A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice

Brill's Companions to the Musical Culture of Medieval and Early Modern Europe

VOLUME 2

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/bcmc*

A Companion to Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice

Edited by

Katelijne Schiltz

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Giacomo Franco, *The dogaressa aboard the Bucintoro and Accompanied by other Noble Ladies goes from her Palace to the Ducal Palace*, engraving. WITH KIND PERMISSION OF THE BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA, VENICE.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Schiltz, Katelijne, 1974-

Title: A companion to music in sixteenth-century Venice / edited by Katelijne Schiltz.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2018] | Series: Brill's companions to the musical culture of medieval and early modern Europe ; Volume 2 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017043867 (print) | LCCN 2017044736 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004358300 (E-book) | ISBN 9789004358294 (hardback : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Music--Italy--Venice--16th century--History and criticism. | Music--Social aspects--Italy--Venice--History--16th century.

Classification: LCC ML290.8.V26 (ebook) | LCC ML290.8.V26 C66 2018 (print) |

DDC 780.945/31109031--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017043867>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2214-9511

ISBN 978-90-04-35829-4 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-35830-0 (e-book)

Copyright 2018 by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill nv provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

The ‘Other’ Coastal Area of Venice: Musical Ties with Istria and Dalmatia

Ivano Cavallini

Linguistic and Cultural Frame¹

Between 1409 and 1420, Istria and Dalmatia were definitively annexed to the territory of the Republic of Venice. During those years, new forms of international competition compelled the Serenissima to expand its control of mainland territories and ports around the Adriatic Sea in order to secure its commercial dominance in trade with the Near East. Venice, it bears remembering, was the only European state founded on the domination of the sea, and its mainland territories served to render navigation safe. Nevertheless, the Republic's desire to conquer the coast extending from the Po River all the way to Albania and parts of Greece was constantly challenged by the Austrian government, which held control of Trieste, Rijeka (Fiume), and the county of Pazin (Pisino), situated in the heart of the Istrian mountains.

The influence of Venetian culture was noteworthy in these regions. Even today, more than two centuries after the fall of the Republic, the Slovenian and Croatian dialects spoken along the coast contain a wide variety of Venetianisms, developed via contact with so-called ‘Venetian colonization’.² The gothic appearance of the palazzi in coastal cities, which, in contrast with those in the backcountry of the present-day Veneto, faithfully replicate the architecture of Venice, can deceive even anthropologists and cultural historians about the ethnic and linguistic composition of Istria and especially Dalmatia. It is, in fact, necessary to carefully evaluate the role of Italian as *Umgangssprache* and *Kultursprache*, for it was used as both the official language of the state and a language of culture, in conjunction with Slovenian and above all with the

-
- 1 The names of Slovenian and Croatian places and authors are frequently recorded in Italian on the title pages of the sixteenth-century books. For clarity, their Italian names are therefore included in parentheses, where bibliographically relevant.
 - 2 Gianfranco Folena, ‘Introduzione al veneziano “de là da mar”’, in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo xv*, ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence, 1973), vol. 1, 297–346; Sante Graciotti, ‘Le molte vite dell’italiano “de là da mar” fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento’, in *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* 34 (2012), 9–26.

Croatian variants *ćakavian* and *štokavian*, which became literary languages at the end of the Quattrocento.³ Indeed, it is impossible to separate these two components: Venetian-Italian on the one hand and the Croatian spoken in Dalmatia on the other. Many native intellectuals in the region wrote in both languages and in Latin, the language of international communication—an example of literary trilingualism, unusual in sixteenth-century Europe, that is not comparable with the spoken plurilingualism of other countries. This is particularly evident in the case of Dubrovnik (Ragusa), where these three written languages, each having local origins, coexisted with the spoken monolingualism of all the city's inhabitants, whose mother tongue was Croatian.⁴ In the 'Slavic Athens', Latin traced its origins back to the Roman legacy of which the patriciate was proud, as attested by Ilija Crijević's (Elio Lampridio Cerva, 1463-1520) statement 'non tam Romam, quam Rhagusam esse romanam puto' ('I consider Dubrovnik more Roman than Rome [itself]'; *De Epidauro*); Italian, which derived from Romance language, disappeared towards the middle of the fifteenth century while Croatian was the common language.

None of the three languages, therefore, can be considered to be entirely imported and all are, together, an expression of the same culture. The difference between them is one of function, for each was used selectively for different literary genres. Traditional scientific treatises destined for the European market were in Latin; learned essays on the problems of modern culture were in Italian, which had become the *lingua franca* of the Mediterranean; and theatrical prose was in Croatian, since it was spoken by all classes of Ragusan society. In the realm of poetry, however, the situation is more complex. Poetry was written in all three languages: in Latin, which tended to be used for humanistic compositions; in a sophisticated Italian based on Bembo's Petrarchism; and in Croatian, based on Petrarchism with the addition of popular expressions. This functional distinction did not reflect a hierarchy of value, nor did it express national affinities in any strict sense. For example, Nikola Nalješković (1505-87) and Sabo Bobaljević (1530-85), who used the Italianized pennames Nale and Bobali, were capable of composing lyrics in all three languages. Moreover, regarding the circulation of the madrigal, it bears emphasizing that the earliest experiments with Petrarchan models appeared in the *Canzoniere raguseo* (1507), written entirely in Croatian. Interestingly, Italian poetry written

3 Marin Franičević, *Povijest hrvatske renesanse književnosti* [History of Croatian Literature during the Renaissance] (Zagreb, 1983).

4 Sante Graciotti, 'Per una tipologia del trilinguismo letterario in Dalmazia nei secoli XVI-XVIII', in *Barocco in Italia e nei paesi slavi del sud*, ed. Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti (Florence, 1983), 321-46.

in Italian language, and inspired by Petrarch, can be found in the works of the aforementioned Nalješković, Bobaljević, and Dinko Ranjina (Domenico Ragnina, 1536-1607).⁵ In fact, one under-explored sector of the contact between the two Adriatic coasts is the poetry by Istrian and Dalmatian poets set to music by Italian composers. Two examples in this vein: a pair of poems by Giovan Antonio Pantera from Novigrad (Cittanova), prelate of the cathedral of Poreč (Parenzo), appear in two books of madrigals, published in 1552 and 1554, by the Calabrian Gian Domenico Martoretta. Ludovik Paskalić/Ludovico Paschale (c. 1500-51) from Kotor (Cattaro, in present-day Montenegro), was one of the most renowned authors of Italian poetry in Dalmatia to be translated into English by the Elizabethan playwright Thomas Lodge. Paskalić's *Rime volgari* (Venice, 1549), dedicated to the noble woman Martia Grisogono from Zadar, drew the attention of Camillo Perego, Francesco Menta and Giovanni Battista Pace.⁶

Professional Music

Discussion of the regions' music, in the context of ties to Venice, is quite complicated. First and foremost, regarding the professional status of musicians and composers, it should be noted that Venice's lack of a court had a negative impact in its 'maritime realms' ('domini da mar'). In these locations, there was less lay patronage than on the mainland and, like in other Venetian provinces, there are no dedications in printed music to the *capitani*, who governed local cities for two-year terms. The information assembled here comes primarily from the context of the chapels at Koper, Piran, Cres, Zadar, Šibenik, Split,

5 Josip Torbarina, *Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic* (London, 1931), Sante Graciotti, 'Plurilinguismo letterario e pluriculturalismo nella Ragusa antica (un modello per la futura Europa?)', in *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* 9 (1997), 1-16.

6 Panthera's texts are in Gian Domenico Martoretta, *Secondo libro di madrigali cromatici a quattro voci* (Venice, 1552; RISM L 353) and *Terzo libro di madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1554; RISM L 354). Ennio Stipčević, 'Influssi veneziani nelle musiche dei maestri dalmati del Cinquecento', in *Musica e Storia* 6 (1998), 227-36. Two poems by Paskalić appear in Camillo Perego, *Madrigali a quattro voci* (Venice, 1555; RISM P 1320), another two in Francesco Menta, *Madrigali a quattro voci* (Rome, 1569; RISM M 2276), and one in Giovanni Battista Pace and Giovan Donato Vopa, *Il primo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1585; RISM 1585³⁰). Ennio Stipčević, 'Kotorski pjesnik Lodovik Paskalić (Lodovico Paschale), zadranka Martia Grisogono i nekoliko renesanskih talijanskih skladatelja' [The Kotor Poet Lodovik Paskalić (Lodovico Paschale), Martia Grisogono from Zadar, and a few Italian Renaissance Composers], in *Arti Musices* 43 (2012), 65-87.

