Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-Century Milan

CHRISTINE SUZANNE GETZ

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MUSIC IN THE COLLECTIVE EXPERIENCE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MILAN

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Preface

The fall of Milan in 1499 not only heralded the end of an era marked by dazzling artistic and musical display, but also stimulated a series of adjustments to the existing political and social structure of Milanese society. A new aristocracy of diplomats and merchants emerged amidst the old nobility, forcing a shift in the traditional power base that yielded a burgeoning patrician class of decidedly international character. When it arose from the ashes at the end of the sixteenth century, Milan had forged a modern civic identity largely free of the trappings of its medieval feudal heritage. This modern identity achieved artistic expression in every aspect of public life. Music, an art traditionally associated with the court and cathedral, came to be appropriated by the old nobility and the new aristocracy alike as a means of demonstrating social primacy and newly acquired wealth. Yet Milan's social metamorphosis was slow, and the artistic manifestations of it initially were controlled by those very institutions already established via the traditional medieval hierarchy. As these institutions reached out to embrace the expanding middle classes during the sixteenth century, however, they imbued the public with a social and cultural self-consciousness that solidified the city's blossoming new identity. Many collective bodies in sixteenth-century Italy were dominated by the local church and court, and Milanese society was not, in that respect, entirely unlike them. But as class mobility assumed greater significance in Milan and the size of the city expanded beyond its medieval borders, music-making became ever more closely associated with public life.

The collective experience in Renaissance Milan was perhaps most outwardly expressed in the city's ongoing urban renewal. In addition to the continued construction of its Gothic cathedral, Renaissance Milan saw the evolution of several monumental structures of differing character, including the Castello Sforzesco, the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, and the church of Santa Maria presso San Celso. The city's new architectural splendors were interspersed among its numerous pre-existing medieval edifices, such as San Lorenzo, Sant'Eustorgio, and Santa Maria della Scala. Thus, sixteenth-century Milan was comprised of a series of divergent architectural spaces. These diverse spaces were intertwined by a web of canals, narrow streets, and wide avenues that converged at the Duomo, a central structure that epitomized the city's continuous spatial and social transformation through its own ongoing construction. With its novel structures and diverse urban spaces, sixteenth-century Milan offered an unlimited variety of public performance arenas. The city's political and ecclesiastical authorities used these dissimilar venues to great advantage, staging grand processions, worship services, entertainments, and entries aimed at the propagation of both church and state. Yet the private citizen utilized them as well, creating his own miniature spectacle in a visual and an aural imitation of the ecclesiastical and political panoply of the age.

Systems of musical patronage in sixteenth-century Milan were defined primarily by the shared governmental and ecclesiastical supervision of the city's principal urban institutions. As a result, music was conceived largely through its role in the theatrical, be it an entertainment at court, a ducal ceremonial at the chapel of Santa Maria della Scala, a state service in the cathedral, a Hapsburg entry on the city's streets, a dance in a local residence, or an aristocratic Vespers service sponsored by the noble confraternity at Santa Maria presso San Celso. Rather than competing with the state for public attention, the Milanese church assisted in the propagation of state aims while maintaining its own spiritual programs. Even with the advent of post-Tridentine reforms under Carlo Borromeo during the 1560s, Milanese ecclesiastical institutions, although increasingly devoted to the promotion of public piety, continued to serve the state and civic ceremonial. Conversely, the state provided ongoing financial and political support for many of the city's ecclesiastical institutions and spiritual programs through its intricate ducal benefice system and burgeoning confraternities.

Using both archival sources and extant printed books, this monograph examines the musical culture of sixteenth-century Milan via its life within the city's most influential social institutions. It examines the manner in which fifteenth-century courtly traditions were adapted to the public arena by considering the relationship of the *cappelle musicali* at the Duomo of Milan, the court of Milan, Santa Maria della Scala, and Santa Maria presso San Celso to the sixteenth-century institutions that housed them. In addition, it investigates the sixteenth-century musician's role as an actor and a functionary in the political, religious, and social spectacles produced by the Milanese church, state, and aristocracy within the city's diverse urban spaces. Furthermore, it establishes a context for the numerous motets, madrigals, and lute intabulations composed and printed in sixteenth-century Milan by examining their function within the urban milieu in which they were first performed. Finally, it musically documents Milan's transformation from a ducal state dominated by provincial traditions into a mercantile center of international acclaim.

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Chapter 1

Forging a Modern Civic Identity: Music for the Battle of Pavia

Milan after the Fall of Ludovico il Moro

Following the fall of Ludovico Sforza in 1499, jurisdiction over the Duchy of Milan passed to Louis XII of France. For the next thirty years, Milan, formerly the most influential northern city of the Italian peninsula, remained in a state of constant political disarray. Besieged by the French and coveted by the Hapsburg empire, Milan was quickly reduced to the ignominious role of a chief pawn in continental negotiations. Although the recapture of the city and the subsequent restoration of the Sforza under Ludovico's son Massimiliano I in 1512 promised the reinstatement of an autonomous government, the respite from foreign interference was cut short by another incursion of the French. In 1515 the North Italian forces clashed with Louis XII of France at Marignano and suffered a disastrous defeat. With the fall of Marignano, the French again penetrated Milan's porous borders, and the dispirited duchy resigned itself to continued occupation. On 22 April 1521, however, Francis I of France declared war on Emperor Charles V of Spain and invaded Navarre, thus drawing Spain into the conflict. The invasion of Navarre may have been Francis I's greatest strategical error, for in challenging the Hapsburg crown he may well have hastened the loss of the Italian city-states then under his control, which included not only Milan, but also Naples and Sicily.[1]

Charles V's interest in an Italian campaign was stimulated by the political philosophy of his Grand Chancellor Mercurino Gattinara, who argued that expulsion of the French from Italy would facilitate an alliance with the papacy, thus ultimately insuring Spanish control over much of Europe. Because Milan was a chief communications link between Spain and other territories of the Empire and was easily accessed via the port of Genoa, it quickly became viewed as the lynchpin of Gattinara's Italian plan. In November 1521, Charles, confident that a Milan-centered strategy was sound, drove the French from the city, and claimed the Duchy of Milan as a vassal state of the Spanish Empire.[2] Thereafter, he permitted Francesco II Sforza, the second son of Ludovico il Moro, to assume the title of Duke of Milan. Yet initially the young Duke's title was only nominal. Moreover, the Duchy itself, which boasted as many French sympathizers as it did Spanish ones, was fraught with political instability and perched on the brink of financial ruin. As a result, Francesco II's relationship with Charles V, who had come to Milan's aid with the intent of eventually incorporating the Duchy into his own dominion, was riddled with paranoia and

mistrust on all sides. The continuous political and financial discord may well have aided in preserving the city's autonomy during its initial incorporation into the Hapsburg Empire, for common sense dictated that Francesco II be granted full jurisdiction in order that Charles maintain his tenuous foothold.

Although Francesco II Sforza was not formally invested by Charles V as Duke of Milan until 1529, the Duchy actually was promised him at the conclusion of the Peace of Noyon in 1516. The accord specified, however, that Francesco's succession be effected only after the city had been properly stabilized. Thus, the successful Spanish initiative of 1521 marked only the first step of the restoration process. The real turning point in Francesco's fortunes occurred on 27 April 1522, when he, aided by Prospero Colonna, Ferdinand d'Avalos (the Marchese di Pescara), and Georg von Frundesburg, led Imperial, Italian, and Swiss mercenary troops to victory at Bicocca. The Milanese had found a champion of sorts in the young Francesco who, despite his legislative inexperience, demonstrated the persistence and precocity long associated with his father. His impending reinstatement promised a reprieve from the constant turmoil imposed by the turning kaleidoscope of European alliances.

