THE SOUNDS OF MILAN, 1585–1650

Robert L. Kendrick

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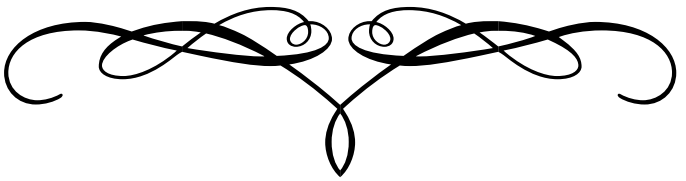

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for LUCIA MARCHI

O potente Milan, quanto ti puoi
Tener felice per le gran canzoni,
Che cantan per le strade ogn'hor li tuoi . . .
—Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, "Canzoni di
Milano," *Libro sesto de i Grotteschi*

Uh, citâ morta, Milan sensa miracul,
sensa speransa piöv, e manca el vent,
t'û 'ista 'n òlter dî 'me remesciada
da 'na matina mia del sentiment,
uh citâ vègia, Milan sdementegada,
lassa che piöva semper, sensa vent.
—Franco Loi, from *Nove poesie in nero;*
courtesy of Arnaldo Mondadori Editore

Wenn man die Hinterlassenschaft der Vergangenheit betrachtet, wie eine Art von ästhetischem Bilderbuch, wenn etwa der Blick vor allem auf den Wandel der "Stile" gerichtet ist, dann kann man leicht den Eindruck gewinnen, als habe sich von Zeit zu Zeit der Geschmack oder die Seele der Menschen, gleichsam sprunghaft, durch eine plötzliche Mutation von innen her gewandelt: Nun sind es "gotische Menschen," nun "Menschen der Renaissance," die man vor sich sieht, und nun "Menschen des Barock." Wenn man versucht, eine Vorstellung von dem Aufbau des ganzen Beziehungsgeflechts zu gewinnen, in das alle einzelnen Menschen einer bestimmten Epoche versponnen sind, wenn man den Veränderungen der Institutionen nachzugehen sucht, unter denen sie leben, oder der Funktionen, die ihre soziale Existenz begründen, dann schwindet der Eindruck mehr und mehr, dass sich irgendwann einmal plötzlich in vielen, einzelnen Seelen unerklärlicherweise und unabhängig von einander die gleiche Mutation vollzogen habe. Alle diese Veränderungen vollziehen sich geraume Zeit hindurch immer ganz langsam, in kleinen Schritten und zum guten Teil lautlos für Ohren, die nur die grossen, weithin schallenden Ereignisse aufzunehmen imstande sind.
—Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*

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As the book was coming to its end, Lucia Marchi entered its author's life. Her questions and comments helped make many of its points clearer. But more importantly, she illuminated every day of its completion with love and affection, and it is hers.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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MUSIC EXAMPLES

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ABBREVIATIONS

Library sigla

A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
D-As	Augsburg, Staats-und Stadtbibliothek
D-MÜs	Münster, Diözesanbibliothek, Santini-Bibliothek
D-Rp	Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek, Proske-Musikbibliothek
D-Rtt	Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Hofbibliothek
E-VAcp	Valencia, Real Colegio-Seminario del Corpus Christi (Patriarca), Archivo
Gb-Och	Oxford, Christ Church Library
I-AOc	Aosta, Cattedrale, Biblioteca Capitolare
I-Ib	Isola Bella, Archivio Borromeo
I-Mb	Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense
I-Mfd	Milan, Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Archivio-Biblioteca
I-Rc	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense
I-Tn	Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria
I-VIGsa	Vigevano, Biblioteca del Capitolo della Cattedrale
PL-Kj	Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska
US-BEm	Berkeley, University of California, Music Library
US-Cn	Chicago, Newberry Library
US-Cu	Chicago, University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Special Collections

Other abbreviations

AA	*Archivio ambrosiano* (Milan, 1949–)
AGS	Archivio General de Simancas, Spain
AL	*Arte lombarda* (Milan, 1955–)
ASBM	Archivio Storico dei Barnabiti, Milan

ASCM	Archivio Storico Civico, Milan
ASDM	Archivio Storico Diocesano, Milan (*sezione* in Roman numerals) DSA: Duplicati e Status Animarum SmpSC: Archivio di S. Maria presso S. Celso DC: Debito e Credito; GdC: Giornale di Cassa; LM: Libro Mastro; OD: Ordinanze Diverse 1583–1692; SR: Sedute Registri
ASL	*Archivio storico lombardo* (Milan, 1889–)
ASM	Archivio di Stato, Milan (p.a., parte antica; "Fondo" omitted) RCS: Registre delle cancellerie dello Stato
AVFD	Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, Milan AD: Autori diversi AS: Archivio Storico (numbers as *busto/fascicolo/documento*) MdC: Maestri di capella OC: Ordini capitolari
BA	Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
BCM	Biblioteca Capitolare e Archivio della Metropolitana, Milan DdC: Fondo Liturgico, "Diari dei cerimonieri'
BT	Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan
CEKM	Corpus of Early Keyboard Music (Neuhausen-Stuttgart)
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1962–)
DCA	*Dizionario della chiesa ambrosiana* (Milan, 1990–94)
DLA	*Dizionario di liturgia ambrosiana* (Milan, 1995)
IIMSC	Italian Instrumental Music of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries, ed. J. Ladewig (New York, 1987–95)
II.P.A.B	Istituzioni per la Pubblica Assistenza Beneficaria, Milan
ISS	Italian Secular Song, 1606–1636, ed. G. Tomlinson (New York, 1986)
New Grove II	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London, 2001)
NV	*Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, ed. Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori (Pomezia, 1977)
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
RRMB	Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era (Madison, Wis.)
RRMR	Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance (Madison, Wis.)
RSCA	*Ricerche storiche sulla chiesa ambrosiana* (Milan, 1955–74)
SdM	*Storia di Milano* (Milan, 1957–)

Partbook and voice types are abbreviated as:

C	Canto, Cantus
S	Soprano
Mz	Mezzo-soprano
A	Alto, Altus
T	Tenor, Tenore
Bar	Baritone
B	Basso, Bassus
BC	Basso continuo
Bp	Basso principale
BpO	Basso per l'organo/Bassus pro Organo
Org	Organo
Part	Partitura

Clef names use the letter/line system; pitch is designed in the Helmholtz system (middle C = *c′*).

I have not expanded the following abbreviations in documentary citations: D. (Dominus/o/i; Don); M. (molto); Ill. (Illustrissimo/a/i); R.do/i (Reverendo/i); S.r (Signore/a); Sig.a (Signoria). I have presumed the entries on the city and its composers to be found in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, rev. ed. by L. Finscher (Kassel and Stuttgart, 1994–) and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., ed. S. Sadie (New York and London, 2001).

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A NOTE ON MONEY

Most payments were made in the Milanese system, in which the *lira imperiale* (a non-metallic currency, and the normal unit of payment for salaries and the like) was divided into twenty *soldi* or 240 *denari*. Its value obviously fluctuated, but in 1610 it was worth 5.16 gr of silver. Large coins included the *scudo* and *doppia* (gold), and the *ducatone* and *filippo* (silver); the *scudo* was worth around L. 6.

To make equivalents is always difficult. By way of example, a couple who served to keep up a house and workshop for its (non-resident) owner in 1624 received a yearly wage (besides room and board) of L. 180, probably sufficient for daily living expenses in the case of a "working-class" couple without children. On the other end, a small workshop in the central parish of S. Tecla was sold in 1599 for L. 3000, a large sum. (Examples come from S. D'Amico, *Le contrade e la città,* 126 and 86.)

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Part I

SPACES AND THEIR MUSICS

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I

The Sonic Expressions of Urban Identity

Amid the surrounding sights and sounds on the afternoon of 30 November 1598, Guido Mazenta had every reason to be proud of himself and his city. Over the summer and autumn, the prefect of the paleo-Christian basilica of San Lorenzo, amateur poet, hydraulic engineer, and future civic official (*vicario della provisione*) had been involved in the design of the seven arches erected for the day along the streets leading from Milan's southern gate of Porta Romana to its cathedral. This mile-long route was to be taken by the fourteen-year-old Habsburg princess Margaret of Austria as she entered the city on her westward journey from Ferrara, where she had just been formally married *in absentia* to the new lord of Spanish Lombardy, Philip III. The union, bridging the two parts of the Habsburg realms, took on special import in light of the death two weeks previously of the emperor's father, Philip II, whose forty-year reign had stabilized the city's political situation. As always, the royal entry posed the question of the often tense relationship between ruler and ruled, and the city's districts had just finished the ritual of their formal recognition of the new Habsburg as their ruler.

The arches, each with a Latin inscription in praise of a Habsburg (or Imperial representative), began just outside the city's escarpment: the first in stone featuring a large pearl, symbolizing the queen's name "Margarita," followed by wooden ones; the second placed inside the gate of the new walls erected by Milan's governor Ferrante Gonzaga between 1549 and 1569; a third on the long Corso di Porta Romana, inside the previous city perimeter; a fourth where the Corso narrowed, between the churches of San Nazaro and San Giovanni in Conca; a fifth just outside the cathedral square (all these financed by the city); a sixth inside the Duomo's piazza; and a seventh at the doors of the cathedral (these two, in ecclesiastical urban space, funded by the Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo, its administrative board).[1] Margaret's route retraced the *via porticata* and the *cardo maximus* of Roman *Mediolanum*, and it took place on the first Monday of (Roman-rite) Advent, thus linking her entrance with both the ancient and the soteriological.

Finished within a week, the written account of the queen's entry, prefaced by Mazenta, shared the generic norms and even the turns of phrase typical of such

pamphlets. At the beginning of the entry around two o'clock, the description claimed that the staging was highlighted by the triumph of the elements over the gray Lombard autumn, resorting to a popular metaphor, the *theatrum mundi*, for the city's transfiguration:

> It seemed then that, as this new dawn [Margaret] prepared to enter, the sun also dissolved all the dark clouds, and Milan became the most spacious theater of the whole world; since such was the press of natives and foreigners who gathered to see Her Royal Majesty, and the magnificent pomp of her entry into the city, that one thought that Milan, large as it was, could not contain so many people.[2]

The entry would have taken its way slowly along the Corso, turning right into the tightly packed city center just before its end. The intersection of empire and city was evident in the number of Habsburg dominions represented in Margaret's entourage and the dozens of civic officials who greeted her. The Imperial party was headed by her new sister-in-law Isabella Clara Eugenia, archduchess of the Spanish Netherlands, and her half-brother-in-law, the archduke Albert, while the city's Senate, magistrates, and clergy were also part of the welcome. Habsburg and civic institutions also combined at the sonic announcement and punctuation of the three-hour procession, even so not long enough:

> As Her Majesty approached [Porta Romana], the castle's musicians [i.e., the Spanish garrison band] and the city's trumpeters, dressed in white and red, divided into two parts on the wall, began to play antiphonally, with long silver trumpets . . . Everyone thought that she passed too quickly . . . and wondered whether Her Majesty had sufficiently admired the due honors, the *apparati*, and the arches, or had heard the sweet consorts staffed by famous musicians who, near each arch, made the happiest name of Margaret of Austria resound with angelic voices and exquisite instruments one by one, in various songs composed to that end.[3]

At a dusk illuminated by the candles placed in all the city's windows, making the artisans' narrow streets (the *contrade*) shine as if at noon, polyphony also marked her ingress into the ceremonial heart of Milan:

> At day's end, Her Majesty also finished her voyage, and as she arrived and dismounted at the cathedral's door, she saw it so filled with people that the entire city seemed to be found inside that vast church, and nowhere else. There the *Te Deum laudamus*, along with other motets composed for the occasion, was sung by four choirs with the organs, and after receiving the blessing from Monsignor the Legate [Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini], she entered [the Duomo].[4]

The Music of an Entry

Mazenta's account reveals some of the conditions of culture and music in Milan: the interplay of secular and sacred sentiment in the ritual action; the ways in which the city itself became as a staging place (*theatrum*) for wider forces (in addition to

the theatrical entertainments that followed the entrance); the bursts of polyphony at ephemeral sites funded by long-standing urban institutions; and the symbolic importance of the sonic marking of space and passage inside the wall, capped by the performance (probably in a polyphonic setting involving all the cathedral's singers) of the *Te Deum,* the hymn believed to have been written in the city twelve hundred years before by its patron, St. Ambrose.[5] In the city's Ambrosian rite, the day was also one of the saint's three feasts (his Baptism), and the queen's entrance thus resonated with local tradition.

