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MUSIC AND PATRONAGE IN MILAN 1535-1550 AND
VINCENZO RUFFO'S FIRST MOTET BOOK

DISSERTATION

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Vincenzo Ruffo's 1542 motet book was published while the composer was in the service of Milanese governor Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto. At that time, musical activity in Milan was fostered by a number of local organizations, the most prominent of which were the D'Avalos court and the Duomo di Milano. Several literary scholars, singers, lutenists, trumpeters, and drummers were employed by the D'Avalos court, and additional musicians were borrowed from other Milanese establishments for state ceremonies and religious feasts. From 1535-1550 the cappella musicale of the Duomo di Milano, which was under the direction of Hermann Matthias Werrecore, also played an important role in the city's musical life. Following a major reorganization in 1534, the cappella musicale was increased in size, a new organ was installed, and the cappella participated in several state and civic functions.

Ruffo's 1542 motet book reflects the Milanese environment for which it was composed in its inclusion of ceremonial motets and texts specific to the Milanese calendar. It also contains motets appropriate to universally celebrated feasts, the texts of which are primarily associated with Vespers. All of the motets can be divided into two classes with regard to their ranges, and this division reflects the hiring practices and musical activity of the D'Avalos court.

The likely commission of the 1542 collection by D'Avalos and its subsequent dedication to him arose from his eagerness to inscribe the D'Avalos family name in the annals of Milanese history. The family's involvement with this and other religious books may also have been motivated by the need to mitigate papal suspicion of reformationist sympathizers among D'Avalos' circle.

In an attempt to support Milanese industry, the local printing firm of Castiglione was contracted for publication of the book. Though Castiglione attempted to produce a sumptuous volume, his antiquated double-impression method and obvious lack of experience with sacred polyphonic literature marred the result. A number of heretofore unresolved attributions of Ruffo's motets to Jachet,

Morales, and Gombert are discussed.

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PREFACE

Vincenzo Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (1542) was published while the composer was in the service of Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, governor of Milan and commander of Carlos V's military forces in Lombardy from 1538 to 1546. D'Avalos, a renowned military strategist and amateur poet, has long been regarded as an avid patron of the arts and letters. A documented study of musical activity in Milan during D'Avalos' tenure, however, has heretofore been lacking.

Although musical activity at the Milanese court appears to have declined during the years following the 1535 death of Francesco Sforza II, a number of singers, lutenists, trumpeters, and drummers were active at the D'Avalos court. In addition, smaller musical establishments, including local chapel choirs and musical societies, continued to foster music making in the city. Milan's largest musical organization, the cappella musicale of the Duomo di Milano (Santa Maria Maggiore), does not seem to have been affected by the financial problems plaguing much of the region during the

years 1535-1550. Following a major reorganization in 1534, the cappella musicale was expanded in size and the organ in the cathedral was replaced. All of these local organizations contributed to the preservation of Milan's cultural reputation throughout the Spanish occupation.

Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* (1542), which was dedicated to D'Avalos, is the musical collection most closely associated with Milanese musical activity during this period. It also is the earliest known collection of sacred polyphony issued by a Milanese printer. The collection comprises ceremonial pieces, works featuring texts specific to the Milanese liturgical calendar, and widely used Vespers and Offertory antiphons. Its thirty-five motets reflect the liturgical customs and performance practices then in use at the Milanese court.

A number of the motets in Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* enjoyed a much wider circulation than has previously been recognized. Their inclusion in a wide variety of contemporary Italian and Netherlandish prints and manuscripts has resulted in several conflicting attributions that reflect Ruffo's stylistic

affinity with other composers of the post-Josquin generation, including Gombert, Morales, and Jachet of Mantua.

The present study reconstructs the musical milieu in which Ruffo's 1542 motet collection was conceived through an examination of the archival materials surviving from each of the major musical establishments known to be active in Milan 1535-1550. The relationship of the 1542 collection to Milanese musical activity, its publication problems, and its current position in source studies are then explored in light of the archival information that is currently available.

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CHAPTER I

MUSICIANS AT THE DUCAL COURT OF ALFONSO D'AVALOS

Following the death of Francesco Sforza II in 1535, the duchy of Milan was subjected to a series of foreign military governors, the most prominent of whom was one Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, governor of Milan from 1538-1546. D'Avalos, who first was introduced to musicological scholars in Lewis Lockwood's study of Vincenzo Ruffo, is generally portrayed as an avid patron of the arts and an amateur dabbler in literary and musical composition.¹ Unfortunately, however, the image of Alfonso d'Avalos the grand patron may be slightly erroneous.

¹See Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1967), 18-30; Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music of Vincenzo Ruffo (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1960), and Gasparo De Caro, "Avalos, Alfonso D'" Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Società Grafica Romana, 1962), IV, 612-616.

In truth it seems that the Marchese had little time for pleasurable pursuits. As governor of Spanish-occupied Milan under Carlos V, he was responsible for the military activity and general maintenance of the twelve districts or "cantoni" of Northern Italy, which comprised an area bounded by Switzerland to the north, Genoa to the west, the Veneto to the east, and Bologna to the south.² His administrative energies were largely spent on military strategy and the mounting financial obligations attached to war, while he allotted comparatively little attention to domestic and courtly matters.³ As a result the Marchese's consort, Maria d'Aragona, was primarily responsible for the cultivation of artistic pursuits at the Milanese court.⁴

²See the government documents contained in Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 24-65 (1538-1546), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

³See Cancelleria dello Stato di milano 24-65 (1538-1546), Archivio di Stato di Milano, which includes a large body of correspondence concerning military maneuvers and financial litigation. Also see Registri della Cancelleria dell Stato Serie XV/1-4 (Missive 1541-1546) and Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato Serie XXII/2-5 (Mandati 1538-1546), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁴See, for example, the information and transcribed letters in F. Fiorentino, "Donna Maria d'Aragona, Marchesa del Vasto," Nuova Antologia XLIII (1884), 212-240.

With the single possible exception of Vincenzo Ruffo, all of the musicians associated with the Del Vasto court appear to have been inherited from the Sforza family. It was through the efforts of Maria d'Aragona, the Duomo di Milano cappella musicale, and a handful of other musicians, poets, and patrons, that the Milanese artistic tradition established by the Sforza survived.

The Principal Musicians and Their Music

Vincenzo Ruffo

The archival information clearly associating Vincenzo Ruffo with the D'Avalos court exists only in connection with the composer's *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci*, which was issued by Castiglione of Milan in 1542. The dedication of the print, was penned by Milanese notary Petro Maria Crivelli,⁵ who addressed to Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto. It identifies Ruffo as "an

⁵The identity of Petro Maria Crivelli was heretofore unknown. A notation in the lower right-hand corner of the printing privilege, Studi: parte antica 97, foglio 3, Archivio di Stato, Milano, indicates that Petro Maria Crivelli was a notary. Notarile: Rubriche 1849 (Petro Maria Crivelli q. Luigi), Archivio di Stato, Milano, contains the listing of documents processed by Petro Maria Crivelli between 1542 and 1588.

indefatigable musician and servant of your Excellency."⁶ Aside from Crivelli's dedication,⁷ two "privileges" granted him survive in the fondo Studi: parte antica 97 of the Archivio di Stato in Milan. Though both documents are labelled "privilege" and apply specifically to the Ruffo print, one of them appears to be the privilege itself, while the other, a much longer document, actually is Crivelli's application for the printing privilege.⁸ The former document makes no mention of Ruffo, while the latter again identifies him as "the distinguished Vincenzo Ruffo, musician and

⁶". . . musicus et servus indefesso di V. Excellentia." See the opening dedication of Vincenzo Ruffo, *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (Mediolani: G. A. Castillioneus, 1542). A complete transcription and translation is given in Appendix I, Document 1 below.

⁷First cited in Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 19.

⁸Studi: parte antica 97, foglios 2 and 3, Archivio di Stato, Milano. Transcriptions and translations of these two documents appear in Appendix I, Documents 2 and 3. Lockwood apparently was unaware that these two documents existed. The terms of Document 2 also are outlined at the close of the collection's tenor partbook.

member of the household in the court of the illustrious and excellent duke Marchese del Vasto."⁹

An additional notation that also may refer to Ruffo appears among the 1540 receipts included in the general correspondence between the Milanese governor and the Cathedral of Vigevano, seat of the old ducal chapel under the Sforza.¹⁰ Here a document relating to the succeeding year proports to identify a number of people in

⁹". . . Egregio Vincenzo Ruffo, musico et familiare In curia Illmi et Exmi D. Marchionis del Vasto." Studi: parte antica 97, foglio 3, Archivio di Stato di Milano. The latin term "curia" generally has a judicial connotation. Here it may refer to the legal jurisdiction of Del Vasto rather than the court itself.

¹⁰As late as the year 1545 payments were still being made to servants responsible for maintenance at the old ducal castle adjacent to the Cathedral in Vigevano. See Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII-4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 132v-133r. Moreover, several of the archival documents pertaining to Francesco Rosarino, Cantor at the Cathedral of Vigevano, likewise indicate that the Milanese state was responsible for the chapel's upkeep. These documents will be discussed at length below.

debt to the district:

The 1541 group of debtors in this territory are [listed on] the page given:

f. 4	m. Baptista frona	L6 s6
	the son-in-law d. m ^o Ruffino	
	bandano/ G. Christoforo	
	boniolo i mortara	L5 s0
	m ^o Jacop di cieri	L7 s13
	Jachino piato	L6 s8
	Francesco picardo	L8 s10 ¹¹

Since it is known that Ruffo was an acolyte at the Duomo of Verona in the 1520's¹² and was married with two sons aged 16 and 19 by 1555,¹³ it can be deduced that the composer may have married between the years 1530 and 1536. Further, it is possible that he was married in Milan, since he arrived in the city sometime after his

¹¹"Habilis quondam terrieto 1541 sono li Infri debbiati dicto foglio." Carteggio 1500-1600. sezione Corrispondenza con Marchese del Vasto, Bene, Archivio del Duomo di Vigevano. Whether the surname bandano belongs with Ruffino or G. Cristoforo is unclear.

¹²Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 13-18, and Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music, 6-8.

¹³Enrico Paganuzzi, "Documenti Veronesi sui musicisti de XVI e XVII secoli," Scritti in onore di Mons. Giuseppi Turrini (Verona: Linotipia Veronese Fiorini, 1973), 570-573, and Lewis Lockwood, "Ruffo, Vincenzo" The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980), XVI, 20-21.

1534 release from the Duomo of Verona.¹⁴ Unfortunately, exact identification of the Vigevano document's "son-in-law d. m^o Ruffino" is at this point still inconclusive, for at least three persons, none of whom appear to be Vincenzo Ruffo, are commonly referred to as d. Ruffinus, d. Roffinus, or d. Ruffino in Milanese notary and cancelleria documents for this period.¹⁵

¹⁴Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 19-20 reports that the last Veronese register entry for Ruffo occurred in 1534. It is quite possible that Ruffo did not, as Lockwood maintains, return to the Duomo of Verona in 1541. The isolated 1541 Veronese register entry of L20 s6 given to Ruffo "when he left Verona" may well have been owed the composer upon his departure in 1534. Examination of sixteenth-century archival documents and payment records for the Milanese court and cathedral, in fact, reveals numerous cases in which payment for services rendered was delayed by as much as five to six years.

¹⁵These include Don Ruffino di Leba, who appears in a cancelleria contract dated June 1, 1538 that involves use of the biada (a sixteenth-century commissary); Don Ruffino di Campegijs (son of one Ruffinus) from Porta Orientalis parish of San Ciprianis, who made several payments on a property in Porta Orientalis parish of San Pietro during the 1540's; and Don Francesco Roffinus, who requested notarization of a business transaction on April 22, 1540. See Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 24 (1538 giugno) 1, Archivio di Stato di Milano; Notarile 10378 and 10379 (Battista Abbiate), Archivio di Stato di Milano; and Notarile: Rubriche 387 (Gio: Stephano Baroffio q. Giovanni), Archivio di Stato di Milano. Also see Vachette 403 (1540-1541), Archivio del Duomo di Milano, which contains several references to a Don Antonio Maria Ruffinus (son of Johannis).

Three musical works published in the year 1542 corroborate the archival evidence of Ruffo's association with the Milanese court. These include the two occasional motets from Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti*, as well as his *Missa Alma redemptoris mater*.¹⁶ One of the two occasional motets, "Laudibus laudemus," already has been

¹⁶The *Missa Alma redemptoris mater* was published by Scotto of Venice in 1542 as part of a four-voiced mass collection featuring works by Morales, Jachet, and Ruffo. A modern edition of the work can be found in Vincenzo Ruffo, Three Early Masses [Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance XXXII], ed. by Lewis Lockwood (Madison: A-R Editions, 1979), 1-35.

discussed at length by Lockwood. It is a freely imitative work dedicated to the light calvary captain Melchior Saavedra, who served under D'Avalos from approximately 1532 to 1546.¹⁷

The second congratulatory piece, "Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans," is a baptismal motet carrying a cantus firmus addressed to one "Hermes." Lockwood hypothesizes that this motet was written for either the birthday or baptism of Ermes Visconti, son of

¹⁷See Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 25-26, which refers to a letter published in Duca di Alba, ed., "Correspondencia de Carlo V con el Marquès del Vasto, Gobernador del Milanesado," Boletin del la Real Academia de la Historia 88 (1926), 143, listing the Marchese's monthly military expenses. The letter, which is dated 22 October 1542, is the latest known reference to Saavedra, for the last reference to him in cancelleria documents appears to have occurred in July 1541. See Cancelleria dello Stato 34 (1541 luglio), 99, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Additionally, though the treatise *La entrata de la magestad cesarea* (Rome, 1541), 18, identifies Saavedra as one of the important dignitaries leading Carlos V's 1541 processional entrance into Milan, the set of ceremonial plans drawn up by D'Avalos and his cancelleria, which survives in the form of several drafts and completed lists of the participants, makes no specific mention of the calvary captain. It is, however, possible that Saavedra was among those falling under the generic terms "soldiers" and "cavalrymen." See Potenze sovrane 1, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

prominent Milanese citizen Giovanni Battista Visconti.¹⁸ Though Lockwood suggests that the birthdate of Ermes Visconti fell around 1540, it actually remains unknown.¹⁹

It, therefore, is equally possible that this motet was composed for the baptism of Carlo d'Avalos, the seventh child of Alfonso and Maria d'Avalos and namesake of Carlo V. The emperor, who conferred upon the child the title Commendatore of the Order of Alcántara,²⁰ stood as a baptismal sponsor during the week following

¹⁸Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music, 295. Giovanni Battista Visconti was elected a member of the Milanese Grand Council in 1535. He also is listed among the dignitaries selected to participate in the 1541 processional entrance of Carlo V. See Potenze sovrane 1, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Also see Giovanni Alberto Furbondo Albicante, *Trattato dal'intrar in Milano di Carlo V* (Mediolani: A. Caluus, 1541).

¹⁹Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music, 295.

²⁰The Order of Alcántara was a medieval organization active in the defense of Roman Catholic theological and political interests. By 1500, numerous state dignitaries and military leaders were counted among its members. Membership in the organization was symbolized by a large green cross formée, also designated as a Greek cross. See "Orden de Alcántara," Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana (Madrid and Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe S.A., n.d.), IV, 245-248.

his August 22, 1541 triumphal entry into Milan.²¹ The name Hermes may actually refer to the feast day on which the baptism occurred, as two of the seven Christian saints bearing this name occupied feast days falling on the 24th and 28th of August.²²

In any case, the motet, which paraphrases the text of Psalm 127 in both the long-note cantus firmus and its surrounding contrapuntal voices, features dual symbolism in its reference to the name "Hermes." In addition to either naming the child or invoking

²¹Carlos V remained in the city until the 30th of August. A reference to his participation in the baptism appears in the form of a letter from Cardinal Seripando to Maria d'Aragona, Marchesa del Vasto, congratulating the mother upon her son Carlo's election to cardinal. The letter, which is dated 15 March 1561, is transcribed in Fiorentino, op. cit., 224. Also see Gasparo De Caro, "Avalos, Carlo D'" Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Rome: Giovanni Treccani Romana, 1962), IV, 619, and Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 20-21.

²²These are the Hermes martyred in Ostia Tibernia during the year 252 A.D. and Hermes, the roman martyred in the 116 A.D. persecution of Trajano. See "San Hermes," Enciclopedia universal ilustrada, XXVII, 1206-1207.

the saint, it makes an illusion to the mythical god Hermes, revered by the ancients as a child prodigy, fleet-footed messenger, inventor of musical instruments, and interpreter of divine will.²³

Ruffo's *Missa Alma redemptoris mater* (1542) is a parody mass drawing upon three sources, of which the principal is Constanzo Festa's four-voiced motet of the same title.²⁴ Ruffo's selection of a Festa motet is in keeping with the musical tastes and education of D'Avalos, who studied composition under Constanzo Festa from 1510-1517.²⁵ Ruffo borrowed the cadential material and

²³The motet is among those selected for transcription in the musical section of this dissertation. The legend of Hermes is discussed in Pierre Grimal, The Dictionary of Classical Mythology (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1986), 209-211.

²⁴Constanzo Festa set the Marian Antiphon twice. The four-voice version survives only in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina 20. A second setting for six voices also is found only in the Vatican manuscript. The utilization of multiple sources in a parody work was explored briefly in Howard M. Brown, "Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXXV (1982), 1-48. It has been dealt with at length in Christine Getz, "Modeling as a Clue to Chronology in the Second Generation of Fors Seulement Chansons," Explorations in Renaissance Culture XIII (1987), 126-147.

²⁵Alexander Main, "Festa, Constanzo," The New Grove dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), VI, 501.

some imitative passages from the older master's four-voice model, while he relied upon both Josquin's four-voiced setting and Constanza Festa's six-voiced version for subsidiary musical material.²⁶ The fact that no sixteenth-century printed sources were known to have carried either of the two Festa motets, combined with the current hypothesis that Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina 20 was one of the few sources originally transmitting the motets,²⁷ suggests that Ruffo may have been introduced to the Festa works through the Milanese governor.

A glance at the Kyrie reveals much concerning Ruffo's methodology in handling the multiple sources utilized in this work. The first point of imitation and its cadential close derive from parallel material in Festa's four-voice setting (Examples 1 and 2),

²⁶The extant sources of the Josquin motet include Petrucci's *Motetti de la corona: Libro tertio* (1519), Junta's *Motetti de la corona: Libro tertio* (1527), and Firenze, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale*, II.I. 232 (olim Magliabechi XIX.58), c. 1515. The six-voice Festa and four-voice Josquin settings more closely paraphrase the original plainchant setting than does the four-voice Festa version.

²⁷See Constanza Festa, *Motetti I* [Corpus mensurabilis musicae XXV], ed. by Albert Seay (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1980), VII-XIII.

Example 1. Vincenzo Ruffo, Missa Alma redemptoris mater, Kyrie, measures 1-5.

Festa a 4/ Festa a 6/ Josquin a 4

Josquin a 4 opening motive

Ky-ri-e Ky-ri-e

ri- Festa a 4 m8-11

Ky- ri- e and m22-31

e e

e- le-

Example 2. Vincenzo Ruffo, Missa Alma redemptoris mater, Kyrie, measures 13-14.

i- son.
 son. Festa a 4 m20-21
 i- son. Ky-
 son. Ky-

while the closing cadence of the first Kyrie is taken from the close of Festa's four-voice secunda pars (Example 3). The opening motive of the Christe section derives directly from the secunda pars of the Josquin motet, as well as from the Festa six-voice version (Example 4). Subsidiary material used in the Christe section, much of which is based upon the interval of the fourth, again bears a direct relationship to the Festa setting for four voices. The second Kyrie opens with a derivative of the primary Christe motive which sounds against a differing theme outlined by interval of the fifth.

Example 3. Vincenzo Ruffo, Missa Alma redemptoris mater, Kyrie, measures 25-26.

Festa a 4 m147-148

i- son .

i- son.

le- i- son.

i- son.

Example 4. Vincenzo Ruffo, Missa Alma redemptoris mater, Kyrie, measures 27-29.

Festa a 6 m41-52/Josquin a 4 m56-62

Chri- ste

Festa a 6/Josquin a 4

cont. opening motive in variant form Chri-

Chri- ste e- le- i- son.

This motivic pairing is common to both the six-voice Festa and four-voice Josquin settings (Example 5). The second Kyrie closes with material again based upon Festa's final cadence (Example 6).

Example 5. Vincenzo Ruffo, Missa Alma redemptoris mater, Kyrie, measures 56-58.

The image displays two staves of musical notation in G major, 4/4 time. The top staff is for a soprano voice, and the bottom staff is for an alto voice. The lyrics are 'Ky- ri- e' on the first staff and 'Ky- ri- e e-' on the second staff. Annotations include: 'variant motive from Festa a 6 m41-52 and Josquin a 4 m56-62' pointing to a boxed-in melodic phrase in the soprano part; and 'characteristic 5th from Festa a 4/ Josquin a 6' pointing to a descending fifth interval in the alto part.

variant motive from Festa a 6 m41-52 and
Josquin a 4 m56-62

Ky- ri- e

characteristic 5th from Festa a 4/ Josquin a 6

Ky- ri- e e-

Example 6. Vincenzo Ruffo, Missa Alma redemptoris mater, Kyrie, measures 80-82.

Festa a 4 m147-148

Based upon the archival evidence, the 1542 imitation mass, the occasional motets of the 1542 motet book, and the 1542 motet print's dedication page, Ruffo can be placed in Milan during the year 1542. Exactly when he arrived in the city, however, cannot be precisely determined. He is known to have left his post at the Duomo of Verona in 1534,²⁸ but does not reappear in any known archival sources before 1541, save, of course, the possible 1540-1541 reference found in the Duomo of Vigevano archives cited earlier; in 1541 Ruffo received an inexplicable single payment of

²⁸Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 18-21.

L20 s6 from the Veronese chapter. Since D'Avalos did not establish his court at Milan until 1538, Lockwood was led to conclude that Ruffo arrived in Milan sometime during the second half of the year 1541.²⁹ The danger, however, of interpreting a single ledger entry falling several years after a group of consistent ones has already been mentioned above.³⁰

Though arrival in late 1541 is not an impossibility, it may be just as likely that Ruffo entered the service of the Sforza shortly after the Veronese payments ceased in 1534. That he does not appear in the Sforza pay records is not unseemly in that many of the musicians in this chapel were apparently paid from the biade, for the Milanese cancellaria records payments only to the trumpeters and the music director at San Ambrogio in Vigevano. The anomaly here, of course, is the L20 s6 payment received by Ruffo from the Veronese Cathedral in 1541; this sum would represent about three months work. While it is indeed possible that Ruffo returned there for a brief sojourn, or had been there the for the entirety of the

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰See footnote 14 above.

period 1534-1541, his presence is not recorded in the spotty accounts. It, therefore, is equally likely that the L20 s6 had been a disputed sum for which Ruffo had only recently obtained judgement. The composer's departure from Milan can be much more precisely determined. Two archival documents preserved in the Archivio Vescovile di Savona indicate that Ruffo had vacated his Milanese post sometime before 27 October 1542 in order to accept an appointment as cappellmeister of the prestigious Cantoria Savonese, a position that he held for approximately one year.³¹ Maurizio Tarrini claims, apparently on the basis of a misinterpretation and

³¹These documents, which are located in Scatoli 1-5 of the Archivio Vescovile di Savona, were first reported by Flavio Emilio Scogna, "La musica nel Duomo di Savona dal XVI al XVIII secolo," Nuova rivista musicali italiana XVI (1981), 261-262, and Flavio Emilio Scogna, Vita musicale a Savona dal XVI al XVIII secolo (Corso: Casa di Risparmio di Savona, 1982), 27-28. Evidence suggests that they are the same documents reported by Tarrini-Scarrone, "Un manoscritto musicale de XVI secolo e due documenti su Vincenzo Ruffo conservati nell'Archivio Vescovile di Savona," Liguria XLIX (1982), 10-20, a copy of which has thus far been unavailable.

without providing clear documentation, that Ruffo served the Doria princes in Genoa from the time of his 1543 departure from Savona until sometime during 1547, at which time he returned to Verona.³² From this new archival and musical information it is possible to construct several new hypotheses concerning Ruffo's other activities during the years 1534-1547. For example, he may have been, like his colleague Doni who mentioned him in the Dialogo della musica (1544),³³ traveling through such Northwest Italian cities as Milan, Piacenza, Pavia, Vigevano, Novara, Alexandria, Savona, and Genoa, resting only long enough to occupy secondary musical positions for temporary time periods. The possible Visconti connection mentioned in relation to the Hermes motet suggests a stop in Pavia, while the mobility of the D'Avalos court indicates

³²Maurizio Tarrini, "Un manoscritto del XVI secolo con musiche polifoniche di Vincenzo Ruffo e Andrea Festa conservato nella Biblioteca Ariosta de Ferrara (M 107.3)," Bolletino di notizie e ricerche da Archivi e Biblioteche VI (1938), 30. Tarrini erroneously appears to credit this information to one of the Lockwood publications on Ruffo and the Counter-Reformation.

³³Antonfrancesco Doni, Dialogo della musica [Collana di Musiche Venizane Inedite e Rare 7], ed. by G. Francesco Malapiero and Virginia Fagotto (Milano: Universal, n.d.), 16-23. For biographical information on Doni see Alfred Einstein, The Italian Madrigal, trans. by Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), I, 193-201.

extensive stays in Pavia or Vigevano for which the records simply have not been found.³⁴ Furthermore, the parody mass on the Festa and Josquin motets, in addition to indicating a relationship with the D'Avalos court, also suggests the possibility of a connection with the Savonese court or cantoria, which had been under the direction of Constanzo Festa from 1528 until 1532.³⁵

Francesco Rosarino

Among the most interesting of Ruffo's Milanese colleagues was one Francesco Rosarino,³⁶ a little-known musician brought to the Milanese court by Francesco Sforza II. Rosarino, who is not included in any of the current music dictionaries or encyclopedias, appears more frequently in the Milanese court and state documents

³⁴The dating of documents in Cancellaria dello Stato di Milano 24-65, Archivio di Stato di Milano, indicates that the court spent a good deal of time in the castles at Pavia and Vigevano.

³⁵The cantoria was founded in 1528. A connection between Ruffo and the cantoria was proposed by Veronese scholar Carlo Bologna, but his source of information remains unknown. Though Scogna's archival study has unearthed nothing concerning this matter, the new musical evidence reinforces Bologna's hypothesis. See Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 15, and Scogna, "La musica nel Duomo di Savona," 259-261.

³⁶Also Roserino, Rosario.

than any other musician active in the city between 1535 and 1550, and in his dual post of canon and cantor, was perhaps the best-paid musician in Lombardia. His salary of L200 per annum plus biade privileges dwarfed even that of Matthias Werrecore, who served as cappellmeister at the Duomo of Milan from 1522-1550.³⁷

Rosarino was appointed cantor and canon at the Cathedral of Vigevano, seat of the old ducal chapel Sforza, sometime before 1535.³⁸ It is relatively certain that he was the "Roserino" recorded as cappellmeister at the Duomo of Modena from 1524 to 1526, since the *Modena, Biblioteca et Archivio capitolare del Duomo Ms Mus. III*, which was copied between 1520 and 1530, contains a hymn setting

³⁷Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 44 (1543 marzo), 217, Archivio di Stato di Milano, identifies Rosarino as a former employee of Francesco Sforza II and Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 44 (1543 marzo), 218, Archivio di Stato di Milano, indicates that Rosarino was paid L200 "sopra le biade." Matthias Werrecore's salary was L144 per annum. See Registri (Usciti) 728 and 738, as well as Vachetti 401-404, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

³⁸Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 32 (1541 gennaio), 61-62, Archivio di Stato di Milano. There were twelve canonici at the Cathedral of Vigevano between 1534 and 1550. A Vincentio Rosario, who may have been a relative of Francesco, procured a canonicate in 1540 and renounced it by early in 1542. See Correspondenza con Marchese del Vasto, Procure di Bene, Archivio del Duomo di Vigevano, and Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 36 (1542 gennaio, 24), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

by a previously unidentified "Fran. Ros" (Example 7).³⁹ If one assumes that Modena was his first major appointment, he may have been born sometime between 1490 and 1500. Rosarino probably arrived in Vigevano soon after he vacated the directorship of the Modena cappella, though the possibility that he was employed elsewhere for a portion of the period 1526 to 1535 must not yet be ruled out.

The importance attached to the Vigevano position can be gauged by the fact that the D'Avalos court spent nearly one-third of its time in that city.⁴⁰ Correspondence between Rosarino and the Milanese governor in January of 1541 reveals much concerning both the musician's responsibilities as cantor and the state of the chapel under D'Avalos. Rosarino's comments indicate that he was

³⁹Gino Roncaglia, La cappella musicale del Duomo di Modena (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1957), 22, 81, and 309, reports that the elenco of the chapel lists a Roserino as cappellmeister from 1524 to 1526. Furthermore, an inventory of music books from the year 1604 includes an *Opera di Roserini et Eustachii* that may refer to the Modena manuscript. A description of *Modena, Biblioteca et Archivio Capitolare del Duomo MS Mus. III* (Codex III) is included in David E. Crawford, Vespers Polyphony at Modena's Cathedral in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, 1967), 71-90.

⁴⁰Determined through perusal of Cancellaria dello Stato di Milano 24-65 (1538-1546), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

Example 7. Francesco Rosarino, "Sumens illud ave, Gabrielis ore," measures 1-9.

Sumens illud ave, Gabrielis ore

Fran. Ros.

5

Su- mens il- lud

Su- mens il- lud a- ve, [Su-

Su- mens il- lud a-

a-

mens il- lud a-

Su- mens il- lud a-

responsible for for teaching music to the clergy, as well' as directing the musical activities of the chapel. He also alludes to the marked decline in quality of the singers selected for the chapel, and blames this upon a general lack of governmental attention and commitment:

Most Illustrious and Excellent Prince

Considering that the devoted and humble servant of your Excellency prete Francesco Rosarino of Vercelli, Canon and Cantor of the Cathedral of Vigevano, keeping in mind the happy memory of signor Duca Francesco, has labored to teach music to the clergy and others in this church in order to maintain said music to the glory of God and honor of said church, and not having that help given him by the aforementioned signor Duca, nor the authority to select clergy of adequate voice, is not able to continue this music as has been done in the past, for which it was ordered that he be given lire 200 every year. . . unless it be made better.⁴¹

⁴¹"Illustrissimo et excellentissimo princeps// Expone il devoto et humil servo de vostra Excellentia prete// Francisco rosarino de Vercelli Canonico et Cantor' della chiesa// di vigevano qualmente vivendo la felice memoria del signor Duca// Francesco piglava fatica insegnar la musica in questa// chiesa all clerici et altri per mantener essa musica// a laude de Iddio et honor di essa chiesa, et per non//haver quello aiuto che gli dava il passato signor Duca, ne autorita// di eliger' clerici idonei di voci, non puo continuar' quella// si bona musica come faceva per il passato, per la qual// gli eva ordianto et daro lir' 200 ogni anno . . . oltra che gli eva fatto di meglio." Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 32 (1541 gennaio), 24, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

Rosarino's comments concerning the declining state of the ducal chapel are couched within a much more personal complaint, namely the cancelleria's delinquency in paying the cantor's salary. In fact, the fondo Mandati of the *Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano*, which contains the bulk of official payment notices for the D'Avalos court, records no payments to Rosarino for the years 1536-1540.⁴² Although the cantor's supplication was approved and immediately forwarded to the director of the biade,⁴³ it appears that the matter underwent a thorough investigation reaching back to the year 1535. As a result, actual payment of the sum owed Rosarino was finally released, but with the stipulation that it be awarded according to the salary divisions and payment periods specified by the cancelleria for the year 1535.

25 January 1541

Johannes Giovanni Trecco, treasurer, to the director of the biade: As the well-remembered [and] most Illustrious and Excellent Signor Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, intended, I pay L200 Imperial to the Cantor of the Church of Vigevano, as he was to be paid by the administration of the biade from the

⁴²Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano XXII/1-2 (Mandati 1536-1540), Archivio di Stato, Milano.

⁴³See Appendix A, Documents 4 and 5, both of which are dated 25 January 1541.

year 1535, that is L100 at the end of August and L100 at the end of September. And in this [I] pay him as it was written and now is underwritten.⁴⁴

Sometime during 1541 the prescribed schedule of payment of Rosarino's salary was altered from two installments of L100 per year to four installments L50 that were to be paid on a quarterly basis. Rosarino's salary problems were, however, far from over. An

⁴⁴Jo: Gio: Trecco, Tesaurio al Magrato delle biade faccio fede' come lo Illustrissimo et excellentissimo signor Francesco// sforza felice memoria duca de' Milano fece' assignate de libro duecento Imperiali al Cantore della Giesa di vigevano da essergli pagato somma l'intrato delle biade ciò e L100 alla fine// d'agosto et L100 all'ultimo de settembre del anno 1535, et così io gli paggia, et // per lo ho scritto et sotto scritto la presente." Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 32 (1541 gennaio), 62, Archivio di Stato di Milano. This note was appended to Rosarino's original letter.

entry in the registry dated 2 May 1542 indicates that the cantor was still owed L50 of his salary from the year 1541, as well as the entire sum of L200 for the year 1542.⁴⁵

Lack of adequate accessible funds soon plunged Rosarino into debt. By 15 May 1542 he had been condemned for twenty-six scudi owed the biada, an action that hardly seems fair considering that the cancelleria's own neglect probably placed him in that untenable position. The cancelleria, recognizing the injustice of the situation, granted a pardon and struck the cantor's debt from the books. Its reply to Rosarino's supplication for clemency reveals that the cantor had several children in his care at this time, suggesting that he may have married shortly after leaving Modena in 1526.

To the Director [of the Biade]

In Milan

15 May 1542

Wishing to exercise clemency towards Rosario, from whom stems the enclosed supplication, I attest to his poverty and inability [to pay], as well as the number of children that he has. We state and swear to you that we are informed of the aforementioned inability and burden of the children. [The transfer of] the debts to you nullifies the condemnation and frees him from the s26, and it remains paid to the common

⁴⁵Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 34v, Archivio di Stato di Milano. See Appendix A, Document 6 for a complete transcription and translation.

cause. We liberate him for the present, writing to the podestà opportunely, in order that he not be molested about it because it is stricken from our memory.⁴⁶

The following year Rosarino again was placed in the position of having to remind the cancelleria that his pay was past due.⁴⁷ This time, however, the podestà of Vigevano intervened on the cantor's behalf, requesting that the payments be forwarded promptly. The podestà also indirectly chastized the office of the cancelleria for its repeated inability to remember Rosarino's salary by suggesting that the matter be handled by the local office in the future.

Very magnificent Signor:

As your signoria must remember, L200 above [the use of] the biade were assigned to the Cantor of Vigevano. And because, as you will see through his supplication included here requesting payment of the aforementioned L200, he asked me

⁴⁶"Al Magrato// In Milano a die XV// di maggio 1542// Volendo usar' clementia verso como lo Rosario// del quale e l'Inserta supplicatione, atteso la// poverta et Inhabilità sua. Et is numero di figli// quale ha. Vi dicemo et commetemo che constan// do ni della Inhabilita et gravamento predetta di figli. Il debbiarti far' cassar' La condemna// tione et Liberarlo per L's26 et resta pagar// alla causa communiter noi per la presente lo liberiamo// scrivando al podesta opportunamente acciò non lo molesti// nil che vergati La mente nostra." Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 38 (1542 maggio), 121, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁴⁷Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 44 (1543 marzo), 219, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

if you are able to put them down without [his] having to send notices year after year. It seemed to me [better] to remit it to our signoria, which seems to be possible if you make the statement directly to him, because beyond the obvious will of the well-remembered Duke that continues this work lies [the importance of] mental fitness. And I will have title of the contents. Vigevano, 29 march 1543. At your command.⁴⁸

Apparently, the cancelleria ignored the podestà's suggestion, and the podestà's letter did not allay Rosarino's fears. In November of the same year the cantor again wrote to the cancelleria, this time to ascertain the availability of funds for payment of his 1544 salary.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Prince

Your Excellency's devoted and most loyal servant prete Francesco Rosarino of the Church of Vigevano, remembering that Your Excellency already has assigned him L200 per year for the past three years, as did the most Illustrious and Excellent signor Duke Francesco of fond memory, for reason of his office in the aforementioned church. He humbly requests

⁴⁸"Molto Magnifico signor: Como la signoria vostra si deve ricordar' furono assignate libr' 200. a// Cantor' qua della Chiesa maggior' sop.' le Biade. Et perche// mi ha pregato como verera per la sua supplicatione che sarà// qui inclusa a voler' farli assignar' dette 200. libre di sorte// che le possi haver' senza ch' ogni anno se li habbi sopra di cio// ad espedir' mandati. Mi e parso remetterla a vostra signoria alla// quale parendoli che si possi far.' se gli facci l'espeditiione// perche oltra l'volunta che si vede del Duca bona memoria parmi// che per le continoe fatiche che dura ne sij mentevole. Et Habero Titolo la contenti. Di Vigevani a XXIX di marzo 1543.// Al comando di vostro signor." Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 44 (1543 marzo), 219, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

that confirmation of it will be given to him for the year 1544, and for honor in order that he is able to persevere in the service of this church with good spirit and devotion to the glory of God. Praying for your Majesty and your Excellency's good health.⁴⁹

The officers of the cancelleria apparently felt the need to clarify the terms of Rosarino's original contract once more, for a copy of the results from the 1541 investigation of the contractual matter was appended to Rosarino's November 1543 letter of inquiry.⁵⁰

⁴⁹"Illustrissimo et excellentissimo princeps// Il devoto et fidelissimo servo di vostra Excellentia prete Francesco rosarino// Canonico et Cantor' della chiesa de vigevano, expone qualmente// vostra Excellentia gia tre anni passati gli ha fatto assignar' libr' duecento// ogni anno come faceva lo Illustrissimo et excellentissimo signor Duca Francesco di// bona memoria per causa del officio suo in detta chiesa. Supplica humilmente quella se degni confirmar' gli sia// data anchor per l'anno MDXXXVIII, et per laudemir [sic]// accio possa en maggior animo et devotione perservar// in servitio di essa chiesa a laude de Iddio. pregando di// continuo per la salute di Signor Majesta, et di Vostra Excellentia." Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 46 (1543 novembre), 127, Archivio di Stato di Milano. The accompanying notice from the podestà is dated 28 November 1543.

⁵⁰Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 46 (1543 novembre), 126-128, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

In looking towards the year 1545, Rosarino repeated the tactics he had adopted for the year 1544.⁵¹ The old adage "better safe than sorry" evidently had some application to his situation. It appears that the eminent Cantor of Vigevano, "persevering in the memory of Francesco Sforza," had himself been all but forgotten. Nor had the situation improved by the time of Rosarino's death in late 1549,⁵² for his successor, Giovanni Maria Minolta, fell into even less sympathetic hands. A document from 3 April 1561 reveals that payments to Minolta were delinquent by as much as seven years.⁵³

⁵¹See Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 54 (1544 novembre), 28-29, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁵²A document dated 12 May 1561 from the fondo Culto: parte antica 1420 (Vigevano), sezione 1 (Canonici cantori), Archivio di Stato di Milano, states that the election of Rosarino's successor was initiated several months after the cantor's January 1550 death.

⁵³Culto: parte antica 1420 (Vigevano), sezione 1 (Canonici cantori), Archivio di Stato di Milano, contains a Minolta supplication that lays out his credits and debits for the years 1552-1560. At that time Minolta was still awaiting payments for the second half of 1554, as well as for the years 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, and 1560.

Andrea de Germanis

Andrea de Germanis, a tenor who joined Milan's cathedral cappella in late 1541,⁵⁴ can be firmly identified as a singer at the Milanese court as early as 1525. A brief notice dated 20 August 1525 regarding a benefice supplication presented to the cancelleria identifies Andrea as "our cantor."⁵⁵ Two documents concerning papal benefices which were copied into the ducal registers on 31 August and 4 September of 1523 suggest that he actually joined the chapel sometime prior to the year 1523. The document of 31 August indicates that Andrea was appointed to a recently vacated cappellania in the St. Blase Chapel of Santa Maria Adurni.⁵⁶ That of 4 September, which further elaborates upon the circumstances

⁵⁴Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 250r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. The notice of appointment is dated 12 December 1541. Here he is erroneously referred to as Ambrosius de germanis. The Vachetti and Registri, however, consistently identify him as Andreas de germanis.

⁵⁵Sforzesca: Registri ducali 84 (Benefizi 1525-1535), 17v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁵⁶Sforzesca: Registri ducali 73 (Benefizi 1517-1523), 11r-v, Archivio di Stato di Milano. The chapel's cappellania was vacated by Johann Antonius de Canevarijs, who was unable to continue his duties because of illness.

surrounding the vacancy and transfer of the benefice, states that the cappellania carried with it appointment to a canonicate.⁵⁷

In October 1531 Andrea was appointed cappellano in the ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala.⁵⁸ The register entry fails to indicate whether or not the post was that of a cappellanato chorale. Unfortunately, no chapel rosters from this period are known to be extant, but some clarification of this matter appears in the form of surviving legal documents connected to the chapel. A ducal privilege issued the chapel in May 1532 mentions that one archiprete, one archidiacono, several canonici, and a choir comprised the chapel roster.⁵⁹ A second document probably dating from the late sixteenth century further illuminates the matter by stating that the chapel "consists in pre-established ecclesiastical appointments of

⁵⁷Sforzesca: Registri ducali 73 (Benefizi 1517-1523), 19v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁵⁸Sforzesca: Registri ducali 84 (Benefizi 1525-1535), 152r-v. An earlier register entry for Andrea de germanis involving the same chapel is struck through. See Sforzesca: Registri ducali 84 (Benefizi 1525-1535), 140 r-v, Archivio di Stato di Milano. The ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala was only one of several ducal chapels operating concurrently in sixteenth-century Milan. This issue will be dealt with at length in Chapter II.

⁵⁹Culto: parte antica 1115 (Capitolo di Santa Maria della Scala), n.p., Archivio di Stato di Milano.

an archiprete, an archidiacono, and fourteen canonici, as well as eight cappellani corali, all of whom are full-time residents."⁶⁰ The roster of current benefice holders accompanying this statement additionally specifies that two of the eight cappellani corali also assume the responsibility of maestri di coro,⁶¹ a fact that suggests the choir itself was fairly large. Since Andrea's appointment was specified as a cappellano rather than a canonico, it is likely that he served Santa Maria della Scala in the capacity of a cappellano corale.

