

CHAPTER 4

## “Ask the Jesuits to Send Verses from Rome”: The Society’s Networks and the European Dissemination of Devotional Music

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### 1581: Vienna, Rome—A Composer, a Young Jesuit, and the Superior General<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1581, Philippe de Monte (1521–1603), the chapel-master of Emperor Rudolf II (r.1576–1612) of Habsburg, published his first book of spiritual madrigals (*Il primo libro de’ madrigali spirituali a cinque voci*) in Venice. He dedicated it to the newly elected superior general of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615), and in the dedicatory letter—printed, as was customary, at the beginning of each partbook—he explained why. “When the news came that Your Reverend Fatherhood had been elected with broad consensus Superior-General of your most holy order, it seemed to me, that, in the general joy of the good, I could show my satisfaction by sending you some madrigals set to music, which I had just finished.”<sup>2</sup> After this, Monte specifies that he would not have dared to present his *madrigali* to Acquaviva “if they had not been spiritual and pious” (the spiritual subgenre of the madrigal was still young, and the master genre’s secular connotation made this prudent annotation necessary). It is in the last part of the dedication, however, that Monte provides some crucial information: he felt “almost obliged” to dedicate the book to Acquaviva because the texts of the madrigals had been sent to him by a member of the Society, Father Lorenzo Cottemanno, who “once was among my pupils, during his service in the chapel of his Imperial Majesty Maximilian II of happy memory.”

- 1 In this essay, I expand—from the perspective of Jesuit studies and for an interdisciplinary readership—on some of the information contained in an earlier musicological article, complementing it with new findings and new reflections: see my “Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies: Philippe de Monte’s First Book of Spiritual Madrigals (1581),” *Journal of the Alamire Foundation* 3, no. 2 (2011): 208–34. For a more technical discussion of Monte’s spiritual madrigals, see also my study in *Companion to Music in Rudolphine Prague*, ed. Christian Thomas Leitmeir and Erika S. Honisch (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).
- 2 For the whole text and translation, see Filippi, “Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies,” 211.

What do we know about the obscure Lorenzo Cottemanno? The unlikely Italianized version of a clearly non-Italian name used by Monte has caused, until recently, some confusion in the musicological literature. In an article of 2011, I tried to sum up the available information and, on the basis of archival documents brought to light by other scholars, I suggested that his family name was probably Coteman (as we read in a document of 1575), and he must have come from what I then described as a “Germanophone” area: he had been a choirboy in the imperial chapel in the early 1570s and, shortly after his voice changed, he left Vienna (1576).<sup>3</sup> How, where, and when he joined the Society was by no means clear. Furthermore, I could only speculate about his whereabouts in 1581: based on some characteristics of the texts he sent to Monte, and in general on his access to Italian spiritual poetry, I suggested Rome or Tuscany. In 2013, however, I was able to retrieve information about him from the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*: from a catalog of the Roman province of 1579 (MS ARSI, Rom. 93, *Catalogi breves et triennales 1571–97*, fol. 47r) we learn that Laurentius Cotemannus (Laurent Coteman?)<sup>4</sup> was from Liège (the hometown of many other members of the imperial chapel in the mid-sixteenth century);<sup>5</sup> that in 1579 he was twenty-two (so he must have been born in 1557); that he was in good shape (“valde robustus”); that he had entered the Society in 1577; and that he had spent one year studying *litterae humaniores*. Even though this is the only record I have found about him, and several details of the chronology deserve further investigation,<sup>6</sup> we now know for sure that after leaving Vienna Coteman had entered the Society of Jesus, and that in the late 1570s he was in the Roman province. In all likelihood, then, he sent the texts to Monte from Italy, probably from Rome, sometime between the late 1570s and the first months of 1581. Having expanded on the no-longer-so-elusive Coteman, and before adding a few reflections about the genesis of the book, I will now focus briefly on the madrigals themselves: what kinds of texts did Coteman send to his former teacher and music director?

The texts (see table 4.1) consist of fifteen sonnets, which Monte set in five-voice polyphony, with a characteristic balance of austere counterpoint and

3 Ibid., 212–13.

4 This is the form suggested by musicologist Bénédicte Even-Lassmann, who did not know this document but conjectured that he must be from Liège, based on the surname alone: see Bénédicte Even-Lassmann, *Les musiciens liégeois au service des Habsbourg d’Autriche au XVIème siècle* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2006), 85.

5 Ibid.

6 For instance, contrary to what I wrote in 2011 (see Filippi, “Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies,” 212), I now think that Coteman was not yet a priest in 1581, and that he was labelled “P[adre]” (father) by Monte in the generic sense of “member of the Society.”

madrigalian imaginativeness. They deal with a broad spectrum of spiritual subjects, including, if I may quote my own words, “the opposition between carnal and spiritual senses, the travails of this world and the importance of divine grace, the aspiration to heaven [...], the battle of the soul, the struggle between desire and reason,”<sup>7</sup> as well as, interestingly, the connections between mystical and musical experiences. If we turn to the authors of the texts, what we find is somewhat surprising: the only identified authors, responsible for two-thirds of the sonnets in the collection (the other third remain unattributed), are two women poets, Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati and Vittoria Colonna. This deserves a brief, twofold digression.