Even after the victory at Bicocca, however, Milanese enthusiasm for its young duke remained somewhat subdued because heavy taxes were continually levied in order to replenish the coffers of the Imperial war machine. Moreover, the French, still encamped along the Ticino river, posed a constant threat to the city's stability. With the election of Charles V's' former tutor Pope Adrian VI in January 1522, a papal alliance that also included Venice and England was cemented, and a decisive defeat of the French seemed imminent. Unfortunately, however, Adrian VI passed on before the allies were able to act. Adrian's successor Clement VII proved reluctant to ally himself with either Charles V or Francis I, and equivocated to such a degree that the French had again entrenched themselves in Milanese territories by the fall of 1524. Indeed, Charles' Italian campaign seemed doomed to failure, for Venice and the papacy realigned themselves with France soon thereafter.

The extant documentary evidence indicates that the Milanese populace was fairly evenly divided by the conflict. While some citizens enthusiastically awaited liberation by the Spanish, others preferred to deal with French. According to the Milanese merchant Gianmarco Burigozzi, frequent rallies were held in the Piazza del Duomo between 1522 and 1524 by anti-French demonstrators who hoped to incite the lethargic populace against the French. As can be seen from his description of an altercation that occurred between a well-known anti-French protestor and the members of the Duomo choir, however, these demonstrations were not always viewed favorably by Milanese citizens. The incident in question was provoked by a political sermon given by a friar who frequently spoke out against the French during demonstrations, ceremonies, and other public events held at the Duomo:

> And it happened that one Sunday during the Advent of 1523 the Ordinaries of the Duomo were waiting for this Friar of San Marco della Barbossa to finish his sermon so that they might celebrate high mass, and he, lacking respect for his superiors, made it very long. For this reason, the clergy, seeing that the friar was without respect,

> took its place in the choir and began singing the mass at the high altar. And the friar, seeing that the priest had begun to sing the Introit of the mass, took leave of the pulpit in fury. And a few of his followers who were in the audience began to condemn the ordinaries and other sacerdotes loudly, shouting a thousand curses. And there was the group of sacerdotes at the altar. But when they realized that these admirers were angry beyond restraint and extremely vociferous in their protestations, the ordinaries and sacerdotes fled from the choir in great fear. They went into the sacristy with difficulty. I will not speak to you of the uproar that took place in this blessed church. And this friar returned to the pulpit, comforting his satellites and sissies, who thought him blessed because he was able to speak badly of these venerable sacerdotes, our patriots. And when he was ready, he finished. And he made a point of his importance by speaking as long as he wished, so that he would be regarded as an admirable man. Because they were patriots and did not wish to neglect their duties, these ordinaries and sacerdotes sang the mass after the confusion had ceased, praying to God for their health and the health of the country.[3]

Despite the shifting sympathies, the political instability, and the heavy tax burdens, however, a sense of relief enveloped the city following the Imperial victories of 1522 and 1523. Charles, seizing the moment to engender Milanese favor, dispatched a representative to a victory mass held in the Duomo during January 1524:

> At the close of December 1523, the Viceroy arrived in this city of Milan in the name of the Emperor. And on the first day of the year 1524, he went to a mass in the Duomo. There were a number of important dignitaries in his company, the most important of which was the Ambassador of Venice, who was the Duke of Urbino.[4]

Unfortunately, however, any lingering civic euphoria over the recent turn of events was eclipsed by one of the most devastating plagues that the city had ever experienced. The plague's effects can be seen in the rosters of the cathedral choir for the years 1523 through 1525, which demonstrate that approximately one-third of the adult membership was replaced during the year 1524.[5] In fact, Gianmarco Burigozzi reports that so many of the Duomo personnel fell ill that by July 1524 'there were usually neither ordinaries nor officials, but rather two or three priests who sang as well as they were able'[6] conducting the daily services. The ravages of the plague were turned to an advantage by the French army, and by September 1524 Francesco II was forced to retreat from Milan to Pizzighettone. However, the succeeding Imperial initiative yielded more lasting results. On 24 February 1525 the Milanese, aided by the Imperial forces of Charles V, soundly defeated the French army at Pavia and captured Francis I, thus effecting the surrender of the French forces then occupying much of the Italian peninsula. Francis I subsequently offered Carlo V his Italian territories, Burgundy, and Flanders in exchange for freedom. For Francesco II Sforza, the battle at Pavia proved to be the final hurdle in acquiring control of the Duchy. At the insistence of Clement VII, the Duchy of Milan was restored to the Sforza, and the young Duke triumphantly entered the embattled city.

Music for the Battle at Pavia

Following the victory at Pavia in 1525, Francesco II's first task as prospective Duke was to infuse the city with a cohesive civic identity. This was no simple endeavor, for the Sforza dynasty had not been overwhelmingly popular among those aristocratic families who, allied with the French, continued to thrive financially during the years of occupation. The tension which marked relations between the Sforza and the established nobility had hastened the financial and political fracture of the state under il Moro. Moreover, it continued to manifest itself in the widespread acceptance of foreign domination as a necessary means of political and financial survival. Although the general malaise of Milan's upwardly mobile classes with regard to local sovereignty gradually effected the formation of a cohesive governing structure, it had the immediate potential to diffuse Francesco II's power base.[7] Thus, Francesco was forced to embrace Milan's burgeoning artisan classes, setting before them a convincing portrait of princely authority. To that end, he relied greatly upon musical and visual effects for the creation of his ducal image. This is evident as early as the victory at Bicocca in 1522, which was marked by an impromptu entrance in the style of a grand condottiere that was reminiscent of his grandfather Francesco I. Charles V's historian Alfonso Ulloa described Francesco's entry as follows:

> . . . and riding by night through the treacherous streets, he arrived in Milan, where he was received with great acclamation by all. The infantry of archibugeri fired formal salutes in celebration, and he was proclaimed him Prince and Duke by all of the soldiers and captains.[8]

Bugati's more detailed description echoes Ulloa's account:

> . . . how all the people cheered during the entry of Francesco Sforza into Milan. And they accepted him as Duke with many honors even though he arrived at night with 6,000 Germans that he led from Trent by way of Verona and Mantova. And he passed the Pò at Piacenza and the Pavese accompanied by the Duke of Mantova with 300 horses in the name of the church that same year.[9]

Francesco II Sforza's visceral acuity in stylizing his ducal image after that of his grandfather was a direct reflection of his early diplomatic training. The youngest son of Ludovico il Moro and Beatrice D'Este, Francesco spent approximately nineteen of the first twenty-six years of his life in exile at the glittering Imperial court of Maximilian I. There he was exposed to the continent's most influential philosophical, artistic, and musical talent. Because Maximilian essentially had inherited the musical chapels of Burgundy through his first marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477 and those of the Tyrol from Archduke Sigismund in 1490, he had assembled an impressive array of well-known vocal and instrumental musicians by the 1490s. Many of these musicians, who included such luminaries as Paul Hofhaimer, Ludvig Senfl, Heinrich Isaac, Pierre de la Rue, and possibly even Josquin des Prez, accompanied him as he traveled from one location to another. Maximilian's spouse Bianca Maria Sforza (d.1510), accustomed to the elaborate musical forces that had been supported by her

father Galeazzo Maria in Milan, encouraged and supervised the establishment of an Imperial Hofkapelle in the cathedral at Halle near Innsbruck, which she made her permanent home in 1497. Upon Vienna's designation as the new capital city of the Empire in 1496, moreover, Maximilian sent a group of musicians to Vienna, where the Hofkappelle was not only enlarged and remodeled, but also expanded to include a choir school.[10] Francesco evidently inherited a love for secular instrumental music, a preference for plainchant and organ alternatim settings in sacred worship, and a chapel management style modeled upon that commonly used by the Burgundians from Maximilian and Bianca Maria, and, as will be discussed below, these aspects of his Imperial experience were incorporated into the Milanese traditions of his parents through the establishment of an instrumental ensemble at the Milanese court and two new ducal cappelle at Sant'Ambrogio in Vigevano (1530) and Santa Maria della Scala in Milan (1531).