Although the ducal registers reveal no further benefice transactions involving Andrea, it seems likely that he remained at the ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala at least until 12 December 1541, after which time he is recorded as a regular member of the Milanese Cathedral Chapel under Matthias

⁶⁰" . . .consiste in un Preposito Mitrato, un'// Archiprete, un'Archidiacono, e quattordecì Canonici con L'additione// di otto Capellani Corali tutti residenti quotidianamente. . ." Ibid. Though this document is undated, the chapel roster contained suggests an approximate dating of 1565-1578. See the extended discussion regarding this document in Chapter II below.

⁶¹Ibid.

Werrecore.⁶² His name continues to appear on the Milanese Cathedral payment rosters until at least 14 August 1549, at which time he was still receiving the standard stipend of L18 per quarter paid the ordained full-time singers.⁶³

Like many of the singers hired by the Milanese Cathedral during the sixteenth century, Andrea seems to have composed no music. Instead, his livelihood was dependent upon cappella musicale appointments and revenue generated by ecclesiastical benefices. The systematic acquisition of both local and papal benefices as a means of securing additional financial support was practiced by at least one-fourth of the 1535-1550 Milanese cathedral cappella's adult personnel,⁶⁴ and was a necessary survival technique of the sixteenth-century Milanese singer.

⁶²Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 250r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁶³Registri 738 (1544-1550), 172r-v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. The payments for the first six months of 1549 are recorded here.

⁶⁴This will be dealt with in greater detail below.

The Milanese State Trumpeters and Drummers

The average annual salaries for musicians of the period suggest that the state placed considerably greater value on its instrumental musicians, for the highest paid group in Milan was the state trumpeters. D'Avalos' permanent retinue of eight court and city trumpeters can be traced, with some divergence in job classification and salary, to the ducal court of Francesco Sforza II.

Eight trumpeters were recorded as serving the ducal court of Francesco Sforza II as early as 1525. At that time all eight received an equivalent stipend of L20 per month,⁶⁵ but following the death of Francesco Sforza in 1535, several alterations in status and pay were implemented. On 2 January 1537, governor Mario Ascanio Caracciolo⁶⁶ awarded each of the eight trumpeters L60 for services

⁶⁵Sforzesca: Registri ducali 26 (Affari fiscali 1522-1538), 122r, Archivio di Stato di Milano. "Trombeti ducali no. 8 a L20 il mese caduno." Though the list containing this entry is undated, it falls among the records for 1525.

⁶⁶Francesco Sforza was succeeded by Antonio De Leyva, who served as governor and commander of the military forces in Lombardy from 1535-1536. On 4 August 1536 Caracciolo was appointed governor and grand chancellor of the Duchy of Milan, while De Leyva retained command of the military forces. See Gaspare De Caro, "Caracciolo, Maria Ascanio," Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Società Grafica Romana, 1976), XIX, 414-425.

rendered the court during the previous year. The payment notice suggests that the L60 was the last of two or more payments made for the year 1536.

. . . We are content and committed to respond to our trumpeters listed below with the sum of L60; the aforementioned L60 imperial that falls to them will completely satisfy all those who are able to go to the cancelleria to receive their provision for the present year. . . ⁶⁷

By June 1537 Caracciolo had divided the eight trumpeters into two diverse groups. Six of them, designated on 4 June 1537 as the city trumpeters, were assigned a new yearly stipend of L80.⁶⁸ The two others, Battista Birago and Augustino Mazadro, were omitted altogether from the list appended to the 4 June 1537 document, but are identified as court trumpeters in a document dated 17 December 1538. The new stipend assigned them was L36

⁶⁷". . . Siamo contenti, et vi commettemo// faciate responder' alli Infri' Trombetti nostri// con la summa de libre sessanta, suie L60 s0// imperiali per achaduno di loro, quale serano// per integra satisfacione de tutto quello// potessano adi alla Cesarea Camera per// causa dela provisione sua del'anno//passato. . ." Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/1 (Mandati 1536-1538), 29v-30r, Archivio di Stato di Milano. A list of the trumpeters and their respective salaries 1536-1546 appears in Table 1.

⁶⁸Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/1 (Mandati 1536-1538), 80v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

per quarter, an amount nearly L100 per annum less than the salary they had received under Francesco Sforza.⁶⁹ Further documentation of the entire matter appears in a 1538 ducal registry dedicated to miscellaneous financial affairs where a clear distinction in rank and pay is made between the "Marchese's trumpeters" and "other trumpeters of the city."⁷⁰

As might be expected, the city trumpeters were not at all pleased with what was an obvious economy on the part of governor Caracciolo. Giovanni Antonio Birago and Joanedra Cozo, who are named on the January 1537 roster of city trumpeters, may have resigned in protest, since by June 1537 they had been replaced.⁷¹ Shortly after D'Avalos took office in 1538, the city trumpeters

⁶⁹Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/2 (Mandati 1538-1540), 45r, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁷⁰Sforzesca: Registri ducali 26 (Affari fiscali 1522-1538), 135r, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁷¹See Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/1 (Mandati 1536-1538), 29v-30r and 80r, Archivio di Stato di Milano. A selected set of payment rosters for the court and city trumpeters 1536-1546 appears in Table 1. The cancelleria records from the 1540's report several payments to one Gio: Antonio Birago for unspecified services on the feast of San Ambrogio. See, for example, Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/3 (Mandati 1541), 51r, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 59r, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

registered a formal protest with the cancelleria. Their request that the cancelleria reinstate the L20 monthly salary awarded under the former Francesco Sforza⁷² was apparently ignored, since the payment records indicate that the changes instituted under Caracciolo were retained.⁷³ Surprisingly, none of the trumpeters abandoned the D'Avalos court in search of a more profitable situation, for no personnel changes than the June 1537 replacements can be found before 1546.

The trumpeters, discontent, may have resorted to subversion and rebellion. On 10 April 1539, Captain Arze, commander of the armies stationed at Como, requested that the cancelleria issue a mandate confirming his authority over forces stationed in the city. His request cites the disrespectful behavior of the trumpeters as one of his current administrative difficulties:

⁷²Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 41 (1542 non datato), 111, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Though this document is contained in the busta of undated documents for the year 1542, its text is concerned with events that properly place it in 1538.

⁷³See Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/2-5 (Mandati 1538-1546), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

Table 1. Selected Annual Payment
Rosters for Court and City Trumpeters 1536-1546.⁷⁴

<u>January 1537</u> (partial salary for 1536)		<u>June 1537</u>	
Augustino Mazadro	L60		
Battista Birago	L60		
Georgio Cattaneo	L60	Georgio Cattaneo, city	L80
Giorgio Pisono	L60	Giorgio Pisono, city	L80
Camillo di Giuliani	L60	Camillo di Giuliani, city	L80
Petro da Septimo	L60	Petro da Septimo, city	L80
Gio: Antonio Birago	L60	Francesco Pisono, city	L80
Joanedra Cozo	L60	Olivero Mariano, city	L80
 <u>December 1538</u>			
Augustino Mazadro, court	L144		
Battista Birago, court	L144		
Georgio Cattaneo, city	L80		
Giorgio Pisono, city	L80		
Camillo di Guilliani, city	L80		
Petro da Septimo, city	L80		
Francesco Pisono, city	L80		
Olivero Mariano, city	L80		

⁷⁴The information provided in this table was compiled from Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/1-5 (Mandati 1537-1546), Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XV/1-4 (Missive 1538-1546).

February 1541

Augustino Mazadro, court	L144
Battista Birago, court	L144
Giorgio Cattaneo, city	L80
Giorgio Pisono, city	L80
Camillo di Guilliani, city	L80
Petro da Septimo, city	L80
Francesco Pisono, city	L80
Olivero Mariano, city	L80

January 1544

Augustino Mazadro, court	L144
Battista Birago, court	L144
Giorgio Cattaneo, city	L80
Giorgio Pisono, city	L80
Camillo di Guilliani, city	L80
Petro da Septimo, city	L80
Francesco Pisono, city	L80
Olivero Mariano, city	L80

January 1546

Augustino Mazadro, court	L144
Battista Birago, court	L144
Giorgio Cattaneo, city	L80
Giorgio Pisono, city	L80
Camillo di Guilliani, city	L80
Petro da Septimo, city	L80
Francesco Pisono, city	L80
Olivero Mariano, city	L80

. . . the podestà here has used powers that did not befit his office, namely by obstructing [me] so that the trumpeters do not obey me, [but instead] continue to come and go as they please and [behave] somewhat inappropriately. I request that your signoria ask this signoria on my behalf not to interfere in my office, and I will not interfere in its. And I expect a reply from your signoria regarding that which I am reporting and recommending. From Como on 10 April 1539.⁷⁵

Whether or not trumpeters from the Milanese company were among those involved is unclear, as Arze does not elaborate by providing the names of the offending individuals, but the documents strongly indicate that the court trumpeters often traveled with either the governor's retinue or other Milanese military officials.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ . . . il signor podestà quà ha in questo usati// termini, che non erano di suo ufficio, cioè in// proibire che li Trombetti non mi obediscano non// cessando di cercar'via di potere venire meco à// qualche inconveniente. Prego vostra signoria in mio nome supplicati// quelli signoria che provedino che non si intrometti in mio// ufficio, poi ch'io non mi intrometto del suo e di ciò// da vostra signoria expetto risposta alla qual mi offero// e raccomando. Da Como alli X aprile M.D.XXXIX. Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 26 (1539 aprile), 2, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁷⁶Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 37 (1542 marzo), 8, Archivio di Stato di Milano. This general list of debits and credits for the first few months of 1542 mentions that the trumpeters had been sent to several diverse locations. Also see the comments below.

Four surviving documents concerning transactions between Battista Birago and the local biade in Lombardia illustrate the versatility of D'Avalos' court trumpeters. Moreover, they reveal that the Milanese court trumpeter was expected to fill a variety of official roles, not all of which were musical in nature. The earliest of these is a 1539 order issued by the cancelleria mandating that the biada at Nizza supply Birago with horses, grain, food, and other necessities during his stay in that city.⁷⁷ The second, and perhaps the most revealing, is a reimbursement notice dated 18 October 1544 indicating that Birago had recently been awarded 18 scudi for expenses incurred while carrying "certain extremely important legitimate goods" from Torino.⁷⁸ The third communique, which was sent while Birago was traveling in the Northern Italian border area near Como, orders that he be advanced 20 scudi from the cash holdings at Pelizoni and a further 30 scudi gratis at Mariano for

⁷⁷Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 27 (1539 agosto), 47, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁷⁸". . . certe legitime merce Importantissime." Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 139r, Archivio di Stato di Milano. A complete transcription and translation of the register entry is included in Appendix A, Document 7.

trips to be made between those cities and Como.⁷⁹ A fourth entry issued from Genoa on 16 May 1545 again places Birago in the Como region, this time with biada privileges and a considerable stipend for unspecified services.

On the 16 of May 1545 from Genoa. A mandate to the Magrato that he give license to Battista, trumpeter, to remove 100 lire of the biada from the cash holdings of Pelizoni and Mariano. And allow him to travel in the jurisdiction of Signore Grisoni gratis and without payment of bills . . .⁸⁰

The Milanese custom of using trumpeters as royal messengers was not uncommon. In his *Versuch einer Anleitung zur heriosch-musikalischen Trompeter- und Pauker- Kunst* (1795), Johann Ernst

⁷⁹Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 56 (1545 febbraio), 62, Archivio di Stato di Milano. This notice does not specify the amounts as scudi or lire, but because earlier entries of this type tend to be given in scudi, I have assumed that equivalent measurements were used here.

⁸⁰"Adi 16 Maggio 1545 in Genoa un mandato al Magrato che faccia// licentia a Battista Trombetta di poter levar dalla Cassina// di Pelizoni et Mariano somme cento de biada. Et// farle condurre nel paese de Signore Grisoni gratis et senza pagamento di tratta. . ." Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 165r, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Here Battista is referred to simply as "Battista Trombetta," rather than the usual "Battista Birago Trombetta." Additionally, the monetary system utilized is unspecified. Since one scudo was equivalent to approximately 5.5 lire, it is probable that lire were intended here.

Altenburg listed emissarial duties among the traditional responsibilities of trumpeters and kettledrummers serving the courts of St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Lisbon, Madrid, Versailles, London, Copenhagen, Stockholm, Warsaw, and the Italian principalities.⁸¹ Similar practices are also recorded at the fourteenth-century court of Burgundy.⁸²

In addition to the six city and two court trumpeters, two kettledrummers, each of whom received six scudi per annum, were regularly employed at the Milanese court. Unfortunately, however, their names are not recorded in the pay roster and nothing is known of their activities.⁸³ Since the kettledrummers were stationed at the Castello Sforzesco, it can be assumed that they performed the

⁸¹Johann Ernst Altenburg, Trumpeters' and Kettledrummers' Art, trans. by Edward H. Tarr (Nashville: The Brass Press, 1974), 28-29.

⁸²See Craig Wright, Music at the court of Burgundy, 1364-1416 (Henryville, Ottawa, and Binnigen: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1979), 38.

⁸³The payment rosters merely indicate that two kettledrummers stationed at the Castello di Milano (Castello Sforzesco) were paid yearly stipends of six scudi (thirty-three lire) in January 1542 and January 1544. See Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XV/2 (Missive 1541-1543), 70v, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XV/3 (Missive 1543-1545), 102r, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

usual duties assigned court trumpeters and kettledrummers. These included announcing ambassadors and dignitaries, summoning guests to meals, performing at ceremonies and banquets, and assisting in both the supervision of servants and delivery of royal communiques.⁸⁴

Concluding Observations

One of the principal problems in tracing the activity of sixteenth-century Milanese musicians through archival sources stems from the fact that the jurisdiction of the Milanese duchy encompassed much of northern Italy and portions of southern Switzerland. Consequently, the domestic and government archives are both extensive and diverse in content. This is particularly true of the *Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato*, the *Cancelleria dello Stato*, and the *Notarile*. Information on musicians at the Milanese court 1538-1546, in many cases, remains sketchy despite intensive archival research. There are many casual references to musicians who were working in the duchy during this time period, but few are cited individually. Among minor figures mentioned in the documents

⁸⁴Altenburg, op. cit., 28-30.

are found, however, theorist Hieronymo Cardano,⁸⁵ viola da gambist Leone de Altiare,⁸⁶ cantor Giovanni Battista Farufino,⁸⁷ and drummer Jacobo di Frumenti.⁸⁸

A second difficulty in interpreting the sources arises from the fact that several chapels designated as ducal appear to have operated concurrently in sixteenth-century Milan, and which of these ducal chapels was serving the court at a given time is often unclear. For this reason, study of the musical activity in the city cannot be

⁸⁵See, for example, Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XV/5 (1545-1546), Archivio di Stato di Milano. Cardano was a medical professor at the Università di Pavia. In his autobiographical De vita propria liber, trans. by Jean Stoner (New York: E. P. Dutton, Inc., 1930), 16, Cardano mentions that D'Avalos "acted as his patron" sometime following their initial acquaintance during the year 1542. Cardano's writings on music are collected in Hieronymus Cardanus, Writings on Music [Musicological Studies and Documents 32], trans. by Clement A. Miller (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1973).

⁸⁶Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 51 (1544 maggio), 194, Archivio di Stato di Milano. This document will be discussed at length in Chapter II.

⁸⁷Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 47 (1544 non datato), 29, Archivio di Stato di Milano. At this time the cantor was involved a family litigation brought to the attention of the cancelleria.

⁸⁸Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 57 (1545 maggio), 27 and 50, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Jacopo was appealing a five-year sentence to the dungeon that had been assigned in 1538.

consolidated into the investigation of one ducal chapel and the Duomo cappella. As will be seen below, D'Avalos not only had access to personnel from a variety of ducal establishments, but also borrowed musicians and clergy from other churches in the city.

CHAPTER II

MUSICAL ACTIVITY AT THE DUCAL COURT OF ALFONSO D'AVALOS

By 1550 Milan was the third-largest city in Italy.¹ Its major industries included fabrics production, armaments manufacture, and metal-working.² As Italy's gateway city on the Alps crossing, Milan provided a decidedly cosmopolitan and international atmosphere. Yet the Milanese state, burdened by the partial responsibility for numerous military actions initiated by Carlos V, continually fought against imminent financial ruin. Nonetheless, the city strove to preserve the reputation of financial solvency and military strength it had acquired prior to the 1535 death of Francesco Sforza II. As a result, Milan of the mid-sixteenth century was a city of stark

¹Only Naples and Venice were larger. See Peter Burke, The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 221.

²ibid., 224.

contradictions in which thrift and extravagance flourished concurrently.³

The Milanese court captured the city's political dilemma in microcosm. It was necessary, on the one hand, that Milan, a formerly powerful principality and current seat of the Imperial government in Italy, continue to exude power; much time, energy, and money, therefore, was spent on selected courtly pursuits and gala celebrations given in the name of Carlos V. A continuous lack of adequate funding, on the other hand, crippled many of the well-established courtly traditions. The Milanese court was, in fact, forced to allow certain organizations, such as the court chapel, court trumpeters, and cathedral choir of San Ambrogio in Vigevano, which had been founded by former Milanese autocracies, to limp along as best they could. This not only affected the selection and payment of the musicians, but also the patronage and management of musical and literary activity. For a young composer such as Vincenzo Ruffo, life as a Milanese musician must have seemed a perilous existence.

³This analysis results from extensive perusal of documents contained in Cancellaria dello Stato 24-60 (1538-1545), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

The Milanese Court Chapels

By the year 1538 at least four chapels designated "ducal" were operating concurrently in Milan. These included San Gottardo in Corte, Santa Maria della Scala, San Giorgio al Palazzo, and Santa Maria del Carmine. Each of these ducal chapels was established under a different Milanese dynasty and retained its ducal privilege following the decline of its sponsoring power. As was mentioned earlier, the Milanese duchy also maintained the old ducal cathedral of San Ambrogio in Vigevano. Though the records concerning musical activity in these establishments are extremely fragmentary, some information can be gleaned from the extant documentation.

San Gottardo in Corte

From 1536-1549 the ducal chapel of San Gottardo in Corte, which was founded by the Visconti, was responsible for the performance of a daily sung mass.⁴ This sung mass necessitated the participation of five clergy and one acolyte, all of whom were

⁴See, for example, Registri 738 (1544-1550), 57v-58r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

appointed and paid by the chapter of the Duomo di Milano (Santa Maria Maggiore).⁵ The mass evidently was performed in plainchant, since records consistently designate a single cantor accountable for actual performance of the ritual. The remaining four clergy, whose biannual salaries were approximately one-fifth of that received by the cantor, served as assistants.⁶ A roster of the celebrants assigned to the San Gottardo mass from 1536 to 1549, which can be compiled from Duomo pay records, demonstrates that such appointments were fairly permanent (Table 2). Moreover, records for the year 1541 indicate that the five clerical appointments were cappellanati, thus explaining the relative stability of personnel holding appointments between 1536 and 1549.⁷

⁵Ibid. Payments to the celebrants of the San Gottardo mass for the years 1536-1549 can be traced through Vachette 401-404 (1536-1543), Archivio del Duomo di Milano, and Registri 738 (1544-1550), Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁶Registri 738 (1544-1550), Archivio del Duomo di Milano, and Vachette 401-404 (1536-1543), Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁷Vachette del Duomo di Milano 403 (1540-1541), 200r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. A cappellanato is a benefice that generally requires the holder to serve as principal celebrant or chaplain in the assigned chapel. Several of the San Gottardo cappellani held other benefices as well.

Table 2. Selected Biannual Payment Rosters
for Celebrants of the Plainchant Mass at San Gottardo 1536-1549.⁸

1536

Dno pbro Donato Mazonzellis, cantor	L50
Dno pbro Ambrosio Segazono, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Ambrosio de Fenegroe, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Thome de Magnis, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Petro de Castiglione, officiant	L 9 s12
Salamoni de Proverbijs, custodian of the altar	L 8

1541

Dno pbro Donato Mazonzellis, cantor	L50
Dno pbro Ambrosio Segazono, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Ambrosio de Fenegroe, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Thome de Magnis, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Petro de Castiglione, officiant	L 9 s12
(no custodian given)	

1545

Dno pbro Donato Mazonzellis, cantor	L50
Dno pbro Ambrosio Segazono, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Ambrosio de Fenegroe, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Thome de Magnis, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Hieronymo Castiglione, officiant	L 9 s12
Guidoni de Birago, custodian of the altar	L 8

⁸Compiled from Vachette 401 (1536-1537), Archivio del Duomo di Milano, Vachette 403 (1540-1541), Archivio del Duomo di Milano, and Registri 738 (1544-1550), Archivio del Duomo di Milano. The notation "Dno pbro" is the standard abbreviation for the title "Domino presbytero."

1549

Dno pbro Donato Mazonzellis, cantor	L 50
Dno pbro Ambrosio Segazono, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Ambrosio de Fenegroe, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Thome de Magnis, officiant	L 9 s12
Dno pbro Hieronymo Castigliono, officiant	L 9 s12
Guidoni de Birago, custodian of the altar	L 8

Whether or not the daily mass performed at San Gottardo in Corte was connected with the De Leyva, Caracciolo, or D'Avalos retinues cannot be currently determined. The foundation for this mass was established in the name of Ambrosio de Porris,⁹ an individual having no proven connection with either regime. Though it is also possible that the mass was originally established for the benefit of Visconti family, it is more likely that the intention was merely commemorative.

Although there is no other extant documentation of musical activity at sixteenth-century San Gottardo in Corte, a plethora of material survives for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cappelle. The same can be said regarding documentation of official

⁹See Registri 738 (1544-1550, 57v-58r, 85v, 100v, 158r, and 169v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

actions taken by the chapter. These references to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century chapel suggest that the San Gottardo ducal cappella had long been an active one.¹⁰

Santa Maria della Scala

A sixteenth-century renewal of privilege for the ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala, founded by Francesco Sforza, indicates that by 1532 it was staffed with one archidiacono, one archiprete, an unspecified number of canonici, and a choir.¹¹ Little information pertaining to musicians active at this time is extant, though it is known that Andrea de Germanis, a Milanese tenor identified as a singer at the Sforza court in 1525, was appointed to a cappellano at Santa Maria della Scala in 1531.¹² Since no documents from the 1530's record further transfer of his benefice, it is likely that Andrea remained at Santa Maria della Scala until at

¹⁰Culto: parte antica 1078 and 1079 (San Gottardo in Corte), Archivio di Stato di Milano. The documents specific to music in these fondi are preserved beginning c. 1633.

¹¹Culto: parte antica 1115 (Capitolo di Santa Maria della Scala), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

¹²Sforzesca: Registri ducali 84 (Benefizi 1525-1535), 152r-v, Archivio di Stato di Milano. This issue is discussed at length in Chapter I.

least December 1541, at which time he accepted an appointment to the Milanese cathedral cappella.¹³

The composition of the sixteenth-century chapel at this time can be derived, in part, from a late sixteenth-century document specifying its ducal appointments.

The Royal, Ducal, and Imperial Chapter [Santa Maria] della Scala of Milan, under the patronage of His Imperial Majesty Caesar Cattolica, consists in pre-established ecclesiastical appointments of an

¹³Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 250r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

archiprete, an archidiacono, and fourteen canonici, with eight additional cappellani corali, all of whom must be full-time residents.¹⁴

A list of current personnel appended to this statement further indicates that two of the eight cappellani corali also served as maestri di coro.¹⁵ The need for two maestri di coro, in addition to six other cappellani corali, suggests that Santa Maria della Scala's late sixteenth-century cappella was uncommonly large.

¹⁴"Il Regio, Ducale, ed Imperiale Capitolo della Scala di Milano lus// Patronato di S.M.C.C.I. consiste in un Preposito Mitrato un// Archiprete, un'Archidiacono, e quattordecim Canonici, con L'additione// di otto Cappellani Corali tutti residenti quotidianamente." Culto: parte antica 1115 (Capitolo di Santa Maria della Scala), n.p., Archivio di Stato di Milano. The document is undated, but is included in a busta on which was penciled the notation "c. 1598." Though this marking is not reliable, I have been able to date the document c. 1565-1580 through an appended list of current personnel, which includes maestro di coro Gioseppe Caisio and cappellano corale Francesco Zanelli. Maestro di coro Gioseppe Caisio may be an orthographical variant of Gioseppe Caimo, who, though a resident of Milan, was seeking a position at the Bavarian court during the 1570's. Caimo served as organist at San Ambrogio (Milan) in 1564 and was hired as principal organist at the Duomo di Milano in 1580. See Iain Fenlon, "Caimo, Gioseppe," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), III, 608-609. Similarly, Francesco Zanelli is probably the Francesco Gianelli who dedicated his 1592 madrigal book to Cardinal Alessandro D'Este. Little is known about Gianelli, for he is not listed in the registri of the Ferrarese court. See Iain Fenlon, "Gianelli, Francesco," The New Grove, VII, 374.

¹⁵ibid.

In considering the probable size and staffing of cinquecento Santa Maria della Scala, however, one other significant element must be considered. Government documents recording the 1545 transfer of the Capuchin monastic orders of San Giovanni la vedra to San Vittorello presso la Porta Vercellina mention in passing that "the two ducal chapels" had been absorbed into the chapter of Santa Maria della Scala.¹⁶ The clarity of this reference, however, is obscured by several incidents regarding earlier transfers, for San Vittorello (founded in 1272) had been a Benedictine abbey until 1500, at which time its inhabitants were united with those of San Caterina di Roncate. It was after this that the Capuchins moved to San Vittorello, and, as a result, San Caterina was also legally involved in the 1545 transfer.¹⁷ Unfortunately, the notations found in the transfer papers do not clearly indicate which of the three

¹⁶Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 57 (1545 luglio) 49-52, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

¹⁷See Enrico Cattaneo, "Conventi e monasteri," Storia di Milano (Milano: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri, 1961), IX, 606-608, and Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 57 (1545 luglio), 49-52, Archivio di Stato di Milano. The Benedictine community at San Caterina di Roncate was suppressed for prostitution and profane acts in 1538 and 1539, and much of the order was then transferred to San Caterina alla Chiusa. San Vittorello was still occupied by cappucini in the early 1540's.

institutions discussed actually housed the two ducal ducal chapels. Because the transfer documents contain the only references discovered to date referring to ducal chapels at San Giovanni, San Vittorello, or San Caterina, no conclusions can be drawn concerning their musical activities. Nonetheless, the dissolution of the two unidentified ducal chapels and the absorption of their personnel into Santa Maria della Scala most certainly affected its size, and, consequently, caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions for the year 1540 from documents dated some twenty-five to forty years later.

San Giorgio al Palazzo

Extant sixteenth-century documentation regarding the ducal cappella of San Giorgio al Palazzo, which was established c. 590 under rulers Teodolina and Agilulfo,¹⁸ indicates that its established benefices included at least three cappellani corali.¹⁹ If the

¹⁸Gian Piero Bognetti, "Milano capitale teodolinana-Romani collaboratori-Missioni scismatiche," Storia di Milano (Milano: Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, 1954), II, 123.

¹⁹See the elenco Fondo di Religione: San Giorgio al Palazzo, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Litigations concerning at least three sixteenth-century cappellani corali are recorded here.

cappellano corale held by Ludovico d'Orto is any indication of the demands placed upon benefice holders at San Giorgio during the 1540's, then one might conclude that the chapel's service requirements were fairly typical of sixteenth-century Milanese appointments. D'Orto was expected to celebrate daily mass, as well as an annual public high mass and twelve private masses for the perpetual salvation of the deceased foundation donor.²⁰

San Giorgio al Palazzo must have housed, at the very least, a small choir capable of performing plainchant. An official document addressing a chapter complaint filed against a canon enacted by the Milanese diocese in 1554 indirectly discusses the daily practice of singing mass. The diocesan law in question prohibited the commencement of daily mass in Milanese churches prior to the morning ringing of the Duomo bells.

²⁰Fondo di Religione 243 (San Giorgio al Palazzo); cassetto R, carta A, numero 1; Archivio di Stato di Milano. This document, which is dated 1540, is chiefly concerned with the clarification of rent levels on leased property connected to the benefice.

December 18, 1554

Mandate of the Magnificent Giovanni Angelo Archimboldi, Archbishop of Milan [concerning the notice] sent to several chapters of the United Churches of the City: simply stated, of not ever singing the daily mass prior to the sounding of the sign at the Metropolitan Church.

With regard to the enclosed petition from the supervising Magnificent Archbishop of Your Chapter of San Giorgio and the undersigned clergy and canons of the United Church of San Giorgio al Palazzo requesting the retention of their ancient custom of singing the aforementioned mass before the sounded sign, one must abide by their constitution in order that this be decided.²¹

Though the complaint originally drawing attention to San Giorgio's lack of compliance with this law and the subsequent supplication written in the chapter's defense are appended to the archbishop's

²¹1544 18 dicembre// Ordine di Magnifico Giovanni Angelo Archimboldi, Archivescovo di Milano inti// mato ad alcuni Capitoli delle Chiese College della Città// Di non cantare in alcuno giorno la Messa Conventuale, prima che// sia suonato il segno, detto volgarmente, Comparione alla Chiesa Metropolitana. . . Con anessa una supplica al prefecto Magnifico Archivescovo, del Vostro Capitolo de San Giorgio// Propositi e Canonici delle Infrascripte Chiesa Collega di San Giorgio al Palazzo,// in cui dimandono, di essere mantenuti nella loro consue// tudine di cantar la prefata Messa, anche prima del segno suonato. E// ciò finche venga deciso, se debba attendersi la loro Consuetudine. Fondo di Religione 243 (San Giorgio al Palazzo), cassetto Q, carta P, numero 1, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

madate,²² no documents recording the outcome of this debate have been recovered. Since no further documentation of the issue survives, it would appear that San Giorgio was permitted to retain its practice of singing the first mass prior to the official ringing of the Duomo bells.

Santa Maria delle Carmine

No original records regarding the cappella ducale at Santa Maria delle Carmine²³ survive from the sixteenth century. However, fragments of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century research and a written narrative dedicated to the history of the chapel 1541-1560 survive.²⁴ Unfortunately, none of the information

²²See the appended pages of Fondo di Religione 243 (San Giorgio al Palazzo); cassetto Q, carta P, numero 1, Archivio di Stato di Milano. The complaint is dated 17 December 1544.

²³The monastery Santa Maria del Carmine was built by the Visconti during the fifteenth century. See Angiola Maria Romanini, "La chiesa di S. Maria del Carmine a Milano nella prima metà del quattrocento, Storia di Milano (Milano: Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, 1955), VI, 631-648.

²⁴Culto: parte antica 1094 (Santa Maria delle Carmine: Cappella Ducale), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

included in these documents pertains to musical activity in the chapel, nor does it offer any clue to the size and staffing of the sixteenth-century chapel.

San Ambrogio in Vigevano

Though the Castello Sforzesco in Milan replaced the Palazzo Reale in Vigevano as the principal ducal residence of the Sforza during the fifteenth century, the ducal cathedral of San Ambrogio in Vigevano retained its status as the official ducal cathedral.²⁵ No pay records from San Ambrogio survive for the period 1535-1550,²⁶ but extant correspondence between the chapter and the Milanese

²⁵See Culto: parte antica 1415-1422 (San Ambrogio in Vigevano), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

²⁶The sole cathedral register surviving for this period documents household expenditures for the year 1531. See Registri del Duomo di Vigevano serie 1, numero 16 (1531), Archivio del Duomo di Vigevano.

cancelleria reveals that its ducal benefices included twelve canonici. Of these canonici one was reserved for appointment to a cantor who essentially functioned as maestro di cappella.²⁷

The letters of Francesco Rosarino, canon and cantor of San Ambrogio c.1535-1550, indicate that the cantor's duties included instructing and directing the chapel choir.²⁸ Rosarino's letters further disclose that the quality of the singers given him under D'Avalos was inferior to that available during the reign of Francesco Sforza II. Rosarino blames this decline on both a withdrawal of governmental financial support and the cancelleria's reluctance to allow him a free hand in hiring musicians.²⁹ San Ambrogio's large

²⁷Culto: parte antica 1415 (Capitolo--Ordini), Archivio di Stato di Milano. The twelve canonici active 1534-1540 are listed in several documents of the fondo Canonici: Procure di bene, Archivio del Duomo di Vigevano, that record the creation of a canonicate for Vincentio Rosarino.

²⁸See, for example, Cancelleria dello Stato 32 (1541 gennaio), 24, Archivio di Stato di Milano. This document is translated on page 26 of Chapter I above.

²⁹Ibid.

collection of late sixteenth and seventeenth-century choirbooks,³⁰ as well as the surviving documentation of its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cappelle,³¹ suggests that the waning strength of the chapel's performing forces was revitalized at the close of the sixteenth century.

Musical Forces Borrowed from Milanese Churches

Not only the musical forces of the various ducal chapels, but also those of several churches in Milan and its environs appear to have been at D'Avalos' disposal. As one would expect, the Duomo di Milano (Santa Maria Maggiore) was frequently called upon to provide assistance at large public and ecclesiastical ceremonies. The *Trattato* (1541) of Alberto Albicante, for example, records the performance of selected polyphony, presumably by the Milanese cathedral cappella, at the Piazza del Duomo on the event of Carlo V's

³⁰There currently is no official register of the cathedral's manuscript, printed, and archival holdings. I am indebted to Dom Filiberti, curator of the Archivio del Duomo di Vigevano, for his generosity in allowing me to freely peruse the stacks.

³¹See Culto: parte antica 1415 (Capitolo--Musici et Musicisti) and 1420 (Cantori), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

1541 triumphal entry into Milan.³² The Duomo di Milano also supplied the official services for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and the feast of St. Michael each year.³³ The most interesting of the court's borrowings, however, was its temporary employment of high voices from the choirs of Santo Nazarro in Porta Romana and Santo Giovanne in Cairotta for the 1542 Corpus Christi celebration. The reimbursement documents for each establishment involved are nearly identical in content, though not in monetary assignment,³⁴ thus suggesting that the two choirs were contracted for participation in the same event or series of events scheduled for the feast.

³²Giovanni Alberto Furibondo Albicante, *Trattato dall'intrar in Milano di Carlo V* (Mediolani: A. Caluus, 1541), n.p. See the discussion of this work provided below.

³³Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 66v and 132v, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/5 (Mandati 1545-1546), 18v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

³⁴Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 44r and 47v, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Santo Giovanne in Carrotta was awarded L200, while Santo Nazarro in Porta Romana received L52 fl.10.

Alfonso et cetera.

Praises et cetera. We wish and are committed to pay the obligation of Corpus Christi, for which [is owed] the students of the church of Santo Giovanne in Carotta the sum of L200 imperial for the assistance of [their] high voices on the occasion of the feast of the aforementioned sacrament of the Body, which is celebrated every year in this church. This makes the funds available for the present year. And [signed] your treasurer as above, dated in Milan on the 9th of June 1542.³⁵

Music in Local and State Ceremonies

Extant documentation records the inclusion of music in two important civic ceremonies held during the governorship of D'Avalos. The first of these ceremonies was the annual feast of the Order of Saint Ambrose, which was celebrated each year during the three

³⁵"Alphonsus et ceterae.// Praeses et ceterae. Volemo e vi commettemo faciar' pagar' alla oblatione// del Corpuo Domini, et per Lei alli scholari de la chiesa de Santo// Giovanne in Carrotta la summe de libre ducento Imperiali per spender'// in cora bianca lavorata per causa dela solemnita d'esso sacramento Corpo, quale ogni anni si celebra in essa// chiesa, ci questo per l'anno praesente, ponendole in spesa consentia. Et vui thesauro ut supra, datum in milano il dì 9 di giugno 1542." Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 44r, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

days immediately following the feast of the Ascension.³⁶ The second was the August 1541 triumphal entry of Carlos V into Milan mentioned earlier.³⁷

The Feast of the Order of Saint Ambrose

The traditional performance of The Litany of the Order of Saint Ambrose, a ritual dedicated to the city's patron saint, is painstakingly outlined in a 1546 text entitled *Libro delle liteinie secondo l'ordine San Ambrogio per la citta di Milano*.³⁸ The ceremony essentially consisted of three days of street processions to the churches and monasteries of Milan, during which specific prayers and readings were recited or sung. Each day's procession opened and closed with services at the Duomo. Between the Duomo services, the

³⁶*Libro delle liteinie secondo l'ordine San Ambrogio per la città di Milano* (Mediolani: al Segno delle Croce d'Oro, 1546), 1v.

³⁷See Albicante, *op. cit.*, and *La entrata de la magestad cesarea* (Roma, 1541). This celebration also is briefly discussed in Lewis Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1967), 20-22.

³⁸*Libro delle liteinie*.

participating clergy processed to a designated group of Milanese ecclesiastical institutions. All the principal churches in Milan were visited by the participants at some point during the three days.³⁹

The opening services held each day in the Duomo consisted of a mass and concluding benediction at the principal altar. Following the mass and benediction, the participants processed to the Ponte Vedro singing the antiphon "Convertimini ad me."⁴⁰ Upon arriving at the Ponte Vedro, the clergy was divided into three choirs according to ecclesiastical ranking. The first choir was comprised of the archbishop, the ordinaries, and the lecturers, while the second consisted of the clergy of high rank. The third choir was reserved for everyone else, especially elderly clerics.⁴¹ One ranking clergyman and one cleric then performed the antiphon "Mestorus refugius Deus" in responsory fashion, after which the three choirs

³⁹ibid.

⁴⁰ibid., 1v-3r.

⁴¹ibid., 3r-v.

sang a twelve-fold "Kyrie eleison." The procession to the Ponte Vedro and the choral performance of the Kyrie upon arrival were repeated each day prior to departing for the churches slated for participation.⁴²

The antiphonal performance of the twelve-fold Kyrie is described as a three-fold Kyrie sung by the clergy of high rank to which the elderly clergy (third choir) respond three times in a low voice, followed by a three-fold Kyrie sung by the lettori in high voice to which the elderly clergy again respond three times in low voice.⁴³ This Kyrie not only was sung each morning at the Ponte Vedro, but also functioned as the opening litany for services held at each participating monastery and church.⁴⁴ The individual ceremonies reserved for each establishment additionally included the recitation or singing of prescribed antiphons and responsories, as well as the reading of designated selections from the Epistles.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., 3r-v.

⁴⁴Ibid., 3v.

Because each institution's service was integrated into the procession, the performances took place both before and after entry into its church.⁴⁵

At the close of each day the processing body returned to the Duomo, where a Vespers service was held. In keeping with the traditions established in earlier parts of the ceremony, the Vespers service also opened with the twelve-fold Kyrie. The antiphon "Agnus Dei" then introduced the Vespers hour.⁴⁶ In addition to the twelve-fold Kyrie, "Agnus Dei," and Vespers, the closing services of the first day included the performance of a sung mass.⁴⁷

The *Libro delle litanie* also contains canonical hours for the three days. The hours, however, are incomplete, as only the texts for Prime, Terce, Sext, and Nones, are provided,⁴⁸ leaving, one assumes, the remaining hours to be performed as was usual for the assigned feast day.

⁴⁵ibid., 4r-90r. These details of the service are outlined carefully throughout.

⁴⁶ibid., 31v-32r. Also see further comments found on 32r-90r.

⁴⁷ibid., 31v-32r.

⁴⁸ibid., 90v ff.

Although the *Libro delle litanie* is assuredly quite explicit, it does sometimes fail to designate whether a given antiphon or responsory was to be recited or sung. Moreover, the rubrics for the sung sections often lack clear instructions regarding performance style, leaving open the possibility of polyphonic performance. Indeed, several of the liturgical texts utilized in the ceremony, are featured prominently in sixteenth-century motet collections of North Italian composers. This, of course, is partly due to the fact that these texts had other significant liturgical functions as well. Among the motet settings of Litany of Saint Ambrose texts appearing in Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* (1542) are "Convertimini ad me," "Muro tuo in expugnabili," "Spem in alium," "Peccatem me quotidie," and "Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans."⁴⁹

The 1541 Triumphal Entry of Carlo V

Carlos V's triumphal entry of August 1541 into Milan was perhaps the most glittering event sponsored by the Milanese court during D'Avalos' tenure. The highlight of the emperor's ten-day visit was a processional entry into the city that was followed by a sung

⁴⁹Vincenzo Ruffo, *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (Mediolani: G. A. Castellioneus, 1542).

mass at the Duomo and a banquet at the Castello Sforzesco.⁵⁰ The amount of time and thought invested in the preparation of this celebration is evidenced by the number of lists of the processional participants drafted by the Milanese cancelleria. The final order of the processing participants was designated as follows:

- a. the clergy of Milan.
- b. the lords and other gentlemen [of Lombardy] on horseback.
- c. many gentlemen under the command of the Illustrious signor Marchese di Pescara, dressed in waistcoats with laurels [and] with swords in hand.
- d. the guard of the Illustrious and Excellent signor Marchese del Vasto.
- e. the magistrates and officials of the city.
- f. the senate with the President Grand Chancellor.
- g. the gentlemen of His Majesty [Carlo V].
- h. the designated princes and ambassadors.
- i. the principal lords and gentlemen of His Majesty's staff in designated order.
- k. the doctors, legates, and artists designated to carry the canopy.⁵¹

The first four sections of this group were to meet the Emperor at the gates of the city and escort him (and his retinue) through the streets of Milan. Particular attention was given the

⁵⁰Potenza sovrane 1, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Albicante, op. cit.

⁵¹Potenza sovrane 1, n.p., Archivio di Stato di Milano.

selection of the lords and their placement within the processing body. The final list of Milanese noblemen chosen to escort the Emperor contains forty-nine names, to which was added the name of D'Avalos as governor and commander-in-chief, making the size of the representative aristocratic body fifty. Among those selected to participate were members of the houses of Borromeo, Visconti, Gonzaga, Trivulzio, Sforza Morrono, Pusterla, Lampugnava, and Pallavicino.⁵²

Even details of dress are recorded in the cancelleria's documentation of this affair. For example, all gentlemen accompanying the emperor on foot were to be dressed in a tunic and trousers of gold brocade, a crimson velvet vest in the "current Bavarian style," crimson velvet slippers, and a crimson velvet beret with a white plume. The instructions further indicate that their vests be embroidered in gold and lined in red satin. They were to carry iron spears covered in crimson velvet, which would be attached to sheathes of the same material.⁵³

⁵²ibid.

⁵³Potenza sovrane 1, n.p., Archivio di Stato di Milano.