TABLE 4.1 *Philippe de Monte, Il primo libro de' madrigali spirituali a cinque voci, 1581: poetic texts*

Incipit	Author of the text
1. <i>Se gli occhi innalzo a rimirar talora</i>	Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati <sup>a</sup>
2. <i>L'alto consiglio, allor ch'elegger volse</i>	Vittoria Colonna <sup>b</sup>
3. <i>Mentre io sciolto correa da me lontano</i>	
4. <i>Un foco sol la Donna nostra accese</i>	Vittoria Colonna
5. <i>Signor, chi n'essorrà gli alti tuoi modi</i>	
6. <i>Quando il turbato mar s'alza e circonda</i>	Vittoria Colonna
7. <i>Su l'alte eterne ruote il pie' fermasti</i>	Vittoria Colonna
8. <i>Se 'l breve suon che sol quest'aer frale</i>	Vittoria Colonna
9. <i>Fido pensier, se intrar non puoi sovente</i>	Vittoria Colonna
10. <i>Puri innocenti, il vostro invito e forte</i>	Vittoria Colonna
11. <i>Vorrei l'orecchia aver qui chiusa e sorda</i>	Vittoria Colonna
12. <i>Ben che da dotta man toccata sia</i>	
13. <i>Oggi, Signor, non con molt'oro ed ostro</i>	
14. <i>Or che non più di te né d'altro calmi</i>	
15. <i>Quand'io scorgo i larvati basilischi</i>	

a A modern edition of this sonnet is available in Daniele Ponchiroli (ed.), *Lirici del Cinquecento*, 2nd ed. (Turin: UTET, 1968), 400, and Victoria Kirkham, ed., *Laura Battiferra and Her Literary Circle: An Anthology* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 234.

b Modern edition of all these texts by Colonna in Vittoria Colonna, *Rime*, ed. Alan Bullock, Scrittori d'Italia (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1982).

7 Ibid., 221–22.

Laura Battiferri (1523–89), author of the opening sonnet in Monte's book (*Se gli occhi innalzo a rimirar talora*), was a highly educated woman who lived in Urbino, Rome, and Florence, and was in close contact with some of the most remarkable men (and women) of letters of the time, from Annibale Caro (1507–66) to Benedetto Varchi (1503–65).<sup>8</sup> After the death of her first husband (a musician at the court of Guidobaldo II della Rovere [1514–74]), she married the sculptor and architect Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511–92) in 1550. Her early works were essentially in the vein of contemporary Petrarchism and Bembism, but she also showed a fine sensibility for religious themes. In the mid-1560s, she converted to a more ascetic Christian life, and from the early 1570s, together with her husband, she associated with Florentine and Roman Jesuits. She corresponded with Acquaviva, and after his election wrote a sonnet for him; some of her other sonnets praised the Society. In the 1580s, the Ammannati couple contributed financially to the construction of the Jesuit college in Florence and the extension of the Church of San Giovannino: Bartolomeo, moreover, designed and supervised the whole project.<sup>9</sup> After Laura's death, Acquaviva promised Bartolomeo that the Society would take care of the publication of his wife's *rime spirituali*, but for unknown reasons this did not happen, and the manuscript remained forgotten at the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome until the recent rediscovery by the Italianist Victoria Kirkham.

Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547), marchioness of Pescara, is probably one of the most intriguing characters of sixteenth-century Italy, a typical representative, as Italianist Giorgio Patrizi has written, of the "knot of culture, power, and religion" that held together the lives of so many Renaissance intellectuals.<sup>10</sup> Recent and less recent scholarship has underscored her connections with borderline Catholic reformers and even some future "heretics"; in the 1530s and early 1540s, she associated with some of the most notable players in the diverse arena of church reform, from Juan de Valdés (c.1500–41) to Reginald Pole (1500–58), and from

8 See Laura Montanari, "Le rime edite e inedite di Laura Battiferri degli Ammannati," *Italianistica: Rivista di letteratura italiana* 35, no. 3 (2005): 11–27; Victoria Kirkham, ed., *Laura Battiferri and Her Literary Circle: An Anthology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

9 See Pietro Pirri, "L'architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati e i Gesuiti," *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu* 12 (1943): 5–57. According to Pirri, an obituary for Bartolomeo Ammannati is included in Antonio Possevino's famous *Bibliotheca selecta*.

10 My translation from Giorgio Patrizi, "Colonna, Vittoria," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1982), 27:448–57, online at [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vittoria-colonna\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vittoria-colonna_(Dizionario-Biografico)/). On Colonna, see also Abigail Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Maria Forcellino, *Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna e gli "spirituali": Religiosità e vita artistica a Roma negli anni quaranta* (Rome: Viella, 2009).

Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542) to Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564/65). In light of this, it is hardly surprising that Colonna, who in those years had strenuously defended the newly founded Capuchins from their influential Roman opponents, also established connections with the members of another promising group of committed religious men: in the late 1530s, she was in touch with Ignatius of Loyola (c.1491–1556) and some of his first companions. In Ferrara, she met Claude le Jay (1504–52) and Simão Rodrigues (1510–79), with whom she shared the dream of traveling to the Holy Land.<sup>11</sup> Pending further research, these early contacts with the nascent Society may help explain the persistent circulation of her poetry in Jesuit environments (even when her popularity had begun to decline), attested by the fact that Coteman sent de Monte some of her sonnets—something which modern scholarship, to my knowledge, has not yet sufficiently explored.

In all, Monte set sixteen of Colonna's sonnets in his books of spiritual madrigals (eight in the first book of 1581 that we are discussing here, a block of five consecutive pieces in the first book for six voices of 1583, and three in the second book for six and seven voices of 1589). He was one of the very few sixteenth-century composers to set a substantial number of texts by Colonna.<sup>12</sup> As we have seen, we know that the input for Monte's first and most substantial experiment with Colonna's texts came from his Jesuit acquaintance: it seems likely that his later settings of Colonna's spiritual sonnets may also derive from further contacts with members of the Society. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that one of Colonna's sonnets set by Monte in 1583, *Vergine pura, che dai raggi ardenti*, was to appear in a slightly later collection of Italian songs (laude), meant as a teaching aid for the schools of Christian doctrine run by the Jesuits in Genoa, *Lodi devote per uso della dottrina christiana* (Genoa: G. Bartoli, 1589).<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Gabriele Fiamma's (1533–85) *Son questi i chiari lumi*, which

11 John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 34. See also Ignatius of Loyola, *Letters to Women*, ed. Hugo Rahner (Freiburg: Nelson, 1960), index.

