

A 16th Century Publication Who-Dun-it: Exploring implications of the double attribution of the madrigal “Canzon se l’esser meco” to Andrea Gabrieli and Orlande de Lasso.

Karen Linnstaedter Strange, MM

A Double Attribution

Why was a single setting of “Canzon se l’esser meco” published in 1584 and 1589 under different composers’ names? For centuries, music history has ascribed this setting of a text from a Petrarchan madrigale to either Orlande de Lasso or Andrea Gabrieli, depending on the publication. It has been assumed the two original publications contain distinct creations of “Canzon se l’esser meco,” and to support this confusion, slight differences in notation between the two modern editions induce an initial perception that the two pieces differ. (See Figures 1A & 1B.). With a few moments of comparison, one can see that the madrigal published under Orlande de Lasso’s name in 1584 is the same piece attributed to Andrea Gabrieli by a different publisher five years later. In fact, no difference exists in the original publications beyond incidental choices by the two publishers, such as the number of notes printed per line and the notation for repeated accidentals.¹ (See Figures 2-5 A & B.)

Suppositions and Presumptions

The exactness of the two publications provokes interesting questions about issues of personal composer relations and influence, study by copying, and misattribution. In exploring all the possibilities, some quite viable, others farfetched, we can perhaps gain a clearer overview of the issues involved. On the less viable side, perhaps the piece was written simultaneously by each composer and, through some miracle, the two pieces turned out to be exactly the same. This is of course a highly unlikely assumption. Another scenario might be that neither composer wrote the piece, but each wrote a copy of all four parts of the madrigal after having seen the piece while attending a salon, where manuscripts were shared, with or without the knowledge of the original composer.² In this case, a musical salon setting seems a likely place for this particular madrigal, as the text seems to concern the passion for creating music, a subject composers at a salon

¹ My first awareness of the double attribution occurred during a graduate class taught by Dr. Andrew Dell’Antonio at the University of Texas in Austin. When two groups were scheduled to present a madrigal and historical background on Andrea Gabrieli and Orlande de Lasso in the same class day, another student (Matthew Cochran) and I looked for a text that both composers had set to provide an illustration of stylistic differences, and settled on “Canzon se l’esser meco.” Although both composers’ collections included a “Canzon se l’esser meco,” an attribution that *The New Grove Dictionary* and Leuchtman and Schmid’s *Lasso Verzeichnis (Orlando di Lasso, Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken, 1555-1687, Band III)* (New York: Bärenreiter, 2001, 60) substantiate, the pieces turned out to be exactly the same on a basic musical level. (See Figures 1A and 1B). Correspondingly, the two original publications in partbooks (See Figures 2A, 2B, 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B, 5A, 5B), acquired from The British Library, the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), and the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek (Sweden), confirmed that the pieces were indeed the same.

² Donna G. Cardamone, “The Salon as Marketplace in the 1550’s: Patrons and Collectors of Lasso’s Secular Music,” *Orlando di Lasso Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 68.

would probably enjoy sharing. This scenario may be more likely than the first, but for the lack of evidence. Perhaps in the years 1564-1565 Vento or Flori, both composers that contributed to a music manuscript to which both Lassus and Gabrieli also contributed, shared “Canzon se l’esser meco” with Lassus and Gabrieli as a gift. Again, speculation alone supports this scenario. It could be that one of Lassus’ sons saw his father copying parts to “Canzon se l’esser meco” and assumed that his father composed the piece. One source states that Ferdinand took over some of his father’s duties in 1584,³ and by 1580 Lassus wrote in a personal letter that he was beginning to feel old.⁴ Perhaps publishing was one of these duties he gave to Ferdinand in 1584, and Ferdinand mistook the piece for his father’s. This option could perhaps seem a reasonable speculation, yet would likely require reams of documentation to substantiate.

Other possibilities abound. Gabrieli and Lassus could have composed the piece together on their travels of 1562, and neither published it because they had written it in fun while spending time together. Their respective nephew and son could have separately included the piece without knowing it was a joint collaboration. Or perhaps the nephew knew it was a joint effort and published it anyway, because publication of his uncle’s works was his inheritance. Le Roy & Ballard could have included the piece after receiving a fascicle manuscript from a salon that touted the piece to be Lassus’. This last scenario is also unlikely because Lassus is believed to have given music directly to Le Roy & Ballard for publication.⁵ A more likely possibility is that “Canzon se l’esser meco” was written by Lassus and copied by Gabrieli, who favored the text setting; he copied it as a tool for use by his composition students. After Gabrieli’s death, nephew Giovanni could have published Lassus’ work as his uncle’s own, knowingly or unknowingly. Or, the publisher Angelo Gardano could have taken the piece out of the edition published by Le Roy & Ballard because he was jealous that Le Roy & Ballard received the piece from Lassus first, and he felt that as a significant printer of Lassus’ works in Venice, he too should be able to publish it; Gardano may not have cared that the piece was credited to the correct composer. Whatever the circumstances that created the double attribution, a conundrum was produced.

Who actually wrote this piece that appears in two distinct single composer editions? The acceptance of this piece by both Orlande de Lassus and Andrea Gabrieli scholars does not indicate that the styles of the two composers are necessarily more similar in some respects than otherwise supposed. That would depend on larger analytical comparisons. How do we determine how this double attribution might reflect upon Orlande de Lassus and Andrea Gabrieli’s not only general style but also professional relationship? One final question that confronts us has to do with the factors that could have continued to support a double attribution for over four centuries.

³ James Haar, “Orlande [Roland] de Lassus [Orlando di Lasso],” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd Edition, Vol. 14, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (Basingstoke, England: MacMillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 164.

⁴ Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso: Briefe* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977), 235.

⁵ My thanks go to Peter Bergquist for stating that it is reasonable to assume that Lassus sent his music directly to Le Roy & Ballard for publication. See footnote 8 for more details.

Publication Dates and Privileges

Le Roy & Ballard published “Canzon se l’esser meco” within a 1584 collection of works by Orlando de Lasso, and Angelo Gardano posthumously published the piece in an Andrea Gabrieli single-composer edition of 1589. (See Figures 6A and 6B.). Having the chronological claim on a publication during his lifetime, Lasso most likely wrote “Canzon se l’esser meco”. In addition, Lasso consistently endeavored to ensure accurate publication of his music, seeking printing privileges within the French and German territories to have control over which firms published his music. After King Charles of France awarded Lasso a printing privilege in 1571, Lasso chose to use the Parisian firm of Le Roy & Ballard.⁶ Part of this choice could have been because of a personal relationship he had developed with Adrian le Roy⁷, with whom he stayed during his Parisian trip of 1571.⁸ From this personal relationship between Lasso and Adrian le Roy, and from Lasso’s care in selecting a French printer, it can be reasonably speculated that Le Roy & Ballard regularly published his works after receiving them directly from Lasso himself.⁹ Because Lasso regularly sent music to Le Roy & Ballard, he perhaps has a more legitimate claim on the piece “Canzon se l’esser meco.” Setting aside these convincing reasons that Lasso authored the madrigal and noting the Italianate characteristics of the piece, it could be identified as a work by Andrea Gabrieli.

