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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.

‘Divine Seed of Heroes, Shining Pearl’: Margaret’s Image in Music

■
MARCO MANGANI

In an essay devoted to Francesco Corteccia, Howard M. Brown advanced the hypothesis that the ‘new flower’ mentioned in the text of the madrigal *Nuovo fior è apparso al nostro cielo* might refer to the future Margaret of Parma:¹

Nuovo fior è appars'al nostro cielo
che non cura tra noi caldo né gelo,
ma vive sempre lieto il suo candore,
e ne gioisce Amore;
che di lui s'innamora
Croco, iacinto, acanto e'l bel Narciso;
da cui non mai diviso
sarò finché le rive d'Arno infiora.

A new flower has appeared under our sky, which fears neither heat nor frost, and Love rejoices in it; [a flower] with which saffron, hyacinth, and beautiful Narcissus fall in love; [a flower] from which I shall never part, as long as it blooms on the banks of the Arno.

If we assume a date of composition considerably earlier than the date of publication, then Brown’s hypothesis may be correct.² However, in the Italian language of the sixteenth century the main meaning of the Italian word ‘margherita’—for which the etymological spelling ‘margarita’ was most often adopted at the time³—was not that of ‘daisy’ but that of ‘precious stone.’⁴ That said, the meaning relating to the flower is attested at least as early as Luigi Alamanni’s *La coltivazione* (1546), which makes use of it to praise the two ‘daisies’ of France, that is, Marguerite d’Angoulême and Marguerite de Valois, respectively sister and daughter of Francis I:

Le margherite pie che invidia fanno
Al più pregiato fior del nome solo
Chòggi ha colmo d'onor la Sena e l’Era.

The pious daisies, which are the envy of the most precious of flowers by their name alone, a name that honours the Seine and the Loire.⁵

¹ Howard M. Brown, ‘A Typology of Francesco Corteccia’s Madrigals’, in *The Well Enchanting Skill: Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance. Essays in Honour of F. W. Sternfeld*, ed. John Caldwell, Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg (Oxford-New York, 1990), 3-28 at 20-21.

² The piece appeared in the second edition of Corteccia’s *Libro primo de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1547) [RISM C 4158]: see Iain Fenlon and James Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century. Sources and Interpretation* (Cambridge etc., 1988), 265-68 at 268.

³ Recall, among other things, that Charles V, when questioned in this regard by Francesca di Montebello, stipulated in a letter dated 18 August 1533 that Margaret sign her correspondence as ‘Margarita d’Austria’. See Gino Benzoni, ‘Margherita d’Austria, duchessa di Firenze, poi duchessa di Parma e Piacenza’, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 70 (Rome, 2008), 126-31.

⁴ This, incidentally, is the only meaning of the term indicated by the first edition of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice, 1612), which also recalls its frequent metaphorical uses in poetry. The *Vocabolario* may be consulted online at <<http://www.lessicografia.it/>> (accessed 19 March 2023).

⁵ *La coltivazione di Luigi Alamanni. Al christianissimo re Francesco Primo...* (Paris, 1546), Book V, lines 611-13.

In several texts expressly dedicated to Margaret of Parma, however, the name of the dedicatee is understood in its etymological meaning, that is, precisely, as a ‘pearl’ or ‘gemstone’. I reproduce below the lines involved, whose source texts will be discussed in more detail (the names refer to the composers).

Arcadelt, *Ecco d'oro letà pregiata e bella*, lines 2-6

Ecco di latte puro
colmo già 'l Tebrè 'l mar lieto e sicuro,
Poi che benigna stella
di perla tanto rara
al tenerell'august' il capo adorna

behold that the Tiber and the happy and safe sea are already full of pure milk, for the benign star of so rare a pearl adorns the head of the august child.

Giovanni Francesco Alcarotti, *A la man vincitrice*, lines 5-6

O dell'Austro felice unico sole,
Divin seme d'heroi, perla lucente

O unique sun of the happy South, divine seed of heroes, shining pearl.

Costanzo Porta, *Or ecco alme superbe* (from the canzone *Questo sì ch'è felice e lieto giorno*), lines 137-40

Ecco già in noi l'immagin tua scolpita,
celeste Margarita,
che 'l lucente diadema fai più bello
del marito, del padrè del fratello

In us is carved your image, gemstone of heaven, gracing the glittering diadem of your husband, your father, and your brother.

This is not to say that the meaning of ‘daisy’—already common of similar French and Spanish words (‘marguerite’, ‘margarita’)—was foreign to the Italian poetic language of the time.⁶ Bernardo Tasso, in his poem *Amadigi*, specifically employs the metaphor of the flower for Margaret of Parma, and relates it to hyacinths, which were contained at the time in the Farnese coat of arms:⁷

Ecc'una Margherita a cui le sponde
fioriran d'Arno; e transportata poi,
come pianta si suol talhor d'altronde,
dove Roma vagheggia i colli suoi,
i hiacinti ornerà di nova fronde;
e madre fia di valorosi heroi;
e col marito al fine illustre e chiaro
farà superba andar la Parma, e'l Taro.⁸

⁶ According to Ambros, Margaret had chosen the daisy as her personal symbol because of its relation to her own name: August W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 31891), 320.

⁷ Bernardo Tasso, *L'Amadigi del S. Bernardo Tasso. A l'invittissimo e catolico re Filippo* (Venice, 1560).

⁸ Tasso, *L'Amadigi*, 269. For the relations between Bernardo Tasso and the Farnese court, see Roberto Venturelli, *La corte farnesiana di Parma (1560-1570). Programmazione artistica e identità culturale* (Rome 1999), 67-86.

Here is a daisy that will blossom on the banks of the Arno; and, after being transported—what, after all, happens to plants sometimes—where Rome gazes lovingly at her hills, she will adorn the hyacinths with a new frond; and she will be the mother of valiant heroes; and finally, with her most illustrious husband, she will make the rivers Parma and Taro proud.

Whether it is the flower or the gemstone, the metaphorical use of Margaret's name thus always has a definite implication: she is a precious object, but one that has the task of enhancing the all-male splendour of the houses to which she belonged. The only exception is the madrigal *Giovenetta regal*, set to music by Arcadelt, which celebrates her as the pre-adolescent girl who had just arrived in Florence without making direct reference to her arranged marriage to Alessandro de' Medici. As we shall see, all the other texts dedicated to Margaret celebrate her virtues, intellectual gifts, and even the military victories she was capable of achieving, but always strictly framing her in her roles as daughter of Charles V, sister of Philip II, wife of Ottavio, and mother of Alessandro Farnese.

Arcadelt and the Young Bride

As is well known, Margaret reached Naples on 27 May 1533, after brief stops in Florence and Rome. Margaret was born in Oudenaarde in Flanders on 5 July 1522; when she first set foot on the banks of the Arno River, she was not yet eleven years old. As Thomas W. Bridges wrote, 'it may have been for this occasion that Arcadelt composed a madrigal published in his first book: *Giovenetta regal*...' ⁹ Moreover, again according to Bridges,

[...] later occasions for a Florentine musician to honor her with such a madrigal were also numerous. At the prompting of Clement VII, she had already been promised by her father to the odious Alessandro de' Medici. Even after Clement's death in 1534, and the murder in 1535 of Ippolito de' Medici, almost universally laid at the door of Alessandro, Charles V persisted in keeping the betrothal alive. In June 1536 Margaret became the wife of the first Duke of Florence. ¹⁰

The text of *Giovenetta regal* posed problems for Bridges, and not even the advice of Nino Pirrotta, at least as it is reported by Bridges himself, yielded a convincing solution. Here is the text according to Bridges's transcription:

Giovenetta¹¹ regal, pur' innocente,
data dal ciel al mondo,
presagio di quel ben ch'èi ved' e sente,
porgi nel cor profondo
l'alto intelletto tuo, la nobil mente,
ov' etern' e giocondo,
Margarita scorgerai, che de mia fede
amor e riverenti'n mezzo siede.

⁹ Thomas W. Bridges, 'The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1982), vol. 1, 42. The oldest surviving print of Arcadelt's first book is *Il primo libro di madrigali d'Archadelt a quatro con nuova gionta impressi* (Venice, 1539) [RISM 1539²].

¹⁰ Bridges, 'The Publishing', vol. 1, 43.

¹¹ RISM 1539² has 'giovenetta'. For the attestation of 'giovinetta' in some prints of Arcadelt's first book, see Bridges, 'The Publishing', vol. 2, 642.

This reconstruction has at least one not insignificant drawback: it does not capture that in the last line, in addition to the apheresis of the preposition ‘in’, there is also the elision of the ‘a’ of the noun ‘reverenza’ (‘reverence’), which is written with the then customary etymological spelling (‘reverentia’) but was pronounced—even at the time—without the ‘i’ and with the voiceless alveolar affricate.¹²

The penultimate line, which in Bridges’s reconstruction has twelve syllables, also deserves careful consideration. According to the metrical norms of Petrarchism, which dominated the entire life of the sixteenth-century Italian madrigal, the hendecasyllable is absolutely predominant, and in some genres (canzone, ballata, poetic madrigal) it may be joined with its major hemistich, that is, the seven-syllable line (*verso rotto*, i.e. ‘broken line’, in Bembo’s terms). The aesthetics of Petrarchism strictly eschews the rhythmic regularity of lines with an even number of syllables. By contrast, the hendecasyllable and seven-syllable line ensure maximum unpredictability in the distribution of accents, preventing the rhythm of the poem from taking on popular features. According to Pietro G. Beltrami,

Petrarch uses only hendecasyllables and seven-syllable lines in the *Canzoniere*; and from the fourteenth century until Chiabrera, the presence in a text of lines of a different measure is in itself a genre marker, distinguishing illustrious poetry from poetry of an average or humble style, generally poetry for music.¹³

According to Bridges, Nino Pirrotta, in an effort to bring the text back to the Petrarchan norm, proposed the following solution:

Scorgerai Margarita che mia fede
d’amor e riverenti’ nezzo siede.¹⁴

A few points need to be made. It is not possible that Pirrotta—a native Italian and a distinguished scholar—could have suggested to Bridges the non-existent ‘nezzo’ for the last line; this must be a typographical error on Bridges’s part. Pirrotta’s solution for the penultimate line, however, is at least plausible: it erases all traces of anisosyllabism from the text of the poem, eliminating the twelve-syllable line and revising it as a regular hendecasyllable. The intervention, however, is perhaps too creative, and it seems to me to force the original text too much.

Lines with an even number of syllables are a feature of the *laude*, and, more generally, of the devotional poetry practiced specifically in Florence in the late fifteenth century. Such poetry is characterised by the practice of *cantasi come*, which adapts religious texts to pre-existing secular music.¹⁵ Bridges’s solution for line 7 therefore might

¹² This is perfectly clear in the Marescotti print of Arcadelt’s first book (Florence, 1585) [RISM A 1337]. While preserving the etymological spelling (which was to be definitively abandoned in favour of the phonetical one by the *Vocabolario della Crusca*), Marescotti restores the elided vowel and writes ‘riverentia’. As for the oscillation between ‘riverenza’ and ‘reverenza’, it should be noted that in Italian both forms are still allowed today.

¹³ ‘Petarca usa nel Canzoniere solo endecasillabi e settenari; e dal Trecento fino a Chiabrera la presenza in un testo di versi di altra misura è di per sé un contrassegno di genere, che distingue la poesia illustre dalla poesia di stile medio o umile, generalmente poesia per musica’: Pietro G. Beltrami, *Gli strumenti della poesia* (Bologna, 2019), § 145.

¹⁴ Bridges, ‘The Publishing’, 42, footnote 98.

¹⁵ Blake Wilson, *Singing Poetry in Renaissance Florence: The cantasi come Tradition, 1375-1550* (Florence-Bridgetown, 2009). It is noteworthy in this regard that, as Anthony Cummings has pointed out, on the same occasion on which Arcadelt’s madrigal was perhaps first heard, Margaret attended a revival of Feo Belcari’s *Annunciazione*; Anthony Cummings, *The Politicized Muse. Music for Medici Festivals, 1512-1537* (Princeton, 1992), 141. Chapters 12 and 13 of Cummings’ book offer an extensive account of the spectacular events surrounding Alessandro de’ Medici and his wedding to Margaret.

not be improper. Yet I would like to propose a different one, without excluding the possibility that his reading is correct:

Giovenetta regal pur innocente,	A
data dal ciel al mondo,	b
presagio di quel ben ch'èi vede e sente;	A
porgi nel cor profondo	b
l'alt' intelletto tuo, la nobil mente,	A
ov'eternè giocondo,	b
Margarita, Margarita,	c ⁸
scorgerai che de mia fede	d ⁸
amor e riverenti[a]n mezzo siede.	D

Young maiden, regal though innocent, given by heaven to the world as an omen of that good which he sees and feels; turn your lofty intellect and your noble mind to the depths of [my] heart, in the midst of which, O Margaret, you will see that love and reverence of my faith reside.

My reconstruction is based on the following assumptions:

1. The poet wants to reserve an entire line for the dedicatee's name.
2. The dedicatee's name consists of four syllables and can give rise, when repeated, to an octosyllabic line '3-7' (i.e., with accents on the third and seventh syllables), entrusting the composer with the task of treating the whole as a musical unit.
3. In the context of hendecasyllables and settenari, an isolated octosyllabic line is a conspicuous exception.
4. In order to 'normalize' the exception, the line in question is followed by a metrically and rhythmically identical line.
5. The rhyme of the first octosyllabic line, being the name of the dedicatee, can remain unrelated.
6. The second octosyllabic line, on the other hand, must be rhymed with the next hendecasyllable, which serves as a close; this rhyme ('-ede') has no echoes in the rest of the composition, thus configuring a concluding couplet that responds well to the traditional form of the poetic madrigal.

Evidence to support the hypothesis of two octosyllabic lines can be found in Arcadelt's setting of the text. The piece is written in the low clefs, has no flat in the key signature and ends on a D sonority: it thus belongs, in Powers' terms, to the \natural -c1-D tonal type:¹⁶ its tenor, whose ambitus (*d-f'*) is authentic, and its cadential plan, centred entirely on D and A, allow it to be ascribed to the first mode. A conspicuous exception to this cadential plan occurs precisely at the name of the dedicatee, whose double invocation is treated as a single polyphonic phrase ending on the plagal *repercussa*, F (Example 1).¹⁷

If we imagine that the sphere of reference for this Arcadelt madrigal is thus the world of devotional poetry, with its intentional popularising (which does not mean 'popular')

¹⁶ See Harold S. Powers, 'Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981), 428-70.

¹⁷ The only other exception to the cadential plan of the piece is the stop on the G sonority at the word 'profondo' ('deep', bb. 18-19): In this case, the descent of all voices into the lower register has an overt word-painting function. For a modern edition of the piece, see Jacobus Arcadelt, *Madrigali, Libro Primo*, ed. Albert Seay, *Corpus Mensuralis Musicae* 31/2 (s.l., 1970), 36-37.

Behold the beautiful and precious golden age; behold that the Tiber and the happy and safe sea are already full of pure milk. Since the benign star of so rare a pearl adorns the head of the august child, at last the ancient peace returns redoubled, and in every latitude already resounds the fame of Ottavio, Margaret, peace and love.

In both its sources, the madrigal has a double bar at the end of the setting of the third line: this could therefore be a case of ballata-madrigal in which the first three lines occupy the position of the *ripresa*, while the rest of the verse does not conform to the distinction between *mutazioni* and *volta* typical of the ballata proper. Musically, the ballata-madrigal generally lacks the perfect correspondence between *ripresa* and *volta* typical of the ballata: instead, as in this case, there may be a repetition of part of the initial music towards the end of the piece (Example 2).²²

Example 2. Arcadelt, *Ecco d'oro l'età pregiata e bella*>

a. bb. 4-6

b. bb. 34-36

²² On this subject, see among others the following essays: Franco Piperno, 'Ballate in musica, madrigali "a ballata" e gli ariosi di Antonio Barrè: predilezioni metriche e formali del madrigale a Roma a metà Cinquecento', in *Et facciam dolci canti. Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini et al. (Lucca, 2004), 459-85; Anthony Newcomb, 'The Ballata and the "Free" Madrigal in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63 (2010), 427-97; Marco Mangani, 'La forma ballata nel Madrigale delle origini', in Mangani, *O felice eloquenza. Poesia e musica nel Rinascimento (e oltre)* (Padua, 2023), 89-115.

Overall, the predominantly homorhythmic texture and the euphonious brevity of the musical phrases nicely emphasize the celebratory character of the piece. Similar considerations apply to the tonal arrangement. The piece is written in the tonal type \sharp_1 -g₂-G (high clefs, no flats, and final G sonority), with a strong presence of C cadences and the total absence of D cadences, which clearly reflects the eighth mode. The only deviation occurs precisely when the text refers to the political role of the pearl that, by adorning the head of the very young Farnese, can restore the ancient peace (Example 3).²³

Example 3. Arcadelt, *Ecco d'oro l'età pregiata e bella*, bb. 20-30

20

C
te - ne - rel - l'au - gu - st'il ca - po_a - dor - na, l'an - ti - ca pa - ce_o -

A
te - ne - rel - l'au - gu - st'il ca - po_a - dor - na, l'an - ti - ca pa - ce_o -

T
te - ne - rel - l'au - gu - st'il ca - po_a - dor - na, l'an - ti - ca pa - ce_o -

B
te - ne - rel - l'au - gu - st'il ca - po_a - dor - na, l'an - ti - ca pa - ce_o -

25

C
mai dop - pia ri - tor - na, dop - pia ri - tor - na

A
mai dop - pia ri - tor - na, dop - pia ri - tor - na

T
mai dop - pia ri - tor - na, dop - pia ri - tor - na, ed in vo - ce_al - ta_e

B
mai dop - pia ri - tor - na, dop - pia ri - tor - na, ed in vo -

Alcarotti, the Farnese, and Flanders

As far as we know, Alcarotti's second book of madrigals for five voices, published in Venice by Antonio Gardano in 1569, is the only musical collection expressly dedicated to Margaret of Parma.

²³ Recall that Ottavio, at the time of the wedding, had recently turned fourteen.

