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3

GIACHES DE WERT (1535-1596) AND HIS TIME

MIGRATION OF MUSICIANS
TO AND FROM THE LOW COUNTRIES (c.1400-1600)COLLOQUIUM PROCEEDINGS
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GIACHES DE WERT AND THE ACCADEMIA FILARMONICA

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Giaches de Wert's *Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque, sei, et sette voci*, printed in Venice in 1571, is dedicated to the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona. This essay presents new documents concerning the academy's reception of the Fifth Book and describes and examines the presentation copy, lavishly bound, and still in the academy's library. The Fifth Book is Wert's sole publication not dedicated to an aristocratic patron. Though unique in Wert's output, it is by no means an isolated example: many composers dedicated their works to the Accademia Filarmonica, arguably the most famous musical academy in all of Italy. On the purely practical side, the composer's dedicatory gesture implicitly assumes that the music would be performed in the academy and appraised for its artistic worth. This connoisseurship made the academy an attractive target. The fifteen publications dedicated to the academy between 1548 and 1615 bear comparison with the numbers of works dedicated to powerful and wealthy individuals such as Guglielmo Gonzaga (25 between 1566-1587), Alfonso II d'Este (33 between 1554-1597), and Count Mario Bevilacqua (23 in the period 1574-1592).¹ Such numerical comparisons lack a cultural and sociological context: they document but do not explain the interaction between the artist-provider of services (client) and the consumer (patron).² Nor do they take into account the circumstances of wealth and power that generate culture, or that differentiate the politically powerful (the dukes of Mantua and Ferrara) from the privately powerful (Bevilacqua, the wealthy sponsor of a Veronese musical *ridotto*).³ In contrast to the concentration of power wielded by the absolutist ruler or member of the landed aristocracy, the Accademia Filarmonica, governed on democratic principles, remained financially viable not through forced taxation but only when and if members paid their dues; it was a self-governing institution with a constitution and by-laws - a microcosm, however specialized its purpose, of Veronese civic life.⁴ It was not, then, a patron (*committente*) in the accepted sense: the academy did not cause or command music to be written

¹ These figures are after O. MISCHIATI, *Bibliografia delle opere pubblicate a stampa dai musicisti veronesi nei secoli XVI-VXIII*, Roma, 1993, prefazione, p. xi.

² See C. ANNIBALDI, *La musica nel mondo: Mecenatismo e committenza musicale in Italia tra Quattro e Seicento*, Bologna, 1993, introduzione.

³ On Bevilacqua, see E. PAGANUZZI, *Dal Cinquecento al Seicento*, in *La musica a Verona*, Verona, 1976, pp. 179-89.

⁴ Fundamental is G. TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona dalla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico*, Verona, 1941; see also M. MATERASSI, 'Origine et progressi dell'Accademia Filarmonica' (Verona, 1543-1553): una rilettura, in *Rassegna veneta di studi musicali*, IV (1988), pp. 51-91.

by outsiders for its private concerti. But it did receive gifts of music. As I hope to show, the interaction between Wert and the Accademia Filarmonica conforms to behavioral norms that, on the private institutional level, provide a broader contextual view of the rewards system of the commerce of music.

Wert's Fifth Book is, as noted, dedicated to the academy. Should the composer have intended its contents to reflect in some manner the addressees, it could be surmised, as Carol MacClintock does, that: 'The contents of this collection seem to be exactly suited to a society of male singers. In all but a few instances the voice ranges are somewhat lower than usual and the technical demands are well within the capabilities of talented amateurs. Even more to the point, the texts appear to suit the taste of a male chorus, for there are humorous subjects, sentimental texts, a canzon francese, a cycle on a slightly suggestive text by Ariosto, and several madrigals which might be considered as 16th-century equivalents of "barber-shop harmony".⁵ Apparently the '16th-century equivalents of "barber-shop harmony"' are the works MacClintock believes to reflect the voice ranges of an all-male singing society. In the critical notes of her edition she describes *Non fia vero giamai*, *Trascende l'Alpi*, and *Ite pensieri miei* (nos. 6, 7 and 8, all anonymous sonnets in two parts) as having 'exceptionally low [vocal ranges] in comparison to those found generally in Wert's compositions. This seems to imply that Giaches was writing for a particular group of singers in the Accademia Filarmonica.'⁶ The assertion ignores the use of the same clef combinations (C1, C3, C4, C4, F4) in *Avorio e gemma* (Petrarch), *Così di ben amar* (Petrarch), *Sarò, signor, io sol* (Tansillo), *Lieto Phebo del mar* (anonymous), and *O ne miei danni più che'l giorno chiara* (numbers 1-3, 9, and 12), the latter a work in six sections to a text by Ariosto. Apart from such categorial inconsistencies, MacClintock's attempt to relate cleffing to the voice ranges of a 'male chorus' relies on the assumption that written pitch should be taken literally. This argument, if carried to its logical extreme, would exclude from performance by the academy works in high clef combinations. It is now known, for instance, that the downwards transposition of works in high clef combinations was common practice, particularly for concerted works with instruments doubling or replacing the voice parts (*concerti*) - a practice for which the academy was famed - and applicable by analogy to the (always relative) pitch of *a cappella* performance.⁷ The performance of works in high clefs at written pitch cannot be ruled out. Boy singers were

⁵ C. MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert (1535-1596): Life and Works*, American Institute of Musicology, (*Musicological Studies and Documents*, 17), 1966, pp. 96-97; compare also similar statements in the forward to her edition: *Giaches de Wert: Collected Works*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 24/5), American Institute of Musicology, 1966.

⁶ *Collected Works*, (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 24/5), p. 98.

⁷ A. PARROTT, *Transposition in Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610: an 'aberation' defended*, in *Early Music*, 15 (1984), pp. 490-516.

occasionally hired by the academy⁸ and several boys appear among the adult members of the Filarmonici who are shown performing music around a table with voices and instruments as a background detail in Domenico Brusasorci's portrait of the *filarmonico* Bartolomeo Carteri.⁹ And carrying this to yet a finer point, written pitch and sounding pitch are not always identical: measurements of the academy's 16th-century wind instruments reveal several pitch standards, both higher and lower than modern A=440 Hz.¹⁰ Wert's Fifth Book was dedicated to the academy, but its contents were commercially available; similarly, the subject matter of the poetic texts may have appealed to the tastes of the academy (MacClintock's 'male chorus'), but no more and no less than to the literate public at large. Wert's dedication reads as follows:

All'Illustri signori miei osservandissimi li Signori Academici di Verona,
Detti Filharmonici et C.

