

MUSIC AND THE EARLY MODERN IMAGINATION

Massimo Ossi, *editor*

# Singing Jeremiah

*Music and Meaning  
in Holy Week*



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The musical score consists of three staves. The top staff (A) is a soprano line with lyrics 'La - med, La - med, Ma - tri - bus su - is di - xe runt: U - bi'. The middle staff (T1) is a tenor line with lyrics 'La - med, La - med, Ma - tri - bus su - is di - xe runt: U - bi'. The bottom staff (T2) is a bass line with lyrics 'La - med, La - med, Ma - tri - bus su - is di - xe runt: U - bi'. The music is in a simple, homophonic style with a clear melodic line and supporting parts.

EXAMPLE 3.3. Porta, F6/L2, “Lamed. Matribus suis.”

der’s composers for other feasts) were appropriate to their devotional ethos. But a Lamentations cycle was written by the premier Franciscan composer Costanzo Porta and transmitted in a copy made by a Canon Regular of Ss. Salvatore (a small Augustinian-rule order, henceforth CRSS) in mid-Lent 1605. Certainly the “irregular” verse selection marks the set as pre-1590, and the textual choices, ignoring the beginning of chs. 3 and 4, are found only in this cycle.<sup>40</sup> Porta’s Lessons reiterate the gestures of Mode 3 throughout, while the five-part *voci pari* writing adds to the somber qualities of the Lessons. The cycle is framed by quotes of the *alter tonus* at “Incipit lamentatio” (T1) and “Incipit oratio” (B2), and by a motto, a *cambiata* figure E-F-D-E. This latter provides the top voice’s pitch content for entire verses: at F5/L2’s “Jerusalem”; the opening verse of F6/L1 “Heth. Cogitavit Dominus” (example 3.3); “Caph” of F6/L2; almost all of F6/L3; the end of SS/L1 (“Bonum est Dominus sperantibus . . . Jerusalem, convertere”); the close of SS/L2 (“Jod. Ponet in pulvere”); and the first measures of “Incipit oratio.” This economy of motives and scoring seems related to the composer’s penchant for creating pieces within strict compositional limits, possibly also for such ensembles as the six men without choirboys that he supervised at Padua Cathedral from 1590–95 (and hence not for internal Franciscan use).

On a larger scale, the Conventual Valerio Bona wrote his eight-voice Lessons (*Lamentationi della Settimana Santa*; Venice, 1616) for the order’s

basilica of S. Fermo in Verona, linking the texts to the Passion of “sweetest” Christ, in a personal Christology far from complex exegetical allegory. As in other genres, the Franciscan use of accessible musical styles written on a large scale (ultimately a reflection of the order’s Christian optimism) was quite evident in this collection, consisting of Lessons, *alternatim* canticles (variably florid or recitational) and *falsobordone* Misereres for each Day. Bona’s volume figured in several seventeenth-century inventories, and perhaps his now-lost eight-voice Responsories were a companion to this print. He had already produced at least one, possibly two, other Lamentation cycles for smaller forces.<sup>41</sup> Other prints, many lost, suggest that the Conventuals were quite involved in Tenebrae polyphony both at the Santo in sixteenth-century Padua but also in the musical chapels of cathedrals entrusted to them.<sup>42</sup>

But they were far from alone. That a CRSS musician copied Porta’s Lamentations hints at the involvement of these regulars in Triduum music; it was the only occasion for polyphony allowed at their 1519 general chapter.<sup>43</sup> In the upsurge of Triduum music of the 1560s, Cornelio of Brescia CRSS published the deceased Jacquet’s Lessons in 1567, dedicating the edition to the prior of the house where he was stationed in that year, the rich foundation of S. Salvatore of Venice (with easy access to music printers). This otherwise unknown canon might have had access to the Lamentations via his assignments; in 1551, while Jacquet was still alive, Cornelio was listed in the annual summary of the order’s membership as being in residence at the CRSS house of S. Stefano in Mantua.<sup>44</sup> Thus he might have gotten the music—even the changed version he would later have printed—from the composer himself.

Compared with the manuscript version of this cycle in I-Bc Q.23, the print embellished and paraphrased the chant tone, which had been presented plainly in the codex. The 1567 volume also changed the demarcation of the F5 Lessons, redoing the text of L2’s opening from “Gimel. Migravit Judas . . .” to “He. Facti sunt . . .” and truncating “Nun. Vigilavit jugum” from the end of L3. Whoever adopted the Lessons for print reduced the musical texture by omitting the top part in sections of the two SS Lessons, and recomposed the “piteous” end of 3:22 (“non defecerunt miserationes”) with new chromatic passages. These operations modernized the musical text by providing more audibly “weeping” music.

The next CRSS member to publish was Canale, whose OHS of 1579 is a large, equal-voice print *a 4* (two Passions, Lamentations, Responsories for all three Nocturnes, separate canticles and their antiphons, CFEs, *falsobordone* Misereres). It provided for performance by either *voci pari* or *voci piene* (by allowing for octave transposition upward of the tenor), thus rendering it suitable for religious houses of either sex and churches with or without choirboys. The Bologna CRSS house of S. Salvatore also owned copies (now

in I-Bc) of Contino's second OHS and of Asola's four-voice OHS (1584), thus testifying to Triduum music in their own churches. In 1561, the general chapter's resolutions ("De simphoniato cantu") used the precedent of Holy Week to permit polyphony also for Easter Week, Pentecost, Assumption, All Saints, Christmas, and Epiphany.<sup>45</sup> This small order was able to project itself into urban devotion precisely by means of its Tenebrae music, a wedge that led to its use of polyphony for many occasions.

