Liturgy, ceremonial and sacred music in Venice at the time of the counter-Reformation.

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CHAPTER ONE.

1. M. Praetorius, Syntagma musicum, III (Wolfenbüttel, Holwein, 1618-19), pp. 4-5. Translation by H. Lampl, A translation of Syntagma musicum III by Michael Praetorius (unpublished D.M.A. diss., University of Southern California, 1957), p.27: "As it is, Italian composers rarely publish madrigals nowadays, but instead, splendid compositions set in this, [the Concerto-like,] or a similar manner, for one, two, three or four voices, and thorough-bass for organ. All these they call, without differentiating, Concerti, Concentus and Motets.

The Latin compositions or motets which are set in more than four, i.e., in five, six, seven and eight parts, they generally call Sacras Cantiones, Sacri Concentus and Motets. I find, however, that by the words Concerto, Cantiones, Concentus and Motets they mean indiscriminately any sacred, Latin works."

2. S. Molinaro, Concerti ecclesiastici a due et a quatro voci, nelli quali si contiene messa, motetti, & Magnificat in tutti li otto toni, con la sua partitura per l'organo (Venezia, Amadino, 1605). Molinaro, born c.1565, spent most of his active career at the Cathedral of Genoa. Nothing is known of A. Faber, the other composer mentioned by Praetorius.

3. T. Cecchino, Motetti concertati a due voci, con il basso continuo per l'organo (...), libro primo, opera quarta (Venezia, Amadino, 1613).

4. For example, G. F. Capello, Sacrorum concentuum unica, & duabus vocibus (...) (Venezia, Amadino, 1610); S. Patta, Sacra cantica concinenda una, duabus, et tribus vocibus, cum (...) basso generali pro organo (Venezia, Vincenti, 1611); B. Binaghi, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum liber primus (Milano, Tradate, 1598); F. Calvene, Sacre lodi. Il primo libro de motetti a due, tre, & quattro voci (...) (Venezia, Amadino, 1612); Promptuarium musicum, sacras harmonias sive motetas V, VI, VII & VIII vocum, I (Strasbourg, Kieffer, 1611; music mostly Italian); B. Binaghi, Coronae divinarum laudum (...) quae tribus concinitur vocibus, liber primus (Milano, erede di Tini & Lomazzo, 1604); P. Lappi, Sacrae melodiae unica, duobus, tribus, quatuor, quinque, nec non et sex vocibus (...) liber primus (Venezia, Amadino, 1614); and E. Porta, Giardino di spirituali concenti a due, a tre, e a quattro voci (...) (Venezia, Raverius, 1609). All the abovenamed composers (and others) are listed by Praetorius (Syntagma musicum, III, cit., pp.7-8) as having published either Mottetti or Concerti: clearly, he was familiar with their publications.

5. Praetorius, Syntagma musicum, III, cit., p.8 (Lampl, A translation (...), cit., p.33): "There are some composers who use both words (Concerti and Motets), such as Antonius Faber and Simone Molinaro. Tommaso Cecchino entitles his Bicinia, Motetti Concertati. Others use the terms Concentus, Sacra cantica, Sacras cantiones, Laudae, Harmoniae, Margaritas, Dei Laudae, divinas Laudes, melodias sacras, spirituales, tympanum coeleste, etc. To be sure, these compositions, set in two, three, four and five parts, might properly be called Concerti. For in
some [of them] two, three or four voices will imitate each other's harmonies, in others the passaggi and diminutions; now they will repeat what has just been sung, then all will join in together, thus virtually vying with each other, one trying to excel the other."

6. Con-sero, -serere = "to string together, twine, fasten together" (W. SMITH, A smaller Latin-English dictionary, revised J.F.LOCKWOOD, London, 1933, p.148); Consorto = "consonanza di voci e di suoni" (G. DEVOTO and G.C.OLI, Dizionario della lingua italiana, Firenze, 1971, p.562: "consonance of voices and sounds"). This derivation is discussed by H. BOTTRIGARI, in Il Desiderio, ovvero De' Concerti di vari strumenti musicali (Venezia, Amadino, 1594), p.9, who, notwithstanding what he notes to be its wide acceptance by the Tuscans, asserts it to be false, used "(. . .) più tosto per vezzo (. . .) della loro pronuntia (. . .) che perché egli habbia la (. . .) detta derivatione" ("more through their habit (. . .) of pronunciation (. . .) than because it has the (. . .) said derivation").

7. PRAETORIUS, Syntagma musicum, III, cit., p.4: "Cantio, Concentus, seu Symphonia est diversarum vocum modulatio. Italis vocatur Concento vel Concerto, quod Latinis est concertatio, qua variae voces aut instrumenta musica ad concertum faciendum committuntur" (LAMPL, A translation (. . .), cit., p.25: "Cantio, Concentus or Symphonia means a composition [arranged] for different voices. The Italians call it Concerto or Concerto; in Latin, it is a concertatio, in which different voices or instruments are combined to make a Concerto"). For some specific, 16th-century examples of Concerto apparently used in this sense of "to join or bind together," see D.D. BOYDEN, 'When is a Concerto not a Concerto?', Musical Quarterly, xliii (1957), pp.221-4.

8. PRAETORIUS, Syntagma musicum, III, cit., p.5 (LAMPL, A translation (. . .), cit., p.28): "(. . .) it derives from the Latin verb concertare, which means to contend with one another." Bottrigari gives a similar definition, in Il Desiderio (. . .), cit., p.9.

9. PRAETORIUS, Syntagma musicum, III, cit., p.x, from the author's dedication: "Ohn alleine, dass er [the author] etlicher Italorum Information (so er allerest, do dieses sein Concept unnd Werck fast zum Ende gebracht, eines theils in etzlichen Praefationibus ihrer im Druck aussgegangenen Concerten hin unnd wieder gefunden, anders Theils aber von guten Leuten, die in Italia versiret, durch Mundlichen Bericht eingenomrnen) in diesen Tomum mit eingebracht unnd gesetzt hat" (LAMPL, A translation (. . .), cit., p.11: "He has not failed to include in this volume information from various Italian composers, gathered here and there from the prefaces of printed Concerti - though not until this work had been planned and almost completed - and from the oral accounts of reliable people who sojourned in Italy").

10. Ibid., pp.7-8 contains a list of composers whose publications were known to Praetorius. Composers range from exact contemporaries (e.g., Lodovico Viadana, c.1560 - 1627, and Adriano Banchieri, 1568 - 1634) to persons long since dead (e.g., Andrea Gabrieli, d.1585).
11. E.g., Rome, Venice, Mantua and Milan.

12. E.g., Cesena, Forlì, Faenza and Pavia.

13. E.g., Venice, Mantua and Milan.

14. I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 2768 (Cerimoniale), fol.24V: "( . . . ) various musical Concerti were made."

15. R.BENEDETTI, Raggiaiolo delle Allegrezze, Solennità, e Feste fatte in Venetia per la felice Vittoria (Venezia, Perchaccino, 1571), p.6: "( . . . ) most beautiful Concerti were made."

16. Ibid., p.11: "( . . . ) the sound was heard of ( . . . ) various, beautiful Concerti of music."

17. Ibid., p.13: "( . . . ) beautiful Concerti were made."

18. M.AVANZO, Aviso della solennissima e trionfante entrata nella Città di Venetia del Sebastiano Veniero (Venezia, s.n., 1574), p.4: "( . . . ) the most delightful Concerti ( . . . ) were heard."

19. R.BENEDETTI, Le feste et trionfi fatti dalla Signoria di Venetia nella felice venuta di Henrico III ( . . . ) (Venezia, Farri, 1574), fol.5r: "( . . . ) most singular Concerti were made by the musicians." For the possible relationship of Concerto to Concerto see above, p.12, at footnote 6.

20. T.PORCACCHI, Le attioni d'Arrigo terzo Re di Francia ( . . . ) descritte ( . . . ): nel quale si raccontano ( . . . ) le feste, con le quali è stato ricevuto in Venetia ( . . . ) (Venezia, Angelieri, 1574), fol.34r: "[a] sweet musical Concerto was made."


23. I - Vnm; Cod. It. VII, 553 (= 8812), entitled F.MOLIN DI MARCO, Compendio delle cose, 1558 - 1598, p.176: "( . . . ) various Concerti of instruments and singing voices were made."


25. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276) (Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale), fol.1r: "( . . . ) a Low Mass was said, with some Concerti in organo."

26. An addition by Giovanni Stringa, Canon at San Marco, to the second edition of F.SANSOVINO, Venetia Città Nobilissima, et Singolare ( . . . ) (Venezia, Salcato, 1604), fol.21r: "( . . . ) some Concerti performed by the church musicians."
27. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.3r: "In First Vespers (. . .) the singers sing a motet in lieu of Deo gratias."

28. Ibid., fol.3v: "In [First] Vespers, a motet is said by the singers in lieu of Deo gratias."

29. Ibid., fol.57r: "The motet of the Deo gratias of [First] Vespers is said by the singers."

30. Ibid.: "On Giovedi Grasso Mass is sung (. . .) by the singers, with the usual motets."

31. SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 1604\(^2\), cit., fol.338 r (Stringa's addition): "[accompanied on the] outward and inward journeys (. . .) by the musicians of St.Mark's, who sing some beautiful motets."

32. Ibid., fol.336v (Stringa's addition): "( . . .) with motets sung by the musicians of St.Mark's at the Offertory and at the Elevation."

33. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.31 v: "[In Second Vespers] the singers say a motet in lieu of Deo gratias."

34. BOTTRIGARI, Il Desiderio (. . .), cit., pp.1-2: "Alemanno BENELLI: I have left my house (. . .) with the intention of hearing a big Concerto of music, which I learned this morning was to be given today in your neighbourhood shortly after luncheon, in which perhaps forty persons will participate, some playing various instruments, some singing (. . .)."

35. Ibid., p.2: "The Concerto (. . .) has already been freed from its duties ['spedito' used here in its (archaic) sense of "libero da legami, da impegni o da compiti": DEVOTO, Dizionario (. . .), cit., p.2035]; and I, having been repeatedly to hear it [i.e., the same group of musicians] from beginning to end, am returning to my house, and with such renewed confusion (. . .)."

36. Ibid., p.3: "Having been a number of times to hear various and diverse Concerti of music with voices accompanied by various instruments."

37. Ibid., p.42. The distinction between Concerto grande and Concerto grosso is not explained. It is, however, likely that they were one and the same thing: the forty-strong Concerto grosso discussed on pp.1-2 of the treatise is, after all, a very large ensemble.

38. Ibid., p.52: "[the] entertainment of Cardinals, Dukes, Princes and of other personages, of whom (. . .) he is most splendid and gracious host."

39. Ibid., p.50: "( . . .) at certain times, such as most solemn feasts of the Church, or to honour (. . .) Princes (. . .) or to gratify (. . .) some famous professor or noble music lover."

40. Ibid., pp.39-40.

41. A.GABRIELI, Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum, omnibus sanctorum solemnitatis deservientium, liber primus (Venezia, Gardano, 1576). Terms such as "ecclesiasticarum cantionum" and "sacrae cantiones" are to be regarded as equivalent to motet: as,
for example, in the Sacrae Cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum (Venezia, Gardano, 1565) of Andrea Gabrieli, and the Liber decimus quintus [= primus] ecclesiasticarum cantionum vulgo moteta (Antwerpen, Susato, 1560) of Orlando di Lasso.


43. For an inventory (complete with liturgical data) of this and other printed collections of Venetian sacred music, see Appendix I.

44. C.MERULO, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus, liber primus (Venezia, Gardano, 1578) and liber secundus (Venezia, Gardano, 1578).

45. Pp.25-6, 30-33, 35.

46. G.CROCE, Sacrae cantiones quinis vocibus concinendae, tum viva voce, tum etiam omni instrumentorum genere cantatu commodissimae (Venezia, Vincenti, 1807).

47. Respectively, pp.3, 10, 13.

48. B.DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti a cinque, a sei et otto voci (Venezia, Gardano, 1599).


50. Of the fourteen collections of Venetian Mottetti printed during the period 1565 - 1610 there are only two exceptions: the Sacrae cantiones (.) quinque vocum, cit., of Andrea Gabrieli, and the Primo libro de mottetti a quattro voci pari (Venezia, Gardano, 1584) of Claudio Merulo, in both of which more "generally" orientated texts such as psalms are in the majority. For a full list of liturgical derivations, see Appendix I.

51. Exceptional, however, are those texts based upon the various liturgies post Pentecostes and in the second half of Quadragesima. See Appendix I, in particular C.MERULO, Il primo libro de mottetti a sei voci (Venezia, Gardano, 1583), pp.8, 11, 15, 17, 21; DONATO, Il primo libro de mottetti (.), cit., pp.26-7, 41; and CROCE, Sacrae cantiones quinis vocibus (.), cit., p.2.

52. See, in particular, A.GABRIELI, Sacrae cantiones (.) quinque vocum, cit., pp.27-8; G.CROCE, Motetti a otto voci (.) (Venezia, Vincenti, 1594), p.5; id., Motetti a otto voci (.) libro secondo (Venezia, Vincenti, 1595), pp.15-16; G.DALLA CASA, Il primo libro de mottetti a sei voci (.) (Venezia, Amadino, 1597), pp.1, 3, 19; DONATO, Il primo libro de mottetti (.), cit., pp.5-7, 12-13, 20-21, 24-7, 34-5, 38-9, 44; CROCE, Sacrae cantiones quinis vocibus (.), cit., pp.7-8.

53. A.GABRIELI, Sacrae cantiones (.) quinque vocum, cit., pp.3-5, 9-10, 25-6, 32-3. Ibid., pp.2-3, 6-8, 15-16 and G.ZARLINO, Modulationes sex vocum per Philippum Isbertum muscum Venetum collectae (Venezia, Rampazetto, 1566), pp.6-8, 10-12, for psalm texts which are set in full.
54. Pp.20, 22.

55. Presumably, that of Lepanto, 1571. For further discussion, see below, p.49.

56. Pp.2, 7-9, 11-12, 16, 19, 23, 26, 28, 31, 34-8. Andrea Gabrieli's twelve-part setting of Ps.66, Deus misereatur nostri (p.39), has been omitted from the present discussion. Originally published as it was as No.30 of the [Novi thesauri musici] liber quintus (...): octo, sex, quinque, quattuor vocum (...)(Venezia, Gardano, 1568). A collection devoted almost entirely to Political Motets in honour of the various members of the House of Austria, it must be assumed that this work also was composed for a northern court, probably during 1562 when Andrea belonged to the musical entourage which, under the direction of Lassus, accompanied Duke Albert V of Bavaria on his journey to Frankfurt-am-Main for the coronation of the Emperor, Maximilian II.

57. Respectively, pp.1, 25, 44, 41-3.

58. P.32.


61. The text does not occur in the commemorative Officia propria festi Sancti Marci Apostoli, & Evangelistae, cum Octava; necnon Translationis, et Apparitionis Corporis eiusdem, Recitanda ex antiqua consuetudine in Ducali eius Ecclesia (...)(Venezia, F.de Satrianiis, 1602). For details of its use in occasional ceremonies, see below, p.24.

62. Pp.3-6, 10, 13-15, 17, 21, 24, 27, 28-9, 33, 40. Several of these works, however, may actually be occasional in function: see below, pp.45-6, 50-51, 53, 55-8.

63. C.f., the Concerti of the nuns of S.Vito di Ferrara (see above, p.16), some of which are performed in conjunction with the "(...) solennità grandissime di Chiesa."

64. Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (...), cit., pp.7, 9, 12, which set two verses only; pp.2, 8, 19, 26, 34, in which a third verse has been added; and pp.11, 16, 28, which utilize Vv.1-4. Somewhat larger, however, (though still not as long as many of the Psalm-Motetti) are pp.23, 31, 35-6, 38, each of which set Vv.1-5 of their respective psalms.

65. Ibid., pp.3-4, 14-15, 17, 24, 33.

66. G.GABRIELI, Sacrae Symphoniae (...), senis, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, & 16, tam vocibus, quam instrumentis (Venezia, Gardano, 1597), and Symphoniae Sacrae (...), liber secundus, senis, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, & 19, tam vocibus, quam instrumentis (Venezia, stampa del Gardano, 1615).


69. See footnote 7, above. Here, however, some caution is required: both words are defined by Praetorius as synonymous with Concerto, a term which, as we have already seen, has both in Venice and Ferrara an other than purely musical significance.

70. PORCACCHI, Le attioni ( . . . ), cit., fol.28v: "( . . . ) the two famous organs began ( . . . ) to make the most sweet Concento [i.e., to play most sweetly together]."

71. G. STRINGA, La Chiesa di San Marco ( . . . ) descritta brevemente ( Venezia, Rampazetto, 1610), fol.71v: "( . . . ) the Prince and the Signoria [go] to the Church [of San Marco to hear] Mass, which is ( . . . ) celebrated with sweet Concenti of sounds and songs."

72. Although, as we have already observed in the case of the Concerti di Andrea, & di Gb: Gabrieli ( . . . ), Concerto, too, may be applied not only to music for occasional, politically orientated events but also to pieces for the most important of the commemorative liturgies (such as Christmas, Easter and the feasts of the Blessed Virgin). In the 1587 publication, however, the scope of these commemorative pieces is considerably more restricted than in either of the volumes of Giovanni.

73. G.B. GRILLO, Sacri concentus ac symphoniae ( . . . ) 6. 7. 8. 12. voc. ( Venezia, sub signo Gardani, appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1618). Contained in this collection are eleven ( "general" ) settings of the psalms and Magnificat, together with a further eight works whose texts make reference to specific liturgical commemorations.

74. G. BASSANO, Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici a 5, 6, 7, 8, & 12 voci ( Venezia, Vincenti, 1598), and (Motetti per) concerti ecclesiastici a cinque, sei, sette, otto & dodeci voci ( . . . ) libro secondo ( Venezia, Vincenti, 1599).

75. As with the nuns of S.Vito di Ferrara.


78. "I, being ( . . . ) Maestro di Musica at the most honourable Seminary, [ have] made the present compositions, in the service of that [ body] which is accustomed to appear often before the Serenissima Signoria in the public solemnities."

79. The Venetian Office liturgies proper to St.Mark are contained
in the Officia propria festi Sancti Marci ( . . . ), cit. As noted above, the Translatio and Inventio were peculiar to the Venetian calendar. The central, Festum S. Marci was celebrated throughout the Catholic world on April 25th; however, the liturgical texts used in Venice had little in common with those of the Tridentine liturgy.

80. Respectively, SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . . ), 1604, cit., fol. 217r (Stringa's addition), and I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol. 94v.

81. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol. 70v.

82. Ibid., fol. 93v.

83. Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae, secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae Sancti Marci ( . . . ) ad antiquum Ritum, & Integritatem restitutum (Venezia, Prosdocimi, 1716), pp. 415, 424, 431 respectively.

84. Officia propria festi Sancti Marci ( . . . ), cit., p. 17.

85. G.ZARLINO, Musici quinque vocum, Moduli, Motecta vulgo nuncupata opus nunquam alias typis excussum, ac nuper accuratissime in lucem aeditum. Liber primus (Venezia, Gardano, 1549).

86. Officia propria festi Sancti Marci ( . . . ), cit., p. 21.

87. G.ZARLINO, Le istitutioni harmoniche (Venezia, s.n., 1558).

88. Ibid., p. 268: "It will sometimes happen [that] Psalms will be set in a manner called Choro spezzato, which often in Venice it is the custom to sing during Vespers and the other [Office] Hours of the solemn feasts; and they are arranged and divided in two or three Choirs, in [each of] which sing four voices."

89. The eight "Salmi spezzati di M. Adriano", contained in I Salmi appertinenti alli Vesperti per tutte le feste dell'anno, parte a versi & parte spezzati, accomodati da cantare a uno & a duoi Chori, novamente posti in luce (Venezia, Gardano, 1550), pp. 23-7. The same publication contains two further types of (essentially single-choir) psalmody: "Salmi senza risposte, quali sono nel primo [or secondo] choro" and "Salmi a versi con le sue risposte a li medesimi numeri." Of neither are there any, specifically Venetian examples. The former are represented only in the non-Venetian settings of Jachet da Mantova, Scaffen and Nasco; the latter merely include, among the otherwise non-Venetian examples, a number of settings composed jointly by Maestro di Cappella Willaert and (significantly) the non-Venetian Jachet.


