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General editors:

David J. Burn

Sarah Ann Long

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Theme



An Itinerant Patronage: Margaret of Parma and Music

Guest Editor:
Francesco Zimei

Introduction

FRANCESCO ZIMEI

Margaret of Parma (1522-86) was a key figure in the political scene of sixteenth-century Europe, despite being the illegitimate daughter of a young commoner from Oudenaarde and the twenty-one-year-old Charles V of Habsburg.¹ Raised in Brussels as a princess under the watchful care of her great-aunt Margaret, duchess of Savoy, and later her aunt Mary of Hungary, Margaret was soon destined by Charles V to be a valuable tool in his marriage strategy to establish a strong network of alliances for the imperial crown. To that end, she was first married to Alessandro de' Medici (1536), the nephew of Pope Clement VII and the future first duke of Florence, which also helped to restore relations between Charles V and the Holy See after the sack of Rome. After Alessandro's assassination, Margaret was married again (1538), this time to the thirteen-year-old Ottavio Farnese, the nephew of the new pontiff Paul III and the future duke of Parma (1545). Although Margaret bore him an heir (the condottiero Alessandro Farnese), she was not happy in her marriage. As a result, she decided to relocate her own court to Piacenza (1557), where she stayed until the summer of 1559, when she accepted the invitation from her stepbrother Philip II of Spain to assume the regency of the Habsburg Netherlands. After eight challenging years spent dealing with religious conflicts and the ruthless repression of the Spanish government in the Low Countries, Margaret returned to Italy. This time she decided to retire to her fiefdoms in the mountains of Abruzzi (1569) and then to the nearby city of Aquila, where she became the permanent governor in 1572, all the while continuing to cultivate her extensive international relations. Apart from another mission to the Netherlands in 1580-82, she remained in Abruzzi until her death on 18 January 1586 at her winter residence in Ortona.²

During such an itinerant life, one of the stable interests that Margaret—or 'Madama', as her subjects affectionately called her—had the opportunity to cultivate was music, an art for which she had a genuine passion from her childhood. This is evident from her special attention to chapel affairs, her personal connections with prominent composers, the numerous dedications of collections and individual works of secular vocal music, and the quantity and variety of musical performances given in her honour during ceremonial entrances to the various cities that welcomed her. However, Margaret's ties to music have only been partially explored so far. Among the few specific contributions published on the topic, an article by the late Seishiro Niwa dating back almost twenty

¹ In accordance with her father's wishes, she was always officially called 'Margaret of Austria', both in contemporary sources as well as in general historiography. However, in musicological literature, she is usually referred to as Margaret of Parma, to avoid confusion with the emperor's aunt of the same name, who was regent of the Habsburg Netherlands. This convention has also been followed in the articles published here.

² Scholarship on Margaret's life includes Renato Lefevre, *'Madama' Margarita d'Austria: Vita d'una grande dama del Cinquecento, figlia di Carlo V, sposa sfortunata di Alessandro de' Medici e duchessa di Parma e Piacenza con Ottavio Farnese, governatrice dell'Aquila e delle Fiandre, signora di città del Lazio e dell'Abruzzo* (Rome, 1986); Romano Canosa, *Vita di Margherita d'Austria* (Ortona, 1998); Georges-Henri Dumont, *Marguerite de Parme: Bâtarde de Charles Quint, 1522-1586* (Brussels, 1999); *Margherita d'Austria, 1522-1586: Costruzioni politiche e diplomazia, tra corte Farnese e monarchia spagnola*, ed. Silvia Mantini (Rome, 2003); and Charles R. Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life* (Leiden, 2013).

years provides a valuable overview of the subject.³ Nonetheless, the possibility of addressing her relationship to music over her lifetime and in a variety of circumstances has yet to receive the attention it deserves.

The articles included in this themed issue are based on a special panel presented by the four authors on 5 July 2022—500th anniversary of Margaret's birth—at the 50th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference in Uppsala. They examine some notable aspects of her musical patronage across different time periods and locations, with the aim of conducting a systematic study on the topic. Each of the articles offers new insights and an analysis of her musical patronage that frequently reveals consistent attitudes and trends, despite the wide geographic and chronological scope.

Margaret's presence in Italy was marked by a tradition of madrigals that celebrated events from throughout her life, beginning with her arrival in Florence in 1533. The articles by Marco Mangani and Jessie Ann Owens offer a comprehensive examination of texts dedicated to Margaret from before her return to Italy from Flanders (1568) that were set to music. Originating in different contexts and situations, these texts nevertheless share common features, due especially to 'Madama's' connection to the House of Farnese. Mangani first emphasizes the dual meaning of the Italian word *margherita*, which, in addition to indicating the daisy, indicates the pearl and the precious stone, in accordance with its own etymology. After examining the two texts for Margaret set to music by Arcadelt, the essay goes on to examine two important dedications to Margaret of Parma: the second book of madrigals by Giovanni Francesco Alcarotti and the canzone *Questo sì ch'è felice e lieto giorno*, set to music by several hands as part of the collection *I dolci frutti*, edited by Cornelio Antonelli, known as 'Il Turturino'.

Owens explores Margaret's patronage of her compatriot, the Flemish composer Cipriano de Rore, and his musical tributes to her. A careful reading of the texts of three madrigals that can securely be connected with Farnese patronage enables speculation about the chronology of their connection. Another madrigal, long associated with the 1565 wedding of Alessandro Farnese and Maria of Portugal and thought to be by Cipriano, can be shown to be the work of one of Cipriano's students and was unrelated to the wedding.

The last two articles consider two specific moments of Margaret's life: her residencies in Piacenza and Aquila. Given their link to particular cities and their institutions, the articles discuss several common topics such as triumphal entries, local festivities, and the rhetoric of sovereignty. As discussed by Lucia Marchi, Margaret spent two years in Piacenza in 1557-59, returned in 1568, and left her mark with the construction of a family residence, the Palazzo Farnese. Perhaps more significantly, she chose the city as her burial place, and a solemn funeral with polyphonic music was celebrated in 1586 in the Cassinese monastery of San Sisto.

My article explores, in turn, the reasons and circumstances of 'Madama's' last residence in Aquila and her fiefdoms in Abruzzi (1569-80, 1583-86), with a focus on the main musical events and significant episodes that occurred during that time. In particular, the analysis of features and symbols related to her ceremonial entries has led to the identification of new works and their contexts, such as the two five-voice madrigals

³ Seishiro Niwa, "'Madama' Margaret of Parma's patronage of music', in *Early Music* 33 (2005), 25-37. Other publications, including those by some of the authors involved here, are cited later in this issue.

composed for her arrivals in Aquila in 1569 and 1572, respectively, which are published in the Appendix. A comparative study of local sources has also revealed interesting artistic and professional interactions between Margaret's chapel and musicians active in the territory.

We hope that these contributions shed light on this important figure and her patronage, and enhance our understanding of musical networks in Europe, particularly between Flanders and Italy, during the decades from the 1540s to the 1580s.

The Sunset and the Sunrise: Margaret of Parma in Aquila and Her Dominions in Abruzzi*

FRANCESCO ZIMEI

The last frontier of Margaret of Parma's musical patronage loomed at the end of her controversial mission as regent of the Netherlands, which she had carried out on behalf of her half-brother Philip II of Spain. Shortly after her return to Italy in 1568, 'Madama', despising the Po Valley climate and not wanting to resume the difficult cohabitation with her husband Ottavio Farnese, turned her gaze elsewhere and decided to devote herself to the administration of her fiefdoms in the mountains of Abruzzi, even though they mainly consisted of rural settlements unsuited to the needs and lifestyle of a great Renaissance court.¹

By contrast, a few miles away the more comfortable city of Aquila was beginning to manifest the first symptoms of its political decline.² This prosperous municipality had flourished as a center in trade and crafts over the previous three centuries due to its strategic location halfway on the 'Via degli Abruzzi' (i.e., the road through the Apennine valleys connecting Florence and Naples in twelve days on horseback).³ It had recently lost its privileges after a harsh Spanish repression (1529) that imposed heavy taxation, military supervision, and the disestablishment of its *contado*.⁴

This scenario led to a convergence of interests for both Margaret and Aquila, which hoped to recover prestige and territorial prerogatives. A stabilization of these relations in institutional terms came in September 1572, when the daughter of Charles V was appointed governor of the city, but the bond continued to strengthen until her death in Ortona on 18 January 1586. This mutually beneficial arrangement involved both local personalities and members of the ducal entourage, and gave rise to interesting social and cultural dynamics, constantly marked by music. Despite the considerable loss of documents resulting from wartime events,⁵ a careful comparison and reconsideration

* I am grateful for valuable assistance from Ottavio Beretta, Robert L. Kendrick, Riccardo Lorenzini, Lucia Marchi, and Jessie Ann Owens.

¹ Located at the northern border of the vice-kingdom of Naples, they were originally limited to the duchy of Penne and the land of Campi, both enfeoffed in 1522 by Charles V to the twelve-year-old Alessandro de' Medici and ratified in 1529 when Margaret was betrothed to him. In 1537, after the sudden death of the first duke of Florence, these territories returned to the emperor, who a little over a year later assigned them—along with Cittaducale, Montereale, and Leonessa—to his daughter as a dowry when she married again. An overview on the economic and administrative aspects of Margaret's presence is found in Gaetano Sabatini, 'Lo "Stato farnesiano" di Margherita d'Austria', in *Margherita d'Austria. Costruzioni politiche e diplomazia, tra corte Farnese e Monarchia spagnola*, ed. Silvia Mantini (Rome, 2003), 141-66.

² The name of the city was changed from Aquila to L'Aquila in 1939. I will call it by the name corresponding to the time period under consideration.

³ See Paola Gasparinetti, 'La "via degli Abruzzi" e l'attività commerciale di Aquila e Sulmona nei secoli XIII-XV', in *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 54-56 (1964-66), 5-103.

⁴ An extensive account of these events and the processes that led to the end of Aquila's communal liberties is given in Raffaele Colapietra, *Dal Magnanimo a Masaniello: Studi di storia meridionale nell'età moderna*, 2 vols. (Salerno, 1972), vol. 1, esp. 363-447.

⁵ Consider, for example, the destruction of a large part of the Farnese Archive that occurred on 30 September 1943 after the reprisal burning of a temporary deposit of the Naples State Archive.

of surviving sources can shed light on important works and their contexts as well as professional interactions between musicians from the area and ‘Madama’s’ chapel staff.

The first noteworthy aspect relates to the nature and typology of the performances that took place on the occasion of Margaret’s three ceremonial entries into the city over a period of fifteen years. Iain Fenlon, in a recent essay concerning Medicean festivals, pointed out that the tradition of staging musical spectacles in grand ceremonial entries of Renaissance Italy had at its core two salient features:

The first involved the transformation of the urban landscape through the erection of temporary structures, usually in the forms of triumphal arches, in order to entertain and instruct both the citizens and foreign visitors. [...] The second element involved private performances, usually before an elite audience, of comedies punctuated by visually and technologically impressive *intermedi* accompanied by music.⁶

Margaret’s ceremonial entries contained both elements, making them the perfect means of representing power and constructing a local identity. ‘Madama’ always had a special familiarity as a living embodiment and symbol of the imperial authority from which almost all institutions that welcomed her drew their legitimacy. This condition profoundly affected the meaning and character of individual celebrations, for example the great festivities held in her honour in Florence, where she arrived on 17 April 1533—barely eleven years old—as Alessandro de’ Medici’s betrothed,⁷ or the triumphal parades staged both in Parma on 2 July 1550 and in Piacenza on 31 August 1557, when she first arrived in the two cities as Ottavio Farnese’s wife.⁸ This wide-ranging ceremonial display of power, concentrated in one person, reveals the variety of relationships and implications Margaret must have had with music.

A State Visit to Aquila

The account of the following events, accompanied by a guide to their interpretation, is taken from the *Relazione del magnifico apparato dell’entrata fatta all’Aquila adì 18 maggio 1569 da Sua Altezza Serenissima Margherita d’Austria* by Marino Caprucci, a humanist from the city who was among the creators of those celebrations.⁹

In her new role as an illustrious neighbor, ‘Madama’ made her first encounter with Aquila in the spring of 1569.¹⁰ Her coming was somewhat sudden: she had scheduled

⁶ Iain Fenlon, ‘Theories of Decorum: Music and the Italian Renaissance Entry’, in *Ceremonial Entries in Early Modern Europe: The Iconography of Power*, ed. James Ronald Mulryne, Maria Ines Aliverti, and Anna-Maria Testaverde (Farnham-Burlington, 2015), 135-48 at 132 and 135 respectively.

⁷ Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. N.A. 98, fols. 161^r-173^v, provides an evocative *Ragionamento circa alle feste e magnificenze fatte alla duchessa Margherita d’Austria il dì 17 di aprile 1533*, written in the form of a dialogue between the author Niccolò Fabbrini and an unidentified Giovanni coming from Mugello. See Elena Garbero Zorzi, ‘Le “nozze” medicee del 1533 e le forme teatrali del Principato’, in *La Fête et l’Écriture. Théâtre de Cour, Cour-Théâtre en Espagne et en Italie, 1450-1530*, ed. Jeanne Battesti-Pelegrin and Georges Ulysse (Aix-en-Provence, 1987), 277-91.