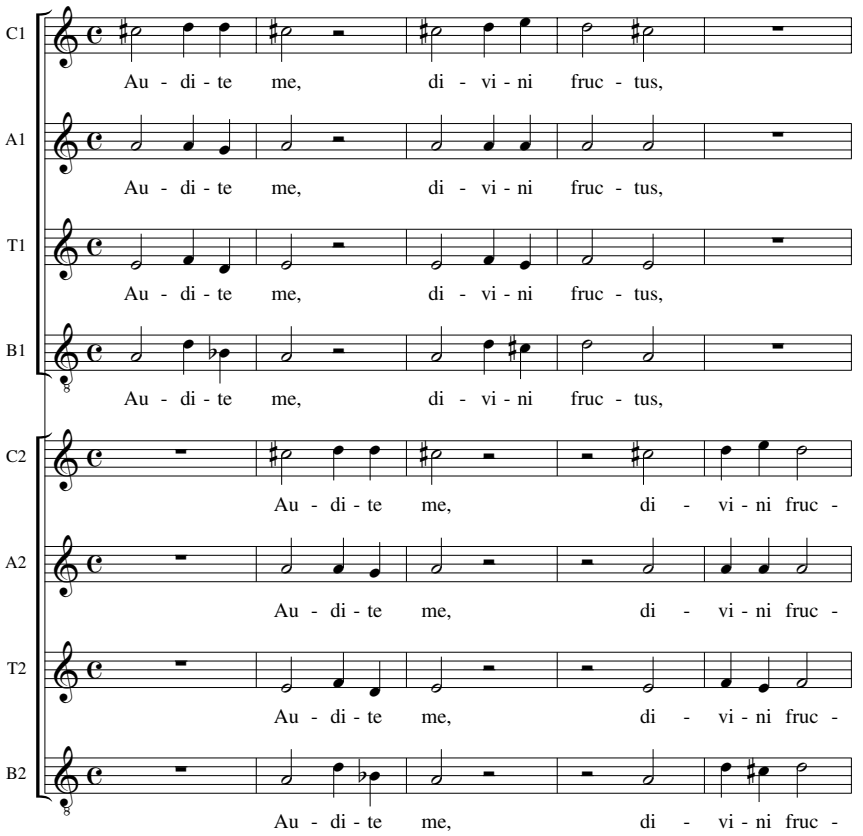
The extant musical products occasioned by Margaret's entry and subsequent two-month stay were several: the elaborate court dancing recorded in Cesare Negri's *Le gratie d'Amore* (1602), but also the printed edition of eight-voice motets for festive occasions composed by the Benedictine organist at the monastery of San Simpliciano, Serafino Cantone (ca. 1565–ca. 1630), dedicated to Margaret the following 1 January. A similar motet book by the second organist at the cathedral, Guglielmo Arnone (ca. 1570–1630), was inscribed the next summer to Albert.[6] And there was other, unpreserved, music in those days: the dances in the *contrade*'s festivities, the queen's visits to the urban Marian shrine of Santa Maria presso San Celso and its neighboring foundling hospital, and the polyphonic Vespers sung by the Franciscan nuns at San Bernardino delle Monache on 13 January in honor of the visitors.[7] The piety and artistic interests of the young princess would have led her to hear the music as not only formal sound but also fascinating samples of urban expressive culture.[8]

Cantone's edition, his *Sacrae cantiones etc. octonis vocibus*, opened with a mass modeled on Claudio Merulo's five-voice madrigal *Dalle perle e rubini*, a choice evidently due to Margaret's name as well as to the model-like nature of Merulo's elegantly crafted linear counterpoint.[9] Like the gigantic pearl emblazoned on the first of the entrance arches, the print began with an emblematic invocation of the sovereign. The most strikingly unusual motet text of Cantone's collection, *Audite me, divini fructus*, is a passage from Ecclesiasticus, previously set by no European composer, evidently alluding to the benediction of the young bride (together with Albert and Isabella) in propagating the Habsburg line: "Listen to me, divine offspring, and flourish like a rose planted by living waters; bud, you flowers, like the lily, give forth your smell of frankincense and bring forth leaves in grace; gather your song, and praise the Lord in all His works."[10]

Cantone could have found his rather obscure verses in his Benedictine congregation's breviary, part of the monastic canticle at Matins for feasts of Mary and of virgin saints; it was also chanted on the feast of the Visitation (2 July), the commemoration of another urban entrance that invoked betrothal, family, and reproduction.[11] Although the words were directly applicable to the future of Margaret, Albert, and their spouses (quite literally divine children according to medieval theories of kingship), their broader contemporary exegesis—the verses of Wisdom prophesying success and salvation for all the children of the Church—held equally for any Milanese who heard them.[12] The laudatory and optimistic spirit of the text became increasingly typical of the city's intellectual temperament for the next three decades. And its floral symbolism, a semantic field capable of connoting Marian, amatory, or martyriological meaning, would recur in many urban cultural products of the next century.

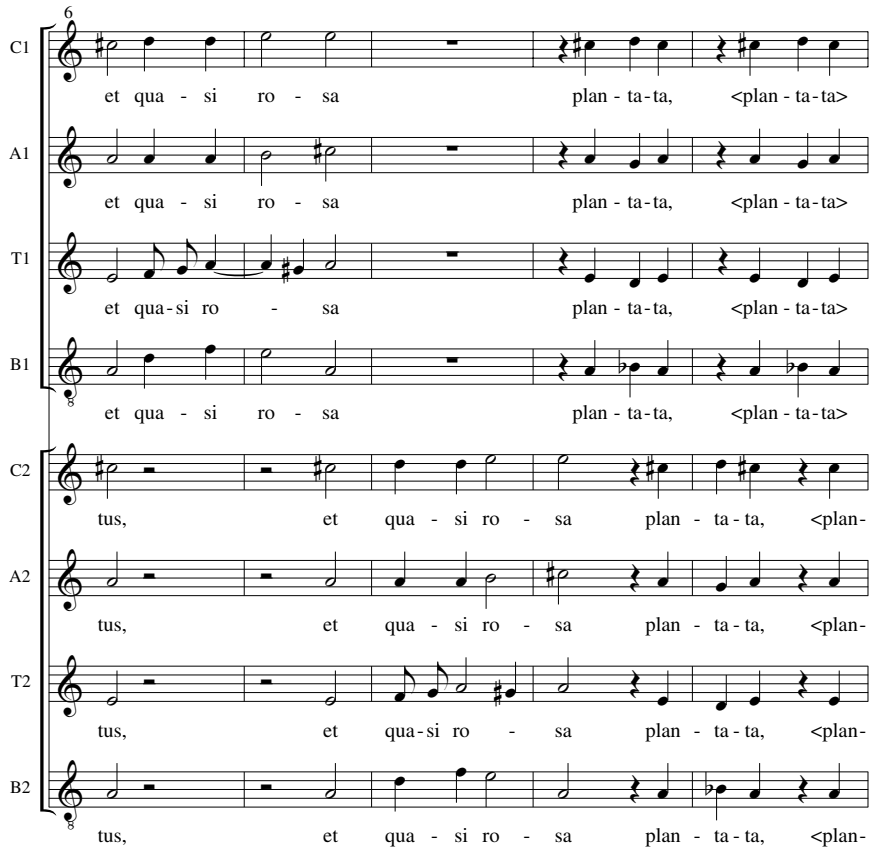
The composer's formal choice, an antiphonal instrumental canzona with the two

EXAMPLE 1.1 Serafino Cantone, *Audite me, divini fructus a 8* (1599), mm. 1–25



vocal choirs trading motives, phrases, and periods, was innovative in the genre (ex. 1.1). Cantone selected a typical mode (9), and the short phrases of the text's opening might have led him to employ a half-step *mi—fa* idea in the outer voices as a flexible declamatory module leading to the close of the exordium ("fructificate"). The canzona-like rhythm and equal musical periods would have been suggested by the accentuation of the text. The conventions of the instrumental form might also have occasioned him to omit the canticle's second verse so as to begin with two similarly structured imperatives. Thus the second, parallel command ("florete flores") was set to a variation of the opening period, as was normative in a canzona.[13] Cantone linked internal rhythmic contrast to musical referentiality with a triple-time phrase for "gather your song." The piece ended, again typically for a canzona, with a *da capo* of the opening twenty-three measures, repeating the initial imperative, changed only to cadence with an echo of the last tutti heard ("in all His works") before the return of the opening. Given the relatively static affect of the passage, Cantone's setting logically remained largely bound to its modal *finalis*, reiterating A as a cadential point of articulation repeatedly throughout the motet.

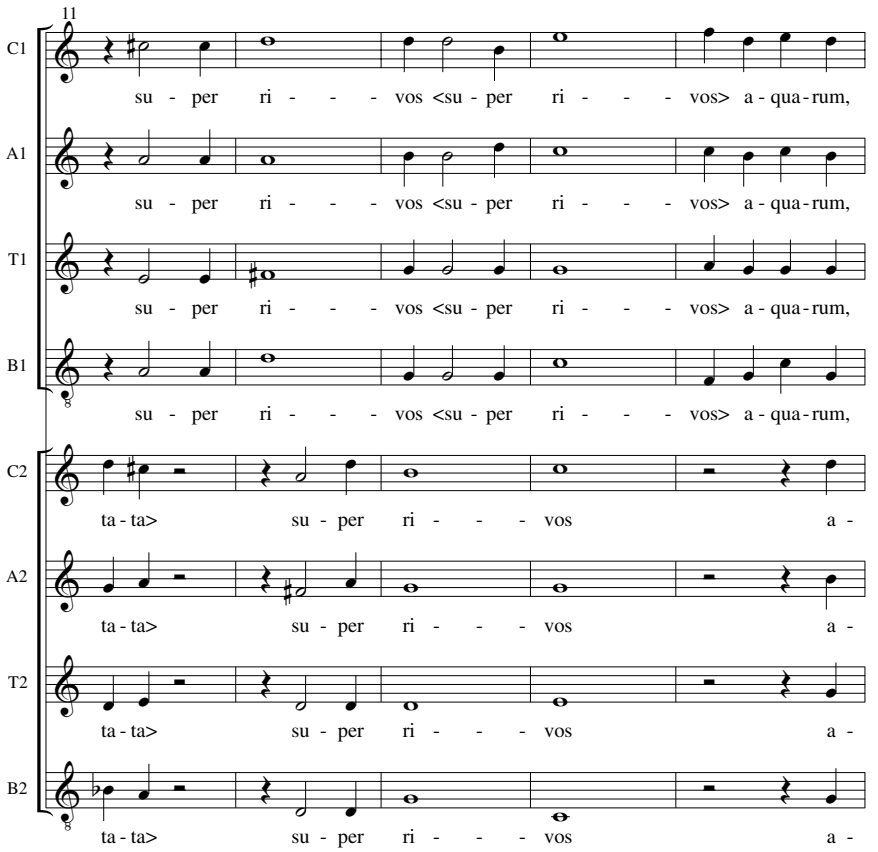
EXAMPLE 1.1 Continued



That he might have made such choices for such a public and ceremonial piece was no surprise. The free canzona had been cultivated for the preceding decade in Lombardy and the Veneto. Its secular origins had for some time migrated to festive liturgy, and during the year preceding Margaret's entrance other Milanese composers had experimented in fusing motet idioms with its procedures.[14] Cantone's differed from these latter pieces in its application of the canzona's norms to both (not just one) choirs; it thus resembled an eight-voice Magnificat which had been published in an instrumental collection two years before by his fellow Benedictine, the Bolognese Olivetan Adriano Banchieri, and the designation of Cantone's text as a canticle in the breviary underscores the similarity to the most basic example of the genre in Catholic worship. Banchieri's piece, modeled on Giovanni Gabrieli's madrigal *Lieto godea* (1587), had also used *mi—fa* gestures, employing the same cleffing, *finalis*, and da capo structure (without the textual repeat).[15]

