A Study of Performance Issues And an Edition of Alessandro Grandi's Six Books of Concertato Motets

VOLUME I of II

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"The man that hath no music in himself, Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds, Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils; The motions of his spirit are dull as night, And his affections dark as Erebus. Let no such man be trusted. Mark the music." - William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*

ABSTRACT

Alessandro Grandi (1586-1630) is a relatively unknown, yet significant figure in the development of seventeenth-century Italian sacred music. The dissemination of Grandi's works, the number of reprints of his motets, and his inclusion in anthologies provide sufficient evidence that the substantial output of this composer is worthy of the public domain. If Grandi is to be performed, the creation of a reliable edition is essential.

This submission is comprised of a scholarly edition of Grandi's six books of *concertato* motets; a selection of ten motets with fully realised continuo parts which are intended to exemplify my research and enable others to apply these techniques to similar motets; an audio recording of a recital given in order to demonstrate the findings of my research; an accompanying study of related performance issues, including ornamentation, pitch, temperament, transposition, continuo style, figured bass, and instrumentation; and a historiographical study of the dissemination of the small-scale *concertato* motet across Europe, which has ultimately guided my choice of source material.

Mine is the first complete edition of Grandi's six books of *concertato* motets. During the course of my study, the American Institute of Musicology, led by Steven Saunders and Jeffrey Kurtzman, has also begun work on another complete edition, of which two volumes have been published to date. While my main priority continues to be the provision of a scholarly edition, I have also supplemented this by including examples of my unique continuo realisations, as practised and tested in performance. The following chapters are intended to accompany the edition, and provide a directive, from which the findings of my research may be applied to future performances. This research endeavours to bring the works of Grandi to the forefront of historical performance practice, so that performers worldwide may access these obscure gems of the early seventeenth century.

CONTENTS

VOLUME I	
Abstract	4
Contents	
List of Tables	
List of Illustrations	
List of Accompanying material	
Preface	
Acknowledgements	15
Declaration	16
Chapter 1	
Biography	
Historiography	
Oxford Christ Church Source	
Dissemination Via Anthology Publications	43
Discography	46
Chapter 2	
Performance Practice Issues	
Ornamentation	
Instrumentation	
Temperament	100
Pitch & Transposition	
Continuo Style & Texture	
Figures	
In Practice: Recital Findings	120
Tempo Relationships	
Conclusion	126
Appendix	
A: Plates	128
B: 'Quam dives es' from <i>Il primo libro</i> (original pitch)	129
C: 'Montes Gelboe' from Viadana's	
Cento Concerto Ecclesiastici	
D: Motets with realisations	
Respice Domine	
O Lampas Ecclesiae	
Quae est ista	147
Laetentur Caeli	
Salvum fac	158
Benedicta sit	
Plorabo die ac nocte	174
Quam pulchra es	
Factum est silentium	298
Nativitas tua	
Bibliography	

VOLUME II

Contents	2
The Motets	
Location of Parts	
Introduction to the Edition	
Editorial Procedure	
Editorial Commentaries	
The Editions	
Il Primo Libro	31
Il Secondo Libro	
Il Terzo Libro	
Il Quarto Libro	
Celesti Fiori	
Il Sesto Libro	
Translations	
Il Primo Libro	
Il Secondo Libro	
Il Terzo Libro	
Il Quarto Libro	
Celesti Fiori	
Il Sesto Libro	

TABLES

Table 1 - Table of Grandi's publications, reproduced from RISM 'RISM Series A/I/3: *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (Bärenreiter: Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, 1972)'

Table 2 - Contents of Mus. 926 - 930. Christ Church Library.

Table 3 - Catalogue of Grandi recordings, 1966 - 2014.

Table 4 - Key primary sources of ornamentation.

Table 5 - Transposition.

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

- Figure 1 'Hodie nobis de caelo' from *Il primo libro* bars 1 9.
- Figure 2 'Hodie nobis de caelo' from *Il primo libro* bars 1 9.
- Figure 3 Cavalieri, Table of Ornaments from Rappresentatione di Anima e di Corpo.
- Figure 4 Cavalieri 'Lamentationes' bars 1-5.
- Figure 5 'O Intemerata' from *Il secondo libro* bars 32 36.
- Figure 6 'Heu mihi' from *Il secondo libro* bars 20 24.
- Figure 7 'O quam gloriosa' from *Il quarto libro* bars 1 4.
- Figure 8 'Caecilia' from Il terzo libro bars 72 77.
- Figure 9 Caccini trillo example from Le nuove musiche (Grove 'ornamentation').
- Figure 10 'Tu pulchra es Maria' from Celesti Fiori bars 75 77.
- Figure 11 'Tu pulchra es Maria' from Celesti Fiori bars 75 77.
- Figure 12 'Tu pulchra es Maria' from Celesti Fiori bars 75 77.
- Figure 13 'Quae est ista' from *Il terzo libro* bars 1 19.
- Figure 14 'Salvum fac' from Il secondo libro bars 69 76.
- Figure 15 'O quam tu pulchra es' from *Il primo libro* bars 19 25.
- Figure 16 'Veni sancte spiritus' from *Il sesto libro* bars 97 103.
- Figure 17 'Heu mihi' from *Il secondo libro* bars 1 8.
- Figure 18 'In semita iudicorum' from *Il primo libro* bars 1 4.
- Figure 19 'In semita iudicorum' from *Il primo libro* bars 44 51.
- Figure 20 'Date nomine eius' from Il secondo libro bars 5 9.
- Figure 21 'Salvum fac' from *Il secondo libro* bars 77 81.
- Figure 22 'Salvum fac' from *Il secondo libro* bars 7 11.
- Figure 23 'Quae est ista' from *Il terzo libro* bars 52 65.
- Figure 24 'Da pacem Domine' from Il terzo libro bars 23 27.

- Figure 25 'Da pacem Domine' from Il terzo libro bars 32 47.
- Figure 26 'Da pacem Domine' from Il terzo libro bars 32 47.
- Figure 27 'Anima Christi' from Celesti Fiori bars 1 26.
- Figure 28 'Haec est arbor' from *Il quarto libro* bars 1 9.
- Figure 29 'Laudate juvenes' from *Il sesto libro* bars 77 80.
- Figue 30 'Ecce servus meus' from *Il sesto libro* bars 15 24.
- Figure 31 'Factum es silentium' from Il sesto libro Basso and Chitarrone parts.
- Figure 32 'Beata viscera, Il terzo libro' bars 42 47.
- Figure 33 'Factum est silentium' from *Il quarto libro* bars 46 53.
- Figure 34 from 'Nigra Sum', Monteverdi Vesperae...
- Figure 35 from Rappresentatione di Anima e di corpo, Emilio de Cavalieri.
- Figure 36 Laetentur Caeli, from Il secondo libro bars 38 50.
- Figure 37 Laetentur Caeli, from *Il secondo libro* bars 40 52.

PLATES

Plate 1 - Title page from *Il primo libro de motetti*

LIST OF ACCOMPANYING MATERIAL

CD – One Compact Disc containing:

A recital forming part of the submission for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Music

Andrew James Passmore

Sir Jack Lyons Concert Hall University of York 12.15pm, February 9th, 2015

Sarah Holland, Nia Passmore, - Soprano Laura Baldwin - Alto Jonathan Hanley, Edd Ingham - Tenor Richard Mackenzie - Theorbo Andrew Passmore - Organ

PROGRAMME

Salvum fac Il secondo libro Alessandro Grandi (1596 - 1630)

In semita iudicorum *Il primo libro*

Respice Domine Motetti a voce sola

Nigra Sum Vesperae della Beata Vergine

O Jesu, nomen dulce *Kleine geistliche Konzerte*

Quam dilecta Il primo libro

Bringt her dem Herren Kleine geistliche Konzerte Claudio Monteverdi (1567 - 1643)

Heinrich Schütz (1585 - 1672)

Grandi

Schütz

Da pacem Domine Il terzo libro	Grandi
O Intemerata Il secondo libro	
Laetentur Caeli Il secondo libro	
O Lampas Ecclesiae Motetti a voce sola	
Tu pulchra es Celesti Fiori	
O, hilf, Christe Kleine geistliche Konzerte	Schütz
Quae est ista	Grandi

Il terzo libro

PREFACE

The musical outpourings of seventeenth-century Venice continue to fascinate performers and musicologists alike. Researchers have spent considerable time and effort tracing the influences and inherent performance practice issues in the instrumental works of composers such as Zarlino, whose compositional lineage passed through a long succession of composers of the Lutheran and Catholic schools. Meanwhile, studies of the Venetian sacred choral tradition have been comparatively narrow, and revolve primarily around a single publication: Claudio Monteverdi's *Vesperae della Beata Vergine* of 1610.¹ Music historiography gives preference to particular canonic composers and the work of countless other musicians is overlooked, thus remaining comparatively unknown. Alessandro Grandi is one such composer, prolific but largely neglected in both scholarship and performance, in spite of the quality and sheer volume of his compositional output.

Grandi (1586–1630) was one of the most significant and influential Italian composers of the seventeenth century. Grandi was responsible for the publication of approximately 200 motets, composed during his career at major establishments of sacred music in Ferrara, Venice and Bergamo. These include the six books of his motets that are scored for one to eight voices and continuo, and were composed in the new and highly influential *concertato* style. Most of Grandi's works have been preserved, but many have remained unedited, until now.² The absence of a complete scholarly edition of his motets has limited his accessibility to performers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, in spite of the emergence of interest in the composer in the mid-1900s. Grandi's short compositional career can be mapped via these six books of sacred *concertato* motets, which I have edited in order to promote and make essential his inclusion amongst the Venetian school of composers in future performance and musicology.

¹ Jeffrey Kurtzman's book *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance* is dedicated to Monteverdi's work. Furthermore, countless articles exist discussing liturgical and performance practice issues directly relating to the *Vespers*. John Whenham has also written extensively on the work in his book *Monteverdi: Vespers (1610)*, and co-written *The Cambridge Companion to Monteverdi* with Richard Wistreich. Roger Bowers focuses on a number of performance issues in his various articles including 'Some Reflection upon Notation and Proportion in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610'. Andrew Parrott considers the issue of transposition in his article 'Transposition in Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610. An "Aberration" Defended' whilst David Blazey and Stephen Bonta concentrate on liturgical problems in their respective articles 'A Liturgical Role for Monteverdi's *Sonata sopra Sancta Maria*' and 'Liturgical Problems in Monteverdi's Marian Vespers'.

² During the course of my doctoral research, the American Institute of Musicology published *Il primo libro de Motetti*. A team of editors led by Steven Saunders continues to prepare a complete edition of the works of Alessandro Grandi. *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 112* – Alessandro Grandi: Opera Omnia – 1. Il primo libro de motetti, 2011.

The source material I have used for my editions has been chosen in tandem with research into the dissemination of the small-scale *concertato* motet, which can be found in the section entitled 'Historiography'. In brief, Christ Church, Oxford contains complete sets of partbooks of five out of six of the books of concertato motets. Celesti Fiori exists in two different editions, 1625 and 1638. On close examination of these two editions I have found that the only differences between the two are in layout, which supports that this reprint was made in response to demand for Grandi's music, and not due to errors in need of correction. Being easily accessible to me, and including all but one of the six books I required, the Christ Church source material ultimately provided all of the reliable information I needed upon which to base my editions of these five out of six books, being further supplemented by source material found in the Biblioteca Musica di Bologna. Furthermore, the following presentation and close evaluation of Grandi's motets hopes to reflect and expand upon the research of Jerome Roche, Jeffrey Kurtzman, Denis Arnold and Steven Saunders in an effort to firmly establish the quality of a significant figure of seventeenth-century church music.³ While mine continues to be the first complete edition of the concertato motets of Alessandro Grandi, the advent of the American Institute of Musicology editions has led to careful scrutiny of my source material, investigation into the consistencies and agreements between both sets of scholarly editions of *Il primo libro* and *Il quatro libro*, and the ultimate decision to supplement my editions with realised continuo parts for a selection of motets, which can be found in the Appendices. The consistencies between both sets of editions further strengthen the case for the quality of the Christ Church source, as the AIM team have cross-referenced further additional sources in their own attempt to create an authoritative edition.

My initial intention was to provide solely a scholarly edition. However, the experience of programming, directing, and performing a full-length recital of my editions drew my attention to the interesting process involved in realising unified continuo parts when both organ and theorbo are present. This further inspired the inclusion of a set of realised continuo parts. The AIM have not provided any realisations in their editions, so would be less accessible to the inexperienced continuo player.

This thesis will also demonstrate, explore, and build upon current understanding of performance practice issues of early seventeenth-century Northern Italian sacred music through the motets of Alessandro Grandi. I shall aim to demonstrate how performance practice issues can be addressed and clarified; attention has been given to pitch,

³ Jerome Roche North-Italian Church music in the age of Monteverdi. Jeffrey Kurtzman The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance. Denis Arnold 'Alessandro Grandi, A disciple of Monteverdi,' Steven Saunders Alessandro Grandi Opera Omnia 1. Il primo libro de motetti.

temperament, transposition, ornamentation, vocal forces, continuo instruments, and interpretation. A performance from a poor edition, or from one that has not been suitably researched is a performance which may be fundamentally flawed. Equally, a scholarly source which one can not easily decipher can also result in an unsatisfying performance. The majority of modern recordings of Grandi's motets demonstrate a surprising lack of attention to standard performance practice, as prescribed by seventeenth-century theorists. The research I have conducted into the context in which Alessandro Grandi came to emerge as an influential composer has informed the realisations I have provided in conjunction with my editions, as well as informing the writings which follow in support of performances from these editions.

The pursuit of historical performance practice can be problematic; the many issues can be divided into those which musicologists can perceive and address at sight when studying a musical score, and those that can only truly be addressed through performance. For example, musicology informs us that ornamentation was an aspect of utmost importance during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and can also inform us to a theoretical extent as to the types of ornamentation that would have been put into practice in performance. Venetian composers such as Ganassi, Dalla Casa and Bassano present these to us in the form of treatises.⁴ However, it is only through performance itself that we can discover exactly which ornaments work in a given circumstance. This is dependent on text, tempo, and forces within the motet. It is the same when realising a continuo part. We can only establish a suitable tempo, for example, by playing, or at least imagining the provided realisation. The literature review, case studies and explorations of motets which follow attempt to offer insight and guidance for creating informed performances. This indepth study, as it relates to Grandi's works, seeks to reveal essential etiquette for performance practice, which is inherent in Grandi's compositional style, and in doing so calls into question some theorists' conflicting assertions.

⁴ For more information, refer to the table on page 51.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I dedicate this thesis to my wife, Nia, for the countless hours of support, help, and the continuous encouragement she has given me whilst we have battled the UKBA, a house fire and every other distraction imaginable together. I couldn't ask for a more wonderful companion, and I'm looking forward so much to the next, hopefully more restful chapter of our marriage!

I would like to thank my families, both here and over the water: Bob, Yvette, Kevin, Pam, Simon, Bekah, and my grandparents for their continued patience over the past four years.

Thanks must also go to my supervisors, Professors Peter Seymour and Jo Wainwright for their guidance, support and belief that the day of submission would eventually arrive. I am most grateful for the wonderful Music Department staff at the University of York, namely Catherine Duncan, Gilly Howe and Helen Gillie.

To my close friends, especially Dr. Sam Stadlen and Dr. Angela Ranson, thanks are due for their reassurance and help. Having been through the process themselves, it has been wonderful to have such positive encouragement when times have been hard.

Sincere thanks must go to the tireless efforts of William Grant, who has so kindly and expertly translated all six books of motets, providing continuous assistance in clarifying texts, and answering so many emails. Without his work, such reliable and clear translations to accompany the edition would not exist.

Finally, I would like to pay tribute to the work of the late Jerome Roche, whose pioneering work on Grandi and his contemporaries established a firm foundation of knowledge on which I could base my research and continue to bring the work of such a fine composer into the light.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work within this thesis is my own, and has not, in any format, been submitted to this or any other university for a degree.

CHAPTER 1 biography

Alessandro Grandi, described by Roche as 'the most sought-after composer of small motets,'⁵ was undoubtedly a prolific presence in North-Italian church music during the first few decades of the seventeenth century. During his short life, Grandi wrote approximately two hundred motets for liturgical use. These were divided between eleven publications, of which there are six main books of motets following composer-theorist Ludovico Viadana's *concertato* style, and demonstrating forms, described in greater detail below, which were to become standard in the Baroque era. Below is a table listing all of Grandi's sacred works, and their dates of publication:

Alessandro Grandi – Geistliche Werke			
RISM Series A/I/3: <i>Einzeldrucke vor 1800</i> (Bärenreiter: Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, 1972)			
Year	Publication	Subsequent editions	Publisher
1610	otto voce, con una cantarsi nell'organ	notetti a due, tre, quatro, cinque, & a messa a quatro accommodati per no, clavicembalo, chitarrone, o altro con il basso per sonare. – <i>Venezia</i> , <i>i</i> , <i>1610</i> .	Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti.
		novamente ristampati, et con diligentia corretti. 1617.	Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti.
		in questa terza impression con ogni diligenza corretti et ristampati. 1618.	Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti.
		in questa quarta impressione con ogni diligenza corretti et ristampati. 1621.	Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.
		in questa quarta impressione corretti et ristampati. 1628.	Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.
1613	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti.
		novamente corretti & ristampati. 1617. in questa terza impression con	Venezia, Giacomo Vincenti. Venezia,
		ogni diligenza corretti et ristampati. 1619.	Alessandro Vincenti.

Table 1 - Table of Grandi's publications,	, reproduced from RISM.
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⁵ J. Roche, North Italian Church music in the age of Monteverdi, (Oxford: Carendon Press, 1984), 63.

		• • • •	17 .
		in questa quarta impressione	Venezia,
		corretti et ristampati. 1623.	Alessandro Vincenti.
		in questa quinta impressione	Venezia,
		corretti et ristampati. 1628.	Alessandro Vincenti.
1614		notetti a due, tre, et quattro voci, con	Venezia,
		V. a cinque voci & il suo basso per	Giacomo Vincenti.
		entecorretti & ristampati.	
		o Vincenti, 1618. (1614 1 st edition	
	lost)		
		1621.	Venezia,
			Alessandro Vincenti.
		in questa terza	Venezia,
		impressionecorretti &	Alessandro Vincenti.
		ristampati. 1636.	
1614	Motetti a cinque	voci, con le letanie della Beata	Ferrara,
	-	i da Placido Marcelli, 1614.	Vittorio Baldini
		novamente stampati. 1620.	Venezia,
			Stampa del Gardano,
			appresso Bartolomeo
			Magni.
		con l'aggionta di motetti di	Venezia,
		diversi auttori a 2.3.4.5. & otto	Alessandro Vincenti.
		voci con il basso continuo per	Alessunaro vincenii.
		sonar nell'organo, raccolti da	
		Alessandro Vincenti. 1620.	
			Vanatin
		Motetti a cinque voci, con le	Venezia,
1(1(T1 (1'1 1	letanie della Vergine. 1640.	Bartolomeo Magni.
1616	_	motetti a due, tre, quattro et sette	Venezia,
		continuo per sonar nell'organo.	Giacomo Vincenti.
	Venezia, Giacom		
		novamentecorretti &	Venezia,
		ristampati. 1618.	Giacomo Vincenti.
		in questa quinta	Venezia,
		impressioncorretti & ristampati. 1620.	Alessandro Vincenti.
		in questa quinta	Venezia,
		impressioncorretti & ristampati.	Alessandro Vincenti.
		1621.	
		in questa quinta	Venezia,
		impressioncorretti & ristampati.	Alessandro Vincenti.
		1628.	
1619	Celesti fiori libi	ro quinto de suoi concerti a 2.3.4.	Venezia,
		cantilena nel fine, raccolti de	Stampa del Gardano,
	Lunardo Simonet		appresso Bartolomeo
		ano, appresso Bartolomeo Magni,	Magni.
	1619	, appresse Durioronico magni,	
	1017	a 1.2.3.4 voci, novamente	Venezia,
		ristampati. 1620.	Stampa del Gardano,
		115tampati. 1020.	-
			appresso Bartolomeo
		1625	Magni.
		1625.	Venezia,
			Stampa del Gardano,

			appresso Bartolomeo
			Magni.
		1638	U
		1638.	Venezia,
			Stampa del Gardano,
			appresso Bartolomeo Magni.
1621	Motetti a voce so	la. Venezia, Stampa del Gardano,	Venezia,
	<i>1621</i> .		Stampa del Gardano.
		novamente ristampati. 1628	Venezia,
			Stampa del Gardano.
1621	Motetti a una, et	due voci, con sinfonie d'istromenti,	Venezia,
	partiti per cantar, Alessandro Vince	& sonar co'l chitarrone. <i>Venezia,</i> <i>enti, 1621.</i>	Alessandro Vincenti.
		nuovamente ristampati et	Venezia,
		correttilibro primo. 1626	Alessandro Vincenti.
		1637.	Venezia,
			Alessandro Vincenti.
1625	Motetti a una du	e et quattro voci, con sinfonie	Venezia,
1025		iti per cantar, & sonar co'l	Alessandro Vincenti.
		mente ristampati & correttilibro	
		, Alessandro Vincenti, 1625.	
	sconuo. v enezia	1637.	Venezia,
		1037.	
1620	Matatti a una at	 dua vaai aan sinfania di dua vialini	Alessandro Vincenti.
1629		due voci, con sinfonie di due violini,	Venezia,
		uo per l'organolibro terzo.	Alessandro Vincenti.
	Venezia, Alessan	dro Vincenti, 1629.	
		1637.	Venezia,
			Alessandro Vincenti.
		Cantiones sacrea una, duabus,	Antwerpen,
		quatuor, quinque vocibus, et	les héritiers de Pierre
		duobus violinis, cum basso	Phalèse.
		continuo ad organumliber	
		tertius. Antwerpen, les héritiers de	
		Pierre Phalèse, 1639.	
		1 terre 1 hatese, 1057.	
1629	Sami a otto brevi	, con il primo choro	Venezia,
1629			Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.
1629	concertatoracc	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti.	*
1629	concertatoracc	, con il primo choro	Alessandro Vincenti.
1629	concertatoracc	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. dro Vincenti, 1629.	*
	concertatoracc Venezia, Alessand	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640.	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.
1629 1630	concertatoracci Venezia, Alessand Il sesto libro de n	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640. notetti a due, et quattro voci, con il	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia,
	concertatoracc Venezia, Alessand Il sesto libro de n basso per l'organ	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640. notetti a due, et quattro voci, con il oopera vigesima. <i>Venezia</i> ,	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.
	concertatoracci Venezia, Alessand Il sesto libro de n	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640. notetti a due, et quattro voci, con il oopera vigesima. <i>Venezia,</i> <i>enti, 1630.</i>	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.
	concertatoracc Venezia, Alessand Il sesto libro de n basso per l'organ	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640. notetti a due, et quattro voci, con il oopera vigesima. <i>Venezia,</i> <i>enti, 1630.</i> 1637.	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.
	concertatoracc Venezia, Alessand Il sesto libro de n basso per l'organ	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640. notetti a due, et quattro voci, con il oopera vigesima. <i>Venezia,</i> <i>enti, 1630.</i> 1637. Liber sextus motectorum duabus,	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Antwerpen,
	concertatoracc Venezia, Alessand Il sesto libro de n basso per l'organ	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640. notetti a due, et quattro voci, con il oopera vigesima. <i>Venezia,</i> <i>enti, 1630.</i> 1637. Liber sextus motectorum duabus, tribus, et quatuor vocibus	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Antwerpen, les héritiers de Pierre
	concertatoracc Venezia, Alessand Il sesto libro de n basso per l'organ	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640. notetti a due, et quattro voci, con il oopera vigesima. <i>Venezia,</i> <i>enti, 1630.</i> 1637. Liber sextus motectorum duabus, tribus, et quatuor vocibus cantandorum, cum basso	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Antwerpen,
	concertatoracc Venezia, Alessand Il sesto libro de n basso per l'organ	, con il primo choro oltida Alessandro Vincenti. <i>dro Vincenti, 1629.</i> 1640. notetti a due, et quattro voci, con il oopera vigesima. <i>Venezia,</i> <i>enti, 1630.</i> 1637. Liber sextus motectorum duabus, tribus, et quatuor vocibus	Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti. Antwerpen, les héritiers de Pierre
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		nuovamente ristampati. Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti, 1637.	Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.
1630			Venezia, Stampa del Gardano, appresso Bartolomeo Magni.
		Messa et salmia 2.3.4. con il basso continuo & con li ripieni a beneplacito, raccolta terza di Leonardo Simonetti. Venezia, Stampa del Gardano, appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1636.	Venezia, Stampa del Gardano, appresso Bartolomeo Magni.
1637		a otto vociraccolte da Alessandro Alessandro Vincenti, 1637.	Venezia, Alessandro Vincenti.

From its liturgical debut in the early thirteenth century, the motet underwent many structural changes before arriving at its seventeenth-century form: 'a sacred polyphonic composition with Latin text, which may or may not have *colla voce* or independent instrumental accompaniment.'⁶ The *concertato* style became characteristic of North-Italian sacred music of the seventeenth century. Composers began bringing together many different compositional techniques with an impressive variety of groups of voices and instrumental forces. The motets written in this *concertato* style were given the term *sacred concertos* following Gabrieli's 1587 *Concerti.*⁷ Emotionalism and ornamentation were at the heart of the style, portraying the text of the motets, with sudden changes of texture, from *solo* to *tutti*, dialogue and imitative polyphony, alongside affective and dramatic treatment of harmony. Due to its often para-liturgical function, the motet had, since its conception, been granted a certain liturgical freedom, not being textually bound as were other works of the church. The versatility of the motet was one of its greatest appeals in the early seventeenth century, as the text used could come from a variety of sources – a fashion that was fast becoming popular in the publishing of sacred music.⁸ It also required

⁶ Sanders et al., 'Motet', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy. http://www.grovemusic.com> (on 26 September 2014)

⁷ For further information, see: M.E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (New York & Oxford, 2012); J. Roche, 'Anthologies and the Dissemination of Early Baroque Italian Sacred Music', *Soundings*, 4 (1974), 6–12; J. Roche, '*Aus den berühmbsten italiänischen Autoribus*: Dissemination North of the Alps of the Early-Baroque Italian Repertory through Published Anthologies and Reprints', in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium, Detmold 1993*, ed. S. Leopold & J. Steinheuer (Kassel, 1998), 13–28; J.P. Wainwright, 'The Dissemination and Influence of Monteverdi's Music in England in the Seventeenth Century', in the same collection pp. 105–21.

⁸ Roche, *ibid.*, 275.

fewer forces than its *stile antico* counterpart, and was thus more financially sustainable and attractive.

The polyphonic style with which the motet entered the seventeenth century retained its true *stile antico* form in the south with composers such as Palestrina in Rome. In Venice, however, the strength of the older *stile antico* widely disappeared in exchange for the new *seconda pratica* style. Polyphonic textures and *stile antico* gestures continued to make cameo appearances in the works of Grandi and his Venetian contemporaries as they paid passing tribute to, and consciously left behind the *stile antico*, but the Venetian school favoured combining relatively simple harmony with prominent melodies. They developed the use of *cori spezzati*⁹ and, in some cases, began integrating instruments. Structured around short motifs, the new style allowed imitation between both voices and instruments, and often included longer instrumental ritornello passages. Furthermore, the new *seconda pratica* style was to influence the development of the motet into another form – the vocal concerto.

The popularity of the *concertato* motet alongside its secular counterpart, the madrigal, spread across Europe throughout the seventeenth century. The dissemination of early Italian Baroque music is a reflection of the widespread significance and influence of both leading and lesser composers of the *concertato* style. The output of anthologies published in Venice, Rome, Strasbourg, and Leipzig during this time of Italian supremacy provided a means by which composers such as Grandi could reach audiences on a European scale. One of the most significant points of contact to whom this compositional lineage can be traced was the German composer Heinrich Schütz. Having been educated by Gabrieli in Venice, and encountering Monteverdi and Grandi on different occasions, Schütz became both an advocate abroad, and composer of the *concertato* motet, exemplifying and further popularising the style with his *Kleine geistliche concerte*, 1636 and 1639. This is a point to which I will return later in greater detail.

By the end of the seventeenth century the motet's structure had been so modified that it now included sections and also welcomed the integration of recitative and aria, igniting future compositional forms such as the cantata. This new style of writing was formally introduced for the first time in Viadana's 1602 Venetian publication *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*.

⁹ Cori spezzati – essentially 'broken choir' was the term used to describe a choral work broken into distinct groups of singers. Not only could this refer to the musical scoring, but also to the physical placing of different choirs within a piece which would visually and audibly display the antiphonal compositional style that was pioneered by Andrea Gabrieli and his nephew Giovanni at St. Mark's, Venice. Grandi paid tribute to the style in his motet *Nativitas tua* from *Il primo libro*, 1610. The motet is scored for eight voices in double choir.

While Viadana was instrumental in advocating the basso continuo style, he was not strictly the earliest or only composer to use the term or incorporate *basso continuo*.¹⁰ As early as fifty years prior to the publication of Viadana's most influential work in 1602, the composer Diego Ortiz¹¹ included improvisations over bass lines in his publications. Viadana's contemporaries, Peri, Caccini and Cavalieri perpetuated Ortiz's element of improvisation in their own works, and added some of the earliest forms of figures to their bass lines. The figures specified which harmonies the continuo player was to improvise upon over the supplied bass line. Viadana rarely used figures, and only really indicated major and minor chords when he did make use of \sharp s and \flat s.¹² Still, Viadana incorporated *basso continuo* in his 1602 treatise, and produced a collection of twelve rules to aid in the performance of works in the new style.¹³

Viadana's 1602 publication addressed impracticalities of performance, and presented a basso continuo solution that effectively made music far more accessible to varied combinations of performers. With the introduction of basso continuo supporting the voices and strengthening the texture, economical performances with fewer singers became feasible as a more harmonically-based counterpoint developed. Previously, any missing voices had to be filled by the organist, or were left out altogether, leaving musical and textual gaps.¹⁴ Instead, Viadana composed works that were suitable for multiple combinations of voices, enabling the organist to assume the role of a continuo player by providing harmony rather than being confined to filling in missing polyphony. Viadana describes the problem that his compositions attempted to solve in the preface:

There have been many reasons (courteous readers) which have induced me to compose concertos of this kind, among which the following is one of the most important: I saw that singers wishing to sing to the Organ, either with three voices, or two, or a single one by itself, were sometimes forced by the lack of compositions suitable to their purpose to take one, two, or three

¹⁰ Arnold explains that Guidotti had already used the term *basso continuato* in his *Avvertimenti* in 1600, two years before the vast circulation and subsequent popularisation of Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* in which Viadana first introduced the term *basso continuo*. F.T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment From a Thorough-Bass*, v.1, 6. For a further examination of the history of the basso continuo, see: 'From Renaissance to Baroque—Changes in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the National Early Music Association Conference, York, July 1999', ed. J.P. Wainwright & P. Holman (Aldershot & Burlington, Vermont, 2005), pp. 1–21 (7–9 in particular)

¹¹ Although he was Spanish, Diego Ortiz worked in Italy, and published his treatise *Tratado de glosas*... in Rome in 1553. F.T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment From a Thorough-Bass*, v.1, 5. ¹² *Ihid*

¹³ A more detailed discussion can be found in the 'Basso Continuo' section.

¹⁴ L. da Viadana, Per sonar nel'organo li cento concerti ecclesiastici, trans. Bernhand Lang,< http://imslp.org/wiki/Per_sonar_nel%27organo_li_cento_concerti_ecclesiastici_(Viadana,_Lodovico_ da)>, accessed 26 September 2014.

parts from Motets in five, six, seven, or even eight ; these [i.e. the parts selected], owing to the fact that they ought to be heard in conjunction with the other parts, as being necessary for the imitations, closes, counterpoints, and other features of the composition as a whole, are full of long and repeated pauses ; closes are missing ; there is a lack of melody, and, in short, very little continuity or meaning, quite apart from the interruptions of the words which are sometimes omitted, and sometimes separated by inconvenient breaks which rendered the style of performance either imperfect, or wearisome, or ugly, and far from pleasing to the listeners, not to mention the very great difficulty which the singers experienced in performance.¹⁵

Viadana's solution, encouraging composers to experiment with texture, quickly became popular. Because the basso continuo was to provide harmonic support, the vocal parts could therefore assume antiphonal roles, echoing each other with new melodic patterns and counterpoint that was harmonically based.

> In the hands of composers like Alessandro Grandi and Ignazio Donati ... the concertato motet quickly reached a high artistic level in the early decades of the century. Many composers including Grandi found an outlet for their melodic gifts in this new genre, where polyphonic lines often assumed a new tuneful freshness.¹⁶

Alessandro Grandi, thus, aligned himself with Viadana, contributing to the development of the basso continuo and pioneering its rise to a new level of importance from which it came to dominate the music of the Baroque. Grandi's motets also exemplify the rise of communicative text in performance, because of which ornaments were subsequently and specifically conceived in order to enhance text. Grandi was also amongst the first to include obbligato violins in motets, and his three publications of *Motetti con sinfonie de due violine* offer early examples of collections devoted solely to motets for voices and violins. The addition of strings added new colour to an already fresh style, providing refrains to fill gaps in vocal passages and echo the imitative motifs set up by the singers. Grandi's *Motetti con sinfonie de due violine* were composed in three publications, the first

¹⁵ Viadana, *ibid.*, 3.

¹⁶ E. H. Sanders and P. M. Lefferts, 'Motet, 5: Italy' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura Macy. < http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40086pg1#S40086.1.5> (accessed 26 September 2014)

two stemming from Grandi's time in Venice (1621 and 1625) and the last book published when he had reached Bergamo (1629).

Grandi's esteemed positions of employment at Ferrara, Venice and Bergamo provided him with the musicians necessary for the conception of his works, and the volumes of his motets were in notably high demand. The popularity of Grandi's works ensured that they were widely performed throughout Northern Italy during the early seventeenth century, and were so valued that some books had several editions issued.¹⁷ As mentioned, they were also featured in anthologies, amongst motets by other composers, published both during and after his life, not only in Italy, but also in Europe.¹⁸ With the death of Grandi's trusted publisher, Giacomo Vincenti, in 1619, editors, publishers and printers competed for Grandi's business, and even began to publish his work without his consent. One publication that stands out is *Celesti Fiori*, the fifth book of motets, printed in 1619 by Bartolomeo Magni for the Gardano publishing house. This is the only publication of Grandi's six books of concertato motets that has a decorative title, and includes a somewhat apologetic dedication in which Leonardo Simonetti, a singer at San Marco and editor at the house of Gardano, revealed his piracy, admitting 'that he had collected the works "furtively" and had dedicated the collection to Grandi when his conscience had bothered him about his theft.¹⁹

Other publishers fought more admirably for Grandi's publishing rights. The late Giacomo Vincenti's son, Alessandro, was keen to rekindle the trusted partnership that his father had established with Grandi. In Alessandro Vincenti's updated edition of Pomponio Nenna's *Primo libro de Madrigali a quattro voci*, the editor dedicates his work to Grandi in a colourful effort to charm the composer:

To the Illustrious Sir, my most Respected Sir Alessandro Grandi, Vice Maestro di Capella della Serenissima Signoria di Venezia at S.Marco.²⁰ These madrigals of knight Sir Nenna come out of the tomb of darkness to the light of the sun, and from the tomb of oblivion to the theatre of perpetuity adorned by the illustrious name of Your Lordship. [...] These, fixing their eyes on the title that's on the front, will be struck dumb, even more – will become petrified like rocks, exactly as happened to the

¹⁷ Saunders, XVI – XVII.