Among the "new active orders," Jesuit exegetical interest in Jeremiah paralleled their musical practice. In certain but not all situations, members of the Society employed polyphonic Lamentations in their Office: as noted above, on the Indian missions, or at the *Collegio Germanico* in the late Cinquecento, which heard variously one Lesson in chant (1583, the others presumably in polyphony), or two chanted and one polyphonic (1591). The Paris college normally used polyphony for at least one Lesson in Triduum liturgy, although chant also featured.<sup>46</sup>

But Michele Lauretano's tenure at the *Germanico* in the 1570s–80s also hosted improvisational singing of Jeremiah in a two-day penitential retreat with other music (including Lasso's locally popular *Deus misereatur nostri*) in 1583. Here the "cantare sull'organo" of "much" of the entire Lamentations shared a Sunday evening's recreation with "melancholy motets."<sup>47</sup> Although how much text was sung (the book contains some 154 verses) is unclear, this must refer to ornamented improvisation on a chant tone—and not florid polyphony—given that something like one hundred verses must have sounded. At least three different polyphonic sets of Lessons were permitted by superiors for informal singing in post-1590 Munich, and the local prohibition of this recreational music from Passion Sunday to Easter again shows that Jesuits must have performed Jeremiah's verses outside the Triduum.<sup>48</sup> On the Paraguay missions, the order later used sung verses during Holy Week processions on the Guaraní reductions to accompany the path of many confraternity members, including flagellants.<sup>49</sup>

Other outwardly focused orders also participated in the diffusion of Office music. Perhaps it was the power of Fabrizio Dentice's *falsobordone Miserere* that led to a 1593 Milanese edition dedicated to the Somascan Gabriele Brocco (a former president of his order) at S. Maria Segreta. For this edition, an anonymous composer/compiler set the Responsories of Nocturnes II–III (the same selection as Victoria's 1585 OHS) almost entirely in choral recitation and issued them together with the long-deceased Dentice's florid Lessons and his formula for Psalm 50.<sup>50</sup> This print advertises the "Lamentationes" of the famed lutenist on its title page but is actually an OHS, including the Benedictus antiphons and two canticles in florid settings, and two other *falsobordone Misereres*. Although the Somascans had only recently allowed polyphony in

their foundations, enough musical disorders had already accumulated at this church to justify corrective measures at the general chapter of 1590.<sup>51</sup> Evidently the restrictions had no effect on the dedication of the highly expressive Lessons, and their presumed use would indicate a high level of musical complexity in the pedagogical order. The composer and liturgist G. B. Rossi, a sometimes-unwilling member of the Somascans in Genoa, wrote Lessons in sixteenth-century style published well after their composition, in 1628.

#### ITALIAN BENEDICTINES AND THE MUSICAL OFFICE

The permission of Holy Week music for the CRSS is a miniature version of the trajectory of the more numerous and wealthier Cassinese Benedictines.<sup>52</sup> Their printed chant anthology, the *Monastici cantus compendiolium*, was first issued in 1506, and includes a note-against-note polyphonic first verse of F5/L1 (also found in six manuscript sources of the fifteenth century, not all of them related to the Congregation). The 1523 and 1535 editions of this book (with a new title, *Cantus monastici formula*) add an *alternatim* setting of the Benedictus for three voices. The printed compendium must have been meant for those male foundations without a strong musical tradition and also for use in female houses that followed the Congregation; certainly one copy of the 1535 edition was owned by nuns.<sup>53</sup> As late as the 1550s, such *cantus planus binatim* was the public face of all polyphony for the Cassinese.

Although the monks' historical specialization in the Office could explain their move toward issuing settings in print, it would have been hard to anticipate what actually came out: the massive volume of Ferrarese in 1565, followed by four OHS editions by other Cassinese between 1580 and 1604: Falconio (working in Brescia, 1580), Chiaula (in Palermo, 1597), Serafino Cantone (Milan, but written at Subiaco, 1603), and Gregorio Zucchini (Venice, before 1604, now lost), and a final set of Lamentations in 1622 (by Domenico Borgo, also in Venice).<sup>54</sup> Tiburzio Massaino's 1609 *Quaerimoniae*, with its Responsories, canticles, antiphons, and Passions, was dedicated to the Cassinese abbot of S. Pietro in Modena, Giustiniano de' Giordani da Este. The same composer's Lamentations of a decade earlier (the two prints perhaps make up an OHS, given that the Responsories are scored for five voices as are the 1599 Lessons) were inscribed to an Olivetan monk.<sup>55</sup> Out of forty-five total editions known to have been published by the Congregation's composers from 1565 to 1630, seven are for Holy Week Offices. No other order displays such an intense connection to all kinds of Triduum polyphony.