Italian Characteristics of “Canzon se l’esser meco”

“Canzon se l’esser meco” shows the Italian preference for clear textual expression in its syllabic nature and its homophonic structure. That concern for harmonic sonority, so pronounced in Italian music, is evident here. Even in the slightly imitative passages, the voices progress primarily to accommodate the bright harmonic backdrop to the text. This characteristic alone might give credence to the piece being the original work of Andrea Gabrieli, whom Gustave Reese lists as one of the Italian madrigalists who led the madrigal genre to “(become) more colorful, more concerned with delineating text than

⁶ See Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso: Sein Leben*, Vol. I (Wiesbaden:Breitkopf & Härtel, 1999), 157-158. See Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 151-152.

⁷ See Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso: Sein Leben*, Vol. I (Wiesbaden:Breitkopf & Härtel, 1999), 157.

⁸ Peter Bergquist, “Modal Ordering within Lasso’s Publications,” *Orlando di Lasso Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 210-211.

⁹ My thanks go to Peter Bergquist for suggesting that Le Roy & Ballard likely received works directly from Lasso himself, and that it is reasonable to make this inference due to the personal friendship Lasso had with Adrian le Roy, with whom he stayed while in Paris in 1571. Bergquist also mentioned that it is a safe assumption to regard Le Roy & Ballard first editions of Lasso’s works, many of which have dedicatory prefaces by Lasso, as having been received directly from Lasso himself. Again, I am indebted to Peter Bergquist for his generous examples of these dedicatory prefaces: “Moduli quinis vocibus,” RISM 1571a and “Libro de villanelle,” RISM 1581g. *Continuation du mélange d’Orlande de Lasso...* is the first occurrence of “Canzon se l’esser meco” in print, being printed in 1584 (Leuchtman, Horst und Bernhold Schmid, *Orlando di Lasso, Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken, 1555-1687, Band III* (New York: Bärenreiter, 2001), 60. Horst Leuchtman mentions that Adrian le Roy would doubtless have received materials in their original form from Lasso. Horst Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso: Sein Leben*, Vol. I (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976), 63.

with the absolute values of polyphony.”¹⁰ In other words, rather than being horizontally conceived, the new Italian madrigal focused on the vertical alignments of the parts. On a more specific level, in the 1560s, there is an example of Lassus being drawn to composing in more horizontal terms, and Gabrieli composing with more vertical sensibilities. When comparing a motet and masses by Gabrieli and Lassus from the 1560s, Marie Louise Göllner writes that in contrast to Lassus, Gabrieli uses “frequent emphasis on the vertical element as opposed to the horizontal.”¹¹ In accord with the Italian style, it has been assumed that Andrea Gabrieli could have written the piece, hence no need to note the double attribution.

When one considers that the madrigal is more likely by Lassus due to the dates of publication, the Italianate characteristics of the piece are not surprising. It is commonly stated that Lassus was strongly influenced by the Italians since the inception of his musical career in Rome, and that Lassus, as maestro di cappella of the Munich court, recruited Italians to be on his musical staff.¹² Both Gabrieli and Lassus are found in the Munich court during 1562 and a music manuscript from 1564-1565 places Gabrieli and Lassus again in the same court. Noel O'Regan proposes the likelihood that Lassus and Roman Italian Palestrina influenced each other, and that there may have been “musical cross-fertilization” between the two composers, although history does not record personal interaction. O'Regan cogently argues that Palestrina and Lassus must have known each other, as they were both maestri di cappella at Rome's two most important basilicas in the 1550s, when Rome held a relatively small population of 80,000. His article builds the case that Palestrina and Lassus had personal contact by explaining when the two composers had ample time to meet and by noting the timing of both specific compositions and the development of polychoral characteristics evolving during the 1570s. Similarly, a connection between Lassus and Gabrieli can be shown, as they were in a position to have known one another. As Lassus and Gabrieli are found simultaneously at the same court in 1562, and as they each contributed to a joint music manuscript for the Munich court in 1564-1565,¹³ a relationship likely also existed between Lassus and Gabrieli, and circumstances seem to indicate that this relationship was one of mutual regard, and possibly of mutual influence.

¹⁰ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1959), 413.

¹¹ Marie Louise Göllner, “Orlande de Lassus and Andrea Gabrieli: two motets and their masses in a Munich choir book from 1564-65,” *Orlande de Lassus Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28.

¹² See James Haar, “Le Muse in Germania: Lassus' Fourth Book of Madrigals,” *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994*, eds. Ignace Bossuyt, Eugene Schreurs, and Annelies Wouters (Belgium: Peer, 1995), 49.

¹³ Marie Louise Göllner, “Orlande de Lassus and Andrea Gabrieli: two motets and their masses in a Munich choir book from 1564-65,” *Orlande de Lassus Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20-21.

Double Attribution and Personal Relationship

A short survey, based on personal correspondence with a small handful of modern Lassus scholars¹⁴ revealed that this double attribution was unknown to them. One interesting reaction was that one scholar confessed that at first glance the pieces appeared to be dissimilar. Likely, this is largely due to the typesetting in which the top two voices are switched and the different notation of the modern editions. Otherwise, musically, the two versions of the piece are exactly the same. It seems that the styles of the two composers are similar enough that scholars may have been misled to assume this piece is interchangeable within each composer's style. Considering the numerous scenarios under which the piece may have gotten into each composer's repertoire, what better testament to a potential relationship between the two composers than a single piece attributed to both for over four hundred years?¹⁵

Lassus as a Cosmopolitan Composer

Scholars credit Lassus for his skill of assimilating international musical styles.¹⁶ They credit him with this skill because of cross-cultural travels and his general tendency to be cosmopolitan. Lassus was a well-known linguist, who wrote fluently in French, German, Italian, and Latin.¹⁷ As a comprehensive communicator, one can see this fluency carry over into his fluidity of musical styles. Lassus could accommodate different stylistic preferences, and as a result, the Italian characteristics of "Canzon se l'esser meco" do not surprise the eye or ear.

