

Title: Alfred Einstein: The Early Italian Madrigal Revisited

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Source: *Das italienische Madrigal : Alfred Einsteins »Versuch einer Geschichte der italienischen Profanmusik im 16. Jahrhundert« und die Folgen*, ed. by Sebastian Bolz, Moritz Kelber, Katelijne Schiltz; Dresden, musiconn.publish 2025, (= troja. Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 20), p. 211–253.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25371/troja.v20223941>

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Das italienische Madrigal.
Alfred Einsteins »Versuch einer Geschichte
der italienischen Profanmusik im 16. Jahrhundert«
und die Folgen

Herausgegeben von
Sebastian Bolz, Moritz Kelber und Katelijne Schiltz

Die Tagung im Jahr 2022, auf die dieser Band zurückgeht, und diese Publikation erfuhren großzügige Unterstützung. Wir danken herzlich unseren Förderern:



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Layout: Sebastian Bolz und Moritz Kelber
Cover: Moritz Kelber

ISSN: 2513-1028

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25371/troja.v2022>

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Der vorliegende Band ergänzt und kommentiert
die deutschsprachige Erstausgabe des titelgebenden Werks:

Alfred Einstein, *Das italienische Madrigal.*
Versuch einer Geschichte der italienischen Profanmusik
im 16. Jahrhundert, hrsg. von Sebastian Bolz, München 2025
(Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 83)

Die Edition von Einsteins Text ist digital verfügbar:

DOI: 10.5282/ubm/epub.128701 (PDF)

DOI: 10.5282/ubm/data.691 (TEI, MEI)

Iain Fenlon

Alfred Einstein: The Early Italian Madrigal Revisited¹

Prolegomena

The Italian Madrigal was published when Alfred Einstein was sixty-eight years old. The lengthiest and most ambitious of his many books, this was the fruit of some forty years of study and research, often carried out in the most difficult circumstances. Reviewing it in the newly founded *Renaissance News*, the journal of the Renaissance Society of America, Otto Kinkeldey was unequivocal:

»This«, he wrote, »is probably the most thorough, the most detailed and the most critical work on any special phase of musical development published within the last forty years. Even in the whole literature of books on music it is an outstanding production, the far-reaching significance of which is not likely to diminish for a long time«.²

Few would disagree. Kinkeldey was justifiably overawed by the sheer scale of the author's vision. In framing this immense task in conceptual terms of historical method and approach, Einstein was heavily influenced by Jakob Burckhardt's method of treating the Renaissance in all its cultural complexity, an approach which also influenced the philosophical approach of the art historian Heinrich Wölfflin, who moved to Munich in the 1880s and frequented some of the same intellectual circles as Einstein. Socially enabled, the historiographical connection between the two is illustrated by Einstein's frequent analogies, however mis-

1 In preparing this contribution I have profited from discussions with Lorenzo Bianconi, Philippe Canguilhem, Camilla Cavicchi, Inga Mai Groote, John Nádas, and Agostino Ziino. At a particularly busy moment Richard Wistreich generously found time to give an earlier draft a characteristically close reading. This final version has benefited enormously from the comments of Sebastian Bolz, Moritz Kelber, and Katelijne Schiltz. Above all, I am grateful for the insights of the absent friend and co-author with whom I was privileged to talk about the 16th-century Italian madrigal over the course of some forty years.

2 Otto Kinkeldey, *Renaissance News* 2 (1949), pp. 25–28: p. 25.

placed they might now seem, between music, painting, and sculpture.³ One example among a good number that could be cited concerns Einstein's judgement that »the greater part of Rore's madrigals grow out of the subjective urge of a powerfully inspired soul and as such are wholly his own, just as the Moses or the Tombs of the Cappella Medici are Michelangelo's; the only master to whom Rore may be compared both in character and influence«. ⁴

Among musicological forbears with an interest in the repertory of the Italian madrigal, the most important was undoubtedly Theodor Kroyer, who as a young man studied in his native Munich, completed his thesis there in 1897, and then occupied a post at the university from 1907 until his departure for Heidelberg in 1920.⁵ It is not surprising that among Einstein's surviving correspondence, now kept at the University of California, Berkeley, there are fifty letters from Kroyer, more than from any other correspondent. In elaborating his philosophical approach to the writing of music history, Einstein wholeheartedly adopted Kroyer's diachronic view of the history of the Italian madrigal in which Marenzio and Gesualdo were designated as »the romanticists of the sixteenth century«, and as such the fulcrum of a decisive change in stylistic language which stemmed from the music of Willaert and Rore; this encouraged him to construct a »Venetian school« as a second wave of the development of the genre.⁶ More precisely, Einstein's exploration of chromaticism as the engine of modernity reveals a conceptual and lexical reliance upon an idea which lies at the heart of Kroyer's doctoral dissertation. The treatment of Marenzio's contribution to the development of the form in *The Italian Madrigal*, which occupies eighty pages and almost constitutes a monograph within a monograph, is constantly alert to the presence of »expressionist« devices, such as those which accentuate the »harmonic intensity« of Mirtillo's monologue *Cruda amarilli, che col nome ancora* from the sixth book, »not hatched out on one of those »enharmonic« keyed instruments that had existed since Vicentino and Zarlino, but conceived in a pure and completely vocal idiom«. ⁷ And for Einstein, always ready to invoke a *paragone* with painting, the »mannerist« side of Gesualdo's compositional personality, analogous to the work of El Greco, can lead to a reconsideration of the madrigals of a minor composer

3 Sebastian Bolz, »Cipriano de Rore, Alfred Einstein and the Philosophy of Music History«, *Cipriano de Rore. New Perspectives on His Life and Music*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Katelijne Schiltz, Turnhout 2016, pp. 451–477: pp. 467–472.

4 *TIM*, p. 393.

5 Theodor Kroyer, *Die Anfänge der Chromatik im italienischen Madrigal des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Madrigals*, Leipzig 1901.

6 Bolz, »Cipriano de Rore«, pp. 462 f.

7 *TIM*, pp. 678 f. Marenzio's *sesto libro* is just one of the two books by Marenzio that Einstein transcribed in its entirety.

such as Giuseppe Caimo. In this he was yet again influenced by Kroyer, who having placed Caimo as under the influence of the youthful Marenzio, highlighted his use of chromaticism.⁸ Following Kroyer in tracing the thread of chromaticism through into the early seventeenth century in a kind of Darwinian trajectory leads Einstein to the conclusion that »the expressionist Gesualdo [...] stands at the end and at the peak of a long development, which began with Willaert and Rore and in which every madrigalist has played his part, great or small. The development ends in a blind alley: beyond the peak yawns the abyss [...] in the history of the madrigal Gesualdo is really the end.«⁹

In considering Gesualdo's contribution to the genre, Einstein was able to make use of modern editions produced by Kiesewetter, Ambros, Torchi, Pizzetti and others, all attracted as much as he by the tormented pathological figure at the centre of the *chronique scandaleuse* »of Naples, of Italy, in fact of all Europe«, the legendary if disgraced prince, Gray and Heseltine's »musician and murderer«.¹⁰ But in general terms, since it was only to a very limited extent that Einstein was able to make use of material that had already been selected, transcribed, sifted, edited and published by others, it was necessary to score nearly all of the repertory that he wished to access. This was a Herculean task that would in our own times be inconceivable for a single individual working in a university environment and without independent means. The result, eighty-nine large volumes of madrigal transcriptions and a further thirteen of instrumental music, all carefully preserved and elegantly bound in the library of Smith College, shows that rather than select individual pieces that attracted his attention Einstein transcribed entire books from beginning to end.¹¹ This he did by concentrating on complete sets of parts rather than by cumulatively assembling the music from scattered partbooks distributed among a number of different European libraries and registered in Emil Vogel's *Bibliothek*, a fundamental guide to the printed repertory which Einstein subjected to a continuous process of revision.¹² Although he must have consulted some of his sources in situ, particularly in Florence, Bo-

8 Kroyer, *Die Anfänge der Chromatik*, p. 128; *TIM*, pp. 561–564.

9 *TIM*, pp. 715, 717.

10 As in Cecil Gray and Philip Heseltine, *Carlo Gesualdo. Prince of Venosa, Musician and Murderer*, London 1926, which Einstein had read (see *TIM*, p. 688).

11 Special Collections, Neilson Library, Smith College, Northampton, MA. The books were bound in Northampton.

12 Emil Vogel, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vocalmusik Italiens. Aus den Jahren 1500–1700. Enthaltend die Litteratur der Frottole, Madrigale, Canzonette, Arien, Opern etc.*, Berlin 1892. Einstein's revisions, assembled over many years, appeared in issues of *Notes* published between 1945 and 1948, and were included as a supplement to the photographic reproduction of Vogel's bibliography published by Georg Olms (Hildesheim, 1962).

logna, and London, most of his transcriptions were made from microfilms.¹³ In setting out in this way he was surely sustained by Leopold von Ranke's famous call to arms ›Ad fontes!‹, or perhaps by the thinking behind the Munich-based *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, a comprehensive series of carefully edited and published primary sources, or even the *Patrologia latina* and *Patrologia graeca*, the collection of writings of the Church Fathers and others published by Jacques-Paul Migne between 1841 and 1855. In more immediate musicological terms, an influential model might have been provided by the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern* inaugurated in 1900 by Adolf Sandberger shortly before he established the School of Musicology at the university in 1904.¹⁴ Einstein is known to have attended the lectures by Sandberger, who was his doctoral supervisor; together with Kroyer he was an important formative influence on Einstein's development as a musicologist.¹⁵

The objective of all these monumental projects was to establish a corpus rather than a canon, moreover a corpus dedicated to the clear final objective of establishing a repertory. A similar methodological mentality is evident in a number of Einstein's later projects, such as his revision of the Köchel-Verzeichnis, an attempt to arrange an expanding list of Mozart's works in an increasingly accurate chronological order according to the latest scholarship. In this context it is significant that a high percentage of the music that Einstein transcribed is not discussed at all in the final text of *The Italian Madrigal*, but was a necessary prelude to arriving at it. A corpus had to be established before selections based on historical significance and aesthetic judgement could be made.

It is difficult to know precisely when Einstein began his researches into the Italian madrigal, though presumably this occurred sometime after the completion

13 Einstein's collection of microfilms, also now at Smith College, are catalogued in John H. Lovell, *A Check-List and Index of Microfilm M-75. Dr Alfred Einstein's MSS at Smith College* [typescript, 1954]. It is documented that Einstein did travel to London and Florence among other places. My suspicion is that he made rough transcriptions, perhaps as a general working method, and that the fair copies (i.e. those now in Smith College) came later. It is noticeable that these do not contain any crossings out, corrected mistakes etc. Sebastian Bolz confirms that the Smith volumes are copied on different papers, some German, others American, supporting the idea of a lifelong process of moving from rough to finished transcriptions.

14 The complete edition of Orlando di Lasso's works might have been of some influence as well. The composer's madrigals were edited by Sandberger: Orlando di Lasso, *Sämtliche Werke*, vols. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10: Madrigals I–V, ed. Adolf Sandberger, Leipzig [1894–1898].

15 Melina Gehring, *Alfred Einstein. Ein Musikwissenschaftler im Exil*, Hamburg 2007, pp. 47–57, and Pamela M. Potter, ›From Jewish Exile in Germany to German Scholar in America: Alfred Einstein's Emigration‹, *Driven into Paradise. The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, Berkeley 1999, pp. 298–321: p. 315 ff. See also the contributions by Sebastian Bolz and Christian Thomas Leitmeir in the present volume.

of his doctorate.¹⁶ The transcriptions now housed at Smith College in Northampton, which were bound there, are made on a variety of different manuscript papers, including a standard Breitkopf and Härtel variety widely used in early twentieth-century Germany by, among others, Richard Strauss. Others are copied on paper which bears the address of a Northampton music house. Assembling his collection of madrigal transcriptions, a long-lasting ›work in progress‹, took place over a period of some thirty years.¹⁷

It was only after making headway with this daunting preliminary task that Einstein was able to arrive at the delineation of the panoptic view outlined on the first page of *The Italian Madrigal*:

»The historian of the madrigal and of its secondary forms, the villanella and the canzonetta [...] may be certain that he is dealing not with a fragmentary phenomenon but with a development running in a perfect and well-rounded curve, including a definite beginning, a beautiful dramatic rise toward a peak, a gradual falling off, and a definite end.«¹⁸

If Kroyer was the most significant of the few German musicological colleagues who had studied the history of the Italian madrigal, the historian whose theories can be most obviously detected in framing Einstein's approach to the ordering and interpretation of the material was undoubtedly Oswald Spengler, whose most influential work was published in two volumes between 1918 and 1922.¹⁹ It is even possible that Einstein personally knew its author, who also lived in Munich from 1911 until his death, pursuing a single-minded scholarly existence; certainly Einstein read at least the first volume of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes*.²⁰ As the above-mentioned quotation reveals, Spengler's notion of culture as a biological entity, with a lifespan that was predictable, pre-determined, and limited, is particularly evident in the early chapters of *The Italian Madrigal*, which are dominated by the question of origins and the connections between the frottola and the emergent madrigal; it also runs through the entire work like a structural determinant. Investigating the origins of the genre, in many ways the most complex

16 For a general biographical outline of Einstein's career, in addition to Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, and Potter, ›From Jewish Exile‹, see also Michael Fink and Bess Hieronymus, ›The Autobiography and Early Diary of Alfred Einstein‹, *Musical Quarterly* 66 (1980), pp. 361–377.

