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Andrea Gabrieli's music in Milan: dissemination, adaptation, assimilation

Strange as it may seem, the name of Andrea Gabrieli appears very rarely in studies on music in Milan between the end of the 16th century and the start of the 17th,¹ and is also infrequent in those on the repertory commonly known as “lombardo-padano”.² And yet there are various clues pointing to the fact that his fame had reached Milan during his lifetime, and how several local composers had succumbed to the charm of his music, sometimes taking it as a starting point, borrowing techniques and procedures and re-using them in the course of their own compositions. This article intends to follow up these clues and reflect on some aspects of the transmission and reception of Andrea Gabrieli's music in Milan, taking into consideration firstly the “positive” elements, regarding the reprinting in Milan of some of his collections and the presence of his compositions in local music publications, and then moving on

¹ Andrea Gabrieli is not mentioned even once in the book by Robert L. KENDRIK, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), and is mentioned just once, with regards the characteristics of his Psalms of David, in his previous book *Celestial Sirens. Nuns and their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

² Suffice it to glance through the indexes of the numerous volumes that the A.M.I.S (Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi), devoted to *Barocco Padano*, published under the editing of Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan from 2002 and then regularly every two years, to realize just how little the figure of Andrea Gabrieli appears in the studies of the repertory in question.

to an examination of how some of his madrigals are treated in collections of *contrafacta* published in Milan or in any case assembled by personages active in Milan. Lastly, considerations will be made about some aspects of the active and creative reception of his music, illustrating the characteristics of some compositions from the musical environment in Milan that reveal the assimilation of technical-stylistic features that can be traced to Gabrieli's output.³

Before tackling the principal theme, it seems useful to summarize what is known so far about the possible presence of Andrea Gabrieli in Milan and his contacts with some eminent figures in the local musical scene. As is known, some studies on the composer suggest that he probably spent some time in Milan. Unlike Alfred Einstein, who sustained that Andrea Gabrieli's six-strophe canzone *Per monti e poggi, per campagne e piagge* included in his first book of 5-voice madrigals⁴ could be linked to the visit of a high-ranking ecclesiastic functionary to Bergamo,⁵ Martin Morell, with more thorough reasoning, argues that the same canzone, which mentions the rivers Po, Lambro and Ticino, was composed in honour of the cardinal Carlo Borromeo on his arrival in Milan as archbishop on 23 September 1565, and goes on to suggest that Andrea had spent a period of his life in Milan (or in any case in the diocese of Milan) before taking up his post as organist in St Mark's in Venice.⁶

A further hint of Andrea Gabrieli's possible contact with Milan can be found in Paolo Morigi's *La nobiltà di Milano* (1595), which, in a passage

³ In contrast to the recent publication devoted to various aspects and problems concerning the transmission and reception of the music of Giovanni Gabrieli, there is still no wide-ranging reflection on the reception of the music of Andrea. See *Giovanni Gabrieli. Transmission and Reception of a Venetian Musical Tradition*, eds. Rodolfo Baroncini, David Bryant and Luigi Collarile (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016). The only article devoted to some aspects of this topic is Luigi COLLARILE, *Giovanni Gabrieli and Andrea's Musical Legacy. Lost Editions, Ghost Editions, Editorial Strategies*, in *Giovanni Gabrieli. Transmission and Reception*: 71–95.

⁴ See *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, series A/I, 11 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–1981) [henceforth RISM A/I] G 59.

⁵ See Alfred EINSTEIN, *The Italian madrigal*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 520–551: 535.

⁶ See Martin MORELL, “La biografia di Andrea Gabrieli: nuove acquisizioni e problemi aperti”, in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Degrada (Firenze: Olschki, 1987), 19–39: 31; David BRYANT, Martin MORELL, *Andrea Gabrieli: Le testimonianze biografiche*, in *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Andrea Gabrieli*, vol. 1 (Milano: Ricordi, 1988): 49–75. On Andrea's biography see also MORELL, “New evidence for the biographies of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli”, in *Early Music History* 3, 1983: 101–122.

speaking of the noble amateur musician and composer Lucio Castelnovate, mentions a certain Andrea Canareno, organist at St Mark's in Venice, which most likely refers to Andrea da Cannaregio (*alias* Andrea Gabrieli):

Nel numero di questi [gentiluomini eccellenti nella musica] voglio porre il nobile, ricco e versato in molte scienze, il Sig. Lucio Castel Novate, il qual nella virtù della Musica è stato, ed è molto esperto, ed eccellente, così di cantare, come di suonare, [...] egli compose una Salve Regina, la qual fu tanto grata, che ella fu portata dal vescovo Bonanome a Roma alla Santità del Papa, e Don Sancio Castellano la mandò in Spagna, oltre che d'Andrea Canareno [= da Cannaregio] eccellente organista in S. Marco di Venetia fu tenuta bella, e messa in pratica, sì come anco ella fu lodata in Firenze.⁷

According to Antonio Delfino, in the last decades of the 16th century Lucio Castelnovate may have come into contact with Geronimo Cavaglieri, who guided him in the initial phases of his musical activity.⁸ The first collection of *contrafacta* by Cavaglieri, published in Milan in 1600,⁹ contains three compositions by Castelnovate, probably included by the editor as a homage to the noble amateur musician.¹⁰ Lucio Castelnovate reappears as a dedicatee in two publications of music by two composers from Milan: Guglielmo Arnone, who dedicated to him the score of his second book of 5 and 8 voice motets,¹¹ and Cesare Borgo, who dedicated his instrumental canzoni to him.¹² It should be

⁷ “Among these [gentlemen excelling in music] I wish to place the noble, rich and well-versed in many sciences, Sig. Lucio Castel Novate, who in the virtue of Music has been, and is very expert, and excellent, in both singing and playing, [...] he composed a Salve Regina, which was so agreeable that it was taken by Bishop Bonanome in Rome to his Holiness the Pope, and Don Sancio Castellano sent it to Spain, and it was also deemed beautiful by Andrea Canareno [= da Cannaregio?] excellent organist in St Mark's in Venice, and put into practice, as well as being praised in Florence”. See Paolo MORIGIA, *La nobiltà di Milano* (Milano: Ponzio, 1595): 305–306, also quoted in MORELL, *La biografia di Andrea Gabrieli*: 31.

⁸ See Antonio DELFINO, “Geronimo Cavaglieri e alcuni contrafacta marenziani”, in *Luca Marenzio musicista europeo*, eds. Maria Teresa Rosa Barezzani, Mariella Sala (Brescia: Edizioni di storia bresciana, 1989), 165–216: 177.

⁹ Geronimo CAVAGLIERI, *Nova Metamorfosi dell'infrascritti autori* (Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1600). See *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, series B/I/1 (München-Duisburg: Henle, 1960) [henceforth RISM B/I] 1600¹¹.

¹⁰ See DELFINO, “Geronimo Cavaglieri”: 178.

¹¹ Guglielmo ARNONE, *Partitura del secondo libro dei mottetti a cinque e otto voci* (Milano: erede di Simone Tini e Giovanni Francesco Besozzi, 1599); RISM A/I A 2480.

¹² Cesare BORGIO, *Canzoni per sonare* (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti, 1599); RISM A/I BB 3752a. Modern edition: Cesare BORGIO, *Canzoni per sonare* (nn. 1–12), ed. Gabriella Gentili Verona (Padova: Zanibon, 1985).

noted that Guglielmo Arnone's madrigal *Fra bei augeletti* (with the substitute text *Ego dilecto meo*) and Cesare Borgo's motet *Adiuro Vos* (with the original text) appear, alongside four madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli,¹³ among the *contrafacta* published by Geronimo Cavaglieri in 1610.¹⁴ With all this in mind, it cannot be ruled out that Lucio Castelnovate may have contributed to the diffusion of Andrea Gabrieli's music in Milan.

1. Dissemination: Andrea Gabrieli's music in Milan publications

The most readily available clue for those intending to study the reception of Andrea Gabrieli's music in Milan, is the fact that four of his collections, two of profane music (the second book of 6-voice madrigals and a book of 3-voice madrigals) and two of sacred music (the first book of 5-voice motets, and a book of 4-voice motets) are to be found in the *Lista delli libri fatti stampare dalli eredi di Francesco e Simon Tini, e parte de altri libri di diverse stampe, che si ritrovano nel loro magazzino*, printed around 1596.¹⁵ Among the motets, the list includes:

37: «Andrea Gabrieli à 4. — £ 16».

