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Music for the Holy Triduum in Arezzo in the 16th century: the *Piae ac devotissimae lamentationes Hieremiae Prophetae* by Paolo Aretino (1546)

La patria vostra anche, immortale Aretino, vi fregia il nome de Sempiterna immortalità. Arezzo dico, Città nobile, produttrice di sì alti intelletti, che quasi non le essendo bastato di darne un Francesco Petrarca, Mostro della Toscana poesia, godendo di darne un Angelo, chiosa delle leggi del mondo, ne ha voluto ingemmare di un Pietro, e di un Paolo Aretini, volendone mostrare che non avendo mancato nella Poesia, non era per venire meno nell'arte Oratoria, che vi fa mirabile, né della dolcezza della Musica, che rende quest'altro un nuovo Orfeo.

Your homeland, too, o immortal Aretino, bestows Eternal immortality on your name. I mean Arezzo, the noble City, producer of such bright minds, that it was not content with giving us Francesco Petrarca, Pride of Tuscan poetry, but took pleasure in offering us an Angelo, commentator on the laws of the world, and wanted to craft two gems, Pietro and Paolo Aretino, thus showing that, while it had been second to none in Poetry, it could be just as excellent in the art of Public Speaking, which makes you admirable, as well as in the sweetness of Music, which makes of the latter a new Orpheus.¹

This passage, well-known and often cited, is taken from a letter sent «al divino signor Pietro Aretino» by a gentleman from Palermo, Paolo Caggio, on October 10, 1550.² Here the two glories of Arezzo are put in direct

¹ *Lettere scritte a Pietro Aretino*, edited by Paolo Procaccioli, 2 vols., Rome, Salerno Editrice, 2004 (National edition of the works of Pietro Aretino, 9), II, pp. 323-326: 324.

² Paolo Caggio held various political and administrative positions, such as secretary of the Senate of Palermo or administrator to the Duke of Bivona, but he never neglected his interests as a man of letters, poet and cultural operator; he worked to spread the greatest Italian writers, first of all Petrarca, Boccaccio, Bembo and Aretino himself, in Sicily, and also founded the Accademia dei Solitari in 1549. The information is taken from GIORGIO SANTANGELO, entry «Caggio, Paolo» in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 16, 1973, <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-caggio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 14 October 2020].

relation and the fame of Paolo is emphasized by the traditional reference to a new Orpheus. It should be added that this letter did not remain private, but was published in Venice in 1552 in the *Libro secondo delle lettere scritte al signor Pietro Aretino da molti signori, comunità, donne di valore, poeti, & altri eccellentissimi spiriti*, produced by the printing press of Francesco Marcolini.

I think it is quite logical to deduce that, in the eyes of Caggio, the fame of Paolo Antonio Del Bivi was due to his publications, and given his social position and literary interests, his point of observation was probably the book of *cromati* (“black-notes”) madrigals for four voices, published only a year before by Girolamo Scotto; in this first madrigal collection (at least the first that has come to us) we find, among other things, eight settings of poems by Petrarch and one by Pietro Aretino.³ It is undoubtedly true that to publish a book of madrigals meant to put oneself on the line and seek broad visibility in what was the musical genre *par excellence* in almost all noble, merchant, artistic, and academic contexts, as well as in the religious domain (madrigals were also used for teaching singing, as well as for personal enjoyment, something that will be strongly stigmatized after the Council of Trent). However, it is equally true that the previous books published by Paolo Aretino are devoted to liturgy, and they are both particularly significant in several respects, not only because they are complementary. His first publication known to us consists of responsories for the Holy Week Triduum and for Christmas Eve for four equal voices, a firstling for both holidays as well as for the genre, and one of the few instances ever of compositions for the second solemnity, appearing at the top on the title page but coming second in the sequence of compositions:

SACRA RESPONSORIA, | TVM NATALI DOMINI, TVM IOVIS, | VENERIS
AC SABBATI SANCTI DIEBUS DICI SOLITA. | *Nunc primum a D. Paulo
Aretino [sub musicis edita Rhythmis, | atq; ab eodem [summa recens cura, diligentiaq; |
ca]stigata.*

³ *Libro primo delli madrigali cromati di messer Pavolo Aretino*, Venice, Girolamo Scotto, 1549. The madrigals of Paolo Aretino still await an extensive study, as well as a modern edition that will shed light on its various connections and role in the contemporary context. For a first general look at Paolo Aretino, his texts and poetic sources, readers can refer to Luciano Tagliaferri’s contributions (*Paolo Antonio Del Bivi: i due libri di madrigali e I testi poetici dei madrigali*) and to that of Cecilia Luzzi (*Tabella delle concordanze poetiche e musicali dei libri di madrigali di Paolo Aretino e Le scelte poetiche nei madrigali di Paolo Del Bivi, alias Paolo Aretino*) contained in *Paolo Antonio del Bivi e il suo tempo. Un musicista aretino contemporaneo di Giorgio Vasari. Arezzo, 1508-1584*, edited by Luciano Tagliaferri, Arezzo, Settore8 Editoria, 2011, respectively on pp. 42-51, 58-79, 52-57 and 136-155.

The volume was published in Venice by Girolamo Scotto in 1544, when the composer was approaching his forties, having been born in 1508 (obviously this does not imply that he had been a late starter as a composer), and is the first publication ever in the responsory genre. It is at the same time one of the first books published in Italy by an Italian musician containing authentically liturgical polyphony, not generically sacred as in the case of motets – and it should be remembered that we have to wait until 1549 for a book of polyphonic masses by an Italian author, Gasparo de Alberti. I have had the opportunity to deal with the responsories of 1544 on several occasions, as well as their later revision;⁴ here I only need to mention the compositions for the Holy Week, namely the twenty-seven responsories for the matins of Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, and the *Benedictus* for lauds, in the 1st tone in *f*, in *alternatim* with the Gregorian psalm tone, which could be used for all the days of the Triduum.

The practice of polyphonically singing different parts of the Holy Week, in particular the ceremonies of the Triduum, is well documented especially in Florence since the last decades of the 15th century, first in Santa Maria del Fiore and the Baptistery of San Giovanni, then in San Lorenzo and other Florentine churches,⁵ especially in relation to the responsories. Precious witnesses of this are the manuscripts containing the complete cycles composed by Bernardo Pisano presumably around the '20s (still performed in the 1560s) and by Francesco Corteccia around the '40s (later revised and only published in 1570). We can easily hypothesize that Paolo Aretino – whose musical training we know nothing about, but whose contacts with Florence and the Medici are widely documented – had wanted to import this tradition into Arezzo, by his own will or that of Bishop Minerbetti, to whom the work is dedicated; but the publication also has a more far-reaching meaning: its introduction on the market implies (or would imply) the possibility of embellishing the rites of the Holy Triduum with mensural

⁴ Cfr. RODOBALDO TIBALDI, *La musica sacra di Paolo Aretino*, in *Paolo Antonio del Bivi e il suo tempo* cit., pp. 80-99: 84-88 and 92-95; ID., *Le due edizioni dei "Responsoria" per la Settimana Santa e per il Natale (1544-1564) di Paolo Aretino*, in *'Cara scientia mia, musica. Studi per Maria Caraci Vela*, edited by Angela Romagnoli, Daniele Sabaino, Rodobaldo Tibaldi and Pietro Zappalà, Pisa, ETS, 2018 («Diverse voci...», 14), pp. 133-159. The latter contribution is a revised version of the paper read in 2008 at the conference *Paolo Aretino: la sua opera, il suo tempo, la sua vocazione drammaturgica* held in Arezzo at Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo.

⁵ Cfr. FRANK A. D'ACCONE, *Singolarità di alcuni aspetti della musica sacra fiorentina del Cinquecento*, in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500*, II. *Musica e spettacolo. Scienze dell'uomo e della natura*, Florence, Olschki, 1983, pp. 513-537.

polyphony just about anywhere, in any context. That this could really happen in the Italian churches around the 40s and 50s of the 16th century is a very problematic issue, which cannot be addressed here; but it remains important, on the one hand for the choice to use an authentically liturgical polyphony (in the texts and in its use), on the other hand for the emphasis placed on an occasion that would lend itself less well to the use of polyphony.

Two years later Paolo Aretino published again in Venice, but this time by Antonio Gardano, a second collection of compositions for the Holy Week, again for four equal voices:

PIE AC DEVOTISSIME | LAMENTATIONES HYEREMIE PROPHETE
TVM ETIAM | PASSIONES HIESV CHRISTI DOMINICE PALMARVM | *ac*
ueneris sancti nunc primum a D. Paulo Aretino Compositae atque sub muficis rhythmis
| in lucem Edite.

Dedicated to the Archbishop of Pisa, Onofrio Bartolini Salimbeni – who was remotely related to the Medici family by his mother⁶ – this print edition contains all the lamentations for the first Nocturn of each day of the Triduum, along with the passions according to Matthew for Palm Sunday and according to John for Good Friday. We therefore have two different groups of compositions: the lamentations for Tenebrae, which are both self-standing and complementary to the 1544 responsories, and the passions to be sung during Mass (although other devotional or para-liturgical uses during the Holy Week cannot be excluded). In order to evaluate the overall meaning and impact of this collection, also mentioned in Doni's *La Libreria*⁷, it will be appropriate to first address the place it holds within the editorial framework of the early 16th century, after which the following pages will

⁶ Bartolini is referred to as «his lordship», and the dedicatory letter mentions duties on the part of Aretino towards the high prelate, as well as endless benefits; we are not able to know if these are conventional expressions of submission by a priest to an archbishop or if there is an allusion to some ecclesiastical benefit obtained by virtue of the common relationship with the Medici; on this see also CARLA NASSINI, *La vita e il contesto culturale aretino*, in Paolo Antonio del Bivi e il suo tempo cit., pp. 17-41: 30-41 («Gli anni alla Pieve di Santa Maria e il rapporto con i Medici»). At the time of publication of the *Lamentationes* Paolo Aretino had been a canon at Santa Maria della Pieve at least since 22 May 1545, after dismissal from the city cathedral (14 October 1544).

