

it suitable for the funeral of a member of the royal family; it was also recycled for other funerals. The volume concludes with an appendix, which provides two useful tables listing chronologically the printed collections which contain *contrafacta* published from 1576 to 1621, and from 1646 to 1649.

This book provides a good overview of the phenomenon of the re-texting and adapting of works in various parts of Europe during the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, also proposing, through the variety of essays, different methodologies that can be applied when studying these works. The various contributions, especially those that assess the phenomenon in general, such as Toffetti's introduction and Schildt's study on the Düben Collection, will serve as a starting point for further studies. The breadth of points of view that can be observed throughout the book also results in essays that vary a great deal in their analysis of the *contrafacta*. Some focus on the adaptation of the music and text, while others lean towards an assessment of the contexts and necessities that led to the re-workings.

While this is valuable, as it provides a good array of different perspectives, it is also the main drawback of the book. The lack of an introduction tying the various contributions together is noted by the reader and results in a book in which, more often than not, there is no strong, cogent link between the essays. This can be seen also in some editorial choices: for example, some essays provide an English translation of the analysed texts while others do not. The book is well produced, with good-quality images and clear musical examples; at the end of each essay, there is an abstract, which is a valuable addition. There are indices of names and places, though, surprisingly for a book very much focussed on works, no index of compositions. The bibliography is given only in footnotes, and it may have been useful to include either a general bibliography at the end of the volume or one at the end of each essay.

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MONTEVERDI IN SAN MARCO, EDS. RODOLFO BARONCINI,
MARCO DI PASQUALE

Lucca 2020 Libreria Musicale Italiana, pp. XXII+424+16 col. illus. ISBN 9788855430357

The newly published book by Libreria Musicale Italiana is not another monograph (let alone a hagiography, notwithstanding the name of the saint appearing in the title) of a famous composer. Anyone expecting an integral narrative on Claudio Monteverdi as the main agent in Venetian musical life during the first half of the seventeenth century will be slightly disappointed. It seems that Rodolfo Baroncini and

Marco di Pasquale (the editors and authors of the lion's share of the book) decided to treat Monteverdi as a single cog, albeit a particularly important one, in the musical mechanisms of Venice. Such a structural or institutional approach will be met with satisfaction by those readers who wish to learn about Monteverdi from a very wide socio-cultural perspective. On one hand, this book deals with the musical context

of Monteverdi's years as chapel master of St Mark's. On the other, we learn about reciprocal relationships between the composer and Venice. Namely, how Monteverdi's life and output were shaped by his obligations in the service of the Venetian Republic and by various possibilities outside St Mark's. After all, the composer is not presented here as a passive character, so his important and decisive role in various musical undertakings is also widely discussed. The book is divided into two parts and eight chapters, with an introduction (pp. vii–ix) by distinguished Monteverdi scholar Paolo Fabbri.

The first chapter, written by Marco Di Pasquale ('La cappella dogale di San Marco: significato, funzione e struttura', pp. 5–57), constitutes a well-documented introduction to the institutional structure at St Mark's, including its religious, administrative and musical staff. To clarify the symbolical aspect of artistic production in the Venetian capital, the author begins with the history of the city's origins, full of myths and legends, as well as the subsequent religious and political implications of that history. He addresses the specific relationships between St Mark's and the doge, the Venetian patriarchate (bishopric) and consequently the Holy See. As is widely known, the church of St Mark had a crucial role to play in the context of the representation of the Republic's power and tradition. With its adjacent squares, it constituted 'the centre of the Venetian religious and political geography' ('il centro della geografia devozionale e politica veneziana', p. 12).

It could be said that the rich seventeenth-century ritual practices in Venice were a conglomerate of the prevailing traditions (long-standing, but susceptible to modification) and newly invented tricks of counter-reformations. As Marco di Pasquale assumes, the doge and the procurators (church administrators) were probably aware of the potential role of music in political propaganda. Consequently, congregations perhaps

realised who was to thank for the musical splendour (p. 17). The music chapel at St Mark's was, in fact, one of the few institutions belonging to the doges over which the latter could exercise real power. Venice, as opposed to the other Italian states, had no court, hence music was the most suitable means by which to praise the dogeship (p. 18).

Di Pasquale discusses the duties of the superiors of St Mark's music chapel, starting with the doge and ending with the chapel master. He gives general descriptions of such institutions as the *primicerio* (chief priest), canons, *maestro di coro* (or *di cerimonie*) and seminary (*scuola degli zaghì*), with its music teacher (*maestro di canto*).

