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THE LAUDI SPIRITUALI IN THE XVIth AND XVIIth CENTURIES.

By Edward J. Dent, M.A., Mus. Bac.

THE historians of music, in so far as they have discussed the relations of the art with the rites and doctrines of the Christian churches, have expatiated chiefly upon the works of such composers as Palestrina and I. S. Bach-to name two instances only: I mean those composers about whose greatness there can be no dispute, and whose claim to that reputation is based principally if not entirely upon works of an ecclesiastical character. If in the survey of any particular period it becomes necessary to mention composers of sacred music whose works are of a definitely inferior quality, that inferiority is generally ascribed to a want of true religious feeling either in the composers as individuals or in the age or the country in which they happened to live. It is the natural temptation of the musical historian to view these matters from a standpoint that is mainly æsthetic; but there is another aspect of the subject which must not be left out of account. If we turn to the ecclesiastical writers, we shall find that æsthetic and artistic considerations receive a very different treatment. The subject of music finds frequent mention in the early Christian Fathers, and although they recognize to the full the powerful influence which music may have upon the human mind, they are preoccupied with two aspects which to the pure musician have little significance. One of those aspects is the alleged moral danger of the art when not under the strict control of authority, and the other is its

undoubted practical utility. From quite primitive times it seems to have been frankly admitted that the strict observance of rites and the study of doctrine were bound to be somewhat unattractive to the less ardent members of the congregation, and several ecclesiastical writers draw attention to the fact that the practice of singing, being generally agreeable to the majority of human beings, especially if they were performers rather than listeners, offered a convenient and efficacious method of disguising the irksome and tedious nature of those duties which were considered indispensable to salvation. Thus St. Basil says in his commentary on the Psalms, "Because that the Holy Ghost did see that man's mind by nature did forsake the way of vertue and incline to the delightes of this life and that it might be incited and stirred up to tread the pathes of vertue by sweet harmony, he mingled the efficacy of singing with his doctrine: that whiles the eares are delighted with the sweetness of the verse, the profit of the Worde of God might by little and little distille into their mindes: much like unto a skilful physition: who when he will minister anie sharp or bitter potio to his patient useth to annoint the mouth of the cup with hony: lest the diseased or sicke person shold refuse the profit for the bitternes thereof." St. Augustine's confessions on the subject of music are too well known to need quotation. This essentially utilitarian view of music is by no means confined to the age of the Fathers. It persists even in our day, and it would be superfluous to give documentary evidence in support of the view commonly held that it does not matter in the least whether people sing good music or bad, as long as it can be held out as an inducement to come to church.

The Laudi Spirituali of the 16th and 17th centuries are an interesting illustration of the way in which this method was put into practice in Italy during the period of the Catholic reaction against the Renaissance. The music with which this paper is concerned is in no sense great music. Some of it is trivial, a great deal of it is extremely dull, considered purely and simply as music; but it is not without its interest as a study of human nature, and also of certain phases of musical technique.

The practice of singing metrical hymns in the vernacular is generally supposed to have originated, as far as Italy is concerned, with the Franciscan movement of the 13th century. In the year 1260 an extraordinary outburst of religious mania took place, originating in Umbria, and extending its influence over almost the whole of Italy. It is thus described by a mediæval chronicler:

"Sub precedenti annorum curriculo, cum tota Italia multis esset flagitiis et sceleribus inquinata, quædam subitanea compuntio et a seculo inaudita invasit primitus Perusinos, Romanos postmodum, deinde Italiæ populos universos. In tantum itaque

timor domini irruit super eos, quod nobiles pariter et ignobiles. senes et iuvenes, infantes etiam quinque annorum, nudi per plateas civitatum, opertis tantummodo pudendis, deposita verecundia, bini et bini processionaliter incedebant, singuli flagellum in manibus de corrigiis continentes et cum gemitu et ploratu se acriter super scapulas, usque ad effusionem sanguinis, verberantes; et effusis fontibus lacrimarum, ac si corporalibus oculis ipsam Salvatoris cernerent Passionem, misericordiam Dei, et Genitricis auxilium implorabant, suppliciter deprecantes, ut qui in innumeris poenitentibus est placatus, et ipsis, iniquitatibus propriis cognoscentibus, parcere dignaretur. Non solum itaque in die sed etiam in nocte, cum cereis accensis, in hieme asperrimo centeni, milleni, deceni milleni quoque, per civitates ecclesias circuibant, et se ante altaria humiliter prosternebant, precedentibus eos sacerdotibus cum crucibus et vexillis. Similiter in villis et in oppidis faciebant, ita quod a vocibus clamantium ad Dominum resonare videbantur simul campestria et montana."*

Towards the south the movement did not make much progress, for Manfred, then King of Naples, refused them admission to his dominions, including the March of Ancona, on pain of death. Blocked in this direction, the flagellants pursued their way north, spreading both east and west. They crossed the Appennines and invaded Genoa; they crossed the Alps and penetrated France as far as Dijon. Eastwards they went by Treviso and the Friuli into Austria and Germany, some carrying their strange gospel even as far as Poland.