⁷ *La libreria del Doni fiorentino. Nella quale sono scritti tutti gli autori vulgari [...]*, Venice, Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, 1550, in the last section, *La musica stampata madrigali, mottetti, messe & canzoni*, f. 64v: «Paolo Aretino, duo libri madrigali et lamentationi». Note that the responsories are missing.

be devoted almost exclusively to the lamentations, considered from different angles (their texts, external and internal organization, stylistic peculiarities, and relationships with the compositional tradition). Here the passions will be briefly mentioned only in relation to their presence in publications for the Holy Week, and always within an evaluation of the editorial framework; I intend to return on another occasion to these two compositions, which fit well into the Italian tradition of the responsorial passion of the late 15th - early 16th century (with the polyphony limited to the *turbæ*) as well as, again, in the more specifically Florentine tradition.

The editorial context

Focusing on the lamentations, we can note that Paolo Aretino's collection is one of the first Italian printed editions of this kind; the only previous examples are two anthological books published in Venice in 1506 by Ottaviano Petrucci, which, as far as we know, were not followed by any declared or hidden reprints. The *Lamentationum Jeremie prophete Liber primus* contains compositions by Tinctoris, Ycart, Agricola, Marbriano de Orto and Johannes De Quadris, the *Lamentationum liber secundus* features works by Tromboncino, Weerbeke and Erasmus Lapidica; in most cases, however, we only find individual lamentations, and the only two complete cycles are those of Johannes De Quadris, for two voices, dating back to the middle of the previous century, and of Bartolomeo Tromboncino, for four voices. If we move our focus north to transalpine publishing, the situation does not change much: we have the famous *Liber Lamentationum Hieremie Prophetæ* by Carpentras, a complete cycle for the entire Triduum published in Avignon in 1532 as a revised version of works originally written for Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici) and circulating in various manuscripts, sometimes in corrupted form,⁸ and the composite cycle contained in the *Liber decimus* of the successful series of predominantly motet books published by Pierre

⁸ The volume was dedicated to Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici). According to Bainsi, the lamentations of Carpentras were regularly sung in the papal chapel until 1587, when they were replaced by those of Palestrina: GIUSEPPE BAINI, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols., Rome, Società Tipografica, 1828, II, pp. 187-191. Sherr, however, claims to have found no evidence of this, and that the various polyphonic settings in the Sistine Chapel collection seem to cast doubt on this statement, possibly even deny it; cfr. RICHARD SHERR, *Ceremonies for Holy Week, Papal Commissions, and Madness (?) in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome*, in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts. Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, edited by Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, Warren, Mich., Harmonie Park Press, 1997, pp. 391-403: 397 note 28.

Attaignant between 1534 and 1535;⁹ the cycle is composite in that the Maundy Thursday lamentations are by Antoine de Fevin, those for Good Friday are anonymous, and those for Holy Saturday by Claudin de Sermisy. Three lamentations by an «incerto simphonista» and the final *oratio Ieremiae prophetae* by Isaac are contained in *Selectae harmoniae quatuor vocum. De Passione Domini* of 1538, which however came out in a Protestant context, in Wittenberg, on Georg Rhaw's initiative.

Things don't change much when we look at the printed editions of polyphonic passions. In spite of a rather widespread practice, testified by various manuscript compositions (such as the two by Corteccia of 1527 and 1532), the two passions by Paolo Aretino seem to be among the first available on the Italian market, preceded only by the two contained in the above mentioned *Liber decimus* of Attaignant (according to Matthew by Sermisy, and according to John by an anonymous composer).¹⁰

The two books of 1544 and 1546 therefore filled a gap in the repertoire, and provided an opportunity to embellish the liturgy of the Holy Week with polyphony, or at least some of the most characteristic moments of it, such as Tenebrae or Good Friday rites; moreover, for the lamentations, new compositions were put on the market, which updated the repertoire of the two Petrucci books, and this must have aroused Gardano's interest. In practice, however, they remained almost completely isolated in that nothing of this kind came out for at least fifteen years, apart from Giovanni Battista Corvo's volume of responsories. Perhaps there was no particular demand for books of this kind, or perhaps those available were sufficient, considering that well-established local customs such as that of Florence with Corteccia and Pisano, or that of Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo with Gasparo de Alberti had their own manuscript repertoire, in addition, of course, to the Papal Chapel, where Carpentras was a singer from 1508 to 1512 and from 1513 to 1521 or 1522.¹¹

But something was moving, albeit slowly. In 1561 Scotto had begun

⁹ *Liber decimus: Passiones dominice in ramis palmarum veneris sancte: necnon lectiones feriarum quinte, sexte ac sabbati hebdomade sancte multaque alia quadragesime congruentia continet*, Paris, Pierre Attaignant, 1534.

¹⁰ We should remember that the two passions by Galliculus and Longueval appearing in the already mentioned *Selectae harmoniae quatuor vocum* of 1538 belong to the genre of *summa passionis*.

¹¹ RICHARD SHERR, *The Papal Choir During the Pontificates of Julius II to Sixtus V (1503-1590): an Institutional History and Biographical Dictionary*, Palestrina, Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2016, pp. 249-250; ID., *Ceremonies for Holy Week* cit.

to broaden his offer of polyphonic compositions for the Holy Week by publishing a volume by Giovanni Contino with the nine Lamentations for the whole Triduum, nine responsories for the third Nocturn of each day, settings for the Benedictus and the Miserere, and the passions according to Matthew and John.¹² In that same year his rival Antonio Gardano 'replied' by putting into print the *Lamentationi a quattro voci pari* by Giovanni Nasco, for which he had obtained a ten-year printing privilege on June 3;¹³ in addition to the nine lamentations, the book also contains a Benedictus, his antiphons for the Triduum and the passions according to Matthew and John. A few months later, on January 29, 1562, Gardano was granted another privilege, this time fifteen years, for the «lamentation, et respension della settimana santa poste in musica da Giacomo Cherle a quatro», or Jacobus de Kerle, by whom Gardano had just published the highly famous *Preces speciales* for the Council of Trent;¹⁴ there are no surviving copies of these volumes, which were probably published between 1562 and 1563.

Another significant moment was undoubtedly the twenty-year privilege granted definitively on August 20, 1563 to the brothers Giovanni Battista and Melchiorre Sessa (but the request dated back to August 20 of the previous year) for the publication of some music books, including one of four-voice lamentations by an unspecified author (on whose identity we are unable to make any speculation) and «l'opera di Paulo Aretina in musica», which then translated, in 1564, into a revised and expanded edition of his 1544 responsories published by Francesco Rampazetto, one of the music typographers on which the Sessa family relied.¹⁵ Now we can suppose that in 1563 Scotto, clearly having nothing new on his hands, decided to republish Paolo Aretino's responsories and, in order to make them more attractive, released 'his' edition of the *Lamentazioni* with

¹² *Ibreni Ieremiae cum reliquis ad Hebdomadae Sanctae officium pertinentibus*, Venezia, Girolamo Scotto, 1561.

¹³ Cfr. RICHARD J. AGEE, *The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century*, Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1982, docs. 64-67 pp. 246-247; ID., *The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century*, «Early Music History», 3, 1983, pp. 1-42: 32 note 44. The privilege also included the printed edition of Nasco's responsories, which were most probably never published due to the author's death (the dedication of the Lamentations, dated 20 September 1562, is signed by his wife, who had just been widowed).

¹⁴ AGEE, *The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing* cit., docs. 74-75 pp. 250-251; ID., *The Venetian Privilege* cit., p. 32 note 47.

¹⁵ Cfr. TIBALDI, *Le due edizioni dei "Responsoria"* cit., pp. 140-141, and corresponding literature references.

a frontispiece practically identical to the previous one, then passing it off as new, a practice that was by no means infrequent:

PLÆ, AC DEVOTISSIMÆ | LAMENTATIONES HIEREMLÆ | PROPHETÆ,
TUM ETIAM PASSIONES | IESV CHRISTI DOMINICÆ PALMARVM, | ac
Veneris Sancti. Nunc primum a Domino | PAVLO Aretino compos[it]e | Atque sub
muficis rhythmis in lucem editę.

This edition also raises the suspicion that in 1546 the lamentations had been published simultaneously by the two printers, as was often the case, and that it was therefore Gardano who released a ‘pirate’ edition; but we have no proof, not even in documents, of this possibility, which is therefore to be regarded as mere speculation.

The new edition of the lamentations is more compact than the previous one, partly because it does not have any dedication; each voice consists of sixteen pages, compared to twenty-four in the Gardano edition, which means that for a single partbook two large sheets were sufficient, compared to three in the other (the sheet contained eight pages, and its folding formed the internal unit). For the entire work, therefore, eight sheets were sufficient, four less than before, and probably the price was lower, but unfortunately we lack data on this, since the oldest sales catalogue of the Scotto company known to us, dating back to 1596, no longer lists the lamentations of Paolo Aretino, which by then were obviously sold out, at least in the printer’s workshop.¹⁶ In any case, for about twenty years (therefore before their editorial flourishing began), there were not many prints devoted to the Holy Week containing lamentations, and therefore their re-edition must have had a significance that went well beyond the rivalry between the two Venetian publishers; for purely illustrative purposes I have listed in Table 1, in concise form, the printed editions published up to 1580 (at least the surviving ones).¹⁷

¹⁶ Cfr. OSCAR MISCHIATI, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798*, Florence, Olschki, 1984, catalogue III, pp. 99-106.

¹⁷ The list is drawn from JEFFREY KURTZMAN, *Printed Italian Music for Matins and Lauds Throughout the Year and Other Services in Holy Week, 1544-1725*, in *Barocco Padano 6*, Proceedings of the XIV international conference on Italian music in the XVII-XVIII centuries, edited by Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan, Como, AMIS, 2010, pp. 349-408: 390-404. For all reference details cfr. JEFFREY KURTZMAN – ANNE SCHNOEBELEN, *A Catalogue of Motets, Mass, Office, and Holy Week Music Printed in Italy, 1516-1770*, «Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music», JSCM Instrumenta, vol. 2, <<https://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/instrumenta-volumes/instrumenta-volume-2/>> [accessed 14 October 2020].