International Blending of Musical Styles

If one assumes that the inclusion of "Canzon se l'esser meco" in *Continuation du mélange d'Orlande de Lassus...* is accurate, even without stating that Lassus appreciated and used Italian compositional technique, the Italian characteristics can be explained in general terms by the compositional practices of the day. Musical styles transcended geographic regions, due to international travel and its influence on compositional practice in the late 1500s. The madrigal composers who preceded Lassus & Gabrieli – such as Arcadelt, Verdelot, and Willaert--tended toward more distinctly regional practices of composition. Those residing in Italy typically wrote in the more homophonic, syllabic style, whereas those in the Franco-Flemish territory tended to

¹⁴ These scholars were (in alphabetical order): Peter Bergquist, Richard Freedman, James Haar, Noel O'Regan, and Dan Zäger. One thing that has not been done is to ask Gabrieli scholars if they were aware of this double attribution.

¹⁵ It should also be noted that A. Tillman Merritt collected the first compilation of Andrea Gabrieli's published works in 1981, a date which limits the modern exposure to these pieces.

¹⁶ Jerome Roche, *Oxford Studies of Composers (19): Lassus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 53.

¹⁷ Frank Dobbins, "Textual Sources and Compositional Techniques in the French Chansons of Orlando de Lassus," *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994*, eds. Ignace Bossuyt, Eugene Schreurs, and Annelies Wouters (Belgium: Peer, 1995), 139.

choose the more polyphonic, imitative, melismatic style. The mid-sixteenth century brought with it the middle period of madrigal composition—typified by composers such as Cipriano di Rore, Gabrieli, and Lassus. Expanded international travel through the mid-century also brought greater interaction between composers, and a subsequent blending or borrowing of styles. Both Gabrieli and Lassus traveled outside their countries and presumably studied the music of both Franco-Flemish and Italian composers. Gabrieli, a native of Venice, traveled in European countries north of Italy, dedicated four volumes of published music to important non-Italians, and was undoubtedly familiar with Adrian Willaert, with whom most composers connected with Venice studied.¹⁸ Lassus is said to have spent his formative years in Italy¹⁹ and traveled regularly among countries, publishing his music throughout Europe. He studied the Franco-Flemish masters Arcadelt, Willaert, and Rore in his youth, turning to a more Italian idiom during his later years.²⁰

Blending of Regional Styles

The later works of Gabrieli and Lassus certainly appear to exhibit the influence of each other's regional styles. While Gabrieli's madrigals increasingly utilized more syllabic text settings of his indigenous Italian style, they also hosted more homophonic passages alternating with imitative ones, perhaps indicating influence of the Franco-Flemish.²¹ With regard to Lassus, Roche writes that in the early 1580s, the beginning of Lassus' "last phase as madrigalist", many of his madrigals show a distinct inclination for less dissonance, syllabic writing, and sometimes, for strictly chordal textures."²² These brief observations seem to indicate that Gabrieli and Lassus were familiar enough with each other's regional styles to use them within their works.

Lassus and the Italian Style

As is mentioned in articles about Lassus, the Franco-Flemish composer endeavored to understand and at times adopt the Italian style throughout his career. Haar

¹⁸ Merritt mentions that there is no evidence that Andrea Gabrieli was a direct student of Willaert's as some scholars have assumed (since most composers connected with Venice did study with Willaert). Merritt indicates that the two composers would undoubtedly have known one another. A. Tillman Merritt, ed., *Andrea Gabrieli, Complete Madrigals, Vol. I*, (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1981-1984), ix, viii.

¹⁹ Jerome Roche, *Oxford Studies of Composers (19): Lassus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 32-33.

²⁰ Jerome Roche, *Oxford Studies of Composers (19): Lassus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 37.

²¹ David Bryant, "Andrea Gabrieli," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd Edition, Vol. 9*, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (Basingstoke, England: MacMillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 385.

²² Jerome Roche, *Oxford Studies of Composers (19): Lassus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 37. Specifically, Roche mentions the madrigals in *Continuation du mélange...* of 1584 show these qualities, illustrating Lassus' style of the early 1580s.

notes that as early as 1555, Lassus strove to write in the Italian style.²³ Haar further writes that in 1585 Lassus published a volume of five-part madrigals that reveal a definite awareness of the more recent Italian madrigal with declamation on short note values and counterpoint that is based primarily on chordal progressions.²⁴ Given this description of Lassus' later madrigals, those written by Lassus might be assumed, because of the Italian style, to have been written by Gabrieli, thereby obscuring the authorship of "Canzon se l'esser meco".

Further confusion comes from the probability that Lassus had a professional relationship with Gabrieli and may have used Gabrieli's work as a model for Italian composition. This double attribution possibly occurs because Lassus, in trying to acquire the Italian style would naturally have copied something from an Italian, and it could likely have been Gabrieli, with whom he had opportunity to interact. As is often cited, in 1562 the two composers had occasion to form an acquaintance when Gabrieli joined the court of Lassus' employer Duke Albrecht V for an extended journey from Munich to Prague.²⁵ Evidence suggests that Gabrieli traveled with Lassus from Venice to the court of Duke Albrecht V, suggesting that perhaps Lassus was in charge of recruitment at this time and that it is possible that the two men were acquainted prior to 1562. During the Munich court's journey of 1562, the two men returned to Venice rather than continued to Frankfurt from Prague with the rest of the court. The reason for returning to Venice may have been another commission for the Duke.²⁶ The two men may have been in the same court for several years following 1562 as well. This extended stay at the Munich court could account for several unrecorded years in the history of Gabrieli's life before he would accept a position at St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice. Gabrieli may indeed have spent this time in court, as he and Lassus corroborated on a music manuscript dated 1564-1565 that included parody masses by each.²⁷ Conflict exists about the date when Gabrieli became organist at St. Mark's. The earlier account is that Gabrieli's organist appointment was in 1564.²⁸ A later account records this date as 1566, although noting that some eighteenth century sources specify that a temporary appointment was granted in 1564. However, no other documents supporting the earlier date exist. In 1566, the ducal chapel "(granted) Gabrieli 15 ducats 'for the considerable travelling expenses sustained in coming to S Marco'" and suggests that perhaps Gabrieli remained north of the Alps until he became employed in Venice around 1566.²⁹

²³ James Haar, "Josquin as Interpreted by a Mid-Sixteenth Century German Musician," *Festschrift für Horst Leuchtmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Stephan Hörner and Bernhold Schmid (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), 179.

²⁴ James Haar, "Lassus," *The New Grove High Renaissance Masters* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 189.

²⁵ Horst Leuchtmann, *Orlando di Lassus: Sein Leben, Vol. I:* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1976), 120-123.

²⁶ A. Tillman Merritt, ed., *Andrea Gabrieli, Complete Madrigals, Vol. I:* (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1981-1984), ix.