12 See Emil Vogel, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, ed. Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, 3 vols. (Pomezia: Staderini, 1977), index; Katherine Susan Powers, "The Spiritual Madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy: Definition, Use, and Style" (PhD diss., University of California, 1997); Franca Trinchieri Camiz, "Music Settings to Poems by Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna," in *Art and Music in the Early Modern Period: Essays in Honor of Franca Trinchieri Camiz*, ed. Katherine A. McIver (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 377–88; Filippi, "Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies."

13 Giancarlo Rostirolla, Danilo Zardin, and Oscar Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento: Poesie e canti devozionali nell'Italia della Controriforma*, ed. Giuseppe Filippi et al. (Rome: IBIMUS, 2001), 398. Only the text was printed in the booklet (a copy of which is

Monte set in the same book of 1583, had been included in another collection of catechetical songs issued by the Jesuits, this time in Turin: *Lode e canzoni spirituali [...] per cantar insieme con la dottrina christiana* (Turin: Appresso gli heredi Bevilacqua, 1579).<sup>14</sup>

Let us summarize the sequence of events which brought about the publication of Monte's first book of 1581: Coteman sent to the composer some spiritual poems in Italian to be set as polyphonic madrigals; Monte set the texts to music; after Acquaviva's election (February 19, 1581), Monte decided to dedicate the book to him; in June 1581, he penned the dedicatory letter (dated June 10) and published the book with the Venetian firm of Angelo Gardano. Many questions remain unanswered: did Monte request the texts, or did Coteman spontaneously send them? Or rather, did anybody else in Coteman's Jesuit entourage suggest to him that he should send the texts to Monte? Furthermore, how many texts did Coteman send? Did Monte choose these fifteen sonnets among a larger selection? At present, we cannot ascertain whether the whole enterprise started essentially as an outcome of the personal relationship between Monte and Coteman, or as a more deliberate, planned operation. In any case, the dedication to Acquaviva made public the connection of the book with the Society: Monte asked the prelate “to accept [these madrigals] gladly, and as [his] own property.” The relevance of all this becomes fully apparent when we realize that, as I have discussed in detail elsewhere,<sup>15</sup> the choice of publishing an entire book of spiritual madrigals was a pioneering one at this time: Monte was one of the first composers to publish such a book, and one of the very few to cultivate the spiritual subgenre of the madrigal north of the Alps.

Another passage in Monte's dedicatory letter to Acquaviva (whose tone and content might also have been inspired by a third person: Coteman?) explicitly underscores the potential advantages of this enterprise in light of the Society's mission: “If our music could do what is said of the ancient, [these spiritual madrigals] would be useful to the purpose pursued by your society for the benefit of the whole world and the glory of God.”<sup>16</sup> Whatever the original inspiration

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preserved at the British Library), in the fashion of the so-called “cantasi come”: a method for singing a spiritual text to a well-known tune, which could be a secular song, another spiritual song, or an all-purpose melodic formula.

14 Rostirolla, Zardin, and Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*, 352; a copy is preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan.

15 Filippi, “Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies,” 208–10.

16 “Si che se la nostra musica potesse quello che dicono de gli antichi, non sariano forse se non utili a quel fine per il quale la vostra religione si adopera continuamente con tanto beneficio di tutto il mondo e gloria di Dio.” Notice, in the final clause, the echo of the Jesuit motto “Ad maiorem Dei gloriam.”

behind this project, its public repercussions are thus obvious, and it seems fully coherent with the broader missionary strategies of the Society (more on this in the conclusion).

**1582: Vienna, Munich—“The Appropriate Method Is to Ask the Jesuits”**

An example of these public repercussions (where “public” clearly does not refer here to any mass audience, but rather to the sophisticated elites who populated European courts) can be seen in two documents dating from the following year, 1582. Ludwig Haberstock, a former alto in the Wittelsbach court chapel in Munich, was now Duke Wilhelm V’s (r.1579–97) agent at the Habsburg court in Vienna.<sup>17</sup> He must have heard Monte’s madrigals performed there, and have been informed about the origin of their texts. Impressed by the results, Haberstock, in two letters addressed to his master in the spring of 1582, suggested that the duke’s chapel-master, the famous Orlando di Lasso (1532–94), should follow Monte’s example:

[April 24, 1582]

I hope as well that as soon as Your Princely Lordship will sing or hear [Monte’s spiritual madrigals], Herr Orlando [di Lasso] will take the opportunity to ask the Jesuits (who have provided those texts) for similar texts from Italy too, since the Germans have until now shown little interest in them.

[May 29, 1582]

Should all the other compositional commissions leave your Herr Orlando the leisure to enjoy such things [i.e., the spiritual madrigals], then the appropriate method is to ask the Jesuits to send him such verses from Rome, just as Herr Philippo [de Monte] and others have done before.<sup>18</sup>

17 See Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976–77); Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit 1532–1594: Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance*, 3 vols., new ed. (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1999), index.