Tab. 1 – List of print editions of lamentations (1564-1580)

1564	Venice, Antonio Gardano	CRISTOBAL DE MORALES, <i>Lamentationi [...] a quatro a cinque et a sei voci</i>
	Venice, Francesco Rampazetto	other edition of Morales's <i>Lamentationi</i>
	Venice, Antonio Gardano	reprint of Nasco's <i>Lamentationi</i>
1565	Venice, Girolamo Scotto	PAOLO FERRARESE, <i>Passiones, Lamentationes, responsoria, Benedictus, Miserere, multaque alia devotissima cantica ad officium Hebdomadae Sanctae pertinentia</i> [4 voices]
1567	Venice, Girolamo Scotto	IACHET DI MANTOVA, <i>Orationes complures ad officium Hebdomadae Sanctae pertinentes, videlicet Passiones cum quinque vocibus. Lamentationes primo, secundo & tertio die cum 4. vocibus. Oratio Hieremiae profetae cum quinque vocibus [...]</i>
1570	Milan, Paolo Gottardo Ponzio	GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ALCAROTTI, <i>Lamentationes Ieremiae, cum responsoriis, antiphonis, et cantico Zachariae psalmoque Miserere [...]</i> quinque vocum
1572	Venice, Antonio Gardano's sons	PAOLO ISNARDI, <i>Lamentationes Hieremiae Prophetae una cum psalmis Benedictus et Miserere [...]</i> cum quinque vocibus
1574	Venice, Antonio Gardano's sons	reprint of Nasco's <i>Lamentationi</i>
1579	Venice, Angelo Gardano	FLORIANO CANALE, <i>Harmonica officia in triduo Dominicae Passionis iuxta S. Romanae Ecclesiae ritum accommoda, cum Passione Dominicae Palmarum, & Veneris Sanctae, quaternis vocibus paribus [...]</i>
1580	Brescia, Vincenzo Sabbio	PLACIDO FALCONIO, <i>Threni Hieremiae prophetae, una cum psalmis, Benedictus et Miserere [...]</i> quaternis vocibus decantandi

Very little information on the lamentations has been found so far in the bibliography reporting or commenting on the book heritage of musical institutions. For example, they were purchased in 1573 for the musical

chapel of the cathedral of Spoleto in view of the celebrations of Holy Week that year,¹⁸ they also appear in an inventory of the library of the Sacred Convent of Assisi,¹⁹ and can be found in a List of the books of the church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome;²⁰ but it is rather remarkable that as late as 1612 they were bought by Giacomo Panicchi, chaplain of the cathedral of Siena who received occasional commissions as organist (1602-1608 and 1609-1610) and chapel master from 1610 to 1612.²¹

The liturgical texts

The Roman liturgical tradition prescribed that the three lessons for the first Nocturn of each day of the Triduum be taken from the lamentations of Jeremiah. In the pre-Tridentine Breviaries we find recurring elements, such as the first lamentation for Maundy Thursday and the *oratio Hieremiae prophetae* – the fifth lamentation – for the third lesson of Holy Saturday, but the choice of how many and which verses, and their distribution among the various lessons is not consistent before the Council of Trent, as one would naturally expect. It is also possible to find slight differences within the Roman Breviaries of Italian tradition, both manuscript and printed, especially in the number of verses for the *oratio Hieremiae prophetae*. However, as a general indication, the pre-Tridentine Roman Breviary required the following distribution:

Tab. 2 – The lamentations in the pre-Tridentine Roman Breviary

<i>Feria V in coena Domini</i>			<i>Feria VI in parasceve</i>			<i>Sabbatum Sanctum</i>		
I, 1-4	I, 5-7	I, 8-12	II, 8-11	II, 12-15	III, 1-11	III, 1-11	IV, 1-6	V, 1-7

¹⁸ Cfr. LUIGI FAUSTI, *La Cappella musicale del Duomo di Spoleto*, Perugia, Unione Tipografica Cooperativa, 1916, p. 10.

¹⁹ Cfr. GINO ZANOTTI, *Assisi. La Biblioteca del Sacro Convento, conventuale, comunale. Sette secoli di storia*, Assisi, Casa Editrice Francescana, 1990, p. 185.

²⁰ Cfr. HERMAN-WALTHER FREY, *Die Kapellmeister an der französischen Nationalkirche San Luigi dei Francesi in Rom im 16. Jahrhundert*, II: 1577-1608, «Archiv für Musikwissenschaft», XXIII, 1966, pp. 32-60: 42.

²¹ Cfr. COLLEEN REARDON, *Agostino Agazzari and music at Siena Cathedral, 1597-1641*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993, p. 63; The lamentations, however, do not appear in the subsequent inventories of 1620, 1639 and 1658, which instead list the responsories of Aretino, purchased by the same Panichi in 1610. On Panichi, see pp. 34-36; the inventories are published on pp. 183-187, docs. 11-13.

As a reminder for readers, the first lesson of each day includes an *exordium*, that is «Incipit lamentatio Hieremiae prophetae» for Maundy Thursday, and «De lamentazione Hieremiae prophetae» (which sometimes appears in the variant «Sequitur de lamentazione Hieremiae prophetae» in the polyphonic repertoire) for the other two days; the same is true of the fifth lamentation, introduced by *Incipit oratio Hieremiae prophetae*. All the lessons end on the conclusion «Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum», drawn from Hosea, 14, 2.

As further proof of the oscillations even within the Roman tradition, the *Officium Hebdomadae Sacrae secundum consuetudinem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*, which saw several printed editions until the publication of the Breviary of Pius V (1568), gives us a table that is not exactly overlapping:²²

Tab. 3 – The lamentations in the pre-Tridentine *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*

<i>Feria V in coena Domini</i>			<i>Feria VI in parasceve</i>			<i>Sabbatum Sanctum</i>		
I, 1-9	I, 10-19	I, 20-22 + II, 1-7	II, 8-14	II, 15-22	III, 1-21	III, 22-66	IV, 1-22	V, 1-22

In this case, the full text of the lamentations is included, distributed in such a way that the initial part of the first lesson of each day coincides with what happens in the Breviary.

In polyphonic practice, it practically never occurs that the text set to music corresponds exactly to what can be read in the Breviary, the official book of the Liturgy of the Hours, even when the formulary crystallized after the Council of Trent;²³ all the more so in the previous phase, in which local customs were the norm. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the *Tenebrae* office, ever since the 13th-14th centuries, was regularly brought forward to the evening of the day before in order to facilitate attendance by the devotees;²⁴ and it was precisely their involvement, which was not normally foreseen for the matins office, that made the use of music even more important as a powerful means of spiritual and devotional involvement.

²² A Venetian edition of 1563 published by Luca Antonio Giunta is available online in the digital library of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

²³ See the extensive analysis in JOHN BETTLEY, “*La compositione lacrimosa*”: *Musical Style and Text Selection in North-Italian Lamentations Settings in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, «Journal of the Royal Musical Association», CXVIII, 1993, pp. 167-202.

²⁴ It is always useful to refer to MARIO RIGHETTI, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, II: *L'anno liturgico nella storia, nella messa, nell'ufficio*, 3rd revised and expanded ed., Milan, Ancora, 1969, pp. 196-198.

However, at the same time music, although fundamental in its ability to amplify the liturgy and encourage reflection, was added to the liturgy in a relationship not of identity, but of simultaneity, and validation of the rite occurred not through the singer but through the celebrant and the ministers, who read out everything that was in the liturgical formulary in a low voice.²⁵

Precisely because of this function, and because it could be freed from the 'fixedness' of a form (as well as from exact textual correspondence, as we shall see), the polyphonic setting of the lamentations is characterized by very different choices, certainly inspired by definite, recognizable liturgical schemes, but in a free, unconstrained manner. In other words composers behaved variously, following either their own desire or secular, monastic, even private local traditions, not always recorded in the manuscript Breviaries because these traditions, in turn, varied over time (and were often hybrid), or they drew from previous compositional models.

The choice made by Paolo Aretino is very clear, and refers to a rational, unifying principle. The lessons of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday consist of only two verses, respectively the first and the second lamentation (each one including the corresponding letter of the Hebrew alphabet) and the conclusion «Ierusalem, Ierusalem convertere»; in addition, at the beginning of the first lesson of Thursday we find the *exordium* «Incipit lamentatio Ieremiae prophetae».

Jeremiah's *lamentatio tertia*, the source of the first two lessons of Holy Saturday, is characterized by very short invocations, always preceded by the Hebrew letter; these invocations, corresponding to the single verses, are marked in blocks of three with a repetition of the same alphabetical letter. The beginning of the third chapter of Jeremiah will be enough to recall the biblical structure:

ALEPH. Ego vir videns paupertatem meam in virga indignationis eius.

ALEPH. Me minavit, et adduxit in tenebras, et non in lucem.

ALEPH. Tantum in me vertit et convertit manum suam tota die.

BETH. Vetustam fecit pellem meam et carnem meam, contrivit ossa mea.

BETH. Aedificavit in gyro meo, et circumdedit me felle et labore.

BETH. In tenebris collocavit me, quasi mortuos sempiternos.

[...]

²⁵ On this topic I refer readers to the appropriate reflection in LORENZO BIANCONI, *Il Seicento*, Torino, EdT, 1991² («Storia della Musica», edited by Società Italiana di Musicologia, 5), pp. 120-121. These observations concern not only the 17th century, but also address one of the key issues in the music-liturgy relationship.

