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Liturgical music in a tight rein
Alternatim masses for Santa Barbara in Mantua[1]

('Kirkemusik i stramme tøjler. Om alternatim-messer til Santa Barbara i Mantova',
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The sacred music of the Palestrina period is at the same time very easy and exceedingly difficult for the music historian to deal with. On the one hand, this repertory is one of the best described and familiar by virtue of its historical status as an ideal for non-controversial music creation for the church and as a model for learning contrapuntal technique. This status has spawned volumes of new publications and studies in style history, sources and music theory throughout the now long working life of musicology. Certain parts of the repertory have even secured a permanent place in a still living performance tradition, both in the liturgy and in the concert hall. On the other hand, we are inclined to regard this music as the perfect expression of religious devotion, as resting within itself in harmonious balance without real contrasts and disturbing musical expressiveness. This means that we, despite the fact that the music is still a living part of musical life, think and hear it as if it were inside a glass bell as a perfectly preserved historical artefact, beautiful, distant and to a certain extent irrelevant.[2]

A significant part of this image is due to conscious choices on the side of the composers. As a result of the wave of evangelization that swept across Europe in the sixteenth century, with the Protestant reformations and the Catholic reforms as the most obvious consequences, church music distanced itself in various ways from the contemporary secular and sensual music, above all from the 'lewd' popular music, for example, the light madrigal and the erotic songs in the Italian, French and German traditions, but also

1 This article is indebted to a small group of students at the Department of Musicology, University of Copenhagen, Helle Sørensen, Karin Havsager, Jakob Faurholt and Christian Schlelein, who as participants in a seminar on Giulio Pellini's *Missae Dominicales quinis vocibus diversorum auctorum* in the autumn of 1999 patiently listened to my ideas and contributed many impulses themselves – perhaps more than they themselves noticed.

The material has also been presented in a different form as a presentation at the 13th Nordic Congress of Musicologists in August 2000, which took place at the Department of Musicology at Aarhus University, an institution behind whose creation the famous Danish Palestrina researcher Knud Jeppesen was a driving force. Among Jeppesen's merits is the discovery in 1949 of Palestrina's masses for Santa Barbara in Mantua. The present article must therefore also be seen as a tribute to Knud Jeppesen's contributions, not least because it is based on some of the material that Jeppesen had collected for use in his research, e.g. his own photographic recordings of manuscripts in Mantua and Milan (cf. P. Woetmann Christoffersen, 'Knud Jeppesen's Collection in the State and University Library (Århus, Denmark). A Preliminary Catalogue', *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning* 7 (1973-76), pp. 21-49). For the permission to use this material, I thank the State Library in Aarhus.

2 See e.g. the latest general introduction to Renaissance music, Leeman L. Perkins, *Music in the Age of the Renaissance*, New York 1999, which concludes on p. 881: "Everything contributes, in sum, to the overall sense of structural equilibrium and clarity that epitomizes the *ars perfecta* of the late sixteenth century." However, Perkins' presentation contrasts strikingly with the nuanced discussion of Palestrina in the shorter, only a year older introduction from the same publisher, by Allan W. Atlas, *Renaissance Music. Music in Western Europe 1400-1600.* New York 1998, pp. 583-597.

from the serious madrigal with its elaboration and clarification of the words of the text. They obviously aimed for a sounding dignity that suited the reformed self-understanding of the church, a sort of objectification of the setting of the words of the liturgy.

One can choose to consider the 'glass bell' a historical condition for the church music of the Counter Reformation and for its dissemination. However, the very perfection of the music challenges scientific curiosity and piques the desire to penetrate behind its smooth surface and behind its reputation for being retrospective and conservative. The technical elements of form and structure in the music of Palestrina's time seem well described in the existing literature, likewise its relationship to mode and text setting and the many questions regarding the placement of its main genres in relation to the liturgy. Still, it seems extremely difficult with the analytical tools at our disposal to adequately describe the expression of the music or its ability to communicate. In an attempt to penetrate these problems, I have chosen to deal with a repertory of church music that has long since passed completely out of living tradition, namely a small selection of the *alternatim* masses that were written by a group of the most prominent composers, including Giaches de Wert, Giovanni Contino, Giangiacomo Gastoldi and Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, for use in Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga's private princely church, *la Basilica Palatina Santa Barbara*, in the years from the 1560s and into the 1580s. It is a music that we can meet without preconceived expectations about its style and musical expression. However, we may encounter it with the expectation that it is music for use, characterized to such an extent by its function in the service that the music today can hardly be recognized as art and as an object of aesthetic reception. It is really in every detail regulated to an unusual degree by the prince who ordered and paid for the music.

It was a normal condition for the majority of musical activities in earlier times that it entered into a service relationship with an authority, in a client-patron relationship where musicians, singers and composers were the clients, while princes, institutions (typically the church), guilds or fraternities ordered and paid for the music. This relationship has been the subject of quite intensive research during the 1980s. Under the heading 'Patronage', such research was cultivated especially under English auspices as a side of historical music sociology with Iain Fenlon as a main figure.[3] Here the relationship of the decision-makers with music, its use and its management, was studied. The studies flourished in archival research: courts, ecclesiastical powers and cities were investigated and many new insights were gained, especially regarding the use of and creation of musical institutions for the legitimization of political power and spheres of interest.[4] The realization that the flourishing of polyphonic art music in the fifteenth century was largely due to the increased need for expensive performances of music, which arose by the establishment of foundations and endowments for the holding of memorial services and for intercession for the souls in Purgatory, is a branch of this. Barbara Haggh, in

3 See for example Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua I-II*, Cambridge 1980 and 1982; Iain Fenlon (ed.), *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Patronage, Sources and Texts,* Cambridge 1981; and Iain Fenlon (ed.), *The Renaissance. From the 1470s to the end of the 16th century*, London 1989.

4 As very different examples of this rich literature can be mentioned, Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1984; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500-1550*, Cambridge 1989; Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges,* Oxford 1985; and Frank A. D'Accone, *The Civic Muse. Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Chicago 1997.

particular, has been prominent here in recent years.[5] It is characteristic of this research that it mostly takes place on the basis of documents, while there has been a rather shy attitude towards going into closer studies of the music, which can be concretely linked to these client-patron relationships. It is a difficult area to deal with, because often the people who commissioned the music do not seem to have set clear requirements for the music beyond the fact that it should naturally adapt to local liturgical traditions, and then of course be on par with and preferably enjoy a reputation on par with the music of the leading institutions – or at least be able to pretend.

In the case of Mantua, the situation is different. Here reigned a prince who was himself a respected composer. He had the power and insight to develop his own interpretation of the ideals of the Catholic reforms with regard to church music and to realize this interpretation through specific demands on his composers. By studying the Mantuan repertory, we can, on the one hand, get an impression of how composers of different temperaments, careers and ages responded to the duke's demands concerning the music, and through this also an impression of the latitude that the perfection of the music after all allowed the composer. On the other hand, we can try to uncover what interest the duke had in developing a distinctive art music for Santa Barbara and what role models he could rely on.

1. Duke Guglielmo and Santa Barbara

Guglielmo Gonzaga (1538-87) was not destined to be the ruler of the small northern Italian city-state of Mantua, whose territory lay on the fertile plain around the confluence of the Mincio and Po rivers and formed the eastern border of the German-Roman Empire against the papal states of Venice and Ferrara.[6] As the younger son of Federico Gonzaga, who in 1530 had been elevated from marquis to duke by Emperor Charles V, he could look forward to a career in the service of the church. When his older brother died childless in 1550, however, the twelve-year-old Guglielmo insisted on his right to the princely dignity, and he therefore took over the title as the third duke. His upbringing was characterized by a solid ecclesiastical education and a voracious interest in music. His interests were supported and nurtured by his uncle Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, bishop of Mantua, who ruled on his behalf and who had also been among his brother's guardians.

5 See for example Barbara Haggh, 'Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music', *Acta Musicologica 68* (1996), pp. 87-128; and Barbara Haggh, Frank Daelmans & André Vanrie (eds.), *Musicology and Archival Research. Colloquium Proceedings Brussels 22-23.4.1993* (Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique 46), Brussels 1994.

6 This and the following passages are greatly indebted to Knud Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi da Palestrina, Herzog Guglielmo Gonzaga und die neugefundenen Mantovaner Messen Palestrinas. Ein ergänzender Bericht', *Acta Musicologica* 25 (1953) pp. 132-179, as well as to Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, where one can find a detailed study of the musical life of Mantua in the 16th century. See also Fenlon's updated descriptions in 'Patronage, music, and liturgy in Renaissance Mantua' in Thomas F. Kelly (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 2), Cambridge 1992, pp. 209-235; and in Iain Fenlon, *Giaches de Wert, Letters and Documents*, Paris 1999, pp. 51 ff. The background for and development of the Mantua liturgy is reviewed in Paola Besutti, 'Un modello alternativo di contorriforma, Il caso mantovano' in Oscar Mischiati & Paolo Russo (eds.), *La cappella musicale nell'Italia delle controriforma. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi del IV centenario di fondazione della Cappella Musicale di S. Biago di Cento. Cento, 13-15 ottobre 1989* (Quaderni della Rivista Italiana di Musicologia 27), Florence 1993, pp. 111-121.

Ercole Gonzaga (1505-63) was Mantua's ruler for 14 years divided into two periods, a task he carried out with great skill. A leading force in the Catholic reform movement from the start, he made the diocese of Mantua a model of ecclesiastical administration with frequent inspections of diocesan offices and demands on the clergy concerning the proper way of living and sufficient education, and at the wish of the pope he pursued a harsh, repressive policy towards Mantua's large Jewish community – the latter was a policy which the financially foresighted Guglielmo did not continue. In 1545, the cardinal commissioned the architect Giulio Romano to renovate the cathedral San Pietro according to guidelines that would later become the Council of Trent's recommendations for the design and decoration of church buildings. Under him church music flourished; Ercole regarded the cathedral as his private domain, and he himself paid his internationally famous chapel master, the Frenchman Jacques Colebault (1483-1559), whose name became so closely associated with Mantua during his more than 30-year career that he is known only by the name Jacquet of Mantua. In keeping with the cardinal's reform ideas, apart from a few occasional works in Latin, Jacquet composed almost exclusively liturgical music, in his mature years in elegantly flowing, constantly imitating five-part settings with emphasis on correct accentuation of the text.[7] Ercole was three times just a few votes away from being elected pope, and he ended his days as the powerful president of the Council of Trent. He died in 1563 during the closing sessions of the Council.

There is no doubt that Guglielmo had his uncle as a role model and that it required an effort to surpass him in fame and esteem. Politically he continued his uncle's line in a delicate balance between the stronger powers of Northern Italy, between the emperor and the pope, assisted by a finely meshed network of alliances, which were further supported by dynastic marriages. He became a shrewd administrator who created wealth and security in his small state – brutal in his exercise of power and exacting in his finances. While his own household was almost frugal, he understood the value of ostentatious splendour on the proper occasions, especially at weddings and state visits, and he embraced the church and its music with a genuine and generous interest.

The Gonzaga chapel in the cathedral of Mantua soon became too constricting for his ambitions. In the middle of Mantua's large palace complex, in a courtyard that had previously been used for ball games, he had a new church built, which was dedicated to the family's patron saint, Santa Barbara. It was consecrated in 1565, but parts of it were demolished a short time later to make room for extensions. It was partly for the sake of the performance of the music in keeping with the duke's ambitions (completed in the years 1569-72),[8] and partly to have the same placement of the altar as in St. Peter's in Rome with a central location in the choir, so that the celebrant turned his face towards the congregation, a privilege that was otherwise reserved the pope.[9] The status of the

7 Cf. P. Jackson & G. Nugent (eds.), *Jacquet de Mantua. Collected Works* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 54) 1970.

8 Parts of this information are listed in *Figure 2* below.

9 "Facciamo un Papa di Santa Barbara" (Let's make a pope in Santa Barbara) Pius IV is said to have remarked when he approved the plans for the interior of the church, cf. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, p. 99. Four popes were involved in approving buildings, privileges and benefices, as well as the liturgy and liturgical books: Pius IV de Medici (1560–65), Pius V Ghislieri (1566–72), Gregor XIII Boncompagni (1572-85) and Sixtus V Peretti (1585-90), cf. Paola Besutti, 'Testi e melodie per la liturgia della Capella di Santa Barbara in Mantova' in A. Pompilio et al. (eds.), *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia I-III* (IMS Bologna 1987), Turin 1990, vol. II, pp. 68-77 (at pp. 68-69).

priests was correspondingly high. The church was led by an abbot who had the status of a bishop and referred directly to the papal see, and by six other dignitaries and 12 canons that were given the rank of counts and apostolic prothonotaries. A total of 64 persons were permanently attached to the church, including the organist and singers. As the most important, Santa Barbara got its own liturgy with a special calendar of saints, and in the period 1568-79 intense negotiations were conducted with the Vatican about the ordering of the liturgy. The arrangement of Santa Barbara's *officium* and calendar obtained papal approval in 1571. This set in motion the duke's efforts to reform the entire liturgical chant repertory, both textually and musically, in accordance with the ideals of the Council of Trent. In 1583 this work had reached such a point that a new missal and breviary obtained the papal *imprimatur*, and the textual basis for the services could be published in print. The associated liturgical songs were copied into large manuscripts, of which a large number have been preserved. The Santa Barbara archive contains 24 handwritten books of reformed chant, which have been used exclusively in this church for about 200 years.[10] One of the most important, *Kyriale ad usum ecclesie Sancte Barbare,*[11] contains ten masses, which together cover the ordinary for all the days of the church year.

This large repertory of plainchant had concurrently to be clothed in polyphony by the duke's musicians. Around 200 manuscripts and prints originating from Santa Barbara's music collection are today preserved in the *Fondo Santa Barbara* in the library of the Conservatorio di Musica 'Giuseppe Verdi' in Milan.[12] In this collection's manuscript music we find the result of the enormous musical activity that the duke set in motion. First of all the musicians associated with the new church provided liturgical compositions, but also composers from outside gave lustre to the duke's project – his correspondence with Palestrina and the probably eleven masses that it resulted in are famous examples of this.[13]

Guglielmo Gonzaga was himself a prolific composer, although one should probably consider how big a role the advice from his employed musicians played; it was in any case part of the court and Santa Barbara chapel master Giaches de Wert's many duties to be available, when the duke composed.[14] The duke had at least three sets of printed collections published by Gardane in Venice, a collection of madrigals (*c.*1583), one of motets (same year), and one or two of settings of the Magnificat (1586, lost). All the collections are anonymous, but their author can be identified through other people's references to the duke's compositions or through handwritten music from Santa Barbara,

10 Cf. the overview in Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, p. 203, and Paola Besutti, 'Catalogo tematico delle monodie liturgiche della Basilica Palatina di S. Barbara in Mantova', *Le fonti musicali in Italia, studie e richerche 2* (1988), pp. 53-66.

11 Archivio Storica Diocesano di Mantova, Santa Barbara, Corali ms 1, sec. XVI, *Kyriale ad usum Ecclesie Sante Barbare.*

12 Cf. *Conservatorio di Musica 'Giuseppe Verdi'. Catalogo della biblioteca, fondi speciali 1. Musiche della capella di S. Barbara in Mantova*, Florence 1972.

13 See further section 4 of this article. Of masses alone the collection preserves 10 by Palestrina, 7 by Giaches de Wert, 5 by Giovanni Contino, 4 by Francesco Rovigo, 3 by Guglielmo Gonzaga himself – in the music only identified as "Serenissimo" – and 2 by Gastoldi as well as many others (see for example the inventory in Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', pp. 143 ff), and there are Magnificat settings, motets, hymns etc.