The Congregation's history suggests why Pampuro and Guidi might have had Paolo's OHS issued, how its background would have been perceived,

The actual repertory performed is hard to track. Possibly Cavalieri's works from the 1590s were performed into the new century. Peri's large-scale music in the 1620s, not an output traditionally associated with the composer, is lost.<sup>39</sup> Caccini's rote learning of 1619 suggests recitation formulae serving as a basis for improvisation; there is also a sense of the composer himself worrying about Medici perception of such practice. The surviving *voci pari* Responsories for four voices published by Marco da Gagliano in 1630 seem in style and scoring to be Duomo music, distant from what this repertory must have been. Ironically, in view of the large-scale nature of the music, the one surviving candidate is Frescobaldi's solo-voice F5/L3, preserved in the mid-century Roman manuscript I-Bc Q. 43, and possibly for the 1633 *Tenebrae* for which he had written pieces. The Giulia's diaries seem to exclude the piece from S. Pietro's practice, where he was active before and after his time in Florence.

One textual clue is the omission of "irae" in Frescobaldi's 1:12 (thus "in die furoris sui"). Although the word appears universally in Italian breviaries and in all the Giulia's polyphonic Lessons that the composer would have known earlier as organist of S. Pietro, it is missing in one post-1590 source: Cavalieri's first cycle of Lessons preserved in the Vallicelliana manuscript. Either Frescobaldi took his text from hearing Cavalieri's music in Rome, or the omission represents a Florentine variant of the verse.<sup>40</sup>

The surface chromaticism and ornamentation of Frescobaldi's Lesson have parallels in his solo motets of 1627.<sup>41</sup> Despite the general perception of the composer's lack of education, his F5/L3 is rhetorically clear. Cast on D/*durus*, the Lesson demarcates verse structure by pitch; in 1:11, the sub-verses move to F, then A, with another weak cadence back to D at "facta sum vilis," without grinding dissonances or solecisms. Precisely at "O vos omnes" and "si est dolor sicut dolor meus" of 1:12, Frescobaldi turns to chromaticism, saving the highest vocal register around the high G<sub>5</sub> and followed by an anabasis (A<sub>4</sub>-D<sub>5</sub> chromatically) for "De excelso misit ignem" (example 5.1). Although not the most difficult piece in Q. 43, Frescobaldi's setting shares its irregular passage-work ("locutus est Dominus") with other Florentine repertory.

Outside the court, Responsories followed Tuscan traditions, as with the *Responsoria omnia* (Venice, 1607) of the Augustinian Girolamo Bartei, working in Volterra, for four *voci pari*, and including the Lauds items. The eight-voice anthology *Responsoria hebdomadae sanctae* (Venice, 1612), compiled by the otherwise unknown Ruggiero Argilliano, features composers from Lucca, including the Guami family. But the volume, dedicated to Pellegrino Bertacchio, the new archbishop of Modena and the former archpriest in Argilliano's hometown of Castelnuovo di Garfagnana, goes beyond local repertory.<sup>42</sup> It includes composers from Emilia, Genoa (Simone Molinaro), and

Mem. De ex - cel - so mi-sit i - gnem in  
 os - si-bus me - is et e - ru - di - vit me, ex - pan - dit re - te pe - di-bus  
 me - is, con-ver - tit me re - tror - sum, po - su - it me de - so - la - tam

EXAMPLE 5.1. Frescobaldi, F5/L3 (Q. 43), "Mem. De excelsis."

the Veneto (four by the recently deceased Giovanni Croce, Pietro Lappi, and Viadana). Despite the scoring, the style of these Responsories is traditional, as is Bartei's.

On the other hand, the title—*Musici modi in Responsoria Divini Officii*—of the Sienese nobleman Tomaso Pecci's 1603 four-voice set points to its "aesthetic," not functional, conception. The dedication, shot through with the language of the Song of Songs, is to St. Catherine of Siena, mentioning only her intercession for the composer and his city, with no reference to the Passion.<sup>43</sup> Pecci's Responsories are as unconventional as his madrigals and canzonettas. The cycle opens with an F5/R1 *In monte Oliveti*, written with close attention to the change of literary voice from "oravit ad Patrem" to "Pater, si fieri potest." Between the two phrases, there is a full cadence, double-bar, and then a simultaneous declamation of "Pater" with unusual voice-leading. Pecci's response to direct emotion is clear at the opening of R2, as "Tristis est anima mea" generates chromaticism between the first two sonorities, along with grinding cross-relations (B $\flat$ / $\sharp$  for "mea") and a minor/major third duality at "usque ad mortem" that must be a sign for Christ's own agony in Gethsemane. Although the rest of the Responsory is not quite so unstable, still "fugam" occasions two different *fugae*.

There is a good deal of surface chromaticism and unusual voice-leading in other Responsories. The most charged passages, whether or not Passion-related, also are underlined by unusual pitch relations; the initial perfect

fourth gesture of *Plange quasi virgo*, for instance, is immediately repeated up a step up but diminished (B-E vs. C#-F#), and *O vos omnes* reiterates a D-E<sub>b</sub>-D figure a semitone higher. The opening of *Tenebrae factae sunt* is generated by the darkness of the Crucifixion that it sets: cast in Mode 2tr (on G), as will only become clear at the end of the repetendum, it begins with *mollis* sonorities on E<sub>b</sub> and a bass line leaping down an octave for the “shadows.” But in an uglier way, Pecci emphasized the “guilt” of the opening sentence’s “Judaei” via chromatic heightening and a full cadence with bar-line (example 5.2). This musical attack by anaphora is not found in other settings of this text across the peninsula—apart from Gesualdo’s Responsories of 1611, whose setting also reiterates the word, underscoring it again by pitch relations.<sup>44</sup> It is not clear if Gesualdo imitated Pecci, but given their lack of obligation to patrons or institutions, this seems to have been a personal choice on the part of the two nobles, a sign that anti-Jewish sentiment was not confined to lower classes.