Trogir, and Hvar (Capodistria, Pirano, Cherso, Zara, Sebenico, Spalato, Traù, and Lesina). On the one hand, the *maestri di cappella* adapted to the unfavourable conditions they found in the churches of these small and medium-sized centres. On the other hand, numerous artists sought employment elsewhere, above all in Italy and Austria, as evidenced by the biographies of Andrea Antico (Motovun/Montona, c. 1480-after 1538), Jacques Moderne (Buzet/Pinguente c. 1495-after 1560), Francesco Sponga Usper (Poreč, c. 1560-1641) and Vinko Jelić (Rijeka, 1596-1636). Antico and Usper both worked in Venice, Moderne in Lyon, and Jelić in the court chapel in Graz.⁷

Another serious shortcoming with which musicians operating in the two regions had to contend was the difficulty of publishing music. Save a few works by Julije Skjavetić (Giulio Schiavetto, active in the years around 1560) and Andrija Patricij (Andrea Patrizio or Petris, active in the first half of the sixteenth century), the publication of sacred and secular polyphony with any regularity began only in the 1570s. Institutional conventions adopted from the capital, and certain connections with Venetian nobility, bear witness only occasionally to an influence from the 'centre' over the stylistic choices of the *maestri* on the opposite coast. For this reason Istria and Dalmatia cannot be considered 'peripheral' in an artistic sense. Venice, a city dedicated to publishing, served primarily to channel various musical genres cultivated in Italy, which were widely disseminated throughout many western and central European countries.⁸ Research conducted in the archives of the regions' chapels has brought to light not only a large quantity of old manuscripts, but also

-
- 7 Giuseppe Radole, 'Musica e musicisti in Istria nel Cinque e Seicento', in *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* 65 (1965), 147-213; Janez Höfler, *Glasbena umetnost pozne renesanse in baroka na Slovenskem* [Art Music of the Late Renaissance and Baroque in Slovenia] (Ljubljana, 1978); Koraljka Kos, 'Style and Sociological Background of Croatian Renaissance Music', in *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 13 (1982), 55-82; Ivano Cavallini, *Musica, cultura e spettacolo in Istria tra '500 e '600* (Florence, 1990); Ennio Stipčević, 'La cultura musicale in Istria e in Dalmazia nel XVI e nel XVII secolo. Principali caratteristiche storiche, geopolitiche e culturali', in *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23 (1992), 141-52; idem, 'La Serenissima, l'Istria e la Dalmazia. Contatti e interferenze musicali nel Cinque e Seicento', in *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 24 (1993), 23-44; Vjera Katalinić, 'Social Status of Music and Musicians along the Eastern Shores of the Adriatic in the 16th Century', in *Musica e Storia* 6 (1998), 501-20.
- 8 Bojan Bujić, 'Humanist Tradition: Geography and the Style of Late Sixteenth-Century Music', in *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa/Gallus Carniolus und die europäische Renaissance*, ed. Dragotin Cvetko and Danilo Pokorn (Ljubljana, 1991), 7-22.

choir books published by Giunta and the expensive editions of motets prepared by Ottaviano Petrucci and Moderne, kept today in Koper and Split.⁹ Alongside these incunables are works of sacred polyphony from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, plus a series of manuscripts of various types that also contain translations from Glagolitic into Latin of monophonic works and *cantus fractus*.

Reconstructing the list of chapel masters remains, to this date, an extremely difficult task. In the best cases, such as Koper, Piran, Split, and Dubrovnik, there are registers and expense records. In other cases, scholars must trust the *Acta Provinciae Dalmatiae Istriae et Epyri* compiled by the regions' Franciscan monks.¹⁰ Many *maestri* were in fact monastics and were able to launch their carriers while residing in their respective monasteries with very limited living expenses in comparison with their lay colleagues. The *Acta* supplies the appointments conferred by their respective orders, which vary according to the importance and the fame a composer acquired: titles given were *magister cantus*, *pulsator organi*, and *magister musices* (the last reserved for the most renown musicians). Among the composers linked to prominent people from northern Italy and Venice, Skjavetić and Patricij bear note. A few extant works by Skjavetić—a resident of Šibenik who served Bishop Girolamo Savorgnan during the Council of Trent—remain, including a collection of *Madrigali a quattro et a cinque voci* (Venice, 1563; RISM S 1536), as well as two other madrigals for five voices in the anthology *I dolci et armoniosi concerti. Libro secondo* (Venice, 1562; RISM 1562⁶), which also contains works by the Venetian composers Andrea Gabrieli, Gioseffo Zarlino, and Claudio Merulo. Later, again in the company of Venetian authors as well as that of the celebrated Flemish composers Cipriano de Rore, Adrian Willaert and Giaches de Wert, Skjavetić published two *greghesche* for four and five voices in the collection compiled by the poet and actor Antonio Molino, *Di Manoli Blessi il primo libro delle greghe-*

9 Cyril Petešić, 'Nekoliko priloga poznavanju naše muzičke prošlosti' [Some Contributions to Knowledge about Our Musical History], in *Rad* 165 (1965), 199–219; Ivano Cavallini, 'Il libro per musica nel litorale istriano tra Cinquecento e Seicento', in *Il libro nel bacino adriatico* (secc. xv–xviii), ed. Sante Graciotti (Florence, 1992), 99–110; Metoda Kokole and Alenka Bagarič, *La musica veneziana nell'Istria settentrionale. Guida alla mostra* (Ljubljana, 2004).

10 Dragan Plamenac, 'Tragom Ivana Lukačića i njegovih suvremenika' [Tracing Ivan Lukačić and His Contemporaries], in *Rad* 351 (1969), 63–90.

sche (Venice, 1564; RISM 1564¹⁶).¹¹ Finally, in 1564, he published his ‘first book’ of *Motetti a cinque et a sei voci* (Venice).¹²

Skjavetić’s four-voice madrigals are syllabic in style, while his works for five voices contain more complex counterpoint that is in line with the genre’s descriptive demands. His motets, in contrast, have a more elaborate structure. Some are characterized by rigid canonic technique, with the cantus firmus sung in long notes by the tenor in the style of the Franco-Flemish masters (cf. *Asperges me Domine*), others paraphrase their liturgical sources and treat imitation freely. The *Pater noster*, however, is set up as probable a reference to the comparable model by Willaert (see Example 18.1).¹³

Andrija Patricij, a nobleman from the island of Cres and relative of the philosopher Francesco Patrizi, earned the esteem of Antonino Barges, *maestro di cappella* at the Frari.¹⁴ Patricij, a very skilled amateur, placed four madrigals on texts by Petrarch and Sannazzaro in a collection by Barges, a pupil of Adrian Willaert, titled *Primo libro di villotte a quattro voci* (Venice, 1550; RISM B 992). In the ‘sweet compositions of the magnificent nobleman’ (‘soavi compositioni del magnifico cavaliero’), as Barges writes in his dedication, the voices possess ample melodic freedom governed by madrigalisms, even if they often observe the rhythm of the verses and their respective caesuras.¹⁵

After Francesco Bonaldo (1520/30-after 1571), the Flemish musician who served as *maestro di cappella* in 1560-61, Koper’s duomo conferred the post to Silao Casentini (c. 1540-94) in the years 1571-73, 1577-78, and 1580-88. Previously a member of Lucca’s Cappella Palatina, in 1570 Casentini entered the service of Ferdinand of Austria, to whom he dedicated his *Primo libro de’ madrigali a cinque, con uno dialogo a sette* (Venice, 1572; RISM C 1436). Due to the incom-

11 See also the contribution by Daniel Donnelly to this volume and the essay by Katelijne Schiltz, “‘Mi ho scritto e sembra scrivo greghe rime galande’: Sprachwitz und Musik in der venezianischen Greghesca”, in *Wiener Quellen der älteren Musikgeschichte zum Sprechen gebracht*, ed. Birgit Lodes (Tutzing, 2007), 361-79.

12 Not listed in RISM, see <<http://www.printed-sacred-music.org>>; no other books with five- and six-voice motets by him have survived or might even have been composed.

13 Adrian Willaert, *Opera omnia*, ed. Hermann Zenck (Rome, 1971), vol. 2; Dragan Plamenac, ‘Su Julije Skjavetić (Giulio Schiavetti) e i “Motetti a cinque et a sei voci” del 1564’, in *Subsidia Musica Veneta* 2 (1981), 21-38.

14 So too, later, did the first Istrian and Dalmatian composers of sacred monody. At the Frari, Franciscans Gabriello Puliti (c. 1575-1644) and Ivan Lukačić (1587-1648) enjoyed the support of Giacomo Finetti (also a Franciscan). Indeed, Lukačić, active in Split, probably studied with Finetti.

15 Koraljka Kos, ‘Madrigali Andrije Patricija i Julija Skjavetića u svom vremenu’ [Madrigals of Andrija Patricij and Julije Skjavetić in Their Time], in *Rad* 377 (1978), 277-314.

EXAMPLE 18.1 *Julije Skjavetić / Giulio Schiavetto, Pater noster (prima pars)*

Pa - ter no - ster qui es in coe - lis, Pa - ter

no - ster qui es in coe - lis, Pa - ter no -

no - ster qui es in coe - lis, Pa - ter no -

Pa - ter no - ster qui es in coe - lis, qui es in coe - lis, qui es in coe - lis, qui es in coe - lis; San - cti - fi - ce - tur no - men

EXAMPLE 18.1 *Julije Skjavić / Giulio Schiavetto, Pater noster (prima pars) (cont.)*

16

San-cti-fi - ce - tur no - men tu - um;

San - cti - fi - ce-tur no -

coe - lis; San - cti - fi - ce - tur

fi - ce - tur no-men tu - um;

tur no - men tu - um; Ad -

tu - um, san - cti - fi - ce - tur no-men tu -

21

Ad-ve - ni - at re-gnum tu - um; Fi -

men tu - um, no - tu-um; Ad - ve - ni - at

nomen tu - um;

Ad - ve - ni -

ve - ni - at ad - ve - niat re - gnum tu - tum,

um;

26

- at vo - lun - tas tu

re-gnum tu - um; Fi -

Ad - ve - ni -

at re-gnum tu - um; Fi -

ad - ve - ni - at re - gnum tu -

Ad - ve - ni - at re - gnum tu - um; Fi -

plete nature of the collection, two of whose partbooks have been lost, the only madrigals by the *maestro* to be preserved in their entirety are the two works posthumously included in the *Quinto libro* (Venice, 1611; RISM C 1434) of his son Marsilio, who moved to Gemona del Friuli.