14 Cf. Carol MacClintock, *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596). Life and Works* (Musicological Studies and Documents 17), s.l. 1966, pp. 39-40. In a letter from August 1586, Wert apologized for being forced by circumstances to be away from the court, while the duke composed. The letter is published in Fenlon, *Giaches de Wert*, p. 141.

which contains much more of the duke's music (including three masses).[15] In this context it is quite striking that while the duke could not allow himself to appear in public as a professional composer, practicing a profession, the professionals hailed him as their superior in obsequious praises of his compositional abilities – apart from Palestrina, who without deviating from the respectful tone permitted himself to suggest corrections and improvements in the duke's music. The praise seemed even stronger, when well-known composers took the duke's music as a model and composed madrigals based on motifs and quotes from the duke's music as a musical supplement to dedications and letters of thanks.[16] However, there can be no doubt that he possessed considerable musical insight and that he managed to leave a mark on the music in Santa Barbara that extended beyond his lifetime.[17]

Duke Guglielmo ruled the visual arts with the same firmness. In the years 1578-80 he had eight large paintings executed for the newly built halls in the Palazzo Ducale, *Sala dei Marchesi* and *Sala dei Duchi*, by the famous Venetian painter Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-94), whose studio during the same years was busy with the decoration of the Doge's palace and the Scuola di S. Rocco in Venice. The picture series glorified the Gonzaga family's rise from *capitani* to *duchi* through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the main emphasis on their military exploits. In these large compositions Tintoretto was free to carry out his mannerist experiments with colour scheme and perspective, but the program of the series and the details of the pictures were closely watched over by the duke and his advisers, and changes were demanded if necessary.[18] Despite his strict religiosity Guglielmo was a true descendant of his equally autocratic grandmother Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), who shaped Mantua's musical court culture in a humanist, native Italian

15 Cf. Richard Sherr, 'The Publications of Guglielmo Gonzaga', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31 (1978) pp. 118-125; and Claudio Gallico, 'Guglielmo Gonzaga signore della musica' in *Mantova e i Gonzaga nella civiltà del rinascimento. Atti del convegno organizatto dall'Accademia Nazionale ... Mantova, 6-8 ottobre 1974*, Mantua 1977, pp. 277-283. The Duke's compositions are published in Ottavio Beretta (ed.), *The Gonzaga Masses in the Conservatory Library of Milan Fondo Santa Barbara* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 108), vol. I, *Masses of Guglielmo Gonzaga and Francesco Rovigo,* s.l. 1997 (three masses); G. Gonzaga (R. Sherr, ed.), *Sacrae cantiones quinque voces (Venice 1583)*, New York 1990; G. Gonzaga (J.A. Owens & M. Nagaoka, eds.*), Madrigali a cinque voci (Venice 1583)*, New York 1995.

16 So did, among others, Ludovico Agostino and Girolamo Belli d'Argenta, cf. Sherr, 'The Publications', pp. 121-122.

17 The special liturgy in Santa Barbara may also be behind a significant part of the music in Claudio Monteverdi's famous *Vespro della Beata Vergine,* which was printed in Venice in 1610. It is possible that the music was originally written for the second Vesper on one of the two annual feast days for Santa Barbara, possibly in 1609, and the retention of Gregorian cantus firmus in the psalm settings and the Magnificat can be explained by the ideals of church musical in Mantua – this also gave Monteverdi the freedom to combine the latest composition technique with a conservative ethos; cf. Graham Dixon, 'Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610: 'della Beata Vergine'?', *Early Music* 15 (1987), pp. 386-89. Furthermore, Monteverdi's use of the hymn "Ave maris stella" also seems to be closer to the Mantuan version than to the contemporary Roman rite, cf. Paola Besutti, '*Ave Maris Stella*: La tradizione mantovane nuovamente posta in musica da Monteverdi' in Paola Besutti, Teresa M. Gialdroni & Rodolfo Baroncini (eds.), *Claudio Monteverdi: Studi e prospettive, Atti del Convegno (Mantova, 21-24 ottobre 1993)*, Florence 1998, pp. 57-78. The whole question is discussed in Jeffrey Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610. Music, Context, Performance,* New York 1999, pp. 28 ff.

18 Tintoretto's so-called 'Gonzaga cycle' can be seen today at the Alte Pinakotek in Munich, and it was in the summer of 2000 the centre of a large exhibition which, among other things, documented the changes in the images through X-rays, cf. the exhibition catalogue, *Alte Pinakotek, Der Gonzaga-Zyklus*, Stuttgart 2000.

direction and guided the painters Mantegna, Costa and Correggio with a firm hand in the decoration of her *studiolo* in the palace.[19]

With the construction of *la Basilica Palatina di Santa Barbara* and the obtaining of very special privileges for the church, the duke was able to create a princely church in the spirit of the Tridentine Council – as the name suggests a sovereign (*palatine*) church, independent of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, subject only to the authority of the pope – and the duke's – and located in the middle of the palace. The creation and strengthening of this institution occupied the duke throughout his reign (1557-87). With its synthesis of architecture, type of government, liturgy and, not least, the associated, uniquely well-regulated church music, it stood as a symbol of the princely family's rooted position in Mantua, of the duke's commitment to the spiritual life of the church and of his status as sovereign prince in the empire's loose network of states, as an equal of the emperor and the pope.

2. A reformed song repertory

The duke himself took eagerly part in the ordering of Santa Barbara's liturgy and in the reform of the chant repertory. It was regulated according to the most 'modern' principles: All barbarisms such as longer melismas and irregular cadence points were removed with a heavy hand, the stresses were rearranged according to neoclassical ideals, and all melodies were brought to fit the modal doctrine as it was taught in sixteenth century textbooks. The melodies were levelled to stay within a range of about one octave, leaps were removed and unnecessary embellishments straightened out. Beginning and ending notes in each major section of a chant (between two double bars) were limited to the mode's *finalis* and *dominant* (the fifth, in Phrygian the fourth) as well as the octave above *finalis*, and the *dominant* was the same note in plagal as in authentic modes. Something completely new was that the monophonic mass ordinary was viewed as a whole that had to stick to the same mode through all main sections. A demand for a stylistic and tonal unity was thereby placed on the plainchant, which was completely foreign to the tradition of Gregorian chant.[20]

A repertory that could meet these requirements was produced partly by combining elements from the Roman repertory in new contexts, partly by significant interventions in existing songs (re-composition) and finally by composing new songs. An analysis of the melodies in Santa Barbara's *Kyriale* shows that the last of the three solutions has been used extensively in this important collection.[21] Jeppesen points out, for example, that the same motifs have been used through several new sections in the *Missa in Festis Beatae Mariae Virginis*, and that the final editing and the composition of new melodies for this was done by the same person.[22]

19 Cf. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, pp. 15 ff.

20 See further Jeppesen's analysis of the *Kyriale* in Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', pp. 138 ff, as well as Jeppesen's preface to *Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol. XVIII, Rome 1954, pp. x-xii.

21 Cf. Besutti, 'Testi e melodie', p. 70, where 19 songs (6 Kyrie, 2 Gloria, 5 Credo, 5 Sanctus and 1 Agnus) have not been found elsewhere, while 16 songs exhibit variants of known melodic material, and 13 are taken over unchanged.

22 Cf. note 20. Besutti, 'Testi e melodie', pp. 75-76 gives more examples from the same mass. The entire *Kyriale ad usum Ecclesie Sante Barbare* is planned to be published in Ottavio Beretta (ed.), *The Gonzaga Masses in the Conservatory Library of Milan Fondo Santa Barbara* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 108) as vol. VI.

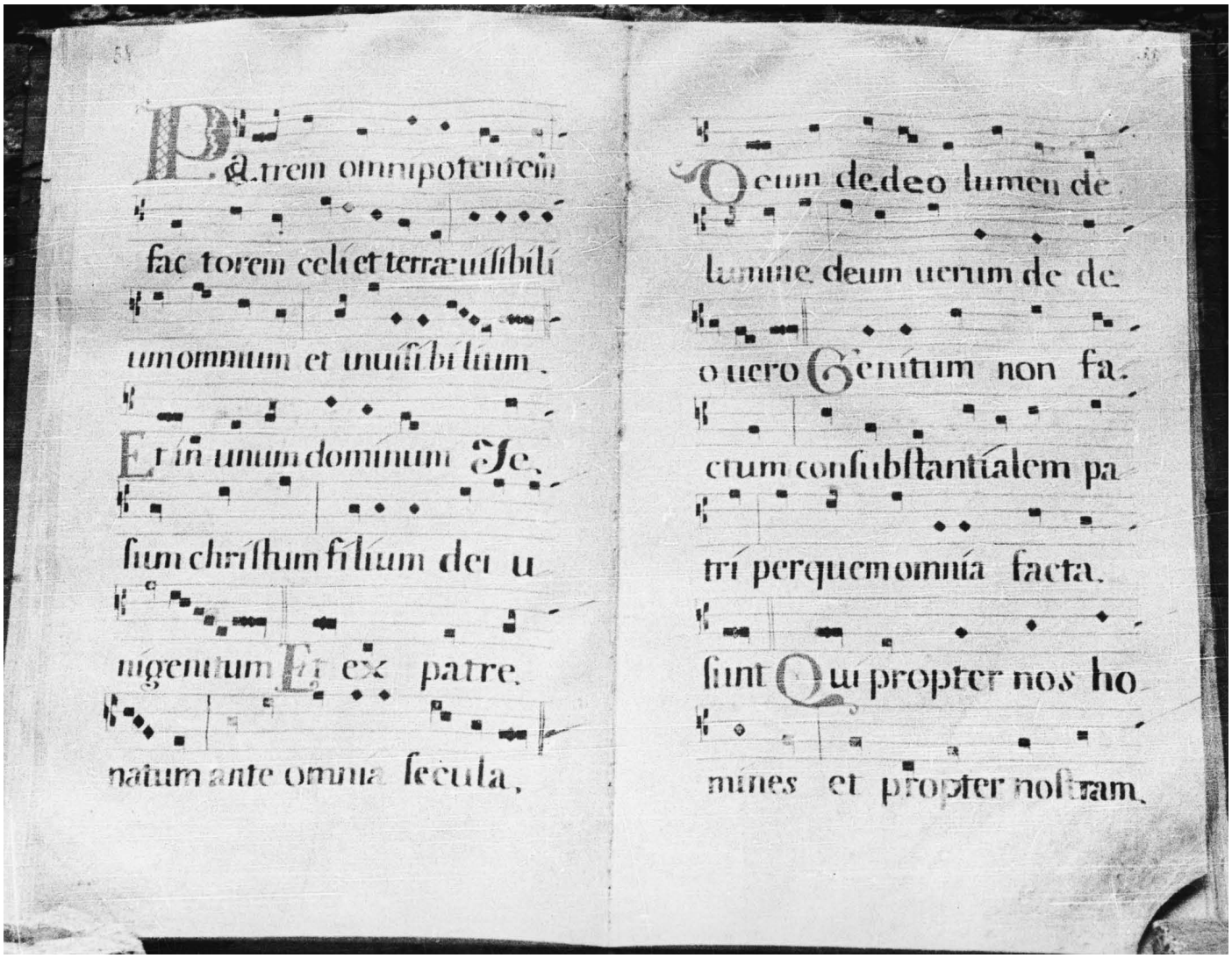
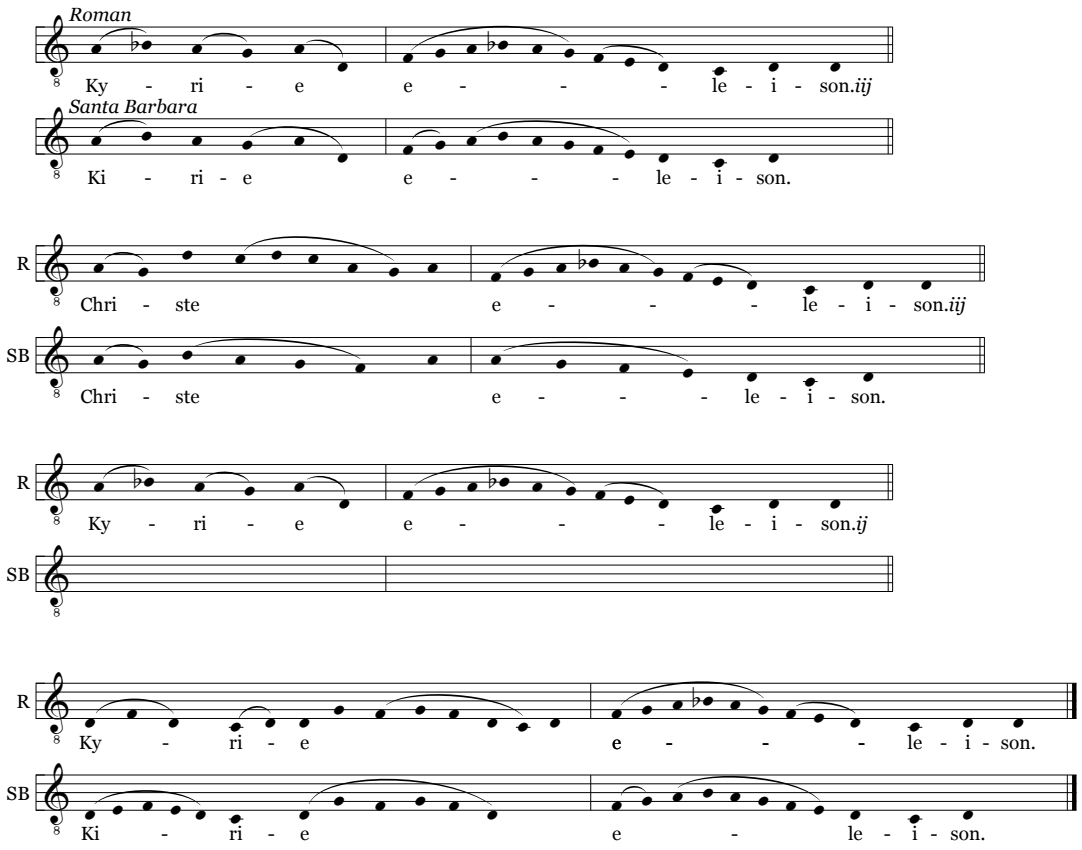


Figure 1, Credo from *Missa in Dominicis diebus* in Archivio Storica Diocesano di Mantova, Santa Barbara, Corali ms. 1, sec. XVI, *Kyriale,* pp. 54-55 (photo: Knud Jeppesen).

The mass we shall deal with in the following, the Sunday mass, *In Dominicis diebus*, is quite close to the standard repertory. However, one element, the *Credo* melody, is not known from elsewhere. The beginning of the *Credo* is reproduced in *Figure 1* after Santa Barbara's *Kyriale*. The mass is like this melody kept entirely in the second mode, Hypodorian. The *Gloria* and *Sanctus* (from missa xi) and *Agnus Dei* (missa xiii) were Hypodorian already in the Roman repertory, so only minor adjustments have been necessary here. The *Kyrie* (also from missa xi), on the other hand, was in authentic Dorian, and has therefore been subjected to a thorough revision, where the effective contrast with the rise to *d'* in Christe has been levelled, so that Christe stays within the same range of a seventh as Kyrie (see *Example 1*). The chant is also a good example of the simplification that was made in Santa Barbara's melodic material. The repetitions of the invocations have been removed and the long form of the final Kyrie has been reworked into Kyrie II.



Example 1, Comparison of the Kyrie from *Missa in Dominicis diebus* in the standard version (Roman – after *Graduale romanum,* Tournai 1962, p. 38*) and in the Archivio Storica Diocesano di Mantova, Santa Barbara, Corali ms 1, sec. XVI: *Kyriale* (p. 50).

The version of the *Kyriale* that we know was probably copied long after the creation of much of the polyphonic music that the duke had ordered for Santa Barbara. The book represents the final redaction of the plainchant for the ordinary, which was the result of a long process. It is also striking that in the Sunday masses there is a difference in how close the Santa Barbara composers are to the final redaction of the standard melodies, while at the same time they all use the special Credo melody, which probably belonged to a local tradition from before the reforms.

3. *Missae Dominicales* 1592

Only one single collection of polyphonic music from Santa Barbara's rich repertory was printed in the sixteenth century: *Missae Dominicales quinis vocibus diversorum auctorum. A F. Iulio Pellinio carmel. mant. collectae*. It was published in Milan by Michael Tini in 1592.[23] The publisher Giulio Pellini describes himself as a Carmelite monk from Mantua. The Carmelites were one of Mantua's more important monastic orders that had a number of composers and musicians in its ranks.[24] Pellini dedicated his collection of six five-part Sunday masses to Duke Alfonso II d'Este of Ferrara, who was married to Guglielmo Gonzaga's daughter Margherita, probably in the hope that the collection would find use not only in Ferrara but also in Milan, which was strongly oriented towards the Catholic reform efforts.

