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**PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE  
ON**

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1341 - 1667**

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**IN  
ROME**

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**THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGE  
AND UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS IN ITALY (AACUPI)**  
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**STUDYING IN PARADISE  
THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGE  
AND UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS IN ITALY**

The Association of American College and University Programs in Italy (AACUPI) was founded in Rome, in February of 1978, to give form and substance to voluntary association by representatives of a small group of university-level study programs in Rome and Florence, that, in turn, had been founded by American colleges and universities to host exclusively their own American students. After having carefully studied their historical and administrative situations, the administrators of these programs were obliged to recognize that, while operating on Italian soil, they were functioning under highly unusual conditions, a fact that had implications and consequences for both nations in question. This demanding group considered it necessary to give some objective stability to their activities, in order to be able, later on, to answer to both American and Italian authorities, regarding their academic presence, and to comply with the multiple realities then existing, especially considering that the US has never had, for institutional motives, a ministry on the federal government level that was closely involved in education, nationally or internationally.

Today, AACUPI represents more than 30,000 North American college and university students who study in over 145 US and Canadian programs, for various periods of time, located in the principal historical centers of Italy: in Rome and Florence, but, also, in Alba, Arezzo, Ariccia, Ascoli Piceno, Aviano, Bolzano, Bolzano, Bologna, Castel Gandolfo, Castellammare di Stabia, Catania, Certaldo, Como, Cortona, Ferrara, Fiesole, Genova, Lecce, Macerata, Milano, Napoli, Orvieto, Padova, Parma, Perugia, Prato, Rieti, Ripoli, Scandicci, Sesto Fiorentino, Siena, Siracusa, Sorrento, Torino, Venezia, Vicchio, Vicenza and Viterbo. (See [www.aacupi.org](http://www.aacupi.org).) Among its sundry membership, there are no two programs alike, from an ideological, didactic, organizational and administrative point of view: about one fourth of the member institutions seek to offer a broad educational and cultural base in the history of architecture and urban studies, theory, design and special projects for a degree in architecture, usually, third or fourth year; about one fourth offer courses in business and economics, environmental studies, fashion and interior design, hotel management and hospitality, human sciences and law; about one half offer courses in general culture, (liberal arts, in short), as well as social sciences, along with courses in Italian language and literature where interdisciplinary study is the rule, reinforced by field trips throughout the peninsula.

AACUPI's first and foremost objective has been to act as a clearing house for information and for advice about problems connected to cultural exchange within Italy. No less important has been AACUPI's effort to identify, first, potential fundamental legal and fiscal problems, intrinsic to the presence on foreign soil of non government and non profit institutions and, then, to resolve them in the most suitable manner possible. Another important objective of AACUPI is to provide a defense mechanism to clarify and coordinate our needs in order to communicate and collaborate efficiently with the Italian authorities in areas such as immigration procedures, visas and work permits for faculty and staff. AACUPI is constantly called upon to officially query government ministries and agencies on the proper and timely application of immigration legislation as pertinent to our students and personnel. AACUPI also seeks to offer research opportunities to the dedicated instructors in these programs, most of whom are part-time, given the nature of faculty presence based throughout Italy. This Early Modern Rome reference provided such an opportunity for them to attend, participate in, and submit for publication their contributions at an international symposium which also provided a meeting venue, in Rome, for scholars from all over the world.

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## Preface

This book constitutes the Proceedings of the conference “Early Modern Rome 1341-1667”, held in Rome, May 13-15, 2010, sponsored by the Association of American College and University Programs in Italy and the University of California Rome Study Center, with Accent. Collaborating institutions were: the *Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo*, in Rome; the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR)*, *Istituto di Storia dell’Europa Mediterranea*, in Cagliari; the *Istituto di Studi Rinascimentali*, in Ferrara. The University of California Rome Study Center, with Accent, and the *Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo*, provided welcoming and comfortable venues in their facilities in the Piazza dell’Orologio, for the three full-day, simultaneous, double-session event, during which seventy-seven scholars presented papers in either English or Italian.