Casentini's biography prompts us to consider the issue of patronage for composers who worked along the border between Venetian and Austrian Istria. Silao, for example, moved to Trieste, a city under Austrian rule, for a brief period in 1576–77, and Marsilio, born there in 1576, spent the majority of his life in Friuli. None of their published works carry dedications to Venetian authorities, although some bear dedications to the archdukes Charles II and Ferdinand. Aside from the private generosity of noblemen and Venetian Istria's high prelates, the Serenissima's rulers almost never granted any compensation in public form to composers for the publication of their works. The case of the Archduchy, however, is different. Marsilio Casentini included two celebratory pieces by Silao in his above-mentioned *Quinto libro*, to honour both his father and the archduke Charles, who died in 1594 and 1595 respectively. As a matter of fact, the publication had precise political aims, intended to reaffirm Trieste's fidelity to the Habsburgs during a moment of political tension between the Archduchy of Carinthia, Carniola, and Trieste on the one hand and the Republic of Venice on the other. The poems Silao used—*Ninfe che nel più ameno letto d'Adria* and *Colli e voi piaggie apriche*—highlight an invitation to the nymphs of the Adriatic to pay homage to Charles II, the sunny nature of the gulf, and the ancient submission of Trieste's citizens to Austria (1389), which held the outlet to the sea: 'Così disse e la fronte / Chinò Tergesto all'hor da l'orizzonte / E quanto cinge e serra / S'udì Carlo intonar l'acqua e la terra' ('Thus he spoke, / and Tergesto bowed his head to the hour from the horizon, / and how he encircles and then contains / one could hear Charles tuning up the water and the earth'). The final verses refer to the myth regarding Trieste's origins established by the geographer Marcianus, who recognized the semi-god Tergesto as the city's founder and namesake (Tergeste i.e. Trieste), to celebrate the benefits of Austrian rule over that strip of the Adriatic sea.

It bears note, in this context, that Silao's madrigals were published at a politically difficult moment. Trieste's community, afflicted by ruthless competition from Istrian ports, turned to the Austrian government to prohibit the acquisition of imported goods. In 1609, the decree was imposed with force—that is, with the help of Uskok privateers (from the Croatian *skok* = jump or assault) who were ready to slaughter offending 'cragnolini' (Slovenians) who went to Istria. This had disastrous effects, culminating in a siege of Trieste by Venetian ships and in a gradual disinterest on the part of the Habsburgs in this type of economic protectionism. The music of the madrigals enhances the political

message of their texts, which may have been brought to Marsilio's attention by a government official. In the second madrigal, *Colli e voi piaggie apriche*, the words 's'udì Carlo intonar [l'acqua e la terra]'; are set homorhythmically, recalling the union between the maritime city and the Archduchy's provinces (see Example 18.2).¹⁶

The choices of Nicolò Toscano (c. 1530-1605)—the Dominican who is remembered for his role as judge in the contest between the composers Achille Falcone and Sebastiano Ravalle—are of an entirely different nature. Employed by the Duomo in Koper from 1581 to 1598, the Sicilian *maestro* published his *Canzonette ... Libro primo a quattro voci* (Venice, 1584; RISM T 1021) and dedicated the collection to the marquis Gioan Nicolò Gravisi. A member of the Accademia Palladia in Koper, Gravisi was a man of letters and a lover of the 'science of music', as Toscano's dedicatory letter declaims. The *canzonette*, all strophic and in two parts, alternate syllabic and imitative passages similar to the madrigal, without employing the Venetian fashions found in Willaert's *villanesche* and in *giustiniane*, *mascherate*, and *greghesche*. The poems, organized in four stanzas, mix expressions borrowed from southern Italy with more refined verses based on amorous themes filled with metaphorical references to nature and mythology (Jove, Typhon, Icarus, Phaethon, Tantalus). There may be references to Vecchi and Marenzio to be uncovered, as well as to the more local Mattia Ferrabosco (1550-1616). A 'Capelsinger' in Graz, Ferrabosco dedicated his *Canzonette a quattro voci* (Venice, 1585; RISM F 260), published one year later, to the Caesarean nobleman Ivan Khisl, governor of Postojna in Slovenia.¹⁷

Music, Protestants, and the Policy of the Catholic Church

Venice was always tolerant of the diverse denominations in which its citizens were involved, as is illustrated by the various sacred books belonging to Protestant and Orthodox faiths that the city published continuously over the course of the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, some cases of heresy and the formation of reformed groups in the provinces, who looked to the poverty of the early Christians and treated baptism as a free choice, caused much uproar

16 Ivano Cavallini, 'La diffusione del madrigale in Istria: i Casentini e Gabriello Puliti', in *Muzikološki Zbornik* 23 (1987), 39-70.

17 Ivano Cavallini, 'Tradizione colta e influssi villaneschi nelle canzonette di Nicolò Toscano', in *Gallus Carniolus in evropska renesansa/Gallus Carniolus und die europäische Renaissance*, 157-67.

EXAMPLE 18.2 *Silao Casentini, Colli e voi piaggie apriche, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria*

Col - li e voi piag - - - gie a - pri -

Col-li e voi piag - gie a - pri

Colli e voi piag - - - gie a - pri -

che Ve - sti - te-- vi di fior ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her - bet -

che Ve - sti - te - vi di fior ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her -

che Ve - sti - te - vi di fior ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her - bet -

Ve - sti - te - vi di fior ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her -

Ve - sti - te - vi di fior d'her - bet -

- te e spi - - - che

bet - - - te e spi - che E di ro - se

- - - te e spi - che E di ro - se e

bet - - - te e spi - che E di ro - se e

- - - te e spi - - - che E di ro -

EXAMPLE 18.2 *Silao Casentini, Colli e voi piaggie, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria (cont.)*

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with five staves. The first system begins at measure 7. The lyrics are: "E di ro - se e vio - e vio - le E di ro - se e vio - le E di ro - se e se e vio - e E di ro - se e". The second system begins at measure 9. The lyrics are: "le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi - e vio - le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi - vio - le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi - vio - le Spi - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor spi -". The third system begins at measure 11. The lyrics are: "ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor più che non suo - le Così dis - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor più che non suo - le Così dis - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor più che non suo - le Così dis-se e - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor o - dor più che non suo - le Così dis - ri Ze - fi-ro o - dor più che non suo - le".

EXAMPLE 18.2 *Silao Casentini, Colli e voi piaggie, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria (cont.)*

14

se e la fron - te Chi - nò Ter - ge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

- se e la fron - te Chi - nò Ter - ge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

la fron - te Chi - nò Ter - ge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

se e la fron - te Chi - nò Terge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

Chinò Ter - ge - sto al - l'hor da l'o-ri-zon -

17

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra e quan - to

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra e

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra e quan - to cin - ge e ser -

te E quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra e quan - to cin - ge e

19

cin - ge e ser - ra S'u - di s'u - di

quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra S'u - di s'u - di Car - lo into-

e quan - to cin - ge e ser - ra s'u - di s'u - di Car - lo into-

ra S'u - di s'u - di s'u - di Car - lo into-

ser - ra S'u - di s'u - di s'u - di Car - lo into-

EXAMPLE 18.2 *Silao Casentini, Colli e voi piaggie, madrigal dedicated to Charles II, Archduke of Austria (cont.)*

s'u - di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar l'ac -
 nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Car-lo in to-nar l'ac -
 nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar l'ac-qua e la
 nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar l'ac -
 nar s'u di Car - lo in-to-nar l'ac -

24. - qua e la ter - ra Co-sì dis - ra.
 qua e la ter - ra Co-sì dis - ra.
 ter - ra l'ac-qua e la ter - ra Co-sì dis - se e ra.
 qua e la ter - ra Co-sì dis - ra.
 - qua e la ter - ra ra.

and unsettled even the dogate. In agreement with the church of Rome, the government began to monitor the reformers, especially in the years after the Council of Trent, which provoked the flight of Pier Paolo Vergerio jr. (1498-1565), a bishop of Koper who was accused of apostasy, to Tübingen as well as the condemnation of the bishop of Split, Anglican Marco Antonio de' Dominis (1561-1623), who was burned *post mortem* together with his books and his portrait in 1624. Vergerio and Dominis, however, represent the tip of the iceberg: they are only two of many calling for reform, who some European countries regarded with sympathy. Revolts of miners (lead by Michail Gaysmair) and peasants (lead by Matija Gubec) along the boarders in Südtirol, Slovenia, and Croatia represented a serious social danger for the Republic of Venice as well.