17 One of the pieces in a volume of Marenzio transcriptions carries the date ›25.x.1910‹. I am grateful to Sebastian Bolz for information about the papers used in the Smith College volumes.

18 *TIM*, p. 3.

19 Oswald Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte*, 2 vols., Vienna 1918, Munich 1922; see also Einstein's review of the first volume: ›Oswald Spengler und die Musikgeschichte‹, *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1920), pp. 30–32.

20 Bolz, ›Cipriano de Rore‹, pp. 472–474.

and controversial feature of Einstein's entire historical approach, has continued to occupy musicological scrutiny to a greater degree than any other aspect of his interpretational framework.

A Question of Origins

The ›definite beginning‹, which occupies so much of Einstein's attention in the opening chapters of the first volume of *The Italian Madrigal*, is entirely constructed out of Italian materials:

»The genesis of the madrigal [...] is known: the transformation of the frottola, from an accompanied song with supporting bass and two inner voices serving as ›fillers‹ into a motet-like polyphonic construction with four parts of equal importance, can be followed as easily as the transformation of a chrysalis into a butterfly.«²¹

It now seems more debatable than it did to Einstein that the early madrigal is best considered as motet-like, or always has four important voices, or that its evolution from the frottola can be so easily observed. In reaching this conclusion, with its confident assertion of a trajectory that in the course of *The Italian Madrigal* was to progress seamlessly from consolidation to disintegration, Einstein's preoccupation with printed books was at the expense of the manuscript sources, from which he transcribed very little. And when he consulted them he preferred to select individual pieces rather than transcribing a manuscript in its entirety, as he did with the printed sources. Although Einstein worked with the manuscripts, and refers to them frequently in *The Italian Madrigal*, the ones that interested him most were those of the early 1520s: above all the manuscripts Basevi 2440 in the library of the Florence Conservatory, Magliabechi 164–167 in the National Library in Florence (both of which he dated accurately), and manuscript Q.21 in Bologna, which is slightly later.²² The Magliabechi source, a complete set of partbooks, provides a crucial link between the later parts of Basevi 2440, some of which were copied by the same scribe, and the sources of the mid-1520s. The opening of the manuscript is effectively a monument to the music of Pisano,

21 *TIM*, p. 121.

22 Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, Ms. Basevi 2440; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. Magl. XIX 164–167; Bologna (formerly Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale), Ms. Q.21. The other sources from the 1520s are New Haven, Yale University, John Herrick Jackson Music Library Misc., Ms. 179 (a single alto partbook), and Chicago, Newberry Library Case Ms. VM 1578.M91, a set of four books which is completed by the defective alto part in Sutton Coldfield, Oscott College, Old Library, Ms. Case B No. 4 (see below, fn. 33).

the first ›Florentine‹ composer before Verdelot's arrival in the city in 1521. The absence of any music by the latter in Basevi 2440, whose impact on musical life in the city was evidently swift and dramatic, suggests a copying date of c. 1522–1523 at the very latest.²³ In this context it is worth noting that the unique copy of the *Messa motetti canzonni libro primo* has re-surfaced in the library of the Cathedral in Palma de Mallorca, where it was first described by Knud Jeppesen before disappearing from view for many decades. As Jeppesen realised, the real significance of this lone surviving partbook, stranded on a significant trade route, is that, together with the *Libro primo de la fortuna*, it marks the first appearance of any of Verdelot's madrigals in print. Both titles were produced in Rome, using the same font, by Nicolo de Judici in about 1526.

As all this suggests, Einstein was particularly attracted by developments in Italian secular song during the 1520s, which he regarded as a transitional phase in the emergent madrigal's development. He certainly took account of some of the manuscripts now known to have been copied in these years, including the partbooks in the Newberry Library in Chicago,²⁴ which he believed to have been written and illuminated in the 1530s, despite their striking appearance as presentation manuscripts and their inclusion of music addressed to Henry VIII, which might have led him in a different direction. Curiously Einstein did not take into account the three manuscripts, all probably copied in Florence at various times in the 1530s and 40s, which had been described by Charles Van den Borren as early as 1933.²⁵ One of these is devoted to pieces concordant with Arcadelt's *Primo libro*, and a second largely to madrigals by Costanzo Festa and Arcadelt. The third, arguably the most interesting of the three, written by Antonio Moro who copied a number of manuscripts of indisputable Florentine provenance including the Valli-celliana partbooks, contains madrigals by Arcadelt, Corteccia, Costanzo Festa and Layolle separated into two groups, together with later additions including theatrical pieces by Alessandro Striggio.²⁶ While Einstein was principally interested in

23 Joseph F. Drake, ›The Partbooks of a Florentine Ex-Patriate: New Light on Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Magl. XIX 164-7‹, *Early Music* 43 (2005), pp. 639–645, accepts that the books were copied in Florence and bound in Rome, and attempts to identify the original owner as Jacopo Buonaparte (c. 1478–1541) on the basis of heraldry. This is not sustainable as the coat-of-arms, crudely executed, is clearly a much later addition. The Florentine provenance of the partbooks is also accepted in Anthony M. Cummings, *MS Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl. XIX, 164–167*, Farnham 2006 (Royal Musical Association Monographs, 15).

24 See Benjamin Ory's contribution to this volume.

25 Charles Van den Borren, ›Inventaire des manuscrits de musique polyphonique qui se trouvent en Belgique‹, *Acta musicologica* 6 (1934), pp. 23–29, 65–73, 116–121: pp. 26–29, 65–68, and 69 f.

26 Iain Fenlon and James Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century. Sources and Interpretation*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 144–153.

complete sets of partbooks, he did not neglect isolated orphans if he happened to notice details which suited his paradigmatic structuralist approach to the repertory. Concerning »a madrigal on the doge Andrea Gritti«, the tenor part of which he had noticed in Ms. R.142 in Bologna, he wrote that it »would be a positively dated composition of Willaert's if we could assume that it is an expression of gratitude for his appointment in Venice (1527)«, adding a few lines later that »the attribution of this madrigal of homage is though probable, not certain.«²⁷ While the note of caution over attribution is characteristically prudent, the text of the composition must date from before Gritti's elevation to the dogeship on 20 May 1523, since it does not refer to him by the title of his office as would surely have been the case after his election:

»Alti signori valorosi e degni/Che vostra eterna gloriosa fama/Spargeti d'ogn'intorno, diti per dio, Se'l sol nel mondo scopre/O mai scoperse i più leggiadr Segni/Fatti più Altieri o li più accori ditti/Di quel ch'in ogni tempo è'l signor Gritti/Andrea dimostra, onde l'adora ed ama/Ciascun in tierrea, e grida: Gritti, Gritti.«²⁸

It is all too easy to be critical of Einstein's occasional oversights, but it should be remembered that the study of what is now termed the materiality of sources, encompassing the systematic study of everything from paper types to binding techniques and styles, was a much later development. The first edition of Charles-Moïse Briquet's *Les filigranes*, based on tracings made over many years working in archives across France, a major event in the history of the study of European paper making and distribution, was published in 1907, but initially it made little impact on the study of music manuscripts.²⁹ In effect it was only with the post-war publication of Allan Stevenson's methodology for identifying watermarks, and Tammaro de Marinis's monumental study of Italian bindings, that work of the kind demonstrated by Colin Slim's detailed seminal study of the Newberry-Oscott Partbooks, published in 1982, became at all possible.³⁰

27 *TIM*, p. 325.

28 Bologna, Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (formerly Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale), Ms. R.142, fols. 37v–38r, a single partbook copied and bound in Venice. See Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 143–145. It seems likely that Einstein, who largely ignored such stray partbooks whether printed or manuscript except when useful for establishing attributions, took the information from Fausto Torrefranca, *Il segreto del Quattrocento*, Milan 1939, p. 94.

29 Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes*, Geneva 1907. A second revised edition was published by Hiersemann in Leipzig in 1923.

30 H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols., Chicago 1982. For Allan Stevenson's important studies of paper as bibliographical evidence that began to appear in the 1950s see his »Watermarks are Twins«, *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951–1952), pp. 57–91, »Paper as Biblio-

Florence and Rome

There can be little doubt, as Einstein realized, that the real chronological centre of the ›invention‹ of the madrigal is the critical decade of the 1520s, a troubled period which terminated in both the Sack of Rome and the fall of the last Republic in Florence. During this period, these two cities constituted the twin poles of a Medici axis, along which musicians travelled in both directions as part of a more general pattern of political and cultural exchange. The abrupt dislocation of social and cultural life that was caused by these two dramatic episodes is reflected in a handful of compositions, three of which were composed by Verdelot, then living in Florence. The best known is *Trist' Amarilli mia*, a setting of a simple politicized pastoral whose themes are derived from Theocritus and Virgil. It was published in the *Madrigali de diversi musici libro primo de la serena*, probably printed by Valerio Dorico in Rome in 1530, a volume that is decidedly more madrigalistic than any of its predecessors such as the three *Libri de la croce*, if only by reason of its inclusion of eight pieces by Verdelot and two each by Costanzo and Sebastiano Festa.³¹ It has been suggested that another anonymous text, ›Italia, Italia ch'hai sì longamente dormito‹, with its exhortation to arise from lethargy and shake off the yoke of oppression, refers to the condition of Rome during the pontificate of Paul III (1534–1549); if so it must have been written towards the end of the composer's life.³² Published in the *Madrigali di Verdelotto et de altri eccellentissimi auttori a cinque voci, libro secondo*, it seems not to have been reprinted, and stands as an example of a text with limited topicality. A third piece, a timely setting of Petrarch's ›Italia mia‹, is a call for divine aid to heal the wounds inflicted by the enemy. With its explicit references to the Arno and the Tiber, it moves beyond general applicability to the state of Italy to comment on local conditions during the Sack and the end of the last Republic, in what is yet a further elaboration of the long-standing tradition of the ›Lamento d'Italia‹.³³ It is significant that ›Ita-

graphical Evidence‹, *The Library, Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Fifth series 17 (1962), pp. 197–212, and above all *The Problem of the Missale Speciale*, London 1967. Although methodologically flawed, Tamaro de Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI*, 3 vols., Florence 1960 remains the classic wide-ranging treatment of early Italian bindings.

31 For discussions of the first edition of 1530, and the reprint of 1533, see Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 220–222 and, in more detail, Stefano Campagnolo, ›Il libro primo de la serena e il madrigale a Roma‹, *Musica Disciplina* 50 (1996), pp. 95–133.

32 It has been suggested that Verdelot, who is often thought to have perished around 1530, was still alive in 1536; see Philippe Canguilhem, ›The Madrigal en route to Florence (1540–1545)‹, *Ricerche* 21 (2009), pp. 35–73: pp. 36 f.

33 Don Harran, ›The Sack of Rome set to Music‹, *Renaissance Quarterly* 23 (1970), pp. 412–421; Iain Fenlon, ›Music and Crisis in Florence and Rome, 1527–30‹, *Italy and the European Powers, 1500–1530*, ed. Christine Shaw, Leiden 2006, pp. 279–298.

lia mia» appears in what have now been re-constituted as the Newberry-Oscott Partbooks, copied, illuminated, and bound in Florence in about 1526 for presentation to Henry VIII in the hope of securing English support during the final grim days of the last Republic (see Fig. 1).³⁴ From its earliest manifestations the madrigal could be turned in political or ideological directions.



Fig. 1: Chicago, Newberry Library, Case Ms. VM 1578.M91, Tenor

The horrors of the final years of the 1520s, and the disruption to normal civil life which followed, must be part of the explanation for the perceived diminution in compositional activity following the appearance of Pisano's *Musica*; this caused Einstein to designate the decade as an »artistic pause«: »Apparently Bernardo Pisano's Petrarch *canzoni* put a stop to the publication of frottola volumes without encouraging the rise or development of the madrigal or even the publication of new compositions of this sort.«³⁵ Part but not all of it. What he described as »the

34 The set of four partbooks in Chicago, the subject of Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, were completed with the discovery of the missing altus, sadly incomplete, in the library of Oscott College, Sutton Coldfield. See H. Colin Slim, »A Royal Treasure at Sutton Coldfield«, *Early Music* 6 (1978), pp. 67–74, and *Ten Altus Parts at Oscott College*, n. p., n. d., which prints the recovered altus parts for ten of the pieces which Slim had reconstructed in the second volume of *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*.

