

Ignace Bossuyt

O socii durate

A musical correspondence from the time of Philip II

ANTOINE Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–86) was one of the most fascinating personalities to have patronized the arts in the second half of the 16th century. He played a crucial role both as a prince of the church and as a politician in the Netherlands under the Spanish domination. After studying at the universities of Leuven (Louvain) and Padua, he became Bishop of Arras in 1538, aged 21 years. In 1550 he succeeded his father, Nicolas Perrenot, as prime minister to Charles V, King of Spain and Holy Roman Emperor, and retained this post after Charles's son Philip II became ruler of the Netherlands in 1555. Following Philip's return to Spain in 1559 Antoine became first counsellor to Margaret of Parma. Opposition to him increased steadily from 1561, especially after his elevation to cardinal and archbishop of Malines (Mechelen). In 1564 he left the Netherlands and retired to the region where he had been born, Besançon in France. From 1565 he was ambassador of the Spanish king in Rome, and between 1571 and 1575 Viceroy of Naples. Thereafter he again represented Philip II in Rome, all the time involving himself actively in political developments in the Netherlands, where the rebellion against Spain was escalating.

A typical Renaissance prince, he displayed great interest in science, literature and the arts, and was an avid collector of Greek manuscripts. Dozens of historians, poets, physicians and philosophers from several countries dedicated works to him. He was a personal friend of the humanist Justus Lipsius, and patron of the publisher Christopher Plantin and the cartographer Gerard Mercator. His portrait was

painted by, among others, Titian, Antonio Moro and Leone Leoni.

Music, too, meant much to him, as is apparent from his contacts with the most prominent composers of his time. His extensive correspondence contains a wealth of hitherto unknown musical data. A systematic examination of his letters, some of which are preserved in the Palacio Real and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid,¹ has yielded particularly interesting information on his relationship with two composers of international stature: Adrian Willaert (c.1490–1562), who was *maestro di cappella* of St Mark's in Venice between 1527 and 1562, and Orlande de Lassus (1530/32–1594), a tenor at the Bavarian court in Munich from September 1556 and Kapellmeister there from 1563 until his death in 1594. Granvelle's involvement with the heyday of Flemish polyphony dates mainly from decade 1550–60, and above all the years after 1553. For his political career this was also a crucial period, with the transfer of power from Charles V to Philip II in 1555, Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor that same year, and the wars—and subsequent peace negotiations (Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559)—between Philip and Henry II of France, in which Granvelle played a decisive role.²

First and foremost, there are three important dedications of music editions. In 1553 the Antwerp publisher Tielman Susato, the pioneer of music printing in Flanders, dedicated to Granvelle the first of an extensive series of 15 volumes of motets, the *Liber primus ecclesiasticarum cantionum*, which includes compositions by, among others, Clemens non Papa

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1 Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, portrait of the Southern Netherlands School, 1565 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)

Willaert Adriano Willaert et 25 de julio 1557.



7916-101

ff. et y. mo. ms. a.

Agli douca piu bastare l'obbligo grande B io haueua
Jo. Maria B me haueua dato occasione e di conuincere
con la mano di V. S. ^{ma} ^{mo} ^{ms. a.} senza B qlla poi mi obligassero
 a qualche et benefizio de quali uedendo quato qlla continua no
 piu se dirmi; seno to la medaglia xrouenta doue la sua imago
 effigie e stupida, guardero quel rimuoto de uita B a dio parrca
 B sia come cosa diuina et pregaro dio B mi alonzi i giorni
 acio B io possa apresso di me contemplarla; e con esso li altar
 predicare la infinita liberalita sua; E qui p no infastidita co
 piu longa lettura, spero mo s. ^{ne} longo tempo in felice stato la restau
 di & muerla. Il di san Jacomo 1. 1557.

D. V. S. ^{ma} ^{mo} ^{ms. a.}

Humile seruitor

Adriano Willaert

2 Letter no.1 from Antwerp: Willaert to Granvelle, 25 July 1557

(11 motets), Thomas Crequillon, a member of Charles V's chapel (3 motets) and Adrian Willaert (one motet).³ The support Granvelle pledged to Susato on the occasion of this publication enabled the latter to complete the prestigious series within five years (1553–7).

