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 **Routledge**  
Taylor & Francis Group  
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2007 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

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**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

D'Accone, Frank A.

Music and musicians in 16th-century Florence. –

(Variorum collected studies series; no. 857)

1. Music – Italy – Florence – History and criticism

2. Musicians – Italy – Florence – History – 16th century

I. Title

780.9'4551'09031

ISBN 9780754659013 (hbk)

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

D'Accone, Frank A.

Music and musicians in 16th-century Florence / by Frank A. D'Accone.

p. cm. – (Variorum collected studies series ; CS857)

Includes index.

ISBN 978-0-7546-5901-3 (alk. paper)

1. Music – Italy – Florence – 16th century – History and criticism. 2. Musicians –

Italy – Florence – History – 16th century. I. Title.

ML290.8.F6D32 2007

780.945'5109031–dc22

2006034308

ISBN 13: 978-0-7546-5901-3 (hbk)

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES CS857

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## INTRODUCTION

In this second volume of studies devoted to Florentine musical history of the Renaissance I have brought together another group of essays that appeared some years ago in various journals, conference proceedings and *Festschriften*. The focus of my research in these, as in previous ones, was directed towards musical programs in the city's principal churches and the musicians associated with them as revealed by documentary sources that for the most part had remained unpublished. A few remarks about the essays in my earlier volume may serve as an introduction to those presented here.<sup>1</sup> Illustration of musical antecedents at the Cathedral and a few other Florentine churches in the later 14th and early 15th century furnished the background for an account of developments in the city's musical life after 1437, when the first chapel of polyphonic singers was founded. Most but not all served at both the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore and the Baptistry of San Giovanni. Musical programs in both places were administered and supported by boards of overseers appointed by the two guilds, Arte della Lana and Arte di Calimala, responsible for the decoration, building programs, upkeep and administration of the two churches. Called the "Singers of San Giovanni" by 15th-century Florentines, the chapels sometimes functioned as a single group, usually under the direction of the same master. During the course of the 15th century many singers of San Giovanni were also employed at the convent church of the Santissima Annunziata, which became the city's third major venue for performances of vocal polyphony.

Establishing the number of days and services when the chapels sang and the liturgical items designated for polyphonic performance added considerably to an understanding of how the groups functioned, as did analysis of the number and disposition of voices within them. Useful also in this respect was new information that came to light relating to the place of origin, date of appointment, employment terms and tenure of the musicians. The most sought-after musicians were the famed Franco-Flemings, purveyors of the new polyphony of the North that was so eagerly embraced by an ever-widening Italian public. Their numbers in Florence increased significantly during the last years of Lorenzo the Magnificent's lifetime (d. 1492), when the city's chapel became one of the

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<sup>1</sup> See my *Music in Renaissance Florence: Studies and Documents* (Aldershot, 2006).

outstanding institutions of its kind in Italy. Some of my research provided the basis for an investigation of performing practices at the principal Florentine churches during the 15th century, and later it led me to a comparative study of similar chapels throughout Italy.

My research also pointed to the impact of Franco-Flemish musicians, particularly the composer Heinrich Isaac, on the city's musical life and how they engendered the rebirth of a school of native composers.<sup>2</sup> From the outset one of my primary aims was to illuminate the family background, training and careers of local musicians; another, in the case of composers, was the transcription, editing and analysis of their surviving musical works. Establishing the continuity of a tradition of organ playing in Florence throughout the 15th century, especially during the short-lived regime of the reforming monk Girolamo Savonarola, was a necessary prerequisite for tracing the course of music within many of the city's other churches, some of which also had small programs featuring vocal polyphony and instruction in figural music. The behind-the-scenes role played in recruiting and appointing singers by the Medici family before their ouster in 1494 and the subsequent dissolution of the chapels was explored in a few studies, as were the musical interests and accomplishments of Lorenzo the Magnificent and his family. From all of these emerged a picture of a vibrant musical life in 15th-century Florence that had only been adumbrated previously.

Many of these same themes are pursued in the essays in this volume, concerned as they are with further developments at the principal Florentine churches during the 16th century and with musicians who performed in and composed for them. Overseers of chapels at the Cathedral and the Baptistry, re-established in the early 1500s, continued the expedient of employing many of the same musicians, a topic elucidated in Essay I. As in the past, the chapels were essentially independent entities and they continued to function as such throughout the years of the first Medici restoration after 1512. Upon regaining their prerogatives in governing the city, however, the Medici lost no time in reasserting their influence in the chapels' hiring policies and appointments. This was particularly true after the election of Giovanni de' Medici as Pope Leo X in 1513. Medici plans to restore the Florentine chapel to its former glory now became quite public, when examined in light of events recounted here in Essay I. No less a figure than Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, later to become Pope Clement VII, was actively involved in realizing these aims, as was his cousin Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, namesake and grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent. By this time the dominant role of the Franco-Flemings, who had been so influential in shaping Florentine and Italian musical culture of the

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<sup>2</sup> See my "Heinrich Isaac in Florence: New and Unpublished Documents," *The Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 464-83; reprinted as Essay VII in the volume mentioned in note 1.

previous century, was coming to a close. Vestiges of their role in Florentine musical life are illustrated by the honorary appointment of Isaac as “president” of the chapel and the employment of Philippe Verdelot and his companions as singers at both the Cathedral and the Baptistry. An earlier directive from the Duke of Urbino, acting through his surrogate Lorenzo Strozzi, sought to shore up the Baptistry’s forces and mandated the appointment of two of the city’s leading organists, Bartolomeo degli Organi and Baccio Moschini, both of them apparently excellent singers as well. Both nevertheless continued their careers as organists, Bartolomeo, at the Cathedral, and Moschini, at the Badia Fiorentina.

Younger representatives of a new Florentine school were by then also claiming a place in the city’s musical life. References to their lives and activities appear to a greater or lesser extent in essays I, II, III and IV. Foremost among the generation born in the 1490s was Bernardo Pisano, singer, composer and classical scholar, who, despite his nickname, was a Florentine by birth.<sup>3</sup> His appointment to the Cathedral chapel as a singer and teacher in 1511 is discussed in Essay I, as is his promotion in less than a year to the post of chapel master. His rapid advancement may have come through the recommendation of Cardinal Giovanni de’ Medici, who became Pope Leo X in 1513. Shortly after Leo’s election, Pisano, in the company of Leo’s uncle, journeyed to Rome, where he received an appointment to the Papal chapel. Leo also subsequently awarded Pisano with lucrative benefices. In the following years Pisano divided his time between Rome and Florence, apparently spying for the Medici whenever he was in Florence. At least this was what the anti-Medicean forces believed, for during the time of the city’s second revolt against the Medici in 1528, he was arrested, tortured, and then expelled by the republican government, which pronounced him “as crippled in his mind as he was in his body.” Most of his last years he spent in Rome as a member of the Papal chapel, and there he died in 1548.

Pisano’s literary scholarship is demonstrated in his edition of the works of Apuleius, a volume he dedicated to his friend and patron, Filippo Strozzi. More important, Pisano was a pioneer of the madrigal. Several examples of his work in this newly emerging genre survive in a collection, *Musica di Messer Bernardo Pisano sopra le Canzoni del Petrarca*, printed by Ottaviano Petrucci in

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<sup>3</sup> Biographical information and brief notes on his music are in my “Bernardo Pisano: An Introduction to His Life and Works,” *Musica Disciplina* 17 (1963): 115–35; “Bernardo Pisano and the Early Madrigal,” *Report of the Tenth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Ljubljana 1967*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko (Kassel, 1970): 96–107. See also my edition of Pisano’s *Collected Works*, *Music of the Florentine Renaissance* 1, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 32 (American Institute of Musicology, 1962), where his responsories for Good Friday and Holy Saturday and the last one for Maundy Thursday are given. All nine of them for Maundy Thursday have subsequently been found and will appear in a forthcoming volume of the series.