²⁷ Marie Louise Göllner, "Orlande de Lassus and Andrea Gabrieli: two motets and their masses in a Munich choir book from 1564-65," *Orlande de Lassus Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20-21.

²⁸ Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1959), 413.

²⁹ David Bryant, "Andrea Gabrieli," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (Basingstoke, England: MacMillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 384. Traveling expenses

Regardless of which St. Mark's appointment date is accurate, Gabrieli contributed to the music manuscript of 1564-1565 and his involvement indicates awareness by Gabrieli and Lassus of each other's works. During the composition of the music manuscript, Gabrieli would have had an opportunity to become intimately familiar with some of Lassus' work when parodying a Lassus motet. All of the parody masses from the music manuscript of 1564-1565 are based on Lassus' motets, with the exception that Gabrieli wrote two parody masses: one based on a Lassus motet, the other based on one of his own motets.³⁰ Presumably, Lassus would have become familiar with how Gabrieli parodied both motets, giving him insight into Gabrieli's compositional methods. Quite plausibly, the two composers could have been well enough acquainted with each other's work to be able to imitate each other's styles, with Lassus using an Italian style of composition as a model for creating "Canzon se l'esser meco."

Text Choice of "Canzon se l'esser meco"

There are no identifying stylistic characteristics to tie the piece to Lassus as the author; however, the choice of text could identify the piece as being by Lassus and not by Gabrieli. The text of this madrigal is the commiato (conclusive summary) of a Petrarchan poem, "Ne la stagion che'l ciel rapido inchina." Lassus had a "love of compactness and concision,"³¹ which would make setting a poem's summation a natural choice for him. Paolo Fabbri and Antonio Vassalli have asserted that setting the end of a poem and summing up the poem's meaning in a short madrigal such as in "Canzon se l'esser meco" would be unusual for Gabrieli.³² Curiously enough and furthermore, while acknowledging the two published versions, these scholars did not indicate that the two versions were the same music. Perhaps this was due to their exclusive concern with the text.

Posthumous Publication of "Canzon se l'esser meco"

In another line of thinking, history may have misattributed "Canzon se l'esser meco" to Andrea Gabrieli because of its publication by his nephew Giovanni Gabrieli.³³ *Madrigale et ricercar di Andrea Gabrieli a quattro voci* (1589), the posthumous

are also noted in A. Tillman Merritt, ed., *Andrea Gabrieli, Complete Madrigals, Vol. I*: (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1981-1984), ix.

³⁰ Göllner, 21.

³¹ Philip Weller, "Lasso, Man of the Theatre," *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994*, eds. Ignace Bossuyt, Eugene Schreurs, Annelies Wouters (Antwerpen: Peer, 1995), 120.

³² Paolo Fabbri and Antonio Vassalli, "Andrea Gabrieli e il Madrigale: Interferenze Musica, Letteratura e Società," *Andrea Gabrieli: 1585-1985* (Venezia: Comitato Nazionale Italiano, 1985), 53.

³³ A. Tillman Merritt writes, "It can be assumed that Giovanni had a hand in publishing three more volumes of Andrea's secular works (*Madrigale et ricercar*... being the second), although his name appeared nowhere in them." A. Tillman Merritt, "Apropos of Andrea Gabrieli's Madrigals," *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Venezia 16-18 Settembre 1985)* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1987), 234.

collection that includes the present madrigal, was presumably assembled by Giovanni, who mistook the madrigal for his uncle's. It is also possible that Giovanni willfully³⁴ presented the madrigal as his uncle's work. Several scholars suggest that Giovanni studied with his uncle and Lassus,³⁵ so Giovanni would be in a position to be familiar with their compositional output. Perhaps as heir, Giovanni did not care whose hand crafted the piece, as long as it led to further income.

Giovanni Gabrieli published "Canzon se l'esser meco" in the second of eleven posthumous publications of his uncle's works. This collection was so various that it could have mistakenly contained works from other composers as well. A.T. Merritt describes the contents of *Madrigale et ricercar...a quattro voci*: "(They) are so heterogenous in character that they seem to have little in common beyond the fact that they are all for four voices."³⁶ That none of his madrigals had any indication as to when or for what occasion they were written³⁷ suggests that Andrea Gabrieli was not a bookkeeper, and consequently may not have regarded documentation of his work as very important. On the other hand, perhaps this disarray that the nephew tried to assemble into viable collections contained works that were not composed by his uncle and were in fact used for the purpose of study by copying. A. T. Merritt points out that some of Andrea Gabrieli's madrigals are "clearly imitations or slight rearrangements of musical works by other composers" and they "appear to be vehicles for musical experiments". He may have written them "earlier in his career at a time when he was consciously searching for new techniques."³⁸ Or perhaps, these "(clear) imitations" and "slight rearrangements" provided Andrea Gabrieli with contemporary teaching tools in his highly revered studio.³⁹

Traditions of Study by Copying & Performance Copies

Study by copying and experimentation were strongly established traditions that served as methods of passing on compositional techniques. German theorist and

³⁴ My thanks go to Dr. Andrew Dell'Antonio of the University of Texas at Austin for suggesting inheritance as possible motivation of Giovanni Gabrieli's for attributing the work to Andrea Gabrieli.

³⁵ Denis Arnold, *Giovanni Gabrieli and the Music of the Venetian High Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 2, Intro (vii). Another reference is David Bryant's *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* entry. David Bryant, "Giovanni Gabrieli," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (Basingstoke, England: MacMillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 390 and 391. One reference that states Giovanni studied with Andrea is: Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1959), 414.

³⁶ *Complete Madrigals / Andrea Gabrieli Vol. II*, ed. A. Tillman Merritt (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1981-1984), vii.

³⁷ A. T. Merritt, "Apropos of Andrea Gabrieli's Madrigals", *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Venezia 16-18 Settembre 1985)* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1987), 236.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 236.