¹⁸ I will discuss this at greater length under the heading 'The dissemination of the concertato motet via anthology publications'.

¹⁹ Saunders, XVI.

²⁰ Serenissima is the name of the chapel of S. Marco's, and could be translated: Chapel of the Most Serene. Many thanks to Elena Cicinskaite for pointing out that "La Serenissima" was a nick-name of Venice, as "La Superba" was that of Genoa, for example.

voracious Sea Monster when it saw the head of Medusa, revealed to it by Perseo, Andromeda's liberator. With all this I shall not end up having complied to Your worthiness, that is infinite, nor to my obligation, that is likewise, but to this convenience in which Your Lordship will receive the silence of Your virtues as an eloquence; and it is enough to say that the world has reposted and will newly put You among the most deserved Musicians that it takes delight from. And whilst I'm trying to transform that, what I consider nothing, into some appearance of effect to demonstrate the obligated gratitude; likewise you take delight in resembling Jupiter and Mercury, who, when given presents by Filemone, were pleased not so much in that little substance offered to them, as in its pure and warm affection. And here, saying no more, I wish you all the fortune from Heaven. From Venice 22nd October 1621.

The Most Affectionate Friend and Servant of Your Illustrious Lordship, ALESSANDRO VINCENTI.²¹

Vincenti's flattery must have worked, as Grandi returned to publishing with his 'most affectionate friend and servant,' Vincenti, later that year.

Grandi spent his life moving between important confraternities and Venice, bringing his Venetian experience to provincial church music. Thus, Grandi became a crucial figure in the transformation of sacred music in Northern Italy. Where grand, largescale polyphonic works had dominated the sixteenth century, Grandi predominantly composed harmonically rooted, smaller-scale church motets that required fewer musicians. However, 'the view that his Venetian compositions were exclusively small-scale because the composition of large-scale works inevitably fell to Monteverdi²² hardly quantifies the full extent of Grandi's success. His psalm and mass settings 'are, by their very nature,

²¹ With sincere thanks to Elena Cicinskaite for the provision of this new translation of the original: Bologna, Gaspari Online: 'All' Illustre Signor mio Osservandissimo il Signor Alessandro Grandi Vice Maestro di Capella della Serenissima Signoria di Venetia in S. Marco. Escono questi Madrigali del Signor Cauaglier Nenna dal sepolchro delle tenebre alla luce del sole, e dalla tomba delle obliuioni al theatro della perpetuità ornati del nome Illustre di Vostra Signoria. [...] Queste fissando l'occhio al titolo che portano in fronte ammutiranno, anzi impetrite quai scogli diuerranno, come appunto accade al vorace Mostro Marino vedendo la testa di Medusa scopertali da Perseo liberatore d'Andromeda. Con tanto verrò ad hauer sodisfatto non al suo merito, ch'è infinito, non al mio debito ch'è altrettanto, ma alla conuenienza presente in cui Vostra Signoria riceuerà il silentio delle sue virtù per eloquenza; e basti à dire, che il mondo l' hà riposta et annouera fra' Musici più degni ch'egli goda. E mentre quel niente ch' io vaglio, cerco trasformare in alcuna apparenza d' effetto per dimostratione d' ubligata gratitudine; Cosi lei si compiaccia rassomigliarsi a Gioue et à Mercurio, quali da Filemone regalati, non tanto la poca sostanza che possedeua offertagli aggradirono, quanto il suo puro e caldo affetto. E qui senza più gli auguro dal Cielo il colmo d' ogni felicità. Di Venetia li 22. di Ottobre 1621. Di Vostra Signoria Illustre Affettionatissimo Amico, e Seruitore ALESSANDRO VINCENTI.' ²² Saunders, XV.

large-scale works.²³ The repute of 'the goodness, good service, and excellence of said Alessandro, who is a good singer and composer,²⁴ followed Grandi and opened professional doors to the most lavish of church positions throughout his working life. These included positions at Santa Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, the Accademia della Spirito Santo and the Accademia della Morte in Ferrara, where composers 'enjoyed a liberal outlook in arts and humanities bred from the independent Venetian spirit. In church music there was a confrontation, typical of most other cities under Venice, between radical, modern tendancies and tradition.²⁵

While little is known about the first decade of Grandi's relatively short life and career, it is possible that he may have been born in Sicily, but 'it is more likely that Grandi was born in the Venetian Republic or in Ferrara, where he spent his early working life.²⁶ Roche and Miller suggest that Grandi began his career - rather remarkably - some time after his eleventh birthday in 1597, and certainly before his fourteenth birthday in 1600, when Grandi is known to have taken up the position of Maestro di Cappella at the Accademia della Morte in Ferrara. However, Othmar Wessely and Walter Kreysig assert that Giulio Belli, Grandi's predecessor at the Accademia della Morte, was appointed in 1597 for two years, after which he moved to Osimo Cathedral to take up the position of Maestro.²⁷ Therefore, Grandi must have begun his first recorded appointment during or after 1599; otherwise the post would have fallen vacant:

> Belli had left Ferrara for the cathedral at Osimo by 1599, so unless the post was vacant for a protracted period, Grandi's service as maestro di cappella probably began in 1599 or 1600. He was thus working for the Academy alongside Girolomo Frescobaldi, who had already been playing the organ at the confraternity for several years by the turn of the century.²⁸

Grandi left Ferrara in 1604 to take up one of the enviable giovane di coro positions at the epicentre of Italian church music: Basilica di San Marco in Venice. 'The giovane di coro were not full members of the cappella of the basilica, but rather singers in an adult

²³ D. Arnold, 'Alessandro Grandi: A Disciple of Monteverdi', *The Musical Quarterly* 43, No. 2, 183.

²⁴ J.H. Moore, Vespers at St Mark's: Music of Alessandro Grandi, Giovanni Rovetta and Francesco Cavalli (Ann Arbor, 1980), 1:6.

⁵ J. Roche, 'Music at S. Maria. Maggiore, Bergamo, 1614-1643', Music and Letters, 47, No. 4 (1966), 296. ²⁶ J. Roche and R. Miller, 'Grandi: Alessandro' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at Grove Music Online, ed. Laura Macv.<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/11611?g=alessandro+grandi&sear ch=quick&pos=1& start=1#firsthit> (accessed 26 September 2014)

²⁷ O Wessely and W Kreyszig. 'Belli, Giulio' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at Grove Music Online, ed. Laura Macy.<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02599?q=belli&search=quick&po $s=3\&_start=1>$ (accessed 26 September 2014) ²⁸ Saunders, XI.

choir that was required to chant the psalms, and perhaps, to perform *stile antico* masses on ferial days.²⁹ It was here that Grandi came to work with then *Maestro di Cappella* Giovanni Croce, and organist-composer Giovanni Gabrieli,³⁰ to whom many of the compositional features of Grandi's early output can be attributed.³¹ Grandi may have been Giovanni Gabrieli's student,³² and this would explain why he 'paid passing tribute to the Venetian polychoral tradition³³ of which Gabrieli was a master, in his eight-voice motet Nativitas tua from Il primo libro de motetti.

Grandi's first publication, *Il primo libro de motetti*, in which many of these Gabriellian features can be observed, dates from 1610, by which time the composer had since left San Marco for the first time, and returned to Ferrara in order to take up the principal position at another confraternity, the Accademia della Spirito Santo. This hub of musical excellence and grandeur provided yet another environment in which Grandi was able to thrive as a composer.

During his time at the Accademia Grandi published Il secondo libro in 1613, and Il terzo libro in 1614. Grandi remained at the Accademia until 1615, after which he was succeeded by Ignazio Donati, another notable composer who worked on the outskirts of Venice in the Northeast of Italy, whose style was not unlike that of Grandi. Given that Donati, like Grandi, was also a provincial composer, 'was consistently inventive in all the branches of it [church music] that he worked in, [and that he was also said to be] an outstanding pioneer of the small-scale concertato motet.³⁴ it is hard to believe that the two would not have known and influenced, or at least come into contact with each other's work. Still, 'the extent of their contacts, if any, during this brief period of overlap in Ferrara remains uncertain.³⁵

When Grandi left the Accademia in 1615 he took up his final Ferrarese position as Maestro di Capella at the Cathedral Basilica di San Giorgio, where he published Il quarto *libro de motetti* in 1616. He did not stay long at the cathedral, however, and in 1617 Grandi returned to Venice, where he spent ten years under the direction of the highly esteemed Claudio Monteverdi, who had arrived at St. Mark's in 1613. Grandi served Monteverdi first as a singer, and then as *vice-maestro di cappella* to the great master.

²⁹ Saunders, XII. and Moore, Vespers at St. Mark's, 1:6.

³⁰ Moore, 1:6.

³¹ Features attributed to Gabrieli.

³² Saunders, XIII.

³³ Ibid., XIII.

³⁴ J. and E. Roche, 'Donati, Ignazio' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at Grove Music Online, ed. Laura Macv. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/07989?q=donati&search=quick&pos=4 & start=1#firsthit> (accessed 26 September 2014) ³⁵ Saunders, XIV.

It is difficult to ascertain how harmoniously Grandi and Monteverdi were able to work together. However, Monteverdi claimed that his role made him integral in the appointment of Grandi as his assistant,³⁶ so he must have trusted and admired his rival when he promoted Grandi from singer to deputy. Contemporaries of the two composers, such as Giulio Strozzi, seemed to believe, and have left behind the impression that Grandi and Monteverdi had a somewhat complicated and competitive relationship. Saunders highlights one such example - reproduced below - a stanza from Giulio Strozzi *Venetia edificata*:

If Grandi, then, if Monteverdi competing to clothe sacred or less lascivious songs with sweet song and such rare symphony were to have stood armed in that season, from their discords what distinguished and precious consonance would have been born within those statues where the sorceress in those summer flames sought to delight those more bashful souls.³⁷

Just before Grandi's appointment as assistant to Monteverdi, shake-ups in the administrative makeup of *San Marco* meant that Monteverdi was chosen to forcibly replace Grandi as *capo* of the *Compagnia di San Marco*, effectively removing Grandi from his role and reducing him to *vice-capo*.³⁸ While it is easy to imagine Grandi being envious of Monteverdi, it is equally probable that Monteverdi, in turn, also envied the successes of his deputy. 'Whether Grandi and Monteverdi's "armed competition" and "discords" were metaphorical or actual, remains uncertain, but it is not difficult to imagine Monteverdi envying Grandi's success in the print market.'³⁹

Competition between the composers aside, Monteverdi's influence on Grandi's compositional style is indisputable. Grandi may well have come into contact with Monteverdi's secular work during his early life in Ferrara, as Monteverdi had sent four canzonettas to Duke Alfonso II d'Este in 1594.⁴⁰ This would help to explain the parallels

³⁶ Monteverdi asserts this in a letter to Alessandro Striggio. Saunders, XVI.

³⁷ 'S'il Grandi allor, s'il Monteverdi a gara / in vestir sacri o lascivetti carmi / con dolce canto e sinfonia si rara / stati in quella stagion fossero in armi, / qual dale lor discordie illustre e cara / consonanza nascea dentro a que' marmi / dove la maga in quelle fiamme estive / s'ingegna d'allettar l'alme piú schive. From Giulio Strozzi, *Venetia edificata* (Venice: Girolomo Piuti, 1626), xii: 74; quoted in Fabbri, *Monteverdi*, 203. (quoted in Saunders XIX).

³⁸ Moore, Vespers at St. Mark's, 1: 252-53 (document 55).

³⁹ Saunders, XIX.

⁴⁰ T. Carter, 'Monteverdi, Claudio, 2: Mantua' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura

and shared compositional traits, which can be observed in both Monteverdi and Grandi's respective 1610 publications. As I will discuss at greater length in the following sections, Grandi's style transformed considerably before, during, and after his Monteverdi years at Venice. While some of this can be attributed to the forces at his disposal, such as

virtuoso singers and some of it as the logical sequence of the voluptuous Ferrara motets, this does not entirely explain Grandi's new style. The most important part of the answer lies in the influence of Monteverdi an analysis of Grandi's works shows so many of the features of the mature Monteverdi style that the resemblances can hardly be accidental.⁴¹

When Denis Arnold called Grandi a 'disciple of Monteverdi,' he was certainly justified.⁴² However, at this point it is important to consider that in terms of their respective publications in 1610, Grandi was at least equal to, if not ahead of, Monteverdi in terms of the small-scale *concertato* motet. While Monteverdi was preoccupied with composing most of the large-scale works - music for major feast days, psalms for vespers, masses, Magnificats and Requiems⁴³ - Grandi was left with the remaining responsibility to compose smaller-scale works for lesser feast days and daily services.⁴⁴ Grandi's output during this period at St. Mark's consists of solo cantatas, arias, his fifth book of *concertato* motets entitled Celesti Fiori, and three books with obbligato instruments.⁴⁵ These, and his Motetti con sinfonie a due violini evidenced changes in the composer's writing style and focus. The second book of *Motetti con sinfonie a due violini*, published in 1625, for example, was the only publication of Grandi's sacred music to emerge in the period between 1622 and 1626, in spite of his role as *vice-maestro*. However, Vincenti did publish at least three collections of Grandi's secular music. This perhaps indicates that Monteverdi's secular influence on Grandi was growing, even as Grandi's devotion to San Marco was diminishing, and he turned his attention rather naturally towards the secular music that Monteverdi favoured.⁴⁶

Macy.<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44352pg2?_starta=1&hit_id=hit_i n_article2&qa=d%27Este&search=search_in_article#hit_in_article2> (accessed 26 September 2014)

⁴¹ Denis Arnold, 'Alessandro Grandi, A disciple of Monteverdi', 182-3.

⁴² See Chapter 3.

⁴³ Carter, 'Monteverdi, Claudio, 2: Mantua'.

⁴⁴ Arnold, 'Alessandro Grandi, a disciple of Monteverdi', 182-3.

⁴⁵ 1619: Celesti Fiori – libro quinto de suoi concerti a 2, 3, 4 voci ... raccolti da Lunardo Simonetti (16 motets);1621: Motetti a voce sola; 1621: Motetti a una, et due voci con sinfonie con due violini – Libro Primo; 1622: Madrigali concertati a due, tre e quattro voci per cantar, e sonar nel clavi-cembalo, chitarrones, o altro simile stromento – libro secondo; 1625: Motetti a una, due et quattro voci con sinfonie con due violini – libro secondo; 1626: Cantade et arie a voce sola, commode de cantarsi nel clavicembalo, chitarrones, & altro simile stromento- libro terzo. (Grove, Alessandro Grandi – works.)
⁴⁶ Saunders, XIX.

The shift from sacred to secular would have been easy for Grandi. As proponents of the new seconda pratica style, both Grandi and Monteverdi had long incorporated secular formulae and rhetorical devices into their works. 'Grandi was hardly the first to incorporate these techniques into motets, but no other composer, with the possible exception of Monteverdi, seems to have used them so pervasively in sacred music by 1610.⁴⁷ For the purposes of this study, we look at Grandi primarily through a sacred lens, but interestingly Denis Arnold refers to Grandi as 'one of the foremost representatives of North Italian secular music.⁴⁸ 'What characterizes the more modern sacred music of the early Seicento and Monteverdi's sacred music in particular is not the novelty of its stylistic elements, but rather the infusion into sacred music of features originating in secular music.⁴⁹ Secular writing was built upon short, *solo* and *tutti* motifs in a particularly rhetorical and conversational style. Music was composed in a declamatory style, with textually and emotionally driven monody, and a crucially supportive bass line. Melody and solo lines were most prominent. Grandi was amongst those composers incorporating these elements into both his sacred and secular compositions from an early stage. 'By the end of the decade, this blurring of the stylistic boundaries between sacred and secular idioms would be virtually complete,⁵⁰ and Grandi would have been equally at home in either genre, as there was little to differentiate between the two.

No matter how inspiring, life in the shadow of Monteverdi must not have been fulfilling enough for Grandi. In August 1626, having heard of the death of Giovanni Cavaccio, Maestro di Capella at Bergamo's Santa Maria Maggiore, Grandi wrote a letter, and offered his services. Cavaccio had held the post since 1598, and the opportunities which the vacancy represented must have tempted the composer to leave Venice, where he had developed his skills amongst the leading Italian musicians, and to return to yet another of the greatest of the provincial churches where he had always found he could exercise those skills most fruitfully. Santa Maria Maggiore was renowned throughout Italy for its exceptional standard of choral music. It was not unusual for musicians to write letters appealing to the *Consorzio* for employment within their reputable choir.⁵¹ Regardless, when they received Grandi's letter

> they must have delighted that someone of such talent, in the service of no less than the Doge's chapel itself, should do this, and without as much as an

⁴⁷ Ibid., XXIV.

 ⁴⁸ Arnold, 'Alessandro Grandi, a disciple of Monteverdi', 178.

⁴⁹ Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, context, performance* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 1999), 186.

 ⁵⁰ Saunders, XXV.
 ⁵¹ Roche, 'Music at S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo 1614-1643', 300.

audition, elected him *maestro* unanimously on 18 March 1627, sending him this letter :

To Sr. Aless.ro Grandi, Venice, 20 March 1627:

This council's motion, which I enclose, will serve as a reply to your letter. All I have to add is that you have been elected unanimously – a considerable favour and an indication of the heartfelt respect that all have for you: each of us will await the return of that respect through diligence on your part. If you could move hear a little earlier, for the Easter festivities and to allow yourself time to find a home and settle in, the deputies offer you fifteen days' lodging for this purpose. Do come a little earlier then – you can be sure of the courtesy and respect due to a man of your qualities.⁵²

In 1627 Grandi left Venice and headed to Bergamo, accepting the position of *Maestro di Cappella* at *Santa Maria Maggiore*. Not only had the prospect of a career move proved tempting enough for Grandi, but his personal and family life also stood to improve by moving to Bergamo: 'Grandi accepted not only because of the honor of becoming *maestro di capella*, but also because he believed the cost of living would be lower than it had been in Venice.'⁵³ The financial incentive for such a move is further explained by the knowledge that Alessandro and his wife Lucia had ten small children.⁵⁴ This was not the first time that finances had driven Grandi to leave one post for another; in 1617, he left his position at the cathedral in Ferrara for a singing post at *San Marco*, one of the highest paying churches in Italy,⁵⁵ with the promise of a 'relatively generous salary of 80 ducats per year.'⁵⁶ Whilst the musical rewards were plenty,⁵⁷ unfortunately poor weather, economic hardship, and a famine plagued Bergamo between 1627 and 1629, ⁵⁸ and Grandi's move to Bergamo did not, ultimately, provide the financial relief he had hoped for.

Early in 1628, Grandi wrote to the Consorzio asking for a rise in salary: The letter is interesting and it tells us why he left Venice. He says that it was not only the importance of the post as *maestro* at S. Maria, but also the prospect of lower food prices at Bergamo that attracted him. But whereas he revels in

⁵² Ibid., 306.

⁵³ Saunders, XIX.

⁵⁴ A letter of thanks addressed to Grandi from the regents of the basilica at Bergamo informs us that he had ten small children (Padaon "Sulla Struttura", 8).

⁵⁵ Arnold, 'Alessandro Grandi, A disciple of Monteverdi', 172.

⁵⁶ Moore, 1:8 quoted in Saunders, XV.

⁵⁷ 'Grandi was clearly most contented to have a choir that was regularly able to sing his own large-scale music.' Roche, 'Music at S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo', 308.

⁵⁸ Roche, 'Music at S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo, 1614-1643', 301.

the former, the latter has not turned out at all. He received his rise – from 1240 to 1400 *lire* a year – but it proved insufficient: later in the year he wrote again, flattering the Consorzio with protestations of loyalty to S. Maria, and describing rumours that on a return visit to Venice to take part in some music, very good offers were made to him to lure him back there, which he had accepted. These rumours were totally false, he said; he had turned the offers down ... The result of the letter was a donation of grain and wine to support his numerous family.⁵⁹

The letter refers to the several visits Grandi made between Venice and Bergamo during this point in his career, with frequent trips to sign documents for his publishers there. Whilst travelling between Venice and Bergamo, he also engaged in performances, and visited friends. His music reached Heinrich Schütz during this period, and contributed to the growing influence of basso continuo beyond Italy, and onward to Germany.⁶⁰

At Bergamo, where he was finally in a position of immense authority, Grandi had the financial backing of the church council, and was encouraged to utilise large forces not only on major feast days, but also on lesser days when extra musicians were hired from afar. When Grandi arrived in Bergamo, however, he found himself at a hub of choral tradition which was severely lacking in modern resources. Volumes of inventories in the archives of Santa Maria Maggiore evidence that each new maestro di capella would compile, record, and catalogue the music available to them. 'The list compiled in 1628, after Grandi's arrival, is the first in the seventeenth century. It shows that the choir was rather conservative in its choice of music, there being strong emphasis on cori spezzati music by such composers as Asola, Croce, Viadana, Vecchi and Giulio Belli, and also much from before the turn of the century. There is an almost complete absence of one-, two- and three part concertato motets, and apart from a few contributions by Cavaccio while he was *maestro* there seems to be no music less than ten years old.⁶¹ 'Grandi, perhaps the most progressive composer in the *concertato* style, must have been glad to arrive at a church where modern music was not well known, where he would be able to build up a new tradition upon the old.⁶² Here, Grandi completed his sixth and final publication of *concertato* motets, which was printed in Venice in 1630. A substantial output undoubtedly would have followed had Grandi not succumbed to the plague that

⁵⁹ Ibid., 307-8.

⁶⁰ The German composer Heinrich Schütz made a second journey to Venice in 1628, during which time Grandi was there taking part in one such performance. It was most likely at this time that the two came into contact. Jerome Roche, 'What Schütz learnt from Grandi in 1629', Musical Times 113 (1972): 1074-75. ⁶¹ Roche, 'Music at S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo', 302.
 ⁶² Ibid., 306.

swept through Bergamo in 1630, claiming the lives of thousands, including his wife and children.⁶³ Having risen to prominence amongst the greatest musicians of seventeenth-century church music, Grandi died, aged 44, at the very height of his promising career.

⁶³ Saunders, XX.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Claudio Monteverdi has been firmly inscribed in the history books as a canonic composer, not least as a result of an *Opera Omnia* of his music, published by twentiethcentury musicologists.⁶⁴ The availability of Monteverdi's complete works facilitated the performance of his music. As his repertoire gained recognition, Monteverdi earned his place in the musicological bibles. For example, J. W. Hill gives mention to Monteverdi in no fewer than 31 pages in *Baroque Music*.⁶⁵ Grandi, in contrast, appears in only four pages. Grandi's situation does not improve when looking closely at literature specifically devoted to the seventeenth century for further examples – Grandi can be found on only four pages of Bianconi's *Music in the Seventeenth Century*,⁶⁶ while Monteverdi claims more than 70 pages. Neither quality, nor quantity of output can be to blame; accessibility is the most likely source of the imbalance. It is for this reason that the creation of an accessible, modern edition of Grandi's works is essential in order to lesson the unjust gap.

It cannot be denied that in the writing of history, Alessandro Grandi has been paid considerably less attention, and thus been counted as a comparatively second-rank composer. If we are to look more closely at the volume and styles of Italian music that reached England and the rest of Europe, however, the picture is somewhat different, and the significance and influence of Grandi and other composers of small-scale *concertato* music rises considerably. Regarding the composition of the small-scale *concertato* motet, Buelow states that Grandi was as distinguished as Monteverdi - who stands supreme - and is particularly influential during the second decade of the seventeenth century, in terms of the dissemination of his music. Buelow recognises the popularity of Grandi's motets, as evidenced by their frequent republication, and he is correct.⁶⁷ In modern times, the many performances and recordings of these motets continue to reflect the quality of Grandi's compositions, in spite of the absence of an Opera Omnia of Grandi's works.

While much of the world has, indeed, looked more favourably upon bigger names of the Italian Baroque, significant figures of the musicological world have dedicated a great deal of research to Grandi. My own research has been born out of the pioneering work which was left incomplete by Jerome Roche. Roche, himself, edited numerous motets of Grandi and many of his North-Italian contemporaries. Those that I have been

⁶⁴ A complete edition of Monteverdi's works was compiled by Gian Francesco Malipiero. Finished in 1942, the supposed 'Urtext' edition is littered with dynamic markings, misrepresented time signatures and tempo suggestions.

⁶⁵ J. W. Hill, *Baroque Music*. Norton: New York, 2005.

⁶⁶ L. Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

⁶⁷ Buelow, A History of Baroque Music. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.

able to examine are in manuscript and only published posthumously.⁶⁸ His research into North Italian sacred repertoire and performance is available in numerous articles, and in his book, entitled *North-Italian Church Music In The Age of Monteverdi*.⁶⁹ As a student of Denis Arnold, who was responsible for the early article, 'Alessandro Grandi, A Disciple of Monteverdi (1957),'⁷⁰ Roche inherited a fascination with the Italian Baroque, which he applied to his research, and has contributed significantly to the re-discovery of Grandi, and the context in which he emerged as a composer. This re-discovery continues to develop, as Steven Saunders has also begun to create an Opera Omnia of Grandi's works in the United States, thus far achieving the publication of *Opera Omnia 1. Il primo libro de motetti*, and *Opera Omnia 5. Il quarto libro de* motetti, in which much of the biographical information and some performance practice issues as originally raised by Roche and Arnold, are scrutinised.

A modern edition breathes new life into compositions which have long been forgotten. However, that is not to say that a composer's worth can only be defined by a modern audience's appreciation of that composer's body of work. Grandi's compositional output was immense. His works were well-known and well-travelled, which is how they came to exist and survive in Christ Church, Oxford, and other libraries throughout Europe. Wainwright notes that:

Monteverdi was not the most popular Italian composer in England in the seventeenth century, and it is my contention that after the decline in the popularity of the Italian polyphonic madrigal, the primary vehicle for Italian musical influence in England was the small-scale concertato motet.⁷¹

Grandi's motets appear to have disseminated across Europe, as we find copies in libraries as far away as Munich and Wroclaw.⁷² The small-scale *concertato* motet was essentially the Ford Fiesta of the seventeenth century - popular, affordable and economical to run, requiring only a few voices to keep it on the road to performance and practicality. The forces required for performance of Monteverdi's Vespers, on the other hand, were so considerable that only very specific establishments would have had use for Monteverdi's work; hence, according to RISM, only one complete print survives, at the Museo

⁶⁸ Motets by Alessandro Grandi Works from 1610-1616, part of the Seventeenth-Century Italian Sacred Music Series published in 2001 by Garland Science. Also Motets by Alessandro Grandi Works from 1619 – 1630, in the same series, published in 2002.

⁶⁹ J. Roche, North Italian Church music in the age of Monteverdi, (Oxford: Carendon Press, 1984), J. Roche, 'Music at S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo, 1614-1643', Music and Letters, 47, No. 4 (1966), 296-312.

⁷⁰ D. Arnold, 'Alessandro Grandi: A Disciple of Monteverdi', *The Musical Quarterly* 43, No. 2, 171 – 186.

⁷¹ J. P. Wainwright, Dissemination and influence of Monteverdi's Music in England, 116.

⁷² Wroclaw: Biblioteka Uniwersyteka, Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna.⁷³ Monteverdi does feature in the Christ Church library, but only as a secular composer with his seven books of madrigals and Orfeo.74

If we limit our research to the musical offerings of the canonic names then we neglect to acknowledge the presence of those figures who were as integral to the development of the earliest forms of Baroque style as their famous contemporaries were. Grandi rests somewhere in between. Few composers achieved such esteemed positions, or rubbed shoulders with as many of the figureheads of this period as did Grandi. Composers were typically subject to a nomadic lifestyle, moving wherever there were offers of work, and this influenced the extent to which the small *concertato* motet was able to reach a wide audience. It would be wrong to allow Venice only to dominate discussions when attempting to validate a composer's worth, or establish the degree of their notoriety; there were several other significant centres of church music, particularly throughout Northern Italy, and it was in those locations that the *seconda pratica* came to take root.

It must be understood that the structure and organisation of worship in Northern Italy was not entirely straightforward. Roche calls this a 'synthesis of organisation between the city church run solely by clerics and the private chapel of the charitable body run by lay people: both types employed musicians in many North Italian cities in the seventeenth century.⁷⁵ This structure, with a major church establishment at the centre, from which lesser churches could draw talented musicians to enhance their own worship experience, was typical of the seventeenth century. It was the 'wish of the citizens [...] that there should be music for the honour of God and the city's reputation,⁷⁶ and the *concertato* motet provided an affordable means by which to do so. Musicians would travel great distances with their Maestro di Capella to perform at smaller churches' requests. The small scale *concertato* motet provided the possibility of performance for organisations, where money and resources were scarce. Churches wanted to move forward. In Bergamo, where Cavaccio had been a greatly respected Maestro di Capella, the Consorzio unanimously elected Grandi as his successor, evidently embracing the opportunity to bring

⁷³ Further sources (incomplete) can be found at the following libraries: Archivio e Biblioteca Capitolari (I-BRd) 2 Ex. 1. Ex.: kpl. 2. Ex.: S, A, T, 5. 6, 7: Seminario Arcivescovile, Biblioteca (I-Ls) missing b generalis; Biblioteca Casanatense (I-Rc) T; Archivio Doria Pamphilj (I-Rdp) A; Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (PL-WRu) S [incomplete], A, T [incomplete], B, 7 [incomplete], b generalis; Stifts- och landsbiblioteket (S-Sk) T.

⁷⁴J. Milsom et al., Christ Church Music Catalogue

http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/searchall.php?tag=529936&mstag=529935&prtag=529936&setstag=5299 37&pagestag=&sortBy=title (accessed 8 January 2016). ⁷⁵ J. Roche, 'Music at S. Maria Maggiore, Bergamo, 1614-1643', 297.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 303.

in a master of the new style, which Cavaccio, in spite of his efforts, had not achieved.⁷⁷ These churches where Grandi's music was being performed, were cultural epicentres, with notable musicians frequently passing through, succeeding one another in leadership roles as they brought new music into each setting along the way. It was in this way that the *concertato* motet became popular and began to spread throughout Italy, where the rest of the world was beginning to look for musical example.

THE OXFORD CHRIST CHURCH SOURCE

The source which has provided the basis for my edition of Grandi's motets is Mus. 926-30, held in the Christ Church library in Oxford. How this collection came to arrive in Oxford leads us to an interesting discussion regarding the journey of Grandi's motets. Below is a table showing the contents of Mus. 926-930, listing Grandi's motets alongside those of his contemporaries: Biagio Tomasi, Giovanni Felice Sances, Girolamo, da Monte dell'Olmo and Antonio Cifra.

The Oxford Christ Church source is a reliable choice upon which to base an edition. Five of the six books of *concertato* motets appear in their entirety, missing only *Il terzo libro de motetti*, for which I used the source held in the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica di Bologna. Two different prints of *Celesti Fiori* are found in Mus. 926-30, the second printing from 1625 and the third from 1638. On comparison of these two editions, it is clear that the reprints were made because of demand, rather than to fix mistakes in previous editions. Both the 1625 and 1638 prints are alike, apart from layout – they differ only in that the earlier edition has more music on each stave.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 305. Cavaccio attempted to compose *concertato* motets with his 'Musica Concordia' in 1620, but the results are largely old-fashioned and uninspired.

Table 2 - Contents of Mus	. 926 - 30, Christ Church Library
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	Contents of Mus. 926-30, Christ Church Library, catalogued by John Milsom ⁷⁸							
Place in catalogue.	Composer	Title	Publisher	Location				
Mus. 926- 30(1)	Tomasi, Biagio, ca. 1585-1640	Motecta binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus concinenda cum Litaniis B. Mariae Virginis quattuor vocibus Auctore Blasio de Tomasiis Opus sextum.	Venice: Appud Bartholameum [sic.] Magni, 1635	Mus. 926: Cantus; Mus. 927: Altus; Mus. 928: Tenor; Mus. 929: Bassus; Mus. 930: Bassus continuus.				
Mus. 926- 30(2)	Cauda, Federico	Catena sacrarum cantionum atque symphonarium binis, ternis, quaternisque vocibus, connexa. A Federico Cauda Sartiranensi cathedralis ecclesiae Derthonensis. Musicae praefecto Liber primus, opus tertium.	Venice: Signum Gardani Appud Bartholomeum Magni, 1626	Mus. 926: Cantus; Mus. 927: Altus; Mus. 928: Tenor; Mus. 929: Bassus; Mus. 930: Organum.				
Mus. 926- 30(3)	Sances, Giovanni Felice, ca. 1600- 1679	Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci di Gio. Felice Sances musico dell' augustissimo, & invittissimo Imperatore Ferdinando III[.] Dedicati a sua s. c. maestá.	Venice: Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1638	Mus. 926: Canto; Mus. 927: Alto; Mus. 928: Tenore; Mus. 929: Basso; Mus. 930: Basso continuo.				
Mus. 926- 30(4)	D'India, Sigismondo, ca. 1580-1629	Liber primus motectorum quatuor vocibus auctore Sigismundo Indiae divi Marci aequite, viroque nobili serenissimi principis Mauritii cardinalis Sabaudiae[.] Nunc primùm in lucem aeditus.	Venice: Apud Alexandrum Vincentium, 1627	Mus. 926: Cantus; Mus. 927: Altus; Mus. 928: Tenor; Mus. 929: Bassus; Mus. 930: Bassus pro organo.				