35 *TIM*, p. 139.

confusion and disorder that prevail in Italian secular music about 1530 and a lack of direction on the part of the publishers and printers, who are no longer sure of the demands of their own public»,³⁶ would have appeared very different had he been in a position to identify, date, and locate all the relevant manuscripts. A chronological extension of this point could lead to a material reading of the whole history of the madrigal, taking account of manuscript sources at every stage, which would beneficially alter Einstein's comfortable and apparently unproblematic teleological framework. Two avenues of further enquiry could profitably move the argument in this direction. The first would be to consider additional classes of evidence, both manuscript and printed, much of it unknown to Einstein, that help to amplify and at times complicate his account in productive and interesting ways. A second might investigate the surviving corpus as ›materials‹ both in the narrow sense of their physical characteristics, as well as thinking about their value as evidence for broader investigations of sixteenth-century culture, particularly among the aristocratic and merchant classes of early modern Italy who were, after all, the primary consumers of the madrigal genre. By the second half of the century the Italian madrigal had become the entertainment music *par excellence* of the merchant and professional classes of Europe, the prime vehicle for the execution of musical sociability in a domestic setting.

Manuscripts

To start with the earliest manuscripts, it should be said at the beginning that reconsideration of those that were known to Einstein, as well as a number of additional sources that have since been identified, does not dramatically alter the overall shape of the repertory as he saw it, though they do transmit a sizeable body of unattributed music. At the same time, this reconsideration also enhances that repertory while inviting a re-interpretation of the phenomenon in a number of significant ways. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, re-dating the earliest manuscripts alters the traditional chronology of the early madrigal by unequivocally placing its origins in the third decade of the century. It also encourages a repertorial shift from the earlier manuscripts, which are dominated by the work of Verdelot, to those copied in the mid-1530s, which show a preponderance of pieces by Arcadelt, features which mirror what is known of the biographies of the two composers. As for Costanzo Festa, Einstein characterizes him as ›the master who contributed decisively to the creation of the madrigal‹, designating his *Amor, che mi consigli*? as ›a genuine madrigal with a Petrarchesque beginning

36 Ibid., p. 148.

and end». ³⁷ This cautious formulation is evidently designed to assign a role of some importance to Marchetto Cara who »stands on the threshold leading to the madrigal; but he does not cross it«. ³⁸ Secondly, re-assessment of the material aspects of the principal manuscripts, together with their contents, consolidates the leading importance of Florence for the cultivation of the early madrigal, and dissociates it from the largely North Italian courtly genre of the frottola. A single bass partbook, now in Modena and probably copied in North Italy, stands apart from the central core of Florentine manuscripts to indicate dissemination of the new genre outside its immediate Florentine orbit. ³⁹ So too do the remaining two partbooks, one in Oxford, the other in Paris, originally from a miscellany of ten early madrigal editions mostly printed in the late 1530s by Ottaviano Scotto bound together with a manuscript supplement. For this the scribe, whose hand shows affinities with that of Jean Michel who worked in Ferrara, drew upon North Italian material. This also demonstrates that it was in the 1540s that the focus of new madrigal composition moved, for the first time to any appreciable extent, away from Florence, even though madrigals by the first generation of composers, and above all those by Arcadelt, continued to be much in demand, particularly in Florence itself. ⁴⁰

The social and political environments of the madrigal in its earliest and almost exclusively Florentine manifestations can now be described with much greater precision than was possible for Einstein. Nonetheless, in one of the many almost casual but perceptive asides with which *The Italian Madrigal* is so engagingly punctuated, he writes about the years of the last Florentine Republic as a period in which »the young *nobili*, the Strozzi at their head, ride out through the Porta San Gallo to enjoy the company of their courtesans; it is for this circle that Verdelot, Festa, and others presumably wrote their first madrigals«. ⁴¹ In so evocatively suggesting the interest of the Strozzi in the new form, Einstein had comparatively little concrete evidence beyond the manuscripts that could be asso-

³⁷ Ibid., p. 143.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 146.

³⁹ Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, Ms. γ.L.11.8; see Knud Jeppesen, *La frottola. II: Zur Bibliographie der handschriftlichen musikalischen Überlieferung des weltlichen italienischen Lieds um 1500*, Aarhus 1969, pp. 82 f.; Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 170–180.

⁴⁰ See Iain Fenlon, »The Oxford-Paris Partbook of Early Italian Madrigals«, *Perdite e sopravvivenze del libro antico: il ruolo delle miscellanee*, ed. Amandine Bonesso, Udine 2024, pp. 215–226, and below for further details of the books, and Philippe Canguilhem, »Lorenzo Corsini's ›Libri di canzone‹ and the Madrigal in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Florence«, *Early Music History* 25 (2006), pp. 1–57 for the continuing taste for madrigals composed by the first generation of composers among Florentine patrons.

⁴¹ *TIM*, p. 277.

ciated with the family, but the importance of the Strozzi, who made no attempt to disguise their anti-Medici sentiments, has been considerably illuminated by subsequent scholarship, particularly through careful readings of the Strozzi correspondence in Florence. Filippo Strozzi, who employed Pisano as a companion in his humanistic studies, had particularly strong connections to Costanzo Festa, whose compositions he actively sought through agents. In a series of letters written from Orvieto in the late 1520s, a Strozzi agent forwarded to Filippo a canzonetta and some *canti* by Festa, who was evidently seeking financial compensation for his work.⁴² Other members of the family including Filippo's son Ruberto Strozzi were also important patrons of the early madrigal through contacts with musical circles not only in Florence, but also in Venice and the Florentine expatriate outpost of Lyons where the family banking firm had important commercial interests.⁴³ Writing to Benedetto Varchi in the spring of 1534, Ruberto promised to follow up his request »to have one of those epigrams set to music by Adriano [Willaert]«, but could not promise success »because it is a game of patience to get him to do anything«.⁴⁴ On another occasion he requested Varchi to write verses in praise of Polissena Pecorina, presumably so he could arrange for them to be set to music, and other letters show him to have been an early patron of Cipriano de Rore.⁴⁵ If on the one hand Ruberto Strozzi was well inserted into the musical life of Venice during the 1530s, the Strozzi household in Lyons also brought him into contact with musical circles there, which included Layolle and Neri Capponi, who at the time was acting as the manager of the business affairs of the local branch of the Strozzi bank. Writing to Ruberto, then in Rome, from the house in Lyons, Lionardo Strozzi remarked that he had a friend in Florence »who as soon as Arcadelt writes any pieces at all, is the first to send them to me«. He then continues: »I think that you still get them [in Rome] and perhaps before we do here«.⁴⁶ In the case of the Strozzi, the international banking network of which they were such prominent members also acted as a conduit for the transmission and dissemination of madrigals and other pieces composed by prominent musicians living and working in Florence, Venice, Rome, and Lyons.

Although a number of the composers who made significant contributions to the emergent madrigal were employed by members of the extended Medici fam-

42 Richard J. Agee, »Filippo Strozzi and the Early Madrigal«, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985), pp. 227–237.

43 Richard J. Agee, »Ruberto Strozzi and the Early Madrigal«, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983), pp. 1–17.

44 Agee, »Ruberto Strozzi«, p. 1.

45 Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, Berkeley 1995, pp. 24–46.

46 Agee, »Ruberto Strozzi«, p. 9.

ily at one time or another, attempts to install the Florentine Medici and those in Medici circles as major patrons of the early madrigal are hard to sustain.⁴⁷ Arcadelt, who is known to have been in Florence in 1534, was employed by Alessandro de' Medici in the following year, but it seems likely that he left for Rome immediately after Alessandro's assassination. Some Florentine academies and social groups with Medici links were interested patrons of music, but the idea that the Medici themselves were crucially important patrons of the earliest phase of the madrigal is flawed by the lack of concrete evidence; ultimately the case is defeated by the fact that not a single early manuscript containing pieces in the new style can be definitively associated with Medici ownership. The only conceivable exception is a set of five partbooks, copied and bound in the city. These are decorated with elaborate penwork initials incorporating mottoes and heraldic devices at the openings of pieces. Some, such as SPQF for ›Senatus populusque florentinus‹, refer to Republican Florence. But then, after a distinct break in copying, a whole page in the Bassus is strikingly worked with the rallying cry of the Medici faction ›PALLE VIVA PALLE‹ and, on its verso, the Medici stemma and the initials DAI (›Duca Alessandro Primo‹) (see Fig. 2). Association of the books with Alessandro de' Medici, who was installed as First Duke of the Florentine Republic in 1532, is supported by the inclusion of madrigals by Arcadelt, for which they are the earliest source. Yet while all this adds up to a striking expression of Medicean allegiance, it does not necessarily constitute evidence of Medici ownership. The companies of the Diamante and Broncone, whose names dutifully refer to familiar Medici emblems, certainly cultivated public performances of *canti carnascialeschi*. Writing later in the sixteenth century, the anti-Medici historian Jacopo Nardi describes the formation of both companies by Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici respectively, and their promotion of »molte feste, e spettacoli per dilettere, recreare il popolo«, and Vasari's life of Pontormo provides a well-known account of such songs being prepared by both for the carnival of 1513 to which Nardi also refers.⁴⁸ The infor-

47 The attempt is made in Anthony M. Cummings, *The Maecenas and the Madrigalist. Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal*, Philadelphia 2004.

48 Jacopo Nardi, *Le storie della città di Firenze [...]. Dove con tutte le particolarità, che si possono desiderare si contiene ciò che dall'anno 1494. sino all'anno 1531. è successo*, Florence: Sermatelli, 1584, p. 267: »I Medici immediate dopo la loro tornata crearono in Firenze due compagnie, l'una chiamata del Diamante, della quale era capo Giuliano fratello del Cardinale [Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici, Pope Leo X from 9 March 1513], e dell'altra era capo Lorenzo [di Piero de' Medici], nipote di fratello del medesimo Cardinale, la quale si chamava la compagnia del Broncone [...] sotto nome adunque di queste furono fatte in Firenze molte feste, e spettacoli per dilettere, e ricreare il Popolo, e massimamente nel prossimo sequente carnovale, che furono fatte grandi, e belle mascherate con il trionfo del secolo d'oro, come per buono augurio della felicità de' futuri tempi«. For an analysis of the occasion see Nicholas Scott Baker, »Medicean Metamorphoses: Carnival in Florence, 1513«, *Renaissance Studies* 25 (2011), pp. 491–510.



Fig. 2: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX 122–125. Basso

mal Medici Academy, considered to be a revival of the fifteenth-century Platonic Academy, showed an interest in two local professional singers, Bernardo Accolti and Atalante Migliorotti, both of whom specialized in improvised accompanied solo song, but few would claim that it was this tradition, let alone the repertory of carnival songs promoted by the Diamante and Broncone rather than the chanson, that was so widely transmitted in Florentine early sixteenth-century manuscripts, that constituted the antecedents of the early madrigal.⁴⁹

Instances where the ownership and provenance of manuscripts can be more securely determined point to an interest on the part of some families who were hostile to the regime, notably the Strozzi. Yet curiously, the breadth of these interests, which included acquiring newly composed madrigals from Willaert and Rore, are not accurately reflected in the ›Strozzi Partbooks‹, copied in the 1530s and elegantly combined with the family's crescent moon device on their bindings, which are largely given over to local Florentine repertory. Although none of the pieces are attributed, the books contain almost equal numbers of madrigals by Verdelot and Arcadelt whose work predominates, together with a handful of

49 See also the contribution by Kate van Orden in the present volume.

pieces by Corteccia and Costanzo Festa.⁵⁰ But if the Strozzi and other prominent families were not necessarily enthusiastic supporters of the Medici, neither were all of the city's confraternities. The Compagnia della Cazzuola, whose activities included the sponsorship of plays with musical *intermedi*, is known to have provided a locus for opposition to the regime.

So too did the Rucellai gardens which lay to the north-west of the Dominican monastery of Santa Maria Novella, well away from the centre of Medici power.⁵¹ These were described by Nardi as »a general meeting-place and as a refuge for people with intellectual interests, whether foreigners or Florentines«,⁵² and in Antonfrancesco Doni's dialogue *I Marmi*, which consists of conversations on many subjects between two or three interlocutors, Verdelot briefly appears, together with Plebei, who represents the Florentine common man and La zinzero, a singer who frequented the gardens. Verdelot says little in this exchange, but La zinzero found herself witnessing a learned discussion about Petrarch's poetry, a symptom perhaps of the high-minded artistic ideals of the Rucellai.⁵³ Beyond literary matters, the gardens were also used for political debate, some of which was evidently anti-Medicean in tone, and in June 1522 a conspiracy to assassinate Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, then governor of Florence and shortly to be elected as Pope Clement VII, was traced to the gardens and particularly to Niccolò Machiavelli, who is known to have frequented them. They were re-opened only after Machiavelli's death and the expulsion of the Medici.⁵⁴

Verdelot clearly knew Machiavelli well; four of his *canzoni* written as *intermedi* for two of Machiavelli's plays, *La Clizia* and *La Mandragola*, were sung by a group of singers under the direction of Machiavelli's mistress Barbara Salutati, for whom Verdelot also set Machiavelli's text »Amor, io senta l'alma«, written at her request.⁵⁵ Domenico Puligo's portrait of her, now in an English private collection at Firle Place, Sussex, together with other portraits by the same artist, was seen by Vasari, who described it in the second edition of the *Vite*. Born in Florence, Puli-

50 Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, Ms. Basevi 2495. See Bianca Becherini, »I manoscritti e le stampe rare della Biblioteca del Conservatorio L. Cherubini di Firenze: Nuova catalogazione e reintegrazione«, *La bibliofilia* 66 (1964), pp. 255–259: pp. 268–270, and Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 69 f.