When the Duchy of Milan was briefly returned to Francesco's older brother Massimiliano Sforza (1493-1530) through the intervention of the Swiss in 1512, Francesco traveled to Italy to serve the new Sforza regime. During the brief three-year restoration that followed, Francesco spent part of his time in Rome as an emissary of the Milanese court. The letters that he sent to his brother from Rome, which primarily report on official issues of state, occasionally reveal the continued fascination with music and ceremony that had developed during his extended stay at the Imperial court. For example, in a dispatch dated 27 October 1513 Francesco noted that he and his party entered Rome earlier that day 'with the greatest triumph, jubilation, and celebration'[11] accompanied by the papal legate Cardinal de Grassis, the guard, and various important citizens 'to the sound of music, cheers of joyful approval, and artillery fire.'[12] Francesco's passing comments further indicate that he was frequently in attendance at performances of the papal choir and papal court musicians, at least one of which was given at his own residence in Rome:

> The Holy Father demonstrated that he had received charming news, and afterwards the Cardinals, Prelates, and other individuals, of which there are many very affectionate towards your Excellency and your state. And this evening in many locations of this city great fireworks displays accompanied by artillery fire and loud proclamations were held in honor of your Excellency with such universal joy of the inhabitants and foreigners that never again will something so joyful and festive as this be witnessed. And the Swiss Guard of His Holiness, along with all of his musicians and many other individuals remained for the greater part of the night to honor my lodgings in the chancery.[13]

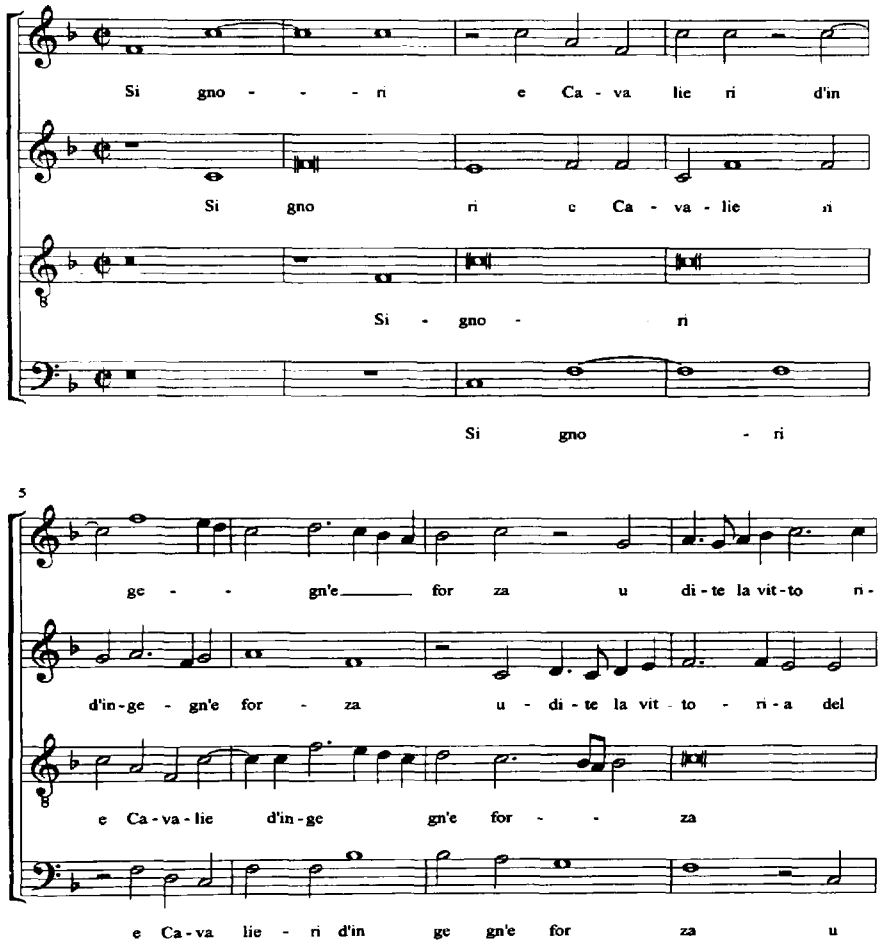
Francesco's recognition that the collective spirit might be captured through visual and aural stimuli is never more evident than in the art and literature emanating from the monumental victory at Pavia. Four extant musical compositions are closely associated with the victory, and were likely commissioned with celebration and frequent commemoration of the event specifically in mind. One of these, *La bataglia tagliana*, has received extensive attention in modern scholarly sources, perhaps because it was reprinted and intabulated frequently during the sixteenth century. A three-section

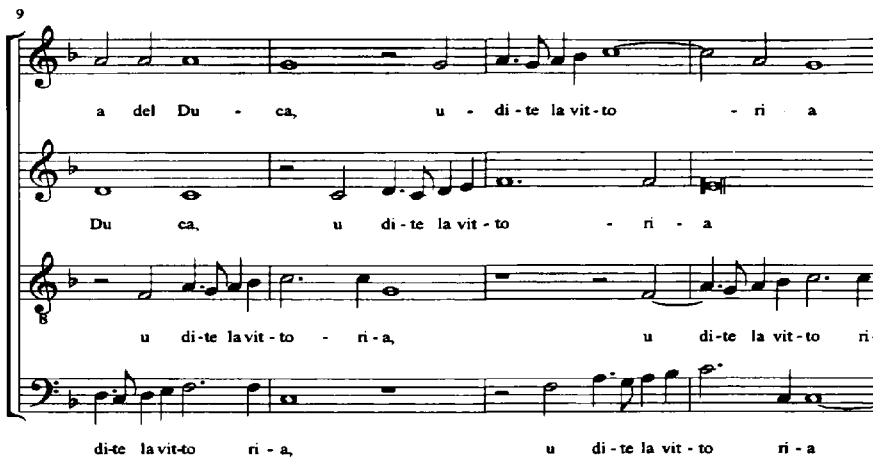
villotta for four voices that was composed by the Duomo's recently elected maestro di cappella Hermann Matthias Werrecore, *La bataglia tagliana* functions as an actual chronicle of the1525 battle. In fact, the preface to a 1544 German publication of the work entitled 'Die Schlacht vor Pavia' notes that the composer claimed to have been present on the battlefield.[14] However, certain extant copies of Werrecore's *La bataglia tagliana* are actually revisions of an earlier piece of the same title describing the Italian victory at Bicocca in 1522.[15] Recent studies demonstrate, in fact, that two different versions of the work circulated during the sixteenth century. The first version, which contains a text making direct references to events surrounding the Battle of Bicocca, exists in three manuscript sources and the aforementioned German print from 1544. The second, which features emendations rendering the text appropriate to the Battle of Pavia, is found in the editions of Gardane and Scotto printed between 1549 and 1552.[16] If, therefore, Werrecore's claims were not a mere marketing ploy, it seems likely that he actually witnessed the Battle of Bicocca, rather than the Battle of Pavia. Recognizing the comparatively greater significance of the latter battle to both Milanese history and the collective cultural memory, Werrecore later recast his account of the Battle of Bicocca for the victory at Pavia.