⁷⁸ J. Milsom, Online Music Catalogue of Christ Church Library, Oxford. http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/page.php?set=Mus.+926--30>, (accessed 22 September 2015) 38

Mus. 926- 30(5)	Grandi, Alessandro (i), 1586-1630	ssandro (i), simile stromento. Di Alessandro Grandi maestro di capella A		Mus. 926: Canto; Mus. 927: Alto; Mus. 928: Tenore; Mus. 929: Basso; Mus. 930: Basso per l'organo.
Mus. 926- 30(6)	Grandi, Alessandro (i), 1586-1630	Il secondo libro de motetti a due tre e quattro voci con il suo basso per sonar nell'organo. Di Alessandro Grandi maestro di capella in Santa Maria Maggiore di Bergamo. Novamente in questa quinta impressione con ogni diligenza corretti, & ristampati.	Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628	Mus. 926: Canto; Mus. 927: Alto; Mus. 928: Tenore; Mus. 929: Basso; Mus. 930: Basso per sonar nell' organo.
Mus. 926- 30(7)	Grandi, Alessandro (i), 1586-1630	Motetti a una, et due voci con sinfonie di due violini, et il basso continuo per l'organo. Di Alessandro Grandi maestro di capella in Santa Maria Maggiore di Bergamo[.] Novamente composti, & dati in luce. Libro terzo.	Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1629	Mus. 926: Canto primo; Mus. 927: Violino primo; Mus. 928: Canto secondo; Mus. 929: Violino secondo; Mus. 930: Basso continuo.
Mus. 926- 30(8)	Grandi, Alessandro (i), 1586-1630	Quarto libro de motetti a due, tre, quattro et sette voci. Con il basso continuo per sonar nell'organo[.] Di Alessandro Grandi[.] Nuovamente in questa quinta impressione con ogni diligenza coretti, & ristampati.	Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628	Mus. 926: Canto; Mus. 927: Alto; Mus. 928: Tenore; Mus. 929: Basso; Mus. 930: Basso per l'organo.
Mus. 926- 30(9)	Grandi, Alessandro (i), 1586-1630	Celesti fiori del sig. Alessandro Grandi[.] Libro quinto de concerti à 1. 2. 3. 4. voci. Con alcune cantilene nel fine. Raccolti da Lunardo Simonetti cantor nella cappella di S.	Venice: Stampa del Gardano Appresso	Mus. 926: Canto; Mus. 927: Alto; Mus. 928: Tenore;

		Marco in Venezia. Novamente ristampati.	Bartolomeo Magni, 1625	Mus. 929: Basso; Mus. 930: Organo.
Mus. 926- 30(10)	Grandi, Alessandro (i), 1586-1630	Il sesto libro de motetti a due, tre, et quattro voci con il basso per l'organo. D'Alessandro Grandi maestro di capella in Santa Maria Maggiore di Bergamo Opera vigesima. Nuovamente composta, & data in luce.	Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1630	Mus. 926: Canto; Mus. 927: Alto; Mus. 928: Tenore; Mus. 929: Basso; Mus. 930: Basso per l'organo.
Mus. 926- 30(11)	Cifra, Antonio, 1584-1629	Motecta quae binis ternis quaternis vocibus concinuntur unà cum basso ad organum auctore Antonio Cifra Romano in Collegio Germanico musice moderatori[.] Liber primus nunc recens in hac tertia aeditione.	Venice: Apud Iacobum Vincentium, 1614	Mus. 926: Cantus primus; Mus. 927: Cantus secundus; Mus. 930: Bassus pro organo.
Mus. 926- 30(12)	Cifra, Antonio, 1584-1629	Motecta quae binis terni[s] quaternis vocibus concinuntur unà cum basso pro organo, auctore Antonio Cifra Romano in Collegio Germanico musice moderatori, liber secundus nunc iterum in lucem aeditus.	Venice: Apud Iacobum Vincentium, 1611	Mus. 926: Cantus primus; Mus. 927: Cantus secundus; Mus. 930: Bassus ad organum.
Mus. 926- 30(13)	Cifra, Antonio, 1584-1629	Motecta quae binis ternis quaternis vocibus concinuntur unà cum basso pro organo, auctore Antonio Cifra Romano in Collegio Germanico musice moderatori[.] Liber tertius nunc recens in hac tertia aeditione.	Venice: Apud Iacobum Vincentium, 1614	Mus. 926: Cantus primus; Mus. 927: Cantus secundus; Mus. 930: Bassus pro organo.
Mus. 926- 30(14)	Cifra, Antonio, 1584-1629	Motecta quae binis ternis, quaternis vocibus concinuntur, auctore Antonio Cifra Romano in sacra aede Lauretana musicae magistro, una cum basso ad organum. Liber quartus nunc denuo atque diligenter recognitus. Opus VIII.	Venice: Apuda Icobum Vincentium [sic.], 1613	Mus. 926: Cantus primus; Mus. 927: Canto secondo; Mus. 930: Bassus pro organo.

Mus. 926- 30(15)	Cifra, Antonio, 1584-1629	Notecta quae binis ternis quaternis vocibus concinuntur una cum basso ad organum, auctore Antonio Cifra Romano in alma aede Lauretana musicae prefecto. Opus undecimum. Liber quintus. Nunc primum in lucem aeditus.		Mus. 926: Cantus primus; Mus. 927: Cantus secundus; Mus. 930: Bassus ad organum.
Mus. 926- 30(16)	Girolamo, da Monte dell'Olmo	Applausi ecclesiastici[.] Motetti a voce sola con il basso continuo per l'organo. Di F. Girolamo da Monte dell'Olmo minore osservante. Libro primo[.] Et alcuni del P. F. Tomaso da S. Agata del medesimo ordine.	Venice: Stampa del Gardano Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1636	Mus. 928: Cantore; Mus. 929: Organo
Mus. 926- 30(17)	Girolamo, da Monte dell'Olmo	Sacri affetti. Motetti a voce sola. Con il basso continuo per l'organo. Di F. Girolamo da Monte dell'Olmo minore osservante. Raccolti et dati in luce da Giacinto Giliucci d'Offida Libro secondo.	Venice: Stampa del Gardano Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1637	Mus. 928: Parte cantante; Mus. 929: Organo

Mus. 926-30 is part of a composite set of part books of printed Italian sacred music, which are integral to a collection that was passed from Christopher Baron Hatton (1605 – 1670) to Dean Henry Aldrich (1647 – 1710). For a long time, it was believed that Aldrich bought the prints directly from Italy, but it is now thought that the Grandi motet publications were most likely owned first by Hatton. If this is the case, they more than likely came into Hatton's possession through the London Bookseller, Robert Martin, from whom Hatton purchased a great number of prints. Dean Henry Aldrich ultimately bound the Grandi prints alongside Hatton's known purchases of 1638 - further evidence that the Grandi motets may well have been part of Hatton's collection.⁷⁹ It seems that Aldrich, therefore, bought the Hatton library in its entirety from the bookseller Robert Scott, to whom the main Hatton library was sold in June 1671.⁸⁰ Another possible transition of Hatton's music collection to Aldrich suggested by Wainwright is that Hatton left his music collection in the safety of Christ Church in 1646, at the fall of Oxford. Aldrich would have come upon it in its entirety, after which beginning the process of organizing, augmenting and binding it as his own collection. Aldrich proceeded to catalogue his collection into 'FANT' (Fantasias), 'MAD' (Madrigals), and 'MOT' (Motets). This is the current state in which they appear in Christ Church library, over 300 years later, still bound in brown covers with Aldrich's emblem inscribed on the front covers - Grandi's six books can be found in MOT C.

In the five catalogues of the aforementioned Robert Martin, we learn that works by Italian composers Faccho, Fontei, Gagliano, Grandi, India, Francesco Maria Marini, Merula, Nenna, Rovetta, and Sances - to name but a few - were readily available to buyers.⁸¹ From the countless motets by Grandi and his contemporaries that survive in England alone, we can recognize the influence that this music must have had at the time.

The prints of all six books of Grandi's motets were used as a copy source by Hatton's musicians and copyists, George Jeffreys and Stephen Bing, who would have had reason to copy sacred Italian motets for performance in front of England's Queen Henrietta Maria. Biographical details can be sought elsewhere,⁸² but in brief, Queen Henrietta Maria's marriage to Charles I did not prevent the Roman Catholic queen from practising her religion. Consequently, there was a demand for liturgical music, and the queen's chapel became a flourishing epicentre of progressive music, where the influence of

⁷⁹ J.P. Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton* (1605-1670), (Aldershot, Scholar Press, 1997), 36.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁸¹ Krummel, D. W. 'Venetian music in a London bookshop', 6.

⁸² M. A. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006)

Italianate small-scale *concertato* motets appeared in the works of the queen's musicians, most notably her organist, Richard Dering (c. 1580 – 1630).⁸³ Dering's travels to Italy equipped him with a understanding of the Italian *concertato* motet, which he brought home to England, and applied to more than fifty Latin motets for few voices and continuo, more than likely for use in Queen Henrietta Maria's chapel. In the 1630s, George Jeffreys was already copying for Hatton, and his collections included Grandi's *Messa di 4 Voce* from *Il Primo Libro de Motetti*. A hypothesis introduced by Wainwright suggests the possibility that two sets of partbooks (British Library Add. MS 31,479 and Madrigal Society MSS G 55-9), which form a collection of 159 Latin motets for between one and five voices by Italian composers, which was copied in the mid - to - late 1650s was more than likely a copy of manuscripts from the 1630s, perhaps performing parts for use in Queen Henrietta Maria's chapel, which have since been lost.⁸⁴ As discussed above, the music in Hatton's library may well included the source material for my edition of Grandi's motets. At least 52 of these are settings of Marian texts; their inclusion amongst the repertoire performed at Queen Henrietta Maria's chapel would have suited both Virgin and Queen.

THE DISSEMINATION OF THE *CONCERTATO* MOTET VIA ANTHOLOGY PUBLICATIONS

To fully appreciate the scope of Grandi's compositional output and influence, it is essential to look closely at the dissemination of the Italian *concertato* motet across Europe, and specifically how it came to end up in numerous anthologies. It may also help us to better understand how integral Grandi was to the musical community and to the trans-European evolution of the *seconda pratica* style. Anthologies, of course, existed to spark interest in the composers whose works were featured. By providing a sampling of a composer's work, the publisher would then benefit from increased sales and demand for further editions. This relationship between editor/publishers and composers was a mutually beneficial partnership and gave composers essential exposure, their works often shared with royalty, and other potential patrons to whom anthologies were sometimes dedicated. For a composer, inclusion amongst other noteworthy contemporaries was indicative of a certain level of success.⁸⁵ Roche directs us to at least four publishers' anthologies in which

J. P. Wainwright, 'Sounds of Piety and Devotion: Music in the Queen's Chapel', published in E. Griffey, *Piety, Politics and Patronage*, (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, 196-198)

⁸⁴ Wainwright, 'Sounds of piety...', 203-204.

⁸⁵ J. Roche, 'Anthologies and the dissemination of Early Baroque Italian sacred music', *Soundings, 4 (1974)*,
6.

Grandi appears alongside others.⁸⁶ It is significant that ten of the eleven works by Grandi which appear in Lorenzo Calvi's volumes do not appear amongst any of Grandi's books of motets, and would appear to have been commissioned specifically for the anthology. This demonstrates that even a composer with such a large output valued his inclusion enough to take the time to compose unique works for publication alongside others, rather than just passing a few 'favourites' for advertising purposes to the publisher of the anthology. It was common for anthologists to include works by big-name composers, as well as lesser known composers of the day. Which, then, was Grandi? In order to differentiate between the two classes, it is most useful to compare the compositional output of the composers beyond the anthologies; for some, the anthologies represent the entirety of their compositional output, whilst for others such as Grandi, they provided a mere snapshot of a vast collection of published material.

How the Italian *concertato* motet came to end up in anthologies is a finite indication of its increasing popularity, and of its accession to prominence throughout Italy, Europe, and England. Fascination with Italian culture, and delight in the Italian musical aesthetic was cross-cultural, and infused the traditions of Baroque Germany, in particular. The influence of Grandi on Heinrich Schütz was so profound that the writing of one composer's history would be incomplete without mention of the other. When Schütz came to Venice from 1609 to 1613, he exchanged his Germanic studies in favour of the Italian teaching of his master, Giovanni Gabrieli,⁸⁷ and when he visited again in 1628, he became exposed to the *concertato* style motet. But his exposure resulted in far more than a passing interest, and instead resulted in a fusion of styles, as he attempted to engage with and create his own, at once Germanic, but definitively Italianate, and - I would go so far as arguing - Grandian small-scale motets.

Staying in Venice amongst old friends, I discovered a method of composition which has been considerably altered and has in part put aside ancient styles, and will play with fresh enchantment on today's ears; so that I might bring forth something adapted to the modes of this school from the

⁸⁶ These are: Lorenzo Calvi's 1624 *Seconda raccolta de' sacri canti*, published in Venice; *Ghirlanda Sacra*, compiled by Leonardo Simonetti in 1625. In the same year, Grandi appeared in the roman Francesco Sammaruco's *Sacri affetti*, and in Germany, Strasbourg-based⁸⁶ Johann Donfrid included 35 works by Grandi across two publications - his third *Promptuarii* volume and the *Viridarium*, both from 1627.

⁸⁷ J. Rifkin & E. Linfield, 'Heinrich Schütz, 1: Childhood and Youth (1585-1615)' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura Macy.

>http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45997pg1#S45997.1> (accessed 1 Jan 2016)

resources of my efforts in accordance with my purpose, I have devoted my spirit and strength to it.⁸⁸

Even the subject matter of Grandi's motets struck a chord with Schütz; upon returning to Germany, he followed suit and also composed his own settings of texts from the Song of Songs, a frequent choice of Grandi.⁸⁹ Schütz took this music and style, and very consciously transported it back with him to Dresden, where a rising Prince Johann Georg, son of Schütz's patron, Elector Johann Georg I, was waiting, already eager to be involved with the dissemination of the Italian style and aesthetic across Germany, thus making its advent rather inevitable.⁹⁰ The Prince's interest in music, and in Italian musicians, must have proven difficult over time for Schütz to manage, as the composer fought to maintain his authoritative position as Kapellmeister and Head of Church Music, even as the Prince, meanwhile, was busy building and recruiting a sizeable rival Italian ensemble. It is hard to imagine that Schütz could have anticipated the scale to which the concertato motet would come to influence Germanic Baroque music in the mid-to-late 1600s. Even buildings reflect the emerging trend. Balconies were designed and constructed specifically for small ensemble and double choir performance; this sort of arrangement for antiphonal choirs is remarkably reminiscent of those used in Grandi's Venice, particularly in St. Mark's, the size of the balconies being too small to accommodate choirs with larger forces.⁹¹

Like Venice, Dresden was just one of many cities engaging with the growing demand and appreciation for Italian music, both sacred and secular. Rivalries amongst courts sprung up over the apparent struggle to attract the finest musicians from Italy. Scouts were sent abroad to attract musicians, often making false promises of fruitful financial prospects for those in their patrons' employ.⁹² In the 1660s, Latin travel passes were granted to musicians in order to enable their movements throughout Europe, and for many, on to England.⁹³ By this time, such singers and instrumentalists had become proponents and masters of the new style, in their own right, at the end of one of the most dramatic centuries of change in church music, which ultimately paved the way in Germany for the rise of J. S. Bach.

⁸⁸ Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae I, xxix*. Published in Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, (New York, OUP, 2006, 3)

⁸⁹ Eva Linfield, 'Heinrich Schütz, 9: Sacred Concertos.' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura Macy.

"> (accessed 1 Jan 2016).

⁹⁰ The fasciniating history of Prince Johann Georg's patronage of Italian music is discussed in great detail in M. E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*.

⁹¹ M. E. Frandsen, Crossing Confessional Boundaries, 43.

⁹² Ibid., 45-49.

⁹³ Ibid., 56. The Latin travel pass was essentially an early form of the work visa.

DISCOGRAPHY

If historiography is the study of the writing of history, then modern performances and recordings must also take responsibility for contributing to the 'writing' of Grandi's history, in the present day. A web search reveals at least thirty-seven discs. This would appear to suggest that Grandi is not quite as obscure as one might assume - that is, until a simple discography search is made in Monteverdi's name, which immediately yields 366 recordings, in comparison. Unfortunately, upon close examination of several recordings of Grandi's motets, it becomes clear that in spite of the availability of numerous treatises, sufficiently informed recordings are a rarity. Whilst many recordings present quality performances, they do not consistently demonstrate the findings of current scholarship as we know it, and furthermore, suggest a lack of awareness of issues of performance practice as outlined in the sections which follow.

In some instances, great liberties have been taken with instrumentation and voicing, which shows creativity, but perhaps also a disregard, whether conscious or not, for Grandi's own instructions, which call for specific, suitable instrumental forces. While Grandi used a greater number of instruments in his large scale works, there is no evidence to suggest that if and when Grandi had access to larger forces, he would have used them in *concertato* motets; the style evolved specifically as a means to make such compositions more accessible and affordable for performance - hence, the term 'small-scale,' and Grandi clearly calls for particular instrumentation, not least on the title pages of each book. Books two, three, four, and six call only for organ, while book one is scored for organ, harpsichord, organ, or other similar instrument. This is not to say that creative experiments by modern ensembles are better left undone, but simply to clarify that the use of certain instruments – for example, the bassoon, which is not capable of realising a continuo line, and thus can not be presented as a suitable alternative to a harpsichord, organ, or theorbo does, at best, reflect an ensemble's decision to disregard the original instructions given by the composer. Further detailed discussion of appropriate instrumentation can be found on pages 82-95.

The results are not always entirely successful, though such efforts have been essential in representing Grandi's continued relevance in modern times, and have until this point been valuable, primary vehicles through which Grandi's music has been able to reach contemporary audiences.

The following table is not intended to be a complete resource for every Grandi recording available, but rather provides an indication of the recordings known to be

46

available via a sweep of discography web catalogues; I have no doubt that there may well be further lesser-known and thus uncatalogued recordings in existence, in addition to those shown in the table, but the discovery that Grandi features on at least 37 discs, listed below, demonstrates that there has been some degree of recognition of the composer in the last few decades. Twenty-six of the discs were released after the year 2000, showing that Grandi is becoming increasingly popular.

Table 3 - Catalogue of Grandi recordings 1966 - 2014

Year	Label	Disc Title	Group	Director	Works featured
2014	Musica Omnia	Grandi: Sospiro	Roach, Bud	Roach, Bud	Complete Arias 1626
2013	Tactus	Ghirlanda Sacra	Ensemble Primi Toni	Lamon, Nicola	O quam tu pulchra es Quam pulchra es spetiosa Cantabo Domino Exaudi me Domine
2013	Accent	The Golden Age of the Cornett	Le Concert Brisé	Dongois, William	Salve Regina Tota Pulchra Es Gaudete O quam tu pulchra es Regina caeli
2013	Alpha	Cantate Deo (a due tenori)	Accordone	Beasley, Marco Morini, Guido	O beate hieronime Cantabo Domine
2012	Newton Classics	Venetian Sacred Music	La Stagione Armonica Schola Marciana	Rebeschini, Carlo	O speciosa Hodie Nobis de Caelo
2011	Arion	Grandi: Motets Vénetiens	n/a	Pierre Cazès	O quam speciosa Jesu mi dulcissime Osculetur me O quam tu pulchra es Quantum tibi debeo Deus, Deus canticum novum Virgo prudentissima 1 O Intemerata Virgo prudentissima 2 Hodie virgo jesu dilecta In lectulo meo Respice Domine Jubila coelom O dulce nomen Jesu Reqina coeli, laetare
2011	Carus	Grandi: Vespro Della Beata Vergine	Stuttgart Bach Collegium, Gächinger	Halls, Matthew	Deus in adjutorium O Quam Suave

			Kantorei Stuttgart		Dixit Dominus O quam tu pulchra es Vulnerasti cor meum Laetatus Sum Nisi Dominus Lauda Jerusalem Ave Maris Stella O Speciosa Magnificat
2011	Naxos	Wie Schön Leuchtet Der Morgenstern	Clemencic Consort	Clemencic, René	Cantabo Domino
2010	IntimMusik	O Bone Jesu	The Musicke Companye	Rogers, Helen	O Intemerata O sacrum convivium O quam tu pulchra es O dulce nomen Jesus
2010	Australian Eloquence	Pastoral Dialogues	n/a	Kirkby, Emma Thomas, David Rooley, Anthony	Surge propera amica mea
2010	Musical Concepts	Allegri Miserere	Pro Cantione Antiqua	Brown, Mark	O quam tu pulchra es
2010	Virgin	Stabat Mater: Motets to Virgin Mary	Ensemble Artaserse	Jaroussky, Philippe	Salve Regina O quam tu pulchra es O Intemerata
2010	Pan Classics	Il Giardino Del Mondo	Basel Baroque Consort	Wakita, Eriko	Salve Regina Regina Caeli O quam tu pulchra es Deus canticum novum
2010	Carpe Diem	Vocal Music (Sacred)	Tre Bassi	Godard, Michel Perl, Hille Santana, Lee	Deus misereatur nostri
2009	Chandos	Sacred Garland	The Gonzaga Band	Savan, Jamie	Jesu, mi dulcissime
2008	Deutschlandradio	Ave Maria	Bell'Art Salzburg	Rial Nuria	Ave Mundis Spes Maria
2008	Archiv	Venetian Vespers (Box	Gabrieli Consort	McCreesh, Paul	see 2004 recording.

	Production	Set)			
2008	Naxos	Vocal and Chamber Music (Venice, 16 th Century)	Viaggio Musicale	Serafini, Lia	Iustus germina
2007	Divine Art	Alessandro Grandi: Motetti a cinque voci (1614)	Musica Secreta	Roberts, Deborah	Motetti a Cinque Voci 1614: Sancte Sebastiane Ave Regina caelorum Judica me Domine O dulcis et o pia, O bone Jesu Christe Anima mea liquefacta est Iste cognovit iustitiam Exaudi Deus orationem meam Deus misereatur nostri Quam pulcra est, Innova Domine signa Quo rubicunda rosa Quomodo dilexi legem tuam Versa est in luctum cithara mea Qui timetis Domine Letaniae Beatae Mariae Virginis
2006	Tactus	Ghirlanda Sacra	Ensemble Arte Musica	Cera, Francesco	Cantabo Domino Lauda Sion salvatorem
2004	Prophone	Bella Madre de' Fiori	n/a	Ryden, Susanne	O dulce nomen Jesus O quam tu pulchra es Cantabo Domino Lauda Sion salvatorem
2004	Decca (UMO)	Venetian Vespers (re- release)	Gabrieli Consort	McCreesh, Paul	O Intemerata Beata es Maria (Antiphon) O quam tu pulchra es
2003	Deutsche Harmonia Mundi	Music for San Marco in Venice	Balthasar Neumann Ensemble and Choir	Hengelbrock, Thomas	Plorabo die ac nocte
2002	Naive	Vespro a Voce Sola	La Fenice	Mena, Carlos	Confitebor tibi Domine
2001	Hyperion	Salve Regina	The Parley of Instruments	Holman, Peter	Amo Christum Ave Maris Stella

2001	Deux-Elles	Accendo: Music from the time of Claudio Monteverdi	English Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble	n/a	O quam tu pulchra es Salve Regina Lauda Sion Salvatorem
2000	Rivo Alto	Alessandro Grandi - Motetti et Cantilene	Gruppo Madrigalistico Archicembalo Emsemble	Rebeschini, Carlo	
1997	Isis	Queen of Heavenly Virtue	Concertare	Wainwright, Jonathan	Domine ne in furore tuo Salvum me fac Deus Mass from Book 1 for 4 voices Salvum me fac Domine O dulcis virgo Obaudite me fructus Ave sanctissima Maria O quam gloriosa O quam tu pulchra es
1996	EMI Digital	Venetian Church Music	Taverner Consort, Choir, and Players	Parrott, Andrew	O quam tu pulchra es
1996	Virgin Veritas	Monteverdi's Contemporaries	Early Music Consort of London	Munrow, David	O vos omnes O Beate Benedicte
1996	Supraphon	Alessandro Grandi and Masters of Italian Baroque	Musica Antiqua Praha	Klikar, Paval	Osculetur me, venite filii O Intemerata a 2, Deus misereatur nostri Caecilia, O dulce nomen Jesus Sinfonia a 4, Salvum me fac domine a 2 Bone Jesu, veni sancte spiritus O quam speciosa
1994	Sony	The Feast of San Rocco Venice 1608	La Capella Ducale, Musica Fiata Köln	Wilson, Roland	Cantemus Domino Salvum me fac Deus
1993	Deutsche Harmonia Mundi	Alessandro Grandi: Vulnerasti Cor Meum	Schola Cantorum Basiliensis	Jacobs, Rene	Vulnerasti cor meum In lectulo meo Beata es Maria Salve Regina Quemadmodum desiderat cervus O Intemerata

					Osculetur me Ave, regina caelorum Bone Jesu verbum Missus est Virgo prudentissima O quam tu pulchra es Domine ne in furore tuo Heu mihi Transfige dulcissime Plorabo die ac nocte
1993	Christophorus	Hohelied-Motetten Der Italien Renaissance The songs of Solomon	Isaak Ensemble, Heidelberg	n/a	O quam tu pulchra es Tota pulchra es
1993	Deutsche Gramophon	Venetian Vespers (Monteverdi · Rigatti · Grandi · Cavalli)	Gabrieli Consort & Players	McCreesh, Paul	O Intemerata O quam tu pulchra es
1988	Arion	Airs Italiens & Cantates	n/a	Bowman, James Bernfield, Jay Sempe, Skip	
1987	Sony Music Entertainment	Sacred Music	Schola Cantorum Basiliensis	Jacob, Rene	Salve Regina O Quam Tu Pulchra Es
1976 (LP)	Nonesuch	Alessandro Grandi: Music for San Marco, Venezia, San Giorgio, Ferrara & Santa Maria Maggiore, Bergamo	Accademia Monteverdiana, Trinity Boys' Choir	Stevens, Denis	Dixit Dominus O quam tu pulchra es Exaudi Deus Vulnerasti cor meum O vos omnes Ave Regina Jesu mi dulcissime Plorabo die ac nocte
1975 (LP)	Harmonia Mundi	La Naissance Du Baroque	Deller Consort Clemencic Consort	Clemencic, René	O quam pulchra es Cantabo Domine
1966 (LP)	Pan	Baroque Music for Voice and Continuo	n/a	Lumsden, David	O quam tu pulchra es

It is clear from this compilation of data that there is a 'lollipop' motet, *O quam tu pulchra es*, which appears on multiple recordings. This is one of Grandi's motets that forms part of Simonetti's 1625 *Ghirlanda Sacra* anthology, containing 44 motets mainly by Venetian composers, including the recognisable names of Monteverdi (who occupies the first four motets), Grandi, and Rovetta, alongside lesser known composers such as Domenico Obizzi, a chorister at St. Mark's, and its second-organist Giovanni Pietro Berti. This gives further value to Grandi's inclusion in such anthologies, which continue to popularise his compositions in the present day. Grandi's reputation has clearly begun to emerge out of the popularity of such motets, now, as in the seventeenth century.

The listed recordings feature a wide range of motets for an equally broad range of forces, both vocal and instrumental, across at least 37 discs. The Music Companye's 2010 recording uses organ, theorbo, and cello. Whilst the pairing of organ and theorbo is a perfect match, the addition of the cello muddies the texture. Rene Jacobs' 1987 and 1993 recordings with Schola Cantorum Basiliensis also pair organ and theorbo with an additional stringed bass, but in both cases, use a Renaissance-Viola da gamba. Whilst the sound of the gamba is thinner than a cello, it is still unnecessary, particularly in the motets without cornetti. The organ playing, notably, does not suit the texts, and the ear is drawn to the unsuitably high and contrapuntal realisation, which diminishes the quality of the vocal line. Il Viaggio Musicale's 2008 recording adds a fagotto-chorista to the continuo line. The inclusion of a reed instrument, albeit a bass reed instrument, is intrusive to the texture that is ordinarily expected of an accompaniment to few-voiced motets. Grandi allows for versatility, in as much as he suggests the use of whatever is available - organ, harpsichord, theorbo, or other similar instrument; I would not agree that the bassoon is one such similar instrument. The English Cornett and Sackbut Ensemble similarly exchange one of the two violins for a cornett in their 2001 recording of motets taken from the 1621 publication, Motetti con sinfonie de due violini. In this instance, however, the substitute is justified, as one solo melodic instrument is being exchanged for another. The tessitura of Grandi's violin writing further supports this exchange, as it allows for the cornett to play within a reasonable range for their instrument. The same instrumental exchange is applied by Le Concert Brisé in their 2013 recording, who incidentally perform at A=415hz.

It is interesting to note the variety of pitches chosen for different recordings over the years, but since the publication of Bruce Haynes' *A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of "A"* in 2002, there can be little question of which pitches are best suited to the performance of particular motets. A detailed overview, as it applies to the performance of Grandi's motets, is provided later, in the section entitled, 'Pitch & Transposition.' In brief,

53

according to the standards that existed throughout Northern Italy during Grandi's lifetime, all of the motets in Grandi's six books should be performed at A=415hz (tuono chorista), as this was the pitch preferred by choirs when they were singing without the support of supplementary wind instruments doubling their parts, as would only have been expected on feast days. On such special occasions, the pitch would have been A=465hz (mezzo punto), but this would suit larger psalm settings, for example, such as *Dixit Dominus*, and was only necessary due to the involvement of instruments that performed at this high pitch, including the main organ at St. Mark's, for example, and accompanying wind instruments.

Charles Daniels' recording on Paul McCreesh's 1993 disc includes stylish and appropriate ornaments, yet the chosen pitch is modern pitch - A=440hz. Jo Wainwright's 1997 Concertare recording uses little ornamentation, but when executed this is undertaken with great care, as in the four-voice motet, 'Obaudite me'. Wainwright's continuo section provides an example of supportive, yet unobtrusive accompaniment, with the relationship between organ and theorbo being particularly successful, as the organ maintains a simple texture, which allows the theorbo to fill in more expressively. The result is a texture in which voices remain clear, while the presence of a plucked instrument is enhanced, and not overshadowed by the organ. Because of the presence of theorbo, the use of 1/6 comma meantone alleviates any potential tuning issues between the two instruments. The recording is performed at A=440hz, but at least one of the motets, Salvum me fac Domine a 2 is transposed up a tone, presumably to suit the singers. René Jacobs' 2002 recording also chooses A=440hz. Perhaps at this stage, performers began taking note of Haynes' research, as Thomas Hengelbrock's 2003 recording optimistically opts for A=465hz. Unfortunately, there is no doubling by wind instruments in the recording, and the performance by voices and organ only would be better suited to A=415hz. The same pitch is chosen by Pierre Cazès on his 2011 Grandi: Motets Venétiens disc, but the performers are audibly strained in the recording; ornaments are present, however, which is rare, and commendable.

Tre Bassi's 2010 recording embraces the opportunity to perform Grandi's first of two settings of 'Deus misereatur nostri' from *Il secondo libro*, which is set for the unusual combination of three bass voices. On the same recording, they incorporate Grandi's motet amongst modern compositions for the same forces, including compositions by the artists themselves. This recording is more successful than some others, where artists have taken liberties with pitch and instrumentation, and have also adapted motets to suit different voices. Perhaps the most unusual recording to note is Musica Secreta's 2007 recording of *Motetti a cinque voci (1614)*. In a worthy and justified effort to represent the culture of

54

female choral tradition found in Northern Italian Convents, Musica Secreta transpose this book of motets to suit five female voices. Unfortunately, the affect of the unusually high bass line diminishes the depth of the texture as a result.

It is clear that Grandi's popularity has not entirely diminished in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The resilient popularity of his motet, 'O quam tu pulchra es' has perpetuated the presence of his name amongst other Venetian composers, not least on these recordings, many of which have had several re-printings over the past twenty years. However, one would expect to be able to look to such recordings by scholars in the field when hoping to experience and enjoy high standards of historically-informed performance practice. This is evidently not yet consistently the case, as ensembles continue to adapt unsuitable scoring more fit for festal repertoire than for Grandi's normative practice of writing for daily, small-scale forces. I do not find this issue to be unique to Grandi, as performances and recordings of his contemporaries also frequently suffer from the same disregard, conscious adaptation, or misinterpretation of historical resources. It is for this reason that I have endeavoured to engage with such resources throughout the process of creating my edition, and include the following guide for performance, as it relates to the seventeenth-century practices which I would hope others may apply to my editions of Grandi's concertato motets. With the provision of these editions, more accurate representations of Grandi's motets may now become possible.

CHAPTER 2

ORNAMENTATION

The practice of studying original instrumental and vocal manuscripts reveals essential information about evolving styles, influences, and tastes, and is applied at length to the motets of Grandi throughout this chapter. By comparing ornaments presented in a variety of treatises, and considering their implications in the music of Grandi, I have amalgamated several rules in order to suggest suitable ornaments for the performance of the editions included with this thesis. The following study, which focuses on the art of ornamentation, will be of particular interest to performers of Grandi's motets, and in a wider context, to performers of seventeenth-century Italian sacred repertoire in general. Speaking of modern performance issues, Bruce Dickey asserts that, 'too often, ornaments are treated as optional extras: small notes to be added to the music at will but with no intrinsic expressive connection to the written notes.'⁹⁴ The following discussion will clarify where, and which ornaments are appropriate and, at times even essential, and will demonstrate the close relationship between text and embellishment that identifies the ornamental trends of seventeenth-century Italian repertoire.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it became standard practice to ornament a melodic line. As implied by the long process of the dissemination of the *concertato* motet across Europe, it takes time for emerging practices to become standard, but as more than ten treatises from this period exist primarily for the instruction of embellishment, it must be understood that singers and instrumentalists had long been aware of emerging styles, and would have been expected to put them into practice in Grandi's compositions, then as now. Beneath is a table of the key primary sources in which ornamentation is discussed:

⁹⁴ B. Dickey, 'Ornamentation in Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Music', in A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music, ed. Stewart Carter and revised and expanded by Jeffrey Kite-Powell. Indiana: IUP, 2012, 294.

	Instrumen	Instrumental Sources:					
1535	Venice	Ganassi	Opera Intitulata Fontegara	violin, recorder			
1553	Spain & Naples	Ortiz, Diego	Trattado de Glosas	viol			
1584	Venice	Dalla Casa	Il Vero Modo di diminuir	wind			
	Vocal Sou	irces:					
1562	Naples	Maffei	La Lettera sul canto				
1593	Rome	Conforto	Breve et facile maniera d'essercitarsi a far passaggi				
1594	Milan	Bovicelli	Refole, passaggi di musica				
1585, 1591	Venice	Bassano	Ricercate, Passaggi et Cadentie, Preface to 'Motetti, madrigali et canzone francese di diversi eccellenti autori Venice'	composer of vocal and instrumental music			
с. 1600		Virgiliano	Il Dolcimeo				
1600	Rome	Cavalieri	Rappresentatione di Anima et di Corpo				
1602	Florence	Caccini	Le Nuove Musiche				
	More gene	eral discussions	:				
1552		Coclico	Compendium musices				
1556		Finck	Practica Musica				
1592		Zacconi	Prattica di Musica				
1592	Rome	Vicentino	L'antica musica				

Table 4 - Key primary sources of ornamentation

These sources discuss both vocal and instrumental performance practices, and demonstrate the many similar ornamental possibilities shared between them. As Howard Mayer Brown explains, the title page of Bassano's Motetti (1591) indicates that it is composed 'for "ogni sorte di stromenti" as well as for "la semplice voce."⁹⁵ These theorists' instrumental discussions in particular are not limited to melodic instruments, but also include valuable insights into chordal instruments such as keyboards and lutes.

The treatises included in Table 1 establish that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ornamentation of a melodic line was essentially divided into two types: *passaggi* and *tremoli*. *Passaggi* were figuration patterns, also known as diminutions, that acted as substitutions for long, sustained notes.⁹⁶ As improvised melodic flourishes, *passaggi* demonstrated a performer's agility and creativity, and could range from short decorations to more extensive runs lasting several beats. *Tremoli* is a general term for a range of embellishments, including *trilli* and *gruppi*, which are more closely in touch with the notes to which they belong. At times this type of ornamentation is achieved by oscillating between the written note and the note above or below, or sometimes by repeating the written note at a varied speed.