51 Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals*, pp. 50 f.

52 Nardi, *Le storie della città*, p. 283: »Quel luogo era uno comune ricetto, e diporto di così fatte persone, così forestieri, come Fiorentini, per la humanità, e cortesia, & amorevole accoglienza usata loro dal detto Bernardo [Rucellai], e da i suoi figliuoli«.

53 Antonfrancesco Doni, *I Marmi*, Venice: Marcolini, 1552, pp. 33–45: p. 37: [La zinzero] »Vo dirla io che mi trovai l'altra sera all'Horto de Rucellai a cantare dove si faceva fra quei dotti un gran disputa sopra il Petrarca«.

54 Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Niccolò Machiavelli*, transl. Cecil Grayson, Chicago 1963, pp. 202–204.

55 Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals*, pp. 92–94.

go had rapidly risen to success as a portrait painter, but died during the plague of 1527 at the age of just thirty-five; his portrait of Barbara Salutati must have been among his late works. There she is shown holding a music book, open to reveal not a quotation from a madrigal, but lines from a motet (on the text ›Quam pulchra es‹ from the Song of Songs) and a French chanson (›J'ayme bien mon amy‹), together with two other volumes, one revealing the last section of a sonnet from Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, a clear reference to her beauty:

»Grazie ch'a poch'il ciel largo destina:
Rara virtù, non già d'umana gente,
Sotto Biondi capei canuta menuta,
En umil donna altà beltà divina«⁵⁶

Through this playful matrix of intertextuality, Puligo's portrait not only commemorates Barbara's beauty, her relationship to Machiavelli, and her own musical interests. It also locates them in a very specific political, intellectual, and social context, one in which Verdelot was prominent, and which was clearly important for the cultivation of the early madrigal.

To take a broader perspective, the principal manuscript sources suggest, however vaguely, different kinds of social ownership and usage of books containing madrigals. In some cases, the point is illustrated by their appearance as professionally copied and expensively bound. The ›Strozzi Partbooks‹, three survivals from an original set of four copied in Florence c. 1530–1540, are bound in leather decorated with blind and gilt tooling which incorporates the half-moon device associated with the family.⁵⁷ A similar design occurs on the covers of the ›Strozzi chansonnières‹, at one time believed to have been copied in Florence around 1527.⁵⁸ An earlier copying date of 1510–1515 has recently been proposed together with the suggestion that the scribe was French.⁵⁹ It would seem that both sets of partbooks, which were at one time owned by the musicologist Abramo Basevi, originally belonged

56 H. Colin Slim, »A Motet for Machiavelli's Mistress and a Chanson for a Courtesan«, *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, ed. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus, 2 vols., Florence 1978, vol. 2, pp. 457–472. For the most recent discussion of the painting see, *Domenico Puligo (1492–1527), un protagonista dimenticata della pittura fiorentina*, ed. Elena Capretti and Serena Padovani, Livorno 2002, pp. 122 f.

57 Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio, Ms. Basevi 2495; see Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 159–163.

58 Howard Mayer Brown, »Chansons for the Pleasure of a Florentine patrician: Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica, MS. Basevi 2442«, *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music. A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. Jan LaRue, New York 1966, pp. 56–66.

59 For a resumé see Paul Kolb, »Reconstructing (and) the Composer's Voice«, *(Re-)Constructing Renaissance Music. Perspectives from the Digital Humanities and Music Theory*, ed. Klaus Pietschmann and Laurent Pugin, Dresden 2018 (Troja. Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik, 17), pp. 163–182: p. 163.

to a member (or members) of the Strozzi family. Even more visually striking is a complete set of partbooks copied in Florence, but probably bound in Rome, whose covers are stamped with a central circular medallion containing a portrait in profile framed by the inscription ›DIVVS AVGVSTVS‹, flanked by the initials S C (for ›Senatus Consultu‹ to support its value), the whole being surrounded by a wreath. The model is a memorial bronze coin struck in honour of the deified Augustus, a type mostly produced during the time of Tiberius (see Fig. 3).⁶⁰

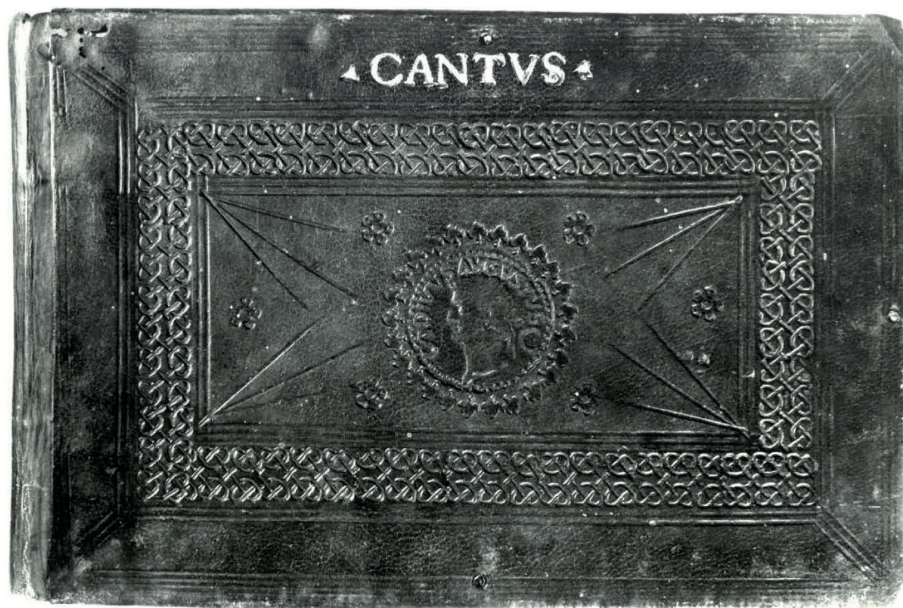


Fig. 3: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX 164–167. Upper cover. Canto

One distinct category (it amplifies the picture conveyed by the manuscripts) is that of printed partbooks bound together in a contemporary binding, evidence of a certain kind of collecting impulse at work. Such volumes, of which a considerable number has survived, are typical of those put together by collectors, or by amateur or professional musicians, as can be verified from inventories. The descriptive label ›binders' copies‹, now popular in the literature, is unhelpful, since the process of selection was made by the original purchasers of the books rather than those working in the binding trade. As such these assemblages of partbooks

60 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Magl. XIX 164–167; see Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 173–176, and for details of the imperial coin on which the binding design is based E. A. Sydenham, ›DIVUS AVGVSTVS‹, *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society*, Fourth series 17 (1917), pp. 258–278.

bound together not only provide information about taste and the ways in which it changed, but also about domestic musical practices in which the traditional generic distinctions between secular and secular repertoires dissolve. The same could be said about private libraries, a few of which survive intact, while others are known only through inventories. As recent studies of early Italian collectors of printed music have revealed, some sixteenth and seventeenth-century libraries were later subsumed into later ones. One of the largest, formed about 1580 and originally containing almost 250 titles, was bought entirely by Padre Giambattista Martini from Roman booksellers in the eighteenth century and is now in Bologna.⁶¹ Yet in the present state of knowledge, more is known about early German and even English collectors of Italian printed music than Italian ones.

At first sight it might seem that placed on the shelves of wealthy merchant families such as the Herwart and the Fugger in Augsburg, or Georg Knoff in Danzig, such collections indicate little about musical practice.⁶² It is probable that Knopf's books do reflect a form of bibliomania since there is no internal evidence that they were put to practical use, but the case of the Fugger books is different. Many members of the family, which in the sixteenth century was among the wealthiest in Europe, were dedicated collectors of books, paintings, and precious objects of all kinds, sparing no expense to acquire them.⁶³ In 1571, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria bought the entire library of Johann Jakob Fugger, which comprised more than ten thousand volumes and was rich in early printed music and music manuscripts. Albrecht turned down the opportunity to acquire the music collections of another member of the family, Raimund Fugger, whose interest in practical music-making, facilitated by the illness which reduced his utility to the business interests of the family firm, is reflected in his collection of instruments, one of the largest of its kind.⁶⁴ Equally directed towards performance was the music library of Hans Heinrich Herwart, a member of another prosperous Augsburg merchant dynasty, whose wealth enabled him to assemble

61 Kate van Orden and Alfredo Vitolo, »Padre Martini, Gaetano Gaspari and the Pagliarini Collection: A Renaissance Music Library Rediscovered«, *Early Music History* 29 (2010), pp. 241–324.

62 For Knopf's music library see Martin Morell, »Georg Knopf: Bibliophile and Devotee of Italian Music in Late Sixteenth-Century Danzig«, *Music in the German Renaissance*, ed. John Kmetz, Cambridge 1994, pp. 103–126.

63 Mark Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg. Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany*, Charlottesville 2012. For engraved portraits of both Johann Jakob (1516–1592) and Raimund Fugger (1528–1569), see Domenicus Custos, *Fuggerorum et Fuggerarum quae in familia natae*, Augsburg 1618, nos. XII and XIX.

64 See Richard Schaal, »Die Musikbibliothek von Raimund Fugger, d. J.«, *Acta musicologica* 29 (1957), pp. 126–137, and for the inventory of Fugger's musical instruments, none of which are known to have survived, Douglas Alton Smith, »The Musical Instrument Inventory of Raymund Fugger«, *The Galpin Society Journal* 33 (1980), pp. 36–44.

a music library comparable in size to that of Raimund Fugger.⁶⁵ Removed from their original contexts of merchant class domestic music-making and sociability, such collections, acquired for the ducal library founded by Albrecht V and further enriched by his son Wilhelm, now constitute the foundational core of the music collections of the Bavarian State Library.

Sometimes both single titles or collections of partbooks can be found bound with additional fascicles of paper ruled or printed with staves so that additional pieces could be added by hand, strongly implying that they were used by their early owners. Often these contain unique pieces.⁶⁶ One of the earliest examples of this kind of miscellany contains ten printed altus books together within manuscript additions of seventeen madrigals, only two of which can be attributed (to Fogliano and Arcadelt respectively) through concordances, a reminder that the repertory as a whole was undoubtedly larger than has often been thought, and that much has been destroyed. A companion volume of canto parts in poor condition (only eight of the editions have survived and the manuscript supplement is missing) is now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford; Einstein saw it when it was in the collection of W. H. Harding in Chicago.⁶⁷ Similarly, a volume in Perugia consists of imperfect superius parts of two Petrucci titles, together with added gatherings containing twenty-one madrigals attributed to Costanzo Festa; five of these turn out to be *unica*.⁶⁸ These examples are representative of what must have been a common practice of assembling small collections of manuscript and printed books sufficient to maintain an interest in practical music. A well-documented early instance of such a modest domestic collection that no longer survives but which contained madrigals is that of Gian Paolo da Ponte, whose music included manuscripts of four-voice madrigals, two editions of madrigals by Verdelot,

65 H. Colin Slim, »The Music Library of the Augsburg Patrician, Hans Heinrich Herwart (1520–1583)«, *Annales musicologiques* 7 (1964–1977), pp. 67–109. The lute books in the Herwart collection are discussed in Louise Martinez-Göllner, »Die Augsburger Bibliothek und ihre Lautentabulaturen. Ein Musikbestand der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek aus dem 16. Jahrhundert«, *Fontes artis musicae* 16 (1969), pp. 29–48.

66 As in the case of a single partbook of the 1533 Venetian edition of *Del primo libro de' madrigali di Verdelotto*, now in a private collection in Rome, which is bound with six hand-ruled pages to which has been added a setting of Petrarch's »Occhi miei lassi mentre ch'io vi giro«. This is concordant neither with Verdelot's own setting, nor with that of Tromboncino as given in the *Canzoni nove* of 1510. The existence of the partbook was first made public in *Cinque secoli di stampa musicale in Europa* [Exhibition Catalogue, Palazzo Venezia], Naples 1985, pp. 35 f.

67 TIM, »Addenda et corrigenda«, p. 909. Harding, who emigrated to the United States having begun his collection in London, donated some 19,000 volumes to the Bodleian Library; see Iain Fenlon, »The Oxford-Paris Partbooks«.