Werrecore's aural re-enactment of the battle is complemented by numerous tapestries, paintings, and woodcuts that were also commissioned in commemoration of the victory at Pavia. The most famous of these is a series of Flemish tapestries designed by Pietro de Pannemaker of the house of Van Orley for Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, who participated in the battle as a general in the Italian forces. The tapestries, which have been dated 1531, sequentially record the important events of the battle, including the capture and surrender of Francis I.[17] Woodcuts of the battle also abound. Among the best known are the woodcut by Jorg Breü the Elder[18] and an anonymous woodcut housed in the Museo Civico in Pavia. The woodcuts appear to depend upon earlier fifteenth or sixteenth-century models featuring battle scenes, including those dedicated to the Battle of Marignano, for they are characterized by uncannily similar depictions of the battle in full swing. However, written descriptions of the battle are also known to have circulated,[19] so a common textual source may account, in part, for the striking similarities among the woodcuts.

Like the woodcuts, Werrecore's *La bataglia* depends upon a number of earlier works that describe military battles. For example, its modal orientation, frequent shifts in mensuration, and division into three parts suggests a familiarity with Heinrich Isaac's *A la battaglia*. However, Werrecore's villotta is modeled primarily upon Clement Jannequin's famous *La Guerre*, a programmatic chanson composed in honor of the French victory at Marignano in 1515 and printed by Attaingnant in 1528.[20] Jannequin's battle piece was evidently well known in Italian musical circles, for in the preface to the 1549 publication of Werrecore's *La bataglia*, Gardane mentions having heard it performed with a group of French chansons sung by Messer Sebastiano and company at the home of Alessandro Zamberti.[21] In fact, Werrecore's choice of mode and shifts of mensuration have as much in common with Jannequin's chanson as they do with Isaac's instrumental piece. Further, Werrecore borrowed motivic, harmonic, and textural aspects of Jannequin's chanson, but rearranged the order in which these materials are presented (Example 1.1).

Example 1.1 Werrecore, *La bataglia tagliana*, measures 1-25





The motivic materials of both Jannequin's chanson and Werrecore's villotta were partially derived from well-known soldiers' songs,[22] so a familiarity with these songs may have influenced Werrecore's selection of the borrowed material. Nonetheless, Werrecore's *La bataglia* is a textual paraphrase of Jannequin's chanson, particularly with respect to onomatopoeic devices. In addition, however, Werrecore illustrated the various national origins of the Imperial forces through mixed language and dialect. The polytextuality of Werrecore's villotta, in fact, parallels the careful pictorial detail found in the commemorative woodcuts, which sometimes even include written labels for each armed division present. The two-fold purpose of Werrecore's piece, consequently, is clear. First, it functions as an aural depiction of the battle that rivals the contemporary pictorial representations. Secondly, it provides an Italian musical response to Jannequin's celebratory piece. This musical response clearly indicates that the Italians viewed the victory at Pavia as a direct retaliation for the defeat they had suffered at the hands of the French at Marignano only ten years before.

Several professional issues may have provided the impulse for Werrecore's original composition, as well as its revision following the victory at Pavia. If Werrecore did witness the Battle of Bicocca, then he must have been working in the city prior to his appointment as maestro di cappella at the Cathedral of Milan on 3 July 1522. At the time of the appointment itself, Werrecore, indeed, was living in Milan, as both the cathedral and the state records consistently identify him as the son of one Elegio and resident of Milan.[23] However, he appears to have been relatively unknown in musical circles, and, as a result, it is not clear when he arrived in the city. A number of biographers have attempted to determine the composer's birthplace by exploring the etymology of his surname, and have proposed Sardinia, the Valle d'Aosta, Flanders, and Bohemia as possibilities.[24] Yet he is identified in numerous Milanese archival sources as 'Matthias fiammingo' and 'Matthias flandrensis,' thus suggesting that he hailed from Flanders. Since Werrecore's name has not yet surfaced in any Milanese documents prior to his appointment at the Duomo, it is very possible that he accompanied either Massimiliano or Francesco II to Milan from the court of

Maximilian I sometime between 1512 and 1521. Perhaps he was even dependent upon Francesco II's patronage and thus obligated to provide a commemorative work following the victory at Bicocca. In fact approximately two years after the victory at Bicocca, Werrecore was awarded a large ducal benefice at St. Michele of Busto in Gallerate via the patronage of the Sforza family.[25] In any case, the original version of *La bataglia tagliana* may well have earned him the attention necessary to assist in securing either the position at the Cathedral in 1522 or the benefice in 1524, if not both. The revised version celebrating the victory at Pavia probably arose from the expectation that the highest ranking musician in the city would of necessity provide a work to commemorate such a momentous occasion, particularly if that musician was himself a Milanese resident and held a benefice sponsored by the Sforza family.

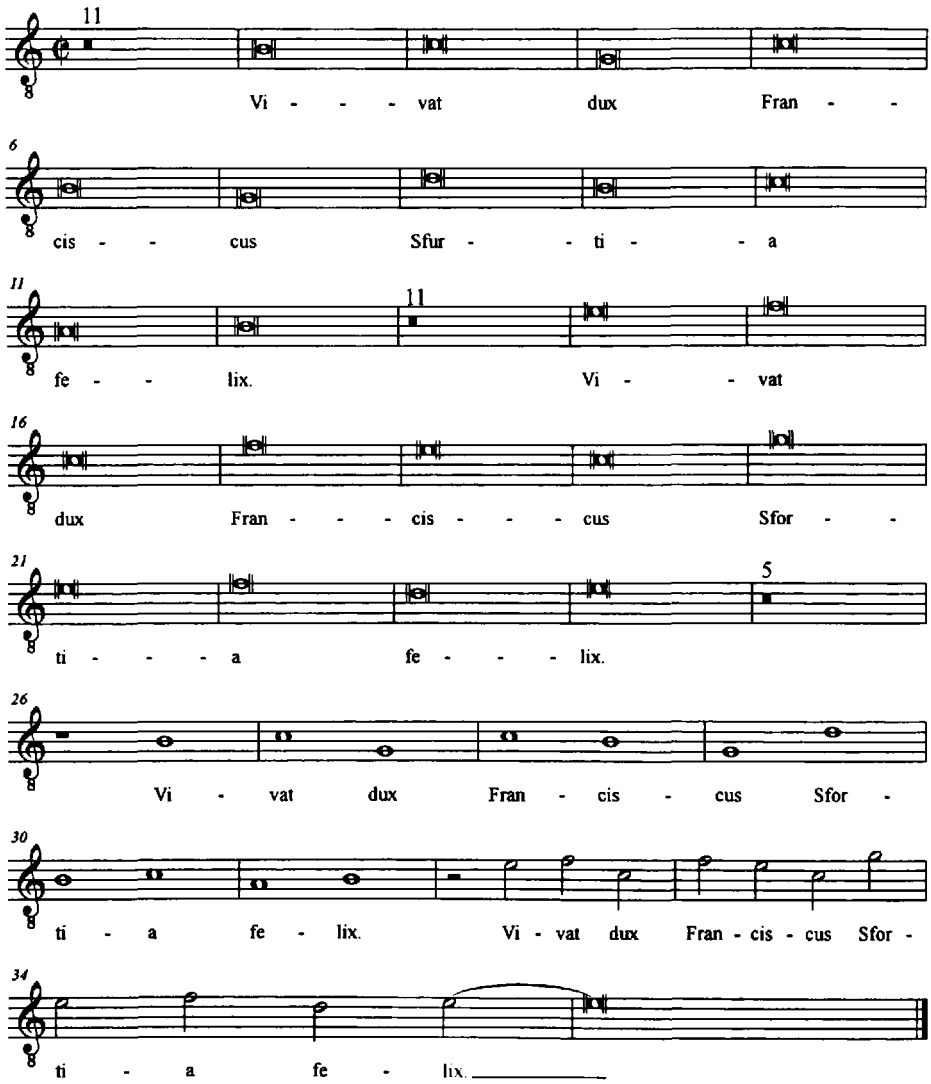
Although Werrecore's *La bataglia tagliana* was originally composed in honor of the victory at Bicocca in 1522, it is highly unlikely that the work was heard during the celebration of that event, since the sources reporting on the triumphal entry of Francesco II following the victory at Bicocca indicate that the celebrations were impromptu. Nonetheless, Werrecore's villotta is the most occasionally flexible of the four occasional works associated with Francesco II's restoration. As a general chronicle of a decisive Italian and Imperial victory, it might have been performed as the banquet entertainment during any number of secular events held at the Sforza court during the succeeding years, including Charles V and Philip II's triumphal progressions through Milan in 1533, 1541, and 1548.