I have chosen to focus on this collection, because the music was selected by someone who had a close knowledge of the music in Mantua, and who found that these masses constituted the part of the repertory that had the greatest chance to make an impact outside of Santa Barbara, probably because of the broad applicability of the Sunday masses, and because the underlying melodies were relatively close to the standard repertory. Furthermore, Pellini's selection of composers is very representative. Not only do we here find composers from almost three generations: Giovanni Contino was born around 1513, Palestrina around 1525, Giaches de Wert and Allessandro Striggio were born in the mid-1530s, Franscesco Rovigo around 1540 and Giangiacomo Gastoldi as late as around 1555. Pellini has also grouped the composers with care: First the staff at Santa Barbara – Wert and Gastoldi were together chapel masters in the long period 1564-1609, Contino helped to determine the church's musical expression during its early years, and Rovigo was organist 1573-82, in the years when the plainchant and a large part of the repertory was created. Then follow the Mantuan nobleman and Florentine composer Striggio and the papal chapel master Palestrina – they represent the duke's ability to attract the participation of famous musicians in the project.[25] And finally, the masses are available in an easily accessible new edition.[26]

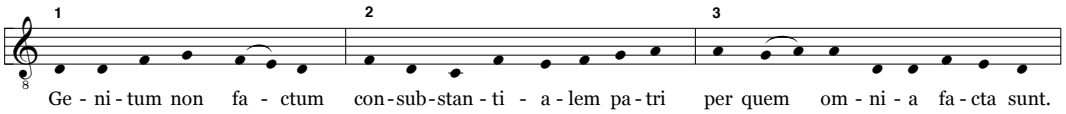
All six masses are like the overwhelming majority of the masses in Santa Barbara's repertory based on the *alternatim* principle, that is, only every other phrase/section of the plainchant are set in polyphony, and the chant not set in polyphony is left to either monophonic, choral performance or serves as a basis for organ improvisation, both

23 The set of five part-books is preserved incomplete in two different libraries, which, however, complement each other: London, King's Music Library (Cantus, Altus, Tenor and Quintus) and Modena, Biblioteca Estense (Altus and Bassus); see RISM 1592/1. I have used Knud Jeppesen's microfilm which is preserved at the State Library in Aarhus, cf. Christoffersen, 'Knud Jeppesen's Collection'.

24 Cf. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, p. 28.

25 Furthermore, this arrangement places the two most interesting masses by the best-known composers, Wert and Palestrina, first and last in the part-books, a tactic that many publishers used.

26 Siro Cisilino (ed.), *Sei Missae dominicalis a cinque voci di diversi autori raccolte da Giulio Pellini frate carmelitano di Mantova (1592)*, Padua 1981. Cisilino had like C. MacClintock in the edition of Wert's mass (Giaches de Wert *Opera omnia*, Vol. XVII (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 24), s.l. 1977, p. 1) no knowledge of *the Kyriale* of Santa Barbara and brings standard melodies in the monophonic *alternatim* sections, therefore these versions are not appropriate for practical use. References to other new editions of the masses (Wert, Rovigo, Contino and Palestrina) can be found in the respective entries in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Second Edition, London 2001.



Example 2, *Credo* "Genitum non factum" in *Santa Barbara, Kyriale,* p. 55.

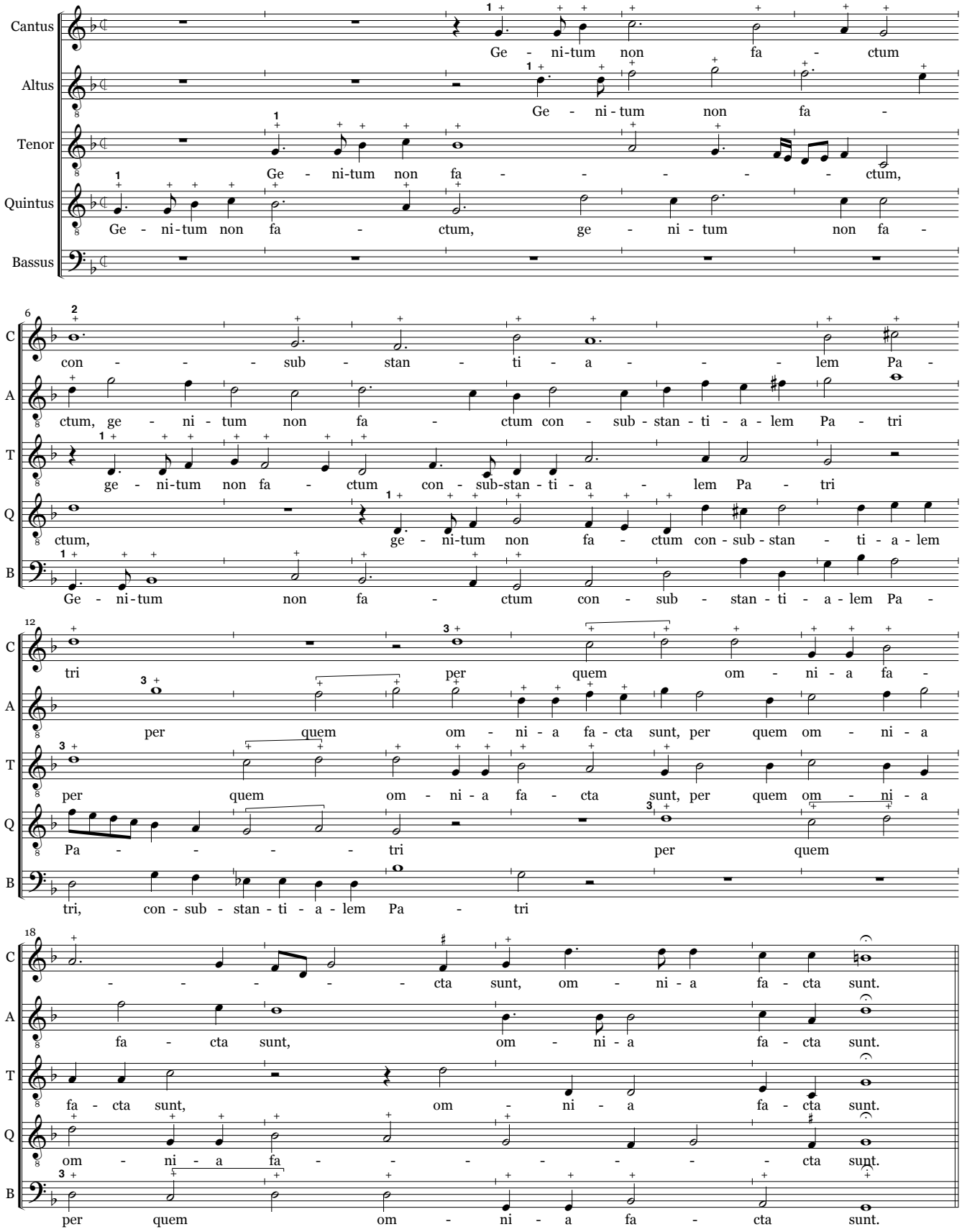
alternating with the polyphonic choir.[27] In the Santa Barbara masses *alternatim* plays the greatest role in the text-rich main sections *Gloria* and *Credo*, while this liturgy's short Kyrie does not allow *alternatim*. In the *Sanctus*, the alternation only appears in the "Sanctus" acclamations, while the remainder (Dominus, Pleni sunt, Osanna and Benedictus) are composed throughout. In the *Agnus Dei*, one of the three prayers is set in polyphony.

To get an impression of the composers involved, we have to look at a single complete element from the long series of *alternatim* sections. As example I have chosen a central place in the *Credo*, where Jesus is characterized as "Genitum non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per quem omnia facta sunt" – "Begotten, not made, being of one substance with the father, by whom all things were made". Precisely this sentence has been chosen, because it allows the differences of the composers to stand out in particular clarity. The *Credo* melody as a whole is very simple, resembling for long stretches an Italian sequence with varied double verses,[28] thus "Genitum non factum" repeats and varies the melody of the preceding phrase "Deum de deo" (the beginning of the *Credo* is reproduced in *Figure 1* above). In "Genitum non factum" the melody keeps within the second mode's fifth, extended by a note below *finalis d*. The phrase consists of three segments, which most composers have chosen to treat individually in imitative settings, and which I in *Example 2* and in the following transcriptions have provided with numbers (see *Examples 3-8*, where also the appearance of the melody is marked with + above the notes).[29]

27 On *alternatim*, see further section 5 below and *Figure 3*.

28 Cf. David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford 1993, pp. 183-185.

29 The music examples are reproduced in a rhythmic reduction 1:2 after Pellini's printed *Missae Dominicales* from 1592, which in the case of these sections is without errors. The text is also complete and free of errors (here it has only been necessary in the Palestrina example (*Ex. 8*) to move the syllable "-ctum" in Tenor b. 10 from a half note *a'* to the first beat similar to Quintus b. 15). All six masses are in basically the same combination of clefs regardless of the transposition of the *Credo* melody, namely: Cantus c1, Altus c3, Tenor c4, Bassus f4 and Quintus c4 (in Contino and Gastoldi, c3).



Example 3, Giaches de Wert, *Missa Dominicalis,* Credo (3rd *alternatim* section).

The composers in Missae Dominicales

Giaches de Wert (*c.*1535-96) came into contact with the Gonzaga family at the age of 18,[30] and at the end of 1564 he was appointed chapel master at Santa Barbara and the court of Mantua. He remained in Mantua for the rest of his life as the city's leading musical personality. From 1582, however, he dealt less and less with Santa Barbara. He has a very large production of music for the church, masses, psalms, hymns, Magnificat settings and a passion, which today is little known, as his reputation mainly rests on the printed collections of motets and madrigals.

His Sunday mass is in Hypodorian on G with the melodic material transposed up a fourth. "Genitum non factum" is an inventive and expressive, compact contrapuntal setting (*Ex. 3*). The cantus brings the entire chant in calm note values in a rhythmically floating form that may reproduce the way in which it was recited in monophony. The tune is only extended by a cadence pattern to *g′* in bars 18-19, and it has an extension to the open ending with the third at the top (bb. 20-21). It does, however, contain a striking change, namely the augmented second between *b♭′* and *c♯″* in bar 11, which effectively highlights the end of "consubstantialem Patri". Cantus 'floats' above an imitative texture in the lower voices that completely skips melody segment 2. The melodic material is used flexibly, but all the while maintaining the rhythmic characteristics that give each segment identity, for example, the dotted beginning that also sets Cantus in motion. Segment 1 occurs a total of seven times with varying spacing and segment 3 five times (in Altus tonally modified).

Wert masterfully uses the five voices in vocal instrumentation.[31] He delays the entry of Bassus in extended note values until it can provide Cantus with maximum support. Before that, he has kicked the 'floating' of Cantus into motion with a series of – for the church style quite unconventional – dissonances (bb. 4-5). The idea here must be a series of in itself inconspicuous fourth suspensions in two-part *contrapunctus* progressions, which all are correctly resolved: bar 4.1, between Quintus and Tenor, bar 4.2, between Cantus (also seventh in relation to Quintus) and Altus, bar 5.1, between Cantus and Altus, and bar 5.2 between Altus (also second to Cantus) and Quintus. The build-up is striking after the harmonically static but rhythmically accelerating introductory imitation. In particular, Cantus' first top note *c″* draws the attention to the presence of the melody at the top of the texture; it is certainly introduced consonantly in relation to Tenor, but enhances the effect of the syncope dissonance in Quintus, so that it itself gets an effect as a dissonance, before it actually becomes so in bar 4.2. In the bars 10-15 Bassus swings up and not only emphasizes the word "Patri" again with a rhetorical minor sixth leap above Quintus (bb. 13-14), but also effectively prevents by its ascent to *b♭* (b. 11) that the Cantus' effect on "Patri" is weakened by the singers – moreover, Wert avoids parallels with Altus and Quintus. Without this, the Cantus singers could easily be seduced by the *c♯'* and *f♯′* in Quintus and Altus (b. 10.2) to sing *b♮'* in bar 11; at the same time Bassus hereby supports a sudden 'drive' towards D. The third segment of the melody is shaped like a typical tenor ending in a *contrapunctus* texture. Wert avoids this banality by after an almost canonic development of the segment letting Bassus have the last word in

30 Fenlon, *Giaches de Wert*, p. 26.

*1 31 For an outline of 'vocal instrumentation', see my article 'Josquin og stemmernes klang. Et forslag om analyse af vokal instrumentation', *Musik & Forskning* 27 (2002), pp. 7-24.

the double octave below Cantus, by taking advantage of the fact that the beginning of the segment can also be used as a bassus part for the cadence formula in Cantus and Quintus (bb. 19-20).

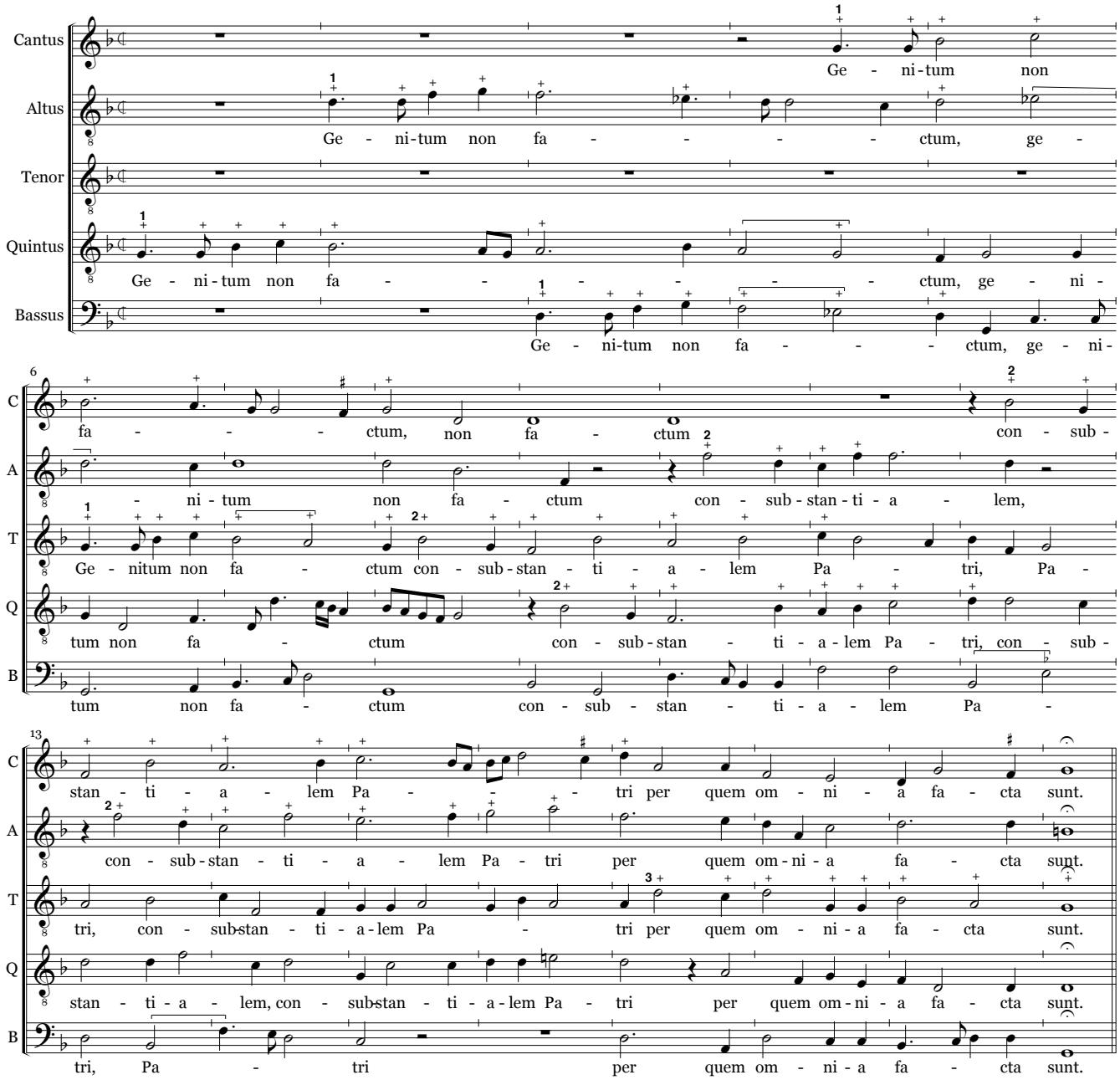
Within 21 *brevis* bars, which, if described by an analysis of its harmony, move quite conventionally from the tonic to the fifth and back again, Wert creates a steeply rising intensity curve until "Patri," which tapers off through the canonic second half. This is achieved through the differentiation of the voices, a calculated use of dissonances and a single unusual melodic progression, by contrapuntal imagination and not least by 'timing' the density of the texture – the two 'supernumerary' entries in Tenor and Quintus on *d* (bb. 6 and 8) also play a role in the build-up – and by completely avoiding the delaying effects of conventional cadence patterns during its course. This section is not typical of all the sections in Wert's *alternatim* settings. It is obvious that the meaning of the text has caused this particular interpretation, but everywhere one finds the same virtuoso, flexible mastery of the counterpoint technique.

Compared to Wert's *tour-de-force*, the examples from the hands of the other composers may seem paler, but they all have characteristic features and in some cases interesting solutions to offer.