A year later, in 1554, Pierre Phalèse in Leuven published a book of motets by Pierre de Manchicourt (c.1510–64), then choirmaster at Tournai Cathedral. This publication, entitled *Liber quintus cantionum sacrarum*, bore a dedication to Granvelle—one that spilled over into the first motet, *O decus, o lux patriae*, a musical tribute to the prelate.⁴ That Manchicourt stood high in Granvelle's favour is apparent from the fact that in 1556 he obtained a canonry at Arras Cathedral and in 1559 was appointed *maestro de capilla* of the celebrated *capilla flamenca* of Philip II in Madrid, succeeding Nicolas Payen.⁵

In the year Manchicourt received his canonical prebend in Arras, the young Lassus sought to obtain Granvelle's favour by dedicating to him his first set of motets, *Il primo libro de motetti*, published in Antwerp by Johannes Laet.⁶ As in the Manchicourt motet book the dedication was followed by a motet in honour of the patron (*Delitiae Phoebi*). Everything seems to indicate that Lassus, who after a ten-year sojourn in Italy had returned to Antwerp to publish his first works and seek a permanent musical appointment, was trying to find employment, via Granvelle, at a court, in all probability that of Philip II. Philip had succeeded his father as King of Spain shortly before and was undoubtedly on the lookout for young talent for his *capilla flamenca*. Lassus missed this particular boat, but was taken on as a tenor at the court of Albrecht of Bavaria in Munich, thanks to the backing of Granvelle and the Augsburg banker Johann Jakob Fugger (1516–75), a close friend of Granvelle, who exchanged letters with him on matters of politics and art.⁷ The surviving correspondence between Lassus and Granvelle, which persisted into at least the year 1559, seems to show that the composer still aspired to a change of employment. He continued regularly to send new compositions to the prelate and offer him his services. But in the end he remained at the Bavarian court, where in 1563 he was promoted to Kapellmeister.⁸

From the years 1557–9, a period when Lassus regularly approached Granvelle, there survive a number of particularly intriguing letters in which Adrian Willaert is the central figure. After his appointment as *maestro di cappella* of St Mark's, Venice, in 1527, the Fleming Willaert revealed himself as a figure of international stature, both as a composer and as a pedagogue. He founded the Venetian school, in which Flemings and Italians promoted and spread the innovative musical style he elaborated.⁹ Among them we find his Flemish pupil and successor Cipriano de Rore (1515/16–1565) and the Italian theoreticians Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–90), de Rore's successor, and Nicola Vicentino (1511–c.1576). Both de Rore and Vicentino corresponded with Granvelle.

From these letters it appears that the bishop maintained particularly close contacts with the Venetian school, in the first place with Willaert himself. Ten letters by Granvelle, Willaert and two other figures contain a wealth of new information concerning a number of later compositions and editions of the Flemish *maestro di cappella* in Venice. The surviving correspondence spans the period from 25 July 1557 to 15 April 1559:

- 1 25 July 1557, from Antwerp: Willaert to Granvelle (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms.7916, letter 101)¹⁰
- 2 1 September 1557, from Antwerp: Joachim Polites to Granvelle (Madrid, Palacio Real [henceforward PR], Ms.2316, f.244r–v)¹¹
- 3 8 October 1558, from Venice: Willaert to Granvelle (PR, Ms.2259, f.203r)
- 4 8 October 1558, from Venice: Giovanni Francesco Dolfino to Granvelle (PR, Ms.2259, ff.205r–206v)
- 5 23 November 1558, from Cercamp: Granvelle to Willaert (PR, Ms.2304, f.269r)
- 6 24 November 1558, from Cercamp: Granvelle to Dolfino (PR, Ms.2304, f.280r–v)
- 7 1 April 1559, from Venice: Dolfino to Granvelle (PR, Ms.2257, ff.170r–172r)
- 8 3 April 1559, from Cambresi: Granvelle to Dolfino (PR, Ms.2306, f.225r–v)
- 9 8 April 1559, from Venice: Dolfino to Granvelle (PR, Ms.2257, ff.187r–188r)
- 10 15 April 1559, from Venice: Dolfino to Granvelle (PR, Ms.2257, f.207r–v)

So to Granvelle we have a pair of letters from Willaert, one from Joachim Polites, and four from Giovanni Francesco Dolfino; and from Granvelle two letters to Dolfino and one to Willaert.

Letter no.1: Willaert to Granvelle (25 July 1557)

The story begins in Antwerp on the feast 'di San Giacomo' (St James's Day), when Willaert writes a letter to Granvelle. This document is important for several reasons. First, with letter no.2, it is the only source for Willaert's visit to Antwerp, made during his second journey from Venice to Flanders in the years 1556–7. The composer left Venice in October or early November 1556. On 22 November he was in Bruges, attending High Mass in the Church of St Donatian, during which his music was performed. In July 1557 he was in Antwerp, presumably to forge new contacts with the publisher Tielman Susato, who had previously brought out some of his work.¹² Indeed, Susato included Willaert's five-part motet *Creator omnium* in volume 12 of his 15-volume motet anthology, the first volume of which had been dedicated to Granvelle (see above).¹³