Two motets by Adrian Willaert are also associated with the victory at Pavia. The first of them, *Victor io salve/Quis curare neget*, features a long-note cantus firmus on the text 'Hail to the Sforza, the greatest Duke and Ruler.'[26] It makes specific references to the victory over the French at Pavia and the capture of the French monarch. The second, *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*, is organized around a similarly derived cantus firmus on the text 'Long live the fortunate Duke Francesco Sforza.'[27] It also mentions the victory at Pavia, but celebrates the resulting restoration of the Duchy of Milan to the Sforza. The motets were first published by Scotto in 1539 as numbers 15 and 18 of Willaert's first book of five-voice motets.[28] Yet they appear to have originally functioned as a pair, since both not only are dedicated to Francesco II Sforza, but also are modeled upon Josquin's *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*. Like the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*, both motets feature dedicatory cantus firmi derived through *soggetto cavato* technique. These cantus firmi follow the design of the *soggetti* used in the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae* in that they are presented in uniform long notes in alternating natural hexachord and hard hexachord positions (Example 1.2a, b). Further, the successive statements of the cantus firmi, like those of the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*, are marked off by periods of rest rhythmically equal in length to the cantus firmi themselves. Finally, the cantus firmi of both motets are treated to uniform proportional diminution similar to that found in the Credo and Sanctus of the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*.

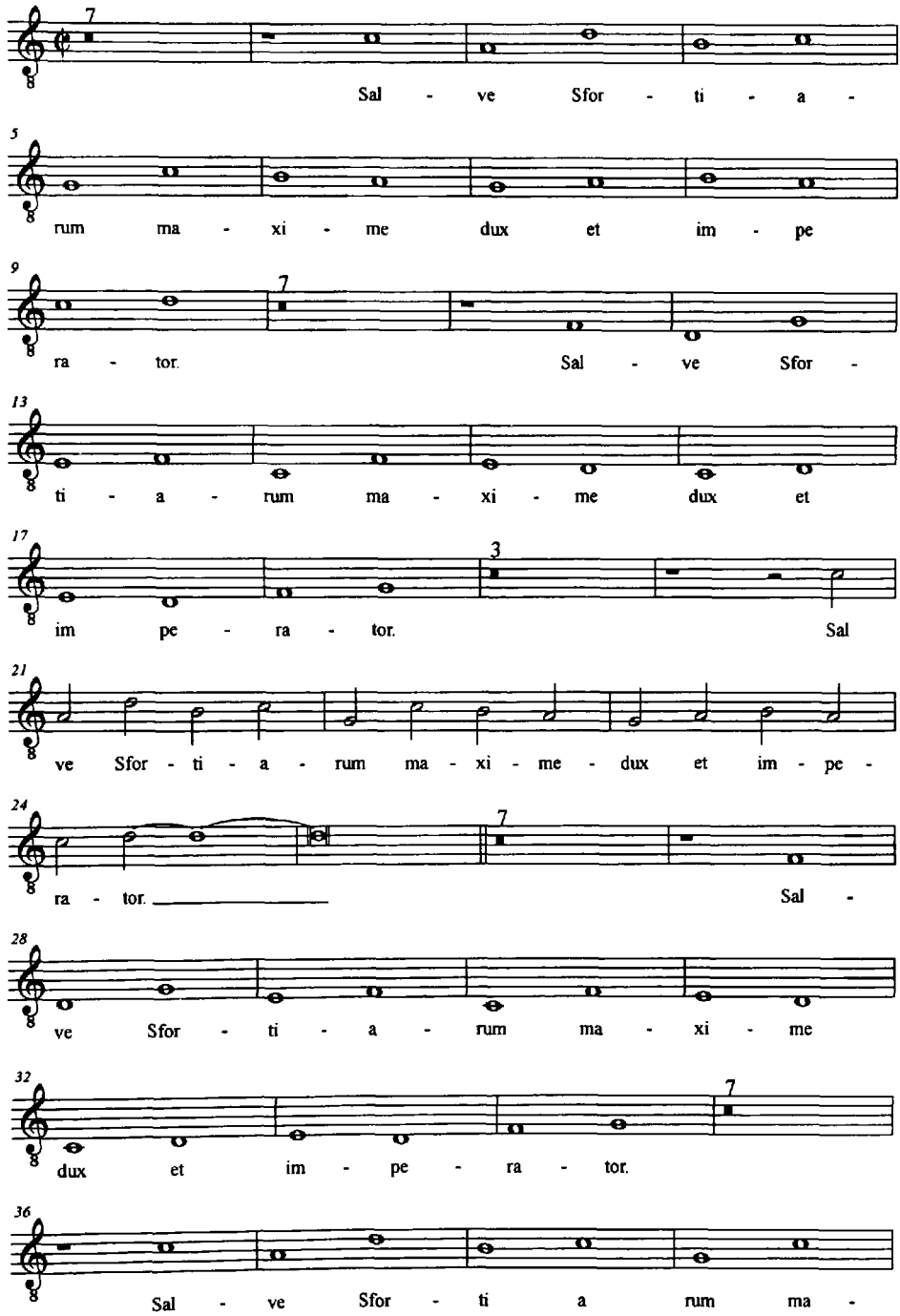
Josquin's *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae* continued to be of symbolic significance in Ferrara, where Willaert was employed from between 1514 and 1527,[29] long after Ercole's death in 1505. A number of other works utilizing similar *soggetto cavato* techniques were composed during the first half of the century by individuals

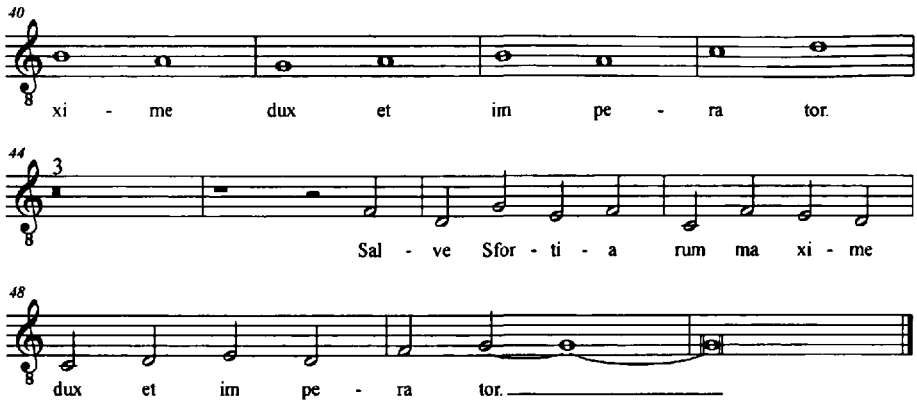
connected to the Ferrarese court, including Cipriano da Rore and Lupus. Although they are related by their common debt to the Missa *Hercules Dux Ferrariae*, most of them depart more radically from the model than do Willaert's motets. Milanese singers were certainly equally familiar with the mass,

Example 1.2a Cantus firmus of *Victor io salve/Quis curare neget*



Example 1.2b Cantus firmus of *Inclite Sfortiadum princes*





as three of its movements are copied in the third of the four Milan Choirbooks (or *Gaffurius Codices*) belonging to the Duomo.[30] The close acquaintance with the *Hercules* mass shared by Ferrarese and Milanese audiences, in fact, may account for its use as a model for Willaert's motets.

