



1 The story of Hero and Leander, a likely source of the tradition of the *dialogo di partenza*, here depicted on a majolica plate by Francesco Xanto Avelli (fl.1525–45) (Modena, Galleria e Museo Estense)

James Chater

'Such sweet sorrow': the *dialogo di partenza* in the Italian madrigal

IT is dawn. In a secluded rural spot, perhaps the banks of a river, two lovers, a shepherd and a shepherdess, are about to part. 'Farewell', says he; 'Farewell', she replies, 'since it is the will of heaven.' After weeping, sighing and kissing, they go their separate ways, their united heart cleft in twain. This is the timeless and universal topos of the *alba*, or lovers' parting at dawn, as it is manifested in a distinct repertory of madrigals published between 1570 and the early 17th century. My aim here is to outline the main characteristics of this subgenre, and of Marenzio's contribution to it. How did the *dialogo di partenza* develop and spread? What were the reasons for its vogue? What were its literary antecedents? And what was its role in the development of secular music?

A good place to start our investigation is *I lieti*

amanti, one of the madrigal collections published under the auspices of Ferrarese academies. On 8 August 1586 the Ferrarese courtier Ippolito Gianluca dedicated this collection to the Veronese academician Mario Bevilacqua. As Marco Giuliani points out in his edition of *I lieti amanti*,¹ the collection's contents must have been prepared well in advance of publication, as one of the contributors, Andrea Gabrieli, died in August 1585.² It is the first of two collections with a substantial Ferrarese input to be dedicated to Bevilacqua, the second being *La gloria musicale* of 1592. It is also the second or third Ferrarese anthology with which Gianluca is thought to have been involved, and the third of what we might call the Ferrarese 'theme' collections, in which each anthology is characterized by a literary motive or emblem (see table 1).³

Table 1 The Ferrarese madrigal anthologies, 1582–92

RISM	Title & publication details	Dedication	Theme & comments
1582 ⁵	<i>Il lauro secco</i> Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini	'A' virtuosi lettori' by 'I Rinovati'; announces <i>Il lauro verde</i> as sequel; ?collab. Tasso & Gianluca	withered, dessicated laurel tree as symbol of faded love
1583 ¹⁰	<i>Il lauro verde</i> Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini	None, but in honour of Laura Peperara, who married Count Annibale Turco, Feb 1583; collab. Tasso & Gianluca	flourishing laurel symbolizing a new love
1586 ¹⁰	<i>I lieti amanti</i> Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi & Ricciardo Amadino	to Count Mario Bevilacqua, by 'Hippolito Zanluca' [Gianluca], Ferrara, 8 Aug 1586	dual: <i>partenza</i> and <i>sdegno</i> ; origins in Gianluca's private <i>ridotto</i> ?
1591 ⁹	<i>Giardino de musici ferraresi</i> Venice: Giacomo Vincenzi	to Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara, by Giacomo Vincenzi, Venice, 1 Apr 1591	no particular theme
1592 ¹⁴	<i>La gloria musicale</i> Venice, Ricciardo Amadino	to Count Mario Bevilacqua, by Filippo Nicoletti, Ferrara, 'ultimo di Febrajo 1592'	no particular theme; product of private <i>ridotto</i> of Bonifazio and Luigi Bevilacqua

James Chater, who is active as a freelance editor, translator and writer, is the author of a book on Marenzio and of several articles on music, poetry and patronage in late-Renaissance Italy.

'Cara mia Dafne, a dio',
 dissi partendo all'apparir del sole.
 'A dio, Tirsi mio caro', ella rispose,
 e'l bel color di rose
 d'un pallor di viole
 sparse per la pietà del pallor mio.
 Ella piangeva ed io,
 io sospirava ed ella,
 dolente sì com'era vaga e bella.

'Dear Daphne, adieu', I said, as I departed when the sun rose. 'Adieu, my dear Thyrsis', she replied, and her lovely rose complexion was flecked with a pallor of violets out of pity for my pallor. She and I both wept; she and I both sighed—[she was] no less grieving than charming and beautiful.

The dawn is present in no.3 but not in no.13, while no.13 concludes with the theme of the divided hearts, and no.3 with the observation that the nymph is as sad as she is beautiful. However, these differences are outweighed by a remarkable uniformity of content, suggesting a high degree of editorial control. The poetry would appear to have been selected or written to very exact specifications. Most if not all of it must have been written specially for the collection, as none of the *partenze* has yet been located in literary sources or their authors identified.

Tasso's friendship with Gianluca and his interest in the philosophy of love mean he is the likeliest candidate as the poet and/or compiler of the *partenze* in *I lieti amanti*. It is easy to imagine how he may have been stimulated by the kinds of conversations about love that he recreates in his dialogues. For example, *La Molza, ovvero De l'amore* recalls a conversation at the Villa Medelana in 1583 with Ippolito Gianluca, Marfisa d'Este, Tarquinia Molza and Ginevra Marzi in which Tasso was asked to proffer a new definition of love.¹⁰ While there is no overlap between this dialogue and *I lieti amanti*, Tasso's own contribution to the *partenza* genre needs to be considered. This is a ballata, *Non si levava ancor l'alba novella*, written probably between 1586 and 1587.¹¹ The poem includes most of the motives common to the genre: dawn, sighing, kissing, exchange of greetings ('Addio'), pallor as a sign of grief, and departure as equivalent to death. A more specific verbal echo unites Tasso's poem with no.3 of *I lieti amanti*, *Cara mia Dafne, a dio* (given above), in which the lovers' rose complexion is described as turning to pallor. An even more

suggestive echo occurs between Tasso's poem (ll.8–14):

... e i dolci pianti
 ne l'accoglienze estreme
 mescolavan co' baci e co' sospiri.
 Mille ardenti pensier, mille desiri,
 mille voglie non paghe
 in quelle luci vaghe
 scopria quest'alma innamorata e quella.

