

Marino's Spiritual Poems in Music: A Study of Early Modern Sources



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Abstract

Giambattista Marino (1569—1625) was recognized as the most significant Italian poet of the early seventeenth century, who left a remarkable contribution not only to literature but also in music through his lyric verses. While his influence on the contemporary vocal music—including that of Monteverdi—is widely recognized, his significant output in spiritual lyrics and their dissemination in a large number of musical sources has not been the subject of systematic study. This thesis is a first attempt at such an undertaking, exploring Marino's spiritual poems thematically through comparative analysis of their musical settings. The first chapter offers an empirical overview of sources containing Marino's spiritual lyrics and musical settings, tracing their dissemination and reception in the early-seventeenth century. The rest of the main chapters explore devotional songs based on Marino's lyrics on themes of Seven Sorrows of Mary, Crown of Thorns, lives of saints and finally, joyful events in Jesus's life. Music is considered in broader contexts of the early-seventeenth literature and devotional practices by bringing together scholarship from literature, musicology, theology, and cultural studies. This thesis treats songs based on Marino's spiritual lyrics as part of devotional experiences, investigating how music facilitates such experience through ways in which it adapts Marino's text. The conclusion summarizes a series of observations on the overall musical style of these songs, their common representation of certain literary topoi—such as the Neo-Platonic concept of spiritual Venus and Cupid—and the role of patronage in their inception.

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Introduction

Giambattista Marino (1569—1625) was the most influential Italian poet of the early seventeenth century, who left an enormous mark on both literature and music. After abandoning training in law, Marino left his birthplace, Naples, around 1600 for Rome, where he established patronage with Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. He traveled to Venice to publish his first successful work, the two-volume *Le Rime* (1602), which was later expanded into a three-volume *La Lira* (1614). After serving Duke of Savoy from 1608 to 1615, Marino left for Paris and stayed there until 1623, enjoying the patronage of the French royal court of Maria de Medici and Louis XIII. It was in Paris that he published his most acclaimed work, *L'Adone* (1623). He returned to Italy in 1623 and stayed there until his death in his native Naples in 1625.¹

Marino's life coincided with a period in which the genre of Italian vocal music flourished, exemplified by famous composers such as Monteverdi, who himself championed Marino's lyrics later in his compositional career. While Marino's amorous lyrics and their musical settings have been studied extensively—especially in a Monteverdian paradigm—Marino was equally a champion of spiritual lyrics, a literary genre that is today recognized as constituting a significant place in the post-Tridentine Italian literature.² Marino's spiritual lyrics were widely disseminated in sources of devotional music in the early-seventeenth century, but this particular body of works has never been the subject of a systematic study. The current thesis is a first attempt at such

¹ For a general biography of Marino, see James V Mirollo, *Poet of the Marvelous: Giambattista Marino* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), Carlo Caruso, *Adonis: The Myth of the Dying God in the Italian Renaissance* (Bloomsbury, 2013), 51-55. For a more detailed biographical account, albeit in Italian, see Alessandro Martini, 'Marino, Giovan Battista,' *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 70 (Rome: ² See footnote no. 11 below.

investigation, thereby coming to a deeper understanding of the fascinating cultural landscape of the early modern era in which poetry, music, and devotion intersected intricately.

Review of the current scholarship

Throughout the Western Europe, the first half of the seventeenth century (1600-1650) saw development of a vast and diverse repertoire of the so-called devotional songs, or songs sung in spiritual exercises, recreation, and public or private devotions outside of Catholic Church's official liturgies (such as the Mass).³ The spiritual madrigal as a musical genre was born in the mid-sixteenth century and has received considerable scholarly attention as many studies revealed their fascinating musical and cultural facets as they developed throughout the rest of the century.⁴ The equivalent spiritual songs of the seventeenth century, despite being as copious as their predecessors in the previous century, has received much less attention. Rather, scholarly discussions of the early

³ Robert L. Kendrick, 'Devotion, Piety and Commemoration: Sacred Songs and Oratorios,' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 324-77.

⁴ Works by Katherine S. Powers and John Joseph Fiore are starting point of reference for an overview of history, text, and style of the sixteenth-century spiritual madrigals and *canzonette spirituali*. See Katherine Susan Powers, 'The Spiritual Madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy: Definition, Use, and Style' (PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 1997); and John Joseph Fiore, 'The *Canzonetta Spirituale* in the Late Sixteenth Century in Italy' (PhD diss. The University of Chicago, 2009). A number of close readings within the late sixteenth-century repertoires also exist; for exploration of relationship among patronage, poet, musical setting, and spirituality in Philippe de Monte's first book of *madrigali spirituali* (1581), see Daniele V. Filippi, "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies: Philippe de Monte's First Book of Spiritual Madrigals (1581)," in *Journal of the Alamire Foundation*, edited by David Burn and Katelijne Schiltz, Vol. 3 No. 2 (Brepols, 2011): 208-234. For analysis of cadential and modal structures of spiritual madrigals by Palestrina and Lasso, see Anne-Emmanuelle Ceulemans, "Cadential and Modal Treatment in Palestrina's *Delle Madrigali Spirituali a Cinque Voci Libro Secondo* (1594) and Lasso's *Lagrima di San Pietro* (1595)," in *Musurgia*, issue 2, Vol. XXVI (2019), 71 – 94. Some scholars have identified functions and coherent theme that make up a sub-category of the genre of late-sixteenth-century spiritual madrigals as a whole, as exemplified by Antonio Chemotti's discussion of the use of madrigals in the context of burials and commemorative ritual and Ginte Medzvieckaite's study of spiritual madrigals based on Italian adaptation of Penitential Psalms. See Antonio Chemotti, *Polyphonic Music pro mortuis in Italy (1550-1650). An Introduction*, (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2020); and Ginte Medzvieckaite, 'Humans Echoes of Divine Words: Spiritual Madrigals based on Italian Poetic Paraphrases of Latin Sacred Texts' (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2020).

seventeenth-century Italian vocal music tend to focus on the secular songs or new genres in a more theatrical vein, such as opera, cantata, or oratorio.⁵

Margaret Rorke first brought to focus a more specific group of devotional songs in the first two decades of the seventeenth-century by analyzing the historical context—as well as textual and musical analysis—of spiritual songbooks by Cifra and Quagliati.⁶ Rorke, however, used the term ‘spiritual madrigal’ to describe Cifra’s *Scherzi Sacri* and Quagliati’s *Affetti Amorosi Spirituali*, framing them as continuation of the sixteenth-century spiritual madrigals, despite increasingly diverse styles and nomenclature being applied to newly emerging songs based on spiritual subjects of the early seventeenth-century, many of which used texts by prominent authors. Indeed, in parallel to the spiritual madrigal, a new musical genre of *canzonetta spirituale* had already developed by the end of the sixteenth century.⁷ Because of the proliferating styles and genres of vocal music based on spiritual lyrics in the early seventeenth century, many scholars have resorted to using the term ‘devotional’ music or songs as umbrella terms to describe them.⁸ The term implies that these songs were not meant to be sung as part of liturgical

⁵ For an overview of secular Italian madrigals of the first half of the seventeenth century, see Margaret Mabbett, ‘The Italian Madrigal, 1620-1655’ (PhD diss., Kings College London, 1989) and Margaret Mabbett, ‘Italian Madrigal Texts in the Early Seventeenth Century’ in *Liber Amicorum John Steele: A Musicological Tribute*. Festschrift Series No. 16. ed. by Warren Drake (Pendragon Press. Stuyvesant, NY, 1997), 307-336. For history of oratorio and its antecedents, see Howard E. Smither, ed., *Antecedents of the Oratorio: Sacred Dramatic Dialogues, 1600-1630*, vol. 1, Oratorios of the Italian Baroque (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1985), and Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, Vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977). For sacred operas, see Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631-1668* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981); and Virginia Christy Lamothe, ‘The Theater of Piety: Sacred Operas for the Barberini Family (Rome, 1632-1643)’ (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009).

⁶ Margaret Rorke, ‘The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra’ (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1980).

⁷ Fiore, ‘*Canzonetta Spirituale*.’

⁸ For one of earlier treatments of Catholic devotional music as a genre, see Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 119-132. For a lucid discussion of definition, overview, and performance contexts of ‘spiritual’ and ‘devotional’ music, See Medzvieckaite, ‘Humans Echoes,’ 61-73.

celebrations (such as Mass or Vespers), as the words are in vernacular rather in Latin, but could have been sung as either part of services outside of canonical Offices, public or private devotional activities, or even for personal recreation. (However, Jerome Roche also illuminated the possibility that some Latin and vernacular songs indeed shared the same performance spaces).⁹ Under this broader category, Alexandra Ziane has conducted one of the most comprehensive studies of devotional music in the first half of the seventeenth century undertaken in recent years by surveying and exploring the relationship among text, music, and religious paintings in a mostly Roman musical sources.¹⁰

Recent scholarship on the early modern Italian literature also recognizes spiritual themes as the fermenting ground for the innovation in literature and arts in the post-Tridentine era.¹¹ Between 1550 and 1616, several anthologies of new spiritual lyric were published: Pietro Giulio Riga traces their development in this period to demonstrate how the spiritual poetry established its definitive position in the vernacular poetry book market.¹² Among the poets, Angelo Grillo OSB (1557-1629) and Giambattista Marino

⁹ Jerome Roche, "On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal: Early 17th-century books that mix motets and vernacular settings," in *Seicento inesplorato - L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile: Un modello di interdependenza, Atti del III Convegno internazionale sulla musica in area lombardo-padana nel secolo XVII Lenno – Como, 23-25 giugno 1989* (Como: A.M.I.S., 1993), 303-317.

¹⁰ Alexandra Ziane, *Amor divino, Amor profano: Liebe in geistlicher Musik und bildender Kunst in Rom um 1600* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011).

¹¹ See for example, Virginia Cox, "Re-Thinking Counter-Reformation Literature," in *Innovation in the Italian Counter-Reformation*, ed. Shannon McHugh and Anna Wainwright (University of Delaware Press, 2020), 15-55; and Shannon McHugh, 'Devotion, Desire, and Masculinity in the Spiritual Verse of Angelo Grillo,' in *Innovation in the Italian Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Shannon McHugh and Anna Wainwright (University of Delaware Press, 2020), 145–166.

¹² Pietro Giulio Riga, 'Osservazioni e riscontri sulle antologies di lirica spirituale (1550 – 1616),' in *Italique: Poesie Italiane de la Renaissance* (online) Vol. XXI, Poesia e Religione (2018), 59-98. Online since 1 November 2018, Accessed 25 January 2021, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/italique/621>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/italique.621>.

(1569-1625) were the major exponents of spiritual lyrics in both printed anthologies and musical settings of the first two decades of the seventeenth century.¹³

Above all, the poetic style of Marino and his followers, characterized by striking conceit and sensuousness, became one of the most influential styles of poetry adapted by Italian composers in the seventeenth century.¹⁴ At an advanced age, none other than Monteverdi developed a keen interest in setting of Marino's texts. This aesthetic departure of Monteverdi has sparked a vital debate within scholarly discourse. Scholars such as Gary Tomlinson have often attributed Monteverdi's stylistic changes to Marino's poetry, while more recent works by scholars such as Roseen Giles have highlighted a similar shift in the contemporary literary and social atmospheres to account for development of Monteverdi's compositional style.¹⁵ Moreover, scholars like Mauro Calcagno, Tim Carter and others address the plurality of narrative voices in Marino's poetry and the effect it has on Monteverdi's adaptation in the sixth book of madrigals (1614),¹⁶ while Gordon Haramaki and Federico Schneider both explore the love-and-war theme of Marino's text used in Monteverdi's seventh book of madrigals (1619).¹⁷ These

¹³ Ibid., and Rorke, 85-90. Grillo's poetry, especially his *Pietosi Affetti*, enjoyed numerous settings to music. See Emilio Durante and Anna Martellotti, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. alias Livio Celiano: poeta per musica del secolo decimosesto* (Firenze: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1989). It is reported that at least 95 composers have set music to 121 of Grillo's poetic output.

¹⁴ For general survey of relationship between Marino and music of the seventeenth century, see Tim Carter, 'Marino, Giambattista' (*Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41016>), accessed Jan 2, 2019; and Peter G. Laki, 'Musical References in the Poetic Works of Giambattista Marino,' *International Journal of Musicology* 2 (1993): 85-100.

¹⁵ Roseen H. Giles, 'The (un)Natural Baroque: Giambattista Marino and Monteverdi's Late Madrigals.' (PhD. diss., University of Toronto, 2016), i-ii.

¹⁶ Mauro P. Calcagno, *From Madrigal to Opera: Monteverdi's Staging of the Self*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 208-209; Tim Carter, "Beyond Drama: Monteverdi, Marino and the Sixth Book of Madrigals (1614)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 69, No. 1 (2016): 1-46.

¹⁷ Gordon Haramaki, "In grembo a Citherea': the Representation of ingenium and ars in Claudio Monteverdi's *Tempo la cetra*," *Early Music* 39, no. 4 (November 1, 2011): 503-518; and Federico Schneider, "Rethinking Claudio Monteverdi's Seventh Book of Madrigals (1619) via Giovan Battista Marino's *la lira* (1614)," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* Vol 24, No.1 (2018). <https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-24-no-1/schneider-rethinking-monteverdi/>.

multi-focal readings of Monteverdi's songs therefore show how Marino's text influenced the ways in which composers could structure and develop music based on lyric poetry.

Discussions of Marino's influence on seventeenth-century Italian music by scholars thus tend to focus on music within the secular vein, but Marino's poetry also permeated into a large number of devotional songs, as summarized in **Appendix 1**. Rorke's study on Cifra's *Scherzi Sacri*, in fact, first brought to focus Marino as the main author of lyrics used. Moreover, another study of hers on Titian's painting of St. Mary Magdalen, Marino's poem dedicated to it, and Antonio Cifra's musical setting of the same text represents an exceptional attempt to analyze the three forms of artistic expressions empirically on the same subject.¹⁸ Peter Laki's dissertation exclusively focuses on monodies based on Marino's poems from 1600 to 1640, although admittedly a large number of songs for more than one voice were left out of discussion.¹⁹ Margaret Murata and Alexandra Ziane have recently drawn attention to Orazio Michi's setting of Marino's *canzonetta* on Virgin Mary's lament, noting especially Michi's use of declamatory style and harmony to distinguish between direct and indirect speech in order to cast Virgin Mary as a forsaken heroine akin to those in classical Greek literature.²⁰ These are valuable case studies that demonstrate how Marino's lyrics inspired various forms and styles of songs in the spiritual sphere.

¹⁸ Margaret Rorke, "St. Mary Magdalen – A Painting, A Poem, and a Madrigal," in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwin S. McPeck*, ed. Carmelo Peter Comberiati and Matthew C. Steel (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 112-129.

¹⁹ Peter Laki, 'The Madrigals of Giambattista Marino and their Settings for Solo Voice (1602–1640)' (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1989).

²⁰ Margaret Murata, 'Cantar Ottave, Cantar Storie,' *Word, Image, and Song*, ed. Rebecca Cypess, Beth L. Glixon, and Nathan Link (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 287–317; and Alexandra Ziane, 'Orazio Michi: contemporary testimonials, documents, and work', *Basler Beiträge zur historischen Musikpraxis* Vol. 39 (Schwabe Verlag, 2020): 257-262.

Marino's own interest in religious literature is evident in his output, namely the sections devoted to sacred themes in *Le Rime* I (1602) and *La Lira* III (1614), *Dicerie Sacre* (1614), sacred subjects in *La Galleria* (1620), and *La Strage degli Innocenti* (written by 1605 but published posthumously in 1632).²¹ Therefore, Italianists have long acknowledged Marino's significance in the development of sacred lyrics, and recent scholarly works tend to treat his works within broader cultural studies. For instance, Andrea Grassi contextualizes Marino's sacred poems from *Le Rime* (1602) within the contemporary sermons and literature, thereby discovering biblical, Dantean and Petrarchan elements in Marino's poetry.²² Christine Ott draws parallel between Marino's sacred poetry and contemporary religious paintings, revealing how the concept of *meraviglia* in Marino's poetry serves as a similar device to the pictorial rhetoric applied in the visual art.²³ As these examples show, recent studies have gone beyond mere textual analysis and managed to contextualize Marino's works in relation to a broader paradigm of devotional literature and art.

Both words and music were integral elements of early modern devotional practices, especially given an intricate relationship between listening and spirituality in the early modern Italy.²⁴ As Andrew Dell'Antonio has shown, contemporary discourses on arts (such as visual art, sculpture, and music) often emphasized that they should

²¹ Salvatore Ussia and Eleonora Bellini, *Le Muse Sacre: Poesia Religiosa Dei Secoli XVI° e XVII°* (Borgomanero (Novara): Fondazione Achille Marazza, 1999), 56.

²² Andrea Grassi, 'La poesia religiosa del giovane Marino: alcuni appunti sulle modalità di riuso della Bibbia nelle *Rime Sacre*,' *Testo: studi di teoria e storia delle letterature e della critica* 70 (2015): 41–58.

²³ Christine Ott, 'Terribile Meraviglia. Animismo Artistico, Empatia Ed Ekplexis Nella Poesia Di Giovan Battista Marino' in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 130, no. 1 (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015): 67–73.

²⁴ See Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

imitate the effect of preaching by appealing to the senses.²⁵ He also notes that dissemination of Jesuit *Spiritual Exercises* was instrumental in popularizing the notion that stimulation of senses and even “jarring” them through visual paintings or sonic effects of singing or instrumental was a way of edifying the spirit of the receiver.²⁶ Dell’Antonio’s study has a wider implication for how many of the so-called ‘devotional’ songs in the early seventeenth century might have indeed been purposely composed for and used as spiritual exercises or meditations through active listening by the audience. One case that supports this is Giovanni Francesco Anerio’s *Selva Armonica*, whose texts—as Daniele Filippi has shown—are based on *Essercitii spirituali* by Fr Agostino Manni, a member of the Congregation of St Philip’s Oratory with which Anerio worked closely.²⁷

In summary, recent efforts by the Italianists and musicologists have paved a way for a growing critical appreciation of how the spiritual and sensual experiences manifested themselves in both literature and music. These interdisciplinary approaches, buttressed by a rich discourse surrounding Monteverdi’s setting of Marino’s secular text, provide us with valuable perspectives through which one may understand how the composers adapted and engaged with Marino’s spiritual lyrics in the context of devotional music. Thus, a systematic study of devotional songs based on Marino’s text is an important step in understanding a body of works that reflected early seventeenth-century attitude towards literature, spirituality, and aural or visual (i.e., sensual) art. Unveiling the relationship between Marino’s spiritual text and music, in turn, would lead

²⁵ Ibid., 15-16.

²⁶ Ibid., 31-32.

²⁷ See Daniele V. Filippi, *Selva armonica: la musica spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008); and Giovanni Francesco Anerio, *Selva Armonica (Rome, 1617)*, ed. Daniele V. Filippi (Middleton: A-R Editions, 2006).

us to a more refined and nuanced knowledge of the rich contexts through which spirituality, poetry, and music intersected to form unique devotional practices.

Aim, Scope, and Methodology

This thesis, being the first comprehensive survey of existing songs based on Marino's spiritual lyrics, aims to provide some foundations for a more holistic understanding of relationship between poetry and music in the spiritual or devotional context of the early seventeenth century. As previous studies have shown, Marino dominated as the major source of spiritual lyrics among the musicians, and many of them enjoyed several parallel settings. While Marino was by no means the *only* important poet for spiritual lyrics, keeping Marino as the common factor allows us to better track the development of devotional songs throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, as those based on texts by other poets tended to occur more sporadically.²⁸ Ultimately, this will not only counter-balance the tendency of the study of early seventeenth-century Italian vocal music to focus mostly on the secular subjects, but also illuminate the rich repertoire of music based on Marino's spiritual lyrics, which has been overshadowed by more prolific scholarship dealing with relationship between Marino's secular lyrics and Monteverdi's music.

Since both poetic and musical styles used in devotional music were becoming increasingly diverse in the first half of the seventeenth century, comparative exegesis of texts and musical settings is used to assess the extent to which they inspired newly composed spiritual songs in various devotional (or in some cases, even non-devotional)

²⁸ While Grillo would have been another poet whom such a comparative study might be worthwhile, especially given his influence which was just as important as Marino, music settings of Grillo's lyrics mostly date from the turn of seventeenth century and those in the last decades of the sixteenth century have already featured in previous studies. See Fiore, '*Canzonetta Spirituale*.'

contexts. English translations of Italian texts are provided for clarity of meaning for discussion, but they are by no means intended to be authoritative. Biblical passages are quoted from the New International Version (NIV), except for when quoting Latin passages from the Vulgate, in which case Douay-Rheims translation is used.

While previous studies by Rorke and Laki were primary concerned with general technical aspects of both poetry and music—such as metre, internal rhyme, rhythm, and harmony—the current thesis especially considers contexts of the sources in which the songs appear and what they might tell us about the aspects of texts that music tried to convey to the intended audiences. Exegesis of musical settings still forms an integral part of the current thesis, but technical aspects of music will be discussed only so far as to illustrate when certain musical elements (e.g., texture, harmony, rhythm, or melody) are used in such ways that specifically draw attention to particular words or phrases. Ultimately, this thesis brings together studies in Italian literature, musicology, cultural and theological studies to approach musical settings of Marino's spiritual poems as constituting a part of spiritual experience for the listeners. As such, it will especially consider origins of devotional and cultural background that inspired themes used in Marino's spiritual lyric and how the songs based on them are in turn applied to the context of early modern devotional practices.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 gives an empirical overview of the dissemination of Marino's spiritual lyrics in the printed book market and musical sources. By doing so, it draws a general survey of the cultural contexts in which these musical sources appear, both within and outside Italy. It especially highlights Jesuit and Oratorian contexts, in which many of these songs are found. A case study of Marino's madrigals to Christ's wounds is provided to illustrate the general poetic style of Marino's poetry used in the musical sources.

The rest of the chapters are grouped thematically, according to the devotional subjects to which Marino's spiritual lyrics are addressed. Chapters 2 and 3 together consider a group of Marino's *canzonette* or *canzoni* addressed to the Seven Sorrows of Mary. Chapter 2 draws attention to the cultural background of *Maria Addolorata*, and his dedicatee of these *canzonette*, Fenice Crescenzia, to whom his earliest spiritual *canzonette* expressing Mary's sorrows at Christ's Passion were dedicated. Despite recent studies focusing on Orazio Michi's setting, those of a rich array of musical adaptations by other composers are lacking, a lacuna that this chapter aims to fill by providing a comparative study of them against social and devotional contexts from which they sprang. A special attention is paid to the overall 'devotional' scheme of Francesco Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali*, which uses a *canzonetta* for Virgin Mary by the cross, 'Sola fra suoi più cari' as the central piece.

Building on Chapter 2, Chapter 3 offers close readings of musical settings of Marino's 'Sospirava spargea,' subtitled *Christo Smarrito* ('Missing Christ') and appearing for the first time in *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*. Two composers, Claudio Saracini and Domenico Mazzocchi, cast it as central pieces in their respective songbooks,

and both text and their musical adaptations are analyzed in depth. The exegesis of *Christo Smarrito* as a poem itself reveals several allusions to various classical themes of love, including Moschus's *Eros the Runaway*, the Bible, as well as references to Marino's earlier *canzoni* and madrigals from *Le Rime* II (1602). The discussion of highly dramatic settings by Saracini and Mazzocchi are complemented by discussion of parodies based on stanzas of *Christo Smarrito*, demonstrating many ways in which composers could 'play' with Marino's text for their compositions.

Another spiritual *canzone* stemming from Marino's *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, 'Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la spina,' is the subject of Chapter 4. This *canzone* is addressed to the Crown Thorns and enjoyed several musical settings from 1620 to 1689. This chapter analyzes the relationship between text and music in Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620), which uses Marino's *canzone* for the Crown of Thorns as the central piece, paying special attention to its textual source, Codice Ferrajoli 956, and the apparent ordering of songs according to the liturgical calendar. To place both Marino's 'Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la spina' and Trinciavelli's setting in a broader context, this chapter also discusses the history of devotion to the Crown of Thorns and surveys a list of devotional songs addressed to the Crown of thorns in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The central focus of Chapter 2, 3, 4 is the *canzone* form, but Chapter 5 will turn its focus to several poems, especially madrigals, addressed to three saints: Francis of Assisi, Mary Magdalene, and Lawrence. It outlines the hagiography and early modern reception of each saint, therefore bringing to focus the affective and devotional models they represented as lovers of Christ. Marino's texts were most frequently set to

devotional songs addressing these saints, and the empirical analysis of both texts and musical settings reveal the love-war theme, or the fiery images of love that these saints' hagiography allowed to provoke.

Because the majority of this thesis revolves around rather sorrowful themes surrounding Christ's suffering or Mary's Sorrows, the final chapter, Chapter 6, will turn to more joyous aspects of Jesus' life, such as Nativity, that were put in lyric verses by Marino. Due to their sporadic dissemination, many of these texts or their musical settings seem to have received little scholarly attention; however, they nevertheless attest to creative and even unexpected ways in which Marino's spiritual lyrics could be adapted to musical contexts, both secular and devotional. Playfulness and humor, elements that have been mostly absent from the rest of the thesis, finally emerge from these texts and their settings.

Chapter I

Marino's Spiritual Lyrics in Literary and Musical Sources:

Dissemination and Style

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Marino's spiritual lyrics were circulated widely, both in their original literary form and through musical settings. This chapter presents a broad overview of both. While it is assumed that vernacular poems and their musical settings were enjoyed by people from all walks of the society, regardless of their subjects, Marino's spiritual poems and their musical settings were especially favored by the religious communities. Anthologies of spiritual poems, in which Marino featured regularly, suited the purposes of new religious movements and orders, especially Jesuits and Oratorians. In fact, vernacular songs were composed for and performed as 'sacred music' concerts within their oratories. In addition, the literary and musical sources reveal the popularity of the 'spiritual' Marino among *litterati* and musicians not only within Italy but also in Dalmatia and court music of Austria. Finally, an exegesis of Marino's madrigals to Christ's wounds is offered as a case study to illustrate their similarity to poems by contemporary poets such as Grillo, the devotional practice that inspired them, and their usage in music. This case study will illustrate both the textual and musical style of songs based on Marino's spiritual poems that permeated in the devotional songs generally.

Dissemination of Marino's spiritual poems in printed books

Marino's first major collection of poetry was *Le Rime* (Venice: Ciotti, 1602) in two volumes. Its first volume consisted entirely of sonnets ordered according to their

subject matter or scenery: love, the sea, the woods, heroes, laments, ethics and the sacred, followed by an unspecified ‘various’ rubric (*amorose, marittime, boscherecce, heroiche, lugubri, morali, sacre, et varie*). In contrast, its second volume contained madrigals and *canzoni* on similar subjects, but can be roughly divided into secular and spiritual subjects. *Le Rime* was later expanded into a three-volume *La Lira* in 1614, which added a third volume divided into thematic sub-categories like the first volume of *Le Rime*: love, laude, tears, devotion, caprice and sundry other matters (*Amori, Lodi, Lagrime, Divozioni, Caprici, Poesie di Diversi*). As observed by Martini, Marino’s spiritual poems in each volume of *Le Rime/La Lira* more or less ordered their subjects according to the Church’s liturgical calendar, thus allowing them to be incorporated into devotions to specific feasts.²⁹ Both *Le Rime* and *La Lira* were reprinted several times after their publication, with *La Lira* being reprinted well into the late seventeenth century.³⁰

Some materials from *Le Rime* II were removed from the 1614 edition (and subsequent editions onwards) and later re-inserted into *Galeria* (Venice: Ciotti, 1620), which comprised of poems dedicated to paintings and sculptures (including several devotional arts) and published in at least 21 editions between 1620 and 1675.³¹ Marino’s prose and epic on religious subjects were no less significant, as his *Dicerie Sacre*, which equated Music with Christ’s last Seven Words, continued to be printed from 1614 to 1675.³² His posthumous spiritual epic, *La Strage degli Innocent*, which had been written

²⁹ See Alessandro Martini, ‘Le Divozioni del Marino,’ in *Parlar L’idioma Soave: Studi di Filologia, Letteratura e Storia della Lingua Offerti a Gianni a. Papini*, ed. Matteo M. Pedroni (Interlinea Edizioni, 2003).

³⁰ According to Giambonini’s catalogue, there were at least 76 editions of *Rime-Lira* between 1602 and 1675. See Francesco Giambonini, *Bibliografia delle opere a stampa di Giambattista Marino*, Vol. 1 (Florence: Olschki 2000), 107-161.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 77-91.

³² Giambonini lists 23 editions between 1614 and 1675. See *Ibid.*, 47-64.

in 1605 but published only in 1632, received more editions and translations than any other works by Marino within the long seventeenth century.³³

Marino's sacred lyrics were also disseminated through lyric anthologies dedicated to spiritual subjects.³⁴ *Le Muse Sacre* (Venice: Ciotti, 1608) contained an almost complete sacred output from *Le Rime* II, while *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre* (Venice: Pinelli, 1616) contained most spiritual lyrics from *Le Rime* I, II, and *La Lira* III *Divozioni*. The preface to *Le Muse Sacre* (1608) provides valuable insights into the consumption of the lyric poetry around the time and the publishers' demand for compilation of spiritual subjects exclusively:

To the Gentle Readers,

Almost all authors are in the habit of printing their poems interspersing with amorous ones with moral and sacred ones, latter of which would willingly be held and read by religious people of many kinds, who scorn them to be united with former subjects. I was hence moved to select the sacred poems, written by the most esteemed authors in their recently published poetical works, as well as (again with the help of many) the ones that have not yet been printed, and order them in this present volume, with the thought of forming a second volume, towards which I am working. May it be known that many meritorious authors, who are not represented in the present volume, will be placed in the second; and if I left out anyone, this would be because their works could not be found, not because they are unworthy or not reputable enough to merit our labors.

May you highly enjoy these, spiritual, and religious readers, without any suspicion cast on you, to pass the hours of recitation with reading not only of delight, but of wonderful use; for it cannot be, that those who are

³³ Margaret Rorke, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra' (Ph.D diss., University of Michigan, 1980), 86. Giambonini lists 28 editions ranging from 1632 to those printed well into the eighteenth-century. See Giambonini, *Bibliografia*, 182-200.

³⁴ For development of sacred lyric anthologies in early modern Italy, see Pietro Giulio Riga, 'Osservazioni e riscontri sulle antologie di lirica spirituale (1550 – 1616),' in *Italique: Poesie Italiane de la Renaissance* (online) Vol. XXI, Poesia e Religione (2018): 59-98. Online since 1 November 2018, Accessed 25 January 2021, URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/italique/621>. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/italique.621>; For a detailed discussion of one of such anthologies, *Le Muse Sacre* (1608), and Marino's prominence, see Salvatore Ussia, *Le Muse Sacre: Poesia Religiosa Dei Secoli XVI° e XVII°* (Borgomanero (Novara): Fondazione Achille Marazza, 1999), 56. The dissemination of Marino's spiritual texts are also discussed in detail in Alessandro Martini, 'Divozioni del Marino,' 182-183.

reading works regarding the life and death of the Savior, or about the martyrdom of some saint, and especially about the excellences and sorrows of the Blessed Virgin, will not feel the affection of divine love inflamed and be disposed to greater devotion towards the one who has suffered and redeemed so much for us.³⁵

Being widely represented in anthologies like *Le Muse Sacre* (1608), Marino's spiritual poems seem to have been appreciated especially by church members and *literati* alike. In 1632, Cosimo della Gherardesca, Bishop of Colle Val d'Elsa, requested a copy of Marino's *Rime Spirituali* from Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger because he was having difficulty obtaining one from local booksellers.³⁶ Moreover, devotional reading according to the cycle of the Church Year was promoted through Roman publications of Marino's *Poesie sacre e morali* (1637 and 1641), which combined all of Marino's spiritual output and organized them according to themes within liturgical calendar.³⁷ These facts witness the continued interest in Marino's spiritual works even after the poet's death, with a significant tendency towards 'spiritualization.'

Most of Marino's spiritual lyrics were circulated in print, but a couple of exceptions are worth mentioning. First, what seems to be an early, partial version of

³⁵ *Le Muse Sacre* (Venice: Ciotti, 1608). 'A Signori Lettori. Quasi tutti gli Autori sogliono nel donare alle stampe le loro Poesie mescolarne con le amorose delle morali, & sacre, le quali volentieri sarebbero tenute, & lette da molte sorti di persone religiose, chi le schifano per essere unite con soggetti, dalla lezione de' quali pare ad essi di doversene attendere. Onde io mi mossi a raccorne da' più pregiati Autori, c'hanno in questa età poste in luce opere poetiche, & con l'aiuto ancora di molti, che non hanno più stampato ne ordinai questo presente volume con pensiero di formarne il secondo, intorno al quale tuttavia m'affatico. Ora io fò sapere, che molti Autori di pregio, che in questa non si leggono, saranno posti nell'altra parte, & se alcuni pur se ne tra lasciassero; ciò sarà, perché l'opere loro non si possono trovare, & non perchè degni non siano reputati di onorare le nostre fatiche. In tanto goderete queste, & le persone spirituali, & religiose potranno senza sospetto haverne, per passare le ore di recitazione con lettura non solamente di diletto, mà di utilità meravigliosa; poichè non può essere, che chi si sia, leggendo componimenti ò intorno alla vita, & morte del Salvatore, ò intorno al martirio di qualche Santo, & specialmente intorno all'eccellenze, & dolori della Beata Vergine, non senta infiammarsi l'affetto dell'amor divino, & non si disponga a maggior devozione verso di chi ha tanto patito, & meritato per noi.'

³⁶ Janie Cole, *A Muse of Music in Early Baroque Florence: The Poetry of Michaelangelo Buonarrotti il Giovane* (Florence: Olschiki, 2007), 78.

³⁷ See *Poesie sacre, e moralli, scelte dall'opere liriche del signor cavallier Marino. Con aggiunta d'alcune altre dell'istesso autore non più stampate* (Rome: Francesco Cavalli, 1637 and 1641).

Stanze per una immagine di Maddalena di mano di Tiziano, which attracted a sizeable number of musical settings, appears in a manuscript held by Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, XII AA.76, dated around 1598.³⁸ Second, a variant of Marino's canzone to the Crown of Thorns, 'Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la spina,' is found in Codice Ferrajoli 956, which seems to be in fact the source from which Jacopo Trinciavelli draws texts for his *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620) (see Chapter 4).

Songs based on Marino's spiritual poems

The vast amount of Marino settings during the first half of the seventeenth century has been inventoried in several studies. A complete catalogue (now outdated) of Marino's texts set to music was first compiled by Simon and Gidrol, which was later refined by those of Laki and Giambonini, and this is now the standard one.³⁹ Mangani's catalogue of musical settings of Marino's *canzone* is also a useful reference for this specific category.⁴⁰ Within the corpus of musical settings revealed by existing catalogues, those of secular poems dominate, even though the Italianists and musicologists have acknowledged the sizeable portion of settings to Marino's spiritual lyrics.⁴¹ As Martini

³⁸ Giovan Battista Marino, *La Lira*, Vol. 3 ([Venice: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1604]; Venice; Il Ciotti, 1629), ed. Maurizio Slawinski (Turin: Edizioni RES, 2007), 207, 238, and 258.

³⁹ Roger Simon and D. Gidrol, 'Appunti sulle relazioni tra l'opera poetica di G.B. Marino e la musica del suo tempo,' *Studi Secenteschi* 14 (Florence: Olschki, 1976): 81-187; Peter Laki, "The Madrigals of Giambattista Marino and their Settings for Solo Voice (1602-1640)," PhD diss., (University of Pennsylvania, 1989); Francesco Giambonini, *Bibliografia delle opere a stampa di Giambattista Marino*, Vol. 1-2 (Florence: Olschki 2000).

⁴⁰ Marco Mangani, 'Le Canzoni della "Lira" del Marino nelle Stampe Musicali del '600,' *Rassenga Veneta di Studi Musicali* 5-6 (January 1, 1989): 75-101.

⁴¹ Francesco Guardiani, 'Dieci pezzi sacri del Marino: per un'edizione della Lira II,' in *Feconde vener le carte. Studi in onore di Ottavio Besomi*, ed. T. Crivelli (Bellinzona: Casagrade, 1997). 348-370. Alessandro Martini, 'Divozioni del Marino'; Biancamaria Brumana, "Il Dialogo di S. Francesco di Marcorelli ed altre musiche dedicate al santo nel XVII secolo" in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra in Occasione del Centenario di Fondazione del PIMS, Roma, 26 maggio – 1 Giugno 1*, ed. Antonio Addamiano and Francesco Luisi, iii (Città del Vaticano, Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, 2013), 613-638; and Jerome Roche, "On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal: Early seventeenth-century books that mix motets and vernacular settings," in *Seicento inesplorato - L'evento musicale tra prassi e*

has noted, Marino's poems from *La Lira* II, especially madrigals were the most frequently set music, for both secular and spiritual subjects.⁴² The *canzonetta* or *canzoni* was another favored form after madrigals, with the sonnets being the least frequently set to music.⁴³

According to **Appendix 1**, the overall number of printed music containing settings of Marino's spiritual lyrics is in line with the general trend of printed spiritual songs between 1600 and 1640 as noted by Rorke: most are clustered in the first two decades of the seventeenth century (1600-1620), while the production of spiritual songs in general wane during the 1620s and 1630s.⁴⁴ Curiously, there is resurgence in the number of spiritual songs, including ones using Marino's poems, published again in 1640. 1638 is commonly seen as marking the end of Italian madrigals as such,⁴⁵ and it is remarkable that Marino's spiritual lyrics seem to undergo a re-kindled spark of interest by the composers just around this time. As many musical settings of 1640 stem from the prominent composers active in Rome at the time—including Domenico Mazzocchi, Pietro Paolo Sabbatini, Giuseppe Giamberti, and Domenico Massenzio—the Roman editions of *Poesie sacre, e morali* 1637 and 1641 might have played a role in inspiring those settings.

The composers whose works predominantly featured Marino's spiritual poems were Francesco Bianciardi, Severo Bonini, Antonio Cifra, Jacopo Trinciavelli. Claudio Saracini and Mazzocchi. Bianciardi, Trinciavelli, Saracini, and Mazzocchi all used

stile: Un modello di interdependenza, Atti del III Convegno internazionale sulla musica in area lombardo-padana nel secolo XVII Lenno – Como, 23-25 giugno 1989. (Como: A.M.I.S., 1993), 303-317.

⁴² Alessandro Martini, 'Marino e il madrigale attorno al 1602,' in *The Sense of Marino: Literature, fine arts and music of the Italian Baroque*, ed. Francesco Guardiani ((New York: Legas, 1994), 361-393.

⁴³ See Mangani, 'Canzoni della Lira,' and Laki, 'Madrigals of Giambattista Marino,' 67-86.

⁴⁴ See Rorke, 'Spiritual Madrigals,' 35.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

Marino's spiritual *canzone* to create a song-cycle or dramatic laments that served as the central pieces in their respective collections, which will be examined in greater depths in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Besides Bianciardi, many composers who first set Marino's spiritual poems to music—Tomaso Pecci, Mariano Tantucci, and Agostino Agazzari—were also active in Siena. Pecci (known by academic nickname, 'Invaghito') and Tantucci (likewise, 'Affetuoso') were members of the Accademia dei Filomei, to which Marino was inducted as a member following his visit to Siena in 1601.⁴⁶ Thus Pecci and Tantucci's *Canzonette a tre voci, Libro Secondo* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1603)—dedicated to Filippo Santi, a fellow member of the Accademia—in which both composers contributed songs based on Marino's secular and spiritual lyrics is a fruit of collaborative work by the members within the same academy. Marino's visit to Florence before 1602 is also recorded in a laudatory *canzone* by Crisostomo Talenti, a member of the Vallombrosian Academy of Spensierati.⁴⁷ Bonini most likely was closely associated with the Spensierati as well, as he set both Marino and Talenti's texts exclusively in his *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (Florence: Marescotti, 1607). As Bianciardi and Bonini were active in Siena and Florence just around same time that Marino visited and interacted with Academies of both cities on his way to Venice, it is quite possible that the two composers might have been personally acquainted with the poet himself, which might explain why they both mentioned Marino as their favored poet in their letters to their dedicatees.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Laura Buch, 'Seconda prattica and the aesthetic of meraviglia: The canzonettas and madrigals of Tomaso Pecci (1576 – 1604)', PhD dissertation, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1993, 119.

⁴⁷ MaryAnn Teresa Bonino, 'Don Severo Bonini (1582 – 1663), his "Discorsi e Regole"' (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1971), 45-47.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 2.

The second decade of the seventeenth century is marked by a series of five books of *Scherzi* and *Arie Spirituali*, published alternatively each year from 1615 to 1619 by Antonio Cifra and Pietro Pace, who were maestro di cappella and organist of the Santa Casa di Loreto, respectively. Both composers championed Marino's in both secular and sacred songs, and about two-thirds of songs contained in Cifra's two books of *Scherzi Sacri* (published in 1616 and 1618) are based on Marino's spiritual poetry.⁴⁹ As the titles of these songbooks suggest (*scherzi sacri* literally could mean 'sacred jests'), the songs contained inside them are characterized by their nonchalant styles, often employing popular ground basses such as *Aria di Gazzelle* and *Romaesca*. Despite their seemingly light-hearted outlook based on popular tunes, Jerome Roche notes that Cifra seems to have been 'far more inventive when setting the Italian words of the *Scherzi Sacri*' than his secular counterparts.⁵⁰ These *Scherzi Sacri* would have been appropriate and possibly performed in noble households, such as those of Giovanni Angelo Altemps, Duke of Gallese, as Cifra's second book of *Scherzi Sacri* (1618) can be found in the inventory (circa 1620) of music books kept in the ducal villa in Frascati.⁵¹

The frontispiece of Pietro Pace's books of *Scherzi* and *Arie Spirituali* of 1615, 1617, and 1619 records performances in the Jesuit Oratory of Loreto. Pace's dedicatory letter addressed to Monsignor Giuliano della Rovere in his *Secondo Libro de Scherzi et Arie Spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617) tells us how these *Scherzi* and *Arie Spirituali*

⁴⁹ Rorke, 'Spiritual Madrigals,' 92-99.

⁵⁰ Jerome Roche, 'Cifra, Antonio,' *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, accessed 22 February 2023. <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05775>

⁵¹ See Jonathan P. Couchman, 'Felice Anerio's Music for the Church and for the Altemps Cappella' (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1989), 438-48, quoted from Robert Kendrick, 'Devotion, Piety and Commemoration: Sacred Songs and Oratorios,' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 335.

were performed by singers and instruments in the Oratory set up by the Jesuits priests as part of the Lenten devotions for the Loreto community:

While no other occasion is offered me to represent to Your Illustriousness my long-standing service, I must not fail to revive its memory with the same means that Your Illustriousness, as a generous soul and protector of virtuous deeds and actions, has always shown to enjoy. And if, in the years gone by, Your Illustriousness has received with particular kindness under the favor of your guardianship other compositions of mine, even though they were of an amorous and worldly nature, I must now hope all the more that you will be able to receive these, and that they will be sent as spiritual subjects. They are truly musical *scherzi*, as the title implies; but such, however, that with the pleasantness of the style they season the gravity of the subject matter. To this end, during Lent, such kinds of musical pieces and symphonies were instituted in the Oratory by the Jesuit Fathers here at Loreto, in order to occupy the inhabitants of this city in being there as much for the pleasure of the senses as for the profit of the Spirit, insinuating with some sweetness into the souls of others the gentle bitterness of the Passion of Our Lord.⁵²

Pace's comment about 'insinuating' into the audience 'bitter sweetness' of the Passion' with 'pleasant' music follows exactly the kind of rhetorical strategy used by contemporary preachers or by painters of appealing to senses (e.g. pleasure in words or sound) as a gateway to piety.⁵³ In fact, such an approach resonates with St Philip Neri, the founder of the Congregation of the Oratory (the Oratorians), who introduced music in his congregation in order to 'draw with a sweet deception the sinners to the holy

⁵² In original Italian: Mentre non mi si offerisce altra occasione di rappresentare à V.S. Illustris l'antica mia Servitù; non devo mancare io di rinoverarlene la memoria con quell'istessi mezi, che V.S. Illustrissima, come d'animo generoso e protettrice d'attioni & opere virtuose, ha mostrato sempre di gradire. E se gl'anni à dietro V.S. Illustrissima accolse con particolar benignità sotto il favore della sua tutela altri miei componimenti ancorche di soeggetto amoroso e mondano; devo maggiormente sperare hora, ch'ella sia per ricevere in grado questi, che l'invio di Soggetto spirituale. Sono eglino veramente Musichali Scherzi, come ne portan seco il titolo; ma però tali che con la piacevolezza dello stile condiscono per avventura la gravità della materia. A quest'effetto in giorni di Quaresima furono instituite nell'Oratorio de Padri Gesuiti qui di Loreto simili sorti di Musiche, e Sinfonie, per occupare gl'habitatori di questa Città in esservicij altrettanto di diletto à sensi, quanto di profitto allo Spirito; insinuandosi con qualche dolcezza ne gl'animi altrui le soavi amarezze della Passione di N. Signore.

⁵³ For more on this topic, see Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), especially 18-20 and 79-80.

exercises of the oratory...so that the people being allured by song and tender words, would be all the more disposed to spiritual profit.’⁵⁴

The Santa Casa di Loreto was also an important pilgrimage site in the early modern period, as it was believed to be the house of Incarnation, in which Angel Gabriel appeared to Mary to announce that she would give birth to the Messiah, a house that was miraculously transported from Nazareth to Loreto by the angels. It was also an important site for the Jesuit mission, as they not only provided confessions and *Spiritual Exercises* to the pilgrims but also maintained the Collegio di Loreto, a college for their own scholars and students.⁵⁵ Thus, Cifra and Pace’s *Scherzi Sacri* would have been instrumental in promoting the Jesuit mission that aimed to provide spiritual nourishment to the pilgrims and devotees, as well as providing recreation for students of the Collegio di Loreto.

Marino’s lyrics in the Oratorian environment

Number of musical sources in **Appendix 1** also appear in the two inventories (one written in 1620 and another in 1622) of musical sources used in the Congregation of the Oratory of St Philip Neri in Bologna, based in the church of Santa Maria di Galliera. The items in the first inventory of 1620 include Quagliati’s *Affetti Amorosi Spirituali* (Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1617), Agazzari’s *Primo Libro de Madrigaletti* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607), Bianciardi’s *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1606), two books of Pietro Pace’s *Scherzi* and *Arie Spirituali* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1615

⁵⁴ From Oratio Griffi’s preface to Giovanni Francesco Anerio’s *Teatro Armonico Spirituale* (Rome: Robletti, 1619), trans. Smither. See Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, Vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 122, quoted from Noel O’Regan, ‘Sacred Polychoral Music in Rome 1575-1621,’ Vol. 1 (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1988), 8.

⁵⁵ Paul V. Murphy, ‘Jesuit Rome and Italy,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to The Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 83.

and 1617), and Bonini's *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (Florence: Cristofano Marescotti, 1607).⁵⁶ The second inventory of 1622 also lists a 'large book' (It: libro grande) by Saracini, which could be either his *Secondo* or *Terzo Libro di Musiche* (Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1620), as well as Agazzari's books of *Madrigali* and *Madrigali Spirituali* for three voices, either of which could be his *Secondo Libro de Madrigaletti* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607).⁵⁷

The ethos of Philip Neri and his attitude towards music was far-reaching, as reflected in the output of none other than Scipione Dentice, a Neapolitan composer who became an Oratorian priest himself. After his ordination, he wrote at least three (and possibly four) books of spiritual madrigals towards the end of his life. He wrote them specifically for the Congregation of the Oratory in Naples, and most likely for the special *vespertini* services, which were semi-public devotions modeled after the Vespers.⁵⁸ All three of his surviving spiritual madrigal books were dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Boncompagni (1592-1641), Archbishop of Naples from 1626 to 1641.⁵⁹ Intriguingly, Lynn Wood Martin perceived certain 'cheerfulness' in texts used in Dentice's spiritual madrigals, describing them as joyful in according with the character of the music.⁶⁰ Martin supposed the poetry used in Dentice's spiritual madrigals were written by Oratorians and reflected their outlook; however, most of them can be now attributed to contemporary poets, including Marino. Moreover, Marian laments based on Marino's

⁵⁶ Oscar Mischiati, 'Per la storia dell'Oratorio a Bologna,' in *Collectanea historiae musicae*. III. Series: *Historiae musicae cultores*, no. 17 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1963): 138-139.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 139-142.

⁵⁸ See Lynn Wood Martin, 'Scipione Dentice in the Neapolitan School' (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1978), 134-135.

⁵⁹ <https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bboncf.html>, accessed 24 September, 2024.

⁶⁰ General discussion of Scipione Dentice's *Madrigali Spirituali*, as well as modern transcriptions of *Madrigali Spirituali* (1629) are given Lynn Wood Martin, 'Scipione Dentice,' Vol. 1, 134-140 and Vol. 2, 124-259.

lyrics composed by Michi and Mazzocchi, leading composers active in Rome and holding a close relationship with Oratorians, would most likely have been performed in the Oratorian contexts, as will be further detailed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Anthologies as potential textual sources for devotional songs

There seems to be a close correlation between spiritual texts circulated through anthologies and printed music as well. Nearly half the contents of *Scherzi spirituali* by Pace and Cifra, as well as those of Dentice's spiritual madrigals, can be traced to either *Le Muse Sacre* (Venice: 1608) or *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre* (Venice: 1616). (See **Table 1.1**) There is no way to prove that the composers relied on one source or another for finding texts to be used for their vocal music, but the correlation nevertheless suggests that the anthologies could have been an important source of lyric poetry for composers writing devotional music in the vernacular. It is fitting that these anthologies of spiritual poems retained the style of the vernacular Italian lyric poetry while remaining highly devotional in subject, thus allowing the composers to apply the musical style of amorous songs even in religious or devotional contexts.

Table 1.1: List of number of texts from *Le Muse Sacre* (1608) and *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre* (1616) in musical sources.

Source	No. of texts found in either <i>Le Muse Sacre</i> (1608) or <i>Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre</i> (1616)	No. of vernacular texts in the musical source
Pace, Pietro. <i>Il Primo Libro de Scherzi et Arie Spirituali</i> , Op.12. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1615.	5	26
Cifra, Antonio. <i>Scherzi sacri [...], Libro Primo</i> , Op. 22. Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1616.	13	19

Pace, Pietro. <i>Il secondo libro de Scherzi, et Arie Spirituali</i> , Op. 14. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1617.	1	15
Cifra, Antonio, <i>Scherzi sacri [...]</i> <i>Libro Secondo</i> , Op. 25. Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1618.	8	18
Pace, Pietro. <i>Motetti, a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci [...]</i> , Op. 18. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1619.	7	15
Dentice, Scipione, <i>Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci</i> . Naples: Lazaro Scorriggio, 1629.	15	21
Dentice, Scipione. <i>Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci [...]</i> , <i>Libro Secondo</i> . Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1640.	12	16
Dentice, Scipione. <i>Madrigali Spirituali a quattro voci [...]</i> , <i>Libro Secondo</i> . Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1640.	18	21
Total	79	151

Martini previously suspected that poems in *La Lira* III *Divozioni*, which drew far more extensively from quotations of Biblical passages or phrases in their rubric, might have been less attractive to the composers because of their more doctrinally charged content.⁶¹ While it is true that a far smaller number of songs used texts from *La Lira* III *Divozioni* than from *La Lira* II, there were, in fact, just as many *canzone/canzonette* settings from both sections. Moreover, most of musical settings of *La Lira* III *Divozioni* are found in the devotional music collections that would have been sung as part of spiritual exercises by Jesuits, Oratorians, Benedictines, and Florentine congregation of Giesù Salvatore, as will be discussed in more details in the subsequent chapters. (See **Table 1.2**). Therefore, it would seem that the more intense doctrinal element in *La Lira*

⁶¹ Martini, 'Divozioni del Marino,' 190.

III *Divozioni*, as perceived by Martini,⁶² actually made them appealing as texts for spiritual exercises and singing by different Orders of Church and confraternities.

Table 1.2: Musical Sources drawing texts from *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*.

Musical Source	No. of texts found in <i>La Lira</i> III, <i>Divozioni</i>
Pace, Pietro. <i>Il Primo Libro de Scherzi et Arie Spirituali</i> , Op.12. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1615.	3
Cifra, Antonio. <i>Scherzi sacri [...]</i> , <i>Libro Primo</i> , Op. 22. Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1616.	5
Quagliati, Paolo, <i>Affetti amorosi spirituali [...]</i> . Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1617.	1
Pace, Pietro. <i>Il secondo libro de Scherzi, et Arie Spirituali</i> , Op. 14. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1617.	1
Saracini, Claudio. <i>Le Seconde Musiche [...]</i> . Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1620.	1
Saracini, Claudio. <i>Le Terze [...]</i> . Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1620.	1
Trinciavelli, Jacopo. <i>Musiche Spirituali [...]</i> . Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1620.	9
Montesano, Alfonso. <i>Madrigali a cinque voci di don Alfronso Montesano di Maida. Libro Primo</i> . Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1622.	2
Giamberti, Gioseppe. <i>Laudi Spirituali [...]</i> , Op, 3. Orvieto: Rinaldo Ruuli, 1628.	1
Dentice, Scipione. <i>Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci [...]</i> , <i>Libro Secondo</i> . Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1640.	3
Mazzocchi, Domenico. <i>Musiche sacre e morali a una, due, e tre voci. Di Domenico Mazzocchi</i> . Rome: Lodovico Grignani, 1640.	1
Natali, Pompeo. <i>Madrigali e Canzoni spirituali, e morali [...]</i> . Rome: Iacomo Fei d'And. f., 1662.	1
Coferati Matteo. <i>Corona di Sacre Canzoni o laude spirituali di più divoti Autori [...]</i> . Florence: Eredi di Francesco Onofri, 1689.	1
Coferati Matteo. <i>Corona di Sacre Canzoni o laude spirituali di più divoti Autori [...]</i> . Florence: Cesare Bindi, 1710.	1

⁶² Ibid.

The spiritualization of Marino—the case of *Bellezza Caduta*

The roles played by anthologies of spiritual lyrics and the Oratorians in the spiritualization of Marino might be illustrated by the apparent ‘spiritualization’ of one his *canzoni*, ‘Beltà del sommo sole’ (*Bellezza caduta* – ‘Fallen beauty’). According to Martini, it is essentially a declaration of the transience of beauty that interjects a Horatian theme of *carpe diem* and the Petrarchan theme of the vanity of the world, both of which are ever more emphasized by being situated amidst the praises of feminine beauty in *Rime* II (1602).⁶³ It is the only *canzone* for which the composers’ interpretations seem to have differed regarding its spiritual content. After appearing in print in *Rime* II (1602), at least three musical settings of different stanzas from it appeared between 1603 and 1604. When one of the stanzas set by Pecci appeared in *Canzonette a tre voci...Libro Secondo* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1602), it was clearly not meant to be read as a spiritual poem: it did not bear the rubric ‘Canzone Spirituale,’ given to some other the texts appearing in the same collection.⁶⁴

‘Beltà del sommo sole,’ however, did appear in both *Le Muse Sacre* (1608) and *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre* (1616), thus allowing it to be read in a more spiritual or moralizing vein. Scipione Dentice, who might have relied on either or both of *Le Muse Sacre* (1608) or *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre* (1616), as pointed out above, included three stanzas (1, 3, and 7)—‘Beltà del sommo sole,’ ‘Alato Amor sen vola,’ and ‘Come tosto sparisci,’—in his *Madrigali spirituali a quattro voci...Libro secondo* (Naples: Beltrano, 1640). He treats each stanza as an independent madrigal (rather than a series of

⁶³ Alessandro Martini, ‘Le Canzoni di Giovan Battista Marino: Morfologia, Funzione, Distribuzione,’ in *Studi in Onore di Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo per i suoi settant’anni*, Vol. 1 (Florence: Sismel, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 610.

⁶⁴ Within the same collection, Tantucci’s settings of Marino’s ‘O ingrati mortali,’ ‘Vergine benedetta,’ and ‘M’hai già per darmi vita,’ all bore the rubric ‘Canzone Spirituale.’

a strophic *canzone*) and even gave each of them their own titles: *Bellezza caduta* ('Fallen beauty'), *Tempo, che se ne vola* ('Time, which flies away'), and *Gloria humana, frale* ('Fragile, human glory'):

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 88, Canzone 10, with Dentice's rubric.

Bellezza Caduta

¹Beltà, del sommo Sole
Raggio nò, ma baleno,
Tra noi risplender sole,
Ma subito vien meno,
Quasi instabil sereno
Di verno pioggia estiva,
Quanto più cara altrui, più fuggitiva.

Fallen Beauty

Beauty, of the supreme Sun
ray not, but flash
the sun that shines among us,
but immediately goes down;
like the unstable clear sky
of Winter, or summer rain:
the dearer to others, the more fugitive.

Tempo, che ne sen vola

³Alato Amor sen vola,
E seco il Tempo avaro:
L'un, e l'altro ne invola
il dolce, il bello, il caro.
Al di lucente e chiaro
Notte oscura succede,
Et è sempre del riso il pianto herede.

Time, which flies away

Winged Love flies away,
and with it the miserly Time:
the one, and the other flies,
the sweet, the beautiful, the dear.
To the bright and clear day
the dark night follows,
and the weeping is always the heir of the
laughter.

Gloria humana, frale

⁷Come tosto sparisci
O tesoro mortale:
Come ratto svanisci
O dote, o gloria frale,
Il più veloce strale
Che scocchi il cieco Arciero
Da l'arco d'un bel ciglio, è men leggiero.

Fragile, human glory

How quickly you disappear,
oh, mortal treasure:
How you vanish like abduction,
oh, dowry, oh fragile glory,
the swiftest arrow,
which the blind Archer shoots
from the bow of a fair eyelash, is less agile.

Dentice's musical settings of the three stanzas share the same tonal center of A minor. Dentice's 'Beltà del sommo Sole' brings out the word 'Raggio' ('ray') with a melisma on semiquaver rhythm (**Example 1.1a**), as well as the phrase 'più fuggitiva' ('the more fleeting') with a dotted rhythm in triple meter and using staggered entries by different vocal parts (**Example 1.1b**).⁶⁵ Effectively, Dentice draws out the concept of beauty as a fleeting ray. Dentice's 'Alato Amor sen vola' is entirely in imitative texture throughout (**Example 1.2**). 'Come tosto sparisci' is characterized by a cascading, successive entries across all four vocal parts at the line 'Come ratto svanisci' ('How you vanish like abduction') (**Example 1.3a**) as well as dotted rhythm that sings of the rapid arrow shot by a blind archer: 'Il più veloce strale / Che scocchi'il cieo Arciero' ('the swiftest arrow / which the blind Archer shoots') (**Example 1.3b**)

⁶⁵ A similar use of dotted rhythm and switch to triple meter can also be seen in Dentice's setting of 'Pietosissimo Arciero.' See Chapter 5

Canto Rag - gio non,

Alto Bel - tà del sommo So - le Rag - gio

Tenore Bel - tà del sommo So - le

Basso Bel - tà, del sommo So - le

Partimento

5. ma ba - le - no Rag - gio non, ma ba - le - no

non, ma ba - le - no Rag - gio non, Rag - gio non,

8. ma ba - le - no Rag - gio non, ma ba - le - no Rag -

Rag - gio non, ma ba - le - no Rag - gio

Example 1.1a: Scipione Dentice, 'Beltà del sommo Sole,'

Madrigali Spirituali a Quattro Voci (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 9, bars 1-7.

37

più fug-gi-ti - va più fug-gi-ti - va

fug-gi-ti - va più fug-gi-ti - va più

fug-gi-ti - va più fug-gi-ti - va

più fug-gi-ti - va #6 più

42

più fug-gi-ti - va più fug-gi-ti - va

fug-gi-ti - va più fug-gi-ti - va più fug-gi-ti - va ò

più fug-gi-ti - va più fug - gi - ti - va

fug-gi-ti - va più fug-gi-ti - va più fug - gi - ti - va

#

Example 1.1b: Scipione Dentice, 'Beltà del sommo Sole,'

Madrigali Spirituali a Quattro Voci (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 9, bars 37-46.

Canto

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Partimento

A - la - to amor se'n vo - la E se - co il tem - po a - va -

A - la - to amor se'n vo - la E se - co il

ro E se - co il tem - po a - va -

tempo a - va - ro A - la - to amor se'n vo - la

6

Example 1.2: Scipione Dentice, 'Alato Amor sen vola,'

Madrigali Spirituali a Quattro Voci (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 10, bars 1-6.

10/

Co - me rat - to suani - sci Co - me rat - to sua-

Co - me rat - to suani - sci Co - me

Co - me rat - to suani - sci

Co - me rat - to suani - sci

Example 1.3a: Scipione Dentice, ‘Come tosto sparisci,’

Madrigali Spirituali a Quattro Voci (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 11, bars 10-11.

15/

fra - le

fra - le Il più velo - ce

fra - le Il più ve-lo - ce stra-le Che scocchi'il cie - co Arcie - ro

fra - le

6 4 3 # # # 6

Example 1.3b: Scipione Dentice, ‘Come tosto sparisci,’

Madrigali Spirituali a Quattro Voci (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 11, bars 15-18.

The temporality of human life and denunciation of the worldly vanity has long been a central theme of music associated with the Oratorians, especially Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di Anima, et di Corpo* (Rome: Muti, 1600), whose opening features Tempo ('Time') singing 'Il tempo, il tempo fugge' ('The time, the time that flees'). Such a theme was especially fitting for the Oratorian spirituality, which embraced, in Kendrick's words, the 'joyous renunciation of the world.'⁶⁶

Another consideration is that the manuscript I-Bc.Q.43 contains a song called *Bellezza Caduta* (same as title given to 'Beltà del sommo sole) with the incipit 'Spuntava il di / quando la rosa,' situated between *Pianto di Maria Vergine alla Croce* (which is Michi's setting of Marino's 'Sola fra suoi più cari') and Marco Marazzoli's Oratorio for Resurrection.⁶⁷ Consisting of Tenebrae lessons for Holy Week, laments, and oratorios, I-Bc.Q.43 could even be connected to activities in S. Maria in Vallicella, the headquarter church for the Oratorians, due to presence of music attributed to Marcorelli and Michi, who both had established professional and personal connections there.⁶⁸

Not only does this further place the theme of *Bellezza Caduta* in a spiritual context musically, but also the same text of 'Spuntava il di / quando la rosa' was set by Monteverdi and included in his *Selva Morale e Spirituale* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magi, 1641). The text is in fact a poem called *La Rosa* by Francesco Balducci, a poet associated

⁶⁶ Kendrick, 'Devotion,' 336.

⁶⁷ I-Bc, Q.43: 92r-96r is *Pianto di Maria Vergine alla Croce*, or Michi's setting of 'Sola fra suoi più cari'; 96v-97v is a song called 'Quanti sospiri e pianti,' by an unidentified composer; 98r-101v is a song titled *Bellezza Caduta* with the incipit 'Spuntava il di /quando la rosa' by an unknown composer, distinct from Monteverdi's in his *Selva Morale e Spirituale* (Venice: Magni, 1641); and 110v is the start of *Per il giorno di Resurrectione*, Oratorio a 6, by Marco Marazzoli.

⁶⁸ Alessandro Ruffati, 'Roman musical manuscripts of the seventeenth century,' in *Basler Beiträge zur historischen Musikpraxis* Vol. 39 (Schwabe Verlag, 2020): 288.

with Domenico Mazzocchi and the Aldobrandini family, according to Denis Stevens.⁶⁹ Therefore, while the theme of *Bellezza Caduta* used by Marino might not have been necessarily conceived as a spiritual subject in its initial inception, it seems to have become ‘spiritualized’ through circulation in spiritual anthology and music, especially in the Oratorian context.

Marino’s spiritual lyrics in music outside Italy – Dalmatia and Austria

Music based on Marino’s spiritual lyrics was almost exclusively published in Italy, but a few composers were active outside of Italy, especially in Austria. Cecchini was a maestro di cappella of the Split Cathedral in Croatia when his *Canti Spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1613) was published. Bartolomeo Mutis, Count of Cesana, who was a singer and chaplain at the court of Graz when his *Musiche a una doi e tre voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1613) was published, dedicated it to one of Archduke Fernando II’s younger brothers, Maximillian Ernst.⁷⁰ According to Federhofer, his *Musiche* shows an influence of Italian monodists such as Caccini, placing Mutis as an exponent of Italian secular monody in an Austrian court chapel.⁷¹ Similarly, Giovanni Valentini was a court musician and organist in Vienna for the Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinando II, when he published his *Musiche di Camera, Libro Quarto* (Venice: Vincenti, 1621), which was dedicated to Maria Maddalena of Austria, Archduke of Tuscany. Both Mutis and Valentini were similar, therefore, in that they were both active in the court of Vienna and

⁶⁹ Denis Stevens, *Claudio Monteverdi Opera Omnia: Selva Morale e Spirituale* Volume 15/1 (Cremona: Fondazione Claudio Monteverdi, 1998), 19.

⁷⁰ Hellmut Federhofer, ‘Mutis, Bartolomeo, Count of Cesana,’ Grove Music Online, published in print 20 January 2001, published online 2001.

⁷¹ Ibid. For a more recent study and stylistic analysis of *Musiche a una doi et tre per cantare et sonare con chitarroni, overo con altri istromenti di corpo* (Venice: Gardano, 1613) by Bartolomeo Mutis, Conte di Cesana, see also Katharina Haun, ‘The Music of Bartolomeo Mutis, Conte di Cesana,’ in *De Musica Disserenda*, 13, 1-2 (2017):157-168. Haun especially draws attention to different types of Caccini’s vocal ornamentation and diminutions applied to Mutis’s music.

championed Marino's lyrics (including spiritual ones) in their respective songbooks, which were dedicated to members of the Hapsburg family.⁷² In *Musiche di Camera, Libro Quarto*, Valentini's set Marino's madrigal for St Mary Magdalen ('Poiche rotte e distrutte') from *Lira III Divozioni* (1614), which could even be an encomiastic gesture in honor of his dedicatee (Maria Maddalena).⁷³

Furthermore, a subtle and partial borrowing of Marino's spiritual epic, *La Strage degli Innocenti*, occurs in Antonio Bertali's oratorio of the same title. While the poet of Bertali's *La Strage degli Innocenti* is unknown, they borrow from the second canto of Marino for the first part of the oratorio. There seem to be no literal similarities between Bertali's oratorio and Marino, however, except for a single verse in Herod's opening line ('Amici, e qual novello alto spavento turba d'Erode, o Dei, l'hore piu liete?') in Prima Parte of Bertali's that echo Marino's text in Canto 2, Stanza 8, Verses 1-2: 'Principi, e qual novello alto spavento/Turba i riposià le mie notte oscure?'⁷⁴ Bertali's *La Strage degli Innocenti* nevertheless is reminiscent of Mazzocchi's *La Catena d'Adone* and 'Sospirava spargea,' in which Marino's texts were adapted to make them more suitable for a dramatic musical work, making it probable that another author or even Bertali himself would have used Marino's *La Strage degli Innocenti* as the literary model but reworked it significantly to produce their own libretto for the oratorio.

⁷² For Marino's texts used in Mutis's *Musiche a una, doi, e tre voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1613) and Valentini's *Musiche di Camera, Libro Quarto* (Venice: Vincenti, 1621), see Giambonini, *Bibliografia*, 427 and 456.

⁷³ See Chapter 5.

⁷⁴ Tassilo Erhardt, *Antonio Bertali (1605-1669): Dramatische Sakralwerke*, ed. Alfred Noe (Graz: ADEVA, Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2013), X and XV.

Case study: devotion and ‘musicality’ of Christ’s wounded body

The image of crucified Christ was often taken up as a metaphor for a musicality of suffering or an instrument itself from at least the medieval period.⁷⁵ The authors of *Speculum humanae salvationis*, a popular typological manual containing forty-two pairs of events from the Old and New Testaments and surviving in at least 350 manuscripts since the early fourteenth century (first compiled by either a Dominican or a Franciscan), explicitly illustrated the hammering of Jubal and Tubalcaine and the crucified Christ being hammered down to the cross by his crucifiers side-by-side.⁷⁶ By doing so, the *Speculum humanae* established a homology between Christ’s moaning on the Cross and the origins of music.⁷⁷

The devotion to Christ’s crucified body would continue well into the early modern period. The first public exhibition of the Holy Shroud in Turin in 1578 may have also been pivotal in reawakening the public eyes to the Christ’s wounded body.⁷⁸ According to Casper, early modern devotional writings were inundated with meditation on Christ’s blood as droplets and even waves gushing forth from his wounds.⁷⁹ Such dynamic imagery of Christ’s blood seem to have had a significant impact on spiritual lyric poetry around the turn of seventeenth century, featuring dominantly in those of Grillo and Marino.⁸⁰ By the turn of the seventeenth century, confraternities and religious

⁷⁵ For the discussion of devotional uses of the musicality of pain found in depictions of the Crucifixion, see Bruce W. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 201-208.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Andrew Casper, ‘Blood Kinetics and Narrative Performance in Early Modern Devotions to the Shroud of Turin,’ in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* Volume 50, Issue 2 (Summer 2019): 371-397.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ For discussion of such imagery applied to Grillo’s spiritual madrigals, see Shannon McHugh, ‘Devotion, Desire, and Masculinity in the Spiritual Verses of Angelo Grillo,’ in *Innovation in the Italian Counter-*

orders, such as the Confraternità delle Cinque Piaghe and the Jesuits, also Christ's stigmata, the marks or wounds corresponding to those that Christ received during his Passion, as an essential devotional element.⁸¹

Text of Marino's madrigals to the Wounds of Christ

Marino's *Dicerie Sacre* (1614), dedicated to Prince Maurizio, Cardinal of Savoy, equated the Holy Shroud with painting and Christ's last Seven Words with music.⁸² By creating such homogeny, Marino was appealing to both the rekindled devotion to the Holy Shroud of Turin and symbol of Christ's crucified body as true musical instrument. His series three madrigals that offer contemplations on Christ's wounds, which enjoyed several musical adaptations, therefore invite us to explore the style of both text and music that seemed to stem from the contemporary devotional practices.

Marino's first madrigal of the series that contemplate on the wound of Christ, 'Lancia lancia soave,' is primarily concerned with the lance of Longinus, which is described in a passage from John's Gospel 19:34⁸³:

Reformation (University of Delaware Press, 2020), ed. Shannon McHugh and Anna Wainwright, pp. 145-166.

⁸¹ For an overview of stigmatology, or the study of religious stigmata in Christian context, see Carolyn Muessig, *The Stigmata in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020). The Confraternità delle Cinque Piaghe, attached to San Lorenzo in Damaso, a titular church of Cardinal Montalto, seems to have been active at least in the first few decades of the seventeenth century. Alexandra Ziane, *Amor divino, Amor profano: Liebe in geistlicher Musik und bildender Kunst in Rom um 1600*. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 350. For the Jesuits devotions to Christ's five wounds, see Walter S. Melion, 'Libellus piarum precum (1575): Iterations of the Five Holy Wounds in an Early Jesuit Prayerbook,' in *Jesuit Image Theory* (Brill, 2016), 187-253; and Andrea Torre, "'What are These Wounds?'" Stigmata and/as Memory in Italian Religious Literature,' in *The Wounded Body: Memory, Language and the Self from Petrarch to Shakespeare* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2022), ed. Fabrizio Bondi, et al, 385-402.

⁸² See Robert L. Kendrick, 'Devotion, Piety and Commemoration: Sacred Songs and Oratorios,' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 324-77.

⁸³ Francesco Guardiani, 'Dieci pezzi sacri del: Marino per un'edizione della Lira II', *Feconde Venner le carte. Studi in onore di Ottavio Besomi, I*, ed. Tatiana Crivelli (Bellinzona: Casagrade, 1997), 366. John's Gospel 19:31-37 reads: ³¹Now it was the day of Preparation, and the next day was to be a special Sabbath. Because the Jewish leaders did not want the bodies left on the crosses during the Sabbath, they asked Pilate

Alla lancia di Longino.

Lancia lancia soave
Lancia non più, ma chiave,
Il tuo non è ferire,
Ma dolcemente aprire,
E'n'apri, o che tesoro,
Thesor, ch'acque ha d'argento, e sangue d'oro.

To the spear of Longinus.

Lance, gentle lance,
lance no more, but key,
yours is not to wound,
but to sweetly unlock,
and you unlck, oh what treasure,
a treasure of silvery water and golden blood.⁸⁴

Alla piaga del costato.

Piaga dolce d'Amore,
Già tu piaga non sei,
Ma bocca di quel core
Che parla ai sensi miei;
E quante in te conperse
Son stille sanguinose,
Tante son per mio ben lingue amorose.
O foss'io pur quel ferro che t'aperse,
Ch'immerso ov'ei s'immerse,
Si meglio potess'io
Le voci udir de l'impiegato mio.

To the wound on the side

Sweet wound of Love,
you are no longer a wound,
but mouth of that heart
that speaks to my senses;
and there are as many bloody spills
that are dispersed in thee,
as they are for my good loving tongues.
Oh, were I that iron that opened you,
immersed where it plunged in,
so that I could better hear
the voices of my pierced one.

Alla detta.

O piaga impiagatrice
Di quest'alma dolente
Che 'n se stessa ti sente:
Felice lei, felice,
Se'l numero di quelle
Stille non già, ma stelle
Sanguinose e vivaci
Può pareggiar co' baci.

To the aforementioned.

Oh, the pierced wound
of this sorrowful soul,
who feels you inside itself:
happy is she, happy,
if the count of those
spills - no longer spills, but rather
bloody and living stars -
can be aligned with (compared to) the kisses.

to have the legs broken and the bodies taken down.³²The soldiers therefore came and broke the legs of the first man who had been crucified with Jesus, and then those of the other.³³But when they came to Jesus and found that he was already dead, they did not break his legs.³⁴Instead, one of the soldiers pierced Jesus' side with a spear, bringing a sudden flow of blood and water.³⁵The man who saw it has given testimony, and his testimony is true. He knows that he tells the truth, and he testifies so that you also may believe.³⁶These things happened so that the scripture would be fulfilled: "Not one of his bones will be broken,"³⁷and, as another scripture says, "They will look on the one they have pierced."

⁸⁴ Margaret Rorke, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra' (Ph.D diss., University of Michigan, 1980), 125.

As noted by Besomi (and later echoed by Martini), Marino's 'Lancia lancia soave' seems to be modeled after Grillo's madrigal on the same subject:

Grillo, *Pietosi Affetti* (1595), Madrigal 127

<i>La piaga del costato di Christo, esser la porta de' Sacramenti, co'l mezo de' quali ci viene aperto il Cielo</i> ⁸⁵	<i>The wound of the side of Christ, being the gate of Sacrament, the Heaven opens to us in the midst of it.</i>
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In questa carne morta Apri pur nova porta Lancia, lancia non più cruda et ardita Ma chiave della vita; Che da un sol fonte in duo fiumi deriva, D'acqua e di sangue mondo, Che lava, e nutre, e dà salute al mondo.	In this dying body, open yet a new door, spear; you are no longer the crude and daring spear, but the key of life, which derives from a sole spring in two rivers of water and clean blood, which washes, nourishes, and gives salute ⁸⁶ to the world.
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Besomi notes that Marino not only borrows the symbolism of the spear as a key but also condenses it and changes 'harsh' adjectives of Grillo's madrigal ('cruda et ardita,' 'crude and daring') into gentler ones ('soave,' 'gentle or sweet'), thereby transforming Grillo's model into a lighter and sweeter madrigal.⁸⁷ Indeed, Marino's second line, 'Lancia non più ma chiave,' establishes a pattern of rhetorical negation that is applied repeatedly in the subsequent madrigals for emphasis, such as the first three lines of 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' ('Piaga dolce d'Amore, / già tu piaga non sei, / ma bocca di quel core') and first two lines of 'Piaghe non son ma stelle,' a madrigal dedicated specifically to St Francis's stigmata ('Piaghe non son ma stelle / Stelle non ma fiamelle'). Furthermore, 'Lancia lancia soave' incorporates a glimmering metaphor of Christ's body as a treasure

⁸⁵ Subject or (*Argomento*) given by Pietro Colelli in the Index.

⁸⁶ salute could also mean 'healing.'

⁸⁷ Ottavio Besomi, *Ricerche intorno alla "Lira" di G.B. Marino* (Padua: Editorice Antenore, 1969), 168; Alessandro Martini, 'Marino e il madrigale attorno al 1602,' in *The Sense of Marino: Literature, fine arts and music of the Italian Baroque*, ed. Francesco Guardiani (New York: Legas, 1994), 374-375.

chest overflowing with silver and gold, which not only adds vivid imagery to Grillo's original model but also extends thematically to St Francis's stigmata, in which the stigmata acquire shimmering and colorful element of jewelry 'sangue non pareggia ostro o rubino.'⁸⁸

Grillo's metaphor for Christ's wounds as the star and mouth permeate also in Marino's latter two madrigals on the same subject, 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' and 'O piaga impiagatrice' For instance, Grillo develops the wound-mouth metaphor and extends it into a star-kiss metaphor his series of madrigals to Christ's wounds, Marino seems to bypass such an extensive development and instead seems to build on wound-mouth metaphor to reach at the spark-kiss metaphor at the end of 'O piaga impiagatrice.'⁸⁹ It is worth noting however, that the spark-kiss metaphor had already been a common place in secular poetry, such as in Guarini's 'Baci soave e cari.' In 'Piaga dolce d'Amore,' one can note how the Christ's wound appeals to the speakers' senses (e.g., 'But mouth of that heart / That speaks to my senses,' or 'Ma bocca di quel core, che parla ai sensi miei') and how the speaker responds by engaging their senses of taste and hearing by meditating on Christ's blood on their 'loving tongue' ('lingue amorose') and listening to Christ's voice through the wound.

The model of the last couplet, 'si meglio potess'io / le voci udir del'impiegato mio!' can once again be traced to that of Grillo's madrigal XXXIII in *Pietosi Affetti* (Onde non pensi, ò veggia altro mai io, / Che la pietà de l'impiegato mio.'). While Grillo's madrigal appeals to the sense of seeing and while the speaker admires Christ's wounds with his eyes while meditating on drinking Christ's blood, Marino's speaker

⁸⁸ Guardiani, 'Dieci pezzi,' 366.

⁸⁹ Besomi, *Richerche*, 161-162.

instead imagines the wound as a gateway to hearing Christ's voice.⁹⁰ Such appeal to hearing in Marino's could account for why Marino's madrigals – and not Grillo's original model – appealed especially to the composers.

Lastly, the influence of Grillo and Marino's madrigals on the lance of Longinus or Christ's wounds seems to have been far-reaching in those of other contemporary poets as well. For instance, Marino's 'Lancia lancia soave' and 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' have many similar imitations by the contemporary poets such as Bartolomeo Barco, Giacomo Antonio Bianchino, Pietro Petracchi, and Giuseppe Policreti, which are all included in *Le Muse Sacre* along with Grillo and Marino's texts.⁹¹ Moreover, even the anonymous madrigal, 'Lancia che nel bel seno' which was set to music by Trinciavelli in his *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) could have been inspired by the Grillo-Marino canon.

Musical contexts of Marino's madrigals to Christ's wounds

Two prominent Sienese musicians, Francesco Bianciardi and Tomaso Pecci, were the first to engage with Marino's poetry on Christ's wounds. Marino's texts would have appealed to an especially Sienese piety, exemplified by their patron saint, St Catherine of Siena. Like St Francis of Assisi, she was believed to have received stigmata and represented the principle of *imitatio christi*. Moreover, the longing or admiration for Christ's wound in his chest was not only an orthodox expression of faith in the medieval *lauda* but also a subject of common desire for many female mystics.⁹² According to Monson, not only were yearning for sacramental connection with Christ's blood expressed by Italian mystics such as Blessed Aldobrandesca of Siena or Angela of

⁹⁰ Guardiani, 'Dieci pezzi,' 368.

⁹¹ Guardiani, 'Dieci pezzi,' 366-68.

⁹² Eyolf Østrem and Nils Holger Peterson, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: the Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 15-17.

Foligno (1248-1309), but also St. Catherine of Siena's 'nursing' from Christ's side wound was a common depiction in the early modern period.⁹³ Francesco Vanni's 1594 painting, for instance, shows St Catherine of Siena crowned with thorns and nursing from the side wound of Christ. In Vanni's painting, St Catherine's intimacy to Christ's wound illustrates visually the Grillo-Marino metaphor of it as a mouth that can 'speak' or 'kiss', as St Catherine not only seems to be nursing from it but also either kissing or 'listening' intently to Christ's wound, as expressed clearly in Marino's last lines of 'O piaga impiagatrice' (**Figure 1**).



Figure 1.1: Francesco Vanni, St. Catherine of Siena drinking blood of Jesus (c. 1594).

Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606) weaves together Marino's poems in a way that almost represents Vanni's painting, beginning with a song addressed

⁹³ Craig A. Monson, *Disembodied Voices: Music and Culture in an Early Modern Italian Convent* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 99.

to the Crown of Thorns followed by three madrigals on Christ's wound on the side. The three madrigals on Christ's wounds often begin emphatically, in a homophonic, declamatory texture with minim as the basic, slow pulse. Affective use of intervals is abundant, such as the Canto line ascending chromatically in half step in 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' (Example 1.4, bars 1-4), the leap of augmented fifth in the Bass of 'O piaga impiagatrice,' (Example 1.5, bars 1-3), or yet another chromatic line in Alto of 'Lancia lancia soave' (Example 1.6, bars 6-8).

Example 1.4 shows a three-part setting of 'Piaga dolce d'amore'. The Canto part begins with a half note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a half note B4, creating a chromatic ascent. The Alto and Basso parts follow a similar pattern, with the Basso part starting on a lower G3 and ascending chromatically. The lyrics are: Pia - ga dol - ce d'a - mo - re Già tu pia-ga non.

Example 1.4: Francesco Bianciardi, 'Piaga dolce d'amore,'
Canzonette Spirituali (Venice: Gardano, 1606), no.2, bars 1-7.

Example 1.5 shows a three-part setting of 'O Piaga impiagatrice'. The Canto part begins with a half note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a half note B4, creating a chromatic ascent. The Alto and Basso parts follow a similar pattern, with the Basso part starting on a lower G3 and ascending chromatically. The lyrics are: O Pia - ga im - pia - ga - tri - ce.

Example 1.5: Francesco Bianciardi, 'O Piaga impiagatrice,'
Canzonette Spirituali (Venice: Gardano, 1606), no. 3, bars 1-6.

Example 1.6: Francesco Bianciardi, ‘Lancia lancia soave,’
Canzonette Spirituali (Venice: Gardano, 1606), no. 4, bars 1-14.

Bianciardi’s ‘Piaga dolce d’Amore’ is especially full of musical imagery. the idea of being ‘immersed’ or submerged in Christ’s blood is illustrated by all three vocal parts singing in a low register at the word ‘immerse’ (**Example 1.7**, bars 27-30). The contrasting pacing between the slow beginning using mostly minims and more active section later using quavers illustrates the development of the poetic text, as the sorrowful soul (‘alma dolente’) in the first three lines later becomes animated with vivid imagery of stars and kisses for blood spills coming from Christ’s wound. The quick rhythmic pulse or *melsima* also serve to bring out certain phrases, such as ‘conspere’ (‘dispersed,’ **Example 1.8**, bars 15-16) and ‘le voci udir’ (‘hear the voices,’ **Example 1.9**, bars 31-32), which invite the listeners to visualize spilling or spreading of blood or to ‘hear the voices’ of Christ’s wound in an almost literal sense.

15.
 - te in te con - sper - se Son stil - le san-gui - no - se Tan-
 te con - sper - se Son stil - le san-gui - no - se Tan-
 te con - sper - se Son stil - le san-gui - no - se Tan-

20.
 - te son per mio ben lin - gue amo-ro - se O fos-s'io pur quel fer - ro
 - te son per mio ben lin - gue amo-ro - se O fos-s'io pur quel fer - ro
 - te son per mio ben lin-gue amo-ro - se O fos-s'io pur quel fer - ro

26.
 che t'a-per - se Ch'immer - so o - ve ei s'immer - se Si me-glio po-tes -
 che t'a-per - se Ch'immer-so o - ve ei s'immer - se Si me-glio po-tes -
 che t'a-per - se Ch'immer - so o - ve ei s'immer - se Si me-glio po-tes -

32.
 s'i - o Le voci udir *Le voci udir* del im-pia-ga - to mi - o.
 s'i - o Le voci udir del im-pia-ga-to mi - o.
 s'i - o Le voci udir *Le voci udir* del im-pia-ga - to mi - o.

Example 1.7: Francesco Bianciardi, ‘Piaga dolce d’amore,’
Canzonette Spirituali (Venice: Gardano, 1606), no.2, bars 15-37.

As the wounded Christ could serve as a metaphor for musical instrument, the idea of Lance of Longinus as a ‘key’ (‘chiave’) that opens it/him could have given it a further

musical symbolism. Bianciardi invites listeners to ponder upon such a metaphor. He uses the semibreve at the word ‘Ma’ (‘But’) (**Example 1.8** bar 17), which creates a slight sense of pause in the music and thus reflects the madrigal’s shift in contemplating the lance of Longinus as the key to open the treasure chest, rather than to wound or hurt.

15
fe - ri - re Ma dol - ce - men - te a pri - re E n'a -
è fe - ri - re Ma dol - ce - mente a - pri - re E n'a -
fe - ri - re Ma dol - ce - mente a - pri - re E n'a - pri

22
- pri ò che te - so - ro Te - sor ch'ac - que ha d'argento e san - gue d'o - ro.
- pri ò che te - so - ro Te - sor ch'acque ha d'argento e san - gue d'o - ro.
ò che te - so - ro Te - sor d'ac - que d'argento e san - gue d'o - ro.

Example 1.8: Francesco Bianciardi, ‘Lancia lancia soave,’
Canzonette Spirituali (Venice: Gardano, 1606), no. 4, bars 15-27.

Severo Bonini’s monodic setting, meanwhile, is notable for the melody and basso continuo lines that move mostly together rhythmically. The opening phrase being insistently centered on the note A is a potential solmization pun on La (LAn - ciA, LAn - ciA So-A-ve), just like in Pace’s ‘Sola fra suoi più cari.’ (**Example 1.9**, bars -1-2) Furthermore, Bonini creates a series of descending line in parallel 10th (**Example 1.9**, bars 18-21 and 29-32) at the words Thesor, ch’acque hà d’argento, è sangue d’oro (‘Treasure, which has waters of silver, and blood of gold.’). There is a clear connection

here to Bianciardi's setting, which also features descending line in 10th between Canto and Basso at exactly the same verse (**Example 1.8**, bars 23-25). Antonio Cifra also casts 'Lancia lancia soave' is another monody but this time a virtuosic Baritone solo, featuring a long and passionate melisma at the word 'aprile' ('opens') (**Example 1.10a**, bar 5), 'argento' ('silver') (**Example 1.10b**, bars 20) and 'sanguè' ('blood') (**Example 1.10b**, 22-24). These melisma aid in contemplating the imagery of the madrigal, as the singer's lung actively engaged and air coming forth can sonically symbolize Christ's wound as a passage opening up and spills of blood (which are equated here with silver and gold) gushing forth.

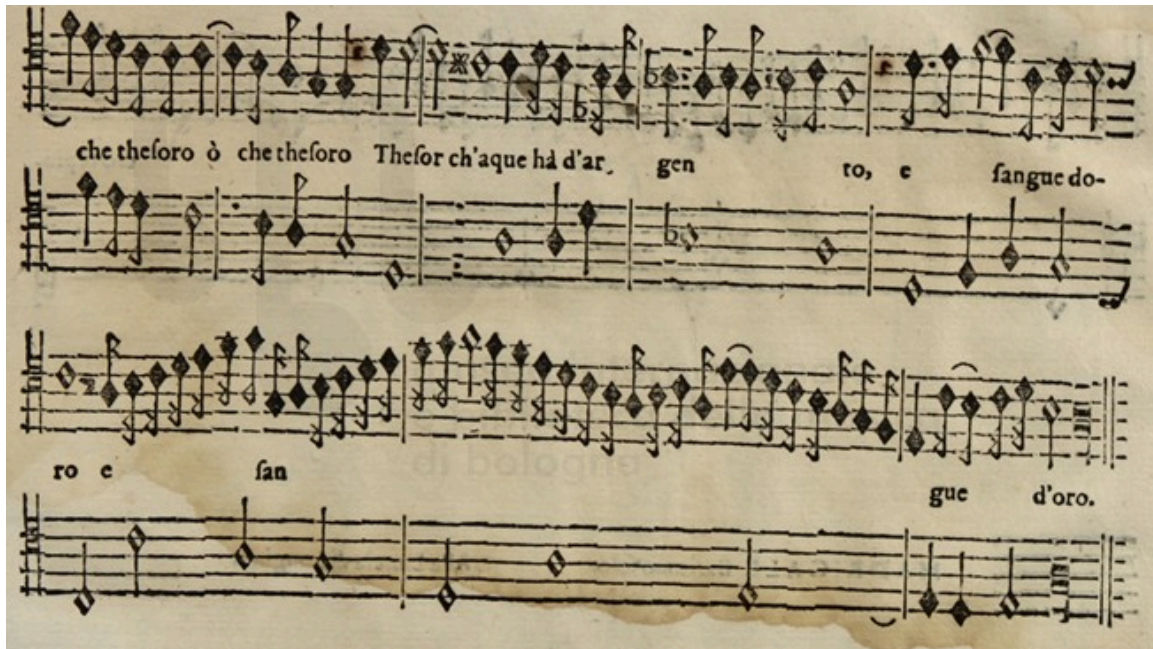
The image displays a musical score for a two-part setting of 'Lancia lancia soave' by Severo Bonini. The score is written for Canto (Soprano) and Basso (Bass) voices. It consists of four systems of staves, each with a Canto staff and a Basso staff. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the Canto staff. The first system covers bars 1-8, the second system covers bars 9-16, the third system covers bars 17-25, and the fourth system covers bars 26-32. The music is in a key of one flat (B-flat major or D-flat minor) and common time (C). The Canto part features a prominent descending line in the 10th measure of the first system, which corresponds to the 10th measure of the entire piece mentioned in the text. The Basso part provides a harmonic foundation with sustained notes and moving lines. The lyrics are: 'Lancia lan-cia so-a - ve Lancia non più ma chi-a ve Il tuo non è fe - ri - re Ma dolce men - te apri - re E'n'ap - ri ò che te - so - ro Te - sor ch'acque hà d'ar - gento, e san - gue d'o - ro. E'n'ap - ri ò che te - so - ro Te - sor ch'acque hà d'ar - gento, e san - gue d'o - ro.'

Example 1.9: Severo Bonini, 'Lancia lancia soave,'
Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali (Florence: Marescotti, 1607), no. 5.



Example 1.10a: Antonio Cifra, ‘Lancia lancia soave,’
Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no. 11, bars 1-6.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, Y118; http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_Y/Y118/, public domain.



Example 1.10b: Antonio Cifra, ‘Lancia lancia soave,’

Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no. 11, bars 17-24.⁹⁵

Scipione Dentice’s *Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci [...] libro primo* (Naples: Scorriglio, 1629), written for the Oratorian services in Naples, contains settings of ‘O piaga dolce d’Amore’ and ‘Lancia lancia soave.’ Bianciardi’s *Canzonette Spirituali* were used in the Bologna Oratory as evidenced by their inventory of 1620 (See Chapter 1), so Dentice might have been familiar with Bianciardi’s settings. The hint of Dentice’s familiarity with Bianciardi’s earlier settings, for example, can be seen in ‘O piaga impiagatrice.’ Like Bianciardi’s, Dentice’s setting opens in a languid, homophonic texture in minims, later contrasted by imitative texture and faster note values in quavers and semiquavers in later parts of the madrigals that reveal the imaginative metaphors and affects they bring out, such as ‘felice’ or ‘baci.’ In Dentice’s ‘Lancia lancia soave,’ too, the final verse ‘d’acque d’argento è sangue d’oro’ is expressed by a descending musical

⁹⁵ Ibid.

motif, once again reminiscent of the same passages from Bianciardi and Bonini's settings. The descending motif common in all three composers could very well be representing the 'water of silver' and 'blood of gold' raining down from Christ's wound on the side.

Giuseppe Giamberti's *Poesie diverse poste in musica* (Rome: Antonio Solid 1623) contains Paolo Agostini's setting of 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' as a duet for two Canto and basso continuo.⁹⁶ According Alexandra Ziane, Agostini's 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' features a 'rubbing dissonance' created by 2-3 suspensions between the two Canto parts.⁹⁷ As Agostini is primarily known as a composer of sacred music (i.e. masses and motets) and as a contrapuntist,⁹⁸ this setting is a rare instance in which he engaged with word painting on a vernacular text.

In Giamberti's *Poesie diverse*, 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' stands out not only in being the last item of but also the only spiritual madrigal in a collection containing otherwise secular and pastoral poems. Removed from the original context, it becomes possible to interpret 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' in a more secular vein (with Amore as a double-reference to Jesus and Cupid). Ziane notes, however, that the Confraternità delle Cinque Piaghe (or Confraternity of the Five Wounds) was attached to San Lorenzo in Damaso,

⁹⁶ Besides Giamberti's compositions, it includes songs by Giovanni Bernardino Nanino and Paolo Agostini, who are denoted as Giamberti's teachers ('miei maestri'). This particular songbook is dedicated to Monsignor Girolamo Grimaldi, who may have been related to Gioseffo Maria Grimaldi that appears as a dedicatee of a balletto in Domenico Pellegrini's music for Spanish guitar, *Armoniosi Concerti* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1650). As it turns out, Giamberti's collection also includes songs with *alfabeto* notation (which indicates the chords to be played) for the Spanish guitar.