91. Of the musical publications, however, Giovanni Croce's Salmi che si cantano a terza, con l'inno Te Deum, et i salmi Benedictus e Miserere a otto voci (Venezia, Vincenti, 1596), with a total of
three psalms for Terce, and the same composer's Compietta a otto voci (Venezia, Vincenti, 1591), with four psalms and other works for Compline, bear out Zarlino's observation that Salmi spezzati were also performed "alle altre hore delle feste solenni."

92. G. CROCE, Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia octonis vocibus decantanda (Venezia, Vincenti, 1597).

93. Breviarium Romanum (...), cit., p.205. The same psalms serve also at First Vespers in Epiphania Domini (January 6th), in festo Omnim Sanctorum (November 1st) and in Communi Apostolorum, et Evangelistarum; and at First and Second Vespers in Nativitate S.Ioannis Baptistae (June 24th): ibid., pp.273, T189, T229, 995, 1003, respectively.

94. Ibid., pp.875, 880, 917, 921, 941, 945, 1023, 1027, 1063, 1102, T105, 1131, 1134, 1218, 1219, 1347-8. The same psalms serve also at First and Second Vespers in Circumciscione Domini (January 1st): ibid., pp.251, 260.

95. For example, at First and Second Vespers in Ascensione Domini and in die Pentecostes; and at Second Vespers in Communi Apostolorum, et Evangelistarum (ibid., pp.545,554, 581, 588, T238-40, respectively). Also, at First and Second Vespers in festis S. Marci (Officia propria festi Sancti Marci (...), cit., pp.9-11, 27-9, 40-41, 56, 58), whose psalms, in the Venetian liturgy, do not always correspond with those in Communi Apostolorum, et Evangelistarum.

96. P. F. CAVALLI, Vesperi a otto voci (Venezia, stampa del Gardano, 1675).

97. The five "Laudate:" Laudate pueri Dominum (Ps.112), Laudate Dominum omnes gentes (Ps.116), Lauda anima mea (Ps.145), Laudate Dominum quoniam (Ps.146) and Lauda jerusalem (Ps.147).


99. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.3r (in Circumcisione Domini, First and Second Vespers): "(...) all five psalms are sung by the two choirs of singers."

100. Ibid., fol.25r (in Annunciatione B.M.V., March 25th, First and Second Vespers): "(...) all the psalms are sung most solemnly by the two choirs of singers."

101. Ibid., fol.30r (in Transfiguratione Domini, August 6th, Second Vespers): "(...) sometimes, at the request (....) of the Procurators, the psalms are sung by two choirs of singers (...); but usually the psalms are not sung by the singers."
CHAPTER TWO.

102. As, for example, during the final section of the Easter Sepulchre drama, which immediately preceded Mass on Easter Sunday. Texts and rubrics are recorded both in SANSOVINO, Venetia (...), 16042, cit., fol.350r-v where they have been added by STRINGA, and in the Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae, secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae S.Martii (...), cit., pp.377-82.

103. Ducal decrees relating to the administration of the Basilica invariably begin with the words "Noi Patrono della Chiesa Ducal di san Marco nostra Regia Cappella". Further on this see the section 'Giuspatronato del Doge', in La Basilica di San Marco in Venezia illustrata nella storia e nell'arte (...), ed. C.BOITO (Venezia, 1888), Testo, pp.19-25. It was only after the fall of ducal Venice, in the Napoleonic era, that St.Mark's came finally to be placed under the dominion of the Papal See.

104. Descriptions of these solemnities occur in Venetian State Cerimoniali, private diaries and chronicles, printed guide-books and other, occasional publications. Chief among the former are I-Vas, Cerimoniali, I, which covers the period 1557-99, and I-Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), the so-called Rituum ecclesiasticorum cerimoniale, dated "1564", of B.Bonifacio. In the second category come the diaries of M.Sanuto (modern edition by F.STEFANI, G.BERCHET, N.BAROZZI, Venezia, 1879-1903), which provide comprehensive coverage of an earlier period, 1496-1533, and the anonymous Cronaca Dosi (I-Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 393, = 8647), especially informative for the period 1570-93. The principal guide-books are STRINGA, La Chiesa (...), cit., F.SANSOVINO, Venetia Città Nobilissima, et Singolare (...), (Venezia, I.Sansovino, 15811; 16042, cit.), and F.SANSOVINO, Delle cose notabili che sono in Venetia (...). (Venezia, Comin da Trino di Monferrato, 1561; Venezia, Rampazetto, 1565; Venezia, Valgrisio, 1587; Venezia, Salicato, 16014; Venezia, Sessa, 16065, in a series of updated editions). Occasional publications are represented by those cited in footnotes 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 182, 198, 216, 253, 271, 302, and 334.

105. Described in SANSOVINO, Venetia (...), 16042, cit., fol.338r-339r. Sansovino's original account has been expanded by Stringa.

106. Ibid., fol.342v-343v (again enlarged by Stringa from Sansovino's original description).

107. Ibid., fol.336v-337r, where the description is essentially that of Stringa.

108. As in the fifth Lectio of Matins: "(...) quem diem Virginis [Iustinae] festum pia Republica Veneta augustius celebrat ob victoriam Christianorum ad Echinadas insulas de Turcos in ipso reportatam" (Officia propria Sanctorum civitatis, dioecesis, et totius Dominii Venetiarum, Venezia, Recurti, 1765, p.262: "(...) which day, [feast of] the Virgin [Giustina], the devoted Venetian Republic celebrates more grandly on account of the victory of the Christians, carried this very [day] against the Turk at the Arcanian islands").
109. From the Translatio: "O quam felix, et gloriosa es Urbs beata Venetorum; quae tam dignum, et gloriosum hodie meruistl suscipere Patronum, alleluia." And from the Apparitio: "Gaudete, et exultate Venetiarum cives: quia hodie occultum aperietur vobis thesaurum sanctissimum." (Officia propria festi Sancti Marci ( . . . ), cit., respectively pp.42 and 56: "O how fortunate and glorious art thou, blessed city of the Venetians; that today thou hast deserved to receive such a worthy and renowned protector, alleluia" and "Rejoice and exult, [0) citizens of the Venetian lands: for today [there]will be revealed unto you a most sacred, hidden treasure.")


113. In 979, Doge Tribuno Membo entrusted the island and church of S.Giorgio Maggiore to the Benedictine monk Giovanni Morosini with the words: "Ecclesia [Sancti Georgii) fuerat pertinens ad dominium Basilicae Sancti Marci, quae est Cappella nostra, libera a servitute Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae" ("The church [of S.Giorgio Maggiore] had belonged to the dominion of the Basilica of St.Mark, which is Our chapel, free from the servitude of the Holy Mother Church"). Further on this see the section 'Giuspatronato del Doge', in La Basilica di San Marco ( . . . ), cit., Testo, p.20.

114. PRODI, The structure ( . . . ), cit., p.414. The study of the medieval ducal liturgy to which he refers is that of G.FASOLI, 'Liturgia e cerimoniale ducale', in Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo xv (Venezia, 1971), I i, pp.261-95.

115. Thus, the mid 13th-century Estoire de Venise of MARTINO DA CANALE (modern edition by A.Limentani, Firenze, 1972) makes continual reference to the quasi-liturgical Christus vincit formula (further on which see FASOLI, Liturgia ( . . . ), cit., p.277), originally conceived in praise of the eastern Emperors but now directed also towards the Doges of Venice.

116. Over the centuries several writers reaffirm their belief in the sacral nature of Venice. For example, Doge Andrea Dandolo (1343-54), an analysis of whose remarks (expressed in his Chronicon Venetum) appears in G.CRACCO, Società e Stato nel Medioevo veneziano (Firenze, 1967), pp.421-40; Gasparo Contarini (early 16th century) and Paolo Paruta (late 16th century), for an analysis of whose works see PRODI, The structure ( . . . ), cit., p.413, and F.GILBERT, 'Religion and politics in the thought of Gasparo Contarini', in Action and conviction in early modern Europe, ed. T.K.Rabb and J.E.Steget (Princeton,
1969, pp.90-116. Further on the writings of Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), Servite monk and official theological spokesman for the Venetian Republic during the Papal Interdict to which the latter was subjected in 1606-7, see below, pp.38-40.

117. PRODI, The structure (...), cit., p.412.


119. PRODI, The structure (...), cit., p.414.

120. Ibid., p.416.

121. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.75v, entitled Ordene quando se fa el patriarcha: "Et prima quando vien elletto el patriarcha per lo excellentissimo conseglie de pregadi, el vien sonado per comandamento (....) per quel zorno tanto" ("And first, when the Patriarch is elected by the Most Excellent Council of the Pregadi, the church bell (....) is rung, by command, (....) for that day only"). Only subsequently is Rome consulted, but this is apparently a mere formality: "Et quando el vien le bolle da roma el se sona campano (....) per 3 zorni continju" ("And when [my italics] the Papal edicts come from Rome the bell is rung (....) for three consecutive days").

122. PRODI, The structure (...), cit., p.416. Beginning with Patriarch Matteo Zane in 1600, examination in canon law and theology before the Cardinals at Rome became a condition of papal ratification.

123. For the texts, Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum, VII (Torino, Dalmazzo, 1862), pp.685-8 and 839-41 respectively.


126. PASINI, Rito antico (....), cit., p.65.

127. As testified by one of Stringa's additions to SANSOVINO, Venetia (....), 1604c, cit., fol.346v: "[Al] Maestro delle cerimonie (....) tocca invigilare con somma prudenza, & procurare con altrettanta diligenza, che gli officij divini non tanto di questo giorno, [la Vigilia di Natale,] quanto di tutti gli altri dell'anno, siano recitati con ordine, & regola, conforme all'antichissimo, & venerando rito Alessandrino di questa Chiesa [di San Marco], che è in molte cose dal Romano diferente" ("It is the duty of the Maestro di Cerimonie (....) to watch over the Divine Offices with the greatest discernment, and to see with equal diligence that not only on this feast, [Christmas Eve.] but also on all the others of the [liturgical] year they are recited in order and according to the regulations, in conformity with the most ancient and venerable Alexandrian rite of this church [of St.Mark's], which is different in many respects from the Roman").
128. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), cit.

129. On which see G. Ronci, 'Messale', in Enciclopedia Cattolica, VIII (Firenze, 1952), col. 836.

130. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), title-page (unfoliated): "(. . .) in every respect, most diligently collected together from the most ancient books of the same Church [of San Marco]."

131. Ibid., fol. 2r: "(. . .) quare diligens lector, si quidem invenerit in descriptione hac, rituum et cerimoniarum Ecclesiae Divi Marcj Evangelistae civitatis illustris venetiarum, diversum a ritibus aliarum Ecclesiarum non debet mirari. Presertim cum nostra haec Ecclesia in precibus orarijs, non omnino Ecclesiam sequitur romanam (. . .)" ("whereby the discerning reader, if indeed he will have found in this description of the rites and ceremonies of the Church of St. Mark the Evangelist of the illustrious city of Venice something different from the rites of other churches, ought not to be surprised. Especially since our church, in the canonical Hours, does not altogether follow the Church of Rome"). In this respect, see also the comments of Stringa (footnote 127, above).

132. Ibid., fol. 1v: "(. . .) ac circa praedictum divinum officium exercendum in Ecclesia Sancti Marcj venetiarum . maxima duplicitas . sive diversitas sit hactenus observata in divinis officijis, et horis canonici celebrandis, inducebat scandalum et pariebat materiam iurgiorum" ("and indeed in respect of the above-said Divine Office celebrated in the Church of St. Mark of Venice, the very great duplicity or diversity [which] up to this time has been observed in celebrating the Divine Offices and Canonical Hours led to scandal, and brought about an occasion for squabbles").

133. Ibid: "(. . .) ordered according to the true and ancient [use] of the church."

134. Ibid., fol. 21r: "(. . .) in our Missal, Graduals and Epistolarium."

135. Ibid., fol. 24r: "(. . .) in our Orationalium and Antiphonaries."

136. On fol. 89v one such description is entitled "1265, adi 30 mazo, littera scritta alli ambassatori in Roma", and another is headed "Pollizza della invention del corpo di S. Marco, 1085."

137. At any rate, no such material appears to exist in the records of the Procuratia de Supra di S. Marco (the body responsible for the day to day running of the church), now housed in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia.

138. A discussion of the surviving Cerimoniali and their interrelationship is contained in Section A of the Bibliography.

139. PRODI, The structure (. . .), cit., p. 414.

140. G. BenzonI, Venezia nell'età della Controriforma (Milano, 1973), p. 27. Peace was concluded in March 1573 by a Venetian delegation to Constantinople.
141. The complicated negotiations which preceded the Apostolic Visitazione of 1581 are described in S. TRAMONTIN, 'La visita apostolica del 1581 a Venezia', Studi veneziani, ix (1967), pp.453-533. In the event, the Senate was happy to accept as Inquisitor the loyal Ottaviano Valier, Bishop of Verona, who, although accompanied on his rounds by the Papal Nuncio, had sole responsibility for the final recommendations.

142. For the details from the Venetian point of view see P. SARPI, 'Considerationi sopra le censure della Santità di Papa Paulo V contro la Serenissima Republica di Venezia', in Paolo Sarpi, Opere, ed. G. and L. Cozzi (Milano-Napoli, s.d.), pp.153-217. The Considerationi ( . . . ) was published in 1606.

143. SARPI, Considerationi ( . . . ), cit., p.158.

144. In particular, ibid. Also by Sarpi, the Istoria dell'Interdetto (in Istoria dell'Interdetto e altri scritti editi e inediti, ed. M. O. Busnelli and G. Gambarin, Bari, 1940, Vol.I), the Scrittura sopra la forza e validità della scommunica (ibid., Vol.II, pp.17-40), the Consiglio sui giudicar le colpe di persone ecclesiastiche (ibid., Vol.II, pp.41-70) and the Risposta al breve circa 111 prigionie (ibid., Vol.II, pp.71-3). See also the Ducale di Doge Leonardo Donato al clero di tutto il dominio veneto contro l'Interdetto di Paolo V (Venezia, s.n., 1606).

145. SARPI, Istoria dell'Interdetto, cit., Vol.I, p.106: "God has constituted two governments in the world, one spiritual, the other temporal, each one of them supreme and one independent from the other. The one is the ecclesiastical authority, the other is the political government. Of the spiritual, he has given management to the Apostles and to their successors; of the temporal, [he has given jurisdiction] to princes; so that the one can not interfere in that which appertains to the other."


147. "( . . . ) disciple and interpreter of Peter the Apostle." These words appear as part of the 2nd Respond of Matins in festo S. Marci, April 25th (Officia propria festi Sancti Marci ( . . . ), cit., p.17). On p.19 of the same liturgy, St. Mark is portrayed as a second Peter: "( . . . ) unum cor, una in duobus anima corporibus" ("one heart/mind, one soul in two bodies").

148. The legendary words of Christ to St. Mark by which, according to Venetian State doctrine, he had promised that the bones of the Evangelist (which were to rest for some time after his death in Moslem Alexandria) should be redeemed from the infidel, and that they should find eternal peace at the very site where the city of Venice was subsequently founded. For a discussion of the use of this formula in Venetian State iconography, see S. SINDING-LARSEN, 'Christ in the Council Hall: studies in the religious iconography of the Venetian Republic', Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinente, v (1974), p.93.
149. Ibid., pp.159-66, for a thorough analysis of Venetian investiture iconography.


151. SARPI, Consiglio (....), cit., p. 49: "(...) not as princes and political authorities, but as believers, and representing the whole body of believers."

152. See, for example, SANSOVINO, Venetia (...), 1581, cit., fol.176r, describing the ducal vestments: "Io ho notato nell'antichissime monete de' nostri Principi, che l'ornamento loro del capo, ha più tosto somiglianza (...) di Mitra (...) in segno cred'io, ch'egli fosse [merely] quasi [my italics] come Principe, che partecipasse ad un certo modo del sacro" ("I have noted in the old coins of our Princes the garment with which they adorn their head resembles somewhat (...) a Mitre (...)", in sign, I believe, that he was almost like a Prince who partook, in a manner of speaking, of the sacred"). And again, on fol.177r: "Sotto alla predetta Corona, o Berretta, si vede una scuffia bianca di sottilissimo renso, o canbrà, la quale i Dogi ebbero ab antiquo, [merely] quasi come insegna di persona sacra" ("Under the above-said crown, or Berretta, one sees a white coif, [made] of a very thin flaxen or cotton material, which the Doges had from ancient times, almost like the insignia of a sacred person").

153. For information on whom see above, footnotes 115 and 116.

154. Of which a good example is I - Vmc, Ms. Misc. LVI, an anonymous Relazione from the second half of the 16th century, cited in SINDING-LARSEN, Christ in the Council Hall (...), cit., pp.139-40. Guide-books are cited in footnote 104. Political and historical writings include, besides those cited in footnote 144, P. PARUTA, Discorsi politici (... nei quali si considerano diversi fatti (...)) di principi e di repubbliche antiche e moderne (...) (Venezia, Nicolini, 1599).

155. For a thorough examination of these Orazioni in the context of Venetian sacral philosophy see SINDING-LARSEN, Christ in the Council Hall (...), cit., pp.139-49. The following is a summary of his findings.

156. Orazione dell' Oratori della (...) Comunità di Pirano al (...) Principe [Marcantonio] Trevisano (...) (Venezia, s.n., 1553), unpaginated: "(...) this most Holy Republic, (...) founded truly by the hands of God."

157. One Orator describes Venice as a "nuovo Cielo" (L. CURTIO, Orazione (... al Principe Luigi Mocenigo, Ceneda, s.n., 1601, p.5: "[a] new heaven").

158. As, for example, in the following excerpt from the Orazione of Gian Giorgio Trissino, ambassador from Vicenza, to Doge Andrea Gritti (elected 1523), contained in F. SANSOVINO, Delle orationi recitate
a Principi di Venetia nella loro Creazione ( . . . ) (Venezia, I. Sansovino, 1562), fol.1v: "Ne anche ml estenderO in narrare le mirabili constitutioni, e le divine leggi di questa Republica: perciochè chiunque si pone diligentemente a considerarle, non può pensare, che siano da ingegno humano procedute; ma le giudica da Dio istesso mandate. Dio fu veramente, Iddio è stato quello, che ha cosi bene questa Republica ordinata ( . . . )" ("Neither will I extend myself to recount the wondrous constitution and divine laws of this Republic: for whoever sets himself diligently [the task] of considering them can not [possibly] think them to be derived from human reason; but [will] judge them to have been sent by God himself. It was truly God, God it has been who has regulated so well this Republic").

159. SINDING-LARSEN, Christ in the Council Hall ( . . . ), cit., p.141, who cites A. MICHELE, Scielta delle orationi fatte nella creazione del ( . . . ) prencipe ( . . . ) Pasqual Cicogna ( . . . ) (Venezia, s.n., 1587), unpaginated: "(. . .) an effigy, an image of the divine, celestial Republic."

160. As implied in N. MANZUOLI, Orazione di Nicoló Manzuoli ( . . . ) della Città di Capo d'Istria, al ( . . . ) Principe Leonardo Donato ( . . . ) (Venezia, Meretti 1606), unpaginated: "(. . .) Iddio ( . . . ) hebbe cura particolare di Voi, [o Doge,] come d'Hismael nel deserto, di Mosè nel fiume, et di Sansone nelle fascie. Onde fatto grande, adoperandoVi Iddio, à guisa d'un novo David, in tutti i gradi, et officij, che dare Vi poteva la vostra Republica ( . . . )" ("God ( . . . ) had special care over you, as over Ishmael in the desert, Moses in the river, and Samson in his swaddling-clothes. From which, made great, God making use of you, in the manner of a second David, in all the ranks and offices which your Republic could give you").

161. See, for example, the Orazione of Paolo Novello of Belluno to Doge Marcantonio Trevisano: "(. . .) se ( . . . ) resguardaremo a questa mirabile et gran città di Venetia, et a questi ( . . . ) Senatori, et a Voi ( . . . ) Principe Serenissimo, si sarà larga conchiusione, che tutto ciò ne sia dall'Altissimo concesso a conservation de la fede catholica, a defensione di santa Chiesa, et ad illustratione del nome Italiano" (SANSOVINO, Delle Orationi ( . . . ), cit., fol.29v: "if ( . . . ) we consider this great and wondrous city of Venice, and these ( . . . ) Senators, and you, ( . . . ) Most Serene Prince, it will be the general conclusion that all of it has [been] granted by God for the upholding of the Christian faith, the defence of the Holy Church, and the glory of the name of Italy").