38: «Idem Gabrieli à 5. — £ 25».

and among the madrigals:

104: «Andrea Gabrieli lib. 2 à 6. — £ 18».

105: «Idem [Andrea Gabrieli] à 3. — £ 12».

Only two of the collections by Andrea Gabrieli that have come down to us were printed by Francesco ed eredi di Simon Tini in Milan¹⁶: the second book

¹³ The madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli included in this collection with a substitute text are *Sonno diletto e caro*, *Clori a Damon dicea*, *Dolcissimo ben mio* and *La bella pargoletta*. See below.

¹⁴ Geronimo CAVAGLIERI, *Nova metamorfosi de diversi autori* (Milano: Melchiorre eredi di Agostino Tradate, 1610); RISM B/I 1610¹⁰.

¹⁵ See Oscar MISCHIATI, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editori musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Firenze: Olschki, 1984): IV, *Lista delli libri fatti stampare dalli eredi di Francesco e Simon Tini, e parte de altri libri di diverse stampe, che si ritrovano nel loro magazzino*. See also Iain FENLON, "Il foglio volante editoriale dei Tini, circa il 1596", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 12 (1977): 231–251.

¹⁶ For details of the publishers Tini see Mariangela DONÀ, *La stampa musicale a Milano fino all'anno 1700* (Firenze: Olschki, 1961): 74–108; Corrado MARCIANI, *Editori, tipografi, librai veneti nel Regno di Napoli nel Cinquecento* (Firenze: Olschki, 1968): 469; Imogene HORSLEY, "Full

of 6-voice madrigals, published for the first time in Venice by Angelo Gardano in 1580¹⁷ and reprinted in Milan in 1588,¹⁸ and the first book of motets for five voices (or instruments), published first in Venice by Antonio Gardano in 1565¹⁹ and reprinted in Milan in 1590 by Francesco ed eredi di Simon Tini,

and Short Score in the Accompaniment of Italian Church Music in the Early Baroque”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977): 466–499; Thomas W. BRIDGES, *The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals*, 2 vols. (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1982); Maria Rosa POLLASTRI, “Note sulla famiglia Tini”, *A.M.I.S. Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studios, Bollettino dell'associazione* 2/4 (1986): 4–9; Francesco PASSADORE, “L'editoria musicale in Lombardia nel primo Seicento”, in *La musica sacra in Lombardia nella prima metà del Seicento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Como, 31 maggio, 2 giugno 1985)*, eds. Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi and Maurizio Padoan (Como: AMIS, 1988): 402–408; Kevin M. STEVENS, “Printing and Politics: Carlo Borromeo and the Seminary Press of Milan”, in *Stampa, libri e lettere a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*, eds. Nicola Raponi, Angelo Turchini (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1992) (Biblioteca di storia moderna e contemporanea 3): 97–133; Marina TOFFETTI, “Per una bibliografia della canzone strumentale milanese”, in *Ruggero Giovannelli «Musico eccellentissimo e forse il primo del suo tempo»*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Palestrina e Velletri, 12–14 giugno 1992), eds. Carmela Bongiovanni, Giancarlo Rostirolla (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina-Provincia di Roma-Comune di Velletri, 1998): 509–560; *Catalogue of early music prints from the collections of the former Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Kept at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow*, ed. Aleksandra Patalas (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1999); Marina TOFFETTI, “The Tini Family: Sixteenth-Century Music Printers in Milan”, *Fontes Artis Musicae* 46 (1999): 244–267; KENDRICK, *The Sounds of Milan*: 16, 70, 188–189, 195; Licia SIRCH, “Aspetti dell'editoria musicale bresciana dopo il Concilio di Trento”, *Fonti musicali italiane* 8 (2003): 10, 15; Alfredo VITOLO, “I Tini editori e stampatori musicali a Milano, 1583–1598” (Diss., University of Bologna, 2003); Marina TOFFETTI, “Tini, famiglia”, in *Dizionario degli editori italiani*, ed. Bianca Maria Antolini, forthcoming.

¹⁷ See Andrea GABRIELI, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci* (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1580); RISM A/I G 72.

¹⁸ See Andrea GABRIELI, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci. Novamente ristampato e corretto* (Milano: Francesco ed eredi di Simon Tini, 1588); RISM A/I G 74. Modern editions: Andrea GABRIELI, *Complete madrigals*, vols. 9–10: *Madrigals of the Secondo libro a 6, other madrigals a 6, madrigals a 7*, ed. A. Tillman Merritt (Madison: A-R, 1983) (Recent researches in the music of the Renaissance 49–50); Andrea GABRIELI, *Il secondo libro de madrigali a sei voci, Venezia, Angelo Gardano 1580*, ed. Franco Colussi (Milano: Ricordi, 2001) (Edizione nazionale delle opere di Andrea Gabrieli, Edizione critica, vol. 8).

¹⁹ *Sacrae cantiones (vulgo motecta appellatae) quinque vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissime, liber primus* (Venezia: Antonio Gardano, 1565); RISM A/I G 49. A copy of this collection is kept at the Biblioteca del Conservatorio Giuseppe Verdi in Milan (shelf mark: SB.182). The collection, with no title page, is part of the *Cappella Santa Barbara* archive fund, which arrived at the library of the Conservatory in 1851 thanks to the intervention of the authorities of the Austrian government of Lombardy and originally came from the chapel in Mantua, having been made in 1562 on the initiative of Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.

at the press of their cousin Michele.²⁰ With regards the possible use of these motets in a liturgical context, Jerome Roche points out that, on the one hand, there were no particularly substantial liturgical differences between the Patriarchal and the Roman rite; and on the other this collection, dedicated to the Duke of Bavaria, shows very few “Venetian” features from a liturgical point of view, and in fact it was repeatedly reprinted also outside of Venice.²¹ If we consider that the Roman rite was also used in Milan (at least in the royal collegiate church of Santa Maria della Scala), there is no reason to doubt that it may have found favour also in the diocese of Milan. Similar considerations also hold good for the motets published in 1576, that is for the other collection of Gabrieli’s youthful motets mentioned in the list of Tini.

In outlining the main stylistic characteristics of this collection, Denis Arnold noted several features in common with the collection of motets by Orlando di Lasso published just three years earlier: ranging from the title, almost identical, to the use of particularly long motives, and from the attention to the musical rendition of the text to the presence of homorhythmic-chordal sections.²² The latter, moreover, must have been particularly well accepted in an environment such as that of Milan, where, more so than elsewhere, the post-tridentine ideal of intelligibility of the text was actively pursued by various leading figures in the local liturgical-musical scene.

With regards the second book of 6-voice madrigals, it is interesting to note that some compositions from this collection appear, with a substitute text, in certain collections of *contrafacta* published in Milan,²³ leading us to suggest not only that the editors of the collections of motets with substitute texts may have used the Milan reprint as an antigraph, but that they came to know these compositions precisely thanks to the local reprint.

As far as the book of 3-voice madrigals and that of 4-voice motets mentioned in the *Lista delli libri* of the Tini are concerned, no Milan reprint has

²⁰ *Andreae Gabrielis sacrae cantiones (vulgo Motecta appellatae) quinque vocum, tum viva voce, tum omnis generis instrumentis cantatu commodissime, liber primus. Mediolani, apud Franciscum, et haeredes Simonis Tini. MDLXXXX; RISM A/I G 52.*

²¹ See Jerome ROCHE, “Liturgical aspects of the motets of Andrea Gabrieli published in 1565 and 1576”, in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*: 215–229.

²² See Denis ARNOLD, “Andrea Gabrieli and the new motet style”, in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*: 193–213.

