus* as set by Alexander Utendal. The score is for four voices: Discantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The lyrics are: "Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us mi - se" for Discantus, "Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us De - us" for Altus, "Mi - se - re - re me - i De - us" for Tenor, and "Mi - se - re - re me - i" for Bassus.

Example 5.4: Incipit of the fourth Penitential Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus*, as set by Orlande de Lassus in *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales, modis mvsicis redditi* (manuscript, 1565; Munich: Adam Berg, 1584), *quartus psalmus poenitentialis*, bars 1–6.⁵⁶⁰

Musical score for Example 5.4, showing the incipit of the fourth Penitential Psalm *Miserere mei, Deus* as set by Orlande de Lassus. The score is for five voices: Discantus, Altus, Tenor, Quintus, and Bassus. The lyrics are: "Mi - se - re - re me - i, De -" for Discantus, "Mi - se - re - re me - i, De -" for Altus, "Mi - se - re - re me - i, De - us," for Tenor, "Mi - se - re - re, me - i, De - us," for Quintus, and "Mi - se - re - re me - i, De - us," for Bassus.

⁵⁵⁸ Here and further quoted from Denis Arnold and David Bryant's edition [145].

⁵⁵⁹ Unless otherwise stated, all transcriptions from A. Utendal's *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* are made by the author from the digital facsimile [256]. There exists, however, a published modern edition by Stefan Schulze (1985) [257] which was not used because it halves the note values, which would not conform with the other music examples used.

⁵⁶⁰ Here and further quoted from Horst Leuchtman's edition (1995) [161].

Example 5.5: The opening of the fourth sonnet in Giovanni Croce's *Li Sette Sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7), IV, bars 1–4.

The musical score for Example 5.5 shows six vocal parts: Canto, Sesto, Alto, Quinto, Tenore, and Basso. The music is in G major (one sharp) and common time. The lyrics are: 'Ab - bi di me, Si - gnor, di me, Ab - bi di me, Si - gnor, di me, Ab - bi di me, Si - gnor, ab - bi di me, S - gnor, di me, Si - gnor, Ab - bi di me, Si - gnor, di me,'.

At the beginning of the sixth Penitential Psalm, two key phrases determine the music: 'de profundis' ('from the deep') and 'clamavi' ('I cried'). The first phrase is usually set to music with a downward leap, for obvious reasons. This is then contrasted by an upwards leap in the second phrase. For example, in Utendal's setting (1570), the melody falls a fifth or an octave on 'de profundis' and leaps or ascends on 'clamavi' (Example 5.6). A similar use of leaps can be found in Lassus' setting (1565/1584); only the leaps occur not in every voice part (Example 5.7). Gabrieli (1583) omits the downward leap. He starts at the bottom of the particular part's range and leaps up on the word 'clamavi' (Example 5.8). Croce's setting exploits the *topos* to the full by introducing a downward leap on 'dal profondo' and an upward leap on 'gridai' in all parts (Example 5.9).

Example 5.6: Setting of the incipit 'De profundis' in Alexander Utendal's *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (Nuremberg: Dietrich Gerlach, 1570) (*psalmus poenitentialis sextus*, bars 1–7).

The musical score for Example 5.6 shows four vocal parts: Discantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in G major (one sharp) and common time. The lyrics are: 'De pro - fun - dis, (de pro - fun - dis) cla - ma - vi, De pro - fun - dis, (de pro - fun - dis) cla ma vi, cla - ma - vi ad te, De pro - fun - dis, (de pro - fun - dis) cla ma - vi, cla - ma - vi, (cla ma vi) De pro - fun - dis, (de pro - fun - dis) cla ma - vi, cla - ma -'.

Example 5.7: Setting of the incipit ‘De profundis’ in Orlande de Lassus, *Psalmi Davidici poenitentiales, modis mvsicis redditi* (manuscript, 1565; Munich: Adam Berg, 1584), bars 1–4.

Discantus
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi

Altus
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi ad

Tenor
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi ad

Quintus
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi

Bassus
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi ad te,

Example 5.8: Setting of the incipit ‘De profundis’ in Andrea Gabrieli’s *Psalmi Daudici, qui Poenitentiales nuncupantur*, (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1583), *psalmus sextus*, bars 1–7.

Cantus
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi ad te Do - mi - ne

Altus
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi ad te Do - mi - ne

Tenor
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma -

Bassus
De pro - fun - dis cla - ma - vi

Example 5.9: Opening of the sixth sonnet in Giovanni Croce’s *Li Sette Sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7), VI, bars 1–5.

Canto
Dal pro - fon - do del co - re, del co - re a te gri - dai: Si - gnor,

Sesto
Dal pro - fon - do del co - re, del co - re a te gri - dai, a te gri - dai: Si -

Alto
Dal pro - fon - do del co - re, del co - re a te gri - dai: Si - gnor, a te gri -

Quinto
Dal pro - fon - do del co - re a te gri - dai: a te gri - dai: Si -

Tenore
Dal pro - fon - do del co - re a te gri - dai: Si - gnor, a te gri - dai, Si -

Basso
Dal pro - fon - do del co - re a te gri - dai: Si -

At the same time as keeping Latin Penitential Psalm settings in mind, Croce enlivens his *sonetti* with instances of word painting typical of the madrigal, for example, a series of melismas on the word ‘rugge’ (‘it roars’, *Sette sonetti*, III, bars 34–40) that illustrate the intensity of the speaker’s tears. Further examples of word painting are the use of coloration with the words ‘non ha piu lume’ (‘no longer have light’, III, bars 50–52),⁵⁶¹ the introduction of drastically shorter note values than for the preceding text on the word ‘quickly’ (‘velocemente’, VII, bar 46) and the use of slow descending lines for the words ‘my sorrowful cries’ (‘a miei dogliosi lai’, VI, bars 13–20). However, all in all, Croce is not over-generous with word painting. His setting is as reserved as Palestrina’s setting of the *Priego alla Beata Vergine*.

One notable instance of word painting in the *Sette sonetti* is the only chromatic soggetto of the cycle. It can be found in the sixth sonnet over the text ‘if you make me worthy of your pity’ (‘se tu di tua pietà degno mi fai’, *Sette sonetti*, VI, bars 32–38). In his secular madrigals, Croce usually resorts to chromaticism when he wants to emphasise words associated with suffering (‘cruda’/‘cruel’, ‘doglie’/‘pains’, etc.).⁵⁶² In the *Sette sonetti*, however, it is used to draw attention to a passage with a positive meaning: ‘But who shall harm me If you make me worthy of your pity?’ (‘Ma chi mi noce, Se tu di tua pietà degno mi fai?’, *Sette sonetti*, VI, bars 29–42). The only explanation for the use of a descending chromatic line in the above-mentioned passage is that the word ‘pity’ is taken out of its context to function as a cry for help.

An emphasised cry for help can be found in two more madrigals of the cycle, but the method employed there is combining homophonic texture with the voluminous sound of the full choir. Both times the words are the same: ‘Ah, do not abandon me’ (‘Deh non mi abbandonar’, III, bars 63–67 and V, bars 49–51). In the example from the third madrigal, the cry for help is additionally emphasised through the rests in all parts that cut it off from the previous passage. Similar full-choir homophonic or quasi-homophonic passages can be found towards the end of every *seconda parte*. These set to music the last verse of each sonnet or, at least the first half of it. Tasso’s text in these verses usually speaks of God’s mercy or the speaker placing himself at God’s disposal: ‘Has heard me with compassionate emotion’ (‘Hammi esaudito con pietoso affetto’, I, 78–84), ‘Received mercy’ (‘Pietade ottien’, II, bars 74–78), ‘Is a contrite heart given to

⁵⁶¹ This instance of word painting could also be borrowed from Penitential Psalm motets – Utendal uses the same *locus communis* in his setting of the corresponding passage of the third Penitential Psalm (‘et lumen oculorum meorum’ – ‘and the light of my eyes’, *Psalmus poenitentialis tertius, secunda pars*).

⁵⁶² See the list of chromatic passages in Putz, *Die Tonsymbolik*, 139.

you in sacrifice' ('È il cor contrito in sacrificio darti', IV, bars 82–88), 'Is changed through you [from sinner to blessed]' ('divien per te', VI, bars 64–65), 'For indeed [I too am] your humble servant' ('poi che tuo servo humil', VII, bars 71–75). Thus, Croce makes sure that the idea of the need and hope for redemption does not go unnoticed in his setting.

To sum up the discussion, one can say that although Croce composed the *Sette sonetti* as madrigals, he was well aware of the existence of Latin Penitential Psalm settings. By incorporating some elements known from these settings, such as the use of characteristic incipits, he displayed his mastery of musical vocabulary representative of Latin Penitential Psalm motets. Moreover, the allusion to psalm tones in the overall structure of the *Sette sonetti* sets up a link to liturgical psalmody. This shows how conscious Croce was of the fact that the sonnets he was setting to music were not just poetry but also a paraphrase of the Penitential Psalm cycle and how aware he was of the different musical styles the Penitential Psalms could be associated with. In his cycle, Croce managed to combine the influences from three different vocal music genres without making the music of his spiritual madrigals over-complicated. It is possible that Croce hoped that the *Sette sonetti* would attract audiences through its all-in-one concept: being relaxed as the madrigal, but still offering some of the textual and musical content expected from a Penitential Psalm motet as well as a touch of sacrality provided through a subtle allusion to liturgical psalmody.

5.3 The *Sette sonetti* Outside Italy

5.3.1 The Nuremberg Edition

Just three years after its publication, the *Sette sonetti* was translated for the first time. The Latin version appeared in Nuremberg in 1599 under the title *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* [118]. The print is dedicated to Georg Gruber (before 1585–1631), a Nuremberg merchant. It was published by Paul Kauffmann, a printer specialising in translated versions of Italian vocal music. However, Kauffmann's editions published in collaboration with the composer and arranger Valentin Hausmann were normally translated into German rather than Latin.⁵⁶³

The name of the translator responsible for the *Septem psalmi* is not disclosed – it is printed neither on the title page nor in the preface to the book. On the title page the

⁵⁶³ See Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 9.

translator is identified simply as a ‘certain lover of music’ (‘amator quisdam mvsicæ’). The way the dedicatee is addressed (‘to his friend’/‘amico suo’) suggests that the social rank of the translator was not lower than his, and the words with which the dedication is signed (‘yours whom you know well’/‘tuus quem benè nosti’) give an impression that the two individuals were familiar. Martin Morell speculates that this mysterious translator could be Johannes Ingolstetter (1563–1619). He bases his assumption on a handwritten inscription containing Ingolstetter’s name found on the dedication page of the Cantus part of the copy of the *Septem psalmi* preserved in the British Library (Music Collections D.25).⁵⁶⁴ Ingolstetter was the pro-rector of a college in Amberg, a town about 70 kilometres east of Nuremberg, from 1587 until 1601 when he assumed the post of the city physician. He had received his education from the University of Altdorf, where he studied classics, theology, philosophy and medicine.⁵⁶⁵

What led Morell to considering Ingolstetter’s authorship is probably the unusual placement of the inscription on the British Library copy – directly under the signature ‘yours whom you know well’ as if somebody had supplied the missing name of the author (see Figure 5.4). The fact that Ingolstetter was resident near Nuremberg at the time when the Latin translation appeared, possessed a copy of the book, and would have been sufficiently erudite to be able to translate the poems makes him seem a good candidate. However, as tempting as Morell’s suggestion is, it is a risky assumption. It is not clear whether the inscription is supposed to indicate ownership (as Morell assumes) or whether it is one of the book’s previous owners’ suggestion regarding the author of the translation, which does not necessarily have to be correct. If the inscription is indeed meant to indicate the owner of the part book, it is an unusual one, for it appears only on one out of six part books and is placed underneath the dedication and not in a more conspicuous place such as underneath the title.⁵⁶⁶

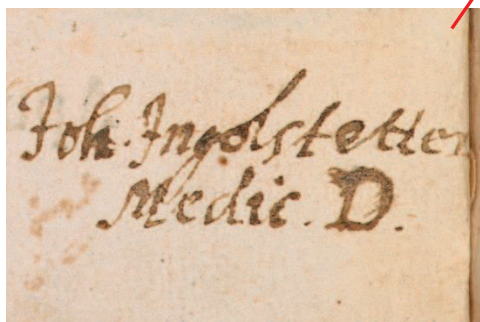
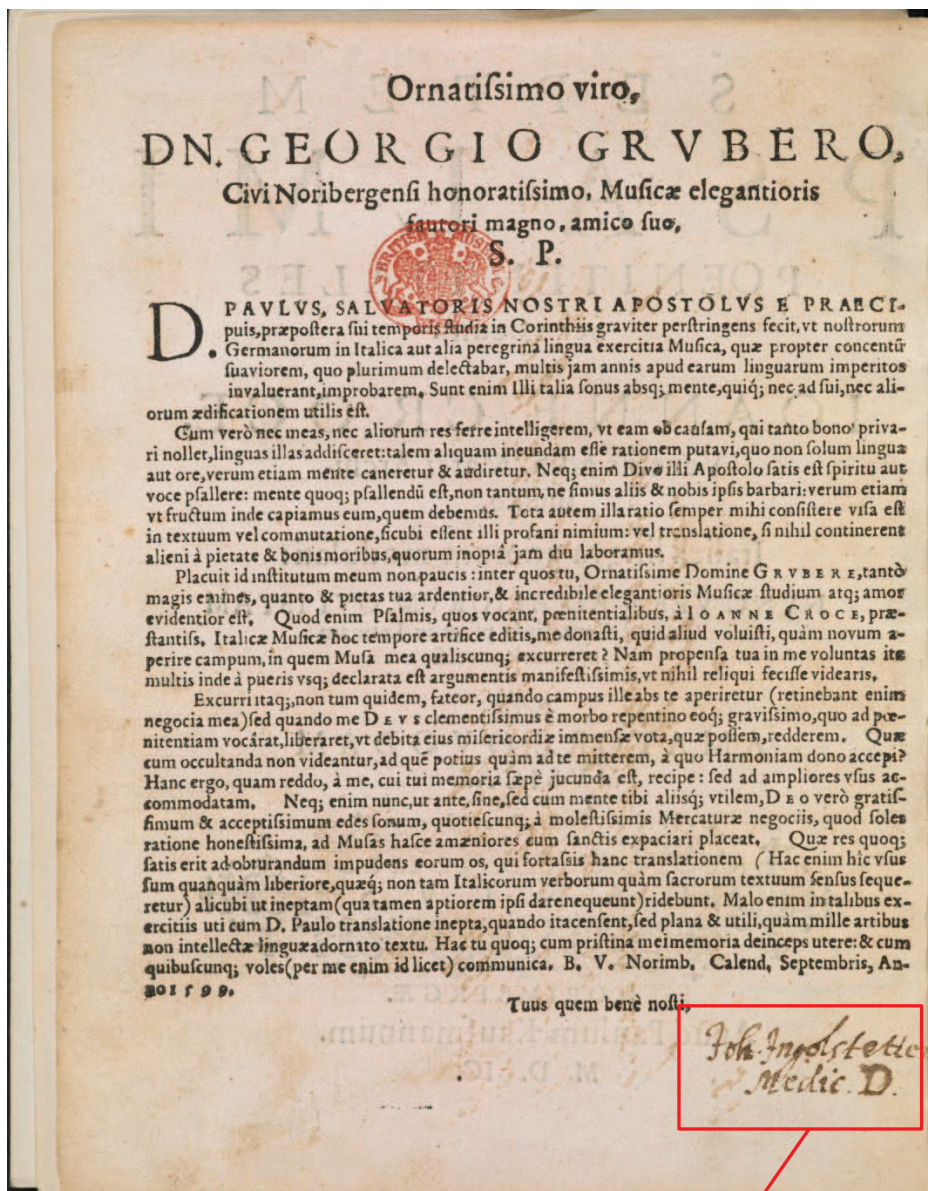
One may well wonder about what it was that motivated the anonymous translator to carry out this work, or for that matter, why Kauffmann, Gruber, or anyone else would have commissioned such a translation. Logically, Kauffmann’s decision to publish the *Septem psalmi* could have been motivated either by a hope of financial profit, or instigated by the will of a sponsor willing to cover the publication costs – in this case,

⁵⁶⁴ Morell, ‘Introduction’, vi.

⁵⁶⁵ Melchior Adam, *Vitae Germanorum medicorum* ([Frankfurt:] Heirs of Jonas Rosa and Heidelberg: Johann Georg Geyder, 1620), 447–448.

⁵⁶⁶ This usually has been the case with other ownership inscriptions I have seen, see for example, Figure 3.2 on p. 128.

Figure 5.4: Dedication page with ownership inscription in GB-Lbl D.25.⁵⁶⁷



⁵⁶⁷ Image provided by the Imaging Services of the British Library. Reproduced with permission.

most probably the dedicatee of the print. As far as financial profit is concerned, there were two factors that could increase sales: the popularity of the poet or the composer and the popularity of the format, be it the spiritual madrigal or Penitential Psalm settings.

Not much can be said about the possible will of the dedicatee as there is little information on Georg Gruber's biography or aesthetic preferences. He is known to have had a connection to Venice through his trade and he is also known to have been friends with Giovanni and Andrea Gabrieli,⁵⁶⁸ but there is no evidence that connects him to Croce, nor is anything known about Gruber's devotional preferences. Whether the Latin translation of the *Sette sonetti* was Gruber's initiative or whether he was persuaded by somebody else to sponsor the project, must remain in the realm of speculation.

The popularity of the poet is very unlikely to have been a significant reason behind the international success of Croce's work. Bembo was not well-known as a poet even in Italy, so he could hardly have been popular in Germany. The popularity of the composer seems more convincing. The Italian madrigal was well-known and valued in Germany. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, many Italian madrigal prints were offered at the Frankfurt book fair. Moreover, several anthologies and single-author editions of Italian madrigals were issued by local publishers.⁵⁶⁹ There were also German reworkings for those music lovers that did not understand Italian.⁵⁷⁰ Nuremberg was the home of what is perhaps the best-known anthology of Italian vocal music published in southern Germany, the three volumes of the *Gemma musicalis* edited by Friedrich Lindner (Nuremberg: Katharina Gerlach, 1588 [31], 1589 [32], 1590 [33]). This suggests that Croce was not a completely unknown composer in Germany. However, he does not seem to have been very popular either. Only one piece written by him can be found in the *Gemma musicalis* (in the second volume, 1589), which is nothing compared to the 45 pieces by Luca Marenzio or the 29 by the Gabrieli brothers. The choice of Croce's piece selected for the anthology shows little interest in the composer as such. It is the spiritual madrigal *Ecco l'alma beata a cui dono* which was originally published not by Croce himself but in an anthology called *Musica spirituale composta da*

⁵⁶⁸ Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music*, 68.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 46. For a list of German publications containing Italian-texted music between 1541 and 1577, see the table in *ibid.*, 47–48.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

diversi eccellissimi musici a cinque voci (Venice, 1586).⁵⁷¹ The reason for Croce's lack of popularity in Germany was probably the fact that he was active only in Venice. The German audiences were more interested in international celebrities, such as Marenzio, or composers who had some connection to Germany, such as the Gabrieli brothers who both served in south German courts for some time.⁵⁷²

The fact that the Penitential Psalms were so popular (among Catholics as well as Protestants) provides support for the argument that Kauffmann was motivated by the potential financial profits to be made from publishing Croce's work. In Calvinist communities psalm translations were used as lyrics for church hymns since non-scriptural hymns were not allowed.⁵⁷³ The Penitential Psalms themselves were used as devotional texts in all major Protestant churches. In Germany the Penitential Psalms appeared in prayer books such as Johannes Egolf von Knöringen's *Ein Christlich und nützlich Betbuchlein darin die syben Bußpsalmen* [136] (Würzburg: Hans Baumann, 1562) or in the form of published sermons such as Heinrich Roth's *Poenitentiale, Das ist die Sieben Bußpsalmen* [238] (Eisleben and Leipzig: Bartholomaeus Hörnig and Henning Grosse, 1597), which contains 33 sermons on the Penitential Psalms.

The music market was also familiar with Penitential Psalm settings. Kerchal Armstrong lists 5 settings of the Latin text and two settings of German paraphrases published in the period between 1570 and 1600.⁵⁷⁴ By the time the *Septem Psalmi* appeared, Nuremberg had already seen the publication of two settings of the Penitential Psalms in Latin published by Paul Kauffmann's predecessors in the printing firm Dietrich and Katharina Gerlach.⁵⁷⁵ The prints in question are Alexander Uttendal's four-part *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* (1570) and Leonhard Lechner's five-part *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* [165] (Katharina Gerlach, 1587). The Nuremberg music lovers might also have known the three Latin cycles published by Adam Berg in Munich: Orlande de Lassus' *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales, modis musicis redditi* (1584), Jacob Reiner's *Cantionum piarum, septem psalmi poenitentiales tribus vocibus* (1586) and Georg Schwaiger's *Regii prophetae Davidis. Septem psalmi poenitentiales quinque vocibus* [240] (1588). Thus, similar to the Italian

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 63–64, 218.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, 68.

⁵⁷³ Charles L. Etherington, *Protestant Worship Music: Its History and Practice* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 99–100.

⁵⁷⁴ Armstrong, 'Musical settings of the Penitential psalm cycle, 3–6.

⁵⁷⁵ On Kaufmann and the Gerlachs see Susan Jackson, 'Berg and Neuber: Music Printers in Sixteenth-Century Nuremberg City', PhD diss., University of New York, 1998, 35.

madrigal, polyphonic Penitential Psalm settings had established audiences. The translation of the *Sette sonetti* was an attempt to unite the tradition of Penitential Psalm settings popular in the 1580s and the practice of translating and adapting Italian madrigals. The decision to publish *Sette sonetti* in a Latin rather than a German translation might have been an attempt to provide the publication with a political flexibility so necessary for the multi-confessional market of Southern Germany. The fact that the collection was in Latin, made it usable by Catholics, who were, at least in theory, forbidden to use vernacular versions of Scripture texts. At the same time, the Lutherans, especially ones with an education in classical languages, would have tolerated a Latin translation, even if official Lutheran ideology would have favoured German.

5.3.2 The London Edition

The English translation was first published by Thomas East⁵⁷⁶ in London in 1608 under the title *Musica sacra to sixe voices* [125]. The print has no specific dedicatee, just a general dedication ‘to the vertuous Louers of Musicke’, which is an indicator that the book was not a commission, but a commercial project. The project must have sold reasonably well since the collection was reprinted three years later, this time by Matthew and Humphrey Lownes [126].⁵⁷⁷ *Musica sacra* was the only complete cycle of Italian madrigals translated into English and the only foreign publication to be reprinted.⁵⁷⁸

Like the Latin edition, the *Musica sacra* does not reveal the identity of the translator. The only piece of information given about him are the initials R. H. found underneath the preface. The earliest suggestion regarding the translator’s identity was made by Joseph Kerman who proposed Robert Hole, the compiler of one of the earliest engraved music prints in England, the *Parthenia in-violata* [155] (London: John Pyper, 1614).⁵⁷⁹ Kerman’s hypothesis has been challenged by John Milsom, who suggests that the translator might have been the royal singer and lutenist Robert Hales (before 1583–c. 1615).⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁶ According to Morehen (‘Introduction’, v), the actual printer was East’s adopted son Thomas Snodham.

⁵⁷⁷ Regarding the exact name of the publisher of the second London edition, see *ibid.*, v.

⁵⁷⁸ Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), 42.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 67, note 5.

⁵⁸⁰ John Milsom, ‘Ludford and Croce (Review on Mass ‘Inclina cor meum deus’ and Antiphons by Nicholas Ludford and David Skinner; *Musica sacra* (1608) by Giovanni Croce and John Morehen)’, *Early Music*, 32/2 (2004), 336.

The same factors that could have contributed to Paul Kauffmann's idea of publishing a Latin translation can be considered for the English version, with the exception of the preferences of the dedicatee since the cycle is not dedicated to a particular person. Also, as in the case of the Latin translation, the popularity of Francesco Bembo as a poet is hardly an important factor. This leaves only two main factors to be interrogated – the popularity of the composer and the popularity of the format.

An examination of the composer's stature in England proves promising: Giovanni Croce was by no means an unknown name for English music lovers around 1600.⁵⁸¹ In the list of recommended composers contained in Henry Peacham's *Complete Gentleman* [204] (London: Francis Constable, 1622) (essentially, an early modern forerunner of lifestyle magazines) Croce is listed along with such names as William Byrd, Tomás Luis de Victoria and Luca Marenzio. In his introduction to the *First Booke of Songes or Ayres of Fowre Parties* [134] (London: Peter Short, 1597) John Dowland recalls meeting Croce in Venice and refers to him as the 'worthy maister'.⁵⁸² Translations of Croce's madrigals and canzonets can be found in several late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century anthologies of English madrigals.⁵⁸³

Even more can be discovered by looking into the fortune of the Penitential Psalms and their vernacular paraphrases. As in Germany, the Penitential Psalms were widely known in England and were popular in the devotional sphere.⁵⁸⁴ Moreover, there was a longstanding tradition of poetic paraphrases of the cycle. The practice began before the Reformation in the early fifteenth century. Two of the earliest examples are the Carmelite Richard Maidstone's⁵⁸⁵ and the Franciscan Thomas Brampton's poetic paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms.⁵⁸⁶ Another early example is Thomas Wyatt's *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of David* [273] (London: Thomas Raynald and John Harington, 1549). The work is a story of the king David's repentance after his adultery

⁵⁸¹ Morehen, 'Introduction', vi.

⁵⁸² Quoted from the preface *To the courteous Reader* of the digital copy of Dowland's *First booke of Songes or Ayres* [134].

⁵⁸³ Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal*, 42–43.

⁵⁸⁴ Hamlin, 'Sobs for Sorrowful Souls', 218–219. See also Costley King'oo, 'David's "Fruytfull Saynges"', 5.

⁵⁸⁵ Written in late fourteenth century, the book has been transmitted only in manuscript (27 copies survive): Hamlin, 'Sobs for Sorrowful Souls', 220; James H. Morey, *Book and Verse: A Guide to Middle English Biblical Literature* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 177–180.

⁵⁸⁶ Written around 1414, the book has been transmitted in manuscripts, 6 of which survive: Morey, *Book and Verse*, 180–182.

with Bathsheba⁵⁸⁷ interpolated with rewritings of the seven Penitential Psalms in an English imitation of the *terza rima*. Wyatt's paraphrases are very free and in many cases longer than the original Psalms, but the author always points out which Penitential Psalm is paraphrased and gives the Latin incipit of the psalm (see Figure 5.5).⁵⁸⁸

Some of the poetic paraphrases were written as sung metrical psalms, that is they provided simple strophic melodies thus giving their reader a choice between speaking and singing the psalm texts. Probably the best known example among these is the *Seven sobs of the sorrowful soule for sinne* [156] written by a gentleman of the Chapel Royal named William Hunnis. The book was first published by Henry Denham in 1583 and was reprinted thirteen times. Visually Hunnis' paraphrases are presented in a similar way to the biblical original: in numbered verses. However, Hunnis expands the content and adds a simple rhyme connecting every two adjacent verses. The plain monodic melody is notated only for the two first verses of the psalm and is supposed to be repeated in all the later verses (Figure 5.6).⁵⁸⁹ A paraphrase aimed at English Catholics was written by the Dutch-English Catholic exile Richard Verstegan. His *Odes In imitation of the seaven penitential psalmes* [267] was printed in 1601 by Arnout Coninx in Antwerp. Verstegan's edition does not provide any melodies, but the heading found above the paraphrase of the first psalm claims that the poems can be sung 'to so-many several tunes of Musick'.⁵⁹⁰ Each of the seven paraphrases is written in a different metrical form, some common to metrical psalms, some of them more unusual.⁵⁹¹

If Hunnis' and Verstegan's collections were written as works of poetry that could either be spoken or sung, the paraphrases constituting the opening section of William Byrd's *Songs of sundrie natures* [85] (London: Thomas East, 1589) were written as a musical work. Nevertheless, they were not aimed at top -skill musicians – the preface *To the courteous Reader* claims that 'any young practitioner in singing, with a little foresight,

⁵⁸⁷ The story is described in the Old Testament (2 Samuel, chapters 11–12). One day David sees the wife of one of his warriors bathing and decides to seduce her. He impregnates her and sends her husband to the front line in the war, hoping that he will be killed.

⁵⁸⁸ For more information on the work, see: Costley King'oo, 'David's "Fruytfull Saynges"', 92–112 and Hamlin, 'Sobs for Sorrowful Souls', 220–222.

⁵⁸⁹ On Hunnis, see Hamlin, 'Sobs for Sorrowful Souls', 227–228.

⁵⁹⁰ Quoted from the facsimile available from EEBO [267] (accessed 29 January 2019).

⁵⁹¹ See Hamlin, 'Sobs for Sorrowful Souls', 223. He notes that despite Verstegan's claim that his paraphrases were composed to existing tunes, some of the more unusual metrical schemes must have needed newly composed melodies.

Figure 5.5: Thomas Wyatt, *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of Dauid, commonly called thee .vii. penyentiaall psalmes* (London: Thomas Raynald and John Harington, 1549): opening with the beginning of the interpolation with Psalm 6.⁵⁹²

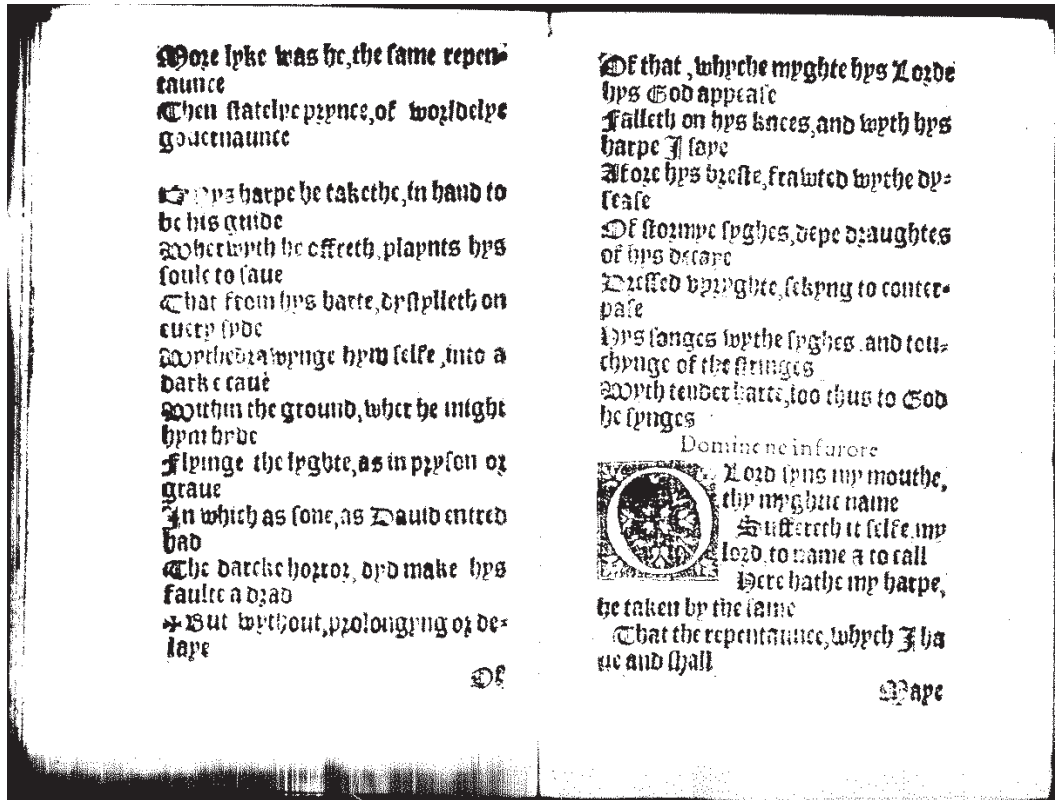
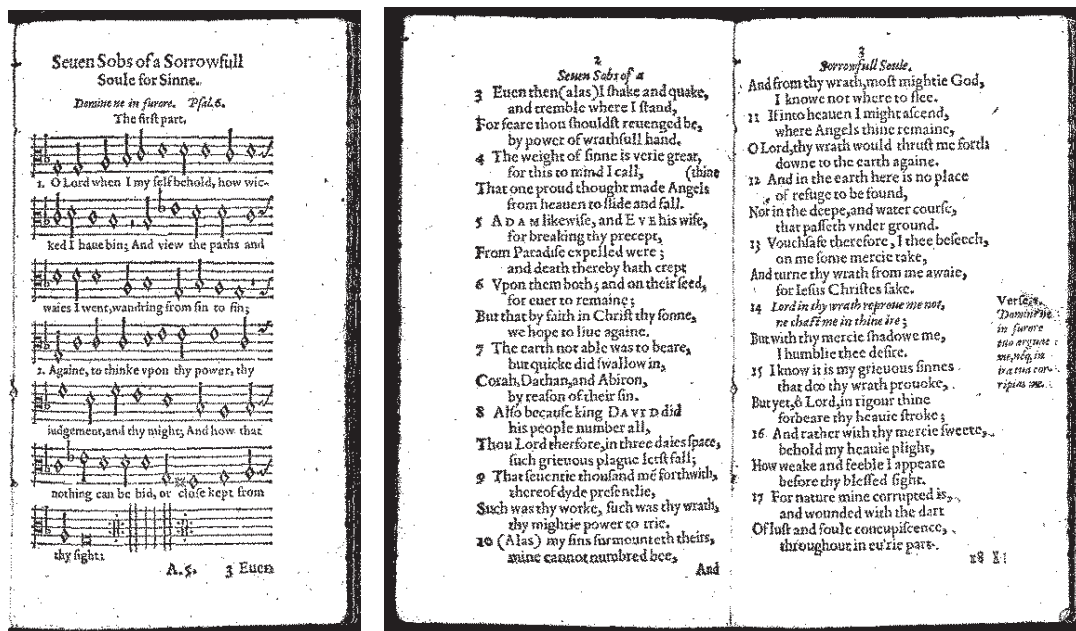


Figure 5.6: William Hunnis, *Seuen Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne. Comprehending those seuen Psalmes of the Princelie Prophet David* (London: Henry Denham, 1583): opening with the beginning of the paraphrase of Psalm 6.⁵⁹³



⁵⁹² Image from the digital facsimile available from EEBO (accessed 29 January 2019) [273].

⁵⁹³ Image from the digital facsimile available from EEBO (accessed 29 January 2019) [156].

may easily performe' all the pieces contained in the book.⁵⁹⁴ And indeed, the short three-part pieces do not seem complicated at all. The cycle is very uniform, all seven compositions are notated using the same combination of clefs (C1, C3, C4) all are in *cantus mollis* and all have either D or G as their final. The melody moves mainly in semibreves or minims and remains within the boundaries of the Dorian modes. There are no extreme rhythms or jumps. On top of the initial letter of each song there is an annotation indicating which Penitential Psalm is paraphrased along with the Latin incipit of the psalm (Figure 5.7). All other sections of the collection are predominantly secular and are ordered according to the number of parts. Byrd seems to have liked such a structure as he had previously chosen it for his *Psalmes, sonets, & songs of sadnes and pietie, made into musicke of five parts* published by Thomas East a year earlier [84], where the first section is dedicated to psalm paraphrases. The first eight pieces of the section paraphrase different popular psalms, while the last two are Penitential Psalms 6 and 129 in a different setting from that found in the *Songs of sundrie natures*.

All this points to the fact that the Penitential Psalms were a well-established source of material for both poetry and music. Upon its publication in England, the *Musica sacra* joined a flourishing market. Although its popularity did not come anywhere close to that of William Hunnis' *Seven sobs* with its thirteen reprints, it sold well. An additional bonus of the *Musica sacra* was that it did not merely offer a singable English version of the Penitential Psalms, but also bore the name of one of the nation's favourite Italian composers on its front page.

Figure 5.7: William Byrd, *Songs of sundrie natures* (London: Thomas East, 1589): opening of the first Penitential Psalm.⁵⁹⁵



⁵⁹⁴ Quoted from the facsimile available from EEBO [85] (accessed 1 February 2019). Also quoted in Hamlin, 'Sobs for Sorrowful Souls', 229.

⁵⁹⁵ Image from the digital facsimile available from EEBO (accessed 5 September 2017) [85].

5.3.3 Comparison of the Nuremberg and the London Editions

Looking at the two translated versions, it cannot escape notice that the poetic quality of the English translation is superior to the quality of its Latin counterpart. Indeed, in the dedication text of the Nuremberg edition, its translator declares that he was more concerned with correctly transmitting the biblical text rather than with producing a good-sounding poetic translation:

[The piety of the text] should be enough to shut the shameless mouths of those who might mock this translation (which I have allowed to be somewhat free and follow the content of the sacred texts rather than that of the Italian original) as unskillful. For I prefer [...] to produce a translation that is unskillful, so they judge, but a clear and useful one, rather than a text that has been adorned with a thousand fineries of a language that cannot be understood.⁵⁹⁶

One obvious indication of the plainness of the Latin translation in comparison to its English counterpart is the way it treats the poetic form. The Latin translation does not employ any rhyme scheme at all and even struggles to remain within the eleven syllables per verse, whereas the London version not only retains the sonnet form, but also creates a unique fusion of the Italian and the English sonnet, whereby it uses Italian tercet structure (efe fef instead of the English efe fgg) but adheres to the English practice in the quatrains by using an abba cddc scheme instead of the Italian abba abba.⁵⁹⁷

Looking in more detail, one discovers some nuances in the wording of the English translation that makes it a more attractive adaptation of the *Sette sonetti* than its counterpart from Germany. Since using Latin in a religious setting called for a certain *gravitas* in the sixteenth century, the Latin translation tends to moderate the more expressive passages of the Italian original. For example, in the fourth sonnet Bembo's own devotional interpretation 'Così potrò me stesso ognor sacrarti' ('Thus will I be able constantly to dedicate myself to you', *Sette sonetti*, IV, 12) is translated into Latin as 'Ita me tibi supplex dedicabo' ('Thus I will humbly dedicate myself to you').⁵⁹⁸ The idea of devotion is still recognisable in the Latin wording, but the intensity of the Italian original (particularly the words 'every hour' suggesting continuous devotion) are absent. Instead of continuity, the reader's attention is drawn to humbleness. In the English version, the

⁵⁹⁶ 'Quae res quoq[ue] satis erit ad obturandum impudens eorum os, qui fortassis hanc translationem (Hac enim hic vsus sum quanquam liberiore, quaeq[ue] non tamen Italicorum verbum quam sacrorum textuum sensus sequeretur) alicubi ut ineptam (qua tamen aptiorem ipsi dare nequeunt) ridebunt. Malo enim in talibus exercitiis uti [...] translatione inepta, quando itacensent (!), sed plana & utili, quam mille artibus non intellectae linguae adornato(!) textu.' Translation is by the author. Quoted from the British Library copy [118].

⁵⁹⁷ See John Morehen in 'Introduction', v.

⁵⁹⁸ Here and further, the Latin-English translations are by the author.

same line is translated as ‘And to thy service more and more endeavour’.⁵⁹⁹ The direct translation of the line is not faithful to the original, but the introduction of the word ‘endeavour’ captures the affective intensity of Bembo’s line much better.

In the first sonnet, the author of the Latin translation must have found Bembo’s description of the torments of hell either too expressive or too Catholic. As a result, he translates the line that means ‘For in hell, amidst torment and anger’ (‘Che nell’inferno fra tormenti ed ire’, *Sette sonetti*, I, 7) as the more neutral ‘For retained by the bonds of grave’ (‘Nam in sepulchri vinculis detentus’). It is possible that this translation goes back to the wording of the Vulgate, which also uses the word ‘death’ instead of ‘hell’: ‘For there is no one in death’ (‘Quoniam non est in morte qui’). The English version not only retains the motif of infernal suffering, but also reinforces it by the added metaphor of ‘frying’: ‘For who, in deep hell and fierce torments frying’.

Although the author of the Latin translation claims not to be concerned with following the wording of the Italian version, in some places he sacrifices the literary value in order to stay as close to the Italian text as possible. For example, he translates the Italian passage ‘Ch’in me sono confitte in ogni lato | Le tue saette’ (‘For in me, in my every side, are thrust your arrows’, *Sette sonetti*, III, 3–4) very faithfully and even retains the enjambment: ‘Nam in me sunt fixae, omni ex parte, | sagittae tuae’ (Example 5.11). The English translation is freer: ‘For in my flesh I feel thy fearful arrows’. It requires more rhythmic adaptations in the music and a repetition of the whole first half of the verse (Example 5.12) but it reads much better. Moreover, the chosen translation raises the emotional impact of the line by substituting the neutral ‘me’ with the synecdoche ‘flesh’. The enjambment between ‘I feel’ and ‘arrows’ goes lost in the English translation, but since the music composed for the fourth line (*Sette sonetti*, III, bars 11–14) is relatively uniform and the end of one verse is separated from the beginning of the other verse only through a rather short and unassertive cadence (bars 12–13, Example 5.10) the loss of the enjambment does not cause difficulties to the author of the English translation.