Two literary sources additionally record details of Carlo V's 1541 entry into Milan.⁵⁴ One of these, Giovanni Alberto Furibondo Albicante's *Trattato dal'intrar in Milano di Carlo V* (1541),⁵⁵ includes the description of musical performances occurring at various points throughout the festivities. Albicante's *Trattato*, an ottava rima consisting of eleven-syllable lines rhymed in the scheme abababcc, was published by Caluus of Milan in 1541. Following several strophes dedicated to a lengthy description of the staffing and itinerary of the processing body, four central strophes of the *Trattato* detail the events of the Duomo Mass and entrance to the banquet:

⁵⁴These include *La entrata de la majestad cesarea*, and Albicante, op. cit.

⁵⁵Giovanni Alberto Furibondo Albicante dedicated the *Trattato* to Giovanna d'Aragona di Colonna, the elder sister of Maria d'Aragona, Marchesa del Vasto. He was bestowed with the title "Milanese royal poet" following the 1538 publication of *La natomia d'amore*, which was dedicated to Alfonso d'Avalos. See A. Asor-Rosa, "Albicante, Giovanni Alberto," Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Società Grafica Romana, 1960), II, 1-2. On 16 February 1542 the Milanese cancelleria awarded the author tax-free housing at the Castello di Abbiategrasso. The transaction records suggest, but do not clearly indicate, that Albicante was a cavalry soldier. See Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XV/2 (Missive 1541-1543), 96r-v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

*Dismonta CESAR da Cavallo intento
 Pieno di Religione con Fede tanta
 E a passo a passo inanzi va contento
 (Et nel viso li danno l'acqua Santo)
 Qui non si vede, un cor che Si stia lento
 Per che si sona parla s'ode, e canta
 Tanti stamenti, di soave sono
 Ch'in fino al Cielo, ne ribomba il Tuono.*

CAESAR (Carlo V) dismounts from his horse,
 intent,
 Full of religion, with great faith,
 And step by step goes contently.
 (And they anoint his head with the sacred
 waters.)
 Here one does not see a sorrowful heart.
 Because all speak the ritual and sing.
 Many instruments resound sweetly,
 And the tone reverberates to the skies.

*Giunto al'Altar del Sacrificio vero
 Che rimembra di Christo, i Santi voti
 CARLO s'inchina, con il cor Sincero
 Con qesti Imperiali Santi, e Devoti
 E'n mezo al Concistor, del Sacro Clero,
 Et de la Fede, nostra i Sacerdoti
 Sente Cantar le Ceremonie noue,
 Et possi a ringratiar, l'eterno Giove.*

Approaching the altar of the true sacrifice
 Of the remembrance of Christ, to the votive
 saints
 Carlo bows with a sincere heart;
 To these Imperial saints and devotees
 And, in part, to the Consistory of the Sacred
 Clergy
 And the faithful. Our sacerdoti
 He hears sing the ceremony anew,
 And is able to thank the eternal Jove.

*Ritorna far del Domo, il Sacro Augusto
 Et viene alloggiamento, ove s'aspetta
 Et con voglia di risposarSi giusto
 In corte se ne va, Corte perfetta
 Qui non si vede loco, che sia angusto
 Anzi Capace, come cosa elletta
 Enta in la Corte, e non Si volge altroue
 Che s'assimiglia in Cielo al Sommo Giove.*

He returns from the Duomo, the sacred
 Augustus,
 And comes to the lodging where he is awaited.
 And with the wish to reunite properly
 Proceeds to the court. A perfect court,
 Where one sees not a place of penury,
 But rather of power, as a thing distinguished.
 He enters the court, and one does not turn
 elsewhere
 [From] he who resembles the sublime Jove in
 the sky.

*Risplendon per la corte i Loggiamenti
Camere e sale, de Brocati d'oro
In terra li Tapeti, altri gli Argenti
Con gran Recami de sottil Lavoro,
Ovunque si senton risonar stormenti
Che l'Armonia per, dal sommo choro
Questo apparato, no s'estende incharte
Che non convien lasar, la maggior parte*

Resplendent is the court; the loggie,
Rooms, and halls; of gold brocade
The tapestries on the floor; others of silver
With delicately worked embroidery.
Everywhere they hear the instruments
resound
With harmony that seems a sublime chorus.
This display is not done justice by
documentation;
The major part must be left.

*Havea parlato, la gran Corte intiera
Quel Unico splendor del VASTO elletto . . .
Tutte le fiffe, con l'erranti stelle.*

Having spoken, the grand court enters
That unique splendor of the VAST(O) elect. . . .
All the fifes [sound], with the errant stars.⁵⁶

The sung portions of the Duomo mass held in the Emperor's honor must certainly have included polyphony. The Milanese cathedral cappella of 1542, under the direction of Hermann Matthias Werrecore, boasted a complement of twenty-one singers. Its vocal staffing of five contrabassi, three tenori, four contralti, seven soprani, and two unspecified adult singers was especially suited to the singing of four and five-part literature.⁵⁷ A roster of the instrumental musicians participating in various facets of the

⁵⁶Albicante, *op. cit.*, n.p.

⁵⁷See *Vachette* 404 (1542-1543), 4v-90r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. Records of the payments issued during 1542 are spread throughout. The two unspecified singers received a reduced salary of L4s16 per month.

celebration has not yet surfaced, though several entries in the Duomo registry for the years 1535-1536 indicate that instruments were used at the cathedral on occasion.⁵⁸

Secular Music at the Milanese Court

Though direct archival documentation of secular music-making at the Milanese court is scant, the amount of printed music surviving from the period strongly suggests that the Milanese court actively encouraged the composition of Italian secular genres. As in other metropolitan areas of Italy, the madrigal and lute intabulation appear to have been particularly favored.

Cultivation of the Madrigal

Maria d'Avalos' penchant for literary patronage created fertile ground for cultivation of the madrigal. The humanists and poets attracted to this Aragonese cousin of Vittoria Colonna hailed largely from Naples, Venice, and Milan, though other Italian cultural

⁵⁸An entry for May 1535, for example, notes the payment of trumpeters and violinists. See Registri 728, 1535 maggio, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

centers were represented as well. Venetian writer Bernardo Cappello and the Neopolitan court poets Bernardino Matirano, Ferrante Carafa, and Luigi Tansillo honored her with numerous ottave rime and sonnetti lauding her great beauty and virtuous character. Niccolò Franco dedicated his *Dialoghi della bellezza* to her, and Pietro Aretino composed his *Vita di Caterina vergine e martire* (1541) and *Vita di San Tommaso beato* (1543) at her behest.⁵⁹ She and Alfonso corresponded regularly with humanist poet Girolamo Muzio,⁶⁰ and sponsored visits by both Giovanni Alberto Albicante and Luca Contile at the Milanese court between the years

⁵⁹See the discussion and selected literary examples in F. Fiorentino, "Donna Maria D'aragona, Marchesa del Vasto," Nuova antologia XLIII (1884), 219-229. Also see G. Innamorati, "Aretino, Pietro," Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Società Grafica Romana, 1962, IV, 89-104.

⁶⁰Fiorentino, 221-225. Muzio and Luca Contile accompanied D'Avalos to the Diet of Worms called by Carlo V in 1545. See C. Mutini, "Contile, Luca," Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Società Grafica Romana, 1983), XXVIII, 498.

1538 and 1544.⁶¹ Yet it was Maria, rather than her husband, who attracted the majority of the literary figures associated with their Milanese court.⁶²

Alfonso d'Avalos, a military commander who had little time for courtly pursuits during his Milanese tenure, was himself somewhat of a literary talent. He is known to have composed several ottave rime and sonetti, the most famous of which include "Correte, o fiumi" and "Anchor che col partire."⁶³ The latter of these, which was dedicated to Maria, has been immortalized in a

⁶¹Contile claims to have been in service to D'Avalos in 1542, at which time he was still officially in the employ of Cardinal Agostino Trivultio. It is thought that he may have been resident in Milan during 1543-1544, though no record of official service at the court survives. See Mutini, op. cit., 497. Albicante appears sporadically in cancellaria documents during 1541 and 1542. Asor-Rosa, loc. cit., notes that he was named Milanese royal poet in 1538.

⁶²Italian literary scholars generally agree on this point. See Fiorentino, op. cit., and Mutini, loc. cit.

⁶³ibid., 218 and 225. Lockwood, op. cit., 23, also credits him with the famous "Il bianco e dolce cigno," but Antonfrancesco Doni, Dialogo della Musica (1544) [Collana di Musiche Veneziane Inedite e Rare 7], ed. by G. Francesco Malapiero and Virginia Fagotto (Milano: Universale, n.d.), XXII, identifies the sonnet as belonging to Luigi Cassola.

setting by Cipriano de Rore. Pietro Aretino, in fact, spoke highly of Alfonso's literary skill in several extant letters written to various patrons.

I have a right to be afraid since the things they compose bring them as much esteem as the glory they win from arms. . . Nor do I even mention Lord Luigi Gonzaga, but my silence about him bears witness to an excellence in this vein which almost equals that of the marvelous Marquis of Vasto.⁶⁴

The relationship between Alfonso d'Avalos and Pietro Aretino is of particular interest, for, aside from the sponsorship of Albicante and Contile and correspondence with Girolamo Muzio that he shared with Maria, it proves to be the best single piece of evidence regarding D'Avalos' status as a great Milanese patron of the arts and letters.⁶⁵ Though Aretino was residing permanently in Venice, the Milanese cancelleria paid him a stipend of 200 scudi per

⁶⁴From Aretino's letter of 5 April 1542 to aspiring poet Captain Francesco Faloppia. See Pietro Aretino, The Letters of Pietro Aretino, trans. by Thomas Caldecot Chubb (New Haven: Archon Books, 1967), 175-176.

⁶⁵Alfonso D'Avalos is not totally without credits as a patron of letters. In 1531 D'Avalos provided Ludovico Ariosto, who later gave him one of the first published copies of *Orlando furioso*, a pension of L100 per annum for life. See the opening commentary in Ludovico Ariosto, Orlando furioso, trans. and ed. by Guido Waldman (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), viii-ix.

annum during D'Avalos' tenure.⁶⁶ Credit for such liberal sponsorship cannot rightfully be given D'Avalos, however, for this arrangement, like many others entered into by the D'Avalos court, had been in effect since the time of Francesco Sforza II.⁶⁷ In a letter to D'Avalos' Venetian ambassador Don Lope de Soria, Aretino praised the additional compensation offered him by the overly generous Milanese governor,⁶⁸ just as he had earlier lauded the generosity of D'Avalos' predecessor Antonio de Leyva.⁶⁹ This suggests that he may have been attempting to insure his Milanese post through flattery of the city's dignitaries.

⁶⁶Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/2 (Mandati 1538-1540), 128v-129r, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Similar entries can be found in the Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/1 (Mandati 1536-1538) and XXII/3 (Mandati 1540-1541), Archivio di Stato di Milano. Also see Cancelleria dello Stato 44 (1543 marzo), 162 and 181, and Cancelleria dello Stato 47 (1543 dicembre), 249, Archivio di Stato di Milano, both of which deal with belated payments of Aretino's stipend.

⁶⁷Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/1 (1536-1538), 50r, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁶⁸From Aretino's letter of 1 February 1540. Aretino, The Letters, 155-159.

⁶⁹See Pietro Aretino, Selected Letters, trans. by George Bull (New York: Penguin, 1976), 74-75. This letter, which is dated 6 June 1534, was written prior to De Leyva's accession to the Milanese governorship.

Two paintings executed by Aretino's Venetian colleague and close friend Titian have iconographically recorded the unique relationship between Aretino and D'Avalos. The first, the famous *Allocution* (1541),⁷⁰ portrays D'Avalos as a Roman general addressing his troops. Erwin Panofsky has shown that Titian's representation commemorates D'Avalos' famous 1532 oration that staved off an impending mutiny of the Italian troops serving Carlos V in Vienna. Panofsky has further demonstrated that Titian's depiction is ripe with classical references. Though D'Avalos is dressed in contemporary armor, his stance imitates early Roman architectural poses of Augustus Caesar and Trajan, as well as allocutory poses typically found on Italian coins of the period. The helmet-bearing page standing next to D'Avalos, identified as his

⁷⁰Located in the Prado, Madrid.

eldest son Ferrante, wears a Roman warrior's official dress.

Aretino, intent on D'Avalos' oration, appears unobtrusively amidst the crowd.⁷¹

In the second iconographical source, *Christ Before Pilate* (1543),⁷² Aretino occupies the central position, while D'Avalos is relegated to that of an onlooker. This humanistic depiction of the biblical accounts of Evangelists Luke and John appears to symbolize the contemporary critical Venetian attitude toward the Roman church and her Spanish allies, for Aretino portrays Pilate. Alfonso D'Avalos (on horseback), Suleiman the Great of Turkey (on horseback), and the Venetian Doge Pietro Lando (in ceremonial robes) assume the roles of spectators. The portrait is completed by the presence of both Titian's daughter Lavinia and its commissioner Giovanni D'Anna. Titian's selection of D'Avalos, Suleiman, and Lando

⁷¹The painting is located in the Prado, Madrid. Harold E. Wethey, The Paintings of Titian (New York: Phaidon Press, 1969), II, contains a plate and brief discussion of the portrait. See Erwin Panofsky, "Classical Reminiscences in Titian's Portraits: Another Note on His *Allocution of the Marchese del Vasto*," Festschrift für Herbert von Einem (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1965), 188-202, for a detailed interpretation of the painting. Also see Erwin Panofsky, Problems in Titian (New York: New York University Press, 1969), 74-75.

⁷²Housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

as principal onlookers was not an arbitrary one. In Spanish Emperor Carlos V's recent Turkish campaign, all three had important roles: D'Avalos led the Emperor's 1535 military maneuvers in Tunis, and Lando negotiated the 1540 Venetian peace treaty with Suleiman the Great.⁷³

The literary predilections of Maria and Alfonso d'Avalos were surely not lost on Vincenzo Ruffo. Though Ruffo's first book of madrigals, *Li madrigali a quatro voci a notte negra . . . libro primo*, was not published until 1545,⁷⁴ there is substantial evidence that Ruffo composed many of the works it contains well before the year of its initial printing. Antonfranceso Doni's praise of Ruffo's talents as a madrigalist in the 1544 *Dialogo della musica* would not have been possible had the author not been thoroughly familiar with Ruffo's work.⁷⁵ Moreover, in addition to the four-voiced example provided by Doni, at least one other madrigal, "Alcun non può saper," was circulated prior to the publication of the 1545 collection.

⁷³Wethey, *op. cit.*, I, 79.

⁷⁴Vincenzo Ruffo, *Di Vincentio Ruffo musico excelentissimi li madrigali a quatro voci a notte negra novamente da lui composti in luci con ogni diligentia corretti e stampati* (Venezia: Antonio Gardane, 1545).

⁷⁵See Doni, *op. cit.*, 16-23.

Ruffo's four-voiced note nere madrigal "Alcun non può saper" was first issued in Gardane's 1543 *Primo libro d'i madrigali de diversi excellentissimi autori de breve novamente ristampato a quatro voci*.⁷⁶ Its text, an ottava rima extracted from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, was also utilized by Cipriano de Rore in his madrigal dedicated to the D'Este family.⁷⁷ In the case of Ruffo's setting, the choice of text appears to refer to the famous address before the mutinous troops depicted in Titian's *Allocution*⁷⁸ or Carlos V's nascent supposition that D'Avalos would eventually be compelled to act on behalf of Italian independence.⁷⁹ Given the governor's reputation for belated and reduced musicians' salaries, it may also have reflected one of the many salary disputes that the musicians had with D'Avalos.

No one can ever know by whom he's loved
 When he sits happily above the wheel,
 For at his side stand true and faithless friends

⁷⁶Don Harrán, ed., The Anthologies of Black-Note Madrigals [Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 73] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1980), II, LXVII.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸This possibility is especially worthy of further investigation.

⁷⁹Fiorentino, op.cit., 226.

Who all protest a similar allegiance.
If his content should change in time to woe,
The sychophantic multitude turns tail;
Yet he who loves with all his heart keeps faith
And loves his lordship even after death.⁸⁰

From a musical point of view, Ruffo's setting reflects an awareness of current notational practice in its use of the *note nere* rhythmic style, as well as a familiarity with sixteenth-century madrigalistic trends in its syllabic treatment of Ariosto's text.⁸¹ Further, Ruffo's approach to text repetition and imitative textures suggests a basic knowledge of the principles of Quintilian rhetoric. The setting, which features very little chromaticism and text painting, relies principally upon both a declamatory presentation and the repetition of key textual phrases from the beginning, middle, and closing of the stanza for conveyance of content.

⁸⁰Translation taken from Harrán, *op. cit.*, II, LXVII.

⁸¹See the comments regarding syllabic settings of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* in Maria Rica Maniates, Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530-1630 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 67.

No one can ever know by whom he's loved
When happily. . .

The sychophantic multitude turns tail . . .

And loves his lordship even after death.

Slight imitative treatment is likewise reserved for these three phrases, while the remainder of the text is declaimed in a quasi-homophonic style.

Given both the strong literary background of Maria D'Avalos and the popularity of the middle sixteenth-century madrigal in Northern Italy, it can be safely assumed that many of Ruffo's early madrigals were written during his period of service at the Milanese court. It should be further noted that Matthias Werrecore, who served as *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo di Milano 1522-1550, published a book of madrigals and villotte in 1549.⁸² Milan's role in the development of the middle sixteenth-century madrigal, therefore, necessitates further investigation.

⁸²Matthias Werrecore's *La Bataglia Tagliana con alcune villotte piacevole . . . a quattro voci* (Venezia: Antonio Gardane, 1549).

Instrumental Music

The presence of instrumental musicians at the D'Avalos court has been documented in both contemporary literary accounts and archival sources. The governor's standing complement of eight court and city trumpeters, as well as two drummers, was discussed extensively in the previous chapter. Moreover, it was also noted that Albicante's *Trattato* (1541) twice mentions the performance of instrumental selections at the court festivities connected with Carlos V's triumphal entry of 1541. Despite the absence of fife players on the pay rosters for the Milanese court during the period 1525-1546, it must be assumed that several were in service, at least temporarily, for Albicante makes direct reference to their presence at the 1541 ceremonies.⁸³

That lute and viol music were popular at the Milanese court is suggested by the Milanese provenance of the 1536 publication *Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori*, which contains forty-two works by prominent lutenists of the period.⁸⁴ Among the composers

⁸³See Albicante, loc. cit.

⁸⁴This volume was printed by Giovanni Antonio Castiglione of Milan, who was also responsible for the publication of Ruffo's 1542 motet book and the *Mutetarum* (1543).

featured in the volume are Milanese lutenists Francesco da Milano, Pietro Paulo Borrono, and Gian Giacomo Albuzio, all of whom were regarded as leading sixteenth-century performers and composers.

Francesco (Canova) da Milano, by far the most famous of the three, was born in Monza, a small city north of Milan. Francesco's father, lutenist Benedetto Canova, was probably largely responsible for his early musical training. It appears that Francesco da Milano spent the better part of his career in service of the Gonzaga, Este, and Farnese courts in Mantua and Rome.⁸⁵ Fétis has placed him Milan during the year 1530, at which time he supposedly served as organist at the Duomo,⁸⁶ but the often cited research of Fétis has never been collaborated by archival documentation. A Milanese government document dated 2 January 1544 refers to the supplication of one Giovane Francesco Milanese, a gentleman from Alessandria who had been mistakenly summoned for an official

⁸⁵See H. Colin Slim, "Francesco da Milano (1497-1543/44): A Biobibliographical Study," Musica disciplina XVIII (1964), 64-84, and XIX (1965), 109-128.

⁸⁶François J. Fétis, Bibliographie universelle des musiciens (Paris: Didot Frères, 1866), III, 305-306.

expedition.⁸⁷ Because the document makes no reference to a literary⁸⁸ or musical profession, it is unlikely that this Giovane Francesco da Milano is the famous lutenist. No documents have surfaced, however, regarding the whereabouts of the Francesco da Milano after 1538, at which time he was in the service of Alessandro Farnese.⁸⁹ It should be further noted that Francesco da Milano may well have returned to Milan during the final years of his life, as he was buried at the Milanese church of Santa Maria della Scala in 1544.⁹⁰

Two other Milanese government documents provide substantial evidence of a strong Milanese interest in lute and viol playing. The first, a supplication to the cancelleria on behalf of Leone de Altiare "sonatore de viola," indicates that the Milanese court occasionally employed violists and lutenists, for Altiare, who had been

⁸⁷Cancelleria dello Stato 48 (1544 gennaio), 6, Archivio di Stato di Milano. A transcription and translation of this document appears as Appendix I, Document 8.

⁸⁸Slim, op. cit., XVIII, 73-74, has shown that Francesco da Milano was also a poet.

⁸⁹Slim, op. cit., XVIII, 67-72.

⁹⁰Though the death date given on the tombstone is 1544, astrological accounts of the period record a death date of April 15, 1543. See Slim, op. cit., XVIII, 64-65 and 72.

condemned by the cancelleria for a debt of 25 scudi, was pronounced free of financial responsibility after performing for a delgation of Spanish dignitaries:

And constrained to apply again to your signoria, Leone de Altiare, violist, unhappy and miserable because of incurable sickness and his seventy years, having been condemned in 25 scudi or L4, as agreed has played for the Spanish of the signoria. It is sufficient, being above the respite provided Count Armone of the branch of Justice, and for such effects the aforementioned poor one is not to be held in any other manner accountable for the stated condemnation. . . .⁹¹

The second document, which concerns a financial arrangement between lutenist Giovanni Ambrosio de Parazozero and his patron Baptista de Giramis, reveals that a society for lutenists and violists was active in sixteenth-century Milan. Membership in this organization apparently included keyboard and wind players as well.

⁹¹"E constretto ricorrere da vostra signoria lo infelice et// misoravil ni furono da incuravil infirmità et septuaginario Leone de altiare sonatore// da viola hava vuie de elli musico// essendo stato condemnato ni scuti 25 overo// L quattri ni cordanno item haver sonato all'hispani// de Signoria. Suffia essendo sopra la sosta venuto// Comte armone de arme de Justitiae: et// per tal effetto esso povero non tiene modo// alcuno de relevarsi da detta comdenatione . . ." Cancelleria dello Stato 51 (1544 maggio), 194, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

The first named messer Baptista considers the aforementioned Jo: Ambrosius a sufficient player of the lute, and, moreover, of clear soprano, tenor, contralto, and bass voicing. Jo: Ambrosius also is in the society for lute, viol, winds, and keyboard, and holds other qualifications to this effect. He has served the master, who gave him lodging, gifts, and whatever else he pleased on the day of the seventh, in the previously stated, but worked two days [rather than one].

Because he is a sufficient musician and, accordingly, is said to play well, Jo: [Ambrosius] holds the aforementioned magistro Baptista to ten scudi for his expenditures, a balance of five scudi remaining after five are paid today. . .⁹²

Concluding Remarks

Musical tastes at the Milanese court 1538-1546 reflected both local traditions and currently imported Spanish styles. It is not surprising, therefore, that the madrigal, lute intabulation, and

⁹²Quod nominatur primus que dictus messer baptista// teneat instruere dictus Jo: ambrosius// In sonando de sufficiente de// liuto super ad invicem claribus soprano// tenor contralto et basso et// etiam in societatibus// de liuto// viola capricorno et clavarino et// teneat re ad hunc effectum ad dominum habit// sequitur dictoribus primo et tibi duobus diebus laboratus// cuius tribus et domo de et etiam// quodlibet die septimo de preposito// Itaque sit sufficiens sonator in// predictis et dictus de bene eius// teneant donc et Jo. tiene dicto// magistrato baptiste scuta decem eum per eius mercede oncie scuta// quinque de presentibus ex alia quinque// quando dictus completus. . . Notarile 7073 (Benedetto de Castiglione), 2 October 1548, Archivio di Stato di Milano. I am grateful to Elizabeth Werdehausen of the Biblioteca Hertziana di Roma for alerting me to the existence of this document.

motet were particularly favored genres in mid sixteenth-century Milan. Given the severe financial poverty at the Milanese court effected by the confiscation of material resources for the Spanish war machine, it was primarily through the support of the letterati, ecclesiastics, and confraternities that Milanese composition in these genres was perpetuated even as Milan was losing much of its former musical standing.

CHAPTER III

THE MILANESE CATHEDRAL CAPPELLA UNDER HERMANN MATTHIAS WERRECORE 1535-1550

It is surprising that Vincenzo Ruffo did not first come to Milan as a member of the Milanese cappella musicale, for his early training at the Veronese cathedral should have best prepared him for a career in sacred music. Moreover, Veronese records indicate that Ruffo was an ordained cleric by 1531.¹ Despite his first Milanese post being a secular one, Ruffo was surely aware that the most prestigious Milanese musical organization of the sixteenth century was the cappella musicale of the Duomo di Milano, which had counted among its members such musicians as Josquin des Prez and Franchinus Gaffurius.

¹Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1967), 15.

Whether or not Ruffo interacted with members of the Milanese cappella during his first stay in the city remains open to speculation. When Ruffo returned to Milan in 1563 as maestro di cappella of the Duomo di Milano, his appointment notice mentioned that the chapter was already acquainted with its new music director. Yet the scribe's comment "already known to us,"² may merely allude to the fact that Ruffo was interviewed in the chapter meeting at which he was appointed. In any case, a view of Ruffo's musical surroundings during his Milanese visit of the 1540's would be incomplete without a survey of musical activity at the Duomo di Milano.

Hermann Matthias Werrecore: An Updated Biography

The 25 June 1522 death of Renaissance theorist Franchinus Gaffurius left the Milanese cathedral choir without a maestro di

²Ordinazioni XII (1562-1569), 67v-68r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. This document records the proceedings of the 23 August 1563 meeting.

cappella.³ Approximately two weeks later, however, the chapter secured a replacement. Its selection was Hermann Matthias Werrecore,⁴ a relatively unknown musician already resident in Milan.⁵

The Milanese chapter's willingness to support Werrecore's candidacy remains mysterious, for a city of such strong political connections and abundant financial resources as Sforza-dominated Milan could have attracted any composer of its choosing. Before 1522 Werrecore is known to have neither published compositions nor held a cathedral directorship. It is possible that Werrecore, who

³Clement A. Miller, "Gaffurius, Franchinus," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), VII, 77.

⁴Also Armano Verecoren, Matthias Verecoren, Armano Verrecorensis, Matthias Verrecorensis, Matthias Flamengo, and Matthias Flandrensis.

⁵Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 95r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. Several of the documents discussed in this chapter also were consulted by Federico Mompellio, "La Cappella del Duomo da Matthias Hermann di Verecore a Vincenzo Ruffo," Storia di Milano (Milano: Giovanni Trecanni degli Alferri, 1961), IX, 749-785. It should be noted, however, that Mompellio utilized only a fraction of the entire range of available archival sources. Moreover, he fails to translate the documents included from the original Latin.

may have been a student of Gaffurius, was selected upon the recommendation of the eminent theorist himself. A need for immediate supervision of the cappella may also have influenced the chapter in Werrecore's favor. In any case, Hermann Matthias Werrecore appears to have invested his entire musical career in the cathedral cappella directorship, a position upon which he was able to capitalize as a composer, musician, businessman, and clergyman.

Early Years as Maestro di Cappella

Hermann Matthias Werrecore, son of one Eligius resident in Milan,⁶ was appointed maestro di cappella at the cathedral of Santa Maria Maggiore in Milan on 3 July 1522. He was to be responsible for directing musical activities and teaching the boys entrusted to the cappella musicale.⁷ In addition to a salary of L12 per month,

⁶In a document from March 1530 Matthias is described as a resident of Porta Nuova parish of Santa Profasius ad monachos. A second document dated 11 April 1530, however, states that he resided in Porta Vercellina parish of San Vicenti, while a third identifies him as a resident of Porta Vercellina parish of San Nazzaro. Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 268v and 270v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, and Notarile 10376 (Battista Abbiate), 22 septembris 1537, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁷Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 95r, Achivio del Duomo di Milano.

Werrecore was provided chapter-subsidized housing adjacent to the Duomo.⁸ One of his first official acts on behalf of the Milanese cappella appeared in the form of a request that the chapter allow him to purchase a number of polyphonic music books for the cappella library. His request, which was to be the first of several regarding instrument maintenance and the acquisition of appropriate literature, was approved by the chapter on 5 January 1523.⁹

Francesco Sforza II must have been pleased with the new maestro di cappella, for Werrecore was awarded a ducal benefice on 22 March 1524. The benefice, which comprised a canonicate at St. Michael Busti Maggiore in Gallarate, required that Werrecore serve as administrator of revenues generated by the church's estates.¹⁰

⁸See Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 302r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁹Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 104r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

¹⁰Sforzesca: Registri ducali 73 (Benefizi 1523-1525), 69r-70r, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Here Werrecore is referred to as "our cantor the magnificent Matthias Flandrensis." A transcription and translation of the pertinent section of this document appears as Appendix A, Document 9. The amount Werrecore was to earn from the benefice is not stated in the document. It is probable that he was to receive a share of the revenues generated from the sale of agricultural products grown on the property, the description of which indicates the inclusion of regularly farmed land.

Werrecore's famous villotta "La Bataglia Tagliana," which celebrated Francesco Sforza II's 1525 victory over the French at Pavia, may have been composed in tribute to his benefactor.¹¹ The canonicate at St. Michael Busti appears to have been the only ecclesiastical benefice held by Werrecore, for his later attempts to secure an award from the Milanese chapter were unsuccessful.¹²

On 8 March 1530 the chapter prefects initiated proceedings that eventually made possible Werrecore's purchase of a house in the territory of Caxorate. The transaction was completed on 11 April 1530 through the agency of the Milanese chapter, which held current ownership of the property.¹³ Werrecore purchased the

¹¹The original villotta was published by Gardane in 1549, and appears in several German collections as a lute intabulation entitled "Die schlacht vor Pavia." See F.X. Haberl, "Matthias Hermann Werrecorensis: eine bibliographisch-kritische Studie," Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte III (1871), 197-210, and IV (1872), 1-7.

¹²In 1542 Werrecore, who already had a house in Campo Sancto (adjacent to the Duomo), requested another house in an alternate location. His request was denied. Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 302r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

¹³Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 268v and 270v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. The transaction is mentioned again in a notice of 5 May 1531 as a means of identifying one of the mitigating parties. See Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 293r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

"fifty-measure" Caxorate territory for L8 per "measure of land."

11 April 1530

Convocation in the Audience Hall

This day and hour all deliberations were concluded [regarding] that residential property that the aforementioned Fabbrica has in the public territory of Caxorate, which until now was bequeathed to magistrate Ambrosium de Montevegia of the aforementioned Fabbrica. It is happily surrendered on the above day and recorded in the usual place. Before selling and deliberating the property itself was put in better condition by the aforementioned Fabbrica and surveyed, [yielding] a sum of fifty measures or thereabouts . . . The aforementioned Father Matthias Werrecore, son of Eligius [resident] in Porta Vercellina parish of San Vicenti in Milan, today in that same matter accepted [it] for the price of L8 Imperial per single measure of land . . .¹⁴

Because he already had access to a house in Campo Sancto, which was part of the chapter-subsidized housing adjacent to the Duomo,

¹⁴"In termino cadenti his die et hora deliberandi omnia illa// bona Imobilia que prefata fabrica habet in loco et territorio de// caxorate terarum comunum et que relinta// fuerunt per nunc quondam magistrum Ambrosium de montevegia// prefate fabrice vigore cedularum superioribus diebus in locis solitis affixarum. Pro vendendo et deliberando// bona ipsa meliorum conditionem facientibus prefate fabrice et// que bona sunt. In substantia pertiche quinquaginta vel circha// computato . . . domino Magistrato hermano mathie verrecorem// filio quondam Eligii Porte Vercelline parochie San Vicenti// Milani tibi presenti et acceptanti pro presentio librarum octo Imperiali pro singula perticha terre . . ."
Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 270v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

Werrecore probably intended to lease the house and accompanying lands in exchange for rent and a share in the agricultural profits, as was customary at the time.

The benefice awarded Werrecore by Francesco Sforza must have provided a sizeable income, for during the following years the cantor not only purchased additional properties, but also assisted in alleviating the financial burdens of the Milanese chapter. In 1534 his financial standing was sound enough that he was able to lend the chapter a large sum of money in the form of withheld salary and payment of various chapter debts. In exchange for these credits against the chapter, Werrecore was awarded the proceeds from a sale of chapter-owned property in Caxorate.¹⁵ Three years later he purchased a developed property in Porta Tcinese.¹⁶

¹⁵Ordinazioni VIII (1532-1534), 68r-v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, and Notarile 5370 (Jo: Agostino Confalconieri), 11 majj 1537, Archivio di Stato di Milano. The sum lent the chapter by Werrecore totalled L952 s16 d6.

¹⁶The Porta Tcinese district is directly south of the Duomo di Milano. The property in question included a house. See Notarile 10376 (Battista Abbiate), 20 settembris 1537, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Notarile 10474 (Gio: Francesco Confalconieri), 13 juniis 1538, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

Werrecore attempted to secure yet another house from the chapter in 1542. According to the cathedral records, however, he voiced a willingness to accept a salary increase in lieu of the house:

6 July 1542

Convocation in the Audience Hall

Then was heard Magistrate Father Armano Werrecore, also called Matthias Flamengas, director of the cappella musicale of the aforementioned cathedral of Milan, [who] desired that the aforementioned reverend and magnificent prefect fathers of the aforementioned Fabbrica [either] award, without obligation of any sort, another site in Campo Sancto of the aforementioned Fabbrica or beyond the aforementioned Campo Sancto for habitation by the magnificent Armano himself or, in place of a house, increase in some manner magistro Armano's yearly salary for the duration of his service . . .¹⁷

Though the prefect fathers rejected the awarding of a house in favor of a salary increase,¹⁸ the cathedral registri for the subsequent

¹⁷"Deinde audito domino Magistro Harmano verrecorem dicto// magnifico Mathia flamengo magistro capella cantorum prefate// maioris ecclesiae Milano requirente a prefatis Reverendis et magnificis// dominis prefectis prefata fabrice ut vellint exdem dare aliqua// loca in Campo Sancto prefate fabrice aut extra dictum// Campum Sanctum pro habitatione ipsius magnifici// armani absque oblatione alicuius ficti aut// augere ipsi magistro harmano omni anno aliquod// sallarum durante dicto eius officio loco pensionis domus . . ." Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 302r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

¹⁸ibid.

years record no increase in salary.¹⁹ The only payments made Werrecore above his usual salary of L12 per month, in fact, were intended as reimbursement for the rent paid on a room that was used to audition singers and teach the choirboys. These reimbursements of L16, which were awarded annually on the feast of St. Michael, were initiated in the year 1546.²⁰

Werrecore was replaced by Olivero de Phalanis in July 1550,²¹ presumably because of ill health. Werrecore apparently continued to serve the cappella musicale in a limited capacity, for he is referred to as maestro di cappella in the cathedral records as late as 9 December 1574, at which time the Fabbrica awarded him three bottles of wine.²² His primary contribution 1550-1559 appears to have been as a singer, for a document dated 28 August

¹⁹Werrecore was receiving the L12 per month noted in the 1534 cappella reorganization documents as late as 30 December 1549. See, for example, Registri 738 (1545-1550), 191r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

²⁰Ordinazioni X (1545-1552), 81v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, and Registri 738 (1545-1550), 77v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

²¹Mompellio, op. cit., 762. Mompellio's data is confirmed by the 14 July 1550 pay records in Vachette 408, 1550 luglio, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, which record the first payment to Phalanis.

²²Ordinazioni XIII (1570-1576), 268r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

1559 notes that his increasing inability to stand and sing with the other cantors was due to feebleness and extreme old age:

28 August 1559

Convocation in the Audience Hall

Was heard magistro Matthias, the other director of the cappella musicale of the aforementioned cathedral, [who] says he took part in the aforementioned cappella for over thirty years, serving her in accordance with his oath of both humility and obedience, as is the custom of the aforementioned Fabbrica. He, who is unable to stand and sing with the cantors of the aforementioned cappella because of feebleness and old age, is loved in return, for which he is due half of his salary. And, therefore, because the master is considered unable to stand and sing, he is beseeching the deputy prefect fathers to arrange an order that gives him the half of his salary due, as is usually given through the agency of the aforementioned Fabbrica.²³

By 1574, the time of his last appearance in the cathedral records,

²³"Audito Magistro Mathia alias magistro capella cantorum prefata// maioris ecclesiae dicente sit intervisse dicte capelle// per annos triginta et ultra et iurienstute suam// in ea servitute consimplissa et ordinem et// consuetudine in prefata venerabilia fabrica essa, qui cantores dicte capella instabiles ad canendu redasti ob// infirmitate vel senectutis, qui eius debet medietas sallarij sui, et propterea cum ipse ob eius senectu vedastus sit instabilis ad canendu pentente que prefati// domini prefecti dignent ordinatione que deretero ei magistro// Mathie debet medietas salarij ei soliti dati per agenti// nomine prefate fabrice."
Ordinazioni XI (1553-1561), 291r-v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

Matthias Werrecore had served the Milanese cappella musicale for nearly fifty-two years.²⁴

Structure of the Milanese Cappella 1535-1550

On 6 June 1534 the Milanese cathedral chapter officially sanctioned reorganization of its cappella musicale.²⁵ New monthly salaries were subsequently approved for each of the singers, and several new administrative policies were effected as well. The tone of the 1534 policy statement, which both systemized the cappella pay scale and established a set of ground rules for behavior of the singers, suggests that some tension between the chapter's governing body and the cathedral singers had existed for some time.²⁶

Though no cathedral documents explicitly record discipline problems in the cappella musicale, an entry dated 18 January 1532

²⁴Ordinazioni XIII (1570-1576), 268r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

²⁵Ordinazioni VIII (1532-1534), 96r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

²⁶Ordinazioni VIII (1532-1534), 96v-98v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. This section contains two separate documents devoted to the matter of reorganization. The earlier of the two, which is dated 9 December 1534, contains an incomplete list of the chapel membership.

reveals that Werrecore was asked to address the discontent and rebelliousness of its members in a meeting with the chapter governing body:

18 January 1532

Convocation in the Audience Hall

The Reverend Father Jacob de Zerbis, on behalf of the ordinary fathers and prefect fathers of the aforementioned cathedral, ordered that a public statement be made before all collectively and an inquiry [be made] by the aforementioned Fabbrica. And, that magistro Mathias Flamengas, director of the cappella musicale of the aforementioned cathedral, explain to the aforementioned collective body in order that his reasoning be better understood, and also make and provide a statement regarding the cappella itself to the aforementioned cappella musicale, in order that his reasoning be better understood and more agreeable.²⁷

²⁷"Postremo ordinatum fuit ex Reverendus dominus Jacobus de Zerbis// ex deminis ordinarijs prefate maioris ecclesiae et ex prefatis dominis// prefectis habeant pronunciam videndi cuncta et rogationes// prefate fabrice. Et magistri mathie flamengi// capelle cantorum prefate maioris ecclesiae et circha predicta// cuncta facendi et per aidendi prout eius prudentie melius// videbitur et etiam habeat pronunciam dicte capelle// cantorum prefate maioris ecclesiae et circha ipsam capellam// facere et providere prout melius videbitur et placerit." Ordinazioni VIII (1532-1534), 3r-v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. Pier Paulo Scattolin, "Werrecore, Matthias Hermann," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), XX, 350, reports that on 9 February 1525 Werrecore was similarly called before the governing body for an infraction. No details regarding the matter were recorded on that date as well.

A mandate issued in 1534, consequently, dictates not only the terms of the new cappella wage, but also the behavior expected of the cappella singers. It implies that the singers had previously been improperly dressed for services, blasphemed in church, and quarreled amongst themselves frequently. It further suggests that Werrecore had not been meeting his responsibility in educating the youths under the chapter's care.

The above listed cantors are expected to sing the daily hours that ordinaries generally sing, except when those [hours] are masses for the dead.

Furthermore, the cantors themselves are expected to appear divine, wearing long vestments reaching completely to the ankles, with white surpluses and caps of the sacerdots. This is mandated from above, and if they appear altered in any way they please, they will be sent away for the remainder of that week.

Also they [must] lay down quarrels that they have between themselves.

Likewise, they must not speak vain words in this church, nor blaspheme, and if they behave to the contrary, they will be sent away for the remainder of that week in which such things have been uttered.

Furthermore, they cannot take leave through substitution.

Finally, Father Matthias is expected to teach the boys in the Fabbrica, and if he refuses to do so, he will be sent away for the division of the month in which the offense occurs.²⁸

A 14 December 1534 ruling further notes the fact that disciplinary action might also include the levying of monetary fines.²⁹ In any case, the behavioral problems of the cappella must have been resolved by the enactment of these new laws, for very few disciplinary deductions in pay are recorded during the succeeding years.

²⁸"Qui infrascriptis cantores teneantur cantare singularis horis// quibus cantant domini ordinarii preter quando sunt// missae pro mortuis.// Item quod ipsi cantores teneantur interesse in divinis// cum vestibus longis usque ad talleria et// beretis sacerdotabilus cum cottis albis de super// inducti et si contrafecerint pro qualibet// dice amittant residentiam illius ebdemode.// Item quod deponant rexas quas inter se habent.// Item quod non dicant in ipsa ecclesia verba vana// nec blasfement et si contrafecerint amittant// distributiones illius ebdemode qua tale quod commiserint.// Item quod non possint deservire per substitutum.// Item quod dominus Mathias in fabrica teneatur// docere pueros et si contrafecerit quod amitat//distributiones illius mensis."
Ordinazioni VIII (1532-1534), 98v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

²⁹Ordinazioni VIII (1532-1534), 99r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

The Singers

The reorganization notice of 12 December 1534 lists the cappella members and their respective 1534 monthly salaries:

Table 3. 1534 Monthly Salaries at the Duomo di Milano.

D. magistro Harmano Verecorem dicto Mathias Flamengo, maestro di cappella	L 12
D. pbro. Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L 6
D. pbro. Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabasso	L 6
D. pbro. Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L 6
D. pbro. Conte de Mercate, contrabasso	L 6
D. pbro. Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraalto	L 6
D. pbro. Jo: Augustino Montiono, tenorista	L 6 ³⁰
D. Octaviano Bosisio, contrabasso	L 6
D. Augustino Sedarino, contraalto	L 6
D. Rocho Soldino, contrabasso	L 6
D. Battista de Bussero, contraalto seu falseto	L 6
Hieronymo de Grassis, soprano	s 20
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	s 20
Petrofrancesco da Pontremolo, soprano	s 20
Battista de Regibus, soprano	s 20
Battista della Chiesa, soprano	s 20
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	s 40
D. pbro. Bernardino Gallasino, contraalto	fl.12 ³¹

³⁰Also appears as Jo: Angello Montiono.