The Association of American College and University Programs in Italy (AACUPI) is fully cognizant of the fact that almost all of the 30,000 students studying in any given year in member-institution programs take a course in history or art history while on Italian soil, and have long been interested in offering research opportunities to the dedicated instructors in these programs, most of whom are part-time, given the nature of faculty presence in these programs based throughout Italy. Their opportunities to attend, participate in, and submit for publication contributions at international symposia are rare. This conference on Early Modern Rome was intended to provide such an opportunity for them, as well as provide a meeting venue, in Rome, for scholars of the Early Modern Period, from all over the world.

My idea to promote such a conference was readily and generously supported by the University of California Rome Study Center, with Accent, and it was Julia Hairston’s suggestion to focus on Early Modern Rome, choosing the dates 1341 (Petrarch’s crowning of the first poet laureate since antiquity, on April 8, on the Capitoline Hill) to 1667 (the year of the death of Pope Alexander VII Chigi, on May 22) to define the period. It was a great pleasure to work with Julia on organizing this event.

The text of the papers submitted for publication and presented herein have not been edited in any way, short of making adjustments for formatting. In reporting the words of the session chairs and the discussion subsequent to the presentations, I have done my best to faithfully transcribe, whenever possible, the audio tapes made during the conference: I regret any oversights or errors that may have occurred in this process. If there is a discrepancy between the title as given orally by the chair and the title that is attached to the work, that is because the author has chosen to change the title, and the editor’s choice was to use the title submitted by the author with the written text.



University of California, Rome Study Center

## **The Long Arm of Rome**

Chair: **Anne Wingenter**,  
University of California, Rome

My name is Anne Wingenter. I teach here at the University of California in the Rome Through the Ages Program, particularly, I cover the contemporary period, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. My job here today is to introduce to you our speakers and to keep time. Our first speaker is Daniele Filippi who will give a paper entitled "The Master and the Soundscape: Palestrina and the Musical Image of Rome Between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Born in Milan in 1975, Daniele Filippi studied in Cremona and in Heidelberg, and graduated in musicology in 1999, with a dissertation on Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. He did his Ph.d at the University of Pavia in 2004, with a dissertation on Giovanni Francesco Anerio. He is currently active in Milan as an independent scholar and church musician, working also as a consulting editor at Adelfi. Among his main interests are sixteenth-century devotional music and aesthetics, composers like Palestrina, Victoria, and Anerio, intertextuality and a sonic approach to Renaissance music history. He has edited books on Palestrina and Anerio and recently published a revised version of his doctoral dissertation on devotional music and poetry in Rome, entitled *Selva armonica, la musica spirituale a Roma nel Cinque e Seicento*. So, Daniele Filippi.

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**Daniele V. Filippi**,  
Milan

### **The Master and the Soundscape: Palestrina and the Musical Image of Rome Between the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries**

#### ***Introduction: Music in Rome in the second half of the 16th century***

An old music-historic paradigm saw the opposition between late Renaissance Rome and Venice as an opposition between conservatism and innovation, between boring mannerisms and exciting new things. Although this view has been more or less implicitly or incidentally repudiated by all the experts in the field, nobody as yet has taken the pain to redefine globally the soundscape and the musical environment of Rome in the second half of the 16th century. Thus, the deep-rooted prejudice persists in non-specialized literature. However, the sheer fact that Rome was the cradle of one of the most influential stylistic syntheses of Western music – the one usually labelled with the name of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina – fits far better with

the different story told us by the specialized literature of the last decades: namely, that the Roman musical scene of the time was as vital and dynamic as possible.

The concentration of major chapels and other religious musical institutions fostered the development of new technical and aesthetic standards particularly in the field of sacred music, and especially as to the Mass, the motet, and the strictly liturgical genres. Rome became a leading centre for the production of mainstream sacred music. But there is far more than this.