Quand'io risolsi di publicare queste mie nuove fatiche al mondo,
insieme giudicai, che non mi si convenisse lasciarle uscire sotto altro
nome di quello di V.S. S. percioche chiamandosi loro Filharmoniche cioè
protettrici, et amiche della musica, posso affidarmi, che non rifiuteranno
questi miei concerti, anzi che voluntieri (come è suo proprio) li ricever-
anno nella protettione loro, a cui hora con questa confidenza affettuosa-
mente li dedico, desiderando che gli accettino, & gradiscano per pugno,
& fede della divotione che le porto, dal quale se non nè potrà venire
quella lode, che sola è premio delle vertuose fatiche, siami almeno per
buontà di V.S.S. concesso, ch'io nè goda il premio della gratia sua. Che
così se non per buone, di certo per fortunate terrò sempre queste mie
compositioni. Bacio le mani di V.S.S & priego Dio per la continua prosperità loro.

Di V.S.S. Illustri Affectionatissimo
Giaches de Vuert

When I resolved to publish these new works to the world, I also judged it appropriate to let them appear under no other name than yours for the reason that, in calling yourselves Filarmonici ('lovers of harmony'), that is to say, protectors and friends of music, I could be assured that you would not refuse [to accept] my compositions; but that you would willingly, as your right, receive them under your protection; this confidence now leads me to dedicate them to you with affection, desiring that you may accept and enjoy them as a faithful sign of my devotion to you; and

⁸ TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, pp. 156-157.

⁹ The painting is reproduced in *Veronese e Verona*, ed. S. MARINELLI, Verona, 1988, *Catalogo dei dipinti*, no. 45, p. 315.

¹⁰ J.H. VAN DER MEER and R. WEBER, *Catalogo degli strumenti musicali dell'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona*, Verona, 1982, pp. 77-79.

even if their skill does not deserve great praise, I will still by your generosity enjoy the reward of your favor. Thus, even if my compositions prove not worthy, I shall always count them fortunate.

The closing salutation is signed but not dated or placed, a practice adopted by Wert from 1581 onwards.¹¹ The wording, somewhat stiff and formal, suggests the composer was familiar with the aims of the Accademia Filarmonica, deciphering *Filarmonici* as meaning 'protectors and friends of music', a hopeful rather than accurate translation. And he is soliciting, not shamelessly but with dignity, the reward of the academy's favor (*ch'io nè goda il premio della gratia sua*) should they find his efforts worthy. He also says at the outset that having assembled this book of madrigals for publication, it was only then that he resolved to dedicate it to the academy.

This statement would not exclude the inclusion of a work honoring the academy. In some instances a book of madrigals dedicated to the academy by a composer whom the academy had employed in some musical function as maestro, musician, or visitor to its premises will contain a work praising the academy. In Wert's case, so far as I can detect, there are no texts referring to the academy's members, aims and functions. Some works are however occasional, referring to events or to people. The last item is a seven-voice dialogue madrigal in praise of a certain Lucretia Ancisa, marchesa, whom I have been unable to trace; the text must be of Mantuan origin since it sets the action on the banks of the Mincio.¹²

Che nuovo e vago sol, ch'ardente luce
 È questa che dal nostro Mincio l'onde
 Fa così chiar' e sì liete le sponde?
 Che nuovo e vaghe e lampeggiante stelle
 Son queste che fan tra noi soggiorno,
 Assai più alter' e belle
 Di quanto fanno 'l ciel di luce adorno?
 Risponde 'l chiaro fiume:
 D'Ancisa uscito è 'l lume,
 Ma non ancide mai;
 Anzi de' suoi bei rai,
 Se ben par che l'ardor infiamm' e stempre,
 Apporta vita sempre.

¹¹ *Il settimo libro de madrigali*, dedicated to Margherita Farnese Gonzaga from Mantua, and *Il secondo libro de motetti a cinque voci*, dedicated to Ferrando Gonzaga from Venice; see MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 234-235.

¹² But see V. SPRETI, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana*, Milano, 1928-32, III, p. 684 on the marquisate of Incisa (*Incisa della Rocchetta*) located in the area south of Asti and Alessandria. Incisa and Ancisa are interchangeable. MacClintock (*Giaches de Wert*, p. 100) surmises she 'may have been a patroness of the Accademia or a renowned beauty'. Women were not admitted to the academy except under special circumstances, decided by vote.

Another text, *Le stranie voci*¹³ cannot, as MacClintock claims, refer to the battle of Lepanto.¹⁴ It was set by Pietro Vinci in his *Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1571), the dedication signed from Bergamo, where Vinci was maestro di cappella at Santa Maria Maggiore, on 15 April 1571. The battle of Lepanto was fought on 7 October 1571, and Wert's Fifth book was received by the academy in late October of 1571. This text may refer to the role of the papacy in the formation of the Holy League, and Rome's hopes of victory against the Turks in which St Michael archangel symbolizes the church militant. The golden lilies (*aurei gigli*) can hardly refer to France, as MacClintock states, since France had no part in the League, but rather to the Last Judgement in which Christ (the *Santo Pastore* of the text) profers the sword to the condemned and the lily to the chosen, here the sons of Rome.¹⁵

Le stranie voci, i dolorosi accenti
 ch'empion l'aere di panti et di querele,
 sono di quel Ribell' empio e crudele
 al suo Re, contra Dio con le sue genti,
 Santo Pastore, et de' domati e spenti

¹³ MacClintock's edition gives *Le strane voci*; I have emended this and other texts cited from Book Five to conform to the spellings in the original print consulted in Verona, Biblioteca della Accademia Filarmonica, no. 197, and Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, no. 67.

¹⁴ MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, p. 100; *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 24/5, p. 98: 'The text is a madrigale spirituale of thanksgiving after the battle of Lepanto [...] "Santo Pastore" refers to the Pope, Pius V, and the "aurei gigli" refer to the golden lilies of France'; compare also the same opinion in I. FENLON, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, Cambridge, 1980, p. 84, n. 5. Fenlon's more recent work on this topic omits mention of *Le stranie voci*: I. FENLON, *In destructione Turcharum: The Victory of Lepanto in Sixteenth-Century Music and Letters*, in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo. Atti del convegno internazionale*, ed. F. DEGRADA, Firenze, 1987, pp. 293-317 (*Studi di musica veneta*, 11); I. FENLON, *Lepanto: The Arts of Celebration in Renaissance Venice*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, lxxiii (1987), pp. 201-236. Other settings, listed by location of dedication, are those of G.M. Nanino, Ia5 1579 (Rome), Domenico Micheli, Va5 1581 (Ravenna), Eliseo Ghibellini, Ia5 1581 (Ancona), and Gio. Cavaccio, Ia5 1583 (Brescia). It may be relevant that Wert accompanied Guglielmo Gonzaga to Augsburg in the Spring of 1566 for a meeting called by Emperor Maximilian to decide defensive measures against the Turks (MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, p. 31; FENLON, *Music and Patronage*, p. 86).