Different theorists did not always appreciate or advocate the use of both types of ornaments. The relatively sizeable *passaggi* divisions that had been heralded by Diego Ortiz in the mid-sixteenth century fast became unfashionable, and as music became ever more communicative, *passaggi* were excessively decorative, so were considered disproportionately expressive of text. In the performance of Grandi, I would advise singers to resist the temptation to ornament too heavily, unless notated by Grandi himself, as Grandi's own ornamental syle is most often characterised by short passaggi. In a motet such as *Hodie nobis de caelo*, where the Canto 1 voice has a repeated line of text in the opening bars, standard practice would dictate that the first sustained note should be left unornamented, but that when the same opportunity presents itself for the second time, in bar eight, on the syllable 'scen' of 'descendit' that it would be appropriate to add a flourish. As a point of reference, in the first example (Fig. 1), below, I have provided a realisation that is more akin to Ortiz's ornamental style. In the second example (Fig. 2), I have composed an ornament that is more suitable to the text, which is not unlike those which Grandi writes, himself, throughout all six books.

⁹⁵ H. M. Brown, *Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music*. Oxford: OUP, 1976, xi

⁹⁶ Crutchfield, 'Ornamentation (ii)' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura Macy.
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O903603 (accessed 26 September 2014).



Figure 2 - Hodie nobis de caelo - Il primo libro



Even as the musical style evolved from *prima pratica* to the new *seconda pratica* style, so did the implications and significance of text setting, because of which the function of ornaments changed. By the end of the sixteenth century, text was becoming a more and more vital part of composition, as evidenced by the births of opera and monody, and the popularity of the madrigal. It was throughout this era of stylistic transformation that the function of ornaments changed; optional flourishes evolved to become crucial and specific tools with which a performer was expected to enhance the text. Dickey writes that the use of ornaments 'was obligatory because they represented an essential means of expressing the sentiments of text and of displaying grace.⁹⁷ As Jerome Roche explains, 'emphasis on the words at the expense of polyphonic elaboration caused composers to write syllabically and to exploit ideas that were rhythmic rather than melodic, even when not treated in chordal fashion.⁹⁸ This taste heavily influenced the compositional style of Grandi and his contemporaries. Passaggi derived from sixteenth-century performance practice did not disappear entirely, but were used less frequently and certainly more thoughtfully. The new, shorter divisions of smaller ornaments were then assembled, instead, to create longer, yet still textually sensitive ornaments.⁹⁹ These ornaments, often written out by Grandi, were undoubtedly intended to be replicated, or, at the very least, to be added, where possible, by the performer. Standard practice has been to expect improvised ornamentation by the performer at cadences, but especially in the case of Grandi, the motets invite ornamentation more frequently than at cadences only. I shall expand further on.

As the new style developed, singer-composers such as Giulio Caccini began writing rules to accompany their works, sometimes in order to ensure that other performers would not ruin their compositions by inappropriately applying old ornaments to pieces composed in the new style.¹⁰⁰ Frederick Neumann explains that in Caccini's *Nuove* Musiche of 1602, he 'condemns the use of passaggi,' but 'because considered judgment imposes exceptions to every rule,' he does permit a limited number of short passaggi 'up to a guarter or half of the beat for the sake of added grace.¹⁰¹ Emilio Cavalieri, who worked closely with Caccini, his colleague, and sometimes rival at the Medici court, ¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Dickey, 'Ornamentation in Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Music', 294.

⁹⁸ Roche, North Italian Church music in the age of Monteverdi, 48.

⁹⁹ Dickey, 'Ornamentation in Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Music', 301-2.

¹⁰⁰ Dickey, 'Ornamentation in Early Seventeenth-Century Italian Music', 293.

¹⁰¹ F. Neumann, Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music: With Special Emphasis on J. S. Bach, (Princeton University Press, 1983), 25. ¹⁰² Caccini and Cavalieri were colleagues at the Medici court, both at the time of the wedding of Maria de'

Medici and Henry IV of France in 1600. Caccini himself had composed the bulk of the music for the

shared Caccini's opinion and joined him in discouraging the use of *passaggi*, in order to prevent the obstruction of important textual declamations. He suggests, instead, that in order to captivate audiences, the performer must embrace the new style of dynamic, expressive singing, in which text is emphasised above all else. Whilst *passaggi* were impressive, demonstrative outpourings of technique, theorists such as Cavalieri and Caccini were conscious of their impersonal effects, and warned that such lavish ornaments, seemingly unrelated to text, were less capable of stirring emotions in the listener.¹⁰³ The opinions of Cavalieri and Caccini, however, did not impact Monteverdi; the lavish and florid ornamentation that is present in the 1610 *Vesperae*... conflicts with the theorists' views.

In order to provide a list of suitable, acceptable ornaments, and prevent excessive *passaggi* flourishes, Cavalieri created the first ever printed table of ornaments in the preface to his *Rappresentatione di anima, et di corpo* of 1600, which included useful, short-hand symbols for composers to indicate, and performers to identify each ornament; the four ornaments included in the table are *groppolo, monachina, trillo,* and *zimbelo*. The table clearly illustrates the link between each ornament and its short-hand symbol. Cavalieri's table is shown in facsimile in Figure 3.¹⁰⁴





Whilst Cavalieri's table is significant, it is limited, and does not, alone, provide a twenty-first century performer's guide to ornamentation. Rather, identifying a particular composer's intended ornament can still prove problematic, particularly because

¹⁰⁴ E. del Cavalieri, *Rappresentatione di Anima e di Corpo*, <

http://imslp.org/wiki/Rappresentatione di Anima e di Corpo (Cavalieri, Emilio de%27)>

occasion. It is known that musically, the occasion was not a great success and that 'Caccini seems to have alienated Emilio de' Cavalieri' (Grove – Caccini) who was responsible for directing the festivities. ¹⁰³ Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post Baroque music*, 24.

seventeenth-century theorists and composers used the same names and symbols to indicate a variety of different ornaments. Before and after the publication of Cavalieri's table, treatises by Girolomo Diruta, Girolamo Dalla Casa, Beng Conforto, and Lodovico Zacconi amongst others, suggested and described ornaments in the various prefaces to their works, but rarely included symbols within the music, and thus failed to produce a unified collection of names or symbols for each ornamental possibility, making it quite challenging to say precisely which ornaments they intended and where.¹⁰⁵ What one composer calls a *trillo*, another composer may call a *tremolo*. For example, Ganassi, Diruta and Bovicelli define an oscillating trill as tremolo, while Cavalieri, Frescobaldi, Trabaci, and others call the same oscillation between two adjacent pitches a *trillo*.¹⁰⁶ Caccini also had his own version of a *trillo*: a repeated, single-note embellishment in which the voice or instrument rapidly repeats the same pitch whilst accelerating, in either a smooth or a detached fashion.¹⁰⁷ Cavalieri's *trillo*¹⁰⁸ is actually more akin to what Caccini calls a gruppo, but omits the gruppo's definitive four-note turn at the end. Caccini, Conforto and Cavalieri all take turns in naming this ornament, which oscillates between two adjacent pitches before culminating in a four-note turn, but while Caccini calls this ornament a gruppo, Conforto calls it a groppo, and Cavalieri calls the same ornament by yet a third name - groppolo. It is crucial that modern performers are mindful of this conundrum when approaching music from the seventeenth century, in order to trace the lineage of a particular composer to the treatise(s) with which he most directly aligns, and thus avoid assuming the wrong melodic embellishment from a symbol that could actually mean one of several ornaments. In the case of Grandi, Caccini's ornaments are undoubtedly the most suitable throughout all six books of motets, as detailed in the following text.

ORNAMENTATION IN THE WORKS OF GRANDI

Grandi and his contemporaries did not consistently provide written ornaments within the music. In some instances, Grandi merely provides a compositional shell, upon which the singer would have been left the task of responding to musical clues in order to imagine their own, sensible ornaments. I will present a few plausible solutions later. However, Grandi does often include written ornamentation and symbols, presumably in order to demonstrate to the singers of the day the precise style of ornamentation he desired

¹⁰⁵ Neumann, Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music..., 24.

¹⁰⁶ Neumann, Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music..., 287.

¹⁰⁷ G. Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche*, (2nd ed.) ed. H. Wiley-Hitchcock, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, (A-R editions, 2009), 8.

¹⁰⁸ Cavalieri's *trillo* is the same ornament that we have come to understand as the modern-day 'trill'.

of them. These can be extremely useful to performers of Grandi's music in the twenty-first century and beyond, as we seek illustrations in their original contexts in order to apply them to modern performances. However, as mentioned, it is crucial in each instance that we match the given symbols with the correct choice of corresponding ornament.

The terminology discrepancies discussed earlier are, fortunately, quite easy to resolve in Grandi's motets. Without going into much discussion, Steven Saunders follows the modern understanding of the *trillo*, i.e. that presented by Caccini, yet again giving precedence to Caccini over Cavalieri as he describes the *trillo* device that appears throughout Grandi's motets, saying: 'Another common vocal effect, particularly in solo and duet textures is the *trillo* or rapid repetition of a single note.'¹⁰⁹ While discussing its presence in Grandi's works, and without explicitly calling it Caccini's ornament, Saunders effectively describes Caccini's *trillo*, which is indeed a repetition of a single note, as opposed to describing a succession of alternating notes which would, alternatively, have defined an ornament more akin to Cavalieri's *trillo*.

The dates and locations of Cavalieri and Caccini's publications offer further support for the use of Caccinian trilli in Grandi's works. Cavalieri's Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo was published in Rome in 1600, whereas Caccini's Le Nuove Musiche was published in Florence in 1602. Not only was Caccini's publication two years newer, but was also published in a region that was markedly geographically closer to Venice and Ferrara, where Grandi was Maestro di cappella of the Accademia della Morte, and could have come into contact with the work during that time. Furthermore, there does not appear to be as close a relationship between the writing styles of Cavalieri and Grandi, as exists between those of Grandi and Caccini. Cavalieri uses double digits in his figured bass writing, and as can be seen in Figure 4 below,¹¹⁰ his harmonic language is somewhat more adventurous than that of both Caccini and Grandi. Grandi's motets only ever have a maximum of one flat in the key signature, and while he writes the occasional rich chord to enhance the text, he never goes to the extremes shown in the example below, where Cavalieri writes a progression of D major – B major – E major – C# major – F# major – F# minor within the space of just two bars. Such a progression involving a C[#] major chord does not appear in any of the Grandi motets that I have edited.

¹⁰⁹ Saunders, XXX.

¹¹⁰ Palisca, 'Cavalieri, Emilio de: 2. Works' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura Macy.<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05202?q=cavalieri&search=quick &pos=2&_start=1#firsthit> (accessed 26 September 2014).

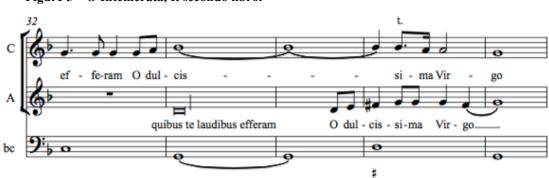
Figure 4 - Cavalieri Lamentationes – Bar 1.

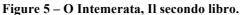


Ex.2 Lamentationes, Prima die, lectio prima, f.6

The *trillo* marking appears in just six motets across books two, three and four; none appear in books one, five or six. The symbol's irregular appearances are somewhat puzzling, and do not evidence a clear progression, as one might expect. Rather than finding favour and becoming more or less popular throughout Grandi's career, the *trillo* (t.) marking makes an entrance in the middle books before disappearing from the final two. If we are to look at examples from Grandi's motets, 'O Intemerata' (Fig. 5) and 'Heu mihi' (Fig. 6) from *Il secondo libro*, the shorthand symbol 't' indicates that an ornament, which Grandi has not written out, is to be sung. The most convincing argument is that the 't' stands for *trillo* as signified in Caccini's *Le nuove musiche*. Examples of these arguably Caccinian *trilli* markings within Grandi's motets are provided below.

In bar 35 of 'O Intemerata,' Grandi supplies a t. marking over a dotted quaver. Given how swiftly this musical moment passes, and the minimal length of time in which the singer can ornament, I would suggest that that the execution of a Caccinian trillo, i.e. a repeated succession of notes, is the most likely solution:





It is possible, however, to envisage an ornament that oscillates in pitch, and it could be argued that the shape of the ornament is at the performer's discretion, and it would be entirely appropriate for the repertoire to expect an improvised flourish from the performer. However, given the limited time available, and the rarity of Grandi's own placement of t. markings, the evidence strongly points towards Grandi's desire for a Caccinian trillo.

In 'Heu mihi,' also from Il secondo libro, Grandi uses another of his six t. markings (Fig. 6). This time, however, time is not as fleeting as it is in 'O Intemerata,' so I could argue that there is sufficient time to insert a Cavalierian oscillating trillo. However, in this instance the t. which appears over the text "tremor" in bar 23, seems to call for trembling, and is a particularly poignant example of Grandi's sensitivity to text, as he most definitely calls for a rapidly repeated *trillo*, rather than notating a less evocative ornament:



There is only one other type of occasion in which Grandi uses a t. marking. The following example comes from the motet 'O quam gloriosa' from *Il quarto libro* (Fig. 5). Here, Grandi places the t. marking over a quaver that is followed immediately by the same pitch, effectively indicating that a repeated G trillo ornament is appropriate:



Figure 7 – O quam gloriosa, Il quarto libro.

Perhaps the clearest example of this type of *trillo* appears in the final cadence of 'Caecilia,' a motet from Grandi's *Il terzo libro* (Fig. 8). This is one critical instance in which the cadential ornamentation is not only symbolized with a T., but is also written out in full. While the lower-case t. symbol is more common, both T. and t. symbols appear in different editions of Grandi's works to indicate *trilli* ornaments.¹¹¹ The placement of the T. seems to suggest that the singers take example from the composer's written ornament, but then proceed to carry on ornamenting with more, quicker notes, beyond what is written:





¹¹¹ Saunders, XXX.

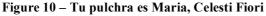
The following example provides a glimpse of one cadential moment in which the Caccinian *trillo* would work (Fig. 9), but probably is not ideal. In several instances, as we will see further on, Grandi includes little or no ornamentation at all in his motets. 'Tu pulchra es' from *Celesti Fiori*, is structured around dissonant suspensions between voices, but includes no written ornamentation until the final cadence, at which point the motet's final word, "caelorum" is, at last, treated to a ten-beat flourish. Grandi often writes intricately ornamented cadences such as this, and that of the previous example. After the imitative cadential flourish, the voices arrive at the penultimate chord of the motet, on the 3rd and 5th notes of the dominant. After all of this movement, two beats of a stagnant chord would feel abrupt and unnatural. The only conclusion to be made is that Grandi intended for the remaining ornamental decisions to be left to the performers. In this case, I would suggest that either a *trillo* or *gruppo*, shown below, would be an appropriate ornament:¹¹²

Figure 9 - Caccini *trillo*



Here are the final two bars of 'Tu pulchra es,' as published in the 1625 edition of *Celesti Fiori*:





By utilizing the Caccini *gruppo* ornament above, I would perhaps suggest that the singers prepare a result such as this:

¹¹² Carter, 'Ornaments 4: Italy, 1600-1650' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura Macy. < http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/49928pg4#S49928.4> (accessed 26 September 2014).



Now, here is the same ending, though this time I have incorporated a Caccinian *trillo* ornament:



Figure 12 - Ibid.

The *gruppo* ornament (Fig. 11) looks more plausible on paper, and provides a likely continuation from the four semiquavers set up by Grandi. The *trillo* ornament would also work here, as shown (Fig. 12), but I feel that the *gruppo* appears to be better suited to the situation, as the semiquavers lead into the the t. marking suggest a continuation of a similar oscillation. This, again, supports the previous argument for the use of a Caccinian *trillo*, but reasserts that this is primarily suitable when the music is specifically marked with a t.

Another ornament, of which both Cavalieri and Caccini were aware, and which Cavalieri is known to have taken to Rome in 1600, was what has since become known as the *messa di voce*, although it was not referred to by this name until much later, in 1638.¹¹³ The use of *messa di voce* throughout the motets of Grandi would be entirely suitable, particularly when there are long notes in slow, emotive, sustained passages, where

¹¹³ Interestingly, the messa di voce which we recognise today involves a swell in dynamic, but not necessarily in pitch, whereas it appears to have been defined as a swell in both dynamic and pitch when the term was first applied by Mazzocchi in 1638. Kite-Powell, *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music.* Indiana University Press, 2012.

passaggi would not suit the text. In such instances, the *messa di voce* highlights the dissonance and naturally aids the singer in shaping the phrase:



Figure 13 - Quae est ista - Il terzo libro

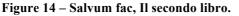
Before I present several of the other ornaments available to performers for use in Grandi's motets, it is important to discuss ensemble structure, as this was an important consideration when deciding the amount of ornamentation that could be exhibited without excess. In Maffei's treatise of 1562 he advises against simultaneous ornaments between voices because of unpleasant harmonic consequences.¹¹⁴ He also suggests limiting embellishments to four or five *passaggi* per singer in any composition, and largely restricts embellishments to cadences. The possibilities for embellishing a solo vocal or instrumental

¹¹⁴ G. C. Maffei, *La Lettera sul canto* (1562), quoted in H. M. Brown, *Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music*. Oxford: OUP, 1976.

line were extensive, whereas ornamentation was discouraged in larger ensemble music, where such freedom was not permitted. In choral music, for instance, it was typical for ornamentation to be distributed amongst singers and players in every part of the ensemble, rather than being left to a single soloist. This helped to control the amount of ornamentation so that soloists could not be tempted to exploit their melodic freedom via excessive embellishments.¹¹⁵

In terms of composer's ornamentation, Grandi does not strictly abide by Maffei's suggestions, and frequently writes ornaments for singers to perform simultaneously. However, Grandi's ornaments are carefully executed so that they fit harmonically, as in bar 73 of 'Salvum fac' from *Il secondo libro* (Fig. 14), where the canto and tenor ornament together, harmoniously:







¹¹⁵ Roche, North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi, 49.

In 1592, Zacconi warns ensemble singers not to use embellishments in the first voice until the second voice has entered, and suggests that diminutions are more pleasurable when they are set against a slower moving voice. Zacconi also encourages the performer to use simpler embellishments at the beginning, increasing their complexity steadily throughout the piece, whilst being careful not to leave too much to the end.

Musicologists talk of the bravery demonstrated by composers such as Grandi, Monteverdi and Cavalli, who were among the first to write substantial ornaments.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, others such as Viadana did not display many daring or virtuosic ornaments in their compositions; Viadana's motets for several voices, for instance, contained only one or two simple ornaments. Grandi, in contrast, seemed to embrace the freedoms that fewer voices yield for ornamenting, and became a master of this style in his small-scale motets.

Written ornamentation is present in almost every motet in each of the six publications. The majority of Grandi's ornaments are essentially shortened *passaggi*. Some motets are more heavily ornamented than others, particularly those with fewer voices, as a thinner texture allows for more extravagant embellishments. Having compiled and compared all of the written ornamentation in Grandi's *concertato* motets, I have been able to observe an intriguing progression, which reflects the composer's fluctuating skill and confidence in ornamental writing, from his first to his final books. By looking closely at Grandi's inclusion of particular ornaments, and recognising certain ornamental trends, performers can then begin to recognise and apply their own suitable ornamentation where Grandi has left room for embellishment. I have offered some suggestions below.

Il primo libro, published in 1610, contains conservative ornamentation compared with his five other publications of *concertato* motets. At first glance, this could perhaps seem to reflect the quality of the performers at Ferrara, Venice, and Bergamo. However, three years later, *Il secondo libro* contains a far greater variety of ornaments than his first book, and his circumstances had not yet drastically changed or improved. In fact, *Il secondo libro*, which consists of 40 different ornaments and was published while Grandi was still at Ferrara, is the most ornamented publication of all six. A comparison of the three Ferrarese publications leads to two possible conclusions: that Grandi had found his feet rather quickly, as he became more confident writing ornaments for his singers, or secondly, that the influence of ornaments in works such as Monteverdi's 1610 *Vespro della*... had had a profound effect on Grandi, and influenced his style so much that his

¹¹⁶ Arnold, 'Grandi: A disciple of Monteverdi', 183.

second and third books of *concertato* motets contain far more embellishments than were included in his debut publication.

Naturally, there are only a few written ornaments in Grandi's first publication. The most common ornament in *Il primo libro* is a succession of four, quick semiquavers in the order 3-2-3-1, which appears no fewer than nine times in that publication. This small ornament of four semiquavers goes on to become Grandi's preferred ornament, appearing consistently throughout all of his works.

There are many different patterns of four-note semiquaver ornaments across the publications, and Grandi seems to favour each for a particular period of time, before moving on to another pattern. For instance, the most frequently used ornamental figure in *Il primo libro* and *Il secondo libro* is the 3-2-3-1, shown on the syllable 'gua' of 'sublingua' in Figure 15, whereas by the time we reach *Il sesto libro*, it has become more typical to find 4-3-2-1 patterns, as demonstrated in the semiquaver "Alleluia" runs in Figure 16.







It is interesting to note that the same two ornaments are used equally in *Il terzo libro*, with each pattern making sixteen appearances. Equally popular is the smaller ornament of three descending notes. It is as if Grandi is using this book to explore their subtle affective differences, after which he goes on to favour the 4-3-2-1 pattern in his final two books. In *Celesti Fiori*, the most common ornament is also four semiquavers long, yet the notes appear in a different order: 3-1-2-3.

In *Il primo libro*, Grandi also used ornaments that are often called *sollevatione*.¹¹⁷ This kind of miniature ornamental device was essentially a controlled and slight swell, in which the singer would raise the pitch by sliding up a semitone. This may seem like a rather minor ornament, but one must consider that some of those semitones would have been quite wide, as different tuning systems and temperaments would have made some intervals larger, and perhaps more colourful than those to which a twenty-first century listener is accustomed. Grandi indicates this device in two motets from *Il primo libro*, 'In semita iudiciorum' and 'Sicut occuli servorum,' where he prints distinctive slurs between two semitones. That Grandi is expecting the singer to use this ornament is most certainly his intention, as the slurs only ever appear during interesting, melismatic settings of text, and harmonic shifts, which are ideally suited to chromatic slides. I would suggest that

¹¹⁷ Saunders, XXX.

performers only apply this ornament to those specific instances where it is clearly marked by Grandi, unless they discover additional suitable chromatic moments. In bar 3 of *Il Secondo Libro*'s 'Heu mihi,' (Fig. 17) there is a downward chromatic shift in the alto voice, from F# to F\, and Grandi does not supply a slur to indicate any desire for a *sollevatione*, as it is only appropriately applied between rising, and not falling pitches. Here, the syllables "mi" and "hi" are set neumatically, which again seems to prevent the use of *sollevatione*. Five bars later, however, Grandi does draw a slur in the canto voice to indicate a *sollevatione* between a rising E\ and the E\ which follows. Grandi's text setting here is deliberately melismatic, as the syllable "me" from the word "mea" is extended between the rising semitones to which he applies a slur, clearly indicating an opportunity for *sollevatione*:

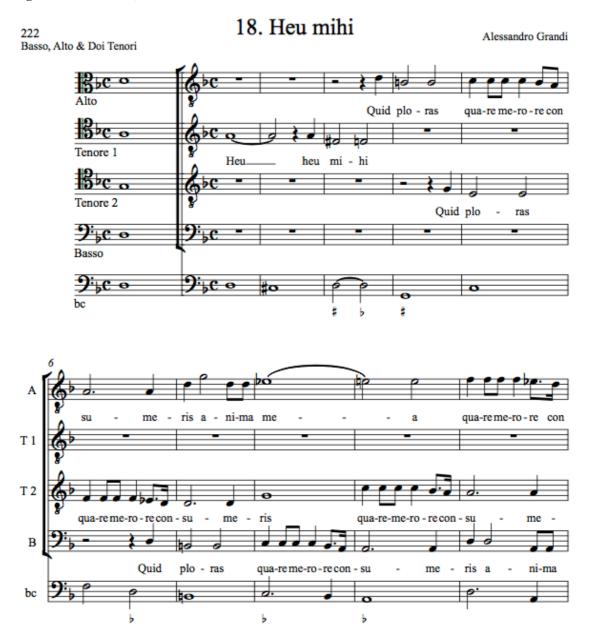


Figure 17 – Heu mihi, Il secondo libro.

74

'In semita iudiciorum' offers a clear example of the composer handling many short syllables. The opening three bars of text (Fig. 18), as well as "et memoriale" in bar 15, and "desideravit te" in bar 25, are treated with repeated quavers in order to swallow up the text in as short a space as possible, creating an oratory effect, of which we find the greatest number of further examples in *Il sesto libro*.

Figure 18 - In semita iudicorum, Il primo libro.



This motet also claims the most intricately ornamented cadence of all of the cadences in *Il primo libro*. Grandi boldly ornaments the final cadence of 'In semita iudiciorum' (Fig. 16) in an antiphonal style in the voices, but its weakest link is the organ part, where he must have felt that 28 beats of pedal G were too dull, so he shifts to an F# for four beats in bar 47. It appears that he had not yet figured out how to include the organ, but with this imitative cadenza lasting more than 30 beats, Grandi still manages to prove that he is beginning to become comfortable in this style of writing:

Figure 19 - In semita iudiciorum, Il primo libro



As described, Grandi's influences and resources were constantly changing as he moved from one working environment in and around Venice to another, and this is reflected in the changing styles and preferred ornaments in his works. The Lombardic rhythm, for example, is an ornamental device that demonstrates a stylistic change, the declining use of which can be traced throughout Grandi's works. In *Il primo libro* the backward dot appears frequently, in no fewer than nine out of twenty motets. In *Il secondo libro* there are fewer examples, with four motets containing a Lombardic rhythm; in *Il terzo libro* only three motets contain a Lombardic rhythm; and in the final three publications there is only one motet in each book where a Lombardic rhythm can be found. Perhaps the Lombardic rhythm had begun to lose its appeal, or perhaps by the end of his career singers were expected to include such ornaments automatically, as may well have been the case with the *trillo* also. Trends such as these are explored in the following examples.

The increase in ornamentation between *Il primo libro* and *Il secondo libro* is dramatic. In spite of decreasing the number of Lombardic rhythms that had been so present in *Il primo libro*, the ornamentation in *Il secondo libro* is far more extensive than before. It appears that three years as *Maestro di Capella* at the Accademia dello Spirito Santo, Ferrara gave Grandi the courage and opportunity to experiment with more lavish ornaments. In *Il secondo libro* these ornaments now span up to an octave in pitch, and extend to as many as four beats. It may also have been that Grandi was beginning to incorporate, and thus trademark, pre-existing, standard ornamentation practice by

76

beginning to include them in print, which was a new practice in and of itself. As Grandi achieved this, and expectations effectively became more evident, more responsibility could be placed on the performers. There are over forty types of ornaments in *Il secondo libro*, compared to nine in Il primo libro, thirty in Il terzo libro, twenty-seven in Il quatro libro, and twenty-five in Celesti Fiori and Il sesto libro. In some instances, however, Grandi leaves the ornamentation to the singer, where a dissonance over a static bass line calls out for an ornament, but none are notated. By searching for similar occasions where an ornament does exist, a suitable ornament can be constructed to suit the appropriate passage. For example, two passages from motets in *Il secondo libro* are very similar, yet bar 10 in 'Date nomine eius' (Fig. 20) feels as though it requires something more:



A similar dissonance at bar 79 of 'Salvum fac' (Fig. 21) contains an ornament that could be tailored to provide a suitable alternative for 'Date nomine eius.'



Figure 21 - Salvum fac, Il secondo libro.

By imagining such a cross-ornamentation, a performer could create a realisation such as that shown in Fig. 22, below:



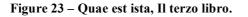
In *Il secondo libro*, Grandi writes fast-moving demisemiquaver ornaments, which demonstrate his skill as a composer of impressive vocal lines. Interestingly, the written ornaments in *Il terzo libro* are not nearly as complex as those in his previous book, as they do not go beyond semiquavers. These ornaments are often notated as two, four-note motifs joined together, with an occasional upward or downward scale of up to an octave in pitch. It seems apparent that Grandi was beginning to expect more from his expressive and technically capable singers, as he writes fewer virtuosic ornaments in *Il terzo libro*, than in *Il secondo libro*.

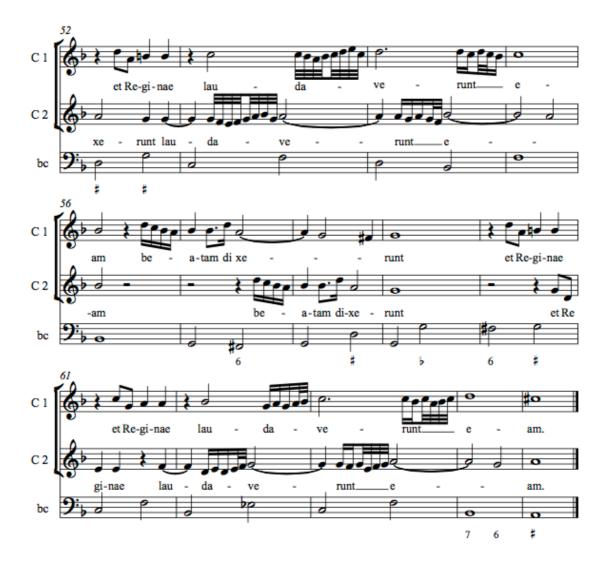
'In dedicatione,' a motet for four voices from *Il terzo libro* stands out amongst other motets in Grandi's collections due to its somewhat unmelodic, repetitive motifs on single pitches which are passed between all of the voices. Grandi seems to compose such motifs deliberately in a number of motets, but here it is the most prominent. Grandi's evocative text setting depicts the dedication of the temple, with the voices slowly opening the ceremony over a static bass line. Furthermore, the triple time sections in this motet are reserved for the homophonic motif "O quam terribilis," whereas the common-time passages are reserved for the uplifting text. The final *stretto* cadenza is passed between the voices, with the alto and tenor parts displaying the most active ornamentation of all. The gates of heaven introduced by the text "in porta caeli" are characterised by flamboyant semiquaver and demisemiquaver upward scales in the alto and tenor voices, which follow the previous descending quaver scales, and effectively evoke images of the gates of heaven

78

opening up in different directions. Whether or not one of the gates of heaven was slower to open due to the differing note-lengths between voices can be left to the listeners' imagination.

Motets from *Il terzo libro*, also provide useful examples of imitative ornamentation between two voices, which we can reasonably assume would have been applied in other motets where ornaments are not written. 'Quae est ista' reaches its musical climax at the word "laudeverunt," where Grandi writes an ornament beginning on the second syllable, which spans an octave in pitch between the two ornamenting voices. This series of antiphonal flourishes passes back and forth between the canto voices for seven beats.





There are some motets in every book that have little or no ornamentation, giving way for the creative and expressive input of the singers. In a motet such as 'Da pacem Domine' from *Il terzo libro*, Grandi constructs ornaments in response to the plain melodic structure of the previous phrase. In bar 27 (Fig. 24), the Tenore voice sings a fourth between the crotchet "qui," and minim "pug-," of "pugnet." Five bars later we find an ornamented version of the original (Fig. 25), in which each syllable is treated to elaborate semiquaver and demisemiquaver decorations. Learning from this type of example, the singer can envisage ornamenting in other places where such flourishes could work. Grandi continues to repeat the same text over the next nine bars, leaving the notes free of ornaments, which invites performers to supplement with similar flourishes. In Figure 25 I have offered a possible representation of ornamentation that could be added by performers. The added ornaments are in small font type, and the original is shown in Figure 26.











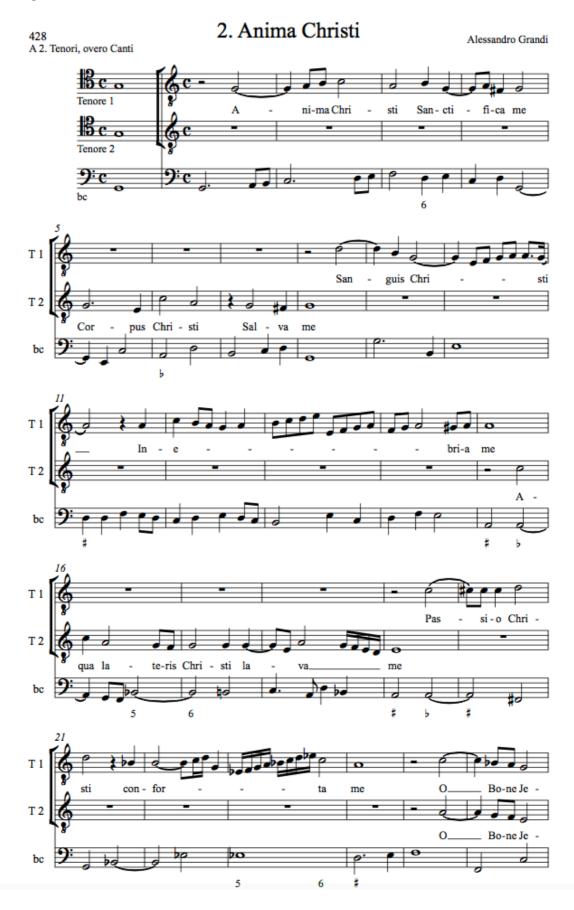


Grandi implements demisemiquaver flourishes twice in *Il quarto libro*, in the motets 'Bone Jesu' and 'Hic est,' by which time he had become *Maestro di Capella* at Ferrara Cathedral. Aside from these instances, the written ornamentation in *Il quarto libro* is comparatively light; again, either the musicians at Ferrara Cathedral were capable of providing their own ornaments, or they were not as skilled as those at the Accademia

where Grandi had worked for the previous five years. This might further explain, in part, why Grandi returned to St. Mark's two years later.

Grandi often uses ornamentation to help intensify repeated text. The opening of 'Anima Christi,' from *Celesti Fiori* (Fig. 27) addresses Christ three times, growing in musical interest each time. The opening text, "Sanctify me, soul of Christ," is simple and unornamented. The second tenor voice then answers "Save me, body of Christ," before the first tenor answers with a more melismatic phrase, and a lengthy ornament on "Christ," of "Blood of Christ, intoxicate me." The final plea, "Passio Christi, conforta me" (Strengthen me, passion of Christ), concludes with a long ornament, including a rising octave of semiquavers. The harmonic interest begins early in the phrase, with the word "passio," beginning on a C\, which gradually rises up a semitone during the first syllable to C\\$ with a *sollevatione*, thus creating the tension that is then released by the following flourish on "conforta," "strengthen" me:

Figure 27 - Anima Christi, Celesti Fiori



We can use this pattern to inform decisions in other motets. For example, in 'Haec est arbor', where the text translates: "this is the most worthy tree", both the Canto 1 and Canto 2 parts are given identical opening phrases to sing, one after the other, but Grandi does not write out ornaments for either line. In this instance, as it suits the text and there is certainly room for ornamentation, I would suggest that the Canto 2 take the opportunity to embellish in bar 4, and thus heighten the affect of the repeated text.



