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Hymns According to the Roman Rite by Giovanni Cavaccio (1605)*

The subject of this article is a collection of works composed by Giovanni Cavaccio containing polyphonic hymns – a genre that, all things considered, and in spite of important examples dating back to the 15th century (like Guillaume Dufay's famous cycle), is poorly represented, at least compared to other liturgical-musical forms.¹ Given that Martini's collection is lost (*Hymnorum liber primus*, Venice, Petrucci, 1507),² the first printed edition of a cycle of hymns dates to 1535, year of the *Liber Hymnorum usus Romanae Ecclesiae* published in Avignon by Elzéar Genet, known as Carpentras (1470-1548).³ During the seventy years that separate this work from Cavaccio's set, hymn collections were composed (and usually published) by the greatest composers of the age working in key centres: Cortecchia (Florence), Willaert (Venice), Lassus (Munich, MS), Palestrina and Victoria (Rome), Jachet de Mantua (Mantua) and Porta (Padua), to cite a just few. Another reason for the great importance of Cavaccio's collection is that it also helps to confirm the significant role played by Bergamo, and by the chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore in particular, already in the 16th century.

Although Giovanni Cavaccio (1556-1626)⁴ was *maestro di cappella* of

* The present article is an extract from the degree dissertation *Inni 'secondo il Rito Romano' di Giovanni Cavaccio-1605*, University of Parma, Faculty of Letters and Philosophy, supervisor Professor Francesco Luisi, degree in Preservation of the Cultural Heritage, Music section, 2000-2001. Included is a critical edition of all the 52 hymns. A copy is available at the Biblioteca Civica "Angelo Mai" of Bergamo.

¹ For a general historical survey of the polyphonic hymn, see the entry "Hymn, III. Polyphonic Latin", in *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 29 vols., London, Macmillan, 2001, vol. 12, pp. 23-28 (section by Tom R. Ward and John Caldwell).

² CLAUDIO SARTORI, *Bibliografia delle opere musicali stampate da Ottaviano Petrucci*, Firenze, Olschki, 1948, p. 128.

³ Modern edition by Albert Seay in ELEAZAR GENET (CARPENTRAS), *Opera omnia 3, pars prima: Hymni*, Roma, American Institute of Musicology, 1972 (CMM 58).

⁴ MAURIZIO PADOAN, *La musica in S. Maria Maggiore a Bergamo nel periodo di Giovanni Cavaccio (1598-1626)*, Como, AMIS, 1983; also by Padoan is the entry for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, zweite vollständig neu bearbeitete Ausgabe, hrsg. von Ludwig Finscher, Kassel, Bärenreiter-Metzler, *Personenteil*, vol. 4, coll. 458-459. See also the first biography in DONATO CALVI, *Scena letteraria degli scrittori bergamaschi*, Bergamo, figli di Marc'Antonio Rossi, 1664 (facsimile edition Bologna, Forni, 1977), vol. I, pp. 330-331, partly used also in GIOVANNI SIMONE MAYR, *Biografie di Scrittori e Artisti Musicali*, Bergamo, 1875 (facsimile edition Bologna, Forni, 1972).

Santa Maria Maggiore right up to his death, little is known of his life, particularly of his early years. He was member of the Accademia degli Elevati in Florence⁵ and probably came into contact with other academies.⁶ He is also known to have visited Munich, where he almost certainly met Lassus. Apart from that, he spent his entire existence in his native Bergamo, first as *cantore* and later as *maestro di cappella* at the Duomo, then finally as *maestro di cappella* at the Misericordia Maggiore (hereafter referred to by the acknowledged abbreviation MIA), in other words at Santa Maria Maggiore. In his day his reputation must have been considerable, given the number of works included in anthological collections, mainly of madrigals.⁷ He published various works, some of which are lost (either completely or in part), and certain enigmas have remained unsolved, such as that of the organ that Costanzo Antegnati is alleged to have built for him.⁸

Cavaccio's *Hymni totius anni* were published in Venice nel 1605 by Giacomo Vincenti.⁹ The title-page, which we shall examine more closely later, reads as follows:

HINNI CORRENTI / IN TVTTI I TEMPI / DELL'ANNO / SECONDO IL
RITO ROMANO, / Aggiuntoui anco quelli, che con proprio Canto Fermo,
sono / stati fatti ad honore de Santi Padri capi delle Religio- / ni, tutti sec-
ondo l'ordine del Cerimoniale nuo- / uo del Sommo Pont. Clemente
Ottauo / à gloria di Dio, e de Santi suoi, / RIDOTTI IN MVSICA / DA
GIOVANNI CAVACCIO / Maestro di Capella in S. Maria Maggiore di
Bergamo. / Al Molto Illustre Sig. Cavaliere Bartolomeo Fini / Mio Signor
Colendissimo. / IN VENETIA / Appresso Giacomo Vincenti. MDCV.

⁵ Cfr. EDMOND STRAINCHAMPS, "New Light on the Accademia degli Elevati of Florence", *The Musical Quarterly*, LXII, 1976, pp. 507-535

⁶ As stated in CALVI, *Scena letteraria.*, vol. I, p. 330.

⁷ For a complete list of the anthologies, see MARCELLO EYNARD – RODOBALDO TIBALDI, "Per una bibliografia delle opere a stampa dei musicisti bergamaschi e attivi a Bergamo nel secoli XVI–XVII", *Bergomum*, LXXI/3, 1996 [monographic issue].

⁸ *L'Arte Organica di Costanzo Antegnati Organista del Duomo di Brescia. Dialogo tra padre, & figlio, à cui per via d'avvertimenti insegna il vero modo di sonar & registrar l'organo; con l'indice degli organi fabricati in casa loro. Opera XVI. Vita e Necessaria à gli organisti*, Brescia, Francesco Tebaldino, 1608 (facsimile edition Bologna, Forni, 1971). I am indebted to Piero Sogliani for alerting me to the mention of Cavaccio in this text.