³¹Ordinazioni VIII (1532-1534), 97v-98v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. Putheo's monthly sum of s40 was equivalent to L2, while Gallasino's fl.12 equalled L3s4.

An entry from 9 December 1534 further indicates that cantors Jo: Antonio de Vergiate and Jo: Petro de Gabbiano were also members of the chapel, but received only half salaries.³²

Despite the financial concerns plaguing Milanese society between 1535 and 1550, the size of the Milanese cappella musicale never fell below that of the 1534 nineteen-member complement. The size of the chapel, in fact, grew to as many as twenty-four members during the 1540's. It is interesting that the adult membership remained quite consistent during the fifteen-year period following the reorganization, with replacements occurring infrequently.³³

³²Ordinazioni VIII (1532-1534), 97v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. Both singers were probably elderly, as cathedral practice generally provided half salaries for aged members. See Ordinazioni XI (1553-1561), 291r-v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

³³Cappella musicale members for the years 1534-1549 are listed in Figure 1.

Table 4. Cappella Musicale Rosters 1534-1549.³⁴1534

Matthias Werecoren, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Jo: Augustino Montiono, tenorista	L18 ³⁵
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Rocho Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Hieronymo de Grassis, soprano	L 3
Petrofrancesco da Pontremolo, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	L 3
Battista da Regibus, soprano	L 3
Battista della Chiesa, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

³⁴Beginning in 1535, singers were generally paid on a quarterly basis. Quarterly computations, consequently, are provided here.

³⁵Also given as Jo: Angello Montiono.

1535

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Jo: Augustino Montiono, tenorista	L18
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Roch Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Puthéo, soprano	L 6
Hieronimo de Grassis, soprano	L 3
Petrofrancesco da Pontremolo, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	L 3
Battista da Regibus, soprano	L 3
Battista della Chiesa, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Gasparo da Ello, cantore	L15 s 3 d 4 ³⁶

1536

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Jo: Augustino Montiono, tenorista	L18
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18 ³⁷
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18

³⁶Ello's pay was awarded for an undetermined period of service during the 1535 fiscal year.

³⁷Cingullo was hired on 1 February 1536. Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 47v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Rocho Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Francesco de Mantiganijs, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio Casalino, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	L 3
Battista da Regibus, soprano	L 3
Battista Rechalcatis, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

1537

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Jo: Augustino Montiono, tenorista	L18
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Rocho Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Francesco de Mantiganijs/ Antonio Maria Dolzago, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio Casalino, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	L 3
Battista da Regibus, soprano	L 3
Battista Rechalcatis, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

1538

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Jo: Augustino Montiono, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18 ³⁸
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Roch Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Antonio Maria Dolzago, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio Casalino, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	L 3
Battista da Regibus, soprano	L 3
Battista rechalcatis, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

³⁸La Strata was absent during the years 1535-1537. He reappears on the rosters in June 1538.

1539

Matthias werecoren, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Jo: Augustino Montiono, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Roch Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Antonio Maria Dolzago, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio Casalino, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	L 3
Battista da Regibus/ Hieronymo Crispo, soprano	L 3
Battista Rechalcatiss/ Benedicto da Brixia, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

1540

Matthias Werecoren, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Jo: Augustino Montiono, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Rocho Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Gabriele Aliardis de Trivultio, contrabassus	L 6/L12 ³⁹
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Antonio Maria Dolzago, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio Casalino, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	L 3
Hiernymo Crispo/ Gaspere di Melianachis, soprano	L 3
Benedicto da Brixia, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

³⁹Trivultio received L6 per quarter during the first six months of 1540. His salary was apparently raised to L12 per quarter in July 1540.

1541

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Jo: antonio de rapis de busti, contraltus	L18 ⁴⁰
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Roch Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Gabriele Aliardis de Trivultio, contrabassus	L12
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Antonio Maria Dolzago, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio Casalino/ Baldesare de Rapis, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta, soprano	L 3
Gaspere di Melianachis, soprano	L 3
Benedicto da Brixia/ Jo: Ambrosio de Bosisio, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

⁴⁰Rapis replaced Jo: Augustino Montiono in April 1541.
Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 216r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

1542

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Andrea de Germanis, tenorista	L18 ⁴¹
Jo: Antonio de Rapis de Busti, contraltus	L18
Bartolomeo de Molteno, contraltus	L18 ⁴²
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Rocho Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Gabriele Aliardis de Trivultio, contrabassus	L18 ⁴³
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Puthéo, soprano	L 6
Antonio Maria Dolzago, soprano	L 3
Baldesare de Rapis, soprano	L 3
Fabrizio Beretta/ Alvisio Casalino, soprano	L 3
Gaspare di Melianachis, soprano	L 3
Jo: Ambrosio de Bosisio, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

⁴¹According to Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 250r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, Andrea de Germanis was hired on 12 December 1541 as a replacement for Gabriele Aliardis de Trivultio. However, Gabriele Aliardis de Trivultio remained on the rosters through 1543.

⁴²Bartolomeo de Molteno appears to have passed away in March 1542.

⁴³A notice dated 30 January 1542 approves an L6 per quarter raise in Trivultio's salary. This places his 1542 salary at L18 per quarter, a pay level enjoyed by the majority of the adult singers.

1543⁴³

Matthias Werecoren, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Andrea de Germanis, tenorista	L18
Jo: Antonio de Rapis de Busti, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Roch Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Gabriele Aliardis de Trivultio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Antonio Maria Dolzago, soprano	L 3
Baldesare de Rapis, soprano	L 3
Alvisio Casalino, soprano	L 3
Battista Dolzago, soprano	L 3
Jo: Ambrosio de Bosisio, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

⁴³I was not able to examine Vachette 405, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, which contains all outgoing payments made by the Fabbrica in 1544. The availability of information from Vachette 405 would have also shed further light upon the cappella rosters for late 1543.

1545

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Andrea de Germanis, tenorista	L18
Jo: Antonio de Rapis de Busti, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Roch Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Ludovico de Airoidis, soprano	L 3
Baldesare de Rapis, soprano	L 3
Jo: Ambrosio Castellanio, soprano	L 3 ⁴³
Defenderti de Borsano, soprano	L 3
Jo: Ambrosio de Bosisio, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

⁴³Castellanio replaced Jo: Petro de Gorla, who must have been a soprano serving the cappella in 1544.

1546

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Andrea de Germanis, tenorista	L18
Jo: Antonio de Rapis de Busti, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Rocho Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Ludovico de Aioldis, soprano	L 3
Baldesare de Rapis, soprano	L 3
Jo: Ambrosio Castellano/ Ferrando de Santa Anna, soprano	L 3
Defenderti de Borsano/ Francesco de Alexis Brixiano, soprano	L 3
Jo: Ambrosio de Bosisio/ Fabritio de Mçi Mathie, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16

1547

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Andrea de Germanis, tenorista	L18
Nicholas de Galareijs, contraltus	L18 ⁴⁵
Jo: Antonio de Rapis de Busti, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Rocho Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Ludovico de Airoidis, soprano	L 3
Sisto Michis, soprano	L 3
Ferrando de Santa Anna, soprano	L 3
Francesco de alexis brixiano, soprano	L 3
Fabritio de M ^{ci} Mathie, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Jacobo Piravamo, soprano media paga	L 1 s10 ⁴⁶
Jo: Paulo de Blanchis, soprano media paga	L 1 s10
Hieronymo Mamo, soprano media paga	L 1 s10

⁴⁵Galareijs' appointment may constitute a belated replacement of contralto Bartolomeo de Molteno, who ceased to serve in March 1542.

⁴⁶No set amount is provided in the registri. The L1s10 figure given here is based upon previous salary calculations made by the Fabbrica for partial or temporary service of one to three months.

1548

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Laurentio de la Strata, tenorista	L18
Andrea de Germanis, tenorista	L18
Nicholas de Galareijs, contraltus	L18
Jo: Antonio de Rapis de Busti, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Roch Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putho, soprano	L 6
Ludovico de Airoldis, soprano	L 3
Petro paulo Aijroldis, soprano	L 3
Ferrando de Santa Anna, soprano	L 3
Jo: Jacobo de Piravamo, soprano	L 3
Fabritio de M ^{ci} Mathie, soprano	L 3
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro Forninio, soprano media paga	L 1 s10
Jo: Paulo de Blanchis, soprano media paga	L 1 s10
Hieronimo Mamo/ Andrea de Castello, soprano media paga	L 1 s10

1549

Matthias Werecoen, maestro di cappella	L36
Francesco da Marliano, tenorista	L18
Galrazio de Relonibus, tenorista	L18 ⁴⁷
Andrea de Germanis, tenorista	L18
Ambrosio Francesco Lodo, tenorista	L18 ⁴⁸
Nicholas de Galareijs, contraltus	L18
Jo: Antonio de Rapis de Busti, contraltus	L18
Agostino Sedarino, contraltus	L18
Virgilio Cingullo, contraltus	L18
Bernadino Gallasino, contraltus	L 9 s12
Jo: Jacobo de Canibus, contrabassus	L18
Conte de Mercate, contrabassus	L18
Rocho Soldino, contrabassus	L18
Ottaviano Bosisio, contrabassus	L18
Gabriele de Castello, contrabassus	L18 ⁴⁹
Battista da Bussero, soprano	L18
Laurentio de Putheo, soprano	L 6
Ludovico de Airoidis/ Andrea de Castello, soprano	L 3
Petro Paulo Aijroidis, soprano	L 3
Ferrando de Santa Anna/ Jo: Jacobo Piravamo, soprano	L 3 ⁵⁰
Fabritio de M ^{ci} Mathie/ Jo: Paulo de Blanchis, soprano	L 3
Laurentio de la Strata, tenore media paga	L 9

⁴⁷Relonibus is identified in Registri 738 (1545-1550), 172v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, as a new tenor hired in February 1549.

⁴⁸Lodo is identified in Registri 738 (1545-1550), 172v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, as a new tenor hired in February 1549.

⁴⁹This may be Gabriele Aliardis de Trivultio, who reappears in cathedral documents throughout the 1550's.

⁵⁰Piravamo returned to media paga for a portion of the year 1549.

Jacobo de Ferraria, contrabassus	L11 ⁵¹
Jo: Antonio de Vergiate, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro de Gabbiano, cantore media paga	L 4 s16
Jo: Petro Forninio, soprano media paga	L 1 s10
Jo: Paulo de Blanchis, soprano media paga	L 1 s10
Hieronymo Mamo/ Andrea de Castello, soprano media paga	L 1 s10
Jo: Paulo de Blanchis/ Baptiste Todeschino, soprano media paga	L 1 s10
Andrea de Castello/ Alvisio de Gatis, soprano media paga	L 1 s10
Jo: Jacobo de Piravamo/ Petrino de Bostiys, soprano media paga	L 1 s10

The most interesting additions in membership during the 1540's are the three to four boy soprani hired at half pay beginning in 1547. These extra sopranos were undoubtedly added because the cappella experienced a need to balance the increasingly thick textures found in five- and six-voice sacred literature of the period. The cappella also employed two new tenors at the outset of 1549,⁵² thus increasing the number of tenors from three to five. Though these hirings may, in part, have been due to the reduction of tenor

⁵¹Ferraria received this salary in August 1549. Registri 738 (1545-1550), 172v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. He disappears from the rosters in December 1549.

⁵²See Registri 738 (1545-1550), 172v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

Laurentio de la Strata to half-pay service that same year,⁵³ they probably also resulted from the voicing demands exacted by currently popular six-part textures.

Gabriele Aliardis de Trivultio, who appears on the rolls sporadically between 1540 and 1548, seems to have enjoyed a non-traditional membership status. During the first two years of his tenure in the Milanese cappella, Trivultio received only L12 per quarter.⁵⁴ In 1542 his salary was inexplicably raised to L18,⁵⁵ an amount that placed him on equal financial footing with the majority of the cappella's adult members. Trivultio's name disappears from the rolls by late 1543, but reappears briefly during the years 1546⁵⁶ and 1549.⁵⁷ He may, in fact, be the contrabassus Gabriele de

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴See, for example, Vachette 403 (1540-1541), 105v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano, and Vachette 404 (1542-1543), 202r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁵⁵Ordinazioni IX (1535-1544), 256r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. The official order is dated 30 January 1542.

⁵⁶Registri 738 (1545-1550), 77v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁵⁷Ibid., 172v. This entry records a salary of L22s18 for a six-month period.

Castello found on the roster beginning in December 1549,⁵⁸ for a government document dated 21 March 1558 requesting a charitable gift of wine for Trivultio and his impoverished family identifies the singer as a contrabasso at the Duomo di Milano.⁵⁹

The Instrumental Musicians

The chief organist at the Milanese cappella 1535-1550 was Giovanni Stephano de Putheobonello,⁶⁰ son of one Francesco Putheobonello and a resident in Porta Orientalis parish of San Michaelis in Milan.⁶¹ Putheobonello received a quarterly stipend of L19s4 for his services,⁶² as well as a yearly wine allowance from the Fabbrica.⁶³ In 1546 his salary was raised to L25 per quarter.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ibid., 191r.

⁵⁹Culto: parte antica 1049 (Milano: musici e musicisti), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁶⁰Also Pozzobonello.

⁶¹Notarile 9559 (Bernardo Belloni), 13 augusti 1543, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁶²See, for example, Registri 728 (1533-1536), 1535 maggio, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. The monthly salary rate assigned Putheobonello was L6s8.

⁶³See, for example, Registri 738 (1545-1550), 45v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

That same year the chapter further elected to award Putheobonello L11 per year above his regular salary for reasons of meritorious service,⁶⁵ a gesture that was repeated for the years 1547,⁶⁶ 1548,⁶⁷ and 1549.⁶⁸

Putheobonello was "assisted" by Baptiste de Melegnano, who received a salary of s14 per month until April 1546,⁶⁹ at which time his monthly payment was raised to s16.⁷⁰ Though the nature of the assistance provided by Melegnano remains unspecified in the registers, both the size of the Milanese organ constructed in 1540 and the insignificance of his salary indicates that he probably

⁶⁴Ibid., 40v, 47v, and 56r, and Ordinazioni X (1545-1550), 75r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁶⁵Registri 738 (1545-1550), 126v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. Although this document is dated 31 December 1547, it states that the award was made in both 1546 and 1547.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid., 152v.

⁶⁸Ibid., 183r.

⁶⁹Registri 728 (1533-1536), 1535 aprile, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. This monthly salary is recorded in the Vachette for the years 1536-1544 as well.

⁷⁰Registri 738 (1545-1550), 48r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

pumped the bellows.⁷¹ In addition to being responsible for minor repairs of the instrument,⁷² Melegnano also functioned as a general maintenance worker for the Fabbrica, for he often is identified in the Vachette as a "worker" on miscellaneous projects.⁷³

A number of other instrumental musicians were hired by the cappella on special occasions. Among those musicians listed as temporary employees of the cathedral during the year 1535 are three violinists and an unspecified number of trumpeters, all of whom played for a communion held at San Ambrogio on the first day of the spring games.⁷⁴ Additionally, royal trumpeters Joanedo Cozo and

⁷¹See the following discussion regarding the organ constructed in 1540. Performance on the twelve-rank instrument would require only one bellows pumper and no assistant registrant.

⁷²In October 1535 Melegnano was reimbursed for expenditures made during repair of the pedals. See Registri 728 (1533-1536), 1535 ottobre, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. In the Registri 728 Melegnano is often referred to as "worker for the organ."

⁷³In December 1535, for example, Melegnano was paid L8s16 for "work [done] during the month." Registri 728 (1533-1536), 1535 dicembre, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. Melegnano was often awarded odd monetary sums for his services.

⁷⁴ibid., 1535 maggio. The term "spring games" probably refers to an intercity soccer match. The entry containing this information is dated 30 May 1535.

Agostino Mazadro performed at the games' closing festival.⁷⁵ In 1536 several trumpeters were employed by the cappella for the feast of Corpus Christi,⁷⁶ and violist Jo: Petrum de Gluxiano was paid L7s10 from the Duomo treasury for his performance at the 12 October 1536 opening of a new Milanese street.⁷⁷ Gluxiano again appears in the registers during May 1542, at which time he was paid for an "interval of sonatas" played with one "messer Gasporem."⁷⁸

Benefice Holders

Aside from Hermann Matthias Werrecore, approximately one-fourth of the adult singers employed at the Milanese cathedral held either ducal or local ecclesiastical benefices. Andrea de Germanis, a tenor who had formerly served the Sforza court, was, perhaps, the most successful of the cappella's benefice seekers. He was awarded

⁷⁵Ibid., 1535 agosto.

⁷⁶Ibid., 1536 giugno.

⁷⁷Ibid., 1536 ottobre.

⁷⁸Vachette 404, 25r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. Gluxiano received L14s19, while Gasporem was awarded L10. The entry is dated 16 May 1542.

a ducal canonicate at Santa Maria Adurni's St. Blase chapel in 1523⁷⁹ and a ducal cappellanato at Santa Maria della Scala in 1531.⁸⁰

Contralto Giovanni Antonio de Rapis de Busti, also a fairly successful benefice acquirer, was ducally appointed rector of San Silvestri in Porta Nuova in 1525.⁸¹ He was additionally provided a local cappellanato at Santa Maria Maggiore only two years later.⁸² Interestingly enough, both of the benefices awarded Rapis were endowed by a family member, his uncle Thomas de Burgotijs. Tenor Francesco da Marliano⁸³ and contralto Bernardino Gallasino⁸⁴ held local cappellanati at Santa Maria presso San Celsi and San Vittore ei Quaranta Martyri respectively.

In many cases, the ducal benefice registri do not record the pay and ecclesiastical responsibilities attached to each awarded

⁷⁹Sforesca: Registri ducali 73 (Benefizi 1523-1525), 11r-v and 19v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁸⁰Sforzesca: Registri ducali 84 (Benefizi 1525-1535), 152r-v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁸¹Sforzesca: Registri ducali 73 (Benefizi 1523-1525), 253r-v.

⁸²Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 188v-189r, Archivio di Duomo di Milano.

⁸³Vachette 401 (1536-1537), 28r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁸⁴Ibid., 32v.

benefice. There, furthermore, are no benefice-related entries in the official ducal pay registers surviving from the period. More information is available, however, regarding the cappellanati assigned through the Milanese cathedral chapter. Marliano,⁸⁵ Gallasino,⁸⁶ and Rapis⁸⁷ received respective six-month stipends of L40, L20, and L40. Additionally, both Marliano and Rapis were expected to say a daily mass in the assigned chapel, while Gallasino was held to only three masses per week at San Vittore.⁸⁸

Maintenance of Instruments

The poor condition of the cathedral organ and its subsequent replacement occupied the concerns of the cappella musicale during the late 1530's. In October 1535, the registers note a number of

⁸⁵ibid., 28r.

⁸⁶ibid., 32v.

⁸⁷ibid., 31v.

⁸⁸ibid., 28r, 31v, and 32v. Also see Vachette 402-404 (1538-1543) and Registri 738 (1545-1550), Archivio del Duomo di Milano, which contain further entries regarding these cappellanati. The more specific pay entries for Gallasino state that he was expected to say "missis tres ogni hebdensdie."

payments made for the overhaul of the instrument's pedals.⁸⁹ Plans for a new twelve-rank organ with twenty-four pedals and a fifty-note compass were apparently begun soon after, for payments to the builders were being made by the year 1540.⁹⁰ Work on the new instrument, which was supervised by Giovanni Jacopo de Antignante of the famous Brescian organ-building dynasty, continued steadily during the succeeding years of the decade, with construction payments continuing at least through the year 1546.⁹¹

Purchase and Copying of Music

During his initial years of service, Werrecore was apparently disconcerted by the limited music holdings of the Milanese cathedral

⁸⁹Registri 728 (1533-1536), 1535 ottobre, Archivio del Duomo di Milano. The parts purchased included 42 wooden arms, iron overlay, and strips of cloth.

⁹⁰The first recorded payment is dated 13 August 1540. See the transcription in Cesare Cantù, Annali della fabbrica del Duomo di Milano (Milano: G. Brigola, 1880), III, 275. This volume contains selected entries compiled from the Ordinazioni, Registri, and Vachette 1481-1550. Also see Damiano Muoni, Gli antignati organari insigni e serie dei maestri di cappella del Duomo di Milano (Bologna: Forni, 1969; reprint of the 1883 edition), 16, and Renato Lunelli, Der Orgelbau in Italien (Mainz: Im Rheingold, 1956), 76-77.

⁹¹ibid., 275-279, and Ordinazioni X (1545-1550), 79v, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

library. Approximately six months after he was appointed maestro di cappella, in fact, Werrecore approached the chapter praefects with a proposal for the purchase of new music:

Tuesday 5 January 1523
Convocation in the Audience Hall
Magistro Mathias flamengus director of the cappella musicale of the aforementioned cathedral was heard; he requests from the praefect fathers and wishes to provide through us countless books of polyphonic song for the singers of the cappella, [a request] which was approved.⁹²

There are no surviving records of the subsequent purchases made by Werrecore, though the data compiled by Cantù in 1880 indicates that a large number of sixteenth-century polyphonic books formerly found in the Milanese cathedral archives are no longer preserved there.⁹³

The registri record further acquisition of printed music in early 1540, at which time reimbursements of L9s12 and L2s3d6

⁹²"Audito magistro Mathias flamengo magistro cappelle cantorum cantus figurati// prefate maioris ecclesiae requirente a prefectis dominis deputatis ut volluit providere de//nostro millis libris a cantu figurato pro usu cantorum prefate cappelle quoniam// illis valde ludigent." Ordinazioni VII (1519-1531), 104r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁹³See the listings found in Cantù, op. cit., IIIA.

were awarded Werrecore for "15 music books"⁹⁴ and "additional music purchases"⁹⁵ respectively. It is possible that the 15 books mentioned were from the 1539 press run of Schaeffer's *Cantiones quinque vocum selectissimae a primariis*, for which Werrecore provided several of the pieces of Italian provenance.⁹⁶ They may also have been copies, however, of the recently published Scotto edition *Gomberti excellentis simi . . . Musica quatuor vocum, vulgo motecta nuncupatur* (1539), which was dedicated to Milanese governor Alfonso D'Avalos.⁹⁷ Several other register entries indicate that large reimbursements also were given Werrecore during the year 1540, but the reasons for these monetary returns are not indicated. It is possible, though not verifiable, that the funds in

⁹⁴Vachette 403 (1540-1541), 46r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

⁹⁵ibid., 51r.

⁹⁶Recorded in the preface to Cantiones quinque vocum selectissimae a primariis Germaniae inferioris, Galliae, et Italiae musices magistris editae (Strassburg: Petrus Schaeffer, 1539). See Haberl, op. cit., III, 206-207. Also see the discussion in Mompellio, op. cit., 757.

⁹⁷Gomberti excellentis simi, et inventione in haec arte facile principis, chori caroli quinti Imperatoris Magistri, Musica quatuor vocum, vulgo motecta nuncupatur (Venezia: Hieronymo Scotto, 1539). The dedication is reprinted in Joseph Schmidt-Görg, Nicholas Gombert: Leben und Werk (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971), 348-349.

question were connected to the aforementioned 1540 music purchases.⁹⁸

In 1547 Werrecore was reimbursed L24 for the cost of copying the parts of a polyphonic magnificat for use by the cappella musicale.⁹⁹ This may well have been a work of Werrecore's own composition. His *Cantum quinque vocum quos motetta vocant . . . liber primus* (1555), which was printed by Moscheni of Milan,¹⁰⁰ was probably intended for use by the cathedral choir as well.

Closing Remarks

Despite the penurious state of the Milanese government during the mid-sixteenth century, the cappella musicale at the Duomo di Milano continued to flourish. Under the able direction of Matthias Werrecore, its size increased markedly between 1534 and

⁹⁸Vachette 403 (1540-1541), 61v, 65r, 67r-v. The payments include L100, L80, L130, and L130. It is equally possible that these sums were related to Werrecore's earlier financial dealings on behalf of the chapter. See the biographical discussions above.

⁹⁹Libri contabili 330A, 208r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

¹⁰⁰Matthias Verecorensis, Cantum quinque vocum quos motetta vocant . . . liber primus (Mediolani: Francesco et Simone Moscheni, 1555).

1550, with the greatest membership augmentations occurring in the soprano section. During this same period a new organ was installed and new polyphonic music volumes were purchased. It was, in fact, both the Duomo di Milano's relative financial independence from the Milanese state and the importance attached to Roman Catholic ecclesiastical institutions under Carlos V that insured the Milanese cathedral choir's continued reputation as the leading Milanese musical establishment of the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER IV

RUFFO'S MOTET BOOK AND MILANESE SOCIETY

Vincenzo Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (1542) is perhaps the most important musical document surviving from Milan of the 1530's and 1540's. It is the printed book most closely connected to musical activity at the Milanese court between 1538 and 1546, and was, furthermore, the first motet collection dedicated entirely to the work of a single Italian composer.¹ Its motets are distinctly Milanese in character, and feature texts specific to the Milanese calendar, as well as a contrapuntal style heavily influenced by the sacred works of Spanish court favorites Nicholas Gombert and Cristóbal Morales. It is also interesting that the collection was printed in Milan rather than Venice, which was

¹Franco-Flemish motet composers had been featured singly since 1539. Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music of Vincenzo Ruffo (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1960), 280.

then regarded as the sixteenth-century center for Italian music printing. Most importantly, however, the book reveals much about music and society in sixteenth-century Italy.

The Motet Book and Ruffo's Milan

In his general survey of Ruffo's 1542 motet book, Lewis Lockwood discussed the works in terms of their liturgical types and musical forms, noting that the collection is liturgically comprised of twenty-six antiphons or probable antiphons, five responsories, one Mass proper text, one metrical composition, and two congratulatory or occasional motets. He pointed out that while twenty-four of the antiphons, the occasional motet "Laudibus laudemus," and the responsorial texts are constructed around point of imitation technique, the last group also utilizes a traditional aBcB format. Lockwood finally observed that the use of these devices together with the paraphrase technique of the antiphons "O doctor optime" and "O Rex gloriae," the free setting of the metrical

"O lumen ecclesiae," and the cantus firmus treatment of "Uxor sicut tua vitis" and "O doctor optime" makes this collection a compendium of all the structural formats popular in sixteenth-century motet composition.²

Texts and Milanese Usage

The texts might also be classified according to their respective international or local usage.³ Twenty-six of the thirty-five pieces feature texts intended for universally celebrated feasts. Of these twenty-six universal texts, seventeen are among those most frequently set by Renaissance composers.⁴ The antiphons for the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael, Sts. Philip and James, and Corpus Christi, all of which fall into this last category, also possess particular Milanese significance. Instrumental

²Lockwood, op.cit., 280-297.

³Lockwood, op. cit., 283-286, did attempt to assign as many works as possible to their respective feast days. He did not, however, explore the possible associations between this aspect of the collection and Milanese performance practice.

⁴A list of the most frequently set general texts appears in Table 5.

musicians were often employed for the Milanese celebration of Corpus Christi, as well as the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael, thereby indicating the relative importance attached to these days.⁵ Milanese liturgical books of the period often contain only a selection of the significant Milanese proper texts, but further demonstrate the emphasis placed upon the feast of Sts. Philip and James.⁶ It is further noteworthy that a number of the texts for universally celebrated feasts are Vespers and Offertory antiphons, a feature of the collection demonstrating the continued Milanese interest in polyphonic settings for use at Vespers and the Offertory of the Mass.⁷

⁵See the comments on page 14-16 of Chapter II and pages 28-29 of Chapter III above.

⁶Among such liturgical books are the *Litanie ambrosianum* (Milano: Castiglione, 1520), the *Missalem ambrosianum* (Mediolani: G. A. Castillioneus, 1548), the *Sacramentarium justa morem Mediolanensis* (Mediolani: Metius, 1560), and the *Psalterium ambrosianum* (Mediolani: Mattheus Besutium, 1574).

⁷An emphasis upon polyphonic settings of Offertory and Vespers texts was fairly common throughout Italy. See Anthony M. Cummings, "Towards an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXXIV (1981), 43-59.

Table 5. Frequently Set Texts
Included in Ruffo's 1542 Collection.

<u>Text</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Liturgical Usage</u>
Muro tuo inexpugnabili	A	Sat. before 3rd Sun. in Nov., various Offices ⁸
Veni electa mea	A	*B.V.M.
Laudate Dominum	A	3rd day after Epiphany
Nigra sum sed formosa	A	*B.V.M.
Convertimini ad me	A	5th day after Easter, various Offices ⁹
Circumdederunt me 2p. Omnes videntes	R	Palm sunday
Tanto tempore	A	*Sts. Philip and James
Spem in alium 2p. Domine Deus	R	4th Sun. in September
Specie tua	R/A	All Virgins (Graduale) and B.V.M. (Communion)
O sacrum convivium	A	*Corpus Christi
Hodie Christus natus est	A	Nativity
Ecce crucem Domini	A	Invention of the Cross
Stetit angelus	A	*St. Michael
O quam gloriosum	A	All Saints
O Rex gloriae	A	Ascension
Puer qui natus est 2p. Hic est enim propheta	R	St. John the Baptist
Inter vestibulum ad altare	A	Ash Wednesday

*Denotes general feasts of particular Milanese importance.

⁸For a listing of the other feasts on which this text appears as part of the Canonical Hours, see Terence Bailey and Paul Merkley, The Antiphons of the Ambrosian Office (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989), 206.

⁹Ibid., 172.

The collection's remaining nine motets may be distributed into three different categories. These include occasional or state texts (2), funeral texts (2), and local Milanese feast texts (5).

Lockwood has suggested that the St. Hugo motet "O lumen ecclesiae," the text of which is connected to a fifteenth-century rhymed office for Bishop Hugo, may have been composed in honor of a local archbishop, possibly placing it among the congratulatory pieces in the collection as well.¹⁰

The two occasional motets and the two funeral motets provide some insight into Ruffo's possible date of arrival and subsequent activities at the Milanese court. If the Baptismal motet "Uxor sicut tua vitis" was written for Carlo D'Avalos, who was baptized during the 1541 visit of Carlos V to Milan, then Ruffo surely arrived there prior to the emperor's 1541 entry.¹¹ The collection's inclusion of a congratulatory motet for calvary captain Melchior Saavedra, who achieved his greatest military notoriety at

¹⁰Lockwood, op. cit., 290.

¹¹See pages 9-12 of Chapter I above. Also see Lockwood, op. cit., 295.

Tunis in 1535 and is not mentioned in the chronicles after 1542,¹² would further support an arrival date prior to the 1541 ceremonies. If, however, the baptismal motet was written for Hermes Visconti, whose birthdate remains unknown, no fixed date prior to the 1542 activity surrounding the printing privilege mentioned earlier can be given for Ruffo's arrival. The motet, nonetheless, would establish Ruffo's close tie with the Visconti, a powerful Milanese family and founders of the ducal chapel of San Gottardo in Corte, which was still operating in the sixteenth century.¹³ The two funeral motets, finally, suggest that Ruffo was asked to provide music for a Milanese state funeral.

Five of the 1542 collection's texts associated with universally celebrated feasts also appear as antiphons or

¹²Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1967), 25-26, and *La entrata de la magestad cesarea* (Roma, 1541), 18. The only mention of Saavedra that I detected in the cancelleria documents was found in Cancelleria dello Stato 35 (1541 ottobre), 87, Archivio di Stato di Milano. His latest mention in Spanish governmental chronicles appears to have occurred in 1542. See Duca di Alba, ed., "Correspondencia de Carlo V con el Marquès del Vasto, Gobernador del Milanésado" Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia 88 (1926), 143.

¹³See pages 53-57 of Chapter II above.

responsories in the *Litany of the Order of St. Ambrose*. Additionally, the Ash Wednesday antiphon "Inter vestibulum ad altare," which appears in Ruffo's 1542 book as well, is among the *Litany's* many readings.¹⁴ That the Order of St. Ambrose texts set by Ruffo were also utilized on universally celebrated feast days is not particularly noteworthy, for most of the prayers, readings, and other texts selected for the *Litany* had an alternate liturgical usage. More significant, however, is the presence of a low-clef setting of "Convertimini ad me," which figured prominently in the opening ceremony of the St. Ambrose Litany. The directions for performance of this antiphon specify that it be sung by the processors, all of whom were adult males.¹⁵

Table 6. Occasional, Funeral, Milanese, and St. Ambrose Texts Included in Ruffo's 1542 Collection.

<u>Occasional Texts</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Occasional Usage</u>
Uxor sicut tua vitis	A	Baptism/birthday of Hermes Visconti or Carlo D'Avalos
Laudibus laudemus	A	Melchior Saavedra

¹⁴The Order of St. Ambrose is discussed on pages 70-74 of Chapter II above.

¹⁵*Libro delle litanie secondo l'ordine San Ambrogio per la città di Milano* (Milano: al segno della Croce d'Oro, 1546), 3r.

<u>Funeral Texts</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Liturgical Usage</u>
Peccantem me quotidie Convertere Domine	R	Office of the Dead
2p. Laboravi in gemitu	R	Office of the Dead

<u>Milanese Feast Texts</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Liturgical Usage</u>
Ave ignea columna caeli	Hymn?	St. Ambrose
Virgo sancta Barbara	A ?	St. Barbara
Sume dei fidelis	A ?	St. Aurelius
Francorum Rex illustris	A ?	St. Louis
O quam mira refulsit	A ?	St. Faustinus

<u>Order of St. Ambrose Texts</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Other Usage</u>
Muro tuo inexpugnabili	A	Sat. before 3rd Sun. in Nov.
Convertimini ad me	A	5th day after Easter
Peccantem me quotidie	R	Office of the Dead
Spem in alium		
2p. Domine Deus	R	4th Sun. in September
Uxor sicut tua vitis	A	Baptism, Nuptial Mass

Clefs and Choirs

A glimpse at Ruffo's table of contents quickly reveals that the compositions are not ordered according to the liturgical year. Nor does the book's compositional ordering display any discernable modal organization similar to that found in Cipriano de Rore's

madrigal collection from the same year.¹⁶ Despite a lack of relationship to modal planning, however, the clefs used in the motets initiate some interesting observations, for they clearly reflect two basic choral conceptions.

Approximately half of the motets use a clef system and cantus range appropriate to a mixed male or "a voci mutati" sound, while the remaining half feature clef systems and cantus writing more suited to an adult male or "a voci pari" sound.¹⁷ Though it is possible that Ruffo's motets were composed for performance by the Duomo cappella musicale, which was adequately staffed for performance of works using either type of clef system, the representation of two distinct choral sounds suggests that the motet book was intended primarily for the ducal chapel.

¹⁶See Harold S. Powers, "Tonal types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXXIV (1981), 435-445. Modal ordering in Tylman Susato's five-voice motet series *Ecclesiasticum cantionarum* (1553) is discussed here as well.

¹⁷According to Gioseffo Zarlino, "a voci mutati" refers to Renaissance textures that include high voices, while "a voci pari" refers to Renaissance textures comprised of either contralto, tenor, and bass voicing or tenor and bass voicing. See Vered Cohen, Zarlino on Modes: a Translation of Part Four of *Le institutione harmoniche* (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1977), 93.

Table 7.
Clef Systems in Ruffo's 1542 Book.¹⁸

<u>High Clef</u>	
<i>Arrangement</i>	<i>Motet Nos.</i>
G2 ¹⁹ C2 C3 C3 F3	5, 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 30, 32, 33
G2 C3 C3 C2 F3	20
G2 C2 C3 C3 F4	10, 16
<u>Low Clef</u>	
<i>Arrangement</i>	<i>Motet Nos.</i>
C1 C3 C4 C4 F4	1, 3, 6, 7, 14
C1 C4 C4 C4 F4	4, 25
C1 C4 C4 C3 F4	2
C1 C3 C4 C3 F3	11
C1 C3 C3 C3 F3	12, 28
C1 C2 C3 C3 F3	17
C2 C4 C4 C4 F4	27, 31, 34, 35

¹⁸A complete list of the 1542 motets and a listing of their respective liturgical or occasional usages appears as Appendix B.

¹⁹That is, a G clef on the second line.

Given the fact that most of the Milanese organizations founded by the Sforza were retained under Spanish governors De Leyva and D'Avalos, the official ducal chapel was likely housed either at San Ambrogio in Vigevano or Santa Maria della Scala in Milan, both of which were founded and maintained by the Sforza family. Though the Milanese government continued to support San Ambrogio after their fall,²⁰ Santa Maria della Scala, unlike San Ambrogio in Vigevano, was near the Milanese court,²¹ and, therefore, seems a more logical location. Regardless of which institution housed the ducal chapel, boy sopranos must not have been among the chapel's regular ranks, for the state registers show that boys were

²⁰See the discussion regarding Francesco Rosarino, cantor of San Ambrogio, on pages 22-33 of Chapter I above, as well as the information pertaining to San Ambrogio on pages 65-67 of Chapter II. There are numerous extant cancelleria documents devoted to issues at San Ambrogio in Vigevano, including Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/3 (Mandati 1541), 38r, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Cancelleria dello Stato 38 (1542 maggio), 226, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

²¹The court was housed at the Castello Sforzesco.

borrowed from local churches on special occasions, including Corpus Christi,²² the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary,²³ and the feast of St. Michael.²⁴

The clef systems and cantus ranges of the motets appear directly related to the ducal chapel's limited access to young singers. Though the motets intended for special Milanese feasts are divided with respect to clefs, most of the motets intended for universally important feasts, as well as the occasional motets, use a cantus range most appropriate to boy soprano voices. Both of the funeral motets, conversely, symbolically feature low ranges that would have obviated the need for boy sopranos. Among the special feasts represented in Ruffo's book by a motet using high clefs are Corpus Christi, the feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the feast of St. Michael, Christmas, Ash Wednesday, All Saints Day, and the

²²Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 542-1545), 44r and 47v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

²³Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 66v and 132v, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/5 (Mandati 1545-1546), 18v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

²⁴ibid.

Ascension. These are precisely the types of occasions for which the boys from surrounding churches were brought in, as is confirmed in the ducal registers.²⁵

General Religious Significance

That Ruffo, already famous as a madrigal composer, chose to publish a book of motets while serving the D'Avalos court is somewhat surprising, given the importance of the Venetian and Neopolitan literary attachments formed by Maria d'Avalos, Marchesa del Vasto.²⁶ Ruffo's decision, however, was probably less influenced by local tastes than by the personal motives of Alfonso d'Avalos himself.

²⁵Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 44r, 47v, 66v, 132v, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/5 (Mandati 1545-1546), 18v, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

²⁶F. Fiorentino, "Donna Maria D'Aragona, Marchesa del Vasto," Nuova antologia XLIII (1884), 219-229. Also see pages 80-90 of Chapter II above.

Social historian Peter Burke has suggested that Renaissance patrons of art and literature were motivated by four basic factors, namely religion, politics, social position, and pursuit of pleasure.²⁷ At least the first three of these can be shown to have been instrumental in D'Avalos' probable sponsorship of Ruffo's 1542 print, since the book, like the other printed works bearing dedications to D'Avalos and his spouse, may be indirectly related to sixteenth-century European religious and political issues in which D'Avalos family members and friends played a central part.

Alfonso d'Avalos was raised on the island of Ischia by his aunt Constanza d'Avalos and his distant relative Vittoria Colonna, the Marchesa del Pescara.²⁸ In addition to being revered as a patroness of the arts and letters, Vittoria Colonna was a poetess

²⁷Peter Burke, The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 124-142.

²⁸Vittoria Colonna was married to D'Avalos' cousin. For basic biographical information on Alfonso d'Avalos, see Fiorentino, op. cit., 219-227, and Gaspare De Caro, "Avalos, Alfonso D" Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Giovanni Treccani Romana, 1962), IV, 612-616.

and ecclesiastical scholar of some stature.²⁹ From her D'Avalos inherited not only his literary penchant, but also his admiration for the teachings of Italian reformationist Bernardino Ochino. Surviving documents of the period indicate that Vittoria Colonna was an active member of Ochino's Neopolitan circle 1536-1541.³⁰ Alfonso d'Avalos also heard Ochino preach, and was strongly influenced by his ideas. Both Vittoria Colonna and Alfonso D'Avalos corresponded

²⁹Roland H. Bainton, Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1971), 201-218; Eva Maria Jung, "Vittoria Colonna: Between Reformation and Counter-Reformation," Review of Religion XV (1951), 144-159; Peter and Julia Conway Bonadella, "Colonna, Vittoria," Dictionary of Italian Literature (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), 124-125; and G. Patrizi, "Colonna, Vittoria," Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Società Grafica Romana, 1982), 448-457.

³⁰Karl Benrath, Bernardino Ochino of Siena (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1877), 93. Here Benrath additionally states that Alfonso's aunt, Constanza D'Avalos, became acquainted with Ochino in Naples.

with Ochino as well.³¹ Alfonso's Aragonese wife who was also a cousin of Vittoria Colonna,³² probably held similar opinions regarding Ochino's teachings.

Bernardino Ochino, vicar-general of the Capuchin monks from 1538-1542, advocated a return to the Franciscan principles of humility, poverty, and obedience within the ecclesiastical ranks of the Roman Catholic Church. Ochino was noted for his biblically-inspired approach to Catholic theology and his spellbinding rhetorical oratory. As general of the controversial Capuchins, the strictest of the Observant orders, Ochino, like many Franciscans of the period, was subject to the continual accusation of heretical teaching. Under the tutelage of Juàn Valdés, moreover, he embraced the Lutheran doctrines of justification by faith, direct

³¹Bainton, op. cit., 203-205, Jung, op. cit., 154, and Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 24. Here Lockwood quotes part of a letter written to Ochino by D'Avalos that is transcribed in P. Piccolomini, "Documenti de R. Archivio di Stato in Siena sull'eresia in questa città durante il secolo XVI," Bolletino Senese di Storia Patria (1910), 10. According to Frederic Corss Church, The Italian Reformers 1534-1564 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 55-61, Ochino preached four times in Naples between 1536 and 1541, and was a frequent visitor in Venice, where his sermons were particularly well attended by the letterati.

³²Fiorentino, op. cit., 212. Fiorentino suggests that Maria D'Avalos was also greatly influenced by Vittoria Colonna.

access to divine power, and antitrinitism. With the official installation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1542, Ochino, who had been summoned to Rome by the tribunal, fled Italy for Calvinist Geneva.³³

Some scholars have suggested that the symbolic language characteristic of the sonnets of Vittoria Colonna, who also adhered to Franciscan teachings, demonstrates a striking affinity with the oratory of Ochino.³⁴ Indeed, it has been said that Ochino's influence on her was greater than that of any other religious writer of the time.³⁵ Colonna never forgave Ochino's abandonment of the Roman church, however, for she believed that reform must occur from within the current ecclesiastical structure, rather than from the creation of an entirely new one.³⁶ Colonna spent the last years of

³³Church, op. cit., 50-61; Roland H. Bainton, The Travail of Religious Liberty: Nine Biographical Studies (New York: Harper Publishers 1958), 149-176; Umberto Bosco, ed., "Ochino, Bernardino" Dizionario enciclopedico italiano (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1970), VIII, 475; Father Cuthbert, The Capuchins (Port Washington and London: Kennikat Press, 1971), I, 121-147, and Benrath, op. cit., 1-116.