¹⁵ The lily is a symbol of purity associated with the Virgin Mary, and with justice in Last Judgement scenes. See R. HARPATH, *La formazione umanistica di papa Paolo III e le sue conseguenze nell'arte romana della metà del Cinquecento*, in *Roma e l'antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento*, a cura di Marcello Fagiolo, Roma, 1985, pp. 63-85 on Tintoretto's 'Last Judgement in the Church of the Madonna dell'Orto', Venice: *dalla bocca di Cristo esce in direzione dei condannati una spada, e verso gli eletti, appunto, il giglio. Anche l'Arcangelo Gabriele nelle raffigurazioni dell'Annunciazione porta un giglio, non tanto per alludere alla purezza della Vergine, quanto perché pronuncia le parole: 'Gratia plena'*. For St Michael archangel as a symbol of the church militant, see *Gli affreschi di Paolo III a Castel Sant'Angelo, 1543-1548*, 2 vols., Roma, 1981, ii, p. 206 (Sala della Giustizia); this text may refer to the Catholic victory over the Huguenots in 1566, but not to the Massacre of St Bartholomew at Paris in 1572. However, the 'rebel, savage and cruel' is most likely to be identified with the renegade Karakosh, who fought on the side of the Turks.

seguaci suoi, per man del tuo fidele
popolo eletto dal gran Michaele
sol a por fin a si lunghi tormenti.

Hor ben dovreb' al par de gl'Aurei gigli
lieto mostrar di tal Vittoria segno
Roma, cantando i suoi più chiari figli,

come non forza di terren ingegno
l'ha liberata da tanti perigli,
ma pietà vera del superno Regno.¹⁶

An ottava rima of perhaps similar intent, *Lieto Phebo del mar*, appears a panegyric to the 'worthy heroes' of the Venetian fleet in whom the world places its faith of returning to a happy state; this again, as the Venetians prepared to confront the Turk, may refer to the hoped for outcome. 'Phoebus of the sea', or Apollo, stands as a metaphor for Venice, the image finding confirmation in Jacopo Sansovino's statue of Apollo in the Loggetta of the campanile, and the sculptor's description transmitted by his son Francesco of its significance:

Apollo is the sun, which is singular and unique, just as this Republic, for its constituted laws, its unity, and uncorrupted liberty, is a sun in the world, regulated with justice and wisdom; furthermore, it is known how this nation takes a more than ordinary delight in music, and Apollo signifies music. Moreover, from the union of the magistracies, combined with the equable temperament, there arises an unusual harmony, which perpetuates this admirable government: for these reasons was Apollo represented.¹⁷

¹⁶ In translation, this might read: 'Holy Shepherd, the strange voices, the painful accents that fill the air with wails and discord are of that rebel, savage and cruel, to his King, against God with his people, and of his followers, beaten and spent by the hand of your faithful people, alone chosen by the great Michael [archangel] to put an end to such long torments. Now, like the golden lilies, Rome should show happily a sign of that victory, praising [the victory] of its most illustrious sons that freed it from so many dangers, not as a labor of earthly intellect but as [a sign] of true mercy of the celestial kingdom.'

¹⁷ The translation is from I. FENLON, *Venice: Theatre of the World*, in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the end of the 16th century*, ed. I. FENLON, London, 1989, p. 129; for the original, see F. SANSOVINO, *Venetia citta nobilissima...con aggiunta da D. Giustiano Martinioni*, Venezia, 1663, 307 ff.: *Quest'altro ch'è Apollo, esprime, che si come Apollo significa il Sole, & il Sole è veramente un solo, & non più, & però si chiama Sole, così questa Repub. per constitutioni di leggi, per unione, & per incorrotta liberta è una sola nel mondo senza più, regolata con giustitia & con sapientia. Oltre a ciò si sa per ogn'uno, che questa natione si diletta per ordinario della musica, & però Apollo è figurato per la musica. Ma perche dall'unione de i Magistrati che sono congiunti insieme con temperamento indicibile, esce inusitata harmonia, la qual perpetua questo ammirando governo, però fu fabbricato l'Apollo.*

Lieto Phebo del mar, più che l'usato,
 in sì fosca stagion, si mostri fuori.
 Fuggan le nevi, e 'l duro volto ornato
 De la gran madre sia d'erbett' et fiori.
 Canti ogni lingua in suon festoso e grato
 Di così degni heroi l'illustri honori,
 Poi che per essi ha ferma spem' il mondo
 Di tornar più che mai liet' e giocondo.

These texts may have been appreciated by the academy, but they seem to have been written with other people and other events in mind. In sum, then, no connections can be established to link the contents of Wert's Fifth Book to the academy.

I would like to return to the question of why, in 1571, Wert chose to dedicate his Fifth Book to the Accademia Filarmonica. The Fourth Book of 1567 is dedicated to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga (and contains a work by the dedicatee); the Sixth Book of 1577 was dedicated to the Prince of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga, Guglielmo's son. From what little is known of Wert's life from this period it may be conjectured that he was deeply troubled. Since his appointment in 1565 as maestro di cappella at Santa Barbara, attempts to oust him from his position had been led by a singer in the chapel, Agostino Bonvicino, and over whom Wert had been preferred. This intrigue culminated in 1570 with the exposure of Bonzanino's adultery with Wert's wife, a humiliating episode for the composer, but not sufficient to dislodge him from his position or the affections of his patron.¹⁸ Given these circumstances, Wert may have wished to expand his options; the dedication of the Fifth Book to the academy perhaps opening a window of opportunity for the composer beyond the confines of the duchy of Mantua to nearby Verona, a city governed by Venice. For the academy, a composer of Wert's stature would have been a prime catch. Since the academy's foundation in 1543, its music masters had included Jan Nasco, Vincenzo Ruffo, Lamberto Courtois, Francesco Portinaro, Ippolito Chamaterò, Alessandro Romano and Pietro Valenzuola, composers of varying distinction. Following its fusion with the Accademia alla Vittoria in 1564, when the academy's membership nearly doubled, the academy followed a somewhat different course, retaining an annual salary at least five full-time professional instrumentalists. Among these was Alessandro Sfois, or Sfogli, a minor Veronese composer, the academy's keyboardist and, from 1570, its music master. Nevertheless, there was room at the top. In 1573 the academy decided to offer the position to Marc'Antonio Ingegneri, a native of Verona but employed at Cremona, for a three year period at the very large salary of 80