³⁹ The students of Andrea Gabrieli included "not only Italians – such as his brilliant nephew Giovanni Gabrieli and theorist Lucovico Zacconi, but also foreigners such as composer Hans Leo Hassler, who went to Venice to study with Andrea Gabrieli." Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1959), 414.

composer Adrianus Petit Coclico described how Josquin⁴⁰ taught composition: “If he (Josquin) discovered, however, pupils with an ingenious mind and promising disposition, then he would teach these in a few words the rules of three-part and later of four-, five-, six-part, etc. writing, always providing them with examples to imitate.”⁴¹ Andrea Gabrieli could have used such compositional imitations or slight variations as teaching tools or as musical experiments. The work of other composers seems to have greatly interested him, and there are significant examples of his using techniques employed by other composers. His eight-voiced *Alla Battaglia* and his *Aria della Battaglia per sonar* were also from a large collection published posthumously by Giovanni in 1587. It has been suggested that these were modeled after Janequin’s *La Guerre*, although not “slavish imitations” of their model.⁴² Gabrieli’s setting of “Chi chi li chi,” a text also set by Orlande de Lassus, is apparently “not far from being a transcription” of Lassus’ version, being for six voices in the same mode and having the same beginning and similar musical content.⁴³ Perhaps Gabrieli used other composers’ works as a base for musical experimentation that he modified with “improvements,” and the “Canzon se l’esser meco” manuscript was to have been used this way. Another possibility is that Andrea Gabrieli had a performance copy of Lassus’ work, obtained either in 1562 while Gabrieli was in the service of Lassus’ employer Duke Albrecht V, or later during one of Lassus’ visits to Venice. Whatever the case, it is possible that “Canzon se l’esser meco” may have existed in Andrea Gabrieli’s personal papers for a variety of reasons.

Giovanni Gabrieli, Printing Tradition, & The Gardano Firm

Gabrieli’s nephew Giovanni may have mistaken “Canzon se l’esser meco” and possibly other pieces for his uncle’s, or he may have deliberately compiled pieces that were in his uncle’s possession for the sole purpose of profiting from his own inheritance. While Giovanni might be responsible for a misattribution to his uncle, another entity may have misattributed the piece. The Gardano firm, a publishing house known to have

⁴⁰ Josquin was a highly sought-after teacher in Italy during the middle of his career, and therefore it seems reasonable to speculate that he would have had some bearing on teachers of music that influenced Andrea Gabrieli.

⁴¹ Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 11.

⁴² A. T. Merritt, “Apropos of Andrea Gabrieli’s Madrigals”, *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Venezia 16-18 Settembre 1985)* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1987), 237. A. T. Merritt writes that both *Battaglia* pieces were likely modeled after Janequin’s *La Guerre*, although not being “slavish imitations;” and Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1959), 415. Gustave Reese writes that *Battaglia* was perhaps modeled on Janequin’s *La Guerre*.

⁴³ A. T. Merritt, “Apropos of Andrea Gabrieli’s Madrigals”, *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Venezia 16-18 Settembre 1985)* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1987), 237. It should be noted that Gabrieli may have composed his version before Lassus composed his, if referring strictly to dates of publication. The Lassus version of *Chi chi li chi* à 6 (LV 670) was first published in 1581, while the Gabrieli version, also for six voices, was first published in 1574. In the Lasso Verzeichnis Leuchtman and Schmid list the earlier Lassus version of *Chi chi li chi* à 3 as being not composed by Lassus, but rather by an anonymous composer. Leuchtman, Horst und Bernhold Schmid, *Orlando di Lasso, Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken, 1555-1687, Band III* (New York: Bärenreiter, 2001), 443.

misattributed other works,⁴⁴ might have willfully plucked the madrigal from the 1584 Le Roy and Ballard edition of Lassus' compositions, and inserted it under native Venetian Andrea Gabrieli's name.⁴⁵ Misattributing works such as this was certainly practiced by prominent Venetian publishers. Among notable examples, the Scotto-Antico joint publication of *Secondo libro*, a book of Arcadelt madrigals, hosted eight madrigals that other sources have attributed to different composers.⁴⁶ Likewise, intending to replace the "false" Scotto-Antico edition, Gardano published a book of Arcadelt madrigals (*Il vero secondo libro*) that contained four madrigals elsewhere credited to other composers.⁴⁷

Venetian publishers Scotto and Gardano republished each other's editions, usually after altering them in order to provide something "new and improved" to the public. Sometimes, Gardano republished Scotto's anthologies under a single composer's name both to generate what looked like a new edition and to maximize sales. To attract the most customers, Antonio Gardano used the name of a well-known composer to label the edition whether or not that composer had written all pieces within the collection.⁴⁸ In at least two of such editions, twenty-five percent or less of the madrigals were actually written by the name on the publication's title. These single-composer editions were: a reprint of the Scotto printed anthology entitled *Le Dotte et eccellente compositioni* (original: 1540), in which the title page description "i madrigali da diversi perfettissimi musici" was changed to "I madrigali di Verdelot," in a 1541 collection, that contained one fourth of works by Verdelot⁴⁹; and an edition of anthologies entitled as a single-composer edition: "Verdelot la piu divina et piu bella musica...madrigali a sei voci", an edition that included less than one fifth of madrigals by Verdelot.⁵⁰ While Antonio Gardano published these editions, his son Angelo Gardano continued to publish

⁴⁴ Gardano admitted that seventeen of his first published book of works by Arcadelt were not composed by Arcadelt, and Thomas Bridges points out that four pieces in Gardano's second published book of works by Arcadelt were written by other composers. Thomas Whitney Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book of Madrigals," 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., (Harvard University, 1982), I: 87.

⁴⁵ It is important to note that Antonio Gardano was the head of the firm during the time period covered by Jane Bernstein in this source, and that Antonio's son Angelo Gardano was head of the firm when "Canzon se l'esser meco" was published in *Madrigale et ricercar di Andrea Gabrieli a quattro voci* in 1589. As this firm was a family owned and operated business, it is likely the sons continued the father's methods of selecting printable material. Richard J. Agee writes, "... (Without) a doubt both Angelo and Alessandro Gardano were already deeply involved in the printing trade at the time of their father's death." Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 48.

⁴⁶ Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 168. None of the works in the publication of *Secondo libro* were originally attributed to composers other than Arcadelt. Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer: 1538-1569* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 209-211.

⁴⁷ Thomas Whitney Bridges, "The Publishing of Arcadelt's First Book," (Harvard University, 1964), I: 87. The editions of 1552 and 1560 ascribed three madrigals in *Il vero secondo libro* to composers other than Arcadelt. Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer: 1538-1569* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 209.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 161 - 163. Single composer editions were found to be "useful marketing tools," 163.

⁴⁹ Mary S. Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer: 1538-1569* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), 301. Also: Jane Bernstein, 162.

⁵⁰ Alexandra Amati-Camperi, "An Italian Genre in the Hands of a Frenchman: Phillippe Verdelot as Madrigalist, with special emphasis on the six voice pieces," Ph.D. Diss. (Harvard University, 1994), 280, 398. Also: Jane Bernstein, 164.

predominantly single composer editions⁵¹ and likely continued the printing traditions of his father. Prior to republication, the publisher would often modify the content. “They (Gardano & Scotto) frequently added works or replaced old pieces with new ones, as seen with Gardano’s 1540 edition of Jacquet of Mantua’s First Book of Motets a 5.”⁵² Thus, the presence of an unattributed,⁵³ modern madrigal by Orlande de Lassus within an Andrea Gabrieli single composer edition would not be terribly unusual.