Fossombrone in 1520. At present, this is the earliest dated source for several of his pieces that can only be described as madrigals. Musico-poetic ideals governing Pisano's settings of poems by Petrarch and others, including Lorenzo Strozzi, were undoubtedly influenced by the aesthetic theories formulated by Bembo and his friends in Rome regarding Petrarch's choice of words and their sound qualities. In Florence analogous theories on musical setting of texts in the Florentine, that is, the Italian language, to music, must have occupied many a conversation among the literati and noblemen who frequented the city's intellectual circles and convivial dining clubs. Pisano himself was a member of one such club, the *Compagnia della Cazzuola*.<sup>4</sup> For reasons yet unknown but probably owing to continuing ill health, Pisano seems to have stopped composing after 1520. By then, however, he had already made his mark and produced a body of work that was assuredly known to Philippe Verdelot, one of his successors as Florentine chapel master, and to Jacques Arcadelt and Costanzo Festa, his colleagues in the Papal Chapel, all of whose works helped to define the early madrigal.

Two Florentine musicians of the generation after Pisano, Francesco de Layolle and Francesco Corteccia, achieved international recognition.<sup>5</sup> As a youth Layolle sang laudi at the Santissima Annunziata and studied with Bartolomeo degli Organi, whose sister-in-law he later married. Layolle left Florence just as his career was beginning. He settled in Lyons, home to a large colony of Florentine merchants, business men, bankers and their families, and there he became organist at Notre Dame de Confort. He was a prolific composer of both sacred and secular music. From about 1530 onwards he also acted as music editor for the publisher Jacques Moderne, who issued a good many volumes of his works. Layolle was identified in later years with several leaders of the anti-Medicean faction who sought refuge in Lyons, though he himself was never declared a rebel.<sup>6</sup> His madrigals, which must be counted amongst the earliest composed in the new genre, were circulating in Florence long before they were published in 1540, the year of his death. That his sacred works were also known in the city is evident from the inclusion of some of them in

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<sup>4</sup> This and other Florentine groups which played such a significant part in framing musico-poetic theories in the decades after the Medici return are discussed by Anthony Cummings in his *The Maecenas and the Madrigal* (Philadelphia, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> For Francesco de Layolle see the Introduction to his *Collected Secular Works for 2, 3, 4 and 5 Voices*, Music of the Florentine Renaissance 3, Corpus Mensuralis Musicae 32 (American Institute of Musicology, 1969).

<sup>6</sup> In 1565 his son Alamanno, a composer and organist in his own right, emigrated from Lyons to Florence, where he resettled and had a successful career as a performer and teacher. See my "The Intavolatura di M. Alamanno Aiolli, A Newly Discovered Source of Florentine Renaissance Keyboard Music," *Musica Disciplina* 20 (1966): 151–74.

Cathedral manuscripts and in a manuscript from the church of San Lorenzo, which is studied in Essay IV.

Francesco Corteccia spent his entire life in Florence. Like Layolle, he was born into a family that had lived in the city for several generations.<sup>7</sup> As a youth he served among the young clerks at the Baptistry and later, after completing his studies for the priesthood, he became organist there. Corteccia entered the front ranks of the city's musical life in 1540, when at the instance of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, he was appointed master of the Florentine chapel. (Essay I) It was at that time that independent chapels at the Cathedral and the Baptistry were united. The circumstances and conditions that led to this administrative regrouping, which was to endure for several centuries, are also reported in Essay I. In accordance with tradition, the new group sang Masses at the Baptistry and Vespers at the Cathedral on Sundays and feast days. Additionally, on a few occasions it sang at other churches in the city. Singers were obliged to be present whenever the chapel was to perform, except for those times when they had a legitimate excuse such as illness, or when they were in the service of the Duke. Now, even though the singers' salaries would continue to be paid by the overseers of the two churches – where several singers also served as chaplains – appointments to the chapel, tenure and promotion were subject to Medici approval. From this time forward, as noted in passing in several essays in this volume, the Florentine singers constituted a single group that performed under the direction of a master approved by Duke Cosimo and his successors. Corteccia, who styled himself “maestro di cappella” to the Duke on the title pages of his published works, held no official position at court, although his activities both in the chapel and as Cosimo's principal composer and musician for many decades certainly justified his right to do so.

Shortly after becoming master of the Florentine chapel Corteccia set himself the task of supplying the singers with new music to texts they performed at various services. To this end he composed settings of motets, of the Passions according to Matthew and John, of Mass propers for major feast days, of a hymn cycle for the entire liturgical year, “according to the use of the Roman church and of the Florentine,” as he described it, and of the complete responsories and other texts sung at Matins and Lauds on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday. The responsories are the subject of Essay II, where Corteccia's original versions and subsequent revisions he made to them are traced. Earlier and later readings of these pieces appear in dated manuscripts showing that Corteccia returned to them on several occasions as he sought to refine

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<sup>7</sup> On Corteccia's family, training and early works, see Mario Fabbri, “La vita e l'ignota operaprima di Francesco Corteccia musicista italiano del Rinascimento,” *Chigiana* 22, N.S. 2 (1965): 185–217.

details of textual declamation and musical expression.<sup>8</sup> By Corteccia's time Matins of the *Triduum sacrum* had long been celebrated at the Cathedral with polyphony. His pieces were intended to substitute for those composed a few decades earlier by Bernardo Pisano, his teacher. In the introduction to the 1570 printed edition of his responsories, quoted at some length in Essay II, Corteccia wrote that Pisano's pieces were considered old-fashioned by the time he composed his own, probably in the early 1540s. Corteccia, however, adopted Pisano's approach, and he set the texts in a distinctive 4-part chordal texture that he varied systematically with briefer, livelier contrapuntal passages à 3. This approach, which is described and illustrated in Essays IV and VI, placed the text in bold relief, and was one that had great appeal for Corteccia's public.

Florentine preference for homophonic music of this kind at services on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday is in fact very much on display in a manuscript from around the middle of the 16th century whose contents were discussed for the first time in Essay IV. The manuscript, in two discrete parts that were bound together after 1626, preserves the polyphonic repertory sung during Holy Week at the Medici family church of San Lorenzo. It has remained there since the time both parts were completed. Part I was copied in 1561–2 by Michele Federighi, Corteccia's onetime pupil and friend, who later became prior of San Lorenzo and executor of his estate. Part II was finished somewhat earlier, in 1559, by Braccio Baglione, Corteccia's fellow chaplain at the church, who also sang under him in the chapel. Corteccia was an honored member of San Lorenzo's Chapter, holding various offices within its hierarchy during the many years he resided there. The San Lorenzo manuscript contains Lamentations, responsories and psalm settings by composers such as Elzear Genet called Carpentras, a great favorite of the Medici popes, by Cristobal Morales, whose works by the mid-16th century were as much admired in Florence as they were elsewhere in Italy, and by such local lights as Corteccia, Layolle and Pisano. As noted in Essay IV, inventories of San Lorenzo's library and other records leave no doubt that many if not all of these pieces formed part of the church's Holy Week repertory well into the 17th century and were performed annually by groups of singers especially engaged for the season.