¹⁸ MACCLINTOCK, *Giaches de Wert*, pp. 33-35.

ducats per annum.¹⁹ Ingegneri apparently did not accept the offer, but his ties to Verona remained close. His *Quarto libro de madrigali a cinque voci* of 1584 is dedicated to the *filarmonico* Count Augustino Giusti in whose palazzo and formal gardens (the Giardino Giusti) the academy was then holding its meetings. Ingegneri's *Quinto libro*, also for five voices, was dedicated to the *Signori Academicci Filarmonici* in 1587; in the same year *Claudio Monteverde cremonese discepolo del sig. Marc'Antonio Ingigneri* dedicated his *Madrigali a cinque voci [...] Libro primo* to another member of the academy, Count Marco Verità. Here it may be assumed that the mentor advised the pupil. Ingegneri spent his career at near-by Cremona, but he remained a citizen by birthright of Verona, the *commune Patria* recalled in his dedication to the Accademia Filarmonica in 1587. These dedications to members of the Veronese nobility probably reflect personal relationships, and target a circumscribed number of locally known, and presumably receptive, patrons.

Wert was not part of these interlocking circles and had no previous connection with Verona and the academy as far as I have been able to find. But whatever his intentions may have been in dedicating the Fifth Book to the academy, its reception and what he could expect in return can be clarified. Several documents that concern Wert's gift to the academy, recently discovered, are cited below. These are extracts copied from the now lost originals of the Acts (*Atti*), or administrative decisions, of the Accademia Filarmonica for the year in question.²⁰ They describe the receipt of Wert's Fifth Book and the adjudication process to which the academy subjected unsolicited gifts, as well as the monetary reward offered in recompense to the composer.

Doc. 1

1571 29 ottobre
Item fu presentato
all'Accad.ia il 5to libro
de Madrigali di Giaches
d'Uuert, e dedicata alli
Accademici, et furono
eletti per udir detta mu-
sica et rifferir etc Co.
Pier Luigi Sarego, Mat-
tio Brolo, Giulio Facino.

Doc. 2

1571 19 Xbre
Parte. Che a Giaches
siano rese le dovute gra-
zie della Musica per esso
dedicata all'Accad.a, e li
siano donati 12. Scudi
d'oro.

Doc. 3

1572 24 genniao
Parte. Essendo stato
deliberato con Parte
1571 19 Xbre di donare
a Jaques d'Uuert scudi
12. d'oro, possano Li
Reg.ti spender detta
somma in una medaglia
coniato con una
Impresa.

¹⁹ Verona, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Dionisi-Piomarta 634, *Summario degl'Atti dell'Accademia Filarmonica: 6 maggio 1573. Parte. Sia condotto MarcAntonio Ingegnieri Veronese per Maestro di Musica per tre anni dandoli Casa, e Ducati 80 all'anno.* This source is not paginated; all citations are by date of entry.

²⁰ Fondo Dionisi-Piomarta 634. The fondo comprises various volumes donated by the Dionisi-Piomarta family in the 1970s and 1980s and was hence unknown to Turrini. Dionise Dionisi was one of the founding members of the academy in 1543, and it is likely that some of the volumes in the fondo belonged to him. The writer, unidentified, was copying from the *Atti*, but omits sections, indicated by a wavy line, which I show as etc.

Document 1 describes the receipt of Wert's book and the adjudication process. Three members of the academy were charged with assessing its worth, presumably by auditory trial (*udir*) and to report back their findings. Document 2 records the decision (*parte*) to give twelve gold scudi to the composer (compare the wording of Wert's dedication: *ch'io nè goda il premio della gratia sua* with *che a Giaches siano rese le dovute grazie*). Document 3 records the previous decision to give twelve gold scudi to the composer, and a followup action whereby the Regents of the academy were authorized to spend the equivalent of the monetary reward on a medal, coined with a device (*coniato con una Impresa*). This proposal was well within the academy's capabilities. The Statutes of the Accademia Filarmonica prescribed that each member was to invent his own *impresa*, motto and pseudonym. The painters Domenico Brusasorci (1516-67) and his son Felice (1539-1605) were charged with painting the *imprese* of the members; these decorated the rooms where the academy met, but none survive today.²¹

My search for this medal has so far been unsuccessful, and it may never have been struck.²² The usual format of medals commemorating individuals was a likeness on one side and on the reverse a device.²³ The document describes only a medal with 'a device' (*una Impresa*). 'The device', as Mario Praz puts it, 'is nothing else than a symbolic representation of a purpose, a wish, a line of conduct. *Impresa* is what one intends to imprendere, i.e., to undertake by means of a motto and a picture which reciprocally interpret each other'.²⁴ The academy's *impresa*, known from written and pictorial sources, consists of a siren - the *dea canens* or singing goddess of the Neoplatonists, and mythic symbol of the Platonic harmony of the spheres - holding an armillary sphere and the motto *Coelorum imitatur concentum* ('it [the academy] imitates the harmony of the spheres').²⁵ There is an earlier instance concerning the striking of a medal and elements of its design. In October 1564 the humanist Giovanni

²¹ See TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 68, n. 2; V. CAVAZZOCCA MAZZANTI, *Contributo alla storia dell'Accademia Filarmonica Veronese (1543-1555)*, in *Atti dell'Accademia*, 5a ser., iii (1926), pp. 67-115, and *Cinquant'anni di pittura veronese, 1580-1630*, ed. L. MAGAGNATO, Verona, 1974, pp. 21 and 55.

²² Apart from my own research in the standard literature, I am grateful to Raymond Waddington and J. Graham Pollard for their efforts, thus far negative, to identify the medal. Professor Waddington remarked: 'Probably it would be safe to infer that Wert sensibly took the money rather than the *immortalis in nummis*'.

²³ Composers for whom medals survive include Vicentino and Buus; see A. ARMAND: *Les Médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles*, Paris, 1883-1887, II, p. 229, and III, p. 238.

²⁴ *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery*, 2nd ed., Rome, 1975, p. 58.

