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On the Origins of the North-Italian "Madrigale Spirituale"

This paper is concerned with the early history of the spiritual madrigal in Verona, between 1563 when the first anthology of spiritual madrigals was published, compiled by the Veronese archpriest Giovanni Del Bene, and a day fifteen years earlier, when the Accademia Filarmonica performed a spiritual madrigal following an academic lecture.

Modern historians of the spiritual madrigal have not given much attention to the reasons for their composition. Alfred Einstein viewed the development of the spiritual madrigal as inseparable from its secular counterpart, and believed that spiritual and secular madrigals were sung by the same people but at different times, for example, during Holy Week¹. Elena Ferrari Barassi considers the destination of the spiritual madrigal to have been "*precisamente le corti, le case patrizie, le accademie: proprio quei luoghi dove le esecuzioni madrigalistiche in genere erano di casa*"². This argument, like Einstein's purely musical, is hard to fault. But the spiritual madrigal, whatever else it may be musically, is textually grounded in biblical sources, and potentially no less paraliturgical than its better documented cousin, the lauda³.

In 1563, the year of the close of the Council of Trent, three books of musical settings of devotional texts in the vernacular appeared in print. Two are books of laudi which mention specific paraliturgical uses. Animuccia's *Il primo libro delle laudi* (Rome, 1563) contains music intended for the spiritual exercises of the Roman oratorians; the *laudi spirituali* collected by Serafino Razzi were suited, according to the titlepage, to the needs of the religious, of especial benefit to nuns, and habitually sung in Florentine churches following Vespers and Compline (*Libro primo delle laudi spirituali [...] le quali si usano cantare in Firenze nelle Chiese doppo il Vespro o la Compieta*, Venice, 1563). In contrast, the first collection of spiritual madrigals, *Musica spirituale. Libro primo di canzon et madrigali a cinque voci*, has no dedication or "*ai lettori*" to guide us; the titlepage informs us that the anthology was "previously collect-

ed by the Veronese noble, the Reverend Giovanni Del Bene, for the use of Christian and pious persons" (*"Raccolta già dal Reverendo messer Giovanni del bene nobil veronese à utilità delle persone christiane, et pie"*). Published at Venice by Girolamo Scotto in 1563 (*RISM* 1563⁷), this print contains works by Jan Nasco, Lamberto Courtois, Adrian Willaert, Vincenzo Ruffo, Maistre Jhan, Grisostimo da Verona and one anonymous work⁴. Though the print appeared four years after Del Bene's death in 1559 (explaining the use of "già" on the title page), the genesis of the *Musica spirituale* is to be sought in the career of this ardent and prolific spokesman for the Counter Reformation.

Giovanni Del Bene was born at Verona about 1512, the son of the physician Agostino Del Bene and Peregrina Lisca⁵. He was educated at the College of Acolytes where his contemporary Ruffo was a colleague⁶. From 1542 to his death in 1559 Del Bene was archpriest of the church of Santo Stefano in Verona⁷, and the faithful servant of the reform-minded bishops Gian Matteo Giberti and Luigi Lippomano. At the request of bishop Lippomano, Del Bene wrote two works in the vernacular designed to spread correct doctrine among the simple and ignorant. One is a collection of sermons to be read at mass, written as the preface says "*con ogni semplicità, condescendendo alla debolezza dell'intelletto degli auditori*"⁸. The other, *Confirmatione et stabilimento di tutti li dogmi catholici*, written in collaboration with Maffeo Albertino, is a book containing 482 Protestant "objections", each with its correct Catholic "response"⁹. Objections and responses 15 to 21 deal with various aspects of church music.

Underlying the Catholic position is the (neo-Platonic) view that music leads the soul of man to the contemplation of divine things; thus, it is a benefit to the church and a comfort to mankind¹⁰. The translation into the vernacular of the sung portions of the liturgy is considered wrong by the Catholic church because it may lead to heresy in the ignorant¹¹. The introduction of profane and lascivious elements into the music of the mass is condemned by Protestant and Catholic alike. The most sensational question is the defense of the unintelligibility of the words when set to "*questi canti e biscanti che si chiamano figurati*". It is mistaken to think that "*i populi non pigliano alcun frutto con questi canti figurati ove non si intende alcuna parola, né i chierici ancora che li cantino*" because it is the intention to praise God that counts; no understanding of words can compare to this pious intention, which even the simple and ignorant can experience. Liturgical music, including that performed on instruments, as with other ceremonies and rites of the church, needs to retain the dignity and gravity to which its offices were intended. Though music pleases the ear, one must use it to pass beyond mere sensual delight to higher things¹².