He goes on to describe the structure of the music chapel, which during Monteverdi's tenure (1613–43) comprised up to two hundred musicians or more (not hired at the same time, of course, p. 31). The author provides interesting examples of the hiring of musicians with various specialities. Some of them, like singers or organists, were tested in open auditions, which were judged by the procurators. Despite the rigid procedures, many candidates could draw on special connections with influential figures (p. 35). Based on Monteverdi's letters and archive sources, Di Pasquale speaks about the composer's personal opinions which could have influenced the procurators' decisions (pp. 36–37).

Besides hiring and promoting, we learn about the financial assistance available for sick and elderly musicians – an important advantage of being a member of the chapel (p. 37). Also mentioned is the substantial number of singers and instrumentalists hired only for special occasions, like the singer and monody composer Bartolomeo Barbarino, whose presence may shed light on the repertoire performed in the church (p. 40).

In the last section, the author discusses the most important ('principali' and 'principalissime') festivities which took place in the church and square of St Mark during

Monteverdi's time. Appended to this chapter is an extremely useful table listing the most important festivities during the liturgical year, in which the author provides information about the participation of a particular group of musicians (pp. 56–57).

The second chapter ('Il personale della cappella musicale marciana', pp. 59–111), also by Marco di Pasquale, concentrates entirely on the musical staff of the *cappella marciana* during the time of Monteverdi and shortly after his death. It would be hard to find a better introduction to the administrative activities of the authorities of St Mark's in relation to musicians. The author's detailed archive research covers a broad spectrum of specialisations, including 'maestro di canto degli zagli', responsible for the musical training of clerks, and 'alzafolli', who operated the organ bellows (p. 59). To introduce the complex issue of managing musical personnel during Monteverdi's times, Di Pasquale explains and systemises the complex situation of archive sources. Considering not only the musical staff but also 'audiences' and music venues, Di Pasquale aptly compares the object of his study to a 'sound box' ('cassa armonica', p. 60).

Di Pasquale paints a social portrait of some musicians, taking into account their background, additional occupations, and so on. As regards their origins, the author points out that more instrumentalists than singers came from Venice itself (p. 71). He discusses the salaries of musicians with different specialisations, years in service and acknowledgement from their superiors. Of no less importance are the observations on a statistical level, concerning, for example, the change over the seventeenth century in the number of instrumentalists (and the varying prevalence of given specialisations) and the proportions of singers with different voice ranges. He also notes the musicians' duties and the penalties for breaking the rules. The final observations concern

the changes in the music chapel during the tenure of Monteverdi's successor, Giovanni Rovetta – which, as Di Pasquale concludes, require further research (p. 79).

This meticulous work is accompanied by the tables in the appendix (to which Rodolfo Baroncini also contributed) listing the entire musical staff of St Mark's (pp. 88–111) during the times of Monteverdi. There is information about the birth and death of musicians, the role they played at St Mark's, their period of service, salary, and other details. Henceforth, it will be impossible to deal with the history of Venetian music without referring to this impressive contribution.

The next two chapters, written by Rodolfo Baroncini, treat Claudio Monteverdi as the main protagonist. In the first contribution ('Monteverdi a Venezia: l'azione in San Marco', pp. 113–154), after thoroughly discussing Monteverdi's selection in 1613 (including the cultural background of the 'jury') and his duties in the context of previous chapel masters, Baroncini seeks to establish the extent to which Monteverdi's work at St Mark's was connected to and influenced by his activities outside the church.

One of the important questions which Baroncini tries to resolve here is the extent of Monteverdi's involvement (often overestimated) in all the changes regarding music performance at St Mark's during his tenure. The author is mindful of the different liturgical contexts that could have facilitated or hindered the introduction of such changes: on one hand, regular feasts with quite precise instructions regarding the use of musical forces; on the other, 'extraordinary' events (these two areas are discussed in detail as regards potential repertoire: 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary', suitable for specific occasions). Finally, Baroncini warns that it is not easy to determine which of the reforms introduced at St Mark's can be securely ascribed to Monteverdi. For example, the increasing number of singers, especially

those renowned for their solo performance (including castratos), can be simply understood as a response to new trends, partly triggered by reforms within the Catholic Church and the needs of the Republic's propaganda (pp. 124–126).