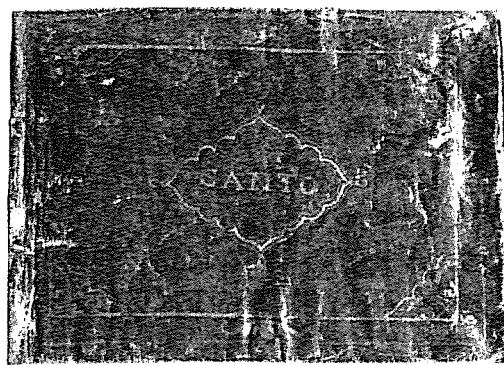
²⁵ Verona, Accademia Filarmonica, Ms. 51A: *Statuti dell'Accademia Filarmonica*, dated 1617; the *impresa* painted on the upper cover is reproduced in *La musica a Verona*, Verona, 1976, tav. VIII; see also TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, tav. III, and appendices 1-3. Stefano Bernardi, *Concerti academici* (Venice: G. Vincenti, 1611) writes in his dedication *A cui altri dovevo, & potevo più debitamente donare questi miei Concerti academici, che a cotesta vostra Accademia, ch'è imitatrice di celesti Concerti*.

Andrea dell'Anguillara presented to all 41 members of the academy a copy of his translation of the first book of the Aeneid (*Il primo libro della Eneida*, Padova: G. Perchacino, 1564). In return, Anguillara's gift was to be repayed with a gold medal financed by money collected from the members of the academy. The first element of its design was to be the impresa of the academy. The second element, charged to a commission of three members of the academy that included the painter Domenico Brusasorci, was to be something the commission 'judged of beautiful invention'.²⁶

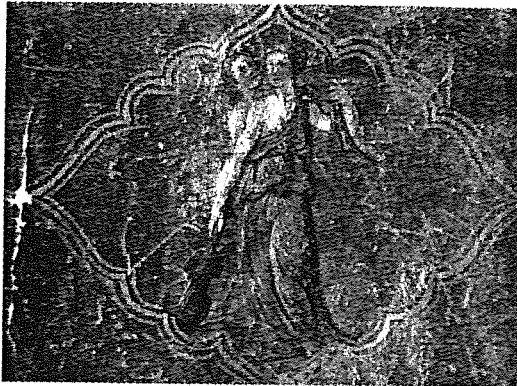
The decision to strike a medal as reward to the composer was an unusual though not exceptional measure. But we may also view it as the academy's response to the exceptional beauty of the presentation copy (see Figure 1-6) by which Wert perhaps intended to enhance his chances of reward. Like other presentation copies in the academy's possession, the bindings are in parchment, folded and stitched over the paper covers supplied by the publisher. The covers, now stiffened and buckled with age, are painted a purplish hue, a color that imitates the finer grade of parchment, called vellum, and often dyed purple. The broad brush strokes with which the paint, now faded with age, was applied are readily apparent. Only tattered remnants survive of the purple silk ties on the upper, lower, and right borders that once completed the binding. The upper cover of each partbook is decorated with an identical gold and silver ornamental border and the central medallion inscribed with the name of the voice part (Canto); the lower cover repeats the design of the front cover, but here the medallions, which measure about 8 x 5 cm, contain painted figures that appear to represent Apollo (Quinto) and the Muses (Canto, Alto, Tenore, Basso).

Four partbooks are decorated with paired female figures. All the figures are similarly dressed, wearing flowing classical garb. Seven are fully drawn and one is partially depicted. One has her back turned to the viewer and for another only the head and right arm is visible. Their hair is drawn into a bun held in place by strings of pearls. The color scheme is distinct for each pair. Contrast between the figures is provided by garments painted in shades of red or green (the red garments are overpainted with gray, white or yellow highlights; this contrasts with the brown garments, the folds of the drapery highlighted with beige or greenish hues.) All but two of the figures gaze to the left; only the double figures of the Canto partbook look directly at the viewer. The figures are drawn so as to produce counterpoised body angles; this torsion, enhanced by the use of the medallion as architectural frame, gives a semblance

²⁶ TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 59, n. 1 gives a digest of the document. My thanks to Enrico Paganuzzi for allowing me to consult the original document in Registro 5, fol. 6v: *Che sia facta una medaglia doro de gli denari che saranno racolti da particolari nella quale sia scolpita L'Impresa del l'achademia nostra, et di piu quello che sarà per gli tri infra scritti iudicato esser di qualche bella Inventione. Ballotata - P[ro] 20 C[ontra] 0. Gli eletti per la detta medaglia sono P[adre Dal] Bue, [Domenico] Brusasorci, [Antonio da] Roman. Eletti a riscotere il denaro per fa la medaglia: Il conte [Paolo Camillo] d'Justi, Girolamo Stoppa.*



1



2



3



4



5



6

Giaches de Wert, *Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, 1571. Verona, Accademia Filharmonica, shelfmark no. 197. Photo: Massimo Becattini.

Figure 1. Canto, upper cover

Figure 2. Canto, lower cover

Figure 3. Alto

Figure 4. Tenor

Figure 5. Basso

Figure 6. Quinto

of arrested movement. The figures do not form a sequence of Muses with specific iconographical attributes of the type copied by Renaissance artists from Roman sarcophagi (history, tragedy, comedy are missing).²⁷ Moreover, there are eight, rather than nine Muses, their number limited by the four partbooks to be illuminated.

Both wind and string instruments appear, as well as an open partbook. The wind instruments are curved horns with finger holes, perhaps cornetti, and are of various sizes. Though wind instruments were associated with the Muses Euterpe, Melpomene, Clio, Polyhymnia, and Calliope, these instruments, either held or appearing in the foreground, function as attributes only in a general sense.²⁸ In the Basso partbook the wind instrument placed between the two figures appears to float in mid-air. Similarly, in the embracing figures decorating the Alto partbook, the cornetto resting on the shoulder and held in the left hand of the right-hand figure, lies under the hand of the left-hand figure. In the foreground are organ pipes, traditionally associated with Polyhymnia. In the Tenor partbook, the figure on the left holds an open music partbook in her right hand. The gesture is that of a gift offered, here music, but shown in contemporary partbook format (she cannot be Clio, the Muse of history, among whose attributes is a book, sometimes with the inscription Thucydides). The right-hand figure suggests Erato, the Muse of lyric and love poetry, usually shown holding a lyre. The figures decorating the back cover of the Canto partbook are the most unusual of the set. The figure in the foreground holds a lira da braccio in her right hand and in her left what may be a double aulos (or tibia). The only figure realized in full frontal pose, she occupies nearly to capacity the central space of the medallion. This may suggest that the head and right arm of the background figure, whose face is a reverse image of the central figure, may have been added later to complete the pairing of figures found in the other partbooks. The double image may be an allusion to the fact that the five partbooks contain works for six and seven voices. Apollo (Quinto), apart from his green fig leaf and crown of laurel, is as customary depicted nude. His mouth is slightly open, suggesting that he is singing to his own accompaniment on the lira da braccio, shown with frets and typical leaf-shaped peg box. Unusually, he is depicted as bearded. This is a curiosity to be sure, since Apollo is otherwise typically shown as a beardless youth, the epitome of male beauty. Classical antecedents for this stereotype, and with which Renaissance artists were familiar, include the famous statue of Apollo

²⁷ See E. WINTERNITZ, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconology*, New Haven-London, 1979, pp. 166-84, 185-201.