In polyphonic intonations, several verses are usually grouped together and the ‘internal’ alphabetical letters, identical or not, are eliminated. Paolo Aretino is no exception: in the first two lessons of Holy Saturday, the verses are unified in two groups and the internal letters are eliminated; as an example I am showing the first section of the first lesson, marking the letters eliminated by the composer with a double stroke (vv. 33-39):

CAPH. ³³Non enim humiliavit ex corde suo, et abiecit filios hominum, [~~EAMED~~]
³⁴ut converteret sub pedibus suis omnes victos terrae, [~~EAMED~~] ³⁵ut declinaret
iudicium viri in conspectu Altissimi2, [~~EAMED~~] ³⁶ut perderet hominem in iudicio
suo. Dominus ignoravit.
MEM. ³⁷Quis est iste qui dixit ut fieret, Domino non iubente? [~~MEM~~] ³⁸Ex ore
Altissimi non egrediente nec mala nec bona? [~~MEM~~] ³⁹Quid murmuravit homo
vivens in peccatis suis?

In this way the same structure as the previous lessons is retained, i.e. two groups of verses recited in succession, preceded by the alphabetical letter of the initial verse only.

The last lesson is considered differently, partly because it does not include recurring Hebrew letters. In this case, after the *exordium*, three sections follow; the two extreme ones both contain two verses, the central one only v. 3. The general plan can therefore be summarized as follows:

Feria V	
<i>Incipit lamentatio</i>	
Lectio I	I, 1, 2
Lectio II	I, 3, 4
Lectio III	I, 5, 6
Feria VI	
Lectio I	II, 8, 9
Lectio II	II, 10, 11
Lectio III	II, 12, 13
Sabbato Sancto	
Lectio I	III, 33→36, 37→39
Lectio II	III, 40→42, 43→45
<i>Oratio Ieremiae</i>	
Lectio III	V, 1-2, 3, 4-5

Seen as a whole, beyond the general plan, the choice of textual portions in turn shows the problems that arise when one chooses to refer to a specific

liturgical tradition. Apart from the small number of verses, the lamentations of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday are undoubtedly linked to the Roman Breviary in that they begin respectively with the first verse of the first lamentation and, especially, with the eighth of the second.

A different issue, however, arises in the first two lessons for Holy Saturday. Both are derived from the third lamentation, but the verses chosen (III, 33→36, 37→41) do not correspond to those of the Roman tradition (III, 22-33 and only for the first lesson, the second being based on the fourth lamentation). In the previous polyphonic repertoire, the only evidence in this direction are the 15th-century Lamentations of De Quadris, published by Petrucci in 1506, and in the following century a similar choice can be found in the *Devottissime Lamentationi et Improperii per la Settimana Santa* by Giovanni Croce (Venice, Giacomo Vincenti, 1603).²⁶ Both collections, for different reasons, reflect the liturgical practice of the Patriarchine rite of Aquileia and of St. Mark's Basilica, to which the Lamentations of Paolo Aretino can hardly be linked. One could object that the lamentations of De Quadris could have been a possible model (not compositional, but in the organization of the verses) because they had been printed and were a complete cycle; but Tromboncino's lamentations also shared these two features, although they provided a different picture in their turn.²⁷ A possible connection could be established again with De Quadris' lamentations, as they appear in the manuscript Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II.I.350, which are somehow rearranged with respect to both the Petrucci print and the oldest and closest witness to the author's environment, Ms. Vicenza, Archivio Capitolare, UVIII.11.²⁸

As can be seen in Table 2 (which summarizes the situation in the three witnesses), the structure of ms. II.I.350 shows many similarities with that of Paolo Aretino's lamentations: a perfect coincidence for Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, and the opening verses for the first lamentation of Holy Saturday.

²⁶ Cfr. GIULIO CATTIN, *Johannes de Quadris musico del secolo XV*, «Quadrivium», X, 2, 1969, pp. 5-47; JOHN BETTLEY, *The Office of Holy Week at St. Mark's, Venice, in the Late 16th Century, and the Musical Contributions of Giovanni Croce*, «Early Music», XXII, 1994, pp. 45-60.

²⁷ Cfr. *Mehrstimmige Lamentationen aus der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Günther Massenkeil, Mainz, B. Schott's Söhne, 1965 («Musikalische Denkmäler», 6), p. 7*. I am only correcting a small mistake I found here: the second lamentation for Holy Saturday consists of II, 9-12 + III, 27, and only after this comes the conclusion «Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere».

²⁸ Cfr. CATTIN, *Johannes de Quadris* cit.

Of course, it is not possible to establish a direct relationship, but it is interesting to note that Ms. II.I.350 can be dated to the beginning of the 1520s, and is of Florentine origin, coming from the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova.

Tab. 4 – Comparative table of the lamentations of Giovanni De Quadris

	Vicenza UVIII.11	Petrucci (1506)	Florence II.I.350
Lesson I	I, 1-4	I, 1-4	I, 1-2
Lesson II	I, 5-8	I, 5-8	I, 3-4
Lesson III	I, 9-11, 20	I, 9-12	I, 5-6
Lesson I	II, 8-11	II, 8-11	II, 8-9
Lesson II	II, 12-15	II, 12-15	II, 10-11
Lesson III	II, 16-18, 20	II, 16-18, 20	II, 12-13
Lesson I	III, 33/36, 37/39, 40-42, 43/45	III, 33/36, 37/39, 40/42, 43/45, IV, 17	III, 33/36, 43/45
Lesson II	V, 1-4, 7-11	IV, 18-22	V, 1-4, 7-8
Lesson III	V, 14-22, 12-13	V, 1-4, 7-11, 14-18	V, 9-11, 14-16, 21-22

Once again this seems to bring up the question of Paolo Aretino's background, his contacts with Florentine circles and his relations with Francesco Corteccia. From the now-classic studies of D'Accone, we know that in Florence the tradition of using canto figurato goes back at least to 1480. In that year, the persons in charge of the cathedral of S. Maria del Fiore ordered to pay Matteo di Paolo «pro scripturis et intonaturis cantus figurati pro Lamentationibus Hieremie et responsis ipsarum lamentationum et aliarum rerum compositarum pro diebus ebdomode sancte pro dicta eorum ecclesia».²⁹ All the works from the decades between the 15th and 16th century have apparently been lost; the manuscripts that have survived contain the lamentations of Carpentras, Festa, Brumel, Verdelot (complete cycles or single sections), and we have no evidence of those that Corteccia

²⁹ Document dated April 29, 1480 cit. in FRANK D'ACCONE, *Some Neglected Composers in the Florentine Chapels, ca. 1475-1525*, «Viator», I, 1970, pp. 263-288: 279 note 64. I should remind readers that most essays written by D'Accone on sacred Florentine music are collected in *Music and Musicians in 16th-Century Florence*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007.

composed before 1544, perhaps on an Italian translation.³⁰ Therefore, we do not know what circulated in Florence, and what structure it had; perhaps a research on Florentine liturgical manuscripts could lead to some results.

What has been said so far is just a small example of the issues that arise when searching for possible reference models in local liturgical traditions, to which we could add private habits, previous polyphonic collections or – why not? – explicit requests from some ecclesiastical figure, or even the intention of the composer himself. The complexity of this issue becomes even clearer when we examine the textual readings, often generically dismissed as pre- or post-Tridentine, as if these in turn were monolithic entities. To give an idea of the contradictory situations that emerge in this as in other cases, in the appendix I have added a transcription of the texts set by Paolo Aretino and, only as a reference, without making any claim to exhaustiveness, I have compared them with some liturgical books and an edition of the *Vulgata*, all easily accessible because they are available on the web or in facsimile edition:

- a Roman Breviary published in Venice around 1482 (= BR1482; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, digital library);
- the already mentioned *Officium Hebdomadae Sacrae secundum consuetudinem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* in a Venetian edition of 1563 (= OHS1563; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, digital library);
- an edition of the Bible published in Venice in 1497 (Bib; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, digital library);
- the Trent Breviary of Pius V of 1568 (= BR1568; facsimile ed. Vatican City, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1999);
- another edition of the Breviary of Pius V published in Rome in 1570 (BR1570; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, digital library);
- a Parisian edition from 1604 of the Trent Breviary revised by Clement VIII in 1602 (= BR1604; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, digital library).

³⁰ In the dedication to Cosimo I de' Medici of his first book of four-voice madrigals of 1544, he lists some of his compositions that he wanted to publish, including «i Responsi e le Lamentationi tradotti in nostra lingua fiorentina». The interpretation of the passage is controversial: cfr. FRANK D'ACCONTE, *Singolarità di alcuni aspetti della musica sacra fiorentina del Cinquecento*, in *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del '500*, II: *Musica e spettacolo. Scienze dell'uomo e della natura*, Florence, Olschki, 1983, pp. 513-537: 536-537.

The reference to a few Tridentine Breviaries only serves to show a very small sample of the oscillations that existed in the very first phase of the reform of liturgical books, which did not consolidate immediately. As can be observed there are some particular situations, which outline a picture that is anything but univocal; the textual omissions seem to be attributable to a local tradition, which should be verified (and some of them could be very old), the variants could sometimes fall into the same category (*turbata* for *conturbata*, *amicti* for *accincti*), sometimes they directly reflect the biblical text rather than the pre-Tridentine liturgical tradition, and even find a confirmation in the Breviary of Clement VIII. Occasionally, the suspicion is that they may be misprints, but even in these cases the utmost caution is required. Perhaps it will be the study of the texts, of their peculiarities, rather than an analysis of the structures found in liturgical books, that will help us better understand the textual sources from which a composer (or anybody for him) draws; and it will make sense to extend the investigation also to other types of texts.

The external structure and the organization of sound space.

The desire to unify the entire collection in a single rational framework is also evident from the way in which the more specifically musical elements of the external structure are organized, such as the number of sections, keys, accidentals, and somehow also the starting mode; but let us leave this aspect aside for the moment.

If we consider the *exordium* «incipit lamentatio Ieremiae prophetae» as a separate, introductory section, the lamentations of Thursday and Friday and the first two of Saturday consist of five sections, namely the two verses (or groups of verses for the Saturday lessons), the Hebrew letters preceding each of them, and the conclusion «Ierusalem, Ierusalem convertere». The last lesson, drawn from the fifth chapter of the text of Jeremiah, lacks the alphabetical letters, but the sections are still five in number, corresponding to the introduction «Oratio Ieremiae prophetae», the pair of verses 1-2, v. 3, the pair of verses 4-5 and the conclusion.