As regards the presence at St Mark's of the 'extraordinary' singers and decisions made by Monteverdi concerning the hiring of regular musicians, the author looks closely at Monteverdi's personal connections with some musicians (including so-called 'spiritual parenting' ['parentela spirituale'], p. 129), which could have impaired his 'objectivity'. On the other hand, as Baroncini underlines, never before or after was there such a large number of talents gathered in that church at the same time, like Antonio Grimani, Felice Sances, Biagio Marini and Dario Castello (Baroncini devotes a couple of pages to Grimani and Sances, citing interesting new archive discoveries, pp. 131–137).

Among the fresh observations concerning the genealogy of some Monteverdi compositions (preserved and lost), of special interest are those devoted to the possible performance context of his *Pianto della Madonna* (a religious contrafactum of *Lamento di Arianna*) and regarding the *terminus ante quem* of some of the pieces included in his *Selva morale* setting from 1641 (pp. 143–145).

Even though, in the next chapter ('Monteverdi a Venezia: l'azione in città', pp. 155–183), Baroncini tries to distinguish the composer's external relations from his official duties, he shows that it is impossible to perceive the Venetian cultural world other than as communicating vessels (p. 155). St Mark's forms a kind of starting point for many external activities in both sacred and profane contexts (sometimes hard to separate from one another). In this chapter, Baroncini gives some examples to substantiate this thesis, based largely on his new archive discoveries or on reinterpretations of familiar sources.

He starts with an interesting case concerning rehearsals for the Christmas night mass, which – during the first years of Monteverdi's tenure – took place, not in the buildings on St Mark's Square, but in the palace of the important music patron Gian Matteo Bembo, probably one of Monteverdi's first clients in Venice (pp. 155–159). Baroncini raises questions regarding Monteverdi's profane music which could have been presented there, such as *Lamento di Apollo*, known today only from one of the composer's letters, and some of his madrigals from his Seventh Book (pp. 157, 159, 162–163).

The author enumerates and carefully analyses Monteverdi's Venetian patrons and clients, members of the patrician and citizen classes, and simple musicians. Many of the relationships he discusses are documented by sources relating to 'spiritual parenting' (established through baptism) between Monteverdi and individuals of different social status (or by Monteverdi as a priest who baptised, for example, the son of Francesco Manelli, p. 181).

Of particular interest are certificates (from 1622 and 1624) of the legitimacy of two of Monteverdi's sons (necessary documents for admission to the priesthood), based on testimonies given by musicians such as Antonio Vincenti and Carlo Farina, both acquaintances of Monteverdi from his Mantuan years. These are discussed in depth, providing us with interesting details concerning the composer's past and present (pp. 167–172).

The following chapter ('Le compagnie dei musici marciati', pp. 185–224), by Marco Di Pasquale, brings us again into broader contexts of the musical workforce in Venice. It shows that having a 'full-time' contract at St Mark's did not limit musicians' activities to that venue. On the contrary, it opened up many possibilities. Besides working in small groups of musicians (singers or instrumentalists), chosen mainly from among those employed at St Mark's (Di Pasquale

counted over thirty such groups, or ‘companies’, which existed in Venice between approximately 1516 and 1616, p. 185, n. 2), they used to sing and/or play during various occasions, both regular (like the name-day of a confraternity patron) and one-off (like funerals). In the case of those groups associated with St Mark’s, their growing rivalry and the neglect of their regular duties led to plenty of regulations being imposed on them by their superiors. In effect, we have here a fascinating picture of those companies, including the number of members and their specialisations (mostly in the case of instrumentalists), repertoire, issues relating to leadership, the occasions on which they performed, rivalries and squabbles (more frequent among singers than instrumentalists, p. 211). This chapter refers also to the monopolisation of the Venetian sacred ‘stage’ by the musicians of St Mark’s, negotiations over payments, the distribution of income among the musicians and negligence of their duties in their primary place of work (and the subsequent penalties). Sometimes the chapel masters (like Monteverdi) were interested in leading such groups, often to the dissatisfaction of the musicians concerned. This triggered discussion over whether the maestro di cappella’s leadership should not be confined to his official duties at St Mark’s (pp. 198–199).

This contribution brings to mind situations among the regular members of some present-day orchestras and choirs, where musicians enjoy a certain level of financial stability (a regular income and social benefits) but also possibilities for extra activities within and beyond the institutions. In this context, this essay, based on the author’s painstaking archive research, represents a particularly important contribution to the history of musicians’ trade unions.