... and their sweet tears at their final farewells they mingled with kisses and with sighs. A thousand ardent thoughts, a thousand desires, a thousand unsatisfied wishes were manifest in those lovely eyes of this and that enamoured soul.

and the text set by Paolo Virchi in *I lieti amanti* (no.15):

Le parole, i sospiri,
 le lacrime, i singulti e i cari baci,
 mille vaghi pensier, mille desiri,
 mille amorosi baci
 fur l'accoglienze estreme.

The words, the sighs, the tears, the sobs and the sweet kisses, a thousand lovely thoughts, a thousand desires, a thousand amorous kisses were their final farewells.

The precise relationship between Tasso's poem and those of *I lieti amanti* is hard to establish. Tasso's treatment is more expansive and pictorial, and his poem has a richer and more distinguished pedigree; indeed, Stefano La Via has traced affinities between *Non si levava*, Monteverdi's setting of it, Rore's *Da le belle contrade* and Titian's painting *Venere e Adone*.¹² However, if Tasso's ballata pre-dates the poems of *I lieti amanti*, one would expect it to have been published earlier; and, as we shall see, a poem exists from 1570 that is much closer to the *I lieti amanti* poems and would have been more likely to serve as a model. Whatever the exact chronology and flow of influences, the similarities between *Non si levava* and the dialogues in *I lieti amanti* suggest Tasso had a hand in preparing the texts of at least some of them.

Several of the motives found in the dialogues of *I lieti amanti* are in fact present in earlier poems. Our search for a prototype would naturally lead us to consider those settings of the poems in *I lieti amanti* that were published in the years immediately preceding the collection itself: Marco Giuliani identifies three such settings, two correctly and one incorrectly.¹³ The two correctly identified settings are both

of *Cara mia Dafne, a dio* given above; before the appearance of Vecchi's setting in *I lieti amanti* it had been set by Alessandro Milleville (1584) and Lelio Bertani (1585), both of whom also contributed to *I lieti amanti*. However, an even stronger candidate

as our prototype is a poem not included in *I lieti amanti* but set by Marenzio in his *Secondo libro de madrigali a6* (1584),¹⁴ where the resemblance to no.13 of *I lieti amanti* (Alberto L'Occa) is especially strong:

Marenzio

'Filli mia bella, a dio',
 'Caro mio Tirsi, a dio, poi che 'l ciel vuole',
 dicea sovr'Arno all'apparir del sole
 pastor afflito, afflitta pastorella;
 piangev'ei, piangeva ella,
 piangeva insieme Amore,
 e quinci e quindi si divise il core.

'My lovely Phyllis, adieu',
 'My dear Thyrsis, adieu, since heaven wills it',
 said on the Arno as the sun rose
 a grief-struck shepherd, a grief-struck shepherdess;
 he wept, she wept,
 Amor wept with them,
 and then and there they divided each other's heart.

L'Occa

'A dio, mio dolce Aminta',
 'Bella mia Silvia, a dio',
 disse sovra un bel rio
 pastor afflito, afflitta pastorella,
 ei sospirando ed ella.
 E 'l dividersi solo
 era cagion del duolo,
 ché partendo ambo ne' più freschi albori,
 si diviser da lor gli accesi cori.

'Adieu, my sweet Amyntas',
 'My lovely Sylvia, adieu',
 said on the bank of a river
 a grief-struck shepherd, a grief-struck shepherdess,
 he and she both sighing.
 And their separation
 was the sole cause of their grief,
 because as they both departed towards the verdant trees,
 their ardent hearts were divided from each other.

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Filli mia bella, a dio is as typical of the formula established in *I lieti amanti*; so too is *A dio, mio dolce Aminta*. However, the reference to the river Arno in the Marenzio is, for obvious reasons, nowhere to be found in the poems of the Ferrarese anthology, where unspecific words such as 'rio', 'riva' and 'linfa' are preferred. Marenzio's setting is for six voices; this and the fact that he was a non-Ferrarese would disqualify it from inclusion in *I lieti amanti*, where, instead, Marenzio contributed a piece in the *sdegno* category, *Falsa credenza havete*. Nevertheless, the poetic text of *Filli mia bella, a dio* could well have provided a model for the *dialoghi dell'addio* in *I lieti amanti*. Marenzio resided in Rome as an employee of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, the brother of Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara, and had close connections with the ducal court. He had contributed to—and indeed had been assigned a prominent place in—both the *Lauro* anthologies (1582–3) following his

visit to Ferrara in 1580–81.¹⁵ He appears to have struck up a friendship with Milleville and was, moreover, acquainted with most of the composers who wrote *dialoghi di partenza* before the publication of *I lieti amanti*: Eremita and Vecchi (certainly) and (probably) fellow-Brescians Bertani and Virchi (both of whom were closely connected to the Ferrarese court), and probably with other composers in Ferrara.¹⁶

Filli mia bella, a dio has the longest history of all the *dialoghi di partenza* discussed here.¹⁷ It was first set to music (with different names in the first two lines) in 1570 and 1571 by two Tuscan composers, Maddalena Casulana¹⁸ and Mauro de' Servi, and again by the Bolognese Camillo Cortellini in 1583, in each case as the *seconda parte* of a composition which begins with a *dialogo d'accoglienza*, where the lovers' meeting at sunset on the evening before is described in a stanza which carries obvious verbal