68 Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Ms. 3314 (formerly I. M. 1079); Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 186 f.

and a number of Petrucci editions including one of the Bossenensis volumes of lute tablature. The inventory of his possessions, drawn up in 1534, also lists »un clavicinbano [sic], [et] due arpicordi, un mezan et un piccolo de madona Iulia [a member of the family]«. Da Ponte was in turn one of the witnesses to the slightly post-mortem inventory of Adriano da Spilimbergo (1542) whose more extensive library included about twenty books of music.⁶⁹ Such instances cast light on the taste for the madrigal outside large urban centres, as well as underlining the continuing importance of manuscript transmission during the 1530s and later. So too do the rare survivals of single sheets, often written on one side only and folded to be included in letters. Comparison of readings suggest that in some cases these may have been intended to convey authorial intentions to the printer's workshop. Other single leaves, such as the single folio in the Archivio della Chiesa Collegiata in Castell'Arquato containing the beginning of Fogliano's madrigal *Dolor crudel*, *crudel dolor*, are perhaps more likely to have been intended as performance material.⁷⁰

In this context, it has been suggested that Baldassare Donato's madrigal *Fiamm' amorosa* in one of the single leaves originally from the Herwart collection, now absorbed into the collections of the Bavarian State Library, was copied by Cipriano de Rore.⁷¹ These form part of a sequence of »partbooks«, made up out of single leaves in the nineteenth century by Julius Joseph Maier, the first librarian of the new »Musikalische Abteilung«, founded in 1857.⁷² It is conceivable that some of these leaves were originally performers' parts copied locally; others were used to transmit repertory, as is suggested by the fact that all of them have been folded at one time to be enclosed in letters, probably in the sixteenth century, and that in one case the addressee's name has been written on the verso in a contemporary hand.⁷³ Interestingly, there are two versions of Donato's madrigal in

69 Cesare Scalon, *La biblioteca di Adriano da Spilimbergo (1542)*, Udine 1991, pp. 95–102. See also Ugo Rozzo, »La biblioteca di Adriano di Spilimbergo e gli eterodossi in Friuli«, in *Biblioteche italiane del Cinquecento tra Riforma e Controriforma*, ed. Ugo Rozzo, Udine 1994, pp. 59–122, which contains transcriptions of the inventories of both libraries (pp. 113–121).

70 Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 90; Mario Genesi, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali [dell'Archivio della Chiesa Collegiata]*, Castell'Arquato 1987. The extensive Castell'Arquato collection of single parts, some bound together to make »partbooks«, mostly contain motets from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. A number are copied on printed manuscript paper.

71 Munich, Bavarian State Library, Mus. Ms. 1503f. See Jessie Ann Owens, »A Collaboration between Cipriano de Rore and Baldassare Donato?«, *Historical Musicology. Sources, Methods, Interpretation*, ed. Stephen A. Crist and Roberta Montemorra Marvin, Rochester, NY 2004, pp. 9–39.

72 JoAnn Taricani, »A Renaissance Bibliophile as Musical Patron: The Evidence of the Herwart Sketchbooks«, *Notes*, Second series 49 (1993), pp. 1357–1389, especially pp. 1365–1386.

73 Munich, Bavarian State Library, Mus. Ms. 1511c, fol. 15. The first part of this manuscript, and parts or all of other »partbooks« in this group (Mus. Ms. 1503a–1503g, 1511c, 1511d, and 274a)

the Munich source, one being the original, the other an edited version. Since the piece was finally published in 1553 following the version recorded in the latter, this constitutes further evidence of the practice of transmitting new material for publication in this form. Other examples of the practice have survived among a group of leaves now in Paris. Among them are the parts of Maistre Jhan's madrigal *Miser quell huomo* copied by the scribe Jean Michel who worked in Ferrara; the piece was subsequently printed in the anthology *Selectissimae necnon familiarissimae cantiones* published in Augsburg by Melchior Kriesstein in 1540.⁷⁴ Since comparison of the readings of Jhan's madrigal in these two sources shows that they are related even to the extent of transmitting the same errors, it seems likely that they subsequently ended up with Kriesstein, who used them as his exemplar.⁷⁵ A good number of the scribes who copied the Paris leaves also appear among the Munich leaves, whose history can be traced back from Robert Julien van Maldeghem (who used them in compiling his anthology *Trésor musical*), via the nineteenth-century Dresden bibliophile Carl Falkenstein whose music library was sold in Leipzig in 1856.⁷⁶ Although it is possible that the Paris and Munich leaves are from two quite distinct sixteenth-century collections of such material, the more likely explanation is that they were both once part of the Herwart library in the sixteenth century; they may be among the miscellaneous items referred to at the end of the Herwart library catalogue.⁷⁷

are copied on printed manuscript paper, some of which was produced in Augsburg by Melchior Kriesstein and Philip Ulhart, the only music printers working in the city. The same is true of Mus. Ms. 1505, written by the scribe of Mus. Ms. 1503b and 1503i. Mus. Ms. 1508 is copied throughout on score paper printed by Jacques Moderne in Lyons using metal rules; See John Milsom, »Printed Music Papers: Research Opportunities and Challenges«, *Early Printed Music and Material Culture in Central and Western Europe*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Grantley McDonald, Abingdon 2021, pp. 41–62.

74 Paris, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire, Ms. 1591(VIII); see Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 121–122, 184.

75 I am grateful to John Knowles who many years ago first pointed out the connection (private correspondence). For a detailed account of Paris 1591 (VIII) as copied by Jean Michel, see Joshua Rifkin, »Jean Michel, Maistre Jan and a Chorus of Beasts. Old Light on some Ferrarese Music Manuscripts«, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 52 (2002), pp. 67–102: pp. 67–75, and for more details on the characteristics of his hand Eric Jas, »A Sixteenth-Century Ferrarese Partbook from a Private Collection«, *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 52 (2002), pp. 35–65: pp. 39–46.

76 In general see Gustave Reese, »Maldeghem and his Buried Treasure«, *Notes*, Second series 6 (1948), pp. 75–117. For the provenance history of the Paris leaves see Simone Wallon, »Un manuscrit d'Ambroise Beber à la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Paris«, *Revue de musicologie* 46 (1954), pp. 148–153; idem, »Les acquisitions de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Paris«, *Revue belge de musicologie* 9 (1955), pp. 36–46: pp. 36 f.

77 Slim, »The Music Library«, nos. 459–461.

In other similar cases, leaves were used to send new compositions that neither had been printed, nor were destined for the printer's workshop, to recipients who would prize them precisely because they had not been printed. These might be sent as single leaves or as fascicles which could be gathered together to form what Antonfrancesco Doni terms a *car naiolo*. In 1541, a correspondent in Brescia who often supplied Ruberto Strozzi with new music wrote: »I'm asking you to send me by the messenger the madrigal which Cipriano did for messer Nerio if you can get it, or some other lovely thing, but not one that many people have«. ⁷⁸ Cipriano was of course Rore, while Neri, who must be Capponi, is known to have jealously guarded his private collection of music. ⁷⁹ (That Neri Capponi and Ruberto Strozzi moved in the same social circles not only in Lyons but also in Venice is symbolized by the two parts of Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontego's treatise on the viola da gamba, published in 1542 and 1543, which are dedicated to Strozzi and Capponi respectively. ⁸⁰) Occasionally, these single sheets with legible notation are shown in painted portraits, as if to memorialize the process of transmission of a new work from composer to sitter. Ironically, the neglect that these unimposing scraps of paper have sometimes suffered at the hands of editors and historians has underestimated their contemporary value as trophies of exclusivity.

Mid-Century Sources

Any attempt to contextualize the madrigal within its various social and cultural parameters must take account not only of the manuscript sources of the 1520s and 30s, but also those copied around the middle decades of the century. Pieces composed by the first generation of madrigalists, including some that were never printed, continued to circulate in manuscript well into the second half of the century. The argument has been illustrated by two sets of partbooks, owned by Lorenzo Corsini and now dispersed, that were copied in Florence by Giovanpiero di Niccolò Masacone, a singer in the Baptistry in Florence and a minor composer whose only known work, the madrigal *Ecco Signor Vòlterra*, was composed to accompany part of the pageant given after the official banquet held to celebrate the marriage of Cosimo de' Medici and Eleonora of Toledo in 1539. ⁸¹ In addition

78 Agee, »Ruberto Strozzi«, p. 12 f.

79 On Capponi and his relations with the Strozzi see Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*.

80 Silvestro Ganassi dal Fontego, *Regola Rubertina. Regola che insegna sonar de viola d'arco tastada* (In Venetia ad instantia de l'autore 1542) (Strozzi); *Lettonne seconda pur della prattica di sonare il violone d'arco da tasti* ([Venezia]: stampata per l'autore proprio 1543) (Capponi).

81 For which see *Musiche fatte nelle nozze dello illustrissimo Duca di Firenze il signor Cosimo de Medici*, Venice: Gardano, 1539; see Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano. Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569. A Descriptive Bibliographical and Historical Study*, vol. 1, New York 1988, pp. 246–249. Florentine

to copying four choirbooks (some of which carry dates) for Florence Cathedral during the last fifteen years of his life, Masacone was also the scribe of two sets of repertorially significant partbooks of madrigals copied during the 1520s: Bologna Q.21 and the elegantly illuminated and bound Newberry-Oscott Partbooks of about 1526. That he was still active as a scribe about 1560 is also documented by a payment of July 1559 for copying a *Passio Secundum Joannum a quattro voci* and other sacred works found among the papers of Francesco Corteccia.⁸² It would have been during these later years that Masacone copied two sets of partbooks devoted to the madrigal repertory. The first survives almost complete in the Biblioteca Comunale of the small Adriatic coastal town of Civitanova Marche. More dispersed is the second related set, which is now divided between Civitanova Marche, Paris, and Chicago, with only the quinto missing.⁸³ Both sets, which were compiled no earlier than the 1550s, are substantially devoted to Florentine repertory, with the work of Arcadelt, Corteccia, and Verdelot prominent. Since they contain madrigals by Ruffo, Palestrina, and Naich, at first sight they might easily be dismissed as philologically insignificant, but importantly there are also a large number of pieces which have no concordances in either manuscript or printed sources. The bass part of the second set carries on its cover a sixteenth-century ownership inscription of the Florentine Lorenzo Corsini »et amici«. While the Corsini partbooks are testimony to continued Florentine aristocratic interest in madrigal singing in company, and in particular to the continuing popularity of the music of the first generation of madrigal composers with local connections, they also underline the persistent traditions of composing and copying new madrigals into personal anthologies. As such they have been seen as providing the »missing link« between two opulent periods in Florentine activity, one ending in about 1540, the other beginning with the arrival of Alessandro Striggio in Florence twenty years later as a musician to Cosimo I, an event which heralded a fresh wave of madrigal composition as Striggio effectively replaced Corteccia as the principal musician at the Medici court.

festival music from the earlier decades, of which very little survives, is discussed in Anthony M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse. Music for Medici Festivals, 1512–1537*, Princeton 1992; see in particular the conclusion on pp. 163–172.

82 For Masacone see Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 123–125, and Canguilhem, »Lorenzo Corsini's »Libri di canzone«, pp. 13–20.

83 The existence of the books in Civitanova Marche, first briefly noted in Fenlon and Haar, »Fonti e cronologia dei madrigali di Costanzo Festa«, *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 13 (1978), pp. 212–242, and subsequently with refinements in *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 84, 135, has been amplified by the identification of additional parts in Paris and Chicago; see Canguilhem, »Lorenzo Corsini's »Libri di canzone«, especially pp. 3–7.

The mid-century practice of continued manuscript transmission despite the impact of print was not restricted to Florence or confined to a single source. Five manuscript partbooks from an original set of six in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (the bass part is unfortunately missing), neatly if not actually professionally written around the middle of the century, were indisputably copied and bound in Venice.⁸⁴ Firstly, the contents, madrigals and motets for four to seven voices, are overwhelmingly given over to music by Cipriano de Rore (about half of the total) and Adrian Willaert and his contemporaries. Second, and as in the case of the Corsini partbooks, most of the pieces are not copied from printed sources; it seems that the scribe worked independently, and may even have been copying music that had not yet reached print.⁸⁵ It has been suggested that the Wolfenbüttel partbooks represent a composer or singer's personal collection of music that had been encountered primarily in manuscript, and that it was probably compiled between 1543–1544 and 1557 or even later, possibly by Perissone Cambio.⁸⁶

An important part of the evidence for the Venetian origins of the books consists of the identification of their binder as the ›Apple Binder‹ (on account of his most distinctive tool depicting fruit surrounded by five leaves), who worked in the city between 1540 and 1560 for a number of high-ranking clients.⁸⁷ The ›Apple Binder‹ is also known as the ›venezianischer Fuggermeister‹ since so many of the examples of his work in the Bavarian State Library originally came from the library of Johann Jakob Fugger.⁸⁸ Apart from Fugger, volumes were also bound in the workshop for a number of prominent French collectors including Thomas Mathieu, Marc Lautrin, and Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, whose books were dispatched from Venice with the assistance of his librarian Antoine Morillon.⁸⁹ Others were bound for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the most prominent bibliophiles of the age.⁹⁰ Closer to home the workshop was responsible for binding the illustrated manuscript catalogue of coins belonging to

84 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 293 Musica Handschrift.

85 See Mary S. Lewis, ›Rore's Setting of Petrarch's ›Vergine Bella‹: A History of Its Composition and Early Transmission‹, *The Journal of Musicology* 4 (1985), pp. 365–409, particularly pp. 370–378.

86 Owens, ›A Collaboration‹.

87 First noted in Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano. Venetian Music Printer, 1538–1569: A Descriptive Bibliography and Historical Study*, vol. 2, New York 1997, p. 19.