²³ The madrigals in question are *Sonno diletto e caro*, *Clori a Damon dicea*, *La bella pargoletta*, *Dolcissimo ben mio* and *Non ti sdegnar, o Filli*.

survived. Of the *Libro primo de madrigali a tre voci* we have the 1575 printed edition of the sons of Antonio Gardano and the subsequent reprints, all Venetian, of 1582 and 1590 (Angelo Gardano) and of 1607 (Alessandro Raverii).²⁴ On the other hand, the first book of 4-voice motets has come down to us through Angelo Gardano's edition of 1576²⁵ and a reprint by the same publisher issued in 1589.²⁶ Although it is likely that these two books were reprinted in Milan by Francesco and the heirs of Simone Tini, and that the reprints have been lost, it cannot be ruled out that the Tini held a few copies of a Venetian edition of these volumes in their warehouse. Whatever the case, the fact that they appear in the list compiled by the Milan publishers is, in itself, evidence that these two collections were in circulation in Milan before the end of the 16th century.

As we shall see later, the 5-voice motets by Giulio Cesare Gabussi (1586),²⁷ published when the composer was working as chapel master of the Duomo in Milan, appear to have assimilated some characteristics from Andrea Gabrieli's motets, and in particular from the first book for four voices.²⁸

Furthermore, the motet for eight voices in two choirs *Iam non dicam vos servos* by Andrea Gabrieli is included, alongside a motet by Giovanni de Macque,²⁹ in the second book of 5-voice motets by Orfeo Vecchi, published in Milan by the heir of Simone Tini in association with Giovanni Francesco Besozzi in 1598.³⁰ The inclusion of this motet, never (as far as we know) published previously (nor, in fact, afterwards),³¹ represents a posthumous tribute

²⁴ RISM A/I G 68–71.

²⁵ Andrea GABRIELI, *Ecclesiasticarum cantionum quatuor vocum, omnibus sanctorum solemnitatibus deservientium, liber primus* (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1576); RISM A/I G 54.

²⁶ RISM A/I G 55.

²⁷ Giulio Cesare GABUSSI, *Motectorum liber primus* (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1586); RISM A/I G 96.

²⁸ See Marina TOFFETTI, "Gabussi's Legacy. Intertextual phenomena involving the *Liber Primus Motectorum* (Venice, 1586)", in *Italian Music in Central-Eastern Europe. Around Mikołaj Zieleński's Offertoria and Communiones (1611)*, eds. Tomasz Jeż, Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska and Marina Toffetti (Venezia: Edizioni Fondazione Levi, 2015) (TRA.D.I.MUS., Studi e Monografie 2), 207–234: 216–217.

²⁹ Giovanni de Macque's motet is divided into a *prima pars* (*In convertendo*) and *secunda pars* (*Converte domine*).

³⁰ *Orphei Vecchii Mediolanensis in Ecclesia Divae Mariae Scalen. Reg. Duc. Musicae, et Chori Magistri Motectorum Quinque vocibus Liber secundus. Mediolani, apud haeredem Simonis Tini, & Jo. Franciscum Bisutium, 1598*; RISM B/I 1598³.

³¹ See Iain FENLON, "Gabrieli", in *MGG, Personenteil*, vol. 7 (2002), coll. 329–364.

to the memory of a composer who had died thirteen years before, but was evidently still appreciated. The fact that Orfeo Vecchi could come into possession of an unpublished motet by Gabrieli offers a further clue in favour of the hypothesis that at some point in his life Gabrieli had been in contact with the musical environment of Milan.

2. Adaptation: the madrigals of Andrea Gabrieli in the collections of *contrafacta* published in Milan

One of the most interesting aspects regarding the reception of Andrea Gabrieli's music in Milan is the presence of some of his madrigals, cloaked in a sacred text (and consequently adapted to it), within some collections of *contrafacta* published *in loco*.

In the collections of *contrafacta* published in Italy (eleven in all, containing 214 compositions) the composers most represented are Claudio Monteverdi (37 madrigals), Luca Marenzio (21), Stefano Bernardi (20), Andrea Gabrieli (14), Ruggiero Giovannelli (13) and Giovanni Maria Nanino (11), followed by all the other composers. Therefore, if Andrea Gabrieli is one of the most represented composers in this type of collection, he is also one of the most represented madrigalists within the confines of Milan.³²

As has already been pointed out,³³ nearly all of Palestrina's compositions that had been turned into *contrafacta* or undergone transformation in the Milan

³² The musicological literature on the Milan *contrafacta* is still rather scant. Besides the cited article by Antonio Delfino on Geronimo Cavaglieri's *contrafacta* of the madrigals of Luca Marenzio, other works worthy of mention include the article by Margaret Anne Rorke on Aquilino Coppini's *contrafacta* of the madrigals of Monteverdi (Margaret Ann RORKE, "Sacred *contrafacta* of Monteverdi Madrigals and Cardinal Borromeo's Milan", *Music and Letters* 65/2 (April 1984): 168–175); the essay by Uwe WOLF, "Prima Arianna, poi Maria. Rielaborazioni religiose di musica vocale profana degli inizi del XVII secolo", in *Intorno a Monteverdi*, eds. Maria Caraci Vela, Rodobaldo Tibaldi (Lucca: LIM, 1999): 351–366; an article by the present author on the reception of Palestrina's music in Milan, which also deals with the *contrafacta* of some of Palestrina's madrigals made by Geronimo Cavaglieri and by Orfeo Vecchi (Marina TOFFETTI, "La ricezione palestriniana a Milano fra '500 e '600", in *Palestrina e l'Europa. Atti del III Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Palestrina, 6–9 ottobre 1994)*, eds. Giancarlo Rostirolla, Stefania Soldati and Elena Zomparelli (Palestrina: Fondazione Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 2006): 855–935); and finally Remigio TORNICELLI, "Il madrigale *Morir non può 'l mio core* di Giovanni Maria Nanino e la sua versione contraffatta *Dilectus meus mihi* di Girolamo Cavaglieri" (Diss., University of Padua, 2014).

³³ See TOFFETTI, "La ricezione palestriniana a Milano": 889.

environment had already appeared in local music reprints. Also in the case of Andrea Gabrieli, the madrigals that appear with a substitute text in the Milan collections of *contrafacta* (five in total) all come from the *Secondo libro di madrigali a sei voci*, reprinted in Milan in 1588.³⁴ In particular, two madrigals (*Sonno diletto e caro* and *Non ti sdegnar*) are included, with two substitute texts (*Bonum est et soave* and *Ne confide*), in *Musica Tolta da i Madrigali di Claudio Monteverde, e d'altri autori, a cinque e sei voci, e fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini*,