162. For example, Cornelio Frangipane, ambassador from Friuli, to Doge Francesco Donato, elected 1545: "(. . .) pare, che la eterna providentia habbia special cura di questa alma cittade; et se'l regno del cielo sostien d'esser sforzato, come si legge, è quasi in un certo modo sforzato il cielo a conservare questa santa Republica" (Ibid., fol.7v: "it seems that eternal Providence has special care over this bountiful city; and if the kingdom of heaven affirms [itself] to be overstrained, as one reads, it is in a manner of speaking almost compelled/overstrained to preserve this Holy Republic"). During the Interdict of 1606-7 this idea was to become a political weapon in the hands of Paolo Sarpi. For him, the actions of a misguided Papacy had placed in jeopardy "( . . . ) nostra libertà, che la divina bontà ha conservato inviolata da mille e ducent'ànni in qua tra innumerabili pericoli" (SARPI, Risposta al Breve ( . . . ), cit., p.71: "our liberty, which Divine Providence has conserved inviolate for one thousand two hundred years amongst innumerable dangers").
163. To Doge Francesco Venier, elected 1554 (SANSOVINO, Delle orationi (.), cit., fol.48v: "(. . .) a worthy image of divinity that is never to be invoked in vain, rather [which is] to be revered by everyone as a sacred thing and, if it were permissible, to be worshipped on earth."

164. On their relationship to more general currents of political thought see SINDING-LARSEN, Christ in the Council Hall (.), cit., pp.149-55.

165. SANSOVINO, Delle orationi (.), cit.

166. In particular, the naval victory of Lepanto in 1571, and the miraculous deliverance from the plague of 1575-7. See below, pp.44-54 and 54-61, respectively.

167. It is clear from the descriptions of Martino da Canale (Estoiës de Venise, cit.) that the nucleus of ducal ceremonial was already well formed by the mid 13th century. Over a period of time, however, new ceremonies were introduced and old ones embroidered. For the dates of origin of a number of specific ceremonies, see SANSOVINO, Venetia (.), 1581, cit., fol.193v-206v. For discussion of the various stages in the evolution of the ducal investiture service see FASOLI, Liturgia (.), cit., pp.264-8.

168. However, as already pointed out (see above, footnote 115), a few specific ceremonies and texts are Byzantine in origin. Further on this, ibid., especially pp.274-9.

169. SANSOVINO, Venetia (.), 1581, cit., fol.194r: "(. . .) it was always the custom of our forefathers to accompany temporal matters with religion."

170. See above, p.33.

171. Although, as it turned out, there were to be several occasions (see below, pp.45-6, 49, 63-74) on which no such politico-liturgical text was available. The choice would then be between a text of merely liturgical suitability or a freely-composed text which might make specific reference to the occasion in hand.


173. For a full discussion of Venetian commercial interests in the East, ibid., pp.41-57 and 175-6.

174. As testified by the disastrous terms of the Peace Treaties of 1479 and 1540. By the former - described in A.BATTISTELLA, La Repubblica di Venezia (Venezia, 1921), pp.384-5 - Venice was to lose six of her islands in the Morea and was to pay an annual figure of 10,000 ducats against the retention of her trading rights in the Ottoman Empire. By the latter (ibid., p.439), she was to renounce all claims on her remaining territories in the Morea, Nauplia and Malvasia, and was to pay an annual tribute of 8,000 ducats for the retention of Cyprus, together with an additional indemnity of 300,000 ducats against Turkish losses in the three-year-long war.
175. For the full story of the Turkish demands and Venetian negotiations, see S. ROMPNIN, Storia documentata di Venezia, VI (Venezia, 1857), pp. 276-88.

176. BATTISTELLA, La Repubblica (.), cit., p. 518.

177. ROMANIN, Storia documentata (.), VI, cit., p. 299.

178. BATTISTELLA, La Repubblica (.), cit., p. 526.

179. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), additional fol. [iii'v' - iv].

180. Ibid.

181. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol. 38v.

182. Anon., Il bellissimo et sontuoso Trionfo fatto nella magnifica Città di Venetia nella Publicazione della Lega (Brescia, s.n., 1571), p. 3: "(...) the ambassador of the king [of Spain], who is a Bishop, sang Mass, with all possible solemnity of decoration and of music (...); and, Mass almost finished, they began the procession, which was one of the [most] singular to have been made in this city for many years, as many old men testify (...)."


184. Such was typical of a number of the greatest religious processions in Venice: those, for example, in Vigilia Ascensionis Domini, in Translatione S. Isidori (April 16th), in Vigilia festi S. Marci (April 24th), in Testo S. Viti (June 15th), in Inventione Corporis S. Marci (June 25th) and in Testo S. Marinae (July 17th) (see Appendix II, respectively Nos. 20, 44, 46, 57, 59, 64). For descriptions of the performance of double-choir Litanies at two events of essentially occasional significance (the solemnization of the vow to erect the Church of the Redentore, September 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1576; the liberation of Venice from the plague, July 21st, 1577), see below, pp. 56 and 59. A single example of such music has been preserved: the Litaniae B. Mariae Virginis of Giovanni Gabrieli (Symphoniae Sacrae (...), II, cit., pp. 15-17).

185. Certainly, by the early 17th century, the performance of choral music at the Offertory and at the Elevation was of fairly common occurrence: see the comments of Giovanni Stringa, Canon at St. Mark's (below, pp. 71 and 94), and the evidence cited in S. BONTA, 'The uses of the Sonata da Chiesa', Journal of the American Musicological Society, xxii (1969), especially pp. 61-3 and 72-3. Sacred vocal music might also, however, be performed at various other points in the Mass as celebrated at St. Mark's: at the Introit (Appendix II, Nos. 11, 18, 36, 47),
the Tract (Appendix II, No.15) and the Postcommunion (below, p.71).

186. See below, p.70.


188. The Conceptio (December 8th), Purificatio (February 2nd), Annuncio (March 25th), Visitatio (July 2nd), Nativitas (September 8th), Officium in Sabbato and Officium parvum (Breviarium Romanum (. . .), cit., pp.879, 921, 944, 1026, 1134, 1341, 1356).

189. Mentioned in connection with the Assumptio in the Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S. Marci Venetiarum (. . .) (Venezia, Rampazetto, 1609), fol.130v; in connection with the other three feasts in I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.45r-5v (entitled Tabula descriptionis dierum totius anni in quibus cantores et organistae tenentur ad nostram Ecclesiam Sancti Marci convenire (. . .). De mandato (. . .) D. Leonardi Lauredani (. . .) Ducis nostri (. . .). Anno (. . .) M.D.XV).

190. As testified by their inclusion in the Tabula (. . .) (ibid.)

191. In fact, no other Venetian polyphonic music (whether large-scale or small) proper to the feasts of either S. Catherina or Dedicatio S. Mariae ad Nives has been preserved. For the Visitatio B.M.V., however, there is Merulo's five-part Beata Elisabeth (Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus (. . .), I, cit., p.20). And for the Assumptio, we have Zarlini's six-part Virgo prudentissima (Musici quinque vocum, moduli, motecta (. . .), cit., p.9), Merulo's five-part Maria virgo caelos ascendit (Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus (. . .), II, cit., p.4), Croce's eight-part Laudans exultet (Motetti a otto voci (. . .) libro secondo (. . .), cit., pp.1-2) and Giovanni Gabrieli's six-part Beata virgo Maria (Sacrae Symphoniae (. . .), I, cit., p.4). For full liturgical data on all these texts see Appendix I.

192. ROMANIN, Storia documentata (. . .), VI, cit., pp.310-11, from which the following historical information has been taken.

193. BENEDETTI, Ragguaglio (. . .), cit., p.87.

194. Ibid., p.87.

195. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.41r (entitled Come capitò in questa città la nova della vittoria contra Turchi, et molti altri particolar): "His Serenity, with the (. . .) Collegio, went down to the Church of San Marco (. . .); and the Te Deum was intoned by the Most Reverend Ambassador [of Spain] and taken up by the (. . .) Canons and the usual musicians; [this] finished, Mass was sung (. . .)."

196. BENEDETTI, Ragguaglio (. . .), cit., p.87: "On Sunday, the Prince, with the Signoria and many nobles, (. . .) went to [the] Church [of San Marco] where a most solemn Mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated, sung by the (. . .) Ambassador [of Spain]; in which the most divine Concerti were made; because sounding now the one and now
the other organ with all sorts of instruments and voices, they both conspired together in [such] a thunder that it truly seemed as though the cataracts of celestial harmony were opened, and [that] the latter flooded down from the Angelic choirs."

197. Ibid., p.[9] : "Similarly, the following Sunday, another spiritual solemnity was made, Mass being sung by the above-said Ambassador (. . .)."

198. Ibid., p.[11] : "(. . .) continuously, up until 11p.m., [there] was [to be] heard the sound of drums, of bugles and of fifes; and, upon the platforms, various beautiful concerti di musica (. . .)." Secular music in honour of the victory (although not necessarily commissioned for the Germans' festivities - see below) is represented by Andrea Gabrieli's eight-part Ecco la vaga aurora (Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli(. . .), cit., pp.86-7) and eight-part instrumental Aria della Battaglia per sonar d'instrumenti da fiato (Dialoghi musicali de' diversi autori (. . .), Venezia, Gardano, 1590, pp.52-5). For bibliographical details of the music (by Merulo) for Celio Magno's Rappresentazione, Trionfo di Cristo per la Vittoria contra Turchi (performed as the opening spectacle of Carnival Week, St.Stephen's Day, 1571), see SOLERTI, 'Le rappresentazioni musicali di Venezia dal 1571 al 1605, per la prima volta descritte', Rivista Musicale Italiana, ix (1902), p.509. For a description of Andrea Gabrieli's four-part, celebrative Mascherata, Asia felice ben poss'io chiamarmi, performed during the procession of Carnival Sunday, January 1572, see A.EINSTEIN, The Italian madrigal, II (Princeton, 1949), pp.523-4; for the texts of other works composed expressly for the same event, see the anonymous Ordine, et dichiaratione di tutta la Mascherata fatta nella Città di Venetia la Domenica di Carnevale. Per la gloriosa vittoria contra Turchi (Venezia, s.n., 1572).

199. BENEDETTI, Ragguaglio (. . .), cit., pp.[13-14] : "(. . .) divine Concerti, (. . .) mascherate with pieces of music for lute and for other instruments, entertainers with torches, (. . .) the clamour of artillery (. . .)."

200. Ibid., p.[13] : "[On] the first morning, a solemn Mass, with excellent pieces of music, was sung upon a platform erected opposite the Church of San Giacomo [di Rialto]. Terce [having been] said, the procession was made with the Crucifix - drums, bugles and fifes preceding in front, and a long order of priests, singers, and merchants following behind. After dinner, Vespers was sung, with similar[ly excellent] pieces of music: [this] began late, and finished at 8p.m."

201. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.41r: "(. . .) thanks to God for such great good."


203. The painting is by Tintoretto. For a reproduction and detailed discussion see SINDING-LARSEN, Christ in the Council Hall (. . .), cit., Plate XIX and pp.84-8.

204. Further on which see footnote 148 above.
205. SINDING-LARSEN, Christ in the Council Hall (…), cit., p.88-90.

206. Ibid., Plate XXIV and pp.95-8 for a reproduction and full description. The painting is by Veronese.


208. "Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth (…). Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini (…)."

209. "Blessed [is] the Lord God of Hosts. Blessed [are] they who fight in the name of the Lord. Truly, the hand of the Lord [is] strong and dreadful: the hand of the Lord fights for them [who fight in his name], the hand of the Lord protects them. Samson fought, Gideon fought: Samson conquered, Gideon conquered. Our men fought in the name of the Lord: the Lord fought for us and overcame his enemies. Be glad, rejoice and sing his praises."


212. As, indeed, of the ceremony of July 2nd for the solemnization of the Holy League, in which context this text would have been equally appropriate.


214. SANSOVINO, Venetia (…), 1581⁷, cit., fol.159r.

215. Ibid: "(…) there were pieces of [secular] music, without interruption, all of them excellent and select."

216. RAFAELLO THOSCANO, Le feste et trionfi de li honorati Mercanti della Seta, con il superbo apparato fatto in Rialto nuovo. Per l'Allegrezza della Vittoria, ottenuta contra Turchi (Venezia, s.n., 1571), Stanza 10 and the first half of Stanza 11: "Of St. Andrew, that glorious day, / Mass and Vespers were solemnly sung, / With so many torches and lights around / That all the citadel to see [has] come: / Then there was seen in a fine, jewelled picture / The [Lord] Barbarigo, who death [has] sustained / For maintaining the faith of the Redeemer, / [And] who now lives in heaven with [the] greater acclaim.

The great Venier (the fine portrait, still), / I saw in his armour with sceptre in hand; / Strozzi, then, who all Europe honours, / And I saw on [a] canvas the Tuscan Duke Grand."

217. GOMBRICH, Celebrations in Venice (…), cit., p.67.

218. This may be Tintoretto's portrait of Barbarigo, identified as such in H. TIEZE, Tintoretto (London, 1948), p.351.
219. In the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, there is a further portrait by Tintoretto (perhaps, however, only a copy of the original) which answers the description in the poem. Ibid., p.380.


221. I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratie de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 114 (Libro Corale), fol.194v.

222. "These are the conquerors and friends of God who, despising the orders of princes, have merited an everlasting reward: now they are crowned, and they receive the palm."

223. AVANZO, Aviso della solennissima et trionfante entrata ( . . . ), cit., p.[2] : "( . . . ) met by the nobility, citizenship and population in their entirety ( . . . ), and received with great joyfulness and almost unbelievable jubilation [in the Piazzetta S.Marco]." Avanzo's description, although published some two years (1574) after the event, had nevertheless been written "( . . . ) quasi in quell'istessi giorni, che fu fatto" (ibid., p.[4] : "almost in those very days [in which [the ceremony] was held"), and must therefore be regarded as essentially eye-witness.


225. Ibid., p.[3] : "( . . . ) to hear Mass, ( . . . ) which was celebrated with great devotion and solemnity by that choir which one can almost call angelic, [both] for [its] voices, and [for] the admirable and divine formations and the most delightful Concerti which were to be seen and heard, with the judicious composition of ( . . . ) Giuseppe Zarlino, Maestro di Cappella ( . . . )."

226. In fact, the last publication to include a Latin-texted work by Zarlino is the Primo libro de gli eterni motetti di Orlando Lasso, Cypriano Rore et d'altri ( . . . ) musici a 5 et a 6 voci ( . . . ) (Venezia, Scotto, 1567), printed some six years before the present ceremony. Further on Zarlino's contribution to this volume see below, footnote 302.

227. ROMANIN, Storia documentata ( . . . ), VI, cit., pp.331-40, from which the following historical information has been taken.

228. For a history, description and interpretation of these "Stendardi", see the comments of Stringa in SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . . ), 16042, cit., fol.321v.


230. The biblical source for this text is I. Corinthians, V, 7-8: "Purge out the old leaven, that you may exist a new lump, as you become unleavened. For even Christ, our passover, was sacrificed for this end. Therefore, we should keep the feast not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth."

231. Epistle, Mass, in Dominica Resurrectionis (Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae, secundum consuetudinem Ducalis Ecclesiae S.Marci ( . . . ),

232. B.PULLAN, 'Wage-earners and the Venetian economy, 1550-1630', The Economic History Review, Second Series, xvi (1964), pp.408-10, from which the following historical information has been taken.

233. I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 1339 (G.SIVOS, Cronaca Veneta, con vite dei Dosi), fol.[102r'], under the section on the life of Doge Alvise Mocenigo: "(. . .) over 22,000 men, over 37,000 women, over 12,000 boys and girls, over 150 Venetian nobles, over 40 doctors and surgeons, over 123 priests (. . .) in the city of Venice alone."

234. Remission from the penal consequences of sin, to be granted all those who attend for worship at a given time in one or a series of pre-appointed Holy Places.

235. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.46r (entitled Come fu tolto il Giubileo da S.Sertà): "(. . .) the Most Serene Prince, with the entire Collegio, Avogadori di Commun, Heads of the Council of Ten, Censors and Secretaries [of State], decided to visit the four churches appointed [for the Jubilee], that is, San Marco, San Pietro a Castello, San Giovanni e Paolo and San Zaccaria (. . .), on three [separate] days, that is, on Monday 12th, Wednesday 21st and Friday 23rd of the month of March."

236. 1. Chronicles, XXI, 1 to XXII, 6. David has sinned, and God has punished the Israelites with plague. David then prays for forgiveness before an altar specially erected for the purpose, and subsequently gives order that a magnificent temple be built upon the site. This episode was to figure prominently in the Tridentine Missa pro mortalitate vitanda (Missale Romanum (. . .), cit., pp.521-2) and was also to serve as the specific model for the Venetian "Redentore" vow discussed below (pp.55-8).


238. Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (. . .), cit., p.3. The text serves as the 3rd Respond (without Verset), Matins, Dominica I Quadragesimae (I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 115, Libro Corale, fol.52r-V).

239. "Let us amend for the better [those things in] which we have sinned through ignorance: lest suddenly prevented by the day of [our] death we seek space for penance and are not able to find [it]. Look upon [us], 0 Lord, and have mercy, for we have sinned against thee."

240. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.47v-48v (entitled Deliberatione del Senato di far voto alla Maestà Divina di fabricar in questa Città una Chiesa intitolata il Redentore per occasion della peste (. . .) MDLXXVI. Iv Settembre in Pregadi), transcribed in W.TIMOFIEWITSCH, 'La Chiesa del Redentore', Corpus Palladianum, III (Vicenza, 1969), p.65: "(. . .) a church will be built in the praise and to the glory [of God], dedicated to Our Redeemer, and that every
year, on the day [on] which this city is declared free from the present infection, His Serenity and his successors will go solemnly to visit the above-said church, in perpetual memory of the grace received." Fol.48V specifically mentions the biblical model of 1. Chronicles, XXI, 1 to XXII, 6 (see above, footnote 236).

241. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.48r (entitled L'ordine che fu tenuto nell'andar in chiesa [di San Marco] per dar esecutione al voto sopradetto. MDLXXVI. Ad v. Settembre), transcribed in TIMOFIEVITSCH, La Chiesa ( . . . ), cit., pp.65-6:
"( . . . ) in [polyphonic] music, [divided] in two choirs" ("musicalmente," that is, as opposed to "in plainchant").

242. Ibid: "( . . . ) Mass was begun, celebrated solemnly and sung polyphonically."

243. Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli ( . . . ), cit., p.14: "Thy birth, Virgin Mother of God, brought gladness to the whole world: truly, from thee, rose the sun of justice, Christ, our God: who, taking away the curse, gave a blessing, and confounding death, gave us everlasting life." The text serves both as the Antiphon at the Magnificat, 1st Vespers, and as the 5th Respond (without Verset), Matins, Nativitas B.M.V. (I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 117, Libro Corale, fol.187r and 190r respectively). The musical setting is "a 7".

244. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio. For a reproduction and full description of this painting see SINDING-LARSEN, Palladio's Redentore ( . . . ), cit., pp.434 (facing) and 433 respectively.

245. Ibid., p.433. For a description of the manuscript as a whole see R.BRATII, 'La Mariegola del Calafati dell'Arse nale di Venezia', Dedalo, ii (1921), pp.169-80.

246. The Giudecca is a long, narrow strip of land separated from San Marco on the main island of Venice by a wide stretch of water, the Canale della Giudecca.

247. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.51r (entitled Ordine tenuto nel metter la prima pietra nella chiesa votata. MDLXXXVII a di iii. Maggio), transcribed in TIMOFIEVITSCH, La Chiesa ( . . . ), cit., p.68: "( . . . ) with the priests and singers of San Marco."

248. Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli ( . . . ), cit., p.29. In the Venetian liturgy this text serves as the Antiphon at the Magnificat, 2nd Vespers, Exaltatio S.Crucis, September 14th (I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 117, fol.195v-V); in the Tridentine books it appears as the Antiphon at the Magnificat, 1st Vespers, Inventio S.Crucis (Breviarium Romanum ( . . . ), cit., p.919). It is by no means clear which liturgy, Venetian or Tridentine, was used on this occasion. The presence of the Doge and Senators would indicate the former; the venue (not the Ducal Chapel but the Church of S.Croce) and the celebrant (not the Ducal Primicerio but the Patriarch of Venice) suggest instead the latter. The question is, however, from the point of view of the music, largely academic. Concerti, as we saw in Chapter I,
were generally used outside their immediate liturgical positions: it is thus sufficient for present purposes to note that the text under discussion appears (in whatever position) in both Venetian and Tridentine rites.