Motets that drew upon canzona gestures appeared for the next three decades in and around Milan. In the twenty years after its publication, and far from its original

EXAMPLE 1.1 Continued

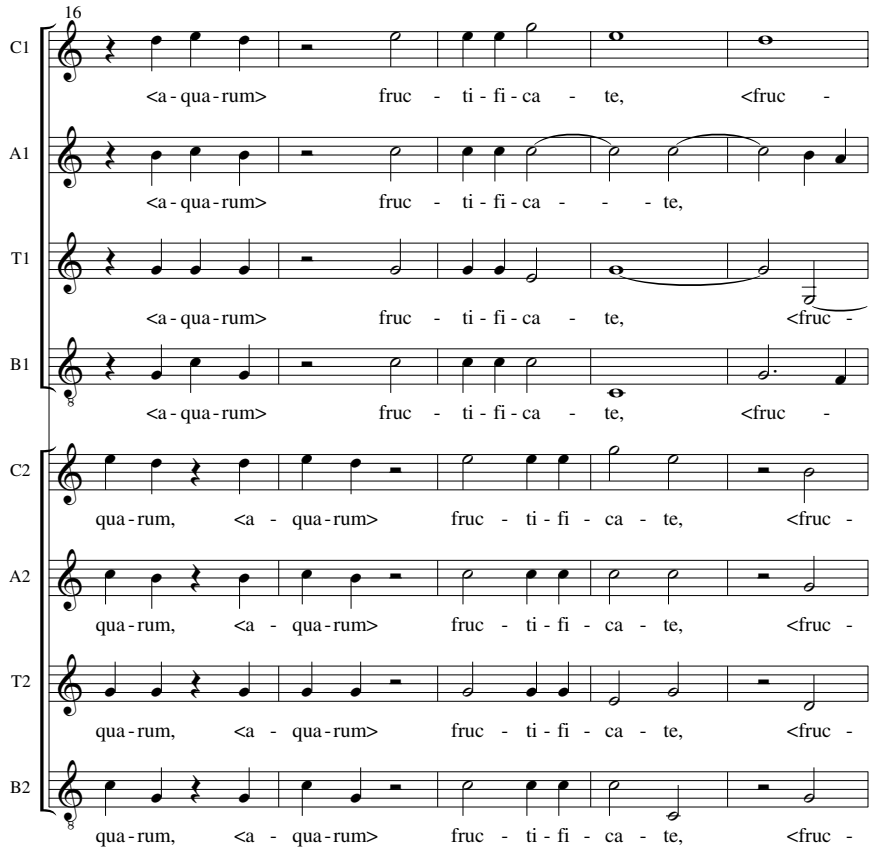


occasion, *Audite me* was reprinted in a Nuremberg anthology, copied into two South German miscellanies (one Catholic, one Lutheran) as well as into an organ tablature (minus its words), part of the circulation of some Milanese music north of the Alps.[16] Some version of its text was also set by later composers at least six times, in one case addressed to another Habsburg bride, Eleonora Gonzaga in Vienna, by Giovanni Felice Sances in 1638.[17]

Despite the nexus of cross-fertilizing genres and social meanings for sacred texts evident in Cantone's motet, the net musical results of the entrance accounts are sketchy: no trace of the madrigals in Margaret's honor, let alone of the trumpeters' flourishes, remains. And whatever else might have been that day's music for most city dwellers—the spinners, bargemen, and metalworkers who produced the wealth indirectly funding editions like Cantone's—is lost forever.

The queen herself would live only another thirteen years. But the memory of her visit, and her interest in the city, remained in urban memory. The accounts of her Milanese exequies in 1611 testify to the public grief at her passing, the occasion

EXAMPLE 1.1 Continued

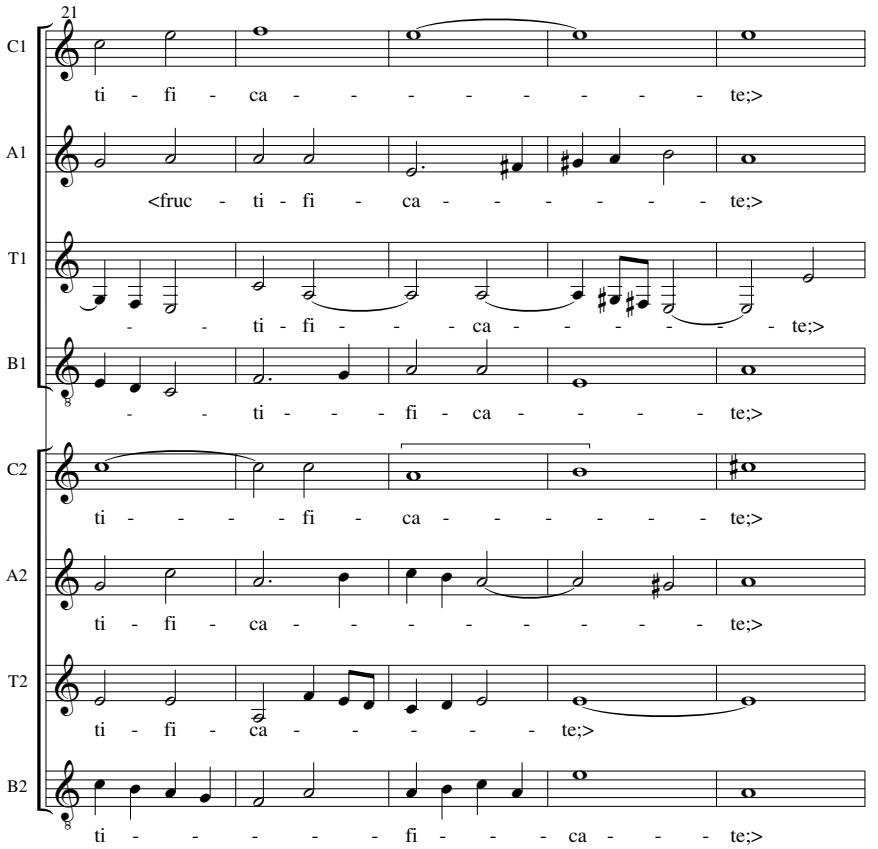


marked by the polyphonic Office of the Dead and Requiem Mass sung by the cathedral's choir, this time to escort her soul to heaven, just as in 1598 the city's musical forces had accompanied her person into Milan's heart.[18]

The Spaces of a City

The relations and structures musically highlighted in Margaret's entrance show the crucible-like nature of one European center around 1600, an interaction of place and sound central to this study. But the first obstacle to understanding urban musical practice is the striking otherness of the Milanese cityscape.[19] Even the keenest historical imagination is hard-pressed to re-create its physical appearance to travelers like the queen; most obviously the medieval core, whose buildings (notably some 215 sacred edifices) crowded up against each other.[20] Foremost was a functioning fortress (the Castello Sforzesco), its imposing exterior counterbalanced a half a mile away by

EXAMPLE 1.1 Continued



a half-finished Duomo looking more like a construction site than a cathedral, a Gothic mammoth arising unexpectedly amid a warren of artisans' workshops, noble *palazzi*, and teeming houses.[21] For the city's panegyrists, its other extraordinary edifices were devoted to sanitation or administration: two hospitals and the archbishop's residence. Its prestige from antiquity was embodied in its paleo-Christian churches.

But there were other prospects: the far greener area on the urban periphery, between the core and Gonzaga's new walls; the ubiquitous canals (*navigli*, now largely covered) that circled and infiltrated the city, linking it to the commerce of the rivers Po and Ticino; and the socially stratified districts fanning out from the Duomo, identified by one of the six main gates (clockwise from the north: Comasina, Nuova, Orientale, Romana, Ticinese, and Vercellina). The residents of each district, accompanied by the city's trumpeters and chanting clergy, brought oblations to the cathedral every summer. Each *porta* included the concentric arrangement of the *contrade*, including the teeming poor neighborhoods, home to some musicians, around the southern and northern gates. All of the districts were united by the omnipresence of ritually

demarcated areas: parish churches, stational crosses, Marian shrines, neighborhood charitable-devotional chapels (*luoghi pii*), female monasteries.[22]

Milan had its pan-urban markers as a holy city. The most obvious analogy was the miniature reproduction of Calvary in the church of San Sepolcro, 500 yards away from the Duomo's entrance, a structure that underlined the city's claim to represent Jerusalem. The stational crosses combined this general idea with local antiquity. But most prestigious was the Holy Nail, the Sacro Chiodo, preserved in a reliquary up in the cathedral's apse. Every 3 May (the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross), a cleric ascended to its resting place and brought it down; it was then carried in solemn procession to S. Sepolcro and back, remaining on the Duomo's high altar for two days in a Forty Hours' exposition. Its possession was one of the city's glories, and its liturgical celebration generated a good deal of polyphony. The various sacred sites reminded the Milanese of their place in a supernatural world order and provided loci for civic and personal identification. They would also be differentially marked by polyphony.

No seventeenth-century creation like Rome in its structure or details, Milan retained its concentric form and medieval fabric, evident in Marc'Antonio Barateri's famous map of 1629 (fig. 1.1). An actual view of the city's northern and central zones by Giovanni Lampugnani and Bernardino Bassano, dating from 1640, gives some sense of the structure provided by the major buildings (fig. 1.2). At the center were the dual edifices of ecclesiastical and temporal prestige, the Duomo and the ducal palace; but much of the city's activity (not least its music) radiated outward into the *contrade*. Like other premodern centers, the city consisted of layers of variably organized space, and the sonic composition of these spaces was a distinct part of their identity.

A Place and Its History

From prints, maps, and urban panegyrics we can gain some idea of Milan's visual appearance, which changed little in the century after the completion of the new walls. It is harder to re-create the aural world of a city dweller at a given moment: amid the slow spread of polyphony in the late Cinquecento, at the beginning of archbishop Federigo Borromeo's tenure;[23] or in the urban self-assertion for the canonization of the most famous Milanese in modern times, Federigo's cousin and predecessor Carlo, and Borromeo's opening of the Ambrosiana Library, around 1610; or after the ideological dislocation of the plague years 1630–31. Both the context and structures of works by city composers—men and women such as Orfeo Vecchi (ca. 1551–1603), Giovanni Paolo Cima (ca. 1570–ca. 1630), Claudia Rusca (ca. 1593–1676), or Michelangelo Grancini (ca. 1605–69)—are little known today, thus rendering the perception of novelty more difficult. In an overall perspective, the places of musical creation must have borne some relation to the symbolic hierarchy of urban sites, but they were also far from coextensive.

The city's strategic importance in Europe was doubted by few. On his Italian journey Montaigne both overestimated Milan's population and recognized its centrality to peninsular power.[24] Spanish officials called it simply the "llave de Italia."