⁹⁷ Ziane, *Amor divino*, 349.

⁹⁸ Klaus Fischer, 'Agostini, Paolo,' *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00302>, accessed 8 December, 2023. For a more recently study of Agostini, see Dennis Collins, 'Canon in Baroque Italy: Paolo Agostini's collections of Masses, motets, and counterpoints from 1627,' in *Music Preferred: Essays in Musicology, Cultural History and Analysis in Honor of Harry White*, edited by Lorraine Byrne Bodley (Vienna, Austria: Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag, 2018), 117-140.

where Agostini was employed at least in 1618.⁹⁹ It is thus likely that identification of Christ's wound was apparent to Agostini's immediate audience.

Similarly to Agostini's setting, Tomaso Pecci's setting of 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' in his Second Book of Madrigals for 5 voices (Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1612) is also located among amorous songs in secular vein.¹⁰⁰ Here, too, 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' lacks any rubric that specifies it as spiritual in nature—an interesting omission considering the fact that books of Pecci's earlier *Canzonette* have always explicitly distinguished between the spiritual subjects from secular ones.¹⁰¹ Akin to Agostini's, however, the spiritual context of Pecci's setting might have been apparent or implied, especially considering the devotion to St Catherine of Siena that would have been familiar to Pecci.¹⁰² Musically, Pecci's setting consists of two independent parts according to logical division of the text: 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' and 'E quante in te consperse.' Such division also reflects the significant scope of Pecci's elaborate setting as a whole.

Conclusion to Chapter 1

The dissemination of Marino's lyrics through anthologies dedicated to spiritual subjects might have played a small but significant role in musical sources. Marino's spiritual lyrics were used in both secular and spiritual songbooks, but many would have

⁹⁹ Ziane, *Amor divino*, 350.

¹⁰⁰ Pecci's setting is also found in the London British Library MS Egerton 3665 ('The Tregian Manuscript'), with slight differences such as lack of accidentals and significantly abridged version of the second part ('E quante in te consperse'). Tregian compiled this colossal manuscript between 1609 and 1619, during the years of his confinement in London's Fleet prison. He transcribed and included twenty-five from Tomaso Pecci's first two books of madrigals for five voices (1602, 1612). See *London British Library, MS Egerton 3665: The Tregian Manuscript*, introduction by Frank A. D'Accone (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), Vol. 7b, Introduction v, ix, and folios 382-383.

¹⁰¹ Pecci's second book of madrigals was published posthumously and dedicated by his father Ermonide Pecci to Don Francesco de Medici, brother to Grand Duke Cosimo II. See Laura Buch, 'Seconda prattica and the aesthetic of meraviglia: The canzonettas and madrigals of Tomaso Pecci (1576-1604)' (PhD diss., University of Rochester, 1993), page 36-37.

¹⁰² In fact, Pecci's *Musicae modi in responsoria divini officii* (Venice: Vincenti, 1603) was dedicated to St Catherine of Siena herself.

been favored by the religious communities, especially those that stem from *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*. There was a market for anthologies of spiritual lyrics targeted at those in religious communities or with devout habits, who required editions of lyric poetry that contained exclusively moral or spiritual subjects, rather than in the normal layout in which spiritual lyrics were found alongside amorous or other worldly subjects. As devout readers of spiritual poetry read them for their own enjoyment or spiritual nourishment, music would have enhanced such experience. Over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, one can perceive a certain process of spiritualization of Marino, both in the ways that the publisher tried to promote his sacred lyrics exclusively and how some themes, such as *Bellezza Caduta* ('Fallen Beauty'), became spiritualized along the way. Furthermore, while very few in number, some of Marino's spiritual poems appeared in music dedicated to members of the Hapsburg family. Even a subtle reference from his *La Strage degli Innocenti* can be felt in the Oratorio composed and performed in Austrian court around the mid-seventeenth century.

The case study of Marino's three madrigals addressed Christ wounds—together forming a unique narrative contemplating on his pierced body—shows how they respond the contemporary devotions to the Christ's wounds, such as the Holy Shroud of Turin, illustrating a quintessentially 'Marinist' style that builds on the affective language of Grillo. Moreover, particular elements inherent in Marino's madrigals, such as its brevity, choice of gentler and more attractive words and appeal to senses (especially to that of hearing), would have lend themselves naturally to frequent and diverse musical settings. These musical settings themselves, while being varied, show composers' efforts to aurally express the mood and metaphors of these madrigals.

In many of the devotional contexts that these settings occur, music seems to help the singers and listeners contemplate on the meaning of Marino's texts that meditate on Christ's wounds as objects of spiritual desire. While settings of 'Piaga dolce d'Amore' by both Agostini and Pecci, are located within printed music books containing mostly secular songs, given their proximity to either the Confraternity of the Five Wounds or to spirituality of St Catherine of Siena, their immediate audience would have identified the wounds as those of Christ. The predominantly secular musical contexts of Agostini and Pecci's settings, however, demonstrate how Marino's affective language could be interpreted equally in a secular or spiritual vein, with 'Amore' being a double-reference to Christ and Cupid. Indeed, while the literary and musical styles are almost interchangeable between secular and spiritual madrigals, the spiritual subject or context nevertheless imposed a specific attitude towards reading or hearing of these madrigals that would have been useful for devotional purposes.¹⁰³ The double reference to the earthly Cupid and the heavenly Cupid (Christ), as well as a counterpoint between secular, amorous language and early modern devotional practices, is an underlining theme that one shall encounter throughout the following chapters.

¹⁰³ Bonini, for instance, noted that sonic sensual pleasure can be cause of 'filthy thoughts' for individuals without spiritual understanding, while it could in fact arouse 'heavenly thoughts in pious and devoted souls' See Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 81.

Chapter II

Marino's *canzonette* on Seven Sorrows of Mary:

Stabat Mater Dolorosa and La Pietà

Marian lyrics occupied a central position in virtually every post-Tridentine spiritual *canzone*, and those of Marino were no exception.¹⁰⁴ Marino wrote at least three Marian *canzonette*, each corresponding to one of Seven Sorrows of Mary (See **Table 2.1**). They not only appeared in *Le Rime* II (later *La Lira* II and III), but also in several other anthologies of spiritual lyrics, especially those that curated their contents according to Marian themes (See **Table 2.2**). Not surprisingly, Marino's Marian *canzonette* also enjoyed a diverse dissemination and settings in musical sources throughout the first half of the seventeenth century (See **Tables 2.3-2.8** below).

This chapter will focus on the two of Marino's early spiritual *canzonette*, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' and 'Già scarco havea lasciato.'¹⁰⁵ A cultural and social contexts surrounding Fenice Crescentia, the dedicatee of the two *canzonette* will be laid against the texts while their musical settings—following some extensive exegesis—are also considered in light of the social and devotional contexts in which their performance would have taken place. Set in early modern devotional modes of the Seven Sorrows of Mary and events of Holy Week, the musical settings reveal various ways in which Marino's *canzonette* were ideal conduit for expression of devotion to the *Addolorata*,

¹⁰⁴ For general discussion of popularity of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalen as subjects of post-Tridentine spiritual lyric verses, see Virginia Cox, *Prodigious Muse: Women's Writing in Counter-Reformation Italy* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), 55-76.

¹⁰⁵ . Full texts are provided in **Appendices 2.a and 2.b**.

especially in the Tuscan religious communities and devotional music within Jesuit and Oratorian circles.

Table 2.1: Seven sorrows of Mary and Marino's corresponding *canzonette*.

	Seven Sorrows of Mary	Text incipit and rubric given	Source
1	Prophecy of Simeon		
2	Flight into Egypt		
3	Loss of Jesus for three days	Sospirava e spargea (<i>Christo smarrito</i>)	<i>La Lira</i> III (1614)
4	Carrying of the cross		
5	Crucifixion of Jesus	Sola fra' suoi più cari (<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>)	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)
6	Jesus taken down from the cross	Già scarco havea lasciato (<i>La Pietà</i>)	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)
7	Jesus laid in the tomb		

Table 2.2: Anthologies containing at least one of Marino's spiritual *canzoni*
in **Table 2.1**.¹⁰⁶

Petracci, Pietro. <i>Le Muse Sacre, Scelta di Rime Spirituali, de' più Eccellenti Autori d'Italia</i> . Venice: Giovanni Battista Pulciano, 1608.
<i>Il Sacro Tempio Dell'Imperatrice de' Cieli MARIA VERGINE SANTISSIMA...</i> Vicenza: Francesco Grossi, 1613.
<i>Rosario, dalle stampe dei tutti i poeti, e poetesse, antichi e moderni...</i> Naples, 1614.
<i>Vita, Attioni, Miracoli, Morte, Resurrettione & Ascensione di Dio Humanato...</i> Venice: Santo Grillo, e Fratelli, 1614.
<i>Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre</i> . Venice: Eugenio Petrelli, 1616
<i>Poesie Sacre, e Morali, Scelte dall'opere Liriche del Signor Cavalier Marino</i> . Rome: Francesco Cavalli, 1637 and 1641.

The wide dissemination of these Marian spiritual lyric verses reflect the popularity of devotion to the Seven Sorrows of Mary, which was devotion disseminated

¹⁰⁶ See Francesco Giambonini, *Bibliografia delle opere a stampa di Giambattista Marino* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000), 233-237, 328-342, and 350-357.

by the Servite Order originating in the medieval Florence.¹⁰⁷ The Seven Sorrows of Mary continued to be influential in the early modern period, and especially after the Council of Trent in both devotional literature and music.¹⁰⁸ In the seventeenth century, the Servites developed a new Rosary of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, further promoting the devotion to the *Addolorata*.¹⁰⁹ Against this background, several *lauda spirituali* of the first decades of the seventeenth-century used Seven Sorrows as their subjects for either spiritual exercise or even as means of teaching Christian doctrines to devotees.¹¹⁰

Marino's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' and 'Gia scarco havea lasciato,' corresponding to the Fifth and Sixth Sorrows, appeared first in *Le Rime* II (1602). Marino, as a connoisseur of both music and visual arts, paid homage to Marian devotional arts by the subtitles that evoke devotional works in music and sculpture, *Stabat mater dolorosa* and *La Pietà*.¹¹¹ His 'Sospirava e spargea' (*Christo smarrito*), the *canzonetta* corresponding to the Third Sorrow (Loss of Jesus for three days), appeared later in *La Lira* III (1614). Its text and musical settings (See **Tables 2.7-2.8**) are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁷ For the history, cult, and meditative practices of Maria Addolorata both throughout the Italian peninsula and specifically Milan in the early modern period, see ee Christin Getz, *Mary, Music, and Devotion: Sacred Conversation in Post-Tridentine Milan* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), Ch. 2.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Erminia Ardissino, 'Literary and Visual Forms of a Domestic Devotion: The Rosary in Renaissance Italy,' in *Domestic Devotions in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Maya Corry (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 342-71.

¹¹⁰ Some examples include: *Nuove Laudi Ariose della Beatissima Vergine, Scelte de diuersi Autori a Quattro Voci* (Rome: Mutii, 1600); and Giovanni Battista Strata, *Arie di Musica...sopra le lodi spirituali* (Genoa: Pavoni, 1610).

¹¹¹ Marino's engagement with music and visual arts, as well as their practitioners, are well known. See *The Sense of Marino: Literature, fine arts and music of the Italian Baroque*, ed. Francesco Guardiani (New York: Legas, 1994) and Adrien Alix, 'Marino Musico? Notes sur les relations de Giambattista Marino avec quelques musiciens de son temps, autour de bologne,' *Studi Secenteschi*, Vol 62 (2021): 139-158. *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* invokes the Medieval Latin sequence, while *La Pietà* invokes the famous sculpture by Michaelangelo Buonaroti, to whose works Marino dedicated various *madrigali* including one addressed to Michaelangelo's *La Pietà* itself, 'Sasso non è costei.' See Giambattista Marino *La Galeria* II (1620), page 27. See **Appendix 2.3** for its full text and English translation

The subject given to the *canzonetta* on the fifth Sorrow, *Stabat mater dolorosa*, recalls a Latin sequence on the Virgin standing by the Cross, which originated in the thirteenth-century Franciscan sources and has been traditionally attributed to the major Franciscan *literati* active in that era, such as Jacopone da Todi and Bonaventure, although the absolute authorship remains unknown.¹¹² It had been used as an official liturgical sequence since the late fifteenth century in connection with the new Mass of the Compassion of the Blessed Virgin Mary, until it was removed from the liturgy by the Council of Trent (1542-63). However, it was revived by Pope Benedict XIII in 1727 for the use on the two feasts of the Seven Sorrows, the Friday in the fifth week of Lent and the third Sunday of September, following the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (which was later fixed on 15 September).¹¹³

Even though *Stabat mater dolorosa* had been removed from liturgy as an official sequence in the post-Tridentine period, its long-held status as a traditional medieval sequence must have nevertheless attracted composers' interest in setting Marino's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari.' **Table 2.3** and **Table 2.4** summarize known sources containing musical settings of 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' their scoring, and the specific stanzas set to music.¹¹⁴ There are at least six surviving musical settings of the text, which makes it one of the most frequently set among Marino's sacred texts. It is also unique among Marino's spiritual texts in that its music settings survive in a number of manuscripts, as almost all of musical settings of Marino's spiritual lyrics appear in print. At least four manuscripts

¹¹² One theory in favor of Jacopone da Todi as the author argues for the origin of *Stabat Mater* as an individual prayer, which makes it akin to his vernacular laude. See Gianni Mussini, *Jacopone da Todi: Laude* (Casale Monferrato (Alessandria): PIEMME, 1999), 179-180.

¹¹³ John Caldwell and Malcolm Boyd, 'Stabat mater dolorosa (Lat.: 'sorrowfully his mother stood'), *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, accessed 17 September 2023.

¹¹⁴ These are based on Alexandra Ziane's preliminary list, except for I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII.206. See Alexandra Ziane, 'Orazio Michi: contemporary testimonials, documents, and work,' in *Basler Beiträge zur historischen Musikpraxis* Vol. 39 (Schwabe Verlag, 2020): 243-279, at 256-257.

containing Orazio Michi's vocal pieces feature his setting of the text, while a hitherto unknown setting (though only using the first stanza) by an unidentified composer has been located in a manuscript in the Vatican Library Chig.Q.VIII.206 (I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII.206).

Table 2.3: Extant sources of musical settings of 'Sola fra' suoi più cari.'¹¹⁵

Year	Composer	Source Title	Place of publication
1606	Bianciardi, Francesco	<i>Canzonette spirituali a tre voci</i>	Venice
1607	Bonini, Severo	<i>Madrigali, e canzonette spirituali [...]</i>	Florence
1619	Pace, Pietro	<i>Il settimo libro de motetti, a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci...op. 18</i>	Venice
1640	Sabbatini, P. P.	<i>Canzonette spirituali ad una, a due, et a tre voci [...], op. 13</i>	Rome
NA	Michi, Orazio	I-Rn, Mss. Mus. 56	Manuscript
NA	Michi, Orazio	I-Rc, 2490	Manuscript
NA	Michi, Orazio	I-Bc, Q.43, 92r-96r	Manuscript
NA	Michi, Orazio	D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien	Manuscript
NA	Unknown	I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII.206	Manuscript

¹¹⁵ There is another source, I-Fn, Magliabechi XIX, now lost, which is assumed to have contained Luigi Rossi's setting.

Table 2.4: Form, scoring and stanzas used for settings of ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari.’

Composer	Bianciardi (1606)	Bonini (1607) ¹¹⁶	Pace (1619)	Sabbatini (1640)	Michi	I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII. 206
Form	Canzonetta	Canzonetta	Aria	Canzone	Lament	Aria
	Through- composed	Strophic	Through- composed	Strophic	Through- composed	Through- composed
Scoring	CAB	C & b.c.	CC & b.c.	C & b.c.	C & b.c.	C & b.c.
Stanzas	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2	2	2		2	
		3	3		3	
		4	4			
		5				
	8	etc.			8	
	9				9	
	10					
	11					
	14					
				19	19	
				20		
				22		
	23				23	
	24				24	
					25	

The *canzonetta* on the sixth Sorrow, ‘Già scarco havea lasciato,’ was less frequently set to music despite its larger scope (**Tables 2.5** and **2.6**). Severo Bonini is the only composer who set it as a strophic song suitable for all stanzas. Meanwhile, Antonio Cifra and Scipione Dentice only set specific stanzas as through-composed *madrigale spirituale* in their respective settings.¹¹⁷ No composer seems to have made connection to

¹¹⁶ Stanzas 1-5 are printed on music, but his setting was meant to be suitable for any combination of the stanzas, as he explains in his preface.

¹¹⁷ Here it is useful to recall that because Marino’s *canzonette* resembled madrigal in both theme and structure, composers would sometimes set specific stanzas from his longer *canzone* as individual madrigals.

Michelangelo's *La Pietà*, even though Marino certainly had it in his mind when he ascribed that subject title to 'Già scarco havea lasciato.' Not even Pietro Paolo Sabbatini, who set stanzas from 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' took up such an opportunity, even though he composed songs dedicated to Francesco Mochi's statue of St Veronica in St Peter's Basilica.¹¹⁸

Although both 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' and 'Già scarco havea lasciato' equally combine narrative and dramatic modes of speech—even sharing similar references to the titles of devotional music or visual art—there is a clear preference given to the former as a proper musical Marian lament. The position of *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* as an important canon in both liturgical sequence and devotional music partly explains this partiality. Nevertheless, the composers also used the latter as a textual basis for strophic or through-composed devotional songs dedicated to specific subjects or themes within the Passion narrative.

Table 2.5: Printed Music containing settings of 'Già scarco havea lasciato.'

Year	Composer	Source	Place of publication
1607	Bonini Severo	<i>Madrigali, e canzonette spirituali</i>	Florence
1616	Cifra, Antonio	<i>Scherzi sacri, libro primo, op. 22</i>	Rome
1640	Dentice, Scipione	<i>Madrigali spirituali a quattro voci, libro secondo</i>	Naples

See Peter Laki, 'The Madrigals of Giambattista Marino and their Settings for Solo Voice (1602–1640)' (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1989), 76–77.

¹¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of Francesco Mochi's statue of St Veronica and Sabbatini's musical settings on poems dedicated to it, see Enrica Donisi, 'Pietro Paolo Sabbatini nella Roma barocca tra mecenatismo e didattica,' in *Tullio Cima, Domenico Massenzio e la musica del loro tempo: atti del Convegno internazionale: Ronciglione, 30 ottobre-I novembre 1997*, ed. Fabio Carboni, Valeria De Lucca, and Agostino Ziino (Rome: IBIMUS, 2003), 72. The textual incipits are 'Torno di nuovo à riverir le mura' (text by Tomas di Leva) and 'Dove, Donna veloce, hor volgi il piede?' (text by Michaelangelo Lualdi'), both of which are dedicated to Mochi's St Veronica in Vatican and contained in Sabbatini's *Varii Capricci e Canzonette a una e tre voci* (Rome: Vincenzo Bianchi, 1641).

Table 2.6: Musical form, scoring and stanzas for settings of ‘Già scarco havea lasciato.’

Composer	Bonini (1607) ¹¹⁹	Cifra (1616)	Cifra (1616)	Dentice (1640)
Form	Canzonetta	Madrigale	Madrigale	Madrigale
	Strophic	Through- composed	Through- composed	Through- composed
Scoring	C & b.c.	C & b.c.	C & b.c.	CATB & b.c.
Rubric given in musical source	<i>La Pietà</i>	<i>La Pietà</i>	<i>Alla piaga del costato</i>	<i>O vos ómnes qui transiitis per viam</i>
Incipit	‘Già scarco havea lasciato’	‘Non fur non fur i chiodi’	‘Ti passa il lato manco’	‘Fermate ritenete’
Stanza set	1-30	16	23	27

Table 2.7: Printed sources containing musical settings of ‘Sospirava e spargea.’

Year	Composer	Source	Place of publication
1617	Quagliati, Paolo	<i>Affetti amorosi spirituali</i>	Rome
1617	Pace, Pietro	<i>Il secondo libro de scherzi, et arie spirituali, op. 14</i>	Venice
1620	Saracini, Claudio	<i>Le seconde musiche...et nel fine il Lamento della Maddona in stile recitativo</i>	Venice
1640	Mazzocchi, Domenico	<i>Musiche sacre, e morali a una, due, e tre voci</i>	Rome

¹¹⁹ See n. 10 above.

Table 2.8: Musical form, scoring and stanzas for settings of ‘Sospirava e spargea.’

Composer	Quagliti (1617)	Pace (1617) ¹²⁰	Saracini (1620)	Mazzocchi (1640)
Form	Villanella	Aria	Lament	Dialogue
	Strophic	Through-composed	Through-composed	Through-composed
Scoring	CCB & b.c.	C & [?] & b.c.	C & bc (Stanzas 1-24 CCB & b.c. (Stanza 25))	CATB & b.c.
Rubric given in musical source	N/A	N/A	<i>Christo smarito in stile recitativo. Lamento della Madonna</i>	<i>Christo smarrito, Dialogo à 4</i>
Incipit	‘O figlie di Sion’	‘Di colomba amorosa’	‘Sospirava e spargea’	‘Sospirava e spargea’
Stanza set	8	11	1-25	1-11, 14-25

¹²⁰ The only surviving part for this printed songbook shows only a Canto part and basso continuo, it is specified *A due* (For two). The range of the second vocal part is unknown.

The dedicatee of Marino's spiritual *canzonette*: Fenice Crescentia

Marino's pair of Marian laments occupied a special place in *Le Rime* II (1602), as the table of contexts makes clear that they were dedicated to Signora Fenice Crescentia, a nun in Torre di Specchio in Rome:

Questa divota canzonetta, & anche la precedente, che sono due pietose contemplationi alla Vergine piagnente, la morte di Christo, furono fatte à compiacimento della Signora Fenice Crescentia Suora nel Monasterio di Torre di Specchio in Roma.

This devout *canzonetta*, and also the preceding one, which are two compassionate contemplations on the weeping Virgin and death of Christ, were made to please Signora Fenice Crescentia, a Nun in Torre di Specchio in Rome.¹²¹

Little is known about Fenice Crescentia, but she was most likely a relative of brothers Crescenzo and Melchiore Crescenti, to whom the first and second volumes of *Le Rime* were respectively dedicated. They hosted Marino's stay in their home in Rome near church of San Macuto between the spring of 1601 and first half of 1603, while the former probably also financed Marino's trip to Venice to print *Le Rime*.¹²² The church of San Macuto and the Monastery of Tor de' Specchi are less than 1km away by foot, making it quite plausible for Marino to have regular contact with Signora Fenice during his stay in Rome. The dedicatory note of *Le Rime* II, therefore, not only emphasizes the Crescenti family's patronage in the production of Marino's first major collection poetry but also testifies to the close relationship they fostered with their poet.

¹²¹ The poem preceding *Già scarco havea lasciato* is *Sola fra' suoi più cari*. See Giovan Battista Marino, *Le Rime* (Venice: Ciotti, 1602). For a modern edition of Marino's text, his biography and index of Marino's correspondences, see Giovan Battista Marino, *La Lira*, Vol. 1-3 ([Venice: Giovanni Battista Ciotti, 1604]; Venice: Il Ciotti, 1629); ed. Maurizio Slawinski (Turin, Edizioni RES, 2007), 404-409.

¹²² Marino, *La Lira*, ed. Slawinski, Vol. 3, 326-327.

The Monastery of Tor de' Specchi was founded in 1433 as the house of the Olivetan Oblates of Mary, which was a congregation founded by St Francesca Romana on August 15, 1425, on the feast of the Assumption of Mary. By Francesca's will, the community of the Tor de' Specchi began as an open monastery, whose oblates were neither nuns nor laywomen and remained secular in terms of canonical laws.¹²³ The seventeenth century was its heyday, with more than 138 oblates registered at one point, and many of its members hailing from noble Roman families, both ancient and new.¹²⁴ Moreover, the post-Tridentine community of Tor de' Specchi fostered a strong relationship with Jesuit and Oratorian fathers, including St Philip Neri, Cesare Baronio, and St Giovanni Leonardi, who frequently visited the monastery and acted as their confessors and spiritual directors.¹²⁵ Dedication of 'Sola fra' suoi piu cari' to Fenice Crenscanti nun at Tor de' Specchi and hailing from a powerful Roman family, as well as the strong relationship the monastery held with both Jesuits and Oratorians (including St Philip Neri himself), might explain its wide circulation and musical adaptations in oratories of both religious orders.

Because the nuns of Tor de' Specchi held a special devotion to the Virgin Mary, Marino's two *canzonette* on Seven Sorrows of Mary would have been appropriate for their usage. As the medieval *Stabat mater dolorosa* used the imagery of Mary as both

¹²³ For discussion of history and legal state of Tor de Specchi around the time of the Council of Trent, see Maya Maskarinec, 'Nuns as "Sponsae Christi: The Legal Status of the Medieval Oblates of Tor de Specchi,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 72, no. 2 (2021): 280 – 299.

¹²⁴ These included, besides Fenice Crescenti, members of Orsini, Colonna, Del Drago, Cenci, Capizucchi, Lancellotti, Serlupi, Accoramboni, Massimi, Del Bufalo, Cesi, and Pamphili families. Most of relevant historical information of the Monastery of Tor de' Specchi can be found in their homepage. 'Il Monastero,' Tor de' Specchi: Monastero delle Oblate di Santa Francesca Romana, accessed, 15 February, 2024, http://www.tordespecchi.it/public/index.php?Storia:Il_monastero.

¹²⁵ 'Santi a Tor de' Specchi,' Tor de' Specchi: Monastero delle Oblate di Santa Francesca Romana, accessed 15 February, 2024, http://www.tordespecchi.it/public/index.php?Storia:Santi_a_Tor_de%27_Specchi.

mother and spouse of Jesus, it would have especially resonated with the spirituality of nuns, who would have identified themselves as spouses of Christ upon taking their vows.¹²⁶ While Tor de' Specchi originally maintained its status as an open monastery and lay spirituality, the decree of Council of Trent nevertheless imposed spirituality of strict enclosure with its nuns in the late sixteenth-century.¹²⁷ In this sense, dedication of Marino's Marian *canzonette* to Fenice Crescentia is a reflection of the post-Tridentine spirituality that nuns in Tor de Specchi were either pressured to or expected to adapt, despite a more eclectic female spirituality originally put forth by St Francesca Romana herself.

'Sola fra' suoi più cari'—text and background

As a poetic text, Marino's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' draws inspiration from both medieval and contemporary poetic sources dealing with Mary's Sorrow by the Cross, such as the original *Stabat mater dolorosa* and Jacopone da Todi's 'Donna del Paradiso,' as well as spiritual *canzonette* on Mary's laments by authors such as Tasso and Grillo.¹²⁸ As a strophic *canzonetta*, the 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' consists of 25 stanzas of *sestina* (six lines) each, whose rhyme scheme articulates their internal division into a quatrain of *rima incrociata* and a rhymed couplet: abbaC.¹²⁹ Marino's *canzonetta* therefore structurally

¹²⁶ Eliska Kubartová Polácková, *Medieval Laments of the Virgin Mary: Text, music, performance, and genre liminality* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2023), 67-74.

¹²⁷ Maskarinec, 'Nuns as "Sponsae Christi," 280 – 299.

¹²⁸ A full modern edition, critical comments, and critical notes on 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' is given in Alessandro Martini, 'Agonismo Mariano: Uno "Stabat mater" di Giovan Battista Marino,' *Humanitas: Rivista Bimestrale di Cultura, Fondata nel 1946*. Vol 60, no. 3, ed. Pietro Gibellini ((2005): 403 – 417.

¹²⁹ Marino creates an intriguing asymmetry by lengthening the second line of the couplet (e.g. the last line) to eleven syllables and making it endecasillabo, while all the other lines consist of seven syllables and therefore are settenari (syllable scheme: 7p-7p-7p-7p-7p-11p).

resembles the Latin *Stabat mater dolorosa*, which can be thought as consisting of 10 *sestine* with rhyme scheme of aab ccb.¹³⁰

‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari’ begins with a narrator describing the scene of Mary standing by the Cross in Stanzas 1-8, again drawing a parallel to the traditional *Stabat mater dolorosa*.¹³¹ It deviates from the Medieval sequence in Stanza 9, however, when Mary begins her lament and becomes the speaker for the rest of the *canzonetta*. In several of the stanzas during her soliloquy, Mary speaks to Jesus as her son (Stanzas 9-13, 19, 22-25), expressing her grief at seeing Jesus tormented and asking Jesus to stay with her. In other instances, her lament goes through a series of meditation on her sorrow. She not only addresses God the Father (Stanzas 14-15) but also laments the lost joy announced by Angel Gabriel in her Annunciation (Stanzas 16-17), the pain foretold by Simeon the prophet (Stanza 18), and even the cruelty of the ministry (agents) that crucified Jesus (Stanzas 20-21).¹³²

The *canzonetta* for the Sorrow of Christ taken down from the Cross, ‘Già scarco havea lasciato,’ is more substantial in length and scope, being comprised of 30 stanzas, consisting of seven lines each with a rhyme scheme of ababbC (7p-7p-7p-7p-7p-7p-11p). It is again divided into narrative and dramatic parts: description the scene of Jesus being taken down from the Cross (stanzas 1-9, and 30) and Mary’s speech (stanzas 10-29). Opening stanzas are ekphratic in nature, not only describing Mary holding Jesus in her arms (Stanza 2-4) but also the choir of weeping ladies, thousand pitiful hosts, even

¹³⁰ Martini, ‘Agonismo Mariano,’ 410.

¹³¹ Ibid., 411. Unlike Marino’s *canzone*, the Latin *Stabat mater dolorosa* is spoken purely from the narrator’s (or devotee’s) perspective.

¹³² Ibid.

and the angel that surround her while mourning and worshipping different parts of Jesus's body, wounds, and the instruments that caused them (Stanzas 5-8).

When Mary finally starts to speak, Mary speaks of her painfully contrasting experiences of holding Jesus as a living child and holding him tormented and lifeless (Stanzas 11-13). She asks who could have done such a terrible deed (stanza 14) and calls Jesus to answer her, but with no avail (Stanza 15). A substantial portion of her soliloquy contemplates on the concept of *arma Christi*, or the instruments used to torture Christ during the Passion, especially the nails and Lance of Longinus (stanzas 16-26). Mary also compares Jesus to Cupid who stretches his arms on the cross like the wings (stanzas 18 – 22).¹³³ Towards the end of the *canzonetta*, Mary invokes words of Jeremiah's Lamentations 1:12 (Stanza 27), followed by Mary equating the amount of her tears shed to that of Jesus's blood shed during the Passion (Stanzas 28-29). The concluding stanza describes Mary unable to continue her speech, as her soul, now pierced according to Simeon's prophecy, is about to leave her body.

'Sola fra' suoi più cari' and 'Già scarco havea lasciato' together combine narration of events taking place at the time of Christ's Passion from Mary's perspective, offering a series of contemplation (or meditation) on Mary's sorrow and Christ's suffering. In fact, the two *canzonette* seem to have distinctive functions of emphasizing Mary's emotional suffering in the former and Christ physical suffering in the latter. Compared to the preceding *canzonetta*, which expresses Mary's pains and inner turmoil, a significant amount of Mary's speech in 'Già scarco havea lasciato' is taken up by

¹³³ Such imagery might also be inspired by St Francis's hagiology by Bonaventura, who recalls St Francis receiving stigmata from crucified Christ as a seraph with wings stretched in flight. See St Bonaventure, *The Life of S. Francis of Assisi From the "Legenda Santi Francisci" of S. Bonaventure*, ed., Henry Edward, Archbishop of Canterbury. (London: R. Washbourne, 13 Paternoster Row, 1868), reprinted in Tan Classics, 2010, 108-109.

meditations on Christ's Love (or Christ as a divine Cupid) and *arma Christi*. It thus places less emphasis on Mary's sorrow than the preceding *canzonetta*. This may partly explain why the composers were more interested in setting the former to music as part of a proper Marian lament for the Good Friday or Holy Saturday and the reason they only used excerpts of the latter as songs dedicated to more specific themes within the Passion, as the following discussions demonstrate.

Francesco Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Gardano, 1606)

Francesco Bianciardi (1572-1607) was the first composer to set 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' in his *Canzonette Spirituali a tre voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1606). Just like his fellow Sienese composer, Agostino Agazzari, Bianciardi was one of the most prominent composers active in Siena around the turn of seventeenth century, serving as a chaplain (1593-1595), organist (1591-1597), and *maestro di capella* (1597-1607) at Siena Cathedral.¹³⁴ As Cisilino observed, Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* stands out for its intense expression of piety through the subjects based on spiritual texts by Marino and Grillo (see **Table 2.9** below).¹³⁵ The work itself seems a fitting swansong for a priest-composer like Bianciardi, who died only few weeks after he signed its dedicatory letter.¹³⁶ published shortly before his death.

¹³⁴ For general biography on Francesco Bianciardi and his activity at the chapel of Siena Cathedral, see Frank A D'Accone, *The Civic Muse: Music and Musicians in Siena during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 372-379.

¹³⁵ Siro Cisilino, *Francesco Bianciardi: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 7 (Padua: Biblioteca Antoniana, 1973, Introduction to *Canzonette Spirituali*, VII-VIII.

¹³⁶ Bianciardi signed the dedicatory letter from Venice on 1 January, 1606, and died on 29 of the same month.

Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* conforms to the ethos of a group of *canzonette spirituali* as a genre that flourished around the turn of the seventeenth-century.¹³⁷ Many of these *canzonette spirituali* were not only appropriate for devotion and recreation by those in religious orders (such as Oratorians and Jesuits) and monastery, but also drew many texts from Grillo's *Pietosi Affetti*.¹³⁸ As noted by Fiore, by incorporating Grillo's texts, *canzonette spirituali* 'became vehicles not only for the medieval and renaissance religious texts, but also for a newer style of the late-sixteenth century poets like Grillo.'¹³⁹

Bianciardi incorporation of Marino's texts alongside Grillo's, therefore, builds up on the latest literary (as well as musical) trends of contemporary *canzonette spirituali*. His choice of texts by Marino and Grillo are also reflected in contemporary three-part *canzonette spiritual* by other Sienese composers such as Tomaso Pecci, Mariano Tantucci, Agostino Agazzari, Marcantonio Tornioli,¹⁴⁰ as well as those of non-Sienese composer such as Vincenzo Simili.¹⁴¹ The Sienese were in fact the first ones to embrace Marino's texts from *Le Rime* soon after its first publication, owing to a significant mark Marino left on the academic and musical scenes of Siena as he visited there on the way to Venice to publish his *Le Rime*.¹⁴²

Combined with the celebrated position of Marino in Siena as a poet in the first

¹³⁷ John Joseph Fiore, 'The Canzonetta Spirituale in the late sixteenth century,' PhD diss. (University of Chicago, 2009).

¹³⁸ Ibid., especially Chapters 1, 2, and 6.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 290-291.

¹⁴⁰ Marcantonio Tornioli, Bianciardi's successor as maestro di cappella of Siena Cathedral, also published his *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Gardano, 1607) shortly after Bianciardi's death. Tornioli's collection draws its texts exclusively from Angelo Grillo's *Pietosi Affetti* (1595, 1604, etc.), adapting the ones not set by Bianciardi. Therefore, Tornioli's *Canzonette Spirituali* draws a strong connection to Bianciardi's and may have been conceived in relation to it or as a continuous project from where Bianciardi left off.

¹⁴¹ For Vincenzo Simili, see Chapter 5.

¹⁴² Marino's visit to Siena on his way to Venice for publication of his *Le Rime*, and the impact he had on Sienese academies and musicians is well documented. Marino even dedicated a madrigal in praise of Tomaso Pecci, who composed a celebrated (but now lost) setting of Marino's *Canzonette dei Baci*. See Laura Buch, 'Seconda prattica and the Aesthetic of Meraviglia: The Canzonettas and Madrigals of Tomaso Pecci (1576-1604),' PhD diss. (University of Rochester, 1993), 55-58.

decade of the seventeenth century, certain aspects of Marino's spiritual texts must have also appealed to Sienese piety exemplified by their patron saint, Catherine of Siena.¹⁴³ Similar to St Francis of Assisi, she was venerated for the stigmata she supposedly received while praying in front an image of crucified Christ in Pisa. For this reason, the madrigals that expressed affection to Christ's wounds would have been appealing to Bianciardi, who musically set all of Marino's madrigals dedicated to Christ's wounds on the side and even a madrigal to St Francis's stigmata in *Canzonette Spirituali*.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Tomaso Pecci's *Musicae modi in responsoria divini officii* (Venice: Vincenti, 1603), for instance, is dedicated to St Cathrine of Siena.

¹⁴⁴ See Chapters 4 and 5.

Table 2.9: Contents of Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Gardano, 1606).

	Tonal system	Final	Incipit	Subject	Poet	Source	Concordance
1		D	Uscite uscite a rimirar pietose	Crown of Thorns	Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> I (1602)	
2		A	Piaga dolce d'amore	Christ's wound on the side	Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	Pecci, <i>Madrigali a cinque voci, Libro secondo</i> (Venice: 1612); Agostini, <i>Poesie diverse poste in musica</i> (Rome: 1623)
3		D	O piaga impiagatrice	Christ's wound on the side	Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	Dentice, <i>Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci, libro primo</i> (Naples: 1629)
4		A	Lancia, lancia soave	Lance of Longinus	Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	Bonini, <i>Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali</i> (Florence: 1607); Cifra, <i>Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo</i> (Rome: 1616); Dentice, <i>Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci, libro primo</i> (Naples: 1629)
5		D	Sola fra' suoi più cari	Stabat mater dolorosa	Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	Bonini, <i>Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali</i> (Florence: 1607); Pace, <i>Il settimo libro de motetti, a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci...op. 18</i> (1619); Sabbatini, <i>Canzoni spirituali ad una, a due, et a tre voci [...], op. 13</i> (Rome: 1640); Michi, I-Rn, Mss. Mus. 56, I-Rc, 2490, I-Bc, Q.43, D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien, Anonymous, I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII.206
6		A	Stava l'addolorata		Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	
7		A	Lungo spatio tacendo		Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	

Table 2.9: Contents of Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Gardano, 1606), continued.

8		E	O mio poscia riprese	Stabat mater dolorosa	Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	
9		D	Chi d'atro sangue ha tinto		Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	
10		G	Te dunque in sei portai		Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	
11		D	Gli occhi volgi		Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	
12		D	A te ch'errar non puoi		Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	
13		D	La Croce dunque		Marino	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	
14	$\flat$	G	Dhe c'ho potuto in te	Reproaches	Grillo	<i>Pietosi Affetti, et lagrime del penitente</i> (1595, 1601)	<i>Lodi e canzonette spirituali</i> (Naples: Tarquinio Longo, 1608)

Table 2.9: Contents of Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Gardano, 1606), continued.

15	$\flat$	G	Perfido & inhumano	Reproaches	Grillo	<i>Pietosi Affetti, et lagrime del penitente</i> (1595, 1601)	Borsaro, <i>Canzonette spirituali I a 4</i> (Venice: 1597); <i>Lodi e canzonette spirituali</i> (Naples: Tarquinio Longo 1608)
16	$\flat$	D	Ah cor se pur sei core	Sinner examines their heart; Contrition	Grillo	<i>Pietosi Affetti, et lagrime del penitente</i> (1595, 1601)	Croce, <i>Canzonette I a 3</i> (Venice: 1601); Franzoni, <i>I nuovi fioretti musicali</i> (Venice, 1605); <i>Lodi e canzonette spirituali</i> (Naples, 1608); Lorenzo Medici, <i>Canzonettelli a 3</i> (Venice: 1611); Quagliati, <i>Affetti Amorosi Spirituali</i> (Rome: 1617); Enrico Radesca, <i>Canzonette, madrigali... V a 1-2</i> (Venice: 1617); Biandrà, <i>Madrigaletti</i> (Rome: 1626)
17	$\flat$	G	Dhe come fatto sei	Flagellation, Contrition	Grillo	<i>Pietosi Affetti, et lagrime del penitente</i> (1595, 1601)	<i>Lodi e canzonette spirituali</i> (Naples: Tarquinio Longo, 1608)
18	$\flat$	G	Piaghe non son, ma stelle	St Francis of Assisi, his wounds	Marino	<i>Le Rime II</i> (1602)	Bonini, <i>Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali</i> (Florence: Raverii, 1607)
19	$\flat$	Bb	Fatti sangue diletto	Blood of Christ	Grillo	<i>Pietosi Affetti, et lagrime del penitente</i> (1595, 1601)	Magni, <i>Musica sopra I Pietosi affetti</i> (Venice: 1604); Patta, <i>Motetti e madrigali a 1</i> (Venice, 1614)
20		D	Mentre Giesu ti miro	Contrition	Grillo	<i>Pietosi Affetti, et lagrime del penitente</i> (1595, 1601)	<i>Lodi e canzonette spirituali</i> (Naples: Tarquinio Longo, 1608)
21	$\flat$	D	Alma che fai	Contrition			

Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* was dedicated to Alfonso Petrucci, a Sienese noble and chamberlain to the newly elected Pope Paul V (1605-1621)—or Camillo Borghese—who likewise hailed from the noble family of Siena.¹⁴⁵ In his letter of dedication, Bianciardi emphasizes Marino's songs and Mary's Sorrow, and how tears by both Marino and Mary can be cast into music to provide not only inner refreshment but also expression of love and devotion:

Sorrow and love, when they go beyond the used measure, not suffering from being enclosed in the heart, often flow over through the mouth, like a stream of water through open shelters. Who does not know that singing, and harmony, is often either a refreshment of sorrow contained within, or a demonstration of conceived love? In these little songs of Marino's, I grieved over the sorrow of the Mother of God, I was inflamed with an excessive love for Your Most Reverend Lordship since I had first met you; and therefore, I could not help but vent some of these affections in these musical compositions, thus weeping over the tears of Mary and Marino, and again, with the pleasure that musical compositions can bring, giving testimony of my inner desire. But if Your Excellency, in the pious sorrow of the Blessed Virgin vented in the words of others, and tempered in my little sweet song, will taste some drop of sweetness, I beg you to take it as a sign of the extraordinary affection that I sincerely feel for you.¹⁴⁶

Considering the flourishing of the monastery of Tor de' Specchi in the post-Tridentine period that boasted many members of Roman noble families as its nuns and established close ties to the Oratorian and Jesuit orders, Bianciardi's motivation to set 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' as the central piece might be attributed to an increased attention

¹⁴⁵ The Borghese family originally hailed from Siena but relocated to Rome in 1541. See Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770*, (Cambridge University Press, 1998), 95-96.

¹⁴⁶ In original Italian: 'Il dolore, e l'amore allor che l'usata misura trapassano, non sofferendo di stare racchiusi nel core, spesso per la bocca, quasi gorga d'acqua per aperto riparo traboccano, e chi non sà che sovente il canto, e l'armonia, ò è ristoro di racchiuso dolore, ò dimostrazione di conceputo amore. Mi dolsi in queste canzoncine del Marino, al dolore della Madre di Dio, m'accesi di eccessivo amore verso di V. S. Reverendissima da che cominciai à conoscerla; e però di questi affetti non hò potuto far di non sfogarne parte in queste musiche compositioni, così piangendo al pianto di Maria, e del Marino, così ancora, col diletto che musico componimento feco arrecare suole, dando testimonianza dell'interno mio desiderio. Però se V. S. nel pietoso dolore della Beata Vergine sfogato nell'altrui parole, e temperato nel mio poco soave canto, gusterà qualche stilla di dolcezza, la prego à prenderla per contrasegno del straordinario affetto, che sinceramente le porto. Con che facendole riverenza, le prego ogni suo maggior contento.'

and enthusiasm (either politically or spiritually) given to the monastery of Tor de' Specchi or to Francesca Romana herself in the early seventeenth century. As a matter of fact, Francesca Romana was canonized by Pope Paul V in 1608, just shortly after publication of Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali*.

As shown in **Table 2.9**, Bianciardi's subjects draw exclusively from Christ's passion, with a special emphasis on Christ's wounds and Mary's Lament by the Cross. The first half of the songbook (nos. 1-13) constitutes a Passion narrative, beginning with the sonnet for the Crown of Thorns that invites the devotees to behold the tormented Christ (no. 1), three madrigals that meditate on Christ's wounds (nos. 2-4), and a *canzonetta* expressing Virgin's Sorrow at Christ's Crucifixion. Not only are they drawn from Marino's *Rime I & II* (1602), but also the order of three madrigals on the Christ's wounds followed by Mary's Lament at the Crucifixion follows exactly the order they appear in *Le Rime II*.¹⁴⁷

Texts after Marino's Marian lament by the Cross, are from Grillo's *Pietosi Affetti* (1595), with the exception of Marino's madrigal to St Francis of Assisi which is interwoven among Grillo's texts. Their subjects are *Improperia* or Reproaches (nos. 14 and 15), examination of the heart (no. 16), meditations on Flagellation (no. 16), Christ's Wounds (through wound of St Francis of Assisi), Christ's blood (nos. 17-19), concluding with texts for Contrition (nos. 20-21). If a series of Marino's texts told a particular narrative of Christ's Passion in the first half, the latter section of Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (1606) shifts the devotees' focus (by using Grillo's texts) to contemplation on

¹⁴⁷ In Marino's *Le Rime II* 'Lancia lancia soave,' 'Piaga dolce d'amore', and 'O piaga impiagatrice' make up a series of madrigals on Christ's wounds, which is immediately followed by 'Sola fra' suoi più cari.' The position of 'Lancia lancia soave' comes after, rather than before, the other two in Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali*, however.

sins that caused Christ's suffering, the examination of consciousness and act of Contrition.

Seen as a whole, Bianciardi's texts are carefully organized and composed in a way that resembles a contemporary religious literature or even serves as a spiritual journey or exercises on its own, akin to Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises* or the Rosary. For instance, it follows the same scheme as Angelo Grillo's *Christo Flagellato et le sue essequie* (The Flagellation and the Exequies of Christ) (Venice: 1607), in which Grillo weaves together affective texts on Christ's passion and Virgin Mary's sorrow to move the readers to penitence.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, within the cycle of four weeks in Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, the third week was dedicated to the imaginative meditation on the Passion, and Loyola encouraged the meditators to identify with the suffering Christ must go through all for human sins and what the devout must do to suffer for Christ in return.¹⁴⁹ In addition, the Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary involves contemplation on the Crowning of Jesus with Thorns (third mystery) and the Crucifixion (fifth mystery) and Death of Jesus to identify with the sufferings undergone by Mary herself.

Furthermore, subjects of nos. 14-21 constitute the same process as the Sacrament of Confession. The majority of these texts (nos. 14-17 and 20) have a parallel in *Lodi e Canzonette Spirituali* (1608), which was intended for educating Christian Doctrine and Catechism through singing texts in a simple, homophonic texture that could be learned by

¹⁴⁸ Virginia Cox, "'Consenti o pia, ch'in lagrimosi carmi...'" Birgitta in the Verse, Thought, and Artistic Commissions of Angelo Grillo,' in *The Legacy of Birgitta of Sweden: Women, Politics, and Reform in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Unn Falkeid and Anna Wainwright (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 242.

¹⁴⁹ Barbara Diana Swanson, 'Speaking in Tones: Plainchant, Monody, and the Evocation of Antiquity in Early Modern Italy,' PhD diss. (Case Western Reserve University, 2013), 192.

devotees with little or no musical training.¹⁵⁰ Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (1606) was, therefore, most likely created with pedagogical function in mind as well.

The tonal organization, as well as the diversity of textual and musical style, also carefully put together to reflect a progression from narrative of Christ's Passion to the act of contrition. Nos. 1-13 are all in natural hexachord (no flat in the clef) and hovers around D or A as the Final, while nos. 14-19 and 21 are in soft hexachord (one flat in the clef) with the Final mostly on G. The last two songs on Contrition (nos. 20-21) return to having D as the Final.

Both textual and musical complexities are polarized between the songs in the first and second halves that respectively use Marino and Grillo's texts. Such stylistic contrast is most vividly evident in the opening and closing songs of the collection. On one hand, the first song, 'Uscite uscite a rimirar,' is an excerpt from Marino's sonnet for the Crown of Thorns, and it is set in a highly contrapuntal style that opens with a fughetta (See **Example 2.1**). On the other hand, the last two songs on the Contrition, 'Mentre Giesù ti miro' and 'Alma che fai' are short, homophonic *villanelle* almost entirely in chordal texture (See **Example 2.2**). While the former demonstrates a more florid style that combines both imitative and declamatory textures, the latter is much lighter and simpler compositions in the style of simple *canzonetta*, *lauda*, or even *villanella*. Thus, music of Grillo settings is much akin to that of *Lodi e Canzonette Spirituali* (1608).

¹⁵⁰ See Eyolf Østrem and Nils Holger Petersen, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: The Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 61-64.

Canto U - scite u-sci-te a ri-mi-rar pie-to-se U - scite u-sci-te a

Alto U - scite u-sci-te a ri-mi-rar pie-to - se a ri-mi-rar

Basso U - scite u-sci-te a ri-mi-rar pie -

6 ri - mi-rar pie - to - se Schie - re del pa - ra - di - so cit - ta - di - ne

pie - to - se Schie - re del pa - ra - di - so cit - ta - di - ne Il

to - se Schie - re del pa - ra - di - so cit - ta - di - ne

11 Il vo - stro Rè scher - ni - to E qual sù'l

vo - stro Rè scher - ni - to E qual sù'l

Il vo - stro Rè scher - ni - to E qual sù'l

16 cri - ne Novo e stra - nio diade - ma amor gli po - se E qual sù'l

cri - ne Novo e stra - nio diade - ma a-mor gli po - se E qual sù'l

cri - ne Novo e stra - nio diade - ma amor gli po - se E qual sù'l

21

cri - ne Novo e stra - nio dia - de - ma amor gli po - se.

cri - ne Novo e stra - nio diade - ma amor gli po - se.

cri - ne Novo e stra - nio diade - ma amor gli po - se

Example 2.1: Bianciardi, ‘Uscite, uscite a rimirar pietose,’ *Canzonette Spirituali*
(Venice: Gardano, 1606), no. 1.

Canto

Al - ma che fai ch'a Dio gratie non ren - di Tu non intendi che ti

Alto

Al - ma che fai ch'a Dio gratie non ren - di Tu non intendi che ti

Basso

Al - ma che fai ch'a Dio gratie non ren - di Tu non intendi che ti

8

picchia il co - re A tutte l'hore il tuo dol - ce Gie - sù Non pec - car più Non pec - car più

picchia il co - re A tutte l'hore il tuo dol - ce Giesù Non peccar più Non peccar più

picchia il co - re A tutte l'hore il tuo dol - ce Giesù Non pec - car più Non pec - car più

Example 2.2: Bianciardi, ‘Alma che fai, ch’a Dio gratie non rendi,’ *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no. 21.

To summarize, texts in Bianciardi’s *Canzonette Spirituali* begins by invitation to behold the crucified Christ and meditation on his wounds, culminating in Virgin Mary’s lament that expresses affective piety through the words of Mary. This is followed by Reproaches, further contemplations on sins that caused Christ’s wounds, and resolution for Contrition. Bianciardi’s *Canzonette Spirituali*, therefore, has a line of development

typical of contemporary religious literature, Jesuit Spiritual Exercises or the even the Rosary – all of which were widely popular modes of devotion in the early modern period – that combined recited narration with meditation to contemplate experiences of Jesus and Mary.¹⁵¹ The different themes and functions of the texts are clearly divided in Bianciardi's collection not only by their authors and the subjects, but also by the tonal organization and contrast in textual and musical styles.

As the dedication of *Canzonette Spirituali* was signed on 1 January 1606 in Venice, both the time of publication and the subject would have made it suitable for that year's Lenten season and Holy week, especially on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. The texts by Marino and Grillo are both representative of the kind of text favored by religious communities (Franciscans, Benedictines, Dominicans), courtiers, academicians. Meanwhile, Grillo's texts taken from *Pietosi Affetti*, are concordant in *Lodi e Canzonette Spirituali*, which was used for teaching Christian Doctrines using singing, so it could would have been also useful for edification of Catechism among devotees.

While no record of performance of Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* exists, it could have been intended for a confraternity or a monastic community that Bianciardi was familiar with. Cisilino speculates that the confraternity of Croce di Casole d'Elsa (Bianciardi's hometown), which often accompanied procession with lavish choral music, could have commissioned it.¹⁵² There are also several records of convents hiring the musicians from the Siena Cathedral for important feast days and Holy Saturday. The convent of Sant' Agatha, for instance records hiring Bianciardi in years 1605 and 1606

¹⁵¹ Ardissino, 'Literary and Visual Forms,' 342-71.

¹⁵² Cisilino, *Francesco Bianciardi: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 7, Introduction to *Canzonette Spirituali*, VII-VIII.

and Tornioli in 1608.¹⁵³ The years coincide not only with their terms of employments as Siena Cathedral's *maestri di cappella* but also with publications of their books of *Canzonette Spirituali*, making it plausible for their music to have been performed in the Sienese convents during the Holy Week.

Bianciardi's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari'

Bianciardi's nine-part 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' the centre piece of his *Canzonette Spirituali*, has interesting parallels with its close precedent: Stefano Limidi's setting of 'Le braccia aperse' in *I Regii Concenti Spirituali* (Milan: Tradate, 1605; see **Appendix 2.c** for full text). In Limidi's collection, too, the Marian lament is the central piece – the music is in nine parts, same as the number of stanzas as 'Le braccia aperse.' The first three stanzas are spoken from a narrator's perspective, while the latter six adapt that of Mary. Bianciardi's adaptation of Marino's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' in fact, mirrors the development in Grillo's text. Not only Bianciardi sets Marino's stanzas 1, 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 23, 24 as 9 distinctive parts, but the first three stanzas (1, 2, 8) are spoken from the narrator's view, while the rest (9, 10, 11, 14, 23, 24) are spoken by Mary. Therefore, the already perceptible similarity of Marino's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' to Grillo's 'Le braccia aperse' from literary perspective¹⁵⁴ is made even stronger by Limidi and Bianciardi's musical adaptations.

Structurally, Bianciardi divides each stanza into two distinctive sections (α and β) with optional repeats. **Table 2.10** below summarizes how Bianciardi divides verses 1-6 (shown according to rhyme scheme abbaC) in each stanza, as well as the dominating

¹⁵³ Colleen Reardon, *Holy Concord within Sacred Walls: Nuns and Music in Siena, 1575-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 36.

¹⁵⁴ Martini, 'Agonismo Mariano', 412-13.

texture (homophonic or imitative). It already demonstrates a fluid way in which Marino's stanza could be musically interpreted either as consisting of either a quatrain and a couplet (stanzas 1, 2, 11, 23) two tercets (stanzas 9, 10, 14, 24), or even a couplet and a quatrain (stanza 8).

Table 2.10: Structural scheme of Bianciardi's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari.'

Part	Stanza	Structure		Texture	
		α -section	β -section	α -section	β -section
1	1	abba	cC	Homophonic	Imitative
2	2	abba	cC	Homophonic	Imitative
3	8	ab	bacC	Imitative	Homophonic
4	9	abb	acC	Homophonic	Homophonic
5	10	abb	acC	Homophonic	Imitative
6	11	abba	cC	Homophonic	Homophonic
7	14	abb	acC	Imitative	Imitative
8	23	abba	cC	Homophonic	Homophonic
9	24	abb	acC	Homophonic	Imitative

Parts 1, 2, 5, and 9 (stanzas 1, 2, 10, and 24) share a similar musical texture, being homophonic and imitative in α - and β -sections, respectively. The solemn, declamatory manner in which Bianciardi's song cycle starts (**Example 2.3**), in fact, recalls contemporary motets based on the original Latin text of *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* such as those by Palestrina (**Example 2.4**). Here we see Bianciardi applying word-painting on 'stratii' amari' ('bitter wounds') with chromaticism (**Example 2.3**; bars 7: F#-G-G#-A), which he also applies later in the Alto line of the incipit, 'La Croce' ('The Cross'), of Part 9. A rather curious solmization pun occurs in Verse 2 of Part 2 (**Example 2.5**), in which the notes of four syllables of 'A par del tronco stesso' ('Like the trunk itself') follow the solmization, LA FA RE, SOL, therefore mirroring the vowels of the poetic line (A pAr dEl trOnco) (**Example 2.4**, bars 6-11).

Canto
So - la fra suoi più ca - ri A pie del fi - glio af -

Alto
So - la fra suoi più ca - ri A pie del fi - glio afflit -

Basso
So - la fra suoi più ca - ri A pie del fi - glio af -

7
flit - to Tor - men - ta - to e tra - fit - to Da

14
mil - le stra - tija - ma - ri Scon - so - la - ta Ma - ri -

20
a Qual torto - rel - la ve - dova lan - gui - a.

Example 2.3: Bianciardi, ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari’ (Part 1), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no. 5.

2 *Stabat mater.* *Palestrina.*

Coro I.
Canto I. *Stabat mater do-lorosa, dum pendebat*
Canto II.
Alto.
Basso.
Coro II.
Canto I.
Canto II.
Tenore.
Basso. *par-ta crucem lacrymosa,*

Example 2.4: Palestrina, *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, 19th-century manuscript, Universitätsbibliothek der Eberhard Karls Universität (D-Tu), Mk 74, p. 2.

Canto
Alto
Basso

Sta - val'ad - do-lo-ra - ta Al du-ro tron-co ap - pres-so A
Sta - va l'ad-do-lo-ra - ta Al du - ro tronco appres-so
Sta - val'ad - do-lo-ra - ta Al du - ro tronco appres-so

7
par del tron - costes - so A par del tronco stes - so Im-mo-bile in-sen - sa - ta
A par del tronco stes - so A par del tron - costes - so Im-mo-bile in-sen - sa - ta
A par del tron - co stes - so Im - mo-bile in-sen - sa - ta

15 In pie reggea - la amo - re In pie reggea - la amo - re E sosteneala in

In pie reggeala amo - re In pie reggeala amo - re E sosteneala in vi -

In pie reggeala amo - re In pie reggeala amo - re

21 vi - ta il suo do - lo - re E sosteneala in vi - ta il

- ta il suo do - lo - re E sosteneala in vi - ta il

E sosteneala in vi - ta il suo do - lo - re E sosteneala in

27 suo do - lo - re E sosteneala in vi - ta il suo do -

suo do - lo - re E sosteneala in vi - ta il suo

vi - ta il suo do - lo - re E sosteneala in

32 lo - re E sosteneala in vi - ta il suo do - lo - re

do - lo - re E sosteneala in vi - ta il suo do - lo - re

vi - ta il suo do - lo - re

Example 2.5: Bianciardi, 'Stava l'addolorata' (Part 2), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no. 6.

The similar verse and textural structures of Parts 1-2 reflect their role as mainly setting the scene of Virgin standing by the Cross in agony. Part 3, then, introduces a shift

from a third-person narration to Virgin's speaking voice in the first-person perspective.

(**Example 2.6**) The mostly imitative α -section, which expresses Virgin's agonizing silence with low registers in upper two voices (bars 9-11), is contrasted by a homophonic texture and faster note values in the β -section (bars 12-16) as the Virgin's spirit is aroused and she starts to speak: 'Pur lo spirito sciolse / In voce al fin gemendo / E pianse e disse "O mio"' ('Yet the spirit loosened, and finally in a groaning voice she wept and said, "Oh my"'). The Virgin's cry *O mio* ('O my') in bars 17-19 is expressed with a brief modulation (plagal, imperfect cadence) into C major, which is immediately 'interrupted' by the narration in low register in bars 19-21: 'Ma l'interrompe il pianto' ('But her tears interrupted and she did not finish.').

Canto

Alto

Basso

Lungo spa - tio ta-cen - do

Lungo spa - tio ta-cen - do Al suo do -

Lungo spa - tio ta-cen - do Al suo do-lor

Al suo do-lor si dol - se Al suo do - lor si dol - se

lor si dol - se si dol - se Al suo do - lor si dol - se

si dol - se Al suo do - lor si dol - se Al suo do-lor si dol - se

12
Pur lo Spi-ri-to sei ol-se In vo - ce al fin ge-men-do e pian-se e dis-se
Pur lo Spi-ri-to sei ol-se In vo - ce al fin ge - men - do e pian-se e dis-se
Pur lo Spi-ri-to sei ol-se In vo - ce al fin ge - men - do e pian-se e dis-se

17
o mi - o Ma l'interruppe il pian-to e non fi - ni - o.
o mi - o Ma l'interruppe il pian-to e non fi - ni - o.
o mi - o Ma l'interruppe il pian-to e non fi - ni - o.

Example 2.6: Bianciardi, ‘Lungo spatio tacendo’ (Part 3), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no. 7.

Part 4 (**Example 2.7**), like Part 3, is another good example of Bianciardi not only distinguishing between Mary and narrator’s voices, but also using three voices effectively to emulate the former. Its incipit, ‘O mio’ (bars 1-2) uses the exact same musical phrase before, which again switches to the narrator’s voice in low register at ‘poscia riprese’ (‘she then resumed’) (bars 3-4). A brief quaver rest effectively in bar 4 signals that it is Mary speaking onwards. The series of questions posed by Virgin Mary in bars 11-16) is emulated by a plural cohort of singers, rather than by a single vocal part. At words ‘si grave fu colpa mortale’, the pace is suddenly slowed to a succession of minims. Such a rhythmic contrast creates a dramatic effect by signaling a shift from question to statement and drawing attention to the meaning of the text (‘So grave a mortal sin’) (bars 17-21). As Mary continues to question who is responsible for tormenting Jesus in Part 5

(Example 2.8), the music looks back to the beginning of Part 1, as the incipit of Part 5 is identical but transposed down by a minor third, therefore creating a hitherto unexplored tonality of B-major triad.

Canto

O Mi - o poscia ri-prese Fig - lio de la pa-ter-na Bel-

Alto

O Mi - o poscia ri-prese Fig - lio de la pa-ter-na Bel-

Basso

O Mi - o poscia ri-prese Fig - lio de la pa-ter-na Bel-

8

lez-za ima - go e - ter - na Chi cos - tà ti so-spe - se

lez-za imago eter - na Chi cos - tà ti sospe - se ti so-spe - se

lez-za ima - go e - ter - na Chi cos - tà ti so-spe - se

14

Chi t'ha si con - cio ò qua - le Tua nò si gra-ve fù col - pa mor - ta - le.

Chi t'ha si concio ò qua - le Tua nò si gra-ve fù col - pa mor - ta - le.

Chi t'ha si con - cio ò qua - le Tua nò si gra-ve fù col - pa mor - ta - le.

Example 2.7: Bianciardi, 'O mio poscia riprese' (Part 4), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no 8.

Canto
Alto
Basso

Chi d'a-tro san-gue ha tin - to Quegli oc-chi oi-me quel vi -

Chi d'a-tro san-gue ha tin - to Quegli oc-chi oi-me quel vi -

Chi d'a-tro san-gue ha tin - to Quegli oc-chi oi-me quel vi -

5
so Spec-chi di pa-ra-di - - so Chi quel-le chiome ha cin -

- so Spec-chi di pa-ra-di - - so Chi quel-le chiome ha cin -

so Spec-chi di pa-ra-di - - so Chi quel-le chio-me ha

10
- - to Di du-ri aghi pungen - ti Gia coronate in

- to Di duri aghi pun-gen - ti Gia co-ro-nate in Ciel

cin - to Di duri aghi pungen - ti Gia coronate in Ciel di Stel-le ar -

15
Ciel di Stel-le ar-den - ti Gia coronate in Ciel di Stel-le ar-den - ti

Gia coronate in Ciel di Stel-le ar-den - ti ar-den - ti

den - ti Gia coronate in Ciel di Stel-le ar-den - ti

Example 2.8: Bianciardi, 'Chi d'atro sangue tinto' (Part 5), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no 9.

As Mary contemplates on the time she raised Jesus as a child, only for him to be crucified in front of her, the poetic text of Part 6 (**Example 2.9**), is notable for its usage

of anaphora, as the first four lines of the stanza all begin with the word *Te* and end with the vowel sound –i (–ai or –insi): ‘*Te dunque in sen portai, / Te lieta in fasce avinsi, / Te dolce in braccio strinsi*’ (‘I carried you in my breast, I wrapped you in swaddling clothes, I held you sweetly in my arms, I fed you with milk,’). Bianciardi reflects this poetic feature in music, as he uses a sequence of repeated musical phrase, each time transposed up a step (bars 1-8). Such musical response to poetic anaphora seems to be a common strategy for Bianciardi, as he also used a similar method in his setting of Grillo’s ‘Fatto sangue diletto’ appearing later in *Canzonette Spirituali*. (Example 2.10, bars 5-17).

The image displays a musical score for three voices: Canto, Alto, and Basso. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (bars 1-8) shows the beginning of the piece with the lyrics: 'Te dunque in sen portai - i Te lie-ta in fa-sce a vin -'. The second system (bars 9-16) continues with the lyrics: 'si Te dol-ce in brac-cio strin - si Te dilat - te ci-ba - i Sol per-ché'. The third system (bars 17-24) concludes with the lyrics: 'stratio e scem - pio Fes - se di te si cru - do il po - pul em - pio.' The music is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The vocal lines are written on staves with treble and bass clefs. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across notes.

Example 2.9: Bianciardi, ‘*Te dunque in sen portai*’ (Part 6), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no 10.

Canto

Fat - ti sangue dilet - to La-crime

Alto

Fat - ti sangue dilet - to Fat - ti sangue dilet - to La-crime

Basso

Fat - ti sangue dilet - to La-crime

6

di quest' oc-chi Pia-ga di que - sto pet-to Fiamma di que - st'amo-re

di quest' oc - chi Pia-ga di questo pet - to Fiamma di quest'a - mo -

8

di quest' oc - chi Pia-ga di questo pet - to Fiamma di quest'a - mo -

11

Al-ma di que - sto co-re Mor-te di que - sta vi - ta Vi - ta di que -

- re Al-ma di que-sto co - re Mor-te di que-sta vi - ta Vi - ta di

8

- re Al-ma di que-sto co - re Mor-te di que-sta vi - ta Vi - ta di

16

- sta mor - te ahi san-gue pi - o Pur san-gue

que-sta mor - te ahi san - gue pi - o Pur san-gue

8

que-sta mor - te ahi san - gue pi - o Pur san-gue

Example 2.10: Bianciardi, 'Fatto sangue diletto,' *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no 19, excerpt, bars 1-20.

As Mary calls on to God the Father to behold the crucified Jesus, which is her 'pledge' ('Pegno') that was promised at her Annunciation, Bianciardi's song-cycle seems

to reach its zenith of emotional intensity in its Part 7 (**Example 2.11**). As the musically most intricate part of the song cycle (and highly imitative in texture throughout), it opens with a fugal musical motif for the incipit, ‘Gli occhi volgi et affisa’ (‘Turn your eyes and fix them’), in which the Canto subject is echoed by Alto and then Basso in melodic inversion. This expression of ‘eyes’ (‘occhi’) as musical ‘mirrors’ (‘specchi’) actually invokes the idea brought up previously in Part 5, namely the eyes and face of Christ as the mirrors of the paradise (‘Quegli occhi oime quel viso, Specchi di paradiso’). Effectively, Bianciardi may have paid a tribute to Fenice Crescentia of the monastery of Tor di Specchi in Roma, to whom the *canzonetta* is dedicated. There is also an elaborate melisma on all three voices at the word ‘Cielo’, which could be almost considered written-out ornaments (bars 7-9).

In the last verse, ‘Riconosci se sai l’amato pegno’ (‘Recognize, if you know, the beloved token’), the three voices repeat the incipit of the line 4-5 times in imitative manner, intensifying the musical drama until all three parts come together at the end. This particular line recalls a phrase from Dante’s *Inferno*, Canto 6, 40–42: ‘O tu che se’ per questo ‘nferno tratto,’ mi disse, ronosimi, se sai, tu fosti, prima ch’io disfatto, fatto’. Recent scholarship has illuminated borrowing of Petrarchan themes and Dante’s texts in Marino’s other spiritual poems;¹⁵⁵ and perhaps Bianciardi, if familiar with Dante’s *Commedia* and recognizing it, saw an opportunity to highlight the allusion musically here. It is not coincidence that for Siro Cisilino (editor of modern editions of Bianciardi’s

¹⁵⁵ For example, Andrea Grassi discusses how in Marino’s sonnet to Virgin Mary, *Alla Vergine*, line 8 ‘quantunque in creatura ha di splendore,’ borrows from Dante’s *Paradiso* Canto XXXIII 19-21: ‘In te misericordia, in te pietate, / in te magnificenza, in te s’aduna / quantunque in creatura è di bontate.’ See Andrea Grassi, ‘La poesia religiosa del giovane Marino: alcuni appunti sulle modalità di riuso della Bibbia nelle *Rime Sacre*,’ *Testo: studi di teoria e storia delle letteratura e della critica* 70 (2015): 41–58, at 54–55.

Opera Omnia), too, felt this particular part to be the climax of Mary's (Biaciardi's) intense emotion poured out through music.¹⁵⁶

Canto
Alto
Basso

Gli occhi vol-gi et af-fi - sa Pad - re e - ter -
Gli oc - chi vol-gi et affi - sa Pad - re e - ter - no
Gli occhi vol-gi et affi - sa Pad - re e -

no del Cie - lo In quel la - cero ve -
del Cie - lo del Cie - lo In quel la - cero ve -
ter - no del Cie - lo In quel la - cero ve -

lo Mira in che stra - nia gui - sa Mi-ra in che stra - nia gui -
lo Mi-ra in che stra - nia gui - sa Mira in che stra - nia
lo Mira in che stra - nia gui - sa Mira in che stra - nia

sa Pen - de dal du - ro le - gno Rico-no-sci se sai
gui - sa Pen - de dal duro le - gno Rico-no - sci se sai Rico-
gui - sa Pen - de dal du - ro le - gno Rico-no -

¹⁵⁶ Cisilino, *Francesco Bianciardi: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 7 (Padua: Biblioteca Antoniana, 1973, Introduction to Canzonette Spirituali, VII-VIII.

24
Ri-co-no - sci se sai Ri-cono - sci se sai l'a-ma-to pe -
no-sci se sai Rico - no-sci se sai l'a-ma-to pe - gno Rico-no - sci se
sci se sai l'a-ma-to pe - gno Rico - no-sci se sai Rico-no-sci se

29
gno Ri-co-no-sci se sai Ri - co-no - sci se sai l'ama-to pe - - gno.
sai l'ama-to pe-gno. l'amato pe - - gno. l'a-ma - to pe - gno.
sai Ri-co-no - sci se sai l'a - ma - to pe - gno.

Example 2.11: Bianciardi, ‘Gli occhi volgi et affisa’ (Part 7), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no 11.

After Mary’s emotional outpouring reaches zenith in the previous part, the penultimate Part 8 (**Example 2.12**) has Mary contemplating on the suffering of Christ and instruments of Passion (*arma Christi*). The phrase ‘Pena già non conviensi’ (‘Pain you do not even deserve’) is sung at least three times while the Basso part ascends stepwise in semibreves (bars 3-12). Here, Mary’s speech invites the devotees to contemplate on their sins that unjustly inflicted suffering on Christ with repeated musical figures.

This part is also notable for inherently ‘musical’ phonic features of the poetic text itself. All verses not only end in *-i* vowel, but also are rich assonance, or succession of same vowel: ‘Questi tormenti immensi / Misera, non son tuoi / Quei ferri acuti e rei / Quell’ aspre piaghe e quel dolor son miei.’ Bianciardi does bring out the *-i* endings by constantly employing a pair of minims at cadences in at least two of the three vocal parts,

he does not seem to take advantage of the assonance. In this sense his setting of this stanza resonates with Margaret Mabbett's observation that while poets concentrated on developing the sonority and musicality of the text itself, the composers instead concentrated instead on bringing out its declamation in music.¹⁵⁷

Canto
Alto
Basso

A te ch'errar non puo - i Pe - na gia non convien - si Pe -
A te ch'errar non puo - i Pe - na gia non con - vien - si Pe -
A te ch'errar non puo - i Pe - na gia

- na gia non convien - si Pe - na gia non con - vien - si Que -
- na gia non con - vien - si Pe - na gia non convien - si Que - sti tor -
non con - vien - si Que - sti tor - men -

¹⁵⁷ Margaret Mabbett, 'Italian Madrigal Texts in the Early Seventeenth Century,' in *Liber Amicorum John Steele: A Musicological Tribute*. Festschrift Series No. 16. ed. by Warren Drake (Pendragon Press. Stuyvesant, NY, 1997), 314.

13
sti tor-men - ti im - men - si Mi - sera non son tuo - i
men - ti im - men - si Mi - sera non son tuo - i
- ti im - men - si Mi - sera non son tuo - i

19
Que ferri acu - ti e re - i Quel - l'aspre pia - gh e que' dolor son mie - i
Que ferri acu - ti e re - i Quel - l'aspre pia - gh e que' dolor son
Que ferri acu - ti e re - i Quel - l'aspre piagh e que' do - lor son

24
- i Quel - l'a-spre pia - gh e que' do - lor son mie - i
mie - i Quel - l'a-spre pia - gh e que' do - lor son mie - i
mie - i Quel - l'a-spre pia - gh e que' do - lor son mie - i

Example 2.12: Bianciardi, 'A te ch'errar non puoi' (Part 8), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no 12.

The concluding Part 9 (**Example 2.13**) brings Mary's speech to life in many ways as she calls for her son Jesus and laments at her separation from him. A declamatory rhythmic motif using dotted rhythm in bars 9-11 when Mary's crying out to Jesus, 'Figlio, figlio, non odi,' and all three parts falling by half a step in a slower minim pulse as Mary sighs out 'Lassa' immediately after (bars 12-13) are some ways in which this is done. In the final poetic verse (bars 16-20, and bars 21-25), 'Già morte i sensi el

raggiunar t'ha tolto' ('Death has already taken senses and the reason from you'), the repeated short notes are reminiscent of the motif at ending verses of the Parts 1 and 2 where the Virgin is depicted as being 'languished' or 'sustained in pain.' Here, all three voices descend down stepwise into a final cadence into the lowest register thus far seen in Alto and Bass lines, effectively expressing Mary's resignation.

The musical score is for three voices: Canto (Soprano), Alto, and Basso. It is written in C major and common time (C). The first system shows the vocal lines with lyrics in Italian. The second system continues the vocal lines with a repeat sign and final cadence.

First System:

- Canto:** La Cro - ce dunque e i chio - di Cedi à ques - ta infe - li -
- Alto:** La Cro - ce dunque e i chio - di Cedi à ques - ta infe - li -
- Basso:** La Cro - ce dunque e i chio - di Ce - di à ques - ta infe - li -

Second System (starting at measure 6):

- Canto:** ce In - degna ge - ni - tri - ce Fi - glio Fi - glio non o - di Las -
- Alto:** ce In - de - gna geni - tri - ce Fi - glio Fi - glio non o - di Las -
- Basso:** ce In - de - gna ge - ni - tri - ce Fi - glio Fi - glio non o - di Las -

13. - sa già chini il vol - to Già morte i sen - si el ragio-nar

- sa già chini il vol - to Già morte i sen - si el ragio-

sa già chini il vol - to Già morte i sen - si el ragio-nar

19. t'ha tol - to. Già morte i sen - si el ragionar t'ha tol - to.

nar t'ha tol - to. Già morte i sen - si el ragio-nar t'ha tol - to.

t'ha tol - to. Già morte i sen - si el ragio-nar t'ha tol - to.

Example 2.13: Bianciardi, ‘La Croce dunque’ (Part 9), *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606), no 13.

Considered as a whole, Bianciardi’s ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari,’ shows characteristics of both late sixteenth-century *canzonette* and early seventeenth-century madrigals. On one hand, the *canzonetta* model can be recognized in the homophonic textures with outer voices often moving in parallel thirds, sixths and tenths, which carefully avoid movements in parallel fifths (which could be an intentional feature of earlier villanelle and three-voice genres to evoke rustic nature).¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, frequent use of imitative texture and word-painting (e.g. pictorial representation of words such as

¹⁵⁸ See Donna G. Cardamone, ‘Villanella’ and Ruth I DeFord, ‘Canzonetta,’ *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001. accessed April 2, 2024.

‘specchio’ (‘mirror’) with the musical notation, use of chromaticism, and etc.), evoke the style of Marenzio’s madrigals or three-part *canzonette*.¹⁵⁹

Moreover, Bianciardi juxtaposes changes in register, rhythmic duration, and various texture (homophonic, imitative, or declamatory) throughout the cycle in order to signal either a new action or event in the poem or even to reflect a change between the narrator and Mary’s voices. These are definitely characteristics akin to vocal composition of the early seventeenth century, which often indicated questions and direct speech of the poem by rests or changes of texture or register.¹⁶⁰ Bianciardi’s *Canzonette Spirituali* (1606), just like his Sienese contemporary Tomaso Pecci and his *Canzonette*, seem to forge a musical style that harbors stylistically between late sixteenth-century madrigals and early seventeenth-century *canzonette*.¹⁶¹

Bianciardi not only makes use of a full spectrum of musical devices available in a three-part vocal writing, but also responds sensibly to the poetic structure and the narrative-voice in Marino’s original text in order to portray the drama of Mary’s lament by the cross. While previous studies have rightly assessed Bianciardi’s as a master of *stile antico* and skillful emulator of Palestrina in writing of Masses and motets,¹⁶² his *Canzonette Spirituali* definitely reveals his other side: that of a forward-looking madrigalist with imaginative prowess of Luca Marenzio but already showing traits of declamatory style (e.g., Caccinian monodies) that came to characterize the vocal music of

¹⁵⁹ For instance, Jacobson observed that Marenzio molded his three-part villanelle into canzonette by “employing *madrigalesque* syllabification and word-painting devices.” See Daniel Christopher Jacobson, “Thomas Morley and the Italian Madrigal Tradition: A New Perspective,” *The Journal of Musicology* 14, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 83.

¹⁶⁰ Margaret Mabbett, ‘Italian Madrigal Texts,’ 323.

¹⁶¹ Laura Buch, ‘Seconda prattica and the Aesthetic of Meraviglia: The Canzonettas and Madrigals of Tomaso Pecci (1576-1604),’ PhD diss. (University of Rochester, 1993), Chapters 3-10.

¹⁶² See D’Accone, *The Civic Muse*, 374-379 and Billeter, ‘Die Vokalkompositionen von Francesco Bianciardi,’ in *Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 3rd ser., Vol. 1 (1972): 133-141.

the early seventeenth century. Rather than being an outlier in a ‘lighter style’ of his outputs, as previously remarked,¹⁶³ Bianciardi’s *Canzonette Spirituali* is a testament to the latest development in both his own compositional style and the *canzonette spirituali* as the genre. Bianciardi’s setting of Marino’s texts, characterized by features such as using the same musical motif for poetic anaphora, even foreshadows the style of later composers such as Antonio Cifra’s settings of Marino’s poems dedicated to St Mary Magdalen.¹⁶⁴

Severo Bonini and his *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (1607)

Soon after Bianciardi’s *Canzonette Spirituali*, the Vallombrosian monk Severo Bonini (1582-1663) published his *Madrigale e Canzonette Spirituali* (Firenze: Marescotti, 1607, reprinted in Venice: Raverii, 1608). All songs are monodies, meaning that they are scored for solo voice and basso continuo. Indeed, Bonini was one of the first to use monody in association with sacred or spiritual music.¹⁶⁵ This is not surprising, since Bonini was acquainted with Giulio Caccini, whose style he emulated.¹⁶⁶ The *Madrigale e Canzonette Spirituali* is dedicated to Don Simone Finardi, Bonini’s Vallombrosian mentor and the Prior at Santa Trinità. It consists solely of sacred lyrics by Marino and his Vallombrosian colleague Don Crisostomo Talenti, who himself was an

¹⁶³ Josef-Horst Lederer, ‘Bianciardi [Blanchardus, Bianchiardus], Francesco’ (*Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, <https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03031>), accessed November 18, 2021.

¹⁶⁴ Margaret Rorke, ‘St. Mary Magdalen – A Painting, A Poem, and a Madrigal,’ in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwin S. McPeck*, ed. Carmelo Peter Comberiati and Matthew C. Steel, (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 123-7.

¹⁶⁵ Some sacred monodies that followed Bonini’s *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (1607) are Ottavio Durante’s *Arie devote* (1608), Angelico Patto’s *Canoro pianto* (1610), and Bartolomeo Pesarino’s first book of motets (1610). MaryAnn Teresa Bonino, ‘Don Severo Bonini (1582 – 1663), his “Discorsi e Regole”’ (Ph.D diss., University of Southern California, 1971), 54.

¹⁶⁶ For Bonini’s life and works, see Bonino, ‘Don Severo Bonini,’ especially Ch. 1-4.

imitator of Marino and Chiabrera.¹⁶⁷ Bonini continued his preference for Marino, Talenti, and other Tuscan poets such as Ottaviano Rinuccini and Petrarch in his *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali e Mottetti* (Florence: Marescotti, 1609). Curiously, Bonini never set Angelo Grillo's texts from *Pietosi Affetti*, despite both of them belonging to different branches of the Benedictine order.

In his dedicatory letter of *Madrigale e Canzonette Spirituali*, Bonini informs the reader of the poets he chose and reception of his compositions in Florence:

And since the verses of Crisostomo Talenti, the most singular friend of yours truly, and of the Most Illustrious Signor Giovanni Battista Marino, are the clearest lights of Poetry in our day, it would be too much of a disservice to their fame and worth if their most noble conceits were not more clearly expressed through the affections of song. And since these compositions of mine have been to the taste and pleasure of the religious people of my noble city of Florence, it was also my duty to share them with all those who derive consolation and delight from spiritual music.¹⁶⁸

Further, Bonini says in his letter to the singers:

...nowadays most music is printed for a single voice, like that which has been judged to be most suitable and most powerful for arousing the affection of the voice...¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Talenti even wrote an eleven-stanza *canzone* in honor of Marino in 1603, which recalls their encounter and was later reprinted in the third part of Marino's *La Lira*. It is evident that Marino had left an influence on the literary circle of Tuscany, including in Vallombrosa, when he had come to Florence sometime before his trip to Venice in 1602. See Bonino, 'Don Severo Bonini,' 46-47. The modern edition can be found in *La Lira* (2007), Vol. II, 385-387.

¹⁶⁸ Translation mine. 'E che essendo i versi parte del Crisostomo Talenti amico singolarissimo di V.P. e parte del Molto Illustre Signor Giovanni Battista Marino, chiarissimi lumi a giorni nostri di Poesia, troppo si farebbe torto alla fama, e valor loro, se con gli affetti del canto non venissero maggiormente espressi i loro nobilissimi concetti. E che essendo queste mie composizioni state di gusto, e di contento alle persone religiose, della mia nobil Citta di Firenze, era anco il dovere farne partecipe, tutti quelli che delle Musiche Spirituali traggono consolazione, e diletto.'

¹⁶⁹ Translation mine. '...oggi di in gran parte si stampino Musiche per una voce sola come quelle, che sono state giudicate piu atte, e di maggior forza a muouere l'affetto dell'animo...' Bonini, *Madrigalie e Canzonette Spirituali* (Firenze, 1607), L'autore a Graziosi Cantori.

Essentially, Bonini's letter positions Marino and Talenti as the new leading poets, whose verses have already been well-received by the religious people of Florence, while claiming monody as the best vehicle of expressing the conceits of their poetry.

As MaryAnn Teresa Bonino observed, Bonini infuses the new monodic style of Caccini with traditional Florentine *lauda* style, the type of music that Bonini's colleagues and other religious people would have been familiar with.¹⁷⁰ It can be noted further that those songs set to Marino's texts are almost entirely in the style of Caccini. Within Bonini's settings of Talenti's poetry, songs in praise of saints, especially those associated with the Vallombrosian order (St. Benedict, St. John Gualbert, St Humility) tend to show a strong character of *lauda*, while songs about other saints within the Catholic church of the day (St Mary Magdalen, St Carlo Borromeo) tend to be more in Caccini's vein. For both authors, Bonini's settings of poems in *canzonetta* form are strophic, while those in *madrigale* form are through-composed.

Bonini's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' and 'Già scarco havea lasciato'

In his settings of 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' (**Examples 2.14a and 2.15a**) and 'Già scarco havea lasciato' (**Examples 2.14b and 2.15b**), Bonini intended any (or all) of the stanzas to be suitable to be sung; yet perhaps out of practical consideration, he only lists the first five stanzas under the music; for subsequent stanzas, the singer finds cross references to the original textual sources (e.g. *Le Rime*).¹⁷¹ The vocal line imitates the

¹⁷⁰ Bonino, 'Don Severo Bonini,' 54.

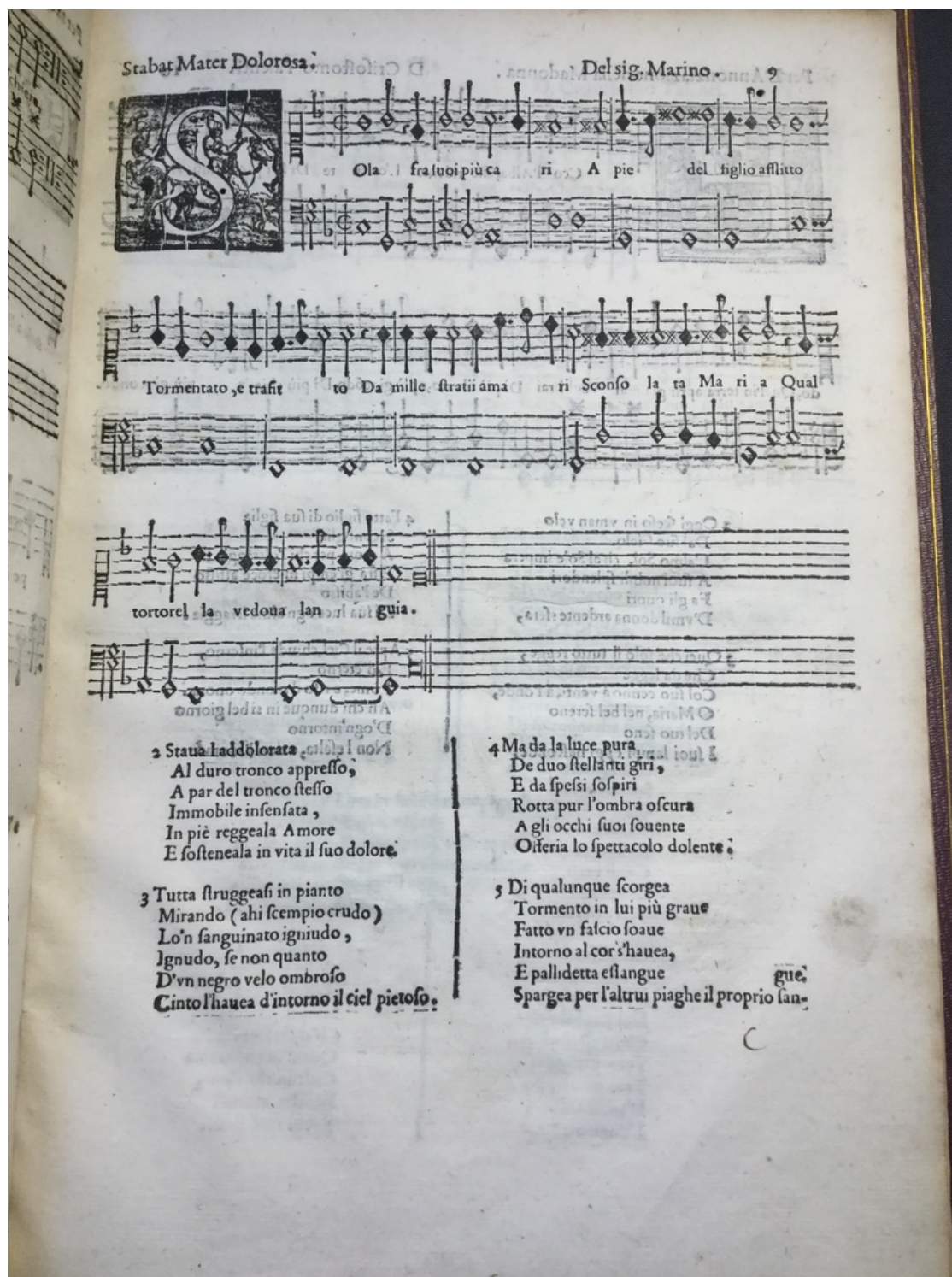
¹⁷¹ 'Et anco se le stanze delle Canzonette del Signor Marino non si sono poste tutte, ne esso, ne altri si maraviglino, che s'è fatto per la lunghezza di quelle. Si che gli affettionati suoi potranno ricorrere al suo libro, per vederle interamente' ('And even if the stanzas of Signor Marino's Canzonette have not all been set, neither he nor anyone else should be surprised, for this is because they are long. I am sure that the people who love him will be able to have recourse to his book to see them in their entirety')

rhythm of the speech in a typical Caccinian fashion,¹⁷² moving almost entirely stepwise syllabically. In the former, small embellishments are applied at cadences ‘stratii amari’ (at end of the quatrain) and ‘vedova lingua’ (at the end of couplet), and these cadential flourishes seem to serve as markers of poetic structure. The basso continuo functions mostly as a harmonic support to the vocal line; in places, the bass line shows a vocal quality with trill-like embellishment in semiquavers (e.g., ‘Già scarco havea lasciato’ bar 2).

There is hardly any word-painting as one might expect from other monodies of this era, but this is likely to facilitate singing music to any stanza that the singer chooses to sing (which was Bonini’s intention, as made clear in his preface). The vocal line retains a degree of gracefulness, however, while being easy enough to be sung by dilettantes that would have been Bonini’s targeted audience. Despite the two *canzonette* acting as a pair in Marino’s *Le Rime* II, they are treated as independent songs in Bonini’s. They are not only set in different keys (tones) also located separately from each other in *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali*.¹⁷³

¹⁷² See Barbara R. Hanning, et. al, ‘Caccini Family (opera),’ *Grove Music Online*, <https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2102/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O004719>, accessed November 18, 2021.

¹⁷³ In the arrangement of Bonini’s *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali*, ‘Già scarco havea lasciato’ (La Pietà) even occurs before ‘Sola fra’ suoi piu cari,’ which disregards the original sequence in which the poem was supposed to be read in accordance with the order of the Seven Sorrows.



Example 2.14a: Bonini, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' *Madrigale e Canzonette Spirituali*
(Florence: Marescotti, 1607), no. 9.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Image courtesy of the British Library (London), GB-Lbl, K.7.g.6.

La Pietà. Del signor Marino

Già scarco havea la scia to Del sostenuto pon
do Il tronco dispietato Di modo s'agguato in modo Il redentor del mondo, E
già gl'estremi uffici Prende a per man de duo pietosi amici.

3 Sotto la croce affisa
La Vergine dolente
Se'l recò in braccio in guisa,
Che con l'umor cadente
In cui soavemente
Il cor piovea disciolto,
Gli colora lo scolorito volto

4 Al volto esangue e tristo
Eguale in ambidui
Scerner Maria da Christo
Non sapean gl'occhi altrui
Parea non men di lui
Di senso, e d'alma priua;
Mostrava il pianto sol, ch'ell'era viva.

5 E con gl'ardenti baci
Ch'en lui dolce affiggea,
E co' sospir viuaçi,
Che'n lui dolce spargea
Cercaua, se potea
Riscaldar del suo bene
Le fredde membra, e l'agghiacciate vene.

6 Reggeala intor o vn coro,
Di donne lagrimose,
Ma più l'eran rissoro
Ne l'angoste dogliose
Mille schiere pietose
Ministre reuerenti
Del popolo, de gl'Angeli piangenti.

B

Example 2.14b: Bonini, 'Già scarco havea lasciato,' *Madrigale e Canzonette Spirituali* (Florence: Marescotti, 1607), no. 5.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

Pietro Pace and his *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18

Marino's spiritual lyrics were heard not only among the religious people in Tuscany but also in the Jesuit oratory of Loreto. Pietro Pace (1559-1622), who spent most of his life in his native Loreto, was active as the organist of Santa Casa di Loreto from 15 December 1591 to 31 July 1592, and then again from 1 September 1611 to 7 April 1622, a period during which Antonio Cifra was the *maestro di capella*. Pace was a prolific composer of both secular and sacred songs.¹⁷⁶ According to prefaces of his sacred works, many of these, including at least three printed collections of vernacular spiritual arias, were performed at the Jesuit oratory of Loreto.¹⁷⁷

Pace's *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18, is probably the most varied of his sacred outputs, containing 15 Italian spiritual arias for one to two voices and 15 Latin motets for four to six voices.¹⁷⁸ This unique publication carefully alternates the vernacular and Latin texts side-by-side according to their shared subject. It therefore makes an intriguing contrast to Serafino Patta's *Motetti et madrigali cavati da le poesie sacre del reverendissimo padre D. Angelo Grillo Abbate...*(1614), in which songs based on Latin texts and vernacular poetry drawn from Angelo Grillo's *Pietosi Affetti* also evenly alternate but are uncorrelated with regards to the subject matter.¹⁷⁹ Unlike Patta's *Motetti et madrigali*, vernacular and Latin texts work in conjunction in Pace's Op. 18, as

¹⁷⁶ William V. Porter, 'Pace [Paci], Pietro', *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, accessed 14 August, 2023. <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20643>

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ While Pace's Op. 18 has Latin motets for four to six voices divided into part books, all spiritual arias in vernacular are printed in the Organ (Basso continuo) partbook as full scores.