⁸ Two separate reports are known of the first event, published by Achille Pellizzari, *Portogallo e Italia nel secolo XVI. Studi e ricerche* (Naples, 1914), 204-19, and Giuseppe Bertini, ‘L’ingresso di Margherita a Parma nel 1550: la corte e la città’, in *Margherita d’Austria, 1522-1586*, 85-106 at 99-104. On the second and a further triumphal entry of Margaret in Piacenza on 1 February 1568 see Lucia Marchi, ‘“The Perfect Harmony of the World”: Musical Representations of Royal Power during Margaret of Parma’s Reign in Piacenza’, in this issue.

⁹ The full text, surviving in a handwritten copy from the time bearing the author’s dedication to Margaret’s head of diplomacy, Ludovico Sacca—which makes sense only if it was intended to be printed—was recently discovered and published by Luca Pezzuto and Maria Rosa Pizzoni in *La relazione dell’entrata di Margherita d’Austria e la Descrizione della città dell’Aquila di Marino Caprucci* (L’Aquila, 2018), 87-126.

¹⁰ It was actually a return, as she had already passed through there in 1541 when she visited Cittaducale.

a state visit for 30 June, but announced only a few days before that she would move her arrival up to 18 May, forcing the municipality to arrange everything ‘con grandissima fretta et celerità’ (‘with great haste and speed’).¹¹ Despite the tight time schedule, they decided to set up a typical triumphal route within the urban space, marked by classically-inspired arches designed by two established local artists, the mannerist painter and sculptor Pompeo Cesura and his pupil Giovanni Paolo Cardone, in collaboration with Caprucci for mottos and devices.

On the day of the ceremony, Margaret arrived at the city walls escorted by four hundred prominent citizens and an equal number of delegates from the city districts. In deference to her imperial lineage her entrance came through the Porta Castello, under the bastions of the Spanish fortress built thirty years earlier by her father ‘Ad reprimendam audaciam Aquilanorum’ (‘to suppress the audacity of the citizens of Aquila’), as its portal inscription once read. Then ‘Madama’, accompanied by her son Alessandro Farnese, passed through the first arch. It had four robust columns on each side and was adorned with foliage, flowers, and festoons framing a number of scenes: the first depicted an eagle—the name and emblem of the city—returning to see the light; the light represented variously rebirth (the Dawn) or power (the Sun, which never set in the Habsburg Empire), or it was a heraldic reference (the Rainbow of Pope Paul III, born Alessandro Farnese).

The allegory of Dawn is the only image found on these ephemeral architectures for which visual evidence remains, since just one year later it was reused by another pupil of Cesura, the engraver Orazio de Sanctis, for the title page of *Annali della città dell’Aquila* by Bernardino Cirillo, *commendatore* of the Roman hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia (Figure 1).¹² Clearly, for the citizens this was a subject of great significance in terms of resilience, as Caprucci himself explains in his account:

Per l’aurora se intende l’Altezza Serenissima, la quale con lo splendore della sua gloria discacciando le tenebre del secol nostro rapporta al mondo la vera luce, nella guisa che l’aurora stessa discacciando le tenebre della notte si porta il giorno ai mortali, e per l’Aquila se intende la città istessa, la quale si come è natura di quell’uccello, vaga di questa nova luce, mostra tutta particolarmente gioire et rallegrarsi per la tornata di Sua Serenità.¹³

Dawn signifies Her Most Serene Highness, who through the splendour of her glory, dispelling the darkness of our age, brings true light to the world in the same way that the dawn itself, chasing away the darkness of night, brings day to mortals. And the Eagle means the city itself, which, as is the nature of that bird, keen on this new light, shows itself in particular to rejoice and be gladdened by the return of Her Serene [Highness].¹⁴

Under these auspices, as Charles V’s daughter was about to embark on an experience that would accompany her to the sunset of her life, Aquila saw this as the sunrise on a new era.

¹¹ *La relazione dell’entrata di Margherita d’Austria*, 90.

¹² Alessandro Angelini, ‘Pompeo Cesura tra Roma e L’Aquila’, in *Prospettiva* 98–99 (2000), 104–44 at 125–26. Cirillo is better known to music scholars for having written the letter to Ugolino Gualteruzzi on the abuses of sacred polyphony, which Paolo Manuzio included in his third book of *Lettere Volgari di Diversi Nobilissimi Huomini* (Venice, 1564). The document had considerable effects on the evolution of contrapuntal language in the age of the Counter-Reformation. See in this regard Claude V. Palisca, ‘Bernardino Cirillo’s Critique of Polyphonic Church Music of 1549: Its Background and Resonance’, in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, 1997), 281–92.

¹³ *La relazione dell’entrata di Margherita d’Austria*, 90.

¹⁴ This and all other translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.



Figure 1. Orazio de Sanctis (after Pompeo Cesura), Title page of Bernardino Cirillo's *Annali della città dell'Aquila con l'histoire del suo tempo* (Rome: Giulio Accolto, 1570), detail

After completing the triumphal route, the ducal procession reached its destination in Piazza San Francesco, the administrative heart of the city. Here, a final great arch was on display, similar in structure to the initial one but centred on the mythological celebration of the territory hoping to return under the imperial insignia, in ideal continuity with the pre-existing Roman municipality of Amiternum: ‘Quod condidimus Amiternum atque huc traductam appellavimus Aquilam, eandem tu iam Margherita proteges’ (‘Protect from now on, Margaret, [that city] which we founded as Amiternum and which, transferred here, we called Aquila’).¹⁵ Read in this way, the large dedicatory epigraph can also be understood as an invitation to ‘Madama’ to consider Aquila as a possible residence.

Beyond the wide archway, Margaret and her retinue found themselves in front of the large Palazzo Colonna (now Pica Alfieri) used to accommodate them for the two days of their stay: the public sphere of festivities thus gave way to the private one. After an initial reception, enlivened by an instrumental performance by ‘tre compagni napolitani sonaturi’ (‘three Neapolitan musician companions’),¹⁶ the entertainment continued with a more specific program: an anonymous chronicler reports that ‘si fecero mattina, e sera sinfonie con soavissime musiche in lode di S. A. e del Principe suo figlio preparate à tale effetto dalla Città per il tempo del pranzo, e della cena’ (‘*Sinfonie* with sweet music in praise of her highness and the prince her son were performed by day and night at the expense of the municipality during lunch and dinner’).¹⁷ In this regard, and more generally for the entire service provided during those days, the municipal *Libro Mastro* records a payment of 4.50 *ducati* ‘a mastro Serafino Candido per la musica fatta a sua Altezza’ (‘to maestro Serafino Candido for the music composed for her highness’).¹⁸

The Abruzzese composer Serafino Candido da Montereale is known for his *Mascherate musicali non manco artificiose, che dilettevoli, sopra varij amorosi avvenimenti* (Venezia: Girolamo Scotto, 1571).¹⁹ This anthology consists of works for three to five voices mainly conceived in the forms of villanella and canzonetta, with a focus on the themes of courtship, feminine beauty, and love in general, with nine pieces directly related to the comic-representative style suggested by the title (Figure 2).²⁰ The collection is dedicated to a ‘molto Magnifico et Honorando Signor Ridolfo Tradel Augustano’, whose place of origin had suggested until a few years ago that Candido was active in Augsburg—maybe at the St. Anna Kantorei, whose seventeenth-century inventory listed

¹⁵ *La relazione dell'entrata di Margherita d'Austria*, 103.

¹⁶ Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila, Archivio Civico Aquilano, Ms. W40, fol. 169^r. They were given a simple tip (one *carlino* each). See also Vincenzo Borghetti, ‘Eine unbekannte Madrigalsammlung in LAquila, in *Österreichische Musik, Musik in Österreich. Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Mitteleuropas. Theophil Antonicek zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Elizabeth Theresia Hilscher (Tutzing, 1998), 71–78 at 72 n. 4.

¹⁷ *Annali della Città dell'Aquila dal 1535 al 1584*. Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila, fondo Dragonetti de Torres, Ms. 99, fol. 152^r (emphasis added).

¹⁸ Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila, Archivio Civico Aquilano, Ms. W40, fol. 168^r. See also Borghetti, ‘Eine unbekannte Madrigalsammlung’, 72 n. 4.

¹⁹ RISM A/I, C 805.

²⁰ Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1900–5), vol. 2, 306 records the existence of two copies—one, which formerly belonged to Raymund Fugger, at the Austrian National Library in Vienna, the other in the Landau collection in Florence—both lacking the bass partbook. Fortunately two manuscript copies of that partbook do survive: the first at Boston University, Howard Gottlieb Archival Research Center, H. C. Robbins Landon Collection, Box 4, Folder 4, on which see Margaret Mabbett, ‘Serafino Candido: *Delle Mascherate Musicali* (Venice: Scotto, 1571)’ (MMus Special Study, King's College London, 1984–85); the second, hitherto unknown, has recently emerged in a Florentine private collection and will be discussed in a forthcoming study.

a copy of his *Concerti nuovi* (Venice 1572), a work now lost.²¹ The discovery of an account book in L'Aquila has revealed instead that, from 10 October 1567 to March 1577, he was the chapel master of the local confraternity of Santa Orazione e Morte, where his duties were to compose and perform, together with a group of singers, liturgical music and polyphonic *laude* on all feast days and throughout Lent.²² In addition, at least for a certain period of time, he also worked as an actor and stage composer: the very fact that Candido was an author of *mascherate*, a genre to be sung while wearing a mask, suggests that these pieces were performed as *intermedi* between acts of the comedies regularly produced by the local Accademia dei Fortunati, founded in 1566 primarily for staging plays.²³

The availability of such a repertoire may have responded, at least in part, to the needs of the celebrations in May 1569. As already mentioned, Margaret had informed the authorities in Aquila of her change of schedule only a few days before her arrival and time for preparations was very limited. This may have led Candido to reuse—with possible adaptations—some of his theatrical works to enliven the lunch or dinner for 'Madama' and her son. Perhaps he used as his model the sumptuous masquerade given in Brussels on 18 November 1565 following the wedding banquet of Alessandro Farnese himself:

Avanti il levar delle tavole comparve una leggiadra mascherata di dodici Signori e gentilhuomini, de' quali il maggior d'età non passava dodici anni. Entrarono in sala con quattro tamburi, un piffero e sei gran torchi accesi inanzi, coloro che gli portavano e così i sonatori erano tutti vestiti con belli habiti alla moresca, con giubbe che andavano lor fin in terra e con maschere in viso negro et essi erano poi vestiti con giubbe di tela d'oro lunghe fin ai piedi, con un fogliame intorno di veluto bianco e pavonazzo, con le cinte di tocca d'oro e d'argento e seta pavonazza, con grosse catene d'oro al collo, con i turbanti in capo di tocca d'oro, come le cinte, nel cui mezzo usciva una punta fatta a modo di scartoccio di tela d'oro, nella cui cima erano alcune gioie ricche e belle.²⁴

Before the tables were cleared, a graceful masquerade of twelve lords and gentlemen appeared, the oldest of whom was no more than twelve years old. They entered the room with four drums, a fife, and six large lit torches; both the bearers and the musicians were dressed in beautiful Moorish-style clothing, coats that went down to the ground, and black masks on their faces; the coats were made of golden cloth, with white and purple velvet fringe, the belts were made of golden and silver [interlaced] fabric with purple silk; heavy gold chains hung around their necks, and they wore turbans made of golden fabric like the belts, adorned with some beautiful and rich jewels.

Closely related to the striking emblem of Margaret's triumphal entry in Aquila is one of the two five-voice courtly madrigals which Serafino Candido includes at the end of his

²¹ Donna G. Cardamone, 'Candido (da Montereale), Serafino', in *Grove Music Online*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04727>> (accessed 8 October 2023).

²² Francesco Zimei, 'Dalle Mascherate alla Divota Rappresentazione. Nuove acquisizioni sulla vita e le opere di Serafino Candido', in *Commedia dell'Arte e spettacolo in musica tra Sei e Settecento*, ed. Alessandro Lattanzi and Paologiovanni Maione (Naples, 2003), 253–86, esp. 261–62. At this point, also considering the former ownership of the Viennese copy of the *Mascherate* (see n. 20), it is likely that Ridolfo Tradel worked in the branch of the Fugger family active in the thriving Aquila saffron market.

²³ See Luigi Lopez, 'Accademie ed accademici nell'Aquila del Vicerego', in *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 75 (1985), 5–119 at 15.

²⁴ Francesco de Marchi, *Narratione particolare delle gran feste e trionfi fatti in Portogallo et in Fiandra nello sposalitio dell'Illustrissimo et Eccellentissimo Signore, il Signor Alessandro Farnese, Principe di Parma e Piacenza, e la Serenissima Donna Maria di Portogallo* (Bologna, Alessandro Benacci, 1566), edited in Giuseppe Bertini, *Le nozze di Alessandro Farnese. Feste alle corti di Lisbona e Bruxelles* (Milan, 1997), 77–132 at 107–8. This masquerade is depicted in the so-called *Brussels Album* (Figure 3).

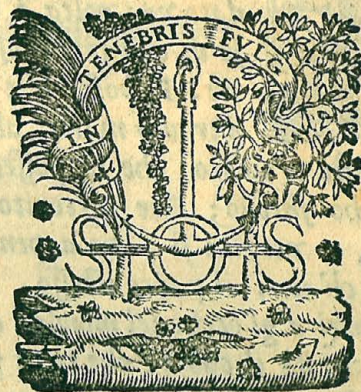
CANTO
DELLE MASCHERATE
MUSICALI

Di Serafino Candido da Monte Reale,
non manco artificiose, che dilettevoli,
sopra varij amorosi avvenimenti.