⁹ A complete copy is preserved in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale of Bologna (R.396). There is another copy in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska of the University of Krakow (Mus. ant. pract. C 388, from the Preußische Staatsbibliothek of Berlin), but all four partbooks lack a number of pages (see the *Catalogue of Early Music Prints from the Collections of the Former Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow – Katalog starodruków muzycznych ze zbiorów bylej Pruskiej Biblioteki Państwowej w Berlinie*,

The “Cavalier Bartolomeo Fini [Fino]” mentioned at the bottom of the title-page is an elusive figure, for he appears in no biographical dictionary that can be consulted,¹⁰ nor for that matter in any of the histories of Bergamo and its families.¹¹ He is the dedicatee of a collection of madrigals composed by the Paduan Bartolomeo Ratti, *maestro di cappella* at Gemona del Friuli.¹² Though mentioned as a “Cavaliere di San Marco”, his name appears in none of the

przechowywanych w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej w Krakowie, edited by / opracowała Aleksandra Patalas, Kraków, Musica Iagellonica, 1999, p. 58, no. 337). The Basso part only, from the collection of the chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore, is preserved in the Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai (Mayr 869). The collection is mentioned in the catalogues of the publisher Gardano for the years 1621 (503 Hinni Cauatio a 4.) and 1635 (Cavaccio Giovanni fol. 243v / 52 Hinni a 4). On these, see OSCAR MISCHIATI, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798*, Firenze, Olschki, 1984 (Studi e testi per la storia della musica, 2), nos. VII and VIII.
¹⁰ *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Treccani, 1955-...; *Enciclopedia Storico nobiliare Italiana*, Milano, Edizioni dell'Enciclopedia Storico Nobiliare Italiana, 1930; *Biografia Universale Antica e Moderna ossia storia per alfabeto della vita pubblica e privata di tutte le persone che si distinsero per opere, azioni, talenti, virtù e delitti. Opera affatto nuova compilata in Francia da una società di dotti ed ora per la prima volta recata in italiano con aggiunte e correzioni*, Venezia, Gio. Battista Missiaglia (tipografia di Alvisopoli), 1825; *Dizionario Biografico Universale. Le notizie più importanti sulla vita e le opere degli uomini celebri; i nomi di regie e di illustri famiglie; di scismi religiosi; di parti civili; di sette filosofiche, dall'origine del mondo fino a' di nostri. Prima versione dal francese con molte giunte e correzioni e con una raccolta di tavole comparative ora per la prima volta compilate dimostranti per secoli e per ordini il tesoro di chiari ingegni che può vantare ogni nazione posta a riscontro delle altre, dal principio dell'era volgare al presente*, Firenze, David Passigli, 1842.

¹¹ BORTOLO BELOTTI, *Storia di Bergamo e dei Bergamaschi*, 9 vols., Bergamo, Bolis, 1959; *Edifici di valore storico e artistico nel territorio*, ed. by the Centro del Coordinamento, architects Alberto Fumagalli and Vanni Zanella, Bergamo, Bolis, 1960; ROBERTO FERRANTE, *Ville Patrizie Bergamasche*, Bergamo, Grafica e Arte Bergamo, 1983; LUIGI GHIRARDELLI, *Il memorando contagio seguito in Bergamo l'anno 1630, Historia scritta d'Ordine Publico. Libri otto*, Fratelli Rossi, Bergamo 1681; PIETRO GIAMPICCOLLI, *Catalogo delle famiglie che oggidì vanno componendo co' suoi individui il consiglio della città*, MS, late 18th century (preserved in the Biblioteca Civica “Angelo Mai” of Bergamo); *Stemmi delle famiglie Bergamasche*, Bergamo, SESAAB, 1994; CARLO PEROGALLI – MARIA GRAZIA SANDRI – VANNI ZANELLA, *Ville della Provincia di Bergamo*, Milano, Rusconi, 1983; PIERINO BOSELLI, *Dizionario di Toponomastica Bergamasca e Cremonese*, Firenze, Olschki, 1990 (Biblioteca dell'Archivium Romanicum, serie II – Linguistica, 47).

¹² *Amorosi fiori, colti in vago, et delizioso giardino, Madrigali a quattro voci con uno a otto in fine, composti in stil di Canzonette. Di Bartholomeo Ratti detto il Moro, da Padoa. Maestro di Cappella della magnifica comunità di Gimona. Novamente composti, et dati in luce*, Venezia, Ricciardo Amadino, 1594. For further information on Bartolomeo Ratti: ANGELA ALBANESE, “Alcuni contributi alla biografia di Bartolomeo Ratti”, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, XIX, 1985, pp. 206-233. The information from Ratti's collection dedicated to Bartolomeo Fino is dealt with in: EMIL VOGEL – ALFRED EINSTEIN – FRANÇOIS LESURE – CLAUDIO SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, new, revised and augmented edition provided with indexes, of musicians, poets, singers, dedicatees and first lines of literary texts, 3 vols., Pomezia-Geneve, Staderini-Minkoff, 1977.

texts on this order,¹³ nor in the books on the most eminent figures of the Venetian aristocracy.¹⁴

Only the presence of Fino in an architectural text by Scamozzi and the information suggested by certain notarial documents have made it possible to reconstruct, albeit partially, the personality of this nobleman. During a reference to a journey made to Bergamo in 1611,¹⁵ the famous architect speaks of an “illustrious *Cavaliere* Bartolomeo Fino, a gentleman of good means and a very close relation of the most illustrious and reverend Count Prisco archdeacon, and the most excellent Count Lodovico, brothers of Benalli”. Cavaliere Fino, who was related to the Fini family, was a rich and prominent man involved in trade and finance, and it was perhaps these very qualities that earned him his title of the Venetian order. Moreover, as Scamozzi suggests, he was related to the Benaglio family, one of the oldest aristocratic families of Bergamo: his sister Cornelia was married to Marco Benaglio, while Count

¹³ RICCIOTTI BRATTI, *I Cavalieri di San Marco*, Venezia, Fratelli Visentini, 1898 (Nuovo Archivio Veneto, 16); *Catalogo di tutti li Procuratori di San Marco che sono stati dal principio sino al presente Archivio del Consolato Veneto a Cipro (fine sec. XVII- inizio XIX). Inventario e Regesti*, ed. by Giustiniana Migliardi O’Riordan, Venezia, La Tipografica, 1993 (Strumenti per la ricerca archivistica. Sezione II – Inventari, Indici, Regesti); TEODORO TEODERINI, *Indice dei cavalieri di S. Marco dal 1456 al 1792*, Venezia, n.p., 1867 (preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Venice).