⁵⁹⁹ Here and further the texts of the English version are quoted from John Morehen’s edition [127], xi–xiv.

Example 5.10: Giovanni Croce, *Sette Sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7), III, bars 8–13: musical setting of verses 3–4 of the third sonnet.

Example 5.10 is a musical score for six voices: Canto, Sesto, Alto, Quinto, Tenore, and Basso. The music is in common time (C) and begins at bar 8. The lyrics are in Latin: "Ch'in me so - no con-fit - te in o - gni la - to Le tue sa-et - te, le tue sa - et - te, e al ben tua man mi". The vocal lines are arranged in a standard SATB format with a sixth voice part (Sesto) above the Alto. The Basso part is in the bass clef.

Example 5.11: *Septem psalmi poenitentiales Sex vocum* (Nuremberg: Paul Kaufmann, 1599) III, bars 8–13: Musical setting of verses 3–4 of the third sonnet.⁶⁰⁰

Example 5.11 is a musical score for six voices: Cantus, Sexta Vox, Altus, Quinta Vox, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in common time (C) and begins at bar 8. The lyrics are in Latin: "nam in me sunt in - fi - xae, om - ni ex par - te, sa - git-tae tu - ae, sa-git-tae tu - ae, pre - mit me ma-nus". The vocal lines are arranged in a standard SATB format with a sixth voice part (Sexta Vox) above the Altus. The Bassus part is in the bass clef.

Example 5.12: *Mvsica sacra to Sixe Voyces* (London: Thomas East for William Barley, 1608), III, bars 8–13: Musical setting of verse 3 of the third sonnet.

Example 5.12 is a musical score for six voices: Cantus, Sextus, Altus, Quintus, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in common time (C) and begins at bar 8. The lyrics are in English: "For in my flesh I feel, for in my flesh I feel thy fear - ful ar - rows; Thy hea - vy hand doth un - to good ness". The vocal lines are arranged in a standard SATB format with a sixth voice part (Sextus) above the Altus. The Bassus part is in the bass clef.

⁶⁰⁰ Here and further music examples from the Latin and the English version quote Martin Morell's edition [114].

In the last lines of the sixth sonnet Bembo deviates from the psalm text ‘It is he who will redeem Israel from all its iniquities’ (‘Et ipse redimet Israel ex omnibus iniquitatibus ejus’, Psalm 129:8). He rephrases it with more emphasis on personal redemption: ‘Who forgets you not is changed through you from sinner to blessed’ (‘Chi non t’oblia | Divien per te di peccator beato’, *Sette sonetti*, VI, 13–14). The Nuremberg translation ‘resets’ the psalm text to its original form. It reads as follows: ‘You will free the one who hopes in you from all obstacles’ (‘Qui sperat in te, | hunc liberas ex omnibus adversis’). The English translation happily embraces Bembo’s poetic interpretation and even emphasises the blessedness by adding ‘saint’, which has a similar meaning, and thus ‘doubles’ the original Italian expression: ‘Whom thou hast endeared | Becomes through thee of sinner saint and blessed’ (*Musica sacra*, VI, 13–14). By doing this, the English translation retains the idea of personal redemption.

Another point to be made to the credit of the English translation is that it is skillfully fitted to the music. The translated text does not seem to imitate any other English Penitential Psalm paraphrases. There are no obvious borrowings of wording from the King James nor from the Douay-Rheims versions of the Bible. The poetic choices of the translator are motivated by the demands of Croce’s music. In the passages where Croce’s music features word painting, the translator tries to select words that have the same or similar meanings and thus match the musical devices chosen by the composer. In fact, in one instance the translator even modifies the music to intensify the word painting. In the Italian version of the first sonnet the word ‘inferno’ (‘hell’, *Sette sonetti*, I, bars 39–40) is set to music with a downward leap ranging from a third to an octave from part to part (see Example 5.13). The English translation also does this with the words ‘deep Hell’ in the corresponding passage. However, in addition to the leaps contained in the Italian version, there is an extra leap of an octave in the Quintus in bar 40. In the Italian version the breve on B flat filling the whole of bar 40 falls on the word ‘fra’ (‘among’), which belongs to the next part of the line. The English version chooses to underlay the B flat with a repeat of ‘deep Hell’. It divides the note into two semibreves with a falling octave (see Example 5.14).

Example 5.13: Setting of the words ‘che nell’inferno’ in Giovanni Croce’s *Li Sette Sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7), I, bars 39–40.

39

Canto Ché nel-l'in-fer - no fra

Alto Ché nel-l'in-fer - no fra

Tenore Ché nel-l'in-fer - no fra

Quinto nel-l'in-fer - no fra

Sesto fer - - no fra

Basso fer - no fra

Example 5.14: Setting of the words ‘for in deep Hell’ in the *Mvsica sacra to Sixe Voyces* (London: Thomas East for William Barley, 1608), I, bars 39–40.

39

Cantus For who in deep Hell and

Altus For who in deep Hell and fierce

Tenor For who in deep Hell and

Quintus who in deep Hell, deep Hell

Sextus deep Hell, deep Hell and

Bassus deep Hell and fierce

The poetic shortcomings of the Nuremberg edition might have been one of the reasons why it was not reprinted like the English version. However, there might have been other reasons too. Translating Croce’s madrigals into Latin was an experiment since it was more common to translate them into German, as has been demonstrated in section 5.3.1. Such an experiment may well have been met with little interest as it is very possible that fewer people were interested in singing Italian madrigals translated into Latin. The market was already saturated with numerous good-quality settings of the Penitential Psalms with texts either paraphrased into German, or taken directly from the Bible. In contrast, the London edition found a niche in the market. Although it was a

well-tested format both in terms of paraphrasing psalms and translating Italian madrigals, none of the publications available on the market combined the two. Most of the musical Penitential Psalm paraphrases available were metrical psalms or rather simple works. Buyers looking for a more musically challenging version of ‘englished’ Penitential Psalms did not have much alternative, allowing East’s publication to corner the market. A further attraction must have been the name of a popular Italian composer on the title page of the print.

5.4 Conclusion

As could be seen from the analysis conducted in the chapter, Francesco Bembo managed to condense the contents of the seven Penitential Psalms into seven sonnets. While remaining relatively faithful to the model text, Bembo structured the biblical material in a way that his sonnets highlight the idea of the passage from guilt to forgiveness. Giovanni Croce made sure that this emphasis comes through also in his setting of the cycle by musically highlighting the text passages which express the speaker’s plea for help or praise God’s salvation.

As madrigals, Croce’s *Sette sonetti* are rather unspectacular – they are neither very complex, nor display extreme word painting. However, they are not as straightforward as it may seem at the beginning. First, the madrigals are ordered according to the principles of polyphonic psalmody, which establishes a connection between two stylistically and functionally very different musical genres. Second, two of the madrigals quote the characteristic incipits of motets that set to music the Penitential Psalms paraphrased in them. This means that for the first time among the case studies of this thesis, a discernable link to the realm of Latin sacred music can be pointed out. In all likelihood, the underlying reason to these unique features is the fact that the texts set to music are relatively close paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms.

While Francesco Bembo’s decision to write his seven sonnets was probably motivated by his personal circumstances, it remains a mystery who or what moved Croce to compose the music for them. The 1596/7 publication might have been the result of a commission, Croce’s own choice or a mixture of motives. A possible reason why Croce could have sought out Bembo’s paraphrase as a textual base for his spiritual madrigal collection is its thematic unity and the popularity of the sonnet form. The sonnet could boast a well-established tradition of musical settings by the end of the sixteenth century. The form is only fourteen lines long, which meant that it could be

fully set to music within a relatively short composition. Although the *ottava rima* and the *canzone* were also regularly set to music as madrigals, psalm paraphrases written in these forms tended to be lengthy and would have required significantly more music. This would have meant more work for the composer who would have had to accommodate all the text while providing the *varietas* expected by the audiences. The underlying Penitential Psalm cycle with its broad cultural context guaranteed that the themes explored in the *Sette sonetti* were relevant to a broad circle of people.

Whatever the story behind the conception of the *Sette sonetti*, the collection managed to find its niche in the Italian market. A reason for this might have been the discrepancy between the number of poetic paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms and their musical settings, which was indeed considerable. Knowing that the *Sette sonetti* was not that unsuccessful raises the question why Croce never returned to composing spiritual madrigal cycles or pieces based on Italian paraphrases of biblical and liturgical texts. Possibly, he decided to concentrate on motets and liturgical music, genres that were closer to his main job as the *vice maestro di cappella* at St. Mark's. Some of these works were less popular than the *Sette sonetti*, but some, such as the *Messe a otto voci* [110] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596), were reprinted multiple times (1596, repr.: 1600, 1604, 1607, 1612). A possible reason why none of Croce's contemporaries wrote a cycle of this kind might have been the prohibition of new poetic paraphrases of scriptural texts issued by the Congregation of the *Index* in 1596. It is possible that composers did not want to risk losing their audiences if the setting attracted negative attention from the local or the universal Inquisition. A further reason might have been a general lack of interest in the Penitential Psalms on the part of Italian composers, who focused on Vespers psalms.

Although the format of the *Sette sonetti* was not taken up again in Italy, the collection was successfully exported into two other countries. There, it met with different local traditions of paraphrasing the Penitential Psalms and setting them to music but the same interest in them as a cycle. All in all, the *Sette sonetti* showcases the universality of the Penitential Psalms as a text that could be adapted to different musical formats and find acceptance in different religious climates.

6 CONCLUSIONS

Having spent several years immersed in sixteenth-century Italian poetry and music, the apparently ‘unlikely’ blend of sacred and secular materials that attracted my attention during my first encounter with spiritual madrigals paraphrasing Latin sacred texts is looking increasingly less odd. In a society which valued learning demonstrated through quotation and allusion and in which literary and musical practice was driven by the principle of *imitatio*, it was easy for boundaries between different spheres and genres to become blurry. Such cultural permeability was seen as a threat by some officials of the post-Tridentine church who pushed for rules and restrictions on the use of materials designated for Catholic worship. However, there were also others who saw it as an opportunity to find new ways into the hearts and minds of the faithful. For those actively involved in cultural production, intertextual links were a customary way of expressing acknowledgement and communicating messages. In this cultural environment, poetic paraphrases of Latin sacred texts and the spiritual madrigals based on them are just two of the many types of intertextual cultural output created during the sixteenth century, but they provide valuable and, due to their nature, specific insights into the cultural reality of the period.

The analysis of the case studies has shed light on the process of translating specific Latin sacred texts and fusing them with other literary models, leading to the birth of a new text. Within the poetic cycles examined in the thesis, the connection between the Latin sacred model and its derivative was shown to have been maintained both on the level of *dispositio* – by mimicking the structure of the model – and on the level of *elocutio* – by using tropes borrowed from the model or by including quotations from it. Literal translation from the Latin was most likely to be found in exposed sections of the text, such as the opening or the closing verse. For example, Francesco Bembo’s *Sette sonetti* quote the incipits of the respective Penitential Psalms in their first lines thus establishing a clear connection to them. The openings of some of Bernardo Tasso’s *Salmi* also quote the incipits of psalms. In Antonio Migliori’s *Priego alla Beata Vergine*, conversely, the most readily recognisable borrowing from the model text is found in the final strophe which closely paraphrases the concluding prayer of the Litany of Loreto. Placing of quotations from the model text in prominent parts of the derivative text marks the special position of the main model in the hierarchy of material: quotations from other sources, if used at all, appear in less-exposed sections of the paraphrases. On the level of *inventio*, the paraphrases follow the ideas conveyed by their

models sufficiently to be recognised as such, but some of their thematic content is unique to them, to varying degrees. Francesco Bembo maintained the penitential theme in his *Sette sonetti* but laid more emphasis on the speaker's personal relation with God, not least because of his need to communicate his own repentance and hope for positive future developments. Antonio Migliori's *Priego* is very close to the thematic content of its model, but the author expanded the simple Marian Litany to demonstrate his learning and literary skills. Finally, Bernardo Tasso in his *Salmi* transformed the thematic content of its model to the greatest degree. There, old-testament ideas on topics like the relationship between man and God, life after death and punishment were substituted by Christian teachings disseminated by the *spirituali* movement.

As far as the musical settings are concerned, in all cases, the stylistic features of the contemporary vernacular madrigal are the prevailing ones. The circumstance that the text used for the setting was based on a particular Latin sacred text, was, on its own, not a sufficient reason for the composers to make allusions to sacred compositions. It was the closeness with which the text source paraphrased its Latin sacred model that determined whether the setting would involve elements taken from sacred repertoire. Thus, Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi*, which are more a collection of poems inspired by the Psalms than a clearly defined paraphrase of the Psalter, are set to music by Giovanni Pellio and Flaminio Oddi in a style which remains entirely within the secular paradigm. Both composers that set the *Salmi* recognised the drama around the human soul that is created in the poems and acknowledged it in their settings, often with the help of affective word painting devices borrowed from secular music. Palestrina's setting of Antonio Migliori's poem, which imitates the Marian Litany, is more reserved and shows more attention to the praises of the Virgin Mary than to the depictions of the speaker's state. However, no parallels to Litany settings or other Latin sacred music can be detected. Giovanni Croce's *Sette sonetti*, which is based on a close paraphrase of the Penitential Psalm cycle, is the only case study that allows to point out clear allusions to sacred music. The succession of final chords and key signatures imitates the succession of final chords in tones 1-7 of polyphonic psalmody. Moreover, the beginnings of the fourth and the sixth madrigals feature quotations of typical incipits associated with the respective Penitential Psalms in their settings as motets.

The choice of the specific ways of alluding to sacred music was determined by the nature of the Latin sacred text that was paraphrased in the madrigals. In Croce's case, there were two genres at the composer's disposal since, in their Latin version, the

Penitential Psalms could be sung as motets or as psalmody, be it monodic or polyphonic. By deciding to mirror the tones of polyphonic psalmody instead of simply adopting modal ordering in analogy with the motet cycles, Croce chose the more sophisticated option which allowed him to demonstrate his familiarity with a wide range of repertoire. In general, Croce found an advantageous Latin model text in the Penitential Psalms since they are widely used in sacred music. For example, Lodovico Agostini whose *Lagrima del peccatore* (1586) includes a setting of a paraphrase of the Latin prayer *Domine non sum dignus*, was less lucky. *Domine non sum dignus* is a short prayer spoken at Mass before the consumption of the Holy Communion and does not have a distinctive musical form. Thus, Agostini could invoke the liturgical sphere only in a very generic way – by using longer note values throughout the madrigal.

In all four case studies, the level of coherence displayed by the poetic cycles had a significant influence on the overall structure of their musical settings. Antonio Migliori's *Priego alla Beata Vergine* is one single poem, so Palestrina also set to music the entirety of it. The seven Penitential Psalms were a long-established cycle, so Croce also set all seven of Francesco Bembo's sonnets to music. Bernardo Tasso's *Salmi*, on the contrary, was a newly created cycle that consisted of thirty poems that do not build on one another, as far as their content is concerned. As a result, Pellio set to music only the ten first 'psalms' and the canzone presented at the end of Tasso's book, and Oddi felt free to select four non-consecutive poems for his madrigal cycle. While Pellio and Oddi did not have to find solutions for replicating the overall structure of the text source since they were setting to music only parts of it, Palestrina and Croce chose to represent the internal cohesion of the text source by implying an ascending succession of modes or polyphonic plainchant tones within the large-scale harmonic structure of their cycles.

Looking back to my initial hypothesis that the settings studied in the thesis could have been used as means of disseminating illegal vernacular 'translations' of Latin sacred texts, I have come to the conclusion that 'smuggling' a vernacular version of a Latin sacred text into the book market seems hardly to have been the principal purpose for any of the five spiritual madrigal collections examined. Although the authors of both text and music clearly remained conscious of their Latin sacred models, they (and their audiences) apparently saw their poems or setting as something quite different in genre and purpose from their Latin models. Transmitting the text in a more accessible form was rather a concern for Oratorian compilers of collections of laude since the

congregation of the Oratory extensively used music in its apostolic work.⁶⁰¹ Translating the most widely used Latin sacred texts and adapting them to simple strophic melodies was a way of bringing these texts closer to the faithful who otherwise might have shunned their clerical character or the Latin language. The *Libro primo delle Lavdi spirituali* compiled by Serafino Razzi (Venice, 1563) and the *Delle Laudi Spirituali Che si sogliono cantare dopò i ragionamenti delli Reuer[endi] Padri della Congregazione dell'Oratorio* (Fermo, 1595) mentioned in this thesis contain several such paraphrases of popular Latin devotional prayers and liturgical texts. In contrast to these Oratorian collections, the biographic background of my case studies does not point to any missionary intentions. It points to the display of the author's skill or the pursuit of the author's or another individual's personal agenda.

The idea of a concealed dissemination of prohibited texts might have featured among the motivating factors for Giovanni Pellio's first two books of *Canzoni spirituali* and Flaminio Oddi's *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci*. However, what makes these texts potentially controversial, is not that they are drawn from the Psalms but that Bernardo Tasso's poems reiterate the ideas of the *spirituali* movement. Another case study, Giovanni Croce's *Sette sonetti*, uses a text that renders the Penitential Psalms in a clearly recognisable way and comes suspiciously close to the types of texts prohibited by the 1596 *Index* and other documents issued that year. This might have been the reason why Croce had no followers in composing a cycle based on a similar paraphrasing text, despite the *Sette sonetti* having encountered considerable interest. However, it is doubtful that providing the faithful with a vernacular version of the Penitential Psalms would have been the main purpose why Croce composed the *Sette sonetti* or, for that matter, why Francesco Bembo wrote the seven sonnets. There were enough other poetic paraphrases of the Penitential Psalms on the devotional literature market. As for Francesco Bembo, in view of his situation in the 1590s, it is conceivable that he was more concerned with helping himself than with helping out to people who were not proficient in Latin. Croce's setting of the text might have been a commission, and beyond that, the composer's main goal was more likely to have been to offer a new stylish version of a widely consumed devotional text than the dissemination of a vernacular rendition of a specific part of the Bible.

As far as the intended or actual users of the studied madrigal collections are concerned, none of the publications explicitly states what audiences it is aimed at. When

⁶⁰¹ See Filippi, *Selva armonica*, 33.

making assumptions on the target audiences of the music collections discussed in this thesis, it has been helpful to consider the audiences of related types of publications. In case of poetic paraphrases of scriptural texts published as non-music books, book confiscation reports and other proceedings of the Inquisition suggest that their audiences included both sexes and spanned a wide variety of social backgrounds – from people who, for different reasons, could not read Latin to those who, despite their competence in Latin, preferred to read in the vernacular.⁶⁰² As for the spiritual madrigal, it has been mentioned earlier in the thesis that its audiences could be found in private houses, academy gatherings, religious confraternity meetings, monasteries and convents. One can imagine that the madrigal collections analysed in the thesis aimed at audiences found in the same or similar social contexts.

Some insights regarding the audiences of the madrigals studied here can be gained by examining the titles of the prints since an important function of the title was (and remains) to catch the eye of potential buyers. Four out of five collections use the word ‘spirituale’ paired with a genre definition ‘madrigali’ or ‘canzoni’ in their title. As already mentioned earlier in the thesis, the madrigal, including its multipartite spinoff, the cyclical canzone, was associated with poetic sophistication and musical complexity, while the word ‘spirituale’ signalled that the themes explored by the text evolved around spiritual and religious matters. Such a title would have attracted the attention of people who valued cultured exterior paired with spiritually profound content. The only exception to this rule among the case studies, Croce’s collection, is presented not as ‘spiritual madrigals’ but as ‘penitential sonnets’, thus emphasising the penitential character of the collection. The stated sevenfold number of the sonnets points to the Penitential Psalms thus awaking the expectation of similarity to this cycle. It is imaginable that Croce’s *Sette sonetti* would have been considered well-suited during Lent or in any other situation involving personal penance. At the same time, the indication of the sonnet as the form used informs the potential buyer about the poetic ambition of the publication. One can only wonder why the Marian title of Antonio Migliori’s poem does not appear on the title page of Palestrina’s madrigal cycle and is only briefly mentioned in its dedication text. One of the many possible reasons could be that the publisher wanted the print to appeal to wider audiences than just those with a special devotion to Mary and therefore kept the information on the title page more generic. The consumer profiles gained from examining the titles are clues pointing towards

⁶⁰² Gigliola Fragnito, *Proibito capire. La Chiesa e il volgare nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 261–287.

certain groups of people that fit these profiles especially well. For example, the predilection for sophisticated but pious materials can be expected from culturally active members of the clergy. These characteristics would as well fit monks or nuns hailing from upper-class families. Some members of lay religious confraternities would have presumably also matched this profile.

Finally, studying this niche genre of sixteenth-century music made me aware of the sociocultural communication networks underlying early modern Italian society. The publicity of a printed collection could be offered in exchange for protection and financial or ideational support. The choices made regarding the form of the work or the intertextual relations to be explored in it were not simply a matter of taste. They were means of communication and an instrument of social profiling. Insights into the sixteenth-century society and the principles underlying it can be best gained by exploring the artefacts created by this society, examples of which are also spiritual madrigal collections based on paraphrases of Latin sacred texts.

7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Notes Regarding the Primary Source List:

- 1) The works of the same author are ordered chronologically. An exception to this rule are reprints and modern editions, which are listed directly after the first edition of the work.
- 2) The list gives a transcription of the title page, excluding the information regarding the printer and the printing permission. The remarks ‘nuovamente dato in luce’ or ‘nuovamente ristampato’ are omitted as well, except in cases of reprints with a non-extant first edition.
- 3) If an original copy or its digital facsimile was available for consultation, the titles are transcribed using the spelling of the source with distinction being made between i/j and u/v. However, no distinction is made between s/l, ss/ß and ae/æ. Ligatures are resolved. The use of italics and line breaks are ignored. Where the original source uses all capitals, the content will be rendered in lower case capitalising names, honorary titles and the first word of the book title and the subtitle.
- 4) If an original copy or its digital facsimile was not available for consultation, the spelling and capitalisation of the source of the bibliographical information is maintained. In cases where all capitals are used, the content will be rendered in lower case, capitalising names, honorary titles and the first word of the book title and the subtitle.
- 5) Publisher names are given in their Italian form in modernised spelling.

Manuscript Sources and Their Modern Editions

- [1] *Marchands flamands à Venise*, eds Wilfrid Brulez and Greta Devos, vol. 1, Etudes d'histoire économique et sociale (Brussels and Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1965).
- [2] *Matricula monachorum congregationis Casinensis ordinis S. Benedicti*, ed. Arcangelo Bossi, and Leandro Novelli, Italia Benedettina: studi e documenti di storia monastica (Cesena: Badia di Santa Maria del Monte, 1983).
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- [91] Cattaneo, Cornelio, *I sette salmi penitentiali tradotti da don Cornelio Cattaneo, canonico regolare del signor Salvatore. Con gli argomenti a ciascuno di essi. Insieme con alcune sue rime spirituali* (Modena: Heirs of Cornelio Gadaldini, 1568). Bibliographical information from OPAC SBN <http://id.sbn.it/bid/RAVE072245> (accessed 26 March 2019).
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8 APPENDIX A: LARGER TABLES MOVED FROM CHAPTERS 1–5

Table 8.1: List of individual madrigals based on Italian poetic paraphrases of Latin sacred texts.

Year	Poet/Composer	Title	Collection	Text paraphrased
1577	Bernardo Tasso/ Silvio Marazzi	A te, Signor, a te fido	<i>Primo libro de' madrigali a tre voci</i> [174] (Parma: Seth Viotto, 1577).	The Psalms
1580	Vittoria Colonna/ Pietro Vinci	Stella di nostro mar chiara et sicura (Della Madonna)	<i>Quattordici sonetti spirituali della illustrissima et eccellentissima divina Vittoria Colonna</i> [269] (Venice: Heir of Girolamo Scotti, 1580).	Hymn <i>Ave maris stella</i>
1583	Vittoria Colonna/ Philippe de Monte	Stella di nostro mar chiara et sicura (Della Madonna)	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci</i> [184] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1583).	Hymn <i>Ave maris stella</i>
	Fulvio Rorario ⁶⁰³ / Claudio Monteverdi	Le rose, gli amaranti e gigli	<i>Madrigali spirituali a' quattro voci</i> [188] (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio and Pietro Bozzola, 1583).	Luke 7:36–50
	Fulvio Rorario/ Claudio Monteverdi	L'empio vestia di porpora e di bisso	<i>Madrigali spirituali a' quattro voci</i> [188] (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio and Pietro Bozzola, 1583).	Luke 16:19–31
	Fulvio Rorario/ Claudio Monteverdi	Afflito e calz'ove la sacra sponda	<i>Madrigali spirituali a' quattro voci</i> [188] (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio and Pietro Bozzola, 1583).	Matthew Ch. 3/Mark Ch. 1/Luke 3:1– 22/John 1:19–37
1585	Francesco Coppetta dei Becutti/ Felice Anerio	Signor, le colpe mie dannà e coreggi	<i>Madrigali Spirituali a Cinque Voci. Libro primo</i> [63] (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585).	Psalms 6

⁶⁰³ Text author attribution is based on Paolo Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, transl. By Tim Carter (Cambridge, et al.: Cambridge University Press, 1994, (e-book: 2006)), 12.

1586	Giovanni Battista Guarini ⁶⁰⁴ / Lodovico Agostini	L'anima mia, Signore (Non sum dignus)	<i>Le lagrime del peccatore a sei voci</i> [57] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1586).	Prayer <i>Domine non sum dignus</i>
1587	Anon./ Giovanni Matteo Asola	Dio ti salvi Maria (Salutazione angelica)	<i>Vergini a tre voci. Libro secondo</i> [69] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1587).	<i>Ave Maria</i>
1589	Anon./ Philippe de Monte	Padre di tutti noi che in ciel soggiorni	<i>Vergini a tre voci. Libro secondo</i> [69] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1587).	The Lord's Prayer
1606	Anon./ Paolo Isnardi	Non son degn'io Signore	<i>Secondo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei, e Sette voci</i> [185] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1589).	Prayer <i>Domine non sum dignus</i>
1617	Bernardo Tasso/ Giovanni Vincenzo Macedonio di Muzio	Ave Vergine bella	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a sei voci</i> [158] (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1587).	<i>Ave Maria</i>
1617	Anon./ Francesco Terriera	Come vago augeletto	<i>Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> [167] (Naples: Giovanni Giacomo Carlino, 1606).	The Psalms
1617	Agostino Manni ⁶⁰⁵ / Giovanni Francesco Anerio	Dio ti salvi Maria (Madrigale spirituale sopra l'Ave Maria)	<i>Secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci</i> [252] (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1606).	<i>Ave Maria</i>
1617	Agostino Manni/ Giovanni Francesco Anerio	Dio ti salvi Maria, Madre divina	<i>Seba armonica</i> [64] (Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1617).	<i>Ave Maria</i>
1617	Agostino Manni/ Giovanni Francesco Anerio	Ave Maria, Speranza mia	<i>Seba armonica</i> [64] (Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1617).	<i>Ave Maria</i>
1617	Agostino Manni/ Giovanni Francesco Anerio	O de gran Redentor Madre alma e bella	<i>Seba armonica</i> [64] (Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1617).	Marian antiphon <i>Alma Redemptoris Mater</i>

⁶⁰⁴ Text author attribution is based on Stras, 'Imitation, Meditation and Penance', 127.

⁶⁰⁵ Text author attribution is based on Filippi, *Seba armonica*, 102.

Table 8.2: List of spiritual madrigal collections published in Italy between 1530 and 1630.

Year	Author	Collection	No in the Primary Source List
1554	Alessandro Romano	<i>Le Vergine di Alessandro romano a quattro voci con la giunta di alcuni altri Madrigali</i> (Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1554; reprints: Antonio Gardano, 1562; Angelo Gardano, 1585; Milan: Francesco Tini and the heirs of Simone Tini, 1587).	[235]
1563	Multiple authors, Giovanni del Bene (ed)	<i>Musica spirituale. Libro primo di canzon et madrigali a cinque voci. Composte da diversi, Raccolta gia dal Reuerendo messer Giouanni dal Bene</i> (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1563).	[78]
1568	Francesco Portinari	<i>Le Vergine di Francesco Portinaro a sei voci con alcuni madregali, a cinque, et a sei, et dvoi dialoghi a sette</i> (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568).	[230]
1571	Giovanni Matteo Asola	<i>Le vergini a tre voci. Libro primo</i> (Venice: Sons of Antonio Gardano, 1571; reprints: Angelo Gardano, 1576; Angelo Gardano, 1582; Giacomo Vincenzi, 1588; Riccardo Amadino, 1596; Angelo Gardano, 1603; Alessandro Raveri, 1607).	[68]
1574	Duc, Philippe de	<i>Le vergini di Filippo Duc fiamengo, libro primo a sei voci coc vn dialogo a otto nel fine</i> (Venice: Sons of Antonio Gardano, 1574).	[135]
1578	Anon.	<i>Madrigali spirituali, nel tempo della peste, nella città di Vicenza, l'anno M.D.LXXVII</i> (Vicenza: Giorgio Angellieri, 1578).	[46]
	Giovanni Pellio	<i>Il primo libro delle canzoni spirituali a cinque voci del Rever[endo] D[on] Giovanni Pellio</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1578).	[205]
1580	Pietro Vinci	<i>Quattordecim sonetti spirituali della illustrissima et eccellentissima divina Vittoria Colonna d'Avalos de Aquino marchesa di Pescara. Messi in canto da Pietro Vinci siciliano della città di Nicosia maestro di capella in S[anta]. Maria Maggiore di Bergamo a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Heir of Girolamo Scotto, 1580).	[269]
1581	Gasparo Costa	<i>Il Primo Libro de Motetti et Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci di Gasparo Costa bolognese organista alla Madonna di San Celso in Milano</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1581).	[99]
	Philippe de Monte	<i>Di Filippo Di Monte maestro di cappella della sac[ra] ces[aria] maestà dell'imperatore Rodolfo Secondo, il Primo Libro de Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1581).	[183]

	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci, Di Gio. Petr' Aloysio Prenestino</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1581).	[214]
1582	Pietro Paolo Paciotti	<i>Di Pietro Paolo Paciotto il Primo Libro de Madrigali a sei voci</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1582).	[199]
1583	Philippe de Monte	<i>Di Filippo di Monte maestro di cappella della Sac[ra] Ces[area] Maestà dell'Imperatore Rodolfo Secondo, il primo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1583).	[185]
	Claudio Monteverdi	<i>Madrigali spirituali a' quattro voci, Posti in Musica da Claudio Monteverde Cremonese, Discepolo del Signor Marc' Antonio Ingegneri</i> (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio and Pietro Bozzola, 1583).	[188]
1584	Luca Marenzio	<i>Madrigali spirituali di Luca Marenzio a cinque voci. Libro primo</i> (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1584).	[175]
	Alessandro Milleville	<i>La Vergine con dieci altre Stanze spirituali a Quattro Voci d' Alessandro Milleville Organista dell' Altezza Serenissima di Ferrara</i> (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1584).	[182]
	Giovanni Pello	<i>Il primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1584).	[206]
1585	Felice Anerio	<i>Madrigali Spirituali di Felice Anerio maestro di cappella nel Collegio de gl'Inglesi in Roma, a Cinque Voci. Libro primo</i> (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585).	[63]
	[Felice Anerio]	[<i>Madrigali Spirituali di Felice Anerio maestro di cappella nel Collegio de gl'Inglesi in Roma, a Cinque Voci. Libro secondo</i> (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585).] ⁶⁰⁶	
	[Felice Anerio]	[<i>Madrigali Spirituali di Felice Anerio maestro di cappella nel Collegio de gl'Inglesi in Roma, a Cinque Voci. Libro terzo</i> (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585).] ⁶⁰⁷	

⁶⁰⁶ According to Powers ('The Spiritual Madrigal', 78), a copy of this now lost collection was owned by Fortunato Santini in the early nineteenth century.

⁶⁰⁷ Same as the previous footnote. This and the preceding collection by Anerio are also listed by Giuseppe Baini in his *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, capelano cantore, e quindi compositore della cappella pontificia, maestro di cappella delle basiliche vaticana, lateranense, e liberiana detto il principe della musica compilato da Giuseppe Baini sacerdote romano, capelano cantore, e direttore della stessa cappella pontificia*, vol. 2 (Rome: Società tipografica, 1828), 28. In addition to the three books from 1585, Baini lists four collections of spiritual madrigals for three and four voices published by [Luigi] Zanetti in Rome in 1603 (now lost).

	Costanzo Antegnati and Lelio Bertani	<i>Madrigali spirituali, a tre voci, di Lelio Bertani, maestro della musica et di Costanzo Antegnati organista nel Duomo di Brescia. Alli molto Reuerendi Padri osseruandissimi, il r[euerendo] padre Rettore, et compagni del Collegio della Compagnia di Giesu in S[an] Antonio di Brescia</i> (Brescia: Vincenzo Sabbio, 1585).	[66]
1586	Multiple authors	<i>Musica spirituale composta da diversi eccellentissimi musici a cinque voci, con due dialoghi a dieci</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1586).	[47]
	Lodovico Agostini	<i>Le lagrime del peccatore a sei voci del M[olto] R[everendo] Monsig[nore] D[on] Lodovico Agostini Prot[onotario] Apost[olico] Capellano, & Musico del Serenissimo, & Inuitissimo Sig[nore] Duca di Ferrara. Libro quarto, opera 12</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1586).	[57]
	Giacomo Garibbi	<i>Pianto della Madonna composto dal r[euerendo] p[adre] f[rate] Iacomo da Porto minore osseruan[te] Con il canto à cinque voci</i> (Venice: s. n., 1586).	[147]
1587	Giovanni Matteo Asola	<i>Vergini a tre voci del R[everendo] D[on] Gio[vanni] Matteo Asola veronese Nouamente Ristampate. Libro secondo</i> (Venice, Giacomo Vincenzi, 1587).	[69]
	Giacomo Giovanni Gastoldi	<i>Sacre Lodi A Diversi Santi Con Vna Canzone Al Glorioso Serafico S. Francesco Di Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi; A Cinque Voci</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1587).	[148]
1589	Philippe de Monte	<i>Di Filippo di Monte maestro di cappella della Sac[ra] Ces[area] Maesta dell'Imperatore Rodolfo Secondo, il secondo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei, & Sette voci</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1589).	[185]
1590	Philippe de Monte	<i>Il terzo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci... di Filippo de Monte</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1590).	[186]
	Giulio Zenaro	<i>Madrigali spirituali a tre voci di Giulio Zenaro da Salò</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1590).	[275]
1591	Giacomo Bratteolo	<i>Hinno sacro a la B[eatissima] Vergine, del sig[nore] Giacomo Bratteolo nobile vdinese</i> (Venice: Giovanni Antonio Rampazetto, 1591).	[81]
1592	Anon./ Desiderio Ventura (ed.)	<i>Gioiello artificioso di musica sopra la vita del glorioso & serafico Padre San Francesco, a quattro voci, con la Quinta Parte se piace. Nuouamente composto per un suo deuoto Religioso: et dal Sig: Desiderio Ventura da Morro di Jesi dato in luce</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1592).	[264]

1593	Phillipe de Monte	<i>Eccellenze di Maria Vergine descritte dall'eccellente Signor Oratio Gvargante med[ico] fis[ico]. Et poste in Musica del Signor Filippo di Monte Maestro di Capella della Sacra Maestà Cesarea di Rodolfo Secondo, a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1593).	[186]
1594	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Delli Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro Secondo</i> (Rome: Francesco Coattini, 1594).	[222]
1596	Giovanni Croce	Croce, Giovanni, <i>Li Sette Sonetti penitentiali a sei voci di Giovanni Croce Chiozzotto Vice Maestro di Capella della Serenissima Signoria di Venetia in San Marco</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7; reprint: Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1603).	[112] and [113]
	Leone Leoni	<i>Primo libro de madrigali spirituali a cinque voci di Leon Leoni maestro di capella Nel Duomo di Vicenza</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1596).	[166]
1597	Alessandro Marino	<i>Di Alessandro Marino, il Primo Libro de Madrigali spirituali a sei voci, con una Canzone a dodici nel fine</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1597).	[177]
	Giovanni Pellio	<i>Secondo libro delle canzoni spirituali a sei voci</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1597).	[207]
1598	Multiple authors	<i>Delli pietosi affetti del molto Rever[en]do Padre D[on] Angelo Grillo monaco cassinese posti in musica da diversi reverendi & eccellentissimi autori a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1598).	[29]
	Illuminato Perazzoli	<i>Madrigali spirituali, d'Illuminato Perazzoli. All'illustrissima & eccellentiss[ima] sig[nora] donna Ippolita d'Este Pica, prencipessa della Mirandola</i> (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1598; reprint: Bologna: Vittorio Benacci, 1604).	[208]
1602	Orfeo Vecchi	<i>La donna vestita di sole, coronata di stelle, calcante la luna</i> (Milan: Heirs of Simone Tini and Giovanni Francesco Besozzi, 1602).	[262]
1603	Giovanni Matteo Asola	<i>Vergini a tre voci del R[everendo] D[on] Gio[vanni] Matteo Asola veronese Nouamente Ristampate, & da l'istesso Autore Corette, & ampliate. Libro secondo</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1603) [a revised version of the 1587 print].	[70]
1604	Multiple authors/ Massimiano Gabbiani (ed.)	<i>Musica de diversi eccellentiss. avttori. A cinque voci. Sopra i pietosi affetti, del M[esier] R[everendo] P[adre] D[on] Angelo Grillo, raccolta per il padre D[on] Massimiano Gabbiani da Brescia, monaco cassine[n]se,</i> ed. Massimiano Gabbiani (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1604).	[143]

1605	Giovanni Matteo Asola	<i>Madrigali a sei voci del R[everendo] D[on] Gio[vanni] Matteo Asola</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1605).	[71]
	Ippolito Baccusi	<i>Le Vergini d'Ippolito Baccusi. Madrigali a tre voci libro secondo</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1605).	[72]
1608	Giovanni Antonio Cirullo	<i>Di Gio[vanni] Antonio Cirullo il Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci. Dove si contengono Concetti spirituali</i> (Venice: Alessandro Raveri, 1607).	[96]
	Flaminio Oddi	Oddi, Flaminio, <i>Madrigali spiritvati A Quattro Voci. Di Flaminio Oddi. Libro primo</i> (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608).	[197]
1614	Serafino Patta	<i>Motetti et Madrigali cavati da le poesie sacre del reveren[dissi]mo padre D[on] Angelo Grillo abbate composti in musica dal padre D[on] Serafino Patta monaco casinense, per cantare solo nell'Organo, Clavicordo, Chitarone, et altri instrumenti</i> (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1614)	[203]
1616	Giovanni Battista Porta	<i>Madrigali a cinque voci in lavde di S[an] Carlo. Di Gio[vanni] Battista Porta</i> (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1616).	[229]
1619	Giovanni Francesco Anerio	<i>Teatro Armonico Spirituale di madrigali, a cinque, sei, sette & Otto voci. Concertati con il Basso per l'Organo. Composto dal Reuerendo D[on] Gio[vanni] Francesco Anerio. Romano</i> (Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, 1619).	[65]
1629	Scipione Dentice	<i>Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci del P[adre] Scipione Dentice sacerdote della Congregatione dell'Oratorio di Napoli</i> (Naples: Lazaro Scoriggio, 1629).	[131]

Table 8.3: Spiritual madrigal collections listed in publishers' catalogues but now lost. Source: *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi delli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798*, ed. Oscar Mischiati Studi e Testi per la Storia della Musica (Florence: Olschki, 1984) [43].

Catalogue	Composer	Catalogue Entry Text	Page in Mischiati's Edition
<i>Indice delli libri di musica che si trovano nelle stampe di Angelo Gardano</i> (Venice: [Angelo Gardano], 1591)	Giovanni Matteo Asola	<i>madrig, Spirituali di Gio: Matteo Asola a 5</i>	90
	Benedetto Pesenti	<i>Vergine di Benedetto Pesenti a 4</i>	88
<i>Indice di tutte l'opere di musica che si trovano alla stampa della pigna</i> (Venice:[Giacomo] VincenziVincenzi, 1591)	Maddalena Casulana	<i>Casulana Spirituali Primo, & Secondo</i>	94
	Eliseo Ghibellini	<i>Spirituali Eliseo Ghibellini</i>	95
<i>Indice di libri di musica stampati dalli magn[ifici] Scoti Cioè quelli che fino al presente Anno 1596, si ritrovano</i> ([Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1596])	[Girolamo Scotto]	<i>Idem Vergine [a3]</i>	99
<i>Indice di tutte le Opere di musica Che si trouano nella stampa della pigna di Alessandro Vincenti</i> (Venice: Alessandro Vincenzi, 1621)	Giovanni Païen	<i>Di Gio. Païen sopra la Vergine [a 2]</i>	135
	Agostino Agazzari	<i>Agazzari, primo secondo libro spirituali [a 3]</i>	136

Table 8.4: Italian book market 1520–1640: statistical data based on search results from the USTC.