PARTE PRIMA.

Raimundus fuggere

Atte, a quattro, & a cinque voci,



IN VINEGIA,
APPRESSO GIROLAMO SCOTTO,
M D LXXI.

Figure 2. Serafino Candido da Montereale, Title page of *Maschere musicali non manco artificiose, che dilettevoli, sopra varij amorosi avvenimenti*. Vienna, Austrian National Library, SA.76.E.7 (used with permission)



Figure 3. Frans Floris, *Le tres beau combat à pied ... au quel entrarent en manière de Masques plusieurs Princes*.
 Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, inw.zb.d. 10255 (used with permission)

Mascherate. Its title, *La bella Aurora*, precisely recalls the allegory painted in the main frieze of the arch erected at the city gate: this could well be the only work he had time to compose expressly for Margaret's visit. The text, in two parts *capfinidas* of rather conventional quality, uses the first person plural *noi*—evidently symbolizing the local community as a whole—to celebrate Lady Dawn, who will give them life:

Non son fra l'alte stelle
 luci degli occhi tuoi più chiare e belle.
 Anzi, nel tuo bel viso
 si vede il paradiso.
 Mostrati, Donna, al suon d'este parole
 e innanti al giorno a noi si scuopra il sole.
 Scuoprasi innanti al giorno
 la tua beltà infinita,
 ché avrem la tua mercé tutti la vita.²⁵

Among the high stars there are no
 lights brighter and fairer than your eyes.

²⁵ In the edition of this and subsequent lyric texts, the synalephas have been restored by reintegrating, in italics, the vowels that were elided for practicality in the musical print.

Indeed, in your lovely face
paradise is seen.
Reveal yourself, O Lady, to the sound of these words,
so that the sun may show itself to us before daybreak.
May your infinite beauty be revealed
before the day,
so that thanks to you we all may have life.

The musical setting, intended for a group with a fairly high vocal range—the bass part never going below *c*—presents episodes in counterpoint alternating with short passages in homophony (see Example 1 in the Appendix). This seems to reflect the author's experience in the villanella genre rather than any intention to highlight the meaning of the text. However, it does not prevent him from skillfully emphasizing certain crucial passages such as the awaited appearance of Lady Dawn ('mostrati, Donna'), where word-painting depicts the increasing sunlight in the sky by expanding the number of sounding voices.

A Christmas Play in Cittaducale

It is highly likely that the *sinfonie* performed by Serafino Candido in Aquila were appreciated by 'Madama', given that the composer dedicated his religious play *La Divota rappresentatione del miracoloso Natal di Giesù Christo Figliuol d'Iddio e Signor nostro, con l'adoration de' Pastori* to her the following Christmas. The work was printed in Pesaro by Girolamo Concordia in the same year (Figure 4).²⁶ In the dedicatory letter addressed 'Alla Serenissima Madama Margarita d'Austria', the author continues to use the allegory of the sun, and also praises the duchess for her commitment to defending Catholicism:

Quelli Edificatori, i quali o non ponno, o non sanno fare un bello Edifitio, il van dipingendo, poi che fatto è, di belle figure, acciò che egli non iscomparisca affatto. Così (Sereniss. Madama) ho fatt'io, ché essendomi risoluto di consecrarvi questa picciola mia fatica, e non havendole potuto dare quello spirito di vita, che li si converrebbe con la gratia delle parole, o co'l favore del Carattere almeno, che estrinsecamente diletta il vostro purgatissimo occhio esteriore: la ho abellita della purità degl'Angeli, della santità di Maria Vergine, della Divinità di Christo. I quali nomi, che sono ornamento del Cielo, Eccellenza della Natura, e Tesoro dell'Immortalità, bastano (senz'altro) a far contenta ogn'Anima, e tanto più la vostra, quanto più d'ogn'altra è nobilissima conoscitrice del sommo bene, e potentissima fautrice della Religion di Giesù. Spargete dunque i raggi della vostra gratia sopra di me indegnissimo di tanto honore, Imitando il Sole, il quale sparge i suoi raggi sopra i buoni e sopra i rei, ricevendo le carte devote, che divotamente vi appresento. E vagliami (prego) appresso di voi la materia di che favellavo, poi che non mi vale lo stile con cui ne scrivo. Ed a chi più ragionevolmente dovevo io dedicare le attioni di Maria nel nascimento di Giesù, che a voi, Erario delle lodi di lei, e Gemma di Dio?²⁷

Those builders who cannot or do not know how to make a beautiful building, after it is completed, paint it with beautiful figures so that it does not disappear completely. So, Most Serene Lady, I have done the same: having decided to dedicate this little effort of mine to you but not being able to give it the spirit of life it deserves, neither

²⁶ Four copies of the booklet, of twenty-six unnumbered folios, are preserved in Rome, Parma, Pavia, and Monreale. On this work see Zimei, 'Dalle Mascherate alla *Divota Rappresentatione*'.

²⁷ Candido, *La divota rappresentatione*, fol. [2].

through graceful words nor through characters that can at least externally delight your highly polite gaze, I have adorned it with the purity of angels, the holiness of the Virgin Mary, and the divinity of Christ. These names, which are ornaments of heaven, excellences of nature, and treasures of immortality, are certainly enough to make every soul happy, and especially yours, which is the most noble connoisseur of the supreme good and the most powerful supporter of the religion of Jesus. So, spread the rays of your grace over me, who am unworthy of such an honor, and by imitating the sun—which spreads its rays over the good and the wicked—accept the devoted pages that I devoutly offer you. And I pray that the subject I am talking to you about will win me your favour, since the style in which I write it does not help me. Moreover, to whom should I more reasonably dedicate the actions of Mary in the birth of Jesus than to you, who are the administrator of her praises and the gem of God?

Candido specifies that the play is composed ‘in Versi sciolti parte, e parte in Rime tra libere, e regolate’, that is, partly in free verse and partly in structured or unstructured rhyme, depending on whether or not the verses were to be sung.²⁸ From this description it is possible to propose a list of the pieces that, according to the text or stage directions, should have been set to music, but are unfortunately lost (see Table 1). The style of the work is that of a comedy, even though it retains a devotional character, and it significantly anticipates the pastoral cantatas that flourished in Naples between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The plot unfolds on two distinct narrative levels and exploits the apparent contrast between the transcendent spirituality of the Gospel episode and the simple, rough everyday life of five shepherds: Sincero, Notturmo, Lucido, Titiro, and the ‘wise old man’ Candido, clearly performed by Serafino himself. While they are taking their flock to pasture, the appearance of an angel draws their attention to the birth of Jesus. They then head off in search of the manger where the newborn baby was to be found: their journey, although clumsy, is full of references to traditions from Abruzzi mountains such the improvised poetry in *ottava rima*, the vibrant practice of the *zampogna*, or the special quality of the fresh *ricotta* cheese they bring as a gift to the holy child. Set in such a landscape and cultural context, while also echoing the successful model of the Renaissance eclogue, *La divota rappresentatione del miracoloso Natal di Giesù Christo* is therefore like an implicit homage to the virtue of the place in order to celebrate before ‘Madama’ the wholesome rustic life of her fiefdoms.

The play was staged at midnight on Christmas Eve in Cittaducale, which was then the capital of her small state.²⁹ It took place between the palace that the celebrated architect Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola—already employed in Piacenza—had expanded for Margaret in that very year and the adjacent church of Santa Cecilia, where there was a creche animated in the style of *tableaux vivants*.³⁰ In the final scene, shepherds come across some priests who are also searching for the messiah. Their exchange of lines is represented by a dialogic madrigal for two choirs (*O de’ Monti vicini / O cercanti il Messia / Idio somma bontade*), likely each for five voices each with the support of Margaret’s

²⁸ This familiarity with poetry implies that Serafino Candido also composed the text of the *Mascherate*.

²⁹ In this regard, Candido, *La divota rappresentatione*, on fol. 25^v points out: ‘havendosi da rappresentar questo Misterio su la meza notte’ (‘having to represent this mystery play around midnight’).

³⁰ In fact, Candido, *La divota rappresentatione*, again on fol. 25^v recalls that it was ‘in uso perpetuo lo acconciarsi a quel tempo il Presepio del nato Christo per le chiese tutte’ (‘during that period, it is a well-established tradition to set up the nativity scene of the newborn Christ in all the churches’).

Table 1. Serafino Candido, *La Divota rappresentatione del miracoloso Natal di Gesù Cristo* (1569), musical contents

| No. | Incipit | Folio | Characters | Stage direction | Comments |
|-----|---|--------------------|------------------|--|---|
| 1 | <i>Silenzio homai, silentio in cortesia</i> | [3 ^v] | Angel | 'Il prologo' | <i>Ottava rima</i> |
| 2 | <i>Gloria ne gl'altissimi al Signore</i> | [8 ^v] | Choir of angels | 'formano in vive voci, e note concordi queste belle parole'; 'Canzone' | Polyphonic lauda |
| 3 | <i>Già vedo i sontuosi, e ricchi Templi</i> | [10 ^v] | Virgin Mary | 'scioglie la sua [beatitudine] con queste note' | Monophonic |
| 4 | <i>Non temete Pastor, ch'in me non sono</i> | [12 ^v] | Angel | 'egli si fa da loro udire con queste voci' | Monophonic (echoed off-stage?) |
| 5 | <i>Gloria al magno Iddio</i> | [13 ^r] | Choir of angels | 'cantano divinamente la presente canzone'; 'la musical Canzone, che detta hanno i dotti musici della Cappella del Paradiso' | Polyphonic lauda |
| 6 | [instrumental] | [18 ^v] | Sincero | 'messa la sua alla bocca dell'arguta Sampogna, e dato una passatella de dita sù per i fori' | Free introduction for <i>zampogna</i> |
| 7 | <i>Semplicetti, leggiadri, almi Pastori</i> | [18 ^v] | Notturmo | 'scioglie la lingua nella dolcezza di queste note' | <i>Ottava rima</i> and <i>zampogna</i> |
| 8 | <i>Or vedi mo, che sarem detti tepidi?</i> | [19 ^v] | Lucido | 'si duole nel senso di queste note' | Monophonic |
| 9 | <i>O de' Monti vicini</i> | [23 ^v] | Choir of priests | 'con voci tonanti disposte in note musiche' | Dialogic madrigal for two choirs (with five voices each?) |
| 10 | <i>O cercanti il Messia</i> | [24 ^r] | Shepherds | 'con pari union di voci alla loro dimanda così rispondono' | |
| 11 | <i>Idio somma bontade</i> | [24 ^r] | Choir of priests | [they respond to the latter] | Gregorian chant |
| 12 | <i>Te deum</i> | [26 ^r] | Choir of priests | 'si avviano di bella compagnia in ver la Capanna cantando nel solito tuono l'Hinno di Ambrosio e di Agostino' | |
| 12 | <i>Verbum caro factum est</i> | [24 ^r] | Choir of priests | 'proferiscono nella concordanza di detti e misurati accenti queste sante parole' | Polyphonic responsory |
| 13 | <i>Dalle lucide stanze d'Oriente</i> | [25 ^r] | Angel | [epilogue] 'L'Angelo a gli Spettatori' | <i>Ottava rima</i> |