Secular genres like the madrigal or the lighter forms underwent important developments in Rome in different phases of their history. From the fifteen-seventies on, the new technique of polychorality was experimented and subsequently applied with huge success to a wide spectrum of genres and occasions, with sonic, formal, and aesthetic achievements largely independent from Northern-Italian outcomes. Rome played also a pioneering role in the field of devotional genres: a) the immensely popular Oratorian and Jesuitical *lauda*, featuring a variable combination of naïveté and learned stylistic traits, and b) the spiritual madrigal, cultivated by distinguished authors at the highest stylistic level. Experiments in different Roman circles paved the way for the advent of monody: and it is not a mere accident that the *Rappresentazione di Anima & di Corpo* by Manni and Cavalieri, the first opera, was staged in Rome, at the beginning of the new century – during the Holy Year 1600.

A more detailed outline would bring us too far afield. Suffice it to have mentioned some of the main factors that enriched the Roman soundscape of the late Cinquecento.

### 1. A threefold dynamic

Let us now zoom out, and consider the wider historical context. We can easily recognize a threefold dynamic, whose phases partially overlap.

First, a movement of music and musicians from different parts of Europe towards Rome, in the 15th and early 16th centuries, when the Città Eterna was able to attract some of the best trained singers and composers. The main point of attraction was obviously the Papal chapel, whose members were chiefly Northerners in the 15th century, while during the 16th century they were subdivided in three main national groups: Italians, French (or rather Franco-Flemish), and Spanish.<sup>1</sup>

Other important chapels linked to the principal churches (like San Pietro, Santa Maria Maggiore, or San Giovanni in Laterano), and the Cardinals' households provided many employment opportunities for musicians. Besides stable positions and freelance activity, singers working in Rome could hope to obtain benefices, or to enter careers in the Curia, and so on. The prestigious web of patronage and the attractive job market, among other factors, determined a confluence of international musical talents towards Rome.

Then, a second, crucial phase followed, approximately coincident with the second half of the 16th century: a phase of dramatic expansion of the musical activities in Rome, and of many-sided renewal, whose main characteristics I have sketched in the Introduction.

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<sup>1</sup> See for instance Richard Sherr, "The 'Spanish Nation' in the Papal Chapel, 1492-1521," *Early music* 20/4 (1992), 601 – 609; Rafael Köhler, *Die Cappella Sistina unter den Medici-Päpsten, 1513-1534: Musikpflege und Repertoire am papstlichen Hof* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2001), 74 – ff.



Finally, there followed a third phase: a movement of music and musicians *from* Rome towards Europe.

I will come back to this threefold dynamic in due course.<sup>2</sup> Now, I would like to consider how the career of Palestrina, the Roman master *par excellence* could be seen under this perspective. Is it possible to explain, at least in part, the uniqueness of his figure, putting it in relation to wider trends in the cultural history of Rome?

## 2. "How Palestrina became Palestrina"

As John A. Rice insightfully wrote: "Palestrina benefited greatly from one of the most important artistic phenomena of sixteenth-century Europe: the transfer of musical culture from the Netherlands and France to Italy."<sup>3</sup> The young Palestrina stands at a turning point in this tendency: while in the earlier phase, as I have already remembered, the "transfer" was materially effected by Northerners coming to Italy (to Rome, in our case), in a subsequent stage it was their musical knowledge that passed to their Italian pupils. In fact, Palestrina possibly studied at Santa Maria Maggiore under Robin Mallapert and Firmin Lebel in the fiftenthirties.<sup>4</sup> Then, from the middle of the 16th century on, Italian masters began to occupy some of the most important musical positions in Rome:<sup>5</sup> and Palestrina was one of the first Italians to seize this opportunity (interestingly, after his appointment at the Cappella Giulia in 1551, this post would never again be assigned to Franco-Flemish masters).<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, while in the previous decades the leading composers did not remain in Rome long enough to acquire a dominant position similar to that of Adrian Willaert in Venice or of other Northerners in other Italian cities (partly due to the mechanisms of the beneficial system, encouraging medium-term stays in Rome),<sup>7</sup> Palestrina, as one of the first local masters, could spend a life-long career in the city and thus obtain an unprecedented and peculiar authority.

<sup>2</sup> Obviously, movements of music and musicians towards and from Rome continued throughout the whole period: my subdivision is intended to call attention to the prevailing tendency.