88 Ilse Schunke, ›Venezianische Renaissanceinbände: Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Werkstätten‹, *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, 4 vols., Vatican City 1964, vol. 4, pp. 169–174 and plates 33–35.

89 See T. Kimbell Brooker, ›The Library of Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle‹, *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 2015/1, pp. 23–72.

90 Anthony Hobson, *Renaissance Book Collecting. Jean Grolier and Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Their Books and Bindings*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 119–132, where it is suggested that the Fugger Binder was the manager-bookbinder of the Libreria della Fenice, run by the Giolito printing firm.

the patrician numismatist Andrea Loredan, whose cabinet was acquired by Duke Albrecht of Bavaria in the 1560s.⁹¹ Although nothing is known of the provenance of the Wolfenbüttel partbooks, it is unlikely that they were copied and bound for any of these collectors, none of whom are known to have had an interest in acquiring music. A more likely candidate would be a well-to-do connoisseur with contacts with the circle around Rore and his disciples, perhaps Hieronymus Uttinger. One of the three sons of Georg Uttinger, consul of the Fondaco Tedesco in Venice, Hieronymus knew Rore («a very dear friend»), and also Gardano who dedicated a collection of motets to him, as well as Jacques Buus who made him the dedicatee of two books of *ricercars*.⁹²

On the evidence of these three sets of partbooks, madrigals, including (importantly) pieces that were never printed, continued to circulate in manuscript well into the second half of the century. Following these there is something of a gap until the last decades of the century with sources such as the Bourdeney and Tarasconi manuscripts, both written in score which indicates that they were presumably intended for study purposes, and the various anthologies both printed and manuscript of specially composed madrigals put together for Laura Peverara, a member of the legendary Ferrarese *concerto delle dame*.⁹³ At this late date, the few Italian manuscripts containing madrigals that have survived seem to have been copied for unusual if indistinct purposes of a commemorative kind that separate them in functional terms from the partbook sets common in the first half of the century on the one hand, and printed collections on the other. In considering the

91 John Cunnally, »The Mystery of the Missing Cabinet. Andrea Loredan's Coin Collection and Its Fate«, *Translatio Nummorum. Römische Kaiser in der Renaissance*, ed. Ulrike Peter and Bernhard Weisser, Wiesbaden 2013, pp. 141–148. It seems probable that the catalogue, which is illustrated with 1,220 pen-and-ink drawings, was prepared as a sale catalogue.

92 Both Parabosco and Cambio were part of the same circle: see Mary S. Lewis, »Antonio Gardano's Early Connections with the Willaert Circle«, *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Patronage, Sources, Texts*, ed. Iain Fenlon, Cambridge 1981, pp. 209–225. The suggestion that Uttinger may have been the original owner of the Wolfenbüttel partbooks is purely speculative. Dr Sven Limbeck of the Herzog August Bibliothek kindly informs me that he has been unable to discover any information in the library's old catalogues that might help to establish the provenance of the partbooks (letter of 2 March 2022).

93 For the Bourdeney manuscript, substantially devoted to the madrigals of Rore, see Oscar Mischiati, »Un'antologia manoscritta in partitura del secolo XVI. Il MS. Bourdeney della Bibliothèque Nationale di Parigi«, *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975), pp. 161–174. The Tarasconi manuscript, whose contents are much more varied, is described in Guglielmo Barblan and A. Zecca Laterza, »The Tarasconi Codex in the Library of the Milan Conservatory«, *The Musical Quarterly* 60 (1974), pp. 195–221. For the printed sources assembled for Laura Peverara see Anthony Newcomb, »The Three Anthologies for Laura Peverara, 1580–1583«, *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975), pp. 329–345, and also the discussion of Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. 1358 in Iain Fenlon, review of Anthony Newcomb, *The Madrigal at Ferrara*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35 (1982), pp. 167–181: pp. 175–177.

whole sequence of manuscript sources of the repertory stretching in chronological terms from the mid-1520s to the 1580s, a certain pattern does emerge notwithstanding the small size of the phenomenon. It would seem that, from a situation at the beginning of this period in which manuscripts were the principal sources of new music, by the end of the century any new madrigals that circulated in manuscript are to be classed as private or elite repertory, true *musica reservata*, that was never intended for normal, commercial dissemination in print.

Poetic Sources

In essence the early madrigal is a monument to a local Florentine taste, not only in its musical dimensions but in its poetic ones as well. The process of elevating the early manuscripts of the madrigal to a position of prime textual authority critically raises the desirability of also identifying manuscript sources for the poetic texts that came into the hands of the early madrigalists. This proves to be a dispiriting business. Extensive trawls through some of the hundreds of manuscript anthologies of Italian poetry held in the three main Florentine libraries (the Biblioteca Nazionale, the Biblioteca Riccardiana, and the Biblioteca Marucelliana) has produced very few concordances with musical settings whether in manuscript or print. The interest here is not so much in attributable poetry that was set, much of which was taken from printed collections, nor even in that which can be shown to have been set by composers prior to being printed. Certainly, there are interesting examples of both kinds of pre-existent texts and their musical settings, but they do not represent standard practice. More commonly the process began with a piece of poetry being sent to a composer, or even written by him, perhaps at the request of a patron, something that can be demonstrated from letters, some of which originally included the verses to be set.

Some documented examples illustrate the point. In a letter of 1534 written from Venice to his teacher Benedetto Varchi, Ruberto Strozzi enlists Varchi's poetic skills in his pursuit of the legendary Polissena Pecorina: »Make it in praise of the said Pulisena (who sings very well both in improvising and in reading music), put her name in it, make the two final verses rhyme, and make them eleven syllables apiece, and she would like her name to be mentioned somewhere after the middle of the madrigal«. This too was to be set to music, but if so no trace of the finished result is known to have survived. More tangible is the example of Arcadelt's settings of Michelangelo's verses, in which the role of his friend and amanuensis Luigi del Riccio, who was in charge of the Strozzi bank in Rome

and acted as intermediary, is well known.⁹⁴ In the first of three undated letters written to del Riccio, Michelangelo asks his friend to find a composer to set one of his verses; the second and third indicate that del Riccio gave the commission to Arcadelt, that Michelangelo was pleased with the result, and that the composer was rewarded with a gift of satin.⁹⁵ The episode, which must date from before the appearance of the first edition of the *Libro primo* in about 1537, emphasizes the importance of Florentine expatriate communities for the dissemination of the early madrigal outside Florence. But in the vast majority of cases the poetry of the early madrigal is both anonymous and of indifferent quality, and in these terms it is appropriate to distinguish between ›poesia per musica‹ and ›poesia in musica‹. In some cases it is plausible that composers wrote their own poetry, as was certainly the case with Girolamo Parabosco, first organist of St. Mark's Basilica in Venice from 1551, and a regular member of Domenico Venier's academy of *letterati*.⁹⁶ The poetic style of the repertory is certainly overwhelmingly Petrarchistic, and the corpus can be subdivided into a number of generic types, but it is difficult to claim that serious interest in Petrarch's poetry was a decisive formative impulse.

Despite his idealism, evident from his constant search for high-standard poetry in the work of the early madrigalists, Einstein was fully aware of the inferior quality of the ubiquitous ›Madonna v'adoro‹ texts which dominate the literature. Nonetheless this did not prevent him from considering the *petrarchismo* of the early sixteenth century as a kind of escalator of taste which permitted the evolution of the madrigal to be intimately related to a rise in the quality of madrigal verse. As he wrote, in a passage deeply indebted to Spenglerian thought, ›The literary trend in secular music [...] grew in strength during the 1520s until classical verse of distinction and elegance became the norm. An already active and vigorous cult of Petrarca was to achieve such influence that in subsequent decades each of the master's lyrics was set to music not once but many times. This heightened artistry of text [...] was but of the stylistic elements necessary to make up the balanced euphony of the madrigal.‹⁹⁷

At first glance it might seem that the appointment of Pietro Bembo as one of Leo X's secretaries shortly after Leo's election to the papacy might provide grounds for Einstein's optimism, for Bembo's codification of the language of

94 Herman-Walter Frey, ›Michelagnuolo und die Komponisten seiner Madrigale‹, *Acta musicologica* 24 (1952), pp. 147–197.

95 Two Michelangelo settings are to be found in Arcadelt's *Primo libro* of 1543: ›Deh dimmi amor‹ and ›Io dico che fra noi potenti dei‹.

96 Martha Feldman, ›The Academy of Domenico Venier, Music's Literary Muse in Mid-Cinquecento Venice‹, *Renaissance Quarterly* 44 (1991), pp. 476–512, and eadem, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, q.v. but especially pp. 15–17 and 85–87.

97 *TIM*, p. 121. See, for a similar position, Walter H. Rubsamen, *Literary Sources of Secular Music in Italy (ca. 1500)*, Berkeley 1943, p. 35.

Petrarch and Boccaccio, evident from the *Prose della volgar lingua*, conceivably might have inspired the interest of Pisano, who was in Rome from 1519. But if it did so it was only in the most superficial way, since his texts are derived not from Bembo's authoritative 1501 edition of the *Canzoniere* printed by Aldus, but from a different, impossible to identify and highly contaminated source. Moreover, the title of Bernardo Pisano's *Musica [...] sopra le canzone del petrarcha* (of which only the bassus and altus parts, once in the library of Hernando Colón, have survived) is illusory; only seven of its seventeen pieces set Petrarch's verse. Both the title of Pisano's book and its typographical peculiarities, which possibly indicate a new craftsman, conceivably Giovanni Giacomo Pasoti, together with Petrucci's adoption of the partbook format for the first time in his output, suggest that the *Musica* might have been a specially commissioned publication. It may be relevant that Petrucci is known to have stayed in Rome on a number of occasions between 1518 and 1520 during the culturally vibrant pontificate of Leo X, when either he or Petrucci might have encountered a patron for the project either there or in Florence via the Medici network.⁹⁸ The absence of a dedication or other paratexts in the volume is not a barrier to this possibility.

Fragments of Printed Music: Petrucci and Bartolomeo Egnazio

Identification and dating of the manuscript sources of the mid-1520s such as the Berkeley and Yale partbooks, which were not identified until the 1980s, does help to close the gap in compositional activity between Pisano's *Musica* and the *Libro primo de la Serena* of 1530, the years that constitute Einstein's »artistic pause«.⁹⁹ So too do the more recent discoveries of new printed sources. At one time it might have seemed that Petrucci stopped printing with the three detached Fossombrone leaves, one of which contains Verdelot's *Non po far morte et dolce riso amato*, but now two other groups of fragments, both in Pesaro but also originally from Fossombrone, need to be taken into consideration. The first, two uncut folios from tenor and bass partbooks containing motets drawn from Jacques Moderne's *Motteti del fiore* of 1532, includes a colophon dated 15 October 1538 signed by Petrucci and an associate, Bartolomeo Egnazio. To these should be added parts of two folios from the tenor book discovered in the Archivio di Stato in Fano.¹⁰⁰ Discussion of why the Moderne volume was chosen becomes less

98 For technical descriptions of the two surviving partbooks and an interpretation of their significance see Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné*, New York 2006, pp. 844–847.

99 *TIM*, pp. 139–151.

100 Teresa Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, »New Light on Ottaviano Petrucci's Activity, 1520–38: An Unknown Print of the Motetti del fiore«, *Early Music* 29 (2001), pp. 500–532; Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, pp. 850–852.



Fig. 4: Pesaro, Archivio di Stato, Fondo Giudiziario. Fragments of Giulio Tiburtino, *Sonetti, madrigali, e stanze commode da sonare e da cantare*, Fossombrone: Bartolomeo Egnazio 1539. Canto and Tenor

necessary if the fragments, like the Fossombrone leaves, were part of a printing exercise, not intended for publication, or were proof sheets. A second set of fragments consists of an uncut canto sheet and a half sheet from a tenor which includes a title, a dedication, and a table of contents listing twenty madrigals by Giuliano Tiburtino, all of which suggests that a complete volume was in some sense contemplated but probably never brought to fruition.¹⁰¹ There is no colophon, but the canto sheet bears, in gothic type, the title *Sonetti, Madrigali, e stanze, commode da sonare e da cantare delle Excellente Musico Messere Giuliano Tiburtino Nuovamente Impresse* with, immediately underneath, an armorial shield framed with laurel branches and topped by a crown. This is the coat-of-arms of Giulia Varano, daughter of Giovanni Maria, the last Duke of Camerino (on his death in 1529 without an heir, the Varano lands passed to the Della Rovere family). The

101 See Teresa Gialdroni and Agostino Ziino, »Beyond Petrucci: An Unknown Madrigal Collection by Giuliano Tiburtino (Fossombrone) 1539«, *Acta musicologica* 79 (2007), pp. 33–84. The contents of the projected volume are given on p. 47, the texts and music of the surviving fragments on pp. 55–58 and 65–69. That they were used as covers for legal documents dated 1551 and 1555 reduces the possibility that a complete volume was printed.

dedication of the *Sonetti, Madrigali, e stanze* is addressed to Giulia, who in 1535 was married to Guidobaldo II della Rovere, who three years later became Duke of Urbino. Again signed by Egnazio and dated 15 May 1539, it refers to Petrucci as »già defunto«. Facing the dedication, on the recto of the first numbered folio, is a poem celebrating Petrucci in humanistic language by Antonio Paltronus »civis forisempronensis«, playful in that Petrucci's success after the failure of others is said to have brought approving smiles to the faces of the gods Venus and Mars as well as that of the Pope (see Fig. 4).