Francesco Rovigo (*c.*1540-97) studied organ from 1570 with among others Claudio Merulo in Venice and then became organist at Santa Barbara in the years 1573-82. After a period as organist in Graz, he worked again in Mantua from 1591. His setting is based on the same interpretation of the text as Wert's with the main emphasis on "consubstantialem Patri" to such an extent that the third segment "per quem omnia facta sunt" almost becomes secondary, briefly presented in a regular tenor setting (*Ex. 4*). Only Tenor brings all three segments. The setting is formed as a rise in two stages: First, segment 1 is imitated in all five voices with Tenor as the last entry. What is striking here is that Altus and Bassus, which enter on the fifth, introduce a ♭ for *e* that colours the texture towards Phrygian and drives the harmony towards D. The second segment starts as a free unison canon in Tenor and Quintus (bb. 8-12), but it almost drowns in the compact contrapuntal texture. After a 'false' start in Altus (b. 10), the segment almost triumphantly sounds out in canon at the fourth in Cantus and Altus and ends in an extended cadence to *d″* on "Patri" in the Cantus (bb. 15-17). Except for the initial imitation, Bassus does not participate in the development of the melodic material, but functions as harmonic bass.

The progression of its sonority is carefully calculated with a rise to a high note and change of modal colour. The start's Phrygian colouring with the downward pull of the semitone step is felt all the way to bar 13. After the cadence to G in bar 8, the voices are placed close together with Cantus reciting on the low *d′*. This leaves room for Altus' entry with the second melodic segment on *f′* in preparation for the canon in Cantus and Altus from bar 12, which leads to the setting's highest note *d″*, now in Dorian with *e* natural as exposed notes in Altus and Quintus (bb. 15-16).

Giovanni Contino (*c.*1513-74) had a long career centred on Brescia, Trent and Mantua. In 1539/40 he entered the service of Bishop (later Cardinal) Christoforo Madruzzo in Trent and served as his chapel master during the Council of Trent. His *Missarum liber primus* from 1561 is dedicated to Cardinal Madruzzo, and contains music performed during the council, for example three masses on liturgical *cantus firmi*, a rather old-fashioned procedure at this time. In his motet collections one finds motets written for specific occasions during the council, e.g. *Austriae stirpis* for the wedding of Francesco Gonzaga

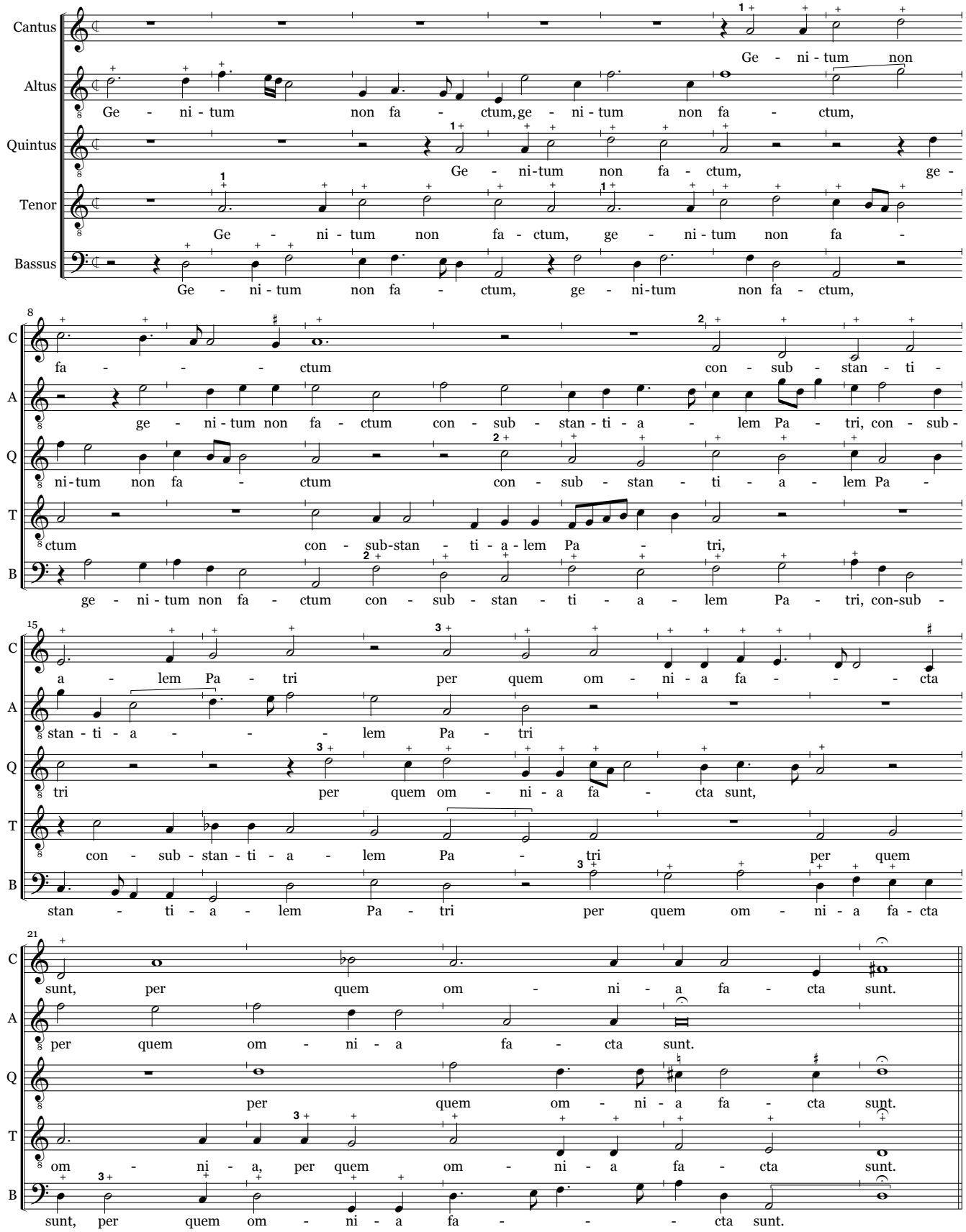


Example 4, Francesco Rovigo, *Missa Dominicalis,* Credo (3rd *alternatim* section).

and Katharina d'Austria in 1549, probably written for the bride's entry into Trent on her way to Mantua.[32] His music is characterized by extensive use of *cantus firmus*, discreet imitative style, and by his responses to images in the text being rare and restrained (this also applies to his madrigals).[33] He spent the years 1551-61 as chapel master at the cathedral in his native Brescia. He worked in Mantua in the period 1561-65 while maintaining

32 *Modulationum*, 5v (two books) and 6v, all from 1560, cf. Iain Fenlon, 'Contino, Giovanni' in *The New Grove Dictionary 6* (2001), pp. 344-345.

33 The *New Grove Dictionary 6* (2001) pp. 344-345. Fenlon also writes here that Contino for a short period was chapel master at Santa Barbara. There seems to be no evidence for this, especially since the information is rejected in Fenlon, *Giaches de Wert,* p. 53 note 99. It must be a misprint for San Pietro. However, there can be no doubt that Contino was connected to Santa Barbara in some capacity.



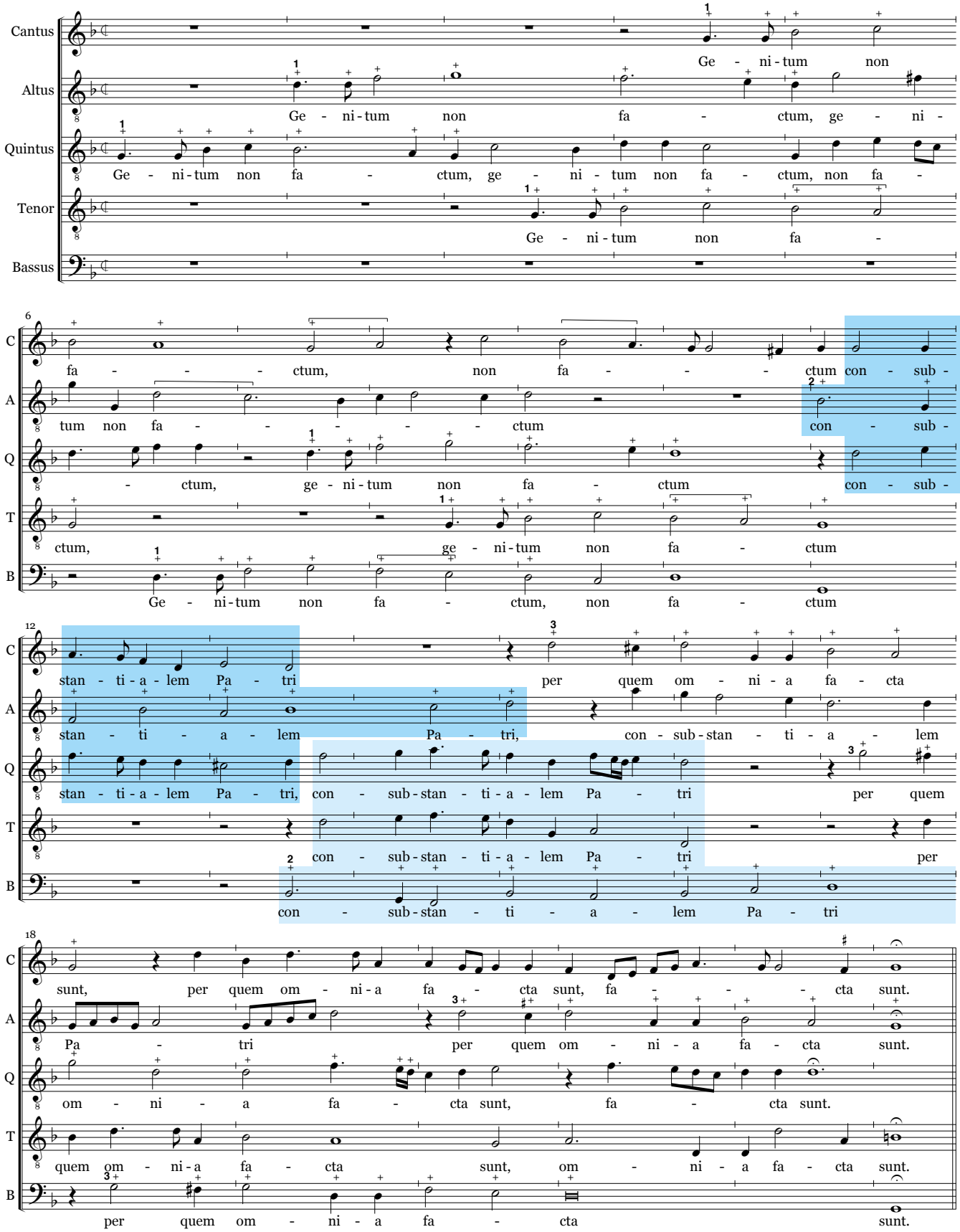
Ex. 5. Giovanni Contino, *Missa Dominicalis,* Credo (3rd *alternatim* section).

his connection to Brescia, in 1561 as chapel master at the cathedral of San Pietro and then attached to the court chapel. He was again in Mantua in the years before his death, perhaps as early as 1568 – in the latter part of the period almost as a highly respected pensioner, from June 1573 with the title of *decanus* (head of the college of priests) at Santa Barbara. Today he is nearly forgotten, but in the sixteenth century his music enjoyed a wide circulation, and there are many indications that his style had an influence on the duke's ideals. The young Guglielmo Gongaza or perhaps rather Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga must have heard Contino and his music in Trent and arranged for him to work at the new church in Mantova. The intermediary may also have been Cardinal Madruzzo, who was an important patron of church music, a reformer and a close friend of Ercole Gonzaga – he also visited Mantua after Ercole's death.

Contino's mass does not transpose the melodic material and is consequently Hypodorian on D. The low tessitura counteracts to some extent the general efforts of the masses to make the melody as audible as possible. Therefore in "Genitum non factum" (*Ex. 5*), after entries in Altus and Bassus with the first three notes of the melody, Contino only brings the first melody segment transposed up a fifth, in Tenor (twice!), in Quintus and in Cantus – the last, high entry ensures that the melody is recognisable. After a cadence to the fifth, segment 2 is imitated from Bassus (*loco*) to Quintus (transposed up a fifth) and finally at the octave by Cantus. The last entry is partially covered by the higher Altus. The last melody segment is heard complete three times: in Cantus at the octave, and *loco* in Bassus (b. 18) and in Tenor, where it forms the basis for the open cadence. Along the way, Contino marks two entries in fourth transposition in Quintus (b. 16) and Bassus (b. 21), both times with a syncopated dissonance at the entry which could lead the singers to introduce a *c#* and thus further mask the use of melody. The beginning's harmonic direction towards the fifth is balanced in the second half by a drift towards the fourth, especially with the introduction of a *b*-flat in bars 15 and 22, which, however, at the same time emphasizes the Dorian anchoring. Contino's setting relates quite neutrally to the meaning of the text. It offers a dignified balanced, smoothly joined performance of the melody, a setting that fulfils all the prescriptions of contrapuntal knowledge.

Giangiacomo Gastoldi (*c.*1555-1609), the well-known composer of light madrigals and *balleti,* came to Santa Barbara as a singer at the age of 18, in the years 1579-87 he taught the new singers counterpoint and chant singing, and in 1588 he succeeded Wert as chapel master after acting as a his substitute during Wert's periods of illness. He has a large production of church music, which gained renown outside Mantua as well and was distributed in many printed editions.

His "Genitum non factum" (*Ex. 6*) shows considerable awareness of Wert's accomplishments in the same section, but it also brings new elements into play. As in Wert's setting, segment 1 is presented seven times imitatively in the same at the same time characteristic and flexible rhythmization, first four times on the notes *g, d′, g* and *g′* (Quintus, Altus, Tenor, Cantus), establishing the G Dorian mode, then three times on *d*, *d′* and *g* (Bassus, Quintus, Tenor) – Bassus' late entry (b. 6) on the fifth suggests a turn towards *d*, which is however hindered by the Tenor's entry with a fully developed cadence to G. This cadence is emphasized with a series of as many as five seventh suspensions in a row in bars 8-10 in Altus and Cantus. As in Wert, the syncope dissonances serve to tighten the progression, but while Wert avoided the cadence, Gastoldi here emphasizes the direction towards the cadence in bar 11. After that, something new begins: Melody segment 2 is set as a *cantus*



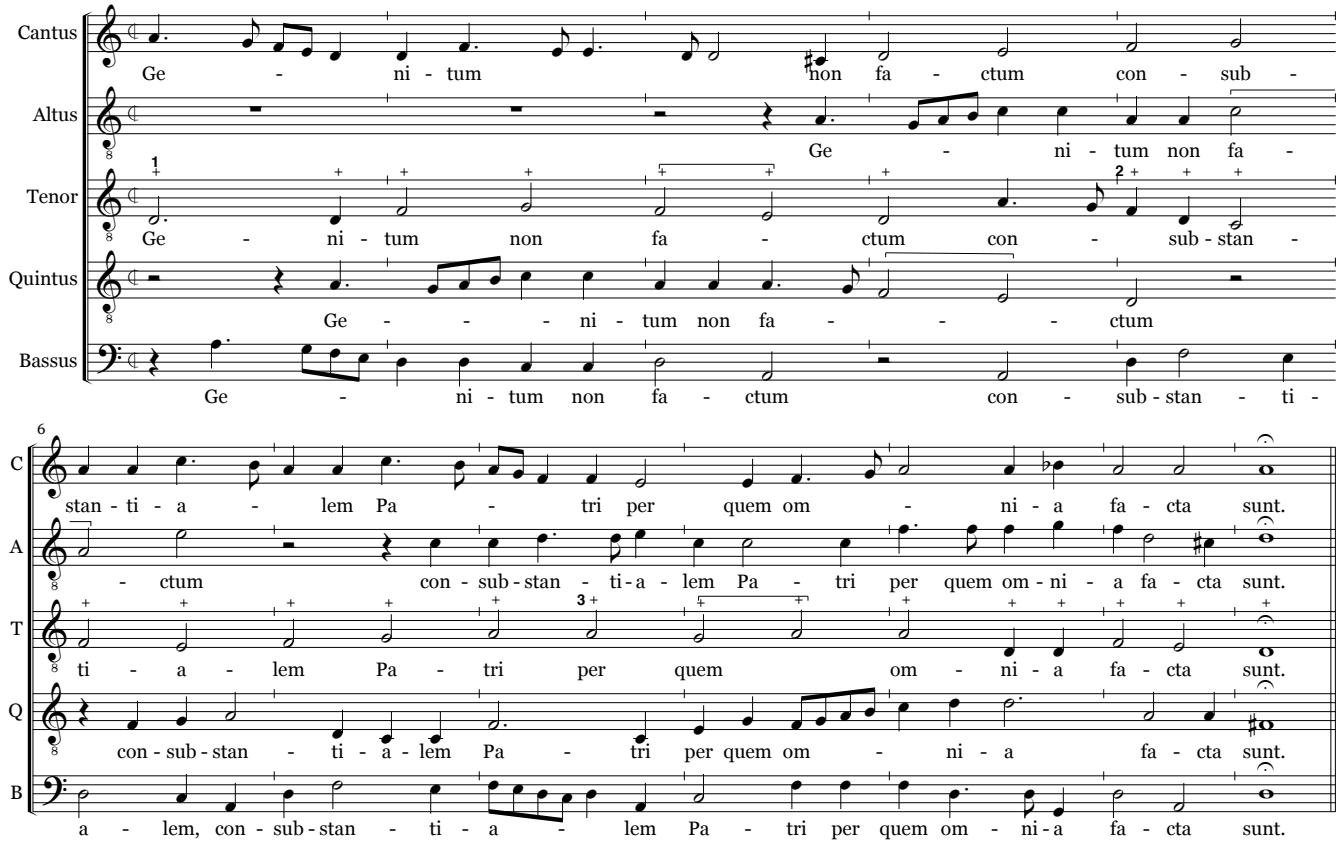
Ex. 6. Giangiacomo Gastoldi, *Missa Dominicalis,* Credo (3rd *alternatim* section).