<sup>3</sup> John A. Rice, "Palestrina's Saint Cecilia Motets and the *Missa Cantantibus organis*," in *Palestrina e l'Europa. Atti del III convegno internazionale di studi (Palestrina, 6-9 ottobre 1994)*, ed. Giancarlo Rostirolla et al. (Palestrina: Fondazione "Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina," 2006), 817 – 829: 817.

<sup>4</sup> The flourishing of music chapels and of the attached schools for *pueri cantores* in the main Roman churches under Pope Paul III (1534-1549) allowed for the education of a new generation of local masters: Italian musicians active in Rome in the previous decades were in fact mostly from other parts of Italy (mainly from Florence and Northern cities).

<sup>5</sup> See Marco Della Sciucca, *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Palermo: L'Epos, 2009), 46 – 47.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 46. In the second half of the century, the number of Franco-Flemish musicians coming to Rome decreased dramatically, also as a consequence of the decline of French influence in Italy (sanctioned by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559) and of the reform of the beneficial system enacted by the Council of Trent: see Christopher Reynolds, "Rome: a City of Rich Contrast," in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the end of the 16th century*, ed. I. Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 63 – 101: 71 – 73.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*

Other historical circumstances favoured Palestrina's career: not least, the coincidence of his maturity with the complex post-Tridentine endeavour made by the Catholic Church to redefine and reaffirm its identity, defining new models in the different fields, with a particular attention to the artistic representation of its core values. Partially linked to this trend is also the "greater openness to new compositions"<sup>8</sup> and the demand for a renewal of the repertoire characterising this period in Rome.

Another important factor has to do with music printing. Palestrina's creative life coincided with an expansion of music printing and publishing, and he cleverly exploited the possibilities given both by Roman and (later) by Venetian publishing houses.<sup>9</sup> This obviously contributed to the dissemination of his music, especially outside Rome.

It is self-evident that these and other circumstances were the same for all of Palestrina's contemporaries. So what about his personality? Against the traditional idealized portrait, recent studies have emphasized, besides his extraordinary talent, Palestrina's managerial ability, his shrewd utilization of the patronage system, his "sound business sense".<sup>10</sup> Despite occasional setbacks, he was able to exploit some of the best opportunities of the Roman musical environment, negotiating with ecclesiastical and lay patrons, and availing himself of dedications and other well-known strategies. Undoubtedly, he gradually built his standing as the foremost musician in Rome,<sup>11</sup> and "as composer laureate to the Roman church"<sup>12</sup> through a conscious effort of "self-making".<sup>13</sup> I think, however, that this aspect of "self-making" – insisted upon by Marco Della Sciucca in his stimulating new Palestrinian monograph – runs the risk of being overestimated in a teleological sense: surely Palestrina was moulding his artistic career, but to think that he was consciously building his own myth would probably be too much.<sup>14</sup>

In order to answer the question "how Palestrina became Palestrina", besides *historical circumstances* and *personality*, we obviously need to address the problem of *style*. Paradoxically, the style of Palestrina remains, in broad terms, a great unknown, *pace magistri* Jeppesen. In the perspective of the present paper, I would like only to emphasize that he was able to amalgamate stylistic traits of the preceding generations, from Josquin to the post-

<sup>8</sup> Noel O'Regan, "Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-Place," *Early Music* 22/4 (1994), 551 – 572: 555.

<sup>9</sup> See Della Sciucca, *Palestrina*, 46 and 184 – 190. See also Jane A. Bernstein, "Publish or Perish? Palestrina and Print Culture in 16th-Century Italy," *Early Music* 35/2 (2007), 225 – 235.

<sup>10</sup> O'Regan, "Palestrina, a Musician and Composer in the Market-Place," 568.

<sup>11</sup> Noel O'Regan stressed, for instance, the role played by Palestrina in the foundation of the Compagnia dei Musici di Roma (1585): "He was certainly involved in setting up the musicians' confraternity in the early 1580s, while many of the younger generation of composers had sung under him or looked on him as a father figure": see *ibid.*, 555.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 552.

<sup>13</sup> I borrow this expression from Della Sciucca, *Palestrina, passim*.

<sup>14</sup> On this overemphasis on "self-making", I do not perfectly agree with my friend and colleague Marco Della Sciucca, whose book has been nonetheless a refreshing source of inspiration for me during the preparation of this paper.