A second point of interest is Willaert's reason for writing to Granvelle: he thanks him for the receipt of a medal bearing Granvelle's portrait ('la medaglia ricevuta dove sua mirabil effigie e sculpita'). Willaert beseeches God to extend his life—he was then about 67 years old and suffered (as did Granvelle, for that matter) from gout ('le gotte')¹⁴—so that he could continue to admire the medal ('accio io possa apresso di me contemplarla'). In all likelihood he had received one of the medals bearing the prelate's portrait on one side and the image of a ship in a storm on the other, accompanied by Granvelle's motto *Durate* ('stand fast'), which he borrowed from Virgil's *Aeneid*. I shall deal with this matter in more detail in connection with Willaert's motet *O socii durate*.¹⁵

Letter no.2: Polites to Granvelle (1 September 1557)

Letter no.2 confirms Willaert's presence in Antwerp. Its author, Joachim Polites (Polytes, originally Burger—i.e. 'Citizen'), born in Goes in Holland, became, with Granvelle's support, Antwerp's town registrar in 1541. He also enjoyed some fame both as a humanist poet and as a competent musician. He

died in 1567.¹⁶ Most of his letters to Granvelle, in which he speaks repeatedly of music and composers, are in Latin. The letter ends with the message that Willaert will depart Antwerp for Venice today and that the composer extends his greetings to Granvelle ('Adrianus Willardus hodie decessurus a me Venetias te quam officiosissime ... salutat').

Letter no.3: Willaert to Granvelle (8 October 1558)

By October 1557 Willaert was back in Venice. A year later he writes letter no.3 to Granvelle. This sheds fresh light on two important late compositions. First Willaert mentions that he is sending Granvelle the first printed specimen of 'mia Musica', by which he means the Venetian publication *Musica nova*, the pinnacle of Willaert's oeuvre.¹⁷ Since the 1940s much musicological ink has flowed over this impressive set of 27 motets and 25 madrigals for four to seven voices, and still not all the riddles concerning the genesis, the content and the edition of this magnificent collection of polyphonic music have been solved.¹⁸ Let us briefly review the known facts.

In December 1554 Alfonso d'Este, hereditary prince of Ferrara, purchased the manuscript containing this music from Willaert's friend the singer Polissena Pecorina—whence the collection was also known as 'la Pecorina'. But when Alfonso attempted to have the work published he met with a number of obstacles that seriously delayed its printing. First he had considerable trouble in obtaining a ten-year printing privilege to prevent other publishers in the Papal and Venetian territories from putting the same work on the market. Pope Paul IV, the inventor of the notorious index of banned books, first promulgated in 1557, demanded that he should personally inspect the manuscript to assure himself that it contained no 'cosa prohibita'. The Venetian senate had already given the publisher Antonio Gardano its fiat on 8 August 1558, but the Roman printers' permission did not come until 16 December. Still, Gardano would already have started printing the first copies for Alfonso in August, probably a very small run produced before the final 'public' edition. The dedication to Alfonso, written by the Italian composer Francesco della Viola (*d* 1568), a pupil of Willaert and *maestro di cappella* at the Ferrara court after Cipriano de Rore, is dated 15 September 1558.

Alfonso would have received a copy sometime in the middle of October. On 17 October Viola sent a copy to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. By November or December the work had reached the *Accademia Filarmonica* in Verona. However, Willaert in letter no.3 says that he sent Granvelle the very first printed copy to come into his hands ('la prima coppia che si è potuto havere'), which would have been about one week before Alfonso d'Este received one. The fact that the composer was particularly mindful of Granvelle is a clear sign of the exceptional esteem he felt for the prelate. Indeed, *Musica nova* is not only the pinnacle of Willaert's output, it is also, for several reasons, one of the most prestigious musical editions of the entire 16th century: its exceptional format, its scale (more than 50 compositions), its content (Latin motets and Italian madrigals were not customarily published together), and, for that time, the quite unusual inclusion of a portrait of the composer.

In the meantime a second problem had arisen, which delayed the official edition even further: a certain Count Antonio Zantani had conceived an anthology which would include, among other pieces, the four-part madrigals from *Musica nova*, a patent violation of the ten-year privilege. This matter was settled only in February 1559, when Zantani abandoned his plan. This explains why the Venetian edition bears the date 1559 on the verso of its title-page.

Another essential piece of information from this letter of Willaert to Granvelle concerns the composition of a motet on 'quei versi di Virgilio 'O socii''. This brings us back to the medal Willaert received in Antwerp in 1557. Many of these medals have on their reverse side a symbolic representation of a tempest in which Aeneas' ship, on its adventurous voyage from Troy to the Italian peninsula, resists the unleashed elements of nature with the help of Neptune and his trident. Above a rainbow can be read Granvelle's motto *DVRATE*. Nevertheless, Aeneas is cast upon the African coast; with the words *O socii durate* he tries to instill some courage into his companions.¹⁹ In his letter Willaert apologizes that he has not yet been able to fulfil Granvelle's request to set these verses by Virgil to music due to attacks of gout 'et altri mali'. But he promises to make it his first concern once he is able to work again.