18 “Ich hoffe auch wann Sy E[uer] f[ürstlich] g[naden] singen oder ainst Hören werden [Montes geistliche Madrigale], Herr Orlando werde hieraus ursach nehmen, bej denen Herren Jhesuiten (von denen dise worth heerkommen) gleichfalls anzehalten, daß Sy Ihme, weil sich die Teütschen bisheer wenig darauff geben, dergleichen worth aus italien bekhommen.”/“So uerr H[err] Orlando von annderen Ihme anbeuolhnen Compositionen

As is often the case, information about the reception of Monte's first book is scant: Haberstock's letters, however, attest that the spiritual madrigals were performed and disseminated in Vienna, that the novelty was well received, and, most importantly from the perspective of the present chapter, that the Jesuits (the Jesuits in Rome, to be precise) were now recognized as potential (and even exclusive) providers of texts for spiritual madrigals.<sup>19</sup>

We do not know whether Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria followed Haberstock's suggestion. As a matter of fact, Lasso turned to the spiritual madrigal in the following years, notably in two books printed in the mid-1580s,<sup>20</sup> and then, famously, in his last work of 1594, the *Lagrime di San Pietro* (on the namesake poem by Luigi Tansillo [1510–68]). Lasso's spiritual settings of the 1580s, however, mostly of texts by Petrarch and Gabriele Fiamma, do not betray any explicit connection with the Society; as to the *Lagrime*, in an article of 2007, musicologist Alexander Fisher proposed reading them as a sort of sonic representation of an examination of conscience, resonating with Ignatian themes.<sup>21</sup> Be that as it may, the Haberstock incident confirms the ground-breaking character of Monte's 1581 project, as well as the potential interest—in Catholic courts such as Vienna and Munich, open to the influence of the Jesuits—for settings of Italian texts with spiritual and devotional subjects.

### 1589: Prague—Setting Canisius's Ode

Monte continued to produce books of spiritual madrigals in the following years, and further connections with the Jesuits repeatedly emerge in his works. His

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so mueßweilig were, dz Er sich mit dergleichen belustigen wollt, were der weeg, dz Er durch mittl der Herrn Jhesuiten Ihme solche verß von Rhom khomen ließ, dann heer Er s Philippo diese unnd anndere, durch dasselbe mittl Zuwegen gebracht" (Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso*, 2:26n17; see also Thorsten Hindrichs, *Philipp de Monte [1521–1603]: Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent* [Göttingen: Hainholz, 2002], 102).

19 Moreover, the first sentence in the first quote implies that Haberstock expected the duke to be able to access Monte's scores in the near future ("as soon as Your Princely Lordship will sing or hear [Monte's spiritual madrigals]"). Thus, either Haberstock was attaching the score to his letter, or he knew that a copy would have soon reached the duke one way or another.

20 A book for five voices (Nuremberg: Katherina Gerlach, 1585; reprinted in Venice by Angelo Gardano in 1587) and one for four to six voices (Nuremberg: Katherina Gerlach, 1587).

21 See Alexander J. Fisher, "'Per mia particolare devotione': Orlando di Lasso's *Lagrime di San Pietro* and Catholic Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Munich," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 132, no. 2 (2007): 167–220.



*Secondo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei et sette voci* (1589), dedicated to Archduke Charles II of Austria (r.1564–90), uncle of Monte's employer, Rudolf II, also comprises three Latin-texted compositions. Are we to label them as motets, instead of spiritual madrigals, because of their language? The distinction is probably not too relevant in this case, and, despite the traditional musicological obsession about clearly defined genres, recent scholarship has profitably studied motets and madrigals side by side as sonic vehicles for Christian spirituality.<sup>22</sup> Two of these Latin-texted works require our attention here.

Michael Silies, author of a thorough study of Monte's motets,<sup>23</sup> has hypothesized that *Proh quae tenero vis in amore est* (second part: *En Samsonem pronubus alterum*) may derive, in view of its peculiar characteristics, from a theatrical chorus, possibly within a Jesuit drama.<sup>24</sup> We know that some of Lasso's motets were connected with Jesuit dramas: musicologist Franz Körndle has shown, for instance, that six of Lasso's motets were used as choruses for Stefano Tucci's (1540–97) play *Christus iudex*.<sup>25</sup> The connection seems plausible in this case too, even though we cannot demonstrate it. It should be noted, however, that the mention of Samson, which leads Silies to speculate about possible connections with contemporary Samson-plays (such as the one by Andreas Fabricius, staged by the Jesuits in 1568 for the wedding of Wilhelm of Bavaria), is only incidental: the main subject of the text is the incarnation and nativity of Christ.<sup>26</sup>

We are on firmer ground with *Virgo vetustis edita regibus*, whose Jesuit connection is unmistakable. The text of this Marian composition is taken from Peter Canisius's (1521–97) book *De Maria virgine incomparabili et Dei genitrice sacrosancta* (Ingolstadt, 1577), dedicated to Albrecht V (r.1550–79) of Bavaria.<sup>27</sup> The Marian ode, composed in a sonorous and elaborate neo-Latin, is printed at the conclusion of Canisius's book, after the general index, and thus in an

22 See, for instance, Erika S. Honisch, "Sacred Music in Prague, 1580–1612" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2011).

23 Michael Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte (1521–1603)* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2009).

24 Ibid., 250–54 and the literature quoted there.

25 Franz Körndle, "Between Stage and Divine Service: Jesuits and Theatrical Music," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 479–97.

26 See the full text printed in Piet Nuten, *De madrigali spirituali van Filip de Monte (1521–1603)*, 3 vols., *Verhandelingen van de koninklijke vlaamse academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België—Klasse der schone kunsten 14* (Brussels: Paleis der Academien, 1958), 3:viii–ix.

27 See Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 207.

emphatic position; titled “Hymnus ad Deiparam Virginem,” it is followed by the prayer/motto “Laus Deo, Virginiq[ue] Matri.” Monte set it for seven voices and divided it into seven parts, each setting three stanzas: he omitted the second of the original twenty-two stanzas, probably to achieve this sevenfold symmetry, which has been interpreted as referring to Marian numerology, in line with other contemporary examples.<sup>28</sup>

No other composer, as far as I can ascertain, ever set this text. There is surely no need to remember Canisius’s fame as the “second apostle of Germany” (the first being St. Boniface) and his role as a herald of Catholicism in German-speaking lands. Given the availability of innumerable Marian texts, the inclusion of this poem, taken from the second part of Canisius’s apologetic *magnum opus* “against new and old errors of sectarians” seems a very deliberate and conspicuous act on the part of Monte. As usual in these cases, it is difficult to discern the expressions of personal convictions from statements imposed by the conformist mechanisms of patronage. Be that as it may, Monte’s choice embodies a strong confessional stance, perfectly in line, for that matter, with the tone of his dedication to Charles II, where he praises the House of Habsburg as the “sostentamento della vera religione in questi miseri tempi” (buttress of true religion in these miserable times).<sup>29</sup>