Another set of Responsories, geographically close to Argilliano’s and Pecci’s but stylistically quite different, gives a sense of Triduum in smaller places. After a checkered career through church posts in and out of his Olivetan order, Barnaba Milleville was brought to the small cathedral of Sarzana (north of Massa and Carrara) as the organist on 26 February 1623. The Duomo seems to have had no regular singers, and musicians were imported for the major feasts of Trinity Sunday and the Invention of the Cross (3 May). In Milleville’s first Holy Week, he incurred extra expenses, probably vocalists from elsewhere.<sup>45</sup> Later that year, he was reprimanded for this evidently too-frequent practice, and there are no records of Triduum payments until his 1626 departure.<sup>46</sup>

But in 1624, he published his Responsories under a title referring to the “exequies” of Christ, with a dedication to Stefano Salvago, a relative of the local bishop G. B. Salvago.<sup>47</sup> The scoring includes fourteen items *a 4* (C/T1/T2/B), *6 a 3*, and *7 a 2*, all with continuo; there are also solos and duets inside the four-voice pieces, and Milleville indexed oral practice by his use of *falsobordone* in eight Responsories. The combination of reduced scoring and recitational writing results in undemanding soprano and bass parts, suggesting that the trustworthy singers were the two tenors. The note in the index that these parts could be sung by sopranos allowed for female monastic performance (e.g., at S. Vito in the composer’s native Ferrara, or S. Chiara across the street from Sarzana Cathedral), while the title-page’s suggestion of the contents as motets for Forty Hours’ devotions showed their utility.

The opening F5 items immediately provide the collection’s range. *In monte Oliveti* is almost entirely in *falsobordone*, but *Tristis est anima mea* eschews

EXAMPLE 5.2. Pecci, F6/R5 (1603), “Tenebrae factae sunt.”

the technique. The latter starts off as an expressive solo for one of the tenors, with *mollis* gestures at the opening. In a complete reversal of all scoring norms for the genre, most of the text is a solo, but the verse (“Ecce appropinquat hora”) is for tutti. In the repeat of the B section, the full ensemble joins in only for the last words (“immolari pro vobis”). Milleville thus made this text into a dramatic motet.

In other items, pitch expression takes the place of scoring or texture; *Plange quasi virgo*, another tenor duet, starts in a C/*mollis* sonority, turning via a chromatic anabasis to E/*durus* and eventually G/*mollis*. The piece does not reach what will turn out to be its F tonality until the end of the repetendum; at the da capo, Milleville rewrote the chromaticism, ending the Responsory after the repetition of the A section and before the liturgically necessary third iteration of the repetendum. Thus the last words heard are “wail, shepherds, in sackcloth and ashes.” The local synodal restrictions on the *strepitus* had been reissued by the bishop Salvago in 1618, warning against peasants who “disrupted”—in their terms, commemorated—Tenebrae with noise-makers, horns, and agricultural tools, and limiting wooden sticks in Lauds to the size of the little finger. For the prelate, as for Guidi, such ruckus was Satan’s work.<sup>48</sup> Milleville’s edition replaced the rural *charivari* racket with stylized music, just as it ultimately substituted improvised song with notated polyphony.



51. Reynaud, *La polyphonie tolédane*, 318–319 and Ramos López, *La música en la catedral de Granada*, 1:104.

52. On the Week's repertory as a whole in Mexico City, Marín López, *Los libros de polifonía*, 1: 62–69.

53. Rimonte's cycle has now been published from the almost complete choirbook (ed. Izquierdo/Margules, *Lamentationes Hieremiae Profetae sex vocum*). Pujol's two Lessons in OC 11altre are taken from the complete cycle in E-Bbc M.1623 (with two verses omitted in one setting).

54. The extract from Bonatti's letter of 14 April 1604 is in Veronelli, "Strategie politiche," at 399. For the "musique si douce et harmonieuse qu'elle nous rauissoit tous" that Joly experienced in Valladolid, see Barrau-Dihigo, "Voyage de Barthélemy Joly," at 557.

55. My discussion is indebted to Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 200–230. For the concept of Jewish music as "noise" and the meaning of Palestrina's *Impropria*, see HaCohen, *Vocal Fictions*, 34–39. None of the early modern commentators on the book seems to have noted the irony of Lamentations being used against the people of its origin.

56. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 207.

57. The "Discorso" is in I-Ma, B. 18 *sup.*, f. 1; "Tre sono le cause che mi hanno indotto a leggere . . . le Lamentationi di quel gran Profeta Jeremia in questi tempi. La prima è stata per sodisfare alcuni che di ciò mi hanno ricorso . . . La seconda causa è che essendo noi vicini alla Settimana Santa nella quale nelli nostri Divini Offitij recitiamo queste lamentationi et non da ogni persona si sa la causa perche noi diciamo Aleph, Bed, Gimel."

58. Still, modern performances of some Triduum texts should carry disclaimers. Insofar as some sixteenth-century Lamentations linked to the Austrian Habsburgs may conceal anti-Ottoman attacks (see chapter 4), similar considerations apply; this anti-Turkish interpretation is quite present in Peter Martyr Vermigli's Reformed commentary on the book.