¹⁴ Here I shall mention only some of the many texts consulted at the Venezia Biblioteca Marciana and the Bergamo Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai while doing my research for the degree dissertation: GIUSEPPE BETTINELLI, *Famiglie patrizie venete divise in tre classi*, Venezia, Bettinelli, 1774; ID., *Memorie concernenti l’origine delle famiglie de’ veneti cittadini estratte da due codici del XVI secolo, l’uno d’autore incerto, l’altro del Ziliolo, mai più pubblicate*, Venezia, Bettinelli, 1775; FERDINANDO CACCIA, *Della cittadinanza di Bergamo. Trattato dedicato ad essa Magnifica Città*, Bergamo, Gavazzoli, 1776; MICHELE BATTAGLIA, *Della Nobiltà Patrizia Veneta. Saggio storico*, Tipografia di Alvisopoli, Venezia 1816; ANTONIO LONGO, *Dell’origine e provenienza in Venezia de’ cittadini originari*, Tipografia Casali, Venezia 1817; ANGELO PINETTI, “Nunzi e Ambasciatori della Magnifica città di Bergamo alla Repubblica di Venezia”, *Bollettino della Civica Biblioteca di Bergamo*, XXIII, 1929, pp. 33-57; DANIELE BELTRAMI, *Storia della popolazione di Venezia dalla fine del secolo XVI alla caduta della Repubblica*, Padova, Cedam, 1954; GIUSEPPE GULLINO, *Nobili di Terraferma e Patrizi Veneziani di fronte al sistema fiscale della campagna, nell’ultimo secolo della Repubblica*, in *Venezia e la Terraferma attraverso le relazioni dei rettori*, Proceedings of the conference, Trieste, 23-24 October 1980, Milano, Giuffrè, 1981, pp. 204-225; AMELIO TAGLIAFERRI, “Ordinamento Amministrativo dello Stato di Terraferma”, in *Ibid.*, pp. 50-83; IVANA PEDERZANI, *Dall’amministrazione Patrizia all’amministrazione moderna: il caso di Bergamo*, Milano, ISU Università Cattolica, 1984; SILVIA ROTA, *Per una storia dei rapporti tra Bergamo e Venezia durante il periodo della Dominazione (secoli XV-XVIII). Rassegna bibliografica*, Bergamo, Assessorato alla cultura, 1987; ALVISE LOREDAN, *La Nobiltà del Governo. Grandezza e decadenza del Patriziato Veneziano*, Napoli-Roma- Benevento- Milano, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1994.

¹⁵ VINCENZO SCAMOZZI, *L’idea dell’architettura universale [...] divisa in X libri*, Venezia, at the

Ludovico acted as tutor to Giovanni Giacomo Fino, orphan of Bartolomeo's brother Giacomo. Ratti knew Bartolomeo Fino because one of the latter's relations, Simone, who among other things inherited his entire estate,¹⁶ was a citizen of Bergamo, Brescia and Padua, where he was accorded the rare privilege of burial in the church of Sant'Antonio. Finally, Count Ludovico in 1604 was *Ministro del Consorzio della Misericordia Maggiore*, i.e. administrator of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. So we cannot rule out the possibility that Cavaccio's dedication to Fino should also be extended to Count Ludovico, and that it might be a sign of gratitude for his confirmation as *maestro di cappella* at that very church, an appointment that took place exactly a week before the date printed at the bottom of the dedication in the edition.¹⁷

In all, the collection amounts to fifty-two hymns, ordered according to the liturgical year: first the hymns of the Proper of Time, then those of the Proper of Saints. Among the latter, in addition to the more usual texts (*Urbs beata Jerusalem, Ave Maris stella*), we find those written, as specified on the title-page of the work, "in honour of the Holy Fathers, Heads of Religions" (see Table 1).

Two important phrases on the title-page of the collection are worth stressing. The first is that all the hymns are ordered according to the "new Ceremonial of Pope Clement VIII". The second is the phrase "according to the Roman Rite". Both reflect the composer's loyalty to the Holy Mother Church of Rome and the rulings of the Counter-Reformation. The Ceremonial in question, the *Caerimoniale episcoporum* of 1600, was a text offering detailed instructions on the practices to be followed in the important services: not only those "of bishops", however, but also those involving ordinary priests.¹⁸ It belonged to the large corpus of liturgical books published after the Council of Trent (1545-1564) with the express aim of unifying the Counter-Reformationary message throughout the Catholic world.¹⁹ The second formula is synonymous with the well-known "secundum consuetudinem Romanae Ecclesiae" found on the title-pages of many texts, begin-

author's expense (Giorgio Valentino), 1615.

ning with the Franciscan liturgical books of the 13th century.²⁰

The strophes set are the odd-numbered ones, while the even-numbered strophes and the incipit of the first strophe are intended to be sung in plainchant. Exceptions are the final strophes, which, precisely because they conclude pieces of some length and complexity, are always set polyphonically, even when they are even-numbered. The hymns range from those containing just two polyphonic strophes (in just six cases) to those with as many as six (as in the final hymn of the set, significantly the *Miraculum laudabile*, dedicated to St Ambrose).