Polyphony had a long history at San Lorenzo. Francesco Landini, the most renowned of Italian Trecento composers, was organist and chaplain there from the later 1360's until his death in 1396. During the 15th century San Lorenzo's tradition of employing organists continued without a break. A collec-

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<sup>8</sup> Three of Corteccia's responsories have been edited by Ann McKinley, Francesco Corteccia, *Eleven Works to Latin Texts*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 6 (Madison, 1969), 23–9. My edition of the complete set is in Francesco Corteccia, *Collected Sacred Works, Music for the Triduum Sacrum*, Music of the Florentine Renaissance 11, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 32 (American Institute of Musicology, 1985).

tion of sacred and secular pieces once in the church's library, now in a palimpsest volume, provides an unexpected glimpse of music that was known and perhaps performed there in the early decades of the 15th century, when singers of polyphony are recorded on a few occasions.<sup>9</sup> But funds needed for maintaining a chapel of professional singers seem to have been unavailable throughout the century. Only occasionally are there reports of singers or composers of polyphony among the church's chaplains. One, Ser Matteo di Paolo, mentioned in Essay IV, was a singer in the Florentine chapel. In 1480 he was paid by the Cathedral for having furnished Lamentations, responsories and other pieces for Holy Week services. Whether Matteo composed or simply copied the music is unclear, though knowledge of his work is of some significance because it is an early testimony to a repertory of Holy Week music at the Cathedral and to the existence of a chapel library. Ser Arnolfo Giliardi, a Franco-Flemish singer, teacher and composer who was a great favorite of Lorenzo the Magnificent, was another of San Lorenzo's chaplains. Arnolfo's Holy Week responsories were still known in Florence during Corteccia's youth, but none of them seem to have come down to us. (Essays II and IV) Despite the presence of these singer-composers at San Lorenzo, which also briefly employed the Florentine organist-composer Alessandro Coppini in the last years of the 15th century, there is little in extant records that points to performances of polyphony at Holy Week services before 1519. At that time, funds were allocated for hiring trained singers to perform at services, as noted in Essay VI. In the following decade outside musicians were sometimes supplemented by a few of the church's own chaplains and clerks. (Essay III) Reports from the rest of the century indicate that such performances became an annual event at San Lorenzo, arrangements for them being entrusted to a member of the Chapter. Among those recorded in this capacity were Mattia Rampollini, Francesco Corteccia, and Marco da Gagliano, composers whose lives and works are discussed in Essays II, III and VI of this volume.

Mattia Rampollini, another Florentine by birth, served for a brief time in 1515 and 1516 as a teacher of plain chant and polyphony at San Lorenzo's school. Details regarding the school's founding in the early 1450s at the instance of the first Cosimo de' Medici, who also endowed it, appear in Essay III. In 1520 Rampollini, doubtless with the approval of a later Medici generation, was appointed Bernardo Pisano's successor as master of the Cathedral chapel. On a few occasions between 1523 and 1526 he shared the post with Verdelot, for whom he substituted as chapel master at the Baptistery in 1523, when, as indicated in Essays I and III, Verdelot went to Rome to perform for the

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<sup>9</sup> The manuscript and its contents are the subject of my "Una nuova fonte dell'Ars Nova Italiana: il codice di San Lorenzo, 2211," *Studi Musicali* 13 (1984): 3-31. This is reprinted with additional notes as No. II in the volume mentioned above in note 1.

newly elected Medici Pope, Clement VII. The interaction among all of these Florentine musicians must have been more intense than is revealed by official documents regarding personnel appointments and salaries. A rare glimpse of their relations, as afforded by an even more rare document or two, is therefore all the more precious for providing some basis, as with Pisano, Verdelot and Rampollini, for speculating about their knowledge of each other's work and the influence, if any, one may have exerted upon the other. Like all of his Florentine colleagues, Rampollini was also a composer of madrigals. He is in fact known to posterity primarily for a collection of several cycles of madrigals he set to poems by Petrarch. These are the subject of Essay III, where previously unknown information about his life and career is also presented.

Rampollini's madrigals, dedicated to Duke Cosimo I, were published in a set of four part books by Moderne at Lyons.<sup>10</sup> The publication points to Rampollini's contacts within the Florentine colony there, though the lack of a firm date of its printing hinders an exact reading of who may have arranged its publication and under what circumstances the works themselves reached Lyons. Absence of a printing date also makes it difficult to assess Rampollini's role in the development of cyclic madrigal settings.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, he was among the earliest composers to try his hand at them. Each of his cycles sets all of the stanzas in seven of Petrarch's canzoni, a total of 49 pieces. A fiftieth, probably by the Franco-Fleming Hubert Naich, completes the collection. Naich could very well have been the singer who was with Verdelot in Florence, whose name was variously written there as Bruett or Urbech. Thus the appearance of one of his pieces in Rampollini's volume may hint at friendship between the two composers. Rampollini's use of musical proportions in a number of his madrigals, discussed in Essay III, suggests the lingering influence among younger Florentine composers of Heinrich Isaac. The occurrence of the cautionary sharp in several of Rampollini's works is a peculiarity of Florentine notational practice also found later in the century in printed collections of madrigals by Fra Mauro Matti, analyzed in Essay VI. At present Rampollini's only known contribution to sacred music is an extended setting in separate sections of several verses from three different psalms. The piece is found in manuscripts containing Holy Week music from Florence Cathedral as well as from Pistoia Cathedral, where he later

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<sup>10</sup> Rampollini, like Layolle and Pisano, called his pieces "canzoni," which was how Florentines of his day referred to madrigals. They are in modern edition in Mattia Rampollini, *Il primo libro de la musica. . . sopra di alcune canzoni del. . . Petrarca*, Music of the Florentine Renaissance 7, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 32 (American Institute of Musicology, 1974),

<sup>11</sup> After examining conflicting theories regarding the date of Rampollini's volume, Samuel Pogue was inclined to accept 1544 on the basis of printing evidence. See his *Jacques Moderne, Lyons Music Printer of the Sixteenth Century* (Geneva, 1969): 214–15.

served, and its inclusion in Florentine sources may indicate that he originally composed it to be performed at the Cathedral when he was in Florence.

The history of Santissima Annunziata's chapel mirrors that of the Cathedral and the Baptistry. Like them, it was disbanded in the 1490s and re-established early in the 16th century. (Essay I) At the time most of the singers were Servite monks from the Annunziata's convent assisted by a few adults from the Cathedral chapel and a few younger singers. By the mid-1520s the chapel was employing three boys and twelve adults, but, like those at the other two churches, they were dismissed in June 1527, when plague stalked the city's streets amidst growing political unrest. Although the Annunziata was to remain a lively center of musical activities throughout the following decades, it apparently ceased hiring outside singers for its chapel. Polyphonic performance there now became the province of musicians drawn from the ranks of its own friars, who were assisted by outside forces on major feast days. The lives and careers of three Servite musicians are considered in Essay V, where their contributions to 16th-century Florentine musical culture are also discussed. The oldest of them, Fra Mauro, was a celebrated scholar and musical savant, an organist and a cosmologist. His pedagogical treatise, *Dell'una e l'altra musica*, draws its materials from the writings of many of the most authoritative voices of the past and of his own day. Essay V compares his teachings to those of his sources, and evaluates his presentation of opposing views in matters of musical intonation and tuning.