3 The reverse of Granvelle's medal by Giovanni Mellone, showing Aeneas' ship buffeted by the waves, with Granvelle's *DVRATE* motto.

Letter no.4: Dolfino to Granvelle (8 October 1558)

With the aid of some letters written to Granvelle from Venice by Giovanni Francesco Dolfino it is possible to retrace the compositional history of the motet *O socii durate*. This Dolfino (also Delfino or Dolfin) may be identified with the Giovanni Dolfin who was born in Venice in 1529 and who died there on 1 May 1584. The oldest of the four sons of the politician and banker Andrea Dolfin (1508–73), he was destined for an ecclesiastical career. He studied in Padua and Rome and accompanied Cardinal Antonio Trivulzio on his diplomatic outings to Germany and England. Among his acquaintances were Bishop Lipomano of Verona—yet another of Granvelle's correspondents—and Carlo Borromeo. On 3 January 1563 Dolfin was appointed Bishop of Torcello, in which capacity he played a role in the final stages of the Council of Trent. In 1579 he became Bishop of Brescia. Celebrated for his broad cultural interests, Dolfin possessed a valuable library.²⁰

The surviving correspondence with Granvelle dates from the years before his appointment as Bishop of Torcello. The present letter dates from the very same day as letter no.3, from Willaert to Granvelle. Dolfino writes precisely about Willaert's

Adriano
Willaert

Molto mag.^o signor

ho riceuuto la di v. s. di 9 del passato, et la ringrazio
inimitamente della memoria ch'ha hauuto di me in mandarmi
delli primi libri stampati della soa musica, la quale son
certo sara come cola uscita dalla fabrica d'un tal maestro
la cui scientia vertu et bonta merita veramente ch'iddio
gli doni longa vitta et molta salute per utile del comune
come io glielo desidero mi dispiace pur assai del triuaglio
che le hanno date le gotte et la prego a non volersi anche
frangliar dauantaggio nel spiritu a rispetto di quelli versi
ch'io desiderauo hauer posti in musica, ch'intendo die habria
dissez con molta comodita soa et non altrimenti et se in
queste bande accadera cosa in ch'io le possa far seruitio si
tendi certa che non trouera mai per ona che piu voluntieri
ne con piu aueruenza et aggettione vi si adopera di me
et con questo facendo me prego iddio le conceda ogni felicità
et contentezza. Da cercamp alli 23 di nouembre 1559.

et mi rimordere per la occupatione in che siamo qui
et auere per non auer comodita di taura gente
per cantar la coa musica, io non possa dar principio
a godere ma fara piarendo a iddio quando
ita manno abruisselles doue si celebrara
la memoria di n. s. come conuenie

Adriano Willaert

4 Letter no.5:
Granvelle to
Willaert from
Cercamp,
23 November 1559

Musica nova, which he received from the composer the day before ('Messer Adriano Willaert mi mando hieri questi libri di quella sua musica'). His statement 'sua musica tanto, gia tanto tempo espettata' is a clear allusion to the fact that the edition had been long planned but had suffered considerable delay. Apparently Dolfino served as an intermediary between Willaert and Granvelle: it was he who received the copy and then forwarded it to Granvelle. Like Willaert he emphasizes that these were really the first copies to come from the presses: 'questo sono li primi ch'io veduto e che si sono dati fuori'.²¹ He enters into considerable detail when he speaks of the shipping of the books. He wrapped them in paper to make a parcel so that they could be carried more easily and safely ('li quali ho fatto piegar et impachettar cosi, acio piu comoda et sicuramente si possono portare'). Had he the time, he would have had them bound 'come conviene' ('as is proper'), but they would then have made a very large parcel indeed! I have already mentioned the scope and the large format of the book: it was normal practice to buy the individual parts separately and to have them bound together at a later date.

Letter no.5: Granvelle to Willaert (23 November 1558)

Six weeks later Granvelle sends a reply to the composer. He writes that he has received Willaert's letter (no.3) and thanks him 'infinitamente' for sending him the first copy of the *Musica nova*. Of course he harbours no doubt as to the quality of this music, as it stems from the 'fabrica' of such a great master. He further voices his regret about Willaert's health and urges him for the present not to work on the setting of the verses he so longs for. If he can be of any service, he is wholly at his disposal.

In his own hand Granvelle adds the following: due to the pressing demands made upon him at his present location, and as he does not have available the musicians to perform Willaert's music, he is unable to enjoy it at this moment, but once back in Brussels he will ensure that justice is done to the composer's music.