Without exception the various strophes of the hymns adopt the practice of composition on *cantus firmus*. A crucial issue, therefore, is that of learning where the composer found the Gregorian melodies – especially since we are dealing with hymns, a genre that, as we well know from its history, had always been particularly susceptible to both melodic and textual changes.²¹ Many churches tended to retain the melodies that had evolved locally, especially those for the main feast-days (such as those for the city's patron saints). This is incidentally confirmed in the Bolognese copy of Cavaccio's hymns, where the texts of *Conditor alme syderum* and *Vexilla regis prodeunt* are followed by further strophes derived from the 1644 edition of hymns revised on the instructions of Urban VIII.²² The evidence is crucial, also because it sug-

¹⁶ Bergamo, Archivio di Stato, notaio G. Andrea Zanchi, 1575.

¹⁷ Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, MIA, Terminazioni 1277 (1602-1605), fol. 212 v., record for 14 May 1605.

¹⁸ *Caeremoniale episcoporum iussu Clementis VIII pontificis maximi, novissime reformatum*, Roma, Tipografia Poliglotta, 1600; facsimile edition with introduction and appendix by Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca, Città del Vaticano, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2000 (Monumenta liturgica Concilii Tridentini, 4).

¹⁹ MARCO GOZZI, "Le edizioni liturgico-musicali dopo il Concilio", in *Musica e Liturgia nella Riforma Tridentina*, catalogue of the exhibition (Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 23 settembre – 26 novembre 1995), ed. by Danilo Curti and Marco Gozzi, Trento, Provincia Autonoma di Trento – Servizio Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1995, pp. 39-55.

gest that Cavaccio's hymns were sung regularly even after 1644. It would of course be interesting to learn when the partbooks reached Bologna, but unfortunately Padre Martini has not indicated a date.

The probable source of most of the pieces of the Proper of Time and proper of Saints is a choirbook of the second half of the 15th century entirely devoted to hymns, today in the Biblioteca Civica "Angelo Mai" of Bergamo but formerly at Santa Maria Maggiore (MIA, Hymnal).²³ Not included in this text, however, are all the melodies for the Holy Fathers of the Church, as well as certain important hymns like those to Mary Magdalene and *Ut queant laxis*.

Also preserved in the same library are four other hymnals of earlier periods: Dominican Psalter-Hymnal (14th century, MA. 60);²⁴ Hymnal (end of 16th century, *cassaforte* 1.17);²⁵ Psalter-Hymnal (perhaps of Santa Grata, 15th century, MAB. 1);²⁶ and Brescian Dominican Hymnal (15th century, MA.

²⁰ On the subject, see: AGOSTINO ZIINO, " '... Secundum consuetudinem Romanae Ecclesiae'. Tradizione e innovazione contenuto e struttura nei libri liturgico-musicali tra XIII e XV secolo", in *La Biblioteca Musicale Laurence K. J. Feininger*, catalogue of the exhibition (Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 6 settembre- 25 ottobre 1985), ed. by Danilo Curti and Fabrizio Leonardelli, Trento, Provincia Autonoma di Trento – Servizio Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1985, pp. 50-61.

²¹ GIACOMO BONIFACIO BAROFFIO, "Palestrina e il Canto Gregoriano: l'innodia", in *Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studi Palestriniani. Palestrina e la sua presenza nella musica e nella cultura europea dal suo tempo ad oggi*, ed. by Lino Bianchi and Giancarlo Rostirolla, Palestrina, Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 1991, pp. 23-26; PAOLA BESUTTI, "'Ave Maris Stella': la tradizione mantovana nuovamente posta in musica da Monteverdi", in *Claudio Monteverdi: studi e prospettive*, Proceedings of the conference (Mantova, 21 – 24 ottobre 1993), ed. by Paola Besutti, Teresa M. Gialdroni and Rodolfo Baroncini, Firenze, Olschki, 1998 (Accademia Nazionale Virgiliana di Scienze Lettere e Arti, Miscellanea, 5), pp. 57-78; MARINA TOFFETTI, "L'impiego delle melodie liturgiche tradizionali nella polifonia del tardo Rinascimento: il caso degli inni di Marco Antonio Ingegneri (Venezia, 1606)", in *Il canto piano nell'era della stampa*, proceedings of the international conference on liturgical chant in the 15th-18th centuries (Trento, Castello del Buonconsiglio – Venezia, Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 9-11 ottobre 1998), ed. by Giulio Cattin, Danilo Curti and Marco Gozzi, Trento, Provincia Autonoma di Trento - Servizio Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1999, pp. 165-181.

²² *Hymni Sacri Breviarii Romani sanctissimi domini nostri Urbani papae VIII auctoritate recogniti, qui ubique per omnes ecclesias, tam secularium, quam regularium debent recitari*, Venezia, apud Cieras, 1643.

418).²⁷ None of the four, however, include any of the missing hymns.²⁸

The lack of hymns for the Founding Fathers of the monastic orders suggests that, most likely, Cavaccio had the means of procuring the Gregorian melodies directly from the many monasteries of various orders scattered over both the city of Bergamo and the surrounding province.²⁹

The idea of including in a single collection a series of compositions dedicated to all the representatives of the Orders could perhaps even be attributed to the MIA.³⁰ The MIA was founded in 1265 to promote public charity, but very soon increased its powers greatly, thanks also to a series of legacies. From 1449 it was in sole charge of Santa Maria Maggiore, and in 1584 obtained from Pope Nicholas V a special statute that granted it absolute freedom of management. It is only natural that an institution which played such a

²³ ANNALISA BARZANÒ, “I Corali della Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo”, *Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche*, LXI/2, 1987, pp. 408-427; ALESSANDRO PADOAN, “Un’indagine preliminare su alcuni Graduali bergamaschi (secoli XV-XVIII)”, in *Gregoriano in Lombardia*, ed. by Nino Albarosa and Stefania Vitale, Lucca, LIM, 2000 (Con-Notazioni, 1), pp. 117-154. For more on the manuscripts in Bergamo: MARIA LUISA GATTI PERER, “Miniature dal X al XVI secolo nei fondi manoscritti e a stampa della Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo”, in *Codici e incunaboli miniati della Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo*, ed. by Maria Luisa Gatti Perer, Bergamo, Credito Bergamasco, 1989, pp. 11-20.