Figure 28 - Haec est arbor - Il quarto libro

By the time Grandi reached Bergamo, he had altered his writing style, the rate of harmonic progression feeling consistently faster, and the continuo part feeling more involved with the voices which are more active than ever on the whole, and his ornamentation became more sequential. We know from surviving correspondence that the city of Bergamo often recruited fine singers and musicians, some of whom even wrote to the governing body asking if they could join the reputed choir there,¹¹⁸ so it can only be assumed that Grandi appreciated the quality of his singers, and trusted them to ornament sufficiently, building on the structure that he confidently provided within the motets. When ornamenting motets from *Il sesto libro*, the performer should consider the implication of this when improvising.

¹¹⁸ Roche, 'Music at S. Maria Maggiore', 300.

For example, at bar 79 of 'Laudate Juvenes' the canto voice is cadencing on its own, transitioning from a duple to a triple section, and a dotted crotchet and quaver are notated by Grandi, where I would insert an ornament of four semiquavers – a favourite of Grandi's - on the syllable "glo" of "Gloria" as it is a suitable length for that moment and text in the motet. Looking ahead, the singer might notice that Grandi does, coincidentally, write this same ornament in the alto voice in bar 119.





Another example, from 'Ecce Servus Meus': In the opening section, Grandi gives the Cantus part small, four-note passaggi: 3-2-3-1 on "ce" of "ecce" and 1-2-3-2 on "dul" of "dulcis", but the alto part is left unornamented. On the last beat of bar 19, the alto could sing a 1-2-3-2 ornament, to answer those assigned to the cantus part earlier:





By following this process of anticipating what Grandi may have expected from his singers, by looking at instances where his ornamentation is clearly marked in order to inform decisions in unornamented bars, the performer can make educated decisions when attempting to appropriately ornament these motets.

INSTRUMENTATION

The organ was the standard continuo instrument in European churches in the first half of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁹ While the organ played a major role in daily services, by Grandi's time, most churches had established long-standing traditions of bringing in additional instruments to supplement the organ, particularly for large, festal performances or special feast days. Brass and stringed instruments, for example, often appeared to enhance these grand-scale services: 'Bass violas, trombones, bassoons, lutes, theorbos, citterns, and harps are all mentioned in documents and on the title-pages of various sacred collections. Such instruments were not in daily use, however, but employed primarily for special feasts when elaborate music, beyond normal fare, was provided.¹²⁰ However, the theorbos listed here served multiple purposes, and were not solely brought in for special occasions, but also played a more regular part in the musical life of North Italian churches, where the organ was not the only instrument used in daily services, but was at times, where appropriate, joined by lutes, harps, harpsichords, and theorbos when accompanying fewvoiced motets.¹²¹ As established, Grandi's primary compositional output consisted of small-scale works, which would not often have required, and largely do not include parts for additional instruments. In the following chapter I will first identify some of the expectations of instrumentalists in seventeenth century Northern Italy, before addressing key issues surrounding instrumentation in Grandi's small-scale motets, particularly in the pairing of organ and theorbo, and will present a few solutions from the perspective of an organist and continuo player.

The instrumentalists of Grandi's time were expected to play in a very particular, rhetorical style, which has come to epitomise the Baroque period.¹²² Just as vocalists' ornamental and communicative decisions were driven by text, instrumentalists strove to express the musical stories so clearly that it was as if texts were present. In a treatise

¹¹⁹ P. Williams and D. Ledbetter, 'Continuo' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura Macy.<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06353?q=continuo&search=quick &pos=1&_start=1#firsthit> (accessed 26 September 2014)

¹²⁶Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610 Music, Context, Performance*, 355. ¹²¹ Ibid., 356.

¹²² For further information, see Dieterich Bartel, *Musica Poetica*.

published in 1535 on the art of ornamentation and recorder playing, Sylvestro Ganassi asserted that:

all musical instruments, in comparison to the human voice, are inferior to it. For this reason, we should endeavour to learn from it and to imitate it Just as a gifted painter can reproduce all the creations of nature by varying his colours, you can imitate the expression of the human voice on a wind or a stringed instrument. And just as a painter imitates natural effects by using various colours, an instrument can imitate the expression of the human voice by varying the pressure of the breath and shading the tone. ¹²³

In the performance of Grandi's motets, instrumentalists must play with utmost sensitivity in order to balance the vocal lines. The following will discuss which of these instruments would have contributed, in this style, to performances of Grandi's small-scale motets, in specific stages of his career.

As discussed in 'Ornamentation,' throughout the progressive stages of Grandi's compositional career, the composer had to adapt his writing style according to his changing environments, and inevitably to the instrumental and vocal forces available, or unavailable to him in each setting. Grandi's first three books of motets were composed while he was *Maestro di capella* at the Accademia della Spirito Santo in Ferrara, and are primarily scored for voices and continuo only. As small-scale works, these motets would not have required any further instruments, whereas larger scale works, Mass, and Psalm settings from his later years, the majority of which are not included amongst my editions, clearly call for, and indicate his accessibility to additional instrumental forces. Only one larger-scale motet exists from this period in Ferrara, which appears in *Il Secondo Libro*, and was composed for the Feast of St. Ignatius. 'Date nomini eius' includes instrumental parts for three violins and violone or chitarrone. This is the first and only incidence in which Grandi incudes a stringed bass part in all six books of *concertato* motets, from which we can discover and then apply Grandi's expectations of plucked continuo instruments in other motets.

'Nativitas tua,' Grandi's largest-scale motet in all six publications, is scored for eight voices in a double choir setting, and was composed early in his career during his time at the Accademia. There is nothing to indicate that Grandi composed any extra parts for instrumentalists for this festal work, but instrumentalists may well have doubled the voices, as would have been stylistically sound in the *stile antico* form, from which his

¹²³ Ganassi, Opera intitulata Fontegara, Venice 1535; a treatise on the art of playing the recorder and of free ornamentation, Berlin: Lienau, 1997.

compositions were evolving.¹²⁴ In contrast, Grandi's book four motet, 'Factum est silentium,' which is another festal work for Michaelmas, is specifically scored for voices, two violins, and an independent chitarrone part, plus organ. By this time Grandi had taken up a position at the Cathedral in Ferrara, and undoubtedly had more instrumentalists at his disposal for this occasion, now that he was employed at a more major establishment. However, the opportunities must have been more limited than the composer might have liked, as Grandi does not include instrumental parts with any of the other festal works within the collection, and he stayed only two years before he moved on to Venice.

Grandi's Venetian phase is discussed in greater detail below than are his other phases of employment, in part because one might expect that his position at St. Mark's would have meant that he had access to whichever instrumental forces he desired. However, as his *Vice-Maestro* role reduced him to composing for lesser, more ordinary services, and did not necessarily allow him to spread his compositional wings whilst working in the shadow of Monteverdi, his output during this time consists of solo cantatas and arias, and *concertato* motets for few voices with, at most, two *obbligato* violins. It is interesting to see what Grandi made of those limited resources which were available to him during this time, and which of these techniques can be applied to most of his motets.

When Grandi left Venice for Bergamo near the end of his life he took on a much more important and demanding role as the new *Maestro di capella*, and his compositions reflect his changes in circumstance and job description accordingly. At Santa Maria Maggiore, Grandi had the financial support of the church council, and was able to utilise larger forces on both lesser and feast days, when he often hired gifted musicians from afar.¹²⁵ Suddenly, he was composing Mass and Psalm settings, which had been reserved for the *Maestro* while he was merely *Vice-Maestro* at St. Mark's. During this time, Grandi produced a third book of motets for voices with violins, which, paired with his festal works, demonstrate the heaviest use of instruments in all of his compositional output. His Mass and Psalm settings, which are published in separate books, offer insight into the instrumental forces that would have been available to him in the final years of his life. However, Grandi's attention to small-scale vocal works did not diminish entirely, and in *Il*

¹²⁴ In Renaissance polyphony, melodic instruments had long doubled, or at times even replaced missing parts in order to enrich the texture. This is discussed in greater detail in the 'Basso Continuo and Figuring' chapter of this thesis, and in Grove 'Chorus' by James G. Smith: J. G. Smith and P. M. Young, 'Chorus' in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and* Musicians, 2nd ed., ed Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell. London: Macmillan, 2001. Accessed at *Grove Music* Online, ed. Laura Macy.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05684?q=chorus&search=quick&pos=2 &_start=1> (accessed 4 July 2016)

¹²⁵ Roche, 'Music at Santa Maria Maggiore', 300.

Sesto Libro, vocal scoring continues to prevail, so further discussion of his large-scale, heavily instrumental works from this period would not be immediately relevant for the purposes of this thesis.

When Grandi arrived at Santa Maria Maggiore, there were three organs available for use – two main organs, and a third *organetto*.¹²⁶ The setup was not unlike that of St. Mark's, described later. At Grandi's first Assumption Day service in 1627, the total bill for hired musicians came to 275 lire, 'a vast amount and more than twice as much as had ever before been spent on hiring musicians for this feast.'¹²⁷ Grandi quite literally pulled out all of the stops upon his arrival, hiring in a further two organs to supplement the two main organs. Along with the additional organs, Grandi brought in two cornetts, one violin, two violoni, two bassoons, and two trombones. The presence of these forces would have required that the organs be tuned to high pitch. This may suggest that the main organs at Santa Maria Maggiore were typically tuned to *mezzo punto*, which the hired organs would have matched, while the *organetto* was probably tuned to *tuono chorista*, and therefore was the most likely instrument to have been used with the choir in the performance of Grandi's few-voiced motets on more regular occasions.

As mentioned, Grandi's years at St. Mark's did not result in collections of instrumental-infused, large-scale works as one might expect. Instead, he published just one book of his *concertato* motets during this time, *Celesti Fiori*, which did not include instrumental parts; two books of motets for voices and violins; and one book of solo motets with continuo only. Interestingly, the scoring given on the title pages of Grandi's two books of motets for voices and violins do not mention organ, but instead call for a chitarrone accompaniment, which perhaps suggests that they were composed for use in venues outside of St. Mark's, where an organ was not as practical.¹²⁸ What, then, can we make of these motets in performance? A closer look at the instrumental life of St. Mark's reveals useful information about the roles of its players, and the relationships between continuo instruments in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in particular, which prove useful in determining appropriate instrumentation in the vast majority of Grandi's motets.

Much has been discovered about the instruments used in worship at St. Mark's. Pay roll documents survive in the archives of the Basilica, detailing the historical wages paid to

¹²⁶ Ibid., 305.

¹²⁷ Roche, 'Music at Santa Maria Maggiore', 307.

¹²⁸ G. Dixon, 'Continuo Scoring in the Early Baroque: The Role of Bowed-Bass Instruments', *Chelys*, 15 (1986), 38–53 & R. Donington, 'Correspondence', *Chelys*, 16 (1987), 49–50.

instrumentalists and singers, and the frequency thereof.¹²⁹ We learn from such documents that by the time Monteverdi was appointed in 1613, his predecessor, Gioseffe Zarlino, had already built up the tradition of bringing in additional instruments for feast days. We also learn that some singers doubled as instrumentalists, and thus were paid higher wages than their peers who fulfilled only one role or the other. Records of payment also exist for both first and second organists, which would suggest that an organist was always present, and that the position of organist was ultimately different to that of the *Vice-Maestro di Capella* position held by Grandi between 1620 and 1627. The organists and choirmasters were salaried, so their fees were paid steadily, rather than according to individual services as was the case for most other instrumentalists, and thus it is difficult to say, as precisely, when they were required to play and/or conduct the choirs.

As *Vice-Maestro di capella*, Grandi's salary was 120 Venetian ducats per annum, as compared to Monteverdi's *Maestro* salary of 400 ducats per annum. Grandi's position of *Vice-Maestro* was not formally created until 1607, but had long existed unofficially before he took up the role in 1620.¹³⁰ James Moore explains that, 'not only was the *vice-maestro* called upon to direct the *cappella* in the absence of the regular *maestro*, but in the performance of polychoral works, he had the duty of relaying the *maestro*'s beat to the musicians in the first organ loft, the *capo dei concerti* relaying it to those in the second organ loft.'¹³¹ Further, Eleanor Selfridge-Field believes that 'the vice maestro conducted the choir and was responsible for all music performed in the absence of the maestro.'¹³² She also suggests 'that at a vast number of secondary and tertiary feasts only one organist was present, presumably at the first organ.'¹³³ Therefore we could assume that Grandi earned his salary by conducting the choir and composing motets during his Venice years. However, I would argue that it is more likely that Grandi played and led from the chamber organ on a daily basis:

The main organs would have overwhelmed such a small ensemble, and the practicality of performance would have diminished, forcing the choir to perform at an uncomfortable distance from the organ. Furthermore, the few voices required for the performance of his motets would not really justify both a conductor and an organist if the chamber organ was used. This would have spared them the need for transposition at the main organ to suit the singers' preference to sing at a lower pitch, which will be discussed

¹²⁹ From materials in the Venetian State Archives, as compiled by Selfridge-Field in *Venetian Instrumental Music*, 292 – 308.

¹³⁰ E. Selfridge Field, Venetian Instrumental Music from Gabrieli to Vivaldi. Oxford: Blackwell, 1975.

¹³¹ Moore, Vespers at St. Mark's, 11.

¹³² Ibid., 293.

¹³³ Ibid., 11.

at greater length in the 'Pitch' and 'Temperament' sections which follow. My theory is evidenced by the fact that Grandi's figures are inconsistent, and that there are no corrections in the prints, nor any surviving intavolaturae, which could have suggested that other organists played continuo for his motets. The strong implication is that Grandi himself directed from the chamber organ, as knowing his own compositions well, he would not have required *intavolaturae*, and would not have been dependent on more reliable figuring.

While other Venetian composers' works were written for large feast days, and may employ grand instrumentation, Grandi's works from his years at St. Mark's are much simpler settings of hymns and Marian anthems, and need not be accompanied by many instruments. As Denis Arnold admits,

> Most of previous Venetian composers' work consists of music for the great festivals - Christmas, Easter, the Ascension, Corpus Christi, and St. Mark. The music of the Gabrielis, Giovanni Croce, and Baldessare Donato consists mainly of settings of the Mass and Magnificats, psalms for Vespers, and the introits and antiphons for the day. All are set on a very large scale, using the orchestral techniques that had grown from the *spezzato* style. All these things are completely lacking in Grandi's motet books.¹³⁴

Grandi, instead, was 'a composer for the minor festivals of the year, when the great resources of St. Mark's were not employed.¹³⁵ Only on two occasions do we find motets specifically for larger scale services amongst Grandi's concertato motets: 'Nativitas Tua' from Il Primo Libro, and 'Factum Est Silentium' from Il Quarto Libro. Otherwise, larger scale works are published in separate volumes.¹³⁶ In all other instances it can only be assumed that minimal forces would have been present, and we will now consider which, and when other instrumentalists would have taken part in performances of Grandi's smallscale motets.

The basso continuo part books in each volume of Grandi's motets bear the titles 'Basso Per L'Organo' or 'Organo.' However, the publishers present several instrumentation possibilities on the title page of his first publication, which reads: 'IL PRIMO LIBRO DE MOTETTI (Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628) a due, tre, quattro, cinque et otto voci, con una messa à quattro voci accommodati per cantarsi nell'

 ¹³⁴ Arnold, 'Alessandro Grandi, A Disciple of Monteverdi', 179-180.
 ¹³⁵ Ibid., 180.

¹³⁶ This is further indicated in Table 1 on page 12 (RISM).

organo, clavicembalo, chitarrone, ò altro simile stromento.¹³⁷ This is the only instance in which the publishers suggest that an organ, harpsichord, theorbo, or other similar instrument could be suitably used to provide the basso continuo line of the motets.

We know that the harpsichord was used in sacred settings in a very minimal capacity, and primarily for domestic performances,¹³⁸ but here Grandi gives us a glimpse of its flexibility by including it amongst those continuo instruments which are suitable for use in his sacred motets. Harpsichords were frequently included in the performance of large-scale sacred works in the seventeenth century,¹³⁹ but as Grandi's motets did not fall into this category, it is more likely that their inclusion would represent an ideal rather than an actuality. There is no mention of harpsichord in the payroll documents from St. Mark's discussed earlier; when harpsichords were required in large-scale works it is most likely that one of the basilica's several organists would have played the instrument, which would explain the omission. Furthermore, while it is unlikely that early performances of Grandi's motets would have been performed on a harpsichord, it is reasonable to assume that the inclusion of the harpsichord amongst other plucked continuo instruments reflects his - or at the very least his publisher Vincenti's - intention for the motets' performability, and thus marketability in domestic, as well as sacred settings.¹⁴⁰

In Grandi's remaining five publications of sacred motets the only instrument mentioned is the organ, either with the text 'con il suo Basso per sonar nell'Organo,' or 'con il basso continuo per l'organo.' If the organ was the intended continuo instrument, why then did Grandi compose a separate chitarrone part for one single motet, 'Factum est silentium' in *Il Quarto Libro*? The text used for 'Factum est silentium' is that of the

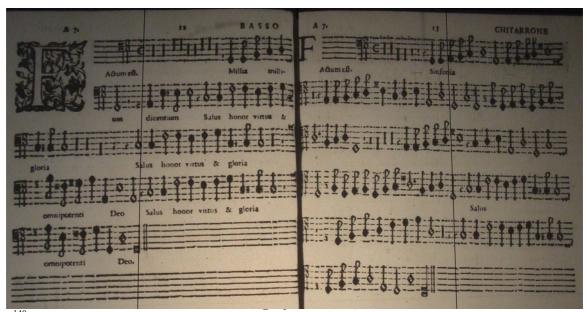


Figure 31 - Factum est silentium, Il quarto libro.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 67.

principal feast of St. Michael the Archangel; as discussed, it is more than likely that greater forces were available to Grandi on this feast day. For special occasions, such as feast days, it was typical for the composer to go to greater lengths to write out parts for other instruments from the master continuo part book.¹⁴¹ As can be seen in Figure 31, in this instance the chitarrone part is imbedded within the bass voice part book, clearly indicating its role as an ornamental instrument in this motet, as it is deliberately linked to a vocal part. As the chitarrone only plays during the instrumental sinfonia sections, it could easily be assumed that Grandi, on this occasion, intended the chitarrone as a melodic bass, such as a stringed instrument, rather than a fundament, or continuo instrument purely providing harmony.

Given Grandi's title page instrumentations, the salaries of the performers at St. Mark's, and the wider context of church performance, it can only be assumed that the organ was omnipresent as a continuo instrument. However, in spite of the wealth of information provided within payroll documents to indicate which instruments were used and when, there is still little evidence to signify which of the three organs played at the Basilica would have been used for certain forces at precise times.

We know that there were two main organs at St. Mark's during Grandi's time, the first located in the north loft, above the Chapel of St. Peter, and the smaller, second organ in the the south loft, above the chapel of St. Clement.¹⁴² In 1489 the first, seven rank organ at St. Mark's was built by Fra Urbano.¹⁴³ A second organ was rebuilt by Vincenzo Colombo in 1595, while Gabrieli was serving as second organist, and unofficially as Vice-Maestro. Selfridge-Field explains that 'Gabrieli gave instructions that it was to include four ranks, six bellows, one hundred medium and light-weight reeds and "a key[board] that can play in the high register."¹⁴⁴ The third organ, the chamber organ, was not actually owned by the basilica, but, rather, was the property of the nearby Seminario Gregoriano in Castello. It was not until 1645 that two chamber organs belonging to San Marco were installed in the building, so we must presume that it was the instrument which was hired to St. Mark's that was used during Grandi's career there: 'The organ was carried to San Marco as required, and it was sufficiently portable that the limitation of its travels came to be quite a problem,' as it was at times needed in as many as four different locations in a

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 120.

 ¹⁴² Moore, Vespers at St. Mark's, 82, and Selfridge-Field, Venetian Instrumental Music, 294.
 ¹⁴³ Selfridge-Field, Venetian Instrumental Music, 9.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 10.

single week.¹⁴⁵ These *organetti* were moved around frequently, even within the church, and several documents record the movements of these chamber organs, back and forth, and in and out of storage.¹⁴⁶

Still, we do not know exactly how frequently the chamber organ was installed at St. Mark's, whether it was just brought in on special occasions, or whether it was used regularly until the basilica finally acquired its own chamber organs. This would have affected the positioning of the conductor, organist, singers, and instruments for the daily services in which Grandi's motets would have been performed. The ease with which the chamber organ could have been moved would have opened up many potential locations for the performers, whereas the absence of a chamber organ would have meant that either the first or second of the main organs would have been the daily continuo instrument. We do know, however, that the choirs were elevated, rather than being positioned on the ground floor. The choirs and instrumentalists would have performed in the upper tiers of St. Mark's, probably on small balconies, and it is likely that chamber organs would have been placed there also, as required.¹⁴⁷ Selfridge-Field explains that 'essentially the organs and choirs were consigned to lofts because amidst the clutter below there was not room for them.¹⁴⁸ James Moore clarifies that the basilica's first organ was the continuo organ for large choral works, and, more importantly, that the two chamber organs (organetti) were not only used at St. Mark's, but that 'the organetti were the instruments which would eventually accompany the small concerted motets which were popular in St. Mark's from the 1620s onward.¹⁴⁹ One of the instruments belonged to the nearby Seminario Gregoriano, but it is presumed that the other instrument was always present at St. Mark's. Given their portability, it is hard to imagine the instruments would have contained more than an 8' and a 4', but either way would have been perfectly suitable for accompanying Grandi's motets. By later exploring pitch and temperament it will become clear why one tuning system, and thus one particular organ, would have been more suited to the performance of Grandi's motets than the others.

The organ was undoubtedly the primary and essential continuo instrument in church music in the seventeenth century,¹⁵⁰ but as we will now see, the organ may well have been joined by a theorbo not only on special occasions, feast days, and indeed those services, for example, where the Doge was present, but also in some standard weekday

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 12.

¹⁴⁶ Moore, Vespers at St. Mark's, 83.

¹⁴⁷ Selfridge-Field, *Venetian Instrumental* Music, 7.

¹⁴⁸ Selfridge-Field, Instrumental Music at San Marco, 10.

¹⁴⁹ Moore, Vespers at St. Mark's, 83.

¹⁵⁰ Williams, 'Continuo'.

services. Jeffrey Kurtzman writes that 'the organ was still the principal continuo instrument for such compositions, but plucked instruments or a plucked keyboard instrument were commonly employed.¹⁵¹ While theorbos were typically categorised amongst those instruments which were merely brought in on special occasions, in order to facilitate larger scale works requiring greater instrumental forces, I would argue that they played a much larger role than other instruments, on a daily basis:

St. Mark's had two theorbo players on its pay roll, earning a combined salary of one hundred and forty ducats in a year. That the theorbists were paid more, together, than Grandi himself, indicates that they were valued performers, and would most likely have been involved in the musical life of St. Mark's quite frequently. Other instrumentalists were paid a fractional sum for their respective appearances. Cornet players, trombonists, and violinists, for example, were paid just fifteen ducats per annum, as most players such as these would only have been employed on major feast days. Given the considerably greater renumeration awarded to the theorbists, it seems that they may well have appeared more regularly than other instrumentalists, perhaps on ordinary Sundays or other important days in the church calendar. When James Moore includes a print of a painting by Caniletto in his Vespers at St. Mark's, he points out what appears to be the neck of a chitarrone in the gallery, which he says further proves the ordinary usage of plucked instruments at St. Mark's.¹⁵² However, the painting in which this chitarrone appears offers a glimpse into a feast day at St. Mark's, but does not truly offer any further proof of its everyday use. Having established that the theorbo and organ did play together regularly, the discussion, below, addresses how, where and when both instruments - organ and theorbo - were, and thus should be used, where possible.

James Moore states that organs or theorbos accompanied the concertato motets of Grandi, and that when the organ was used, a violone would play to strengthen the bass line.¹⁵³ However, the combination of organ and violone dates from many years later in the Baroque, and I have found no evidence to support his theory that the violone was required by Grandi. Firstly, given the small-scale nature of the works, and the few forces that were envisaged to perform them, a violone would be too prominent in a texture that would already have been supported enough by the organ. Secondly, while payroll records indicate that a violone player, Ventura Marchetti, arrived at St. Mark's in 1593, some 27 years before Grandi became Vice-maestro, and that Giovanni Marchetti, probably his son, took up employment at St Mark's, playing the contrabasso violone from 1614, until his

 ¹⁵¹ Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance,* 356.
 ¹⁵² This can be found in Plate 4 in Moore, *Vespers at St. Mark's,* 107.

¹⁵³ Moore, Vespers at St. Mark's, 97.

departure in 1648, the latter's salary was just 15 ducats per annum.¹⁵⁴ This is a comparatively meagre salary, identical to that of the trombones, cornetts, and majority of violins, which would suggest that his appearances were, likewise, restricted to feast days. Finally, Moore's suggestion that either theorbo or organ played, and not necessarily together, is no longer valid. The motet 'Factum est silentium' from *Il quarto libro* plainly demonstrates Grandi's expectations of organ and theorbo working together in performance. The string bass part is clearly marked 'chitarrone' and there is no mention of a violone. It was not until 1655 that a violone player, Paolo Mancin, was specifically hired to play alongside the chamber organ, twenty-eight years after Grandi left Venice.¹⁵⁵ Nigel North agrees:

> The tradition of a continuo combination of [a] melody bass instrument together with a plucked or keyboard instrument stems from the late Baroque practice, i.e. *c*1680-1750, but the nature of the music before this rarely needs the two instruments. In fact, the continuous sound of a bowed bass in monodic song can destroy the effect of the voice part which is supposed to imitate speech. When a bowed bass is added it encourages the singer to sing in a more modern way, which is unlike speech. A better combination, particularly in early seventeenth-century Italian music, is that of theorbo and organ.¹⁵⁶

In large festive ceremonies even more continuo instruments may have supplemented the organ, but in the case of Grandi's few-voiced motets, a maximum of organ and theorbo as the continuo team is the most realistic possibility.

In order to explore the musical possibilities and challenges of this pairing as thoroughly as possible I have raised the following questions: Is it possible, when performing Grandi's works, for both organ and theorbo to play together in the same temperament? What should each instrument play? Do different players naturally realise harmonies in the same way, or does the music leave players to make any of a variety of choices, which could clash in performance? Is it possible to maintain balance within the ensemble when the basso continuo is doubled by another instrument, and the singers are only one to a part? This discussion will span this section, as well as 'Basso Continuo and Figuring.'

In 1607, Agostino Agazzari published his treatise, Del Sonare Sopra'l Basso Con Tutti Li Stromenti E Dell' Uso Loro Nel Consorto, in which he divides instruments into

 ¹⁵⁴ Selfridge-Field, Venetian Instrumental Music, 298-299.
 ¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 17.

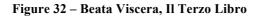
¹⁵⁶ N. North, Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo. London: Bloomington, 1987, 63.

two categories: fundament and ornament. Included amongst his list of fundaments, which 'guide and support the entire sound of the voices,' are organ, harpsichord, lute, theorbo, and harp. Amongst those 'which by scherzando and by counterpoint make the sound of the harmony more agreeable,' and are thus listed as ornamental instruments, are lute, theorbo, harp, lire, and violin.¹⁵⁷ It is interesting that he acknowledges the diverse roles required of those instruments appearing in both classes. Organ, notably, remains fixed as a fundament, while the theorbo can take on either role depending on the composition and the makeup of the ensemble. Agazzari writes, 'the one differs from the other. Since the first has to play the bass put in front of him as written and does not ask if one knows much about the counterpoint: but the second does ask. Since he has to compose new upper voices upon the bass and new and varied passaggi and counterpoints.¹⁵⁸ In practice, the combination of organ and plucked instruments enables and requires the organ to play less than they might on their own in order to allow the timbre of the theorbo to emerge in the texture. On those occasions when the organists accompanied the choir alone, however, they would have been able to take more liberties and play more flourishes, whereas in services in which they were paired with chitarrone they would have left the embellishments to the ornamental player.

In bar 46 of the example below (Fig. 32), from *Il Terzo Libro's* 'Beata viscera' the vocal parts rest, while the continuo part is left the responsibility of moving the music forward. It is unlikely that the organist would have held a single chord for four beats. Rather, the implication is that the continuo should provide a suitable flourish in order to bridge the two vocal passages. If the organist is alone, then it can only be assumed that he would perform such a flourish himself, whereas if a chitarrone is present then the organist should hold the chord, leaving the melodic interest to the stringed instrument.

¹⁵⁷ Agazzari, 5. 'Come fondamento sono quei, che guidano, e sostengono tutto il corpo delle voci, e stromenti di detto Concerto: quali sono, Organo, Gravicembalo etc. e similmente in oc- casion di poche e soli voci, Leuto, Tiorba, Arpa etc. Come ornamento sono quelli, che scherzando, e contra- pontegiando, rendono piu` aggradevole, e sonora l'armonia: cioe Leuto, Tiorba, Arpa, Lirone, Cetera, Spinetto, Chi- tarrina, Violino, Pandora et altri simili.'

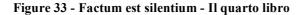
¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 12. 'Ma in questo e differente l'uno dell'altro; perche il primo havendo a suonar il basso postoli avanti, come sta; non ricerca, che l'huomo habbi gran scienza di contraponto: ma il secondo lo ricerca; poiche deve sopra il medesimo basso compor nuove parti sopra, e nuove, e variati passage, e contraponti.'





North states 'When playing together with the organ, the lute or theorbo should concentrate on playing the complete bass line, particularly when in imitation with the treble part(s), and give harmonic support where possible. The organ can then play a simple version of the bass line. When the bass line is fairly slow then most ornamentation should be done by the plucked instrument, not the organ.'¹⁵⁹ Grandi supplies such an example in *Il Quarto Libro*'s 'Factus est silentium,' (Fig. 33) where the basso continuo instrument plays a steady, chordal bass beside the far more melodic bass line of the chitarrone.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 61.





TEMPERAMENT

In order for us to understand the organ and theorbo working together, we must first consider the issue of temperament. It is generally acknowledged that mean-tone tuning was the standard tuning system in Italy during Grandi's years. As Kurtzman states: 'In 1619 Michael Praetorius was still recommending mean-tone tuning for all keyboard instruments.¹⁶⁰ Mark Lindley also writes that 'keyboard instruments were normally tuned in some form of regular meantone temperament throughout most of the sixteenth century and at least the first part of the seventeenth.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance,* 489.
¹⁶¹ M. Lindley, *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 43.

The standard temperament for organs at St. Mark's would have been mean-tone generally understood, today, to mean quarter-comma mean-tone, 'with its richer sounding major thirds.'¹⁶² The theorbo, in contrast, is much more suited to equal temperament because the intervals of fourths and fifths necessary for tuning strings are equidistant, or tempered equally as the name suggests. In mean-tone, however, the intervals are tuned or tempered unequally. This makes certain intervals more pure, but at the expense of others, making it more difficult, but by no means unobtainable, for stringed instruments. As Nuti explains, 'Different temperaments suited certain instruments better than others; according to the theoreticians, keyboards played in mean-tone temperament, while fretted instruments preferred to play in equal temperament.'¹⁶³ Kurtzman agrees that, 'Fretted instruments, with their strings tuned in fourths and a major third, were much more suited to an equal temperament than to a mean-tone tuning, and were therefore problematic to play with keyboard instruments, according to some theorists.'¹⁶⁴

It is important to consider the stability of instruments: the organ and harpsichord, once tuned, subject to temperature and humidity, will remain relatively constant in pitch, whereas an instrument such as a viol or lute is susceptible to much human alteration. To this end, regardless of the temperament concerned, absolute perfection in tuning between these two families of instruments, keyboard and plucked, is not possible in performance. In 1570, Giovanni de Bardi, of the Florentine Camerata, wrote, 'More than once have I felt like laughing when I saw musicians struggling to put a lute or viol in proper tune with a keyboard instrument.¹⁶⁵ My own practical research has proven, however, that the theorbo is perfectly capable of playing in tune with an organ in unequal temperaments. The process involves repositioning some of the frets of the instrument, slightly. 'As to the strings with frets, as Lutes, Viols, the good player, after he has taken the tone or sound from the stable instruments, will have some difficulty in coming to a good unison with them because of the different species and genus But he will be able, with diligent application, to do so, helping himself by placing the finger a little higher or a little lower on the fingerboard when he feels the need.¹⁶⁶ There is even written evidence to suggest that bowed string instruments could have tuned in unequal temperaments via the use of extra frets, but, however convenient, such evidence does not necessarily relate to plucked instruments. Still, as Ashworth and O'Dette explain, 'despite the highly publicized and exaggerated

¹⁶² Kurtzman, 488.

¹⁶³ Nuti, The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo, 40.

¹⁶⁴ Kurtzman, 492.

¹⁶⁵ Di Bardi, quoted in Lindley, Lutes, Viols and Temperaments, 44.

¹⁶⁶ E. Bottrigari, *Il Desiderio*, Trans. by C. McClintock. [n.p]: American Institute of Musicology, 1962.

paranoia of a few late renaissance and early-Baroque theorists regarding unequal temperaments on fretted instruments, they were, in fact, widely used and are not at all difficult to achieve.¹⁶⁷

All of the motets in Grandi's six books are published with either no key signature, or one flat. The simplicity of these keys lend themselves to the pure thirds of quarter coma mean-tone. However, whilst the keys are ideal for one pitch, the fact that it is an uneven temperament creates a difficulty when transposition - a normal expectation of the time - occurs. We can see clearly from the table below, that in transposing down a tone, from *mezzo punto* to *tuono chorista*, the problematic notes are Ab, Db and Gb. It is possible in a short time to re-tune just these notes for the purpose of transposed performance:

Original Chord	Transposed Chord	Note(s) Requiring Retuning
G minor	F minor	Aþ
Bb major	Ab major	Aþ
Eb major	Db major	Ab & Db
C minor	Bb minor	Dþ
F minor	Eb minor	Gþ

Table 5 - Transposition

Interestingly, some Italian keyboard instruments overcame the issue of unequally tempered accidentals via a system of split-keys. Jeffrey Kurtzman informs us that the organ of Santa Barbara in Mantua (1565), for example, 'had D and Ab split keys in all complete octaves except for ab,'¹⁶⁸ which would have facilitated transposition, without requiring the organist to re-tune notes, as the player would have just chosen the other of the two keys. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this was the case in Venice. So it is presumed that organists at San Marco would have made any necessary adjustments to tuning themselves, in order to perform at a transposed pitch.

¹⁶⁷ Ashworth and O'Dette, quoted in Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance*, 493.

¹⁶⁸ Kurtzman, The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance, 490.

PITCH AND TRANSPOSITION

Whilst *mezzo punto*, the standard pitch in Venice, was high, where A=465hz, the singers at St. Mark's preferred to perform at *tuono corista*, where A=415 hz, which was a whole tone lower than standard pitch throughout churches in the city.¹⁶⁹ As mentioned previously, the second organ was rebuilt in 1595, when Gabrieli requested a keyboard that was capable of playing at the higher pitch; this presumably means that he required a transposing keyboard.¹⁷⁰ Given its small size, as an instrument of only four ranks, one might presume that the second organ was tuned lower, for the convenience of the organist, in order to be used as a daily instrument, and would be transposed up only as needed. Thus, it would have made sense for the smaller organ to have been tuned at *tuono corista* and the large, first organ at *mezzo punto*.