Granvelle did indeed have other worries at the time. This letter was sent from Cercamp (Sercamp), an abbey near Doullens in the north of France. Since

January 1557 the French had been engaged in an offensive in that region in their struggle against the Habsburgs. Artesia was ravished and the city of Lens plundered. With the financial aid of the Fuggers banking family of Augsburg, for whom Granvelle had interceded, the Spanish troops of Philip II launched a counter-offensive in September 1557 and were victorious. Initially the peace negotiations did not produce the desired result, for in June–July 1558 the French attacked anew, pushing through to Nieuwpoort and devastating part of the Flemish coastal area. In September and October 1558 talks were held between the two parties in Lille and thereafter in the abbey of Cercamp. The first important meeting was held on 13 October. No agreement being reached, the negotiations in Cercamp were suspended on 30 November 1558 (shortly after the death of Mary Tudor on 17 November). Hostilities were finally halted with the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis on 2–3 April 1559.²²

Such circumstances were far from favourable for Granvelle to devote himself to the music of Willaert, but that did not deter him from replying to the latter's missive. His answer testifies once again to Granvelle's exceptional respect and esteem for the Flemish master. That the two knew one another well, and must even have been on quite familiar terms, is clear from the concluding sentence of Willaert's letter from Antwerp, in which he conveys to Granvelle the best wishes of 'Susanna mia consorte' ('Susanna my wife').

Letter no.6: Granvelle to Dolfino (24 November 1558)

One day later Granvelle writes from Cercamp to his contact in Venice, Giovanni Dolfino. Again he reports the receipt of the books and the impossibility of having the music performed due to a lack of singers ('non havendo qui la com[m]odita di cantori che saria di bisogno'). He adds that he has replied to Willaert's letter.

Letter no.7: Dolfino to Granvelle (1 April 1559)

Some four months later Dolfino reports to Granvelle from Venice that Willaert is again able to work and that he is urging the composer to serve Granvelle (namely by writing the motet *O socii*).

Illustriſſimi et Reuerendiſſimi Cardinalis Granuellani Emblema. Adriano A 6 I 9 CANTO

socij Durate o socij neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum o passi
 grauiora o passi grauiora o passi grauiora dabit deus his quoque finem dabit deus his quoque
 finem experti reuocate animos reuocate animos reuocate animos moestumque timorem mittite
 te Forſan et hec olim meminisse iuuabit Forſan et hec olim meminisse iuuabit Per uarios casus
 Per uarios casus per tot discrimina rerum per tot discrimina rerum Tendimus ostendunt ſedes ubi facta
 ta ſecundis Durate Dura te Durate et uosmet rebus ſeruate ſecundis Durate Durate y

5 Openings from the Canto (left) and Quinto (right) part-books of Willaert's *O socii durate* from *Di Cipriano de Rore il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci insieme alcuni de diversi autori* (Venice: Antonio Gardane, 1566). The Quinto partbook contains the second cantus and second bass parts which have the *Durate* motto.

Letter no.8: Granvelle to Dolfino (3 April 1559)

Granvelle's letter no.8 clearly cannot be a reply to Dolfino's letter no.7 of two days earlier: the two communications must have crossed. On the very day that Philip II and Henry II signed the Peace of Cateau-Cambresis (France and England had accepted the peace the day before) Granvelle informs Dolfino that 'he much pities our master Adriano for the trouble and pain his gout causes him' ('compassione grandissima al nostro m[aestro] adriano per il fastidio e travaglio che gli da la gotta'). Dolfino must therefore have informed him in a still earlier letter that Willaert was not yet in good health. But in the interim, as Dolfino's letter of 1 April shows, he had recovered. Granvelle does not want Dolfino to put any pressure on the composer 'a far quella musica del durate' if he does not yet feel up to it. He asks Dolfino to convey his best wishes to the composer.

Letter no.9: Dolfino to Granvelle (8 April 1559)

A new message from Dolfino reports that 'Il s[ignor] Adriano ha dato principio alla musica di DURATE, ma trema di non satisfare a tanta espettatione, et non faro poco se li levero il timore.' In other words,

Willaert has begun work on his setting of the verses by Virgil, but fears that he will not be able to meet expectations. Dolfino, however, will do all he can to liberate Willaert from this fear.

Letter no.10: Dolfino to Granvelle (15 April 1559)

Only a week later Dolfino, who in the meantime has received letter no.8 from Granvelle, is able to report to the bishop that he will be seeing Willaert the next day and that he will convey his best wishes, which would give much pleasure. Dolfino will not neglect to inquire after 'la musica sopra Durate' and he even hopes to be given the composition so that he can present it to Granvelle ('spero di poterla haver per portarla a v[ostra] s[ignoria] Ill[ustrissi]ma et R[everendissi]ma').

It is rare that compositions from the 16th century can be so exactly dated. This correspondence makes it clear that Willaert's motet *O socii durate* originated during the month of April 1558. Up to now it had been assumed that Willaert wrote the piece on the occasion of Granvelle's appointment as cardinal and archbishop of Malines in 1561, but it now appears that the motet was written three years earlier.²³

Illustriſſimiet Reuerendiſſimi Cardinalis Granuellani Emblemata Adriano A 6 I 9 QUINTO

Socij. Durate ij Durate ij Durate ij

Durate ij Durate ij Durate ij Durate ij Durate

te ij Durate ij Durate

Sexta pars A 6

Socij. Durate ij Durate ij Durate ij Durate

Durate ij Durate ij Durate ij Durate ij Durate

te ij Durate ij Durate.