2 Marenzio, *Occhi lucenti e belli*, from the canto partbook of *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1582) (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, T.14)

pre-echoes of the *partenza*.¹⁹ The poem, shorn of its *prima parte*, was attributed to 'Cap[itano] Alessandro Spinola' in a poetic anthology published in Genoa in 1579 (here the first line reads 'A dio, Filli mia bella').²⁰ The Spinola were an old-established Genoese family of merchants, bankers and soldiers, and the Alessandro Spinola in question is a little tricky to identify, as there were many with that name. The figure generally known as 'Capitano' was a soldier who served under Emperor Charles V and distinguished himself in the Tunisian campaign of 1535.²¹ However, the poems published by Cristoforo Zabata²² seem to be too modern for the early 16th century, leaving one to suspect that he may have been confused with a younger family member of the same name. This younger member is probably the Alessandro Spinola who was married to Livia Spinola, herself a poet. This Alessandro was one of many members of the Spinola family who were in corre-

spondence with Tasso during his confinement, and to whom the poet wrote many letters begging them to use their influence to have him released.²³ Also Angelo Grillo, the Genoese poet and abbot (who also styled himself Livio Celiano), and Tasso's close friend at this time, was related to the Spinola family.²⁴ Whichever Alessandro Spinola wrote *A dio, Filli mia bella*, the Tasso–Grillo–Spinola connection may well have stimulated Tasso's interest in the *dialogo di partenza*. This Genoese dimension might also help to explain an apparent anomaly of *I lieti amanti*, the presence of a Genoese composer, Marcello Tosone, among the Ferrarese group.²⁵

We can now place the *dialogo di partenza* in a wider context. The *alba* tradition to which it is related is characteristic of numerous medieval Provençal and Old High German poems, where the lovers' relationship is usually adulterous.²⁶ However, there is no direct link between Cinquecento poetry

3 Marenzio, *Solo e pensoso*, from the basso partbook of *Il nono libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1599) (Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, T.29)

Table 3 continued

Date ¹	Text (Author) ²	Settings No. Sources ³	Conceits ⁴															
			Dawn	River	'A dio'	Heaven	Amore	Tears	Pallor	Sighs	Grief	Death	Return	Kisses	Beauty	Paradox	Jealousy	Adultery
1584	'Dolce Amarilli a dio.' / 'A dio Titiro mio'	1 Virchi, <i>Ia5</i> (1584; NV 2929)		*	*				*	*	*							
1585	'Cara mia Dafne a dio', / disse partendo a l'apparir del sole	4 Milleville, <i>Ila5</i> (1584; NV 1859); Bertani, <i>Ia6</i> (1585; NV 347); Vecchi, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰ ; Monte, <i>VIa6</i> (1591; NV 797)	*		*				*	*	*						*	
1585	Tirsi partir volea de la sua Filli, / ella dicea iterando amplessi e baci	1 Bertani, <i>Ia6</i> (1585; NV 347)			*				*		*			*		*	*	
1586	Tirsi dolente e mesto, / quando parte l'aurora e vien il sole	1 Fiorino, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰	*		*				*	*	*							*
1586	'A dio, bella Siringa, / bella Siringa, a dio'	2 Alberti, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰ ; Radesca di Foggia, <i>a5</i> ('Dolorosa partenza d'amanti') in <i>Madrigali ... libro primo</i> (1615; NV 2309)		*					*	*	*						*	*
1586	Due pallidetti amanti / vid'io press'una fonte	1 Milleville, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰		*					*		*							*
1586	Press'una verde riva / io queste voci udia	1 Tosoni, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰		*	*								*					
1586	'Dolce e vaga mia Clori, / a dio.' 'Silvano, a dio'	1 Agostini, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰			*				*		*	*					*	
1586	'A dio, dolce Aminta.' / 'Bella mia Silvia, a dio'	1 L'Occa, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰		*	*						*	*						*
1586	'A dio', Titiro disse. 'A dio', rispose / la bella Citarea	1 Virchi, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰			*				*	*	*				*			
1586	'Dolce Amaranta, a dio.' / 'Corinto, a dio', / dicea partendo allora	1 Isnardi, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰	*		*				*	*	*	*						*
1586	Filli al partir del suo caro pastore / dicea: 'Ben mio, se tu fai col mio core ...'	1 Luzzaschi, <i>a6</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1586 ¹⁰							*									
1586/7	Non si levava ancor l'alba novella, / né spiegavan le piume (Tasso)	1 Monteverdi, <i>Ila5</i> (1590; NV 1903); V. Gallo, <i>a5</i> in <i>RISM</i> 1598 ⁸ (with different continuation)	*		*				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Date ¹	Text (Author) ²	Settings No. Sources ³	Conceits ⁴																
			Dawn	River	'A dio'	Heaven	Amore	Tears	Pallor	Sighs	Grief	Death	Return	Kisses	Beauty	Paradox	Jealousy	Adultery	
1587	'A dio dolce mia vita', / dicea Clori gradita	1 G. Gabrieli, <i>a10</i> in <i>Concerti ...</i> (1587; NV 1046)			*													*	
1587	'Rimanti in pace', a la dolente e bella / Fillide Tirsi sospirando disse (A. Grillo; sonnet)	4 Monteverdi, <i>IIIa5</i> (1592; NV 1906) Marenzio, <i>XIa5</i> (1594; NV 1629) with 'Fillide' replaced by 'Cloride'; Ratti, <i>Ila4</i> (1596; NV 2319); S. Rossi, <i>Ia5</i> (1600; NV 2445); Casentini, <i>IVa5</i> (1607; NV 498) with 'Cloride'. Text first printed in <i>Rime di diversi celebri poeti dell'età nostra</i> , ed. G. B. Licino (Bergamo, 1587), p.133 (attrib. Livio Celiano)							*		*	*						*	
1599	'A dio Filli mia bella.' / 'A dio Damon', diss'ella	1 Monte, <i>a7</i> , <i>La Fiammetta</i> (1591; NV 734)			*										*			*	
1602	A dio Florida bella, il cor piagato / nel mio partir ti lascio, e porto meco (G. B. Marino; sonnet)	3 Marsolo, <i>a4</i> in <i>Madrigali boscarecci</i> (1607; NV 1730); Taroni, <i>Ia5</i> (1612; NV 2710); Monteverdi, <i>VIa5</i> (1614; NV 1932). Text first printed in G. B. Marino, <i>Rime ... parte prima</i> (Venice, 1602), p.89	*	‡	*	*			*		*			*	*	*	*	*	
1602	Misero Alceo, del caro albergo fore / gir pur conviemmi, e ch'al partir m'appresti	1 Monteverdi, <i>VIa5</i> (1614; NV 1932). Text first printed in G. B. Marino, <i>Rime ... parte prima</i> , p.89							*		*							*	
1639	'A dio Clori mia vita, / A dio Clori mio core'	1 Tarditi, <i>a5</i> in <i>Madrigali ... libro III</i> (1639; NV 2707)		‡	*					*	*			*	*	*	*	*	
1643	<i>L'incoronazione di Poppea</i> (G. F. Busenello; opera), Act 1 scene 3	1 Monteverdi (Venice, Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo)	*		*												*	*	*