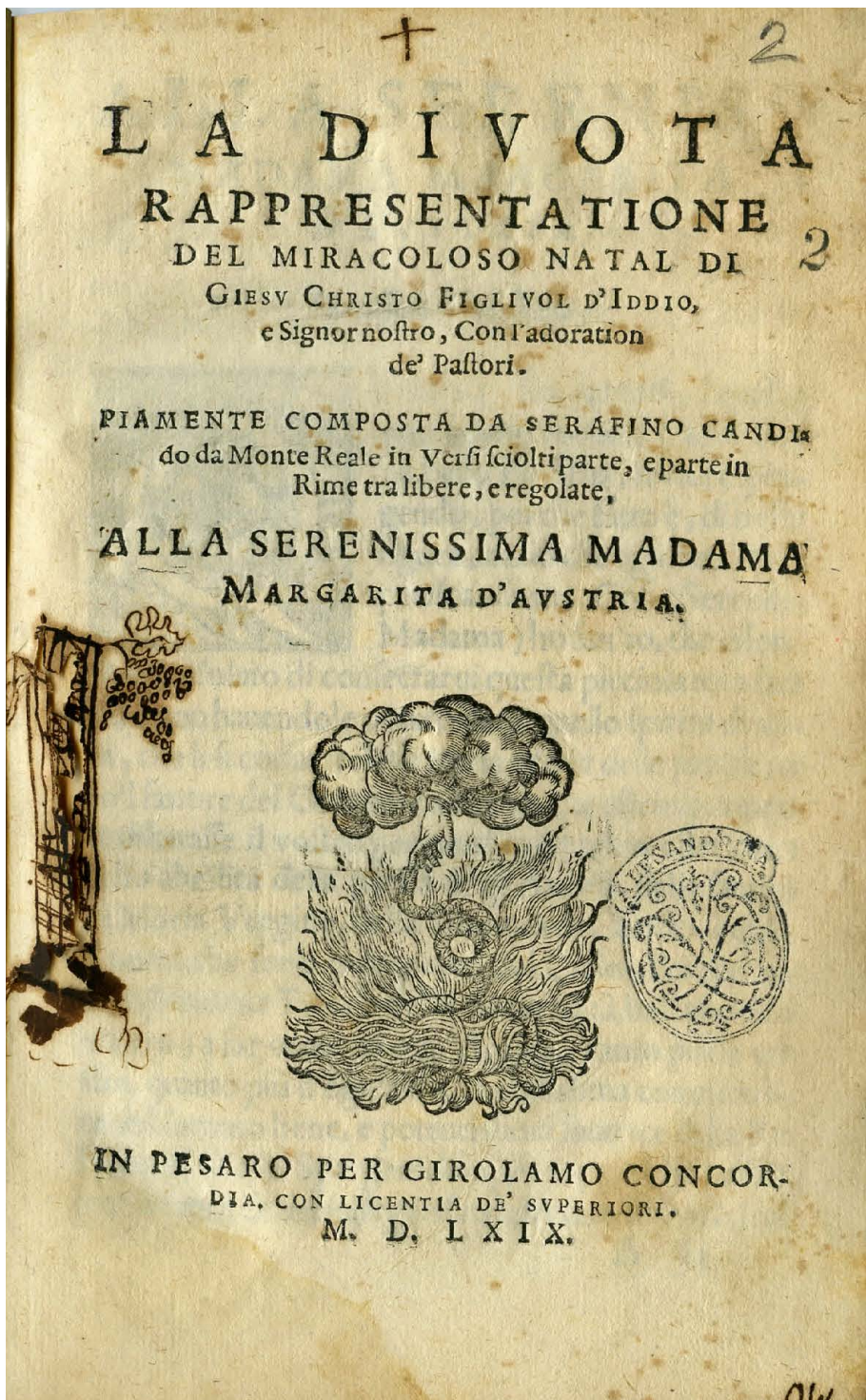


Figure 4. Serafino Candido, Title page of *La divota rappresentazione del miracoloso Natal di Giesù Christo, Figliuol d'Iddio e Signor nostro, con l'adoration de' Pastori*. Rome, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina (used with permission)

musicians. Candido may indeed allude to the latter in a stage direction commenting on the appearance of the angelic choir with the evocative metaphor ‘i dotti musici della Cappella del Paradiso’ (‘the skilled musicians of the Chapel of Paradise’).³¹

There is extensive documentation concerning ‘Madama’s’ chapel. A year before the events just described, the ensemble consisted of eighteen members, all of Flemish origin, recruited by Margaret during her mission in Flanders. Details about them are found in the *Disposizioni al capo della fureria per i viaggi della corte*, probably compiled in anticipation of ‘Madama’s’ departure to Abruzzi (see Table 2).³² The chapel master was Johannes Verius—perhaps a Jean van Vere, or de Vere³³—originally from Valenciennes. He just replaced Pierre du Hot, who remained in the service of the duke of Alba. At that time, Verius had already published at least two volumes of *cantiones gallicae*, one for four and five voices, and the other for four to six (Leuven, 1560 and 1566, respectively), of which no copies are known to survive.³⁴ His extant production consists of five chansons, transmitted in miscellaneous collections of the period.³⁵ Pietro Cerone, who had the opportunity to know him during his time in the service of the bishop’s chapel in Cittaducale, describes him in *El melopeo y maestro* as an excellent musician, and recalled his remarkable generosity as a teacher:

Yo tambien he sabido por experiencia todo esto, particularmente por aver tenido muy estrecha amistad con Iuan Verio de nacion Flamengo y Maestro de Capilla, que à sido de Madama Margarita de Austria que esta en el cielo. Con quien, en el tiempo de quatro años, que me tratuve en Civitaducal de Abruzo en servicio de la Capilla del Obispado, conferia mis estudios; y à quien pedia parecer en mis dudas. En extremo me holgava platicar con el de quando en quando; porquanto nunca oya sus palabras, que no sacasse provecho y aviso dellas: porque siempre yua descubriendo cosas encubiertas à muchos, y dignas de no cubrirse a nadie. Sin duda tomava plazer de oyrle tratar de mi profession, y que avezes me sacasse de las dudas que tenia; y quanto mas me dezia cosas de gusto, tanto mas desseava me dixesse otras y otras: tiniendo siempre un nuevo desseo de saber mas. Porque assi como el avariento nunca se harta de dineros (siendo mas que verdadero el dicho: *Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*) assi yo codicioso de saber, nunca me hartava del conocimiento de los secretos y subtilizas, que me descubria: y entonces conoci ser mas que verdadero el proverbio: *Mendici pera non impletur*.³⁶

I too have known all of this from personal experience, particularly from having had a very close friendship with Juan Verio, a Flemish choirmaster who served under

³¹ Candido, *La divota rappresentatione*, fol. 13^r.

³² In the table, the spelling of the better-known names has been normalized. Another document prescribes how the organ had to be transported, ‘in modo di lettiga per il quale è necessario due muli’ (‘in litter fashion, for which two mules are necessary’), also mentioning a casket for the music books and a case for the instruments: Archivio di Stato di Parma, Computisteria Farnesiana, 246, published in Bertini, *Le nozze di Alessandro Farnese*, 43.

³³ This hypothesis is from Edmond Vander Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle*, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1867–88), vol. 6, 484.

³⁴ Both collections are listed in an inventory of music books compiled in 1577 by the lutenist Sixt Kargel for the prince-bishop of Strasbourg, Johann IV von Manderscheid-Blankenheim. See Walter Senn, ‘Ein Notenverzeichnis des Bischofs von Strassburg aus dem Jahre 1577’, in *Renaissance-Muziek 1400-1600: Donum natalicium René Bernard Lenaerts*, ed. Jozef Robijns (Leuven, 1969), 241–45 at 242–43.

³⁵ They are *Luculentum theatrum musicum* (Leuven: Pierre Phalèse, 1568) [RISM B/I, 1568³³, two pieces]; *Sisième livre de chansons à quatre parties d’Arcadelt & autres* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1578) [RISM B/I, 1578⁶, two pieces]; *Vingtième livre de chansons à quatre & cinq parties d’Orlande de Lassus et autres* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1578) [RISM B/I, 1578¹³, one piece].

³⁶ Pietro Cerone, *El melopeo y maestro: Tractado de musica theórica y práctica* (Naples: Iuan Bautista Gargano y Lucrecio Nucci, 1613), 92. The relationship between Cerone and Verius was recently discussed by Gary Towne, ‘The Good Maestro: Pietro Cerone on the Pedagogical Relationship’, in *Music Education in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Russell E. Murray, Jr., Susan Forscher Weiss, and Cynthia J. Cyrus (Bloomington, 2010), 324–44, at 332–33.

Table 2. Margaret's music chapel on her departure for Abruzzi and her death

| Role | 1568 ³⁷ | Provenance | 1586 ³⁸ | Provenance |
|------------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Chapel master | Johannes Verius | Valenciennes | Johannes Verius | Valenciennes |
| Sopranos | n.n. ³⁹ | Flanders | Nicolo Enaloet | Soignies |
| | n.n. | Flanders | Giacomo Ernan | Soignies |
| | n.n. | Flanders | Gregorio di Fiordimonti | Soignies |
| | n.n. | Flanders | Giovanni d'Onofrio | Penne |
| Altos | Carlo della Torre | Flanders | Giacomo Antonio Pales | Paganica |
| | Gaspar du Roy | Flanders | Nicola Cuppi | Flanders |
| | Thomas Ruys | Utrecht | Geronimo del Campo | Spain |
| Tenors | Thomas du Moulin | Liege | Andrea Trigo | Flanders |
| | | | Luca Bolino | Nola |
| | | | Giovanni Paolo Fabri | Urbino |
| Basses | | | n.n. | Flanders |
| | Giovanni Clarquin | Cambrai | Ugo Miglietti | Italy |
| Organ | Giorgio Lestendart | Flanders | n.n. ('Trombone') | ? |
| | Frédéricq de Haus | Flanders | Guglielmo Bleotarleore | Bruges? |
| Instrumentalists | Giaches Vinck | Bruges | Hubert Hutelet | Flanders |
| | n.n. ⁴⁰ | ? | | |
| | n.n. | ? | | |
| | n.n. | ? | | |
| Cornett, lute | Marcus Vinck | Bruges | | |
| Tuner | Balthazar Rutgeerts | Mechelen | Balthazar Rutgeerts | Mechelen |

Madama Margaret of Austria, who is now in heaven. During the four years that I spent in Cittaducale d'Abruzzo in the service of the bishop's chapel, I consulted with him regarding my studies and asked for his opinion on my doubts. I greatly enjoyed conversing with him from time to time, for I never heard his words without gaining something useful and informative from them. He always revealed hidden things to many people that were worthy of being revealed to no one. Undoubtedly, he took pleasure in discussing my profession with me and occasionally resolving my doubts, and the more he said things that pleased me, the more I desired to hear more and more, always having a new desire to learn more. For just as the greedy person never has enough money (the saying 'the love of money grows as the money itself grows' being more than true), so I, greedy for knowledge, was never satisfied with the secrets and subtleties that he revealed to me, and then I recognized the proverb 'the beggar's saddlebag is never filled'.⁴¹

³⁷ Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Casa e Carte Farnesiane, 1624. First published in Bertini, *Le nozze di Alessandro Farnese*, 139-41.

³⁸ After a reconstruction by Niwa, "Madama" Margaret of Parma, 34.

³⁹ In a 1566 chapel payroll in Brussels the four boys' names were Thomas Ruys, Gian Gilouz, Joos Wtersalem, and Niccolas Cupers. See Niwa, "Madama" Margaret of Parma, 27.

⁴⁰ Johannes Vinck?

⁴¹ The relationship between the two, especially if it really lasted four years—taking into account that the court remained in Cittaducale until 1572—makes it very difficult for Cerone to have been born in 1566, as is generally believed. Franco

Among the ten chapel singers at Verius's disposal were four *putti*; three altos including Thomas Ruys from Utrecht, who had been enlisted as a boy soprano in 1566; one tenor, Thomas du Moulin, originally from Liege and likely a relative of the alto Bastien, who had been in 'Madama's' service in 1559-67; and two basses, Giovanni Clarquin, a cleric of the diocese of Cambrai, and Giorgio Lestendart, in the ensemble since 1566.⁴² Verius was probably a tenor as well. There were also seven instrumentalists. Among them were the Vinck brothers from Bruges: Marcus, a cornettist and lute player, and Giaches, who is mentioned in the payments of 1566 with the dual role of archer and musician, but later only as a player, together with three of his pupils.⁴³ Giaches's name also appears in a proxy drawn up in Cittaducale on 26 April 1570, which obligated him to collect a large amount of money from the municipality of Antwerp on behalf of Isabella Sbeeren from Brussels, wife of Margaret's *portierius camerae* (porter of the chamber) Buccio di Domenico di Risecca from Penne.⁴⁴ The staff included the organist Frédéricq de Haus, on court rolls since 1559,⁴⁵ and the tuner Balthazar Rutgeerts (c. 1542-1620), an important organ maker from Mechelen.⁴⁶

Governor of Aquila

After repeatedly urging Philip II to grant her privileges that would give greater political prominence to her stay in Abruzzi, Margaret was appointed permanent governor of Aquila by the king of Spain on 21 September 1572. The news soon reached the city, and this time the authorities had enough time to arrange a worthy welcome.

The ceremony was held on 16 December amid salvos, trumpet fanfares, and pyrotechnic displays. 'Madama's' entry, this time from the main gate Porta Lavarete, took place on a triumphal chariot and was greeted with an even more magnificent setup than those of four years earlier.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, no detailed description has survived, but it is highly probable that it was conceived in symbolic continuity with the former setup, so as to flaunt Aquila's uninterrupted relationship with Charles V's daughter. An interesting clue in this regard comes from the sonnet *Lieta dal ciel a noi face ritorno* by 'Giovanni di l'Aquila', who can be identified with the poet and preacher Giovanni da San Demetrio.⁴⁸ The text takes up the allegorical theme of Dawn, now

Alberto Gallo, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of *El melopeo y maestro* (Bologna, 1969), v, is probably right in moving it back to 1561.

⁴² All comparisons with the payrolls of Margaret's chapel in Brussels are made possible thanks to Seishiro Niwa's article, "'Madama' Margaret of Parma's patronage of music," in *Early Music* 33 (2005), 25-37.

⁴³ A possible third brother, named 'Giovanni Vincum', perhaps initially among the pupils, is mentioned as a musician of Margaret in a document dated 26 April 1570. See Niwa, "'Madama' Margaret of Parma", 32.

⁴⁴ Tommaso Valenti, 'Notizie di personaggi fiamminghi alla corte di Margherita d'Austria duchessa di Parma e Piacenza durante la sua dimora in Abruzzo', in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 14 (1934), 131-56 at 143 and 148.

⁴⁵ Niwa, "'Madama' Margaret of Parma", 27.

⁴⁶ Jan Gerits, 'De Mechelse orgelbouwer Balthazar Rutgeerts († 1620): Een bijdrage tot zijn leven en werk', in *De Praestant* 15 (1966), 62-65, provides a list of the instruments he made in his homeland. See also Maarten Albert Vente, *Die Brabanter Orgel: Zur Geschichte der Orgelkunst in Belgien und Holland im Zeitalter der Gotik und der Renaissance* (Paris-Amsterdam, 1958), 182.