The lessons for Maundy Thursday (with their respective *exordium*) and those for Good Friday are set for three tenors (C₄) and a bass (F₄), with an occasional reduction especially in the letter sections;³¹ they are however differentiated by their proprietas, since Thursday is in *cantus mollis* with a b

³¹ Thursday, II, «Daleth» for three voices (C₄-C₄-C₄); Friday, II, «Caph» for two (C₄-C₄); Friday, III, «Matribus» (only initial section) for three (C₄-C₄-C₄); Saturday, II, «Lamech» for three voices (F₃-F₃-F₅).

flat key signature, and Friday in *cantus durus* without a key signature.

Things change significantly in the Holy Saturday lessons. *Cantus mollis* returns with a b flat signature, but the sound space shifts towards the lower regions. The first two lessons require a tenor (C₄), two baritones (F₃) and a deep bass (F₅); the third, the final *oratio*, sees the addition of a fifth voice, and the overall color grows even darker, with a tenor, a baritone, two basses and a deep bass. The range of these three lessons recalls the nine responsories for Maundy Thursday from the previous collection of 1544 and, as in that work, it constitutes a highly peculiar case in the 16th-century repertoire.³² If we compare the overall ranges of the lessons and responsories we will notice a similar, but oppositely directed sound progression:

Tab. 5 – Combination of keys in *Lamentations* and *Responsories*

	Lamentations (1546)	Responsories (1544)
Maundy Thursday	C ₄ -C ₄ -C ₄ -F ₄	F ₄ -F ₄ -F ₄ -F ₅
Good Friday	C ₄ -C ₄ -C ₄ -F ₄	C ₄ -C ₄ -C ₄ -F ₄
Holy Saturday	C ₄ -F ₃ -F ₃ -F ₅ C ₄ -F ₃ -F ₄ -F ₄ -F ₅ (<i>oratio</i>)	C ₃ -C ₃ -C ₄ -F ₄

The choice to further lower the sound space in the last three lessons, without however compressing it as in the Thursday responsories, besides further emphasizing the sense of *gravitas* inherent in a composition for equal voices,³³ could have another, symbolic meaning in relation to the actual moment in which the Saturday matins took place, namely Friday evening, the day of remembrance of Christ's death. This day involved, usually in the afternoon, the eucology service with the passion according to Saint John, the adoration of the Holy Cross and other devotional rites such as the *depositio*. The responsories conversely, which close the matins

³² Some well-known examples are found in the late-15th century repertoire, such as the Requiem mass by Pierre de la Rue; see the extensive examination of theoretical and musical testimonies in FRANK CAREY, *Composition for Equal Voices in the Sixteenth Century*, «The Journal of Musicology», IX, 1991, pp. 300-342.

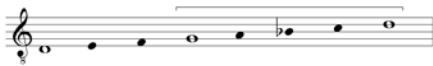
³³ «Quando si comporrà una compositione a voce mutata, cioè senza soprano [...] si darà quella gravità, et quel moto che si converrà al soggetto sopra di che si comporrà [...]» (When one composes a composition with a changed voice, namely without a soprano [...], one will obtain the kind of graveness and motion that is suited to the subject whereon one is composing [...]): NICOLA VICENTINO, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, Rome, Antonio Barrè, 1555, book IV, chap. XIX, f. 84v.

since they are sung in all nocturnes, take the range back towards the high register as an element of transition and (symbolic) passage to Saturday, a day without liturgy devoted to reflection and waiting for the Easter vigil.

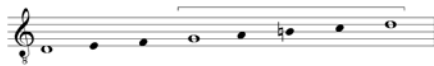
In his considerable monograph on Lamentations, Robert Kendrick emphasizes how, in several instances, the modal order plays an important role in the organization of the collections.³⁴ First, there are cycles that employ the same mode in all nine lessons or, at the most, only change it for the *oratio*. Another possibility is to have a different mode for each day, and the cycle of Paolo Aretino falls into this category, in that it is possible to find at least one tonal reference point (obviously we mean by this a main note, comparable to the *finalis*, certainly nothing else), exactly as it happens in the responsories; but as in the latter, there can also be reason for perplexity, if not real problems.

It is not difficult to identify *g* as the reference center of the Thursday and Friday lessons; in the first case, associated with *cantus mollis*, we may be in the range of a transposed 2nd mode; in the second, in *cantus durus*, we may be in the range of the 8th mode.³⁵ The sound space remains essentially unchanged, the range of reference of the single voices (which share the same keys) is the same, and the composer plays with transforming only the *g-d* fifth species.

2nd mode in G (with B flat)



8th mode



Modal commixture is frequent, and often abrupt, especially in the Good Friday lessons, through the use of b flat, as shown in Ex. 1.

³⁴ ROBERT L. KENDRICK, *Singing Jeremiah. Music and meaning in Holy Week*, Bloomington - Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2014, pp. 56-57 and 252-254 «Table 2. Modality in selected Lamentations cycles».

³⁵ *Ibid.*, the above-mentioned table 2 indicates mode I for the Friday lessons, but this is clearly a misprint.

The image displays a musical score for a Latin liturgical text, consisting of two systems of four staves each. The first system, starting at bar 58, features four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) with the text 'Teth.' written below each staff. The second system, starting at bar 69, features the same four vocal parts with the text 'De - fi - xae sunt in ter - ra por - tae e - ius:'. The lyrics are written below each staff, with hyphens indicating syllables across notes. The music is written in a mensural style with various note values and rests. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, notes, rests, and accidentals.

Ex. 1 – Feria VI, lectio I, v. 9 «Defixae sunt in terra» (bars 58-76)

The succession of final cadences in the single lessons, however, clearly confirms the coexistence of both modes, namely the transposed 2nd and the 8th, without any particular problem.

Maundy Thursday

Incipit Lamentatio	<i>g</i>	perfect
Aleph	<i>d</i>	Phrygian
Quomodo sedet	<i>g</i>	plagal
Beth	<i>g</i>	perfect
Plorans ploravit	<i>g</i>	plagal
Ierusalem	<i>d</i>	plagal
Ghimel	<i>g</i>	perfect
Migravit Iudas	<i>d</i>	plagal
Daleth	<i>g</i>	no cadence
Viae Sion	<i>g</i>	perfect
Ierusalem	<i>g</i>	plagal

He	<i>d</i>	plagal
Facti sunt hostes	<i>d</i>	plagal
Vau	<i>d</i>	plagal
Egressus est	<i>g</i>	perfect
Ierusalem	<i>g</i>	perfect

Good Friday

Heth	<i>g</i>	plagal
Cogitavit Dominus	<i>g</i>	plagal
Teth	<i>d</i>	perfect
Defixae sunt	<i>g</i>	plagal
Ierusalem	<i>g</i>	perfect
Ioth	<i>d</i>	plagal
Sederunt	<i>d</i>	plagal
Caph	<i>g</i>	perfect
Defecerunt	<i>g</i>	perfect
Ierusalem	<i>g</i>	perfect

Lamed	<i>g</i>	perfect
Matribus suis	<i>d</i>	no cadence
Mem	<i>c</i>	perfect
Cui comparabo	<i>g</i>	plagal
Ierusalem	<i>g</i>	perfect

In the Lamentations for Good Friday the picture is crystal-clear, since all lessons end on the *finalis* and with a perfect cadence, almost always with the *tenorizans* placed in the lowest voice; in those for Maundy Thursday we find a similar situation, although in the first lesson the actual Lamentation ends on *g*, while the conclusion «Ierusalem, Ierusalem convertere» cadence is on the *d confinalis*.

Problems concerning modal attribution arise when examining the compositions for Holy Saturday, in which the *cantus mollis* returns with a b flat key signature. The final cadences scheme is the following:

Caph	<i>g</i>	perfect
Non enim humiliavit	<i>d</i>	plagal
Mem	<i>g</i>	perfect
Quis est iste	<i>g</i>	perfect
Ierusalem	<i>f</i>	perfect
Nun	<i>a</i>	Phrygian
Scrutemur	<i>g</i>	perfect
Samech	<i>g</i>	Phrygian
Operuisti	<i>d</i>	plagal
Ierusalem	<i>d</i>	Phrygian
Oratio	<i>a</i>	plagal
Recordare	<i>g</i>	perfect
Pupilli	<i>d</i>	plagal
Aquam nostram	<i>d</i>	plagal
Ierusalem	<i>a</i>	plagal

Especially in the first two lessons, what appears evident is a contrast between the actual Lamentation, mostly oscillating around *g* and *d* in flat property, and the conclusion, which has a separate development. In the first lesson the *d* mode transposed with a flat is contradicted by the 6th mode of «Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere», in the second the Phrygian cadence takes us to a 4th-mode range. What is evident in the third is a constant shift between *d* and *a* in *cantus mollis*, and hence a constant commixture between a transposed 4th mode and the 2nd mode, in this case in flat property, which is fairly common in compositions in *a* before the rise of twelve-mode theory (and always possible in the theoretical and compositional circles that continued to rely on the eight church modes). However, the frequent shifts in all sections towards the *f* mode, with corresponding cadences, seem to justify an attribution of this Lamentation to the *d* mode, and in this perspective the end of the composition, with an iterated plagal cadence, occurs on the *confinalis* instead of the *finalis*.

Many of these situations, and consequent oscillations, are due to a difficult combination between a theory of modal polyphony that had not yet become fully consolidated, and the hexachordal system; but another hypothesis could be made. In the liturgical context of the matins, each Lamentation is followed by a responsory; if we consider the two collections of Paolo Aretino as complementing each other, as well as self-standing, and compare the privileged

systems of reference that are common to both books, namely the combination of keys, the property and the *finalis*-sound of reference, we notice an absolutely logical pattern of cross-correspondences, which has its point of perfect balance in the central day.