²⁴ Of the hymns included in Cavaccio’s set, we find the texts (but not the music) of the following: *Conditor alme, Christe Redemptor omnium ... Ex patre, Hostis Herodes impie, Audi benigne conditor, Vexilla Regis prodeunt, Ad coenam agni providi, Tristes erant Apostoli, Doctor egregie, Ut queant laxis, Petrus Beatus cathenarum, Tibi Christe splendor Patris, Christe Redemptor omnium ... Conserva, Exultent coelum laudibus, Sanctorum meritis, Rex Gloriose Martyrum, Deus tuorum militum, Iste confessor Domini, Iesu corona Virginum, Urbs Beata Jerusalem.*

²⁵ There is not a line of music, but included at the start of the text is a very useful calendar of the year’s feasts: 6 January: Epiphany; 22 January: St Vincent; 25 January: Conversion of St Paul; 22 February: Chair of St Peter; 7 March: *Sacrae Mulieres*; 21 March: St Benedict, Abbot; 3 April: Discovery of the Cross; 5 April: Ascension; 9 April: Most Holy Virgin; 13 June: St Antony, Confessor; 29 June: Sts Peter and Paul, Apostles; 22 July: St Mary Magdalene; 1 August: St Peter *ad vincula*; 5 August: St Dominic, Confessor; 15 August: Assumption; 20 August: St Bernard, Abbot; 28 August: St Augustine; 29 September: St Michael Archangel; 30 September: St Jerome; 1 November: All Saints; 2 November: Commemoration of the Dead; 7 December: St Ambrose.

²⁶ No music. The hymns included are: *Conditor alme, Christe Redemptor omnium ... Ex patre, Salvete flores martyrum, Hostis Herodes impie, Ave Maris stella, Audi benigne conditor, Vexilla regis prodeunt, Ad coenam agni providi, Veni Creator Spiritus, Ut queant laxis, Petrus Beatus cathenarum, Aurea luce et decore roseo, Doctor egregie, Lauda Mater Ecclesia, Tibi Christe splendor Patris, Urbs Beata Jerusalem, Christe Redemptor ... Conserva, Pange lingua ... Corporis, Exultent coelum laudibus, Rex gloriose martyrum, Deus tuorum militum, Sanctorum meritis, Iste confessor Domini, Iesu corona Virginum, Miraculum laudabile.*

central role in the religious life of Bergamo, especially after the destruction of Sant' Alessandro,³¹ should have forged close relations with all the monasteries and churches of the surrounding area. So we cannot rule out the possibility that when Cavaccio wrote his hymns for Santa Maria Maggiore he was in fact also catering for all the various religious institutions of the Bergamo area. Understandable, therefore, is the presence in the Tenor partbook of complete Gregorian melodies for all the hymns “*ad honore de Santi Padri Capi delle Religioni*”, beginning with St Vincent, instead of the mere incipits offered for all the other hymns. This not only implies that perhaps only the Tenor was required to sing the plainchant, but perhaps also suggests that the musical chapels were plausibly unfamiliar with these hymns; hence the comodity of adding the melody complete, printed in mensural note values (*longa, brevis, semibrevis*) according to the practice customary in publications.³²

Since it is impossible here to examine each hymn in detail,³³ I shall merely attempt to outline the main characteristics of the set (for example, how the plainchant is used and how the voices are treated) and suggest a plausible proposal for performance.

The plainchant never remains stably in one voice only; instead, as also in Victoria,³⁴ it circulates freely through all of them. Most likely this is fully in line with the Counter-Reformation requirement that the chant should be more conspicuous, as is also stressed by the very long note values used for its appearance in the various voices. Obviously this is very different from the method used in the hymns of Dufay and his contemporaries, for there the plainchant appeared in just one voice, usually the top one, while the other accompanied. Interestingly, however, Cavaccio seems not to have forgotten this lesson of the past, since in the third strophe of *Christe Redemptor... Conserva*, for three voices, the chant remains constantly in the Soprano part; and in the first strophe of *Ave Maris stella* it lies in the Tenor. Nonetheless the practice is scantily represented in the pre-

²⁷ It includes the same hymns as the previous collection (considering, naturally, only those included in Cavaccio's set). There is also musical notation, but the music itself bears no resemblance to that used by Cavaccio.

²⁸ Some of these hymns have been traced in the Biblioteca Lorenzo Feininger of Trento; see MARCO GOZZI, *Le fonti liturgiche a stampa della Biblioteca musicale L. Feininger presso il Castello del Buonconsiglio*, 2 vols., Trento, Provincia Autonoma di Trento – Servizio Beni Librari e Archivistici, 1994. I take the opportunity here of thanking Dr Gozzi for kindly allowing me to consult the precious texts at the Castello del Buonconsiglio, among which: *Manuale chorale ad forma Breviarii Romani, Pii V. iussu editi, et Clementis VIII*, Venezia, Giunta, 1608; *Martyrologium Romanum ad novam Kalendarii rationem et ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum*; *Gregorij XIII. Pontifici maximi iussu editum*, Roma, Domemico Basa, 1586; [*Missale secundum Ordinem Fratrum Praedicatorum iuxta decreta Capituli generalis*], Venezia, Giunta, 1562; *Psalterium Romanum dispositum per hebdomadam ad normam Bre-*

sent set, for we find it in only 23 out of 188 strophes, whereas in 30 cases the plainchant is present in all four voices.

The plainchant is not always stated in its original mode, but often transposed by a fourth or fifth (rarely by a third, as in *Magne Pater Augustine*), especially when it is assigned to the respective lower-pitched voices, Alto and Bass. Such a transposition occurs in two ways: either it affects the whole structure of the piece and involves the addition of a flat to the key signature, or else it appears in the course of the piece, in which case the melody adapts to the voice range (this is particularly frequent in the Alto part and in cases of imitation). Sometimes the melody is heard in the original key alongside its transposition, as in the *Pange lingua* (see the transcription in the Appendix).