Born in Novara (between Milan and Turin) around 1535, Giovanni Francesco Alcarotti was an Italian composer and organist. From a wealthy family, he travelled widely in his youth. He spent some years in Rome, where he probably completed his theological studies. He was a parish priest first in Novara and later in Milan. After serving from 1570 to 1577 as organist at Como cathedral, he was appointed prior of Novara cathedral. He also wrote an account of his journey to the Holy Land, showing attention to the musical practices there: the text was published in Novara in 1596, the year of his death, and bears a dedication to Ranuccio Farnese, son of Alessandro and grandson of Ottavio and Margaret.²⁴

The book's lengthy dedicatory letter shows, once again, the highest regard for Margaret's 'alto intelletto': indeed, it is a learned encomium to music with references to Byzantine philosophy, the Old Testament, and the Apocalypse (Figure 1):

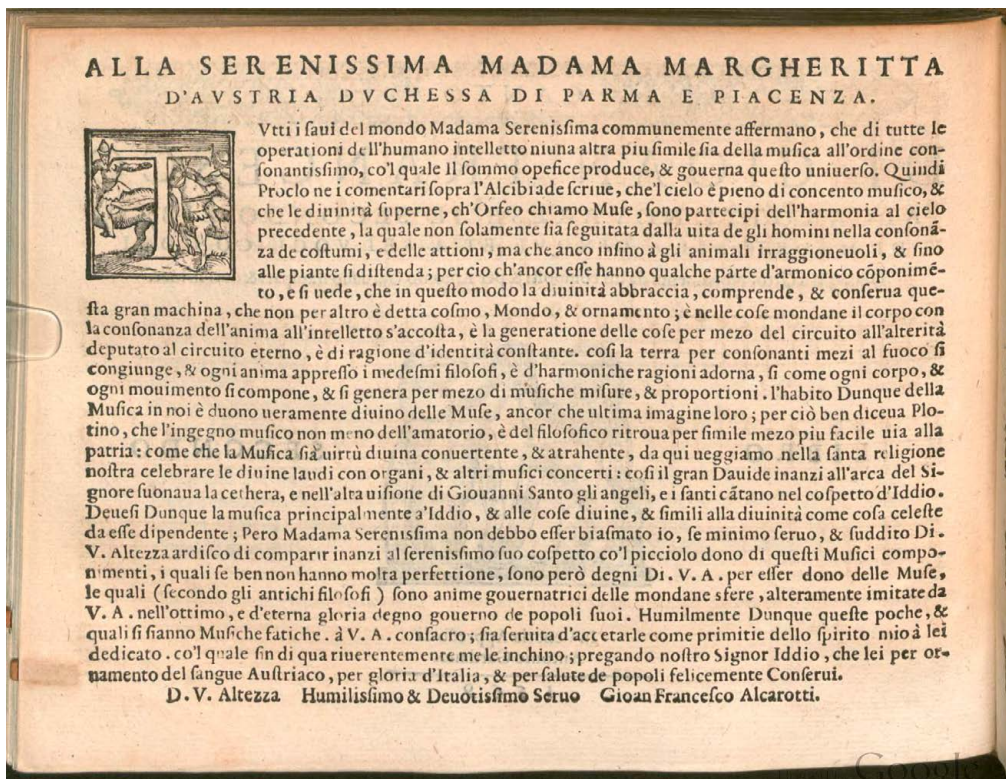


Figure 1. Giovanni Francesco Alcarotti, *Il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque voci*, dedicatory letter to Margaret of Parma

All the sages of the world, Most Serene Lady, commonly affirm that, of all the activities of the human intellect, none is more similar to the extremely consonant order with which the supreme artificer creates and governs this universe than music. Hence Proclus, in the commentaries about *Alcibiades*, writes that the heavens are full of musical concerts, and that the supernal deities, whom Orpheus called Muses, are partakers of the harmony that

²⁴ Glenn Watkins and Serena dal Belin Peruffo, 'Alcarotto [Alcarotti, Algarotti], Giovanni Francesco', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (London, 2001), vol. 1, 329; Giuliana Gialdroni, 'Alcarotti, Alcharotto, Algarotti, Giovanni Francesco', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel etc., 2001), Personenteil 1, col. 403-4.

superintends the heavens; which is not only present in the consonance of customs and actions that characterize the lives of men, but also extends as far as animals devoid of reason, and even plants, since they too have harmoniously composed parts. And it is seen that in this way the divinity embraces, encloses, and preserves this great machine, which is not by chance called cosmos, world, and ornament. And in worldly things the body approaches the intellect with the consonance of the soul; and the generation of things by means of the circuit responsible for multiplicity [approaches] the eternal and rational circuit, which is instead of constant identity. Thus, the earth is joined to fire by means of consonances; and every soul, according to the same philosophers, is adorned with harmonic relations, just as every body and every movement is composed and generated by means of musical measures and proportions. Our musical nature, then, is truly a divine gift from the Muses, as well as their highest image. Therefore, Plotinus aptly said that the musical intellect, no less than that of love and that of philosophy, finds more easily the way to heaven,²⁵ since music is a divine virtue that converts and attracts. And that is why in our holy religion we see the divine praises celebrated with organs and with music of various kinds. Thus, the great David played the zither before the ark of the Lord; and in the high vision of St. John the angels and saints sing before God. Thus, music is primarily owed to God and to divine and godlike things, since it is a heavenly thing that depends on them. Therefore, Most Serene Lady, I am not to be blamed if, although I am a lowly servant and subject of your Highness, I dare to appear before your most serene presence with the small gift of these musical compositions, which, although they may not have much perfection, are nevertheless worthy of your Highness, because they are a gift of the Muses, who, according to the ancient philosophers, are governing souls of the spheres of the world, and are in this perfectly imitated by your Highness in the excellent government of her people, which is worthy of eternal glory. Humbly, therefore, I consecrate to Your Highness these few musical labours as they are: deign to accept them as the first fruits of my spirit dedicated to you, with which from here I reverently bow to you, praying to God our Lord to preserve you happily, for the ornament of the Austrian blood, for the glory of Italy, and for the health of the peoples.

The most humble and most devoted servant of Your Highness, Gioan Francesco Alcarotti

Only three printed musical collections by Alcarotti are known: a book of *Lamentationes Jeremiae* (Milan, 1570) and two books of madrigals (Venice, 1567 and 1569). While the sacred collection and the first book of madrigals have come down to us incomplete, the second book of madrigals is preserved in its entirety at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.²⁶

As James Haar has rightly speculated, the second book was conceived as a tribute for Margaret upon her return from Flanders in late 1567, only to be published two years later.²⁷ In addition to the main dedication, the book contains several compositions explicitly dedicated to distinguished individuals: besides Ottavio Farnese and Margaret herself, we find the 'illustrious ladies' Chiara Marina and Barbara Centuriona and the no less illustrious signor Cesare Casale. The tone and style of these pieces, the texts of which are all expressed in the first person, make it possible to advance the very likely hypothesis that Alcarotti was both poet and composer. For the rest, apart from two texts

²⁵ 'Patria' literally means 'homeland', and is used here in the sense of 'the seat of the blessed with God and the place to which man is authentically destined', i.e. 'paradise'. See, Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, vol. 12 (Turin, 2007), 836.

²⁶ Images are available at <<https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/bsb00084727>> (accessed 4 July 2023).

²⁷ James Haar, 'The madrigal book of Jean Turnhout (1589) and its relationship to Lasso', in *Orlando di Lasso studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge, 1999), 183-202 at 193.

Table 1. Alcarotti's *Secondo libro*

Incipit	Dedicatee	Poet	Poetic form	Number of voices
<i>Donna in cui d'Austria il glorioso seme</i>	Margaret	[Alcarotti]	Ottava rima	5
<i>O del Tebrè del Tago alteri lumi / Leggi, fato, natura</i>	Ottavio and Margaret	[Alcarotti]	Sonnet	5
<i>Sì chiar'è l'alma luce</i>	Chiara Marina	[Alcarotti]	Madrigal	5
<i>Di bei costumi e leggiadra corona</i>	Barbara Centuriona	[Alcarotti]	Madrigal	5
<i>Cesare il cui valor ognun ammira</i>	Cesare Casale	[Alcarotti]	Ottava rima	5
<i>Esce da doi begli occhi ad hor ad hora / Ma s'avien</i>	—	B. Tasso	Sonnet	5
<i>Io non ammir'amor che tu ritrove</i>	—	?	Ottava rima	5
<i>Pellegrina gentil che quest'è quella / Gemma</i>	—	B. Tasso	Sonnet	5
<i>Sotto candido vel che ricopria / Da la bocca</i>	—	B. Tasso	Sonnet	5
<i>Fra il cerchio d'or di mille gemm'adorno / L'habit'era gentil</i>	—	B. Tasso	Sonnet	5
<i>Crin d'oro crespè d'ambra tersè pura / Cantar</i>	—	Bembo	Sonnet	5
<i>Dove son quelle chiom'aurat'è bionde / Oimè fredd'urna</i>	—	B. Tasso	Sonnet	5
<i>A la man vincitrice, a l'alte e sole / Queste</i>	Margaret	[Alcarotti]	Sonnet	6
<i>Signor del ciel quella pietà infinita / Debil</i>	—	B. Tasso	Sonnet	6
<i>Sovra le rive gloriosè sole / Amor</i>	—	B. Tasso	Sonnet	6
<i>Dolce Filida mia</i>	—	?	Dialogue	8
<i>Caron Caronte / Crudo Caronte</i>	—	Marcantonio Magno	Dialogue	8

that remain anonymous (the ottava rima *Io non ammir'amor* and the eight-voice dialogue *Dolce Filida mia*), it is possible to identify the poets of all the remaining five- and six-voice madrigals, as well as that of the other eight-voice dialogue. Taking the lion's share is Bernardo Tasso, with no fewer than seven sonnets.²⁸ There is also a sonnet by Pietro Bembo (*Crin d'oro crespè*, for five voices) and the dialogue in ottava rima *Caron Caronte*, which was previously attributed to Dragonetto Bonifacio but is now recognized as the

²⁸ Respectively: *Esce da doi begli occhi*, *Pellegrina gentil*, *Gemma dove si vede*, *Fra il cerchio d'or*, and *Dove son quelle chiome*, all for five voices; *Signor del ciel* and *Sovra le rive* for six voices. For the original texts see Bernardo Tasso, *Rime*, ed. Domenico Chiodo and Vercingetorige Martignone, 2 vols. (Turin, 1995).

work of Juan de Valdès' translator, Marcantonio Magno.²⁹ The presence of both Magno and Tasso places Alcarotti's print in the milieu of moderate-minded 'spirituali'—a milieu so dear to Margaret, and which had enjoyed protection under the Farnese pope Paul III.³⁰ Table 1 summarizes all the data concerning Alcarotti's book.

In all, Alcarotti's second book contains three pieces whose texts are expressly dedicated to Margaret. The first of these, which opens the collection, is an ottava set for five voices that celebrates the daughter of Charles V as the only one capable of renewing the splendour of the late emperor:

Donna, in cui d'Austria il glorioso seme
Si mira, e del gran Carlo Augusto il volto,
Di cui par che pavente e ch'ancor treme
L'Hidaspè 'l Gange, ben ch'al ciel sia volto,
Alto sol di virtù, ch'ogni sua speme
Et ristoro ha da voi ripreso e tolto;
Prendete humanamente il picciol dono
Ch'io vostro servo humil vi porgo et dono.

Woman, in whom one admires the glorious seed of Austria, [in whom one admires] the face of the great, august Charles, whom Idaspe and Ganges still seem to tremble and fear, even though he has gone to heaven; [in whom one admires the face] of that high sun of virtue who has taken up all his hopes and drawn comfort from you: welcome graciously this small gift that I, your humble servant, offer and give you.

The text of the next madrigal, also for five voices, is a sonnet celebrating Ottavio and Margaret as a couple: the Roman nobleman (i.e., from the Tiber) and the descendant of Spanish lineage (i.e., from the Tagus) now make glorious the king of rivers, the Po, which flows through their duchy:

Prima parte
O del Tebrè del Tago alteri lumi,
Coppia d'amor, di fed'unica al mondo,
Sotto il cui giust'imper'hor copr'il fondo
d'oro, E le rive infiora il Re di fiumi;
Voi, con l'essempio di celesti Numi,
Per sé il don non mirate, ma secondo
il voler, ch'apro in partè'l più nascondo:
Il raggio vostro le mie notti allumi.

Seconda parte
Leggi, fato, Natura e voglia mia
Vostro mi fero, e questo sol mi duole:
Che vostro e di valor sì poco i' sia.
Ma se non opro quanto deggio e vole

²⁹ For the former, see Pietro Bembo, *Le rime*, ed. Andrea Donnini, 2 vols. (Rome, 2008), vol. 1, 17-21 and vol. 2, 1072-73. The latter can be found in the critical edition of Bonifacio's poems among the 'dubious rhymes': Dragonetto Bonifacio, *Rime*, ed. Raffaele Girardi (Fasano di Brindisi, 1995), 136-37. For attribution to Magno, see the website *Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica, 1500-1700* (RePIM), <<https://repim.itatti.harvard.edu/resource/repim:formSearch>> (accessed 12 December 2023). See also Richard Wistreich, "'Thou & Ile sing to make these dull Shades merry": Herrick's Charon Dialogues', in *Lords of Wine and Oile: Community and Conviviality in the Poetry of Robert Herrick*, ed. Ruth Connolly and Tom Cain (Oxford, 2011), 153-90 at 168.

³⁰ Venturelli, *La corte farnesiana*, 87-105.

Il cor, che ben ciò deve e ciò desia,
L'accenno almen col canto e le parole.

Part One.

O majestic lights of the Tiber and Tagus, a pair unique in the world for love and faith, under whose righteous empire now the king of rivers covers his bed with gold and his banks with flowers; you, following the example of the heavenly deities, do not look at my gift for what it is, but for my intention, which I reveal in part, but mostly conceal: let your ray illuminate my nights.

Part Two

Laws, fate, nature, and my will made me yours, and only of that I grieve: that I am yours, but of so little worth. But if I cannot accomplish what I owe according to what my heart must and desires, I at least hint at it in song and words.

The most significant of the texts dedicated to Margaret is the sonnet that opens the section of the six-voice madrigals, *A la man vincitrice*:

Prima parte

A la man vincitrice, a l'alte e sole
Glorie degli occhi nostri almo oriente,
Al valor ch'affrenò l'infida gente
Che cuopr'in ciel la Licaonia prole:
O dell'Austro felice unico sole,
Divin seme d'heroi, perla lucente;
Vostri pregi immortali eccelsa mente
Scesa a dar legge a la terrena mole.

Seconda parte

Queste, de le celesti anime duono
Che cedon vinte ai vostri eterni lumi,
Humil servo, consacro humili note;
Volgete a lor quelle superne ruote
Voi, mentre inanzi a voi beati sono
Ottavio et Alessandro invitti numi.

Part one

To the victorious hand, to the unique and lofty glories of the east that gives life to our eyes, to the courage that defeated the treacherous people on whose skies stands Ursa Major: O unique sun of the happy South, divine seed of heroes, shining pearl; the lofty mind descended to give law to the earthly multitude is strongly urged to immortalize your merits.

Part two

I, your humble servant, consecrate to you these humble notes, the gift of those heavenly souls who surrender, defeated, to your immortal eyes. Turn toward them your highest orbits, while Ottavio and Alexander, invincible gods, are blessed in your sight.

This text, which in the conclusion again subordinates Margaret's glory to that of her husband and son, contains in its opening lines an explicit reference to the duchess's mission in Flanders: literally, 'Licaonia prole' ('Lycaon's offspring') refers to Callisto, the nymph transformed into a bear for lying with Jupiter and sent by him into the sky to form the

constellation, Ursa Major. The expression is used here by Alcarotti in reference to the Flemish, a people of the north, and contrasted with the happy 'Austro', the wind symbolizing the south.³¹ We know that the mission ended with Margaret's return to Parma following her disagreements with her brother, King Philip II of Spain. Here, however, Margaret is celebrated on her return as victorious. To understand exactly which of Margaret's exploits were worthy of celebration, we can turn to the last of the texts dedicated to her to be considered here.

Turturino's *Dolci frutti* and the *Canzone de diversi*

The most extended text, among those expressly dedicated to Margaret of Parma, is the canzone of eleven stanzas (ten stanzas plus the *congedo*) *Questo sì ch'è felice e lieto giorno*, which appeared in 1570 in a collection edited by the Augustinian monk Cornelio Antonelli, called *Il Turturino*. A native of Rimini (or, according to Colussi, of Cesena), Antonelli arrived in Valvasone (Friuli) in 1571 as organist at the cathedral. The year before, in 1570, he published two anthologies, one of lute tablatures and the other of madrigals for five voices, which contains the *canzone di diversi* dedicated to Margaret.³² After 1577, all trace of Antonelli is lost.³³

The canzone *Questo sì* was conceived—probably by Antonelli himself—as a musical competition: each stanza was entrusted to a different composer (see Table 2). According to Tillman Merritt, 'the first stanza of the canzone begins deceptively': 'Questo sì ch'è felice e lieto giorno' ('this day that is so happy and joyful'). Since the song is largely about war and destruction, its beginning must have seemed ironic to Merritt.³⁴ On the contrary, however, the locution 'questo sì' expresses relief and can be rendered with a phrase like 'we were looking forward to this happening!'. This may be a nuance, but there is nothing deceptive in the opening line: the text celebrates a specific event that happened on a specific day, namely, 23 March 1567. It was a day that for the Catholic side was undoubtedly 'happy' and 'joyful'.

The specific event to which this text refers is revealed in the fourth stanza, the importance of which has so far been grasped only by Mila De Santis in her critical edition of the whole text:³⁵

Le scapigliate madr'a' crudi scempi
e di figli e di sposi e di fratelli
piene d'alto dolor volgean i terghi;
e dove, o rea Valenziana, alberghi,
sparsi di questo micidial veneno,
giacean nudi, senz'erbè senza fiori,
i lieti campi de' lor primonori.

The mothers, dishevelled and full of grief,
turned before the cruel havoc suffered by
their children, spouses and siblings; and
where you rise, O guilty Valenciennes, the
happy fields, where [those men] had once
been honoured, lay bare, without grass or
flowers, sprinkled with this deadly poison.

³¹ The expression 'licaonia prole' was previously in Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, XX, 82.

³² *Il primo libro delle napolitane ariose da cantare et sonare nel leuto* (Venice, 1570) [RISM 1570³]; *I dolci frutti, primo libro de vaghi et dilettevoli madrigali* (Venice, 1570) [RISM 1570¹].

³³ For the scarce biographical information available, see Franco Colussi, 'Antonelli Cornelio. Agostiniano, liutista, organista', in *Dizionario Biografico dei Friulani*: <<https://www.dizionariobiograficoideifriulani.it/antonelli-cornelio/>> (accessed 19 March 2023). It is unclear, however, on what grounds the author claims that the first lines of the *canzone di diversi* recall 'an unspecified Venetian military victory'.

³⁴ Andrea Gabrieli, *Complete Madrigals 5-6. Madrigals of the Secondo libro a 5 (conclusion); Madrigals of the Terzo libro a 5; Other Madrigals a 5*, ed. A. Tillman Merritt (Madison, 1983), xvi. Merritt identified Flemish Protestants as the polemical target of the canzone.

³⁵ I follow the reading of the text proposed in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Andrea Gabrieli*, part 1 vol. III, *I testi poetici: edizione critica e fonti letterarie*, ed. Mila De Santis (Milan, 2001), 125-27. For De Santis' commentary, see also 120.

The text of this madrigal was very carefully crafted, starting from its metrical scheme. The choice of the metrical scheme is certainly not accidental: indeed, it coincides perfectly with that of Petrarch's canzone *Spirto gentil che quelle membra reggi* (*Canzoniere*, 53).³⁶ Like *Questo sì*, in fact, Petrarch's text has as its object a dispute between two parties, and both texts reveal the poet's stance: for the Colonna against the other Roman families in Petrarch's case, for the Catholics against the Protestants in the case of the anonymous author of *Questo sì* (who may well have been Antonelli himself):

Petrarch's *Spirto gentil*, first stanza

Spirto gentil, che quelle membra reggi
dentro a le qua' peregrinando alberga
un signor valoroso, accorto et saggio,
poi che se' giunto a l'onorata verga
colla qual Roma et suoi erranti correggi,
et la richiami al suo antiquo viaggio,
io parlo a te, però ch'altrove un raggio
non veggio di virtù, ch' al mondo è spenta,
né trovo chi di mal far si vergogni.
Che s'aspetti non so, né che s'agogni,
Italia, che suoi guai non par che senta:
vecchia, otiosa et lenta,
dormirà sempre, et non fia chi la svegli?
Le man' l'avess' io avolto entro' capegli.

Noble spirit, you who informs those members inside of which there dwells in pilgrimage a lord of valor who is keen and wise: now that you have achieved the honored staff with which you guide Rome and its erring people and call her back to her old way of life, to you I speak for I see nowhere else that virtuous ray extinguished in the world and find no one ashamed of doing wrong. For what Italy waits or yearns I know not, for she does not appear to feel her woes—she's idle, slow, and old; will no one wake her, will she sleep forever? If only I could grab her by the hair!³⁷

Turturino's *Questo sì*, first stanza

Questo sì ch'è felice e lieto giorno.	A
di meraviglia pieno e di dolcezza,	B
ond' il mondo ne tesse eterna istoria!	C
Qual man fort'è possente or più s'apprezza,	B
cercando mar e terra d'ogn'intorno,	A
ch'aducesse giamai tanta vittoria?	C
O d'ogni laude degna e d'ogni gloria,	C
donna, pregio sovran dei tempi nostri,	D
o più d'Ercole invitta, o del ponente	E
novo sol che fa scorno a l'oriente!	E
Voi, troncati gli artigli e i ferì rostri	D
di tanti orribil' mostri,	d
con la vostra pietà, con la virtute,	F
n'apportast'immortal pace e salute.	F

Here at last is a happy and joyous day, full of wonder and sweetness, out of which the world weaves eternal history! What stronger and more mighty hand can be admired, even searching everywhere by sea and land, that has ever brought such a victory? O woman, worthy of all praise and glory, the greatest boast of our times, more invincible than Hercules, the new sun of the West that makes the East envious! You, having cut off the claws and fierce jaws of so many hideous monsters, by your mercy and virtue have brought us immortal peace and health.

The distribution of topics in Turturino's canzone is carefully worked out: an invocative first stanza is followed respectively by the description of an iconoclastic rebellion, the exaltation of the rebels' defeat, and finally the celebration of Margaret, the architect of the victory. Table 2 shows the distribution of topics in the stanzas of the song, the composer of each stanza and significant lines, topic by topic.

³⁶ For text and commentary, see Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, ed. Marco Santagata (Milan, 2018), 272-87.

³⁷ Translation from Mark Musa (ed.), *Petrarch: The Canzoniere, or Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (Bloomington-Indianapolis, 1999), 121.