Notes to table 3

1 Except in the case of Ovid, dates are the year of first appearance of a poem in print, whether in a musical or in a poetic collection.

2 All texts are madrigals unless otherwise stated.

3 *Ila4*, *IIIa5* etc. indicate *Il secondo libro de madrigali a4*, *Il terzo libro de madrigali a5* etc. In the case of the following prints, I have relied on information in *Il nuovo Vogel* (NV), i.e. E. Vogel, A. Einstein, F. Lesure and C. Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700* (Pomezia, 1977): NV 361, 440, 670, 1330, 2074, 2138, 2309, 3005.

4 'Heaven' = accession of lovers to the will of heaven. 'Amore' = Amor is present. 'Grief' = expression of grief apart from other listed words (e.g. 'languido', 'martiri', 'afflitto' etc.). 'Paradox' = paradoxical conceit, usually at the conclusion, involving the heart (e.g. the division of the lover's undivided heart, or the separation of each of the lovers from his or her heart) or the juxtaposition of the words 'partire' and 'restare'.

‡ = Arno; † = Tevere (Tiber)

of the first line from 'A dio Filli mia bella' to 'Filli mia bella, a dio'. This allows him to contrive a symmetrical arrangement of the words in lines 1-2—(a1) 'Filli', (b1) 'Filli mia bella, a dio', (b2) 'Caro mio Tirsi, a dio', (a2) 'a dio' (stated three times)³²—and to introduce intensified repetition (b1 and b2; a2). Tension is created by the move from F to G minor,

with the unresolved cadence in G minor followed by a chord of B \flat (see ex.2). Alberto L'Occa's contribution to *I lieti amanti* (the text of which, as we have seen, closely resembles Spinola's poem) starts in a manner similar to Marenzio's, with repeated statements of 'a dio' petering out into a half cadence and a 3rd-related chord following the pause.

Ex.2 Marenzio, *Filli mia bella, a dio*, bars 1-16 (after *Luca Marenzio: Opera omnia*, ed. B. Meier and R. Jackson, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, lxxii (American Institute of Musicology, 1976-99), iv, pp.190-94, at p.190)

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Short-breathed motives tossed between one group and another, primarily on the words 'a dio' but also spilling over to words like 'Te 'n vai, haime' (Rore), 'A dio ... il mio morire' (Virchi) and 'Ben mio ... ohime' (Luzzaschi) convey the feverish exchanges of the parting lovers and can lead to textual fragmentation (see ex.3). A similar technique involving close echoes between two groups and oscillation between two 5th-related chords can con-

vey sighing or distraught breathlessness, and is probably intended to suggest the sexual act. This division of the ensemble into two half-choirs is a peculiarly Roman technique that Marenzio may have developed from Macque,³³ and which he uses already in *Ridean gia per piagg'herbette e fiori*, one of the compositions in the manuscript compiled in 1580 to honour Laura Peperara (see ex.4). His use of the technique in *Deggio dunque partire*,

the three-movement *partenza* that opens *Il secondo libro de madrigali a5* (1581), dedicated to Lucrezia d'Este,³⁴ prompted Vecchi to quote Marenzio's motif directly.³⁵ Another Marenzian hallmark, found for example in *Spuntavan già per far il mondo adornò*,³⁶ is a simple stepwise motif, closely imitated, suggesting playfulness. A closely related motif is used at the conclusion of his *Filli mia bella, a dio*, where a theme in descending minims is com-

bined with an zigzagging version of itself. This theme was borrowed by Massaino (1587) and Ruffolo (1612) in their settings of the same text (see ex.5).

Marenzio's playful conclusion suggests that his reading of the text was not as serious as that of other composers. Spinola's emblematic text, in which emotions are enumerated rather than described, does not lend itself to expressive intensity. However,

Ex.3 (a) Cipriano de Rore, *Da le belle contrade d'oriente*, bars 30–35 (after *Cipriano de Rore: Opera omnia*, ed. B. Meier, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, xiv (American Institute of Musicology, 1959–77), v, pp.96–9, at p.97); (b) Paolo Virchi, *Dolce Amarilli a dio* (*Il primo libro de madrigali a5*, 1584), opening and closing lines; (c) Luzzasco Luzzaschi, *Filli al partir del suo caro pastore*, bars 9–11 (after *I lieti amanti*, ed. Giuliani, pp.118–22, at p.119)

(a)

(b)

Ex.3 continued

(b) continued

(c)

in *I lieti amanti*, pallor, sighing and tears tinge both texts and music with greater emotionalism. (This may have been Tasso's contribution, as the same trait is seen in his *Non si levava*.) Not surprisingly, the composers of *I lieti amanti* use chromaticism with telling effect—not especially the linear chromaticism of Marenzio but an indirect form involving false relations and the substitution of minor for

major chords, or vice versa.³⁷ This was part of an intensifying process which can be traced in later *partenze*, whether of the monologue or of the dialogue kind, including Monteverdi's setting of *Non si levava* (whose 'a dio' exchanges resemble Rore's in their use of chromaticism),³⁸ the settings of Grillo's sonnet 'Rimanti in pace', a la dolente e bella by Monteverdi (1592) and Marenzio (1594), and a series

of other extremely intense *partenze* in Marenzio's *Il sesto libro de madrigali a5* (1594) and *Nono libro de madrigali a5* (1599).³⁹