Circulation of the plainchant and imitation are techniques that Cavaccio uses in combination as a means of structuring the hymns. In the central strophe of *Bernardus Doctor inclytus*, for three voices, the plainchant appears initially in the Tenor, then in the Soprano, next in the Alto and then comes full circle to close in the Tenor. The combination of the circular element and the number three would not appear to be random. Nor do I think it is. In the first strophe of *Sanctorum meritis* the plainchant remains in the Tenor part throughout the piece, but is imitated in the three musical phrases by Soprano, Alto and Bass respectively. Without doubt the most interesting stophe in this respect is “Praesta pater”, which concludes the hymn *Lucis creator optime*. Here the *cantus firmus* is initially in the Soprano, imitated by the Bass; then the Bass continues with a statement of the plainchant, this time imitated by the Tenor, which then proceeds to sing the third line; for the conclusion the chant once again reverts to the Soprano.

There are still two further points to observe on the use of the plainchant. First, the melodies belonging to the Easter period all have the same melody. The chant melodies of *Tristes erant Apostoli*, *Deus tuorum militum* (second version), *Rex gloriose Martyrum*, *Iesu corona Virginum* (second version) and *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* (second version) are identical, though there is nothing new about that in the polyphonic hymn repertoire.³⁵ Various other hymns also share the same Gregorian melody. *Lauda mater Ecclesia*, *Pater superni luminis* and *Fortem virili pectore* are all set to the same music, which we also find in *Iesu corona Virginum*: in other words, the hymn of the Common of Virgins is connected to both the text dedicat-

viarii, ex decreto sacrosanti Concilii Tridentini restituti. Pii V. pontificis maximi iussu editi, et Clementis VIII, Venezia, Giunta, 1606; Psalterium secundum consuetudinem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, ex Breviario Romano ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Tridentini accomodatum, Venezia, Giunta, 1572.

ed to the Common of non-Virgins and the two texts for the feast of St Mary Magdalene.³⁶

Second, often at the opening we find a structure that is characteristic of Cavaccio's *modus componendi*, at least in his hymns. He starts with one voice stating the plainchant, imitated by a second voice a fourth higher; after a few notes, the first voice breaks off, while the second voice not only concludes first phrase of the chant, but also continues with the next phrase, this time in the original mode. See for example *Mensis Augustis* (Example 1).

Table 2 helps use to assess Cavaccio's scoring. More or less half of the works are written in the natural clefs (C1 for the Soprano, C3 for the Alto, C4 for the Tenor and F4 for the Bass). In most cases all the voices have a range of a ninth: hence *c'-c''* for the Soprano, *g-a'* for the Alto, *c-c'* for the Tenor and *G-a* for the Bass. Naturally there are exceptions: in *Deus tuorum militum* the Soprano has a range of *a-e''*, and in some hymns the Bass has *G-d'*; whereas the Alto sometimes has a range of merely a seventh. The Bass extends down to *E* in *Aurea luce* and *Canticis laudet*, and even hits a *D* in the final strophe of the whole work, *Miraculum laudabile*. With this scoring the tenor has an essentially baritone range, if we consider that it extends up to *f'* in *Tibi Christe splendor Patris* only; the Alto, on the other hand, is a tenor part, with *g'* as its highest note and *d* as its lowest (though only in *Conditor alme* and three other cases, always in preparation for the octave leap *d-d'*).

The remaining hymns are notated in so-called *chiavette*: hence with G2 for the Soprano, C2 for the Mezzosoprano and C3 for the Tenor. As for the Bass, though it generally has a Baritone clef, we also find a Tenor clef in as many as nine cases. When the Baritone clef is used, the ranges of the parts are always of a ninth, though naturally with their centre of gravity shifted upwards: for the Soprano *f'-g''*, for the Alto *b^b-c''*, for the Tenor *f-a'* and for the Bass *B^b-e'*. Again, naturally, there are exceptions: the Alto of *Christe Redemptor ... Ex Patre* extends down to *f* and, correspondingly, the Bass in the same piece reaches down to *G*. Then we have the Soprano which in *Iesu corona Virginum* of the Time of Easter has a range of just a fifth, though this is because the *cantus firmus* remains in that voice in every strophe. When the Bass is written in the Tenor clef, things do not change much, except that the Alto remains above *g* and the Bass extends up to *f'* in *Vexilla Regis* and *Audi Benigne conditor*.

Table 3, which lists the 19 three-voice and 4 five-voice strophes, illus-

²⁹ ERMENEGILDO CAMOZZI, *Le istituzioni monastiche e religiose a Bergamo nel Seicento. Contributo alla storia della Soppressione Innocenziana nella Repubblica Veneta*, Bergamo, Tipografia vescovile Secomandi, 1981 (published also in *Bergomum*, LXXVI/1-4, 1981). Bergamo alone is represented by the following: Augustinians (Sant'Agostino), Capuchins (Sant'Alessandro), Carmelites (Madonna del Carmine), Celestines (San Nicolò), Conventuals (San Francesco), the Canons Regular of the Lateran (Santo Spirito), Dominicans (San Bar-

trates two important aspects of Cavaccio's use of voices. First, in only three hymns do we find more than one three-voice strophe. And second, three out of the four works with five-voice conclusions also include a three-voice strophe: the exception is *Tristes erant Apostoli*.

Another conspicuous feature, which is shared by both vocal scorings, is that they are almost exclusively conceived for an ensemble of high voices. Indeed, in spite of the well-known convention that required the pitch of pieces notated in *chiavette* to be lowered by a fourth (if there is a Bb) or a fifth (if there is isn't),³⁷ I would not *a priori* rule out the possibility that the pieces notated in high clefs were meant to be sung at the pitch in which they were written, given the forces available at the church in Bergamo. As Padoan has pointed out,³⁸ the *pueri* belonging to the regular complement, all of whom had benefited from the strict musical training at the Accademia of the MIA, were sometimes joined by the more skilled clerks, who were capable of singing not only plainchant but also polyphonic music. Cavaccio, whose decisions may well have been inspired by the large number of available young singers, often combines the Soprano with two Altos in the three-voice strophes.