### 1590: Prague, Munich—Madrigals for St. Michael’s

One year later, in 1590, the situation of 1581, when Coteman had sent the texts to Monte, seems to repeat itself, but this time with a different, markedly institutional character. Monte publishes his third book of six-voice spiritual madrigal (*Il terzo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci*, Venice: Angelo Gardano, 1590) and advertises right on the title page the special character of this collection: the madrigals were composed on the occasion of the dedication of the Jesuit

28 See Willem Elders, *Symbolic Scores* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 167; Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 267–68, 572–73.

29 For a transcription of the whole dedication, see Nuten, *De madrigali spirituali van Filip De Monte*, 1:93–94. See also Silies, *Die Motetten des Philippe de Monte*, 268. In the dedication of his first book of six-voice spiritual madrigals (1583) to Hans Fugger (1531–98), Monte congratulates the latter for having remained “sald[o], fra tante tempeste et naufragii, nella vera et santissima religion Catolica” (staunch, among so many storms and wrecks, in the true and most holy Catholic religion). See the whole dedication in Nuten, *De madrigali spirituali van Filip De Monte*, 1:84–85. Monte himself remained faithful to Catholicism and, late in his life, even became a priest (surely after 1585: see Filippi, “Earthly Music, Interior Hearing, and Celestial Harmonies,” 224n70).

church of St. Michael in Munich, sponsored by Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria (“fatti nella dedicazione della Chiesa de’ Padri del Gesù in Monaco dedicata a San Michele Arcangelo, dal Serenissimo Duca Guglielmo di Baviera etc.”).<sup>30</sup>

This time, it was a certain Father Girolamo Ferricelli who sent the texts to Monte from Munich. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any relevant information about Ferricelli;<sup>31</sup> this is especially frustrating, because Monte states that the texts had been written in part by Ferricelli himself, in part by other Jesuits. The only identified poet is, however, Giovanni Della Casa (1503–56), author of the sonnet *Questa vita mortal*.

St. Michael’s Church (Michaelskirche), with its companion college, was the most ambitious architectural project of the Society in Munich, and surely the most conspicuous—and financially burdensome—sign of the duke’s endorsement. In 1590, the church was still under construction (the final consecration took place in 1597), but, according to Fisher, masses began to be celebrated there as early as 1591.<sup>32</sup>

Some of the texts seem to be directly related to the occasion (especially no. 1, *Densi nemi d’intorno e fieri venti*, an acrostic sonnet for Duke Wilhelm, and no. 3: *Fondar in vivi sassi i fondamenti*, second part: *Tu sol, Michel, mentre soccinto stai*, addressed to St. Michael). In general, the whole project of the book, as explained in the dedicatory letter, involved a triangular relationship between the Jesuits, the duke, and the composer: in Monte’s words, first came the duke’s “most magnificent devotion and religion,” which led him to sponsor the construction of the new church; this in turn caused Father Ferricelli and his fellow Jesuits to write and collect spiritual verse in praise of Archangel St. Michael and on other related subjects; then, the Jesuits sent the poems to Monte, now in Prague, and he set them to music; finally, Monte felt bound to offer his compositions back to the duke, whose piety (he was called *der Fromme*, “the pious”) was matched by his love of music and his generous sponsorship of musicians (“for your love of music and of those who practice it—of whom your royal court is so rich”). Doing this under the form of a printed book, and divulging the whole story in the dedicatory letter, Monte made sure that a relatively

30 The dedicatory letter deserves to be transcribed and translated in its entirety—see the appendix to this chapter.

31 It seems that at least two southern Italian Jesuits living in that period bore this name, and I have not found connections with Munich in the 1580s–90s for any of them: see, for instance, Jan Krajcar, “The Greek College under the Jesuits for the First Time (1591–1604),” *Orientalia christiana periodica* 31, no. 1 (1965): 90–91.

32 Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 53.

“local” episode of patronage could circulate, become exemplary, and thus be to the advantage of all the three parties involved. Furthermore, the fact that this was a *music* book, and that the compositions it contained could be brought to life in performance—by professional musicians at a different court, or by skilled amateurs in a Jesuit house—quite literally amplified the resonance of the event.

### 1603: Capua, Rome—Bellarmine’s *Hausmusik*

We would like to know more about Monte’s relationship with the Jesuits, but all we have, besides the texts and the dedications, are fragments of contextual evidence, signs of a contiguity which was quite natural in that environment: in 1586, a Jesuit chronicler noted in a manuscript journal that Monte had presented some of his printed motets (“moteta aliqua impressa”) to a member of the Clementinum, the Jesuit college in Prague;<sup>33</sup> in the mid-1590s, Monte contributed to a music collection of polyphonic litanies edited by Georg Victorinus (d.1639), *praefectus musicae* at St. Michael’s in Munich, and dedicated to the Marian congregations established by the Jesuits in the Upper German province;<sup>34</sup> on a more everyday level, in 1586, Monte had to move out of his house in Prague when it was bought “to house singers from the Jesuit church choir”,<sup>35</sup> and, as we learn from a memorial written by the composer in 1588, his housekeeper Maddalena regularly attended Mass and confessed at the Jesuit church.<sup>36</sup>

Similarly, we would like to know more about the Jesuit reception of Monte’s music. An interesting document, published in *La Civiltà Cattolica* in 1919 but which has apparently gone unnoticed in recent scholarship about Monte, provides us with a rare glimpse into this subject.<sup>37</sup> In February 1603, Robert Cardinal Bellarmine (1542–1621) wrote from Capua, where he had been appointed archbishop the year before, to one of his correspondents in Rome,

33 Honisch, “Sacred Music in Prague,” 72, 75.

34 *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich, 1596): see Alexander J. Fisher, “Celestial Sirens and Nightingales: Change and Assimilation in the Munich Anthologies of Georg Victorinus,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 14 (2008), <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v14/no1/fisher.html>.