firmus in two three-part formations, first in Altus (bb. 11-15) then in Bassus (bb. 13-17). Above these melody segments, Gastoldi has set a languishing phrase in predominantly parallel thirds with the text "consubstantialem Patri" in Cantus and Quintus (bb. 11-13) which is varied in Quintus and Tenor (bb. 13-16). These phrases are shorter than segment 2, allowing Gastoldi to overlap the three-part formations (shown graphically in *Ex. 6)*. Segment 3 also overlaps these formations, as the Cantus already enters bar 15 on the top note of the setting, and this also becomes the only regular presentation of segment 3. In the following entries in Quintus, Bassus and Altus, the tune is modified so that it easier fits into an imitative texture, which is more lively figured than we have seen so far. The identity of segment 3 is reinforced by the fact that Gastoldi has consistently introduced a syncope dissonance at the start of the melody fragment and in three out of four cases also a sharp before the resolving note – it is hardly conceivable that the singers did not also sing *c♯'* in the last entry in Altus (b. 20).

After the calm start, Gastoldi lets the chain of dissonance underline the last, seventh entry of melody segment 1. After this, the character changes to an illusion of two three-part choirs answering each other. They are written over segment 2, which, however, is completely overshadowed by the euphonic parallel thirds. The contrast in texture and density of dissonance to the preceding highlights the words "consubstantialem Patri". The ending is contrapuntally more neutral, balancing with lively figuration the contrast in the middle of the setting, at the same time as the movement peaks with the entry of segment 3 "per quem omnia facta sunt" above the last 'half-chorus'. As Wert, Gastoldi gets maximum expression out of 23 *brevis* bars, which harmonically keep to G Dorian with a tendency towards the fifth in the middle.

Allessandro Striggio (*c.*1537-93) was a nobleman from Mantua, who performed the almost unheard-of balancing act of being a courtier in Mantua, a friend of the duke, while at the same time working for 28 years (1559-87) as a highly paid instrumentalist and court composer at the Medici court in Florence. The courtier and servant were kept apart by geography. While he enjoyed widespread fame as a virtuoso and composer of madrigals and theatre music, he had very little opportunity to compose church music. Two manuscripts in the Santa Barbara archive, dating from the period 1580-85, contain his Sunday mass, which is the shortest of the masses in Pellini's collection. However, the majority of the *alternatim* sections are not as compact as his setting of "Genitum non factum" (*Ex. 7*), but use imitative texture to a greater extent. Here the melody is carried as an unbroken *cantus firmus* in Tenor, with only two extra notes added in bar 4. The counter voices to the tenor suggest imitation of a descending motif (in Cantus and Bassus) and an ascending one (Quintus and Altus). The tenor melody does not influence the other voices, but is presented deeply wrapped in an effective but unobtrusive five-part texture.

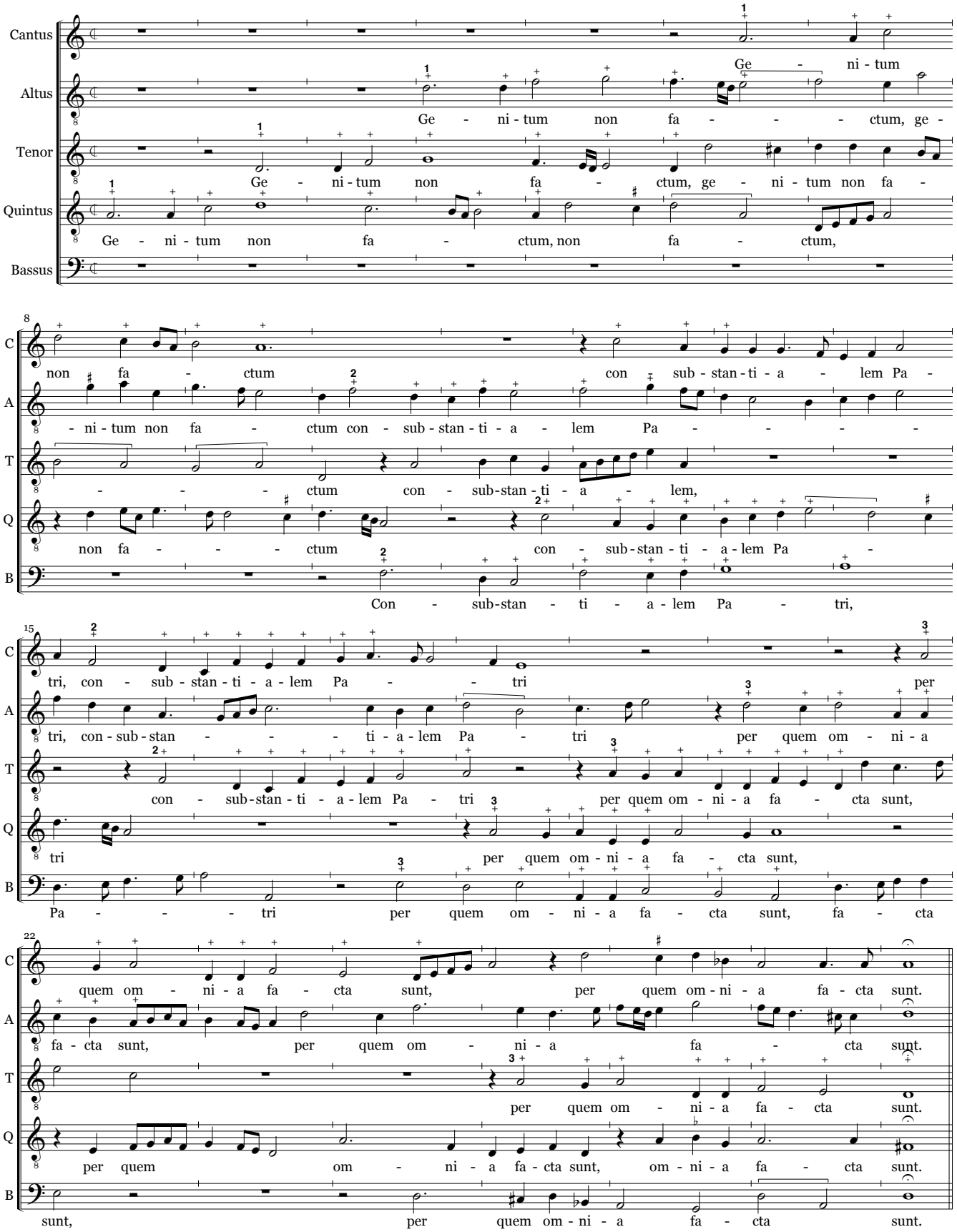
Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (*c.*1525-94) was probably never in Mantua. A negotiation concerning his taking over the office of chapel master after Giaches de Wert ran aground on incompatible factors: Palestrina's demands concerning his fee and the duke's frugality. But they corresponded from 1568 until the Duke's death – a total of twelve autograph letters from Palestrina are preserved in Mantua – and Palestrina soon came to advise the Duke on his own compositions. In the late 1570s the correspondence shows that Palestrina delivered at least nine masses to Santa Barbara. There is no evidence to include the Sunday mass, which is not preserved among the Santa Barbara manuscripts, in this delivery. It also has a few distinctive features that point to a different time of composition.



Ex. 7. Allessandro Striggio, *Missa Dominicalis,* Credo (3rd *alternatim* section).

"Genitum non factum" (*Ex. 8*) is in Palestrina's hands an impressive composition in D Dorian, the longest among these examples, 28 brevis bars, where all three elements of the melody are given equal weight in a thoroughly imitative setting. The first segment begins and ends up a fifth to make the melody audible. Palestrina initially seems to suggest a triple rhythm in the first three entries, but then the Cantus enters 'too late' and the melodic segment becomes with each entry rhythmically shorter. At the same time the syncope dissonances support the feeling that Palestrina 'sneaks in' a bar in double time before the Cantus entry. The first syncopation appears during Altus' entry (b. 4.1), the next comes where Cantus should have entered (b. 5.2), the third syncopation during Cantus' actual entry (b. 6.2), and the last two in this round come (bb. 8.1 and 9.2) with three beats (*semibreves*) in between. With these 'simple' touches, Palestrina creates a wonderfully flowing rhythm and at the same time directs the ears to the melody of the Cantus. Bassus only enters with the setting of segment 2. This segment is imitated in flexible rhythmization in all five voices (as well as a hinted entry in Cantus at the fifth b. 12). The counterpoint is formed as two-part close imitations at the octave, first freely (Altus-Bassus and Quintus-(Cantus)), then strictly (Cantus-Tenor from b. 15). Without a cadence, this character continues in a five-part close imitation of the third segment (from b. 17), overlapping the setting of the previous segment. The movement ends with a real tenor setting of segment 3 – in accordance with the character of the melody.

It is clear that Palestrina has taken pains to treat all the melodic material in imitation and to do it artfully varied. This involves a balancing act between strict implementation of the segments and flexible phrasing. The setting is constantly thinned out with pauses



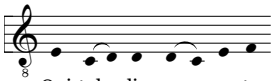
Ex. 8. G.P. da Palestrina, *Missa Dominicalis,* Credo (3rd *alternatim* section).

so that it does not become too massively monotonous – most of the time only three or four voices sound. At the same time, fragmentation is avoided through the fluid, detailed harmony as well as by the addition of transition figures, 'tails', when a voice has reached its target note. The most characteristic ones are in Quintus in bar 10.1 and Cantus in bar 24.2. The main impression of the setting is elegant learning. The mentioned 'tails' and the placement of syncope dissonances in the opening imitation seem decidedly not characteristic of Palestrina.[34]

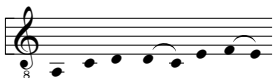
The use of plainchant in Missae Dominicales

In the examples reviewed there are no significant differences to be traced in the chant versions used by the composers. There are differences, as previously mentioned, in the other sections of the mass, which are based on lightly revised chants from the standard repertory, and here Palestrina to some degree stands out. He must have had the reworked plainchant for *Missa Dominicalis* sent to him, in the same way as when he had the chants sent to him in Rome, when he delivered nine masses in 1578-79, because his setting agree to a very large extent with the chant versions we see in the preserved *Kyriale*. Gastoldi clearly uses the same exemplars, although he relates more freely to them and does not, like Palestrina, follow them so closely that one can reconstruct even the texting of the exemplar.

To illustrate the appearance of the melodic material in the various composers, we can look at *Gloria*. In the standard repertory, the melody keeps to the fifth *c-g* with a turn up to *a* in the last phrase "… in gloria Dei Patris".[35] In Santa Barbara's *Kyriale* the most audible difference is that the range is extended downwards to *A*, so that the song covers the full Hypodorian range. In this way the tones *c* and *e* are also avoided in the beginning of sentences or invocations. Two of these revisions appear in subsections that are set to polyphony, namely in "Domine Deus, Rex celestis" and "Qui tollis peccata ... suscipe". In the first case, the third invocation "Deus Pater omnipotens" starts on *c* in the standard version. This is what we find in Wert, Rovigo, Contino, and in Striggio (transposed up a fifth in Cantus), while in Gastoldi and Palestrina the invocation begins on *A*. "Qui tollis peccata" begins in the standard version with a characteristic descending third:



In Santa Barbara's *Kyriale* this is changed to:



Wert, Gastoldi and Palestrina use the Mantua version with slight variations in the small two-note ligatures. Rovigo and Contino, on the other hand, both build on a version of the melody where the starting note has been changed from *e* to *d*. Contino shapes the beginning into a powerful motif, *d-c-d-G*, which Rovigo also uses in different variants. Striggio almost seems to stick to the descending third of the standard version (*e, c-d* – a fourth higher in Cantus and Tenor), although he also in the imitative entries uses a melody beginning more similar to the Santa Barbara version (*d, c-d*).

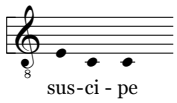
34 Knud Jeppesen accordingly regarded this mass as an *opera dubium*, until he found the other Mantua masses, where the same features appear sporadically, cf. Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', p. 178, note 37.

35 *Graduale romanum*, Tournai 1962, pp. 39*-40*.

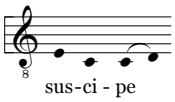
*c.*1513	Giovanni Contino is born in Brescia.
1525/26	Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina is born in Palestrina.
1535	Giaches de Wert is born in Ghent (?).
1536/37	Allessandro Striggio is born in Mantua.
1538	Guglielmo Gonzaga is born in Mantua.
*c.*1540-51	Contino chapel master to Bishop Christoforo Madruzzo in Trent.
1541/42	Francesco Rovigo is born.
*c.*1543	Wert comes in connection with the Gonzaga family, in the house of Guilio Cesare in Rome.
1550	Duke Francesco Gonzaga dies, his brother Guglielmo inherits the title, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga heads the guardianship, while Guglielmo is a minor.
1551-55	Wert in Novellare with Alfonso Gonzaga and in Mantua.
*c.*1555	Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi is born in Caravaggio.
1557	Guglielmo Gonzaga takes over the government in Mantua.
1559-87	Striggio in service at the Medici court in Florence.
1561	Guglielmo Gonzaga marries Eleonora d'Austria; Ercole Gonzaga presides over the 3rd session of the Council of Trent; Contino chapel master at the cathedral of San Pietro in Mantua.
1561	Nov., construction of Santa Barbara begins.
1562	May, Santa Barbara is consecrated.
1563	Jan., work on a new and larger basilica on the same site begins.
1563	Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga dies in August and the council ends in December.
1563-65	Wert in Milan as chapel master to the governor.
1563-65	Contino attached to the court chapel and the cathedral next to obligations in Brescia.
1564	Oct., the altar and crypt in the new basilica are consecrated.
1564	Dec., Wert already functions as chapel master at Santa Barbara while in Milan and sends a mass to Mantua.
1565	May, the new Santa Barbara is consecrated.
1565	autumn, Wert in Mantua as chapel master at Santa Barbara.
1567	A madrigal by Guglielmo Gonzaga is published in Wert's 4th madrigal book.
1568	Feb. 2, Palestrina's first letter to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga (probably attached to *Missa Sine nomine* a 4).
1568-79	Negotiations with the Vatican about a special Santa Barbara liturgy.
*c.*1568	Contino returns to Mantua, status in the city's musical life unknown.
1569-72	The final extensions and completion of Santa Barbara.
1571	A papal bull approves the liturgy of the office in Santa Barbara.
1572	Gastoldi subdeacon at Santa Barbara.
1573	Work on a reform of the songs in the office begins.
1573	June, Contino *decanus* at Santa Barbara.
1573	Contino's *Missae cum quinque vocibus* published in Milan, contains among others three masses that paraphrase older *alternatim* masses for Santa Barbara.
1573-82	Rovigo organist at Santa Barbara.
1574	before March 4, Contino dies in Mantua.
1574	June, Palestrina's *Missa in Duplicibus Maioribus* is copied in Santa Barbara.
1578	Oct.-Apr. 79, Palestrina composes nine masses for Santa Barbara.
1579-87	Gastoldi teaches novices at Santa Barbara in counterpoint.
1580	Oct., a *Missa Dominicalis* by Palestrina is copied in Santa Barbara.
1580-85	Two manuscripts from Santa Barbara contain Striggio's *Missa dominicalis*.
1582	and 1585-86, Gastoldi chapel master at Santa Barbara during Wert's illness.
1583	Santa Barbara's missal and breviary obtain papal approval and are printed.
1587	Striggio returns to Mantua.
1587	Aug., Guglielmo Gonzaga dies.
1588	Gastoldi is permanently appointed chapel master at Santa Barbara.