The cost of building an organ is dependent on the number and size of the pipes. An organ at A=415 has longer pipes than an organ at A=465, and would have been considerably more expensive to build. Since Gabrieli requested a relatively inexpensive, small organ, it would have made far more sense to tune its set of pipes, rather than the larger first organ's pipes, to 415, where they could be used for small, everyday occasions when the larger organ was disproportionate for use. We can reasonably assume that when Gabrieli specified that he wanted a keyboard that could transpose up, he did so in order that on feast days they could use both organs, because the smaller of the two would then be capable of transposing up to match the first organ's higher pitch in large scale works. This would translate into the first organ being used for feast days, when instruments such as cornetti and other wind instruments were involved and could only play at the higher pitch, and the second being used on a more daily basis. If the organist of the main organ ever needed to transpose down to *tuono corista*, the various accidentals that would require retuning could have been adjusted in a short space of time. It must be considered, after all, that Grandi and Monteverdi were presenting the most modern compositions possible for performance, and therefore any skilled organist of the time would have been used to, and capable of adjusting certain pipes when transposing from one pitch to another. Still, it would have been most convenient and cost-effective to keep the second organ tuned at A=415 and the first at A=465. Thus, in keeping with the sound world of Grandi's Venice, it is recommended that the editions included with this research be performed at A=415, not least for the benefit and comfort of the singers.

 ¹⁶⁹ B. Haynes, A History of Performing Pitch: The Story of "A". Lanham MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002, 60.
 ¹⁷⁰ Kurtzman, 406.

CONTINUO STYLE AND TEXTURE

To provide a complete and thorough overview of the birth and development of figured bass would require yet another thesis in itself, and has previously been covered in depth, not least by Jonathan Wainwright in his article 'From Renaissance to Baroque.'¹⁷¹ However, the following will, at the very least, provide some useful context, in which to place Grandi's figuring. The following chapter will look closely at the continuo style during its crucial transitional years, during which time Grandi was composing his motets.

As with any transitional or innovative artistic phase, the shift from *stile antico* to *nuove stilo*, or *seconda prattica* did not occur suddenly. Traditionally, the Baroque period has been placed between 1600 and 1750, and musicologists have assigned a rather artificial starting date to the turn of the century. However,

the deeper one looks, the more one comes to realize that there was not a substantial change in musical style around the year 1600. The date is really one of convenience and one given credence by the publication of certain works (*Rappresentatione di Anima, et di Corpo,* the *L'Euridice* scores, *Le nuove musiche* and *Cento concerti ecclesiasatici,* in particular) that, by chance, happened to be issued in close proximity to the beginning of the new century.¹⁷²

If the concept of basso continuo cannot be officially attributed to the year 1600, it can at least be attributed to the years surrounding the beginning of the seventeenth century, when a turning point can be identified in the gradual shift from the importance of counterpoint to harmony. Musicologist, Patrizio Barbieri informs us, for example, that although first printed in 1602, Viadana's treatise and *concerti* had already been exposed in Rome a few years earlier, which reminds us that a date of publication does not necessarily reflect a date of earliest exposure:

The first clear examples of *bassus ad organum* are found towards the end of the century, in works by composers from a geographical area that encompasses the Veneto and Emilia regions, such as Alessandro Striggio (1587), Giovanni Croce (1594) and Adriano Banchieri (1595). To these we must add Ludovico de Viadana, a musician from the same region, whose *Cento concerti ecclesiastici [...] con il basso continuo per sonar nell'*

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 406.

¹⁷² J.P. Wainwright & P. Holman eds, *From Renaissance to Baroque*. Vermont: Aldershot & Burlington, 2005, 11.

organo, although published in 1602, were partly composed around 1596-7 during a short stay in Rome.¹⁷³

Giulia Nuti states: 'Basso continuo began to be schematized at the beginning of the 1600s, yet harmonic accompaniments with the same characteristics as basso continuo are described from as early as 1550 and appear in the most musically influential cities of Italy.¹⁷⁴ As outlined by the southern Italian composer Diego Ortiz in his treatise, *Tratado* de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en las musica de violones, published in Rome in 1553, there were three standard methods of accompaniment leading up to the turn of the century: 'The first is called Fantasia. The second is above a plainchant. The third above a composition for many voices.¹⁷⁵ The first *fantasia* style of accompaniment is the most improvisatory of the three. The second is perhaps the most important, as it resembles most closely basso continuo as we know it today. The third method is essentially the performance of an intabulation, whereby the accompanist plays from a short score the voice parts of the madrigal in their entirety, whilst the violine plays divisions, or figurated melodies, above. This is unless the divisions are derived from the soprano line. That being said, it is easier for the continuo instrument to miss out the uppermost line. By the turn of the century, this method of accompanying (intavolatura) had become standard practice in Italy.

Whilst the date is somewhat arbitrary, as we have seen, by 1600, a new style of writing was emerging, in which composers such as Grandi preferred the strength of vertical harmony over the horizontal contrapuntal textures that had existed before.

At the beginning of the 1600s there were three main types of notation appropriate for the different types of compositions that were existing side by side, both old and new. These were:

partitura, where a bass line is given with solo parts above; *partitura* retains the same meaning in modern Italian and simply means a score. When reading from this, the accompanist would have been score-reading, playing each vocal or instrumental part as written. After the establishment of basso continuo they would have used the upper parts as a guide to which harmonies should be played, no longer doubling the voices.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ P. Barbieri, 'On a Continuo Organ Part Attributed to Palestrina', *Early Music*, 22 (1994), 587 ff.

 ¹⁷⁴ G. Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2007, 8.
 ¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹⁷⁶ Rules regarding the playing of partitura, with particular attention to the pitch range in which the accompanist must play, can be found in treatises such as Lodovico Viadana's *Per sonar nel organo li cento*

- *intavolatura*, used mainly in sacred music, is an intabulation of all or most of the parts of a multi-voiced work reduced onto two staves; the task of writing out the *intavolatura* was generally left to the organist, and it would have ben particularly useful when the piece was printed in separate books and no score was available. As with the *partitura* in its first years of existence, the effect of this type of notation was that all the sung parts were doubled by the organist. The term *intavolatura* was also the name given to the notation of keyboard generally, as well as that used by lutes and theorbos; the term is not used exclusively in connection with accompaniments.
- accompagnamento, the most generic term simply meaning accompaniment, refers to the bass line, with or without figures, and with no part placed above. This was basso continuo.¹⁷⁷

In an age where the treatment of harmony was taking on more importance, the third method mentioned above clearly granted the accompanist the greatest freedom to embellish and support the harmony as they saw fit. The liberties taken by performers, however, did not always prove successful in everyone's opinion. A performance in 1594, that took place in Bologna, boasted many continuo instruments, but was unfavourably reviewed:

They all play at the same time as if in competition, to make *passaggi* [divisions] ... unbearable confusion ensues, which is increased as even those ... that are playing the deepest and lowest part forget ... that this is the base [sic] and the foundation, above which the songs are written.¹⁷⁸

The publication of numerous treatises, by composers such as Ludovico Viadana, Giulio Caccini and Agostino Agazzari, clarified the use of basso continuo in order to prevent such poor and chaotic performances as that reviewed above.

In 1602, Ludovico Viadana published *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* in Venice. This collection of motets acknowledges an emerging compositional style, as it included one of the earliest printed figured bass parts, and notably included a guide to the new motet style in its preface.¹⁷⁹ In spite of Viadana's conservative compositional style, in which 'the vocal

concerti ecclesiastici, where he states in the second rule that 'The organist is obliged to play simply the partitura, and especially with the lower hand, and if he wants to make some movements with the upper hand, as to florish the cadences, or some passages at occasion, he has to play such that the singer or singers do not get covered or confused by to [sic] much motion.'

¹⁷⁷ Nuti, The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo, 23.

¹⁷⁸ Bottrigari, *Il desiderio, o vero de' concerti di varij strumenti musicali,* 50, as translated in Nuti, 17.

¹⁷⁹ Wainwright, 'From Renaissance to Baroque', 7.

style of the *concerti* belongs more to the sixteenth than the seventeenth century,¹⁸⁰ the basso continuo rules in his treatise are significant in this discussion because of their particular application to Grandi's motets, where his innovative vocal style, in contrast, clearly belongs more to the seventeenth than to the sixteenth century. Grandi certainly would have been aware of Viadana's work, and when he published his own first book of motets eight years later, in 1610, Viadana's rules¹⁸¹ would undoubtedly have been considered. Essentially, Viadana's Cento concerti ecclesiastici rewrote the rules for accompanying from a bass line, which took into account and advocated the new style of basso continuo: playing from figured bass.

Theorists, performers, and editors have long debated the manner in which continuo instruments should be played in order to achieve a pleasing yet unobtrusive role. It must be understood that before the introduction of figured bass, choirs were accompanied by organists playing a reduction of the vocal score, in the form of *partiturae*. This essentially allowed the organ to employ its vocalic texture in order to double the voices exactly. Viadana's motets for smaller voices, however, present a considerably different texture. In his preface to *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, Viadana explains that his collection of motets for fewer voices has been written in response to the lack of repertoire for smaller forces. Previously, ensembles with fewer singers were frequently forced to omit vocal parts from large-scale works, and therefore the meaning of the text was often lost, in spite of the organ covering the missing vocal lines. In such cases, the organ, or another continuo instrument replaced the missing voice(s), in order to prevent awkward silences and incomplete harmonies, which made the performances 'boring or unsuitable and little graceful to those who want to listen; not to talk about the greatest discomfort for the singing singers.¹⁸²

How, then, did Viadana's rules change the continuo style? Jack Ashworth and Paul O'Dette explain:

> At first, these "accompaniments" simply doubled the singers' music, but in 1602 Ludovico Grossi da Viadana's Cento concerti ecclesiastici documented a newer practice in which the organist was given only a bass line over which harmonies were to be added, rather than simply doubling all of the vocal parts. This notational shorthand eventually freed continuo players from doubling the vocal parts and encouraged a simpler, chordal

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 7.
¹⁸¹ For a translation of the Preface, see L. da Viadana, *Per sonar nel'organo li cento concerti ecclesiastici*,

¹⁸² Viadana, Cento Concerti Ecclesiastici, 1.

accompaniment that provided more rhythmic freedom to the singers as well, since their parts were no longer being doubled. The organ part thus became a separate, integral, and indispensable part of the music, where previously it had been used simply to enrich the sound and/or help the performers. It is for this reason that Viadana's work is generally cited as the first to use *basso continuo*; in any event, this is the first writer known to use the term in print.¹⁸³

Rather bizarrely, Ashworth and O'Dette seem to contradict themselves just pages later, and go on to suggest that 'In Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici* (1602), the organ is surrogate for a vocal ensemble and should basically double the vocal polyphony or sound like vocal polyphony in its absence.'¹⁸⁴ They also warn the performer against a more sparse method of accompaniment, suggesting that if the organist is too caught up with working out what not to play, then the overall effect is compromised:

However, beware of the "table-scraps" school of *continuo* playing, an approach that forbids the doubling of all dissonances and thirds and requires the accompanist to avoid all notes in the solo part(s), playing only what is left over. The problem with this manner of playing is that it forces the player to concentrate on what not to play, rather than on how best to make appropriate gestures.¹⁸⁵

These suggestions are not entirely out of place with those of some seventeenth-century theorists, such as Adriano Banchieri and Girolomo Diruta. However, while many composers and performers continued to look backward to the traditions of the old style, the new style was enveloping the musical world around them, of which Grandi was a major player. As theorist and performer Nigel North has pointed out, Viadana blatantly suggested in his treatise that the organ play a simple part, instead, so as not to obscure the voices:

The organist is bound to play the organ part simply, and in particular with the left hand; [i.e. do not make divisions on the bass line] if, however, he wants to execute some movement with the right hand, as by ornamenting the cadences, or by some appropriate embellishment, he must play in such a manner that the singer or singers are not covered or confused by too much movement.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ J. Ashworth and P. O'Dette, 'Basso Continuo', in *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Stewart Carter and revides and expanded by Jeffrey Kite-Powell. Indiana: IUP, 2012, 318.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 338.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 328.

¹⁸⁶ Viadana, quoted in North, Continuo playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo, 86.

In spite of Ashworth and O'Dette's warnings, my experience has shown that the performance of Grandi's motets should align closer to the Viadana style of continuo playing, as Grandi was a major proponent of the new compositional style, particularly in works for small forces.

In 1607, Agostino Agazzari expressed a similar opinion to that of Viadana, suggesting in his treatise that the continuo player keep within a relatively small compass and low register so as not to obstruct the singer, especially with inappropriately timed embellishments:

One should take the greatest possible care to avoid touching or diminishing with a division the note which the soprano sings, in order not to duplicate it or obscure the excellence of the note itself or of the passage [diminutions] which the good singer executes upon it; for the same reason one does well to play within a rather small compass and in a lower register.¹⁸⁷

Agazzari's treatise produced a practical guide to basso continuo accompaniment, in which he states 'where there are words, it is necessary to clothe them with suitable harmony that shows or demonstrates the *affetto*.'¹⁸⁸ In the few years that followed, the method of *accompagnamento* proceeded to gain immense popularity, proving itself to be the most facile and suitable method of which to accompany. Lute and theorbo players did not need to be able to read the *intavolatura* scores that suited the keyboard, and neither needed the skill in which to score-read multiple voices (*partitura*), or indeed produce either of the above, which inevitably took time and resources. Agazzari gave confirmation of the success of the new style of accompaniment writing in 1607:

(Basso continuo] is used in this way for three reasons: first because of the modern style of singing and composing recitative; second, for convenience; third, because of the quantity and variety of materials required for performance... it is not necessary to make a *spartitura* or *intavolatura*; a bass with its markings [figures] as discussed above will suffice. And if someone said to me that to play ancient works, full of fugues and counterpoint, the bass alone is not enough, I would answer that no one sings these things any more.

The second reason is the great convenience; for with little effort you can have a great deal of resources for any occasion, and besides, those who wish to learn to play are freed from the *intavolatura*, which many

¹⁸⁷ Agazzari, quoted in North, *Continuo playing...*, 86.

¹⁸⁸ Agazzari, *Del sonare sopra 'l basso con tutti li stromenti*, 5., as translated in Nuti, 20.

find difficult and tiresome; prone, even, to cause mistakes since the eye and the mind are busy looking at many parts, especially when the occasion arises to sight read whilst playing with others.¹⁸⁹

In addition to suggesting that the organist play sensitively, Agazzari also advocated for a simply constructed figured bass line:

There is no need to make scores or tablatures; but a figured bass is sufficient as we told above Furthermore, who wants to learn to play, is not bound to the tablature, a difficult and annoying thing; and moreover source of many errors since eye and spirit are all occupied by grasping as much voices as possible when the occasion of improvisation is there If one had to intabulate or to write a partition for all the works which are performed during a year in only one church in Rome: a professional organist would need to have a bigger library than a lawyer has.¹⁹⁰

Two years after Agazzari's *Del Sonare*... was published, Girolamo Diruta published the second volume of his own treatise, entitled *Il transilvano*. Diruta's work contradicts Agazzari's, however, and is closer aligned to those theories of Ashworth and O'Dette, and those of the earlier style. As Gregory. S. Johnston explains,

[Diruta] recommends that organists copy polyphonic compositions into score and play as many of the vocal parts as possible. His pupils were advised in particular against accompanying from a figured bass, because figures, to his mind, were incapable of reliably indicating in which part of a polyphonic texture the consonances and dissonances occur.¹⁹¹

Diruta was not the only theorist whose work looked backward, effectively advocating against the new style and the developmental use of basso continuo. Another theorist who agreed with Diruta's full-vocal continuo texture was Adriano Banchieri. Banchieri also published in 1609, in Bologna, and wrote in his treatise, *Conclusioni del suono del Organo*:

Because it is easy to play it, many Organists nowadays are highly successful in concerted playing, but, in their great vanity on the score of their sureness in playing with others, they give little thought to exerting themselves in improvisation [*Fantasia*] and playing from score, whereas it is in this very domain that many a good man has made himself immortal. So that, in short,

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 22.

¹⁹⁰ Agazarri, Del Sonare Sopra'l Basso Con Tutti Li Stromenti E Dell' Uso Loro Nel Conserto, 15.

¹⁹¹ G.S. Johnston, 'Polyphonic Keyboard Accompaniment in the Early Baroque: An Alternative to Basso Continuo', *EM*, 26 (1998), 51.

we shall soon have two classes of players on the one hand Organists, that is to say, such as practise good playing from Score and improvisation, and on the other hand, Bassists, who, overcome by sheer laziness, are content with simply playing the Bass [i.e. basso continuo].¹⁹²

On examination of the principle material available at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it becomes clear, thus, that there were two very different schools of thought concerning the bass line, and the ways in which a continuo part was to be constructed. Figured bass itself was a new phenomenon and there were individuals who were contentedly accustomed to traditional methods of performance, who advocated against the rise of basso continuo style. I will conclude with my own solutions at the end of this chapter.

FIGURES

In keeping with the patterns I have observed throughout the previous chapters, there were many different and conflicting opinions regarding the realisation of bass lines in the seventeenth century, and figuring provided within scores was yet another compositional feature that varied between composers. With the emergence of figured bass came a range of styles, as several composers embraced the specificity the figures provided, while as many composers chose not to insult the capability of the organists, who were well accustomed to anticipating harmonies. In the following section I will explore some of these continuo possibilities, as discussed by several of Grandi's contemporaries, and applied in my editions.

Firstly, we must consider the stylistic diversity that was evident in the figured bass of various composers in Grandi's time. As I have mentioned before, Girolamo Diruta went as far as advising his pupils against performing from figured bass because he simply believed figures were incapable of reliably indicating the part of a polyphonic texture in which consonances and dissonances should occur. Theorists such as Diruta may well have been opposed to the changes that the new figured bass style brought with it. We can see that Amante Franzoni went to great lengths to avoid figures wherever possible, leaving the organist to use his strong aural skills to predict and realise the bass accordingly: 'In this bass I could have marked some consonances and dissonances in order to make it easier playing this work, but I have avoided this deliberately in order not to offend our gentlemen organists who, with their refined ear, will be able to gratify the composition with their

¹⁹² Ibid., 52.

beautiful way of playing.¹⁹³ Other composers, such as Domenico Brunetti also maintained that there was no need for figures, as 'all the organist need do is consider the note preceding and the note following the one that he is playing as well as listen to the vocal part to work out what harmonies should be played.¹⁹⁴ Such a suggestion may seem remarkably and dangerously reliant on the ear of the organist to both remember and predict surrounding harmonies, but this was certainly not unusual in Grandi's era, and would have provided immediate information to the player.

Generally, the music of Grandi's time was built on fundamental tonic and first inversion chords. Therefore, it was easier than one might expect for organists to rely heavily on their ears, and on the rather limited harmonic possibilities available to them in order to make educated decisions when realising sparsely figured bass lines.

While some composers chose to omit figuring altogether, others embraced the emerging popularity of the figured bass. A brief examination of the organ book of Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, shows that in contrast with Agazzari, Viadana provides several more figures. However, when placed beside the works of his contemporaries, Viadana's bass lines do not give enough information to the player; there is a striking contrast between sparsely figured bass lines, such as Viadana's, and Monteverdi's *partiturae*, which provide ample information to the player, for example. Monteverdi includes the top melodic line above the bass line in order to aid the continuo player and relieve the need for frequent figures, such as that shown in the opening of 'Nigra Sum'¹⁹⁵ (Fig. 34) from Monteverdi's *Vesperae*...:

¹⁹³ Franzoni, *Concerti ecclesiastici*, in Nuti, 26.

¹⁹⁴ Brunetti, *Salmi intieri concertati à 5 e 6*, in Nuti, 26.

¹⁹⁵ C. Monteverdi, Sanctissimae Virgini Missa senis vocibus ac Vesperae pluribus decantandae.

http://imslp.org/wiki/Sanctissimae_Virgini_Missa_senis_vocibus_ac_Vesperae_pluribus_decantandae_%28 Monteverdi,_Claudio%29>, accessed 12 May 2014.

Figure 34 – Nigra Sum, Monteverdi Vesperae...



What Monteverdi lacks in figures, he more than makes up for with the addition of a melodic treble line. As in Giovanni Croce's works, the melodic line supplied above the bass line helps the continuo player to anticipate harmonic progressions, and also to cope with more complicated rhythms, which Monteverdi often uses, where the bass line is relatively static. In these instances, where figuring is absent, the continuo player can still easily see where the chord changes should occur, even though no text is supplied. Observing the *partitura* provided by Monteverdi for the 1610 *Vespro della*..., it is easy to understand why there was some disagreement amongst musicians at the time regarding the new phenomenon that was figured bass. Reading the *partitura* gives the player the exact pitches of the singers, and they can therefore provide a suitable voicing.

Cavalieri and Caccini were considerably more exacting in their figuring than other composers of the time; they represent another extreme, using figures up to and including eighteen to describe precisely what was required of the organist (Fig. 35). Giulia Nuti states: 'Cavalieri's figuring ranges from 3 to 18....He is exceptionally exact with his

figures, and his use of compound numbers is by no means arbitrary.¹⁹⁶ Such figuring leaves nothing to the imagination, and allowed these composers to write specifically, so that performers or organists simply could not choose an unintended chord.



Figure 35 - Rappresentatione di Anima e di corpo, Emilio de Cavalieri

There were many different opinions regarding the realisation of bass lines, and the information that the scores alone provided often varied greatly. In *Le musiche sopra l'Euridice*, Jacopo Peri provides what is possibly the most comprehensive yet concise guide to figuring:

Over the bass part, the sharp together with the number 6 indicates a major sixth, and without the sharp a minor sixth; [the sharp] on its own indicates the major third or tenth; and the flat, a minor third or tenth; and it should never be placed other than on the one note on which it is marked, even though there may be more [numbers] on the same note.¹⁹⁷ (Nuti 24)

Grandi's continuo style, meanwhile, lies somewhere in between, and leans closer to the Viadana side. Grandi's figures, though, are far more useful to a continuo player than Viadana's are, as he indicates first inversion chords when necessary, for example, whereas Viadana only supplies the odd major and minor figure.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ Nuti, The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo, 29.

¹⁹⁷ Peri, *Le musiche sopra l'Euridice*, as translated in Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo*, 24. ¹⁹⁸ Viadana's motet, 'Montes Gelboe,' (see Appendix C) contains only three figures in 82 bars. The cadence at bar 61 seems to indicate that whilst Viadana's figuring is sparse, that his figuring is still thought-out to avoid dissonance between continuo and singer, as the sharp is placed on the D major chord, rather than on the second inversion chord at the beginning of the bar. However, in bar 45, the flat figure is placed on the last beat of the bar, underneath a sixth chord, offering little help to the continuo player as to what the voices above are doing. Whilst he was advocating the new style, this inconsistency demonstrates a weakness in Viadana's own figuring practice.

To further complicate things, no matter how complex or simple the composers' figures, due to printing limitations it was not always possible for editors to publish correct figuring in parts, if the composer intended any at all. Even Agazzari, who tends to avoid figures in his writing, alerts the trusted performer: 'I want to warn the player, that because of printing problems I have been unable to mark the # and \flat ...and the numbers above the notes according to their needs; please therefore keep your ear out for the singers, favour the tessitura, and perhaps mark them [the figures] in pen, checking first that they are right....¹⁹⁹ Thus, organists were encouraged to prepare well by studying the partbooks, and marking up any necessary accidentals in advance. However, while Agazzari sufficiently alerts performers to the unreliability, and sometimes absence of continuo markings in seventeenth century repertoire, modern performers may be advised that, where sharps and flats appear, Grandi's bass parts are sufficiently prepared for performance, as it does not seem that such printing difficulties transferred into Grandi's works, and thus the scores can generally be trusted to give reliable figuring whenever figures are present.

When realising bass lines in the performance of Grandi's motets, the harmonic intentions of the composer are quite clear, and unexpected chords rarely appear. Instead, standard progressions dominate his compositional landscape. However, now, just as then, the task of selecting chords to suit the remaining unfigured bass notes is left to the performer's discretion. As suggested earlier, we may presume that Grandi, himself, probably played the organ for his own compositions, and thus could have anticipated the appropriate chords since he would have penned those progressions himself. Modern performers, unlike those of the seventeenth century, will not have to face the absence of a full score, so the sparse figuring of the basso continuo line is not as problematic as it would originally have been. While the basso continuo line appears to be full of figures, it is, sometimes, insufficiently figured. The best way to make decisions for performance, then, is to hear the parts in context of each other, and respond accordingly.

In the performance of Grandi's motets for fewer voices, I have found it is best to avoid playing too heavily, particularly in the lower register, in order to avoid complicating the texture and covering or overpowering the voices. Jeffrey Kurtzman acknowledges the importance of the voice in the seventeenth century, writing that 'in music of the early seventeenth century it is the voice that is paramount, carried above a light and unobtrusive accompaniment which only supports the singer or singers without calling attention to

¹⁹⁹ Agazzari, Sacrae cantiones, Liber quartos, translated in Nuti, 26.

itself.²⁰⁰ As Sabbatini, Viadana, Agazzari and others suggest, the left hand should perhaps only play a single note, while the right hand provides harmonic support without interfering with the singer. Gregory Johnston agrees that a texture that is too rich can weaken the melody by getting in the way with 5.3 chords: 'By extension the rhetoric of affective melodic writing may be enfeebled by the continuo's early completion of the full harmony.'201

How is a player to know exactly how many notes are considered to be too many without placing their hands on the keys and finding out for themselves exactly how to respond in each instance to the specific singers in a given performing environment? Regardless of the suggestions made by theorists and editors, I have found that such issues can only be resolved via performance. By providing realisations of several motets, I hope to demonstrate what I have found to be suitable accompaniments in motets for various forces, having put many of these theories into practice in performance since completing my editions.

What sort of style, then, does Grandi embrace when writing his basso continuo parts? The independence of the basso continuo is particularly evident throughout his six books of *concertato* motets, particularly in those motets in which a vocal bass part is not included. In most instances, it is clear that the continuo bass line exists in order to provide harmonic support to the voices, and provides a skeletal outline of the bass vocal part whenever one is present. Thus, Grandi's style is more akin to the thinner style of Agazzari or Viadana, rather than that of Diruta. However, when there is no bass voice, the basso continuo adopts a much more melodically independent, vocal part, enhancing the colours, and further increasing the interesting textures of the motets. Motets in *Il sesto libro*, such as 'O quam Gloriosa' and 'Vocem iucunditatis' demonstrate what is clearly an independent and more melodic bass line, repetitive in style, and quite reminiscent of the bass line of Monteverdi's 'Laetatus sum' in the 1610 Vespers. In such instances, I would encourage the continuo player to take advantage of the opportunity to play more prominently.

Throughout this study, I have questioned, and ultimately maintained that Grandi himself would likely have played the organ for his own motets. This is further supported by the fact that rehearsals were limited at best, and many singers struggled to make it to services on time. For instance, when considering the likelihood of a rehearsal during

 ²⁰⁰ Kurtzman, *The Monteverdi Vespers of 1610: Music, Context, Performance*, 357.
 ²⁰¹ Johnston, 'Polyphonic Keyboard Accompaniment in the Early Baroque: An Alternative to Basso Continuo', 57.

Grandi's time at St. Mark's, with regards to the possibility of fixing erroneous notes or accidentals within the part books, it is important to note information regarding the pay scale of singers at St. Mark's. James Moore informs us that the singers' pay was dependent on the percentage of the service at which they were present, and that if they managed to attend the service in full, they were paid accordingly. However, depending on how late they were to arrive, their pay would be reduced in stages, until the fourth psalm was reached, after which they would not be paid at all. Given that such a system had to be put in place suggests not only the unreliability of the singers concerned, but also the fading possibility of much rehearsal, especially as none are mentioned.²⁰²

This not only explains why his use of figures is sometimes irregular, but also why, on examination of the organ part books, several instances appear in which the musical line is interrupted and becomes awkwardly stagnant.

The clearest example I have found appears in 'Laetentur caeli,' from *Il secondo libro* (Fig. 36). In this generously ornamented motet for *due canti* and *basso continuo*, the bass accompanies the first canto's motif at bar 38, but then suddenly returns to minims, yet the vocal line of the second canto is identical to the first, simply a fourth lower. Therefore, I would suggest that the bass line could easily continue the musically independent line that it has begun with three further crotchets D - Bb - C, before ending on the bottom F at the start of bar 40.

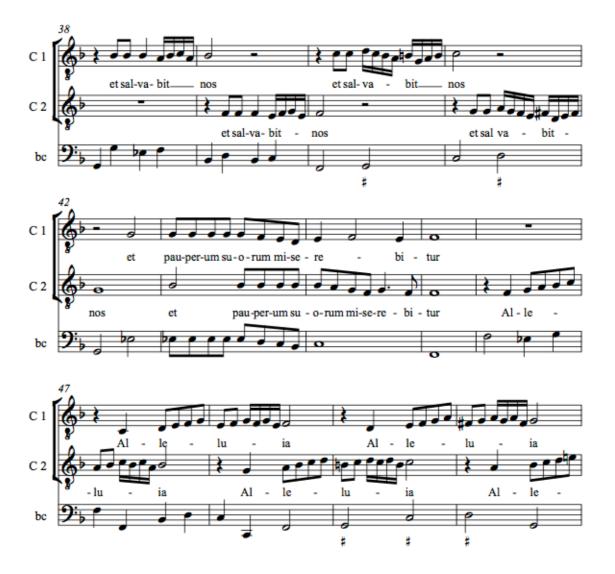
²⁰² Moore, Vespers at St. Mark's, 77.

Figure 36 - Laetentur Caeli, Il Secondo Libro (orginal)



If it was customary for the singers and melodic instrumentalists to add appropriate ornamentation, why should the continuo player remain static if there is a clear opening for melodic embellishment? Musically, this two bar sequence would then appear far more satisfying for performers and listeners alike. Given the strength of his compositions, it seems conceivable that Grandi may have performed such a realisation, and would simply have expected others to do the same. The same principle idea could easily be applied to the following motif beginning at bar 46: Figure 36 shows the original passage, and Figure 37 demonstrates a possible adaptation of the continuo line to continue the progression.





Another intriguing aspect of the continuo role which must be considered is that of the cadential progression, and what exactly was expected of the accompanist at these points, whatever the bass instrument. The choices available are limited, but consistent. Throughout all six books of motets, Grandi does not differentiate the figuring between regular major chords and those chords in which there are dissonances in the vocal parts. The most common cadential progression in Grandi's motets is that of a perfect cadence with a dissonance on the penultimate dominant chord. Whilst in a few instances, a 6.4 - 5.3 progression is figured, the majority of motets indicate cadences with a \sharp only, regardless of the dissonance in the vocal parts above. Given that no *partiturae* or *intavolaturae* have been discovered, it is unlikely that the organist of the time - probably Grandi himself - wrote out any fully realised organ part to play from, but simply relied on the figures in front of himself. At cadences, this may well have involved playing a fixed 5.3 chord

against the dissonance of the vocal line. Saunders identifies the various cadential options available to a continuo player:

> At times, simply playing a triad and accepting a fleeting and often expressive clash of the type that was often written out on large scale music is a viable solution. Other possibilities include omitting the resolution of a dissonance, or playing an open fifth, practices found in seventeenth-century lute intabulations.²⁰³

I have applied these cadential formulae in my performance of Grandi's motets, and would expect that others would not only apply these formulae to performances from my editions of the works of Grandi, but also may feel obliged to apply the same techniques to works of his contemporaries. In the section entitled 'Instrumentation', I argue that a theorbo paired frequently with the organ, and that the organ would have had to adjust accordingly: When a theorbo was present, I believe that the treatment of the dissonance would be left to them, and the organ would have provided a simpler, yet supportive role, playing either an open fifth, or possibly just *tasto solo*.²⁰⁴ In the following section I will apply these findings to the performance of my editions.

IN PRACTICE: RECITAL FINDINGS

As I have established in the previous sections, the organ was the primary instrument used on a daily basis for few-voiced motets, while a theorbo joined the organ regularly. The primary issue I faced when performing with a theorbo was that of deciding what, and how much, each continuo instrument should play. When the organ is the sole instrument, it, alone, is responsible for providing the harmony. In those instances where the organ is joined by a plucked bass instrument, it is able to maintain a supportive role, but plays considerably fewer notes, allowing the theorbo to play with a fuller texture, and to ornament accordingly. When a theorbo is present, then, the organ is able to play a more skeletal role, which allows the voices to be heard with clarity. In the absence of a theorbo, the organ is able to play a richer accompaniment.

The relationship between two continuo instruments is of great importance in performing Grandi's motets. This composer, who wrote and performed hundreds of motets, does not provide consistent figuring, so the process of deciding chords, or how to

 ²⁰³ Saunders, *Alessandro Grandi : Opera Omnia. Il primo libro de motetti...*, XXXIII.
 ²⁰⁴ *Tasto solo*: playing a solo bass line with the left hand alone, rather than realizing a continuo part with the right hand.

realise the bass line concurrently between two instruments playing from the same part, is one of the most fundamental and rewarding aspects of performing these motets. As a result, it is not until a continuo player has attempted several motets that he or she can become familiar and comfortable with Grandi's style. I have therefore completed several realisations according to the findings of my research and performance, which are included in Appendix D, so that these may provide a suggestion of appropriate figuring, and speed up this process for others who wish to perform from my editions.

My experience of playing the motets has led me to make the following conclusions: Most requirements of playing from Grandi's bass lines are standard of continuo playing in the early seventeenth century. The majority of chords are root position and first inversion. Very rarely does Grandi touch upon a second inversion chord without first preparing it with a first inversion. Further detail will be provided on this progression later. The most basic, but essential issue that the continuo player faces, is whether or not to play a chord that is unfigured as a major or minor chord. The continuo part books have given key signatures, and it should always be assumed that these should be followed, unless at a cadence or any other appropriate moment where the realisation should not be dictated by the key signature. This causes issues when Grandi writes accidentals into the voice parts, but neglects to supply forewarning to the continuo player. For example, one such moment occurs in 'Domine ne in furore tuo' from Il sesto libro, where in bar 8, the Canto line has a B natural marked, but the continuo line has no matching figure to indicate that this should be a major chord. This same situation happens again, two bars later, just a tone higher. Without a full score, the organist would have to adjust immediately, and possibly anticipate that it would happen again two bars on. Whilst I have elected not to provide a fully-figured basso continuo part in order to present Grandi's motets in their original form, my editions still supply the luxury of a full score, which should help players to avoid difficult instances such as these; as long as players are mindful of the recurrence of Grandi's unhelpful lack of figuring, and pay attention to what is occurring in the other voices, then this should not be as problematic as it would have been before, when playing from part books was the only option.