Mauro's pupil, who took the name Maurizio, was the personal choice of Duke Cosimo de' Medici in March 1553 for the newly vacated organist's post at the Baptistry. (Essay V) The Duke had earlier rejected the appointment of first one and then another of the candidates chosen by the overseers, and his intervention in the matter provides yet another instance of Medici presence in the musical life of the city's two principal churches. Maurizio was at the Baptistry for a brief three years. Shortly after his teacher's death, he took up the post of organist and teacher at the Santissima Annunziata. Among his pupils was the twelve-year old Jacopo Peri, the latest in a long line of talented youngsters who, for nearly a century, had been appointed as singers of laudi to organ accompaniment at the Annunziata, in this case to Fra Maurizio's accompaniment. Peri sang there for several years, an experience which would have formed a significant part of his musical education. Fra Maurizio continued as organist until his death in 1593, when he was succeeded by another of his pupils, Domenico del Matta (Matti). Earlier, this musician had requested and been granted permission to assume the name Mauro in memory of the earlier *frate* of that name. The younger Fra Mauro was a composer as well as an organist. His two books of madrigals, one for four voices, the other for five, were published in 1571. Only the 4-voice collection survives complete. Nineteen of its twenty-seven pieces to texts by Petrarch, especially the fourteen that

comprise two madrigal cycles, show Mauro following in the footsteps of his Florentine predecessors. Perfectly at ease with these secular texts that speak of love and desire, his compositional style, analyzed in Essay V, was essentially conservative, though it reveals a thorough mastery of the musical language and formal conventions of the time.

In the last years of the 16th century composers in Florence, as they had done with the madrigal, once again led the way in the development of the new genre of opera and of a novel style of reciting verse to music that was one of its essential components. By that time, however, musical activity had developed around ducal court patronage, begun in the 1530's when Cosimo's predecessor, Alessandro, first duke of Florence, brought the composer Jacques Arcadelt to the city in his personal entourage.<sup>12</sup> Initially, Cosimo had only a few musicians of his own, but their number was steadily increased as the pace of musical life quickened. (Essay V) Alessandro Striggio, a virtuoso violist and prolific composer, served Cosimo and his son and successor, Francesco, for more than a quarter of a century. Visitors to the court included Philippe de Monte, who sojourned in the city at the invitation of the younger Medici princes and princesses, to whom he dedicated books of his madrigals. Subsequently, composers such as Emilio de' Cavalieri and Giulio Caccini joined the ranks of Medici musicians, as did Cristofano Malvezzi. (Essay V) A good number of virtuoso singers and instrumentalists were also employed by the Medici, and Florence could now boast of flourishing musical groups at both court and Cathedral.<sup>13</sup> These were deployed variously, engendering works that could be performed by one group alone as well as works that could be performed by their combined forces or by smaller ensembles drawn from both. Chapel singers, obliged to serve at ducal request, frequently did so, though very few court musicians were formally employed in the chapel.

Jacopo Peri was one of them. (Essay V) Just how long he did so is not certain, but knowledge of his ongoing career as a church organist suggests that he sang in the chapel for a good many years. Records from the Cathedral and the Baptistry are incomplete for the last half of the century. Those that survive indicate that each church continued to furnish funds for a certain number of chapel singers, with the Baptistry contributing the greater share. By then, appointments of chapel masters and organists to the churches were routinely subject to court approval. Ducal intervention must certainly have been behind Peri's appointment to the chapel. He is listed as a singer on the Baptistry's rolls in 1586-7 and in

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<sup>12</sup> Relevant documents are given by Richard Agee, "Ruberto Strozzi and the Early Madrigal," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983): 9; and by Warren Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence during the Principate of the Medici* (Florence, 1993): 57.

<sup>13</sup> All of these musicians are discussed by Warren Kirkendale in his comprehensive study of court musicians in Florence, mentioned in the previous note.

1590 – the only years of the later 16th century for which pay records are available.<sup>14</sup> A virtuoso renowned for the affective quality of his singing, especially of his own music, he was a rarity among chapel singers, the more so since he was a layman, earning his livelihood in a number of ways. He was occasionally in the service of private noblemen, he was a court musician and he was a church organist for some twenty-five years. In view of the burdens he shouldered in rearing a large family, there can be little doubt that his work in the chapel brought him some timely financial assistance, and his salary from the Baptistry can be seen as another form of ducal patronage.

Chapel singers were usually clergymen. Their main source of income derived from their employment at the Cathedral and the Baptistry. Many were chaplains there or at one of the city's other churches. Chaplaincies provided stipends and room and board, while additional income could be earned from teaching privately or from the support of noble patrons. With notable exceptions, especially court functions and celebrations, chapel singers' performances were generally limited to services at the Cathedral and the Baptistry, as they had been ever since the first chapel was formed in 1437. Most of the chapel masters after Corteccia (d. 7 July 1571) were also clergymen, and most had some kind of association with the Medici court. Indeed, none came to the post without a nod from the Medici dukes, to whom they sometimes appealed for special dispensations. They were given tenure for life, a privilege that was claimed by all but one. The exception was Giovan Piero Manenti. He was a sometime court musician, who held the position briefly in the summer of 1571, before resigning it to become Cathedral organist. Manenti composed two books of madrigals that he dedicated to his Medici patrons, but no sacred music by him is known. Giovanni Benvenuti, his successor, was chapel master until his death in March 1574.<sup>15</sup> A few of his sacred works survive in Cathedral manuscripts, but the true extent of his contributions to the chapel's repertory has yet to be determined.

The three chapel masters who followed Benvenuti were all composers of some distinction. All were also canons of San Lorenzo, thanks to their Medici patrons. Cristofano Malvezzi, organist and principal court composer of the later 1580s, led the singers for a quarter of a century until his death in January 1599. His works include madrigals, instrumental pieces and music for the stage. But no sacred music by him is known at this time. His successor was Luca Bati, who had trained under Corteccia. Several of Bati's settings of Magnificats and

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<sup>14</sup> Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians in Florence*, 193. At the time Peri was also organist at the Badia, where he was employed from 1579 to 1605. (Ibid.: 192) Kirkendale lists three other court musicians who were in the chapel, two of them briefly (Ibid., 250); the third (Ibid., 67), Don Cornelio de Benis (de Brugni), was employed as early as 1552 (Essay I).

<sup>15</sup> Benvenuti was a layman. A record from 1571 noted that he had six children, three of whom were eligible for chapel service. (Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians*, cit., 114n, 182).

psalms, headed by his name and the date 13 February 1599, were copied into a Cathedral manuscript two weeks after he assumed the post.<sup>16</sup> These and a few other of his works, including a processional hymn that long remained in the chapel's repertory, survive in Cathedral manuscripts. When Bati died in 1608, his pupil, Marco da Gagliano, assistant chapel master at the time, assumed his position. During his long tenure as chapel master Gagliano resumed the program begun by Corteccia of furnishing the chapel with new music for many of the occasions on which it performed. He may have been obliged to do so in a few cases because of liturgical changes resulting from Tridentine reforms, though it seems more likely that it was the desire to have the chapel perform up-to-date music that motivated him.

Among Gagliano's voluminous sacred works are settings of the responsories sung at Matins on the last three days of Holy Week. They are the subject of Essay VI, again showing the Florentine predilection for polyphonic service music in which intelligibility of text has pride of place. As one of the younger exponents of the new theatrical style pioneered by Cavalieri, Peri and Caccini, Gagliano very early on established his reputation as a composer with his opera *La Dafne*, first performed at Mantua in 1608. Most of his sacred works were composed after this, when he was master of the chapel, from 1609 until his death in 1643. The responsories apparently come from his later years, for they were the last of his four books of sacred music to appear in print, in 1630.<sup>17</sup> A manuscript copy, dated 1626, in San Lorenzo's library is their earliest known source and was certainly prepared under his direction. Taking his cue from Corteccia, Gagliano set the texts in a familiar or chordal style which he varied with brief imitative passages for fewer voices. His harmonies, however, are typical of the time, and his use of expressive dissonance and novel progressions adds considerably to the drama of the settings and the sorrowful mood they evoke. Their success was immediate, so much so in fact that Corteccia's earlier settings were almost completely forgotten, the volumes containing them relegated to an occasional reference in later Cathedral inventories. Gagliano's responsories, by contrast,

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<sup>16</sup> See my "The Sources of Luca Bati's Music at the Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore," *Altro Polo. Essays on Italian Music in the Cinquecento*, ed., Richard Charteris (Sydney, 1990): 159–77.