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	3.1%	2.1%	0.8%	1.8%	0.0%	1.0%	1.4%	0.9%	0.0%	2.5%	0.8%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	16	8	3	6	0	4	5	2	0	4	2
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	11%	7%	9%	4%	9%	7%	7%	8%	8%	5%	13%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	57	28	31	14	36	25	24	17	12	8	35
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	64%	76%	75%	68%	68%	51%	68%	68%	47%	54%	57%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	82	70	74	74	91	53	47	42	15	26	35
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	34%	30%	22%	31%	33%	45%	29%	31%	50%	42%	44%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	43	28	22	34	44	46	20	19	16	20	27
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	20%	23%	21%	34%	28%	26%	14%	20%	19%	25%	17%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	8%	7%	6%	10%	11%	12%	6%	9%	11%	12%	10%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	25%	25%	28%	33%	33%	27%	19%	28%	21%	29%	23%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	128	92	99	109	134	103	69	62	32	48	61
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	42%	33%	30%	31%	40%	47%	40%	42%	55%	49%	61%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	219	124	107	101	159	180	145	93	84	80	160
Total of books listed by the USTC	516	374	359	327	402	382	362	220	152	163	264
Year	1520	1521	1522	1523	1524	1525	1526	1527	1528	1529	1530

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	1.8%	0.8%	2.9%	1.1%	1.9%	3.0%	1.5%	2.6%	5.6%	3.7%	6.6%	4.2%	5.6%	6.2%	6.2%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	4	2	7	3	7	10	5	10	21	15	20	16	24	29	30
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	8%	10%	11%	8%	11%	8%	9%	7%	12%	7%	5%	7%	6%	10%	7%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	18	24	26	21	42	26	32	26	44	27	15	27	26	45	32
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	64%	53%	65%	56%	57%	46%	54%	57%	41%	42%	47%	55%	52%	47%	52%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	25	36	36	42	49	39	52	69	40	41	42	47	49	55	49
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	33%	41%	27%	47%	44%	54%	43%	41%	63%	58%	55%	47%	49%	55%	47%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	13	28	15	35	38	45	41	50	61	56	49	40	47	64	44
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	12%	22%	13%	27%	19%	29%	25%	28%	29%	24%	33%	21%	22%	23%	17%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	6%	12%	6%	13%	10%	14%	12%	13%	16%	14%	16%	10%	11%	14%	9%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	17%	29%	23%	27%	23%	25%	28%	31%	26%	24%	29%	22%	22%	25%	19%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	39	68	55	75	86	84	96	121	97	97	89	85	95	117	94
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	50%	53%	47%	47%	54%	46%	48%	46%	55%	57%	49%	51%	51%	59%	55%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	112	126	115	131	203	154	163	179	207	234	148	193	218	277	266
Total of books listed by the USTC	223	236	244	276	378	332	339	390	376	409	302	381	429	471	485
Year	1531	1532	1533	1534	1535	1536	1537	1538	1539	1540	1541	1542	1543	1544	1545

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	7.5%	3.6%	4.6%	6.6%	3.2%	3.4%	4.6%	2.6%	5.1%	5.2%	3.0%	4.5%	3.4%	4.3%	5.1%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	32	17	22	34	27	16	24	14	30	33	17	26	22	26	40
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	8%	8%	6%	8%	7%	5%	6%	8%	8%	6%	5%	7%	7%	4%	7%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	33	38	28	39	56	24	33	42	49	36	28	38	47	26	53
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	65%	51%	53%	58%	36%	56%	62%	47%	48%	52%	55%	59%	45%	57%	60%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	51	62	46	52	56	60	59	51	77	88	78	68	70	82	103
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	38%	51%	45%	39%	63%	45%	36%	48%	51%	48%	48%	43%	55%	42%	41%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	30	62	39	35	97	48	34	52	81	80	68	50	84	60	71
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	13%	24%	15%	13%	18%	20%	13%	20%	23%	25%	24%	16%	22%	18%	16%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	7%	13%	8%	7%	12%	10%	6%	10%	14%	13%	12%	9%	13%	10%	9%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	19%	26%	18%	17%	18%	23%	18%	20%	27%	27%	25%	20%	24%	24%	22%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	79	121	86	89	154	107	95	108	159	168	143	115	154	144	172
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	54%	54%	53%	53%	65%	52%	50%	49%	58%	50%	49%	55%	60%	53%	58%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	229	257	255	272	544	245	261	264	345	316	282	315	387	325	457
Total of books listed by the USTC	426	474	481	514	833	467	526	544	591	629	573	573	641	611	792
Year	1546	1547	1548	1549	1550	1551	1552	1553	1554	1555	1556	1557	1558	1559	1560

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	5.5%	5.2%	5.4%	5.2%	4.2%	5.7%	4.9%	4.7%	7.0%	5.3%	5.0%	4.0%	4.3%	4.1%	4.3%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	36	43	43	44	35	54	44	44	57	51	50	40	35	42	48
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%	3%	3%	9%	8%	4%	5%	4%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	26	35	35	37	36	38	35	43	26	33	87	79	36	46	42
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	59%	67%	71%	62%	60%	56%	59%	48%	48%	55%	53%	53%	59%	52%	49%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	102	194	183	151	136	157	161	150	106	146	146	141	145	141	152
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	45%	34%	30%	36%	42%	43%	41%	51%	53%	46%	49%	48%	41%	49%	53%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	77	100	77	88	96	121	112	159	118	122	134	128	100	134	166
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	21%	23%	20%	20%	21%	23%	24%	32%	27%	25%	23%	28%	24%	23%	25%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	12%	12%	10%	10%	12%	13%	13%	17%	14%	13%	13%	13%	12%	13%	15%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	27%	35%	32%	29%	27%	30%	31%	33%	27%	28%	27%	27%	30%	27%	28%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	173	291	256	242	227	281	273	310	223	266	273	267	246	273	313
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	56%	52%	48%	52%	54%	56%	53%	53%	53%	50%	59%	46%	51%	57%	60%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	366	432	387	437	452	528	472	498	432	483	583	454	418	583	670
Total of books listed by the USTC	651	829	803	847	834	949	894	935	816	959	996	995	817	1021	1121
Year	1561	1562	1563	1564	1565	1566	1567	1568	1569	1570	1571	1572	1573	1574	1575

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	2.8%	2.0%	4.5%	7.4%	5.6%	6.9%	5.6%	6.4%	6.9%	7.6%	6.9%	6.7%	7.7%	6.1%	5.8%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	28	16	42	60	58	62	53	62	81	100	98	98	118	85	81
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	4%	5%	5%	4%	3%	6%	6%	5%	6%	6%	4%	5%	5%	7%	8%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	39	42	42	29	36	50	60	50	68	76	56	80	70	94	112
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	40%	42%	47%	47%	43%	50%	49%	52%	48%	46%	51%	58%	53%	51%	46%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	114	81	129	124	156	144	160	158	186	183	233	255	268	206	202
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	61%	56%	51%	55%	54%	50%	50%	47%	53%	56%	49%	43%	48%	51%	54%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	174	107	140	146	195	146	162	143	206	222	225	190	242	207	236
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	27%	21%	25%	31%	34%	28%	28%	25%	30%	28%	28%	23%	27%	24%	27%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	17%	14%	15%	18%	19%	16%	17%	15%	18%	17%	16%	13%	16%	15%	17%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	29%	24%	30%	33%	34%	32%	34%	32%	33%	30%	32%	30%	33%	29%	31%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	287	191	273	266	359	290	324	305	390	397	457	442	508	405	435
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	63%	64%	60%	58%	55%	58%	60%	59%	60%	61%	56%	57%	58%	61%	63%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	637	503	556	467	577	526	570	569	696	802	793	827	899	847	881
Total of books listed by the USTC	1006	781	925	811	1043	901	948	963	1168	1319	1411	1459	1540	1386	1393
Year	1576	1577	1578	1579	1580	1581	1582	1583	1584	1585	1586	1587	1588	1589	1590

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	6.1%	6.1%	6.8%	8.1%	6.8%	8.5%	5.3%	6.7%	6.8%	6.9%	5.7%	6.8%	8.1%	9.5%	8.8%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	73	72	74	82	72	93	57	83	86	85	53	69	85	85	83
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	4%	5%	6%	7%	5%	5%	5%	6%	4%	7%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	48	55	69	70	48	53	55	70	56	81	12	6	7	9	5
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	49%	47%	44%	46%	45%	57%	46%	46%	46%	44%	47%	52%	43%	48%	40%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	194	179	149	150	143	197	139	163	181	176	71	95	69	69	64
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	50%	53%	56%	56%	56%	43%	56%	56%	54%	55%	46%	37%	44%	44%	45%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	198	202	189	184	178	149	171	200	213	219	70	68	72	63	73
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	28%	28%	28%	29%	26%	23%	25%	24%	27%	28%	13%	13%	12%	13%	14%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	16%	17%	17%	18%	17%	14%	16%	16%	17%	18%	8%	7%	7%	7%	8%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	33%	32%	31%	32%	30%	32%	28%	29%	32%	32%	16%	18%	15%	16%	17%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	393	383	339	329	319	348	304	358	397	399	151	183	162	143	161
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	58%	60%	62%	62%	65%	59%	65%	67%	63%	63%	56%	52%	55%	55%	57%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	702	709	676	628	688	648	695	834	797	776	521	530	580	490	536
Total of books listed by the USTC	1203	1187	1088	1013	1066	1090	1077	1248	1257	1232	931	1011	1054	891	946
Year	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600	1601	1602	1603	1604	1605

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	6.0%	10.8%	11.4%	11.7%	8.5%	10.4%	9.1%	9.1%	9.0%	10.2%	10.0%	8.0%	7.1%	8.7%	8.3%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	81	116	122	122	88	96	88	94	87	102	97	81	66	86	91
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	3	4	5	7	8	6	1	5	11	7	2	5	10	0	11
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	40%	34%	47%	42%	36%	30%	40%	35%	45%	39%	44%	41%	35%	39%	36%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	108	58	94	56	57	45	66	49	61	56	64	57	56	53	56
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	53%	57%	40%	44%	54%	60%	48%	62%	46%	52%	38%	51%	62%	52%	59%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	143	98	80	58	85	90	80	87	62	75	54	71	100	71	92
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	19%	16%	13%	10%	13%	17%	15%	14%	11%	13%	9%	12%	17%	12%	13%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	11%	9%	7%	6%	8%	10%	8%	8%	6%	8%	6%	7%	11%	7%	8%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	20%	16%	19%	13%	15%	16%	17%	14%	14%	15%	15%	14%	17%	14%	14%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	270	171	198	132	158	150	165	140	136	145	144	139	161	137	156
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	57%	58%	58%	57%	63%	57%	56%	59%	60%	58%	59%	59%	63%	62%	63%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	769	623	619	593	651	526	544	610	583	583	570	600	593	607	697
Total of books listed by the USTC	1354	1074	1067	1041	1041	923	966	1029	964	997	971	1012	934	983	1099
Year	1606	1607	1608	1609	1610	1611	1612	1613	1614	1615	1616	1617	1618	1619	1620

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	6.3%	5.8%	7.8%	5.9%	6.3%	6.7%	6.5%	6.6%	5.2%	4.3%	4.3%	2.2%	3.0%	4.2%	5.0%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	71	63	76	51	65	61	62	73	53	41	26	17	19	30	37
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	6	8	7	2	2	3	0	6	2	5	1	0	5	3	2
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	45%	47%	50%	57%	50%	49%	42%	54%	50%	44%	55%	42%	54%	45%	45%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	61	122	89	96	106	78	74	106	99	71	65	48	49	63	48
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	46%	47%	38%	37%	41%	39%	49%	37%	44%	45%	36%	42%	42%	46%	42%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	62	121	68	61	86	61	87	74	87	72	42	48	38	64	45
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	9%	19%	12%	12%	14%	11%	15%	11%	14%	13%	13%	10%	10%	14%	10%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	6%	11%	7%	7%	8%	7%	9%	7%	8%	8%	7%	6%	6%	9%	6%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	12%	24%	18%	19%	20%	17%	19%	18%	19%	17%	19%	15%	14%	19%	14%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	135	258	178	167	211	158	178	198	200	161	118	114	91	139	106
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	59%	59%	56%	58%	60%	58%	61%	63%	60%	60%	52%	64%	59%	62%	59%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	666	635	547	498	623	532	591	697	616	570	319	495	372	442	436
Total of books listed by the USTC	1127	1078	970	866	1034	913	961	1112	1026	949	609	779	629	717	739
Year	1621	1622	1623	1624	1625	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	1633	1634	1635

Proportion of music prints within the total of books listed by the USTC	3.9%	4.1%	4.4%	4.9%	6.6%
Amount of music prints listed by the USTC	28	30	34	36	55
Proportion of books containing text in Italian and classified as 'poetry' within the total of books listed by the USTC	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Amount of books containing text in Italian and classified by the USTC as 'poetry'	2	1	1	2	0
Proportion of books containing text in Latin within religious books	41%	45%	44%	41%	50%
Amount of religious books containing text in Latin	45	45	43	45	67
Proportion of books containing text in Italian within religious books	56%	47%	49%	50%	41%
Amount of religious books containing text in Italian	62	47	48	56	55
Proportion of books with religious content within books containing text in Italian	15%	11%	11%	13%	11%
Proportion of religious books containing text in Italian within the total of books listed by the USTC	9%	6%	6%	8%	7%
Proportion of books within the total of books classified by the USTC as 'religious'	15%	14%	13%	15%	16%
Amount of religious books listed by the USTC	110	100	98	111	133
Proportion of Italian books within the total of books listed by the USTC	59%	59%	58%	59%	61%
Amount of books containing text in Italian listed by the USTC	420	435	450	433	507
Total of books listed by the USTC	712	732	772	736	834
Year	1636	1637	1638	1639	1640

Table 8.5: Prints devoted to musical settings of Marian litanies from the second half of the sixteenth century to 1610. ⁶⁰⁸

Year	Author	Short Title and Publisher
1575	Costanzo Porta	<i>Litaniae Deiparae Virginis Mariae ex sacra Scriptura de promptae, quae in alma Domo Lauretana omnibus diebus sabbati, vigiliarum et festorum eiusdem Beatae Virginis decantari solent, 8vv</i> (Venice: Giorgio Angelieri, 1575).
1593 (1600)	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina	<i>Litaniae Deiparae Virginis musica D[ominis] Joannis Petri Aloysii Praenestini... 4vv. Additae Litaniae quae in Sanctas Ecclesia Lauretana utuntur auctore Orlando di Lasso, Survive in reprint only</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1600).
1597	Giovanni Battista Gnocchi	<i>Litaniarum Beatae Virginis] Mariae 4–8vv. Liber primus ... Cum litanis de venerabili sacramento</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1597).
1599	Luigi Roinci	<i>Litaniae B[eatae] M[ariae] Virginis 4–8, 12vv</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1599).
1600	Orlando di Lasso	Addition to a reprint of 1593 Palestrina's litany setting: <i>Litaniae Deiparae Virginis musica D[ominis] Joannis Petri Aloysii Praenestini... 4vv. Additae Litaniae quae in Sanctas Ecclesia Lauretana utuntur auctore Orlando di Lasso</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1600).
1605	Lodovico Viadana	<i>Letanie che si cantano nella Santa Casa di Loreto et nelle chiese di Roma ogni sabato et feste della Madonna a 3, a 4, a 5, a 6, a 7, a 8 e 12 voci</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1605)
1606	Vitale Da Brescia	<i>Litanie beatissimae virginis Mariae secundum institutum Sacrae Domus Lauretanae, 4–8vv</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1606)
1607	Paolo Agostino Ferrario	<i>Letanie della Madonna che si cantano nella Santa Casa di Loreto, 4–8vv, con una Salve Regina, e^{se} sei motetti, 2vv con il basso continuo</i> (Venezia, Riccardo Amadino, 1607)
1610	Gasparo Villani	<i>Letanie della Beata Vergine, 8vv, libro primo</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano and brothers, 1610)

⁶⁰⁸ This and the following table are based on information from Blazey, 'Litany in Seventeenth-Century Italy', 76–84; Marx-Weber, 'Römische Vertonungen der Lauretanischen Litanei', 211–236; RISM; JSCMI-2 and IC (accessed 5–9 April 2018).

Table 8.6: Polyphonic Marian litanies in mixed collections from the second half of the sixteenth century to 1610.

Year	Author	Short Title and Publisher
1583	Annibale Stabile	<i>Litanie beatae Mariae Virginis, et nominis Iesu. Una cum quatuor antiphonis, que post officium dicuntur</i> (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1583).
	Tomás Luis de Victoria	<i>Motecta 4–6, 8, 12^{ra}</i> (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1583).
1584	Giovanni Matteo Asola	<i>Falsi Bordonni per cantar salmi, in quatro ordini divini, sopra gli otto tuoni ecclesiastici, 4^{ra}</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano). ???
1587	Giovanni Battista Lumbardi	<i>Canticorum Beatae Mariae virginis, liber primus, 4^{ra}</i> (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1587).
1590	Valerio Bona	<i>Litanie et aliae laudes b[eatae] Mariae Virginis nec non divorum Francisci ac Antonii Patavini, 4^{ra}</i> (Milan: Heirs of Francesco Tini and Simone Tini, 1590).
1594	Bartolomeo Ratti	<i>Cantiones in laudem Deiparae Virginis Mariae (quae vulgo nominari solent motecta), quae in omni solemnitate ipsius cantari possunt et in fine adiectae sunt litanie in honorem eiusdem Virginis liber primus, 5^{ra}</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1594).
1596	Felice Anerio	<i>Sacri hymni et cantica sine motecta musicis notis expressa, 4^{ra}, liber primus</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596).
1597	Francesco Soriano	<i>Motectorum, 8^{ra}</i> (Rome, Nicolò Muzi, 1597).
1598	Lodovico Viadana	<i>Missae defunctorum, 3^{ra}</i> (Venice, Riccardo Amadino, 1598).
1600	Orfeo Vecchi	<i>Hymni totius anni, 4^{ra}. Completorium item antiphonis et litanis b[eatae] V[irginis] M[ariae], 5^{ra}, litanie quoque sanctorum, alternatis choris</i> (Milan: Heirs of Simone Tini and Giovanni Francesco Besozzi).
1601	Tommaso Boldon	<i>Vesperae per tutte le solennità dell'anno, con una messa, et Te Deum, 6^{ra} pari; quintori un falso bordone, et Gloria patri, et Litanie della Beata Vergine 8^{ra} pari</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1601).
	Valerio Bona	<i>Missarum et motectorum duobus choris. Liber Secundus</i> (Venice, Riccardo Amadino, 1601).
1602	Cesare Borgo	<i>Missae et Magnificat octo falso bordonni, 8^{ra}, liber secundus</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1602).

- 1604 Flaminio Nocetti *Missa ac litanie Beatae Mariae Virginis, 8vv* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1602).
- Giuseppe Belloni *Missa, motecta psalmi et litanie B[eatae] M[ariae] [V]irginis Lauretanae, 8vv* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1604).
- Vincenzo de Grandis *Psalmi ad vespas, et motecta, 8vv quorum aliqua concertata cum litanis B[eatae] M[ariae] [V]irginis* (Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1604).
- Giacomo Moro *Concerti ecclesiastici nellquali si contengono motetti, Magnificat & falsi bordon, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8vv* (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1604).
- Giulio Belli *Compieta, motetti, & letanie della Madonna, 8vv* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1605).
- Archangelo Borsaro *Concerti ecclesiastici alli quali si contengono motetti, 1–8vv... Litanie, 8vv... Opera nona.* (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1605).
- Serafino Cantone *Motecta, cum Letaniis B[eatae] Mariae semper virginis, et Sanctorum 5vv liber secundus* (Milan: Agostino Tradate, 1605).
- 1606 Giovanni Battista Biondi *Compieta con letanie et motetti, 8vv* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1606).
- Serafino Patta *Missa psalmi motecta ac litanie, 5vv* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1606).
- Giovanni Righi *Missa, motecta, psalmi ad vespas cum duobus canticis ac litanis in omnibus B[eatae] Mariae Virginis fesivitatibus, 8vv* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1606).
- 1607 Giulio Belli *Compieta, falsi bordon, motetti et litanie della Madonna, 6vv* (Venice: Alessandro Raveri, 1607).
- Pietro Lappi *La Terza con il Te Deum et Litanie della B[eata] V[er]gine et santi, 8vv* (Venice: Alessandro Raveri, 1607).
- Salvatore Sacchi *Missa, Motecta, Magnificat, et Litanie B[eatae] M[ariae] [V]irginis cum basso continuato ad organum, nec non decem motecta divorsorum excellentiss. Auctorum, 8vv* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zannetti, 1607).
- 1607-1608 Giulio Belli *Compieta, falsi bordon, antifone et letanie della Madonna, 4vv: primo choro* (Venice: Alessandro Raveri, 1607)
Compieta, falsi bordon, antifone, et litanie della Madonna, secondo choro (Venice: Alessandro Raveri, 1607)
Basso Generale della Compieta, falsi bordon, antifone, et litanie, 5vv (Venice: Angelo Gardano and brothers, 1608).
- 1608 Giovanni Battista Biondi. *Messe, letanie, et motetti, 5vv* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1608).
- Giovanni Battista Stefanini *Il secondo libro de motetti 5–8vv, et le letanie della B[eata] V[er]gine nell'ultimo, con il basso principale per l'organo* (Venice: Alessandro Raveri, 1608).

- 1609 Olivier Ballis *Sacri hymni cantiones, et Litaniae deiparae Virginis Mariae, 8vv* (Venice: Alessandro Raverii, 1609).
- Giovanni Battista Dulcino *Sacrae cantiones una cum litanijis Beatae Mariae Virginis, & Magnificat, 8vv, liber primus* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1609).
- Claudio Merulo *Missa due, 8, 12vv additeq[ue] litaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis, 8vv* (Venice: Angelo Gardano and brothers, 1609).
- Bastiano Miseroeca *Messa, vespro, motetti et letanie della B[eata] Vergine, 8vv* (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1609).
- Serafino Patta *Sacra cantica concinenda una, duabus, et tribus vocibus, cum litanis B[eatae] Mariae Virginis quinque vocibus, auctore D. Seraphino Patta mediolanensi monaco castinensi in ecclesia S. Petri organista* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1609).
- Benedetto Re *Mottetti 2-3vv per cantar nell'organo con il basso continuo: opera seconda / di Caterina Asandra pareve...: aggiuntori una canzon francese a 4 e le letanie della B[eata] V[ergine] a 6 del rever[endo] don Benedetto Re suo maestro di contraponto* (Milan: Heir of Simone Tini, 1609).
- Sisto Visconte *Conceni spirituali, ne' quali si contengono messa, psalmi, Magnificat, motetti, letanie, & falsibordoni, 4vv* (Milan: Heirs of Simone Tini and Filippo Lomazzo, 1609).
- 1610 Girolamo Belli *Salmi 5vv con doi magnificat et letanie della B[eata] Vergine di Girolamo Belli d'Argenta, con il suo basso generale per l'organo. Opera 20.* (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1610).
- Giovanni Francesco Capello *Sacrorum concertum 1-2vv cum litanijis B. Virginis Mariae. Opus Primum* (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1610).
- Cesare Gussago *Psalmi ad vesperas, 8vv* (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1610).
- Giovanni Righi *Completorium Romanum, 8vv, una cum litanijis, motets, & antiphonis B[eatae] M[ariae] [V]irginis, opus VII* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1610).
- Giovanni Battista Strata *Letanie della Madonna, che si cantano nella S. Casa di Loreto, in musica ariosa, e breve. Con le Letanie de' Santi e sue precà seguenti à due chori separati 4vv. E nel fine il Salmo Miserere in falsobordone, per concertare con voci e stromenti, 4, 8vv* (Genoa: Giuseppe Pavoni, 1610).

Table 8.7: List of musical settings of the full *Canzone alla Vergine* or its paraphrases.

Cipriano De Rore	<i>Musica di Cipriano Rore sopra le stanze del Petrarca in laude della Madonna ... Libro Terzo</i> (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1548), reprinted in <i>Di Cipriano Rore il Terzo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci dove si contengono le Vergine, et altri Madrigali</i> (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1552)
Alessandro Merlo	<i>Le Vergine di Alessandro romano a quattro voci con gionta di alcuni altri Madrigali</i> (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1554)
Giovanni Païen	<i>Di Gioan Païen il Primo libro de Madrigali a due voci dove si contengono le vergine</i> (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1564)
Francesco Portinaro	<i>Le Vergini di Francesco Portinaro a sei voci con alcuni Madrigali, a cinque, et a sei, et duoi Dialoghi a sette</i> (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1568)
Giovann Matteo Asola	<i>Le vergine a tre voci</i> (Venice, Aangelo Gardano, 1571)
Philippe Duc	<i>Le Vergini di Filippo Duc fiamengo, Libro Primo a sei Voci con un Dialogo a otto nel fine</i> (Venice: sons of Antonio Gardano, 1574)
Alessandro Milleville	<i>Le Vergine, con dieci altre stanze spirituali a quattro voci</i> (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1584)
Ippolito Baccusi	<i>Le vergini d'Ippolito Baccusi. Madrigali a tre voci Libro Secondo</i> (Venice: Riccardo Amadino, 1605)

Table 8.8: Titles of Mary used in Antonio Migliori's *Priego alla Beata Vergine* (Rome: Guglielmo Faciotti, 1593) and their occurrence in different types of Marian litanies and/or Petrarch's *Vergine bella*.⁶⁰⁹

Str.	Title used in the <i>Priego</i>	Wording in different <i>Litaniae ex sacra scriptura et patribus depromptae</i>	Wording in the Litany of Loretto	Wording in Petrarch's <i>Vergine bella</i>
3	<i>Sol, che fai bello il terreno e il cielo</i> Sun that makes the land and the sky beautiful	electa ut sol		Di sol vestita, coronata di stelle (<i>Vergine bella</i> , 1,1)
4	<i>Scala del cielo</i> Ladder of heaven <i>Porta del cielo</i> Gate of heaven <i>Stella del mare</i> Star of the sea	scala Iacob porta caeli stella maris	ianua coeli	Fenestra del ciel (<i>Vergine bella</i> , 3,5) Di questo tempestoso mare Stella, d'ogni fedel nocchier fidata guida (<i>Vergine bella</i> , 6,2–3)
5	<i>Bella luna</i> Beautiful moon	pulchra ut luna/ luna plena		
6	<i>Vermiglia rosa</i> Blossoming rose <i>Bianco e puro giglio</i> White and pure lily	rosa recens ac redolens sine spina lilium inter spinas/ lilium convalium	rosa mystica	

⁶⁰⁹ See similar tables in Nielsen, 79–80, 81–82, 89–90; Japs, *Die Madrigale Palestrinas*, 153–154 and Ziane, *Amor divino*, 120.

7	<i>Verde cipresso</i> Green cypress	cupressus in monte Sion		
8	<i>Electa mirra</i> Elect myrrh <i>Balsamo sacro</i> Holy balsam <i>Bel purpureo fiore del campo</i> Beautiful purple flower of the field	mirthus electa balsamum non mixtum / balsamum aromatizans flos campi		
9	<i>Cedro gentili</i> Gentle Cedar <i>Vina palma</i> Living palm	cedrus in libano exaltata palma florens		
10	<i>Sigillata fontana</i> Sealed fountain <i>Sacro pozzo</i> Holy well <i>Platano altiero</i> Tall plane	fons signatus puteus aquarum viventium platanus iuxta aquas		
11	<i>Stillante favo</i> Dripping honeycomb	favus distillans		

12	<i>Orto, che sei chiuso e serrato</i> Closed and locked garden	hortus conclusus		Virginal chiostro (<i>Virgine bella</i> , 6,13)
13	<i>Rubo, ch'ardendo ognor non ti consumi</i> Bramble, which is always burning but does not consume	rubus ardens incombustus		
14	<i>Vincitrice dell'empia Idra infernale</i> Defeater of the cruel infernal Hydra	serpentis caput conterens		Vergine benedetta, che 'l pianto d'Eva in allegrezza torni (<i>Virgine bella</i> , 3,10)
	<i>Bella oliva de' campi</i> Beautiful olive-tree of the fields	oliva speciosa in campis		
	<i>Madre d'ogni bella</i> Mother of all beauty	mater pulchrae dilectionis		
	<i>Che 'l pianto e' l male di Eva tornasti in vita alma e gioiosa</i> You who turned the weeping and the pain of Eve into a blessed and joyful life	desiderium collium eternorum		
	<i>Desio de' colli eterni</i> The desire of everlasting hills	arca testimonii/arca Noè salutaris	foederis arca	
<i>Immortale Arca di pace lieta e preziosa</i> Immortal Ark of peace, joyful and precious	lignum vitae			
	<i>Legno di vita</i> Tree of life			

<p>15</p> <p><i>Città di Dio</i> The city of God</p> <p><i>Nave, che porti ricchezze di lontano</i> Ship that carries riches from afar</p> <p><i>Casa d'oro</i> House of gold</p>	<p>civitas Dei</p> <p>navis institoris de longe portans panem/navis mercibus referta</p> <p>domus aurea</p>	<p>Vivo tempio al vero Dio (<i>Vergine bella</i>, 5,5)</p>
<p>16</p> <p><i>Santo altare d'odori più veri e degni</i> Holy altar of most real and worthy scents</p> <p><i>Ardente cinnamono</i> Burning cinnamon</p> <p><i>Ordinata squadra dei campi</i> Army set in array in the fields</p> <p><i>Regina dei celesti regni</i> Queen of the heavenly realm</p> <p><i>Vera avvocata a mortali</i> True advocate of the mortals</p>	<p>altare thymiamatis</p> <p>cinnamomum aromatizans</p> <p>castrorum acies ordinata</p> <p>regina caelorum</p> <p>advocata nostra</p>	<p>Coronata nel superno regno (<i>Vergine bella</i>, 3,13)</p>
<p>17</p> <p><i>Torre di fortezza</i> Tower of strength</p> <p><i>Torre eburna</i> Ivory tower</p>	<p>urbs fortitudinis</p> <p>turris eburnea</p>	<p>turris eburnea</p>

18	<i>Specchio polito e terso</i> Polished and clean mirror	speculum sine macula			
19	<i>Vello di Gedeon</i> Fleece of Gideon	vellus Gedeonis/ concha Gedeonis rorida			
20	<i>Novella Aurora</i> New Aurora	aurora consurgens			Vergine in cui ho tutta mia speranza (<i>Vergine bella</i> , 9,1)
	<i>Madre di timore e di speme</i> Mother of [godly] fear and of hope	mater sanctae spei			
	<i>Soglio della gloria di Dio</i> Threshold of God's glory	solum gloriae dei			
	<i>Paradiso d'allegri piaceri</i> Paradise of joyful delights	paradysus voluptatis			
	<i>Del ciel regina</i> Queen of heaven				Del Ciel regina (<i>Vergine bella</i> , 1,13)*
21	<i>Trono di Salomon</i> Throne of Solomon	thronus Salomonis/ ferculum Salomonis			
22	<i>Salute d'egri ed infermi</i> Health of the afflicted and the sick	infirmorum solatium		salus infirmorum/ consolatrix afflictorum	
23	<i>De' patriarchi alta regina</i> High queen of Patriarchs			regina patriarcharum	

24	<i>D'angoli Regina</i> Queen of angels <i>[Regina] de' profeti</i> Queen of prophets	regina angelorum	regina angelorum regina prophetarum	
25	<i>Che d'apostoli sei Donna e Signora</i> Ruler and Lady of Apostles	praeconium apostolorum	regina apostolorum	
26	<i>Che de' martiri sei Regina e Donna</i> Ruler and Lady of martyrs		regina martyrum	
27	<i>De' dottor Regina</i> Queen of doctors		regina confessorum	
28	<i>Regina delle vergini</i> Queen of virgins <i>Regina delle squadre beatissime de' santi</i> Queen of the blessed armies of saints		regina virginum regina sanctorum omnium	
29	<i>Madre di Dio</i> Mother of God	General title		

Table 8.9: List of Giovanni Croce's published works ordered by publication year.⁶¹⁰

Year	No in the Bibliography	Short Title, Publisher and Editions
1585/6	[100]	<i>Il primo libro de Madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1585/6, repr.: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596, 1607; Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1615).
1588	[101]	<i>Canzonette a quattro voci libro primo</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi & Riccardo Amadino, 1588, repr: Vincenzi, 1598)].
1590	[102]	<i>Mascarate piacevoli et ridicolose per il carnevale a 4 5 6 7 et otto voci: Libro Primo</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1590, repr.: ibd., 1604).
1590	[103]	<i>Il Primo libro de Madrigali a sei voci</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1590, repr.: Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1618).
1591	[104]	<i>Compietta a otto voci</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1591).
1592	[105]	<i>Il Secondo Libro de' Madrigali a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1592).
1594	[106]	<i>Motetti a otto voci</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1594, repr.: ibd., 1596, 1599, 1603, 1607).
1594/5	[107]	<i>Novi pensieri musicali a cinque voci</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1594/5, repr.: ibd., 1598).
[1595]	[121]	<i>Motetti a otto voci: Libro Secondo</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, [1595], repr.: ibd., 1604, 1605, 1615). First edition missing. ⁶¹¹
1595	[108]	<i>Triaca musicale</i> (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1595, repr.: ibd., 1596, 1607).

⁶¹⁰ Based on the work lists from IC (accessed 20–21 February 2017), NV and the appendices of Davey's 'The Life of Giovanni Croce'.

⁶¹¹ According to Davey ('The Life of Giovanni Croce', appendix, p. 4 and endnote 1), the only known copy of the first edition preserved at the Biblioteca diocesana mons. Giuliano Agresti in Lucca (RISM A/I: C 4436) actually dates from 1605.

- 1596 [109] *Messe a cinque voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596, repr.: ibd. 1604).
- 1596 [110] *Messe a otto voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596, repr.: ibd., 1600, 1604, 1607, 1612).
- 1596 [111] *Salmi che si cantano a Terza, à Otto voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596).
- 1596/7 [112] *Li Sette Sonetti penitentiali a sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1596/7, repr.: ibd., 1603).
- 1597 [115] *Motetti a quattro voci: Libro primo* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1597, repr.: ibd., 1599, 1602).
- 1597 [116] *Vespertina omnium solennitatum psalmodia octonis vocibus decantanda* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1597, repr.: ibd., 1603, Alessandro Vicenzi, 1625).
Organ continuo part: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1610.
- 1599 [117] *Messe a cinque e sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1599).
- 1599 [118] *Septem psalmi penitentiales sex vocum ... italica lingua primum modulati: nunc vero ... in latinam linguam conversi ab amatore quodam musicae Joanne a Cruce Clodiensis* (Nuremberg: Paul Kaufmann, 1599).
- 1601 [119] *Canzonette a tre voci. Libro primo* (repr.: Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1601). First edition missing.
- 1601 [120] *Sacrae cantiones quinis vocibus concinendae* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1601, repr.: ibd., 1605).
- 1603 [121] *Devotissime Lamentationi et Improperi Per la Settimana Santa, A Quattro voci* (repr.: Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1603). First edition missing
- 1605 [123] *Magnificat omnium tonorum cum sex vocibus* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1605).
- 1607 [124] *Il quarto libro de Madrigali a cinque, et sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1607).
- 1608 [125] *Musica sacra to Sixe Voices*, transl. by R.H. (London: Thomas East, 1608, repr.: London: Matthew Lownes, 1611).

- 1610 [127] *Nove lamentazioni per la Settimana Santa a quattro voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1610).
- 1610 [129] *Sare Cantilene concertate a tre, a cinque, et sei voci* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi, 1610).
- 1622 [129] *Cantiones sacre octo vocum* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1622). Motets from 1594 [106] and 1595 [121].
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9 APPENDIX B: MUSIC EDITIONS

Editorial Principles⁶¹²

Text

1. The spelling of the lyrics has been modernised, but the vocabulary has not been altered, even if some words are dialectal or not in use any more. In cases where a word has two forms with interchanging ‘o’ and ‘uo’ or ‘e’ and ‘ie’ (e.g. ‘core’ and ‘cuore’) the more common form with ‘uo’ / ‘ie’ will be used.
2. In the text editions preceding the transcriptions, ligatures have been solved, capitalisation has been standardised and punctuation was added (the original part books use no punctuation for the lyrics). The number placed before the Italian text indicates the number of the *parte* in the setting, and the number placed after the English translation indicates the number of the strophe.
3. Vocal text in the transcriptions mostly follows the punctuation of the text editions, but some punctuation marks that were not strictly necessary for making the meaning of the text clear have been omitted. Moreover, repeated phrases are preceded by a comma. Text omissions (when one or more parts remain silent during a particular line or word) are marked with an ellipsis. Line breaks in the poetic form are marked by capitalising the first word of the line. Repetitions of a full line begin with a capital letter as well. All other use of capital letters has been kept to a minimum.
4. Text repetitions not written out in the original score (marked with *ij*) are written out in the transcription enclosed in angle brackets (<>).
5. Word division in the vocal text follows the standard Italian syllabification rules. There is an inconsistency between the individual parts of the source with regard to vowel elisions – in some instances they are marked with an apostrophe and in other instances they are not marked at all. In the edition, elisions are normalised. Where both types of elision occur in the same passage in the source, elisions without apostrophe (marked in with a half-circle beneath the syllables) are preferred over elisions with apostrophe.
6. All editorial additions are enclosed in square brackets ([]).

Music

1. Barlines have been added to comply with the modern conventions. The ends of *parti* are demarcated by thin-thin barlines and a system break. The C mensuration of both collections has been transcribed in 4/2 time.
2. Bar numbering is continuous throughout the whole *canzone* or madrigal.
3. Modern clefs are used throughout the transcription: treble clef for Canto, Sesto, Alto and Quinto when it is within the Alto range; transposed treble clef for Tenore and Quinto in the tenor range, bass clef for Basso.

⁶¹² This edition follows the methodology used by A-R Editions in its Recent Researches in Music series, as outlined in their Style Guide available online at <https://www.areditions.com/media/wysiwyg/pdfs/StyleGuide.pdf> (accessed 27 March 2020).

4. Vocal parts are presented in standard choral order with Quinto and Sesto being placed below the parts with which they share a clef.
5. Each piece starts with an incipit, which indicates the original clefs and the first tone of each piece in original notation as well as any rests that precede the first note.
6. As a guide to the performer, range finders are added directly after the the clef, key signature and time signature.
7. Original note values and time signatures are used. The rests are normalised according to modern notation rules.
8. Final longs at the ends of *parti* and *canzoni* are notated as breves with fermatas.
9. Accidentals already present in the source, including those considered unnecessary or redundant by modern conventions, are placed on the staff. Editorial accidentals, added in cases where an accidental found in the source has to be repeated or cancelled as a result of adopting modern conventions, are placed on the staff enclosed in square brackets ([]). *Musica ficta* (raised leading tones, correction of diminished fifths, tritones and false relations, *una nota super la*) are placed above the staff. While source accidentals and editorial accidentals remain in force throughout the bar, unless canceled, *musica ficta* signs affect only the notes directly below.
10. Beaming has been modernised. Syllabic passages have been individually flagged. No slurs are used, but ties are used in cases where longer notes have been divided by barlines.
11. Ligatures are indicated by closed horizontal brackets, coloration by open horizontal brackets.

Sources

Giovanni Pellio:

Il primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci (Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1584), digital facsimile of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4 Mus.pr. 3 (<http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00073076-3>).

Flaminio Oddi:

Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci. Di Flaminio Oddi. Libro primo (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608), Biblioteca della musica BB.54 and its digital facsimile (<http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB054/>).

**Giovanni Pello, *Il primo libro de canzoni spirituali a sei voci*
(Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi and Riccardo Amadino, 1584).**

Texts

Al Molto Magnifico Signor Gulielmo Elman

Signor mio Osservandissimo

Son tanto obligato al Reverendo Padre Don Serafino Fontana, che non posso disdire alla sua volontà. Comanda egli, che si stampino alcune mie Canzoni spirituali, me ne contento, e per dargli maggior soddisfazione le dono à Vostra Signoria sapendo, quanto egli sta stretto seco in amicizia ed intendendo, che si diletta di questo virtuoso trattenimento; piacciale d'aggradirle quale elle si siano e si degni d'accettar me in grazia sua, e come Fiamengo e come Servitore del Reverendo Padre Don Serafino; e le bacio le mani, pregandole da Nostro Signor Dio ogni contento. Di Venezia l'ultimo d'Agosto. 1584.

Di Vostra Signoria

Devotissimo Servitore,

Giovanni Pello

To the most magnificent Lord Gulielmo Elman

My most respected Lord

I am so indebted to the Reverend Father Don Serafino Fontana that I cannot object to his will. He commands me to have some of my *Canzoni spirituali* printed, I content myself with it and, in order to give him a greater satisfaction, I dedicate them to your grace knowing how close in friendship he is with you and understanding that he will be pleased with this skilful entertainment; please appreciate these compositions however they are and deign to receive me unto your grace as a Fleming and as a Servant of the Reverend Father Don Serafino. I kiss your hands and pray our Lord God to grant you all happiness. Venice, the last day of August, 1584.