59. Odenthal, *Die 'Ordinatio Cultus Divini et Caeremoniarium,'* 95–99 and 180–181.

60. *Lateinisches Gesang-Buch*, 72–88. The fragments of the 1564 *Kirchenordnung* also mention Tenebrae, given in Sehling, *Die Kirchenordnungen* (Leipzig, 1909), 3:379.

61. "Die Passion nebst den Lamentationen in der Finstermesse [*recte*: Finstermette] werden jetzt von den Primanern allein, ohne Zutuung eines Kollegen abgesungen," cited from C. Döhring's unpublished "Annales Gymnasii Zittaviensis" by Gärtner, *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte*, 1:117.

62. For some examples of Holy Week employment of musicians in Venice, see Quaranta, *Oltre San Marco*, 79–83.

63. The documents from Bergamo, Padua (at the Santo), and Parma are published in Baroncini, "L'ufficio delle Tenebre," while the phenomenon of florid Triduum music in such institutions and in Venice's S. Marco is well discussed in the wider aesthetic context of Holy Week by Padoan, "Ethos devozionale," 25–29.

64. Capello, *Lamentationi, Benedictus et Miserere*, op. 3 (1612) and Burlini, *Lamentationi per la settimana santa*, op. 7 (1614).

65. For Zaragoza, González Marín, "Aspectos de la practica musical."

66. *Lamentationes Hieremiae Prophetae*, (1553); on the chapel's forces and repertory, Czepiel, *Music at the Royal Court*, 134–135 and 168.

67. For nuns and the Triduum in Siena, see the model study of Reardon, *Holy Concord*, and for the familiar reports (*Mercure galant*, Lecerf de la Viéville) on Tenebrae in Parisian houses, see Gaudelus, *Les offices*, 109–113 and *passim*. There is no evidence that the "angelic" tone of Responsories led to settings for high voices only.

68. "Die 6 Aprillis 1569. Ordine da servarsi universalmente per le Monache di Bologna. Che alli offitij delli tre giorni della settimana santa non si canti cosa alcuna in canto figurato eccetto il Benedictus, et il Miserere qual si canti[no] in falso bordone in Choro, et non in altro locho." (AAB, Misc. V.808, fasc. 6); my thanks to Craig Monson for this citation.

69. Sas, *La música en la Catedral de Lima* pt. 1, 69.

70. In 1752, the Swiss composer Franz Josef Meyer von Schauensee wrote monophonic Lamentations for the church of St. Leongard in Lucerne which are rhythmicized versions of the chant formula ("Lamentationes 3 dierum," in CH-Lz). I-Bc Lit. 92 is a cycle of chant Lessons independent of the tone and in contemporary style written c. 1780 (the pitch centers of each Day's Lamentations are *c*, *f*, and *d* respectively).

71. On Irizar, Olarte Martínez, "Miguel de Irizar y Domenzain." The Lessons by Corselli are listed in *Catalogo del Archivo de Música del Palacio Real de Madrid*; I use the *catalogo* number as there is a newer system of *cajallegajo* not reflected in this work.

72. "In cena Domini finis est Quadragesime: initium paschalis observantiae, veteris legis conclusio; novi testamenti inchoatio"; this is found in the breviaries of Passau (1519) and Konstanz (1509). Cf. Beleth, *Summa*, 167, "quia novum testamentum nunc incipit et vetus terminatum fuit."

73. Timoteo, *In divinum officium*, f. 73.

74. Zacchia's *Il vitto quaresimale* gave detailed instructions on eating only once a day, at lunch, during all Lent.

75. *Lamentationes* (1553).

76. For such a conjuncture see Sherr, "Ceremonies for Holy Week."

77. The visitation to the Sistina's singers of 5 May 1630 (ASV, Congr. Visita Apostolica [Rome], vol. 4, f. 1139ff.) noted among their vacation periods "Dalla Domenica delle Palme sino al mercordì santo 2 [giorni]" (with a marginal note "per prepararsi per le lettioni / per le fatighe della 7.na Santa"), i.e. Monday and Tuesday off for rehearsals. In some years this was anticipated by a week (e.g., 1607; Rostirolla, "Il Diario Sistino del 1607," at 132–133). An overview of the practice is in Annibaldi's comprehensive history of the chapel, *La cappella musicale*, 9 and 250–254.

78. Cf. López Gay, *La liturgia en la misión del Japón*, 175.

79. See Bouchard's travel diary to Naples in 1632 (*Journal II*), and Antonio Canova's journal of his time in Rome (*Scritti*, 151).

80. Some pre-1600 breviaries and antiphoners cast this Responsory in Christ's first-person voice, "oravi" instead of the more familiar "oravit," while the early Cinquecento antiphoner for the Week in Florence's Duomo (I-Fd, G. 22, f. 45v) adds "Jesus" after "oravit."

81. The orders in Rome, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, *Editte e bandi* 1566–1609, f. 47ff., contain forty years' worth of evidently ineffectual restrictions on the Thurs-

Finally, two printed Lesson cycles point to solo singing in Siena. Annibale Gregori's *Cantiones ac sacrae lamentationes* (Siena, 1620) mixes Lessons and motets, as does Alessandro della Ciaia's *Lamentationi sagre e motetti* (Venice, 1650); both have been well studied.<sup>49</sup> Like Milleville's Responsories and G. B. Rossi's Lessons, Gregori's settings include late examples of solo *falsobordone* along with "accentuated" singing and melismas often placed at the end of sub-verses.<sup>50</sup> Both editions almost entirely eschew direct reference to the Tone-6 chant formula.