It fell to Monteverdi to transfer the *partenza* genre from madrigal to opera. Already in his setting of Marino's sonnet *A dio Florida bella, il cor piagato* (in his sixth book of 1614) he assigns the roles of the male and female speakers to soloists, while the

narrative parts are sung by all the voices of the ensemble, a procedure he also uses elsewhere. He uses strophic variation to unite the first quatrain (spoken by Florinda) with the second (Floro). Ideologically, Marino's nymph and shepherd belong with the creations of Tasso and Spinola, in an idealized landscape where pure emotions are conveyed in harmonious verse (and music). However, in

Ex.4 (a) Marenzio, *Ridean gia per le piagg'herbette e fiori* (*Il terzo libro de madrigali a5*, 1582; after Luca Marenzio: *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. A. Einstein, Publikationen älterer Musik, iv (Leipzig, 1929–31; R/Hildesheim–Wiesbaden, 1967), i, pp.118–21, at p.121); (b) Bartolomeo Piffari, 'A dio', *Titiro disse* (RISM 1583¹²); (c) Lelio Bertani, *Cara mia Dafne, a dio* (*Il primo libro de madrigali a6*, 1585); (d) Orazio Vecchi, *Cara mia Dafne, a dio*, bars 19–27 (after *I lieti amanti*, ed. Giuliani, pp.53–5, at p.55)

(a)

(b)

Ex.4 continued

(c)

Act I scene 3 of *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, the bedroom replaces the riverbank; pastoral idyll gives way to the squalid hurly-burly of domestic and imperial politics; and adultery is back with a vengeance, replacing vague allusions to heaven and fate. Monteverdi and Busenello knew the *alba* tradition and were able to modulate its conventions to comic effect: for instance, the lovers' exchanges lack the balance found in earlier dawn scenes: where Poppea is loquacious, Nerone is brusque; later on it is Nerone who soars with flights of rhetoric, while Poppea insistently tries to bring him

down to earth by asking him when he will be back. Only at the end, with the patently exaggerated exchange of 'a dio', is mutual harmony restored.

The *dialoghi di partenza* brought a new expressive dimension to the late Cinquecento madrigal, in which shifts of texture and rapid alternations between half-choirs could be used to convey intense emotional and erotic exchanges at the dramatic moment when lovers whose hearts are united are forced to part physically. At the heart of the phenomenon is the development, within a genre whose *raison d'être* was the imitation of conceits,

Ex.4 continued

(d)

Ex.5 (a) Marenzio, *Filli mia bella, a dio*, bars 63–5 (source as in ex.2, at p.94); Tiburtio Massaino, *A dio, Lidia mia bella* (*Il terzo libro de madrigali* a5, 1587), last line; Vincenzo Ruffolo, *A dio, Filli mia bella* (*Il terzo libro de madrigali* a5, 7, 1612), canto, last line.

(a)

(b)

(c)

of a system for representing the dialogue and interchanges between characters. One might surmise that the apportioning of dialogues to Ferrarese composers in *I lieti amanti* may reflect the availability of female singers to represent the female character and their relative scarcity elsewhere, a case, perhaps, of Ferrarese one-upmanship.⁴⁰ However, we should not rule out the possibility of an all-male ensemble, especially given that Gianluca in his dedication mentions only 'gentiluomini'. Just to complicate matters further, there is evidence that one of the scorn pieces, Porta's *Donna ben v'ingannate*, whose quinto and canto both use the C1 clef, was intended for two sopranos, though whether 'soprano' specifically denotes women is another matter.⁴¹ But whatever the exact composition of the ensemble, it is striking that the madrigals of *sdegno*, in contrast to the *partenze*, are all written in the person of the man. The poets even ram this point home by using the word

'donna' in eight out of ten cases (all except nos.10 and 20).

The sense of drama and a 'representative' immediacy of expression in the *dialoghi di partenza* were no doubt stimulated by the narrative nature of the texts; however, it would probably be wrong to interpret these characteristics as precursors of opera. Rather, the short motivic exchanges representing kisses, sighs, sobbing and so forth encouraged textual fragmentation of the kind found in more exaggerated form in the later, often elegiac madrigals of Luzzaschi, Fontanelli and Gesualdo, and also in Marenzio's *Nono libro*. The *dialogo di partenza* is thus closely intertwined with the lament—especially as it relates to the topos of the abandoned woman⁴²—and indeed overlaps with it: both genres, nourished by a rich repertory of literary sources and by the musical example of Rore, played an important role in shaping the late Cinquecento madrigal at a critical point in its development.

1 *I lieti amanti: madrigali di venti musicisti ferraresi e non*, ed. M. Giuliani (Florence, 1990), from which I draw my textual and musical examples (with minor differences of styling). For additional information, see M. Giuliani, 'I lieti amanti, un'antologia ferrarese di madrigali', *Giornale filologico ferrarese*, vi (1983), pp.73–8, 107–13.

2 See M. Morell, 'New evidence for the biographies of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli', *Early music history*, iii (1983), pp.101–22, at p.110.

3 I have not included in table 1 the manuscript collection of madrigals in praise of Laura Peverara (Verona, Società Accademia Filarmonica, Ms. 220) probably compiled in late 1580 under the auspices of the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona. For this and the first two anthologies in table 1, see A. Newcomb, 'The three anthologies for Laura Peverara, 1580–1583', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, x (1975), pp.329–45. In the case of *Il lauro verde*, on the reverse side of the title-page stands Tasso's sonnet *Laura, del vostro lauro in queste carte*, the last line of which reads 'Pur io li scelsi, e però miei li chiamo' ('I chose them, and so I call

them mine'); for further details, see *I lieti amanti*, ed. Giuliani, p.18 n.42. Some of the poems in *Il lauro verde* are by Tasso; see *Torquato Tasso: Rime*, ed. A. Solerti (Bologna, 1898), ii, pp.284–5. For a discussion of *La gloria musicale*, see J. Chater, 'Reflections of musical glory: Bonifazio Bevilacqua as poet and patron', *Musicologia humana: studies in honor of Warren and Ursula Kirkendale*, ed. S. Gmeinwieser et al. (Florence, 1994), pp.233–50.