The most devout Servant of Your Grace

Giovanni Pello

Canzon Prima (Tasso: *Salmo VI*)

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | De l'egre, inferme menti
Vieni, o consolatore
Clemente; o de' tormenti
Nostri, Medico certo assai migliore,
Che non fu mai Enone,
Che non fu Podalirio, o Macaone. | <i>Come, oh mild comforter of our sick souls, you that
are certainly a better doctor for our torments than
Oenone, Podaleirios or Machaon ever were.</i> | 1 |
| 2 | Vieni Spirito Santo;
E del mio cuore immondo,
Ch'ora lavo col pianto,
Penetra coi tuoi rai sino al profondo
E le tenebre sgombra,
Che posto v'ha de' miei peccati l'ombra. | <i>Come, oh Holy Spirit and with your rays get into the
depths of my foul soul, which I am now washing with
tears, and repel the darkness cast by the shadow of
my sins.</i> | 2 |
| | Vedi che come scoglio
Percuoton del mar l'onde
Con un continuo orgoglio,
Così piaghe mi fan larghe e profonde
L'alte miserie mie,
Ond'io non poso mai notte né die. | <i>You see how, as the proud waves of the sea constantly
beat a rock, so my deep miseries make in me large
and deep wounds, and I have no rest night or day.</i> | 3 |
| 3 | Vieni salda fortezza,
E col potente braccio,
Ch'ogni durezza spezza,
Rompi quel forte, adamantino ghiaccio,
Che mi circonda l'alma
Sicchè non abbia pur di me la palma | <i>Come, oh unshaken fortitude, and with your mighty
arm, which breaks every hardness, bruise that strong
as diamantine ice that surrounds my soul, so that</i> | 4 |
| | La morte; o quel nimico,
Che con falsa lusinga
Di simulato amico
Fallace pur m'alletta e mi lusinga
Per tenermi ogn'hor fisso
Nel suo più scuro e più profondo abisso. | <i>death or that enemy, who entices me with the
deceptive allurement of a false friend, and decoys me
in order to immovably hold me every hour in his most
dark and most deep Abyss, do not hold victory over
me.</i> | 5 |
| 4 | Non ha, quand' è più bello
L'anno e più diletto,
Tante fronde arbuscello,
Tanti vaghi fioretti un prato erboso,
Quant'io noie ed affanni
Del mio'angoscioso cuore empì tiranni. | <i>A tree does not have as many leaves, a meadow has
not as many flowers at the time when the year is the
most beautiful and pleasant, as I have troubles and
worries, cruel tyrants over my anxious heart.</i> | 6 |
| 5 | Sana Palma dolente
Ed egra, di salute
Disperata, ch'ardente
Febbre consuma, con la tua virtute,
Non con suchi o liquori
Di verdi erbetto o di gemmati fiori. | <i>Heal the aching and sick soul, which has no hope to
be saved and is being consumed by burning fever,
with your healing power and not with juices or
liquids made of green herbs or blossoms.</i> | 7 |
| | Scaccia l'interna sete
Col tuo torrente vivo
Del piacer, che fa liete
L'anime nostre; e non con fonte, o rivo,
Sicchè tempri il veleno
Delle miserie umane, ond'io son pieno. | <i>Drive away inner thirst with your living torrent of
delight that gladdens our soul, not with a spring or a
river, so that it tempers the venom of those human
miseries, of which I am full.</i> | 8 |

Canzon Seconda (Tasso: *Salmo VII*)

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|----|
| 1 | Il tuo aiuto, o Signore,
E pietoso, e benigno
Contra l'angue maligno
Chiamo, ch'a tutte l'ore
Mi serpe intorno a questo afflito core. | <i>Oh Lord compassionate and benign, I cry for your help
against the malicious serpent, which twists around this
afflicted heart every hour.</i> | 1 |
| 2 | Ti cerco, o Signor mio,
Per servirti ed amarti,
Ma non posso trovarti,
Che la nube del rio
Peccato s'interpone al mio desio | <i>I seek you, oh my Lord, to serve you and to love you, but
I cannot find you, for the cloud of wicked sin interposes
between me and my longing</i> | 2 |
| | E mi nasconde il lume
Di te, mio sol lucente,
Sicché la cieca mente
Tornerà al suo costume,
Se non è chi la guidi o chi l'allume. | <i>and hides your light, my shining sun, away from me, so
blind mind, without anyone to guide it or to illuminate
it, returns to its [old] habits.</i> | 3 |
| 3 | Come raggio talora
Di chiaro ardente sole
Sgombrar la nube suole,
Che l'aria ad ora ad ora
Conturba col suo scuro e discolora, | <i>Like a ray of bright scorching sun sometimes clears away
the cloud, which every moment disturbs the air with its
darkness and makes it pale,</i> | 4 |
| | Così un sol lumicino
Della tua grazia immensa
Come facella accensa
Mostrì il dritto cammino
A me smarrito e stanco peregrino, | <i>so let one single pinpoint of the light of your immense
grace, like a burning torch, show me, a lost and weary
pilgrim, the straight path,</i> | 5 |
| | Acciò ch'io possa omai
Trovar, dove tu sei,
Fallo che farlo dei
Che se non mi ti dai,
Nulla mi giova ciò, che dato m'hai. | <i>so that I can find where you are; it is because of my
failing you must undertake it since, unless you give
yourself to me, nothing else that you have given me is of
use to me.</i> | 6 |
| 4 | Io t'amo, e se non quanto
Dovrei che te'l confesso.
Non può lo spirt'oppresso
Dal peso grave tanto
Di questo mio mortal terreno manto | <i>I love you, and even if I do not love you as much as I
should, I confess it to you. The soul, crushed by the heavy
weight of this mortal earthly shell,</i> | 7 |
| | Alzarsi ov'è'l suo bene
Da queste egre del mondo
Cure vile et immondo
E por tutta sua spene
Nel suo santo favor come conviene. | <i>cannot rise where its beloved one is, cowardly and impure
through these ill worries of the world, and cannot place
all its hope in his holy goodness as it ought to.</i> | 8 |
| 5 | Ma se col vivo raggio
Di tua gratia disgombre
Questi ch'a guisa d'ombre
Mi celano il viaggio
Pensier umani, ond'io lume non haggio, | <i>But if this living ray of your grace clears away those
human thoughts that like shadows disguise my journey so
that I have no light any more,</i> | 9 |
| | Te sol Signor eterno
Ogni gioia mortale
Come caduca, frale
E vile havend'a scherno
Amerò, colmo d'un diletto interno. | <i>I will love you alone, eternal Lord filled with internal
delight, scorning every mortal joy as perishable, frail and
worthless.</i> | 10 |

Canzon Terza (Tasso: *Salmo VIII*)

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | Stempra, o gran re del cielo,
Col vivo fuoco del tuo santo amore
Questo indurato gelo
Di confirmato errore,
Che mi circonda intorn'intorn'il cuore, | <i>Melt, oh Great King of Heavens, with the living fire of
your holy love, the hardened ice of confirmed error, which
surrounds my heart,</i> | 1 |
| | Sicché tutto infiammato
Del tuo divino ardor, qual secca face
Arda in fuoco beato,
Sempre chiaro e vivace,
Con degl'affetti umani eterna pace. | <i>so that completely inflamed by your divine ardour, it
burns as a dry torch with blissful fire always shining and
bright, with eternal peace safe from human passions.</i> | 2 |
| | In te sol la radice
Posi della mia speme alta e gradita,
Ch'or crescendo, felice
E di fronde vestita
Alza la chioma sua verde e fiorita. | <i>In you alone my hope, high and pleasant, took root,
which now growing, happy and clad in leafage, lifts up its
green and blooming branches.</i> | 3 |
| 2 | Bagnala tu con l'onda
Di quella tua pietà celeste e diva,
Che come font'abbonda,
Che da sorgente e viva
Vena fra i fiori e l'erbe si deriva, | <i>Bathe it with the wave of your heavenly and divine mercy,
so that it abounds as a spring that draws from a gushing
and a living vein among flowers and herbs,</i> | 4 |
| | Perché, venendo meno
L'umor della tua grazia, arido ramo
Non si sfaccia, ond'io pieno
Di tema e afflitto, e gramo,
Privo mi trovi di quel che più bramo. | <i>so that when the moisture of your grace gets less, the arid
branch does not perish leaving me full of fear, afflicted
and wretched, deprived from what I desire most.</i> | 5 |
| | Fa' ch'ogni mio desio
A te si volga come a segno strale
Di bono arcier, tal ch'io
Verso te spieghi l'ale
Avend'a sdegn'ogni piacer mortale, | <i>Grant that my every desire turns to you as an arrow of a
good archer to the target, so that I spread my wings
towards you, having scorned every mortal pleasure,</i> | 6 |
| 3 | Sicché quel serpe antico,
Che con eterna e vigilante cura,
Empio nostro nemico,
Di tirarmi procura
Nella sua valle tenebrosa e scura, | <i>so that the ancient serpent, our evil enemy, which with
eternal and watchful care is trying to to draw me into his
gloomy and dark valley,</i> | 7 |
| | Indarn'ogn'arte spenda
E sembri augellator, ch'al lungo giorno
In van le reti tenda,
E pien d'ira e di scorno
La sera al nido suo faccia ritorno. | <i>employing every skill in vain and like a bird-catcher,
who all day long spreads his nets without success and in
the evening returns to his nest full of anger and
humiliation.</i> | 8 |

Canzon Quarta (Tasso: *Salmo IX*)

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|----|
| 1 | Deh, fra cotante mie
Calamità, di cui gravoso pondo
Mi pone addosso il mondo,
Sì spietate, e sì rie,
Fa' almen Signor, ch'io mi riposi un die. | <i>Ab, amidst so many calamities of mine, so ruthless
and so wicked, the heavy weight of which puts the
world onto my shoulders, Oh Lord, grant that I at
least rest some day.</i> | 1 |
| | Se dopo lunga, grave
E perigliosa orribile tempesta
L'onda innanzi molesta
Divien piana e soave
E lascia il vento respirar la nave, | <i>If after a long, heavy, perilous and terrible storm the
hiberto troubled sea becomes smooth and mild and
the wave allows the ship to breath in the wind again,</i> | 2 |
| | Perché questo del mio
Stato infelice oscuro orrido verno
Esser pur debbe eterno?
O mio Signor, o Dio,
Togli l'orgoglio al destin empio, e rio. | <i>why must this dark grim winter of my miserable
state last forever? Oh my Lord, oh God, take away
pride to its cruel and wicked fate.</i> | 3 |
| 2 | Perché non mi condanni
Ad un sì lungo, anzi perpetuo esiglio,
Con continuo periglio;
E fra cotanti affanni
Finir il corso di mia vita e gl'anni. | <i>Because you do not condemn me to such a long, even
everlasting, exile with continuous peril and to ending
the course of my life and years surrounded by so
many worries.</i> | 4 |
| | Dammi tanta fortezza;
Che della rea Fortuna oltraggi e torti
Soffrend'in pace io porti,
Ed a quest'alm'avvezza
A gustar ad ogn'or l'empia dolcezza | <i>Give me so much strength, that suffering I bear in
peace the ravages and injustice of wicked Fortune,
and let this soul, accustomed to always savouring the
impious sweetness</i> | 5 |
| | Delle gioie mortali
Da' a ber di quel tuo vivo alto torrente,
Che renda ebbra la mente
De le cose immortali,
Onde poi sprezzati quest'umane e frali. | <i>Of mortal joys, drink from this deep living torrent of
yours that makes the mind drunken with immortal
matters, and it therefore despises human and weak
affairs.</i> | 6 |
| 3 | Solleva il mio pensiero
Col tuo favor da queste cure umane,
Dalle speranze vane
Del mondo, onde leggiro
E scarco, quasi alato e bel corriero, | <i>With your favour raise up my thinking from those
human anxieties, from the world's empty hopes, so
that light and unburdened like a winged and a good
runner</i> | 7 |
| | M'innalzi del tuo monte
Al giogo lieto, ove giammai non verna,
Ove verd'ed eterna
Primavera la fronte
D'altre vaghezze, e qui fra noi non conte | <i>I rise to the joyful summit of your mountain, where
there is no winter, where green and eternal spring
adorn his forehead with other delights not known
among us mortals.</i> | 8 |
| | Gli orna; e lungo i ruscelli,
Che corron acqua di diletto viva;
Sovra la verde riva,
C'ha di gemme i capelli,
Sì cibi anch'ei fra gl'angeli più belli, | <i>Along it, run the streams that flow with living water
of enjoyment on a green bank covered with gems, so
that the soul also may eat among the most beautiful
angels</i> | 9 |
| 4 | Alla divina mensa,
Ove la tua pietà tutti i diletti
Ai cari spirti eletti
Con larga man dispensa;
Tal, che de l'amor tuo l'anima accensa | <i>at the divine table, where your mercy with a generous
hand dispenses all delights to dear chosen spirits; so
that kindled by your love</i> | 10 |
| | Sdegni nel suo terreno
Carcere far ritorno: e, odiando tante
Gioie del mondo errante,
Piene d'empio veleno,
Sì muoia qui, per poi viverti in seno. | <i>the soul loathes to return to its earthly prison and
detesting so many joys of the errant world, which are
full of evil poison, dies here in order to live in your
arms hereafter.</i> | 11 |

Canzon Quinta (Tasso: *Salmo X*)

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|-------------|
| 1 | Quando ai corsier del sol pongono il freno
L'Ore, dopo l'aurora,
Per far l'aere sereno
Con la luce, ch'indora
Intorno il cielo e le campagne infiora,

Rivolgo gli occhi lagrimosi e gravi
Ancor dal sonno a Dio,
Perché le macchie lavi
C'ha fatte l'error mio
Nel'alma trista, e'i pensieri, e'l desio. | <i>When after dawn the Horae stop the steeds of the sun,
in order to make the skies clear with light that touches
the sky with gold and makes the countryside blossom,

I turn my eyes, tear-filled and still heavy from sleep, to
God, so that he washes away the stains made in my
unhappy soul by my error, and I turn to him my
thoughts and my longing.</i> | 1

2 |
| 2 | E siccome da fonte eterno e vivo,
Che con l'onda sua pura
Fa un pargoletto rivo
E con perpetua cura
Bagna i nascenti fiori e la verdura,

Verso dagli occhi e per le gote spargo
D'umor lucido e chiaro
Un rivo cupo e largo,
Dagli occhi, che peccaro,
E rigo il petto mio di pianto amaro. | <i>And as from an eternal and living spring, which with
its pure stream creates a tiny river and with perpetual
care waters the flowers bursting into bloom and the
grass.

I shed from my eyes and down my cheeks a deep and
broad river of shiny clear liquid, from the eyes that
sinned, and bathe my chest in bitter crying.</i> | 3

4 |
| 3 | E col divoto cuore e pien di fede
Di tante colpe mie
A lui cheggio mercede
(Di quelle colpe rie), ⁶¹³
Che come ingorde ed affamate Arpie

Mi rodono ad ogn'or la miser alma,
Per timor che non porte
Il nimico la palma
Di me potente e forte
E mi condanni a una perpetua morte. | <i>And with a devout heart and full of faith I plead him
mercy for so many sins of mine; (I plead mercy for the
evil sins,) which like greedy and hungry Harpies

gnaw at my poor soul all the time.
I plead out of fear lest the powerful and strong enemy
wins over me and condemns me to a perpetual death.</i> | 5

6 |
| 4 | Ma'l senso per long'uso omai tiranno,
Non clemente Signore,
Con un soave inganno
Disvia l'incauto cuore
E lo rimena al suo primiero errore.

Ahi! Anima ostinata, un cieco duce
Tolt'hai per fida scorta,
Lassa!, che ti conduce
Con le lusinghe e porta
Per questa strada perigliosa e torta. | <i>But the tyrant, not the merciful Lord, through long
practice, leads the unwise soul astray and brings it
back to its former error.

Oh! Relentless soul, you chose a blind guide as your
faithful escort (alas!) that leads you with allurements
and brings you along this dangerous and winding road.</i> | 7

8 |
| 5 | Ma tu, Signor del ciel, padre benigno
A questa semplicetta
Alma, che quel maligno
Serpe sì dolce alletta
E tien ne' lacci suoi legata e stretta,

Recidi il nodo con l'ardente spada
Di tua pietà infinita,
Sicch'a forza non vada,
Ove il crudel l'invita,
Ove la tragge timida e smarrita. | <i>But you, oh Lord of Heaven, Father kind to this
lowly soul, which the malicious serpent so sweet entices
and holds it bound and fixed in its snare,

cut off the nod with a blazing sword of your endless
mercy, so that it does not go by force where the cruel
calls it, where he draws it frightened and lost.</i> | 9

10 |

⁶¹³ This line is omitted in Pellio's setting.

- 6 In te, Signor, nella tua grazia spero
E perciò ti consacro
Il desio e'l pensiero
Lavati entro quel sacro
Di pentimento e chiaro, e bel lavacro
- E le tue lodi sempr'e la gloria⁶¹⁴
Cantando con la Cetra
Farò al mondo memoria,
Che'l cuor, che non è pietra,
Grazia e mercè da tua pietate impetra.
- I hope in you, Lord, in your grace and therefore devote* 11
to you the longing and the thoughts washed in that
holy clear and beautiful stream of repentance
- and for ever singing you praises and glory with a zither* 12
I will remind to the world that a heart, which is not a
stone, obtains grace and mercy by your pity.

⁶¹⁴ In the 1560 *Salmi* edition, the line reads: 'E le tue lodi sempre, e la tua gloria'.

Canzon Prima

Canzon Prima parte.

Canto

Sesto

Alto

Tenore

Quinto

Basso

Del - - l'e gre, in - fer - me men - ti,

Del - - l'e - gre, in - fer - me men -

Del - - l'e - gre, in -

Del - l'e - gre, in - fer - me men -

Del - l'e -

5

C.

S.

A.

T.

Q.

B.

Del - - l'e - gre, in - fer - - me men - ti Vie - ni, o con -

del - l'e - - - gre, in - fer - - - me men - ti

ti, (del - l'egre, in fer - me men - ti,) del - l'e - gre, in - fer - me men - ti Vie - ni, o con -

fer - me men - ti, (del - l'e - gre in - fer - me men ti)

ti, in - fer - me men - ti Vie - ni, o con

gre, in - fer - me men - - ti Vie - ni, o con -

10

C.

S.

A.

T.

Q.

B.

so - la - to - re Cle - men - te, Vie - ni, o con - so - la - to - re Cle - men - te; o de'

Vie - ni, o con - so - la - to - re Cle - men - te;

so - la - to - re Cle - men - te, Vie - ni, o con - so - la - to - re Cle - men - te; o

Vie - ni, o con - so - la - to - re Cle - men - te;

so - la - to - re Cle - men - te, Vie - ni, o con - so - la - to - re Cle - men - te;

so - la - to - re Cle - men - te, Vie - ni, o con - so - la - to - re Cle - men - te;

14

C. tor - men - ti No - stri, O de' tor - men - ti

S. o de' tor - men - ti No - - stri, O de tor - men - ti

A. de' tor - men - ti No - - stri, O de' tor - men - ti No -

T. o de' tor - men - ti No - stri

Q. o de' tor - men - ti Nos -

B. o de' tor - men - ti

19

C. No - stri me - di - co cer - to as - sai mi - glio -

S. No stri me - di co cer - to as - sai mi - glio - re,

A. - - - stri me - di - co cer - to as - sai mi - glio -

T. me - di - co cer - to as - sai mi - glio -

Q. stri me - di - co cer - to as - sai mi - glio - - -

B. No - stri me - di - co cer - to as - sai mi - glio -

23

C. re, Che non fu mai E - no - ne, Che non fu Po da - li - rio o Ma - ca - o -

S. Che non fu mai E - no - ne, Che non fu Po da - li - rio o Ma -

A. re, Che non fu mai E - no - ne, Che non fu Po - da - li - rio o Ma - ca - o -

T. re, Che non fu mai E - no - ne, Che non fu mai E - no - ne,

Q. re, Che non fu mai E - no - ne,

B. re, Che non fu mai E - no - ne,

27

C. - - ne, Che non fu Po- da - li -

S. ca - o - ne, Che non fu

A. - - ne, Che non fu Po- da - li - rio o Ma - ca - o - -

T. Che non fu Po- da - li - rio o Ma - ca - - o - ne, Che

Q. Che non fu Po- da - li - rio o Ma - ca - o - ne, Che non fu Po- da -

B. Che non fu Po- da - li - rio o Ma - ca - o - ne, Che

30

C. rio o Ma - ca - o - - - ne.

S. da - li - rio o Ma - ca - o - - - - - ne.

A. ne, o Ma - ca - o ne.

T. non fu Po - da - li - rio, o Ma - ca - o - ne.

Q. li - rio o Ma - ca - o - - - - ne.

B. non fu Po - da - li - rio o Ma - ca - - - o - - - ne.

Seconda parte.

33

C. Vie - ni, Spi - ri - to San to; E del mio cuo - r'im - mon - - do,

S. Vie - ni, Spi - ri - to San to; E del mio cuo - r'im - mon - do,

A. Vie - ni, Spi - ri - to San - to; E del mio cuo - r'im - mon - do,

T. E del mio cuo - r'im - mon - - do, Ch'o-

Q. Vie - ni, Spi - ri - to San - to; E del mio cuo - r'im - mon - do,

B. E del mio cuo - r'im - mon - do, Ch'o-

38

C. Ch'o - ra la - vo col pian - to,

S. Ch'o - ra la - vo col pian - to,

A. Ch'o - ra la - vo col pian - to, Pe -

T. - ra la - vo col pian - - - to, Pe - ne-

Q. Ch'o - ra la - vo col pian - to, Pe - ne-tra

B. - ra la - vo col pian - to, Pe - ne-

43

C. Pe - ne-tra co' tuoi rai fi - no al pro - fon - do,

S. Pe ne-tra co' tuoi rai fi - no al pro - fon - - - -

A. ne-tra co' tuoi rai fi - no al pro - fon - do, fi - no al

T. tra co' tuoi rai, pe - ne-tra co' tuoi rai fi -

Q. co' tuoi rai, (pe - ne-tra co' tuoi rai)

B. tra co' tuoi rai, pe - ne-tra co' tuoi

47

C. fi - no al pro - fon - do E le te - ne-bre sgom - -

S. -do, fi - no al pro - fon - do E le te - ne-bre sgom - - -

A. - pro - - fon - do E le te - ne-bre sgom-bra,

T. no al pro - fon - - do

Q. fi - no al pro - fon - do E

B. rai fi - no al pro - fon - do

51

C. bra, Che pos-to v'ha di miei pec-ca-ti l'om -

S. bra, Che pos-to v'ha di miei pec-ca-ti l'om -

A. (E le te - ne - bre sgom - bra) Che pos-to v'ha di miei pec - ca - ti l'om-bra, pec-ca - ti

T. E le te - ne-bre sgom - bra, Che pos-to v'ha di miei pec-ca - ti l'om -

Q. le te - ne - bre sgom - bra, Che pos - to v'ha di miei pec-ca ti l'om -

B. E le te - ne-bre sgom - bra, Che pos - to v'ha di miei pec-ca - ti

55

C. - bra. Ve - di che co-me sco - glio Per-cuo-ton del mar l'on -

S. - bra. Ve - di che co-me sco - glio, Ve - di che co-me sco - glio Per-cuo-ton del mar l'on

A. l'om - bra. Ve - di che co-me sco-glio, (Ve - di, che co-me sco - glio) Per-cuo-ton del mar l'on -

T. - bra. Ve - di che co-me sco-glio, (Ve - di che co-me sco - glio) Per - cuo-ton del mar l'on -

Q. bra. Ve - di che co-me sco - glio Per - cuo-ton del mar l'on -

B. l'om - bra. Ve - di che co-me sco - glio Per - cuo-ton del mar l'on -

59

C. de Con un con - ti - nuo or-go - - - glio, Co si pia -

S. de Con un con - ti nuo or - go - - - glio, Co - si pia - ghe -

A. de Con un con - ti - nuo or - go - glio, con - ti nuo or - go - glio, Co - si pia -

T. de Con un con - ti - nuo or - go - glio, Con un con - ti - nuo or - go - glio,

Q. - de Con un con - ti - nuo or - go - glio, Con un con - ti - nuo or - go - glio, Co - si pia - ghe

B. de Con un con - ti - nuo or - go - - - - - glio,

63

C. ghe mi fan, (co - si pia - ghe mi fan) lar - ghe e pro - fon - de L'al -

S. mi fan lar - ghe e pro - fon - de, lar - ghe e pro - fon - de L'al -

A. ghe mi fan, (co - - si pia - ghe mi fan) lar - ghe e pro - fon - de L'al -

T. Co - si pia - ghe mi fan lar - ghe e pro - fon - de L'al -

Q. mi fan lar - ghe e pro - fon - de, mi fan lar - ghe e pro - fon - de L'al -

B. Co - si pia - ghe mi fan lar - - ghe e pro - fon - de L'al -

68

C. te mi - se - rie mi - e, On - d'io non

S. te mi - se - rie mi - - e, On - d'io non

A. - te mi - se - - rie mi - - e, On - d'io non

T. te mi - se - rie mi - e, On - d'io non po - so

Q. te mi - se - rie mi - e, On - d'io non po -

B. te mi - se - rie mi - - e, On - d'io non po - so

71

C. po - so mai not - te né di - - e.

S. po - so mai not - te né di - - e.

A. po - so mai not - te né di - - e.

T. mai not - te né di - e.

Q. so mai - not - te né di - e.

B. mai not - te né di - - - - - e.

Terza parte.

74

C. Vie - ni, sal - da for - tez - za, E col po - ten - te, e col po -

S. Vie - ni sal - da for - tez - za, E col po - ten - te, e col po - ten - -

A. Vie - ni, sal - da for - tez - za, E col po - ten - te

T. E col po - ten - te brac -

Q. E col po - ten - te brac - cio, E col po - ten -

B. E col po - ten - - - - te

78

C. ten - te brac - cio, Ch'o - gni du - rez - za spez - za, Rom

S. - te brac - cio, Ch'o - gni du - rez - za spez - za, Rom - pi quel for -

A. brac - cio, Ch'o - gni du - rez - za spez - za, Rom - pi quel

T. cio, Ch'o - gni du - rez - za, (ch'o - gni du - rez - za) spez - za, Rom - pi quel

Q. - te brac - cio, Ch'o - gni du - rez - za spez - - za,

B. brac - - cio, Ch'o - gni du - rez - za spez - za,

83

C. pi quel for - te, a - da - man - ti - - no ghiac - cio, Che mi cir - con - da l'al -

S. te, a - da - man - ti - no ghiac - cio, Che mi cir - con - da l'al -

A. for - te, a - da - man - ti - no ghiac - cio, Che mi cir - con - da l'al -

T. for - te, a - da - man - ti - no ghiac - cio,

Q. Rom - pi quel for - te a - da - man - ti - no ghiac - cio, Che

B. Rom - pi quel for - te a - da - man - ti - no ghiac - cio,

87

C. ma Sic - ché non ab-bia pur di me la pal - ma La mor - -

S. ma Sic - ché non ab-bia pur di me la pal - ma La mor -

A. ma, Sic - ché non ab-bia pur di me la pal - ma La mor -

T. Che mi cir-con-da l'al - ma;

Q. mi cir-con-da l'al - ma;

B. Che mi cir-con-da l'al - ma;

91

C. - te; o quel ne - mi - co, Che

S. - te; o quel ne - mi - co,

A. - te; o quel ne - mi - co, Che con fal -

T. O quel ne - mi - co, Che con fal - sa lu - sin - ga

Q. O quel ne - mi - co, Che con fal - sa lu - sin -

B. O quel ne - mi - co, Che con fal - sa lu - sin - ga

95

C. con fal - sa lu - sin - ga Di si - mu - la - to a - mi - co, a - mi - co

S. Che con fal - sa lu - sin - ga Di si - mu - la - to a - mi - co, Di si - mu - la - to a - mi - co

A. sa lu - sin - ga Di si - mu - la - to a - mi - co, Di si - mu - la - to a - mi - co

T. Di si - mu - la - to a - mi - co Fal -

Q. ga Di si - mu - la - to a - mi - co Fal - la - ce

B. Di si - mu - la - to a - mi - co Fal - la - ce

99

C. Fal - la - ce pur m'al-let - ta e mi lu - sin

S. Fal-la - ce pur m'al - let - ta e mi lu -

A. Fal - la - ce pur m'al - let - ta e mi lu - sin - ga e mi lu -

T. la - ce pur m'al-let ta e mi lu - sin - ga

Q. pur m'al-let - ta e mi lu - sin - ga

B. pur m'al - let - ta e mi lu - sin - ga

103

C. - - ga Per te - ner mi o - gn'or fis - so Nel suo più

S. sin - ga Per te - ner - mi o - gn'or fis - so Nel suo più

A. sin ga Per te - ner - mi o - gn'or fis - - so Nel suo più

T. Per te - ner - mi o - gn'or fis - so Nel suo più

Q. Per te - ner - mi o - gn'or fis - so Nel suo più

B. Per te - ner - mi o - gn'or fis - - so Nel suo più

106

C. scu - ro e più pro - fon - d'a - bis - so.

S. scu - - ro e più pro - fon - d'a - bis - - - so.

A. scu - ro e più pro - fon - d'a - bis - - - so.

T. scu - ro e più pro - fon - d'a - bis - - - so.

Q. scu - ro e più pro fon - d'a - bis - - - so.

B. scu - ro e più pro - fon - d'a - bis - - - so.

Quarta parte.

110

C. Non ha, quan -

S. Non ha, quan-d'è più bel - lo L'an - no e più di - let - to - so,

A. Non ha, quan - d'è più bel - lo L'an - no e più di - let - to -

T. Non ha, quan - d'è più bel - lo L'an -

Q. Non ha, quan-d'è più bel - lo L'an - no e più

B.

113

C. d'è più bel - lo L'an - no e più di - let - to - so, Non ha, quan -

S. Non ha, quan-d'è più bel - lo L'an - no e più di - let - to - so,

A. so, Non ha, quan-d'è più bel - lo L'an - no e più di - let -

T. no e più di - let - to - so, Non ha, quan - d'è più bel - lo L'an -

Q. di - let - to - so, Non ha, quan - d'è più bel - lo L'an -

B. Non ha, quan - d'è più bel - lo L'an - no e più

116

C. d'è più bel - lo L'an - no e più di - let - to - so,

S. e più di - let - to - so Tant - te fron-d'ar-bu - scel-lo,

A. to - so, e più di - let - to - so, Tan - te fron-d'ar-bu-scel - lo, (Tan-

T. no e più di - let - to - so, Tan -

Q. no e più di - let - to - so, Tan - te fron-

B. di - let - to - so, Tan - te fron-

120

C. Tan - te fron-d'ar - bu - scel - lo, Tan - te fron-d'ar - bu - scel - lo, Tan - ti va - ghi fio -

S. (Tan - te fron - d'ar - bu - scel - lo,) Tan - te fron - d'ar - bu - scel - lo,

A. te fron-d'ar - bu - scel - lo,) Tan - te fron-d'ar - bu - scel - lo, Tan - ti

T. te fron-d'ar - bu - scel - lo, Tan - te fron - d'ar - bu - scel - lo,

Q. d'ar - bu - scel - lo, Tan - te fron-d'ar - bu - scel - lo, Tan - ti va - ghi fio -

B. d'ar - bu - scel - lo, Tan - te fron-d'ar - bu - scel - lo, Tan - ti

123

C. ret - ti un pra - t'er - bo - so, Tan - ti va - ghi fio-ret-ti un pra - to_er - bo -

S. Tan - ti va - ghi fio-ret-ti un pra - t'er - bo - so, Tan - ti va - ghi fio-ret-ti un pra - to_er - bo -

A. va - ghi fio-ret-ti un pra - t'er - bo - so, un pra - t'er - bo - so,

T. Tan - ti va - ghi fio-ret-ti un pra - t'er - bo - so,

Q. ret-ti un pra - t'er - bo - so, Tan - ti va - ghi fio-ret-ti un pra - to_er - bo -

B. va - ghi fio-ret-ti un pra - t'er - bo - so,

126

C. so, Quan - t'io noie ed af - fan - ni, ed af - fan - ni, Del mio an -

S. so, Quan - t'io noie ed af - fan - ni, Del mio an - go -

A. Quan - t'io noie ed af - fan - ni, (Quan - t'io noie ed af - fan - ni,) Del mio an -

T. Quan - t'io noie ed af - fan - ni, Del mio an - go -

Q. so, Quan - t'io noie ed af - fan - ni, Del mio an - go -

B. Quan - t'io noie ed af - fan - ni, Del mio an -

131

C. - go - scio - so cuo - re em - pi ti - - ran - - -

S. scio - so cuor, (del mio an - go - scio - so cuor) em -

A. go - scio - so cuo - - - re em - - - pi -

T. scio - so cuo - - - re em - pi ti - ran - ni em -

Q. scio - so cuo - re, (del mio an - go - scio - so cuo - re) em - pi -

B. go - - - scio - - - so cuo - re em - -

134

C. - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ni.

S. pi ti - ran - - - - - - - - - - - ni.

A. - ti - ran - - - - - - - - - - - ni.

T. pi ti - ran - - - - - - - - - - - ni.

Q. - ti - ran - - - - - - - - - - - ni.

B. pi ti - - - - - - - - - - - ran - - - ni.

Quinta & ult[ima] parte.

137

C. Sa - na l'al - ma do - len - te Ed e - gra, di sa - lu - te Di -

S. Sa - na l'al - ma do - len - te Ed e - gra, di sa - lu - te Di -

A. Sa - na l'al - ma do - len - te Ed e - - - gra, di sa - lu - te Di -

T. Ed e - gra, di sa - lu - te Di -

Q. Ed e - gra,

B. Ed e - gra,

141

C. spe-ra - - ta, Ch'ar - den - te Feb-bre con-su -

S. spe-ra - - ta, ch'ar - den - te Feb-bre con-su - ma, Ch'ar - den te Feb-bre con-su -

A. - spe-ra - ta, ch'ar-den - te Feb-bre con-su - ma, Ch'ar - den - te Feb-bre con-su -

T. - spe - ra - ta, ch'ar - den - te Feb-bre con-su -

Q. Ch'ar - den - te Feb-bre con-su - ma,

B. Ch'ar - den - te Feb-bre con-su - ma,

145

C. ma, con la tua vir - tu - te, non con su-chi_o li - quo - ri, Non con su-chi_o li -

S. ma, con la tua vir - tu - te, Non con suc-chi_o li - quo - ri, (Non con suc-chi_o li -

A. ma, con la tua vir - tu - te, Non con suc-chi_o li - quo - ri, Non con suc-chi_o li -

T. ma, con la tua vir - tu - te, Non con suc-chi_o li - quo - ri, Non con suc-chi_o li -

Q. con la tua vir - tu te, Non con suc-chi_o li -

B. con la tua vir - tu - te, Non con suc-chi_o li -

149

C. quo - ri Di ver - d'er-bet-te_o di gem-ma-ti fio - - - ri. Scac - cia l'in-ter-na

S. quo - ri) Di ver-d'er-bet-te_o di gem-ma-ti fio - ri. Scac-cia l'in-ter-na

A. quo - ri Di ver-d'er-bet-te_o di gem-ma-ti fio - ri, gem - ma-ti fio - ri. Scac - cia l'in-ter-na.

T. quo - ri Di ver-d'er-bet-te_o di gem-ma-ti fio - ri.

Q. quo - ri Di ver - d'er-bet-te_o di gem-ma-ti fio - ri. Scac - cia l'in-ter-na

B. quo - ri Di ver - d'er-bet-te_o di gem-ma-ti fio - - - ri.

153

C. se - te, scac - cia l'in - ter - na se - te Col tuo tor - ren - te vi - vo Del

S. se - te Col tuo tor - ren - te vi - vo Del

A. se - te Col tuo tor - ren - te vi - vo Del pia -

T. Scac - cia l'in - ter - na se - te Col tuo tor - ren - te vi - vo

Q. se - te, (scac - cia l'in - ter - na se - te) Col tuo tor - ren - te vi - vo Del pia -

B. Scac - cia l'in - ter - na se - te Col tuo tor - ren - te vi - vo Del

157

C. pia - - - cer, che fa lie - te, che fa lie - te L'a - ni - me nos - tre; e

S. pia - - - cer, che fa lie - te, che fa lie - te L'a - ni - me nos - tre; e

A. cer, che fa lie - te, che fa lie - te, (che fa lie - te) L'a - ni - me nos - tre; e

T. Del - - pia - cer, che fa lie - te, che fa lie - te L'a - ni - me nos - tre; e

Q. cer, che fa lie - te, che fa lie - te L'a - ni - me nos - tre;

B. pia - cer, che fa lie - te, che fa lie - te L'a - ni - me nos - tre;

161

C. non con fon - te o ri - vo, Sic -

S. non con fon - te o ri - - - vo, Sic -

A. non con fon - te o ri - - - vo, Sic - ché tem - pri il ve - le - no,

T. non con fon - te o ri - - - vo, Sic - ché tem - pri il ve - le - no, Sic -

Q. Sic - ché tem - pri il ve - le - no,

B. Sic - ché tem - pri il ve - le - no,

165

C. ché tem - pri il ve - le - no Del - le mi - se -

S. - ché tem - pri il ve - le - no Del - le mi - se - rie u - ma - - ne, on -

A. Sic - ché tem - pri il ve - le - no Del - le mi - se - rie u - ma - ne, on -

T. ché tem - pri il ve - le - no Del - le mi -

Q. Sic - ché tem - pri il ve - le - no Del - le mi - se - - - rie u -

B. Sic - ché tem - pri il ve - le - no Del - le mi - se - - - rie u -

169

C. - rie u - ma - ne, on - - - d'io son pie - no.

S. - d'io son pie - no, on - d'io son pie - no.

A. - - - d'io son pie - no on - d'io son pie - no.

T. se - rie u - ma - - ne, on - d'io son pie - no.

Q. ma - ne, on - d'io son pie - no, on - d'io son pie - no.

B. ma - ne, on - - - d'io son pie - - - no.

Canzon Seconda

Canzon Prima parte.

Canto Il tuo-aiu - to, o Si-gno - re, E pie-

Sesto Il tuo aiu - to, o Si - gno - re, (il tuo aiu - to, o Si-gno - re,) E pie-

Alto Il tuo aiu - to, o Si - gno - re, (il tuo aiu - to, o Si-gno - re,) E pie-

Tenore Il tuo aiu - to, o Si - gno - re, E pie-

Quinto Il tuo aiu - to, o Si-gno - re, E pie-

Basso Il tuo aiu - to, o Si - gno - re, E pie-

4

C. to - so, e be - ni - gno...

S. to - so, e be - ni - gno, Con - tra l'an - gue ma - li - gno Chia - -

A. to - so, e be - ni - gno, Con-tra l'an - gue ma - li - gno Chia - mo, chia - -

T. to - so, e be - ni - gno, Con-tra l'an - gue ma - li - gno Chia - - - -

Q. to-so, e be - ni - gno, Con - tra l'an - gue ma - li - gno Chia - - - -

B. to - so, e be - ni - gno...

8

C. Ch'a tut - te l'o - re ch'a tut - te l'o - re, (ch'a tut - te l'o - -

S. - mo, ch'a tut - te l'o - - re Mi

A. -mo, ch'a tut - te l'o - re ch'a tut - te l'o -

T. mo, ch'a tut - te l'o - re ch'a tut - te l'o - re Mi

Q. -mo, ch'a tut - te l'o - re ch'a tut - te l'o -

B. Ch'a tut - te l'o - re ch'a tut - te l'o -

12

C.
 -re) Mi

S.
 ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - - - - re, Mi

A.
 re Mi ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - re, Mi

T.
 ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - - - - to af - flit - to cuo - re

Q.
 re Mi

B.
 re Mi ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - re

15

C.
 ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - - - - -

S.
 ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - - - - to af - flit - to cuo - -

A.
 ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - - - - -

T.
 - - - - -

Q.
 ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - - - - to af - flit - to cuo - -

B.
 - - - - -

17

C.
 -re, Mi ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - to af - flit to cuo - - re.

S.
 re, a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - re.

A.
 -re, Mi ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - - - re.

T.
 Mi ser - pe in - tor - n'a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - - re.

Q.
 re, a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - re.

B.
 Mi ser - pe in - tor - no a ques - to af - flit - to cuo - - re.

Seconda parte.