It is consequently easy to understand the wide diffusion of Glagolism from Istria to the surroundings of Trieste, and its official and exceptional acceptance on the part of the Vatican during the seventeenth century.¹⁸

In this regard, it bears noting that Primož Trubar (1508-86), an advocate for Lutheranism among the southern Slavs, studied at the Glagolitic school in Rijeka and at the University of Vienna. Exiled by the imperial government, he returned to Trieste, and under the protection of bishop Pietro Bonomo, he obtained permission to preach in Slovenian. His ideas quickly spread around Istria where they found first-class followers: Baldo Lupetina (1503-56) in Labin (Albona), his nephew Matija Vlačić or Matthias Flaccius Illyricus (1520-75), editor and co-author of the majestic *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* (1569-74), Giambattista Goineo (c. 1515-after 1579) from Piran and the aforementioned Vergerio. The glagoljaš (Glagolitic and in general Slavic priest) Stjepan Konzul (1521-after 1579) was an ardent reformer in his native Buzet, and in Pazin (Pisino), the heart of Istrian Lutheranism. He sought refuge first in Ljubljana and later in Regensburg as a kantor and organist. Together with Anton Dalmatin (beginning of the sixteenth century-1579), Konzul translated no less than six books into Italian to spread evangelism around the Venetian coast. Numerous prayers, hymns, gospels, catechisms, and songs in the languages and alphabets used in Istria and Dalmatia—Slovenian, German, Italian, Croatian in Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin scripts—were issued by the presses of the city of Urach at the so-called South Slavic Bible Institute, with the financial support of Baron Hans Ungnad von Sonnegg, thanks to the work of these two intellectuals. This is evidenced by the following books: *Register und summarischer ... aller der Windischen [Slovenian] Bücher, die von Primo Trubero [Primož Trubar] bis auff diss 1561 ... in der Crobatischen Sprach mit zweyerley Crobatischen Geschriften, nämlich, mit Glagolla [Glagolitic] und Cirulitza [Cyrillic], werde getdruckt (dise Sprach und Buchstaben, brauchen auch die Turcken)* (Tübingen, i.e. Urach, 1561), *Ena molitov* [a prayer] ... *Oratione de persecutati e forusciti per lo Evangelio* (Tübingen, 1555), *Artikuli ili deli prave krstianske Vere, is Svetoga Pisma ... sada vnove is Latinskoga, Nemskoga i Kraiskoga jazika va Hrvacki verno stimačeni. Po Antonu Dalmatinu i Stipanu Istrianu* [Articles or parts of the authentic Christian faith from the saint letters ... now in Croatian faithfully translated by Anton Dalmatin and Stjepan [Konzul] from Latin, German, and

¹⁸ In its literal sense, the term Glagolitic chant denotes the singing of the Glagolitic priests who lead the Christian liturgy in the Croatian version of the Old Church Slavonic language from books written in Glagolitic script.

Slovenian languages] ... *auss dem Latein und Teütsch in die Crobatische Sprach verdolmetscht, und mit Glagolischen Buchstaben getruckt* (Tübingen, 1562).¹⁹

Among the primary causes for the failure of this reform movement was the staunch opposition of the Office for the Propagation of the Faith, and also the lack of a court capable of supporting the evangelists (the Habsburg archdukes were always Catholic oriented). For this reason, no traces of Trubar's *kantuali* remain in Istrian and Italian libraries, such as *Ene duhovne peisni ... Geistliche Lieder in der Windischen Sprach* [Slovenian] from 1563 (Tübingen) and *Eni psalmi ta celi Catechismus, inu tih vegshich Gody, stare inu nove kerszhanske peisni od P. Truberia ... Der ganz Cathechismus, ettlich Psalm. Christliche Gesäng, die man auff den fürnembsten Festen singet, in der Windischen Sprach* (Tübingen, 1567).²⁰ In compensation, to bring the Slovenians and Croatians back to the Catholic faith and, through them, to maintain the region's defences against the Turks (*antemurale christianitatis*), the papal Curia promoted an emended edition of the missal, the *rituale*, and the breviary in the Slavic ('sclavica') language with Glagolitic and Latin characters only some decades after the Council of Udine held in 1596: *Missale romanum slavonico* (1631), *Rituale romanum slavonico* (1648), and *Breviarium romanum slavonico ... editum illyrica lingua* (1640). The Curia also established a few Illyrian colleges in Italy, the most famous of which was in Loreto, to send priests into overseas provinces.

The circulation of Catholic songs in native Croatian languages is linked to an oral tradition that is commonly called Glagolitic, from the name of the alphabet invented by Cyril and Methodius of Thessaloniki that was used from the eighth century onwards to Christianise the Slavic people.²¹ Vestiges of this tradition can be seen today in the diaphonic music from the Island of Krk (Veglia) and from the region of Zadar. A few sixteenth-century fragments are retraceable in sacred dramas from the Kvarner region in the northern Adriatic Sea, such as the *prikazanje* (sacred drama) *Mukaod Spasitelja našega* (The Passion of Our Redeemer). In the music of this *prikazanje* from 1556, traditional Gregorian chant merges with popular expressions. The quasi-rhomboidal form of the neumes has some affinity with German notational systems, and the work is preceded by instructions that eliminate any doubt about which

19 *Beseda in knjiga. Slovenska protestantska reforma XVI. stoletja/Parola e libro. La riforma protestante slovena del sedicesimo secolo* (Trieste, 1985).

20 Andrej Rijavec, *Glasbeno delo na Slovenskem v obdobju protestantizma* [Music in Slovenia in the Protestant Era] (Ljubljana, 1967).

21 Vinko Žganec, 'Pjevanje u hrvatskoj glagoljaškoj liturgiji' [Plainchant in Croatian Glagolitic Liturgy], in *Sveta Cecilija* 40 (1970), 16-19; Salvatore Perillo, *Le sacre rappresentazioni croate* (Bari, 1975); Ennio Stipčević, *Renaissance Music and Culture in Croatia* (Turnhout, 2015), 105-8.

parts of the text were intended to be sung. The stage directions specify the speaking roles *reci* (to say) and *govoreći* (to speak)—‘Tu Isus reci Magdaleni i materi govoreći’ (Here Jesus says to Magdalene and his Mother speaking [singing]), ‘Tu jur počni Juda proklinat i plakati k škalam grede i reci’ (Here Judas begins cursing and crying at the stairs and saying [singing])—but this cannot be taken literally since they are followed by melodies. The same usage can be found in certain Roman sacred dramas, such as the *Rappresentazione della Resurrectione di Christo* (s.l., s.d.), dating from the first years of the Cinquecento and attributed to Castellano de’ Castellani, which contains stage directions clarifying the meaning of these expressions. A prime example are the words that appears before Psalm 95: ‘David canta e dice: *Cantate Domino canticum novum*’. Another useful stage direction appears in the *Resuscitatione de Lazaro*, staged in the Coliseum in 1515: ‘Marta et Madalena a Lazaro morto dicono in musica.’²² This synonymy also helps us to identify the sung parts in the free Croatian version of Poliziano’s *Orfeo* (*Orfej*), written and staged in Dubrovnik around 1533 by Mauro Vetranović (1482-1576). Here, the gerund ‘govoreći’ (speaking) must be translated as singing: ‘Orfeo dođe prid vrata od pakla ištući Euridiću, žalosno udara u liru govoreći’ (‘Orfeo comes to the door of hell looking for Euridice, and with sadness he plays the lyre singing’).

The religious concessions made to the regions’ Slavic-speaking inhabitants came at the end of a period of rigid control that began in 1579 with the censorship of Agostino Valier, bishop of Verona, and concluded with the abolition of the Aquileian Rite. The Council of Udine (1596) sanctioned the elimination of liturgical books not approved by the papal Curia, like theses of the ancient Aquileian Rite. Valier, in the role of visiting apostolic, was greeted with great pomp when he entered Koper’s Duomo, where a motet accompanied by instruments was performed under the direction of Silao Casentini.²³ But his report to the Holy Office indicates that heresies had taken root everywhere: especially in Pula (Pola), Labin, and Vodnjan (Dignano), a city that maintained contacts with Protestants in Austrian Istria. In light of these censures, it is understandable that Gabriello Puliti, *maestro di cappella* in Koper, offered a volume of music for four voices, *Psalmodia vespertina* (Venice, 1614; RISM P 5651), to a supporter of the Counter-Reformation in Carniola (Krajska region) in 1614. The collection’s dedication to Jakob Reinprecht, abbot of the Cistercian monastery

22 Francesco Luisi, ‘Vedrete recitar con dolce canto. Note sulla rappresentazione della “Risuscitatione di Lazaro” al Colosseo’, in *Santi e martiri in scena. Atti del XXIV Convegno Internazionale del Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale*, ed. Myriam Chiabò and Federico Doglio (Rome, 2001), 239-96 at 236-39.

23 See also Baccio Ziliotto, ‘Capodistria’, in *La Venezia Giulia* (Trieste, 1975), 56.

of Stična in Slovenia, and also the clarification that the volume contains psalms 'iuxta ritum Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae', suggests that Catholic censorship remained strict.

The issue can also be seen in Puliti's *Secondo libro delle messe a quattro voci*, published in 1624 (Venice, 1624; RISM P 5658). This book consists of two four-voice masses, both with a continuo partbook, entitled *Messa concertata* and *Messa da choro* respectively. The first is a motto mass. Instead of a cantus firmus, it has a head motif that appears in each movement sustaining the structure of the polyphony (cf. the incipitarius: Kyrie, Tenor: *f g a b b c'*; Gloria, Bass: *f g a b b c'*; Credo, Tenor: *c' b b a g f*; Sanctus, Tenor: *f g a b b c'*; Agnus Dei, Tenor: *a g f e d*). The motif recurs not only at the beginning of the five mass movements, but also internally within the Credo, where it is repeated as separate monody before each verse on the words 'Haec est fides catholica'. These words are drawn from the creed of St. Athanasius of Alexandria. The so-called Athanasius Symbol, well-known by Orthodox, Catholic, and Lutheran churches, is one of the three ecumenical creeds placed at the beginning of the 1580 *Book of Concord*, the collection of doctrinal statements of the Lutheran Church. Its last line contains the phrase Puliti uses as a *memento* in his Credo: 'Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit' (This is the Catholic faith; which except a man believe truly and firmly, he cannot be saved).