Here, in brief, is what had happened. Since the early 1560s, the city of Valenciennes had distinguished itself for the effectiveness of its Calvinist preaching, to the point that Margaret had placed the city under special surveillance. In 1566, the government of Valenciennes was weakened by a series of acts of rebellion; these acts were in fact inspired by the Calvinist Church, as proven by the Synod of Antwerp, held at the end of November and beginning of December of that year. Thus, on 14 December 1566, Valenciennes, now ruled by the wealthy Calvinist merchants, proclaimed a state of rebellion. After this umpteenth refusal to submit to the king, Margaret decided to send troops to the city under Philippe de Noircarmes, who finally defeated the rebels on 23 March 1567.

So far, these events correlate to those celebrated in Turturino's song, the beginning of which, as we can see, must be taken literally and has no ironic overtones. For Margaret, however, this was not the end of the story: further developments would reveal her independent spirit, which was doomed to defeat at the time, but which is revealing about the depth of her personality.

When it came to meting out punishments for the Calvinist leaders, Margaret certainly did not have a light hand. And yet, at the same time, she wanted to leave room for reconciliation. In fact, she was convinced that brutal repression would lead to massive emigration, which would severely damage the economy of the territory. However, a fundamentalist attitude prevailed in the Spanish court and Philip II sent a large army to Flanders, led by the Duke of Alba. Embittered, Margaret asked to be allowed to return to Italy. The following year, in 1568, she was outraged by the news of the execution of the Count of Egmont.³⁸

Twelve years later, Philip II, convinced by some of Margaret's arguments in favour of a more conciliatory line in Flanders, would turn to her again, but this time, almost a fulfilment of the prophecy in *Dolci frutti*, it would be the pride and obstinacy of her son, Alessandro Farnese, that would preclude Margaret from having a decisive political role.³⁹

Margaret between Reality and Poetic Image

Marriage to Ottavio Farnese was a decisive step for Margaret, which she had at first tried to resist with all her might. Apart from the possible lack of personal affinity between her and Ottavio, the young Margaret had been troubled by religious disturbances which had led her to turn to the 'spirituali'. In particular, probably thanks to her friendly relations with the Marquise of Pescara, Vittoria Colonna, Margaret had come into contact with the Carmelite Giovan Battista Pallavicino, known for his strongly heterodox preaching. Pallavicino was arrested on 27 May 1540 and interrogated under torture on the specific charge that he had used magic to keep Margaret away from Ottavio. Although we do not know the full course of the trial, the fact remains that, after Pallavicino's arrest, Margaret took a different path. As Giampiero Brunelli has written,

³⁸ For an account of the events surrounding the Valenciennes uprising and Margaret's stance, see Guido Marnet, 'The Towns and the Revolt', in *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*, ed. Graham Darby (London-New York, 2001), 84-106. See also Yves Junot, 'Valenciennes', in *The Revolt of the Netherlands. Revolution and Civil War in the Low Countries (ca. 1550 - ca. 1650)*, <<https://dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geografie/V/Pages/valenciennes.aspx>> (accessed 30 September 2023).

³⁹ See Hugo de Schepper, 'Le voyage difficile de Marguerite de Parme en Franche-Comté et en Flandre', in *Margherita d'Austria. Costruzioni politiche e diplomazia, tra corte Farnese e Monarchia spagnola*, ed. Silvia Mantini (Rome, 2003), 127-40.

Table 2. *Questo sì ch'è felice e lieto giorno*

Stanzas	Composers	Topic	Significant Lines
1	Baldassare Donato	The dedicatee is addressed to praise her for the victory achieved	O d'ogni laude degna e d'ogni gloria, donna, pregio sovran dei tempi nostri, o più d'Ercole invitta, o del ponente novo sol, che fa scorno a l'oriente!
2-4	Claudio Merulo (2) Giuseffo Zarlino (3) Paolo Animuccia (4)	The actions of the iconoclastic rebels, disturbing the peace of Flanders, are described, and condemned	ahi, che pur Neron torna e Decio orrendo, quasi con nove pene erano accensi quei che morir già nei martir intensi.
5-8	Palestrina (5) Francesco Bonardo Perissone (6) Giovanni Contino (7) Giaches de Wert (8)	Margaret's military victory is celebrated, restoring order, and ensuring the punishment of the evil rebels	Quand'ècco, donna, il vostro bracci'invitto, quasi folgor altier ch'abasso cada sopra le più minute aride spiche, dissipar col valor e con la spada il reo stuol... Gite ne gli antr'è ne l'oscure selve o ne le più solinghe arene ardenti, perfidì, lungi d'ogn'uman'usanza: quivi, d'odio nudriti e di serpenti, tra le più velenose e strane belve dispensate la vita che v'avanza.
9	Andrea Gabrieli	Only Margaret, as a Catholic and daughter of Charles V, could save the bride of the 'Fifth Pius' (Pope Ghislieri), i.e., the Catholic Church	Chi l'alma sposa del tuo quinto Pio salvar devea, se non di Carlo quinto la nobil figlia e figlia della Chiesa?
10	Costanzo Porta	Thus, all that the iconoclastic rebels achieved was to exalt Charles' daughter, sister of Philip II and wife of Ottavio Farnese	Ecco già in noi l'immagin tua scolpita, celeste Margarita, che 'l lucente diadema fai più bello del marito, del padr'è del fratello.
11 (<i>congedo</i>)	Gabriele Martinengo	The poet sends the poem to Alessandro Farnese, for him to read it to his mother, father, and uncles, foreshadowing for him a glorious future	Del chiaro sangue di Filippo altero, figlio d'Ottavio avventuroso e giusto, già Italia amira un Alessandr'augusto. A lui, canzon, con riverente ciglia t'inchina e 'l prega ch'a l'invitta madre scopra il tuo affetto, ai zii sacratì, al padre.

eliminata l'ambigua presenza del Pallavicino, recluso a vita nella rocca di Ostia a partire dall'aprile 1545, a Margherita sono affiancati i padri della compagnia di Gesù [...] mentre la corte pontificia decide di avvicinare l'inquieta Margherita attraverso la proposta di un'esperienza religiosa a lei confacente, Ignazio di Loyola comprende subito che, attraverso il difficile compito di pacificare i due giovani sposi, la compagnia può guadagnare ampio credito ed una rete di appoggi fra i membri delle *élites*.⁴⁰

after removing the ambiguous presence of Pallavicino, who had been imprisoned for life in the fortress of Ostia since April 1545, Margherita was joined by the fathers of the 'compagnia di Gesù' [...] while the papal court decided to approach the restless Margherita by proposing a religious experience that would suit her, Ignatius of Loyola immediately realised that the difficult task of pacifying the young couple could give the 'compagnia' great prestige and a network of support among the members of the elite.

It follows that the image of a pious and bigoted Margaret traced by traditional historiography was a forced reality, 'proiettando all'indietro un sentimento religioso che invece appare esito non scontato di una complessa vicenda' ('projecting backwards a religious sentiment that instead appears to be the unexpected outcome of a complex affair').⁴¹

It must also be considered that, despite the disagreements between Margaret and Paul III during the years of her stay in Rome, the political and doctrinal legacy of the Farnese pope had created, as we have seen, quite a favourable terrain in Parma for Margaret's religious anxieties.⁴²

Finally, in order to complete the picture of Margaret's personality, it is necessary to consider her artistic and cultural patronage, which has already been studied on several occasions and is the main subject of this journal issue. Of all the activities undertaken by Margaret, patronage was undoubtedly the one in which she was able to carve out the greatest space of autonomy, asserting her own tastes and inclinations with determination, to the point of surpassing Ottavio's similar activity. As Seishiro Niwa has written,

Ottavio established his status primarily as a politician and a military commander, and may have felt envious of Margaret's artistic accomplishment. He clearly saw her as a lady of greater refinement and culture than he, and it was possibly her love of music that in part motivated him to launch himself into the patronage of music.⁴³

Taken together, these aspects paint a picture of an extremely cultured, strong, and determined woman, able to create spaces of autonomy in a society firmly in the hands of male protagonists. Of all these, however, the only trait that emerges from the musical texts expressly dedicated to Margaret is that of strength, not as a self-sufficient dowry, but as a precious tool in the hands of the men in charge of political destinies. The only, partial exception, besides Arcadelt's *Giovenetta regal*, is Alcarotti's dedicatory letter, whose philosophical content concerns the woman of culture. All the other texts considered in this article celebrate Margaret's role in the context of the dynamics determined by Charles V, Philip II, and the Farnese, whose 'diadems' were 'embellished'

⁴⁰ Giampiero Brunelli, 'Tra eretici e gesuiti. I primi anni di Margherita a Roma', in *Margherita d'Austria*, ed. Mantini, 65-83 at 77-78.

⁴¹ Brunelli, 'Tra eretici e gesuiti', 83.

⁴² I refer again to Venturelli, *La corte farnesiana*.

⁴³ Seishiro Niwa, "'Madama" Margaret of Parma's Patronage of Music', in *Early Music* 33 (2005), 25-37 at 35.

by Margaret (hence the metaphor of the precious stone). In all this, of course, there is no room for the slightest hint of the contrasts that periodically arose between Margaret and her male counterparts. It is difficult, however, to imagine that things, at the time, could be otherwise.

According to Letizia Arcangeli and Susanna Peyronel,

l'ingresso dell'Italia e dell'aristocrazia italiana in un sistema che aveva il suo centro a Madrid comportò [...] una riduzione delle gentildonne laiche, ma non modificò, anzi potenziò, le risorse materiali della singola donna maritata/vedova per la quale continuò a essere possibile agire nella sfera pubblica.⁴⁴

the entry of Italy and the Italian aristocracy into a system that had its centre in Madrid entailed [...] a reduction of lay gentlewomen, but it did not change, indeed it enhanced, the material resources of the individual married/widowed woman, for whom it continued to be possible to act in the public sphere.

This is true, however, in a context in which 'le gentildonne non ebbero potere e autorità ufficiali in virtù della nascita [...], ma solo come donne sposate o come madri, donne "vicino al potere" di cui erano titolari mariti e figli' ('gentlewomen did not have official power and authority by virtue of birth [...], but only as married women or as mothers, women "close to the power" held by husbands and sons').⁴⁵ This situation is perfectly reflected in the texts we have examined here.

Abstract

The article first examines the dual meaning of the Italian word 'margherita', highlighting its uses in the context of poetic texts dedicated to Margaret of Parma. It examines the two texts for Margaret set to music by Arcadelt, discussing their respective contexts and proposing for the first of them a versification different from the commonly accepted one. It analyzes the only madrigal collection entirely dedicated to Margaret of Parma, the second book of madrigals by Giovanni Francesco Alcarotti. Finally, through a careful reading of the canzone *Questo sì ch'è felice e lieto giorno*, set to music by different authors, the historical event that this canzone intends to celebrate is identified as the taking of Valenciennes by troops coordinated by Margaret.

⁴⁴ *Donne di potere nel Rinascimento*, ed. Letizia Arcangeli and Susanna Peyronel (Rome, 2008), 19-20.

⁴⁵ *Donne di potere*, ed. Arcangeli and Peyronel, 19.

Between Flanders and Italy: Margaret of Parma and Cipriano de Rore*

JESSIE ANN OWENS

In memoriam Herman Kerkhove

Margaret of Parma, duchess of Parma and wife of Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma, is well-known as a patron of music.¹ Farnese court documents make clear that she played a pivotal role in Cipriano de Rore's return to Italy in 1561 as *maestro di cappella* in Parma.² The chronology and exact nature of her patronage has remained a matter of speculation, however. In the absence of other documentary evidence, scholars have relied on information gleaned from Cipriano's compositions. In his 'Staatskompositionen der Cyprian de Rore', Bernhard Meier offered a detailed analysis of the texts and the historical contexts of four madrigals by Cipriano that he associated with Margaret and with Farnese patronage.³ Recent research, however, suggests that further consideration is warranted.

The Chronology of Margaret's Patronage

Alma real, se come fida stella provides the only evidence we have that Cipriano came under Margaret's protection early in his career.⁴ Margaret and Cipriano were both born in Flanders, in neighboring towns, Oudenaarde and Ronse respectively (see Table 1).⁵

* I would like to thank Marc Vuylsteke for sharing his lecture, 'Keizer Karel V, Margaretha van Parma, Cypriaen De Rore', De Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Ronse, 20 May 2022 in Ronse, Cipriano's birthplace; and Wim Daeleman for his website <<https://cypriaanderore.be>>, a rich resource for research on Cipriano. I am grateful to Marco Mangani and Courtney Quaintance for their help with the texts and translations, and to Giuseppe Bertini, Marco Mangani, Lucia Marchi, and Francesco Zimei for their comments.

¹ Seishiro Niwa, "Madama" Margaret of Parma's Patronage of Music', in *Early Music* 33 (2005), 25-37.

² Jessie Ann Owens, 'Cipriano de Rore a Parma (1560-1565): Nuovi documenti', in *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 11 (1976), 5-26; eadem, 'Rore, Cipriano de', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 88 (2017), <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cipriano-de-rore_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> (accessed 15 March 2023). For music at the Farnese court, see Francesco Luisi, 'La musica al tempo dei Farnese da Pier Luigi a Ranuccio I', in *Storia di Parma*, vol. 10, *Musica e teatro*, ed. Luigi Allegri and Francesco Luisi (Parma, 2013), 56-147; and idem, 'I musicisti fiamminghi a Parma', in *Parma crocevia di cultura in Europa* (Parma, 2022), 53-64.

³ Bernhard Meier, 'Staatskompositionen von Cyprian de Rore', in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 21 (1969), 81-118; Cipriano Rore, *Madrigalia 3-8 vocum*, ed. Bernhard Meier, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 14/5 (s.l., 1971). Meier drew on Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, trans. Alexander H. Krappe, Roger H. Sessions, and Oliver Strunk (Princeton, 1971); and Louis D. Nuernberger, 'The Five-Voice Madrigals of Cipriano de Rore' (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1963).

⁴ First published posthumously in Cipriano de Rore, *Le vive fiamme de' vaghi e dilettevoli madrigali dell'ecce. musico Cipriano Rore, a quattro et cinque voci, novamente posti in luce, per Giulio Bonagionta da S. Genesi, musico dell'Illustriss. Sig. di Vineggia* (Venice, 1565) [RISM 1565¹⁸]; edition: Rore, *Madrigalia 3-8 vocum*, 83-87; recording: Cipriano de Rore, *Il Quinto Libro de Madrigali 1568*, The Consort of Musicke dir. by Anthony Rooley (CD, Musica Oscura 70991, 1991). For an analysis of *Le vive fiamme*, see Anthony Newcomb, 'Posthumous Cipriano: Variation and Variety in Three Madrigals (1566-1576)', in *Cipriano de Rore: New Perspectives on His Life and Music*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Katerijne Schiltz (Turnhout, 2016), 411-48 at 417-21.

⁵ De Rore's birthplace was discovered by Albert Cambier, 'De grootste roem van de stad Ronse: De komponist Cypriaen De Ro(de)re, "omnium musicorum princeps"', in *Annalen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Ronse en het Tenement van Inde* 30 (1981), 5-56. For Cambier's extensive bibliography see <<https://cypriaanderore.be>> (accessed 7 March 2023).

Table 1. Margaret of Parma and Cipriano de Rore: chronology of events

Margaret of Parma		Cipriano de Rore	
1522	Born in Oudenaarde, Flanders (5 July), raised in Brussels/Mechelen	1515/16	Born in Ronse, Flanders
1533	Travel to Italy, resides in Naples	?	Arrival in Italy unknown, whereabouts unknown
1536	Marriage to Alessandro de' Medici, resides in Florence, then Prato	1540	Brescia, trips to Venice
1537	Assassination of Alessandro	1546	Ferrara, maestro di cappella, court of Ercole II d'Este
1538	Marriage to Ottavio Farnese, resides in Rome	1558	Trip home to Ronse, contact with Granvelle (May-December)
1550	Duchess of Parma	1559	Leaves Este service, returns to Flanders
1556-57	Trip to Brussels	1559	Death of Ercole II (October), not hired by Alfonso II, Ercole's successor; begins to search for a position, writing from Antwerp
1559	Governor of the Low Countries, resides in Brussels	1560	Leaves for Italy from Antwerp by way of Paris (December)
1560	Ottavio in Brussels (August-September)	1561	Arrives in Parma, maestro di cappella, court of Ottavio Farnese (from May)
1565	Wedding of Alessandro Farnese and Maria of Portugal	1563-64	Venice, San Marco, maestro di cappella (continues to send music to Ottavio)
		1564	Returns to Farnese service, Parma
		1565	Death in Parma (September), aged 49

Margaret came to Italy in 1533 as the betrothed of Alessandro de' Medici and resided in Naples until she was old enough to marry.⁶ We do not know when Cipriano first arrived in Italy or where he was prior to 1540, when he is documented in Brescia.

Alma real, se come fida stella
 Ch'or conduce i tre Regi al Re maggiore
 Mi chiamaste a seguir vostro splendore,
 Ond'io vi dedicai l'anima ancella;
 Se quasi palma gloriosa e bella
 Che sorge tosto che la luna è fuore
 Uscio⁷ l' mio nome a far al vostro honore
 Tratto da pura mano e virginella;
 Et se, qual fior che va girando inchino
 Col più lucente dei celesti segni,

⁶ For Margaret's biography, see most recently Charles Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life* (Leiden, 2013); and Gino Benzoni, 'Margherita d'Austria, duchessa di Firenze, poi duchessa di Parma e Piacenza', in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 70 (2008) <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/margherita-d-austria-duchessa-di-firenze-poi-duchessa-di-parma-e-piacenza_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> (accessed 15 March 2023).

⁷ My thanks to Marco Mangani for clarifying that 'uscio' is an archaic form; the accent is not found in early sources. Meier also uses the reading 'uscio'.

Seguei di Margherita al chiaro suono:
Vostro altissimo cor prego non sdegni
Mio stato humile, poi che vostro sono
Et per elettion e per destino.

Royal spirit, since, like the faithful star that now leads the three kings [magi] to the greatest king [Christ], you called me to follow your splendor, whence I dedicated to you my soul as handmaid; [and] since, like the glorious and beautiful palm that blooms when the moon is out, my name came forth to honor you, drawn out by [your] pure and maidenly hand; and since, like a flower that turns and bows to the [sun], brightest of the heavenly signs, I followed the clarion call of Margherita: I pray that your most noble heart not disdain my humble state since I am yours both by choice and by fate.

The composer speaks in the first person, in effect offering an autobiography: three long clauses, each beginning with ‘se’, clearly describe Margaret as his patron. The verbs—‘chiamaste’ (you called), ‘dedicai’ (I dedicated), ‘uscio’ ([my name] came forth), ‘seguei’ (I followed)—are in the *passato remoto* indicative, not the subjunctive or conditional associated with a hypothetical with ‘se’ in the sense of ‘if’.⁸ I would argue that the meaning is closer to ‘whereas’ or ‘since’.

The text tells us that Cipriano’s name was ‘drawn out by [your] pure and maidenly hand’, which according to Meier sets the date of her patronage to before her marriage in 1536.⁹ Cipriano was not listed as part of the large entourage that accompanied Margaret on her journey from Flanders to Italy in early 1533, though a rebec player who taught her dance was.¹⁰ When she arrived in Verona, the entertainment at one of the dinners included instrumentalists and singers (‘sempre sonando diversi instrumenti. Da poi quatro intrati cantarono divinamente’), whether local musicians or members of her household is unknown. For now we can say only that the circumstances of a connection between the composer and the duchess from these early years remain to be discovered.

The final tercet of *Alma real, se come fida stella* seems to be a request for a job: ‘I pray that your most noble heart not disdain my humble state since I am yours both by choice and by fate.’ In his setting Cipriano composed a very audible musical plea: he repeated ‘prego’ three times, linking it to both the preceding and succeeding clauses, always with the same pair of sonorities. The listener would hear the text as:

Vostro altissimo cor, **prego**, Vostro altissimo cor, **prego**, non sdegni Mio stato humile
prego, non sdegni Mio stato humile.

At issue is the date of this request. Meier interpreted the reference to the magi and the word ‘or’, now, to mean the season of Epiphany and concluded that the composition

⁸ This is the translation used by both Nuernerberger (‘The Five-Voice Madrigals’, 27), ‘if’, and Meier (‘Staatskompositionen’, 103-4), ‘wenn’ (if).

⁹ Meier, ‘Staatskompositionen’, 103-6.