Further interesting clues on modes of performance can be found in the above-cited *Caerimoniale Episcoporum* of 1600. While Ch. 27 of the First Book, "De organista et servandis per ipsum", offers recommendations of a general character, much more important is the following chapter, "De organo, organista et musicis".³⁹ First of all, it states that the choir was to sing in an intelligible fashion and that the organ should remain silent both in the first line of each hymn, and at those parts where genuflexion was required (as in "Te ergo quaesumus" and "Tantum ergo Sacramentum"). The same was also to apply to the "Gloria patri" and its preceding verset, and again to the last lines of the hymn. In general the organ was expected to perform *alternatim* with the choir in the hymns and to play music before and after every important service, though it should also avoid including anything lascivious, impure or profane (a point also made in one of the Tridentine decrees on music). In theory no instruments are specified, yet I have no doubt that when performing the hymns Cavaccio used at least a violone (or trombone) to support the Bass, and most likely enriched the instrumentation further at the more solemn feasts (such as the Assumption).⁴⁰

If one then embarks on a more detailed analysis of Cavaccio's composi-

tolomeo), *Riformati* (Santa Maria delle Grazie), Servites (San Gottardo), Somaschi (Santi Martino e Giuseppe), Theatines (Sant'Agata), Franciscan Tertiaries (Santa Maria Immacolata) and Vallumbrosans (San Sepolcro). For more details, see MARIO LOCATELLI, *Bergamo nei suoi monasteri. Storia ed arte dei cenobi benedettini della Diocesi di Bergamo*, Bergamo, Il Conventino, 1986.

³⁰ All the information on the history of the MIA is drawn from: MARC'ANTONIO BENAGLIO, *Institutione, & Ordini della Misericordia Maggiore di Bergamo*, Bergamo, Valerio Ventura,

tional style, one's immediate impression of the pieces is one of solidity and of a monolithic compactness that intensifies traits already glimpsed in the polyphonic cycles of the 1580s.

The policy of varying the number of voices employed in the different strophes, a feature typical of both Willaert and Corteccia, here give way to a more solid four-voice structure, only rarely interspersed by three-voice settings. The five-voice pieces, on the other hand, deserve closer examination (see Table 3). More particularly, we cannot rule out the possibility that the five-voice finale of *Ad coenam agni providi*, an Easter hymn, could also be used in all the other hymns relating to the same period. After all, we have already said that they all share the same plainchant melody, and Cavaccio himself seems to suggest this practice by using the same finale for *Christe Redemptor omnium* and *Salvete flores martyrum*, which belong to the same liturgical season.⁴¹ Moreover, it is worth noting that while for *Tristes erant Apostoli* and *Ad coenam agni providi* we are offered just a five-voice finale, in *Christe Redemptor... Ex patris* and *Ave Maris stella* we have an alternative between a four- or five-voice finale, most likely depending on the forces available.

If the variability in voice distribution is minimal, the mensural aspect is positively non-existent, for it is consistently ϕ , hence invariably duple time. This is undoubtedly anomalous, if we consider that even Palestrina resorted to triple time, especially in his concluding strophes.⁴² For comparable examples we should perhaps consider the hymns of Jacquet de Mantua or Kerle. In Cavaccio's works it is not only the time signature that remain the same: there is not even a *hemiolia* or any other kind of movement that might suggest triple time towards the end of a section. The reason for this might have had Counter-Reformation roots: i.e. the avoidance, in a sacred piece, of triple time with its dancing and, hence almost secular, connotations. Or more simply, Cavaccio was conforming to the compositional style of the period, which viewed "cut time" as better suited to extensive imitation and mutation and hence more suited to the performance of Church music.

1620; MAURIZIO PADOAN, *La musica in S. Maria Maggiore a Bergamo nel periodo di Giovanni Cavaccio (1598-1626)*, Como, AMIS, 1983.

The textures are very thick: the scoring is consistently for three or four voices and little space is left for duets. Frequently the Bass line crosses over the Tenor; somewhat more unusually, in *Conditor alme syderum* at bar 15 it is the Alto that passes under the other voices (Example 2). Another feature worth noting is something mentioned in a celebrated article by Edward Lowinsky:⁴³ the tendency of the great polyphonists of the 16th century to organize the works belonging to large cycles from a “tonal” point of view. We find something of the kind precisely in the first hymn of the present set: here the first and second strophes conclude on what we might call today a suspended cadence, while the final piece ends with a solid final cadence.

It is precisely in the final strophes that we detect a compositional tendency found only in Cavaccio. While the other composers add a voice to the scoring to impart more grandeur to the concluding pieces, Cavaccio uses another technique instead: he breaks up the work’s line into a number of smaller sectors, which usually match the division into phrases.⁴⁴ This happens in thirteen cases, yet in two different ways. According to one procedure (examples are *Aurea luce* and *Doctor egregie*)⁴⁵ the division is visibly marked by double barlines in the partbooks (Example 3). This is a procedure Cavaccio had already used in a *Pange lingua* of 1587.⁴⁶ On two occasions, however, the method is different, and semibreve or minim rests are used instead of barlines: as for example in *Rex gloriose Martyrum*, in the Alto part and above all the Tenor, where each phrase is separated by rests of at least a semibreve (Example 4).⁴⁷ In *Iesu corona Virginum* the clear break occurs instead between the third and last phrase. It is incidentally important to remember that the segmentation of the musical line into semiphrases is also a feature of the *Ave Maris stella* from Monteverdi’s celebrated Vespers.

Cavaccio is always very careful about using the music to underline the most significant words in the piece. The word “patris” in the second line of *Veni creator Spiritus* is rendered with one of the rare triplets (Example 5),

³¹ BONAVENTURA FOPPOLO, *Cronologia della cinta bastionata, in 1588-1988. Le mura di Bergamo*, Bergamo, Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1990 (Atti dell’Ateneo di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti a Bergamo, 49), pp. 35-77.