Willaert is known to have been a slow worker. His pupil Gioseffo Zarlino writes that he composed in great concentration and without haste. In a letter of 15 March 1534 Ruberto Strozzi, a nobleman resident in Venice, writes to his mentor, the humanist and historian Benedetto Varchi, that he will do all he can to get Willaert to set an epigram to music, but that he can promise nothing, for much patience is required to persuade Willaert to compose.²⁴

Willaert's motet in honour of Granvelle is a brilliant composition, its design alone showing the precision with which the composer set to work. The text is taken, with few variants, from verses 198–9 and 202–7 of the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*. The motet is for six voices—cantus, quinta vox as second cantus, alto, tenor, sexta vox as second bass, and bass. It is so conceived that two parts, namely the second cantus and the second bass, constantly repeat throughout the piece the motto *Durate* on a three-note motif, the melodic pattern of which is based on the vowels of the motto: u, a and e are musically transformed into ut, fa and re, a so-called *soggetto cavato dalle vocali*. The ut–fa–re motif appears as C–G–D in the natural hexachord, and is

also transposed into the hard and soft hexachords, as G–C–A and F–B \flat –G respectively, maintaining the interval structure of ascending 4th–descending minor 3rd. The best-known application of the *soggetto cavato* device is found in the *Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae* of Josquin Desprez (c.1440–1521), a homage to Ercole I d'Este of Ferrara. This technique was later regularly applied to memorial compositions.²⁵ In 1525 Willaert composed two honorific motets for Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan (*Victorio salve* and *Inclite Sfortiadum princeps*), each of them elaborating, on a new text, a *soggetto cavato* (*Salve Sfortiarum maxime dux* and *Vivat dux Franciscus Sfortia felix*).²⁶ Probably around 1547 Willaert's pupil de Rore wrote a Mass on a *soggetto cavato* in honour of Ercole II d'Este (*Missa Vivat felix Hercules*).²⁷

Willaert's motet was posthumously published in 1566 in the anthology *Di Cipriano de Rore il quinto libro di madrigali a cinque voci insieme alcuni de diversi autori*, which, as the title indicates, contained mainly madrigals by de Rore.²⁸ This edition also includes a motet by de Rore on the same text as Willaert's. De Rore's piece is in five parts, with one

part (instead of Willaert's two) repeating the motto *Durate*. It probably dates from about the same time as Willaert's composition.; de Rore too was in contact with Granvelle. (In January 1559 the bishop wrote him a letter, and Joachim Polites also mentions him in a 1560 letter to Granvelle.)

As for Granvelle's musical interests, in the period 1557–60 he apparently had a preference for the Venetian school. Two letters to Granvelle by Willaert's pupil Nicola Vicentino have survived from 1560.²⁹ Granvelle also maintained a correspondence with the postmaster Ruggiero de Tassis in Venice: through him he ordered books from the well-known publisher Gabriele Giolito³⁰ (such as the *Istorie* of Machiavelli), as well as 'pistacchi' (pistachio nuts), 'cristallo di Murano', 'perfumo' and 'corde di lauto'.³¹ In May 1550 de Tassis writes that the best lute strings are to be had in Germany, but that he will still send him 15 dozen (small, medium and large, five dozen of each) from Venice.³² Gabriele Giolito further supplied Granvelle with an 'arpicordo', a typically Italian 16th-century keyboard instrument related to the spinet and harpsi-

chord,³³ which in 1556 the publisher has sought out with the assistance of the composer Girolamo Parabosco (c.1524–57). Parabosco, who reports on this matter to Granvelle, was another of Willaert's pupils. In 1551 he was appointed organist of St Mark's, an office he was to hold until his death. Like Granvelle, he was a friend of Titian.³⁴