¹⁰ M. Gachard, *Correspondance de Marguerite d’Autriche, duchesse de Parma, ave Philippe II [1559-1565]* (Brussels, 1867-81), vol. 3 (1881), II-III, drawing on an unpublished letter from Françoise de Montbel to Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, listed a few of the people who accompanied her from Flanders. For detailed accounts of her journey see S. A. van Lennep, *Les années italiennes de Marguerite d’Autriche duchesse de Parma* (Geneva, n.d. [1952]), 33-41; and Renato Lefevre, *Madama Margarita d’Austria (1582-1586)* (Rome, 1986), 59-75, with extensive quotations from dispatches of Venetian ambassadors.

honors Margaret's official birthday, 28 December.¹¹ Cipriano, shown in Figure 1, left Este service in July 1559 and returned to Flanders to aid his family. Margaret was then residing in Brussels, serving as regent of the Low Countries. Meier believed that Cipriano joined her court in 1559 and so he dated *Alma real, se come fida stella* to that year.¹² There is no proof, however, that Cipriano was in her employ in Brussels. In fact, evidence suggests that he was living in Antwerp, not Brussels. In November 1559 the letter he wrote to Duke Alfonso II d'Este seeking to return to Este service in Ferrara was sent from Antwerp. A year later, in December 1560, when he left the Low Countries, he started his journey from Antwerp, traveling to Parma by way of Paris. If *Alma real, se come fida stella* is truly a request for employment, then it likely dates from 1560, just before he entered Farnese service; if it is instead a generic request for protection, then it becomes difficult to date either the sonnet or the musical setting.

We can be certain, however, that Cipriano was able to draw on the services of a skilled poet, someone capable of capturing the personal details of Margaret's patronage in the form of a sonnet. Another sonnet set by Cipriano for his Farnese patrons, *Mentre, lumi maggior del secol nostro*, provides a clue about the poet's identity.¹³

Mentre, lumi maggior del secol nostro,
 Sotto'l Belgico ciel porge la luce
 Al carro ch'a l'oprar e al sonno induce,
 Nova Delia et Apol, lo splendor vostro;
 E mentr'il santo amor fra l'oro e l'ostro
 Da le perle e i robini al cor traluce
 Et a l'alto gioir vi riconduce,
 Cui non cape pensier né adombr'inchiostro,
 Le caste nimphe su l'erbose sponde
 De la Trebia e del Taro in negro manto
 Doglionsi d'ogni lor gloria sparita,
 E colme di desir vaghe di pianto
 Tra mestissimi accenti e gli antri e l'onde
 Fan risonar Ottavio e Margherita.

While, great lights of our time, new Diana and Apollo, your splendor shines light under the Belgian sky on the chariot that awakens us to labor and lulls us to sleep, and while holy love between gold and crimson from pearls and rubies shines into your hearts and brings you to lofty joy that no thought can grasp nor ink explain, the chaste nymphs on the grassy banks of the Trebia and Tarus, dressed in black, weeping that all their glory has vanished, and filled with longing and faint from weeping, in mournful accents make resound across caves and waves: Ottavio and Margherita.

Mentre, lumi maggior del secol nostro opens Cipriano's posthumous fifth book of madrigals, where it bears the inscription, 'A gl'illustrissimi Principi Duca et Duchessa

¹¹ Meier, 'Staatskompositionen', 205.

¹² Meier, 'Staatskompositionen'; Rore, *Madrigalia 3-8 vocum*, XIII-XIV. Nuernberger, 'The Five-Voice Madrigals', 27.

¹³ First published posthumously in Cipriano de Rore, *Il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci insieme alcuni de diversi autori. Novamente per Antonio Gardano stampato et dato in luce* (Venice, 1566) [RISM 1566^v]; edition: Rore, *Madrigalia 3-8 vocum*, 92-96; recording: Cipriano de Rore, *Vieni, dolce Imeneo*, La compagnia del madrigale (CD, Glossa 922808, 2018). Concerning *Il quinto libro*, see Newcomb, 'Posthumous Cipriano', 422-23.



Figure 1. Hans Mielich, Portrait of Cipriano de Rore, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. Ms. B, p. 304 (1559).
CC BY-NC-SA 4.0, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>

di Parma'. The printer, Antonio Gardano, dedicated the book to Ottavio Farnese. The dedication is effusive in its praise of Cipriano for his command of the musical techniques of Josquin, Gombert, and Willaert.

Cipriano set the sonnet as a single part. The opening subordinate clauses—each beginning 'mentre'—describe the positive effects of the couple, a new Apollo and Diana, under the Belgian sky. The main clause describes the sorrow the nymphs feel at their absence from Parma, calling out their names with mournful accents.

Giuseppe Bertini recently identified the sonnet as the work of Tomaso Machiavelli, a secretary in Margaret's service.¹⁴ A remarkable letter from the *letterato* and poet Annibale Caro to Machiavelli reveals that Machiavelli had sought Caro's advice about a sonnet he was writing for Margaret and Ottavio.¹⁵ Caro's criticisms of specific passages make clear that the sonnet in question was *Mentre, lumi maggior del secolo nostro*. He did not like the ending, 'Risonaro Ottavio e Margherita' (changed to 'Fan risonar' in the version set by Cipriano), because it was a commonplace ('il concetto ordinario poiché finisce come molti altri'); 'Cape pensier' had an ugly sound ('fa cattivo suono'); several elisions were clumsy, etc.

Nuernberger, taking the phrase 'under the Belgian sky' literally, imagined that Cipriano's setting dated from the time when both Margaret and Ottavio were together in Brussels; he settled on the two-month period from August through September 1560, when Ottavio and Margaret were engaged in deliberations about the choice of a wife for their son Alessandro.¹⁶ Meier, accepting Nuernberger's dating, believed that the madrigal represented 'Rore's first opportunity to appear personally before his new patron and simultaneously commend himself by means of a new composition.'¹⁷ Caro's letter to Machiavelli, dated 2 May 1561, complicates this scenario. If Machiavelli gave the sonnet to Cipriano only after receiving Caro's critique, then the setting would date from no earlier than mid-1561, that is, after his arrival in Parma in May 1561. However, the version of the text set by Cipriano alters only one of the seven passages that Caro had criticized—changing 'risonaro' to 'fan risonar'. Machiavelli may have decided not to make other revisions, or perhaps he had already given the sonnet to Cipriano before sending it to Caro.

The identification of Tomaso Machiavelli as the poet of *Mentre, lumi maggior del secolo nostro* reveals not only a close connection between him and Cipriano but an on-going responsibility for writing dedicatory poems.¹⁸ An earlier letter from Caro, from 6 September 1558, when Machiavelli was with Margaret in Piacenza, refers to another sonnet in her honor that cannot now be identified.¹⁹

¹⁴ Giuseppe Bertini, 'Tommaso Machiavelli segretario di Margherita d'Austria: Una carriera interrotta' (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dott. Bertini for sharing his article prior to publication.

¹⁵ Bertini, 'Tommaso Machiavelli'. The letter, first published in the sixteenth century (*De le lettere familiari del commendatore Annibal Caro* [Venice, 1574-75], vol. 2, 223-25), is edited in Annibal Caro, *Lettere familiari*, ed. Aulo Greco (Florence, 1957-61), vol. 3, 62-63. Caro thanked composer Costanzo Porta for setting two of his sonnets (Caro, *Lettere familiari*, vol. 2, 152). For musical tributes to Caro at his death in 1566, see Antonio Chemotti and Katelijne Schiltz, 'Deep Mourning in Cinquecento Venice: Gioseffo Zarlino's *lectiones pro mortuis*', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 73 (2020), 583-637, at 586.

¹⁶ Nuernberger, 'The Five-Voice Madrigals', 28-30. For a detailed chronicle of the marriage negotiations, see Leon van der Essen, *Alexandre Farnèse* (Brussels, 1933), vol. 1, 83-102.

¹⁷ Rore, *Madrigalia 3-8 vocum*, XIV.

¹⁸ An instance from 1566 is cited below at footnote 40.

¹⁹ Bertini, 'Tommaso Machiavelli'; Caro, *Lettere familiari*, vol. 2, 300-1. Four letters from Caro to Machiavelli have survived: No. 535 in the Greco edition, from 1558, No. 589 (1560), No. 622 (1561), and No. 716 (1563). The poem mentioned in the 1558 letter was probably not *Alma real*, if the interpretation of it as a request for a job is correct.

The Wedding Festivities for Alessandro Farnese and Maria of Portugal

In 1565 Cipriano celebrated the marriage of Ottavio and Margaret's son Alessandro Farnese to Maria of Portugal with the madrigal *Vieni dolce Himeneo*.²⁰ The years between the beginning of his service at the Farnese court and the wedding festivities had been eventful for him: unhappy in his role in Parma, he had sought and received several offers of employment, and in July 1563 he left Parma to assume the leadership of the chapel at San Marco in Venice, a position made vacant by the death of Adriano Willaert. But this too proved a disappointment and so he returned to the Farnese court in 1564.

At what point in the protracted marriage negotiations it would have been appropriate to compose a congratulatory madrigal is not known: King Philip II of Spain proposed the match in December 1564 and the contract was eventually signed on 25 March 1565.²¹ The celebrations began in Lisbon in May with a proxy wedding, and continued in Brussels in November and December. Cipriano died in September 1565 in Parma. Meier is surely correct that *Vieni dolce Himeneo* was one of his last compositions.

Vieni dolce Himeneo vien'et infiamma
Di santissim'ardore
A sì graditè bella cop[p]ia'l core.
Amor, di bianca oliva
D'ambi le tempie cinga
E in dolce nodo, e in pura fiamma viva
Lor alme accendè stringa.
Indi gl'acuti stral'espanda e indori
Sciolto da gl'occhi il velo
Spiri gioia ogni partè l'aria odori
Hor ch'in terra si vede il terzo cielo,
Et ogn'antro ogni lido in dolci tempre
Alessandro e Maria risuoni sempre.
Vieni dolce Himeneo vien'et infiamma
Di santissim'ardore
A sì graditè bella copia'l core.

Come sweet Hymen, come and inflame the heart of such a graceful and beautiful couple with most holy ardor. Let Cupid bind both their temples with white olive branches, and in a sweet knot and in pure living flame kindle and join their souls. And then [let him] cast and gild the sharp arrows, once the veil raised from the [bride's] eyes, may joy be breathed all around and the air become sweet, now that on earth we see the third heaven [the sphere of Venus] and in every cave and every shore

²⁰ First published posthumously in *Premier livre des chansons. a quatre et cinq parties, composées par Orlando di Lassus, Cyprian de Rore* (Leuven, 1570) [RISM 1570⁵]; edition: Rore, *Madrigalia 3-8 vocum*, 123-27; recording: Cipriano de Rore, *Vieni, dolce Imeneo*, La compagnia del madrigale (CD, Glossa 922808, 2018).

²¹ For a detailed chronology of the wedding festivities, see Giuseppe Bertini, *Le nozze di Alessandro Farnese. Feste alle corti is Lisbona e Bruxelles* (Milan, 1997), 27-46; and idem, 'The marriage of Alessandro Farnese and D. Maria of Portugal in 1565: Court Life in Lisbon and Parma', in *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K. J. P. Lowe (Oxford, 2000), 45-59. See also Meier, 'Staatskompositionen', 108-10, and Lineke van Swigchem, 'Io canterei d'Amor si novamente: De madrigalen van Cipriano de Rore' (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1993), 169-76.

Alessandro and Maria will resonate in sweet sounds forever. Come sweet Hymen, come and inflame the heart of such a graceful and beautiful couple with most holy ardor.

The text, an epithalamium by an unknown poet, quite possibly Tomaso Machiavelli, was also set by Orlando di Lasso. Both were published in the series of chanson books issued by Phalèse in 1570 in Leuven.²² There are striking similarities between the two settings. While Cipriano's setting is for five voices and Lasso's for four, they both bring back the opening three lines at the end as a refrain. Both composers also heighten the sweetness of 'dolce' with inflections to the flat side, E flat in *cantus mollis*, De Rore for the occurrence in line 1, Lasso in line 12. And of course both composers trumpet the names of the bride and bridegroom in block chords.

The wedding, and the alliance represented by the marriage, was a major political event, and it was celebrated with all due pomp and circumstance. The festivities were described in detail by Francesco De Marchi, a military architect in Margaret's service, and illustrated in the 'Album di Bruxelles' with thirteen miniatures painted by Frans Floris. These accounts are further corroborated by extensive documentary evidence, for example, ambassadorial correspondence and other letters.²³ De Marchi's chronicle contains frequent mentions of music, as well as detailed lists of attendees and their attire. Unfortunately, however, there is no record of when Cipriano's madrigal was first performed. One possibility is the 'gran banchetto' that took place on 18 November. The representation of the banquet in the 'Album di Bruxelles' shows a group of eleven musicians dressed in black, three of them instrumentalists (two cornetti and a sackbut) and eight singers (see Figure 2).²⁴

Meier was the first to associate a second madrigal, *Ne l'aria in questi dì*, with the Farnese wedding.²⁵

²² Rhyme scheme: AbB cdCd EfeFGG AbB. De Rore's setting appears uniquely in the *Premier livre des chansons* and Lasso's in the *Second livre des chansons* (Leuven, 1570) [RISM 1570⁶]; see Henri Vanhulst, *Catalogue des Editions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils 1545-1578* (Académie Royale de Belgique, 1984), Nos. 144 and 145. Presumably the two madrigals reached Phalèse through the same path of transmission. *RePIM - Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica, 1500-1700*, ed. Angelo Pompilio <https://repim.itatti.harvard.edu/resource/?uri=http%3A%2F%2Frepim.unibo.it%2Fresource%2FWORK%2F304721001010101_00000223400C> (accessed 15 March 2023) lists a setting with the same first line by Cornelius Floriszoon Schuyt, published in 1600; the text has been reworked, removing the reference to Alessandro and Maria.

²³ *Narratione particolare del capitano Francesco de' Marchi da Bologna, delle gran feste, e trionfi fatti in Portogallo, et in Fiandra nello sposalitio dell'illustrissimo ... sig. Alessandro Farnese ... e la sereniss. donna Maria di Portogallo* (Bologna, 1566); Warsaw, University Library, inv. 10247. Bertini, *Le nozze*, offers a rigorous examination of documentary evidence, including reproductions of the illuminations, and an edition of De Marchi's *Narratione*. On De Marchi, see Bertini, *Le nozze*, 13-16 and passim; Daniela Lamberini, 'De Marchi, Francesco', *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 38 (1990) <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/francesco-de-marchi_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> (accessed 15 March 2023); and Bart De Groof and Giuseppe Bertini, 'Francesco de Marchi y la Monarchia Española', in *Las fortificaciones de Carlos V*, ed. Carlos José Hernando Sanchez (Madrid, 2000), 389-411.

²⁴ Bertini, *Le nozze*, 60-61; Niwa, "Madama" Margaret', 28-29, with documentation of musicians in Margaret's service.

²⁵ Meier, 'Staatskompositionen', 118, n. 80a; Rore, *Madrigalia 3-8 vocum*, XVI. First published in *Gli amoroosi concerti primo libro delli madrigali de diversi eccellentissimi musici a quattro voci... Di novo posti in luce per Giulio Bonagionta da S. Genesi* (Venice, 1568) [RISM 1568³³]; edition: Rore, *Madrigalia 3-8 vocum*, 26-28; Yolanda Put, 'Josquin Persoons († 1572) en zijn bundel: "Libro primo de madrigali à quattro voci" (Parma, 1570)' (thesis, University of Leuven, 1980), 105-12; recording: Nederlands Blazer Ensemble and Hilliard Ensemble, "Bloed" (2006), available on Spotify; a version for instruments, Capella De La Torre, Katherina Bauml, 'Air Music' (2019), available on Spotify. My thanks to David Burn for providing a copy of the Put thesis.

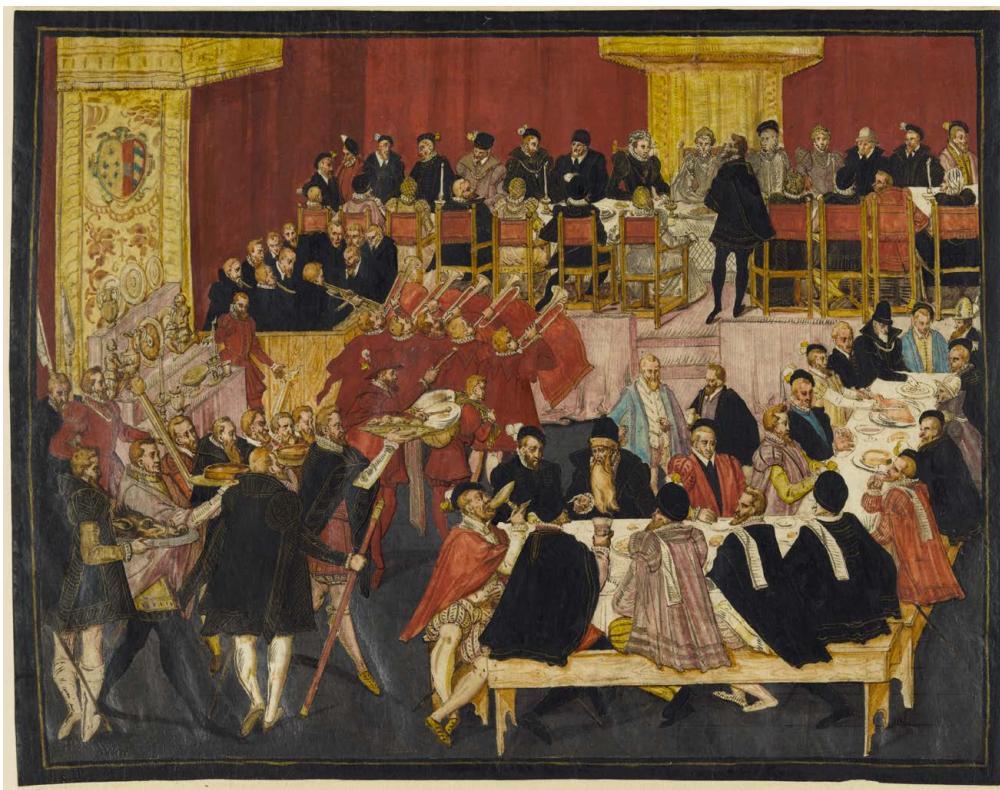


Figure 2. Frans Floris, *Wedding Banquet*. Warsaw, University Library, inw.zb.d. 10253 (courtesy)

Ne l'aria in questi di fatt'ho un sì forte
 Castel che Giove fulminar no'l puote,
 Fondato sopra due volubil ruote
 E di polv'e di vento son le porte,
 Con mille fosse intorno, e son sue scorte
 Vane speranze d'ogni effetto vuote.
 Di desir son le mura, ove percuote
 Non mar, non fiume, ma tempest'e sorte.
 Di folle ardir e di timor son fatte
 L'armi che contr'altrui pagnar non sanno,
 E di vani²⁶ pensier la munitione.
 Contra se stesso il castellan combatte
 Pagando i suoi guerrier sol d'ambitione:
 Pensate l'opre mie, che fin'havranno.

I have recently built such a strong castle in the air that Jupiter's lightning bolt cannot strike it, constructed on two turning wheels, with doors of dust and wind, and with a thousand ditches all around—and its supplies are vain hopes, empty of every effect. The walls are made of desire, pounded neither by sea nor by river, but by storms and fate. The weapons, which do not know how to fight against anyone, are made of wild

²⁶ 'Vari' is the reading found in 1568¹³, likely a misreading of the handwritten 'vani'. See the discussion below.

daring and fear, and the ammunition is made of vain thoughts. The lord of the castle fights against himself, paying his warriors only with ambition. Imagine my creations, and what end they will have.

The text, a sonnet, describes a castle made in the air. Meier linked the madrigal to the wedding based on a reference to a ‘castello in aria’ in a letter written by De Marchi to Giovanni Battista Pico, Duke Ottavio’s secretary in Parma.²⁷ The letter goes into great detail about the preparations under way for the tournament that would take place on 4 December. Meier focused on the final sentence (it is left unsaid who is making this proposal, perhaps ‘alcun di questi signori’ who had asked De Marchi to devise the spectacle):

Poi proponeva che si facesse un castello in aria, e farlo combattere per uno’ de fuochi artificciati, a figure di cartoni, in quel modo che li turchi hanno combattuto il forte di Santo Ermo nell’isola di Malta.

Then he proposed that we should make a castle in the air, and have a battle with fireworks, using cardboard figures, in the way that the Turks battled over the fortress of Sant’Ermo on the Island of Malta.