⁴⁷ Although generic, this reference is found in a seventeenth-century essay by Francesco Ciurci, *Familiari ragionamenti delli commentarii et annali dell'Aquila*, LAquila, Biblioteca regionale 'Salvatore Tommasi', Ms. 48, fol. 102r.

⁴⁸ A native of the eponymous village, part of the former countryside of Aquila, he had been a notary before donning the habit of the Friars Minor, and had recently published a book, *Regole della lingua Toscana, con brevità, chiarezza & ordine raccolte, e scielte da quelle del Bembo, del Corso, del Fortunio, del Gabriele, del Dolce, e dell'Acarisio* (Venice: Domenico Nicolini, 1572).

rose-coloured to represent the hoped-for destiny of the city, but it also presents motifs entirely consistent with the spirit of the celebrations, from the reference to the providential ('from heaven') return of Madama to the 'favour' that she will dispense to the territory:

Lieta dal ciel a noi face ritorno
col capo d'oro e'l crin cinta di rai:
l'alba è più bella de l'usato assai,
desta le rose e partorisce il giorno.
Alba rosa è costei dunque che intorno
cotanto stende il suo splendor homai
ch'el mondo allegro non fu più giamai
né più come solea ricco et adorno.
Alba, che con la luce alma novella
rugiadosa ti mostri in ogni parte,
scopri la rosa tua candida e bella[!]
Chi potria mai delle tue luci sparte
cantar a pien la più breve fiammella
senza il favor ch'el tuo lume comparte[?]

Joyfully from heaven she returns to us
with a golden head and hair of rays:
the Dawn is more beautiful than usual,
it awakens the roses and gives birth to the day.
This is therefore a rosy Dawn,
which spreads its splendour so much
that the world has never been so happy,
nor as rich and adorned as it is now.
Dawn, who with your new life-filled light
show yourself with dewdrops everywhere,
unveil your beautiful and candid rose!
Who could ever sing the praises
of even the shortest flame of your spread-out light
without the favour that your splendour dispenses?

Even more intriguing is that the poem was set to music as a five-voice madrigal by Giovanni Leonardo Primavera (see Example 2 in the Appendix). This implies that it was likely performed in one of the 'vaghi festini' organized on the occasion in Margaret's honour.⁴⁹ Well-crafted in broad and lively phrases, *Lieta dal ciel a noi face ritorno* appeared in print just a few months later in the Apulian composer's new collection, *I frutti*.⁵⁰ On the title page, the author declares his current position as chapel master for the governor of Milan, Luís de Zúñiga y Requesens. The commission of the madrigal is certainly related to his service: Zúñiga was a trusted man of Philip II and of his half-brother John of Austria and would shortly be appointed regent of Flanders.

⁴⁹ Ciurci, *Familiari ragionamenti*, fol. 102^v.

⁵⁰ *I Frutti di Giovan Leonardo Primavera, Maestro di Capella dell'Illustriss. & Excellentiss. S. Commendator maggiore di Castiglia, Governatore dello Stato di Milano. A cinque voci con un Dialogo a dieci, Libro Quarto* (Venice: Errede di Girolamo Scotto, 1573) [RISM A/I, P 5452]. See also Francesco Zimei, 'Simbologia e identità nei trattenimenti musicali aquilani in onore di Margherita d'Austria', in *Architettura e identità locali I*, ed. Lucia Corrain and Francesco Paolo Di Teodoro (Florence, 2013), 271-85 at 277-78.

With Margaret's residence in the large palace built for her by the municipality to a design by the architect Girolamo Pico Fonticulano (now the town hall), Aquila soon became a destination of international politics and diplomacy. One of the first dignitaries to visit 'Madama' was none other than John of Austria, fresh from his triumph at the battle of Lepanto. During his sojourn in the city in February 1573, he was the guest of honor at various receptions; he revealed a notable predilection for dancing and particularly for the galliard, which he danced 'with so much grace', just as he had done on the deck of the *Real* galley before clashing with the Turkish fleet:

[...] volse l'Altezza di Madama sì per trattenimento di suo fratello, come di tanti altri Cavaglieri, che si ballasse alcune sere con le Dame sue, & con alcune altre Signore & Gentildonne che invitò à tale effetto, dove l'Altezza del Signor Don Giovanni fu visto danzare diversi balli ad uso di varie nationi, & tra gli altri far la gagliarda con tanta leggiadria, che non vi era né huomo, né donna, che non restasse invaghito della gratia sua. Mentre si ballava, l'Altezza di Madama fece chiamare il Capitan Francesco Marchi suo antiquo servitore, & gli comandò che dovesse ballare, & guidare alcune sorte di balli nuovi, il quale in atto riverente ubedi à quanto da sua Altezza gli era imposto, & trovato un ballo, dove era l'Altezza di Don Giovanni con molti altri suoi primi Signori, & gentilhomini, era lecito in quel ballo rubare à quelli che erano fuori della danza la Dama à coloro che erano in ballo, & à tempo & improvvisamente si facevano gli scambiamenti, là dove primieramente fu rubata all'Altezza del Signor Don Giovanni, del che ci fu molto da ridere. Ma egli come Signore accorto & prestante in un subito si vendicò, con rubarne più d'una a chi n'era mal custode, & delle più belle, et giovani, che forse non era quella, che pur dianzi havea perduta. Fu non solo rubata à Sua Altezza, ma hor ad uno, & hor ad un altro di quelli Signori, di che l'Altezza di Don Giovanni & di Madama con tutto il popolo presero grandissimo piacere, & tanto più, che la medesima burla fù anche fatta al Capitan Francesco inventore di detto ballo, dopo al quale di mano in mano ritrovò egli, & misse in campo altri balli, & giuochi, ma tenendo sempre in festa tutta quella brigata.⁵¹

To entertain both her brother and many other knights, Her Highness Madama wanted them to dance with her court ladies and other specially invited gentlewomen on several evenings, where His Highness Don Giovanni was seen dancing several dances according to the custom of various nations, and among others the galliard with so much grace that there was neither man nor woman who was not enamoured by his charm. While they were dancing, Her Highness Madama summoned Captain Francesco Marchi, her old servant, and ordered him to join as well and invent new types of dances: he obediently complied and in a dance in which His Highness Don Giovanni and other lords and gentlemen were participating, [established] that those who were not dancing could steal the lady from the one who was dancing, and that the exchanges had to be made keeping the tempo in a sudden manner. Among the first to have his lady stolen was His Highness Don Giovanni, which caused much laughter. But he, being a clever and accomplished man, quickly got revenge by stealing from unsuspecting guardians ladies who were even more beautiful and younger than the one he had lost. A lady was not only stolen from His Highness, but also from one lord after another: this greatly amused the Highnesses of Don Giovanni and Madama, together with all the people, especially when the same prank was played on Captain

⁵¹ [Francesco De Marchi], *Breve trattato del Capitan Francesco De Marchi gentilhuomo dell'altezza di Madama, nella venuta che fece la prima volta all'Aquila il Serenissimo Don Giovanni d'Austria per visitar sua Altezza* (Aquila: Giuseppe Cacchio, 1576), fols. [9^v]-[10^r].

Francesco, the inventor of said dance; after which he created other dances and games, always keeping the entire company in a festive mood.

For its part, the municipality, enthusiastic about Margaret being in residence, also continued to seek her benevolence with costly entertainment in her favourite genres of theatre and music. Especially concerning music, one of the most significant cultural effects of her presence in Aquila might therefore have been a considerable increase in activities, both in the city and at court.

Although more research is necessary, it is certain that some skilled local musicians benefited from this opportunity to showcase their talent to one of the most important European sovereigns, resulting in significant professional advancement. This was the case for Giacomo Antonio Pales, a young soprano from the nearby village of Paganica, who from 1570 was among the singers of the confraternity of Santa Orazione e Morte led by Serafino Candido.⁵² Perhaps thanks to his collaboration with the latter, he was hired in the ducal chapel. There is ample evidence of his talent. Pales was one of the earliest known Italian castrati: after ‘Madama’s’ death he was sought after by the dukes of Mantua and Bavaria before ending his career in Rome in the Cappella Giulia directed by Palestrina.⁵³

In turn, many of Margaret’s musicians began integrating into local society. Among them were the tenor Thomas du Moulin, who witnessed several deeds during the 1570s,⁵⁴ and the instrumentalist Giaches Vinck, who settled in the house formerly belonging to the wealthy merchant Giacomo di Notar Nanni, one of the great city patrons of the previous century.⁵⁵ In the late summer of 1577—the last documented circumstance of his life—Giaches was struck by a family tragedy: his daughter Gertrud, his wife Maria Boetia, and his own brother Marcus died in quick succession, as attested by their gravestone in the church of Santa Maria Paganica:

Gertrudae, Mariae Boetiae Bruxell: et Marco Vinchio Brugensi, illis quod altera optimae fuerit indolis, altera pudiciss: et feliciter ac piiss: obierit; huic quod Orpheos, et Iopas testudinibus, et tibiis quibuslibet superarit; quodque sereniss: Margaritae Austriacae summo cum honore secum musices inserviret; omnibus demum quod fere simul decesserint XIV. Kal. VIII. Idus Septembris, XIV Kal. Octobris MDLXXVII. Iaches pater, vir et frater miserrime lacrimans P[osuit] W. [= Voto V?] menses annos XXXIV. XLIV.⁵⁶

To Gertrud, Maria Boetia from Brussels, and Marcus Vinck from Bruges: to [the first two of] them, because one was of excellent nature, the other of great modesty, and died happily and piously; to him, because he surpassed Orpheus and Iope in playing the lute and any kind of wind instrument, and served the most serene Margaret of Austria with great honour in music; and finally, to all of them because they died almost simultaneously on 19 August, 8 September, and 18 September 1577. Giaches,

⁵² Niwa, “Madama” Margaret of Parma, 34, calls him Spanish, but his true provenance is stated in the association’s account book: see Zimei, ‘Dalle Mascherate alla Divota Rappresentazione’, 263.

⁵³ See Richard Sherr, ‘Guglielmo Gonzaga and the Castrati’, in *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980), 33–56; Iain Fenlon, ‘Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga (1542–93): “Quel padrone confidentissimo”’, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 113 (1988), 223–49; and Giancarlo Rostirolla, ‘La Cappella Giulia in San Pietro negli anni palestriniani’, in *Atti del Convegno di studi palestriniani, Palestrina, 27 settembre – 2 ottobre 1975*, ed. Francesco Luisi (Palestrina, 1977), 99–283 at 227.

⁵⁴ Valenti, ‘Notizie di personaggi fiamminghi’, 141.

⁵⁵ See Raffaele Colapietra, ‘Il governo di Margherita d’Austria all’Aquila’, in *Margherita d’Austria*, 167–84 at 172–73.

⁵⁶ This text is from Anton Ludovico Antinori, *Annali degli Abruzzi*, vol. 20, 425, although in the mid-eighteenth century, when the illustrious historiographer was working on his ponderous annalistic compilation—still preserved in manuscript form in LAquila’s ‘Salvatore Tommasi’ Library—the plaque was no longer legible, probably being lost in the earthquake that destroyed the city in February 1703.

the father, husband, and brother, weeping bitterly, offered [this gravestone] to them as a vow(?) on their respective 5(?) months and 34 and 44 years of life.

A better fate befell the tuner Balthazar Rutgeerts, who not only supplemented his income from court service with the saffron trade, but was also in demand by many city churches to replace their old organs with new instruments that he built.⁵⁷ Unfortunately none of his organs have survived, due either to the 1703 earthquake or to the Baroque renovations of many church interiors, but a few contracts are preserved.⁵⁸ One of these, dated 17 June 1579, concerns a positive organ with seven stops and golden and inlaid jalousies, to be made for the convent of Sant'Antonio following the model of that belonging to Margaret, perhaps not only on certain aspects of its phonic arrangement:

Ricordo del modo che have da esser l'organo che fa mastro Baldassarro per il Convento de Santo Anto[ni]o. Imprimo: che sia de stagno fino longo quatt[r]o palmj senza li piedi, secondo il modello che habiamo pigliato, con lo secondo ottavo, lo terzo ottavo, un sinbalo doi canne per tasto; un fiauto parlando quatt[r]o palmj secondo il tono del organo de Madamma; un schifelletto incominciato à meza tastatura, un registro de piffari parlando di otto palmj, un tanburro, un trimulante, tre rosignoli, tre mantaci con tutto l'adorn[amen]to secondo che appare nel modello che lui se have assignato.⁵⁹

Memorandum on how the organ that master Baldassarre will build for the Convent of Sant'Antonio should be made. Firstly, it should be made of fine tin, four palms long without considering the base, according to the model we have chosen, with the second octave, the third octave, a *cembalo* of two pipes per key; a four-palm flute tuned as in Madama's organ; a *schufflet* starting from the middle of the keyboard, a *piffari* stop of eight-palm, a drum, a tremulant, three nightingales, three bellows, and all the ornamentation that appears in the assigned model.⁶⁰

In addition to that organ, Margaret's musical establishment had a large instrument collection at its disposal. Details are found in the *Inventario delle robbe della felice memoria di Madama Serenissima*, drawn up in Ortona on 26 February 1586 (fols. 1^r-58^r) and Aquila on 19 May (58^v-118^v):⁶¹

- (30^r) Un tamburo longo, coperto di corame negro.
- (49^v) Una cassa ferrata con il coperchio di vacchetta fodrata dentro di panno rosso, nella quale vi sono cinque viole et un violino con sei archi.
- (50^r) Una scatola di legno bianco dove sono dentro corde.
Un trombone di ottone dentro nella sua custodia con la sua chiavetta.
- (50^v) Un gravicembolo con sua cassa di legno rosso et sua chiavetta.
- (95^v) Un organo di legno con due registri in una custodia di legno.
- (96^r) Una cassa bianca che serviva per il letto de staffieri con dentro sei viole, fra grandi et piccole, con suoi archetti.