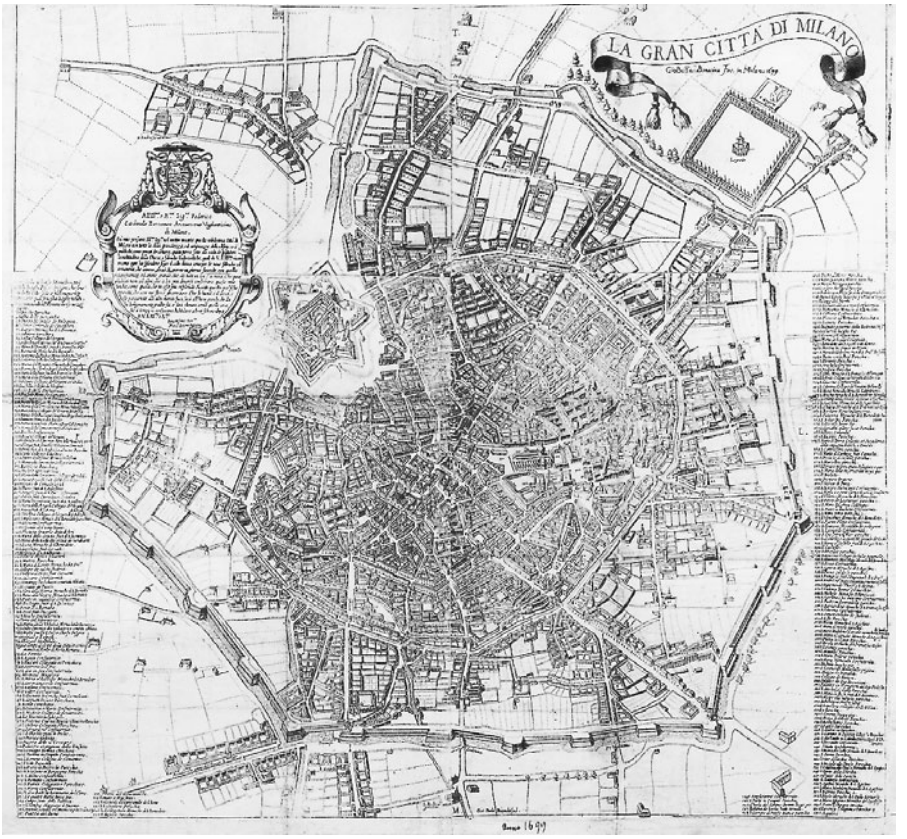


FIGURE 1.1 Marc'Antonio Baratieri, *Plan of Milan*, 1629 (by permission of Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "A. Bertarelli," Milan)

At several points, its inhabitants surpassed 100,000 and it continued to hold its historic place as the fulcrum between Italy and the north.[25] Despite upheavals, urban life flourished, rebounding after the economic depression of the mid-1580s and again after the contagion of 1629–31.[26] It thus usually ranked about third among the five Italian "super-cities" (in 1600, it was seventh among all European centers).[27] Given its political status, it also seemed to share many features with Naples, an idea developed in a manuscript comparison of the two cities by the Milanese patrician Giacobo Valeri, dedicated to its archbishop Cesare Monti in 1635.[28]

Though far from Rome's stature, the Lombard capital still partook of several aspects of the standard anthropological typology of early modern European cities: it was a place of ritual and prestige (evident in its local liturgy and its position as the "key to Italy" for the north); it housed important trade and manufacture, and was thus a hinge for its overwhelmingly rural hinterland; and it was a vital administrative post for both its Spanish Habsburgs and their clan, the Austrians of the Holy Roman Empire.[29] The value of its characteristics was evident in the fame of its textiles but also its religious structures, and even in the renown of its musical nuns.

FIGURE 1.2 G. B. Lampugnani, *View of Milan*, 1640 (by permission of Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "A. Bertarelli," Milan)

Recent historical studies have revised the nineteenth-century view of the city's double oppression by Spanish rule and ecclesiastical tyranny, although certain legends, such as that of Borromean omnipotence, have died hard.[30] The Iberian governor and grand chancellor both exercised control through local officials and cooperated with the traditional institutions: the patrician Senate, the *magistrato straordinario*, the *vicario di provvisione*, and the two councils of the decurions and the *Giureconsulti*.[31] The city's economic growth into the early Seicento, and more difficult times thereafter, were mediated by a delicate political arrangement among the local patriciate, the governor appointed by Madrid, and the archdiocese, the last with enormous temporal influence. Rather than a simple two- or three-party antagonism or alliance, however, the multiplicity of urban authority is evident; polysided disputes over legal jurisdiction, church benefices, and the devotional expression of piety marked much of Federigo's tenure.[32] As a result, Church-State conflicts and ecclesiastical politics are more familiar than is the patrician world.[33]

For music, these power-sharing strategies in the city resulted in a multiplicity of possibilities for patronage, and a means to survive the crises, great and small, that marked the seeming stasis of Spanish rule. The major events in the city's history are well known. At the beginning, it rebounded from the plague of 1576, and the succeeding decades saw economic and cultural vitality. But the War of the Mantuan Succession (1612) and the ongoing drain of Spanish power in the Low Countries began to undermine prosperity. And the State of Milan's involvement in the Thirty Years War, including French/Savoyard attacks, the repeat of the Mantuan conflict, and the second plague of 1630, led to greater problems. After the second contagion, the city came back to life, culminating in a momentary break in the hostilities after the Treaty of Westphalia at the end of our period.[34]

To sample urban cultural products of this time suggests, on one hand, a shared transcendent, religious, and hierarchical worldview of its castes and classes, in which city dwellers all partook of some sort of Milanese identity that reinforced their position as Catholics, feudal subjects, and dialect speakers. But the seeming unity was deeply contested, as even the briefest exposure to the documentary evidence highlights the disagreements over social articulation, political power-sharing, and even the use of polyphony in the female monasteries. The concentration of conflict and accord in one place thus raises the issue of whether there were urban qualities to the music stronger than the contemporary characterization of individuals on the basis of their birthplace, not their adult residences: namely, the ways in which the city's institutions, norms, and culture catalyzed polyphony at given points.

In light of such conflicts and commonalities, the revisionist historiography of urban decline both helps and complicates a new view of the city's music. One approach has chronicled economic growth and decline, attacking "refeudalization" theories of property relations; but musical life, while subject to economic fluctuations, does not seem to correlate directly, except in the most extreme cases, with such trends.[35] Another has accentuated the diffusion, alliances, and strategies of political power in the State of Milan, but has not yet reached the question of how culture might have fit into such collaboration.[36] A third has highlighted the flourishing of religious life and expression, while still concentrating on the centrality of the two

Borromeos, often presuming a strongly harmonious and apolitical character of popular sacred culture, ideas simply not present in the surviving evidence.[37] The city's music partook of a wide range of "high" and "low" styles and genres, and thus all these aspects bear on its flourishing.

Many preserved records of cultural activity—literary academies, painting and music in churches, theatrical entertainments in palaces—are due to members, lay or religious, of patrician or wealthy commercial families. Equally vital, but now almost irretrievable, were the expressive means of merchants, artisans, and laborers, who continued the city's tradition of silk, wool, and metalwork production, and its central role for agriculture and trade. But, as several cases of repertories studied below indicate, the division between patrician and popular culture was not pronounced; influences and borrowings ran in both directions. Although the musics existed in the same city, the various spaces of Milan hosted different styles and genres, and individuals experienced (and created) sound along a continuum from chant to traditional song to complex polyphony.

Music in Its Place

Mazenta's account of one central moment in urban self-enactment suggests that music might have carried a considerable specific weight among the media of communication and symbolic figuration, one not reducible to simple parallels with the other arts. Beyond the mute testimony of prints, paintings, and panoramas, urban culture both "high" and "low" was, in important ways, vocal.

The most obvious case in which the sounds of the city were made into an object of art was the polyphonic setting of the calls of the olive-oil and *acquavita* sellers in the market of the Verziere behind the Duomo, along with the ubiquitous washerwomen and chimney sweeps in Grancini's *Capriccio sopra le arti milanesi* of 1646).[38] But even more vitally, in an era of limited literacy (even among some musicians), the propagation of the words (not exactly "texts" in a literary sense) and actions central to society's self-understanding occurred largely through sound: preaching, fanfares, chant, and polyphony. For the city's population, daily and sacral time itself was marked by the pealing of the bells and the chanting of Marian antiphons in several churches at dusk. Music-making seems to have been far more common than the amount of the surviving repertory would indicate, and the activity itself placed the musician, amateur or professional, in touch with the divinely created order of the cosmos in a way unique to the art. Although the surviving musical evidence is largely comprised of composed and notated polyphony, improvisation played an important role in all repertories. The sonic projection of the belief systems which informed Milan was of great importance in the expression of urban ideology, although (in some cases for good reason) its practice often lacked the international renown of Rome or Venice, with the notable exception of music in the female monasteries. In his encomium of the famed singer Claudia Sessa (ca. 1575–ca. 1617), a Lateran Canoness nun at Santa Maria Annunciata, the South Netherlands rhetorician and temporary resident Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646) adduced her performances as a mark

of the worth of vocal music, dating back to antiquity.[39] For Federigo and many others, the singing of such women was perhaps the highest form of music and prayer in the city.[40]

The question, then, is not so much one of the musical production of ideology as it is of the ways in which chant and polyphony encapsulated and symbolized the belief system of the city's residents. The civic character of music rested, on the most superficial levels, on the sonic markers unique to or characteristic of the city (Ambrosian chant, nuns' choirs) and, on a more structural plane, on its power to impart affect and meaning to texts and symbolic action, an activity for which the distinction between sacred and secular is largely meaningless.[41]

The production, distribution, and interpretation of the repertory were essentially social. The devotion of the city's inhabitants and the formative role of ecclesiastical institutions combined to produce a surviving repertory consisting largely of Latin-texted ritual or para-ritual polyphony for the Office, Mass, or private devotion; its existence must reflect a need for the polyphonic expression of such sentiment. Far fewer vernacular pieces, for courtly entertainment, domestic singing, or spiritual recreation, have been transmitted, although it would be a mistake to conclude that proportionally less of such music was to be heard. Although there are references to systems and occasions of stage music, the subject of excellent recent study, the musical components of the surviving theatrical repertory are fugitive until the performance of Cavalli's *Giasone* in 1649.[42] Afterwards, the documentation becomes clearer.[43]

With the exception of musicians attached to the band of the governor's court, almost every composer in this study held a church appointment, full- or part-time.[44] The production of the city's music presses was comprised in good part by sacred works. Yet, far from reflecting the tyranny of an omnipotent and monolithic church hierarchy (an idea not really applicable even to the editions associated with the Duomo), a variety of social and devotional accents is evident, and it is misleading to separate sacred music from the differentiated urban world that produced it. Indeed, the competition for audiences and prestige among the shrines would increasingly be expressed in musical attractions.

The intellectual economy of the city also influenced its production of music. Milan's cultural output, if not always original, was often far-reaching in its hinterlands: the distribution of words provided on the one hand by the presses and on the other by the city's training institutes for rhetoric, the Palatine Schools and the diocesan seminary. Within the broader framework of the local printing industry, Milanese music publishing grew from total eclipse after the 1576 plague to become the second in Italy, producing some 320 editions between 1583 and 1651, largely for a regional market in Lombardy, Piedmont, and Liguria. Composers working in the city were responsible for 135 of these (of which 112 survive), and they also had fifty-three (forty-eight survive) produced in Venice.[45] The musical repertory was propagated by three firms, with two functioning simultaneously for much of the period: the Tini family (active 1585–1612) and their later partner Filippo Lomazzo (1603–30), but also Agostino Tradate (1598–1612) and Giorgio Rolla (1619–51).[46] Most of the music survives only in printed editions (with the important exception of the Duomo's repertory in the 1630s and 1640s), thus at first glance evincing more universal norms of presentation and less evidence for the site-specific origin of pieces.[47]

Over time, the city became an irreplaceable site for music, its ensembles not to be found in the extra-urban institutions of the diocese, while the interchange of genres, the spread of texts to be set, or the printed propagation of the repertory were unthinkable outside the walls. Inside them, musicians living in the poor and crowded neighborhoods of Porta Ticinese and Porta Romana, like the ducal chapel singer Fabio Varese (ca. 1570–1630), or Riccardo Rognoni and his sons Giovanni Domenico (ca. 1574–1622) and Francesco (ca. 1588–ca. 1630), met, interacted, learned, and fought, the careers of these men thus reflecting a musical urbanization.[48] The differing sonic environments—both acoustically and in terms of repertory—of the churches, monasteries, and palaces of the city provided an aural counterpoint to the symbolic hierarchy of prestigious sites in the city, but the musically renowned institutions did not necessarily coincide with the famous places noted by visitors and panegyrists.