These remarks define Veronese attitudes to the music of the Latin rite as well as current performing practices. Del Bene's co-author, Maffeo Albertino, was a canon at the same Cathedral where Vincenzo Ruffo, the first Italian to publish a polyphonic mass setting, was *maestro di cappella*. Paradoxically,

cally, in view of the cultivation of congregational singing north of the Alps, paraliturgical music in the vernacular was no less controversial; not because it was unintelligible, but because "*canzonette*" are said to incite far too much shouting, murmuring and general din in churches. The reply ignores the accusation and changes the terms of reference: "*hymni et laude a Dio*" are songs which "elevate the mind to supernal matters, inflame it with divine love, move it to compunction, excite it to despise the material, and provoke it to embrace virtue". Provided such songs are pious and Christian and not vain, lascivious or indecent, the Catholic church does not reject the "*harmonia et soavità de le voci*" within its temples, nor has it disdained the use of "*canti solenni*" in order to excite the souls of its wards to sanctity and piety¹³. These comments suggest that the context for the poetry and music of Del Bene's *Musica spirituale* was the church itself.

Del Bene himself was a poet, and another collection of pious intent, in which Del Bene seems to have been involved, was the publication of three anthologies of *Rime spirituali* issued at Venice in 1550 and 1552¹⁴. These volumes do not contain prefaces or dedications, but each starts with a section of poems by Del Bene. This suggests he had a hand in their compilation and was at least involved in their publication. The three volumes are divided by poetic form, containing respectively sonnets, canzoni, and laudi. Some of Del Bene's laudi were set by Animuccia in his second book of 1570¹⁵. But none of these texts are set in the *Musica spirituale* of 1563.

The *Musica spirituale*, like the *Rime spirituali* is a mixture, part collected out of the best authors, and part newly printed. Ruffo's contributions, which include two stanzas from Petrarch's Vergine canzone and the sonnet *I' vo piangendo*, had been published previously in 1553 and 1554¹⁶. The remaining works are unique to this volume and cast in a variety of metrical forms. Most of the poets can be identified. Maistre Jhan's setting is of a penitential poem by Niccolò Martelli¹⁷. The text of Willaert's contribution is an extensively rewritten conflation of two works by Sannazaro, the "Good Friday" sonnet *È questo il legno*, and a capitolo in terza rima, *Se mai per maraviglia*, entitled in Sultzbach's authoritative Neapolitan edition of 1530 "*Lamentazione sopra al corpo del Redentor del mondo a' mortali*"¹⁸.

Pianget'egri mortali [*Musica spirituale*]

Pianget'egri mortali

Piangete l'aspra morte del Signore

Se spirito di pietà vi punge il core.

Volgete gli occhi in qua, c'hoggi dimostra

Non quella forma, oimè, non quel colore,

Che finge forse i sensi in mente vostra.

Vedete 'l volto esangue,

Le chiome lacerate, il capo basso,

Qual rosa che calcata in terra langue.

O mirabil pietà, o dolce pegno, 10
 O sacr', o santo sangue,
 Sì largamente sparso al duro legno;

O rara, o nuova legge,
 Humiliarsi a morte acerba e dura
 Quel che 'l ciel, e la terra, e 'l mar corregge! 15
 Piangi mond' orbo, piangi egra natura:
 Morto è 'l pastor per liberar lo gregge,
 Come agnel mansueto alla tonsura.

Se mai per meraviglia [corresponding lines]

Piangete il grande esizial dolore; 16
 Piangete l'aspra morte e 'l crudo affanno, 17
 Se spirto di pietà vi punge il core. 18
 Volgete gli occhi in qua, c'or vi dimostra 13
 Non quella forma, oimè, non quel colore, 14
 Che fingean forse i sensi in mente vostra. 15
 Vedete, egri mortali, il volto esangue, 25
 Le chiome lacerate e 'l capo basso, 26
 Qual rosa che, calcata, in terra langue. 27
 Inudita pietà, mirabil pegno, 22
 Donar la propria vita, offrir il sangue 23
 Pende, come vedete, al duro legno 20

È questo il legno [sextet]

O pietà grande, o rara et nova legge,
 Humiliarsi a morte acerba e dura
 Quel ch' il ciel, et la terra, e 'l mar corregge!
 Pianga il mond' orbo, pianga egra natura:
 Mort'è il pastor, per liberar il gregge,
 Come agnel mansueto a la tonsura.

Five of the poems in the *Musica spirituale* are by its compiler, Giovanni Del Bene. These poems are found in a collection of his poetry published at Venice, *La resurrettione et ascensione del nostro Signore Iesu Christo [...]* con altre rime divote; the print is undated¹⁹. All of Del Bene's poems carry rubrics that explain their author's intent. These are as follows: Nasco's setting of *Mio pane, anzi mia vita*, rubricated "Canzon al Santissimo Sacramento" (fols. 131-135); Courtois' setting of *Destra di quel amor*, a canzone describing the five wounds of Christ ("Alle sante cinque piaghe del Signore", fols. 150v-151v); the anonymous *Dolce è la pace mia*, a prayer to die in a state of grace ("Desiderio di morir per essere con il Signore", fol. 98); and finally two works by Gri-

sostimo da Verona: *Ampia viva fornace*, a prayer to be inflamed by Divine Love ("Priego per esser infiammato del divino amore", fol. 90v), and *O fosse il mio cor fieno*, a work describing the birth of Christ ("Nella notte della Santissima Natività del Signore", fol. 100v). The poetry of two works remains unidentified, Ruffo's penitential *Dhe spargi o miser'alma*, and Grisostimo's *Vergine santa, immacolata e pia*.