Angelo Gardano’s reason for borrowing the madrigal “Canzon se l’esser meco” might be that he simply wanted more material, liked the madrigal, or knew that the madrigal was currently popular and that its inclusion would enhance and blend with Andrea Gabrieli’s works. Placing well-liked modern madrigals under a popular composer’s name, regardless of whether the pieces were all written by that composer, might ensure that the volumes would be enjoyed for their content and would be successfully marketed.

The resemblance of the piece to Andrea Gabrieli’s compositional style would not have been overlooked by Angelo Gardano, whose composer-publisher father presumably saw that his son receive enough musical training to be an effective editor.⁵⁴ Prior to reprinting a publisher’s edition, Antonio Gardano would organize the music contained therein, according to musical qualities of the pieces.⁵⁵ Perhaps Angelo Gardano continued his father’s methods, by choosing content for his single composer edition that would blend with the other chosen pieces, regardless of the composer. If Gardano is responsible for misattributing “Canzon se l’esser meco” to Andrea Gabrieli, his choice of the madrigal seems to have been appropriate for the contents of the publication, as this misattribution may have survived undisturbed for four centuries.

The Gardano brothers Alessandro and Angelo likely continued in the tradition of their father Antonio and acquired musical material in a variety of ways, including the extraction of pieces from previously printed sources.⁵⁶ This practice was legal in Venice, with Venetian publishers frequently reprinting foreign editions when the respective publishers lacked Venetian privilege to exclusively publish those editions. The Venetian senate would review and approve requests for a Venetian privilege to exclusively publish an edition for a period of ten years.⁵⁷ In fact, material already published functioned as a

⁵¹ Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 30.

⁵² Jane A. Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: The Scotto Press (1539-1572)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 161-162.

⁵³ Important to note, the libraries that house the original publications did not send requested tables of content, conceivably where the piece might have been attributed to Lassus. However, my thanks go to Peter Bergquist for kindly pointing out that as the “Lasso-Verzeichnis,” the comprehensive listing by Leuchtmann and Schmid of all known sources of Lassus’ printed music does not list the Gardano publication, it is most likely that Gardano did not attribute “Canzon se l’esser meco” to Lassus within this single-composer edition.

⁵⁴ Richard J. Agee writes: “Probably both Angelo and Alessandro were competent to carry out this task of editing music, given that they had been brought up to continue the family business by Antonio Gardano, both a composer and editor himself.” Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 36.

⁵⁵ Bernstein, 162-163.

⁵⁶ Richard J. Agee, *The Gardano Music Printing Firms, 1569-1611* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1998), 33.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 33.

reservoir of available music from which the Gardano firm partook. Antonio Gardano, Angelo's father, pulled individual pieces from foreign printed anthologies.⁵⁸ Clearly, this practice could have been passed on from father to son, with publisher Angelo Gardano willfully misattributing the madrigal "Canzon se l'esser meco" to Andrea Gabrieli.

Composer Personal Relations & Influence

As mentioned previously, the early 1560s brought the opportunity for Andrea Gabrieli and Orlande de Lassus to interact. The two composers likely forged a friendship during the special circumstances of 1562, and could have developed a personal relationship that extended to an informal musical dialogue.

Specific musical settings by Gabrieli and Lassus of the same texts, together with certain wording of selected dedications, imply an informal dialogue about music. Quite plausibly, within their interaction, Gabrieli and Lassus shared a little "friendly competition" such as that alluded to by James Haar when noting their double setting of "O belta rara." Both Gabrieli and Lassus wrote a madrigal with this anonymous text, and they are the only two composers to have set the text within their lifetimes.⁵⁹ Of course, each composer could have set the same anonymous text separately without being aware that the other planned to set the text to music. However, more likely, some relationship with the poet existed with each composer, and each composer knew the other was setting this text. Another instance of what might be coined "friendly competition" occurs in 1565, when Gabrieli dedicated his first book of motets (*Cantiones Sacrae*) to Lassus' patron Albrecht V, a collection most likely inspired by Lassus' motet book of a similar title that was published in 1562.⁶⁰ Perhaps Gabrieli gave this gift to Albrecht V to provide an example of his relative aptitude as a composer, when compared with music of Lassus. One could infer that competition—most likely amiable—occurred between the two at an even earlier date. Written in 1564-1565, Mus.Ms.17 honored Andrea Gabrieli in its reference to him as a "distinguished visitor from Venice," and signified Andrea's inclusion within Lassus' "new circle."⁶¹ This reference in the manuscript headed by Lassus seems to recognize Gabrieli as colleague to Lassus.

Another indirect yet distinct statement could illuminate the nature of the relationship between Lassus and Gabrieli. Lassus was known for his good humor, and the sentiment that "Good Italian music can be written even in far off 'Germania'"⁶² was written in the dedication of his fourth book of five-part madrigals published in Venice, Gabrieli's city of residence, in 1567.⁶³ In this passage, Lassus seems to communicate that Italian music is a kind of universal music—that the muse of Italian music can be

⁵⁸ Ibid, 33.

⁵⁹ James Haar, "Le Muse in Germania: Lassus' Fourth Book of Madrigals," *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994* (Belgium: Peer, 1995), 56.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 56.

⁶¹ Marie Louise Göllner, "Orlande de Lassus and Andrea Gabrieli: two motets and their masses in a Munich choir book from 1564-65," *Orlande de Lassus Studies*, ed. Peter Bergquist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20.

⁶² James Haar, *The New Grove High Renaissance Masters* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 161.

⁶³ Ibid, 161.

reached anywhere. More specifically, the passage relates that although he himself is not Italian, and not in Italy, he could still write good Italian music. One speculation is that this sentiment was offered as a cheerful jest aimed at Gabrieli. Perhaps Lassus was responding in a tongue and cheek manner to a conversation he had had with Gabrieli before Gabrieli left Munich. Before accepting the position at St. Mark's, Gabrieli could have explained his return to Venice by telling Lassus that he felt the best inspiration for writing music was in his native Italy. By writing this dedication, Lassus could have been pointing out that a person could be in Germany and still write Italian music well, because with this new collection he himself has done so. Regardless of the exact circumstances, placing the comment about writing good Italian music in Germania in a Venetian publication shortly after Gabrieli's departure from Munich does appear to be provocative, and could have been intended to elicit a good natured response from his friend Gabrieli.