This study commences just after 1580, a time of ends and beginnings: the start of a brief economic depression, the departure of the cathedral's choirmaster Pietro Ponzio (1582), and the death of its archbishop Carlo Borromeo (and its organist Giuseppe Caimo, both in 1584). In particular, the loss of Caimo on 6 May 1584, while in his mid-thirties, seemed a setback to the city's musical life.[49] But the following years marked new initiatives: the waning of the future saint's most restrictive policies against polyphony in the city, starting already under his chosen successor Gaspare Visconti (in office 1585–94); the reestablishment of music publishing; a new *maestro* at the cathedral from 1583, Giulio Cesare Gabussi (ca. 1555–1611); and the spread of genres secular and sacred to the palaces and parishes of patricians and producers.[50]

Federigo Borromeo's ascent to the see in 1595 roughly coincided with the institutionalization of, and increase in, polyphony in the city, in part due to his own aesthetic liberalism.[51] The growth of music paralleled other cultural trends, especially the production of painters influenced by both the new classical realism of the Carracci and by the two-generation-old legacy of Mannerism. After 1590, a first set of artists from the Campi and Luini families, along with Ambrogio Figino, was supplanted by the Procaccini (Camillo, Carlo Antonio, Giulio Cesare) from Bologna.[52] The other major painters of the new century—Il Cerano (Giovanni Battista Crespi), Il Morazzone (Pier Francesco Mazzuchelli), joined later by the two Fiammenghini brothers (Giovanni Mauro and Giovanni Battista della Rovere) and Daniele Crespi—had numerous commissions in urban shrines and palaces. Some of their works were produced for the very churches employing the singers and composers who were creating this study's repertory. Thus Milanese churches' preexistent and new decoration, embodying and channeling urban devotion, might well have related to the music (especially motets) sounding around it.[53]

The architectural neoclassicism evident in numerous ecclesiastical buildings of Carlo's era by Martino Bassi and Pellegrino Tibaldi was first modified and then replaced by the next generation, primarily Aurelio Trezzi, Fabio Mangone, and Francesco Maria Ricchino.[54] And the literary output of the city, although largely unknown, was by no means uninteresting. It included the tragicomedies produced in the Brera college or the theatrical works for the ducal palace in the years around 1620, between Federico Della Valle's arrival in Milan and Emanuele Tesauro's first experiments. Epideictic rhetoric was produced in churches, city schools, and the academies (e.g., the Inquieti) by rhetoricians such as Puteanus and Aquilino Coppini (both of whom

had important connections to music), and by poets (the musically trained Girolamo Borsieri). The literary tastes of the city reflected classicizing preferences (G. B. Guarini, Gabrielo Chiabrera) as well as some of the newer Marinist trends around 1620. The anagrams, emblems, and literary conceits of the new century had important manifestations in the city, and some of their underlying structures turned out to resound in the music as well.[55]

The relative tranquility and artistic productiveness of the turn of the century fostered the idea, revived by such urban panegyricists as the indefatigable Gesuato friar Paolo Morigia, that Milan was a second Rome, a former capital of the Empire (in which Christianity had been legalized in 313) boasting its own four early basilicas (Sant'Ambrogio, S. Lorenzo, San Nazaro, and S. Simpliciano), and a special place as a bulwark of Catholicism.[56] In 1627, the cathedral cleric Giovanni Battista Villa extended this claim, based on such analogies as the seven stational churches (the basilicas, the Duomo, Santo Stefano in Brolio, and San Vittore al Corpo) symbolically circumscribing the capital, together with the age and priority of the Ambrosian tradition and the city's role in the empire ancient and modern.[57] The interest in Christian antiquity was sparked also by Federigo's own Roman experiences before 1595, and gave some of the background to musical thought; it also provided occasions for sanctoral devotion that also had musical reflections. Some of Milan's own historiographers produced accounts of the city's ancient and paleo-Christian events and surviving monuments, efforts that took on particular importance in the early seventeenth century with the codification of Ambrosian rite and the reaffirmation of a local tradition.[58]

The Benchmarks of Culture

For all the continuity of urban structures and ideology, Milan was a somewhat different place three generations after 1585. To understand change, it is important to sort out the broader philosophical turns whose reflections were felt and heard in Milan, ranging from Pythagorean experiments to new devotional expression. Although the structural and economic shifts had a vital impact on music, the role of individual agency in catalyzing new genres or new ways to approach old genres cannot be overlooked, and several musical junctures highlight the role of key collections or pieces. The idea of the city's musical space broaches broader problems: the balance between social order and affective participation in urban ceremony; the sonic projection of royal or sanctoral presence in the city; and the role that polyphony or chant actually played in the thaumaturgic or transformative effects of such partially prescribed action.[59]

But only to trace the function of motets and madrigals as expressions of ideology, palimpsests of power relations, would be to miss the sonic evidence for the mental structures of that world. The musical analyses take as their points of departure several ideas. Although theory and practice were changing in this period, the most cogently conceived and executed pieces make absolute aural sense in terms of the aesthetic priorities and musical systems of their time and place. Second, music seems not to have been considered as being exactly synonymous with literary texts. The importance

of contemporary rhetoric is underscored by the anti-Petrarchan turn of late cinquecento theorists of sacred literature like Gabriele Fiamma, whose formulations were themselves changed at the hands of Giambattista Marino and his followers in the first decades of the new century. Although few settings of sacred vernacular poetry have survived, still the theoretical trends in religious literature provide a guide to composers' selection and treatment of Latin texts as well.[60] The few contemporary descriptions of music's effects, some from Federigo's pen, seem to presume that the art had its own logic, different from that of painting or poetry.[61] The idiosyncratic theorist Giovanni Battista Magone in Pavia considered persuasion, the goal of rhetoric, to be shared with music.[62]

For sacred music, one point of comparison is the north Italian sermon. Every citizen heard at least one of these a week; the most famous orators, such as the Milanese Franciscan Francesco Panigarola (1548–94), enthralled thousands, and there were numerous printed collections of the form. Unlike other literary genres, sermons shared two features with polyphony: they were primarily acts of virtuoso performance (the structure of which was written down before or after in stylized form), and they were geared toward the projection of a sacred text to a specific audience, with both arts occurring often in the same service.[63] The seventeenth century witnessed a notable change in their style, evident in the deployment of parataxis, syntactic displacement, and grammatical inversions in the works of the Milanese Paolo Aresi (1574–1644) and the Comascan Emanuele Orchi (ca. 1600–49). The most extended example of the new rhetoric is found in three lengthy, spectacularly virtuoso sermons never meant to be spoken, Marino's 1614 *Dicerie sacre*.[64]

The second plague of 1630–31, followed by Federigo's death and Pope Urban VIII's selection of Cesare Monti as archbishop, formed a cultural caesura which allowed a new generation around 1640 to develop artistic tendencies only latent in Borromeo's years: literary *concettismo*, dramatic pictorial styles (Ercole Procaccini the younger, Carlo Francesco Nuvolone, Francesco Cairo, Melchiorre Gherardini), and extended musical procedures based on repetition and asymmetry.[65] The efflorescence of devotion found largely artistic expression: sanctoral feasts, triumphs of the Madonna, the processions of urban confraternities, Passiontide events such as the Spanish *entierro*, and the marking of liturgical time by theatrical or musical works. Combined with this was a newly personalized spirituality, characterized by charismatic leaders and holy women, an emphasis on internal illumination, and the individual relationship between believer and Christ.[66]

Nor did the musical settings represent only their creators' personalities. A musician's world was full of models, standard patterns, and generic norms, ranging from the melodic reminiscences of chant to the phrases of classic madrigals. Even some of the most original composers employed *imitatio* in their works. The values embedded in the words, sacred or secular, were by definition social. Although individuals developed characteristic ways to approach tradition, their works show the interplay between formal conventions and generational changes cutting across genres, and pieces bore not only private meaning but also more common cultural perspectives.[67]

This study ends around 1650 at another juncture of social and musical trends: the reestablishment of European equilibrium and a temporary lull in the Franco-Spanish hostilities that for twenty years had threatened the very survival of the State

of Milan; the flurry of cultural activity surrounding another entry of a Habsburg princess, namely the visit in summer 1649 of Philip IV's new bride, Maria Anna of Austria; the deaths a year later of Monti and the Duomo's *maestro* Antonio Maria Turati (ca. 1604–50); the end of Rolla's music printing; and, although no one could have foreseen it, a return to social, intellectual, and musical conflict reminiscent of Carlo Borromeo's era, due largely to the reactionary turn of the new archbishop, Alfonso Litta.

The Place of Devotion

Local practice was reenacted on a daily basis in most churches of the diocese, as, unlike most in the post-Tridentine Catholic world, it officiated in its own ancient liturgy, the Milanese (Ambrosian) rite that Carlo had fought hard to preserve. Mass and Divine Office differed notably from Roman practice, with important implications for music.[68] And the Ambrosian chant dialect continued in use, at least in the cathedral, parishes, and a few churches of religious orders. Carlo's role as model bishop underscored the city's place as the see of the most populous diocese in Catholic Europe. Local sacred polyphony flowered in the context of a spontaneous and increasingly variegated wave of popular religious sentiment among all classes in northern Italy. Although prelates or governors could attempt to regulate the public expression of such devotion, still the traditions and support of local institutions allowed for a far wider range of daily practice than the printed rules, liturgical books, or gubernatorial edicts suggest. Carlo's Romanizing centralization plans, evident also in his founding of new monasteries and charitable institutions, had barely modified the city's topography; more significant were the prelate's attempts to refashion ecclesiastical institutions and to redefine many aspects of urban life as public and thus subject to episcopal regulation.[69] But as improbable as it might have seemed in the late 1570s, the long-term effects on music turned out to be far more modest.

This result was due not least to the devotional currents shaping individuals' piety: an official emphasis on personal prayer, and on the internal visualization of Passion mysteries or other images; and an upturn, only seemingly contradictory, in public events such as processions, funerals, and the coronation of Marian images.[70] Federigo was particularly devoted to the Virgin, and Milan witnessed dramatic growth in the number and nature of events honoring her, and much of the city's symbolic action revolved around her figure. In 1655, the Capuchin preacher Ignazio da Carnago equated her with a "city of refuge" for sinners. In contemporary perception, the Lombard capital was the most Marian of any Italian city. Three of its major institutions for polyphony—the cathedral (Santa Maria Nascente), S. Maria della Scala, and S. Maria presso S. Celso, not to mention twenty-nine other foundations—were dedicated to the Virgin.[71] She and the Eucharist were the main devotional objects of the numerous confraternities, generally attached to the parishes, and promoted strongly by Carlo Borromeo.[72]

Civic devotion and political ritual also raise questions of personal identification and social belief, for instance music's underlining the special nature of 15 August

(Assumption) for the Milanese who flocked that day into S. Maria presso S. Celso, showing special devotion to the altar of its miraculous Marian image and statue. What fueled the cult of local martyrs such as Sts Nazarius and Celsus or Gervasius and Protasius, not to mention Milan's patron Ambrose, commemorated by altarpieces, annual processions, and motets? And how did polyphony contribute to the city's enactment of its hierarchies, unity, and self-conceptualization?