35 Honisch, “Sacred Music in Prague,” 66.

36 Richard Wistreich, “Philippe de Monte: New Autobiographical Documents,” *Early Music History* 25 (2006): 295.

37 See [Angelo De Santi], “Il Ven. Card. Roberto Bellarmino e la musica,” *La Civiltà Cattolica* 70, no. 3 (1919): 385.

Giovanni Battista Confalonieri (1561–1648), asking him to send the first book of Monte's six-voice spiritual madrigals (1583), "the first of which is about Mary Magdalene, and begins with *Sparse il bel volto di color di Tiro*." Immediately before this passage, Bellarmine explained that he had rehearsed some of Monte's motets, finding them, however, insipid and graceless ("insipidi e disgraziati") (!). Even more remarkable is what follows in the letter: "Together with it, please get us the third book, since we already have the second one, as well as the first for five voices. If they are not to be found in Rome, you can order them from Venice through any Roman bookseller." The Italian phrasing of the sentence is slightly ambiguous, and it is difficult to tell with absolute certainty whether Bellarmine meant that he already owned the first book for five voices or that he wanted it together with the books for six voices. I am inclined, however, to prefer the first interpretation, based on syntactic nuances and on the fact that copies of Monte's first book (the one dedicated to Acquaviva) must have been sent to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome.<sup>38</sup> In any case, we learn from this document that Bellarmine possessed copies of Monte's motets (and disliked them), of his second book of spiritual madrigals for six and seven voices (1589: the one with Canisius's *Virgo vetustis edita regibus*), and probably of the first book for five voices (1581); and that he wanted to have the first book (1583) and the third for six voices (1590: the one for St. Michael's in Munich).

As other documents show,<sup>39</sup> Bellarmine was an amateur musician, an author of devotional *poesia per musica* and of spiritual *contrafacta*; he had practiced these skills in various Jesuit houses in Rome and Naples, during recreation times. A testimony taken during the beatification process and referring to Bellarmine's tenure as provincial in Naples (1594–97) gives us some details:<sup>40</sup>

*Quando era nella Compagnia et anche provinciale in Napoli, si delettava molto della musica. Nella ricreation cantava in concerto con altri dei nostri di buona voce; e così anche in Capodimonte nel tempo che si mangiava in terrazza. Egli non aveva buona voce, ma faceva la sua parte con arte, e componeva mottetti su le note, che faceva poi cantare [...] Diceva che con quel trattenimento si evitavano le murmurazioni et altri difetti della ricreatione.*

38 This is confirmed also by the version of the letter given in Alfred Bernier, "Le zèle du Cardinal Bellarmin pour la beauté du culte," *Gregorianum* 18 (1937): 280–81.

39 See again [De Santi], "Roberto Bellarmino e la musica"; also, Giancarlo Rostirolla, "Laudi e canti religiosi per l'esercizio spirituale della dottrina cristiana al tempo di Roberto Bellarmino," in Zardin, Mischiati, and Rostirolla, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*, 277.

40 [De Santi], "Roberto Bellarmino e la musica," 378.

Throughout his life in the Society, even when he was provincial in Naples, he took much delight in music. During recreation time, he sang in harmony with others of ours with good voices; the same happened in Capodimonte, when we ate on the terrace. He himself did not have a good voice, but he did his part with talent; he even re-texted some songs providing them with Latin words [*literally*: he composed motets on the notes], and then he had them sung [...].<sup>41</sup> He said that thanks to this entertainment one could avoid gossip and other misbehaviors during leisure time.

Bellarmino had probably imported into his new diocese the habits of many Jesuit houses, and set up musical recreations with the music teachers and the students of the local seminary.

### Conclusion

In the period during and immediately after the Council of Trent (1545–63), a series of interconnected factors converged to highlight the importance of songs as tools in pastoral practice. One of these factors was the expansion of music printing and publishing, which substantially increased the accessibility of music and created a market for private consumption.<sup>42</sup> This in turn fueled and was fueled by the growth of dilettantism among elites and the middle class: many contemporary treatises on education and good manners, such as, famously, Baldassarre Castiglione's (1478–1529) *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528), recommended the practice of vocal and instrumental music.<sup>43</sup> Old and new genres of vocal music, especially with vernacular texts, attained an unprecedented level of popularity: probably the richest, most complex, and culturally influential tradition is that of the Italian madrigal.<sup>44</sup> Vernacular vocal music loomed, thus, as a sonic space to be

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41 My interpretation of this passage (*literally*: he composed motets on the notes) rests also on other documents produced by De Santi, from which we learn that Bellarmine sometimes partially or completely re-texted pre-existent secular songs, according to the time-honored procedures of *contrafactum*, spiritual parody, and the like (see *ibid.*, 376–77).

42 For a concise discussion, see Giulio Ongaro, *Music of the Renaissance* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2003), Chapter 6, “Music Printing and Publishing in the Renaissance,” 173–83. See also Iain Fenlon, “Music, Print, and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” in *European Music, 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 280–303.

43 See Stefano Lorenzetti, *Musica e identità nobiliare nell'Italia del Rinascimento: Educazione, mentalità, immaginario* (Florence: Olschki, 2003).