4 In an undated letter to Maurizio Cataneo in Rome (*Le lettere di Torquato Tasso*, ed. C. Guasti (Florence, 1882–5), ii, pp.571–3 (no.545)), Tasso refers to 'signor Ippolito Gianluca, al quale non si può negare alcuna cosa, perchè egli solo mi cava alcuna volta di prigione' ('Signor Ippolito Gianluca, to whom one can deny nothing, for he alone sometimes takes me outside prison').

5 See Tasso's sonnet *Gianluca, ben poss'io di vaghi fiori in Tasso: Rime*, ed. Solerti, ii, p.432 (no.390); Newcomb, 'The three anthologies', pp.334–5. The sonnet that Tasso presented to Laura Peverara along with *Il lauro verde*, *In queste dolci ed amoroze rime* (*Rime*, ed. Solerti, ii, p.286 (no.193)) carries the

following rubric in the *Gioie di rime e prose del Sig. Torquato Tasso ... quinta e sesta parte* (Venice: Giulio Vasalini, 1587): 'Dedica alla signora Laura Peverara un libro di madrigali, ne quali si celebra il lauro, raccolto dal signor Ippolito Gianluca' ('[Tasso] dedicates to Signora Laura Peverara a book of madrigals in which the laurel is celebrated, collected by Signor Ippolito Gianluca').

6 A similar double structure was used in *Le rise a vicenda* (*RISM* 1598⁸), whose alternation between two poems set alternately by Sicilian and Roman composers is probably derived from *I lieti amanti*: see *I lieti amanti*, ed. Giuliani, pp.13–14.

7 For the motif of the *partenza* in Cinquecento poetry see *Giovan Battista Marino: Rime boscherecce*, ed. J. Hauser-Jakubowicz (Ferrara, 1991), p.69 nn.146–7; for *sdegno*, see *Giovan Battista Marino: Rime amoroze*, ed. O. Besmi and A. Martini (Ferrara, 1987), p.186. For a comparison of the literary, iconographical and musical sources of the *partenza*, see also S. La Via, *Il lamento di Venere abbandonata: Tiziano e Cipriano de Rore*, *Musicalia*, vi (Lucca, 1994).

8 *Settings of 'Ardo sì' and its related texts*, ed. G. C. Schuetze, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance*, lxxviii–lxxix (Madison, WI, 1990).

9 My summary is taken from *I lieti amanti*, ed. Giuliani, pp.21–2.

10 The dialogue was written in 1585 and first published in the *Discorso in lode del matrimonio et un dialogo d'amore del Sig. Torquato Tasso* (Milan: Pietro Tini, 1586) and in the *Gioie di rime e prose ... quinta e sesta parte* (1587). It is reprinted in *Torquato Tasso: Prose*, ed. E. Mazzali (Milan and Naples, 1959), pp.201–15.

11 'Non si levava ancor l'alba novella, / né spiegavan le piume / gli augelli al nuovo lume, / ma fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella, / quando i due vaghi e leggiadretti amanti, / ch'una felice notte aggiunse insieme / come a canto si volge i vari giri, / divise il nuovo raggio; e i dolci pianti / ne l'accoglienze estreme / mescolavan co' baci e co' sospiri. / Mille ardenti pensier, mille desiri, / mille voglie non paghe / in quelle luci vaghe / scoprìa quest'alma innamorata e quella. / E dicea l'una sospirando allora— / Anima, addio,— con languide parole; / e l'altra—Vita, addio—le rispondea,— / addio, rimanti;—e non partiansi ancora / innanzi al nuovo sole. / E 'nnanzi a l'alba che nel ciel sorgea / e questa e quella impallidì vedea / le bellissime rose / ne le labbre amoroze, / e gli occhi scintillar come facella. / E come l'alma che si parta e svella / fu la partenza loro:— / Addio, ché parto e moro!— / Dolce languir, dolce partita e fella!' Quoted from *Tasso: Le rime*, ed. Solerti, ii, p.414 (no.379). It is included in the autograph Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. II.F.16, which according to Solerti (op. cit., i, p.26) was compiled between 1581 and 1586 (when Tasso was confined in Sant'Anna), with a few poems added in 1587, after his release. It was first published in the *Gioie di rime e prose ... quinta e sesta parte* (Venice: Giulio Vasalini, 1587; the dedication is dated 24 March). Since it is absent from the *Rime et prose ... parte quarta* (Venice: Giulio Vasalini, 1586; dedication dated 1 April), it seems likely that it was written in 1586 or early 1587.

12 La Via, *Il lamento di Venere abbandonata*, esp. pp.59–70.

13 The incorrect identification is *A dio, bella Siringa* (*I lieti amanti*, no.5, set by Innocenzo Alberti), which Giuliani (*I lieti amanti*, p.25) claims was set as by Vecchi as *A dio, bella Clorinda* (*RISM* 1583¹¹). In fact the latter continues: '... disse Damon cortese / ed ella "a dio" gli rese / et fu il contento tale / che l'alme d'ambi dui / restaron prese ...'.

14 *Luca Marenzio: Opera omnia*, ed. B. Meier and R. Jackson, *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, lxxii (American Institute of Musicology, 1976–99), iv, pp.190–94.