Only one work in the *Musica spirituale* carries a seasonal designation, Nasco's thirteen-part canzone cycle rubricated "Canzon. Al S. Sacramento", a work clearly for Corpus Domini, but also on account of its eucharistic theme, suited to Maundy Thursday. Many of the works, including those by Willaert and Maistre Jhan, are explicitly for Good Friday. Even those "Alla Vergine", though of more general application, also recall the *Mater dolorosa* of Holy Week²⁰. These rubrics give a precise indication of the paraliturgical destination of these spiritual madrigals; and the discovery that Del Bene himself is the author of five of the poems, gives the anthology a decidedly local coloring. Apart from the Venice-based Willaert and "Mestre Jan da Ferrara" (died 1538), the composers represented are Veronese, as were Ruffo and the otherwise unknown Grisostimo da Verona, or had ties with Verona. Nasco, Ruffo and Courtois had succeeded one another as *maestro della musica* at the Accademia Filarmonica between 1547 and 1554; and Ruffo was *maestro di cappella* at the Cathedral until 1563²¹. Some of the works were probably composed on request, even if the composer had left Verona; Nasco is known to have supplied music to the Accademia Filarmonica after his departure for Treviso in 1551²².

Del Bene's already-mentioned advocacy of paraliturgical music makes it likely that the *Musica spirituale* reflects Veronese usage. Animuccia's laudi for Rome and Razzi's for Florence are comparable instances of local usage and reflect the needs of specific organisations and institutions. A similar situation may have pertained in Verona; let us consider for a moment the archpriest Del Bene's own church of Santo Stefano.

From 1543 onwards, Del Bene spent conspicuous sums of his own money on schemes for the architectural and decorative renovation of Santo Stefano. In 1546 he commissioned a new main altar painting from Domenico Brusasorzi (1516-1567), the cost of which was shared by Del Bene and by the Compagnia del Crocifisso, a lay religious company attached to Santo Stefano. The iconographical program of the painting was presumably of Del Bene's devising, but also it had to satisfy the Compagnia del Crocifisso, into whose care the main altar had been assigned since 1543 by order of bishop Giberti²³. The painting portrays Christ bearing the Cross (*Cristo portacroce*) with St Stephen and other saints. St Stephen, whose hands raised in prayer appear to support the Cross, is depicted in the dual role of Simon the Cyrenian and that of St Stephen, the first martyr. In this way, the patron saint of the church is made to participate in the Passion of Christ. Del Bene's own likeness may appear in the face of St Stephen²⁴; and in his introspective meditation on the Passion, Del Bene wrote words that could stand as a cap-

tion to the painting: "*considera che al presente il Signor mette giù la croce per darla non solo a Simone, ma a ciascun di noi*"²⁵. Del Bene's patronage of Brusasorzi, from whom he commissioned another altar painting (*Epifania del fuoco*) and the frescoes of the cupola (*Cristo giudice*, flanked laterally by angel musicians), shows him in a rather different light: the *committente* of works of art that conform to Counter Reformation ideals concerning the immediate perception of the religious content of images.

According to Vasari, Brusasorzi was reputedly a fine musician²⁶; and, as a member of the Accademia Filarmonica, he was the patron of Nasco, Courtois and Ruffo, all contributors to the *Musica spirituale*. But at the apex of these interconnections stands Del Bene's patronage and it seems likely that the musical settings of his own poetry were also commissions for Santo Stefano — not solely as musical works that textually illustrate specific religious images and liturgical events, but also as works that draw their substance from an ideal view of the Counter-Reformation church. Shaped by Del Bene's patronage, this ideal church was Santo Stefano.