Josquinian authors of the *Motetti del fiore* (1532), from Arcadelt and Verdelot to Morales and Costanzo Festa. Thus, also in this sense he incarnates the threefold dynamic delineated above: Franco-Flemish, Spanish, and Italian elements come together in Palestrina's work; and his own peculiar, multifaceted, non-manneristic stylistic synthesis then reflows from Rome towards Europe.

### 3. *The dissemination of Roman music*

Surely our threefold dynamic is far more complex than that, and the view of Palestrina – “The most ‘Roman’ of all composers [...] who never left the city or its close environs”<sup>15</sup> – as its unmoved mover must be handled with care. Moreover, the early reception of Palestrina, and the different stages that led to a distinct and unique phenomenon – the posthumous creation of his myth – , still await an overall reconsideration.

But in the last part of this paper I would like to spend a few words about the third phase, that of the dissemination of Roman music in the late 16th and the 17th century.

This came about through three main factors:

- 1) the diffusion of Roman music in manuscripts and especially in printed collections, either monographs or anthologies, printed either in Rome, or (mainly) in Venice, or even beyond the Alps;
- 2) the emigration of Roman masters;
- 3) the activity of foreign musicians in their homeland after having being purposely sent to study in Rome for some years.

A few remarks on point 1), and specifically on the diffusion of printed music, are in order.

In the fifteen-seventies and -eighties three important anthologies of madrigals entirely by Roman authors were published in Venice (*Il quarto libro delle muse*, 1574, the *Dolci affetti*, 1582, and *Le gioie*, 1589); a book of *Canzonette alla romana*, stemming from a collection issued in Rome by Verovio in 1589, was republished in Venice (twice) and then in Antwerp by Pierre Phalèse. The Phalèse firm was pivotal for the European diffusion of Roman music: from 1590 to 1621 it published Marenzio (especially his secular madrigals, but also spiritual madrigals, motets, light genres);<sup>16</sup> other Roman madrigalists (Felice Anerio, Agazzari, Giovannelli, Frescobaldi); Palestrina (his *Offertoria*, his motets from the Song of Songs, his first book of four-voice motets, all under the title of *Cantiones sacrae*, in 1603, 1605, 1613); and an anthology of *Sacrae cantiones excellentissimorum* [Roman] *auctorum* collected by Fabio Costantini (1621). The same Costantini edited other important sacred anthologies of

<sup>15</sup> Richard Sherr, “Rome: II. The Christian era: 2. The Renaissance (1420 – 1600),” in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed May 18, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> As is well-known, the dissemination of Marenzio's music throughout Europe is remarkable (suffice it to mention the presence of many of his works in English anthologies like *Musica transalpina*, 1588, or the various monographic collections issued by Paul Kauffmann in Nuremberg), but under many aspects he constitutes a *sui generis* case among Roman composers.



Roman authors in Orvieto, Naples, Venice. If these are some of the more distinctly Roman collections issued outside Rome,<sup>17</sup> alongside publications like Palestrina's *Hymni sacri* printed by Moretus in Antwerp in 1644 at the request of the Pope,<sup>18</sup> it is impossible here to map the dissemination of Roman music through the countless miscellaneous collections, whose role in the construction of European gusto cannot be overestimated.

Considering the three factors listed above in general, some areas appear to have been more significantly penetrated by Roman music.

Northern Italy, for instance, where Venice "became the principal Italian centre for posthumous publication of Palestrina's music,"<sup>19</sup> and Milan as well played a significant role.<sup>20</sup> Already the famous 1592 collection of vesper music by North Italian authors edited by Giovanni Matteo Asola as a tribute to the "celeberrimum ac prestantissimum in arte musica coriphæum" Palestrina is a highly significant testimony as to the reception of Roman music in this area.<sup>21</sup>

Spain can be perfectly represented by the personal case of Tomás Luis de Victoria. He came to Rome as a boy, studied and worked in the city for twenty years (ca. 1565-1586), and then went back to Madrid transplanting in Spain some of the most exciting creative experiences he had developed in Rome. These were to bear fruit in his last collections published in his homeland: both the exuberant polychoral works of 1600 and the austere *Officium Defunctorum* of 1605 must be regarded as supreme syntheses of the Roman and Spanish musical traditions of the time.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The title-page of the *Dolci affetti* makes an explicit reference to Roman composers: "madrigali a cinque voci de diversi eccellenti musici di Roma." Similar phrases recur also in *Le gioie* and the *Canzonette alla romana*.