44 The literature on the madrigal is immense: for a useful and up-to-date orientation, see Susan Lewis-Hammond, *The Madrigal: A Research and Information Guide* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Christianized and Catholicized—especially because songs marked practices, identities, and daily habits which were collective, even if not necessarily “public.” The usually strong erotic and “lascivious” connotations of the secular repertoire often elicited a negative response from religious leaders. Still, many of these leaders shared a fundamentally favorable notion of music: usually, a combination of a functional conception (music as a neutral vehicle, able to attract and provide delight) and a more optimistic one, heir of a long tradition, which, integrating ideas deriving from classical antiquity, the Bible, patristic and medieval thinking, and the living practice of liturgy, saw music as a gift of God, a sign of the harmony of creation, and a foretaste of heaven.<sup>45</sup> In light of this positive approach to music, it was thus possible to counter the attack with the same weapons, changing the bad words and keeping the good music.<sup>46</sup> The encouraging outcome of several experiments demonstrated that, after all, it was not a losing battle: the most emblematic case was that of Philip Neri’s (1515–95) Oratorio in Rome and Naples, whose “laude spirituali” (tuneful settings of strophic songs with devotional subjects, revived from an earlier Florentine tradition) enjoyed a remarkable success from the 1560s on.<sup>47</sup>

In the vast repertoire of devotional music in vernacular which was produced in those decades, we can distinguish at least two categories of songs: those which fulfilled a specific function, and those which, being less functionally characterized, were open to diverse performing options. To the first category belong, for instance, the catechetical songs: used as didactic tools in catechism classes, they conveyed doctrinal contents in an attractive and easily memorizable way. As I have discussed elsewhere, the Jesuits were among the most important developers of this method: starting from a local Spanish tradition, they exported it and made it an international (better still: global) and long-lasting phenomenon.<sup>48</sup>

As for the “less functionally characterized” songs, there was of course a whole range of cultural and musical levels. Among Italian genres, we can contrast the lauda, as a relatively low, easy, and light genre, with the aesthetically

45 See the present writer’s *Selva armonica: La musica spirituale a Roma tra Cinque e Seicento* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), Chapter 1.2, “Musica e spiritualità cristiana dalle origini al 1600,” 17–34; and “Sonic Afterworld: Mapping the Soundscape of Heaven and Hell in Early Modern Cities,” in *Cultural Histories of Noise, Sound and Listening in Europe, 1300–1918*, ed. Ian D. Biddle and Kirsten Gibson (forthcoming).

46 Sometimes quite literally, as we have just seen apropos of Bellarmine’s *contrafacta*.

47 For a recent and comprehensive study of the lauda, see Anne Piéjus, *Musique et dévotion à Rome à la fin de la Renaissance: Les laudes de l’Oratoire* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013).

48 See Daniele V. Filippi, “A Sound Doctrine: Early Modern Jesuits and the Singing of the Catechism,” *Early Music History* 34 (2015): 1–43, with up-to-date literature.

more ambitious spiritual madrigal. On the one hand, the Jesuits clearly embraced the former genre, promoting the publication of countless booklets of laude, destined primarily for the pupils of the schools of Christian doctrine.<sup>49</sup> On the other, the letter of Bellarmine discussed above shows that Jesuit houses were among the places where the spiritual madrigal was cultivated as pious entertainment: the blend of sophisticated poetry and contrapuntal invention appealed to an educated audience, and provided a valid alternative to a more worldly repertoire. Besides Monte's books, we know of at least another collection of spiritual madrigals which was “the result of patronage by a Jesuit College”:<sup>50</sup> Lelio Bertani (1553/54–1612) and Costanzo Antegnati's (1549–1624) *Madrigali spirituali a tre voci*, published in Brescia in 1585 and dedicated to the rector and fellows of the College of Sant'Antonio.<sup>51</sup>

The secular madrigal had a remarkable success abroad, as part of the significant contemporary interest for Italian and Italianate culture: reprints and anthologies issued from Nuremberg to Antwerp (as well as the English appropriation of the genre) attest to this. As to the spiritual subgenre, it did not have a comparable diffusion beyond the Alps. Only a handful of original collections exclusively or prevalently consisting of spiritual madrigals were published outside Italy before 1599, most of them by Lasso.<sup>52</sup> This observation, however, extrapolated from Katherine Powers's listing of spiritual madrigal books printed c.1526–99, should not be given too much importance: for instance, Monte, as we have seen, had his works printed in Venice, and Luca Marenzio's (1553/54–99) book of spiritual madrigals (Rome, 1584) was reissued abroad only after 1599. Moreover, mapping the dissemination of music is never a simple task, and a systematic survey of printed anthologies, manuscript sources, and archival records might change our perception of what now seems a marginal phenomenon. In any case, despite the relatively modest follow-up (which needs to be understood against this problematic background), it is surely significant that one of the most prestigious projects in this field—a project which involved the chapel-master of the emperor, and indirectly the one of the duke of Bavaria—was a fruit of the Society's intensive networking.

As is well known, the missionary initiative of the Tridentine church knew neither cultural, nor social or geographical boundaries, and the Jesuits were often at the forefront. The stories told in these pages spotlight some distinctive

49 See Rostirolla, Zardin, and Mischiati, *La lauda spirituale tra Cinque e Seicento*.

50 Powers, “Spiritual Madrigal in Counter-Reformation Italy,” 118.

51 Ibid., 118–25; for further information about the cultivation of the spiritual madrigal in Jesuit houses, see also 100–12.