Figure 2, Chronology of Santa Barbara and the composers in Pellini's collection.

In the middle of "Qui tollis" comes the word "suscipe", which the majority of the composers emphasize, and in *Kyriale* it is sung simply and clearly without embellishments of any kind on the three syllables:



Palestrina uses the formula



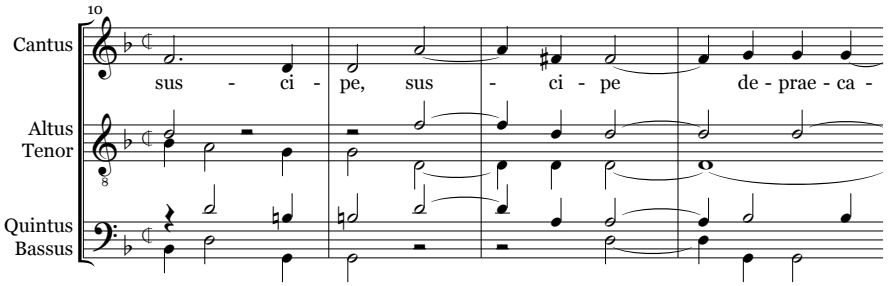
set in recitation in bright C chords. It is one of the few places, where Palestrina abandons the constant imitative texture in favour of homophony, and it continues in expressively modulating double choir effects (with the introduction of first *f*♯ and then *c*♯).[36] Striggio, Gastoldi and Contino use the same version of the melody as Palestrina, only in a more imitative manner, which still makes the word stand out by virtue of the insistent figure. Only Wert and Rovigo use the short form, Wert freely with repeated chordal recitation and a striking false relation effect in G Dorian (see *Ex. 9*), while Rovigo imitates the figure *a-f-f* over an organ point on *d*. [37]

These observations suggest that the melodic material for Santa Barbara's liturgy fluctuated in details during the decades before it was codified in the *Kyriale*, and that one cannot describe a linear development in the redaction of the melodies with the help of the Sunday masses. Looking at the chronological overview (*Figure 2*), it becomes clear that Wert and Striggio may have written their masses from the mid-1560s and until the early 1580s, Contino his before 1573 and probably in the late 1560s, Rovigo during the 1570s, Gastoldi from the end of the 1570s until the mid-1580s, while Palestrina's mass probably must be placed in the 1570s.[38] In the three variant places in *Gloria* just mentioned, Contino follows either the standard version or an early Santa Barbara revision – and in Kyrie II he also uses the traditional form, while Christe is clearly the revised version in Hypodorian (see *Ex. 1*). The much younger Rovigo pretty much follows Contino all the way through his mass, though using the Santa Barbara version in Kyrie II. Striggio is also very much in line with Contino, but is closer to the standard melodies, as if his knowledge of the Santa Barbara version is limited to the most important places such as Christe and *Credo*; or that the revision at the time of composition was not particularly extensive. The chapel master Wert follows the versions of the *Kyriale* wording in two of the three featured places, but ignores the revised version of Christe – instead uses a sweeping Hypodorian melody, perhaps his own take on how Christe should be sung. In the same way, the short version of "suscipe" may be his bid for a revision of the melody, which unlike Christe found inclusion in the *Kyriale*; Rovigo agrees with Wert on this point. Palestrina and Gastoldi follow the *Kyriale* with variants of the same character as with the word "suscipe". The six masses thus give the impression that the composers have been working with a liturgical melodic material under development – and that perhaps the polyphonic arrangements of the melodies have also contributed with new formulations and testing of proposals during the revision work.

36 Cisilino, *Sei Missae*, pp. 181-182, bb. 10-18. The other instance of homophonic declamation is not surprisingly found in Credo, "Et incarnatus", p. 192, b. 1.

37 Cisilino, *Sei Missae*, p. 10, bb. 10-13, and p. 41, bb. 13-16.

38 An examination of the handwritten sources for five of the masses might narrow down the temporal frames, but that falls outside the scope of this article.



Ex. 9. Giaches de Wert, *Missa Dominicalis,* Gloria (6th *alternatim* section, bb. 10-13).

Santa Barbara's music collection contains no less than five masses by Giovanni Contino,[39] and it is easy to see that Contino's younger successors, incl. the duke himself, modelled their masses on his. As a whole, his Sunday mass is very varied, using almost all types of setting that were common around 1550, characterized by a thoroughly imitative, learned texture alternating with shorter, more *cantus firmus*-like settings of the chant in the *alternatim* sections. Often the chant is heard at the end of the sections at a high pitch, transposed up a fifth or a fourth. For the sake of variety, some subsections in the middle of the main sections are written for a reduced number of voices, thus "Domine Deus Rex celestis" in *Gloria*, "Et resurrexit" in *Credo* and "Benedictus" in *Sanctus* are for three voices; "Confiteor" in *Credo* is in triple time. Sections such as *Kyrie*, *Agnus Dei* and *Sanctus* (after the three "Sanctus" acclamations) are written in a broadly unfolded imitative texture with a more motet-like development of the liturgical melodic material. Contino sets the second prayer in *Agnus Dei* in polyphony, which means that the first and third prayers are to be song in plainchant or performed by the organ (Rovigo, Gastoldi and Striggio do the same, while Wert and Palestrina set the chant for the first and third prayers). Harmonically the music adheres to concords on the steps of the Dorian scale with the variable sixth step as the main opportunity for harmonic fluctuations, and with an emphasis on the mode's *finalis* and *dominant* in accordance with the principles that came to govern the revision of Santa Barbara's chant.

This model is largely followed by the other composers, who, however, preferred to have two subsections in *Gloria* for a reduced number of voices (Wert, Rovigo and Gastoldi) and two or three (Striggio) in *Credo*. Only Palestrina follows suit with fewer voices in "Benedictus" (a 4), and he and Striggio also reduce the number of voices to four in "Pleni sunt". Wert, Striggio and Palestrina also switch to triple time in "Osanna". All are quite common procedures in mass composition. What may be surprising is how large a proportion of the music in each mass is composed in five-part imitative texture.

The biggest differences between the six masses appear in their lengths, and here clear divergences can be traced between the composers who worked in Mantua and the 'foreigners'. The total numbers of *brevis* bars in masses by the Mantua composers are between *c.*450 and 480 with Contino and Gastoldi at the highest numbers of bars. Striggio only reaches *c.*370 bars with his mostly terse formulated imitation patterns, which quickly change into a chordal conceived polyphony. Palestrina's conscientious contrapuntal treatment of every single phrase in the plainchant, which in several places is conducted in calm canon over a contrapuntal weave of free motifs, extends to no less

39 He published three of them in 1573 in Milan in the collection *Missae cum quinque vocibus* in reworked non-*alternatim* versions; *Missa Dominicalis* is unfortunately not among them, cf. Giovanni Contino (Ottavio Beretti, ed.), *Missae cum quinque vocibus: liber primus (1572),* Milan 1997.

than 660 bars, and it is more than a third longer than the four Mantuan masses. It is a very voluminous mass, even longer than the nine masses, which Palestrina wrote for the duke in 1578-79, where the average number of *brevis* bars is just under 550 – which is still higher than that of the Mantuan composers.[40]

4. The duke's correspondence with Palestrina

In Archivio di Stato in Mantua there is a letter from Palestrina to Duke Guglielmo dated February 2, 1568. It probably begins the correspondence between the two. Here Palestrina asserts his willingness to be of service and encloses a mass, which he has been ordered by the duke to write through the intervention of the famous musician Giaches de Wert. This mass has been composed according to the instructions of the duke's agent Annibale Capello. Palestrina then poses his famous and oft-quoted question to the duke: "If in this first attempt I have not fulfilled your Excellency's wishes, I beg you to inform me how you prefer it – whether it should be short, or long, or written so that the words can be understood" ("… se li piacera comandarmi, come la voglia, o, breve, o, longa, o che si sentan le parole …").[41]

At this time, Palestrina was chapel master to Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, at whose residences in Rome and Tivoli Capello also visited. Knud Jeppesen has identified the accompanying mass as *Missa sine nomine* for four male voices "a voci mutate", which is found among the manuscripts from Santa Barbara.[42] Palestrina composed it in close agreement with the discussions about the greatest possible text intelligibility and restraint in the expression that had been conducted during and after the Council of Trent. It cannot get much simpler and more direct than in this mass, which is predominantly homophonic with lots of parallel thirds and sixths. *Example 10* reproduces the setting in this mass of the same paragraph of text in *Credo* that we looked at in *Examples 3-8*. It seems that Palestrina knew of the duke's interest in reforms and tried to surpass his successful *Marcellus* mass in textual clarity.

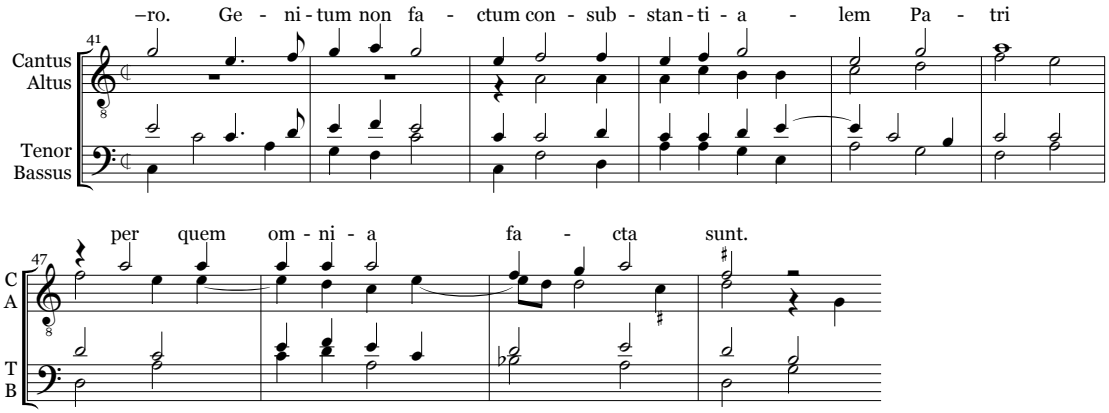
The duke profusely thanked Palestrina for the mass in a personal letter and sent a gift of 50 ducats.[43] However, the repertory from Santa Barbara makes it quite clear that it was a different kind of music that the duke preferred. In an exchange of letters ten years later, the duke gets the opportunity to clarify his wishes. On October 18, 1578, Don Capello reported to his employer from Rome:

40 Cf. *Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vols. XVIII-XIX, Rome 1954. The shortest mass here is *Missa Beatae Mariae Virginis II* of *c.*470 bars, and the longest is *Missa in Festis Apostorum II* of c.600 bars.

41 The letter is reproduced in Italian transcription and facsimile in Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', pp. 147-148 (and in Jeppesen's preface to *Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina,* vol. XVIII, Rome 1954), an English translation is found in Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (Lewis Lockwood, ed.), *Pope Marcellus Mass. An Authoritative Score. Backgrounds and Sources. History and Analysis. Views and Comments,* New York 1975, p. 24. The translation of this and the following quotations is my responsibility.

42 Cf. Jeppesen's analysis in Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', pp. 149-155; the mass is published by Jeppesen in *Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina,* vol. XIX, Rome 1954, p. 168.

43 Cf. Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', p. 149, where the Duke's letter and Palestrina's letter of thanks are reproduced. The value of the gift can be compared to the fact that from 1571 Palestrina received slightly more than the double as his annual pay as head of the Cappella Giulia in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.



Ex. 10. G.P. da Palestrina, *Missa Sine nomine,* Credo (bb. 41-50).

> … Giovanni da Palestrina is now recovering from a serious illness and is thus hardly able to collect his thoughts, just as his eyesight is failing him in his efforts to fulfil Your Highness' wishes. However, he has begun to set the Kyrie and Gloria of the first mass for the lute [literally "to put on the lute" – porre sul Leuto], and he has let me hear them. I found them indeed full of sweetness and elegance. Now that Our Lord [the pope] has commanded that there shall be two choirs in St. Peter's ... Palestrina begs, if your Highness permits, to have also the other parts [of the chant for the masses] to set and use in that said church instead of the organ on solemn feast days, for he assures that your Highness has truly cleansed these plainsongs of all the barbarisms and imperfections that they contained. I am sure that he will not do it without your permission. As soon as he is well enough, he will continue to work on what he has done on the lute with all possible care.[44]

In Mantua's archives is preserved not only a draft of a letter formulated by an anonymous cabinet secretary, but also the duke's handwritten corrections to this letter. In the first version, the answer reads:

> ... His Highness commands that you should tell Mr Giovanni da Palestrina that he should take care to recover completely and not rush to set the Kyrie and Gloria to the lute together with the other compositions; since there are so many other skilled men here, there is no need for compositions for the lute, but rather for compositions made with great care [fatta con molto studio]. His Highness thinks that music written for Santa Barbara will not resonate in Rome because of the amount of imitation [le molte fughe] found in it, since simple music [musica piana] is preferred there. However, if it pleases Mr Giovanni and he wishes to use them, His Highness will order that, just as Palestrina has already been sent half of the chants, he will have the chants in their entirety.[45]

44 The letters are found in Italian transcription with facsimile of the duke's corrections in Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', pp. 158-162. The relevant sections can also be found with an English translation in Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work. The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600*, New York 1997, pp. 293 ff.

45 Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', pp. 158-162.

The end of the first sentence the duke changed to:

> ... and not hasten to set the masses to the lute, since he wants them to use imitation throughout and build on the chant [fugate continuante et sopra soggetto], just as the other composers have done, and as Palestrina himself did in the mass Missa in duplicibus majoribus.[46]

It was of course a misunderstanding that Palestrina should be working on lute music – or with music that was so simple that it could be reproduced adequately on the lute. Jessie Ann Owens has suggested that because of his illness, Palestrina had not managed to write anything down, but wanted to show the duke's envoy that he was working diligently on the commission, so he played his ideas for Capello on the lute.[47] Palestrina soon recovered and delivered at least nine masses during the autumn of 1578 and the spring of 1579. The agreement was for a mass every ten days, and he almost achieved it.

Duke Guglielmo made his wishes so that they could not be misunderstood. It was almost a downright order: The melodies sent – where the duke had ensured the correct structure by sending Palestrina only the sections that were to be used in the *alternatim* settings – were to be dressed in learned polyphony in constant imitation (*fugato*), and in addition to the efforts of his 'own' composers, he referred to a mass that Palestrina had previously delivered. Hereby we learn that Palestrina's involvement in the efforts to create a new church music for Santa Barbara had already started before 1578. Documents show that the music scribe at Santa Barbara, Don Giuseppe Vicentini, was paid in June 1574 to copy the now lost *Missa in Duplicibus Majoribus,* and in October 1580 for the work of copying a "messa della domenica di canto figurato in forma grande di messer Gio. Palestrina", which may be identical to his *Missa Dominicalis* printed in 1592.[48] The contrapuntal complexity and length of this Mass could indicate that it was slightly earlier than the nine masses of 1578-79, and that Palestrina had not yet found the final formulation of this type of mass.

To a modern observer it is astonishing that the famous composer, who had begun his association with Duke Guglielmo by sending a mass that was a demonstrative example of textual clarity, and who earlier in the dedication of his *Missarum Liber Secundus* (1567) to the Spanish king Philip II had declared that he had taken great pains to embellish the holy sacrificial act of the mass in a new way,[49] and had even taken the liberty of chastising a motet by Duke Guglielmo for its lack of clarity in the text delivery because of too close imitations,[50] that he apparently without objections received commissions for a large number of works of almost the opposite observance. From the reply from Mantua it appears that the duke was quite aware that he wanted something different from what was available in Rome. We are perhaps most surprised that Palestrina already in his first

46 Ibid.

47 Owens, *Composers at Work,* pp. 295-296.

*2 48 This information comes from an as yet unpublished article by Paola Besutti, 'Quante erano le messe mantovane? Nuovi elementi su Palestrina e il repertorio musicale per S. Barbara'. I am very grateful to Prof. Besutti for the access to read her manuscript.

49 The volume contains *the Missa Papae Marcelli*; the dedication can be found in English translation in Gary Tomlinson (ed.), *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History. Revised Edition. Vol. 3: The Renaissance,* New York 1998, pp. 95-96.