Tab. 6 – Tonal types in Lamentations and Responsories

	Lamentations (1546)			Responsories (1544)		
Thursday	C ₄ -C ₄ -C ₄ -F ₄	b	G	F ₄ -F ₄ -F ₄ -F ₅	h	D
Friday	C ₄ -C ₄ -C ₄ -F ₄	h	G	C ₄ -C ₄ -C ₄ -F ₄	h	G
Saturday	C ₄ -F ₃ -F ₃ -F ₅ C ₄ -F ₃ -F ₄ -F ₄ -F ₅	b	G? A?	C ₃ -C ₄ -C ₄ -F ₄	bb	G

If we consider the two collections as complementary, there is a possibility that they were conceived together, or at least that they follow a unified overall plan. It may be interesting, then, to observe their succession during the liturgy, and to compare the final and initial sounds of the Lamentations and, contrariwise, the initial and final sounds of the three immediately following Responsories. It will be easy to notice a rather evident and logical pattern of correspondences, except in one case. The situation is summarized in the above mentioned schemes (the capital letter indicates a major third, the lowercase a third minor; in the cadence the major third is taken for granted, whether explicit or implicit).

Tab. 7 – Diagram of relationships between Lamentations and Responsories

<i>Thursday</i>			
Lamentation I	final cadence	D	plagal
℞I <i>In monte Oliveti</i>	initial sound	A	
	final cadence	D	Phrygian
Lamentation II	initial sound	g	
	final cadence	G	plagal
℞II <i>Tristis est anima mea</i>	initial sound	d	
	final cadence	A	plagal
Lamentation III	initial sound	d	
	final cadence	g	perfect
℞III <i>Ecce vidimus eum</i>	initial sound	d	
	final cadence	D	perfect

Tab. 7 – Diagram of relationships between Lamentations and Responsories (*continued*)

<i>Friday</i>			
Lamentation I	final cadence	G	perfect
℟̥I <i>Omnes amici mei</i>	final cadence	C	
	final cadence	G	plagal
Lamentation II	initial sound	G	
	final cadence	G	perfect
℟̥II <i>Velum temple</i>	initial sound	C	
	final cadence	G	perfect
Lamentation III	initial sound	G	
	final cadence	G	perfect
℟̥III <i>Vinea mea</i>	initial sound	C	
	final cadence	G	perfect

<i>Saturday</i>			
Lamentation I	final cadence	F	Perfect
℟̥I <i>Sicut ovis</i>	initial sound	B _♭	
	final cadence	g	perfect
Lamentation II	initial sound	d	
	final cadence	D	Phrygian
℟̥II <i>Ierusalem, luge</i>	initial sound	G	
	final cadence	D	Phrygian
Lamentation III	initial sound	a	
	final cadence	A	Plagal
℟̥III <i>Plange quasi virgo</i>	initial sound	E _♭	
	final cadence	D	

The conclusion of the first lamentation on *d* instead of *g* can therefore be motivated not so much by a desire to introduce a variation, ending on the *confinalis*, as by a will to establish a more direct connection to the *a* sound of the following responsory, which a cadence on *g* would have made much less immediate. The particular situations we have observed in the Holy Saturday Lamentations can be read in this perspective. The off-mode conclusion on *f* in the last section of the first lesson takes on a different light if we link it to the initial B_♭ of the responsory *Sicut ovis ad occisionem*, and the Phrygian cadence that closes the second lesson finds its full achievement in the *g* sound, which

opens the responsory *Ierusalem, luge et exue*. We can further note that the composer's intention to set the section «Ierusalem, Ierusalem conuere» in the 6th mode leads him to evoke the Gregorian Lamentation tone (which is indeed tone VI; Ex. 2) in its melodic form, alternating in the two higher voices, and in a modal environment (Ex. 3).



Ex. 2 – «Ierusalem, Ierusalem, conuere» *in tono lamentationis* (from GIOVANNI GUIDETTI, *Cantus ecclesiasticus officii Maioris Hebdomadae*, Rome, Giacomo Tornieri, 1587, p. 7)

126

le - ru - sa - lem, le - ru - sa - lem,
le - ru - sa - lem, le - ru - sa - - - - -
le - ru - sa - lem, le - ru - - - sa -

133

sa - - - lem, con - ver - te - re
le - - - ru - sa - lem, con - ver - te - re
lem, con - ver - te - re
lem, con - ver - te - re

Ex. 3 – Sabbatum Sanctum, lectio I, «Ierusalem, Ierusalem, conuere» (bars 126-152)

Ex. 3 – Sabbatum Sanctum, lectio I, «Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere» (*end*)

The only ‘disturbing’ element is the connection between the end of the third lesson and the beginning of the third responsory, which stand in a diminished fifth relation; we could however suggest that this interval is a device for musically emphasizing the encouragement to weep in this responsory:

℞ Plange quasi virgo, plebs mea: ululate, pastores, in cinere et cilicio: *Quia veniet dies Domini magna, et amara valde. ℣ Accingite vos, sacerdotes, et plangite, ministri altaris, aspergite vos cinere.

Stylistic and compositional aspects

Two of the characterizing elements of the responsories, namely an essentially homorhythmic writing and a rather slow pace – which recalls Pisano’s solutions, and probably those of the Florentine tradition – return

in the Lamentations even more evidently, especially with regard to tempo. The constant use of *tempus imperfectum diminutum* ♪ with *alla breve tactus* without proportional value, the more recurrent *breves*, a not infrequent use of *longae*, the lack of meter contrasts, and especially rhythmic contrasts, are the ingredients chosen to obtain a real multivocal, solemn, hieratic declamation, adhering to the text's structures, often mitigated by a slight rhythmic shifting or a reduction of vocal structure, well-suited to the setting of a text written to be cantillated through a specific tone (Ex. 4).³⁶

77

Vi - - ae Si - on lu - - - gent, e - o quod

Vi - - ae Si - on lu - - - gent, e - o

Vi - - ae Si - on lu - gent, e - o

Vi - - ae Si - on lu - - - gent, e - o

83

non sint, qui ve - ni - ant ad so - lem -

quod non sint, qui ve - ni - ant ad so - lem -

quod non sint, qui ve - ni - - - - ant ad

quod non sint, qui ve - ni - ant ad so - lem - ni -

Ex. 4 – Feria V, lectio II, v. 4 «Viae Sion lugent» (bars 77-128)

³⁶ In addition to this and the following examples, small samples of the *Lamentationes*, in Appendix II we provide an edition of the last lesson, the *Oratio Ieremiae prophetae*, hoping that in the future it will be possible to resume the project for the publication of the complete works of Paolo Aretino, already planned years ago by Fondazione Guido d'Arezzo, represented by its president, Francesco Luisi.

89

ni - ta - - - tem: om - nes por - - - tae

ni - ta - tem: om - nes por -

so - lem - ni - ta - - - tem: om -

ta - - - - tem: om - nes por - - - tae

95

om - nes por - tae e - ius de - struc -

tae [on - nes por - tae] e - ius de - struc -

nes por - tae e - - - ius de - - -

e - - - ius de -

102

tae sunt, ge - men - tes,

tae sunt, sa - cer - do - tes e - ius ge - men - tes,

struc - tae sunt, ge - men - tes,

struc - tae sunt, sa - cer - do - tes e - ius ge - men - tes,

Ex. 4 – Feria V, lectio II, v. 4 «Viae Sion lugent» (*continued*)

109

vir - gi - nes e - ius squa - - - li - - - dae,
 vir - gi - nes e - ius squa - li - dae,
 vir - gi - nes e - ius squa - - - - li - dae, et
 vir - gi - nes e - ius squa - li - dae, et

115

et ip - sa op - - - pres - sa est
 et ip - sa op - pres - - - sa est [op - pres -
 ip - sa op - - - pres - sa est
 ip - - - - sa a - ma -

122

a - ma - ri - tu - di - ne.
 sa est] a - ma - ri - - tu - di - ne.
 a - - ma - - ri - - tu - di - - - - ne.
 ri - - tu - - - - - - - - - di - ne.

Ex. 4 – Feria V, lectio II, v. 4 «Viae Sion lugent» (end)

It is undoubtedly true that this compositional style is to be ascribed to the tradition of the polyphonic Lamentation, but it is also true that, in the hands of Paolo Aretino, it is almost carried to an extreme, and this is evident in the treatment of alphabetic letters. These in turn show some melodic and contrapuntal movement (Ex. 5), and occasionally also a reduction of the setting even down to two voices, as it occasionally occurs in the verses of the 1544 responsories (Ex. 6), but these voices, too, are very often characterized by a slowing down of the tempo (see Ex. 1), whose introductory function is rather clear: a static beginning to best prepare the soul of the devotee to listen (and possibly understand) Jeremiah's text.

The image displays a musical score for four voices, arranged in two systems. The first system begins at bar 67 and the second at bar 71. The top staff is in treble clef, while the three lower staves are in bass clef. The music is in a minor key, indicated by a single flat. The notation is characterized by a slow, static beginning, with a 'Mem.' marking appearing below the first staff in both systems. The melody in the top staff is sparse, with long rests and a few notes, while the lower staves provide a more active accompaniment with various rhythmic patterns and melodic lines.

Ex. 5 – Sabbatum Sanctum, lectio I, «Mem» (bars 67-79)

Ex. 5 – Sabbatum Sanctum, lectio I, «Mem» (*end*)

Ex. 6 – Feria VI, lectio II, «Caph» (bars 63-75)

When approaching these long notes, it is likely that the singers of the time would start to ornament them at will, disregarding their meaning and liturgical context:

[...] parlando meco in camera sua dimesticamente, come per sua gratia, & bontà alcuna volta suol fare, mi raccontò con quanta noia, nel suo per noi ben avventuroso viaggio da Roma a Venetia, havesse udito la Settimana Santa cantare in Perugia et in Arezzo le Lamentationi di Geremia Profeta con tante gorghe e con tante moltitudini di voci che le erano parute più tosto un confuso strepito et romore ch'una distinta musica, & pietosa, e divota, quale si conviene in quei santi giorni che si rappresenta la passione & morte di Giesù Christo nostro Signore. Nel qual proposito mi ricordo ch'ella mi disse queste formali parole: «Il nemico della humana generatione, non sapendo come altrimenti in quei santi di levare a' fedeli la devotione che destano in

loro quelle mestissime parole, atte per sé ad intenerire & spezzare un cuore di marmo, ha procacciato con tante varietà e sminuzzamenti di voci di fare ch'elle non sieno intese, & gli è venuto fatto: cosa che ad ogni buono e fedele Christiano non poco dee dispiacere [...].».