To be sure, specifically urban ideology was evident in the context, as some rituals (the Forty Hours' adoration of the Eucharist) had had their origins in the city and were a necessarily civic practice. Processions, regular (for Corpus Christi) or extraordinary (to counter the plague), traced some of the routes of sacred geography, and usually began or ended with sung polyphony.[73] The city was also a site for the transcendent; sanctioned or discouraged by the archdiocesan curia, miracles occurred with some regularity. The reported cases include the weeping Marian image at the Lateran Canons' church of Santa Maria della Passione in 1590, the wonders worked by Carlo Borromeo's clothes, and the intercession of medieval *beate*.[74] Indeed, Milan itself prefigured the Heavenly Jerusalem, immanently in the 132 sanctoral bodies, 119 saintly heads, and 2,880 other relics that Morigia dutifully tallied among the churches' holdings.[75] The polyphonic repertory flowered only in a profoundly sacral place.

Milan coexisted as *urbs* and as *civitas*, on one hand the architectonic structures incorporating historical layers reaching back to the Roman and paleo-Christian city, and on the other the community of living *milanesi* united by custom, dialect, and not least religion. One of Grancini's motets, set for the symbolic number of seven voices and written in strict archaizing style ("da capella") for the extraordinary services ordered to counter the 1630 plague, recalled a medieval liturgical text invoking the apocalyptic city, one that had been placed at the portico of the church of Corvey. Closer to home, it also echoed a penitential antiphon chanted in Milan's streets every spring during the three-day Lesser Litanies: "Enclose our city, Lord, and let your angels guard it; mercifully hear its people who cry and mourn to you. We have sinned, and all tribulations have come upon us. You are good, o Lord, have mercy on us, and grant relief to your people."[76]

Local Prestige and Foreign Relations

The breakdowns, such as the plague, underscore the ways in which daily reality gainsaid the completeness of the urban symbolic system. Despite the panegyric claims, the city was no Rome, politically or culturally. Even small problems—Duomo singers who missed services, physical fights among organists, unpaid ducal musicians—showed some of the difficulties of music. The accounts of foreign residents and visitors often omitted any mention whatsoever of polyphony except in the female monasteries, while the number of the city's composers whose works transcended local bounds, to judge from the reprinting of pieces in anthologies and the ownership of editions outside the publishing market, was limited. In a first generation, there were Vecchi, Gabussi, and Cima; later, Ignazio Donati (ca. 1567–1638), Giovanni Battista Ala (ca. 1598–1630), Francesco Della Porta (ca. 1604/14–67), and Chiara Margarita

Cozzolani (1602–ca. 1677). The provincial quality of some repertory may be traced as far back as the Bavarian resident's negative comments on music in 1571.[77] Still, some of the pieces considered here display such compositional logic and patent connection to ideology as to transcend routine in their own time and to warrant evaluation after four hundred years.

For all its local traditions, the city was not isolated. Composers, singers, and theorists moved among the Italian states. Theatrical troupes brought plays and music from Venice or Florence to Milan.[78] And Federigo's personal network of patronage and support extended not only throughout the peninsula but also to Catholic Germany and the Spanish Netherlands via Puteanus. The connections of both Federigo and Monti to Rome were strong, and at crucial junctures some of its musical models would be important in the local repertory, as they were in liturgy, art, and architecture.[79] At the beginning of the period, reprints, ornamentation treatises, and publications of musical contrafacts reproduced or transformed a series of model works by European figures (Palestrina, Lassus) or north Italians (Andrea Gabrieli, Claudio Merulo).[80] Closer to home, singers from S. Maria presso S. Celso and the Duomo hired themselves out to neighboring cities on special occasions, while composers in Genoa and Turin (Simone Molinaro, Sigismondo d'India, Enrico Radesca) had editions published in the Lombard capital. Thus the overall picture undercuts the idea of the city as an island of conservative musical idiolects, a concept shared in modern times by both local panegyric historiography and traditional accounts centered on Florence, Rome, and Venice, and a view paralleling earlier criticism of regional painting. Evidently, by analogy to the visual arts, most of the scarce musical historiography has posited, implicitly or explicitly, a "Lombard" or "Milanese" school of composition.

Some of the closest ties, however, were to the other centers of court and religious ritual nearby. Important cities for music were located inside the State of Milan: Cremona, Lodi just twenty miles south, ancient (and very Borromean) Pavia, or Novara (whose cathedral hosted influential composers from Michele Varotto [ca. 1540–97] to Gasparo Casati [ca. 1610–ca. 1640]). Further afield, the Via Emilia, the road down to the Adriatic, was ascended by a series of cathedral musicians, first from Bologna (Gabussi and his deputy Damiano Scarabelli), then from the Marches (the two choirmasters of the cathedral after Gabussi, Vincenzo Pellegrini [ca. 1560–1630], and the extremely talented Donati, a composer of European importance), also traversing Parma, the home of Arnone's and Cima's teacher Merulo.

The dynastic courts with real influence in Milan were the neighbors: the various Gonzaga branches of Mantua and, to a lesser degree, the Savoyards of Turin. Both maintained close relations with Carlo Borromeo, while the former stayed in political alliance with the Spanish and played a role in Milanese cultural politics, not least by their frequent visits (probably including Monteverdi, thus reinforcing the composer's ties to the city).[81] The contacts with the Gonzaga resulted in musical dedications: Arnone's 1600 madrigals, Vecchi's third book of masses (1602), or the third volume (1609) of Coppini's madrigal contrafact series, devoted exclusively to Monteverdi's works. Given the weakness of the governor's court in artistic production, the Gonzaga's political alignment with Milan, and some parallels between the two centers (local liturgy emphasized by music, patrician family saints, anti-absolutist urbanism), a symbolic prestige exchange, in which Milanese musicians sought the support of a

"real" court while the Gonzaga gained spiritual renown from the Lombard capital, seems to have been at work.

Connections ran northward as well; expatriate musicians like the former cathedral singer Giovanni Battista Bonometti (ca. 1585–1627) brought their talents and repertory to Austria.[82] A few pieces, like *Audite me*, were picked up by German editors and reprinted in the first three decades of the seventeenth century. Coppini sent his third contrafact book to Puteanus in Louvain, noting Monteverdi's broader-scale musical effects, the need to beat time while singing, and once again, as he had remarked in the preface to the second book of 1608, the remarkable power over the affects found in the madrigals.[83] Later on, some of his texts were set independently of their original music by Milanese and Bolognese composers a generation later.[84]

Ties with Poland started with two dedications by the organist of S. Maria presso S. Celso, Gasparo Costa, to two brothers, Jerzy and Szymon, of the Olelkowicz family from Słuck (Slutsk), the latter of whom had been in Italy and converted to Roman Catholicism in the late 1570s. Costa's 1581 book of motets and spiritual madrigals was inscribed to Jerzy, evidently a move in an (ultimately partially successful) conversion campaign orchestrated by the nuntio in Poland.[85] Later, Crown Prince Władisław Wasa's visit to Milan in 1624 included numerous hearings of church music, and indirectly occasioned Lomazzo's dedication of the urban motet anthology *Flores praestantissimorum virorum* (1626) to a famous young singer in Gdańsk, Constantia Czirenberg (1605–53). The reception of one Milanese composer in Poland is found in the 120 motets by Vecchi, along with canzonas from Lomazzo's *Seconda aggiunta* anthology (1617), copied by Cistercians into the Pelplin Organ Tablature in the 1630s.[86]

Relations with Spain were more complex than might appear from the scarce presence of Iberian figures in the printed works, as the centrality of the Empire was all the more crucial for Milan. In 1600, the violinist and composer Stefano Limido was brought to Madrid, possibly at Margaret's behest, for court festivities; Spanish songbooks and panegyric texts in the city suggest further musical interactions.[87] Still, recent studies of Spanish dominions elsewhere have underscored how little Imperial power was concerned with centralizing or standardizing local culture, and this autochthonous approach undergirds the employment of composers even at S. Maria della Scala, the stronghold of Spanish opposition to archiepiscopal power.[88]

The political relations raise other issues for power and polyphony. Artistic production flourished due to the patricians who directly or indirectly funded such activity, in the case of music, often the dedicatees of printed editions. For all that the era has been viewed as dominated by the two Borromeos, most commissions actually took place without any intervention at all by Carlo, or even the far more culturally minded Federigo. The painting, architecture, and music at the cathedral were under the control of the Fabbrica, which did not necessarily agree with the archbishop; even freer were the male and female religious houses. Much of the art on public display, visually or aurally, was completely independent of any prelate's aesthetics, and caution is in order as to the degree to which patrons' support reflected conscious stylistic turns as opposed to merely personal or purely accidental links.

To detail how the city provided the context for polyphony is obvious; to determine the possibility of specifically Milanese traits in compositional procedures or

genres, features that might provide a sonic sign for place, is a taller order. Beyond the music's function there loom larger issues: the possibility of shared aesthetic approaches in different arts, or the relationship between humanistic speculative thought in the city and compositional practice.

Paralleling the alterity of the physical cityscape, the answers are rendered difficult by the unfamiliarity of the local repertory. The music has languished under Romantic verities ("Counter-Reformation") whose parallels have long since been abandoned in other fields. Indeed, the entire idea of imposing teleological categories derived from past centuries of art historiography presents problems. How might a "baroque" work like Gabussi's two-voice sacred concerto *Consolamini, populo meus*, probably written for Christmas Vigil at the cathedral around 1600, have been succeeded by Pellegrini's "Renaissance" five-voice imitative setting, on an Ambrosian-chant cantus firmus, of the Vespers item *Memento Domine David*, composed for the same service at the same institution sometime between 1612 and 1618?

The polystylism was an essential feature of the city's music for the entire period. In the absence of an insider's categories for music (like those for art appreciation given by one important patron in Federigo Borromeo's *Musaeum* [1625]), the stylistic terms ("gratia," "maniera") present in the semantic field of contemporary listeners and writers seem to offer more subtle, but more authentic, openings to the musical categories of the time.[89]

Earlier scholarship has focused on musicians working at the cathedral.[90] Stage music and dance for the ducal court were sometimes mentioned but largely do not survive, and recent research has begun to explore dramatic texts and their occasions.[91] The religious music of the city has always been summarized as simple "Counter-Reformation" declamation, following the supposed dictates of an omnipotent Church or archbishop, and thus any serious consideration of the music has been confined to early instrumental works, valorized as distant precursors of nineteenth-century absolute music.[92] The city's canzonas, along with a few early sonatas, are almost its only presence in the modern revival of early music to this point.[93] These pieces were, however, often performed at moments at Mass and Vespers, functioning as ritual instrumental music.[94] Editions comprised only of canzonas are relatively rare though interesting; although some thirty Milanese composers published at least one instrumental piece, still only a few of these men produced substantial amounts of canzonas or capriccios.[95] More positively, Cantone's motet shows the interpenetration of forms and styles in urban ceremonial music that continued far into the new century.

Some of the church music has attracted scholarship in overview.[96] Some recent work has begun to shed light on Orfeo Vecchi.[97] Meanwhile, Cima's motet book of 1610 and life at S. Maria presso S. Celso have also benefited from new attention.[98] The earlier history of patronage and repertory at the cathedral and S. Maria della Scala also provides the basis for many developments in the later sixteeenth century.[99] Some of the later music at the cathedral has been surveyed, and the contexts of theatrical music exhaustively addressed.[100] The problems presented by the whole repertory are several: motets and madrigals around 1600 in their relationship to their models, and the formation of conventions in the early sacred concerto and the concertato madrigal around 1610. These issues were fused in the following decade, with the codification of an Ambrosian-rite repertory and the expansion of inherited forms

in motet and solo song. Finally, the works of a new generation parallel the aesthetic changes of Monti's years. To find a context for the music, one can retrace the major sites that Margaret herself visited, starting with the most representative churches, the cathedral and the main Marian shrine.