A particular feature of their religious exercises was the singing of hymns, laudes, from which they derived the name of laudisti or laudesi. In the course of time the more morbid symptoms of the movement died down, as might be expected, but the hymnsinging seems to have retained its popularity. Confraternities of these disciplinati had been founded all over North Italy, and when the first fervour of enthusiasm had abated, it can be well understood that those who were interested in their continuance found music a more attractive bond of union than flagellation. These early hymns, of which there exist various manuscript collections, are of very great interest for the history of Italian poetry and drama. Their literary aspect has been the subject of much research by Italian scholars, and several of them have been reprinted. They reach their highest artistic level in the poems of Jacopone da Todi, the author of the "Stabat Mater." and like that well-known poem, they are often of a curiously morbid and quasi-erotic character. In Tuscany the Laudi seem to have been mainly lyrical in form; in Umbria they very soon

^{*} Quoted by G. Galli, "I disciplinati dell' Umbria del 1260." (Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, Turin, 1909.)

took on a dramatic shape, and it is from them that the Italian drama of the Middle Ages derives its origin.

Of the music to these mediæval hymns I am not competent to speak, as I have had no opportunity of studying the manuscript collections in Italian libraries. The hymns that form the subject of this paper belong to the period when music had already begun to be printed. The earliest collection of printed *Laudi* dates from 1563; but I am able to reproduce here an example half a century older, taken from a curious and interesting source. In the picture gallery at Perugia there is a large altar-piece by Lo Spagna, representing the Virgin and Child with various saints, among them Saint Francis of Assisi. The Virgin is seated on a throne raised upon steps, and pinned to the vertical part of one of these steps the painter has represented a sheet of paper. On this sheet of paper are inscribed the words and music of a hymn for four voices. The voice-parts are not in score, but are written out separately, thus:

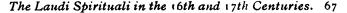
Cantus.	Altus.
Tenor.	BASSUS.

The words are not written under the notes, but in the space between the upper and lower pairs of parts, so that they are written out once only. The picture came from the church of San Girolamo, which belonged to a Franciscan congregation, and Mr. Bernard Berenson has demonstrated that it must have been painted about the year 1504.*





• "The Study and Criticism of Italian Art," second series, London, 1902.







We may assume from the fact of the hymn being painted on the picture that it was a favourite with the congregation, and therefore fairly representative of popular taste at the time. It is strangely like a modern hymn-tune, both in its metre and in its tonality, being quite plainly in the key of C major, with no modal characteristics except the final chord. It shows us that the instinct for modern tonality as opposed to the modal system was popular rather than scientific, and that in the music of humble life the new principles were manifested long before they began to dominate artistic music.

There appeared in 1563 two collections of *Laudi*, one at Rome edited by Giovanni Animuccia, and the other, issued by a Venetian press, for Florentine congregations, edited by Serafino Razzi. Of these two the latter is the more interesting, both from a musical and a literary point of view. Fra Serafino Razzi was a Dominican monk belonging to the monastery of St. Mark, at Florence, well known to travellers for its frescoes by Fra Angelico. He was a man of great piety—at least of that peculiar type of piety characteristic of Italy during the Catholic Reaction which followed the Renaissance—but of no great skill either in letters or in music.

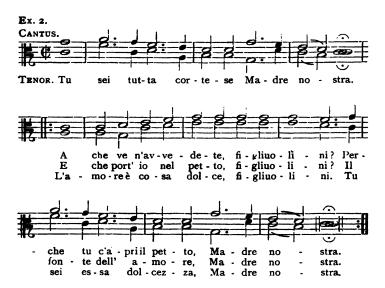
He was at least wise enough not to attempt the composition of tunes, but contented himself for the most part with writing religious words to tunes which were already popular. The book is a quarto, beautifully printed, and must have been fairly expensive to produce. It was printed at Venice, because music could not be printed at the Florentine presses. The preface, signed by the publisher, Filippo Giunti, explains that these hymns were sung principally by nuns, but also by confraternities and by private He suggests that nuns should sing them in their persons. recreation hours, or when working, instead of the worldly music which they often do sing, and which would not be proper even for a party of people belonging to the world. He deplores the customs of modern days, such as the substitution of comedies for sacre rappresentazioni in convents. Of the present book he says that Razzi had "collected a book of the best hymns, ancient and modern, and had printed the tunes as well, giving up that foolish method of saying 'to be sung to the tune of so-and-so.' "

There are about seventy tunes in the book, set for one, two, three, or four voices. Some of these may have been composed as hymns, but as regards a large number the "foolish niethod of saying 'to be sung to the tune of so-and-so'" is significant. Later collections of Laudi, the typographical style of which shows that they were intended to have a wide circulation among the laity are less discreet, and make no secret of the fact that the tunes to which they were sung were mostly secular folksongs, with the addition, as time went on, of songs taken from operas and other worldly sources. In fact the hymn-books of the Catholic Reaction are as valuable a storehouse of Italian folk-songs as is the "Beggar's Opera" for those of our own country. An Italian researcher, Dr. Domenico Alaleona, to whose writings* I am indebted for most of the information given in this paper, has been able to re-unite a number of these folk-tunes with their original words, preserved in a manuscript belonging to the Riccardi Library at Florence, and has thereby demonstrated the amusing fact that a large number of the hymns are nothing more than parodies of the original folk-songs. We are accustomed to think of the word parody as signifying a comic travesty of a serious poem; but here we find the process reversed, and the devout poetasters themselves described their productions as travestimenti spirituali. To show the extremes to which some of them carried the process, Alaleona mentions a set of madrigals in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, at Rome, the original subject of

^{* &}quot;Studi sulla storia dell'Oratorio musicale in Italia," Turin, 1908; "Le Laudi Spirituali italiane nei Secoli XVI e XVII e il loro rapporto coi canti profani" in "Rivista Musicale Italiana," Turin, 1909.

which was the passion of Echo for Narcissus; a certain Padre Giovenale Ancina, one of the earliest disciples of Saint Philip Neri, has converted them to more edifying use by pasting little strips of paper over the names of the characters in such a way that Echo is replaced by Saint Peter, and Narcissus by Jesus walking on the waters.

