

sister Marguerite of Navarre. He reveals their similarity by comparing Andrea de Sarto's *Holy Family with Angels*, and Raphael and Giulio Romano's allegory *Holy Family of François I*, with Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Although Leonardo painted the panel before leaving Italy, it was in his workshop when he served Francis, and became part of the king's collection in 1517 (p. 218). Connecting these images from the late 1510s allows Anderson to develop a political context for a variety of music associated with the royal family. Most important among them is the monophonic mass (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 1035) composed in honour of St. Anne in 1518–19 (p. 243) and dedicated to Marguerite. Anderson identifies the mass as a 'document in the life of Marguerite of Navarre' (p. 239). The Propers seem to Anderson 'tailor made for Marguerite', as they emphasize matters of maternity (p. 231), which was a constant source of anxiety, judging from Marguerite's correspondence (p. 241).

Although Anderson goes to great lengths to cast the mass in the light of French biblical Humanism, the mass Propers reflect a conservative view of Saint Anne. Theologians like Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Francis du Moulin, a Franciscan, had refuted the popular Christian tradition of St. Anne's *Trinubium* (pp. 223–4). Their views were current at the court of Francis I, particularly as Du Moulin was one of Louise of Savoy's advisers, but the St. Anne mass does refer to the three husbands of St. Anne. Based on his interpretation of the dedication miniature, Anderson also proposes a Franciscan provenance for the mass, but the evidence he offers is uncertain. The miniature shows a tonsured figure, wearing a grey garment, offering the book to Marguerite (Fig. 7.4). Anderson points out that Franciscans often wore grey or brown habits (p. 227 n. 44), but he is not wearing the knotted rope belt, which artists seem to have considered obligatory in visual representations of Franciscans. 'Les Cordeliers' was the common name for the Franciscans in France, on account of this most distinguishing feature. Franciscan identity had certainly been in a state of turmoil for more than half a century before this period, as the two streams of reformers (Coletans and Observants) vied with Conventuals over control of the Order in France. The Coletan friars (and Colettine nuns whom they served) were popular among the nobility in Burgundy, and they had been very successful in reforming convents there. In fact, the Coletans reformed Le Grand Couvent in Paris in 1502, but it was

the Observants who emerged victorious in 1517, when the papal bull of Pope Leo X, *Ite vos in vineam meam*, required all reformed friars to join the Observants. As Anderson writes, 'all three members of the Royal Trinity, especially Marguerite, were specifically interested in reform of the Franciscans' (p. 245). Indeed, he suggests that the Franciscan theologian Jean Thenaud (c.1480–1542), a favourite of the king and his mother, may have contributed to the mass. The evidence seems tenuous, though, at least as presented here. Anderson asserts that the king's fascination with Kabbalism, on which Jean composed two treatises, might provide a background to the author's obsession with the number seven in the Preface to the St. Anne mass. But, of course, the number seven is also important in other contexts, notably Marian theology.

To conclude, Anderson reviews the model of female literacy and maternity through the lens of music devoted to St. Anne. He also cites other compositions that would benefit from similar evaluation, namely John Dunstaple's motet *Gaude felix mater Anna / Gaude mater / Anna parens* and Jacquet of Mantua's motet *Ave mater matris*.

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*Barocco padano e musicisti francescani: L'apporto dei Maestri Conventuali. Atti del XVI Convegno internazionale sul barocco padano (secoli XVII–XVIII)*. Ed. by Alberto Colzani, Andrea Luppi, and Maurizio Padoan. Barocco Padano, 8. (Centro Studi Antoniani, Padua, 2014. €55. ISBN 978-88-85155-98-5.)

For four decades the Como branch of the association *Antiquae Musicae Italicae Studiosi*, headed by the commanding figure of Maurizio Padoan, has regaled us with volume after volume of conference proceedings in which north Italian music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is a thematic constant, but always with an additional element to create the kind of tight focus guaranteeing that if one article proves of interest, there will also be several others. The dual-language (English-Italian) conference of 2013 giving rise to the twenty-two contributions surveyed here was held jointly with another highly productive body, the Centro Studi Antoniani attached to the Basilica di Sant'Antonio (familiarily called 'Il Santo') in Padua. The conference's apposite

theme was the contribution to music and music theory made by Franciscan friars from the medieval period (though principally from the sixteenth century) up to the nineteenth century. The period covered most generously is the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a bias confirming an interesting point made by the contributor Robert Kendrick (p. 326) that this period represented a high point in the Franciscan order's membership and influence, after which both declined.