Through their strict adherence to the structural perimeters of the *Hercules* model, the Willaert motets acknowledge Francesco II's Este heritage via his mother Beatrice d'Este. Moreover, they allude to the historical parallel between Francesco II's restoration and his grandfather's ascendancy following the Venetian wars. The role of the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae* in underscoring the link between the two regimes is, in fact, indirectly suggested by Lewis Lockwood, who noted that the only place in the mass in which material from the cantus firmus appears simultaneously in another voice occurs in the Gloria on the text 'et in terra,' at which point the fragment of the cantus firmus spelling the word 'Ferrariae' appears in the cantus and altus voices. Lockwood interprets this as a special reference to Ercole I, the Ferrarese prince 'on earth' ('et in terra') and man among men to whom the mass is dedicated. Even in Lockwood's own transcription, however, the fragment of the cantus firmus that musically spells the word 'Ferrariae' actually falls on the text 'and on earth peace.'[31] The coupling of the musical motive 'Ferrariae' with the text 'and on earth peace,' likely refers to the peace with Venice negotiated by Ercole I in 1484. Ercole's treaty with Venice effected the restoration of many Ferrarese civic institutions that had been closed or suspended during the Venetian wars. Like the mass upon which they are based, Willaert's motets celebrate the restoration of civic continuity via the intercession of an Este. In the case of the motets, however, Francesco II replaces Ercole I as the 'prince on earth' to whom civic gratitude is owed.

Willaert's contributions to the canon of works commemorating the victory at Pavia remain somewhat puzzling from the standpoint of his relationship with Francesco II. Between 1525 and 1527 Willaert was in the service of Ippolito II d'Este, Archbishop of Milan.[32] However, the correspondence surviving in the Milanese archives from the 1520s and early 1530s not only confirms that Ippolito spent little to no time in Milan, but also reveals that affairs between Francesco II and Ippolito II were somewhat strained. Unless Willaert acted on his own in writing the two motets

for Francesco II, their existence is likely owed to Ippolito II's concern over the eroding diplomatic relations between his native Ferrara and Milan, the seat of his episcopate.

Very little correspondence between Milan and Ferrara survives in the Milanese archives for the years 1520-1525. After 1525, as might be expected, the diplomatic exchanges appear to have become more frequent. The first hint of underlying discord is found in a rather cryptic letter written by Ippolito II from Ferrara to his cousin Francesco II in Milan on 4 November 1526:

> My most renowned and excellent Sir: My illustrious father [is] sending the famous ambassador Marco di Pij to your Excellency. I have asked him to convey my respects to you and remind you that I will persevere in your service as I am supposed to do. [I have also asked] him to say a few words on my behalf. And that is why I ask that you lend credence to that which he will explain in my name. And I entrust myself to your kind mercy. From Ferrara on the Fourth of November, 1526. From your most illustrious and excellent servant Ippolito d'Este.[33]

Some of the tension in diplomatic relations between the two courts may have resulted from the Estense's well-known reputation as Francophiles, but two other issues of contention emerge through further study of the archival documentation. First, Francesco II was irritated with Ippolito II because he had continually avoided taking residence Milan, choosing instead to remain in Ferrara for financial reasons despite Francesco's urging. The difficulty is discussed in passing throughout the diplomatic correspondence from the years 1531-1532, at which time Ippolito promised to make a trip to Milan as soon as is possible. Francesco, then occupied with the impending expansion of the ducal chapel at Santa Maria della Scala through the addition of musical benefices, likely was eager to engage Ippolito's ecclesiastical influence and expertise in expediting the matter. Nonetheless, Ippolito's father, Duke Alfonso I d'Este, continually discouraged discussion of the trip by remarking that it would be too costly. Although a letter dated 18 June 1566 from Ippolito II to Cardinal Carlo Borromeo implies that he never set foot in the Duomo of Milan during his tenure as archbishop,[34] other documentary evidence suggests that either Ippolito or one of his agents traveled to Milan in August 1532 for the official installation of the new benefices at the ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala.[35] Further, it indicates that Ippolito II hosted Christina of Denmark, Francesco II's new consort, in Ferrara during late 1534 at Francesco's expense. Apparently, the financial excuses proffered by the Estense eventually wore Francesco II down, for Christina's trip was arranged shortly after they had again refused him a visit to Milan, claiming, as usual, that the expenses would be too great a burden. In a letter of 8 December 1534, Ippolito II thanked Francesco II for sponsoring Christina's visit, making the usual promises to serve Francesco as faithfully as possible.[36]

Perhaps more significant than the postponed visits of Ippolito II was the Ferrarese expectation that Francesco II award Ippolito the episcopate at Modena, a benefice which was temporarily under Sforza control. Francesco II apparently had refused the request because the benefice was already occupied, but the Estense pressed the matter further, arguing that the current Bishop of Modena no longer actually

resided on the property. There is extensive correspondence regarding this matter from the year 1531, at which time the impasse was finally broken. However, it is clear that by June 1531 Francesco was already weary of hearing about the matter and, further, that Ippolito was concerned by the furor that had erupted over it.[37] Although Francesco II considered the issue closed, the Estense continually attempted to reopen negotiations. Thus, Ippolito's concern over Francesco's potential annoyance was well founded, and he was soon given the opportunity to assuage any ill feelings between the two courts. Upon Francesco II's express request, Ippolito undertook the transfer of the Convent of San Vincenzo from his episcopal authority.[38] On 17 June 1531 Ferrante Gargano, Francesco's ambassador to Ferrara, sent a diplomatic brief communicating Ippolito's willingness to expedite the transfer. As a further demonstration of affection, he enclosed several songs by Jhan, maestro di cappella at the court of Ferrara:

> Finally, he wrote me that I send Your Excellency certain songs that were sent to me by Maistre Jhan, which were forgotten by the last messenger, and these I enclose for Your Excellency at his request.[39]

Arriving as they did with the update on the transfer, the songs promised to placate Francesco by appealing to his appetite for the sort of musical entertainment that he had witnessed in Austria and Rome. On 26 June 1531 Francesco responded, gratefully acknowledging Ippolito's efforts on behalf of the transfer of the authority of San Vincenzo. In the course of his reply, he also mentioned receiving the songs.[40] In addition, he acknowledged the gift of songs more fully in a brief sent to Ambassador Gargano two days later:

> The songs that you have sent with the information in this letter were most graceful and we convey to you that you must persevere in keeping us advised . . .[41]

On 2 July 1531 Ambassador Gargano reported that no further progress had been made on the transfer of San Vincenzo, and noted that the Estense were still pressing the matter of the episcopate at Modena:

> . . .I have also spoken to the Most Reverend Archbishop regarding the situation of the venerable sisters of Santo Vincenzo, in order to have the instrument of agreement of His Most Reverend Lordship. He responded that he has still not received an answer from his agents in Milan, and that as soon as it arrives he will let me know.
>
> I informed His Most Reverend Lordship that I know that your Excellency is not able to serve His Lordship in the issue of the Episcopate of Modena, given that Morono will not surrender the title, and that your Excellency is resolute in not interfering in such a disagreement.[42]

Despite Francesco II's apparent resolve regarding the Episcopate, the Estense gained the upper hand. After the city of Modena was restored to Ferrara in September 1531, the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara pressured the current Bishop of Modena to resign his post.[43] In order to protect his own appointment, the Bishop finally agreed to allow the Duke of Ferrara to appoint Ippolito as his assistant, and proposed a stipend of 250 lire

per year.[44] Official negotiations regarding the benefice were concluded in February 1532.[45] In the end, Ippolito was appointed vicar of Modena, with a salary of 400 lire.[46] Nevertheless, Ippolito undoubtedly found himself in a precarious position over this matter, particularly given his reluctance to appear in Milan despite his responsibility to the city as its archbishop. He clearly was concerned by the tension in Milanese–Ferrarese relations felt between 1526 and 1532, and continually sought to placate Francesco II. Since he offered Francesco II the songs of Maistre Jhan as a conciliatory gesture during the final negotiations over the episcopate at Modena in 1531, it is likely that he asked Willaert to honor Francesco II with two motets when the disagreements between the two families first escalated around 1526.