³⁴ All five madrigals also appear, in a keyboard version, in a manuscript kept in the Library of the Nicolò Copernico University of Toruń, Poland (shelf mark: Kat. II, XIV, 13a). The same manuscript also includes a version for keyboard of the madrigals *Cinto m'avea tra belle e nude braccia*, *Come vuoi tu ch'io viva, se m'uccidi* and *Donna cinta di ferro e di diamante*, taken, as in the previous cases, from the second book of 6-voice madrigals, and of the madrigal *Due rose fresche*, taken from the first book of 5-voice madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli (Venice, 1566). Although we know that there are numerous compositions by Andrea Gabrieli entabulated for keyboard instruments, especially in the German environment, and at least 15 of his compositions in a printed tablature for lute, no manuscript version for lute has survived. On this matter see: Andrea GABRIELI, *Composizioni vocali in intavolature per tastiera e per liuto*, ed. Dinko Fabris (Milano: Ricordi, 1994) (Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Andrea Gabrieli, 17/1), *Introduzione*; Dinko FABRIS, "La diffusione della musica vocale nelle intavolature per liuto dell'epoca di Monteverdi (1585–1645)", in *Intorno a Monteverdi*, 497–509: 505, note 8. Besides that, three madrigals coming from the *Secondo libro di madrigali a sei voci* of Andrea Gabrieli, two of which also present in some Milanese collections of Latin *contrafacta*, also appear, with substitute texts in German, in a collection of *contrafacta* of Italian madrigals edited by Melchior Backhaus and published in Erfurt (Thuringia) in 1587: *Non ti sdegnar o Filli* (No. 23: *Gott ist getrew*), *Dolcissimo ben mio* (No. 17: *Deo nostro perennis gloria sit*) and *Se vuoi ch'io muoia* (No. 20: *Unicuique suam viro*). Cf. *Primus liber suavissimas praestantissimorum nostrae aetatis artificum Italianorum cantilenas 4. 5. 6. et 8. Vocum continens, quae partim Latinis, partim Germanicis, sacris ac piis textibus ornatae, et nusquam hactenus in Germania excusae sunt* (Erfurt: Georg Baumann 1587), RISM B/I 1587¹⁴. See Tillman MERRIT, *Andrea Gabrieli's madrigals*, in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*, ed. Francesco Degradà (Firenze: Olschki, 1985) (Studi di musica veneta 11), 231–248: 247. On German *contrafacta* of Italian secular music see also: Steffen Voss, "Zion spricht" — *Vorlage und Parodie. Zur motivischen Verarbeitungstechnik in Samuel Scheidts geistlichem Konzert SSWV 224*, in *Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654). Werk und Wirkung*, eds. Konstanze Musketa, Wolfgang Ruf, Götz Traxdorf and Jens Wehmann (Halle an der Saale: Händel-Haus, 2006) (Schriften des Händel-Hauses in Halle 20): 343–359; Helen GEYER, "Bestände 'italienischer' Renaissance- und Frühbarock-Musik im thüringischen Mitteldeutschland", in *Alte Musik in der Kulturlandschaft Thüringens: Beiträge zum zehnjährigen Bestehen der Academia Musicalis Thüringiae*, eds. Helen Geyer, Franz Körndle and Christian Storch (Altenburg: Kamprad, 2010): 1–24; also published as "Wenig beachtete Transfer-Wege italienischer Renaissance- und Frühbarock-Musik im thüringischen Mitteldeutschland", *Freiberger Studien zur Orgel, Schriften der Silbermanngesellschaft* 11 (2010): 30–50; Stephen ROSE, "Patriotic purification: cleansing Italian secular vocal music in Thuringia, 1575–1600", *Early Music History* 35 (October 2016): 203–260.

published in Milan by Agostino Tradate in 1607³⁵ (the *Partitura* of this collection would only be published in 1611); whereas four madrigals (again *Sonno diletto e caro*, *Clori a Damon dicea*, *Dolcissimo ben mio* and *La bella pargoletta*) appear in Geronimo Cavaglieri's *Nova metamorfosi de diversi autori*, published by Melchiorre ed erede di Agostino Tradate only three years after the collection of Coppini³⁶ (see Table 1).

Table 1. Madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli in the collections of *contrafacta* published in Milan

Madrigal incipit	First edition	Milan reprint	Collection of <i>contrafacta</i>	Substitute text
<i>Non ti sdegnar, o Filli</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Milan 1588	Coppini 1607 Milan	<i>Ne confide</i>
<i>Sonno diletto e caro</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Milan 1588	Coppini 1607 Milan Cavaglieri 1610 Milan	<i>Bonum est, et suave Veni dilecta mea</i>
<i>Clori a Damon dicea</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Milan 1588	Cavaglieri 1610 Milan	<i>In civitate Dei</i>
<i>Dolcissimo ben mio</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Milan 1588	Cavaglieri 1610 Milan	<i>Surge formosa mea</i>
<i>La bella pargoletta</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Milan 1588	Cavaglieri 1610 Milan	<i>Maria Magdalenae</i>

Little is known about Cavaglieri himself, other than what we learn from the title pages and dedications of his collections of *contrafacta*,³⁷ where he is said to be from Milan and to belong to the religious order of Saint Basel of the Armenians. Cavaglieri printed a total of five books of *contrafacta*, four of which have survived (1600, 1605, 1610 and 1616). In addition, he would include another two of Andrea Gabrieli's madrigals in a later collection of *contrafacta*

³⁵ *Musica tolta da i madrigali di Claudio Monteverde, e d'altri autori, a cinque et a sei voci, e fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini Accademico Inquieto* (Milano: Agostino Tradate, 1607); RISM B/I 1607²⁰.

³⁶ *Nova Metamorfosi de diversi autori, opera del R.P.F. Geronimo Cavaglieri [...] Libro terzo a 6 voci* (Milano: Melchiorre erede di Agostino Tradate, 1610); RISM B/I 1610¹⁰.

³⁷ As already mentioned, Andrea Gabrieli had probably come into contact with Lucio Castelnovate, whose family church was Santa Maria della Scala, and with the well known Milan composer Orfeo Vecchi, who for a certain time was chapel-master precisely in Santa Maria della Scala.

published in Loano in 1616.³⁸ The first is *Aminta mio gentil*, taken from his first book of 5-voice madrigals (Venice, 1566):³⁹ as in the case of the madrigal *Chi farà fede al cielo* by Alessandro Striggio, Gabrieli's composition was first published as long as fifty years before the collection of *contrafacta* in which it reappears (whereas the majority of the madrigals retexted in the early 17th century most frequently date from the 1580s), a fact that points to the persistence of the fame of these compositions, or, at least, of their respective composers. The second is the madrigal *Caro dolce ben mio*, published forty years before in a popular anthology of the madrigalists held to be the most outstanding of the time.⁴⁰ Andrea Gabrieli's renown as a madrigalist therefore not only reached Milan, but endured for at least half a century and well after his death (see Table 2).

Table 2. Madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli in Girolamo Cavaglieri's
Madrigali de diversi auttori (Loano, 1616)

Madrigal incipit	First edition	Collection of <i>contrafacta</i>	Substitute text
<i>Aminta mio gentil</i>	I book 5 v. Venice 1566	Cavaglieri 1616	<i>Jesu dulcissime</i>
<i>Caro dolce ben mio</i>	Musica XIII Venice 1576	Cavaglieri 1616	<i>Surge formosa mea</i>

³⁸ *Madrigali de diversi auttori, accomodati per Concerti Spirituali, dal R.P.F. Girolamo Cavaglieri* (Loano: Francesco Castello, 1616); RISM B/I 1616⁸. Since only the Canto and Tenor parts have survived (the Alto, Bass and probably the Basso Principale parts are lost), in order to make these *contrafacta* performable the new text needs to be inserted beneath the missing parts, introducing any adaptations to the musical text when made necessary by the different metric structure, the different accentuation or the different number of syllables of the words of the Latin text. In the critical edition, the added text should be preferably written in italics, to indicate that the placing of the syllables beneath the notes is a solution proposed by the editor. In the same way, any adaptations to the musical text should be highlighted with suitable graphics, or indicated in the critical notes.

³⁹ Andrea GABRIELI, *Il primo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1566); RISM A/I G 59. On the reprint of this collection see Giulio M. ONGARO, "Venetian Printed Anthologies of Music in the 1560s and the Role of the Editor", in *The Dissemination of Music. Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. Hans Lenneberg (Amsterdam: OPA, 1994): 43–70.

⁴⁰ *Musica di XIII Autori illustri a cinque voci* (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1576); RISM B/I 1576⁵ (repr. 1589⁶). Later the same madrigal was also included in the anthology *Musica divina di XIX. autori illustri, a III. V. VI. et VII. voci, nuovamente raccolta da Pietro Phalesio et data in luce. Nella quale si contengono i più eccellenti madrigali che hoggidi si cantano* (Antwerpen: P. Phalèse et J. Bellère, 1583), RISM B/I 1583¹⁵ (repr. 1588¹⁶, 1591¹¹, 1595⁴, 1606⁷, 1614¹³, 1623⁷, 1634⁶).

As has previously been pointed out,⁴¹ the madrigals that had already been retexted often reappeared in successive collections of *contrafacta*, as if the respective authors were prone to emulating each other, competing in the art of textual adaptation. The fact that they used the same models allows us today to use these compositions as litmus tests, able to highlight any analogies and differences in the approaches employed by the various “adaptors” for the same musical structure and the same original text.