²⁸ G. DE TERVARENT, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600: dictionnaire d'un langage perdu*, (*Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 29-29 bis), Geneva, 1958-1964; compare also C. RIPA, *Iconologia*, Padua, 1611, reprint New York, 1976, pp. 368-374, who admits some confusion concerning the attributes. Lomazzo's *Della forma delle muse, cavata da gli antichi autori greci, et latini, opera utilissima a pittori, & scoltori* (Milan, 1591), ed. in G.P. LOMAZZO, *Scritti sulle arti*, a cura di Roberto Paolo Ciardi, Florence, 1973-1974, proved unhelpful.

Belvedere in the Vatican. Is this figure, then, Apollo? Apollo's attributes, the laurel crown and a string instrument of classical or more contemporary form (well known examples include a lira da braccio in Raphael's *Parnassus*, Stanza della Segnatura, Vatican; a harp in Mantegna's *Parnassus*, Musée du Louvre, Paris; a lyre in Giulio Romano's Apollo, sala dei Giganti, palazzo Te, Mantua)²⁹, are attributes often shared with representations of two of the most famous singers of antiquity, Orpheus, and Arion.³⁰ Were it not for the presence of the Muse-like figures depicted on the other four partbooks, the identity of this 'singer' as Apollo might be questioned. For mortals beards were in fashion in 1571, but not for Apollo. Perhaps this anomaly is an attempt by the artist to represent the composer in the symbolic act of presenting his *concerti* to the Academy, though it is not presumably an actual - and certainly not flattering - likeness.

At the present state of enquires, the miniaturist - the 'Master of the Wert partbooks' - has not been identified and probably, given the usual anonymity enjoyed by artisans working in the *arti minori*, never will be. The artist was perhaps a *minidador* working on commission in the Venetian booktrade, or an artist working in Mantua. Though a Veronese origin cannot be discounted, nor the possibility that the covers were commissioned by the academy itself, other presentation sets of partbooks in the academy's library are by no means as extravagantly decorated.³¹ Two in particular are of interest, both presentation copies of madrigal books dedicated to the academy: Luca Marenzio, *Il Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, 1582, bound in white parchment, the covers decorated with a gold chain-link design in a blue border and the initial of the partbook on the upper cover in gold (shelfmark no. 93); Marc' Antonio Ingegneri, *Il Quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, 1587, white parchment binding with the coat of arms (chain and anchor) of the academy painted on the upper cover (no. 74). Similarly, Francesco Stivori's *Madrigali e dialoghi a otto voci*, 1598, and dedicated to Giulio Verità, is bound in white parchment with the coat of arms of the Verità family painted on the upper covers (no. 176).³²

²⁹ See E. WINTERNITZ, *Musical Archaeology in the Renaissance in Raphael's Parnassus*, in *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1979, pp. 185-201; *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, eds. D. CHAMBERS and J. MARTINEAU, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981; *Giulio Romano*, ed. S. POLANO, Milan, p. 147 and p. 339 on what little survives of the Loggia delle Muse, palazzo Te.

³⁰ For instance, Buontalenti's well-known costume design for Arion, a role played by Jacopo Peri, for the Florentine 1589 intermedi (Florence: Biblioteca nazionale centrale).

³¹ Certainly they are not in the same class as the fine leather bindings usually reserved for official documents or volumes particularly prized by a wealthy nobleman, and whose coat of arms or device is often stamped on the cover. Though a few painted miniatures occasionally grace a small area on the covers of these books, this is a detail incorporated in the overall design. See A. HOBSON, *Apollo and Pegasus: An Enquiry into the Formation and Dispersal of a Renaissance Library*, Amsterdam, 1975.

³² TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 238.

The difficulties of comparison are further compounded by the fact that by about 1550 the centuries-old traditions of manuscript illumination had effectively ceased. The Verona miniaturists Liberale and Girolamo Dai Libri (whose splendid illuminated choirbooks for Siena Cathedral are among the great masterpieces of the time)³³, and the Croatian Giulio Clovio, whose Book of Hours executed for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1546 caused Vasari to describe him as a little Michelangelo)³⁴ were among the last great representatives of the *ars miniandi*. Miniaturists, such as Girolamo Dai Libri, were also capable of executing large altar paintings on canvas. In the second half of the 16th century the reverse, a painter turning his hand to the miniated page, is far rarer, considered an exceptional exploit rather than a normal occurrence.³⁵ Small paintings are however not uncommon, and include private devotional works, scenes from mythology, the predella panels of altars, wedding cassoni, and the grottesche decorations adorning many palazzi and villas. Paolo Veronese, for instance, painted four panels (25 x 108 cm) of mythological scenes intended as furniture decoration, the four *spalliere*, now in the Isabella Stuart Gardner Museum, Boston.³⁶ My point is to suggest that the miniaturist of the Wert partbooks need not have been a miniaturist by trade, in any case a vanishing art. If we look for points of comparison, then I would suggest that the general style of these miniatures resembles most closely the wall and ceiling frescos of painters involved with the decoration of North Italian villas - Veronese, Battista Zelotti, Bernardino India, Anselmo Canera, Bartolomeo Ridolfi and others - where women musicians are a common element in the decorative schemes, for instance the eight women musicians, each holding a different instrument within the painted architectural panels of the central room at the Villa Barbaro, Maser, by Veronese about 1560.³⁷ These are not Muses, but allegorical representations of music.³⁸

³³ *Miniatura veronese del rinascimento*, eds. G. CASTIGLIONI and S. MARINELLI, Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, 1986.

³⁴ *The Farnese hours*, ed. W. SMITH, New York, 1976.

³⁵ See *Miniatura veronese del rinascimento*, p. 37 on the case of Giovanni De Mio.