The 1650 edition testifies to nuns' practice of the Tenebrae Office, as its composer noted its origin as music for female houses. The unexpected and quite difficult melismas are not restricted to the ends of verses, while the letters are highly elaborate; a "Jod" in della Ciaia's SS/L1 features simultaneous metric proportions (C against 12/8). The shifts of *mollis/cantus* system (F5/L2's "Peccatum peccavit") and local chromaticism with hexachordal uncertainty requiring use of the *quadro* sign ("Non esset auxiliator" in the same Lesson, or "Vide, Domine, et considera" in L3's 1:11C) highlight the charged nature of the settings. Amid the striking chromaticism and dissonances of della Ciaia's Lessons, the Prayer seems to have been meant as a rhetorical summation, as in the exegetical tradition. This is most evident in its internal pitch relations among verses; at the very beginning (v. 1b), its exordium on *G/mollis* swerves suddenly to markedly flat regions in the middle of the subverse for "respice opprobrium nostrum," "look upon our reproach," cadencing on A♭. The following v. 2, "Hereditas nostra" immediately changes system from *mollis* to *durus*, arriving at the very distant A♯. Of the 11 verses, only three end on the same pitch on which they began, and the reference to ancestors' sins in v. 7 ("Patres nostri peccaverunt") led della Ciaia to the widest pitch contrast inside any verse, as the opening on A *durus* leads to C♯ and then back to a *mollis*-inflected B♭ by verse's end. That these traversals of the widest possible parts of the tonal spectrum should occur twice in the Prayer highlights the text's role as climax. Overall, della Ciaia's idiosyncratic Lessons provide one benchmark by which to measure other solo pieces around 1650.

#### ROME AT MID-CENTURY

In Rome, the Triduum also produced both devotional literature and polyphony. The poetic paraphrase of Jeremiah by Niccolò Strozzi (1590–1654; *Parafrasi delle Lamentationi di Ieremia*, Rome, 1635) was based on the liturgical Lessons in their sung form, as the author noted in his dedication to Cardinal Antonio Barberini.<sup>51</sup> It was accompanied by short moralizing commentaries. With his version of F6/L3, Strozzi turned to the Passion, as he linked

3:2 ("Me minavit et adduxit in tenebras et non in lucem") to Christ's sacrifice: "In His Passion, Christ was brought by His Father into the shadows of pain, without any light of comfort."<sup>52</sup> The poet continued the "darkness" imagery in his remarks on both the "optimistic" verses of SS/L1 (3:22ff. "Misericordias Domini") and the gloomy L2 (4:1ff; "Quomodo obscuratum est aurum"): "God's mercy, like morning light, illuminates ['stenebra'] the night of our misfortunes . . . The gold of justice is darkened by the shadows of sin."<sup>53</sup>

Strozzi's paraphrase provides a context for mid-century Roman Lamentations, which largely come from two sources, the local manuscript I-Bc Q. 43, and the roughly contemporary printed *Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetae* (Rome, 1653), the first publication of Pietro Cesi (c.1630–1703). They both seem to reflect the practice of smaller or national churches outside the major basilicas. Among musical visitors, Harrach recorded only the Papal singers' ornamentation of psalm verses on Holy Wednesday 1655. On this occasion, cardinals from the ongoing conclave came to the Cappella Sistina, although almost no one stayed to the end of Tenebrae. On Thursday, as the cardinals mixed with the singers on their balcony, Harrach noted Lamentations and the Miserere without comment.<sup>54</sup> The prelate's remarks inaugurated the long tradition of outsiders' reports on the music for the psalm in the Sistina.

Cesi's op. 1 is dedicated to Giannicolò Conti (1617–98), the new Referendary of the Tribunals of the Apostolic Signature. It was signed by an unnamed cleric at the Roman house of S. Pantaleo, and this must mean someone from the circles of the disgraced Piarist order, which had been dissolved by Innocent X for its misdeeds.<sup>55</sup> Possibly the inscription was meant to enlist Conti's support in a rehabilitation campaign, the first step of which would be taken by Alexander VII in 1656. The dedication referred to the "religiosa familia" that the congregation had been forced to become after being stripped of its status as order in 1646. But it noted that the pieces had been sung at S. Pantaleo and were now being printed.<sup>56</sup> The edition also includes an appendix transposing its soprano vocal line into alto and tenor range with instructions for altering the continuo part.