<sup>18</sup> *Hymni sacri in breviario Romano S.D.N. Urbani Papae VIII auctoritate recogniti* (Antwerp: Balthasar II Moretus, 1644). See Jerome Roche, "'The Praise of It Endureth for Ever': The Posthumous Publication of Palestrina's Music," *Early Music* 22/4 (1994), 631 – 639; 637, and Henri Vanhulst, "Aspects de la diffusion de la musique de Palestrina dans les anciens Pays-Bas de 1580 à 1670," in *Palestrina e l'Europa*, 953 – 971: 959 – 60

<sup>19</sup> Roche, "'The Praise of It Endureth for Ever'," 633.

<sup>20</sup> Consider for instance, as to Palestrina, the Milanese editions of his music, as well as the contrafacta by Orfeo Vecchi (in *Motetti [...] libro primo*, 1597 and *Scielta de Madrigali*, 1604) and Geronimo Cavaglieri (in *Della nova Metamorfofi [...] libro primo*, 1600 and *libro secondo*, 1605), Alessandro Nuvoloni's *Basso principale co'l soprano* (1610) for Palestrina's fourth book of Masses, and the ornamented reworkings of Palestrinian pieces by G.B. Bovicelli (in *Regole, passaggi di musica*, 1594) and Francesco Rognoni Taegio (in *Selva de varii passaggi*, 1620). See Roche, "'The Praise of It Endureth for Ever'," and Marina Toffetti, "La ricezione palestriniana a Milano fra Cinque e Seicento," in *Palestrina e l'Europa*, 855 – 935.

<sup>21</sup> *Sacra, omnium solemnitatum psalmodia vespertina...* (Venice: R. Amadino, 1592). See Della Sciucca, *Palestrina*, 282 – 284.

<sup>22</sup> Tomás Luis de Victoria, *Missae, Magnificat, motecta, psalmi et alia quam plurima, quae partim octonis, alia nonis, alia duodenis vocibus concinuntur* (Madrid: Ex typographia regia – Apud Ioannem Flandrum, 1600) and *Officium Defunctorum sex vocibus. In obitu et obsequiis Sacrae Imperatricis*

In Central Europe, Poland was an important area for the export of Roman music. Frequent contacts between Rome and Poland paved the way for the arrival of musical works (just think of the dedication by Palestrina to the young cardinal Andrzej Batory in 1584)<sup>23</sup> and particularly of Roman musicians. From the 1590s on, Annibale Stabile, Luca Marenzio, Asprilio Pacelli, Giovanni Francesco Anerio and Marco Scacchi were successively in the service of the Polish court and brought with them the ‘sound of Rome’.<sup>24</sup>

Another significant region was Bavaria: besides the direct dissemination of Palestrinian works,<sup>25</sup> we know that Duke Maximilian I sent the young Anton Holzner (ca. 1599-1635) to study in Parma and Rome in 1615-1619; after that, Holzner was appointed organist at the Bavarian court chapel and his polychoral Masses brought Roman compositional models to Munich.<sup>26</sup> Fifty years later, Munich was to experience a Palestrina-Renaissance with the arrival of the Roman Ercole Bernabei (1622-1687), a former pupil of Benevoli and maestro at San Giovanni in Laterano, San Luigi dei Francesi and the Cappella Giulia, who became Kapellmeister in 1674 and was succeeded by his son Giuseppe Antonio (?1649-1732) in 1687.<sup>27</sup>

It is evident that these regions coincide with the main Catholic areas in Europe. But the dissemination of Roman music went well beyond confessional boundaries. Graham Dixon reported the case of the Dutch printer Jan van Geertsom, who published two motet collections taken from mid-17th century Roman anthologies in Calvinist Rotterdam.<sup>28</sup> While Mary Frandsen has recently cast light on the “Roma trapiantata” in Lutheran Dresden under Prince

(Madrid: Ex typographia regia – Apud Ioannem Flandrum, 1605). See now Daniele V. Filippi, *Tomás Luis de Victoria* (Palermo: L’Epos, 2008).