50 Letter from Palestrina to the duke of March 3, 1570, reproduced in Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', pp. 156-157, English translation in Owens, *Composers at Work,* p. 292.

approach left it to the duke to choose the design of the church music, as if there was no artistic or religious/liturgical conviction behind the alternatives that Palestrina presented (short, long or so that the words can be understood).

It was a normal condition for the 'modern', professional composer of the sixteenth century that others had great influence on how his music was to be shaped, whether the influences came from an employer, a client, from its marketability in the flourishing trade in printed music collections, or from discussions in the cultured public, where the composer, his name, fame and style had become topics of interest. This modern type of composer and the public associated with him had slowly developed through the fifteenth century on the basis of the productivity of the composing musician and his resulting reputation, which mostly concerned colleagues and scholars. Precisely the limited publicity surrounding the work of the typical fifteenth-century musician conditioned the rapid development of polyphonic music and its often startling originality and freedom of stylistic means. With the success of the composing artist around 1500, inspired by humanism, a large part of the freedom of inconspicuousness was lost. Josquin Desprez has been singled out by history as the first 'musical genius' due to the spread and impact of his name as a symbol of a new 'public' music. But as a composing musician he was firmly rooted in the traditional freedom to determine the design and expression of his music himself.[51]

Palestrina's and the Mantuan composers' relationship with the duke is far more characteristic of the conditions of the 'modern' composer. To be sure, Wert and Gastoldi were famous artists, whose publications enjoyed circulation all over Europe, but in Mantua they were servants. They were respected, but socially they belonged to a different world than their employer, when it was not about music.[52] Palestrina was never employed by Duke Guglielmo. Rather, he was bound to him in a client relationship with elements of a collegial trust relationship, where Palestrina's loyalty was cemented by the duke's monetary gifts. Like Tintoretto he lent lustre to the duke's project, and he was probably particularly valued because – again like the famous painter – he could fully honour the client's directives with his technical perfection.[53]

If we wish to assess whether Palestrina, in complying with the duke's demands, compromised with his own ideals, we must take into account that textual clarity was probably not Palestrina's only criterion for relevant church music. The same volume of masses that contains the Marcellus Mass also includes the contrapuntal artifice in *Missa Ad fugam*, where the text clarity comes second,[54] and he later published, among other things, two masses for five and four voices on the old tune *L'homme armé*, which joined a

51 This development is outlined in Rob C. Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450-1500', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996), pp. 409-479.

52 Cf. for example, the love affair of the aging Wert with the lady of the court and musician Tarquina Molza, which the duke of Ferrara effectively put an end to, MacClintock, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 45-46.

53 Palestrina's resourcefulness can be studied especially in the masses where he worked on exactly the same melodic material without repeating himself or lapsing into mechanical counterpoint, for example in the three settings of *Missa Beatae Mariae Virginis*, where the textures are more varied than in *Missa Dominicalis*, cf. *Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, vol. XVIII, Rome 1954, pp. 83 ff.

54 Cf. Jeppesen's analysis in *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance. Second revised and enlarged edition*, Copenhagen 1946, pp. 42 ff.

long tradition of technical virtuosity.[55] Something else is that Palestrina apparently among the composers of Sunday masses was the one who most faithfully followed the duke's instructions, that the geographical distance seems to have made the conditions of the order more binding, while the composers who performed the music on a daily basis in Santa Barbara had a surer sense of where the limits of individual expression went.

As is hopefully evident from the previous section's review of a small portion of each of the six masses, the duke's directives in practice offered some freedom for the composers. It first and foremost concerns the instrumentation for voices itself and the temporal organization ('the timing') of the music, of entries, of the density of dissonances and texture, and of the floating or firmness of the rhythm; then it concerns the prioritization of the melodic material and weighting of different structural models (from canon to dialogue) – all in relation to an active interpretion or a neutral rendering of the meaning of the text. Much was locked in advance by the duke, but with these elements in play, one can still find outlines of personalities in the music – it comes out of the 'glass bell'. While Rovigo builds confidently on the tradition of Contino, Wert manages in the constant imitation (*fugate continuamente*) to incorporate some of the expressive means we know from his motets, and Gastoldi uses his generation's penchant for breaking up the voice complex into fluctuating, dialogizing groups, occasionally with an obligatory counterpoint to the given melodies.[56] Striggio, like Palestrina, comes from the outside and tries with the same loyalty to dress the melodies in *fugates* without, however, being able to completely hide the fact that his tonal language is fundamentally more chord-based than that of his colleagues.

One can also turn the question of the tight rein restricting the composers' freedom on its head: The Palestrina style is often regarded as backward looking. This reputation for conservatism must be attributed even more to the Mantova repertory. However, there is no indication that the duke or his composers saw the matter from this point of view. Perhaps they were rather working on a project that was supposed to appear as the musical answer to the problems of the Catholic reforms, an answer with roots in the tradition and with great demands on the liturgical music of the future. In this way, the tight rein becomes the foundation for a 'new music'.

In order to get an impression of what such a reform project could contain, we must in what follows look briefly at the relationship of the Mantua repertory to discussions and decisions during the Council of Trent, at the special way of performing the music (the *alternatim* principle), and finally at the role models that may have been the Duke's inspiration for the project.

55 David J. Burn, '« Nam erit haec quoque laus eorum » Imitation, Competition and the « L'homme armé » Tradition', *Revue de Musicologie* 87 (2001) pp. 249-287.

56 These broad characteristics refer to the Masses as a whole, cf. the editions in Cisilino, *Sei Missae*.

5. A reformed imperial church music

In accounts of music history the result of the Tridentine Council's deliberations on a reform of polyphonic church music is usually summarized as a ban on all worldly and inappropriate elements, as well as a wish that the text should be made as easy to understand as possible for the congregation.[57] This representation is in itself quite accurate, but often in the literature attention is not drawn to the fact that a prohibition and a wish do not have the same status.[58] Prior to the council's 22nd session in September 1562, where a purification of the rituals of the mass from all irrelevancies was on the agenda, a committee had been working which in its recommendation to the decision-making assembly was extremely critical of the practice of polyphonic music, including especially its blurring of the text. However, the decree of September 17 adopted by the council was extremely short and terse with regard to the music: "Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur ..."[59] (One must especially keep such music away from the churches, whether it is sung or for organ (instruments) in which something licentious or impure is mixed). The Council under the chairmanship of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga could not approve a reduction in the composers' possibilities to embellish the Mass with complex polyphony – only obviously reprehensible elements that could undermine the dignity of the service were condemned.

Even after the death of Cardinal Gonzaga, the most reform-minded did not manage to get through with their views. Before the 24th session in November 1563, strong efforts were underway to limit the importance of polyphonic music in the liturgy, which elicited a vigorous defence of the 'great' music on the part of Emperor Ferdinand I.[60] The result of the negotiations was again a concise passage in a decree of November 11, in which all questions concerning singing and music (canendi et modulandi) in the service were referred to decision at local church meetings, which were to draw up guidelines in accordance with the traditions of each area.[61]

However, that the scope of the council's decisions was limited did not mean that the previous discussions were without effect. The question of the intelligibility of the text remained on the agenda of the cardinal commission, which in 1564-65 in accordance with the decree of the council from 1563 worked on regulations for church music at the

57 In the article 'Mass' (*The New Grove Dictionary 16* (2001), p. 74) Lewis Lockwood/Andrew Kirkman puts it this way: "The rise of powerful Catholic militancy in the papal dominated areas of Europe was in direct proportion to the huge losses of political and spiritual control suffered by the Church in Germany, England and elsewhere in Europe. In sacred music this militancy was particularly evident in the mass; in 1562 the Council of Trent issued a canon prohibiting all 'seductive and impure' melodies from Church use, and the primary goal of the reformers was to see that the Mass text was made as intelligible as possible to congregations."

58 See for example Atlas, *Renaissance Music*, pp. 580-581, and Perkins, *Music in the Age*, p. 873.

59 Cf. Edith Weber, *Le Concile de Trent et la musique. De la Réforme à la Contre-Réforme* (Musique – Musicologie 12) Paris 1982, p. 89. The committee's draft resolution, Weber pp. 88-89, is often reproduced together with this decree as if they were one and the same text, see e.g. G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, New York 1954, p. 449. The whole question of what the council actually passed and what was merely worked on in committees during and after the council is presented with exemplary clarity in an article by Craig A. Monson, 'The Council of Trent Revisited', *Journal of the American Musicological Society 55* (2002), pp. 1-38, to which I refer for details.

60 Monson, 'The Council', p. 16.

61 Weber, *Le Concile*, pp. 94-95 and Monson, 'The Council', p. 18 (with English translation).

papal court, and it played a major role in Cardinal Carlo Borromeo's reforms in Milan. Among musicians and those who were responsible for the form of the services, the opinion gradually spread that this question had been clearly answered by the council in favour of textual clarity.[62] Palestrina's four-part *Missa Sine nomine* stands as an expression of these tendencies in the late 1560s.

Duke Guglielmo chose a different path for church music in Santa Barbara. He adhered closely to the wording of the decrees of the council – and thus probably also to the views of his uncle, Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga – on the revision of the books of the service and the associated plainchant[63] and on the removal of all musical elements that could contain associations with worldly life. The reformed, purified plainchant had to be presented with great dignity in learned polyphony, and the formulations of the melodies had to not only permeate the musical textures, but also be clearly exposed at important places. With this, consideration of the meaning of the text was also taken care of in the duke's church music.

The *alternatim* performance, which characterizes the majority of Santa Barbara's liturgical repertory, supported the solemnity and dignity of the music in a decisive way. The alternation between different groups belongs to the oldest traditions in Christian music, the antiphonal principle. For polyphonic music this principle was the norm in a large part of the liturgy. In hymns, sequences, psalms, Magnificat, Te Deum, etc. it was customary in many places to let polyphony alternate with monophonic singing and thus let the structure of the texts in stanzas or prose verses stand out clearly; also in the mass ordinary we meet this principle of setting of the liturgical melodies from Du Fay's time.[64] Often it was the organist who took care of the polyphonic part of the alternation, or the organ alternated on special occasions with polyphonic singing.[65] The preserved written compositions probably represent only a very small proportion of what was used of this kind of music in the churches. Its simple structure with decoration of the chant line by line was probably the prerequisite for most of the polyphony that was performed without notes other than the liturgical songbooks, *cantus supra librum*, and organ improvisation.[66] If the 'improvised' polyphony covered most of the need for *alternatim* music for the

62 Weber, *Le Concile*, pp. 109-113, and Monson, 'The Council', pp. 22-28, section "Post-Tridentine Revision of the Original Meaning of »Iuxta Formam Concilii«".

63 A reform of the breviary and the missal was placed in hand of the pope by a bull of December 5, 1563, and during the following decade commissions were appointed by the pope to take care of this work, cf. Weber, *Le Concile*, pp. 103, 115-133 and 145-153.

64 Du Fay's *alternatim* compositions can be found in G. Dufay (H. Besseler, ed.), *Opera omnia I-VI* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 1) 1951-66, vol. IV, pp. 63ff (Kyrie and Gloria settings) and vol. V (including sequences, hymns and Magnificat). The vast repertory of Magnificat settings is mapped in Winfried Kirsch, *Die Quellen der mehrstimmigen Magnificat- und Te Deum-Vertonungen bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts,* Tutzing 1966 (contains 1160 different compositions).

65 See for example the overview in Knud Jeppesen, *Die italienische Orgelmusik am Anfang des Cinquecento*, Copenhagen 1960 (2nd ed.), pp. 120 ff., which is still relevant.

66 An introduction to this subject can be found in the already mentioned article by Rob C. Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer'. Examples of how music that was 'improvised' over liturgical songs may appeared can for example be found in the manuscripts in Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, Mss. 34 and 35 written 1500-1520 in Wittemberg, where the anonymous repertory is notated with tenor in chorale notation, while the other three voices are in mensural notation, cf. Christian Meyer, 'Sortisatio. De l'improvisation collective dans les pays germaniques vers 1500' in Chr. Meyer (ed.), *Polyphonies de tradition orale – histoire et traditions vivantes. Actes du colloque de Royaumont – 1990*. Paris 1993, pp. 182-200 (pp. 189 ff).

*3

ordinary, it is not surprising that this type of music has left relatively few traces in the preserved sources, where the through-composed mass cycles from the mid-fifteenth century onwards dominate. Their status as 'the great music' with rich symbolic associations through the use of non-liturgical *cantus firmus* or the use of other models could only be maintained through performances on the basis of written, carefully elaborated music, *res facta*.[67] Their dominance in the sources should, however, not obscure the possibility that their share of the actual use in the churches was considerably less than that of the 'improvised' *alternatim* performances, as many of them were written for specific occasions or feast days and thus have limited use. Their status as 'works of art' and the resulting interest they eventually enjoyed also removed them from the core of the liturgy, as they in many cases referred to matters outside the liturgy such as princely and ecclesiastical power ambitions, political events, etc. – they celebrated the liturgy plus something more, whether it consisted in religious or in social associations. The chorale-based polyphonic mass music, on the other hand, celebrated the liturgical melodies themselves, and where the through-composed music usually has a relatively tight temporal progression, the line-by-line settings spread out calmly in sounding dignity. This applies to the simple compositions as well as to the few larger complexes of very ambitious music that have been preserved[68] – including Duke Guglielmo's church music.[69]

The majority of the Mantua masses follow a distinctive, fixed pattern in *Gloria* and *Credo*, where after the celebrant's intonation the first subsection starts monophonic and then change to polyphony in the middle of the section. It allows for a completely regular alternation between monophony and polyphony throughout the text, ending with polyphony and with nine polyphonic sections in each main section, cf. *Figure 3*. Five of the Sunday masses in *Missae Dominicalis 1592* follow a more common practice and set the entire first subsection in polyphony. This brings them in line with the majority of sixteenth-century organ masses (shown in *Figure 3* in brackets).[70] Contino follows the normal Mantua pattern, and several of the masses by the other composers can actually

67 The contemporary public (especially after 1500 and the advent of printed music) paid most interest to the cyclic mass, and posterity and musicological research have had the same priority, cf. Andrew Kirkman's thought-provoking article 'The Invention of the Cyclic Mass', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 (2001) pp. 1-47. This has meant that the scholarly basis for commenting on not only the *alternatim* masses, but also on choral masses as a whole, and proprium and plenary masses as well, is much weaker than it ought to be.

68 As examples can be mentioned the troped Marian masses in France and England (Lady Masses), e.g. an anonymous, compiled French mass from *c.*1500, cf. P. Woetmann Christoffersen, *French Music in the Early Sixteenth Century. Studies in the music collection of a copyist of Lyons. The manuscript Ny kgl. Samlimg 1848 2° in the Royal Library, Copenhagen I-III*. Copenhagen 1994, vol. I, pp. 266-270, published in vol. III, pp. 143 ff; or Nicolas Ludford's cycle of seven Lady-masses on *squares* from the 1520s, published by John D. Bergsagel in N. Ludford, *Collected Works I* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 27) s.l. 1963; as well as Isaac's *c.*20 *alternatim* masses arranged in sets for four, five and six voices and written for the imperial court chapel, which will be mentioned below.

69 In the CD recording of Palestrina's *Missa in Duplicibus Minoribus II* with Ensemble Gilles Binchois (Deutsche harmonia mundi 05472 77317 2) the mass lasts 34 minutes at a fairly brisk pace (Gloria 8:11 and Credo 11:30), similarly the three Marian masses with Solisti della Cappella Musicale di San Petronio (Bongiovanni CD 5556/57-2) last between 30 and 35 minutes, and I would think that the Sunday mass, which is Palestrina's longest, lasts up to 45 minutes.

70 More detailed charts can be found in Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', pp. 169-171, and Fenlon, 'Patronage, music', pp. 227-229, as well as in William Peter Mahrt, *The Missae ad organum of Heinrich Isaac*. Dissertation, Stanford University 1969, ch. III 'The Organ Mass', pp. 19 ff.