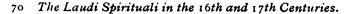
Here is a curious type of folk-song from Razzi's collection, set for two voices only. I give only a small selection from the words: the great majority of the hymns in all the collections have a dozen stanzas or more. This tune is curiously like the tedious drawling songs in two-part harmony that one may hear in almost any Italian village inn :---



The following Christmas hymn, the words of which are by Lucrezia de' Medici, has the melody in the middle part. In style it resembles the preceding example :—

Ex. 3.



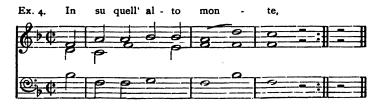


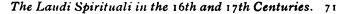






One more of these very primitive melodies may be given. It should be noted that the repetition of both phrases is essential to the rhythm:—





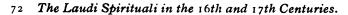


In su quell' alto monte
V' è la fontana che tre cannelle ha.
D'oro vi son le sponde,
D' oro & d'argento la sua cannella ha.
Qualunque ne vuol bere
Convien che spogli la sua gonnella.
Non ti bisogna argento
Over moneta per comperarla.
L' anima che ne gusta
Diventa chiara più che una stella.

The words of this hymn are extremely curious, and it is fairly clear that the spiritual parodist has left us a good deal of the original folk-song in converting the fountain of love into that of virtue. The third couplet is a little difficult to explain in a theological sense, but perhaps the petticoat which has to be removed before drinking is to be taken as a symbol of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world.

Not all the hymns in Razzi's collection are of so frankly popular a type, or so rudely primitive in their harmonization. The following "stanzas to be sung at the funeral of any faithful departed" have a certain simple pathos and dignity, both of words and of music :—























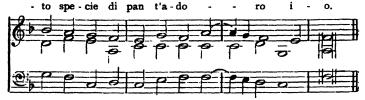


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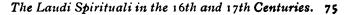
There were indeed one or two writers of hymns who fully deserved the name of poets. Razzi's list of authors includes Petrarch, Savonarola, and Lorenzo de' Medici, as well as Benedetto Varchi and Feo Belcari. The last named, who is more famous as a writer of "Sacre Rappresentazioni" (cf. Symonds' "Italian Literature" in "The Renaissance in Italy"), is here well represented by a hymn in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, set to music which may possibly be of popular origin but shows nomarkedly secular characteristics :—

Ex. 6.

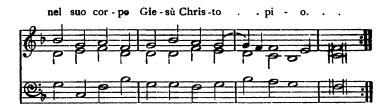










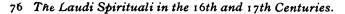


It is interesting to compare with this another sacramental hymn, set to words by Razzi himself, and obviously adapted from a folk-song :---

Ex. 7.









Two points at once strike us in this very charming little composition-the point of imitation at the end, and the consecutive fifths at the beginning. The point of imitation, it must be admitted, is nothing more than an obvious cliché of the period, and certainly indicates no more contrapuntal ingenuity than the stock fugato passages which in our English church services are so appropriately set to the words "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be." The fifths may possibly come as a shock to the reader who has been brought up to believe that the 16th century was the era of strict submission to the discipline of authority. Such fifths however are extremely common in the Laudi Spirituali, as we shall shortly see, and also in the *frottole* and *villanelle* of the period, especially in those of Neapolitan origin. Morley indeed alludes to the practice in his "Plaine and Easie Introduction," but as far as I am aware the English composers did not adopt it in their own works. It is well illustrated in the Villanelle of Luca Marenzio, to which the Laude just quoted bears a very close resemblance both in style and in structure.

In the year 1558 Saint Philip Neri, who was living in Rome and had been ordained priest seven years earlier at the age of thirty-six, finding that his own lodging was too small to contain the increasing number of disciples whom he was wont to collect and address there, obtained leave to build a room over the right aisle of the church of San Girolamo, in which he continued his devotional exercises. These, as long as they took place in his own lodging, had been of a somewhat informal and intimate character. They were now extended, so as to include sermons and the singing of hymns. In 1568 they were transferred to S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and met with so much success that in 1575 Saint Philip was able to organise the foundation of the Congregazione dell' Oratorio, with the formal approval of Pope Gregory XIII., and establish it where it still remains, at the church of S. Maria in Vallicella, known as the Chiesa Nuova.