We will return to the question of just what a castle in the air might be. There is reason to challenge both the connection that Meier made between this madrigal and the wedding, and its authorship.

Until recently, *Ne l’aria in questi di* was accepted as a composition by Cipriano de Rore. It was one of Einstein’s favorite madrigals: ‘It is “durchkomponiert,” set at one breath without any attempt at harmonic or linear tone-painting, but with an incredible energy of declamation—one of the great masterpieces of madrigal literature.’²⁸ Meier included it in his complete works edition and it is also listed among authentic works in two recent worklists.²⁹

Ne l’aria in questi di is found in four sources with an attribution to Cipriano. The earliest, from 1568, is *Gli amorosi concetti*, one of the anthologies Giulio Bonagiunta brought out with Scotto.³⁰ The other three sources—*Di Cipriano et Annibale madrigali a quattro voci* (second edition, 1575); *Tutti i madrigali di Cipriano a quattro voci* (1577); and the late sixteenth-century score manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique, RES VMA MS-851 (‘Bourdeney Codex’)—likely derive from *Gli amorosi concetti*.

It turns out, however, that a setting virtually identical to the one printed under Cipriano’s name is found in Josquino Persoens’s first book of four-voice madrigals, published in 1570.³¹ In an unpublished thesis from 1980, Yolanda Put challenged Meier’s

²⁷ Letter of Francesco De Marchi in Brussels to Giovanni Battista Pico in Parma, 7 October 1565. In Amadio Ronchini (ed.), *Cento lettere del capitano Francesco Marchi* (Parma, 1864), 40–41. Bertini, *Le nozze*, 44.

²⁸ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 418, with no reference to a particular occasion. Perhaps Einstein’s enthusiasm explains why Alec Harman included it in the *The Oxford Book of Italian Madrigals* (London, 1983).

²⁹ Jessie Ann Owens, ‘Rore, Cipriano de’, *Oxford Music Online*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23815>> (accessed 5 July 2023), published in print and online in 2001; Kateljijne Schiltz, ‘Rore, Cipriano, de’, *MGG Online*, ed. Laurenz Lütteken, <<https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/51687>> (accessed 5 July 2023), published in print in 2005 and online in 2016.

³⁰ On Bonagiunta, see Mario Baldassarri (ed.), *Giulio Bonagiunta da San Ginesio: Il suo tempo, la sua musica* ([San Ginesio], 2003).

³¹ Josquino Persoens, *Libro primo de’ madrigali a quattro voci di Josquino Persoens musico dell’illustrissimo et eccellentissimo signor il sig. duca di Parma et di Piacenza* (Parma, 1570) [RISM 1570²⁸]. Harry B. Lincoln, *The Italian Madrigal*

attribution of the madrigal to De Rore, arguing instead that it was the work of Persoens, a student of Cipriano's and his successor in Parma.³² In a series of publications beginning in 2002, Seishiro Niwa confirmed that the madrigal should be attributed to Persoens rather than to De Rore.³³

Persoens dedicated his *Libro primo*, which was printed by Viotti, the court printer in Parma, to his patron, Duke Ottavio Farnese.³⁴ The letter of dedication claims Cipriano as his teacher with an extended garden metaphor: 'ond'io che con ragione dir posso esser pianta inserta dalla mano di Vostra Eccellenza nel suo fertilissimo giardino, e con l'aure del suo favore, e col nutrimento della suavissima Ruggiada dell' immortal Cipriano Rore cresciuta' ('so I can rightly say that I am a plant planted by the hand of Your Excellency in your most fertile garden, grown with the breezes of your favor and the nourishment of the sweetest dew of the immortal Cipriano Rore').³⁵ Put and Niwa were surely correct that Persoens would not publish a work by Cipriano as his own.

How did the mistaken attribution to Cipriano in *Gli amorosi concerti* happen? By his own account, Bonagiunta had access to Cipriano's music after his death and took on the responsibility of seeing it into print. I imagine that he found this piece—and three others by Ingegneri—among the bundles of manuscripts left at Cipriano's death and did not realize that it was not by Cipriano. Persoens started in Farnese service in 1563, recruited by De Rore. The most likely scenario is that he composed the madrigal sometime between his arrival in Parma and Cipriano's death in September 1565 and gave a copy of his setting to his teacher for comments.³⁶

It is curious that another student of Cipriano's also set the text. Barnaba Cervo included his own setting of the sonnet as the opening piece in his first book of madrigals for five voices, dedicated to Ottavio Farnese. The letter includes a tribute to Cipriano: 'la grata memoria di M. Cipriano Rore, musico famosissimo mio precettore, che fiori Servitore di V. Eccellenza cotanto amato, & honorato da lei' ('the happy memory of M. Cipriano Rore, a very famous musician and my teacher, who thrived as a servant of Your Excellency so loved and honoured by you').³⁷ It seems quite remarkable that two of Cipriano's students should include a setting of *Ne l'aria in questi dì* in volumes dedicated to Ottavio and honoring their teacher: could it have been a composition assignment?

Put and Niwa relied primarily on evidence of the sources for their attribution of *Ne l'aria in questi dì* to Persoens. A scrutiny of a different kind of evidence, namely, the music itself, offers further support. We are fortunate to be able to draw on perceptive observations concerning Cipriano's late style by Anthony Newcomb. Working from

and Related Repertories (New Haven-London, 1988), 547, noticed the conflicting attribution between the settings in 1568³³ and 1570²⁸.

³² Put, 'Josquin Persoens'. Put (5-6) accepted Meier's argument that it was composed for the wedding festivities.

³³ Seishiro Niwa, 'Dui musicisti fiamminghi e un madrigale dedicato al Duca Ottavio Farnese', in *Aurea Parma* 86 (2002), 37-48 at 37-39; idem, 'Duke Ottavio Farnese's Chapel in Parma, 1561-1586' (Ph.D. diss., International Christian University, 2002), available at <<http://niwasse.sakura.ne.jp/english.html>> (accessed 16 March 2023); idem, "'Madama' Margaret"; and idem, *La musica di Ottavio Farnese* (Parma, 2015), Appendice I.

³⁴ For Persoens's biography, see Niwa, *La musica*, 156.

³⁵ From Put, 'Josquin Persoens', 13.

³⁶ Seishiro Niwa gives parallel transcriptions of *Ne l'aria in questi dì* as found in 1568³³ and 1570²⁸ in 'Duke Ottavio Farnese's Chapel', 118-27. The 'Appendix: "Nell'aria in questi dì"', 104-27, is his most detailed analysis of the madrigal's authorship.

³⁷ Barnaba Cervo, *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1574); the print survives incomplete in Bologna, Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica (digital copy available).

unquestionably authentic madrigals, he developed what he called a ‘compendium’ of characteristic features, particularly Cipriano’s ways of expressing the text; he used his compendium to argue that four madrigals found only in posthumous prints should be considered authentic (see Table 2).³⁸

Table 2. Newcomb’s ‘compendium of stylistic elements’

No.	Description
1	a. Avoidance of ‘madrigalisms’—conventional musical illustrations—of words not central to the overall meaning of the text. b. Instead, the highlighting and drawing together of crucial moments of text through often unconventional musical rhetoric.
2	Avoidance of melisma and frequent use of declamatory homophony (including repeated-note declamation), often for rhetorical purpose.
3	Frequent use of rests for all voices, often with rhetorical purpose, not only for musical punctuation of formal or syntactic units in text.
4	Varied repetition of musical material for different units of text.
5	Avoidance of internal cadential finality and the use of ‘connectors’ across cadences to contribute to musical and textual continuity.
6	Use of a wide range of pitches outside the gamut in the same piece.
7	Exploration of the possibility of an inconclusive ending.
8	Careful control of range within the individual voice parts for expressive purposes (e.g., pitch high points and low points; all voices moving in the same direction, especially in homophonic blocks).

Newcomb’s compendium gives us a way of testing the authenticity of *Ne l’aria in questi di* based on its style. We can begin by seeing how *Mentre lumi maggior del secolo nostro*, a madrigal certainly by De Rore, reflects the features of the compendium. The texture often employs declamatory homophony [2], at the opening but also at a moment of great intensity (‘e colme di desir’). A dramatic phrase like ‘e al sonno induce’ shows the careful control of range, in this case, not surprisingly, low [8]. The first quatrain uses varied repetition of music for different units of text to bring out the meaning: ‘Mentre lumi maggior del secol nostro’ and ‘Nova Delia et Apol, lo splendor vostro’ are set to the same music, making clear that the ‘lumi maggior’ are the new Diana and Apollo [4]. The disappearance of the duke and duchess, ‘d’ogni lor gloria sparita’ is marked by rests in all voices at the beginning of the tactus (b. 75) [3]. Particularly vivid phrases, for example, ‘tra mestissimi accenti’, challenge the limits of the gamut and the norms of harmonic and melodic motion [6]; the passage is also one of many that reflects unconventional rhetoric [1] (see Example 1). De Rore also seems to deliberately eschew standard cadences: at times the ends of musical segments are obvious but often they are not [5]. In short, of all the features of the compendium only one is absent from *Mentre lumi maggior del secolo nostro*: there is no inconclusive ending [7].

³⁸ The compendium is reproduced directly from Anthony Newcomb, ‘Is *Il desiderio e la speranza* by Cipriano de Rore?’, in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 9 (2017), 219–38 at 224, Table 1. On the four madrigals in posthumous prints see Newcomb, ‘Posthumous Cipriano’, which discusses *Se com’ il biondo crin*, *Che giova dunque*, and *Alme gentili che nel ciel vi ornate*; and idem, ‘Is *Il desiderio e la speranza* by Cipriano de Rore?’, which discusses *Il desiderio e la speranza*.

Example 1. Cipriano de Rore, *Mentre lumi maggior*, bb. 76-89

75

C E col me di de sir, va ghe di pian to Tra

A va ghe di pian to

T E col me di de sir, va ghe di pian to Tra

Q E col me di de sir, va ghe di pian to Tra

B E col me di de sir,

83

C me stis si mi ac cen ti e gli an tri e lon de, e gli an

A e gli an tri e

T me stis si mi ac cen ti e gli an tri e lon

Q me stis si mi ac cen ti e gli an tri e lon de,

B

If we apply the same test to *Ne l'aria in questi di* the results are dramatically different. Table 3 shows the division of the fourteen lines of text into thirteen musical segments.

Word painting occurs frequently but it is localized and mostly effectuated through rhythm ('fulminar'), repetition ('fulminar'), and melismas ('fiume'). The composer passes up the opportunity to illustrate 'vuote': instead of an 'empty' evaded cadence he marks the end of the segment with a full cantizans/tenorizans/bassizans cadence on F followed by a rest in all voices (the rest is syntactic, not rhetorical). There is occasional homophony but the texture is predominately polyphonic, especially at the beginning of phrases that follow strong cadences ('fondato...', 'Non mar...', 'Di foll'ardir'). There is no

Example 2. Persoens, *Ne l'aria in questi dì*, bb. 31-35

31

C
ma tem-pe - stè sor - te. Di fol - le ar - dir e di ti - mor son fat - te

A
ma tem-pe - stè sor - te. Di fol - le ar - dir di fol - le ar - dir e di ti - mor son fat -

T
ma tem-pe - stè sor - te. e di ti - mor son fat - te

B
ma tem-pe - stè sor - te. Di fol - le ar - dir son fat - te

Table 3. Segmentation and Features in *Ne l'aria in questi dì*

Musical segment	Text (line numbers in parentheses) ^a	Cadence	Compendium
1	(1) <i>Ne l'aria in questi dì fatt'ho un sì forte</i> → (2) <i>Castel /</i>	F	
2	<i>che Giove fulminar no'l puote, /</i>	C	Word painting: fulminar
3	(3) <i>Fondato sopra due volubil ruote /</i>	C	
4	(4) <i>E di polvè di vento son le porte, /</i>	A/D	
5	(5) <i>Con mille fosse intorno, /</i>	F	
6	<i>e son sue scorte</i> → (6) <i>Vane speranze</i> <i>d'ogni effetto vuote. //</i>	F	
7	(7) <i>Di desir son le mura, ove percuote /</i>	C	
8	(8) <i>Non mar, non fiume, ma tempestè</i> <i>sorte. /</i>	C	Word painting: fiume, tempest'
9	(9) <i>Di folle ardir e di timor son fatte</i> → (10) <i>L'arme che contr'altrui pugnar non</i> <i>sanno, /</i>	F	
10	(11) <i>E di vari pensier la munitione. /</i>	C	
11	(12) <u><i>Contra se stesso il castellan</i></u> <u><i>combatte</i></u>	d	Word painting: contra se... combatte
12	(13) <i>Pagando i suoi guerrier sol</i> <i>d'ambitione: /</i>	G	
13	(14) <u><i>Pensate l'opre mie, che fin'havranno. //</i></u>	F	

^a A single slash (/) indicates a suspension cadence or a clear break; a double slash (//) indicates rests in all voices. An arrow (→) denotes an enjambment. Underlining indicates that the text is repeated.

repetition of music. Cadences occur at virtually every segment of the text, shown by single or double slashes in Table 3. The joins between phrases seem to be a problem for this composer: in several cases ('Di foll'ardir', 'e di vari pensier', 'Pensate') the new phrase

starts with a single voice, reducing the texture momentarily; one instance is shown in Example 2. None of Newcomb's remaining elements are present. In short, this piece does not fit the profile of late Cipriano.

The question remains: is *Ne l'aria in questi dì* in fact associated with the Farnese wedding? Niwa discovered documents from May and June 1566 that showed that Margaret commissioned Josquino to set a sonnet by Tomaso Machiavelli that honored Alessandro.³⁹ He assumed that it was one of the madrigals in the 1570 print and concluded that of the three sonnets in the print *Ne l'aria in questi dì* was the only logical candidate because the warrior imagery was appropriate to Alessandro and the other two sonnets are love poetry.⁴⁰

There are several problems with his argument. The 1566 commission could be an unidentified madrigal that was not included in the 1570 print. Furthermore, a dating of mid-1566 for *Ne l'aria in questi dì* is too late for it to have been included in the wedding celebrations, which concluded in January 1566. It is also probably too late for the scenario in which Bonagiunta found the madrigal among Cipriano's papers after his death.

Niwa also continued to argue that the image of a 'castello in aria' fit with the allegories that were part of the wedding festivities, and even that 'the castle in the air (that is, a vast structure like a triumphal carriage) was one of the principal elements of the program.'⁴¹ He tried unsuccessfully to tie the imagery to the floats for 4 December, for which we have detailed descriptions, both verbal and visual.⁴²

Another interpretation of 'castello in aria' is more likely. The De Marchi correspondence contains a much earlier mention of 'castelli in aria' in connection with plans for the wedding.⁴³ De Marchi wrote to Pico on 27 February 1565:

Hora qui non s'attende ad altro che a far de' castelli in aria per voler comparir a queste honorate nozze: chi pensa d'haver a cader dal cielo, e chi uscir d'un monte, e chi della terra; chi portato dal mare Oceano e da tramontana, e chi da mezzogiorno; chi da levante e chi dal ponente: chi vuol essere Marte, e chi Satturno, chi Jove e chi Nettuno, chi la Dea della Virtù; chi pensa essere il Sole e chi la Luna; chi va cercando più lucenti stelle: si che ognuno va facendo i castelli in aria, volendosi assomigliare a ogn'una di queste cose, al più che potranno.

Now no one is paying any attention to anything but making castles in the air in hopes of appearing at the most noble wedding celebrations. Some think they must fall from the sky, some emerge from a mountain, some from the earth. Some brought from the oceanic sea and by the north wind, some from the south, some from the east, some from the west. Some want Mars, some Saturn, some Jupiter, some Neptune, and some the Goddess of Virtue. Some think they are the Sun and some the Moon, while some go in search of brighter stars, such that everyone is making castles in the air, wanting to resemble each of these things to the extent possible.

³⁹ Niwa's final thoughts on *Nell'aria in questi dì* can be found in *La musica*, 137-46, a useful summary of his earlier publications.

⁴⁰ Niwa, *La musica*, 144: 'Soltanto questo è adeguato alla caratteristica di Alessandro, condottiero bravo e coraggioso.'

⁴¹ Niwa, *La musica*, 145: 'Un "castello nell'aria" (cioè una struttura vasta, come carro trionfale) era uno degli elementi principale del programma.'

⁴² See Bertini, *Le nozze*, 44-46, 66-71, 75, 103-13.

⁴³ Ronchini (ed.), *Cento lettere*, 18-19. See Bertini, *Le nozze*, 44-46. Niwa, 'Dui musicisti fiamminghi'; idem, 'Duke Ottavio Farnese's Chapel'; idem, *La musica*.

From this we can see that ‘fare castelli in aria’ refers to a kind of brainstorming session, with various ideas about possible floats or other constructions. ‘Fare castelli in aria’ is an idiom: building castles in the sky, a fantasy, building something on nothing.⁴⁴ The narrator of our sonnet is not describing either the wedding festivities or Alessandro Farnese but offering a wistful reflection on the fleeting nature of human experience: ‘Pensate l’opre mie, che fin’havranno’. The existence of yet another setting, by Francesco Adriani, a composer with no known association with the Farnese, confirms that it was not understood as a dedicatory text.⁴⁵ In short, *Ne l’aria in questi dì*, one of the four madrigals associated with Farnese patronage by Meier, should be removed from the canon of Cipriano’s authentic works, as well as from music composed for the Farnese wedding in 1565.

Caro’s 1561 letter makes Tomaso Machiavelli a likely candidate to be the author of all three of the Farnese texts set by Cipriano. Machiavelli in fact knew the composer well. When Cipriano died in September 1565, Machiavelli’s reaction was heartfelt. He wrote to Giovanni Battista Pico, Duke Ottavio’s secretary, ‘Non potrei dire à Vostra Signoria quanto dolore mi habbia apportato la gran perdita del singular Cipriano’ (‘I can’t tell you how much grief I felt at the great loss of the unique Cipriano’), and he asked Pico for a portrait of the composer.⁴⁶ The survival of Caro’s letter serves as a warning that evidence gleaned from dedicatory texts themselves must be used with caution: we have very little documentation about the networks of collaboration and friendship that lie behind the musical and poetic tributes to patrons like Margaret of Parma.

Abstract

This paper 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. Court secretary Tomaso Machiavelli composed at least one of the dedicatory sonnets, and possibly others. Another madrigal that has continued to be associated with the 1565 wedding of Alessandro Farnese and Maria of Portugal, and sometimes with Cipriano, can be shown, using a compendium of the composer’s stylistic elements compiled by Anthony Newcomb, to be the work of one of Cipriano’s students, and unrelated to the wedding.

⁴⁴ Accademia della Crusca, Lessicografia della Crusca, <<http://www.lessicografia.it/index.jsp>>; a search for ‘castelli’ and ‘aria’ finds many examples of ‘castelli in aria’ as a proverb. See, for example, in the first edition, under ‘aria’, the heading ‘castelluccio’: ‘Abbiamo in proverbio, Far castellucci in aria, cioè fare assegnamenti di cose, che non possono riuscire, presa la metaf. dall’edificar senza fondamento’ (‘We have the proverb, make little castles in the air, that is, mention things that cannot succeed, taken as a metaphor from building without a foundation’).

⁴⁵ Francesco Adriani, *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1570). Niwa was unaware of Adriani’s setting. See Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press, 1539–1572* (New York, 1998), 798–99.

⁴⁶ Owens, ‘Cipriano de Rore a Parma’, 18.

‘The Perfect Harmony of the World’: Musical Representations of Royal Power during Margaret of Parma’s Reign in Piacenza

LUCIA MARCHI

In 1545, Pope Paul III created the duchy of Parma and Piacenza and gave it to his illegitimate son Pier Luigi Farnese (1503-47). The first duke made Piacenza his capital, but members of the city’s aristocracy assassinated him in 1547. The succession of his son Ottavio Farnese (1524-86) and his wife Margaret of Parma was long and difficult; only in 1552 were their rights to Parma recognized by Pope Julius III. Piacenza remained under imperial control until the treaty of Ghent (1556), when Philip II, king of Spain, returned the city to Farnese rule.¹

Margaret made her first triumphal entry into Piacenza on 31 August 1557. She chose the city as her residence for the next two years, until her departure to become governor of Flanders in 1559. Her decision has been variously interpreted as a specific preference for the city over Parma, or as a desire to live apart from her husband.² Aside from personal considerations, the choice had clear political meaning. Ottavio and Margaret recognized the instability of Piacenza, due to the conspiracy of 1547 and ongoing religious dissent.³ From this perspective, the presence of the daughter of Emperor Charles V (and stepsister of Philip II) could curb the political opposition to Farnese rule.⁴

To assert their control over Piacenza, Ottavio and Margaret started the construction of a residential palace very quickly, sooner than in Parma. Francesco Paciotto began the Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza in 1558, but very soon its planning was taken over by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, architect for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Although the project was directed by the family as a whole, Margaret’s own interest in the building is evident in letters of 1560-61 and in some of the specific choices. In the courtyard, Vignola planned a *teatro all’antica* based on Raphael’s design for Villa Madama in Rome, which Margaret had inherited from her first husband Alessandro de’ Medici. A sketch shows Margaret entering the *cavea* of the theater with a lady-in-waiting, evidence of her artistic patronage for a space which, unfortunately, was never built (see Figure 1).