³² Well known is a similar case in Rodio’s Vespers Psalms of 1573 (ROCCO RODIO, *Salmi per i Vespri a quattro voci, Napoli 1573*, facsimile edition with an introduction by Dinko Fabris, Lamezia Terme, AMA, Calabria, 1994). For the performance of the plainchant, we here mention only ANTONIO LOVATO, “Aspetti ritmici del canto piano nei trattati dei secoli XVI- XVII”, in *Il canto piano*, pp. 99-114.

³³ For which I refer to my degree dissertation.

³⁴ TOMAS LUIS DA VICTORIA, *Hymni totius anni et Officium Hebdomadae sanctae*, hrsg. von Felipe Pedrell, Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, 1908 (Opera Omnia, 5); facsimile edition Ridge-wood (N. J.), Gregg Press, 1965-66. The same characteristic is found in the hymns of Kerle (see fn. 50).

while “cruci” in the second strophe of the hymn *Pater superni luminis* and “Sanctarum” in *Christe Redemptor ... Conserva* are sung to crotchet vocalizations. A triplet reappears for the “Domine” of *Deus tuorum militum* of the Easter period, and significantly *In Paradisi culmine* opens with ascending scale passages. Finally, in the opening strophe of *Laudibus cives* the music breaks off at bar 10, with a passage from a C major to B flat triad precisely at the word “moduletur” (Example 6).

Although I have drawn attention to the essential compactness of these works, I by no means wish to give the impression that Cavaccio’s writing is simple. Indeed in the critical commentaries included in my dissertation on Cavaccio’s hymns, the more straightforward pieces have been duly recorded, precisely in order to emphasize that the musical idiom as a whole is by no means so simple. For example, see the concentration of suspensions and dissonances in the third strophe of *Conditor alme*, at bar 14 (Example 7).

It is not always easy to establish with any certainty which models inspired a composer when he was planning a given work. But if one were looking for models for Cavaccio’s set of hymns, I would not hesitate to mention Jacobus de Kerle, Jacquet de Mantua and Palestrina.⁴⁸ There are a variety of reasons that suggest that Palestrina’s influence especially was decisive, particularly since Cavaccio set only the odd-numbered strophes (leaving the incipit of the first verset in plainchant), thus complying with what was a genuine turning point in hymn composition, as has already been pointed out.⁴⁹ The consistent use of duple time suggests both Jacquet and Palestrina. Moreover, a comparison of the hymn titles in the collections of Cavaccio and Palestrina interestingly shows that they have many pieces in common, though the actual order of the pieces is perhaps closer to Victoria’s set (also published in Rome, incidentally). The latter set, however, has no texts dedicated to the Holy Fathers, whereas Palestrina’s does: *Magne pater Augustine* (St Augustine), *Laudibus summis* (St Nicholas of Tolentino), *En gratulemur hodie* (St Antony of Padua), *Decus morum*, *Dux minorum* (St Francis) and *Mensis Augusti* (St Albert). Not many pieces, admittedly – but they still may have suggested the idea of dedicating a series of compositions to the Founding Fathers of the var-

³⁵ In this regard, see the hymns of Palestrina (see fn. 42). What is rather curious is that the penultimate note of the incipit should be the same as the third-last note instead of dropping by a third: a detail not found in any of the Hymnals consulted.

ious monastic orders. In matters of style, on the other hand, the complexity of Cavaccio's counterpoint and his frequent use of imitation are closer to the idiom of a Flemish composer like Jacobus de Kerle.⁵⁰

To conclude my Appendix of musical examples I have included a complete hymn by Cavaccio: the *Pange lingua.... Corporis*, with its text by Thomas Aquinas to be sung *in festo Corporis Christi*. The opening strophe confirms what I said earlier about the use of plainchant, for the melody is sung by all four voices in turn, both in the original mode of the piece and (above all where there is imitation) at the lower fourth. From the harmonic point of view, we find fairly frequent juxtapositions of major and minor triads, as at "corporis" (bars 3-4, D-/D+) and "In supremae" (bar 24, G-/G+). Somewhat curious is the allusion to the triple time of the *Pange lingua* hymn of the first strophe at bars 5-6 (Tenor and Bass), and in the same strophe at bar 25 (Soprano and Alto). In both cases we find an interesting effect of moving against the duple time of the other voices. Very archaic is the finale of the first strophe with parallel fourths between Soprano and Alto. The last two strophes exemplify the internal fragmentation Cavaccio liked to introduce: in the "Tantum ergo" it is thanks to simultaneous conclusions in all voices; in the final strophe it is marked by double bars. In the latter case this procedure ensures that the voices move in an essentially chordal manner, thereby adding solemnity to the close of the hymn (and also making the words easier to understand). As regards the criteria used in the transcription, the original note values are left intact, the cut-time signature ç has been rendered as a modern 2/1, and modern clefs have been used for ease of reading.

⁵⁶ Marina Toffetti made a similar discovery in the hymns of Ingegneri: MARINA TOFFETTI, *Il "Liber secundus Hymnorum" di Marc'Antonio Ingegneri (Venezia, 1606): testo, contesto e proposte per l'edizione critica di un repertorio polifonico su cantus prius factus*, Tesi di Dottorato in Filologia Musicale, University of Pavia, Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale di Cremona, 1997.

³⁷ PATRIZIO BARBIERI, “‘Chiavette’ and modal transposition in Italian practice (c. 1500-1837)”, *Recercare*, III, 1991, pp. 5-75.

³⁸ PADOAN, *La musica in S. Maria Maggiore*, pp. 42-43.

³⁹ The two chapters are reproduced and translated into Italian in GOZZI, “Le edizioni liturgico-musicali”, pp. 53-54.

⁴⁰ See Appendix III of PADOAN, *La musica in S. Maria Maggiore*, pp. 205-215.