The liturgical calendar, or *Regola*, observed at Santo Stefano during Del Bene's time shows that the parish was entrusted to the archpriest assisted by two chaplains, and music limited to the celebrant's "*messa cantata con organo*". From 1548 to 1553 the organist was Bartolomeo della Biella, paid "*parte per depintura e parte per sonar*". Polyphonic music was probably sung in Santo Stefano only once a year, when on 26 April, the Cathedral Chapter and the Congregatione del Clero Intrinseco came to sing mass. Ascension was the feast day of the Compagnia del Crocifisso, celebrated by a procession through the district, and mass sung by the archpriest. For Corpus Domini the solemnities were conducted at the main altar, the *Regola* reminding the celebrant that since 1543 the main altar had been assigned to the Compagnia del Crocifisso²⁷. The company also processed on Corpus Domini, its Standard and Crucifix carried through the streets²⁸. Corpus Domini is the subject of the opening work of the *Musica spirituale*, Nasco's canzone "al Santissimo Sacramento". Santo Stefano's main altar was called "del Sacramento". For Corpus Domini the Compagnia del Crocifisso provided wheat to be made into the bread of the sacrament; Nasco's canzone begins "Mio pane, anzi mia vita". Other works in the *Musica spirituale* with their emphasis on the Passion — an emphasis reflected in Brusasorzi's main altar and cupola paintings — might equally relate them to the spiritual exercises of the Compagnia del Crocifisso. Unfortunately, the company's payment registers preserve no record that paraliturgical music accompanied their devotions; but I believe that Del Bene collected the *Musica spirituale* with people like them in mind; that they are the "pious and Christian persons" for whom such works were of "utility". Del Bene's goal was not "intelligible" mass music of the Tridentine type later produced by Ruffo for Cardinal Borromeo or Animuccia for the Cappella Giulia²⁹. Rather, he sought to communicate the Counter Reformation's evangelical message of spiritual renewal to the faithful in a language they could understand. The propaga-

tion of this message through sophisticated art music is no paradox but a corollary of the artistic aspirations of the church triumphant.

The Accademia Filarmonica maintained a rather more self-centered view of devotional music. By the time of publication of the *Musica spirituale*, they had been cultivating the genre for fifteen years. Their private repertory of spiritual madrigals was not due to Nasco, Courtois or Ruffo, but to Agostino Bonzanino.

Bonzanino was born in 1518 or 1519, the second son of a notary³⁰. A member of the Accademia Filarmonica since its foundation in 1543, he was one of the very few members of the academy to pursue a career in musical composition. He assumed a leading role in organizing the musical activities of the academy at an early date, and continued to exercise this role after the election in 1547 of the academy's first music master, Jan Nasco. In 1549 he quit the academy to move to Venice, replaced as a member by his brother, Girolamo. His whereabouts are unknown until 1555, when on 31 December he was elected the academy's *maestro della musica*, a position he retained until his death in late May of 1560. In 1564 the Regents convened to discuss Girolamo's removal from the academy's premises of "*le Composition de Musica per la Magior parte del q. messer Agostino suo fratello fatte ad Instantia de la Compagnia, nel tempo che come maestro della musica l'ha servita*". Two members of the academy were charged with attending to the affair, and to either procure the return of the music, or to arrange that part of it be published by Girolamo with a dedication to the academy³¹.

The five partbooks of the academy's Ms. 221, inscribed on the covers "Di S. Agostino Bonzanino", seem to contain the music in question. The partbooks preserve 42 settings of Italian and Latin texts; the tenor partbook is now lacking. At the back of the alto partbook is a list (*tavola*) of some 60 more works that do not appear in the manuscript. These are grouped by number of voices under the rubric "*quelli che sono in carte*", that is, presumably music written on separate sheets or unbound fascicles³². Two of the four-voice madrigals were published in 1579 in an anthology of madrigals by Veronese composers (*Giardino de madrigali*, RISM 1579⁴); the third work published there is otherwise unknown.

The majority of the vernacular works in Ms. 221 are spiritual madrigals. Petrarch and Ariosto, by comparison, are set once each. The spiritual works comprise fifteen sonnets, four madrigals, and two canzoni of seven and five parts, one of which is by Niccolò Amanio. Of the sonnets, one is by Veronica Gambara, and thirteen by Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara. Bonzanino's choice of sonnets by Vittoria Colonna may reflect his own tastes, for he is known to have delivered a lecture on one of her sonnets to the academy on 25 January 1549: "*Agostino Bonzanin legete una letione sopra il sonetto della Peschara qual Due*"³³. The identity of the sonnet in question is unknown: three of Vittoria Colonna's sonnets begin with the word "*Due*", none of them known to have been set to music by Bonzanino.

Bonzanino's choice of the poetry of Vittoria Colonna needs to be put

into perspective. The poetry of the spiritual madrigal is cast in the same metrical forms as its secular counterpart. In this regard, Petrarch's two penitential sonnets and his canzone to the Virgin had provided the models. But these works, though of undoubted religious inspiration, were too few in number to sustain his imitators for long. By the third decade of the 16th century preoccupations about the moral character of Petrarch's poetry (and its influence on the young) had begun to emerge in conservative Catholic opinion. A remarkable example is *Il Petrarca spirituale* of 1536, in which the minorite friar Girolamo Malipiero used considerable, if misguided, ingenuity to substitute a moral and religious theme for every worldly and amorous one³⁴. But the only result of this is to debase Petrarch; the problem was to provide an alternative. Gabriel Fiamma, in the erudite commentary to his *Rime spirituali* of 1570, cites Petrarch as the authority and example, while reserving his greatest praise for the even more ancient authority of biblical poetry. Though Fiamma recognized in the Psalms the *fons et origo* of poetry itself, he willingly declares himself a follower of Vittoria Colonna: "*L'illustrissima signora Vittoria Colonna, marchesa di Pescara, è stata la prima c'ha cominciato a scrivere con dignità in rime le cose spirituali; e m'ha fatta la strada e aperto il camino di penetrare e giunger ove è piaciuto a Dio di condurmi*"³⁵.