Daniele Torelli, author of the next chapter (‘Ordinamenti liturgici e canto piano a San Marco nell’età di Monteverdi’, pp. 227–271), set himself ambitious goals: to

provide an introduction to the significance of music in the liturgical (historical and symbolical) context of St Mark’s, to explain the role of members of the clergy associated with the church and to enumerate and discuss the liturgical books. His aim was also to draw the attention of Monteverdi scholars to the liturgical chant (theoretical background, teaching history, significance, performance practice and application in polyphonic compositions). This important phenomenon, often overlooked, was not confined to the Middle Ages (p. 228), but is also crucial to studies of Baroque music. As he states, there remains plenty to do as regards plainchant in the context of Monteverdi’s output and his times (p. 258).

So what we have here is a kind of compendium, emphasising certain aspects, and accompanied by rich and crucial literature references. What I find particularly valuable and useful here is the systematic, detailed description – finally gathered in one place – of individual clerics of St Mark’s (like the *primicerio*, *maestro di coro / maestro di cerimonia*, *massaro*, *ebdomadario*), as well as bodies and institutions (such as the *capitolo* and the *scuola degli zaghì*). In the case of liturgical books, when discussing handwritten *ceremoniali* – crucial instruction books with an incredibly interesting and complicated history behind their creation, compilation, correction and copying – he cites the two slightly different chronologies proposed by James H. Moore in his two publications from 1981 and 1986 (pp. 256–257).¹ Un-

1 James H. Moore, ‘Bartolomeo Bonifacio’s *Rituum Ecclesiarum Ceremoniale*: Continuity of Tradition in the Ceremonial of St. Mark’s, Venice’, in: *La musique et le rite sacré et profane. Actes du XIIIe Congrès de la Société internationale de musicologie, Strasbourg, 29 août-3 septembre 1982*, eds. Marc Honegger and Christian Meyer, t. 2, Strasbourg 1986, pp. 365–408; James H. Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark’s. Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta, and Francesco Cavalli*, Ann Arbor 1981.

fortunately, Torelli does not mention that the inconsistency was clearly explained by the author himself and that, since Moore changed his opinion on the matter, the later chronology (from 1986) should be adopted.

The penultimate chapter in this volume ('La musica sacra veneziana di Monteverdi', pp. 273–313) also displays characteristics of a compendium. This essay, written by John Whenham, serves partly as an introduction to Monteverdi's sacred music written (probably, in most cases) during his Venetian period. To Monteverdi scholars, it is quite obvious how difficult it is to contextualise the origins of his sacred compositions (due to the lack of music manuscripts and precise archive information). His Venetian sacred compositions were issued in two monographic prints (one of them long after the composer's death) and plenty of anthologies, which determines merely their *terminus ante quem*. An especially interesting case is that of his huge (as regards the number of works) and heterogeneous (in terms of musical structure and textual context) collection from 1641 *Selva morale*, dedicated to Eleonora Gonzaga. The abundance of contradictory musical hypotheses regarding the original contexts of the works included in this collection that have arisen over the last hundred years constitutes quite a challenge. Despite those difficulties, Whenham, by examining the texts of compositions, their liturgical context and the required musical forces, and employing comparative analysis, tries to outline the possible contexts of Monteverdi's sacred output (for some pieces, even suggesting hypothetical performers).

He devotes plenty of space to Christmas celebrations at St Mark's, since (as we know from the composer's letters) that was a particularly demanding time for the chapel master, who was responsible not only for leading the musicians but also for providing a new portion of music. Bearing in mind that many of Monteverdi's works could be

performed on very different occasions (p. 286), the author discusses also the probable origins of the composer's Vespers psalms and motets related to many Venetian sacred spaces and their patrons. He also mentions some possibly lost music, recalling events known only from historical sources, such as the visit of the Polish prince Władysław Vasa in 1624 (p. 298) and the exequies for Cosimo II Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, at San Giovanni e Paolo (p. 299) three years earlier; both cases relate to the musical activity of Monteverdi.