To my knowledge, this is the first time that such a panoramic view of the musical activity of a single monastic order over such a relatively wide span of time and place has been attempted, and the results have amply justified the effort. True, the endemic limitations of conference proceedings sometimes show: they are a snapshot of the state of knowledge at a particular time, where some contributions are rehashes of earlier work, others represent work currently in progress, and relatively few present the rounded, well-matured qualities of an ordinary journal article. In general, the emphasis falls on presenting data, not on evaluating it. This is not necessarily a fault, however, since the road is clear for other scholars, or indeed the same scholars at a later point, to complete the second task.

Most of the contributions select an institution, a person, a repertory, or a musical or theoretical source (or a combination of more than one of these) around which to weave the article. The most substantial institution-based study is one by Padoan charting the finances, personnel, liturgical practice, and repertory pertaining to music at Il Santo between 1580 and 1650. The exposition is masterly, distinguishing carefully between usages and traditions peculiar to this institution and those marching in step with contemporary trends in Italian church music. Jonathan Glixon performs a similar task for the sister house in Venice, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, expertly piecing together fragments of information from very diverse sources, while David Bryant presents an alternative comparative basis for evaluating musical life at Il Santo by collating information on music-making at over thirty religious institutions of different types in Padua during the same period (and onwards towards the nineteenth century): the data in this article give a preview of a digital platform currently in construction at Ca' Foscari University in Venice.

Two contributions emphasize the wide reach of music by Franciscans connected with Il Santo. Tomasz Jez explores the presence of

music by Ludovico Balbi, Giulio Belli, Amadio Freddi, Leandro Gallerano, and Costanzo Porta in both Catholic and Protestant churches and religious houses in Breslau (Wrocław), drawing attention to its unexpected cross-confessional appeal. A chronologically very wide-ranging article by Stanislav Tuksar and Lucija Konfic deals with the connections, personal and repertorial, between Padua and the north-eastern seaboard of the Adriatic, belonging mostly to modern Croatia. This essay disappointed me a little, since Tuksar has made most of the same points on previous occasions. In particular, I was dismayed to see the so-called 'Memorie sul violinista G. Tartini', attributed to the theorist Giordano Riccati and published in the third volume (1990) of the journal *Il Santo*, taken at face value: in fact, this is so obviously an inept modern confection that I recently cited it as a prime example of an unlocatable, but allegedly faithfully transcribed, document belonging to the category of 'invention' (as distinct from 'forgery', for which there is physical evidence) in a discussion of such bogus texts in my annual column 'Miscellany' in *Studi vivaldiani* (13 (2013), 143–9). More parenthetically, but still with Vivaldi in mind, it is a shame that the mobility of music and musicians between different Franciscan houses in Italy itself is mentioned several times in the volume, rightly being contrasted with the relative stability of both in diocesan churches, but nowhere examined in detail. To give a concrete example: Vivaldi's motet *Vos aures per montes* (RV 634) is identifiable from its text as having been composed for one of the two annual feasts of the patronal saint at Il Santo, but survives uniquely in the musical archive of the mother house in Assisi. It would be interesting systematically to collate the holdings of all the major collections of Italian Franciscan houses in order to investigate patterns of circulation (especially in the form of loans and gifts) and correlations with the migrations of the Order's musicians themselves.

The largest group of contributions discusses the life and/or individual musical works and collections by Franciscan composers, often in conjunction with an identified locality (but not always, in the light of their sometimes bewilderingly peripatetic careers). In rough chronological order, they are Costanzo Porta, Giovanni Belli, Valerio Bona, Antonio Mortaro, Alvise Balbi (nephew of the Ludovico Balbi mentioned earlier), Giovanni Ghizzolo, Giovanni Battista Cesati, and Sisto Reina. Robert Kendrick's short article on Porta focuses on the composer's cycle of polyphonic Lamentations for Holy Week, contextualizing them and comparing

them with contemporary settings. Michelangelo Gabbriellini's more extensive study of Belli divides its attention between this significant composer's biography (establishing his birth date for the first time as 1553) and his collection of *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1613), which are analysed in an admirably clear manner. Licia Mari examines Boni's late output, especially his Lamentations (1616), excellently described, which she associates with his post as 'Prefetto della Musica' at the monastery of San Fermo Maggiore in Verona.