¹⁷⁹ Jerome Roche, "On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal: Early seventeenth-century books that mix motets and vernacular settings," in *Seicento inesplorato - L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile: Un modello di interdipendenza, Atti del III Convegno internazionale sulla musica in area lombardo-padana nel secolo XVII Lenno – Como, 23-25 giugno 1989*. (Como: A.M.I.S., 1993): 309.

demonstrated by his settings of ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari’ and ‘Plorabo die ac nocte’ that together form an overarching Mary’s Lament for Christ’s Passion during the Holy Week.

Pace’s setting of ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari,’ a through-composed duet for two Canto, uses Marino’s stanzas 1-4 and thus focuses only on the narrative component of the original *canzonetta*.¹⁸⁰ Two Canto parts alternate solos for the first three stanzas (Canto 1 sings stanzas 1, 3, while Canto 2 sings stanza 2) but join together in singing the last stanza. The first stanza is already full of musical features, starting with a solmization pun on the opening word ‘Sola’ (‘sol’ and ‘la’ corresponding to notes G and A).¹⁸¹ (**Example 2.16**, bars 1-2) Soon after, temporary modulation into E major triad harmony and resulting chromatic line (**Example 2.16** bars 7-8) brings out Mary’s anguish at the phrase ‘Tormentato e trafitto’ (‘Tormented and cut’) and sets the tone for the aria and the subsequent motet.

¹⁸⁰ As discussed above, Mary does not start her lament until stanza 9.

¹⁸¹ For solmization practices in the seventeenth-century, see Gregory Barnett, ‘Tonal organization in seventeenth-century music theory,’ in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 407-413.

Canto I
So - la fra suoi più ca - ri A piè del fi - glio afflit - to

Canto II

B. C.

7
Tormenta - to e traffic - to Da mille strat - tii a - ma - ri Sconso - la -

13
- ta Mari - a Sconso - la - ta Ma - ri - a Qual Torto - rel

19
la Vedo - va lan - gui - a langui - a

Sta - va l'ado - lo - ra - ta Sta - va l'a -

Example 2.16: Pace, ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari,’ *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619) no. 21, bars 10-25.

Melisma are also abundant throughout the aria, either to bring out specific imagery or simply to highlight the ending verses: ‘Qual Tortorella vedova’ (‘That widowed turtle dove’) (**Example 2.16**, bars 17-18), ‘Immobile insensata’ (‘Motionless and insensate’) (**Example 2.17**, bars 33-34), ‘Cinto l’havea d’intorno il Cielo pietoso’ (Heaven mercifully surrounded him’) (**Example 2.18**, bar 58), ‘Ma da la luce pura / De

duo stellanti giri' ('But by the pure light / of two stellar turns') (**Example 2.18**, bars 62-64). The last stanza (stanza 4) features a call-and-response typical of a vocal duet at the phrase 'A gl'occhi suoi sovente' ('To her eyes frequently') (**Example 2.18**, bars 70-74).

33. Im-mo - bi-le insen - sa - ta In piè reg-ge - a l'A- 65

Example 2.17: Pace, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 21, bars 33-39.

58. tor - no il Ciel pie-to - so Ma da la luce pu - Ma da la lu -

63 - ra De duo stel - lan - ti gi - ri E da spes-si sos-
 - ce pu - ra De duo stel.lan - ti gi - ri E da

67 pi - ri Rot - ta pur l'ombra os - cu - ra Agli occhi
 spes - si sos-pi - ri Rot - ta pur l'ombra os - cu - ra

71 suoi Agli occhi suoi so - ven - te
 Agl'occhi suoi Agl'occhi suoi so - ven - te

75 Offe-ria lo spetta - co - lo do - len - te.
 Offe-ria lo spet-ta - colo do - len - te.

Example 2.18: Pace, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 21, bars 58-80.

Pace's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' is followed by a Latin motet for Holy Week, 'Plorabo die ac nocte,' scored for six voices (Canto, Sesto, Alto, Quinto, Tenor, Bass)

and basso continuo. In fact, the text is identical to the one used and set to music by Alessandro Grandi in his *Il quarto libro de motetti a due, tre, quattro, et sette voci* (Venice: Vincenti, 1616) a few years earlier and is an amalgamation (or ‘centonization’) of excerpts from different Biblical passages: Lamentations 9:1 and 1:12, Psalm 72:25, 2 Kings (Samuel in the authorized version) 1:25-26 and 18:33, and John 20:13, making it appropriate either as part of Tenebrae services or for the Holy Saturday.¹⁸² Here, Mary becomes the all-encompassing figure of characters throughout the Judaic/Christian tradition and their respective laments: King David lamenting deaths of Saul (his former king) and Absalom (his son), Jeremiah lamenting the overrun state of Jerusalem, and Mary Magdalen lamenting the missing body of Christ on his Resurrection. These characters have strong association to Mary at least in the Catholic interpretation. The Medieval *planctus Mariae* were modeled after Jeremiah’s Lamentations, King David was considered an ancestor of Mary, and Mary Magdalen was with her at the scene of Christ’s deposition after Crucifixion according to the Gospel of Mark (Mark 15: 47).

As observed by Roche, the centonized text as a whole effectively works as a lament of Mary in Grandi’s musical treatment of text.¹⁸³ Pace, too, follows suit by giving preference to higher voices (Canto and Sesto) for introducing passages representing Mary’s voice. Phrases ‘Plorabo die ac nocte,’ (**Example 2.19**, bars 1-6) and ‘Renuet conolari anima mea’ (**Example 2.20**), are cast as Canto solos, while phrases such as ‘dolebo per te’ and ‘O Jesu, fili mi Jesu’ are introduced as Canto and Sesto duo.

¹⁸² Jerome Roche, ‘Alessandro Grandi: A Case Study in the Choice of Texts for Motets’, *Journal of Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 113, No. 2 (1988): 281-2 and 299. The English translation of the text can be found in, Jeffrey Kurtzman, et al., *Alessandro Grandi, Opera Omnia, Vol. 5: Il quarto libro de motetti a due, tre, quattro, et sette voci, con il basso continuo per sonar nell organo (1616)*, ed. Dennis Collins and Robert Kendrick (American Institute of Musicology, Verlag Corpusmusicae GmbH, 2015), LXIV.

¹⁸³ Roche, ‘Alessandro Grandi,’ 281-2.

(**Example 20**). Such voicing effectively allows us to hear these phrases of lament as spoken (sung) by the female voice of Mary. Also notable is the fact that the very beginning phrase sung by Canto solo immediately makes a clear reference to the opening of ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari’ by using the identical melodic motif that is solmization pun for both incipits: Plo – ra – bo : Sol – La – Sol, or G-A-G) (**Example 2.19**, bars 1-3).

The image displays a musical score for a motet. It features seven staves. The top six staves are for vocal parts: Canto (Soprano), Sesto (Soprano), Alto (Alto), Quinto (Alto), Tenore (Tenor), and Basso (Bass). The seventh staff is for the Basso Continuo (B.C.). The Canto part begins with a melodic line in G minor, with lyrics 'Plo-ra - bo di-e ac noc-te inter-fectum Principem po-puli me-'. The other vocal parts are currently silent. The Basso Continuo part includes figured bass notation: 5 6 7 6 # 6 6.

Example 2.19: Pace, ‘Plorabo die ac nocte,’ *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 22, bars 1-10.

27

Et occisus est do-le - bo super te mi bo-ne Je - su de co-re ni-mis &

Et occisus es do-le - bo super te mi bo-ne Je - su de co-re ni-mis &

mi bone Je - su de co-re ni-mis &

5 6 5 6 6 6

Example 2.20: Pace, ‘Plorabo die ac nocte,’ *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 22, bars 27-33.

In other places, different vocal registers are used for word-painting, such as the Sesto and Bass solos in the phrase, ‘Quid mihi est in Caelo, et a te quid volui super terram’ (‘For what have I in heaven, and what on earth I have desired, besides you?’), in order to respectively bring out the contrast between heaven (high) and earth (low) (**Example 2.21**, bars 11-19). One section utilizing a full spectrum of six vocal parts is at the phrase ‘videte omnes populi, si est dolor similis, sicut dolor meus’ (‘Behold, all peoples, if any pain is like unto my pain’), which also happens to be an excerpt from the well-known Lamentation text, ‘O vos omnes,’ often set as part of a Tenebrae cycle.¹⁸⁴ Here, all six parts entering at different points sing ‘Videte omnes populi’ (‘Behold all peoples’),

¹⁸⁴ Lamentations 1:12: ‘O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte: Si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus.’ (‘Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by? Look around and see. Is any suffering like my suffering?’)

emphasizing the imperative mood of the text either through melisma or repetition. At ‘si est dolor similis, sicut dolor meus,’ however, the texture becomes homophonic and the pace slows down with the minim as the basic pulse, therefore bringing out the idea of ‘pain’ in the text (**Example 22**, bars 36-56).

11

i

Quid mi-hi est in Cæ - lo

Quomodo

Et a te Et a te quid volui su-per terram

6 6 6 5 4 3

Example 2.21: Pace, ‘Plorabo die ac nocte,’ *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 22, bars 11-19.

34

a - ma - bilis Vi-de-te om - nes om - nes

a - ma - bilis Vi - de - te om - nes

a - ma - bilis Vi-de - te om - nes om - nes

Vi-de-te om - nes omnes om - nes

Vi - de-te om - nes om - nes om - nes

Vi - de-te om - nes om - nes om - nes

13 4—13 6

41

po - pu - li Si est do-lor si - mi - lis

po - pu - li Si est do-lor si - mi - lis

po - pu - li Si est do-lor si - mi - lis Si -

po - pu - li Si - cut do - lor

po - pu - li Si - cut

po - pu - li Si - cut do -

3 4—3 5 4 5 6 5 4 5 4 3

50.

Si - cut do - lor me - us Re-nuet con-sola -

Si - cut do - lor me - us

- cut do-lor me - us dolor me - us

me - us do - lor - me - us

do-lor me-us sicut do-lor me - us

lor me - us

7 6 7 6 6 5 4 5 6 #3 6 5 #3 16

Example 2.22: Pace, ‘Plorabo die ac nocte,’ *Motetti a quattro, a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 22, bars 34-58.

Examined together, Pace’s spiritual aria and motet are interlinked both textually and musically. While each can be sung on their own right, they together form a larger musical narrative for the Tenebrae service, as Pace’s choice of setting Stanzas 1-4 of Marino text serves as an introduction to the Latin-texted Marian lament that immediately follows. (See **Table 2.11** below) Musically, too, Pace’s ‘Sola fra’ suoi più’ primarily sets the scene by having the two Cantos speak as narrators, while the following ‘Plorabo die ac nocte’ clearly distinguishes between Mary’s speech and narration. If Grandi was the first to use the same centonization of Biblican passages to create a Marian lament, then Pace took the process of centonization even further by introducing Marino’s text as an introduction. While the textual freedom composers could exercise on the motets and their

wide adaptability of usage had been previously pointed out, Pace's example from Op. 18 shows that composers could equally exercise similar freedom with vernacular Italian texts, even combining them with the Latin texts in the shared 'para-liturgical' contexts.¹⁸⁵

Table 2.11: Pace, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' and 'Plorabo die ac nocte,' (1619) combined texts.

¹ Sola fra' suoi più cari A piè del figlio afflitto Tormentato e trafitto Da mille stratii amari Sconsolata Maria Qual tortorella vedova languia	Alone among her dearest ones, At the feet of her son, afflicted, Tormented, and cut By a thousand bitter wounds, The inconsolable Maria, That widowed turtle dove, languished. ¹⁹²
² Stava l'addolorata Al duro tronco appresso A pare del tronco stesso Immobile insensata In pie regge ala Amore E sosteneala in vita il suo dolore	She stood grief-stricken Near the hard trunk, Herself like the same trunk, Immobile, insensate, Kept upright by Love And kept alive by her very pain. ¹⁹³
³ Tutta struggeasi in pianto Mirando (ahi scempio crudo) Lo'n sanguinato igniudo, Ignudo, se non quanto D'un negro velo ombroso Cinto l'havea d'intorno il ciel pietoso.	She dissolved in tears Seeing, oh cruel image, The naked bleeding one – Naked, except for the Dark black veil with which Heaven mercifully surrounded him. ¹⁹⁴
⁴ Ma da la luce pura De duo stellanti giri, E da spessi sospiri Rotta pur l'ombra oscura A gli occhi suoi sovente Offeria lo spettacolo dolente.	But by the pure light of two stellar turns, and from heavy sighs even the dark shadow broken Offers to her eyes frequently the sorrowful spectacle.
Plorabo die ac nocte interfectum Principem populi mei. ¹⁸⁶	Day and night I will bewail the slain prince of my people.
Quid mihi est in Cælo, et a te quid volui super terram. ¹⁸⁷	For what have I in heaven, and what on earth I have desired, besides you?

¹⁸⁵ Roche, 'Alessandro Grandi', 274-275.

¹⁸⁶ Lamentations 9:1b.

Quimodo cecidisti fortis in praelio, et
occisus es? Dolebo super te, mi bone
Jesu de core nimis & amabilis.¹⁸⁸

How did you, the valiant one, fall in battle,
and were killed? I will mourn for you,
my good Jesus, exceedingly beautiful and
lovely.

Videte omnes populi
Si est dolor similis
sicut dolor meus.¹⁸⁹

Behold, all peoples,
if any pain is
like unto my pain.

Renuet conolari anima mea quia
tulerunt Dominum meum
Et nescio ubi posuerunt eum.¹⁹⁰
O Jesu fili mi Jesu
Quis mihi det fili mi
ut ego moriar pro te.¹⁹¹

My soul refuses to be consoled, for they took
my Lord and I do not know where they
placed Him.
O Jesus, my son Jesus,
who will grant me
that I may die for you?

Et sciant omnes populi
quia non est dolor similis
sicut dolor meus.

And let all people know
that there is no pain
like my pain.¹⁹⁵

Pietro Paolo Sabbatini's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari'—context and style

A few decades later, Pietro Paolo Sabbatini published his setting of 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' (**Example 2.23**) in his *Canzonette Spirituali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640), dedicated to Anna Maria Cesi Peretti.¹⁹⁶ A number of songs in this collection – 'Dopo lungo, aspro camino (*Giesù piange nel presepe, Canzonetta*)', 'Prendi, Prendi, ó Tirsi, la cetra (*Ode*

¹⁸⁷ Psalm 72: 25; Grandi has 'Quid enim est in cælo, et a te quid volui super terram?' instead.

¹⁹² Translations by Margaret Murata. See Margaret Murata, 'Cantar Ottave, Cantar Storie,' *Word, Image, and Song*, ed. Rebecca Cypess, Beth L. Glixon, and Nathan Link (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2013): 311-313.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ 2 Kings, 1:25-26, or 2 Samuel 1:25-26 in the authorized version.

¹⁸⁹ Lamentations 1:12

¹⁹⁰ John 20:13.

¹⁹¹ 2 Kings 18:33, or 2 Samuel 18:33 in the authorized version.

¹⁹⁵ All English translations here are taken from Kurtzman, et al., *Alessandro Grandi, Opera Omnia, Vol. 5*.

¹⁹⁶ For a detailed account of Sabbatini's life, chronology of his works, and concordance of poetic texts used in Sabbatini's music, see Enrica Donisi, 'Pietro Paolo Sabbatini nella Roma barocca tra mecenatismo e didattica,' in *Tullio Cima, Domenico Massenzio e la musica del loro tempo: atti del Convegno internazionale : Ronciglione, 30 ottobre-1 novembre 1997*, ed. Fabio Carboni, Valeria De Lucca, and Agostino Ziino (Rome: IBIMUS, 2003), 49-73.

Sopra le Stimmate di S. Caterina da Siena)', and 'Alz'al Ciel le verdi cime (*Al Cedro*)' - draw text from *Fiori di Sacra Poesia dell'Irresoluto, Accademico Intronato* (Rome: 1625), dedicated to Piermaria Borghese, Cardinal of San Giorgio in Velabro. Like Marino's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari', these are cyclic *canzonette* on various sacred subjects similar in character and form.¹⁹⁷ The same year saw in Rome publication of several collections of spiritual songs based on Marino's lyrics including an elaborate setting of Virgin Mary's lament on the third Sorrow of Losing Jesus for three Days, Domenico Mazzocchi's 'Sospirava spargea.'¹⁹⁸ As noted previously, printed editions of Marino's spiritual lyrics appeared in Rome between 1637 and 1641, which could have stirred Roman composers to take up Marino's lyrics in their newly composed spiritual songs.

Sabbatini's *Canzonette Spirituali* opens up with a Good Friday lamentation text, 'Ecco ch'io verso il sangue,' which features the *Improperia* text in vernacular, 'Rispondi Popol mio / In che t'offesi mai / Che t'hò fatt'io?' as the refrain.¹⁹⁹ Another setting on the same text by Giovanni Battista da Gagliano in *Varie musiche* (1623) was sung at the confraternity (Compagnia) of San Benedetto Bianco in Floreice in the Good Friday evening in a theatrical performance while the members carried out flagellation.²⁰⁰ It is safe to assume that Sabbatini's setting of 'Ecco ch'io verso il sangue' and 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' could have been performed in a similar performance context given the shared thematic subject dedicated to the Good Friday.

¹⁹⁷ For instance, Sabbatini chose to set to music *Canzone* in ode to St. Catherine of Siena, which has each stanza made up of a seven-syllable *tercet* followed by an asymmetric couplet consisting of seven and eleven syllables, akin to the form of Marino's *canzone* in discussion.

¹⁹⁸ *Racconta d'Arie Spirituali* [...] (Rome: Bianchi, 1640) dedicated to Monsignor Vincenzo Costaguta; and Domenico Mazzocchi, *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640), dedicated to Olimpia Aldobrandini Borghese.

¹⁹⁹ Micah 6:3: 'My people, what have I done to you? How have I burdened you? Answer me.'

²⁰⁰ Maddalena Bonechi, 'Parole, immagini e musica nelle pratiche devozionali della compagnia di San Benedetto Bianco a Firenze. Alcuni possibili contributi di Giovanni Battista da Gagliano,' in *Ricerchare*, Vol. 32, No.1/2 (2020): 79-127.

In Sabbatini's setting of 'Sola fra' suoi più cari', the solo singer plays the role of both narration and Mary's voice, as he printed Stanzas 1, 19, 20, and 22 (relabeled 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively). These particular stanzas chosen by Sabbatini are featured in the later part of Mary's lament in Marino's *canzonetta*, in which Mary pleads Jesus to stay with her and expresses her wish to die with him. (**Table 2.12**). Sabbatini's chosen stanzas, therefore, bring it closer to the text used in Monteverdi's *Pianto della Madonna*, a spiritual contrafacta of *Lamento d'Arianna*, published in his *Selva Morale e Spirituale* (Venice: Barolomeo Magni, 1641).²⁰¹

Musically, there is a clear cadence (with a *clausula bassizans* in the bass) at end of each poetic line. The verses are musically grouped into the first four verses (quatrain) and the last two verses (couplet), as evident by a perfect authentic cadence resolving to Bb at the end of the quatrain. There is also a small reprise at the end of last hendecasyllabic verse. While the upper melody line moves mostly stepwise within the tessitura, it incorporates subtle word painting. After the first line of the poem, there is a leap down an octave of the melody as if to illustrate the meaning of the beginning of the second line 'A piè' ('At the feet'). Then, at the word 'trafitto', the idea of being 'pierced' is illustrated by a heightened register (i.e., highest note in the music), longer note value, and undermining of the cadential resolution.

The bass line of Sabbatini's 'Sola fra' più suoi cari' merits some discussion. Right from the start, the bass line moves entirely in crotchets and conjunct motion (save for leaps at cadences) until the very end of the song. While Sabbatini does employ such 'walking basses' in his other sacred songs as well, the bass line here remarkable for

²⁰¹ For the text of Monteverdi's *Pianto della Madonna*, see Rudolf Hofstötter and Ingomar Rainer, *Claudio Monteverdi: Selva Morale et Spirituale*, Wiener Edition Alter Music, Vol. 38 (Vienna: Doblinger: 2012).

continuing its scalar motion throughout. Conventionally, the walking bass could represent propulsion, such as Orpheus's walking motion in Monteverdi's *Orfeo*²⁰² or even a 'dynamic movement' akin to the painting and sculpture of the seventeenth century.²⁰³ While Sabbatini's relentless bass line might not directly represent motion *per se* in this case, if we were to relate the music to the stanzas he chose to display, then the perpetual motion of the bass line could be reflective of Mary's unsettling emotional turmoil, as well as her desire to die with Jesus but agony at being unable to do so, expressed through the specific stanzas Sabbatini chose to set to music. It also makes it the setting in which the basso continuo line is the most lyrical and almost equal to the vocal part in its melodic interest, unlike other settings in which the basso continuo line mostly provides harmonic support to the upper vocal lines. In this sense, Sabbatini's setting might even be considered a 'duet' between the high voice and the basso continuo line, perhaps representing a spiritual dialogue between Mary and 'speechless' Jesus.

²⁰² One of Monteverdi's first compositions featuring 'walking' bass appears in *Qual honor di te fia degno* where Orpheus, having received Euridice from Plute, makes (walks) his way out of Hades. Silke Leopold, *Monteverdi: Music in Transition*, trans. Anne Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 108-110.

²⁰³ See Barbara Russano Hanning, 'Music and the Arts,' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, edited by Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 117.

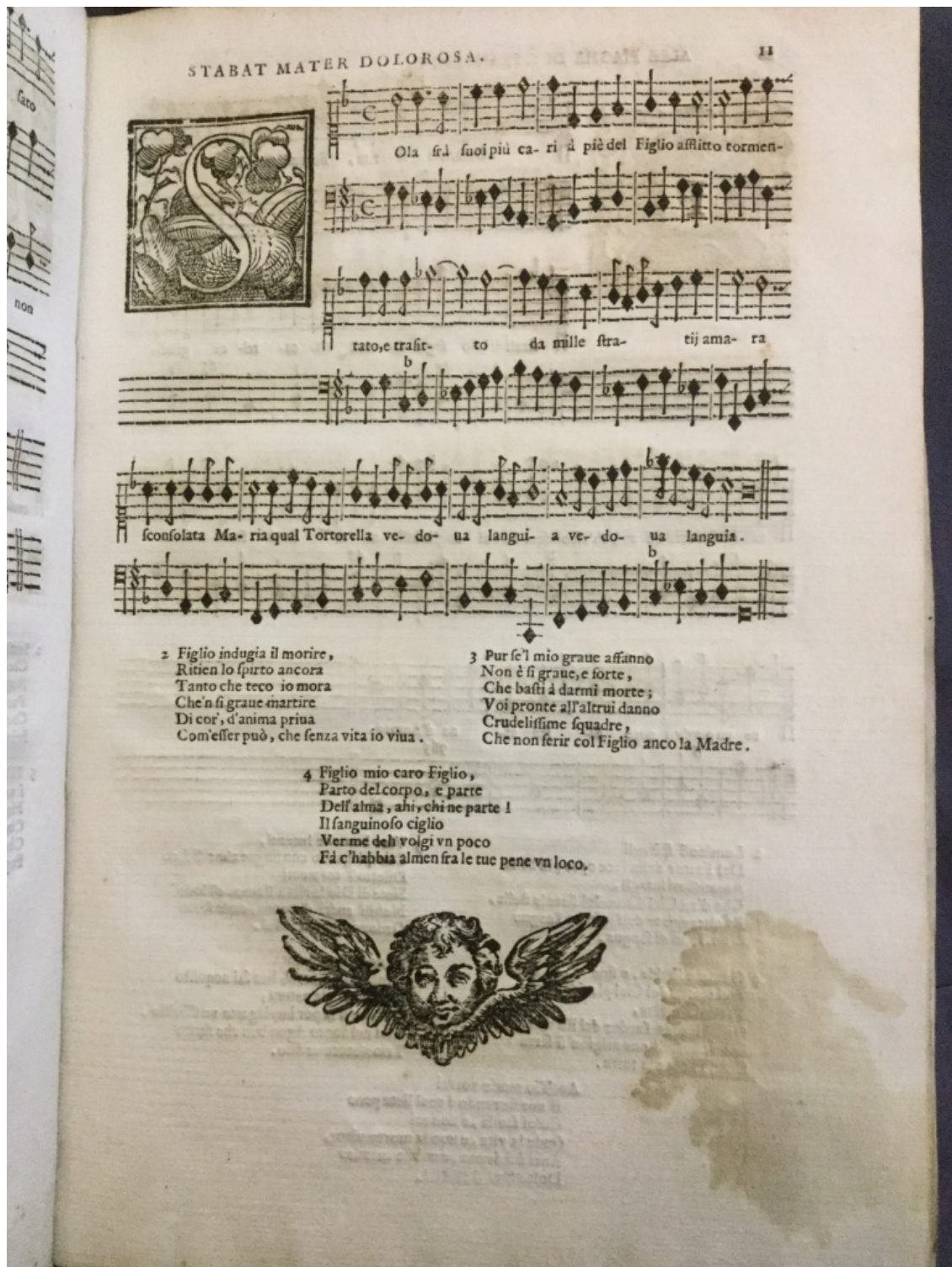
Table 2.12: Sabbatini, ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari’ (1640), stanzas.

I ⁽¹⁾Sola fra’ suoi più cari A pie del figlio afflitto Tormentato e trafitto Da mille stratii amari Sconsolata Maria Qual tortorella vedova languia	Alone among her dearest ones, At the feet of her son, afflicted, Tormented, and cut By a thousand bitter wounds, The inconsolable Maria, That widowed turtle dove, languished.²⁰⁴
II ⁽¹⁹⁾Figlio indugia il morire, Ritien lo spirto ancora Tanto che teco io mora Che’n sì grave martire Di cor, d’anima priva Com’esser può, che senza vita io viva.	‘Son, delay death, Keep your spirit alive Until I may die with you, Because such is the terrible torment Of the heart of a soul bereaved, How could it be that without life I live?’²⁰⁵
III ²⁰Pur se’l mio grave affanno Non è sì grave, e forte, Che basti à darmi morte; Voi pronte all’altrui danno Crudelissime squadre, Che non ferir col Figlio anco la Madre.	‘Even if my grave affliction is not as grave and strong, it is enough to give me death; You, who readily harm others, most cruel ministry, why not wound the Mother also with her Son?’
IV ²²Figlio mio caro Figlio, Parto del corpo, e parte Dell’alma, ah, chi ne parte! Il sanguinoso ciglio Ver me deh vogli un poco Fà c’habbia almen fra le tue pene un loco.	‘Son, my dear Son, born the body, and part of the soul, ah, who departs from it! The blood-stained eyebrow, ah, may turn towards me a little So that I may at least have a place among your sorrows.’

²⁰⁴ Translations by Margaret Murata. Murata, ‘Cantar Ottave, Cantar Storie,’ 311-313.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

STABAT MATER DOLOROSA.



Ola frà suoi più ca- ri à piè del Figlio afflitto tormen-
tato, e trafit- to da mille fra- tij ama- ra
sconsolata Ma- ria qual Tortorella ve- do- ua languis- a ve- do- ua languis.

2 Figlio indugia il morire,
Ritien lo spirto ancora
Tanto che teco io mora
Che n' si graue martire
Di cor, d'anima priua
Com'esser può, che senza vita io viua.

3 Pur se'l mio graue affanno
Non è si graue, e forte,
Che basti à darmi morte;
Voi pronte all'altrui danno
Crudelissime squadre,
Che non ferir col Figlio anco la Madre.

4 Figlio mio caro Figlio,
Parto del corpo, e parte
Dell'alma, ah, chine parte!
Il sanguinoso ciglio
Ver me deh voigi vn poco
Fà c'habbia almen fra le tue pene vn loco.



Example 2.23: Sabbatini, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' *Canzonette Spirituali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640), no. 8.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Image courtesy of the British Library (London), GB-LBL, K.7.f.1.(2.).

Orazio Michi (Mihi)'s lament for Virgin Mary

Manuscripts containing Michi's setting of 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' are just as revealing as other composers' printed sources in terms of the devotional and social contexts in which it was performed. 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' seems to hold a special place in Michi's compositional output, appearing in at least four manuscripts containing Michi's works. It is also an opening piece of the recently discovered source, D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien.²⁰⁷ Dated between 1640 and 1650 containing exclusively spiritual poems in vernacular Italian, D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien not only coincides with publication date of Sabbatini's setting of 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' but also attests to the importance of vernacular spiritual texts in development of vocal music in Rome together with another source, I-Rc, 2490.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, I-Bc, Q.43 is a Roman source containing Tenebrae lessons (or *Lectio*, using texts from Jeremiah's Lamentations) for Holy Week, followed by laments of the two Maries (Mary Magdalen and Virgin Mary) and oratorios for the Resurrection and other Biblical passages.²⁰⁹ Here, Michi's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' is entitled *Pianto di Maria Vergine alla Croce* (92v-96r) and appears after *Lamento della Madalena* (which happens to be a spiritual contrafacta of Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna*).²¹⁰

Between 1623 and 1630, Michi was in service of the household of Cardinal Maurizio of Savoy, son of Carlo Emanuele I and resident in Rome at the time.²¹¹ This

²⁰⁷ Alessio Ruffati, 'Roman Musical Manuscripts of the Seventeenth Century', in *Basler Beiträge zur historischen Musikpraxis*. 39 (2020): 299-302.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 287.

²⁰⁹ For description of this manuscript in relation to the Tenebrae service, see Robert Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2014), 131-135.

²¹⁰ Ruffati, 'Roman Musical Manuscripts,' 288.

²¹¹ Ziane, 'Orazio Michi,' 251-252 and 262.

would have coincided with Marino's stay in the same household in Rome around 1623.²¹² Furthermore, Michi maintained a strong connection to the Congregation of Oratory of St Philip Neri, regularly performing as a musician for their services and even reserving a burial place for himself in the Chiesa Nuova and donating many of his possessions to the Oratorians.²¹³ Both of these factors perhaps explain the prominent place that Marino's 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' - a text dedicated to a nun in Tor de' Specchi that also held strong connection with St Philip Neri himself - occupies in Michi's music disseminated through manuscripts.

Just like Bianciardi, Michi set nine stanzas in total: 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 19, 23, 24, 25, and six of them are shared between the two composers as well. Unlike Bianciardi's, Michi's setting has been well-studied in the recent scholarship.²¹⁴ It is worth noting that Michi does distinguish between the narrator's and Mary's voices by means of assigning them specific tonal centers for the solo singer who has to enact both roles. Michi sets up a voice of a narrator in the first three stanzas by employing rhythmic similarity in the opening lines and harmonic similarities (e.g., vi-V-i cadences) at the end of stanzas (**Example 2.24**). Also, the first three stanzas begin in D-minor, and the closing hendecasyllable are always emphasized by some means, such as a melisma. However, when the Virgin starts to speak, the tonal center shifts to A-minor until the cycle concludes in D-minor in the last stanza, which is again spoken (sung) from the narrator's perspective.²¹⁵

²¹² Ziane, 'Orazio Michi,' 251-252 and 262.

²¹³ Ibid., 253-254.

²¹⁴ Margaret Murata, 'Cantar Ottave, Cantar Storie'; Ziane, 'Orazio Michi,' 256-262.

²¹⁵ Murata, 'Cantar Ottave, Cantar Storie,' 304-313.

Similarity between Michi and Bianciardi's settings of 'Sola fra suoi più cari

Despite their similarity in the choice and organization of the stanzas, Michi and Bianciardi's settings have never been considered in parallel. When comparing their settings side-by-side, one is struck by the similarities. They share not only many stanzas in common, but also similar tonal structures, as shown in the **Table 2.13** below. They also similarly use the change in tonality to move between the narrator's voice and the Virgin Mary. For both composers, the shift to Virgin's Mary perspective occurs at the stanza 9 of the original poem (Part 4 in Bianciardi and Part 5 in Michi), which begins at Virgin Mary's words 'O mio'. Both Bianciardi and Michi uses a cadence into a C-major chord as Virgin Mary starts to speak and move to a different tonal center from the initial tonal center of D-major/minor.

There are remarkable contrast and similarity in the ways two composers respond to the same poetic text. For example, at the last couplet of stanza 9 of the poem (Part 5 in Michi), 'O quale / (Tua nò) si grave, fu colpa mortale,' Michi chose to highlight the repeated vowel pattern (O quale Tua nò / si grave fu colpa), and emphasize ending word, 'mortale,' with a melisma (**Example 2.25a**). Meanwhile, Bianciardi draws attention to the phrase 'si grave fu colpa morale') with a succession of minims (**Example 2.25b**). At stanza 24 of the poem (**Example 2.26**), both Michi and Bianciardi uses similar rhythms (declamatory texture) at Virgin's words, 'Figlio, Figlio', use chromaticism at the word 'Lassa', and descend in vocal register to depict the idea of the last line of the stanza.

Table 2.13: Comparison of tonal structures in Bianciardi's and Michi's settings.

Bianciardi				Michi			
Part	Stanzas	Initial	Final	Part	Stanzas	Initial	Final
1	1	D major	D major	1	1	D minor	A minor
2	2	A minor	A major	2	2	A minor	A minor
3	8	A minor	A major	3	3	C major	A minor
4	9	C major	E major	4	8	F major	E minor
5	10	B major	D major	5	9	C major	E major
6	11	C major	G major	6	19	D minor	A minor
7	14	G major	D major	7	23	G minor	A minor
8	23	D major	D major	8	24	D minor	D minor
9	24	G major	D major	9	25	D minor	D minor

Canto

So - la frà suoi più ca - ri A pié del figlio af-flit - to tormen-

B. C.

ta - to e traf-fit - to da mille stra-tij a - ma - ri, Sconso-la -

10

- ta Mari - a Qual tortorel - la ve - dova lan - - gui - a

Example 2.24: Michi, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' stanza 1.

a) Michi

Musical score for Michi, stanza 9, comparison. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of a single system with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are: O quale (Tua nò) si grave fu col - pa morta - le.

b) Bianciardi

Musical score for Bianciardi, stanza 9, comparison. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of two systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are: lez-za ima - go e - ter - na Chi cos - tà ti so-spe - se. Chi t'ha si con - ciò ò qua - le Tua nò si gra-ve fù col - pa mor - ta - le.

Example 2.25: Michi and Bianciardi, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' stanza 9, comparison.

a) Michi

fi - glio, fi - glio non m'o - di las -

sa già chi-na il vol --to Già mor-te i sen-si e la ragion ha tol - to.

The musical score for Michi consists of two systems. The first system contains measures 1-3, and the second system contains measures 4-6. The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The time signature is common time (C). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes.

b) Bianciardi

ce In-degnage - ni-tri - ce Fi - glio Fi - glio non o - di

ce In-de - gna geni-tri - ce Fi - glio Fi - glio non o - di

ce In-de - gna ge - ni-tri - ce Fi - glio Fi - glio non o - di

Las - sa già chini il vol - to Già morte i sen - si el ragio-nar

Las - sa già chini il vol - to Già morte i sen - si el ragio-

Las - sa già chini il vol - to Già morte i sen - si el ragio-nar

t'ha tol - to. Già morte i sen - si el ragionar t'ha tol - to.

nar t'ha tol - to. Già morte i sen - si el ragio-nar t'ha tol - to.

t'ha tol - to. Già morte i sen - si el ragio-nar t'ha tol - to.

The musical score for Bianciardi consists of three systems. The first system contains measures 6-11, the second system contains measures 12-18, and the third system contains measures 19-24. The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. The time signature is common time (C). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes.

Example 2.26: Michi and Bianciardi, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari,' stanza 24, comparison.

The Anonymous Vatican setting

Another, previously unknown setting of ‘Sola fra’ suoi piú cari’ in the Vatican Library manuscript (I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII.206) points even further to the lyrics’ wide dissemination in the Roman devotional music.²¹⁶ This short setting consists merely of the the first stanza of the *canzonetta*. It is notated in keyboard tabulation and interspersed between two instrumental pieces (**Example 2.27**). At this stage, it is difficult to determine its performance contexts or its composer, but it is unique among other sources in that it is written in a keyboard intabulation with fully written out harmony. It may be related to or the same setting as the setting in I-Fn, Magliabechi XIX.22, which is attributed to Luigi Rossi but missing since 1880.²¹⁷ It is still possible for it to be a totally distinct setting by another composer, such as Frescobaldi, given the Papal context and keyboard notations along which it is situated.

Assuming the upper staff to be a vocal line, it is set in a recitative style for solo voice, in which the words are set to notes syllable-to-syllable and the melody line moving stepwise with no leaps (**Example 2.28**). The melody thus seems a typical recitative from a dramatic work that serves as narration. The written-out keyboard accompaniment in the lower staff seems to support the upper part with a chordal texture mostly in minim pulse. Considering these, it is even possible that both staves are in fact keyboard accompaniment for a missing vocal line.

²¹⁶ This setting was discovered during the present author’s visit to Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana on 15 December 2023, but the manuscript is digitized and accessible online. <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Chig.Q.VIII.206>

²¹⁷ See Eleanor Caluori, *The Cantatas of Luigi Rossi: Analysis and Thematic Index* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), Vol. 2: 177.

Example 2.27: I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII.206, 203r.

Example 2.28: I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII.206, 203r, transcribed in modern notation, assuming the upper stave to be a vocal line (but see the discussion in the main body text). A key signature (Bb), which is not explicit in the original, has been added editorially.

Antonio Cifra's settings of 'Gia scarco havea lasciato'

Considering the remaining musical settings of the 'Gia scarco havea lasciato,' they, too, occur within the Holy Week devotions in the Jesuit and Oratorian environments. Two monodic settings are found in Cifra's *Scherzi sacri, libro primo* (Rome: Robletti, 1616) and one setting for four voices in Dentice's *Madrigali spirituali a Quattro voci, libro secondo* (Naples, Beltrano, 1640). Rather than casting them as proper Marian laments, Cifra chose two stanzas, 'Non fur, non furo i chiodi' (stanza 16) and 'Ti passa il lato manco' (stanza 23) that meditate on instruments of the Passion (*arma Christi*) and set them independently as madrigals, even re-labeling the latter's subject 'Alla piaga del costato' ('the side of the wound') from the original subtitle given (*La Pietà*) (See **Table 2.14**).²¹⁸ While the former is for soprano solo, the latter is for tenor solo, therefore deviating from Mary's voice as the stanza's original speaker. According to Ziane, Cifra's choice of stanzas focuses on the love-mystical transformation caused by the *arma Christi*, and depicts Jesus as the victim of Cupid or his own love for people.²¹⁹

Table 2.14: Stanzas from Marino's 'Gia scarco havea lasciato' used Cifra's *Scherzi sacri, libro primo* (Rome: Robletti, 1616).

Cifra, *La Pietà* (1616) - Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), 'Gia scarco havea lasciato,' stanza 16.

Non fur, non furo i chiodi	Alas, it was not, it was not the nails,
Oimè, che ti dier morte:	that brought you death:
Non fur, non furo i nodi	It was not, it was not the shackles
Dele crude ritorte,	of the cruel twists,
Che ti legar si forte:	that bound you so tightly:
I nodi, i chiodi tuoi	your shackles and nails
Furo i lacci d'Amor, gli strali suoi.	were the bonds of Love and its arrows.

²¹⁸ Alexandra Ziane, *Amor divino, Amor profano: Liebe in geistlicher Musik und bildender Kunst in Rom um 1600* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 352-54.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 353.

Cifra, *Alla piaga del costato* (1616) - Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602),
'Gia scarco havea lasciato,' stanza 23

Ti passa il lato manco	The lance passes through your
La lancia, e t'apre il core:	left side, and opens your heart;
Ma nel passato fianco	But in the pierced side,
L'invitto Amor non more.	invincible Love does not die.
Può più, che Morte Amore:	Love has more power than death;
Morte tua vita strugge,	Death destroys your life,
Ma se fugge la vita, Amor non fugge.	but if life flees, Love does not go away. ²²⁰

In 'Non fur, non furo i chiodi,' Cifra mirrors the poetic anaphora with a repetition of melody and bass lines over Verses 1 and 3: 'Non fur, non furo i choidi' ('It was not, it was not the nails') and 'Non fur, non furo i nodi' ('It was not, it was not the shackles') (bars 1-3 and 4-6). The lavish melisma on 'strali' (bars 11-12 18-20) brings a finale to the song by 'sonically' shooting out 'Love's arrows,' the concluding conceit of the poem. As for his 'Ti passa il manco lato', the change between triple and duple metres at poetic verses 1, 3, and 6 (bars 1-2, 4-5, 9-12, and 15-18) reflect the stanza's structure that begins new ideas at beginning of these verses (which are made explicit by preceding colons). The ending of verses 5 and 7 are embellished with melisma on words 'Amore' (bar 8) 'se fugge' (bars 12 and 18) and 'non fugge' (bar 20). Cifra's settings demonstrate how composer might take stanzas from the same *canzonette*, but set them independently by bringing out different poetic structures and devices. Cifra's melismatic embellishments, however, do emphasize the shared poetic conceit of Christ as either the God of Love (Cupid) himself or his victim.

²²⁰ Trans. Margaret Rorke. See Margaret Rorke, 'The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra.' PhD diss. (University of Michigan, 1980), 173.

tuo l'ho *Onne otua* nore. 27

Madrigale, Soprano solo.

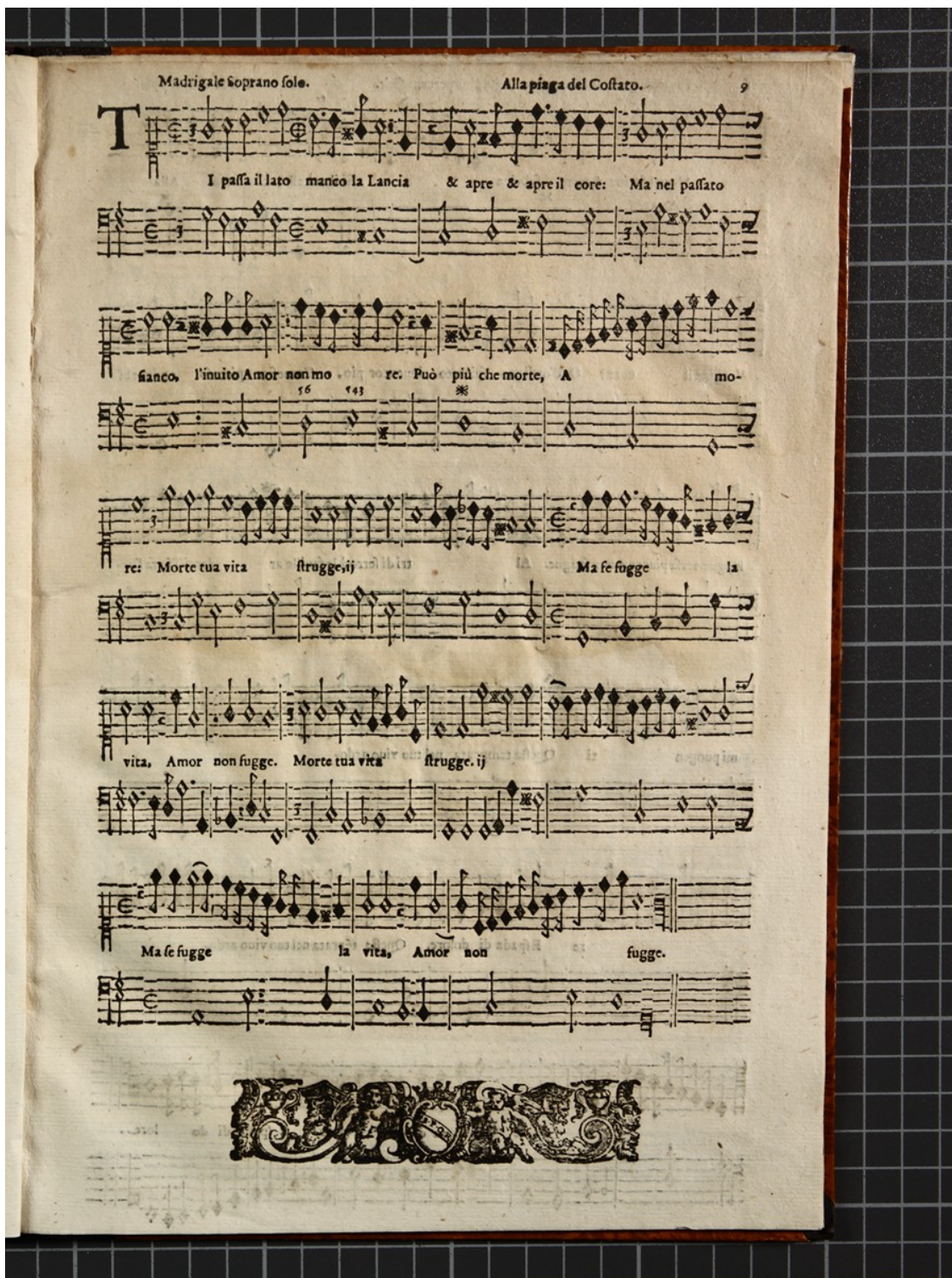
L A P I E T A'.

N On fur' ij i chiodi Oimè, che ti dier mor te: Nō fur, nō furo i nodi de le crude ri-
 tor te, Che te legar si forte; I nodi, i chiodi tuo i furo i lacci d'A-



Example 2.29: Cifra, ‘Non fur i non furo i chiodi’ (*La Pietà*), *Scherzi sacri, libro primo* (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no. 2.²²¹

²²¹ Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, Y118; http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_Y/Y118/, public domain.



Example 2.30: Cifra, 'Ti passa il lato manco' (*Alla piaga del costato*), *Scherzi sacri*, libro primo (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no. 7.²²²

²²² Ibid.

2.12.2 Dentice's settings of 'Gia scarco havea lasciato'

As an Oratorian priest and composer based in Naples towards the later part of his life, Scipione Dentice (1560-1635) treats his setting of 'Fermate ritenete' in his *Madrigali Spirituali a quattro voci, Libro Secondo* (Naples: Beltrano, 1640) as a quasi-vernacular adaptation of Jeremiah's Lament and famous *improperia* motets by giving it a subject, *O vos omnes qui transivit*, the Tenebrae responsory taken from Lamentations 1:12 (**Table 2.15**). Dentice therefore rightly recognized the reference in Marino's text, which is highly modeled after the Biblical passage. (**Table 2.16**) While Marino's stanza is spoken from Mary's perspective, Dentice reverse-engineers it into the lament of Prophet Jeremiah by his choice of male (or lower-register) voices as leading agents introducing the verses. For example, the incipit (Verse 1) is sung first by a bass solo, with melisma on 'ritenete' and descending chromatic scale at the end of the verse (**Example 2.31**, bars 1-10). The Verse 3, 'Attendete e vedete' is introduced as a tenor solo (**Example 2.31**, bars 21-23), while the ending Verse 6 'S'à quel ch'io sento Si tritrova nel mondo equal tormento' is again introduced by bass solo (**Example 2.31**, bars 36-39). Such usage of Bass and Tenor effectively gives the impression of the text as spoken through the voice of Prophet Jeremiah, who was supposed to be the author of the Lamentations. Dentice's setting thus foreshadows the oratorios based on Tenebrae Lesson and Lamentations in the later half of the seventeenth century that often had the role of Prophet Jeremiah himself recite or sing the texts.²²³

²²³ See Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah*, Chapter 5.

Table 2.15: Latin text for Lamentations 1:12, ‘O vos omnes qui transitis per viam.’

O vos omnes qui transitis per viam,
attendite, et videte
si est dolor sicut dolor meus!
quoniam vindemiavit me,
ut locutus est Dominus,
in die irae furoris sui.²²⁴

O all ye that pass by the way,
attend, and see
if there may be any sorrow like my sorrow,
for he hath made a vintage of me,
as the Lord spoke
in the day of his fierce anger.²²⁵

Table 2.16: Stanza 27 from Marino’s ‘Gia scarco havea lasciato,’ set by Dentice.

Dentice, *O vos omnes qui transivit* (1640) - Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), ‘Gia scarco havea lasciato,’ stanza 27

Fermate, ritenete
O peregrini il piede:
Attendete, e vedete,
Se'l dolor, che mi fiede,
Altro dolore eccede:
Dite, s' à quel, ch'io sento,
Si ritrova nel mondo equal tormento.

Hold your steps and consider,
oh, wanderers,
look around and see,
if the pain that wounds me,
that exceeds other pains:
If any other torment equal to the one I feel
is found in this world.

Canto

Alto

Tenore

Basso

Partimento

Fer-ma - te Fer-ma - te ri-te - ne - te O pere-gri-ni

²²⁴ Text based on Vulgate version.

²²⁵ Translation based on Douay-Rheims.

7

Fer-ma - te ri - te - ne -

Fer-ma - te ri - te - ne -

8

O pere-gri - ni il pie - de;

5 5 6 # # #

8

14

- te ri - te - ne - - te O pere-gri -

- te Fer-ma - te ri - te - ne - te O pere-gri -

8 Fer-ma - te ri - te - ne - - te O pere-gri - ni O pere-

Fer-ma - te ri - te - ne - - te O pere-gri -

#

8

19

- ni il pie - de; Se'l do-lor che

- ni il pie - de; Se'l do - lor

grini il pie - de; At-ten - de - te, e ve-de-te che

- ni il pie - de che

6 # # # 7 #6 4 3

25

mi fie - de che che

Atten-de - te, e vede-te se'l do - lor che

mi fie - de Se'l do - lor che

mi fie - de Se'l do - lor che

6 3 7 6

30

che mi fie - de Al - tro do - lor ec - ce - de; Di - te

che mi fie - de Al - tro do - lor ec - ce - de; Di - te

mi fie - de Al - tro do - lor ec - ce - de; Di - te

che mi fie - de Al - tro do - lor ec - ce - de; Di - te

6 7 6 4 #3 6

36

S'à quel ch'io

S'à quel ch'io sento Si ri-

S'à quel ch'io sento Si - ri-

S'à quel ch'io sento Si ri-tro-va nel mon - do egual tor-men - to

6 3 6 7 6

40

sento Si ritro-va nel mon - do e - gual tor - men - to e -

tro - va nel mon - do e - gual tor - men - to e -

tro - va nel mon - do e - gual tor - men - to e-gual

S' à quel ch'io sento Si ri-tro-va nel mondo e-gual tor -

6 6 9 6

44

gual tor - men - to Di - te

gual tor - men - to Di - te

tor - men - to Di - te

men - to Di - te S' à quel ch'io sento Si ri-

7 6 4 3

49.

S'à quel ch'io sento Si ri tro - va nel
 S'à quel ch'io sento Si ri - tro - va nel mon -
 S'à quel ch'io sento Si - ri - tro - va nel
 tro - va nel mon - do egual tor - men - to

6 3 6 7 6

53.

mon - do e - gual tor - men - to e - gual tor - men - to.
 - do e - gual tor - men - to e - gual tor - men - to.
 mon - do e - gual tor - men - to e - gual tor - men - to
 S'à quel ch'io sento Si ri - tro - va nel mondo egual tor - men - to.

6 6 9 6 7 6 4 3

Example 2.31: Dentice, 'Fermate, ritenete,' *Madrigali Spirituali a quattro voci*, *Libro Secondo* (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 4.

Conclusion to Chapter 2

Marino's two spiritual *canzonette*, conceived as a pair and based on Fifth and Sixth Sorrows of Mary, encompassed a full spectrum of narrative and dramatic components based on the *Planctus Marie* literature, ranging from the medieval *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* and Todi's 'Donna del Paradiso,' as well as contemporary models such as Grillo's 'Le braccia aperse.' The two *canzonette*, dedicated to Fenice Crescenzia of Tor de' Specchi, together seem to occupy a central place in Marino's early works in spiritual vein, i.e., *Le Rime* II, and they seem to reflect Marino's own 'devotion' to the Crescenti family who endorsed his career in Rome. Mary as the mother and spouse of Christ is an underlining theme of Marino's Marian *canzonette*, which would have been in accord with the devotional attitude of the nuns, including those of Tor de' Specchi (albeit with some controversy), were expected to adapt as per decrees of Council of Trent.

In all musical settings, each line of the stanza serves as a fundamental building block for structuring music. Strophic settings by Bonini and Sabbatini tend to emphasize the structural division between the quatrain and couplet. Meanwhile, through-composed settings by Bianciardi, Michi, Cifra, Pace and Dentice set new music to each stanza, often convey a musical narrative that fit within the Passion narrative of the Holy Week. As seen in cases of Bianciardi and Cifra, some of these settings took more liberty with the stanza structure, as they treated each stanza as stand-alone text.

Except for Bonini, who intended his music to be suitable for any of the stanzas, most composers customized their own choice and combination of the stanzas in order to feature certain aspects or moments within the *canzonetta*. Their choices are remarkably diverse; however, if one compares the individual settings and the contexts in which they

appear, it becomes evident that many musical settings were carefully designed to be either a stand-alone Marian lament or as part of the Holy Week services, especially the Tenebrae services that used texts from Lamentations of Jeremiah. This is not surprising, as the *planctus Mariae* and other medieval liturgy and devotional literature took the Lamentations of Jeremiah as their inspiration and model.²²⁶ Perhaps because of their close relationship, even the traditional Servite office on the Seven Sorrows of Mary juxtaposes passages from Lamentations in contemplating the Seven Sorrows.²²⁷ At least in Rome, there is an ample record of rich musical tradition of Tenebrae services held by several confraternities (including the Oratory of SS Crocifisso of St Marcelo), Oratorians or Jesuits on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday evenings of Holy Week.²²⁸ Marino's *canzonette* thus provided rich textual resources for individual poetic-musical responses to the event of Good Friday, in which Mary's Sorrow at the Crucifixion served as the emotional climax. The *canzonette*'s rich intersection with *planctus Mariae* literature seems to have incited some intriguing musical adaptations, such as introduction to a Lamentation motet by Pace, devotional song to *arma Christi* by Cifra, and Dentice's vernacular version of Jeremiah's lament.

When sampling the whole group of parallel musical settings, one notes a number of similarities between Bianciardi and Michi with regards to the choice of stanzas from Marino's cycle, tonal structure, and distinguishing different speakers' voices (i.e., narrator vs. Virgin Mary). For both composers, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' was a central

²²⁶ Polácková, *Medieval Laments*, 86.

²²⁷ An order of Little Office of the Seven Sorrows of the B.V.M. by the Servite Order at least since the early-eighteenth century can be found here: <https://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/BVM/OPSDMariae.html>.

²²⁸ Swanson, 'Speaking in Tones,' 195-196. For a general discussion of musical settings of Lamentations of Jeremiah and their relation to early modern devotional practices, see *Ibid.*, 185-220.

piece in their repertoire, attested by the significant place it occupies in Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* and various dissemination in manuscripts containing Michi's vocal music. For Bianciardi, it was not only his own expression of piety but the very cornerstone of *Canzonette Spirituali* that used novel devotional texts by Marino and Grillo to deliver a musical narrative of penitential journey based on events of the Good Friday.

Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* as a whole is striking for the almost 'visual' engagement it invites for both performers and listeners with the scenes from Christ's Passion, starting with the opening sonnets that urges the bystanders to 'come out and behold' the wounded Christ and sorrowful Mary, whose lament equally insists on the visual image of Mary by the Cross and Jesus's suffering she sees on his body. In the contemporary devotional paintings of Mary standing by the Cross, Mary is also depicted as participating in Jesus's suffering, her face often being likened to that of her son on the Cross.²²⁹ As Ott noted, Mary acquires the power as the co-redeemer precisely because of her compassion and serves as the model for the devout contemplator of the image, who, like Mary before the Cross, invests their own emotions and vital energy on mediating on what they see.²³⁰ Such relationship between Mary and Jesus – and Mary and beholder – also seems to extend to the singers who sonically enact Mary's lament.

Singing Mary's lament by Cross, therefore, was an ideal mode of identifying and sympathizing with both Mary and Jesus, with singers infusing their own emotions and meditative energy through the act of singing. Such an act of compassion with Jesus – or *imitatio Christi* – were the core of devotional exercises adapted by Jesuits and Oratorians.

²²⁹ Christine Ott, 'Terribile Meraviglia. Animismo Artistico, Empatia Ed Ekplexis Nella Poesia Di Giovan Battista Marino' in *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 130, no. 1 (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 79-80.

²³⁰ Ibid.

As they were the leading orders promoting vernacular language in devotional singing, Marino's two *canzonette* would have been especially appealing, given the fact that they had already established a cordial relationship with the community of Tor de Specchi, to whose member Marino's two spiritual *canzonette* were dedicated.

To conclude, a wide dissemination of musical adaptations of Marino's *canzonette* considered in this chapter is attributable to several factors, including favorable reception of Marino's poetry in Tuscany, as well as coeval spirituality and the close relationship among Tor de' Specchi, Oratorians, and Jesuits. Bianciardi and Bonini were the first composers to devote their music to Marino's spiritual lyrics, which seems to have been appreciated by both literary and religious circles in both Siena and Florence, the cities in which they were active. Cifra and Pace were the Maestro di Capella and organist at Santa Casa di Loreto, respectively. Pace's setting was used in the Jesuit Oratory there, and Cifra's setting (while not made explicit in his *Scherzi sacri*) would have been used there as well. Both Michi and Dentice's were active musicians around Oratorian Congregations in Rome and Naples, respectively. An even further contributing factor to the wide musical dissemination of the texts is their propensity to the Tenebrae texts and devotion to the *Addolorata*, both of which had fostered a rich tradition of musical performance by the first few decades of the seventeenth century. Marino's two spiritual *canzonette*, when expressed through music, breathed a new life into post-Tridentine musical devotion to Mary based on the model of *imitatio Christi*, serving effectively as the alternative *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* while it was being removed from the official liturgical sequence.

Chapter III

***Christo Smarrito*, Marino's Marian Lament on Missing Christ**

Almost a decade after Marino's *canzoni* to the Fifth and Sixth Sorrows of Mary appeared in print, *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni* brought forth another Marian *canzone* dedicated to the Third Sorrow of Mary: Loss of Jesus for three days. Given the rubric of *Christo Smarrito* (Missing Christ), Marino's 'Sospirava e spargea' is another dramatic *canzone* in the form of Marian lament. Despite its rich array of metaphors and allusions to various classical themes of love—including Moschus's *Eros the Runaway*, the Bible, as well as Marino's own earlier works—this *canzone* has not yet been a subject of close exegesis. Curiously, its musical settings by Claudio Saracini and Domenico Mazzocchi share the similar fate of being hardly studied, despite the significant places they occupy in their output. In terms of scope, their elaborate and almost operatic settings surpass all of the musical settings of Marino's Marian laments considered in the previous chapter. This chapter, therefore, offers first a close textual reading of 'Sospirava e spargea' as the poetic text, before moving on to analysis and comparison of Saracini and Mazzocchi's settings, especially considering them within the context of lament and dialogue as both literary and musical genres. Saracini, despite being an amateur musician, was an avid composer of laments, while Mazzocchi championed the genre of dialogues. Their respective settings illustrate how Marino's *canzone* to Missing Christ offered an especially affective and dramatic representation of Sorrowful Virgin Mary. Such affective elements were also adapted in smaller-scale devotional music by Paolo Quagliati and Pietro Pace as parodies of its stanzas.

Marino's *Christo Smarrito*—an overview

The subject of Marino's *Christo Smarrito* is based on an episode from Christ's childhood in Luke 2:41-52. When Jesus was twelve years old, he and his parents (Mary and Joseph) went to the Festival of Passover in Jerusalem according to their annual custom. When the parents were returning home, Jesus stayed behind in Jerusalem, but they were unaware of it and traveled on for a day. After searching for him among and relatives and families, they returned to Jerusalem and looked for him, finally finding him at the temple courts after three days. The story of Finding Jesus at the Temple has been an important topic for Marian devotion, such as the Seven Sorrows of Mary and the Joyful Mysteries of the Rosary, as it allowed devotees to identify with both Mary's anxiety at losing sight of Jesus and relief at finally finding him.²³¹

The Biblical narrative does not comment on Mary's emotional state while looking for Jesus, but Marino's imaginary text meditates extensively upon Mary's anxiety and sorrow, rendering an emotionally charged lament of Mary at losing sight of Jesus. Marino's approached the subject in line with the topoi of Seven Sorrows of Mary, bringing it close to the medieval *Planctus Mariae* tradition that contemplated on other Sorrows such as Crucifixion and Deposition. While a number of newly written poems and *lauda* in the first two decades of the seventeenth century were also based on Mary's Third Sorrow,²³² Marino's 'Sospirava e spargea' stands out in its scope as one of few

²³¹ Seven sorrows of Mary are the Prophecy of Simeon, Flight into Egypt, Loss of Jesus for three days, Carrying of the cross, Crucifixion of Jesus, Jesus taken down from the cross, and Jesus laid in the tomb. The five joyful mysteries of the rosary are the Annunciation, Visitation, Christmas, Candlemass, and Finding of Jesus in the temple. For an overview of Rosary devotion in early modern period, see Kerry McCarthy, *Liturgy and Contemplation in Byrd's Gradualia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 45-46.

²³² There were a number of lyric poems to the subject of Epiphany and subject of Boy Jesus missing from his parents for three days, such as those found in *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre* (Venice: Pinelli, 1616) Vol 1: B. Barco: Col suo figlio scherzava; C. Rinaldi, Sospira alma, sospira, e sia il sospiro; C. Talenti, Cerca con aspra noia; M. Moro, Da i Genitor diviso; C. Fiamma, Cerca la madre il figlio, etc. See

written in the form of an extensive *canzone* and whose musical settings were set as dramatic laments in recitative style.

The opening five stanzas of ‘Sospirava e spargea’ describe Mary’s distress after already having searched Jesus for three days. Mary pours out a ‘large river of tears’ (stanza 1) and looks for Jesus in everywhere imaginable, including every street of the ‘holy city’ (Jerusalem, stanza 2) and the ‘valley, the plain, and the hill’ (stanza 3). The idea of the Sun rising and setting three times (stanzas 4 and 5) draws parallel to the time between Christ’s Passion and Resurrection. Jesus as a ‘the Sun of her eyes’, as well as her eyes as ‘beautiful lights’ (stanza 5) refer to the classical depiction of Jesus and Mary and sun and moon as well as the Aristotelian idea that beauty enters the beholder’s eyes and heart as the rays of light.²³³

Marino, *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 38

Christo Smarrito

Missing Jesus

¹SOSPIRAVA, e spargea
Largo di pianto un fiume
La Dea, la vera Dea,
Madre di vero Nume,
Ricercando il suo core,
Il suo smarrito, e fuggitivo Amore.

The Goddess, the true Goddess,
mother of true Deity,
sighed and poured out
a large river of tears,
searching for her heart,
her missing and runaway Love.

²Iva la Verginella
Qual Tortora solinga,
Di questa parte in quella
Peregrina, e raminga
De la sacra Cittade

The Virgin went,
like a lonely turtle dove,
wandering
from this part to that
of the sacred City,

Giambonini, 351. In the lauda repertoire, Nuove Laudi Ariose della Beatissima Vergine (Rome: Mutii, 1600) contains two laudi based on Mary’s Third Sorrow: ‘Ov’è anima mia? dov’è sparita?’ and ‘Oimè dov’è il mio ben dov’è il mio core.’ The latter is a parody of Bernardo Tasso’s poem that was set by Monteverdi in his *Madrigali Concertati* of 1619.

²³³ See Dana E. Stewart, *The Arrow of Love: Optics, Gender, and Subjectivity in Medieval Love Poetry* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press 2003), 15. Stewart also provides us with an overview of Medieval optical theory (including dissemination of Platonic theory of extramission and Aristotelian theory of intromission as explained in the *De anima*) and their relevance to the lyric poetry.

Scorrendo hor quà, hor là tutte le strade.	passing by now here, there, all the streets.
³ La valle, il piano, il colle Spiò dentro, e d'intorno, E fe spesso qual folle Donde partì ritorno, Gia seco afflitto, e stanco Il santo Vecchiarel trahendo il fianco. ²³⁴	The valley, the plain, and the hill, She spied within and around Often in such madness That she returned to whence she left; Already afflicted and weary, The holy little Old Man, treading by her side.
⁴ Trè volte il Sol dal'Orto, ²³⁵ Rinacque, e tre morio Dapoi che'l suo conforto Da gli occhi suoi spario. Stende il passo, il piè move Con sollecita cura, e non sà dove.	Three times the Sun, rising from the Garden, had been reborn and died after her comfort had disappeared from her eyes. She stretched out her step, her foot moving with solicitous care, and not knowing where.
⁵ Poiche la terza Aurora Vide uscir degli Eoi, Nè spuntar vide ancora, Il Sol degli occhi suoi, Anhelando, e piangendo Volsè i bei lumi al Ciel così dicendo.	As she saw the third Dawn emerging from the Eos, she did not yet see the Sun of her eyes rise; yearning, and weeping, she turned her beautiful lights to Heaven, thus saying:

After stanzas 1-5, Mary's soliloquy occupies the following fourteen stanzas (stanzas 6-19), which forms the *canzonetta*'s central part and comprises several expressions of her grief or imploring Jesus to return to her. Not only does she call on daughters of Sion for help (stanza 8), but also laments of her misery of being abandoned (stanza 9), akin to contemporary laments such as Rinuccini's *Lamento d'Arianna*. She continues on with affective description of physical features of Jesus (stanzas 10-11), desire to let her soul break from her body to see him (stanzas 12-13), and her willingness to venture into all sorts of natural elements ('Earth, heaven, water and fire') – and even to Hell – in order to find Jesus (stanza 16). Mary even laments about Jesus's 'careless'

²³⁴ Cf. Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, no. 16: 'indi trahendo poi l'antiquo fianco.'

²³⁵ There is a subtle hint of Dante in the opening this line, cf. Dante, *Inferno* 26:139-142, 'Tre volte il fé girar con tutte l'acque,/ a la quarta levar la poppa in suso / e la prora ire in giù, com' altrui piacque, / infin che 'l mar fu sovra noi richiuso.'

earthly father, Joseph (stanza 18), before turning to God the supreme Father for help (stanza 19):

⁶O Dio, chi mi nasconde,
Il Vago ond'io sospiro?
Il chiamo, e non risponde,
Il cerco, e nol rimiro,
Chi l'abbraccia, e l'accoglie?
Chi'l contende à quest'occhi? e chi mel toglie?

O God, who hides from me the Fair
One for whom I sigh? I call him, and he
does not answer, I seek him, and do not
see him. Who embraces him, and
welcomes him? Who disputes him in
these eyes? And who takes him away?

⁷Oimè, che'l cor si strugge,
Infrà sospetto, e spene.
Lo spirito mi fugge
Fuggito ogni mio bene.
Sparito è il mio trastullo,
Perduto hò (lassa) il mio divin fanciullo.

Alas, that my heart is consumed,
under suspicion and hope.
My spirit flees from me;
gone is all my good.
Vanished is my delight,
I have lost, alas, my divine child.

⁸O figlie di Sionne,
Ch'errando ite per via,
Voi Vergini, voi Donne,
Voi prego in cortesia
Date datemi avviso,
Dove tanto splendor fà Paradiso.

Oh, daughters of Zion,
who go wandering along the way,
you Virgins, you Ladies,
I beseech you in courtesy:
give, give me your advice, where so
much splendour would make Paradise.

⁹Narrategli il mio pianto,
E la mia morte viva.
Ditegli come, e quanto
Abbandonata, e priva
Del suo celesto sguardo,
Di dolore, e d'amor languisco, & ardo.

Tell him of my weeping,
and my living death.
Tell him how, and how much,
I languish and burn with grief and love,
being abandoned and deprived of his
heavenly gaze.

¹⁰Forse non conoscete
Il mio sposo, il mio figlio?
Se pur, qual sia, chiedete,
E' candido, e vermiglio,
Non hà bellezza eguale.
Lingua, penna, ò pensier tanto non sale.

Perhaps you do not know my spouse,
my son? If so, ask me what he is like:
he is white and scarlet red;
he has no equal in beauty; no tongue,
pen, or thought can rise to such a task
of describing him.

¹¹Di Colomba amorosa
Hà le luci divine.
Hà le labra di rosa,
Hà d'ambra, e d'oro il crine.
Appo le guance intatte
Foran vil paragon porpora, e latte.

He has divine eyes
of a Loving Dove;
his lips rose-coloured;
his hair amber and gold.
The purple and milk are no match
against his intact cheeks.

¹²Anima sconsolata,
Perche non rompi il laccio,
Che quì ti tien legata?
E non ne voli in braccio
A lui veloce, e lieve,
Ch'aspettar colassù forse ti deve?

¹³Deh perche parlo al'alma,
S'ella non è più meco?
E fuor di questa salma
In lui vive, ei l'hà seco?
Anzi dapoi ch'io'l crebbi,
Altra mai, che lui solo, alma non hebbi.

¹⁴Ma tu dolce diletto,
Pupilla amanta, e cara,
Tesoro pargoletto
Di questa vita amara,
Deh per qual caso strano
Dale viscere tue stai sì lontano.

¹⁵Chi teco oimè, m'invola
Ogni mia gioia, e pace?
Lassa, e chi mi consola,
Se tu mio ben verace
A me non ti riveli?
Dimmi dimmi ove sei, perche ti celi?

¹⁶Qual da me ti diparte
Segreto, e chiuso loco?
Cercherò per trovarte,
Terra, e Cielo, acqua, e foco.
E nel'Inferno andrei,
S'Inferno esser potesse, ove tu sei.

¹⁷Torna deh torna almeno,
O mio gradito pegno?
Come da questo seno,
Già tuo nido, e sostegno,
S'Amor punto ti punge,
Dolce sospiro mio, viver puoi lunge?

¹⁸Ahi di cui mi lamento
Forsennata, ch'io fui?
Ch'io non devea momento,

Disconsolate soul,
why do you not break the bond
that binds you here?
And why not fly into his arms,
swiftly and lightly to him,
who perhaps must wait for you there?

Ah, why do I speak to my soul,
if it is no longer with me?
And if it lives outside of this body,
but rather in him, does he have it?
Indeed, ever since I raised him up,
I have had no other soul but him.

But you, sweet delight,
beloved and dear one,
little child treasure
of this bitter life,
ah, by such strange fate, you are so far
away from your mother's womb.

Alas, who takes away all my joy and
peace along with you? Alas, and who
consoles me, if you, my true goodness,
do not reveal yourself to me?
Tell me where you are; why do you
hide from me?

Which hidden and closed place keeps
you away from me?
I will search to find you,
on Earth, in Heaven, in water, and in
fire. And into Hell I would go, if Hell
could be where you are.

Come back, ah, at least come back,
Oh, my welcome token?
My sweet sigh, how can you live long
away from this bosom, which is already
your nest and support, if love-struck
Love stings you?

Alas, for what do I lament,
that I was senseless?
That I should never have been away

Trar mai lunge da lui.
O malcauto Giuseppe,
Che guardar tanto ben meco non seppe.

from him for a moment?
Or careless Joseph, who did not know
how to keep an eye on him with me?

¹⁹Tu'l guarda, ò sommo Padre,
Tu difensare eterno,
E voi celesti squadre
Con pietoso governo
Trà le nemiche frodi
Del vostro, e mio Signor siate custodi.

May you watch him, oh supreme
Father, eternal defender; and may you,
heavenly armies, with compassionate
government, be guardians
among fraudulent enemies of you and
my Lord.

The remaining stanzas (stanzas 20-25) return to the narrator's voice, with stanzas 20-22 foreshadowing Virgin Mary's even greater grief at the time of Passion that is yet to come, thus echoing Simeon's prophecy when Jesus was presented in the Temple that Mary's soul would eventually be pierced as well.²³⁶ However, the final stanzas 23-25 reveal Jesus appearing among Rabbis like a guiding light in a tempestuous sea, as well as Mary's inexpressive joy at finding the Jesus in the temple, which result in 'welcome and kisses.' Unlike the Biblical narrative in which Mary speaks to Jesus at finding him in the temple, Mary stays silent while and the narrator invokes the Muse to also stay silent and contemplate the mystery of finding Jesus in the Temple as a whole, thereby adding a highly imaginative twist to the Biblical narrative:

²⁰Vergine, à che ti lagni,
Che'l tuo ben ti sia tolto?
S'hor da lui ti scompagni
Lassa non andrà molto,
Ch'andrai mesta, e dolente
Sol perche ti sarà troppo presente.

Virgin, at what do you lament, that your dear
one may be taken from you?
If he disappears from you now,
alas, it will not be too long,
that you will be sad and sorrowful,
only because he will be too present.

²¹E perché più, com'oggi
Da te non si divida,

And also because he no longer separates from
you like today;

²³⁶ Luke 2: 34-35: ³⁴ 'Then Simeon blessed them and said to Mary, his mother: "This child is destined to cause the falling and rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign that will be spoken against,"³⁵ so that the thoughts of many hearts will be revealed. And a sword will pierce your own soul too.'" See 'New International Version,' BibleGateway.com URL: <https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-International-Version-NIV-Bible/>, accessed 14 March, 2024.

Fra solitari poggi
E fra turba omicida
Con immobili piante²³⁷
Staratti affisso et inchiodato avante.

between lonely hills and among murderous
crowd,
with immobile plants,
he will be affixed and nailed down before you.

²²Allhora in odio haurai
E la luce, e la vista,
Quand'offrir ti vedrai
Imagine sì trista
Senz'alcun'ombra, ò velo,
Se per pietà non la ti copre il Cielo.

Then you will abhor
both light and the sight,
when you will see
so sad an image offered to you
without any shadow, or veil, if for pity's sake
the Heaven does not cover it from you.

²³Pur langue intanto, e manca
La diva gentrice.
Ma ecco, mentre stanca
Tapinella infelice
A caso al tempio riede,
Assiso in frà Rabini il figlio vede.

And yet, the divine mother languishes
and misses him in the meantime.
But behold, as the weary,
unhappy, miserable
returns to the temple by chance,
she sees her son sitting among the Rabbis.

²⁴Si come quando appare
A legno che vacilla
In tempestoso mare
Face destra, e tranquilla,
Sparve ogni nebbia grave
De la sua stella al lampeggiar soave.

Just as when
an agile and calm torch
appears to the vessel
that sways in a stormy sea,
each thick fog vanishes
at the gentle flashing of the star.

²⁵Chi poria dir la festa²³⁸
Dela trovata dramma?
Chi di quell'alma, e questa
E l'una, e l'altra fiamma?
Chi l'accoglienze, e i baci?
Musa, se nol sai dir, contempla, e taci.

Who can tell the feast of the found token?
Who of that soul, and this,
and the one and the other flame?
Who the welcome, and the kisses?
Muse, if you do not know how to tell, may you
contemplate and be silent.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Marino's poem was adapted into English by Edward Sherburne, and published in connection with similar such English adaptations and translations of Marino's spiritual poetry.²³⁹ Sherburne used *ottonari* and rhyming couplets (aabb, etc.), and while he does not adhere strictly to the structure of

²³⁷ piante = pl. of pianta, probably referring to the wooden cross and the crown of thorns.

²³⁸ cf. Dante, *Inferno* 28:1-3, 'Chi poria mai pur con parole sciolte / dicer del sangue e de le piaghe a pieno / ch'i' ora vidi, per narrar più volte?'

²³⁹ Edward Sherburne, *Poems and translations: Amorous, Lusory, Morall, Divine* (London: W. Hunt, 1651), 164-166.

Marino's original,²⁴⁰ it is nevertheless an important reference as a contemporary English translation of Marino's text and metaphors. Sherburne's English adaptation is reproduced in **Appendix 3**.

Comparison to Marino's other Marian laments

'Sospirava e spargea' shares several similarities in structure and metaphors with Marino's earlier Marian laments discussed in Chapter 2, especially 'Sola fra' suoi più cari.' Structurally, the former consists of 24 stanzas, each made up of six lines (*rima baciata* and couplet) with a rhyme scheme of ababcC (7-7-7-7-11). This closely resembles the latter consisting of 25 stanzas, each made up of six lines (*rima crociata* and couplet) with a rhyme scheme of abbacC (7-7-7-7-11). Both *canzoni* similarly divide themselves in three main sections, switching between a narrator's and Mary's voices.

Both laments use identical metaphors or exclamation: Mary is described as the widowed or lonely dove,²⁴¹ and she begins her lament by exclamation and posing a question of who could have crucified or hid Jesus from Mary.²⁴² 'Sospirava e spargea' even foreshadows Mary's sorrow at the time of Christ's Crucifixion in stanzas 20–22, bringing the two laments even closer. Notably, stanzas 12-13 of 'Sospirava e spargea' already foreshadows the concluding stanza of 'Gia scarco havea lasciato,' Marino's

²⁴⁰ He only adapts stanzas 1-6, 8, 10-13 and 20-25, with some stanzas often abridged or compressed with others.

²⁴¹ 'Sola frà suoi più cari,' stanza 1, v. 6: 'Qual tortorella vedova languia'; 'Sospirava e spargea,' stanza 2, v.1-2: 'Iva la Verginella / Qual Tortora solinga, /

²⁴² 'Sola frà suoi più cari,' stanza 9, v. 1 and 4-6: 'O mio (poscia riprese).... 'Chi costà ti sospese? / Chi t'ha sì concio? o quale / (Tua no) sì grave fu colpa mortale?; Sospirava e spargea, stanza 6, v.1 and 5-6: 'O Dio, chi mi nasconde, / Chi'l contende à quest'occhi? e chi mel toglie?

canzonetta for Mary's Sorrow at the Deposition by using a shared imagery of Mary's soul leaving her body while embracing Christ:

Marino, 'Sospirava e spargea' (*Christo Smarrito*)

¹²Anima sconsolata
Perche non rompi il laccio,
Che qui ti tien legata?
E non ne voli in braccio
A lui veloce, e lieve,
Ch'aspettar colassù forse ti deve?

¹³Deh perche parlo al'alma,
S'ella non è piu meco?
E fuor di questa salma
In lui vive, ei l'hà seco?
Anzi dapoì ch'io'l crebbi,
Altra mai, che lui solo, alma non hebbi.

English

Disconsolate soul, why do you not break
the bond
that binds you here? And why not fly into
his arms, swiftly and lightly to him, who
perhaps must wait for you there?

Ah, why do I speak to my soul, if it is no
longer with me? And if it lives outside of
this body, but rather in him, does he have
it? Indeed, ever since I raised him up, I
have had no other soul but him.

Marino, 'Gia scarco havea lasciato' (*La Pieta*)

³⁰Più volea dir, mà l'alma
D'acuto stral ferita,
Fù per lasciarla salma,
E seguir la sua vita:
Onde mut', è smarrita
Caddè senza conforto
Semiviva la viva in braccio al morto.

English

More she wished to say, but the soul,
wounded by a sharp arrow, was to leave
her body and follow his life:
Hence she was silent and lost, falling
without comfort and half-alive in
embracing the dead.

Marino's laments also owe their model to both Medieval and contemporary vernacular laments, especially Jacopone da Todi and Angelo Grillo. Grillo's Marian lament emphasized Mary's spiritual unification (i.e. identification with Christ), while Marino's expanded on the sense of separation between Jesus and Mary based on the

theme of separation between two lovers he had developed in his secular poems.²⁴³ ‘Sospirava e spargea,’ too, elaborates heavily on the separation between Mary and Jesus; however, it is also distinguished by other laments of Marino for the reunion it recounts right at the concluding stanzas. Even though both ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari’ and ‘Sospirava e spargea’ emphasize the silence at the end of Mary’s lament, the nature of the silence differs significantly between the two. ‘Sola fra’ suoi più cari’ concludes with earth’s tremor and Mary’s silence, while ‘Sospirava e spargea’ ends with the silence of finding Jesus in the temple because of a joy that is apparently inexpressive through the tongue of the Muses (symbol of poetic inspiration). Contemporary readers familiar with ‘Sola fra suoi più cari’ (published in 1602) would have recognized many similarities in ‘Sospirava e spargea’ (published in 1614), only to be ‘betrayed’ by the ‘happy’ ending of the latter,

Moschus’s *Eros the Runaway* and its late-Renaissance adaptations in lyric poetry

‘Sospirava e spargea’ borrows classical topoi of love from both secular and sacred literature: Greek poet Moschus’ *Eros the Runaway* (ΕΡΩΣ ΔΡΑΠΗΤΗΣ, Italian: *Amor Fuggitivo*), and the Song of Songs in the Bible. In *Eros the Runaway*, Cypris (Italian: Citherea, a synonym for Aphrodite/Venus) makes a public announcement about her son Eros (It: Amore), noting that anyone who gives information about him will be rewarded with her kiss. However, whoever will actually bring him back will be rewarded with *more* than a kiss. Then she goes on to describe the physical features of Eros, as well as the dangerous powers he possesses. Cypris notes, for instance, that his shafts can wound even her, and that his torch, despite being a little light, can even ‘set the Sun himself on

²⁴³ Alessandro Martini, ‘Agonismo Mariano: Uno <<Stabat mater>> di Giovan Battista Marino,’ *Humanitas: Rivista Bimestrale di Cultura, Fondata nel 1946*, Anno 60, No. 3 (2005): 413.

fire.’ Moschus’s poem concludes with instruction and warning against anyone daring to capture Eros.²⁴⁴

Marino had already parodied Moschus in his ‘Udito ho Citherea’ (*Scherzo tirano dall’Amor fuggitivo di Mosco*)²⁴⁵ from *La Lira* II (1602). In this short madrigal, the presumably male speaker asks her to give him a kiss as she promised, so that he can reveal the Love/Cupid (‘Amor’), who is in fact hiding in his heart. Despite the potentially risqué nature of ‘Udito ho Citherea,’ the first stanza of ‘Sospirava e spargea’ makes an unmistakable allusion to it, with similar rhyme scheme and words used at ends of the verses (Dea, Amore, and core), and even explicitly referring to Jesus as ‘Amor fuggitivo’ (Eros the Runaway). Mary is referred to as ‘Dea’ (‘La Dea, la vera Dea’ – ‘The Goddess, the true Goddess’), a term referring to Venus in ‘Udito ho Citherea’ (‘Non languir bella Dea’ – do not languish, beautiful goddess):

*Scherzo tirano dall’Amor fuggitivo
di Mosco, Le Rime* II (1602)

Udito ho Citherea
Che del tuo grembo fore
Fuggitivo il tuo figlio a te si cела,
E promesso hai baciare chi tel rivela;
Non languir bella Dea:
Se vai cercando Amore,
Nol cercar, dammi il bacio; io l’ho nel core.

English

I have heard, Cypris, that your child has
gone missing from your lap and hid himself;
and you have promised a kiss to the one
who reveals him to you.
Do not languish, beautiful goddess; if you
go seeking Love and do not find him, give
me the kiss: I have him in my heart.

Christo Smarrito, La Lira III (1614),
Divozioni

¹SOSPIRAVA, e spargea
Largo di pianto un fiume
La Dea, la vera Dea,
Madre di vero Nume,
Ricercando il suo core,
Il suo smarrito, e fuggitivo Amore.

English

The Goddess, the true Goddess,
Mother of true Deity,
sighed and poured out a large river of tears,
searching for her heart,
her missing and runaway Love.

²⁴⁴ Neil Hopkinson, *Theocritus, Moschus, Bion* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2015), 443-447.

²⁴⁵ A *scherzo* (jest) drawn from Moschus’s *Eros the Runaway*.

Being firmly established in the first stanza, the narrative of *Eros the Runaway* continues to run through the subsequent stanzas of ‘Sospirava e spargea.’ Paralleling Moschus’s Venus, Mary is cast as a goddess-like mother desperately searching for her god-like son who has hid himself from her. Like Venus, she gives a detailed description of Jesus in stanzas 10-11, albeit in affective language, like a lover describing her partner. Finally, ‘welcome and kisses’ (‘accoglienze e i baci’) that occur at the last stanza seem to complete the circle of allusions by referring back to the kiss that was promised by Venus in Moschus’s poem. Marino therefore casts Mary and Jesus – again, as he did elsewhere – as ‘divine’ Venus and Cupid (Love), respectively. Mary is the mother (Venus) and Jesus is her son (Cupid/Love) that has gone missing but has revealed himself to her, therefore meriting the kiss that was promised by Moschus’s Venus.

Marino was not the first one to use reference to Moschus’s. It had already featured in the pastoral genre, as early as the 1590, as demonstrated by the opening madrigal of Leonora Bernardi’s pastoral drama *Clorilli*:

Madrigale

Venere alla Autora

Il dolce e caro figlio
afflitta madre i’ cerco: e che ridete
gentil signora? Voi forse l’avete?
Ahi mi date sopetto
che rinchiuso non stia nel vostro petto:
rendetel prego, che di furto tale
n’avereste voi ancor pena immortal.

Madrigal

Venus to the Author

I, a suffering mother, am searching for my
dear sweet son. And why do you laugh,
gentle lady? Do you perhaps have him
yourself? Alas, you make me fear
he may be hidden within your breast:
Give him back, pray, for such a theft
would earn you eternal punishment.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁶ Text and translation taken from *Drama, Poetry and Music in Late-Renaissance Italy: The life and works of Leonora Bernardi*, ed. Virginia Cox and Lisa Sampson with a translation by Anna Wainwright (London: UCL Press, 2023), 168 – 169.

This madrigal, either written by Leonora Bernardi herself or some other author like Ottavio Rinuccini, seems to respond to Tasso's *canzone* entitled *Amor Fuggitivo*, 'Scesa dal Terzo Cielo,' which may have served as a postlude to Tasso's pastoral play *Aminta*.²⁴⁷ In fact, Tasso closely parodies Moschus's text in many aspects, including Venus's promise of reward by means of kiss for any news of Cupid, something even loftier for whoever actually brings him back, detailed description of Cupid's appearance and demeanors, as well as a warning about dangerous powers he possesses. It is likely that Marino was also aware of Tasso's *Amor Fuggitivo* and parodied it in his 'Udito ho Citherea,' as the opening three lines of Tasso's already contains words like 'Dea' and 'fuggitivo Amore' that are common to both texts:

Torquato Tasso, *Rime* II (1583)

Amor Fuggitivo

Eros the Runaway

Scesa dal Terzo Cielo,
Io, che sono di lui Regina, e Dea,
Cerco il mio figlio fuggitivo Amore.

Coming down from the Third Sphere of
Heaven, I, who is its Queen and Goddess,
am looking for my son, Eros the Runaway.

Here, Tasso most likely uses the phrase 'Third Heaven' (il Terzo Cielo) in a literary and premodern cosmological context to refer to the planet Venus, a celestial region thought to be closest to earth in pre-modern context.²⁴⁸ However, it is a phrase also used in St Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians and associated with his revelation (2 Corinthians, 12: 1-

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 99, and 111 note 151. See also *Opere di Torquato Tasso*, ed. Bortolo Tommaso Sozzi, Vol. 2 (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1974), 895, which traces its origins. Its first establishment in Tasso's *Rime* is ascribed to Aldina's 1582 edition of *Rime e Prose* parte II, although it can be also found in Vittorio Baldini's 1582 edition printed in Ferrara and dedicated to Lucrezia d'Este, Duchess of Urbino.

²⁴⁸ Dante would also refer to Venus as *il terzo cielo* (the third heaven) in 'Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete,' a *canzone* he explains in *Convivio*, Book II. I thank Peerawat Chiaranunt for bringing this to my attention.

4).²⁴⁹ Tasso's usage of such terminology common in both Hellenistic (or purely astrological) and Christian concepts may have been another factor that prompted Marino to 'convert' the narrative of *Amor Fuggitivo* into Finding of Jesus in the Temple, casting Virgin Mary and child Jesus as sacred Venus and Cupid, respectively. Marino's borrowing is, therefore, most likely indebted to philosophers like Marsilio Ficino, who in his *De Amore* describes presence of heavenly Venus and earthly Venus that give sparks to the world, making all bodies of the world seem beautiful according to the receptivity of their nature.²⁵⁰

Symbolisms: Song of Songs, Jesus as the guiding light, and invocation of the Muse

The poetic language and tone in 'Sospirava e spargea' have been noted for their similarity to the Song of Songs.²⁵¹ For instance, the imagery of Mary looking for her lover but not finding him, running about the streets of the city (stanza 2), as well as invocation of daughters of Sion (stanza 8), are almost literal borrowings from the Song of Songs, 3:1-5.²⁵² Moreover, Song of Songs Ch. 4-7 showcase a male lover and his female partner praising each other's physical beauty in metaphorical terms. Mary's affective

²⁴⁹ 2 Corinthians, 12: 1-4: ¹ 'I must go on boasting. Although there is nothing to be gained, I will go on to visions and revelations from the Lord. ² I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven. Whether it was in the body or out of the body I do not know - God knows. ³ And I know that this man - whether in the body or apart from the body I do not know, but God knows - ⁴ was caught up to paradise and heard inexpressible things, things that no one is permitted to tell.'

²⁵⁰ Juan Pablo Maggioni, 'Art, Love and Magic in Marsilio Ficino's *De amore*' in *Magic and the Supernatural*, ed. Scott E Hendrix and Timothy J. Shannon (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 10-11.

²⁵¹ Wolfgang Iser, *Domenico Mazzocchi, 1592-1665: Dokumente und Interpretationen* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1970), 142.

²⁵² Song of Songs 3:1-5: 'All night long on my bed I looked for the one my heart loves; I looked for him but did not find him. ² I will get up now and go about the city, through its streets and squares; I will search for the one my heart loves. So I looked for him but did not find him. ³ The watchmen found me as they made their rounds in the city. "Have you seen the one my heart loves?" ⁴ Scarcely had I passed them when I found the one my heart loves. I held him and would not let him go till I had brought him to my mother's house, to the room of the one who conceived me. ⁵ Daughters of Jerusalem, I charge you by the gazelles and by the does of the field: Do not arouse or awaken love until it so desires.'

description of Jesus (stanzas 10-11) especially echos the female lover's description of her male beloved in Song of Songs 5:10-16:

Song of Songs 5

¹⁰ My beloved is radiant and ruddy,
outstanding among ten thousand.

¹¹ His head is purest gold; his hair is wavy
and black as a raven.

¹² His eyes are like doves by the water
streams, washed in milk, mounted like
jewels.

¹³ His cheeks are like beds of spice
yielding perfume. His lips are like lilies
dripping with myrrh.

¹⁴ His arms are rods of gold set with topaz.
His body is like polished ivory decorated
with lapis lazuli.

¹⁵ His legs are pillars of marble set on
bases of pure gold. His appearance is like
Lebanon, choice as its cedars.

¹⁶ His mouth is sweetness itself; he is
altogether lovely. This is my beloved, this
is my friend, daughters of Jerusalem.

Sospirava e spargea

¹⁰ Perhaps you do not know my spouse, my
son? If so, ask me what he is like: he is
white and scarlet red; he has no equal in
beauty; no tongue, pen, or thought can rise
to such a task.

¹¹ He has divine eyes of a Loving Dove; his
lips rose-coloured; his hair amber and gold.
The purple and milk are no match against
his intact cheeks.

Medieval *planctus Mariae* often embeddied symbolism of Mary as both mother and bride based on the idioms of Song of Songs, which Marino's *canzone* closely follows.²⁵³ Marino's novelty lies in his borrowing of Moschus's *Eros the Runaway* to illustrate Mary's motherly nature, while infusing it with the more traditional lovers' topos of the Song of Songs. As Marino cleverly demonstrates with 'Sospirava e spargea,' Mary's search and longing for Jesus as both mother and the beloved afforded a seemingly unusual but viable synthesis of references to sacred and secular literature.

When Mary finds Jesus in the temple, his appearance is compared to the guiding light in a tempestous sea (stanza 24). This is an intriguing metaphor, especially as Mary

²⁵³ Eliska Kubartová Polácková, *Medieval laments of the Virgin Mary: Text, music, performance, and genre liminality* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2023), 67-74.

herself is the one often depicted as the ‘stella maris,’ the guiding light for the mariners.²⁵⁴

In fact, one of Marino’s earlier madrigals to Virgin Mary compare her to Hero, a maiden, who shines guiding light to her male lover Leander he crosses the tempestous sea.²⁵⁵

Here, however, the roles seem to be reversed, and it is Mary who seems to be doing the active search for Jesus in a (figuratively) tumultuous sea. In contemporary seminal laments, such as those by Olimpia (Olympia) and Arianna (Ariadne), the heroines are abandoned in a deserted island by their respective lovers sailing out on a horizon.²⁵⁶ The maritime imagery in Mary’s lament, therefore, relates Mary to the secular heroines for whom the ocean represents a symbol of separation from their lovers.

In Moschus’s *Eros the Runaway*, Venus is referred to as Cypris because of the myth that she was born in the ocean near the island of Cyprus. She also describes Cupid’s torch as a powerful light that can set the sun on fire. Thus, Jesus being a light shining in the ocean is another potential reference to Moschus again by applying Venus-Cupid relationship to Mary and Jesus. In a more scriptural vein, this imagery is also a possible borrowing from Gospel narratives of Jesus calming the storm at the sea.²⁵⁷

Towards the end, ‘Sospirava e spargea’ invokes the Muse in the last couplet of the last stanza (stanza 25). Such invocation of the Muse, often to drop a frivolous subject for a more serious one, has a long literary tradition and antecedents.²⁵⁸ The Muse could be an

²⁵⁴ One of Mary’s most prominent attributes is ‘Maris Stella’ (star of the sea).

²⁵⁵ Andrea Grassi, ‘La poesia religiosa del giovane Marino: alcuni appunti sulle modalità di riuso della Bibbia nelle *Rime Sacre*,’ *Testo: studi di teoria e storia delle letterature e della critica* 70 (2015): 54–57.