Puliti's Credo is unusual in other respects as well. As a simple descending or ascending one-voice melody, the head motif on Athanasius Symbol is conceived as a refrain that alternates with the verses of the creed featured in chordal blocks or contrapuntal passages (see Example 18.3). Only at the end, as a logical conclusion of the narrative, do the voices come together homophonically in joyful triple mensuration. Table 18.1 gives the antiphonal shape of the music, in which the words of St. Athanasius appear eleven times as monody (on the left side), while the majority of the prayer's verses are in polyphony (on the right side).

This unusual kind of tribute to the Catholic profession of faith, both before and after the Council of Trent, together with other interpolations was definitively forbidden by diocesan synods held in several bishoprics. Even though it was normal to add some Marian tropes to Gloria from the time of Johannes Ciconia and Guillaume Dufay, the Counter-Reformation banished the insertion of unofficial lines in the Credo, and declared contrapuntal imitation unacceptable, aiming to avoid obscuring the words 'Credo in unum Deum'.

A Croatian translation of the Athanasius Symbol appears in three catechism books, published in Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin scripts (Urach, 1561, 1561, and 1564) by the above-mentioned reformers Stjepan Konzul and Anton Dalmatin

EXAMPLE 18.3 *Gabriello Puliti, Messa concertata, Credo, bb. 1-24*

Cre - do.

Cre - do. Haec est fi-des ca-tho-li-ca.

Haec est fi-des ca-tho-li-ca. Cre - do.

Cre - do.

Cre - do. Haec est fi-des ca-tho-li-ca. Cre - do, cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-

Cre - do. Cre - do, cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-

Cre - do. Cre - do,

Cre - do. Cre - do,

ni-po-ten - tem, cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni - po-ten -

ni-po-ten - tem, cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni - po-ten -

cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni-po-ten -

cre-do in u-num De-um, Pa-trem om-ni - po-ten -

#

EXAMPLE 18.3 *Gabriello Puliti, Messa concertata, Credo, bb. 1-24 (cont.)*

12

tem, fa - cto-rem coe-li et ter-rae, vi - si - bi - li-um om - ni-um et in - vi - si -

tem, vi - si - bi - li-um om - ni-um et in - vi - si -

tem, vi - si - bi - li-um om - ni-um et in - vi - si -

tem, fa - cto-rem coe-li et ter-rae, vi - si - bi - li-um om - ni-um et in - vi - si -

15

bi - li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-um Je-sum Chris-tum,

bi - li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-um Je-sum Chris-tum,

bi - li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-um Je-sum Chris-tum,

bi - li-um. Et in u-num Do-mi-

19

num Je-sum Chris-tum, Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-ge-ni -

Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-ge - ni - tum.

Fi-li-um De-i u - ni-ge-ni-tum.

num Je-sum Chris-tum, Fi-li-um De-i u-ni-ge - ni -

EXAMPLE 18.3 *Gabriello Puliti, Messa concertata, Credo, bb. 1-24 (cont.)*

22

tum. Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la.

Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la.

Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la. Haec est fi-des ca-tho-li-ca.

tum. Et ex Pa-tre na-tum an-te om-ni-a sae-cu-la.

TABLE 18.1 *Layout of the Credo from Gabriello Puliti's Messa concertata*

Head motif on 'Haec est fides catholica', sung by	
Tenore	Credo
Alto	Credo
Canto	Credo in unum Deum etc.
Tenore	Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine etc.
Canto	Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto etc.
Tenore	Crucifixus etiam pro nobis etc.
Alto	Et resurrexit etc.
Tenore-Basso	Et in Spiritum sanctum, Dominum etc.
Alto	Et unam sanctam catholicam etc.
Tenore	Confiteor unum baptisma etc.
Canto	Et vitam venturi saeculi amen
Canto-Alto-Tenore-Basso	Amen

and based on the Slovenian version by Primož Trubar (Tübingen, 1550). The text is the final result of a fruitful comparison between the original Latin and other versions in Slavic languages. Its importance is also outlined on the title-page: *Katehismus. Iedna malahna kniga v'koi yeszu vele potribni i koristni naucz i artikuli prave ksrtianske vere s kratkim tlmatsenyem ... I ta prava vera od stana Bosyega, ili bitya u svetoy Trojcz, od svetoga Atanasia ... sada najprvo iz mnozih*

yazik v'harvaczki iztumatsena (Catechism. A little book in which there are necessary and useful precepts of the authentic Christian faith with short comments ... And the authentic faith in in God's existence, or his existence in the Holy Trinity, of St. Athanasius ... now, according to several languages, for the first time explained [translated] in Croatian).

Perhaps Puliti was forced to insert these words by a prominent local figure of the Roman Church, or by the dedicatee Francesco Corelio *utriusque legis* doctor (i.e., doctor of both laws, canon and civil). Lutherans believed in self-sufficient reading of the text *via* the Holy Spirit, refusing both the authority of the Pope and the Church hierarchy. Probably, the 'trope' is given as a reaction to the incorrect approach of the Croatian followers of Luther in Istria and Croatia proper. With regard to the Athanasius Symbol, accepted by Christianity, the line 'Haec est fides catholica' must be interpreted only in a narrow sense, i.e., as 'universal faith'. This is the etymology both of the Greek term *katholikos* and the Latin *catholicus*. Nevertheless, during the Council of Trent the Roman Church misappropriated the title Catholic and appointed itself as the one and only Catholic Church.

In other words, Puliti's mass is an example of cosmopolitan polyphony deprived of its own aesthetic autonomy. Charged with new meaning through the words of St. Athanasius, that is the supremacy of the Roman Church transformed into Catholic (i.e., universal), the Credo functions as a warning for the Croatian people. Probably, the fear of new censorship induced the Franciscan to highlight submission to the Vatican's policy through this contradictory manipulation of *Professio fidei*, aiming to reaffirm the Roman Church's power over the multilingual society of Italian, Slovenian, and Croatian rebellious Protestants, settled from Graz to the coastal area.²⁴

Intermedi and Incidental Music between Autonomy and Imitation

The second half of the century also witnessed a rich development in theatrical activities, enhanced with music, both 'diegetic' and in the form of *intermedi* between the acts. From north to south, *commedie* and *favole pastorali* imported from Italy, via Venice, provided coastal authors with models on which to base their works. In Koper, a 'societas juvenum' was active in 1483. This group of young patricians was later transformed into a Compagnia della Calza, similar

24 Cavallini, *Musica, cultura e spettacolo in Istria tra '500 e '600*, 31-34. Gabriello Puliti, *Il secondo libro delle messe* (1624), ed. by Ennio Stipčević, Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae 48 (Ljubljana, 2006), xv-xvii.

to those in Venice. The precocious case of the Island of Hvar aside, where a permanent theatre was founded at the arsenal in 1612, theatrical productions were staged in piazzas during the summer and at the residences of wealthy families during the winter.

After the experiments of Pietro Pola, who gathered several friends together to put on dance shows and various types of performances ('choreis, comoediis diversarumque operum'²⁵) in 1567, Koper saw the staging of Girolamo Vida's (1563-91) pastoral drama *Filliria* (1585), with scenery by Gioan Nicolò Gravisi and the collaboration from other members of the Accademia Palladia as well. Performed for the Venetian *podestà* Giovanni Malipiero and dedicated to Vicenza's Accademia Olimpica, *Filliria* was adorned with choral performances at the conclusion of each act. Inspired by Tasso's *Aminta*, to comment on the plot the author substituted the *intermedi* through a singing chorus hidden behind the set.²⁶ Exception to this off-stage placement was made only for Amore and Selva, the allegorical characters who sing on stage at the end of the story. Ottonello de' Belli's (1569-1625) *Selve incoronate*, a tragicomedy based on Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Pastor fido*, was premiered in 1590. Admired by Guarini himself at a production in Venice, this work, too, bears no musical trace of the chorus of courtiers, shepherds, and the Echo of the woods described in the text. In fact, the extraordinary case of Florence excepted, music was always treated as an ephemeral element, like stage directions and lighting.

Productions of Tasso and Guarini were not limited only to Koper. In Dubrovnik, Dominko Zlatarić (1558-1613) circulated a Croatian translation of *Aminta* under the title *Ljubmir*. Elected dean by the students of medicine and philosophy at the University of Padua, the Ragusan published his version in 1580, a year before the original Italian edition appeared in print. Equally famous was the *Pastor fido*, a version of which by Frano Lukarević (1541-98), was published in 1592 under the title *Vjerni pastijer*. Ragusans' admiration for Italian theatre and music also extended to *intermedi*, which became common in the middle of the Cinquecento, even if the term *intermedij* appears for the first time in the pastoral dramas *Flora* (s.d.) and *Filide* (1584) by Antun Sasin Bratosaljić (1518-95). Even Paskoj Primović (1565-1619) surrendered to the commixture of music and theatre typical of pastoral dramas with his *Evridice*. In this 1617 publication, Ottavio Rinuccini's *Euridice*, 'Prinesena ... u iesik dubrovački is iesika latinskoga' ('translated in Ragusan [Croatian] language

25 Quoted in Baccio Ziliotto, 'Accademie e accademici a Capodistria (1478-1807)', in *Archeografo Triestino* 66 (1944), 117.