2

The Cathedral and the Shrine

Most documentation and compositions of city musicians stem from figures working at a variety of ecclesiastical institutions. Four churches with citywide audiences maintained large permanent ensembles, and some twelve others, largely belonging to religious orders, had some kind of musical life, employing at least an organist and some singers. In addition, the governor's court supported both instrumentalists and vocalists for the ducal palace and its chapel, San Gottardo in Palazzo. The four main churches featured varying kinds of sonic environments, audiences, and musical forces. Two, the Duomo and S. Maria presso S. Celso, held special places in urban symbolic life. They hosted polyphony, on the average more than once a week, and also shared musicians. However, as the new century progressed, both were increasingly overshadowed by the female monasteries, among which the public practice of polyphony spread rapidly, from about five houses around 1600 to some twenty at mid-century.[1]

The Heart of the City

Margaret's entrance pointed up the cathedral's place as the spiritual and social fulcrum of Milan.[2] Ultimate responsibility for its music rested with its Fabbrica, a situation paralleled elsewhere in Italy. This board was dominated by local patricians: twelve nobles (two for each city district) and the *vicario di provisione*, together with a small group of ecclesiastics, comprising three canons, three doctors of the *collegio*, and the archbishop or his vicar general. Carlo's attempts to banish the laity from this body, like many other gestures of his later years, had been quickly overturned.[3] Administrative independence of the archbishop and the strong participation of traditional urban institutions and lay patricians were thus structural principles.

The funds and weekly workings of the choir and organs were under the control of the *Provincia Ecclesiae*, one of twenty subcommittees of the Fabbrica. The *Provincia*'s other responsibilities included mediating the often difficult relationship between the Fabbrica and the cathedral chapter (*capitolo metropolitano*) and monitoring the seemingly endless architectural and liturgical problems.[4] Given the extent of its

responsibilities, the net result was a notable deprioritizing of musical matters, compared with the more obvious and costly affairs of construction, services, decoration, and jurisdiction; orders and reforms for polyphony were normally sporadic, delayed, or post facto.[5]

Among the roughly thirty priests in residence, the most important for the ceremonies involving polyphony were the seven *mazzaconici* (the priests formerly assigned to instruct the choirboys). By the Cinquecento they were responsible for the chanting of Proper items at Mass, and antiphons and responsories in the Office.[6] The priest on duty in any given week (the *hebdomadario*) and the two orders of sixteen readers (*lettori maggiori* and *minori*) had their functions explicitly described in Carlo's era, with strict orders not to interfere with the polyphonic performance of items.[7] The minor readers, members of the socially humbler *capitolo minore,* were to sing the hymns (presumably also the chant stanzas thereof in alternatim practice), versicles, and *responsorii in choro* of the Office, and to intone psalms.[8] The social and repertorial gap among the various jobs was underscored by physical distance, as the *mazzaconici* and the *lettori* stood or sat in the lower of the two choir stalls (*coro inferiore*), while the *capitolo maggiore* and senior clerics occupied the upper. The physical distance between the two sets of stalls had resulted in problems for the performance of chant.

Many cathedral services were recorded in the diaries of the master of ceremonies (the *cerimoniere or maestro delle cerimonie*), an office predating Carlo's tenure, which the future saint had upgraded in order to regularize services.[9] This priest, together with his coadjutor (*vice-maestro*), had the task of ensuring that liturgy in the Duomo proceeded correctly, especially on Milanese holy days of obligation (*feste di precetto*); he also followed the archbishop to other churches, on processional feast days and for novices' professions as nuns. Federigo's peripatetic habits resulted in constant activity, and the diaries are filled with invaluable, if spotty, information on major events, as well as sometimes biting commentary on liturgical mishaps and the constant ecclesiastical infighting. Over a century, the office was held by four *cerimonieri*: Giovanni Paolo Clerici (1579–88); Orazio Casati (1588–1611); Francesco Casati (1611–29); and Gironimo Regio (1629–72).[10] Although the sung performance of a mass or motet was sometimes noted, the accounts do not name specific pieces or their composers.[11]

The occasions for music were organized around the pontifical days, feasts on which the archbishop (or, in his absence, the archpriest) would celebrate Mass and Office. Around the time of Carlo's reforms, these celebrations were stabilized at approximately twenty-five, together with two Vigils; in the early Seicento, another six plus a Vigil were added.[12] Of these, the titular feast of Nativity BVM (8 September) and the feast of the Invention of the Cross (because of the presence of the Chiodo), along with those of the civic patron Ambrose and the city's intercessor Sebastian, took on importance. For the chapter, however, other days important for music were also celebrated, including those of St. Blaise (3 February) and St. Thecla (24 September), the latter the patroness of the former summer cathedral.

Although it is unclear whether anyone around 1600 would have looked back on the era of Franchinus Gaffurius as the glory days of cathedral polyphony, still, a century later, the largest single body of paid musicians in the city was at the Duomo: the *maestro di capella*, his *vice-maestro* (an office documented from 1582, and stabilized with the appointment of Damiano Scarabelli from Bologna around 1587), and a group

of singers. The ensemble ranged from seventeen under Giulio Cesare Gabussi in 1589, rising to about twenty-five in the late 1620s, sinking to eight after the plague in 1631 (and returning to twenty-one by 1643).[13] Part of this group was the schola of choirboys, variable in size between four and eight, which had passed from its traditional chant repertory (for example, the *responsoria cum infantibus* at Vespers) to singing polyphony with the adults.

The duties of the two leaders included simply keeping the ensembles together as well as organizing the large amount of liturgical polyphony that must have been sung to *falsobordone* formulas, and thus their duties retained something of the *tenorista* tradition of the Quattrocento. Besides Carlo Borromeo's efforts to employ only priests as adult singers, it was a more general point of pride that no instrumentalists besides the organists were ever used, a practice that the curia tried to extend unsuccessfully to other churches in the diocese.[14]

Under Pietro Ponzio (1577–82), the ensemble had been expanded in size, and its repertory moved to a norm of five-voice scoring.[15] In theory, all the singers were to be present whenever the chapel sang on principal feasts, alternating by halves for normal (semiduplex) Sundays. But the quantity of requests for permission to be absent, and of fines for missed services, suggest that several singers were routinely missing, especially on less important Sundays. The numbers were full for pontifical feasts and special occasions (for a list of such days, see app. A). Seven additional singers were hired for 8 September 1595, the first titular day to be celebrated with Federigo as archbishop: three basses, three tenors (among them Orazio Nantermi, from S. Maria presso S. Celso), and an alto.[16] Other such occasional hirings can be traced from 1584 onwards.[17]

From Ponzio's time, the festal division of the ensemble into two choirs obtained for 8 September at least.[18] As a sign of growth, the most important events from the late 1590s were marked by the division of the corps into four choirs (as for Margaret's entrance), a tradition for the rest of the period; from later evidence it appears that this did not necessarily entail polyphony in sixteen to twenty real parts.[19] On 13 April 1609, Gabussi reported that four-choir music had been sung for the entrance of the Spanish prelate Cardinal Antonio Zapatta (1551–1635), a large-scale event confirmed by the *cerimoniere*'s diary.[20]

For polychoral performance, Milan seems to have trailed Roman practice by only a few years. The use of two choirs spread from the Duomo to male regulars' churches and the female houses in the 1590s, but the quadripartite arrangement seems to have been most typical of the cathedral and major civic events.[21] Although there is no specific list of 'four-choir' days, still the symbolic importance of the arrangement, whatever the actual number of compositional voices, for the major ritual acts became evident when withheld. As Casati noted, the procession of 17 February 1621 for the new Pope Leo XI featured a Te Deum intoned by the archpriest and 'continued by the singers in two choirs, but there were loud complaints because they did not sing in four choirs.'[22] At the same time, solo and duet singing was also common.[23]

From the mid-1580s, there were two organists, one for the 1559 Antegnati instrument on the north side of the presbytery and one for the newer Valvassori organ of 1584–90 on the south (this latter replacing a fourteenth-century keyboard), which alternated weekly for daily services, except for functions on pontifical feasts, when

they played together.[24] Gasparo Costa (ca. 1545–90) must have been hired for the Antegnati instrument soon after the death of Giuseppe Caimo, in summer 1584; in the next several years, he was joined by the organ-builder G. B. Morsellini (ca. 1541–91) for the new keyboard.[25]

These jobs were soon filled for a generation: in 1590, Cesare Borgo came from the Cassinese Benedictine church of San Pietro in Gessate to replace Costa, who died in July.[26] After Morsellini's death the next year,[27] Borgo moved to the Antegnati and Guglielmo Arnone was hired to play at the still inoperative Valvassori instrument.[28] The former continued at the older organ until his death on 19 October 1622, possibly plying a side trade as a notary (which might explain his limited compositional production).[29] Six months after Borgo's passing, Giovanni Francesco Biumi, previously at Santa Maria della Passione and Sant'Ambrogio, was brought in, while Arnone continued up to his mortal illness in autumn 1630.

Space and Sound in the Cathedral

The placement of the musical forces depended directly on the restructuring of the altar area desired by the archbishop and executed by Pellegrino Tibaldi, starting in the late 1560s, partially in an effort to facilitate the execution of liturgy and chant. The spatial distinction between chant and polyphony was also marked, with the two *capitoli* responsible for monophony around the main altar. After the Antegnati organ was moved from the side altar of St. Agatha, the organists sat one level directly above the regular place of the adult singers of polyphony, who were on the two *cantorie* (or *pergami*) designed by Galeazzo Alessi and Tibaldi in the 1560s and 1570s respectively, above both sides of the front portion of the choir. Morigia seemed more impressed by the cost and decoration of the choir lofts than by the music emanating from them.[30] At first, they were evidently open to the ambulatory.[31] The weekly alternation for normal Sundays suggests that one of the *cantorie* (and its organ) was not staffed on such days.

The location of the singers also suggests that coordination with the organists might have been more difficult than it would first seem, and it is not clear where the *maestro* himself was positioned among the singers. An anonymous seicento painting (fig. 2.1) shows singers hanging out of the platforms in order to hear Federigo preach, probably at a pontifical feast. The perspective is distorted, as the *cantorie* were lower than the pulpit, and the size of the crowded presbytery is exaggerated, with the altar shown more distant than it actually was. But the disposition seems essentially accurate: the high altar ringed by the chapters and the presbytery packed, evidently with other clerics and patricians. The right ("Epistle side") *cantoria* was in front of the seats reserved for the city's Senate on major feasts, while the left flanked the archiepiscopal throne, next to the senior cathedral clergy; the interplay of secular and religious authority could not have been more clear.[32]

The long reverberation time of the cathedral, unmuffled by tapestries, would have created the effect of a sonic wash of polyphony, especially the further back (west) one receded from the altar, in tandem with the descent in social class among the congregation.[33] Thus the most acoustically satisfying seats for polyphony during