Gabrieli and Lassus set at least three pieces to the same text, substantiating a possible musical dialogue between the two composers. "O belta rara" is perhaps the most distinctive example of this dialogue, because as mentioned previously, Gabrieli and Lassus were the only ones to set this anonymous text during their lifetimes⁶⁴ and the pieces were published within one year of one another. Gabrieli published his version first in 1566, followed by Lassus' publication in 1567. The pieces are both for five voices and share the E mode, a similar cadential structure, and markedly similar openings.⁶⁵ The two other texts set were "Chi chi li chi," and "Dunque fia ver dicea", both sets further suggesting a sense of competition. "Chi chi li chi à 6" was published by Gabrieli in 1574 and a piece by the same title "Chi chi li chi à 6" was first published in 1581 by Lassus.⁶⁶ A. T. Merritt wrote that these pieces were very similar but not exactly the same piece.⁶⁷ "Dunque fia ver dicea" seems to provide an interesting example of Andrea Gabrieli writing more in a Franco-Flemish medium in three voices, with more staggered entrances, and of Orlande de Lassus writing with more Venetian, vertically aligned statements in five voices. The publish dates on "Dunque fia ver dicea" are 1574 for Gabrieli and 1584 for Lassus. One could speculate that "Dunque fia ver dicea" was written in three voices by Gabrieli and "bested" by his composer friend Lassus, who chose to set his version in five. It could be that these three sets of madrigals were written as a whimsical musical discourse between the composers as they had fun communicating different musical ideas. Perhaps Lassus wrote "Canzon se l'esser meco" and gave Gabrieli a copy for a light-hearted compositional response that Gabrieli did not have the chance to give.

Likely no one will ever know the exact conditions under which "Canzon se l'esser meco" was attributed to both Orlande de Lassus and Andrea Gabrieli. Circumstances generously lean in favor of Lassus being the original composer and to the Gardano firm as being the vehicle of the double attribution, yet "Canzon se l'esser meco" well

⁶⁴ James Haar, "Le Muse in Germania: Lassus' Fourth Book of Madrigals," *Orlandus Lassus and His Time: Colloquium Proceedings, Antwerpen 24-26.08.1994* (Belgium: Peer, 1995), 54.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 54.

⁶⁶ Horst Leuchtman and Bernhold Schmid, *Orlando di Lasso: Seine Werke in zeitgenössischen Drucken 1555-1687, Band III* (New York: Bärenreiter, 2001), 295 and 62. "Chi chi li chi à 3" (a moresca) is considered to be falsely ascribed to Lassus and written anonymously (295), while "Chi chi li chi à 6" (LV 670) is considered to be a composition by Lassus (62).

⁶⁷ A. T. Merritt, "Apropos of Andrea Gabrieli's Madrigals", *Andrea Gabrieli e il suo tempo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Venezia 16-18 Settembre 1985)* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1987), 237.

represents the type of stylistic ambiguity inherent in the international arena in which composers of the mid-Renaissance wrote. While the piece is a relatively common madrigal written in a more Italian style, the ease with which the piece has passed undisturbed within Andrea Gabrieli's repertoire illustrates the results of compositional practices of the time—namely the sharing of ideas and the blurring of stylistic boundaries.

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22. Canzon se l'esser meco

Gus 1981

S. Can - - - non se l'es-ser me - co dal ma -

C.I. Can - - - non se l'es-ser me - co dal ma -

C.II Can - - - non se l'es-ser me - co dal

T. Can - - - non se l'es-ser me - co dal ma -

ti-moa la se - - - ra, t'ha fat - - to di mia schie - - -

ti-moa la se - - - ra, t'ha fat - - to di mia schie - - -

ma-ti-no a la se - - - ra, t'ha fat-to di mia schie - - -

ti - moa la se - - - ra, t'ha fat - to di mia schie - - -

-ra, tu non vor - rai mo - - strar - tiin cia -

-ra, tu non vor - rai mo - - strar - - tiin

-ra, tu non vor - rai mo - - strar - ti in cia -

-ra, tu non vor - rai mo - - strar-tiin cia - scun

Figure 1A

[18] Canzon, se l'esser meco

Petrarch

Alto Can- zon, se l'es-ser me- co Dal ma- ti- no a la se-

Canto Can- zon, se l'es-ser me- co Dal ma- ti- no a la se-

Tenore Can- zon, se l'es-ser me- co Dal ma- ti- no a la se-

Basso Can- zon, se l'es-ser me- co Dal ma- ti- no a la se-

C.I. Can- zon, se l'es-ser me- co Dal ma- ti- no a la se-

-ra T'ha fat- to di mia schie- ra, Tu non vor-rai mo- strar- tiin

-ra T'ha fat- to di mia schie- ra, Tu non vor-rai mo- strar-tiin cia-

-ra T'ha fat-to di mia schie- ra, Tu non vor-rai mo- strar-tiin cia- scun

-ra T'ha fat- to di mia schie- ra, Tu non vor-rai mo- strar-tiin cia-scun

cia- scun lo- co, E d'al-trui lo- da cur-re- rai si po-

scun lo- co, E d'al-trui lo- da cur-re- rai si po- co

lo- co, E d'al-trui lo- da cur- re- rai si po-

lo- co, E d'al-trui lo- da cur-re- rai si po-

Figure 1B

Figure 1A: First page of “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Lassus. This example is from *Orlando di Lasso Neue Reihe / Band I*, edited by Wolfgang Boetticher. Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1956.
Reprinted by permission of Bärenreiter Music Corporation.

Figure 1B: First page of “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Gabrieli. This example is from *Andrea Gabrieli: Complete Madrigals 2: Madrigals a 4, Greghesche a 4, 5, and 7*, edited by A. Tillman Merritt. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 42. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1981.
Used with permission. All rights reserved.

Note in Figure 1B that the top two voices are switched from Figure 1A, with the Alto part uncharacteristically recorded above the Canto line. A search in the modern edition of Andrea Gabrieli’s *Complete Madrigals* for a pattern as to this choice proved to be inconclusive, although there is at least one other piece within the collection printed with traditional part order reversed.

Figures 1A and 1B: My thanks go to Daniel Johnson, Artistic Director of Texas Early Music Project (TEMP), formerly Early Music Ensemble Director at the University of Texas in Austin, for pointing out that each editor printed both modern editions according to exactly what is on the original page, without making an intuitive judgement about what would have been the performance pitch. Likely, the performance pitch would have been one fourth (or one fifth) lower than the modern notation indicates. During the last twenty years, the dialogue concerning performance practice and a revised knowledge about the use of *chiavete* has influenced recent modern editions of Renaissance work. The main purpose of *chiavete* is still to record all written notes of music upon one staff without adding ledger lines, which would be more difficult to print. In performance practice, however, it is now believed that musicians automatically transposed the music down a fourth or fifth to secure the piece within comfortable (or normal) singing range. In addition to noticing that the *chiavete* marked the staff line on which middle C rested, Renaissance musicians would perform middle C (C4) as either G3 or F3, depending on the agreed upon transposition. Within context of this piece, on page two of the modern editions (not shown), the highest note in the basso/bassus part reads as E5, when in fact, transposed one fourth down in singing practice, the note would have been B4. Although there is not room for further discussion within this paper, Johnson notes that the clef combination, pitch range of the lowest voice, and the key signature all give clues to the performers about whether each piece would have been transposed.