²⁵⁶ James Chater, *Stefano Rossetti, Il lamento di Olimpia et canzone (Venice, 1567), Three Works for Isabella de’ Medici*, ed. James Chater (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2017), page xi of Introduction.

²⁵⁷ This is an episode narrated in every Gospel. See Luke 8:22-25; Mark 4:35-41; Matthew 8:23-27; John 6:16-21.

²⁵⁸ For an overview of tradition of invocation of Muse in classical Greek literature and adaptations by Italian writers, see, Claes Schaar, *Marino and Crashaw: Sospetto d’Herode: A Commentary*, Lund Studies in English Vol. 39 (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup Lund, 1971), 83-88.

allusion to the Homeric tradition, where she is invoked to tell an epic tale.²⁵⁹ However, the invocation of ‘sacred’ Muse is just as ubiquitous in early modern literature, as exemplified by Tasso’s second stanza of *Gerusalemme Liberata*, which is echoed by authors such as Leonora Bernardi or Gabriel Chiabrera.²⁶⁰ Marino’s later spiritual epic, *La Strage degli Innocenti*, begins likewise with invocation of the Muse in the very first stanza:

¹MUSA non più d’Amor cantiam lo
sdegno
Del crudo Rè, che mille Infanti afflitti,
(Ahi, che non pote audita di regno?)
Fè dal materno sen cader trafitti.
E voi reggete voi l’infermo Ingegno
Nuntij di Christo, e testimoni invitti,
Che deste fuor de le squarciate gole
Sange in vece di voce, e di parole.

Muse, now the servant of soft Loves no more,
Hate is thy Theame, and Herod, whose unblest
Hand (ô what dares not jealous Greatnesse?)
tore
A thousand sweet Babes from their Mothers
Brest:
The Bloomes of Martyrdome. O be a Dore
Of language to my infant Lips, yee best
Of Confessours: whose Throates answering his
swords,
Gave forth your Blood for Breath, spoke souls
for words.²⁶¹

According to Schaar, such invocation of the Muse in a more spiritual vein not only prepares the readers for the ‘sublime and elevated character of the subject’ but also hints at the need for ‘divine illumination rather than poetic inspiration’ for poet’s ability to create literature that is spiritual in nature.²⁶²

While the invocation to the Muse generally tends to be placed at beginning of the poem or epic, Marino’s Muse does not appear until the very ending verse in ‘Sospirava e spargea.’ His invocation of the Muse therefore represents an afterthought, rather than

²⁵⁹ See Homer, *Odyssey*, l:1: ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά.

²⁶⁰ See Cox et al., *Drama, Poetry and Music*, 393-400, which includes critical edition and commentary on one of her most famous poems, ‘Se pur fin su ne gli stellanti chiostri’ (‘If even on high, within the starry cloisters’) that invokes the Muse. For discussion of Virgin Mary as the sacred Muse in Chiabrera’s poem, see Salvator Ussia, *Le Muse Sacre: poesia religiosa del secoli xvi e xvii* (Borgomanero: Fondazione Achille Marazza, 1999), 59.

²⁶¹ Translation by Richard Crashaw, taken from Schaar, 32-33.

²⁶² Schaar, 83 and 87.

anticipation, of the heightened (sacred) subject and yearning for divine inspiration to deal with such a subject. While Marino sets out to tell the story of Finding Jesus in the Temple using the language of Moschus, Marino seems to scorn his own effort as such by commanding the Muse (who in some ways represents Greek poetic tradition) to contemplate and be silent. It is perhaps his way of wittily accentuating that just as even deity is powerless before Cupid and his arrow and torch, the Muse becomes speechless before Jesus as the ‘divine’ Cupid.

The lament as a musical genre

Saracini and Mazzocchi’s musical settings of ‘Sospirava e spargea’ are both explicitly set as ‘lamento.’ It is therefore worth establishing the general character of ‘lamento’ in the context of early modern music and especially around the early-seventeenth century. The Medieval Marian lament or *Planctus*—which seems to be a model for Marino’s Marian laments—was also a popular genre in music.

In vocal music, laments based on passages from *Orlando Furioso* had already constituted a significant subgenre of the musical madrigal repertoire by the final third of the sixteenth century.²⁶³ Stefano Rossetti’s *Lamento di Olimpia* (Florence: Marescotti, 1567) (from *Orlando Furioso*) not only seems to have been the first work to use the term *lamento* explicitly in the title but also established a new focus on lament by developing multipartite settings of Italian poetry.²⁶⁴

By the turn of the seventeenth century, prominent intellectuals of the Florentine Camerata, such as Girolamo Mei, had considered the lament as the pinnacle of expression

²⁶³ James Chater, *Stefano Rossetti, Il lamento di Olimpia et canzone (Venice, 1567), Three Works for Isabella de’ Medici*, ed. James Chater (Middleton, Wisconsin: A-R Editions, Inc., 2017), page xi of Introduction.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

and capable of moving the audience to purging via catharsis.²⁶⁵ Such discussion was soon followed by another seminal work in the genre, Claudio Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna*. Arguably his most famous work during his lifetime, it was claimed to be so moving that few of the audiences (especially women) could hold back tears in its premiere in Mantua on 28 May 1608, a point reiterated in the composer's obituary 1644.²⁶⁶ Its popularity was further attested by the Vallombrosian monk Severo Bonini, who claimed (potentially with some exaggeration) in his treatise that every household with a harpsichord owned a copy of it.²⁶⁷ Owing to both the Florentine intellectual discussion dedicated to lament and appearance of Monteverdi's groundbreaking work, the lament had become an especially popular genre in the first decades of the early-seventeenth century.²⁶⁸ It is not surprising that in some cases, laments even became a competitive arena on which aspiring composers could demonstrate their skills to vouch for their professional engagements.²⁶⁹

Similarly, *Planctus*, a song of lamentation, was a literary and musical genre already widespread in the Middle Ages. The most important *planctus* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the *planctus Beate Virginis Mariae*. While not being liturgical as such, it played a significant role in the liturgical drama in various forms of sacred drama,

²⁶⁵ Ellen Rosand, 'Lamento,' *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, accessed 26 July 2023. <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.15904>

²⁶⁶ Silke Leopold, *Claudio Monteverdi: Lamento d'Arianna Faksimile Edition* (Laaber: Figaro-Verlag, 2017), 9; Tim Carter, 'Beyond Drama: Monteverdi, Marino and the Sixth Book of Madrigals (1614),' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* Vol. 69, No. 1 (2016): 1.

²⁶⁷ Bonini, in fact, composed his own dramatic setting of *Lamento d'Arianna* in 1613. See Leopold, *Claudio Monteverdi*, 9.

²⁶⁸ See Kyung-Young Chung, 'Reconsidering the lament: Form, content, and genre in Italian chamber recitative laments, 1608-1640' (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2004), 7. Chung's thesis gives an overview of lament in recitative style in early seventeenth-century. According to Chung, laments in recitative style start to disappear after 1640, which coincides with publication of Mazzocchi's *Christo Smarrito*, a lament of Virgin Mary on losing the child Jesus for three days.

²⁶⁹ See Tim Carter, 'Intriguing Laments: Sigismondo d'India, Claudio Monteverdi, and *Dido alla parmigiana* (1628),' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996): 32-69.

including the Passions plays.²⁷⁰ With a few exceptions, both the vernacular lament and the *Planctus* was uttered by a female protagonist.

In the early seventeenth-century aesthetics, the secular lament became the companion piece to the religious *planctus*. As mentioned above, Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna* was recast repeatedly as spiritual laments of Mary Magdalen and Virgin Mary, respectively.²⁷¹ Besides the Blessed Virgin, Magdalen was widely popular protagonist, as exemplified by works of Luigi Rossi, Girolamo Frescobaldi, and Domenico Mazzocchi.²⁷² Laments of both Maries at the Crucifixion of Jesus had long been set to music as *laude* and madrigals, continuing to be the popular subject of the solo cantata by the mid-sixteenth century.²⁷³ Musically, then, the spiritual laments that flourished in the first decades of seventeenth century could embody both the secular lament and *planctus* as fluid counterparts.

Claudio Saracini and his *Musiche*

The Sienese nobleman Claudio Saracini (1586-1630), also known as 'Il Palusi,' wrote exclusively monodic songs for one voice and basso continuo, except for the three short pieces for archlute and three-part canzonetta as a conclusion to his setting of 'Sopirava spargea.' He wrote 133 monodies in total, all Italian, except for the Latin-

²⁷⁰ John Stevens, 'Planctus (Fr. *plaint*, *complainte*; Ger. *Klage*; It. *pianto*, *lamento*; Provençal *planh*),' *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, accessed 26 July 2023. <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21905>

²⁷¹ Linda Maria Koldau, "'Non sit quid volo sed fiat quod tibi placet': I 'contrafacta' sacri del 'lamento d'Arianna' di Claudio Monteverdi," *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, Vol. 36, no. 2 (Florence: Leo S. Olshki Editore, 2001): 281-314.

²⁷² Alexandra Ziane, 'Orazio Michi: contemporary testimonials, documents, and work,' *Basler Beiträge zur historischen Musikpraxis* Vol. 39 (Schwabe Verlag, 2020): 258, ft 49.

²⁷³ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, Vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1977), 164.

texted *Stabat mater dolorosa*.²⁷⁴ In the dedicatory letter to Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II, in his *Secondo Libro di Musiche* (Venice: Vincenti, 1620), Saracini hints that he may have traveled extensively and not have spent much time in his homeland.

Saracini's *Secondo Libro di Musiche* (Venice: Vincenti 1620) and *Terzo Libro di Musiche* (Venice: Vincenti 1620), are notable for their similarity in concluding the collection with a lament of Virgin Mary, the former on Marino's 'Sospirava e spargea' and the latter on the traditional Latin sequence, *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, respectively. Both are much more substantial in scope than the rest of the collections and therefore provide, in Jerome Roche's words, 'musical climax to their respective collections.'²⁷⁵ The two collections might have even been conceived in relation to each other, as their dedicatory letters were dated by the composer on 26th and 25th of August 1620, respectively. The former was dedicated Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo II of Medici (and bears the Medici coat of Arms) and the latter to Cardinal Savelli, Papal legate at Bologna ('Legate a Latere di Bologna').

Saracini's 'Sospirava e spargea' is designated *Christo smarito in stile recitativo. Lamento della Madonna*. He sets all 25 stanzas of Marino's *canzone*, whereas most composers usually only set extracts from a similarly long *canzone*.²⁷⁶ Saracini scores stanzas 1-24 for canto solo (with basso continuo) and then the last stanza (stanza 25) as a

²⁷⁴ Nigel Fortune and Peter Laki, 'Saracini, Claudio,' *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, accessed 31 July 2023.

<https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24577>; For the extant monograph on Saracini's life and his works, see Éva Pintér, *Claudio Saracini: Leben und Werk* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992).

²⁷⁵ Jerome Roche, "On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal: Early seventeenth-century books that mix motets and vernacular settings," in *Seicento inesplorato - L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile: Un modello di interdipendenza, Atti del III Convegno internazionale sulla musica in area lombardo-padana nel secolo XVII Lenno – Como, 23-25 giugno 1989*. (Como: A.M.I.S., 1993): p. 311.

²⁷⁶ Settings of Marino's 'Sola fra suoi più cari' discussed in Chapter 2 are good examples.

chorus (*canzonetta*) for three voices. In the monodic section, therefore, the canto singer alternates between the role of narrator and Virgin Mary.

Meanwhile, Saracini's Latin-texted 'Stabat Mater Dolorosa' in *Terzo Libro di Musiche* (1620), too, stands out as the only known monodic and highly ornamented setting of the Latin motet by Saracini or any of his contemporaries. It is designated as *Pianto della Beata Vergine Maria* on the table of contents and *Planctus B. Mariae Virginis. Dedicato All'illustrissimo Sig. Ferrante Chasale* on the first page of the music itself. Similar to his setting of 'Sospirava e spargea', all 20 stanzas of the Latin text are set in its entirety for canto and basso continuo throughout. The last stanza juxtaposes dance-like triple metre with the duple, as well as an active bass line playing diminution at the conclusion of the piece. Despite being a Latin motet, it is stylistically more akin to contemporary secular monody and lament.

In fact, Marino's 'Sola frà suoi più cari', which can be seen as adaptation of traditional Latin *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* sequence into vernacular lyric, would have been a perfectly suitable as an alternative text to the Latin original used by Saracini, especially considering that its setting was published in parallel to that of 'Sospirava e spargea.' Even though Saracini chose to set the Latin original text, he might have been nevertheless inspired by Marino's lyrical adaptation of *Stabat Mater Dolorosa* to render a fresh musical style to the Medieval Latin sequence.

The lament as a genre also occupies a significant place in Saracini's compositional output. His *Le Quinte Musiche da cantar e sonar* (Venice: Gardano/Bartolomeo Magni, 1624) ends with a 'lamento' (identified in the Table of Contents as 'Lassa chi mi consola'). *Le seste musiche* concludes with a lament called 'Io parto sì ma parte' on a text

by Marino.²⁷⁷ Thus, Saracini's printed music habitually ended with lamento or poetic text that dealt with sense of parting or separation, and especially those based on Marino's text. In fact, the opening of 'Lassa chi mi consola' (**Example 3.1**) seems to be a direct parody from his 'Sospirava e spargea.' The latter's stanza 15, line 3, starts with the phrase 'Lassa chi mi consola,' and the music for the incipit, characterized by a falling interval of diminished 5th at the word 'lassa,' is almost identical with the former (**Example 3.2**). Such 'Lassa' motif is also found earlier at stanza 7 of 'Sospirava e spargea' (**Example 3.3**). In Saracini's music, therefore, the spiritual and secular lament are interchangeable with respect to its role and subject. Whereas Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Arianna* became 'spiritualised,' Saracini pursued the process in the opposite direction by recycling a musical material from a spiritual lament in a secular lament composed later. The textual author of the lament in *Quinte Musiche* is unknown, but it would be tempting to consider whether Saracini himself parodied the text from Marino.

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled 'Lassa chi mi consola' by Claudio Saracini. The score is written for two parts: Canto (Soprano) and B. C. (Basso Continuo). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The music is in a 16th-century style. The lyrics are: 'Las - sa chi mi con-so - la Las - sa chi mi con-so - la sen - za la vi - ta mi - a senza l'amar ogget-to'. The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the Canto part starting on a high note and the B. C. part starting on a lower note. The second system continues the melody, with the Canto part ending on a high note and the B. C. part ending on a lower note.

Example 3.1: Claudio Saracini, 'Lassa chi mi consola,' *Le Quinte Musiche da cantar e sonar* (Venice: Gardano/Bartolomeo Magni, 1624), no. 24, incipit.

²⁷⁷ See *Le Rime* II (Venice: Ciotti, 1602), Madrigal 102, 'Io parto sì ma parte,' *Nel medesimo sugetto* (Partita dell'amante).



Example 3.2: Saracini, 'Sospirava e spargea,'

Secondo Libro di Musiche (Venice: Vincenti, 1620), no 24, Stanza 15.²⁷⁸



Example 3.3: Saracini, 'Sospirava e spargea,' stanza 7.²⁷⁹

Saracini's musical techniques

²⁷⁸ Facsimile image taken from Claudio Saracini, *Le seconde musiche, per cantar, & sonar nel chitarone arpicoordo & altri stromenti, et nel fine il Lamento della madonna in stile recitativo*, a cura del Conte Guido Chigi Saracini (Siena: [s.n.], 1933).

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

Saracini's setting uses a full spectrum of techniques available to monodic recitative singing for word-painting, including melisma, expressive leaps, harmonic changes and chromaticism. Some melismas reflect the imagery of the word, such as those on 'spargea' (she sighed out) and 'largo di fiume' (large river) in stanza 1 (**Example 3.4**), as well as 'lampeggiare soave' ('gentle flashing') and 'la festa' ('feast') in stanzas 24-25. Other melismas harbor on word-play, such as those on 'Stende il passo' ('stretches her steps' stanza 4), 'divida' in 'De te non si divida' ('He divides more from you', stanza 21, line 2) that indeed give a sense of stretching time or division by literally 'dividing' note values (**Example 3.5**).

Christo smarito in stile recitativo. Lamento della Madonna 25

Ospirava e sparge

far go di pian to u fu

me la Dea la vera Dea Madre di vero nume ricercando il suo core

Il suo smarito e fugiti uo Amore Iua la Verginella qual Tottora folin

ga di questa parte in quella Peregrina era minga della sacra Cittade scorrendo hor qua hor la

tutte le strade la valle il piano il colle Spiò dentro e d'intorno

Example 3.4: Saracini, 'Sospirava e spargea,' opening.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Ibid.



Example 3.5: Saracini, ‘Sospirava e spargea’ stanza 21.²⁸¹

Another instance of clever musical word-play can be spotted in ‘Già tuo nido, e sostegno’ (‘Already your nest and support’, stanza 17, line 4) for which the melody line literally ‘sustains’ its note at ‘sostegno’ (the word ‘sostegno’ is derived from ‘sostengere’, which means ‘to support’ or ‘to sustain’) for a duration of minim+semibreve+breve while the bass note plays quick diminutions. It is notable how here the role of each part seems switched – in the recitative style, it is usually the melody-bearing vocal part that plays quick diminutions, while the bass line supports the harmony with sustained notes. The following line ‘s’Amor punto ti punge’ (‘If love-struck Love stings you’) even hints at the difficulty of maintaining (sustaining) breath or speech as it is interrupted by rest marks on ‘s’Amor’.

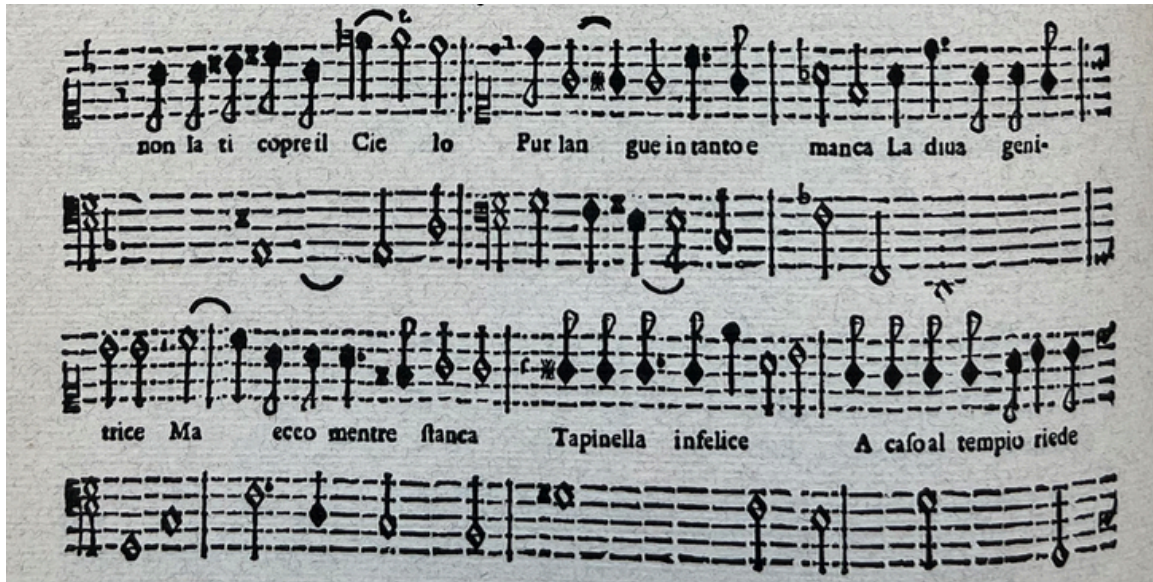
The rising scale is used for declamation, such as ‘Deh’ in stanza 13, line 1 and again at stanza 14 line 5. In stanza 22 line 6, the melody’s leap up to e’’ (the highest note encountered thus far) at the cadence with trill seems to depict the concept of the ‘Cielo’

²⁸¹ Ibid.

(‘heaven’) fairly vividly, while another rising scale at the word ‘Sparve ogni nebbia grave’ (‘All thick mist disappears’) foreshadows the Jesus appearing as the light.

Unexpected harmonies and chromaticism also reflect ideas of certain texts. For instance, phrases like ‘E fe spesso qual folle’ (‘And often made like a folly’, stanza 3) and ‘E fra turba homicida / Con immobili piante’ (‘And among the murderous crowd/ With immovable crying’, stanza 21) are accompanied by rather unexpected chords in F minor and C minor chords (**Example 3.6**). For the latter, these harmonies might possibly reflect (foreshadow) the emotional turmoil at the time of Christ’s Passion.²⁸² Chromatic scales are used as an expressive gesture of lament or the act of lamenting itself, such as a rising chromatic scale followed by an upward leap of diminished 5th at the words ‘Anhelando, e piangendo’ (‘Yearning and weeping’, stanza 5) or Mary’s voice saying ‘Ohime’ (‘Alas’) in stanza 7. We encounter another interesting case of chromaticism and harmonic progression at stanza 23, in which the melody moves through the notes G-G#-Ab at ‘Pur langue intanto emanca’ (‘Such languishes, meanwhile, and yearns’) and F#-G-G#-A at ‘mentre stanca/Tapinella infelice’ (‘while weary/The unhappy miserable one’). Clearly, the distinction between G# and Ab is a result of meantone temperament, which would be required for the performance of this piece in order for us to fully appreciate its full harmonic spectrum.

²⁸² In the aforementioned Seven Sorrows of Mary, the Loss of Jesus for Three Days is immediately followed by the four Sorrows during the Passion: The Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion of Jesus, Jesus Taken Down from the Cross, and the Jesus Laid in the Tomb.



Example 3.6: Saracini, ‘Sospirava e spargea,’ stanza 23.²⁸³

Saracini sets the last stanza (stanza 25) as a *canzonetta* for three voices (Canto 1-Canto 2, Basso), which becomes increasingly homorhythmic in texture towards the end (**Example 3.7**). Such declamatory texture is reflective of the oratorical text of the stanza itself, which is rhetorical in tone and differs from the previous stanzas of the *canzone*. As the last stanza signifies a change in tone that is either narrative or expressive—so far represented with a solo voice—the change into a three-voice texture helps the listeners to be attentive of such a shift in tone of the poetic text.

²⁸³ Facsimile image taken from Claudio Saracini, *Le seconde musiche, per cantar, & sonar nel chitarrone arpicoordo & altri stromenti, et nel fine il Lamento della madonna in stile recitativo*, a cura del Conte Guido Chigi Saracini (Siena: [s.n.], 1933).

33

Allegro in frà Rubi ni il figlio veder Si come quando appare Al legno che va-

gila In tempestoso mare Face destra, e tranquilla Spar

ue ogni nebbia graue De la sua stella al lampeggia r so a ue

A Tre Voci

Chi porta dir ii la fe sta De la trouata Drama Chi

Chi porta dir ii la fe sta De la trouata dramma

Chi porta dir la fe sta De la trouata dramma

di quell'alma Chi di quell'alma, e questa E l'una e l'al tra fiamma Chi l'accoglie

Chi di quell'alma ii e questa E l'una, e l'al tra fiamma Chi l'accoglie ii

Chi di quell'alma e questa E l'una e l'altra fiamma Chi l'accoglie

34

TAVOLA DELL I MADRIGALI ET ARIE
DI CLAUDIO SARACINI NOBILE SENESE.

V Dite lagrimosi spirti d'auerno	1	Lasso lasso perche mi fuggi	13
Hormai la notte in giro <i>Aria.</i>	2	Tu parti a pena giunto	14
Se la doglia e'l martire	3	Cor mio deh non languire	15
Vaga e lucente <i>Aria.</i>	4	Giunto è pur Lidia il mio	16
O Chiome erranti	5	Tra le pompe di Morte	17
Ite amari sospiri	6	Vezzosa Pargoletta <i>Aria.</i>	18
Da te parto cor mio	7	Intenerite voi	19
Quest'Amore quest'arsura <i>Aria.</i>	8	Crudel tu vuoi partire <i>Aria.</i>	21
Aspra fu la ferita	9	Dolcissimo Tesoro	22
Cor mio deh non piangete	10	Gia mi rubasti il core	23
Ben mio dammi il tuo core	11	Bellissima Dori l'altiero tuo sguardo <i>Aria.</i>	24
Care gioie <i>Aria.</i>	12	Christo quanto Lamento della B. V. M.	25

I L F I N E

Example 3.7: Saracini, 'Sospirava e spargea,' ending.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

Scholarly opinion on Saracini's compositional ability is divided between extremes, as articulated in Peter Laki's article: he may either have been no more than an amateur composer who did not have full command of his compositional techniques or may need to be appreciated as a unjustly neglected master who is highly imaginative in his musical settings.²⁸⁵ Laki contends that Saracini's *Secondo Libro di Musiche* is free from flaws identified in his other works.²⁸⁶ Laki's observation for Saracini's inventiveness is confirmed by his masterful setting of 'Sospirava spragea,' which is undoubtedly his most extensive work showcasing a myriad of vocal expression for solo voice combined with a concluding musical material for three voices, his only non-monodic output.

Not much about performance contexts of Saracini's music can be known. Scored almost exclusively for solo voice with instrumental accompaniment, they could have been performed in various sorts of performance spaces, including theatrical and private ones. Furthermore, Saracini was an amateur composer and dedicated many of his songs to either his friends or patrons, so it is possible that he was composing for their (and his own) private enjoyment. As Saracini's books of *Musiche* contain mostly secular songs, the two Marian laments at the end of *Secondo* and *Terzo Libro* might have shared the same performance contexts as his secular songs or even used in private devotions, i.e. in oratories. The fact that the two spiritual laments are emphasized in the frontispiece of both collections certainly reflects their marketability and demand, which is another

²⁸⁵ See Peter Laki, 'Claudio Saracini: Innovator or Incompetent?,' in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e ricezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, Vol. III, ed. Angelo Pompilio (Torino: E.D.T. Edizioni di Torino, 1990), 903-909.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

indication that lament could serve as a genre showcasing the composers' ability to bring out the emotions of the text from the music.

Domenico Mazzocchi and his *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640)

Domenico Mazzocchi (1592-1665) was a Roman composer, priest, and Doctor of Canon and Civil Law, and he entered the household of Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini in 1621. His only surviving opera is *La Catena d'Adone*, based on Ottavio Tronsarelli's dramatic adaptation of Marino's *L'Adone*, which was performed in Rome at the Palazzo Conti on 12 February 1626. Mazzocchi stayed in the service of his niece (and only heir), Olimpia Aldobrandini Borghese (later married to Camilo Pamphili), after the cardinal's death in 1639.²⁸⁷ He dedicated to her *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640), which bears in the frontispiece a coat of arms of both the Aldobrandini and Borghese families.²⁸⁸ *Musiche Sacre e Morali* is a collection of music set to spiritual lyrics by the prominent authors of the time, including Tronsarelli and Marino.²⁸⁹ The fact that Mazzocchi maintained his interest in Tronsarelli and Marino as textual sources in his *Madrigali a cinque voci, et altri varri Concerti* (Rome: Zannetti, 1638) and *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (1640) might be a reflection of his loyalty to the Aldobrandini family, as Marino had also been in the service of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in Rome and

²⁸⁷ Margaret Murata, 'Mazzocchi, Domenico (opera),' *Grove Music Online*, published online 2002, accessed 31 July, 2023.

<https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O002858>

²⁸⁸ Gottfried S. Fraenkel, *Decorative Music Title Pages: 201 Examples from 1500 to 1800* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1968), Plate 82.

²⁸⁹ For full details and facsimile, see Domenico Mazzocchi, *Musiche Sacre e Morali*, ed. Piero Mioli (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1988).

Ravenna (1605-1609) before joining the service of Carlo Emmanuel I of Savoy in Turin (1610-1615).²⁹⁰

Within Mazzocchi's *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (1640), the setting of Marino's 'Sospirava e spargea' is set apart by its position at the end of the collection and its extreme length—comparable to the status of Saracini's parallel setting within his *Secondo Libro di Musiche* (1620). In contrast to Saracini, however, Mazzocchi scored 'Sospirava e spargea' as a dialogue for four voices (Canto - C, Alto - A, Tenor - T, and Basso - B), alternating between three-part canzonetta among the lower three vocal parts and monodies in *stile recitativo*. He sets all stanzas except for stanzas 11-13. The composition can be divided into nine sections structurally by the distinctive vocal part(s) assigned to each set of stanzas (See **Table 3.1**). He clearly differentiates between the Canto and the rest of the vocal parts as Virgin Mary's voice and that of the narrator (either individually or collectively). It is therefore possible to hear Mazzocchi's setting as a clear dialogue between different speaking voices.

²⁹⁰ Margaret Rorke, "St. Mary Magdalen – A Painting, A Poem, and a Madrigal," in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwin S. McPeck*, ed. Carmelo Peter Comberiati and Matthew C. Steel (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 112.

Table 3.1: Mazzocchi's assignment of vocal parts in his 'Sospirava e spargea'

Stanza	Voices
1	A, T, B
2	T
3	T
5	T
6	C
7	C
8	C
9	A, T, B
10	C
11	C
14	C
15	C
16	C
17	C
18	C
19	C
20	A
21	A
22	A
23	A, T, B
24	B
25	C, A, T, B

Mazzocchi's 'Sospirava e spargea' begins with a *canzonetta* for three voices, Alto, Tenor, and Bass, emphasizing the words 'fiume' ('river') via melismatic figuration but otherwise singing homorhythmically until reaching the word 'Ricercando,' at which point the texture becomes a short fughetta. This is a potential word play on 'ricercare', which is the same term used for instrumental music that uses points of imitation and considered equivalent of a fuga already by Mazzocchi's time.²⁹¹ **(Example 3.8)**

²⁹¹ John Caldwell, 'Ricerca [ricercar, recercar(e), recerchar(e) ricercata,' *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, accessed 27 January, 2024.
<https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23373>

CANZONE. CHRISTO smarrito. Dialogo à 4.

Choro à 3.

Alto. S Opira- ua, e spar- gea, Largo di pianto vn fiu- me, La

Tenore. S Opira- ua, e spargea, Largo di pianto vn fiu me, La

Basso. S Opira- ua, e spargea, Largo di pianto vn fiu me, La

Dea, la vera Dea, Madre di vero Nu- me, Ricer- cando il suo Co- re,

Dea, la vera Dea, Madre di vero Nu- me, Ricer- cando il suo Co- re, Il suo smar-

Dea, la vera Dea, Madre di vero Nu- me, Ricer- cando il suo Co-

Il suo smar- rito, e fuggi- ti- uo Amore-

rito, e fuggi- ti- uo Amo- re. Segue recitando il

re, Il suo smarrito, e fuggi- tiuo Amore.

Example 3.8: Domenico Mazzocchi, ‘Sospirava e spargea’ *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640), no. 39, opening.²⁹²

²⁹² Facsimile image taken from Domenico Mazzocchi, *Mazzocchi, Domenico. Musiche Sacre e Morali*, edited by Piero Mioli (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1988).

Notably, Mazzocchi modifies Marino's stanza 9 in order to break up Mary's long soliloquy in stanzas 6-19 to adapt the overall *canzone* more appropriately for a musical dialogue. He does so by changing the text of stanza 9, originally spoken from Virgin Mary's perspective, into a question that is posed by the chorus of narrative voices (Alto, Tenor, and Bass) to Virgin Mary:

Comparison of Marino's stanza 9 and Mazzocchi's adaptation

Marino (1614):

Narrategli il mio pianto,
E la mia morte viva.
Ditegli come, e quanto
Abbandonata, e priva
Del suo celesto sguardo,
Di dolore, e d'amor languisco, & ardo.

English

Tell him of my weeping, and my living
death. Tell him how, and how much, I
languish and burn with grief and love,
being abandoned and deprived of his
heavenly gaze.

Mazzocchi (1640):

Choro a 3

Dinne, ò VERGINE bella,
Qual'è questo Diletto,
Per cui d'auree quadrella
Porti piagato il petto?
Che al desio de' suoi sguardi
Di dolore, e d'amor languisci, ed ardi.

English

Chorus of 3

Tell us, oh beautiful VIRGIN, who is this
Beloved, for whom you carry the golden
cage in your wounded bosom? Such that
you languish and burn with grief and love,
desiring his gazes?

In the original text, Virgin Mary is addressing the daughters of Zion, describing how her separation from Jesus's 'heavenly gaze,' makes her 'languish' and 'burn' with grief and love. The modified stanza instead has narrative voices directly inquire Virgin Mary about her beloved, whose absence causes her such burning pain. Mazzocchi even changes Virign's Mary's first verse of stanza 10 from 'Forse non conoscete' ('Perhaps you do not know') to 'Ancora non conoscete' ('Do you not yet know'), so that her reply is no longer

in a subjunctive but indicative mood addressed to 2nd person plural (as seen from the Italian text):

Marino (1614):

Forse non conoscete
Il mio sposo, il mio figlio?
Se pur, qual sia, chiedete,
E' candido, e vermiglio,
Non hà bellezza eguale.
Lingua, penna, ò pensier tanto non sale.

English

Perhaps you do not know my spouse, my son?
If so, ask me what he is like: he is white and scarlet red; he has no equal in beauty; no tongue, pen, or thought can rise to such a task of describing him.

Mazzocchi (1640):

Canto solo

Ancora non conoscete
Il mio sposo, il mio figlio?
Se pur, qual sia, chiedete,
E' candido, e vermiglio,
Non hà bellezza eguale.
Lingua, penna, ò pensier tanto non sale.

English

Canto solo

Do you not yet know my spouse, my son?
If so, ask me what he is like: he is white and scarlet red; he has no equal in beauty; no tongue, pen, or thought can rise to such a task of describing him.

This way, stanzas 8, 9, 10 form a seamless conversation between Virgin Mary and the narrative voices before she goes on to describe Jesus in a manner of female beloved describing the male beloved in the Song of Songs. Prompted by the modified text, it is possible to interpret Mazzocchi's chorus of three voices as representing daughters of Zion themselves here.

Similar to Saracini's setting, Mazzocchi applies several virtuosic melismata for emphasis or word-painting during solos on words such as 'splendor' ('splendor'), 'tanto' ('much'), 'foco' ('fire'), and 'mare' ('sea') and 'lampeggiar soave' ('gentle flashing'). Mazzocchi's expression of exclamation can be quite dramatic, such as a surprising tonality of B-major chord (first inversion) at the word 'Ohime' ('Alas') in Stanza 7 and

Stanza 18, in which Mary's voice does not resolve the cadence of the previous verse but instead breaks the silence by a piercing high G# at the word 'Ahi' ('Alas'). (**Example 3.9**)



Example 3.9: Mazzocchi, 'Sospirava e spargea,' stanza 18.²⁹³

Moreover, there are further similarities between Saracini and Mazzocchi in the way they engaged with the rich imagery afforded by Marino's text. For example, in both settings, the Canto (or Soprano) part scales downwards to sing their lowest note within the piece at the word 'inferno' ('hell') in stanza 16 (**Example 3.10a, b**) and apply an extended melisma to 'lampeggiare soave' ('sweetly flash') in stanza 24 (**Example 3.11a, b**). These not only illustrate the texts' meaning visually on the page, but performers and listeners could also engage sonically with such figuration. The singer enacting Virgin's Mary voice in stanza 16 would be physically conscious of her will to venture into Hell as it sings in a low, deep register, while the listeners of stanza 24 might perceive its concluding melisma as an aural stimulus to the ears just like the 'sweet flashing' enters the sight of beholder. Both composers also used a 'darker' harmony—an F-minor chord—in certain places in stanzas 21-22 when the text is foretelling Mary's sorrow at the time of Passion.

²⁹³ Ibid.



Example 3.10a: Saracini, 'Sospirava e spargea,' stanza 16.²⁹⁴



Example 3.10b: Mazzocchi, 'Sospirava e spargea,' stanza 16.²⁹⁵

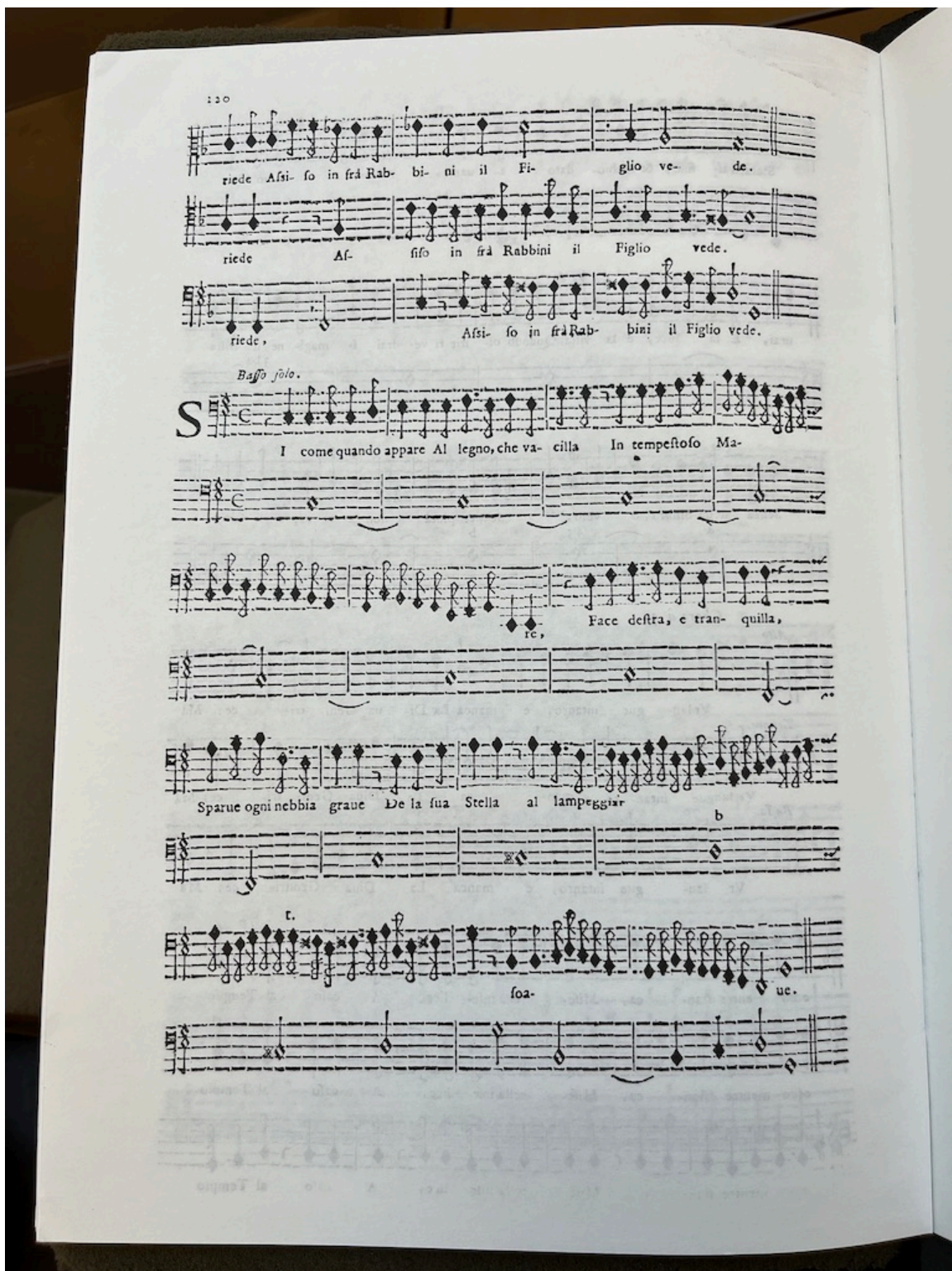
²⁹⁴ Facsimile image taken from Claudio Saracini, *Le seconde musiche, per cantar, & sonar nel chitarrone arpico-rdo & altri stromenti, et nel fine il Lamento della madonna in stile recitativo*, a cura del Conte Guido Chigi Saracini (Siena: [s.n.], 1933).

²⁹⁵ Facsimile image taken from Domenico Mazzocchi, *Mazzocchi, Domenico. Musiche Sacre e Morali*, edited by Piero Mioli (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1988).



Example 3.11a: Saracini, 'Sospirava e spargea,' stanza 24.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ Facsimile image taken from Claudio Saracini, *Le seconde musiche, per cantar, & sonar nel chitarrone arpicoordo & altri stromenti, et nel fine il Lamento della madonna in stile recitativo*, a cura del Conte Guido Chigi Saracini (Siena: [s.n.], 1933).



Example 3.11b: Mazzocchi, ‘Sospirava e spargea,’ stanza 24.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ Facsimile image taken from Domenico Mazzocchi, *Mazzocchi, Domenico. Musiche Sacre e Morali*, edited by Piero Mioli (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1988).

Potential musical connection between Mazzocchi and Sabbatini

In stanzas 20-23 that foreshadow Mary's sorrow at Christ's passion, Mazzocchi's setting indicates a potential connection to Pietro Paolo Sabbatini's 'Sola frà suoi piu cari.' In Mazzocchi's setting of stanza 21 lines 5-6, where the text is describing the crucified Jesus, there is a distinctive walking bass that descends and ascends, unlike the rest of the music in which the bass mostly assumes that of a harmonic support (**Example 3.12**) This walking bass is reminiscent of Pietro Paolo Sabbatini's setting of 'Sola fra suoi più cari,' which was noted in Chapter 2 for being comprised entirely of perpetual walking bass (reproduced here as **Example 3.13**). Could Mazzocchi have intended such a musical reference to Sabbatini's piece? Sabbatini's *Canzoni Spirituali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640), dedicated to Anna Maria Cesi Peretti, and Mazzocchi's *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640), dedicated to Olimpia Aldobandini, not only shared the same printer and year of publication but also dedication to female patrons from power Roman noble families at the time. Thus, it seems plausible that Mazzocchi made a conscious reference to Sabbatini's setting of 'Sola frà suoi piu cari' in 'Sospirava e spargea,' as both texts shared same author (Marino) and were thematically connected under the umbrella of Seven Sorrows of Mary.

Marino, *Christo Smarrito*, *La Lira* III (1614), stanza 21

²¹E perché più, com'oggi
Da te non si divida,
Fra solitari poggi
E fra turba omicida
Con immobili piante
Staratti affisso et inchiodato avante.

And also because he no longer separates from
you like today;
between lonely hills
and among murderous crowd,
with immobile plants,
he will be affixed and nailed down before you.



Example 3.12: Mazzocchi, ‘Sospirava e spargea’ *Musiche Sacre e Morale* (1640), Stanza 21, lines 5-6.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁸ Ibid.



Example 3.13: Pietro Paolo Sabbatini, ‘Sola frà suoi più cari’, *Canzoni Spirituali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640).²⁹⁹

The concluding chorus, which is preceded by a virtuosic solo section by the bass, is full of dramatic elements with its variety of textures. The tenor and alto parts begin by singing ‘Chi poria dir la festa/Dela trovata dramma’ (‘Who can tell the feast/ Of the found token?’), to which the Canto and Bass parts reply in homophony, ‘Chi di quell’alma, e questa’ (‘Who of that soul, and this’). The four vocal parts then form a fughetta on ‘E l’una, e l’altra fiamma?’ (‘and the one and the other flame?’) with melismatic embellishment on ‘fiamma’ (‘flame’). For the last two verses, a subject sung

²⁹⁹ Image courtesy of the British Library (London), GB-LBl, K.7.f.1.(2.).

first by the soprano is echoed by tenor, before alto and bass join in at different points to conclude the piece (**Example 3.14**).

This final chorus brings Mazzocchi's setting even closer to Saracini's setting because of the witty scoring and placement. In both settings, the Canto (or Soprano) part continues to sing the final chorus after Mary's solo lament, so there is a room to contemplate whether it is still representing character of Mary in the final chorus. In Marino's text she does not seem to speak after Stanza 19; from the audience, however, it would look as though Mary joins the rest of the chorus to address the audience. The musical settings thus add a potentially theatrical aspect not explicit in the original text.

An even further 'theatrical' aspect on the page is achieved by their placement at the very end of their respective songbooks within which they are contained. Their role as concluding pieces rhetorically conveys the meaning of the text of the Muse staying silent, as there is literally no words or music that would follow afterwards. Hence, by placing 'Sospirava e spargea' as their final pieces, both Saracini and Mazzocchi (or perhaps their publishers) seem to let Marino's *canzone* speak for the entire collections themselves.

Choro à 4.

C
Hipotria. Chi di quell'

C
Hi potria dir la festa De la troua- ta Damma, Chi di quell'

C
Hi potria dir la festa De la troua- ta Damma, Chi di quell'

C
Hipotria. Doue non sono parole conta, non canta. Chi di quell'

alma, e que- sta, E l'vna, e l'altra fiamma, E l'vna, e l'altra fiam-

alma, e questa, E l'vna, e l'altra, E l'vna, e l'altra fiam-

alma, e questa, E l'vna, e l'altra fiamma, E l'vna, e l'altra, E l'vna, e l'altra

alma, e que- sta, E l'vna, e l'altra fiamma,

ma, E l'vna, e l'al- tra fiam-

ma, E l'vna, e l'al- tra fiam-

fiam- ma, E l'vna, e l'altra fiamma,

E l'vna, e l'altra fiam-

ma. Chi l'accoglienze, e i baci? Musa, se no'l fai dir, contem- pla,
ma.
ma. Chi l'acco-
ma.
e taci. Chi l'accoglienze, e i baci?
glienze, e i baci? Musa, se no'l fai dir, contem- pla, e ta-
43 3 4 43 5 6
ci.
Musa, se no'l fai dir, contem- pla, e ta- ci.
Musa, se no'l fai dir, con- templa, con- templa, e ta- ci.
ci, Mu- fa, se no'l fai dir, contempla, contempla, e ta-
7 6 43
ci.
Musa, se no'l fai dir, contempla, e ta- ci.
I L F I N E.

Example 3.14: Mazzocchi, 'Sospirava e spargea,' stanza 25, final chorus.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ Facsimile image taken from Domenico Mazzocchi, *Mazzocchi, Domenico. Musiche Sacre e Morali*, edited by Piero Mioli (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1988).

Even though Marino's 'Sospirava e spargea' is not a dialogue per se, Mazzocchi's choice of modifying and adapting it as such has similarities to contemporary practices of dramatising a Marian lament, as well as dialogue as a popular form for moralising text both in literature and music. For instance, 1617 version of Jacopone da Todi's famous Medieval lauda, *Donna del Paradiso*, carefully divides the canzone into different roles of Virgin Mary, Messenger (Nuntio), and Crowd (Turba), unlike the earlier editions with no explicit indication of different characters.³⁰¹ Furthermore, the early modern textbook would often be written in a dialogue form, making it suitable for didactic purposes.³⁰² This made dialogue also suitable for moralising and sacred narratives, such as those in Giovanni Ciampoli's *Poesie Sacre* (Bologna: Zenero, 1648), from which texts of Mazzocchi's *Coro di profeti* are taken. Thus, both the existing practice of re-interpreting the pre-existing text of Marian lament (as in Todi's *Donna del Paradiso*) and popularity of dialogue as a didactic would have been appealing factors that prompted Mazzocchi's cast Marino's text as a dialogue, especially when the composer was already exploiting musical dialogue in both his secular and sacred works.

Mazzocchi's 'Udito ho Citherea' and its relationship to 'Sospirava e spargea'

It is worth noting that Mazzocchi also set Marino's 'Udito O Citherea,' which was published around the same time in his *Madrigali a cinque voci, et altri varri Concerti* (Rome: Zannetti, 1638). Mazzocchi's *Madrigali a cinque voci* (1638) and *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (1640) each contain different sections from his setting of Ciampoli's *Coro di Profeti*, which would have been performed in entirety as an oratorio somewhere between

³⁰¹ See *Le Poesie Spirituali del B. Iacopone da Todi Frate Minore* (Venice: Nicolò Misserini, 1617), 305-308.

³⁰² Frits Noske, *Saints and Sinners: The Latin Musical Dialogue in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 5.

1630 and 1638.³⁰³ Given such closeness of literary sources between *Madrigali a cinque voci* (1638) and *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (1640), Mazzocchi seems to have been aware of Marino's textual parodying of 'Udito ho Citherea' in the opening stanza of 'Sospirava e spargea' as well.

Mazzocchi, however, changed the word 'baciare' ('to kiss') and 'bacio' ('kiss') in the original text of 'Udito ho Citherea' to 'premiare' ('to promise') and 'premio' ('prize'), respectively. The reason for the subtle change might be to avoid a potentially offensive element, perhaps in reflection of the clerical status of Cardinal Barberino, the dedicatee of the *Madrigali a cinque voci* (1638). It is also possible that Mazzocchi, aware of allusion to Moschu's Venus to describe Mary in 'Sospirava e spargea', may have wished to use less explicitly bawdy terms to describe Venus's promise:

Marino (1602)

Udito ho Citherea
 Che del tuo grembo fore
 Fuggitivo il tuo figlio a te si cela,
 E promesso hai baciare chi tel rivela;
 Non languir bella Dea:
 Se vai cercando Amore,
 Nol cercar, dammi il bacio; io l'ho nel core.

English

I have heard, Cypris, that your child has gone missing from your lap and hid himself; and you have promised a kiss to the one who reveals him to you. Do not languish, beautiful goddess; if you go seeking Love and do not find him, give me the kiss: I have him in my heart.

Mazzocchi (1638)

Udito ho Citherea
 Che del tuo grembo fore
 Fuggitivo il tuo figlio a te si cela,
 E promesso hai premiar chi tel rivela;
 Non languir bella Dea:
 Se vai cercando Amore,
 Nol cercar, dammi il premio; io l'ho nel core.

English

I have heard, Cypris, that your child has gone missing from your lap and hid himself; and you have promised a prize to the one who reveals him to you. Do not languish, beautiful goddess; if you go seeking Love and do not find him, give me the prize: I have him in my heart.

³⁰³ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, Vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1977), 168-174.

Mazzocchi's 'Udito O Citherea' is scored for five voices (Canto 1, Canto 2, Alto, Tenor, and Bass) and divided into two main sections consisting of a bass solo (who sings the first four lines) followed by a full chorus. The bass solo is remarkable for its virtuosic melisma at the end of its phrase on the word 'rivela' (reveals), which reminds us of the virtuosic bass solo at the penultimate stanza of 'Sospirava e spargea.' Coincidentally, bass solo in both settings emphasizes the word that is associated with making something or someone visible ('rivela' and 'lampeggiare soave') with their florid melisma, highlighting the idea of finding or revealing of a missing child. The fact that the bass—who is presumably a male singer—represents an act of revealing seems to echo idea in Tasso's *Amor Fuggitivo* that Cupid would be more likely to be found in the hearts of men than in women's.³⁰⁴ Having a bass sing a solo before a full chorus enters in is also a common scheme applied to both settings. Additionally, the full chorus in 'Udito ho Citherea' turns into a fugue when it reaches the sixth line, 'Se vai cercando Amore.' This again seems to play on the word 'cercando' which is similar to 'ricercando' and 'ricercare' in opening stanza of 'Sospirava e spargea,' at which point Mazzocchi's presents a short fugetta. Therefore, there are number of similarities that can be detected between Mazzocchi's musical settings of 'Udito ho Citherea' and 'Sospirava e spargea,' which can be ascribed to their textual similarities and shared literary topoi.

Mazzocchi could have been very aware of the synthesis of—or the tension between—the secular and the sacred love in 'Sospirava e spargea.' As he set to music Ciampoli's *Coro di Profeti* that was later published as a libretto in the poet's *Poesie Sacre* (1648), it is likely that Mazzocchi was aware of the other works contained in

³⁰⁴ As noted by Lisa Sampston, 'Tasso's Venus, unlike in *Clorilli*, considers it impossible that Cupid will be housed in the hard hearts of ladies, whereas men will be more hospitable.' *Drama, Poetry and Music*, pp. 99, and 111 note 151.

Ciampoli's *Poesie Sacre* as well. The opening work of *Poesie Sacre* (1648) is a moralising dialogue titled *Poetica Sacra* that introduces a dialogue between Poeta (Poetry) and Divozioni (Devotion), which ultimately establishes the superiority of sacred subjects.³⁰⁵ Such distinction and labeling mirrors exactly that was already established in Marino's *La Lira* III (1614), which placed poems of sacred subjects under the category of *Divozioni*. Therefore, Mazzocchi's 'Udito ho Citherea' and 'Sospirava e spargea' seem to form an interesting dialogue across the collections within which they are contained, with the former's expression of Greek deity's divine love being converted or re-oriented towards that of latter's sacred (Christian) subject. Seen in this light, Mazzocchi's engagement with texts by Ciampoli and Marino in parallel seems to reflect the composer's interest in forming his own musical discourse of how a composer might treat sacred subjects with greater glory than with the amorous text.

Devotional context and parodies of 'Sospirava e spargea'

In *Poesie Sacre e Morali, Scelte dall'Opere Liriche del Sig. Cavallier Marino* (Rome: Francesco Cavalli, 1637), which re-organizes Marino's entire spiritual outputs according to the liturgical cycle of the Church calendar, 'Sospirava e spargea' is designated for the Octave Sunday of the Epiphany.³⁰⁶ Its musical settings would therefore seem to have been appropriate for such occasions. A number of Latin musical dialogues on the subject of Finding Jesus in the Temple also adapted text either from the Magnificat

³⁰⁵ The first work in Ciampoli's *Poesie Sacre* (Bologna: Carlo Zenero, 1648) is introduced as follows: POETICA SACRA / Dialogo. / Nel quale s'introduce la Devotione, e la Poesia, dimostrandosi con quanta maggior gloria si possano trattare le materie Sacre, che l'inettie d'Amore abbracciate tanto da' versi Toscani. ('Sacred Poetry / Dialogue / In which the Devotion and the Poetry are introduced, demonstrating how they can treat the Sacred subjects with much greater Glory than the ineptitudes of Love embraced so much by Tuscan verse.')

³⁰⁶ Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori, *Drammaturgia romana : repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammatici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio, secolo XVII*. (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1988), 220.

antiphon of the Second Vespers on the day of the Holy Family or directly from the passage (such as Luke 2: 48-9).³⁰⁷ As Noske noted, in the Biblical passage, the characters (Jesus and Mary) both speak only towards the end when they meet in the temple. Noske further notes that because the musical dialogue has to conclude with the an ensemble involving all the voices, some Biblical passages that end with one person speaking- like the Finding of Jesus - could present composers with the challenge of ensuring that the musical representation of the text made sense.³⁰⁸ Therefore, Marino's plot in 'Sospirava e spargea', in which Jesus and Mary's are silent upon their encounter in temple and which concludes with a moralising statement, textually made it suitable to be cast as a conventional musical dialogue by removing the challenge posed by the original narrative in the Bible.

Mazzocchi's Italian spiritual dialogues, such as his 'Sospirava e spargea,' were most likely performed in private devotions in places like the oratories. According to Howard E. Smither, all texts of the pieces in Mazzocchi's *Musiche sacre e morali* would have been suitable for performance in oratories, combined with the fact that Ciampoli's *Coro di Profeti*, parts of which Mazzocchi set to music in his *Madrigali a cinque voci* (1638) and *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (1640), were originally performed in the Oratory of Chiesa Nuova.³⁰⁹ Noske also echoes by observing that Italian dialogues (unlike Latin ones) were used exclusively for private or public devotions outside the church.³¹⁰ The textual nature of 'Sospirava e spargea,' too, suggests that it would have been more suited

³⁰⁷ Noske, *Saints and Sinners*, 13; Also see Luke 2:48: 'When his parents saw him, they were astonished. His mother said to him, "Son, why have you treated us like this? Your father and I have been anxiously searching for you."'

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 13.

³⁰⁹ Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, Vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1977), 172-174.

³¹⁰ Noske, *Saints and Sinners*, 10.

for music outside of an official liturgy. In fact, its secular elements, such as reference to *Eros the Runaway* and the Homeric Muse, may have made it inappropriate in a strictly liturgical context.

In regards to Oratorian connection of Marino's text, however, it is worth observing that two parodies of 'Sospirava e spargea' appeared in print, almost simultaneously, even before full settings by Saracini and Mazzocchi. They are textual parodies of stanzas 8 ('O figlie di Sionne') and 11 ('Di Colomba amorosa') in Paolo Quagliati's *Affetti Amorosi Spirituali* (Rome: Robletti, 1617) and Pietro Pace's *Scherzi et Arie Spirituali, Libro Secondo* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617), respectively.³¹¹ Not only did the two composers parody passages from Marino in which Mary's soliloquy is remarkably reminiscent of passages from Song of Songs, but also their respective books of spiritual songs that contained them were listed in the 1620 inventory of the Bologna Oratory, hinting at their widespread use in recreation or spiritual exercises in oratories around Italy.³¹² These parodies are therefore further evidence of Smither's notion that the Marinesque text found favor in the private settings of oratories.³¹³

Quagliati's 'O figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno,' is a typical villanella in both text and music, which is textually rich in affective language but void of any obvious word-painting in the music itself (**Example 3.15**). The borrowing from Marino is mostly detectable in first and second stanzas, where lines 'O figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno'

³¹¹ Rorke, 'Spiritual Madrigals', page 114; Magnani, 'Le Canzoni della Lira del Marino nelle stampe musicali del '600', page 77.

³¹² Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, Vol. 1, 90-91. See also *Oratorios of the Italian Baroque Volume 1: Antecedents of the Oratorio: Sacred Dramatic Dialogues, 1600-1630*, ed. Howard E. Smither (Laaber-Verlag, 1985), ix. Furthermore, we know from the frontispiece of Pietro Pace's *Scherzi et Arie Spirituali* (1617) that its contents were sung and played in the Oratory of the Jesuists in Santa Casa di Loreto.

³¹³ Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, Vol 1, 155-156.

and ‘Accoglie lo splendor’ del Paradiso’ echo the first and last lines of Marino’s stanza 8, ‘O figlie di Sionne’ and ‘Dove tanto splendor fà Paradiso’:

Marino (1614)

⁸O figlie di Sionne,
Ch’errando ite per via,
Voi Vergini, voi Donne,
Voi prego in cortesia
Date datemi avviso,
Dove tanto splendor fà Paradiso.

Quagliati (1617)

O figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno,
Gite per la cittade errando intorno,
Dite se visto havete il mio diletto,
Giesù de l’alma ardor’ foco del petto.

Di gloria và vestito, e nel bel viso,
Accoglie lo splendor’ del Paradiso:
Da gli occhi spira amor santo e divino,
Che da lontano incende, e da vicino.

Regarding Quagliati’s two villanelle placed next to each other, ‘Ahi, chi m’insegna il mio diletto figlio?’, and ‘O figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno,’ Rorke had noted how treatment of young Jesus and dwelling on Mary’s distress at Christ’s disappearance, in manner of Marino’s *Christo Smarrito*, could an opportunity for ‘outpouring love for Christ.’³¹⁴ Looking closely at the texts of ‘O figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno,’ however, the female (presumably) lover’s invocation daughters of Sion for help finding Jesus, affectionate description of Jesus, and imploring Jesus to appear to her all effectively summarises Marino’s stanzas 8-15. Its narrative and tone thus seems deeply indebted to Marino’s original:

³¹⁴ Rorke, ‘The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra’ (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1980), 134-35.

Quagliati, A 3. Villanella. (1617)

O figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno,
Gite per la cittade errando intorno,
Dite se visto havete il mio diletto,
Giesù de l'alma ardor' foco del petto.

Di gloria v'è vestito, e nel bel viso,
Accoglie lo splendor' del Paradiso:
Da gli occhi spira amor santo e divino,
Che da lontano incende, e da vicino.

Mostratemi vi prego ove gli sia,
Acciò queti il suo duol l'anima mia,
Che di vederlo sol brama, è s'adira,
Qual'hor men degno oggetto ella rimira.

O Giesù dove sei ove dimori,
S'è d'ora, ad'hor non veggio i tuoi
splendori.
L'alma vien men per il gran duolo aita,
Deh dammi Sigmor mio dolce mia vita.

O daughters of Zion, who night, and day,
go wandering around the city,
tell me if you have seen my beloved,
Jesus of the burning soul, fire of the breast.

He goes clothed with glory, and
welcomes the splendor of Paradise in his
beautiful looks:
from his eyes radiates holy and divine love,
which burn from far and near.

Please show me where he is,
so that he quenches the grief of my soul,
which only yearns to see him and is upset,
at the less worthy object she now beholds.

Oh, where are you, Jesus, where do you stay?
I long to see your splendours each hour.
The soul comes less to the aid
for the great pain,
Oh, my sweet Lord, give me life.

Quagliati's *Affetti Amorosi Spirituali* (1617) was dedicated to Sister Anna Maria Cesi, who was a nun at the Convent of Santa Lucia in Selice (known for their musical singing according to Pietro della Valle's account of 1640) whom Quagliati describes in his preface as previously singing the songs contained in *Affetti Amorosi Spirituali* (1617) with great skills.³¹⁵ It is therefore possible, therefore that the songs in *Affetti Amorosi Spirituali* (1617) – including 'O figlie di Sion, che notte e giorno' were first sung by Sister Anna Maria Cesi in private devotions in a monastic setting.

³¹⁵ Rorke, 'Spiritual Madrigals', 43-45.

A 1. Vilanella.

Figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno, Gite per la Cittade errando intorno, Dite se visto haue-

Figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno, Gite per la cittade errando intorno, Dite se visto haue-

Figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno, Gite per la cittade errando intorno, Dite se visto haue-

te il mio diletto, Giesù de l'alma ardor' foco del petto.

te il mio diletto, Giesù de l'alma ardor' foco del petto.

te il mio diletto, Giesù de l'alma ardor' foco del petto.

2 Di gloria v'è vestito, e nel bel viso,
Accoglie lo splendor' del Paradiso:
Da gli occhi spira amor santo e diuino,
Che da lontano incende, e da vicino.

3 Mostratemi vi prego ouegli fia,
Acciò queti il suo duol l'anima mia,
Cche di vederlo sol brama, è s'adira,
Qual'hor men degno oggetto ella rimira.

4 O Giesù doue sei one dimori,
S'a d'ora, ad'hor non veggio i tuoi splendori.
L'alma vien men per il gran duolo aita,
Deh dammi Signor mio dolce mia vita.



Example 3.15: Paolo Quagliati, 'O figlie di sion, che notte, e giorno,' *Affetti Amorosi Spirituali* (Rome: Robletti, 1617), no. 29 (Image courtesy of Biblioteca del Conservatorio del Santa Cecilia [Rome], I-Rsc).

Unlike Quagliati, Pace follows Marino's text and its structure more closely and uses it as a basis for the newly composed second and third stanzas.³¹⁶ Such modification and addition of new texts is similar to the process applied to Marino's spiritual madrigals in earlier spiritual *canzonette* by Tantucci and Simili. Like them, Pace extracts a stanza from Marino's spiritual canzone and uses it as a springboard for creating his own musico-textual composition (**Example 3.16**). Through parodying, Pace effectively turns Marino's text into a laudatory poem praising the visual appearance of Jesus Christ (either as a child or a grown-up man).³¹⁷ Even though the speaker no longer needs to be Virgin Mary, the Canto part that leads the first stanza can still represent the female voice of the original speaker. Pace's three-stanza setting, which is essentially a musical dialogue, has a clear sense of progression as the number of required vocal parts increases from two, three, to five in each stanza. Compared to Saracini and Mazzocchi's later settings of the same stanza (**Examples 3.17** and **3.18**), which are both in a recitative style, Pace's setting is more aria-like with fluid melody part devolving melisma on several words, 'Colomba' ('Dove'), 'rosa' ('rose'), 'guance' ('cheeks'), and 'pargoletto' ('baby' or 'small child').

Marino (1614)

¹¹Di Colomba amorosa
Hà le luci divine.
Hà le labra di rosa,
Hà d'ambra, e d'oro il crine.
Appo le guance intatte
Foran vil paragon porpora, e latte.

Pace, Op. 14 (1617)

A due

Di Colomba amorosa
...
Hà le labra di rosa,
...
Le belle guancie intatte
Del pargoletto Christo son di latte.

³¹⁶ The only surviving part of the basso continuo part only shows music and text sung by one or few vocal parts and basso continuo, but it is clear that the complete texts used by Pace followed Marino's textual structure closely.

³¹⁷ The first stanza is clearly addressed to child Jesus, as in Marino's original, but the third stanza is unambiguous, especially with reference to his forehead being encircled by a 'mortal veil' ('La tua front'è il mio cielo / Cinta di mortal velo' – 'Your forehead is my heaven, encircled by mortal veil').

Seconda Parte, A 3.

Luci al mondo...

...

luci care & amante

Più per divin splendore

Del sereno e chiare

Quanto splendetè più tano più care.

Ultima parte. A Cinque

Il mio sol...

...

La tua front'è il mio cielo

Cinta di mortal velo

Ti veggio ah' tanto puoi

(Amor) (Amor) son pur i tuoi.



Example 3.16: Pietro Pace, 'Di columba amorosa', *Secondo Libro di Scherzi Spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617), no. 21, Part 1.³¹⁸

³¹⁸ Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, BB.68; <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB068/public domain>.



Example 3.17: Saracini, ‘Sospirava e spargea,’ stanza 11.³¹⁹

³¹⁹ Facsimile image taken from Claudio Saracini, *Le seconde musiche, per cantar, & sonar nel chitarrone arplicordo & altri stromenti, et nel fine il Lamento della madonna in stile recitativo*, a cura del Conte Guido Chigi Saracini (Siena: [s.n.], 1933).



Example 3.18: Mazzocchi, ‘Sospirava e spargea,’ stanza 11.³²⁰

Conclusion to Chapter 3

Marino’s ‘Sospirava e spargea’ (*Christo Smarrito*) takes Mary’s emotional turmoil and anxiety that precedes the finding of Jesus in the Temple as its central subject, which was an unusual topic to be cast into a lament. It is notable for its rather unexpected combination of love topoi, namely, Moschus’s *Eros the Runaway* and Song of Songs, as well as infusing memorable symbolism such as Jesus as the guiding light in the sea and invocation of the Muse into the narrative. ‘Sospirava e spargea’ shows Marino’s familiarity with classical Greek literature the Bible, philosophical ideas by figures like

³²⁰ Facsimile image taken from Domenico Mazzocchi, *Mazzocchi, Domenico. Musiche Sacre e Morali*, edited by Piero Mioli (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1988).

Ficino, and his ability to somehow amalgamate them to create a novel topoi of Marian lament in lyric verses.

Considering the musical settings, including those on textual parodies, the composers seem to have been especially attracted to passages that echo the Song of Songs. Most or all of these settings would have been appropriate for performances in in oratories or privately as part of a spiritual exercise or recreation. The composers of this period widely set Latin texts from Song of Songs as motets,³²¹ so its affective topos must have appealed ubiquitously throughout religious communities regardless of the language used. While no such usage can be firmly established, the musical settings of Marino's 'Sospirava e spargea' (and its parodies) would have been appropriate for the Octave Sunday of the Epiphany, the designation it bears in *Poesie Sacre e Morali* (Rome: Cavalli, 1637 and 1641).

Saracini and Mazzocchi set 'Sospirava e spargea' as proper musical laments, which occupy significant places in their respective collections within which the pieces are contained and their overall compositional outputs. While Saracini adhered literally to Marino's text and set all 25 stanzas almost exclusively for Canto solo, Mazzocchi took more liberty with the text by omitting and modifying some stanzas in order to create a more balanced and varied scoring, alternating between the soprano solo as Mary's voice and alto, tenor, and bass singers taking on more narrative roles collectively. On the one hand, Saracini seems to carry on the Caccinian ideal of monody as the ideal vehicle of bringing out poetic affects, while Mazzocchi's approach on the other takes as model the more moralising and didactical format of dialogue, exemplified by contemporary libretti

³²¹ Jane Elizabeth Dahlenburg, 'The motet c. 1580-1630: Sacred Music Based on the Song of Songs' (Ph.D dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001).

of spiritual dialogues such as Giovanni Ciampoli's *Coro di Profeti* or even early seventeenth-century print of Jacopone da Todi's *Donna del Paradiso*.

As Tim Carter has noted, Marino was an expert at mixing narrative modes defined by Plato as diegetic (when Homer speaks as Homer) and mimetic (when Homer speaks as not-Homer, such as the character Odysseus) according to the stylistic tradition of epic and lyric poetry; 'Sospirava e spargea' is no exception.³²² Both Claudio Saracini and Domenico Mazzocchi aptly exploit such fluidity of narrative modes in their respective musical adaptations. On the one hand, Saracini's Soprano takes on the role of mixing diegetic (the narrator speaking as themselves) and mimetic (the narrator speaking as Virgin Mary). Mazzocchi's setting, however, allows Marino's text to acquire a new dimension by casting it as a proper dialogue among different narrative speakers and Virgin Mary. Mazzocchi's musical dialogue shows his acute awareness and musical responses to narrative modes and musical imagery, as well as for an overarching 'dialogue' it seems to form across contemporary musical and literary sources in the Roman circle.

Chapters 2 and 3 considered the wide dissemination of Marino's Marian laments among manuscripts and printed music books, as well as the scope of musical settings themselves. Marian lament based on Marino's lyrics, as it turns out, occupy a significant place in the genre of musical lament as a whole, rivaling even the musical settings (including Monteverdi's) of Rinuccini's *Lamento d'Arianna*. While the tale of Finding Jesus in the Temple may seem rather removed from the Greek mythology of abandoned Ariadne, it was the power of lyric poetry, after all, that could establish a common ground for such seemingly unrelated subjects in the form of musical laments.

³²² Tim Carter, 'Beyond Drama,' 12.

Chapter IV

Marino's *canzone* to the Crown of Thorns and Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620)

Jacopo Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620) opens with a nine-part song cycle on Marino's *canzone* to the Crown of Thorns, 'Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la spina.' This fact has gone hitherto unaddressed in musicology, and the Italianists hardly paid any attention to this particular text of Marino, either. Indeed, an elaborate song-cycle addressed to the Crown of Thorns opens up many intriguing questions about early-modern devotion to the Crown of Thorns and the role it played on the music. This chapter will therefore trace the historical background of the devotion to the Crown of Thorns and investigate both Marino's *canzone* and Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) in great detail. A preliminary survey reveals a significant number of devotional songs addressed to the Crown of Thorns in the first half of the seventeenth century alone, often within the context of the Lent or the Holy Week itself. In many of these, texts by prominent poets, including Grillo and Marino, set a tone for devotional singing in monastic houses or spiritual exercises in Oratories.

The Crown of Thorns—brief history

The Crown of Thorns is mentioned in three of the Gospels (Matthew 27:27-30, Mark 15:16-19, and John 19:1-3) as one of the relics or instruments (often referred to as *arma Christi*, meaning literally, the weapons of the Christ) used in rejection of his kingship. John's Gospel narrates how he was brought before Pontius Pilate to face the crowd while still wearing the Crown of Thorns, and this was the basis for the popular

devotional image called the *Ecce Homo*, in which Christ is ‘imagined as the rejected Messiah, scorged and crowned in thorns’ (See **Figure 4.1**).³²³

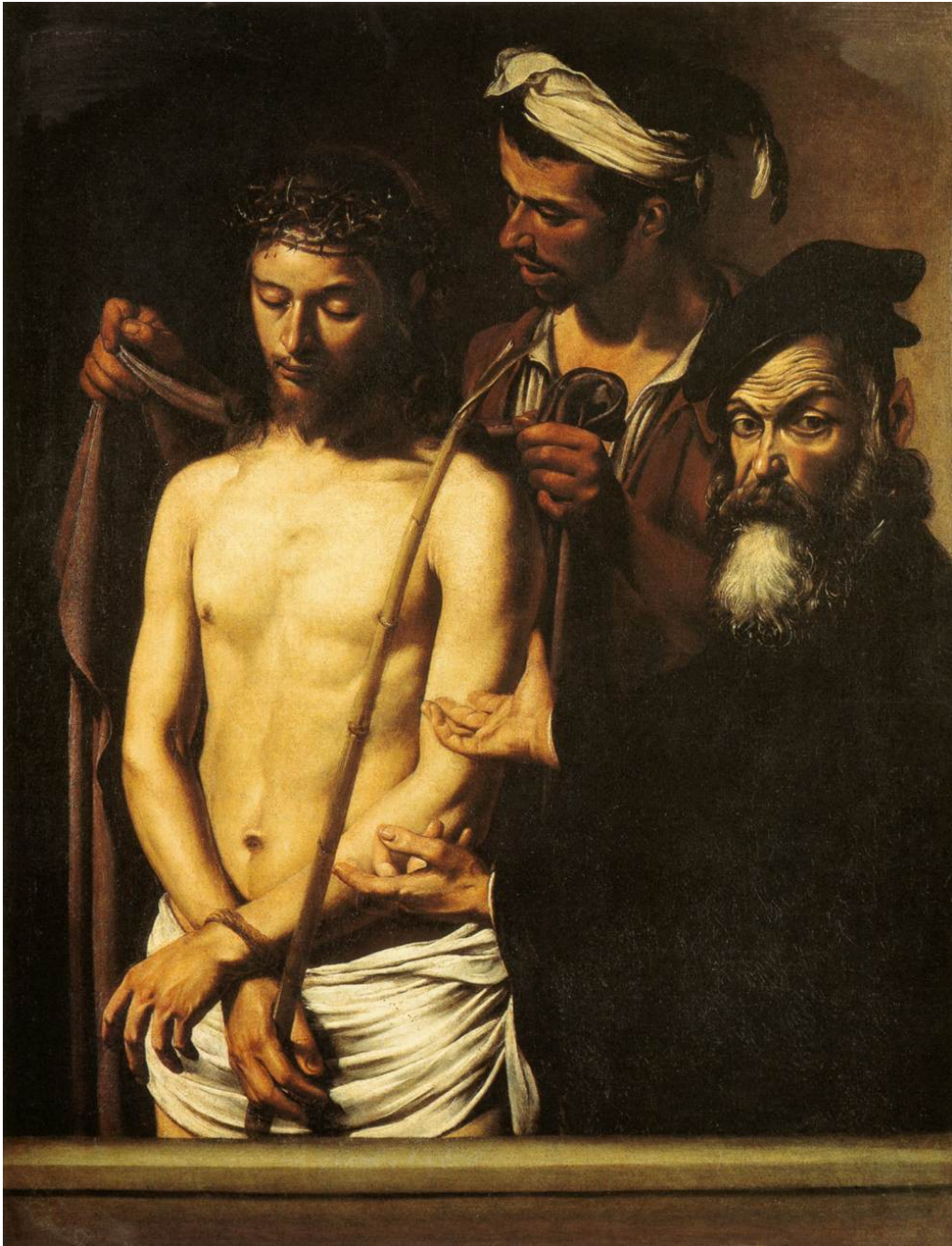


Figure 4.1: Caravaggio, *Ecce Homo* (c. 1606), Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa.

³²³ Emily Guerry, ‘Notre Dame: how Christ’s Crown of Thorns has survived crusades, political upheaval and a fire (but only just),’ *The Conversation*, accessed online 24 April 2024, <https://theconversation.com/notre-dame-how-christs-crown-of-thorns-has-survived-crusades-political-upheaval-and-a-fire-but-only-just-115731>.

The *arma Christi* played an important role in the Passion devotion throughout the Middle Ages and early modern era.³²⁴ Probably originating from veneration of Passion relics, the *arma Christi* carried with them multifaceted meanings. While they were often depicted as Christ's weapons and emblem of his divine power in the early middle ages, medieval Franciscan spirituality, combined with iconographic tradition of the Man of Sorrows or *Image pietatis*, encouraged view of the *arma Christi* as the instruments that caused Christ's suffering.³²⁵ The *arma Christi* not only reminded their viewers' own sins that could crucify Christ anew, but also served as tools to identify with Christ's suffering in a mode of *imitatio Christi* and ultimately to help with one's own salvation (starting in the fourteenth century, there was even indulgences offered to their beholders).³²⁶

A turning point in for the veneration of the Crown of Thorns as a relic came in 1238, when the Latin Emperor Baldwin II of Constantinople famously bequeathed the Crown of Thorns to Louis IX of France (See **Figure 4.2**). It was carried to Paris and housed in today's Sainte-Chapelle, shortly after which the liturgy of the Crown of Thorns was created.³²⁷ Its sequences often emphasized not only its theological importance as a sign of pride and victory (as opposed to that of mockery as initially intended) but also the relic's affinity to the Kingdom of France. The texts of the *Crown Propers* borrowed heavily from biblical sources to reinforce the link between the Crown of Thorns and King Louis IX, for example, by invoking the crowning of King Solomon in Song of Songs

³²⁴ For a recent scholarly overview of *Arma Christi*, its material culture and semiotics, see Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture, with a Critical Edition of 'O Vernicle'* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), especially Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, 'Introduction: *Arma Christi*: The Material Culture of the Passion,' in *ibid.*, 1-19.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7

³²⁷ For an overview of the history of the Crown of Thorns and the development of its liturgy, see Maurey, *Liturgy and Sequences of the Sainte-Chapelle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 15-28; see also Maurey, *The Dominican Office and Mass for the Crown of Thorns* (Kitchener: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2019), Introduction.

3:11-4:8.³²⁸ Consequently, subsequent iconography of crucifixion started to feature the previously absent Crown of Thorns on Christ's head (despite lack of corroboration from the Biblical narrative), therefore re-orienting the Crown of Thorns as the central object in the salvation history.³²⁹



Figure 4.2: *The Crown of Thorns Relics*, Notre-Dame Cathedral

³²⁸ Maurey, *Liturgy and Sequences*, 30-35.

³²⁹ Emily Guerry, 'Notre Dame.'

Early modern spirituality and the Crown of Thorns

There is little scholarship dealing specifically with ongoing and new devotions to the Crown of Thorns in the early modern period, but it remained one of the most significant relics that continued to be venerated and depicted in devotional arts as a reminder of Christ's passion. In fact, for the early modern Catholic devotions that emphasized engaging one's senses to contemplate on and identify with Christ (e.g. as put forth by Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises*), the Crown of Thorns usefully appealed to both visual and haptic senses of the devotees, with its encircling shape and sharp thorns. Caracci's *Pietà with Two Angels* (c. 1600), for instance, shows an angel touching the Crown of Thorns and showing a facial expression of pain, reminding the viewers of the suffering imposed on Christ from countless thorns piercing through his temple (See **Plate 4.3**).³³⁰

³³⁰ Alexandra Ziane, *Amor divino, Amor profano: Liebe in geistlicher Musik und bildender Kunst in Rom um 1600* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011), 229



Figure 4.3: Annibale Carracci, *Pietà with Two Angels* (c. 1600),
Museo nazionale di Capodimonte, Napoli.

The Crown of Thorns is also the subject of the third Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary, which by the seventeenth century was a well-disseminated prayer and object that served as a ‘sensorium’ with its auditory, visual, haptic, and even olfactory elements.³³¹ A copy of Anton II Wierix’s 1604 engraving, *Rosario Doloroso*, shows the five Sorrowful Mysteries against a background of thorns and was later inserted into a one of

³³¹ Lisa Beaven, ‘The Early Modern Sensorium: The Rosary in Seventeenth-Century Rome,’ in *Journal of Religious History* Vol. 44, No. 4 (2020): 443-464.

surviving versions of Grillo's *Christo flagellato*, seemingly suggesting that Grillo's verses were potentially intended to inspire such meditations.³³²

Female mystics, such as St Catherine of Siena, St Maria Maddalena de Pazzi, and St Rita of Casica served as model of *imitatio Christo* and were subjects of devotions in the early modern period themselves (**Figures 4.4 and 4.5**). Their legends and devotional images abound with Crown of Thorns as signs of their desire to take part in Christ's suffering themselves. Even a saint canonized in the later half of seventeenth-century, St Rose of Lima, was a fervent imitator of St Catherine of Siena and specifically imitated her devotion to Crown of Thorns, as depicted in her image in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome.³³³ The cult of these saints in turn would have made the Crown of Thorns as the familiar object of adoration. While St Catherine of Siena was a lay Dominican, Sts Maria Maddalena de Pazzi and Rita of Cascia were nuns in Carmelite and Augustine communities, respectively, so these female saints together provided a model of devotion for both lay and monastic communities.

³³² Virginia Cox, "'Consenti o pia, ch'in lagrimosi carmi...'" Birgitta in the Verse, Thought, and Artistic Commissions of Angelo Grillo,' In *The Legacy of Birgitta of Sweden: Women, Politics, and Reform in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Unn Falkeid and Anna Wainwright (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 266.

³³³ Tristan Weddigen, 'Materiality and Idolatry: Roman Imaginations of Saint Rose of Lima,' in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 103-146.



Figure 4.4: Image contained in Carlo Papini's *Per la città di Siena, in lode della serafica Santa Caterina, canzone dell'Irresoluto accad. intronato, alla serenissima Maria Maddalena, Arciduchessa d'Austria, Granduchessa di Toscana* (Siena: Gori, 1622).



Figure 4.5: Pedro de Moya, *St Maria Maddalena de Pazzi* (c. 1640).

Finally, the Crown of Thorns exerted its presence outside Europe as well. The relic of the sacred Thorn had been brought to Asia as part of the Jesuit missionary as early as the late sixteenth-century,³³⁴ while the image of *Ecce Homo* with Christ crowned with Crown of Thorns prevailed among the Christian images disseminated in the New World during the long seventeenth-century.³³⁵ As these and the spirituality of St Rose of Lima demonstrate, the Crown of Thorns remained a significant part of the Catholic devotion in different parts of the world throughout the early modern period.

Devotional songs to the Crown of Thorns

The Crown of Thorns featured as a popular subject in lyric poetry and their musical settings during the first half of the seventeenth-century (see **Table 4.1**).³³⁶ The incipits of these poetic texts alone reveal how the thorns are commonly described as ‘stinging’ (‘pungenti’), thus invoking their appeal to the haptic sense. The thorns are also sometimes associated with other *arma Christi* like the nails (‘chiodi’) on the Cross, as in Agazzari’s ‘De chiodi e delle spine’ and Capuana’s ‘Chiodi pungenti e spine.’

Marino’s texts, especially ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina’ dominates as the most widely set among songs related to the Crown of Thorns. Madrigals nos. 95-100 in Grillo’s *Pietosi Affetti* (1595) address the Crown of Thorns, but only one musical setting by Pietro Pace has surfaced. The scoring and styles are diverse, ranging from a simple

³³⁴ Ines G. Županov, ‘Relics Management: Building a Spiritual Empire in Asia (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries),’ in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 448-479.

³³⁵ Evonne Levy, ‘“Mass” Produced Devotional Paintings in the Andes: Mobility, Flexibility, Visual Habitus,’ in *The Nomadic Object: The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, ed. Christine Göttler and Mia M. Mochizuki (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 271-290, especially 271.

³³⁶ The only exception is Orazio Michi’s penitential cantata, ‘Son mie Signor, quelle puntenti spine,’ in which the thorns are likened to the sins of the devotee. See Margaret Murata, ‘“Colpe mie venite a piangere”: The Penitential Cantata in Baroque Rome,’ in *Listening to Early Modern Catholicism: Perspectives from Musicology*, ed. Daniele Filippi and Michael J. Noone (Boston: Brill, 2017), 212-214.

aria or cantata for solo voice, *canzonette* for three voices to madrigals for five voices. Notable are common scoring for Alto, Tenor, and Bass (ATB) in three collections from around the mid-seventeenth century, hinting at the possibility that these may have been initially intended for an ensemble of primarily male singers.

Table 4.1: Songs addressed to the Crown of Thorns in the seventeenth century.

Composer	Source	Text incipit	Text author	Scoring
Francesco Bianciardi	<i>Canzonette Spirituali a Tre Voci</i> (Venice: Gardano, 1606)	Uscite uscite a rimirar ³³⁷	Marino	CAB
Agazzari, Agostino	<i>Il Primo Libro di Madrigaletti a tre voci</i> (Venice: Amadino, 1607)	De chiodi è delle spine		CCB ³³⁸
Tomaso Cecchino	<i>Canti Spirituali</i> (Venice: Vincenti, 1613)	O Capo mio Spinoso; O Bel diadema sako; Pietosa industrie mano		TB+bc; C+bc; C+bc
Antonio Cifra	<i>Scherzi Sacri, Primo Libro</i> (Rome: Robletti, 1616)	Ohime di qual corona		CCT+bc
Pietro Pace	<i>Secondo Libro di Scherzi et arie spirituali</i> (Venice: Vincenti, 1617)	Langue di pena atroce	Angelo Grillo	CXX+bc ³³⁹
Jacopo Trinciavelli	<i>Musiche Spirituali</i> (Rome: Soldi, 1620)	Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina	Marino	CCB+bc
Scipione Dentice	<i>Il Primo Libro de Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci</i> (Naples: Scoriggio, 1629)	Tante pungenti spine	Bartolo meo Barco	CATBQ+bc
Benedetto Ferrari	<i>Secondo Libro di Musiche</i> (Venice: Magni, 1637)	Questi pungenti spine (Cantata Spirituale)	Ottavio Orsucci	C+bc
Scipione Dentice	<i>Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci, libro secondo</i> (Naples: Beltrano, 1640)	Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina	Marino	CATBQ+bc

³³⁷ Bianciardi only sets the first quatrain.

³³⁸ This work has not been consulted in person, so the scoring is based on *Il Secondo Libro di Madrigaletti a Tre Voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1607).

³³⁹ This work does not survive in complete parts, and the only surviving part shows the Canto and basso continuo part, while indicating that it is scored for three vocal parts.

Agostino Diruta	<i>Poesie heroiche morali e sacre</i> (1646)	Con le pungenti spine		C+bc
Mariano Capuana	<i>Sacre Armonie a tre voci</i> (Venice: Vincenti, 1647)	Chiodi pungenti e spine		ATB+bc
Pompeo Natali	<i>Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali</i> (Rome: Fei, 1662)	Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina	Marino	ATB+bc
Graziani, Bonifacio	<i>Musiche sagre e morali, Op. 25</i> (Rome: Mascardi, 1678)	Crudelissime Spine		ATB+bc
	<i>Corona di Sacre Canzoni</i> (Florence: Onofri, 1689)	Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina	Marino	T
	<i>Corona di Sacre Canzoni</i> (Florence: Bindi, 1710)	Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina	Marino	T
Michi, Orazio	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 2472	Son mie, Signor, quelle pungenti spine.		C+bc

Among the items in **Table 4.1**, three collections, Francesco Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali a Tre Voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1606), Tomaso Cecchino's *Canti Spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1613), and Jacopo Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620) stand out for their thematic similarity. All of them begin with the songs addressing Crown of Thorns followed by those addressing the Christ's crucified body (on wounds or even various facial parts) and Virgin Mary's sorrow by the Cross. In all three collections, therefore, the Crown of Thorns activates a series meditation on crucified Christ from top to bottom, from his head pierced with thorns to his feet where Virgin Mary stood crying.

Songs in Thomaso Cecchino's *Canti Spirituali* (1613) are especially notable for their engagement with the visual arts. It opens with a dialogue ('O capo mio spinoso') between the sinner and Jesus upon a devotional image of Jesus Crowned with Thorns, followed by songs specifically addressing the eyes, mouth, face, the Crown of Thorns

itself ('O Bel diadema sacro'), and finally to the painter of the image himself ('Pietosa industrie mano'). The opening dialogue even recalls Cigoli's artwork (now lost) showing St Birgitta speaking to a figure of crucified Christ, which was commissioned by Grillo for San Paolo Fuori Le Mura³⁴⁰:

*Dialogo sopra una divotissima Imagine di
N. Sig. incoronato di spine
Peccatore, & Giesù*

Tenor:
O Capo mio Spinoso
Doglioso tormentoso
Ch'ascenni?
a che m'inviti?
a che mi chiami?

Bass:
Che tu sol m'ami

Tenor:
Ch'io t'ami e con che affetto
T'amerò mio diletto
In guiderdon di così alta mercede

Bass:
Con viva fede

Tenor:
Con viva fe ma insegno
Che darò ti è per pegno della mia vera fede
e del mio amore

Bass:
Porgami il core

Tenor:
Eccoti il core.

*Dialogue on a very devout image of our
Lord crowned with thorns
Sinner and Jesus*

Tenor:
Oh my head pierced with thorns,
sorrowful and tormented,
What are you implying?
What do you invite me to do?
What do you call me to do?

Bass:
Only that you love me.

Tenor:
That I may love you; and with what
affection shall I love you, oh my delight,
in merit of so high a reward?

Bass
With lively faith.

Tenor:
With lively faith; but teach me what I shall
give you as the token of my true faith and
my love.

Bass:
Give me your heart.

Tenor:
Here is my heart to you.

In Cecchino's song addressed specifically to the Crown of Thorns, the speaker refers to the Crown of Thorns as a 'diadem,' similarly to the opening quatrain of

³⁴⁰ Cox, 'Consenti,' 262-273.

Marino's 'Uscite uscite a rimirar' set to music by Bianciardi in his *Canzonette Spirituali* (1606).³⁴¹ Cecchino immediately follows with a song addressed to the painter of the image, reflecting on how the painting can be a means through which they might engage their senses to identify with Christ. While the specific painting and its painter are not identified, the texts used seem to have been specifically written for them, similar to Marino's *canzonetta*, 'Questa chi'n atto supplice, e pentita,' addressed specifically to the painting of Mary Magdalen by Titian.

Alla Corona di spine

O Bel diadema sacro
Che con pungenti spine
Ornate al mio Giesù le tempie il crine.

Riverente v'adoro e'l cor consacro,

E s'altro don chiedete
Che più pretioso sia
A voi voi lo darete invece mia.

To the Crown of Thorns

Oh beautiful, sacred diadem
which with stinging thorns
adorn the temples and hair of my Jesus.

I adore you reverently and consecrate the heart;

and if you ask for other gift that may be more
precious, you give it yourself instead of mine.

Al Pittore di detta immagine

Pietosa industrie mano
Ch'in forme si dolenti
Tormentato Giesù mi rappresenti
Godi che tua pietà non sarà in vano;
Tu formasti i colori
Ed'io qua l'hor lui miri
Porgerò i sensi a le piaghe di dolori
A la bocca i sospiri
A gl'occhi al vostro santo
Con le lagrime mie formarò il pianto;
Così l'imago pia de sensi priva
Sarà ne sensi miei spirante e viva.

To the Painter of the said image

Pious, hard-working hand, which illustrates
for me tormented Jesus in such a sorrowful
figure, rejoice that your piety would not be
in vain; You formed the color, and here I
shall gaze him now, I will lend my senses
to the wounds of sorrows, my sighs to the
mouth, and with my tears the eyes of your
holy one shall form the weeping; so that
my senses may be spirited and lively in the
pious image deprived of senses.

Moreover, Cecchino's *Canti Spirituali* has close thematic resemblance to *Canoro Pianto di Maria Vergine* (Venice: Magni, 1613), which was curated by Angelo Patta and

³⁴¹ See Chapter 2 for discussion of Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Gardano, 1606).

published in the same year. The texts of *Canoro Pianto*, all based on Grillo's *Dell'Essequie di Christo co'l pianto di Maria Vergine* (Venice: Ciotti, 1607) and ultimately incorporated into the later edition of *Pietosi Affetti* (1629), goes through contemplation and lament on various parts of Christ's face – eyes, ears, nose, and even beards – mostly spoken in Virgin Mary's voice. While *Canoro Pianto di Maria Vergine* does not begin with or has any song addressed to the Crown of Thorns itself, its frontispiece in fact shows the Veil of Veronica, a relic kept in St Peter's Basilica in Rome, clearly showing Christ's face with the Crown of Thorns (See **Figure 4.6**).