¹ Spain retained a military garrison in the city until 1585, and Ottavio had to recognize the territories as imperial fiefdoms. See Marzio Dall’Acqua, ‘L’età Farnesiana’, in *Piacenza nella storia. Dalle origini al XX secolo*, ed. Stefano Pronti (Piacenza, 1990), 217-82; and Helge Gamrath, *Farnese. Pomp, Power and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (Rome, 2007), 113-20.

² For example in Gino Benzoni, ‘Margherita d’Austria’, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 70 (2008) <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/margherita-d-austria-duchessa-di-firenze-poi-duchessa-di-parma-e-piacenza_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> (accessed 15 October 2022).

³ See Marzio Dall’Acqua, ‘Piacenza capitale e la progettazione del Palazzo Farnese’, in *La dimora del principe. Palazzo Farnese di Piacenza (1545-1601). Mostra storico-documentaria, Palazzo Farnese 1986* (Piacenza, 1986).

⁴ Bruno Adorni, ‘Il ruolo di Margherita d’Austria nella costruzione del Palazzo Farnese a Piacenza’, in *Margherita d’Austria (1522-86). Costruzioni politiche e diplomazie tra corte Farnese e monarchia spagnola*, ed. Silvia Mantini (Rome, 2003), 107-24, esp. 107-9.

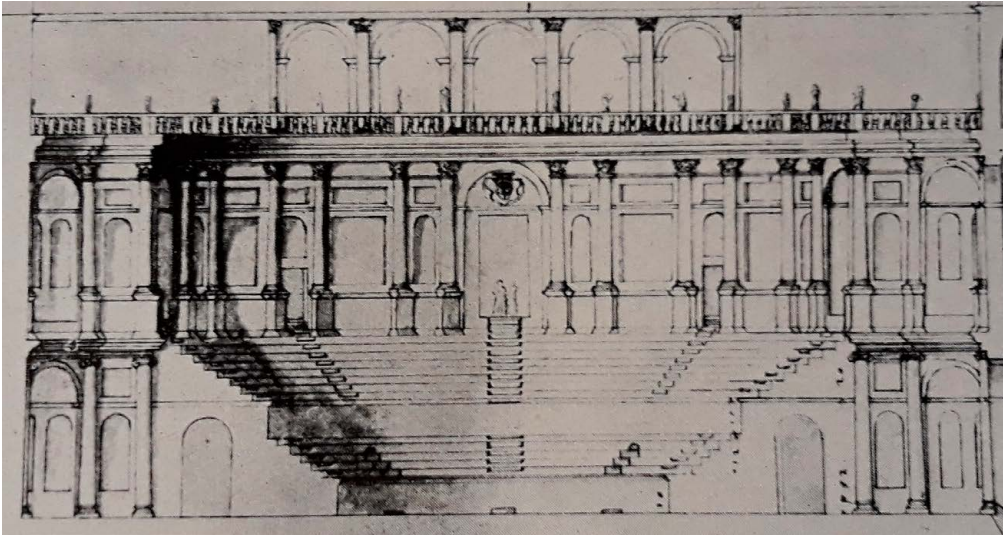


Figure 1. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, sketch of the *teatro all'antica* for the Palazzo Farnese in Piacenza, with Margaret of Parma and a lady-in-waiting entering the *cavea*. Parma, Archivio di Stato

A Musical City

The *Dialogo della Musica*, written by Antonfrancesco Doni during his stay in Piacenza in 1543-45, is a mirror of the city's artistic vitality in the mid-Cinquecento.⁵ The work testifies to the presence of musicians such as Claudio Veggio (c. 1505-57?) and Giuseppe Villani (1519-post 1591), together with the less-documented Paolo Iacopo Palazzo and Tommaso Bargonio.⁶ Villani, a composer of early keyboard *recercari*, was for many years the organist of Piacenza Cathedral.⁷ Veggio's *Madrigali a quattro voci* (1540) assimilated the relatively new style of black-note madrigals.⁸ The local poet Luigi Cassola was an important reference point for secular musical practice; his literary madrigals (*Madrigali del Magnifico Signor Cavallier Luigi Cassola Piacentino*, Venice, 1545) inspired countless settings.⁹

Farnese documents suggest that Duke Ottavio did not establish a permanent chapel in Parma until 1561, possibly because of the uncertain political situation up to

⁵ While the two nights of poetry and music described in the *Dialogo* may be a work of literary fiction, several musicians and pieces were inspired by the author's stay in Piacenza. On the interpretation of Doni's *Dialogo* see my own 'Antonfrancesco Doni and the madrigal in Piacenza: The "Dialogo della Musica" revisited', in *Polifonie* 8 (2020), 227-44.

⁶ For a summary of musical life in Piacenza see Francesco Bussi, 'La musica dai Visconti e gli Sforza sino all'avvento dei Farnese', in *Storia di Piacenza. Dalla signoria viscontea al principato farnesiano (1313-1545)*, vol. III (Piacenza, 1997), 909-44, esp. 931-44. On Giuseppe Villani see Giorgio Fiori, 'Notizie biografiche di musicisti piacentini dal'500 al'700', in *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* 74 (1979), 183-89.

⁷ Villani's service as organist at the cathedral is documented by the *Ordinazioni capitolari* at least between 1546 and 1563. See Piacenza, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale, *Ordinazioni capitolari* 29, fol. 22^v (27 May 1546); *Ordinazioni capitolari* 29, fol. 66^r (7 September 1554); *Ordinazioni capitolari* 29, fol. 114^v (11 June 1563). On him see also Fiori, 'Notizie biografiche' and H. Colin Slim, 'Keyboard Music at Castell'Arquato by an Early Madrigalist', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962), 35-47.

⁸ James Haar, 'The "note nere" madrigal', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965), 22-41 at 25.

⁹ On Cassola, see Claudio Vela, 'Luigi Cassola e il madrigale cinquecentesco', in *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* 79 (1984), 183-217; and Giuliano Bellorini, 'Luigi Cassola madrigalista', in *Aevum* 69 (1995), 593-615.

this date.¹⁰ Music at court was provided by either ‘piffari e trombetti’, whose payments were regularly recorded in the account books, or by occasional hires.¹¹ In July 1559 the Piacenza expenses registered a disbursement of

25 scudi moneta e 20 soldi pagati a antonino barber sonador e altri compagni per aver sonato mentre che è stato la Signora Duchessa a Piacenza.¹²

25 silver scudi and 20 soldi paid to the player Antonino Barbieri and others with him for having played while the duchess was in Piacenza.

Despite the one-time nature of the payment, the wording ‘while the duchess was in Piacenza’ and the relatively high compensation suggest that the players worked for an extended period of time.¹³ Additional musical entertainment could have been provided by the courtiers themselves, and even by the duke, who had learned to play the lute from Francesco da Milano.¹⁴ Indeed, an instrument specifically for him was bought in Piacenza in July 1559:

Addi 5 di luglio [1559] scudi 6 [di] moneta pagati a maestro martino liutaro per un luto avuto da lui per sua eccellenza.¹⁵

5 July [1559]: six scudi payed to the lute maker master Martino for a lute given by him for His Excellency.

It is also possible that musicians were ‘hidden’ in the records among other servants, similarly to the five violin players employed by Duke Ottavio starting in 1564, who also held non-musical positions such as wardrobe assistants or doorkeepers.¹⁶

For the duchess, dance was both an enjoyable pastime and a means of self-fashioning. On her trip to Italy from Flanders in 1533, the very young Margaret danced ‘in the Flemish style’ in Verona. Several other important moments were marked with dances: among them, the Brussels wedding of Margaret’s son Alessandro Farnese in 1565 (see Figure 2), and the official visit of her stepbrother John of Austria to Aquila in 1573.¹⁷ The hiring of Antonino Barbieri suggests that, even in Piacenza, Margaret and her court enjoyed dancing. Her interest would have fit in well with the city’s tradition: in the fifteenth century, Domenico da Piacenza and his student Antonio Cornazzano had taught dance at the courts of both Ferrara and Milan, and Fabrizio Caroso would dedicate his *Nobiltà di Dame* (1600) to the duke of Parma and Piacenza.

¹⁰ Seishiro Niwa, ‘Duke Ottavio Farnese Chapel in Parma (1561-1586)’ (Ph.D. diss., International Christian University, 2002), 12-13, available online at <http://niwasse.sakura.ne.jp/niwa_diss.pdf> (accessed 15 October 2022); and Seishiro Niwa, ‘La musica alla corte parmense prima dell’arrivo di Claudio Merulo’, in *A Messer Claudio, musico. Le arti molteplici di Claudio Merulo da Correggio (1533-1604) tra Venezia e Parma*, ed. Marco Capra (Venice and Parma, 2006), 47-64.

¹¹ For example, in July 1556 in Parma (Parma, Archivio di Stato, Mastri Farnesiani 2, fol. 453), October 1556 in Parma (Mastri Farnesiani 2, fol. 457), and 1558 in Piacenza (Mastri Farnesiani 3, fols. 204 and 249).

¹² Parma, Archivio di Stato, Mastri Farnesiani 3, fol. 289, 5 July 1559.

¹³ Cipriano de Rore’s monthly salary in 1561 was 22 scudi and 50 soldi, thus the payment could cover lesser-paid musicians for more than one engagement. See Niwa, ‘Duke Ottavio Farnese Chapel’, 13.

¹⁴ Franco Pavan, ‘“The court, which is nothing but a show, now comic and more often tragic”: New Documents on the Last Years of Francesco da Milano’, in *The Lute, The Journal of The Lute Society* 50 (2010), 34-59; 44-45. Margaret knew Francesco da Milano as well, for whom she had advocated in a letter to Alfonso d’Avalos of 24 June 1542.

¹⁵ Parma, Archivio di Stato, Mastri Farnesiani 3, fol. 289, 5 July 1559.

¹⁶ Niwa, ‘Duke Ottavio Farnese Chapel’, 85.

¹⁷ Georges-Herni Dumont, *Marguerite de Parme, Bâtarde de Charles Quint (1522-1586)* (Brussels, 1999), 24. On John of Austria’s visit see Francesco Zimei, ‘The Sunset and the Sunrise: Margaret of Parma in Aquila and Her Dominions in Abruzzi’, in the present issue of this *Journal*.



Figure 2. Frans Floris, *Le Bal & Dançes qui se feirent le Bancquet achevé*. Warsaw, University Library, inv.zb.d. 10254 (used with permission)

Even after the duchess had left for Flanders, the Piacenza court organized elaborate festivals. Specifically, in 1561, a Carnival celebration offered by Duke Ottavio included two chivalric competitions, a banquet, and a dance.¹⁸ It was held in the great room of the Palazzo Gotico, the medieval city hall. Margaret was there in spirit, having sent Flemish paintings and tapestries to decorate the room.¹⁹ The chronicle of the event, recounted by the local writer Tiberio Pandola, describes the music as produced by ‘più coppie di suoni di musica [...] concertati’ (‘several pairs of instruments in consort’), i.e., by a relatively big instrumental ensemble.²⁰ Pandola, whose birth name was Tiberio Francesco Maruffi, was a notary and poet connected with Doni and his circle, who took on the task of recording the major Farnese events in the city.²¹

As Seishiro Niwa suggested, the group included soft instruments for indoor use, such as lutes, viols and flutes.²² Nevertheless, the players could play loudly: towards the

¹⁸ Seishiro Niwa, ‘A Carnival Feast in Piacenza in 1561’, in *Tōhōgakuen geijutsu tankidaigaku kiyō* 8 (2012), 1–22, <<https://college.toho.ac.jp/artis-cms/cms-files/20120529-084638-9712.pdf>> (accessed 15 October 2022).

¹⁹ Niwa, ‘A Carnival Feast’, 13 and n. 43.

²⁰ Tiberio Pandola, *Il famoso convito: così delle giostre come del banchetto, che lo illustrissimo & excel. s. duca di Piacenza, & di Parma, ha fatto della mag. città di Piacenza nello anno M.D.LXI* (Milano, 1561), fol. B4^r, available at <<https://archive.org/details/ilfamosoconvitocoinmi>> (accessed 15 October 2022).

²¹ On Pandola see Gianmarco Braghi, *L’Accademia degli Ortolani (1543–45). Eresia, stampa e cultura a Piacenza nel medio Cinquecento* (Piacenza, 2011), 69–70; and Niwa, ‘A Carnival Feast’, 1.

²² Niwa, ‘A Carnival Feast’, 13.

end of the party they were asked ‘che più gagliardamente si alzassero’ (‘that their volume would get vigorously louder’).²³ It is likely that the musicians were local, possibly including the same Antonino Barbieri and companions hired for Margaret a few years earlier.²⁴ The court danced until late at night: Pandola specifically describes the performance of several *moresche* and *gagliarde*.

Honouring the Duchess with Sound

Margaret’s first triumphal entry into Piacenza, on 31 August 1557, was immortalized by a festival book written by the same Tiberio Pandola: *Il soperbo apparato ch’è fatto la città di Piacenza, nell’entrata della sua Illustrissima, et eccellentissima Duchessa in quella del 1557, all’ultimo d’agosto* (‘The splendid display made by the city of Piacenza for the entry of its duchess in 1557 on the last day of August’).²⁵

Silvia Mantini explains how Margaret ‘represented the need for legitimation and sovereignty’ for both the Spanish power and the Farnese family.²⁶ This political programme was expressed using Biblical and Classical imagery for all her public appearances, for example for the *feste* organized in Rome in 1548, which featured a *tauromachia* and soldiers dressed ‘all’antica’ (‘in the ancient [Roman] fashion’), or for the triumphal entry in Aquila in 1569.²⁷

In Piacenza, such references were on display in the procession that met Margaret at the city gate. Several men on horses, all splendidly dressed ‘all’antica’, carried Latin mottos hailing the duchess as the end to the city’s troubles: ‘Nunc est tuta procellis’ (‘now [Piacenza] is safe from storms’) and ‘Finis tribulationum’ (‘the end of tribulation’). The procession included a float with a laurel tree surrounded by

giovani sette vestiti di bianco da donna alla mosaica che facevano musica, intorno al Lauro, a mezzo del tronco si leggeva ‘Cantemus domino gloriose, enim magnificatus est equum, et ascensorem [d]ieicit in mare.’²⁸

seven young boys dressed in white as women ‘in the Mosaic style’ who made music around a laurel tree; in the middle of its trunk one could read ‘Let’s sing to the Lord, for he is gloriously magnified; the horse and the rider he has thrown into the sea’.

The float recreated the Biblical moment after the passage of the Red Sea, when the Israelites sang a canticle glorifying God. In particular, the seven boys represented the prophetess Miriam and the other women singing praises for the liberation from Egyptian slavery:

So Miriam the prophetess [...] took a timbrel in hand, and all the women went forth after her with timbrels and with dances: and she began the song to them, saying: ‘Let’s sing to the Lord, for he is gloriously magnified; the horse and the rider he has thrown into the sea.’²⁹

²³ Pandola, *Il famoso convito*, fol. C4r.

²⁴ Niwa, ‘A Carnival Feast’, 13. Niwa suggests that musicians could have also been brought by the Spanish governor of Milan, the marquis of Pescara.

²⁵ Piacenza: Pugno, [1557]. Accessible at <[http://techedigitali.passerinilandi.piacenza.it/domlib/sfogliavolumi.php?target=pandola%20&from=s&op=&cata=volumi&gruppo=\(LP\)&cass=PL014-\(LP\)_501_01&id=115654&creator=&title=&publisher=&date=&date1=&shelfmark=&offset=1](http://techedigitali.passerinilandi.piacenza.it/domlib/sfogliavolumi.php?target=pandola%20&from=s&op=&cata=volumi&gruppo=(LP)&cass=PL014-(LP)_501_01&id=115654&creator=&title=&publisher=&date=&date1=&shelfmark=&offset=1)> (accessed 15 October 2022).

²⁶ Silvia Mantini, ‘Cerimonie, ingressi, funerali: simboli di potere di Margherita’, in *Margherita d’Austria (1522-86)*, 227-70 esp. 227-28.

²⁷ Mantini, ‘Cerimonie’, 240 and Zimei, ‘The Sunset and the Sunrise’. See also Gamrath, *Farnese. Pomp, Power and Politics*, 131-83.

²⁸ Pandola, *Il soperbo apparato*, fol. A2v.

²⁹ Exodus 15:20-21, Douay-Rheims version of the Bible, available at <<https://www.drbo.org/>>.

The imagery of the float reinforced the narrative of Margaret's arrival as the beginning of a new era, a turning point in the governance of the city. At the same time, it had a strong sonic association, since the episode represents one of the most musical moments of the Old Testament, a moment that combines singing, the playing of instruments, and dancing.³⁰ The clear voices of the seven boys reproduced the timbre of the Israelite women singing the words depicted on the laurel tree, i.e., 'Cantemus domino'. The text exists as a canticle for Holy Saturday, or in abbreviated form as an antiphon or a responsory, mostly used for the fourth Sunday of Lent. The boys most likely performed any of these versions, in chant or in simple polyphony. The effect would have been a collective and audible manifestation of praise.

According to the later chronicler Vincenzo Boselli, about two weeks after her entry, on 15 September, Margaret went to the cathedral to hear a votive mass of the Holy Spirit. Mass was sung by the bishop's vicar, Monsignor Fabio Coppalati, and most likely accompanied by the titular organist, Giuseppe Villani.³¹

The cathedral was also the site of magnificent exequies *absente corpore* for Margaret's father, Charles V, in December 1558. For the somber occasion, the duchess had her courtiers dress in mourning and commissioned an impressive catafalque, described by Pandola in *Il funerale dello imperatore fatto dalla m. comunità di Piacenza nella giesa maggiore* [...] ('The emperor's funeral celebrated by the city of Piacenza in its main church').³² Pandola described the monument's placement in the church with sonic references. In order to specify its size and decoration, he stated that certain elements were placed 'verso il choro dove stavano i chierici a cantare i divini officii' ('on the side of the choir where the clerics were singing the divine office'). Sound and music became an essential part of the picture, in a rare attempt to integrate organically the visual and acoustic effects of the event.

Theory of Music, Theory of Rulership

Margaret's second entry into Piacenza happened eleven years later, on 1 February 1568, when she returned from her mission as governor of Flanders. She was preceded, only a few days earlier, by her daughter-in-law, Mary of Portugal.³³ The triumphal architecture was used for both events and included the glorification of the entire Farnese family. The musical component had similarities with Margaret's previous entry, although with a different symbolic meaning. This time, a float conveyed not a Biblical scene, but a

³⁰ On this passage, see Eleonora M. Beck, *Boccaccio and the Invention of Musical Narrative* (Florence, 2018), 39-57.

³¹ Vincenzo Boselli, *Delle storie Piacentine*, vol. VII (Piacenza, 1805), 198. Cited in Mantini, 'Cerimonie', 245. Until 1559, the bishop was Catelano Trivulzio, who always administered the see *in absentia*.

³² [Tiberio Pandola], *Il funerale dello imperatore fatto dalla m. comunità di Piacenza nella giesa maggiore* [...], *con dietro le ultime parole che sua m. disse avanti la sua morte cavate da una lettera mandata in Italia* (Piacenza, 1558), <[http://techedigitali.passerinilandi.piacenza.it/domlib/sfoglia_volumi.php?op=esp&cata=volumi&gruppo=\(LP\)&cass=PLo11-\(LP\)_062_04&id=115649&offset=1&fromread=v](http://techedigitali.passerinilandi.piacenza.it/domlib/sfoglia_volumi.php?op=esp&cata=volumi&gruppo=(LP)&cass=PLo11-(LP)_062_04&id=115649&offset=1&fromread=v)> (accessed 15 October 2022). Cited in Antonio Chemotti, 'An Annotated Bibliography of Funeral Books Printed in Italy (1535-1666)', in *Philomusica on-line* 20 (2021), 218-93 at 220.