<sup>17</sup> Cavalieri and Peri also composed music for Holy Week services. Cavalieri's responsories, dating from the end of the 16th century, are far removed from the Florentine tradition, as noted in Essay VI. They have been edited by Murray Bradshaw, Emilio de' Cavalieri, *The Lamentations and Responsories of 1599 and 1600*, Early Sacred Monody 3, Miscellanea 5 (American Institute of Musicology, 1990). An earlier dating is proposed by Warren Kirkendale, *Emilio de' Cavalieri "Gentiluomo Romano"* (Florence, 2001), 218–21. Peri's Holy Week music was performed in 1622 and 1623 at the church of San Nicola in Pisa, where the Medici court was in residence. (Essay VI) About Peri's music see Kirkendale, *The Court Musicians*, cit., 229.

as 18th-century copies of them still in Cathedral archives reveal, remained in the chapel's repertory for some two hundred years.

During Gagliano's tenure as chapel master another public venue for the performance of vocal polyphony sprang up at the Dominican convent church of Santa Maria Novella. In charge of what can only be described as an inspired, though brief, musical moment in the church's history was the friar Tommaso Minerbetti, scion of one of Florence's most venerable families. When he became organist there in 1592, Santa Maria Novella had been employing a few singers of laudi for services after Compline, as recounted in Essay VII. This was in keeping with a tradition of laudi singing at Santa Maria Novella dating from medieval times, when first pairs, and then groups of semi-professional and professional musicians performed at meetings of the Company of St. Peter Martyr.<sup>18</sup> Groups were still being employed in this fashion in the mid 16th-century. By Minerbetti's time it was usually one or two youths who sang laudi to organ accompaniment, a practice that has been mentioned in connection with singers at the Santissima Annunziata. Minerbetti's duties during the early years of his tenure were limited to accompanying the singers and performing solo on the organ. In the spring of 1597, however, thanks to a family inheritance, he began a new musical program. He hired professional musicians, some of whom were associated with the Medici court, and had them perform at morning (Masses) or evening (Vespers) services, or even both, on a few feast days that had not been celebrated with polyphonic music before. By 1599 the number of feast days was greatly expanded as was the contingent of outside musicians. In subsequent years the number of performances began to decline as individual feast days or entire liturgical seasons were added or, more often dropped, dwindling to two in 1608, and to one in 1609.

Tracing these and other aspects of Minerbetti's program is possible because of the careful record of his expenditures he kept in a personal account book, the contents of which are discussed in Essay VII. Though he does not specify the number of supplemental musicians, on occasion he writes of performances of voices without instruments, of double groups of instruments and two choirs, of two choirs and the organ, and of instrumental ensembles alone. Similarly, he frequently gives the names of the two instrumentalists he hired to perform laudi after Compline, though for some years he neglects to mention the singers. A few entries mention enlarging the space around the organ in order to accommodate

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<sup>18</sup> The presence of laudesi companies at Santa Maria Novella and at other Florentine churches is discussed and documented in my "Le compagnie dei laudesi in Firenze durante L'Ars nova," *L'Ars nova italiana del trecento* 3 (Certaldo, 1969): 254–61; and in my "Alcune note sulle Compagnie fiorentine dei Laudesi durante il Quattrocento," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10, in *onore di Nino Pirrotta* (Florence, 1975): 88–93. See also Blake Wilson's *Music and Merchants. The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford, 1992), 109–18.

singers and perhaps to hold the library he was accumulating. Others record his purchases of music books and provide a meticulous account of the wide and varied repertory he and his fellow musicians performed. From the accumulation of details in his account book, Minerbetti emerges as a talented and ambitious musician using his family inheritance in a novel and imaginative way. In a sense his career paralleled those of the many other musicians performing and composing in Florence who made the city in the 16th century no less than Venice or Rome the embodiment of the rich musical culture of Renaissance Italy.

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*Laguna Beach, California*  
*August 2006*

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the following institutions and publishers for their kind permission to reproduce the essays included in this volume: The American Musicological Society, Brunswick, ME (for essay I); The Department of Music, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (II); The American Institute of Musicology, Middleton, WI (III, V); Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki, Florence (IV), The International Musicological Society, Basel (VI); The Colorado College, Colorado Springs, CO (VII).

## **PUBLISHER'S NOTE**

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the *Variorum Collected Studies Series*, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and is quoted in the index entries.

## The Musical Chapels at the Florentine Cathedral and Baptistry During the First Half of the 16th Century

SOME YEARS AGO in this JOURNAL I traced the development of the musical chapels at the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore and the Baptistry of San Giovanni in Florence from their inception in 1438 until their suppression, at the time of Savonarola's rise to power, in 1493.<sup>1</sup> Although my principal objective then was to document musical activities in those churches during one of the most brilliant periods in the city's history, another was to illustrate the extent to which politics influenced the musical scene in *quattrocento* Florence. Part of my purpose here is to continue my investigation of both of these themes through the middle of the 16th century. By that time the merchant guilds which had so effectively helped determine the course of musical life in republican Florence were entering their long period of political decline, and the functions of the chapels were becoming more and more subject to the needs and desires of an absolutist ducal regime.

Another aspect of importance to the history of sacred music in Florence will also be considered in the following pages. Drawing on materials presented both here and in my previous study, I shall attempt to bring together what information survives regarding the specific occasions at which the chapels performed in the city's major churches and what portions of the services were sung polyphonically. When known, information pertinent to the distribution of the voice ranges within the chapels will also be included. The tantalizing implications of this for the history of performance practice, however, are beyond the scope of the present study, and will have to await consideration at some future time.

During the four-year period following Savonarola's downfall and the

<sup>1</sup> "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century," this JOURNAL, XIV (1961), 307-58, hereafter referred to as "Singers." Abbreviations used to cite Florentine archival sources are as follows:

- ASF     Archivio di Stato, Florence
- AC     ASF, Archivio dell'Arte dei Mercatanti di Calimala
- SSA     ASF, Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse No. 119, Santissima Annunziata
- SMDF    Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence
- Delib.   Deliberazioni (Deliberations)
- QC     Quaderni Cassa (Debit-Credit Registers)

The Florentine new year began on 25 March, and as a result documents recorded before that day usually carry the date of the preceding year. In the course of the text such dates have been changed to conform to the modern system.

re-establishment of the Cathedral chapel, a group of eight choristers and four tenors and contratenors was charged with performing polyphony at the Cathedral on nine occasions during the year.<sup>2</sup> Later, their activities were expanded to include singing Mass on Saturday mornings and *laudi* on the evenings of certain feast days. All of the singers were members of the Cathedral's establishment, chaplains and students in its school, who had apparently had some training or experience in performing polyphonic music. But in comparison with the forces previously assembled at the Cathedral—a chapel which before its disbanding in 1493 had numbered eighteen adult singers, among them some of the most famous foreign virtuosos of the day—this makeshift group must have seemed woefully inadequate to the music-loving Florentines. It is small wonder, then, that at the first favorable moment steps were taken to reinstate regular performances of polyphony by a larger and more professional group of singers.