249. "O Cross, brighter than all the stars, honoured by mankind, most lovely to men, holier than everyone: which alone was worthy to carry the ransom of the world: sweet wood, sweet nails, bearing the sweet burden: save now the crowd here gathered this day in thy praise."

250. Naturally, however, the immediate religious context of such a prayer would be that of sin, not plague.

251. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), additional fol.126v, in the hand of Maestro di Cerimonie, Niccolò Fausti: "(...) every year, on the third Sunday of July, [the government will] go in solemn procession to the Church of the Redentore on the Giudecca."

252. And as such will receive detailed examination in Chapter III (see below, pp. 94-7).

253. A celebrative, Liberation Ceremony, as indeed suggested by the title of the only published description: M.LUMINA, La liberazione di Vinegia dalla peste (Venezia, s.n., [1577]).

254. Ibid., p.[6]: "(...) above, in heaven, the Eternal Redeemer who, entreated from one side by [a] kneeling damsel and from the other by Blessed St.Roch, blessed the afflicted flock."

255. Ibid., p.[7]: "(...) drums, trumpets, the voices of people, and artillery."

256. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.60r-v (entitled Ponte fatto dalle collone di S.Marco fino alla Zudeca per visitar la chiesa votiva. MDD(XVII a di xxi Luglio): "(...) the priests of the choir and the singers."

257. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), additional fol.126v, in the hand of Niccolò Fausti: "(...) the litanies, [divided] in two choirs."

258. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.60r: "most solemn Mass."

259. Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (...), cit., p.7: "O Lord, my God, in thee have I put my trust: save me from all who pursue me, and deliver me. Lest he tear my soul like a lion, dragging me away while there is none to deliver. 0 Lord, my God, if I have done this, if there is injustice on my hands; If I have rendered evil unto him who was at peace with me, I will fall down deservedly by my worthless enemies. These are the opening four verses of Ps. 7, proper to Sunday Matins (Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S.Marci (...), cit., fol.3v). The musical setting is "a 7."

260. Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (...), cit., p.16: "How long, O Lord, will you forget me? How long will you hide your face from me? How long must I harbour grief in my soul, sorrow in my heart,
day by day? How long shall my enemy be exalted over me? Look now and answer me, O Lord, my God." These are the opening four verses of Ps. 12, likewise proper to Sunday Matins (Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S. Marci (...), cit., fol. 6r). The musical setting is also "a 7".

261. The present description of the reception of Capua and the Golden Rose is based upon that of I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol. 57r-58v (entitled Ordine tenuto ad incontrar et a tevar il Reverendo D. Annibai Capua mandato dal sommo Pont. a portar la rosa, et ressieder per noncio. M.D.XVII, a di primo luglio).

262. Ibid., fol. 57r: "(...) he was that personage (besides being Nuncio) who carried the Rose, [it] not being the custom to send the little boats to collect the resident Nuncios when they come for [their] first [ducal] audience."

263. Ibid., fol. 58r: "(...) standards, trumpets, sword and other [Triumphal State] ensigns."

264. Ibid.: "(...) solemnly sung by the choir."

265. Ibid., fol. 58v: "[for] the exaltation of the Holy Mother Church, (...) for the tranquillity of the Christian Republic [and for] the liberation from the plague."

266. Ibid., fol. 53r-57r (entitled Ordine tenuto nelle Essequie del Sermo Principe Mocenigo (...). M.D.XVII, a di 11 Giugno), for a description.


268. "Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation: O, deliver me from the deceitful and iniquitous man. For thou art the God of my strength: why hast thou cast me off? Why go I mourning because of the oppression of my enemy?"

269. [Novi thesauri musici] liber quintus (...), cit., No. 3.

270. The Processione in Piazza S. Marco (dated "1496") and the Miracolo della Croce al Ponte di S. Lorenzo (dated "1500"). Both paintings, now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venezia, once formed part of a cycle for the Scuola Grande di S. Giovanni Evangelista. For descriptions and reproductions see S. MOSCHINI MARCONI, Gallerie dell'Accademia di Venezia: opere d'arte dei secoli XIV e XV (Roma, 1955), pp. 61-3 and Plates 62-3.

271. G.C. VERGARO, Racconto dell'Apparato et Solemnità fatta nella Ducal Chiesa di San Marco di Venetia. Con l'occasione dell'inventione, et esposizione del Sangue Pretiosissimo (...). di Christo (...) con altre santissime Reliquie. Li 28 Maggio 1617(...). (Venezia, s.n., 1617), which describes, on p. 6, the "(...) Messa de Passione Domini con musica esquisitissima" ("Mass of the Passion of [Our] Lord, with most exquisite music"). Details of the music in the procession appear on pp. 11-13.
272. I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 135 (= 7605), the Cronaca Savina, fol.464v (entitled Testa di S.Massimo rubbata, rihavuta, e solennitá nell'inponarla): "( . . .) on Wednesday ( . . .), (November) 23rd, a solemn procession was made, with all the Confraternities of Priests and Friars, and Scuole Grandi, and a Solemn Mass was sung in the Church of San Marco ( . . .)." The music, if it has indeed been preserved, may have included Giovanni Gabrieli's seven-part Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam (Sacrae Symphoniae ( . . .), I, cit., p.8), the only contemporary setting of any text from the Liturgy of Feria IV.

273. The seven-part Gabriel Angelus apparuit and eight-part Fuit homo (BASSANO, Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici ( . . .), I, cit., pp.7 and 16), respectively the 8th Respond (with Verset) and 1st Respond (without Verset) of Matins, Nativitas S.Ioannis Baptistae (I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia cle Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 117, foll.90v and 86v).

274. These relics, according to their donor, Girolamo Franceschi, numbered "( . . .) una spina della corona, con che fu coronato il Salvator nostro ( . . .); tre pezzetti del legno della ( . . .) Croce; uno pezzetto della Colonna, allaquale ( . . .) fu flagellato; et uno pezzetto dell'Arondine, sopra laquelle era la spongia, che piena di aceto, et fiele fu presentata alla [sua] bocca ( . . .)" (I - Vas, Commemoriali, xxiv, fol.169v, entitled MDLXXXIII. A xv Aprile, la seguente scrittura fu presentata nell' ( . . .) Collegio per il Segretó M.Hieronmio di Franceschi: "( . . .) a thorn from the crown with which Our Saviour was crowned ( . . .); three small pieces of the wood of the ( . . .) Cross; a small piece of the column ( . . .) upon which he was scourged; and a small piece of the pole upon which was the sponge which, full of vinegar and gaul, was presented to [his] mouth". Compare with the text of the commemorative motet: "O Domine Iesu Christe, adoro te in cruce vulneratum, spineam coronam gerentem, felle et aceto potatum: deprecor maiestatem tuam, ut crux vulnera morsque tua sit remedium animae meae" ("O Lord Jesus Christ I adore you wounded on the Cross, bearing the crown of thorns, [thirst] quenched with gaul and vinegar: I entreat your majesty that the Cross, thy wounds and thy death be the cure of my soul"). The musical settings, both "a 8," are by Giovanni Gabrieli (Sacrae Symphoniae ( . . .), I, cit., p.10) and Bassano (Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici ( . . .), I, cit., p.19).

275. Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli ( . . .), cit., p.34. The text, taken from the opening verses of Ps.21, is used both as the Tract in Mass of Palm Sunday and as a Matins Psalm on Good Friday (Missale Romanum ( . . .), cit., p.140; Breviarium Romanum ( . . .), cit., pp.460-61).

276. SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . .), 1604 2, cit., fol.282v (Stringa's addition): "( . . .) twenty-four men ( . . .) who played trumpets and drums, and another twelve who played fifes and short, silver trumpets ( . . .)."

277. TUTIO, Ordine et Modo ( . . .), cit., pp.16-17: "( . . .) in the Hall of the Gran Consiglio ( . . .) with good abundance of the most skilful players of viols and fifes, playing now the one and now the other ( . . .)."
278. SANSOVINO, Venetia (\ldots), 1604, cit., fol.288r (Stringa's addition): "\ldots they began to sing Mass, with that greater solemnity of ceremonies, songs and sounds which one requires on such an occasion; \ldots Mass being over, \ldots the prayer Deus qui per resurrectionem \ldots was\ldots said, after the Antiphon Regina caeli laetare, alleluia."

279. TUTIO, Ordine et Modo (\ldots), cit., p.18: "\ldots Mass was sung by the [Papal] Legate, with pieces of music and\ldots Concerti of angelic excellence."

280. G.GABRIELI, Sacrae Symphoniae (\ldots), I, cit., p.56.

281. The traditional view (expressed, among others, by E.KENTON, in his "Life and works of Giovanni Gabrieli", Musicological Studies and Documents, xvi, American Institute of Musicology, s.l., 1967, p.312) that a setting of Iubilate Deo omnis terra: quia sic benedicetur (there are two by Gabrieli: "a 10" in the Symphoniae Sacrae (\ldots), II, cit., p.20, and "a 8" in the Promptuarii Musici (\ldots), III, Strasbourg, Kieffer, 1613, p.121) was performed at the Golden Rose ceremony is erroneous. This centonized text, which makes specific reference to the sacrament of Holy Matrimony (for an analysis see below, pp.101-2), would have been quite out of place in the liturgy of Holy Trinity - the more so since the Dogaressa had already been married some thirty-seven years.

A further Gabrieli work, the fifteen-part Iubilate Deo omnis terra: exultate iusti (Sacrae Symphoniae (\ldots), I, cit., p.61), would also seem liturgically appropriate to Mass of Holy Trinity. However, the continuation of this text - "quoniam exaudivit Dominus deprecationem meam: Dominus orationem meam suscepit" - seems strikingly irrelevant in the context of the present ceremony; more probably, it refers to the ducal election (see below, p.73) which, traditionally, was preceded by prayers that the best candidate might be chosen.

282. For a detailed description of the secular and instrumental music in the procession see Stringa's addition to SANSOVINO, Venetia (\ldots), 1604, cit., fol.290r-294r.

283. I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 553 (= 8812), entitled F.MOLIN DI MARCO, Compendio delle cose, 1558-98, p.176: "\ldots at 10a.m., the Most Serene Prince, \ldots with all the \ldots Signoria, \ldots heard most Holy Mass, which was most solemn, full of various Concerti of instruments and most noble singing voices \ldots." The manuscript is a copy (dated "1621") of the original; the description of the ceremonies for the Franco-Spanish Peace has been added by the later copyist, F.Matteucci.

284. SANSOVINO, Venetia (\ldots), 1604, cit., fol.290r (Stringa's addition): "\ldots Mass was heard, sung solemnly and at great length."


286. I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 1818 (= 9436) (Cronaca Sivos), fol. 27r: "\ldots in the morning, in San Marco, a Solemn Mass was sung, with the Te Deum laudamus." For descriptions of the other honours and entertainments accorded the ambassadors, ibid., fol.26r-V.
287. According to the eye-witness account of the Venetian diarist M. Sanuto, in I Diarii di Marino Sanuto (modern edition by Stefani, et al., cit.), Vol. xii (Venezia, 1886), col. 132: "(....) solemn Mass (....) with great ceremonies and sounds and songs (.....)."

288. Ibid., Vol. xxxiv (Venezia, 1892), col. 348: "(....) trumpets, fifes, cornets and bagpipes (....)."

289. Il bellissimo et sontuoso Trionfo (.....), cit., p. 3.

290. G. Gabrieli, Symphoniae Sacrae (.....), II, cit., p. 31, proper to Sunday Matins (Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S. Marci (.....), cit., fol. 4r-v).

291. Complete with music. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol. 83v: "Et sempre che'il bucintoro va a levar persona alcuna, li vanno alcuni cantori 6 del capella [di San Marco], et si cantano qualche madrigal, (.....) in ditto bucintoro" ("And always when the Bucintoro goes to collect someone, there go some six singers from the choir [of St. Mark's], and, in the said Bucintoro, some madrigals are sung").

292. For summaries of the honours accorded the various guests see I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Ceremoniali, I (for the years 1557 - 99) and III (for 1600 onwards).

293. For a description of which see Benedetti, Le feste et trionfi (.....), cit., fol. 4v.

294. For the inscriptions see Sansovino, Venetia (.....), 1581, cit., fol. 164r. For a discussion of the painting (Vicentino's representation of the reception of Henry at the Lido di Venezia), see Sinding-Larsen, Christ in the Council Hall (.....), cit., pp. 15-16.

295. One evening, outside the king's lodgings at Ca Foscari, there gathered "(....) tutti i più eccellenti Musici della Città: (....) furon (....) con suoni et canti soavissimi cantate et suonate le lodi del Re: perciocchè la musica era formata sopra paroie, che lui celebrava, et le virtù sue (....)" (Porcacchi, Le attioni (.....), cit., fol. 27r: "all the most excellent musicians of the city: (....) the praises of the king were (....) sounded and sung, with most sweet songs and sounds: for the music was formed upon words which celebrated (both) him and his virtue"). And a Senate Act, dated July 1st, 1574 (some two weeks before the arrival of the king), ordains that "(....) sia doppo il Banchetto [in Palazzo Ducale] fatta un'onorata Musica et altri Trattenimenti (.....)" (I - Vmc, Cod. Gradenigo 191, an 18th-century transcription of earlier documents concerning the reception in Venice of foreign princes, Vol. I, fol. 99r: "(....) after the banquet, an honourable music be made, and other entertainments"). Surviving "political" madrigals are Andrea Gabrieli's eight-part Hor che nel suo bel seno and twelve-part Ecco Vincgia bella (Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (.....), cit., pp. 63, 75). Merulo's music for the Tragedia del (.....) Cornello Frangipani al (.....) Henrico III (Venezia, 1574), performed as the "altri trattenimenti" of the above-said Act, would appear not to have been preserved.

296. See below, pp. 67-8.
297. I - Vmc, Cod, Cicogna 2557 (unfoliated), the private chronicle of Senator Francesco Contarini, who accompanied the Duke on this occasion: "( . . . ) a little music with the sound of the organ." The date of this ceremony is February 8th, 1594.

298. A description of his reception occurs in I - Vas, Archivio del Cotllegio, Ceremoniali, I, fol.84v (entitled Cerimonie fatte nella venuta in questa città per passazo del Principe della Gran Vallacchia. M.D.LXXXI, a d xii Marzo).

299. The ceremonies for Henry III thus involved a last-minute change of plan, while the Austrian princes, in 1579, actually requested Low Mass (rather than High). See below, pp.67 and 68.

300. Henry III, for example, writes from Vienna on June 24th, 1574, to inform the Venetians of his planned arrival some three to four weeks later. Already, by July 1st, the Senate is preparing for his entertainment; see footnote 295 above, and at footnotes 307 and 308 below.

301. See, for example, footnote 310 (final paragraph), below.

302. Nor, indeed, by analysis of the overtly political kind more appropriate to the Humanistic Latin texts so frequently set to music in pre-Tridentine Venice (as elsewhere). For discussion of these, vis-à-vis the reception of foreign princes, see F.A.GALLO, 'Antonii Romani Opera', Antiquae Musicae Italicae Monumenta Veneta, I (Bologna, 1965), pp.VIII-IX, and A.DUNNING, Die Staatsmotette, 1480 - 1555 (Utrecht, 1970), pp.284-9. The last Venetian composition to set a piece of Humanistic Latin verse - Zarlino's Parcius Estenses proavos Ferraria (Primo libro de gli eterni mottetti di Orlando Lasso, Cipriano Rore, et d'altri . . .), cit., pp.8-9) - dates from the visit of the Duke of Ferrara to Venice (described in Anon., La solennissima entrata deli' . . . Duca di Ferrara ne la Città di Venetia . . . , Bologna, s.n., 1562) in April 1562, just five months in fact before a significant deliberation of the Council of Trent (transcribed in K.WEINMANN, Das Konzil von Trient und die Kirchenmusik, Leipzig, 1919, pp.4-5): "Musicae, in quibus sive organo aliis sive instrumentis sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur, ab ecclesiis omnino arceantur; et leges liturgicae circa missarum sacram servantu" ("Pieces of music in which [there] is intermingled something wanton or impure, either by the organ or other instruments, or in the singing, are to be excluded altogether from church; and the liturgical laws concerning the sacred ritual of the Mass are to be observed"). From this point onwards, liturgical and para-liturgical texts become the rule.

303. BENEDETTI, Le feste et trionfi (. . .), cit., fol.6r-v: "On Wednesday morning (. . .) His Majesty, who had already heard Mass (. . .), went to San Marco; (. . .) and, [while he] knelt before the High Altar upon a hassock covered with cloth of gold, the Te Deum was sung polyphonically, the two organs being played (. . .)."

304. PORCACCHI, Le attioni (. . .), cit., fol.28v: "(. . .) the king [having] arrived at the High Altar, upon which the (. . .) Treasure of San Marco had been laid, he knelt upon a hassock (. . .); the two celebrated organs, played by the two most famous organists Claudio Merulo (. . .) and Andrea Gabrieli (. . .), began to play most
sweetly together; the excellent musicians of the choir, of which (...) Giuseppe Zarlino is Maestro, adding some brief Responses. Then, they sang that Holy hymn, Te Deum laudamus (...)."


306. Where it appears as a Matins psalm (Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S. Marci (...), cit., fol. 49V).

Note, however, the contradictory evidence of Cornelio Frangipani, who writes in the Preface to his Tragedia (... al (...), Henrico III (...), cit., that "(...) Gioseffo Zarlino (...) è stato occupato nelle musiche che hanno incontrato il Re nel Bucintoro, che sono stati alcuni miei versi latini, e della Chiesa di S. Marco, et è stato ordinatore di quelle che continuamente si sono fatte ad instantia di Sua Maestà" (Giuseppe Zarlino (... has been occupied with [the composition both of the pieces of] music with which the king has been received upon the Bucintoro, which were [written upon] some Latin verses of mine, and of [those for] the Church of San Marco; he has also been the creator of those which, at the request of His Majesty, have continually been performed"). As regards the music for the Lido, Frangipani, author of the texts, is undoubtedly correct. For the rest, however, it would appear he is not to be trusted: he makes no mention of, for example, the two large-scale "political madrigals" (for identification of which see above, footnote 295) composed by Andrea Gabrieli in honour of the king.

307. I - Vmc, Cod. Gradonigo 191, I, fol. 99r: "(... the day [on] which Mass will be said (...)] to the king (...)."

308. Ibid., fol. 98v: "(... the day (...)] on which (...)] a solemn Mass is said (...)."

309. Venetian dating. The local year began on March 1st.

310. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), additional fol. 102r (in the hand of Master of Ceremonies, Niccolò Fausti): "[Thursday,] January 22nd, 1579 (...). On [their] entry into the church an organ was played, and music was made while they looked at the Treasure upon the [High] Altar. Then, they all five went to kneel upon the hassock (...). The Princes not wishing to hear High Mass because of its great length, a Low Mass was said at the High Altar by the chaplain of His Serenity [the Doge].

Immediately after the Gospel, music was made with the two organs and instrumentalists and the singers in surplices in the Choir. After the Preface, that is, at the Elevation, another [piece of] music. And then, Mass was finished immediately (...)."

After the Mass, however, the music was to continue elsewhere. I - Vas, Commemoriali, xxiv, fol. 76v: "(... fu deliberato in (...)] Collegio (...) et al Maestro di Capella (...) commesso (...) che per tutto il tempo, che essi principi stessero in questa città così al disnmar come alla cena fusse dalli cantori di S. Marco fatta bellissima musica com'è stato fatto con molto loro piacere" ("It was decided in the (...) Collegio (...), and order given (...) to the Choir Master, (...) that for all the time in which the princes were in this city most beautiful music should be performed by the singers of St. Mark's both at lunch and at dinner - as has [indeed] been done, to their great pleasure").
311. I - Vas, Commemoriali, xxiv, fol.79*: "(. . .) they heard a Low Mass (. . .), in which, however, a most solemn piece of music was performed by the choir of St. Mark's, with the organs and other instruments."