³³ Giuseppe Bertini and Gabriele Nori, 'L'entrata solenne di Maria del Portogallo a Piacenza nel 1568', in *Maria di Portogallo sposa di Alessandro Farnese: principessa di Parma e Piacenza dal 1565 al 1577*, ed. Giuseppe Bertini (Parma, 2001), 162-88; and Mantini, 'Cerimonie'. The description combines the two entries. See Tiberio Pandola, *Apparato per la entrata de la Serenissima Prencipessa di Piacenza et di Parma fatta nella sua città di Piacenza al primo di febraro MCLXVIII* (Cremona, [1568]), <[http://techedigitali.passerinilandi.piacenza.it/domlib/sfoglia_volumi.php?nentries=20&from=a&id=115623&creator=&title=apparato&publisher=&date=&date1=&shelfmark=¬e=¬e_admin=&pag=1&ord=&op=&cata=volumi&gruppo=\(LP\)&cass=PLo14-\(LP\)_501_03&id=115623&offset=1](http://techedigitali.passerinilandi.piacenza.it/domlib/sfoglia_volumi.php?nentries=20&from=a&id=115623&creator=&title=apparato&publisher=&date=&date1=&shelfmark=¬e=¬e_admin=&pag=1&ord=&op=&cata=volumi&gruppo=(LP)&cass=PLo14-(LP)_501_03&id=115623&offset=1)> (accessed 15 October 2022).

mythological one: Apollo playing a *lira da braccio*, surrounded by boys dressed as women representing the nine Muses.

Sul qual carro in sedia regalmente sedendo uno Apollo, che con la cettra appoggiatasi al collo intento ad una musica che s'udiva cantar da alcuni belli figliolini, che vestiti da donna rappresentavano le nove Muse con l'arco che nella destra mano teneva toccando le corde di quella, dolcemente sonava.³⁴

On that float an Apollo was sitting regally, with a lyre leaning on his neck, making music that one could hear sung by several handsome boys who, dressed as women, represented the nine Muses; with the bow in his right hand he was touching the strings of the lyre, playing sweetly.

The classical atmosphere was highlighted sonically by the *cantar alla lira* of the boys, who probably performed some kind of monodic singing accompanied by the instrument. Pandola's chronicle offers insights into the identity of the young singers as well, since it mentions how a 'boy, a son of Signor Giovanpaolo Lando, who represented one of the Muses,' left his companions to recite a speech in Margaret's honor.³⁵ The Landi were one of the most important families of the city, with extended fiefdoms in the countryside; the writer and translator Count Giulio Landi was the author of the boy's speech, as well as the poetic texts for the entry.³⁶ Although Margaret's Flemish chapel was traveling with her, it appears that the music during the entry was provided by local musicians.³⁷ Most likely, the seven singing boys on the float of the previous entry of 1557 were also children of the local aristocracy.

Another striking moment concerned the symbolism of music theory. Placed at the climax of the procession, the last triumphal arch before the fortified castle of the citadel displayed three tablets with musical and mathematical significance. The tablets presented the proportions of the main musical consonances: 2:1 (diapason), 3:2 (diapente) and 4:3 (diatessaron). Under two of them were depicted the portraits of the two Farnese couples: Ottavio and Margaret under the diatessaron; their son Alessandro and his wife Mary under the diapason. Above the portraits were the following words:

Maxima amoris et voluntatum consentio
Maxima prudentia, maxima sapientia
Maxima mundi harmonia

The greatest concord of love and will
The greatest prudence, the greatest wisdom
[create] the perfect harmony of the world

³⁴ Pandola, *Apparato per la entrata*, fol. 4^r. The scene is very similar to the one depicted in the *Tempietto delle Muse* in the Urbino ducal palace, where Apollo is surrounded by Muses playing instruments. See Nicoletta Guidobaldi, *La musica di Federico. Immagini e suoni alla corte di Urbino* (Florence, 1995), 32.

³⁵ '[...] un fanciullo figliuolo del signor Giovanpaolo Lando che rappresentava una di quelle muse', Pandola, *Apparato per la entrata*, fol. 4^r.

³⁶ Giulio Landi had already written a speech in Spanish for Mary of Portugal, given on Lake Garda in 1566. See Giuseppe Bertini, 'L'entrata solenne di Maria del Portogallo a Parma nel 1566', in *D. Maria de Portugal, Princesa de Parma (1565-1577) e o seu tempo* (Porto, 1999), 69-84 at 73. On Landi and his literary work see Braghi, *L'Accademia degli Ortolani*, 65 and Paola Cosentino, 'Landi, Giulio', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 63 (2004), <[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-landi_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-landi_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) (accessed 15 October 2022).

³⁷ On Margaret's Flemish chapel and its travels see Seishiro Niwa, "'Madama' Margaret of Parma patronage of music', in *Early Music* 33/1 (2005), 24-37.

The motto listed the virtues needed by a sovereign to create perfect harmony among their subjects: prudence, wisdom, and concord. The presence of the proportions suggested that concord was to be understood as a musical concept. Thus, the triumphal arch expressed a characteristic aspect of humanistic and Neoplatonic political thought: the idea of the prince-musician as the perfect monarch, dedicated to the harmonic coexistence of their subjects.³⁸ Through an idealized connection between the theory of rulership and the theory of music, the arch celebrated the Farnese family as the supreme expression of political order.

Musical Iconography in San Sisto

If the choice of Piacenza in the early years of Farnese control might have been dictated by political considerations, at the end of her life the duchess demonstrated a genuine preference for the city, choosing it as her burial place. This decision is particularly meaningful because she spent her last years not in the territories of the duchy, but in her dominion in the Abruzzi.³⁹ In her last will and testament, dictated in Ortona on 3 January 1586, Margaret specifically asked to be entombed in the church and monastery of San Sisto in Piacenza. She left precise instructions for her funeral monument, which was to include a life-size statue:

[...] e vuole che partendosi di questa vita, come spera l'animo suo in miglior vita, che il suo corpo sia seppellito nella chiesa di San Sisto nella città di Piacenza, dove per tal effetto, vuole e comanda che si faccia una seppoltura di bronzo rilevata da terra con bella fattura e proporzioni, et con la sua statua integra.⁴⁰

[..] leaving this life, she hopes that her soul [will enter] a better life and she wants her body to be buried in the church of San Sisto in the city of Piacenza; and for this effect she orders a bronze tomb elevated from the ground made with beautiful form and proportions, with a life-size statue.

The monastery of San Sisto in Piacenza had been founded in 874 by Angilberga, wife of the Holy Roman Emperor Ludwig II (822/5-75), as a Benedictine nunnery. The empress gave it land, precious objects, and a psalter written in golden ink, the so-called *Salterio di Angilberga*.⁴¹ Taken over by the male branch of the order in 1129, in 1425 it became part of the Cassinese Congregation of Santa Giustina, a reformed branch of the Benedictines with a strong interest in Patristic and humanistic culture.⁴²

Margaret had become familiar with San Sisto in her years in Piacenza, selecting one of its monks as her confessor.⁴³ Located close to the Palazzo Farnese, the monastery served as the ducal church; as an imperial foundation, it must have felt particularly attractive for a female ruler of the Habsburg dynasty. Indeed, the memory of Angilberga was still significant in the early sixteenth century, when a note was added to the *Salterio*

³⁸ On the concept of the prince-musician see Guidobaldi, *La musica di Federico*, 18-19.

³⁹ On this part of Margaret's life see Zimei, 'The Sunset and the Sunrise'.

⁴⁰ Archivio di Stato di Parma, Casa e Corte Farnesiana, Busta 18, Fascicolo 11, Documento 30.

⁴¹ Preserved until 1803 in the monastery and now in Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale Passerini-Landi, Ms. Com. s.n. See Giuseppa Zanichelli, 'Il Salterio di Angilberga', in *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* 104 (2009), 49-82.

⁴² On the history of San Sisto see Ivo Musajo Somma, 'San Sisto di Piacenza. Pagine di storia monastica', in *I corali benedettini di San Sisto a Piacenza*, ed. Milvia Bollati (Bologna, 2011), 1-29.

⁴³ See Felice Passero, *Sito, lodi e prerogative del Riverendo Monasterio di S. Sisto di Piacenza* (Piacenza, 1593), 98r.

celebrating the empress's gift; furthermore, the imperial couple (Angilberga and Ludwig) was painted by Bernardino Zacchetti (1462-after 1523) on the entrance wall.⁴⁴ Margaret's association with Angilberga was so strong that, after her death, twin funeral monuments were dedicated in the church to the two empresses.⁴⁵

The interest of the Cassinese monks for the church fathers and the classics had made San Sisto an important center of humanistic culture with a rich library.⁴⁶ In the early sixteenth century, the complex was remodeled in Renaissance style by the local architect Alessio Tramello (1470-c. 1528/29); the renovation included the commission of the famous Sistine Madonna by Raphael, finished in 1513.⁴⁷ The Madonna was placed at the main altar under the cupola; to enclose the space around it, the monks commissioned a wooden choir, completed around 1528 by a team of carvers led by Pietro Pambianco da Colorno and Gian Maria Boselli da Parma.⁴⁸

The choir stalls were decorated by intarsia panels, a technique perfected in the second half of the fifteenth century by artists such as Cristoforo da Lendinara and Giovanni Maria Platina.⁴⁹ Examples can be found in liturgical settings (for example in the *Sagrestia dei Consorziati* in Parma's cathedral), but also in the *studioli* of Duke Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino and Gubbio. Enclosed spaces such as these shared the function of reflection and meditation, and their iconography displays a remarkable thematic stability: landscapes, buildings, books, objects for daily use (mortar and pestle), liturgical items, mechanical machines, and time-measuring instruments. All these forms were subjected to 'the proportional structure of perspective', i.e., they are presented in ways that enabled the artist to amaze the viewers.⁵⁰ The themes conveyed a homogeneous vision of the world in which the sacred harmonized with new scientific knowledge (architecture, perspective, and machinery) through its numerical, platonic, and mystic significance. Musical instruments were an essential part of the iconography: the intarsia in San Sisto include a lute in two different positions, an organ, a six-string *lira da braccio*, a rebec, and five recorders.⁵¹ The carved instruments, mostly stringed ones, symbolized the idea of concordance through proportions; in this sense, they did not differ very much from the representation of architectural spaces, landscapes, and machinery.⁵²

⁴⁴ Zanichelli, 'Il Salterio di Angilberga', 61. On the painting see Raffaella Arisi, *La chiesa e il monastero di S. Sisto a Piacenza* (Piacenza, 1977), 60.

⁴⁵ The monuments, finished in 1617, are by Giacinto Fiorentini. See Arisi, *La chiesa e il monastero di S. Sisto*, 136.

⁴⁶ On the library of San Sisto see Luca Ceriotti, 'La biblioteca di San Sisto nel passaggio alla congregazione cassinese: dal lascito di codici di Antonio "da Montebono" (1423-24) a un "inventario" del primo Cinquecento', in *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* 105 (2010), 215-37; and Marco Petoletti, 'La biblioteca di San Sisto nel Medioevo', in *I corali benedettini di San Sisto a Piacenza*, 31-44.

⁴⁷ Arisi, *La chiesa e il monastero di S. Sisto*, 23-46.

⁴⁸ Currently, a copy of the Madonna and the choir are behind the main altar, where they were moved in 1576. On the choir and its dating see Paola Ceschi Lavagetto, *L'immensa dolcezza e grandissima utilità. Il coro di San Sisto a Piacenza* (Bologna, 1989); and Massimo Ferretti, 'Il coro di San Sisto', in *La Madonna per San Sisto di Raffaello e la cultura piacentina nella prima metà del Cinquecento. Atti del convegno, Piacenza, 10 dicembre 1983*, ed. Paola Ceschi Lavagetto (Parma, 1985), 114-31.

⁴⁹ On the history of this technique see Massimo Ferretti, 'I maestri della prospettiva', in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. III/4 (Torino, 1982), 459-585.

⁵⁰ Ferretti, 'I maestri della prospettiva', 576.

⁵¹ Oscar Mischiati noticed the 'singular precision of the details' of the organ and its similarity to the instrument built by Giovanni Battista Facchetti in another church in the city, Santa Maria di Campagna. See Oscar Mischiati, *L'Organo di Santa Maria di Campagna* (Piacenza, 1980), 11 and 261. The combination of musical instruments (lyre, lute, and rebec) also appears in two choir stalls in Verona, Santa Maria in Organo and Santa Anastasia (lyre and lute), and is not dissimilar from the instruments represented in the Urbino *studiolo*.

⁵² Ferretti, 'Il coro di San Sisto', 126 and Ceschi Lavagetto, *L'immensa dolcezza e grandissima utilità*, 76.



Figure 3. Intarsia panel of the San Sisto choir stalls with the four-voice contrapuntal piece *Non canit Ascrei chorus*

Besides instruments, the panels were decorated with four polyphonic compositions, an impressive number that testifies to the importance and symbolic meaning of music in the monastery.⁵³ They are:

1. A *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* for three voices, in a simple, homorhythmic style;
2. A four-voice contrapuntal piece on the text ‘*Non canit Ascrei chorus hic celebrata poetae carmina, sed vatis carmina sancta dei*’ (‘This choir does not sing the celebrated songs of Hesiod, but the sacred songs of God’s poet [David]’) (see Figure 3);
3. A four-voice contrapuntal piece, opening in imitation, on the text ‘*Intentas aures, intentaque corda tenere dulci[s] sonis vocibus dulci[s] sonisque lyrics*’ (‘The ears and the hearts are ready to produce sweet sounds with voices and instruments’);
4. A proportional canon for three (or four) voices on the two hexameters ‘*Artibus haec cunctis ortus dedit inclita virtus / totus et aeterno concentu jubilat orbis*’ (‘The divine virtue created all the arts, and the whole world rejoices in eternal harmony’). The canon, accompanied by different mensural signs, matches the one used by Josquin in his ‘*Agnus Dei*’ II of the *Missa L’Homme armé super voces musicales* (see Figure 4).

The first piece, the response *Sancta Maria* in simple homophonic style, is clearly connected to the devotion to the Virgin represented in Raphael’s altar piece. On the

⁵³ Discussion and transcriptions in Volker Scherliess, *Musikalische Noten auf Kunstwerken der Italienischen Renaissance bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg, 1972), 125 (*Sancta Maria*), 126-27 (*Non canit*); Jaap van Benthem, ‘Einige Musikintarsien des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts in Piacenza und Josquins Proportionskanon “Agnus Dei”’, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 24 (1974), 97-111; and Mario Giuseppe Genesi, ‘Il repertorio polifonico a tre e quattro voci istoriato nel coro dell’ex monastero di San Sisto a Piacenza: rilievi e trascrizioni musicali’, in *Strenna Piacentina* 2000, 39-49. Images are available at <https://www.beweb.chiesacattolica.it/benistorici/bene/6034839/Spinelli+B.-Pambianchi+G.+P.+%281514-1528%29%2C+Formella+con+abside+di+San+Sisto#action=ricerca%2Frisultati&view=elenco&locale=it&ordine=&ambito=CEIOA&liberadescri=san+sisto&liberaluogo=piacenza&dominio=1®_ecc=EMILIA+ROMAGNA&highlight=San&highlight=Sisto> (accessed 15 October 2022). On the scoring of the canon for either three or four voices, see the different opinions in Edward Stam, ‘Josquins Proportionskanon “Agnus Dei” und dessen Piacentiner Überlieferung’, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 26 (1976), 1-8; and Jaap van Benthem, ‘Kompositorisches Verfahren in Josquins Proportionskanon “Agnus Dei”’. Antwort an Edward Stam, in *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 26 (1976), 9-16. Van Benthem thinks that the four mensural signs imply a four-voice canon; Stam, instead, interpretes the notated part as the ‘building voice’, thus the canon as for three voices only.

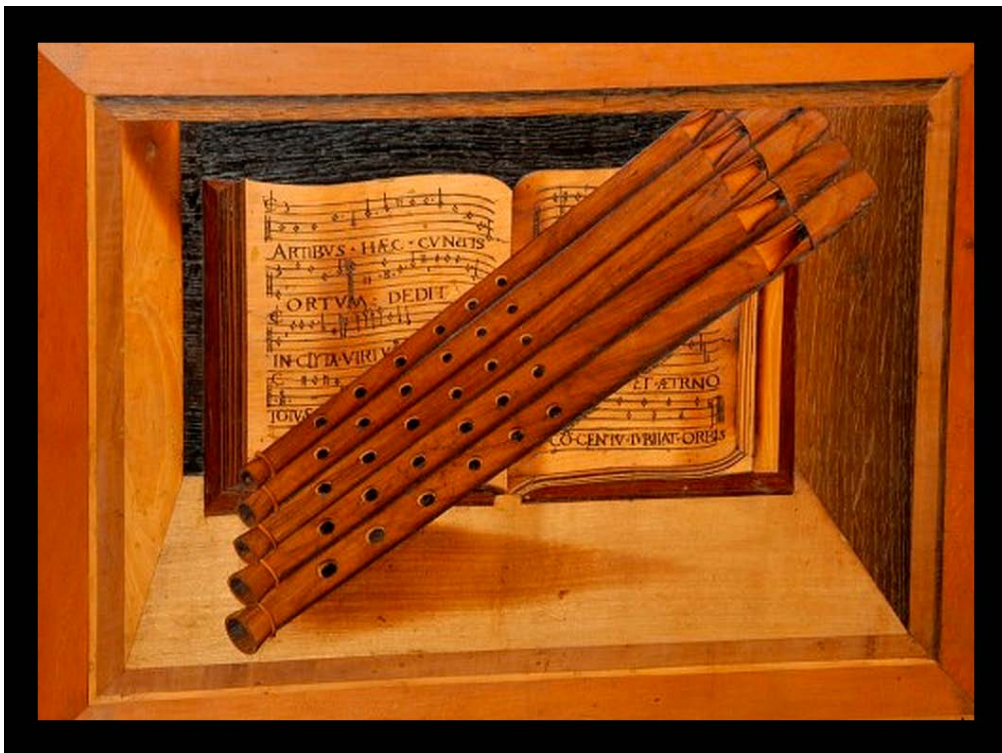


Figure 4. Intarsia panel of the San Sisto choir stalls with the mensural canon *Artibus haec cunctis*

opposite spectrum of complexity is the proportional canon *Artibus haec*, also used by Josquin in his 'Agnus Dei' II of the *Missa L'Homme armé super voces musicales*. Canons were a frequent means to represent music in art, because they allowed one to notate a polyphonic composition in very little space; indeed, this one appears also in Dosso Dossi's *Allegory of Music* from around 1520.⁵⁴ A proportional canon such as this symbolized the idea of 'multiplicity in one', an apt reminder to a group of monks singing together; moreover, its proportions (dupla, tripla, and sesquialtera) represented the cosmological conception of an ordered universe.

The three texts *Non canit*, *Intentas aures*, and *Artibus haec* are self-referential and provide an ideological framework for the function of the music made by the monks. *Artibus haec* asserts the divine origin of music and the harmonic order of the universe. *Non canit* declares that the choir does not perform profane music (Hesiod's songs), but rather sings the Biblical psalms, a clear reference to the liturgy of the office. *Intentas aures* is a declaration of intent, a pledge to use both the ears and the soul to produce the best possible sound. Taken together, they celebrate the performative aspect of music, while articulating the primacy of its spiritual meaning.

⁵⁴ H. Colin Slim, 'Dosso Dossi's Allegory at Florence about Music', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43/1 (1990), 43-98. On canons see also Katerijne Schlitz, *Music and Riddle Culture in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2015).

Margaret's Exequies

The symbolism of the choir stalls raises the issue of musical practice in the monastery. The singing of the office was of foremost importance for the Cassinese congregation.⁵⁵ Indeed, in his description of San Sisto from 1593, the local monk Felice Passero underlined the 'great care put into the choir and into the office', and the presence of 'beautiful parchment books for the use of the choir [...] ornamented by splendid illuminations'.⁵⁶ Passero was referring to a series of choirbooks commissioned for the monastery between 1475 and 1500, now scattered in different locations and in private collections.⁵⁷ The books were created in response to the standardization of the Cassinese liturgy, and they were continuously revised to accommodate musical and liturgical innovations.⁵⁸ In 1544-45, an organ was built by the most important organ builder in northern Italy, Giovanni Battista Facchetti.⁵⁹ The instrument had a keyboard of forty-seven keys with pairs of split keys in order to allow for more transpositions and a better accompaniment of the choir.⁶⁰

If the dignity of liturgical chant was a constant preoccupation for San Sisto, nothing testifies to the use of polyphony. The carved pieces in the stalls do not necessarily imply that they were performed: they were included not for practical reasons but as symbols of a 'musical' conception of the universe. On one occasion, though, the church of San Sisto resounded with polyphonic music: at Margaret's exequies.