According to Baini, Palestrina was one of the Saint's most intimate friends. It is alleged that he took an important part in the musical side of the Oratorian functions, and that he was assisted by Saint Philip at the moment of his death. But Alaleona, after the most careful and thorough investigation of the manuscript archives of the Vallicelliana, comes to the conclusion that there is no ground whatever for these statements, since he has not been able to find a single mention of Palestrina's name. This need hardly surprise us in view of Haberl's exposure of various other errors in Baini's famous biography. It seems highly probable that Baini transferred to Palestrina the facts actually recorded as to the death of another musician, Giovanni Animuccia, who was one of Saint Philip's penitents, and had been connected with his devotional meetings from an early date. since in 1563 he published a collection of hymns composed by himself. A copy of this is in the library of the Royal College of Compared with Razzi's collection. Animuccia's is Music. extremely dull. His hymns have neither the secular attractiveness of the folk-tunes, nor the artistic interest of the more learned compositions. The following specimen is one of the best. It is well harmonized, and shows much greater technical ability than any of Razzi's collection; and the extended range of the parts points to Animuccia's having a *clientèle* of more highly-trained singers :---Ex. 8.





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We may note in passing that the words of this hymn, the first stanza of which is sufficiently representative, continue the mediæval tradition of the *disciplinati* in dwelling with the greatest possible emphasis upon the physical suffering of the Crucifixion.

Animuccia issued a second volume of *Laudi* in 1570, in eight part-books, which are now only to be found dispersed in various libraries. An extract from the dedication, quoted in Alaleona's bibliography, is worth translating :---

"It is some years since for the comfort of those who frequented the Oratory of S. Girolamo I brought out the First Book of Hymns, in which I aimed at preserving a certain simplicity which seemed appropriate to the words themselves, to the character of that devout place, and to my own object, which was only to stimulate devotion. But since by the grace of God the said Oratory received an increasing concourse of Prelates and Noblemen of high degree, I thought fit in this Second Book to increase the consort and the harmony, varying the music in different ways, setting it sometimes to Latin, sometimes to the vulgar tongue, with many voices or with few, with rimes of divers kinds, avoiding as far as I could the intricacy of fugues and conceits, so as not to obscure the sense of the words, in order that their power, assisted by the music, might the more sweetly penetrate the heart of those who listen."

A third book was published at the instance of the Oratorian fathers in 1577, and the dedication tells us that it aimed at an easier and simpler style of music "that could be sung by everybody, which was not the case, for the most part, with the first two books." This collection was reprinted, with very slight alterations, in 1583, as the first volume of a new series. The hymns are set for three voices only. A second volume, containing hymns for three and four voices, including a few in Spanish, was issued in the same year. A third volume appeared in 1588, edited by Francesco Soto; and the three were reprinted in one volume in 1589, all the hymns being arranged for three voices. Two more volumes followed in 1591 and 1598. All five are in the British Museum.

Francesco Soto was a Spaniard. He was born in 1539, came to Rome at an early age, and being a remarkably good singer, became a member of the Papal choir as a soprano in 1562. Shortly afterwards he became one of St. Philip's followers, and eventually a member of the Congregation. He still remained a member of the Papal choir, of which he was dean for many years; but he sang at the Chiesa Nuova up to the end of his life, and preserved his voice to the age of eighty, dying in 1619.

With Soto the popular *Laudi* may be said to have become more or less standardized, though it must not be supposed that

this type of *Laude* was the only one cultivated. The *Laudi* had from the earliest times tended to assume the form of dialogues, and even of drama. From a literary point of view they are of great importance in the early history of the Italian stage, but with this aspect of them my paper is not concerned. To the musical development of these dialogues I propose to return later on; for the present it will be more convenient to pursue the history of such *Laudi* as may be called "hymns" in the ordinary colloquial sense of the word.

It is not necessary to give many examples from Soto's collections, especially as Alaleona quotes a large number in his history of the Oratorio in Italy. Soto, like Razzi, includes a great many folk-songs, and has no objection to the consecutive fifths which Animuccia carefully avoided. Here is the Oratorian prototype of "Onward, Christian Soldiers":—





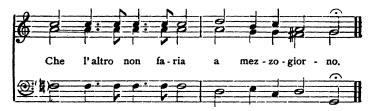




From the way in which the tune is indicated in a later collection, it is fairly certain that "Chi vuol seguir la guerra" was a popular song, and the first two stanzas of the hymn have probably been very little altered from the original. A collection edited by Padre Giovenale Ancina in 1599, under the title of Tempio armonico della Beatissima Vergine," gives us in the preface some interesting information as to the Laudi and the way in which they were sung. Ancina was a doctor in medicine and philosophy as well as a priest; but he was a pedantic and tiresome writer, and his transmogrification of Echo and Narcissus, to which allusion has already been made, is characteristic of his ingenuity as a producer of *travestimenti spirituali*. He tells us that the Laudi were intended for monasteries, schools, seminaries, novitiates, oratories, &c., and for the decent recreation of the clergy and the religious orders, who, under the pretext of diverting themselves with music, were often given to playing and singing lascivious and scandalous airs, excusing themselves on the pretext of not having a sufficiency of sacred music to their taste. He adds that he has arranged most of his Laudi for three voices, because it is easier to collect three good singers than a larger number. "In singing these *Laudi*, many are wont to repeat the first or the first two lines with all the parts; but to avoid weariness and to increase their elegance and charm, I think it always better to sing them as follows: let the first soprano begin alone, singing as far as the first repeat mark, and then begin again with the other two parts, going straight on to the end, taking up the second repeat where it is indicated. In some Laudi, especially the Neapolitan airs, there will be found fifths such as are generally censured in more choice and serious music ; but in popular songs they pass without scruple. There are also Laudi with a very large number of stanzas, of which it will be sufficient to sing three, or five at most, so as not to weary either singers or listeners. And as a general rule, however beautiful the tune or however choice the words, I should say that not less than three stanzas be sung, to taste it properly, but that five should not be exceeded, that the stomach be not turned."