Cesi's own links to the Piarists dated to his education by their founder, Joseph Calasanz, through the agency of his father, Giovanni Federico Cesi, the third Duke of Acquasparta. However, he became a priest after the order had been degraded and could not admit new members; hence he was technically not part of the congregation. Still, the Piarist chronicler Giancarlo Caputi noted his training by Calasanz, his ordination, musical and rhetorical studies, later residence at S. Pantaleo (along with teaching music to poor children as if he were a member of the order), and his use of a substantial patrimony to fund music for the church's titular feast.<sup>57</sup> Cesi's will in 1703

gave the Piarists his musical instruments as well as money to perform (exclusively) his compositions on the feast of St. Pantaleon, the titular celebration of the now-rehabilitated house.<sup>58</sup>

In the order's troubled days, one cause for scandal was regulars who played instruments and sang secular music. The only Piarist allowed to teach music in the order's schools was a "Domenico Antonio," banished from Rome for his offenses in 1642.<sup>59</sup> Even the 1665 restatement of the 1659 general chapter presumed only chant for Tenebrae.<sup>60</sup> The choice of Lamentations as an op. 1—the first edition of Lessons in Rome since Palestrina's in 1588 and the only one printed thereafter in the city—carried social meaning as well. Given the penitential character of the genre, the print was both a public act of atonement for the order's offenses and a symbol of Tenebrae's spread to this previously unmusical congregation.

The repertory in manuscript is suggestive in different ways. With its twenty-three Lessons, Q. 43 continues the "repository of Lessons" tradition as opposed to neat cycles, here all solo settings except for two duets for soprano and mezzo (C1/C2 cleffings). About half the contents are anonymous, with three by G. F. Marcorelli, and two settings each by Giacomo Carissimi and the architect/musical amateur Carlo Rainaldi. Single Lessons are attributed to Frescobaldi, Carlo Caprioli, and "M.M.," probably Marco Marazzoli; the other thirteen have no composers and no concordances, and the music must date from the middle third of the century.<sup>61</sup> The source is related by paper types to other cantata manuscripts in I-Bc; the best recent study gives those found in Q. 43 to Rome after 1650.<sup>62</sup> The Lessons are followed by six Passion/penance pieces in the vernacular (including a contrafactum placing Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna* in the voice of Mary Magdalen), and six early oratorios; given the six weeks of Lent, this suggests a *quaderno di Quaresima*, a book with all the extra music for the season.

Its assembly may be reflected in its structure (table 5.1). Lessons by Carissimi, Rainaldi, Frescobaldi, Marcorelli, and "M.M." are all contained in different gatherings, suggesting they were obtained separately. Multiple anonymous items in a single fascicle include pieces for more than one Day (e.g. F6/SS on ff. 35r-42v), while others are organized by Day (three SS Lessons at ff. 48r-55v). The volume seems to have come about piecemeal; possibly the anonymous works were by a single person with a personal relationship to its owner. Although the opening three Lessons for F5 seem to be a set by Carissimi and Frescobaldi, there are five extra items for the Day. For F6 there is an additional L1 but no L3 at all, and SS has six settings for its L2 and a duplicate Prayer.

Practicality is evident, both in the uncorrected scribal mistakes in Frescobaldi's Lesson or in an anonymous, technically difficult, F5/L3 (f. 33), but

TABLE 5.1.  
I-Bc, Q. 43, Lessons and fascicles

| FASC. | FOLIO | COMPOSER       | LITURGICAL PLACEMENT | FINALIS/SIGNATURE  |
|-------|-------|----------------|----------------------|--|
| 1     | f. 1r | Carissimi      | F5/L1                | D <i>durus</i> /F <i>mollis</i> ; transposition; chant citations |
|       | 5r    | "I.C."         | F5/L2                | B $\flat$ <i>mollis</i>  |
| 2     | 7r    | Frescobaldi    | F5/L3                | D <i>durus</i>   |
| 3     | 11r   | —              | F5/L3                | E or A <i>durus</i> ; transposition                              |
| 4     | 15r   | —              | F5/L1                | A or C <i>durus</i> ; transposition                              |
|       | 16v   | Carlo del Viol | F5/L1                | incomplete   |
| 5     | 23r   | Rainaldi       | F5/L3                | E with #   |
|       | 27r   | Rainaldi       | F5/L2                | F <i>mollis</i>  |
|       | 30r   | —              | F5/L2                | E <i>durus</i>   |
| 6     | 32v   | —              | F5/L3                | A or C <i>durus</i> ; transposition                              |
| 7     | 35r   | —              | F6/L1                | G <i>mollis</i>  |
|       | 37v   | —              | F6/L2                | F <i>durus</i>   |
|       | 40r   | —              | SS/L3                | F <i>mollis</i> ; chant  |
| 8     | 43r   | —              | F6/L1                | F <i>mollis</i> ; chant; like f. 53r                             |
| 9     | 48r   | —              | SS/L1                | C <i>mollis</i>  |
|       | 50v   | —              | SS/L2                | G <i>mollis</i>  |
|       | 53r   | —              | SS/L1                | F <i>mollis</i> ; chant  |
| 10    | 57r   | "M.M."         | SS/L2                | E <i>durus</i> ; a 2   |
| 11    | 61r   | Marcorelli     | SS/L2                | G <i>mollis</i>  |
| 12    | 65r   | Marcorelli     | SS/L2                | G <i>mollis</i>  |
|       | 67v   | —              | SS/L2                | G <i>durus</i>   |
| 13    | 70r   | Marcorelli     | SS/L2                | G <i>mollis</i> ; a 2  |
|       | 76r   | —              | SS/L3                | F or D <i>durus</i> ; transposition                              |