The desire to emulate one another could help explain the presence of three madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli (*Dolcissimo ben mio*, *La bella pargoletta* and *Sonno diletto e caro*) in Cavaglieri’s third collection of *contrafacta* and, at the same time, in a similar collection published in the same year in two volumes in Venice by the Genoese Simone Molinaro.⁴² As Delfino observed in his essay on Cavaglieri’s *contrafacta* of Marenzio, it is likely that Molinaro had been the main channel between Cavaglieri and the publisher Castello in Loano, where Cavaglieri’s book of *contrafacta* was printed in 1616.⁴³ Overall, the first volume of Molinaro’s collection contains as many as six madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli (two taken from his first book of 6-voice madrigals⁴⁴ and four from the second), while another three appear in the second volume (two taken from the second and one from the first book for six voices).

Table 3. Madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli in Simone Molinaro’s *Fatiche spirituali* (Venice, 1610)

Madrigal incipit	First edition	Collection of <i>contrafacta</i>	Substitute text
<i>Vieni Flora gentil</i>	II b 6 book. Venice 1580	Molinaro 1610 I	<i>Veni veni o Iesu mi</i>
<i>Con che lusinghe</i>	I book 6 v. Venice 1574	Molinaro 1610 I	<i>Cur te lusit amor</i>
<i>Non ti sarò, signor</i>	I book 6 v. Venice 1574	Molinaro 1610 I	<i>Hic licet multi sunt</i>
<i>Or che a noi torna</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Molinaro 1610 I	<i>Cantate Deo</i>

⁴¹ See DELFINO, “Geronimo Cavaglieri”: 181.

⁴² *Fatiche spirituali di Simone Molinaro maestro di capella del Duomo di Genova, libro primo a sei voci* (Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1610). RISM B/I 1610²; *Fatiche spirituali di Simone Molinaro maestro di capella del Duomo di Genova, libro secondo a sei voci* (Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1610); RISM B/I 1610³.

⁴³ See DELFINO, “Geronimo Cavaglieri”: 181.

⁴⁴ *Di Andrea Gabrieli, Organista dell’Illustriss. Signoria di Venetia in San Marco il primo libro (sic) di madrigali a sei voci* (Venezia: li figliuoli di Antonio Gardano, 1574); RISM A/I G 66.

<i>Dolcissimo ben mio</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Molinaro 1610 I	<i>In tribulatione</i>
<i>Se vuoi ch'io moia</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Molinaro 1610 I	<i>Ego flos campi</i>
<i>La bella pargoletta</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Molinaro 1610 II	<i>Lucia sponsa Christi</i>
<i>O dolci parolette</i>	I book 6 v. Venice 1574	Molinaro 1610 II	<i>O spes miseriarum</i>
<i>Sonno diletto e caro</i>	II book 6 v. Venice 1580	Molinaro 1610 II	<i>Christe Rex virtus nostra</i>

Therefore, three different transformed versions of the madrigal *Sonno diletto e caro* have come down to us: the first is included in Aquilino Coppini's collection of 1607, the second in that of Cavaglieri from 1610, and the third in Molinaro's *Fatiche spirituali* published in the same year. As we have said, such a circumstance makes it possible to compare how the different "adaptors" reacted towards the same madrigal text and the same musical construct. It seems useful, then, to turn our attention in the first place to this particular madrigal, starting from a preliminary analysis of its poetic text:⁴⁵

Sonno diletto e caro,
 ch'a la mia donna in sen mi guidi e scorgi
 perché sì tosto, oimè lasso, ten vai,
 poi ch'a quest'occhi è sì il veggiar amaro?

Torna, deh, torna, o dolce sonno, e mai
 non mi lasciar, ch'un tanto ben mi porgi.
 Tu mi dimostri, e sia pur falso o vero,
 quel che vegghiando mai veder non spero.

In the first quatrain, an unhappy lover, on awaking, addresses sleep — the only thing able to take him into the heart of his beloved — and he asks why it has forsaken him so suddenly, leaving him to the bitterness of awakening and to the awareness of his unhappy love. In the second quatrain the lover begs sleep to return, never to leave him again, so that he can eternally cherish the sweet illusion of being requited by his loved one.

The Latin text added by Aquilino Coppini, probably written by the Latin scholar of Pavia University himself, centres on the love of Christ with the

⁴⁵ Here I would like to thank Marco Giuliani for allowing me to consult the extensive multimedia R.I.M. data-base, which is not yet accessible on-line, containing poetic texts set to music by composers of the 16th and 17th centuries, modern transcriptions of musical works, discographic recordings and reproductions of dedications.

intensely pathetic tones that can be found in many devotional compositions of the time. In the first part it offers a meditation on how good and pleasing it is to love the Lord, who has in turn loved us and who, with his death, frees us from sin. The second part, as in the original text of the madrigal, opens with a vocative (indeed, here the word “Iesu” is repeated three times consecutively, bringing about a progressive *amplificatio* of the *pathos*), which attenuates in the pseudo-doxology of the last two lines:

Bonum est et suave
amare Dominum, qui nos amavit
et nos a nexibus solvit peccati
et lavit sordes nostras sua morte.

Iesu, Iesu, o Iesu te sectamur,
ad te convertimur, qui solus es amandus
et adorandus in Coelo et in terra
cum Sancto Spiritu, cum Deo Patre.

Instead, the text added by Geronimo Cavaglieri in his collection of 1610 is the outcome of a procedure of centonization, in reality quite common in devotional texts of the time, involving various passages taken from the Song of Songs:

Veni dilecta mea
veni de Libano soror, et sponsa
ecce tu pulchra es amica mea
favus distillans labia tua sponsa

veni, veni formosa et suavis
tu pulchra es immaculata mea
hortus conclusus, pulchrae sunt genae tuae
veni de Libano soror et sponsa.

As in the previous cases, the text added by Simone Molinaro again uses a structure divided into two strophes and a second part introduced by a triple exhortation:

Christe Rex virtus nostra
qui magna efficis solus in terris
ne deseras heu nos longe iacentes
nam sine tua gratia perimus.

Veni, veni, heu, veni, o care Pater et semper
tu presto sis qui neminem confundis
auctor salutis guida nos non falsa, sed vera
da, ut fruamur te in regno Coeli.

A synoptic view of the original text and the three added texts highlights not only the analogy in their structure (all the texts are clearly organized in two strophes), but also the correspondences and internal references, ranging from the very first line (“Sonno diletto e caro” that becomes “Veni, dilecta mea” in Cavaglieri’s text), to the start of the second quatrain, which in all the versions opens with a fervent exhortation: (“Torna, deh, torna” in the madrigal, “Iesu, o Iesu” in Coppini’s version, “veni, veni” in that of Cavaglieri and “veni, veni, heu veni” in that of Molinaro), and the penultimate line, in which Molinaro’s text reproduces, albeit modifying its meaning, the false-true juxtaposition present in the madrigal (so that “e sia pur falso o vero” has become “non falsa, sed vera”).

Gabrieli 1580	Coppini 1607	Cavaglieri 1610	Molinaro 1610
Sonno diletto e caro, ch’a la mia donna in sen mi guidi e scorgi perché sì tosto, oimè lasso, ten vai, poi ch’a quest’occhi è sì il veggjar amaro? Torna, deh, torna, o dol- ce sonno, e mai non mi lasciar, ch’un tanto ben mi porgi. Tu mi dimostri, e sia pur falso o vero, quel che vegggiando mai veder non spero.	Bonum est et suave amare Dominum, qui nos amavit et nos a nexibus solvit peccati et lavit sordes nostras sua morte. Iesu, Iesu, o Iesu te sectamur, ad te convertimur, qui solus es amandus et adorandus in coelo et in terra cum Sancto Spiritu, cum Deo Patre.	Veni dilecta mea veni de Libano soror, et sponsa ecce tu pulchra es amica mea favus distillans labia tua sponsa veni, veni formosa et suavis tu pulchra es, Immacu- lata mea hortus conclusus, pul- chrae sunt genae tuae veni de Libano soror et sponsa.	Christe Rex virtus nostra qui magna efficit solus in terris ne deseras heu nos longe iacentes nam sine tua gratia perimus. Veni, veni, heu, veni, o care Pater et semper tu presto sis, qui nemi- nem confundis auctor salutis guida nos non falsa, sed vera da, ut fruamur te in regno Coeli.