As an example of what the Neapolitans could stomach in the way of consecutive fifths, Alaleona quotes the following from a collection published at Naples in 1608 :---





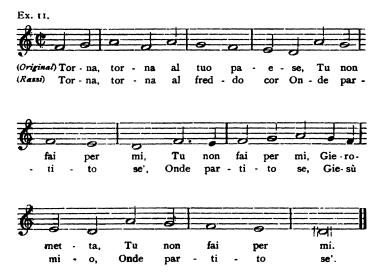
Various reasons have been given by later theorists to account for the prohibition of consecutive fifths; but it seems highly probable that the more serious composers regarded them as a progression to be avoided on grounds of taste. To write them was to adopt the musical language of the mission-hymn and the popular part-song. As the Victorian lady said to her small son of some unrefined expletive: "It's worse than wicked, it's *vulgar*!"

Soto's collections include a certain number of tunes of a more sophisticated type. The majority of the Laudi are in stanzas of various shapes, sometimes irregular, with refrains, written to definite well-known tunes-some very odd examples will be given later-and in a large number of cases following the same metrical scheme as the notorious carnival songs of Lorenzo de' Medici, who, as we have seen, was himself a contributor to Serafino Razzi's But from the days of Petrarch to our own, the collection. favourite metrical form of all Italian poets, and especially of all Italian poetasters, has been the sonnet. Its peculiar construction has generally been held to make it unsuitable for musical setting in more modern times; but Soto considerately provides an aria to which all sonnets may be sung. It is not sufficiently interesting as music to be worth printing here, though it is up to the general artistic standard of the specially composed Laudi. The curious fact about it is that although its phrases are very slow and protracted, it does not suffice for more than four lines of eleven syllables each, so that in order to sing a whole sonnet to it, the music would have to be sung four times altogether, the lines of the sestet being repeated in such a way as might be most convenient to the sense, or more probably to the singers.

Although the practice of singing *Laudi* was held in particular esteem at the Chiesa Nuova, and was there developed in later years into forms which are of great interest to the musical historian, we must not forget that there were other places in Italy in which hymns of this description were no less popular. Indeed it is precisely this character of *popularity* which gives peculiar importance to the Florentine collection now to be described. We have already seen from the preface to Animuccia's second book that the Philippine Oratory had become the resort of an aristocratic and fashionable congregation, whose more cultured tastes led to the ultimate evolution of the simple Laudi through the Madrigale Spirituale to the formal Oratorio. In Tuscany the Laudi supplied the demands of less artistically educated devotees. A second collection was issued by Razzi, at Florence, in 1609, under the title of Santuario di Laudi. It was noted that in 1563 the Florentine printers were unable to set up music in type; and even forty years later they had not shown much advance in skill. The Santuario for the most part gives the words only, referring to the other editions for the music. A few additional tunes are clumsily printed at the end of the book. The collection is interesting mainly for the copious notes appended to the hymns, giving information as to the sources of the tunes and the motives that caused the composition of the words to them. Thus on page 61, Razzi takes occasion to say that "those who compose music for hymns must compose it in such a way that the music corresponds to the words. And whoever seeks to write devotional words to some worldly song should take care to make them as suitable as possible to the air. Thus, if the air is merry, the words adapted to it should be so likewise; not melancholy, but festive and cheerful." "Fra Serafino, not having much skill in music, never composed any tunes by himself for the hymns. I say, by himself, for sometimes he, with the help of others, wrote down some beautiful airs; but he observed the rule here given in writing innumerable hymns at the request of others to songs already made by secular musicians. So in the year 1564, when he was Reader in Philosophy at the convent of San Domenico at Pistoia, hearing a pretty little madrigal sung by four voices, he adapted the above words to it, slightly altering the words of the original, in honour of Saint Catherine of Siena, whose heart was changed by Our Lord's especial grace."

And again, on page 213, annotating the hymn "Lo fraticello si leva per tempo," "A very lovely song used to be sung at Florence, 'La pastorella si leva per tempo, Menando le caprette a pascer fuora,' and so forth ; whence Fra Serafino, being then a young man, and desired to write devotional words for it, made the above hymn of ten stanzas. . . He also wrote the following for the same novices on the song 'Gierometta.'" The initial lines of "Lo fraticello" and its original, here quoted, show the method sufficiently. "Gierometta" was a very popular song of the period, and there are a great many versions of the original words. Alaleona quotes one of them from an early print in the Bologna University Library, and sets it alongside of Razzi's parody. It should be noted that in every stanza the

second line is repeated twice as here, with the insertion of the name "Gierometta":---



Alaleona mentions two Florentine collections of 1634 and 1645, which contain no music, but are of interest as giving the names of the secular tunes to which the hymns were to be sung. The first of these two was reprinted at Rome in 1654, with the addition of several new hymns and a prior number of tunes. This edition is not in the British Museum, but Mr. L. T. Rowe has very kindly placed a copy in his possession at my disposal. The names of the tunes, placed at the head of each hymn, even when the music is not given, indicate pretty clearly in many cases the sources from which they were taken. In addition to a number of folk songs, we find several that suggest the style of the early operas.