The duchess's funeral took place on 29 May 1586 and was recorded by Giacomo Tramontana (see Figure 5).⁶¹ Tramontana's chronicle is part of a long tradition of funeral books in Renaissance Italy. These accounts, printed to recall solemn exequies, are mostly concerned with describing the grandeur of the funeral pomp, the iconographic programs, and the political actors involved. Liturgy and music often occupy a small part in the accounts, and their description is not always accurate.⁶² Tramontana's book,

⁵⁵ Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington, IN, 2014), 73; and Joanne Overy Filippone, 'Influenze della liturgia monastica nei corali di San Sisto', in *I corali benedettini di San Sisto a Piacenza*, 79-93 esp. 80-81.

⁵⁶ '[...] mettesi molta industria per occorrere al Coro, & all'Officio, sì che nessuna cosa si preponga all'opera di Dio'; and 'Sonovi per uso del Coro bellissimi libri di carta pergamena, i quali oltre al ben formato carattere, sono ornati di bellissime e sontuose miniature, e si vede che per servitio et honor di Dio non si è risparmiata spesa.' Passero, *Sito, lodi e prerogative*, 35 and 88-89.

⁵⁷ A complete list of the preserved liturgical books from San Sisto can be found in Giacomo Baroffio and Eun Ju Kim, 'Liturgia e canto a San Sisto', in *I corali benedettini di San Sisto a Piacenza*, 95-117.

⁵⁸ Overy Filippone, 'Influenze della liturgia monastica nei corali di San Sisto', 83 and 88.

⁵⁹ On Facchetti see Oscar Mishiatì, 'Documenti sull'organaria padana rinascimentale: I. Giovanni Battista Facchetti', in *L'Organo* 12 (1984), 23-160.

⁶⁰ Luigi Switch, 'Considerazioni sull'organo di San Sisto a Piacenza', in *Bollettino Storico Piacentino* 105 (2010), 238-56 at 250; and Oscar Mischiati, *L'organo della Cattedrale di Cremona. Vicende storiche e documenti dal XV al XX secolo*, ed. Marco Ruggeri (Bologna, 2007), 15.

⁶¹ Giacomo Tramontana, *Feralis pompa / serenissimae Margaritae / Austriacae Farnesiae, Caroli V filiae, per RR. DD. monachos Casinenses in monasterio S. Sixti de Plac. Commemorantes [...] (The funeral of the most-serene Margaret of Austria and Farnese, daughter of emperor Charles V, commemorated by the most reverend Cassinese monks in the monastery of S. Sisto in Piacenza)* (Piacenza: Anteo Conti, 1586), <[http://techedigitali.passerinilandi.piacenza.it/domlib/sfoggia_volumi.php?op=esp&cata=volumi&gruppo=\(LP\)&cass=PL048-\(LP\)_217&id=147631&offset=1&fromread=v](http://techedigitali.passerinilandi.piacenza.it/domlib/sfoggia_volumi.php?op=esp&cata=volumi&gruppo=(LP)&cass=PL048-(LP)_217&id=147631&offset=1&fromread=v)> (accessed 15 October 2022). Cited in Chemotti, 'An Annotated Bibliography', 233-34. My thanks to Antonio Chemotti for bringing this important source to my attention.

⁶² Antonio Chemotti, *Polyphonic Music Pro Mortuis in Italy (1550-1630). An Introduction* (Lucca, 2020), 94-98; and Antonio Chemotti, 'I Funeral Book italiani come fonte per la musicologia. Introduzione a An Annotated Bibliography of Funeral Books Printed in Italy (1535-1666)', in *Philomusica on-line* 20 (2021), 191-216.

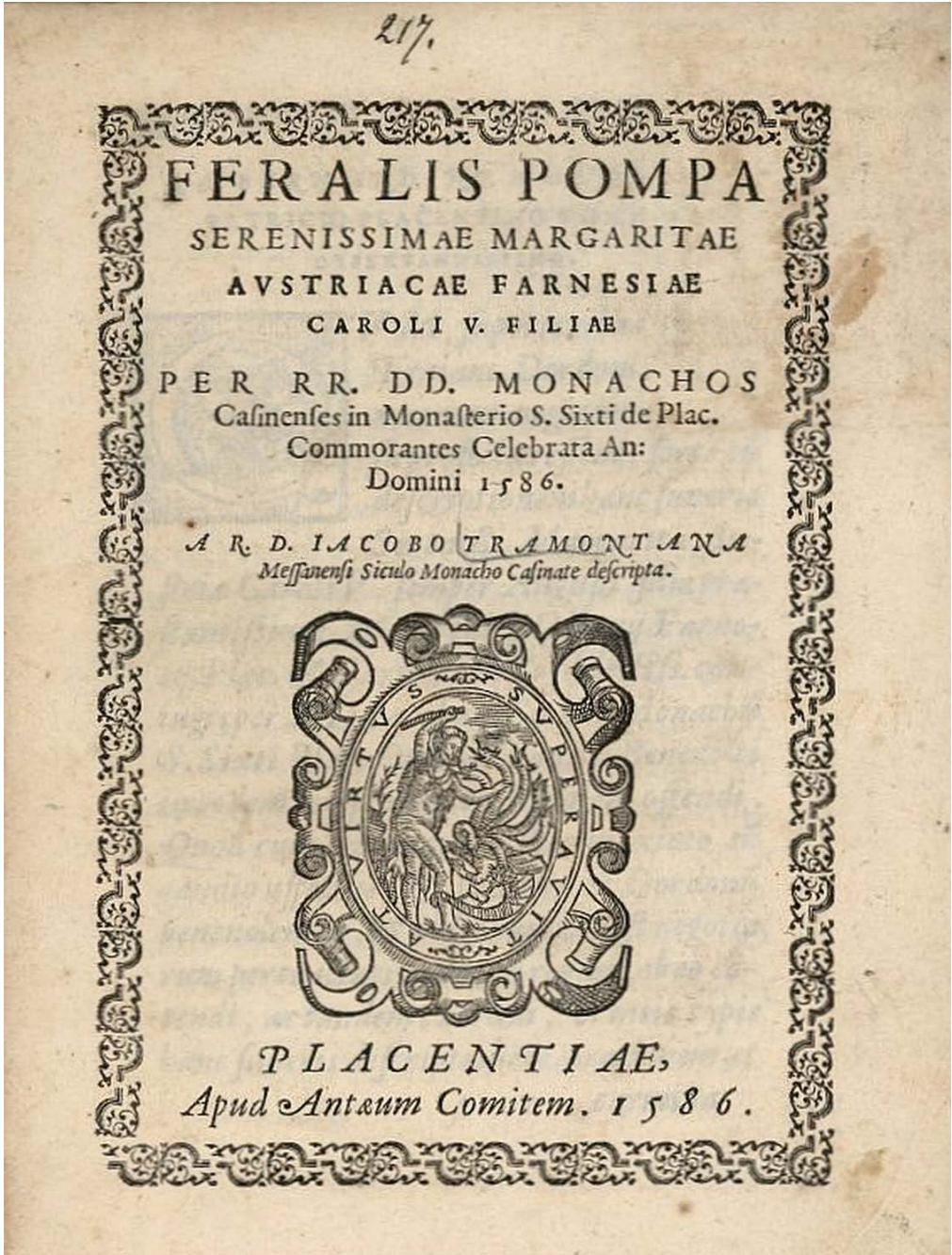


Figure 5. Title page of Giacomo Tramontana, *Feralis pompa / serenissimae Margaritae / Austriacae Farnesiae, Caroli V filiae [...]* (Piacenza, 1568). Piacenza, Biblioteca Passerini-Landi

though, is not insensitive to the aural aspect of the exequies and provides significant musical details for two specific moments: the funeral procession and the celebration inside the church.⁶³

In preparation for the funeral, the abbot of San Sisto decided to call for reinforcements. With the addition of fifty-seven monks from other Cassinese houses, an impressive procession of 112 monks went to meet Margaret's body at the city gate and accompanied it to the monastery.⁶⁴

[...] Monachi Sacerdotes Musice artis non ignari numero quinquaginta septem convenerant, inter quos D. Maurus Panormita Siculus artis musices moderator disertissimus precellebat, qui Psalmos, versiculos, letanias, responsoria, & cetera, quae pro defunctorum suffragijs decantari in Ecclesia solent, gravibus, ac mestis notavit concinenda modis. His adiuncti Sancti Sixti Monachi centenarium supra duodecim numerum complebant: Qui in die depositionis ferales tenentes faces, bini, ut moris est, in longum extendebantur ordinem duplici septum musices choro, psalmos, & responsoria personante, gravibus, & mestis notata modulis, quibus mira audientiu[m] aures devotione, ac tristitia afficiebantur; hoc ordine in die depositionis, que fuit quarto Calendas Junij, gratis cineribus usq[ue] ad urbis portam S. Lazari appellatam, obviam exiere.⁶⁵

[...] fifty-seven monks (who were also priests) not inexpert of the art of music gathered together: first among them was the Sicilian D. Mauro Panormita, a most expert director in the art of music, who selected psalms, versicles, litanies, responsories, and other things which are normally sung in church for funerals to be performed together in a grave and somber style. With the addition of the monks of San Sisto the number reached 112. On the day of the funeral they carried funeral torches two by two, as it is normally done, and arranged themselves in a long double line; the singers, divided into two sections, performed psalms and responsories written in a grave and sad style that greatly moved the ears of the listeners to devotion and sorrow; and in the same order, on the day of the burial, which was the fourth of June, they went to meet the body at the city gate called S. Lazarus without receiving any compensation.

As the procession reached the church, the Office of the Dead started with vespers and—as usual—continued with matins:

[...] funebris arca intra paratum pyramidis locum delata est: vespertina mortuorum suffragia à centum viginti monachis mesta fuerant modulatione inchoata, ex quibus quadraginta cantores, qui munus concinendi antiphonas, & responsoria figuratis (ut aiunt) notata modulis, susceperant, officium suum laudabiliter compleverunt.⁶⁶

[...] the hearse was brought to the prepared place, shaped like a pyramid; the vespers of the dead were intoned by 120 monks, forty of whom were singers, with somber melody; they took the task of performing antiphons and responsories written in polyphony (as it is called), so to complete their duty in a praiseworthy way.

⁶³ Antonio Chemotti, 'Musica ed emozioni nelle processioni funebri in Italia nel lungo Rinascimento', in *Sensibilità moderne. Storie di affetti, passioni e sensi (secoli XV-XVIII)*, ed. Alessandro Arcangeli and Tiziana Plebani (Roma, 2023), 53-66 esp. 57-58.

⁶⁴ On the funeral preparations, see also Mantini, 'Cerimonie', 267-68.

⁶⁵ Tramontana, *Feralis pompa / serenissimae Margaritae*, 15-16.

⁶⁶ Tramontana, *Feralis pompa / serenissimae Margaritae*, 16.

The two passages underline the number and musical expertise of the monks and list the most significant items performed during the rite: psalms, antiphons, and responsories.⁶⁷ During the procession, they were ‘divided into two sections’, suggesting an *alternatim* practice typical of funeral liturgy.⁶⁸ Tramontana also adds information about the musical style heard at the funeral. The adjectives used proceed from a simple description of mood—the psalms and responsories of the procession were ‘grave and sad’—to the significant addition of ‘modulis [...] figuratis’ for the items sung during the office in the church. While the funeral procession included a responsorial performance of chant, maybe in alternation with an improvised *secundatio*, vespers and matins were sung—at least in part—in complex, written polyphony.

The performance of *cantus figuratus* in San Sisto needs to be evaluated in light of the diffusion of polyphony for funerals, both in general terms and in the Cassinese congregation. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the order was not particularly keen on polyphony, but preferred simple *cantus planus binatim*.⁶⁹ Tastes seemed to change in the second half of the century, when members of the congregation such as Placido Falconio and Mauro Ciaula (c. 1544-1600, also known as Mauro Panormita) started to publish polyphonic music. Two books by Ciaula, a book of masses published in 1588 and a book of lamentations published in 1597, are dedicated to the abbots of San Benedetto Po and S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, a sign of appreciation by the upper hierarchy of the order.

The use of polyphony for funerals was discouraged by the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* of 1600.⁷⁰ Despite this, the decades between 1560 and the end of the century saw an increase of polyphony for the dead in the Italian printing market: examples are Gioseffo Zarlino’s *Lectiones pro defunctis*, included in *Moteta d. Cipriani de Rore* (Venice, 1563), or the first Office for the Dead published by Giovanni Matteo Asola in the same year as Margaret’s funeral, *Officium defunctorum quattuor vocibus* (Venice, 1586).⁷¹ *Cantus figuratus* was performed at solemn funerals, such as the one for Duke Ercole II d’Este in Ferrara in 1559 or for Anna of Austria in Milan in 1581.⁷² Therefore, the use of composed polyphony to solemnize Margaret’s funeral fits into the soundscape of late Renaissance exequies.⁷³

Another significant element of the ceremony is the designation of Ciaula (‘D. Maurus Panormita Siculus’) as music director for the whole celebration. Ciaula was a Cassinese monk who made his profession in 1560 in the Sicilian house of San Martino delle Scale, near Palermo, where he also served as organist.⁷⁴ His obituary describes him as a scholar in the humanities and a musician ‘well-known even to the princes of Rome,

⁶⁷ A summary of the funeral liturgy can be found in Rodobaldo Tibaldi, ‘Un aspetto poco noto della musica liturgica in Italia tra i secoli XVI e XVII: l’Ufficio dei Defunti polifonico’, in *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra* 11 (1990), 158-213.

⁶⁸ Tibaldi, ‘Un aspetto poco noto’, esp. 190-96. Documents that testify to *alternatim* performance are published in Antonio Chemotti and Katelijne Schiltz, ‘Deep Mourning in Cinquecento Venice: Gioseffo Zarlino’s *lectiones pro mortuis*’, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 73 (2020), 583-637. My thanks to Tibaldi for the useful exchange of ideas on the meaning of this passage.

⁶⁹ Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*, 73.

⁷⁰ Tibaldi, ‘Un aspetto poco noto’, 169.

⁷¹ Chemotti, *Polyphonic Music Pro Mortuis*, 23-68.

⁷² Chemotti, *Polyphonic Music Pro Mortuis*, 106-10 and Chemotti and Schiltz, ‘Deep Mourning’, 627.

⁷³ Chemotti, *Polyphonic Music Pro Mortuis*, 66-68.

⁷⁴ Paolo Emilio Carapezza and Giuseppe Collisani, ‘Ciaula, Mauro’, in *Grove Music Online*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05565>> (accessed 15 October 2022); and Ilaria Grippaudo, *Musica e devozione nella ‘città felicissima’*. *Ordini religiosi e pratiche sonore a Palermo tra Cinque e Seicento* (Firenze, 2022), 142-46.

Venice, and other places.⁷⁵ Very little is known about his life: even though Cassinese monks traveled from house to house, we do not know if Ciaula actually visited Rome or Venice, or if the cities were reached solely by his fame. Outside of his hometown, he is documented only in the monastery of San Benedetto Po in 1590, where he signed the dedication of his *Sacrarum Cantiones [...] liber primus* (Venice, 1590). His presence in San Sisto in June of 1586, while most likely temporary, adds significantly to his biography, placing him in Northern Italy earlier than previously thought. It seems logical that Ciaula would have come to Piacenza from San Benedetto Po (near Mantua) and not from Palermo.

According to Tramontana, Ciaula notated ('notavit') the music for Margaret's exequies. Interpreting the verb 'notavit' in the musical sense as 'wrote' or 'composed', although tempting, is probably too simplistic: it is unlikely that one composer would provide all the music needed for the services, since most of it (chant, falsobordone, etc.) would have already been part of the congregation's repertory. It is more likely that Ciaula 'selected' and directed the music for Margaret's funeral; indeed, Tramontana designated him as 'artis musices moderator' ('music director') and not as a composer.⁷⁶ The Benedictine directed the music for other events as well, and San Martino delle Scale's account books register the rental of music from Messina on his behalf.⁷⁷ Although it cannot be excluded that he also wrote pieces for the occasion, Tramontana does not offer secure evidence, and Ciaula's surviving music does not preserve items specifically destined for a funeral. His case is not unique: among the several composers who directed high-profile exequies—for example, Francesco Viola for Ercole II d'Este or Giovanni Gabrieli for Ferdinando I de' Medici—none left music composed for these events. Similarly, important exequies, with very few exceptions, were not commemorated by musical prints.⁷⁸ Our knowledge of their aural aspect depends uniquely on funeral books such as the one by Tramontana.

The magnificence of Margaret's funeral in San Sisto concluded a life dedicated to the representation of a fundamental value: royal power. From this perspective, the choice of her final resting place can be understood only in part as dictated by the liturgical and musical dignity of the foundation; the ducal monastery in Piacenza also embodied the link between music, regality, and the divine order. Together with the symbolism of her entry in Piacenza of 1568, the carved music in the San Sisto choir stalls represented a harmonic universe in which the duchess, as God's representative on earth, was rightfully at the center. For her final journey, Margaret was honored by art, music, and prayers in an environment perfectly consonant with the perceived meaning of her life.

⁷⁵ 'Vir non minus pietate, quam liberaliter studiis clarus exitit, et praesertim musica faultate, quam egregie callebat, acceptus proinde ipsis principibus tum Romae, tum Venetiis, et alibi [...]: The professions' list of San Martino delle Scale confirms his ordination in 1560, implying an approximate birth date of 1544, and his death in Palermo in 1600. See *Matricula Monachorum Congregationis Casinensis Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. I (Cesena, 1983), 505.

⁷⁶ Tramontana, *Feralis pompa*, 15. On the meaning of 'notare' as 'to designate, to define' see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford, 1992), 1193.

⁷⁷ Grippaudo, *Musica e devozione*, 13.

⁷⁸ Chemotti, *Polyphonic Music Pro Mortuis*, 65-66.

Abstract

This article analyses Margaret's use of music and musical symbolism to assert her legitimacy as duchess of Piacenza. She entered the city with great sonic display in 1557 and 1568 and found a lively musical environment that included dance, one of her favorite pastimes. In order to establish Farnese control, the duchess chose Piacenza as her residence from 1557 to 1559 and started the building of the Palazzo Farnese, which was planned to contain a *teatro all'antica* under her patronage. She elected as her burial place the Cassinese monastery of San Sisto, an institution with a tradition of liturgical chant. The description of Margaret's solemn funeral in 1586 testifies that the monks performed composed polyphony for the occasion, reflecting her royal dignity with musical magnificence.

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 sì 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).

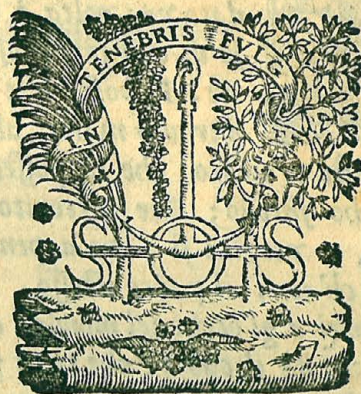
CANTO
DELLE MASCHERATE
MUSICALI

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

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 auenimenti*. 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, silenzio 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 rappresentatione 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-Musik 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 theorica y pratica* (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	Giovanni Clarquin	Cambrai	n.n.	Flanders
	Giorgio Lestendart	Flanders	Ugo Miglietti	Italy
Organ	Frédéricq de Haus	Flanders	n.n. ('Trombone')	?
Instrumentalists	Giaches Vinck	Bruges	Guglielmo Bleotarleore	Bruges?
	n.n. ⁴⁰	?	Hubert Hutelet	Flanders
	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*, L'Aquila, 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, ‘si bene apparata cantandosi con multiplicati cori di scelti Musici’ (‘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 Gesù 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
celeste 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 Che d'ogn'intor
no che d'ogn'intor no Col chiaro suo splendore splen-
do re Col chiaro suo splendore fa più lucent'è più seren il giorno fa
più lucent'è più seren il giorno Ric ca d'alto valore
spesso le muse invita Margherita Ch'ell'è celeste Ch'ell'è cele-
ste Ch'ell'è celeste Margherita Spesso le muse invita
Ch'ell'è celeste Margherita Ch'ell'è celeste Ch'ell'è celeste
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 -
 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

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
 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



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