Vittoria Colonna's search for the sublime found its most effective register in a language born of the fusion of Petrarch and the Bible. After the death of her husband Ferrante d'Avalos in 1525, she turned exclusively to religious poetry. The opening sonnets of the *Rime spirituali* announce the substitution of Christ for Apollo, and the abandonment of the nine Muses of secular poetry for the nine circles of Paradise³⁶. She was reluctant to see her religious poetry in print, and the first authorized edition was published by Vincenzo Valgrisi at Venice in 1546, only a year before her death. According to the unsigned preface to this work "modern poets have dealt hitherto with little else than useless and profane matters, pretending, as I have heard many say, that beautiful verses cannot be written about pious and holy things"³⁷. Though she had proved the skeptics wrong and, as Fiamma acknowledged, had provided the long-sought alternative to Petrarch, the critical fortune of her spiritual poetry with composers was meagre and belated: twenty-one settings of her spiritual sonnets were published between 1579 and 1589, fourteen of these by one composer, Pietro Vinci³⁸. This concentration of settings during the decade 1579-89 sets in sharp relief Bonzanino's advocacy of her poetry: in 1549 he had lectured the academy on one of her sonnets and set thirteen of them to music before 1560. But what he advocated above all was style. Del Bene described his religious poetry as having more of the ecclesiastical than the Tuscan ("*molti modi di parlare che hanno più presto del Ecclesiastico che del toscano*")³⁹. Vittoria Colonna's *Rime morali et spirituali* are weighted stylistically in the opposite direction — they have more of the Tuscan (i.e., of the style of Petrarch) than the ecclesiastical. And it is this weighting of the scale that conceptually differentiates the approaches to the spiritual madrigal of the ecclesiastic Del Bene and that of Bonzanino, by taste and inclina-

tion a "Tuscan". Compared to the public, and published, endeavors of Del Bene, the academy's cultivation of the spiritual madrigal was a strictly internal affair and it was here that the refined and aristocratic poetry of Vittoria Colonna found its natural home.

The evidence suggests that Bonzanino's Colonna settings, the earliest known, were, like the other spiritual madrigals in Ms. 221, composed at the instigation of the academy. This internal patronage needs to be clarified. In 1548 the academy initiated plans for a series of lectures to be given on Sundays. Following each presentation it was planned that *concerti* were to entertain those present: "*Et dopo tal lezione siano obligati li regenti a far far un par de concerti per recreation delli adunati*"⁴⁰. The inaugural lecture, given by Bernardo Canigiani, was repeatedly disrupted by rowdy behaviour. The outcome of successive lectures — one of which was to have been by Bonzanino — is not recorded. On Sunday, 18 November 1548, "*Il Constante*" lectured the academy on the words of a madrigal, *Chi non conosce amore*, by "*L'Ispe-dito*"⁴¹. Though it is unknown to whom these academic pseudonyms refer, the madrigal *Chi non conosce amore* is the first item entered into the three surviving partbooks of the academy's Ms. 223. These partbooks were purchased by the academy on 29 March, 1548, and contain lute intabulations of vocal works⁴². Of the original four partbooks, the alto is lost. For *Chi non conosce amore* soprano, tenor and bass voice parts are preserved, and each accompanied by an identical lute reduction of the lower voices. At the end of the tenor part of *Chi non conosce amore* is written "*finis codesto diavolo del bonzanino*". In Ms. 221 this same work appears among Bonzanino's lost music in *carte* with the designation "*a.8. dialogo*". On 15 November 1548, three days before the lecture on *Chi non conosce amore*, music paper was purchased to notate "the dialogue of messer Augustin"⁴³. There can be little doubt that these documents provide a record of the preparations leading to the performance of *Chi non conosce amore*, the earliest-known spiritual madrigal to be written for eight voices and, as stipulated by the Regents, a *concerto* for voices and instruments.

It was through such *concerti* that the academy sought to involve as many of its members as possible. They cultivated music for the pleasure it could bring, the "rational enjoyment in leisure" of music recommended by Aristotle (*Politics* 1339a, 22-3), but they also called upon its power to evoke a higher moral purpose. Though the *salus animarum* was no less an ethical pursuit for the Filarmonici than for Del Bene, they gave it functional definition by the quintessentially academic exercise of textual explication followed by its musical corollary of composition and performance. As is explicit from their motto, "*Coelorum imitatur concentum*", the academy "imitates the harmony of the spheres". In a practical sense, this imitation took the form of *concerti* such as *Chi non conosce amore*. On his deathbed, Pythagoras is reported to have called for the monochord, saying "souls cannot ascend without music"⁴⁴. *Chi non conosce amore* is a prayer to Divine Love, and its conclusion invokes a similar purpose: "*Amor, tu che l'huom tiri | Fuor dalla morte ad*