³⁴Bainton, Women of the Reformation, 201-212.

³⁵ibid.

³⁶ibid., 212, and Jung, op. cit., 154.

her life in the convents of Umbria and Tuscany, and, following Ochino's defection, continued to correspond with Roman Catholic theologians regarding the doctrine of justification by faith.³⁷

Ochino's apostasy found Alfonso d'Avalos, also a strong Catholic and follower of Ochino, in the difficult position of serving as the chief Milanese representative of the Spanish monarchy, which by 1540 was intricately tied to the Inquisition.³⁸ Two letters

³⁷Women of the Reformation, 212-218, and Jung, op. cit., 150-159. Here Jung also observes that Vittoria Colonna suppressed publication of her own works, many of which espoused evangelical views, during the final years of her life.

³⁸According to Roland H. Bainton, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952), 141-159, and Henry Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition, (New York: New American Library Press, 1965), 59-83, Carlos V, who was himself an avid reader of Erasmus, had quickly realized that the success of the Spanish Inquisition ultimately insured the continued dominance of Spain in Europe. Consequently, he left ecclesiastical matters largely in the fanatical hands of the tribunals, despite his own initial plea for moderation. The gradual withdrawal of Carlos V's numerous Erasmist colleagues from positions of prominence in Spanish ecclesiastical circles, moreover, sealed the political fate of reformists in Spanish territories. For a brief description of religious issues confronted by Milan under Carlos V, see Enrico Cattaneo, "La riforma protestante a Milano," Storia di Milano (Milano: Giovanni Treccani degli Alfieri, 1961), IX, 707-720, and Domenico Sella and Carlo Capra, Il Ducato di Milano dal 1535 al 1796 (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1984), 59-68. According to Church, op. cit., 39 and 224, Alfonso D'Avalos attempted to

dating from 1542, a year that marked the strengthening of the Inquisition in Italy, document D'Avalos' dangerously close contact with Ochino. In the first of these, which is dated 10 February 1542, Ochino discourages the governor's pursuit of military fame and glory and advises an alternative quest for heavenly riches.³⁹ The second letter, which was written by Matteo Giberti, Bishop of Verona, on 25 March 1542, suggests that Ochino visited D'Avalos during his flight from Ferrara to the Swiss border.⁴⁰ Moreover, D'Avalos' friendship with Pietro Aretino, an outspoken admirer of the Sieneese theologian, further bound him to Ochino's reformationist circle.⁴¹

D'Avalos' preoccupation with religious issues faced during his Milanese governorship is manifest in his activity as a patron. Twelve artistic works are known to be attached to Maria and Alfonso

strengthen the Milanese Inquisition, which he maintained had grown lax in its duties during the 1530's.

³⁹Benrath, op. cit., 93. The entire letter is translated here.

⁴⁰Ibid., 114. Benrath does not clearly indicate the recipient of Giberti's letter.

⁴¹Aretino's enthusiasm for Ochino's preaching is documented in a letter to Vittoria Colonna. Additionally, Aretino made Ochino a gift of his own commentary on Genesis in 1542. See Benrath, op. cit., 18 and 93-94.

d'Avalos through commission, dedication, or participation. Four of these are Titian paintings,⁴² while the remaining eight are printed books. Five of the eight printed books and one of the Titian paintings, moreover, are religious in nature. Three of the religious books comprise motet collections dedicated to Alfonso d'Avalos, while the remaining volumes include Pietro Aretino's *Vita di Caterina vergine e martire* (1540) and *Vita di San Tommaso beato* (1543), both of which were commissioned by Maria d'Avalos.⁴³ The Titian painting, a humanistic depiction of Christ as the Roman Church entitled *Christ Before Pilate* (1543), was discussed at length in Chapter II.

The three motet collections bearing dedications to D'Avalos include the following:

⁴²The Titian paintings include a portrait of Alfonso d'Avalos (c.1533), the *Allegory of Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto* (c. 1530-1535), the *Allocution* (1541), and *Christ Before Pilate* (1543).

⁴³Fiorentino, *op. cit.*, 223. For general information on Aretino's works, see "Pedro Aretino," *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada* (Barcelona: Hijos de J. Esposa, n.d.), VI, 52-63; G. Innamorati, "Aretino, Pietro," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Roma: Società Grafica Romana, 1962), IV, 89-104; and Dennis Dutschke, "Pietro Aretino," *Dictionary of Italian Literature* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), 19-22.

1. *Gomberti excellentis simi . . . Musica quatuor vocum vulgo motecta nuncupatur* (Venezia: Scotto, 1539)
2. *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (Milano: Castiglione, 1542)
3. *Mutetarum Divinitatis liber primus* (Milano: Castiglione, 1543)

The dedications found in all three books indicate that the collections were most certainly compiled with D'Avalos' tastes in mind, if not with his financial backing. The 1541 Scotto publication *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia . . . Liber primus*, which contains motets by Gombert, Morales, Jachet of Mantua, Ruffo, and Phinot,⁴⁴ may also have been printed at D'Avalos' behest. Though the 1541 Scotto print lacks prefatory remarks that provide a direct link with the Milanese governor, it comprises the earliest known publication of Ruffo's works and marks the final phase of extensive diplomatic contact between Venice and Milan.⁴⁵

⁴⁴*Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pehtaphthongos harmonia . . . Liber primus* (Venezia: Hieronymo Scotto, 1541).

⁴⁵The Cancelleria dello Stato 24-36 (1538-1542), Archivio di Stato di Milano, contains numerous documents regarding diplomatic transactions with Venice.

The three dedicatory motet volumes, as well as Aretino's *Vita di San Caterina vergine et martire* and *Vita di San Tommaso beato* were published between 1539 and 1543, years crucial to reformationist religious developments in Italy that directly affected the lives and beliefs of the D'Avalos family and its circle. It is especially significant that the publication of Ruffo's 1542 collection coincides with two particularly important events: the official sanction of the Spanish Inquisition in 1542 and the subsequent defection of Bernardino Ochino.⁴⁶ All five religious books, and possibly the 1541 Scotto print as well, stand as symbols of both the Roman Catholic heritage and allegiance to the Spanish monarchy that characterized the D'Avalos circle. They serve, furthermore, to preserve for posterity the D'Avalos name by forever designating the family as Milanese patrons of the arts, an image that the surviving archival sources show to be somewhat contrived.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Bosco, loc. cit.

⁴⁷See Chapter II above.

The Motet Book and Milanese Printing

The publication of Ruffo's motet book also coincides with attempts by the city of Milan to establish self-sufficiency in the printed book trade, which was largely controlled by Venice and Rome. This is especially true in the case of music, for the Venetians controlled the largest percentage of the sixteenth-century Italian music printing industry. Much of the remainder was claimed by Rome, and Milan, while Naples and Florence contributed to the trade on a very limited basis.⁴⁸

During the first half of the sixteenth-century, no more than two music printers were operating concurrently in Milan.⁴⁹ This would suggest that materials such as the type faces utilized in music printing were expensive enough that they were accessible

⁴⁸The principal Venetian printers of the period were Gardane and Scotto, while Dorico dominated the Roman industry. For a general historical survey of music printing see H. Edmund Poole, "Printing and Publishing of Music I," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), XV, 233-260. For short biographical sketches of Italian printers and editors, see Claudio Sartori, Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1958).

⁴⁹This is revealed through perusal of Mariangela Donà, La stampa musicale a Milano fino all'anno 1700 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1961).

only to the few artisans financially able to purchase, borrow, or lease them. In addition to explaining the small number of Milanese shops issuing music prints, the enormous expense of the type would account for the retention of outmoded printing methods such as double-impression printing long after the Milanese printing industry began to expand during the middle of the century.⁵⁰ Used type would certainly have been more economical than new, not to mention the fact that newer type might require different formes.

Giovanni Antonio Castiglione (active 1535 -1553), the printer responsible for the publication of Ruffo's 1542 motet book,⁵¹ was one of the first Milanese printers to attempt the production of lute intabulations and vocal polyphony.⁵² Exactly one-half of Castiglione's surviving printed books are of musical content, demonstrating both his interest in music printing and his access to

⁵⁰Giovanni Antonio Castiglione, the printer responsible for Ruffo's motet book, for example, was only one of a handful of European printers still using double-impression techniques in the 1540's. See Daniel Hertz, Pierre Attaingnant: Royal Printer of Music (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 154 and 160-161.

⁵¹See Chapter V below.

⁵²The activity of the period is catalogued in Donà, op. cit.

musical type.⁵³ This type must have been purchased or have otherwise been made available sometime after 1535, for Castiglione's surviving music prints, which include a lute book, two volumes of sacred polyphony, a missale, and a music theory treatise, were published between 1536 and 1548. Following the 1548 publication of the *Missale secundum institutionem sanctissimi Pastoris Mediolanensis Ambrosij*, domination of the Milanese music printing market passed to the firms of the Fratelli Meda and the Moscheni family.⁵⁴

It is evident that D'Avalos consciously supported the Milanese printing industry, for, with the exception of the 1539 Gombert motet book published by Scotto of Venice, all the prints known to bear dedications to him were printed in Milan.⁵⁵ This is

⁵³A list of Castiglione's extant publications appears in Appendix C.

⁵⁴Donà, *op. cit.*, 41-47.

⁵⁵The commission of the 1539 Scotto print may have been arranged when D'Avalos made a state visit to Venice as a representative to the 19 February 1539 inauguration of Venetian Doge Pietro Landi. See Edward Panofsky, "Classical Reminiscences in Titian's Portraits: Another Note on His *Allocution of the Marchese del Vasto*," Festschrift für Herbert von Einem (Berlin: Gebr. Mann,

particularly significant in terms of music, given the unsurpassable work issued by Scotto and Gardane of Venice, as well as D'Avalos' strong connections with Venetian artists, writers, and artisans through his friendships with Aretino and Titian.⁵⁶

D'Avalos' willingness to pour funds into a substandard Milanese industry was not without logic. In the 1540's the Milanese economy was only beginning to recover from the ravages of the war waged against the French by Francesco Sforza II and Carlos V.⁵⁷ Self-sufficiency and appearances were of primary importance to D'Avalos and his Milanese state, for the city had become the seat of the Spanish-dominated Italian annex. Though politically cut off from the Veneto, Florence, and the papal states, Milan functioned as the bastion of Spanish supremacy in Italy.

1965), 190, and Harold E. Wethey, The Paintings of Titian (New York: Phaidon Press, 1969), I, 79.

⁵⁶See Panofsky, op. cit., 188-192, and pages 83-87 of Chapter II above.

⁵⁷See Sella and Capra, op. cit., 89-95.

Dissemination of Concordances

The motets of Ruffo's first motet book were more widely circulated than has been previously suggested. As has been revealed by the detection of numerous concordances not catalogued by Lewis Lockwood,⁵⁸ nearly one-third of the thirty-five motets included in the book appear in other manuscripts and prints. Several of these motets, moreover, appear in a number of other manuscript and print concordances.

The Venetian Connection and Dissemination

The motets of Ruffo's 1542 book that have the largest number of concordances are the six that were printed by Scotto of Venice one year prior to the Ruffo publication. Four of the six motets contained in Scotto's print (RISM 1541³), furthermore, were reprinted by Scotto in *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi cum quinque vocibus* (G/1550), which also included a large number of

⁵⁸Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 257-262.

Table 8. Manuscript and Printed
Concordances to Ruffo's 1542 Motet Book

Manuscript Sources

Br 6.114 Breslau, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. 6.114 (ca. 1567)

Pist B 38.no. 7 Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. B 38.no.7 (c. 1570-1630)

Reg B 861-862 Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Ms. A.R. 861-862

Reg B 887-890 Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek Ms. A.R. 887-890

Tr 4 Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. 4 (c. 1559-1575; destroyed 1944)

Tr Z Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. Z (ca. 1559-1575)

Sant 2744 Münster, Bischöfliche Bibliothek, Santinischen Sammlung 2744 (19th century)

Stu 34 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Chorbuch I/34 (c. 1548-1550)

Printed Sources

1541³ *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia . . . Liber primus* (Venice: Scotto)

1542⁵ *Quintus liber motetorum ad quinque et sex et septem vocum* (Lyons: Moderne)

G/1550 *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi cum quinque vocibus* (Venice: Scotto)

1547²⁵ *Libro de Musica de Vihuela, Intitulado Silva de Sirenas . . . Compuesto por Enriquez de Valderravano* (Valladolid: F. Fernandez de Cordova)

1554¹⁰ *Evangelia dominicorum et festorum* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)

1556⁸ *Quintus tomus Evangeliorum* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)

1559¹ *Secunda pars operis musici* (Nürnberg: Berg et Neuber)

1564⁴ *Thesauri musici tomus quartus continens* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Concordant Sources</u>
Peccantem me quotidie	2	1559 ¹
Convertimini ad me	7	1541 ³ , <u>Stu 34</u> , G/1550

O lumen ecclesiae	8	Tr <u>7</u>
Antequam comedam 2pars. Ecce non est	10	147 ²⁵
Circumcederunt me 2pars. Omnes videntes	11	Pist <u>B 37, no. 7</u> ? ⁵⁹
Spem in alium 2pars. Domine Deus	13	1541 ³ , 1542 ⁵ , G/1550, 1556 ¹⁰ , Sant <u>2744</u>
Hodie Christus natus est	24	1541 ³ , G/1550, 1554 ¹⁰ , 1564 ⁴ , Br <u>6.114</u> , Sant <u>2744</u>
Stetit Angelus	26	Reg B <u>861-862</u> , Reg B <u>887-890</u>
O doctor optime	28	1541 ³ , Tr <u>4</u>
Puer qui natus est 2pars. Hic est enim propheta	31	1541 ³ , G/1550
Inter vestibulum ad altare	33	1541 ³ , G/1550

⁵⁹Attributed to Ruffo in Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 257-262, on the assumption that many, if not all, of the motets copied in this manuscript were Ruffo's. The "Domine Jesu Christe" found in Pist B 38, no. 7, however, is not Ruffo's. See Appendix D for further details.

other works from RISM 1541³. As will be discussed below, most of the concordances to these six motets were copied directly from RISM 1541³ or its 1550 reprint (G/1550).⁶⁰

As might be expected, all of the concordant motets have a universal occasional usage. More significantly, the majority of the concordances to Ruffo's 1542 book are found in prints and manuscripts of Venetian, Dutch, or German provenance. This is probably because Ruffo was born and spent much of his early adult life in the Venetian Republic,⁶¹ an area noted for its patronage of Franco-Flemish and North Italian composers.⁶² The Venetian Republic was, for the most part, economically dependent upon the Venetian shipping industry, a trade that afforded Venetian

⁶⁰See Chapter VI below.

⁶¹For the most comprehensive biographical study of Ruffo, see Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses, 11-73.

⁶²Denis Arnold, "Venice," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), 614-615. Arnold notes that many sixteenth-century composers traveled to Venice in order to oversee the publication of their music.

merchants strong economic ties with continental Europe and the East.⁶³ Spanish-dominated Austria, which bordered the Venetian Republic to the north, offered a direct route to the Germanic and Dutch territories, which possessed several influential printing centers of their own. It is, consequently, neither unusual that Ruffo's work was known to the Franco-Flemish nor surprising that most of the Venetian concordances functioned as sources for Netherlandish prints and manuscripts.

The Venetian Connection and Ruffo's Style

The Franco-Flemish contrapuntal style of Ruffo's early motets has much in common with that of Morales and Gombert.⁶⁴ This style was especially appreciated in the Veneto, which had produced, trained, and hosted numerous North Italian and Netherlandish composers in its sixteenth-century court chapels and cathedrals. It has, in fact, been suggested that Venice was particularly enamored of the sixteenth-century oltremontani and

⁶³Burke, op. cit., 223-224, and Frederic C. Lane, Venice: A Maritime Republic (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University 1973), 285-307.

⁶⁴See Chapter VI below.

their compositional style.⁶⁵ That Ruffo's early motets, which demonstrate both his familiarity with the Venetian sacred style and his exposure to current Milanese customs and Spanish tastes, should appear most frequently among those of Gombert, Morales, Clemens non Papa, Crequillon, Willaert, and Jachet of Mantua is particularly fitting.

⁶⁵Arnold, loc. cit.

CHAPTER V

AGENT, PATRON, AND PRINTER:

THE PREPARATION OF RUFFO'S FIRST MOTET BOOK

Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* (1542) was published by the house of Giovanni Antonio Castiglione, a little-known Milanese firm in operation between 1535 and 1553.¹ Though little biographical information pertaining to Giovanni Antonio Castiglione survives, Claudio Sartori suggests that Ruffo's publisher was probably the son of the Pier Antonio Castiglione who, with Antonio Zanotto, G. Orsini, G. Paveri, and Cola Fontana, had founded a Milanese printing society in 1472.² Mariangela Donà comments that he was related to one Giovanni "Zanotto" Castiglione, a Milanese printer active from 1505

¹For information on Giovanni Antonio Castiglione see Mariangela Donà, La stampa musicale a Milano fino all'anno 1700 (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1961), 20-22, and Claudio Sartori, Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1958), 45.

²Claudio Sartori, loc. cit.

to 1523.³ Most likely Giovanni Antonio's shop came through the family, perhaps either bought or inherited from Giovanni "Zanotto" Castiglione, who may have been himself an uncle or an older brother. A Zanotto Castiglione print dated 1515 has been verified by Mariangela Donà, but the volume is useless in tracing family relationships because it bears the colophon of Nicolai Gorgonzala.⁴

Copies of at least nine prints issued by Giovanni Antonio Castiglione have survived, and five of these are musically oriented:

1. *Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori*, 1536
2. Vincenzo Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti*, 1542
3. *Mutetarum divinitatis liber primus*, 1543

³Donà, *op. cit.*, 20. Catherine Weelkes Chapman, *Andrea Antico* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1964), 154, suggests that Giovanni Antonio Castiglione was a descendant of both Zanotus Castiglione and the Pietro de Castiglione mentioned in a 1472 Milanese printing contract.

⁴See Donà, *loc. cit.* The print is an Ambrosian Missale.

4. Pietro Aaron's *Compendiolo di molti dubbi*, c. 1545⁵
5. *Missale secundum institutionem*, 1548.⁶

The large number of musical prints, over fifty percent of his output, is probably more indicative of the state of the Milanese printing market between the years 1535 and 1550 than it is of Castiglione's typographical interests, since all of the prints appear to have been funded by private sources. For example, the opening dedications of the *Intabolatura*, Ruffo's motet book, and the *Mutetarum*, suggest

⁵Aaron's Compendiolo probably was issued shortly after the year 1545, since it refers the reader to the Lucidario throughout.

⁶The prints are catalogued in Donà, op. cit., 20-21, Ennio Sandàl, Editori e Tipografi a Milano nel Cinquecento (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1977), I, 79-81, and Omaggio a Tiziano: La cultura artistica milanese nell'età di Carlo V (Milano: Electa Editrice, 1977), 185-188. According to Sandàl, Castiglione's single extant non-musical publication was Hieronymo Cardano's *Pratica arithmeticae* (1539). However, A. F. Johnson, Type Designs: their History and Development (London: Grafton and Company, 1959), 81, discusses G. A. Castiglione's 1541 publication of Bonaventura Castellioneus' *Gallorum Insubrum Antiquae Sedes*, while Omaggio a Tiziano contributor Giulia Bologna lists two further non-musical Castiglione prints. These include Giovanni Alberto Albicante's *Historia della guerra in Piemonte* (1538) and the *Statuti mediolani* (1552). Additionally, a *Litanie ambrosianum* (Milano: Castiglione, 1520) is preserved at the Biblioteca Braidense, but it is probably the work of "Zanotto" rather than Giovanni Antonio.

that they were paid for by local aristocratic patrons,⁷ while the final page of the 1548 *Missale* explicitly states that the volume was printed at the expense of Milanese editor Matthias Besozzo.⁸

Moreover, in the cases surrounding at least three of the five Castiglione volumes, the arrangements were overseen by either an editor or an agent who not only participated in decisions concerning musical matters, but also served as holder of the printing privilege.⁹

⁷Richard J. Agee, "The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century," Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music 3, ed. by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 32; Iain Fenlon, Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua (Cambridge, London, New York, and New Rochelle: Cambridge University Press, 1980), I, 85; and Kristine Karen Forney, Tielman Susato: Sixteenth-Century Music Printer (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1978), 219-220, maintain that most prints bearing a dedication to a person of wealth or position were financed, at least in part, by their dedicatee. The *Intabolatura* is dedicated to Battista Visconti, while both the Ruffo motet book and the *Mutetarum* are dedicated to Alfonso d'Avalos. See Raynaldo Dadda, *Intabolatura de leuto* (Mediolani: G. A. Castellioneus, 1536); Vincenzo Ruffo, *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (Mediolani: G. A. Castellioneus, 1542); and Bernardo Calusco, ed., *Mutetarum Divinitatis liber primus quae quinque absolutae vocibus* (Mediolani: G. A. Castellioneus, 1543). Also see Donà, op. cit., 20-21.

⁸See Donà, op. cit., 22.

⁹These editors and agents include Raynaldo Dadda, *Intabolatura*; Petro Maria Crivelli, *Il primo libro de motetti*; and Bernardo Calusco, *Mutetarum Divinitatis*.

Ruffo's Agent: Petro Maria Crivelli

Richard Agee's recent study of the sixteenth-century Venetian privilege system has revealed that the financial interests of all parties involved in the funding of a publication traditionally were protected by the printing privilege.¹⁰ In most cases, three parties participated in the financial arrangements addressed by the privilege--the tipografo (printer), the editore (financial guarantor), and the autore (composer) or his agent.¹¹ Though the editore generally demanded reimbursement from the sale of the publication, he usually also required that a number of copies be given to him to sell outright. The tipografo was often reimbursed in the latter manner as well. This mercenary monopoly on portions of the press

¹⁰See Chapter 3 of Richard Agee, The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1982), 66-132, which contains short summaries of the Venetian documents issued between 1527 and 1621. Such a hypothesis may also be inferred from the discussion in Suzanne G. Cusick, Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome (Ann Arbor: AMI Research Press, 1981), 93-103.

¹¹Cusick, op. cit., 93-94. This is also born out by much of the information in Agee, loc. cit.

run relates directly to the custom of editori being booksellers by trade. Many of the tipografi seem to have sold books in their shops as well.¹²

The printing privilege for Ruffo's motet book was issued by the Senate of Milan to Petro Maria Crivelli, a relatively unknown third party identified only as "servitor."¹³ This ambiguous mode of identification also appears on the dedication page of the print, which was written by Crivelli himself.¹⁴ He remained unidentified, however, until a closer look at the application for the privilege yielded a better key to Crivelli's identity, for in the lower right-

¹²Cusick, loc. cit.

¹³"Servitor" literally translates "servant" or "member of the household," and may refer to a position held by Crivelli at the Del Vasto court. Two documents related to this transaction are preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Milano. These include the application for privilege, which is catalogued as Studi: parte antica 97, foglio 3, Archivio di Stato di Milano, and the privilege itself, which is catalogued as Studi: parte antica 97, foglio 2. An untranslated typescript of the application for privilege appears in Donà, op.cit., 126. Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1967), 19, apparently was unaware that these documents survived, since his only means of connecting Ruffo with the Del Vasto court was through the dedication of the print.

¹⁴See the dedication page of Ruffo, op. cit. A transcription and translation appears as Appendix A, Document 1.

hand corner is inscribed the notation "Petro Maria Crivelli notarius."¹⁵ Further searching led to numerous legal documents drawn up between 1542 and 1588 by the Milanese notary Petro Maria Crivelli.¹⁶

Crivelli most certainly fulfilled the role of legal agent, since the privilege was granted in his name rather than Ruffo's.¹⁷ However, a lack of any discussion in the documents regarding financial arrangements, distribution, or sale of the completed volumes suggests that he was acting as the composer's agent, rather than on behalf of an enterprising local printer or bookseller. If, indeed, Ruffo arranged funding for the project himself, he may have had some financial backing from his employer, in which case Crivelli probably dealt with the D'Avalos court on the composer's behalf.

If the customs of privilege-seeking parties in Venice and Rome provide any indication of general operating procedures in

¹⁵Studi: parte antica 97, foglio 3, Archivio di Stato di Milano. Transcriptions and translations of the privilege and application for privilege appear as Appendix A, Documents 2 and 3.

¹⁶See Notarile: Rubrica 1849 (Petro Maria Crivelli q. Luigi), Archivio di Stato di Milano.

¹⁷A translation of the privilege appears in Appendix A, Document 2.

sixteenth-century Milan, then the enlistment of Crivelli as an agent free of financial obligation would not have been that uncommon.¹⁸ The possibility that Crivelli bore some of the financial burden of Ruffo's publication, however, cannot be entirely ruled out, for Crivelli may either have initiated and funded the project himself or have obtained the necessary support from D'Avalos. It also is remotely possible that the completed print was to be presented to D'Avalos as a gift, in which case Crivelli, as holder of the privilege, was surely financially liable.¹⁹

¹⁸See Agee, The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing, 66-132, and Cusick, op. cit., 94.

¹⁹Generally, the presentational print was intended either for special occasions or as a favor incurring device. For example, Cusick, op. cit., 99, claims that Cristóbal Morales employed the tactic of a locally printed "presentational book" in order to incur the favor Cosimo de Medici. Her source of information, incidentally, is Robert Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972), 45. Here, however, Stevenson makes no such claim. Instead, he merely notes that Morales "was the first in Italy to have brought out his own works in so luxurious a format, and at his own personal risk." Nevertheless, the suggestion that Morales wished to impress the Duke in the hopes of securing a post is made in Robert Stevenson, "Morales, Cristóbal de," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), XII, 555.

In any case, Crivelli must have secured his privilege only months before the Milanese editor Bernadino da Calusco was granted a ten-year privilege as "exclusive editor" of Milan.²⁰ This monopoly undoubtedly afforded Calusco, a vendor of paper goods, books, and other miscellaneous stationery items,²¹ control of the entire local printing market. It appears that he obtained his privilege from Carlos V rather than from the Senate of Milan,²² probably with the intent of insuring himself ascendancy in disputes over local

²⁰Sandàl, op. cit., 79. The privilege was awarded in 1542 and renewed in 1552.

²¹Numerous payments made to Calusco for these items are recorded in the registri of the Milanese court and Duomo di Milano 1535-1550. See, for example, Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/2 (Mandati 1538-1540), 133v, Archivio di Stato, and Vachette 404 (1542-1543), 10r, Archivio del Duomo di Milano.

²²Ibid.

privilege matters.²³ In addition to editing the initial impressions of Milan's *Constitutionum Domini Mediolani*,²⁴ Calusco appears solely responsible for the only other Castiglione print bearing a dedication to Alfonso d'Avalos, namely the 1543 compilation *Mutetarum Divinitatis liber primus*.

The Patron: Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese Del Vasto

The title page of the *Mutetarum*, by virtue of the remark that its motets were "collected from the many of the distinguished

²³According to Forney, op.cit., sixteenth-century Netherlands privilege granting practice included the awarding of both royal and regional privileges. Royal privileges were granted by the Geheime Raad, and placed no geographical restrictions upon the distribution and sale of printed volumes. Regional privileges, on the contrary, were awarded by local governing bodies, and restricted the distribution and sale of books to distinct geographical locations. In Milan of the 1540's, local privileges were granted by the city senate, while the rarer royal privilege was granted by the emperor. The character of the royal privilege implies that it had more political impact than a privilege awarded by a local senate.

²⁴Sandà, loc. cit. The *Constitutionum Domini Mediolani* was reprinted several times following its initial 1541 publication. In each case, Calusco retained editorship. His interest in securing an "exclusive" Milanese editorship may arise chiefly from his interest in protecting rights to that volume.

academy,"²⁵ suggests that a Milanese musical academy flourished during this period, and, further, that Calusco, as compiler and editor of the volume, and D'Avalos, as dedicatee and probable financial guarantor, had direct contact with this musical organization. If such a body existed in Milan, its membership and musical tastes must have reflected those of the city's leading musical establishments, which included the Duomo di Milano and D'Avalos court chapel, as well as those Milanese churches whose chapels provided for a standing choir. Among the composers represented in the *Mutetarum* are Spanish favorite Cristóbal Morales (1), the Duomo's current maestro de cappella Hermann Matthias Werrecore (3), and Frenchman Dominique Phinot (9).²⁶

It is interesting that Ruffo's motets, though deemed worthy of a special separate collection only one year earlier, do not appear in Calusco's *Mutetarum* of 1543. It is possible, however, that the

²⁵". . . ex multis praesantissimorum academiis collactae sunt." See the title page of Calusco, ed., *Mutetarum*.

²⁶See the table of contents in Calusco, ed., op. cit. According to Roger Jacob, "Phinot, Dominique," The New Grove, XIV, 662-663, Phinot's whereabouts during the 1540's remain unknown despite the fact that his works were widely circulated during the mid-sixteenth century.

Mutetarum, as a product of a Milanese musical academy, did not include Ruffo's work because he spent the better part of 1543 at the Cathedral of Savona.²⁷ It is equally likely that Ruffo's tenure at the Milanese court, which commenced no sooner than 1534 and certainly terminated with his appointment as maestro di cappella at the Cathedral of Savona in October of 1542, was too brief to permit affiliation with the local academy. Additionally, the academy mentioned in the *Mutetarum* may have been established after the composer's removal to Savona. Whatever the circumstances, Ruffo's exclusion from a local academy on musical grounds appears highly unlikely, considering the esteem with which he was held in madrigalist circles of the 1540's.²⁸

²⁷See Flavio Emilio Scogna, "La musica nel Duomo di Savona dal XVI al XVII secolo," Nuova rivista musicale italiana XV (1981/1982), 261-262, and Flavio Emilio Scogna, Vita musicale a Savona nel XVI al XVII secolo (Savona: Corso Casa di Risparmio di Savona, 1982), 27-28.

²⁸Antonfrancesco Doni, Dialogo della musica [Collana di Musiche Veneziane Inedite e Rare 7], ed. by G. Francesco Malapiero and Virginia Fagotto (Milan, 1544; reprinted Milan: Universal, n.d.), 16-23, praises Ruffo's madrigalistic skills.

Aside from the expected correspondences in musical style, the most striking similarity between Ruffo's motet book and the *Mutetarum* lies in their elaborate dedications to D'Avalos.²⁹ At least three other sixteenth-century prints, Albicante's *La natomia d'amore* (1538),³⁰ *Gomberti excellentis simi, et inventione in haec arte facile principis, chori caroli quinti Imperatoris Magistri, Musica quatuor vocum, vulgo motecta nuncupatur* (1539)³¹ and the *Constitutionum Domini Mediolani* (1541),³² carry dedications to him as well. The Gombert motet book is of particular interest, as it possesses the distinction of being the earliest collection

²⁹See the dedication pages of Ruffo, op. cit., and Calusco, ed., op. cit.

³⁰See A. Asor-Rosa, "Albicante, Alberto," Dizionario biografico degli italiani (Roma: Società Grafica Romana, 1960), II, 1-2.

³¹See the transcription of the dedication page in Joseph Schmidt-Görg, Nicholas Gombert: Leben und Werk (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971), 348-349.

³²See the dedication pages of Bernardo Calusco, ed., *Constitutionum Domini Mediolani* (Mediolani: Vincentium Medum, 1541) and Bernardo Calusco, ed., *Constitutionum Domini Mediolani* (Mediolani: Vincentium Gallum [Medum]), 1544. Also see the comments on a 1552 edition that was printed by Valerio and Girolamo da Meda in Sandàl, op. cit., 81.

exclusively dedicated to the composer's sacred works,³³ and was printed by Hieronymus Scotto of Venice, rather than by a local printer.³⁴ The mere fact that the Del Vasto court was housed in Milan, a city fairly distant from mercantile Venice, suggests that the Milanese governor either was solicited as a financial sponsor or commissioned publication of the print himself. It hardly seems likely that Scotto, a well-established printer, or Gombert, the foremost musician of the Imperial Chapel of Carlos V,³⁵ needed to curry D'Avalos' favor by honoring him with a presentational print. A more tenable assumption would be that D'Avalos hoped to incur imperial approval by displaying his religiosity and familiarity with current Franco-Flemish tastes. Arrangements with the necessary Venetian parties need not have been difficult; D'Avalos possessed strong Venetian connections through his friendships with Pietro

³³Schmidt-Görg, *op. cit.*, 348-351.

³⁴ibid., 348.

³⁵Gombert served in the Imperial Chapel until approximately 1540. The payment records and biographical information compiled by Schmidt-Görg, *op. cit.*, 24-72 and 251-335, reflect the Emperor's great regard for Gombert's talent.

Aretino and Titian, and served as Carlos V's representative to the 1539 coronation of Venetian Doge Pietro Lando as well.³⁶

Regardless of any possible political motivations for sponsoring the first collection of four-voice Gombert motets, D'Avalos must have exhibited an abiding interest in the compilation of sixteenth-century sacred polyphony. Of the five known printed books and documents bearing dedications to him, three contain four- and five-voice motets by composers of the post-Josquin generation.³⁷ As Lewis Lockwood has already suggested, furthermore, the occasional motets and emphasis upon liturgical texts peculiar to the Ambrosian calendar found in Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* (1542) indicate inception of a volume intended for local use.³⁸ Obviously, the governor wished to have his name attached to new sacred literature suitable for use in either his own court chapel or the Milanese cathedral.

³⁶This has been discussed at length in Chapters II and IV above.

³⁷These include *Gomberti excellentis simi . . . musica quatuor vocum, motecta* (1539), Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* (1542), and the *Mutetarum* (1543).

³⁸Lockwood, *op. cit.*, 24.

The Printing of Ruffo's First Motet Book

Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* and the *Mutetarum* give the initial impression of being more sumptuous publications than Scotto's 1539 Gombert motet collection. This is due chiefly to the elaborate woodcuts that grace Castiglione's title pages, as well as to the italic type and decorated capitals that adorn each individual motet.

Physical Appearance of Ruffo's First Book

In addition to the title *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci de l'egregio Vincentio Ruffo novamente stampati et con somma diligentia coretti. Con gratia et privilegio del ecce.mo Senato Milano*, the frontspiece of Ruffo's book features a large rectangular woodcut that occupies the central position on the page. The woodcut depicts a nymph seated under an olive tree grasping a long banner on which is affixed the motto "ex heliconia .//." The banner empties into a stream that flows through a mountain located on the far right of the image. A lute is lying diagonally in the foreground, while a puzzle canon occupies the unused space of the background.³⁹ Lewis

³⁹See the title page of Ruffo, op. cit.

Lockwood notes that the term "Helicon" originally referred to the mountain itself, but often was applied to the stream by sixteenth-century scholars, who viewed both as images of the mythological mountain of the sacred muses.⁴⁰ This title page is succeeded by a dedicatory epistle addressing D'Avalos, as well as an alphabetical table of contents listing the thirty-five motets contained, both of which are printed in italic characters.⁴¹

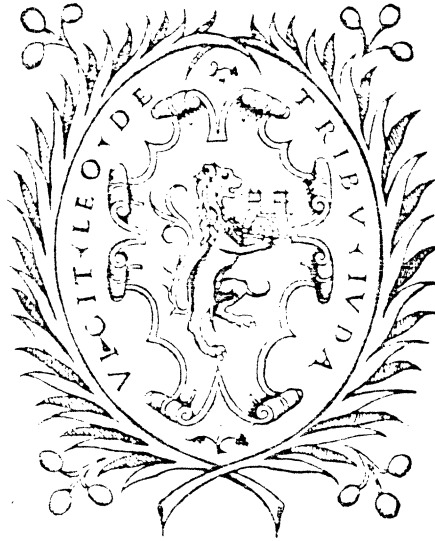
Each partbook closes with a leaf displaying Castiglione's colophon, which also possesses significant symbolic interest. A rampant lion bearing a castle between his forepaws occupies the center of the mark; the whole is surrounded by olive branches which frame the motto "long live the King of the Jews."⁴² The lion carrying

⁴⁰Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music of Vincenzo Ruffo (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1960), 281-282.

⁴¹See the dedication page and table of contents in Ruffo, op. cit. A translation of the dedication appears as Appendix A, Document 1.

⁴²"vicit Leo de tribu iuda." See the frontspiece of Ruffo, op. cit. Also see Figure 1, which was taken from the display of tipograppical marks in Fernando Ascarelli, Tipografia cinquecentina italiana (Firenze: Tansini Antiquariale, 1953), 83.

Figure 1. The Colophon
of Giovanni Antonio Castiglione.



the castle appears to serve as a pictorial representation of Castiglione's name, which literally translates "castle of the lion." The colophon also suggests that the Castiglione family heralded from the city of Castiglion fiorentino in the Cortona region of Tuscany, since the stance of the lion is that generally associated with Florence, and, more specifically, with the Cortona coat-of-arms displayed on the lower wall of the Cappella dei Principi in

Florence's Medici Chapel.⁴³ If, as is suspected, Giovanni Antonio Castiglione inherited his shop from Giovanni "Zanotto" Castiglione, then the colophon probably had been in family use since the family's publication of the *Litanie ambrosianum* in 1520,⁴⁴ at which time Leo X was still in power. Leo X, a Medici often associated with the "Golden Age of the Papacy," was noted for his singular ability to successfully preserve both Medician and papal interests by negotiating simultaneously with the Spanish and French.⁴⁵ In addition to the usual biblical associations, the motto "long live the King of the Jews" may, through play on the Latin "Leo," be an allusion to the most notorious event associated with Leo's tenure, namely the discovery of Cardinal Alfonso Petrucci's plan to usurp the papal

⁴³The coats-of-arms indicate those regions of Tuscany under Medici rule at the time of the Cappella's construction. Additionally, a castle identical in shape to that in Castiglione's colophon is found on one of the pavement tombstones in Santa Croce, Florence. I have not yet discovered, however, a connection between this tombstone and Castiglione's colophon.

⁴⁴A *Litanie ambrosianum* (Milano: Castiglione, 1520) is preserved in the Biblioteca Braidense, Milano.

⁴⁵See E. R. Chamberlin, *The Bad Popes* (New York: Dial Press, 1969), 209-252. Giovanni de'Medici (1475-1521), who took the name Leo X, was the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. He also is recognized for his continued support of the construction of St. Peter's basilica.

throne by poisoning Leo and replacing him with Cardinal Riario. After uncovering the scheme, Leo questioned the entire college of cardinals, and succeeded in exposing the conspirators, though he later was induced to pardon all of the offenders save Petrucci.⁴⁶ Consequently, Leo may be fittingly depicted as a betrayed, yet merciful leader of the chosen people. The double entendre employed in Castiglione's colophon is highly characteristic of sixteenth-century thought, which was noted for its use of multiple symbolism. The colophon closing the *quintus* partbook is preceded by a copy of the printing privilege.⁴⁷ Essentially, it identifies the Milanese council as the granting body, defines the length of privilege as ten years from the date of agreement, and determines the fine for violation as "ten scudi per illegal volume printed."⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid., 233-237. Those involved included Petrucci, Riario, Cardinal Francesco Soderini, Cardinal Adriano di Corneto, and Cardinal de Saulis.

⁴⁷See the page labeled *Tenor privilegii* at the close of the quintus partbook in Ruffo, op. cit. The original privilege is housed in Studi: parte antica 97, foglio 2, Archivio di Stato di Milano.

⁴⁸See Appendix A.

The pages containing the motets are every bit as physically attractive as the title page. The motet texts are printed from the same italic font used for the volume's introductory and concluding pages. Type historian A. F. Johnson, who describes Castiglione's italic as having "swash capitals, calligraphic ascenders and g,"⁴⁹ in upright chancery, maintains that it was one of the most attractive fonts of its day.⁵⁰ The opening of each motet is adorned with a woodblock Roman capital entwined with a flower and vine motif, a design that differs markedly from the ornamented capitals found in the *Mutetarum*. The title pages of both Ruffo's motet book and the *Mutetarum*, additionally, feature intricate woodblock carvings, thus indicating that Castiglione either employed a skilled carver or regularly commissioned work from a local artisan.⁵¹

⁴⁹A. F. Johnson, op. cit., 103. The figure "g" used here appears to refer to the calligraphic style of the tails of lower-case letters.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹See Calusco, ed., *Mutetarum*.

Technical Deficiencies of Ruffo's First Book

In the case of *Il primo libro de motetti*, the elegance and finish of Castiglione's work unfortunately terminates with the music itself. This is in part due to Castiglione's use of the antiquated double-impression method of printing music.⁵² Because the staves, text, composer identification, foilation, and signatures generally are printed in the first impression print, while the ornamented capitals and notes, and rests are reserved for the second,⁵³ a high degree of precision is required in the placement of the second impression of a double-impression print. It is in this second impression that Castiglione's work falls short.

⁵²According to Daniel Heartz, Pierre Attaingnant: Royal Printer of Music (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 154 and 160-161, Castiglione, Peter Schoeffer of Strasbourg, and Henry Loys and Jehan Buys of Antwerp were among the last to employ the older method of double impression.

⁵³Catherine Weelkes Chapman, op. cit., 20. According to Chapman, 18-20, the most common problems encountered in multiple-impression printing concern alignment of notes on the staves and note stems that cross letters of text. Interestingly enough, such problems rarely occur in the works of Ottaviano Petrucci. See, for example, Ottaviano Petrucci, Canti B numero cinquante [Monuments of Renaissance Music II], ed. by Helen Hewitt (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1502; reprinted 1967), 2-15.

Two basic problems plague the musician reading from a partbook of *Il primo libro de motetti*--the faulty alignment of notes on the staves⁵⁴ and the unintelligibility of rest values.⁵⁵ The latter difficulty often arises directly from the former, though sometimes the minim rest merely is so tall that it resembles that of the breve. Interestingly enough, both problems also appear in the Pasoti-Dorico prints of 1526-1527⁵⁶ and the second Dorico edition of *Libro primo de la serena* (1533).⁵⁷ According to Suzanne Cusick, ambiguity of rest values in the Pasoti-Dorico and Dorico prints arises from both slight misalignment of values on the staves and the abnormally large size of Dorico's minim rest.⁵⁸ General registration problems also plague several double-impression Dorico prints from the 1530's, the most extreme case being the 1533 edition of *Libro primo de la*

⁵⁴See the altus and bassus partbooks of Ruffo, op. cit., I, as well as the cantus partbook, VI.