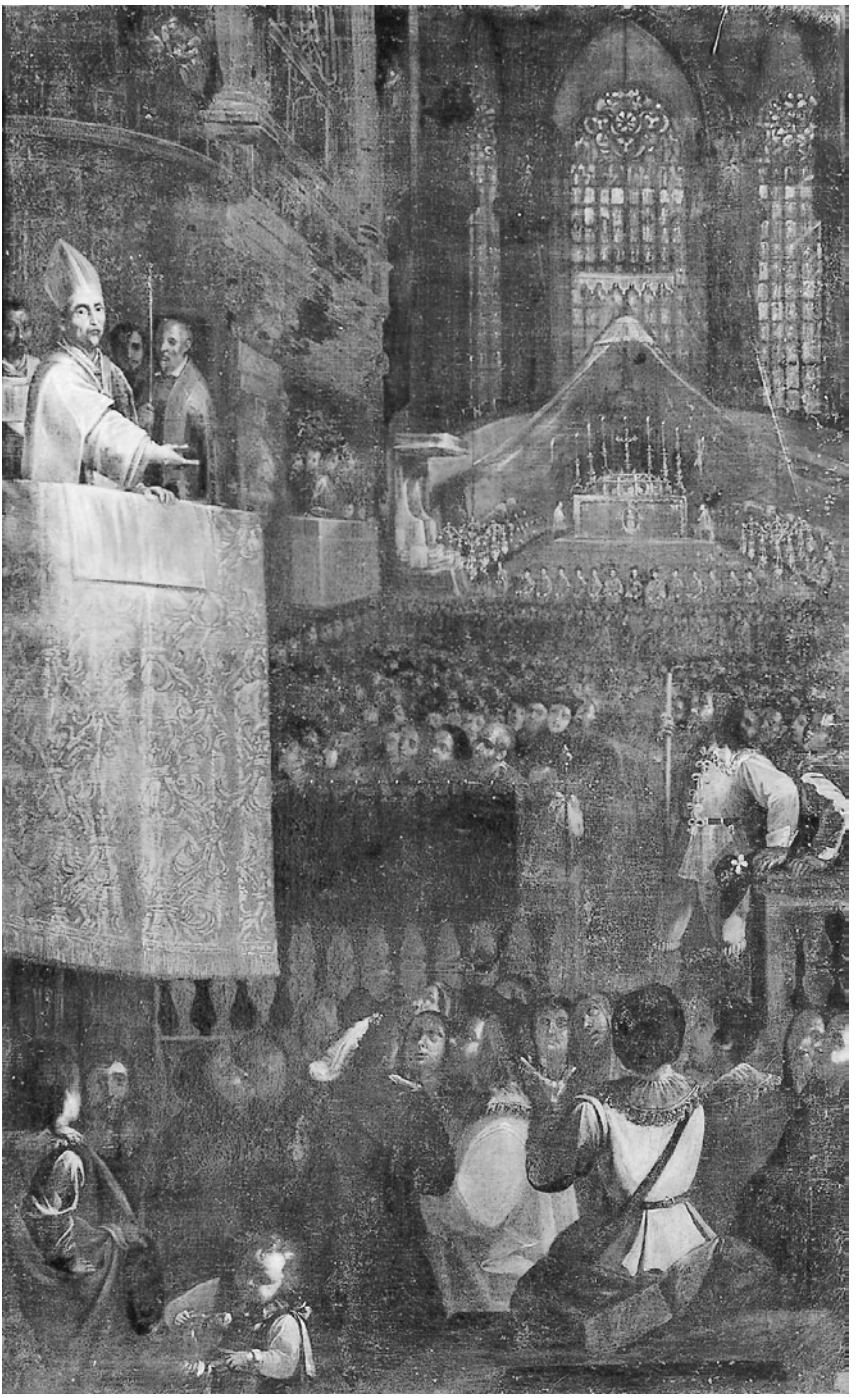


FIGURE 2.1 Anonymous, *Cardinal Federigo Borromeo Preaching in Milan Cathedral*, ca. 1620 (by permission of the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan)

liturgical ceremonies were those of the nobility, religious and lay, occupied (from north to south) by the archbishop, *capitolo maggiore*, governor, magistrates, and senators.[34] While polyphony was most audible to this select group, chant (corresponding to its overall projection and perceptibility in the city as a whole), emanating from the *mazzaconici* backed by the choir stalls and projecting directly outward into the nave, would have been clearly perceptible to a far wider public than simply those in the crossing or presbytery.

Also unclear was the placement of the third and fourth choirs on the most festive occasions; by the 1620s, they were accompanied by two portable regal organs, whose blaring tone quality must have lent the ensemble an unusually piercing sound.[35] In much of the manuscript repertory of the 1630s and 1640s, the parts for choirs III and IV simply doubled I and II, respectively. For reasons of musical coordination, they were probably deployed somewhere at floor level underneath their paired choir.

The Early Years

Gabussi, who had been brought from Bologna as Costanzo Porta's second recommendation to Carlo (after Ludovico Balbi), took up his job in November 1582.[36] Despite his service as *maestro* in Forlì, he was young, possibly only about twenty-two.[37] Scarabelli, a student of Andrea Rota, and the new organists were of the same generation, while many of the singers also seemed relatively junior.[38] The paylist of 5 October 1589 named six boys, the ornamentation expert and soprano G. B. Bovicelli, four altos, two tenors, two basses, and the two *maestri;* of these, Bovicelli was paid more than any other singer (including Scarabelli).[39] The sense of the ensemble around 1590 is that of an energetic and self-confident group of musicians, evident in Scarabelli's dedication of his 1592 motets to the entire chapel, an inscription without parallel among other Italian editions. In particular, the five eight-voice pieces of this edition seem to relate to major feasts at the Duomo or in the city, easily performable by the cathedral's forces.[40] The fourteen adult singers listed include only two native *milanesi*, another tribute to the city's function in attracting outsiders.

But the choir, despite the patriotic claims of local historiography to its importance, was characterized by severe and recurrent problems. The records show some of the difficulties involved in running the *capella*, with much time spent on satisfying the formal demands (the wearing of cassocks, avoiding talking, or early departures during services). Despite the prestige of the position (and at least one pay raise), Gabussi tried to leave twice.[41] On 30 October 1597, he informed Federigo regretfully that he had been forced, out of his desire to return home and because of his elderly parents, to take the *maestro*'s job at San Petronio in Bologna, left vacant by Rota's death.[42] Although Gabussi was evidently not permitted to leave by the archbishop, and further induced to stay by a pay raise in January 1598, he did indeed depart for a year's sojourn at the Polish court (an appointment over which Borromeo would have had little control) between May 1601 and June 1602. Matters had been complicated by Scarabelli's resignation in late 1598 with Giovanni Antonio Molasco his replacement. A pay raise of 31 July 1597, possibly in thanks for the dedication of a Magnificat cycle, had not induced the deputy to stay.[43] Six years later, Scarabelli

evidently was chosen as the replacement for Orfeo Vecchi at the Scala, but then disappeared again after a year.[44] At the Duomo, Molasco held things together until Gabussi's return, which was motivated by unknown reasons.[45] The *maestro*'s production in Poland seems to have been small.[46]

Another indication of the demands was the kind of editions published by cathedral musicians. Gabussi's individual output of printed sacred music ended after 1589, with an edition consisting of ten Magnificats and a funeral motet for Carlo Borromeo. He contributed to the early small-scale sacred concerto, with twelve examples published in Lucino's urban anthology *Concerti de diversi* of 1608 and a few other pieces appearing in other collections up to 1615. His major systematic output in his later years was a nearly complete annual cycle of stanzaic alternatim hymns *a 4* for the massive Ambrosian-rite Vespers settings published in the *Pontificalia Ambrosianae Ecclesiae ad Vesperas . . . Lucernaria, Hymni, et Posthymni*, the collection edited by Pellegrini in 1619.[47]

Still, Gabussi's overall output was remarkably limited over thirty years, and the judgment of "troppo misurato nelle attioni sue" by his teacher Porta seems to apply to his publication record, as well. Possibly the difficulties of running the chapel simply hindered his production. Scarabelli's motets and Magnificats were followed by a now-lost litany collection before 1604. Having published an eight-voice mass and Magnificat collection in 1588 while still at S. Pietro in Gessate, the organist Borgo produced canzonas in 1599 and a second book of masses and motets in 1602, then fell silent except for three motets in anthologies.[48] The second organist Arnone made up the slack, publishing a now-lost Magnificat set in 1595 (possibly dedicated to Federigo), three motet collections between the 1590s and 1602, eight concertos in the anthologies, and a large-scale eight-voice motet edition in 1625.

Despite the problems, the scoring of this repertory reveals the gradual growth of the chapel. Gabussi's motet for Carlo's funeral (*Defecit gaudium cordi nostri*, published in the 1589 edition, and discussed below) is the first printed example of an eight-voice, double-choir piece in the repertory. His 1586 motets are evenly divided between five- and six-voice pieces, thus expanding over Ponzio's normal ensemble. Both Scarabelli's Magnificat collection and the lost litanies range from four to twelve voices, while Arnone's collection of 1599 is set for five and eight parts.[49] The total output of Duomo figures around 1600 reveals an absence of published music for Vespers except for the Magnificat cycles, little emphasis on the Mass (both traits due to the peculiarities of Ambrosian liturgy), and a high percentage of motets usable in either Milanese or Roman rite.

Few of the Duomo's musicians neglected secular music. Gabussi had his second book of five-voice madrigals printed in 1598; while Costa's canzonettas appeared in 1588, those of Borgo in 1591, and Arnone's madrigals in 1600. Flaminio Comanedo, a student of Gabussi and a tenor in the chapel from around 1600 until after 1622, published two canzonetta books (1601 and 1602) and three madrigal collections later, along with a Vespers edition in 1618.[50] That the cathedral composers were far more public as producers of secular polyphony than even the ducal musicians underscores both the failure of Carlo's efforts to restrict such genres, and the heuristic unhelpfulness of a perspective that presumes an omnipotent Church dictating stylistic or

textual choices for composers.[51] It also testifies to the interplay of the sacred and the secular in the city.

The next series of editions connected with the cathedral involved another singer, the central figure in the introduction of the sacred concerto into the city's printed repertory, Francesco Lucino. A former Humiliato friar, he was a virtuoso bass, and had served in the cathedral from around 1580. His close relation to Federigo is evident from letters of autumn 1598, indicating that he had been sought by other institutions (probably S. Maria presso S. Celso), but noting his preference to stay at the cathedral. After the prelate intervened in an unspecified manner, Lucino stated his desire to "live and die under the shadow of Your Excellency," a wish fulfilled.[52] He was chosen as *vice-maestro* in 1603 as the second successor to Scarabelli (whose madrigals he had included in his 1590 anthology of Bolognese composers, *Le Gemme*, evidently another model collection for a burgeoning domestic public). The very first small-scale sacred concerto book to be printed in the city (and the third in all of Italy), Orazio Scaletta's *Cetra spirituale* of 1605, was inscribed to him. He assembled the 1608 *Concerti de diversi*, and was also the dedicatee of the 1612 reprint of this collection, to which the publisher Lomazzo had added several stylistically new motets in a *Prima Aggiunta* (or *Aggiunta Nuova*).[53] Lucino's catalyzing of the sacred concerto in the city was unlikely to have happened without support from the prelate; Federigo's penchant for officiating personally at pontifical feasts meant that he must have heard some of these pieces at their first performances.[54]

Lucino became sick in 1617, and Giovanni Battista Corradi (a contralto castrato and priest) was elected just after his predecessor's death on 11 December.[55] Some festal repertory from this time is represented by a set of part-books of eight-voice works dated 1612, still in the archive, readied for publication by Corradi but apparently never printed (AD2/8).[56] It contains eleven motets, seven Magnificats, five psalms for sanctoral feasts, and a Pater noster, essentially festal repertory; among the motets, there are two pieces for Chiodo days and three Marian texts. Other Duomo singers of this generation included the altos Giacomo Fasolo, who served for over twenty years, and (Giacomo) Filippo Ferrari, "il Mondondone," the dedicatee of several concertos around 1610, and the tenor Girolamo Vimercato, an important figure later, hired in 1614.[57]

Conflict and Decimation

Gabussi's death on 8 July 1611 led to a flurry of applications for his post, some addressed directly, if wrongly, to Federigo.[58] In the meantime, the Fabbrica ordered that his compositions be found and given to Lucino to be returned to the archive.[59] The jockeying began quickly, as Federigo's old friend Francisco Soto wrote to the prelate proposing Giovanni Francesco Anerio, stressing his ties to the Vallicella and his studies of organ and of philosophy. The irrepressible Romano Micheli nominated himself a week later (Doc. 11a–b). The official chapter candidates were an anonymous choirmaster to Margaret in Spain (possibly Limido) and one from Bergamo (probably Giovanni Cavaccio at S. Maria Maggiore).[60]