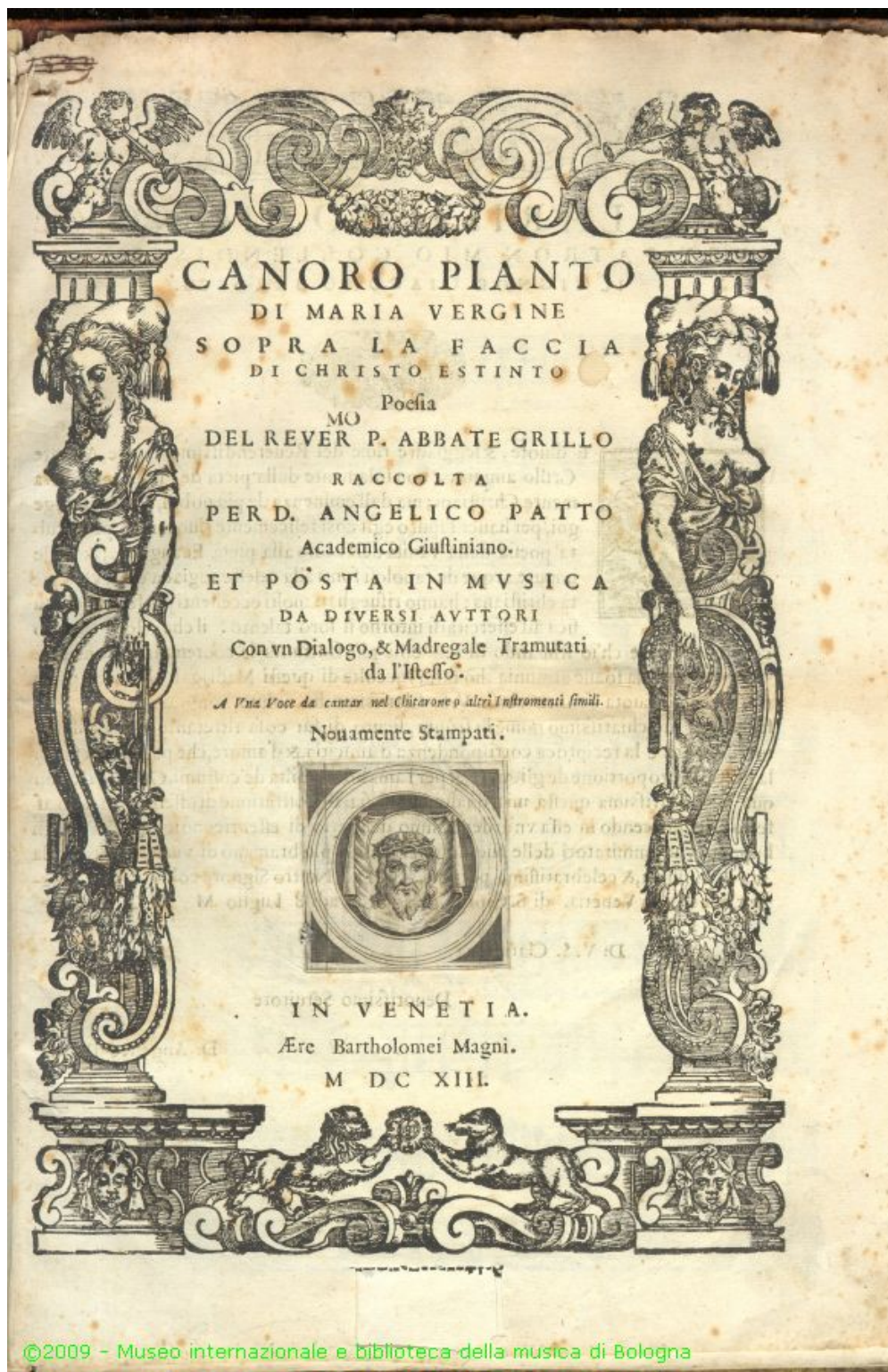


Figure 4.6: *Canoro Pianto di Marie Vergine* (Venice: Magni, 1613), frontispiece.³⁴²

³⁴² Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, V125; http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_V/V125/

The Crown of Thorns also features in the devotional music used in the Loreto community, as represented by series of spiritual *scherzi* by Antonio Cifra and Pietro Pace that were published in Rome and Venice from 1615-1619. These are ‘Ohime qual corona’ from Cifra’s *Scherzi Sacri Primo Libro* (Rome: Robletti, 1616) and Pietro Pace’s ‘Langua di pena atroce’ from his *Secondo Libro di Scherzi et arie spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617). In their texts used, the Crown of Thorns serve as reminder of mockery and tortures Christ went through, which is a reminder of one’s own sins, combined with graphic imagery of Christ’s head tinted with blood:

Cifra, 1616

Translation by Rorke (1980)

La Corona delle Spine

The Crown of Thorns

Ohime di qual corona,
Dolce Giesù, vi veggio adorno il crine,
Pungentissime spine,
Dunq. in vece di stelle,
Cingon le tempie delicate, e belle

Alas, sweet Jesus,
With what crown do I see your hair adorned;
So sharpest thorns,
Instead of stars,
Close up your delicate and beautiful temples.

Oh sacrilega mano,
Di sacrilego cor ministra indegna,
Oh’ che regale insegna
Sanguinosa, e fu nesta
Alzi empia man ne la sacrata testa

O sacrilegious hand,
Contemptible minister of a sacrilegiuous heart
O what royal insignia
Bloody, and distressing
You put, impious hand, on the consecrated head.

Il sanque in mille rivi,
Ecco rosseggia il biondo crine, e il viso:
Alme di Paradiso
Mirate come langue
Quel sacro capo, oime, molle di sangue.

Behold, the blood in a thousand streams
Reddens the blond hair, and the face: Souls of
Paradise,
Look at how that holy head languishes,
Alas, soaked with blood.³⁴³

public domain.

³⁴³ Margaret Rorke, ‘The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra’ (Ph.D diss., University of Michigan, 1980), 148.

The markedly Lenten theme of Pace's *Secondo Libro di Scherzi et arie spirituali* is evident also from its textual sources, which are drawn heavily from Grillo's *Pietosi Affetti* and Luigi Tansillo's *Lagrime di San Pietro*.³⁴⁴

The Crown of Thorns could be emblematic of the oxymoron that is 'sweetness' of Christ's Passion. Pace's song for Crown of Thorns, 'Langue di pena atroce,' while entitled 'Sangue di Christo' ('Blood of Christ') is actually taken from a series of madrigals contemplating on the Crown of Thorns in Grillo's *Pietosi Affetti*. In the original subtitle given, it refers to a 'beautiful concert' ('bellissimo concerto') associated with Jesus Christ crowned with thorns:

Grillo, *Pietosi Affetti* (1595), Madrigal 99

<i>A Christo incoronato di spine. Con bellissimo concerto ne mostra che'l sangue di Christo è difesa del peccatore, per mezzo del quale non mira, e non punisce i suoi peccati quanto meritarebbono.</i>	<i>To Christ crowned with thorns. With a beautiful concert he demonstrates that the blood of Christ is the defense of the sinner, through which he does not see or punish their sins as much as they deserve.</i>
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Langue di pena atroce L'alta pietade incoronata in Croce; Ed il pietoso sangue (ò Dio) fà velo A' cari lumi, e'n debolisce il raggio: Che non si sottilmente il giusto zelo Noti i miei falli, ed il suo duro oltraggio.	He languishes in atrocious pain, the high piety crowned on the Cross; and the compassionate blood (O God) makes a veil to the dear lights, and diminishes the ray, so that righteous zeal and its harsh outrage may not so acutely acknowledge my faults.
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Pace could have thus picked up on the original subtitle and brought to life its musical metaphor by setting it as a song for three voices with basso continuo accompaniment. What is more, Pace's 'Langue di pena atroce' is immediately followed by 'Di colomba amorosa,' which is a slightly modified (but still a heavily borrowed) version of a section of Marino's 'Sospirava spargea' (*Christo smarrito*) that describes the

³⁴⁴ This is 'Vattene va dicea piangendo,' which Pace sets as an eight-part song cycle and was also set by Orlando di Lasso's *Lagrime di S. Pietro* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1595).

beautiful physical features of Christ. Thus, Pace's *Secondo Libro di scherzi et arie spirituali* seems to follow the same formula as the contemporary collections of spiritual songs by Bianciardi, Cecchino, Patta, and Trinciavelli, whose contents bring to focus the physical beauty of crucified Christ by using the Crown of Thorns as the vehicle to initiate such meditation.

Both Cifra's 'Ohime qual corona' (**Example 4.1**) and Pace's 'Langue di pena atroce' (**Example 4.2**) are scored for up to three voices (2 trebles, 1 tenor) with basso continuo and in the key of F major. Cifra's setting can even be considered a short musical dialogue in three movements, as the first and second movements, sung respectively as tenor and soprano solos, culminate in the trio for two sopranos and tenor in the final movement. Cifra and Pace's settings could have served as a model for Trinciavelli's setting of 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina' (discussed below), given that all three compositions share the identical tonal centre, scoring and also the nonchalant vocal writing devoid of virtuosic melisma.

Ohi-me di qual co-ro - na, Dol - ce Giesù, vi

veg - gio a - dor - no il cri - ne; Pungentis - sime spi - ne, Dun-

- que inve - ce di stel - le, Cin - gon le tem - pie de - li - ca - re, e bel --le.

Oh' sa - cri - lega ma - no, Di sacri - lego cor mi - nistra in - de - gna,

Oh' che rega - le in - se - gna Sanguino - sa, e fu nes - ta Al - zi em - pia

man ne la sac - ra - ta - te sta.

Il sangue in mille rivi, Ec - co rosseggia il biondo crine, e il vi - so:

Il sangue in mille rivi, Ec - co rosseggia il biondo cri - ne, e il viso:

Al me di Pa - radi - so, Mira - te co - me langue Quel sacro capo, ohime,

Al me di Pa - radi - so, Mira - te co - me langue Quel sacro ca - po, ohi - me,

Al me di Pa - radi - so, Mira - te come langue Quel sacro ca - po, ohime,

mol - le di san - gue Al - me di Pa - ra - di - so, Al - me di Pa - ra - di -

mol - le di san - gue Al - me di Pa - ra - di - so, Al - me di Pa - ra - di -

mol - le di san - gue Al - me di Pa - ra - di - so, Al - me di Pa - ra - di -

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so, Mi-ra - te co - me lan - gue Mi-ra - te co - me

so, Mi-ra - te co - me lan - gue Mi-ra - te co - me

so, Mi-ra - te co - me lan - gue Mi-ra - te co - me

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lan-gue Quel sacro ca - po, ohi - me, mol - le di san - gue.

lan-gue Quel sacro capo, ohime, mol - le di san - gue.

lan - gue Quel sacro ca - po ohi-me, mol - le di san - gue.

Example 4.1: Cifra, ‘Ohime qual corona,’ *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo* (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no. 15.



Example 4.2: Pietro Pace, ‘Langua di pena atroce,’ *Secondo Libro di scherzi et arie spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1617), no. 20.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁵ Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, BB.68; <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/BB/BB068/public domain>.

The Crown of Thorns is the central subject of at least two collections in **Table 4.1**: Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* and Benedetto Ferrari's *Musiche varie a voce sola, Libro Secondo*. The latter was dedicated to Basil Feilding, English ambassador to Venice, and it features as its central piece 'Questi pungenti Spine,' a four-part *Cantata Spirituale* for solo Canto and basso continuo using a text by Lucchese poet, Ottavio Orcussi, and repeated ground bass pattern of descending tetrachord, Bb-A-G-F. It is the same bass pattern as used in 'Pur ti miro' (whose text might have been written by Ferrari himself) from Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea*.³⁴⁶

Similar to Ferrari's 'Queste pungenti spine,' the Crown of Thorns is the subject of solo cantatas by Orazio Michi and Agostino Diruta. In latter's *Poesie heroiche, sacre e morali* (1646) an anonymous text 'Con le pungenti spine', illustrates how the thorns that had been intended to inflict torment and pain on Jesus are turned paradoxically into edges of glorious light through the redemptive power of Jesus:

*Alla Corona di Spine sopra il Capo di
Giesu Christo*

Con le pungenti spine
Per congiunger in scherno, e dolore
Ti coronaro il Capo, ò mio Signore.

Ma poi le spine nel tuo crin si belle,
E si splendenti à riguardanti foro,
Che delle punte loro
Punte di luce à se formar le stelle.

Nè meraviglia è già, mentre la fronte,
E le tempie divine
Cingono à te che sei di luce il fonte.

*To the Crown of Thorns on the head of Jesus
Christ*

With the stinging thorns, to join in mockery and
sorrow, I'll crown your Head, O my Lord.

But then the thorns became so beautiful, and so
shiny in your hair while I pierce you,
such that the points of light formed the stars
from their spikes.

It is no wonder already, that while they encircle
your forehead and the divine temples, you are the
source of light.

³⁴⁶ Benedetto Ferrari, *Musiche varie: a voce sola: libri I, II, III*, ed. Alessandro Magini (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1985), Introduction.

Spine non più, ma chimarolle homai
Di sì splendente Sol punte di rai,
Poiche se già di scherno hoggi ti sono
Fregi di gloria nell'eterno trono.

Thorns no more, but they may now be called
pointy rays of such luminous Sun, for despite
being of mockery before, they are now to you the
decoration of glory in the eternal throne.

Agostino Diruta's songs for solo voices in *Poesie heroiche* feature many female saints including Sts Orsola, Apollonia, Barbara, and Mary Magdalen. Exceptionally, St Cascia of Rita features in a much more elaborate song for five voices. She was an important saint in the Augustinian order, recently beatified in 1626 after her *Vita* was published in 1610.³⁴⁷ As an Augustinian and *Maestro di Cappella* of St Augustine in Rome himself, Diruta effectively paid homage to his own order by including a song about St Cascia and subsequently the Crown of Thorns, which played an important role in her legend (**Figure 4.7**)³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Agostino Cavalucci da Fuligno, *Vita della B. Rita da Cassia, Dell'Ordine di S. Agostino* (Siena: Florimi, 1610).

³⁴⁸ According to a popular hagiography, as she prayed to be able to share in Christ's suffering on Good Friday in 1442 in front of an image of crucified Christ, St Rita was struck with a thorn from the Crown of Thorns, and her wound remained visible until her death. St Rita spent her later life in Augustinian convent and was thus an important Augustinian saint.

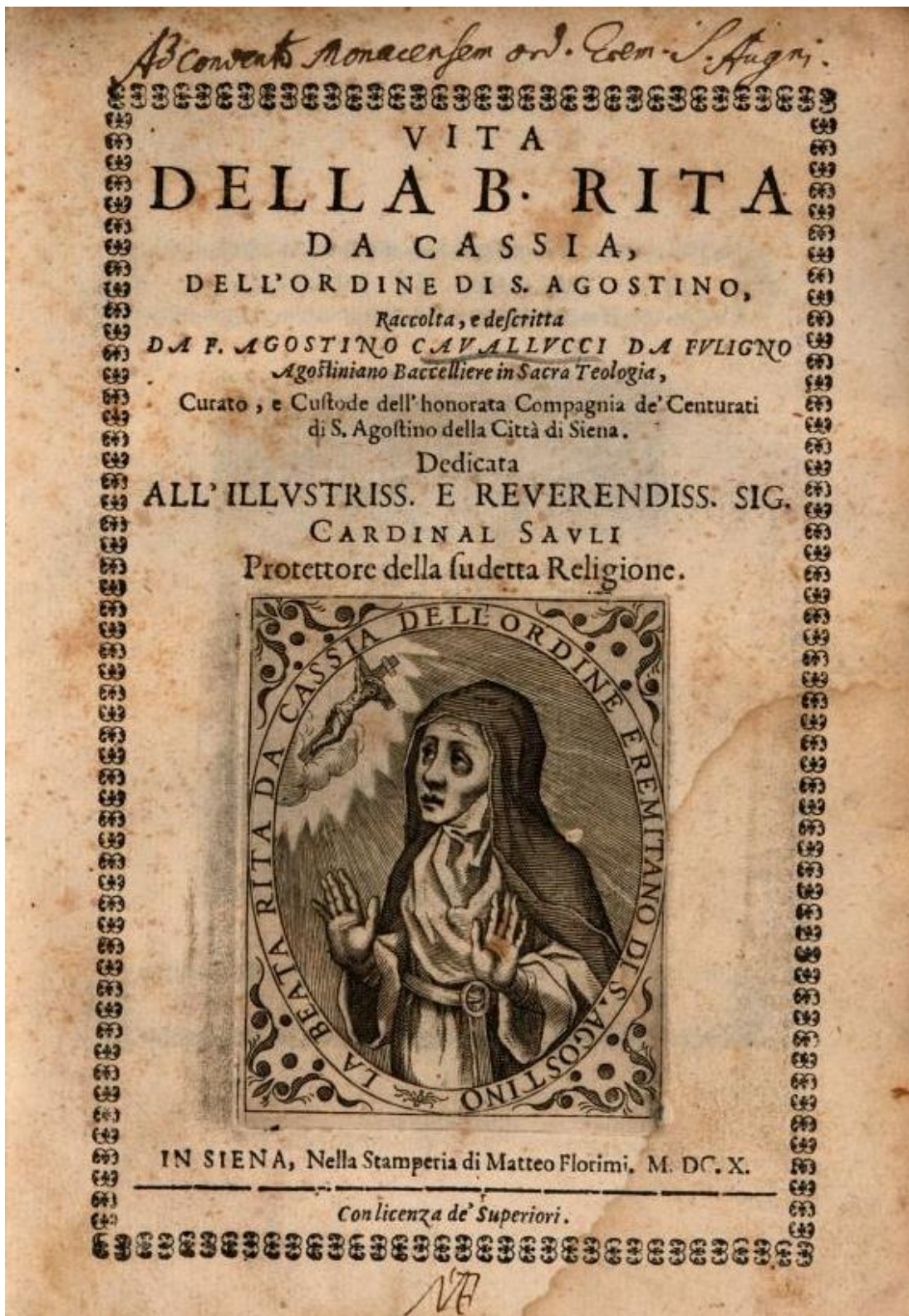


Figure 4.7: Agostino Cavalucci da Fuligno, *Vita della B. Rita da Cassia, Dell'Ordine di S. Agostino* (Siena: Florimi, 1610), frontispiece.

Marino's *canzone* to the Crown of Thorns

The text most frequently set for songs addressed to the Crown of Thorns is Marino's 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina,' first appearing in print *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*. As Martini noted, the subjects of *Divozioni* roughly follows the liturgical calendar and the events in Christ's life beginning from his birth to resurrection.³⁴⁹ 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la' is in fact located among a series of *canzoni*, preceded by one on Christ's suffering in the garden of Gethsemane and followed by the *canzonetta* on the pillar on which Christ received flagellation. The *canzonetta* on the Crown of Thorns therefore forms part of themes covered in the modern-day Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary: Christ's suffering in the Garden of Gethsemane, Flagellation at the pillar, Crowning with Thorns, Carrying of the cross, and Crucifixion.

There is yet another possible connection between Marino's text for the Crown of Thorns and its contemporary reception. Lee Palmer Wandel interpreted Michelangelo's painting of the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel - which features three of the *arma Christi*, the Cross, the Column and the Crown of Thorns in the lunettes - in the context of the Mass celebration and contemporary debates surrounding the theology of Eucharist.³⁵⁰ The Sistine Chapel would have been one of the most renowned public chapels in the early modern Catholic world, in which the Mass was celebrated with its own choir and thus provided with both visual and aural complexity.³⁵¹ Wandel notes that the *arma Christi* in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, being removed from Christ's person, do not

³⁴⁹ Alessandro Martini, 'Le Divozioni del Marino,' in *Parlar L'idioma Soave: Studi di Filologia, Letteratura e Storia della Lingua Offerti a Gianni a. Papini*, ed. Matteo M. Pedroni (Interlinea Edizioni, 2003), 188.

³⁵⁰ See Lee Palmer Wandel, 'Liturgy and Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*: Reframing the *Arma Christi*' in *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture, with a Critical Edition of 'O Vernicle'* ed. by Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 225 – 243.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 229-230.

serve to tell the narrative of the passion as they had traditionally done, but rather as evidence of the Passion in relation to other events in time, such as the rising of Christ at the end of time.³⁵² It is possible that Marino, who has often engaged with and wrote poems in response to numerous artworks including Michelangelo's, was also inspired by the painting in the Sistine chapel to write this *canzonetta* on Crown of Thorns, especially considering that it is immediately followed by a *canzonetta* for Column and madrigals on the Cross in the arrangement of the *La Lira* III, *Divozioni*.³⁵³

'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina' addresses the Crown of Thorns (or metonymically, its bearer, Jesus) from the first-person perspective. The opening stanza (stanza 1) praises the Thorns as the Queen of plants, which is merited to crown Jesus as 'the King of Kings.' Stanza 2 makes reference to the event of Agony in the Garden, which takes place in the Garden of Gethsemane, suggesting that the thorn—described here in similar vein as the nails used in crucifixion as 'that bitter, stinging iron' (Qual ferro aspro, pungente—is a metaphor for the suffering Jesus had already started experiencing there.³⁵⁴ Stanza 3 compares these thorns that abounds in earth to an 'excessive love' that ultimately wounds Jesus. Stanza 4, with its reference to the garland that the good shepherd has contested, is an interesting reference to an account in Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, in which the protagonist Mirtilio (the Faithful Shepherd),

³⁵² Ibid., 238-239.

³⁵³ This is not to say Marino wrote these poems specifically in response to Michelangelo's depictions in the Sistine Chapel. As Wandel has noted, depiction of *arma Christi* in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* are far removed from the cruelty of the Passion, while Marino's poem still recalls the cruelty of the Passion, such as the blood being shed by Christ.

³⁵⁴ For Gospel narratives of Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane in the Mount of Olives, see Matthew 26:36-46 and Luke 22:39-46.

disguises himself as a nymph and enters a contest for a garland for whoever gives the best kiss to Amaryllis, his love interest, ultimately winning both the garland and her kiss.³⁵⁵

In stanza 5, Jesus and the crown of thorns are compared to a sacrifice offering to God and the stake prepared for it, which recalls the scenes from Old Testament such as the tale of Abraham and Isaac, as well as Moses encountering God amidst the burning bush.³⁵⁶ Stanza 6 makes reference to the Parnassus and Cypress (Ciprigna) and meditates upon the bleeding of Christ, whose head ‘has made a garden of Love’s roses’ (Hà di rose d’Amor fatto un giardino) in stanza 7. A traditional devotion to the Crown of Thorns as a symbol of kingship, especially with respect to King Louis IX, can be traced in stanzas 8 and 9, which describe the Crown of Thorns as a ‘glorious diadem’ that turns disgrace into honor (which echoes the text in the medieval sequences for the feast of the Crown of Thorns)³⁵⁷ and an object of desire even by the celestial bodies, such as the Sun who would want to exchange it with the ‘crown of kings’.

Finally, stanzas 10-13 become a vehicle for the speaker’s own reflection rather than addressing the Crown of Thorns itself. The speaker seems to command their own soul to make the Crown of Thorns its ‘hedge of vineyard’ (Stanza 10), so that it can protect the ‘eternal fruit of divine grace’ from the ‘thieves of Averno’ (Stanza 11). The Crown of Thorns, due to its snakelike shape, is also a reminder of the speaker’s own recurring sins (faults) that caused Christ’s suffering in the first place (stanza 12), which is in line with the symbolism of *Arma Christi* according to the Medieval spirituality. The final stanza (Stanza 13) concludes as an interjection to hear the ‘feeble voice’ (of Christ,

³⁵⁵ See Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, Act 2 Scene 2.

³⁵⁶ This is reference to the encounter between Moses and God in Exodus 3, where Moses saw the bush on fire but the bush did not burn up, and God called out to Moses. See Exodus 3:1-22.

³⁵⁷ Maurey, *Liturgy and Sequences*, 15-28.

presumably) and a plea to the ‘dear Bride’ (cara Sposa) – or the church - to open up to the speaker, i.e. to be allowed to follow the course of redemption.³⁵⁸ The last stanza is notable not only for its appeal to the sense of hearing, in addition to the haptic and visual appeals from the Crown of Thorns, but also for invoking the St Birgite’s legend in which the figure of crucified Christ started talking to the saint.

Marino, *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 46

La Corona delle Spine.

The Crown of Thorns

¹Hor sì, che ben potrà dirsi la Spina
De le piante Reina,
Poiché di sì bei fregi,
Incorona la chioma al Rè de’ Regi.

Now really, it is time that the Thorn may
well be called the Queen of plants, since it
crowns the hair of the King of Kings with
such beautiful friezes.

²In qual parte cogliesti, ò Rè dolente,
Qual ferro aspro, e pungente?
Forse colà nel’orto,
Dove dianzi cadesti essangue, e smorto?

Where did you collect,
oh sorrowful king, that bitter, stinging iron?
Perhaps in that garden, where you fell with
pallor not long ago?

³Ah che di quelle spine, onde feconda
Per me la terra abbonda,
Zelo d’amor soverchio,
T’hà fatto al crine ingiurioso cerchio.

Ah, that from these thorns which
flourishingly abounds, the zeal of excessive
love has made an injurious circle on your
hair.

⁴O che bella ghirlanda in sù la testa
S’hà il buon Pastor contesta.
Forse l’arsura estiva
Del suo divino amor troppo il feriva.

Oh, what a lovely garland on his head has
the good Shepherd contested. Perhaps the
summer heat of his divine love wounded
him too much.

⁵Ecco colà la vittima spinata
Ad Abram mostrata,
Ecco il rogo spinoso,
Dove vide Mosè Dio stesso ascoso.

Behold there the pierced victim shown to
Abraham; here is the thorny stake, where
Moses saw God himself hidden.

⁶Finga Parnaso pur la Dea Ciprigna
Di spina il piè sanguigna,
Quella à questa non giunge,

May you imagine, Parnassus, even the
Cyprian Goddess, the foot bleeding from the
thorn; this does not compare to that, which

³⁵⁸ In the theology of Christ as the bridegroom, the bride of Christ has long been interpreted to be the church itself. For Biblical passages exploring such symbolism, see Ephesians 5:22-33, and also Revelation 21:9-27 and 22:1-21.

C'hoggi la fronte al vero Dio trapunge.

pierces the forehead of true God today.

⁷E ben viè più fecondo il sacro sangue,
Mentre trafitto ei langue,
Quel bel capo divino
Hà di rose d'Amor fatto un giardino.

And much more productive the holy blood,
while, pierced, he languishes; that beautiful
divine head has made a garden of Love's
roses.

⁸Glorioso diadema, il cui splendore
Rende l'infamia honore,
A gli ornamenti tuoi
Cedan l'Indiche gemme, e gli ostri Eoi.

Glorious diadem, whose splendor turns
disgrace into honor, the gems of India and
the Easter winds yield to your ornaments.

⁹A quelle punte sanguinose, e belle
Hanno invidia le stelle.
E teco brama, e vole,
La corona de' rei cangiare il Sole.

The stars envy at those bloody and beautiful
points. And the Sun wants and desires
to exchange the crown of kings with you.

¹⁰Hor questa, ch'à Giesù circonda il crine.
Treccia d'acute spine,
Fà tu, che sempre sia
Siepe de la tua vigna, Anima mia.

Now this, which encircles Jesus's hair.
Braid of sharp thorns; make my Soul always
be the bush of your vineyard.

¹¹Così giamai per froda, ò per inganno
Furar non ti potranno
I ladroni d'Averno
De la gratia divina il frutto eterno.

So that the thieves of Hell, by fraud or
deceit, will never be able to steal from you
the eternal fruit of divine grace.

¹²Trà queste Spine, ond'ei le tempie intorno
Và fieramente adorno,
Quasi serpenti, e mostri
Vadano à ricourarsi i falli nostri.

Among these Spines, where his temples are
boldly adorned, our faults go healing
themselves like serpents and monsters.

¹³Odi la voce flebile, e pietosa,
Aprimi, ò cara Sposa,
Che'l tuo celeste amante
Di vermiglie rugiade hà il crin stillante.

Hear the feeble and pitiful voice; open to
me, oh dear Bride, because your heavenly
lover has scarlet dew drops dripping from his
hair.

Compared to Marino's other spiritual *canzoni* considered so far, such as those on Seven Sorrows of Mary, this *canzone* for the Crown of Thorns is much more meditative in content as the speaker goes through a series of contemplation on the Crown of Thorns before turning their attention to their own spirituality. While there is clearly a sense of progression as the Crown of Thorns provokes various imageries that lead the speaker to

ultimately examine his consciousness, it is less dramatic in the sense that it does not aim to tell the narrative of the Passion or involve enactment of characters such as Virgin Mary. Instead, the Crown of Thorns serves as a vehicle that relates the Passion to other events and moments of time such as stories in the Old Testament and even a potential reference to Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*.

Marino's Crown of Thorns thus seems in line with the contemporary representation of *arma Christi* as featured in Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*. Like in the *Last Judgement*, Marino's Crown of Thorns not only reminds the readers of events in Christ's Passion but also speaks of how it exerts relevance in other Biblical passages and to the present. Its meditative content that seems to transcend time would have made it suitable as text for internal reflection and self-contained devotion by the devout, which probably explains the mostly monastic and confraternal context of its musical settings and the reason it is one text by Marino which continued to be used as a *lauda* text all the way up to year 1710.

Table 4.2 provides a list of composers (and date of publication) who set selected verses from 'Hor si che ben porrà dirsi la spina'. Trinciavelli, Dentice, and Natali all set different musical materials to each stanza, therefore making their setting more or less through-composed. Since a *canzonetta* does not have to follow a strict narrative, each stanza can be sung on its own, which allowed the freedom each composer took in choice of stanzas set to music.

Table 4.2: Stanzas listed in musical settings of ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina.’

Source	Trinciavelli (1620)	Dentice (1640)	Natali (1662)	Corona di Sacre Canzoni (1689)
Stanza	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 12 13	1 9	1 4 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

Trinciavelli’s *Musiche Spirituali* (1620)

Biographical information and literature about the composer Jacopo Trinciavelli is rather scarce, save for discussion of his *Musiche Spirituali* (1620), his only surviving printed output, as possible music used by the Benedictine order.³⁵⁹ The frontispiece of his *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) indicates that he hailed from Borgo à Buggiano di Valdimievole (Valdinievole) in Tuscany, near Florence (see **Figure 4.8**) According to Fétis, Trinciavelli was born there towards the end of the sixteenth century, went to Rome as a young boy to undertake his musical studies and was a cantor at San Giovanni Laterano in Rome around 1620, the year his *Musiche Spirituali* was published there.³⁶⁰ An eighteenth-century biographical note by Pitoni records that he was a Maestro di cappella of Madonna della Fonte Nova in Monsommano and lists two publications of his

³⁵⁹ See Ziane, *Amor divino*, 72. No entry related to Trinciavelli can be found in the *Grove Music Online* or the RILM (accessed online 16 Oct 2023).

³⁶⁰ François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, Tome 8 (Paris: 1865), 257.

music (now lost), a book of psalms (Florence: Zenobio Pignoni, 1618) and his Op. 3, the first book of concerti for 2, 3, and 4 voices (Venice: Vincenti, 1621).³⁶¹ If Pitoni is correct, then we can place his *Musiche Spirituali* to be his Op. 2. Trinciavelli's works seem to have been disseminated outside of Italy as well, as evidenced by the Dresden manuscript Mus. Pi 54 that contains Trinciavelli's 'Cantabo Domino' for 2 voices (Canto & Basso & b.c.), which was likely to have been included in one of the published works mentioned by Pitoni.³⁶²

Its frontispiece shows St Benedict receiving the Rule from Christ, while his preface dedicated to certain Padre Don Fenice da Fiorenza, Benedictine monk at the Abbey of Monte Cassino, reads as follows:

I would not have dared to publish these few musical compositions of mine, if you, the Most Reverend Father, who is so fond of this profession, had not heard them last year, when they were approved and commended here in our Church. Such judgment has assured me that I shall publish them under the shadow of his name, since at the same time they correspond in some way to the obligation I have to honor your virtue and courtesy; and proceeding as the work of a Protector, who will give it ornament, and will make a shield against those who would like to note it with sinister intentions: that the censure of the loving ones I shall never reject. I beg Your Excellency to appreciate the sincerity of my heart, and I kiss your hands. From Borgo à Buggiano on 20 of January 1620.³⁶³

³⁶¹ Giuseppe Ottavio Pitoni, *Notitia de' contrapuntisti e compositori di musica*, ed. Cesarino Ruini (Florence: Olschki, 1988), 240.

³⁶² The text drawn from the Psalm 103: 33 (Vulgate) seems fitting for his book of Psalms (1618) mentioned by Pitoni. The manuscript only has the basso continuo part and was likely written by several scribes around 1630-40. Trinciavelli's Cantabo Domino is item #56 on page 40 of the manuscript. See Wolfram Steude and Harald Kümmerlings, *Die Musiksammlhandschriften des 16. un 17. Jahrhunderts in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden: Unter Verwendung von Vorarbeiten Harald Kümmerlings im Auftrag der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek beschrieben von Wolfram Steude* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1974), 188-192.

³⁶³ In original Italian: 'Non haverei ardire di publicare questi miei pochi componimenti musicali, se della P.V.M.R. che tanto intende di tal professione, non fussero stati l'anno passato, quando gli udi qui nella nostra Chiesa approvati è commendati. Il qual giuditio m'hà assicurato à darli fuore, et à darli sotto l'ombra del suo nome, poi che nell'istesso tempo corrispondono in qual che modo all'obbligo, che hò di honorare la sua virtù, e cortesia; e provendo all'opera d'un Protettore, che le darà ornamento, e Farà scudo contra chi volesse notarla con sinistra intentione; che la censura degl'amorevoli non ricuserò io già mai. Prego in tanto V.P. a gradire la sincerità dell'animo, e le bacio le mani. Dal Borgo à Buggiano à Di 20 Di Gennaro 1620.'

Trinciavelli's note to Don Fenice, therefore, suggests that *Musiche Spirituali* had already been previously performed in a certain church with which they were both familiar. If we take information given by Pitoni and Fétis at a face value, both San Giovanni Laterano in Rome and Madonna della Fonte Nova in Monsommano would be possible places in which Trinciavelli might have been active as a musician around the time of publication of *Musiche Spirituali*.³⁶⁴ The latter (if not others around Tuscany), however, would have been a more likely location for the premier of *Musiche Spirituali* given its proximity to Borgo à Buggiano where he signed off his dedicatory letter.

The biographical details of Trinciavelli's dedicatee, Don Fenice da Fiorenza, remain obscure, but the Cassinese Congregation was a highly intellectual, reformed Benedictine order, founded in 1408 as the Congregation of Santa Giustina. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Cassinese monks were at the forefront of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew biblical scholarship, as well as soteriology.³⁶⁵ Even though the post-Tridentine Inquisition put them under tighter control, revoking them of the right to exercise their own internal discipline within their monasteries and marginalizing them in institutional terms, the Cassinese authors in the last decades of the sixteenth century – including Grillo, Felice Passero, Lucillo Martinengo, and Benedetto Dell'Uva – played a key role in establishing a new model of vernacular religious literature, both narrative and lyric.³⁶⁶ As Marino's spiritual lyric was deeply indebted to Grillo's model, Marino's *canzonetta* to Crown of Thorns would have equally resonated with the Cassinese spirituality of Trinciavelli's dedicatee.

³⁶⁴ As already noted by Ziane. See Ziane, *Amor divino*, 72.

³⁶⁵ Cox, 'Consenti,' 255-256.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.



Figure 4.8: Jacopo Trinciavelli, *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620), frontispiece.³⁶⁷

Text and contents of Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620)

The contents of Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* are detailed in **Table 4.3**. Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) uses texts in both *canzonetta* and *madrigale* forms, but not sonnets. All of its contents (except for the last one) are scored for Canto, Tenor, and basso continuo (i.e. Canto 1, Canto 2, Tenor, & b.c.) and composed as songs

³⁶⁷ Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, CC.47; microfilm n.:4810.

in binary (AB) form with optional repeats, regardless of the poetic form used for the lyrics. It therefore shares the same vocal scoring and basic musical structure as the Latin *tricina* for devotion (such as Mortaro's *Sacre Cantiones* [Venice: 1598]), as well as the genre of *canzonette spirituali* based on Marino and Grillo's text that appeared in the first decade of the seventeenth-century, including Agazzari's two books of *madrigaletti a tre voci* (Venice: Amadino, 1607), Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali a tre voci* (Venice: Vincenti, 1606), Tornioli's *Canzonette Spirituali a tre voci* (Venice: Gardano, 1607), and Simili's *Canzonette a tre voci* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1610).³⁶⁸ What distinguishes Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) from these early seventeenth-century *canzonette spirituali*, however, is the inclusion of a basso continuo part, bringing it closer to the other books of *Musiche* and spiritual songbooks (such as those by Cifra and Pace) in the second decade of the seventeenth century. The frontispiece specifies the vocal parts to be accompanied on any instrument ('Con il basso continuo per sonare in ogni sorte d'istrumento'), but the basso continuo part provided is nevertheless designated for organ (Basso d'Organo), possibly implying the original instrument with which these songs were accompanied when they were first 'approved and commended' in the church that Trinciavelli mentions in his dedicatory letter.

Trinciavelli's collection opens with 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina,' whose lyrics can be found in Marino's *La Lira* III, *Divozioni* (1614). Authorship of the rest of the texts are unknown. In terms of the subjects, the contents carefully follow the order of the liturgical calendar from Christ's Passion (Holy Week), Resurrection, Pentecoste, The

³⁶⁸ Robert Kendrick, 'Devotion, Piety and Commemoration: Sacred Songs and Oratorios,' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 332.

Most Holy Trinity, and the Corpus Christi.³⁶⁹ Of these, as is typical of other collections of spiritual songs, the subjects appropriate for the Passiontide take up more than half of the collection. This in fact closely follows the order and proportion of spiritual subjects in Marino's *La Lira* II and III - especially the *Divozioni* section - from which the Trinciavelli's *canzonetta* for the Crown of Thorns taken. Thematically, the contents cover subjects of last three of the Rosary's Sorrowful Mysteries (3. Crowning with Thorns, 4. Carrying the Cross, 5. Crucifixion), as well as its first three of the Glorious Mysteries (1. Resurrection, 2. Ascension, 3. Descent of the Holy Spirit).

There is a striking resemblance between Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* and Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Gardano, 1606) in subject matter and the way in which they are arranged, as both follow a quite similar scheme starting with the Crown of Thorns, Lance of Longinus, and Virgin Mary's lament. The two collections also carefully organize songs by their tonal centre, thus creating a sonical overall structure. Furthermore, both composers chose one of Marino's spiritual *canzoni* to create a nine-part song cycle that serves as the cornerstones of their respective collections, even using different texts on Crown of Thorns by Marino as the opening songs.

One can see further similarity between the two collections in terms of the way in which the tonal and harmonic arrangement contributes to a sense of organization and progression within them. As for Trinciavelli, songs for the Crown of Thorns and part of Christ's Passion, as well as those on events after the Resurrection (Songs 1-11 and 17-21) are set in soft hexachord (♭), while the most of the songs during Christ's Passion (Songs 12 – 16) are set in a natural hexachord. Moreover, the final tonality of the songs shifts stepwise from F (Songs 1-9), G (Songs 10-13), A (Songs 14-15), and G (Songs 16-21).

³⁶⁹ Ziane, *Amor divino*, 72

Considered as a whole, the tonal organization gives emphasis to Lament of Virgin Mary (14-15) as the high point (at least in terms of the register) of the collection – just as in Bianciardi's – reflecting it as the most poignant part of the Good Friday devotion.

Bianciardi's dedicatory letter in *Canzonette Spirituali* was signed in Venice on 1 January 1606 and Trinciavelli's likewise in Rome on 20 January, 1620, so the timing of the publication indicates that both composers must have indeed intended their music for the upcoming Lenten season (and beyond in Trinciavelli's case, up to Corpus Christi).³⁷⁰ Such pragmatic arrangement according to liturgy creates an interesting contrast to contemporary collections of devotional songs by Bonini, Cifra, Pace, Anerio, and Dentice, whose contents can all be traced down to subjects of feast days or events throughout the liturgical calendar but do not necessarily follow a chronological or otherwise programmatic order in their organization.³⁷¹

Also worth considering in relation to Trinciavelli's collection is Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Teatro Armonico Spirituale* (Rome: Robletti, 1619), which has an index listing its contents carefully according to the subjects of the feasts and Sunday according to the liturgical calendar from November to March, culminating in the Easter Sunday. His dedicatory letter is also signed 1 November 1619, so again this collection seems to reflect the composer's intention for the songs to be used in upcoming liturgical events. Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) was not only signed and (probably) published just a couple of months after Anerio's *Teatro Armonico Spirituale* but also covers lacuna in Anerio's collection by including a series of subjects lacking in Anerio's.

³⁷⁰ Neither collection contains songs related to the Nativity or Epiphany, as these feasts would have already passed by the time of their publication.

³⁷¹ Anerio's *Teatro Armonico Spirituale* (Rome: 1619) does, however, list songs in the chronological order of liturgical events they correspond to, even though songs themselves are not ordered chronologically or by category.

Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) therefore could have served to compliment printed books of devotional songs already circulating at the time by provide new materials (subjects) that were needed for the rest of the liturgical events.

Except for the opening song-cycle on Crown of Thorns and the concluding piece, each of Trinciavelli's song is explicitly addressed to specific dedicatees. They were presumably Trinciavelli's patrons or acquaintances (see **Table 4.3**). This is in line with the practice of other *Musiche* published around the same time, such as Claudio Saracini's *Secondo Libro* and *Terzo Libro di Musiche* (Venice: Vincenti, 1620), in which several songs were dedicated to people who were might have been close to the composer.³⁷² Little information about Trinciavelli's dedicatees has yet surfaced, but they seem to be an eclectic mix, including the physician Cosimo del Rosso ('Dottore di fisico'). As for Giovanni and Giuliano Orsucci, they may be related to Ottavio Orsucci, the author of the text for 'Queste pungenti spine' in Benedetto Ferrari's *Musiche Varie, Secondo Libro* and Angelo Orsucci, author of three spiritual poems ('Non vedete Pastori', 'Solo i Colli beati', and 'Vivo sì, mà non io') set to music in Domenico Mazzocchi's *Partitura di Madrigali a cinque voci* (Rome: Zanetti, 1638). The Orsuccis were a noble family from Lucca, and there was in fact another Angelo (a.k.a. Beato Angelo) Orsucci (1573-1622), who was a Dominican missionary and died as martyr in Japan.³⁷³ It is intriguing to ponder whether it was the same Angelo that wrote the text used by Mazzocchi. Orsucci family's prevalence in the context of devotional songs may therefore merit further research.

³⁷² In Saracini's *Secondo Libro* and *Terzo Libro*, for instance, songs are often dedicated to his family members or even to another composer, Claudio Monteverdi. See Chapter 3.

³⁷³ 'Orsucci, Angelo, beato,' *Treccani*, <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/orsucci-angelo-beato/> (accessed 2 November 2023). See also P. Lodovico Feretti, *Vita del Beato Angelo Orsucci O.P.* (Rome: Stab. Tipografico Riccardo Garroni, 1923).

Table 4.3: Content of Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620)

No.	Tonal system	Final	Text Incipit	Poetic form	Subject given in poetic text	Feast/ Liturgical Season	Concordance in Codice Ferrajoli 956	Dedicatee of Trinciavelli's setting
1	$\flat$	F	Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina	Canzonetta	Crown of Thorns	Holy Week	151v-152v	
2	$\flat$	F	In qual parte cogliesti					
3	$\flat$	F	Ahi che di quelle spine					
4	$\flat$	F	O che bella ghirlanda					
5	$\flat$	F	Ecco colà la vittima spinata					
6	$\flat$	F	Finga parnaso pur					
7	$\flat$	F	E ben viè più secondo					
8	$\flat$	F	Fra queste spine					
9	$\flat$	F	Odi la voce flebile					
10	$\flat$	G	Mira ò miser peccatore	Canzonetta	Exhortation of Sinners	Holy Week	153v	Giovanni Barli Pievano
11	$\flat$	Bb	Hoggi in croce trafitto	Canzonetta	Good Friday	Holy Week	154r	Cosimo del Rosso, 'Dottore fisico'
12		G	Cinto di fior	Madrigal	Christ's Passion	Holy Week	154v	Antonio Tozzini Sorgente
13		G	Lancia che nel bel seno	Madrigal	Lance of Longinus	Holy Week	154v	Giovanni & Giuliano Orsucci

Table 4.3: Content of Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) (continued)

14		A	Con voce humil sospira	Madrigal	Virgin Mary's Lament	Holy Week	155r	Nicolo Fiorini
15		A	Semiviva rivolge	Madrigal	Virgin Mary's Lament	Holy Week	155r	Matteo Vincenteschi
16		G	Lode preghiere voti	Madrigal	Resurrection	Easter	155v	Sig. Pierantonio
17	$\flat$	F	Ecco chi in alto ascende	Canzonetta	Resurrection	Easter	156v	Giovan Lorenzo Pellegrino
18	$\flat$	G	Vieni spirto creatore	Canzonetta	Holy Spirit	Pentecoste	157r	Pietro Pavolo & Rinaldo Ghelsi
19	$\flat$	G	Tù che trino in unita	Canzonetta	Holy Trinity	Trinity	158r	Carlo Carli
20	$\flat$	G	Dhe contempla ò peccatore	Canzonetta	Sacrament of Eucharist	Corpus Christi	148v	Stefano Miniati
21	$\flat$	G	O spirito dal Ciel	Canzonetta	Holy Spirit	Pentecoste	157v	

Codice Ferrajoli 956

Texts used in Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) are identical to the ones found in the Vatican Library, Codice Ferrajoli 956, fol. 148-158, where they appear almost in the same order as well (except for Nos 20 and 21). The library catalogue describes texts in fol. 106-165 as vernacular interpretations of hymns in Roman Breviary, and this seems to ring true for the majority of the rest of the codex, as evidenced by a copy of *Rime del Reverendo Messer Giuseppe Nozzoli al Cavalier Belisario Vinta* (p. Philippi Giunta, 1592) in fol. 19-104, which contains two tables of contents (fol. 20-23) that are organised respectively by incipits of the texts and the Latin hymns to which they correspond.³⁷⁴ Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* may thus have been used in a manner similar to that of an antiphoner, which indicated music to be sung according to the order of the Roman Breviary. As discussed later, other musical settings on Marino's *canzonetta* for the Crown of Thorns were sung either by religious orders or in monastery, which is a further indication of Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* being used in monastic settings – possibly in a Benedictine context as indicated by both its frontispiece and preface – according to the liturgical calendar.

The subject of Crown of Thorns also occupies a significant place in Codice Ferrajoli 956 fol. 106-165. There are in fact two *canzoni* addressed to the Crown of Thorns, together making up the most numerous stanzas (27 total) addressed to a particular subject. The first *canzonetta*, 'Non già Rose, e Viole' (fol 150r-151r, 18 stanzas), by an unknown author is followed by Marino's 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina' (fol 151v-152v, 9 stanzas). While both *canzonette* are similar in poetic structure by having identical

³⁷⁴ Francesco Luigi Berra, *Codices Ferrajoli III: Codices 737-977*, (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: 1960), 525-529.

number of lines (four lines) in each stanza, the latter is denoted as written by ‘another author’ (‘Segue: ma pero d’altro Autore’), thus clarifying the different authorship for two *canzonette*. The version of Marino’s ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina’ in Codice Ferrajoli 956 has only nine stanzas (Stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13) out of the 13 stanzas printed in the third part of *La Lira* (1614), with a slight variant of Stanza 12.³⁷⁵

Thus, the sizable portion of textual space that the Crown of Thorns occupies in Trinciavelli’s *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) also carries over from Codice Ferrajoli 956, which most likely served as the textual source for the former. Notable here is his choice of setting Marino’s text, rather than the preceding *canzonetta* by unknown author on the Crown of Thorns. Regardless of whether Trinciavelli was aware of Marino’s authorship, Trinciavelli nevertheless continued on the trajectory of Tuscan composers - such as Bianciardi and Bonini - to give preference to Marino’s texts for musical settings.

Codice Ferrajoli 956 fol. 106-165 also includes two texts found in Ottavio Rinuccini’s *Poesie* (Florence: I Giunti, 1622): ‘Armò la destra mia fervido zel’ (*S. Ludovico Re di Francia*) (fol. 164v) and ‘Sprezzai scetro Roman, germe d’Egitto’ (Di S. Caterina V. et M.) (fol. 165r-v). These texts seem to bring Codice Ferrajoli 956 closer to the Franco-Florentine court that fostered literary outputs of both Rinuccini and Marino. Not only Rinuccini’s *L’Euridice*, included in his *Poesie*, was written for the marriage of King Henry IV of France and Maria de Medici, but also Marino was in service of the French court (1615-1623) under Maria de Medici while he completed his *L’Adone* (1623). Not surprisingly, both Rinuccini’s *Poesie* and Marino’s *L’Adone* were dedicated to their son, Louis XIII, King of France and Navarra, who ascended to the French royal

³⁷⁵ Codice Ferrajoli 956 has as verse 1 of Stanza 12 ‘Frà queste spine, ond’ei la fronte intorno’ as opposed to ‘Trà queste Spine, ond’ei le tempie intorno’ in Marino’s *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*.

throne once held by Saint Louis (Louis IX) of France. This could explain the emphasis given to the subject of the Crown of Thorns – including the text by Marino - in both the Codice Ferrajoli and Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali*, as St Louis of France (Louis IX) was the one who purchased the Crown of Thorns from Constantinople, had it brought to France as the holy relic, and built Sainte-Chapelle to house it.

The exact dating of Codice Ferrajoli 956 is unclear, but inclusion of a book published in 1592 and the back binding showing an engraving (which shows St Francis of Assisi holding a Medici coat of arms) dated 1620 is an indication that dates of Fol. 148-158 could fall somewhere between 1592 and 1620. This seems reasonable assuming texts in fol. 148-165 should predate publication of Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) and Rinuccini's *Poesie* (1622). Marino's 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina' was first published in *Divozioni* section of *La Lira* III (1614), so it is possible that the scribe of Codice Ferrajoli 956 either excerpted from the published version or was even working from the version circulating in manuscript that was later expanded into a 13-stanza version in print.

While Trinciavelli's follows the order of Codice Ferrajoli 956 closely, the *canzonetta* 'Dhe contempla ò peccatore' is an exception. This text is addressed to the Sacrement of Eucharist and comes before the ones addressed to subjects drawn from Holy Week in Codice Ferrajoli 956, but Trinciavelli places it towards the end of *Musiche Spirituali* after 'Vieni spirto creatore' and 'Tù che trino in unita,' texts addressed respectively to Holy Spirit (Pentecoste) and Holy Trinity. He therefore must have intended the text of 'Dhe contempla ò peccatore' and its musical setting for the feast of

Corpus Christi, for which a text addressed to the Sacrement of Eucharist would have been appropriate.

Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali*: musical style

As usual in vernacular songs, the textual form influences the musical style in Trinciavelli's songs. Nos. 1-9, 10-11, 17-21 are based on multi-stanza *canzonetta* and thus strophic (except nos. 1-9 which use different musical materials for each stanza). Nos. 12-16 based on madrigal text are through-composed and more elaborate in style, although even these madrigal texts are set as bi-partite songs with optional repeats, effectively making them musical *canzonette*. Some songs are grouped together thematically, such as nos. 14-15 based on Virgin Mary's lament by the cross and nos. 16-17 based on the Resurrection.³⁷⁶

The opening nine-part *canzonetta* for Crown of Thorns is clearly the central piece, as it is the unique item in the collection that forms a song-cycle, with distinct musical material for each stanza of its *canzonetta* text. By placing the the Crown of Thorns at the heart of his *Musiche Spirituali*, Trinciavelli is building on its rich devotional legacy that went back to the thirteenth century. It therefore assumes at the same time a similar status as the famous Vergine Bella cycles by Rore and other composers.

Contrary to other song-cycles based on Marino's spiritual *canzonette*, such as Bianciardi's 'Sola fra suoi piu cari,' Trinciavelli's cycle maintains a tonal homogeneity by staying in the same tonal centre of F (major) throughout all the stanzas. Stanzas are divided into two equal sections (A and B) corresponding to verses 1,2 and 3, 4 (with 11-7-7-11 syllables) respectively. Trinciavelli maintains musical interest by varying

³⁷⁶ Texts of Songs 14-15 are identical in metric form, so they might have been conceived as parts of the text that made up the same subject in the original context, e.g. possibly stanzas from a same *canzonetta*.

imitative and chordal textures in duple metre (**Examples 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5**) but occasionally employs purely chordal texture in triple metre for declamation, such as at the beginning of B-section in ‘Finga parnaso pur’ and ‘Quasi serpenti e mostri’ in ‘Fra queste spine’ (**Example 4.6**). While Trinciavelli shuns obvious and all too graphic word-painting, there are cases in which music seems to reflect the exclamation or text’s imagery, such as the beginning of the 3rd stanza where the exclamation ‘Ahi?’ is separated from the rest of the verse by a rest, or melisma on the word ‘spinata’ (‘pierced’) in ‘Ecco colà la vittima spinata’ (**Example 4.7**) or ‘intorno’ (‘around’) in ‘Fra queste spine’ (**Example 4.8**).

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Fra queste spine' by Trinciavelli. It consists of four staves: Canto 1, Canto 2, Basso, and Basso d'Organo. The music is in C major (one flat) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are in Italian. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a melisma on 'spinata'. The second system shows a repeat of the first system with a melisma on 'spinata'.

System 1:

- Canto 1:** Hor si che ben po - trà dir - si la spi - na delle
- Canto 2:** Hor si che ben po - trà dir - si la spi -
- Basso:** Hor si che ben po-trà dir - si la spi - na delle
- Basso d'Organo:** (Accompaniment with figures 6, 3, 6)

System 2:

- Canto 1:** pian - te Re - i - na Poi che di si bei fre - gi In co-ro-na la chioma
- Canto 2:** na delle piante Re - i - na Poi che di si bei fre - gi In co-ro-na la
- Basso:** pian - te Re - i - na Poi che di si bei fre - gi In co-
- Basso d'Organo:** (Accompaniment with figure 6)

11

In co-ro-na la chioma In co-ro-na la chioma al Rè de Re - gi.

chioma In co-ro-na la chioma In co-ro-na la chioma al Rè de Re - gi.

ro-na la chioma In co-ro-na la chioma al Rè de Re - gi.

4

Example 4.3: Jacopo Trinciavelli, 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina,' *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620), no. 1.

Canto 1

In qual par - te coglies - ti ò Rè

Canto 2

In qual par - te coglies - ti ò

Basso

In qual par-te coglies - ti ò

Basso d'Organo

6 6

4

ò Rè ò Rè do - len - te Quel ser - t'aspre è pungen -

Rè ò Rè do - len - te Quel sert'aspre è pungen -

Rè ò Rè do - len - te Quel ser - t'as - pre è pungen -

6 6 6 # 6 6 4

Example 4.4: Trinciavelli, 'In qual parte cogliesti, ò Re dolente,' *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620), no. 2, incipit.

Canto 1
Ah? che di quel - le spine on-de fe-con --da per me la

Canto 2
Ah? che di quel - le spine on-de fe-con --da per me la

Basso
Ah? che di quel - le spine on-de fe-con --da

Basso d'Organo

Example 4.5: Trinciavelli, ‘ Ah, che di quelle spine onde feconda,’ *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620), no. 3, incipit.

Canto 1
Ec-co co-là la vit - tima spi - na - ta la vit - tima spi -

Canto 2
Ec-co co-là la vit - tima spi - na - ta la

Basso

Basso d'Organo

na - ta Ad Ab-ra-ham Ad

vit - tima spi - na - ta Ad Ab-ra-ham Ad

Ad Ab-ra-ham Ad Ab-ra-ham

6 b

Example 4.6: Trinciavelli, ‘ Ecco colà la vittima spinata,’ *Musiche Spirituali* (Rome: Soldi, 1620), no. 5, incipit.

First system of the musical score. It features four staves: Canto 1, Canto 2, Basso, and Basso d'Organo. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics for Canto 1 and Canto 2 are: "Frà queste spine, on - d'ei la fronte in - tor -". The Basso part has the lyrics: "Frà queste spine, on - d'ei la fron - te in -". The Basso d'Organo part has a figured bass line with the figures 6, 6, 6.

Second system of the musical score. It features four staves. The lyrics for Canto 1 and Canto 2 are: "- no V à fie - ra - men - te a -". The Basso part has the lyrics: "- no V à fieramen - te a - dor - no, V à fieramente a -". The Basso d'Organo part has the lyrics: "tor - - no V à fieramen - te ador - no V à fier - men - te a -". The Basso d'Organo part has a figured bass line with the figures 6, 6, 6.

Third system of the musical score. It features four staves. The lyrics for Canto 1 and Canto 2 are: "dor - no, Qua - si ser - pen - ti mo - stri Va - din' à ricou -". The Basso part has the lyrics: "dor - no, Qua - si ser - pen - ti mo - stri Va - din' à ricourar - si i". The Basso d'Organo part has the lyrics: "dor - no Qua - si ser - pen - ti, e mo - stri Va - din' à ricourar - si i". The Basso d'Organo part has a figured bass line with the figures 6, 6, 6.

Example 4.7: Trinciavelli, 'Fra queste spine, ond'ei la fronte intorno,'

Musiche Spirituali (Rome: Soldi, 1620), no. 8, bars 1-14.

One could likewise observe similar variety of textures, metres, and word painting for the rest of the collection, such as the rising melisma on the word ‘ascende’ (‘ascends’) in Cantos 1 & 2 that mirrors the meaning of the text in ‘Ecco ch’n alto ascende’ for the Resurrection (**Example 4.8**). Items nos. 11 and 21, however, are both purely in triple metre and chordal texture throughout, and generally more in style of the *laude* sung by the Florentine confraternities at the time (**Example 4.9**).³⁷⁷ Songs nos 10 and 18-21 are also quite similar to each other in tonality and texture, having tonal centre of G (minor) and being mostly chordal. This is not surprising, considering their texts are based on subjects such as extortions of sinners or invocation of the Holy Trinity that lend themselves more declamatory in nature. While the texts of songs 18 and 21 invoking the Holy Spirit are placed next to each other in Codice Ferrajoli 956, they are composed as independent songs and placed in different parts of *Musiche Spirituaili* (1620), probably because the latter text ‘O Spirito dal Ciel,’ ends with a 10-syllable verse and becomes uneven with the rest that consists of 8-syllable verses. However, this is at the expense of rather awkwardly disrupting the organization of the contents according to liturgical order, as the song appropriate for the Corpus Christi, the last major feast, is followed by another song for the Pentecoste.

³⁷⁷ Eyolf Østrem and Nils Holger Peterson, *Medieval Ritual and Early Modern Music: the Devotional Practice of Lauda Singing in Late-Renaissance Italy* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 165-199.

Al sig. Giovan Lorenzo Pellegrino

Canto 1
Ec - co ch'i-n'al - to as - cen - - -

Canto 2
Ec - co ch'i-n'al - to as - cen - - -

Basso
Ec - co ch'i-n'al - to as -

Basso
d'Organo

3.
de chila vi - ta ci rende chila vi - - ta ci ren -

de chila vi - ta ci rende chila vi - ta ci rende chila vi - ta ci ren -

cen - de chila vi - ta ci rende chila vi - - ta ci ren -

2.
de E glori-o-so torna in human ve - lo A render lie - to

de E glori-o-so torna in human ve - lo A render lie - to

de E glori-o-so torna in human ve - lo A render lie - to

2
13

A render lie - to di sua vista il cie - lo di sua vista il cie - lo.

A render lie - to di sua vista il cie - lo di sua vista il cie - lo.

A render lie - to di sua vista il cie - lo di sua vista il cie - lo.

A render lie - to di sua vista il cie - lo di sua vista il cie - lo.

Example 4.8: Trinciavelli, ‘Ecco ch’n alto ascende,’

Musiche Spirituali (Rome: Soldi, 1620), no. 17.

Canto 1

O Spirito dal ciel discendi-ne, E petto accen-dine de tuoi più

O Spirito dal ciel discendi-ne, E petto accendi-ne de tuoi più

car che te-pidi nel santo a-mor Aspettan tre - pi-di nel tuo splendor.

car che te-pidi nel san-to amor Aspettan tre-pi - di nel tuo splen - dor.

Example 4.9: Trinciavelli, ‘O Spirito dal ciel,’

Musiche Spirituali (Rome: Soldi, 1620), no. 21.

Sogns for the Crown of Thorns in the Oratorian services in Naples

At least a couple of songs for Crown of Thorns are found in two of Scipione Dentice's books of spiritual madrigals: Barco's 'Tante pungenti spine,' in *Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro primo* (Naples: 1629) and Marino's 'Hor si che ben potrai dirsi la spina' in his posthumous *Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, libro secondo* (Naples: Beltrano, 1640). In the former text, the thorns not only represent sufferings of Christ but also become associated with roses (which could ultimately invoke the Rosary itself), whose vermilion colors are equated with those of Christ's blood dripping from his head.

Bartolomeo Barco, *Madrigali* (1604)³⁷⁸

Della corona di spine di Christo

Of Christ's crown of thorns

Tante pungenti spine
Ad una rosa come intorno stanno,
Quante tra il vago crine
Gocce di sangue vedi,
Tante Rosette chiedi,
Havendole, dirai
Un rosaio trovai.

There are as many stinging thorns
around a rose as the drops of blood
you see among the fair hair and the
Rosettes you ask; having them, you
will say, 'I found a rosebush.'

Unfortunately, only the Quinto part survives for Dentice's 'Hor si che ben potrai dirsi la spina.'³⁷⁹ Even on the basis of such fragmented surviving source, one can recognise his use of repetition of verses in each stanza and a hint of chromaticism at the end of 'A quelle sanguinose e belle' (**Examples 4.10** and **4.11**). Dentice's choice of stanzas 1 and 9 focuses on the glory of the Crown of Thorns – rather than as a reminder

³⁷⁸ This text is also found in *Le Muse Sacre* (Venice: Pulchiata, 1608) and *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Sacre* (Venice: Pinelli, 1616), along with most of Marino's sacred lyrics. These are the likely sources Dentice would have used, as majority of texts used by him are drawn from them. See Chapter 1.

³⁷⁹ For clarification on the songs that would have been contained in *Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, Libro Secondo* (Naples: Ottavio Beltrano 1640), See Lynn Wood Martin, 'Scipione Dentice: A Neapolitan Contemporary of Gesualdo,' *Studi Musicali*, Anno X, no. 2 (1981): 221-223.

of one's sins – which is in contrast to songs in a more penitential vein such as Michi's cantata on the Crown of Thorns. Therefore, Martin's observation that texts chosen by Dentice seem to bring out more positive outlook on the subjects might ring true at least for the subject of Crown of Thorns.³⁸⁰



Example 4.10: Scipione Dentice, ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina,’ *Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, Libro Secondo* (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 8, Quinto part.³⁸¹

³⁸⁰ Lynn Wood Martin, ‘Scipione Dentice in the Neapolitan School’ (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1978), 139.

³⁸¹ Image courtesy of the Library of Congress (Washington D.C.), Music Division, US-Wc, M1490.D62; <https://www.loc.gov/item/2008564918/>, public domain.

QVINTO. Nell'istesso soggetto. 17

A

Quelle punte sanguinose, e belle, ii.

sanguinose, e bel le; Hanno inuidia le stelle; E

teco brama è vole ii. la corona de'rai ii.

Cangiar cangiare il Sole cangiare il So le;

E teco brama, e vole ii. La corona de'rai, can-

giare il Sole; cangiare il Sole.

Example 4.11: Dentice, 'A quelle punte sanguinose e belle,' *Madrigali Spirituali a cinque voci, Libro Secondo* (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 9, Quinto part.³⁸²

³⁸² Ibid.

Pompeo Natali's *Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali* (Rome: Fei, 1662)

Like Scipione Dentice, Pompeo Natali was both a priest and musician. After serving as a *maestro di cappella* and organist of Tivoli Cathedral from December 1651 to December 1652, he became a chaplain and *maestro di cappella* of Santa Maria Maggiore, where he founded a music school with great reputation. Among his compositional outputs, he is noted for two volumes of *solfeggi*, which possibly originated as teaching material in his school as well as his books of madrigals and motet.³⁸³

Natali published his *Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali e Morali* (Rome: 1662), whose title is reminiscent of Severo Bonini's *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (Florence: 1607) many decades earlier. Natali's *Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali* is dedicated to Cardinal Marcello Santacroce, who was a bishop of Tivoli and to whom Natali worked for (presumably during his post at the Tivoli Cathedral in 1651-1652).³⁸⁴ Cardinal Santacroce seems to have been a patron of instrumental music as well, as a piece is dedicated to him in Domenico Pellegrini's *Armoniosi Concerti sopra la Chitarra Spagnuola* (Bologna, Giacomo Monti, 1650) for 5-course guitar, in which he is Vice-Legate of Bologna.³⁸⁵ The text draws poets such as Marino, Pietro Petracchi, Begnini, Rospigliosi and Anello Sarriano, thereby incorporating texts by poets of both older and newer generations.³⁸⁶

³⁸³ Argia Bertini, 'Natali (Natale), Pompeo,' *Grove Music Online*, published online 2001, accessed 3 November, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.19598>.

³⁸⁴ Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori, *Annali della stampa musicale romana dei secoli XVI-XVIII : ricerca storica, bibliografica e archivistica*, Vol. 2 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2022), 168.

³⁸⁵ Domenico Pellegrini, 'Toccata prima,' in *Armoniosi Concerti sopra la Chitarra Spagnuola* (Bologna, Giacomo Monti, 1650), 27.

³⁸⁶ Petracchi's text, 'Piangete occhi miei lassi' is from his *Madrigali* (1604), with a slight modification in Natali's text ('Di colei, che s'indura al mio dolore' in the original is changed to 'Di Giesù che si plachi al mio dolore') and Marino's 'Hor si che ben potrai dirsi,' from *La Lira* (1614), while Sarriano's texts were being taken up by composers such as Caputi (1640), Sabbatini (1657), Natali, and Nascimbeni (1674). For discussion of Sarriano's spiritual texts found in Nascimbeni's *Canzoni e Madrigali Morali e Spirituali*

Natali's musical setting of 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina' is a duet and a typical mid-seventeenth-century chamber cantata for Alto and Tenor, set in triple metre. The stanzas 1-4-9-10-11-1 are weaved together seamlessly to create a musical structure of ABCA, which has a characteristic of an *aria da capo* that repeats the first musical material at the end. Compared to other settings of the same text, there seems to be more emphasis on the melodic interest than on maintaining integrity to the poetic structure. For instance, the opening verse 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina,' whose incipit ('Hor si') is given emphasis by being interrupted by a rest and repeated, becomes melodically embellished at the second statement (**Example 4.12**). The highest points in both vocal parts occur at the word 'Re' ('King') in the fourth verse of the first stanza. There is a reprise at the ends of stanza 9 and the repeated stanza 1, which is noted as *piano* in the basso continuo part and therefore creates an effect of an echo (**Example 4.13**).

The musical score is written for three parts: Alto (top staff), Tenor (middle staff), and Basso Continuo (bottom staff). The time signature is 3/2. The lyrics are: "Hor si hor si che ben potrà dir-si la spi-na de le Piante Re - i - na hor si hor si che ben potrà dir-si la". The score includes measure numbers 43, 56, and 43, indicating a repeat structure. The Alto and Tenor parts have a melodic line with some rests, while the Basso Continuo part provides a harmonic foundation with a repeating pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes.

(Ancona: Claudio Percimineo, 1674), see Lucia Fava, 'Da "sirena" ad "angeletta": Marian Francesca Nascimbeni e la sua raccolta di Canzoni e madrigali morali e spirituali (1674),' *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* N. 57 (2022): 37-106.

14
8 spi-na de le pia-nte Re - i - na

8 spi-na de le pia-nte Re - i - na Poi che di si bei fre-gi In-co-

56 43 6 76 56

21
8 Poi

8 ro-na la chioma In-co-ro-na la chioma al Rè de' Re - gi

6 56 # 6 43

Example 4.12: Natali, 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina,'

Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali e Morali (Rome: Fei, 1662), no. 2, opening.

179
8 chio-ma al Rè de' Re - gi In-co-

8 In-co-ro-na la chio-ma In-co-

b 43 65

185
8 ro-na la chioma al Rè de' Re - gi al Rè de' Re - gi

8 ro-na la chioma al Rè de' Re - gi al Rè de' Re - gi

65 # 87 65 7 43 piano 87 65 7 43

Example 4.13: Natali, 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina,' ending.

While Natali's *Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali e Morali* is scored for Alto, Tenor, and Bass, he provides following instruction on how to transpose the songs so that they can be sung by higher voices as well:

At the end of the Basso Continuo, another Bass has been placed for the convenience of the Organist, so that those Madrigals, or *Canzoni*, which are for even voices,³⁸⁷ can be sung by two Sopranos and a Contralto: that is to say, the Contralto will serve as First Soprano, the Tenor as Second Soprano, and the Bass as Alto; and in this way they will also be suitable for Nuns' Monasteries. Also placed at the beginning of *Madrigali*, and even-voiced *Canzoni* is another Key with a single note, to indicate which voices the Singer has to take, as if one were to sing in that same key, reading however as one reads in that even-voiced key, which is sung. Live happily.³⁸⁸

Natali's instruction, which shows his pedagogical side as evident from his involvement with music school at Santa Maria Maggiore and two published books on *solfeggi*, is notable for two reasons. First, it indicates that these songs (and their texts) would have been appropriate and intended for nun's monastery. Second, he uses the word Contralto rather than the Alto that is used in the part-book itself, which may indicate that these songs were initially scored specifically for a group of male singers, such as monks or members of confraternity. Natali's *Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali e Morali* therefore gives us a glimpse of poetry and music that would have been used in monastery or in lay community in the mid-seventeenth century.

³⁸⁷ It is not clear exactly what he meant by 'even voices' ('voci pari'), but since some of the songs are already scored for Canto parts in Soprano clef and do have additional key indicated, he means those songs which are scored originally for Alto, Tenor, and/or Bass.

³⁸⁸ In original Italian: 'Si è posto nel fine del Basso Continuo, un'altro Basso trasportato per commodità dell'Organista, acciò quelli Madrigali, ò Canzoni, che sono à voci pari, si possino cantare à due Soprani, e Contralto: cioè, il Contralto servirà per Primo Soprano, il Tenore per Secondo Soprano, & il Basso per Contralto; E così saranno anco à proposito per Monasteri di Monache. Si pone anco nel Principio de' Madrigali, e Canzoni à Voci pari un'altra Chiave con una sol nota, per significare, che voci habbia à pigliare il Cantore, come se cantaße per quell'istessa Chiave, leggendo però come si legge in quella Chiave à voci pari, che si canta. Vivi felice.'

A number of songs in Natali use texts that have been previously set by other composers, and at the same time a couple of texts – Marino’s ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina’ and Sarriano’s ‘Apri gli occhi sú sú’ – also appeared later in *Corona di Sacre Canzoni* (1689 and 1710). Thus, Natali’s collection is an indication that existing printed music of sacred songs might have had a role to play in preserving and disseminating certain spiritual texts, so that they continued to be in use in lay practices such as the *lauda* singing, as discussed below.

Late-seventeenth century Florentine *lauda*: *Corona di Sacre Canzoni* (1689, 1710)

The latest sources containing ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina’ in entirety to be sung on a simple melody line is the two later editions of a series of *Corona di sacre canzoni o laude spirituali di più devoti autori* that appeared in 1675, 1689, and 1710 for the Congregation of Giesù Salvatore in Florence. According to Østrem, they were the last editorial project in the seventeenth-century Florentine *lauda* printing that carried on from the *Scelta di Laudi Spirituali* (Florence: Giuducci) series that were published there between 1614 and 1670.³⁸⁹

The *Corona di Sacre Canzoni* series are organized in such a way that the texts on different devotional subjects are grouped together according to their metric scheme and can be sung to the same melody.³⁹⁰ The melody used was taken from both new popular song tunes known at the time, so that those who were not musically trained could also

³⁸⁹ Østrem, et al., *Medieval Ritual*, 179.

³⁹⁰ The titles and incipits of the texts appearing along ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina’ are: Peccatore, che di Nuovo torna a Dio, ‘Mentre’n grazia d’Iddio felice stava’ (4 stanzas in total); DIO AL PECCATORE, Alma, che di splendor vinci ogni Stella (7 stanzas in total); IMPROPERII Popule meus quid feci tibi, ‘Deh, che potuto hò in te commetter tanto’ (13 stanzas in total); LACCI DEL MONDO, ‘Dolce Giesù mio solo, e vero bene’ (8 stanzas in total); and ALLA CORONA DI SPINE, ‘Or si che ben potrà dirsi la Spina. See *Sacre Corona di Canzoni Spirituali* (1689), pages 284-291.

sing along without relying on having to read music.³⁹¹ To make things even more pragmatic, these editions provided readers with index of both laudi texts and the names of popular melodies used (such as Minuet, Spagnoletta, Ruggiero, etc.), therefore reflecting the care that the lay community took in disseminating devotional *lauda* singing in the late seventeenth century and well into the turn of the eighteenth-century.

In *Corona di Sacre Canzoni*, the melody lines are written for a low voice such as a tenor, indicating its specific intention to be sung by male voices, which echoes scoring of Natali's setting and its necessity for transposition to be sung by female voices. Just like Trinciavelli's setting, the melody for 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina' divides the stanza into two parts (first and second parts containing Verse 1-2 and then 3-4, respectively) with repeat (**Example 4.14**). The same rhythmic pattern (minim, crotchet, crotchet, minim minim) is used for verses 1-2 and 4. While the textual metre of each stanza is symmetrical (Verses 1-4 consisting of 11-7-7-11 syllables, respectively), the melody structure is interestingly asymmetric, with the first part (Verses 1-2) being nine bars long while the second part (Verses 3-4) ten. There is also a harmonic change in the Verse 3 (bars 10-14) into a C-major harmony, which shifts away temporarily from the tonality centred around F; so the melody carries with it considerable rhythmic and harmonic interest despite its deceptively simple appearance.

³⁹¹ See Østrem, et al, *Medieval Ritual*, 180. The index of musical melody used in the 1689 edition reads: Tavola dell'Arie antiche, e moderne, che si son potute descrivere sotto i Nomi noti al volgo. / Si è messo questa Tavola per maggior facilità di queglii, che non intendono le Note, e sanno tuttavia cantar le Arie sotto i nomi più volgari. Curiously, there is no indication of the melody that is being used for 'Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina.'



Example 4.14: ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina,’

Corona di Sacre Canzoni (Florence: 1689).

At the very last page of the book after the index in *Corona di Sacre Canzoni* (1689), there is a picture of St Louis of France. As we have seen, Codice Ferrajoli 956 included Ottavio Rinuccini’s text in praise of St Louis of France and later dedicated to Louis XIII, as well as Marino’s ‘Hor si che ben potrà dirsi la spina.’ Thus, *Corona di Sacre Canzoni*, with its title and inclusion of *canzonetta* on Marino’s Crown of Thorns, could also look encomiastic to the French Kingship, by then being led by Louis XIV. (See **Figure 4.9**).



Figure 4.9: Illustration of St Louis of France from *Corona di Sacre Canzoni* (1689), accessed digitally on 22 November, 2023. Digital reproduction courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München.

Conclusion to Chapter 4

Several sources of devotional music featured songs to the Crown of Thorns, many of which would have been sung in oratories, monasteries, or even among confraternities. Musical sources by Francesco Bianciardi, Antonio Cifra, and Jacopo Trinciavelli treat two of the *arma Christi*: the Crown of Thorns and the Lance of Longinus. The former stands out as the single *arma Christi* most frequently taken up as the subject of the devotional music, and lyrics invoked multi-faceted meditations as both an instrument used to torture Christ and a sign of Christ's sacral kingship.

The strong presence of the Crown of Thorns might partly be explained by the long musical tradition dating back to the liturgy for the Crown of Thorns established in the Sainte-Chapelle in the thirteenth century. However, proximity of texts used by Trinciavelli and Ottavio Rinuccini's poems dedicated to the French Kingship in Codex Ferrajoli 956, as well as *Corona di Sacre Canzoni* (1689)'s appearance as encomiastic to the same monarch, also hints at the possible French influence (either political, social, or ecclesiastical) to the devotional practices around Tuscany, especially given the close political relationship between French monarch and Medici in the early-seventeenth century. Thus, the Franco-Florentine relationship in the early-seventeenth century might also explain widespread musical devotion to the Crown of Thorns, as well as its central position in Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali*, as author of text, Marino had already been active at the French court by the time Trinciavelli published his *Musiche Spirituali*.

Situating Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* among the contemporary devotional music, it is one of the rare sources that features the Crown of Thorns as the central subject, while carefully ordering the subjects of its songs according to the feasts of the

liturgical calendar. Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali*, crowned with Marino's *canzone*, demonstrates how the Crown of Thorns serves as a key element that embellishes devotion to Christ's passion. Marino's 'Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la spina,' with its intensely imaginative and meditative text, combined with Trinciavelli's musical elaboration of it, sets another benchmark for us to engage with and explore the rich garden of devotional music of the early-seventeenth century.

Chapter V

Christ's Spiritual Lovers: Sts Francis of Assisi, Mary Magdalene, and Lawrence

Previous chapters showed Marino's Virgin Mary cast as a forsaken heroin and crucified Christ with Crown of Thorns as a wounded Lover. Marino renders Christ's love for humanity as the cause of his wounds, and the devotees are to see them as visual and physical manifestations of his heavenly Love. But how are the worshippers to respond? The three saints that were especially popular in literature, artwork, and in music around the turn of the seventeenth century and its first decades—Sts Francis of Assisi, Mary, Magdalene, and Lawrence—seem to offer ideal models as followers of Christ due to their common trait as his spiritual Lovers. Sts Francis and Mary Magdalene were both represented as sharing a mutual love with Christ, being both the one who wounds and the one wounded by him. St Lawrence's martyrdom on the fire offered a visually vivid set of imagery of a saint who was willing to sacrifice himself for the love of Christ.

This chapter explores the relationship between hagiography, lyrical poetry, and music concerning these three saints, as Marino's poems addressed to them all enjoyed wide and diverse musical adaptations. St Francis is by far the most popular saint within vernacular songs, and I will first trace the widespread dissemination and exegesis of Marino's poetry addressed to him to illustrate how music from several sources cast him as Christ's beloved stigmatization. St Francis as a victim of heavenly archer emerges in both poetry and music, and this love-war topos involving exchanges of Love's arrows is extended to Mary Magdalene, who also became the beloved Lover of Christ through her

penitence. Finally, the concept of Love's spiritual fire ignites St Lawrence in his martyrdom, which renews and immortalizes him, and musicians were keen to aurally invoke it in their songs. Contextualizing musical settings of Marino's poetry also illuminate potential roles that devotional paintings and patronage might have played in inspiring specifically 'musical' representation of these three saints.

Marino's madrigals to St Francis of Assisi: background and literary dissemination

The founder of the Friars Minor (OFM), St Francis of Assisi (d. 3. October, 1226) was an influential figure in the Catholic Church during the Middle ages. Soon after his death, many authoritative hagiographical accounts stemmed from the members of his order.³⁹² In the sixteenth century, following the Council of Trent, devotion to St Francis gained a particular prominence in literature and visual arts, especially with declaration by Pope Sixtus V (himself a former Franciscan) of St Bonaventura as the Doctor of Church in 1588 in recognition of his prolific spiritual and theological writings. A new edition of his complete works, *Opera diligentissime emendata* appeared in Rome in six volumes between 1588 and 1596. His writing on St Francis proved particularly popular: In its Italian translation as *Vita ed costumi del glorioso et serafico santo Francesco* the *Legenda maior* saw some twenty editions between 1572 and 1601.³⁹³

This rekindled interest in the life and legacy of St Francis motivated contemporary artists and writers to incorporate the saint in imaginative ways in their

³⁹² For an overview of St Francis of Assisi, see Peter V. Loewen, 'St Francis of Assisi,' *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000380189>, published online 24 June 2021, accessed 3 May 2023. For his hagiography, including *Vita* by Tommaso da Celano, *Legenda Maior* by St Bonaventure of Bagnoregio and the anonymous *Fioretti*, see Peter V. Loewen, *Music in Early Franciscan Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 19-24.

³⁹³ Giorgio Forni, 'Florilegi Fiorentini del primo seicento in lode di San Francesco,' in *Rime sacre tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, edited by Maria Luisa Doglio and Carlo Delcorno (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 2007), 151-152 footnotes.

works. Countless Italian paintings and altarpieces showed St Francis in ecstasy either while receiving the stigmata or with an angel playing music, which were largely based on the medieval accounts of his life but also incorporated the post-Tridentine attitude of music as means of ascent to spiritual rapture.³⁹⁴ The musical veneration of St Francis was by no means less significant, as attested by countless vernacular songs and Latin motets composed for St Francis.³⁹⁵

In literature, sonnets addressed to St Francis by Angello Grillo (1595) and Torquato Tasso (1597) had already appeared in the closing years of the sixteenth century.³⁹⁶ However, it was Marino's madrigals that seem to have established a canon of the poetic representation of St Francis in the first half of the seventeenth-century.³⁹⁷ Marino wrote six poems in total to St Francis of Assisi: four madrigals on St Francis – the first two addressed to the saint, the last two addressed specifically to the Saint's stigmata – that appeared in *Le Rime* II (1602) and subsequent editions *La Lira* II (1614); one sonnet in *La Lira* III; and another madrigal that appeared in *La Galeria* (1620) (see **Table 5.1**). In fact, for the majority of vernacular songs addressed to St Francis in the first half of the seventeenth century are based on Marino's early four madrigals (see **Tables 5.2 and 5.3**).

³⁹⁴ See Alexandra Ziane, "'Affetti Amorosi Spirituali': Caravaggio e la musica spirituale Del suo tempo," in *Caravaggio E Il Suo Ambiente: Ricerche E Interpretazioni*, edited by Sybille Ebert-Schifferer (Milan: Studi Della Biblioteca Hertziana 3, 2007), 177-179; Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), Chapter 1; and Holly Roberts, 'The musical rapture of Saint Francis of Assisi: Hagiography adaptations and iconographic influences,' *Music in art: International journal for music iconography*, Vol 45 (2020): 72-86.

³⁹⁵ Biancamaria Brumana, "Il Dialogo di S. Francesco di Corelli ed altre musiche dedicate al santo nel XVII secolo" in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra in Occasione del Centenario di Fondazione del PIMS, Roma, 26 maggio – 1 Giugno I*, ed. Antonio Addamiano and Francesco Luisi, iii (Città del Vaticano, Pontificio Istituto di Musica Sacra, 2013), 634-638.

³⁹⁶ These are four sonnets in Angelo Grillo, *Pietosi Affetti* (Genova: per gli Her. di Gir. Bartoli, 1595), and one in Torquato Tasso, *Rime Spirituali* (Bergamo: Comin Ventura, 1597).

³⁹⁷ Maria Luisa Doglio, 'Immagini di san Francesco nella letteratura del Seicento,' in *Scrivere di Sacro: forme di letteratura religiosa dal duecento al settecento* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2014), 44-45.

Table 5.1: Marino's poems dedicated to St Francis of Assisi.

Incipit	Printed Source	Form	Rhyme scheme ³⁹⁸
Amasti amato amante	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	madrigal	abBccaadD
Pietosissimo Arciero	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	madrigal	abBaccddDD
Piaghe non son ma stelle	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	madrigal	aaBBCcDD
O sante cicatrici	<i>Le Rime</i> II (1602)	madrigal	ababaaC
O fenice d'Amor, ch'al Sol'eterno	<i>La Lira</i> III (1614)	sonnet	ABBA/ABBA/CDCDCD
Le luci al Paradiso	<i>La Galeria</i> I (1620)	madrigal	aAbbBCBCbbDd ³⁹⁹

Table 5.2: List of vernacular songs for St Francis composed in 1600-1657.⁴⁰⁰

Year	Composer	Title of Publication	Text incipit	Poet
1605	Bernardi, Stefano	<i>Le Vergini [...] d'Ippolito Baccusi, libro secondo</i>	'Amasti amato amante'	Marino
1606	Bianciardi, Francesco	<i>Canzonette spirituali a tre voci</i>	'Piaghe non son ma stelle'	Marino
1607	Bonini, Severo	<i>Madrigali, e canzonette spirituali</i>	'Piaghe non son ma stelle'	Marino
1612	Bianchi, Andrea	<i>Motetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci...libro primo</i>	'Pietosissimo arciero'	Marino
1616	Cifra, Antonio	<i>Scherzi sacri [...], libro primo, op. 22</i>	'Pietosissimo arciero'	Marino
1617	Il Verso, Antonio	<i>Il quarto libro de madrigali a 3 voci, op. 35</i>	'Amasti amato amante' 'Pietosissimo arciero'	Marino
1618	Cifra, Antonio	<i>Scherzi sacri [...], libro secondo, op.25</i>	'Amasti amato amante' 'O sante cicatrici'	Marino
1619	Cesis, Sulpitia	<i>Motetti spirituali a 8v</i>	'Io son ferito'	?
1620	Anerio, Giovanni Francesco	<i>Rime sacre concertate</i>	'Fatto amante Francesco'	Carlo Conquinato Fagagna

³⁹⁸ The alphabets indicate the rhyme scheme. Lower and upper cases indicate *settenari* (seven syllables) and *endecasillabi* (eleven syllables), respectively.

³⁹⁹ The last line only has six syllables and is therefore a sestina.

⁴⁰⁰ Besides some modifications, this is mostly based on Brumana, 'Dialogo di S. Francesco,' 634-638, as well as Jerome Roche, "On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal: Early seventeenth-century books that mix motets and vernacular settings," in *Seicento inesplorato - L'evento musicale tra prassi e stile: Un modello di interdipendenza, Atti del III Convegno internazionale sulla musica in area lombardo-padana nel secolo XVII Lenno - Como, 23-25 giugno 1989*. (Como: A.M.I.S., 1993), 315-316.

1623	Kapsberger , Giovanni Girolamo	<i>Libro secondo d'arie a una e più voci</i>	‘Sparsa d’immortal luce eccelsa sede’	Rinuccini, Ottavio
1626	Biandrà, Giovanni Pietro	<i>Il primo Libro De Madrigaletti, Op. 1</i>	‘Di rose ove s'indora’	?
1640	Dentice, Scipione	<i>Madrigali spirituali a quattro voci [...] libro secondo</i>	‘Pietosissimo arciero’	Marino
1640	Massenzio, Domenico	<i>Raccolta d'arie spirituali [...]</i>	Amasti amato amante	Marino
1640	Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo	<i>Canzoni spirituali, [...] libro secondo, op. 13</i>	‘Fortunate ferite’	?
1648	Massucci, Teodoro	<i>Vocatione di s. Francesco alla religione, a 3 in Dialoghi Spirituali</i>		?
1657	Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo	<i>Ariette Spirituali, op. 21</i>	‘Piaghe non ma rubini’	Sarriano
?	Francesco, Antonio di Budrio	<i>Le stimmate del p. s. Francesco, cantata for Soprano + bc</i>	‘Là dove il grand'Alverna’	?
?	Ziani, Pietro Andrea	<i>Le stimate di s. Francesco, oratorio a 5 (SSATB and instruments)</i>		?

Table 5.3: Musical settings of Marino's madrigals to St Francis.

Amasti amato amante

Composer	Source	Year	Scoring ⁴⁰¹
Bernardi, Stefano	<i>Le Vergini d'Ippolito Bacusi</i>	1605	CAB
Il Verso, Antonio	<i>Il quarto libro de madrigali a 3 voci, op. 35</i>	1617	CCB
Cifra, Antonio	<i>Scherzi sacri, libro secondo, op. 25</i>	1618	C & bc
Massenzio, Domenico	<i>Raccolta d'arie spirituali</i>	1640	TT & bc

Pietosissimo arciero

Composer	Source	Year	Scoring
Bianchi, Andrea	<i>Motetti a 1-4 voci [...] Libro primo</i>	1612	CCB & bc
Cifra, Antonio	<i>Scherzi sacri libro primo, op. 22</i>	1616	C & bc
Il Verso, Antonio	<i>Il quarto libro de madrigali a 3 voci, op. 35</i>	1617	CCB
Dentice, Scipione	<i>Madrigali spirituali a quattro voci [...] libro secondo</i>	1640	CATB + bc

Piaghe non son ma stelle

Composer	Source	Year	Scoring
Bianciardi, Francesco	<i>Canzonette Spirituali</i>	1606/7	CAB
Bonini, Severo	<i>Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali</i>	1607	C & bc

O sante cicatrici

Composer	Source	Year	Scoring
Cifra, Antonio	<i>Scherzi sacri, libro secondo, op. 25</i>	1618	SSAB & bc

The popularity of these madrigals in music can partly be attributed to their wide circulation within anthologies of spiritual texts and other types of writings (theological, historical, or hagiographical) concerning St Francis. In 1606, two anthologies of spiritual lyrics in praise of St Francis, *Sette canzoni di sette famosi autori in lode del Serafico P.S. Francesco* and *Rime Spirituali di diversi autori in lode del Serafico Padre S. Francesco*

⁴⁰¹ C = canto, S = soprano, A = alto or mezzo-soprano, T = tenor, B = bass or baritone, and bc = basso continuo.

were published in Florence.⁴⁰² The former featured authors from various orders within the Catholic Church while the latter included Marino's four madrigals alongside Tasso's and others.⁴⁰³ It is no coincidence that Severo Bonini, a Vallombrosian monk working in Santa Trinità in Florence at the time, chose Talenti and Marino—both of whom are represented in these anthologies—as the textual sources for his *Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali* (1607). Soon after, Venetian anthologies of spiritual lyrics that followed, *Le Muse Sacre* (1608) and *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Spirituali* (1616), also featured many poems addressed to St Francis, including those penned by Marino.

Besides appearing in printed anthologies of spiritual lyrics in their own right, lyrics dedicated to St Francis were also frequently quoted in contemporary spiritual writings. For example, Padre Don Ambrosio Marliani's *Il vero Penitente* (1611) describes Saint Francis as the 'Knight of the Great Cross ('Cavaglier de gran croce'), possibly alluding to the (third) Crusade. Here he quotes Marino's 'O Sante Cicatrici,' using it to illustrate his point that the wounds of St Francis were 'not from cruel injustice like the ones that Christ suffered, but rather work of hands of God, as the poet (Marino) excellently wrote.'⁴⁰⁴ The early modern period's association of St Francis with the

⁴⁰² Their full titles are as follows: *Sette canzoni di sette famosi autori in lode del Serafico P.S. Francesco, e del sacro Monte della Verna, raccolte da Fra Silvestro da Poppi Minore Osservante, Alla M. Illus. Sig. Cassandra Capponi ne' Ricasoli* (Florence: Gio. Antonio Caneo e Raffaello Grossi compagni, 1606); *Rime Spirituali di diversi autori in lode del Serafico Padre S. Francesco, e del sacro Monte della Verna, raccolte da Fra Silvestro da Poppi de' Minori Osservanti, A consolatione spirituale de' devoti de detto Santo. Al Molto Illustre Sig. Bardo Corsi* (Florence: Volcmar Timan, 1606).

⁴⁰³ The authors of the texts in the former are as follows (in original Italian): Il vallombrosano Crisostomo Talenti, il domenicano Desiderio Scaglia, il minore osservante Francesco Lelio Ubaldi, Gabriello Chiabrera, l'arcivescovo di Corfù Maffeo Venier, l'agostiniano Paolo Emilio Barbarossa, il Domenicano Pietro Martire Naldini; The latter's contents are as follows: La Vita di S. Francesco in Ottava rima distinct in 3 cantos by Signora Lucretia Marinella; 1 sonnet by Fra Bartolomeo da Saluthio; 1 sonnet by M. Benedetto Varchi; 1 sonnet by Crisostomo Talenti; 1 chapter by Fra Giovanni da Stia; 4 madrigals by Giovambatista Marino; 14 madrigals by Giovambatista Strozzi; 4 sonnets by Fra Matteo Baccellini da Stia; 4 sonnets by Fra Pietro Martire Naldini Fiorentino; 2 sonnets by Signor Torquato Tasso.

⁴⁰⁴ In original Italian: 'non fatte dalla fiera crudeltà guidaicam come quelle del Signore, ma lavorate dalla propria mano di Dio, come scrisse eccellentemente quel Poeta.' Ambrosio Marliani, *Il vero Penitente Che*

Crusaders is exemplified best perhaps by Agostino Gallucci's *San Francesco, overo Gierusalemme Celeste Acquistata* (1618),⁴⁰⁵ which is an ambitious re-working of Tasso's famous *La Gerusalemme liberata* in which St Francis is cast as Godfrey of Bouillon.⁴⁰⁶ Still in the historical vein, Girolamo Briani's *Dell'Istoria d'Italia* (1623)⁴⁰⁷ mentions St Francis of Assisi as part of discussion of the Year 1206 and quotes Maffeo Venier's *canzone* and Marino's madrigals for the saint in entirety, both of which had already appeared in the Florentine anthologies of 1606.⁴⁰⁸

Marino's texts to St Francis could find a place also in a sermon, such as Padre Savatore Cadana's collection of sermons for the *Quaresimale* (forty days of Lent), published in 1638 and reissued at least four times in Venice between 1639 and 1644.⁴⁰⁹ The forty sermons each correspond to a particular day in Lent, and the sermon for the Maundy Thursday (Thursday before the Good Friday, the liturgical commemoration of

vago di salute a Spira al Sacro Monte della perfettione, descritto dal Rever. Padre Don Ambrosio Marliani Pavese Canonico Regolare Lateran. Predicatore. Con discorsi morali, concetti scritturali, e varie meditationi à beneficio della Repubblica Christiana. Dove s'insegna, come debba l'Anima Fedele impiegare il tempo dallo spuntar del giorno, infino al tramontar del Sole. Con due tavole, una da Capi, l'altra delle cose più notabili. (Pavia: Andrea Viani 1611), 74-75.

⁴⁰⁵ Gallucci, Agostino. *San Francesco, overo Gierusalemme Celeste Acquistata. Poema sacro, con gli Argomenti, Annotationi, & Allegorie.* Ove con devoto affetto si narrano la Vita esemplare, i Miracoli maravigliosi, & i Documenti Santi del glorioso, e Serafico Padre. CON UNA COPIOSISSIMA TAVOLA. Di Frate AGOSTINO GALLUCCI da Mondolfo Min. Oss. Riformato della Marca. Al Serenissimo Signore Il Sig. Duca d'Urbino (1618)

⁴⁰⁶ Virginia Cox, "Re-Thinking Counter-Reformation Literature," in *Innovation in the Italian Counter-Reformation*, ed. Shannon McHugh and Anna Wainwright (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2020): 30-34.

⁴⁰⁷ *Dell'Istoria d'Italia di Girolamo Briani Cittadino Modonese dalla venuta d'annibale Cartaginese in Italia, che fu gli anni del Mondo 3750. fino à gli anni di Christo N. Signore 1527. Libri Diciotto ... Parte Seconda.* (Venice: Giovanni Guerigli, 1623).