From all this correspondence Granvelle emerges as a man of broad musical interests, with a marked taste for the modern stylistic tendencies of the Venetian school. His relationship with Willaert, who was 30 years his senior, appears to have been quite cordial. It is not known whether they ever met before Willaert's visit to Flanders in 1557. (A meeting during Willaert's first trip in 1542 cannot, of course, be ruled out.) They probably first came into contact during Granvelle's period of study in Italy. In the years 1532–6 Antoine Perrenot studied not only in Leuven and Paris, but also in Padua, where he made the acquaintance of the humanist Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), who is remembered especially for his edition of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch in 1501 and his treatise *Prosa della volgar lingua* published in Venice in 1525. In the latter work he praises Petrarch as the ideal model for poetry and Boccaccio for prose. During his Roman years (1513–21) Bembo, who was secretary to Pope Leo X, may well have met Willaert, as the latter visited the papal chapel in 1515 when he entered the service of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este.³⁵ Bembo settled in Padua in 1521, whence he maintained contact with Venice where Willaert was appointed *maestro di cappella* of San Marco in 1527. It is known that a circle was formed around Bembo in Padua to which Willaert and a number of his pupils belonged. Bembo's literary theories certainly influenced the development of the early madrigal, of which Willaert was one of the leading exponents, especially as he was one of the first to set Petrarch's sonnets to music. Willaert's *Musica nova*, published in 1558–9 but including many compositions from the 1540s, contains no fewer than 25 madrigals, all but one settings of sonnets by Petrarch.³⁶ In sending Granvelle the first copy (or at least one of the first copies) of *Musica nova*, it seems that Willaert wished to crown an old friendship whose initial traces may well have dated from 25 years earlier.

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1 I am most grateful to the library of the Palacio Real and Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid for their assistance.

2 See the extensive monograph by M. Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot, bisschop van Atrecht, kardinaal van Granvelle, minister van Karel V en van Filips II (1517–1586)* (Brussel, 1953), esp. pp.114–72.

3 RISM 1553⁸. See U. Meissner, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker Tylman Susato: eine bibliographische Studie zur niederländischen Chansonpublikation in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ii (Berlin, 1967), pp.85–7, 162–3 (dedication).

4 RISM M272. See H. Vanhulst, *Catalogue des éditions de musique publiées à Louvain par Pierre Phalèse et ses fils, 1545–1578* (Brussels, 1990), pp.33, 365–7.

5 J. D. Wicks, 'Manchicourt, Pierre de', *New Grove*.

6 RISM L758. See W. Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532–1594: Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance* (Kassel & Basel, 1958), pp.124–8.

7 Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, p. 253.

8 See I. Bossuyt, 'Lassos erste Jahre in München (1556–1559): eine "Cosa non riuscita?"'. Neue Materialien aufgrund unveröffentlichter Briefe von Johann Jakob Fugger, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle und Orlando di Lasso', *Festschrift für Horst Leuchtman zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. S. Hörner and B. Schmid (Tutzing, 1993), pp.55–67; I. Bossuyt, 'The copyist Jan Pollet and the theft in 1563 of Orlandus Lassus' "secret" Penitential Psalms', *From Ciconia to Sweelinck: donum natalicium Willem Elders*, ed. A. Clement and E. Jas (Amsterdam, 1994), pp.261–7.

9 See I. Bossuyt, *Adriaan Willaert (c.1490–1562): leven en werk, stijl en genres* (Leuven, 1985).

10 *Inventario General de Manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, xii (nos.7001–8499) (Madrid, 1988), p.209; this inventory contains an alphabetical list of all correspondents. M. Van Durme, 'Notes sur la correspondance de Granvelle conservée à Madrid', *Bulletin royal d'histoire*, cxxi (1956), pp.52–3, gives a brief description of the surviving correspondence, but without reference to Willaert.

11 Van Durme, 'Notes sur la correspondance de Granvelle', briefly discusses the correspondence of Granvelle preserved in the Palacio Real, but does not mention the letters cited here.

12 Willaert undertook a first journey to Flanders in 1542. Shortly thereafter, in 1544 or 1545, Susato published eight chansons of Willaert in three anthologies. So Willaert had possibly already visited Antwerp to meet Susato in person: see Bossuyt, *Adriaan Willaert*, pp.58–9, 67–8.

13 RISM 1557⁵ (*Liber duodecimus ecclesiasticarum cantionum quinque vocum vulgo moteta vocant*); see Meissner, *Der Antwerpener Notendrucker*, ii, pp.127–9.

14 Johann Jakob Fugger begins one of his letters to Granvelle as follows: 'Mi duole molto l'inconvenienza della gotta che tiene S[ua] M[ajestà]ta ...' (letter of 23 January 1554; Madrid, Palacio Real [PR], Ms.2270, f.228r).

15 On the subject of Granvelle's medals, there exists an interesting correspondence which he pursued from 1547 with the Milanese Marco Antonio Patanella (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms.7911, nos.219–48), in which mention is made of no fewer than 600 medals he had made by Bernardo Scaccabarozzi, 'il Maestro de la Cecca', with the motto *Durate* ('in che sta designato il Durate'). One of these letters (no.222 of September 1547) contains a detailed survey of the cost of the medals. Leone Leoni, from whom Granvelle ordered some other medals, is also mentioned. (On Granvelle's correspondence with Leoni, see E. Plon, *Les maîtres italiens au service de la maison d'Autriche: Leone Leoni, sculpteur de Charles-Quint; Pompeo Leoni, sculpteur de Philippe II* (Paris, 1887).) In addition, in the Patanella letters there is talk of the purchase of books, e.g. by Lorenzo della Valla (1405/10–1457) on the Donatio Constantini (*Declaratio de donatione Constantini*), which dates from 1440 but was only published in 1517 (letter no.223 of 28 September 1547). Granvelle further orders a picture of the castle of Piacenza ('il ritratto del castello di Piacenza', letter no.223), 'formaggi' (letter no.246 of 5 August 1555) and 'fornimenti de cavalli' (which apparently were not to his taste; letter no.226 of 6 November 1547).