[...] speaking to me in your room in a confidential tone, as you sometimes do in your grace and good heart, you told me how bored you had been, on what to us was a quite adventurous journey from Rome to Venice, listening to the Lamentations of Jeremiah the Prophet during the Holy Week in Perugia and Arezzo, with so many trills and such a multitude of voices, that to your ears they sounded more like a confusing clamor or noise than an uplifting, pious and devout music, as befits those sacred days in which we represent the passion and death of our Lord Jesus Christ. And speaking of this, I remember you told me these exact words: «The enemy of the human kind, not knowing how he could, during those holy days, rob the pious people of the devout feelings that those deeply sorrowful words awaken in them, which by their very nature could soften and break a heart of stone, tried to make it impossible to understand them by introducing an incredible variety and fragmentation of voices, and he succeeded: which could not but displease any Christian devotee [...].».³⁷

This account, recalled in the preface to the first complete collection of compositions for the Holy Week, that of Paolo Ferrarese from 1565, also mentions the city of Arezzo. Previously, in 1555, Vicentino had already felt obliged to admonish singers in this respect: «[...] ogni cantante avvertirà, quando canterà lamentationi o altre composizioni meste, di non fare alcuna diminutione, perché le composizioni meste pareranno allegre [...].» ([...] each singer will be careful, when singing Lamentations or other mournful compositions, not to do any diminution, because this will make mournful compositions sound cheerful [...]).³⁸ And 1555 is precisely the year of one of the most famous episodes in music history (not just of the 15th century), namely the reprimand from Pope Marcellus II to his singers during the services of Good Friday in 1555, according to what Angelo Massarelli recorded in his diary, which certainly concerned the way that they sang the Lamentations in *canto figurato* (in the practice of the papal singers, the responsories were recited in *canto fermo*).

³⁷ PAOLO FERRARESE, *Passiones, Lamentationes, Responsoria, Benedictus, Miserere, multaue alia devotissima cantica ad Offitium hebdomadae sanctae pertinentia* [...], Venezia, Girolamo Scotto, 1565, p. [3] <http://www.bibliotecamusica.it/cmbm/viewschedatwbca.asp?path=/cmbm/images/ripro/gaspari/_U/U031/> [accessed 14 October 2020]. In the transcription of the passage the punctuation has been normalized and accents and diacritics have been added when necessary.

³⁸ VICENTINO, *L'antica musica* cit., book IV, chap. XXXXII, f. 94r.

The single sections of the lessons include actual suspensions, formalized by the double bar, which slow down the overall motion even more, but the text must be ruminated on, meditated without haste, and therefore it must be intoned «with large tactus beats, singing in a clear and distinct way» by «only four good voices, singing with graveness and plainly», wrote Lodovico Viadana some decades later in his advice «Alli virtuosi di musica», which precedes his lamentations for equal voices published in 1609.³⁹ The Gregorian tone that is peculiar to the lamentations does not play any role in polyphonic compositions; occasionally, Paolo Aretino takes pleasure in evoking it in a transfigured form, developing it in the polyphonic texture, but without assigning it any structural function, and this occurs only occasionally anyway. One of the most significant moments in this respect (partly because of its position) is the beginning of the first lesson for Maundy Thursday, in which the tone of the lamentation, transposed a fifth upward, is recognizable in a slightly paraphrased form in the Alto (Ex. 7-8).



Ex. 7 – *Tonus lamentationis* (from GUIDETTI, *Cantus ecclesiasticus officii* cit., p. 7)

Ex. 8 – Feria V, lectio I, «Quomodo sedet sola civitas» (bars 30-40)

³⁹ *Lamentationes Hieremiae prophetae in maiori hebdomada concinendae quatuor paribus vocibus* [...] *opus XXII*, Venice, Giacomo Vincenti, 1609. The work was dedicated to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. See the text of the advice at: <<http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta/vol-2/catalogue/Viadana%201610%20%20V1390.pdf>> [accessed 14 October 2020].

36

so - la ci - vi - tas

so - - - la ci - - - - vi - tas

la ci - - - - vi - - - - tas

se - det so - - - - la ci - vi - tas

Ex. 8 – Feria V, lectio I, «Quomodo sedet sola civitas» (*end*)

Paolo Aretino's ability to dig deep into the text is a subtle art, which allows him to make the most of the few resources he chooses to use, without resorting to the ingredients that would later become the hallmark of the «lacrimosa» composition (to put it in Ponzio's words), such as dissonances or chromaticism.⁴⁰ His is a sober, dry style that shuns all excesses, fully aware of the expressive power of both the verses of Jeremiah and of diatonism.

Everything works towards the perfect comprehensibility of the text and its structures, so that word declamation proceeds in a clear, limpid manner, without the musical quality being affected, in a perfect blend of all the elements (including the use of low voices) that is aimed at encouraging reflection and piety in those attending the rites of the Holy Week and Holy Triduum in particular. This is perhaps why the composer gave up 'updating' his compositions as he did for the responsories (although the results were not particularly exciting, to tell the truth), and perhaps for these very reasons his lamentations were still sought after in 1612 for the cathedral of Siena.

Once again, the aims that Paolo Aretino pursues, even prior to the linguistic and stylistic choices he makes, bring us back to the Florentine area, in particular to Bernardo Pisano and Francesco Corteccia. Unfortunately some elements are missing, such as the lost lamentations of Corteccia (whether they were in Latin or translated into vernacular does not matter) or other compositions of the same genre by contemporary composers; and a direct comparison with both

⁴⁰ As is well-known, in order to exemplify the chromatic style, Vicentino mentions his own lamentations for five voices, which have not survived, and quotes in full the conclusion «Jerusalem, Jerusalem convertere» (*L'antica musica cit.*, book III, chap. LV, cc. 70v-71r).

would be limited to the responsories. There is no denying the strength of that tradition, of which the Aretine composer must have had direct knowledge, even though the exact circumstances escape us, as I already pointed out elsewhere.⁴¹ I also had the opportunity to hypothesize that Paolo Antonio Del Bivi wanted to import that tradition in Arezzo, perhaps by the will of Bishop Bernardetto Minerbetti, who was Florentine by birth, belonged to an ancient Florentine family, was in contact with Cosimo I for a long time, and since 1523 was also a canon of Santa Maria del Fiore.⁴² It is both suggestive and fair to think that the responsories and lamentations would have been specifically conceived for the rites of the Holy Week in the cathedral and/or in Santa Maria della Pieve, but the print edition goes beyond its possible (and likely) local use. And it is curious to note that the stylistic features of that specific Florentine repertoire for the Holy Week became known, and were spread beyond the Tuscan border, thanks to the works of an Aretine composer, who spent most of his life as a religious and musician in the church of Santa Maria della Pieve in Arezzo. As is well known, Corteccia waited until 1570 to publish his responsories, and in a revised and rethought version, different from the one handed down in the Florentine manuscripts.

⁴¹ For an overview cfr. LUCIANO TAGLIAFERRI, *Ipotesi sulla formazione musicale di Paolo Antonio del Bivi*, in *Paolo Antonio del Bivi e il suo tempo* cit., pp. 178-200. From 1512 to 1519 Bernardo Pisano lived between Florence and Rome, and since 1520 he moved to the papal seat permanently; the age difference between him and Corteccia was six years, which was small and big at the same time.

⁴² Cfr. PAOLA VOLPINI, s.v. «Minerbetti, Bernardo, detto Bernardetto» in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 74, 2010 <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/minerbetti-bernardo-detto-bernardetto_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed 14 October 2020].

APPENDIX I

The texts of the “Piae ac devotissimae lamentationes Hieremiae Prophetae”

The texts of the Lamentations have been transcribed exclusively from the 1563 reissue. It has not been possible to check the first 1546 edition, which only survives in the Bassus part-book. Below is a brief list of abbreviations used in the apparatus (please refer to the previous text for bibliographic information):

BR1482	<i>Breviarium romanum</i> , Venice ca. 1482
OHS1563	<i>Officium Hebdomadae Sacrae</i> , Venice 1563
BR1568	Breviary of Pius V, Rome 1568
BR1570	Breviary of Pius V, Roma 1570
BR1604	Missal of Pius V revised by Clement VIII, Paris 1604
Bib	<i>Biblia sacra</i> , Venice 1497

In the comparison, the complete collections of Tromboncino and De Quadris have also been taken into account, the latter limited to the Petrucci edition and the ms. II.I.350 of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence. For indicative purposes only, their readings in relation to the liturgical books and/or to the *Lamentationes* of Paolo Aretino are also included in the apparatus.

FERIA QUINTA

Incipit Lamentatio Ieremiae prophetae.

Lectio prima [I, 1, 2]

ALEPH. Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo: facta est quasi vidua domina gentium: princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo.

BETH. Plorans ploravit in nocte, et lacrymae eius in maxillis eius: non est qui consoletur eam ex omnibus caris eius. Omnes amici eius spreverunt eam, et facti sunt ei inimici.

Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

Lectio secunda [I, 3, 4]

GHIMEL. Migravit Iudas propter afflictionem, et multitudinem servitutis: habitavit inter gentes, nec invenit requiem. Omnes persecutores eius apprehenderunt eam inter angustias.

DELETH. Viae Sion lugent, eo quod non sint, qui veniant ad solemnitatem: omnes portae eius destructae sunt¹, sacerdotes eius gementes, virgines eius squalidae, et ipsa oppressa est²

amaritudine.

Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

¹ sunt] missing in all; De Quadris as Aretino

² est] missing in all

Lectio tertia [I, 5, 6]

HE. Facti sunt hostes eius in capite, inimici eius¹ locupletati sunt: quia Dominus locutus est super eam propter multitudinem iniquitatum eius. Parvuli eius ducti sunt in captivitatem, ante faciem tribulantis.