The *Sacrae cantiones a 3* (1598) by Antonio Mortari, organist at the Basilica of San Francesco Grande in Milan, are the subject of an article by Christine Getz, who shows convincingly how this forward-looking collection transfers to the sacred sphere devices and techniques earlier honed by the composer in his secular vocal music. Francesco Passadore brings up to date the biography of the Venetian-born Balbi and provides useful bibliographical discussion on his principal collection, the *Ecclesiastici concertus* (1606). For Ghizzolo, Fred Kiser comments briefly on various performance-related matters arising from his *Messa, salmi, lettanie della B. V., falsi bordon e Gloria Patri concertati* (1619). Giovanni Battista Cesati, active during the 1650s, is a new name, absent from the *New Grove* and similar dictionaries. Daniele Torelli's discovery of a previously unknown Op. 2 of this composer (*Sacre Muse*, 1659) is the centrepiece of a fascinating and well-illustrated study of this Milanese musician, *maestro di cappella* at the same church served earlier by Mortari. Tito Olivato's discussion of Reina pays equal attention to the musical history of Saronno and its monastery of San Francesco and this composer's activity there, with brief notes on his surviving music.

A subgroup of three articles considers aspects of eighteenth-century Franciscans as theorists of music. For Zaccaria Tevo, Stewart Carter examines the parts of his treatise *Il musico testore* (1706) dealing with the human vocal tract and the anatomy of the ear. Conservative and progressive in equal measure, Tevo's remarks and anatomical diagrams are revealed as a milestone in the evolution of scientific acoustics and understanding of the voice. Gregory Barnett's thought-provoking evaluation of the attitude by Francesco Antonio Vallotti and Giovanni Battista Martini taken towards the church modes in relation to the evolving tonal system reveals the ideological roots of their conservatism, in which their membership of the Francis-

can order was far from coincidental. For both men, the modal system and the musical repertory operating within its confines represented a golden age, and its disruption and replacement by modern tonality a symptom of decline and deviation from the true path comparable with religious heresy. A contribution by Piero Gargiulo studies the reception and continuation of Vallotti's theoretical precepts in Italy in the period after his death.

A final group of six articles deals with music that happens to have been composed by Franciscans, but is analysed and evaluated without special emphasis on that factor. Anne Schnoebelen uses sacred music by three Paduan composers of the early seventeenth century (Amadio Freddi, Leandro Gallerano, Antonio Dalla Tavola) to outline evolutionary trends in settings of the Mass during this period of great experimentation. Ennio Stipčević identifies the poetry by Istrian authors used by Gabriello Puliti (c.1583–1642/3), Florentine by birth but active mainly in Trieste and points east. Luigi Collarile uses borrowings in the music of Giovanni Battista Fasolo (uniquely, for this volume, a Franciscan active in southern Italy, including Sicily) as the springboard for a wider discussion of what at the time was regarded as legitimate imitation rather than plagiarism. Ivano Bettin contributes a thematic catalogue of the surviving works of Francesco Antonio Uriò, a much-travelled *maestro di cappella* best known today for a *Te Deum* possessed (and duly borrowed from) by Handel. From Jeffrey Kurtzman we have a closely argued, but in the end rather inconclusive, survey of vocal ranges, cleffing, and transposition in the sacred vocal music of Belli. My personal 'pick' from this group is Alan Maddox's study of a highly unusual set of recitative-style settings (1718) by Francesco Antonio Calegari of the *Christi locutio* passages in the Passions of St Matthew and St John, presumably intended for performance in 'dramatic' Passions in which the words of the Evangelist remained in plainsong and the *turbae* were sung polyphonically.