These additions to the Petrucci corpus suggest renewed activity by Petrucci and Egnazio and then Egnazio alone in the period c. 1537–1538, while also leaving the dating of the Fossombrone leaves first published by Ceccarelli and Spaccazocchi as an open question, though they must have preceded the *Motetti del Fiore*, signed in 1538.¹⁰² Although the production of complete books may have been originally intended, the fact that no copies are known to exist or to have existed (through references in collectors' catalogues and early library inventories for example), strongly suggests that all three projects did not progress beyond the printing of proof sheets. All these fragments had been acquired by local merchants and notaries as waste and then used to fabricate account books or legal documents, traditional uses for discarded material sold off by printers' workshops. It seems most likely that they began life as trial sheets of volumes that were planned but never executed, or projects that were begun but were interrupted, perhaps by Petrucci's death.

Individual and Group Portraits

Evidence of the circulation and ownership of the early madrigal, largely recuperable from provenance histories of manuscripts and printed books together with inventories, is also occasionally provided by contemporary paintings. What emerges is that some merchant class or aristocratic patrons commissioned portraits which included, for a variety of reasons, depictions of partbooks open so that the notation can be read, an invitation perhaps to assert individual involvement in the kind of practical humanism advocated by Baldassare Castiglione in *Il cortegiano*.¹⁰³

Among early examples of the genre is a portrait of Johannes Münstermann executed by Hermann tom Ring, who seems to have spent his entire career after

102 Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci*, pp. 847–850.

103 James Haar, »The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music«, *Castiglione. The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand, New Haven 1983, pp. 165–189.



Fig. 5: Hermann tom Ring (1521–1596), Portrait of Johannes Münstermann, 1547. Oil/oak wood, 66.8 x 47.0 cm, Inv.No. 686 LM



Fig. 6: Hermann tom Ring, Portrait of Johannes Münstermann, detail

1544 (when he painted and dated a self-portrait) in Münster. It shows a flute surrounded by bound set of partbooks labelled »DI VERDELOTTO DI ARCHADELT/TUTTI LI MADRIGALI DEL PRIMO ET SECONDO LIBRO A QVATRO VOCI« on the cover of the bass part. Although no such collection uniting the madrigals of the two composers is known, the wording is identical (apart from the reference to Archadelt) to that of Girolamo Scotto's 1540 edition of Verdelot's *Primo libro*, which the artist must have seen (see Fig. 5). The text and music of two madrigals *Fuggi, fuggi cor mio*, and *Madonna per voi ardo*, visible in the open canto partbook, are completely accurate in as far as they can be read.¹⁰⁴ That the sitter is pointing to the second of these, and more precisely to a detail of the text that reads decisively »Et voi sola servir«, is designed as an amorous message, clearly directed to the viewer, who was presumably the intended recipient of the portrait as part of a courtship ritual (see Fig. 6). In this instance the musical inscription in Münstermann's open partbook functions in much the same way as poetry from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* similarly presented in portraits exchanged between elite lovers. Although little is known about Münstermann beyond his status, proudly displayed in his armorial bearings, the presence of the partbooks in his portrait is evidence of the availability beyond the Alps of early printed editions of madrigals by the first generation of composers, acquired either on trips to Venice or at book fairs.

Despite the challenges of interpretation, with possible symbolic meanings ever present, it is inescapable that the presence of madrigal books in paintings often

104 For details see Hildegard Westhoff-Krummacher: »Ein Brautwerbungsporträt von Hermann tom Ring«, *Westfalen. Hefte für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* 45 (1967), pp. 251 f.; Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, Appendix, pp. 325 f.

constitutes some form of genuinely historical trace, even if often it cannot be precisely quantified or understood. Italian paintings incorporating legible depictions of madrigal books occur almost from the moment that the pieces themselves started to appear in manuscripts and printed editions. The phenomenon can be traced at least from the late fifteenth century, the suggested date of the missing prototype of Bartolomeo Veneto's *Portrait of a Lutenist*, which exists in at least twenty-seven versions in some of which the female sitter is transformed into St. Catherine of Alexandria, and in others into St. Cecilia. The fragmentary melodic inscriptions represented in the open book, which sits rather precariously and implausibly on the ledge which separates the sitter from the viewer, come from five different compositions.¹⁰⁵ The very large number of versions of the prototype, some of which are workshop copies, makes it unlikely that the *Portrait of a Lutenist* is a portrait in any meaningful sense. Both the traditional erotic associations of female music-making together with the frank invitation to the viewer suggests that these works were directed to a male audience, and were intended to be viewed in specific locations. Two Italian paintings from the first half of the century draw upon the *Motetti e canzone libro primo* of 1520 for their inscriptions; these include, in both cases, Sebastiano Festa's *Perche al viso d'amor*, whose popularity is evident from its widespread diffusion in the earliest manuscripts of the repertory.¹⁰⁶ Madrigals by Arcadelt and Verdelot are also incorporated in paintings from the same period. An anonymous North Italian portrait of a woman painted c. 1530–1540 and now in the Spada Gallery in Rome includes Verdelot's *Quando madonna io vengo a contemplarte*, and a slightly later allegory, now lost, displays a partbook showing Arcadelt's *Amor, tu sai pur fare*. In both these cases the selected madrigals were clearly intended to be integral to the meanings of the paintings.¹⁰⁷

More enigmatic is the presence of music in Girolamo Savoldo's *Portrait of a Man with a Recorder*, one of only six known portraits by the artist, which includes both a single leaf (similar to the leaves from the Herwart collection and elsewhere) attached to the wall, and an open music book showing the voice parts of

105 H. Colin Slim, »Multiple Images of Bartolomeo Veneto's Lute-Playing Woman (1520)«, *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts. Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, Warren, MI 1997, pp. 405–464. The version in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, dated 1520, is illustrated in *TTM*, facing p. 142.

106 H. Colin Slim, »Two Paintings of »Concert Scenes« from the Veneto and the Morgan Library's Unique Music Print of 1520«, *In cantu et sermone. For Nino Pirrotta on his 80th Birthday*, ed. Fabrizio dell Seta and Franco Piperno, Florence 1989, pp. 155–174.

107 H. Colin Slim, »An Iconographical Echo of the Unwritten Tradition in a Verdelot Madrigal«, *Studi musicali* 17 (1988), pp. 35–44; idem, »Arcadelt's »Amor tu sai« in an Anonymous Allegory«, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 2 (1987), pp. 91–106.

O Morte? Holà!.¹⁰⁸ This latter occurs in two musical sources, one printed the other manuscript, dating from the 1520s and 1530s, that is, at about the same time that the portrait was painted in Venice, where Savoldo spent most of his career.¹⁰⁹ In all these instances the pieces reproduced combine fidelity to the printed sources from which they were undoubtedly copied, much in the way that maiolica painters relied upon engravings, with artistic licence by reducing the number of staves per page and hence enlarging the size of the text and music in relation to that page to increase legibility. In some cases, paintings constitute the first evidence for the existence of a particular madrigal, and as a *terminus ante quem* for its composition; as such they should be technically considered as primary sources. For example, a portrait of an unknown male sitter attributed to Francesco Salviati, dated 1540 but now untraceable, contains a folded sheet showing both text and music of Animuccia's *S'altra fiamma*, which did not reach print until 1551 when it appeared in *Il secondo libro de' madrigali*.¹¹⁰ This phenomenon is yet further illustration of specially commissioned or sought out pieces circulating in a restricted way before arriving in either the printer's workshop or on the copyist's desk.

Any attempt to establish a chronological typology of Italian portraits of the period which include open partbooks with legible notation is fraught with difficulty, in part because the statistical sample of such works is so small. Nonetheless, a number of sub-genres within the category can be observed. Paintings such as Hermann tom Ring's portrait of Johannes Münstermann, which make use of such intertextual devices, often in the form of betrothal messages, is one distinct type. Another consists of allegorical paintings (often unhelpfully labelled as 'concert scenes'), such as the much-discussed *Concert* (sometimes given the more appropriate title *Musical Conversation*) by Sebastiano Florigerio, where the open partbook held by the centrally placed bare-shouldered female figure contains the alto part of Michele Pesenti's canzone *Alma gentil, s'en voi fusse equalmente*, faithfully copied from the *Motetti e canzone, libro primo* of 1520 (see Fig. 7).¹¹¹ Around her bodice, this fashionably turbaned young woman sports the motto »MAL STA ASCOSTO UN BEL SERENO«, which is not a citation but rather vague evocation of common literary tropes.¹¹² On one level the painting has little to do

108 H. Colin Slim, »Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo's Portrait of a Man with a Recorder«, *Early Music* 13 (1985), pp. 398–406, at pp. 399–402.

109 It occurs in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It.Cl.IV, 1795–1798, compiled in Venice or the Veneto in about 1520, and the *Canzoni frottole & capitoli. Libro secondo de la croce*, Rome: Dorico, 1531.

110 Slim, »Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo's Portrait«, pp. 403 f.

111 See Slim, »Two Paintings«, where the piece and its source were first identified.

112 As first noted in Bert W. Meijer, »Harmony and Satire in the Work of Niccolò Frangipane: Problems in the Depiction of Music«, *Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 6



Fig. 7: Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen. Sebastiano Florigerio, *Musical Conversation*, c. 1540

with music-making, but is rather intended as an allegory of the passing of time, articulated by the hand gestures of the two men positioned to the left and right of the foreground, while a third is beating the *tactus* on the woman's shoulder.¹¹³ On another, the texts of both madrigal and garment amplify the erotic atmosphere of the scene in which the young woman is surrounded by no fewer than seven men (only two of whom are singing), while the elderly veiled woman at the top left of the picture conceivably evokes the world of the brothel as well as the process of ageing. Probably dating from about 1540, Florigerio's canvas is just one example among many where a madrigal (or in this case a *frottola*) is incorporated some years after it began its brief career in print. Another example, in which the tenor of Costanzo Festa's *Madonna i preghi miei*, first published in the *Madrigale de*

(1972–1973), pp. 94–112: pp. 110 f.

113 See Jane Hatter, »Col tempo: Musical Time, Aging and Sexuality in 16th-Century Venetian Paintings«, *Early Music* 39 (2011), pp. 3–14, particularly pp. 3, 10–12. It should be noted that the older man in the right foreground, identified by Slim and others as a priest, is a later addition by a less competent hand.

M. Constantio Festa libro primo and subsequently reprinted only once in 1542, is shown in the open book held by an unidentified male sitter in a portrait attributed to Alessandro Allori (1535–1607), has only recently been brought to light.¹¹⁴ Allori's incorporation of music and text from the early madrigal repertory is characteristic of portraits painted in the second half of the century, perhaps since quotation from an established piece suggested qualities of knowledge and learning.¹¹⁵

In short, all the evidence suggests that the early madrigal as cultivated in Florence, Rome and Venice represents the taste of a small group of patrons who commissioned work from an equally small circle of poets and composers. Initially copied into manuscripts, exchanged in letters, and depicted in portraits, it constituted an elite repertory often prized, before it reached the hands of printers, for its exclusivity. In many instances it was only later that the press was able to put so much of the repertory into wider circulation. Much, but certainly not all. Repertory that was never printed continued to circulate in manuscript in the middle decades of the century, as the Corsini partbooks demonstrate, and the practice continued during its final decades.

In common with many historians of his generation, Einstein's primary interest in the question of patronage was with the binary relationships that linked patrons and composers, sometimes through a middleman, an approach that is now critically regarded as too heavily indebted to Burckhardt's idealized vision of the Renaissance. The more recent intrusion of explicitly sociological and anthropological concepts into the patronage debate has led to the insistence that specific cases of production and creativity should be examined in all the richness of their precise contexts. Beginning with Werner Gundersheimer, some historians have argued that patronage should be regarded as a process rather than a rigid system, with broader outlines and a more fluid, less deterministic sense of how it worked in practice.¹¹⁶ Such broader outlines should include the patronage of musicians, not just composers but also the singers and instrumentalists charged with performance. In this

114 The painting is now in the Regional Art Gallery of Tambov in Central Russia. See Camilla Cavicchi, *Maistre Jan. La carriera di un cantore francese alla corte degli Este di Ferrara (1512–1538)*, Turnhout 2023, pp. 148–151 and Fig. 25, where it is suggested that the sitter is Costanzo Festa. I am grateful to Professor Cavicchi for providing proofs of these pages in advance of publication.

115 During the early decades of the sixteenth century it was uncommon for music books with legible inscriptions to appear as identifiers in portraits of composers, Pontormo's painting of Francesco Layolle (Florence, Uffizi) being a rare exception, but from the middle of the century they become more common. In these instances composers were sometimes represented with legible inscriptions of their own works.