immortale stato, | Spira ver noi la tua virtù infinita | Che ne ritorn' in vita". By opening a channel of influence to the stars, the Filarmonici sought 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"⁴⁵. This Ciceronian view of music is echoed by Alessandro Canobbio, who, in his advice to the "Novelli Accademici" of Verona published in 1571, wrote that of all the sciences music leads man closest to a knowledge of the heavens, what he calls "celestial cognition". Because earthly music is a subconscious striving of the soul to recapture the divine music it knew in the heavens before the Fall, its proper exercise, which can bring spiritual comfort and benefit, is of the utmost importance to the lives of academics. "In truth", he writes, "one may say that music keeps man safe from all evil because it occupies leisure time; and so the Signori Filarmonici, knowing so well this excellence of music, pursue it, and praise Our Lord God in song, so that they are led to contemplate the solemn mysteries it contains"⁴⁶.

We still need to define more clearly the role of the spiritual madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy. The decrees of the Council of Trent called for intelligible settings of the mass; a call, which in spite of the major composers linked to the effort, was largely without historical effect because it sought to coerce composers to break with humanistic traditions of long standing and to subject their art to a radical diminution of its stature. In the spiritual madrigal, by contrast, piety and musical artifice could work together rather than being conceived of as mutually exclusive. The increasingly large production of spiritual madrigals in the latter part of the 16th century bears witness to the success of this formula. On balance, the spiritual madrigal was but one response to the exigencies of the Counter-Reformation as it developed on a pan-Italian scale (motet texts, for instance, have received little attention). But it may be suggested that the decidedly Veronese and manifestly Counter-Reformation *Musica spirituale* of 1563 was the spark that ignited the flame. One of those quick to fan the flame was Del Bene's compatriot, Nicolo Ormaneto. In 1565, Ormaneto, Cardinal Borromeo's vicar in Milan, proposed to his patron a "collection of decent madrigals such that every good man can sing"; the proposal, assuredly Veronese in inspiration, also identifies the spiritual madrigal as a prime vehicle of Counter-Reformation thought⁴⁷. Though its future dissemination throughout the peninsula is a matter of record⁴⁸, there is no single context for the spiritual madrigal; rather, there are a multiplicity of contexts as distinct from one another as the individuals responsible for its creation, propagation and performance. Verona, which stands at the fountainhead of developments, provides two such contexts which future research will undoubtedly multiply.