⁵⁷ His activity in the saffron trade can be seen in some contracts of the notary Federico Valla, which are still preserved in the L'Aquila State Archive.

⁵⁸ See in this regard Renzo Giorgetti, 'Documenti di arte organaria in Abruzzo', in *Strumenti e Musica* 43 (1991), 19-20.

⁵⁹ Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila, Archivio Civico Aquilano, Notarile 240 (Federico Valla), fol. 512^r.

⁶⁰ This results in the following specification: Principal 4', Decimaquinta 2' ('secondo ottavo'), Vigessimaseconda ('terzo ottavo'), Vigesimasesta or Vigesimanona ('cembalo'), Flute 4', Schufflet (= Flautino soprano 2'), Flauto tappato 8' ('piffari'), Tremulant, Drum, three Nightingales, three bellows.

⁶¹ Archivio di Stato di Parma, Computisteria Farnesiana di Parma e Piacenza, 372, edited in its entirety in Giuseppe Bertini, *L'inventario di Margherita d'Austria* (Turin, 2012).

- Un gravicembolo, coperto di corame negro, dentro foderato di ermesino verde con sua chiave di dentro.
- (101^v) Una cassa ferrata con dentro i mantici dell'organo con suoi piombi, et coperta di corame negro.
Un'organo di noce intarsiato a gelosia dorato, con sette registri et sua custodia di legno.
- (102^r) Una cassa bianca ferrata, dove vi sono l'Infrascritte cose:
Dui trombonj di ottone con sue custodie et chiavi.
Una custodia di corame negro, con sua borsa, con dentro nove pezzi de flauti.
Una custodia di corame negro, con quattro cornamuse.
Una custodia con sua borsa, con otto pezzi de flauti.
Due Instrumenti da musica de Inghilterra, con la lor borsa chiamati fagotti.
Dui cornetti grandi da musica, con sue coperte di corame negro.
Tre cornetti piccioli da musica, uno con la coperta di corame.
Tre custodie di ottone per trombonj.
- (117^r) un tamburo coperto di vacchetta.

In short, at the time of 'Madama's' death, the instrument collection counted over fifty items. At the residence in Aquila, they may have been housed in a specific music room used for chapel rehearsals.⁶² Among the wind instruments (not counting the trumpets, which are implied by the presence of the two drums but probably remained with the guards), there were five cornets, six trombones (but only the cases that contained three of them remained), four shawms ('cornamuse'), two curtals ('fagotti... de Inghilterra'), and seventeen recorders. The strings included a violin and eleven other bowed instruments (generally labelled 'viola'), of which at least six belonged to the gamba family ('fra grandi et piccole'). Lastly, the keyboard section included two harpsichords and two organs, a portative with wooden pipes and only two stops, and the one already mentioned.

The music archive was also well-furnished, with as many as eighty-seven items listed in the *Inventario*. However, there is no information available about their content, and it is unclear how many of them were partbooks:

- (49^v) Quattro lib[ri] coperti de corame rosso de musica, con arme di Mad[am]a.
(50^r) Dicisette libretti da musica, coperti di carta pecora.
Un libro grande di musica per la Messa, coperto di carta pecora.
Dui libri grandi di musica per la Cappella, coperti di carta pecora.
- (102^v) Dui libri grandi da musica, coperti di corame negro.
Tre libri grandi da musica coperti di carta pecorina bianca.
Alc[un]i fogli grandi da musica, slegati.
- (116^r) Un libro grande di musica, coperto di corame leonato, con le cantonate di ottone.
Quattro altri libri in foglio di musica coperti di carta pecora.
- (116^v) Trentanove libretti in quarto di musica coperti di carta pecorina.
Otto altri libri di musica, coperti con cartone.
Sei altri libri senza coperte.

⁶² A room with this designation is attested for example in the ducal palace in Parma after the death of Ottavio Farnese; see Giuseppe Bertini, 'Composizioni della Libreria farnesiana e la musica alla corte di Ottavio Farnese', in *A messer Claudio, Musico. Le arti molteplici di Claudio Merulo da Correggio (1533-1604) tra Venezia e Parma*, ed. Marco Capra (Venice-Parma, 2006), 65-78 at 69.

- (49^v) Four books of music bound in red leather with the emblem of ‘Madama’.
- (50^r) Seventeen music booklets bound in parchment.
A large music book for the Mass, bound in parchment.
Two large music books for the chapel, bound in parchment.
- (102^v) Two large music books, bound in black leather.
Three large music books bound in white parchment.
Some large loose music sheets.
- (116^r) A large music book, bound in tawny leather, with brass corners.
Four other folio music books bound in parchment.
- (116^v) Thirty-nine quarto music booklets bound in parchment.
Eight other music books bound in cardboard.
Six other books without covers.

The titles of these books are not known. After ‘Madama’s’ death, her possessions were transferred to Parma, and most of the volumes moved to the Farnese Library, of which an inventory from 1653 and one compiled in Naples in 1731 survive.⁶³ However, after examining them, it seems that very few items fit the vague descriptions in Margaret’s music archive: for example, considering only the printed books chronologically compatible with the activity of her music chapel, the ‘Dui libri grandi di musica per la Cappella, coperti di carta pecora’ listed on fol. 50^r could match Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina’s *Missarum liber primus* and *secundus* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1554 and 1567).⁶⁴ This would also be in accordance with the new trend of post-conciliar liturgical music, which Charles V’s daughter—although she would have been familiar with Flemish polyphony from her youth—certainly came into tune with at least as of her return to Italy.

Perhaps telling in this regard is the statement concerning liturgical music by the new bishop of Aquila (and ‘Madama’s’ former confessor), Mariano de Racciaccariis in his *Decreta dioecsanæ synodi* of April 1581:

Meminerint ecclesie ministri, praesertim qui dignitatibus & honoribus anteferuntur, Deo placere non posse, qui solis labiis Deum honorant, se cor eorum ab eo procul sit, & inter canendum studeant tam qui in choro, quam qui ad altare deservunt, ut non tantum modulatione, & voluptatibus aures afficiant, sed etiam utilitatem mentis christianorum porrigant, & devotionem.⁶⁵

The ministers of the Church, especially those who are placed in positions of dignity and honor, should remember that they cannot please God only with their lips if their hearts are far from him. While they engage in singing, whether they are in the choir or serving at the altar, they should strive not only to please the ears with their melodies, but also to be helpful to the minds and devotion of Christians.

These guidelines were probably already in place on 8 December 1579, during the solemn mass he celebrated in the church of San Francesco a Palazzo, ‘sì bene apparata cantandosi con multiplicati cori di scelti Musicici’ (‘so well set up and brightened by the singing of several choruses by selected musicians’), when the apostolic nuncio Germano Malaspina

⁶³ See François Fossier, ‘La bibliothèque Farnèse: Le fonds imprimé’, in *Le Palais Farnèse* (Rome, 1981), I, vol. 2, 409–24, and Bertini, ‘Composizioni della Libreria farnesiana’, 70–71, respectively.

⁶⁴ RISM A/I, P 655 and P 660, respectively.

⁶⁵ *Decreta dioecsanæ synodi Aquilanae, praesidente in ea rever.mo Mariano de Racciaccariis Tiburtino, miseratione divina, ac sanctae apostolicae gratia episcopo Aquilano, celebratae mense Aprilis M.D.LXXXI.* (Aquila: Giuseppe Cacchio, 1581), 64.

presented Margaret with the honor of the golden rose from Pope Gregory XIII.⁶⁶ This, moreover, was the last event recorded in the city chronicles before she reluctantly embarked on a new political mission to Flanders by order of Philip II, leaving in a litter on 26 February 1580.

The Final Years

On 10 November 1583 'Madama' left the Low Countries for the final time. After a short stay in Parma, she returned to Abruzzi via sea landing in Ortona, which she had recently acquired from the Princes of Lannoy as a more suitable location for her to spend the winter. Her entry and taking possession of the town were greeted by ephemeral apparatuses and various entertainments, including music. The text of a five-voice madrigal by Adriano della Rota specifically refers to the features of those celebrations:

Al sacro e divin nome
della gran Margherita erger conviensi
colossi, archi, trofei, templi et altari.
Noi, che a sì gravi some
habbiam infermi i sensi,
in bassi accenti e chiari
cantiam lieti gli honori
di lei perché ognun nosco ancor l'adori.

To the sacred and divine name
of the great Margherita it is appropriate to erect
colossuses, arches, trophies, temples, and altars.
We, who under such heavy burden
have our senses weakened,
in humble and clear tones
sing joyfully her honours
so that everyone may now adore her with us.

Its author, who likely arrived as part of the court retinue directly from his motherland, became the new chapel master of the local cathedral the following year. He published the piece many years later.⁶⁷

On the evening of 4 January 1584 Margaret arrived in Aquila. The clamor greeting her was noteworthy:

Hor questa sì gradita Altezza entrata circa un'ora di notte, fù tutta la Città adorna di luminarij, e la strada donde passava di Torce, oltre quelle che passavano il numero di 100, che intorno al Cocchio ove era portata scorgevansi d'ogn'intorno, sicché fra' lo sparo della Fortezza, fra' le salve de soldatesche, fra' lo strepito de' Tamburri, fra' gl'iterati suoni di Trombe, et i lumi, che trasformata parevano avere la Città tutta in un Cielo veramente

⁶⁶ Ciurci, *Familiari ragionamenti*, fol. 108^v.

⁶⁷ *Di Adriano De La Rota il primo libro de' madrigali a cinque voci, Nuovamente Composto, & dato in luce* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1600) [RISM A/I, R 2781]. Unfortunately, only the *canto* and *basso* partbooks survive from this collection, preserved in Vienna at the Austrian National Library. On the composer and the context of his madrigal, see Vincenzo Borghetti, 'Musica e musicisti ad Ortona tra Cinque e Seicento', in *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 32 (1998), 381-423 at 386-93. The article also contains a useful survey of musical works dedicated to Margaret (389-90).

di notte, mentre tutto adorno di stelle, e fra' gli gridi giulivi del Popolo che 'viva, viva' esclamava, pareva la Città la Reggia dell'Allegrezza.⁶⁸

As this so welcome highness entered at about one in the night [i.e., at 6 p. m.], the whole city was adorned with illuminations, and the street where she passed was adorned with torches, in addition to those—numbering over a hundred—which could be seen from all around surrounding the carriage in which she was taken. So among the gunfire that came from the fortress, the salvos of the soldiers, the clamour of drums, the repeated sound of trumpets, the lights—which seemed to have transformed the whole city into a night sky adorned with stars—and the joyful cries of the people, who exclaimed 'long live [Margaret], long live [Margaret]', the city seemed like the royal palace of gaiety.

The evening continued with 'un lauto convito' ('a lavish banquet'), during which 'da i quattro Gentiluomini eletti fu apparecchiata la rappresentazione di una gioconda commedia' ('the performance of a merry comedy was organized by the four gentlemen elected [to the city chamber]').⁶⁹ This work, the title of which has not been preserved, was composed by the cathedral canon Andrea Agnifili del Cardinale.⁷⁰ Three madrigals for six voices by Rinaldo del Mel were likely also performed on the same occasion on verses perhaps by the same playwright, perhaps as *intermedi* between the comedy's acts. The incipit 'Questa gemma real' of the first madrigal exploits the contemporary meaning of 'Margherita' as 'pearl'.⁷¹ After addressing concepts related once again to the allegory of the Dawn, it praises the recipient's familiarity with the muses with a specific musical emphasis of her name, spelled out in longer note-values on a descending tetrachord (Figure 5):

Questa gemma real che d'ogni intorno
col chiaro suo splendore
fa più lucente e più sereno il giorno,
ricca d'alto valore
spesso le Muse invita: Margherita,
ch'ella è celeste Margherita.

This royal gem that all around
with her bright splendour
makes the day more shining and serene,
rich in high value
often invites the Muses: Margherita,
for she is the heavenly Margherita.

The second, *Hor che la saggia figlia*, celebrates the long-awaited return of 'Madama' with an elegant encomiastic periphrasis: in evoking her imperial origins, the text exalts her chosen 'nest', or place of residence, both in a figurative sense and as a tangible metaphor for the Habsburg coat of arms and the city itself that hosts her.⁷² Then it celebrates the

⁶⁸ Ciurci, *Familiari ragionamenti*, fol. 112^v.

⁶⁹ Ciurci, *Familiari ragionamenti*, fol. 112^v, and Antinori, *Annali degli Abruzzi*, vol. 20, 610, respectively.