313. Breviarium Romanum ( . . . ), cit., pp.1271-2, 1272-3, respectively.

314. I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 393 (= 8647), Cronaca Dosi, fol.166v: "On [July] 13th, [1579], a solemn Mass was sung (. . .) the Treasure having for this reason been placed upon the Altar (. . .)."

315. Complete with a similar quantity of banquet music. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.76v (entitled Ordine tenuto nella venuta dell' ( . . . ) Don Gio. de' Medeci, mandato dal ( . . . ) Gran Duca di Toscana ( . . . ), a ringratiar sua Sertà dell'Allegrezza havuta per il novo suo matrimonio [con Bianca Cappella veneziana.] M.D.LXXIX, a di xvii Agosto: "(. . .) et ( . . . ) cost a discnare, come alla cena ha havuto del continuo belissime musiche" ("and (. . .) so at lunch, as at dinner, he has been entertained continually to most beautiful pieces of music"). Compare footnote 310 (final paragraph), above.

316. Ibid., fol.77v.

317. I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 393 (= 8647), fol.162v: "Innanzi il lor palazzo [Cà Dandolo], comedie et feste ( . . . )" ("opposite their palace, comedies and merry-making").

318. Again with music. Ibid., fol.211v: "(. . .) fu regalmente trattato nell'allogiamento [suo a S.Giorgio Maggiore] con la musica di S.Marco, mentre si mangiava" ("at meal times, he was royally treated at his lodgings with music [performed by the musicians] of St. Mark's").

319. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.101v (entitled Venuta in questa città dell' ( . . . ) Cardinal Battori. M.D.LXXXIV, xiii Settembre): "On the morning of [September 10th, he was collected from his lodgings (. . .) by (. . .) the Cavalier Zane and fifty nobles (. . .), and accompanied by their lordships (. . .) to the Church of San Marco, where he heard Low Mass with, however, much music ( . . . )."


321. Breviarium Romanum ( . . . ), cit., pp.149-50: "General Commemorations, or Intercessory Prayers of the Saints: concerning Blessed Mary, when her Smaller Office is not said." The Commemorations Communes of the Venetian liturgy have not been preserved: it is likely, however, that they were identical.

B.M.V. has not been preserved.

323. SANSOVINO, Venetia (.), 1604^2, cit., fol.306^v (Stringa's addition): "On every side, the Church of San Marco was [so] full of people that one could not move a single step; and there was made a new platform for the singers, with the addition of a positive organ in order that, together with the two notable [organs] of the church and the other musical instruments, it made the sound more excellent; whilst there were present the best singers and instrumentalists that are [to be] found in these parts.

The Most Illustrious Signoria was there (. . .); the Japanese also came; and so, Mass was begun, sung in four choirs with [all] the required solemnity." Mass was followed by a procession of truly epic proportions (an augmented version of the annual procession of the Inventio S. Marci, June 25th, unilaterally postponed by the Senate for four days in order that the Japanese might see it). For a detailed description of the Solari, their artistic displays and their music (secular vocal and instrumetal), ibid., fol.306^r-308^v (Stringa's addition).


325. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.63^v-64^r entitled Ordine tenuto dal Ser^mq Principe nell'andar al monasterio di Sta Maria delle Vergini a metter in sedia l'Abadessa novamente eletta. MDLXXVIJ, a dd. xxiiij Zener): "(. . .) Mass of the Most Holy Trinity (. . .) was said at the Altar (. . .) by the Confessor of this Convent, (. . .) and a number of times while he was saying Mass [there was] singing and organ playing; [Mass finished,] the Te Deum was sung by the singers (. . .)."

326. Ibid., fol.73^v (entitled Ordine tenuto nell'andar al Monastério de Sta Maria delle Vergini a far la sagra della (. . .) Abbaddessa novamente eletta. MDLXXVIJ. A dd. viiiij Novembre): "(. . .) Low Mass was begun by the singers of S. Marco; immediately after which (. . .) Mass commenced, solemnly sung; which finished, the Te Deum was sung (. . .)."

327. SANSOVINO, Venetia (.), 1604^2, cit., fol.211^r-212^v (Stringa's addition): "They begin Low Mass, which they are accustomed in such cases to celebrate [according to the liturgy] of the Most Holy Trinity, with the second prayer [in honour] of St. Mark, and with the third, Stretch forth, O Lord, thy hand of heavenly aid to thy servant, (name), our Procurator (. . .); and at the Offertory, at the Elevation of the Most Holy Host and at the Postcommunion some Concerti are sung by the church musicians (. . .). (. . .) I have, moreover, seen the entering [into office] of Bernardo Contarini, and those of Marcantonio Memo, Giovanni Bembo, Giacomo Reniero, Giovanni Dolfino and Leonardo Donato."

328. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.70^v: "(. . .) a beautiful Mass of [Holy] Trinity is sung by the Vicar, or by the Canon whose duty it is, with the prayer of St. Mark and [that] for the Doge, (. . .) naming his [Christian] name and [that of] his family; and, after the Epistle, the instrumentalists play the fifes behind the High Altar, and at the Elevation cornets or other instruments are played. In this, and in every major solemnity, the singers perform
in the organs [i.e., in the organ galleries? / to the accompaniment of the organs? - see the discussion on p.115 below], or the instrumentalists play."

329. I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 2768, fol.37v: ". . .) various Concerti of instrumentalists and in organo."

330. As happened in 1590 when Doge Pasquale Cicogna went, as was his custom, to the Church of the Crosechiera (where in 1585 he had heard the news of his election). I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172, (= 2276), fol.1r (an addition, in the hand of Niccolò Fausti): "1590. 18 Agosto. L'annual del S.P.Cicogna fu per brevitâ ditto una messa picola con alcuni concerti in organo. Fu (. . .) fatto tutte le cerimonie come si fa quando si canta la messa" ("On the anniversary [of the investiture] of the Most Serene Prince Cicogna, Low Mass was said for the sake of brevity, with some Concerti in organo. All the ceremonies were (. . .) made as when Mass is sung").

331. Ibid., fol.70v: ". . .) every year, on the day of the anniversary [of his investiture], he comes [to hear) High Mass in the Church [of St.Mark], and the above-said Mass of [Holy] Trinity is sung, with the prayer of St.Mark and [that] for the Duke, with the eight instrumentalists of the Prince, with [other] instruments, with the singers, and in organo, at the Epistle and at the Elevation (. . .). And if on the day of his anniversary he wishes (. . .) to go to visit the church of the saint commemorated that day and to hear High Mass in that church, the singers go to sing it; but usually [on such occasions] Low Mass is heard, and the singers do not go, Low Mass being said."

332. Ibid., fol.85r.

333. The Concerti tradition must, however, originate sometime earlier than 159T, the date of the first procuratorial investiture witnessed by Stringa.

334. G.M.MASENETTI PADOVANO, Li trionfi et feste solenne che si fano in la Creazione del Principe di Vineggia, in ottava rima (Padova, s.n., 1554), unfoliated (from Stanza 6): ". . .) songs and sounds [in praise of] the giver of all gifts."

335. Those whose texts are taken from the liturgy for Sunday Lauds whose central theme of praise is not dissimilar to that of the votive Mass of Holy Trinity; settings of the occasional prayer of St.Mark, Deus, qui beatum Marcum (for details of whose function see above, p.24); settings of texts from the Lesser Office Hours which, by a process of elimination (they do not fit easily into any other ceremonial context), we may tentatively include among the present group.

336. Listed (for the years 1564-80) on fol.l.35r-38r of the 'Crogioco Veneto' section at the end of SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . .), 1581, cit., and (for the years 1581-5) on fol.38rV of the corresponding section of 16042.

was originally published as No.30 of the Novi thesauri musicij liber quintus ( . . .), cit.; the version in the Concerti ( . . .), however, has been slightly revised, perhaps indicating a later performance in the Ducal Basilica. See also footnote 56, above.


339. Both texts derive from Ps. 118, which is performed divided among the various Lesser Office Hours (Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S.Marti ( . . .), cit., fol. 25v and 17v respectively).

340. Jubilate Deo (Ps. 99), Laudate Dominum (Ps. 150), Deus misereatur nostri (Ps. 66) and Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce vigilo (Ps. 62) appear in the liturgy of Sunday Lauds (ibid., fol. 12v, 14v, 13r, 12v). For the various liturgical and ceremonial functions of Deus qui beatum Marcum see above, p.24.

341. Listed on fol. 38v-39r of the 'Cronicus Veneto' section at the end of SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . .), 16042, cit.

342. Sacrae Symphoniae ( . . .), I, cit., respectively pp.14, 12, 61, 39.

343. Respectively, Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici ( . . .), cit., pp.3 and 13, and Concerti ecclesiastici ( . . .) libro secondo ( . . .), cit., pp.12 and 14-15. Benedicamus Deum is the Communio from the Mass (both commemorative and votive) of Holy Trinity (Missale Romanum ( . . .), cit., pp.298 and 499). For the liturgical positions of the other texts, see footnote 340, above.

344. For a list, SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . .), 16042, cit., fol. 39v, covering the years 1600-03, and (for the period 1604-12) pp. 65-6 of the 'Cronicus Veneto' section at the end of the 3rd edition, F. SANSOVINO, Venetia Città Nobilissima, et Singolare ( . . .), con aggiunta [scritta] da Giustiniano Martinioni ( . . .) (Venezia, Curti, 1663).

345. PORCACCHI, Le attioni ( . . .), cit., fol. 34v: "( . . ) Mass, and [a] sweet musical Concerto."


347. Ps. 1, Vv.1-2, proper to Sunday Matins (Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S.Marti ( . . .), cit., fol. 3r). The text, which begins "Beatus vir ( . . .)", is clearly more appropriate in the context of a reception ceremony for a king than in connection with the plague (see above, pp. 58-61), for which, as we have seen, the two "penitential" Concerti, Domine, Deus meus and Usquequo, Domine, are admirably adapted. There still remains, however, considerable room to doubt the present assignation: the text is also used at Matins in the liturgies of Corpus Domini, Dominica Resurrectionis, Comm. Un. Martyr., Comm. Plur. Martyr., Comm. Confess. Pont. and Comm. Confess. non Pont. (respectively, I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marc, Registro 117, fol. 29v; Breviarium Romanum ( . . .), cit., p. 483; I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marc, Registro 114, fol. 210v; ibid., fol. 200v; ibid., fol. 226v; ibid., fol. 218v).
348. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.50r (entitled Ordine, che fu tenuto in Chiesa di San Marco a ringratiaire (...) Dio per la liberazione del male contagioso. M.D.LXXV, a vii di Gennaro, i.e., "1577," Venetian dating): (...) a solemn Mass was sung."


350. "... DEVS IN NTE TVO SALVI NE FACCIANO. ET IN VIRTUTE TVA LIBERA NOS DA OGNI PERICOLO D'PESTE ET D'OGNI MALLE, PER VRA MISERICORDIA SANCTIS..." Further on this inscription, see SINDING-LARSEN, Palladio's Redentore (...), cit., p.433. Further on the manuscript as a whole see above, p.56, especially at footnote 245.

351. I - Vas, Archivio del Collegio, Cerimoniali, I, fol.72r (entitled Quello, che si osservò quando si tornò a riddar il gran cons° nel suo luoco solito doppo fabricato da nuovo per l'incendio. M.D.LXXVII a dì xxvii Settembre): "(...) at the entry of the Most Serene Prince, the Psalm which begins Laetatus sum was sung by the singers of San Marco."

352. I - Vnni, Cod. It. VII, 393 (= 8647), fol.181v: "(...)
Mass (...)] said for the foundation of the Seminary of this [the ducal] church, a special procession also being made." The Feast of the Annunciation had, this year, been postponed to April 3rd, Sabbato Sancto having fallen on March 25th.


354. Further on this interpretation, already common in the writings of the earliest Church Fathers, see G.RICCIOTTI, 'Cantico del Cantici', in Enciclopedia Italiana, VIII (Roma, 1949), p.780. The passage from which the Concerto text appears to have been derived is Ch. 3, Verse 11, "Egredimini et videte, filiae Sion, regem Salomonem in diademate (...)."

355. Thus mirroring exactly Bottrigari's description of the Concerti of the nuns of S.Vito di Ferrara, "[che] non [si] fanno (...), se non a certi tempi, come di solennità grandissime della Chiesa [my italics], ò per honorare (...). Principi (...), ò per gratificare (...). qualche famoso professore, ò nobile amatore della musica" (see above, p.16).

356. Maria stabat (a 6), Angelus Domini (a 7), Maria Magdalenae (a 7) and Congratulamini mihi omnes (a 8), pp.5, 15, 17 and 24 respectively. For precise liturgical data, see Appendix I.

357. Angelus ad pastores ait (a 7), Hodie Christus natus est (a 7) and Quem vidistis pastores (a 8), pp.10, 13 and 27 respectively.

358. Eructavit cor meum (a 6) and Ave Regina caelorum (a 8), pp.2 and 32 respectively.

359. p.44.

360. See above, p.70.
361. A third possible explanation, the idea of a Venetian "motet" reaction against the prevailing Roman tradition of composing polyphonic settings of the Mass Ordinary, seems to the present author less convincing. The Venetians did, after all, retain the Mass as their principal vehicle for liturgical and politico-liturgical expression, when they could just as easily have turned to Vespers.


363. ARNOLD, Andrea Gabrieli (....), cit., p.261.

364. F.LINDNER (ed.), Continuatio cantionum sacrarum quatuor, quinque, sex, septem, octo et plurium vocum (....) (Nürnberg, Gerrath, 1588).

365. Quem vidistis pastores (a 8), Hodie Christus natus est (a 7), Angelus ad pastores ait (a 7), Congratulamini mihi omnes (a 8), Expurgate vetus fermentum (a 8), Maria Magdalenae (a 7), Angelus Domini (a 7), Maria stabat (a 6), Eructavit cor meum (a 6), Laudate Dominum (a 10), Deus misereatur nostri (a 12), Iubilate Deo (a 8), respectively pp.2, 6, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 36, 43, 51 and 53. The three exceptions are settings of the ferial psalms Exultate justi (a 10), Exurgat Deus (a 8) and Benedicam Dominum (a 12), respectively pp.42, 47 and 50: the generally laudatory nature of all these texts, however, would surely have rendered them not entirely unsuitable for use in votive contexts of almost any kind.

366. Working on the premise that (as demonstrated by the above Chronological Table) the larger-scale pieces are, in general, more likely to be later.

367. Five sacred works and five large-scale madrigals. For a list of the former, see Appendix I.
CHAPTER THREE

368. Sansovino, Venetia, ( . . . ), 1581, cit., fol. 193v-194": "Every year, the Prince makes, on various feast days, various walks to different places [in the city: on days, that is] solemnized either through the ceremonial of the Holy Church, by public decree, for dangers avoided, or by [solemn] vow. The palatines generally call these walks, walks in Triumph. For, besides all the insignia of the Princedom carried by the Doge, the Signoria in such cases bears its [own] full quota, namely the adjuncts which are necessary for those walks. ( . . .) At the head [come] the eight Standards which were presented by the Pope. Next come the silver trumpets ( . . .). And, two by two, the officers, called by the [ancient] Romans praecones [= heralds].

After these come the fifers with trombonists, ( . . .) playing together all the way. (After) these follow the Attendants of the Doge ( . . .). Then six Canons ( . . .), because it was always the custom of our forefathers to accompany temporal matters with religion. Next to these walk the Stewards of the Doge; and then the Secretaries of the Collegio, those of the Pregadi and those of the Council of Ten; and after [these] come the two Chancellors of the Doge ( . . .). And behind these comes the Grand Chancellor ( . . .). And immediately [behind] is the Chaplain of the Prince, with the boy who bears the Candle, and [with] the Doge's page-boy. ( . . .) And fairly near by appears the person of the Doge, surrounded by the Ambassadors of foreign princes. And [when] in Trionfo he always wears the Ermine Collar. After these come the Counsellors and the Procurators of St. Mark's ( . . .), the Officers of Law, the Heads [of the Council] of Ten, the Grand Sages, the Sages of War ( . . .), and the other Senators and Magistrates ( . . .), with so much magnificence and grandeur that nothing could better it. And this rite, in this way, is called, as has been said above, Walk in Triumph."

369. The Andata a S. Maria Formosa, which took place on First Vespers in Purificatione B.M.V. (February 2nd), had been established in 943 to mark the recovery of a number of virgins of the parish, who had been forcibly abducted (with their dowries) by pirates. That to the church of S. Geminiano (Mass, Dominica in Alibus) commemorated the rebuilding of this church (under threat of excommunication) by Doge Sebastiano Ziani (1172-8), after he had had it demolished without papal permission. The Andata alli due Castelli (Mass, in Ascensione Domini), established in 1176, celebrated the granting to Venice, by Pope Alexander III, of absolute dominion over the Adriatic. The Andata a S. Vito (Mass, in die SS. Viti & Modesti, June 15th) marked the uncovering, in 1310, of Balamonte Tiepolo's conspiracy against the State. The Andata a S. Marina (Mass, in die S. Marinae, July 17th) commemorated the recovery of the city of Padua, in 1509, from the armies of the League of Cambrai. The Andata alla Chiesa del Redentore (Mass, in die SS. Redemptoris, third Sunday of July) commemorated, as we have seen, the miraculous deliverance from the plague of 1575-7. And the Andata a S. Giustina (Mass, in die S. Iustinae, October 7th) perpetuated the memory of the great naval victory over the Turk at Lepanto in 1571.

370. The Andata a S. Marco (for First Vespers, and again for Mass, in festo S. Marci, April 25th) paid homage to the patron saint of Venice, whose body lay beneath the High Altar of the Ducal Basilica. The Andata a S. Zaccaria (Vespers, Dominica Resurrectionis) honoured a number of
saintly relics donated by Pope Benedict III to the nuns of S.Zaccaria. And the Andata a S.Giorgio Maggiore (Vespers, in Nativitate Domini, and again the following morning, in die S.Stephani, for Mass) paid homage to the body of St.Stephen, brought to Venice from Constantinople in 1109. The significance of these relics far transcended the "merely" religious. As we have already observed with respect to St.Mark (see above, at footnote 109), the arrival of such holy objects in Venice would be interpreted as (yet another) sign of the pre-eminent position which the city supposedly enjoyed in the eyes of the Lord.

371. SPNSOVINO, Venetia (...), 16042, cit., fol.339r (Stringa's addition), on the Andata a S.Yito: "(...) the musicians [sing] on the way." For identification of the other five Andate at which Litanies were definitely performed see above, footnote 184.

372. An exception, however, occurs on the feast of the Annunciation (March 25th), when the foundation of the city was celebrated in an Andata senza Trionfo. All Andate, both in and senza Trionfo, are identified in Appendix II.

373. An addition by Stringa to SPNSOVINO, Venetia (...), 16042, cit., fol.334v: "(...) is sung by the church musicians with the greatest possible solemnity."

374. Above, p.33.

375. Ibid., fol.341v, where it has again been added by Stringa: "(...) sung with very great solemnity of sounds and songs, made by the musicians of San Marco."

376. Ibid., fol.344v (Stringa's addition): "(...) sung (...) with very great solemnity."

377. Ibid., fol.346v (Stringa's addition): "(...) sung (...) with the sweetest songs and sounds by the salaried church musicians, and by others who come, released [from their regular positions], to augment [their] number, seeing that (...) they sing in eight, ten, twelve and sixteen parts, to the astonishment and admiration of everyone."

378. Cited in Appendix I., in the course of prints A - G, P, Q, T.

379. Exceptions, however, occur (among other days) in festo S. Barnabae Ap. (June 11th), in Visitatione B.M.V. (July 2nd) and in Transfiguratione Domini (August 6th), all of which are classified as Duplex maius.

380. As testified in the list of their duties. In the case of the singers see Appendix II, in that of the organists see below, p.89. Exceptional as regards the latter is, however, the Festum SS.Innocentium (December 28th), a Duplex occasion on which, nevertheless, "(...) non pulsantur organa nisi hoc festum venerit in Dominica" (I - Vmm, Cod. Lat. III, 172, (= 2276), fol.3r: "the organs are not played, unless this feast falls on a Sunday").