52 Ibid., appendix B.



features of their *modus operandi*. The Society was eminently capable of attracting young talents (as in the case of Coteman) and talking to people from different walks of life, including leading artists such as Bartolomeo Ammannati, musicians such as Philippe de Monte, women poets such as Vittoria Colonna and Laura Battiferri. The example of Colonna and Battiferri also reminds us that in the central decades of the sixteenth century the Society managed to appeal to some of those Italian intellectuals who had inhabited the gray areas of the age of reform and Reformation: as Italianist Abigail Brundin has written of Battiferri, “That such an individual ended her life as a devoted Jesuit patron, leaving her entire estate to the Society of Jesus in her will, suggests that in that Society she found an outlet for a reform-minded, poetically charged spirituality that the previous era of Catholic reform had failed to provide.”<sup>53</sup>

Early Jesuits were obviously not the only religious of their time to read poetry, perform vocal music, and understand the potential of vernacular songs as tools for evangelization and (re-)Catholicization. Not many other orders, however, had ready access to such diverse personalities as those we have met in the previous pages. On the other hand, Loyola’s disciples knew better than anybody else the importance of addressing both the lower classes and the elites, particularly in confessionally contested Mitteleuropa. Thus, they were eager to handle and experiment with a most diverse range of cultural artifacts: from the simplest catechetical songs—which attracted young and “simple” people, and helped them memorize the contents—to the exquisite combination of Colonna’s verse and Monte’s polyphony, which could become part of first-rate performances at court or provide a pious pastime in noble and religious houses. On both levels, one of the main goals was to occupy and missionize that sonic space, substituting and obliterating “bad” songs—be they erotic or heretical (“les [chansons] lascives et heretiques, controuvees de Satan,” to quote from a famous treatise by the slightly later French Jesuit Michel Coyssard [1547–1623]).<sup>54</sup>

All in all, the study of sixteenth-century devotional songs suggests that Jesuit distinctiveness lay more in a combination of factors than in any individual aspect; it was a matter of improvement, intensification, systematization—of

53 Brundin, *Vittoria Colonna*, 189.

54 Michel Coyssard, *Traicté du profit que toute Personne tire de chanter en la Doctrine Chrestienne, & ailleurs, les Hymnes, & Chansons spirituelles en vulgaire: & du Mal qu’apportent les Lascives, & Heretiques, controuvees de Satan* [Treatise of the profit that everyone derives from singing, in the (classes of) Christian doctrine and elsewhere, hymns and spirituals songs in vernacular; and of the damage produced by the lascivious and heretical (songs) fabricated by Satan], printed at the end of his *Sommaire de la Doctrine chrestienne* [...] avec les Hymnes & Odes spirituelles (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1608).

*magis*, we could say, to use a common catchword of Jesuit parlance.<sup>55</sup> Other orders, such as Philip Neri's Oratorians, pioneered the use of vernacular songs for pastoral purposes, but they lacked an extended network. Other groups and organizations, such as the Colegios de Niños de la Doctrina in Spain, used songs to teach the catechism, but on an essentially local, not global, basis. Early modern Jesuits often took the ideas (and songs) of others and then developed, perfected, adapted, and disseminated them, thanks to an unparalleled international network and a global vision of their calling, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

**Appendix: Philippe de Monte, *Il terzo libro de madrigali spirituali a sei voci*, 1590: dedicatory letter to Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria.<sup>56</sup>**

*Dovendo uscire in luce questo volume di madrigali messi da me in musica, mi sarebbe paruto di peccar gravemente se l'avessi mandato fuori sotto nome d'altri che di V[ostra] A[ltezza] Serenissima, alla quale di ragion è devuto come suo, per ciò che i versi non solo mi sono stati mandati di costì dal P. Hieronimo Ferricelli napolitano, parte composti da lui, parte da altri Padri della Compagnia del Iesù tanto onorati e favoriti da lei; ma sono anco, si può e dee dire, nati dalla magnificentissima pietà e religione di V[ostra] A[ltezza], l'ha quale n'ha data loro materia nell'edificazione dello splendidissimo Tempio eretto da lei in onore di S. Michele Arcangelo. Sì che quel che io dono a V[ostra] A[ltezza] del mio è poco verso di sé, se ben molto se ella riguarda al grand'amore e ardore con che mi son forzato di accompagnarli di quella grazia che merita ed il soggetto e la leggiadria loro. Onde mi confido che per la solita sua benignità e clementia, e anco per l'amore che ella porta alla Musica e ai professori d'essa, de' quali è sì abbondante la sua Real Corte, non li debba in tutto dispiacer il dono, almeno in segno, come dico, della molta osservanza e devozione che porto al nome di V[ostra] A[ltezza] Serenissima, alla quale inchinandomi fo umil riverenza.*

*Di Venezia, il dì 10 novembre 1590.*

*Di V[ostra] A[ltezza] Serenissima*

55 Latin for "more" or "to a greater degree." On its somewhat controversial use, see Barton Geger, "What *Magis* Really Means and Why It Matters," *Jesuit Higher Education* 1, no. 2 (2012): 16–31.

56 See the facsimile in Nuten, *De madrigali spirituali van Filip De Monte*, 1:100–1. In my transcription, punctuation, accents, and spellings have been integrated and modernized according to standard procedures.

*devotissimo servitore*  
*Filippo de Monte*

Since this book of madrigals which I have set to music was ready to be published, it seemed to me that I would have greatly erred if I had issued it under a different name than the one of Your Most Serene Highness. Rightly I owed it to you as your property, not only because the poems were sent to me from there [i.e., from Munich] by Fr. Girolamo Ferricelli (partly composed by him, who is from the Kingdom of Naples, partly by other fathers of the Society of Jesus, whom you honor and support so much); but also because they were born, we may—in fact we must—say, from the most magnificent devotion and religion of Your Highness: you gave them cause to write [these poems] by having built the most splendid temple which you dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. Thus, what I give to Your Highness of my own is not much in itself, but it is much if you consider the great love and fervor with which I have tried to complement [those texts] with the grace they deserve for their subject and their elegance. Therefore I am confident that, for your usual benevolence and mercy, and also for your love of music and of those who practice it—of whom your royal court is so rich—you will not completely dislike this gift, at least as a sign, as I am saying, of my great respect and loyalty towards the name of Your Most Serene Highness, to whom I humbly bow.

From Venice, on the 10th of November, 1590. The most faithful servant of Your Most Serene Highness, Philippe de Monte.