Coppini’s collection of 1607 includes another madrigal by Andrea Gabrieli, *Non ti sdegnar*, with the substitute text *Ne confide*. The theme dealt with in the two tercets of the anonymous madrigal is the typical one of the fugacity of beauty and youth, ending with an exhortation to enjoy it before it vanishes. Of an exactly opposite nature is the warning expressed in the Latin text added by Coppini, which exhorts us not to place our hope on the fleeting and perishable things of this world, which will never quench the thirst of any man:

Gabrieli	Coppini 1607
Non ti sdegnar o Filli ch'io ti segua perché la tua bellezza in un momento fugge e si dilegua e se pria che ti giunga aspra vecchiezza non cogli il frutto de la tua beltade potrai forse pentirti in altra etade.	Ne confide in forma generosa neque spem tuam pone in volubilitate divitiarum. Sperne prudens honores, popula res, qui dilabuntur ut in Sole nives nec satiari queunt sitim tuam.

The third madrigal by Gabrieli to make its appearance on the Milan scene with a Latin text is *Clori a Damon dicea*, again from the second book of 6-voice madrigals, included in Cavaglieri's collection of 1610 with the substitute text *In civitate Dei*, in which no particularly significant adaptive procedures can be observed.

Gabrieli	Cavaglieri 1610
Clori a Damon dicea: «Dolce ben mio fia mai ch'un tant'amor vada in oblio». Et ei: «No che 'l tuo nodè in me sì forte che non si sciorrà mai se non per morte». Così detto stringea l'un l'altro tanto che più non stringe l'edera o l'acanto.	In civitate Dei clare sonant <i>clare sonant</i> organa Sanctorum <i>clare sonant organa Sanctorum</i> ibi Archangeli hymnum decantant: <i>Alleluia hymnum ibi decantant</i> ante tronum Dei alleluia.

Gabrieli's madrigal *La bella pargoletta*, on the highly popular text by Torquato Tasso,⁴⁶ appears in Cavaglieri's same collection with the substitute

⁴⁶ See Torquato TASSO, *Le rime*, ed. A. Solerti (Bologna: Romagnoli-Dell'Acqua, 1898–1902), 4 vols., n. 611. Compared to the text reproduced by Solerti, the one used by Gabrieli shows some variants. See Antonio DANIELE, “Teoria e prassi del madrigale libero nel Cinquecento (con alcune note sui madrigali musicati di Andrea Gabrieli)”, in *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo*, 75–169: 159. Torquato Tasso's poetic text had a notable success among the madrigalists of the time, and was also set to music by Iacopo Corsini (Venezia: erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1575), Giovanni Andrea Dragoni (Venezia: erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1575), Paolo Isnardi (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1577), Andrea Felisani (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1579), Biasio Pesciolini (Venezia: Alessandro Gardano, 1581), Giovanni Cavaccio (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1583), Bartolomeo Spontone (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1583), Pietro Vinci (Venezia: erede di Girolamo Scotto, 1584), Paolo Cavalieri (Venezia: Giacomo Vincenti e Ricciardo Amadino, 1585), Giovanni Battista Gabella (Ferrara: Vittorio Baldini, 1585), Regolo Vecoli (Paris: Adriano Le Roy and Roberto Ballard, 1586), Filippo De Monte (Venezia: Angelo Gardano, 1591), Giulio Ferro d'Urbino (Venezia: Ricciardo Amadino, 1594), Marco da Gagliano (Venezia: Bartolomeo Magni, 1617), as well as by Vincenzo Bellhaver, Giovanni Battista Gabella, Giovanni Domenico Montella and Raffaello Rontani.

text *Maria Magdalena*, and in Molinaro's coeval *Fatiche spirituali* with the text *Lucia sponsa Christi*:

Gabrieli 1565 / T. Tasso	Cavaglieri 1610 / Resp. (from Mt 28: 1, 5, 7; Mk 16: 7)	Molinaro 1610
<p>La bella pargoletta ch'ancor non sente amore né pur noto ha per fama il suo valore, col bel guardo saetta, e col leggiadro riso, né s'accorge che l'arme ha nel bel viso. Qual colpa ha nel morire de la trafitta gente s'ei non sa di ferire? O bellezza omicida ed in- nocente, tempo è ch'homai ti mostri omai ne le tue piaghe i dolor nostri.</p>	<p>Maria Magdalena et altera Maria ibant ad monumentum, <i>ad monumentum,</i> <i>ibant ad monumentum</i> orto iam sole; IESUM quem quaeritis iam resurrexit sicut locutus est, surrexit sicut dixit alleluia, alleluia, praecedet vos in Galileam, <i>in Galileam;</i> annuntiate cito discipulis et Petro, alleluia.</p>	<p>Lucia, sponsa Christi, immobilis columna, omnis plebs te expectat: nam coronaberis Dominus te elegit dilectam sibi sponsam. Per te, virgo Lucia Deo de- vota, per praeces tuas detur aeterna possidere qui implorant auxilium: heu exaudi, o virgo, flebiles voces et cuncti, dum te laudant, grates persolvunt Iesu dilecto tuo.</p>

It is worth dwelling a moment on Cavaglieri's *contrafactum*, which chooses to set the music of the madrigal to a text of a responsory, in its turn resulting from the combination of various passages from the Gospels:⁴⁷

Maria Magdalena et altera Maria
 ibant diluculo ad monumentum;
 Iesum, quem quaeritis, non est hic,
 surrexit sicut locutus est;
 praecedet vos in Galilaeam,
 ibi eum videbitis, alleluia, alleluia.

[Vers. 1]

Cito euntes dicite discipulis eius et Petro
 quia surrexit Dominus.⁴⁸

On comparing the madrigal with the text added by Cavaglieri one immediately notes the marked metric dissimilarity between the two (from this

⁴⁷ Matthew, 28: 1, 5, 7; Mark, 16: 7.

⁴⁸ See René-Jean HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonarium Officii*, n. 7128.

point of view, Molinaro's adaptation is undoubtedly more accurate). In the first place, the madrigal text, which in several points is longer than the substitute text, made it necessary to introduce a greater number of repetitions of lines (or of fragments of text) in the *contrafactum* version; in addition, at various points, it was also necessary to adapt the music in various ways (such as the merging of two short consecutive notes, the addition or suppression of passing or changing notes, the introduction or elimination of some rests), moreover not always with happy results.

Proceeding analytically, the first line of the madrigal ("La bella pargolletta") corresponds precisely to the first of the *contrafactum* version ("Maria Magdalena"), so that the stressed syllable in both texts falls on the syllable -le- ("pargolletta"; "Magdalena"). The second line of the poetic text is the heptasyllable "ch'ancor non sent'Amore", which is set to music as a hendecasyllable due to the repetition of its second part "ch'ancor non sent'Amore, non sent'Amore". Instead, in the substitute text, to maintain the same meter, Cavaglieri repeats the first part of the phrase "et altera, et altera Maria", introducing a first modification to the musical text. The following hendecasyllable "né pur not' ha per fam' il suo valore" is (not felicitously) replaced by Cavaglieri with a repetition of the heptasyllable "ibant ad monumentum", with a consequent modification to the melodic line; and again for the following heptasyllable "co' begl'occhi saetta", instead of introducing a new portion of text, he makes yet another repetition, in this case of "ibant ad monumentum". Further melodic adaptations are made necessary where Cavaglieri replaces "orto iam sole" with the heptasyllable "e con leggiadro riso". The next section appears more regular in terms of the metric structure ("Iesum quem quaeritis iam resurrexit" in place of "Né si accorge che l'armi ha nel bel viso"; "surrexit sicut dixit" in place of "de la trafitta gente"), whereas in the one after Cavaglieri makes use once more of repetitions to adapt a shorter text to that of the madrigal ("alleluia, alleluia" in place of "se non sa di ferire?", "praecedet vos in Galileam, in Galileam" in place of "o bellezza omicida ed innocente"). On the whole the operation of adaptation, at times cumbersome from a metrical point of view, proves little convincing also with regards the global meaning of the substitute text, which does not present any particular intertextual elements worthy of note nor any explicit references to single motives or passages of the original poetic text, not even reflecting its general expressive climate.