381. This may be inferred from an entry, dated April 2nd, 1607, in the Acta of the Procuratia de Supra (the body responsible for the day to day administration of the church), I - Vas, Archivio della...
Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 139, fol.180V:
"Havendo (. . .) Zuane Croce Maestro di Capella raccordato all'Illimi (. . .) Procuratori, che occorrendo far musica sopra li organi à tempo, che il S. P. et la (. . .) Signoria vien in chiesa è necessario, che vi sia alcuno intelligente, che serva sopra li organi à dimostrar la batuda si come viene regolata da esso Maestro (. . .)" ("Giovanni Croce, Maestro di Cappella, (. . .) having communicated to the Most Illustrious Procurators that, it being necessary to perform music in the organ [lofts] at such times as the Serene Prince and the (. . .) Signoria come to church, it is [also] necessary that there be someone of ability who serves in the organ [lofts] to beat the time, as it is regulated by this Maestro"). For further discussion of this document see below, pp.113-15.

382. Described by Stringa in SANSOVINO, Venetia (. . .), 16042, cit., fol.44v. This pulpit served also (almost certainly in conjunction with the so-called organ galleries) on a number of the most important Andata-class commemorations: on Mass of Easter Sunday, for example, when "(. . .) cantores ascendunt pulpitum magnum ad canendam Missam" (I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172, (= 2276), fol.12v: "the singers ascend the Great Pulpit to sing Mass"). For further discussion see below, pp.114-15.

383. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.29v: "The singers sing (. . .) in the Great Pulpit of the singers."

384. Ibid., fol.30v: "(. . .) the singers remain in the Great Pulpit."

385. For example, Giovanni Croce's eight-part Factum est silensium (Motetti a otto voci (. . .), cit., p.5), proper to the Dedicatio S. Michaelis Arch. (September 29th, Duplex).

386. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.46v, from the list of the singers' duties: "In omnibus simplicibus diebus totius annj. in Missis (. . .) exceptis diebus veneris et sabbatj. (. . .) sed posteaquam capella parva non extat [for information on the short-lived division of the choir of St.Mark's, between 1562 and 1564, into a cappella parva and a cappella grande, see F.CAFFI, Storia della musica sacra nella già Cappella Ducale di S.Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797, I (Venezia, 1854), pp.40-41]. cantores cantant Missam de Dominica in die Sabbatj. loco cujus habent exemptionem die jovis (. . .)" ("On all Simplex days of the whole year, in Mass (. . .), except the days of Friday and Saturday; (. . .) but, hereafter, the small choir no longer exists; the singers sing a Sunday Mass on Saturday, in place of which they have exemption on Thursday").

387. Ibid., fol.46v: "The organists always come and play on all the above-said days, except Simplex days and the Sundays of Advent and from Septuagesima Sunday to Palm Sunday inclusive, so long as one or other [of] the above-named feast[s] does not occur on such a day - except, also, Feriae II, III, IV and VI of Holy Week."

388. Ibid., fol.4v: "OF THE DAY OF GIOVEDI' GRASSO. (. . .) And on that same day which was Giovedì Grasso a festival and certain games are customarily made in the Piazza San Marco, to which spectacles come the Most Serene Prince and the Senate (. . .). On the above-said
Thursday the singers always sing a joyful Mass. And formerly they began from the Kyrie eleison; nowadays, they sing the whole Mass, which is called after the Battle; which was composed because of the victory of the Most Christian King of France over the Swiss.

389. Ibid., fol.57r: "On the day of Giovedì Grasso the Battle Mass is sung by the singers, with the usual motets; unless it were a feast [on] which the organ sounded, because the motets are not said; but in place of which the organ played, as happened [when] the feast of St. Matthew fell on that day."

390. I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 1269, (= 9573), fol.23v: "On Giovedì Grasso High Mass is sung, ( . . . ) composed by a German upon the organ ricercars ( . . . ), and it is called the Battle Mass (although at present they call it the Mass of the Hunt)."

391. For a description of these celebrations and of their historical background see B. TAMASSIA MAZZAROTTO, Le feste veneziane (Firenze, 1961), pp.31-6.

392. For historical details see ROMANIN, Storia documentata ( . . . ), cit., V (Venezia, 1856), pp.303-7.

393. It was, as we have seen, composed "( . . . ) ob victoriam ( . . . ) Regis Francorum de Elvetijs."

394. "( . . . ) composta ( . . . ) sopra le ricercate dell'organo" or "( . . . ) si canta ( . . . ) sopra le ricercate dell'organo": perhaps the latter is more convincing than the former.

395. The only surviving 16th-century examples definitely composed by non-Italians, which are known to the present author are those of the Frenchman Janequin (for which see below) and of the Spaniard Francisco Guerrero (1528-99).

396. C. JANEQUIN, Chansons de maistre Clement Janequin nouvellement et correctement imprimeez ( . . . ) (Paris, Attaingnant, 1528), fol.4v-7v.


399. C. JANEQUIN, Liber decem missarum, à praecelaris musicis contextus nunquam antehac in lucem editus (Lyon, Moderne, [1532]), fol.73v-83r.

400. I - Bc, Ms. Q.25, fol.1r-4v.

401. I - CF 53, the 14th and final Mass (the ms. is unfoliated).

402. SANSOVINO, Venetiæ ( . . . ), 16042, cit., fol.341v (Stringa's addition): "WALK TO [THE CHURCH OF] S. GIUSTINA ( . . . ) The Doge ( . . . ) goes [in Triumph] with the Signoria [to the church of S. Giustina], where Mass [is] heard, which is sung by one of the Canons of the Prince
with very great solemnity of songs and of sounds made by the musicians of San Marco, and with admirable concourse of people; (. . .) returning to the church of San Marco and then to the Palace."

403. STRINGA, La Chiesa ( . . .), cit., fol.75 V: "[He goes] in Triumph ( . . .) to the church of S.Giustina ( . . .), and there sung Mass [is] heard."

404. SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . .), 16042, cit., fol.130r (Stringa's addition): "( . . .) at present, [the church of S.Giustina] is [to be] found in such a condition that it compares, [both] in beauty and in charm, [with] any other [monastic church that] there is." It had, in fact, been restored just four years earlier than the date of publication of this description, at the expense of the then Prioress, Perpetua Pasqualigo.

405. This, at any rate, is the regular meaning of the term "messa cantata". See P.SIFFRIN, 'Messa', Enciclopedia Cattolica, viii (Firenze, 1952), col.l.804-6, which discusses questions of terminology. Possibly composed for the occasion is Croce's eight-part Messa sopra la Battaglia (G.CROCE, Messe a otto voci, Venezia, Vincenti, 1596, pp.9-14). It is, on balance, more likely to relate to this than to the ceremony of Giovedi Grasso: although based, in part, on Janequin's La guerre (see, for example, the roulades over a pedal bass at the words "et unam sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam", Et in spiritum, tt.16-25, taken almost verbatim from Janequin at the syllables "farira"), its composer is Italian, not "todesco", and was active in the late, not early, 16th century.

406. CROCE, Motetti a otto voci ( . . .), cit., p.10.

407. For which see above, p.49.

408. BASSANO, Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici ( . . .), I, cit., p.2.

409. "The blessed virgin and martyr Giustina, carried off to execution away from the most impious tyrant, cried out to the Lord: I thank you, O Lord, whom I have always loved, to whom I have prayed, [and] whom I have chosen: for you have thought worthy to accept me into the numbers of thy martyrs, alleluia."

410. STRINGA, La Chiesa ( . . .), cit., fol.78v: "[On] the third Sunday of July, ( . . .) he [the Doge] goes [in Triumph] to the Giudecca to visit the Church of the Redentore ( . . .): and this he does in memory [of the fact] that this City was liberated by the [above-said] Redeemer, our Lord, ( . . .) from the terrible plague of 1576."

411. SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . .), 16042, cit., fol.336v (Stringa's addition): "Every year, [on] the morning of the above-mentioned day, the Doge goes to the above-said church ( . . .) and, Low Mass [said] by the Prior of those Friars having been heard, with motets sung by the musicians of San Marco at the Offertory and at the Elevation of the Most Holy Body of Our Redeemer, he returns to High Mass at San Marco, which is sung by a Canon; and the Scuole [Grandi] with the religious brotherhoods and Congregations of Priests [having] passed [through the Choir] he goes [back] up to his rooms in the Palace."
412. See above, pp.54-61.

413. See, for example, the two Orations used respectively at Mass and at Vespers (both First and Second) of this new Redentore liturgy: "Deus, qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos, pro humana scis fragilitate non posse subsistere: da nobis salutem mentis, et corporis: ut ea, quae pro peccatis nostris patimur, te adiuvante vincamus" (Dominica Tertia Julii. Missa pro Solemnitate SS.Redemptoris (...), Venezia, Pileti, 1722, p.1: "O God, who know us [to be] constituted, by virtue of human frailness, [so as] not to be able to subsist among such great dangers: grant us health of [both] body and mind: in order that, with your help, we may overcome that which we suffer for our sins"). And "Deus, qui Unigenitum tuum mundi Redemptorem constitui, et per eum devicta morte nos misericorditer ad vitam reparasti: concede, ut haec beneficia recolentes, tibi perpetua charitate adhaerere, et eiusdem redemptionis fructum percipere mereamur" (Officia propria Sanctorum tam de praecepto, quam ad libitum (...), Venezia, Recurti, 1765, p.153: "God, who have set up thy only-begotten Son, Redeemer of the world, and [who] through him [having] conquered death, have mercifully restored us to life: grant that, honouring again these favours, we may be entitled to cling to thee with perpetual esteem, and to reap the fruit of this very same redemption").

414. G.GABRIELI, Symphoniae Sacrae (...), II, cit., p.34.

415. Liturgically speaking, In ecclesiis would thus also have been proper to the feast of Holy Trinity. However, such grandiose music as this would hardly have been found suitable for an occasion when the Doge himself was not required to attend in the celebration of the liturgy. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.16 r: "In die sanctissimae Trinitatis. Missa canitur (...) tamen hac die Dominus Dux non venit ad Ecclesiam" ("On the feast of Most Holy Trinity. Mass is sung (...), even though on this day [Our] Lord the Duke does not come to church").

As we have seen, Mass of Holy Trinity was also celebrated at San Marco for special, occasional events, such as the investiture of a Doge or Procurator, or the creation of a military general. None of the many descriptions of military ceremonies in the church, however, so much as hint at the performance of large-scale Concerti. And although music was indeed a feature of the Mass immediately following the elections both of Doges and of Procurators (see above, pp.71-4), both these occasions would seem to demand a plain "Iubilale Deo" in preference to such impassioned pleas as "libera, salva, vivifica nos", typical of this motet. Such pleas would seem equally inappropriate in the context of the votive Mass of Holy Trinity celebrated in San Marco when, on May 6th, 1597, Morosina Grimani, wife of the Doge and newly crowned Dogaressa of Venice, was presented with a Golden Rose by the Papal Nuncio (see above, p.63).

416. The following is a translation of the text, itself given in the column below: "In [your] gatherings, praise the Lord, alleluia. In every place of his sovereignty, let my soul bless the Lord, alleluia [further on the translation of this phrase see below, footnote 418]. In God my health and my glory; God my help; and my hope is in God, alleluia. My God, we call upon you, we adore you, deliver us, save us, quicken us, alleluia. God our help for ever, alleluia."
417. *Officia propria Sanctorum tam de praecepto (...), cit.*, p.156. The text is a Short Respond in the first Nocturn of Matins.

418. The sense of this phrase is unclear. It appears, however, to be a corruption of the final half-verse of Ps. 102, "(...) in omni loco dominati onis eius, benedic anima mea Domino", and has been translated (see above, footnote 416) as such.

419. *I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marc0, Registro 117, fol.19r-v*. The text is an Antiphon in the second Nocturn of Matins.

420. *Officia propria Sanctorum tam de praecepto (...), cit.*, p.160. The text is an Antiphon in the third Nocturn of Matins.

421. *Ibid., p.153*. These are the opening words of the Antiphon at the Magnificat, First Vespers.

422. *Ibid., p.160*. These are the opening words of an Antiphon in the third Nocturn of Matins.

423. *I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marc0, Registro 117, fol.19r*. The text is an Antiphon in the second Nocturn of Matins.

424. *Ibid., fol.19v*. The text is an Antiphon in the second Nocturn of Matins.

425. Kassel, Landesbibliothek, Mus. Ms. 20°, p.53 0. For an inventory of the manuscript see C.ENGELBRECHT, Die Kasseler Hofkapelle im 17. Jahrhundert (Kassel, 1958), pp.156-76.

426. *Ibid., p.67.*

427. *Ibid., p.124*. The Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel sent several of his chapel musicians to study composition with Gabrieli: these include Christoph Cornet and Christoph Kegel (around 1604) and Heinrich Schütz (1609-12).

428. "Sweet Jesus, likeness of the Father, and our health/salvation, who by death on the Cross have redeemed us all, deliver us! Protect us from all ill/evil, that we might be found worthy to be in heaven."

429. *Above, pp.54-8.*

430. STRINGA, La Chiesa (...), cit., fol.78r: "[On] the Vigil of Ascension, the Prince goes down in Triumph to the Church of San Marco, and there hears Vespers, which is most solemnly sung."

431. SANSOVINO, Venetia (...), 1581, cit., fol.199r: "[On] the morning (...), of Ascension, shortly after Terce, the Prince with the Signoria boards the Bucintoro and (...) is conducted to the Lido; (...) they go out [of the lagoon] towards the mouth of the sea (...); the Prince throws a ring into the water, in sign of marriage, (...) with these words: We betroth thee, [O] Sea, in token of [our] true and perpetual dominion [over thee]. For this ceremony was occasioned by the victory which the Republic had when it made battle with..."
Otho, son of the Emperor Frederick, [in order] to defend and maintain in [his] position Pope Alexander III. Ziani returned victorious from the naval battle (. . .), the Pope (. . .) gave him a ring, and said to him: Receive this, O Ziani, with which you and your successors will be accustomed every year to wed the sea (. . .); dominion over this sea, acquired by you through ancient possession and through war, is yours. And (. . .) the sea is placed under your authority, as [is] the wife to the husband."

432. SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . . ), 16042, cit., fol.338r (Stringa's addition): "During both the outward and inward legs of this Andata, some beautiful motets are sung before the Prince by the musicians of San Marco."

433. Ibid., fol.338V (Stringa's addition): "[This ceremony of the Wedding of the Sea having been completed, the Doge] returns in the Bucintoro [to the Lido] where, disembarked (. . .) at the bank of San Niccolò (. . .), he sets out to the Church of San Niccolò, where [he hears] Mass which is solemnly sung."

434. Two eight-part exceptions, however, are provided by Croce's Omnes gentes plaudite manibus (Motetti a otto voci ( . . . ), cit., p.1) and O viri, O Galilaei (Motetti a otto voci ( . . . ) libro secondo, cit., p.3).

436. A.GABRIELI, Sacrae cantiones ( . . . ) quinque vocum, cit., p.37.
437. Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum ( . . . ), cit., p.10.

439. The actual derivations of the texts of the Concerti ( . . . ) are given in Appendix I.

440. For identification of these works see Appendix I, prints B-D, S, T.

441. The only Ascension Day motets to have been preserved from this latter period are the (merely) five-part settings, by Giovanni Croce, of the Matins Responds Ego rogabo patrem and Non turbetur cor vestrum (CROCE, Sacrae cantiones quinis vocibus ( . . . ), cit., pp.11, 12).


443. GRILLO, Sacri concertus ac symphoniae ( . . . ) 6. 7. 8. 12. voc., cit.

444. "Pastoral Congratulation in music, performed for the assumption of the Most Serene Grimani to the princedom, Ascension Day, 1595." For a brief description see SOLERTI, Le rappresentazioni ( . . . ), cit., p.520.

445. SANSOVINO, Venetia ( . . . ), 16042, cit., fol.419v, where the information has been added by Stringa.
446. This date may be calculated from the fact that "(. . .) la Madonna del Marzo [March 25th, Annunziato B.M.V.] quest'anno venuta il Sabbato Santo" (I - Vnn, Cod. It. VII, 708, = 7899, entitled Diario delle cose (. . .), fol.2v: "Our Lady of March [having fallen this year on Holy Saturday"). The feast of Ascension falls on the Feria V forty days after Easter Sunday.

447. For a full description, SINDING-LARSEN, Christ in the Council Hall (. . .), cit., p.33.

448. Ibid., p.35.


450. BASSANO, Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici (. . .), I, cit., p.1: "0 King of Glory, who by thy grace didst honour blessed Mark thy Evangelist, [by making him] a preacher of the Gospel, alleluia, suffer us with whom he appeared on earth [that] we may be deserving, rejoicing, to see [him] in the heavens, alleluia."


452. The words "0 Rex gloriae", however, form the opening address of the Antiphon at the Magnificat, Second Vespers, in Ascensione Domini (I - Vas, Archivio della Procurazione de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 116, fol.90r), a text of which several musical settings have been preserved.


454. "Clap your hands, all ye nations: shout unto God with the voice of jubilation. For the Lord most high is terrible: a great king over all the earth. He hath subdued the people under us: and the nations under our feet. He hath chosen his inheritance for us: the beauty of Jacob, which he hath loved. God is ascended in jubilation: and the Lord with the sound of the trumpet. Sing praises to our king, sing praises. alleluia."

455. Where it forms part of the second Nocturn (I - Vas, Archivio della Procurazione de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 116, fol.86r).

456. See, for example, above, footnote 415 (first paragraph), and below, at footnotes 411 and 412.

457. Significantly, perhaps, the above-cited (see footnote 434) Croce setting of 1594 (i.e., prior to Grimani's coronation) concludes an otherwise identical text with an excerpt from Verse 9: "Quoniam regnabit Deus in aeternum." And a further, eight-part setting by A.Gualterius (Motecta octonis vocibus (. . .) Gualterii, in terra D. Danielis [i.e., Friuli, non-Venetian, yet under Venetian political domination] musices, Venezia, Vincenti, 1604, pp.2-3) replaces Verse 6 altogether with the words: "Dominus in caelo paravit sedem suam." In neither case can it be doubted that "Dominus"/"Deus" means "God". In contrast, an eight-part setting published in 1599 by Bassano (Concerti ecclesiastici (. . .) libro secondo (. . .), cit., p.18), possibly intended for an Ascension Day commemoration of Grimani's election, employs a text identical to that used by Gabrieli.
458. *I - Vnm, Cod. It. VII, 396 (= 7423)*, a copy of the *Ceremoniale Magnum* of G.B.Pace, datable to sometime after 1733, p.63: "certain merry madrigals." This phrase does not appear in Pace's original of 1678.


460. *Promptuarii musici ( . . . ) pars tertia ( . . . )*, cit., p.121.


462. Similarly, the long-held belief that one or both of these motets were composed for the ceremonies of May 1597 when the newly crowned Dogaressa Morosina Grimani was presented with a Golden Rose, is untenable. See above, footnote 281.

463. "Shout unto God, all ye lands: for thus shall the man be blessed that fears the Lord. Shout unto God, all ye lands: the God of Israel unites you, and will himself be with you. May he send thee help from the sanctuary: and strengthen thee out of Zion. Shout unto God, all ye lands: the Lord that made heaven and earth bless thee out of Zion. Shout unto God, all ye lands: serve the Lord with gladness. Shout unto God, all ye lands."

464. *Missale Romanum ( . . . )*, cit., p.525. The ducal liturgy for Trinity Sunday is, surprisingly, omitted from the local Missal, *I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 111 (= 2116).*

465. Ibid., p.523.

466. Ibid., p.524.
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467. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), additional fol.114r: "(...) drawn from the list of duties of Maestro di Cappella Giuseppe Zarlino."

468. Ibid.

469. As regards the former, ibid., fol.29r: "in secundis vesperris cantantur psalmi à duobus choris cantorum, si placet Magistro chori" ("in Second Vespers, whenever the Master of Ceremonies sees fit, the psalms are sung by two choirs of singers"). On the latter, ibid., fol.22r: "cantantur psalmi in secundis vesperris in duobus choris propter praesentiam Domini Ducis (...) vel ad instantiam Dominorum Procuratorum" ("in Second Vespers the psalms are sung by two choirs of singers [only] on account of the presence of Our Lord the Duke (...), or at the request of Our Lords the Procurators").

470. Ibid., fol.22r: whenever they are able, in so far as they are not prevented [by this] from being present at the banquet of Our Lord the Duke; but if they are, [the psalms] are sung in one choir. The St. Stephen's Day banquet was one of four held annually in the Ducal Palace.