The decision to do so was made sometime before 1 December 1501, when the newly organized chapel took up its duties. The original record of the decision seems not to have survived,<sup>3</sup> but another document, dated the 29th of the same month, states that the consuls of the Wool Guild had been moved to act on the matter principally at the suggestion of the Cathedral's chapter and board of overseers.<sup>4</sup> (Doc. 1. The documents will be found in the Appendix to this article.) They had done so

after having considered . . . how much it would redound to the honor of Omnipotent God and of His most glorious mother, Our Lady St. Mary,

<sup>2</sup> I translate the Italian *chierico* here as chorister, with the specific meaning of singer of polyphony. The number of these *chierici*, or young clerks, enrolled in the Cathedral's school of chant and grammar was fixed at thirty-three by a Papal Bull of 1436. During the period under consideration only a small number of them served in the chapel of polyphonic music. Generally they sang soprano, although occasionally one or two of them are mentioned as singing lower parts.

<sup>3</sup> On 4 December 1501, after noting that "the platform existing in the choir of the said church" was not large enough to accommodate the singers of the chapel of figural music established "only a few days before," the Cathedral's overseers decided that the area should be enlarged "in whatever way and form seems convenient to Simone del Pollaiuolo, chief architect of the *Opera*." (SMDF, *Delib.*, II. 2. 9, fol. 39:

Die 4 decembris 1501

Item . . . attento qualiter paulo ante et paucis ante diebus per consules artis lane . . . fuit . . . erecta et facta quedam cappella cantus figurati . . . et viso qualiter canendo in pergamo existenti in coro dicte ecclesie, non est dicta cathedra vel pergamum capax . . . deliberaverunt . . . dictum pergamum addi et maiorem fieri, adeo quod possint omnes cantores stare et canere . . . et eo modo et forma et prout Simone del Pollaiuolo caput magistro dicte Opere videbitur etc.)

<sup>4</sup> Part of the document is printed in A. Seay, "The 15th-Century Cappella at Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence," this JOURNAL, XI (1958), 55. Management of the Cathedral's building works as well as its secular administration (the *Opera*) was delegated to the consuls of the Wool Guild by a governmental decree of 1336. The Guild's authority was in turn vested in a board of overseers comprised of Guild members, who were elected to quarterly terms of office. ("Singers," p. 309, n. 7.)

and to the dignity of the said church of which this our guild has charge and patronage, and how much satisfaction and universal contentment it would bring to all of the city, especially in comparison with what we have had up to now, if with the new year the newly established chapel of figural music [comprised] of local musicians were to be favored and augmented in such a way that it could be maintained and improved. . . .

For this reason, therefore, after "mature and diligent examination" the consuls decreed that henceforth the overseers would be authorized to spend "up to the sum of sixty gold florins per annum in the future and no more under any circumstances" on the singers' salaries. And lest enthusiasm for the new chapel get out of hand, the overseers were explicitly warned that each of them would incur a fine of one hundred gold florins if expenses were to exceed the allocated amount!

The number of singers to be employed was then specified by the consuls, as were the services at which polyphony was to be performed:

In order to establish the said chapel there are to be appointed two tenors, two contraltos, two basses, a teacher of figural music for the choristers, seven sopranos (one of whom is to be ser Raphaello di Piero Cortesi, a chaplain in the said church) and as many more as is possible to have, among all of whom is to be distributed the said sum of sixty gold florins in whatever way seems suitable to the overseers . . . and the said chapel is obliged to sing figural music only every Saturday morning at the Mass of Our Lady in the chapel [situated] between the two front doors; and *laudi* in the same chapel on the evenings of all feast days, as they have begun to do and as is customary; and [second] Vespers on every feast day; and Mass in the choir on all solemn days in the said manner, that is, in figural music; and on those solemn occasions to sing all of those things that seem appropriate to the Reverend Chapter of Canons of the said church, and especially [during] Holy Week, all of those songs and responsories that are customarily sung as well as any others deemed [necessary] by the aforesaid Reverend Chapter. . . .

The overseers were also given authority to make new rules and regulations concerning the chapel's duties, to impose fines on singers who were tardy or absent from the required services, and to increase or lower salaries as "would be judged expedient," but with the understanding that no more than the stipulated sixty gold florins be spent.

This insistence upon the amount of money allocated for the singers—as well as the general tone of the document, which reveals an all-pervading preoccupation with finances—was clearly due to the straitened economic position of the Republic at the time. The Florentines had had to pay a huge indemnity to Charles VIII of France, and they were still engaged in a desperate struggle to regain control of Pisa, a former colony that had taken advantage of the French invasion to declare its independence. Recent political disturbances throughout the Italian peninsula and abroad had affected trade. Even so powerful and wealthy an institution as the Wool Guild had experienced a decline in profits, and, according to this

same document, the revenues of the Cathedral *Opera* itself had been "greatly diminished." Under the circumstances it seems apparent that there must have been some question as to the wisdom of supporting such a luxury as a chapel of singers. But the consuls had also realized "how much satisfaction and universal contentment it would bring to all of the city" and had therefore been moved to act. Just how correct they were in gauging public opinion is illustrated by the events of a decade later, when, prior to the Medici restoration, the city was faced with invasion by Papal-Spanish troops. At that time all available resources were diverted into defense preparations, but there is no record of any attempt to abolish the chapel.

A document of 25 February 1502 records the formal appointment of singers to the chapel. (Doc. 2) With few exceptions all of them had begun serving on the previous 1 December: tenors, ser Francesco Boscherini, ser Zenobi di Felice, ser Davit di Alessandro; basses, ser Jacopo di Bonaiuto delle Gavine, ser Antonio da Pescia; contraltos, ser Giovanfrancesco di Antonio, Carlo [di Launoy] alias Ciarles francioso; sopranos, ser Raffaele di Piero, ser Leone, and the choristers; the teachers who instruct the choristers in music, ser Franco d'Andrea and ser Giovanni Serragli [tenor].<sup>5</sup> Marginal additions to the document show that Carlo di Launoy joined the chapel on 1 March 1502 and that ser Leone was later replaced by a certain ser Francesco "vocato Santirabolino." Ser Antonio da Pescia also began serving on 1 March 1502, and he was later replaced by ser Niccolò Pedoni.

More specific information about the duties of the newly established chapel is found in a document from 26 February 1502. (Doc. 3) It is, apparently, the only one from the period that lists all of the days when vocal polyphony was performed at the Cathedral as well as those parts of the service in which it was used.

The above-mentioned overseers . . . decided that the said singers must sing . . . on the herewith inscribed days, that is . . .

The feast of the Resurrection, the Mass and also the first psalm at Vespers  
The two following days [Easter Monday and Tuesday], the first psalm at Vespers

The vigil [first Vespers] of Pentecost, the fifth psalm

Trinity Sunday, the fifth psalm at Vespers

The feast of Corpus Christi, the Mass and the first psalm at Vespers

Christmas Day, the third Mass, the "Verbum caro" at [the third] Nocturn  
[of Matins] and the first psalm at Vespers

The feast of St. Stephan [26 December], the fifth psalm at Vespers

The feast of St. John, Evangelist [27 December], the fifth psalm at Vespers

The feast of St. Silvester [31 December], the fifth psalm at Vespers

<sup>5</sup> Though not named as such in this document, later records show that Serragli was a tenor. Henceforth, when known, I shall indicate each singer's voice range without referring to the specific document from which the information is drawn. All of these documents, however, are eventually cited in the course of the text.