<sup>23</sup> Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Motetorum quinque vocibus liber quintus* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1584). See Alina Zórawska-Witkowska, “Il Palestrina e la Polonia (1584-1865),” in *La recezione di Palestrina in Europa fino all’Ottocento*, ed. Rodobaldo Tibaldi (Lucca: LIM, 1999), 237 – 261, and Della Sciuca, *Palestrina*, 254 – ff.

<sup>24</sup> See for instance Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, “Muzycy z Cappella Giulia i z innych rzymskich zespołów muzycznych w Rzeczypospolitej czasów Wazów” [“Musicians from the Cappella Giulia and other Roman Musical ensembles working in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania during the Reign of the Vasas”], *Muzyka* 49 (2004), 33 – 52.

<sup>25</sup> Starting already in the early 1560s, through the famous correspondence between Duke Albert V and Cardinal Truchsess: see Oscar Mischiati, “‘Ut verba intelligerentur’: circostanze e connessioni a proposito della *Missa Papae Marcelli*,” in *Atti del Convegno di Studi Palestriniani (28 settembre - 2 ottobre 1975)*, ed. Francesco Luisi (Palestrina, Fondazione “Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina,” 1977), 415 – 426; 423 – 424.

<sup>26</sup> See Siegfried Gmeinwieser, “Palestrina und Palestrinastil in Bayern,” in *La recezione di Palestrina in Europa fino all’Ottocento*, 195 – 207; 199.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>28</sup> See Graham Dixon, “Jan van Geertsom, a Seventeenth-Century Dutch Printer, and the Dissemination of Roman Music,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 32 (1982), 116 – 125. Dixon mentions other interesting extra-Roman re-editions of Roman collections.

Johann Georg II (who reigned from 1656 to 1680), thanks to the Roman musicians Vincenzo Albrici and Giuseppe Peranda.<sup>29</sup>

### *Conclusions*

Thus, as a consequence of the first two phases of the threefold dynamic delineated above, Rome enjoyed an international prestige unique in its musical history, and not entirely coincident with the phenomenon of Palestrina's myth.

Musicological narratives have completely overlooked this perspective, partly due to a concentration of interest on other areas and other phenomena, partly due to the difficulty of detecting a *longue durée* structure astride two centuries (and two chapters of standard music histories).

I think, however, that this perspective deserves to be verified and discussed, particularly in the context of general historical reconsiderations. Indeed it sheds light on a scarcely known dimension of the "fortunate assault to Europe" that Rome – in the words of Gérard Labrot –<sup>30</sup> launched in the post-Tridentine era through the reinvention of its own image, thus gaining a new status in European collective imagination.

A new *sonic* image of the city was forged in the same period, and, as we have seen, it exerted its fascination all over Europe.

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**Wingenter:** Our second paper entitled "*L'Ospizio dei Convertendi, storie di conversioni miracolose e l'assistenza romana caratterizzata dallo spirito post-tridentino*" is by Anu Raunio who is a Post-doctoral Fellow at the Department of Italian Studies at the University of Turku, in Finland, and her paper is drawn from her Ph.d dissertation which she just defended in January. Unfortunately, she is unable to be with us today. Luca Marcozzi has generously agreed to read her paper. I ask Luca to come up. There is a handout.

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<sup>29</sup> See Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>30</sup> Gérard Labrot, *Roma 'caput mundi'. L'immagine barocca della città santa 1534 – 1677* (Napoli: Electa, 1997; orig. edn. *L'image de Rome. Une arme pour la Contre-Réforme 1534 – 1677* [Seysse: Ed. Champ Vallon, 1987]), 11: "Accuratamente spogliata dei deprimenti vecchiumi, ma soprattutto vigorosamente nutrita di [...] nuove sostanze, l'immagine [di Roma] può sferrare il suo fortunato assalto all'Europa."