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., Parte Seconda, Libro Nono, pp. 22-23, which reads: 'Viveva in questo tempo il Beato Francesco d'Assisi, che in santità di vita superò ogn'altro di quella età; onde in lui furono rinvestite quelle cinque piaghe, che Christo nostro Redentore portò per salute del genere humano; e per ciò, e sopra di questo, si leggono que famosi versi, di Monsignor Maffeo Arcivescovo di Corfu. *Predi le piaghe sue, felici doglie: / Che pietà le bramò, pietà le diede, / Sanguinosa mercede / Chiedesti orando à feritor clemente.* E quel che segue. In lode pur di questo glorioso santo, Gio. Battista Marini Napolitano Poeta de' nostri tempi, compose anch'egli alcuni Madrigali, e disse. *Amasti amato amante....*'

⁴⁰⁹ Franco Barcia, *Salvatore Cadana: Diplomazia e Ragion Di Stato Alla Corte Dei Savoia (1597-1654)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1996), 49-50 and 59-63.

Christ's crucifixion) is dedicated to St Francis.⁴¹⁰ According to Franciscan legend (e.g. Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior*, etc.), St Francis used to practice retreat in prayer or his own 'Lent' for forty days between the day of Assumption and St Michael's Feast, which roughly falls between 15 August and 29 September in modern-day calendar.⁴¹¹ It was also during the Feast of Holy Cross during this period that he received his Holy Stigmata. Cadana therefore established a suggestive connection between the Franciscan devotion of the Michaelmas lent and the liturgical Lent culminating in the Holy Week. His sermon concludes with a quotation of two of Marino's madrigals, 'Amasti amato amante', and 'Pietosissimo Arciero,' in Italic types, which is a unique arrangement not seen in other Lenten sermons published in this period.⁴¹²

Finally, Marino's madrigals made its way into hagiography of St Francis itself, as the 1650 version of *Fioretti* attaches Marino's four madrigals to St Francis at the very end of the book following the index of contents.⁴¹³ Such arrangement is an indication of the editor's interest in using contemporary lyric verse either to engage with or embellish established hagiographical accounts of St Francis. It is also another indication of writers'

⁴¹⁰ I have consulted only the 1639 edition: 'Sermone del Gran Patriarca di Santa Chiesa FRANCESCO SANTO. Signassi Domine servum tuum Franciscum signis Redemptionis nostra. Chiesa Santa,' in *Quaresimael del Padre F. Salvatore Cadana di Toino, Min. Osservante di S. Francesco, Padre di sua Provincia, Predicatore, Teologo, Configliero dell'Altezza di Savoia, Guardiano nel Convento Maggiore della Madonna in Mondovì. Et in questa Terza Impressione, dall'istesso Autore ricorretto, & ampliato con mille vaghezze. Con due copiosissime, & utilissime Tavole. AL MOLTO R.P. IL P. F. LORENZO TALAPIETRA, Guardiano dignissimo de' Min. Osser. di S. Francesco dalla Vigna di Venetia* (Venice: Giacomo Sarzina, 1639), 347-417. The dedication of the book is dated 25 March, 1639.

⁴¹¹ St Bonaventure, 'Legenda Sancti Francisci,' *Doctoris Seraphici S Bonaventurae S.R.E. Episcopi Cardinalis Opera Omnia*, Vol. 8 (Quaracchi, 1898), page 543.

[http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/20vs/221_Bonaventura/1221-1274_Bonaventura_Dictoris_Seraphici_Opera_Omnia_\(Quaracchi\)_Vol_08_LT.pdf](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/20vs/221_Bonaventura/1221-1274_Bonaventura_Dictoris_Seraphici_Opera_Omnia_(Quaracchi)_Vol_08_LT.pdf)

⁴¹² Cadana's concluding remarks are: 'Ah, Francis, the Prince of the Saints, you can really say that you were the only means through which my Christ has illustrated himself, as in *Ad qui venit Rex è coelo*; and I can say that phrase, which was already sung by that beautiful spirit of our time.' Ah Francesco si si che Principe puoi dirti de Santi, & in te solo era ragione, che il mio Christo si raffigurasse, &c *Ad qui venit Rex è coelo*, &c. e dir posso quello, che di già cantò quel bel Spirito de nostri tempi.

⁴¹³ *Fioretti di S. Francesco* (Trevigi, et in Bassano: Giovanni Antonio Remondin, 1650)

continued interest in using Marino's madrigals as authoritative texts in praise of the saint that could merit appearing alongside established canon of St Francis's hagiography.

In summary, Marino's madrigals to St Francis were being widely used in literature concerning the saint such as anthologies of spiritual poetry, spiritual writing, history, sermon, and hagiography, especially to illustrate relationship between St Francis and Christ. As Andrea Grassi has shown, Marino's spiritual poetry itself tended to reuse and reformulate many elements of traditional sacred poetry, Biblical texts, contemporary sermons, prayers and *sacre rappresentazioni*.⁴¹⁴ The dissemination of Marino's madrigals to St Francis, therefore, represents an interesting reversed process in which Marino's texts were being fed into various genres of spiritual literature.

⁴¹⁴ Andrea Grassi, 'La poesia religiosa del giovane Marino: alcuni appunti sulle modalità di riuso della Bibbia nelle *Rime Sacre*,' *Testo: studi di teoria e storia delle letterature e della critica* 70 (2015), 41–58.

Overview of Marino's four madrigals to St Francis

Marino's four madrigals were nuclei for the vernacular songs addressed to St Francis of Assisi and his stigmata, and their poetic elements generally refer back to Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior* and even Dante's *Commedia*.⁴¹⁵ The following section explores each one in more depth, in the hopes of decoding key symbolisms that composers also tried to emulate through music.

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 185, Madrigal 171

A S. Francesco

To St Francis

Amasti amato amante
E qual' vero amatore,
Ti transformasti nell'amato Amore.
Et amante, & amato
Amore innamorato
De le sue piaghe sante
L'amoroso semblante
Ne le tue membra impresso
In te sol per amor stampò se stesso.

You loved, beloved lover,
and, as a true lover,
you transformed yourself into beloved Love.
And, loving and loved,
enamored Love,
marking your limbs
with the loving semblance
of His holy wounds,
in you for love alone impressed Himself.⁴¹⁶

With its recurring use of variants of the etymological field *amore* (love), and *amare* (to love), Marino's 'Amasti amato amate' is immediately notable for its rich musical resonance within the text itself, as noted by Tomlinson.⁴¹⁷ Nevertheless, it is equally rich in allusion to classical literature, especially Dante, and theological writings concerning love or St Francis. First, its conjunction of love, the lover, and the beloved could be a reprisal of Francesca da Rimini's speech from Dante's *Inferno* Canto V ('Amor ch'a nullo amato amar perdona') and even the sound of Canto XIII, line 25

⁴¹⁵ Forni, 'Florilegi Fiorentini,' 151-153.

⁴¹⁶ Translation by Gary Tomlinson; see Gary Tomlinson, 'Music and the Claims of Text: Monteverdi, Rinuccini, and Marino,' *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1982), 575.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.,

(‘Cred’ io ch’ei credette ch’io credesse’). Second, it is reminiscent of St. Augustine’s discussion of love, lover, and beloved as a type of analogy for understanding the Holy Trinity (*De trinitate*, book 9, Ch. 2).⁴¹⁸ There are verbal resemblances also between Marino’s text and a passage from *Legenda Maior* by St Bonaventure regarding the sacred stigmata of St Francis (Ch. 13):

‘Postquam igitur verus Christi amor in eandem imaginem transformavit amantem, quadraginta dierum numero, iuxta quod decreverat, in solitudine consummato, superveniente quoque solemnitate Archangeli Michaelis [...].’⁴¹⁹

Or, in Italian translation:

‘Poi adunque il vero amor di Christo transformò l’amante nella sua medesima imagine, finito il numero de quaranta giorni nella solitudine, seconda il suo costume, & sopravvenendo la solennità dell’Arcangelo Michele [...].’⁴²⁰

Depicting St Francis as the beloved, early modern iconography is full of representation of St Francis as a lover of Christ, as frontispiece to the 1614 French version of St Bonaventura’s *Legenda Maior* shows (see **Figure 5.1**). Showing a female saint (or Virgin Mary), Jesus and St Francis together at a time of Passion, it features St Francis and Christ intimately embracing each other with interlocking arms. Thus, Bonaventuran description of St Francis as the lover and the beloved of Christ is emphasized quite visually and illustrates the affective piety that resounds in Mario’s poetry.

⁴¹⁸ For English version of *De trinitati*, see <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/130109.htm>.

⁴¹⁹ St Bonaventure, ‘Legenda Sancti Francisci,’ *Doctoris Seraphici S Bonaventurae S.R.E. Episcopi Cardinalis Opera Omnia*, Vol. 8 (Quaracchi, 1898), page 543.

⁴²⁰ *Vita, et costumi del glorioso et serafico San Francesco, composta per S. Bonaventura* (Venice: Lucio Spineda, 1607), 181.



Figure 5.1: *La vie de S. François écrite par S. Bonaventure, mise en François, & illustrée de Notes & Meditations, par F.N. Aubespín* (Lyon: Arnoullet, 1614), title page.

Al medesimo

Pietosissimo Arciero,
Con Amor contendesti,
E d'amor saettato, Amor vincesti,
Sanguinoso guerriero,
Ferito, e Feritore,
E vinto, e vincitore,
Vinto, però ferito.
Ma vincitore ardito
In segno de la palme, e de l'acquisto
Porti le'nsegne del'amato Christo.

To the same (St Francis of Assisi)

Most merciful Archer,
with Love you contested,
and by love's arrows, you conquered Love, blood-
stained warrior,
the wounded, and the one who wounds,
the conquered, and the conquerer,
conquered, but wounded.
but courageous conquerer,
in the sign of your palms, and of your acquisition,
you bear the insignia of the beloved Christ.

The second madrigal 'Pietosissimo Arciero' applies to St Francis a Petrarchan *topos* of the warrior of love.⁴²¹ Marino has also applied war and love theme to his amorous poems, which were subsequently exploited by composers, notably Monteverdi in his seventh book of Madrigals (1619).⁴²² This particular text to St Francis would have offered composers a similar imagery they could musically explore. Forni interprets Marino's 'vinto – vincitore' comparison in lines 7-8 as possible allusion to Dante's *Paradiso*, Canto XX, lines 94-99, although the similarity is subtle.⁴²³

Reference to the archer, which opens this madrigal, also occurs in one of the miracles after St Francis's death, as narrated in Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior*. According to Bonaventure, a certain clerk named Roger, doubting the miracle of St Francis's stigmata while gazing upon the picture depicting the miracle, heard a 'whizzing of an arrow from a bow' and saw in midst of his palm a wound that seemed to come from

⁴²¹ Doglio, 'Immagini di san Francesco,' 45.

⁴²² Gordon Haramaki, "In grembo a Citherea': the Representation of ingenium and ars in Claudio Monteverdi's *Tempo la cetra*," *Early Music* 39, no. 4 (November 1, 2011): 503-518; and Federico Schneider, 'Rethinking Claudio Monteverdi's Seventh Book of Madrigals (1619) via Giovan Battista Marino's *la lira* (1614),' *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* Vol 24, No.1 (2018). <https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-24-no-1/schneider-rethinking-monteverdi/>.

⁴²³ Forni, 'Florilegi Fiorentini,' 153.

an arrow stroke. He felt an intense pain that almost made him faint, and he soon repented his doubts, came to believe in the miracle, and was eventually cured of his wound.⁴²⁴

In the Post-Tridentine context, the divine bow and arrows that wound St Francis became associated with Christ himself as well. Grillo certainly expressed this in one of his sonnets to St Francis in *Pietosi Affetti* (1595).

Grillo, *Pietosi Affetti* (1595), Madrigal 64

L'ARCO il tuo Giesù fù, fur le saette	Your Jesus was the bow, the arrows
L'aspre sue piaghe, e vivo Amor l'arciere,	his bitter wounds, and lively Cupid the archer,
Che t'impiaughò Francesco, e ti fè vero	that pieced you Francis, and made you true
Essempio de le pene à te dilette.	example of the pains to delight you.

There is also a contemporary picture that builds on this idea of Christ as the divine Cupid, and depicts St Francis wounded by a divine arrow (**Figure 5.2**). In this picture, St Francis gazes upon the crucified Christ in the heaven while the angel pieces his breast with a fiery arrow. The words from St Francis's mouth reads 'Vulnerasti cor meum Domine' ('You have wounded my heart, God.'), which is a variant of 'Vulnerasti cor meum soror mea sponsa' ('You have wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse') from Songs of Songs, 4:9.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ St Bonaventure, *The Life of S. Francis of Assisi From the "Legenda Santi Francisci" of S. Bonaventure*, edited by Henry Edward, Archbishop of Canterbury (London: R. Washbourne, 13 Paternoster Row, 1868), 197-198. For original Latin reference, see St Bonaventure, 'Legenda Sancti Francisci,' *Doctoris Seraphici S Bonaventurae S.R.E. Episcopi Cardinalis Opera Omnia*, Vol. 8 (Quaracchi, 1898), 551.

⁴²⁵ Songs of Songs and their parodies were popular text to be set to music, mainly as motets For a detailed background discussion and analysis of sacred music based on Song of Songs, see Jane Elizabeth Dahlenburg, 'The motet c. 1580-1630: Sacred Music Based on the Song of Songs' (Ph.D dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001).



Figure 5.2: Anothony Maria Brown, *The life of th holie father s. Francis* written by Saint Bonaventure, and as it is related by...Aloysius Lipomanus (Doway: M. Bogard, 1635), frontispiece.

Marino's 'Amasti amato amante' and 'Pietosissimo arciero' have so far dwelt on St Francis himself as Christ's Lover and Warrior. The third and fourth madrigals, 'Piaghe non son ma stelle,' and 'O sante cicatrici,' instead focus on St Francis's stigmata:

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 187, Madrigal 173:

Alle piaghe del medesimo

To the wounds of the same one (St Francis)

Piaghe non son' ma stelle
 Stelle nò, ma fiammelle
 Di Francesco le piaghe e quel divino
 Sangue, cui non pareggia ostro, ò rubino,
 Sangue non è, ma foco e vivo ardore
 Pero ch'ei nutre al core
 Sotto il cenere oscuro, onde si veste,
 Serafino terren, fiamma celeste.

They are not wounds, but stars;
 stars not, but little flames of Francis's wounds
 and that divine blood, to which neither violet
 pigment nor ruby are equal;
 Blood is it not, but fire and living ardour,
 because the heavenly flame
 nourishes the heart of earthly seraphim
 beneath the dark ashes, whence it is clothed,

'Piaghe non son ma stelle' compares St Francis's Stigmata to 'fiammelle' ('little flames'), and 'foco' ('fire'), which again invokes St Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior*, especially its episode soon after St Francis had received the Sacred Stigmata:

Once, on a winter's day, by reason of the weakness of his body and the steep and difficult path, he was riding upon an ass belonging to a poor man, and was compelled to take shelter for the night under a rock, to avoid the snow, which had fallen and was falling heavily in those parts. For, being delayed by these impediments, he could not reach the place of his destination. Now the saint, hearing that the poor man to whom the ass belonged was lamenting himself bitterly and trembling with cold, changing now to one place, now to another, because, being lightly and poorly clothes, he could find no relief from the bitter cold, Francis, all on fire with Divine love, stretched forth his hand and touched him, when, marvelous to say, the touch of that sacred hand which had received the fire of the seraphical sign, banished all sense of cold, so that the poor man waxed warm both within and without, as if he had felt the power of a burning fiery furnace; so that, being comforted in body and mind, he lay

down to rest, and slept sweetly amid the rocks and snow, as he himself afterwards affirmed.⁴²⁶

Thus, according to St Bonaventure, the stigmata are akin to divine flame given by the divine Love, with which St Francis was inflamed with and could inflame others. St Bonaventure goes on to re-iterate the luminous and inflaming nature of these stigmata, and how St Francis, tried to hide them:

Certain it is, therefore, by all these tokens, that these Sacred Stigmata were impressed by the power of Him who, by the agency of the Seraph, purified, illuminated, and inflamed; inasmuch as the said Stigmata, purifying the air without from pestilence, delivered and healed the beasts, and with marvelous efficacy calmed the tempest and warmed frozen bodies, as came to pass also after his death, which we shall hereafter notice. Therefore, although he sought with diligent care to conceal the treasure which he had found in the field, yet it could not be hid, nor could he prevent the Stigmata in his hands and feet from being seen, although he kept his hands almost always covered, and from that time forward always wore shoes on his feet.⁴²⁷

Another canonical hagiography on St Francis, the *Little Flowers of St Francis* and its appendix ‘Consideration on the Stigmata,’ also reiterates a luminous nature of St Francis’s stigmata.⁴²⁸ According to one episode, St Francis’s followers witnessed a miraculous transcendence in which they could see a ‘soft glimmer between the door and frame, which gradually grew until sunlight seemed to stream from the crevices,’ as the saint went alone to contemplate in a dark confined room.⁴²⁹ Perhaps due to such hagiographical account, iconographic tradition—starting with Giotto in the fourteenth

⁴²⁶ St Bonaventure, *The Life of S. Francis of Assisi From the “Legenda Santi Francisci” of S. Bonaventure*, 167-168. For original Latin reference, see St Bonaventure, ‘Legenda Sancti Francisci,’ *Doctoris Seraphici S Bonaventurae S.R.E. Episcopi Cardinalis Opera Omnia*, Vol. 8 (Quaracchi, 1898), 544.

⁴²⁷ Bonaventure, *Life of St Francis*, 168-169.

⁴²⁸ This devotional text dates back from after St. Francis’s death and reached its height in the sixteenth century, while it seemed to continue inspiring Italian artists and their patrons into the seventeenth century as well. For background on this text and its place in the seventeenth-century spirituality in Italy, see Dell’Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 26 and 165 (Note #38).

⁴²⁹ Adrian House. *Francis of Assisi* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), 254.

century—also tends to depict St Francis receiving stigmata as rays of light radiating from the apparition of seraphim in guise of Christ.⁴³⁰

These ideas are all condensed in Marino's poem, with comparison of stigmata to stars and fire in lines 1-2, as well as description of how these stigmata were covered under dark ashes ('Sotto il cenere oscuro, onde si veste'), presumably referring to St Francis's humble clothing.⁴³¹ Marino's 'Piaghe non son ma stelle' may have also served as an inspiration to at least a couple of later poems: Gianfrancesco Maia Materdona's 'Piaghe, piaghe non già, ma Piogge belle' (*Alle Piaghe di Christo*) and Anello Sarriano's 'Piaghe non ma rubini.' (*Per le stimmate del Serafico S. Francesco d'Assisi*).⁴³²

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 188, Madrigal 174:

Alle dette

On the same subject (St Francis's wounds)

O sante cicatrici
Del sante innamorato,
Fur ben care, e felici
Del Redentor piagato,
Le piaghe redentrici,
Mà per man de nemici
Stampolle odio, e furore,
Voi siete di Pietà stampe, e d'Amore.

Oh, holy scars
of the enamoured saint,
even dear and joyful assets
of the wounded Redeemer,
the redemptive wounds;
though for the hands of enemies
impress hatred and fury,
you are the prints of Compassion and Love.

Lastly, 'O sante cicatrici' offers further meditations on virtues of St Francis's stigmata as signs of redemption. This is especially brought out in lines 4 - 5 ('Del Redentor piagato, / Le piaghe redentrici'), which refer to Jesus as the wounded Redeemer and St Francis's stigmata as the redemptive wounds. It reminds us of the relationship

⁴³⁰ Luisa Bourla, 'Scientific Discovery in Florentine Painting of the Counter-Reformation,' in *Innovation in the Italian Counter-Reformation*, ed. Shannon McHugh and Anna Wainwright (University of Delaware Press, 2020), 56 - 103.

⁴³¹ According to *Little Flowers of St. Francis*, St. Francis had a habit of concealing his stigmata from public after receiving them. See *Ibid.*, 258-259.

⁴³² The latter was set by Pietro Paolo Sabbatini in *Ariette Spirituali, Libro Quinto, Op. 21* (Rome: Fei, 1657).

between St Francis and Jesus as the lover and beloved, which we saw Marino dwell on using a similar word play in ‘Amasti amato amante.’ The last couplet, lines 7-8 (‘Stampolle odio, e furore, / Voi siete di Pietà stampe, e d’Amore’), addresses the stigmata as signs of Compassion and Love, metaphors that must have resonated with many writers, as it is apparently a borrowing from Juan de los Ángeles’s, later quoted again in another Franciscan context.⁴³³

Songs for St Francis based on Marino’s madrigals

The musical contexts of these madrigals are geographically diverse, as the composers were active in different parts of the modern-day Italian peninsula: North Italy (Bernardi and Bianchi); Tuscany (Bianciardi, Bonini), Rome (Cifra, Massenzio), Naples (Dentice), and Sicily (Il Verso). The earliest musical setting of ‘Amasti amato amante’ is by Stefano Bernardi, included in *Le Vergini d’Ippolito Baccusi* (Venice, Ricciardo Amadino, 1605). Ippolito Baccusi (*b* Mantua, c1550; *d* Verona, 1609) was a maestro di capella at Verona Cathedral at the time of publication of *Le Vergini* (he accepted the post in 1592 until his death), calling himself a ‘frate’ in the preface.⁴³⁴ Meanwhile, Stefano Bernardi (*b* Verona, c1577; *d* Verona, Feb 15, 1637) was educated at Verona *scuola degli accoliti*—which implied taking minor orders—becoming a singer in 1603 under Ippolito Baccusi’s direction. He was also working for Accademia Filarmonica from 1602 to 1609 (which coincided with Baccusi’s death), when he took a sabbatical to go to Rome and

⁴³³ Forni observes similarity in Juan de los Ángeles’s *Diálogos de la conquista del Reino de Dios* (published in Floreice in Italian in the 1601), as well as partial quotation of Marino’s text in Agostino Faustini’s discourse on vain glory and St Francis in 1623. See Forni, ‘Florilegi Fiorentini,’ 152-153.

⁴³⁴ Patricia Ann Myers, ‘Baccusi, Ippolito [Baccusii, Hippolyti],’ *Grove Music Online*, published in print 20 January 2001, <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01668>, published online 2001, accessed 2 January 2024.

became a *maestro* at S Maria dei Monti. He returned to Verona Cathedral as its maestro di capella at Verona Cathedral in 1611 and also became the music master of the Filarmonica.⁴³⁵

As Bernardi worked as a Cathedral singer under Bacusi, *Le Vergini* seems have been a collaboration between the two musicians. As the title suggests, *Le Vergini* is dedicated to Virgin Mary and features Baccusi's 11-part setting of Petrarch's famous Marian canzone cycle, 'Vergine bella che di Sol vestita.' Bacusi's song cycle are then followed by Stefano Bernardi's settings of two madrigals, Cesare Orsino's 'Stelle serene e vaghe' and Marino's 'Amasti amato amante.' In the preface addressed to the Virgin Mary, Baccusi expresses his wish to honor Mary with the remaining days of his life, therefore echoing Petrarch's own penitential attitude in *Canzoniere*.

Two madrigal texts chosen by Bernardi together create an intriguing poetic synergy with their similar subjects and imagery. Orsino's 'Stelle serene e vaghe,' is entitled *Alle piaghe di Christo* ('To Christ's wounds') and is one of the six spiritual madrigals that conclude his *Rime* (Venice: 1604).⁴³⁶ Like many of Marino's poems, it was later included in both *Le Muse Sacre* (1608) and *Nuovo Concerto di Rime Spirituali* (1616), with another musical setting appearing in Scipione Dentice's *Madrigali Spirituali, Libro Primo* (1629). Orsini's text relates Christ's wounds to stars just like Marino's another madrigal on St Francis's stigmata, 'Piaghe non son ma stelle':

⁴³⁵ Robert L. Kendrick, 'Bernardi [de Bernardellis], Stef(f)ano ['il Moretto'],' *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000380292>, published online 24 June 2021, accessed 2 January 2024.

⁴³⁶ Those are three addressed to Christ himself, one to thorns, one to his wounds, and one to the Cross.

Orsino, *Rime* (Venice: 1605):

Alle piaghe di Christo

To Christ's wounds

Stelle serene e vaghe
Sono queste tue piaghe
Fonti vivi e vitali
Sono ne gl'altrui mali
Dhe stelle e fonti sian per me signore
Ond'arda l'alma onde si lavi il core.

These wounds of yours are serene and
desirous stars; they are living and vital
springs of others' sufferings; Lo, stars and
springs may they be, Lord, whence my soul
may flare up and my heart may be washed.

As for Bernardi's 'Amasti amato amante,' it revolve around the idea of three, as it is set for three voices (two sopranos and tenor) and divides the poetry into three sections of three lines, thus being grounded on the three iteration of the word *amore* in the very incipit of the madrigal.⁴³⁷ Bernardi clearly structures the music in such a way that divides the madrigal into three distinctive parts of equal length: lines 1-3, 4-6, 7-9 (**Example 5.1** bars 1-13, 13-29, 29-42). Transitions among the sections are marked not only with clear authentic cadences but also with changes in texture - the first two sections are especially marked by a homorhythmic, declamatory texture that introduce new poetic ideas. The second section (bars 13-29) is essentially a duet for the two high voices singing rhythmically together harmony thirds. It can, however, be also seen as a duet between the top two voices and the bass, as this is the section in which one of lines 5-6 (*Amore innamorato / De le sue piaghe sante*) is sung by high voices and the other sung by the bass part (bars 16-29). Towards the end, bars 33-49) the word 'stampò' ('stamped') is brought out both visually on the page and aurally by recurring rising figure by an interval of a third and a short-long note values (a crotchet followed by a minim), which seems to

⁴³⁷ It is the only song in which the Canto, Alto, and Bass parts are assigned two soprano and tenor parts, respectively, requiring high voices.

alert us to the way musical notes in ink are printed on the paper just like the stigmata is impressed on St Francis's body.

Canto

Alto

Basso

A-ma-sti a-ma-to a-man - te E qual ve-ro a - ma - to - re Ti trasfor-

A-ma-sti a-ma-to a-man - te E qual ve - ro a - ma - to - re

A-mas-ti a-ma-to a-man - te E qual ve - ro ama-to - re Ti trasfor-

8

masti ne l'a-ma - to a-mo - re Ti trasformasti ne l'amato amo -

Ti trasformasti ne l'amato amo - re Ti trasformasti ne l'a-ma - to a-mo -

masti ne l'a-ma - to amo - re Ti trasformasti ne l'a-ma - to amo -

13

re Et a-man - te & a-ma - to A-more i-na - mo - ra - to A -

re Et a-man - te & a-ma - to A-more i - na - mo - ra - to A -

re Et a-ma - nte & ama - to De le sue piaghe san -

20

more i-na - mo - ra - to De le sue piaghe san -

mo-re i-na - mo - ra - to De le sue pia - ghe san -

te De le sue piaghe san - te A - mo-re i - na - mo - ra -

26. te De le sue piaghe san - te L'a-mo - ro-so sembian -

te De le sue pia - ghe san - te L'amoro-so sembian - te Ne le tue

to De le sue pia - ghe san - te L'amoro-so sembian - te Ne le tue

31. te Ne le tue membra impres-so In te sol per amor stampò se stes - so

membra im - pres - so In te sol per amor stampò se stes - so In te

membra im - pres - so stam - pò se stes - so In te

37. In te sol per Amor stampò stam-pò se stes - so.

sol per Amor stam-pò stam-pò stam-pò se stes - so.

sol per A - mor stam - pò stam-pò se stes - so.

Example 5.1: Bernardi, ‘Amasti amato amante,’ *Le Vergini d’Ippolito Baccusi* (Venice: Robletti 1605), no. 13.

Antonio Il Verso’s *Il Quarto Libro de Madrigali a tre voci*, Op. 35 (Palermo: Giovan Battista Maringo, 1617) is notable for containing both vernacular and Latin texts in praise of St Francis, ‘Amasti amato amante,’ ‘Pietosissimo arciero’ (seconda parte),’

and ‘Hic Franciscus pauper et humilis caelum dives ingreditur.’⁴³⁸ Moreover, these songs appear alongside those set to texts penned by such eminent poets of the time such as Tasso (from *La Gerusalemme Liberata*), Rinuccini, and Guarini (from both *Rime* and *Il Pastor Fido*). Previously, Il Verso also included a spiritual madrigal, ‘Quando con gli occhi della mente fisso’ at the end of his first book of madrigals for five voices (Palermo: Maringo, 1590), so for him it was a commodity to combine the secular and spiritual texts in a printed collection of songs. Nevertheless, Il Verso’s op. 35 is an intriguing outlier from the list above not only because it has both Marino’s and Latin texts for St Francis but also because they appear alongside secular and pastoral texts like Guarini’s *Il Pastor Fido*. In fact, the way in which the texts are laid out seem to cast Christ and St Francis as spiritual counterparts to Dorinda and Silvio, respectively.⁴³⁹

Cifra’s two books of *Scherzi Sacri* not only feature Marino as the main poet but also treat Sts Francis and Mary Magdalene extensively as their subjects. In fact, Cifra set three out of the four madrigals to St Francis: ‘Pietosissimo Arciero’ (1616) and ‘O Sante Cicatrici’ (1618) as pieces for three to four voices and ‘Amasti Amato Amante’ (1618) as a monody for solo voice and basso continuo. While each of these songs appears independently of each other, ‘Pietosissimo Arciero’ and ‘O Sante Cicatrici’ share the same tonal center of C major and are placed towards the end of each book for a larger ensemble.⁴⁴⁰ As Ziane had pointed out, a copy of Cifra’s *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Secondo* preserved in the library of Santa Cecilia in Rome bears the emblem of Cardinal Montalto, himself a great follower of St Francis, the first cardinal protector of the Collegio di San

⁴³⁸ Brumana, ‘Dialogo di S. Francesco,’ 636.

⁴³⁹ In Guraini’s *Il Pastor Fido* Act 4, Scene 9, Silvio mistakenly shoots Dorinda with his arrow, and seeing her afflicted, he falls in love with her out of compassion.

⁴⁴⁰ In Cifra’s *Scherzi Sacri*, the pieces are arranged in the order of those requiring the least parts (e.g. solo voice) to those requiring more parts, as was the convention of the printed music books at that time.

Bonaventura, and acquainted with Marino, who wrote poems in his honor.⁴⁴¹ (See **Figures 5.3a, b**) The emphasis on Marino's text and especially on the subject of St Francis across Cifra's two books of *Scherzi Sacri* can therefore partly be attributed to the patronage of Cardinal Montalto, which could have also influenced the wider dissemination of musical settings to Marino's texts on St Francis.

⁴⁴¹ Ziane, *Amor divino*, 294.

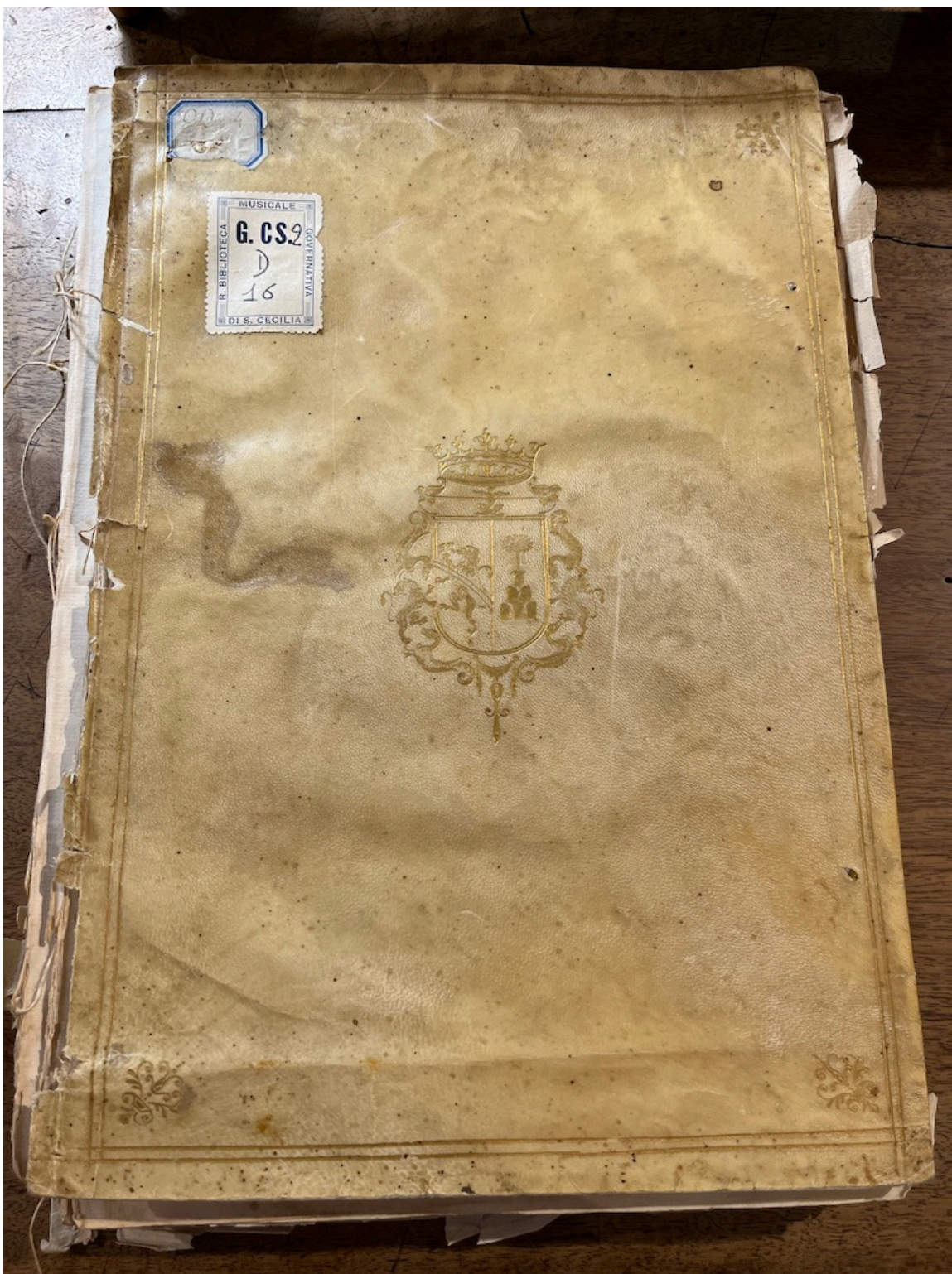


Figure 5.3a: Front cover of a copy of *Cifra's Scherzi Sacri, Libro Secondo* (1618) held in the library of Conservatory of Saint Cecilia in Rome, bearing the emblem of Cardinal Montalto. Photo taken by the author upon the library's permission.

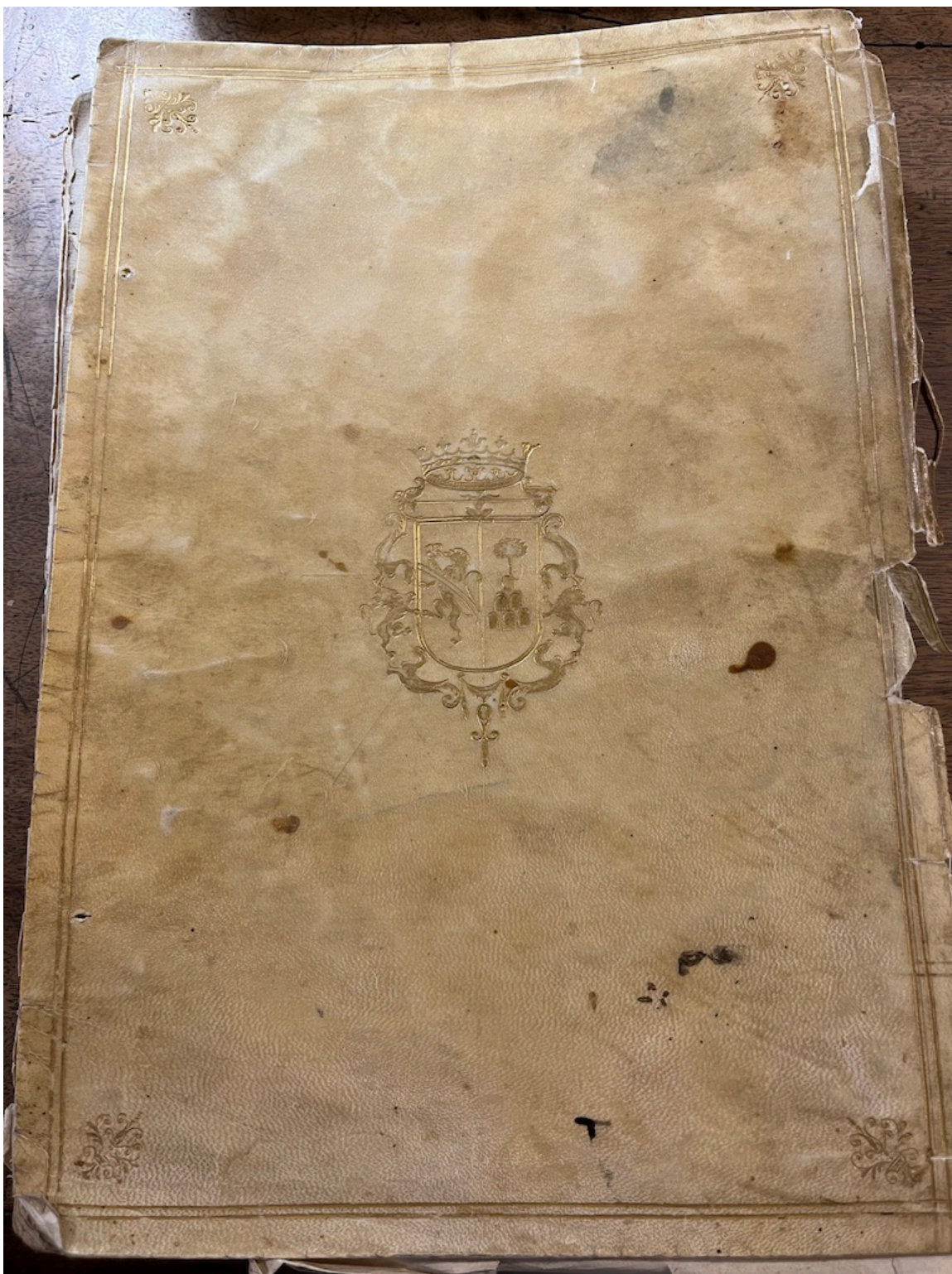


Figure 5.3b: Back cover of a copy of *Cifra's Scherzi Sacri, Libro Secondo* (1618) held in the library of Conservatory of Saint Cecilia in Rome, bearing the emblem of Cardinal Montalto. Photo taken by the author upon the library's permission.

In his monodic setting of ‘Amasti Amato Amante,’ Cifra juxtaposes triple and duple metre for contrasts: while it is mostly in duple metre, Cifra uses triple metre for lines 1 and 4, ‘Amasti amato amante’ and ‘Et amante et amato’ (bars 1-3 and 13-15) (**Example 5.2**). Using triple metre for these particular lines potentially serves two functions: 1) to symbolize the aforementioned trinity of love, lover, and the beloved, and; 2) to musically divide this 9-line poem into two sub-parts (lines 1-3 and 4-9 of the poem, or bars 1-12 and bars 13-36 of music), which allows the listener to understand the poetry as consisting of two different sections. An excessively long melisma on words ‘Amore’ and ‘stampò’ at the end of poetic lines 3 and 9 (bars 8-12 and 29-32) not only draws attention to the words themselves but also serves to signify the ending of each sub-part. Moreover, trills are applied to words in the middle of the poetic line such as ‘piaghe’ (bar 19) and ‘per’ (bars 26-28). Notably, the phrase of the last poetic line (line 9), ‘In te sol per amor,’ is repeated in a harmonic sequence (an interval of 4th below) before the climactic melisma on ‘stampò’ (bars 25-34).

Canto

B. C.

A - ma - sti a - ma - to a - man - te E qual ve-ro ama-

to - re Ti transfor-ma - sti nel'ama - to A - - -

9
mo - re

13
Et a - man - te, &a - ma - to A - mo - re inna - mo - ra -

18
to de le sue pia - ghe san - te L'amo - ro - so sembian - te

23
Ne le tue membra impres - so In te sol per a - mor In te sol

28
per amor stam - pò -

31
se stes - so.

Example 5.2: Cifra, 'Amasti amato amante,' *Scherzi sacri, libro secondo* (Rome: Robletti 1618), no. 4.

Massenzio's 'Amasti amato amante,' (**Example 5.3**) set in a key of G minor, is included in the anthology of spiritual arias by the Roman composers, *Raccolta d'arie spirituali* (Rome: Bianchi, 1640).⁴⁴² Notably, it is the only song in *Raccolta d'arie spirituali* that is specifically scored as a duet for two tenors, the same scoring as Cifra's 1638 Latin motet for the Feast of St Francis of Assisi, 'Francis pauper et humillis.'⁴⁴³ The two tenors therefore seem to symbolize Christ and St Francis, as the duet of two male singers would suitably represent interaction between them.

Like Bernardi's setting, Massenzio also divides the madrigal into three main sections. He does so by setting G minor, A minor, and G minor as respective central tonalities for lines 1-3, 4-6, and 7-9 (see bars 1-20, 20-30, and 31-41). Moreover, the ends of lines 3 and 6 are marked with authentic cadences (bars 20 and 29-30). As if to represent the relationship between St Francis and Christ, Massenzio's setting consistently gives the sense of dialogue and union between the two Tenor voices throughout, as they often echo each other singing the same phrase individually, only to repeat them together for the third time (see bars 11-20, 34-41).

Besides an apparent division of the entire madrigal into three harmonic centres, Massenzio fully embraces the three-fold concept of love also with his creative musical figuration for the incipit itself. The word 'Amasti' is expressed by a falling melodic interval of diminished fourth that catches the attention of the listener (bars 1-4). While not a dissonance *per se* as the notes are enharmonic with the bass, such opening already establishes an affective sonority for the song as a whole. In addition, a 'mailstrom' of

⁴⁴² This collection also has Giuseppe Giamberti's setting of 'O Belle Lagrimette,' on the subject of Christ's Nativity.

⁴⁴³ See Antonio Cifra, *Sacrae Cantiones quae binis, ternis, quaternis, senis, octonis, q vocius concinuntur* (Rome: Grignani, 1638), Organ part, page 62.

melsima on ‘amante’ (‘lover’), as described by Ziane, expresses the plentiness of love (amore) that abounds this madrigal on both literary and conceptual levels (see bars 8-11).⁴⁴⁴

Furthermore, Massenzio’s similarity to previous settings by other composers can be observed by the ways in which certain texts are treated musically. For example, Massenzio applies the Lombard rhythm applied to ‘piaghe’ as an ornamentation (bars 23, 27, 29) just like how Cifra applies a trill to the same word with a ‘+’ sign. Moreover, the word ‘stampò’ is expressed by the rising figure and a short-long rhythmic pattern, which is similar to Bernardi’s treatment of the same passage. Contrary to Ziane’s assertion that the settings of ‘Amasti amato amante’ are diverse and different from each other because of stylistic differences (e.g. canzonetta vs. monody’),⁴⁴⁵ the three settings should be noted for their composers’ similar efforts – namely, the division of the poetic text into three in musical structure and bringing to focus the wounds impressed on St Francis (‘piaghe’ and ‘stampò’) – to express the key concept of the madrigal itself.



⁴⁴⁴ Ziane, *Amor divino*, 295.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 296-297.

6
 8 man - te, a - ma - to a - man - - - -

8 man - te, a - ma - to a - man - - - -

8

10
 8 - - - te, E qual vero ama - tore, E qual ve - ro ama - to -

8 - - - te, E qual vero ama - to - re, E qual ve - ro ama -

5 6

14
 8 re Ti transfor - ma - sti nell' a - ma - to a - mo - re E qual

8 to - re Ti transfor - ma - sti nell' a - ma - to a - mo - re E qual

6 5 4 3 #

18
 8 vero amator Ti transformasti nell' amato a - mo - re, Et a - mante, et a - ma - to A -

8 vero amator Ti transformasti nell' amato a - mo - re

5 6 4 3 #6

22
 8 mor in na - mora - to De le sue pia - ghe san - te
 8 Et a -

25
 8 man-te, et a - ma - to A - mor in na - mora - to De le sue pia - ghe
 6

28
 8 De le sue pia - ghe san - te L'amoro - so sem-
 8 san - te De le sue pia - ghe san - te
 4 3 6 3 4 3 #

8 bian - te Ne le tue mem - bra Ne le tue mem-bra im -
 8 L'a-mo-ro - so sem-bian - te Ne le tue mem - bra Ne le tue
 8

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a piece titled 'Amasti amato amante' by Massenzio. Each system consists of three staves: a vocal line (soprano), a lute line (treble clef), and a lute line (bass clef). The notation includes lyrics in Italian and lute tablature (numbers 1-7) placed below the bass line.

System 1 (Measures 32-34):

- Measures 32-33:** Lyrics: "pres - so Ne le tue membra impres - so".
- Measure 34:** Lyrics: "membra impres - so Ne le tue membra im - pres - so In te sol per a-".

System 2 (Measures 35-37):

- Measures 35-36:** Lyrics: "In te sol per a-mor stampò se stes -".
- Measure 37:** Lyrics: "mor stampò se stes - so".

System 3 (Measures 38-40):

- Measures 38-39:** Lyrics: "so, In te sol per a-mor stampò se stes - so, se stes - so.".
- Measure 40:** Lyrics: "In te sol per a-mor stampò se stes - so, se stes - so.".

Example 5.3: Massenzio, 'Amasti amato amante,' *Raccolta d'arie spirituali* (Rome: Bianchi, 1640), no. 16.

Pietosissimo Arciero

Andrea Bianchi's setting of 'Pietosissimo Arciero' is included in his *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci, libro primo* (Venice: Vincenti, 1612), which was dedicated to Benedetto Basciadonne (**Example 5.4**). Bianchi's collection consists of Latin motets that are suitable for various feast days and different parts of the liturgy, with the only exception being one setting of Marino's text, which he designated as 'Al Serafico Padre

S. Francesco' ('To the seraphic father S. Francesco').⁴⁴⁶ Roche further notes that it stands out stylistically by being a lighter *canzonetta* for two high voices and bass (with an instrumental basso continuo) compared to the surrounding motets, which are highly ornamented, concertato pieces.⁴⁴⁷

Despite the lighter form, it has some notable word-paintings. For instance, all voices descend at the poetic line 6 'E vinto e vincitore,' (bars 17-20) but then soon rise up again in poetic line 8, 'Ma vincitor ardito,' which serves to bring out Marino's oxymoron of St Francis being defeated but being a victor at the same time (bars 20-27). Here, the word 'ardito' is also embellished by a use of melisma. (**Example 5.4**) Furthermore, what happens musically in the last poetic line (line 10) is quite remarkable. (**bars ##**) As the bass steps ascends in semibreves, the top voices sing duet in a kind of harmonic sequence that spans every three bars (bars 33-42), which is then followed by a short canon employing additional fa-signs (Ab and Eb) over a bass drone before the final cadence. Such appearance of the fa-signs seem to represent a kind of transformation that St Francis goes because the music looks visually different on page, just like stigmata that are visible signs reflecting an inward change. Therefore, Bianchi's dramatic ending to this seemingly light *canzonetta* effectively narrates the miracle of St Francis' unification with Christ by representing both the external and internal changes represented by both stigmata and ecstasy, both of which are also ubiquitously depicted by contemporary painters.

⁴⁴⁶ Roche, 'On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal,' 307-308.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

A3. Al Serenico Padre S. Francesco

Prima parte

Pie - to-sis - si-m'arcie - ro con amor contendes-ti

Seconda Parte

Pie - to-sis - simo ar-cier - ro con amor con - ten-de-sti

Terza parte

Pie - to-sis - simo ar-cier - ro co-n amor conten-de-sti

Basso
per sonare

E-ta-mor sa-etat-t'a-mor vin-ce - sti sanguino-so guerrier

14

ro fe-ri-te ferito - re e vinto e vinci-to - re e vin-ci-to - re vin-

ro fe-rito e ferito - re e vinto e vinci-to - re

ro fe - rito e ferito - re e vinto e vinci-tore e vinto e vin-ci-to - re vin-

21

to pe-rò fe - ri - to ma vin-citor ar - di

vin - to pe-rò fe - ri - to ma vin-citor ar - di

to pe-rò fe - ri - to ma vin-citor ar - di

28

to Ch'in se - gno del - la pal - ma e della ac - qui - sto Porti l'in segne dell'a-

to ch'in se - gno del-la pal - ma e del'a -cqui - sto Porti l'in-segne de-l'a-

to ch'in se - gno del - la pal - ma e del'a -cqui-sto por - ti

35

mato Chri - sto Porti l'in se-gne dell'a - mato Chri - sto Porti l'in se-gne dell'a -

mato Chri - sto. Porti l'in-se-gne de-l'a - mato Chri - sto. Porti l'in-segne del'a-

l'in - se - gne de - l'a - ma -



Example 5.4: Bianchi, ‘Pietosissimo arciero,’ *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci*, *libro primo* (Venice: Vincenti, 1612), no. 31.

Another setting of ‘Pietosissimo arciero’ by Cifra is scored for two high voices, bass, and a basso continuo. (**Example 5.5a**). Just like Bianchi, Cifra uses descending and rising gestures to bring out the meaning of the text in poetic Lines 7-8, ‘E vinto e vincitore,’ and ‘Ma vincitor ardito,’ respectively (bars 28-35, **Example 5.5b**). The ending is notable for repeating the musical motif for the last line (line 10) ‘Porti l’ensenge de l’amato Christo’ at least five to six times across each vocal part, with each repetition transposed to a different interval (bars 39-56). Even when the bass motif in bars 39-42 (**Example 5.5b**) reappears at the same interval in bars 49-52 (**Example 5.5c**), the melodies of the top two lines are swapped. Therefore, Cifra’s musical phrases go through several transposition, never to look the same, which seem to symbolize St Francis in ecstasy, during which he becomes transformed both externally and internally.

Canto 1
Pie - to-sis - simo Arcie - ro, Con Amor contendes -

Canto 2
Pie - to - sis-simo Arcie - ro, Con Amor conten-

Canto 3
Con Amor contende - sti,

Bass

Example 5.5a: Cifra, ‘Pietosissimo arciero,’ *Scherzi sacri, libro primo* (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no 17, bars 1-4.

25,
vinci-to - re, E vin - to, e vinci-to - re, Vin - to pe-
to - re, E vin - to, e vinci-to - re, Vin - to però fe-ri - to Vin -
E vin - to, e vinci-to - re, Vinto però fe-ri - to Vin -

30,
rò fe-ri - to Ma vincitor Ma vinci-tor ar-di - to
to però fe-ri - to Ma vinci-tor Ma vinci-tor ar-di - to Ma vinci-
to però fe-ri - to Ma vincitor Ma vinci-tor ar - di - to Ma vinci-

34

Ma vinci-tor ar-di - to In se-gno de la pal - ma,e de l'ac - qui - sto

tor Ma vinci-tor ar-di - to In se - gno de la pal - ma,e de l'acqui - sto

tor ar - di - to In se - gno de la pal - ma,e de l'acqui - sto

39

Por-ti le'n segne de l'a-ma - to Chri - sto. In se - gno de la

Por-ti le'n segne de l'a-ma - to Chri - sto. In se - gno

Por-ti le'n segne d l'a-ma - to Chri - sto. In se - gno

Example 5.5b: Cifra, ‘Pietosissimo arciero,’ *Scherzi sacri, libro primo* (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no 17, bars 25-43.

48

Chri - sto. Por - ti le'n segne de l'a - ma - to Christo.

ma - to Christo. Por - ti le'n segne de l'a-ma - to de l'a - mato Chri - sto.

Chri - sto. Por - ti le'n segne d l'a-ma - to Chri -

52

Por-ti le'n segne de l'ama - to Por-ti le'n segne de l'ama - to Chri - sto.

Por-ti le'n se - gne Por-ti le'n segne de l'ama - to de l'amato Chri - sto.

sto. Por-ti le'n segne d l'ama - to Chri - sto.

Example 5.5c: Cifra, ‘Pietosissimo arciero,’ *Scherzi sacri, libro primo* (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no 17, bars 48-56.

Dentice’s setting was written for the Congregation of Oratory in Naples and dedicated Francesco Buoncompagno, Archbishop of Naples. As indicated by the continuo (partiment) part, it is in ‘stile recitativo,’ which in itself is intriguing because ‘stile recitativo’ is usually applied to monody rather than polyphony (**Example 5.6a, b, c**). Dentice’s setting juxtaposes imitative and homophonic texture, and the latter is applied to poetic lines 3, 6, 9 and first half of 10 (‘Porti le’nsegne’). There are notable musical figurations and word painting, such as the embellished bass line at the word ‘feritore’ (‘one who wounds,’ bar 20), use of falling gesture and longer note values to highlight the word ‘Vinto’ (‘defeated,’ bar 24-26), and a succession of arpeggiated melody among all voices at ‘Ma vincitor’ (‘but victor,’ bars 30-31). Here, the contrast in harmonic rhythm (slow vs. fast) and texture (homophonic vs imitative) seems to clarify the oxymoron of being ‘defeated’ while being a ‘victor’ (**Example 5.6b**)

The image displays a musical score for a four-part vocal setting with a basso continuo. The score is divided into two systems. The first system includes staves for Canto 1, Alto, Tenore, Basso, and Basso Continuo. The second system continues the vocal parts and the continuo. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the corresponding vocal staves. The music is in common time (C) and features a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes, with some rests. The basso continuo part provides a harmonic foundation for the vocal lines.

System 1:

- Canto 1:** Pie-to-sis - simo Arcie - ro Cō Amor con-ten-de-sti
- Alto:** (Rest)
- Tenore:** (Rest)
- Basso:** (Rest)
- Basso Continuo:** (Bass line with notes and rests)

System 2:

- Canto 1:** Pie - to - sis - simo Arcie - ro Cō A-
- Alto:** Pie-to - sis - simo Arcie - ro Cō Amor conten-
- Tenore:** cie - ro Pie - to - sis - simo Ar-cie - ro Cō Amor contende -
- Basso:** Pie - to - sis - simo Ar-cie - ro
- Basso Continuo:** (Bass line with notes and rests)

Example 5.6a: Dentice, ‘Pietosissimo arciero,’ *Madrigali spirituali a quattro voci, libro secondo* (Naples: Beltrano, 1640), no. 7, bars 1-8.

19

Sangui-no - so Guerrie - ro Fe - ri-to,e fe - ri -

Sangui-no - so Guerrie - ro Fe -

ri-to,e fe - ri - to - re Sangui - no - so Guerrie - ro Fe -

rie - ro Fe - ri-to,e fe - ri - to - re Fe - ri-to,e

22

to - re E vinto,e vin-ci-to-re Vin - to Vin - to

ri-to,e fe - ri - to - re E vinto,e vin-ci-to-re Vin - to Vin - to

ri-to,e fe - ri-to - re E vinto,e vin-ci-to-re Vin - to Vin - to

fe - ri - to - re E vinto,e vin-ci-to-re Vin - to Pe -

27

Pe - rò fe - ri - to

Pe - rò fe - ri - to M à vin - ci - tor

Pe - rò fe - ri - to M à vin - ci -

rò fe - ri - to M à vin - ci - tor

31

M à vin - ci - tor M à vin - ci - tor ar - di - to In

M à vin - ci - tor ar - di - to In

tor M à vin - ci - tor ar - di - to In

M à vin - ci - tor ar - di - to In

Example 5.6b: Dentice, ‘Pietosissimo arciero,’ bars 19-33.

The last poetic line, ‘Porti l’insegne’ (‘You carry he signs,’ bar 36) is introduced by a rhythmically active homophony using dotted rhythm and semiquavers, as well as a Bb-major chord, a rather unexpected tonality. Here, just like in Bianchi’s setting, the appearance of ‘fa’ sign seems to represent a musical representation (in both notation and in actual hearing) the ‘sign’ of Christ’s love that appeared on St Francis’s body as

stigmata. The music then shifts entirely to a triple meter for the rest of the text ‘del’amato Christo’ (‘of the beloved Christ,’ bars 37-44), which is filled with staggered entries of each vocal part in dotted rhythm (which had been foreshadowed in bars 34-36, when the fa-sign appeared as a Bb), giving a lively, dance-like ending to the song that has been mostly in ‘stile recitativo’ (**Example 5.6c**).

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system (bars 34-36) shows five staves with the lyrics: "se - gno de la pal - ma, e de l'acqui - sto Por - ti l'inse - gne". The second system (bars 37-44) shows five staves with the lyrics: "del ama - to Chris - to del ama - to Chri - sto". The time signature is 3/4. The music features staggered entries of vocal parts in dotted rhythm.

41

sto del a - ma - to Chris - - sto

sto del a - ma - to Chri - sto

del a - ma - to Chri - sto del a ma - to Chri - sto

del a ma - to Chri - sto del a - ma - to Chri - sto

Example 5.6c: Dentice, ‘Pietosissimo arciero,’ bars 34-44.

In summary, musical settings of ‘Pietosissimo arciero’ feature similar characteristics. Many of them seem to bring out the opposition in poetic Lines 6-8 of the St Francis as a both wounded, defeated, but being in a victor in the same time. Bianchi and Cifra seem to reflect this with a contrast of descending and ascending melodies, while Dentice uses slow and fast rhythmic values in the same place. Composers also took imaginative approaches to express the ideas of the ‘sign’ that appeared on St Francis and transformation in the last couple of lines. They did so by, for example, literally inserting a musical sign (i.e. a fa sign) for a momentary modulation or even change in metre, all of which signal a kind of transformation that happened to St Francis both on the printed music visually and aurally through sound, whether it be the mysterious sonority imparted by Bianchi’s modulation or Dentice’s change from stile recitativo to dance style. Even Cifra’s repetitive transposition—or transportation—of the musical

material for the last line into different intervals seems to signify some process of transformation.

As already discussed, sermon for the Maundy Thursday dedicated to St Francis in Cadana's *Quaresima* concluded by listing the lyrics of 'Amasti amato amante' and 'Pietosissimo Arciero.' Chronologically, Massenzio's 'Amasti amato amante' and Dentice's 'Pietosissimo aciero,' appeared in print around the same time as Cadana's *Quaresima*. While demonstrating the shared performance context of the motet and vernacular songs, Jerome Roche had suggested that vernacular settings could have a ceremonial function, hinting at the possible usage of settings of Marino's text as a motet for the feast of St Francis ('and why not Bianchi's setting of Marino as motet, even Proper substitute, on St Francis' day?').⁴⁴⁸ Furthermore, prayers and sermons followed by music were very much part of the daily experiences in Roman churches in the early seventeenth-century Rome, as evidenced by Filippo de Rossi's account of a service at Santa Maria in Vallicella (the 'Chiesa Nuova') in 1645: 'there is devout, and excellent music. On every weekday, except for Saturday, there are four sermons lasting half an hour apiece, at the end of which some spiritual motets are sung.'⁴⁴⁹ Considering such remarks, therefore, Massenzio and Dentice's settings would have made appropriate companion pieces to Cadana's sermon on St Francis, even though definitive details of the musical repertoire used routinely in such occasions are lacking.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ Roche, 'On the border between motet and spiritual madrigal,' 313.

⁴⁴⁹ 'E v'è devota, e buonissima musica. In ciaschedun giorno feriale, eccetto il sabbato, si fanno quattro sermoni di me'hora l'uno; alla fine dei quali si canta qualche mottetto spirituale [...].' Filippo De Rossi, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna* (1645), ed. Maurizio Marini (Reprint, Rome: Logart Press, 1989), 227-228; quoted from Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 3.

⁴⁵⁰ Massenzio was, in fact, hired as a lead musician in the Concertino section by the Archconfraternity of the Gonfalone for the Holy Thursday Procession of 1625. See Noel O'Regan, 'Domenico Massezio, Tullio Cima and Roman Confraternity Celebrations in the Early Seventeenth Century,' in *Tullio Cima, Domenico Massenzio e la Musica del loro Tempo* (Roma, IBIMUS, 2003), 259 and 266. This opens up a question of

Incidentally the manuscript I-Rn Mss Musicali 27 (c. 1641-1660), a collection of spiritual songs found in the National Library of Rome, contains a song with an incipit ‘Pietosissimo.’ (**Figure 5.5**) While only the bass part survives, it indicates that the music is for ‘Canto solo,’ and it is possible that this may have been a lost setting of Marino’s ‘Pietosissimo Arciero.’ More research is needed to confirm this and learn about the manuscript in general.



Figure 5.4: ‘Pietosissimo,’ I-Rn Mss Musicali 27.⁴⁵¹

Piaghe non son ma stelle

Bianciardi and Bonini, both hailing from Tuscany, seemed to prefer to set music to the madrigal addressed directly to St Francis’s stigmata, ‘Piaghe non son ma stelle.’ As previously noted, the content of Bianciardi’s *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Gardano,

whether such Holy Thursday celebration could have included St Francis as the subject, and whether his madrigal would have been sung in such occasions as well.

⁴⁵¹ Image courtesy of Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Rome); https://opac.sbn.it/risultati-ricerca-avanzata/-/opac-adv/index/1/ITICCU0014178?fieldvalue%5B1%5D=canzonette+spirituali&fieldaccess%5B1%5D=Keywords%3A1016&fieldstruct%5B1%5D=ricerca.parole_tutte%3A4%3D6&struct%3A1001=ricerca.parole_almeno_una%3A%40or%40, public domain.

1606) draws exclusively from Christ's passion and his wounds, so a madrigal about St Francis and his identification with Christ through receipt of stigmata fits well into the context. Here, again, the presence of St Francis during the Lenten season culminating in the Holy Week is consistent both in music (Bianciardi) and literature (e.g. as laid out in Cadana's sermons). It was also later in the same year that he published his third book of motet (Venice, Gardano 1607), which was dedicated to Camillo Borghese,⁴⁵² which included a four-voice motet St Clare of Assisi, 'O Clara, luce clarior,'⁴⁵³ therefore reinforcing the Franciscan theme in the composer's output.

As always, Bianciardi uses each poetic line as a clear structural basis for music, as he did in his setting of 'Sola fra suoi più cari.' In 'Piaghe non son ma stelle' (**Example 5.7**), identical (or at closely resembling) musical material is used to set incipits of poetic lines 1, 2, and 5 (bars 1-4, 5-9, 18-20) which serve as a kind of 'leitmotif.' The cadences in bars 21-2 and 31-2, which both set ideas about fire in the text, are also similar. The last line (line 8) of the madrigal, which is the climactic moment in the music, is repeated transposed down by an interval of fourth to conclude the piece. Such an approach is also commonly adapted by monodies by Cifra and Bonini.

Bianciardi's setting for three voices is mostly homophonic and syllabic, although there are occasional staggered entrances for suspension and word painting. In the very opening of the song already, there seems to be musical illustration of the word 'piaghe'

⁴⁵² The third book of motet is dated Venice, 1607 in the dedication and dedicated to Illustrissimo A C / Reverendissimo / D.D. Camillo Burghesio / Senarum Archiepiscopo / Dignissimo. However, by this time Camillo Borghese had been elected as Pope Paul V, so it is puzzling as to why the dedication did not refer to him as such, as done in the dedication of Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: 1606).

⁴⁵³ This chant is found in least a couple of sources (I-Nn vi.#.20, folio 410v, and US-Cn 24, folio 218v) dating from the thirteen century, and both St Francis of Assisi and St Claire of Assisi were active in the first half thereof. See details from CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant: <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/chant/367965>. Furthermore, a mass setting based on this chant was composed by Gaffurius. See <https://www.gaffurius-codices.ch/s/portal/item/4862>.

(wounds) by the suspension of F#-E in the alto line that creates a dissonance over the Eb held by the bass (bar 2). This suspended dissonance disappears for the next phrase that uses the identical musical but set on the word 'stelle' (stars). A couple of further word paintings to note: 1) staggered ascending melisma in all three voices at the 'foco' (fire) of the poetic line 5 (bars 20-22); and 2) ornamental turn on the 'fiamma' (flame) of the poetic line 8 in the upper two voices (bars 31-32 and 34-35). Since St Bonaventure's account emphasizes St Francis's stigmata as burning fire, it is no coincidence that Bianciardi brought out these words musically.

Canto
Pia - ghe non son ma stel - le Stel - le no

Alto
Pia - ghe non son ma stel - le Stel - le no

Basso
Pia - ghe non son ma stel - le Stel - le no

8
ma fiammel - le Di Frances - co le pia - ghe e que di - vi - no San -

ma fiam - mel - le Di Frances - co le pia - ghe e quel di - vi - no San -

ma fiammel - le Di Frances - co le pia - ghe e quel di - vi - no San -

gue cui non pa-reg-gia o stro o ru - bi - no San - gue non

gue cui non pa-reg - gia os - tro o ru - bi - no San - gue non

gue cui non pa-reg - gia o stro o ru - bi - no San - gue non

è ma fo - - - co e vi - vo ardo - re Però ch'ei nu - tre al' co -

è ma fo - co e vi - vo ardo - re Però ch'ei nutre al' co -

è ma fo - - co e vi - vo ar - do - re Pe - rò ch'ei nu - tre al' co -

re Sotto il ce-nere os-curo ond'ei si ve - ste Serafi-no terren fiam -

re Sot - to il ce-nere os-curo ond'ei si ve - ste Sera - fi-no terren fiam -

re Sot - to il ce-nere os-curo ond'ei si ve - ste Serafi-no terren fiam -

ma ce-le - ste Sera-fi-no terren fiam - ma ce-le - ste.

ma ce-le - ste Se-ra - fi-no terren fiam - ma ce-le - ste.

ma ce - le - ste Sera-fi-no terren fiam - ma ce - le - ste.

Example 5.7: Bianciardi, 'Piaghe non son ma stelle,' *Canzonette spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1606), no. 18.

There are also a couple of notable similarities between ‘Piaghe non son’ and Bianciardi’s another motet, ‘O Rex Glorïae,’ from his fourth book of motet, *Quarto Libro dei Motetti* (Siena, 1607). It is a posthumous collection of Bianciardi’s motets and was dedicated to Roberto Bellarmino, with dedication signed by Mariano Tantucci. Both songs are set in the same mode, but the latter is based on text of Antiphon for the Ascension Day⁴⁵⁴ and is scored for a duet for two voices in a median register and basso continuo. First, it uses the same opening motif of G-Eb-D as the bass line of ‘Piaghe non son,’ but without creating dissonance with the upper voice (**Example 5.8a**). Second, there is an ascending scale at the word ‘super omnes coelos ascendisti,’ therefore depicting the idea of ascension with rising notes (**Examples 5.8b and 5.8c**). In both songs, Bianciardi uses ascending notes to emphasize important ideas from the text - ‘foco’ (fire) or ‘super omnes coelos ascendisti’ (above all, ascended to heaven). While these ideas are distinct from each other, they are nevertheless effectively conveyed by the same musical figuration. Such musical correlations further demonstrate the permeability between a motet and a spiritual madrigal, blurring their distinction except for the language used (e.g. vernacular Italian vs Latin).

⁴⁵⁴ O Rex gloriæ, Domine virtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes coelos ascendisti; ne derelinquas nos orphanos, sed mitte promissum Patris in nos, spiritum veritatis. Alleluia. (O King of glory, Lord of all power, Who ascended to heaven on this day triumphant over all; Do not leave us as orphans, But send us the Father’s promise The spirit of truth. Alleluia.)

O Rex Glorïae

O rex glo-ri-ae Do - mi - ne vir

O rex glo-ri-ae Do - mi - ne vir - tu

B.C.

Example 5.8a: Bianciardi, ‘O Rex Glorïae,’ *Quarto Libro de Motetti* (Siena: 1607), bars 1-10.⁴⁵⁵

tor; qui triumph a - tor super omnes coelos ascen-di - sti;

pha - tor; super omnes coelos a-scen-di - sti; super omnes

B.C.

Example 5.8b: Bianciardi, ‘O Rex Glorïae,’ ‘O Rex Glorïae,’ *Quarto Libro de Motetti* (Siena: 1607), bars 36-41.

super omnes coelos ascen-di - sti; super omnes coelos ascen-di - sti;

coelos a-scen-di - sti; super omnes coelos a-scen-di - sti;

B.C.

Example 5.8c: Bianciardi, ‘O Rex Glorïae,’ *Quarto Libro de Motetti* (Siena: 1607), bars 42-48.

⁴⁵⁵ Examples 12-14 are based on Siro Cisilino, *Opera Omnia: Francesco Bianciardi*, ed. by Ludovico Bertazzo, Vol. 6 (Padova: Biblioteca Antoniana – Basilica del Santo, 1973), 30-31.

Bonini's setting for a solo voice and basso continuo is in a recitative style, with the text being set to music very much syllabically except for the ornamental melisma at the word 'fiammelle' ('flames') at bar 4. On occasion he repeats the poetic phrase, which is akin to what a preacher might do, and in music this is repeated either a fourth up or a fifth down (e.g. 'sangue non è' bars 9 – 10 and 'Serafino terren' bars 16 – 17). With the syllabic texture and use of repetition to emphasize certain phrases, his setting can be considered more speech-like than his other songs in a vein of *lauda*. (Example 5.9)

Canto

Pia - ghe non son, ma ste - lle Stelle nò, ma fiá - mel -

B. C.

8

le Di France - sco le pia - ghe, e quel di - vi - no san - gue cui non pa -

15

reggia ostro, ò ru - bi - no Sangue non è, san - gue non è, ma fo-co, e vivo ardo -

22

re Pe - rò, ch ei nutre al co - re Sotto il ce - nere os - cu - ro on - de si ve -

31
ste Sera-fi - no te-rren Sera-fi - no te - rren fiam - ma ce - le -

39
ste Pe - rò, ch'ei nutre al co - re Sotto il ce - nere os - cu - ro on - de si ve -

48
ste Sera-fi - no te-rren Sera-fi - no te - rren fiam - ma ce - le - ste.

Example 5.9: Bonini, ‘Piaghe non son ma stelle,’ *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (Florence: Marescotti, 1607), no. 21.

Bonini was possibly aware of the two Florentine anthologies of spiritual lyrics dedicated to St Francis (discussed earlier in the chapter), as they used texts by both Marino and Talenti, from whose spiritual output he exclusively drew in his *Madrigali e Canzoni Spirituali* (1607). Therefore, Bonini’s choice for setting ‘Piaghe non son ma stelle’ in particular for St Francis (and not one of the others by Marino) might have been influenced by Bianciardi’s publication that came only a few months before him, as Bonini used three of the same texts by Marino as used by Bianciardi.⁴⁵⁶ Because Bonini considered monody to be the best form of singing to deliver the conceits of the music, he

⁴⁵⁶ The texts common between the two composers are ‘Lancia lancia soave,’ ‘Sola fra suoi più cari,’ and ‘Piaghe non son ma stelle.’ There is a further coincidental connection between the two composers, as Bonini was recommended to a post of Maestro di Capella at Siena Cathedral a few years after Bianciardi’s death, although Bonini was never offered the position. See Colleen Reardon, *Agostino Agazzari and music at Siena Cathedral, 1597-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 40.

may even have wished to specifically compose the same texts set by Bianciardi in a contrasting style to prove his point. Whatever the circumstances and regardless of different styles used, both Bianciardi and Bonini effectively bring out the words such as ‘foco’ and ‘fiamelle,’ indicating that both composers were similarly aware and attentive to significance of Marino’s allusion to Bonaventurian metaphors of stigmata as flames.

O sante cicatrici

Cifra’s is the only known setting of ‘O sante cicatrici’ (**Example 5.10a**). He mostly juxtaposes imitative and antiphonal textures, except for lines 3 and 8 (bars 5-7 and 19-21, 23-25) that are mostly homophonic. If perfect cadences can be thought of as musical markers that divide the poem, Cifra places them at the ends of lines 1-5, 6-7, and 8, respectively. This seems logical as it is in line 6, ‘Mà per man de nemici,’ that the poem’s attention changes to contemplating the contrast between the origin of Christ’s wounds and that of Francis; and it is in line 8 (the last line) that the poem’s subject ‘Voi’ (referring to ‘sante cicatrici’ introduced in the very first line) is finally introduced. A descending melisma applied to one of the Canto lines on the word ‘care’ (‘dear’) of line 3 (bar 6) once again shows that Cifra’s melismata tend to express affective sentiments. Also as usual for Cifra, the last line is repeated at a different interval, with an extra reprise of the ending word, ‘d’Amore’ for emphasis (**Example 5.10b**).

First system of the musical score for 'O sante cicatrici'. It features five staves: Canto 1, Canto 2, Canto 3, Basso, and Basso Continuo. The music is in common time (C). The lyrics for each part are as follows:

- Canto 1:** O sante ci-ca - tri - ci Del santo innamo-ra -
- Canto 2:** O sante ci-catri - ci Del santo innamo-
- Canto 3:** O sante cica-tri - ci Del santo inna-mo-ra -
- Basso:** O sante ci-catri - ci Del santo innamora -
- Basso Continuo:** (No lyrics shown)

Second system of the musical score, starting at bar 5. It continues with the same five staves. The lyrics for each part are as follows:

- Canto 1:** - to, fur ben, ca - re, e fe - li - ci, Del Redentor piaga-to le
- Canto 2:** ra-to, fur ben, ca - re, e fe - li - ci, Del Reden tor pia-ga - to
- Canto 3:** to, fur ben, ca - re, e fe-li - ci Del Re - dentor piaga-to
- Basso:** to fur ben, ca - re, e fe - li - ci Del Reden-tor pia - ga-to le
- Basso Continuo:** (No lyrics shown)

Example 5.10a: Cifra, ‘O sante cicatrici’, *Scherzi sacri, libro secondo* (Rome: Robletti, 1618), no. 18, bars 1-8.

17
 polle, O - dio e fu - ro - re Voi sie-te di Pie - tà stampe, e-d'A-
 - re O - dio e fu ro - re Voi sie-te di Pie - tà stam-pe, ed'A-mo-
 ro-re O - dio e fu ro - re Voi sie-te di Pie - tà stampe, e-d'A-
 le, O-dio e fu - ro - re Voi sie-te di Pie - tà

23
 mo - re Voi sie-te di Pie - tà stampe, e-d'A-mo - re stam-pe, e - d'A-mo - re.
 - re Voi sie-te di Pie - tà stam-pe, e-d'A-mo - re stampe, e - d'A-mo - re.
 mo - re Voi sie-te di Pie - tà stam-pe, ed'A - mo-re stam-pe, ed'A-mo - re.
 Voi sie-te di Pie - tà stam-pe, e-d'A-mo - re stam-pe, e - d'A-mo - re.

Example 5.10b: Cifra, ‘O sante cicatrici,’ *Scherzi sacri, libro secondo* (Rome: Robletti, 1618), no. 18, bars 17-29.

In summary, Marino’s madrigals to St Francis enjoyed a wide circulation in contemporary spiritual literature, especially in the Franciscan contexts. These madrigals are full of allusion to Dante’s *Commedia* and Bonaventura’s *Legenda Maior*, and Marino’s synthesis of the two medieval literary figures must have appealed to the

contemporary religious readers, especially after the recognition of Bonaventura as the Church Doctor.⁴⁵⁷ Their wide literary dissemination is also echoed by their popularity among the musicians active in various parts Italy. The musical popularity could also be general preference for a lighter, freer form of madrigals over sonnets.⁴⁵⁸ In most cases, these musical settings are scored for an ensemble of singers, rather than monody, which make them suitable for singing by a group of musicians either in private devotions or even in a liturgical setting (e.g. in Bianchi's case).

For 'Amasti amato amante,' the composers were equally attentive to the thee-fold iteration of love that describe intimacy between St Francis and Christ, for which the stigmata served as the stamp of proof. This is reflected by the fact that the settings are mostly for a small ensemble of one to three vocal parts, often feature a duet between two vocal parts, divide the music into three distinct parts that divide up the nine-line madrigal into three sections of three lines each, and bring out the words 'piaghe' and 'stampò.' Compositional approaches to scoring, word-painting, and changes in texture are more consistent among musical settings of 'Pietosissimo arciero.' Nevertheless, composers found their own creative ways to express the text of last couplets, coming up with unique ways to musically illustrate the idea of sign that appeared on St Francis and a kind of transformation such a sign entailed. Even seemingly more contrasting settings of 'Piaghe non son ma stelle' by Bianciardi and Bonini both musically emphasize the imagery of stigmata as burning flame.

⁴⁵⁷ Dante himself was strongly indebted to Bonaventure's life of St Francis, as the spirit of Bonaventure makes appearance in Canto 12 of Dante's *Paradiso*, where he offers praise to St Dominic (in return of St Thomas Aquinas offering praise to St Francis in the previous Canto) and condemns the schism of his own order.

⁴⁵⁸ For general discussion on Marino's madrigals and their musical settings, see Alessandro Martini, 'Marino e il madrigale attorno al 1602,' *The Sense of Marino: Literature, Fine Arts and Music of the Italian Baroque* (Ottawa: Legas, 1994), ed. Francesco Guardiani, 361-393.

Some of the songs to St Francis reveal intriguing relationships between songs set in vernacular Italian and those in Latin. On the one hand, Bianchi's 'Pietosissimo arciero,' the only Italian song in his book of motets, is in a lighter style of *canzonetta* compared to the Latin motets that surround it. On the other, Bianciardi's 'Piaghe non son ma stelle' shares some stylistic or motivic similarities with his own posthumous Latin motets. We are thus faced with contrasting cases that blur the distinction between vernacular spiritual songs and motets. In the former case, the two seem to share the same performance contexts but are contrasting in musical styles in which they are set. In the latter case, however, they are stylistically similar but placed in separate performance contexts. One could understand these as consequences of the nature of Marino's madrigals investigated so far in this chapter: their ability to be interpreted paraliturgically, just like motets or sermons, which allowed them to be permeated into various performance spaces.

St Mary Magdalene in poetry and music in the early seventeenth century

St Mary Magdalene occupied a significant place in the early seventeenth-century lyric poetry—especially in Marino’s output⁴⁵⁹—and musical settings of poems (mostly by Marino) to Mary Magdalene was just as copious as those of his poems to St Francis of Assisi. For instance, Bonini’s *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (1607) contained not just one but two songs for Mary Magdalene based on texts by Marino and Talenti, side-by-side. This gave a rather special position for the saint, as Bonini’s *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (1607) otherwise only contained one song per subject. Moreover, Cifra’s *Scherzi Sacri* (1616 and 1618) contained five songs addressed to Mary Magdalene (compared to three addressed to St Francis), concerning three key events of Mary Magdalene’s hagiography: her repentance at Jesus’s feet, her seeing Christ after Resurrection, and her retirement to a deserted place as a hermit.⁴⁶⁰

While Mary Magdalene carried with her many attributes as a saint from the Medieval and Renaissance periods, namely that of a sinners’ saint, the persona of the ‘penitent Magdalene’—which associated Mary Magdalene with the penitent sinner in Luke’s Gospel Chapter 7—was the most ubiquitous depiction of her in the post-Tridentine period, as attested by countless illustration of her in artworks and print books.⁴⁶¹ Geschwind, among other scholars, has pointed out such representation was

⁴⁵⁹ See Martini, ‘Divozioni di Marino,’ 187 and 189 and Alessandro Martini, ‘Le canzoni di Giovan Battista Marino: morfologia, funzione, distribuzione,’ in *Studi in Onore di Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo per suoi Settant’Anni*, Vol. 1 (Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2007), 611.

⁴⁶⁰ Rorke, ‘Spiritual Madrigals,’ 126-127.

⁴⁶¹ For a comprehensive investigation of the complex figure of Mary Magdalene and her representations, see Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1993). For the representation of Mary Magdalen in Baroque art, especially with regards to its transition from late Renaissance to the Romantic period, see Jayna Hoffacker, ‘The Uncontainable Sexuality of a Penitent Woman: the Magdalen between Baroque and Contemporary Art,’ in *Mary Magdalene from the New Testament to the New Age and Beyond*, ed. Edmondo F. Lupieri (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 277-283. For an overview of medieval hagiology of Mary Magdalene as the model of contemplative life, evangelizing

intended not only to invite the devotees to the sacrament of penance but also to convert prostitutes, which were a growing concern in large cities like Rome and Venice in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁶² She was also often depicted in ecstasy, sometimes even accompanied by angelic musicians, thus sharing a common iconographical trope as that of St Francis of Assisi.⁴⁶³

There is a potential, if not fairly obvious, association between St Mary Magdalene and Maria Maddalena of Austria (1589-1631), who was the Archduchess of Tuscany from 1609 via marriage to Cosimo II of Medici (1590-1621) until his death in 1621.⁴⁶⁴ Bonini, in fact, penned a *canzone* for the wedding of Maria Maddalena to Cosimo II of Tuscany in 1608.⁴⁶⁵ Furthermore, Giovanni Valentini dedicated to her his *Musiche, Quarto Libro* (1621), which featured an elaborate, six-voice setting of ‘Poiche rotti e lacci,’ Marino’s madrigal dedicated to Mary Magdalene and her hair with which she wiped Jesus’s feet. Besides Maria Maddalena of Austria as the Archduchess of Tuscany, a special devotion to Mary Magdalene might have also been fostered by a renowned locale female saint, Maria Maddalena de’ Pazzi (1566-1607), who was later beatified in 1626 by Pope Urban VIII and canonized in 1669 by Pope Clement X.

apostle, and penitent prostitute, see Seth J. A. Alexander, ‘The Magdalene of Medieval Hagiography,’ in *Ibid.*, 176-188. For the account of Mary Magdalene as a repentant sinner in printed books of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Rachel Geschwind, ‘The Printed Penitent: Magdalene Imagery and Prostitution Reform in Early Modern Italian Chapbooks and Broadsheets,’ in *Mary Magdalene: Iconographic Studies from the Middle Ages to the Baroque*, ed. Michelle A. Erhardt and Amy M. Morris (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 107-133.

⁴⁶² See Geschwind, ‘Printed Penitent,’ 108-113.

⁴⁶³ Ziane, ‘Affetti Amorosi Spirituali,’ 176-177.

⁴⁶⁴ She was a daughter of Charles II, Archduke of Austria (1540-1590) and Maria Anna of Bavaria (1551-1608), as well as a sibling of Archduke Maximilian Ernest (1583-1616) and Archduke Ferdinand (1578-1637), the future Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II (1619-1637).

⁴⁶⁵ Severo Bonini, *Canzone per le Felicissime Nozze di Serenissimi di Toscana, Don Cosimo Medici e Maddalena d’Austria* (Florence: Marescotti, 1608).

Mary Magdalene and a celestial archer: ‘M’hai già per darmi vita’

Previous studies on songs about Mary Magdalene tended to focus on settings of Marino’s ‘Questa che ’n atto supplice, e pentita,’ an *ottava rima* specifically addressing Titian’s painting of *Mary Magdalene in Penitence*, revealing how Titian’s painting inspired Marino’s poetry, which in turned inspired music based on it.⁴⁶⁶ Other musical adaptations of Marino’s poetry to Mary Magdalene, however, explored Mary Magdalene as the wounded lover, or herself as a lover or an archer who wounds, therefore sharing with St Francis of Assisi the image of Christ’s spiritual lover. Marino’s ‘M’hai già per darmi vita,’ for example, is dedicated to the moment when she washed Jesus’s feet and features the ‘celestial archer’ wounding Mary Magdalene, quite similarly to Marino’s madrigal to St Francis, ‘Pietosissimo Arciero’:

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 211, Madrigals 195

<i>Lachrymis coepit rigare pedes eius.</i> ⁴⁶⁷	She began to wash his feet with tears.
M’hai già, per darmi vita, Celeste arcier ferita; Del tuo divino amore Sento lo strale al core. Ecco, ch’a l’onda viva Qual serva fuggitiva, L’alma piagata langue, E questo pianto mio de l’alma è sangue.	The Celestial Archer has now wounded me in order to give me life: I feel the arrow of your divine Love at my heart. Behold, just as a runaway doe crying in despair, the wounded soul languishes, and these my tears are the blood of my soul. ⁴⁶⁸

As pointed out by Rorke, this particular madrigal applies the ‘life-death’ antithesis to the conversion of Mary Magdalene. Giovanni Azzolini’s contemporary sermon on Mary

⁴⁶⁶ Margaret Rorke, ‘St. Mary Magdalen – A Painting, A Poem, and a Madrigal,’ in *Music from the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Gwin S. McPeck*, ed. Carmelo Peter Comberiati and Matthew C. Steel (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1988), 112-29.

⁴⁶⁷ See Luke 7:38 (Vulgate).

⁴⁶⁸ Trans. by Margaret Rorke. See Rorke, ‘Spiritual Madrigals,’ 146.

Magdalene's conversion by Giovanni Azzolini (d. 1655) also uses a series of such hyperboles or antithesis:

Magdalene at the same time gives birth and is born: kills and gives life: extinguishes and illuminates: finishes and begins: is decrepit and young: is dreary and is vermilion: is burned and is renewed: dies and lives: is burned to ashes and blushes: is buried and rises again: becomes a rom and is left a bird.⁴⁶⁹

Azzolini's text can be rather easily interpreted if we recognize Mary Magdalene as a model of a former sinner converted to Christ's follower: sin leads to death, but Christ gives life. By giving her imagery of burning to ashes and becoming renewed, Azzolini seems to also compare her to the Phoenix, which was a symbol of Resurrection and a metaphor applied to St Lawrence in Marino's text (as discussed later in this chapter).

The earliest setting of 'M'hai già per darmi vita' is Mariano Tantucci's three-voice *canzonetta* (**Example 5.11**), which modifies Marino's text slightly to make it strophic and three verses of equal length:

Tantucci, 'M'hai già per darmi aita,' *Canzonette a tre voci delli affettuoso et invaghito* (Venice: 1603)

M'hai già per darmi aita
Celeste Arcier ferita
Del tuo divino Amore
Sento lo strale al core.

The Celestial Archer has now
wounded me in order to help me.;
I feel the arrow
of your divine Love at my heart.

Ecco che all'onda viva
Qual Cerva fuggitiva
L'alma piagata langue
Versa pianto per sangue.

Behold, just as a runaway doe
crying in despair,
the wounded soul languishes,
pouring out tears for blood.

Le mie lagrime ardenti
Sono aurore lucenti
E spunta chiaro adorno
Ne la tua grazia il giorno.

My burning tears
are shining dawns
and the day springs, clear and adorned,
in your grace.

⁴⁶⁹ Giuseppe Scopa, *Saggio di Nuove Ricerche sulle Origine del Secentismo* (Naples: d'Auria, 1906), 94, quoted from Rorke 145.

The third stanza of Tantucci's setting is actually borrowed from Marino's 'Queste lagrime pie,' which is a madrigal on the same subject that immediately follows 'M'hai già per darmi vita' and compares Mary Magdalene's tears to morning dews and frosts that foreshadows a clear day brought by Jesus as its sunlight:

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 212, Madrigal 196

Al medesimo soggetto.

Queste lagrime pie,
Ch'a piè di tua pietade
Stillan le luci mie,
O Sol, d'alta bontade,
Quasi brine e rugiade
Di mattutina Aurora,
Al cor, d'ogn'intorno
Vivace speme infiora,
Mostran che chiaro adorno
Già spunta già de la tua gratia il giorno.

To the same subject

These pious tears,
which distill my lights
to feet of your mercy—
Oh, Sun of high goodness—
like frosts and dews
of the morning dawn,
decorating each heart
with lively hopes,
show that the day already springs clear and
adorned by your grace.



Example 5.11: Mariano Tantucci, ‘M’hai già per darmi aita,’ *Canzonette a tre voci delli affettuoso et invaghito* (Venice: 1603), no. 7, Canto Secondo part.⁴⁷⁰

Another composer, Vincenzo Simili, also combined Marino’s ‘M’hai già per darmi vita’ and ‘Queste lagrime pie’ to create a coherent *canzonetta spirituale* for three voices (**Example 5.12a, b, c**) Simili kept Marino’s texts intact, setting the entire ‘M’hai già per darmi vita’ as the first section (*Prima Parte*), while splitting the text of ‘Queste lagrime pie’ into second and third sections (*Seconda Parte, Terza Parte*). Furthermore,

⁴⁷⁰ Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, U.38; http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_U/U038/, public domain.

new texts inspired by Marino's original are interspersed as additional verses for each section, making them also strophic:

Vincenzo Simili, 'M'hai già darmi vita,' and 'Queste lagrime pie,' *Canzonette a Tre Voci* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1610), no. 6-7

Prima Parte

Verse 1

M'hai già, per darmi vita,
Celeste arcier ferita;
Del tuo divino amore
Sento lo strale al core.
Ecco, ch'a l'onda viva
Qual serva fuggitiva,
L'alma piagata langue,
E questo pianto mio de l'alma è sangue.

Verse 2

Deh, già, che m'hai ferita
O' mia bramata vita
Col tuo pungente strale,
Prendi ò mio Dio immortale
Quest'alma, e questo core.
Piagato del tuo amore,
Ch'io non voglio altro amante,
Che te solo GIESU forte, e costante.

Seconda Parte

Verse 1

Queste lagrime pie,
Ch'a piè di tua pietade
Stillan le luci mie,
O Sol, d'alta bontade,
Quasi brine e rugiade.

Verse 2

Son queste aurate chiome,
Che in tanti lacci involte
Per farmi eterno il nome
Furno in beltà rivolte,
Hora tutte raccolte.

Part One

Verse 1

The Celestial Archer has now
wounded me in order to give me life:
I feel the arrow
of your divine Love at my heart.
Behold, just as a runaway doe
crying in despair,
the wounded soul languishes,
and these my tears are the blood of my soul

Verse 2

Oh, that you have wounded me already,
oh, my coveted life,
with your piercing arrow,
take, Oh my immortal God,
this soul and this heart.
Pierced by your love,
I want no other lover
than you alone JESUS, strong, and constant.

Part Two

Verse 1

These *are* pious tears,
which distill my lights
to feet of your mercy—
Oh, Sun of high goodness—
like frosts and dews.

Verse 2

These are the golden locks,
entwined with so many laces,
making my name eternal;
They were turned into beauty,
now all gathered together.

Terza Parte

Verse 1

Di mattutina Aurora,
Al cor, d'ogn'intorno
Vivace speme infiora,
Mostran che chiaro adorno
Già spunta già de la tua gratia il giorno.

Verse 2

In te signor pietoso
Con lagrime d'amore
Con affetto amoroso,
Mi legano qui il core
A pie di tuoi, con pianto e con dolore.

Part Three

Verse 1

Of the morning dawn,
decorating each heart
with lively hopes,
they show that the day already springs
clear and adorned by your grace.

Verse 2

In you, merciful Lord,
with tears of love,
with loving affection,
they bind my heart here
at your feet, with weeping and with sorrow.

Thus, both Tantucci and Simili's settings of 'M'hai già per darmi vita,' turn madrigals to Mary Magdalene's washing of Jesus's feet into strophic, thee-part *canzonette spirituali* with some textual intervention. The music themselves are generally syllabic and hardly uses word-painting or melisma, except for an expression of languishing soul in Simili's 'M'hai già per darmi vita' via a slow rhythmic pulse of minims (**Example a**, bars 19-24). As already demonstrated in Chapters 2 and 4, three-part *canzonette spirituali* were especially suited for devotional contexts that meditated on Christ's passion. Thus, Mary Magdalene's moment of conversion, a moment in which she was saved from sin (death) by turning to and loving Christ (life), was just as significant as the theme to be contemplated through singing of strophic *canzonette*.

M'hai già per darmi vi - ta Ce - leste arcier fe - ri - va Del tuo

M'hai già per darmi vi - ta Ce - leste arcier fe - ri - va Del tuo

M'hai già per darmi vi - ta Ce - leste arcier fe - ri - va Del tuo

di - vi-n'amo - re Sen - to lo stra - le Sen-to lo

di - vi - n'a-mo - re Sen-to lo stra-le Sen - to lo stra - le a

di - vi-n'a - mo - re Sen - to lo stra - le Sen-to lo stral'al

strale a co - re, Ec-co ch'al'on-da vi - va Qual cerva fugi - ti - va

co - re, Ec-co ch'al'on-da vi - va Qual cerva fugi - ti - va

co - re, Ec-co ch'al'on-da vi - va Qual cerva fugi - ti - va

l'al - ma pia - ga - ta lan - gue, E que-sto

l'al - ma pia - ga - ta lan - gue, E que-sto

l'al - ma pia - ga - ta lan - gue, E que-sto

26.

pian-to mio E que-stop pian-to mio de l'al - ma e san - gue

pian-to mio E que-stop pian-to mio de l'alma e san - - gue

pian-to mio E que-stop pian-to mio de l'al - ma e san - gue

Example 5.12a: Vincenzo Simili, 'M'hai già darmi vita,' *Canzonette a Tre Voci*
(Ferrara: Baldini, 1610) no. 6.

Que - ste la - grime pi - e, Ch'à pie di tua pie - ta -

Que - ste la - grime pi - e, Ch'à pie di tua pie -

Que - ste la - grime pi - e, Ch'à pie di tua pie - ta -

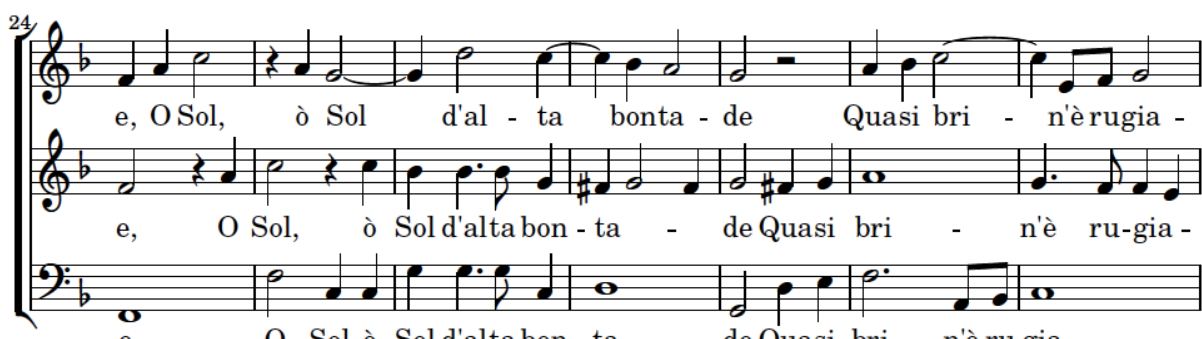
8

- de Stillan le lu-ci mi - e. Que - ste la - grime

ta - de Stillan le lu - - ci mi - e. Que - ste la - grime pi -

- de Stillan le lu - ci mi - e. Que - ste la - grime pi -

16. 