- The feast of the Circumcision [1 January], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of the Epiphany [6 January], the first psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Anthony [17 January], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of Sts. Fabian and Sebastian [20 January], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Mary of the Candles [the Purification of the B. V. M., 2 February], the first psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Matthias, Apostle [24 February], the fifth psalm at Vespers, when [this feast] does not occur during Lent  
 The feast of the Consecration of [this] Church, that is, the feast of the Annunciation [25 March], the first psalm at first and second Vespers and the Mass  
 The feast of Sts. James and Philip [1 May], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of [the Finding of] the Holy Cross of [3] May, the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Zenobius [25 May], the first psalm at first and second Vespers and the Mass  
 The feast of St. John the Baptist [24 June], the first psalm at first and second Vespers and the Mass  
 The feast of Sts. Peter and Paul [29 June], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. James, Apostle [25 July], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Lawrence [10 August], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of the Assumption of Our Lady [15 August], the Mass and the first psalm at second Vespers  
 The feast of St. Bartholomew, Apostle [24 August], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of the Nativity of Our Lady [8 September], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Matthew, Apostle [21 September], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of [the Dedication of the Church of] St. Michael, [Archangel, 29 September], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Jerome [30 September], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Reparata [8 October], the first psalm at first and second Vespers and the Mass  
 The feast of Sts. Simon and Jude [27 October], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 All Saints' Day [1 November], the first psalm at first and second Vespers and the Mass  
 The feast of St. Martin [11 November], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Andrew, Apostle [30 November], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 The feast of St. Thomas, Apostle [21 December], the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 All Sundays during the year, the fifth psalm at Vespers  
 All Saturdays during the year, the Mass at the altar of the Virgin Mary  
 The [last] three days of Holy Week [Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday], the responsories at Matins and also at the Consecration of the Holy Oil on Maundy Thursday

The presentation of this list may serve as a convenient opportunity to review the place of polyphony in the Cathedral's liturgy from the time of the establishment of the first chapel of polyphonic music in 1438. A docu-

ment dated 9 December of that year states that the singers were to perform "only at Vespers" on the feast days celebrated by the Cathedral.<sup>6</sup> Although Sundays were undoubtedly included among the feast days at that time, it is not clear whether "Vespers" comprised first as well as second Vespers of the major feasts mentioned above. Certainly, there is no doubt that polyphony was performed on all of those occasions at the time of the chapel's reorganization in 1478. A decree concerning the personnel, dating from 5 February 1479, shows that the singers performed "at all solemn Vespers on Sundays and feast days, when the organist has to play, as well as at the vigils [first Vespers] of the said feasts."<sup>7</sup> The same document states that the chapel was also required to sing "the Te Deum on solemn occasions, when the organs are played."<sup>8</sup>

It is not certain when polyphonic performances of the Lamentations of Jeremiah and the responsories at Matins on the last three days of Holy Week were first introduced into the Cathedral's services.<sup>9</sup> Doubtless the practice of doing so was well established before 1480, for another document shows that a polyphonic setting of these texts was commissioned by the overseers in that year.<sup>10</sup>

The establishment of a boys' choir at the Cathedral in April, 1485, saw the introduction of vocal polyphony as a regular feature of the Saturday morning Mass. At that time the choir was also charged with singing "every Mass and Vespers or other Office, hymn, psalm, verse, or whatever else is necessary on every solemn occasion, day of indulgence, and holy day."<sup>11</sup> With the possible exception of singing at the Saturday morning Mass, all of these duties were taken over by the adult group that was appointed to the Cathedral's service a few months later in July, 1485. The rubric "every Mass . . . on every solemn occasion" in this case undoubtedly refers to a group of major feast days on which polyphony was sung at the Mass as well as at Vespers. From the document of 1502, given above, it is clear there were only nine of these days: the feasts of the Annunciation;

<sup>6</sup> "Singers," p. 310.

<sup>7</sup> Seay, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> The Te Deum was sung at Matins of feasts such as Pentecost, Corpus Christi, Easter, and Christmas, that is, feasts not falling in Lent.

<sup>9</sup> The Lamentations of Jeremiah form part of the liturgy of Matins on Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. To my knowledge, there is no mention of polyphonic performances at these services in the Cathedral during the 14th century. It may well be that the practice was instituted with the founding of the chapel in 1438.

<sup>10</sup> A document from 29 April 1480 records a payment to the singer-composer ser Matteo di Paolo "for settings in figural music of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the responsories of the same Lamentations, and of other things which he composed for the said church for the days of Holy Week." A payment dated 26 March 1479 to the Franco-Netherlander Arnolfo Giliardi may record a similar commission in the previous year. Both documents and other information about these musicians are given in my "Some Neglected Composers in the Florentine Chapels, ca. 1475-1525," *Viator*, I (1970).

<sup>11</sup> Seay, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

the Assumption; Sts. Zenobius, Reparata, John the Baptist; Christmas; Easter; Corpus Christi; and All Saints' Day.

The reason why polyphonic Masses were performed so rarely on feast days and not at all on Sundays at the Cathedral is not difficult to discern. Save for a few brief periods, from the time of the establishment of the first chapel through the next century the same singers were employed simultaneously by both the Cathedral and the Baptistry. At the latter church, as will be shown below, the chapel sang at Mass on Sundays and major feast days. Consequently, it was only natural that there should have been some equitable division of the singers' duties, with the result that vocal polyphony formed a regular part of Vesper services at the Cathedral and of Mass at the Baptistry. On the few days, such as those just mentioned, when the chapel was charged with performing Mass at both churches, it seems reasonable to assume that it sang first in one church, then in the other.<sup>12</sup>

In the case of conflicting Vespers at the two churches, an ingenious arrangement seems to have been made whereby the chapel could sing in both services. Whereas at the Cathedral the chapel normally sang the fifth psalm at Vespers, on certain major feast days celebrated also by the Baptistry, it sang the first. Presumably this permitted the singers to move next door to San Giovanni to perform in the service being conducted simultaneously there. It is worth noting that conflicting Vesper services at the two churches were actually rare, there being less than ten of them. The ecclesiastical as well as secular administrators were obviously concerned that the Cathedral and the Baptistry should not vie with one another, and that the services should be equally attractive and equally well attended at both churches.

There were, however, some occasions, during Holy Week, for example, when vocal polyphony was performed at the same time in both churches. One can only speculate about what arrangement existed from 1438 to ca. 1480, when there were between four and six singers serving in

<sup>12</sup> Although there are no documents that specifically state this, there was a precedent for celebrating Mass with equal pomp on certain days in both churches dating back to the middle of the 11th century, when the episcopal seat of Florence was transferred from San Giovanni (which thereupon became a baptistry) to the near-by parish church of Santa Reparata, later Santa Maria del Fiore. But since San Giovanni was the city's most ancient and venerated church, as well as the one dedicated to its patron saint, some of the Cathedral chapter's functions were retained for the older church, among them singing the major Mass there on Sundays as well as the Mass on several other principal feast days, such as Christmas, throughout the year. (See D. Moreni, ed., *Mores et Consuetudines Ecclesiae Florentinae* [Florence, 1794], pp. 3, 32.) It was probably because of San Giovanni's privileged position that, upon the establishment of the chapel in 1438, performance of the polyphonic Mass on Sundays was scheduled there rather than at the Cathedral. In any case it seems certain that the practice of celebrating Mass with polyphony on principal feast days at both Santa Maria del Fiore and San Giovanni had its roots in the particular traditions of the Florentine churches.

the chapel. But from the mid-1480's on, after the chapel had been enlarged, it probably became customary to divide the singers into two groups. In fact, a document from 1510, cited below, informs us of just such a procedure, for it states that three of the adult singers were to be selected by the master of the chapel to sing the Office at the Baptistry on the last three days of Holy Week. The others were to sing at the Cathedral.