⁷⁰ Archivio di Stato dell'Aquila, Archivio Civico Aquilano, Ms. W 41, fol. 143^v.

⁷¹ On this metaphor, also used by Serafino Candido with the word 'gem' in the dedicatory letter of the *La divota rappresentazione del miracoloso Natal di Giesù Christo*, see Marco Mangani, "'Divine seed of heroes, shining pearl': Margaret's image in musical poetry", in this issue.

⁷² The first edition of this text can be found in Vincenzo Borghetti, "Al bel nido in cui spera almo riposo": Die Farnese Stadthalterschaft der Niederlande und die Auswanderung flämischer Musikern nach Italien, in *Giaches de Wert (1535-*

city's natural beauty through an evocative prosopopoeia, wherein the imagined nymphs inhabiting the river flowing through Aquila, the Aterno, come alive to sing Margaret's praises:

Hor che la saggia figlia
di quel Cesare invitto e glorioso
che un nuovo mondo al suo dominio aggiunse
volge l'accorte ciglia
al bel nido in cui spera almo riposo,
con l'antico desio che già la punse
inonda Aterno; e le più vaghe Ninfe
fuor de l'usate linfe
cantan le lodi sue, la gloria e'l nome
e fan di lor corona a le sue chiome.

Now that the wise daughter
of that invincible and glorious Caesar,
who added a new world to his dominion,
turns her shrewd gaze
to the beautiful nest where she hopes for noble rest,
she floods Aterno with the old desire
that already pricked her; and the fairest nymphs
out of their customary waters
sing her praises, her glory, and her name,
and make of these a crown for her hair.

The final madrigal, *Lucida Margherita*, invokes her flaming gaze to illuminate the eagle, the sacred bird of Jupiter, so that it may draw from her 'a clear lightning in perpetual defence against others' iniquity'. This passage reveals the need for protection that the city desired from the presence of Charles V's daughter:

Lucida Margherita,
sian le tue fiamme nove
celesti lume al sacro Augel di Giove.
E mentr'egli in te fiso i sguardi tiene
a lui sia de' tuoi raggi il chiaro lampo,
contra l'ingiuria altrui perpetuo scampo.

Bright Margherita,
may your new flames
be a celestial illumination to the sacred Bird of Jupiter.
And as it keeps its gaze fixed on you,
may your rays be for it a clear lightning
in perpetual defence against others' iniquity.

The following year, all three pieces were included one after the other in *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque et a sei voci di Rinaldo del Mel, novamente composto et dato in luce*

1596) and *His Time: Migration of Musicians to and from the Low Countries (c. 1400-1600)*, ed. Eugeen Schreurs and Bruno Bouckaert, Yearbook of the Alamire Foundation 3 (Leuven-Peer, 1999), 165-90 at 173. There Borghetti also makes the connection between the three madrigals and the celebrations for Margaret's return to Aquila. See also Zimei, 'Simbologia e identità', 283-85.

(Venice: Erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1585), of which unfortunately only a single incomplete copy survives.⁷³ The collection, bearing a dedication letter to the duke of Atri, Girolamo Acquaviva, dated ‘Dall’Aquila alli 30 Genaro 1585’, documents the presence of the composer in the city. He was probably involved in some occasional activity directly linked to Margaret’s patronage, as was the case of Adriano della Rota in Ortona.⁷⁴

The increase of Flemish musicians in Abruzzi in her final years was, to some extent, a consequence of ‘Madama’s’ sojourn in Flanders. Certainly she took advantage of her mission to reinforce some voice sections in her chapel, as evidenced by the arrival of three boy sopranos from Soignies to reinforce the two local singers Giacomo Antonio Pales and Giovanni d’Onofrio from Penne, who perhaps had remained the only ones to hold that role. Another important change concerned the organist: Frédéricq de Haus, who had come to Italy with Margaret in 1567–68, probably returned to the Low Countries a few years earlier.⁷⁵ The last employment record—obtained by Seishiro Niwa by comparing the payrolls from 1586 and Margaret’s bequests—indicates that the position was held by a Guglielmo Bleotarleore, who was probably the composer Blotagrio.⁷⁶ In fact, our information concerning the latter begins just after the *post mortem* dissolution of Margaret’s chapel: he is documented from 1587, when he succeeded Rudolph de Lassus as organist in the chapel of Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria, to 1619, when he was serving the elector of Cologne’s court in the same role.⁷⁷

As for the employment of Italian musicians, in the absence of full data on Margaret’s staff during the 1570s,⁷⁸ we only know that, when the chapel was dissolved at her death, there were five Italian singers, ten Flemish, one Spanish, and one of an unidentified nationality (see Table 2). Their impact in numerical terms was therefore significant, especially considering that when the court arrived in Abruzzi in 1568, all of the available positions were occupied by personnel from the Low Countries.

Besides the two sopranos, the small group of Italians also included the tenor Giovanni Paolo Fabri from Urbino and the bass Ugo Miglietti, both of whom, after Margaret’s death, moved to Rome, singing in the chapels of San Luigi dei Francesi and San Giovanni in Laterano, respectively. Cardinal Scipione Gonzaga mentioned them in a letter to Federico Cattaneo dated 19 April 1586, in which he discussed the destinations of Margaret’s former musicians in the hopes of recruiting some of them to Mantua.⁷⁹ The last Italian was the tenor Luca Bolino, who does not appear in Gonzaga’s list, perhaps

⁷³ RISM A/I, M 2201. The source, preserved in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, lacks the *alto* and *basso* part-books.

⁷⁴ In any case, it can be ruled out that he was in the service of a city church, since, after working in Chieti until the beginning of 1584, he was hired as chapel master for the cathedral of Rieti, where he remained until May 1585. See Sylvie Jaenssens, ‘Mel, Rinaldo del’, in *MGG Online*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken (Stuttgart, 2016), <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/46071>> (accessed March 2023).

⁷⁵ Niwa, “‘Madama’ Margaret of Parma”, 30.

⁷⁶ Niwa, “‘Madama’ Margaret of Parma”, 33–34.

⁷⁷ Some of this information can be found in Gerhard Pietzsch, ‘Blotagrius (Blotagrio, Plutagerio), Wilhelm (Guglielmo)’, in *Rheinische Musiker*, ed. Karl Gustav Fellerer and Dietrich Kämper, 9 vols. (Cologne, 1960–81), vol. 6, 21–22. His musical output includes two madrigals in Peter Philips’s *Melodia olympica di diversi eccellissimi Musici a IIII. V. VI. et VIII. voci nuovamente raccolta* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère, 1591) [RISM B/I, 1591¹⁰], and a motet included by Johann Degen in *Florilegium musicum Motectorum, trium et quinquaginta, IV. et V. vocum* (Bamberg: Andreas Baals, 1631) [RISM B/I, 1630⁷]. According to Catherine Deutsch, “‘Per l’armonia delle voci, e delli stromenti Musicali’”: The Reception of Giovanni de Macque’s Madrigals in the Netherlands and Northern Europe, in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 2 (2010), 90–107 at 102 n. 28, ‘He was presumably an Italian living in Antwerp’.

⁷⁸ The few that have surfaced so far can be found in Niwa, “‘Madama’ Margaret of Parma”, 30–32.

⁷⁹ Partially published in Sherr, ‘Guglielmo Gonzaga’, 55.

A 6. 17 CANTO

Questa gemma Re al Ched'ogn'intor
no ched'ogn'intor no Col chiaro suo splendore splen-
do re Col chiaro suo splendore fa più lucent'è più sereni il giorno fa
più lucent'è più sereni il giorno Ric ca d'alto valore
spesso le muse invita Margherita Ch'ell'è celeste Ch'ell'è cele-
ste j Ch'ell'è celeste Margherita Spesso le muse invita
Ch'ell'è celeste Margherita Ch'ell'è celeste Ch'ell'è celeste j
Margherita Ch'ell'è celeste Margherita.

Di Rinaldo del Mel. A 5. & 6. Lib. 1. C

Figure 5. Rinaldo del Mel, *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque et a sei voci*, Canto part of *Questa gemma real*. Vienna, Austrian National Library, SA.78.B.3 (used with permission)

because the latter mistakenly included him among Flemish who were about to return home.⁸⁰ He was in fact a well-known Neapolitan singer and lutenist originally from Nola, described by Scipione Cerreto among the ‘Compositori eccellenti’ (‘excellent composers’) and the ‘Sonatori eccellenti del Liuto, della Città di Napoli, che oggi vivono’ (‘excellent lute players of the city of Naples who are living today’).⁸¹

It cannot be ruled out that, as had happened with Pales, some of these musicians had been recruited by ‘Madama’ in Aquila at one of the expensive entertainments that the citizens had continued to offer her over the years, as if that long-awaited ‘Sun’, in the manner of her father’s motto, should never set. A local intellectual commented on their behavior with these words:

benché facessero continuamente grosse spese (come si è visto coll’occasione della sua dimora) erano tanti gl’utili che si ricevevano dall’acquisto d’amicizie di varj signori amorevoli di tal Principessa, et i contenti che godevano ne’ festini, e caccie de Tori, et altre cose, che continuamente si facevano per ricrear quell’Altezza con la Corte che aveva appresso di sé veramente alla Reale, che nulla averebbero stimato spendere ciò ch’avevano.⁸²

Although they were constantly paying big amounts (as on the occasion of her stay), the advantages they gained were so great—both in terms of the friendship of the various lords who cared for such a princess and the pleasure they enjoyed in feasts, bull hunts, and other things that were continually organized to entertain Her Highness and the truly ‘royal’ court that was with her—that they would not spare expenses.

Despite the spontaneity of these tributes, it is clear that the people of Aquila hoped in this way to receive benefits from Charles V’s daughter, but these did not materialize to the desired extent. The most striking case was precisely the failed reinstatement of the *contado*.⁸³

Thus when Margaret moved to Ortona on 8 October 1585 to spend the winter, and died there after two months of illness on 18 January 1586, the expectations of the citizens were permanently frustrated. As the activity of the ducal chapel had ceased in the meantime, even the solemn commemoration held in Aquila’s cathedral on the following 28 February was accompanied only by the bishop’s singers, and they limited themselves to singing the usual *Officium defunctorum*.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, in the city ‘canti, suoni,

⁸⁰ Niwa, “‘Madama’ Margaret of Parma”, 34, makes this mistake.

⁸¹ Scipione Cerreto, *Della pratica musica vocale, et strumentale, Opera necessaria a coloro, che di Musica si diletano* (Naples: Giovanni Iacomo Carlino, 1601), 156–57. Domenico Antonio D’Alessandro, ‘Giovanni de Macque e i musici della Real Cappella napoletana. Nuovi documenti, precisazioni biografiche e una fonte musicale ritrovata’, in *La musica del Principe. Studi e prospettive per Carlo Gesualdo*, ed. Luisa Curinga (Lucca, 2008), 21–156 at 74, reports on documentary evidence that Bolino was active as a tenor in the chapel of the Santa Casa dell’Annunziata in Naples before April 1583 and in a time frame between 1 August 1589 and at least 14 August 1595.

⁸² Ciurci, *Familiari ragionamenti*, fol. 106v.

⁸³ See in this regard Raffaele Colapietra, ‘Margherita d’Austria e l’Abruzzo’, in *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi*, series IV, 38 (1986), 241–51 at 251: ‘...proprio in questo chiaroscuro, in questo progressivo sormontare delle ombre sulle luci, è il significato storico “esemplare” dell’esperienza abruzzese di Margherita d’Austria, un fallimento inevitabile in una società che il governo spagnolo aveva modificato e stava trasformando troppo radicalmente perché vi potesse trovare spazio l’iniziativa individuale più o meno incisiva di un “principe” di umanistica memoria’ (‘It is precisely in this chiaroscuro, in the shadow gradually overcoming light, that the “exemplary” historical significance of Margaret of Austria’s Abruzzo experience lies, an inevitable failure in a society that the Spanish government had modified and was transforming too radically for the more or less incisive individual initiative of a humanistic-minded “prince” to find space’).

⁸⁴ See *Lettera di M. Salvatore Massonio scritta all’Illust. Sig. A.D.M. in materia dell’essequie fatte dalla Città dell’Aquila alla Serenissima Madama Margarita d’Austria* (Aquila: Iacomo Testa, 1587), 9–10. Margaret’s actual funeral was instead celebrated in Piacenza on 29 May; see Marchi, “The Perfect Harmony of the World”.

allegrezze et ogni sorte di festa, ancor che fusse Carnevale' ('the singing, sounds, merriment, and all kinds of festivities, although it was carnival') were banned.⁸⁵ This marked a sudden return to reality for a community that had lived beyond its means for over fifteen years, essentially basking in the illusory splendour of court life, whose 'frequenti feste rallegravano il popolo' ('frequent festivities cheered the people').⁸⁶

Appendix I. Serafino Candido, *La bella Aurora*

Canto
Non son fra l'al - te stel -

Alto
Non son fra l'al - te stel - le lu -

Quinto
Non son fra l'al - te stel - le

Tenore
Non son fra l'al - te stel - le lu - ci de -

Basso
Non son fra l'al - te stel - le lu -

4
le lu - ci de - gloc - chi tuoi più chia - rè bel - le;
- ci de - gloc - chi tuoi più chia - rè bel - le;
lu - ci de - gloc - chi tuoi più chia - rè bel - le;
gloc - chi tuoi più chia - rè bel - le;
ci de - gloc - chi tuoi più chia - rè bel - le;

⁸⁵ Anonymous, *In laude della Serenissima Patrona nostra Madama Margherita d'Austria*, L'Aquila, Biblioteca regionale 'Salvatore Tommasi', Ms. 56, fol. 1r.