15 S. J. Ledbetter, *Luca Marenzio: new biographical findings* (PhD diss., New York U., 1971), pp.43–58; M. Bizzarini, *Marenzio: la carriera di un musicista tra Rinascimento e Controriforma* (Rodengo Saiano, 1998), pp.36–49. Marenzio's prominent role in the two anthologies may have been due to the influence of Cardinal Luigi.

16 Ledbetter, *Marenzio*, p.122, cites Milleville's letter to Girolamo Galeazzi in Florence (4 May 1589) enclosing a letter to Marenzio (Modena, Archivio di Stato, Archivio per materie: musica e musicisti, busta 1 (Milleville)). Marenzio had known Eremita as a fellow employee of Cardinal Luigi d'Este in Rome: see Marco Bizzarini's article elsewhere in this issue. Vecchi probably had some private dealings with Marenzio, since he composed an arrangement of Marenzio's unpublished comic madrigal *O messir ... O patrù ...* in his *Selva di varia ricreazione* (1590): see W. Kirkendale, 'Franceschina, Girometta, and their companions in a madrigal "a diversi linguaggi" by Luca Marenzio and Orazio Vecchi', *Acta musicologica*, xlix (1972), pp.181–235. Bertani and Virchi were both from Brescia, the nearest large town to Marenzio's birthplace, Coccaglia, and were more or less the same age as him. According to the local historian Ottaviano Rossi, Marenzio and Bertani were both pupils of Giovanni Contino, the organist at Brescia cathedral, although the possibility that Marenzio was a boy chorister at the cathedral is conjecture: see Bizzarini, *Marenzio*, pp.70 (n.12), 73. Virchi

entered the service of Alfonso II some time between 1579 and 1581, remaining there till the dissolution of the Ferrarese court in 1598. Bertani was never formally employed at Ferrara, but his *Primo libro de madrigali a6* (1585) was dedicated to the Duke, and, as his letter of dedication makes clear, he had enjoyed access to the *musica secreta*. His privileged position *vis-à-vis* the Ferrarese court may explain why he was accorded the honour of being paired with Luzzaschi in the two six-voice madrigals (nos.19, 20) concluding *I lieti amanti*.

17 The importance of *Filli mia bella, a dio* was first observed in Giuliani, 'I lieti amanti', p.79, though Marenzio's setting is not mentioned.

18 Casulana was born in Casole d'Elsa, near Siena. The dedication of her *Il primo libro de madrigali a4* (Venice, 1568) to Isabella de' Medici suggests at least a desire for contact with this famous music-lover, and she also had contacts with Verona and Milan; see *I madrigali di Maddalena Casulana*, ed. B. Pescerelli (Florence, 1979), pp.5ff. Given the Tuscan origins of the first two composers to set this poem, the reference to the river Arno in line 3 can hardly be a coincidence.

19 For a transcription of the poetic text see *I madrigali di Maddalena Casulana*, ed. Pescerelli, pp.22–3.

20 *Scelta di rime di diversi eccellenti poeti di nuovo raccolte e date in luce parte seconda*, ed. Cristoforo Zabata (Genoa, 1579), p.126. Spinola is also the author of a more extended treatment of the same theme, the four-strophe canzonetta *Partir convienmi ahi lasso*, in which the shepherd and the nymph speak in alternate strophes (*Scelta di rime*, ed. Zabata, p.142). This poem was set to music four times, its musical fortune following in the wake of *A dio, Filli mia bella*.

21 On Alessandro Spinola the soldier under Charles V, see Aubert Le Mire, *Gentis Spinulae illustrium elogium* (Cologne, 1611), pp.26–7. Both Agostino della Cella, *Famigli [sic] di Genova antiche e moderne, estinte e viventi* (Genoa, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. C.IX.19–21, f.194r) and Michele Giustiniani, *Gli scrittori liguri* (Rome, 1667), p.45, state that he was both a man of



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letters and a soldier. Raffaele Soprani, *Li scrittori della Liguria* (Genoa, 1667; R/Bologna, n.d.), p.13, equates the 'Capitano' who fought under Charles V with the poet of the Zabata anthologies (see below). I have been unable to identify the genealogy of this older Alessandro. The younger one was the son of Girolamo the son of Gioachino: see the family tree dated 1800 in Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Ms. 491, f.74v, and N. Battilana, *Genealogie delle famiglie nobili di Genova* (n.p., n.d.), s.v. 'Spinola', p.139. I have found no evidence that the younger Alessandro was a 'capitano'.

22 The poems of 'Cap. Alessandro Spinola' (*maschere, capitoli, sonnets*) can be found in the following anthologies compiled by Zabata: *Nuova scelta di varie cose piacevoli di molti nobili et elevati ingegni* (Genoa: Antonio Bellone, 1570), pp.43-68; *Nuova scelta di rime di diversi begli ingegni frà le quali ne sono molte del Tansillo* (Genoa: Antonio Bellone, 1573), pp.146-50; *Scelta di rime di diversi eccellenti poeti di nuovo raccolte e date in luce parte seconda* (Genoa: Crisoforo Zabata, 1579), pp.124-49; and *Della scelta di rime di diversi eccellenti auttori parte prima* (Genoa: Crisoforo Zabata, 1582), pp.252-8. Also, two sonnets on the death of Charles V were published in *Il secondo volume delle rime scelte da diversi eccellenti auttori* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1565), pp.74-5.

23 In *Camillo Cortellini madrigalista bolognese*, ed. R. Dalmonte (Florence, 1980), p.38, Rossana Delmonte assumes that the Alessandro Spinola in question is the one connected with Tasso, and points out that Tasso wrote a letter to Alessandro Spinola thanking him for a sonnet he had sent him; see *Le lettere di Torquato Tasso*, ed. Guasti, ii, pp.488-9 (no.464). Guasti's placing of the letter implies that it was written in about January 1586.