With its 528 pages, this volume offers exceptional value for money. It is not really something for anyone except reviewers to read diligently from cover to cover, but I cannot imagine that any scholar working on Italian music between 1500 and 1800 will find no cause to consult it from time to time. In most respects, it is attractively produced and presented, with a generous provision of graphs, tables, illustrations, music examples, and even complete transcribed movements. But it has

one major blemish I should mention—albeit with some reluctance, since I have made exactly the same comment in many previous reviews of books and editions. Irrespective of which language, English or Italian, is adopted for its text, each article concludes with a summary in English. The ten native speakers of English among the authors have evidently composed, or at least vetted, their own summaries, which are without exception impeccable. In contrast, the summaries for all the other articles contain serious linguistic infelicities. Why a friendly anglophone contributor could not have been asked to translate or revise these abstracts defeats me.

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*Claudio Monteverdi 'letterato' ou les métamorphoses du texte.* By Christophe Georis. pp. 744. (Honoré Champion, Paris, 2013. €143.50. ISBN 978-2-7453-2537-2.)

Of the various catchphrases embedded in our music-historical narratives, the idea that 'the words should be the mistress of the music and not the servant' is one of the more potent. Giulio Cesare Monteverdi introduced it in his account (1607) of his brother's proposed 'second practice', marking what we have assumed to be a fundamental aesthetic and stylistic shift on the part of a composer who, so Leo Schrade famously claimed, was 'the creator of modern music'. Claudio Monteverdi had no such ambitions: rather, he was seeking a way out of an impasse into which he had been forced by his critic Giovanni Maria Artusi. The distinction between *seconda pratica* apples and *prima pratica* oranges meant that Artusi's attack on Monteverdi's musical errors—including his irregular dissonance treatment—was fundamentally misdirected, judging the wrong things by the wrong standards. This was certainly a neat argument of convenience, but not an epoch-changing one, as many have wished it to be.

Nevertheless the first wave of Monteverdi scholars tended to take the composer at his brother's word—*che l'oratione sia padrona del armonia e non serva*—constructing readings of the composer's works that hinge on his remarkable sensitivity to the texts he set to music. In this view, even where he gets things wrong by

misquoting or misreading his poetry, he must still be right unless the problem can be explained away by some flaw in transmission or by typographical error, or the work in question is relegated to some lesser status. Flaws or errors will be corrected in modern editions—though they have not always been handled judiciously therein—and for the rest, even Beethoven had his off days. But in fact, such cases of misquoting or misreading are more prevalent than so cavalier a view might plausibly allow: some of us have made great sport of exposing them, even to the provocative but crass extent of questioning Monteverdi's literary competence (*mea culpa!*). Inevitably, the broader narrative has tended to resist such second-wave tinkering at the margins.

More troublesome is the fact that the words by which we judge Monteverdi have been mistranslated and misconstrued. The opposition of mistress and (maid)servant (*padrona* and *serva*) is the result of a grammatical requirement (agreeing with the feminine nouns, *oratione* and *armonia*). Thus Monteverdi would quite properly to refer to 'His Most Serene Highness' the Duke of Mantua (*Sua Altezza Serenissima*) as his *padrona*, though elsewhere he was his *padrone*. As for what we understand as the 'words' (*oratione*) commanding the 'music' (*armonia*), matters are more complicated. Monteverdi knew full well that Plato divided the elements of music, or of a musical work, into three parts—in Ficino's translation of *The Republic*, 398c–d: *melodia ex tribus constare videatur, oratione, harmonia, et rhythmo*. That takes care of *armonia* (not 'music' but harmony, separate from rhythm). However, it leaves the question of *oratione*, which one should read not as the 'words' but their delivery, or indeed in the context of *melodia*, their musical delivery. This opens up a very useful space: even where Monteverdi is not faithful to his words (for example, by misquoting or misreading them), he can be so in terms of how they are delivered in and through music.

Christophe Georis takes full advantage of this space in his impressive *Claudio Monteverdi 'letterato'*, a reworking of his doctoral dissertation ('Les Métamorphoses du texte: Le travail littéraire de Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) dans ses livres de madrigaux', Université Catholique de Louvain, 2008). He also makes the very good point that even a 'corrupt' poetic text—as it might appear in Monteverdi's setting—remains a 'text' to be read in some kind of way. There is, of course, a degree of circularity in the argument: the corruptions of a