We can identify "Nel puro ardor della più bella stella" as the well-known air of Thyrsis with the triple flute from Peri's "Euridice." Others are taken from the "Nuove Musiche" of Caccini, *e.g.*, "Con le luci d'un bel ciglio" (a very favourite hymn-tune), and "Fere selvagge che per monti errate." The melodies of a few others, with their original words are to be found in a MS. collection of early 17th century monodies in the Library of the Brussels Conservatoire.*

^{* &}quot;Annuaire du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles." Ghent and Brussels, 1900.

Many other hymns suggest melodies of the Cesti or Cavalli type; for instance, the following (page 368) :---



Still more important as sources of secular melodies are the various editions (1675, 1689, and 1710) of the "Corona di Sacre Canzoni," edited by Matteo Coferati, all published at Florence. The edition of 1710 is especially interesting, for it gives not only a very large number of tunes (it should be mentioned in passing that these later Florentine collections give the tunes unharmonized), but also has an index of titles to them, so that those who cannot read from notes may know to what tunes the hymns are to be Alaleona reprints the index complete, and a strange list of sung. grotesque names it is indeed. He has also reprinted several of the tunes, and supplied the original words to them from Severino Ferrari's collection of folk-songs ("Biblioteca di letteratura popolare italiana"). Those who are interested in this aspect of the subject must be referred to Alaleona's article in the "Rivista Musicale Italiana," 1909.

I give here a few specimens for the sake of their musical interest :---

(NAME OF TUNE IN INDEX, "AMOR FALS' INGRATO, OVVERO: BALLO DI MANTOVA.")

"LA NOSTRA CONVERSAZIONE È NE' CIELI."

Ex. 13. 0 An - di- am' al Cie - lo, al Ciel Al - me spie - ga te l'a li. e'l pen - sie - ro al - le piag-ge ^Tbe - a te, Non ve - de - te co - me è tem -pe - sto - so il Ma - re, pie - no di sco - gli, е gon-fio d'on-de a - ma - re, ter - ra Qui sem-pre ci fa E la cru-del guer - ra. Fug-gan-si l'in - si - die, se vi di - let-ta il Mon - do, fio - ri - to, a - scon - de gran pro - fon - do. dov' è

This, as its names implies, is a dance tune, with a very vigorously marked rhythm. The next is obviously a minuet; its rhythm resembles the minuets in Alessandro Scarlatti's early operas, imitated later by Purcell and Handel.



(NAME OF TUNE IN INDEX, "MINUET DE' SEMINARISTI.")

Two more examples of dance-tunes may be quoted :---

(NAME OF TUNE IN INDEX, "BALLO DE' PULCINELLI, OVVERO LA CUCCHINA.")

AVVISO ALL' ANIMA DI FUGGIR LE LUSINGHE DEL MONDO PER SERVIRE A DIO IN LIBERTÀ.



(NAME OF TUNE IN INDEX, "SALTERELLO DEL MECCOLI OVVERO CRUD' AMORE.")



Lastly, there is a dance of especial interest to English readers :---

(NAME OF TUNE IN INDEX, "RAISOTER, BALLO INGLESE, OVVERO, A TORZIO MI STRASSINA.")

"IL PECCATORE CONOSCIUTI GLI INGANNI DEL MONDO DELIBERA DI TORNARE A DIO." Ex. 17.



English dance-tunes were popular on the Continent towards the end of the 17th century and later. M. Henry Prunières showed me in Paris a little early 17th-century Italian manuscript collection of dances in which I was able to identify a "Ballo inglese" as "Nobody's Gigge" from the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book. As to the significance of the name "Raisoter," I am unable to offer any suggestion, and Mr. Frank Kidson, to whom I submitted the tune, cannot identify it, although he pronounces it to be decidedly English in character.*

One of the most popular tunes of the time was that known as "Antururu," and there are many *Laudi* composed to its very attractive melody. It will be noted that it bears a distinct resemblance to the favourite French song "Au clair de la lune." The word "Antururu" is, it need hardly be said, a nonsense refrain, corresponding to the "tooral-looral-loo" of English folk-songs; in the *Laudi* it is represented by "Dolce Giesu."

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^{*} Since this paper was read, Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood has suggested to me that "Raisoter" may be an Italian transcriber's error for [Philip] Rosseter.

(NAME OF TUNE IN INDEX, "ANTURURU.")

PREGHIERA AL SIGNORE PER OTTENERE LO SPIRITO SANTO.



Several tunes in the book appear to betray an operatic origin. As the century proceeds, the airs from Peri and Caccini go out of fashion, and the devout prefer adaptations of such sprightly ariette as are to be found in Stradella or Legrenzi. This tendency is very marked in some other hymn-books which are not mentioned by Alaleona but are to be found in the British Thus a collection of "Laudi Spirituali posti in Musica Museum. da Stefano Corti Sacerdote Fiorentino Per uso delle Congregazioni di S. Filippo Neri e d'altre conferenze simili solite farsi nella Città di Firenze" (Florence, 1703) shows no trace of folk-song style. while most of the melodies might be ariette from operas or cantatas of Cesti or Stradella. Another collection, edited by Pietro Santini, printed at Ancona in 1722, is equally innocent of folk-songs, and seems to derive its tunes (which are not set up in type but very coarsely engraved on wood-blocks) from Bononcini or his imitators; they are extremely secular in style.