116 See Iain Fenlon, »Private, Princely and Collective Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Italy«, *Music Patronage in Italy*, ed. Galliano Ciliberti, Turnhout 2021, pp. 21–44.



Fig. 8: London, British Library. Francesco Corteccia, *Libro primo de madriali a quatro voci*, Venice: Antonio Gardano 1547. Title page. Canto

more expansive formulation the study of patronage necessarily involves consideration of a much wider variety of social, economic, and other features, including bonds of kinship and *amicizia*, the projection of social status through individual ›self-fashioning‹, and the political concerns of individual families.

Although most of the madrigal repertory, intended to be sung by groups of singers and instrumentalists, was aimed at a domestic market, the music celebrating the wedding of Cosimo de' Medici to Eleonora of Toledo in 1539 marks something of a departure from the emergent pattern by assembling all the music for a single occasion within one volume as something of a propagandistic exercise. In environments populated by ambitious courtiers jockeying for position, where influence was achieved through the adroit management of the perceptions of others, music both in performance and print could acquire social prestige for both composers and practitioners, while providing patrons with an instrument of statecraft and social control. The career of Francesco Corteccia exemplifies this nexus of power relationships in action. For Einstein, who with considerable insight compared him to Vasari, Corteccia was the ideal court composer,

his connection to Cosimo I proudly exhibited through the incorporation of the Medici *stemma* in place of the printer's mark on the title page of his publications (see Fig. 8). Such advertisements of status through patronage connections were to become increasingly common as a commercial strategy of the book trade from the 1540s onwards.¹¹⁷

Academies and the Early Madrigal

If the palaces of the Florentine aristocracy were one setting in which the early madrigal was cultivated and performed, another was the academy. One important example of the kind was the Accademia degli Umidi, founded in Florence in November 1540, and reconstituted in the following year as the Accademia Fiorentina. Placed under the patronage of Cosimo de' Medici, its principal aim was to promote the use of Tuscan as an appropriate vehicle for elevated discourse and the transmission of knowledge; as such, its views coincided with those of Bembo. It has been suggested that it was in the Fiorentina that a decisive debate took place, at an important juncture in the shifting relationship between music and poetry in contemporary culture, about the relative merits of *musica all' improvviso* on the one hand, and the polyphonic madrigal on the other. According to this interpretation the latter, now dominant in humanist and courtly circles, had effectively laid claim to the intellectual status of performed music that had previously been occupied by the improvised tradition.¹¹⁸ Less controversially, the Accademia Fiorentina sponsored theatrical productions, including performances of plays with *intermedi* for which Francesco Corteccia composed the music, and there is some evidence that members of the academy actively sought out new madrigals, on one occasion from Arcadelt.

Antonfrancesco Doni's *Dialogo della musica*, published in Venice in 1544, offers a picture of a somewhat differently orientated literary academy in Piacenza, whose musical practices mostly consisted of performances of polyphonic madrigals. As if to highlight this aspect of its activities, the *Dialogo*, which is unusual and inventive in a way that is entirely characteristic of its wayward author, prints a number of complete pieces, all of which are known from elsewhere. As a sort of manual illustrative of Castiglione's discussions about the place of music in polite society, it is the only volume of its kind to incorporate the parts of complete polyphonic works for performance. It was at about the same time that Doni directed his interest in the madrigal to the highest authority in the Florentine state of

117 Iain Fenlon, *Music, Print and Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Italy*, London 1995, pp. 83–86.

118 Robert Nosow, »The Debate on Song in the Accademia Fiorentina«, *Early Music History* 21 (2002), pp. 175–221.

which he was a native when, during the second half of the 1540s he copied out, in his distinctive calligraphic script, a manuscript containing ten madrigals for presentation to Cosimo I, in an attempt to gain attention and possibly sponsorship for what turned out to be a failed attempt to establish a printing firm in Florence.¹¹⁹

The increase in the private cultivation of music during the first half of the century raises important questions about the ways in which patterns of patronage changed with the advent of printing and the clearly observable growth in the consumption of music and the acquisition of musical instruments at least in the middle levels of society. Some wealthy individuals, characteristically operating in urban contexts, now began to rival the ecclesiastical and civil authorities as patrons of both commissioned works and organizers of musical performances. By the 1540s this can be seen both in Florence and also in Venice, where an interest in new madrigal composition was in part stimulated by the arrival of Gardano and Scotto and their adoption of the single-impression technique of music printing. It is noticeable that about a quarter of the dedications of printed books of music from about 1540 onwards are addressed not to members of the upper reaches of society, as it might be high-ranking rulers, princes, and cardinals, but to members of the professional classes, sometimes acting collectively.

In this shifting emphasis of the traditional pattern of patronage which the printing press facilitated, music-making formed an important component of the activities of the formal academies of Venice and the Veneto. While many of these were socially exclusive (the Accademia di Filarmonica of Verona is a classic example), the same was not always true in the less formal environments of the Venetian *ridotti*, a reflection perhaps of the growing importance of the *cittadino* class. Unhindered by arcane rituals and formal procedures, it was the *ridotti* rather than the academies that proved to be the principal agents for the cultivation of music along with versification, rhetoric, and literature. Many of the musicians working in Venice participated in these gatherings, as Francesco Sansovino noted when he wrote of the »*ridotti* around the city that are frequented by virtuosi«. ¹²⁰ The lawyer Alvise Balbi, who owned a large collection of printed music and musical instruments, gathered around him a socially mixed circle which included the Gabrieli and Giovanni Bassano. ¹²¹ Antonio Zantani, who collected antiquities and coins,

119 James Haar, »A Gift of Madrigals to Cosimo I: The MS., Florence, Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Magl. XIX, 130«, *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 1 (1966), pp. 167–189. Comparison of the hand of the manuscript with others written by Doni place his authorship beyond doubt. Doni's desire to enter the printing trade occurred at more or less the moment when Cosimo nominated Torrentino as »stampator ducal«.

120 Rodolfo Baroncini, »*Ridotti* and Salons: Private Patronage«, *A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz, Leiden 2018, pp. 149–202.

121 Baroncini, »*Ridotti* and Salons«, pp. 190–201.

sponsored musical meetings frequented by Annibale Padovano, Claudio Merulo, and Baldassare Donato among others. Zantani, who was something of an entrepreneur, also attempted to engineer the publication of madrigals from Willaert's *Musica Nova* and planned an ambitious collection of madrigals which finally appeared in 1569 after many vicissitudes.¹²² None of these groups were academies in a formal sense, but were simply enthusiasts bound together by ties of friendship and sometimes kinship in the common pursuit of music as a social entertainment, with madrigals as the principal interest. As social phenomena they represent the tip of what has recently been revealed as a very considerable iceberg of patrician and citizen class engagement, in informal settings, with composers and practical musicians including singers and instrumentalists from St. Mark's Basilica. Such examples also locate interest in music as part of the taste for domestic opulence as described in Richard Goldthwaite's history of consumption, a fashion founded on the widespread emulation of princely example not only by aristocrats but also by the mercantile and professional classes.¹²³ As such they also demonstrate the value of tracing comprehensive profiles of collective behaviour as a necessary adjunct to studies of single acts of patronage.¹²⁴ As the parameters of production and consumption shifted in response to such social imperatives, the taste for acquiring collections of both printed and manuscript sources became a matter of status as well as mere enthusiasm for an accessible form of musical sociability.

A different kind of more public and more formally constructed engagement with music, though of a kind that was untypical of the academy movement in general, characterized the activities of the Accademia Filarmonica of Verona, formed in 1543 with the aim of the «coltura ed esercizio della musica».¹²⁵ An inventory drawn up before the amalgamation of the two constituent academies which developed into the Filarmonica includes a wide range of instruments, and some thirty sets of partbooks both manuscript and printed containing motets, madrigals, and masses, mostly written by recent composers together with a smattering of older repertory including frottole. This foundation library was absorbed into a larger one which was steadily built up through purchases, including madrigals by Arcadelt and Costanzo Festa, masses by Morales, and motets by Willaert.¹²⁶ With

122 Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*, pp. 63–80.

123 Richard Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*, Baltimore 1987, chapter 10.

124 Baroncini, «*Ridotti* and Salons», pp. 156–177.

125 Michele Maylender, *Storie delle accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols., Bologna 1926–1930, vol. 3, pp. 386–394; Giuseppe Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica di Verona dalla fondazione (maggio 1543) al 1600 e il suo patrimonio musicale antico*, Verona 1941.

126 Turrini, *L'Accademia Filarmonica*, chapter 2 which prints transcriptions of this and a number of other inventories.

a membership mostly of local aristocrats, the aspirations of its founders (drawn from two pre-existent academies) are encapsulated in its device showing a siren holding a celestial globe surrounded by the motto COELORUM IMITATUR CONCENTUM, an allegorical reference to a new social order symbolized by the familiar image of *harmonia mundi*. As such it could also serve as a potent political symbol, which operated through the equation of these same qualities with those of a well-ordered state, a metaphor which is a commonplace of Venetian political theory of the period.¹²⁷ Such resonances of a rich musical life are not merely figures of speech; behind the conceits lay a musical reality which was both visible and audible not only in public processions, ceremonies, and other rituals, but also behind the closed doors of patrician palaces not only in Venice but also in the towns and cities of the *terraferma*.

For the academicians the study and practice of music was merely one aspect of a much wider intellectual interest in the liberal arts through which they projected an image of themselves to the wider world. The Filarmonica's patronage of composers, which ran parallel to its support for actors and dramatists, was both private and public. It was also a sustained exercise in aristocratic self-promotion, a process which not only demonstrated the sophisticated tastes of its members, but also possession of the wide discernment in many areas of humanistic knowledge considered necessary for a member of the nobility.¹²⁸

These are qualities of which Einstein himself would have approved, as the British musicologist Edward J. Dent recognised: »What gives [the book] grandeur is its astonishing intellectual breadth of view, not only in music but in Italian history and literature as well«. ¹²⁹ Origins and character, style and tradition: these are Einstein's principal concerns in *The Italian Madrigal*. The narrative unfolds chronologically in a format familiar from other monumental studies published at about the same time, notably Erwin Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting*. The result is a classic demonstration of a largely internal historical approach constructed and arranged by way of paradigms of form and style. The evolution of any genre is inevitably the consequence of the interaction, however historically unexpected, of different but mutually contingent factors, circulating in motion as if in a kaleidoscope to create repeatedly changing patterns. These might include artistic, philosophical and intellectual factors as well as technological, economic, and political ones, assembled in a constantly changing matrix of social and cultural forces. This is as true for us now as it was for Einstein, whose approach inevitably placed

127 Paolo Paruta, *Discorsi politici*, Venice: Nicolini, 1599, p. 391.

128 Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago 1980.

129 Edward J. Dent, review of *The Italian Madrigal for Music and Letters* 31 (1950), pp. 56–60: p. 57.

weight on only those selected categories of contingent factors that appealed to him. But at so many junctures in its argument, *The Italian Madrigal* continues to suggest important ways in which Einstein's astonishing achievement can continue to act not only as an erudite source of information, but as an inspiration.

Abkürzungen

<i>DIM</i>	Alfred Einstein, <i>Das italienische Madrigal. Versuch einer Geschichte der italienischen Profanmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , hrsg. von Sebastian Bolz, München 2025 (Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 83), DOI: 10.5282/ubm/epub.128701
<i>DDT</i>	<i>Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst</i> , hrsg. von Rochus von Liliencron u. a., Leipzig 1892–1931
<i>DTB</i>	<i>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern</i> , hrsg. von Adolf Sandberger, Leipzig 1900–1920, Augsburg 1924–1938 (Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, Zweite Folge); Neue Folge (N. F.), Wiesbaden 1962 ff.
<i>DTÖ</i>	<i>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</i> , hrsg. von Guido Adler u. a., Wien 1894 ff.
<i>Grove Music Online</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , hrsg. von Laura Macy, fortgesetzt von Deane L. Root, Oxford 2001 ff.
<i>LexM</i>	<i>Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit</i> , hrsg. von Claudia Maurer Zenck u. a., Hamburg 2005 ff., https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/
<i>MGG Online</i>	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart Online</i> , hrsg. von Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel u. a. 2016 ff.
<i>PäM</i>	<i>Publikationen älterer Musik</i> , hrsg. von Theodor Kroyer, Leipzig 1926–1940
<i>TIM</i>	Alfred Einstein, <i>The Italian Madrigal</i> , übers. von Alexander H. Krappe, Roger Sessions und Oliver Strunk, Princeton 1949

Zitate aus *Das italienische Madrigal* / *The Italian Madrigal* erfolgen in der Regel in der Sprache und Ausgabe des jeweiligen Aufsatzes. Im Sinne dieses Bandes, dem es um eine Re-Lektüre unter den Bedingungen von Original und Übersetzung geht, werden entsprechende Stellen bei Bedarf in den Fußnoten in der jeweils anderen Sprache wiedergegeben.

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