24 For details, see E. Durante and A. Martellotti, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. alias Livio Celiano, poeta per musica del secolo decimosesto* (Florence, 1989). Dalmonte (*Camillo Cortellini*, p.30 n.131) mistakenly writes that the Livia who married Spinola was Grillo's sister. However, Grillo had no sister called Livia, and 'Spinola' was the

maiden name as well as the married name of the poet Livia. Her paternal father and grandfather were called Alessandro and Lorenzo respectively; see *Genealogie delle famiglie nobili di Genova*, s.v. 'Spinola', p.37.

25 The fact that Tosone reset 22 of the 31 texts of *Il lauro verde* in his *Primo libro de madrigali a4* (1590) also suggests a close relationship with Ferrarese musical circles.

26 My thanks to Leofranc Holford-Strevens for suggesting this line of enquiry.

27 For comments on the absence of *albe* in the Sicilian school and the *dolce stil novo*, see R. Glynn Faithfull, 'Italian', in A. T. Hatto, *Eos: an enquiry into the theme of lovers' meetings and partings at dawn in poetry* (The Hague, 1965), pp.390-418. For the Ovid connection, see J. Saville, *The medieval erotic 'alba': structure as meaning* (New York and London, 1972), pp.122ff.

28 *Heroides*, xviii.125-6: 'Ei mihi! cur animis iuncti secernimur undis, / unaque mens, tellus non habet una duos?' ('Ah me! why are we joined in soul and parted by the wave; two beings in one mind, but not of one land?'); see Ovid, *Heroides and Amores*, trans. G. Showerman, Loeb Classical Library (London, 7/1958), p.253.

29 Compare Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, no.33 (*Gia fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella ...*) with *Non si levava*, l.4 (given above) and the *Epistole d'Ovidio di Remigio* [Nannini] *fiorentino divise in due libri* (Venice, 1571), p.229: 'Gia fiammeggiava l'amorosa stella / che viene inanzi à l'alba ...'

30 Glynn Faithfull, 'Italian', pp.122ff., mentions the presence of the dawn parting in folk poetry, in Boccaccio's *Filostrato* and in Luigi Groto's play *La Hadriana* (1578; a possible source for Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*).

31 According to G. Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna* (Bologna, 1890-93), iii, pp.249-50, 'Bartolomeo fu [= the son of] Marcantonio Piffari di Bologna' was elected 'maestro di cappella, (o veramente cantore, musico e precettore dei canonici, mansionari e cherici nel canto fermo e figurato)' of the cathedral at Carpi (near Modena) in 1575, but

he does not cite his source. R. Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon* (Graz, 2/1959-60), vii, p.446, describes Bartolomeo Piffaro as Bolognese but states that it was Marcantonio who was appointed to the post in Carpi, a mistake repeated in W. Boetticher, 'Marc'Antonio Pifaro', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1949-73), x, col.1270, and in J. I. Pierce, 'Marc'Antonio Pifaro', *New Grove*, xiv, p.744.

32 Although according to the rules of prosody the word 'dio' in l.2 has one syllable, Marenzio sets it in the same way as in l.1, with two, thus allowing the leaning effect on 'a dio' with the suspension in bars 9-10.

33 See J. Chater, *Luca Marenzio and the Italian madrigal, 1577-1593* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1980), i, p.14. The theorist Artusi called the device 'gioco'.

34 It has been suggested that Marenzio's choice of this text alludes to his leave-taking from Ferrara (Ledbetter, *Marenzio*, p.56) or from Lucrezia d'Este (Bizzarini, *Marenzio*, p.43 n.27). Perhaps this madrigal had a special

meaning for Ferrarese composers.

35 Compare ex.4d, 'com'era vaga', with Marenzio's *Deggio dunque partire in Luca Marenzio: Sämtliche Werke; Madrigale für fünf Stimmen*, ed. A. Einstein, Publikationen älterer Musik, iv/1, vi (Leipzig, 1929-31), iv/1, p.45, at 's'io resto vivo'.

36 *Marenzio: Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Einstein, iv/1, pp.6-7, at 'tra lor scherzando' ('frolicking among each other'). Compare Virchi's *Dolce Amarilli a dio* (1584) at the words 'il lasciarti, pastorella'.

37 For example, no.1 (Fiorini), bars 3 ('mesto', 'sad'—see ex.1), 22 ('piange', 'weeps'), 36 ('core', 'heart'); no.11 (Agostini), bars 2-4 (false relations), 22-3 ('mi farà morire', 'will cause me to die'), 39-40 ('dolente e bella', 'grieving and beautiful'); no.15 (Virchi), bars 16-17 ('impallidiva insieme', 'together grew pale').

38 Compare ex.3a with Monteverdi's setting in *Claudio Monteverdi: Madrigali a 5 voci libro secondo*, ed. A. M. Monterosso Vacchelli, *Instituta et Monumenta*, series I, v/3 (Cremona,

1979), p.97. See also La Via, *Il lamento di Venere abbandonata*.

39 *S'io parto, i' moro, e pur partir conviene* (Ridolfo Arlotti), *Clori nel mio partire* (?Bonifacio Bevilacqua), *Stillò l'anima in pianto* (Antonio Ongaro), *Ah dolente partita* (Guarini) *'Rimanti in pace', a la dolente e bella* (Angelo Grillo alias Livio Celiano), *Parto o non parto and Credete 'l voi ch'io viva*—all in *Marenzio: Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Einstein, vi.

40 My thanks to Tim Carter for suggesting this.

41 Giuliani (*I lieti amanti*, pp.29-30) points out that Porta's piece carries the rubric 'con dui soprani' in his *Quarto libro de madrigali a5* (1586). It is one of two settings of the same text; in the other (transcribed in *I lieti amanti*, ed. Giuliani, pp.129-32), the quinto occupies a range between the alto and the tenor.

42 On the 'abandoned woman' theme, see the articles by Stras, Holford-Strevens, Carter, MacNeil, Brooks and Cusick in the 'Laments' issue of *Early music*, xxvii/3 (Aug 1999), pp.358-449.

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