Also the madrigal *Dolcissimo ben mio*, on a text by Torquato Tasso, becomes the arena for a contest of adaptation that, once again, involves Geronimo Cavaglieri and Simone Molinaro:

Gabrieli / Tasso	Cavaglieri 1610	Molinaro 1610
Dolcissimo ben mio , speme di questo core, in premio del mio amore donam' un bacio e sazia il mio desio . Unico mio tesoro porgimi quelle rose, ch' hai nelle labbra ascose ch' a l'alma mia darai dolce ristoro.	Surge formosa mea propera sponsa mea <u>flores</u> apparuerunt in terra nostra tempus putationis. Advenit soror mea suavis et decora suavis et decora; ecce quam pulchra es amica mea.	In tribulatione Dominum invocavi. Clamavi ad Deum meum et exaudivit de templo vocem meam . Domine, exultabo te quoniam suscepisti me. Clamavo ad te, Domine et deprecabor te usque in finem.

In his last collection of *contrafacta* (Loano, 1616), Cavaglieri includes another two madrigals by Andrea Gabrieli: *Aminta mio gentil* and *Caro dolce ben mio*. The text added to the first madrigal (*Jesu dulcissime, o bone Jesu*) does not reveal any adaptation strategies of particular interest, apart from some phonic concurrences due to the use of the same syllable in corresponding places (e.g. “vidi” in the madrigal becomes “vita” in the *contrafactum*):

Gabrieli 1566	Cavaglieri 1616
Aminta mio gentil, che sì cortese vidi in quel giorno tal di gratia pieno che 'l primo sguardo non sostenne a pena l'alma ch'in voi d'amor tutt'ars'e alse deh quei begl'occhi a me volgete alquanto g'occhi sopra 'l mortal corso sereni che scritto nel mio volto e 'n mezzo al core vedret' il nome vostro unic' e solo.	Iesu dulcissime, o bone Iesu, vita aeterna miserere mei, o dulcis Iesu miserere mei Iesu carissime, amator noster, o benigne Iesu, vita perennis, fili altissimi, fons pietatis, o clementissime Iesu lux vera o Iesu panis vive miserere mei.

The madrigal *Caro dolce ben mio* is a meditation on the theme of the torments of love, where the unhappy lover asks his beloved why she shuns him, when she could enjoy seeing him die from love.⁴⁹ The substitute text chosen

⁴⁹ The poetic text of this madrigal coincides with that set to music by many other composers; of these, the most fortunate is that of Pietro Vinci, which in Nuovo Vogel is

by Cavaglieri, once again taken from the Song of Songs, takes up the theme of amorous torment and the image of the heart lacerated by the pains of love. However, in the madrigal the latter image appears in the fourth line (“eccovi il petto e ne cavate il core”), whereas in the contrafactum it is found in the third line (“Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea”). Moreover, in adapting the text, Cavaglieri has shown particular attention in searching for correspondences of meaning (making “Surge formosa mea” coincide with the original “Caro dolce ben mio”) as well as phonic analogies (“chi v’ama” that becomes “et veni”), thus creating a network of references between the original and the substitute text.

Gabrieli 1576	Cavaglieri 1616 / Song of Songs 2, 10–11
<p>Caro dolce ben mio, perché fuggire chi v’ama, e per amar languisce e more? Se vi piac’ il mio piant’ e ‘l mio martire eccovi il petto e ne cavate il core, ché quand’ io deggia per dolor morire e far del viver mio più brevi l’ore, l’alma lieta da me farà partita se di man vostra lascerà la vita.</p>	<p>«Surge formosa mea, amica mea et veni, flores apparuerunt in terra nostra. Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, mater beata, sponsa aeterni Patris: ostende mihi faciem tuam; vox enim tua dulcis, columba mea; surge propera, speciosa mea». Dilectus meus loquitur mihi.</p>

Elsewhere I have already focused my attention on the ways in which Cavaglieri adapted Palestrina’s compositions in his *contrafacta*, comparing them with those adopted in the *contrafacta* of the Milan composer Orfeo Vecchi.⁵⁰ While the texts added by Orfeo Vecchi present themes and motives that take up those found in the original poetic texts, albeit relocated to different points of the composition, those used by Cavaglieri are virtually lacking in any correspondence with the original versions. However, before drawing any hasty conclusions about Cavaglieri’s behaviour, some of the characteristics of the retexted compositions should be considered. The compositions of Palestrina

described as a text by [Livio] Celiano. Cf. Emil VOGEL, Alfred EINSTEIN, François LESURE and Claudio SARTORI, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700. Nuova edizione* (Pomezia: Staderini-Minkoff, 1977), 2926: 1824–1825. However, this poem does not appear among those transcribed in Elio DURANTE, Anna MARTELLOTTI, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. alias Livio Celiano poeta per musica del secolo decimosesto* (Firenze: SPES, 1989); and it is considered anonymous in the *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Andrea Gabrieli*, vol. 1 *Introduzione storico-critica, III I testi poetici: edizione critica e fonti letterarie*, ed. Mila De Santis (Milano: Ricordi, 1988): 120–121, 129.

⁵⁰ See TOFFETTI, “La ricezione palestriniana a Milano”: 905–908.

chosen by Cavaglieri are the very popular madrigal *Vestiva i colli*, included in his first book of *contrafacta*, *Della nova metamorfosi* (Milan, 1600),⁵¹ the madrigal *Saggio e santo pastor*, and the motet *Pulchra es, amica mea*, taken from the well known fourth book of 5-voice motets on the Song of Songs.

As has already been observed, the madrigal *Vestiva i colli*, just like other madrigals by Palestrina widely circulating in the anthologies of the time, presents features quite similar to those of the same composer's motets.⁵² It is certainly a well packaged and sufficiently polished product, whose musical guise, characterized by a neutral tone, shows little attempt to adhere to the single images evoked by the poetic text. It is no surprise, then, that Cavaglieri too, in choosing the substitute text (*Semper laudabo / Sana me, Domine*), did not concern himself with depicting the images evoked by the text, or trying to find precise correspondences with the original musical construct.

The second madrigal by Palestrina, *Saggio e santo pastor*, previously published in the *Quarto libro delle muse* (Venice, 1574),⁵³ is a spiritual madrigal marked by a solemn gait and a prevalently homorhythmic-vertical writing. The substitute text chosen by Cavaglieri is shorter, thus making it necessary to repeat several words or phrases.

The third work by Palestrina appearing with a substitute text in Cavaglieri's second book of *contrafacta* (1605) is the 5-voice motet *Pulchra es, amica mea*, taken from Palestrina's fourth book of 5-voice motets: therefore a sacred composition transformed into another sacred composition, this time speaking of the face of Christ impressed on a shroud. In this case too the replacement text, bearing no references to the original, is shorter and necessitates various repetitions. Cavaglieri's *contrafacta* of Palestrina are also characterized by the presence of some polytextual situations, in which different fragments of text are sung simultaneously by different voices. Therefore, given the lack of any strict relationship between the text and the music of all three original compositions, Cavaglieri's apparent lack of attention towards the relation between the text and music in his respective *contrafacta* should come as no surprise.

⁵¹ Only three years earlier a *contrafactum* of the same madrigal by Palestrina made by Orfeo Vecchi was published, again in Milan (in this case the text was taken from the Song of Songs: *Surge propera* for the first part of the madrigal, and *Veni, dilecte mi* for the second).

⁵² See Michael HEINEMANN, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1994): 184.

⁵³ *Il quarto libro delle muse a cinque voci composto da diversi eccellentissimi musici, insieme diui mad. à sei intitolati Benigni spiriti* (Venezia: eredi di Antonio Gardane, 1574); RISM B/I 1574⁴.

A somewhat different approach was used in his *contrafacta* of Marenzio's compositions. In analyzing Cavaglieri's *contrafacta* of Marenzio's madrigals, Antonio Delfino remarks how, on the whole, the general tone of the substitute texts corresponds to that of the madrigals, and how Cavaglieri's contribution was mostly limited to finding new texts that could be adapted to the pre-existing musical structure. For this purpose, Cavaglieri resorted to the practice of centonization, combining passages from the Holy Scriptures, not necessarily contiguous, with the maximum of liberty, and taking them mainly from the Song of Songs, which, with its meaning ambiguously suspended between the sacred and profane, proved particularly suitable for the purposes of transforming a profane composition into a sacred one.