24. 

31. 

Example 5.12b: Vincenzo Simili, ‘Queste lagrime pie,’ *Canzonette a Tre Voci* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1610), no. 7, Part 1.

Di ma - tu - tina auro - ra al cor cui d'ogn'in - tor - no

Di ma - tu - tina auro - ra al cor cui d'ogn'in - tor - no Vi -

Di ma - tu - tina auro - ra al cor cui d'ogn'in - tor - no Vi -

6 Vi - va - ce spem'in-fio - ra Vi - va - ce spem'in-fio -

va - ce spem'in - fio - ra Vi - va - ce spe - m'in-fio -

va - ce spem'in - fio - ra Vi - va - ce spem'in - fio -

11 ra Mo - stran che chia - ro a - dor - no. Già spu - nta già

ra Mo - stran che chia - ro a - dor - no. Già spu - nta

ra Mo - stran che chiaro a - dor - no. Già

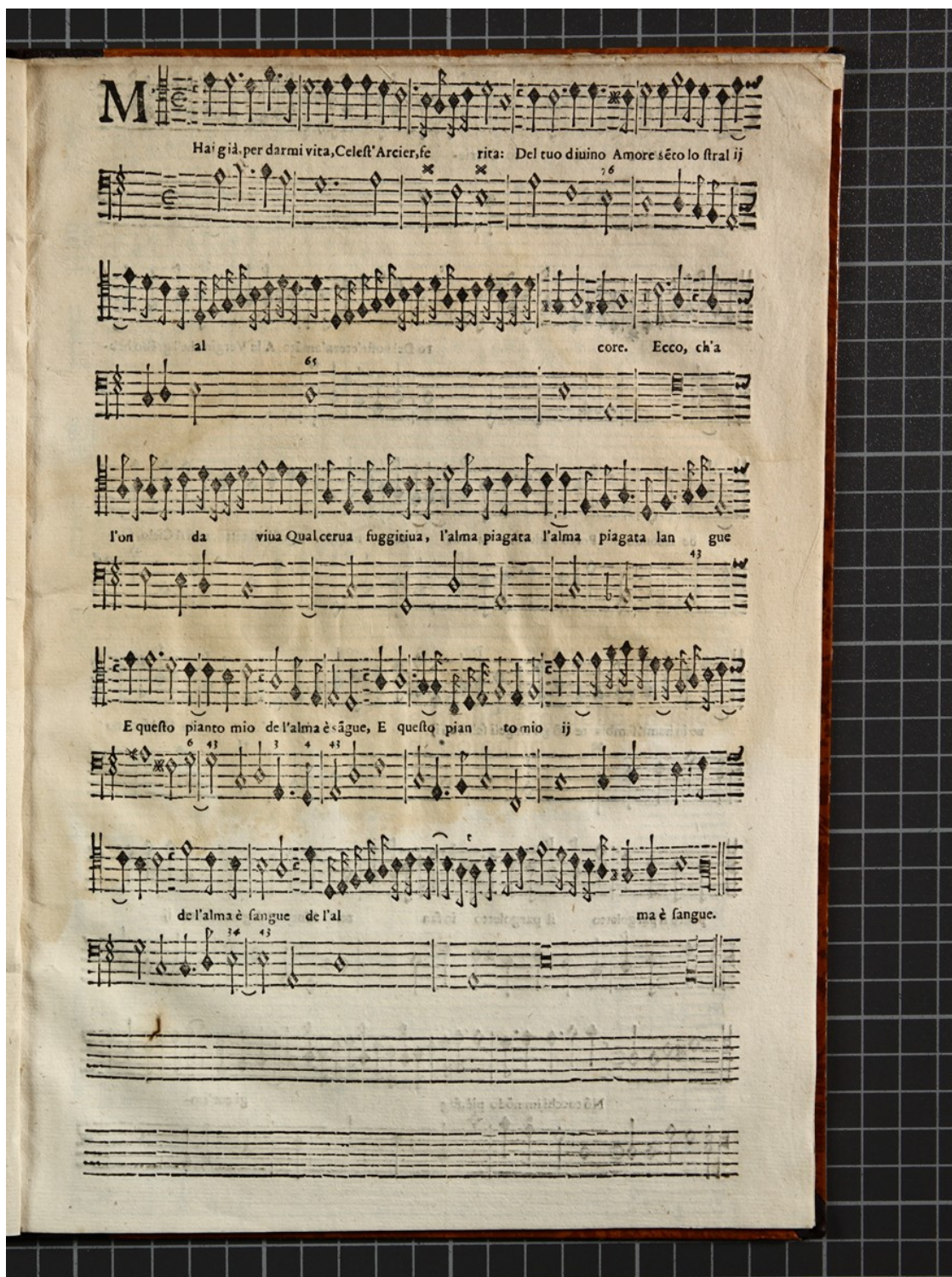
16 già spu - nta già del - la tua gra - tia il gior - no.

già già spu - nta già del - la tua gratia il gior - no.

spu - nta già già spu - nta già della tua gratia il gior - no.

Example 5.12c: Vincenzo Simili, 'Di matutina aurora,' *Canzonette a Tre Voci* (Ferrara: Baldini, 1610), no. 7, Part 2.

On the contrary, Antonio Cifra's 'M'hai già per darmi vita' from his *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo* (1616) is a through-composed monody for a solo tenor. This implies a male speaker, and therefore plays on the subjectivity of the poetic text. It could be either a male speaker identifying with Mary Magdalene or even Jesus himself as the wounded lover speaking to Mary Magdalene. Cifra applies his signature, florid melisma at the end of first and second sections of the madrigal—'Sento lo strale al core' and 'l'alma è sangue'—therefore embellishing the words 'core' ('heart') and 'alma' ('soul') (**Example 5.13**).



Example 5.13: Cifra, 'M'hai già darmi vita,' *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo* (1616), no. 9.⁴⁷¹

⁴⁷¹ Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, U.38; http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_U/U038/, public domain.

Mary Magdalene as a warrior-archer: ‘Poiche rotte e distrutte’

If Mary Magdalene’s moment of conversion invoked the celestial archer’s intervention in ‘M’hai già per darmi vita,’ Marino draws a comparison between a warrior-archer and Mary Magdalene in his ‘Poiche rotte e distrutte’:

Marino, *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 83

Capillis capitis sui tergebat.

Vulnerasti cor meum in uno crine colli tui.

She wiped them with the hairs her head.

(Luke 7:38)

Thou hast wounded my heart with one hair of thy neck. (Song of Songs 4:9)

Poiche rotte e distrutte

Vider degli archi lor le corde tutte

Le Guerriere Latine,

Fecero agli archi lor corde del crine.

O bellissima Arciera, e tu che scocchi

Strali ardenti dagli occhi

Per ferire il tuo Christo, ecco a le frecce

Aggiungi anco le trecce.

Come possibil sia, che chiome e sguardi

Non gli pungano il cor con mille dardi?

Because the female Latin Warriors saw all the strings of their bows broken and destroyed, they made their strings out of hair. Oh, beautiful Archer, and you who shoot burning arrows from your eyes to wound your Christ, here you even add your tresses to the arrows. How would it be possible for hair and glances not to strike his heart with thousand arrows?

The rubric of ‘Poiche rotte e distrutte’— *Capillis capitis sui tergebat. Vulnerasti cor meum in uno crine colli tui*—combines and ties together excerpts from Luke 7:38 and Song of Songs 4:9:

Luke 7:38 (Vulgate):

et stans retro secus pedes eius, lacrimis coepit rigare pedes eius et capillis capitis sui tergebat et osculabatur pedes eius et unguento unguebat.

and standing behind at his feet, she began to wash his feet with tears and wiped them with the hairs of her head and kissed his feet and anointed them with the ointment.

Song of Songs 4:9 (Vulgate):

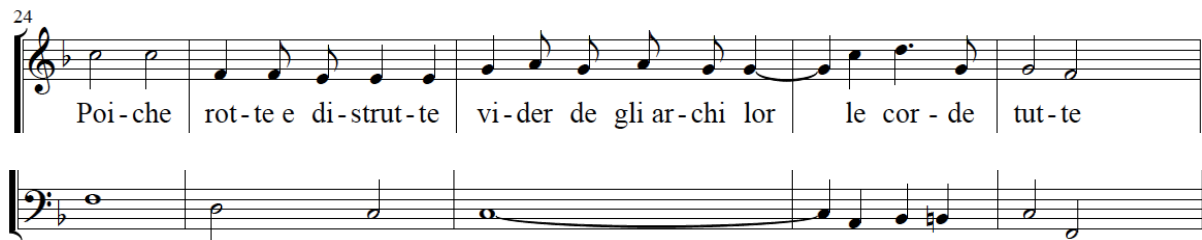
Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa; vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum et in uno crine colli tui.

Thou hast wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse; thou hast wounded my heart with one of thy eyes and with one hair of thy neck.

‘Poiche rotte e distrutte’ therefore infuses together figures of a female Latin warrior, Mary Magdalene, and the spouse of Christ in the Song of Songs. Mary Magdalene is foremost depicted as a warrior and compared to ‘Latin warriors’ that made their bows from their hair. The madrigal plays on the literary topoi of a lady who shoots arrows of love from her eyes: Mary Magdalene, who washed and wiped Jesus’s feet with her tears and wiped them with her hair, must have won Jesus’s heart not only with arrows (equated with her tears) shooting out from her eyes, but also tresses of her hair, as the spouse of Christ in Song of Songs wounds him not only with one of eye but also with one of her hair.

Giovanni Valentini’s ‘Poiche rotte e distrutte’ is an elaborate setting for six vocal parts (Canto, Sesto, Alto, Tenor, Quinto, and Bass), chitarroni, and basso continuo. It even has an instrumental sonata as a prelude to (as well as a *ritornello* within) the main text, which is introduced by a Canto solo (**Example 5.14a**). Words describing the parts of bow and arrows are often emphasized with melisma and dotted rhythm, such as ‘archi’ (‘bows’) (**Example 5.14b**), ‘scocchi’ (‘you shoot’) (**Example 5.14c**), ‘frecce’ (‘arrows’) (**Example 5.14d**), and ‘trecce’ (‘tresses’) (**Example 5.14e**). After a series of melismatic passages among all vocal parts in imitative texture the penultimate line (line 9: ‘Come possibil sia, che chioe e sguardi’) is cast as a pure homophony (**Example 5.14f**), which then plunges into a cascading imitation among all voices (**Example 5.14g**) of the last line (line 10: ‘Non gli pungano il cor con mille dardi?’), finishing on Sesto and Alto parts’ trill-like embellishment on the word ‘dardi’ (**Example 5.14h**). Overall, Valentini’s setting is a musical tour-de-force that allows the listener to imagine thousands of arrows being shot from Mary Magdalene’s eyes or even the storm of flying arrows in a

battlefield, therefore cleverly drawing on Marino's comparison of Mary Magdalene to a female Latin Warrior. As Valentini's *Musiche di Camera...Libro Quarto* (1621) was dedicated to Maria Maddalena of Austria, such a lofty representation of Mary Magdalene might have also paid homage to powerful dynasties of the House of Habsburg from which she hailed and the Medici family to which she acted a regent through her marriage to Cosimo II.



Example 5.14a: Giovanni Valentini, 'Poiche rotte e distrutte,' *Musiche di Camera...Libro Quarto* (Venice: Vincenti, 1621), no. 12, bars 24-28 (showing Canto, Chitarroni, and Basso continuo lines only).⁴⁷²

38

Fe-ce-ro agl' ar- chi lor cor-de del cri- Fe-ce-ro agl' ar- chi lor cor-de del

Example 5.14b: Giovanni Valentini, 'Poiche rotte e distrutte,' bars 38-42 (showing Canto, Sesto, and Basso continuo lines only).

⁴⁷² Modern edition by Lorenzo Girodo (published 2017), accessed on 5 October 2024 via IMSLP: https://ks15.imslp.org/files/imglnks/usimg/e/e6/IMSLP597865-PMLP961829-VALENTINI_Musiche_di_camera_libro_quarto_1621.pdf

72

E tu che scoc- chi

Example 5.14c: Giovanni Valentini, 'Poiche rotte e distrutte,' bars 72-74 (showing Canto, and Basso continuo lines only).

8

Ec - co a le frec - ce

Ec - co a le frec - ce Ec - co a le

Ec - co a le frec - ce

Example 5.14d: Giovanni Valentini, 'Poiche rotte e distrutte,' bars 91-93 (showing Tenor, Quinto, Basso, and Basso continuo lines only).

94

Ag - giun - gi an - co le trec-

98

- ce le trec-ce le trec-

Example 5.14e: Giovanni Valentini, 'Poiche rotte e distrutte,' bars 94-100 (showing Canto, and Basso continuo lines only).

101

ce Co - me pos - si - bil sia che chio - me sguar - di

Co - me pos - si - bil sia che chio - me e sguar - di

Co - me pos - si - bil sia che chio - me e sguar - di

ce Co - me pos - si - bil sia che chio - me e sguar - di che chio - me e sguar -

Co - me pos - si - bil sia che chio - me e sguar - di che chio - me e sguar -

Co - me pos - si - bil sia che chio - me e sguar - di che chio - me e sguar -

Example 5.14f: Giovanni Valentini, ‘Poiche rotte e distrutte,’ bars 101-107 (showing Canto, Sesto, Alto, Tenor, Quinto, and Basso lines only).

108

Non gli pun - ga - no il cor Non gli pun - ga - no il cor

Non gli pun - ga - no il cor

Non gli pun - ga - no il cor

di Non gli pun - ga - no il cor

- di Non gli pun - ga - no il cor

- di Non gli pun - ga - no il cor

Example 5.14g: Giovanni Valentini, ‘Poiche rotte e distrutte,’ bars 108-110 (showing Canto, Sesto, Alto, Tenor, Quinto, and Basso lines only).

128

con mil - le dar - di.
dar - di con mil - le dar - di.
dar - di con mil - le dar - di.
con mil - le dar - di.
- di con mil - le dar - di.
- di con mil - le dar - di.

Example 5.14h: Giovanni Valentini, ‘Poiche rotte e distrutte,’ bars 128-130 (showing Canto, Sesto, Alto, Tenor, Quinto, and Basso lines only).

Mary Magdalene as a repentant sinner

Having discussed Mary Magdalene and her love’s arrow, it is worth revisiting her imagery as the repentant sinner—which, after all, was the most ubiquitous representation of her—but in a little known poetical and musical context: Marino’s ‘Quando formò di Dio.’ Given the rubric of *Penitent Magdalne* (*‘Maddalena pentita’*), it is the longest *canzone* ever written by Marino, having 52 stanzas in total.⁴⁷³ The second part of the rubric, ‘ut cognovit,’ is an excerpt from Luke 7:37:

Et ecce mulier, quae erat in civitate
peccatrix, ut cognovit quod accubisset
in domo pharisei, attulit alabastrum
unguenti

and, behold, a woman in the city, which was a
sinner, when she knew that Jesus sat at meat
in the Pharisee’s house, brought an alabaster
box of ointment’

⁴⁷³ Martini, ‘Divozioni di Marino,’ 189.

Combined with the rubric, the first three stanzas retells the beginning of the Creation, thus illustrating the conversion of Mary Magdalene as an enlightenment that came to her upon encountering Jesus, just like the light that was first created by God when the world was still covered in darkness⁴⁷⁴:

Marino, *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 73, first three stanzas

Maddalena pentita.
Ut cognovit.

Penitent Magdalene,
When she knew.

¹Quando formò di Dio
L'omnipotente mano
L'edificio mondano,
Prima, ch'altro facesse il Fattor pio
Fra le tenebre sue la luce aprio.

When the omnipotent hand of God
created the worldly edifice,
the holy Creator opened the light among
its darkness before anything else.

²E quando involto e chiuso
Ne l'Abbisso profondo
Riforma il picciol mondo,
Anco nel peccator prima ha per uso
Spirar de la sua grazia il lume infuso.

And when he reforms the little world,
wrapped and closed in the deep Abyss,
he even has for use in the first sinner
to breathe the infused light of his grace.

³Tosto che questo raggio
Illustrò Madalena,
A la mente serena
L'intelletto tornò, che poco saggio
Correa già rischio di mortal viaggio.

As soon as this ray illustrated Madalena,
the little, wise intellect that already ran the
risk of mortal journey, returned to the
serene mind (God).

Excerpts from 'Quando formò di Dio' were set to music by Pietro Pace and Alfronso Montesano. Pace's *Il Primo Libro de Scherzi Spirituali et Arie Spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1615), in fact, exerted a strong presence of Mary Magdalene, including not only three stanzas from 'Quando formò di Dio' (no. 1-3) as opening songs

⁴⁷⁴ Genesis 1:1-3: ¹In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram. ²Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi: et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas. ³Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux. ('¹In the beginning God created heaven, and earth. ²And the earth was void and empty, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved over the waters. ³And God said: Be light made. And light was made.')

for two to six vocal parts, but also a stanza from ‘Questo che ‘n atto supplice e pentita’ (no. 8-9). Judging from the only surviving part (Canto Secondo) of *Primo Libro de Scherzi Spirituali*, Pace took liberty with the ordering of stanzas, setting stanzas 27, 21, 24 in sequence:

Pace, *Il Primo Libro de Scherzi Spirituali et Arie Spirituali* (1615), Canto Secondo,
no. 1-3.

²⁷ Amor vile, Amor cieco, Amor no, ma Tiranno, Odio più tosto, affanno, Chi ti fe’ tanto impero usurpar meco, Ch’altro che nodi e piaghe al cor non reco?	Vile love, blind love, not Love, but Tyrant, rather, hate, distress, who made you seize such an empire with me? What other knots and wounds do I bear in my heart?
²¹ Perché da te non scoti Sì dura e grave salma Ingrata e perfid’alma? Ingrata a chi t’ornò di tante doti, Che contro il donator la spada arroti?	Why do you not leave the body, so hard and grave, ungrateful and perfidious soul? So ungrateful to who adorned you with so many gifts that you sharpen your sword against your giver?
²⁴ Sù sù rivolgì il passo, Ove t’attende a mensa, ⁴⁷⁵ L’alta bontate immensa, Piova fiumi di pianto il cor di sasso: Carne a Dio, mondo a Dio, scherzi vi lasso.	Up, up you turn your step, where the high, immense kindness awaits you at the table, the heart of stone rains rivers of weeping: flesh to God, world to God, jests I leave you.

As they are taken out of the context of the rest of the *canzone*, Pace’s adapted stanzas avoid the specificity of Mary Magdalene as the protagonist. Rather, it forms a narrative or a dialogue of its own—namely, between the soul and body— which invites the sinners to examine their consciousness and reject the worldly things, such as the ‘vile’ and ‘blind’ Love (capitalized, presumably referring to the earthly Cupid, or mortal love). Such a dialogue between the body and soul has a parallel in Cavalieri’s *Rappresentazione di Anima et di Corpo* (1600) whose libretto was penned by an Oratorian priest, Agostino

⁴⁷⁵ Pace has ‘Quest’attende a mensa’ instead, translating to ‘this high immense...’ instead of ‘where the high, immense...’

Manni and performed at the oratory of Chiesa Nuova. Pace's *Primo Libro de Scherzi Spirituali* (1615) were written especially for the Jesuit services in their oratories in Loreto, where they worked as confessors.⁴⁷⁶ Thus, the text about Mary Magdalene as a repentant sinner could work effectively as vehicles of devotional songs inviting repentance. A potential pun between the text and music would occur when musicians sing the word 'scherzi' in the concluding stanza, making reference to the title of Pace's songbook: *Scherzi Spirituali*.

Similarly, Montesano set just two neighboring stanzas, Stanzas 30 and 31, as Parts 1-2 of his concluding madrigals for *Madrigali a cinque voci...libro primo* (Naples: Beltrano, 1622). Like Pace's adaptation, Montesano's excerpt again serves as a stand-alone text reflecting the resolution to reject the world, offering to listeners the Magdalenian model of penitence without specifying her as the subject:

Montesano, *Madrigali a cinque voci...libro primo* (1622) no. 20-21:

³⁰ Itene insani affetti, Vanagloria, e beltate, Occasion malnate Sol di danno e di duol, lascivi oggetti, E mortalmente amabili dilette:	Leave, insane affections, boastfulness, and beauty, wicked opportunity, lascivious objects only of harm and of pain, and mortally sweet delights
³¹ Rotti lacci, ond'intorno Ebbero l'anima avolta, Io vi rifiuto, e sciolta, E punta il cor di generoso scorno, Ecco al mio Redentor faccio ritorno.	Broken laces, whence my soul was wrapped around, I refuse you, and loosened, and the heart shot by generous scorn, here I return to my Redeemer.

⁴⁷⁶ Paul V. Murphy, 'Jesuit Rome and Italy,' in *The Cambridge Companion to The Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 83.

Settings of ‘Quando formò di Dio’ by Pace and Motesano demonstrate how texts about Mary Magdalene, due to her prominent image in the early modern period as the penitent sinner, could be used to invite compunction from the devotees.

Songs for St Lawrence

Little attention has been given to Marino’s two madrigals addressed to St Lawrence, despite numerous musical settings: ‘Te la fiamma ardore’ by Severo Bonini (1607) and Antonio Cifra (1616), and ‘O non cura non sente’ by Agostino Agazzari (1607), Lodovico Bellanda (1610), and Cifra (1618). Not only do their texts appear side-by-side with four madrigals addressed to St Francis in *Le Rime II* and anthologies like *Le Muse Sacre* (1608), but both saints also shared similar musical contexts. Moreover, Marino’s texts to St Francis and St Lawrence shared the same symbolism of fire and Love, which manifested manifested themselves in musical settings as well.

St Lawrence was a Roman archdeacon under Pope Sixtus II. According to the earliest surviving *passio* (*Passio Vetus*, circa 450-500 CE), Lawrence was demanded by Emperor Decius to hand over the treasures of the church. After he came back to Decius the next day with the crowds of poor Christians, whom he claimed were the treasures of the church, Lawrence was roasted alive on a grate and buried in a crypt by Hippolytus, who was also martyred three days later.⁴⁷⁷ As one of the first Roman martyrs St Lawrence continued to be an important saint in the early modern period. He was the patron saint of not only the Medici but also the titular church of Cardinal Alessandro Peretti Montalto, San Lorenzo in Damaso. Both Sts Francis of Assisi and Lawrence were

⁴⁷⁷ Michael Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations, and Commentary*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 180-181.

therefore equally important saints for Cardinal Montalto, which may explain the favored position they both occupy in poem by Marino and *Scherzi Sacri* by Cifra, both of whom seem to have enjoyed his patronage.

Marino's two madrigals to St Lawrence focuses on his legend of being burnt alive on a grate. The first madrigal, 'Te la fiamma e l'ardore' depicts St Lawrence as a 'holy youth,' who is indifferent to being burned on the grate, as his heart burns with fire of Love or *agape*. The second, 'O non cura o non sente,' continues to narrate how he continues to be unaffected by the burning fire while he 'expires' his soul and rejoices in it. Ultimately, he is compared to creatures with mythical attributes, salamander and phoenix. Phoenix has a long tradition in classic literature. Dante draws from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 15:392-407, in which it for his description of phoenix in *Inferno* 24:106-11, but it was also a common Medieval symbol for Resurrection.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, since the Phoenix builds its own pyre to end its life, only to be reborn from its own ashes, Marino likens St Lawrence's legend (in which he is burned on the pyre but still lives) to the mythical creature. It is worth noting here that the metaphor of the phoenix is also applied in Marino's sonnet to St Francis from *La Lira* III (1614), 'O fenice d'Amor, ch'al Sol eterno,' thus likening the two saints even more.⁴⁷⁹

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 183, Madrigal 169

A S. Lorenzo

To St Lawrence

Te la fiamma e l'ardore,
Che 'ntorno altri t'accende,
Santo garzon, non coce e non offende.
Ch'assai più vivo foco

The flame and the ardor,
which ignite you among others,
neither scorches nor hurt you, holy youth.
Because you nourish within your heart

⁴⁷⁸ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy I: Inferno*, trans. and ed. Robin Kirkpatrick (Penguin Classics, 2006), 404.

⁴⁷⁹ This sonnet has never been set to music, however.

Nodrisci entro 'l tuo core.
Anzi nodrisce te foco d'Amore.

a much livelier fire.
Indeed, it is Love's fire that nourishes you.

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 184, Madrigal 170

Al medesimo.

To the same one.

O non cura o non sente
Questi, che l'alma ardendo esala e spira,
L'empia da' rei ministri accesa pira.
Ma gode tra le fiamme, e 'n rogo ardente
Rinascere immortalmamente.
O beata, o felice
Salamandra di Christo, anzi Fenice

As he exhales his ardent soul and expires,
he either does not care about, or does not
feel the cruel pyre ignited by evil ministers,
but he rejoices among the flames and on the
burning stake, and is reborn immortally.
Oh blessed, oh happy,
Salamander of Christ, indeed, Phoenix.⁴⁸⁰

Fire was an important symbol of holiness in medieval spiritual writings, such as St. Catherine of Siena's *Prayers* and the *Dialogue*. In Chapter 134 of her *Dialogues*, for example, St. Catherine expressed her heart burning with fire of love.⁴⁸¹ Such divine fire of Love as expressed in St Catherine of Siena's spirituality is also applied to Marino's madrigals to St Francis and St Lawrence. Composers active in Florence or Siena at the time, such as Bonini and Agazzari, could have been prompted by the texts' resonance with St Catherine of Siena's spirituality, making them as they were the first ones to take up Marino's madrigals to St Lawrence and set them to music. In fact, Agazzari's *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigaletti* (Venice: Amadino, 1607), which consists exclusively of spiritual subjects, places 'O non cura o non sente' as the last item, preceded by songs dedicated to St Catherine of Siena and St Stephen, who respectively embodied *imitatio Christi* martyrdom, attributes that resonate with St Lawrence himself.

⁴⁸⁰ Laki, "Madrigals of Giambattista Marino," 374.

⁴⁸¹ Her *Prayers* 12 and 14 (numbering adopted by Cavallini, and Noffke) are especially filled with addressing God as the divine flame, although there are numerous other examples of divine fire associated with God mentioned in St. Catherine's writings. See Suzanne Noffke, ed. *The Prayers of Catherine of Siena* (Ramsey, NJ: Paulist Press, 1983), 98-106, 117-125; Suzanne Noffke, trans. and ed., *Catherine of Siena: The Dialogue* (New York: Paulist Press, 1980), 273.

Bonini's 'Te la fiamma, e l'ardore' consistently applies melismatic embellishment to illustrate burning desire or the flame itself. Moreover, its opening (**Example 5.15**, bars 1-5), is strikingly similar—both in melodic shape and bass harmony—to his setting of 'Chi'l cielo a suoi preghi,' Talenti's *canzonetta* for St Charles Borromeo⁴⁸² (**Example 5.16**, bars 1-4). Such recycling of the musical material might have been merely convenient for emphasizing the word at the end of the opening verse in different poems. However, in the song for St Lawrence, the melisma on 'l'ardore' ('the ardor'), which is almost identical to the one for 'preghi' ('prayers') in 'Chi'l cielo a suoi preghi,' takes on a new meaning: it foreshadows and intensifies further images of fire, such as 'accende' ('to kindle,' bar 6) or 'foco' ('fire,' bars 19 and 27), which are words that emblemize St Lawrence's martyrdom on a grate and equally embellished with melismata. In bars 9-10, a brief harmonic sequence occurs and the melody outlines descending triad (e.g. G-E-C and C-A-F) bring to focus the repeated phrase, 'non coce' ('does not scorch'). When a new section of the madrigal ('Ch'ass più vivo foco') begins on bar 14, the melody and bass lines start moving homorhythmically, mostly in intervals of parallel 10th. As pointed out by Laki, such change in rhythmic and textural represents a shift in the poetic text itself that turns its focus to the sense of renewal as St Lawrence was 'nourished with fire of Love.'⁴⁸³

⁴⁸² He had not been canonized at the time time of Bonini's composition, but was soon canonized in 1610.

⁴⁸³ Laki, 'Madrigals of Giambattista Marino,' 132.

Canto

Basso

Te la fiam-ma, e l'ar - do - re Che'n torno altri t'ac - cende San-

8

- to garzon non co-ce, *non co-ce*, e non offen-de Ch'as sai più vi-vo fo-co No-

16

drisci entro'l tuo co-re An - zi nodrisci tu fo - - co d'Amore Ch'as sai più vivo

23

fo-co No-drisci entro'l tuo co-re An - zi nodri-sci tu fo - - co d'Amo-re.

Example 5.15: Bonini, ‘Te la fiamma, e l’ardore’ *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali*

(Florence: Marescotti, 1607), no. 22.

Canto

Chi'l cie - lo a suoi pre - ghi Pro -

B. C.

5

pi-zio sospi-ra A lam-pi ch'ammi-ra L'In-fubria si pie - ghi Tua fa-ma dispie-ghi Tua

10

glo-ria rive-li, Non tac-cia non ce - li, Sua ce-tra, suo can-to, Gran Carlo il tuo van - to.

Example 5.16: Bonini, 'Chi'l cielo a suoi preghi,' *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (Florence: Marescotti, 1607), no. 3, showing stanza 1 only.

In contrast, Cifra's setting of 'Te la fiamma e'l ardore' for four voices brings out the word 'fiamma' as a descending scale at the beginning of the piece (**Example 5.17**, bars 1-6). Like Bonini, Cifra also signals the beginning of the new idea of the text by switching the texture from imitative homophonic (bar 23-26). At the very end, Canto 3 part affectiely expresses the word 'Amore' by singing a flattened 6th degree scale from the bass line. Therefore, Bonini and Cifra demonstrate similar awareness of the overall structure and concluding conceit of the madrigal, 'foco d'Amore' ('fire of Love'), which they bring either through ornamented melisma or gripping harmony.

9

do - re, Ch'in-tor - no altri t'ac-cen - de Ch'in-tor - no altri t'ac-

- re Ch'in-tor - no altri t'ac-cen - de Ch'in - tor -

re Che'n-tor - no altri t'ac-cen - de Che'n-tor - no altri t'ac-cen -

Che'n-tor - no altri t'ac-

14

cen - de San - to garzon non co - ce, e non offen - de non co - ce, e

no altri t'ac-cen - de San - to garzon non co - ce, e non of-fen-de.

- de San - to garzon non co - ce, e non of-fen-de non co -

cen - de San - to garzon non co - ce, e

19

non of - fen - de non coce, e non of - fen - de

non coce, e non of - fen - de non coce, e non of - fen - de

- ce, e non of - fen - de non co - ce, e non of - fen - de

non of - fen - de non coce, e non of - fen - de

23

Ch'assai più vi - vo fo - co Nodri - sci en - tro'l tuo co - re, An - zi no -

Ch'assai più vi - vo fo - co Nodri - sci en - tro'l tuo co - re, An -

Ch'assai più vi - vo fo - co Nodri - sci en - tro'l tuo co - re, An -

Ch'assai più vi - vo fo - co Nodri - sci en - tro'l tuo co - re,

27

drisce te An - zi nodrisce te fo - co d'A - mo - re An -

zi nodrisce te An - zi nodrisce te fo - co d'A - mo - re

zi nodrisce te An - zi nodrisce te fo - co d'A - mo - re

An - zi nodrisce te fo - co d'A - mo - re

31

zi nodrisce te An - zi nodrisce te fo - co d'A - mo - re.

An - zi nodrisce te An - zi nodrisce te fo - co d'A - mo - re.

An - zi nodrisce te An - zi nodrisce te fo - co d'A - mo - re.

An - zi nodrisce te fo - co d'A - mo - re.

Example 5.17: Cifra, ‘Te la fiamma l’ardore,’ *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo* (Rome: Robletti, 1616), no. 19.

As for musical settings of ‘O non cura o non sente,’ Agazzari’s ‘O non cura o non sente’ (1607) is a three-part *canzonetta* (**Example 5.18**, akin to contemporary settings of Marino’s madrigals to St Francis of Assisi, ‘Amasti amato amante’ by Stefano Bernardi (1605) and ‘Pietosissimo Arciero’ by Andrea Bianchi (1612). Embellishments or word

paintings are subtle in Agazzari's 'O non cura o non sente,' except for an ornamental melisma occurs in the Alto line at word 'immortalmente' (bar 14) or a descending scale at the word 'Ma gode tra le fiamme' (bars 10-11), which is similar to how Cifra's monody sets the same passage (see below).

The musical score is for three voices: Canto I, Canto II, and Basso. It is written in common time (C) and B-flat major. The lyrics are: "O non cura o non sente Ques-ti che l'alma ardend'essala e spi-ra L'em-pia da rei mi-nistri accesa pi-ra Ma gode tra le".

The first system shows the vocal entries for Canto I, Canto II, and Basso. Canto I and Canto II have identical lyrics: "O non cura o non sente Ques-ti che l'alma ardend'essala e". The Basso part has the lyrics: "O non cu - ra o non sen-te Ques - ti che l'alma ardend'essala e".

The second system, starting at bar 6, shows the continuation of the piece. Canto I has the lyrics: "spi-ra L'em-pia da rei mi-nistri accesa pi - ra Ma". Canto II has the lyrics: "spi-ra L'em-pia da rei mi-nistri accesa pi-ra Ma gode tra le". The Basso part has the lyrics: "spi-ra L'em-pia da rei mi-nistri accesa pi-ra Ma gode tra le".

11
gode tra le fiamm'en ro - go arden - te Ri - nasce immor - talmen - te
fiam - m'en rogo ar - den - te Rinasce immor - tal - men - te
fiam - m'en rogo ar - den - te Rinasce immor - tal - men - te

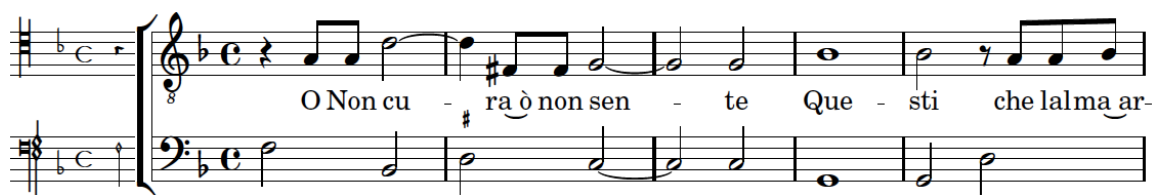
16
O be - a - ta e fe - li - ce Sala - man - dra Sa - la - mandra di Chris -
O be - a - ta e fe - li - ce Sala - man - dra Sa - la - mandra di Chris -
O be - a - ta e fe - li - ce Salamandra di Chris -

21
to an - zi Fe - ni - ce an - zi Fe - ni - ce.
to an - zi Fe - ni - ce an - zi Fe - ni - ce.
to an - zi Fe - ni - ce an - zi Fe - ni - ce.

Example 5.18: Agazzari, 'O non cura o non sente,' *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigaletti* (Venice: Amadino, 1607), no. 21.

Meanwhile, Lodovico Bellanda's *Le Musiche, Secondo Libro* (Venice: Vincenti, 1610) placed his setting of 'O non cura o non sente' (**Example 5.19**) along with those of a vernacular Marian hymn, 'Ave del Mare Stella' and excerpts from Agostino Manni's *Rappresentatione di Anime et Corpo*, all of which were dedicated to Monsignor Giovanni Battista Acquavita, doctor of theology and Archbishop of Nogarole. Bellanda's monodic setting of 'O non cura o non sente' emphasizes 'ardendo' ('daring') and 'ardente'

(‘burning’) as well as ‘immortalmente’ (‘immortally’) with melisma, effectively bringing not only the blazing imagery but the shared vowel sounds of these words (bars 5-6, 19-20, and 26). Repetition either at the same or different intervals seems to be commonplace for Bellanda, as he applies them to the phrases ‘essala e spira’ (bars 7-9), ‘Ma gode tra le fiamme’ (bars 13-18), ‘Rinasce immortalmente’ (bars 23-27) and ‘O beata o felice’ (bars 28-33), ‘Salamandra di Christo, anzi Fenice’ (bars 33-41).



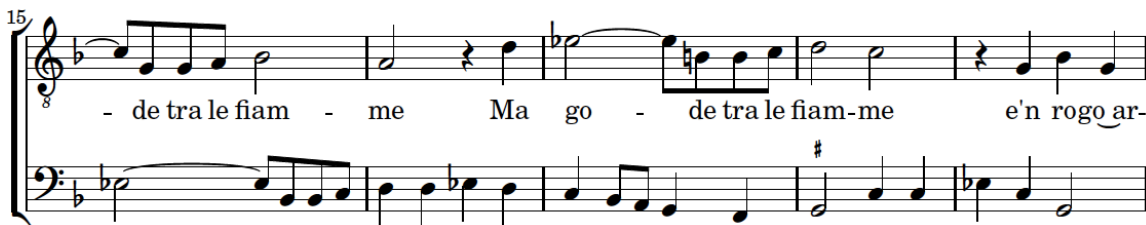
O Non cu - ra ò non sen - te Que - sti che l'alma ar-



den - d'essala e spira esshala e spira esshala e spira



L'em - pia da rei mi-ni - stri acce - sa pi - ra Ma go -



- de tra le fiam - me Ma go - de tra le fiam-me e'n rogo ar-

20
8 den - - te ri-nasce immortalmen-te ri-nasce immortalmen-te

25
8 ri-nasce immortal-men - te O bea-ta ò fe-li-ce

31
8 O bea-ta ò fe-li-ce Sala-mandra di Chri-sto an-zi Fe-ni -

36
8 ce Sala-mandra di Chri-sto an-zi Fe-ni - ce an-zi Fe-ni - ce.

Example 5.19: Bellanda, ‘O non cura o non sente,’ *Le Musiche, Secondo Libro* (Venice: Vincenti, 1610), no. 15.

Similarly, Cifra’s monodic setting of ‘O non cura ò non sente’ (**Example 5.20**) showcases virtuosic melisma in different parts of the poem, on words like ‘accesa’, ‘ardente’, ‘rinascere’ (‘ignites,’ ‘burning,’ ‘reborn,’ bars 10-13, 19-20, and 21-23). The descending scale on ‘Ma godet tra le fiamme’ is similar to the same passage in Agazzari’s three-part setting, with which Cifra might have been familiar. The most extensive and intricate melisma, which even combining trills indicated by ‘+’ sign, happens at the end of the last line, ‘anzi Fenice’ (bars 29-34). While the melisma happens on the word ‘anzi’, it effectively intensifies the conceit of the final word, ‘Fenice’

(‘Phoenix’). Moreover, when it is repeated at another interval (bars 39-46), the melisma is even more extended, signifying that even the musical gesture goes through some form of transformation when it is reborn.

The musical score is written for two parts: Canto (Soprano) and B. C. (Bass). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/2. The score consists of six systems, each with a Canto staff and a B. C. staff. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the Canto staff.

System 1: Canto: O Non cu - ra, ò non sen - te Que -
B. C.:

System 2: Canto: - sti, che l'al - ma ar - den - do e - sa - la, e spi -
B. C.:

System 3: Canto: ra l'em - pia da rei mi - ni - stri ac - - - -
B. C.:

System 4: Canto: - - - ce - sa pi - ra Ma go - - de trà
B. C.:

System 5: Canto: le fiam - me, en ro - go ar den - te
B. C.:

System 6: Canto: Ri - na - - - - sce im - mor -
B. C.:

24. tal - men - te, O be - a - ta ò fe - li - ce Sa - la - man - dra di

29. Chri - sto, an - - - - -

33. - - - - - zi Fe - ni - ce O be - a - ta ò fe - li -

38. ce Sa - la - man - dra di Chri - sto, an - - - - -

42. - - - - -

45. - - - - - zi Fe - ni - ce.

The musical score consists of six systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a lute line (bass clef). The lute line includes figured bass notation (numbers 1-6, sharps, and accidentals) and some systems have a '+' sign above the staff. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4.

Example 5.20: Cifra, ‘O non cura o non sente,’ *Scherzi Sacri, Libo Secondo* (Rome: Robletti, 1618), no. 9.

In summary, madrigals to St Lawrence were more frequently set as a monody than multi-part vocal music. Composers commonly emphasized the imagery of fire or love with melisma in their settings of St Lawrence. While fiery description of St Francis' stigmata in 'Piaghe non son ma stelle' and St Lawrence's burning on the grate offered equally vivid images for composers to work with, a parallel between St Francis and St Lawrence is drawn especially in Cifra's monodic settings of 'Amasti amato amante' and 'O non cura o non sente,' as both songs not only juxtaposes triple and duple metres but also feature highly ornamented, virtuosic melismas. Such stylistic similarity indicates that the aural representations of St Francis's stigmatisation and St Lawrence's martyrdom were meant to draw similar affective responses from the listeners via common themes of fire ignited by divine love.

Conclusion to Chapter 5

Situated within contemporary lyric poetry and spiritual writings about St Francis of Assisi, Marino's madrigals especially enjoyed a wide circulation in both literary and musical sources. Moreover, Marino's poems to St Francis, St Mary Magdalen, and St Lawrence seem to share many similarities in terms of symbolism of spiritual lovers, whether through a shared imagery of spiritual Cupid or burning fire of Love (*agape*). In lyric poetry, St Francis is depicted as the lover and the beloved of Christ through his stigmatization. Mary Magdalene also becomes the lover and beloved of the Christ through her tears and hair that washed feet of Christ, redeeming her salvation from her sinful past. St Lawrence's martyrdom, likewise, is depicted as an act of love that renews him and, even in dying, makes his soul immortal. The most articulated events of their hagiography—stigmatization, penitence, and martyrdom—are experiences that made them transcend mortality and gain new (spiritual) lives, all of which are vividly expressed in the sound of singing, allowing the singers and the listeners to aurally share in the sense of renewal that these event represented for the saints.

The love-war-themes permeate in Marino's texts used in music for Sts Francis and Mary Magdalene. Notably, both saints share the imagery of either being a spiritual archer or being wounded by their arrow. It is likely that such imagery was commonly emphasized for both saints in devotional songs because the celestial bows or archers also referred to something relevant precise in musical contexts: the angel musicians. Writing about the transcending power of music, Guidiccioni makes a telling remark about both saints, especially music's ability to give ecstatic pleasure and the bow and arrow as a metaphor for sweet sound coming out of the angel musician's instrument:

And when God wants to highly favor one such as Francis, or Magdalen, he sends his musicians to have them hear those pieces (canzoni) that make them lose their senses. O venturesome Magdalen, you who poured at the feet of your Lord that precious oil, and those most precious tears; in order to return to you in this life an infinite gift in exchange, he commands that the ensemble of his singers be given to your senses. [...] I turn to you, most blessed winged spirit, as you prepare to restore and comfort the languid and lovesick Francis with your song; ah, hold back the *accenti*, no longer play that harmoious instrument [...] If you wound that thin string one more time, you will cut the string of his life; nor can you handle that sweet bow again, for he will remain slain by its arrows. Thus Francis states when the music ends: the sensation of one more sound would render him senseless. This is how music is prized in heaven: no greater riches are sent from above to those who are most beloved on earth.⁴⁸⁴

As Dell'Antonio has noted, Guidiccioni was probably familiar with numerous contemporary paintings depicting St Francis in ecstasy with an angel musician with a bowed instrument (see **Figure 5.5**), which he incorporated into his discourse.⁴⁸⁵ Such iconography of the saint is based on hagiographical account of *The Little Flowers of St Francis*, which describes St Francis being consoled by an angel playing music while he experienced an ecstasy.⁴⁸⁶ While not as countable as in paintings of St Francis, Mary Magdalene can also be found depicted being in an ecstatic state while she is listening to an angel musician (see **Figure 5.6**). Put in context with the contemporary visual arts and discourses, it is possible to interpret Marino's divine archer to be a double reference to both the divine Cupid (Christ)'s and the musician angel, as an 'arch' or 'bow' ('arco') could refer to either that of a physical weapon or that of the violin. This allowed spiritualized love-war theme to be applied to Sts Francis and Mary Magdalene to a great extent in specifically musical contexts.

⁴⁸⁴ Lelio Guidiccioni, *Discorso sopra la musica*. Cod. Barb. lat. 3879 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), fol. 40v-41, quoted from Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice*, 117.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ See Roberts, 'Musical rapture,' 72-86.



Figure 5.5: Sisto Badalocchio (1585 - died after 1619), *St Francis of Assisi consoled by Angels* (c. 1615-1619). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Figure 5.6: Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1574 – 1625), *The Ecstasy of Mary Magdalen* (circa 1616/1620). National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁷ The image was accessed on 11 May, 2022 via the following link:

Sts Francis and Lawrence also shared similar fate in iconography around the turn of seventeenth century. Because both stigmatization and martyrdom by fire offered visually radiant elements to experiment with lighting, artists such as Cigoli expanded on incorporated the latest understanding of optics into their Florentine paintings of the scenes of St Francis's stigmatization or St Lawrence.⁴⁸⁸ Such innovation in devotional painting could have inspired equally 'pictorial' settings of devotional music for both saints.

Among many composers who set these texts to music, Bonini and Cifra both included all three saints in their *Madrigali e Canzonette Spirituali* (1607) and *Scherzi Sacri* (1616 and 1618), thus bringing together the three saints as Christ's beloved Lovers in the sound of music and singing. As mentioned throughout this chapter, some of the musical sources or contexts can be traced to patronage of powerful patrons to whom one or more of three saints could have personal significance: Cardinal Montalto and Maria Maddalena of Austria. Music, therefore, could embody devotion to both earthly patrons and heavenly saints.

<https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.121887.html#overview>

⁴⁸⁸ Luisa Bourla, 'Scientific Discovery in Florentine Painting of the Counter-Reformation,' in *Innovation in the Italian Counter-Reformation*, ed. Shannon McHugh and Anna Wainwright (University of Delaware Press, 2020), 56 - 103.

Chapter VI

Poems and Music for Joyous Aspects of Christ's Life

Having focused on Marino's poetry that centred on Seven Sorrows of Mary, Christ's Passion and lives of Saints, it is fitting to now turn our attention to Marino's poems dealing with more joyous and glorious aspects of Jesus's life: the Annunciation of his birth to Mary, his Nativity, his Presentation in the Temple (celebrated at 'Candlemas'), and finally his Resurrection – events that correspond partially to the Joyful and Glorious Mysteries of the Rosary.⁴⁸⁹ How Marino's poetry and their musical setting responded to these devotionally optimistic subjects can teach us the ways in which poetry and music could convey positive outlook that has to balance the emphasis on empathy with Christ's passion and on penitence.

Songs about Virgin Mary and the Annunciation for Santa Casa di Loreto

As discussed in Chapter 1, early modern Loreto was an important pilgrimage site that supposedly contained the original dwelling in which Mary's Annunciation took place, the so-called Santa Casa di Loreto. It was therefore an important feast for the musicians active there, as reflected in the significance it has on books of *Scherzi Sacri* by Antonio Cifra (maestro di capella from 1609 to 1623) and Pietro Pace (organist from 1611 to 1622). Cifra's *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo* (1616) uses several Marian texts penned by Marino, and those dedicated to the Incarnation of Virgin Mary ('Esperto

⁴⁸⁹ The five Joyful Mysteries are: 1) the Annunciation of the Angel Gabriel to Mary; 2) the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth; 3) the Birth of Jesus in Bethlehem of Judea; 4) the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple; and 5) the Finding of Jesus in the Temple. The five Glorious Mysteries are: 1) the Resurrection of Jesus; 2) the Ascension of Jesus into Heaven; 3) the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost; 4) the Assumption of Mary into Heaven; and 5) the Coronation of Our Lady in Heaven.

Arcier, buon cacciator, che veda’) and Santa Casa di Loreto (‘Qui l’alato Corriero’) would have been especially appropriate for the Annunciation.⁴⁹⁰ It even contains extended dialogue (on an unknown author’s text) between Angel Gabriel and Virgin Mary, which can be considered almost a small cantata in scale.⁴⁹¹

Pace, composing for the Jesuit services in their Loreto oratory, also included settings of three of Marino’s poems about or closely related to Virgin Mary in his *Motetti a quattro a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (1619): ‘Donna invitta del Ciel,’ ‘Quai da Dio discendesti,’ and ‘Sola fra suoi più cari,’ whose respective subjects are praise of Virgin Mary, Angel Gabriel, and *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*.⁴⁹² The former two texts, set as a monody for high voice and basso continuo, would have especially been fitting for the feast of Annunciation:

⁴⁹⁰ Margaret Rorke, ‘The Spiritual Madrigals of Paolo Quagliati and Antonio Cifra,’ PhD diss. (University of Michigan, 1980), 127-128.

⁴⁹¹ Jerome Roche, ‘Cifra, Antonio,’ *Grove Music Online*. Published Online 2001, accessed 1 October 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05775>

⁴⁹² For the discussion of Pace’s ‘Sola fra suoi più cari,’ see Chapter 2.

Marino, *Le Rime* I (1602), *Rime Sacre*, Item 10

Alla Vergine

To the Virgin

Donna invitta del Ciel, pura e gradita
Figlia di Dio, che da l'eterna mente
Santa e vera Minerva a guerra uscita,
Pace portasti a l'affannata gente:
Tu di fè, tu d'amor l'alma innocente
Armata, e d'umiltà, venisti ardità
Al Tiranno d'Abisso a tor la vita,
Pur troppo in terra allor fatto possente.
Né meraviglia è già ch'a le celesti
Forze del tuo valor cadesse estinto
L'avversario infernal, se 'l Ciel vincesti;
Anzi, se 'l Re del Ciel, da te sol vinto,
Di Lion fatto Agnello, aver potesti
Prigionero nel ventre, e 'n fasce
avinto.

Invincible Lady of Heaven, pure and pleasing
daughter of God, who from the eternal God
holy and true Minerva to war went forth, peace
you brought to the troubled people: You, armed
with faith, love, the innocent soul, and
humility, came boldly to the Tyrant of Abyss to
bring back life, by now made too mighty even
on earth.
Nor is it a wonder anymore that the Infernal
enemy were to fall extinct to the celestial
forces of your virtue, if you conquered the
Heaven;
No wonder indeed, if you could have the King
of Heaven, by you alone conquered and made
into Lamb from Lion, as a captive in your
womb and bound in swaddling clothes.

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 190, Madrigal 176

All Agnolo Gabriello

To Angel Gabriel

Quai da Dio segni avesti
Per conoscer MARIA,
Messo del gran Messia, quando scendesti
Di Cielo in Galilea
A salutar la Verginella Hebrea?
Forse i sembianti angelici celesti,
Ond'ella altrui pareva
Più assai che donna, e poco men che Dea?
Esser (cred'io) devea
A conversar con gli Angeli sì avezza,
E sì piena contezza
Avevi tu de le bellezze sue,
Che cercarne altro indizio uopo non fue.

Where from God did you have signs to
know MARY,
messenger of the great Messiah, when you
descended from Heaven to greet the
Hebrew Virgin in Galilee?
Perhaps her heavenly angelic semblances,
whereby she seemed to others more than a
lady, and little less than Goddess?
She (I believe) must have been so
accustomed to converse with the Angels,
and you were so fully acquainted with her
beauties, that it was not necessary to seek
any other indication.

On one hand, 'Donna invitta del Ciel' describes Mary as a mighty warrior, comparing her to Minerva, the war-goddess, hailing from heaven to rescue the mankind.

Her virtues—faith, love, innocence, and humility—are her weapons that prevail against hell. The sonnet comes to a rather whimsical twist that she is indeed a conqueror of heaven and Jesus its King, as the infant Jesus is compared to a lamb turned from lion and a captive in her belly (either inside her womb or upon her laps), wrapped with swaddling clothes. On the other hand, the speaker of ‘Quai da Dio segni avesti’ addresses Angel Gabriel, and describes Mary in divine terms, such as having ‘heavenly angelic semblances,’ and ‘more than a lady, and little less than Goddess.’ The speaker contends that the Angel Gabriel must not have needed any hint from God to locate Mary in Galilee, as her beauty must have been well-known among angels, with whom she must have been habitually conversed. The Biblical narrative does not give any indication that Mary must have habitually interacted with angels before the Annunciation, but it is rather an imaginative supposition by the poet himself, who speaks in the first-person perspective.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Pace’s *Motetti a quattro a cinque et a sei voci*, Op. 18 (1619) is noteworthy for its paring of each vernacular song side-by-side with a corresponding Latin motet that either builds on or shares a similar theme as its subject, even using a nearly-identical openings in musical settings to bolster their relationship. Latin motet corresponding to ‘Donna invitta del Ciel’ is based on an abridged excerpt from the Proverb 8, which preaches about excellence of Wisdom (personified):

Ab eterno ordinata sum et ex antiquis antequam terra fieret.
Nondum erant abyssi, et ego iam concepta eram...
Ludens in orbe terrarium, et deliciae meae esse cum filiis hominum.
...Fili audite me Beati qui custodiunt vias meas.
Beatus homo qui audit me...et observat ad postes ostii mei
Qui me invenerit inveniet vitam et hauriet saletem a Domino.

I was set up from eternity and of old, before the earth was made.
The depths were not yet as yet, and I was already conceived...
Playing in the world, and my delights were to be with the children of men.
...Ye children, hear me: blessed are they that keep my ways.
Blessed is the man that heareth me...and waiteth at the posts of my doors.
He that shall find me shall find life and shall have salvation from the Lord.⁴⁹³

Meanwhile, the Latin partner to ‘Quai da Dio segni avesti’ ‘Gabriel Archangele’ uses a centonized text amalgamated from sequences for seasons of the Advent and Feast of Annunciation:

Gabriel Archangele dic nobis quantus sit iste qui ingreditur ad salutandas gentes
Iste est Rex iustitie cuius generatio non habet finem non habet finem⁴⁹⁴
O mira Dei nostra clementia
Sed que nobis eius incarnatio praestat remedia
Hodie afflictionem populi sui respexit et redemptorem misit⁴⁹⁵
Hodie mortem fœmina fugavit
Hodie Deus Homo factus est
Haec est dies quam fecit Domius
Exultemus et lætemur in ea dicentes⁴⁹⁶
Gloria tibi Domine.

Pace’s musical settings for all of vernacular and Latin texts above are similar in style, with words mostly set syllabically in a recitative style, and even sharing the same tonal centre of G major (**Examples 6.1 & 6.2**). The corresponding vernacular and Latin

⁴⁹³ Proverb 8: 23-24, 31-32, 34-35. The three dots ‘...’ indicate words or phrases that are taken out in Pace’s text.

⁴⁹⁴ This text can be found as a sequence for Ember Day, Advent. An example can be accessed via Cantus Database Online: <https://cantusdatabase.org/chant/398390>.

⁴⁹⁵ The text can be found, for example, as the sequence for the octave for the Feast Day of Annunciation. See Cantus Database Online: <https://cantusdatabase.org/chant/672446>.

⁴⁹⁶ Psalm 117: 24 (Vulgate, Douay-Rheims): ‘This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us be glad and rejoice therein.’

pair especially share strikingly similar melody and harmony especially in the first few bars. ‘Donna invitta del Ciel’ highlights the antithesis of heaven and hell by the Canto melody reaching the highest note as it sings ‘le celeste forze’ (‘the celestial forces’) and dipping down into low register at ‘cadesse estinto’ (‘were to fall extinct’), referring to the infernal enemy (**Example 6.1a**, bars 19-29). Melisma on ‘santa’ (bars 6-7), ‘fasce’ (bars 43-44) as well as ‘eterno’ in ‘Ab eterno’ (**Example 6.1b**, bar 2) closely resemble each other, thus furthering the resemblance between the two pieces. ‘Quai da Dio segni havesti,’ uses descending and rising melisma to pictorially depict ‘scendesti’ (‘you descended’) and ‘heavenly’ (‘celesti’), as well as trill-like quick turns on words ‘Galilee’ and ‘conversar’ (**Example 6.2a**, bars 10 and 17, 11 and 27). The latter is followed by dotted rhythm and seems to emphasize the only action by Virgin Mary herself in the madrigal text. Rising melisma and quick turn that characterizes ‘Quai da Dio segni havesti’ is combined and infused into its Latin counterpart, as already seen its beginning at the word ‘salutandas’ in ‘Gabriele Archangele’ (**Example 6.2b**, bars 6-8). While each vernacular song has unique attributes of their own, these are also applied in some ways to their corresponding Latin motets, which in turn direct the listeners attention to contemplate on the interplay between Marino’s text and the Latin texts of Biblical and liturgical origin.

Canto

B. C.

33.

ti An - zi se'l Rè del Ciel da te sol vin - to Di Li-on fatto Agnel-lo

40.

haver pote - sti Prigione-ro nel ven-tre e'n fa - - sce a vin - to.

Example 6.1a: Pace, 'Donna invitta del Ciel pura e gradita,'

Motetti a quattro a cinque et a sei voci, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 15.

Canto

A - b e - ter - - no A - b e - ter - no or - di - na - ta sum Et

B. C.

8.

ex an-ti-quis antequam terra fi - e - ret an - tequam terra fi - e - ret

Example 6.1b: Pace, 'Ab eterno,'

Motetti a quattro a cinque et a sei voci, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 16, opening.

Canto

B. C.

Quai da Di - o segni have - sti Per co - no - scer Mari - a

7

Messo del gran Mes - si - a Quando scen - de - sti Di Cielo in Ga - li -

12

le - a A salutar A salu - tar la Vergi - nel - la hebre - a? For - se i sembian ti An -

17

ge - li - ci Ce - le - sti Ond'ella altrui pa - re - a più assai che

6 7 #6

23

Donna e poco men che De - a Es - ser cred'io de - ve - a A con - versar con

28

gl'An - ge - li s'a vez - za E si pie - na contez - za Havevi tu delle bellez - ze su - e



Example 6.2a: Pace, ‘Quai da Dio segni havesti,’

Motetti a quattro a cinque et a sei voci, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 19.

Example 6.2b: Pace, ‘Quai da Dio segni havesti,’

Motetti a quattro a cinque et a sei voci, Op. 18 (Venice: Vincenti, 1619), no. 20, opening.

A thorough textural and musical analysis on Cifra’s *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Primo* (1616) had already been conducted by Rorke;⁴⁹⁷ it is therefore suffices to note that both his ‘Esperto Arcier, buon cacciator, che veda’ and ‘Qui l’alato Corriero’ are set as a monody in G major, just like Pace’s ‘Donna invitta del Ciel, pura e gradita’ and ‘Quai da Dio segni havesti.’ Between the two of them, who must have worked closely together as maestro di cappella and organist of Santa Casa di Loreto, their *Scherzi Sacri* and *Arie Spirituali* share the common ethos of paying heed to Virgin Mary’s Annunciation, especially with Marino’s texts and the tonality as identical factors. Marino’s texts used by both composers also apply seemingly far-fetched metaphors to praise Mary, comparing

⁴⁹⁷ Rorke, ‘Spiritual Madrigals,’ 127-128, 169-170, 230-231 and 234-235.

her to a goddess, Minerva, or a divine archer. These metaphors, however, seem to be exploited to an intriguing extent by both composers, especially by Pace. For instance, Minerva, born of Jupiter, was a virgin goddess of many attributes, including war and wisdom, as well as poetry and music. Pace, by associating Marino's poetry depicting Mary as a mighty warrior with quotations from the Proverbs and setting them as closely related musical compositions, tactfully weaves together all these qualities of Minerva and infuses them into Virgin Mary. Thus, in the guise of light-hearted *Scherzi*, Cifra and Pace seem to have carefully curated their texts to compose highly imaginative musical experience for the devotion of Loreto community and Jesuits there, for whom the subject of Annunciation held an especially important meaning with Santa Casa di Loreto as the declared site in which the miraculous event occurred.

Sonnets and madrigals on Jesus's Nativity

Several songs composed in the first half of the seventeenth century were based on Marino's sonnets and madrigals addressed to the birth of Jesus, or the Nativity. According to Sarnecka, early modern Italian artwork depicting Nativity scenes, especially those representing musical instruments or inscriptions of texts that circulated in a sung form, likely encouraged the celebration of Nativity in a domestic environment through pious singing.⁴⁹⁸ Music was therefore an important element of the Nativity celebration, and songs based on Marino's Nativity texts were just as appropriate for Christmas devotions and ubiquitous in both ecclesiastical and domestic environments.

⁴⁹⁸ Zuzanna Sarnecka, "'And the Word Dwelt amongst Us': Experiencing the Nativity in the Italian Renaissance Home," in *Domestic Devotions in Early Modern Italy*, ed Maya Corry (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 177-182.

Marino's sonnets on the subjects of Christ's birth from his *Rime* I (1602, *Rime Sacre*, 'Ite pastori, alcun di voi non lasce' and 'Felice notte, ond'a noi nasce il giorno' form a pair of texts that narrate the Shepherds as they travel through the night to greet Jesus in Bethlehem, as told in Luke's Gospel.⁴⁹⁹ As such, the first terzet of 'Ite pastori, alcun di voi non lasce' begins with a paraphrase of the heavenly host's praise said to the shepherds in Luke 2:14: 'Gloria in Ciel, pace in terra' ('Glory in Heaven, peace on earth'), before the Shepherds, the 'singing messengers' travel through the forests and caves to meet baby Jesus. 'Felice notte, ond'a noi nasce il giorno' praises the night of Christmas, illustrating the scenery of Jesus's birthplace that is surrounded by animals, dry leaves and huts, and shepherds that revere him with a sound of reed. The depiction of donkey and ox keeping Jesus with their warm breath, as well as pine and elk producing nectar and manna, are indications that even nature obeys and nurtures Jesus, the child of God.

Marino, *Le Rime* I (1602), *Rime Sacre*, Items 12-13

Nella natività del Signore.

Ite pastori, alcun di voi non lasce
D'adorar l'antro e riverir la culla,
Ov'esce al Sol chi fece il Sole, e nasce
Chi gli elementi e'l Ciel trasse di nulla.
Là chiuso in vil tugurio humil fanciulla
Chi la vita sostien sostiene, e pasce,
Là stretto in pochi lini or si trastulla
Quegli a cui son le sfere anguste fasce.
Gloria in Ciel, pace in terra: oggi è la notte.
Anzi quel dì (ciascun di voi l'onori)
Ch'ha le corna a Satan fiaccate e rotte.
Ite lieti e felici, ite pastori.
Così cantando gian per selve e grotte
Del divin parto i messagier canori.

On the Nativity of our Lord

Go shepherds, some of you do not cease to worship
the cave and revere the cradle, where he who made
the Sun comes out to the Sun, and is born, the one
drew the elements and the Heaven from nothing.
There, inside a shabby stable, is the humble maiden
who holds and feeds the baby, clasped in little
linens, now entertaining the one to whom narrow
bands form the spheres.
Glory in Heaven, peace on earth, today is the night.
Indeed, that very day (each of you honor it), which
makes Satan's horns worn out and broken.
Go joyfully and happily, go, shepherds:
singing through forests and caves
of the divine birth as the singing messengers.

⁴⁹⁹ See Luke 2:1-20.

Nella notte del santissimo Natale

Felice notte, ond'a noi nasce il giorno,
Di cui mai più sereno altro non fue,
Che frà gli orrori e sotto l'ombre tue
Copri quel Sol, ch'a l'altro Sol fa scorno.
Felici voi, che 'n povero soggiorno
Pigro asinello, e mansueto bue
Al pargoletto Dio le membra sue
State a scaldar co' dolci fiati intorno.
Felici voi, degnate a tanti honori
Aride herbe e rustica cappanna,
Ch'aprir vedete a mezzo 'l Verno i fiori.
Così diceano a suon di rozza canna
Innanzi al gran bambin chini i Pastori,
E sudò l'elce e 'l pin nettare e manna.

On the night of the most holy Christmas

Happy night, whence to us is born the day, of
which others were never more serene, because
among the horrors, and under your shadows, you
cover that Sun, to which another sun fails
miserably.
Happy are you, lazy little donkey and meek little
ox, who stay with God's little child in a destitute
sojourn to warm his limbs with sweet breaths.
Happy are you, dry leaves, and rustic hut,
worthy of so much honor, seeing the flowers open
in the midst of Winter.
Thus said Shepherds to the sound of a coarse reed,
bowing down before the great child; and the elk
and pine sweltered the nectar and manna.

Both sonnets were set to music in songbooks specifically intended for the adoration of the 'presepio,' or the Nativity scene. Francesco Fiamengo's *Pastorali concenti al Presepe co' Responsorij della sacra notte del Natale di N.S. a 2-6v*, Op. 3 (Venice: Vincenti, 1637) sets Marino's 'Ite pastori, alcun di voi non lasce' to music, alongside poems of his contemporaries Grillo and Maurizio Moro, as well as text taken from a book of *Laudi Spirituali* (1560) from the previous century. The collection concludes with Latin litanies for Nativity. Similarly, Constantino Baselli's *Grati, Gratosi, Giocondi, Gioiosi, ed Graditi Canti...* Op. 4 (Venice, Vincenti, 1640) sets 'Felice notte, ond'à noi nasce il girono' as a music for four voices. As indicated by its title, songs in Baselli's collection commemorating Nativities of both Virgin Mary and Jesus, along with instrumental *Canzoni* to be played during the adoration of both babies.⁵⁰⁰ The opening song for solo voice, in fact is based on Crisostomo Talenti's poem

⁵⁰⁰ The full title reads: 'Grati Gratosi, / Giocondi, Gioiosi, et Graditi Canti / Sopra il Nascimento del Gran Mottor dell'universo, / Et della Regina del Cielo Maria Vergine, Madre sua Santissima. / Con l'aggiunta di due sonore Canzoni, mentre ambi Bambini erano in atto di dormire / '

for Virgin Mary's Nativity, 'Ecco l'alba che ridente,' which was also set to music alongside Marino's 'O belle lagrimette' in Bonini's *Madrigali e canzonette spirituali* (Florence: Marescotti, 1607). Other texts used by Baselli include Nativity texts by Maurizio Moro and Alvise Almarana that can be found in anthologies of spiritual lyrics, such as *Le Muse Sacre* (1608), once again indicating them to be useful sources for the composers wanting to create songs for specific devotional practices. Overall, both Flamingo and Baselli's set an eclectic mix of texts, old and new, vernacular and Latin into music specifically for the adoration of the Nativity scenes, evoking in devotees the similar experience of shepherds rejoicing through singing, as narrated in Marino's sonnets.

Flamingo and Baselli's collections are just a few of a large group of Roman songbooks specifically dedicated to *Presepi* (or the Nativity in general) that had emerged by the turn of the seventeenth-century, with Giovanni Francesco Anerio's *Dialogo pastorale al presepio di Nostro Signore* (Rome: Verovio, 1600) being one of the first collections in this genre. Roman composers continued to produce elaborate music based on the Nativity throughout the first half of the century, as exemplified by Kapbserger's *Pastori di Betlemme nella nascita di N.S. Giesu Christo. Dialogo posto in musica* (Rome: Marescotti, 1630, dedicated to Francesco Barberini), Pietro Paolo Sabbatini's *Canzoni spirituali* (Rome: Grignani, 1640).⁵⁰¹ Christ's Nativity continued to hold strong as a popular theme for vocal music until the mid-seventeenth century, as exemplified by Valentini's *Musiche spirituali per la Natività di N.S. Gesù Cristo a una e due voci. Libro*

⁵⁰¹ There are also some vernacular songs cast as lullaby to child Jesus, such as 'Or ch'è tempo di dormire' by Tarquinio Merula in his *Curtio precipitato e altri caprici...a voce sola. Libro secondo. Op. 13* (Venice: Bartolomeo Magni, 1638); the literary and musical contexts are not directly linked to the Nativity scene itself, however.

I (Rome: Amadeo Balmonti, 1657).⁵⁰² Against this background, as well as the coinciding publication years of Flamingo and Baselli (1637 and 1640) with those of Roman editions of Marino's *Poesie Sacre* (1637 and 1641), it comes as no surprise that Marino's poems are taken up in Nativity songs composed by Roman composers.

Marino also wrote a series of four madrigals to Nativity in *Le Rime II* (1602), just like he composed a set of four for St Francis of Assisi. These madrigals were more frequently set to music than the two sonnets discussed above. The four madrigals together create an overarching poetic narrative themselves, with the first two describing the scenery of the Nativity itself (e.g. the hut and the animals), and the latter two turn their attention to the baby Jesus himself. 'O belle lagrimette' particularly mediates on the tears shed by the newborn Jesus, while 'Nasci fanciullo invitto' depicts Jesus as a tiny but godlike child, frequently using imperative mood to address him and comparing him to a Greek deity Hercules, the son of Jupiter (lines 3 and 6).⁵⁰³

Marino, *Le Rime II* (1602), Items no. 192-195, Madrigals 178-181

Nel nascimento di Cristo

Avolto in sottil velo
(Rimirate o mortali
E stupisci natura)
Nasce il sommo fattor fatto fattura.
Tra duo vili animali
Giace in ruvide piume⁵⁰⁴
Chi su le stelle assiso
Ha gli angeli ministri in paradiso.
L'allegrezza del cielo
Piagne, e l'eterno sol trema di gelo.

On the birth of Christ

Wrapped in thin veil
(Oh behold, mortals,
and marvel, nature)
is born the supreme God made flesh.
Between two lowly animals
the one who has seated the angelic ministers
upon the stars in paradise
lies in rough feathers.
The joy of heaven
weeps, and the eternal sun trembles with frost.

⁵⁰² Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori, *Annali della stampa musicale romana dei secoli XVI-XVIII : ricerca storica, bibliografica e archivistica*, Vol. 2 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2022), 122.

⁵⁰³ Francesco Guardiani, 'Dieci pezzi sacri del Marino: per un'edizione della "Lira II",' In *Feconde venner le carte: Studi in onore di Ottavio Besomi*, Vol. 1, edi. T. Crivelli (Bellinzona: Casagrande, 1997), 360-361.

⁵⁰⁴ Bonini (1609) has 'spoglie' ('remains or clothes') instead of 'piume.'

Nel medesimo soggetto

Sotto rustico tetto,
Sovra rigido fieno
A peregrina verginella in seno
Il divin pargoletto
Stassi in poveri pann avinto e stretto.
O profonda umiltate
Dela divina altezza!⁵⁰⁵
O superbia mortal che pompe apprezza!

On the same subject

Under a rustic roof,
upon a rigid hay,
in the bosom of the wandering virgin,
the divine little child was enclosed and
wrapped in humble clothes.
Oh, profound humility
of the divine highness!
Oh, mortal arrogance that prizes affluences!

Nel medesimo soggetto

O belle lagrimette
Che dagli occhi e dal viso
Del nato Redentor dolci piovete,
Voi voi la brina siete,
Voi la rugiada, voi,
Del'aurora del ciel che spunta a noi,
Del'aurora che n' apre
Non che 'l sol, non che 'l giorno, il paradiso.
O pianto al mondo apportator di riso!⁵⁰⁶

On the same subject

Oh, beautiful drops of tear,
sweetly raining from the eyes and the face
of the Redeemer who was born,
you, you are the frost,
you, you, are the dew
of Dawn, of Heaven that is appearing to us,
of Dawn that opens up not the Sun or the
day, but Paradise itself; oh tears,
forerunners of our laughter.⁵⁰⁷

Nel medesimo soggetto

Nasci fanciullo invitto
Mostra al'inclite prove
Te vero figlio del'eterno Giove,
Sottraggi al duro giogo il mondo afflitto.
Nasci, e qual già si vide
Tenero in culla il favoloso Alcide,
Avezza la man forte
A schiacciar le due serpi, inferno e morte.

On the same subject

Come out to the world, invincible child,
show unto the inclined trials,
you true son of eternal Jupiter, take away
from hard yoke the afflicted world.
Come out to the world, and as one sees
already the fabulous Hercules, tender in
cradle, prepare to crush the two serpents,
hell and death, with your mighty hand.

As noted by Guardiani, all of them either parody or borrow phrases from other poets' works, most notably those of Policreti and Grillo, while being characterized by

⁵⁰⁵ Bonini (1609) has 'divina essenza' ('divine essence') instead of 'divina altezza.'

⁵⁰⁶ Giamberti (1640) has 'precursor' ('precursor') instead of 'apportator.'

⁵⁰⁷ Peter Laki, 'The Madrigals of Giambattista Marino and their Settings for Solo Voice (1602–1640)' (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1989), 379.

frequent usage of antithesis, e.g., opposition between ‘below and above’ (‘sotto’ and ‘sopra’) in ‘Sotto rustico tetto’ or ‘crying and laughter’ (‘pianto’ and ‘riso’) in ‘O belle lagrimette.’⁵⁰⁸ The latter is also notable for an almost ‘ostentatious iteration’ of the word ‘voi’ (‘you’ plural) in lines 4-7, and a repetition of ‘Del’ aurora’ (‘of Dawn’) both of which are potential elements that made it the most frequently set to music out of the four.⁵⁰⁹

Bonini is the first and the only composer to set three of Marino’s four Nativity madrigals: ‘O belle lagrimette’ in *Madrigali e canzonette spirituali* (Florence: Marescotti, 1607) and ‘Avvolto in sottil velo’ and ‘Sotto rustico tetto’ in *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali e Motetti* (Florence: Marescotti, 1609). Bonini’s *Madrigali e canzonette spirituali* (1607) was a commercial success, being first published in Florence but soon reprinted in Venice, where its copies were being ‘snatched from the presses.’⁵¹⁰ It was his hope, as he says in the letter to Angelo Minerbetti in his *Il Secondo Libro* (1609), that the latter will attain the same fortune as the former.⁵¹¹ Bonini’s letter also claims that young ladies and men, who habitually sung ‘lascivious and profane’ *canzonette* and madrigals upon chitarrone and clavicembalo, now enjoyed singing spiritual subjects, presumably through his *Madrigali e Canzonette spirituali* (1607).⁵¹² Bonini’s point seems to be that his first book was not only commercially successful but also benefited the public by turning the minds of young citizens away from the profane subjects and towards spiritual

⁵⁰⁸ These four madrigals are analyzed in detail in Guardiani, ‘Dieci pezzi sacri,’ 355-361.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., 359-360. ‘O belle lagrimette’ is set by Bonini (1607), Boschetti (1613), Cifra (1616), and Giamberti (1640). Bonini and Giamberti’s are set for solo voice, while the Boschetti and Cifra’s are for six and three vocal parts, respectively.

⁵¹⁰ Tim Carter, ‘Music and Patronage in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Case of Jacopo Corsi (1561-1602),’ in *I Tatti Studies: Essays in the Renaissance I* (Florence, 1985), 64. Reprinted in Tim Carter, *Music, Patronage and Printing in Late Renaissance Florence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Severo Bonini, *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali e Motetti* (Florence: Marescotti, 1609), letter to Angelo Minerbetti.

ones. The favored reception of the former, indeed, may have influenced Bonini's inclusion of two more from Marino's Nativity madrigals in his *Seconod Libro*.

Bonini's 'O belle lagrimette' (1607) musically divides the madrigal into two sections with optional repeats: lines 1-3 and 4-9 (**Example 6.3**, bars 1-10 and 11-29). In the first section, the Canto melody and the basso continuo move almost at the same rhythm, but the former becomes more embellished and rhythmically active—by using shorter note values and dotted rhythm—in the second section. This seems a natural development, seeing how the second section begins with the iteration of the word 'Voi' in lines 4-5, giving more forward direction to the poetic text. Another iterated phrase, 'Del aurora,' is also musically brought out by a repeated identical rhythmic pattern (bars 14-15 and 18-19). An embellished melisma, in a Caccinian fashion, is applied to the word 'paradiso' ('paradise') found in the poem's line 8 (bar 23).

The image displays a musical score for the madrigal 'O belle lagrimette' by Bonini. It consists of two systems of music, each with a Canto (soprano) part on a treble clef staff and a Basso Continuo (b.c.) part on a bass clef staff. The time signature is common time (C). The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the Canto staff. The first system covers bars 1-10, and the second system covers bars 11-29. The second system includes repeat signs and a melisma on the word 'paradiso'.

Canto

B. C.

O Be-lle la-grimette Che da' gl'o-cchi,e dal vi - so Del na - to Re-den-

tor dol - ci piove - te, dol-ci pio-ve - te Voi voi la brina se te Voi la rugiada voi



Example 6.3: Bonini, ‘O belle lagrimette’

Madrigali e canzonette spirituali (Florence: Marescotti, 1607), no. 20.

In his *Secondo Libro*, ‘Avvolto in sottil velo’ and ‘Sotto rustico tetto’ are placed side-by-side and share the tonal center of D (minor), effectively forming a through-composed madrigal cycle in first and second parts, which is a logical combination given the two madrigal’s shared focus on the Nativity scene itself and observation of baby Jesus. Bonini’s ‘Avvolto in sottil velo’ (**Example 6.4**) shows some common madrigal traits, such as the iteration of ‘Tra duo vili animali’ (‘between two lowly animals,’ line 5) through repetition of the same melody at different intervals three times (bars 15-20), the idea of ‘joy’ (‘allegrezza’) expressed through fast notes (bars 30-31), and the idea of crying or weeping (‘piagne’) expressed though the slow rhythm (bars 33-37). As for his ‘Sotto rustico tetto,’ Bonini uses identical rhythmic pattern for poetic lines 1-2 (**Example 6.5**, bars 1-5), drawing attention not only to the rhyme scheme (‘tetto’ and ‘fieno’) but also to the antithesis of ‘sotto’ and ‘soura’ (‘below’ and ‘above’). The phrase of the last poetic line (line 8), ‘O superbia mortal’ (‘Oh, the mortal pride’) features a repeated descending musical motif in the melody, accompanied by a walking descending bass that create parallel 3rd or 10th with it (bars 23-26 and 36-39).

Canto

B. C.

Av - vol - to in sot - til ve - lo Ri-mi-ra-te, o mor-ta -

li, E stu - pis - ci na - tu - ra, Nasce il sommo' fat-tor fat - to fattu -

ra Tra duo vi-li ani-ma - li Tra duo vi-li ani-ma - li Tra duo vi-li ani-ma - li

Giacce in ru - vi de spoglie chi fu le stell'assi - so hà gl'angeli mi-ni - stri in Para-di -

so L'alle-grez - za del cie - lo pia - gne pia - gne pia - gne, l'e -

ter - no sol tre - ma di gie - lo, tre - ma di gie - lo.

11 #10

11 11 #10

Example 6.4: Bonini, 'Avvolto in sottil velo,'

Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali e Motetti (Florence: Marescotti, 1609), no. 5.

Canto

Sot-to rus - ti-co tet - to Sovra ri - gi-do fie-- no A pere gri-na

B. C.

7

ver-gi-nella in se - no Il di-vin par-go-let - to Stass'in po-vero pan - vi av -

14

vin - to, e stret - to O profund u-mil-ta - de Del-la di vin'es - sen-

22

za O super - bia mortal, O super - bia mortal, che pom - pe apprez -

29

za O profon - da umil-ta - de Della di vina es-sen-za O su-per -

37

bia, o super - bia mortal, O super - bia mortal, che pom - pe ap-prez - za

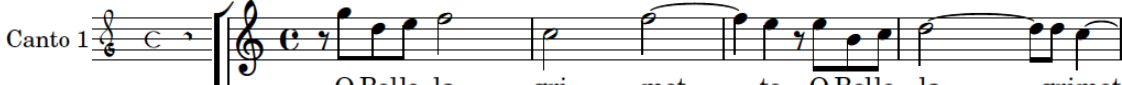
Example 6.5: Bonini, 'Sotto rustico tetto'

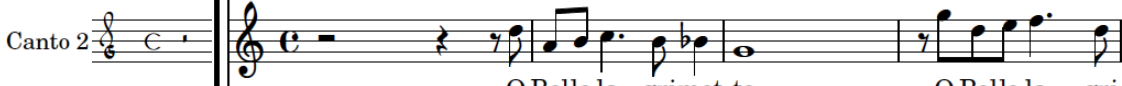
Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali e Motetti (Florence: Marescotti, 1609), no. 6.

Marino's 'O belle lagrimette' continued to be set in diverse musical contexts, albeit published in Rome. Giovanni Boschetto Boschetti's *Il Primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci...con doi madrigali spirituali* (Rome: Robletti, 1613)⁵¹³, in fact, mostly contains settings of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* and Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, as well as other pastoral poems by Grillo and Marino ('Giunto è pur Lidia il mio', titled 'Partita dell'amante'). Such bucolic choice of texts could potentially pun with the composer's own name, 'Boschetto' (meaning 'small forests' or 'woods'). The collection, however, concludes with two spiritual madrigals, 'Mentre le piaghe miro' and Marino's 'O belle lagrimette.' By combining pastoral genre with Marino's Nativity text, Boschetti seems to associate the Biblical shepherds with those of Arcadia. Marino's 'O belle lagrimette' serves as a fitting conclusion to the collection, as it is an elaborate canon for six voices.

Cifra's *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Secondo* (1618) also features a multi-voice setting of 'O belle lagrimette,' scored for three voices and basso continuo (**Example 6.6**) It proceeds in mostly imitative texture for the first half (bars 1-17) and then shifts to a quasi-antiphonal texture, in which the one vocal part leads and the rest of the voices respond in homophony in a kind of call-and-response manner (bars 18-32). Such call-and-response is used effectively to bring out again the iteration of 'voi' and 'Del'Aurora.'

⁵¹³ It is dedicated to Monsignora Abate Sforza de Nobili. P.N.A Partecipante.

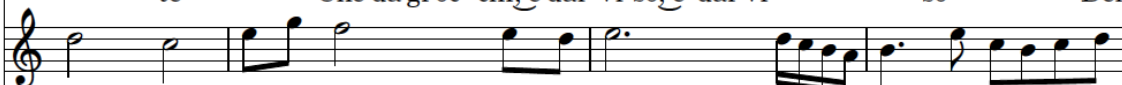
Canto 1.  O Belle la - gri - met - te O Belle la - grimet-

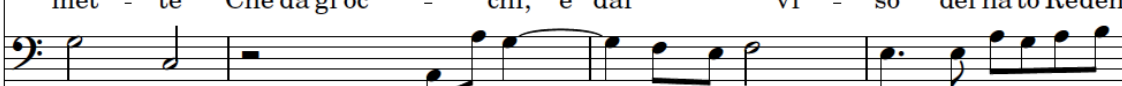
Canto 2.  O Belle la - grimet-te O Belle la - gri-

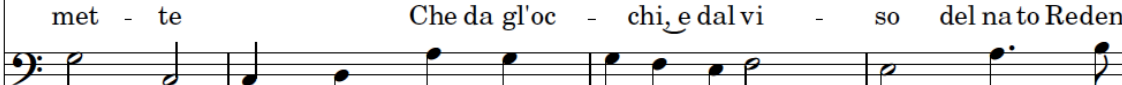
Canto 3.  O Belle la - grimet - te O Belle la - gri-

Basso Continuo 

5  - te Che da gl'oc-chi, e dal vi-so, e dal vi - so Del

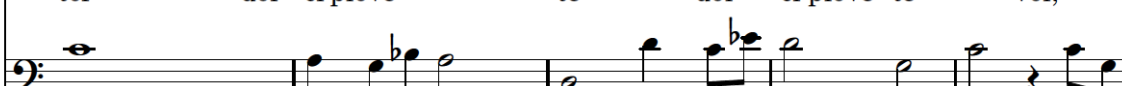
 met - te Che da gl'oc - chi, e dal vi - so del nato Reden-

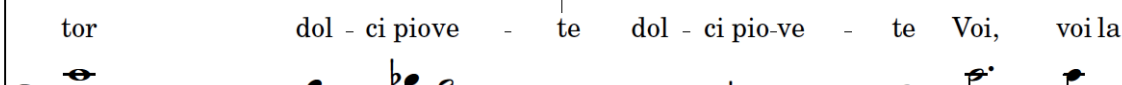
 met - te Che da gl'oc - chi, e dal vi - so del nato Reden-



9  nato Redentor dol - ci piove - te dol-ci piove - te Voi,

 tor dol - ci piove - te dol - ci piove-te Voi,

 tor dol - ci piove - te dol - ci pio-ve - te Voi, voi la



14

voila brina sie - - te Voi la ru-gia - da voi

voi la brina sie - te la brina sie - - te Voi la ru-gia-da

brina sie - te la brina sie - te Voi la ru-gia-da

18

De l'Auro - ra del Ciel, che spunta à no - - i,

voi De l'Au-ro - ra del Ciel, che spunta à no - i

voi De l'Au-ro - ra del Ciel, che spunta à no - i

22

De l'Auro - ra, che n'apre Non che'l sol, non che'l gior - no, il Para-

De l'Au-ro-ra, che n'apre Non che'l sol, non che'l gior -

De l'Au-ro-ra, che n'apre Non che'l sol non che'l gior -

26
 di-so, il Pa-ra-di - so, O pianto al mondo appor - ta - tor
 - no, il Pa-ra-di - so O pianto al mondo appor-ta -
 - no, il Pa-ra-di - so O pianto al mondo appor-ta -

29
 ap-por-ta-tor di ri - so O pianto al mondo appor-ta -
 tor di ri - so O pianto al mondo appor - ta - tor
 tor di ri - so O pianto al mondo appor-ta -

32
 tor O pianto al mondo appor-ta-tor di - ri - so.
 O pianto al mondo appor-ta-tor ap - porta-tor di ri - so.
 tor ap - porta - tor di ri - so.

Example 6.6: Cifra, ‘O belle lagrimette,’

Scherzi Sacri, Libro Secondo (Rome: Robletti, 1618), no. 17.

Appearing nearly two decades after Cifra’s *Scherzi Sacri, Libro Secondo*, Giamberti’s setting from *Raccolta d’arie spirituali* (Rome: Bianchi, 1640) brings back

the poem to another monodic setting for Canto and basso continuo by Giamberti (**Example 6.7**). unlike Bonini's, however, it is a lively, dance-like aria in triple meter, featuring many melisma (bars 8, 13, 17, 18-20) that seem more aligned with the act of singing than pictorial representations of the words themselves. Nevertheless, it is counter-balanced by recitatives in duple meter that—accompanied by a chromatic bass motion— affectively contemplate on the crying ('pianto') of Jesus (bars 22-28 and 32-34). Like the speaker of the poem, the singer contends that Jesus's tears bring laughter, or joy, to the mankind, and expresses his resolution by bursting into a final melisma back in triple meter (bars 29-30 and 35-37).

The musical score is written for Canto (voice) and B. C. (Basso Continuo). It is in 3/8 time. The score is divided into four systems, each with a vocal line and a basso continuo line. The lyrics are in Italian and describe the suffering of Jesus.

System 1: The vocal line begins with a whole note rest, followed by a half note. The lyrics are "O Bel - le la - gri - met - te - O Bel - le". The basso continuo line begins with a whole note, followed by a half note.

System 2: The vocal line begins with a quarter note, followed by a half note. The lyrics are "la - gri - met - te - Che da gli occhi, e dal vi - so Del na - to Redentor". The basso continuo line begins with a quarter note, followed by a half note.

System 3: The vocal line begins with a quarter note, followed by a half note. The lyrics are "dol - - ci pio - ve - te - - Voi voi la bri - na - sie - te Voi". The basso continuo line begins with a quarter note, followed by a half note.

System 4: The vocal line begins with a quarter note, followed by a half note. The lyrics are "voi la ru - gia - - - da vo -". The basso continuo line begins with a quarter note, followed by a half note.

15
i De l'Au - ro - - ra del Ciel, De l'Au-ro - -

18
- ra del Ciel, - - - - - che spun-ta à

21
no - i De l'Auro-ra, che n'apre Non che' Sol, non che'l giorno il Para

26
di - so, O pian - to - precursor - - - - - del

31
no-stro - - - ri - so O pian - to - pre-cur-sor - - -

36
- - - - - del no - - stro ri - so.

Example 6.7: Giamberti, 'O belle lagrimette,'
Raccolta d'arie spirituali (Rome: Bianchi, 1640), no. 2.

Finally, there is just one known setting of Marino's 'Nasci fanciullo invitto,' which was composed by Marsilio Casentini (**Example 6.8**) and included in his *Il quinto libro de' madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Vincenti, 1611). Like Boschetti's *Il Primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci...con doi madrigali spirituali* (1613) This collection, too, creates a synergy between Marino's Nativity text and madrigals in pastoral vein, such as passages from Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*. As if to reflect the commanding, imperative mood and loftiness that characterize the madrigal text itself, the opening of Casentini's setting makes a case for the mighty child of God born to the world with the use of a rising musical figure with dotted rhythm and melisma on the word 'invitto' ('invincible') in bars 1-7. Rising figures across all voices in an imitative texture becomes sort of a motivic gesture that reflects stateliness, recurring at line 5 that repeats the same imperative of the opening line 1, 'Nasci,' (bars 25-29) as well as at the last line 8 'a schiacciar le due serpi' ('to crush the two serpents' in bars 41 onwards). In contrast, slow rhythm or descending gesture reflect those on the losing side, in this case the 'inflicted world' ('il mondo afflitto') in bars 17-25 and 'hell and death' ('inferno e morte,' Bass bars 46-49, Canto bars 52-54, Tenor bars 54-60). While all these sections are in imitative texture, Casentini maintains textural variety by juxtaposing them with homophonic sections in triple meter (lines 2 and 6, bars 8-11 and 35-38). Overall, Casentini's colorful musical adaptation utilizes a full spectrum of melodic, textural, and rhythmic figuration available in a five-part vocal setting to effectively bring out contrasting (or opposing) ideas in Marino's imaginative text.

Canto

Na - sci fanciu - lo in-

Quinto

Na - sci fanciul-lo invit - to

Alto

Na - sci fanciul-lo invit - to Na - sci fanciul - lo invit -

Tenore

Na - sci fanciul-lo invit - to fan -

Basso

Na - sci fanciu - lo in-

5

vit - - to Mo-stra à l'in - cli - te pro-ve Te

fan - ciul - lo invit - to Mo-stra à l'in - cli - te pro-ve Te

- - - to Mo-stra à l'in - cli - te pro-ve Te

ciul - lo in - vit - to Mo-stra à l'in - cli - te pro-ve

vit - - - to Mo-stra à l'in - cli - te pro-ve

11

ve-ro fi - glio de l'e-ter - no de l'e - ter-no Gio -

ve-ro fi - glio de l'e-ter - no Gio -

ve-ro fi - glio Te ve-ro fi - glio de l'e-ter - - no Gio -

Te ve-ro fi - glio de l'eter - no de l'e - ter-no Gio -

Te ve-ro fi - glio de l'e-ter - - no Gio -

17

ve Sot - trag - gi al du - ro gio - go Na -

ve al du-ro gio - go il mon - do af - flit - to

ve Sot-traggi al du - ro gio - go il mon - do af - flit - to

ve Sot - trag - gi al du - ro gio - go il mon-do af-flit - to

ve Sot-traggi al du-ro gio - go mon - do af-flit - to

26

- sci Na - - sci e qual già si
 Na - - sci Na - - sci e qual già si
 Na - - sci
 Na - - - - sci e qual già si
 Na - - - - sci e qual già si

33

vi - de Te - nero in cul - la il fa - vo - lo - s'Al - ci - de
 vi - de Te - nero in cul - la il fa - vo - lo - s'Al - ci - de
 Te - nero in cul - la il fa - vo - lo s'Al - ci - de A - vez - za
 vi - de Te - nero in cul - la il fa - vo - lo - s'Al - ci - de A - vez - za
 vi - de Te - nero in cul - la il fa - vo - lo - s'Al - ci - de A - vez - za

41

A - vez - za la man for - te A scac-

A scacciar le due serpi A-vez - za la man for - te

la man for - te A - vez - za la man for - te

la man for - te A scacciar le due

la man for - te A scacciar le due ser -

46

ciar le due ser - pi in - fer - no e mor - te A scac-

A scacciar le due ser - pi inferno e

A scacciar le due ser - pi in - fer - no rin - fer - no e mor -

ser - pi A scacciar le due ser - pi in - fer - no e

- pi in - fer - no e mor - te

51

ciar le due serpi in - fer - no e mor - - te

mor - te A scacciar le due ser - - pi

te

A scacciar le due serpi in-

mor - te e mor - te in -

A scacciar le due ser - pi A scacciar le due ser - pi in-

55

A scacciar le due ser - pi in - fer - no e mor - te.

A scacciar le due serpi in - fer - no e mor - te.

fer - no e mor - te A scacciar le due serpi in-ferno e mor - te.

fer - no e mor - te in - fer - no e mor - te.

fer - no e mor - - - - - te.

Example 6.8: Casentini, 'Nasci fanciullo invitto,'

Il quinto libro de madrigali a cinque voci (Venice: Vincenti, 1611), no. 19.

In summary, Marino's sonnets and madrigals to the Navity from *Le Rime* I & II served as literary basis for songs appropriate for the Feast of Nativity. His sonnets were used in songbooks specifically tailored to the and adoration of the *presepio*, a devotion that continued to have strong musical presence well into the first half of the seventeenth century, while the madrigals, as usual, were more frequently set ad disseminated and musically set in more diverse contexts and styles. Overall, elements that stand out and recur on the literary level, such as the antithesis and repetition (either of the same words in 'O belle lagrimette' or imperative mood in 'Nasci fanciullo invito'), seem to inspire composers' musical figurations applied to their respective settings. Moreover, the idea of 'crying' or 'weeping' ('piagne' or 'pianto') often seem to receive special musical emphasis, as seen in Bonini and Giamberti's settings.