- ¹ A. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton 1949), I, p. 191.
- ² E. Ferrari Barassi, *Il madrigale spirituale nel Cinquecento e la raccolta monterverdiana del 1583*, in: *Claudio Monteverdi e il suo tempo*, ed. R. Monterosso (Verona 1968), p. 231.
- ³ At Pistoia in 1516 the Dominican youth Compagnia della Purità sang laude at mass and vespers; see P. Vigo, ed., *Una confraternita di giovanetti pistoiesi al principio del sec. XVI (Compagnia della Purità). Cronachetta inedita*. Scelta di curiosità inedite o rare, dispensa 220 (Bologna 1887; reprint Bologna 1969): "et venuta la hora del cantare la messa, cantarono la messa con voce puerile aiutati però da frati con dolce concento e melodia [...] et infra la messa, et maxime quando si comunicarono e fratelli, cantarono alcune laude ad proposito" (pp. 27-28); "et poi si cantò uno solenne vespro della Assumptione [...] et in vocibus et organo fu laudato Dio et la Sua Madre con molte laude di canto figurato, da poi el vespro, et cantata la Salve Regina in su l'organo con iubilo immenso" (pp. 40-41). In 1595, Tommaso Minerbetti, director of music at Santa Maria Novella in Florence, purchased three books of spiritual madrigals for 5 and 6 voices by Marenzio and de Monte; this suggests that, at a church where the singing of laudi after Vespers and Compline by professional singers was a well-established practice, the spiritual madrigal could fulfill the same function; see F.A. D'Accone, *Repertory and Performance Practice in Santa Maria Novella at the Turn of the 17th Century*, in: *A Festschrift for Albert Seay*, ed. M.D. Grace (Colorado Springs 1982), p. 99.
- ⁴ For a transcription of the contents, see K.S. Powers, *An Introduction to the Spiritual Madrigal: An Edition of Musica Spirituale, libro primo, 1563*, Master's thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1984; excluded from Powers' edition is Willaert's contribution which appears in his *Opera omnia*, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, 3/XIV, ed. H. Meier (Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1977), p. 131.
- ⁵ E. Paganuzzi, *La "Regola degli antichi Divini Offij in S. Steffano"*, "Vita Veronese" 23 (1970), p. 171, note 2.
- ⁶ A. Spagnolo, *Le scuole accollitali di grammatica e di musica in Verona*, "Atti dell'Accademia di Verona" 5 (1904-5) lists Del Bene in 1531; on Ruffo, see E. Paganuzzi, *La musica a Verona* (Verona 1976), p. 125.
- ⁷ L. Tacchella, *Visite pastorali di Luigi Lippomano (1553-'5)*, "Vita Veronese" 31 (1978), p. 260 [9 April 1553]: "L'arciprete della parrocchia pievana è il citato Rev. D. Giovanni del Bene, nobile veronese, per collazione ordinaria, il qual produce al vescovo le bolle del suo beneficio concesse dal presule Gio. Matteo Giberti il 4 gennaio 1542". Del Bene was buried in the crypt of Santo Stefano on 23 October 1559; see Paganuzzi, *La Regola* cit., p. 171, note 2.
- ⁸ *Sermoni over Homelie devote del Rever. M. Giovanni Del Bene veronese sopra gli Evangelij di tutto l'anno. Secondo l'ordine della Santa Madre Chiesa, utili ad ogni fedel Christiano*. In Venetia nella contrada di Santa Maria Formosa al segno della Speranza, 1562. The work, published posthumously, contains a dedication by Del Bene's brother Niccolò.
- ⁹ *Confirmatione et stabilimento di tutti li dogmi catholici, con la subversione di tutti i fondamenti, motivi, et ragioni delli moderni heretici fino al numero 482. Leggi pio lettore, tu che desideri di vivere et morire nella vera et santa fede de gli antichi padri, et vedrai che simile opra non ti è più capitata alle mani, nella quale hai abundantemente la confutatione di tutto il Lutheranismo*. In Venetia nella contra di Santa Maria Formosa al segno della Speranza, 1553. The introduction, by Luigi Lippomano, informs us the work was written by Del Bene and Maffeo Agostino.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, "Del canto ecclesiastico", fol. 195.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, "Obiettionne sestadecima", fols. 206-206v.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, "Obiettionne vegesimaprima", fols. 207-208v.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, "Obiettionne decimaottava", fols. 206v-207.
- ¹⁴ *Libro primo [secondo / terzo] delle rime spirituali, parte novamente raccolte da più auttori, parte non più date in luce*. In Venetia al segno della Speranza, 1550 (vols. 1-2); 1552 (vol. 3).
- ¹⁵ I am indebted to William F. Prizer for this information.
- ¹⁶ Powers, *An Introduction to the Spiritual Madrigal* cit., pp. 16-17.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁸ The standard modern edition, based entirely on the 1530 Naples print, is *Iacobo Sannazaro: Opere volgari*, ed. A. Mauro (Bari 1961). The sonnet is transmitted in two versions. The version quoted here, ignored by modern editors, first appears in *Le rime di M. Giacobbo Sannazaro* (Toscolano: P. & A. de Paganinis, ?1525), a volume reprinted at Venice by Marchio Sessa in 1532; the same version appears in *Libro primo delle rime spirituali* cit., p. 9. Only this version corresponds to the text set by Willaert in the *Musica spirituale*. The sonnet is rubricated "In Venerdì santo nella morte di N.S. Giesù Christo, bellissima et dolcissima compositione" in *Le rime di M. Giacobbo Sannazaro*, ed. Francesco Sansovino (Venice: F. Rampazetto 1566), p. 50.

¹⁹ *La resurrezione et ascensione del nostro Signore Iesu Christo. Trattata piamente in sei canti, per il R.D. Gioanni del Bene veronese. Con altre rime devote de diverse sorti, & di tutte le solennita del anno del medesimo*. In Venetia nella contrada di Santa Maria Formosa al segno della Speranza [n.d.].

²⁰ I am grateful to Salvatore Camporeale for this suggestion.

²¹ Paganuzzi, *La musica a Verona* cit., p. 135.

²² G. Turrini, *Il maestro Giovanni Nasco a Verona (1547-1551)*, "Note d'Archivio" 14 (1937), pp. 180-225.

²³ Paganuzzi, *La Regola* cit., p. 177.

²⁴ M. Stefani Mantovanelli, *Momenti essenziali dell'attività di Domenico Brusaporzi e semantica di un'opera* (Verona 1979), pp. 27-29.

²⁵ *Passione del nostro Signore Giesù Cristo. Esposta per via de' utili, et divoti discorsi, per il Reverendo Don Giovanni Del Bene veronese. Nuovamente recoreto et ristampato*. In Venetia appresso Francesco Franceschini et Iseppo Mantelli compagni, 1566: "Della angaratione di Simone Cirineo a portar la croce del Signore. Discorso quinquagesimo" fol. 110v.

²⁶ Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi (Florence 1906), VI, p. 368: "È costui costumato e virtuoso artefice; perciocché, oltre la pittura, è ottimo musico, e de' primi dell'accademia nobilissima de' Filarmonici di Verona".

²⁷ Paganuzzi, *La Regola* cit., pp. 171-183.