20

C. Ti cer-co, o Si-gnor mi - o Per ser-vir - ti et a - mar - ti,

S. Ti cer-co, o Si-gnor mi - o, Per ser-vir - ti et a - - - mar - ti,

A. Per ser-vir - ti et a - mar - ti, Ma non pos -

T. Per ser-vir - ti et a - mar - ti, Ma non pos -

Q. Ma non pos -

B. Ma non pos -

24

C. Che la nu - be del ri - - o Pec - ca - to s'in-ter-po-ne al mio de-

S. Che la nu - be del ri - - o Pec - ca - to s'in-ter-po-ne al mio de-

A. so tro - var - ti, Che la nu - be del ri - o Pec - ca - - to s'in-ter-po-ne al mio de-

T. so tro - var - ti, Che la nu - be del ri - o Pec - ca - - to s'in-ter-po-ne al mio de-

Q. so tro - var - ti...

B. so tro - var - ti...

29

C. si - o E mi nas-con-de il lu - me Di te, mio

S. si - o E mi nas-con-de il lu - me Di te, mio

A. si - o E mi nas - con-de il lu - me Di te, E mi nas-con-de il lu - me Di te, mio

T. si - o E mi nas - con-de il lu - me Di te, E mi nas-con-de il lu - me Di te,

Q. E mi nas - con-de il lu - me Di te, mio

B. E mi nas - con-de il lu - me Di te, mio

33

C. sol lu - cen - te, Sic - ché la cie - ca men -

S. sol lu - - cen - te, Sic - ché la cie - ca men -

A. sol lu - cen - te, Sic - ché la cie - ca men - te, (Sic - ché la cie - ca men -

T. mio sol lu - cen - te, Sic - ché la cie - ca men - te, (Sic - ché la cie - ca men -

Q. sol lu - cen - - te, Sic - ché la cie - ca men - te

B. sol lu - cen - te, Sic - ché la cie - ca men - te

38

C. -te Tor - ne-rà al suo cos - tu - me,

S. te Tor - ne-rà al suo cos - tu - me,

A. te) tor - ne-rà al suo cos - tu - me Tor - ne-rà al suo cos - tu - me, Se non è chi la gui -

T. te) tor - ne-rà al suo cos - tu - me Tor - ne-rà al suo cos - tu - me, Se non è chi la gui -

Q. Tor - ne-rà al suo cos - tu - me, Se non è chi la gui -

B. Tor - ne-rà al suo cos - tu - me, Se non è chi la gui -

42

C. Se non è chi la gui - di o chi l'al - lu - - me.

S. Se non è chi la gui - di o chi l'al - lu - me.

A. di, se non è chi la gui - di o chi l'al - lu - me.

T. di, se non è chi la gui - di o chi l'al - lu - - me.

Q. di o chi l'al - lu - me.

B. di o chi l'al - lu - me.

Terza parte.

47

C. Co - me rag - gio ta - lo - ra Di chia - ro ar - den - te

S. Co - me rag - gio ta - lo - ra Di chia - ro ar - den - te so - le, (Di chia - r'ar - den -

A. Co - me rag - gio ta - lo - ra, (Co - me rag - gio tal - ho - ra) Di chia - ro ar - den - te

T. Co - me rag - gio ta - lo - ra, (Co - me rag - gio tal - ho - ra) Di chia - ro ar - den - te so - le, di chia - ro ar -

Q. Co - me rag - gio tal - ho - ra Di chia - ro ar - den - te so -

B. Co - me rag - gio tal - ho - ra Di chia - ro ar - den - te so - le, Di chia - ro ar -

51

C. so - le Sgom - brar la nu - be suo - le, Che l'a - ria ad o - ra ad o - ra

S. - te so - le) Sgom - brar la nu - be suo - le, Che l'a - ria ad o - ra ad o - ra, Che l'a - ria ad o - ra ad o -

A. so - le Sgom - brar la nu - be suo - le, Che l'a - ria ad o - ra ad o - ra, Che l'a - ria ad o - ra ad o -

T. den - te so - le Sgom - brar la nu - be suo - le, Che l'a - ria ad o - ra ad o - ra

Q. le Sgom - brar la nu - be suo - le, Che l'a - ria ad o - ra ad o -

B. den - te so - le Sgom - brar la nu - be suo - le, Che l'a - ria ad o - ra ad o -

56 $\phi 3$ $\text{XX} = \text{XX}$

C. Con - tur - ba col suo scu - ro e dis - co - lo - ra e dis - co - lo -

S. ra Con - tur - ba col suo scu - ro e dis - co - lo -

A. ra Con - tur - ba col suo scu - ro e dis - co - lo - ra e dis - co - lo -

T. Con - tur - ba col suo scu - ro e dis - co - lo -

Q. ra Con - tur - ba col suo scu - ro e dis - co - lo -

B. ra Con - tur - ba col suo scu - ro e dis - co - lo -

C

60 $\text{KX} = \text{KX}$

C. ra, Co - si un sol lu - mi - ci - no Del - la tua gra - zia im - men -

S. ra, Co - si un sol lu - mi - ci - no... Co -

A. ra; Del - la tua gra - zia im - men -

T. ra, Co - si un sol lu - mi - ci - no Del - la tua gra - zia im - men -

Q. ra, Co - si un sol lu - mi - ci - no Del - la tua gra - zia im - men -

B. ra; Del - la tua gra - zia im - men -

64 #

C. sa Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa Mos -

S. me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa, Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa

A. sa Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa, (Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa) Mos -

T. sa Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa, (Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa,) Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa Mos -

Q. sa Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa, Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa

B. sa Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa, Co - me fa - cel - la ac - cen - sa Mos -

68

C. tri il drit - to cam - mi - no... E stan -

S. Mos - tri il drit - to cam - mi - no A me smar - ri - to e stan -

A. tri il drit - to cam - mi - no mos - tri il drit - to cam - mi - no A me smar - ri - to e stan -

T. tri il drit - to cam - mi - no mos - tri il drit - to cam - mi - no A me smar - ri - to e

Q. Mos - tri il drit - to cam - mi - no A me smar - ri - to e stan -

B. tri il drit - to cam - mi - no... E stan -

72

C. *b* co pe - re - gri - - no, Ac - ciò, ch'io pos - sa_o - mai - i Tro -

S. *b* - co - pe - re - gri - - no, Ac - ciò ch'io pos - sa_o - ma - i Tro -

A. - co pe - re - gri - no, Ac - ciò ch'io pos - sa_o - ma - i Tro -

T. stan - co pe - re - gri - - no, Ac - ciò ch'io pos - sa_o - ma - i Tro -

Q. - co pe - re - gri - no, Ac - ciò ch'io pos - sa_o - ma - i Tro -

B. co pe - re - gri - no, Ac - ciò ch'io pos - sa_o - ma - i Tro -

77

C. var, do - ve tu se - i, Fal - lo che far - lo de - i Che se non mi ti da -

S. var, do - ve tu se - i, Fal - lo che far - lo de - i

A. var, do - ve tu se - i, Fal - lo che far - lo de - i Che se non mi ti da -

T. var, do - ve tu se - i, Fal - lo che far - lo de - i Che se non mi ti da -

Q. var, do - ve tu se - i, Fal - lo che far - lo de - i Che se non mi ti da -

B. var, do - ve tu se - i, Fal - lo che far - lo de - i

81

C. i Nul - la mi gio - va ciò,

S. Che se non mi ti da - i, Nul - la mi gio - va ciò, che da -

A. i, Che se non mi ti da - i, Nul - la mi gio - va ciò, (nul - la mi gio - va ciò,) che da - to

T. i, Che se non mi ti da - i, Nul - la mi gio - va ciò, (nul - la mi gio - va ciò,) che da - to

Q. i, Nul - la mi gio - va ciò,

B. Che se non mi ti da - i, Nul - la mi gio - va ciò, che da -

85

C. (nul - la mi gio - va ciò,)

S. to m'ha - i, che da - to m'ha -

A. m'ha - i Nul - la mi gio - va ciò, che

T. m'ha - - - i, Nul - la mi gio - va ciò, che da - to

Q. nul - la mi gio - va ciò,

B. to m'ha - i, che da - to

87

C. che da - to m'ha - - i, che da - to m'ha - i.

S. - i, (che da - to m'ha - i,) che da - to m'ha - i.

A. da - - to m'ha - - i, che da - to m'ha - i.

T. m'ha - i, che da - to m'ha - - i.

Q. che da - to m'ha - i, che da - to m'ha - i.

B. m'ha - i, che da - to m'ha - - i.

Quarta parte.

90

C. Io t'a - - - mo, e

S. Io t'a - mo io t'a - - - mo...

A. Io t'a - mo io t'a - - - mo, e

T. Io t'a - mo io t'a - - - mo, e

Q. Io t'a - mo io t'a - mo...

B. Io t'a - - - mo, e

95

C. se non quan - to Dov - rei che te'l con - fes - - so. Non può lo

S. Che te'l con - fes - so.

A. se non quan - to Dov - rei che te'l con - - - fes - so.

T. se non quan - to Dov - rei che te'l con - fes - so. Non

Q. Che te'l con - fes - so. Non può lo

B. se non quan - to Dov - rei che te'l con - fes - so.

99

C. spir - t'op - res - so, non può lo spir - t'op - pres - - so

S. Non può lo spir - t'op - pres - - so Dal pe -

A. — Non può lo spir - t'op - pres - so

T. può lo spir - t'op - pres - so, Non può lo spir - t'op - pres - so Dal pe - so

Q. spir - t'op - pres - so, Non può lo spir - t'op - pres - so Dal

B. — — — — — Dal

103

C. al pe - - so gra - ve tan - to Di ques - to mio

S. so gra - ve tan - to Di ques - to mio mor - tal ter -

A. — Dal pe - so gra - ve tan - to Di ques -

T. — gra - ve tan - - - - to Di ques - - to

Q. pe - so gra - ve tan - to Di ques - to mio mor -

B. pe - - - so gra - ve tan - - - to Di ques - to

107

C. mor-tal ter-re - no man - to Al - - zar - - - si

S. re - no man - to Al - zar - - - - - - - si

A. to mio mor-tal ter-re - no man - to Al - zar - - - si o -

T. mio mor - tal - ter - re - no man - - - to Al - zar - si o -

Q. tal ter-re - no man - - - - - to Al - zar - si o

B. mio mor-tal ter-re - no man - to Al - zar - - - - - si o -

111

C. o - v'èl suo be - - - ne...

S. o - v'èl suo be - ne...

A. v'èl suo be - ne, o - v'èl suo be - - - ne Da ques - te e - gre del

T. v'èl suo be - ne Da ques - te e - gre del mon -

Q. v'èl suo be - ne, o - v'èl suo be - ne Da ques - te e - gre del mon - do

B. v'èl suo be - ne Da ques - te e - gre del

116

C. E por tut - ta sua spe - ne, E

S. E por tut - ta sua spe - ne, (E

A. mon - do Cu - re vi - le ed im - mon - do E

T. do Cu - re vi - le ed im - mon - do E por tut - ta sua spe - ne,

Q. Cu - re vi - le ed im - mon - - do E

B. mon - do Cu - re vi - le ed im - mon - do E por tut - ta sua spe - ne,

131

C. zia dis - gom - - - bre Ques - - - ti ch'a gui - sa d'om - bre ch'a

S. zia dis-gom - - - bre Ques - - - ti ch'a gui - sa d'om - bre

A. -zia dis - gom - - - bre Ques - ti ch'a gui - sa d'om - bre ch'a

T. zia dis - gom - bre Ques - ti ch'

Q. zia dis-gom - - - bre Ques - - - ti ch'a gui - sa d'om - bre

B. dis - gom - - - - - bre Ques - ti ch'a

135

C. gui - sa d'om - bre Mi ce - la - no il viag - gio Pen - sier u - ma - -

S. Mi ce - la - no il viag - gio, (Mi ce - la - no il viag - gio) Pen - sier u -

A. gui - sa d'om - bre Mi ce - la - no il viag - gio Pen - sier u -

T. gui - sa d'om - bre Mi ce - la - no il viag - gio Pen - sier u -

Q. Mi ce - la - no il viag - gio Pen - sier u - ma - ni,

B. gui - sa d'om - bre Mi ce - la - no il viag - gio Pen - sier u -

139

C. - - ni, on - d'io lu - me non hag - - - gio, Tè sol

S. ma - ni, on - d'io lu - - - me non hag - gio, Tè sol Sig -

A. ma - ni, on - d'io lu - me non hag - gio, Tè sol Si - gnor e -

T. ma - ni...

Q. on - d'io lu - - - - me non hag - gio...

B. ma - ni...

143

C. Sig - nor e - ter - no O-gni gioi-a mor-ta - le, O-gni-gioi-ia mor-ta - le

S. nor e - ter - no O-gni gioi-a mor-ta - le, (O-gni gioi-a mor-ta - le)

A. ter - - - no O-gni gioi-a mor-ta - le, (O-gni gioi-a mor-ta - le)

T. O-gni gioi-a mor-ta - le Co - me

Q. O-gni gioi-a mor-ta - le Co -

B. O-gni gioi-a mor-ta - le Co -

147

C. Co - me ca-du - ca, fra - le E vi -

S. Co - me ca-du - ca, fra - le E vi -

A. Co - me ca-du - ca, fra - le E

T. ca-du - ca, fra - le E

Q. me ca-du - ca, fra - le

B. me ca-du - ca, fra le E

151

C. - le e vi - - le a - ven - d'ä scher - no a -

S. - le e vi - - le a -

A. vi - le e vi - le a - ven - d'ä scher - - - no a -

T. vi - le a - ven - d'ä scher - - - no

Q. E vi - le a -

B. vi - le a - ven - d'ä scher - no

155

C. ven - d'à scher - - - no A - me - rò, col - mo d'un

S. ven - d'à scher - no A - me - rò, col - mo d'un di - let - to in -

A. ven - d'à scher - - - no A - me - rò, col - mo d'un di - let -

T. A - me - rò, col - mo d'un di -

Q. ven - d'à scher - - - no A me - rò, col - mo d'un di -

B. A - me - rò, col - mo d'un di - let -

159

C. - di - let - to in - ter - - - no, A - me - rò, a - me - rò, col -

S. - ter - - - no, A - me rò, col -

A. - to in - ter - no, A - me - rò,

T. let - to in - ter - no, A - me - rò, col - mo

Q. let - to in - ter - no, A - me - rò, col - mo d'un

B. - to e - ter - - - no, A - me - rò, a - me - rò,

163

C. - mo d'un di - let - to in - ter - - - no.

S. mo d'un di - let - to in - ter - - - no.

A. col - mo d'un di - - - let - to in - ter - no.


T. d'un di - let - to in - ter - - - - - - - - no.

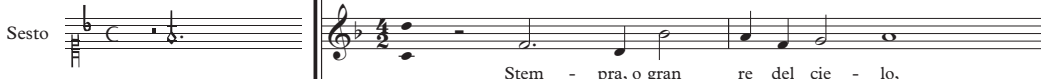
Q. - di - let - - - - to in - ter - - - no.

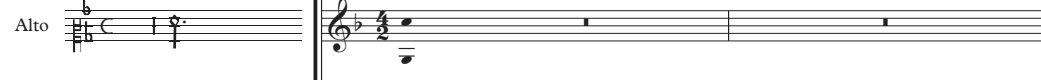
B. col - mo d'un di - let - - to in - ter - - - no.

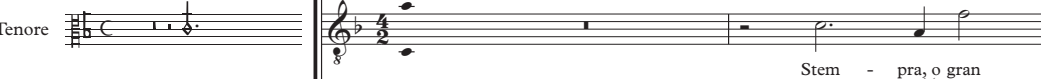
Canzon Terza

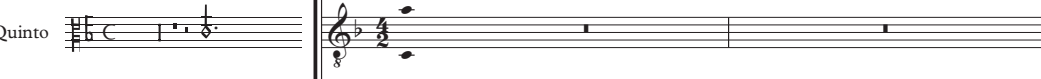
Canzon Prima parte.


Canto 

Sesto 

Alto 

Tenore 

Quinto 

Basso 

C. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

Q. 

B. 

C. 

S. 

A. 

T. 

Q. 

B. 

10

C. ge - lo Di con - fir - ma - to er - ro - re, Che mi cir -

S. ge - lo Di con - fir - ma - to er - ro - re, Che

A. ge - - - lo Di con - fir - ma - to er - ro - re, Di con - fir - ma - to er - ro - re,

T. lo Di con - fir - ma - to er - ro - re, Che mi cir -

Q. - to ge - lo Di con - fir - ma - to er - ro - re, Che mi cir -

B. to ge - lo Di con - fir - ma - to er - ro - re, Che

14

C. con - da in - tor - n'in - tor - n'il cuo - re, Che mi cir - con - da in - tor - n'in -

S. mi cir - con - da in - tor - n'in - tor - n'il cuo - re Che mi cir - con - da in - tor - n'in - tor -

A. Che mi cir - con - da in - tor - n'in - tor - n'il cuo - re, cir - con - da in - tor - n'in -

T. con - da in - tor - n'in - tor - n'il cuo - re, Che mi cir - con - da in - tor - n'in - tor - n'il cuo -

Q. con - da in - tor - n'in - tor - n'il cuo - re, Che mi cir - con - da in - tor - n'in - tor - n'il cuo -

B. mi cir - con - da in - tor - n'in - tor - n'il cuo - re, Che mi cir - con - da in - tor - n'in -

17

C. tor - n'il cuo re, Sic - ché tut - to in - fiam - ma - to, Sic - ché tut - to in -

S. n'il cuo - re, Sic - ché tut - to in - fiam - ma - to, (Sic - ché tut - to in - fiam - ma - to)

A. tor - n'il cuo - re, Sic - ché tut - to in - fiam - ma - to, (Sic - ché tut -

T. - re, Sic - ché tut - to in - fiam - ma - to / Del

Q. - re, Sic - ché tut - to in - fiam - ma - to, (Sic - ché tut - to in - fiam - ma - to)

B. tor - n'il cuo re, Sic - ché tut - to in - fiam - ma - to Del tuo di -

21

C. *fiam-ma - to Del tuo di - vin ar - dor, qual sec - ca*

S. *Del tuo di - vin ar - dor, qual sec - ca fa - ce*

A. *to in-fiam-ma - to) Del tuo di - vin ar - dor, qual sec - ca*

T. *- tuo di - vin ar - dor, del tuo di - vin ar - dor, qual*

Q. *Del tuo di - vin ar - dor, (del tuo di - vin - ar - dor,) qual sec - ca fa -*

B. *vin ar - dor, del tuo di - vin ar - dor, qual sec - ca fa -*

24

C. *fa - ce Ar - da in fuo-co be - a - to, Sem-pre chia - ro e vi - va - ce, Con de - gl'af-fet -*

S. *Ar - da in fuo-co be - a - to, Sem-pre chia - ro e vi - va - ce, Con de -*

A. *fa - ce; Sem-pre chia - ro e vi - va - ce, Con de - gl'af -*

T. *sec-ca fa - ce; Sem-pre chia - ro e vi - va - ce, Con de - gl'af -*

Q. *- ce Ar - da in fuo-co be - a - to, Sem-pre chia - ro e vi - va - ce...*

B. *ce Ar - da in fuo-co be - a - to, Sem-pre chia - ro e vi - va - ce...*

28

C. *ti u - ma - ni e - ter - na pa - ce. In te sol la ra - di - ce*

S. *gl'af-fet - ti j - ma - ni e - ter - na pa ce. In te sol la ra - di - ce Po - si,*

A. *fet - ti u - ma - ni e - ter - na pa - ce. In te sol la ra - di - ce*

T. *fet - ti u - ma - ni e - ter - na pa - ce.*

Q. *In te sol la ra -*

B. *In te sol la ra -*

32

C. Po - si del - la mia spe-me al-ta e gra - di - ta del -

S. In te sol la ra - di - ce Po-si del - la mia spe - me al -

A. Po - si, In te sol; del-la mia spe-me al-ta e gra - di - ta, del-

T. In te sol la ra-di - ce Po - si del - la mia spe-me al-ta e gra - di -

Q. di - ce, In te sol la ra - di - ce Po - si del - la mia spe-me al-ta e gra

B. In te sol la ra - di-ce Po - si del-la mia spe-me al-ta e gra - di - ta,

36

C. la mia spe - me al-ta e gra - di - ta, Ch'or cres - cen - do, fe - li - ce

S. ta e gra - di - ta, Ch'or cres-cen - do, fe - li - ce, Ch'or cres-cen-do, fe - li - ce

A. la mia spe-me al - ta e gra - di - ta, Ch'or cres-cen-do, fe - li - ce, Ch'or cres-cen-do, fe - li - ce

T. ta, del - la mia spe-me al-ta e gra - di - ta, Ch'or cres-cen - do, fe - li - ce

Q. di - ta, Ch'or cres-cen-do, fe - li - ce, Ch'or cres-cen-do, fe - li - ce

B. del - la mia spe-me al-ta e gra - di - ta, Ch'or cres-cen-do, fe - li - ce

40

C. E di fron-de ves - ti - ta (e di fron-de ves - ti - ta) Al

S. E di fron-de ves - ti - ta (e di fron-de ves - ti - ta)

A. E di fron-de ves - ti - ta Al - za la chio-ma sua - ver-

T. E di fron-de ves - ti - ta Al - za la chio - ma sua ver -

Q. E di fron - de ves - ti - ta Al - za la chio - ma sua ver-de e fio - ri -

B. E di fron-de ves - ti - ta Al - za la chio-ma sua ver-de e fio - ri - ta,

Seconda parte.

50

C. Ba - gna-la tu con l'on - - da Di quel-la tua pie - tà ce - les-te e di -

S. Ba - gna-la tu con l'on da Di quel-la tua pie - tà ce - les - te e di -

A. Ba - gna-la tu con l'on - - da Di quel-la tua pie - tà ce - les-te e di -

T.

Q. Ba - gna-la tu con l'on - - da Di quel-la tua pie - tà ce - les-te e di -

B.

54

C. - va, Che co - me fon - - t'ab - bon - - da, Che

S. - va, Che co - me, che co - me fon - t'ab - bon - da,

A. - va, Che co-me fon - t'ab-bon- da, Che da sur-

T. Che co - me fon - - - t'ab - bon - da,

Q. - va, Che co-me fon - t'a-bon - da, (Che co - me fon - t'ab-bon - da,)

B. Che co - me fon - t'ab - bon - da,

58

C. da sur-gen - te e vi - va Ve - na, E vi - va Ve - na fra i fio - ri e l'er - be si de - ri -

S. Che da sur-gen - - te e vi - va Ve - na fra fio - ri e l'er - be si de - ri -

A. gen - te e vi - va Ve - na, E vi - va Ve - na fra i fio - ri e l'er - be si de - ri -

T. Che da sur-gen - te e vi - va Ve - - na fra i fio - ri e l'er - be si de - ri -

Q. Che da sur-gen - te e vi - va / ve - na...

B. Che da sur-gen - te e vi - va / ve - na...

62

C. va, Per - ché ve - nen-do me - no L'u-

S. va, Per - ché ve - nen-do me - no L'u-

A. va, Per - ché ve - nen-do me - no L'u-

T. va, Per - ché ve - nen-do me - no L'u - mor

Q. Per - ché ve - nen-do me - no L'u - mor

B. Per - ché ve - nen-do me - no L'u - mor

66

C. mor del - la tua gra - zia, a - ri-do ra - mo Non si sfac - cia,

S. mor del - la tua gra - zia, a - ri-do ra - mo Non si sfac - cia,

A. mor del - la tua gra - zia a - ri-do ra - mo Non si sfac - cia,

T. del - la tua gra - zia...

Q. del - la tua gra - zia...

B. del - la tua gra - zia...

70

C. on-d'io pie - no Di te - ma e af - flit - to e gra

S. on-d'io pie - no Di te - ma e af - flit - to e gra -

A. on-d'io pie - no Di te - ma e af - flit-to e gra - - -

T. on - d'io pie - no Di te - ma, On - d'io pie - no Di te - ma e af - flit-to e gra - mo,

Q. on - d'io pie no Di te - - - ma e af - flit - to e gra - - -

B. on - d'io pie - no Di te - ma e af - flit - to e gra -

74

C. mo, Pri - vo mi tro - vi di quel che più bra mo. Fa'

S. mo, Pri - vo mi tro - vi di quel che più bra - mo. Fa' ch'o-

A. mo... Fa' ch'o-gni mio de - si -

T. Pri - vo mi tro - vi di quel che più bra - mo.

Q. mo, Pri - vo mi tro - vi di quel che più bra - mo. Fa' ch'o-gni mio de - si -

B. - mo... Fa' ch'o-gni mio de - si - o

78

C. — ch'o-gni mio de-si - - o A te si vol ga co - me a se-gno stra-

S. gni mio de-sio - o A te si vol - ga, (A te si vol - ga...)

A. o A te si vol-ga, A te si vol - ga, (A te si vol - ga) co - me a se-gno stra -

T. Fa' ch'o-gni mio de-si - o A te si vol - ga co - me a se-gno stra -

Q. - o, (Fa ch'o - gni mio de - si - o) A te si vol - ga...

B. A te si vol - ga co - me a se-gno stra -

82

C. le Di buo-no ar-cier, tal ch'io Ver - so te spie-ghi l'a - - -

S. Tal ch'io Ver - so te spie-ghi

A. le Di buo-no ar-cier, tal ch'io Ver - so te spie-ghi l'a - - -

T. le Di buo-no ar-cier, tal ch'io Ver - so te spie-ghi l'a -

Q. Tal ch'io Ver - so te spie-ghi l'a - - - le

B. le Di buo-no ar-cier, tal ch'io Ver - so te spie-ghi l'a - - -

85

C.
 - - - - le

S.
 l'a - - - - le A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o-gni pia - cer mor - ta -

A.
 - - - - le A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o - gni pia - cer mor - ta -

T.
 - - - - le A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o-gni pia - cer mor - ta -

Q.
 spie-ghi l'a - - - le A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o-gni pia - cer mor - ta - le,

B.
 - - - - le A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o - gni pia - cer mor - ta -

88

C.
 A - ven - d'à sde - gn'o - gni pia - cer mor - ta - - - - - - - - le,

S.
 le, A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o-gni pia - cer mor - ta - - - - - - - - le,

A.
 le, A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o-gni pia - cer mor - ta - - - - - - - - le,

T.
 le, (A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o-gni pia - cer mor - ta - - - - - - - - le,)

Q.
 A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o-gni pia - cer mor - ta - - - - - - - - le o - gni pia - cer mor - ta - - - - - - - - le,

B.
 le, A - ven - d'à sde-gn'o-gni pia - cer mor - ta - - - - - - - - le,

Terza parte.

92

C.
 Sic - ché quel ser - pe an - ti - co, Sic - ché quel ser - pe an - ti - - - co, Che

S.
 sic - ché quel ser - pe an - ti - co, Che con e -

A.
 Sic - ché quel ser - pe an - ti - co, Sic - ché quel ser - pe an - ti - - - co,

T.
 Sic - ché quel ser - pe an - ti - co,

Q.
 Sic - ché quel ser - pe an - ti - - - co, Che con e - ter - na e

B.
 Sic - ché quel ser - pe an - ti - co,

96

C. con e - ter-na e vi - gi - lan - te - cu - ra, Che con e -

S. ter-na e vi - gi - lan - - - te cu - ra, e vi - gi - lan - te cu - ra,

A. Che con e - ter - na e vi - gi - lan - te cu - ra, Che con e - ter - na e vi - gi - lan - te

T. Che con e - ter-na e vi - gi - lan - te cu -

Q. vi - gi-lan - te cu - - - ra, Che

B. Che con e - ter-na e vi - gi-lan - te cu -

99

C. ter-na e vi - gi-lan - te cu - ra, Em - pio nos - - - tro ne - mi -

S. (e vi - gi-lan - te cu - - - ra,) Em - pio nos - tro ne - mi -

A. cu - ra, e vi - gi - lan - te cu - ra, Em - pio nos - stro ne -

T. ra, Em - pio nos - - - tro ne -

Q. con e - ter-na e vi - gi-lan - te cu - ra, E - - - pio nos - tro ne -

B. ra, Em - - - pio nos - tro ne - mi -

103

C. co, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra

S. co, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra

A. mi - co, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra

T. mi - co, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra

Q. mi - co, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra

B. co, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra, Di ti - rar - mi pro - cu - ra

106

C. Nel - la sua val - le te - ne - bro - sa e scu - ra, Nel - la sua val - le te - ne - bro - sa e scu - ra,

S. Nel - la sua va - le te - ne - bro - sa e scu - ra,

A. Nel - la sua val - le te - ne - bro - sa e scu - ra, Nel - la sua val - le te - ne - bro - sa e scu - ra,

T. Nel - la sua val - le te - ne - bro - sa e scu - ra,

Q. Nel - la sua val - le te - ne - bro - sa e scu - ra,

B. Nel - la sua val - le te - ne - bro - sa e scu - ra,

110

C. In dar - n'o - gn'ar - te ten - da E sem - bri au - gel - la - tor,

S. In dar - n'o - gn'ar - te spen - da E sem - bri au -

A. In dar - n'o - gn'ar - te spen - da E sem - bri au - gel - la - tor, e sem - bri au - gel - la -

T. In dar - n'o - gn'ar - te spen - da E sem - bri au - gel - la - tor

Q. In dar - n'o - gn'ar - te spen - da E sem -

B. In dar - n'o - gn'ar - te spen - da E sem - bri au

114

C. (e sem - bri au - ge - la - tor,) ch'al lun - go gior - no

S. gel - la - tor, ch'al lun - go gior - no, ch'al lun - go gior - no In

A. tor, che al lun - go gior - no In van le re -

T. e sem - bri au - gel - la - tor, ch'al lun - go gior - no

Q. bri au - gel - la - tor, ch'al lun - go gior - no In van le

B. gel - la - tor, ch'al lun - go gior - no In van le re - ti

117

C. In van le re - - - ti ten - da, E pien d'i-ra e di scor -

S. van le re- ti ten - da, E pien d'i-ra e di

A. - ti ten - - da, In van le re - ti ten - da, E pien d'i-ra e di scor -

T. In van le re - ti ten - da, E pien

Q. re - ti ten - da, E pien d'i-ra e di scor - no,

B. ten - - da, E pien d'i-ra e di scor - no,

120

C. no, E pien d'i-ra e di scor - no La se - ra al

S. scor - no, (E pien d'i-ra e di scor - no) La se - ra al ni - do suo la se - ra al

A. no, E pien d'i-ra e di scor - no La se - ra al ni - do suo la se - ra al

T. d'i - ra e di scor - no, E pien d'i - ra e di scor - no La se - ra al ni - do suo,

Q. (E pien d'i - ra e di scor - no) La se - ra al

B. E pien d'i - ra e di scor - no La se - ra al ni - do suo,

123

C. ni-do suo fac - cia ri - tor - no, La se - ra al ni-do suo fac - cia ri - tor - no.

S. ni-do suo fac - cia ri - tor - no, La se - ra al ni-do suo fac - cia ri - tor - no.

A. ni-do suo fac-cia ri - tor - no, fac - cia, fac-cia ri-tor - no.

T. la se - ra al ni-do suo fac - cia ri - tor - no.

Q. ni-do suo fac - cia ri - tor - no, fac - cia ri - tor - no.

B. la se - ra al ni-do suo fac - cia ri - tor - no.

Canzon Quarta

Canzon Prima parte.

Canto Deh fra co-tan-te mie Ca - - la - mi -
 Sesto Deh fra co-tan-te mie Ca - la - mi -
 Alto Deh fra co-tan-te mie Ca - la - mi -
 Quinto
 Tenore Deh fra co-tan-te mie Ca - la - mi -
 Basso

C. tà, di cui gra - vo - so pon - do Mi po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do, Mi po -
 S. tà, di cui gra - vo - so pon - do Mi po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do,
 A. tà, di cui gra - vo - so pon - do Mi po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do,
 Q. Di cui gra - vo - so pon - do Mi po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do,
 T. tà, di cui gra - vo - so pon - do Mi po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do,
 B. Di cui gra - vo - so pon - do Mi

C. ne ad - dos - so il mon - do, Si spie - ta -
 S. Mi po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do, Si
 A. Mi po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do, Si spie - ta - te, e si
 Q. Mi po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do, Si spie - ta - te, e si ri e, Si
 T. Mi po - n'ad - dos - s'il mon - do / Si spie - ta - te, e si
 B. po - ne ad - dos - so il mon - do, Si spie - ta - te, e si

12

C. te, e si ri - - e, Fa'al-men Si-gnor, ch'io mi ri - po-si un di -

S. - - spie - ta - te, e si ri - e,

A. ri - - e, Fa'al-men Si-gnor, ch'io mi ri - po-si un di - e fa al

Q. spie - ta - te, e si ri - - e, Fa'al-men fa al - men Si-gnor, ch'io

T. ri - e, Fa'al - men Si - gnor, ch'io mi ri - po - si un di - e,

B. ri - - - - e, Fa'al -

16

C. e.

S. Fa al - men Si - gnor, ch'io mi ri - po - si un di -

A. men Si - gnor, ch'io mi ri - po - si un di - e fa al - men Si -

Q. mi ri - po - si, fa'al - men Si - gnor, ch'io mi ri - po - si un

T. Fa'al men Si - gnor, ch'io mi ri - po - si un di - e, Fa'al - men Si -

B. men Si - gnor, ch'io mi ri - po - si un di - e.

19

C. Se do - po lun - ga, gra -

S. - - - e. Se do - po lun - - ga, gra - - -

A. gnor, ch'io mi ri - po-si un di - e. Se do - po lun - - ga se do - po

Q. di - - - e. Se do - po lun - ga, gra - ve, lun -

T. gnor, ch'io mi ri - po-si un di - e. Se do - po lun - ga, gra - ve, se

B. Se do - po lun - - - - ga

23

C. ve E pe-ri-glio-sa-or-ri-bi-le tem pes - - - ta L'on-

S. ve E pe - ri - glio - sa_or - ri - bi - le tem - pes - ta

A. lun - ga, gra - ve E pe - ri - glio - sa_or - ri - bi - le tem - pes - ta...

Q. ga, gra - ve E pe - ri - glio - sa_or - ri - bi - le tem - pes - ta

T. do - po lun - ga, gra - ve E pe - ri - glio - sa_or - ri - bi - le tem - pes - ta

B. gra - - - ve E pe - ri - glio - sa_or - ri - bi - le tem - pes - ta...

27

C. - da in - nan - zi mo - les - ta...

S. L'on - da in - nan - zi mo - les - ta...

A. Di - vien pia - na e so -

Q. L'on - da in - nan - zi mo - les - ta Di - vien pia - na e so -

T. L'on - - - da in - nan - zi mo - les - ta Di - vien pia - na e so -

B. Di - vien pia - na e so -

31

C. E la - scia il ven - - - to, e la - scia il ven -

S. E la - scia il ven - - - to, e la - scia il ven -

A. - a - ve E la - scia il ven - to, (e la - scia il ven - to,)

Q. a - ve E la - scia il ven - to, (e la - scia il

T. a - ve E la - scia il ven - - - to, e la - scia il ven - to,

B. a - ve E la - scia il ven - - - to, e

34

C. - to re - spi - rar la na - ve, re - spi - rar la na - ve, Per - ché,

S. - - to re - spi - rar la na - ve (re - spi - rar la na - ve,) Per - ché,

A. e la - scia il ven - to re - spi - rar la na - ve re - spi - rar la na - ve, Per - ché,

Q. ven - to) e la - scia il ven - to re - spi - rar la na - ve, Per - ché,

T. (e la - scia il ve - - to) re - spi - rar la na - ve, Per - ché, per

B. la - scia il ven - to re - spi - rar la na - ve...

38

C. per - ché ques - to del mio Sta - to in - fe - li - ce os - cu - ro or

S. per - ché ques - to del mio Sta - - to in - fe - li - ce o - scu ro or

A. per - ché ques - to del mio Sta - to in - fe - li - ce os - cu - ro or -

Q. per - ché ques - to del mio Sta - to in - fe - li - ce os - cu - ro or -

T. ché ques - to del mio Sta - to in - fe - li - ce os - cu - ro or

B.

42

C. - ri - do ver - no Es - ser pur deb - be e - ter - no? O mio Si - gnor, o

S. - ri - do ver - no Es - ser pur deb - be e - ter - no? O mio Si - gnor, o

A. ri - do ver - no Es - ser pur deb - be e - ter - no? O mio Si - gnor, o

Q. ri - do ver - no Es - ser pur deb - be e - ter - no? O mio Si - gnor, o

T. - ri - do ver - no Es - ser pur deb - be e - ter - no? O mio Si - gnor,

B. O mio Si - gnor, o

46

C. Di - - o, To - gli l'or - go - glio, to - gli l'or - go - glio al des -

S. Di - - o, To - gli l'or - go - glio al

A. Di - - o, To - gli l'or - go - glio, (to - gli l'or - go - glio) al

Q. Di - o To - gli l'or - go - glio, (to - gli l'or - go - glio)

T. o Di - o, To - gli l'or - go - glio, to - gli l'or - go - glio al

B. Di - - o, To - gli l'or - go - glio, to - gli l'or - go - glio al

49

C. tin em - pio e ri - - - o.

S. des - tin em - pio e ri - - - o.

A. des - tin em - pio e ri - - - o.

Q. al des - tin em - pio e ri - o.

T. des - - tin em - pio e ri - - - o.

B. des - tin em - pio e ri - - - o.

50

Seconda parte.

51

C. Per - ché non mi con-dan - ni (per - ché non mi con-dan - ni) per - ché non mi con - dan -

S. Per - ché non mi con-dan - ni (per - ché non mi con -

A. Per - ché non mi con-dan - ni per - ché non mi con-dan - ni per - ché non mi

Q. Per - ché non mi con-dan - ni per - ché non mi con

T. Per - ché non mi con-dan - ni per - ché non mi con-dan -

B. Per - ché non mi con-dan - ni

55

C. - ni Ad un si lun - go, an - zi per - pe - -

S. dan - ni) Ad un si lun - - go, an - zi per - pe - tuo e -

A. - con - dan - ni Ad un si lun - go, an - zi per - pe - tuo e - si - glio,

Q. dan - ni Ad un si lun - go, an - zi per -

T. ni Ad un si lun - go, an - zi per - pe - tuo e - si - glio, Ad un si lun - go, an - zi per -

B. Ad un si lun - go, an - zi per - pe - tuo e - si - glio,

59

C. tuo e - si - glio, Con con - ti - nuo pe - ri - glio; E fra co - tan - ti af - fan -

S. si - - glio, Con con - ti - nuo pe - ri - glio; E fra co - tan - ti af -

A. Con con - ti - nuo pe - ri - glio;

Q. pe - tuo e - si - glio, Con con - ti - nuo pe - ri - glio;

T. pe - tuo e - si - glio, Con con - ti - nuo pe - ri - glio;

B. Con con - ti - nuo pe - ri - glio; E fra co - tan - ti af -

63

C. - - ni, E fra co - tan - ti af fan - -

S. fan - ni, (E fra co - tan - ti af fan - ni)

A. E fra co - tan - ti af - fan - ni Fi - nir il

Q. E fra co - tan - - ti af - fan - ni Fi -

T. E fra co - tan - ti af - fan - ni Fi - nir

B. fan - ni Fi -

67

C. ni Fi - nir il cor-so di mia vi - ta e gl'an - ni.

S. Fi - nir il cor-so di mia vi-ta e gl'an - ni.

A. cor-so di mia vi-ta e gl'an - - ni, Fi- nir il cor-so di mia vi-ta e gl'an - ni.

Q. nir il cor - so di mia vi-ta e gl'an - ni. Dam -

T. - il cor-so di mia vi - ta e gl'an - ni. Dam - mi

B. nir - il cor-so di mia vi-ta e gl'an - ni. Dam - mi

71

C. Dam - mi tan - ta for - tez - za, Dam - mi tan - ta for - tez - za;

S. Dam - mi tan - ta for-tez - za, / Che del - la

A. Dam - mi tan - ta for - tez - za, Dam - mi tan - ta for - tez - za, Che del - la

Q. - mi tan - ta for-tez - za, Dam - mi tan - ta for - tez - za,

T. tan - ta for-tez - za, Dam - mi tan - ta for - tez - za, Che del - la

B. tan - ta for-tez - za, Dam - mi tan - ta for - tez - za,

75

C. Che de la rea for - tu - na ol-trag - gi e tor - ti Sof-fren-d'in

S. rea for - tu - na, (che del - la rea for - tu - na) ol-trag - gi e tor - ti Sof -

A. rea for - tu - na...

Q. Che del - la rea for - tu - na ol-trag - gi e tor - ti

T. rea for - tu - na, (che del - la rea for - tu - na) ol-trag - gi e tor - ti Sof-fren-d'in

B. Che del - la rea for - tu - na...

80

C. pa - ce io por - ti, Ed a ques t'al - m'a-vez - za

S. fren-d'in pa-ce io por - ti, Ed a ques-t'al - m'a-vez -

A. Ed a ques t'al - m'a-vez - za, (Ed a ques-t'al - ma a-vez -

Q. Sof-fren-d'in pa-ce io por - ti, Ed a ques t'al - m'a-vez - za...

T. pa - ce io por - ti, Ed a ques-t'al - ma a-vez -

B. Ed a ques t'al - m'a-vez - za, Ed a ques-t'al - m'a-vez -

84

C. A gus-tar ad o - gn'or l'em - pia dol - cez - za Del - le gioi-

S. za A gus - tar ad o - gn'or l'em - pia dol - cez - za Del - le gioi-

A. za) A gus-tar ad o - gn'or l'em - pia dol - cez - za Del - le gioi-

Q.