VAU. Egressus² est a filia Sion omnis decor eius: facti sunt principes eius velut arietes non inveniētes pascua, et abierunt absque fortitudine ante faciem subsequentis.

Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

¹ eius] *illius* in BR1482 and OHS1563, as also in Tromboncino; De Quadris as Aretino

² egressus] *et egressus* in all; De Quadris as Aretino, although in the Tenor of II.I.350 it was apparently changed to *Et egressus* by a later intervention

FERIA SEXTA

Lectio prima [II, 8, 9]

BETH¹. Cogitavit Dominus dissipare murum filiae Sion: tetendit funiculum suum, et non avertit manum suam a perdizione: luxitque antemurale, et murus pariter dissipatus est.

TETH. Defixae sunt in terra portae eius: perdidit et contrivit vectes eius, regem eius et principem eius². Non est lex: et prophetae eius non invenerunt visionem a Domino.

¹ beth] *heth* in all. This is likely a misprint, but De Quadris as Aretino

² principem eius] *principem eius in gentibus* in all; De Quadris as Aretino

Lectio secunda [II, 10, 11]

IOD. Sederunt in terra, conticuerunt senes filiae Sion: consperserunt cinere capita sua, amicti¹ sunt ciliciis, abiecerunt in terra capita sua virgines Ierusalem².

CAPH. Defecerunt prae lacrimis oculi mei, turbata³ sunt viscera mea. Effusum est in terra iecur meum super contritionem populi mei⁴, cum deficeret parvulus et lactans in plateis oppidi.

¹ amicti] *virgines Ierusalem accinctae sunt ciliciis* in BR1482, OHS1563, BR1568, *accincti* in Bib and BR1570, as in the rest of the post-Tridentine tradition, but also in Tromboncino. De Quadris lacks *accincti sunt ciliciis: abiecerunt in terra capita sua*

² Ierusalem] *Iuda* in BR1482, BR1568, BR1570, as also in Tromboncino; De Quadris as Aretino

³ turbata] *conturbata* in all; De Quadris as Aretino

⁴ populi mei] *filiae populi mei* in all

Lectio tertia [II, 12, 13]

LAMED. Matribus suis dixerunt: Ubi est vinum et triticum¹? Cum deficerent quasi vulnerati in plateis civitatis, cum exhalarent animas suas in sinu matrum suarum.

MEM. Cui comparabo te, vel cui assimilabo te, filia Ierusalem? cui exaequabo te, et consolabor te²? magna est velut mare contritio tua: quis medebitur tibi³?

¹ vinum et triticum] *triticum et vinum* in all

² te] *te, virgo filia Sion* in all

³ tibi] *tui* in all

SABBATO SANCTO

Lectio I [III, 33-36, 37-39]

CAPH. Non enim humiliavit ex corde suo, et abiecit filios hominum, ut converteret¹ sub pedibus suis omnes vinctos terrae, ut declinaret iudicium viri in conspectu Altissimi², ut perderet³ hominem in iudicio suo: Dominus ignoravit.

MEM. Quis est iste qui dixit ut fieret, Domino non iubente? Ex ore Altissimi non egrediente⁴ nec mala nec bona? Quid murmuravit homo vivens in peccatis suis⁵?

Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum tuum.

¹ converteret] *contereret* in OHS1563, Bib; De Quadris as Aretino

² Altissimi] *vultus Altissimi* in OHS1563, Bib

³ perderet] *perverteret* in OHS1563, Bib

⁴ egrediente] *egredientur* in OHS1563, Bib

⁵ in peccatis suis] *vir pro peccatis suis* in OHS1563, Bib; De Quadris as Aretino

Lectio II [III, 40-42, 43-45]

NUN. Scrutemur vias nostras, quaeramus¹, et revertamur ad Dominum, levemus corda nostra cum manibus ad Dominum in caelis². Nos inique egimus, et ad iracundiam provocavimus; idcirco inexorabilis³ est⁴.

LAMECH⁵. Operuisti in furore, et percussisti nos; occidisti, nec pepercisti, opposuisti nubem tibi, ne transeat oratio tua⁶; eradicationem et abiectioem posuisti⁷ in medio populorum.

Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

¹ quaeramus] *et quaeramus* in OHS1563, Bib; De Quadris as Aretino

² caelis] *caelos* in Bib; De Quadris as Aretino

³ inexorabilis] *tu inexorabilis* in OHS1563, Bib

⁴ est] *es* in all. This is likely a misprint

⁵ lamech] *samech* in all. This is likely a misprint

⁶ oratio tua] *oratio* in OHS1563, Bib

⁷ posuisti] *posuisti me* in OHS1563, Bib

Lectio III [V, 1-5]

Incipit oratio Ieremiae prophetae.

Recordare, Domine, quid acciderit nobis: intueri, et respice opprobrium nostrum. Haereditas nostra versa est ad alienos; domus nostrae ad extraneos. Pupilli facti sumus

absque patre: matres nostrae quasi viduae. Aquam nostram pecunia bibimus: ligna nostra pretio comparavimus. Cervicibus¹ minabamur lassus et² non dabatur requies. Ierusalem, Ierusalem, convertere ad Dominum Deum tuum.

¹ cervicibus] *cervicibus nostris* in Bib, BR1570 and BR1604, as also in Tromboncino

² et] missing in all

15

ti - o le - re - - mi - ae

ti - o

o - - - ra - - - ti - o le -

ra - - - - - - - - - - - ti - o le - re -

ra - ti - o le - re -

20

pro - phe - - tae Hie - - - re - mi -

le - - - re - mi - ae pro - - - -

re - mi - ae le - re - mi - ae Hie - re -

mi - - - ae Hie - re - mi - ae pro -

mi - - - ae pro - - - phe - - - tae

25

ae pro - - - phe - - - - - - - - - tae.

phe - - - - - tae pro - - - - - phe - tae.

mi - ae pro - - - phe - - - - - tae.

phe - - - - - tae pro - phe - tae.

pro - - - - - phe - - - - - - - - - tae.

30 35

Re - cor - da - re, Do - - - mi -

Re - cor - da - re, Do - mi - ne,

Re - cor - da - re, Do - - - - - mi - ne,

Re - cor - da - re, Do -

Re - cor - da - re, Do - mi - - - - - ne, quid

40

ne, quid ac - ci - de - - - rit no -

quid ac - ci - - - de - rit no - - - - -

quid ac - ci - de - rit no - - - - -

mi - - - - ne, quid ac - ci - de -

ac - ci - de - - - rit no -

45 50

bis:

bis: in - tu - e - re et re - - - spi - - - ce

bis: in - tu - e - re et re -

rit no - bis: in - tu - e - re et re - spi - ce re - - -

bis: in - tu - e - re et re - - - spi -

75

mus no - - - - stræ ad ex - tra - ne - os.
do - mus no - stræ ad ex - - - tra - ne - os.
stræ ad ex - tra - ne - os.
stræ ad ex - tra - ne - - - - os.
do - mus no - stræ ad ex - tra - ne - os.

80 85

Pu - - - - - pil - - - li
Pu - - - pil - li fac - - -
Pu - - - pil - - - li fac - ti su - - -
Pu - - - pil - - - li fac - - - ti su -

90

fac - - ti su - - - - -
ti su - - - - mus abs - que pa -
ti su - - - - mus abs - que pa - - - - - tre:
mus abs - que pa - - - - -
mus abs - que pa - - - - -

95

mus abs - - - que pa - - - - - tre:
 tre: ma -
 ma - - - tres no - - - - - strae ma - tres no -
 tre: ma - - - - - tres no -
 tre: ma - - tres no - - - - - - - - - - - strae

100

qua - - si vi - du - - - ae.
 tres no - - - - - strae qua - si vi - du - ae.
 strae qua - si vi - - - - - du - ae.
 strae qua - si vi - du - - - - - ae.
 ma - tres no - strae qua - si vi - du - ae.

105 110

li -
 li -
 A - quam no - stram pe - cu - ni - a bi - - - - bi - mus:
 A - quam no - stram pe - cu - ni - a bi - - - - bi - mus:
 A - quam no - stram pe - cu - ni - a bi - bi - - - - mus:

135

et non da - ba - - - tur re -

et non da - ba - tur et non da - ba - tur

da - ba - tur re - qui - es et non da - ba - tur re - - -

et non da - ba - tur et non da -

et non da - ba - tur re - qui -

140

qui - es et non da - ba - tur re - qui - es.

re - qui - es re - - - qui - - - - - - - - es.

qui - es non da - ba - tur re - qui - es.

ba - tur re - qui - es.

es non da - ba - tur re - - - qui - - - - - - - - es.

145

150

le - ru - sa - lem, le - - - ru -

le - ru - sa - lem,

le - ru - - - - - sa - - - - - lem,

le - ru - sa - lem, le - ru - - - -

le - ru - sa - lem, le - ru - - - - sa - - - - -

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Abstract

Two years after publishing the *Responsoria a quattro voci pari per il Triduo sacro* (1544), Paolo Aretino gave another important contribution to the polyphonic repertoire for Holy Week with the *Pie ac devotissime lamentationes Hieremiae prophete* (1546), again for four equal voices, to which he also added the passions according to Matthew for Palm Sunday and according to John for Good Friday (which are not investigated in this contribution). The contribution analyzes the editorial context in which the collection is placed, its overall structure, the choices and textual peculiarities, which seem to be partly indebted to local traditions, the sound range delimited by keys, properties and, within certain limits, modes. All the elements are used to create, in a coherent and rational way, three rather homogeneous blocks, each corresponding to one of the three liturgical days. In particular, the sound range and its features such as the cadence scheme place the lamentations in direct relation with the responsories. The musical style of the lamentations, as well as that of the responsories, is strongly indebted to the Florentine experience and the solutions of Bernardo Pisano. These clear derivations raise the question of possible relationships between Paolo Aretino and Francesco Corteccia.

Keywords

Del Bivi, Paolo Antonio, polyphonic lamentations, Holy week, equal voices, modal organization

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