471. On the former, ibid., fol.28v: "Quando (...) cantores sunt licentia propter Te Deum laudamus à (...) procuratoribus, loco Te Deum cantantur psalmi à duobus choris cantorum" ("When (...) the singers are excused by the Procurators [from singing] the Te Deum laudamus, in place of the Te Deum the psalms are sung by two choirs of singers"). On the latter, ibid., fol.30r: "in secundis vesperis, aliquando cantantur psalmi à duobus choris cantorum, ad petitionem (...) procuratorum (...) sed ordinarie non cantantur psalmi à cantoribus" ("in Second Vespers the psalms are sometimes sung by two choirs of singers, at the request (...) of the Procurators (...), but normally the psalms are not sung by the singers").

472. See above, p.28.

473. Ibid., respectively foll.30r ("the psalms are sung (...) by the singers in two choirs"), 31r ("the psalms [are sung] in (...) two choirs"), 31v ("the psalms are sung by the singers in two choirs").


475. CROCE, Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia (...), cit.

476. Besides one "extra" psalm: No.127, Beati omnes (pp.21-2), proper to Vespers in festo Corporis Christi (as celebrated according to the Tridentine liturgy). See Appendix I.

477. CROCE, Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia (...), cit., pp.31-2.
478. ZARLINO, Le istitutioni (..., cit., p.268: "I composed [it] many years ago for three choirs."

479. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.12 V, in Dominica resurrectionis: "(....) et cantatur Magnificat per cantores et chorum alternatim" ("and the Magnificat is sung alternatim by the singers and Chorus [of priests]"). And again, ibid., fol.6 r, in omnibus sabbatis Quadragesimae (on which, however, the psalms were not rendered by the singers): "(....) cantores (....) cantant hymnum (....) cantant etiam Magnificat (....) alternatim cum choro" ("the singers (....) sing the hymn (...); they sing, likewise, the Magnificat (....) alternatim with the Chorus [of priests]").

480. ZARLINO, Le istitutioni (..., cit., p.268: "(....) spesse1te si sogliono cantare in Vinegia nelli Vesperi, & altre hare delle feste solenni" ("often in Venice it is the custom to sing [them] during Vespers and the other [Office] Hours of the solemn feasts").

481. CROCE, Salmi, che si cantano a terza (...), cit., and Completta a otto (...), cit.

482. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.25 r: "In both Vesper7a1l the psalms are sung most solemnly by two choirs of singers; and similarly the psalms of Compl6ne of the feast day [itself]."

483. For both of which see Appendix II.

484. Appendix II, Nos.16, 25, 2.

485. SANSOVINO, Venetia (..., 16042, cit., fol.332 V (Stringa's addition): "(....) sung in [polyphonic] music by the nuns."

486. Ibid., fol.332 r (Stringa's addition): "Vespro (....) viene solennemente cantato da i Musici di San Marco" ("Vespers (....) is sung solemnly by the musicians of St.Mark's"). Vespers, like Compline, took place at S.Zaccaria.

487. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.16 r: "(....) the singers sing only the Te Deum."

488. Ibid., fol.56 V: "(....) in the first Nocturn the singers sing the three lessons in polyphonic music."

489. Ibid.: "(....) the singers sing all the Antiphons and Responds."

490. This may be tentatively inferred from the fact that in neither of the two, particularly detailed descriptions of Christmas Matins which have been preserved - ibid., respectively fol.2 V and 56 V - are they positively assigned to the singers. The account of fol.56 V does, indeed, state that "(....) a tutti li psalmi (....) sonano li organi" ("at all the psalms (....) the organs play"); by this, however, is probably intended "after", not "during", the psalms - as suggested by a parallel account of Matins in festo Corporis Christi (at which, as we have seen, the singers were also present), when "(....) organa pulsantur in fine culislibet psalmi" (ibid., fol.16 r: "the organs are sounded at the end of any psalm at which it is pleasing").
491. Ibid., fol.47r: "Formerly, on all solemn feasts, (. . .) the psalms were sung (. . .) according to Georgian custom." The precise meaning of the phrase more georgiano is difficult to ascertain. Two possible interpretations, neither of them, however, totally convincing, are as follows: (1) A dialectal contraction of more gregoriano. As a rule, this latter term appears only in non-liturgical treatises dealing with the history of chant, and not in liturgically orientated manuscripts such as the one under discussion (which generally uses the expression in cantu plano to indicate plainsong performance); however, the decidedly historical leanings of the particular rubric in which the above-quoted statement occurs (for which see below, p.108 ) might conceivably admit of an exceptional, "Gregorian" reading. (2) A reference to the performing traditions of some other church: S.Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, perhaps.
CHAPTER FIVE.

492. Ibid.: "OF THE PSALMS TO BE SUNG ON ALL SOLEMN FEASTS. Formerly, on all solemn feasts, the psalms were sung by the Small Choir, and by the singers who usually sing by practice [i.e., ex pratica, which phrase indicates an oral tradition], if they were available; in which case they were appointed to sing more georgiano. Today, this practice of singing has fallen into disuse, and the singers of the Greater Choir sing all the psalms and whatever remains. And the psalms they sing divided in two choirs, viz., four singers in one choir and all the rest in the other; since the Small Choir no longer exists."

493. Four exceptions are provided by Matins in festo Corporis Christi and in Nativitate Domini, and by Compline in festo Annunciationis B.M.V. and in Dominica Resurrectionis. On only the third of these occasions, however, were the psalms performed in double-choir settings: see above, p. 106.

494. As, for example, at First Vespers in Epiphania Domini (January 6th), when "( . . . ) ii ministri intono ii psalmi . da poi ciascuno sona l'organo" (ibid., fol. 57v: "the priests intone the psalms, after each of which the organ is played"), and at First and Second Vespers in festo SS.Petri, & Pauli (June 29th), when "( . . . ) dicuntur psalmi ( . . . ) in cantu piano" (ibid., fol. 28v: "the psalms are said ( . . . ) in plainsong").

495. Above, pp. 104-5.

496. Ibid., fol. 15v: "( . . . ) the singers sing the psalms divided in two choirs, viz., four singers in one choir and all the rest in the other."

497. I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Busta 91, Processo 208, fol. 56r, datable to c.1590, lists a total of thirteen permanent members of the choir. Ibid., fol. 61v, dated November 1601, lists a Choir Master and twenty-two singers.

498. For full details of their duties see above, p. 89.

499. The closest occurs in a reference to the celebration of Second Vespers in nativitate S.Ioannis Baptistae "cum omni solemnitate, cum duobus coris cantorum, vz. psalmi, cum organis" (I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol. 28v: "with all solemnity; with two choirs of singers, namely, the psalms; with organs"). This, however, is merely a record of the fact that both singers andorganists coexisted side by side; there is no implication that they were ever actually combined.


501. The publication, four years after that of the Vespers psalms, of Croce's Basso per sonare nell'organo delli vesperi a otto voci (Venezia, Vincenti, 1601) may perhaps be seen as an afterthought reflecting musical taste in general than as representative of the performance practice actually in use at St.Mark's.
502. SANSOVINO, Venetia (...), 1604, cit., fol.346r (Stringa's addition): "Vespro (...) con canti, & suoni soavissimi viene cantato" ("Vespers (...) is sung with the sweetest songs and sounds").

503. Respectively, "tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantat commodissimae", "tam vocibus, quam instrumentis", "tum viva voce, tum etiam omni instrumentorum genere cantat commodissimae".

504. ZARLINO, Le istitutioni (...), cit., p.268: "[the] choirs are placed at a little distance one from the other."


506. The whole episode is described in I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratura de Supra, Basilica di S. Marco, Busta 91, Processo 208, fol.12r-23r.

507. Ibid., fol.22V: "the book-boy brought the books for singing in two choirs to the pergolo; (...) Vespers was said, which the singers sang in two choirs."

508. SANSOVINO, Venetia (...), 1604, cit., fol.44V (Stringa's addition), in the section entitled Del pergolo dei musici: "almost always, and particularly on solemn feasts, and when the Signoria comes to church, the musicians sing at High Mass and Vespers."

509. I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratura de Supra, Basilica di S. Marco, Busta 91, Processo 208, fol.13V: "who were then in the pergolo."

510. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol.28r: "OF THE FEAST OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. [June 24th. In Second Vespers.] 1558. By order of the Most Serene Prince and the (...) Procurators, (...) we make a great solemnity (...). The psalms are sung by the singers in two choirs, (...) in the Choir [of the church] at the High Altar."

511. Ibid., fol.14V: "On the Vigil of Ascension the singers sing alternatim, divided in two choirs. (...) His Serenity mounts the Great Pulpit and there hears Vespers (...). The singers sing in the New Pulpit of the Lessons, although they are tight in it. Whenever Our Most Serene Lord the Doge sits in the Choir, the singers are situated in the Great Pulpit."

512. Ibid., fol.26V: "[CONCERNING THE FEAST OF ST. MARK. In First Vespers.] Our Lord the Doge mounts the singers' pulpit, and there hears Vespers (...). Nevertheless, today the Chorus [of priests] is not in the middle of the church, for Our Lord the Doge does not mount the pulpit as formerly."

513. Other statements from the same Ceremonial book strongly suggest that the singers, in processions, were normally to be found close by the Chorus of priests. Ibid., fol.23V (Mass, in Purificatione B. M. V.), "firmabatur processio in medio ecclesiae, et cantabatur Introitus per canores" ("the procession stopped in the middle of the church, and the Introit was sung by the singers"). And ibid., fol.26V (Mass, in die S. Marci): "et in medio ecclesiae fit chorus (...)."
supra supremum gradum portae chori . dum cantatus fuerit primus introitus á cantoribus" ("and the Chorus [of priests] is in the middle of the church, upon the top step of the entrance to the Choir, while the Introit was sung by the singers"). This, however, is not to say that the procession over, they did not move elsewhere.

514. As testified on their title-pages (see above, footnote 66). In vol. I, six to sixteen voices; in vol. II, six to nineteen voices.

515. See above, p.60.

516. Above, respectively pp.47, 63, 64, 68, 70, 72, for a discussion of these statements in their liturgical and ceremonial contexts.

517. Exceptional, however, besides the music mentioned above at footnote 515, is that for the Jubilee-plague solemnity of Hebdomas I Quadragesimae when, in conformity with the musico-liturgical requirements of Lent (see above, p.89), an a capella style must surely have prevailed. Organist(s) were certainly present on January 24th, 1578, when Suor Soffia was installed as Abbess of the Convent of S.Maria delle Vergini, but instrumentalists (if we may judge by their absence from the following account) were not: "(. . .) et cantossi, et sonato nell'organo alcune volte mentre, chi si diceva la Messa, [dopo la quale] fu cantato il Te Deum daili cantori" (further on this document, and for a translation, see above, p.71, at footnote 325).

518. By Andrea, the seven-part Deus qui beatum Marcum (p.18), the eight-part Gratulamini mihi omnes and Deus qui beatum Marcum (pp.24, 30), the ten-part Deus, Deus meus and Exultate iusti (pp.34, 36), the twelve-part Benedicam Dominum and Magnificat (pp.38, 44) and the five to sixteen-part setting of the Ordinary (pp.41-3). By Giovanni, the ten-part Deus, Deus meus (p.37) and the twelve-part Angelus ad pastores ait (p.40).

519. In vol. I, twelve pieces: the seven-part Exaudi Deus (p.8), the eight-part Domine, exaudi orationem meam, Sancta et immaculata and Diligam te, Domine (pp.11, 21, 22), the ten-part Benedicam Dominum, Maria virgo, Quis est iste qui venit and Hodie Christus natus est (pp.36, 38, 42, 43), the twelve-part Magnificat (p.55), the fourteen-part Nunc dimittis (p.60), the fifteen-part Jubilate Deo (p.61) and the sixteen-part Omnes gentes (p.63). In vol. II, eighteen pieces: the seven-part Sancta et immaculata (p.5), the eight-part Attendite and Benedictus es Dominus (pp.12, 14), the ten-part Vox Dominii and Jubilate Deo (pp.18, 20), the twelve-part Exaudi Deus, 0 gloriosa virgo, Misericordia tua, Suscipe and Magnificat (pp.22, 23, 24, 26, 29), the five to twelve-part setting of the Ordinary (pp.27-8), the fourteen-part Quem vidistis pastores, In ecclesiis and Magnificat (pp.33, 34, 35), the fifteen-part Salvator noster (p.32), the sixteen-part 0 quam gloriosa (p.39), the seventeen-part Magnificat (p.42) and the nineteen-part Buccinate (p.43).

520. In vol. I, the eight-part Diligam te, Domine, the twelve-part Magnificat and the fourteen-part Nunc dimittis. In vol. II, the fourteen-part Quem vidistis pastores and Magnificat and the seventeen-part Magnificat.
521. In the Concerti (....), the five to sixteen-part Ordinary. In the Sacrae Symphoniae (....), I, the eight to twelve-part Ordinary (pp.52-4), the Twelve-part Magnificat, the fourteen-part Nunc dimittis and the sixteen-part Omnes gentes.

522. Thus, the nineteen-part (four-choir) Buccinate bears the following specifications: Choir I (a 5) = ? (i.e., no marking), ?, ?, ?, Voce; Choir II (a 5) = Voce, ?, ?, ?, ?, ?; Choir III (a 4) = Capella, Capella, Capella, Capella; Choir IV (a 5) = Voce, ?, ?, ?, ?. And the fourteen-part (three-choir) In ecclesiis: Choir I (a 4) = Voce, Voce, Voce; Choir II (a 4) = ?, Capella, Voce-Capella, Capella; Choir III (a 6) = Cornetto, Cornetto, Cornetto, Violino, Trombone, Trombone. Similar directions for performance are to be found in the eleven-part Surrexit Christus (p.21), the twelve-part Suscipe and Magnificat, the fourteen-part Quem vidistis pastores and Magnificat and the seventeen-part Magnificat.

523. I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 139, fol.180 r-v: "April 2nd. Giovanni Croce, Maestro di Cappella, (....) having communicated to the Most Illustrious (....) Procurators that, it being necessary to perform music in the organ [lofts] at such times as the Most Serene Prince and the Most Serene Signoria come to church, it is [also] necessary that there be someone of ability who serves in the organ [lofts] to beat the time, as it is regulated by this Maestro. And because, in Gabrieli's loft, there is (....) Giovanni Bassano, Capo dei concerti, who on that side [of the Choir] is charged with this responsibility, and on the other side this Maestro [i.e., Croce] is accustomed to employ (....) Friar Agostino, the Franciscan Minor, singer in the choir, who, having left the city already some days ago, without leave, he [Croce] wished to give notice of the fact to Their Excellencies, in order that they might make that provision which seems to them best, that the music pass with that honour and public decorum which is the will of Their Excellencies (....)."

524. In fact, the presence of the Doge was required by law on Vespers of seven feasts only: Christmas (First and Second Vespers), Holy Thursday, Easter Sunday, Ascension (First Vespers), the Purification (First Vespers) and Annunciation (Second Vespers) of the Virgin Mary, and St.Mark (First Vespers). Compare with the twenty-six occasions on the Fausti-Zarlino list (p.104, above).

525. PRAETORIUS, Syntagma musicum, III, cit. Questions of instrumentation are discussed in Part III, Ch. 7. The author recommends (p.153) that one vocal soloist, at least, be placed with each of the predominantly instrumental polychoirs, "(....) darmit die Woerte gehoeret und vernommen werden koennen" ("in order that the words may be heard and perceived"). That this practice was not unknown in St.Mark's is confirmed in a description of Mass in festo Corporis Christi, 1606, when "venne M.Steffano Ferrarese, et D.Matthias a cantar in organo, et gil altri cantarono da basso" (I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 139, fol.67r: "Steffano Ferrarese and Matthias came to sing in the organ [lofts], and the others sang from below").

526. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), additional fol.102r.
527. Further on this passage, see above, p. 68.

528. Ibid., fol. 12r: "(. . .) the singers (. . .) mount the pulpit of the Lessons, where they sing Mass; for nowadays Our Lord the Doge, after the Confession of the Mass, mounts the Great Pulpit [of the singers] in which he hears Mass. Whenever Our Lord the Doge remains in the Choir for Mass, the singers mount the Great Pulpit to sing it."

529. See above, p. 71, at footnote 328.

530. I - Vmc, Cod. Cicogna 2768, fol. 37v: "( . . . ) various Concerti of instrumentalists and in organo." The manuscript is dated "T 1574".

531. I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172 (= 2276), fol. 1r: "( . . . ) fu (. . . ) ditto una messa picola con alcuni concerti in organo" ("a Low Mass was (. . . ) said, with some concerti in organo").

532. Ibid., fol. 70v, on the anniversary of the investiture of a Doge: "Et se'l zorno del suo Annual el volesse (. . .) andar a visitar la Chiesia del santo qual corre quel zorno et aldir Messa granda in quella Chiesia li cantori vanno a cantarghela, ma el forzo delle volte l'alde una Messa piccola, et li cantori non li vanno" ("And if on the day of his anniversary he wishes (. . . ) to go to visit the church of the saint commemorated that day and to hear High Mass in that church, the singers go to sing it; but usually [on such occasions] Low Mass is heard, and the singers do not go").

533. The two exceptions are the seventeen-part Magnificat and fourteen-part In ecclesiis from the Symphoniae Sacrae (. . .), II, in which Capella is applied respectively to two and three parts only.

534. The exception is the sixteen-part Omnes gentes of the Sacrae Symphoniae (. . .), I: at tt. 60, 62 and 65.

535. G. M. Artusi, Seconda parte dell' Arte del Contraponto (Venezia, Vincenti, 1589), p. 47: "Nowadays (. . . ) composers, in the Cantilenae composed for Concerti, place the lowest parts (that is, the Bass parts of the one, and of the other choir) at the interval of a 5th, a 3rd or an Octave; almost always, one hears [a] wretched [sound, such as] I cannot describe, which offends the hearing (. . . ). And, [concerning] those choirs which are situated at a distance one from the other: (. . . ) when their Bass (. . . ) has become a middle part it can be said that that choir is [actually] without Bass part and foundation; and what good effect can it have if the building be in one place and the foundations elsewhere? what sweet harmony can it yield to hear three or four parts of a Cantilena without the Bass, or at [other] times so far away that [these three parts themselves] can scarcely be heard?"

536. See above, p. 16.

537. Above, pp. 19-22.

538. Above, pp. 114-15. The Procuratorial deliberation of April 2nd, 1607, refers to all liturgical solemnities at which the Doge was
present and at which Concerti were performed - not just to specifically occasional events.

539. As, for example, in die S.Francisci (October 4th), when "( ... ) cantores cantant missam in choro" (I - Vnm, Cod. Lat. III, 172, = 2276, fol.31r: "the singers sing Mass in the Choir"), and in die SS.Marcj, Sergij & Bachi (October 9th), when "[cantores] redeunt in choro, pro Sanctus, et Agnus Dei cantando" (ibid.: "[the singers] return to the Choir, for the singing of the Sanctus and Agnus Dei").

540. For a summary comparison of Concerti, Mottetti and Salmi spezzati under each of these three liturgical and functional headings see above, p.29.

541. Published respectively in WILLAERT, JACHET et al, I Salmi appertinenti alli Vesperi ( ... ), cit., pp.34-6, and CROCE, Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia ( ... ), cit., pp.26-8.

542. Verse divisions according not to the Tridentine Breviary but to the Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S.Marci ( ... ), cit., where they are different.

543. WILLAERT, JACHET et al, I salmi appertinenti alli Vesperi ( ... ), cit., p.23, and CROCE, Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia ( ... ), cit., pp.11-12.

544. CARVER, The psalms of Willaert ( ... ), cit., p.280.

545. CROCE, Vespertina omnium solemnitatum psalmodia ( ... ), cit., pp.17-18.

546. In particular, CARVER, The psalms of Willaert ( ... ), cit., pp.280-83, and ZENCK, Adrian Willaert's 'Salmi' ( ... ), cit., pp.97-107.

547. O.STRUNK, 'Some motet types of the 16th century', in Papers read at the International Congress of Musicology held at New York 1939 (published 1944), pp.159-60. Other types mentioned by Strunk are those based upon Canticles, Gospels, Lessons, Hymns, Chapters and Prayers; these categories, however, are of much less frequent occurrence than those already cited above.

548. DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti ( ... ), cit., pp.12-13.

549. Further examples of Respond-motets divided in two partes occur in ibid., pp.2-3, 6-7, 10-11, 20-21, 24-5, 26-7, 28-9, 34-5, 36-7, 38-9; A.GABRIELI, Sacrae cantiones ( ... ) quinque vocum ( ... ), cit., pp.27-8; and CROCE, Motetti a otto voci ( ... ) Libro secondo, cit., pp.15-16. For incipits and liturgical derivations see Appendix I.

550. This piece was certainly composed with a view to eventual performance in the Ducal Basilica. Its particular combination of Respond and Verset occurs only in the Venetian liturgy (in the Tridentine books, although both parts are present, they are split between different feast days), where it is recited after the third Lesson of Matins, Dominica I Quadragesimae (I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratura de Supra, Basilica di S.Marco, Registro 115, fol.52r-v).
For example, CROCE, Motetti a otto voci (. . .), cit., pp.5, 8, 9; id., Motetti a otto voci (. . .) Libro secondo, cit., pp.4, 13; DALLA CASA, Il primo libro de motetti (. . .), cit., pp.1, 3, 19; and DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti (. . .), cit., pp.5, 44. For incipits and liturgical derivations see Appendix I.

DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti (. . .), cit., pp.32-3.

In the case of lines 1 and 2, the structure of the polyphonic setting mirrors not only the rhyme scheme of the text but also the repetition scheme of the original plainsong melody. In lines 3 and 4, however, it does not.

STRUNK, Some motet types (. . .), cit., p.557.

At the Benedictus (Lauds), at the Magnificat (Vespers) and at the psalms (Matins, Lauds and Vespers). For some examples see A. GABRIELI, Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum (. . .), cit., pp.2 (at the psalms), 5 (at the Benedictus), 6, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 24, (at the Magnificat); and MERULO, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus (. . .), II, cit., pp.5, 11, 15, 16, 20, 22 (at the psalms), 1, 6, 14, (at the Benedictus), 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 17, 18, 19, 21 (at the Magnificat). Incipits and liturgical derivations are given in Appendix I.

For some examples of this type see A. GABRIELI, Sacrae cantiones (. . .) quinque vocum (. . .), cit., pp.17, 22, 29; Id., Ecclesiasticarum cantionum (. . .) quatuor vocum (. . .), cit., pp.7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 25, 29; MERULO, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus (. . .), I, cit., pp.3, 8, 14; and Id., Il primo libro de motett a sei (. . .), cit., pp.7, 9, 15, 17, 21.

MERULO, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus (. . .), II, cit., p.11; id., Il primo libro de motetti a quattro (. . .), cit., p.4.

MERULO, Sacrarum cantionum quinque vocibus (. . .), I, cit., p.13; id., Il primo libro de motetti a sei (. . .), cit., p.11.

DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti (. . .), cit., p.30.

Breviarium Romanum (. . .), cit., pp.373, 379, 383.

A. GABRIELI, Sacrae cantiones (. . .) quinque vocum (. . .), cit., pp.11-12. For other examples, Ibid., pp.2-3, 4-5, 6-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, 25-6, 30-31, 32-3, 35; CROCE, Motetti a otto voci (. . .), cit., p.1; and DALLA CASA, Il primo libro de motetti (. . .), cit., p.16.

Exceptional, however, is Dalla Casa's six-part setting of the Pentecost Sequence Veni sancte spiritus (DALLA CASA, Il primo libro de motetti (. . .), cit., p.13), which lacks any reference to liturgical plainchant.

Psalterium Davidicum ad usum Ecclesiae S. Marci (. . .), cit., fol.104V, and Antiphonarium Romanum ad ritum Breviarij, ex decreto Sacrosancti Concilij Tridentini restitutum (. . .) (Venezia, apud Iuntas, 1606), fol.171V.
564. ZARLINO, Modulationes sex vocum (.), cit., pp. 16-17.

565. DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti (.), cit., p. 5.

566. Chants contained respectively in I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S. Marco, Registro 114, fol. 59r-v, and Antiphonarion Romanum (.), cit., fol. 27v.

567. DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti (.), cit., p. 8. An earlier setting "a 7" by Zarlino (ZARLINO, Modulationes sex vocum (.), cit., p. 23), however, remains totally unaffected by problems of excessive length: in contrast to the seventy-eight tacti of Donato's motet, this one continues for a further forty-five.

568. DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti (.), cit., p. 9. Exceptional again, however, is Zarlino's seven-part setting (Modulationes sex vocum (.), cit., p. 24).

569. A. GABRIELI, Ecclesiasticarum cantionum (.) quatuor vocum (.), cit., p. 9.

570. For examples of such embellishments see G. DALLA CASA, Il vero modo di diminuir, con tutte le sorti di strumenti di fiato, & di voce humana (Venezia, Gardano, 1584), and G. BASSANO, Ricercate, Passaggi, et Cadenzte per poter essercitar nel diminuir, con ogni sorte d'Instrumento: et anco diversi passaggi per la semplice voce (Venezia, Vincenti and Amadino, 1585).

571. Above, pp. 61-2.

572. Those of Andrea Gabrieli ("a 12", Concerti di Andrea, & di Gio: Gabrieli (.), cit., p. 44) and of his nephew Giovanni ("a 8", "a 12", Sacrae Symphoniae (.), I, cit., pp. 28, 55; "a 14", and "a 17", Symphoniae Sacrae (.), II, cit., pp. 35, 42). In a further setting, "a 12", by Giovanni (Symphoniae Sacrae (.), II, cit., p. 29) even the Gregorian intonation is lacking.


574. V - I cadences at tt. 8, 15, 19, 20, 28, 42, 54, 55, 58, 59.

IV - I cadences at tt. 39, 44 (twice), 62, 63.

575. See above, pp. 112-13 (and, for some specific examples of instrumentation, footnote 522).


577. Above, pp. 11-16.

578. BASSANO, Motetti per concerti ecclesiastici (.), I, cit., p. 7.

579. I - Vas, Archivio della Procuratia de Supra, Basilica di S. Marco, Registro 117, fol. 90r-v.
580. This is thus the only piece in the entire Concerto repertory to make use of the rigidly liturgical ""]","]", final section of "]" structure: a structure which is, as we have seen, more appropriate to the liturgico-commemorative Mottetti. As will be shown below, however, ""]","]", final section of "]" is by no means the dominant structure of the finished musical setting. Besides, Gabriel angelus, although doubtless performed during the liturgical commemoration to which it is proper, is by no means exclusively liturgico-commemorative in function: see above, p.63, at footnote 273.

581. Contained, respectively, in his Motetti a otto voci (..., cit., pp.3-4, 6, 8; Motetti a otto voci (..., libro secondo, cit., pp.6, 8.

582. DONATO, Il primo libro de motetti (..., cit., pp.46, 48.


584. Promptuarii musici (...), pars tertia (...), cit., p.121.

585. Cit., pp.7, 21, 34, 43.

586. G. CROCE, Motetti a quattro voci (..., libro primo (..., (Venezia, Vincenti, 1597).

587. Setting "a 4" by Andrea Gabrieli, in his Ecclesiasticarum cantionum (..., quatuor vocum (..., cit., p.11.

588. Ibid., p.15.
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EXAMPLE 1A: WILLAERT, **Domine, probasti me**
-TA-TA EST NEL POTE-RO AD E-AM.

-TA-TA EST NEL POTE-RO AD E-AM.

-TA-TA EST NEL POTE-RO AD E-AM.

-TA-TA EST NEL POTE-RO AD E-AM.
-375-

TU IL-LIC ES: ET SI DE-SCENDE-RO IN IN-FERNUM AB-----

TU IL-LIC ES: ET SI DE-SCENDE-RO IN IN-FERNUM AB-----

TU IL-LIC ES: ET SI DE-SCEN-DE-RO IN IN-FERNUM AB-----

TU IL-LIC ES: ET SI DE-SCEN-DE-RO IN IN-FERNUM AB-----
SI----CUT TE----NEGRAE E---IUS I---TA ET LUMEN

SI----CUT TE----NEGRAE E---IUS I---TA ET LUMEN E-----

---61-TUR.

---61-TUR.
FERIORIBUS TERRAE.

FERIORIBUS TERRAE.

FERIORIBUS TERRAE.

FERIORIBUS TERRAE.

Imperfectum me.
Dies formatur et nemo in e.
MIS: MI H I AU TEM N I MIS HO NO RI FI CA TI

183

MIS: MI H I AU TEM N I MIS HO NO RI FI CA TI

183

MIS: MI H I AU TEM N I MIS HO NO RI FI CA TI
VI-----RI SANGUINUM

208

VI-----RI SANGUINUM

---DAT DE-----US PEC-CAT-O-----RES.

208

OC-CI-DAT DE-----US PEC-CAT-O-----RES.

OC-CI-DAT DE-----US PEC-CAT-O-----RES.

OC-CI-DAT DE-----US PEC-CAT-O-----RES.
ET VIDE SI VIVA INIQUITAS
EXAMPLE 1B: CROCE, Domine probasti me
Si non memem et resurrectionem meam
INTELLEXISTI CONGINTONNES MEAS DE LON...
ET OMNES VIAS MEASSAS PRAEVI-DISTI QUIA

ET OMNES VIAS MEASSAS PRAEVI-DISTI QUIA

ET OMNES VIAS MEASSAS PRAEVI-DISTI QUIA

ET OMNES VIAS MEASSAS PRAEVI-DISTI QUIA

ET OMNES VIAS MEASSAS PRAEVI-DISTI QUIA

STI:

STI:

STI:

STI:
NON EST SER-..MO IN LIN-..GUAM ME-..A.

EC-...CE DO-MI-NE TU

EC-...CE DO-MI-NE TU

EC-...CE DO-MI-NE TU

EC-...CE DO-MI-NE TU
TU---A EX ME:

TU---A EX ME:

TU---A EX ME:

CON---FOR-TA-TA EST ET NON PO---TE-RO AB E---

CON---FOR-TA-TA EST ET NON PO---TE-RO AB E---

CON---FOR-TA-TA EST ET NON PO---TE-RO AB E---

CON---FOR-TA-TA EST ET NON PO---TE-RO AB E---
Si ASCEN-DE-RO IN CAE--LUM
Si sum-pse-ro pen-nas me-...as di-lu-cu-lo:

Si sum-pse-ro pen-nas me-...as di-lu-cu-lo:

Si sum-pse-ro pen-nas me-...as di-lu-cu-lo; et ha-bi-

Si sum-pse-ro pen-nas me-...as di-lu-cu-lo; et ha-bi-

Si sum-pse-ro pen-nas me-...as di-lu-cu-lo; et ha-bi-

Si sum-pse-ro pen-nas me-...as di-lu-cu-lo; et ha-bi-

EXTREMIS MARIS.

MARIS.

ETENIM ILUC MANUS TU - A DE - DUCET

ETENIM ILUC MANUS TU - A DE - DUCET
Si---cut te---ne-brae e---ius i---ta et lu-men e---ius:

Si---cut te---ne-brae e---ius i---ta est lu-men e---ius:

Si---cut te---ne-brae e---ius i---ta est lu-men e---ius:
-444-

Possedi

Res Meos:

A tu Possedi

Res Meos:

So...
FE-CI-STI IN OC-CUL----TO: ET SUB-STAN-TIA MEA IN IN-FE-RI----
Oculo tu it et in libro tu ommnia scri
Oculo tu it et in libro tu ommnia scri
Oculo tu it et in libro tu ommnia scri
Oculo tu it et in libro tu ommnia scri
IN ME EST; ET DE-DUC ME IN VITA AETER-NA.

IN ME EST; ET DE-DUC ME IN VITA AETER-NA.

IN ME EST; ET DE-DUC ME IN VITA AETER-NA.

IN ME EST; ET DE-DUC ME IN VITA AETER-NA.

IN ME EST; ET DE-DUC ME IN VITA AETER-NA.

GLO-

GLO-RI-A

GLO-RI-A

GLO-RI-A

GLO-RI-A
ET IN SAECULA, ET IN SAECULA

ET SEMPER ET IN SAECULA
VERSE 7:  TENOR I

UT COLLOCET E...UM CUM PRINCIPIBUS: COM PRINCIPIBUS POPULI SU....I.

VERSE 8:  CANTUS II

QUI HABITA...E FACIT STERILEM IN DOMO: MATREM FILIORUM LAETAN....

DOXOLOGY:  TENOR I  TENOR II

GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO: ET SPIRITU SANCETO.

DOXOLOGY:  TENOR II

SI...CUT E...RAT IN PRINCIPIO ET HANC ET SEMPER: ET IN SAECULO.

...LA SAE...LO...ROMA...
VERSE 7: CANTUS I

UT COLLOCET E----------UM

VERSE 8: NO TRACES OF PLAINCHANT

DOXOLOGY: TENOR I

GLO-RI-A PA-TRI ET FI-LI-O:

ET SPIRI-----TU-----I SANCTO.
EXAMPLE 3: CROCE, Laudate anima mea Dominum
Hominum in qui-bus non est salus.
DI----E PERI----BUNT OM----NES COGI-TA-TI-O----NES E----
QUIS FECIT CAELUM ET TERRAM:

DEO IPSISUS, QUI FECIT CAELUM ET TERRAM:
MATER ET OMNIA QUAE IN EIS SUNT.

MATER ET OMNIA QUAE IN EIS SUNT.

MATER ET OMNIA QUAE IN EIS SUNT.

MATER ET OMNIA QUAE IN EIS SUNT.

MATER ET OMNIA QUAE IN EIS SUNT.
EXAMPLE 4: DONATO, Emendamus - Peccavimus
- 495 -

NE, ATTENDE DOMINE, ET

NE, ATTENDE DOMINE, ET MISERE RE RE, ET

AT TEN DE DOMINE, ET MISERE RE RE, ET

AT TEN DE DOMINE, ET MISERE RE RE, ET

MISERE RE RE, QUI A PECCA VIMUS TIBI, QUI A PECCA

MISERE RE RE, QUI A PECCA VIMUS TIBI, PECCA

MISERE RE RE, QUI A PECCA VIMUS TIBI, QUI A PEC

MISERE RE RE, QUI A PECCA VIMUS TIBI, QUI A PEC

MISERE RE RE, QUI A PECCA VIMUS TIBI, QUI A PEC

MISERE RE RE, QUI A PECCA VIMUS TIBI, QUI A PEC
Dominus, et misere-re-

Dominus, et misere-re, et misere-re-

Dominus, et misere-re, et misere-re-

Dominus, et misere-re, et misere-re-

DEMI-MUS ET MISERE-RE, ET MISERE-RE-

MISERE-RE, ET MISERE-RE, ET MISERE-RE-

MISERE-RE, ET MISERE-RE, ET MISERE-RE-

MISERE-RE, ET MISERE-RE, ET MISERE-RE-

RE, QUI A PEC-CAMUS TI-BI, QUI A PEC-CAMUS VIMUS, QUI-

RE, QUI A PEC-CAMUS TI-BI, PEC-CAMUS VIMUS TI-

RE, QUI A PEC-CAMUS TI-BI, PEC-CAMUS VIMUS TI-

RE, QUI A PEC-CAMUS TI-BI, QUI A PEC-CAMUS VIMUS

RE, QUI A PEC-CAMUS TI-BI, QUI A PEC-CAMUS VIMUS

RE, QUI A PEC-CAMUS TI-BI
EXAMPLE 5: DONATO, Ave Regina coelorum

N.B. In the GB-Lbl part-books, from which this edition was made, the Sextus is missing. This is, however, of no consequence for the purposes of the present study.
EXAMPLE 6: DONATO Decem linguiat impius viam

Cantus
Altes
Quintus
Tenor
Bassus

Am, ET

De----re-linquit impius vi-----
AN-NUN-TI-A-TE IN-NTER GEN-TESTES GLO-RI-AM

AN-NUN-TI-A-TE IN-NTER GEN-TESTES GLO-RI-AM

AN-NUN-TI-A-TE IN-NTER GEN-TESTES GLO-RI-AM

AN-NUN-TI-A-TE IN-NTER GEN-TESTES GLO-RI-AM
EXAMPLE 8: AVE REGINA CAELORUM, plainchant.

Ave Regina Caelorum, Ave

Domina Angelorum: salve radix, salve porta;

Ex quo mundo lux est orta.

Gaudete virgo gloriosa, super omnes speciosa;

Vale o vale decora, et pro nobis Christum exora.
EXAMPLE 9: ZARLINO, *Victimae paschali laudes*

Canon

Risolutio

---MO-LENT CHRI-STIA-NI, IM-MO-LENT CHRI-

---DESI IM---MO-LENT CHRI-STIA-NI

---MO-LENT CHRI-STIA---NI, IM-IM---MO-LENT CHRI---STIA-NI

---MO-LENT CHRI-STIA---NI, IM-IM---MO-LENT CHRI---
EXAMPLE 10: Sancta et immaculata

Plainsong

Cantus

Altus

Bassus

Quintus

Tenor

Sancta et immaculata virginitas
Qui a quæm caeli capere non poterant,
qui a quæm caeli capere non poterant.

Qui a quæm caeli capere non poterant,
- S 4 3 -

BENEDICAT TU IN MULIERIBUS,

TU LI STI.
NEC DICTA TU,

LI STI.
NEC DICTA TU

 Ли STI.
NEC DICTA TU

CON TU LI STI.
NEC DICTA TU
ET BENE-DICTUS FRUCTUS VENTRIS TUI.

BENE-DICTA TUI IN MULIERIBUS,

IN MULIERIBUS, ET BENE-DICTA TURANUS,

MULIERIBUS, ET BENE-DICTA TURANUS,

MULIERIBUS, ET BENE-DICTA TURANUS,

MULIERIBUS, ET BENE-DICTA TURANUS,
ET BENEDICTUS FRUCTUS VENTRIS TU.

FRUCTUS VENTRIS TUI.

FRUCTUS VENTRIS TUI.
-546-
NEM: SED LI-BER-NA NOS A MA-LLO, SED LI-BER-NA NOS A MA-LLO,
EXAMPLE 13: A. GABRIELI, Maria Magdalene

CANTUS

MARIA MAGDALENAE, ET ALTERA MARIA

ALTUS

MARIA MAGDALENAE, ET

TENOR

BASSUS

ET ALTERA MARIA

---BANT DI-LUCULO AD MONUMENTUM

---BANT DI-LUCULO AD MONUMENTUM

---BANT DI-LUCULO AD MONUMENTUM

---BANT DI-LUCULO AD MONUMENTUM
Example 14: A. Gabrieli, Exsurgat Deus
ANT QUI O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
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QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
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QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
QUi O-BÉ-RUNT E-UM A FAC-E-RE IUS,
ISTI EPULENTOUR, ET EXULTENT,
ISTI EPULENTOUR, ET EXULTENT,
ISTI EPULENTOUR, ET EXULTENT,
ISTI EPULENTOUR, ET EXULTENT,
ISTI EPULENTOUR, ET EXULTENT,
ISTI EPULENTOUR, ET EXULTENT,
A, (et De-lectentur in lætiti-a) in lætiti-a,

A, et De-lectentur in lætitia, in lætiti-a,

et De-lectentur in lætiti-a.

A, et De-lectentur in lætitia, in lætiti-a,
EXAMPLE 15: A. GABRIELI, Ave Regina caelorum

CANTUS

ALTUS

TENOR

BASSUS

SEPTIMA PARIS

QUINTUS

OCTAVA PARIS

BASSUS II

A—VE R—GI—N—NA CÆ—LO—
Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis

Valde decorra, et pro nobis
EXAMPLE 16: A. GABRIELI, *Benedicam Dominum*
SEMPER LAUS E-IUS IN ORE ME-O, (SEMPER LAUS E-IUS IN ORE ME-O.)

SEMPER LAUS E-IUS IN ORE ME-O, IN ORE ME-O.
ET EX-AUDIVIT ME: ET EX OMNIBUS TRIBUERE
Example 18: BASSANO, Gabriel Angelus
V-TUR, AL-LE-LU-IA, AL-LE-LU-IA; ET MUL-TI IN NATIVITATE E---

V-TUR, AL-LE-LU-IA, AL-LE-LU-IA; ET MUL-TI

V-TUR, AL-LE-LU-IA, AL-LE-LU-IA; ET MUL-TI

V-TUR, AL-LE-LU-IA, AL-LE-LU-IA; ET MUL-TI

V-TUR, AL-LE-LU-IA, AL-LE-LU-IA; ET MUL-TI