T. za A gus-tar ad o - gn'or l'em - pia dol - cez - za Del - le gioi-

B. za...

88

C. e mor-ta - li, Da'a ber di quel tuo vi - vo al - -

S. e mor-ta - - li Da'a ber di quel tuo vi -

A. e mor-ta - li Da'a ber di quel tuo vi - vo

Q. Da'a ber di quel tuo vi - vo al - to tor -

T. e mor-ta - li Da'a ber di quel tuo vi - vo al - to

B. Da'a ber di quel tuo vi - - vo al - to tor - ren -

92

C. - - to tor - ren - - - - - te, Che ren - da eb -

S. - vo al - to tor - ren - - - - te, Che ren - da eb -

A. al - to tor - ren - te, Che ren - da eb -

Q. ren - te, al - to tor - ren - - te,

T. tor - ren - te, al - to tor - ren - te, Che ren - da eb -

B. te,

96

C. bra la men - te la men - te...

S. bra la men - te Del - le co - se im - mor - ta - -

A. - bra la men - te Del - le co - se im - mor - ta -

Q. Che ren - da eb - bra la men - te Del - le co - se im - mor -

T. bra la men - te Del - le co - se im - - mor - ta -

B. Che ren - da eb - bra la men - te...

100

C. On - de poi sprez - zi, (on - de poi sprez - zi,) on - de poi

S. - - li, On - de poi sprez - zi, on - de poi

A. li, On - de poi sprez - zi, (on - de poi

Q. ta - li, On - de poi sprez - zi, (on - de poi sprez - zi,) on - de poi

T. li, On - de poi sprez - zi, (on - de poi

B. On - de poi sprez - zi, on - de poi

103 106

C. *♭* spre - zi ques - - t'u - ma - ne e fra - - - - li.

S. spre - zi ques - t'u - ma - ne e fra - - - - li.

A. spre - zi) ques - t'u - ma - ne e fra - - - - li.

Q. spre - zi ques - t'u - ma - ne e fra - - - - li.

T. spre - zi) ques - t'u - ma - ne e fra - - - - li.

B. *♭* spre - zi ques - t'u - ma - - - ne e fra - - - - li.

Terza parte.

107

C. Sol - le - va il mio pen - sie - ro, (Sol - le - va il mio pen - sie -

S. Sol - le - va il mio pen - sie - ro

A. Sol - le - va il mio pen - sie - -

Q. Sol - le - va il mio pen - sie - ro, Sol - le - va il mio pen - sie -

T. Sol - le - va il mio pen - sie -

B. Sol - le - va il mio pen - sie - ro

110

C. ro) Col tuo fa - vor da ques - te

S. Col tuo fa - vor, (col tuo fa - vor) da ques - te cu - re u - ma -

A. ro Col tuo fa - vor da ques - te cu -

Q. ro Col tuo fa - vor, (col tuo fa - vor) da ques - te cu - re u - ma - ne da

T. ro Col tuo fa - vor da ques - te cu - re u -

B. Col tuo fa - vor da ques - te cu - re u - ma -

114 \flat

C. cu - re u - ma - ne... On - de leg - gie - ro

S. - - - ne, Dal - le spe - ran - ze va - ne Del mon - do, on - de leg -

A. re u - - ma - ne, Dal - le spe - ran - ze va - ne Del mon - do, on -

Q. ques - te cu - re u - ma - ne... On - de leg - gie - ro,

T. ma - - - ne, Dal - le spe - ran - ze va - ne Del mon - do, on - de leg - gie -

B. ne... On - de leg - gie - ro,

118

C. on - de leg - gie - ro E scar - co, qua - si a - la - to e bel cor - rie -

S. gie - ro E scar - co, qua - si a - la - to e bel cor - rie - - -

A. de leg - gie - ro E scar - co, qua - si a - la - to e bel cor - rie - - -

Q. on - de leg - gie - ro E scar - co, qua - si a - la - to e bel cor - rie - ro,

T. ro, on - de leg - gie - ro E scar - co, qual a - la - to e bel cor - rie - ro e bel cor - rie -

B. on - de leg - gie - ro E scar - co, qua - si a - la - to e bel cor - rie - - -

122

C. ro, M'in - nal - zi del tuo mon - te Al gio - go lie - to, (al gio - go lie - to), o - ve giam - mai non

S. ro, M'in - nal - zi del tuo mon - te Al gio - go lie - to, o - ve giam - mai non

A. ro, M'in - nal - zi del tuo mon - te Al gio - go lie - to, (al gio - go lie - to)

Q. M'in - nal - zi del tuo mon - te Al gio - go lie - to, o - ve giam - mai non

T. ro, M'in - nal - zi del tuo mon - te Al gio - go lie - to, o - ve giam - mai non

B. ro... Al gio - go lie - to, o - ve giam - mai non

126

C. ver - na, O - ve ver - d'ed e - ter - na Pri - ma - ve - ra, la fron -

S. ver - na, O - ve ver - d'ed e - ter - na Pri - ma - ve - - - ra, la fron -

A. O - ve ver - d'ed e - ter - na Pri - ma - ve - - - ra, la

Q. ver - na...

T. ver - na, O - ve ver - d'ed e - ter - na Pri - ma - ve - ra,

B. ver - na...

130

C. te D'al-tre va-ghez - ze, e qui fra noi non con - te Gli or - - - na;

S. te D'al-tre va-ghez - ze, e qui fra noi non con - te Gli or - - - na;

A. fron - te D'al-tre va-ghez - ze, e qui fra noi non con - te Gli or - na; e lun - go i ru -

Q. E lun - go i ru -

T. la fron - te D'al-tre va-ghez - ze, e qui fra noi non con te Gli or na;

B. E lun - go i ru -

134

C. e lun - go i ru - scel - li, Che cor-ron ac-qua di di - let-to vi - va; Sov -

S. e lun - go i ru - scel - li, Che cor-ron ac-qua di di - let-to vi - va; Sov -

A. scel - li, Che cor-ron ac - qua di di - let - to vi - va;

Q. scel - li, Che cor-ron ac - qua di di - let-to vi - va...

T. e lun - go i ru - scel - li, Che cor-ron ac - qua... Sov - ra la

B. scel - li, Che cor-ron ac-qua di di - let - to vi - va;

138

C. ra la ver - de ri - va, Ch'a di - gem-me j ca-pel - li, Si ci - bian - ch'ei, (si

S. ra la ver - de ri - va, Ch'a di gem-me j ca-pel - li, Si ci - bian - ch'ei, (si

A. Sov - ra la ver - de ri - va... Si ci - bian - ch'ei, (si

Q. Ch'a di gem-me j ca-pel - li, Si ci -

T. ver - de ri va... Si ci - bian - ch'ei, (si

B. Sov - ra la ver - de ri - va... Si ci - bian - ch'ei,

142

C. ci - bian - ch'ei) fra gl'an - ge - li più bel - - - li, Si ci - bian - ch'ei fra

S. ci - bi an ch'ei) fra gl'an - ge - li più bel - - - li, Si ci - bian -

A. ci - bian - ch'ei) fra gl'an - ge - li più bel - - - - - li, Si ci - bian -

Q. - bian - ch'ei, (si ci - bian -

T. ci - bian - ch'ei) fra gl'an - ge - li più bel - - - - - li, Si

B. si ci - bian -

145

C. gl'an - ge - li più bel - - - - - li,

S. ch'ei fra gl'an - ge - li più bel - li,

A. ch'ei fra gl'an - ge - li più bel - - - li,

Q. ch'ei) fra l'an - ge - li più bel - - - - - li,

T. ci - bian - ch'ei) fra gl'an - ge - li più bel - - - li,

B. ch'ei fra gl'an - ge - li più bel - - - li,

Quarta parte.

C. A la di - vi - na men - sa,

S. A la di - vi - na men - - - - sa,

A. A la di - vi - na men - -

Q. A la di - vi - na men - sa a la di - vi - na a la di - vi - na men -

T. A la di - vi - na men - sa,

B. A la di - vi - na men - - -

C. O - ve la tua pie - tà tut - ti j di - let - ti

S. O - ve la tua pie - tà tut - ti j di - let - ti

A. sa, O - ve la tua pie - tà tut - ti j di - let - ti...

Q. sa, O - ve la tua pie - tà, o - ve la tua pie - tà tut - ti j di - let - ti, tut - ti j di - let - ti

T. O - ve la tua pie - tà, o - ve la tua pie - tà tut - ti j di - let - ti, tut - ti j di - let - ti

B. sa, O - ve la tua pie - tà tut - ti j di - let - ti...

C. Ai ca - ri spi - ri - e - let - ti Con lar - ga man dis - pen - sa; Tal, che de l'a-mor

S. Ai ca - ri spi - ri - e - let - ti Con lar - ga man dis - pen - sa; Tal, che de l'a-mor

A. Con lar - ga man dis - pen - sa; Tal, che de l'a-mor

Q. Ai ca - ri spi - ri - e - let - ti Con lar - ga man dis - pen - sa;

T. Ai ca - ri spi - ri - e - let - ti Con lar - ga man dis - pen - sa;

B. Con lar - ga man dis - pen - sa...

160

C. tuo, tal, che de l'a-mor tuo l'a - ni-ma ac-cen - sa Sde-gni nel suo ter-re-no Car - ce-re far ri - tor -

S. tuo, (tal, che de l'a-mor tuo) l'a - ni-ma ac-cen - sa Sde-gni nel suo ter-re-no Car - ce-re far ri - tor -

A. tuo... Sde-gni nel suo ter-re-no Car - ce-re far ri - tor -

Q. Tal, che de l'a-mor tuo l'a - ni-ma ac-cen - sa Sde-gni nel suo ter-re-no Car - ce-re far ri - tor -

T. Tal, che de l'a-mor tuo l'a - ni-ma ac-cen - sa Sde-gni nel suo ter-re-no Car - ce-re far ri - tor -

B. Sde-gni nel suo ter-re-no Car - ce-re far - ri - tor -

164

C. no: e, o - dian - do tan - te Gioi -

S. no: e, o - dian - do tan - te Gioi - e del mon - -

A. no: e, o - dian - do tan - te Gioi - e del mon - do er

Q. no...

T. - no...

B. no...

168

C. e del mon - do er - ran - - te, Pie - ne d'em - pio ve -

S. do er - ran - te, Pie - - ne d'em - pio

A. ran - - - - - te, Pie -

Q. Pie - ne d'em - pio ve - le - no,

T. Pie - ne d'em - pio

B. Pie - ne d'em - pio ve -

172

C. le - - - - - no, Si muo - ia qui, per poi vi - ver-ti in

S. - ve - le - - - - no, Si muo - ia qui, si muo - ia qui, per poi

A. - ne d'em - pio ve - le - no, Si muo - ia qui,

Q. Si muo - ia qui, si muo - ia qui, per poi vi -

T. ve - - - le - - - no, Si muo - ia qui, per poi vi -

B. le - - - no, Si muo - ia qui,

177

C. se - - - - - no, per poi vi - - - ver -

S. vi - ver - ti in - se - - - no, per poi vi -

A. si muo - ia qui, per poi vi - ver - ti in

Q. ver - ti in - se - - - no, Si muo - ia qui, per poi vi - - -

T. ver - ti in - se - - - no, Si muo - ia qui,

B. si muo - ia qui, per poi

180

C. ti in - se - - - no.

S. - ver - ti in - se - - - - - - - - - no.

A. se - - - no, per poi vi - ver - ti in se - - - no.

Q. ver - ti in - se - - - - - - - - - no.

T. per poi vi - ver - ti in - se - - - no.

B. vi - - - ver - - - ti in - se - - - - - - - - - no.

Canzon Quinta

Canzon Prima parte.

Canzon Quinta, Canzon Prima parte. This system contains the first two measures of the piece. It features six vocal parts: Canto, Sesto, Alto, Quinto, Tenore, and Basso. The lyrics for the Canto part are: "Quan - do ai cor-sier del sol pon - go-no il fre - no". The Alto part begins with: "Quan - d'ai cor-sier del sol pon - go-no il fre - no L'o -". The other parts (Sesto, Quinto, Tenore, Basso) have rests in these measures.

Second system of the musical score. It features six vocal parts: C. (Canto), S. (Sesto), A. (Alto), Q. (Quinto), T. (Tenore), and B. (Basso). The lyrics for the C. part are: "L'o - - - re pon - go-no il fre - no L'o - - re, do - po l'au - ro -". The S. part lyrics are: "Quan - d'ai cor-sier del sol pon - go-no il fre-no L'o re, do - po l'au - ro -". The A. part lyrics are: "re, do - po l'au - ro -". The Q. part lyrics are: "Quan - d'ai cor - sier del sol pon - go-no il fre - no L'o - re, do - po l'au - ro -". The T. and B. parts have rests.

Third system of the musical score. It features six vocal parts: C. (Canto), S. (Sesto), A. (Alto), Q. (Quinto), T. (Tenore), and B. (Basso). The lyrics for the C. part are: "ra, Per far l'ae - re se - re - no Con la lu - ce, ch'in - do -". The S. part lyrics are: "ra, Per far l'ae - re se - re - no Con la lu - ce, ch'in - do -". The A. part lyrics are: "ra, Per far l'ae - re se - re - - no Con la lu - ce, ch'in - do -". The Q. part lyrics are: "ra, Per far l'ae - re se - re - no Con la lu - ce, ch'in-do -". The T. part lyrics are: "Per far l'ae - re se - re - no Con la lu - ce, ch'in-do -". The B. part lyrics are: "Per far l'ae - re se - re - no Con la lu - ce, ch'in - do -".

11

C. ra In - tor - no il cie - lo e le cam - pa - gnie in - fio - - ra, Ri -

S. ra / In - tor - no il cie - lo e le cam - pa - gnie in - fio - ra, Ri -

A. - - ra In - tor - no il cie - lo e le cam - pa - gnie in - fio - ra, Ri -

Q. ra In - tor - no il cie - lo e le cam - pa - gnie in - fio - ra,

T. ra In - tor - no il cie - lo e le cam - pa - gnie in fio - ra, Ri -

B. ra In - tor - no il cie - l'e le cam - pa - gnie in - fio - ra,

15

C. vol - go gli oc - chi la - cri - mo - si e gra - - vi,

S. vol - go gli oc - chi la - cri - mo - si e gra - vi, Ri - vol - go gli oc - chi la - cri -

A. vol - go gli oc - chi la - cri - mo - si e gra - - vi,

Q. Ri - vol - go gli oc - chi la - cri -

T. vol - go gli oc - chi la - cri - mo - si e gra - - vi, Ri - vol - go gli oc - chi la - cri -

B. Ri - vol - go gli oc - chi la - cri -

20

C. la - cri - mo - si e gra - vi An - cor dal son - no a Di - - -

S. mo - si e gra - - - vi An - cor dal son - no a Di - -

A. la - cri - mo - si e gra - vi An - cor dal son - no a Di -

Q. mo - si e gra - vi An - cor dal son - no a Di - o,

T. mo - si e gra - vi An - cor dal son - no a Di - io,

B. mo - si e gra - vi An - cor dal son - no a Di - - - o,

25

C. *o,* Per - ché le mac - chie la - vi, C'ha

S. *o,* Per - ché le mac - chie la - vi, Per - ché le mac - chie la - vi,

A. *o,* Per - ché le mac - chie la - vi, C'ha

Q. Per - ché le mac - chie la - vi, Per - ché le mac - chie la - vi,

T. Per - ché le mac - chie la - vi, C'ha

B. — Per - ché le mac - chie la - vi, C'ha

29

C. fat - te l'er - ror mi - o Nel al - ma tris - ta, e i

S. C'ha fat - te l'er - ror mi - o Nel

A. fat - te l'er - ror mi - o Nel al - ma tris - ta, e i pen -

Q. C'ha fat - te l'er - ror mi - o Nel al - ma tris - ta nel

T. fat - te l'er - ror mi - o, C'ha fat - te l'er - ror mi - o Nel al - ma

B. fat - to l'er - ror mi - o Nel al - ma tris -

34

37

C. — pen - sie - ri, e'l de - si - o.

S. al - ma tris - ta, e i pen - sie - ri, e'l de - si - o.

A. sie - ri, e'l de - si - o.

Q. al - ma tris - ta, e i pen - sie - ri, e'l de - si - o.

T. tris - ta e i pen - sie - ri, e'l de - si - o.

B. ta e i pen - sie - ri, e'l de - si - o.

Seconda parte.

38

C. E sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter-no e vi - - - vo da fon-te e-ter-no e vi - vo, E

S. E sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter-no e vi -

A. E sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter-no e vi - vo, e - ter-no e vi -

Q. E sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter - no, da fon-te e-ter - n'e vi -

T. E sic-co - me da

B. E

42

C. - sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter - no, da fon-te e-ter-no e vi - - - vo, Che

S. vo, E sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter-no e vi - - - -

A. vo, E sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter - no e vi - - - - vo,

Q. vo, da fon - te e-ter - no e vi - vo, Che

T. fon-te e-ter-no e vi - vo, E sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter - n'e vi - vo, Che con

B. - sic-co - me da fon-te e-ter - no e vi - vo, da fon-te e-ter-no e vi - -

46

C. con on - da sua pu - - - - ra

S. vo, Che con l'on - - - da sua pu - -

A. Che con l'on - da che con l'on - da sua pu -

Q. con l'on- da sua pu - ra

T. l'on - - - - da sua

B. vo, Che con l'on - da sua pu -

50

C. Fa un par-go - let - to ri - - - - vo E con per-pe-

S. ra Fa un par-go-let - to ri - - - - vo E con per-pe-

A. - ra Fa un par-go-let - to ri - - - - vo

Q. Fa un par-go-let - to ri - vo E con per -

T. pu - ra Fa un par-go - let - to ri - - - - vo E con per-pe-

B. ra Fa un par-go - let - to ri - - - - - - - - vo

54

C. - tua cu - ra Ba - gnaj na-scen - ti fio - ri e la ver-

S. tua cu - ra e con per - pe-tua cu - ra Ba - gnaj na - scen - ti fio - ri e

A. E con per-pe-tua cu - ra Ba - gnaj na - scen - ti fio - ri e

Q. pe-tua cu - ra

T. - tua cu - ra e con per - pe-tua cu - ra

B. E con per-pe - tua cu - ra

58

C. du - ra, e la ver - du - ra, (e

S. la ver - du - ra, Ba - gnaj na-scen - ti fio - ri e la ver - du -

A. la ver-du - ra, e la ver - du - ra, Ba - gnaj na-scen - ti fio - ri e la

Q. Ba - gnaj na - scen - ti fio - ri e la ver-du - ra,

T. Ba - gnaj na-scen - ti fio - ri e la ver - du - ra, e la ver - -

B. Ba - gnaj na - scen - ti fio - ri e la ver - du - ra, e la

62

C. la ver - du - - ra,) Ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi, (ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi) ver - so da-

S. - ra, Ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi, (ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi,) ver - so da-gli_{oc} -

A. ver - du - ra, Ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi, ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi...

Q. la ver - du - ra, Ver - so da-gli_{oc} -

T. - du - ra, Ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi..

B. ver - du - ra, Ver - so da-gli_{oc} - chi..

66

C. gli_{oc}-chi e per le got - te spar - go D'u - mor lu - ci-do e chia ro Un

S. chi e per le got - te spar - go D'u - mor lu - ci-do e chia - ro Un ri -

A. Un ri - vo

Q. chi e per le got - te spar - go D'u - mor lu - ci-do e chia - ro Un ri - vo

T. D'u - mor lu - ci-do e chia - ro Un ri - vo cu -

B. Un ri - vo

71

C. ri - vo cu - po e lar - - go, Da - gl'oc - chi, che pec - ca - ro,

S. vo cu - po e lar - - - - go, Da - gl'oc - chi, che pec - ca - ro,

A. cu - po e lar - go e lar - go, Da - gli_{oc} - chi, che pec - ca - ro,

Q. cu - po e lar - - - - go, Da -

T. - po e lar - - - go,

B. cu - po e lar - - - - go,

76

C. E ri-go il pet-to mio di pian - to a - ma -

S. E ri-go il pet - to mio di pian-to a-

A. E ri-go il pet - to mio di pian - to a-ma - ro,

Q. - gli oc - chi, che pec - ca - ro, E ri-go il pet - to

T. Da - gli oc - chi, che pec - ca - ro, E ri-go il pet-to mio,

B. Da - gli oc - chi, che pec - ca - ro,

80

C. -ro, E ri - go il pet - to mio di pian -

S. ma - ro, E ri - go il pet - to mio e ri - go il pet - to mio di pan - to a -

A. E ri - go il pet - to mio, (e ri - go il pet - to mio,) E ri - go il

Q. mio, e ri - go il pet - to mio di pian - to a -

T. e ri - go il pet - to mio, (e ri - go il pet - to mio) di pian -

B. E ri - go il pet - to mio, e ri - go il pet - to mio di pian -

83

C. - to a - ma - ro

S. ma - ro, di pian - to a - ma - ro.

A. pet - to mio di pan - to a - ma - ro.

Q. ma - ro, di pan - to a - ma - ro.

T. - to a - ma - ro, di pian - to a - ma - ro.

B. to a - ma - ro.

85

Terza parte.

86

C. E col di - vo - to cuo - re e pien

S. E col di - vo - to cuo - re e pien di

A. E col di - vo - to cuo - re, e col di - vo - to cuo - r'e pien di

Q. E col di - vo - to cuo - re e pien di fe -

T. E col di - vo - to cuo - re, e col di - vo - to cuo - r'e pien di

B. E col di - vo - to cuo - re e pien di

91

C. - di fe - de Di tan - te col - pe mi -

S. fe - de Di tan - te col - pe mi -

A. fe - de Di tan - te col - pe mi - e A

Q. - - - de Di tan - te col - pe

T. fe - de Di tan - te col - pe mi - e A lui chieg

B. fe - de Di tan - te col - pe mi - e A

95

C. e A lui chieg-gio mer - ce - - - de, Che co-me in-gor - de ed af - fa -

S. e A lui chieg-gio mer - ce - de, Che co-me in-gor - de ed af - fa - ma -

A. lui chieg-gio mer - ce - de, Che co-me in-gor - de ed af - fa -

Q. mie A lui chieg-gio mer - ce - - - de, Che co-me in-gor - de ed

T. gio mer - ce - de, Che co-m in-gor - de ed af - fa - ma -

B. lui chieg-gio mer - ce - de, Che co-me in-gor - de ed af - fa -

99

C. ma - te Ar - pi - e Mi - ro - do no ad o - gn'or, (mi ro - do - no ad o - gn'or) la mi -

S. - te Ar - pi - e Mi ro - do no ad o - gn'or, (mi ro - do - no ad o - gn'or) la mi -

A. ma - te Ar - pi - e Mi ro - do no ad o - gn'or la mi -

Q. af - fa - ma - te Ar - pi - e Mi ro - do - no ad o - gn'or la mi - ser al - ma,

T. te Ar - pi - e Mi ro - do - no ad o - gn'or la mi -

B. ma - te Ar - pi - e Mi ro - do no ad o - gn'or la mi -

103

C. - ser al - ma, Per ti - mor, che non por - te Il ni -

S. - ser al - ma, Per ti - mor, che non por -

A. ser al - ma la mi - ser al - ma...

Q. Per ti - mor, che non por -

T. ser al - ma...

B. - ser al - ma...

107

C. mi - co la pal - ma Di me po - ten - te e for - te E mi con - dan - ni,

S. te Il ni - mi - co la pal - ma Di me po - ten - te e for - te E

A. E mi con - dan - ni, (e mi con -

Q. te Il ni - mi - co la pal - ma Di me po - ten - te e for - te E mi con - dan -

T. Po - ten - te e for - te E mi con -

B. E mi con - dan - ni,

111 114

C. e mi con-dan - ni a u - na per - pe - tua mor - - - te.

S. mi con-dan - ni, e mi con-dan - ni a u - na per - pe - tua mor - - - te.

A. dan - ni,) e mi con-dan - ni a u - na per - pe - tua mor - - - te.

Q. ni, e mi con-dan - ni a u - na per - pe - tua mor - - - te.

T. dan - ni, e mi con-dan - ni a u - na per - pe - tua mor - - - te.

B. e mi con-dan - ni a u - na per - pe - tua mor - - - te.

Quarta parte.

115

C. Ma'l sen - so per lon-g'u-so o-mai ti-ran - no ma'l sen - so, per lon-g'u-so o-mai

S. Ma'l sen - so per lon - g'u-so o-mai ti-ran - no,

A. Ma'l sen - so per lon-g'u-so o-mai ti-ran - no,

Q. Ma'l sen - so per lon - g'u - so o - mai ti-ran - no, per lon-g'u - so o -

T. Ma'l sen - so per lon-g'u - so o -

B. Ma'l sen - so per lon-g'u - so o -

119

C. ti - ran - - - no, Non cle-men - te Si-gno - re, Con un soa -

S. o - mai ti - ran - no, Non cle-men - te Si - gno - re, Con un

A. Non cle - men - te Si - gno - re, Con un soa -

Q. mai ti - ran - no, Non cle - men - te Si - gno - re,

T. mai ti - ran - no, Non cle-men - te Si - gno - re...

B. mai ti - ran - - - no, Non cle-men - te Si - gno - re...

123

C. ve in - gan - no Dis - via l'in - cau - to cuo -

S. soa - - - ve in-gan - no Dis - via l'in - cau - to cuo -

A. ve in-gan - no Dis - via l'in - cau - to cuo -

Q. Con un soa - ve in-gan - no Dis - via l'in - cau - to cuo-re l'in-cau-to

T. Dis - via l'in - cau - to l'in -

B. Dis - via l'in - cau - to

127

C. re E lo ri-me - na al suo pri - mie - ro er - ro -

S. - re E lo ri-me - na al suo pri - mie - ro er - ro - - -

A. re E lo ri - me-na al suo pri - mie - ro er - ro -

Q. cuo - re E lo ri-me - na al suo pri - mie - ro er - ro -

T. cau-to cuo - re E lo ri-me - na, (e lo ri-me - na) al suo pri - mier er - ro -

B. cuo - re E lo ri-me - na al suo pri - mier er - ro -

131

C. re. Ahi! A - ni-ma os-ti - na - ta, Ahi! A - ni-ma os-ti - na - ta, un cie-co du - ce un cie-co - du -

S. re. Ahi! A - ni-ma os-ti - na - ta, Ahi! A - ni-ma os-ti - na - ta, un cie-co

A. re. Ahi! A - ni-ma os-ti - na - ta, un cie-co du - ce un cie-co du -

Q. re. Ahi! A - ni-ma os-ti - na - ta, un cie-co-du - ce Tol-t'hai

T. re. Ahi! A - ni-ma os-ti - na - ta, un cie-co du - ce un cie-co du - ce Tol-

B. re. Ahi! A - ni-a os-ti - na - ta, un cie-co du - ce

135

C. ce Tol-t'hai per fi - da scor - ta, Las - sa!, che ti con - du - ce Con

S. du - ce Tol - t'hai per fi - da scor - ta, Las - sa!, che ti con - du - ce Con

A. ce Tol-t'hai per fi - da scor - ta... Con le lu -

Q. per fi - da scor - ta, Las - sa!, che ti con - du - ce Con

T. t'hai per fi - da scor - ta...

B. Tol - t'hai per fi - da scor - ta...

139

C. le lu - sin - ghe e por - ta Per ques - ta stra - da pe - ri - glio - sa e tor - ta.

S. le lu - sin - ghe e por - ta Per ques - ta stra - da pe - ri - glio - sa e tor - ta.

A. - sin - ghe e por - ta Per ques - ta stra - da pe - ri - glio - sa e tor - ta.

Q. le lu - sin - ghe e por - ta Per ques - ta stra - da pe - ri - glio - sa e tor - ta.

T. E por - ta Per ques - ta stra - da pe - ri - glio - sa e tor - ta.

B. E por - ta Per ques - ta stra - da pe - ri - glio - sa e tor - ta.

Quinta parte.

144

C. Ma tu, Si - gnor del ciel, pa - dre be - ni - gno, pa -

S. Ma tu, Si - gnor del ciel, pa - dre be - ni - gno, Ma tu, Si - gnor del ciel, pa -

A. Ma tu, Si - gnor del ciel, pa - dre be - ni - gno,

Q. Ma tu, Si - gnor del ciel, pa -

T. Ma tu, Si - gnor del ciel, pa - dre be - ni - gno, Ma tu, Si - gnor del ciel, pa -

B. Ma tu, Si - gnor del ciel, pa -

149

C. dre be - ni - gno, A ques-ta sem - pli-cet-ta Al - ma,

S. dre be - ni - gno, A ques-ta sem- pli - cet - ta Al - ma, che quel ma-li-gno

A. A ques-ta sem - pli-cet- ta Al-ma, che quel ma-li-gno

Q. dre be - ni - gno, A ques - ta sem - pli-cet-ta Al - ma, che quel ma-li-gno

T. dre be - ni - gno, A ques - ta sem - pli - cet - ta Al - ma,

B. dre be - ni - gno... Che quel ma-li-gno

153

C. che quel ma-li-gno Ser - pe si dol-ce al-let - ta E tien nei lac - ci suoi le -

S. Ser pe... E tien nei lac - ci suoi le - ga -

A. Ser - pe, Che quel ma-li-gno Ser - pe si dol-ce al-let - ta E tien nei lac - ci suoi le - ga-ta e fret -

Q. Ser - pe, Che quel ma-li-gno Ser - pe si dol-ce al-let - ta E tien nei lac - ci suoi le - ga -

T. che quel ma-li-gno Ser - pe si dol-ce al-let - ta E tien nei lac - ci suoi le - ga -

B. Ser pe... E tien nei lac - ci suoi le -

157

C. ga - ta e fret - - - ta, Re - ci - di il no - do con l'ar-den-te spa - da Di

S. - ta e fret - ta, Re - ci - di il no - do con l'ar-den-te spa - di Di

A. ta, Re - ci - di il no - do con l'ar-den-te spa - da Di

Q. - ta e fret - - - ta...

T. ta e fret - - - ta, Re - ci - di il no - do con l'ar-den-te spa - da Di

B. ga - ta e fret - - - ta...

161

C. tua pie-tà in-fi - ni - ta, Sic - ch'a for - za non va - da, O - ve il cru - del l'in -

S. tua pie-tà in-fi - ni - ta, Sic - ch'a for - za non va - da, O - ve il cru -

A. tua pie-tà in-fi - ni - ta, Sic - ch'a for - za non va - da, O -

Q. Sic - ch'a for - za non va - da, O - ve il cru - del,

T. tua pie-tà in-fi - ni - ta, Sic - ch'a for - za non va - da, O -

B. Sic - ch'a for - za non va - da, O - ve il

165

C. vi - ta, O - ve la trag - ge,

S. del l'in - vi - - - ta, O ve la trag - ge, o -

A. - ve il cru - del l'in - vi - ta, O - ve la trag - ge,

Q. o - ve il cru - del l'in - vi - - - ta, O -

T. ve il cru - del l'in - vi - - - ta, O -

B. cru - del l'in - vi - - - ta, O - ve la trag - ge,

169

C. o - ve la trag - ge ti - mi-da e smar - ri - ta.

S. ve la trag - ge ti - mi-da e smar - ri - ta.

A. o - ve la trag - ge ti - mi-da e smar - ri - ta.

Q. ve la trag - ge, o - ve la trag - ge ti - mi-da e smar - ri - ta.

T. ve la trag - ge ti - mi-da e smar - ri - ta.

B. o - ve la trag - ge ti - mi-da e smar - ri - ta.

Sesta parte.

172

C. In te, Si-gnor, nel - la tua gra-zia spe - ro nel-la tua gra-zia spe - ro, In te, Si-gnor,

S. In te, Si-gnor, nel - la tua gra-zia spe - ro, nel - la tua gra - zia spe - ro spe

A. In te, Si-gnor, nel - la tua gra-zia spe - ro, nel - la tua gra-zia spe-ro

Q. In te, Si-gnor, nel - la tua gra-zia spe - ro, nel - la tua gra-zia

T. In te, Si-gnor, nel - la tua

B. In te, Si -

176

C. nel - la tua gra-zia spe - ro E per-ciò ti con - sa - cro Il de -

S. - ro E per-ciò ti con - sa - cro Il de -

A. nel - la tua gra - zia spe - ro E per - ciò ti con - sa - cro

Q. spe - ro nel - la tua gra - zia spe - ro E per-ciò ti con - sa - cro

T. gra-zia spe - ro, nel - la tua gra - zia spe - ro E per - ciò ti con - sa - cro

B. gnor, nel - la tua gra-zia spe - ro E per-ciò ti con - sa - cro Il de -

180

C. sio e'l pen - sie - ro La - va-ti en - tro quel sa - cro Di pen-ti -

S. sio e'l pen - sie - ro La - va-ti en - tro quel sa - cro Di pen-ti - men - to

A. Il de - sio e'l pen - sie - ro La - va-ti en - tro quel sa - cro Di pen-ti -

Q. Il de - sio e'l pen - sie - ro La - va-ti en - tro quel sa - cro Di pen-ti - men - to e

T. Il de - sio e'l pen - sie - ro...

B. sio e'l pen - sie - ro...

184

C. men - to, e chia - ro, e bel la - va - - - cro. E

S. e chia - ro, e bel la - va - - - cro. E le tue lo - di sem -

A. men - to, e chia - ro, e bel la - va - - - cro. E le tue

Q. chia - ro, e bel la - va - - - cro. E le tue lo - di sem - pre,

T. E chia - ro, e bel la - va - - - cro. E le tue lo - di sem - pre,

B. E le tue lo - di sem - pre,

188

C. le tue lo - di sem - pre, e le tue lo - di se - mpre la glo - ria Can - tan - do con la ce -

S. pre, e le tue lo - di sem pre la glo - ria Can - tan - do con la ce -

A. lo - di sem - pre, e le tue lo - di sem - pre la glo - ria Can - tan - do con la ce -

Q. e le tue lo - di sem - pre la glo - ria Can - tan - do con la ce -

T. e le tue lo - di sem - pre la glo - ria Can - tan - do con la ce -

B. e le tue lo - di sem - pre la glo - ria Can - tan - do con la ce -

192

C. tra Fa - rò al mon - do me - mo - ria, Che'l cuor, che non è pie - tra, Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

S. tra Fa - rò al mon - do me - mo - ria, Che'l cuor, che non è pie - tra, Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

A. tra Fa - rò al mon - do me - mo - ria, Che'l cuor, che non è pie - tra, Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

Q. tra Fa - rò al mon - do me - mo - ria... Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

T. tra Fa - rò al mon - do me - mo - ria, Che'l cuor, che non è pie - tra, Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

B. tra Fa - rò al mon - do me - mo - ria... Gra - zia e mer - cè,

195

C. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - tra, Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

S. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - tra, Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

A. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - tra, Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

Q. zia e mer - cè,) gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

T. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - tra, Gra - zia e mer - cè, (gra -

B. (gra - zia e mer - cè)

197

C. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - - - tra.

S. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - tra.

A. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - - - tra.

Q. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - - - tra.

T. zia e mer - cè) da tua pie - ta - - - te im - pe - tra.

B. da tua pie - ta - te im - pe - - - tra.

Critical Notes

The notes below report all musical and textual differences between the source and the edition that are not otherwise covered by stated editorial principle. Locations within the composition are indicated by number of the *parte* (arabic number followed by a colon), bar number and voice part abbreviated as C = canto, A = alto, T = tenore, B = basso, Q = quinto, S = sesto. Abbreviations for note values are: lg = long, br = breve, sbr = semibreve, min = minim, smin = semiminim, fs = fusa.

Subheadings

The subheading 'Canzon' above the first *parte* of each canzone is written in capital letters in the first two canzoni and in lower case in the other three. In the fourth canzone, the second *parte* is erroneously named 'Terza parte' in all voices.

Canzon Prima

- 1: Bars 26 and 30, S, words 'o Macaone' are placed one note earlier;
- 1: Bar 30, B, syllable '-rio' is placed one note earlier;
- 2: Bar 44, S, symbol 1, D5 has a sharp.

Canzon Seconda

- 1: Bar 5, T, the text reads: 'contr'a l'angue';
- 2: Bar 28, S, the words 's'interpone al mio desio' begins one note earlier;
- 2: Bars 29–31, C,A, T, Q and B, the text reads: 'n'asconde';
- 4: Q part is one br shorter than the other parts.

Canzon Terza

- 1: Bar 14, Q, the text reads: 'intorn'intornon il cuore';
- 1: Bar 24, Q, the text reads: 'arde';
- 1: Bar 45, C, the E5 (symbol 5) could be a min, but is more likely to be an unevenly filled smin;
- 2: Bars 74–76, A, the values of the rests are 2 brs, sbr, min;
- 3: Bar 109, Q, the top half of symbol 2 (fs on C4) is missing.

Canzon Quarta

- 1: Bar 32, T, the smin on C4 (symbol 3) is dotted;
- 2: Bars 104–105, all parts, the text reads: 'umani';
- 3: Bar 108, B, the smin on B3 (symbol 3) is dotted;
- 3: Bars 135–137, all parts, the text reads: 'acque'.

Canzon Quinta

- 1: Bar 18, B, the text reads: 'rivolge';
- 2: Bars 42–46, B, the text reads: 'fonte eterno e vero';
- 2: Bar 71, T, the flat sign is placed before the D4 (symbol 2) and not before the B3 (symbol 4);
- 2: Bar 83, B, the text reads: 'amoro';
- 3: Bars 106–107, C, the text reads: 'nemico';
- 4: Bar 128, B, the text reads: 'la rimena';
- 4: Bar 137, C, the text reads: 'riconduce';
- 6: Bar 178, S, symbol 3 (C5) is a min.

**Flaminio Oddi, *Madrigali spirituali A Quattro Voci. Libro primo.*
(Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1608)**

Texts

**All'illustrissimo ed eccellentissimo Signore e Padron mio Osservandissimo
Il Signor Giovanni Antonio Orsino Duca di San Gemini, et cetera**

Li molti favori da Vostra Eccellenza ricevuti mi hanno obligato tanto, che non potendo intieramente sodisfarla con maggiori effetti conforme al desiderio mio, ho voluto almeno con la presente opera di Musica (ancor che poco corrispondente alla grandezza sua) in pegno della fede, fargliene affettuoso dono, la supplico sia contenta gradirlo; sigillando i favori con questa gratia; la quale tengo per certissimo, che ella non vorrà sia l'ultima, tanto confido nella sua benefica, e virtuosa natura; e con questa speranza fo fine, e me li raccomando, ed offero con prontissima volontà, e desiderio di servirla. Da la Fara li 12. d'Aprile 1608.

Di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima ed Eccellentissima

Divotissimo Servitore

Flaminio Oddi

**To the most illustrious and most excellent Lord and my most honourable Master,
Lord Giovanni Antonio Orsini, Duke of San Gemini, et cetera**

The many favours received from Your Excellency have made me greatly obliged to you. As I cannot fully please you with greater gifts, as I would desire it, I wanted at least to make you the affectionate offering of this work of music (which hardly matches your greatness) as a token of good faith. I beg you: be pleased to accept it. I seal the favours, which, being highly confident in your kindness, I am sure, you intend not to be the last ones, with this expression of my gratitude. In this hope, I end [this dedication]. I entrust myself to you and and I offer myself readily and gladly to your service. Fara, 12 April 1608.

The most devout servant of Your illustrious and excellent Grace,

Flaminio Oddi

Come vago augelletto (Tasso: *Salmo V*)

- 1 Come vago augelletto,
Ch'ì suoi dogliosi lai
Fra rami⁶¹⁵ d'arbuscel tenero e schietto,
Chiuso di Febo ai rai
Sfoga piangendo e non s'arresta mai,
- Così la notte e'l giorno,
Misero, piango anch'io
Le gravi colpe, ond'ìl cuor cinto intorno
E con affetto pio
Chieggio perdono a te, Signore e Dio.
- 2 Ma tu, lasso, non senti
Il suon di mercé indegno
De dolorosi miei duri lamenti,
Se forse hai preso sdegno,
Ché da te spesso fuggo e m'allontano.⁶¹⁶
- Che poss'io, se l'audace
Senso tanto possente
M'ha posto al collo un giogo aspro e tenace,
Oimè, che non consente,
Che stabil nel tuo amor sia la mia mente?
- 3 Né repugnare al senso
Può⁶¹⁷ la fragil natura
Fatto sì forte e di valor sì intenso,⁶¹⁸
Se non pigli la cura
Tu, padre pio, di questa tua fattura.
- Semplice e pura agnella
Se talor per errore
Vagar intorno per la selva bella
Lascia sola il pastore,
Ella è rapita e ci danno ha e dolore.
- 4 Deh, non lasciare in preda
Quest'alma poco accorta
Al suo nimico sì, ch'errar la veda
Sola e senza tua scorta,
Onde ne resti lacerata e morta.
- L'hai tu, padre benigno,
Con le tue man creata
Per in preda lasciare a quel maligno
Serpe una cosa amata,
Una fattura tua sì cara e grata?
- 5 Vincati delle mie
Miserie, omai pietate
E di man tommi a queste crude arpie,
Cure del mondo ingrata,
Sì chi'io non muoia⁶¹⁹ in tanta indignitate.
- As a lovely bird that laments mournfully and weeps, covered
from the rays of the sun between the branches of a fair and
tender tree,*
- so, poor me, I lament night and day my grave faults which
surround my heart and I will piously beg you for pardon, Lord
and God.*
- But you, alas, do not hear the sound of my bitter sorrowful
laments that do not deserve mercy. If you have found disdain for
me, for I often flee from you (I am returning to you now) and
distance myself.*
- What can I do if the body audacious and so strong has put a
rough and tenacious yoke upon me? A yoke, which, alas, does
not allow the mind to be constant in your love,*
- and the fragile nature cannot stand firm against the body made
so strong and so audacious if you, merciful father, do not take
care of this creature of yours.*
- Simple and pure lamb, whenever by mistake she leaves alone the
shepherd wandering through the beautiful forest, she is snatched
away, and he suffers loss and pain.*
- Oh, do not leave this unwary soul as prey for its enemy, lest he
sees it wander alone and without your escort, which would result
in her being left torn and dead.*
- Have you, kind father, created her with your own hands in
order to leave her, a beloved thing and such a dear creation of
yours, as a prey to this malicious serpent?*
- Let pity of my miseries overcome you at last and take me from
the hand of these cruel harpies – the ungrateful worries of the
world, so that I do not die in such a disgrace.*

⁶¹⁵ Wording in Tasso's *Salmi* (1560): 'fra i rami'.