The last chapter ('Questioni di prassi esecutiva', pp. 315–334), written by Rodolfo Baroncini, deals with quite a burning issue, often mythologised by scholars, related to performance practice at St Mark's. It has already been well proven that there was no single place set aside for musicians in the church, although, in the case of regular festivities, the liturgical and archive sources inform us in many instances about the precise location. Everything depended on the occasion, the repertoire and sometimes the available space. In his contribution to this subject, Baroncini offers a detailed analysis of the historical evidence relating to extraordinary situations linked to both regular feasts and special occasions at St Mark's. He talks about additional space created for special events like Christmas Mass and the Vigil of the Ascension (pp. 315–316) – temporary wooden pulpits erected on either side of the rood screen (conventionally called the 'iconostasis' here). Placing these pulpits outside the chancel (a sacred space reserved for the 'chosen') could be interpreted – according to Baroncini – as a gesture toward ordinary participants, in the wake of the Counter Reformation (p. 318). What follows is a detailed case study of the celebrations of the arrival at St Mark's of relics of Holy Blood in 1617, accompanied by music, rich scenography and a procession, commemorated in a special print by Giulio Cesare Vergaro.

In the last two sections of his contribution, which serve well as the final statements of the entire book, Baroncini presents some general observations about the role of musicians (both permanent and ‘extraordinary’) during major festivities at St Mark’s (sometimes numbering up to 90 singers and instrumentalists at a single event, p. 328). He raises issues like the increasing number of additional musicians hired for extra events, the role of singers from the seminary of St Mark (including an interesting account by a cleric from 1608 about everyday music training, p. 327) and changes in the proportions of instruments (p. 331).

These were some of the questions raised by the authors of this fascinating and long-awaited book. The wide range of research issues, the enormous quantity of cited sources, many of them not known till now, and the fresh and stimulating observations make this volume an important academic achievement. It is significant also in its partly introductory nature, as a potential tool for students and future generations of Venetian music scholars.

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ANTONIO CHEMOTTI, POLYPHONIC MUSIC *PRO MORTUIS* IN ITALY
(1550–1650). AN INTRODUCTION

Lucca–Warszawa 2020, Libreria Musicale Italiana–Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk
(= Studi e Saggi 32), ss. 278. ISBN 978-83-66519-06-0; 978-88-5543-034-0

„Nihil est certius morte et incertius hora mortis”. Dla człowieka żyjącego we wczesnonowoczesnej Europie śmierć nie była końcem życia, lecz jego kolejnym etapem, dlatego starano się odpowiednio do niej przygotować. Powstawały w związku z tym specjalne podręczniki „dobrego umierania” (*ars moriendi*), wysoko urodzeni budowali mauzolea rodzinne, organizowano specjalne kolegia kapłańskie, których zadaniem było modlić się za duszę fundatora czy fundatorów, czyniono odpowiednie zapisy testamentowe, w których wydawano dyspozycje rodzinie i spadkobiercom, mającym uporządkować kwestie majątkowe, a także nieraz bardzo szczegółowo omawiano przebieg przyszłej uroczystości pogrzebowej, stanowiącej kulminację ziemskiej wędrówki człowieka¹. Zapisy te czynili nie

tylko władcy, magnaci, duchowni i najbogatsi mieszczaństwo, lecz wszystkie osoby, które chciały zapewnić sobie po śmierci pamięć żyjących oraz życie wieczne, co było możli-

archeologii, historii, historii sztuki itd. Tematyka jest obecna również w polskiej historiografii, zob. m.in.: Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej*, Warszawa 1974; *Wesela, chrzciny i pogrzeby w XVI–XVIII wieku. Kultura życia i śmierci*, red. Henryk Suchojad, Warszawa 2001; Bożena Popiołek, *Woli mojej ostatniej Testament ten... Testamenty staropolskie jako źródło do historii mentalności XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2009; Elżbieta Elena Wróbel, *Kościółowi mojemu jako ukochanej oblubienicy mojej. Wybór testamentów duchownych małopolskich z XVII wieku*, Kraków 2010; *Dług śmiertelności wypłacić potrzeba. Wybór testamentów mieszczan krakowskich z XVII–XVIII wieku*, opr. Ewa Danowska, Kraków 2011; *Wszyscy śmiertelni jesteśmy i dlatego rozrządzamy majątkość swoje. Wybór testamentów z ksiąg miejskich województwa sandomierskiego (XVI–XVIII wiek)*, opr. Katarzyna Justyniarska-Chojak, Kielce 2014.

¹ Na temat dawnej kultury pogrzebowej powstała bogata literatura naukowa, obejmująca prace z wielu dziedzin humanistyki: literaturoznawstwa,