⁵⁵ibid., XV.

⁵⁶See Cusick, op. cit., 45. These include *Motetti de la corona libro primo* (1526), *Motetti de la corona libro secondo* (1526), *Motetti de la corona libro terzio* (rev. 1527), *Motetti de la corona libro quarto* (1526), and *Libro primo de la croce* (1526).

⁵⁷ibid.

⁵⁸ibid.

serena.⁵⁹ Cusick does not elaborate on the probable cause of Dorico's defective printing, though it must have been similar to that which marred Castiglione's work.

In her study of Andrea Antico, Chapman states that the sixteenth-century printer had two available methods of assuring a well-centered double-impression print. The first consisted of inserting "spaces" above or below the type, and the second comprised "casting" individual notes at various heights on the type face.⁶⁰ The former system apparently served to hold type pieces of varied size firmly in place, while the latter provided for size adjustment at the point of casting the type. Chapman further implies that the second system was more reliable than the first,⁶¹ and makes the following comment concerning its use:

⁵⁹ibid., 45-46. Also see Plate 6. Cusick suggests that the 1533 edition of this collection may have been a rejected proof. Mary S. Lewis, Antonio Gardane and His Publications of Sacred Music, 1538-1555 (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1979), 78, reports similar alignment problems in the Gardane prints of 1541-1542.

⁶⁰Chapman, op. cit., 18-19.

⁶¹ibid.

Accuracy still depends upon a perfect locking up of the chase and a perfect print job, but the danger of error is diminished because the rows of type are all the same size and can be locked into place by side notches.⁶²

Several observations regarding the likely cause of Castiglione's faulty craftsmanship may be conjectured from Chapman's observations. It is possible, on the one hand, that Castiglione utilized one of these "insurance" methods, though the extremely poor alignment of the pitches suggests that he applied the first rather than the second. The sloppy appearance of the musical notation, on the other hand, actually implies that he used neither, though it does not entirely rule out employment of the less reliable first method. In any event, the print's musical deficiencies strongly indicate that Castiglione and his employees lacked experience in printing polyphonic vocal music. Records, in fact, indicate that *// primo libro de motetti* was the firm's first venture into the printing of such literature.⁶³

⁶²ibid., 19.

⁶³The only surviving Giovanni Antonio Castiglione music print antedating the Ruffo motet book is a collection of intabulations for lute. See the listing of Castiglione prints above.

Other problems similarly reveal the Castiglione firm's lack of familiarity with the intricacies of printing polyphonic music. For the most part, these are textual errors, with the remainder occurring in the musical notation. The textual errors can be divided into three basic categories:

1. general errors in Latin spelling and abbreviation.⁶⁴
2. errors in the selection of Latin case endings.⁶⁵

⁶⁴The most glaring of these is the incorrect abbreviation of "mensae tuae ecce" as "nascentur ecclesiae" in the cantus and altus voices of "Uxor sicut tua vitis abundans." See Ruffo, *op. cit.*, XVIII. I am indebted to Professor Richard Sherr for calling my attention to the abbreviation errors.

⁶⁵Compare, for example, the settings of Ruffo's "Spem in alium" found in Ruffo, *op. cit.*, XII-XIII; *Quintus tomus evangeliorum* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber, 1556), XXXI-XXXII; and *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia* (Venezia: Hieronymo Scotto, 1541), XVII-XVIII. The word "dimittis," which is spelled correctly by Scotto, reads "dimitte" in Castiglione's print. Oddly enough, Montanus et Neuber mix the two spellings indiscriminately.

3. obvious omissions or errors in setting of text in a single partbook or pair of partbooks.⁶⁶

The remaining errors, which are concerned with pitch and rhythmic value, also occur frequently in Castiglione's "newly corrected"⁶⁷ print. Many of these mistakes are readily visible to the eye accustomed to observing typical Renaissance repetition formats. For example, the incorrect pitch D on the third beat of measure 61 in the quintus part of "Puer qui natus est," which is cast in abCb responsory form, is easily corrected to a C when checked against measure 140 of the b repeat.⁶⁸ The abundance of obvious textual and notational errors such as these indicates that Ruffo did not participate in the correction phase of the publication process, but, instead, left them to the very compositors that set the type.

⁶⁶See the altus partbook of Ruffo, op.cit., XII-XIII, where the text "hodie salvator apparuit" of "Hodie Christus natus est" erroneously reads "hodie apparuit." Also see the quintus and bassus partbooks of Ruffo, op. cit., I, where the indicated text "et armis tuae potentiae" conflicts with the phrase "protege nos semper" assigned the the remaining voices of the imitative point.

⁶⁷Ibid. See the title page.

⁶⁸See the transcription found among the selected motets below.

Castiglione's Printing Methods

Castiglione apparently used a certain amount of standing type in the first of the two impressions, which he probably set horizontally.⁶⁹ Each page invariably contains five full staves,⁷⁰ Ruffo's initials in the top left corner, a part classification in the top right corner, and a centered page number in Roman capitals.⁷¹ It appears, however, that only the staves, clefs, and signatures, were retained from one page to the next when possible, an observation borne out by the reversal of Ruffo's initials appearing on folio XVI of the tenor partbook.⁷²

⁶⁹In horizontal setting, the pages of each individual part book are set successively, thus allowing for no retention of text from one page to the next. Vertical setting comprises the preparation of all partbooks simultaneously, a method which, conversely, allows the compositor to prepare all the parts of a given piece in direct succession. In vertical setting, consequently, the text can be slightly rearranged and moved without removing all of the type from the formes. A third style, mixed setting, combines aspects of the vertical and horizontal types. See the discussion in Mary Lewis, op. cit., 109-139.

⁷⁰Staff space often remains unused.

⁷¹The partbooks are cut in oblong octavo format.

⁷²Ruffo, op. cit., XVI.

Though it is remotely possible that the text was set vertically using standing type, the appearance of the setting style itself provides no support for such a hypothesis. An extreme degree of inconsistency marks the style and pattern of Latin spellings and abbreviations employed from one partbook to the next. In fact, two or three variations in Latin abbreviation and spelling sometimes can be detected across the partbooks for a given motet, a characteristic that probably arises because two to three composers were involved in setting the type. This inconsistency is not characteristic of vertical setting, which utilizes more standing type, and features as much retention of text figures as possible from one partbook to the next. The evidence, therefore, points toward horizontal setting. Further indication of probable horizontal setting is provided by folio XV, which erroneously is labeled XVII only in the altus partbook.⁷³

⁷³Ibid., XV.

Concluding Remarks

Little research has been done on the large group of Milanese printers active during the sixteenth century. Business documents from this era did not generally survive, and such as are still extant are not readily available because they are largely uncatalogued and widely scattered among various Milanese archives and libraries.⁷⁴ Furthermore, most Milanese printing shops were relatively small operations compared with the Venetian firms of Petrucci, Gardane, and Scotto in Venice and that of Dorico in Rome. The most informative documentation of Castiglione's work resides in the prints themselves. Examination of his contribution in relation to *Il primo libro de motetti* (1542) reveals that Castiglione:

1. usually funded his prints through local patrons.
2. attempted to refine his publications by adorning them with handsome woodcuts and fine italic print.
3. experienced some difficulty in centering double-impression printing.

⁷⁴A dissertation on the printed book in sixteenth-century Milan is currently being prepared by Kevin Stevens of the University of Wisconsin.

4. used horizontal type setting.
5. utilized a minimum of standing type.
6. was generally inexperienced in editing polyphonic vocal music.
7. did not involve Ruffo in the process of correcting printing errors.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTRICATE WEB OF CONFLICTING ATTRIBUTIONS SURROUNDING RISM 1541³: RUFFO, MORALES, JACHET, OR GOMBERT?

Six of the thirty-five motets included in Vincenzo Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci* (1542),¹ appeared in a previous Scotto print now designated RISM 1541³. This print, entitled *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia, que quinque vocum motetta vulgo nominatur . . . Liber primus* (1541), contains a total of twenty-six works. Scotto attributed nine of them to Nicholas Gombert, two to Cristobal Morales, and five to a "Jachet." The remaining ten motets, which include the six concordant with R3047--"O doctor optime," "Inter vestibulum ad

¹RISM numbers will be used to identify the prints where possible. Hereafter, Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* will be designated as R3047.

altare," "Puer qui natus est nobis," "Hodie Christus natus est," "Convertimini ad me," and "Spem in alium"--stand without composer attribution.²

In his monograph dedicated to the life and works of Nicholas Gombert, Joseph Schmidt-Görg attributed all ten of the "anonymous" motets found in 1541³ to Gombert.³ With the American Institute of Musicology's publication of his edition of Gombert complete works,

²*Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia . . . Liber primus* (Venice: Hieronymus Scotus, 1541). The five motets attributed to "Jachet" have been assigned to Jachet of Mantua by George Nugent, The Jacquet Motets and Their Authors (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1973), 142-159 and 198. The Jachet attribution for "Ingresso Zacharia" is omitted from the quintus partbook. The manuscripts discussed in Nugent's dissertation will retain the designations he has given them throughout this paper, in order to facilitate comparison of sources.

³Joseph Schmidt-Görg, Nicholas Gombert: Leben und Werk (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971), 361-368. Also see pages 350-351, as well as Nicholas Gombert, Opera Omnia VII: Motecta 5v. [Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 6], ed. by Joseph Schmidt-Görg (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1968), IX. Schmidt-Görg views the 1541³ collection as a second (expanded) edition of *Musica excellentissimi Nicolai Gomberti vulgo motecta . . . Liber primus* (Venice: Hieronymus Scotus, 1539). A comparison of the contents of each, however, reveals the two collection to be quite different from one another. The listings in Karlheinz Schlager, ed., Einzeldrucke vor 1800 [Recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles (RISM) Ser. I/A] (Kassel, Basel, Tours, and London: Bärenreiter, 1972), III, 294-295, also demonstrate confusion regarding the reprints.

however, he retracted eight of the ten Gombert attributions and reassigned six of them, perhaps with reference to R 3047, to Ruffo.⁴

As far as Gombert scholars were concerned, this laid the quandary to rest.⁵ Nonetheless, the problems of conflicting attribution surrounding the six motets which he reassigned to Ruffo are much more complicated. Indeed, for each of the six there are between three and seven manuscript and printed sources transmitting from two to four differing attributions.⁶ Moreover, all of the potentially incorrect and patently false attributions have been perpetuated by modern scholars because they have been assigned, in several cases, without consultation of either sixteenth-

⁴Gombert, *op. cit.*, IX. Schmidt-Görg supplies no evidence supporting these changes in attribution. He counts a total of eleven anonymous motets, but "Isti sunt viri sancti," which he listed as anonymous and subsequently assigned to Grandsyre, bears a clear attribution to Gombert, leaving only ten motets devoid of attribution.

⁵George Nugent, "Gombert, Nicholas" The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980), VII, 515, repeats Schmidt-Görg's revisions in attribution. Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music of Vincenzo Ruffo (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1960), catalogued only a few of the concordances and none of the conflicting attributions of R/1542 in his brief survey of the motet books.

⁶Including anonymous attributions.

century sources or current research. As a result, most of these motets appear under a variety of names in concurrent publications.

These discrepancies mandate a re-examination of the physical and stylistic evidence surrounding the attribution of the six R3047 motets concordant with 1541³. Such examination will demonstrate that a sixteenth-century print's omission or retention of certain physico-musical details, including ligature formation, cautionary accidentals, note values, and underlay of significant text phrases, can reveal a line of transmission that may assist in unveiling the probable errors in composer attribution. When coupled with stylistic analysis, this re-examination leads to the conclusion that one work be stricken from the current Morales corpus and that the six questionable motets probably are by Ruffo, although the possibility that Gombert and Morales composed two of them cannot be entirely ruled out.

The Source Evidence

Of the six motets in question, only "O doctor optime" can be assigned to a composer on the basis of attribution alone. The motet appears in only two extant sources: Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* (R3047) and *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia* (1541³). The unknown editor of R3047 considered it to be by Ruffo, and, as previously mentioned, it stands without attribution in 1541³.

Scotto's method of designating anonymous works in 1541³ by simply leaving the attribution space unmarked has apparently become a source of some confusion. Some scholars have assumed that all unattributed works were Gombert's⁷ or hypothesized that an attribution was to stand for unmarked works on successive pages

⁷Schmidt-Görg, *op. cit.*, 361-368, initially operated on this premise, probably because Gombert's name is at the head of the print. Nugent, "Gombert," VII, 515, appears to support Schmidt-Görg's reasoning by listing the anonymous 1541³ motets under "misattributed" Gombert works.

until redesignated.⁸ If either had been Scotto's intention, however, there would have been no need to reiterate the Gombert attribution for seven of 1541³'s opening eight motets.⁹ Here, Scotto's method is quite clear: works of unknown authorship are designated by the absence of a composer attribution. The printed evidence for "O doctor optime," therefore, supports only an ascription to Ruffo.¹⁰

According to Giovanni d'Alessi, "O doctor optime" also appeared in the destroyed *Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. 4 (Tr 4)*,

⁸See, for example, the discussion of "Puer qui natus est" below. Various solutions to similar cases occurring in other Scotto and Gardane prints are discussed in Stanley Boorman, "Some Non-Conflicting Attributions, and Some Newly Anonymous Compositions, From the Early Sixteenth Century," *Early Music History* 6, ed. by Ian Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 109-157. Unlike many of the prints discussed by Boorman, 1541³ generally presents only one motet per page.

⁹See *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia*, I-VIII. Motets 1-4 and 6-8 each carry an individual attribution to Gombert, while motet 5 is clearly ascribed to Jachet.

¹⁰A complete listing of the concordances for the six 1541³ motets appears in Table 9.

Table 9. The Conflicting Attributions.

Manuscript Sources

Br <u>6.114</u>	<i>Breslau, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. <u>6.114</u> (ca. 1567)</i>
Sant <u>2744</u>	<i>Münster, Bischöfliche Bibliothek, Santinischen Sammlung <u>2744</u> (19th century)</i>
Stu <u>34</u>	<i>Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Chorbuch I/<u>34</u> (c. 1548-1550)</i>
Tr <u>4</u>	<i>Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. <u>4</u> (c. 1559-1575)</i>

Printed Sources

1541 ³	<i>Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia . . . Liber primus (Venezia: Scotto)</i>
1542 ⁵	<i>Quintus liber motetorum ad quinque et sex et septem vocibus (Lyons: Moderne)</i>
R3047	<i>Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci (Milano: Castiglione)</i>
G/1550	<i>Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi cum quinque vocibus (Venezia: Scotto)</i>
1554 ¹⁰	<i>Evangelia dominicorum et festorum (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)</i>
1556 ⁸	<i>Quintus tomus Evangeliorum (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)</i>
1564 ⁴	<i>Thesauri musici tomus quartus continens (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)</i>

<u>Motet</u>	<u>Source(s)</u>	<u>Composer Attribution</u>
O doctor optime	1541 ³	Anon.
	R3047	Ruffo
	(Tr <u>4</u>)	(Ruffo)
Inter vestibulum ad altare	1541 ³	Anon.
	R3047	Ruffo
	G/1550	Anon.
Puer qui natus est nobis	1541 ³	Anon.
	R3047	Ruffo
	G/1550	Anon.
	Sant <u>2744</u>	Gombert
Hodie Christus natus est	1541 ³	Anon.
	R3047	Ruffo
	G/1550	Anon.
	1554 ¹⁰	Gombert
	1564 ⁴	Ruffo

	Br <u>6.114</u>	Gombert
	Sant <u>2744</u>	Gombert
Convertimini ad me	1541 ³	Anon.
	R3047	Ruffo
	Stu <u>34</u>	Jachet
	G/1550	Anon.
	1556 ⁸	Gombert
	Sant <u>2744</u>	Jachet
Spem in alium	1541 ³	Anon.
	1542 ⁵	Morales
	R3047	Ruffo
	G/1550	Anon.
	1556 ⁸	Gombert
	Sant <u>2744</u>	Gombert

where it again was attributed to Ruffo.¹¹ The motet is the single work among the six omitted from Scotto's 1550 reprint of 1541³ (G/1550).¹² Its more limited circulation may account for its absence from any Northern sources.

Attribution Problems Arising from Modern Scholarship

The remaining motets of questionable authorship may be divided into two classes. The first of these includes works in which potential attribution problems arise principally from errors perpetuated by modern scholars. The second comprises compositions possessing attribution problems stemming from ascriptions found in

¹¹The Treviso manuscripts, many of which were destroyed during World War II, had already been catalogued in their entirety by Giovanni d'Alessi, La Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Treviso (Vedelago: Tip. Ars et Religio, 1954), 169-219. "O doctor optime" is listed on page 216.

¹² The reprint, *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi cum quinque vocibus* (Venice: Hieronymus Scotus, 1550), is an abbreviated version of 1541³ containing 23 of the original 26 motets. See Schmidt-Görg, op.cit., 350-351, and Robert Eithier, Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), 69-70, for details concerning format in G/1550. The changes involve numbering and contents, rather than composer attribution. There is no RISM number assigned to this reprint.

sixteenth-century sources. "Inter vestibulum ad altare" and "Puer qui natus est" may be assigned to the former category, while the remaining three motets may be relegated to the latter.

Aside from Ruffo's motet book (R3047), two printed sources of "Inter vestibulum" are known--*Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia* (1541³) and its 1550 reprint (G/1550). In 1541³ the motet is unattributed, but in G/1550 it appears as the secunda pars of "Stetit Jesus," which itself was published in 1541³ as the secunda pars of the five-voice work "Ego sum qui sum."¹³ "Ego sum qui sum" also makes its initial appearance and is anonymous in 1541³, though it was for a time thought to be by Gombert.¹⁴ In G/1550 "Ego sum qui sum" is omitted entirely.

¹³The problems concerning pars designations of these three motets were first documented by Schmidt-Görg, op.cit., 363-364. Note that the secunda pars designation for "Inter vestibulum" is omitted from G/1550's bassus partbook. It is unlikely that the Ash Wednesday text "Inter vestibulum" originally was to be coupled with "Stetit Jesus," an antiphon for the third day after Easter.

¹⁴See Gombert, loc. cit. Schmidt-Görg is undecided. Nugent, "Gombert," VII, 515, considers attribution to Gombert doubtful.

According to Schmidt-Görg, both "Inter vestibulum" and "Ego sum qui sum" appeared as individual motets in the *Selectissimarum cantionum de praecipuis* (1550²) of Montanus and Neuber, where they bear attributions to Gombert.¹⁵ A first-hand examination of this collection, however, reveals that neither of the motets is included.¹⁶ Consequently, any attribution of "Inter vestibulum" to Gombert made on the basis of 1550² is unfounded.

The relationship between "Ego sum"/"Stetit Jesus" and "Inter vestibulum" seen in G/1550 points toward a possible, though improbable Gombert attribution. On the basis of stylistic evaluation some scholars conclude that both "Ego sum" and "Stetit Jesus" may be by Gombert, but no extant sixteenth-century source actually

¹⁵Schmidt-Görg, *op. cit.*, 355 and 363-364. However, Schmidt-Görg's list showing three Gombert motets in 1550² contradicts his table of sources, which states that the print contains one.

¹⁶*Selectissimarum cantionum de praecipuis sanctorum Dei domesticorum festis, quinque vocibus harmoniacis illustratarum* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber, 1550). The tenor partbook bears the title *Carmina vere divina*. "Stetit Jesus" is excluded from this print as well.

attributes either motet to him.¹⁷ In light of this, a Gombert attribution for "Inter vestibulum" through connection with either motet is deprived of considerable corroborative force.

Robert Stevenson's repeated attribution of "Puer qui natus est" to Cristóbal Morales may be an error. In the three versions of Morales' works that he prepared for the last two editions of The Grove Dictionary¹⁸ and Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,¹⁹ Stevenson lists 1541³ as the single source for this motet and assigned it to Morales. In 1541³ "Puer qui natus est," is without an attribution, and follows immediately upon "Tu es Petrus," a motet

¹⁷The only known sources of "Ego sum" and "Stetit Jesus" are 1541³ and G/1550. Schmidt-Görg doubted, but did not entirely dismiss attributions to Gombert for these after retracting the Gombert attributions given to other unattributed 1541³ works. See Gombert, loc. cit.

¹⁸See Robert Stevenson, "Morales, Cristóbal de," Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 5th ed. (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1960), V, 884, and Robert Stevenson, "Morales, Cristóbal de," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980), XII, 558.

¹⁹Robert Stevenson, "Morales, Cristóbal" Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Kassel, Basel, London and New York: Bärenreiter, 1960), V, 559. He provides no publication date for the print here.

attributed to Morales.²⁰ It appears that Stevenson assumed that the Morales attribution on the previous page would hold true for "Puer qui natus est" as well. As has been pointed out, however, Scotto provided no attribution for those motets that, like "Puer qui natus est," were of questionable authorship.

None of the other sources for the work, of which there are three, support Stevenson's claims:

1. *Il primo libro de motetti* (R3047).
2. *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi cum quinque vocibus* (G/1550).
3. *Münster, Bischöfliche Bibliothek, Santinischen Sammlung 2744* (Sant 2744).

In G/1550 it is anonymous, as it is in 1541³, and, of course, R/1542

²⁰*Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia*, XIII and XV. Higinio Anglés, "Problemas que presenta la nueva edición de las obras de Morales y de Victoria," Renaissance-Muziek 1400-1600: Domum Natalicium Rene Bernhard Lenaerts (Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven: Seminarie vor Muziekwetenschap, 1969), 29, disagreed with Stevenson concerning this attribution, but was not aware of the motet's inclusion in R/1542.

carries an attribution to Ruffo. Further, Fortunato Santini's nineteenth-century compilation of sixteenth and seventeenth-century works (Sant 2744), ascribes the motet to Gombert.²¹

According to Joseph Killing, the Santini manuscript was compiled, in part, from Scotto's collection of five-voiced Gombert motets which he printed in 1541 and again in 1550.²² Although Killing's description could refer to either *Nicolai Gomberti musici solertissimi motectorum quinque vocum* (1541)²³ or *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia* (1541³), an examination of the Santini collection catalogue reveals that

²¹I have not yet had the opportunity to examine these manuscript. The contents of the Santini manuscripts were catalogued by Karl Gustav Fellerer, "Verzeichnis der kirchenmusikalischen Werke der Santinischen Sammlung," Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch XXVI (1931), 111-140; XXVII (1932), 157-171; XXVIII (1933), 143-154; XXIX (1934), 125-141; XXX (1935), 149-168; and XXXI-XXXIII (1936-1938), 95-110. "Puer qui natus est" is listed in volume XXIX (1934) on page 137.

²²Joseph Killing, Kirchenmusikalisches Schatze der Bibliothek der Abbate Fortunato Santini. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik in Italien. Teil 1. (Munster: Aschendorffschen Buchdruckerei, 1908), 44.

²³*Nicolai Gomberti musici solertissimi motectorum quinque vocum . . . Liber secundus* (Venice: Hieronymus Scotus, 1541) is dedicated exclusively to motets by Gombert. See Schmidt-Görg, op. cit., 351, for details concerning its 1550 reprint.

nearly all the motets included in 1541³ or its 1550 reprint (G/1550) were copied into Sant 2744. Tabulation of the motets from 1541³ excluded from Sant 2744 provides little assistance in determining whether 1541³ or G/1550 served as Santini's source. The discrepancies that differentiate G/1550 from 1541³ occur between motets XX and XXIII,²⁴ and Santini's selection, unfortunately, becomes erratic after motet XIX.

Santini's Gombert attribution of "Puer qui natus est" to Gombert was apparently a stylistically based decision, for had Santini, like Stevenson, assumed that an attribution held for successively undesignated works, he would have assigned it to Morales.²⁵ In any case, the original source for the motet was 1541³, where it appears as an anonymous work, and, as a result, only the Ruffo attribution of R3047 seems to be reliable.

²⁴Changes in ordering occur here, since four of the last six motets appearing in 1541³ are omitted. Furthermore, there is no motet number XX. See Eitner, loc. cit., for a description of the ordering.

²⁵For example, Santini attributes "Convertimini ad me" to Jachet on the basis of the preceding motet's Jachet attribution. See Fellerer, op. cit., XXX, 152.

Attribution Problems Caused by Conflicting Original Sources

The attribution problems of the three remaining motets, "Hodie Christus natus est," "Convertimini ad me," and "Spem in alium," arise chiefly from discrepancies between the sixteenth-century sources. These works appear in the greatest number of manuscript and printed sources and transmit the largest number of varying attributions. In the majority of instances, a detailed examination of their sources discloses their probable derivation from *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia* (1541³) or its reprint (G/1550).

"Hodie Christus natus est" is included in seven sources, of which three attribute it to Gombert, two ascribe it to Ruffo, and the two others--1541³ and its reprint (G/1550)--bear no attribution. Montanus and Neuber published the motet in two printed volumes of quite different nature. The first, *Evangelia dominicorum et festorum dierum musicis numeris pulcherrimè comprehensa et ornata* (1554¹⁰), which contains a large number of pieces appropriate to Christmas, the Epiphany, and Easter, attributes the

motet to Gombert.²⁶ The second, *Thesauri musici tomus quartus continens* (1564⁴), a miscellaneous motet collection that was issued as part of a multi-volume compilation of sixteenth-century sacred literature, assigns the motet to Ruffo.²⁷ Though it is possible that the attribution was consciously altered for the latter print, it is more likely that the editors were entirely unaware that they had earlier printed it as the work of a different composer. The exceptionally large number of motet collections issued by Montanus and Neuber during the 1550's and 1560's certainly contributed to such inadvertent duplication.

A comparison of the printed sources suggests that Montanus and Neuber's first edition of "Hodie Christus natus est" (1554¹⁰) depended heavily upon the version in 1541³ or its reprint. First of all, they, like Scotto, dispensed with some of the cautionary E-flats

²⁶*Evangelia dominicorum et festorum dierum musicis numeris pulcherrimè comprehensa et ornata . . . Liber primus* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber, 1554), XIV. The attribution is given in the table of contents for each partbook.

²⁷*Thesauri musici tomus quartus continens selectissimas quinque vocum harmonias, quas vulgo Motetas vocant* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber, 1564), no. 57. "Hodie Christus natus est" is the single Ruffo motet included in the *Thesaurus musicus* series.

considered necessary by Castiglione (Example 8a).²⁸ Secondly, they retained the single semibreve groups of 1541³ that appear as ligatures in R3047 (Example 8b). Thirdly, their text setting of

Example 8a and 8b. Similarities and differences in editorial detail in various versions of "Hodie Christus natus est".

a. Bassus, 1541³ and 1554¹⁰ Bassus, R3047

b. Quintus, 1541³ and 1554¹⁰ Tenor, R3047

the Alleluia section appears modeled closely upon that of 1541³, and, finally, their tenor and quintus (vagans) part designations, like 1541³, are reversals of R3047.

²⁸The use of signed pitches ("cautionary signs") to assist the singer in coping with confusing *ficta* passages is discussed in Don Harrán, "New Evidence for Musica Ficta," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXIX (1976), 77-98, and Don Hárran, "More Evidence for Cautionary Signs," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXXI (1978), 490-494. Harrán's theory was censured by James Haar, "False Relations and Chromaticism in Sixteenth-Century Music," Journal of the American Musicological Society XXX (1977), 391-418. Here the term "cautionary sign" has been extended to include flatted pitches.

Conversely, Montanus and Neuber's second printing of the motet (15644) probably relied upon the version in Ruffo's first motet book (R3047), since 15644's cautionary ficta and ligature formations directly parallel those used in R3047. Indeed, the only significant difference between R3047 and 15644 lies in a few textual variants in the latter that clarify the former's ambiguities in text underlay.

The two extant manuscript sources of "Hodie Christus natus est," *Breslau, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. 6.114* (Br 6.114)²⁹ and *Münster, Bischöfliche Bibliothek Santinischen Sammlung 2744* (Sant 2744),³⁰ also attribute the motet to Gombert. Evidence suggests that the unidentified scribe of Br 6.114 (ca. 1567), a collection of 158 liturgical pieces in score,³¹ copied this motet, as well as two others, from Montanus and Neuber's *Evangelia dominicorum et*

²⁹A concise description of the Breslau manuscript and a detailed listing of its contents is provided in Emil Bohn, Die musikalischen handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau (Breslau: Julius Hainauer, 1890), 22-26.

³⁰Fellerer, op. cit., XXIX (1934), 137.

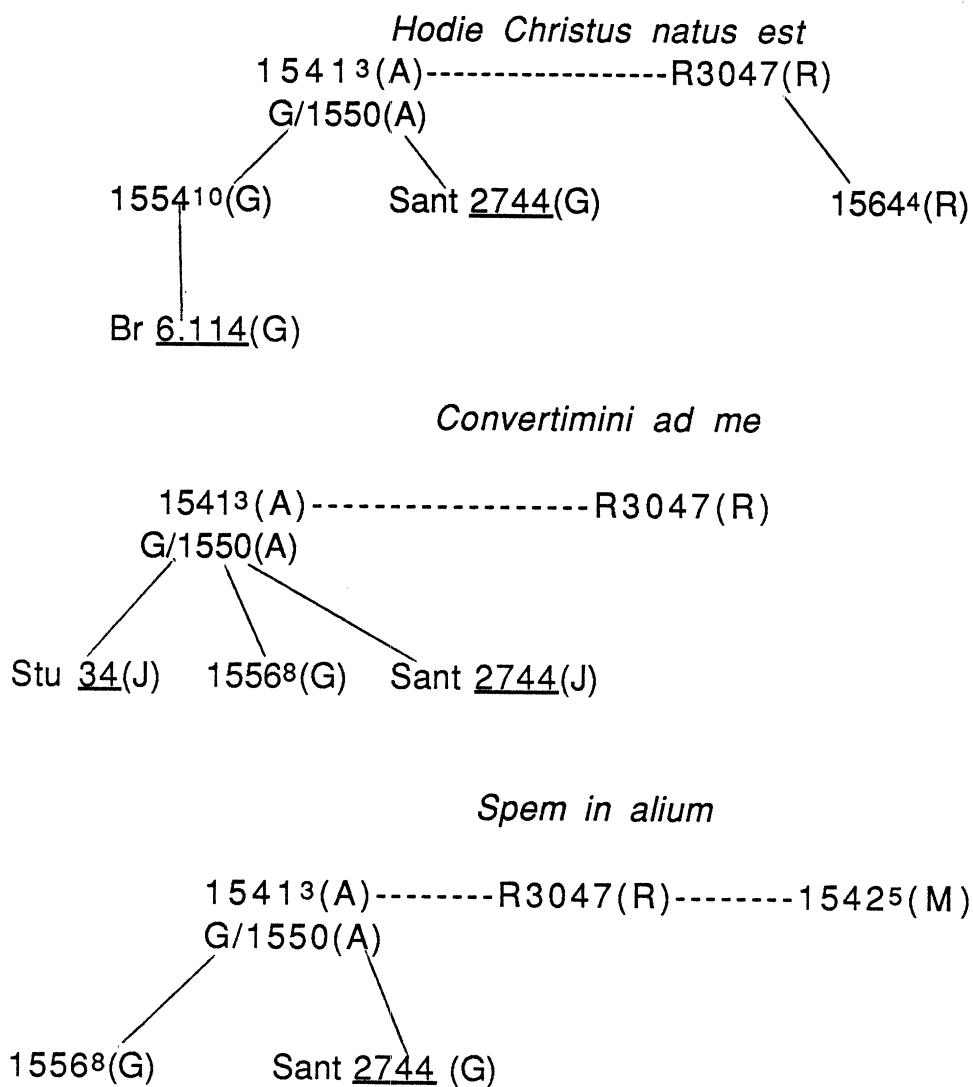
³¹See Bohn, loc. cit.

festorum (1554¹⁰). The three motets, which appear as numbers 9, 14, and 21 in the *Evangelia* collection, respectively comprise numbers 113-115 of the Breslau manuscript.

Santini (Sant 2744) took the motet from either 1541³ or G/1550. Since "Hodie Christus natus est" is found among the group of anonymous motets following two clearly attributed Morales works in 1541³ or G/1550, Santini's attribution to Gombert again appears a conscious one. It is possible, however, that Santini, like the scribe of Br 6.114, was familiar with the attribution to Gombert found in 1554¹⁰. In any case, the anonymous 1541³ version "Hodie Christus natus est" apparently served as the source for the Gombert attribution found in 1554¹⁰, Br 6.114, and Sant 2744, while R3047, the only supportable source of attribution, probably provided the Ruffo ascription given in 1564⁴.³²

³²Figure 2 shows the line of source transmission for "Hodie Christus natus est," "Convertimini ad me," and "Spem in alium."

Figure 2.
Probable Transmission of the Sources.



The six extant sources of "Convertimini ad me" include four prints and two manuscripts. Two of the prints, 1541³ and G/1550,

list no composer for the work. A third, R3047, names Ruffo as its author, while the fourth, *Quintus tomus Evangeliorum* (1556⁸), attributes the work to Gombert.³³

A total of eight Gombert motets appear in 1556⁸, and three of them are concordant with 1541³. Two of the three concordant works, "Convertimini ad me" and "Spem in alium," appear successively as numbers XXX and XXXI of the *Evangeliorum* collection. Comparison of the the Gombert motets shared by the two sources indicates that 1541³ served as the source for the 1556⁸ version of all three. One of the most striking features of 1556⁸'s version of "Convertimini ad me" is the retention of single semibreve groups from 1541³ that appear as ligature formations in R3047. The overwhelming evidence for 1556⁸'s reliance on 1541³, however, rests in the former's use of cautionary accidentals, approach to text setting, and variants in pitch and rhythmic values. These editorial details, which differ from those of R3047 and include the following, reflect a strong familiarity with the edition of the motet found in 1541³:

³³*Quintus tomus Evangeliorum, et piarum sentiarum: quinque vocum. Continens historias et doctrinam, quae in Ecclesia proponi solet: de Poenitentia* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber, 1556), XXX.

1. several cautionary "sharps" (#) indicating C-sharp, G-sharp or B-natural.
2. special attention to setting of the tenor's phrase "et flectus" (Example 9a).
3. pitch variants in the tenor (Example 9b) and quintus (Example 9c) voices.
4. a variant of pitch and rhythm in the bassus part (Example 9d).
5. a change of octavation in the bassus finalis.

Example 9a-d. A comparison of some editorial details in "Convertimini ad me."

1541³ and 1556⁸ R3047

a.

ni- o et fle- ctus ieunio

b.

c.

d.

The two manuscript sources of "Convertimini ad me", *Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Chorbuch I/34* (Stu 34) and *Münster, Bischöfliche Bibliothek, Santinischen Sammlung 2744* (Sant 2744), attribute the work to Jachet of Mantua. George Nugent hypothesizes that the scribe of Stu 34 copied the motet from 1541³, retaining the ascription of Jachet's immediately preceding "Si vera" for the unattributed "Convertimini ad me."³⁴ Nugent is probably correct in that the features peculiar to 1541³ and 1556⁸ enumerated above also occur in Stu 34. The Stu 34 scribe added some personal touches to his edition of the motet as well. These include slight rhythmic alterations in the cantus and altus parts (Example 10a and 10b).³⁵

³⁴Nugent, The Jachet Motets, 208-209.

³⁵See *Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Chorbuch I/34*. The motet is arranged in choirbook format with the attribution to Jachet falling above the cantus.

Example 10a and 10b. Rhythmic alterations in the cantus and altus of Stu 34's "Convertimini ad me."

a. Cantus, Stu 34 Cantus, other sources

b. Altus, Stu 34 Altus, all other sources

It already has been pointed out that the second manuscript source, Sant 2744, relied heavily upon 1541³ or its reprint (G/1550). Since "Si vera" also precedes "Convertimini ad me" in the Santini manuscript,³⁶ it is likely that the attribution to Jachet was determined through the same logic as the Jachet ascription in Stu 34,³⁷ though Santini may have considered the stylistic aspects of the work as well. Indeed, with the exception of R3047, all attributions of "Convertimini ad me," stem from misinterpretations of the anonymous attribution in 1541³. The attributions to Jachet and Gombert, therefore, are without firm basis.

³⁶Fellerer, *op. cit.*, XXX, 152.

³⁷Nugent, *op. cit.*, 146 and 208-209, omits discussion of Sant 2744, but maintains that the Jachet attribution is without firm basis.

The final motet of questionable authorship is "Spem in alium," a work appearing in five printed sources and one manuscript. Two of the printed sources, *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia* (1541³) and its reprint (G/1550), provide no attribution for the work, while the remaining three, Ruffo's *Il primo libro de motetti* (R3047), *Quintus liber motetorum* (1542⁵), and *Quintus tomus Evangeliorum* (1556⁸), attribute the motet to Ruffo, Morales, and Gombert, respectively. The single manuscript source, that of Santini (Sant 2744), transmits an ascription to Gombert.

Unlike the other attributions for "Spem in alium," Moderne's ascription to Morales in 1542⁵ is difficult to disregard, and, in fact, has prevailed in a number of modern sources, including the Anglés edition of Morales' complete works.³⁸ Direct lineage of 1542⁵ from either 1541³ or R3047 is doubtful, as may be seen in the

³⁸Modern sources ascribing the motet to Morales include Stevenson, "Morales," The New Grove, XXII, 558; Stevenson, "Morales," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, V, 559; Cristóbal Morales, Opera Omnia VIII: Motetes LI-LXXV [Monumentos de Musica Española XXXIV], ed. by Higinio Anglés (Rome: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971), 27 and 79; and Samuel Rubio, Cristóbal de Morales: estudio crítico de su polifonia (El Escorial: Biblioteca de la Ciudad de Dios, Real Monasterio de El Escorial, 1969), 194.

inconsistency of the cautionary accidentals and ligature groupings, as well as in its distinctly individual text underlay. One other motet from Moderne's collection, Gombert's "Audi filia," is concordant with 1541³, but this work is also included in two Italian prints issued as early as 1539,³⁹ and supplies no direct link between the prints in question. Furthermore, the attributions for the works in Moderne's print, particularly those immediately preceding and following "Spem in alium" are clearly designated. Though no earlier printed sources can be attached to Moderne's edition of the motet, the printed evidence clearly demonstrates that Montanus and Neuber based their version (1556⁸) upon that found in 1541³. Editorial details shared by the two include:

1. omission of various B-flats and B-naturals.
2. a pitch in the cantus voice that differs from R3047 (see Example 11).

³⁹These include Scotto's *Musica excellentissimi Nicolai Gomberti vulgo motecta vocum* (G2981) and Peter Schoeffer's *Cantiones quinque vocum selectissimae* (1539⁸). See Schmidt-Görg, *op. cit.*, 362.

3. identical, specifically indicated text placement for the words "et terre" and "respice."⁴⁰

Example 11. Variant melodic lines in the 1541³ and 1556⁸ versions of "Spem in alium."



The final source, Sant 2744, also carries an ascription to Gombert, apparently on the evidence of 1541³. In 1541³, "Spem in alium," like "Puer qui natus est," occurs among of group of anonymous works that follow two clearly attributed Morales motets. It therefore seems likely that Santini founded his attribution upon

⁴⁰"Spem in alium" comprises motet XXXI of *Quintus tomus Evangeliorum, et piarum sentiarum: quinque vocum. Continens historias et doctrinam, quae in Ecclesia proponi solet: de Poenitentia* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber, 1556). For further details concerning this print, see the discussion of "Convertimini ad me" above.

stylistic aspects of the work, for the Jachet ascription of "Convertimini ad me" discussed above obviates the possibility that he assumed all unattributed works in the print to be Gombert's.

In any event, it appears that 1541³ served as the basis for the ascriptions to Gombert found in 1556⁸ and Sant 2744. Yet a conflict in the attribution of "Spem in alium" remains. Neither the ascription to Ruffo in R3047 nor the attribution to Morales in 1542⁵ can be dismissed solely on the basis of the source evidence.

The Stylistic Evidence

A thorough study of the sources reveals that both "O doctor optime" and "Puer qui natus est" probably belong to Ruffo. Moreover, it suggests that "Hodie Christus natus est" and "Convertimini ad me," whose attributions to Gombert and Jachet can be traced to 1541³, were composed by Ruffo as well. What, then, of the remaining two motets? "Inter vestibulum" probably was authored by Ruffo, but a possible attribution to Gombert arising from a series of printing alterations that connect it to other works ascribed to Gombert still looms in the background. "Spem in alium" possesses equally reliable attributions to both Ruffo and Morales.

Source study alone yields inadequate information concerning the authorship of "Inter vestibulum" and "Spem in alium," and, consequently, the possibility of verification by means of style analysis remains the only alternative.

Contrapuntal Characteristics

Though stylistic study frequently provides useful assistance in verifying composer attribution, it often also discloses stylistic peculiarities common to an entire group of composers. Such is the case for Ruffo, Gombert, and Morales. For example, an attempt to isolate contrapuntal features unique to Ruffo yielded five devices prominent in both his first motet book (R3047) and his *Missa Alma redemptoris mater* (1542).⁴¹ Unfortunately, further analysis showed that the first four of these were also frequently found in the works

⁴¹The *Missa Alma redemptoris mater*, which was first issued in Scotto's *Missa cum quatuor vocibus decantandae Morales hispano, ac aliorum auctorum* (1542³), has been published in Vincenzo Ruffo, Seven Masses I: The Early Masses [Recent Researches in Music of the Renaissance XXXII], ed. by Lewis Lockwood (Madison: A-R Editions, 1979), 1-35.

of Gombert and/or Morales:⁴²

1. the appearance of parallel fifths and octaves, usually between an inner and an outer voice.
2. a penchant for the suspension of the second and ninth.
3. an occasional unsuspected second, fourth, or seventh above the bass on an accented beat.
4. the frequent crossing of voices.