Figures 2-5 A & B in the following pages show the original pieces as printed in the Lassus and Gabrieli editions.



Figure 2A

Figure 2A: Superius part, “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Orlande de Lassus, *Continuation du Mellange d’Orlande de Lassus, a 3.4.5.6. & dix parties.* (1584) By permission of the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid).

Figure 2B

Figure 2B: Canto part, “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Andrea Gabrieli, *Madrigali et Ricercari di Andrea Gabrieli a Quattro voci....* (1589) By permission of The British Library, shelfmark R.M.15.e.1.(10).

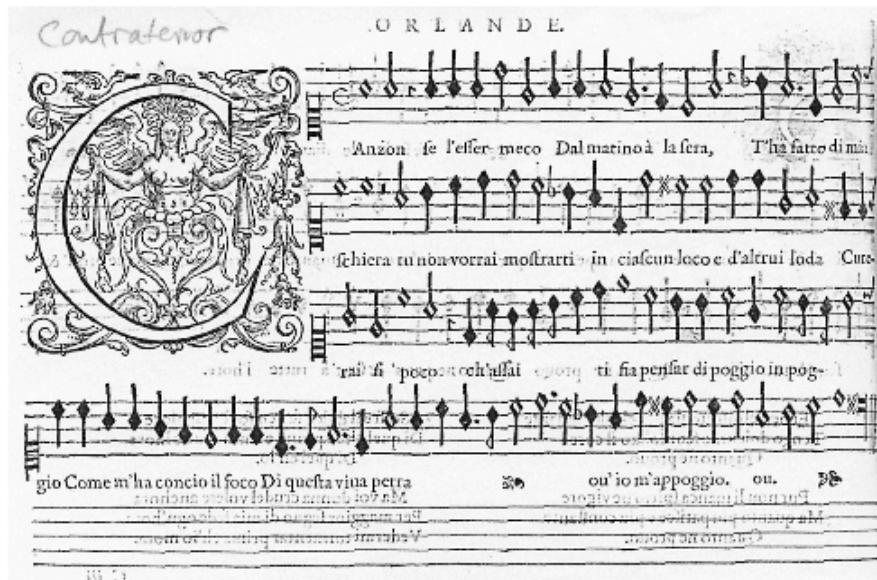


Figure 3A

Figure 3A: Contratenor part, “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Orlande de Lassus, *Continuation du Mellange d’Orlande de Lassus, a 3.4.5.6. & dix parties* (1584) Reprinted by permission of the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek in Sweden

Figure 3B

Figure 3B: Alto part, “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Andrea Gabrieli, *Madrigali et Ricercari di Andrea Gabrieli a Quattro voci....* (1589) By permission of The British Library, shelfmark R.M.15.e.1.(10).



Figure 4A

Figure 4A: Tenor part, “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Orlande de Lassus, *Continuation du Mellange d’Orlande de Lassus, a 3.4.5.6. & dix parties* (1584) Reprinted by permission of the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek in Sweden

Figure 4B

Figure 4B: Tenore part, “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Andrea Gabrieli, *Madrigali et Ricercari di Andrea Gabrieli a Quattro voci....* (1589) By permission of The British Library, shelfmark R.M.15.e.1.(10).



Figure 5A

Figure 5A: Bassus part, “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Orlande de Lassus, *Continuation du Mellange d’Orlande de Lassus, a 3.4.5.6. & dix parties* (1584) Reprinted by permission of the Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek in Sweden

Figure 5B

Figure 5B: Basso part, “Canzon se l’esser meco,” ascribed to Andrea Gabrieli, *Madrigali et Ricercari di Andrea Gabrieli a Quattro voci...* (1589) By permission of The British Library, shelfmark R.M.15.e.1.(10).

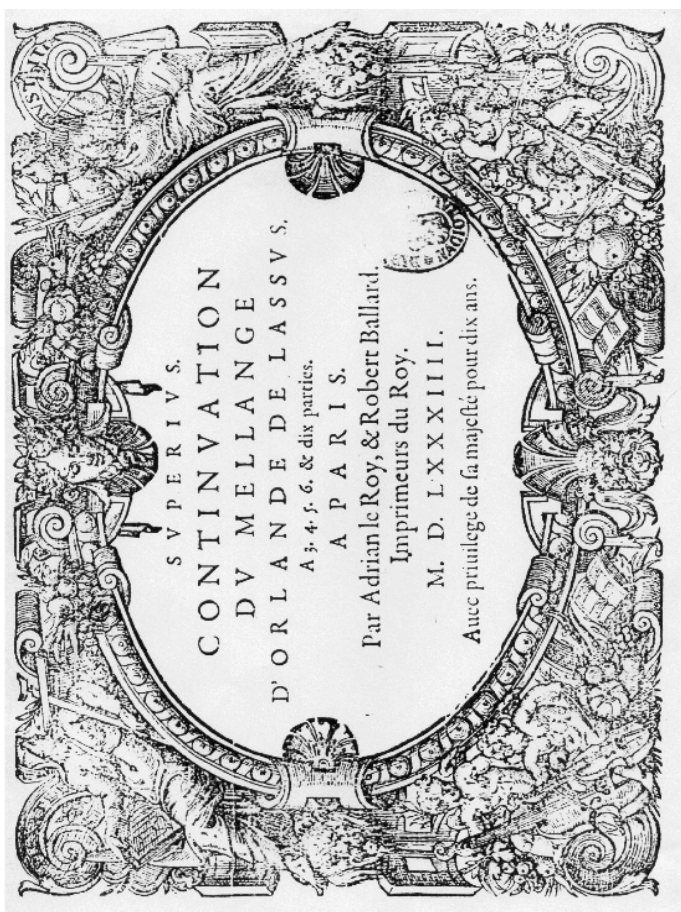


Figure 6A

Figure 6A: Title page of the Superius partbook of *Continuation du Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus*.... (Paris: Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1584). By permission of Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid).



Figure 6B

Figure 6B: Title page of the Canto partbook of *Madrigali et Ricercari di Andrea Gabrieli*.... (Venetia: Angelo Gardano, 1589). By permission of The British Library, shelfmark R.M.15.e.1.(10).