Presentation of Jesus to the Temple: Simeon's 'Nunc dimittis'

The Feast of the Presentation of Jesus to the Temple, celebrated as 'Candlemas' in the liturgical calendar, recounts the narrative in Luke's Gospel concerning Mary and Joseph's presentation of baby Jesus to the temple to be purified according to the Jewish law and their encounter with Simeon.⁵¹⁴ Simeon, moved by the Holy Spirit, which had revealed to him that he would not die before having seen the Messiah, goes in to the temple. Upon meeting Jesus and his parents, he holds him in his arms and praises God. His words spoken then, or 'Nunc Dimittis,' forms one of the three Canticles from Luke's Gospel that are assigned to be sung daily in the Divine Office at Lauds ('Benedictus'), Vespers ('Magnificat') and Compline ('Nunc dimittis'):

⁵¹⁴ See Luke 2:22-40

Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum: lumen ad revelationem Gentium et gloriam plebis tuae Israhel.

Now thou dost dismiss thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word in peace, because my eyes have seen thy salvation, which you have prepared before the face of all peoples: a light to the revelation of the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel.

Marino's 'Quasi canuto cigno,' entitled 'Sopra il Nunc Dimittis' ('On the Nunc Dimittis'), therefore focuses on Simeon and his words as the poetic subject:

Marino, *Le Rime* II (1602), Item 196, Madrigal 187

Nunc dimittis

Quasi canuto cigno
Che con dolce armonia la vita spira,
Gode, canta e sospira
Col divin parto in man, vecchio felice,
E sospirando dice:
'Hor che dopo tant'anni il sol vedete,
Chiudete, occhi, chiudete
Al pianto il varco ed al veder le porte:
Sia con la vita in sen, dolce morte.'

Nunc dimittis

Like the white-haired swan,
which with sweet harmony breathes out its life,
the happy old man rejoices, sings and sighs
with the divine child in his hand;
and sighing, he says:
'Now that you see the sun after many years,
close, my eyes, close the passage to weeping
and your gates to sight: with the Life in my
breast, may death be welcome.'

Consisting of two main parts (lines 1-5 and 6-9), Marino's 'Quasi canuto cigno' is a compact but elegant demonstration of metaphor, rhetoric, and antithesis. The first part cleverly compares Simeon the old man to a swan, using the word 'canuto' ('white-haired') rather than 'bianco' ('white') to make the reference clear. Also notable is repetition of verbs in third-singular (spira, canta, gode, sospira) and chiasm ('con dolce...spira,' and 'sospira col divin parto') in lines 2-4.⁵¹⁵ As foreshadowed by such chiasm, the first part (lines 1-5) that dwelt on the sense of hearing is contrasted by the second (lines 6-9) that shifts focus to the sight, as Simeon's himself, addresses the eyes to

⁵¹⁵ Guardiani, 'Dieci pezzi sacri,' 361-2.

‘close the passages to the tears and gates to the sight.’ The antithesis between hearing and sight is ultimately concluded with another antithesis between life and death (line 9), as Simeon expresses his willingness to accept death happily after seeing Jesus, who brings eternal life to mankind, thus fulfilling the Holy Spirit’s revelation that he shall not die before seeing the Messiah.

Le Muse Sacre (1608) contains, along with Marino’s ‘Quasi canuto cigno,’ at least two other poems about Simeon by Alessandro Gatti and Giacomo Bratteolo. All three poets pay an homage to the opening of Simeon’s words, ‘Nunc dimittis’ (‘Now thou dost dismiss’) especially with use of ‘Hor’ (‘Now’) in the beginning of the sentences either spoken by or addressing Simeon. On one hand, Gatti’s madrigal shares numerous similarities with Marino’s, such as imagery of Simeon as a singing swan (Gatti even compares him to a phoenix). On the other hand, Bratteolo’s sonnet combines references to passages from both Psalm and Nunc Dimittis:

Alessandro Gatti, *Le Muse Sacre* (1608), p. 3

A San Simeon Profeta

Hor, c’hai la vita in seno,
Ben puoi bramar la morte
Vecchio beato, e fortunato a pieno:
Già per veder vivesti,
Hor mori per goder quel, che vedesti;
E canta il tuo morir lieto, e felice
Hora Cigno del ciel, tosto Fenice.

To St Simeon, the Prophet

Now that you hold the life in your breast,
you can well desire the death,
blessed old man, fully fortunate:
you already lived to see the light,
now you may die, rejoicing in whom you
see:
and sing of your happy and content death,
now Swan of heaven, Phoenix at once.

Imitatione del Salmo: Nun dimittis, & c.

Signor, di cui al sommo alto governo
L'aria l'acque, la terra, e'l ciel soggiace;
Hor lasci il servo tuo gir sene in pace,
Come ha promesso il tuo gran verbo
eterno
Poich'io contento col mio lume esterno
Veduto ho quel; per cui serbar ti piace
Da le fauci del rio Serpe fallace
L'human seme dannato al cieco inferno,
Questi è quel, che ne gli occhi de' mortali;
C'hor in tenebre stanno oscure, & apre;
Tu hai posto come Sol puro lucente:
Perch'ei, la vera luce ad ogni gente
Scoprendo, le tue care electe squadre
Scorga a gli eccelsi tuoi seggi immortali.

Imitation on the Psalm: Nunc dimittis, etc.

Lord, to whose supreme high government
the air, the waters, the earth, and the
heavens subject, now let your servant turn in
peace, as your great eternal word has
promised. Since I have happily seen him
with my external light; for whom it pleases
you to save from the jaws of the sinful and
fallacious Serpent, the human seed damned
to blind hell. This is he, whom you have
placed like pure shining Sun in the mortal's
eyes, that opens and releases them from
darkness. For he, unveiling the true light to
every people, who are your dear, chosen
teams, may glimpse into thy lofty, immortal
seats.

The sole musical setting of 'Quasi canuto cigno' (1613) by Bartolomeo Mutis is scored for Alto, Tenor, and Bass. (**Example 6.9**) The choice of lower voices may in part have allowed better imitation or representation of Simeon as the madrigal's protagonist. Mutis's setting is divided into four main sections, corresponding to poetic lines 1-2, 3-4, 5, and 6-9. The first section (bars 1-14) is imitative in texture, introducing a descending tetrachord (D-C-Bb-A, bar 1), which is responded by a rising motif (bar 7 onwards). Mutis's opening motif is almost identical and a possible reference to John Dowland's 'Lachrimae' or the 'tear' motif. (Example). In the second part (bars 15-26), however, each vocal part takes turns singing solos, bursting out ravish and ecstatic melisma consisting of rapid succession of quavers, thereby sonically emulating Simeon's 'rejoicing' and 'singing' ('Gode' and 'Canta'). After a brief interlude (bars 34-38), Simeon's speech is introduced by a homophonic texture (bars 39-44), an effective way to introduce signal that now a character of the subject is speaking. The rest of the music is

characterized by an almost perfectly balanced descending and rising contours of the melodic motifs. Especially, in bars 52-69, the rising figure on ‘vita’ (‘life’) and descending one in ‘dolce la morte’ (‘sweet the death’), effectively represent the antithesis of life and death in the poem itself. With extended melismata as aural stimuli and visually balanced melodic contours that respectively feature in the first and second halves of the music, Mutis’ setting supports Guardiani’s assertion that the first and second halves of madrigals appeal to senses of hearing and seeing, respectively.

The musical score is for a madrigal setting, likely by Giovanni Mutis, based on the text of the page. It features four vocal parts: Alto, Tenore, Basso, and B.C. (Basso Continuo). The score is in C major, 4/4 time, and consists of two systems. The first system shows the vocal entries with the lyrics 'Qua - si ca-nu - to Ci - gno'. The second system shows the continuation of the melody with the lyrics 'che con dolc'armo-nia'. The keyboard accompaniment is shown in the bottom system, with a treble and bass clef. The score is visually balanced, with the vocal parts and keyboard accompaniment arranged in a clear, readable format.

11

che con dolc'armonia la vita spi - ra

dolc'ar-mo-nia la vita spi - ra Go - - -

nia la vita spi - ra

16

Can - - - - -

de

20

ta

Go - - - - - de

Can - - -

25

co'l divin par - t'in man
e so-spi - ra co'l divin
ta e so - spi - ra co'l divin

30

co'l divin par-t'in man vec - chio fe-li - ce e so - spiran -
man vec - chio fe - li - - ce e so -
par - t'in man vec - chio fe - li - - ce e so - spi-

36

do e sospi-ran-do di - ce Hor che dop-po tan-t'an - n'il
- spiran - do di - ce Hor che dop-po tan-t'an - n'il
ran - do di - - ce Hor che dop-po tan-t'an - n'il

43/

sol ve-de - te Chiu - de-t'occhi chiu-de - te Chiude-t'occhi chiu-de - te

sol ve-de - te Chiu-det'occhi chiude - te Chiude-t'oc-chi chiu-de - te

sol ve-de - te Chiu - de-t'occhi chiude - te Chiude-t'oc-chi chiude -

47/

dete al piant'il var - co al piant'il var - co & al ve-der le

al piant'il var - co al piant'il varco & al ve-der le

te al piant'il var - co & al ve-der le

51/

por - te sia con la vi - t'in

por - te sia con la vi - t'in sen si con la vi - t'in sen dolce la

por - te si con la vi-t'in sen sia con la vi - t'in

sen dol - ce la mor-te dol - ce la mor - te dol - ce la mor-te
mor - te dol - ce la mor - te dol - ce la mor-te
sen dol - - ce la mor - te dol - ce la
dol - ce la mor - te dol - ce la mor - te
dol - ce la mor-te dol - ce la mor - te.
mor-te dol - ce la mor-te dol - ce la mor - - te.

Example 6.9: Mutis, ‘Quasi canuto cigno,’

Musiche a una doi et tre voci (Venice: Gardao, 1613), no. 12.

Myths of swans singing for the first (and only) time at their death, and the euphoric death caused by love have been in literary cannon for some time. The text of ‘Il bianco e dolce cigno’ set to music by Jacques Arcadelt in as early as 1539, had already established these renowned canons of the Italian madrigal (both in text and music):

Il bianco e dolce cigno
cantando more et io
piangendo giung' al fin del viver mio.
Stran' e diversa sorte,
ch' ei more sconsolato
et io moro beato.
Morte che nel morire

The white and gentle swan
dies singing, and I,
weeping, approach the end of my life.
Strange and diverse fates,
that he dies disconsolate
and I die blessed.
Death, that in the [act of] dying,

m'empie di gioia tutto e di desire.
 Se nel morir' altro dolor non sento
 di mille mort' il di sarei contento.

fills me wholly with joy and desire.
 If in dying I feel no other pain
 I would gladly die a thousand times a day.⁵¹⁶

While the text for ‘Il bianco dolce cigno’ seems to represent an amorous experience between the two lovers, Marino’s ‘Quasi canuto cigno’ cleverly infuses archetypical symbolism of swansong and euphoric death into Simeon’s fateful encounter with Jesus. Mutis’s musical setting, which incorporates a more modern Caccinian element of ornamented solo singing, helps candle a new light into the canon of lovers’ swansong.

Sonnet for Easter: A Joyful Satire or a Lyrical Warning?

Marino’s sonnet for the Easter, ‘Che valse udir di tante trombe, e tante’ is cast as a *lauda spirituale* in Giuseppe Giamberti’s *Laudi Spirituali* (Orvieto: Ruuli, 1628). Giamberti was a maestro di capella of the Orvieto Cathedral when he published his *Laudi Spirituali* (Orvieto: Ruuli, 1628). It was dedicated to Cardinal Pier Paolo Crescentio (bishop of Orvieto at the time) and bears his coat of arm (See **Figure 6.1**).⁵¹⁷ According to Giamberti’s dedicatory letter addressed to Cardinal Crescentio, his *Laudi Spirituali* were commissioned by the Cardinal himself for the Saturday Marian devotions on the evenings at the Cathedral, which Cardinal himself seems to have initiated⁵¹⁸:

⁵¹⁶ Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectives: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (University of California Press, 2004), 61.

⁵¹⁷ It is unknown whether he was related to the Crescentio family who was involved with publication of Marino’s *Le Rime* (1602). He may also be the same Cardinal Crescentio, who attended the performance of Pietro della Valle’s oratorio, *Dialogo di Esther*, in the Oratory of the Most Holy Crucifix on the Monday of the Holy Week in 1640, as attested by one of della Valle’s letters. See Smither, *History of Oratorio* Vol. 1, 212.

⁵¹⁸ Kendrick also suspects these services originated partly in Roman Oratorian circles, which seems plausible considering the strong tie Cardinal Crescentio fostered with the Congregation of Oratory and his participation in the Oratorian service as attested by Pietro della Valle. See Rober Kendrick, ‘Devotion, Piety and Commemoration: Sacred Songs and Oratorios,’ in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 346-347.

To the Most Illustrious, and Most Reverend
Lord, and Most Respected Master,
The Lord, Cardinal Crescentio, Bishop of Orvieto

Among the devout exercises, which on the Saturday evening in honor of the Most Blessed Virgin your Illustrious Holiness has founded in this Cathedral, these *Spiritual Laudi*, which, being accustomed to enjoying the benign attention of your Most Illustrious Holiness in the Church, are also confident of beseeching you for your protection in the Press. I, who in the little merit of the work see united only the very great will of the Artificer, have recourse only to the great humanity of Your Most Illustriousness, and I beg you to remain served, so that compositions produced by your commandments may be kept alive with the most glorious support of your Name. I wish Your Most Illustrious Excellency every best deserved exaltation and humbly conclude by offering my reverence.

From Orvieto, 4th January, 1628.

Most humble Servant of Your Excellency Most Illustrious and Reverend,
Giuseppe Giamberti.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁹ All'Illustrissimo, e Reverendissimo / Signore, e Padron Colendissimo, / Il Signor / Card. Crescentio / Vescovo d'Orvieto. / TRA' divoti eserciti, che nel Sabato sera ad honore della Beatissima Vergine la bontà di V.S. Illustrissima hà fondati in questa Catedrale, hanno avuto fortuna di nascere queste LAUDI SPIRITVALI, le quali, sendo avvezze à godere della benigna attentione di V. S. illusstrissima nella Chiesa, confidano anche di supplicarla de sua protettione nella Stampa. Io, che nel poco merito dell'opera vedo congiunta solo la volontà ben grande dell'Artefice, ricorro solamente alla molta humanità di V. S. Illustrissima, e la supplico a restar servita, che compositione prodotta da'suoi commandamenti si serbi in vita con l'appoggio gloriosissimo del suo Nome. Auguro à V. S. Illustrissima ogni più meritata esaltatione, ed humilissimamente per fine le fò riverenza. / Di Orvieto li 4. Gennaro. 1628. / Di V. S. Illustriss. & Reverendiss. / Humilissimo Servidore / Giuseppe Giamberti.



Figure 6.1: Giamberti, *Laudi Spirituali* (Orvieto: Ruuli, 1628), frontispiece.⁵²⁰

⁵²⁰ Image courtesy of Museo Internazionale e Biblioteca della Musica (Bologna), I-Bc, Z.243; http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_Z/243/, public domain.

As **Table 6.1** below shows, most of texts used in *Laudi Spirituali* (1628) are drawn from *La ghirlanda di Canzonette Spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1619) and *Del gioiello di canzonette spirituali* (Venice: Vincenti, 1619). The opening song, ‘Che valse udir,’ stands out in many ways, as it is the only sonnet, the only poem drawn from Marino’s *La Lira* III (1614), and the only monody in the collection. It is therefore a good example demonstrating the diversity of style in the *laude spirituali* as an early seventeenth-century lyric-musical genre, which has been already pointed out in relation to other texts contained within *Laudi Spirituali* (1628).⁵²¹

Table 6.1: Contents of Giamberti, *Laudi Spirituali* (Orvieto: Ruuli, 1628).

No.	Rubric	Incipit	Source	Scoring
1	Nel di Pasqua, ritorno al vomito.	Che vals'udir di tante trombe e tante	Marino, <i>La Lira</i> , III (Venice: Ciotti, 1614)	C, bc
2	Anima innamorata di Christo.	S'acceso ha del suo foco	<i>La ghirlanda di Canzonette Spirituali</i> VII (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	CC, bc
3	Dimandar aiuto al Signore per lasciare il peccato.	Io mi trovo Giesù da te lontano	<i>Del gioiello di canzonette spirituali</i> , VIII (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	CC, bc
4	Nella Passione.	Mentre lo sposo mio dorme e riposa	<i>Del gioiello di canzonette spirituali</i> , VII (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	CC, bc
5	Felice anima, ch'ogni cosa vede Dio.	Non è cosa ch'io miri	<i>La ghirlanda di Canzonette Spirituali</i> , I (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	CB, bc
6	Passaggio dall'amor terreno, all'amor celeste.	Sazio de' tuoi diletti amor fallace		CB, bc
7	Del Santissimo Sacramento.	Quand'io rimiro il vago e bianco manto		TB, bc
8	Chiede soccorso à Dio, per lasciare il peccato	Ohimè ch'a poco a poco	<i>La ghirlanda di Canzonette Spirituali</i> , II (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	CCT, bc
9	Nella Passione.	A piè de l'aspra croce		CTB, bc
10	Chi non serve à	Dico spess'al mio core	<i>La ghirlanda di</i>	CATB, bc

⁵²¹ See Kendrick, ‘Devotion,’ 346-347.

	Dio, muore, e v'è all'Inferno.		<i>Canzonette Spirituali</i> , II (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	
11	Nella Passione.	Fieri lacci e catene		CATB, bc
12	Proposito fermo di non più peccare.	S'al dolce mio signore	<i>Del gioiello di canzonette spirituali</i> , IX (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	CATB, bc
13	Opera fin che sei giovine.	Sorgi dal sonno sorgi anima mia	<i>Del gioiello di canzonette spirituali</i> , VI (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	CCTB, bc
14	Delle grandezze di Maria.	O fra quanti giamai nacquer d'Adamo	<i>Del gioiello di canzonette spirituali</i> , IX (Venice: Vincenti, 1619)	CCATB, bc
15	Contritione di un peccatore.	Signor d'averti offeso assai mi pento		CCATB, bc

The subject given to the text in the *La Lira* III *Divozioni* (1614), 'Ritorno al Vomito' is a Biblical reference to fools repeating their foolishness (or rather, sinners going back to their sins) as the dog returns to its vomit, as discussed in the Proverbs 26:11 and reiterated in Peter 2:22.⁵²² The sonnet's first two quatrains admonish those who, despite having repented during the Lent, habitually go back to their own ways once it is over. The following two tercets compare such behavior to actors in the roles of Historion and Giostrator, whose acted-out roles are nothing like their usual habits.

Marino, *La Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 62

*Nel di Pasqua
Ritorno al Vomito*

Che valse udir di tante trombe, e tante
Questa, e quella, ogni di voce sonora,
S'hoggi col tuo Signor non sorgi fora
De la tomba del vitio, anima errante?

*In the Easter
Return to the Vomit*

What is the point of hearing so many trumpets,
this one and that one, loud every day, if you,
wandering soul, do not rise forth with your Lord
from the grave of vice today?

⁵²² See Alessandro Martini, 'Le Divozioni del Marino,' in *Parlar L'idioma Soave: Studi di Filologia, Letteratura e Storia della Lingua Offerti a Gianni a. Papini*, ed. Matteo M. Pedroni (Interlinea Edizioni, 2003), 188. Proverb 26:11: 'As a dog eats its own vomit, so fools recycle silliness.' Peter 2: 22: 'Of them the proverbs are true: "A dog returns to its vomit," and "A sow that is washed returns to her wallowing in the mud."'

Appena, oimè, con le memorie sante
De la sacra stagion passata è l' hora,
Che torni al vizzo, e movi il passo ancora
Per quella via, che già calcasti avanti.

Così suole Histrion, che già mendico
Prese di Rè pomposo, e spoglia, e faccia,
In breve rivestir l'habito antico.

E così Giostrator segue, minaccia,
E fere altrui, poi chi sembrò nemico
In mentita tenzon, ridendo abbraccia?

Alas, as soon as the hour with holy memories of
the sacred season is past,
you return to the habit and move your step again
to that road, which you already treaded before.

So does Histrion, who, once a beggar,
takes upon himself the countenance and insignia
of pompous King, only to dress again as before.

And so does Giostrator who follows, threatens,
and wounds others, who then hugs laughingly the
one who seemed his enemy in that fake
tenzone.⁵²³

Musically, Giamberti's setting of 'Che valse udir' divides the sonnet into three main sections: **Part 1 (Example 6.10a)** corresponding to the two quatrains (lines 1-8); **Part 2 (Example 6.10b)** to first tercet (lines 9-11); and finally, **Part 3 (Example 6.10c)** to the second tercet (lines 12-14). The opening (**Example 6.10a** bars 1-4) sets the scene for the rest of the song, which is in a typically Caccinian recitative style, with Canto part singing the text syllabically over basso continuo's mostly static, chordal harmonic support moving mostly in semibreve or minim. The music picks up momentum, however, at the end of sonnet's second quatrain (line 8), where the Canto sings a long melisma on the word 'calcasti' ('you treaded'), accompanied by a rising walking bass line moving in crotchets (**Example 6.10a** bars 20-25). The rhythmic momentum continues to build into **Part 2 (Example 6.10b)**, in which the bass line is now moving mostly in minims. Then, the climactic **Part 3** features more extended and elaborate melismas, especially on the words 'Giostrator' and 'ridendo abbraccia' ('hugs laughingly') (**Example 6.10c** bars 2-3

⁵²³ *Tenzone* is a form of song-battle used by Sicilian poets to defend opposing positions. See Francesca De Blasi, "'Belleze ed Adornezze e Piacimento': The Concept of Beauty in the Sicilian School," in *The Idea of Beauty in Italian Literature and Language: "Il buono amore è di bellezza disio,"* ed. Claudio Felice, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 33.

and 9-13, respectively). The latter, accompanied by a walking bass line that forms successive parallel 6th with the Canto, is especially reminiscent of Cifra's monodies for St Francis ('Amasti amato amante') and St Lawrence ('O non cura o non sente') and provides a fitting depiction of the sonnet's almost satirical ending by sonically mimicking the sound of laughing.

Canto

B.C.

Che valse udir di tante trombe, e tante questa è quella ogni di vo-ce so-

no-ra s'oggi col tuo Signor non sorgi fuora de la tomba del vi-tio A-nima erran-te

à pe-na ho-imè con le memo-rie san-te della sa-cra stagion passata è

l'ho-ra che tor-ni al vez-zo e movi il passo anco-ra per quella

via che già cal-ca - - - sti a - van - te.

Example 6.10a: Giamberti, 'Che valse udir,'
Laudi Spirituali (Orvieto: Ruuli, 1628), no. 1, part 1.

Canto

Co - si suo - le Histrion che già mendi - co pre-se di Rè pom-

B.C.

po - so e spo - glia, e fac - cia in breve ri-vestir l'hab - bito anti - co.

Example 6.10b: Giamberti, 'Che valse udir,'

Laudi Spirituali (Orvieto: Ruuli, 1628), no. 1, part 2.

Canto

E co-si giostra-tor se - guo mi-

B.C.

na - cia e fe - re altrui poi chi sem-brò ne - mi - co in men-

ti - ta tenzon ri - den -

do ab - brac - cia.

Example 6.10c: Giamberti, 'Che valse udir,'

Laudi Spirituali (Orvieto: Ruuli, 1628), no. 1, part 3.

Overall, Giamberti's 'Che valse udir' reveals a fascinating way in which devotion, text, and music could intersect. As a whole, Marino's sonnet on the occasion of Easter can be read almost as a caricature of devotees after the Lenten season, while Giamberti's music shares many similarities with contemporary Florentine and Roman spiritual monodies by Bonini and Cifra. It therefore leaves a strong, almost admonishing, impression as an opening song of the collection of *laude spirituali* that was used for 'devout exercises,' as the solo singer could—like the actors mentioned in the poem—impersonate a preacher castigating the congregation. Giamberti's adaptation of Marino's poem shows that the *laude spirituale* as a genre featured the latest style in poetry and music—even if the text bordered on being somewhat *burlesque*—as long as it was intended specifically for the devotional usage in an ecclesiastical setting.

Conclusion to Chapter 6

The texts and musical adaptations surveyed in this chapter demonstrate the various devotional contexts in which poetry and music articulate the joyous and jubilant themes within the liturgical calendar. Music based on texts appropriate for different feasts seem to have been composed or performed in different locations as well, hinting at local or regional preferences for specific subjects: Annunciation in Loreto, Nativity in Rome, Candlemas in Graz/Vienna, and Easter in Orvieto. Antithesis—whether it be laughing and crying, life and death, hell and heaven, or even sin and penance—and shifts between subjective and imperative moods are by far some of the most perceivable elements, to which composers responded in some way musically. Composers seem to be particularly attentive to words that evoke sound—such as crying, singing, and laughter—which

naturally lend themselves to sonic representations through music. Also noteworthy on literal level are the metaphors that constantly play on the secular-sacred or Greek-Christian tropes, blurring the distinction between such dichotomy: Mary as Minerva, Arcadian vs. Biblical shepherds, Jesus as Hercules, and Simeon as a dying swan. While many of the musical settings seem appropriate for devotional purposes, their non-liturgical contexts in which they appear allowed them to exploit languages and imageries (through Marino's pen) that were available in the lyric poetry tradition, which could have at times humorous and even satirical effects that may have been more acceptable in the jovial themes.

Conclusion

This thesis considered Marino's texts and their musical settings in relation to contemporary Catholic devotions, such as *Imitatio Christi*, Seven Sorrows of Mary, and other aspects of lives of Christ and saints. These devotions were based on the Medieval spirituality that continued to be cultivated in the early modern period. Important feasts of the lives of Christ that constituted elaborate celebration in the Church Calendar, such as Nativity and Passion, made up themes that were most frequently set to music. The Holy Week was especially full of themes for which many of these musical settings were specifically composed, including the Crown of Thorns or Marian laments based on Fifth and Sixth Sorrows of Mary. In this regard, Francesco Bianciardi's *Canzonette Spirituali* (1607) and Trinciavelli's *Musiche Spirituali* (1620) stand out for their schematic similarity, as they both use Marino's *canzonetta* or *canzone* for their elaborate song-cycles and organize the songs in the order of the Passion events, starting with the Crown of Thorns and culminating in Mary's lament. Moreover, many other composers were also drawn to Marino's borrowings from the Biblical topoi, such as Songs of Songs or Book of Lamentations, especially within his seminal spiritual *canzonette* based on the Seven Sorrows of Mary.

Marino's spiritual lyrics often reflect a Neo-Platonist take on spiritual love, a concept put forth seminally by Marsilio Ficino. As such, a double-reference to Love ('Amore') as both the earthly Cupid and heavenly Cupid permeates many of the devotional songs based on Marino's text, especially *Christo Smarrito* and lyrics dedicated to Sts Francis of Assisi and Mary Magdalene. The presence of the heavenly Cupid in becoming the beloved lover of Christ is explored especially in the two saints, even

turning it into a spiritualized love-war theme. The love-war theme applied to Marino's amorous lyrics and Monteverdi's settings of them is well known, but this thesis has illustrated that it was also ubiquitous and exploited imaginatively in devotional music as well. Such permeability between earthly and spiritual love was widely applicable in early modern devotional meditations, such as the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises* or the Rosary, which encouraged the use of imagination as the conduit from the physical to the spiritual realms. Marino's lyrics, which often mixed narrative and dramatic voices, as well as appeal to senses, were likewise conduit to inspire devout meditations that were affective or emotive in both words and music.

Even those of Marino's texts less frequently set to music, as discussed in Chapter 6, are revealing of the ways in which his spiritual lyrics were appreciated. Musical settings of his spiritual sonnets and madrigals could have been (or intended to be) used for a variety of purposes, such as *laudi spirituali* in public or private devotions in Orvieto Cathedral or sung by musicians of the imperial court of Austria. These seemingly miscellaneous settings of Marino's poems—which were based on more positive outcomes of Christ's life—often featured the sound of crying, 'singing,' or even laughing in their musical figuration, sometimes to humorous or satirical effects.

While the composers closely followed the poetic structure and used it as a basis for musical structure, the poetic forms themselves did not necessarily dictate the actual style of music. In this regard, *canzonetta* as a poetic form seems to have afforded the most freedom, as composers could choose to use all of the stanzas or just the selections thereof. This allowed them to set them musically either as proper strophic *canzonetta* or through-composed songs in various styles (madrigal, aria, cantata, or even a *villanella*).

As seen in earlier settings of *canzonette spirituali* by Tantucci and Simili, even poems in sonnet and madrigal forms could be turned, with textual intervention, into musically strophic *canzonette*. Antonio Cifra and Scipione Dentice, on the contrary, selected several stanzas from Marino's spiritual *canzonette* and set them as independent madrigals by providing their own programmatic rubrics.

Stylistically, spiritual *canzonette* based on Seven Sorrows of Mary were the most diverse in the ways they were cast as musical compositions, ranging from three-part *canzonette*, solo aria, to dramatic laments as appropriate for the Tenebrae services in the Holy Week. The musical settings of Marino's *canzonetta* for the Crown of Thorns tend to be less emotive but generally cyclic in nature, which seem to symbolize the less dramatic but highly meditative nature of the devotion to the Crown of Thorns. In addition, the musical settings of Marino's spiritual madrigals—especially those addressed to Nativity, Christ's wounds, St Francis, and St Lawrence—equally indicate the ways in which composers varied vocal texture, harmony, metres, and word-paintings of individual phrases to musically illustrate the meanings of the texts. Anti-thesis, especially the life-death dichotomies, and various comparison of Mary or Jesus to Greek deities were frequently articulated in many musical settings of Marino's spiritual poems.

In terms of voicing, besides several monodic settings, the three-voice texture (Canto, Alto, Bass) dominated in various musical sources, which was the most common voice for devotional music directed at amateur singers.⁵²⁴ This hints that the majority of people singing Marino's spiritual lyrics set to music were indeed members of religious or

⁵²⁴ Robert Kendrick, 'Devotion, Piety and Commemoration: Sacred Songs and Oratorios,' in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. by Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 332.

lay communities. This supposition is supported by the fact that many musical sources can be traced back to either Jesuit or Oratorian performance spaces. It is also worth recalling here that many of composers treated in this thesis were either priest-composers or members of religious orders: Bianciardi, Bonini, Mazzocchi, and Dentice,

As mentioned in the conclusion to Chapter 5, social ambience of musical sources and their contents also hint at patronage as a strong factor in influencing the choice of text used. Bonini and Trinciavelli dedicated their music to members of Benedictine orders (Vallombrosian and Cassinese, respectively), while Bianciardi dedicated his *Canzonette Spirituali* (1607) to his fellow Sienese Chamberlain to Pope Paul V. Olimbia Aldobrandini, to whom Mazzocchi's *Musiche Sacre e Morali* (1640) that contained an extended musical dialogue based on Marino's 'Sospirava e spargea' was dedicated—as well as Fenice Crescenzia, dedicatee of Marino's 'Sola fra suoi più cari' and 'Già scarco havea lasciato'—were family members of Marino's patrons around the time he published *Le Rime* (1602). Chapter 4 addressed a potential influence of the French monarchy, Marino's patron from 1615 to 1623, to both textual and musical dissemination of his canzone to the Crown of Thorns. The figures of Cardinal Montalto and the Medici family also loom as figures to whom the saints featured in Marino's poems and their musical settings might have held special significance. The patrons as potential agents behind artistic creations indicate that devotional songs were not only reflections of pious feelings (either by the poet or the composer) or responses to contemporary devotional practices, but also intertwined with political and social environments within which the poet or the composer operated.

In summary, this thesis showed that literary themes used in secular vein, especially the love topoi developed in the sixteen century, permeated into a much wider realm of seventeenth-century vocal music, especially in devotional songs. In Marino's lyrics, such literary love topos was cleverly combined with the affective spirituality stemming from the medieval devotional practices that continued to resonate with the early modern spirituality. This thesis also highlighted the genre of early-seventeenth century *canzonette spirituali* through several case studies, therefore contributing to a broader understanding of this musical repertoire by complementing the previous study of the late-sixteenth century counterpart.⁵²⁵ The notion of music as a spiritual experience in the early seventeenth century, as put forth by Dell'Antonio—as well as his observation that that ability to delight in spiritual listening was closely associated with the *virtù* of those in higher social ranks⁵²⁶—turns out to be especially relevant for songs based on Marino's spiritual lyrics, whose immediate audience included members of noble families and religious orders such as Jesuits, Oratorians, and Benedictines. Thus, devotional music was an ideal medium through which composers could project their own devotion to both earthly patrons and heavenly subjects. The double-reference to earthly and heavenly Love (Cupid) in Marino's lyrics seems to have been especially suited for such a purpose. The realms of secular and sacred, or earthly and heavenly were not a one-way street but rather paradigms that consistently interacted with and complemented each other. It is hoped that future studies will continue to explore such intriguing dynamics in literature, music, and devotional practices of the rich cultural landscape of the early seventeenth-century.

⁵²⁵ John Joseph Fiore, 'The *Canzonetta Spirituale* in the Late Sixteenth Century in Italy' (PhD diss. The University of Chicago, 2009).

⁵²⁶ Andrew Dell'Antonio, *Listening as Spiritual Practice in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

Appendix 1:

List of Musical Sources Containing Marino's Spiritual Lyrics

NB: This list was compiled based on previous catalogues of Marino's lyrics set to music,⁵²⁷ as well as *Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica, 1500-1700* (RePIM), database for the lyrics set to music between 1500 and 1700.⁵²⁸ The catalogue of *Printed Sacred Music in Europe 1500-1800*,⁵²⁹ as well as existing catalogue of printed music in Rome has been consulted, and incipits of lyrics in devotional songbooks were compared against lyrics appearing in Marino's *Le Rime* I, II (1602) or *La Lira* III (1614).⁵³⁰ This list closely follows the entry and format adapted in Giambonini's catalogue (2000) by listing songbooks by their composer(s), title, place, editor, and year of publication, the dedicatee, place and date of dedication, followed by the Nuovo-Vogel number and RISM ID where available.⁵³¹ It includes reprints and is ordered chronologically according to both the year of publication and the date that the dedication was signed (if available). The incipits of lyrics used for the musical settings are listed under each entry in bullet points. If the musical settings used new musical materials for different parts of the same lyrics (e.g. a madrigal divided into different parts, e.g. in Pecci's 1612 setting of 'Piaga dolce d'amore' and 'E quante in te consperse' or multi-stanza *canzonetta* using different music for different stanza), then these were entered as separate entries. However, if a *canzonetta* setting was strophic (i.e. used same music for different stanzas), then these were entered as just one entry, while still indicating the specific stanzas listed in the musical source (e.g. Pietro Paolo Sabbatini's setting of 'Sola fra suoi più cari,' Stanzas 1, 19, 20, 22). For the reasons stated in Chapter 1, settings of 'Beltà del sommo sole' and have been recorded, as they are treated as 'spiritual' in nature in some of the literary sources, even though they do not appear in necessarily spiritual contexts in some of the earlier settings. The couple of parodies based on Marino's text (Quagliati's setting of 'O figlie di Sion' and Pace's setting of 'Di colomba amorosa'), which are discussed in Chapter 4, have also been recorded.

⁵²⁷ R. Simon and D. Gidrol, 'Appunti sulle relazioni tra l'opera poetica di G.B. Marino e la musica del suo tempo,' *Studi Secenteschi*, Vol. 14 (Florence: Olschki, 1976), 81-187; Peter Laki, "The Madrigals of Giambattista Marino and their Settings for Solo Voice (1602-1640)," PhD diss., (University of Pennsylvania, 1989); Francesco Giambonini, *Bibliografia delle opere a stampa di Giambattista Marino*, Vol. 1-2 (Florence: Olschki 2000), Marco Mangani, 'Le Canzoni della "Lira" del Marino nelle Stampe Musicali del '600,' *Rassenga Veneta di Studi Musicali* 5-6 (January 1, 1989), 75-101,

⁵²⁸ RePIM. Repertorio della Poesia Italiana in Musica, 1500-1700, <https://repim.itatti.harvard.edu/>

⁵²⁹ *Printed Sacred Music Database – Printed Sacred Music in Europe 1500-1800*. Published: 2014 [online] <http://www.printed-sacred-music.org> DOI: 10.5448/RISM-d-lib-001

⁵³⁰ Saverio Franchi, and Orietta Sartori, *Annali della stampa musicale romana dei secoli XVI-XVIII : ricerca storica, bibliografica e archivistica*, Vol. 1 (Rome: IBIMUS, 2006). Saverio Franchi and Orietta Sartori, *Annali della stampa musicale romana dei secoli XVI-XVIII : ricerca storica, bibliografica e archivistica*, Vol. 2 (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2022).

⁵³¹ Francesco Giambonini, *Bibliografia delle Opere a Stampa di Giambattista Marino*, Vol. 1 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2000).

A. Printed Sources

1603

1. Il Verso, Antonio. *L'Ottavo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci novamente composto et dato in luce*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1603. Dedicated to Francesco Valdina e Vintimillia, from Venice, on 10 September, 1603. NV 1333. RISM series: RISM A/I I 10; II 10. RISM ID no.: 990031978.

- Beltà del sommo sole (*Bellezza Caduta*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 88, Canzone X:
 - Godi mentre verdeggia (stanza 16)

(1 setting in total)

2. Pecci, Tomaso, and Tantucci, Mariano. *Canzonette a tre voci, delli Affettuoso [M. Tantucci], et Invaghito [T. Pecci] Accademici Filomeli dedicate al molto illustre sig. Filippo Santi prencipe della Accademia. Libro Secondo*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1603. Dedicated to Filippo Santi, from Siena, on 27 January, 1603. NV 2167. RISM series: RISM A/ P 1113; PP 1113, B/I 1603. RISM ID no.: 990048696.

Pecci, Tomaso:

- Beltà del sommo sole (*Bellezza Caduta*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 88, Canzone X:
 - Bello è il ligustro e bella (stanza 11)

Tantucci, Mariano:

- O ingrati mortali (*Christo Amore*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 197, Madrigal CLXXXIII
- Vergine benedetta (*Alla Vergine*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 189, Madrigal CLXXV
- M'hai già per darmi vita⁵³² (*Lachrymis coepit rigare pedes eius*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 211, Madrigal CXCV

(4 settings in total)

1604

3. Montella, Giovanni Domenico. *Primo Libro de' Madrigali a quattro voci di Gio. Domenico Montella napolitano. Con licenza de' Superiori*. Naples: Gio. Battista Sottile, 1604. Dedicated to Ferrante di Capua, from Naples, on 19 June, 1604. NV 1879. RISM series: RISM A/I M 3422. RISM ID no.: 990042019.

- Beltà del sommo sole (*Bellezza Caduta*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 88, Canzone X:
 - Godi mentre verdeggia (stanza 16)

(1 setting in total)

⁵³² Pecci's incipit is modified to 'M'hai già per darmi aita.'

1605

4. Baccusi, Ippolito, and Bernardi, Stefano. *Le vergini d'Ippolito Baccusi. Madrigali a tre voci, Libro secondo. Novamente composte, et date in luce.* Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1605. Dedicated to Virgin Mary. NV 197. RISM series: RISM A/I B 42, B/I 1605 1. RISM ID no.: 990003010.

Bernardi, Stefano:

- Amasti amato amante (*A San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 185, Madrigal CLXXI

(1 setting in total)

1606

5. Bianciardi, Francesco. *Canzonette spirituali a tre voci. Di Francesco Bianciardi. Libro Primo. Novamente stampato.* Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1606. Dedicated to Alfonso Petrucci, from Venice, on 1 January, 1606. NV 360. RISM series: RISM A/I B 2606; BB 2606. RISM ID no.: 990005379.

- Uscite uscite a rimirar pietose (*Nella corona di spine*); *Rime* I (1602), *Rime Sacre*, Item 22, Sonnet
- Piaga dolce d'Amore (*Alla piaga del Costato*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 200, Madrigal CLXXXVI
- O piaga impiagatrice (*Alla piaga del Costato*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 201, Madrigal CLXXXVII
- Lancia, lancia soave (*Alla lancia di Longino*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 199, Madrigal CLXXXV
- Sola fra suoi più cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV:
 - Sola fra suoi più cari (stanza 1)
 - Stava l'addolorata (stanza 2)
 - Lungo spatio tacendo (stanza 8)
 - O mio (poscia riprese) (stanza 9)
 - Chi d'altro sangue ha tinto (stanza 10)
 - Te dunque in sen potrai (stanza 11)
 - Gli occhi volgi et affissa (stanza 14)
 - A te ch'errar non puoi (stanza 23)
 - La croce dunque ei chiodi (stanza 24)
- Piaghe non son ma stelle (*Alle piaghe del San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 187, Madrigal CLXXIII

(14 settings in total)

1607

6. Agazzari, Agostino. *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigaletti, a tre voci. Novamente composti, et dati in luce*. Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607. Dedicated to Lattanzio Tartagli, from Siena, on 8 June, 1607. NV 11. RISM series: RISM A/I A 391. **RISM ID no.:** 990000392.

- O non cura, o non sente (*A San Lorenzo*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 184, Madrigal CLXX

(1 setting in total)

7. Bonini, Severo. *Madrigali e Canzonette spirituali del M. R.P.D. Crisostomo Talenti, vallombrosano, et del sig. Giovambattista Marino, posti in musica dal R.P. don Severo Bonini da Firenze, monaco di Vallombrosa. Per cantare a una voce sola*. Florence: Cristofano Marescotti, 1607. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Simone Finardi, from Badia di Ripoli, on 1 May, 1607. NV 391. RISM series: A/I B 3494, B/I 1607 0. **RISM ID no.:** 990006224.

- Già scarco havea lasciato (*La Pietà*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 203, Canzone XVI: stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
- Questa che 'n atto supplice, e pentita (*Stanze per una immagine di Maddalena di mano di Tiziano*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 217, Ottava rima: stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
- Sola fra suoi piu cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV: stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
- O belle lagrimette (*Nel nascimento di Christo*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 194, Madrigal CLXXX
- Lancia, lancia soave (*Alla lancia di Longino*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 199, Madrigal CLXXXV
- Piaghe non son, ma stelle (*Alle piaghe del San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 187, Madrigal CLXXXIII
- Te la fiamma e l'ardore (*A San Lorenzo*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 183, Madrigal CLXIX

(7 settings in total)

1608

8. Bonini, Severo. *Madrigali e Canzonette spirituali del molto R. P. D. Crisostomo Talenti, vallombrosano, et del Sig. Giovambattista Marino. Posti in musica dal R. P. D. Severo Boini da Firenze, monaco di Vallombrosa*. Venice: Alessandro Raverii, 1608. NV 392. RISM series: RISM A/I B 3495, B/I 1608 5. **RISM ID no.:** 990006225.

NB: Reprint of Item no. 7.

(7 settings in total)

9. Bonini, Severo. *Il Secondo Libro de Madrigali e Mottetti a una voce sola...del molto R.P.D. Severo Bonini, monaco di Vallombrosa, dedicati al molto illustre sig. commendatore Angelo Minerbetti*, Florence: Cristoforo Marescotti, 1609. NV 393. RISM series: RISM A/I B 3497. **RISM ID no.:** 990006227.

- Avolto in sottil velo (*Nel nascimento di Christo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 192, Madrigal CLXXVIII
- Sotto rustico tetto (*Nel nascimento di Christo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 193, Madrigal CLXXIX

(2 settings in total)

10. d'India, Sigismondo. *Le Musiche di Sigismondo India nobile palermitano..., novamente data in luce*. Milan: l'Herede di Simon Tini et Filippo Lomazzò, compagni, 1609. Dedicated to Ranuccio Farnese, from Milan, on 10 February, 1609. NV 832. RISM series: RISM A/I I 24. **RISM ID no.:** 990031992.

- Mirate dal gran tronco, occhi miei lassi (*Nel Venerdi Santo*); *Rime* I (1602), *Rime Sacre*, Item 23, Sonnet

(1 setting in total)

1610

11. Simili, Vincenzo. *Canzonette a tre voci, di Vincenzo Simili da Faenza. Libro Primo*. Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1610. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Giacomo Spinola, from Ferrara, on 30 April, 1610. NV 2619. RISM series: RISM A/I S 3452. **RISM ID no.:** 990059814.

- M'hai già per darmi vita (*Lachrymis coepit rigare pedes eius*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 211, Madrigal CXCV
 - M'hai già per darmi vita, prima parte
- Queste lagrime pie (*Lachrymis coepit rigare pedes eius*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 212, Madrigal CXCVI
 - Queste lagrime pie (lines 1-5), seconda parte
 - Di mutatina aurora (lines 6-10), terza parte

(3 settings in total)

12. Bellanda, Lodovico. *Le Musiche di Lodovico Bellanda...a una, et doi voci. Novamente composte, et date in luce. Libro Secondo*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1610. Dedicated to Federico Tellani, from Venice, on 3 May, 1610. NV 293. RISM series: RISM A/I B 1710. **RISM ID no.:** 990004506.

- O non cura, o non sente (*A San Lorenzo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 184, Madrigal CLXX

(1 setting in total)

1611

13. Casentini, Marsilio. *Di Marsilio Casentini maestro di capella della magnifica Communità di Gemona. Il Quinto Libro de' Madrigali a cinque voci nuovamente composto, et dato in luce. Con privilegio.* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1611. Dedicated to Gemona, from Venice, on 1 May, 1611. NV 499. RISM series: RISM A/I C 1434, B/I 1611 13. **RISM ID no.:** 990009086.

- Nasci fanciullo invitto (*Nel nascimento di Christo*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 195, Madrigal CLXXXI

(1 setting in total)

1612

14. Bianchi, Andrea. *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci, Con il suo Basso continuo per Sonare, Di Andrea Bianchi da Sarzana, Organista del Duomo di Chiavari. Libro Primo.* Venice, Giacomo Vincenti, 1612. Dedicated to Benedetto Basciadonne, from Genoa, on 12 November, 1611. RISM series: RISM A/I B 2500. **RISM ID no.:** 990005274.

- Pietosissimo Arciero (*A San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 186, Madrigal CLXXII

(1 setting in total)

15. Pecci, Tomaso, *Madrigali a cinque voci Libro Secondo.* Venice: l'herede di Angelo Gardano, 1612. Dedicated by Ermonide Pecci to Francesco Medici, from Siena, on 1 February, 1612. NV 2161. RISM series: RISM A/I P 1116. **RISM ID no.:** 990048699.

- Piaga dolce d'Amore (*Alla piaga del Costato*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 200, Madrigal CLXXXVI:
 - Piaga dolce d'Amore (lines 1-4), 1st part
 - E quante in te consperse (lines 5-11), 2nd part

(2 settings in total)

1613

16. Mutis, Bartolomeo (conte di Cesana). *Musiche a una doi et tre voci...Del conte Bartolomeo Cesana.* Venice: l'herede di Angelo Gardano, 1613. Dedicated to Massimiliano Ernesto, Archduke of Austria, from Venice, on 1 February, 1613. NV 551. RISM series: RISM A/I C 1743. **RISM ID no.:** 990001912.

- Quasi canuto cigno (*Nunc dimittis*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 196, Madrigal CLXXXII

(1 setting in total)

17. Cecchino, Tomaso. *Canti spirituali a una due e tre voci...Di Tomaso Cecchino veronese maestro di capella nella chiesa cathedrale di Spalato. Opera Terza. Raccolta da Stefano Canonici da Bologna ed di novo posta in luce. Con privilegio.* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1613. Dedicated by Stefano Canonici to Berlingiero Gessi, from Venice, on 25 September, 1613. NV 540. RISM series: RISM A/I C 1669. **RISM ID no.:** 990001555.

- O ingrati mortali (*Christo Amore*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 197, Madrigal CLXXXIII:
 - O ingrati mortali (lines 1-6), 1st part
 - D'arco ha invece una canna (lines 7-10), 2nd part
- Vergine benedetta (*Alla Vergine*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 189, Madrigal CLXXV

(3 settings in total)

18. Boschetti, Giovanni Boschetto, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a cinque voci. Di Gio. Boschetto Boschetti. Con doi madrigali spirituali in fine.* Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1613. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to mons. abate Sforza de Nobili, from Rome, on 15, November, 1613. NV 412. RISM RISM A/I B 3785; BB 3785. **RISM ID no.:** 990006462.

- O belle lagrimette (*Nel nascimento di Christo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 194, Madrigal CLXXX

(1 setting in total)

1615

19. Pace, Pietro. *Il Primo Libro de Scherzi Spirituali et Arie Spirituali sopra la Romanesca, Ruggero, et Aria del Gazella a una doi tre, quattro, et sei voci... nella Congregatione della Conceptione nel Oratorio della Compagnia di Giesù in Loreto. Di Pietro Pace organista della Santa Casa di Loreto. Opera Duodecima.* Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1615. Dedicated to Ottavio Orsino, from Loreto-Venice, on 29 August, 1615. NV 2075. RISM series: RISM A/I P 7. **RISM ID no.:** 990047646.

- Quando formò di Dio (*Maddalena pentita. Ut cognovit*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 73, Canzone:
 - Amor vile Amor no (stanza 27)
 - Perche dunque (stanza 21)
 - Sù, Sù, rivolgi il passo (stanza 24)

- Questa che 'n atto supplice, e pentita (*Stanze per una immagine di Maddalena di mano di Tiziano*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 217, Ottava rima:
 - Voi voi che già fuste a lunga schiera amante (stanza 7, lines 5-6)
 - Voi voi disciolto in tepid'onde il gelo (stanza 7, lines 7-8)

(5 settings in total)

1616

20. Cifra, Antonio, *Scherzi sacri di Antonio Cifra romano. Maestro di capella nella Santa Casa di Loreto. A una, due, tre, et quattro, voci, Libro Primo. Opera Vigesima seconda*. Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1616. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Mons. Francesco Nappi, from Loreto, on 1 September, 1616. NV 566. RISM series: RISM A/I C 2200. **RISM ID no.:** 990009646.

- Esperto Arcier, buon cacciator, che veda (*Nella Incarnazione. Alla Vergine. Vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 26, Sonnet
- Già scarco havea lasciato (*La Pietà*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 203, Canzone XVI:
 - Non fur non furo i chiodi (stanza 16)
- Tu non saresti o Morte (*Inclinato capite*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 57, Madrigal
- Hor che morir ti miro (*Nella Passione*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 59, Madrigal
- Già scarco havea lasciato, (*La Pietà*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 203, Canzone XVI:
 - Ti passa il lato manco (stanza 23)
- In qual fucina Amore (*Tuam et ipsius animam doloris gladius pertransibit*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 52, Madrigal
- M'hai già per darmi vita (*Lachrymis coepit rigare pedes eius*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 211, Madrigal CXCXV
- Qui l'alato Corriero (*Nella Santissima Casa di Loreto*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 191, Madrigal CLXXVII
- Lancia lancia soave (*Alla lancia di Longino*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 199, Madrigal CLXXXV
- Questa che 'n atto supplice, e pentita (*Stanze per una immagine di Maddalena di mano di Tiziano*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 217, Ottava rima:
 - Chiome che sciolte in pretiosa pioggia (stanza 10)
- Frutto dolce e divino (*Inclinato Capite. Interpreta quella voce Capite come verbo, e non come nome*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 55, Madrigal
- Pietosissimo Arciero (*A San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 186, Madrigal CLXXII
- Te la fiamma e l'ardore (*A San Lorenzo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 183, Madrigal CLXIX

(13 settings in total)

1617

21. Quagliati, Paolo, *Affetti amorosi spirituali di Pavolo Quagliati organista in Santa Maria Maggiore dedicati all'ill.ma et molto rev.da suor Anna Maria Cesi monaca di S.ta Lucia in Selesi*. Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1617. Dedicated to Anna Maria Cesi, from Rome, on 24, December, 1616. NV 2290. RISM series; RISM A/I Q 9; QQ 9. **RISM ID no.:** 990053304.

- Sospirava, e spargea (*Christo smarrito*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 38, Canzone:
 - O figlie di Sion (stanza 8)

(1 setting in total)

22. Pace, Pietro. *Il Secondo Libro de Scherzi et Arie Spirituali...a una, doi, tre, in sino a sette voci...nella congregatione della Concettione, nell'oratorio della Compagnia del Giesù in Loreto. Di Pietro Pace organista di S. Casa di Loreto. Opera Decimaquarta. Novamente composta, et data in luce*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1617. Dedicated to Giuliano della Rovere, from Loreto, on 1 January, 1617. NV 2077. RISM series: RISM A/I P 8; PP 8. **RISM ID no.:** 990047647.

- Sospirava, e spargea (*Christo smarrito*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 38, Canzone:
 - Di colomba amorosa (stanza 11)

(1 setting in total)

23. Il Verso, Antonio, *Di Antonio il Verso siciliano della città di Piazza. Il Quarto Libro de' Madrigali a tre voci. Nuovamente dato in luce Opera Trentesimaquinta*. Palermo: Gio. Battista Maringo, 1617. Dedicated to Gio. Andrea Marengo, from Palermo, on 4 February, 1617. NV 1329. RISM series: RISM A/I I 14. **RISM ID no.:** 990031982.

- Amasti amato amante (*A San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 185, Madrigal CLXXI
 - Amasti amato amante, prima parte
- Pietosissimo Arciero (*A San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 186, Madrigal CLXXII
 - Pietosissimo Arciero, seconda parte

(2 settings in total)

24. Pecci, Tomaso. *Del Signor Tomaso Pecci Madrigali a cinque voci. Libro secondo. Terza impressione. Stampa del Gardano*. Venice: Bartholomeo Magni, 1617.

NB: Reprint of Item no. 15.

(2 settings in total)

1618

25. Cifra, Antonio. *Scherzi sacri di Antonio Cifra romano. Maestro di capella della Santa Casa di Loreto a una, a due, a tre, et quattro voci. Libro Secondo, Opera Vigesima quinta*. Rome: Gio. Battista Robletti, 1618. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Prosepro Caffarelli, from Loreto, on 10 October, 1618. NV 568. RISM series: RISM A/I C 2201; CC 2201. **RISM ID no.:** 990009647.

- Amasti amato amante (*A San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 185, Madrigal CLXXI
- O non cura o non sente (*A San Lorenzo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 184, Madrigal CLXX
- Questa che 'n atto supplice, e pentita (*Stanze per una immagine di Maddalena di mano di Tiziano*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 217, Ottava rima:
 - O come bella a la solinga grotta (stanza 6)
- O belle lagrimette (*Nel nascimento di Christo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 194, Madrigal CLXXX
- O sante cicatrici (*Alle piaghe del medesimo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 187, Madrigal CLXXIII

(5 settings in total)

1619

26. Pace, Pietro, *Motetti a quattro, a cinque, et a sei voci. Con il Basso per Sonar nell'Organo. Et ciascheduno Motetto ha una Aria Spirituale Volgare se piace, A una e doi voci imitando le latine dette Arie volgare; Con il Salmo Dixit & Magnificat a otto voci, da Concertarsi in Organo o altri Istromenti, il tutto concertate nella Congregatione, della Concettione nel Oratorio della Compagnia del Giesù, in Loreto. Di Pietro Pace Organista di Santa Casa di Loreto. Nuovamente composti & dati in luce. Opera Decimaottava*. Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1619. Dedicated to Conte Francesco Maria Leonardi, from Venice, on 15 January, 1618. RISM series: RISM A/I P 10. **RISM ID no.:** 990047649.

- Donna invitta del Ciel, pura e gradita (*Alla Vergine*); *Rime* I (1602), *Rime Sacre*, Item 10, Sonnet
- Quai da Dio segni havesti (*All'Agnolo Gabriello*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 190, Madrigal CLXXVI
- Sola fra suoi più cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV: stanzas 1, 2, 3, 4

(3 settings in total)

1620

27. Saracini, Claudio. *Le Seconde Musiche di Claudio Saracini detto il Palusi nobile senese...Et nel fine il Lamento della Madonna in stile recitativo...novamente composte et date in luce. Con privilegio.* Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1620. Dedicated to Cosimo II of Medici, from Venice, on 26 August, 1620. NV 2555. RISM series: RISM A/I S 911; SS 911. **RISM ID no.:** 990057389.

- Sospirava, e spargea (*Christo smarrito*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 38, Canzone: stanzas 1-25

(1 setting in total)

28. Saracini, Claudio. *Le Terze Musiche di Claudio Saracini detto il Palusi nobile senese...Et nel fine il Pianto della V.M...novamente composte et date in luce. Con privilegio.* Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1620. Dedicated to Cardinal Savelli, from Venice, on 25 August, 1620. NV 2556. RISM series: RISM A/I S 912. **RISM ID no.:** 990057390.

- Hor che morir ti miro (*Nella Passione*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 59, Madrigal

(1 setting in total)

29. Trinciavelli, Jacopo. *Musiche Spirituali di Iacopo Trinciavelli dal Borgo a Buggiano di Valdimievole in Toscana. A 3. Voci. Con il Basso Continuo per sonare in ogni sorte d'Istromento Novamente Composte.* Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1620. Con Licenza De Superiori. Dedicated to D. Felice da Fiorenza, from Borgo a Buggiano, on 10 January, 1620. RISM series: RISM A/I T 1241. **RISM ID no.:** 990064731.

- Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la Spina (*La Corona delle Spine*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 46, Canzone:
 - Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la spina (stanza 1)
 - In qual parte cogliesti, o Re dolente (stanza 2)
 - Ahi che di quelle spine, onde feconda (stanza 3)
 - O che bella ghirlanda in su la testa (stanza 4)
 - Ecco colà la vittima spinata (stanza 5)
 - Finga Parnaso pur la Dea Ciprigna (stanza 6)
 - E ben viè più fecondo il sacro sangue (stanza 7)
 - Tra queste spine, ond'ei le tempie intorno (stanza 12)⁵³³
 - Odi la voce flebile e pietosa (stanza 13)

(9 settings in total)

⁵³³ Trinciavelli's incipit is 'Fra queste spine, ond'ei la fronte intorno,' as the text is based on Codice Ferrajoli 956. See Ch.1.

1621

30. Valentini, Giovanni. *Musiche di Camera, Libro Quarto a due, tre, quattro, cinque, et sei voci...di Giovanni Valentini, Organista della Sacra Cesarea Maestà di Ferdinando Secondo, Ded. Alla Serenissima Arciduchessa d'Austria Maria Madalena, Gran Duchessa di Toscana*. Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1621. Dedicated to Maria Maddalena, Archduchess of Austria, from Vienna, on 1 February, 1621. NV 2785. RISM series: RISM A/I V 94. **RISM ID no.:** 990065132.

- Poiché rotte e distrutte (*Capillis capiti sui tergebat. Vulnerasti cor meum in uno crine colli tui*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 83, Madrigal

(1 setting in total)

1622

31. Montesano, Alfonso. *Madrigali a cinque voci di don Alfronso Montesano di Maida. Libro Primo*. Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1622. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Marc. Antonio di Loffredo, from Naples, on 1 April, 1622. NV 1896. RISM series: RISM A/I M 3436 , B/I 1622 3. **RISM ID no.:** 990042033.

- Quando formò di Dio (*Maddalena pentita. Ut cognovit*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 73, Canzone:
 - Itene Insanti affetti (stanza 30)
 - Rotti i lacci (stanza 31)

(2 settings in total)

1623

32. Giamberti, Giosepe , and Agostini, Paolo. *Poesie diverse poste in musica da Giosepe Giamberti romano a una due e tre voci...con due aggiunte una di Gio. Bernardino Nanini, l'altra di Paolo Agostini, ambidoi miei maestri. Libro primo*. Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1623. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Girolamo Grimaldi, from Rome, on 24 March, 1623. NV 1205. RISM series: A/I G 1828 , B/I 1623 3. **RISM ID no.:** 990021016.

Agostini, Paolo:

- Piaga dolce d'Amore (*Alla piaga del Costato*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 200, Madrigal CLXXXVI

(1 setting in total)

33. Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo. *Libro Secondo d'Arie a una e più voci del sig. Gio. Girolamo Kapsberger nobile alemano raccolte dal signor Pietro Contarini nobile veneziano*. Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, 1623. Con privilegio et licenza de' Superiori.

Dedicated by Pietro Contarini to Gio. Girolamo Kapsperger, from Rome, on 1 July, 1623. NV 1358. RISM series: RISM A/I K 191; KK 191. **RISM ID no.:** 990033035.

- Voi che dietro a fallaci a cieche sorte (*Essorta i sensuali a mutar l'amore umano in divino*); *Rime I* (1602), *Rime Sacre*, Item 6, Sonnet

(1 setting in total)

1628

34. Giamberti, Giosepe. *Laudi Spirituali, Poste in musica in diversi stili. Da Giosepe Giamberti romano. Maestro di capella nella catedrale dell'illustriss. città d'Orvieto. A una, due, tre, quattro, cinque, e sei voci. Opera Terza*. Orvieto: Rinaldo Ruuli, 1628. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Cardinal Crescenzo, from Orvieto, on 4 January, 1628. NV 1204. RISM series: RISM A/I G 1830. **RISM ID no.:** 990021018.

- Che valse udir di tante trombe e tante (*Nel dì di Pasqua. Ritorno al vomito*); *Lira III* (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 62, Sonnet

(1 setting in total)

1629

35. Dentice, Scipione. *Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci del P. Scipione Dentice sacerdote della Congregatione dell'Oratorio di Napoli*. Naples: Lazaro Scoriggio, 1629. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Cardinal Boncompagni, from Naples, on 3 September, 1629. NV 812. RISM series: RISM A/I D 1666. **RISM ID no.:** 990013504.

- O piaga impiagatrice (*Alla piaga del Costato*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 201, Madrigal CLXXXVII
- Lancia, lancia soave (*Alla lancia di Longino*); *Rime II* (1602), Item 199, Madrigal CLXXXV

(2 settings in total)

1637

36. Fiamengo, Francesco. *Pastorali Concenter al Presepe co' Responsorij della sacra notte del Natale di N.S. a due, tre, quattro, cinque, e sei voci...del dottor don Francesco Fiamengo. Opera Terza. Dedicata alla molto illustre signora donna Francesca Secusio et Intrigliolo*. Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1637. Dedicated to Francesca Secusio, from Messina, on 1 May, 1637. NV 979. RISM series: RISM A/I F 1598. **RISM ID no.:** 990018773.

- Ite pastori, alcun di voi non lasce (*Nella natività del Signore*); *Rime I* (1602), *Rime Sacre*, Item 12, Sonnet

(1 setting in total)

1640

37. Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. *Canzoni spirituali a una, a due, et a tre voci...Libro Secondo. Opera Decimaterza di Pietro Paolo Sabbatino. All'illustrissima, et eccellentissima signora principessa D. Anna Maria Cesi Peretti*. Rome: Lodovico Grignani. 1640. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Anna Maria Cesi Peretti, from Rome, on 20 January, 1640. NV 2512. RISM series: RISM A/I S 27. **RISM ID no.:** 990056584.

- Sola fra suoi più cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV: stanzas 1, 19, 20, 22

(1 setting in total)

38. Baselli, Constantino. *Grati, gratiosi, giocondi, gioiosi, et graditi Canti sopra il nascimento del Gran Mottor dell'universo, et della regina del cielo Maria Vergine, madre sua santissima, con l'aggiunta di due sonore Canzoni, mentre ambi bambini erano in atto di dormire di D. Constantino Baselli, Libro Primo a una, due, tre, e quattro voci...Opera Quinta non men vaga che bella*. Venice: Alessandro Vincenti, 1640. Dedicated to Gio. Battista Porto, from Venice, on 9 April, 1640. NV 258. RISM series: RISM A/I B 1152. **RISM ID no.:** 990003980.

- Felice notte, ond'a noi nasce il giorno (*Nella notte del santissimo Natale*); *Rime* I (1602), *Rime Sacre*, Item 13, Sonnet

(1 setting in total)

39. Dentice, Scipione. *Madrigali spirituali a cinque voci, Del P. Scipione Dentice, Sacerdote, Della Congregatione dell'Oratorio di Napoli. Libro secondo*. Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1640. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated by Erasmo di Bartolo della Congregatione dell'Oratorio to Cardinal Francesco Buoncompagno, Archbishop of Naples, from Naples, on 26 June, 1640. RISM series: RISM A/I D 1667. **RISM ID no.:** 990013505.

- Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la Spina (*La Corona delle Spine*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 46, Canzone:
 - Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la spina (stanza 1)
 - A quelle punte sanguinose e belle (stanza 9)
- A l'impudica Donna (*A San Bartolomeo. Apostolo*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 70, Madrigal

(3 settings in total)

40. Dentice, Scipione. *Madrigali spirituali a quattro voci, In stile recitativo, con il Partimento. Del P. Scipione Dentice, Sacerdote, Della Congregatione dell'Oratorio di Napoli. Libro secondo.* Naples: Ottavio Beltrano, 1640. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated by Erasmo Bartolo della Congregatione dell'Oratorio to Cardinal Francesco Buoncompagno, Archbishop of Naples, from Naples, on 25 July, 1640. RISM series: RISM A/I D 1667. **RISM ID no.:** 990013505.⁵³⁴

- Già scarco havea lasciato (*La Pietà*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 203, Canzone XVI:
 - Fermate ritenete (stanza 27)
- Pietosissimo Arciero (*A San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 186, Madrigal CLXXII
- Beltà del sommo sole (*Bellezza Caduta*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 88, Canzone X:
 - Beltà del sommo sole (stanza 1)
 - Alato amor sen vola (stanza 3)
 - Come tosto sparisci (stanza 7)

(5 settings in total)

41. Mazzocchi, Domenico. *Musiche sacre e morali a una, due, e tre voci. Di Domenico Mazzocchi.* Rome: Lodovico Grignani, 1640. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Olimpia Aldobrandini Borghese, on 20 August, 1640. NV 1779. RISM series: RISM A/I M 1676. **RISM ID no.:** 990040364.

- Sospirava, e spargea (*Christo smarrito*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 38, Canzone: stanzas 1-11, 14-25

(1 setting in total)

42. *Raccolta d'Arie spirituali a una, due e tre voci di diversi eccellentissimi autori. Raccolte, e date in luce da Vincenzo Bianchi.* Rome: Vincenzo Bianchi, 1640. Dedicated by Vincenzo Bianchi to Vincenzo Costagnata, from Rome, on 25 September, 1640. NV 514-15. RISM series: B/I 1640. **RISM ID no.:** 993121719.

Giamberti, Giuseppe:

- O belle lagrimette (*Nel nascimento di Christo*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 194, Madrigal CLXXX

Massentio, Domenico:

- Amasti amato amante (*A San Francesco d'Ascesi*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 185, Madrigal CLXXI

(2 settings in total)

⁵³⁴ The Quinto part of Item no. 41 is bound with the US-We copy of Item no. 42. See Lynn Wood Martin, 'Scipione Dentice: A Neapolitan Contemporary of Gesualdo,' *Studi Musicali* Anno X, 1981, no. 2: 217-240, at 221-223, for clarification.

1641

43. Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. *Canzonette spirituali ad una, due, e tre voci...Libro Secondo. Opera Decimaterza di Pietro Paolo Sabbatino. E di nuovo ristampata, e corretta dal medesimo autore.* Rome: Lodovico Grignani. 1641. Con licenza de' Superiori. Dedicated to Domenico Rossi, from Rome, on 1 July, 1641. NV 2512bis. RISM series: RISM A/I S 28. **RISM ID no.:** 990056585.

NB: Reprint of Item no. 37.

(1 setting in total)

1662

44. Natali, Pompeo. *Madrigali e Canzoni spirituali, e morali, a due, et a tre voci...Di D. Pompeo Natali dalla città della Ripa, della Provincia della Marca. Dedicati all'eminetiss. e reverendiss. sig. il signor card. Santacroce.* Rome: Iacomo Fei d'And. f., 1662. Dedicated to Cardinal Santacroce. NV 2011. RISM series: RISM A/I N 106. **RISM ID no.:** 990046673.

- Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la Spina, (*La Corona delle Spine*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 46, Canzone: stanzas 1, 4, 9, 10, 11

(1 setting in total)

1689

45. Coferati Matteo. *Corona di Sacre Canzoni o laude spirituali di più divoti Autori. Nuovamente corrette, ed accresciute, In questa seconda impressione per opera di Matteo Coferati, Sacerdote Fiorentino. In Ossequio Della Venerabile Congregazione di Giesù Salvatore.* Florence: Eredi di Francesco Onofri, 1689. Per Iacopo Carlieri, all'Insegna di S. Luigi. Con Licenza, e Privilegio di S. A. S. Signed by Matteo Coferati on 13 January, 1688. RISM series: RISM A/I C 3264; CC 3264, B/I 1689. **RISM ID no.:** 990010676.

- Hor sì che ben potrà dirsi la Spina (*La Corona delle Spine*); *Lira* III (1614), *Divozioni*, Item 46, Canzone: stanzas 1-12

(1 setting in total)

1710

46. Coferati Matteo. *Corona di Sacre Canzoni o laude spirituali di più divoti Autori. In questa terza impressione notabilmente accresciute di materie, & arie nuove, ad uso de pii trattenimenti delle Conferenze.* Florence: Cesare Bindi, 1710. Per il Carlieri, all'Insegna di S. Luigi. Con Licenza de' Superiori. RISM series: RISM A/I C 3265; CC 3265. **RISM ID no.:** 990010677

NB: Reprint of Item no. 45.

(1 setting in total)

Total number of distinctive printed songbooks = 42 (46 with reprints)

Total number of distinctive musical settings = 110 (121 with reprints)

The number of distinctive musical settings according different poetic forms from different parts of *Rime-Lira* editions (number in parenthesis counts reprints):

Poetic form	<i>Rime</i> I (1602), <i>Rime Sacre</i>	<i>Rime</i> II (1602)	<i>Lira</i> III (1614), <i>Divozioni</i>
Sonnet	6	0	2
Madrigal	0	49 (55)	7
Canzone	0	21 (23)	22 (23)
Ottava rima	0	3 (4)	0

B. Manuscript Sources

1. I-Rn, Mss.Mus.56

- Sola fra suoi più cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV: stanzas 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 19, 23, 24, 25; Michi, Orazio (composer)

2. I-Rc, 2490

- Sola fra suoi più cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV: stanzas 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 19, 23, 24, 25; Michi, Orazio (composer)

3. I-Bc, Q.43, 92r-96r

- Sola fra suoi più cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV: stanzas 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 19, 23, 24, 25; Michi, Orazio (composer)

4. D-Hkm, RAR Bb-17/Italien

- Sola fra suoi più cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV: stanzas 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 19, 23, 24, 25; Michi, Orazio (composer)

5. I-Rva, Chig.Q.VIII.206

- Sola fra suoi più cari (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*); *Rime* II (1602), Item 202, Canzone XV: stanza 1; Unknown composer

Appendix 2.1:

Marino, 'Sola fra' suoi più cari' (*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*), full Italian text and English translations for stanzas set to music.⁵³⁵

¹ Sola fra' suoi più cari A pie del figlio afflitto Tormentato e trafitto Da mille stratii amari Sconsolata Maria Qual tortorella vedova languia	Alone among her dearest ones, At the feet of her son, afflicted, Tormented, and cut By a thousand bitter wounds, The inconsolable Maria, That widowed turtle dove, languished.*
² Stava l'addolorata Al duro tronco appresso A pare del tronco stesso Immobile insensata In pie regge ala amore E sosteneala in vita il suo dolore	She stood grief-stricken Near the hard trunk, Herself like the same trunk, Immobile, insensate, Kept upright by Love And kept alive by her very pain.*
³ Tutta struggeasi in pianto Mirando (ahi scempio crudo) Lo'n sanguinato igniudo, Ignudo, se non quanto D'un negro velo ombroso Cinto l'havea d'intorno il ciel pietoso.	She dissolved in tears Seeing, oh cruel image, The naked bleeding one – Naked, except for the Dark black veil with which Heaven mercifully surrounded him.*
⁴ Ma da la luce pura De duo stellanti giri, E da spessi sospiri Rotta pur l'ombra oscura A gli occhi suoi sovente Offeria lo spettacolo dolente.	But by the pure light of two stellar turns and by heavy sighs, even the dark shadow broken offers to her eyes frequently the sorrowful spectacle.**
⁵ Di qualunque scorgea Tormento in lui più grave Fatto un fascio soave Intorno al cor s'havea, E pallidetta essangue Spargea per l'altrui piaghe il proprio sangue.	
⁶ Se tempia à lui, se palma Pungeva ò chiodo, ò spina.	

⁵³⁵ Those stanzas marked with * are translations by Margaret Murata. See Murata, 'Cantar Ottave, Cantar Storie,' 311-313. Stanza marked by ** is the present author's translation.

Sentiasi la meschina
Da lor traffiger l'alma;
E spesso una ferita
In un corpo offendea più d'una vita.

⁷Quanti dal caro oggetto
Venian pietosi sguardi,
Tanti pungenti dardi
Le passavano il petto
Con duol non meno atroce
Di quel che 'l figlio tormentava in croce.

⁸Lungo spazio tacendo
Al suo dolor si dolse
Pur lo Spirito sciolse
In voce al fin gemendo
E pianse e disse o mio
Ma l'interruppe il pianto e non finio.

For a long time she grieved,
Silent about her pain.
Then her spirit loosened at last,
In a trembling voice
She wept and said, "Oh my..."
But her tears interrupted and she did not finish.*

⁹E mio poscia riprese
Figlio de la paterna
Bellezza imago eterna
Chi costà ti sospese
Chi t'ha si concio ò quale
Tua non si grave fù colpa mortale.

"Oh my...", she then began again,
"My son, eternal image
Of fatherly beauty,
Who has hung you there?
Who has reduced you to this?
O what (no, not yours) was such a mortal sin?*

¹⁰Chi d'atro sangue ha tinto
Quegli occhi oime quel viso
Specchi di paradiso
Chi quelle chiome ha cinto
Di duri aghi pungenti
Già coronate in Ciel di Stelle ardenti

Who with atrocious blood has dyed,
those eyes, alas, that face,
mirrors of paradise?
Who has tied those hairs,
with hard prickly needles,
already crowned in heaven with burning stars?***

¹¹Te dunque in sen portai
Te lieta in fasce avinsi
Te dolce in braccio strinsi
Te di latte cibai
Sol perche stratio e scempio
Fesse di te si crudo il popul empio.

For this I carried you in my breast,
I wrapped you in swadding clothes,
I held you sweetly in my arms,
I fed you with milk,
only for torment and destruction, to be brought so
cruelly to you by the cruel people.**

¹²Gli ti vid'io di fiori
ornato e d'altri fregi
fra' peregrini Regi
ne l'antro e fra' pastori;
or hai su questo monte
pendente fra due rei, bestemmie et onte.

¹³Di sete aspra et amara,
oimè, veggio languirti,
né pur mi lice offrirti
pria che ‘n te Morte avara
lo strale ultimo scocchi,
qual de le poppe già, l’urne degli occhi.

¹⁴Gli occhi volgi e affisa
Padre eterno del Cielo
In quel lacero velo
Mira in che strania guisa
Pende dal duro legno
Riconosci (se sai) l’amato pegno

Turn your eyes and fix them,
eternal Father of Heaven,
in that ragged veil,
see in what estranged way,
he hangs from the hard wood,
recognize (if you know), the beloved pledge.**

¹⁵Pon mente, se son quelle
le man, quelle le piante,
quelle le luci sante
ond’ebber già le stelle
forma, virtute e raggi
fatti or segni a l’ingiurie et agli oltraggi.

¹⁶Son queste (ahi lassa) sono
le tue promesse, queste,
messaggiero celeste?
Gia non son io, non sono
fra l’altre benedetta,
ma sovr’ogni altra misera e negletta.

¹⁷Non son (qual già dicevi)
d’eterne grazie piena,
ma sol d’affanno e pena.
Né puoi (come solevi)
dirmi: “Il Signor è teco”
ché ‘l mio figlio e fattor non è più meco.

¹⁸Quanto del vecchio ebreo
che chiuse i lumi in pace
fu l’oracol verace:
ch’un giorno acerbo e reo
devea madre e figliuolo
l’uno uccider il ferro e l’altra il duolo.

¹⁹Figlio indugia il morire,
Ritien lo spirito ancora
Tanto che teco io mora

Son, delay death,
Keep your spirit alive
Until I may die with you,

Che'n si grave martire
Di cor, d'anima priva
Com'esser può, che senza vita io viva.

²⁰Pur se'l mio grave affanno
Non è sì grave, e forte,
Che basti à darmi morte;
Voi pronte all'altrui danno
Crudelissime squadre,
Che non ferir col Figlio anco la Madre.

²¹In me l'aste e le spade
aguzzate, movete,
arrotate, volgete;
pietosa crudeltade,
morir lieto e beato
se con la vita mia morir m'è dato.

²²Figlio mio caro Figlio,
Parto del corpo, e parte
Dell'alma, ah, chi ne parte!
Il sanguinoso ciglio
Ver me deh vogli un poco
Fà c'habbia almen fra le tue pene un loco.

²³A te ch'errar non puoi
Pena già non conviensi
Questi tormenti immensi
Misera non son tuoi
Que ferri acuti e rei
Quell'aspre piagh'e que' dolor son miei.

²⁴La Croce dunque e i chiodi
Cedi à questa infelice
Indegna genitrice
Figlio non odi
Lassa già chini il volto
Già morte i sensi el ragionar t'ha tolto.

²⁵Per non mirar lo serra
Il Ciel gli occhi sereni.
Ma tu, com'è 'l sostieni,
Ingradissima terra?
Qui Cristo estinto giace,
E la terra si scosse et ella tacque.

Because such is the terrible torment
Of the heart of a soul bereaved,
How could it be that without life I live?*

Even if my grave affliction
is not as grave and strong,
it is enough to give me death;
you, who readily harm others,
most cruel ministry,
why not wound the Mother also with her Son?***

'Son, my dear Son,
born the body, and part
of the soul, ah, who departs from it!
The blood-stained eyebrow,
ah, may turn towards me a little so that I may at
least have a place among your sorrows.'***

You, who could never hurt
Anyone, how can you bear
These immense torments?
Miserable me, they are not yours
These sharp cruel irons;
Those harsh wounds and those pains are mine.*

Yield then your Cross and the nails
To this unhappy woman,
This unworthy mother.
Son, son, do you not hear me?
Alas, he already bends his head;
Death has already taken his senses and reason.*

"In order not to see him, Heaven
Shuts its blue eyes.
But you, how can you hold him up,
Ungrateful Earth?"
Now Christ lay lifeless,
And the earth moved, and she fell silent.*

Appendix 2.2:

Marino, 'Già scarco havea lasciato' (*La Pietà*), full Italian text.

¹Già scarco havea lasciato
Del sostenuto pondo
Il tronco dispietato
Di mondo sangue immondo
Il Redentor del mondo,
E già gli estremi uffici
Prende per man de' duo pietosi amici.

³E con gli ardenti baci,
Che 'n lui dolce affigea,
E co' sospir vivaci,
Che 'n lui dolce spargea,
Cercava, se potea
Riscaldar del suo bene
Le fredde membra e l'agghiacciate vene.

⁵Reggeala intorno un choro,
Di donne lagrimose
Ma più l'eran ristoro
Ne l'angosce dogliose
Mille schiere pietose
Ministre riverenti
Del popolo degli Angeli piangenti.

⁷Altri quel tronco adora,
Trofeo di Paradiso.
Altri bacia, & honora
Il piede, il fianco inciso:
Altri dal santo viso
Le spine aduna e coglie:
Altri co' chiodi le sanguigne spoglie.

⁹Ella per grave doglia
Intorno al cor raccolta
Sù la lacera spoglia
Caddi più d'una volta.
Poi là tutta rivolta
In lui le luci affisse
Sciolse la voce in un col pianto, e disse.

¹¹Deh come son, deh come
Volti in ombre, in horroi

²Sotto la Croce assisa
La Vergine dolente
Sel recò in braccio in guisa,
Che con l'humor cadente,
In cui soavemente
Il cor piovea disciolto,
Gli coloria lo scolorito volto.

⁴Al volto essangue e tristo,
Eguale in ambidui,
Scerner MARIA da CRISTO
Non sapean gli occhi altrui.
Parea non men di lui
Di senso e d'alma priva:
Mostrava il pianto sol, ch'ella era viva.

⁶Mille vaghi Amoretti,
Scesi dal sommo Cielo
Stupidi, e languidetti
Colmi d'ardente Zelo
Con puro, e sottil velo
Asciugavano intanto
Al figlio il sangue, & a la madre il pianto.

⁸Un ve n'hà, che dipinto
Di celeste pietate
Come del caro estinto
Voglia ne le beate
Membra morte, e gelato
Aure destar vitali,
Dolcemente gli move intorno l'ali.

¹⁰Ahi così dunque avante
O mio parto celeste,
Mi torna il tuo sembiante?
Che stampe, oimè funeste?
Che piaghe, oimè son queste,
Ond'io, misera, impressa
Veggio la carne tua, veggio me stessa?

¹²Quanto à diverso in carco
Questo da quel, ch'io ressi,

Quegli occhi, e quelle chiome
Essempi di splendori?
Pon tanto empî furori
Cangiar da quel che sole
La bellezza degli angeli, e del Sole?

¹³Hor, che squallido in braccio,
E'n questo seno indegno
Di te l'amaro impaccio
Sostengo o mio sostegno,
La tua, dolce mio pegno,
Figura sanguinosa
M'è troppo (il pur dirò) soma noiosa.

¹⁵E questo il bel vermiglio
Del volto colorito?
Figlio innocente, figlio
Oltraggiato, tradito,
Impiagato, schernito,
Perche non mi rispondi?
Perche degli occhi il vivo Sol m'ascondi?

¹⁷Più t'han l'alma trafitto
L'amorose ferute,
Che'l crin che'l capo afflitto
Le punte aspre & acute.
Gran piaghe hà il corpo havute,
Ma più n'ebbe l'affetto:
Fù ferito il tuo cor più che'l tuo petto.

¹⁹Amor d'amor acceso,
Amor cieco, Amor nudo
Ecco l'arco, c'hai teso,
Un legno horido, e crudo.
Ma di te stesso scudo
Facesti a le saette,
Ch'altrui piover deveano ire, e vendette.

²¹Ahi vacillar ben pote
Al tuo morir la terra:
Non vacilla, ò si scote
L'amor, che'n te si serra
Mentre Morte t'atterra
Spezzansi i sassi, è vero;
Ma l'amor, c'hai nel'alma, è sempre intero.

Quand'hebbi il grembo carco
Di questi membri stessi.
Ditel celesti messi.
Peso sì, ma soave,
Ale viscere mie grato, non grave.

¹⁴Ahi qual fera, qual mostro
Ti diè tanto martiro?
Ahi qual rossor, qual'ostro
E quel che'n te rimiro
O mio dolce sospiro?
E la porpora questa
Quella, che di mia man ti fù contesta.

¹⁶Non fur, non furo i chiodi
Oimè, che ti dier morte:
Non fur, non furo i nodi
Dele crude ritorte,
Che ti legar si forte:
I nodi, i chiodi tuoi
Furo i lacci d'Amor, gli strali suoi.

¹⁸Lassa lassa, fù poco
Amar chi t'hà disfatto,
Che tutto incendio e foco
Tu proprio Amor se' fatto:
E di volar in atto
Volesti aprir veloce
In guisa d'ali al Ciel, le braccia in Croce.

²⁰Non son di sangue stile
Già queste, onde se' sparso,
Ma purpuree faville,
Che t'hanno acceso & arso:
Il sangue al fin fù scarso,
Mancò la vena, e l'onda;
Ma l'amor, c'hai nel cor più sempre abonda.

²²Del Ciel, del Sol s'oscura
Il lucido sereno:
La viva fiamma e pura,
Che t'arde ancor nel seno,
Non muor, non vien mai meno,
Il vel si parte, fende,
Non si parte l'amor, che sì t'accende.

²³Ti passa il lato manco
La lancia, e t'apre il core:
Ma nel passato fianco
L'invitto Amor non more.
Può più, che Morte Amore:
Morte tua vita strugge,
Ma se fugge la vita, Amor non fugge.

²⁵Gran meraviglia certo,
Che l'ardente fucina
Di quel costato aperto,
Ov'Amor l'armi affina;
Non fosse per divina
Virtù, ch'entro vi bolle,
L'hasta dura, e crudel, tenera, e molle.

²⁷Fermate, ritenete
O peregrini il piede:
Attendete, e vedete,
Se'l dolor, che mi fiede,
Altro dolore eccede:
Dite, s'à quel, ch'io sento,
Sì ritrova nel mondo equal tormento.

²⁹Io manco, ò lassa me:
Tu santo alato stuolo,
Ov'io non posso, oimè,
Deh piagni il mio figliuolo;
Raddoppia il pianto, e'l duolo;
Che non sarà giamai
Il pianto à par di tanto sangue assai.

²⁴Ne pur satio vivendo
Gran fiamme haver versato,
Volesti ancor morendo
Amore innamorato
Versar dal rotto lato
Sanguinoso, anzi essangue
Più di foco, e d'ardor, che d'acqua, e sangue.

²⁶Se'l cieco a questa face
Potè le luci aprire,
Devea sì gran fornace
Il ferro intenerire,
Il legno incenerire,
Ma che? fur duri e rei
Più che i legni, e che i ferri, i cori hebrei.

²⁸Ma chi sarà, cui punga
Pietà del dolor mio
Sì, ch'egli terga, & unga
Il mio figlio, il suo Dio?
Figlio, consenti, ch'io
Quelle piaghe soavi
Con queste amare lagrime ti lavi.

³⁰Più volea dir, ma l'alma
D'acuto stral ferita,
Fù per lasciar la salma,
E seguir la sua vita:
Onde muta e smarrita
Cadde senza conforto,
Semiviva la viva in braccio al morto.

Appendix 2.3:

Marino, 'Sasso non è costei' (*La Pietà di Michelangelo Buonarroti*), *La Galeria II* (1620), full Italian text and English translation

La Pietà del medesimo.

SASSO non è costei,
Che l' estinto figlivoi, freddo qual ghiaccio,
Sostien pietosa in braccio.
Saſſo più tosto sei
Tu, che non piagni ala pietà di lei.
Anzi sei più che sasso,
Che suole anco da' sassi il pianto uscire,
E i sassi si spezzaro al suo morire.

*The Pietà of the same (Michaelangelo
Buonarroti)*

She is not stone,
she who holds mercifully in her arms
her extinct son, cold as ice;
You are more of a stone,
you, who do not cry at her pity.
Rather, you are more than stone,
because even from the stones the weeping
would come, and the stones broke at his
death.

Appendix 2.4:

Grillo, 'Le braccia aperse,' *Pietosi Affetti* (1595), full Italian text.

- ¹Le braccia aperse, e gli occhi al Ciel rivolse
Mestissima MARIA:
Quando sotto 'l gran peso de la Croce.
Stanco anelante il Figlio
S'offerse a lei per via.
Con sanguinoso ciglio:⁵³⁶
E mentre, ohimè, la voce
Lassa proferir volse.
Il duol la voce, ed il vigor le tolse.
- ²E tra le braccia di piangente coro.
Piena di morte il viso.
Lasciò cadersi, ché l'interno affanno
A lei nel cor si strinse:
E lo spirto conquiso.
Quasi a partir costrinse:
Ma ravvivar la fanno
I pianti altrui, che aprirò
Co'i chiusi lumi il chiuso suo martiro.
- ³E ritornato a' languidi occhi il giorno.
Al gran spettacol volta:
'Oh, disse, ove ne vai mio caro pegno,
Radice del cor mio,
Fra turba iniqua, e stolta.
E fra sdegno si rio?
Deh, che vuol dir quel legno?
E quel che'l capo adomo
Ti cinge empio diadema per iscomo?
- ⁴O miei crin d'oro, o mio divino volto,
Ov'il gran Re del mondo
Esprese il nume suo chiaro, e splendente:
Deh quali or vi rimiro
Di sangue, e fango immondo
Aspersi, e pe'l martiro
Il corpo egro, e languente;
Ed in un solo accolto
Ogni dolore, ed ogni mio ben tolto'.
- ⁵Giunta al fin la meschina al fatal monte,
quando al gran tronco affisso
versar di sangue il vide ampi torrenti.
Ed irrigarne il suolo;
nel più profondo abisso
precipitò del duolo,
e 'n interrotti accenti,
mirando a lui la fronte,
disse, conversa in lagrimosa fonte:
- ⁶O cara imago di dolor verace,
Mia fattura e fattore,
A così duro fin dunqu'io doveva
Nutrirti? ed a sì crudo
Insolito dolore
Vederti esposto ignudo?
E ch'il tuo sangue beva
Empio terren vorace,
È vero? il soffro? il vedo? e vivo? e ho
pace?
- ⁷O dolor per pietà troppo crudele,
deh, perché non m'uccidi,
se tante volte, ohimè, mi dai la morte?
- ⁸E voi ministri de le pene atroci,
Che sol rivolti sete,
A dar tormento a chi perdon v'impetra,

⁵³⁶ Christine Getz, *Mary, Music, and Meditation* ((2013), page 141 has 'Her arms open and eyes again turned toward heaven, most sorrowful Mary tries to express, turns to express the pain, the voice and the vigor torn from her when her Son tired, gasping, under the great weight of the cross appeared before her on the road with a bloody brow.

Ahi morte, ahi morte sorda,
che tutta sol t'annidi
nel mio Figliuolo ingorda:
odi le mie querele,
e col farmi morir siami fedele.

Me misera, e dogliosa
Prendete pur, prendete.
Ed in quella penosa
Croce, d'Amor faretra.
Fatemi or or veloci
Patir col Figlio mio l'amare croci.

⁹Fate, ch'io muoia, ove mia vita pende;
Né lo negar, mio bene.
Per questo sen, che ti lattò: per queste
Mani, che ne le fasce
T'avvolser, per le pene.
In cui muore, e rinasce
Questo cor per l'infeste
Mie piaghe: Ahi chi mi prende?
Chi m'affigge là su? chi mi sospende?

Ché mi sarà la pena.
E la morte gradita.
S'in Croce io finirò con lui la vita'.

Appendix 3:

Sherburne's English adaptation of *Christo Smarrito* (1651)

Edward Sherburne, *Poems and translations: Amorous, Lusory, Morall, Divine* (London: W. Hunt, 1651), 164-166.

Christo Smarrito.

Sighin, her sad Heart fraught with Fears,
Whilst from her Eyes gush streams of tears,
Seeking again how to retrieve
Her little wandring Fugitive,
Each where with weary Steps doth rove,
The Virgin Mother of lost Love.
Like a sad Turtle, up and down
She mourning runs through all the Town:
With searching Eyes she pries about
In every Creek, within, without.
Sticks at each Place, looks o're and ore;
Searches, where she had search'd before:
Old *Joseph* following with sad Face,
A heavy Heart, and halting Pace.
Thrice had the Day been born i'th' East,
As oft been buried in the West,
Since the Dear Comfort of her Eyes
She miss't; yet still her Search she plyes.
Each where she seeks with anxious Care
To find him out, yet knows not where.
When the third Morn she saw arose,
And yet no Beam of Hope disclose;
Looking to Heaven, in these sad Words
She vent to her full Grief affords.
O my dear God! Son of my Wombe!
My Joy, my Love, my Life, for whom
These Tears I shed, on thee I call,
But oh! thou answer'st not at all.
For thee I search, but cannot find thee:
Say (Dear!) what new Embraces bind thee?
What Heart, enamour'd on they Eyes,
Enjoyes what Heaven to Me denies?
Daughters of *Sion*! you which stray
With nimble feet upon the Way,
I beg of you, (if you can tell,)
To shew we where my Love doth dwell:
Whose Beauty with Celestiall Rayes,

The Light of Paradise displayes.
Perhaps to you he is unknown;
Ah! if you wish to hear him shown,
I'll tell y' him: Snow her whiteness, seeks,
Vermilion, Blushes, from his Cheeks:
His Eye a light more chaste discloses
Then amorous Doves, his Lips then Roses.
Amber, and Gold shine in his Hair
(If Gold, or Amber may compare
With that,) a Beauty so Divine,
No Tongue, Pen, Fant'sie can design.

Why break'st thou not (my Soul) this Chain
Of Flesh? why lett'st thou that restrain
Thy nimble Flight into his Arms.
Whose only Look with gladness charms?
But (alas!) in vain I speak to thee
Poor Soul! already fled from Me;
To seek out him in whose lov'd Brest,
Thy Life, as mine in thee, doth rest.

Blest Virgin! who in Tears half drown'd,
Griev'st that thy Son cannot be found.
The time will come when Men shall hear thee
Complain that he is too too near thee.
When in the midd'st of hostile Bands
With pierced Feet, and nailed Hands
Advanc'd upon a cursed Tree
His naked Body thou shalt see
As void of Coverture, as Friends,
But what kind Heaven in pitty lends,
Thy Soul will then abhor the Light,
And think no Grief worse than his Sight.

But loe, as thus she search'd, and wept,
By chance she to the Temple stept,
Where her dear Son with joyfull Eyes
Set 'mongst the *Rabbins* she espies.
And as the Light of some kind Star
To a distressed Marriner,
So his dear sight to her appears,
Tost in this Tempest of her Fears.

But O what tongue can now impart
The joy of her revived Heart?
The Welcome, spoke in mutuall Bliss
Of sweet Embraces, sweeter Kisses?
Muse, since too high for thy weak Wing
It is, contemplate what thou canst not sing.

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