A few words must be said here as to the relation of the *Laudi* to the history of the musical form called Oratorio. The origin of the form is generally referred to Emilio de' Cavalieri's famous 'Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo." Alaleona has made

it quite clear that Cavalieri's work must be regarded not as a link in the direct chain of evolution, but as an almost isolated experiment. The original scheme of the Oratorian devotions consisted of a sermon, preceded and followed by hymn-singing. The hymns in course of time were grouped into a definite scheme, illustrating a definite idea, and forming an organized musical work—divided always into two parts, the sermon being preached in the middle. This traditional division of the Oratorio into two parts lasts well into the 18th century, in the works of such composers as Alessandro Scarlatti and Leonardo Leo, their operas, on the other hand, being almost invariably in three Acts.

The "Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo" was to a certain extent based on earlier dramatic Laudi, the texts of which are extant; but it should be noted that the mediæval "Sacre Rappresentazioni," which are of great importance in the history of the Italian stage, fell into decadence during the Renaissance, and were finally prohibited by ecclesiastical authority, when the Catholic Reaction began to make itself felt, as being liable to give cause for scandal. The texts were to a certain extent reprinted for private reading, but no performances of them were given. Cavalieri's "Rappresentazione" was in fact a by-product of the new dramatico-musical movement of the early 17th century. Its purely allegorical subject separates it from the developed forms of the Oratorian Laudi, which were not allegorical but Biblical. Its direct descendants are not the oratorios of Carissimi, Stradella, Leo, &c., but the "sacred operas" composed by various musicians of the 17th century, which quite definitely follow a dramatic scheme of construction. For a complete analysis of this very interesting and complex chapter of musical history the reader must be referred to Alaleona's book on the "Oratorio in Italy."

Returning to the simple Laudi which have formed the subject of this paper, I may say that they seem to be little known to the editors of hymnals in this country. One is to be found in "Arundel Hymns," set to the words "Faith of our fathers"; it occurs in Coferati's collection as "Compagni andiamo che si fa sera," its original title being "Andiam compagni alla riviera" —a folk-song, it need hardly be said. There are possibly others in "Arundel Hymns," but the sources of the melodies in that book are very vaguely indicated. There do not appear to be any Laudi in Dr. Terry's "Westminster Hymnal," nor in the "English Hymnal," nor in "Hymns Ancient and Modern." It is interesting to compare the practice of the Catholic Reaction in Italy, as regards hymn-melodies, with that of other periods and countries. Luther, as is well-known, was a vigorous advocate of the principle of adapting religious words to well-known and

favourite secular tunes, and the Weslevs were of a like opinion. In our own day the practice has been adopted by the Salvation The school of thought represented by "Hymns Ancient Army. and Modern," at any rate in its earlier editions, was strongly opposed to the pollution of church music by the importation of melody from secular sources; and I may mention that a missionary bishop from Africa, when I asked him if his native converts sang hymns to tunes of their own, replied with horror and indignation, "Oh, no! we couldn't possibly allow them to sing their own tunes; they are associated in their minds with such dreadful words. In church they sing 'Hymns Ancient English Hymnal" has and Modern.'" More recently the employed a large number of English traditional folk-songs, despite the extremely secular association of their original words; but it may be doubted whether these old tunes are really familiar to the general public, in spite of the energies of folk-song collectors. The attitude of the general public is curiously exemplified by our soldiers at the present moment: they sing when on the march not traditional folk-songs, but either modern rag-time melodies or hymn-tunes of the Dykes and Barnby school, inverting the practice of Fra Serafino by adapting to them words of their own, the character of which, I am credibly informed, is anything but ecclesiastical. In view of a musical practice which history tends to note as quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus, it seems not improbable that the earliest Christians in Rome, especially as they belonged to the humblest and least educated classes of the people, may have sung their hymns not always to the traditional melodies of the Temple at Jerusalem, as has been sometimes suggested, but to the more worldly numbers of the Græco-Roman variety stage, which the most devout ascetics can hardly have failed to hear sung in the streets of the city. The late M. Gevaert did, in fact, investigate the classical influences apparent in the history of early plainsong, but his conclusions have been severely attacked by ecclesiastical writers whose natural interest it is to demonstrate, if possible, that the music of the early Church was never contaminated by tendencies of Pagan origin. I am not in a position to offer a judgment on so difficult a problem, and must conclude by reminding my readers of the words of Gibbon :---"The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing Religion as she descended from Heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption, which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings."-(Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," chap. xv.)

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sure I am speaking in accordance with your views if I convey on your behalf, and my own, a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Dent for the vast amount of enlightenment he has given to us. I think we can take a sufficiently spacious view of the situation to say that it is not only our pleasure that is concerned, but the interests of this It is most desirable that there shall be things in our Association. Proceedings" every year which will represent us worthily, and which will help to the unravelling of the mysteries and the development of our art. In this matter we know we can trust Mr. Dent, and he has proved it, not for the first time, in tracing out the things there are to know about the Laudi Spirituali. He has so entirely mastered the Italian language that it is to him as his own tongue, and so he has been able thoroughly to investigate such things in Italy, and to bring us into touch with what would otherwise remain a mystery to many of us; as he has also done in connection with early operas. In this way we are deeply indebted to Mr. Dent for bringing before us a subject which on the face of it might not appear to be profoundly and romantically interesting, but which really radiates suggestively in all directions. But it would mean keeping you here till midnight if I began to talk of those radiations. For the origins of this kind of art we look to the aspirations of people like St. Francis of Assisi in the 12th century and before; devotees who sought to bring to bear upon the people something which would arouse their devotion They felt they were out of touch with the in a new sense. hand and with the classical developments on the one extraordinary ingenuities of musicians who regarded things from their own technical point of view on the other; and they wanted to get hold of something that was secular, something with rhythm, something direct and tuneful that the people understood—that was the whole point, and they wanted to use the essential features of secular music as an engine to infuse the people with devotional feeling. Sometimes this mixture of the secular and religious tended to ribaldry. In the wonderful Motets of the 11th and 12th century, and even earlier, you have astonishing bundles of tunes which were pitchforked together---if I may use the expression, ---folk-song and plain-song and nonsense syllables which they forced to go together, it does not matter how, in consecutive fifths and sevenths, some of the tunes being ribald and the others extremely sacred. We all know quite well that