Total: 23 Lessons = F5: 3/L1; 3/L2; 4/L3; F6: 2/L1; 1/L2; 0/L3; SS: 2/L1; 6/L2; 2/L3



also in the transposition indication for four items. Like the voices of the two duets, these are related by thirds: Carissimi's opening F<sub>5</sub>/L<sub>1</sub>, notated on D/*durus*, has instructions for performance up a minor third on F/*mollis*. More mystifying is the case of four anonymous Lessons (ff. 11r, 15r, 32v, 76r), whose notation seems to make no sense until it is read as a combination of two different pitch levels written on a single system. All four have an odd G-clef (G<sub>4</sub>) for the vocal part and a sometimes differing transposition signature in the continuo. On f. 11, either the vocal part must be read in G<sub>2</sub> clef but down a fourth, with the continuo at pitch, or the bass up the same interval with the top line at pitch in treble clef. Elsewhere (ff. 15, 32, and 76) the transposition is a third (either the voice taken down or the continuo up). In this setup, accidentals are read according to the inflected pitches in the transposed clef. The procedure points to singers of different tessitura, as in Cesi's edition.

On the other hand, the volume covers liturgical needs haphazardly. Since there are no items for the end of F<sub>6</sub> Matins, its owner might have been accustomed to leave Thursday's Tenebrae early, so as to organize processional music elsewhere, and the quantity of SS Lessons indicates multiple occasions for the Friday service. Ultimately, Q. 43 seems a personal collection of Lessons for someone who had responsibility for accompanying them.

Two L<sub>1</sub>s, one for F<sub>6</sub> (f. 43r) and one for SS (f. 53r) show strong similarities: their titles are essentially the same, and their letters alternate simple gestures derived from chant with much more florid moments. The former uses recitation over a static bass in 2:8–10, a procedure also found in the latter's 3:24 ("Pars mea Dominus"). In both these F/*mollis* pieces, the later verses (F<sub>6</sub>'s 2:10–11; SS's 3:28–29) turn to the pitch center D; finally, the "Jerusalem" refrain in both, reaching up to the high G<sub>5</sub> in the vocal line, is essentially the same music. The similarities point up the continuing power of improvisatory models in this seemingly highly stylized repertory.

The two duets by "M. M." and Marcorelli form part of the large SS/L<sub>2</sub> group, and share their C<sub>1</sub>/C<sub>2</sub> cleffing but not their pitch centers (E *durus* and F *mollis* respectively). The former Lesson separates its sub-verses by declamation (4:1 goes from recitation to imitation) and includes a florid conclusion for vv. 5–6 of the Lesson, both verses firmly on the *finalis* E. Marcorelli's version uses more theatrical declamation (repeating "Quomodo" from 4:1a before "dispersi sunt lapides sanctuarum" in 4:1b), wanders further afield tonally, and uses the image of the "cruel daughter of my people" in 4:3b to swing the music around to *mollis* regions on E<sub>5</sub>. His solo setting of the same verse resorts only to surface chromaticism in a stable tonal structure (f. 62; example 5.3). As might be expected from a composer who had spent time in Umbria and Rome before working at Rome's Chiesa Nuova in 1646–47

The image shows two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a vocal line (C) and a continuo line (B). The vocal line is written in a G-clef (G<sub>4</sub>) and the continuo line is written in a bass clef. The first system has lyrics: "Sed et lamiae nu-da-ve - runt mam-mam, la-cta-ve - runt ca - tu-los su - os". The second system has lyrics: "fi - li - a po - pu-li me - i cru-de - lis, qua-si stru - ti - o in de-ser - to." There are some numerical markings (6, 5, 7, 6) under the continuo lines, possibly indicating fingerings or breath marks.

EXAMPLE 5.3. Marcorelli, SS/L<sub>2</sub> (Q. 43), "Sed et lamiae."

(whence the piece might stem), Marcorelli's approaches to this Lesson are less virtuosic but more varied rhetorically.<sup>63</sup>

#### A PROPHET ENVOICED AND OUTCAST

Several factors brought Lamentations closer to dramatic music, as can be seen in Lessons' proximity to oratorio in Q. 43 and in the "theatrical" Medici practice of the Office. The first case of the prophet as a singing role was probably the 1671 Passion *sepolcro* for Vienna, *Il Trionfo della Croce*, with a libretto by Nicolò Minato and music by G. F. Sances. However, the character of Jeremiah does not paraphrase Lamentations in this piece, the case also for another libretto by Minato including the prophet, *I frutti dell'albero della Croce* (with music by Antonio Draghi, 1691).<sup>64</sup> At the end of the important oratorio by G. A. Bergamori and G. P. Colonna, *La caduta di Gierusalemme* (Modena, 1688), the prophet foretells his future lamenting without reference to the book or the Lesson tone.<sup>65</sup>

But in the anonymous *Lamenti profetici nella Passione di Cristo*, produced for the Accademia dello Spirito Santo in Ferrara in 1676 and repeated seven years later, Jeremiah does indeed cite both his books. These are three short cantatas, with characters and a narrator, serving as *introduzioni* to the Miserere on the Days, one each evening. Possibly the now-lost music was by Giovanni Legrenzi, if it is indeed the same piece sent by an Oratorian in Fano to Venice in 1700.<sup>66</sup> Here, four prophets—also including David, Ezekiel, and Isaiah—foretell the Passion, glossing verses both from their "own" and from other prophetic books. Jeremiah turns to a Lamentations verse only in the second strophe of his aria in the Wednesday piece.<sup>67</sup> In a later recitative, the "Spiritus oris nostri Christus captus est" verse from ch. 4 was reworked to