In finding new texts for the madrigals of Gabrieli, one could say that Cavaglieri had tried, wherever possible, to create correspondences between passages of the original text and corresponding passages of the Latin text. Such correspondence might regard the signified (*sonno diletto e caro / veni dilecta mea; torna, torna / veni, veni; ben mio / formosa mea; amor / amator*), or the signifier, and thus the phonic aspect (as shown by the presence of some assonances corresponding to the same single sound: *vita / vidi*). Elsewhere an image found in the madrigal text is reproduced in a different point of the substitute text: in *Dolcissimo ben mio / Surge formosa mea*, for example, the image of flowers appears in the first part of the motet ("flores apparuerunt") and in the second part of the madrigal ("porgimi quelle rose"). In such cases, although there is no exact correspondence between the new text and the musical structure, an interesting intertextual link is nevertheless created between the old and new text, a system of references that could (and still can today) be appreciated only by a listener who knows and remembers the text of the madrigal and is able to understand (or recognize) the substitute text.

Is it therefore legitimate to suggest that Cavaglieri reserved a different treatment for the madrigals of Gabrieli compared to those of other composers? To answer such a question, it would be necessary to carry out a full-scale investigation of Cavaglieri's *contrafacta* that allows the identification of any possible differences in approach with regards the models adopted each time for the relative adaptation. Unfortunately, though, such an investigation is not yet available, and for this reason we can only offer observations stemming from the study of his *contrafacta* of works by Marenzio and Palestrina. In the present state of research, it makes more sense, then, to ask ourselves whether the

madrigals by Gabrieli used in Cavaglieri's *contrafacta* might present features that may have spurred Cavaglieri to look for more precise correspondences between the new text and music. The answer to this question appears to be in the affirmative: unlike the madrigals of Palestrina and Marenzio selected by Cavaglieri, characterized by an even tone and an overall formal balance (as well as being totally devoid of any daring interval leaps), those of Gabrieli, though lacking in any markedly progressive elements, feature a stronger expressive climate, and thus exert a greater emotional impact on the listener, inducing their adaptor to search likewise for images and tones in the new text able to guarantee an expressive rendering comparable to that of the original compositions.

3. Assimilation: some cases of compositional reception

It is worth going a little more deeply into the active, or creative reception of the music of Andrea Gabrieli in Milan, and in particular of his sacred output. On this matter Rodobaldo Tibaldi, while commenting on the compositional procedures adopted in the first book of 5-voice motets by Giulio Cesare Gabussi (Venice, 1586), published when the composer was working as chapel-master of the Duomo in Milan, opportunely remarked on how his was a type of motet «somewhat distant from the Palestrina model, a model splendidly and illustriously represented by the two collections of Andrea Gabrieli (1565 and 1576), which also show how the declamatory treatment of the text remains anchored within an essentially imitative-contrapuntal style».⁵⁴

I subsequently had the occasion to come back to this matter myself and to establish in a more analytical manner which of the compositional features identified in the motets of Andrea Gabrieli, and in particular in his first book of 4-voice motets (*Ecclesiasticorum cantionum*, Venice, 1576), perhaps reprinted, but certainly in circulation in Milan at the end of the 16th century,⁵⁵ are also traceable in the motets of Giulio Cesare Gabussi's first book.⁵⁶ A typical feature of Andrea Gabrieli's motets also found in those of Gabussi, besides the sober character of the writing, is the presence of motives with an angular profile,

⁵⁴ See Rodobaldo TIBALDI, "I mottetti a quattro voci (Milano 1599) di Giovanni Paolo Cima e lo stile 'osservato' nella Milano di fine '500: alcune osservazioni", *Polifonie* 2/1 (2002): 71–105.

⁵⁵ See above.

⁵⁶ See TOFFETTI, "Gabussi's Legacy": 216–217, 223.

characterized by a continuous inversion in the direction (rising or falling) of the intervals constituting the motive. Another procedure common to both composers is the simultaneous use of a motive and its respective inversion, so that a subject is upturned in *motus contrarius* and is used as a counter-subject superimposed upon itself.⁵⁷ In Gabrieli's first book of motets, as well as in Gabussi's first book, we find several motets that open with a portion of text given to two or three voices that sing simultaneously, while the other voices enter successively singing together the next part of the text set to a new motive. Furthermore, in Gabussi's motet *Sancta et immaculata* the motive used (both in *motus rectus*, and in *motus contrarius*) on the words "tuo gremio" recalls in its incipit the one used by Gabrieli on the same words in his motet based on the same text. Taken as a whole, these aspects lead one to suppose that the chapel-master of the Duomo had the occasion to encounter and metabolize, perhaps through local reprints, various characteristic features of Gabrieli's sacred output, and that he then re-introduced them into his own motets in quite original forms and ways.

Elsewhere Tibaldi observed that also the polychoral motets of Agostino Soderini, published in Milan in 1608 at the end of his collection of 4- and 8-voice canzoni (a collection that also includes three vocal and instrumental pieces in the typical local form of the canzone-motet), display a traditional structure in the division between the two choirs certainly closer to the work of Andrea Gabrieli than to the concertato polychoral style of Giovanni Gabrieli or of other composers from Lombardy.⁵⁸ Moreover, some procedures typical of Andrea Gabrieli's writing, such as the use of "double" themes and of so-called "clash" cadences (commonly occurring also in the music of Giovanni), were also found in the sacred music of the composer from Crema, Giovanni Battista Leonetti, whose teacher Orazio Scaletta was certainly in contact with Giovanni Gabrieli.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Such a procedure can be found, for example, in Andrea Gabrieli's motet n. 12 *Te Deum Patrem ingenitum*, which features an initial *stretto* in which a motive, proposed as the subject, is superimposed on its own inversion obtained using *motus contrarius*.

⁵⁸ Rodobaldo TIBALDI, *Gli inizi dello stile concertante a Milano tra Cinque e Seicento: il «Sacrum opus musicum» (1598) di Giuseppe Gallo, le canzoni-mottetto, ed una Messa di Giovanni Francesco Capello*, in *Intorno a Monteverdi*: 313–349.

⁵⁹ See Flavio ARPINI, *Una lettura della musica sacra del primo Seicento a Crema: Giovanni Battista Leonetti fra Gabrieli e Monteverdi*, in *Intorno a Monteverdi*, 161–231: 195, 228.

As we have seen, Andrea Gabrieli's fame not only reached Milan during his lifetime, as testified by the fact that such an eminent figure as Lucio Castelnovate greatly valued his opinion about one of his own compositions, but also continued long after his death, as demonstrated by the reprints of some of his collections in Milan, the presence of one of his polychoral motets in Orfeo Vecchi's collection published in 1598, and of six of his madrigals previously reprinted *in loco*, some of which dating from the 1560s, in certain collections of *contrafacta* published in Milan in the first decades of the 17th century. Moreover, other studies on the post-tridentine sacred repertory in Milan have highlighted the influence of his motets on local composers, providing an incentive to carry out more extensive and systematic research. Although the influence of Andrea Gabrieli in Milan has never constituted a particularly manifest phenomenon, we can nevertheless assume that his music had an underlying influence, leaving evident and significant traces in the local repertory.

Summary

In spite of various clues pointing to the fact that Andrea Gabrieli's fame had reached Milan during his lifetime, his name appears very rarely in studies on music in Milan between the end of the 16th century and the start of the 17th. This article follows up these clues and reflects on some aspects of the transmission and reception of Andrea Gabrieli's music in Milan, taking into consideration firstly the reprinting in Milan of some of his collections and the presence of his compositions in local music publications (such as Orfeo Vecchi's second book of 5-voice motets), and then examining how his madrigals are treated in the collections of *contrafacta* by Aquilino Coppini and Geronimo Cavaglieri published or assembled in Milan. Lastly, it addresses some aspects of the active and creative reception of his music, illustrating the characteristics of some compositions from the musical environment in Milan that reveal the assimilation of technical-stylistic features that can be traced to Gabrieli's output.

Keywords: Andrea Gabrieli, Milan, dissemination, adaptation, assimilation, sacred *contrafacta*