the Canti Fermi of many Masses were well-known popular tunes; and that one of the causes of certain little ructions in the Church was that singers in choirs were credited with singing the original secular words to the tunes that were transported into sacred surroundings. There is one thing that may be worth calling your attention to in this connection, which is that among these tunes there is one singular trait which frequently occurs also in dance tunes and the earliest musical dramas and the first oratorios. It is so conspicuous a formula, that one cannot help supposing there was something at the back of the minds of those who adopted it. It consists of a solid spondaic repetition of the last chord of a phrase, which Thoinot Arbeau in the well-known "Orchesographie" of 1522 explains as representing two jumps on both feet together at the end of every phrase of a Branle. It would be interesting to know what was the origin of it, --whether its prominence was due to the popularity of the dance, or whether it was due to some peculiarity in the Italian language. Whichever it was it emphasises the connection between the Laudi Spirituali and secular music of all sorts. It emphasises the fact that they were intended to bring music with sacred words nearer to the masses of the people by introducing secular traits which appealed to them. It was the first step in the direction of expanding the range of religious music by rhythm and tune.

Dr. C. HARFORD LLOYD: It is a far cry from Umbria to the Coral Islands. I travelled from Adelaide to Aden a few months ago in a boat with a thousand natives, and every evening in the Pacific these delightful fellows-a sort of Maoris-had a service of their own, and they sang the most wonderful hymns I have ever heard. These were mainly in three parts, the basses very fine and powerful with strong rhythm, and the upper voices like tenors with seconds and thirds and all kinds of intervals also strongly rhythmical. I would have given anything to take the things down by phonograph. The officers, who unfortunately were unmusical, said they thought the missionaries had taught the music. I scouted the idea entirely. It seemed to me these native melodies had been adapted to sacred words. I have no proof of this, but it occurs to me the experience bears out what has been said as to the taking of secular tunes and adapting them to sacred purposes. Mr. Dent quoted the fine effect of consecutive fifths when sung: now and again these people broke out into fifths with extraordinary effect. They had no music in writing, they had learnt the music by heart. I suggest the case is analogous to what must have been done in early days.

Dr. TERRY: Mr. Dent has mentioned that I did not happen to have included more of the *Laudi* in a book of which I was editor. I did not do so as I had not a sufficient acquaintance

with the Laudi at the original source. Having seen some lamentable results due to lack of access to the originals, I thought it better not to multiply the number of tunes derived at second or third hand. We all know by this time Mr. Dent's reputation for accuracy, and therefore feel confidence in following any line he has indicated. In his investigations along such musical bypaths as the present one-which most of us (especially professional men) have not leisure to explore—we feel perfectly safe in accepting his conclusions, as these are based on facts carefully verified. Moreover, it is the researches of people like Mr. Dent which take the conceit out of many of us who thought we knew something about musical history. Speaking from personal experience, I have learnt to distrust almost every statement in musical text-books unless it is corroborated by scholars like Mr. Dent. In the case of "science" text-books, one invariably finds that, however elementary the text-book is, it is at least in touch with the latest scientific research. Music seems to stand alone in the multiplication of text-books which simply repeat each other, and have little or no connection with recent research; and so students go gaily on, swallowing and accepting old out-worn fables. Therefore, the more scholars we have of Mr. Dent's calibre attacking the intricacies of out-of-theway subjects, the better it will be for the students of the future. In regard to the points touched upon by our Chairman, I wonder if he has come across similar instances to one or two I will mention. I am finishing an edition of the works of John Taverner, and should like to play you one or two extracts from the counter-tenor of a Mass for six voices ("Gloria tibi Trinitas") which bear every trace of being folk-tunes. They are not even used as Canti fermi (as the antiphon "Gloria tibi" forms the Canto fermo), but appear to have been thrown in by way of further embellishment.

[Here the speaker played the tunes in question.]

If that first melody is not an Irish folk-tune I hardly know what is! Everything seems to point to these extracts being real tunes and not mere contrapuntal "happy thoughts." It seems to me that it would be an interesting subject for investigation—to find out how far these popular tunes (for I think you will admit that they bear every trace of being popular tunes) were incorporated in this way both before and after the practice had sprung up of discarding an ecclesiastical *Canto fermo* and substituting a popular song, *e.g.*, "The Westron Wynde," "L'homme armé," &c.

Mr. DENT: I should like to express my great thanks to the ladies and gentlemen who have helped me by taking part in the illustrations.

Votes of thanks closed the meeting.