There is no archival documentation that explicitly confirms such a theory, and, as a result, the possibility that Willaert was acting alone cannot be ruled out. The same theory might also be postulated for Maistre Jahn. What then might have attracted Ferrarese composers, and in particular Willaert, to Milan? First, he may have been interested in the position of maestro di cappella at the Duomo of Milan. By 1532 Matthias Werrecore, the current maestro di cappella, had alienated so many of the singers that the Milan cathedral chapter had become concerned about his inability to retain control over them. The first suggestion of discord is found in the archival sources as early as 1525, at which time Werrecore was called in front of the chapter to respond to unspecified accusations that had been leveled against him. No documentation outlining the particulars of the meeting has been discovered, but it is clear that the situation worsened between 1525 and 1532. In fact, Werrecore appears to have lost all control over the choir by early 1532. On 18 January 1532, he was required to explain his administrative objectives in a formal inquiry before the chapter officers, and was further directed to do the same for the singers in a separately scheduled meeting. The meetings culminated in a major reorganization of the cappella musicale that included the enactment of a number of rules governing the behavior of the singers.[47] Since a number of Milanese trumpeters traveled frequently from Milan to Ferrara with wartime communiqués and diplomatic documents during the 1520s,[48] Willaert had ample sources from which to hear about the incidents. Thus, he may well have hoped to be appointed in Werrecore's place. Secondly, Willaert may have desired an appointment at one of the ducal chapels found in the other major churches of Milan and its vicinity, including Santa Maria della Scala, Santa Maria presso San Celso, and Sant'Ambrogio in Vigevano. As will be seen below, the documentation indicates that the founding, renovation and expansion of some of these chapels was a chief concern during the early days of Francesco II's tenure. Finally, Willaert may have hoped to secure one of the other numerous benefices sponsored by the Sforza family. Since at least three Milanese singers were awarded such benefices between the years 1523 and 1527,[49] Willaert's candidacy was not out of the realm of possibility, given both his emerging reputation as a composer and his membership in Archbishop Ippolito's chapel. It, however, is not at all clear that Willaert was personally acquainted with Francesco II Sforza. The two may have met as early as 1518, at which time the composer accompanied Ippolito I d'Este to Krakow for the wedding of Bona Sforza and Sigismund I of Poland.[50] The records indicate that Bona's retinue alone included 287 Italians, thus strengthening the likelihood of Francesco's presence at the event as well.[51] Yet no existing documentation confirms a meeting between the two.

Although the Willaert motets, like Werrecore's villotta, rely upon modeling procedures, their reception among sixteenth-century audiences followed an entirely different path. *La bataglia taliana* allowed for the collective appreciation of coded musical symbols on multiple levels through its quotation of easily recognized soldier songs, as well as its more specialized references to works preserved in the written repertoire, including, of course, Jannequin's *La guerre*. Moreover, the performance of *La bataglia tagliana*, with its mixed languages and dialects and its onomatopoeic devices, posed an enticing challenge to amateur musicians and academy members who engaged regularly with the Italian madrigal. Thus, the work's success was not entirely dependent upon the recognition of references to pre-existing literature. The musical message of *Victor io salve/Quis curare neget* and *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps* required decoding by an audience thoroughly familiar with the organization and structure of the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae*. Such a community of readers would have been, by definition, much smaller, for it would have comprised professionals and collectors who grasped the technical and historical context in which the motets were conceived. It, consequently, is not surprising that while *La bataglia tagliana* was reprinted numerous times during the sixteenth century, *Victor io salve/Quis curare neget* and *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps* survive in only two printed sources, both of which are dedicated to Willaert's five-voice motets.

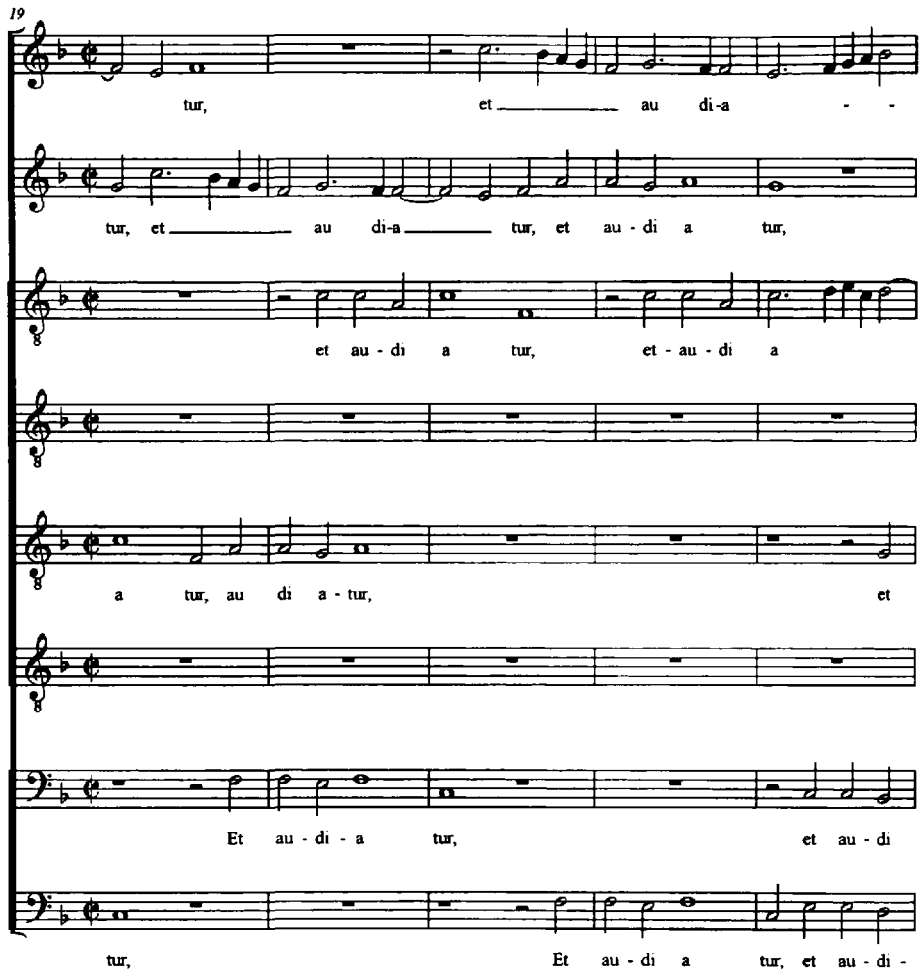
Perhaps the most enigmatic of the four pieces associated with the victory at Pavia is the eight-voice motet *Vocem iocunditatis/Ecce Ducem nostrum*. The text of the motet is a gloss of the Roman introit for the fifth Sunday after Easter, which refers to the liberation of Israel, as well as of Psalms 46, 150, and 91.[52] In addition, the motet features a canonic cantus firmus on the text 'Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, will multiply just as the cedar. Rejoice Italy.'[53] The cantus firmus itself appears to be derived from a popular song, though the melody remains unidentified to date. It is stated in canon at the fifth between the Tenor 2 and Contratenor 2 voices. The two supporting bass voices, which feature close imitations at the unison and fifth, provide the added aural impression of moving in canon as well. Similar imitative entries in the other non-canonic voices are closely spaced, thus contributing to the overall effect of a sound mass driven by incessant imitation (Example 1.3). Here the nation of Israel, delivered by the Lord from the hands of its enemies, functions as a temporary impresa for the rejoicing Milanese. Within this allegorical context, Francesco II is heralded as the Messianic cedar that is planted 'in the mountain of the height of Israel.'[54]

Vocem iocunditatis/Ecce Ducem nostrum is found in two extant German sources, namely the manuscript *München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* 1536, where it is attributed to Gregor Peschin, and the print *Thesaurus musicus continens . . . tomo primi* (RISM 1564[1]), where it stands without attribution. No direct connection between Gregor Peschin and the city of Milan currently can be documented, and, consequently, a number of scholars have suggested that the work may have been composed by Hermann Matthias Werrecore.[55] Werrecore, who, as noted above, served at the Duomo of Milan at the time of the victory and during subsequent restoration of the Sforza, is represented with at least nine motets in the *Thesaurus musicus* series, while Peschin is not known to have contributed to the series at all.