⁶¹⁶ Wording in Tasso's *Salmi* (1560): 'Ché da te spesso fuggo; a te rivegno'.

⁶¹⁷ Wording in Tasso's *Salmi* (1560): 'val'.

⁶¹⁸ Wording in Tasso's *Salmi* (1560): 'immenso'.

⁶¹⁹ Wording in Tasso's *Salmi* (1560): 'sicché non muoia'.

Mentre tace la notte oscura (Tasso: *Salmo XXVIII*)

- | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | Mentre tace la notte oscura, argente,
E gli spirti, ch'intorno
Givan vagando al bel lume del giorno,
Stando uniti alla mente,
Cantiam' lieti e devoti
Le gran lodi di Dio, o sacerdoti,

E col ginocchio chin le luci alzate
A quell'eterno sole
Con lo spirito unito a le parole.
Umilmente il pregate,
Che regga i pensier nostri
E quanta sia pietate in lui ci mostri; | | | <i>While the night, dark and chilly, and the spirits that had been
wandering arround in the clear light of the day are silent, let us,
o priests, united in mind, sing gladly and devoutly God's great
praises.</i> | 1 |
| | | | | <i>And with bended knee let us lift our eyes to that eternal sun
with our spirit united to our words. Humbly pray that he govern
our thoughts and show us how much mercy there is in him;</i> | 2 |
| 2 | E che siccome un gran soffiare di vento
Sgombra, quando il villano
Sotto il più ardente sol ventilla il grano,
La paglia, in un momento,
Fiato del tuo favore
Ogni cura mortal sgombri dal cuore;

Che faccia i nostri campi almi e fecondi,
Sicchè porti il terreno
Di frutti più che di fioretti e frondi
Pieno il fertile seno;
E che la pace umile
D'abito adorna candido e gentile. | | | <i>And that like a great wind-blow in a moment blows away the
chaff when the peasant winnows the grain under the more
burning sun, so let the breeze of your favour clear away every
worry from the heart.</i> | 3 |
| | | | | <i>Let it make our fields nourishing and fruitful, so that the soil
bears more fruit than flowers and becomes green, with its fertile
bosom being full; and that humble peace adorn it with a gentle
white garment.</i> | 4 |
| 3 | Voli d'intorno con la verde oliva,
Empiando di diletto
Ogni monte, ogni valle ed ogni riva;
E senz'alcun sospetto
Di sanguinosa spada,
Lieto e senza timore ogn'un se'n vada.

E ch'a guisa, che'l sol suol della terra
Consumare i vapori,
Che fanno ai frutti, ai fiori, ai corpi guerra,
Disperga i nostri errori
Con la sua gran virtute
E ci conduca all'eterna salute. | | | <i>Fly around with a green olive branch filling with delight every
mountain, every valley and every river; and let everyone go their
way without any suspicion of a bloody sword, joyful and without
any fear.</i> | 5 |
| | | | | <i>And as the sun burns off from the ground the fogs that are
hostile to the fruits, flowers and human bodies, let your favour
scatter our errors with its great power and let it guide us to
eternal salvation.</i> | 6 |

Come infermo (Tasso: *Salmo XXII*)

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|------------|
| 1 | Come infermo, cui ardente
Febbre le vene e'l petto
Cuoce così, che'l letto
Gli par aspro e cuocente
Ch'è moll'e fresco, ond'ei ne sia dolente,

Così da febbre ria
Di tante noie offesa
E del suo fuoco accesa
Arde l'anima mia;
Né diletto alcun piglia, ove devria. | <i>Like a sick man whose veins and chest the burning fever boils
so much that the soft and cool bed Seems rough and boiling to
him, and it hurts him,

so my soul burns with bad fever, hurt by so many troubles and
inflamed by the fever's fire; and it does not take any delight
where it should.</i> | 1

2 |
| 2 | Come a cotanti affanni,
Lasso, potrà far schermo
Omai l'animo infermo
A sì gravosi danni,
Che mi fan portar rotto il volto e i panni?

Io non ho cuor di scoglio
Orrido, forte e duro,
Ch'ogn'or saldo e sicuro
Contra il marino orgoglio
Di sua percossa non sente cordoglio. | <i>Alas, how will the already sick soul be able to defend itself
against so many worries, so grave damage, that leaves me with a
broken face and ragged clothes?

I do not have a heart of horrid, strong and hard rock that,
undamaged by the pride of the sea and safe from it all the time,
would not suffer at its blows.</i> | 3

4 |
| 3 | Qual da contrari venti
È combattuto pino,
E dal furor marino
Qualora gl'elementi
Fan guerra insieme, ond'il nocchier paventi,

Tal è l'animo mio
Da noie tante e tali,
Delle cure mortali
Del mondo iniquo e rio,
Onde me stesso e mia salute oblio. ⁶²⁰ | <i>Like a pine boat beaten by contrary winds and the rage of the
sea, when the elements make war against each other frightening
the pilot,

this is how my soul is, affected by so many and so great troubles,
the worries of mortals, the unjust and wicked world; and I forget
about myself and my salvation.</i> | 5

6 |
| 4 | Misero, chi m'aita
In sì crudel tempesta
Di duol, che mi molesta
Questa noiosa vita,
Se non tu, Dio, che sei pietà infinita?

Sol in te, Padre, spero,
In te, Signor, che puoi
Soccorrermi, se vuoi,
E come buon nocchiero
Condurmi in porto di salute vero. | <i>Poor me, who will help me in such a cruel storm that vexes me
with sorrow, in this troublesome life of mine, if not you, God,
who are unending pity?

Only in you, Father, I hope, in you, Lord, who can help me if
you want and like a good pilot guide me to the port of true
salvation.</i> | 7

8 |
| 5 | Non mi lasciar, Signore,
Sotto sì grave pondo
Dag'affanni del mondo,
Ma con paterno amore
Donami la tua grazia e'l tuo favore. | <i>Do not leave me, Lord, under such a heavy load of wordly
troubles, but with paternal love grant to me your grace and
favour.</i> | 9 |

⁶²⁰ In the 1560 *Salmi* edition the strophe ends with a question mark.

Svegliati, anima trista (Tasso: *Salmo XXIII*)

- 1 Svegliati, anima trista,
Dal sonno pigro e grave,
Ch'ognor par, che ti preme e più t'aggrave,
E del tuo danno avvista
Al tuo Padre Celeste ergi la vista.
- E con mente contrita,
Con penitente cuore
Gramma sospira ogni passato errore.
E'n te chiusa e romita
Chiedi al tuo creator piangendo aita.
- 2 Smarrito pellegrino
Allor' che notte adombra
La terra e'l ciel d'oscura ed umid'ombra
Sul giogo d'Apennino,
Cercando va chi gli mostri il camino.
- Perciò prendi per scorta
Fida speranza e fede,
E volgi dietro a lor sicuro il piede,
Ché per via dritta e corta
Ti condurranno, e non fallace e torta;
- 3 Strada al vero oriente,
Ond'esce il giorno eterno,
Ove non cuoce il sol né agghiaccia il verno,
Ove facella ardente
D'amor divin t'accenderà la mente.
- Scampa come fugace
Damma dal fiero morso
Del veltro, che la segue a tutto corso,
Dalla mano rapace
Del senso, lusinghier certo e fallace.
- 4 Ma tu, amoroso e pio
Signor, piglia la cura
Di questa tua umile e vil fattura
E'l ghiaccio pigro e rio
D'una invecchiata usanza, che'l cuor mio
- Quasi aspro e duro scoglio,
Che ricopre sals' onda
Intorno intorno, ognor cinge e circonda,
Scalda sì, ch'in cordoglio
Si stilli e perda l'ostinato orgoglio;
- 5 Ché senza il chiaro lume
Di tua pietà infinita
Andrà per queste tenebre smarrita
L'alma dietro al costume,
Finché la carne fral terra consume.
- Wake up, sad soul, from sluggish and heavy sleep that seems to constantly press and over-burden you and aware of your damage raise your sight to your Heavenly Father.*
- And with a contrite mind, with a penitent heart cry and gasp for every past error. Closed and retired into yourself in tears ask your maker for help.*
- A lost traveller, when the night covers the earth and the sky with a dark and humid shade on the peaks of the Apennines, goes searching for someone who would show him a way.*
- Therefore, take as your guide unfailing hope and faith and let your steps securely follow them, so that they lead you by a straight and short and not by a deceitful and curved path.*
- The road to the true Orient from which the eternal day departs where neither the sun burns nor the winter freezes, where a burning torch of godly love will kindle your mind.*
- Escape from the rapacious hand of my mind, a certain and deceitful flatterer, like a deer that flees the savage bite of a bound who pursues her headlong.*
- But you, loving and merciful Lord, take care of this humble and unworthy work of yours. Warm up the sluggish and wicked ice of an old-grown habit, that at every hour surrounds and girds my heart*
- like a rough and hard rock covered by the salty waves; warm it up until it melts in grief and loses stubborn pride.*
- For without the clear light of your endless mercy, the soul will go through this darkness, lost and beyond decency, until the earth consumes the frail flesh.*

Come talor in luogo ombroso e basso (Sonnet by Fabio Galeota)

1 Come talor in luogo ombroso e basso
Densa neve si vede, accolto gelo,
S'ivi non giunge mai occhio del cielo,
Farsi di giorno in giorno freddo sasso,

*As in a shadowy and low place, if it is never reached by the
heaven's eye, one can sometimes see dense snow, as it begins to
freeze and to become cold rock, as the days pass,*

Tale al fondo dell'alma, ov'io non lasso
Entrar il sol, non quel ch'illustra Delo,
Ma che rompe ogni dur, sgombra ogni velo,
Ovunque fieda, ovunque stenda il passo.

*so it is in the depths of my soul where I do not allow the sun to
enter – not the one which illuminates Delos but the one that
breaks every hardness, removes every veil wherever it strikes,
wherever it paces.*

2 Nasce ognor nuovo orror e cresce il ghiaccio,
Per la tanta durezza il cuor s'impetra,
Talché nulla fin qui cosa mi spetra.

*Constantly, a new horror rises and the ice grows, the heart turns
to stone from that much hardness, so that nothing so far has
been able to melt it.*

Spezza, mano d'acciar, tu questa pietra.
Fuoco eterno, riscalda, onde m'agghiaccio.
Togli padre celeste, onde a te spiaccio.

*Arm of steel, break this stone. Eternal fire, warm me where I
am freezing. Take away, Heavenly Father, what displeases you.*

Canzon, vanne dolente (anonymous canzone stanza)

Canzon, vanne dolente
A chi con sì gran zelo ognor t'aspetta
E perché morte affretta.
Vanne, tutta dimessa e penitente,
Mercé chiedendo e'n lui sperando aita;
E di' che la mia vita
Rimasta è quivi in tenebre smarrita;
E s'ei non mi soccorre,
Quasi insensata al precipizio corre.

*Go, sorrowful song, to the one who awaits you with such great
zeal. Go, because death hastens. Go, all subdued and penitent,
asking for mercy and hoping to receive help from him and tell
him that my life has been abandoned, lost in darkness; and
without his help it runs to the precipice like a fool.*

1. Come vago augelletto

Canzon Prima parte.

Canto

Alto

Tenore

Basso

3

C.

A.

T.

B.

7

C.

A.

T.

B.

11

C.

A.

T.

B.

15

C. pian - gen - do e non s'ar-res - ta ma - i, (e non s'ar-res - ta ma - i,)

A. do, (sfo - ga pian - gen - do) e non s'ar-res - ta ma - i, (e non s'ar - res - ta ma - i,) Co -

T. - ga pian - gen - do pian-gen - do e non s'ar-res - ta ma - i, (e non s'ar-res - ta ma - i,)

B. - ga pian - gen - do e non s'ar-res - ta ma - i,

19

C. Co - si la not - te e'l gior - no, Mi - se - ro, pian -

A. si, (co - si) la not - te e'l gior - no, (la not - te e'l gior - no,) Mi - se -

T. Co - si la not - te e'l gior - no, (la not - te e'l gior - no,) Mi - se -

B. Co - si la not - te e'l gior - no, Mi - se - ro,

23

C. go an - ch'i - - - o... On - d'il cor cin-to in -

A. ro, pian - go an - ch'i o Le gra - vi col - pe, on - d'il cuor

T. ro, pian - go an - ch'i - - o Le gra - vi col - pe, on - d'il cuor

B. pian - - go an - ch'i - - o Le gra - vi col - pe,

27

C. tor - no, (on - d'il cuor cin-to in - tor - no) E con af -

A. cin-to in - tor - no, (on - d'il cuor cin-to in - tor - no) E con af - fet - to pi -

T. cin-to in - tor - no, (in - tor - no,) cin-to in - tor - no E con af - fet - to, (e

B. on - d'il cuor cin-to in - tor - no E con af -

31

C. fet - to pi - - o Chieg - gio per - do - -

A. - - - - - o Chieg - - gio per -

T. con af - fet - to) pi - o Chieg - - gio, chieg -

B. fet - - to pi - o Chieg -

34

C. no a te, Si - gno - re e Di - o.

A. do - no a te, Si - gno - re e Di - o.

T. gio per - do - no a te, Si - gno - re e Di - o.

B. gio per - do - no a te, Si - gno - re e Di - o.

Seconda parte.

38

C. Ma tu, las - so, non sen - ti, las - so non sen - ti Il

A. Ma tu, las - so, non sen - ti, las - so, non sen - ti Il

T. Ma tu, las - so, non sen - ti Il

B. Ma tu, las - so, non sen - ti Il

42

C. suon di mer-cé in - de - gno De do - lo - ro - si miei - du -

A. suon di mer-cé in - de - gno De do - lo - ro - si miei du -

T. suon di mer-cé in - de - gno De do - lo - ro - si miei

B. suon di mer-cé in - de - gno De do - lo - ro - si miei du -

47

C. ri - la - men - ti, Se for-se hai pre-so sde - gno, (Se for-se hai pre-so

A. ri la - men - ti, Se for-se hai pre-so sde - gno, (Se for-se hai pre-so

T. du - ri la - men - ti, Se for-se hai pre - so sde -

B. ri la - men - ti, Se for-se hai pre - so sde -

51

C. sde - gno,) Ché da te, (ché da te) spes-so fug - go e

A. sde - gno,) Ché da te, (ché da te) spes - so fug - go e

T. - gno, Ché da te spes-so fug - go, (ché da te spes-so fug - go) e m'al - lon-

B. - gno, Ché da te spes-so fug - go, (ché da te spes-so fug - go) e

55

C. m'al - lon - ta - no, Che pos-s'io; se l'au-da - ce Sen - so tan -

A. m'al-lon-ta - no, Che pos-s'io; se l'au-da - ce Sen - so, (Se l'au-da-ce

T. ta - - - no, Che pos-s'io, (che pos - s'io) se l'au-da-ce Sen -

B. m'al - lon - ta - no, Che pos - s'io; se l'au-da-ce Sen -

59

C. to pos-sen - te M'ha po-sto al col - lo un gio - go as -

A. Sen - so) tan - to pos - sen - te M'ha po - sto al col - lo un gio - go a - spro_e te-

T. so tan - to pos - sen - te M'ha po - sto al col - lo un gio - go as -

B. so tan - to pos - sen - te M'ha pos - to al col - lo un gio - - go as - pro_e

64

C. pro_e te - na - - ce, Oi -

A. na - ce, Oi - mè, oi - mè, che non con-sen - te,

T. pro_e te - na - - ce, Oi - mè, che non con-sen - te,

B. te - na - - ce, Oi - mè, che non con - sen - te,

68

C. mè, che non con - sen - te, Che sta - bil nel tuo_a-mor sia la mia men -

A. Oi - mè, che non con - sen - te, Che sta - bil nel tuo_a-mor sia

T. Oi - mè, che non con - sen - te, Che sta - bil nel tuo_a-mor, (che sta - bil nel tuo_a-mor,)

B. Che sta - bil nel tuo_a-mor, (che sta - bil

72

C. - - te, Chè sta - bil nel tuo_a-mor sia la mia men - - - te?

A. la mia men - te, sia la mia men - te, (sia la mia men - te?)

T. (ché sta - bil nel tuo_a-mor) sia la mia men - - - te?

B. nel tuo_a-mor,) (che-sta - bil nel tuo_a-mor) sia la mia men - - - te?

[Terza parte.]

76

C. Né re - pu - gna - re al sen - so, (Né re - pu - gna - re al sen - so) Può la

A. Né re - pu - gna - re al sen - so, (Né re - pu - gna - re al sen - so) Può

T. Né re - pu - gna - re al sen - - so Può la

B. Né re - pu - gna - re al sen - so Può la

81

C. fra - gil na - tu - ra, Fat - to si for - te e di va - lor si in - ten -

A. la fra - gil na - tu - ra, Fat - to si for - te e di va - lor si in - ten - so, Fat -

T. fra - gil na tu - ra, Fat - to si for - te e di va - lor si in - ten - - -

B. fra - gil na - tu - ra, Fat - to si for - te e

85

C. - so, e di va - lor si in - ten - so, Se non pi -

A. - to si for - te e di va - lor si in - ten - so, Se non pi - gli la cu - ra, (Se non pi - gli

T. - so, e di va - lor si in - ten - - so, Se non pi - gli la cu - ra, (Se non pi - gli

B. di va - lor si in - ten - - so, Se non pi - gli la cu - ra

89

C. gli la cu - ra Tu, pa - dre pio, di que - sta tua fat - tu - ra, di que - sta tua fat - tu - ra.

A. la cu - ra) Tu, pa - dre pio di que - sta tua, di que - sta tua fat - tu - ra.

T. la cu - ra) Tu, pa - dre pio, di que - sta tua - fat - tu - ra. Sem -

B. Tu, pa - dre pio, (tu pa - dre pio...)

93

C. Sem - pli - ce e pu - ra a - gnel - - la, (Sem - pli - ce e pu - ra a - gnel -

A. Sem - pli - ce e pu - ra a - gnel - - la, e pu -

T. - pli - ce e pu - ra a - gnel - - la, e pu - ra a - gnel - la, Sem - pli - ce e pu - ra a - gnel -

B. Sem - pli - ce e pu - ra a - gnel - - la, (Sem - pli - ce e pu - ra a - gnel - -

96

C. - la) Se tal-or per er-ro - re, per er-ro - -

A. ra a-gnel - la Se tal-or per er-ro - re, per er-ro -

T. - la Se tal-or per er-ro - re, Se tal-or per er-ro -

B. - la) Se tal-or per er-ro - re

100

C. - re Va-gar in-tor-no per la sel-va bel - la La-

A. - re Va-gar in-tor-no per la sel-va bel - la La -

T. re Va-gar in-tor-no per la sel - va bel - la La - scia so - la il pa - sto - re,

B. Va-gar in-tor-no per la sel - va bel - la La - scia so - la il pa - sto - re,

104

C. - scia so - la il Pa - sto - re, El - la è ra - pi - ta, (el - la è ra - pi - ta) e ei dan -

A. scia so - la il pa - sto - re, El - la è ra - pi - ta, (el - la è ra - pi - ta) e ei dan -

T. (La - scia so - la il pa - sto - re,) El - la è ra - pi - ta, (el - la è ra - pi - ta) e ei dan -

B. El - la è ra - pi - ta, (el - la è ra - pi - ta) e ei dan -

108

C. - no ha e do - lo - - - re, dan - no ha e do - lo - - - re.

A. no ha e do - lo - re, e do - lo - re.

T. - no ha e do - lo - re, dan - no ha e do - lo - - - re.

B. no ha e do - lo - - - re.

Quarta parte.

113

C. Deh, non la - scia-re in pre - da Que - s'al - ma po - co a - cor - - - ta,

A. Deh, non la - scia-re in pre - da Que - s'al - ma po - co ac - cor - - - ta, Deh, non la -

T. Deh,

B. Deh, non la -

116

C. *Que-st'al-ma po-co_ac-cor - ta Al suo ni - mi - co si,*

A. *scia-re in pre - - da, Al suo ni - mi - - co si,*

T. *non la - scia-re in pre - da Que - st'al-ma po - c'ac - cor - - ta Al suo - ni - mi - co*

B. *scia-re in pre - da Que - st'al - ma po - co_ac-cor - ta Al suo ni - mi - co*

120

C. *ch'er-rar la ve - da si, ch'er-rar la ve - da So - la*

A. *ch'er-rar la ve - da si, ch'er - rar la ve - - da So - la e*

T. *si, ch'er-rar la ve - da si, ch'er-rar la ve - da So - la e sen - za tua*

B. *si, ch'er-rar la ve - - da*

124

C. *e sen - za tua scor - ta, e sen - za tua scor - ta, On-de ne re - sti*

A. *sen - za tua scor - ta, e sen - za tua scor - - ta, (e sen - za tua scor - ta,) On-de ne*

T. *scor - ta, e sen - za tua scor - ta, so - la e sen - za tua scor - ta,*

B. *So - la e sen - za tua scor - ta tua scor - ta...*

128

C. *la - ce-ra-ta e mor - - ta. L'hai tu, pa - dre be - ni -*

A. *re - sti la - ce - ra-ta e mor - ta. L'hai tu, pa - dre be -*

T. *On-de ne re - sti... L'hai tu, pa - dre, (l'hai tu,*

B. *L'hai tu, pa - dre be - ni - gno*

133

C. *- - - gno, Con le tue man cre - a - ta*

A. *ni - - - gno, Con le tue man cre - a - - - ta*

T. *pa - dre) be - , ni - gno, Con le tue man cre - a - ta Per in pre-*

B. *pa - dre be - ni - gno... Per*

137

C. Per in pre - da la - scia - re a quel ma - li - gno

A. Per in pre - da la - scia - re, (per in pre - da la - scia - re) a quel ma - li - gno

T. - da la - scia - re, per in pre - da la - scia - re a quel ma - li - gno Ser -

B. in pre - da la - scia - re, (per in pre - da la - scia - re) a quel ma - li - gno Ser -

141

C. Ser - - - - - pe U - na fat - tu - ra tua si ca - ra e

A. Ser - - - - - pe u - na co - sa a - ma - ta, U - na fat - tu - ra tua si ca - ra e gra -

T. - - - - - pe u - na co - sa a - ma - ta, U - na fat - tu - ra tua si

B. - - - - - pe u - na co - sa a - ma - ta,

145

C. gra - - - ta, si ca - ra e gra - - - ta?

A. ta, U - na fat - tu - ra tua si ca - ra e gra - - - ta?

T. ca - ra e gra - ta, U - na fat - tu - ra tua si ca - ra e gra - - - ta?

B. U - na fat - tu - ra tua si ca - ra e gra - - - ta?

Quinta & ultima parte.

148

C. Vin - ca - ti del - le mie Mi - se - rie, o - mai pie - ta - - - te,

A. Vin - ca - ti del - le mie Mi - se - rie, o - mai pie - ta - - - te,

T. Vin - ca -

B. Vin -

153

C. Vin - ca - ti del - le mie Mi - se - rie, o - mai pie - ta - - -

A. Vin - ca - ti del - le mie Mi - se - rie, o - mai pie - ta - - -

T. ti del - le mie Mi - se - rie, o - mai pie - ta - - -

B. - ca - ti del - le mie Mi - se - rie, o - mai pie - ta - - -

158

C. *-te E di man tom-mi_a que-ste cru - de_ar - pi - - e,*

A. *te E di man tom-mi_a que-ste cru - de_ar - pi - - e, (E di man tom-mi_a que-ste*

T. *-te E di man tom-mi_a que-ste cru - de_ar - pi - e, E di man tom-mi_a que-ste*

B. *-te E di man tom-mi_a*

161

C. *(cru-de_ar - pi - - - - - e,) Cu -*

A. *cru-de_ar - pi - e,) a que - ste cru-de_ar - pi - e, Cu - re del mon - do in-*

T. *cru-de_ar - pi - e a que - ste cru-de_ar - pi - e, Cu - re del mon - do in - gra -*

B. *que - ste cru - de_ar - pi - - - - - e, Cu - re del mon-do in - gra -*

164

C. *re del mon-do in-gra - te, del mon-do in-gra - - te, Si, ch'io non*

A. *gra - - te, (Cu - re del mon-do in - gra - - te,) Si, ch'io non muo-ia in*

T. *te, (Cu - re del mon-do in-gra - te,) Si, ch'io muo-ia in tan-ta in-*

B. *te, (Cu - re del mon-do in-gra - te,)*

167

C. *muo - - ia in tan - - ta, si, ch'io*

A. *tan - ta in - di - gni - ta - - - - - te, Si,*

T. *di - gni - ta - te, in tan - ta in - di - gni - ta - te,*

B. *Si, ch'io non muo - ia in tan - ta in - di - gni - ta - te,*

169

C. *non muo - ia in tan-ta in - di - gni - ta - - - - te.*

A. *ch'io non muo - ia in tan-ta in - di - gni - ta - - - - te.*

T. *Si, ch'io non muo-ia in tan-ta in - di - gni - ta - - - - te.*

B. *(Si, ch'io non muo-ia in tan - ta in - di - gni - ta - - - - te.)*

2. Mentre tace la notte


[Canzon Prima parte.]


Canto  Men - tre ta - ce la not - te os - cu - ra al - gen - - te E gli spir -

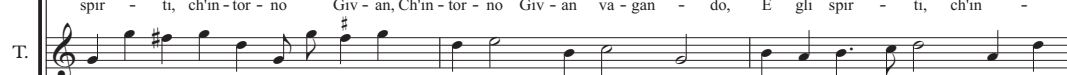
Alto  Men - tre ta - ce la not - te os - cu - ra al - gen - te E gli

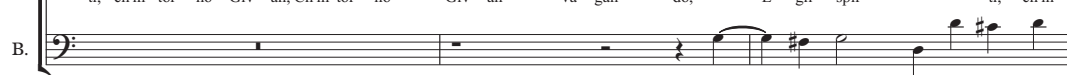
Tenore  Men - tre ta - ce la not - te os - cu - ra al - gen - - te E gli spir -


Basso  Men - tre ta - ce la not - te os - cu - ra al - gen - te

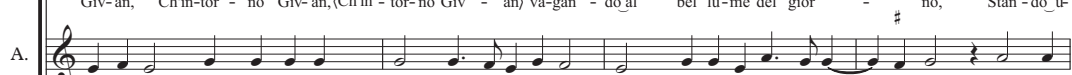
4  C. ti, ch'in - tor - no Giv - an, Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an va - gan - do, E gli spir - ti, ch'in - tor - no

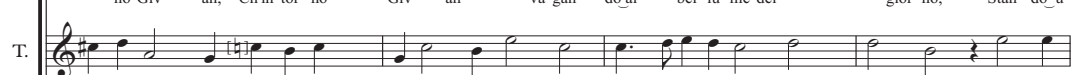
A.  spir - ti, ch'in - tor - no Giv - an, Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an va - gan - do, E gli spir - ti, ch'in -


T.  ti, ch'in - tor - no Giv - an, Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an va - gan - do, E gli spir - ti, ch'in -


B.  E gli spir - ti ch'in - tor - no

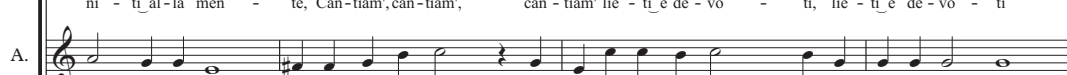
7  C. Giv - an, Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an, (Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an) va - gan - do al bel lu - me del gior - no, Stan - do u -

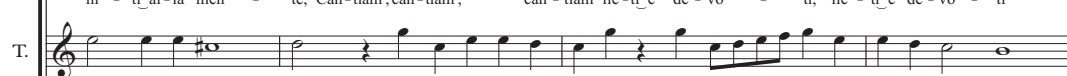
A.  - no Giv - an, Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an va - gan - do al bel lu - me del gior - no, Stan - do u -


T.  tor - no Giv - an, Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an va - gan - do al bel lu - me del gior - no, Stan - do u -

B.  Giv - an, Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an, (Ch'in - tor - no Giv - an) va - gan - do al bel lu - me del gior - no, Stan - do u -

11  C. ni - ti al - la men - te, Can - tiam', can - tiam', can - tiam' lie - ti e de - vo - ti, lie - ti e de - vo - ti

A.  ni - ti al - la men - te, Can - tiam', can - tiam', can - tiam' lie - ti e de - vo - ti, lie - ti e de - vo - ti

T.  ni - ti al - la men - te, Can - tiam' lie - ti e de - vo - ti, can - tiam' lie - ti e de - vo - ti

B.  ni - ti al - la men - te, Can - tiam' lie - ti e de - vo - ti, can - tiam' lie - ti e de - vo - ti

15

C. Le gran lo - di di Dio, o sa - cer - do - ti,

A. Le gran lo - di di Dio, o sa - cer - do - ti, E

T. Le gran lo - di di Dio, o sa - cer - do - ti, E col gi - noc - chio

B. Le gran lo - di di Dio, o sa - cer - do - ti, E col gi - noc - chio

19

C. E col gi - noc - chio chin le lu - ci - al - za - te A quel - l'e - ter - no So - le,

A. col gi - noc - chio chin le lu - ci - al - za - te A quel - l'e - ter - no So - le, A quel - l'e -

T. chin le lu - ci - al - za - te A quel - l'e - ter - no So - le, (A quel - l'e - ter - no

B. chin le lu - ci - al - za - te A quel - l'e - ter - no So - le, (A

23

C. (A quel - l'e - ter - no So - le) Con lo spi - ri - to - u - ni - to al - le pa - ro - le.

A. ter - no So - le Con lo spi - ri - to - u - ni - to al - le pa - ro - le. U -

T. So - le.) e - ter - no So le Con lo spi - ri - to - u - ni - to al - le pa - ro - le...

B. quel - l'e - ter - no So - le) Con lo spir - to - u - ni - to al - le pa - ro - le...

27

C. U - mil - men - te il pre - ga - te, Che reg - ga i pen - sier no -

A. - mil - men - te il pre - ga - te, Che reg - ga i pen - sier no -

T. Che reg - ga i pen - sier no - stri, (che reg - ga i pen - sier

B. Che reg - ga i pen - sier no - stri

31

C. - stri E quan - ta sia pie - ta - te in lui ci mos - tri,

A. - stri E quan - ta sia pie - ta - te in lui ci mo - stri, E quan - ta

T. no stri) E quan - ta sia pie - ta - te in lui ci mo - stri, E quan - ta sia pie - ta - te in lui ci

B. E quan - ta sia pie - ta - te in lui ci mo - stri, E quan - ta sia pie -

34

C. E quan - ta sia pie - ta - te in lui ci mo - - - stri;

A. sia pie - ta - te in lui ci mo - - stri, ci mo - - stri;

T. mo - stri, (E quan - ta sia pie - ta - te in lui ci mo - stri);

B. ta - te in lui ci mo - stri, ci mo - - - stri;

Seconda parte.

37

C. E che sic - co-me un gran sof - fiar di ven - - - to,

A. E che sic - co-me un gran sof - fiar di ven - - - to,

T. E che sic - co-me un gran sof - fiar di ven -

B. E che sic - co-me un gran sof - fiar di ven -

40

C. (E che sic - co-me un gran sof - fiar di ven - - - - -

A. (E che sic - co-me un gran sof - fiar di ven - - - - -

T. - - - - - to, di ven - to, (E che sic - co-me un gran sof - fiar di ven -

B. - - - - - to

43

C. - to) Sgom - - - bra... Sot -

A. - to) Sgom - - - bra... Sot -

T. - to) Sgom - - - bra, quan - do il vil - la - - - no Sot -

B. Sgom - - - bra, quan - do il vil - la - - - no Sot -

47

C. - to il più ar - den - te sol ven - ti-la il gra - no, ven - ti-la il gra - no, La pa - glia in un mo -

A. - to il più ar - den - te sol ven - ti-la il gra - no, ven - ti-la il gra - no, La pa - glia in un mo -

T. - t'il più ar - den - te sol ven - ti-la il gra - no, La pa - glia in un mo -

B. - t'il più ar - den - te sol ven - ti-la ven - ti-la il gra - no, La pa - glia in un mo -

51

C. men-to, (in un mo-men- to,) Fia - to del tuo fa - vo - re O - gni cu - ra mor-

A. men-to, (in un mo-men- to,) Fia - to del tuo fa - vo - re del tuo fa - vo - re O - gni cu -

T. men-to, (in un mo-men- to,) Fia - to del tuo fa - vo - re

B. men-to, (in un mo-men- to,) Fia - to del tuo fa - vo - re

55

C. tal, (o - gni cu - ra mor - tal) sgom - bri dal cuo - re; Che fac - ci i no - stri cam - pi al - mi e fe -

A. ra mor - tal sgom - bri dal cuo - re; Che fac - ci i no - stri cam - pi al - mi e fe - con -

T. O - gni cu - ra mor - tal sgom - bri dal cuo - re; Che fac - ci i no - stri cam - pi al -

B. O - gni cu - ra mor - tal sgom - bri dal cuo - re; Che fac - ci i no - stri cam - pi al - mi e fe -

59

C. con - di, Sic - ché por - ti il ter - re - no Di frut - ti più che di fio - ret - ti e fron -

A. di, Sic - ché por - ti il ter - re - no Di frut - ti più che di fio - ret - ti e fron -

T. mi e fe - con - di, Sic - ché por - ti il ter - re - no Di frut - ti più che di fio - ret - ti e fron - di, che di fio - ret - ti e

B. con - di... Di frut - ti più che di fio - ret - ti e fron - di,

63

C. di, Pie - no il fer - ti - le se - no...

A. - di, Pie - no il fer - ti - le se - no; E che la pa - ce u - mi -

T. fron - di, Pie - no il fer - ti - le se - no; E che la pa - ce u - mi -

B. Pie - no il fer - ti - le se - no; E che la pa - ce u - mi -

67

C. D'a - bi - to ad - or - na can - di - do e gen - ti - le,

A. - le D'a - bi - to ad - or - na can - di - do e gen - ti - le, e gen - ti - le, D'a - bi - to ad -

T. - le D'a - bi - to ad - or - na can - di - do e gen - ti - le, (D'a - bi - to ad - or - na

B. le D'a - bi - to ad - or - na can - di -

70

C. D'a - bi-to_ad-or - na can - di-do_e gen - ti - le, can - di - do_e gen - ti - le.

A. or - na can - di - do_e gen - ti - - - - le.

T. can - di - do_e gen - ti - le,) (D'a - bi-to_ad-or - na can - di - do_e gen - ti - le.)

B. do_e gen - ti - le, (D'a - bi-to_ad - or - na can - di - do_e gen - ti - le.)

Terza, & ultima parte.

73

C. Vo - li d'in-tor - - - - no, (vo -

A. Vo - li d'in-tor - - - - no, (vo - li d'in-

T. Vo - li d'in-tor - - - -

B. Vo - li d'in - tor - - - -

76

C. - li d'in-tor - no) con la ver-de_o - li - va, Em-pien-do di di-let - to O-gni mon - te,

A. tor-no) con la ver - de_o - li - va, Em-pien-do di di-let - to O-gni mon - te, o-gni

T. - - no con la ver-de_o - li - va, Em-pien-do di di-let - to O-gni mon - te, o -

B. -no con la ver-de_o-li - va, Em - pien-do di di-let - to O-gni mon -

80

C. o - gni val - le ed o - gni ri - va; E sen-z'al-

A. val - le, o-gni val - le ed o - gni ri - va;

T. gni mon-te, o-gni val - le, o - gni val-le ed o-gni ri - - va; E sen-z'al-cun so-spet -

B. te, o - gni val - le, o - gni val - le ed o-gni ri - - va; E sen-z'al-cun so - spet -

84

C. cun so - spet - - - to Di san - gui-no - sa spa - da,

A. E sen-z'al-cun sos - pet - to Di san - gui-no - sa spa - - da, Lie-

T. to Di san - gui-no - sa spa - - - da, Lie-to_e sen - za ti -

B. -to Di san - gui - no - sa spa - da, Lie-to_e sen - za ti -

88

C. Lie-to_e sen - za ti - mor, (lie - to e sen - za ti - mor) o - gn'un se'n va - da.

A. - to_e sen - za ti - mor, (lie - to_e sen - za ti - mor) o - gn'un se'n va - - da.

T. mor, lie -to_e sen - za ti - mor, (lie - to_e sen - za ti - mor) o - gn'un se'n va - - da. E ch'a gui -

B. mor, (lie - to_e sen - za ti - mor) o - gn'un se'n va - da. E ch'a gui - sa che'l

92

C. E ch'a gui - sa che'l sol suol dal - la ter - ra... Che fan - no ai frut - ti_ ai

A. E ch'a gui - sa che'l sol suol dal - la ter - ra... Che fan - no ai

T. - sa che'l sol suol dal - la ter - ra, suol dal - la ter - ra Con - su - ma - re i va - po - ri,

B. sol suol dal - la ter - - ra Con - su - ma - re i va - po - ri,

96

C. fio - ri_ ai cor - pi guer - - ra, guer - - ra, guer - ra,

A. frut - ti_ ai fio - ri_ ai cor - pi guer - - ra, guer - - ra, Di -

T. Che fan - no ai frut - ti_ ai fio - ri_ ai cor - pi guer - - ra,

B. Che fan - no ai frut - ti_ ai fio - ri_ ai cor - pi guer - - ra,

99

C. Di - sper - ga_i no - stri_ er - ro - - - - ri Con la sua gran

A. sper - ga_i no - stri_ er - ro - ri, (di - sper - ga_i no - stri_ er - ro - ri) Con la sua gran

T. Di - sper - ga_i no - stri_ er - ro - - - ri Con la sua gran

B. Di - sper - ga_i no - stri_ er - ro - - - ri Con la sua gran

103

C. vir - tu - te E ci con - du - ca, # e ci con - du - ca, (e

A. vir - tu - te E ci con - du - ca, (e ci con - du - ca,) e ci -

T. vir - tu - - te E ci con - du - ca, (e ci con - du - ca,)

B. vir - tu - - te E ci con - du - ca, (e ci

107

C. *ci con du - ca) al - - l'e - ter - na sa - lu - - - te.*

A. *-du - ca al - l'e - ter - na sa - lu - - - te.*

T. *e ci con - du - ca al - l'e - ter - na sa - lu - - - te.*

B. *con - du - ca) al - l'e - ter - na sa - lu - - - te.*

3. Come infermo, cui ardente febbre

Prima parte.