26 *Filliria ... di Gieronimo Vida* (Venice, 1587), A6: 'Il choro non è apparente, ma canta per ragion di musica dietro la scena'.

from the Latin [Italian]'), is referenced in the scenic formulas that precede the opera.²⁷

The community of Cres turned, too, to *intermedi* based on the performance of monody and polyphony in 1586-88, to honour Sebastiano Quirini. During his tenure, Quirini, a government official from an ancient Venetian family, instituted a series of economic reforms that were beneficial to the island and to other places around the Kvarner Gulf. For this reason, the authorities of Cres dedicated a volume of *intermedi* to him. The works, composed by several unknown amateurs, were collected in 1588 by the nobleman Stefanello de Petris, a relative of Andrija Patricij and the philosopher Francesco. The *Ghirlande conteste al chiarissimo signor Sebastiano Quirini* (the term *conteste* derives from the Latin *contexere*, meaning to weave) are scenes that aptly portray the island's antiquity, the glories of Venice and Quirini's magnanimity.²⁸ Figures from mythology and metamorphic scenes alternate, designed to astonish the audience, but the publication makes no mention of the comedies into which the spectacles were inserted. The only text quoted is Ludovico Fenuolo's *Sergio* (1562), which originally represented Venice but in this case it depicts Cres. The titles of other dramatic works were probably well-known and thus the island's playwrights did not need to reprint them, instead believing it opportune to create an homage with *intermedi* composed expressly for Quirini. The third garland, an *intermedio* led by a singer dressed as Apollo, was written to praise the Quirini family. An enormous shield stood out against the backdrop of Venice's Piazza San Marco, according to Petris's description. Like in a *tableau vivant*, Apollo with his lute appeared with the muses Calliope, Urania, Terpsichore, Euterpe, and Erato. Called forth by the god, who swept over the shield moving from low to high and then from right to left, they entered one by one from the sections that formed the fields and the three-star design of the Quirini coat of arms. At each station along the route, from the bottom up to the sky, Apollo invited the muses, who seemed to be suspended on air around the shield, to sing polyphonic pieces. The spectacle concluded with a final apotheosis for nine voices.

In distant regions of Dalmatia, in Korčula (Curzola) and Lastovo, the ancient Mediterranean tradition of the *moresca* is still alive today. The *moresca* is a spectacle choreographed with song and acting. The action is divided into episodes, termed *kolap* (from the Italian *colpo*), which involve stock characters:

27 Bojan Bujić, 'An Early Croat Translation of Rinuccini's "Euridice"', in *Muzikološki Zbornik* 12 (1976), 16-30, idem, 'Pastorale o melodramma? Le traduzioni croate di "Euridice" e "Arianna" per le scene di Dubrovnik', in *Musica e Storia* 6 (1998), 477-99.

28 Cavallini, *Musica, cultura e spettacolo in Istria tra '500 e '600*, 137-63.

the black king, the white king, and Otmanović with his daughter Bula, over whom two groups of soldiers fight. Some of these *kolap* bear the names of bassi a discanto popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, like Ruggiero (here *Ruđer*) and dance steps like the Spagnoletto (here *Španjoleta*).²⁹ Alongside this tradition stood Dubrovnik's refined theatre, in which choreography was adopted for pastoral dramas before the middle of the century. It is difficult to say to what extent the two traditions were connected, but as far as Dubrovnik is concerned, the tradition of pantomime accompanied by music is clearly derived from theatrical forms cultivated in Siena and also, in part, in Venice.

Inspired by primitive Moorish dance, a weapon dance recalling the moves of combat, the *moresca* entered Italian theatre, taking on a variety of names including *ballo d'Etiopia*, *abbattimento*, and *giostra*. It frequently depicted scenes such as satyrs dancing, a knight killing a dragon to save a young girl, Cupid or shepherds against wild men, prisoners being freed by soldiers, peasants fighting with hoes or sticks, and hermits—seduced by a nymph—fighting, crossing their sticks like swords. Italian theorists of Renaissance dramaturgy sought to justify the introduction of these episodes, which were added as divertissements at the end of each act in both tragedies and comedies and bore no relation to the main plot. The dramatic tools of Siena's contemporary theatre, however, were very different. The Tuscan town developed a special kind of theatrical genre, in which the *moresca* was in fact linked to the core of the drama's plot, as seen in works by authors of the *pre-Rozzi* academy like Francesco Fonsi (*Comedia in moresca Lucia* [1521], *Comedia in moresca pietà di Venere* [1521]), Giovanni Roncaglia (*Scanniccio* [1527]), the Accademia degli Intronati (*I prigionieri*), and Alessandro Piccolomini (*L'amore costante* [1536]). In contrast, in other parts of the country, for reasons of realism music performed during the acts was limited to short citations of popular songs in comedies and simple serenades in pastoral dramas, to depict the lives of shepherds and nymphs in the woods. Like Sienese writers, Ragusans combined the tradition of the chorus with the *moresca*, placing importance on the musical pantomime as a pivotal dramatic tool. Instead of the term *moreška*, adopted by folk plays in Dalmatia, Nikola Nalješković and Marin Držić (Marino Darsa, 1508-67), the creators of the modern Croatian pastoral drama, preferred the term *boj bije*, or in plural form *boj biju*, meaning 'he fights' or 'they fight'. This synonymy is evident in the title page of Držić's *Tirena*, which states that the *moresca* was a symbol of Dubrovnik's culture (see Figure 18.1): *Tirena comedia Marina Darxichia prikasana u Dubrovniku godiscta M.DXLVIII u koioi vlasi boi na nacin od morescke i*

29 Grozdana Marošević, 'Korčulanska moreška, ruggiero i spagnoletta' [The Moorish Dance of Korčula, Ruggiero, and Spagnoletta], in *Narodna Umjetnosti* 39 (2002), 111-39.

TIRENA COMEDIA MARINA DARXICHIA

PRIKASANA VDV
brouniku godiscta. M. D XLVIII

VKOIOI VLASI BOI NA NACIN
od morescke'; i Tanaz Na
Nacin pastirschi;

FIGURE 18.1 *Marin Držić, title page of Tirena comedia Marina Darxichia prikasana u Dubrovniku godiscta M.DXLVIII u koioi vlasi boi na nacin od morescke i tanaz na nacin pastirschi (Venice, 1551)*

tanaz na nacin pastirschi ('Tirena of Marin Držić, a comedy [pastoral] staged in Dubrovnik in 1548, in which the Morlacks [called also Vlachs] fight in the manner of the *moresca* and dance like shepherds').³⁰

Staged at least twice between the years 1549 and 1551, *Tirena* has some similarities with the comedies of the *pre-Rozzi* academy of Siena, for example, the peasant struck by Cupid's arrows, the parody of the pastoral idyll, and the *moresca* play. Furthermore, the musical pantomime is retraceable within *Tirena*'s plot. In Act four, the shepherd Ljubmir is struck by a stone thrown by a satyr; he faints, and a nymph comes to rescue him. Before the end of the play there is another battle between satyrs and shepherds, which is stopped by a nymph's intervention, whose words help to restore peace in the woods.³¹ The same happens in other pastoral dramas by Držić in which morlacks or satyrs represent uncivilized people, or otherness, vs. kind shepherds and nymphs, who symbolise the grandeur of cultivated Dubrovnik, seen as a *locus amoenus*. For example, *Venere i Adon* (1551) is full of vocal music sung by different characters and the sixth scene of the first Act contains a nymph and satyr dance. Five satyrs come on stage, stopping the dance to kidnap the nymph. Soon after, the kind satyr fights and saves her.³²

30 This unknown unicum of Marin Držić's *Tirena* (Venice, 1551) was discovered and edited by Ennio Stipčević (Zagreb, 2008). Marin Držić, we should remember, was both a writer and a musician, as the *Genealogia di Darsa* (1603), written in Italian by his nephew Jero, attests: 'musico eccellentissimo [che] sonava d'ogni sorte d'instrumenti'. Držić worked as an organist and studied at the University of Siena between 1538 and 1541. During this time, he performed a comedy (perhaps *Aurelia*) at the house of Buoncompagno della Gazzaja, so it is undeniable that he was familiar with the Tuscan centre's theatrical repertoire. See also Lovro Županović, *Hrvatski pisci između riječi i tona* [Croatian Writers between Word and Sound] (Zagreb, 1989), 186–94.

31 'Ovdi Ljubmir boj bie satirom, koj ga napokon jednom stjenom udari izmete ga ter padne na zemlju kako martav a Vila ga nahodi i nad njim plače, govoreći' ('Here Ljubmir fights against the satyr, who then blesses him with a stone and [Ljubmir] falls down as if dead; a nymph finds him and cries saying'); 'Ovdi dobar čas boj bju u to izidu tri satiri i na njih udare i u troje boj bju, a Vila im iz gore govori na rječi od koje se ustave' ('Here they fight for long time; three satyrs come out and hit them, until, from a higher place, the nymph says words through which the fighting stops').