³⁶ *L'opera completa del Veronese*, eds. G. PIOVENE and R. MARINI, Milan, 1968, cat. no. 64.

³⁷ *L'opera completa del Veronese*, cat. no. 68. Compare also Battista Zelotti's *concerto*, a detached fresco from Villa Foscari La Malcontenta dating about 1561-62 reproduced in *Veronese e Verona*, Verona, 1988, cat. no. 63.

³⁸ Art historians to whom I have shown these miniatures (I omit their names out of friendship) generally agree on a Veronese style if not origin; to my eye, the style of the female figures in the Wert partbooks resembles most closely that of a drawing for the Finding of Moses by Bernardino India (Verona, 1528-1590); see *Disegni veronesi al Louvre*, 1500-1630, Milan, 1994, p. 157. As painter and decorator (stucco work and grottesche), India collaborated with Sanmicheli and Palladio; he later turned to religious paintings from about 1572 (Nativity, San Bernardino, Verona). Count Alberto Lavezola, a poet and occasional member of the Accademia Filarmonica from 1551 to his death in 1590 is the author of several poems in Ms. 220 in honor of Laura Peverara (see MATERASSI, *Origine et progressi dell'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 77); he also wrote two poems in India's honor (Verona, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Dionisi-Piomarta 637); one is entitled: *A Ms Bernardino India pittor veronese per haver adunato in casa sua i Ritratti de i più celebri Huomini del Mondo*. All the rest is pure speculation.

The cover decorations depicting Apollo and the eight Muse-like women musicians was an appropriate if not surprising choice for a work dedicated to an academy that devoted itself primarily to the cultivation of music. As for the Muse-like figures, a verbal parallel to the decorative scheme may be found in Alessandro Canobbio's *Breve trattato sopra le accademie*, printed in 1571, and largely devoted to praise of the Accademia Filarmonica. He writes: *la poesia è fra l'altre cose amicissima & compagna della musica, perchè si può esercitar in compagnia de' instromenti musicali, come nella lira, liuto, arpicondo, cetra, viola & simili, anzi è nata & ha la sua stanza fra le nove muse, dove è il continuo esercitio dei musicali istromenti.*³⁹ Led by Apollo musagetes, the Muses and Sirens were often equated:

Haveva poi Apollo in mano una lira per mostrare la soavissima armonia, che fanno i Cieli, movendosi con quella proportione, che più si confa a ciascheduno di loro, la quale viene dal sole, perchè questo stando nel mezo di quelli, come referisce Macrobio, e fu opinione de Platonici, a tutti da legge, si che vanno tosto, e tardi, secondo che da lui hanno più, o manco vigore. E perchè ogni Cielo ha la sua Musa secondo i medesimi Platonici, chiamata anco alle volte da loro Sirena, perchè soavissimamente canta, che si riferisce al dolce suono de gli Orbi Celesti, li quali sono nove, quante apunto sone le Muse, fu detto che Apollo è capo, e guida di queste, et è con loro sempre.⁴⁰

The Siren holding an armillary sphere - the central image of the academy's impresa - may then be alluded to in the Muse-like figures of the partbooks.

As for the place of Apollo in this equation, the academy considered him its protector and 'father', a notion made public in Jan Nasco's 1548 book of madrigals. This was published a year after Nasco's appointment as the academy's music master in 1547, and is the earliest book of madrigals dedicated to the academy. The text of the concluding dialogue madrigal, *Padre ch'a Delphi*, can only have originated in the academy. In setting it to music, Nasco was fulfilling one of the stipulations of his contract, which obligated him to set to music texts chosen by the academy or written by one of its members.⁴¹ This work is a dialogue between the members of the Accademia Filarmonica and Apollo, with whom they have fabricated a direct mode of communication by

³⁹ *Breve trattato di M. Alessandro Cannobio sopra le academie*, Venice, 1571, p. 12: 'Poetry is among other things the friend and companion of music, because it may be practiced in company with musical instruments, such as the lyre, lute, harpsichord, cittern, viola; moreover, it [poetry] was born among the nine muses, in whose abode musical instruments sound continuously.'

⁴⁰ V. CARTERI, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*, Venezia, 1571, p. 59; on Macrobius (Comm. 2.3.1: *Nam Siren dea canens Graeco intellectu valet*), see W.H. STAHL, *Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, New York, 1952, p. 194.

⁴¹ TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, pp. 53-54.

means of musical and poetical discourse. It is also the poetic and musical equivalent of the impresa, and marks the academy's first deliberate step towards making its philosophical and musical aspirations public knowledge.⁴²

Padre, ch'a Delfi il gran Piton' et fero
Vincesti et Martia del suo foll'ardire
Facest' in van pentire,
Ond'è che più che mai lieto ti mostri? -

- Con ragion poss' hor più che mai
gioire Et sovra gl'altri dei gir men'
altero. -

- Torn' in quest' hemispero
Forse Fetonte da' superni chiostri? -
- Altr' allegrezza ingombr' i petti
nostri. -

- Qual gratia donque ti può far più
bello Che i raggi tuoi?

- Questa, che 'l mond' ogn' hora
Più nostro regn' honora,
Et ci rendon devoti hor questo, hor
quello;
Filarmonici accesi del mio foco,
Così vivran eterni in ogni loco. -

Father, who at Delphi defeated the
fierce great Python and made Marsyas
repent in vain of his foolish presump-
tion, why is it that more than ever
you show your happiness? -

- I have good reason to rejoice and
renounce my proud journey around
the world above the other gods. -

- Perhaps Phaethon returns to these
parts from the cloisters of heaven? -

- Another happiness fills my heart. -

- What splendor could be greater
than the sun's rays?

- This, that the world honors me
more every day, and every day new
converts join us;
The Filarmonici, 'lovers of harmony',
lit by my fire,
who will live forever in the circling
spheres. -

Another text of similar content was set to music by Ippolito Chamaterò, the academy's maestro in 1562 and 1563, but at the time of publication, maestro di cappella at Udine cathedral.⁴³

⁴² *Madrigali di Giovan Nasco a cinque voci de la nobile & virtuosa Accademia d'i Signori filarmonici Veronesi*, Venezia, 1548, p. 28.

⁴³ *Di Hippolito Chamatero maestro di capella, nel domo di Udine, il terzo libro dell'i madrigali a cinque voci*. Venice, 1569, p. 26: *Alli Molto Illustri Sig. li Sig Academici Filarmonici. A 6.* In his dedi-
cation to the academy, the composer recalls *Le perfettione de vostri concerti musici accompagnati
da tanti e cosi varij strumenti*.