The series of 9-8 and 2-1 suspensions in the motet "Puer qui natus est," which is replete with a number of the above characteristics, are of particular interest. These fall on the text "et plus quam propheta" (Example 12), as well the parallel closing material of its prima and secunda pars, which also features parallel octaves between the altus and cantus voices (Example 13). One

⁴²Several surveys of the works of Gombert and Morales, including Schmidt-Görg, op. cit., and Rubio, op. cit., have been published. These, however, reveal little that serves to adequately differentiate one composer's style from that of another. For the purposes of this study, a number of Gombert and Morales motets were surveyed. Six were then selected for detailed scrutiny. These included Gombert's "Tribulatio et angustia," "Gaudeamus omnes," and "Ave Maria," and Morales' "Lamentabatur Jacob," "O sacrum convivium," and "Emendemus in melius."

other noteworthy oddity occurring in this closing section is the unusual treatment of the parallel fourths between the quintus and altus voices. The composer allows an intervening suspension to disturb the traditional supporting consonances below.⁴³

Though parallel fifths between an inner and an outer voice are sometimes found in the work of Morales, such occur infrequently in the works of Gombert.⁴⁴ Other distinctions in the works of Gombert are found in the avoidance of the suspension of the second and ninth; he prefers the more traditional 7-6 and 4-3 patterns. Morales, on the other hand, often employs the suspension of the second and ninth for dramatic effect. This dissonance figure, in fact, is especially prominent throughout his "Lamentabatur Jacob," a motet noted for its unusual harmonic treatment.⁴⁵

⁴³Gombert, who frequently employs parallel fourths, usually supports them with the traditional parallel sixths below. See, for example, his "Tribulatio et angustia," measure 122.

⁴⁴See, for instance, Morales, "Lamentabatur Jacob," measure 30.

⁴⁵See the comments concerning seventh and ninth chords in Robert Stevenson, Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 95. Stevenson derives his remarks from Rafael Mitjana, Estudios sobre algunos músicos españoles del siglo XVI (Madrid: Sucs. de Hernando, 1918).

In addition to parallel fifths and octaves and the suspension of the second and ninth, the unsususpended second, fourth, and seventh appear frequently in the six motets. One particularly striking application of this device occurs in "Spem in alium," which features such a fourth--accented, in this case--against what normally would be interpreted as a consonant six-five (Example 14). The unsususpended

Example 14. The unsususpended fourth in "Spem in alium," measures 131-133.

The image shows a musical score for five staves. The lyrics are: [in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di- la- ti- o- ne di- o- ne di- mit- tis, in tri- bu- di- mit- tis, in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne]. A box highlights a specific interval in the fourth staff, which is a fourth.

second, fourth, and seventh, however, are utilized in much the same manner and with equal frequency by all three composers. The dissonant note is approached either as a repeated note or as the third note in a group of four semiminims, the first, second, and fourth of which are consonant (Example 15).

Example 15. The unsuspected seventh in Nicholas Gombert, "Gaudeamus omnes," measures 7-9.

The musical score consists of five staves. The first staff (Soprano) has lyrics: gau- de- a- mus. The second staff (Alto) has lyrics: gau- de- a-. The third staff (Tenor) has lyrics: mus o- mnes. gau- de- a-. The fourth staff (Bass) has lyrics: Gau- de- a- mus o-. The fifth staff (Bass) has lyrics: Gau-. A box highlights the dissonant seventh interval between the Soprano and Alto parts in measure 8, and another box highlights the dissonant seventh interval between the Alto and Tenor parts in measure 9.

A fifth contrapuntal device peculiar to the works of Ruffo, a portamento in the lowest voice, is most often associated with the style of the Josquin generation. This figure, which appears

throughout the motets from the 1542 book and the *Missa Alma redemptoris mater*,⁴⁶ is rarely employed in the motets of Morales and Gombert. It commonly precedes a cadence, and effects a momentary pungent dissonance against the upper voices (Example 16).

Example 16. The portamento in the bassus of "Convertimini ad me," measures 16-18.

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Bassus. The lyrics are: "cit do- mi- nus, [di- cit de ve- stro,] di- stro, in to- to cor- de ve- stro, di- cit di- cit do- mi- nus,". The Bassus part (bottom staff) features a portamento (glissando) between measures 16 and 18, which is highlighted with a rectangular box. The portamento starts on a G note and slides down to a D note.

Considered from the standpoint of voice distribution, all six of the motets demonstrate more affinity with the works of Ruffo than with those of Morales and Gombert. For example, in five-part

⁴⁶See, for example, the "Et resurrexit" of Ruffo's *Missa Alma redemptoris mater*, measure 253.

writing, Gombert rarely allows the inner voices to cross below the bass, usually restricting voice crossings to two or three of the inner voices, which themselves cross rather frequently. Morales, however, permits intermittent exchange of the three lowest voices, generally keeping all five voices carefully spaced in accordance with their respective positions within a five-part texture. Ruffo's works, on the contrary, feature constant crossing of the four closely-spaced lower voices against a solitary cantus line. Moreover, his altus parts often have an exceedingly low tessitura.⁴⁷

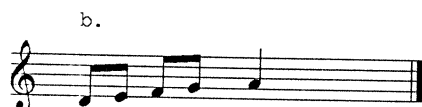
Melodic Characteristics

Three melodic figures typical of sixteenth-century counterpoint also are endemic in Ruffo's style. The first of these consists of a stepwise four-note semiminim pattern that begins on the beat (Examples 17a and 17b). The second is comprised of a sequence of dotted figures occurring in the form of either a

⁴⁷Compare, for example, Gombert's "Ave Maria," Morales' "Emendemus in melius," and Ruffo's "Muro tuo in expugnabili." These characteristics of Ruffo's writing can also be detected in several of the four and five-voice secular works from the 1540's and 1550's. See Vincenzo Ruffo, *Il primo libro de madrigali cromatici a quatro voci con la gionta di alquanti madrigale del medesimo autore* (Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1552) and Vincenzo Ruffo, *Il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1557).

suspension chain or a simple series of consonances (Examples 17c and 17d). The last, an embellished syncopation, most often serves as cadential suspension with fusa embellishment, though it sometimes serves no cadential function as well (Example 17e).

Example 17a-e. Stock melodic figures preferred by Ruffo.



The first group of figures (Examples 17a and 17b) often is detected in the motets of Gombert and Morales, but the second (Examples 17c and 17d) and third (Example 17e) appear less frequently than in the works of Ruffo. These motives, which are employed extensively in Ruffo's motets, are particularly prominent in "Hodie Christus natus

est" (Example 18), "Convertimini ad me" (Example 19), "Spem in alium" (Example 20), and "Inter vestibulum" (Example 21).⁴⁸

Example 18. Melodic motives preferred by Ruffo in "Hodie Christus natus est," measures 14-17.

Example 19. Melodic motives preferred by Ruffo in "Convertimini ad me," measures 27-29.

⁴⁸Note the pair of disguised parallel octaves found in "Inter vestibulum" as well.

Example 20. Melodic motives preferred by Ruffo in "Spem in alium," measures 59-60.

60

in tri- bu- la- ti-
tri- bu- la- ti- o-
ta no- stra,
ta no-
stra,]

Example 21. Melodic motives preferred by Ruffo in "Inter vestibulum," measures 46-49.

re- di- ta- tem tu- am, [et ne des he- re- di-
ta- tem tu- am,]
am, [he- re- di- ta- tem tu- am, [et
am, [et ne des he- re- di- ta-
he- re- di- ta- tem tu- am,]

Concluding Observations

Though stylistic evidence suggests that all six of the motets may have been composed by Ruffo, his authorship of "Inter vestibulum" and "Spem in alium" cannot be unquestionably accepted until all remaining conflicts between the sources have been resolved, for the stylistic evidence alone is inconclusive. Two final shreds of evidence, however, tip the scales in Ruffo's favor.

Although the title of Scotto's 1541 print, *Nicolai Gombert musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia que quinque vocum motetta vulgo nominatur. Additis nunc eiusdem quoque ipsius Gomberti, necon Iachetti, et Morales, opus mehercule summo studio . . . Liber primus*, implies the inclusion of works by only three composers--Gombert, Jachet, and Morales--it does, in fact, contain works by others as well. This alone makes the transmission of attribution errors through circulation highly possible. Further, the only motets in Ruffo's 1542 book possessing conflicting attributions are those that appear anonymously in Scotto's 1541 collection, and each of the conflicting attributions involves precisely those composers heading

the 1541 Scotto print. When source and stylistic evidence is considered in light of these facts, Ruffo, indeed, emerges as the most likely composer of the six anonymous motets in 1541³.

APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTS

Document 1

ALL'ILLMO, ET ECCMO S~ ALPHONSO D'AVALI MARCHESE// del Vasto valore invitto della militia, et chiaro splendore// delle virtu supreme,// Petro Maria Crivello humil "Servitor."// Essendo la Musica (secondo il Divino Platone) armonia Celeste, et divina// (e ben raggion) che gli animi si godeno intentamente odendo le voci, del// suo soave co[n]cento, onde ne procede poi sommo diletto, tra le ge[n]ti humane,// et cosi havendo noi, questi motetti da mandar' in luce, composti novamente per// L'Egregio Vincentio Ruffo, Musico; et Servitor' indefesso di V. Excellentia si siamo// avisati di mandarli sotto l'auspicio del suo Divinissimo Nome, che vede[n]do il chiaro// ornamento delle tante, et tali virtuti, ne siam' fatti sicuri che si puote// aguagliar al bel soggetto, Piaciavi do[n]que, Signor'benigno, Signor' cortese, Signor'// humano d'accettarli con lieta fronte, Et col magnanimo della sua grandezza// si degni escusarne del piccolo dono, che tale quale egli si sia, di cor si manda.

[Dedication, Il primo libro de motetti, London, British Museum]

To the illustrious and excellent Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, courageous and invincible member of the militia and bright magnificence of supreme talent from Petro Maria Crivelli, humble servant. Music being (as states the divine Plato) celestial and divine harmony, (it is wise) that souls content themselves with raising their voices in sweet harmony, from which then proceeds sublime delight between human beings. Thus we, having these motets newly composed by Vincenzo Ruffo, indefatigable musician and member of the household of your excellency, to put into circulation among cultured gentlemen, considered sending them under the auspices of your most divine name. Seeing the clear ornament of many [of them], and such virtues, we were certain that they would be able to equal the beautiful subject. Benigh sir, kind sir, humane sir, please accept them with a happy face and with the magnanimity of your great worthiness, and please excuse the smallness of this gift, which, as always, is sent from the heart.

Document 2

Milano, 2 Junij 1542

*A Petro Maria Crivelli preces accapimus verborum subsequen-
tium. Tenor// quibus loctis vuluimus sciscitari a
peritissimis in hac scientia an// huiusmodi impres[s]io fructuosa
futura sit ijs qui in ea oblectantur, quod// cum nobis affirmatum
fuerit. Ita fore, Tenore presentium aedicimus et// interminamur ne
quis recitatum opus in Dominio Mediolani intra decennium
imprimerum// aut imprimi facere, aut alibi impres[s]um in idem
Dominum inferre, aut// ibidem venale habere audeat, sub poena
fecem scutorum pro uno quoque volumine// contrafacienti
irremissibiliter auferendorum quorum tertia pars fisco// nostro
applicetur alia tertia supplicantis sit et reliquum accusatoris In
quorum.*

S~ etembemo

Jo: Novariez

[Studi: parte antica 97, foglio 2, Archivio di Stato di Milano]

Milan, June 2, 1542

To the entreaty of Petro Maria Crivelli we concede the following. Considering the fact that we wished to summon the most practiced in the science of this mode of printing in order that this mode of printing be fruitful in the future to those who are attracted by it, [the promise below] may be affirmed to him by us. Thus to be the course in the present, we disclose [that] they who work in the territory of Milan are being limited. [It is] an unpardonable violation to print, copy, or sell prints [of] identical [content] in this territory [of Milan] for a period of ten years under penalty of ten scutorum for each volume, each of which will be confiscated. A third [of the fine], which will be relinquished by the accused, will be applied to our budget, and another third will be the supplicant's.

Document 3

Caesar Auguste

2 Junij 1542

Cum fidelissimus Maestatis Vestrae servitor Petrus Maria Cribellus iam diu Insudaverit, Indagaveritque// ut un hac metropoli Civitate Mediolani aliqua Impressio musice conficeretur, et ut exinde// aliquod honorificum opus ad honorem eius in lucem prodiret, Quae tandem Impressio// a Jo: Antonio Castillioneo Impressore mediante Divino auxilio in presentiarum perfecta est,// unde ea de causa Exponens ab Egregio Vincentio Ruffo, musico, et familiare In// curia Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Marchionis del Vasto Caesarae Maestatis Vestrae In Italia locumtenentis,// musicale opus, pulcherrimum, laudabileve, ac delectabile habuit Quod sub eius// auspicio exponens ipse in lucem destinare Intendit, et ne autem Caesar Clementissime// tot labores, sudoresve predictorum Cribelli et Ruffi ab aliis futurum simile opus Imprimendo// aufererentur, ad Maestatis Vestrae exponens ipse recurrit,//

Supplicando eidem humillime ut dignetur per suas patententes litteras Decernere et dispensare// quod nullus in Dominio Maestatis Vestrae audeat Intra Decennium, nec Imprimi facere, in preiudicium exponentis, sub poena que Maestatis Vestrae// videbitur aliquibus legibus, statutis et Decretis Incontroniam facentibus non// attentis, Quibus Meastatis Vestrae placeat derogare prout speratur ut supra.

[Studi: parte antica, 97, foglio 3, Archivio di Stato di Milano]

Caesar Augustus

June 2, 1542

A long time ago one of your majesty's subjects, Petro Maria Crivelli, sweated and explored music printing in this city of Milan, in order to thence produce some respectable work. And at last the impression by Giovanni Antonio Castiglione, a printer magical and divine, is in perfect form, just as produced by the extraordinary Vincenzo Ruffo, musician and mamber of the household in the court of the Marchese del Vasto, Caesar your sovreignty posted in Italy.

[They are] works more beautiful, laudable, and delectable, which under his pen display themselves in a light unsurpassed by any others. Caesar most merciful, the aforementioned Crivelli and Ruffo entreat you humbly to protect this entire work from being carried away by others.

[Protect it] in such a way that it is dignified by accessible documents proposing a decree that neither this work nor others like it be printed or dispensed within the domain of your sovereign majesty for one decade. Expose this under penalty of law [using] other laws, statutes, and degrees as seen fit by your sovereign majesty [in order to] discourage those whom your majesty wishes to restrict.

Document 4

presidenti et praefectis annone

Illustrissime et excellentissime princeps

Milano 25 genero 1541

*Expone il devote et humil servo de vostra Excellentia prete//
 Francesco rosarino de Vercelli Canonico et Cantor' della chiesa// de
 vigevano qualmente vivendo la felice memoria de signor Duca//
 Francesco pigliava faticha insegnar la musica in questa// chiesa alli
 clerici et altri per mantener essa musica// a laude de Iddio et honor
 di essa chiesa, et per non // haver quello auito gli dava il passato
 signor Duca, ne autorita// di eliger' clerici idonei di voce, non puo
 continuar quella// si bona musica come faceva per il passato, per la
 qual// gieva ordinato et daro lir' 200. ogni anno per mano// del
 signor Castellanus presidente delle biade, oltra che glieva fatto// di
 meglio. Per il che supplica humilmente vostra Excellentia se degni
 farli provisione, acio possa ritornar quella musica solita// in questa
 chiesa la quale sara per laudar Dio et honor de// vostra Excellentia
 et molto decoro del clero di quella Città, et con// minima spesa di
 vostra Excellentia.*

[Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 32 (1541 gennaio, 62), Archivio di Stato di Milano]

President and Praefect of the Biade
Most Illustrious and Excellent Prince

Milano, 25 January 1541

Considering that the devoted and humble servant of your Excellency prete Francesco rosarino of Vercelli, Canonico and Cantor of the Cathedral of Vigevano, keeping in mind the happy memory of signor Duca Francesco, has labored to teach music to the clergy and others in this church in order to maintain said music to the glory and honor of God and honor of this church, and not having that help given him by the aforementioned signor Duca, nor the authority to select clergy of adequate voice, is not able to continue this music as has been done in the past, for which it was ordered that he be given lire 200 every year by [the hand of] signor Castellanus, president of the biade, unless it be made better.

Document 5

presidenti et praefectis annone

Visto questo si contiene nella supplicatione inserto del venerabile Cantore de// vigevano, et la fide, quale ne ha prodotto, per quale// appar' che per l'illustrissimo et Excellentissimo quon' signor Duca Francesco di beata memoria// furono ad esso Cantor' l'anno del 1535, dare le libre duecento// de quale si fa mentione, atteso la virtu, et bone qualita// di esso cantore, et l'opera laudevole, che cede a// honore de Messer Signor Dio, et decoro de la chiesa de vigevano,// quale e Juspronato de sua Majesta come sapete accio possa// con bon'animo perseverar' vi diremo, et commetteremo// debbiare per l'anno praesente far gli pagare per l'officio vostro// dette libre duecento in quelli termini ad voi parera piu// comodo, le quali in li conti vostri se vi tenerano bone Dio// vi conservi, di Milano alli XXV di genero 1541.

*El Marchese del Vasto
Taberna, Montibus*

[Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XV/1, 166r, Archivio di Stato di Milano and Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 32 (1541 gennaio, 61), Archivio di Stato di Milano]

president and prefect of the annone

Having seen that contained in the inserted supplication of the venerable Cantor of Vigevano, and the faith that produced it, for which it seems that the L200 which is mentioned comes to this cantor beginning in the year 1535 through the Illustrious and Excellent signor Duca Francesco of fond memory, I attest to the virtue and fine quality of this cantor, and to his praiseworthy work that yields to the honor of God and the decorum of the church of Vigevano, which, as you know, is in the jurisdiction of your majesty. In order that he is able to persevere, we proclaim and promise to pay through your office the aforementioned L200 in those terms that seem most convenient to you and keep your accounts in good order. God preserve you. From Milan on 25 January 1541.

Document 6

Alphonsus et cetera.

Praeses et cetera. Essendo mente nostra el debito al Reverendo prete Francesco rosarino// da vercelli Canonico, et Cantore de la citta di vigevano gli siamo// pagare le L200 fl Imperiali de quartero in quartero, si come gli// solevan' esser' dare al tempo de la felice memoria del' Illustrissimo signor' Duca Francesco// per la fatica sua de insegnar' la musica a li clerici, et altri// per mantiner' d'etta musica ne la chiesa maggior' d'essa citta. Pero vi commettemo et velemo che ad esso Reverendo Canonico// facciare pagare la summa libri duecento cinquanta Imperiali cio e// L50fl de qual'e creditor' per detta causa per l'ultimo quartero// de l'anno 1541 prossimo passato et L200fl per l'anno praesente, facendoli// pagar' dette L200 de l'anno praesente ogni tre mesi alla rata, ponendoli// a spesa consistentia. Et vui tesauo li numerate mediante il mandato et scritture// opportune. In Milano alli 2 maggio 1542.

*Valgrana, Taberna, il
Marchese del Vasto,
Don Lope de Soria*

[Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 34v, Archivio di Stato di Milano]

Alphonso et cetera.

Praises et cetera. Rembering the debt to the Reverend Father Francesco rosarino of Vercelli, Canon and Cantor of the city of Vigevano, we are pleased to pay him the L 200 imperial quarter by quarter, as it has generally been given him for teaching music to the clergy and others in order to maintain the music in the cathedral of the aforementioned city since the time of the death of the Illustrious Duke Francesco. However, we promise and wish to pay the sum of L250 imperial, that is L50, for which he is a creditor through the final quarter of the past year of 1541 because of the aforementioned reason, and L200 for the present year, [which will be] payable at the rate of evey three months, making them a consistent expenditure. And your treasurer will award them through the mandate and oportune writer. In Milan on 2 May 1542.

Document 7

Marchio Vasti et ceterae.

Praeses et ceterae. Havendo alli giorni passati il nobile Antonia maria// Pavona cesareo Referendo in la città di Vigevano, pagato à Gio: Battista Birago trombetta di sua majesta et nostra. Per una sua andata in posta à Turino// et ritorna in tutta digilentia con certe legitime merce importantissime,// la summa de libre novantanove Imperiale che sono la valuta de// scudi 18. d'oro. Ita l'assuo per scudo, come appar' per una quitanza d'esso trombetta, quali in mandiamo qui// inserta, et essendo conveniente che li siano rimborsati.// Perchè vi commettemo et volemo che ad essa Pavona, facciate// pagar' ò vero compensar essi scudi 18. Facendone et cetera.// In Milano alli 18. ottobre 1544. Signat vostra signoria.

[Registri della Cancelleria dello Stato XXII/4 (Mandati 1542-1545), 139r]

To the Marchese del Vasto et cetera.

Praises et cetera. A few days ago the noble Antonio Maria Pavona, caesar's representative in the city of Vigevano, paid the sum of 99

imperial lire, which have the value of 18 gold scudi, to Gio: Battista Birago, trumpeter of his majesty and ours, for a journey to and from Torino with certain highly important and legitimate goods.

For that reason the correspondence by scudo, as it appears on a receipt of said trumpeter, which we send in this insert, so that they are conveniently reimbursed. We desire and promise to reimburse or otherwise compensate Pavona the aforementioned 18 scudi. Making et cetera. In Milan on 18 October 1544. Signed your signoria.

Document 8

Magnifico signor. Il portato di questo sarà messer// Giovanni francesco milanese gentilhuomo alessandro// a cui sua Eccelentia ha fatto gratia. Del capito// niato del omelina et per cio vieni perla// ispeditione per consequens la signoria vostra. Il voglia ispe [sic]// dir tosto a cio possa ritornasse a met// tersi ne ordine et attender allofficio ove// spero ite se farà tanti honor quell'altro// per esse gentilhuomo facultoso et da// bene et mi raccomando alla signoria vostra// da vigevane al 2 genaro 1544.

[Cancelleria dello Stato di Milano 48 (1544 gennaio), 6.]

Magnificent signor. This regards mister Giovanni Francesco Milanese, gentleman of Alessandria, to whom your excellency has granted favor. [He] misunderstands the omission and consequently comes for the expedition through the fault of your signoria. It is important that he be able to return to put [things] in order and attend to the office where I trust he will bring much honor that other through this wealthy gentleman, and good intentions and my best wishes to your signoria. From Vigevano on 2 January 1544.

Document 9

Franciscus, et cetera: Providere volentes qual curata// ecclesia St. Michaelis Busti magni et Canonicatus in ecclesia Collegiata//

Galerati diocesorum Milan quam et quem// prebendo Cesar de Caspis possidebat, et// nunc propter absentiam eius, qui a nobis// ad hostes nostros transfuga factus est// rectore carent, solita debita obsequia// ni di unis et circa curam ammaram// habeant ac eorum reditus, et fructus// ni sinistrum non transeant, Confisi// de virtute industria, et integrate// dilecti cantoris nostri Magnifici Mathie// Flandrensis clerici: Tenore presentium// Constituimus et Deputamus eum in// Rectorum, et Administratorem// dicte ecclesiae, et canonicatus cum auc// toritate, arbitrio, et plena potestate// illam et illum regendi nomine camere// nostre, ac illorum reditus fructus, et// cerisus percipiendi ad illorum fictabilibus, // Massarijs, Censuarijs, et colonis, et de receptis quetantias faciendi . . .

[Sforzesca: Registri Ducali 73, 69r-70r]

Francesco et cetera. We wish to provide care to the greater church of St. Michael Busti and the [attached] canonicate in the collegiate church of Gallerate, diocese of Milan. Whereas presbyter Cesare de Caspis, who by us was made governor to our victims, possessed and in his absence now has nearly deserted. They abstain from the solitary obligatory debt and wanted to attend to all returns and profits wrongly obtained. Not having passed over the attributes of virtue, industry, and integrity, [we have] chosen our cantor the magnificent Matthias Flandrensis of the clergy. At present we maintain, order, and consider him governor and administrator of the aforementioned church, and canon with responsibility and full power over those regions named by our chamber, as well as those revenues generated and harvested from those lands, buildings, farms, and receipts . . .

APPENDIX B

THE MOTETS OF RUFFO'S *IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MOTETTI* (1542)

Motet	Usage or Text Origin¹
1. <i>Muro tuo in expugnabili</i> (A)	Sat. before 3rd Sun. in Nov. (Vespers); Order of St. Ambrose; various Ambrosian Offices and Processions ²
2. <i>Peccantem me quotidie</i> (R)	Office of the Dead (Matins); Order of St. Ambrose
3. <i>Veni electa mea</i> (A)	B. V. M. (Vespers)
4. <i>Laudate Dominum</i> (A)	3rd day after Epiphany (Psalm 117)
5. <i>Nigra sum sed formosa</i> (A)	B. V. M. (Vespers)
6. <i>Ave ignea columna caeli</i>	Hymn(?) for St. Ambrose
7. <i>Convertimini ad me</i> (A)	5rd day after Easter; Order of St. Ambrose; various Ambrosian Offices and Processions ³
8. <i>O lumen ecclesiae</i>	Rhymed office for St. Hugo; possibly in honor of a local archbishop

¹A similar chart appears in Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music of Vincenzo Ruffo (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1960), 283-286. This chart, however, contains several additions and elaborative comments.

²See Terrence Bailey and Paul Merkley, The Antiphons of the Ambrosian Office (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1989), 206.

³Ibid., 172.

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|--|--|
| 9. <i>Respice in me Deus</i> (R) | Responsory for the 3rd day after Quadregesima Sunday |
| 10. <i>Antequam comedam</i>
2 pars. <i>Ecce non est</i> (R) | 1st Sunday in Sept. |
| 11. <i>Circumdederunt me</i>
2 pars. <i>Omnnes videntes</i> (R) | Palm Sunday |
| 12. <i>Tanto tempore</i> (A) | Sts. Phillip and James (Vespers and Psallenda); Communion of the Apostles. |
| 13. <i>Spem in alium</i>
2 pars. <i>Domine Deus</i> (R) | 4th Sunday in September (Matins); Order of St. Ambrose ⁴ |
| 14. <i>Specia tua</i> (R) | All Virgins (Graduale); B.V.M. (Communion) |
| 15. <i>Averte oculos meos</i> | Psalm 118 |
| 16. <i>Illumina oculos meos</i> (A) | Offertory for 10th week after Penetecost |
| 17. <i>Virgo sancta Barbara</i> (A?) | St. Barbara (Dec. 4) |
| 18. <i>Uxor sicut tua vitis</i> (A) | Baptism/birthday of Hermes Visconti or Carlo d'Avalos |
| 19. <i>Domine Jesu Christe</i> (A) | Offertory for Requiem Mass |
| 20. <i>Tribulationes meae</i> | Psalm 24 |
| 21. <i>Sume dei fideles</i> (A?) | St. Aurelius (Nov. 9) |
| 22. <i>O sacrum convivum</i> (A) | Corpus Christi (Vespers) |

⁴ibid., 237.

23. *Laudibus laudemus* In honor of Melchior Saavedra
24. *Hodie Christus natus est* (A) Nativity (Vespers)
25. *Ecce crucem Domini* (A) Invention of the Cross (Vespers)
26. *Stetit angelus* (A) St. Michael (Vespers)
27. *Deduc me domine* (A) Ambrosian Office Antiphon for
recitation of Psalm 1 (Psalm 118)
28. *O doctor optime* (A) Doctors of the Church (Vespers)
29. *O quam gloriosum* (A) All Saints (Vespers)
30. *O Rex gloriae* (A) Ascension (Vespers)
31. *Puer qui natus est*
2 pars. *Hic est enim*
propheta (R) St. John the Baptist (Vespers)
32. *Francorum Rex illustris* (A?) St. Louis (Aug. 30)
33. *Inter vestibulum et altare* (A) Ash Wednesday; St. Barbara
(Vespers)
34. *O quam mira refulsit* (A?) St. Faustinus
35. *Convertere Domine* (A)
2 pars. *Laboravi in gemitu* Office of the Dead (Matins)

APPENDIX C
EXTANT PRINTS ISSUED BY CASTIGLIONE

Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori, 1536.

Albicante: *Historia della guerra in Piemonte*, 1538.

Cardano: *Pratica arithmeticae*, 1539.

B. Castellioneus: *Gallorum Insubrum Antiquae Sedes*, 1541.

Ruffo: *Il primo libro de motetti a cinque voci*, 1542.

Calusco, ed.: *Mutetarum divinitatis liber primus*, 1543.

Aaron: *Compendiolo di molti dubbi*, c. 1545.

Missale secundum institutionem, 1548.

Statuti mediolani, 1552.

APPENDIX D
SUPPLEMENT TO THE MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUE

*Breslau, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. 6 (Br 6):*¹ A manuscript dated c. 1567 containing four-, five-, six-, seven-, and eight-voice motets with Christmas and Epiphany texts. Its 158 motets, which were selected from the repertoire of the Elizabethkirche, Maria Magdalenakirche, and Bernhardskirche in Breslau, are copied in partitura by an unknown hand. Fourteen of the motets contained are recopied at various transposition levels. The collection includes several alternatim works possibly intended for polychoral performance. A catalogue that is prefaced by the historical background of the manuscript was prepared for Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau* (Breslau: Julius Hainauer, 1890).

Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. B 38, no. 7 (Pist B 38, no. 7): Not, as Lewis Lockwood suggested, "a fragmentary bass part of an unusually large collection of motets,"² but rather the remains of what once was a set of hand-copied partbooks containing five- and six-voice motets prepared for local use. The extant pages of the entire set apparently were later bound as a single group, since differing voice parts in various cleffings can be found for each surviving motet. The manuscript is now covered with orange cardboard and loosely bound with string. The character of the hand suggests that the manuscript was copied in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. The motets bear no attributions; even the table of contents, which was copied in another hand, lists only the titles of the works contained. Though Lockwood hypothesized that the Pistoia manuscript may exclusively contain motets by Ruffo, such a supposition is negated by the lack of concordance for those

¹Appendix D contains a description of those manuscripts not included in Charles Hamm, ed. Renaissance Manuscript Studies 1: A Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1550 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler Verlag, 1979-1984).

²Lewis Lockwood, The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music of Vincenzo Ruffo (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1960), 257.

motets of Ruffo's 1542 collection that supposedly were copied into it. A complete tabulation of this manuscript's concordances remains to be completed.

Münster, Bischöfliche Bibliothek, Santinischen Sammlung Ms. 2744 (Sant 2744): One of several large manuscripts copied by Fortunato Santini between 1830 and 1850 containing sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works found in the collections of the Papal Chapel and other Italian churches. Most of the major composers of the Roman, Neopolitan, Venetian, and Bolognese schools are represented in this large compilation of masses, graduals, offertories, psalm settings, Te Deums, and motets for 1-16 voices. Many of the works included were copied directly from printed collections issued by such houses as Scotto, Gardane, and Castiglione. A detailed history of the Santini manuscripts can be found in Joseph Killing, *Kirchenmusikalisches Schätze der Bibliothek des Abbate Fortunato Santini. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik in Italien. Teil 1.* (Münster: Aschendorffschen Buchdruckerei, 1908), and an unfinished catalog of them is located in Karl Gustav Fellerer, "Verzeichnis der kirchenmusikalischen Werke der Santinischen Sammlung," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XXVI (1931), 111-140; XXVII (1932), 157-171; XXVIII (1933), 143-154, XXIX (1934); XXX (1935), 149-168; and XXXI-XXXIII (1936-1938), 95-110.

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SELECTED MOTETS FROM RUFFO'S *IL PRIMO*

LIBRO DE MOTETTI (1542)

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LIBRO DE MOTETTI (1542)

Critical Commentary

Key to the Manuscript Sources

Br 6.114 Breslau, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. 6.114 (ca. 1567)

Tr Z Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare Ms. Z (ca. 1559-1575)

Sant 2744 Münster, Bischöfliche Bibliothek, Santinischen Sammlung 2744 (19th century)

Stu 34 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Chorbuch 1/34 (c. 1548-1550)

Key to the Printed Sources

1541³ *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi pentaphthongos harmonia . . . Liber primus* (Venice: Scotto)

R3047 *Il primo libro de motetti a conque voci (Mediolani: Castellioneus)*

1542⁵ *Quintus liber motetorum ad quinque et sex et septem vocum* (Lyons: Moderne)

G/1550 *Nicolai Gomberti musici excellentissimi cum quinque vocibus* (Venice: Scotto)=reprint of 1541³

1554¹⁰ *Evangelia dominicorum et festorum* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)

1556⁸ *Quintus tomus Evangeliorum* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)

1564⁴ *Thesauri musici tomus quartus continens* (Nürnberg: Montanus et Neuber)

Ave ignea columna caeli (no. 6)

Text: Liturgical origin unknown. Poetic form and subject matter of text suggests a Hymn for the Feast of St. Ambrose.

Sources: R3047 (Ruffo).

Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies: Faulty alignment causes ambiguities of pitch in C m4/1, C m5-7, C m22/3, C m24-27, C m31/1, C m33/3, A m42/3, C m50/3, and C m51/1 of R3047; C m3/1 reads minim rest in R3047; T m32 shows conflict between text and ligature in R3047.

O sacrum convivium (no. 22)

Text: Antiphon for Magnificat of Second Vespers on Corpus Christi.

Sources: R3047 (Ruffo).

Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies: Faulty alignment causes ambiguities of pitch in C m18-24 and C m43/1 of R3047; text reads "finitur" in C m20-21 of R3047; dot missing from minim in C m41/1 of R3047; semibreve rest in C m47/3 of R3047.

O lumen ecclesiae (no. 8)

Text: Rhymed office for the feast of St. Hugo.

Occasional Usage: Possibly composed in honor of a local archbishop.

Sources: R3047 (Ruffo) and Tr Z (V.R.).

Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies: A m10/2-4 rhythm reads m-sm-sm-sm in R3047; T m19/1 reads c(b) in Tr Z; C m25/3 contains rest of unclear length in R3047; A m46/3 reads b rest in R3047; B m58-70 text reads "nos coniunge beatis" in Tr Z.

Uxor sicut tua vitis abundans (no. 18)

Text: Psalm 127; unidentified cantus firmus has separate text entitled "Hermes hic infans."

Occasional Usage: Baptism or birthday of Hermes Visconti or Carlo d'Avalos.

Sources: R3047 (Ruffo).

Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies: Q m31/1-m32/1 reads e'(b)-d'(b) in R3047; Q m62/1 reads c'(sb) in R3047.

Laudibus Laudemus (no. 23)

Text and Occasional Usage: State motet for Melchoir Saavedra.

Sources: R3047 (Ruffo).

Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies: Faulty alignment of pitches in B m16/4 and 17/1 of R 3047; B text reads "hic elevata."

Inter vestibulum et altare (no. 33)

Text: Antiphon for Ash Wednesday.

Sources: R3047 (Ruffo), 1541³ (Anon.), G/1550 (Anon.), and Sant 2744 (Gombert).

Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies: Ligatures omitted in A m31/1, A m37/3, B m37/3, and Q m52/1 of 1541³; A m19/3 rhythm reads dotted sb in 1541³; dot missing from sb in A m59/1 of R3047; C m68/1 reads minim rest in 1541³; insertion of rests in C m68/1 and C m71/1 of 1541³ causes line to displace rhythmically by two minims for remainder of work.

Puer qui natus est**2 pars. Hic est enim propheta** (no. 31)*Text:* Vespers Antiphon for the Feast of St. John the Baptist.*Sources:* R3047 (Ruffo), 15413 (Anon.), G/1550 (Anon.), and Sant 2744 (Gombert).*Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies:* Ligatures omitted in C m48/1, C m51/3, C m119/1, and T m124/3 of 15413; Tm15/3 reads m rest in 15413; T m45/4-46/2 reads d(dotted m)-c(sm)-c(m) in 15413; C m48/4-49/1 reads a(dotted m)-f(sm) in 15413; B m61/3 reads E in 15413; Q m77/1 reads E in R3047; C m85/2 reads b rest; Q m107/4-108/2 rhythm reads m-sbm in 15413; B m132/3 reads E in 15413; B m137/3-4 reads m-m in 15413.**Hodie Christus natus est** (no. 24)*Text:* Second Vespers for the Nativity.*Sources:* R3047 (Ruffo), 15413 (Anon.), G/1550 (Anon.), 155410 (Gombert), 15644 (Ruffo), Br 6.114 (Gombert), and Sant 2744 (Gombert).*Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies:* Faulty alignment causes ambiguities of pitch in T m9, A m10/3, T m14/3, T m61-66, and T m69/1 of R 3047; B m21/2 reads sb in R3047; T m76/3 reads sb in R 3047; Ligatures omitted in T m18/3, Q m18/3, C m22/1, C m48/1, A m48/3, Q m51/3, and B m57/1 of 15413 and 155410; Q m7/1 reads e in 15413 and 155410; B m13/3 reads E in 15413 and 155410; B m22/1 reads E in 15413 and 155410, C m55/4 reads c#' in 15413 and 155410.

Convertimini ad me (no. 7)

Text: Antiphon for the Fifth Day After Easter (Laudes) and the Litany of the Order of St. Ambrose; also used in various other Ambrosian Offices.

Sources: R3047 (Ruffo), 1541³ (Anon.), G/1550 (Anon.), Stu 34 (Jachet), 1556⁸ (Gombert), and Sant 2744 (Jachet).

Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies: C m9/3 reads m rest in R3047;

rhythm reads sb-m in A m10/3-11/1 of Stu 34, Q m11/1 reads G in R3047; A m15/2 reads c in R3047; B m16/4-17/2 rhythm reads sb - m in 1541³, Stu 34, and 1556⁸; T m20/3 reads e in 1541³, Stu 34, and 1556⁸; T m26/1 reads b rest in R3047; A m29/1 reads c in R3047; ligature omitted in B m30/1 of 1541³, Stu 34, and 1556⁸; C m31/1 reads g in R3047; C m33/1 reads d in R3047; A m33/1 reads c in R3047; C m35/4-36/1 rhythm reads m-m in Stu 34; ligature omitted in A m47/1 of 1541³, Stu 34, and 1556⁸; dot missing from minim in C m47/3 of R3047; B m49/3-50/1 rhythm reads m-sm-sm-m in 1556⁸; T m63/4 reads G(sm) in 1541³, G/1550, Stu 34, and 1556⁸; T m69/1 reads G in Stu 34; and B m69/1 is written an octave lower in 1541³, Stu 34, and 1556⁸.

Spem in alium**2pars. Domine Deus** (no. 13)

Text: Matins responsory for the Fourth Sunday in September.

Sources: R3047 (Ruffo), 1541³ (Anon.), 1542⁵ (Morales), G/1550 (Anon.), 1556⁸ (Gombert), Sant 2744 (Gombert).

Variants, Errors, and Inconsistencies: Ligatures omitted in T m18/3, Q m21/1, T m25/1, T m30/3, Q m38/3, Q m 72/1, B m72/1, B m77/3, B m80/3, B m106/1, B m134/3 of 1541³ and 1556⁸; ligatures omitted in A m28/1, T m43/3, and Q m106/1 of 1541³, 1542⁵, and 1556⁸; C m6/1 ligature added in 1542⁵; C m13/4-

14/1 reads c(dotted minim)-a(sm) in R 3047; Q m26/1 reads d in R3047; B m35/1 reads B in 1541³, 1542⁵, and 1556⁸; B m46/1 reads B in 1542⁵; Q m74/1 reads f in 1541³ and 1556⁸; B m78/1 ligature added in 1541³ and 1556⁸; C m125/3 reads b rest in R3047; Q m137/1 reads c in 1541³, 1542⁵, and 1556⁸; B m137/1 shows finalis written down an octave in 1541³ and 1556⁸; text reads "qui irascaris" in C and A of 1542⁵; text reads "peccata mea" in C, T, and B of 1542⁵; text reads "in tribulatione dimitte" in C, A, T, Q, and B of R3047; text reads both "dimitte" and "dimittis" in and C and T of 1541³ and 1556⁸.

Ave ignea columna caeli

V. Ruffo

C
 A
 Q
 T
 B

A-
 A- ve i-
 A- ve i- gne- a co- lu- mna

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a common time signature. It begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note 'A-'. The second staff is another vocal line with a treble clef, starting with a whole rest, then a half note 'A-', followed by quarter notes 've' and 'i-'. The third staff is a piano accompaniment with a treble clef, starting with a whole rest. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment with a treble clef, starting with a whole rest, then a half note 'A-', followed by quarter notes 've', 'i-', 'gne-', 'a', 'co-', 'lu-', and 'mna'. The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment with a bass clef, starting with a whole rest.

5

ve i- gne- a co- lu- mna cae-
 gne- a co- lu- mna cae- li,
 cae- li, [A-
 A- ve i- gne-

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef, starting with a half note 've', followed by quarter notes 'i-', 'gne-', 'a', 'co-', 'lu-', 'mna', and a half note 'cae-'. The second staff is another vocal line with a treble clef, starting with a half note 'gne-', followed by quarter notes 'a', 'co-', 'lu-', 'mna', and a half note 'cae-'. The third staff is a piano accompaniment with a treble clef, starting with a whole rest. The fourth staff is a piano accompaniment with a treble clef, starting with a half note 'cae-', followed by quarter notes 'li,', and a half note '[A-'. The fifth staff is a piano accompaniment with a bass clef, starting with a whole rest, then a half note 'A-', followed by quarter notes 've', 'i-', and a half note 'gne-'.

10

li, [A- a co-
 [A- ve i- gne- a co-
 ve i- gne- a co- lu- mna cae-
 ve i- gne- a co- lu- mna cae- li A- ve i-
 a co- lu- mna cae- li,

15

lu- mna cae- li,]
 lu- mna cae- li,]
 li, [A- ve
 gne- a co- lu- mna cae- li,] San-
 [A- ve i- [A- gne- a co- lu-

20

San- cte Am- bro-

San- cte Am- bro-

i- gne- a co- lu mna cae- li,] San- cte Am-

cte Am- bro- si con- fes-

mna cae- li,] San- cte Am- bro-

si con- fes- sor De- i, San- cte Am-

si con- fes- sor De-

bro- si con- fes- sor De-

sor De- i, [San- cte Am-

si con- fes- sor De- i, San-

25

bro- si con- fes- sor De- i, con- fes- sor De- i, [con- fes- sor De- bro- si] San- cte Am- bro si A- cte Am- bro- si con- fes- sor De- i

30

i, A- ve pi- e doc- tor sae- A- ve pi- e doc- tor sae- cu li, i,] A- ve pi- e doc- tor sae- ve pi- e doc- tor sae- cu- li, A- ve pi- e doc- tor sae-

35

cu- li,
sal- ve ful- gens stel- la cae-
cu- li, sal- ve ful- gens stel-
sal- ve ful- gens stel- la cae- li, [sal-
cu- li sal- ve ful- gens stel- la cae-

40

sal- ve ful- gens stel- la cae-
li, [sal- ve ful- gens stel-
la cae- li,
ve ful- gens stel-
li, [sal- ve ful- gens stel- la cae-

li, te

la cae- li,) te plebs o- rat de-

stel- la cae- li, te plebs o- rat de-

cae- li,) te plebs o- rat de- vo-

li,) te plebs o- rat de- vo-

45

plebs o- rat de- vo- ta,

vo-

vo- ta, [te plebs o- rat de- vo-

ta, [te plebs o- rat de- vo-

ta, [te plebs o- rat de- vo-

60

per im- plo- ra.

sem- per im- plo- ra, tu pro-

per im- plo- ra, [tu pro- no-

[tu pro- no- bis De- us.]

sem- per im- plo- ra, [tu pro-

no- bis De- us.

bis De- us.]

no- bis De- us.]