32 'Opet se odkrije šena i satir s vilom tanca, pak dotrče pet satir i hoće mu vilu ugrabiti i s svijema boj bije, i odrve im se vilu shrani' ('The stage opens again and the satyr dances with the nymph; then, five satyrs come out and they want to rape the nymph; the satyr fights against all of them and wins saving the nymph'). See Ivano Cavallini, 'Il ruolo della musica nel teatro pastorale raguseo del Cinquecento', in *Musica e Storia* 8 (2000), 417–54.

Between 1540 and 1550, Nikola Nalješković wrote four pastoral dramas under the title of *komedije*.³³ In the third, the satyrs meet the shepherds and fight for the nymph; immediately after, a wise old man obliges them to dance for the girl.³⁴ Nakješković travelled to Venice several times, and his name is quoted in the *Dialoghi della naturale philosophia umana* (1573) of his family friend Antonio Brucioli. Even though his career bears no trace of contact with theatrical activities in Venice, the Ragusan writer composed four pastoral dramas in the form of eclogues at the same time Andrea Calmo wrote his analogous book of *Giocose, moderne et facetissime egloghe pastorali* (1553).

On the Traces of Traditional Music in Dalmatia and its Presence in Venice

Unfortunately, the music for the *moresche* by the two Ragusans was never transcribed. Nonetheless at least three traces of the commixture between folk and art musics in Dalmatia during the sixteenth century remain. The first has to do with a rare example of popular songs printed in a Croatian literary text; the second concerns the Venetian reinvention of dances called *schiavenesche* (the term *schiaivo*, or the analogous *schiafone*, does not mean slave but rather Slav); and the third is the parody of foreign-speaking Dalmatians who took up residence in Venice in the Riva degli Schiavoni and in the confraternity named the 'Scuola dalmata'.

In a letter to his colleague Mikša Pelegrinović (Michele Pellegrini, c. 1500-62), included in the piscatory eclogue *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* (Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations, Venice, 1568), Petar Hektorović (Pietro Ettoreo, 1487-1572) writes that he did not compose, but rather transcribed in white mensural notation, as faithfully as possible, the music sung by two fishermen from the Island of Hvar during a sailing voyage in 1557.³⁵ Given that the dia-

33 These pastorals have survived in manuscript form under the title *Komedija I, II, III, IV*. They were published in *Pjesme Nikole Dimitrovića i Nikole Nalješkovića* [Poems of Nikola Dimitrović and Nikola Nalješković], ed. Vatroslav Jagić and Đuro Daničić, Stari Pisci Hrvatski 5 (Zagreb, 1873).

34 'Odi se satiri i mladici udare i bijući se ono izide jedan starac i govori' ('Here satyrs and youths fight and during the fight a old man comes out and says'), 'Ovdi se uhvate igrat' i satiri i mlaci, pak svršivši tanac, [starac] vili govori' ('Here satyrs and youths start dancing, at the end of this dance [the old man] says to the nymph').

35 Bojan Bujić, 'Music, Ethos, and the Historical Past in Hektorović's Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations', in Petar Hektorović, *Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations*, trans. Edward D. Goy (Stari Grad, 1997), 159-76.

logues and the accounts of fishing in *Ribanje* are realistic and thus only partially related to the idyllic eclogues of Jacopo Sannazzaro and Andrea Calmo, it is possible that the songs *bugarščica Kada mi se Radosave vojevoda odilijaše* (When Duke Radosav Was Leaving) and *pisan I kliče djevojka* (The Maiden Cries Out) are pseudo-popular in nature and are not derived, as it has been believed, from the superius of some madrigals. The *bugarščica* is a narrative song, syllabic and monotonous in nature, with melismas at the end of each verse. Even though Hektorović notes that this folk-tune should be sung 'na sarbski način' (in the Serbian manner), this is not an indication of a precise ethnicity. Instead, the caption reflects the diffusion of musics brought by immigrants from the Balkans, normally called *Serbs* or *Morlacks*, who came to Dalmatia to flee Turkish domination. The *pisan*, on the contrary, is an amorous song whose melody is lyrical.³⁶ Its performance, as described by the author from Hvar, needs separate consideration. While the *bugarščica* is sung by the fisherman Nikola alone, the *pisan* is performed with the other fisherman Paškoj, despite the fact that the transcription only includes two monodic works. One can thus hypothesize that the part the author recorded is that of the top voice, while the other voice would have been improvised in long notes like in modern Dalmatian folk music.³⁷

In Italy, beyond the *salto schiavonesco* in Alessandro Caràvia's *Calate fantastiche che canta Naspo bizaro* (Venice, 1565) and in notary Cesare Nappi's *Egloga rusticale* (ms. 1508³⁸), the *Pavana sesta detta la Schiavonetta*, which is part of the Paduan Giulio Cesare Barbetta's *Primo libro dell'intavolatura de liuto* (Venice, 1569; RISM B 903), and the *Aria della marchetta Schiavonetta* in Venetian Marco Facoli's *Secondo libro d'intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (Venice, 1588; RISM F 93) do not contain elements that can be ascribed to a popular matrix.

The genre of *letteratura schiavonesca* (verses with unwritten music), which circulated in Venice during the first half of the century and then disappeared with the death of the actor-author Zuan Polo (1540), represents another type of imitation. The Venetian piazza was the favoured stage for all types of linguistic counterfeits in the foreign languages and dialects spoken in Italy. And the Dubrovnik-born *buffone* Polo was most interested in the parody of the

36 Jerko Bezić, 'Approaches to the People's Musical Life in Dalmatia (Croatia) in the Past and Present', in *Narodna Umjetnosti* 33 (1996), 75-88 at 76-79.

37 Ennio Stipčević, *Aurea Aetas: The Golden Age of Music in Croatia. Essays on Renaissance and Baroque Music* (Zagreb, 2005), 8-9, 46-48.

38 The manuscript was edited by Ludovico Frati, 'Un'egloga rusticale del 1508', in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 20 (1892), 186-204 (verses 146ff.).

schiaivone, as indicated by his poems dedicated to the character Rado, the Croatian braggart who speaks a pidgin of Venetian and Italian mixed with terms and syntax taken from the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Examples hereof can be found in *Libero del Rado stixuso* (1533), *Libero de le vendete che fese i fioli de Rado Licca Micula de Stizoso* (1535), *Testamento de Zuan Polo* (s.l., s.d.). To these works, we can also add the anonymous *Strambotti de misser Rado* (s.l., s.d.), *Frotole nuove de Lazaro da Cruzola* (1547), *Lamento de Stana schiaivona* (1548), *Taritrion, taritrion caco dobro salzigon con molte altre canzon in schiavonescho* (s.l., s.d. [*caco dobro* = how good it is]), *Mariazo ... di donna Rada bratessa* (s.l., s.d. [*bratessa* from the Croatian *brat*, which recalls brother, but in this context it means sister]).³⁹

In *Rado stixuso*, Zuan Polo appears dressed as a poet laureate holding a viola da braccio. He is described in this way even by the chronicler Marin Sanudo, who discusses in detail Polo's practice of singing verses in *schiaivonesco* accompanied by the bagpipe, played by his colleague Grgur. Polo himself writes of this practice, too, in his *Libero de le vendete* (II, 59). In this case as well nothing remains of the music played by the actor, who named himself Ivan Pavlavichchio da Raguxi (Ivan Pavlović from Dubrovnik). Nor did *schiaivonesco* enter the polyphonic repertoire, which did, in contrast, adopt the stereotypical characters of the German, the Greek sailor, and the Turk after the battle of Lepanto (1571).⁴⁰ The only influence of the 'parlaura dalmatina' is found in certain characters of Andrea Calmo's comedies *Travaglia*, *Rodiana*, and *Spagnolas*.

Academies and Philosophical Debates on Music

Around the middle of the sixteenth century, during the troubled years of the Council of Trent, numerous academies were founded around Italy, with a particular concentration in the large and small cities of the Venetian Republic.⁴¹ The Serenissima did not have a court, and the only central organization dedicated to advanced study was the University of Padua, a favourite of the people from Istria and Dalmatia, whose names are marked in contemporary records

39 Listed in Manlio Cortelazzo, 'Il linguaggio schiaivonesco nel Cinquecento veneziano', in *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 130 (1971-72), 113-60.

40 Cf. the chapter 'Zuan Polo, il canto alla schiaivonesca e lo spettacolo veneziano ai primi del Cinquecento', in Ivano Cavallini, *I due volti di Nettuno. Studi su teatro e musica a Venezia e in Dalmazia dal Cinquecento al Settecento* (Lucca, 1994), 13-24.

41 See also the chapter 'Music and the Academies of Venice and the Veneto' by Iain Fenlon in the present volume.

with the label 'natio dalmata'. Following the model of the learned courtier, overseas intellectuals developed the habit of meeting to debate about all forms of knowledge and to organize spectacles with music, emulating princely courts. Among the aims of these associations, two emerge with particular clarity in the Republic's maritime territories: the wish to serve the state with science and technology and the desire to deal with political and artistic themes, updating ancient philosophical thought to create new ruling classes.

The transition from humanistic learning to the encyclopaedic study of the new sciences is notable in Koper's Accademia Palladia, created around 1567 under the support of the noble Pietro Pola, whose house Puliti described as an 'accademia di musica'.⁴² After the failed experience of the earlier Accademia dei Desiosi, suspected for heresy by the Catholic polemicist Girolamo Muzio (1496-1576), the Palladia gave life to a series of dialogues in the 1580s, at the conclusion of which the academy's members entertained themselves by singing madrigals set to music by anonymous composers—probably local chapel masters.⁴³ The only known composer to have had fruitful contact with the Palladia in the early years of the seventeenth century was Gabriello Puliti, who earned the title 'accademico armonico detto l'allegro' on his arrival in the capital of Venetian Istria (the adjective *armonico* is synonymous with music, and *allegro* is the composer's epithet). This academic name appears on the title page of his second book of madrigals for five voices, *Baci ardenti* (Venice, 1609; RISM P 5649), even though the name of Palladia is not quoted.