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16 J. N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, vii (Leuven, 1766), pp.192-4; F. Donet, 'Polites (Joachim)', *Biographie nationale*, xvii (Brussels, 1903), pp.909-11.

17 RISM w1126.

18 See especially A. Carapetyan, 'The *Musica nova* of Adriano Willaert', *Journal of Renaissance music*, i (1946-7), pp.200-211; E. Lowinsky, 'A treatise on text underlay by a German disciple of Francisco de Salinas', *Festschrift Heinrich Besseler zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig, 1961), pp.231-51; H. Meier, 'Zur Chronologie der *Musica Nova* Adrian Willaerts', *Analecta musicologica*, xii (1973), pp.71-96; A. Newcomb, 'Editions of Willaert's *Musica nova*: new evidence, new speculations', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxvi (1973), pp.132-45; D. S. Butchart, 'La Pecorina at Mantua, *Musica nova* at Florence', *Early music*, xiii (1985), pp.358-66; J. A. Owens and R. Agee, 'La stampa della *Musica nova* di Willaert', *Rivista italiana di musicologia*, xxiv (1989), pp.219-305; M. Feldman, 'Rore's *Selva selvaggia*: the primo libro of 1542', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xlii (1989), pp.547-603; M. Fromson, 'Themes of exile in Willaert's *Musica nova*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xlvi (1994), pp.442-87.

19 See Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, pp.163-72.

20 G. Benzone, 'Dolfin, Giovanni', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, xl (Rome, 1991), pp.511-19.

21 Dolfino uses the plural because of the publication in separate partbooks.

22 Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, p.245.

23 B. Meier, introduction to *Willaert: Opera omnia*, xiv: *Madrigali e canzoni villanesche*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, iii/14 (American Institute of Musicology, 1977), p.x.

24 R. J. Agee, 'Ruberto Strozzi and the early madrigal', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxxvi (1983), pp.1-2.

25 See A. Thürlings, 'Die soggetti cavati dalle vocali in Huldigungskompositionen und die Herculesmesse des Lupus', *Bericht über den zweiten*

Kongress der internationalen Musikgesellschaft zu Basel (25-27/9/1906) (Leipzig, 1907), pp.183-94.

26 Bossuyt, *Adriaan Willaert*, pp.120-21, 123.

27 A. Johnson, 'The Masses of Cyprian de Rore', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vi (1953), pp.117-39; B. Meier, introduction to *Cipriani de Rore: Opera omnia*, vii, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, xiv/7 (American Institute of Musicology, 1966), pp. i, iii.

28 RISM 1566¹⁷ (Venice: Antonio Gardane). The edition contains 16 compositions by de Rore, Willaert's motet *O socii durate*, one piece each by Lassus, Giovanni Nasco and Palestrina, besides a few others by such promising young Italian composers as Ippolito Sabino and Bartolomeo Spontone; one composition is anonymous.

29 I intend to devote a separate paper to these letters and the correspondence with de Rore.

30 Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, p.253.

31 Madrid, PR, Ms.7915, letter no.59 of 22 March 1551. In some letters Titian is mentioned (no.55 of 12 November 1549; no.57 of 15 May 1550).

32 Madrid, PR, Ms.7915, letter no.57 of 15 May 1550. De Tassis writes: 'quanto poi a le corde de lauto, li bone venono di Germania ... pur p[er] no[n] mancar ne mando a v[ostra] S[ignoria] R[everendissimi]ma quindici donzene de li meliore ch[e] mi sia statto possibile trovar, cinq[ue] donzene p[er] sorte de li piccole, mezane et grosse ...'

33 A. Neven, 'L'arpicordo', *Acta musicologica*, xlii (1970), pp.230ff.; L. Cervelli, 'Arpicordo: mito di un nome e realtà di uno stromento', *Quadrivium*, xiv (1973), pp.187ff.; D. J. Hamoen, 'The arpicordo problem: Armand Neven's solution reconsidered', *Acta musicologica*, xlvi (1976), pp.181ff.

34 Letter of Parabosco to Granvelle (Madrid, PR, Ms. II 2272, letter of 18 January 1556). On Parabosco, see H. Colin Slim, 'Parabosco, Girolamo', *New Grove*.

35 Bossuyt, *Adriaan Willaert*, pp.21-3.

36 See D. T. Mace, 'Pietro Bembo and the literary origins of the Italian madrigal', *Musical quarterly*, lv (1969), pp.65-86.