⁸⁶ Antinori, *Annali degli Abruzzi*, vol. 20, 421.

8

an - zi, nel tuo bel vi - so si ve - d'il pa - ra - di -

an - zi, nel tuo bel vi - so si ve - d'il pa - ra - di -

an - zi, nel tuo bel vi - so si ve - d'il pa - ra - di -

an - zi, nel tuo bel vi - so

an - zi, nel tuo bel vi - so

12

so. Mo - stra - ti don - n' al suon_____

so. Mo - stra - ti don - n' al suon_____ de - ste pa -

so. Mo - stra - ti don - n' al suon_____ de - ste pa -

Mo - stra - ti don - n' al suon de - ste pa - ro -

Mo - stra - ti don - n' al suon de - ste pa -

16

e in - nan - ti al gior - no a noi si sco - pr'il so -
 ro - le e in - nan - ti al gior - no a noi si sco - pr'il
 - ro - le pa - ro - le e in - nan - ti al gior - no
 le e in - nan - ti al gior - no e in - nan - ti al gior - no a noi si sco - pra si sco - pr'il
 ro - le e in - nan - ti al gior - no a noi si sco - pr'il

21

- le, si sco - pr'il so - le.
 so - le si sco - pr'il so - le.
 e in - nan - ti al gior - no a noi si sco - pr'il so - le.
 so - le si sco - pr'il so - le.
 so - le si sco - pr'il so - le.

25

Scuo - pra si in - nan - ti al

Scuo - pra si in - nan - ti al gior - no scuo - pra si in - nan - ti al

Scuo - pra si in - nan - ti al gior - no

Scuo - pra si in - nan - ti al gior - no scuo -

Scuo - pra si in - nan - ti al gior - no scuo - pra si in -

29

gior - no la tua bel - tà-in - fi -

gior - no la tua bel - tà in - fi - ni - ta, la tua bel -

la tua bel - tà in - fi - ni - ta, la tua bel -

- pra si in - nan - ti al gior - no la tua bel - tà in - fi - ni - ta,

nan - ti al gior - no la tua bel - tà la tua bel -

34

ni - ta, ch'a - vrem la tua mer - cé tut - ti la vi - ta, ch'a -
 tà in - fi - ni - ta, ch'a - vrem la tua mer - cé tut - ti la vi - ta,
 tà in - fi - ni - ta, ch'a - vrem la tua mer - cé tut - ti la vi - ta, ch'a - vrem -
 ch'a - vrem la tua mer - cé tut - ti la vi - ta,
 tà in - fi - ni - ta, ch'a -

40

vrem la tua mer - cé tut - ti la vi - ta.
 ch'a - vrem la tua mer - cé tut - ti la vi - ta.
 la tua mer - cé tut - ti la vi - ta.
 ch'a - vrem la tua mer - cé tut - ti - la vi - ta.
 vrem la tua mer - cé tut - ti la vi - ta.

Appendix II. Giovanni Leonardo Primavera, *Lieta dal ciel a noi face ritorno*

Canto: Lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce ri -
 Alto: Lie - ta dal ciel a
 Quinto: Lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no
 Tenore:
 Basso: Lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce ri - tor -

4

tor - no lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce ri - tor -
 noi fa - ce ri - tor - no lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no lie - ta dal ciel a
 lie - ta dal ciel lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce
 Lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no lie - ta dal
 no lie - ta dal ciel a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no

8

no a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no col ca - po d'ò -
 noi fa - ce ri - tor - no col ca - po d'ò -
 ri - tor - no a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no col ca - po d'ò -
 ciel a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no col ca - po d'ò -
 a noi fa - ce ri - tor - no

12

ro col ca - po d'ò - ro e'l crin cin - ta di ra - i:
 ro col ca - po d'ò - ro e'l crin cin - ta di ra - i: l'al -
 ro e'l crin cin - ta di ra - i: l'al - ba è -
 ro col ca - po d'ò - ro e'l crin cin - ta di ra - i: l'al - ba è più
 col ca - po d'ò - ro e'l crin cin - ta di ra - i:

16

l'al - ba è più bel - la de l'u - sa - to as -
 ba è più bel - la l'al - ba è più bel - la de l'u - sa-to as-sa - i, de l'u -
 — più bel - la l'al - ba è più bel - la de l'u - sa -
 8 bel - la del - l'u - sa-to as - sa - i, l'al - ba è più bel - la de l'u - sa-to as-sa - i,
 l'al - ba è più bel - la de l'u - sa - to as - sa -

20

sa - i, de - sta la ro - sè par - to - ri - sc'il gior - no de - sta la
 sa - to as - sa - i, de - sta la ro - sè par - to - ri - sc'il gior -
 - to as - sa - i, de - sta la ro - sa de - sta la ro - sè par - to -
 8 de - sta la ro - sè par - to - ri - sc'il gior - no de -
 - i, de - sta la ro - sè par - to - ri - sc'il gior -

23

ro - sè par - to - ri - sc'il gior - no. Al - ba ro - sè co -
 no de - sta la ro - sè par - to - ri - sc'il gior - no. Al - ba ro - sè co -
 ri - sc'il gior - no e par - to - ri - sc'il gior - no. Al - ba ro - sè co -
 - sta la ro - sè par - to - ri - sc'il gior - no. Al -
 no. Al - ba ro - sè co -

27

stei al - ba ro - sè co - stei dun - que ch'in - tor - no co - tan - to sten -
 stei al - ba ro - sè co - stei dun - que ch'in - tor - no co - tan - to sten -
 stei al - ba ro - sè co - stei dun - que ch'in - tor - no
 - ba ro - sè co - stei dun - que ch'in - tor - no dun - que ch'in - tor - no co - tan - to sten -
 stei Al - ba ro - sè co - stei dun - que ch'in - tor - no

31

de co - tan-to sten - d'il suo splen-dor ho - ma - i, il suo splen-dor ho - ma -
 - de il suo splen - dor ho - ma - i, il suo splen - dor ho - ma -
 co - tan-to sten - de il suo splen - dor ho - ma - i, il suo splen - dor ho - ma -
 de co - tan-to sten - de il suo splen-dor ho - ma - i, il suo splen - dor ho - ma -
 co - tan-to sten - de il suo splen - dor ho - ma - i,

35

i chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i né
 i, chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i
 i, chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i né
 i, chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i né
 chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i chèl mon-d'al-le-gro non fu più gia - ma - i né

più co - me so - lea ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no né
 ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no né
 più co - me so - lea ric - co et a - dor - no né più co - me so -
 più co - me so - lea ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a -
 più co - me so - lea ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no né

più co - me so - lea ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no.
 più co - me so - lea ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no.
 lea ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no.
 dor - no né più co - me so - lea ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no.
 più co - me so - lea ric - co et a - dor - no ric - co et a - dor - no.

48

Al - ba, che con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la al - ba, —
 Al - ba, che con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la al - ba, che
 Al - ba, che con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la al - ba, che con la lu -
 Al - ba, al - ba, che con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la al -
 Al - ba, che con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la al -

52

— che con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la ru - gia - do - sa ru -
 con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la ru - gia - do - sa —
 ce al - ma no - vel - la ru - gia - do - sa ti mo - stri e in o -
 - ba, che con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la
 ba, che con la lu - ce al - ma no - vel - la ru - gia - do - sa ru -

56

- gia - do - sa ti mo - stri ru - gia - do - sa ti mo - stri ti
 ru - gia - do - sa ti mo - str'in o - gni par - te in
 - gni par - te ru - gia - do - sa ti mo - str'in o - gni par - te e in o -
 ru - gia - do - sa ti mo - str'in o - gni par - te ru - gia - do - sa ti mo -
 - gia - do - sa ti mo - str'in o - gni par - te in o - gni par - te

59

mo - str'in o - gni par - te sco - pri la ro - sa tua sco - pri la
 o - gni par - te sco - pri la ro - sa tua
 - gni par - te sco - pri la ro - sa tua sco - pri la ro - sa
 - str'in o - gni par - te sco - pri la ro - sa tua can - di - de bel - la sco -
 sco - pri la ro - sa tua sco - pri la ro - sa tua sco - pri la

62

ro - sa tua la ro - sa tua can - di - de bel - la! Chi po - tria mai del - le

sco - pri la ro - sa tua can - di - de bel - la! Chi po - tria mai del -

tua can - di - de bel - la! Chi po - tria mai del - le tue lu - ci

- pri la ro - sa tua can - di - de bel - la! Chi po - tria mai del - le tue

ro - sa tua can - di - de bel - la!

66

le tue lu - ci spar - te chi po - tria mai del - le tue lu - ci

le tue lu - ci spar - te chi po - tria mai del - le tue lu - ci

spar - te chi po - tria mai del - le tue lu - ci

lu - ci spar - te chi po - tria mai del - le tue lu - ci spar -

Chi po - tria mai del - le tue lu - ci

71

spar - te can - tar a pien la
 spar - te can - tar a pien la più bre - ve fiam -
 spar - te can - tar a pien la più bre - ve fiam -
 - te can - tar a pien la
 spar - te can - tar a pien la più bre -

74

più bre - ve fiam - mel - la can - tar a pien la più bre - ve fiam - mel -
 mel - la la più bre - ve fiam - mel - la can - tar a pien la più bre - ve fiam - mel -
 mel - la la più bre - ve fiam - mel - la can - tar a pien la più bre - ve fiam - mel -
 più bre - ve fiam - mel - la can - tar a pien la più bre - ve fiam - mel -
 - ve fiam - mel - la can - tar a pien la più bre - ve fiam - mel -

77

la sen - z'il fa - vor sen - z'il fa - vor ch'èl tuo lu - me com - par - te

81

me com - par - te sen - z'il fa - vor ch'èl tuo lu - me com - par - te

85

me com - par - - - - - te[?]

te sen - z'il - - - - - fa - vor ch'el tuo lu - me com - par - te[?]

te sen - z'il fa - vor ch'el tuo lu - me com - par - - - - - te[?]

te sen - z'il fa - vor ch'el tuo lu - me com - par - - - - - te[?]

te sen - z'il fa - vor ch'el tuo lu - me com - par - - - - - te[?]

Abstract

The arrival of Margaret of Parma in Abruzzi in 1569 and her subsequent settlement in Aquila, where she became the permanent governor in 1572, breathed new life into a territory in decline, especially after it had suffered harsh repression from the Spanish government in 1529. The local community's expectations of regaining prestige thanks to such a distinguished presence resulted in a state of permanent euphoria, marked by ceremonial entrances and various entertainments where music always played a significant role. Analysis of the context leads to the contextualization of new works, including two five-voice madrigals composed for 'Madama's' arrivals in Aquila in 1569 and 1572, respectively, and also reveals artistic and professional interactions between the court chapel and musicians active in the area.

Contributors to this Issue



Nicholas W. Bleisch researches lost melodies and sources from the Middle Ages, and techniques of musical quotation as means of constructing identity. He has published on the music of the trouvères in his ‘Between Copyist and Editor: Away from Typologies of Error and Variance in Trouvère Song’ (*Music & Letters*, 2022). He has been a postdoctoral researcher in the project ‘The Sound of Music: Innovative Research and Valorization of Plainchant through Digital Technology’ at the University of Leuven since 2020, working with Henry T. Drummond on late sources of plainchant, as in their book chapter, ‘Op zoek naar de verborgen schat in het Antifonarium Tsgrooten’.

Henry T. Drummond is a specialist in liturgical and devotional music across western Europe in the pre-modern era, with geographical specialisms covering the Low Countries and Iberian Peninsula. During his D.Phil. he examined the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X, and his first monograph (forthcoming with Oxford University Press) examines this repertory from a musicological perspective with a strong interdisciplinary focus. He is currently a senior postdoctoral fellow of the Research Foundation - Flanders working on Jesuits and music, and has been a team member on the project ‘The Sound of Music: Innovative Research and Valorization of Plainchant through Digital Technology’ at the University of Leuven since 2020, together with Nicholas W. Bleisch.

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Lucia Marchi is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Trento for the ERC project LAUDARE on the Italian Lauda, 1200-1550. A specialist in late medieval and Renaissance music, her essays have appeared in *Recercare*, *Acta Musicologica*, *Essays in Medieval Studies*, *Studi Musicali*, *Philomusica Online*, *Textus & Musica*, *Il Santo*, *Archivio per la Storia della Pietà*, and *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra*. She is the editor of Marcantonio Ingegneri’s *Il primo libro di madrigali a quattro voci* (Lucca, 2009), and her critical edition of Luca Marenzio’s *Fourth Book for Six Voices* is forthcoming in the Marenzio Online Digital Edition (MODE, <www.marenzio.org>). From 2020 to 2023 she was a member of the Musicology at Kalamazoo organizing committee, and she is currently part of the scientific committee of the *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra*.

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Francesco Zimei is professor of musicology at the University of Trent. His research interests center around the relationship between text and music in historical context and thought, with a special focus on Italy in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. He is the recipient and principal investigator of an ERC Advanced Grant project on Italian *lauda*.