It is apparent that the document from 1502, which lists the days and services when the chapel performed at the Cathedral, was based almost entirely on late 15th-century practice.<sup>13</sup> One would, of course, expect this to have been the case. There was an interval of only nine years between the abolition of the chapel in 1493 and its re-establishment in 1502. That the principal feast days of the Cathedral would have changed during that brief period is unlikely. It is also unlikely that the services at which polyphony was sung would have drastically changed. For this reason, and also because there is no later evidence to the contrary, it also seems logical to suppose that the chapel continued to perform on these same occasions throughout the next several decades.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, just how little the place of vocal polyphony in the Cathedral's services was affected by the political and social changes of the next century and a half is amply illustrated by the document from *ca.* 1651 that forms a postscript to this study.

The number of singers employed at the Cathedral during the next decade remained close to that specified by the consuls in 1502. Although the debit-credit registers do not give monthly lists of singers, it can be inferred from these and other documents that there were not many changes in personnel. Since most of the singers were clerics associated with the Florentine diocese and native Tuscans as well, it was only natural that this should have been the case. Ser Franco d'Andrea is named master of the chapel and "distributer" of the singers' salaries early in 1504.<sup>15</sup> His name disappears from the rolls after 10 March 1505, however, and subsequent documents show that the position was filled by ser Gio-

<sup>13</sup> The *Te Deum* is not included on the list. The *Verbum caro* is the only item to which no reference is found in earlier documents.

<sup>14</sup> Performance of polyphony at the Saturday morning Mass, however, is not mentioned in any of the later 16th-century documents to which I have had access. It may be, therefore, that this practice was discontinued in 1510, when the chapel once again began serving regularly at San Giovanni.

<sup>15</sup> SMDF, QC, VIII. 1. 112, fol. 24<sup>v</sup>:

Ser Francho d'Andrea, maestro e distributore della chapella,  
de' dare addi 13 di febbraio 1503 [1504]. . . .

Just what the musical duties of the *maestro di cappella* were at this time is not specified in any of the documents, although it is certain that as *distributore* he was responsible for keeping records of absences and tardiness and distributing the singers' monthly stipends, in short, a kind of superintendence of the chapel's personnel. For some telling remarks about the meaning of the title at an earlier date see N. Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy," this JOURNAL, XIX (1966), 133.

vanni Serragli.<sup>16</sup> Carlo di Launoy died some time before 26 June 1506, for on that day he was replaced by frate Rubinetto francioso.<sup>17</sup> The latter left Florence within the year and does not figure in a list of singers, dating from 13 August 1507, which names the following: sopranos, ser Raffaele di Piero and the choristers; tenors, ser Francesco Boscherini and ser Giovanguualberto the chorister; basses, ser Jacopo di Bonaiuto, ser Niccolò Pedoni, and ser Davit di Sandro; contraltos, ser Magdolo d'Arezzo, ser Giovanfrancesco d'Antonio, and ser Virgilio; ser Giovanni Serragli [tenor], master of the chapel.<sup>18</sup> The next list of personnel, dating from 1510, is taken from a document that records the appointment of the group to the Baptistry's service. Before presenting it a brief account of musical activities there around the turn of the century may be given.

The Cathedral singers apparently began performing in San Giovanni shortly after Savonarola's death. General economic conditions were such, however, that their services were requested only three times a year. On 17 April 1504 an attempt to secure additional performances was made by the consuls of the Calimala Guild, which was responsible for the Baptistry's upkeep and administration:

Aware that during the past several years the singers of Santa Maria del Fiore of Florence have been called upon many times to sing on certain solemn feast days in the church of San Giovanni, that is, for the feasts of the glorious St. John the Baptist [24 June], the Beheading of St. John [29 August], the Indulgence of St. John [13 January] and their vigils [first Vespers], and that it is customary to pay them about forty *lire* for their work and that with a little more negligible expense the said singers [could perform] in the said church also on the days when the magnificent and excellent lord priors of the free people of Florence make their bimestrial entrance into office . . . the consuls decided that . . . the treasurer of the said guild . . . could pay the said singers twelve gold florins, that is, one florin per month, with the understanding that they perform Masses, Vespers and other Divine Offices in the said church on the three said solemn feast days and their vigils and on the six said days when the said lords make their entrance [into office] in the morning. . . . (Doc. 4)

The singers were not happy with the offer, however. A marginal addition to the document states that it "has no effect: they did not wish to accept."

A second attempt to engage the Cathedral singers for additional performances was made only a few months later, on 19 November 1504.<sup>19</sup> At the time the salary offered was twenty-five florins per annum, and the

<sup>16</sup> The relevant documents are printed in my study cited above, n. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Margherita Bello, a sister of Isaac's wife, is described as the widow of Carlo di Launoy in a document dated 4 July 1506. See my "Heinrich Isaac in Florence: New and Unpublished Documents," *The Musical Quarterly*, XLIX (1963), 471.

<sup>18</sup> SMDF, *Delib.* II. 2. 11, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>. Information about the identity of this Virgilio is given in my study mentioned in n. 10 above.

<sup>19</sup> AC, *Delib.*, Vol. 21, fol. 65, printed in part in "Singers," doc. 4, p. 351f.

singers were pleased to accept. This arrangement continued until 22 August 1510, when the consuls decided to re-establish the chapel completely. As in the past, essentially the same singers were to be employed in both churches, but each chapel was to be administered separately. Following is part of the report read to the members of the Calimala Guild that explains the reasons for the consuls' decision:

After having considered . . . how much of an adornment it was to the divine service and to the honor of your city and particularly to your guild . . . and [what] a consolation it was to many private [citizens] to have had a chapel of singers; and [after having considered] that you spend twenty-five florins for the nine times each year that you employ the Cathedral singers . . . and that, in addition, you spend ten *lire piccioli* each year to have the Lamentations of Jeremiah sung during Holy Week; and after having consulted with the officials of the said guild about the Cathedral singers and others, [the present illustrious lord consuls] judged that it would redound to the honor and praise of our Lord Jesus Christ and of our Precursor St. John, and also to the honor of your city and particularly to your guild, and that [it would be] a consolation to many individuals to readorn the said temple with the said chapel of singers, not with that expense which was customary at one time, but with some suitable expense beyond the twenty-five florins that are now spent and which would not exceed the sum of one hundred gold florins per annum. Therefore, with the present provision, it is decreed . . . that from this time forth a chapel of singers can and should be formed in the said church. . . . (Doc. 5)

The names of the singers as well as their new duties were also presented in the report:

two contrabasses: ser Jacopo di Bonaiuto and ser Niccolò Pedoni  
 three tenors: ser Francesco Boscherini, ser Giovanni Serragli and ser Davit  
 two contraltos: ser Giovanfrancesco d'Antonio and Virgilio  
 sopranos: ser Raffaele di Piero together with at least six choristers or those others who might be selected to sing by the said ser Giovanni Serragli, master of your school of Choristers.

All of them are obliged to perform in the said church and oratorio of San Giovanni on the following days and hours, that is, the Nativity of St. John [24 June], the day of his Beheading [29 August] and . . . the Indulgence [13 January]: Masses and Vespers, according to custom;

Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, and the feast of Sts. James and Philip on 1 May: Masses and Vespers and other Divine Offices current in the said time, according to what will be prescribed by the provost of the said church . . .

all Sundays and every other prescribed feast, and all the entrances [into office] of our magnificent and excellent lord [priors]: the Mass only, except for the 1st of May, when they are obliged to sing at Vespers, as above; in addition, at the request of the said ser Giovanni Serragli three of all of the above-said are obliged to sing the Office on Wednesday, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday, according to the custom of the said church of San Giovanni, without any extra salary . . . .

The rest of the report is concerned with the salaries to be paid the individual members of the chapel. Total expenses reached a little over