In my experience, it can be assumed that following a major cadence in a minor motet, that the prevailing chord will most often be minor. This is not always marked by Grandi, and can prove ploblematic. In rehearsal, we often discovered moments, either in the middle of a phrase, or at a cadence, where the chords were absent of figures, which can make the decision of which chord to play seem slightly ambiguous. At times, the theorbo may assume major, while the organist plays minor, or vice versa. However, by looking

121

ahead to the upcoming bass note(s) – as advised in my earlier discussion of Brunetti's theory, which suggests that the player must always be aware of the immediately preceeding and successive chords around that which they are playing – it is generally easy to settle upon the correct harmony. For instance, again in 'Domine ne in furore tuo', Grandi does not supply figures. In bar 13 there is a cadence on a G major chord. Exerience would suggest that the player would normally expect to then play a G minor chord in the following bar, but by reading ahead and anticipating the B natural in the second half of the bar, the player would choose another G major chord, instead, in order to better suit the tonality. On other occasions, Grandi goes to excessive lengths to provide figuring over every single note in a passage, such as when he leaves no room for guesswork and generously figures each of the successive Gs in 'Missus est' from *Il primo libro*.

As mentioned earlier, Grandi's motets would probably not have benefited from much rehearsal time ahead of their performance within services. As this need not be the case when preparing performances from my editions, continuo players should be advised to take time to mark their score fully. I have prepared my editions with this expectation in mind. Having both edited these motets, and also played from the editions, I have had to engage with the music, first as editor, and ultimately as performer, and my experience of the motets has been different in each instance. As editor, I have endeavoured above all else to convey Grandi's vision as strictly as possible, without interfering, so that performers may organically experience what it is like to play his compositions as he wrote them, albeit with the modern benefit of being able to read the full score, as I have presented them. As performer, in spite of my editorial familiarity with the motets, I have faced the same challenges that I expect others will have to navigate when they approach these editions. This, of course, is primarily an issue for the continuo part, and not for the voices, as the continuo line is the only part which is not supplied completely by Grandi himself.

As a continuo player, if you are playing from a part book as Grandi would have done, then you have the limitation of choosing chords solely from the bass line available to you, and as you do not have the full score, you are required to listen intently to what the voices are doing in order to respond and adjust accordingly, avoiding playing too high or low. Those who play from my edition will now have the modern luxury of seeing the whole score in front of them, which dictates the tessitura of the harmonic realisation. The challenge, then, is to avoid falling into the comfortable habit of score reading, where part doubling is an easy way out, but rather to generate an appropriate organ partitura in its own right. Ultimately, I would advise that above all else, the continuo player continue to use their ears when attempting to choose appropriate chords. This is critical to being able to

122

predict upcoming chords, though it must not be forgotten that the sound world of the early seventeenth century was very different to that of the early twenty-first century. Our modern ears have explored so many different harmonic progressions that we must forcibly limit ourselves when performing Grandi's motets.

For the organist, as I have mentioned before, support is critical, but too much can disrupt the voices. The organ need only provide small chords, working just below voices, playing mainly one note in the left hand, and two notes in the right. If accompanying a solo voice, or possibly a duet, more freedom is permitted at certain moments, where the organ may embellish a gap between the voices, or underneath a held note, provided the singer is not also executing an ornament. The more vocal parts there are, the more simply the organ should play, as the voices support each other, and are reliant on the organ for the presence of a bass line in order to maintain their tuning. It seems an obvious point, but the role of the organ is frequently abused in recordings, where it is treated more like a solo instrument. Instead, the ideal that I have sought in performance is that the organ blends so well with the voices that its supportive role never detracts from, and only enhances the vocal lines further.

The theorbo, on the other hand, with its fast rate of decay, lends itself to a more florid accompaniment. I should clarify that I have assumed the role of an organist in the realisations that I have provided in Appendix D, as the organ is the principle continuo instrument most widely available. I hope that an explanation of the theorbo's role, here, will suffice, so that in the luxurious case of having two continuo instruments present, others will also discover how well they may work together:

The theorbo has a unique presence; without causing harm to the vocal texture, it is an instrument that is able to get right inside progressions, and bring out the 'juicy' chords, without spoiling the effect of the vocal suspensions. It is for this reason that the sonorities of organ and theorbo are so well matched. The decay of sound means that the theorbo player must provide a more improvisatory, arpeggiated continuo part, and therefore automatically has more room for embellishment beneath the voices.

In some ways, the presence of the theorbo helps to highlight at least one of Grandi's signatures. The dissonant nature of so many of Grandi's cadences lend themselves particularly well to this instrumental pairing. Perhaps the most frequent is a decorated Ic-V (6.4-5.3) cadence. Grandi almost always chooses to prepare the second inversion chord with a first inversion. He sometimes uses a signature first inversion chord, flattening the sixth and sharpening the third. This, it must be noted, is never figured in the organ part book, and therefore, as I mentioned above, the ears of the continuo players must

be alert for this very Grandian chord. The first inversion chord moves into the second inversion, which then progresses into a 5.4 chord, and finally a 5.3 root position chord. The entire fingerprint progression is $6(\flat).3(\sharp) - 6.4 - 5.4 - 5.3$. If no other harmonic instrument is present, and there is only one voice, it is the responsibility of the organ to provide this harmonic progression. As soon as a theorbo is playing, or the voices take the progression in their lines, the organ can become less involved and provide either two-note chords, an open fifth, or even just play *tasto solo*. I have provided examples in the realisations so that organists may be able to recognise and apply the progression as appropriate. One such example can be found in 'Quae est ista' from *II Terzo Libro* (Fig. 38). My realisation is intentionally sparse, so that the dissonances of the voices can be the focal point for the listener, where a more elaborate accompaniment would detract from the quality of the suspensions:



Figure 38 - Quae est ista - Il terzo libro

This signature cadential progression of Grandi's was brought into Germany by Heinrich Schütz, whose writing, as previously discussed, was heavily influenced by the motets of Grandi. In Schütz's motet, *O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn* for two tenors, the progression comes twice, in quick succession (Fig. 39), and Schütz clearly recognises the intensity of the $6 \flat .3 \ddagger$ chord, employing it to bring the word "suffering" (durch dein bitter Leiden/through your bitter <u>suffering</u>) to the attention of the listener.



I have now presented the differing possibilities surrounding *basso continuo* performance practice from a continuo player's perspective, the instruments that I believe to have been used, and what sorts of realisations and support the performers were, and thus are, expected to play in my editions. Careful study of the motets, and the bass lines supplied with each published book has shown that the organist plays a simple, yet effective and supportive role, not doubling the vocal parts as had once been considered standard, but rather playing a continuo line that supports the singers, and draws out the dissonances between singers and instrumental accompaniment. It must be left to the continuo player(s), then, to judge the situation, to avoid covering the singer, to be constantly aware of the surrounding vocal parts, and to treat the dissonances at cadences as expressive tools to enhance the motet, whilst still remembering to be mindful of the sound world of the early seventeenth century, and choosing correct voicing so as not to drown out the singers.

TEMPO RELATIONSHIPS

One final, crucial issue which will be of concern in the performance of the majority of Grandi's motets, is that of tempo relationships. The complex issue of tempo relationships between duple- and triple-time sections has long been the cause of much discussion and debate. In Grandi's motets, luckily, we do not have to deal with complex mensural notation and music that is difficult to decipher. The main question concerning the performance of Grandi's motets is whether the relationship between duple and triple sections is that of sesquialtera or tripla: A sesquialtera relationship is essentially three in the time of two, i.e. one bar of triple time (3) at the same speed as one bar of duple time (C). The result is a relaxed triple-time tempo, which is in danger of sounding ridiculously slow if a suitable duple-time tempo is not established. Increasing the duple-time tempo too much can have a negative effect, causing the voices to become messy and unclear. Therefore, I have concluded that the 'tripla' relationship, whereby one bar of triple time

125

lasts as long as half a bar of duple time, is the most appropriate tempo relationship for Grandi's music. The natural duple-time section flows seamlessly into the dance-like triple time sections, and a constant tactus is easy for an ensemble to maintain, and alleviates the need for a conductor. Grandi's triple-time sections use a mixture of minim and semibreve beats, both indicated by the symbol 3. One could argue that it seems reasonable for the different triple-time denominations to have different tempo relationships, but in practice I have found no justification for performing in this way – whether the beats in the triple-time sections are minims or semibreves, the sections are similar in compositional style, and having examined the texts, it is clear that text does not influence the choice of beat. It may be useful to consult the work of the American Institute of Musicology, whose analysis is detailed in the prefatory material of Volume V.²⁰⁵ For further in-depth explanations and disagreements over suitable proportional relationships and tempi of tacti, material by Roger Bowers, John Whenam, Jeffrey Kurtzman, J. A. Bank and Ruth. I. DeFord is available.²⁰⁶

CONCLUSION

In a world in which so much has been discovered about historical performance practice throughout the centuries, it is difficult to understand how a composer such as Alessandro Grandi could have escaped the radar to such an extent that his works remain relatively unknown in the twenty-first century. Just as a discography search yields a small and select number of recordings, even something so ashamedly ordinary as a Wikipedia search, for example, fails to acknowledge Grandi amongst its members of the 'Venetian school of composers.'²⁰⁷ The writing of history naturally gives prominence to big names, such as Monteverdi. However, it is important to consider that Monteverdi's Vespers only exists in complete form in one edition. Grandi, and other lesser-known composers had their editions run to several prints, and their dissemination stretched beyond Italy. Pierre Phalèse

²⁰⁵ J. Kurtzman, 'Alessandro Grandi Opera Omnia V. *Il quatro libro de motetti*', Wisconsin, American Institute of Musicology, 2015, XLVII

²⁰⁶ J. Kurtzman, 'Kurtzman on Holman: Write to reply', *The Musical Times*, Vol 142. No 1877, (2001), 52 60; Roger Bowers, Review (untitled), *Music & Letters*, Vol. 80, No. 1 (1999), 108 – 113; Roger Bowers, 'Some reflection upon Notation and Proportion in Monteverdi's Mass and Vespers of 1610', *Music & Letters*, Vol 73, No. 3, (1992), p 347 – 398; L. Zacconi – Prattica di musica (Venice, 1592); J. Kite-Powell, *Michael Praetorius: Syntagma Musicum III*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004; J. A. Bank, Tactus, Tempo, and Notation in Mensural Music from the 13th to the 17th Century (Amsterdam 1972); Ruth. I. DeFord 'Tempo relationships between Duple and Triple Time in the Sixteenth Century, *Early Music History*, Vol. 14 (1995), 1-51.

²⁰⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venetian_School_(music) (accessed 22 September 2014).

reprinted several collections of Grandi's works²⁰⁸ in Antwerp in 1639 and 1640, for instance.

Northern Italy was indeed a musical mecca in the seventeenth century, in which composers found liberation in a new style of writing which emerged there; I have sought to demonstrate the skill of Grandi as a pioneering composer of small-scale *concertato* motets in this *seconda pratica* style, and place him, suitably, at the forefront of the development of sacred choral music during the early seventeenth century. By tracing his compositional lineage via the dissemination of the *concertato* motet across Europe, I have attempted to offer further evidence of Grandi's lasting influence on the wider musical world, which stretched beyond the seventeenth century, and has ultimately resulted in the renewed interest in his work which has emerged since the mid-1900s. There has been a notable delay between the emergence of performer and scholarly interest in Grandi, and the current production of reliable and scholarly editions, made for and by performers. Until now, this has hindered accessibility to reliable editions of Grandi's works, and therefore resulted in his relatively obscure position amongst his contemporaries, many of whom have benefited from scholarly attention, which inevitably impacts awareness and performability.

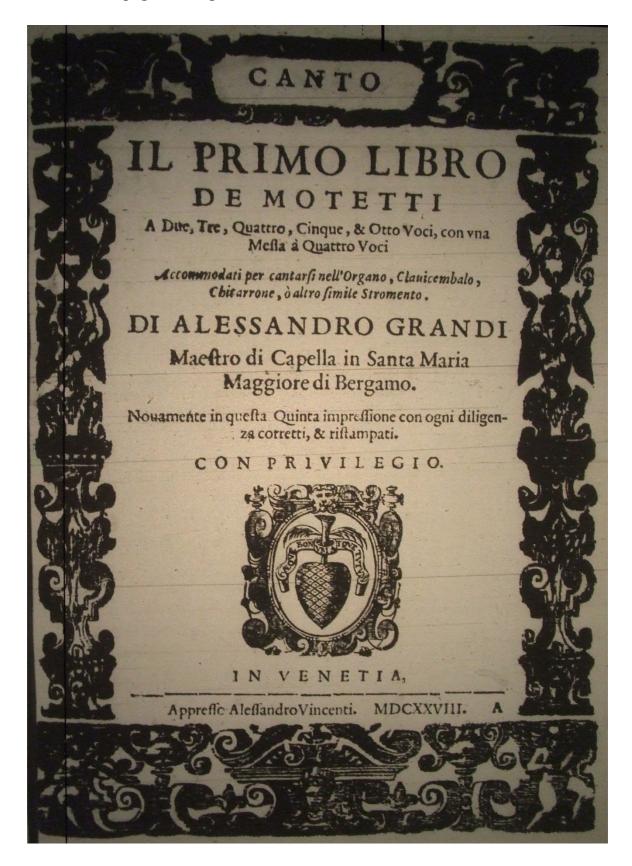
In this thesis, I have endeavoured to bring the prolific output of Grandi to the attention of performers, editors and musicologists, drawing on the excellent research already contributed by Jerome Roche, Denis Arnold, Jeffery Kurtzman, Steven Saunders, et al., and placing Grandi firmly on a pedestal as a recognisable and influential composer of seventeenth-century Italy. As the number and frequency of modern recordings do not accurately represent the extensive output of Grandi, or of the essential role he played in Northern Italy, particularly when compared with his colleague Monteverdi, this disparity is a clear reflection of the need for greater accessibility to Grandi's work.

Finally, there is undoubtedly still much work to be done to further explore the works of Grandi and his contemporaries. The research into performance practice that I have undertaken and applied to Grandi's motets could be applied more generally to the small-scale sacred works of others in seventeenth-century northern Italy. I hope that my edition of the complete *concertato* motets of Grandi may become widely available, so that performers worldwide can begin to recognise and absorb this relatively little-known body of work.

²⁰⁸ Cantiones sacrae... liber tertius (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1639); Liber sextus motectorum duabus, tribus, et quatuor vocibus...opus vigesimus (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1640).

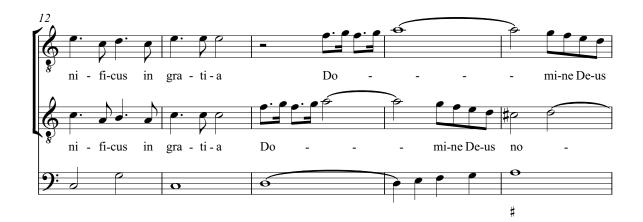
Appendix A

Plate 1 - Title page from Il primo libro de motetti





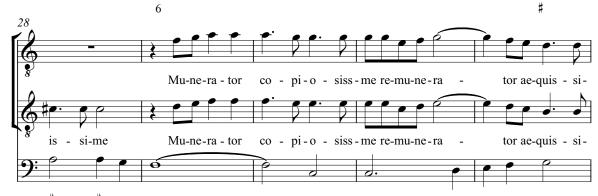






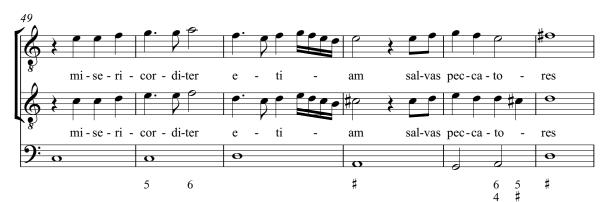
A. 2



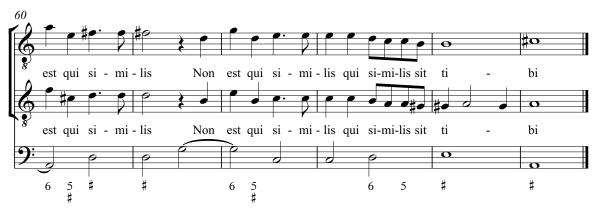












Text: Exodus xv. 11 (gloss)

Translation:

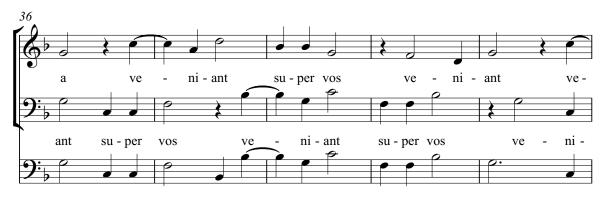
How rich you are in your mercy, how magnificent in your justice, how generous in your grace, O Lord our God There is no one who is like you Most generous giver of gifts, most just giver of gifts, most charitable liberator There is none like you

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 926-30

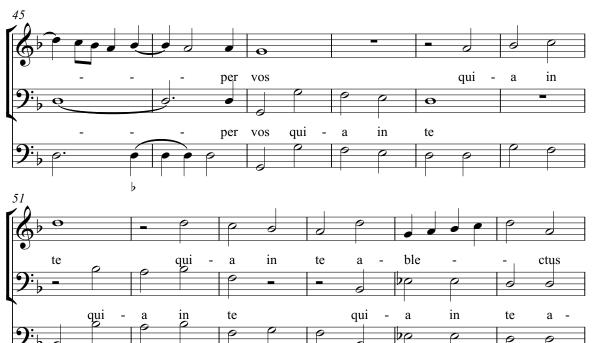
Print: Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628

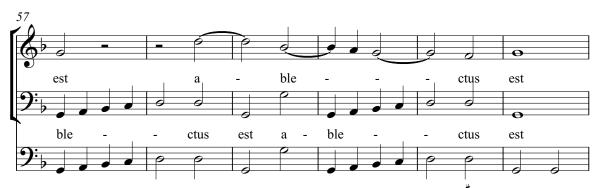


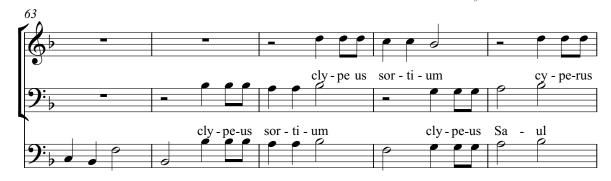




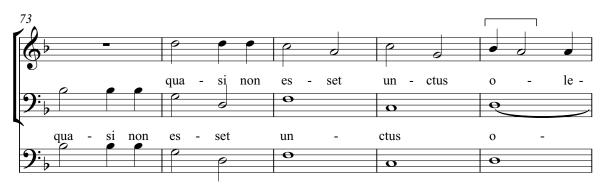


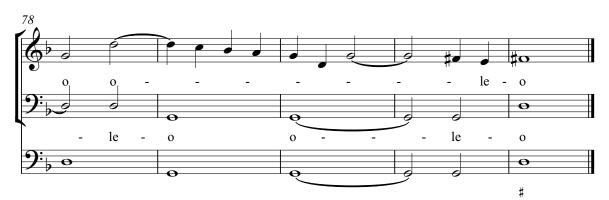


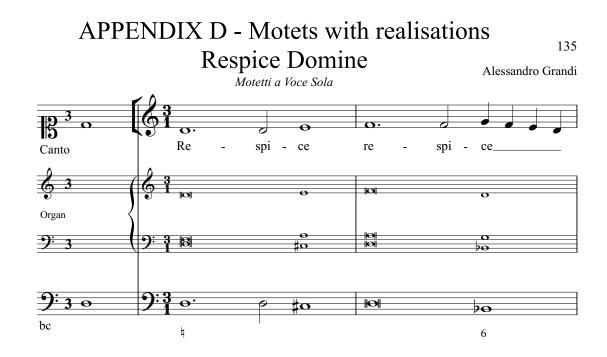


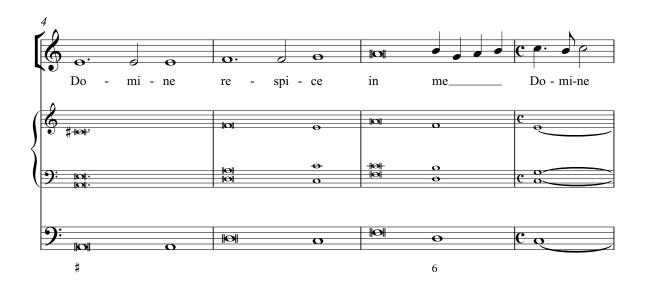


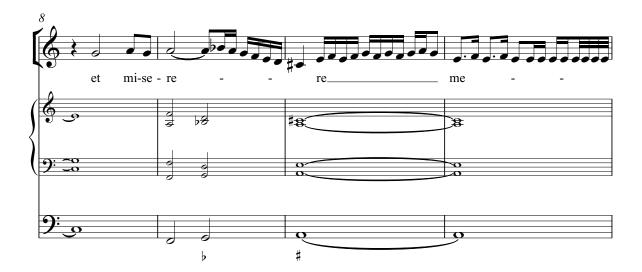










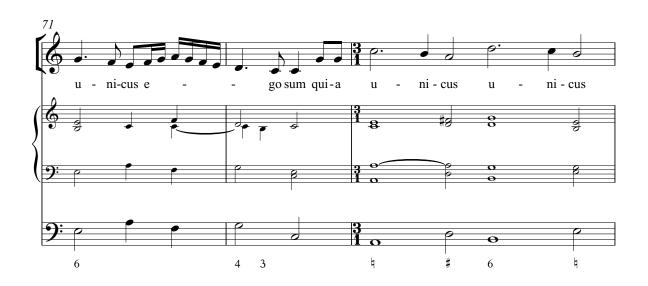


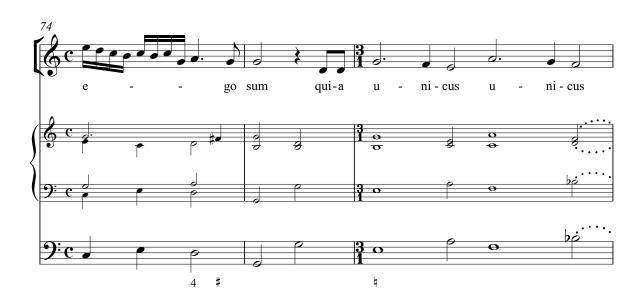


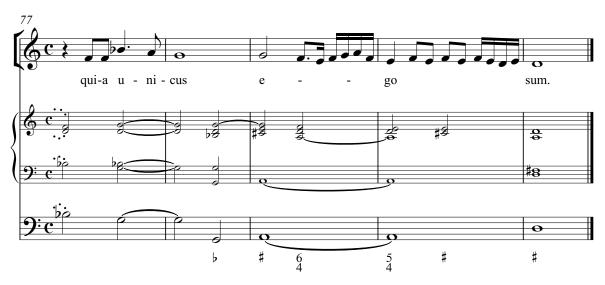












Text: Psalms 24. 16; 26. 4

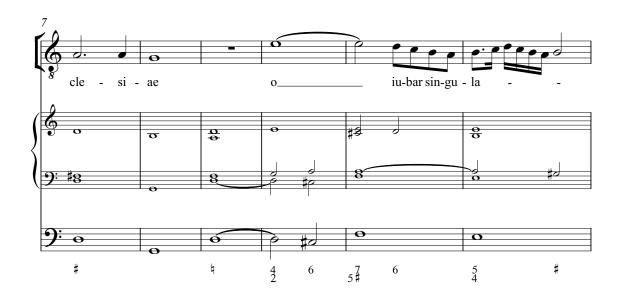
Translation:

Look upon me, O Lord And have mercy upon me. Because I am alone: I have asked one thing of the Lord This I will demand Because I am alone That I might live in the house of the Lord, All the days All the days of my life

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 86

Print: Venice: Stampa del Gardano. Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1628





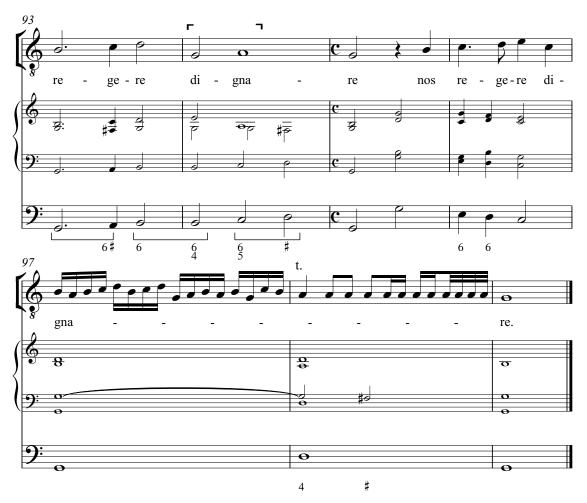












Text: St Jerome

Translation: O Lantern of the Church O unique ray O teacher of wisdom And saving glory Noble Jerome O teacher dear to God Deign to govern us in the lake of wretchedness.

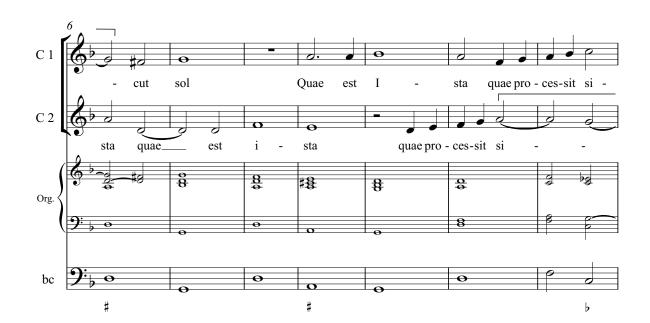
Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 86

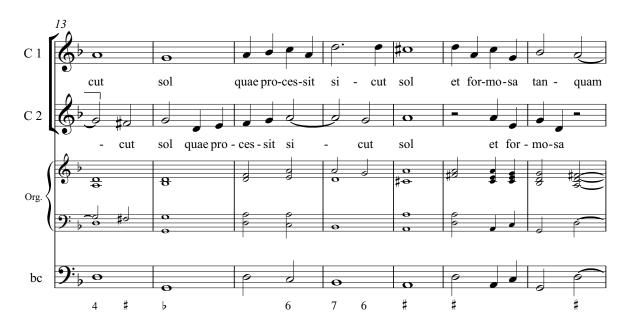
Print: Venice: Stampa del Gardano. Appresso Bartolomeo Magni, 1628

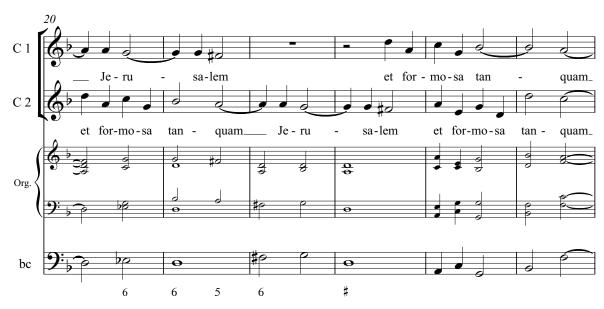


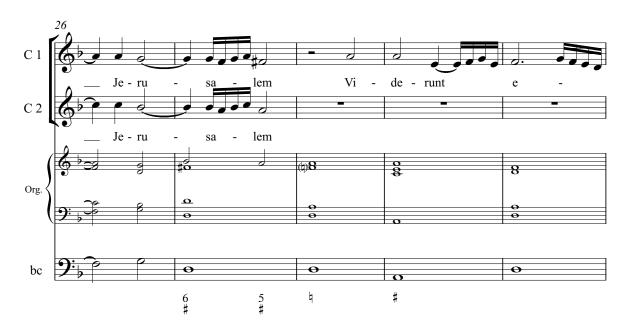




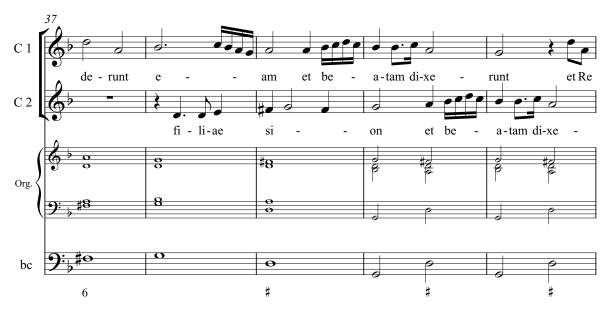


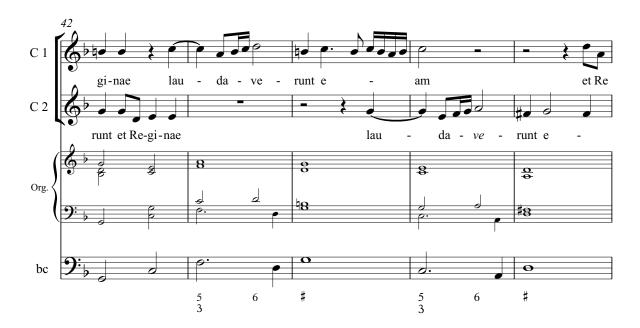


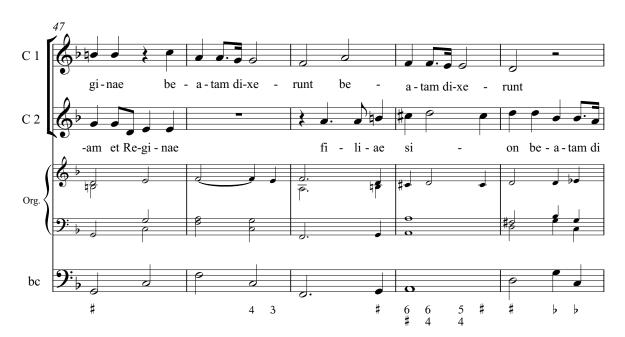


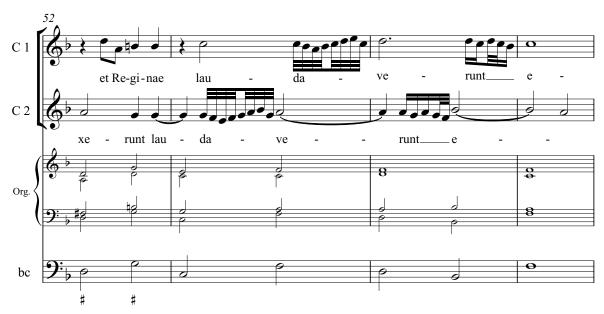


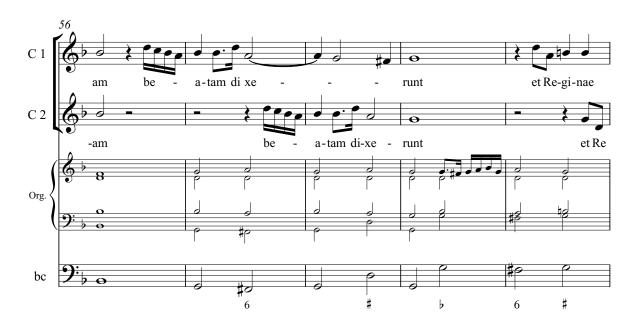


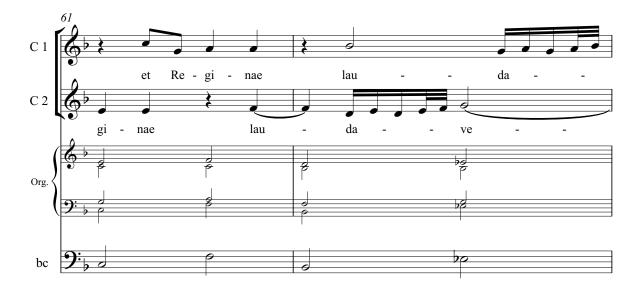


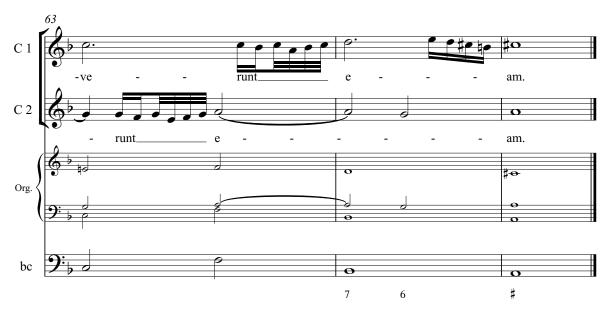












Text: Assumption B. V. M. *Song of Songs* vi. 9, 3, 8.

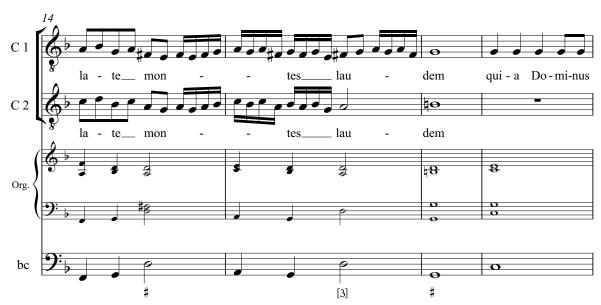
Translation:

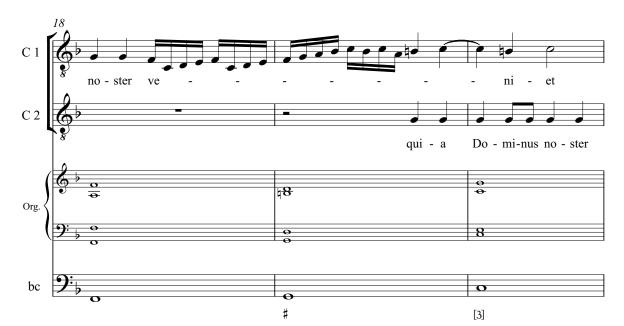
Who is this woman who comes forth like the sun, And as beautiful as Jerusalem? The daughters of Sion have seen her and called her blessed, And queens have praised her.