²⁸ Verona, Curia Arcivescovile, Archivio storico, Parrocchia di Santo Stefano, *Compagnia del Crocifisso: Cassa* (1541-1588), fol. 53v: "Item tanti spexi in far portar el nostro Crucifixo et el Confalon in procession el zorno del Corpo di Christo che fu adi zubia 12 zugno 1544".

²⁹ L. Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* (Venice 1970); L. Lockwood, "Animuccia, Giovanni", in: *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London 1980), I, pp. 437-8.

³⁰ E. Paganuzzi, *Documenti veronesi su musicisti del XVI e XVII secolo*, in: *Scritti in onore di Mons. Giuseppe Turrini* (Verona 1973), p. 554.

³¹ G. Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona dalla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico* (Verona 1941), p. 83.

³² Ms. 221 is described in G. Turrini, *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti musicali antichi della Società Accademia Filarmonica di Verona*, "Atti dell'Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona" 15 (1937), pp. 204-10.

³³ Verona, Archivio di Stato, Fondo antico del Comune, registro 603, *Atti dell'Accademia Filarmonica* (1543-1553), fol. 38v. An early commentary on 37 of Vittoria Colonna's spiritual sonnets in that of Rinaldo Corso, *Dichiaratione fatta sopra la seconda parte delle rime della divina Vittoria Colonna Marchesana della Pescara alla molto illust. Mad. Veronica Gambara da Correggio et alle donne gentili dedicata. Nella quale i sonetti spirituali da lei fino adesso composti, et un Triompho di Croce si contiene*. Stampato in Bologna per Gianbattista de Phaelli, 1543. On sig. G iv, see the commentary on "Duo lumi porge a l'huomo il vero Sole".

³⁴ Hieronymo Maripetro [Ghirolamo Malipiero], *Il Petrarca spirituale*, Venice: F. Marcolini, 1536.

³⁵ Gabriel Fiamma, *Rime spirituali*, Venice: F. Franceschi, 1570, fol. 4. My discussion here

is indebted to E. Taddeo, *Il manierismo letterario e i lirici veneziani del tardo Cinquecento* (Rome 1974), pp. 180-92.

³⁶ The sonnets are "L'alto Signor, del cui valor congiunte", and "I nove cori e non le nove altere Sorelle", see Vittoria Colonna: *Rime*, ed. A. Bullock (Bari 1982).

³⁷ *Le rime spirituali della illustrissima signora Vittoria Colonna Marchesana di Pescara non più stampate da pochissimi infuori, le quali altrove corrotte, et qui corrette si leggono*. In Venetia appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1546: "in fino ad hora pochissimi si veggono, che habbiano trattato ne loro versi altro che cose inutili, et profane, imaginandosi, come da molto di loro io medesimo ho udito dire, che non si possano fare versi belli di cose sante, et pie".

³⁸ Pietro Vinci, *Quattordici Sonetti spirituali della [...] divina Vittoria Colonna*. In Vineggia. Appresso l'herede di Girolamo Scotto, 1580. Other settings by Ingegneri, Monte, Felis, and Porta are listed in *Il nuovo Vogel. Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, eds. F. Lesure and C. Sartori (Pomezia 1977).

³⁹ G. Del Bene, *La resurrettione* cit., "al lettore".

⁴⁰ Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica* cit., p. 65.

⁴¹ Verona, Archivio di Stato, Fondo antico del Comune, registro 603, *Atti dell'Accademia Filarmonica* (1543-1553), fol. 37v: "Alli 18 novembrio 1548 lesse il costante sopra le parolle d'un madrigal del ispedito chi non conosce amore onde ogni bon et ogni bel deriva non si po dir ch'ei viva".

⁴² Verona, Accademia Filarmonica, *Registro dell'Esattoria*, n. 90, fol. 9: "per quatro libri da notar Intabolatura da Liutti et Canti adi 20 marzo 1548" (Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica* cit., p. 57). Ms. 223 is described in Turrini, *Catalogo descrittivo* cit., pp. 176-94.

⁴³ Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica* cit., p. 57: "per comprar della carta rega per il dialogo de messer augustin".

⁴⁴ W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, trans. E.L. Minar Jr. (Cambridge, Mass. 1972), p. 357.

⁴⁵ Cicero, *De re publica*, VI. XVIII, 18; Eng. trans. C.W. Keys (London 1966).

⁴⁶ A. Canobbio, *Breve trattato sopra le academie*, Venice: Andrea Bochino et fratelli, 1571, p. 13: "veramente si può dire che l'essercitio della musica sia un assicurar l'huomo da tutto il male, perché con essa si leva l'otio, e però i Sig. Filarmonici conosciuto tanto bene e tanta eccellenza di essa, la seguono, et col canto lodano N.S. Dio, acciò che siano condotti alla contemplatione di i gravi misteri, che in essa si ritrovano".

⁴⁷ Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation* cit., p. 94.

⁴⁸ The statistics are assembled in M.A. Rourke, *The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1980. pp. 1-36.