Godi città felice, Adige altiero,
L'honorata accademia delle muse
Che come Polo eterno e risplendente,
Alle virtù fa bello ampio sentiero.

Il sacro Apollo ogni suo ben qui
infuse;
Son l'altre, rose e fior ch'al ragio
ardente
Del sol restano spente;

Ma quest' è un ciel di tante stelle
adorno
Ch'appaga l'occhio ch' il contempla e
mira
Ch'honor bellezza spira.
Questi spirti sì ben locati forno
Ch' in cielo eterni al ciel faran
ritorno.

Rejoice happy city, proud Adige,
at the honored academy of the Muses
that, like the Pole Star, ever shining,
leads us by a broad and easy path to
virtue.

Here sacred Apollo has poured out
all his gifts;
his burning rays from the sun

have wilted other flowers [i.e.,
Phaethon].

But now he gives us a sky covered
with countless stars
that please the contemplative viewer

and inspire us to honor and beauty.
These spirits [Filarmonici] are so well
placed here [by Apollo]
that they will return for eternal life
among the spheres.

The concluding lines of both of these texts reveal something of the aspirations to 'astral immortality' of the Filarmonici. As is explicit from their motto, *Coelorum imitatur concentum*, the academy 'imitates the harmony of the spheres', thereby seeking to harness the redemptive powers of celestial music as described by Cicero in the *Somnium Scipionis*: 'Learned men, by imitating this harmony on stringed instruments and in song, have gained for themselves a return to this region'.⁴⁴

Wert was only one of many composers to dedicate a book of madrigals to the academy and for whom similar deliberations survive. The reward system admitted not only of printed music - the visible side of consumption - but also of music in manuscript, much or all of it especially composed for the academy's functions. Every year the academy celebrated the anniversary of its foundation in 1543 on the first of May with the performance of a polyphonic mass in one of the city's churches, a public event for which composers like Asola, Donato, Ingegneri, and Merulo contributed music, all of it in manuscript.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Cicero, *De re publica*, VI. xviii, 18; Eng. trans. C.W. KEYS, London, 1966.

⁴⁵ A list of *Messe scritte a mano cantate il di primo di Maggio* appear in the 1585 inventory; see TURRINI, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, p. 188. None survive. However, the rewards system still applied: *Dionisi-Piomarta 634: 1570 3 Aprile. Che a Don Matheo [Asola] Musico per aver donato una Messa fatta aposta sieno donati scudi cinque d'oro.*

Here the usual expectation of reward pertains. Vincenzo Bell'haver not only contributed the music, but brought musicians from Venice to assist in its performance. His service was exceptional enough that the academy decided to forego the usual monetary reward in favor of a 'medal or similar object' of value - a decision that bears comparison with the Wert medal already discussed.

Dionisi-Piomarta 634, 1578 3 Maggio. Item. Sieno dati Duc:ti dieci a M:o Vicenzo Belsavar Musico per gratitudine nostra per haverci donata la Messa cantata il primo di Mag:io presente, ed'esser venuto in persona da Venezia ad ajutar a cantarla. Questi però gli si donino non in danari ma in qualche Medaglia d'oro o altro simile soggetto etc.

Some composers, like Marc'Antonio Pordenon, seemed to have worked regularly the academic circuit, both in Verona as well as in Vicenza, and reaped the benefits of its reward system. Pordenon's *Primo libro de madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, Angelo Gardano, 1580) was received with similar protocols by its dedicatees, the *Academici Olimpici Vicentini*⁴⁶:

Adi detto [7 November, 1580] Havendo il sig. Marc'Antonio Pordenon musico appresentata la nostra Accademia del primo libro dei suoi Madrigali et volendo mostrarsi grata, siccome è il suo solito di mostrarsi a tutti i virtuosi. L'Anderà parte che gli siano donati scudi dieci.

Works in manuscript such as Pordenon's book of four voice madrigals which he gave to the Accademia Filarmonica with the promise not to have it printed - the Alto partbook still survives (Ms 229) - became the private property of the academy:

Dionisi-Piomarta 634: 1571 26 Xbre: Item. Avendo Marcant.o Pordenon regalata all'Accad.a una Copia di Madrigali scritti in pena con promesso di non stamparli furono eletti per esaminarli Co: Agostino Giusti, Alvise Vigo, Paulo Carteri. 1571 31 Xbre: Accetazione delli Madrigali di Marcant.o Pordenon.

Such unique works were probably considered collector's pieces like precious gems, medals, statues, or paintings, whether commissioned or acquired as objets d'art. Here I am reminded of collectors like Neri Capponi, whose jealously-guarded private music was composed by Willaert, and Ruberto Strozzi, who acquired canzoni by Rore for a price.⁴⁷

In general, the submission to the academy of a newly published work, or a work as yet in manuscript, was subject to established rules of protocol before it was deemed worthy to carry the academy's name. Established composers could not circumvent the approval process but could enhance their chances of reward through submission of what was effectively a fait accompli. Deliber-

46 G. ZORZI, *Le ville e i teatri di Andrea Palladio*, Vicenza, 1969, p. 311

47 R.J. AGEE, *Ruperto Strozzi and the Early Madrigal*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 36 (1983), pp. 1-17.

ations concerning the submission and acceptance of Marenzio's *Terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci*, the dedication to the academy signed from Rome, are instructive in this regard.

Dionisi-Piomarta 634: 1583 19 Feb:io. Item. Che havendo Lucca Marenzio Musicho mandato a donar una Coppia di Madrigali all'Accad:ia, ne doven-do esser questa accettata in ordine alla parte 1569 26 Gen:io se non previo l'assenso della compagnia e che sia prima laudata da quelli che saranno destinati a giudicarla, furono eletti gli seguenti: Uberto da Romano, Co: Mario Dondino, Co: Giordano Serego. 1583 26 Gen:io [sic]. Parte. Che al sud:o Marenzio per l'opera sud:ta sieno donati Duc.ti 12

Publication conveyed to the public at large the academy's approval as well as conferring a measure of protection that is implicit to the patron-client relation, be it institutional or private. The expectation of monetary gain may be taken for granted. Wert's lavish presentation copy bespeaks a special and reciprocal demonstration of esteem rather than any direct connection between the composer and the academy. Placed in a wider context, this demonstration of esteem is but one example among many of the interaction between the skilled artisan and the connoisseurship practised by collectors, performers, and 'lovers of harmony', the members of the Accademia Filarmonica.