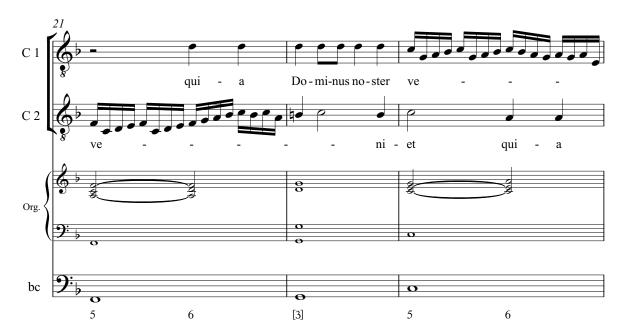
Source: Bologna, Biblioteca Musica. AA. 25

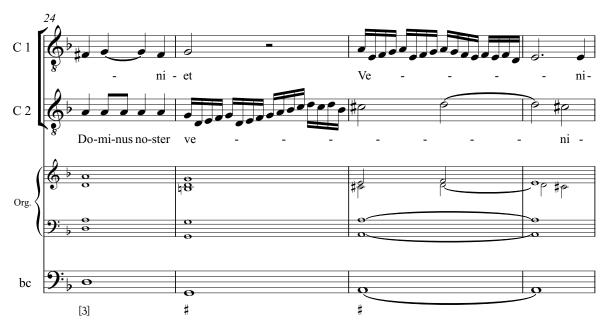
Print: Venice: Appresso Giacomo Vincenti, 1618

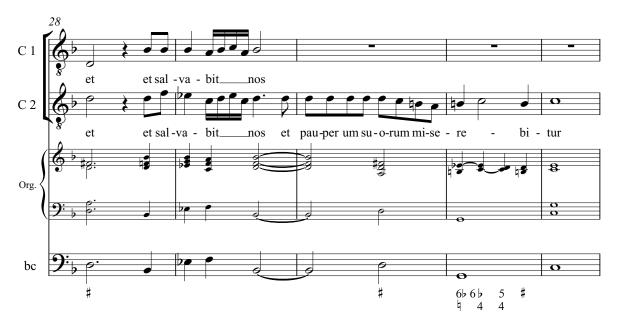


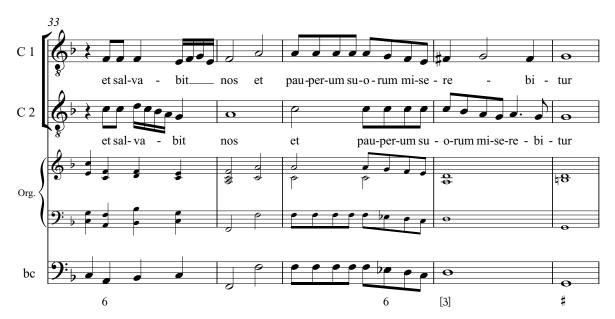


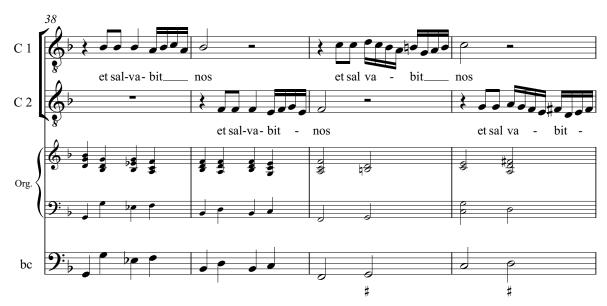




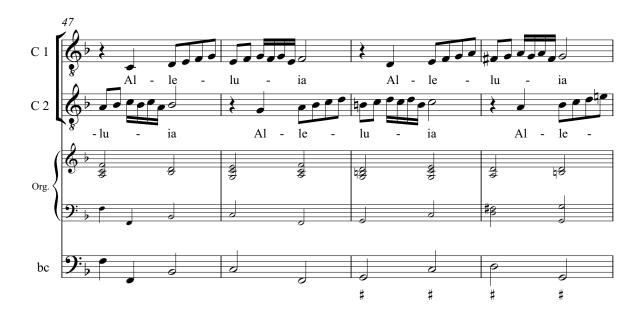


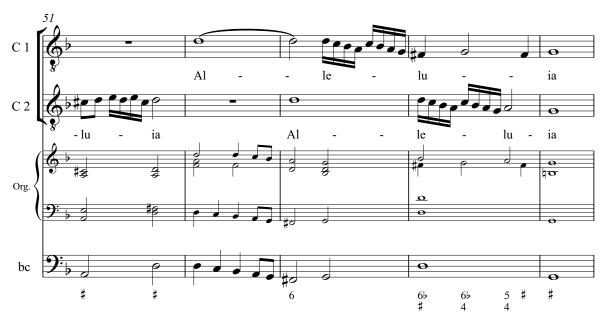


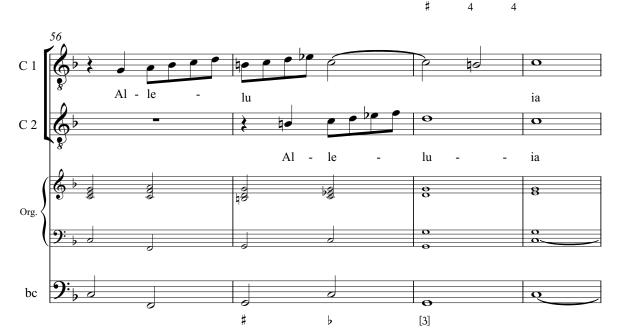














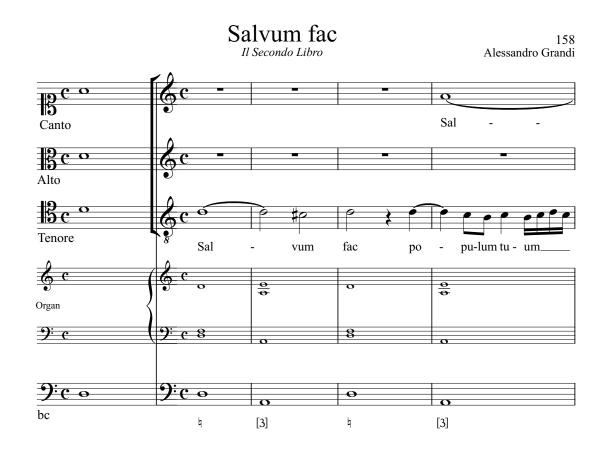
Text: Isaiah xlix. 13

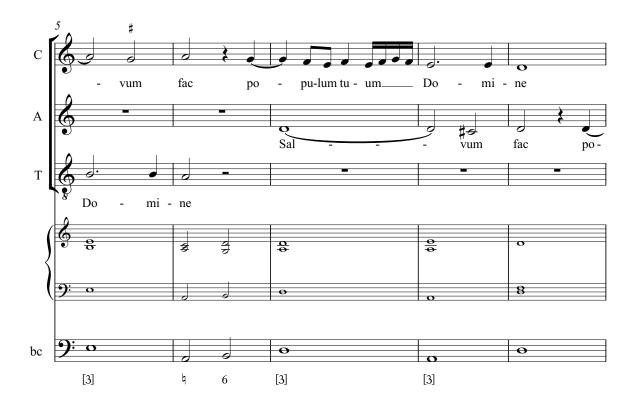
Translation:

Let the heavens be glad and let the earth rejoice; Sing praises, you mountains, because our Lord will come, And he will save us and have mercy upon his poor people. Alleluia.

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 926-30

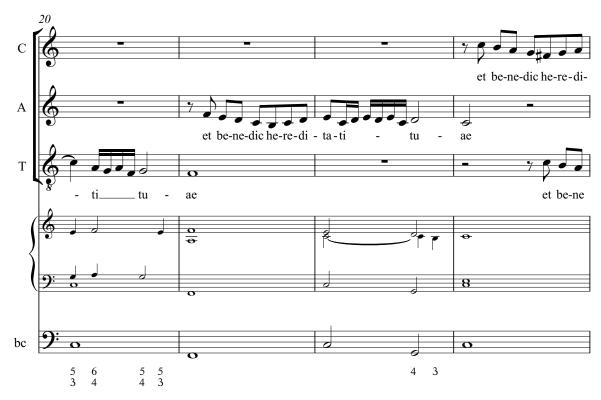
Print: Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628



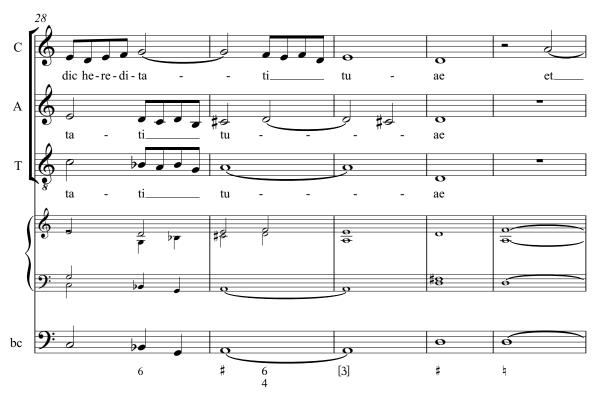


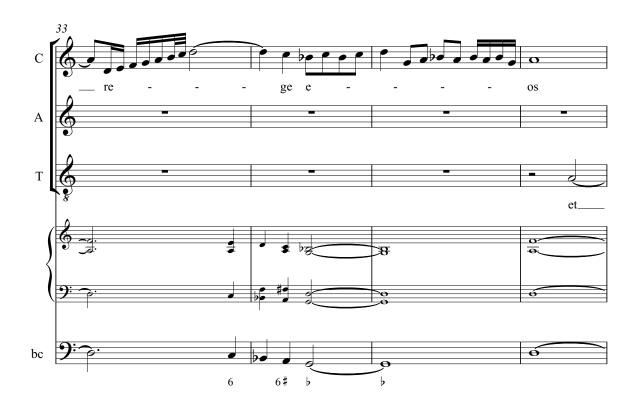








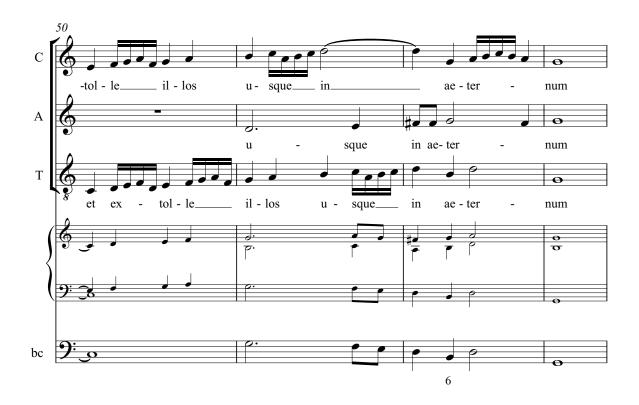


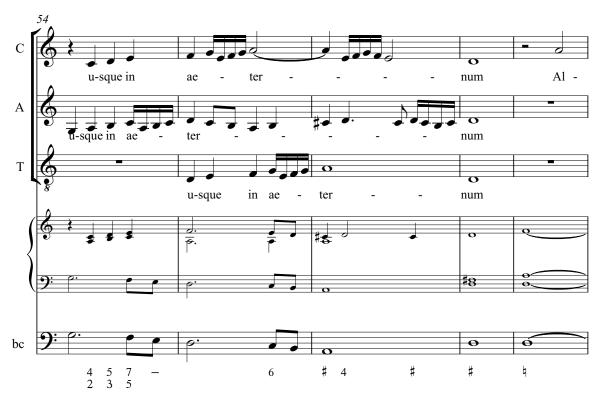








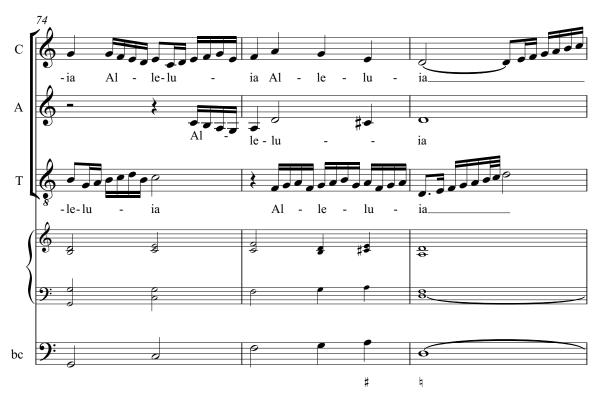


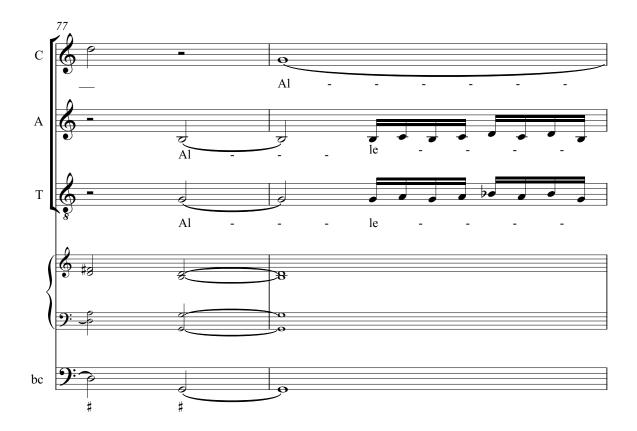


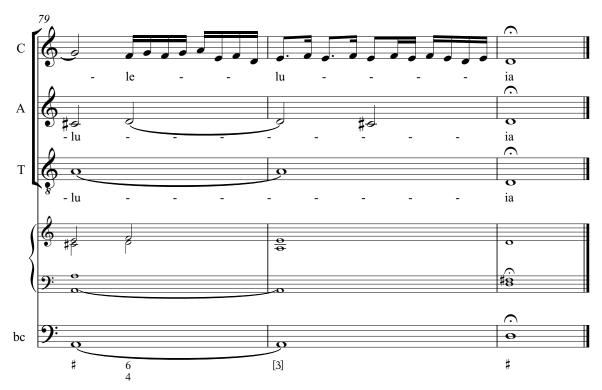












Text: Psalm 27.9

Translation:

Save your people, O Lord, And bless your inheritance, And rule over them and raise them up even to eternity. Alleluia.

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 926-30

Print: Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628

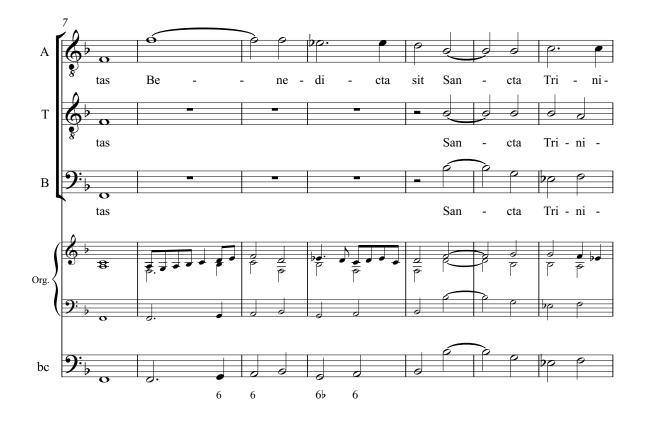
A. 3 Alto, Tenore, & Basso

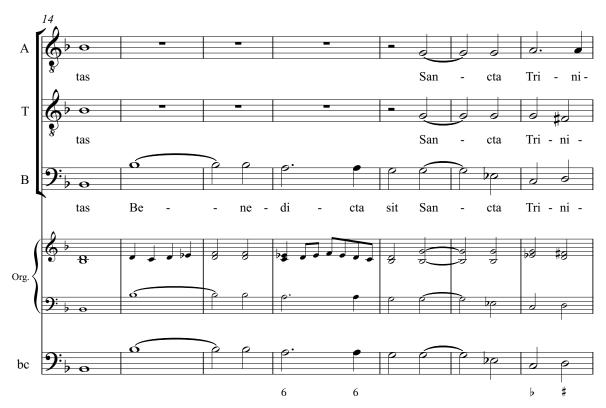


Benedicta sit

168

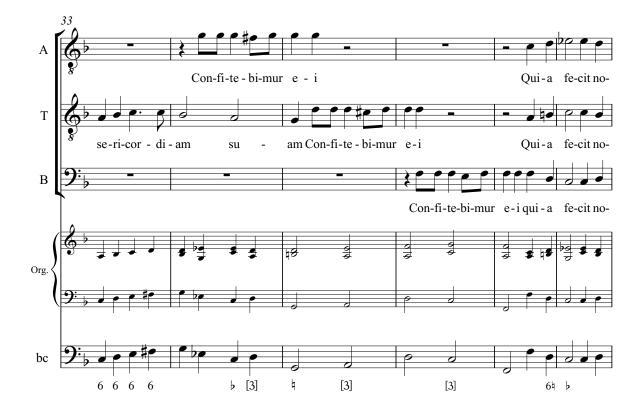
Alessandro Grandi

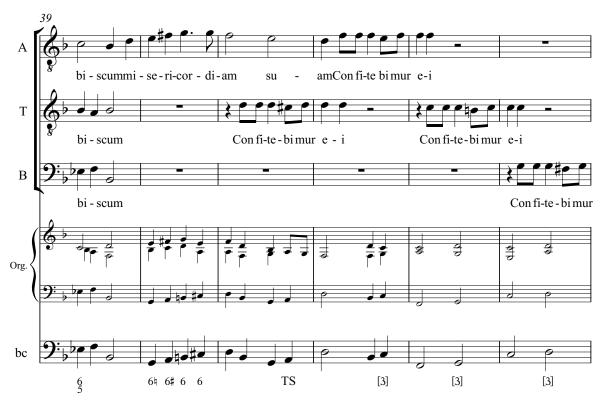




















Text: Tobias xii. 6

Translation:

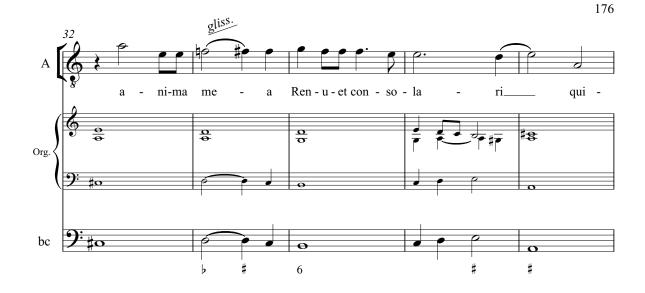
Blessed be the Holy Trinity and undivided unity; We shall confess it because it has shown its mercy upon us. Alleluia.

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 926-30

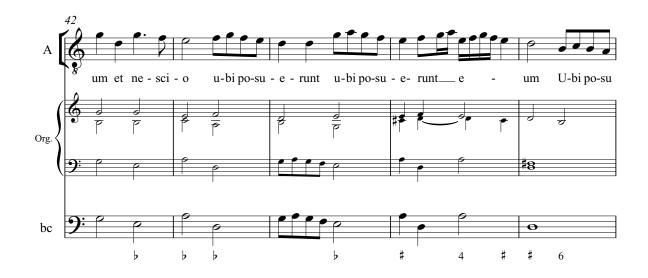
Print: Venice: Stampa del Gardano. Appresso Bartolomeo Magni. 1625

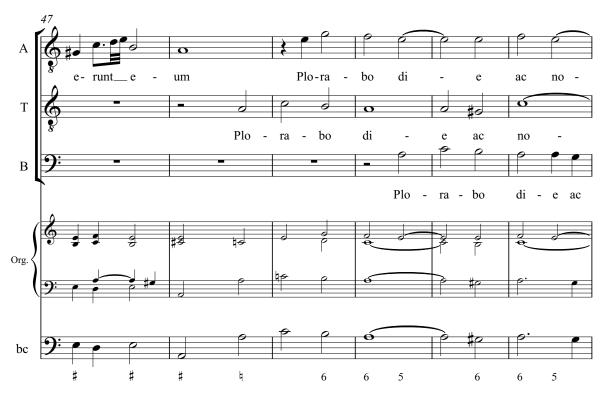




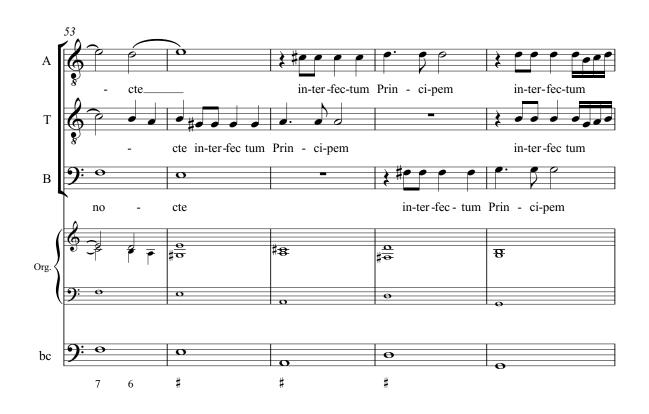






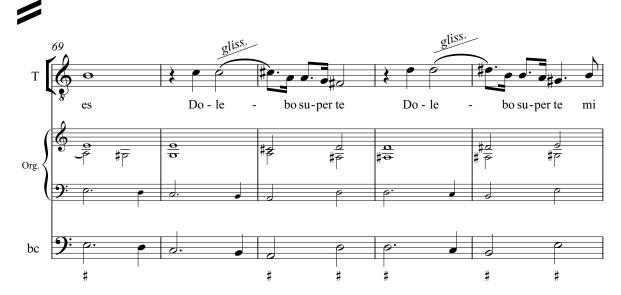






























Text:

Jeremiah 9:1; Psalm 72:25; Lamentations 1:12; John 20:13; Kings 1:25-6, 18:33.

Translation:

BASSO

I shall weep day and night over the prince of my people who has been killed: For what do I have in heaven, and what did I want apart from you on earth?

ATB

Consider, all you peoples, if there is grief like my grief. My soul will refuse to be comforted, Because they have taken away my Lord; I do not know where they have placed him. I shall weep day and night over the prince of my people who has been killed:

TENORE

How have you fallen, you who were brave in battle, and been killed! I shall grieve over you, my good Jesus, exceedingly beautiful and worthy of love.

CATB

Consider, all you peoples, if there is grief like my grief.

CANTO

O Jesus, my Son, who will grant it to me that I may die for you? And that all the peoples may know that there is no grief like my grief?

ATB

And that all the peoples may know that there is no grief like your grief?

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 926-30

Print: Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628

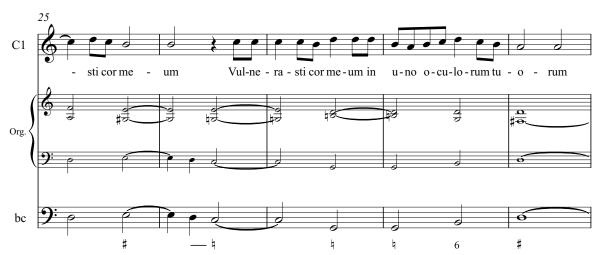
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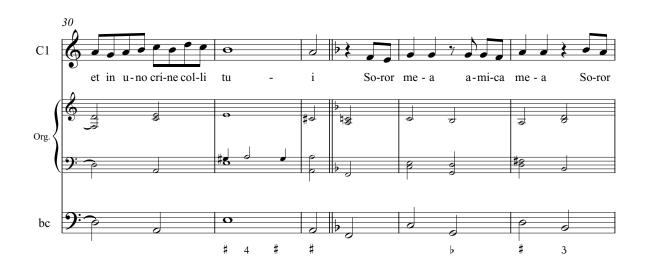
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185 Alessandro Grandi







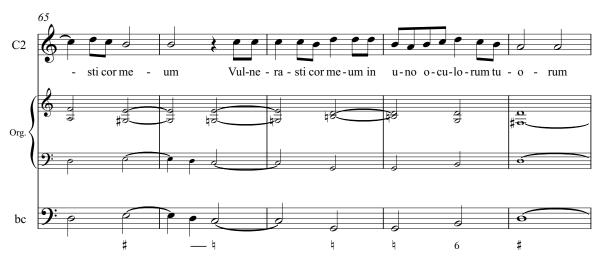


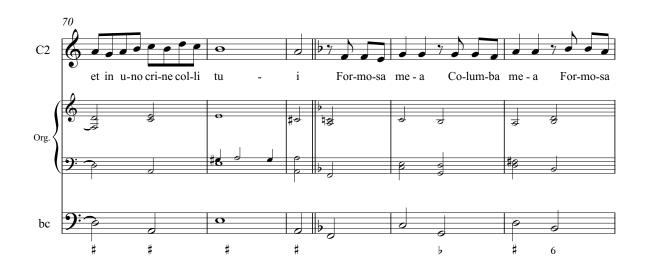


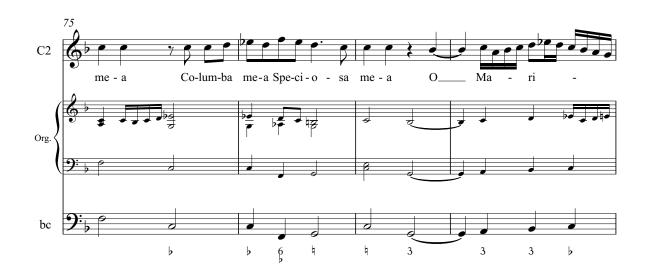


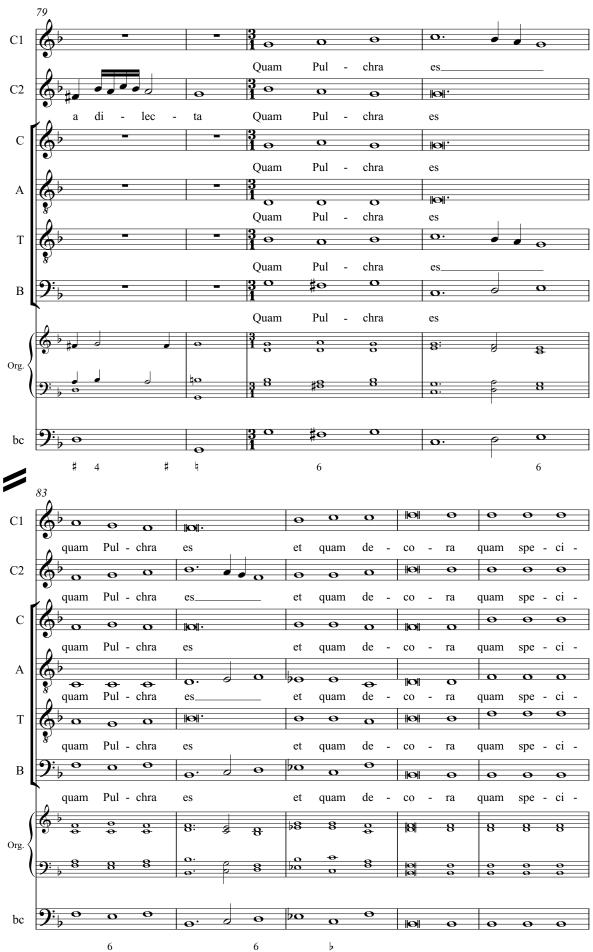
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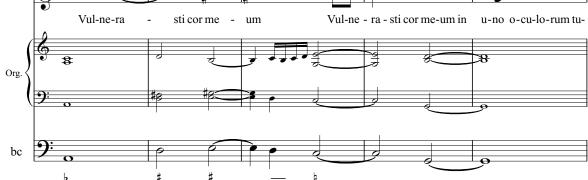


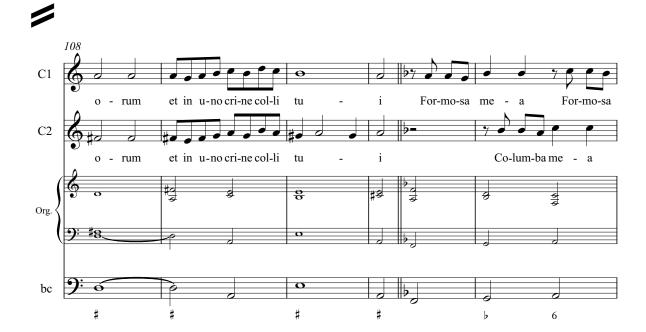


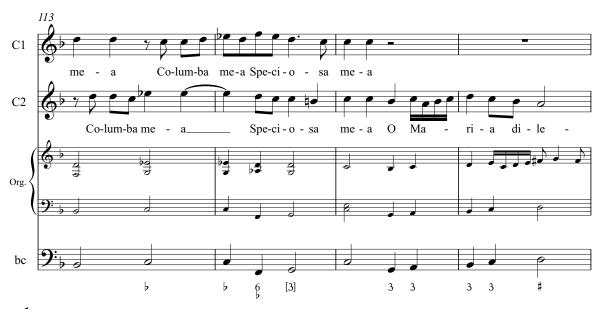








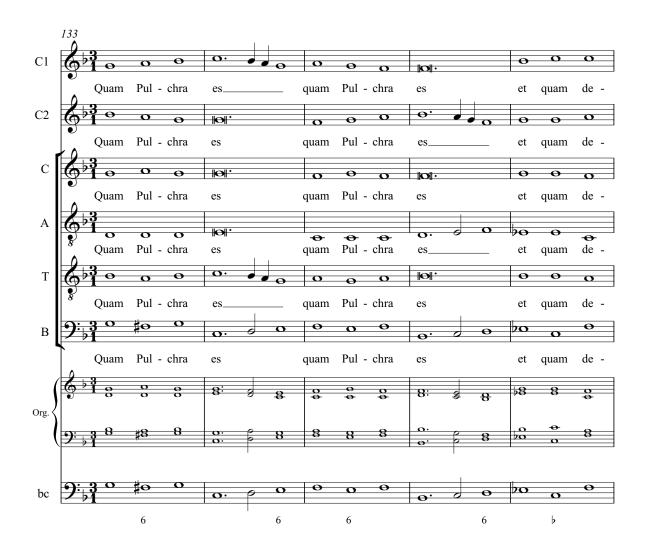


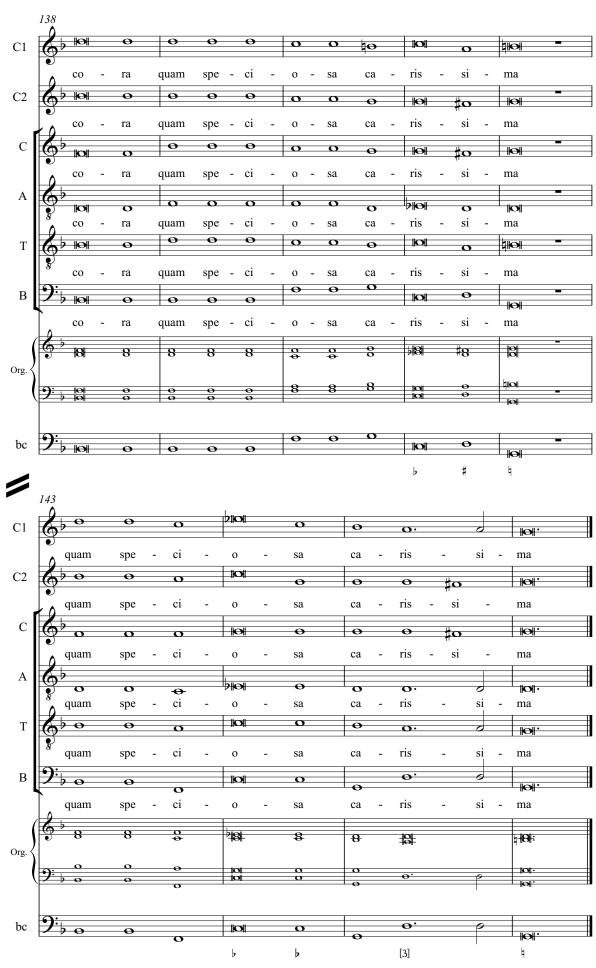












Text: Song of Songs iv. 9, 1 . . . Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 12-13

Translation:

How beautiful you are, and how attractive, how lovely, dearest woman, O beloved Mary, my sister, my friend, the Bride. You have wounded my heart with one of your eyes and with one hair of your neck, My sister, my friend, the Bride, O beloved Mary.

How beautiful you are, and how attractive, how lovely, dearest woman, How beautiful you are, and how attractive, how lovely, dearest woman, O beloved Mary, my sister, my friend, the Bride.

You have wounded my heart with one of your eyes and with one hair of your neck, My shapely woman, my darling, my lovely woman.

O beloved Mary, my sister, my friend, the Bride. How beautiful you are, and how attractive, how lovely, dearest woman, O beloved Mary, my sister, my friend, the Bride.

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 926-30

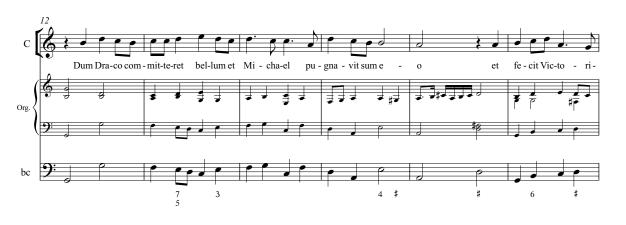
Print: Venice: Stampa del Gardano. Appresso Bartolomeo Magni. 1625

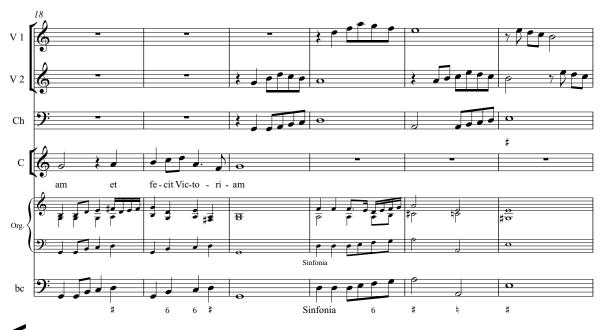




















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Text:

Feast of St. Michael – Psalm 17:2-4; Apocalypse 12:7-8, 19:1.

Translation:

Silence was made in heaven, While the Dragon made war, And Michael fought with him and established his victory.

A voice was heard, thousands of thousands saying: Salvation, honour, power, and glory to almighty God.

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 926-30

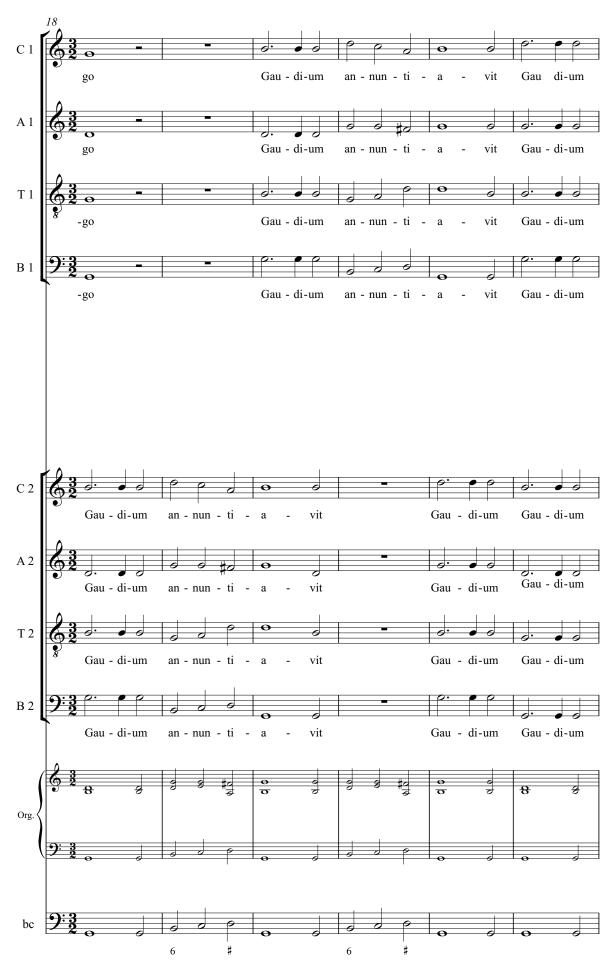
Print: Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628











































Text: Nativity B. V. M.

Translation:

Your birth, o Virgin mother of God proclaimed joy to the whole universe, For out of you has the sun of justice arisen, Christ, our God. For indeed, Virgin Mary, you are happy and holy and most worthy of all praise, For out of you has the sun of justice arisen, Christ, our God. Alleluia

Source: Oxford, Christ Church Mus. 926-30

Print: Venice: Appresso Alessandro Vincenti, 1628

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