O sacrum convivium

V. Ruffo

C
 A
 Q
 T
 B

O sa- crum con- vi- vi-
 O sa-
 O sa- crum con- vi- vi-

5

O sa- crum con- vi- vi- um,
 um, [O sa- crum con- vi-
 sa- crum con- vi- vi- um, [O
 crum con- vi- vi- um, [O sa-
 um, [O sa- crum con- vi- vi- um,]

10

[O sa- crum con- vi- vi- um,] in quo Chri- sa- crum con- vi- crum con- vi- vi- um,] in O sa- crum con- vi- vi-

15

vi- um,] in stus su- mi- vi- um,] in quo Chri- quo Chri- stus su- um, in quo Chri- stus su- mi-

25

mi- tur,) re- co- li- tur me- mo- ri- a,
 mi- tur,) re- co- li- tur me-
 mi- tur,) re- co- li- tur me- mo- ri-
 stus su- mi- tur,) re-
 su- mi- tur,) re- co- li- tur me- mo- ri-

30

[re- co- li- tur me- mo- ri- a,]
 mo- ri- a, [re- co- li- tur me- mo- ri- a,]
 a, [re- co- li- tur me- mo- ri-
 co- li- tur me- mo- ri- a, pas- si-
 a, [re- co- li- tur me- mo- ri- a,] pas-

35

pas-si-o-nis, pas-si-o-nis

pas-si-o-nis, [pas-si-o-nis e-

a,] pas-si-o-nis, [pas-si-o-

o-nis e-

si-o-nis e- ius, [pas-

e- ius, mens im-ple-tur

ius,

nis] e- ius, mens im-

mens im-ple-tur gra-ti-a,

si-o-nis e- ius,) mens im-ple-tur

50

[et fu- tu- rae glo- ri- ae,]

al- le- lu-

tu- rae glo- ri- ae, [et fu- tu- rae glo- ri-

ae, [et fu- tu- rae glo- ri- ae,]

fu- tu- rae glo- ri- ae,]

al- le- lu- ia, al- le-

ia, [al- le- lu- ia,] al-

ae,] al- le- lu-

ia,

al- le- lu- ia, al- le- lu-

al- le- lu- ia, [al- le- lu-

65

lu- ia.]

ia,] al- le- lu- ia, al- le- lu- ia.

ia, [al- le- lu- ia,] al- le- lu- ia.

ia.]

ia,] al- le- lu- ia, [al- le- lu- ia.]

Detailed description: This block contains a musical score for five voices. The top staff is a soprano line with a treble clef and a sharp sign above it. The second staff is an alto line with a treble clef. The third staff is a tenor line with a treble clef and an '8' below it. The fourth staff is a bass line with a treble clef and an '8' below it. The fifth staff is a bass line with a bass clef. The lyrics are: 'lu- ia.]', 'ia,] al- le- lu- ia, al- le- lu- ia.', 'ia, [al- le- lu- ia,] al- le- lu- ia.', 'ia.]', and 'ia,] al- le- lu- ia, [al- le- lu- ia.]'. There are various musical notations including notes, rests, and slurs.

Detailed description: This block shows the beginning of a musical score for five voices, consisting of five staves. The top four staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Each staff begins with a single note and a slur, indicating the start of a phrase.

O lumen ecclesiae

V. Ruffo

C
 A
 Q
 T
 B

O lu-
 O lu- men ec- cle- si-
 O lu- men

5

men ec- cle- si- ae, [O lu-
 O lu- men ec-
 ae, [O
 ec- cle- si- ae,
 O lu- men ec- cle-

10

men ec- cle- si- ae,]
 cle- si- ae
 lu- men ec- cle- si- ae Doc- tor
 Doc- tor ve- ri- ta-
 si- ae, Doc- tor

15

Doc- tor ve- ri- ta
 Doc- tor ve- ri- ta- tis, [Doc-
 ve- ri- ta- tis,
 tis, [Doc- tor ve- ri- ta-
 ve- ri- ta- tis, [Doc- tor ve- ri- ta-

20

tis ro- sa pa- ti- en-
 tor ve- ri- ta- tis,] ro-
 ro- sa pa- ti- en- ti- ae, [ro-
 tis,] ro- sa pa- ti- en- ti- ae,
 tis,] ro- sa pa-

ti- ae, e- bur ca- sti- ta-
 sa pa- ti- en- ti- ae
 sa pa- ti- en- ti- ae
 ro- sa pa- ti-
 ti- en- ti- ae, e- bur ca- sti- ta-

35

ca- sti- ta- tis,] O quam sa- pi-
 e- bur ca- sti- ta- tis,] O quam sa- pi-
 tis,] O quam sa- pi-
 sti- ta- tis, O quam sa- pi-

40

en- ti- ae, na- sti
 O quam sa- pi- en- ae,
 en- ti- ae,
 en- ti- ae, pro- pri-
 en- ti- ae, pro- pri- na-

45

gra- tis, pre-
 pro- pri- na- sti gra-
 pro- pri- na- sti gra-
 na- sti gra- tis, [pro- pri- na- sti gra- tis,]
 sti gra- tis, [pro- pri- na- sti-

di- ca- tor gra- ti- ae, [pre-
 tis, pre- di- ca- tor,
 tis, pre- di- ca- tor
 pre- di- ca- tor gra- ti- ae
 gra- tis,] pre- di- ca- tor gra-

50

di- ca- tor gra- ti- ae,]

pre- di- ca- tor gra- ti- ae, #

gra- ti- ae, [pre- di- ca- tor gra-

pre- di- ca- tor gra- ti-

ti- ae, [pre- di- ca-

55

nos iun- ge be- a-

[nos iun- ge

ti- ae,] pre- di- ca- tor gra- ti- ae,]

ae, nos iun- ge be- a-

tor gra- ti- ae,] nos

60

tis, [nos iun- ge be- a-
 be- a-
 nos iun- ge be- a-
 tis,
 iun- ge be- a- tis, [nos iun-

65

tis,] nos iun- ge be-
 tis, nos iun-
 tis, nos iun- ge be- a-
 [nos iun- ge be- a-
 ge be- a- tis,] nos iun-

70

a- tis.

ge be- a- tis.

tis.

tis,) nos iun- ge be- a- tis.

ge be- a- tis.

Uxor sicut tua vitis abundans

V. Ruffo

U- xor si- cut tu- a vi-

U- xor si- cut tu-

U- xor si- cut tu-

U- xor si- cut tu-

U- xor si- cut tu-

U- xor si- cut tu-

5

tis a- bun- dans, [u- xor si- cut tu- a vi-

a vi- tis, si- cut tu- a vi-

U- xor si- cut tu- a

U- xor si- cut tu-

10

tis a- bun- dans,] tu- a vi- tis

tis a- bun- dans, [u- xor si- cut

vi- tis a- bun- dans,

a vi- tis a- bun- dans, [tu- a

15

a- bun- dans,

tu- a vi- tis a- bun- dans,]

Her- mes hic

tu- a vi- tis a- bun- dans,

vi- tis a- bun- dans,]

vi- tis a- bun-

tu- a vi- tis a-

in- fans

[tu- a vi- tis a- bun-

tu- a vi- tis a- bun-

20

dans, in la- te- ri- bus do-

bun- dans, in la- te- ri- bus

cre-

dans,) in la- te- ri- bus, in

dans, in la- te- ri- bus do- mus

25

mus tu- do-mus tu- ae, [in la-te-ri-bus
scat la-te-ri-bus do-mus, [in
tu- ae, [in la-te-ri-bus do-

30

ae, [in la-te-ri-bus do-mus tu- do-mus tu- ae,] in la-te-ri-bus
fae-li-ci-bus an-la-te-ri-bus do-mus tu- ae,] in
mus tu- ae,] in la-te-ri-bus

ae,] do- mus tu- ae, [do-
do- mus tu- ae, [in la- te- ri-
nis
la- te- ri- bus do- mus tu-
do- mus tu- ae, [in la- te- ri- bus do-

35

mus tu- ae,] fi- li- i tu- i, [fi-
bus do- mus tu- ae,] fi- li- i
ae, fi- li- i tu- i, [fi- li-
mus tu- ae,] fi- li- i tu- i,

40

li- i tu- i,]

tu- i si-

i tu- i,] si- cut no- vel- lae o- li-

[fi- li i tu- i,] si- cut no- vel- lae

45

si- cut no- vel- lae o- li- va- rum in

cut no- vel- lae, [si- cut no- vel- lae o- li- va-

et

va- rum, [si- cut no- vel- lae o- li- va- rum,] in

o- liv- a- rum, [si- cut no- vel- lae o- li- va- rum,] in

♭ 50

cir- cu- i- tu na- scen-

rum, in cir- cu- i- tu na- scen-

do- mus ac pa- tri-

cir- cu- i- tu men- sae tu- ae,

cir- cu- i- tu men- sae tu- a, [men- sae tu-

#

tur ec- cle- si- ae be- ne- di- ce

tur, ec- cle- si- ae be- ne- di- ce- tur

ae spes que

men- sae tu- ae ec- cle- si- ae be- ne- di- ce-

ae,] ec- cle- si- ae be- ne- di- ce- tur

55

tur ho- mo qui ti- met

ho-

pa- ren-

tur ho- mo, qui ti- met

ho- mo, qui ti- met do- mi- num,

60

do- mi- num,

mo, qui ti- met do- mi- num, [qui

tis ho-

do- mi- num, [qui ti- met do-

[qui ti- met do- mi- num,] qui ti- met

[qui ti- met do- mi- num, qui ti- met do- mi- num,] qui
 ti- met do- mi- num.]
 nor.
 mi- num,] qui ti- met do-
 do- mi- num, [qui ti- met do- mi- num,] qui ti- met

65 #

ti- met do- mi- num.
 mi- num.
 do- mi- num.

Laudibus laudemus

V. Ruffo

C
 A
 T
 Q
 B

Lau- di- bus lau- de-
 Lau- di- bus lau- de-

This system contains five staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is another vocal line with lyrics. The third staff is a tenor line. The fourth staff is a soprano line. The fifth staff is a bass line. The music is in common time and features various rhythmic patterns and rests.

5

mus, [lau- di- bus lau- de-
 Lau- di- bus lau- de- mus,
 Lau- di- bus lau-

This system continues the musical score with five staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The second staff is another vocal line with lyrics. The third staff is a tenor line. The fourth staff is a soprano line. The fifth staff is a bass line. The music is in common time and features various rhythmic patterns and rests.

mus, lau- de-

mus,] lau-

lau- di- bus lau- de-

Lau- di- bus lau- de- mus,

de- mus, [lau- di- bus lau-

10

mus, [lau- di- bus lau- de-

di- bus lau- de- mus, [lau- di-

mus, lau- di- bus lau- de-

lau- di- bus lau- de- mus,

de- mus,] lau- di-

15

mus,] te Du- cem in- vi-
 bus lau- de- mus,] te Du- cem
 mus,
 lau- di- bus lau- de-
 bus lau- de- mus, te

ctis- si- mum, [te Du- cem
 in- vi- ctis- si- mum, [te Du- cem in- vi-
 te Du- cem in- vi- ctis- si- mum,
 mus, te Du- cem in- vi- ctis- si-
 Du- cem in- vi- ctis- si- mum,

30

si- mum,] O Mel- chi- or Sa- a- ve- dra
 mum, O Mel- chi- or Sa- a- ve- dra
 mum, O Mel- chi- or Sa- a- ve- dra
 O Mel- chi- or Sa- a- ve- dra
 mum, O Mel- chi- or Sa- a-

35

a- ve- dra cla- ris- si- me, su-
 ve- dra cla- ris- si- me, su-
 dra cla- ris- si- me, su-
 dra cla- ris- si- me, su-
 ve- dra cla- ris- si- me, su-

su- bie- ci- sti e- nim,
 bie- ci- sti e- nim, sub pe-
 bie- ci- sti- e- nim, su- bie- ci- sti e- nim,
 ci- sti e- nim, sub
 bie- ci- sti e- nim, [su- bie- ci- sti e-

40

sub pe- di- bus Ce- sa- ris, [sub pe- di-
 di- bus Ce- sa- ris, [sub pe- di- bus Ce- sa-
 sub pe- di- bus Ce- sa-
 pe- di- bus Ce- sa- ris, [sub
 nim,] sub pe- di- bus Ce- sa-

45

bus Ce-sa-ris,] po-pu-los et gen-
ris,] sub pe-di-bus Ce-sa-
ris, [sub pe-di-
pe-di-bus Ce-sa-ris po-
ris, [sub pe-di-bus Ce-sa-ris,] po-pu-

50

tes, po-pu-los
ris, [sub pe-di-bus Ce-sa-
bus Ce-sa-ris,] sub
pu-los et gen-tes,
los et gen-tes, [po-pu-los et

et gen-tes,
ris,] po- pu- los et gen-
pe- di- bus Ce- sa- ris, [sub pe- di- bus Ce- sa-
[po- pu- los et gen-
gen- tes,] po- pu- los et

55

hinc e- le- va- ta est, [hinc e- le- va-
tes, hinc e- le- va-
ris,] hinc e- le-
tes,] hinc e- le- va- ta est, [hinc
gen- tes, hinc e- le- va- ta est, [hinc

ta est,] ma- gni- fi- cen- ti-
 ta est, [hinc
 va- ta est, [hinc e- le- va- ta est,]
 e- le- va- ta est,]
 e- le- va- ta est,] ma- gni- fi- cen- ti-

a tu- a, [ma-
 e- le- va- ta est,
 ma- gni- fi- cen- ti- a tu- a, [ma-
 ma- gni- fi- cen- ti- a
 a tu- a, [ma- gni- fi-

65

gni- fi- cen- ti- a tu-
[ma- gni- fi- cen- ti- a
gni- fi- cen- ti- a tu- a, ma- gni- fi-
tu- a, [ma- gni- fi- cen- ti-
cen- ti- a tu- a,] ma- gni- fi- cen- ti-

70

a,] ma- gni- fi- cen- ti-
tu- a,] ma- gni- fi- cen- ti- a tu-
cen- ti- a tu- a,] ma- gni- fi- cen- ti-
a tu- a,]
a tu- a, [ma- gni- fi- cen- ti-

a tu- a, su- per o- mnes du- ces,
 a, su- per o-
 a tu- a, su- per
 su- per o- mnes du- ces, [su- per o- mnes
 a tu- a,] su- per o- mnes du- ces, [su-

75

[su- per o- mnes du-
 mnes du- ces, [su- per o- mnes
 o- mnes du- ces, [su- per
 du- ces, su- per o- mnes du-
 per o- mnes du- ces

80

ces,] su- per o- mnes du- ces.

du- ces,] su- per o- mnes

o- mnes du- ces.

ces,] su- per o- mnes du-

su- per o- mnes du- ces, [su- per

du- ces.

du- ces.

ces.

o- mnes du- ces.

Inter vestibulum et altare

V. Ruffo

This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "In- ter ve-". The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "In- ter". The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "In- ter ve- sti- bu- lum et". The fourth and fifth staves are piano accompaniment.

5

This system contains five staves. The first staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "sti- bu- lum et al- ta-". The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "ve- sti- bu- lum et al- ta-". The third staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "al- ta- re, [et al- ta-". The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics: "In- ter ve- sti- bu- lum et al-". The fifth staff is piano accompaniment.

10

re, plo- ra- bant sa- cer- do-

re, plo- ra- bant sa-

re,) plo- ra- bant sa- cer- do- tes,

ta- re,

plo- ra- bant sa- cer- do- tes, [plo- ra- bant

15

tes, [plo- ra- bant sa- cer-

cer- do- tes, [plo- ra- bant sa- cer- do-

[plo- ra- bant sa- cer- do-

plo- ra- bant sa- cer- do- tes, [plo- ra- bant sa-

sa- cer- do- tes,) plo- ra- bant sa-

do- tes,] Do- mi- ne di- cen-

tes,] Do- mi- ne di- cen- tes,

tes,] Do- mi- ne di- cen- tes, [Do- mi- ne

cer- do- tes,]

cer- do- tes, Do- mi- ne di- cen-

20

tes, [Do- mi- ne di- cen- tes,]

[Do- mi- ne di- cen-

di- cen- tes,] Do- mi-

Do- mi- ne di- cen-

tes, [Do- mi- ne di- cen-

25

Do- mi- ne di- cen- tes, Do-
 tes, Do- mi- ne di-
 ne di- cen- tes,
 tes, [Do-
 tes,] Do- mi- ne di-

mi- ne di- cen- tes, [Do- mi-
 cen-tes, Do- mi- ne di- cen-
 Do- mi- ne di- cen- tes, Do- mi- ne di-
 mi- ne di- cen- tes, Do- mi-
 cen-tes, di- cen-tes, [Do- mi- ne

30

ne di- cen- tes,] par- ce Do-
 tes,] par- ce Do-
 cen- tes, par- ce Do-
 ne di- cen- tes,] par- ce Do-
 di- cen- tes, di- cen- tes,] par- ce Do-

35

mi- ne, par- ce po- pu- lo tu-
 mi- ne, par- ce po- pu- lo tu-
 mi- ne, par- ce po- pu- lo tu-
 mi- ne, par- ce po- pu- lo tu-
 mi- ne, par- ce po- pu- lo tu-

50

[et ne des he-re-di-ta-tem tu-am,] et ne des he-ta-tem tu-am, [et ne des he-re-di-ta-tem he-re-di-ta-tem tu-am,] tu-am,] in per-di-ti-o-

55

am,] in per-di-ti-o-nem, re-di-ta-tem tu-am, in per-di-tu-am,] in per-di-ti-o-nem, [in in per-di-ti-o-nem, in nem, in per-di-ti-o-

in per- di- o-

ti- o nem,

per- di- ti- o- nem,]

per- di- o- nem, [in

nem, in per- di-

60

nem,] in per- di- ti- o- nem, [in per-

in per- di- ti- o- nem, [in per- di-

in per- di- ti- o- nem, [in

per- di- ti- o- nem,] in

ti- o- nem, [in per- di- ti- o-

70

in per- di- ti- o- nem, [in

in per- di- ti- o-

nem,] in per- di- ti-

in per- di- ti- o-

per- di- ti- o- nem,

75

per- di- ti- o- nem.

nem.

o- nem, [in per- di- ti- o- nem.

nem, [in per- di- ti- o- nem.]

[in per- di- ti- o- nem.]

Puer qui natus est

V. Ruffo

C
 Pu- er qui na- tus est no-
 A
 Pu- er qui na- tus
 T
 B

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'Pu- er qui na- tus est no-'. The second staff is another vocal line with lyrics 'Pu- er qui na- tus'. The third, fourth, and fifth staves are instrumental accompaniment for different instruments, indicated by the letters C, A, T, and B respectively. The music is in a key with one flat and common time.

5

bis, [Pu- er qui na- tus
 est no- bis, [Pu- er qui na-
 Pu- er qui na- tus est no- bis,
 Pu- er qui na tus est

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics 'bis, [Pu- er qui na- tus'. The second staff is another vocal line with lyrics 'est no- bis, [Pu- er qui na-'. The third, fourth, and fifth staves are instrumental accompaniment. The music continues from the previous system.

10

est no- bis,] plus
 tus est no- bis,] plus quam pro- phe-
 Pu- er qui na- tus est no- bis,
 [Pu- er qui na- tus est no-
 no- bis, [Pu- er qui na- tus est no-

quam pro- phe- ta est,
 ta est, [plus
 plus quam pro- phe-
 bis,] plus quam pro- phe- ta, plus quam pro-
 bis,] plus quam pro- phe- ta

15

plus quam pro- phe- ta
 quam pro- phe- ta est,
 ta est, [plus quam pro-
 phe- ta est,
 est, [plus quam pro- phe- ta est, plus

20

est, plus quam pro-
 plus quam pro- phe-
 phe- ta est,]
 [plus quam pro- phe- ta est, plus quam
 quam pro- phe- ta est, plus quam pro- phe-

phe- ta est,]
 ta est,] hic est e-
 plus quam pro- phe- ta est,
 pro- phe- ta est,] hic est e-
 ta est,] hic est e- nim de

25

hic est e- nim de quo Sal-
 nim de quo Sal-
 hic est e- nim de quo Sal-
 nim, de quo Sal-
 quo Sal- va- tor ait, [de

30

va- tor ait,

va- tor ait, in-

va- tor ait, [de quo Sal- va- tor

va- tor ait, [de quo Sal-

quo Sal- va- tor ait,] in- ter na- tos

35

in- ter na- tos mu- li- e- rum,

ter na- tos mu- li- e- rum, [in- ter na-

ait,] in- ter na- tos mu- li-

va- tor ait,) in- ter na- tos mu- li- e- rum,

mu- li- e- rum, [in- ter na-

45

[non sur- re- xit mai- or,]
 [non sur- re- xit mai- or,]
 or, [non sur- re-
 re- xit mai- or,] non sur- re-
 [non sur- re- xit mai- or,]

50

or,] Io- an- ne Bap- ti-
 Io- an- ne Bap- ti- sta [Io-
 xit mai- or,] Io- an- ne Bap- ti- sta,
 xit mai- or, Io- an-
 Io- an- ne Bap- ti-

sta,] Io- an- ne Bap- ti-

ne Bap- ti- sta,]

Io- an- ne Bap- ti-

ne Bap- ti- sta, [Io- an- ne Bap-

ne Bap- ti- sta,] Io- an- ne Bap- ti-

65 # 70

sta.

Io- an- ne Bap- ti- sta.

sta, [Io- an- ne Bap- ti- sta.

ti- sta.]

sta.

Hic est enim propheta

Hic est e- nim pro- phe- ta,
 Hic est e- nim pro- phe-
 Hic est e- nim
 Hic

75

[hic est e- nim pro- phe-
 ta, hic est e- nim
 pro- phe- ta,
 hic est e- nim pro- phe-
 est e- nim pro- phe- ta, [hic est e-

80

ta,] hic est e- nim pro-
 pro- phe- ta, et plus quam
 [hic est e- nim pro- phe-
 ta, hic est e- nim pro- phe-
 nim pro- phe- ta, hic est e- nim pro- phe-

85

phe- ta,] et plus quam pro- phe- ta, [et
 pro- phe- ta, [et plus quam pro- phe-
 ta, et plus quam pro-
 ta,] et plus quam pro- phe- ta, et plus quam
 ta,] et plus quam pro-

plus quam pro- phe-
 ta, et plus quam
 phe- ta, et plus quam pro-
 pro- phe- ta,
 phe- ta,] [et plus quam

90

ta,] et plus quam pro- phe-
 pro- phe- ta, et plus
 phe- ta, et
 et plus quam pro- phe- ta,
 pro- phe- ta,] et plus quam

95

ta, de quo Sal-va-tor, [de
 quam pro- phe- ta, de quo Sal-
 plus quam pro- phe- ta,] de quo Sal- va-
 et plus quam pro- phe- ta, de quo Sal-
 pro- phe- ta, de quo Sal- va- tor ait, [de

#

100

quo Sal-va-tor] ait, [de quo Sal-va-tor
 va- tor ait, de quo Sal- va-
 tor ait, [de quo Sal- va- tor
 va- tor ait [de quo Sal- va- tor ait, de quo Sal-
 quo Sal- va- tor ait,] de quo Sal- va- tor

#

ait, de quo Sal-va-tor ait,] in-ter na-
 tor ait, [de quo Sal-va- tor ait, in- ter na- tos mu-
 ait, de quo Sal- va- tor ait,] in-
 va- tor ait, de quo Sal- va- tor ait,]
 ait, in- ter na- tos mu- li- e- rum, [in- ter na-

105

tos mu- li- e- rum, [in- ter na-
 li- e- rum, [in- ter na- tos mu- li-
 ter na- tos mu- li- e-
 in- ter na- tos mu- li- e- rum, [in-
 tos mu- li- e- rum, in- ter na- tos mu- li- e-

110

tos mu- li- e- rum,]
 e- rum,] non
 rum, [in- ter na- tos mu- li- e-
 ter na- tos mu- li- e- rum,] non sur-
 rum,] non sur- re-

115

non sur- re- xit mai- or,
 sur- re- xit mai- or, [non sur- re-
 rum,] non sur- re- xit mai-
 re- xit mai- or, [non sur- re- xit mai-
 xit mai- or, [non

120

non sur- re- xit mai- or,]

xit mai- or,] Io- an-

or, [non sur- re- xit mai-

or, non sur- re- xit mai-

sur- re- xit mai- or, Io-

Io- an- ne Bap- ti- sta,

ne Bap- ti- sta, [Io- an- ne Bap-

or,] Io- an- ne Bap- ti- sta, Io-

or,] Io- an- ne Bap- ti-

an- ne Bap- ti- sta,

Hodie Christus natus est

V. Ruffo

C b b
 Ho- di- e Chri- stus na-
 A Ho- di- e Chri-
 T
 Q
 B

Detailed description: This system contains five staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with a treble clef and a common time signature. It features a melodic line with lyrics 'Ho- di- e Chri- stus na-'. The second staff is a piano accompaniment with a treble clef, showing chords and some melodic fragments. The third staff is another piano accompaniment with a bass clef. The fourth and fifth staves are also piano accompaniment parts, with the fifth staff being the lowest bass line. Various musical markings like 'C', 'A', 'T', 'Q', and 'B' are placed above the staves.

5
 tus est, na- tus est,
 stus na- tus est,
 Ho- di- e Chri- stus na-
 Ho- di-

Detailed description: This system continues the musical score. It starts with a measure number '5' above the first staff. The vocal line continues with 'tus est, na- tus est,'. The piano accompaniment continues with various chords and melodic lines. The lyrics 'stus na- tus est,' and 'Ho- di- e Chri- stus na-' are spread across the staves. The system ends with the lyrics 'Ho- di-' on the bottom staff.

25

di- e sal- va- tor ap- pa-
 va- tor ap- pa-
 tor ap- pa-
 ap- pa- ru- it, [ho- di-
 [ho- di- e sal- va-

ru- it,]
 ru- it, [sal- va- tor ap- pa-
 ru- it,
 e sal- va- tor ap- pa-
 tor ap- pa- ru- it,] ho- di- e sal-

30

ho- di- e ca- nunt
ru- it, ho-
ho- di- e sal- va- tor ap- pa-
ru- it,]
va- tor ap- pa- ru- it, ho- di- e ca-

35

An- ge- li,
di- e ca- nunt Ar- chan- ge-
ru- it, ho- di-
ho- di- e ca- nunt An- ge-
nunt An- ge- li, lae- tan- tur Ar-

lae- tan- tur Ar- chan-

li, lae- tan- tur Ar- chan-

e ca- nunt An-

li,

chan- ge- li, [lae- tan- tur Ar-

40

ge- li, [lae- tan- tur

ge- li,

ge- li, lae- tan- tur Ar- chan-

lae- tan- tur Ar- chan- ge- li, [lae-

chan- ge- li-,] lae- tan- tur Ar-

45

Ar- chan- ge- li,]

[lae- tan- tur, lae- tan-

ge- li, [lae-

tan- tur Ar- chan- ge- li,] lae- tan-

chan- ge- li,

ho- di- e ex-

tur Ar- chan- ge-

tan- tur Ar- chan- ge- li,]

tur Ar- chan- ge- li, [Ar- chan- ge-

[lae- tan- tur A- chan- ge- li,] ho-

50

sul- tant ju- sti di-

li,]

ho- di- e ex- sul-

li,] ho- di-

di- e ex- sul-

55

cen- tes, [ho- di- e ex- sul-

ho- di- e ex- sul-

tant ju- sti di- cen-

e ex- sul- tant ju- sti di- cen-

tant ju- sti di- cen- tes,

60

tant ju- sti di- cen- tes,]

tant ju- sti di- cen- tes,

tes, [di- cen-

tes, di- cen- tes,]

di- cen- tes, [di- cen- tes,] glo-

glo- ri- a in ex- cel-

glo- ri- a in ex- cel-

tes,] glo- ri- a in- ex- cel- sis De- o,

glo- ri- a in ex- cel- sis De- o Al-

ri- a in ex- cel- sis De- o, Al- le- lu-

65

sis De- o, Al- le- lu-
 sis De- o, Al- le-
 Al- le- lu- ia, [Al- le- lu- ia,
 le- lu- ia, [Al- le- lu- ia,] Al- le-
 ia, [Al- le- lu- ia,] Al- le- lu- ia, Al-

70

ia, [Al- le- lu-
 lu- ia [Al- le- lu- ia,]
 Al- le- lu- ia, Al- le-
 lu- ia, [Al-
 le- lu- ia,

ia,] Al- le- lu- ia.
 Al- le- lu- ia, [Al- le-
 lu- ia,] Al- le-
 le- lu- ia,] Al- le-
 [Al- le- lu- ia,] Al- le- lu-

75

lu- ia.]
 lu- ia.
 lu- ia.
 lu- ia.
 ia.

Convertimini ad me

V. Ruffo

C
 Con- ver- ti- mi- ni- ad
 A
 Con-
 G
 T
 B
 Con- ver- ti- mi- ni ad
 Con- ver- ti-

5

me o- mnes in to- to cor- de ve-
 ver- ti- mi- ni ad me o-
 Con- ver-
 me o- mnes, [ad me o-
 mi- ni ad me o- mnes,

10

stro, [in to- to cor- de ve-

mnes, in to- to cor- de ve-

ti- mi- ni ad me o-

mnes,] in to- to cor- de ve- stro,

in to- to cor- de ve- stro, [in to- to cor- de ve-

15

stro,] di- cit do-

stro, [in to- to cor-

mnes, in to- to cor- de ve- stro, in to- to

in to- to cor- de ve- stro,

stro, in to- to cor- de ve- stro,] di- cit do-

mi- nus, [di- cit do-
de ve- stro,] di- cit do-
cor- de ve- stro, di- cit do-
di- cit do- mi- nus,
mi- nus, di-

20

mi- nus,] di- cit do- mi-
nus, [di- cit do-
mi- nus, [di- cit do- mi-
[di- cit do- mi- nus,]
cit do- mi- nus, di- cit do- mi-

25

nus, in ie- iu ni- o, in
 mi- nus,) in ie- iu- ni- o,
 nus,) in ie- iu- ni- o, et
 in ie- iu- ni- o, in ie- iu-
 nus,) in ie- iu- ni- o,

30

ie- iu- ni- o, et flu- ctus, et
 et flu- ctus, [et flu- ctus,] et
 flu- ctus, [in ie- iu- ni- o,]
 ni- o, [et flu- ctus,] et
 et flu- ctus, [et flu- ctus,] et

35

plan-ctus, qui- a no- lo

plan-ctus, qui- a no- lo mor- tem

et plan-ctus, qui- a no- lo mor- tem, [qui-

flu- ctus, et plan-ctus, qui- a

plan-ctus, qui- a no- lo

mor- tem pec- ca- to- ris, [qui- a no- lo

pec- ca- to- ris, [qui- a no- lo mor-

a no- lo mor- tem] pec- ca- to- ris,

no- lo mor- tem pec- ca- to-

mor- tem, [qui- a no- lo mor- tem pec- ca- to- ris,]

40

mor- tem pec- ca- to- ris,]

tem pec- ca- to- ris,] qui- a no-

qui- a no- lo mor- tem pec- ca- to-

ris, qui- a no-

[qui- a no- lo mor- tem pec- ca- to- ris,] [qui-

45

qui- a no- tem pec- ca- to-

lo mor- tem pec- ca- to-

ris, qui- a no- lo mor- tem pec- ca- to-

lo mor- tem pec- ca- to-

a no- lo mor- tem pec- ca- to- ris

50

ris, sed

ris, sed ut con-ver-ta-tur et vi-

ris,] sed ut con-ver-ta-tur

ris,] sed ut con-ver-ta-

sed ut con-ver-ta-tur et vi-vat,

ut con-ver-ta-tur et vi-vat, [sed

vat, [sed ut con-ver-ta-tur et vi-

et # # # vi-vat, sed ut con-ver-ta-

tur et vi-

[sed ut con-ver-ta-tur et vi-

55

ut con- ver- ta tur et vi- vat,]

vat,] sed ut con- ver- ta- tur et

tur et vi- vat, [sed ut con- ver- ta-

vat,] [sed

vat,] sed ut con- ver- ta- tur et

60

sed ut con- ver- ta- tur et vi-

vi- vat, sed ut con- ver- ta- tur

tur et vi- vat,] sed ut con- ver- ta-

ut con- ver- ta- tur et vi- vat, sed ut con- ver- ta-

vi- vat, [sed ut con- ver- ta- tur

65

vat, sed ut con-ver-ta-tur et vi-
 et vi- vat, sed ut con-ver-ta- tur et
 tur et vi- vat, [sed ut con-ver-ta- tur et vi-
 tur et vi- vat, sed ut con-ver- ta- tur et vi-
 et vi- vat, sed ut con- ver- ta- tur et vi- vat,]

70

vat.
 vi- vat, et vi- vat.
 vat.
 vat, sed ut con-ver-ta-tur et vi- vat.
 sed ut con-ver-ta- tur et vi- vat.

Spem in alium

V. Ruffo

C

A.

T

Q

B

Spem in a- li- um nun-

5

C

A.

T

Q

B

quam ha- bu- it,

it, [nun- quam ha- bu- it, nun-

Spem in a- li- um, nun- quam ha-

Spem in a-

Spem in a- li- um

10

[nun- quam ha- bu- it, nun-
quam ha- bu- it,] nun-
bu- it, [nun- quam ha- bu-
li- um, [nun- quam ha- bu- it, nun- quam
nun- quam ha- bu- it, [nun- quam ha-

15

quam ha- bu- it,] prae- ter
quam ha- bu- it, nun- quam ha- bu-
it, nun- quam ha- bu- it,] prae-
ha- bu- it,] prae- ter in
bu- it,] prae- ter in te De-

20

in te De- us Is- ra- el,

it,) prae- ter in te De- us Is-

ter in te De- us Is- ra- el,

te De- us Is- ra- el, [prae- ter in te

us Is- ra- el, [prae-

[prae- ter in te De- us Is-

ra- el, [prae- ter in te

[prae- ter in te De- us Is-

De- us Is- ra- el, prae-

ter in te De- us Is- ra- el,

25

ra- el, prae- ter in
De- us Is- ra-
ra- el,] prae- ter
ter in te De- us Is- ra- el,
[prae- ter in te De- us

30

te De- us Is- ra- el,]
el, prae- ter in te De- us Is-
in te De- us Is- ra- el, qui
prae- ter in te De- us Is- ra- el,]
Is- ra- el,] qui i-

35

qui i-ra-sce-ris, et
 ra-el, qui i-ra-sce-
 i-ra-sce-ris, et pro-pi-ti-
 qui i-ra-sce-ris,
 ra-sce-ris, qui i-ra-sce-

40

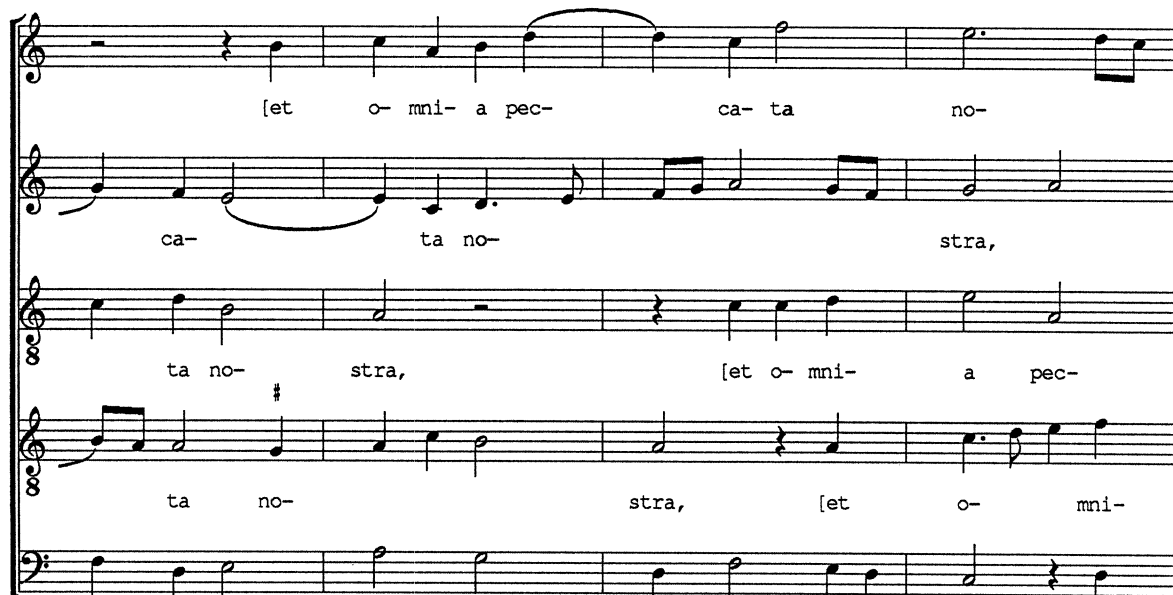
pro-pi-ti-us e-
 ris, et pro-pi-ti-us e-
 us e-ris,
 et pro-pi-ti-us e-
 ris, et pro-pi-ti-us e-

ris, [et pro- pi- ti- us e- ris,] et
 ris, [et pro- pi-
 et pro- pi- ti- us e-
 ris, [et pro- pi- ti- us e-
 ris, et pro- pi- ti- us e-

45

o- mni- a pec- ca- ta- no- stra,
 ti- us e- ris,] et o- mni- a pec-
 ris,] et o- mni- a pec- ca-
 ris,] et o- mni- a pec- ca-
 ris, et o- mni- a pec- ca- ta no- stra, [et

50



[et o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-ca-ta no-stra, ta no-stra, [et o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-stra, [et o-mni-o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-stra,] et

55



stra,] et o-mni-a pec-ca- [et o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-ca-ta no-stra,] a pec-ca-ta no-stra,] et o-o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-stra, et o-mni-a

60

ta no-stra, in tri-bu-la-ti-
 stra,] [in tri-bu-la-ti-o-
 et o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-stra,
 mni-a pec-ca-ta no-
 pec-ca-ta no-stra,]

o-ne di-mit-tis, [in
 ne di-mit-tis,] in
 in tri-bu-la-ti-o-ne
 stra, in tri-bu-la-
 in tri-bu-la-ti-o-ne di-

65

tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di-

tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di- mit-

di- mit- tis [in tri- bu- la- ti-

ti- o- ne di-

mit- tis, [in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di-

70

mit- tis,) in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di-

tis, in tri- bu- la- ti- o-

o- ne di- mit- tis,) in tri-

mit- tis, in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne

mit- tis,) in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne

75

mit- tis.

ne di- mit- tis.

bu- la- ti- o- ne di- mit- tis.

di- mit- tis.

di- mit- tis.

Detailed description: This is a musical score for five voices, likely a choir or vocal ensemble. The score is written on five staves. The top staff is a soprano line with a treble clef. The second staff is an alto line with a treble clef. The third staff is a tenor line with a treble clef. The fourth and fifth staves are bass lines with bass clefs. The lyrics are in Latin and are placed below the corresponding staves. The lyrics are: 'mit-tis.' (Soprano), 'ne di- mit- tis.' (Alto), 'bu- la- ti- o- ne di- mit- tis.' (Tenor), 'di- mit- tis.' (Bass 1), and 'di- mit- tis.' (Bass 2). There are two sharp signs (#) above the first staff and three sharp signs (#) above the second staff. A bracket is placed above the tenor staff, and another bracket is placed above the bass staves. The number '75' is written in the top right corner of the score.

Domine Deus

80

Do- mi- ne De- us, [Do- mi- ne
 Do- mi- ne De- us,
 Do- mi- ne De- us, [Do-
 Do- mi- ne De- us, [Do- mi- ne De-
 Do- mi- ne De- us, Do- mi- ne De-

De- us,]
 [Do- mi- ne De- us,]
 mi- ne De- us,] Cre- a- tor cae-
 us,] Cre- a- tor cae- li et
 us, Cre-

b 95

rae,] Cre- a- tor cae- li et
li et ter- rae,
Cre- a- tor cae- li et ter- rae,
cae- li et ter- rae, [Cre-
a- tor cae- li et ter- rae, Cre-

ter- rae, [Cre-
a- tor cae- li et ter- rae,]
[Cre- a- tor cae-
a- tor cae- li et ter- rae,]
a- tor cae- li et ter- rae,

100

a- tor cae- li et ter- rae,) re- re- spi- ce ad li et ter- rae,) re- Cre- a- tor cae- li et ter- rae,) re- spi- [Cre- a- tor cae- li et ter- rae,) re- spi-

105

spi- ce ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem hu- mi- li- ta- tem no- spi- ce ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem no- ce ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem no- ce ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem no-

nos- tram, [ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem no- stram,]
 stram, [ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem
 stram, [ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem no-
 stram, [ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem no-
 stram, [ad hu- mi- li- ta- tem

et o- mni- a pec- ca- ta
 no- stram,]
 stram, et o- mni- a
 stram,] et o- mni-
 no- stram,] et o- mni- a pec- ca- ta

115 #

no-stra, [et o-mni-a pec-ca-

et o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-

pec-ca-ta no-stra,

a pec-ca-ta no-stra, [et

no-stra, [et o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-

120

ta no-stra, et

stra, [et o-mni-a pec-

[et o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-

o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-

stra,] et o-mni-a pec-ca-ta no-stra,

125

o- mni- a pec- ca- ta no- stra,] in
ca- ta no- stra,] in tri- bu-
stra,] et o- mni- a pec- ca- ta
stra, et o- mni- a pec- ca- ta
[et o- mni- a pec- ca- ta no-

130 #

tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di- mit- tis,
la- ti- o- ne di- mit- tis,
no- stra, in tri- bu-
no- stra,] in tri- bu- la- ti-
stra,] in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne

[in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di- mit-
 [in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di- mit-
 la- ti- o- ne di-
 o- ne di- mit- tis, in tri- bu- la- ti- o-
 di- mit- tis, in tri- bu- la- ti- o- ne di-

135

tis.]
 tis.]
 mit- tis, di- mit- tis.
 ne di- mit- tis.
 mit- tis.