Plainchant / (organ)	*Polyphonic setting*
Celebrant, Gloria in excelsis Deo	
Et in terra pax hominibus	bonae voluntatis
(	Et in terra … bonae voluntatis)
Laudamus te.	Benedicimus te.
Adoramus te.	Glorificamus te.
Gratias agimus …	Domine Deus, Rex …
Domini Fili …	Domine Deus, Agnus …
Qui tollis … miserere …	Qui tollis … suscipe …
Qui sedes …	Quoniam tu solus …
Tu solus Dominus.	Tu solus Altissimus …
Cum sancto …	Amen.
Celebrant, Credo in unum Deum	
Patrem omnipotentem	factorem caeli …
(	Patrem omnipotentem factorem caeli …)
Et in unum …	Et ex Patre…
Deum de Deo …	Genitum non factum …
Qui propter …	Et incarnatus est …
Crucifixus …	Et resurrexit …
Et ascendit …	Et iterum …
Et in Spiritum …	Qui cum Patre …
Et unam sanctam …	Confiteor …
Et expecto …	Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

Figure 3. *Alternatim* patterns in *Gloria* and *Credo* in the Mantua masses. In parentheses are shown the Sunday Masses in *Missae Dominicalis* 1592 (apart from Contino's which uses the normal pattern).

be made to do so as well: In the handwritten sources from Santa Barbara, Gastoldi's mass is in MS 166 in a form where *Gloria* begins with "Bonae voluntatis" and *Credo* with "Factorem coeli",[71] and in MS 128 Rovigo's Credo begins with "Factorem coeli";[72] finally, "Et in terra pax hominibus" and "Bonae voluntatis" in Wert's mass are separated by a

71 Milan, Conservatorio di Musica 'Giuseppe Verdi', MS Santa Barbara 166: *Gloria* begins at the start of the imitation in bar 6 in Cisilino, *Sei Missae*, p. 108, and *Credo* similarly begins at the start of the imitation in bar 7, p. 116.

72 In MS Santa Barbara 128 it starts at the beginning of the imitation in bar 7 in Cisilino, *Sei Missae*, p. 44; *Gloria* probably started in a similar way in the handwritten versions, but it is difficult to determine because of the incomplete state of the sources, cf. the revision report in Ottavio Beretta (ed.), *The Gonzaga Masses in the Conservatory Library of Milan Fondo Santa Barbara I* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 108) s.l. 1997.

vertical stroke, making it optional whether one want to sing both or just the last one.[73] Exactly the same separation is found in Palestrina, both in *Gloria* and *Credo* with full cadences and vertical strokes.[74] Much suggests that the Sunday masses by the four Mantua composers Contino, Wert, Rogivo and Gastoldi as well as the 'outsider' Palestrina were heard in Santa Barbara in forms that closely corresponded to the church's norms. Whether the expansions of the music are due to a redaction on account of the printed edition or are due to changing practice in Santa Barbara, it is not possible to determine. The expansions are very skilfully done and may originate from the composers themselves. Perhaps the masses written later than Contino's are designed to be performed in different ways according to the status of the Sunday or according to the role of the organ on different Sundays.

Concerning the details of how the masses were performed, we are left to speculations, although Santa Barbara's ordinance on the duties of the associated persons, the *constitutiones* of 1568, is quite detailed.[75] The well-known organ builder Graziadio Antegnati from Brescia built the organ of the church in 1565 under the supervision of the famous organist Girolamo Cavazzoni, who in these and the following years was in close contact with Duke Guglielmo. The organist held a very high position at Santa Barbara and was remunerated on a par with the chapel master, and like him was perhaps closer connected to the court than to the church. It is certain that the organ provided music for a large part of the liturgy, but we do not know exactly which part.[76] The layout of the church made it impossible for the organ to accompany the polyphonic choir, which was placed on a large pulpit at the west end of the church (opposite the altar), while the organ was fitted to a small pulpit in the middle of the north wall of the building. The four *mansionarii* in charge of singing the plainchant probably had seats in the choir behind the freestanding altar.[77] In this way a large spatial dispersion of the sound sources arose, when the entire musical staff participated in large church services.

The question is whether the organ took part in the performance of the *alternatim* masses with improvisations over the chant subsections not set in polyphony. Palestrina apparently considered it a matter of course that the parts of the chant, which he had not been sent, had to be performed on the organ; if he was to compose something in its place (or to let the singers participate) he had to know the exact form of the melodies.[78] Jeppesen suggested that the distinctive arrangement with the division of the first subsection in *Gloria* and *Credo* can perhaps be explained by the desire to achieve a stable pitch (as in the organ mass), since the organ started after the intonation from the altar and before the polyphonic choir came in.[79] It is not inconceivable that the two versions of the Sunday masses, which could be used on several Sundays throughout the church year when there was no feast of higher rank, reflect two different performances: a more

73 Cisilino, *Sei Missae*, p. 6; Wert's Credo starts by telescoping the melodies for "Patrem" and "Factorem" in Tenor and Cantus, p. 13, so that simply by changing the text the section can be performed with two different beginnings.

74 Cisilino, *Sei Missae,* pp. 175 and 187.

75 Extracts are published in Fenlon, *Music and Patronage,* pp. 186-187 and in Besutti, 'Un modello', p. 116, note 15.

76 Cf. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, p. 104 and Fenlon, 'Patronage, music', p. 229.

77 See detailed diagram in Fenlon, 'Patronage, music', p. 230.

78 Cf. the correspondence with Duke Guglielmo referred to in section 4.

79 Jeppesen, 'Pierluigi', p. 172.

solemn one where the organ starts and alternates with polyphonic choir, and a simpler one where the polyphonic choir starts and alternates with *cantus planus*. If the organ did participate in the alternations, and if the organist's performance of the liturgical melodies could be compared to what Girolamo Cavazzoni published in his three organ masses, printed in Venice after 1543 in *Intabulatura d'organo, cioe messe ... libro secondo*, then this practice could double the duration of the ordinary and truly radiate a solemnity worthy of a prince.[80]

When the role of the organ in the performance of the masses in Santa Barbara attracts attention, it is mainly because one cannot help but wonder where Duke Guglielmo got inspiration for his special, reformed church music. The most striking thing is its use of *alternatim*, but also the church's special liturgy, calendar and entire organization belong in this context. One cannot avoid implicating Mantua's geographical and political location and the duke's lifelong struggle to secure his own position and that of his small principality.

Two power factors were decisive for the duke's political balancing act, namely his feudal overlord, the holy Roman emperor, and his religious head, the pope in Rome. Santa Barbara leaned heavily on papal symbols in design and organization, for example the special location of the altar, the organization of its college of canons and not least the status of the church in the ecclesiastical hierarchy directly below the papal see. Its special liturgy, with its own calendar and breviary, made the most of the possibilities that the Council of Trent had opened up for. The liturgy had obtained papal approval, but only after long and difficult negotiations. With the musical *alternatim* practice and the demand for 'learned' music, it brings to mind the traditions of the imperial chapel under Maximilian I (reigned 1493-1519). Here, since the mid-1490s, a tradition of mass music based on the liturgical melodies had been built up, which placed an unusual emphasis on the large repertory of proprium songs, and which was headed by two of the time's important musical personalities, the court organist Paul Hofhaimer (1459-1537) and the court composer Heinrich Isaac (*c.*1450-1517).

The musical form of the services at the imperial court seems to have been created as a collaboration between Hofhaimer's organ improvisations and Isaac's elegant – and highly complex – choral compositions. In any case, Isaac composed for the court chapel at least 19 mass ordinaries in *alternatim* form arranged in sets for four, five and six voices.[81] In the manuscript Codex 18745 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, a selection of these masses are each referred to as "Missa ad organum", and William Mahrt's study of the *alternatim* patterns of the instrumental and vocal sources has made it probable that

80 Cavazzoni's *Missa Dominicalis* lasts incl. the alternation with *cantus planus* 35 minutes in the recording with Sergio Vartolo and Nova Schola Gregoriano (Tactus CD 1000-01). Before and after the Council of Trent, one of the points of criticism of the reform movement was the abbreviations and omissions in the text of *Credo* (cf. Weber, *Le Concile*, pp. 90 and 138, and Monson, 'The Council', p. 30). This led to that *Credo* usually not was performed in organ masses, but sung in its entirety. If one still used the organ *alternatim* in *Credo*, the missing parts of the text could be recited from the choir while the organ played, a practice that started at the same time as the reform movement gained momentum in the 16th century, cf. John Caldwell, 'Plainsong and polyphony 1250-1550' in Thomas F. Kelly (ed.), *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony* (Cambridge Studies in Performance Practice 2) Cambridge 1992, pp. 6–29 (p. 25).

81 Published in Heinrich Isaac (E.R. Lerner, ed.), *Opera omnia* (Corpus mensurabilis musicae 65), vols. I-V, s.l. 1974.

Isaac's masses are intended for alternation with organ music.[82] In this context, it is interesting that Isaac's *Missa Dominicale in Quadragesima* is the only one in this manuscript *not* labelled "ad organum".[83] This means that in the Sunday mass during Lent the organ playing was omitted. Something similar could be the background for the two ways in which the Sunday masses from Mantua could be performed.

Maximilian's personal preferences probably played a large role in shaping the ecclesiastical court music. Reinhard Strohm has outlined a development from Maximilian's time in the Netherlands to the imperial music. When Maximilian's wife, Marie de Bourgogne, died in 1482, daily masses with polyphonic music were instituted in Onze-Lieve-Vrouw in Bruges, where the organ was to participate on Sundays and in all more solemn celebrations. In 1496 Maximilian expanded this foundation with larger sums of money and a classification of the services (by feast) as polyphony with organ participation, polyphony without organ and *cantus planus* masses – exactly the same arrangement as in the court chapel with an important role for the organist.[84] As Ludwig Finscher has noted, the imperial musical tradition is hardly based on a particular *German* tradition, but was created by Isaac at Maximilian's behest, and with its artful concentration on the liturgical melodies it became of great importance for the Protestant church music.[85]

The imperial court's liturgy and chant had many features in common with the church in Constance. During the German *Reichtag* in Constance in 1508, the chapter of the cathedral commissioned proprium masses for feasts of the highest degree in the local calendar from the imperial court composer. It became the beginning of Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus*. This commission constitutes the work's second volume and lesser parts of the other volumes; the rest of the collection probably consists mostly of music written for the emperor's chapel during the years before and after, including five *alternatim* ordinary masses for four voices.[86] It is likely that the emperor encouraged Isaac to continue the monumental work, which, however, remained unfinished at Isaac's death. The repertory in *Choralis Constantinus* is largely learned contrapuntal music made with great imagination and variety in the course of the music despite the limitations of his task, where the chant must be heard clearly in one or more of the voices. The notation uses all the subtleties of mensural notation and especially of proportions, and it has put the

82 Mahrt, *The Missae.*

83 *Ibid.,* p. 66.

84 Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford 1990 (rev. ed.), pp. 48-49. On the music under Maximilian, see also Louise Cuyler, *The Emperor Maximilian I and Music*, London 1973.

85 Ludwig Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 3) Laaber 1989-90, ch. III 'Die Messe als musikalisches Kunstwerk' (Finscher) pp. 262-263; "… bedenkt man ferner die zeitweise enge politische Zusammenarbeit Maximilians und Friedrichs des Weisen, das besondere Musikinteresse des Kaisers und seine Neigung zu kulturpolitischen Maßnahmen als Mittel der Machtdarstellung und Machtfestigung, dann liegt die Annahme recht nahe, daß Isaac unmittelbar im Auftrag des Herrschers arbeitete und keine »deutsche« Tradition aufnahm, sondern eine habsburgische gründete, deren »Export« nach Kursachsen ungewollt die Grundlage für die lutherische Gottesdienstmusik schaffen sollte." (p. 263).

86 Manfred Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung des 'Choralis Constantinus' von Heinrich Isaac', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 36* (1979), pp. 68-76 and 146-154. The masses are published in Louise Cuyler (ed.), *Five Polyphonic Masses by Heinrich Isaac. Transcribed and Edited from the Formschneider First Edition* (Nuremberg 1555), Ann Arbor 1956.

performers to difficult tests.[87] *Choralis Constantinus* is at the same time an expression of the respect that surrounded the medieval learned *musicus*, and of a new age's monumentality in the use of music in the service of the empire. Isaac was employed as the emperor's composer, but worked most of the time from his home in Florence on the commission from Constance and for the emperor – as a prototype of 'the modern composer'.

The imperial German court chapel disintegrated after Maximilian's death. By the restoration in Vienna of the imperial chapel after the division of the empire and the accession of Ferdinand I in 1558, many of the old traditions had been lost. Chapel masters and composers such as Jacobus Vaet and Philippe de Monte were employed, who wrote in the international style of a more recent era. Before then, the reverberations of the old imperial repertory had taken root at the South and Central German courts, and German music publishers, especially in the Protestant cities, increasingly relied on Josquin Desprez' motets and masses – or on imitations of his style. In humanistic Protestant circles the 'great' music from the beginning of the century, both the imperial represented by Isaac and Josquin's more international, was canonized as the authoritative basis for the musical expression of the new spiritual currents.[88] In these circles the idea of a publication of Isaac's *magnum opus* did not seem impracticable, and Johannes Ott in Nuremberg obtained in 1545 the privilege of Emperor Charles V to print the work. Only after Ott's death did Hieronimus Formschneider succeed in getting the financially demanding publication completed, so that the three large volumes of *Choralis Constantinus* could reach the public in 1550-55.[89]

For Guglielmo Gonzaga, whose father had been raised to *duce* by Charles V, the relationship with the emperor was crucial – both he and his brother Francesco had acquired family connections through marriage to daughters of Ferdinand I. In the church music to which he devoted so much attention, he seemed to fully embrace the idea of an imperial tradition. The masses for Santa Barbara fulfil all the conditions for an 'imperial' status: here we find the special chant repertory, the strictly chorale-based, *alternatim* performance, the learned, imitative five-part texture (modernized since Isaac's time), only the complicated musical notation he had to renounce on. The setting of the proprium was no longer applicable either – here it was sufficient with a motet, usually in the place of the Offertorium. Whether Duke Guglielmo knew of Isaac's *Choralis Constantinus* we do not know. The publication itself is not recorded among the surviving music from Santa Barbara.[90] But it is thought provoking that the work became available to circles outside the leading German courts precisely during the period when Duke Guglielmo would start planning his new church, and in any case he was undoubtedly introduced to older church music traditions by his uncle Ercole Gonzaga.

87 Published in H. Isaac (E. Bezecny & W. Rabl, eds.), *Choralis Constantinus, erster Teil …* (Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 10), Vienna 1898; H. Isaac (A. von Webern, ed.), *Choralis Constantinus, zweiter Teil …* (DTÖ 32), Vienna 1909; and H. Isaac (L. Cuyler, ed.), *Choralis Constantinus Book III. Transcribed from the Formschneider First Edition* (Nuremberg, 1555), Ann Arbor 1950.

88 Jessie Ann Owens, 'How Josquin Became Josquin: Reflections on Historiography and Reception', in J.A. Owens & A. Cummings (eds.), *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood* (Detroit Monographs in Musicology/Studies in Music 18) Warren, MI 1996, pp. 271-279 (pp. 277-278).

89 Cf. Schuler, 'Zur Überlieferung', pp. 74-75.

90 The reception of *the Choralis Constantinus* is another uncultivated area of research.

Now we can return to the question of whether the music at Santa Barbara should be perceived as unambiguously conservative? Maybe it should. It contains plenty of elements that point to personal imperial ambitions, to a dream of a unified church in the empire, and to a confirmation of power through a retrospective cultural program that kept his employed musicians in tight reins. But one cannot completely reject the idea that behind the duke's reform lay an idea of a church and a music that, to a far greater degree than the Council of Trent, took the teachings of the Protestant reformations seriously, and which, at least in the musical area, linked to the same ideals of artistically ambitious settings of the melodies of the liturgy that prevailed at the Protestant German courts. From such a point of view, Duke Guglielmo's project could constitute the actual avant-garde within Catholic church music and perhaps thereby secure a support from the leading musicians of the day that reached beyond the Duke's ability to pay.

Supplementary notes (2023)

*1 English version, 'Josquin and the sound of the voices. Analysing vocal instrumentation – a suggestion' 2023, at http://www.pwch.dk/Publications/PWCH_Josquin_Sound.pdf.

*2 Published in Giancarlo Rostirolla, Stefania Soldati, Elena Zomparelli (eds.), *Palestrina e l'Europa, atti del III convegno internazionale di studi (Palestrina 6-9 ottobre 1994),* Palestrina, Fondazione G. Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2006, pp. 707-742.

*3 Se also, Peter Woetmann Christoffersen, 'Alexander Agricola's Vocal Style – »bizarre« and »surly«, or the Flower of the Singer's Art?' in Nicole Schwindt (ed.), *Alexander Agricola. Musik zwischen Vokalität und Instrumentalismus* (Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 6 – 2006), Kassel 2007, pp. 59-79 (pp. 60-68), and 'Improvisation und schriftliche Komposition', in Michele Calella und Lothar Schmidt (eds), *Komponieren in der Renaissance. Lehre und Praxis* (Handbuch der Musik der Renaissance, Band 2), Laaber 2013, pp. 233-247.