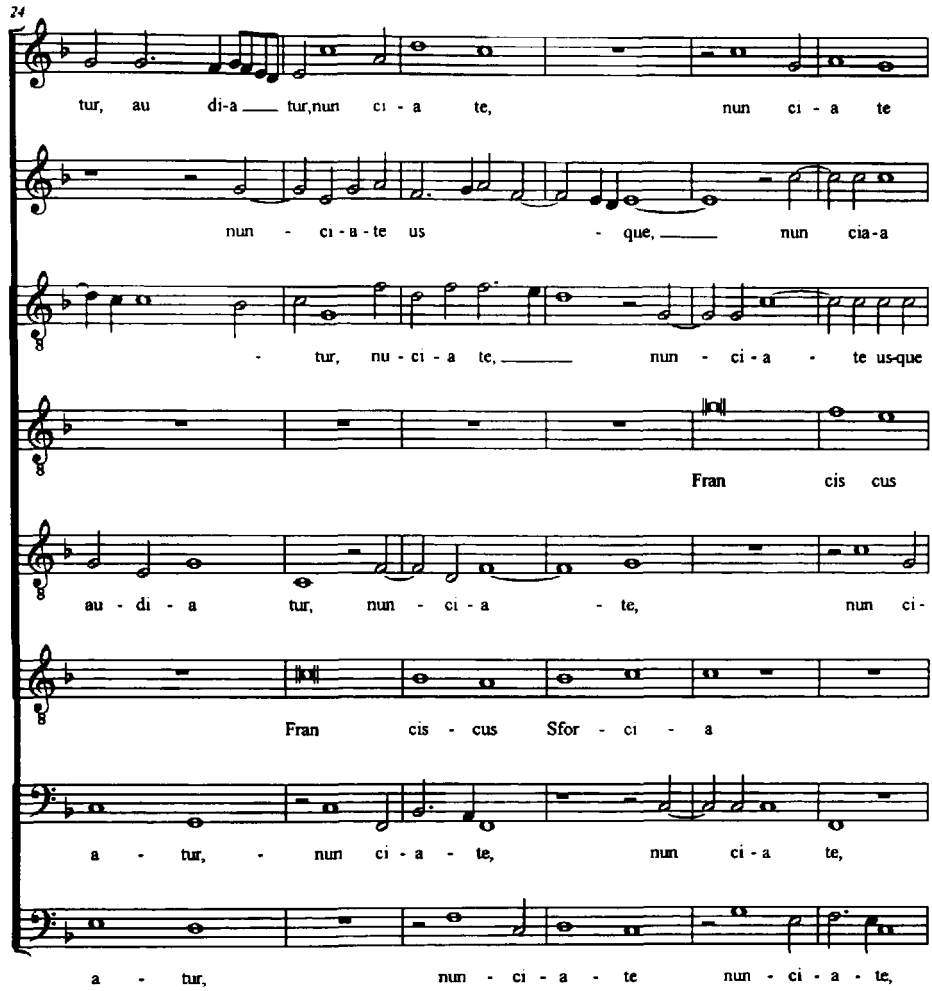
Moreover, an attribution to Werrecore is arguable upon stylistic grounds. The canonic cantus firmi and dense texture that distinguish *Vocem iocunditatis* are characteristic of several motets found in Werrecore's *Cantuum quinque vocum* of 1555, which contains pieces with canonic cantus firmi for as many as seven voices. Despite its massive wall of sound, furthermore, *Vocem iocunditatis* features gracefully constructed imitations of the sort commonly found in the motets of Werrecore's 1555 book. Nonetheless, Gregor Peschin composed a number of ceremonial motets, and the treatment of the canonic cantus firmus of *Vocem iocunditatis* is reminiscent of that found in his extant German lied settings. The list of German lieder attributed to Peschin in *Heidelberg, Codex Pal. Germ.* 318 reveals that his experience in setting popular tunes was far more extensive than that of Werrecore, who apparently composed only a handful of Italian villanesche.[56] If, indeed, the cantus firmus is derived from a popular song, Peschin's experimentation with popular genres may lend further weight to the attribution in the Munich manuscript.

Peschin may be associated to Francesco II Sforza via the court of Sigismund I of Poland, and this connection, in turn, may shed further light on the two motets contributed by Willaert. Sigismund I was an avid patron of music, art and architecture, and the documentation amassed to date reveals that from 1501 to 1540 he traveled frequently to Buda to acquire instruments and other musical services, and sent to Silesia and Germany for musicians as well. When Sigismund married Bona Sforza, in 1518, moreover, his musical contacts were further extended to include Italy.[57] Gregor Peschin was educated and subsequently served in the court chapel in Budapest until 1526, and then transferred to Salzburg to accept a position as organist there in 1527.[58] It, therefore, is quite possible that Peschin had some contact with Sigismund I and Bona Sforza while residing in Budapest. If the attribution to Peschin in the Munich manuscript is correct, *Vocem iocunditatis* may represent a commission from Sigismund I and Bona Sforza. Interestingly enough, Willaert not only accompanied Ippolito I d'Este to the wedding of Sigismund I in 1518, but also spent the preceding year in Budapest.[59] Thus, it is quite possible that Willaert's *Victor io salve/Quis curare neget* and *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps* originated via Sigismund I and Bona Sforza as well.

Example 1.3 Werrecore, *Vocem iocunditatis*, measures 19-41



In any case, the eight-voice texture of *Vocem iocunditatis* suggests that the composition may have been conceived with the ducal choir at the collegiate church of Santa Maria della Scala in mind. Its chapter, which was founded in 1384-1385 by Barnabò Visconti for the purpose of preserving the Ambrosian liturgy, originally consisted of twenty canons, four clerics, two custodians and a provost. In 1531-1532, however, Francesco II Sforza augmented its size through the addition of eight choral appointments. The archival documentation reveals that the ducal choir at Santa Maria della Scala subsequently played a major role in ducal and royal ceremony in Milan. Although the names of the original eight choral singers are preserved in the documents, their voice types are nowhere specified. However, the balanced division of the eight singers into groups of 2 mansionari, 4 chaplains, and 2 deacons, each of



which had specific responsibilities during the performance of a given service, carries with it the probability that the voice types were similarly distributed, particularly since the choir was known to have sung polyphony.[60] Nonetheless, it is equally possible that the motet was intended for use in the Duomo, which boasted a choir of approximately sixteen members and traditionally hosted most formal celebrations of state.

The four musical works commemorating the victory at Pavia and the subsequent restoration of the Sforza were originally conceived, like most ceremonial works of the period, as the aural embellishment of a celebration at a public gathering. Yet none of the Milanese chronicles or accounts surviving from the period mentions a formal Milanese celebration immediately following the victory at Pavia. Thus, it appears likely that the four commemorative works associated with the victory were performed at later celebrations held after the