Canto

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Co - me in - fer - mo, (co - me in -
 Co - me in - fer - mo, (co me in -
 Co - me in - fer - mo,
 Co - me in - fer -

5

C. fer - - mo,) cui ar - den - te Feb - bre le ve - ne e'l

A. fer - mo,) cui ar den - te Feb - bre,(Cui ar den te Feb - bre)le ve - ne e'l pet -

T. cui ar - den - te Feb - - re, (Cui ar den - te Feb - bre)le ve-ne e'l pet -

B. mo, cui ar - den - te Feb bre le ve - ne e'l pet -

10

C. pet - to Cuo - ce co - si, che'l let - to Gli par

A. to Cuo - ce co - si, cuo - ce co - si, che'l let - to Gli par

T. to Cuo - ce co - si, che'l let - to Gli par a - spro e #

B. to Cuo - ce co - si, cuo - ce co - si, che'l let - to Gli par a -

15

C. a - spro e cuo - cen - te Ch'è mol - l'e fre sco, on - d'ei ne

A. a - spro e cuo - cen - te Ch'è mol - l'e fres - - co,

T. cuo - cen - te Ch'è mol - l'e fres - co, on - d'ei

B. spro e cuo - cen - - te... On - d'ei ne sia do -

20


C.  sia do - len - te, (on - d'ei ne sia do - len - - -


A.  on - d'ei ne sia do - len - te, ne sia do - len -


T.  ne sia do - len - - te, (on d'ei ne sia do - len -


B.  len - te, (on - d'ei ne sia do - len -

25


C.  - te,) Co - si da fe-bre ri - - a, (Co - si da fe - bre ri - - a)

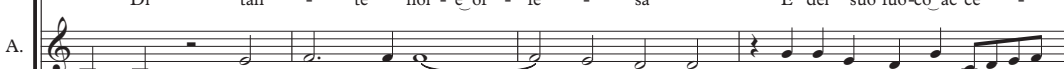
A.  te, Co-si da feb - bre ri - - a, (Co - si da feb - bre ri -


T.  - te,) Co - si da feb - bre, (co - si da feb - bre) ri a, Co - si da feb - bre ri -


B.  te,) Co-si da feb - bre ri - a, (Co - si da feb - bre ri -

30

C.  Di tan - te noi - e of - fe - sa E del suo fuo-co ac ce -

A.  - a) Di tan - te noi - - e of - fe - sa E del suo fuo-co ac ce -

T.  - a Di tan - te noi - e of - fe - sa

B.  a) Di tan - te noi - e of - fe - sa

34

C.  - - sa, (E del suo fuo-co ac-ce - - -

A.  - - sa, (E del suo fuo-co ac-ce - - -

T.  E del suo fuo-co ac - ce - - - sa

B.  E del suo fuo-co ac - ce - - - sa

37

C.  - - sa) Ar de, ar - de l'a - ni-ma mi - a;

A.  - - sa) Ar de l'a - ni-ma mi - a, l'a - ni-ma mi - -

T.  Ar - de l'a - ni-ma mi - a, Ar - de # l'a - ni-ma

B.  Ar - de l'a - ni-ma mi - a, Ar - de l'a - ni-ma mi - a;

41

C. Né di - let - to_al-cun pi - glia, (né di let - to_al-cun pi - glia,) o ve dev -

A. - a; Né di - let - to_al-cun pi - glia, né di - let -

T. mi - a; Né di - let - to_al-cun pi glia, (né di - let - to_al-cun

B. Né di - let - to_al-cun pi -

44

C. ri - - - a, o - ve de - vri - - - a.

A. to_al-cun pi - glia,) o ve de - vri - a, o - - ve de - vri - a.

T. pi - glia,) o ve de - vri - a, o - ve de - vri - a.

B. - glia,) o - ve de - vri - a, o - ve de - vri - a.

Seconda parte.

48

C. Co - me_a co - tan - ti_af - fan - - - - ni, (Co - me_a

A. Co - me_a co - tan - ti_af - fa - - - - ni, (Co - me_a co - tan - ti_af

T. Co - me_a co - tan - ti_af - fa - ni, (Co - me_a co -

B. Co - me_a co - tan - ti_af -

53

C. tan - ti_af - fa - - - - ni,) Las - so, po - trà far scher -

A. fa - - - - ni,) Las - so, po - trà far scher - mo,

T. tan - ti_af - fa - - - - ni,) Las -

B. fa - - - - ni, Las - so, po - trà far scher - mo

58

C. - mo,(Las-so po-trà far scher - mo) O - mai l'a - ni - mo_in - fer - mo

A. (Las-so, po-trà far scher - mo) O - mai l'a - ni-mo_in - fer - mo

T. so, po - trà far scher - mo O - mai l'a - ni-mo_in - fer - mo A

B. O - mai l'a - ni-mo_in - fer - mo

62

C. A si gra - vo - si dan - - ni, Che mi

A. A si gra - vo - si, # a si gra - vo - si dan - - ni, Che

T. si gra - vo - si dan - - ni, Che mi fan por-tar

B. A si gra - vo - si dan - - - - - i,

67

C. fan por-tar rot - to, (mi fan por - tar rot-to) il vol to e i pan - ni, il

A. mi fan por - tar rot - to il vol - to e i pan - ni, (Che mi fan por - tar rot-to) il

T. rot - to il vol-to e i pan - ni, (mi fan por - tar rot-to il vol-to e i

B. Che mi fan por-tar rot - to il vol - to e i pan - ni, (ro -

70

C. vol-to e i pan - - - ni? Io non ho cuor di sco - glio, (Io

A. vol to e i pan - ni? Io non ho cuor di sco - glio, (Io

T. pan - ni,) il vol-to e i pan - ni? Io non ho cuor di sco - glio, io non ho

B. to il vol - to e i pan - ni?) Io non ho

74

C. non ho cuor di sco - glio) Or ri - do, for - te e

A. non ho cuor di sco - - - glio) Or - ri - do, for - te e du - ro, for - t'e du -

T. Or - ri - do, for - te e - du - ro, e du -

B. cuor di sco - - - glio Or - ri - do, for - te e du - - -

78

C. du - ro, Ch'o - gn'or sal - do e se - cu -

A. ro, Ch'o - gn'or sal - do e se - cu -

T. ro, Ch'o - gn'or sal - do e se - cu -

B. ro, Ch'o - gn'or sal - do e se - cu - - -

82

C. ro Con - tra il ma - ri - no or - go - glio, (Con - tra il ma - ri - no or - go - glio)

A. ro Con - tra il ma - ri - no or - go - glio, (Con - tra il ma - ri - no or - go - glio, or - go - glio)

T. ro Con - tra il ma - ri - no or - go - glio, (Con - tra il ma - ri - no or - go - glio)

B. ro Con - tra il ma - ri - no or - go - glio, (Con - tra il ma - ri - no or - go - glio)

85

C. Di sua per - cos - sa, (di sua per - cos - sa) non sen -

A. Di sua per - cos - sa, (di sua per - cos - sa) non

T. Di sua per - cos - sa, (di sua per - cos -

B. di sua per - cos - sa non

87

C. te cor - do - glio, cor - do - - - - - glio.

A. sen - te cor - do - glio, - cor - do - glio.

T. sa) non sen - - - te cor - do - - - - glio.

B. sen - - - te cor - do - - - - glio.)

90 Terza parte.

C. Qual da con - tra - ri ven - - ti, (Qual da con -

A. Qual da con - tra - ri ven - - ti, (Qual da con - tra - ri ven -

T. Qual da con - tra - ri ven - ti, (Qual da con - tra - ri ven - -

B. Qual da con - tra - ri ven -

93

C. tra - ri ven ti) È com bat - tu - to pi - - - no E dal fu -

A. - - - ti) È com bat - tu - to pi - no, (È com bat - tu - to pi - no) E dal fu -

T. - ti) È com bat - tu - to pi - no, (È com bat - tu - to pi - - no) E dal fu -

B. - ti È com bat - tu - to pi - no, (È com bat - tut - to pi - no) E dal fu -

97

C. *ror ma - ri - - no Qual - o - ra gl'e-le - men - ti Fan*

A. *ror, e dal fu - ror ma - ri - no Qual - o - ra gl'e-le - men - ti Fan*

T. *ror, (e dal fur - ror) e dal fu - ror ma - ri - no Qual - o - ra gl'e-le - men - ti Fan*

B. *ror ma - ri - no Qual - o - ra gl'e-le men - ti Fan*

101

C. *guer - ra in - sie - me, on - d'il noc - chier pa -*

A. *guer - ra in - sie - - - - me in - sie - me, on - d'il noc - chier (on*

T. *guer - ra in - sie - me, fan guer - ra in - sie - me, on -*

B. *guer - - - - - ra in - sie - me...*

104

C. *ven - - ti... L'a - ni - mo mi - o, (l'a ni mo mi - o) Da*

A. *d'il noc - chier) pa - ven - ti, Ta - l'è l'a - ni - mo mi - o, l'a - ni - mo mi - o*

T. *d'il noc - chier pa - ven - ti, Ta - l'è ta - l'è l'a - ni - mo mi - o Da no -*

B. *Ta - l'è l'a - ni - mo mi - o Da no -*

108

C. *no - ie tan - te e ta - li, Del - le cu -*

A. *Da no - ie tan - te e ta - - li, Del - le cu - re mor -*

T. *ie tan - te e ta - li, Del - le cu - re mor - ta - - -*

B. *- ie tan - te e ta - li, Del - le cu - re mor - ta - - -*

113

C. *re mor - ta - li Del mon - do i - ni - quo e ri -*

A. *ta - - - - li Del mon - do i - ni - quo e ri - o, (Del mon do i - ni - quo e ri -*

T. *- li mor - ta - li Del mon - do i - ni - quo e ri - o, Del mon do i - ni - quo e ri -*

B. *- li Del mon - do i - ni - quo e ri - o,*

117

C. - o, On - de me stes - so e mia sa - lu - - te ob -

A. o,) On de me stes - so e mia sa - lu - te, e

T. o, On - de me stes - so, (on

B. On - de me stes - so e mia sa - lu - - te ob - li - o,

119

C. li - - - o, e mia sa - lu - te ob - li - o.

A. mia sa - lu - te ob - - li - - - o.

T. de me stes - so) e mia sa - lu - te ob - li - - - o.

B. e mia sa - lu - te ob - li - o.

Quarta parte.

122

C. Mi - - se - ro, chi m'a -

A. Mi - se - ro, chi - m'a - i - ta, (Mi - se - ro, chi

T. Mi - se - ro, chi m'a - i - ta, Mi -

B. Mi - se - ro, chi m'a - - - i - ta,

127

C. - i - - - - - ta In si cru-del tem - pe -

A. m'a - i - ta,) chi m'a - i - - - ta In si cru del tem -

T. - se - ro, chi m'a - i - - - ta In si cru-del tem -

B. Mi - se - ro, chi m'a - i - ta

131

C. - sta, (In si cru-del tem - pe - sta,) tem pe - sta Di duol, che mi mo -

A. pe - sta, (In si cru - del tem-pe - - - sta) Di duol, che mi mo -

T. pe - sta, In si cru-del - tem - pe - - - sta Di duol, che mi mo -

B. In si cru-del tem - pe - - - - - sta Di

135

C. le - sta Que - sta no - io - - sa vi - -

A. le - - - sta Que - sta no - io - sa vi - -

T. le - sta Que - sta no - io - sa vi - ta, (Que sta no -

B. duol, che mi mo - le - sta Que - sta no - io - - sa

140

C. - ta, Se non tu, Dio, che sei pie - tà in fi - ni - - ta?

A. - - ta, Se non tu, Dio, che sei pie - tà in - fi - ni - - - ta?

T. io - sa vi - ta,) Se non tu, Dio, che sei pie - tà in - fi - ni - ta?

B. vi - ta...

144

C. Sol in te, Pa - dre, spe - ro, In te, Si -

A. Sol in te, Pa - dre, spe - ro, (Sol in te, Pa - dre, spe - ro,) In te, Si -

T. Sol in te, Pa - dre, spe - ro, (in te, Pa - dre, spe - ro,) In te, Si -

B. Sol in te, Pa - dre, spe - ro, In te, Si -

148

C. gnor, che puo - i Soc - cor - rer-mi, se vuo - i, E co - me buon noc - chie - ro,

A. gnor, che puo - i Soc - cor - rer-mi, se vuo - i, E co - me buon noc - chie - ro, (E

T. gnor, che puo - i Soc - cor - rer-mi, se vuo - i, E co - me

B. gnor, che puo - i Soc - cor - rer-mi, se vuo - i,

152

C. noc - chie - - ro Con - dur-mi in por - to di sa -

A. co me buon noc - chie - - ro) Con dur-mi in por - to di

T. buon noc - chie - ro, (E co me buon noc - chie - ro)

B. E co - me buon noc - chie - ro

155

C. lu - te ve - - - ro, (Con dur mi in

A. — sa - lu - te ve - ro, Con - dur - mi in por - to di sa - lu - te ve - ro, #

T. Con - dur - mi in por - to di sa - lu - te ve - - -

B. Con - dur - mi in por - to di sa - lu - te ve -

158

C. por - to di sa - lu - te ve - - - ro,) Con dur - mi in

A. (Con - dur - mi in por - to,) Con - dur - mi in por - to di sa -

T. - ro, (Con - dur - mi in por - to di sa - lu - - - te ve - - -

B. ro, (Con - dur mi in por - to di sa - lu - te ve -

160

C. por - to di sa - lu - te ve - - - ro.

A. lu - te ve - - - ro, di sa - lu - te ve - ro.

T. - ro,) di sa - lu - te di sa - lu - te ve - ro.

B. ro,) di sa - lu - te ve - - - - - ro.

163 Quinta, & ultima parte.

C. Non mi la - sciar, Si - gno - re, Sot - to

A. Non mi la - sciar, Si - gno - re, (Non mi la - sciar, Si - gno - re,) Sot

T. Non mi la - sciar, Si - gno - re, Sot -

B. Non mi la - sciar, Si - gno - - - re, Sot -

168

C. si gra - ve pon - do Da - gl'af - fan - ni

A. to si gra - ve pon - do Da - gl'af - fan - ni del mon -

T. to si gra - ve pon - - - do Da - gl'af - fan - ni del

B. - to si gra - ve pon - do

173

C. del mon - do, (Da - gl'af-fan - ni del mon - - do,) Ma con pa-ter-no_a

A. - - - do, Da - gl'af-fan - ni del mon - do, Ma con pa-

T. mon - - do, (Da - gl'af-fan - ni del mon - - do,) Ma

B. Da - gl'af-fan - ni del mon - - do,

178

C. mo - re, (Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re) Do na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l

A. ter-no_a - mo - re, (Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re) Do - na-mi la tua

T. con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re, (Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re)

B. Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re, (Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re)

181

C. tuo fa - vo - re, (Do - na mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re,) Do na-mi

A. gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re, (Do - na mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re,)

T. Do - na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re, (Do - na mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo -

B. Do na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re, (Do - na mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa -

184

C. la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - - - - - re, Ma

A. Do na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - - - - re,

T. re,) e'l tuo fa - vo - - - - re, (e'l tuo fa - vo - - - - re,)

B. vo - re,) e'l tuo fa - vo - - - - re,

187

C. con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re, (Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re) Do na-mi

A. Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re, (Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re)

T. Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re, (Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re)

B. Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo - re, (Ma con pa - ter-no_a - mo -

190

C. la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re, (Do - na mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo -

A. Do na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re, (Do-na mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa -

T. Do na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re, (Do - na mi la tua gra-zia_e'l

B. re) Do na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re, (Do - na mi la tua

193

C. re,) Do na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - - - - re.

A. vo - re,) Do na-mi la tua gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - - - - re.

T. tuo fa - vo - re,) e'l tuo fa - vo - re, (e'l tuo fa - vo - re.)

B. gra-zia_e'l tuo fa - vo - re,) e'l tuo fa - vo - - - re.

4. Svegliati anima trista

Prima parte.

Canto Sve - glia-ti, a - ni - ma tri - sta,

Alto Sve - glia-ti, a - ni - ma tri - sta,

Tenore Sve - glia-ti, a - ni - ma tri -

Basso Sve - glia - ti a - ni - ma

3

C. (Sve glia ti, a - ni - ma tri - sta,) Dal son - no pi - gro e

A. (Sve glia - ti, a - ni - ma tri - sta,) Dal son - no pi - gro e gra - ve, e

T. sta, a - ni - ma tri - sta, Dal son - no pi - gro e gra - -

B. tri - sta, Dal son - no pi - - gro e

7

C. gra - ve... Par, che ti pre - ma e più t'ag - gra - ve, Ch'o - gnor...

A. gra - ve... Par, che ti pre - ma e più t'ag - gra - ve, Ch'o - gnor...

T. - ve, Ch'o - gnor par, che ti pre - ma e più t'ag - gra - ve, (par, che ti pre - ma e più t'ag -

B. gra - ve, Ch'o - gnor par, che ti pre - ma e più t'ag - gra -

11

C. E del tuo dan - no av - vi - sta, (E del tuo dan - no av - vi - sta) Al

A. E del tuo dan - no av - vi - sta, (E del tuo dan - no av - vi - sta)

T. gra - ve,) E del tuo dan - no av - vi - sta Al tuo pa -

B. ve, E del tuo dan - no av - vi - sta Al tuo pa -

15

C. tuo pa - dre ce - les - ste er - gi la vi - sta, er - gi la vi - sta. E con

A. Al tuo pa - dre ce - le - ste er - gi la vi - sta, er - gi la vi - sta. E con

T. dre ce - le - ste er - gi la vi - sta. E con

B. dre ce - le - ste er - gi la vi - sta, er - gi la vi - sta. E con

19

C. men - te con - tri - ta, Con pe - ni - ten - te cuo - re

A. men - te con - tri - ta, Con pe - ni - ten - te cuo - re Gra -

T. men - te con - tri - ta, Con pe - ni - ten - te cuo - re Gra -

B. men - te con - tri - ta... Gra -

24

C. Gra - ma, so - spi - ra o - gni pas - sa - to er - ro - re,

A. ma, so - spi - ra o - gni pas - sa - to er - ro - re, so - spi - ra o - gni pas - sa - to er - ro -

T. ma, so - spi - ra o - ni pas - sa - to er - ro - re, Gra - ma,

B. ma, so - spi - ra o - gni pas - sa - to er - ro - re, Gra -

28

C. Gra - ma, so - spi - ra o - gni pas - sa - to er - ro - re. E'n te chiu - sa e ro - mi -

A. re, Gra - ma, so - spi - ra o - gni pas - sa - to er - ro - re. E'n te chiu - sa e ro - mi -

T. so - spi - ra o - gni pas - sa - to er - ro - re. E'n te chiu - sa e ro - mi -

B. ma, so - spi - ra o - gni pas - sa - to er - ro - re.

32

C. ta Chie - di al tuo cre - a - tor,

A. - ta Chie - di al tuo cre - a - tor, (chie -

T. - ta, (E'n te chiu - sa e ro - mi - ta) Chie - di al tuo cre - a -

B. E'n te chiu - sa e ro - mi - ta Chie - di al tuo cre - a - tor pian - gen - do -

54

C. - no, (Cer can do va chi gli mo - stri il ca - mi - no.)

A. ca mi - no,) chi gli mo - stri il ca - mi - - - - - no. Per -

T. can - do va chi gli mo - stri il ca - mi - no, chi gli mo - stri il ca - mi - no. Per - ciò pren -

B. can - do va chi gli mo - stri il ca - mi - no. Per - ciò pren -

58

C. (Per ciò pren - di per scor - ta,) pren di per scor - ta Fi -

A. ciò pren - di per scor - ta, (Per - ciò pren - di per scor - - ta) Fi -

T. di per scor - ta, Per - ciò pren - di per scor - ta per scor - ta Fi - da spe - ran - za e fe -

B. di per scor - ta, (Per - ciò pren - di per scor - ta) Fi da spe - ran - za e fe -

62

C. da spe - ran - za e fe - de, E é vol - gi die - tro a lor se - cu - ro il pie -

A. da spe - ran - za e fe - - - de, E vol - gi die - tro a lor se - cu - ro il

T. de, E vol - gi die - tro a - lor se - cu - ro il pie - -

B. de, e fe - - - de,

65

C. de, (E vol - gi die - tro a lor se - cu - ro il pie - de,) Ché per

A. pie - de, se - cu - ro il pie - de, Ché per via drit - ta e cor -

T. - de, (E vol gi die - tro a - lor se - cu - ro il pie - de,) Ché

B. E vol - gi die - tro a lor se - cu - ro il pie - de, Ché per via drit - ta e

69

C. via drit - ta e cor - - - ta Ti con - dur - ran -

A. - ta (ché per via drit - ta e cor - - ta) Ti con - dur - ran - - no, ti

T. per via drit - ta e cor - ta Ti con - dur - ran - no, (ti con dur - ran -

B. cor - ta Ti con - dur - ran - no, ti

73

C. no, e non fal - la - ce e tor - ta, fal - la - ce e tor - ta,

A. con - dur - ran - - no, e non fal - la - ce e tor - ta;

T. - no,) e non fal - la - ce e tor - ta;

B. con - dur - ran - - no, e non fal - la - ce e tor - ta;

77 Terza parte.

C. Stra - da al ve - ro o - ri - en - te, On - d'e - sce il gior - no e - ter - no, (On -

A. Stra - da al ve - ro o - ri - en - te, On - d'e - sce il gior - no e - ter - no,

T. Stra - da al ve - ro o - ri - en - te, On - d'e - sce il

B. On - d'e - sce il gior - no e - ter - no,

81

C. d'e - sce il gior - no e - ter - no,) O ve non cuo - ce il Sol né ag - ghiac - cia il ver -

A. (On - d'e - sce il gior - no e - ter - no,) O - ve non cuo - ce il Sol né ag - ghiac - cia il ver -

T. gior - no e - ter - no... Né ag - ghiac - cia il ver -

B. (On - d'e - sce il gior - no e - ter - no...) Né ag - ghiac - cia il ver -

85

C. - no, O - ve - fa - cel - la ar - den - te, O - ve fa - cel - la ar - den -

A. no, O - ve fa - cel - la ar - den - te, O - ve fa - cel - la ar - den - te # #

T. - no, O - ve fa - cel - la ar - den -

B. no, O - ve fa - cel - la ar - den - te D'a -

89

C. te D'a - mor di - vin t'ac - cen - de - rà la men - te. Scam - pa,

A. D'a - mor di - vin t'ac - cen - de - rà la men - te, t'ac - cen - de - rà la men - te. Scam - pa,

T. - te D'a - mor di - vin ac - cen - de - rà la men - te. Scam - pa, scam -

B. mor di - vin t'ac - cen - de - rà la men - te. Scam - pa, scam -

93

C. (scam - pa) co me fu - ga - ce Dam - - - - ma dal

A. scam - pa co - me fu - ga - - - - ce Dam - ma dal fie - ro

T. pa co-me fu - ga - - - - ce Dam - ma dal fie - ro mor-

B. pa co-me fu - ga - - - - ce Dam - ma dal

97

C. fie - ro mor - - - so Del vel - tro, che la se - gue a tut - - - to cor -

A. mor - - - so Del vel - tro, che la se - gue a tut - - - to

T. - - - so Del vel - tro, che la se - gue tut - - - to

B. fie - - ro mor - - so Del vel - tro, che la se -

101

C. - - - so, a tut - - - to cor - so, Dal - la ma -

A. cor - - - so, cor - so, Dal - la ma -

T. cor - - - so, a tut - - - to cor - so, Dal - la ma - no ra - pa -

B. gue a tut - - - to cor - - - so, Dal - la ma - no ra - pa -

104

C. no ra - pa - - ce Del sen - so, lu - sin - ghier,

A. no ra - pa - - ce Del sen - so, lu - sin - ghier,

T. ce Del sen - so, lu - sin ghier, (del sen so,

B. ce Del sen - so lu - sin - ghier (del sen - so,

106

C. (del sen so, lu - sin - ghier) cer to e fal - la - ce.

A. (del sen - so, lu - sin - ghier) cer - to e fal - la - - - ce.

T. lu - sin - ghier) cer - to e fal - la - - - ce.

B. lu - sin - ghier) cer - to e fal - la - - - ce.

Quarta parte.

110

C. Ma tu, a - mo - ro - so e pi - o Si - gnor, pi - glia la cu - -

A. Ma tu, a - mo - ro - so e pi - - - o Si - gnor, pi - glia la cu - -

T. Ma tu, a - mo - ro - so e pi - - - o Si - gnor, pi - glia la cu - ra,

B.

115

C. -ra, Ma tu, a - mo - ro - so e pi - o Si - gnor, pi - glia la cu - ra

A. -ra, Ma tu, a - mo - ro - so e pi - - - o Si - gnor, pi - glia la cu - -

T. (Ma tu, a - mo - ro - so e pi - - - o Si - gnor, pi - glia la cu - -

B. Ma tu, a - mo - ro - so e pi - - - o Si - gnor, pi - glia la cu - -

120

C. Di que - sta tua u - mi - le e vil fat - tu - ra, e vil fat - tu - ra E'l

A. -ra Di que - sta tua u - mi - le e vil fat - tu - - - ra E'l

T. -ra) Di que - sta tua u - mi - le e vil fat - tu - ra E'l

B. -ra Di que - sta tua u - mi - le e vil fat - tu - ra E'l

124

C. - ghiac - cio pi - gro e ri - o D'u - na in - vec - chia - ta u - san - za, d'u - na in - vec - chia - ta u -

A. - ghiac - cio pi - gro e ri - o D'u - na in - vec - chia - ta u - san - za, (d'u - na in - vec - chia - ta u -

T. ghiac - cio pi - gro e ri - o D'u - na in - vec - chia - ta u - san - za, (d'u - na in - vec - chia - ta u - san -

B. ghiac - cio pi - gro e ri - - - o D'u - na in - vec - chia - ta u -

129

C. san - za, che'l cuor mi - o Qua - si a - spro e du - ro sco -

A. san - za,) che'l cuor mi - o Qua - si a - spro e du - ro sco -

T. - - za...) Qua - si a - spro e du - ro, (qua si a spro e

B. san - za... Qua - si a - spro e du - ro sco -

133

C. *glio, Che ri-co - pre sals' on - da*

A. *glio, Che ri - co - pre sals' on - da*

T. *du - ro) sco glio, Che ri-co - pre sals' on - da, Che ri - co - pre sals' on -*

B. *glio, Che ri - co - pre sals' on - da, (Che ri co - pre sals' on -*

137

C. *In - tor-no_in-tor-no, o-gnor cin - ge_e cir - con - da, cin-ge_e cir - con - da, In -*

A. *In - tor-no_in-tor-no o - gnor, cin-ge_e cir - con - - - - da, (In*

T. *da In - tor-no_in-tor-no, o-gnor cin - ge_e cir - con - da, In - tor-no_in-*

B. *da) In tor-no_in-*

140

C. *tor-no_in-tor - no, o-gnor cin - ge_e cir - con - da, Scal - da*

A. *tor no_in-tor-no, o-gnor cin - ge_e cir - con - - - - da,) Scal da*

T. *tor-no, o-gnor cin - ge_e cir - con - - - - da, Scal - da si,*

B. *tor-no, o-gnor cin - ge_e cir - con - - - - da, Scal - da si,*

143

C. *si,... Si stil - - - li, (si stil li) e per*

A. *si, ch'in cor-do-glio Si stil - li, (si stil - li) e per*

T. *ch'in cor-do - glio Si stil - - li, si stil - li e per -*

B. *ch'in cor-do - glio Si stil - - li, si stil - - li*

147

C. *- da l'o - sti - na - to_or - go - - - glio;*

A. *- da e per - da l'o - sti - na - to_or - go - - - glio;*

T. *- da e per - da l'o - sti - na - to_or - go - - - glio;*

B. *e per - da l'o - sti - na - to_or - go - - - glio;*

Quinta, & ultima parte.

152

C. Ché sen-za il chia-ro lu - - - me,

A. Ché sen-za il chia-ro lu - - me, (Ché sen za il chia-ro lu - - -

T. Ché sen-za il chia-ro lu - - -

B. Ché sen-za il

155

C. (Ché sen za il chia-ro lu - - - me) Di tua pie-tà in - fi -

A. - - - - - me) Di tua pie-tà in - fi - ni - ta An-

T. - - - - - me Di tua pie-tà in - fi - ni - ta An - drà per que-ste

B. chia-ro lu - - me Di tua pie - tà in - fi - ni - ta

159

C. ni - ta An - drà per que-ste te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta, smar - ri -

A. drà per que -ste te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta, (An - drà per que -ste te - ne - bre smar -

T. te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta, (An - drà per que -ste te - ne - bre smar - ri -

B. An - drà per que -ste te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta, (An - drà per que -ste te - ne - bre smar -

162

C. - ta L'al - - - - ma die - tro al co - stu - me,

A. - ri - - - - ta) L'al ma, l'al - ma die - tro al co - stu - me, die -

T. - ta) L'al - - - - ma die - tro al co - stu - me, die -

B. ri - ta) L'al - - - - ma die -

166

C. Fin - ché la car - ne fral, (fin ché la car - ne)

A. tro al co - stu - me, Fin - ché la car - ne fral, (fin ché la car - ne fral,) fin ché la car -

T. - tro al co - stu - me, Fin - ché la car - ne fral, fin - ché la car - ne

B. tro al co - stu - me, Fin - ché la car - ne fral, fin - ché la car -

170

C. ter ra con-su - me, ter - ra con-su - me, An -

A. - ne fral ter - ra con-su - me, ter - ra con-su - me, An - drà per que-ste te - ne-bre,(an -

T. fral ter - ra con-su - me, ter - ra con-su - - me, An - drà per que-ste

B. - ne fral ter - ra con-su - me,

174

C. drà per que-ste te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta,(An - drà per que-ste te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta) L'al

A. drà per que-ste te - ne - bre) smar - ri - ta L'al - - - - -

T. te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta, per que-ste te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta L'al

B. An - drà per que-ste te - ne - bre smar - ri - ta L'al

177

C. ma die - tro al co - stu - me, die - tro al co - stu - me,

A. -mā die - tro al co - stu - me, Fin - ché la car - ne

T. ma die - tro al co - stu - me, (die tro al co - stu - me), Fin ché la car - ne

B. ma die - tro al co - stu - me, Fin - ché la car - ne

181

C. Fin - ché la car - ne fral ter - ra con - su - me,(Fin - ché la car - ne fral ter -

A. fral, (fin - ché la car - ne fral) ter ra con - su - me, Fin - ché la car - ne fral ter -

T. fral, (fin - ché la car - ne fral) ter - ra

B. fral ter - ra con - su - me, Fin - ché la car - ne fral

184

C. ra con - su - me,) ter - ra con - su - - - me.

A. ra con - su - me, ter - ra con - su - - - - me.

T. - con - su - me, ter - ra con - su - - - - me.

B. ter - ra con - su - - - - me.

5. Come talor in luogo ombroso

Prima parte.

Canto

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Co - me ta - lor in luo - go om - bro -

Co - me ta - lor in luo - go om - bro - so in

Co - me ta - lor in luo - go om - bro - so e bas - so

Co - me ta - lor in

3

C. - so e bas - so Den - sa ne - ve si ve - de, (den - sa ne - ve si ve - de),

A. luo - go om - bro - so e bas - so Den - sa ne - ve si ve - de, ac -

T. om - bro - so e bas - so Den - sa ne - ve si ve - de den - sa ne - ve si ve - de,

B. luo - go om - bro - so e bas - so Den - sa ne - ve si ve - de,

6

C. ac - col - to ge - lo, (ac - col - to ge - lo,) S'i - vi non giun - ge mai oc - chio del cie -

A. col - to ge - lo, (ac - col - to ge - lo,) S'i - vi non giun - ge mai oc - chio del cie - lo, oc -

T. ac - col - to ge - lo, (ac - col - to ge - lo,) S'i - vi, s'i - vi non giun - ge mai oc -

B. ac - col - to ge - lo, S'i - vi non giun - ge

9

C. lo, oc - chio del cie - lo, Far - si di gior - no in gior - no, di gior - no in gior - no

A. chio del cie - lo, Far - si di gior - no in gior - no, di gior - no in gior - no

T. chio, oc - chio del cie - lo, Far - si di gior - no in gior - no fred -

B. mai oc - chio del cie - lo, Far - si di gior - no in gior - no fred -

12

C. fred - do sas - - so, Ta - le al fon - do del-l'al-ma_o-v'io non

A. fred - do sas - so, Ta - le al fon - do del-l'al-ma_o - v'io non las -

T. do sas - - - - so, Ta - le al

B. - do sas - - - - so,

15

C. las - - so, o - v'io non las-so En-trar il sol, non quel ch'il-lu-stra De - lo, Ma che

A. so, o - v'io non las - so, non las - so En-trar il sol, non quel ch'il-lu-stra De - lo, Ma

T. fon-do del-l'al-ma_o-v'io non las - so En-trar il sol, non quel ch'il-lu-stra De - lo, Ma che

B. Ta - le al fon - do del-l'al-ma_o-v'io non las - so En-trar il sol... Ma che

19

C. rom - pe_o - gni dur, sgom-bra_o-gni ve - - - - lo, sgom - bra_o - gni ve -

A. che rom - pe_o-gni dur, sgom-bra_o-gni ve - lo, sgom - bra_o-gni ve - - -

T. rom - pe_o - gni dur, sgom-bra_o-gni ve - - - - lo, sgom - bra_o - gni ve -

B. rom - pe_o - gni dur, sgom - bra_o-gni ve - - - -

22

C. lo, O - vun - que fie - da_o - vun - que sten - da il pas - so, O -

A. - lo, O - vun - que fie - da_o - vun - que sten - da il pas - so,

T. lo, O - vun - que fie - da_o - vun - que sten - da,

B. - lo, O - vun - que fie - da_o - vun - que

24

C. vun - que fie - da_o - vun - que sten - da il pas - so, sten - da il pas - so.

A. O - vun - que fie - da_o - vun - que sten - da il pas - so.

T. (o - vun - que fie - da_o - vun - que sten - da) il pas - - so.

B. sten - da il pas - so, o - vun - que sten - da il pas - - so.

Seconda parte.

27

C. Na-sce_o-gnor nuo-vo_or-ror, (na - sce_o - gnor nuo - vo_or-ror) e cre-sce_il ghiac - cio,

A. Na - sce_o-gnor nuo-vo_or-ror, (na - sce_o-gnor nuo-vo_or-ror) nuo - vo_or-ror e cre-sce_il ghiac -

T. Na - sce_o-gnor nuo-vo_or-ror, (na - sce_o-gnor nuo-vo_or-ror) e cre-sce_il

B. Na - sce_o-gnor nuo-vo_or-ror e cre-sce_il ghiac - cio, e cre-sce_il

30

C. Per la tan - ta du - rez - za il cuor, il cuor s'im - pe - -

A. - cio, Per la tan - ta du - rez - za il cuor s'im - pe - - tra,

T. ghiac - cio, Per la tan - ta du - rez - za il cuor s'im - pe - tra, il cuor s'im-pe -

B. ghiac - cio, Per la tan - ta du - rez - - za il cuor s'im - pe - -

35

C. -tra, Tal - ché nul-la fin qui co - sa mi spe - tra. Spez -

A. Tal - ché nul-la fin qui co - sa mi spe - tra. Spez - za, (spez - za,)

T. tra, Tal - ché nul-la fin qui co - sa mi spe - tra. Spez - za, (spez -

B. tra, Tal - ché nul-la fin qui co - sa mi spe - tra. Spez - za,

39

C. za, ma - no d'ac - ciar, tu que - sta pie - tra.

A. ma - no d'ac - ciar, tu que - sta tu que - sta pie - tra.

T. za,) ma - no d'ac - ciar, tu que - sta pie - tra que - sta pie - tra. Fuo-

B. (spez - za,) ma - no d'ac - ciar, tu que - sta pie - tra.

43

C. Fuo - co_e-ter-no,ri-scal - da on - de m'ag - ghiac - cio.

A. Fuo - co_e ter-no,ri-scal - da, fuo-co_e-ter-no,ri-scal - da on - de m'ag - ghiac - cio. To -

T. -co_e-ter - no,ri-scal - da, (fuo-co_e-ter-no,ri-scal-da)on - de m'ag - ghiac - cio.

B. Fuo-co_e-ter-no,ri-scal - da on - de m'ag - ghiac - cio.

47

C. To - gli, pa - dre ce - le - ste, to - gli, pa - dre ce - le - -

A. gli, pa - dre ce - le - ste, to - gli, to - gli, pa - dre ce -

T. To - gli, pa - dre ce - le - ste pa - dre ce - le - ste, to - gli, on -

B. To - gli, pa - dre ce - le - ste, on -

50


C. -ste, on - de a te, (on - de a te) spiac - cio.


A. le - ste, on - de a te spiac - cio, on - de a te spiac - cio.

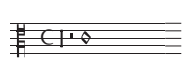
T. de a te spiac - cio, (on - de a te spiac - cio,) on - de a te spiac - cio.


B. de a te spiac - - - cio, on - de a te spiac - cio.

6. Canzon vanne dolente


Canto  Can - zon, van - ne do - - len - te van -

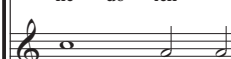
Alto  Can - zon, van - ne do - len - te


Tenore  Can - zon, van - ne do -


Basso  Can - zon, van - ne

5


C.  ne do - len - te A chi con si gran ze-lo_o-gnor t'a - spet-ta

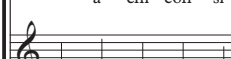
A.  van - ne do - len - te A chi con si gran ze-lo_o-gnor t'a - spet-ta a chi con si gran

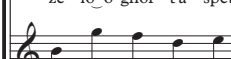
T.  len - - - - te A chi con si gran ze-lo_o-gnor t'a-spet -

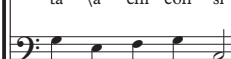
B.  do - len - - - - te A chi con si gran

9

C.  a chi con si gran ze-lo_o-gnor t'a-spet - ta E per-ché mor - te af - fret -

A.  ze-lo_o-gnor t'a-spet - ta o - gnor t'a-spet - ta E per-ché mor - -

T.  ta (a chi con si gran ze-lo_o-gnor t'a-spet - ta) E per-ché mor - te af - fret -

B.  ze-lo_o-gnor t'a-spet - ta E per-ché mor - te af -

12

C.  - - ta, af - fret - ta af - fret - ta. Van - ne, tut - ta di -

A.  te, mor - te af-fret - ta, af - fret - ta. Van - ne, tut - ta di -

T.  - - ta, af - fret - - - - ta. Van - ne, tut - ta di -

B.  fret - - - ta, af - fret - - - - ta. Van - ne, tut - ta di -

16

C. mes - sa_e pe - ni - ten - te, Mer-cè chie-den - do_e'n lui spe -

A. mes - sa_e pe - ni - ten - te, Mer-cè chie-den - do_e'n lui spe -

T. - mes - sa_e pe - ni - ten - te, Mer-cè chie-den - do_e'n lui spe -

B. mes - sa_e pe - ni - ten - te, Mer-cè chie-den - do_e'n lui spe -

20

C. -ran - do_ai - - ta; E di', che la mia vi - ta che la mia vi - ta Ri - ma -

A. ran-do ai - - ta; E di', che la mia vi - ta che la mia vi - ta Ri -

T. ran - do_ai - - ta; E di', che la mia vi - ta Ri -

B. ran - do_ai - - ta... Ri - ma -

24

C. sta è qui - vi_in te - ne - bre smar - ri - - - ta; E s'ei non mi soc-

A. ma - sta è qui - vi_in te - ne - bre smar - ri - - - ta; E s'ei non mi soc-

T. - ma - sta è qui - vi_in te - ne - bre smar - ri - - - ta; E s'ei non mi soc-

B. - sta è qui - vi_in te - ne - bre smar - ri - - - ta;

29

C. cor - re e s'ei non mi soc - cor - re, qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci -

A. cor - re (e s'ei non mi soc - cor - re,) Qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci -

T. cor - re (e s'ei non mi soc - cor - re,) Qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci - pi - zio cor -

B. E se non mi soc - cor - re, Qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci - pi - zio

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C. pi - zio, qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci - pi - zio, (Qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci - pi - zio cor - re.)

A. pi - zio cor - re, Qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci - pi - zio cor - re, cor - re.

T. - re, Qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci - pi - zio cor - re, al pre - ci - pi - zio cor - re.

B. cor - re, Qua - si_in - sen - sa - ta_al pre - ci - pi - zio cor - re.

Critical Notes

The notes below report all musical and textual differences between the source and the edition that are not otherwise covered by stated editorial principle. Locations within the composition are indicated by number of the *parte* (arabic number followed by a colon), bar number and voice part abbreviated as C = canto, A = alto, T = tenore, B = basso. Abbreviations for note values are: lg = long, br = breve, sbr = semibreve, min = minim, smin = semiminim, fs = fusa.

Subheadings

The capitalisation of subheadings, such as ‘Prima parte’, ‘Seconda parte’, etc. is inconsistent. In the edition, the capitalisation of subheadings has been normalised.

Come vago augelletto

- 3: Bar 84, A, there is an extra min rest between the phrases (symbols 3 and 4);
- 3: Bar 105, T, the sharp sign is written before the D4 (one note later than in the edition).

Mentre tace la notte

- 2: Bars 49–50, C and A, the text reads: ‘piglia’;
- 3: Bar 71, B, a smudge under symbol 6 (G3) makes it look as a fs instead of a smin;
- 3: Bar 109, B, the stem of the ligature *cum opposita proprietate* (F3-G3) is almost invisible.

Come infermo, cui ardente febre

- 1: Bar 3, A, the pitch of the second sbr of the ligature is F4;
- 4: Bar 149–150, C, the words ‘che puoi’ and ‘soccorrermi’ are placed one note earlier.

Svegliati anima trista

- 2: Bars 71–73, C, A, B, the text reads: ‘ti condurando’;
- 4: Bar 147, T, the syllable ‘-da’ in the second ‘perda’ is missing;
- 5: Bar 186, B, the pitch of the final note is G2.

Come talor in luogo ombroso

- 1: Bar 23, A, the syllable ‘-vun-’ in the word ‘ovunque’ is placed one note earlier;
- 1 and 2: Bars 26 and 53, B, the final note is notated as a br, not a lg;
- 2: Bar 46, all parts, the text reads: ‘aggiaccia’.

Canzon vanne dolente

N/A