Traces of the themes debated at Koper's academy can be found in Girolamo Vida's treatise *Sileno* (s.d., but 1589), which contains the responses of Ottonello de' Belli, and in the anthology of treatises *Dieci de' cento dubbi amorosi* (Padua, 1621, posthumous). In the *Dubbi*, dating from sometime between 1586 and 1591, Vida includes a long dissertation on the platonic topic of beauty. Following the neo-humanistic structure of a question-and-answer dialogue, three members respond to a question about which of the three beauties of man—that is, the beauty of the body, of the soul and of the voice—has the greatest influence on moral well-being. In their response, the members analyse the gnoseological processes connected to the eye, the mind and the ear. To demonstrate the voice's power over the soul, and the power of a song that sweetly entralls its

42 See the dedicatory letter in Gabriello Puliti, *Sacri accenti. Libro quarto delli concerti a una voce* (Venice, 1620; RISM P 5656). Metoda Kokole, "'Servitore affetionatissimo Fra Gabriello Puliti" and the Dedicatees of his Published Music Works (1600-1635)', in *De Musica Disserenda* 3/2 (2007), 107-34 at 116-17.

43 Baccio Ziliotto, 'Accademie e accademici a Capodistria (1478-1807)', in *Archeografo Triestino* 66 (1944), 115-279 at 117-49.

listeners, Giambattista Zarotti carries out a long excursus on the concept of the harmony of the world. In addition to detailed analysis about the theories of Boethius and Ficino, he includes a table based on the correspondences between the muses that produce universal harmony (as Plato teaches in *The Republic* x, 617b and Macrobius writes in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*) and the ancient Greek musical modes according to the enneachords of Pliny and Martianus Capella. Zarotti adds to this the sephiroth of Jewish kabbalah, the creatures who gifted man with the virtues.⁴⁴

Despite the presence of a conspicuous number of humanists, there are no traces of stable academies in other cities along the coast, with the exception of Dubrovnik. The free republic was avant-garde in its imitation of the institutions and culture of Italy and Venice, its primary rival in the Mediterranean. Ragusan intellectuals' thriving contact with Venice, and also with Padua, Rome, and Naples, fostered the birth of the Accademia dei Concordi (Akademija Složnih) in 1556, under the guidance of Sabo Bobalijević, who boasted the friendship of Annibal Caro, Domenico Venier, and Benedetto Varchi. The city's most prominent petrarchists were Dominko Zlatarić, Frano Lukarević, Miho (Michele) Monaldi and Dinko Ranjina—all of whom were capable of writing poetry in Italian and Croatian, also on the themes of daily life.⁴⁵ These scholars' particular inclination for civic duty led to the publication of treatises on the philosophy of politics, commerce, and law. Regarding the use of music within this same milieu, essays by Nikola Vitov Gučetić (Nicolò di Vito Gozze, 1549–1610) are important. Gučetić was a student of Camillo Camilli and a connoisseur of Italian culture, even if, like many other distinguished Ragusans, he never lived in Italy. Elected ruler seven times, the Ragusan patrician published six treatises, including the dialogue *Dello stato delle repubbliche secondo la mente di Aristotele* (Venice, 1591). In this essay, the author adapts certain assertions

44 The sephiroth appear in Francesco Giorgio Veneto's (1466–1540) *De harmonia mundi* (1525) as well. Shunned by the church as heterodox, the treatise of Giorgio, a friar from the abbey of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, appears under the category of 'Musica' in the list of publications put out by the Venetian Accademia della Fama, supported by Federico Badoer (*Somma delle opere*, Venice, 1558), who intended to prepare a translation from Latin into Italian to disseminate Giorgio's ideas. See Ivano Cavallini, 'Musica e filosofia nell'Accademia Palladia di Capodistria: considerazioni sul dialogo "Dieci de' cento dubbi amorosi" (1621)', in *Studi Musicali* 16 (1987), 229–45. The *Somma* is recorded by Lina Bolzoni, 'L'Accademia Veneziana: splendore e decadenza di una utopia enciclopedica', in *Università, accademie e società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, ed. Laetitia Boehm and Ezio Raimondi (Bologna, 1981), 117–68.

45 Rafo Bogišić, 'Akademija Složnih (dei Concordi) u Dubrovniku 16. stoljeća' [The Sixteenth-Century Academy of Concordi in Dubrovnik], in *Croatica* 24–25 (1986), 47–68.

from Book VIII of Aristotle's *Politics* to the context of his homeland to justify educating young people in the liberal arts. Among which he inserts the practice of playing instruments, like the lute and the viola, to compose and sing canzoni, sonnets, and the 'stanza toscana'. Here, behind the archetype of harmony, which connects the body and the mind, lies the issue of class. Noble youth were obliged to learn music not as a profession but as an *otium* in the manner of Castiglione's courtier, to raise the spirit. According to the myth of Athena, Gučetić rejects wind instruments, which at that time were played by professional ensembles employed by the state and were thus unsuitable for the ruling class.⁴⁶

In contrast, in the treatise *Irene overo Della bellezza* (Venice, 1599), Gučetić's friend and colleague Michele Monaldi (1539-92), who was praised *post mortem* in the 'Illyrian verses' (Croatian poems) of Zlatarić, sets his dialogue between Panfilo and Irene in the peace of a garden. Inspired by Bembo's *Asolani*, Monaldi's work discusses music in its eighth *ragionamento*. One of the treatise's particularly innovative aspects is its separation of the arts into *attive* and *fattive*, or diachronic and synchronic. Poetry and music belong to the first, for they are immaterial products of the mind that unfold over time; the visual arts, consisting of material objects, belong to the second. The influence of Christian Neo-Platonism can be seen in the reason for which God created music, the symbol of harmony, which allowed man to discover moral well-being via the beauty of proportions. Aside from the resemblance of this precept to that of St. Augustine on the *donum Dei* leading to the *laudatio Dei*, the treatise's complex classification of the relationship between text and music anticipates the achievements of modern linguistics.⁴⁷ Music signifies 'per natura', the author writes, seeing as it deals only with the realm of sound, while words signify 'per positione', not having any connection to things. In fact, this meaning of music coincides with that which developed according to cultural traditions accumulated over the centuries, while words designate by convention concrete objects and abstract concepts. The two realms (or the signifier and the signified, in modern terms) meet in onomatopoeia. There, the author highlights that music has the power to emphasise the meaning of words and writes: 'i musici si servono come di una misura del parlare nei loro canti, accomodando le armonie e i ritmi per far sì ch'el canto significhi quel ch'essi intendono' ('musicians make

46 Stanislav Tuksar, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists* (Zagreb, 1980), 115-36, Monika Jurić, 'Paideia and the Neo-Platonic Ideas on Music Education and Culture in Renaissance Dubrovnik in the Works by Nicolò Vito di Gozze (Nikola Vitov Gučetić)', in *The International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 44 (2013), 3-17.

47 *Sancti Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 99:5; 150:8.

use of one measure of speaking in their singing, adjusting the harmonies and rhythms such that the music signifies what [the musicians] mean').⁴⁸

• • •

Despite the difficulty of classifying the art music of Istria and Dalmatia according to degrees of subordination, adaptation, and autonomy from Venice and from Italy, it is clear that the threat of invasions from the Ottoman Empire contributed to creating conditions favourable for a Slavic-Romance cultural symbiosis.⁴⁹ Obviously, this is not to say that the Republic of Venice governed its colonies generously, as they were considered above all a stronghold for the conservation of its maritime supremacy. Nevertheless, the people it subjugated conserved Eastern customs and life styles that were very different from those of the neighbouring Balkans. For this reason, along the strip of coast between Koper and Dubrovnik the use of the ancient Byzantine eulogy to praise the *basileus*, subsequently inherited by the Doge, remained intact all the way down to the seventeenth century. Sung in Latin or in 'sclavica lingua' (Slavic language), as documents regarding the voyage of Doge Pietro Orseolo II (991-1008) to Osor attest, and as it is also attested a century later in Martino da Canal's *Les estoires de Venise* and later still in Ivan Lucić's (Giovanni Luccio, 1604-79) *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* (Amsterdam, 1666), the 'lauda' maintained its primitive form: 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. Serenissimo Domino nostro (name of the Doge) Inclyto Duci Venetiarum salus, virtus et imperium'. For the political reasons mentioned above, this public display of jubilation, performed monophonically or polyphonically for two or more voices, must have sounded more magnificent than it does now.⁵⁰

48 Michele Monaldi, *Irene overo Della bellezza* (Venice, 1599), 145a; Tuksar, *Croatian Renaissance Music Theorists*, 105-13.

49 Žarko Muljačić, 'Die slawisch-romanische Symbiose in Dalmatien in struktureller Sicht', in *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 5 (1967), 51-70.

50 Ivano Cavallini, 'Antiche acclamazioni con musica in Dalmazia e Istria', in *Studi in onore di Giuseppe Vecchi*, ed. Ivano Cavallini (Modena, 1990), 39-52.